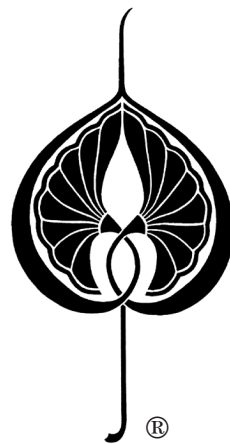


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Notes on Some Sanskrit Texts Brought Back to Japan by Kūkai*

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It is a well-known fact that Kūkai 空海 (774–835), the founder of the Shingon 眞言 sect of Japanese Buddhism, studied Sanskrit during his two-year sojourn in Tang China (804–806), although the probable level of his proficiency has been the subject of some debate. It is also evident from the catalogue of texts and other items that he brought with him from China (*Go-shōrai mokuroku* 御請來目錄), submitted to the imperial court in late 806, that the scriptural texts he brought back to Japan included textbooks on Sanskrit phonetics and the Sanskrit syllabary, and forty-two Sanskrit texts written in the Siddhamāṭṛkā (or Siddham) script.¹ In addition, the thirty notebooks of texts that he either himself copied or had other people copy for him while in China (*Sanjūjō sasshi* 三十帖冊子, or *Sanjūjō sakushi* 三十帖策子) also contain a considerable amount of Sanskrit material likewise written in the Siddhamāṭṛkā script. Moreover, before Kūkai's departure for Japan, the monk Prajña,² one of two Indian masters (the other being Muniśrī) whom he mentions by name as his teachers in Sanskrit and Brahmanical philosophy, entrusted Kūkai not only with copies of his own Chinese translations of several Buddhist scriptures but also with three Sanskrit manuscripts.³

The fate of these last three Sanskrit manuscripts is not known, but the other Sanskrit texts and the *Sanjūjō sasshi* have by and large survived down to the present day in one form or another. Given the existence of this sizeable body of Sanskrit material dating from the early ninth century, one would expect that it would have been subjected to careful scrutiny by past scholars. It turns out, however, that there has been surprisingly little textual research on this corpus. While I had long been vaguely aware of the existence of this material, I first took a serious interest in it when I discovered that the *Qianbo Wenshu yibaiba mingzan* 千鉢文殊一百八名讚 (T. 1177B), one of the forty-two Sanskrit texts brought back by Kūkai, tallied with the greater part of a text

preserved in Tibetan translation.⁴ The fact that this had not previously been noticed prompted me to take a closer look at other Sanskrit materials brought back by Kūkai, and I present some of my findings in this article.

As already noted, most of the Sanskrit material brought back by Kūkai is found either scattered throughout the thirty notebooks making up the *Sanjūjō sasshi* or in the form of the Sanskrit texts recorded in the *Go-shōrai mokuroku*. Full facsimile sets of the former have been produced twice during the past century,⁵ and some of the works contained in these notebooks were used as textual witnesses when the Taishō canon was edited. But the greatest interest in them seems to have been evinced by calligraphers owing to the fact that parts of them are believed to be in the hand of Kūkai and Tachibana no Hayanari 橘逸勢 (d. 842), regarded as two of the three most outstanding calligraphers of the early Heian period.⁶ These notebooks, however, are far too voluminous to take up in a short study.

The fate of the originals of the forty-two Sanskrit texts, meanwhile, is unclear, although it is known that copies were made over the centuries, and in the early twentieth century the Shingon scholar-monk Hase Hōshū 長谷寶秀 (1869–1948) managed to locate thirty-nine of them, which he then hand-copied and published together with a reproduction of a 1734 block print of the fortieth (a Sanskrit syllabary) in two volumes.⁷ It is some of the Sanskrit texts contained in these two volumes that I wish to examine here.

Regarding the provenance of the texts reproduced in his two-volume work, Hase writes that thirty-one of them were copied from manuscripts held by the treasure house of the Mieidō 御影堂 chapel in the Tōji 東寺 temple complex in Kyoto.⁸ These manuscripts are said to have been copied between 1341 (Ryakuō 曆應 4) and 1345 (Jōwa 貞和 1), when a total of 216 texts in 461 fascicles brought back to Japan by Kūkai were borrowed by Tōji from Ninnaji 仁和寺 and copied at the instigation of the monk Gōhō 杲寶 (1306–1362). Hase discovered a further five texts (nos. 20, 32, 37, 38, and 39)⁹ among the Siddhamātrkā manuscripts, originally from Kongōzanmai'in 金剛三昧院 on Mt. Kōya, which at the time were in the custody of Kōyasan University Library; these are said to have been copied from 1232 (Jōei 貞永 1) to 1233 (Tenpuku 天福 1). Three further texts (nos. 4, 28, and 34) were found to be included in the *Bongaku shinryō* 梵學津梁, a voluminous study of Sanskrit by Jiun Onkō 慈雲飲光 (1718–1804) held in manuscript form

at Kōkiji 高貴寺.¹⁰ Hase hand-copied these thirty-nine texts and added the above-mentioned woodblock print (no. 42), and while he was unable to locate manuscripts of two final texts (nos. 8 and 10), he published the forty texts in 1938, thereby making them generally available for the first time (apart from several that had been reproduced from a variety of sources in the Taishō canon).

A survey of the forty texts reproduced by Hase has been published by Kodama Giryū and Noguchi Keiya,¹¹ and this presumably provides a reliable indication of the state of research at the time of its publication in 1998. While most of these Sanskrit texts have been identified, there are some that, although previously identified, leave scope for further elaboration; and there are others, hitherto unidentified, that either I have managed to identify or are, I believe, worth bringing to the notice of others who may be able to identify them. It is some texts from these two groups that are the focus of the following remarks.

More specifically, I take up five texts (in the order in which they are listed by Kūkai in his *Go-shōrai mokuroku* and reproduced by Hase): (1) a mantra of Amṛtakunḍalin; (2) a text titled “Eulogy of the Vajras of the Gem Family,” which consists of four separate texts, one of them being a passage from the start of Part II of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*; (3) a eulogy of Cundā; (4) an unidentified 108-name eulogy; and (5) a eulogy of Avalokiteśvara. The most notable of these is perhaps the excerpt from Part II of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*, and I still find it surprising, if not improbable, that its presence among Kūkai’s Sanskrit texts has not been previously remarked upon (unless some reference to it has escaped my notice). Because there is little information available in English on the Sanskrit texts brought back by Kūkai, a full list of them is given in an Appendix with brief comments on their content.

As has already been indicated, the texts dealt with below are copies at several removes from those originally brought back to Japan by Kūkai, and their reliability as textual witnesses has undoubtedly suffered in the course of their transmission. Moreover, in many cases more than one manuscript copy of the text is known to exist. It should therefore be borne in mind that in the following I deal with witnesses from just one set of copies. Hase himself collated the manuscripts of several texts he found in both the Mieidō treasure house and the Kōyasan University Library, and his original notes have been reproduced in volume 5 of his collected works.¹² But his notes on variant readings are confined to only three texts (nos. 1, 3, and 5) and do not cover the works taken up here.

If other extant manuscript copies of these texts were made more generally accessible (in addition to those reproduced in the Taishō canon and in the *Bonji kichō shiryō shūsei*, a collection of photofacsimile reproductions of valuable Sanskrit materials preserved in Japan, most, but not all, written in the Siddhamātrkā script),¹³ it would become possible to collate multiple witnesses of the same text and thereby perhaps resolve some of the textual uncertainties highlighted below. Since at the present time this is still impossible, the present study offers only some preliminary observations on these texts.

For each of the texts discussed below, the original title is given in romanized Japanese and Chinese characters with an English translation, followed in parentheses by the text's number in the appended list. The diplomatic transcription is provided in roman type (with the page numbers of Hase's text inserted within square brackets) and the reconstructed text in italics, and these are followed by an English translation and brief remarks on the text. Interlinear glosses in the original texts, usually suggesting alternative readings and presumably added by a later copyist, are given inside braces ({}) immediately after the *akṣara* alongside which they have been added, but the occasional Chinese character that seems to have been added interlinearly as a phonetic gloss has been omitted. In addition, superfluous *akṣaras* presumably due to scribal error have been enclosed in angle brackets; graphic elements whose identification is uncertain are enclosed in parentheses; and a lowercase "x" represents one totally illegible *akṣara*. There remain some passages that have defied all attempts to restore to their putative original form; these have been marked with crux marks (†) in the reconstructed text.

1. SENPI KANRO GUNDARI SHINGON 千臂甘露軍荼利真言
MANTRA OF THOUSAND-ARMED AMṚTAKUṆḌALIN (NO. 11)

Sanskrit Text

[327] kuṇḍalidharani

◡ namo ratnatrayāya | namaḥś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye | mahāyakṣa-
senāpataye | namo vajrakrodhāya | daṃṣṭrotkaṭābhairavāya | tad yathā
om | amṛtakuṇḍali | tiṣṭha | bandha 2 | hana 2 | garja 2 | visphoṭaya 2 |
sarvaviḅnavināyakāṃ | mahāgaṇapatiḅvitatāṃta | karāya [328] | svāhā ||
ārya amṛtaku<ḍa>ṇḍalivināyakabandhadhāraṇī || ◎ ◎ ||
śākyabhikṣu prajñakīṭti likhi ||

kuṇḍalidhāraṇī

*namo ratnatrayāya | namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye |
namo vajrakrodhāya daṃṣṭrotkaṭabhairavāya | tad yathā | oṃ amṛtakunḍali
tiṣṭha [tiṣṭha] bandha bandha hana hana garja garja visphoṭaya visphoṭaya
sarvaviḡnavināyakān | mahāgaṇapatijīvitāntakarāya | svāhā ||*

āryāmṛtakunḍalivināyakabandhadhāraṇī ||

śākyabhikṣuḥ prajñākīrtir likhī^a ||

^aCf. BHS, §32.17.¹⁴

English Translation

Dhāraṇī of [Amṛta]kuṇḍalin

Homage to the Three Jewels! Homage to Violent Vajrapāṇi, great general of the yakṣas! Homage to the Adamantine Wrathful One, terrifying with enormous tusks! [The *dhāraṇī* is] like this: *Oṃ*. O Amṛtakunḍalin! Abide [abide]! Bind, bind! Slay, slay! Roar, roar! Rend asunder, rend asunder all obstructions and obstructive demons! [Homage] to you who put an end to the life of the Great Lord of [Śiva's] Hosts! *Svāhā!*

Dhāraṇī of the Noble Amṛtakunḍalin for Binding Obstructive Demons.

