

Firmly Rooted: On Fudō Myōō's Origins

by Richard K. Payne

An examination of the introduction of Fudō Myōō into Buddhist Tantra can help to clarify important aspects of the early history of Buddhist Tantra. Fudō is often associated with the Indian deity Śiva, and in the following I speculate on the significance of this connection both in terms of the Indo-European background of Indian religion, and in terms of Fudō's introduction into Tantric Buddhism. This inquiry will hopefully provide a deeper understanding of Fudō as a religious symbol, while at the same time begin to sketch in some of the historical significance of his entry into the Tantric Buddhist pantheon.¹

Fudō's Sanskrit name is "Acala(nātha) Vidyārāja." The first part, "Acala," means "immovable" and is represented by the Japanese "Fudō." The second part, "nātha," which is used in some references and not in others, means "lord," particularly in the sense of a person to whom one goes when seeking refuge. The third part, "Vidyā," means "wisdom," while the fourth part, "rāja," means "king."² His full name can be rendered variously into English, but "Lord Immovable, the King of Wisdom" is the form I find most euphonious.³

"Acalanātha" is often explained as being an epithet of the great Indian deity Śiva.⁴ Indeed, it is suggestively similar to the epithet "Acaleśvara" given to Śiva in a temple located in the south Indian city of Tiruvarur. "Acaleśvara" is composed of "acala" (again immovable) and "īśvara," another term which can be translated by "lord." In his *Tamil Temple Myths*, Shulman cites the following story in explanation of Śiva's epithet "Acaleśvara":

King Camatkāra performed *tapas* and, when Śiva appeared to him, begged him to be present forever in the holy site. The god said he would remain, immovable, in that place. . . . The king set up a *liṅga*, and a voice from heaven announced: "I will dwell eternally in this *liṅga*; even its shadow will never move." So it happened: the shadow of the Acaleśvara-*liṅga* is ever stationary. Only he who is to die within six months is unable to perceive this marvel.⁵

Shulman comments that "Even the shadow of the god is frozen in place, while the miracle is made secure by terror—he who doubts it will die!"⁶

This local tale connects with the widespread motif of Śiva as Sthānu, the unmoving pillar. Brahman, the creator god of Indian mythology, desired to create mortals, but was unable to do so. Brahman then directed Rudra (an older name for Śiva) to create mortals for him. However, as Kramrisch expresses it, Rudra "is the prototypal ascetic, and would not think of carnal progeny. He is also Śiva, the compassionate god, who wants to prevent the imperfections and suffering of the human condition." So Rudra refuses to create mortals and "the world thus was at a standstill."⁷ The unmoving, unchanging pillar is the erect phallus of Śiva retaining the semen which would otherwise create suffering mortals:

In his pillar shape Rudra restores the unspent wholeness of the Uncreate. His seed and his breath are held. The fire seed of creation and the breath of life are held within his motionless shape.⁸

The Indo-European background of Indian religion suggests that there are links between this eternally ithyphallic yogi and the ithyphallic deities of Greece and Rome, such as Hermes. Hermes often appears as a pillar known as a "herm". This is itself an ithyphallic form concerning which Karl Kerényi says "In the Herms the masculine aspect of the life-source does not appear as blossoming in the child, nor as unfolding in the classical Hermes image; it appears rather as congealed in its kernel."¹⁰ As pointed out by O'Flaherty, however, this tension is ambiguous:

The yogi here gathers up his creative powers, retaining the promise of procreation in the form of the erect phallus, the embodiment of creative *tapas*. The raised *liṅga* is the plastic expression of the belief that love and death, ecstasy and asceticism, are basically related.¹¹

The yogi's retention of his creative power works to heighten his creative potential. Existing between life and death, Śiva as the unmoving phallic pillar may be described as liminal, in the sense that term is used by Turner. Although not liminal in exactly the same ways, Hermes is also a liminal, ambiguous figure. His connection with journeys and boundaries, his function as guide to the souls of the dead, and his role as messenger of the gods all exemplify the liminal quality of Hermes.

