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CONTENTS

The online pagination 2012 corresponds to the hard copy pagination 1990

Abbreviations.....	vii
Introduction.....	1
R.F. Gombrich <i>Recovering the Buddha's Message</i>	5
R.F. Gombrich <i>How the Mahāyāna Began</i>	21
K.R. Norman <i>Pāli Philology and the Study of Buddhism</i>	31
A. Huxley <i>How Buddhist is Theravāda Buddhist Law?</i>	41
T.H. Barrett <i>Kill the Patriarchs!</i>	87
T.H. Barrett <i>Exploratory Observations on Some Weeping Pilgrims</i>	99
I. Astley-Kristensen <i>Images and Permutations of Vajrasattva in the Vajradhātumaṇḍala</i>	111

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJCL</i>	<i>American Journal of Comparative Law</i>
<i>BBACS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the British Association for Chinese Studies.</i>
<i>BARL</i>	<i>Bulletin des Amis du Royaume Lao</i>
<i>BEFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient</i>
<i>BLIJ</i>	<i>Burma Law Institute Journal</i>
<i>IJ</i>	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JIAEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia</i>
<i>JPTS</i>	<i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i>
<i>JSEAS</i>	<i>Journal of Southeast Asian Studies</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of the Siam Society</i>
<i>MJT</i>	<i>Mikkyō Jiten</i>
<i>PTS</i>	<i>Pali Text Society</i>
<i>ROB</i>	Than Tun, <i>The Royal Orders of Burma A.D. 1598–1885</i> , Tokyo, vols. 1–7, 1984–1987.
<i>SBB</i>	Sacred Books of the Buddhists
<i>SBE</i>	Sacred Books of the East
<i>T</i>	Taishō Tripiṭaka

IMAGES AND PERMUTATIONS OF VAJRASATTVA IN THE VAJRADHĀTU-MANḌALA

I. Astley-Kristensen

Preamble

In the Buddhist Tantric tradition transmitted to China and Japan, the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala forms one half of the so-called “Double Aspect Maṇḍala” (*ryōbu-mandara*) of the Mi-tsung (Chinese) or Mikkyō (Japanese) teachings. It is explained in the *Sarvatathāgatattva-saṃgraha*, in contrast to its counterpart, the Garbhakośa-maṇḍala, which is explained in the **Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, which is extant only in Tibetan and Chinese. This paper deals with some special teachings about Vajrasattva (Kongōsatta, rDo rje sems pa), found in one of the sub-maṇḍalas of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. This sub-maṇḍala, called the *Naya Assembly*, is the seventh in the Vajradhātu series, counting out from the central assembly, and stands alone in the ninefold series as the only one to be presided over by Vajrasattva, and not Mahāvairocana.¹ This peculiarity has been noticed by Snellgrove,² but has not yet been resolved. Although the *Naya Assembly* deities are arranged in the manner of the general pattern of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, and are traditionally affiliated to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas occupying the same relative positions elsewhere in that maṇḍala, they are in fact unique to the *Naya Assembly*. It will be convenient here to give the structure of this assembly; primary figures are in bold face:

Figure 1

11. Vajramālā		16. Vajrasphoṭa		12. Vajragītā
	7. Kelikila-vī ³	4. Rāgavajra	8. Rāgavajriṇī	
15. Vajrapāśa	3. Kelikila-v	1. VAJRASATTVA	5. Mānavajra	17. Vajrāveśa
	6. Manoja-vī	2. Iṣṭavajra	9. Mānavajriṇī	
10. Vajralāsī		14. Vajrāśkuśa		13. Vajranṛtyā

The first question to arise in connection with phenomena such as this relates to the scriptural source: where can we find directions and explanations to account for this configuration? The immediate answer is the *sūtra* whose popular title bears the same name as this Assembly, the *Prajñāpāramitānaya-sūtra*, Japanese *Rishu-*

¹ Or a symbolic representation of Mahāvairocana. The individual deities in this maṇḍala are to be found depicted very clearly in Lokesh Chandra’s *The Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas*, New Delhi, 1971, 285–91, nos. 701–17.