The Buddhist monk Prajñākīrti copied [this].

Remarks

According to Kodama and Noguchi,¹⁵ this mantra (or, according to the text itself, *dhāraṇī*) has points in common with a mantra in the *Ganlu juntuli pusa gongyang niansong chengjiu yigui* 甘露軍荼利菩薩供養念誦成就儀軌 (T.1211.21:48c). But there is no mantra at this location, and this is perhaps an error for the mantra at T.1211.21:48a24–28, which does indeed have some similarities with our text but is not identical.¹⁶ The above mantra is best regarded as a variant of Amṛtakunḍalin's mantra, given as follows in the *Susiddhikara-sūtra* (*Suxidijieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯羅經): *namo ratnatrayāya, namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye, [namo vajrakrodhāya daṃṣṭrotkaṭabhairavāya asimusalaparaśūpāsahastāya,] oṃ amṛtakunḍali kha kha [kha kha] khāhi khāhi tiṣṭha tiṣṭha bandha bandha hana hana garja [vigarja] visphoṭaya visphoṭaya sarvaviḡnavināyakān mahāgaṇapatijīvitāntakarāya hūṃ phaṭ svāhā* (T.893.18:604a27–b4, 616b12–21; cf. 635a10–17).¹⁷ Another version of this mantra is included in Siddhamāṭṛkā script in notebook no. 27 of the *Sanjūjō sasshi*,¹⁸ and similar versions of this mantra are also found, for example, in the *Suxidijieluo gongyang fa* 蘇悉地羯羅供養法, a ritual manual based on the *Susiddhikara-sūtra* (T.894.18:693c18–694a4,

706a20–b16); in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*¹⁹ (*Yiqie rulai jingang sanye zuishang bimi dajiaowang jing* 一切如來金剛三業最上祕密大教王經 [T.885.18:489b5–16]); in the *Māyājāla-tantra* (*Yuqie dajiaowang jing* 瑜伽大教王經 [T.890.18:569c1–10]); in the *Huanhuawang da yuqie jiao shi fennu mingwang daming guanxiang yigui jing* 幻化網大瑜伽教十忿怒明王大明觀想儀軌經, a ritual manual associated with the *Māyājāla-tantra* (T.891.18:584b7–16); in the *Guanzizai dabeichengjiu yuqie lianhuabu niansong famen* 觀自在大悲成就瑜伽蓮華部念誦法門, a ritual manual for Avalokiteśvara (T.1030.20:2a5–12); and in the *Vasudhārādhāraṇī-sūtra*.²⁰ In addition, extended versions are found *inter alia* in the *Susiddhikarasūtra* (T.893.18:638a11–29);²¹ in the **Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha* (*Tuoluoni jijing* 陀羅尼集經 [T.901.18:855b5–27]); in the *Xifang tuoluoni zang zhong jingangzu Amiliduojuntuoli fa* 西方陀羅尼藏中金剛族阿蜜哩多軍吒利法, a ritual manual for Amṛtakunḍalin (T.1212.21:51c10–52a2); and in the *Qianbei juntuoli fanzi zhenyan* 千臂軍荼利梵字真言, a mantra of Amṛtakunḍalin preserved in Siddhamātrkā script (T.1213.21:72b). Further, in the above-mentioned ritual manual based on the *Susiddhikara-sūtra* it is stated that this mantra is used for “binding obstacles” (T.893.18:693c10, 706a12: 結縛諸難; 694a4: 繫縛諸難), and this tallies with the phrase *vināyakabandha* in the end-title of Kūkai’s text.

The colophon informs us that “the Buddhist monk (*śākyabhikṣu*) Prajñākīrti copied [this].”²² Among the Sanskrit texts brought back by Kūkai, this is the only one with a colophon that mentions the name of the copyist, and the reference to a copyist by the name of Prajñākīrti is intriguing.²³ While this is by no means an unusual name for a monk, if it is the name of the person who copied this text for Kūkai, one is tempted to speculate that it may possibly refer to the Indian monk Prajña, under whom Kūkai studied in China.

2. HŌBU KONGŌ SAN (NAKANZUKU NYOIRIN SAN DAIHI SHINGON
YUIMAKITSU SHINGON) 寶部金剛讚 就中如意輪讚大悲真言維摩詰真言
EULOGY OF THE VAJRAS OF THE GEM FAMILY (WITH
EULOGY OF CAKRAVARTICINTĀMAṆI, MANTRA OF GREAT
COMPASSION, AND MANTRA OF VIMALAKĪRTI) (NO. 15)

This text consists of four separate units, and Kodama and Noguchi mention only that a work with the same title is included in the *Bonji kichō shiryō shūsei*.²⁴ This latter publication reproduces two folios of a manuscript of this text held by the Sanmitsuzō 三密藏 storehouse of Hōbodai’in 寶菩提院 (a subtemple of Tōji) and thought to date from

about the twelfth century.²⁵ The folios are the first (as far as *vajraketu na°* in [a] v. 1 below) and another which starts from [*vajra*]hūṃkara *dāmaka* in (a) v. 16 and ends partway through (c) (*satatā pratā pa°*). For these sections we thus have two witnesses.

(a) *Hōbu kongō san* 寶部金剛讚 *Eulogy*
of the *Vajras of the Gem Family*

Sanskrit Text

[349] ॐ atha bhagavattaḥ sarvatathāgatā punaḥ samajam
agamya bhagavattaṃ sarvatathāgatamahācakravarttim anena
nāmāṣṭaśātenādhyāṣitavattaḥ
atha bhagavantaḥ sarvatathāgatāḥ punaḥ samājam āgamya bhagavantaṃ
sarvatathāgatamahācakravartī[na]m anena nāmāṣṭaśātenādhyāṣitavantaḥ ||

vajrasatva mahācakra vajranathā susādhaka
vajrabhīṣeka vajrabha vajraketu namo stu te ||
vajrasattva mahācakra^a vajranātha susādhaka |
vajrābhīṣeka vajrābha vajraketu^b namo 'stu te || [1]

^aSTTS (H. §620): mahāvajra.²⁶

^bSTTS (H. §620): vajraketu (cf. BHS, §12.15).

hasavajra mahādharma vajrakośa mahāvara
sa[350]rvamaṇḍala rajagrya niṣprapaṃca namo stu te ||
hāsavajra mahādharma vajrakośa mahāvara |
sarvamaṇḍala rājāgrya niṣprapaṃca namo 'stu te || [2]

vajrakarma mahārakṣa caṇḍayakṣa mahāgrahā
vajramuṣṭi mahāmudra sarvamudra namo stu te ||
vajrakarma mahārakṣa caṇḍayakṣa mahāgraha |
vajramuṣṭe^a mahāmudra sarvamudra namo 'stu te || [3]

^aSTTS (H. §622): vajramuṣṭi (cf. BHS, §10.34).

bodhicitta mahābodhi buddha sarvatathāgata
vajrajñāna mahājñāna mahāyāna namo stu te ||
bodhicitta mahābodhe buddha sarvatathāgata |
vajrajñāna mahājñāna mahāyāna namo 'stu te || [4]

sarvala sarvatatvortha mahāsatvartha sarvaviti
sarvajña sarvakṛ sarva sarvadarśi namo stu te ||

*sarvārtha sarvatattvārtha mahāsattvārtha sarvavit |
sarvajña sarvakṛt sarva sarvadarśi namo 'stu te || [5]*

[351] *vajratmaka suvajragrya vajravīrya suvajradhṛka
mahāsamaya tatvārtha mahāsatya namo stu te ||
vajrātmaka suvajrāgrya vajravīrya suvajradhṛk |
mahāsamayatattvārtha mahāsatya namo 'stu te || [6]*

*vajraṃkuśa mahākāma surate sumahāprabhah
vajraprabha prābhodyota buddhaprabha namo stu te ||
vajrāṅkuśa mahākāma surate sumahāprabha |
vajraprabha prabhodyota buddhaprabha namo 'stu te || [7]*

*vajrarajagrya vajra vidyāgryagrya narottama |
vajrotnama mahāgryagrya vidyotnama namo stu te ||
vajrarājāgrya vajr[āgry]a vidyāgryāgrya narottama |
vajrottama mahāgryāgrya vidyottama namo 'stu te || [8]*

*vajradhatu mahuguhya vajraguhya suguhyadhṛka
[352] vajrasūkṣma mahādhyāna vajrakarya namo stu te ||
vajradhāto mahāguhya vajraguhya suguhyadhṛk |
vajrasūkṣma mahādhyāna vajrakārya namo 'stu te || [9]*

*būddhagrya buddhavajragrya būddhabodhi mahābūdhaḥ
būddhajñana mahābuddha buddhabuddha namo stu te ||
buddhāgrya buddhavajrāgrya buddhabodhe mahābudha |
buddhajñāna mahābuddha buddhabuddha namo 'stu te || [10]*

*buddhapūja māhapūja satvāpūja sūpūjaka
mahopāya mahāsiddhe vajrasiddhi namo stu te ||
buddhapūja mahāpūja sattvapūja supūjaka |
mahopāya mahāsiddhe vajrasiddhe^a namo 'stu te || [11]*

^aSTTS (H. §630): *vajrasiddhi* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 320, n. 11-3; BHS, §10.34).

*tathāgatamahākarya tathāgatasarasvāte
tathāgatamahācitta vajra 2 namo stu te
tathāgatamahākāya tathāgatasarasvate |
tathāgatamahācitta vajravajra²⁷ namo 'stu te || [12]*

[353] buddhādhīpa jinajñakṛta bu(ḍḍha)ṛte jinigryaja
mahāvairocana vibho śasta śatta raudra namo stu te ||
buddhādhīpa jinājñākṛd buddhapṛita jināgryaja^a |
mahāvairocana²⁸ vibho śastah^b śānta raudra namo 'stu te || [13]

^aSTTS (H. §632): *buddhamitra jināgraja*.