Similarities between the cultic practices associated with Śiva's *liṅga* and cultic practices directed to the Herm also link the eternally ithyphallic yogi with the ithyphallic Hermes. Discussing the Minoan background to Greek religion, Burkert mentions the use of stone pillars to mark the sacred center and comments that "the *Odyssey* describes the stone glistening with oil."¹² The *liṅga* of Śiva is also worshipped with offerings of water, milk and oil, which are poured onto the *liṅga* itself.¹³

Moving forward in time from the Indo-European background of Indian religion of the medie-

val development of Tantra in India, this image of Śiva "still as a pillar, his organ of procreation itself motionless and pointing upward as a sign of the semen drawn upward, contained, consumed or transubstantiated within the body"¹⁴ may well have served as a model for the Hindu Tantric practices of semen retention while in sexual union. Again, the ambiguity of asceticism and eroticism: "The yogi causes his seed to rise to his head, where it becomes Soma."¹⁵ The denial of sexual pleasure in the form of release, leads to the attainment of a higher, spiritual form of pleasure. O'Flaherty notes, however, that seminal retention "may be considered a manifestation of yogic chastity, but Śiva's raised *liṅga* is symbolic of the power to spill the seed as well as to retain it."¹⁶ Thus, while the symbolism of Śiva as the eternally ithyphallic pillar may have contributed to the development of Hindu Tantric practices, it would be a mistake to read those practices back onto the myths of Śiva.

Examining this single epithet of Śiva as the Immovable Lord, symbolized concretely by the cult of the *liṅga*, and resting on the mythic concept of Śiva as withholding his creative energies, opens a wide range of symbolic meaning behind the figure of Fudō. Epithets alone, though, are not enough to establish a connection between Fudō and Śiva. In addition, however, there are iconographic links between the two deities.

Śiva has a very complex iconography resulting from his wide popularity and long history in Indian religion. Three aspects of that iconography in particular are shared with Fudō. The first is the serpent. According to Danielou, the snake is symbolic here of "the basic dormant energy, akin to the sexual power, which is coiled at the base of the spinal cord. . . . called Kuṇḍalinī (the coiled), the serpent power."¹⁷ Śiva's phallus, the *liṅga*, is in some cases portrayed as being encircled by a snake. While Fudō is not portrayed as ithyphallic, he is often portrayed holding a sword—which may be interpreted as having the same symbolic significance as an erect phallus—around which is coiled a snake or dragon.

The second iconographic aspect of Śiva which links him with Fudō is the snare which they both carry. In Sanskrit this is known as *pāśa* and is often translated as “noose” or “lasso”.¹⁸ In the case of Fudō, this is often shown as a length of rope with a metal ring on one end and a weight on the other. The weight is passed through the ring to form a loop. Tossed over one who is attempting to flee from the frightening appearance of Fudō, the noose would pull tight.¹⁹ The snare may point to pre-Vedic, indigenous Indic religious influences on the figure of Śiva, since a cursory survey fails to reveal any use of this weapon by Greek deities.

The third, and perhaps most suggestive, of the three iconographic links between Śiva and Fudō is fire. Fudō is described—and usually pictured—as residing in “The Fire Producing Samādhi.”²⁰ This is represented in paintings, drawings and statues of Fudō as a aura of flames which surround his body. The flames are understood as burning away all of one’s delusions, *kleśas*, thus purifying one’s consciousness and revealing innate enlightenment. In the Shingon fire sacrifice, the practitioner visualizes Fudō: “His entire body emits flames, burning away every kind of obscuration and affliction of oneself and others throughout the whole of the Dharmadhātu.”²¹

Śiva also produces a purifying fire, one which cleanses on a cosmic scale: “The universe is periodically burnt by the doomsday fire and reduced to ashes, the seed of fire.”²² This purifying fire is the destructive manifestation of the internal heat (*tapas*) produced by Śiva’s yogic austerities.²³ When *tapas* becomes intense enough it may break forth in the form of destructive fire, *tejas*. O’Flaherty sees the imagery of Śiva as entailing a balance between the extremes of total yogic absorption, which destroys the world because Śiva withdraws his energy from the universe, and the uncontrolled outbreak of sexuality, which is destructive of the world as well. “There is a careful balance between the two extremes which shifts from moment to moment, constantly controlled, as the balance between the sexual and ascetic powers

of the yogi must be constantly readjusted with the microcosm of his body.”²⁴ The imagery of Fudō displays the same balance. Immovably seated on Mt. Meru, Fudō is surrounded by the “garuda-headed”²⁵ flames produced by his concentrative absorption, *samādhi*.