² In his Introduction to his and Lokesh Chandra’s facsimile reproduction of the *Sarvatathāgatattva-saṃgraha*, Śatapiṭaka Series no. 269, New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1981, p. 13, n. 4.

³ V stands for *vajra* and vī for *vajriṇī*.

kyō (Chinese *Li-chū ching*). This is the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 150 *ślokas*, a text which straddles the division between the literature of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and that of the *Tantras*.⁴ Our concern here, however, will not be to examine the interesting questions which this fact raises, but to look at one particular formulation of the teaching relating to Vajrasattva.

First, however, we must take a brief look at the relevant sections of the *Rishukyō*, the first and the final chapters of the body of the text.⁵ The first chapter of the text proper deals with the so-called ‘Epithets of Purity’ (*Shōjō-ku*) where the pure aspect of a variety of *dharmas* from the individual’s make up and the phenomenal world in which one lives is described as being the state of a Bodhisattva. The pattern in the Sanskrit is: *viśuddhi-padam etad yad uta bodhisattvapadam*. In the version translated by Amoghavajra we have in Japanese reading: *shōjō-ku, kore bosatsu-i (nari)*.

The ritual structure of Amoghavajra’s version fits in with the seventeen-deity pattern we have already noticed⁶ and the epithets which comprise his text at this point—along with the serial numbers given in Figure 1 above—are:

⁴ More correctly the *Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. There are in all ten versions of this text, one Sanskrit-Khotanese fragment, three Tibetan texts and six Chinese. Two of the Tibetan and one of the Chinese texts are so-called Extended Versions (Ch./Jap. *kōkyō*), much longer and replete with ritual cycles. The Khotanese version and the short Tibetan text (in 150 *ślokas*, Peking edition of the Kanjur No. 121) have been edited by Toganoo Shōun and published in an Appendix to his *Rishukyō no Kenkyū*, Collected Works of Toganoo Shōun, vol. 5, Kōyasan: Kōyasan Daigaku Shuppanbu/Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūsho, 1959, 1972 (orig. publ. 1930). They have also been reprinted in: Hatta Yukio: *Bon/zō/kan-taishō Rishukyō Sakuin*, Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1971 (English title also given: *Index to the Arya-prajñāpāramitā-naya-śatapañca-śatikā*). The two Extended Versions in Tibetan are in the Peking edition, nos. 119, 123. The six Chinese versions with authors and approximate dates of translation are: Taishō .VII/220(10) [Hsüan-tsang, 660–63], T.VIII/240 [Bodhiruci, 693], T/241 [Vajrabodhi, 741], T/242 [Dānapāla, 1012–15], T/243 [Amoghavajra, the standard text in the Shingon tradition, 771–4], T/244 [Fa-hsien, the Extended Version, ca. 999]. See my doctoral thesis, *The Rishukyō: A Translation and Commentary in the Light of Modern Japanese (post-meiji) Scholarship*, University of Leeds, 1988, Introduction, pages 4–24, for basic information on these ten recensions. The most important version is T/243, by Amoghavajra (Pu-kung, Fukū), full title *Dairaku-kongō-fukū-shinjitsu-sanmaya-kyō* (**Mahāsukha-vajrāmogha-tattva-samaya-sūtra*). This is clearly composed with a ritual purpose and is used in this manner in the modern Japanese Shingon sect in a wide variety of daily and special rituals. Conze made an English translation of this over two decades ago, most readily accessible in his *Short Prajñāpāramitā Texts*, London, 1973, 184–95. This is based, however, on the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts in 150 *ślokas*, which, although they relate to an earlier tradition, are not ritually coherent, as Amoghavajra’s text is.

⁵ T/243: 784b1–24 (opening cycle) and 786a5–786b4 (concluding cycle). Amoghavajra wrote his own commentaries to this Sūtra, T.XIX/1003 & 1004. On the first passage, see T/1003: 608b18–610b2 and T/1004, passim; on the latter, see T/1003: 616c12–617a28.