^bSTTS (H. §632): *śāstā* (cf. BHS, §13.31).

tathāgata mahātattva bhūtakoti mahānaya
sarvapāramitājñāna paramā(rtha) namo stu te ||
tathāgata mahātattva bhūtakote mahānaya |
sarpapāramitājñāna paramārtha namo 'stu te || [14]

samatnabhadra caryagrya mara marapramardaka
sarvāgrya samatājñānā sarvatraga namo stu te ||
samatnabhadra caryāgrya mārā mārāpramardaka |
sarpvāgrya samatājñāna sarvatraga namo 'stu te || [15]

[354] buddhahūṃkāra hūṃkāra vajrahūṃkāra dāmaka
viśvavajraṅga vajrogra vajrapāṇi namo namaḥ * :||: ||
buddhahūṃkāra hūṃkāra vajrahūṃkāra^a dāmaka |
viśvavajrāṅga vajrogra vajrapāṇe namo namaḥ^b || [16]

^aSTTS (H. §635): °*hūṃkāra hūṃkāra °hūṃkāra*.

^bSTTS (H. §635): *namo 'stu te*.

Remarks

The explanatory comments in the *Bonji kichō shiryō shūsei* merely give a brief explanation of the Gem Family and state that the Vajras of the Gem Family are the four attendant bodhisattvas of Ratnasambhava, i.e., Vajratana, Vajrateja, Vajraketu, and Vajrahāsa.²⁹ But an examination of the actual text reveals that it corresponds to the opening section of Chapter 6 (“Trilokavijayamahāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara”) at the start of Part II (“Sarvatathāgatavajrasamayo nāma mahākālparāja”) of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, that is, the greater part of the invocation of Sarvatathāgatamahācakravartin (i.e., Vajrapāṇi) with 108 names (*nāmāṣṭaśata*) by all the Tathāgatas,³⁰ and it is not directly related to the Gem Family, which is usually associated with Part IV of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*. David Snellgrove writes that this invocation “is scarcely translatable, as almost every word is a name,”³¹ and

although it is no doubt translatable to some extent, it should not be necessary to provide an English translation for our present purposes.³²

While Amoghavajra translated only the first chapter of Part I of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*,³³ it is evident from both his translation and his synopsis³⁴ that his Sanskrit text was similar in content to the two extant Sanskrit manuscripts (with the possible exception of the *Uttara-tantra* and *Uttarottara-tantra*),³⁵ and so the existence of the Sanskrit text of the opening section of Part II at the start of the ninth century is itself perhaps not especially remarkable. But what is surprising is that, notwithstanding the importance of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* as a core text of esoteric Buddhism and the long history of research on all aspects of it in Japan, the existence of this Sanskrit excerpt does not seem to have been remarked upon by scholars in the past, and Horiuchi Kanjin (who edited the Sanskrit text) writes that since Part II of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* was first translated into Chinese during the Song dynasty, Kūkai did not get to see it.³⁶ The existence of this excerpt, however, would suggest that Kūkai did in fact see at least part of the Sanskrit text of Part II. The *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* contains six 108-name eulogies (*nāmāṣṭaśata*), with that at the start of Part II representing the second, and in this connection it may be noted that Kūkai's Sanskrit texts also include the greater part of the first, appearing in Part I of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*.³⁷

Tanaka Kimiaki has noted that the Tibetan translation of a ritual manual based on Part II of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* and found among the Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscripts includes a Tibetan transliteration of the Sanskrit text of this same *nāmāṣṭaśata*.³⁸ He dates this manual to the first half of the ninth century and regards it as a valuable early (albeit fragmentary) witness of the Sanskrit text of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*. Since Kūkai's text presumably predates this manuscript, it may be considered even more valuable in this respect, and if it is indeed the case that it has escaped the notice of scholars, its existence probably deserves to be taken into account when considering the textual history of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*.

(b) *Nyoirin san* 如意輪讚 *Eulogy*
of *Cakravartīcintāmaṇi*

Sanskrit Text

ॐ manehitaiṣiṇe sarvajagaddhitaiṣiṇe yāśa[355]svini
bhurbhuvataikabāndhave

samastavidyadhīpacakrapāṇita (|) namo 'stu te tratāli cakravarttite ||
 †mane†hitaiṣiṇe sarvajagaddhitaiṣiṇe yaśasvine bhūrbhuvanaikabandhave |
 samastavidyādhīpacakrapāṇine namo 'stu te trātari^a cakravartine ||

^aCf. BHS, §13.33.

English Translation

To you who seek (the mind's?) welfare, to you who seek the whole
 world's welfare, to you who are renowned, to you who are
 the sole kinsman of the terrestrial world,
 To you who, among all spell-lords, have a wheel in the hand,
 homage be to you, the protector and wheel-turning one!

Remarks

A similar eulogy, addressed to Cakravartin, is found in Chinese transliteration in three ritual manuals for different forms of Cakravartin: *Jinlunwang foding yaolie niansong fa* 金輪王佛頂要略念誦法 (T.948.19:190a16–21), *Qite zuisheng jinlun foding niansong yigui fayao* 奇特最勝金輪佛頂念誦儀軌法要 (T.949.19:191c18–21), and *Damiao jingang da ganlu junnali yanman chisheng foding jing* 大妙金剛大甘露軍拏利焰鬘熾盛佛頂經 (T.965.19:340c6–11). The wording of all three versions is essentially the same, except that T. 965 adds the salutation *namaḥ sarvajñāya* at the start and repeats *namo 'stu te* at the end, and where Kūkai's text has °*cakrapāṇine*, they all read °*cakramāline*. The other notable point is that they seem to read *manesiṇi* or some similar form (T. 948: 滿寤寧定切引史拏尼整反引; T. 949: 麼禰史膩; T. 965: 麼弩使拏) where Kūkai's text has *manehitaiṣiṇe*, and since this latter form results in two extra syllables if, as would seem to be the case, the meter is *vaṃśasthavila*, the form *manehitaiṣiṇe* may possibly be due to the inadvertent addition of °*hita*°, perhaps influenced by the next word *sarvajagaddhitaiṣiṇe*.

The fact that the three versions of this eulogy preserved in Chinese transliteration are addressed to Cakravartin rather than Cakravartintāmaṇi also raises a question about the appropriateness of the title of Kūkai's text, especially since another of his Sanskrit texts (no. 41) provides a different eulogy of Cakravartintāmaṇi under the title *Eulogy of the Lotus Division*, which is preserved also in Chinese transliteration and can be read as follows:³⁹

kalamukha kamalalocana kamalasana kamalahastā kamala-
 bhāmuni kamala kamalasad{sam}bhava sakalamalakṣalana namo
 stu te ||

*kamalamukha kamalalocana kamalāsana kamalahasta kamalābhamuni
kamala kamalasaṃbhava sakalamalakṣāṇa namo 'stu te ||*
O you who have a face like a lotus! O you who have eyes like lotuses!
O you whose seat is a lotus! O you who have a lotus in your hand!
O sage radiant like a lotus! O lotus! O you who have arisen from a
lotus! O you who wash away all impurities! Homage be to you!

(c) *Daihi shingon* 大悲眞言 *Mantra*
of Great Compassion

Sanskrit Text

◦ jayatu mṛṇālasaṃkhaḥjaṭākeśakalapadharaṃ padmāvaramṅgayāṭa-
ṣṭitrayātetrasahāsrabhujam satatā namaskṛto pi vidyādhara devagane
[356] aham avalokiteśvaragurūṃ satatā pratā padmarāgakamalaṃgam
ūtamaṃ lokanātha bamtva ve sarva śuddha siddham ca ||
oṃ bhuvanapāla rakṣa rakṣa mava svāhā
jayatu mṛṇālaśaṅkhaḥjaṭākeśakalapadharah padmavarāṅgayāṣṭitrayanetra-
sahasrabhujah satataṃ namaskṛto 'pi vidyādhara devagane aham avalo-
kiteśvaragurūṃ satataṃ pra[ṇa]taḥ padmarāgakamalāṅgam uttamaṃ loka-
nātha bandha me sarva[ṇ] śuddha[ṇ] siddham ca ||
oṃ bhuvanapāla rakṣa rakṣa mama svāhā

English Translation

May he who wears a knot of braided hair [adorned with] lotus fibers
and conch shells and has a fine [slender] figure like the stem of a
lotus, three eyes,⁴⁰ and a thousand arms be victorious! Even though I
am always paid homage in the divine company of spell-holders, I am
always bowing down to the best teacher Avalokiteśvara, whose limbs
are [adorned with] ruby-like flowers. O lord of the world, bind for me
everything that is pure and perfect!

Oṃ. O World-protector, guard, guard me! *Svāhā!*

Remarks

The greater part of this text (*jayatu . . . ca*) tallies closely with the
“praises” (*zantan* 讚歎) found in the *Jingangding yuqie qianshou qian-
yan Guanzizai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩
修行儀軌經 (T. 1056), a ritual manual for Sahasrabhujasahasranetra-
Avalokiteśvara translated by Amoghavajra. As is evident from the fol-
lowing reconstruction of the Chinese transliteration (T.20:75c2–11), it
is for the most part identical with Kūkai’s *Siddhamātrkā* text.

惹自攝反野覩 沒哩^{二合鼻聲}拏上引羅餉佉惹^{准上}吒計捨迦羅引跋馱嚩一
鉢娜麼二合嚩嚩引識拽瑟置二合怛囉^{二合}野嚩引怛囉二合娑賀娑囉^{二合}步
簪自合反二 娑怛多 那莫娑訖哩三合妬引糝 尾儂野二合引馱囉禰引
嚩識喃三 阿賀麼上嚩路引枳帝引濕嚩^{二合}囉嚩嚩嚩 娑多上單 鉢囉^二
合拏多入聲四 跋娜麼二合囉引識顛^{寧逸反}麼上藍五 迦引麼上囉引識母答鎗
六 路引迦曩引他 曼馱 銘引七 薩嚩林詩律反 馱 悉地野三合 左八

jayatu mṛṇālaśaṅkhajaṭākeśakalāpadharah^a padmavarāṅgayasṭitraya-
netrasahasrabhujah^b satata[m] namaskṛto 'pi vidyādhara devagaṇe
aham^c avalokiteśvaraguruṃ^d satataṃ pranata[h] padmarāganirmalaṃ
kāmarāgam uttamaṃ lokanātha bandha me sarvasuddha sidhya ca

^aText reads °dharaṃ.