Epithets and imagery both serve to link the Tantric Buddhist figure of Fudō to the Indian deity Śiva. While further research may add to our knowledge of the details of the link between Fudō and Śiva, the concept of yogic immobility as the retention of creative energies which produces a purifying fire conducive to insight certainly seems to have been the significant content which was being borrowed from the figure of Śiva and introduced into Buddhist Tantra in the figure of Fudō Myōō.

FUDŌ IN THE BUDDHIST LITERATURE

According to Sawa Takaaki:

The first mention of Fudō is made in the *Fukukenjaku-kyo*, where he is described as a messenger of the Buddhas. He does not receive the designation of Myō-o, or King of Light (sic), until his appearance in the *Dainichi-kyo*. Later, however, a sutra devoted solely to Fudō Myō-o was composed.²⁶

The *Fukūkenjaku-kyō* referred to by Sawa is known in Sanskrit as the *Amogha pāśa kalpa rāja sūtra* (T. 1092, K. 287) which was translated by Bodhiruci in A.D. 707. According to Inagaki, “This sutra expounds the spells, method of recitation, maṇḍala, merit” and so forth of a form of Kannon Bodhisattva known as Fukūkenjaku Kannon, Amoghapāśā-āvalokiteśvara in Sanskrit, or “the Avalokiteśvara of the Unfailing Fishing Line” in English. This form of Kannon “carries a fishing line with which to bring men safely to the bank of enlightenment.”²⁷ Here the *pāśa* which both Fudō and Śiva carry is also carried by Kannon, though interpreted as a fishing line. A sūtra whose central figure is a *pāśa*-carrying Kannon would be a natural point of entry for the *pāśa*-carrying Śiva in

the Buddhist form of Fudō.²⁴

The second sūtra mentioned by Sawa is the famous *Dai Nichi Kyō*, or *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (T. 848, K. 427) which was first translated by Śubhākarasiṃha and his disciple I-hsing in A.D. 725, and was then retranslated by Vajrabodhi (T. 849). Fudō appears in the third chapter, which Tajima summarizes in his *Étude sur le Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, saying:

When a maṇḍala is going to be used to celebrate *abhiṣeka* (initiation, RKP), it often happens that, despite everything, there are all sorts of obstacles present. These are of two kinds: spiritual and meteorological. Among the spiritual obstacles, the principal is agitation in the heart of the practitioner. The sutra says: "The obstacles arise in our own heart: it is the consequence of our greed in the past; for the expulsion of the causes (of the obstacles), one should concentrate on the Heart of Bodhi (Bodhicitta, RKP)," and one should invoke Acalaśāstra (Fudō Myōō), who personifies the firmness of the heart of Bodhi. The meteorological obstacles are the inconvenience of rain, wind, etc. Since in the past the *abhiṣeka* was celebrated in the open air, these obstacles were not always avoidable.²⁵

In his *Deux Grands Maṇḍalas*, Tajima quotes the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, which describes Fudō as the:

servant to the Tathāgata; he holds the "sword of wisdom" and the *pāśa* (snare). His hair hangs to his left shoulder; one eye is somewhat squinted, its look fixed; the intense flames shooting out with violence from his body inspire a sacred awe; he is seated on a large rock; on his forehead are wrinkles like the waves on the ocean; he is a young boy with a stout body.²⁶

While Sawa says that later "a sutra devoted solely to Fudō Myō-o was composed," there are seven sūtras which are either devoted solely to

Fudō, or in which he takes such a major role as to appear in the title. (Details of these appear in the Appendix.) The seven sūtras are all practice oriented, teaching recitation practices, *dhāraṇīs*, and rituals, e.g., those for the protection and pacification of the state. The existence of so many sūtras concerned with the cult of Fudō would seem to indicate that the cult was fairly well-developed in India.

Alicia Matsunaga also mentions the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra of Benevolent Kings Recitation Manual* (*Ninnō Gokoku Hannya Haramitakyō Dōjō Nenjugiki*, T. 994, K. 1342) as an important source of knowledge concerning Fudō in Japan.²⁷ There are maṇḍalas associated with this sūtra which portray Fudō seated, holding a dharmacakra in his right hand, rather than the more familiar snare.²⁸

Fudō can also be identified with the Tantric deity Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa. The meaning of this name is explained in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*: "Caṇḍa means one who is very violent and he is said to be very wrathful. He is known as being wrathful because he devastates all evil ones with his anger."²⁹ The Tantra describes Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa as follows:

In his right fist he holds a sword, and in his left he holds a noose. Threatening with the forefinger and pressing the lower lip with the teeth, he kicks with his right foot, crushing the Four Demons.