⁶ He has, for example, seventeen epithets, neatly corresponding to the seventeen deities, in contrast to all the other versions of the Sūtra, which have random numbers. It must, however, be said that there are thematic similarities, though Amoghavajra’s text is the only one which draws ritual consequences from the material.

Figure II

I	1. exquisite bliss =====7
II/A	2. the arrow of desire 3. touching 4. the bond of love 5. natural sovereignty =====
II/B	6. seeing 7. rapture 8. love 9. pride =====
III	10. adornment 11. mental abundance 12. purity of light 13. bodily bliss =====
IV	14. form 15. sound 16. smell 17. taste

Figure III

- I. *Basic Truth*: described variously as ultimate bliss.
- II. *Expression of this Truth*: seen from the point of view of the ascent towards Buddhahood, this becomes a description of progress towards it, or of the practices to that end. From the point of view of an enlightened one, it is an expression of the integration of all aspects of the psycho-physical complex. This has the following sub divisions, which form the nucleus of the Five Mysteries:
 - i. Seeing
 - ii. Rapture/Bliss
 - iii. (Bond of) Desire/Love
 - iv. Storing/Presiding Over/Sovereignty
- III. *Benefits of this Truth* (concrete attainment)
This also has four sub-divisions:
 - i. Adornment
 - ii. Mental Abundance/Fecundity
 - iii. Light

⁷ The lines indicate the divisions between the different enclosures of the *maṇḍala*.

iv. (Bliss of) Body (Speech and Mind)

IV. *Basic Structure of the Personality*

Touch and mind are excluded from the series in T/243, but are present in the earliest Chinese version of the *Sūtra*, that by Hsüan-tsang.⁸ This would indicate that the version transmitted by Amoghavajra was altered at some point, with the conscious intention of making the text conform to a Vajradhātu-maṇḍala pattern.

It should be noted that II is repeated in the correspondences given in Amoghavajra's commentaries and that this repetition is interpreted as indicating male and female aspects.⁹ It is the core of the thinking behind this formulation of the *tantric* Buddhist teachings and forms the basis of the teaching of the Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva.

Before we proceed to the idea of the Five Mysteries, we shall set out a further instance of the ritual interpretation of these Epithets of Purity, given by the Japanese priest and founder of the Shingon Sect, Kūkai (posth. Kōbō Daishi, 774–835).¹⁰ In his *Shinjitsukyō-monku*,¹¹ he gives the following positions for the members of this maṇḍala:

Figure IV

11. Kō - perfume		16. Sa - chain		12. Ka - song
	7. Tekietsu	4. Ai	8. Ton	
15. Saku - rope	3. Soku	1. VAJRASATTVA	5. Gō	17. Rei - bell
	6. Ishō	2. Yoku	9. Man	
10. Ka - flower		14. Hook		13. Zu - unguent

The other end of the ritual sandwich which the *Rishukyō* comprises is called The Dharma Gate of the Profound Mystery (*Shinpi no Hōmon*)¹² and is one of the prime sources for the Five Mysteries. Here, we have a simple, five-figure maṇḍala with Vajrasattva in the centre, surrounded by the female forms of the first four Bodhisattvas in the maṇḍala pertaining to the first stage of the ritual cycle,¹³ namely Desire, Touching, Love and Pride.¹⁴ The *Mikkyō Jiten*¹⁵ in fact defines the Five Mysteries quite simply:

“(The Five Mysteries are) Vajrasattva—who has the pure mind of enlightenment as his essence—and his immediate entourage, the four Bodhisattvas (Adamantine Desire, Adamantine Touching, Adamantine Love and Adamantine Pride) representing the four passions, and express in a thoroughly

⁸ T.VII/220 (10): 986a–991b, *Hannya-rishu-bun*. Hsüan-tsang's version has 69 Epithets of Purity and they encompass the whole gamut of the Buddhist teachings.

⁹ Cf. T.XIX/1004, *passim*.