^bText reads °bhujam.

^cText reads °gaṇam aham.

^dText reads °guraṃ.

I have been unable to identify the concluding mantra of Kūkai's text (oṃ bhuvanapāla. . .).

(d) Yuimakitsu darani 維摩詰陀羅尼
Dhāraṇī of Vimalakīrti

Sanskrit Text

namo aryāvimalakīrttisya tad yathā oṃ kīrtitā [357] sarvajinebhir
abhikīrtitā sarvaji va{ne}jra{bhi}bhava vajrabhaidakare svāhā
nama āryavimalakīrtisya^a tad yathā oṃ kīrtita sarvajinebhir^b abhikīrtita
sarvaji[nebhīr] vajra[sam]bhava vajrabhedakara svāhā

^aCf. BHS, §10.78.

^bCf. ibid., §8.110.

English Translation

Homage to the noble Vimalakīrti! [The dhāraṇī is] like this: Oṃ. O you
who are praised by all Victors (i.e., Buddhas)! O you who are much
praised by all Victors! O you who are born of the vajra! O vajra-like dif-
ferentiator! Svāhā!

Remarks

This dhāraṇī has been transliterated, but not identified, by Noguchi.⁴¹ It
turns out to be a truncated version of the dhāraṇī of Vimalakīrti found
in the Wenshushili [fa]baozang tuoluoni jing 文殊師利[法]寶藏陀羅尼經
(T. 1185), a text associated with the Mañjuśrī cult that was translated

by Bodhiruci in 710. The Taishō edition gives the Koryō edition (A) and the Song, Yuan, and Ming editions (B) of this work separately, and as I have discussed elsewhere,⁴² most of its first eighteen *dhāraṇīs* (including that of Vimalakīrti) reappear (but not always in the same order or with the same wording) as a single lengthy *dhāraṇī* in the *Zuishangyi tuoluoni jing* 最上意陀羅尼經 (T. 1408) and *Sheng zuisheng tuoluoni jing* 聖最勝陀羅尼經 (T. 1409), translated by Dānapāla in 989 and 991 respectively. These latter two sūtras are also related to the Mañjuśrī cult; the former is an extended version of the latter, which in turn tallies closely with the *Āryaviśeṣavati-nāma-dhāraṇī* preserved in Tibetan translation (P. nos. 157/497, D. nos. 542/872). For the sake of comparison, and at the risk of going into excessive detail, I shall cite all four versions of Vimalakīrti's *dhāraṇī* found in the above Chinese texts.

T. 1185A (20:793a2–5)

曩莫 阿引哩夜^{二合}尾麼擢吉多曳 冒地薩怛嚩^{二合}野 怛儺也^{二合}
他引 言^a底路 薩嚩爾乃囉底吉底哆 薩嚩爾 嚩日囉^{二合}迦隸
嚩日囉^{二合}婆吠 嚩日囉^{二合}陞娜迦隸 娑嚩^{二合}賀

*nama āryavimalakīrtaye bodhisattvāya tad yathā kīrtita sarvajinair
atikīrtita sarvajī[nair] vajrakare vajra[sam]bhava vajrabhedakare svāhā*

^aRead 吉 for 言.

T. 1185B (20:799b22–26)

南麼 痾^{去聲}哩也微沫羅枳^{去聲}嚩多^{上聲}曳 菩地薩怛嚩野 怛儺他^{去聲}
枳^{去聲}嚩底多^{去聲} 薩囉麼爾寧^{去聲}囉底多^{去聲} 薩囉麼爾寧^{去聲}
嚩日囉羯隸 嚩日囉三^{上聲}婆吠 嚩日囉^引陞諾迦隸 莎訶

*nama āryavimalakīrtaye bodhisattvāya tad yathā kīrtita sarvajinair
ati[kīrti]ta sarvajinai[r] vajrakare vajrasam̐bhava vajrabhedakare^a svāhā*

^aText reads *vajrā*°.

T. 1408 (21:923b29–c4)

曩謨 阿哩野^{二合}嚩日囉^{二合}地波多曳 [923c] 多野引 怛儺也^{二合}他引
吉哩帝^{二合}多 薩哩嚩^{二合}嚩爾^引鼻入 阿底吉哩帝^{二合}多 薩哩嚩^{二合}
嚩爾^引鼻 嚩日囉^{二合}三^引婆吠 嚩日囉^{二合}鼻^引那迦^引野 莎賀

*nama āryavajrādhīpataye tayā^a tad yathā kīrtita sarvajinebhir atikīrtita
sarvajinebhi[r] vajrasam̐bhava vajrabhedakāya svāhā*

^aScribal error?

T. 1409 (21:925a9–12)

曩莫^{a入} 阿哩也^{二合}尾摩羅枳哩底^{二合}怛寫 怛他引識多寫 阿儺枳

哩底^{二合多} 薩哩囉^{二合}囉囉^{去昆} 囉日囉^{b二合三}婆吠 囉日囉^{b二合}
鼻捺迦哩 娑囉^{二合引賀引}

nama āryavimalakīrtasya tathāgatasya atikīrtita^c sarvajinebhi vajra-
saṃbhave vajrabhedakari svāhā

^aV.l. 謨 for 莫.

^bVv. ll. 囉 for 羅.

^cText reads *anikīrtita*.

It will be noticed that Kūkai's text has *abhikīrtita* where the other versions have *atikīrtita*, but the form *abhikīrtita* is also attested in the Tibetan translation of the *Āryaviśeṣavati-nāma-dhāraṇī* (corresponding to the *Sheng zuisheng tuoluoni jing*), where the corresponding section reads as follows (the opening salutation has been translated into Tibetan): [*namo vimalakīrtaye bodhisattvāya* || | *tad yathā* | *kīrtita sarvajinai* | *abhikīrtita sarvajinai* | *vajrākare* | *vajrasaṃbhave vajrabhedākare svāhā* |.⁴³ The coexistence of the forms *atikīrtita* and *abhikīrtita* may be due to confusion between the graphically similar *ti* and *bhi*.

The term *vajrabhedakara* occurs in the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarika-sūtra*, where it refers to a bodhisattva called Vajracchedaprajñāvabhāsa (-śrī).⁴⁴ Together with the characterization of Vimalakīrti in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* as a person of great mental acuity, this usage would suggest that *bhedakara* is best interpreted as “one who makes distinctions” rather than “one who causes destruction (or dissension).”

3. SHICHI KUTEI BUTSUMO SAN 七俱胝佛母讚 EULOGY OF THE BUDDHA-MOTHER OF SEVEN CRORES (NO. 19)

As noted by Kodama and Noguchi,⁴⁵ this text corresponds to the praises (*zantan* 讚歎, **stotra* [cf. end-title cited below]) of Cundā preserved in Chinese transliteration in the *Qi juzhi fomu suoshuo Zhunti tuoluoni jing* 七俱胝佛母所說准提陀羅尼經 (T. 1076), a ritual manual for Cundā translated by Amoghavajra; the Chinese transliteration (T.20:182c25–183a17) is also given below.

Sanskrit Text

[399] avatara catudaṃśālasmararṇpukoṭipraṇamapadavihite ||

acale taṭe saritsuni cule sidhyasi cudde sravattīnām ||

阿囉怛囉 左觀囉娜^{二合舍引}囉馱^{二合}娑麼^{二合}囉哩補句致鉢囉^{二合}拏麼跋
娜尾呬帝

阿者禮 怛嚩 娑哩素儂 祖禮 悉鞞思 准泥 薩囉^{二合}悶底南^引

- ^aVv.ll. omit 跛囉^{二合}曩.
^bVv.ll. 邏 for 囉.
^cVv.ll. add 佉.
^dVv.ll. 拈 for 弭.
^eVv.ll. 彌焰 for 滄.
^fVv.ll. 喃 for 南.
^gVv.ll. 奢 for 捨.
^hChinese transliteration adds *te*.
ⁱChinese transliteration adds *taṃ*.

āmā{ryā}valokiteśaḥ siti niḥsaṃśayaṃ satatajapāṇītaṃ ||
 nāsti kicin ta dadāsi bhaktebhyaḥ ||

阿^引哩野^{二合}囉路^引拈^a帝幡 悉鞞底 諾僧捨間^b 薩怛多惹播^引多^{半音}呼
 多諾反

曩^c悉底^{二合} ^d惹孽底 緊旨儂也^{二合} 薩怛梵^{三合}引 曩 那娜悉 簿^e羯
 底^{二合}毘藥^{二合}

āryāvalokiteśaḥ si[dhya]ti niḥsaṃśayaṃ satatajāpāt |
 nāsti [jagati^f] kiṃcid [yat tvam^g] na dadāsi bhaktebhyaḥ || [5]

- ^aV.l. 枳 for 拈.
^bRead 間 (vv.ll.) for 間.
^cVv.ll. 旦曩^引 for 曩.
^d...^eSo vv.ll.; base text reads 薩怛梵^{三合}引 曩那娜惹孽底緊旨儂也^{二合}.
^fSo Chinese transliteration, although metrically unsatisfactory.
^gChinese transliteration reads *yas tvām*.

īti sakalapāpatāgati ha{bha}gavati paripaṭhitamātrasiddhikari [401] ||^a
 pūraya manorathaṃ me sīdati na ddhāṃ smaraṃ ka || * ||

壹底 娑迦羅^b播^引跛曩^引舍顛 婆識囉底 跛耽多麼^引怛囉^{二合}悉地迦
 哩

布囉野 麼努^引囉貪 冥 泉娜底 曩 怛梵^{二合} 娑麼^{二合}嚨 迦室
 子^{二合}多^{半音}^c

īti sakalapāpanāsanī^d bhagavati paripaṭhitamātrasiddhikari |
 pūraya manorathaṃ me sīdati na tvām smaran kaścit || [6]

- ^aThe text has a repetition mark, but it is presumably an error for a
 (double) *daṇḍa*.
^bV.l. 邏 for 羅.
^cSeveral manuscripts add 娑識縛底准泥陀^引囉尼薩妬^{二合}怛囉^{二合}
 薩麼跛多^{二合} (*bhagavaticundīdhāraṇīstotra[m] samāpta[m]*).
^dSo Chinese transliteration.