With his left knee placed on the ground, squint-eyed, and with a dreadful face, he threatens the earth, with his left knee placed on front.

Having a blue crown adorned with Akṣobhya, and a jewelled head ornament, he is a youth with five knots of hair, decorated with all ornaments.

He has the form of a sixteen-year-old, with two red, far-reaching eyes. He (i.e., the practitioner, RKP) should meditate with resolute mind: "I am the Perfected One, Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa."³⁴

The identity of Fudō and Caṇḍamahāro-ṣaṇa is established not only by iconographic similarities, but is confirmed by the mantra which in the Shingon tradition is the one most commonly employed to evoke Fudō: "Namaḥ samanta vajrāṇāṃ caṇḍamahāroṣaṇasphoṭāya hūṃ traḥ hām māṃ." This has been translated by Taisen Miyata as "Homage to all the deities of Vajra Rank! The Great Fierce One. Destroy any evil enemies totally! Exterminate any defilements! Hām Mām!"³⁵ Fudō is addressed in this mantra as Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, the Great Fierce One.

A final bit of evidence is provided by Tibetan common usage. Christopher S. George tells us that "the popular Tibetan name for . . . the deity is *Mi g-yo ba* (*Acala*) instead of *Gtum po khro bo chen po* (*Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*)."³⁶ Future study of Fudō within the literature of Buddhism will require awareness of this dual identity.³⁷

The *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* is one of the earliest Buddhist tantras and Fudō's presence there indicates how early he was integrated into the Tantric Buddhist pantheon. Dating the origin of the Buddhist Tantras is still obscure—particularly the earliest texts, such as the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*.³⁸ The development of the cult of Fudō, as indicated by the seven texts, has not been considered thus far in the relative dating of the early Tantric texts, although more work is required before definitive assertions are possible, the development of the cult of Fudō, which probably occurs between the time of the writing of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and its translation into Chinese (which virtually coincides with the translation of the seven texts), may push the date of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* back by as much as an additional century. The date and extent of the cult of Fudō in medieval

Buddhist India is uncertain. What is much more certain, however, is the location of the cult's origin.

SOUTH INDIAN ORIGINS

The Shingon tradition concerning the lineage of its patriarchs claims that Mahāvairocana Buddha proclaimed both the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. Vajrasattva "received the doctrine from the lips of the Tathāgata and, on his order, recorded and deposited it in an 'iron stupa' in South India; and he waits until it can be revealed to humans capable of receiving it."³⁹

This South Indian origin is accepted by A.K. Warder in his attempt to delineate the whole history of Buddhism in India. Surveying the traditions associated with the various tantras, Warder hypothesizes four periods of development. The first of these four is in South India, probably in Āndhra, "that great creative centre of Mahāyāna movements," or perhaps in the city of Kāliṅga.⁴⁰

The association of Fudō with Śiva, particularly with the epithet "Acaleśvara" from south India, would seem to support this tradition. Perhaps even the fact that Fudō's skin is black and his hair curly, so as to form waves, may associate Fudō with the Tamil population of South India. The translation of five of the seven texts devoted to Fudō mentioned previously has been attributed to Amoghavajra. His biography tells us that he travelled from China to Sri Lanka and South India, where "He sought everywhere for the scriptures of the Esoteric Sect and (obtained) more than five hundred sutras and commentaries."⁴¹ It is certainly a strong possibility that the Fudō texts were part of Amoghavajra's collection. Finally, while this will require further research, the snare which both Fudō and Śiva hold may point to a background from traditions indigenous to India, those traditions which had been pushed south by the Aryan nomads.

Fudō may well, then, have been "born" in South India, out of the religious matrix which pro-

duced both Buddhist Tantra and South Indian Śaivite Tantra. Fudō's function as intermediary between practitioners and the Buddhas⁴² may reflect a Buddhist attempt to locate the highest deity of a competing tradition, i.e., Śiva, in a position subservient to the Buddhas, thus demonstrating the superiority of Buddhist Tantra to Śaivite.