¹⁰ For a biography, see Y.S. Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works. Translated, with an Account of his Life and a Study of his Thought*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1972, 13–60. Less apologetic is: Alicia and Daigan Matsunaga, *Foundation of Japanese Buddhism*. vol. 1: *The Aristocratic Age*, Los Angeles and Tokyo, Buddhist Books International, 1974, 171–7.

¹¹ T.LXI/2237: 612c–615c. The following table is taken from pages 613a29ff.

¹² i.e. T/243: 786a5–786b4.

¹³ i.e. T/243: 784b1–24.

¹⁴ Iṣṭa-vajriṇī (Yoku-kongōnyo), Kelikila-vajriṇī (Soku), Rāga-vajriṇī (Ai) and Māna-vajriṇī (Man).

¹⁵ Sawa Ryūken *et al.*, *Mikkyō Jiten*, Kyoto, Hōzōkan, 1975, hereafter MJT.

esoteric fashion the profound mystery of the passions themselves being enlightenment.¹⁶ The four Adamantine Bodhisattvas correspond to sentient beings and are the various taints of the passions, and the [Five Mysteries] indicate directly the fact that essentially they are originally endowed with the mind of enlightenment.”¹⁷

The scriptural sources for the Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva encompass, however, more than the one passage in the *Rishukyō*. There is also an interesting group of six ritual texts—known collectively as the Six Kinds of Vajrasattva Ritual¹⁸—which furnish us with a good deal of interesting and useful information on this particular strand of thought. We might set out all these source materials as follows:

1. The texts described by MDJT as the Six Vajrasattva Rituals: T.XX/1119, 1120A+B, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125
2. T.XX/1121 (translator unknown).¹⁹
3. In addition the following portions of the *Rishukyō* literature are particularly relevant: T.VIII/243, first and last sections of the main text; T.VIII/244, §I (787a20-b22), §XIV (799b-3c17), § XXI (812a20-b4).
4. Amoghavajra’s commentary on his own translation of the *Rishukyō* (T.XIX/1003) is also of some value in furnishing us with clues to the *Sūtra*’s historical and theoretical background.

There are two main types of ritual in these Five Mysteries cycles: (1) a preliminary rite which shows the traditional and spiritual background of the main

¹⁶ *Bonnō-soku-bodai*, ‘the passions themselves are enlightenment’. This principle is of paramount importance in tantric Buddhism, namely, the conscious transformation of one’s basic, passionate nature into the stuff of enlightenment. *Tantric* apologists have long felt it necessary to emphasize this aspect of *tantric* thought and practice as a unique and radical development in the Buddhist tradition, but it is in fact largely a mere reformulation of basic Buddhist concepts and more radical in its overt expression than in its handling of the tradition. See my article on *mahāsukha*—a key Tantric concept, that of ‘Great Bliss’—in the forthcoming fascicule of the *Hōbōgin* (fasc. VII), s.v. ‘Dairaku/Tairaku’.

¹⁷ *MJT*, 222a.

¹⁸ *Rokushu-kongōsatta-giki*. Although these texts are traditionally grouped together, a critical comparison of their respective structures indicates that they do not belong together in this simple fashion. For a full discussion, see my forthcoming articles, “An Example of Vajrasattva in the Sino-Japanese Tantric Buddhist Tradition”, *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, No. 1, 1988, 67–87, and: “The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Tantric Buddhist View of the Passions and Enlightenment”, *Temenos*, 24, 1988.

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

cycle, (2) the main cycle characteristic to the Five Mysteries. If we analyse the series of *mantras* and *mudrās* contained in these passages, matching those identical in form or similar in thematic content,²⁰ then our texts can be seen to fall into fairly clear-cut groups. Following this methodology, the texts under the first two headings may be grouped in the following manner:

a. T/1119, 1120A+B, 1123; 1121

-this group is the most homogeneous, the sequences of mantras and mudrās showing the most consistency.²¹ Of these, however, the first half of T/1121 shows corruptions in comparison to the others.

b. T/1122

-this text's terminology is rather different from the rest of this set, though important in its own right. I shall deal with it at a later date.

c. T/1124

-part of the opening sequence of this text corresponds to those in group a above, and the second ritual group -that corresponding to the main Five Mysteries cycle—corresponds only in fits and starts.

d. T/1125

-this is one of the major Five Mysteries texts, but it contains sequences quite different in form - though not basic intent—from the group centred around T/1119. It also has a concluding section which gives a number of correspondences to various aspects of generally familiar Buddhist teachings.