English Translation

- 1 Descend, O you who have feet saluted by half of fourteen
(i.e., seven) crores of enemies of Kāma!
O unmoving one, river-born, Culā, Cundā, you [who] are successful
on the bank of rivers!
- 2 O you who pacify existence, end with *svāhā*, are accompanied
by *om*, are endowed with the syllables *tad yathā*,
Tame untrained beings, and produce benefit for the three worlds,
be gracious!
- 3 O you who are beautiful like a red lotus, with an almsbowl in your
hands, standing clearly on [my] right,
O Mother, write in accordance with the truth of the Victors and
others the things that I have thought and asked!
- 4 The sage, the silent one, who would recite you who are pleasing
on the summit of Mount Prāgbodhi,
He with a *vajra* will drive a stake into the opulent palace of the
enemies of the gods (i.e., *asuras*).
- 5 The Holy Avalokiteśa is without doubt accomplished through
constant recitation.
There is nothing in the world that you do not give to the faithful.
- 6 O Blessed One, you who destroy all sins and produce success
by merely being completely recited,
Fulfill my heart's desire! No one despairs while mindful of you.

Remarks

In a study of works dealing with Cundā, Sakai Shinten refers to Kūkai's text, above, saying that it comprises "5 verses in meter *āryā* or *gāthā*," the meaning of which is unclear, however, and he makes no attempt to restore the original Sanskrit.⁴⁶ The meter is *āryā*, and while Kūkai's text appears to show some errors and lacunae, these can be restored by and large with the help of the Chinese transliteration and some conjectural emendations. It is worth noting that, as can be inferred from the notes added to the text above, Kūkai's text generally agrees with the Chinese transliteration, which may suggest that (perhaps not surprisingly) his copy derived from the Sanskrit manuscript used by Amoghavajra when translating the text into Chinese. It may also be noted that another of Kūkai's Sanskrit texts (no. 30) consists of a collection of mantras relating to Cundā.

In the above verses, "half of fourteen (i.e., seven) crores of enemies of Kāma" in verse 1 would seem to be a reference to the seven

crores of buddhas with whom Cundā is frequently associated. For example, her standard *dhāraṇī* (alluded to in verse 2)—*namaḥ saptānāṃ samyakṣambuddhakoṭīnāṃ, tad yathā, oṃ cale cule cunde svāhā*—begins with the salutation “Homage to seven crores of perfectly awakened ones,”⁴⁷ while in Chinese translations she (or her *dhāraṇī*) is regularly referred to as the “Buddha-mother (i.e., goddess) of seven crores” (as in the title of the text with which we are here concerned), which appellation later came to be widely interpreted as “mother of seven crores of buddhas.”⁴⁸ “O unmoving one!” (*acale*) in the same verse may be a play on *cale* (lit., “O moving one!”) in the above *dhāraṇī*, while the meaning of *cule* in both the *dhāraṇī* and the verse is unclear—is it perhaps an alliterative variation of *cale* mediating the transition from *cale* to *cunde*?

Next, verse 3 seems to describe some of Cundā’s iconographical features, the most characteristic of which is the almsbowl, usually held in her lap with two hands.⁴⁹ It may be noted that Cundā most commonly appears in four-armed form, holding a lotus flower in her second right hand⁵⁰ and displaying the gift-bestowing gesture (*varada-mudrā*) with her second left hand; the text in which the Chinese transliteration of the eulogy appears, on the other hand, describes an eighteen-armed form (T.1076.20:184c).

The counsel to practice recitation on Mount Prāgbodhi in verse 4 is, in a sense, surprising, for according to Xuanzang 玄奘, toward the end of his six years of austerities Siddhārtha climbed this mountain in search of a place to meditate but was warned by a god that it was unsuitable for attaining enlightenment, and so he proceeded to the pipal tree in nearby present-day Bodh Gayā and there attained enlightenment.⁵¹ There are very few other references in Buddhist literature to Mount Prāgbodhi, let alone this incident,⁵² and so the following passage from the *Chimingzang yuqie dajiao Zunna pusa daming chengjiu yigui jing* 持明藏瑜伽大教尊那菩薩大明成就儀軌經 (T.1169.20:677c15–20), a manual for rituals associated with Cundā that was translated into Chinese in 994, is all the more interesting.

Next, the practitioner goes to the summit of Mount Prāgbodhi, where in front of a Buddha’s *stūpa* he always eats [only] alms and recites [Cundā’s] great spell (**mahāvidyā*) one *koṭi* (crore) [times]. Having completed the requisite number of recitations, he succeeds in seeing the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. The bodhisattva himself leads the practitioner through the gate of auspiciousness and declares to the practitioner: “Entering this gate, you will be without difficulties caused by demons, your wishes for what you desire will be fulfilled, you will

be free from all fear, you will experience great pleasure, and in the future you will succeed in seeing Maitreya, hear [him] preaching the wondrous Dharma, and realize the stages of the bodhisattva through to attaining the stage of an *avaivartika* (non-regressing) bodhisattva.”

The fact that this passage is followed by instructions for a similar practice to be performed on Mount Vipula (one of the hills surrounding Rājagrha) would suggest that one should probably not read too much into any possible connections between Mount Prāgbodhi and Cundā. Nonetheless, this is the only reference to the performance of mantric practices on Mount Prāgbodhi that I have so far encountered apart from the above Sanskrit eulogy, and the fact that both are associated with Cundā is noteworthy.

4. DAISANMAYA SHINJITSU IPPYAKUHACHI MYŌSAN
大三摩耶眞實一百八名讚 EULOGY IN ONE HUNDRED
AND EIGHT NAMES OF THE “TRUTH OF THE
GREAT PLEDGE” (NO. 29)

Sanskrit Text

[475] ◡ mahasamayatatvāgrya ||^a oṃ mahāsuga{kha} saukhyada ||^a
bodhisadva{tva} mahāsatva jaḥ huṃ vaṃ hoḥ mahārata ||
mahāsamayatatvāgrya oṃ mahāsukha saukhyada |
bodhisattva mahāsattva jaḥ huṃ vaṃ hoḥ mahārata⁵³ || [1]

^aThe text has a repetition mark, but it is presumably an error for a (double) *daṇḍa*.

anādinidhanotyatta akāśātmādalakṣalaṇa :|⁵⁴
samaṃtabhadra sarvatmākama : sarvajagatmate :
anādinidhanotpanna ākāśātmajalakṣaṇa |
samantabhadra sarvātmakāma sarvajagatpate || [2]

cintasatva samādhyagra | niścayagrya suvajradha{dhṛ}k{k} |
vajrakāma mahākā[476]maḥ buddha : sarvatathāgata ||
cittasattva samādhyagra niścayāgrya suvajradhṛk |
vajrakāma mahākāma buddha sarvatathāgata || [3]

nitya śāśvata saikhyagra • mahāsamaya viśvadhya{dhṛ} ||^a{k}
guhyatadvaṃ rahasyāgrya schra{chū}lasra{su}kṣma rahasyadha{dhṛ}k{k} :
nitya śāśvata saukhyāgra mahāsamaya viśvadhṛk |
guhyatattva rahasyāgrya sthūlasūkṣma rahasyadhṛk || [4]

^aThe text has a repetition mark, but it is presumably an error for a (double) *daṇḍa*.

rāgavaṇa mahādīpta : vajrajvalāgni{(tita)}santibhaḥ |
 dṛṣṭisaukhya mahā(dr){(dṛ)}ṣṭar mahāmadana yatmathā ||
rāgavāṇa mahādīpta vajrajvālāgnisaṃnibha |
dṛṣṭisaukhya mahādraṣṭar mahāmadana manmatha || [5]

sarvakāma mahārāga kāmārāga mahotsava ||
 sarvakādīśvara mahāt sarvakāmagrya kā[477]dhyadhya{(dhr)}k :
sarvakāma mahārāga kāmārāga mahotsava |
sarvavādīśvara mahan sarvakāmāgrya kāvyadhṛk^a || [6]

^aOr *kāryadhṛk*?

sarvasatvamatovyāpī sarvasatvasukhaprada :
 sarvasatvapitāgryāgryā mahāsamaya viśvadhṛk ||
sarvasattvamanovyāpī sarvasattvasukhaprada ^[55]
sarvasattvapitā^a 'gryāgrya mahāsamaya viśvadhṛk || [7]

^aCf. BHS, §13.31. Or read °*pita + agryāgrya*?

vajrapāṇir mahākarṣa maratūṣṭer mahārāte |
 akāśagarbha vajrartha mahādhdcaja mahāsmīta :
vajrapāṇe mahākarṣa mahātūṣṭe mahārāte |
ākāśagarbha vajrārtha^a mahādhdvaja mahāsmīta || [8]

^aFor *vajrārka*?

avalokiteśa : viho : mahāśrīmaṇḍa vākṣate |
 mahākarma mahārakṣa : (ca)ṇḍa(ya)kṣa subandhana
avalokiteśa vibho mahāśrīmaṇḍa vākṣate |
mahākarma mahārakṣa caṇḍayakṣa subandhana || [9]

vajra <vajr>aṃkuśa [478] śara suṣṭipraharṣaka mahāmaṇi |
 ratnajvala mahāketoh pṛītiprāmodyadāyaka :
vajrāṅkuśa śara tuṣṭipraharṣaka mahāmaṇi |
ratnajvala mahāketo pṛītiprāmodyadāyaka || [10]

padma kośa mahācakra vajrajihvamahāsmāta :
 viśvavajra mahārma : daṣṭraṃmudra mahāgraha :
padma kośa mahācakra vajrajihvamahāsmāta |
viśvavajra mahā[va]rma daṣṭramudra mahāgraha || [11]

vajrahūṃkara hūṃkara sarvadāmaka śāsaka :
 jagadvinaya lokāgra hrīḥkāra suvaraprada :
 vajrahūṃkāra hūṃkāra sarvadāmaka śāsaka |
 jagadvinaya lokāgra hrīḥkāra suvaraprada || [12]

sarvārthasiddhir tha trāṃ dhadha ṭaṭāvmadrḥ
 sarva[479]bauddhamahāsattva sarvasatvasusattvadhyak ||
 sarvārthasiddhe [sarvār]tha †trāṃ dhadha ṭaṭāvmadrḥ† |
 sarvabauddhamahāsattva sarvasattvasusattvadhyak || [13]

sattasatsa duṣṭa satvāgrya satvadhyak |
 akṣayāvyaya nirvāṇa tyakālākṣara satpate :
 sarvasattva drṣṭa[sattva] sattvāgrya satvadhyak |
 akṣayāvyaya nirvāṇa trikālākṣara satpate || [14]

jiṣṇo viṣṇo mahānātha sarvavit sapitāmaha :
 prajapater jagatrakṣatra sarvakartre mahāpate :
 jiṣṇo viṣṇo mahānātha sarvavit satpitāmaha |
 prajāpate jagadrakṣitra^a sarvakartra^b mahāpate || [15]

^aHypermetrical; cf. BHSG, §13.14.