As noted above, further research may alter the picture sketched out here. However, the symbolic significance of Fudō as embodying yogic control and the implications of the development of an Indian cult of Fudō for our knowledge of the early history of Buddhist Tantra do seem to be worthwhile reasons for continuing to examine the Immovable King of Wisdom.

APPENDIX

The English versions of the titles given here are intended only as suggestive, not definitive.

1. *The Vajrapani Brilliant Initiation Sutra, Fascicule Teaching the Supreme Mudrā of the Holy Unmoving Deity, the Great Majestic Wrathful King's Recitation Ritual: Kongōshu Komyō Kanjōkyō Saishō Ryūin Shōmudōson Daiinū Nenju Giki Hō Bon*, known more briefly as the Fudō Ryūin Ki, (T. 1199, K. 1376), translation attributed to Amoghavajra, between A.D. 720 and 774.

2. *The Teaching of the Trisamaya Immoveable Deity, the Majestic Wrathful King Messenger's Recitation: Chirisammaya Fudōson Inuō Shisha Nenju Hō*, known more briefly as the *Inuō Shisha Nenju Hō*, and in Sanskrit as the *Trisamayārāja*, one volume in the Chinese translation (T. 1200, K. 1285), translation attributed to Amoghavajra.

3. *The Esoteric Teaching of the Trisamaya Immoveable Deity Sage's Recitation: Chirisammaya Fudōson Shōjan Nenju Himitsu Hō*, also known in Sanskrit as the *Trisamayārāja*, but running to three volumes in the Chinese translation (T.

1201, no Korean), translation attributed to Amoghavajra.

4. *The Esoteric Teaching of the Immoveable messenger's Dhāraṇi: Fudō Shisha Darani Himitsu Hō* (T. 1202, K. 1272), translation attributed by Muitsu, and the Taisho and Hobogirin catalogues to Vajrabodhi, between 731 and 736, while the Korean catalogue attributes it to Amoghavajra.

5. *The Holy Unmoving Deity's Ritual for Preserving and Pacifying the State: Shōmudōson Anchin Kekokuto Hō* (T. 1203, no Korean), Muitsu attributes the translation to Vajrabodhi, although the Taisho and Hobogirin catalogues make no attribution.

6. *The Secret Teaching of the Holy Unmoving Deity's Production of the Eight Great Children from One Syllable: Shōmudōson Ichiji Shushhō Hachi Daidōji Hiyōho Bon* (T. 1204, no Korean), translation attributed with reservations to Amoghavajra by the Hobogirin catalogue.

7. *The Esoteric Realization Ritual of the Victorious Immoveable King of Wisdom's Forty-Eight Messengers: Shōgun Fudō Myōō Shijūhachi Shisha Himitsu Jōju Giki* (T. 1205, no Korean), translation attributed to Amoghavajra and Henchi.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a discussion of Fudō in Japanese literature see my "Standing Fast: Fudō Myōō in Japanese Literature," *Pacific World*, n.s., no. 3 (Fall 1987), p. 53-58.

2. Perhaps it is the redundancy of "lord" (*nātha*) and "king" (*rāja*) which has led to the deletion of the "nātha" portion from Fudō's Japanese name.

3. The Chinese characters for Myōō are "bright" and "king" which has led to Fudō's title being translated as "Bright King" or "King of Brightness". However, the first character, "myō," is in this case an abbreviation for "myōshu," meaning "vidyā".

4. Mikkyō Gakkai, *Sōran Fudō Myōō*, p. 166; Daihōrin Henshu Buhen, *Fudō Sama*

Nyumon, p. 6 (cites the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* as authority for the assertion that "Acalanātha" is an epithet of Śiva, but does not give any section number); *Mikkyō Jiten*, s.v. "Fudō Myōō".

5. David Dean Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myths*, p. 50. *Tapas* denotes yogic austerities, while *linga* is the phallic symbol of Śiva.

6. *Ibid.*

7. "In the Vedas the word *śiva*, meaning 'auspicious,' is used only as an epithet of Rudra. This epithet later, in common usage, replaced the name of Rudra" (Alain Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism*, p. 188, n. 1).

8. Stella Kramrisch, *The Presence of Śiva*, p. 118.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

10. Karl Kerényi, *Hermes, Guide of Souls*, p. 66.

11. Wendy O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva*, p. 10.

12. Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, p. 39.