As an example of the first ritual contained in these texts, we may take a look at the first section in T/1119, specifically page 509a9-24, where, *inter al.*, we are given details of the manifestation of Vajrasattva. The Bodhisattva 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*, **vajra-muṣṭi*). The left fist rests 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*, **kāya-vāk-citta-vajra*), he utters the *mantra hūṃ*, to seal as it were this first phase in the ritual.

We have not dealt with the opening scene in detail here, but we may summarize the essential themes as follows:

²⁰ i.e. the specific figure or figures in the Tantric Buddhist pantheon to which the various *mantras* and *mudrās* traditionally refer. In identifying the various *mantras*, I have been greatly assisted by Hatta Yukio's *Shingon Jiten* [Mantra Dictionary], Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1985. The various cycles were identified by listing the numbers given to the various *mantras* by Hatta and comparing the patterns thus evinced.

²¹ Partly because T/1120A+B are basically verse summaries of T/1119.

1. the point at which the ritual starts—and to which it shall return—is a state of union whose nature is absolute;
2. this realization is simultaneously the overcoming of hindrances to enlightenment and the impetus for worship;
3. the pure lunar disc is the basis for the manifestation of the deity, who:
4. 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-hōkan*; page 509a20).
7. There is some ambiguity as to the perspective from which the ritual directions are given, a problem encountered fairly frequently in this kind of material. The reason for this is probably to be found in the theme of identifying oneself with the deity concerned. The most typical formulations in the Japanese Shingon tradition are Kūkai's doctrines of *sokushin-jōbutsu* (the perfection of Buddhahood in this very body) and *nyū-ga / ga-nyū* (Buddha enters me / I enter 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* may be regarded as a kind of combined affirmation and seal of this dynamism, making the experience into a firm base for the remainder of the ritual action.²²

We may now take a closer look at the central ritual in T/1119, as representative of the idea behind the Five Mysteries.

²² *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 interpretation given to *hūm*, see Kūkai's *Unji-gi* (translation by Hakeda, Kūkai: *Major Works*, 246–51) and Amoghavajra's *Rishushaku*, T/1003: 609c10–19.

2. The Central Ritual in Taishō 1119²³

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*), who is red in colour and holds a bow and arrow. Next, seated to the right of Vajrasattva, is Adamantine Blissful Rapture (*Kongō-ki'etsu*), who is white and “found embracing the samaya-body/essence”. In the various depictions of this configuration, this Bodhisattva is to be seen holding Vajrasattva around the waist.²⁴ 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*), who is blue in colour and holds the *makara* staff.²⁵ The significance of this is that the Bodhisattva has just as little regard for his own tastes and predilections in the task of work salvation of others as one who would deal with the *makara*-leviathan.²⁶ The final deity in the set is Adamantine Sovereignty of Desire (*Kongō-yoku-jizai*). This Bodhisattva is also known as the Bodhisattva of Pride (*Kongō-man*), 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 *mudrā* of the Adamantine Fist (*kongō-ken-in*, **vajramusti-mudrā*) and gazing slightly away from the Assembly.