^bCf. BHSG, §13.14.

bhūrbhūvasvā mahāvyaṇe : sarvavyāṇe susarvaga :
 trailokya tyabhava(na)nta tridhātor vajrabhaṃja[480]kaḥ ||
 bhūrbhūvaḥsvar mahāvyaṇe sarvavyāṇe susarvaga |
 trailokya tribhuvanānta tridhātor^a vajrabhaṃjaka || [16]

^aOr tridhāto (voc.)?

sarvasarva mahāloka dharmakarma mahapriyaḥ ||
 vajranāthā sunāthāgrya paramārtha mahopamaḥ ||
 sarvasarva mahāloka dharmakarma mahāpriya |
 vajranāthā sunāthāgrya paramārtha mahopama || [17]

agryasara viśeṣāgrya ; sarvabhūta mahānabhaḥ ||
 a(t)yaśva : sarvadivasaḥ <ṛto vasaḥ> ṛto varṣāgrakalmahā ||
 agryasara^a viśeṣāgrya sarvabhūta mahānabhaḥ |
 atyaśva sarvadivasa ṛto varṣāgrakālaha || [18]

^aOr agresara?

sarvemokṣa susarvogrya viśeṣāśeṣa(s)iddhidaḥ |
mahāsiddhi mahārddhe vajrasa(tva)dya sidhya (me) ||
sarvamokṣa susarvāgrya viśeṣāśeṣasiddhida |
mahāsiddhe mahā-rddhe^a vajrasattvādya sidhya me || [19]

^aFor maharddhe, the cluster being pronounced mahā-riddhe and guaranteed by the meter.

yaḥ kaści stunuyār gadan tādair gramā[481]gryarājibhiḥ ||
vajrasatvaṃ sakyat vāra vajraṃjalixxx |
yaḥ kaścit stunuyād⁵⁶ gadan nādair gramāgryarājibhiḥ |
vajrasattvaṃ sakṛd vāraṃ vajrāñjalim [hṛdi kṛtvā] || [20]

sarvapāpavinimuktaḥ sambhavat sarvasaikhyavām ||
butvatvaṃ vajraṇitvaṃ jatmarī{nī}haiva lapsyatīti : || * ||
sarvapāpavinirmuktaḥ sambhavet sarvasaukhyavān |
buddhatvaṃ vajra[pā]ṇitvaṃ janmanihaiva lapsyata iti || [21]⁵⁷

English Translation

- 1 O best truth of the great pledge! *Oṃ*. O great bliss, which grants happiness!
O bodhisattva and great being! *Jaḥ huṃ vaṃ hoḥ!* O great pleasure!
- 2 O you who have arisen without beginning or end, have the mark of the son of space,
Are universally good, have a desire for every person, and are lord of the whole world!
- 3 O mind-being, foremost in concentration, foremost in resolve, good vajra-holder,
Having adamant desire, having great desire, awakened, and All-Tathāgata!
- 4 O you who are permanent, eternal, foremost in happiness, have a great pledge, are all-holding,
Have the secret truth, are the best of secrets, gross and subtle, and secret-holder!
- 5 O you who have the arrow of passion, great shining one, similar to a fire with vajra-like flames,
Whose pleasure is insight, great seeing one, great passion, and love!
- 6 O you who are all-desirous, very passionate, passionate for love, greatly rejoicing,

- Lord of all debaters, great one, foremost among the all-desirous,
and poetry-holder!
- 7 O you who pervade the minds of all beings, grant happiness to
all beings,
Are father of all beings, best of the best, have a great pledge,
and are all-holding!
- 8 O *vajra*-in-hand, you of great attraction, of great contentment,
of great pleasure,
Matrix of space, you who have an adamantine objective (*or ray*),
you who have a great flag, you who have a large smile,
- 9 Lord of what is seen, mighty one, essence of great splendor,
lord of speech,
You who perform great deeds, you who provide great protection,
violent *yakṣa*, and well-binding one!
- 10 O *vajra*, hook, arrow, that which causes the thrill of contentment,
great gem,
Gemmed flame, great banner, that which gives joy and gladness,
- 11 Lotus, sword, great wheel, large smile with a *vajra*-like tongue,
Crossed *vajra*, great armor, tusk seal, and great grasp!
- 12 O adamantine letter *hūṃ*, letter *hūṃ*, all-taming, chastiser,
Discipliner of the world, best in the world, letter *hrīḥ*, and
good boon-granter!
- 13 O accomplishment of all objectives, you who have all objectives, [...],
Great being of all Buddhists, and good being-holder of all beings!
- 14 O all-being, you who have beheld beings, best of beings,
being-holder,
Imperishable and immutable, *nirvāṇa*, imperishable throughout
the three ages (i.e., past, present, and future), and good lord!
- 15 O you who are victorious, Viṣṇu, great lord, omniscient, good
grandfather (i.e., *Brahmā*?),
Lord of creatures, protector of the world, creator of all, and
great lord!
- 16 O earth, air and heaven, great pervader, all-pervading, thoroughly
omnipresent,
You who are the three worlds and the end of the three worlds,
and *vajra*-like destroyer of the three realms!
- 17 O all-all, you of great light, you who perform Dharma-deeds, great
beloved one,
Vajra-like lord, best of good lords, supreme objective, and most
excellent (*or resembling the great*)!

- 18 O you who move best (or go in front), best of the special ones,
omnipresent, great sky,
Sun (?), all days, season, and slayer of time at the beginning of
the year!
- 19 O liberation of all, very best of all, granting special accomplish-
ments without remainder,
Having great accomplishments, and having great power! O
Vajrasattva, may you be accomplished for me today!
- 20 Whosoever, speaking with sounds consisting of series of the
best tones, would praise
Vajrasattva [only] once while making the adamantite hand-clasp
at his heart
- 21 Will become freed from all sins and possessed of all happiness,
And buddhahood and the state of Vajrapāṇi will be obtained in
this very life.

Remarks

This text consists of twenty-one verses in the *anuṣṭubh* meter, and judging from both the content of the verses so far as they can be restored and the text's title, verses 2–21 constitute a eulogy of 108 names (*nāmāṣṭasāta*). I have been unable to identify either the mantra(s) in verse 1 or the remaining verses, but the term *mahāsamayatattvāgrya* at the very start suggests a possible connection with the **Mahāsamayatattvayoga* (*Da sanmeiye zhenshi yuqie* 大三昧耶真實瑜伽), the thirteenth of Amoghavajra's eighteen assemblies.

If we look at the verses more closely, we find a division between verses 2–19, constituting the eulogy proper, and the final two verses, extolling the merits of reciting the eulogy. A similar basic structure can also be observed, for example, in the six 108-name eulogies in the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, although the numbers of verses differ: 16 + 4 (H. §§197–201, 620–639), 15 + 2 (H. §§1470–1486, 1833–1849, 2981–2997), and 16 + 5 (H. §§3044–3065). In addition, in the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* each of the verses of the eulogies per se ends with the words “Homage be to you” (*namo 'stu te*), which are missing in the above verses. In this respect our text resembles several other so-called 108-name eulogies that consist simply of lists of names, although usually many more than 108 in number.⁵⁹ But it can also be pointed out that verses 8–11 consist of two sets of epithets of the sixteen bodhisattvas of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, many of which bear similarities in form or meaning with a section of the so-called

“Supplementary Introduction” to the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, in which Mahāvairocana is described in terms of his aspect as the sixteen bodhisattvas of the *mahā-maṇḍala* and *samaya-maṇḍala* (H. §§11–12).⁶⁰ The correspondences between verses 8–11 and the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* are set out below. (The terms appear in the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* in the nominative and in Kūkai’s text in the vocative, but here they are given in their base forms.)

Sixteen Bodhisattvas	vv. 8–9	STTS (§H. 11)	vv. 10–11	STTS (§H. 12)
Vajrasattva	<i>vajrapāṇi</i>	<i>samanta- bhadra</i>	<i>vajra</i>	<i>vajra</i>
Vajrarāja	<i>mahākarṣa</i>	<i>svamogha</i>	<i>aṅkuśa</i>	<i>aṅkuśa</i>
Vajrarāga	<i>mahātuṣṭi</i>	<i>māra</i>	<i>śara</i>	<i>śara</i>
Vajrasādhu	<i>mahārati</i>	<i>prāmodya- nāyaka</i>	<i>tuṣṭi- prahaṛṣaka</i>	<i>tuṣṭi</i>
Vajraratna	<i>ākāśagarbha</i>	<i>khagarbha</i>	<i>mahāmaṇi</i>	<i>ratna</i>
Vajrateja	<i>vajrārtha</i> (→ <i>vajrārka</i> ?)	<i>sumahātejas</i>	<i>ratnajvala</i>	<i>sūrya</i>
Vajraketu	<i>mahādhvaja</i>	<i>ratnaketu</i>	<i>mahāketu</i>	<i>dhvaja</i>
Vajrahāsa	<i>mahāsmita</i>	<i>mahāsmita</i>	<i>prītiprāmodya- dāyaka</i>	<i>smita</i>
Vajradharma	<i>avalokiteśa</i>	<i>avalokita- maheśa</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>padma</i>
Vajratīkṣṇa	<i>vibhu</i>	<i>mañjuśrī</i>	<i>kośa</i>	<i>kośa</i>
Vajrahetu	<i>mahāśrīmaṇḍa</i>	<i>sarvamaṇḍala</i>	<i>mahācakra</i>	<i>sucakra</i>
Vajrabhāṣa	<i>vākpati</i>	<i>avāca</i>	<i>vajrajihva- mahāsmita</i>	<i>vāc</i>
Vajrakarma	<i>mahākarman</i>	<i>viśvakarman</i>	<i>viśvavajra</i>	<i>karman</i>
Vajrarakṣa	<i>mahārakṣa</i>	<i>vīrya</i>	<i>mahāvarman</i>	<i>varman</i>
Vajrayakṣa	<i>caṇḍayakṣa</i>	<i>caṇḍa</i>	<i>daṃṣṭramudra</i>	<i>bhaya</i>
Vajrasandhi	<i>subandhana</i>	<i>ḍṛḍhagraha</i>	<i>mahāgraha</i>	<i>graha</i>

The similarities between verses 10–11 and H. §12, corresponding to the symbolic representations of the sixteen bodhisattvas, are particularly striking. When one further considers that the **Mahāsamaya-tattvayoga* is said to have been expounded at the site of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala,⁶¹ it would seem safe to assume that this text belongs to the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* family of texts. It is to be hoped that

further investigations of Sanskrit manuscripts and the Tibetan canon will shed additional light on this intriguing text.