13. Heinrich Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, p. 23; and Shulman, *Tamil Myths*, p. 96.

14. Kramrisch, *Śiva*, p. 120.

15. O'Flaherty, *Mythology of Śiva*, p. 277.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

17. Alain Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism*, p. 217.

18. See for example, Danielou, *Polytheism*, p. 218; and Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 35.

19. There are a variety of forms shown for the snare. In some cases it is simply a length of rope, while in other cases it is shown as weighted at both ends.

20. Michel Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," p. 428-9. See *ibid.* for a discussion of internal fire visualizations.

21. Iwahara Taishin, *Private Directions for the Śāntika Homa, Offered to Acala*, p. 61.

22. *Śiva Purāṇa* 7.28.3-19; quoted in O'Flaherty, *Mythology of Śiva*, p. 287. This purgative fire may be understood to be symbolically similar to the alchemical process of *calcinatio*

which, according to Henderson, "has a purging or purifying effect" (p. 44). Henderson himself suggests a symbolic link between this purifying alchemical fire and the fire which Śiva produces at the end of time to destroy the created universe (p. 39). The product of the alchemical *calcinatio* is "a fine, dry powder" (Henderson, p. 17), similar to the ashes produced by the doomsday fire.

23. Although fire can symbolize many different things, e.g., anger and death, the alchemical fire of *calcinatio* which burns off impurities is interpreted by Henderson as deriving from sexuality, or more generally from the frustration produced by not immediately fulfilling desires. The "purging or purifying effect" of this fire is important for psycho-spiritual growth—the exercise of will over the desires, i.e., sublimation. "Such an ordeal of frustrated desire is a characteristic feature of the developmental process" (Henderson, *Anatomy of the Psyche*, p. 22). The psychological symbolism of fire as representing a process of destruction preparatory to new growth and its manifestation in yoga and alchemy is worthy of further study.

24. O'Flaherty, *Mythology of Śiva*, p. 286.

25. Strickmann, "Homa," p. 430.

26. Sawa Takaaki, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, p. 148.

27. Inagaki, Hisao, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms*, s.v. "Fukūkensaku Kannon and Fukūkensaku-kyō" (note alternate pronunciation).

28. Kiyota suggests that the *Amoghapāśa Sūtra* forms a link between the *Mahāvairocana* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha* sūtras on the grounds that the *Tattvasaṃgraha* is modeled on the *Amoghapāśa*, while the *Amoghapāśa* refers in turn back to the *Mahāvairocana* (Minoru Kiyota, *Shingon Buddhism*, p. 23). If Kiyota is correct, this would reverse the temporal sequence implied by Sawa.

29. Tajima Ryūjun, *Étude sur le Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, p. 116.

30. Tajima Ryūjun, *Deux Grands Maṇḍalas*, p. 84.

31. Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Phi-*

osophy of Assimilation, p. 248. Conze gives the following, fuller, English title for the sutra: *Rules on the Places of Worship and the Chanting of the Liturgies of the Ninnō* (Edward Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, p. 88). Note: Fudō does not appear in *The Sutra on Perfect Wisdom which Explains How Benevolent Kings May Protect Their Countries* (T. 245, translation by Kumārajīva; T. 246, translation by Amoghavajra) translated into English by Edward Conze (*The Short Prajñāpāramitā Texts*, pp. 165-183). This would suggest that the cult of Fudō had developed significantly between the time that the Sūtra itself was written and the time the Recitation Manual which Matsunaga cites was written.

32. Kyoto National Museum, *The Iconography of Fudō Myōō*, pls. 30 and 31.

33. Christopher S. George, *The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, p. 44, n. 1.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

35. Miyata Taisen, *A Study of the Ritual Mudrās in the Shingon Tradition*, p. 88.

36. George, *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*, p. 14.

37. In tracing connections it may be of import to note that in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, Fudo is associated with Akṣobhya, rather than with Mahāvairocana as he is in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*.

38. For a discussion of the dating of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, see my "Reflected Dawn."

39. Tajima, *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, p. 21 (my translation).

40. A. K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 487.

41. Chou Yi-liang, "Tantrism in China," p. 291.

42. Fudō "was thought to serve willingly as a messenger for his believers in response to their requests" (Kyoto National Museum, *Iconography*, p. 315).

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