We will now list the *mantras* in the central portion of the ritual,²⁷ with a short indication of their referents:

jaḥ vajra-dṛṣṭi-sāyake maṭ²⁸ (SJT: 233) The *bīja* *jaḥ* is related to the Bodhisattva *Kongō-sen*—the Bodhisattva of the Adamantine Arrow.²⁹ *Maṭ* = *ma* + *t*, right and left eyes, sun and moon.

hūṃ vajra-kelikilī hūṃ (SJT: 1896) The *bīja* *hūṃ* identifies the Bodhisattva *Kelikilī* (Adamantine Blissful Rapture, *Kongō-ki'etsu*, or the Bodhisattva of Touching, *Kongō-soku*).

vaṃ vajriṇī-smara-rata (SJT: 889) The connection here is between Love (*ai*, i.e. the Bodhisattva *Kongō-ai*) and Recollection (*nen*, *smṛti*). We have now come to the point in the ritual where the basic data and the internal, affective response are turned outward again.

hoḥ vajra-kāmeśvari taṃ/traṃ (SJT: 1950) The descriptors of this

²³ Pages 510b6–26; b27–c10; c11–25; c26–511a13.

²⁴ The Sanskrit 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.

²⁵ Skt. *makara-dhvajaḥ*, cf. *MDJT/V*: 1076c.

²⁶ The staff itself stands for the mind of enlightenment (*bodai-shin*, *bodhicitta*).

²⁷ From page 510b16 onwards.

²⁸ Hatta gives the *bīja* as *maṭa*, disregarding the instruction to reduce *ṭa* to a “half sound” (*han'on*). Robert Heinemann, *Chinese-Sanskrit / Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary of Words and Phrases as Used in Buddhist Dhāraṇī*, Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1985, 13 and 116, gives *maṭ* as a *bīja*, but with no further explanation.

²⁹ Cf. also *sāyake*, voc. sing. of *sāyakā*, meaning “arrow, projectile”.

phase of the ritual include: pride, spontaneous abiding, *karma* (in the sense of works for the benefit of sentient beings) and sovereignty (*īśvara*).

How do these various, apparently disparate, elements fit together? The basic process under consideration is Desire-Touching-Love / Enjoyment-Pride. In the identification of oneself (micro-cosmos) with the whole of the sphere of existence (macrocosmos), one awakens first the desire for enlightenment for oneself and for all sentient beings. When this is successfully accomplished, one touches upon the bliss of enlightenment. Through involvement with the practices which befit the Bodhisattva one comes to experience this bliss in its full depth. Having reached the ultimate point of introspection, the Bodhisattva turns outward and uses this merit for the benefit of all sentient beings. It is at this point that the elements of pride, naturalness/sovereignty and subjugation come into play. Finally, this point may also be said to complete the circle, in that the Bodhisattva returns to sentient existence, but with a radically altered perspective on the Vow with which he began. It is here 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.”³⁰

There now follows a description of the divinities surrounding the central Assembly.

The Inner Worshipping Deities, who occupy the four corners, are explained.³¹ These are:

Kongō-myōtekietsu: Flower (pure white worship?)
he vajra-rati (SJT: 1937)

Kongō-tekietsushō: Burning Incense (black)
mahā-rata-vajri hoḥ (SJT: 765)

Kongō-gen: Lamp (red)
vajra-locane (SJT: 1273)

Kongō-daikichijō: Smearing Unguent (yellow)
*mahā-śrī-vajri he*³² (SJT: 778)

³⁰ *Aṣṭasahasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, I. 20

³¹ 510b27–c10

³² Hatta gives **hoḥ*, which in fact only appears in T/1120B, though in the same relative position.

The Outer Worshipping Deities, who occupy the corners of the outer circle, are all pure gold in colour.

Kongō-kike (Vajra-lāsī): Joy³³
he rati-vajra-vilāsini traṭ (SJT: 1934)

Kongō-shô: Smile/Laugh
he rati-vajra-hāse ha ha (SJT: 1935)

Kongō-ka: Song
he rati-vajra-gīte te te (SJT: 1932)

Kongō-bu: Dance
he rati-vajra-nṛte bepa bepa (SJT: 1933)

The next section³⁴ deals with the Four Portal Deities:

Kongō-kō: to the front; blue
vajrāśkuśa jah (SJT: 1425)

Kongō-saku: to the right; yellow
vajra-pāśa hūṃ (SJT: 1134)

Kongō-sa: to the rear; red
vajra-śṛśkhale vaṃ (SJT: 1312)

Kongō-kin: to the left; green
vajra-ghanṭe hoḥ (SJT: 996)

The text³⁵ now describes these sixteen deities as reverently gazing upon Vajrasattva with the Eye of Rapture (*teki'etsu-moku*), 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 accord 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*), and the familiar mantra in praise of Vajrasattva: *suratastvam* (SJT: 1776).