5. JŪICHIMEN SAN 十一面讚 EULOGY OF
ELEVEN-FACED [AVALOKITEŚVARA] (NO. 39)

Sanskrit Text

[577] ॐ jāṭadharaṃ soṃyavisala(lo)canaṃ sadaprasana
mokhavaṃḍramaṃḍala
srarosraṃrer vanditapādapaṃkajaṃ nāṃmami nāthā munipadma-
saṃmbhavaṃ ||

*jaṭādharaṃ saumyaṃviśālalocanaṃ sadāprasannaṃ mukhacandramaṃḍalam |
surāsurair vanditapādapaṃkajaṃ namāmi nāthaṃ maṇipadmasaṃbhavam ||*

English Translation

I bow to the lord who wears braided hair and has large, gentle eyes and a countenance like a moon-disc, always bright, the lotuses of whose feet are venerated by gods and demons, and who is born of the gem-lotus.⁶²

Remarks

This verse (in the *vaṃśasthavila* meter) has been transliterated, but not identified, by Noguchi.⁶³ It tallies with verse 1 of an *Avalokiteśvarastotra* attributed to Vāsukināgarāja, with one minor difference: the latter has *sadāprasannānanacandra°* in *pāda* b.⁶⁴ I have not been able to identify any Chinese translation of this verse or of the entire *stotra*, and so it is not clear whether the above verse was circulating independently at the time of Kūkai and was later incorporated into the *Avalokiteśvarastotra* or whether a work similar to the *Avalokiteśvarastotra* already existed (with Kūkai having acquired only the first verse) and later came to be attributed to Vāsukināgarāja.

APPENDIX: LIST OF SANSKRIT TEXTS
BROUGHT BACK TO JAPAN BY KŪKAI

The titles are given in the form in which they appear in Kūkai's *Go-shōrai mokuroku*, but the word *bonji* 梵字 (Brāhmī [i.e., Siddhamāṭṛkā] script) with which each is prefixed has been omitted. The page numbers following the titles are those of the corresponding pages in Hase's work (see n. 7). Many of these texts have also been preserved in Tibetan translation, but references to Tibetan parallels have been omitted

since they can be readily ascertained elsewhere, while references to relevant research have been restricted to works dealing directly with textual aspects of the texts in question and are by no means intended to be exhaustive.

1. *Daibirushana taizō daigiki* 大毘盧舍那胎藏大儀軌 **Mahāvairocana-garbhadhātu-mahākālpa* (pp. 1–102)

A collection of mantras appearing in fascicles 1–6 of the Chinese translation of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra* (*Dapiluzhena chengfō shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 [T. 848]).⁶⁵

2. *Taizō mandara shoson bonmyō* 胎藏曼陀羅諸尊梵名 *Sanskrit Names of Deities of the Garbhadhātu Maṇḍala* (pp. 103–156)

A list of the Sanskrit names of 358 deities appearing in the *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra* together with their Chinese names.

3. *Kongōchō renebu daigiki* 金剛頂蓮花部大儀軌 *Great Ritual Manual of the Lotus Division of the Adamantine Pinnacle* (pp. 157–199)

A collection of mantras corresponding by and large to the mantras in the *Jingangding lianhuabu xin niansong yigui* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦儀軌 (T. 873) and *Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshishe dacheng xianzheng da-jiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經 (T. 874), both ritual manuals based on Part I of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*. The *Lianhuabu xin niansong yigui* 蓮華部心念誦儀軌 (T. 875) reproduces a different copy of the *Siddhamāṭṛkā* text. The mantras have been transliterated with notes by Miyasaka Yūshō.⁶⁶

4. *Birushana sanmaji giki* 毘盧遮那三摩地儀軌 *Ritual Manual for the Samādhi of Vairocana* (pp. 201–208)

A collection of mantras appearing in the *Jingangding jing yuqie xiuxi Piluzhena sanmodi fa* 金剛頂經瑜伽修習毘盧遮那三摩地法 (T. 876), a ritual manual belonging to the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* family of texts.⁶⁷

5. *Fugen gyōgan san* 普賢行願讚 *Bhadracaripraṇidhāna* (pp. 209–249)

The *Bhadracaripraṇidhāna* accompanied by interlinear Chinese glosses and followed by two mantras; cf. n. 3.

6. *Daibutchō shingon* 大佛頂真言 **Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa Mantra* (pp. 251–276)

The title given at the start of this text can be restored as S[arva]tathā-gatoṣṇīṣasitātapatrāparājītā-pratyāṅgirā-dhāraṇī, more commonly known as the *Sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣasitātapatrā-nāmāparājītā-mahāpratyāṅgirāvidyārājñī*, and it tallies with the *Dafoding rulai fanguang xidaduobodaluoluoni* 大佛頂如來放光悉怛多鉢怛囉陀羅尼 (T. 944A; Chinese phonetic transcription). The *Dafoding da tuoluoni* 大佛頂大陀羅尼 (T. 944B) reproduces a different version of the Siddhamātrkā text.⁶⁸

7. *Daizuigu shingon* 大隨求真言 *Great Pratisarā Mantra* (pp. 279–301)
Consists of eight mantras appearing in the *Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī* (*Pubian guangming qingjing chisheng ruyibao yin xin Wunengsheng damingwang dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* 普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經 [T. 1153]; *Suiqiu jide dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 隨求即得大自在陀羅尼神呪經 [T. 1154]; *Jingangding yuqie zuisheng bimi chengfo suiqiu jide shenbian jiachi chengjiu tuoluoni yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽最勝祕密成佛隨求即得神變加持成就陀羅尼儀軌 [T. 1155]).⁶⁹ A different version of the Siddhamātrkā text is reproduced at the end of T. 1153 (as far as 20:636b22).

8. *Shōzuigu shingon* 小隨求真言 *Small Pratisarā Mantra*
One of two of Kūkai's Sanskrit texts that Hase failed to locate. It has been suggested that it corresponds to the final mantra of the *Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī* (T.1153.20:626a17–627a1).⁷⁰

9. *Daihōrōkaku-kyō shingon* 大寶樓閣經真言 *Mantras of the Mahāmaṇi-vipulavimāna-sūtra* (pp. 303–324)
A collection of mantras appearing in the *Mahāmaṇivipulavimānaviśvasupratīṣṭhitaguhyaparamarahasya-kalparāja* (*Dabao guangbo louge shanzhu bimi tuoluoni jing* 大寶廣博樓閣善住祕密陀羅尼經 [T. 1005A]; *Guangda baolouge shanzhu bimi tuoluoni jing* 廣大寶樓閣善住祕密陀羅尼經 [T. 1006]; *Mouli mantuoluo zhoujing* 牟梨曼陀羅呪經 [T. 1007]). The *Baolouge jing fanzi zhenyan* 寶樓閣經梵字真言 (T. 1005B) reproduces a different copy of the Siddhamātrkā text.⁷¹

10. *Kongōzō gōzanze san'ō* 金剛藏降三世讚王 *King of Eulogies of Vajragarbha-Trailokyavijaya*
One of two of Kūkai's Sanskrit texts that Hase failed to locate. Kodama and Noguchi⁷² state that there is a “eulogy of Vajragarbha-Trailokyavijaya”

(金剛藏降三世讚) in the *Suxidijieluo gongyang fa* (T.894.18:718c2–8), but the text actually has “eulogy of Vajratrailokyavijaya” (金剛降三世讚).

11. *Senpi kanro gundari shingon* 千臂甘露軍荼利真言 *Mantra of Thousand-Armed Amṛtakuṇḍalin* (pp. 325–328)

See pp. 190–192 above.

12. *Kikkyōsan* 吉慶讚 *Maṅgalagāthā* (pp. 329–336)

Nine of a series of verses extolling the life of Śākyamuni. A total of twenty-four such verses have been identified.⁷³

13. *Muku jōkō darani* 無垢淨光陀羅尼 *Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhā-dhāraṇī* (pp. 337–340)

Corresponds to the first *dhāraṇī* of the **Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhā-dhāraṇī-sūtra* (*Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 [T.1024.19:718b5–16]). A different version of the *Siddhamāṭṛkā* text is reproduced at the end of T. 1024. It has been transliterated with notes by Miyasaka.⁷⁴

14. *Bodaijō shōgon darani* 菩提場莊嚴陀羅尼 **Bodhimaṇḍavyūha-dhāraṇī* (pp. 341–345)

Corresponds to the first three *dhāraṇīs* of the **Bodhimaṇḍavyūha-dhāraṇī-sūtra* (*Putichang zhuangyan tuoluoni jing* 菩提場莊嚴陀羅尼經 [T.1008.19:671b8–25, 674b26–27, 29]). These three *dhāraṇīs*, which appear also in the *Baiqian yin tuoluoni jing* 百千印陀羅尼經 (T.1369.21:886a22–b6, 8–9, 11) and *Luocha tuoluoni jing* 洛叉陀羅尼經 (T.1390.21:907b25–c21), are also collectively referred to as the *Bodhi-garbhālaṃkāralakṣa-dhāraṇī* and are found in *Siddhamāṭṛkā* script in notebook no. 29 of the *Sanjūjō sasshi*,⁷⁵ and have also been found inscribed on various objects in India and elsewhere.⁷⁶

15. *Hōbu kongō san* 寶部金剛讚 就中如意輪讚大悲真言維摩詰真言 *Eulogy of the Vajras of the Gem Family* (with Eulogy of Cakravartīcintāmaṇi, Mantra of Great Compassion, and Mantra of Vimalakīrti) (pp. 347–357)

See pp. 192–201 above.