The remainder³⁶ of the ritual consists of supplementary contemplations and acts, where the ritual identity of the practitioner and Vajrasattva is confirmed and, so to speak, sealed. The ceremony is completed by returning the deities evoked to their respective abodes, using the appropriate *mudrā* and *mantra*.³⁷

³³ Cf. MDJT/II: 671b.

³⁴ 510c26–511a10.

³⁵ 511a11–13.

³⁶ 512b28 c12.

³⁷ The remaining section of the text (512c13–513b22) gives an essential résumé of the whole ritual, and as such need not detain us here. 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.

3. A Different Form of Vajrasattva

Although the *maṇḍala* implicit in the above ritual is similar to those already seen in the first part of this paper, the most interesting configuration I have found is that connected with the final chapter of the *Rishukyō*, the Dharma Gate of the Profound Mystery. This omits the secondary Bodhisattvas and consorts and merely depicts Vajrasattva and the four principal Bodhisattvas—in their female forms—seated together on a single lotus, against the background of a single lunar disc.

This teaching concerning Vajrasattva as a unitary summation of all the virtues which arise on the Path is found in the final section of T/1125, but is common to the literature surrounding the Five Mysteries. The depiction of the relative deities together on the same lotus dais, representing the integrated functions of the enlightened one, is, however, peculiar to T/1125, the final chapter of the *Rishukyō* and to T/1003.³⁸ This fourfold body as a whole (i.e. all the virtues of Adamantine Desire etc., combined) is Vajrasattva.³⁹ The teaching of T/1125 on this point is very much in line with the commentarial tradition we are dealing with, and could almost be a quotation from *Rishushaku* (T/1003): the five Bodhisattvas together on the same lotus dais has the meaning of Liberation through Great Compassion (*daihi-gedatsu*), whilst the lunar disc indicates Great Wisdom (*daichi*). Because of the latter, the Bodhisattva remains untainted whilst in birth and death, because of the former he refrains from entry into *nirvāṇa*.⁴⁰

The explanation of this configuration goes further, saying that whereas the material relating to the Epithets of Purity is a statement of that reality which is to be attained through Bodhisattva practice, the Five Mysteries represent the enlightened Bodhisattva who has successfully mastered the practice and who thus abides constantly in *samādhi*. *Samādhi* is regarded as female—being that which is entered—while Vajrasattva, the Adamantine Mind intent on enlightenment, is that which enters. The image of union and integrated harmony which this special *maṇḍala* represents is thus in full keeping with the thinking behind Buddhist Tantric practice as we know it from the Indo-Tibetan sources.

³⁸ T/1003: 617alff (in Amoghavajra's commentary on the final chapter of the *Rishukyō*) gives the most explicit indications in this connection.

³⁹ T.1125: 538b29f. In fact, the text goes on to encompass the four Tathāgatas and their Bodhisattvas (T.1125: 538c2–16), and eventually covers the whole of the Central Assembly of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, with its thirty-seven Divinities. We thus have a strong reminder of the basic affiliation of the Five Mysteries cycle, a reminder which is also to be found in the other major text in this group, T/1119 (it will be remembered that the preliminary ritual follows the standard conventions of the *Vajradhātu* divinities (T/1119: 509c24–510b7)).

⁴⁰ T.1125: 538c27ff. A point of note in this connection is that following on from this (T.1125: 539a4–19) we find a passage that consists of material found *verbatim* in the Hundred Character Verse of the *Rishukyō* (T/243: 786a18–27, a verse summary of the Five Mysteries teachings), along with short explanations of selected lines.