16. *Myōhō-rengē-kyō giki* 妙法蓮華經儀軌 *Ritual Manual of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (pp. 359–373)

A collection of mantras appearing in the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhua jing-wang yuqie guanzhi yigui* 成就妙法蓮華經王瑜伽觀智儀軌 (T. 1000).⁷⁷

17. *Fudōson giki* 不動尊儀軌 *Ritual Manual for Acalanātha* (pp. 375–389)
A collection of mantras appearing in the *Jingangshou guangming guanding jing zuisheng liyin sheng Wudongzun daweinu wang niansong yigui fapin* 金剛手光明灌頂經最勝立印聖無動尊大威怒王念誦儀軌法品 (T. 1199).

18. *Sonshō butchō shingon* 尊勝佛頂真言 *Uṣṇīṣavijaya Mantra* (pp. 391–396)
A version of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī*; the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼 (T. 974B) reproduces a different copy of the *Siddhamāṭṛkā* text, and another version is reproduced in the *Zunsheng foding xiu yuqie fa yigui* 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽法儀軌 (T.973.19:377bc).⁷⁸

19. *Shichi kutei butsumo san* 七俱胝佛母讚 *Eulogy of the Buddha-Mother of Seven Crores* (pp. 397–401)
See pp. 201–206 above.

20. *Batō kannon darani* 馬頭觀音陀羅尼 *Dhāraṇī of Hayagrīva* (pp. 403–409)
One of Hayagrīva's longer mantras; the *Matou guanyin xin tuoluoni* 馬頭觀音心陀羅尼 (T. 1072B) reproduces a different copy of the *Siddhamāṭṛkā* text, which has been transliterated by R. H. van Gulik.⁷⁹

21. *Senpatsu Monju ippyakuhachi myōsan* 千鉢文殊一百八名讚 *Eulogy of One Hundred and Eight Names of Mañjuśrī with a Thousand Bowls* (pp. 411–429)
Corresponds to the greater part of the *Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta-aṣṭottaraśātakanāma*; the *Qianbo Wenshu yibaiba mingzan* 千鉢文殊一百八名讚 (T. 1077B) reproduces a different copy of the *Siddhamāṭṛkā* text, and both versions have been edited by Giebel.⁸⁰

22. *Issai kichijō tennyō darani* 一切吉祥天女陀羅尼 *Dhāraṇī of Śrīmahādevī* (pp. 431–436)
Corresponds to the *dhāraṇī* in the *Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa* (*Dajixiang tiannü shi'er qi yibaiba ming wugou dacheng jing* 大吉祥天女十二契一百八名無垢大乘經 [T.1253.21:254c19–255a15]) preceded by salutations to five of the thirty-seven Tathāgatas invoked at the start of the sūtra and four of Śrīmahādevī's 108 names.⁸¹

23. *Fukūkenjaku darani* 不空羅索陀羅尼 *Dhāraṇī of Amoghapāśa* (pp. 437–443)

Similar to a *dhāraṇī* in the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* (*Bukongjuansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羅索神變真言經 [T.1092.20:275b21–276a16]).⁸² It has been transliterated and translated into Japanese by Fujita Kōkan.⁸³

24. *Senju sengen shingon* 千手千眼真言 *Mantra of [Avalokiteśvara with] One Thousand Hands and One Thousand Eyes* (pp. 445–450)

A mantra of Avalokiteśvara similar to that in the *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wu'ai dabei xin tuoluoni jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經 (T.1060.20:107b25–c25) and the *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa dabei xin tuoluoni* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩大悲心陀羅尼 (T.1064.20:116b13–117a9).⁸⁴

25. *Amida-butsu shingon* 阿彌陀佛真言 *Mantra of the Buddha Amitāyus* (pp. 451–454)

Corresponds to the “root *dhāraṇī*” of Amitāyus in the *Wuliangshou rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* 無量壽如來觀行供養儀軌 (T.930.19:71b5–18).⁸⁵

26. *Hōkyō shingon* 寶篋真言 **Karaṇḍa[mudrā]-mantra* (pp. 455–459)

Corresponds to the *dhāraṇī* in the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānahrdaya-guhyadhātukaraṇḍamudrā-nāma-dhāraṇī* (*Yiqie rulai xin bimi quanshen sheli baoqieyin tuoluoni jing* 一切如來心祕密全身舍利寶篋印陀羅尼經 [T.1022.19:711c2–25, 713c24–714a18]; *Yiqie rulai zhengfa bimi qieyin xin tuoluoni jing* 一切如來正法祕密篋印心陀羅尼經 [T.1023.19:717a12–b9]). A different version of the *Siddhamāṭṛkā* text is reproduced at the end of T. 1022A.⁸⁶

27. *Jūroku daibosatsu san* 十六大菩薩讚 *Eulogy of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas* (pp. 461–468)

Corresponds to the first sixteen of the twenty verses of the first of the six *nāmāṣṭaśata* found in the *Sarvatathāgatattvaṣaṃgraha* (H. §§197–200).

28. *Jūroku daibosatsu shingon* 十六大菩薩真言 *Mantras of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas* (pp. 469–472)

The mantras of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas of the *Bhadrakalpa*, corresponding to those in the *Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshishe dacheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* (T.874.18:318b3–17) and the *Xianjie shiliu zun*

賢劫十六尊 (T.881.18:339b6–c23). They have been transliterated by Noguchi.⁸⁷

29. *Daisanmaya shinjitsu ippyakuhachi myōsan* 大三昧耶真實一百八名讚
Eulogy in One Hundred and Eight Names of the “Truth of the Great Pledge”
(pp. 474–481)

See pp. 206–213 above.

30. *Shichi kutei giki* 七俱胝儀軌 *Ritual Manual for [the Buddha-Mother of] Seven Crores* (pp. 483–490)

A collection of mantras pertaining to Cundā. They have been transliterated and translated into Japanese by Sakai.⁸⁸

31. *Yōe kannon shingon* 葉衣觀音真言 *Mantra of Parṇaśabari* (pp. 491–496)
A version of the *Parṇaśabari-dhāraṇī* (*Yeyi guanzizai pusa jing* 葉衣觀自在菩薩經 [T.1100.20:447b5–448a2]; T. 1384, *Bolannashefuli da tuoluoni jing* 鉢蘭那賒嚩哩大陀羅尼經 [21:904c16–905a25]).⁸⁹

32. *Daihi shin shingon* 大悲心真言 *Heart-Mantra of Great Compassion* (pp. 497–509)

A version of the *Ṇilakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī*, corresponding to the *Qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa guangda yuanman wu'ai dabei xin tuoluoni zhouben* 千手千眼觀自在菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼呪本 (T. 1061). A different version of the *Siddhamātrkā* text is reproduced at the end of T. 1061.⁹⁰

33. *Ichijichōrinnō giki* 一字頂輪王儀軌 *Ritual Manual for Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣa-cakravartin* (pp. 511–527)

A collection of mantras appearing in the *Yizidinglunwang niansong yigui* 一字頂輪王念誦儀軌 (T. 954).⁹¹

34. *Monju goji shingon giki* 文殊五字真言儀軌 *Ritual Manual for Mañjuśrī's Five-Syllable Mantra* (pp. 529–537)

A collection of mantras similar to those in the *Jingangding jing yuqie Wenshushili pusa gongyang yigui* 金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩供養儀軌 (T. 1175) and, to a lesser extent, those in the *Jingangding jing yuqie Wenshushili pusa fa* 金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩法 (T. 1171).

35. *Usushima giki* 烏芻濕摩儀軌 *Ritual Manual for Ucchuṣma* (pp. 539–550)

A collection of mantras appearing in the *Daweinu wuchusemo yigui jing* 大威怒烏芻澁麼儀軌經 (T. 1225). The *Wuchuse mingwang yigui fanzi* 烏芻澁明王儀軌梵字 (T. 1226) reproduces a different copy of the Siddhamāṭṛkā text.⁹²

36. *Shōsho yuga giki* 勝初瑜伽儀軌 *Ritual Manual of the Paramādyayoga* (pp. 551–563)

A collection of mantras appearing in the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie jing zhong lüechu dale jingang saduo niansong yi* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽經中略出大樂金剛薩埵念誦儀 (T. 1120A). The *Shengchu yuqie yigui zhenyan* 勝初瑜伽儀軌真言 (T. 1120B) reproduces a different copy of the Siddhamāṭṛkā text.⁹³

37. *Ten ryū hachibu san* 天龍八部讚 *Eulogy of Gods, Nāgas, and the [Other] Eight Classes [of Supernatural Beings]* (pp. 565–569)

A similar eulogy is found in Chinese transliteration in the *Yaoshi yigui yiju* 藥師儀軌一具 (T.924C.19:32c18–22) and the *Yanluo wang gong xingfa cidi* 焰羅王供行法次第 (T.1290.21:376a17–21). Both the Chinese transliteration and Siddhamāṭṛkā text have been reconstructed/transliterated and translated into Japanese by Kiyota Jakuun.⁹⁴

38. *Hosshin ge* 法身偈 *Dharmakāya Verse* (pp. 571–573)
The *ye dharmāḥ* formula.

39. *Jūichimen san* 十一面讚 *Eulogy of Eleven-Faced [Avalokiteśvara]* (pp. 575–579)
See p. 213 above.

40. *Kongōbu rōkaku shingon narabi ni ippyakuhachi myōsan* 金剛峯樓閣真言并一百八名讚 *Mantras of the Adamantine Peak Pavilion and Eulogy of One Hundred and Eight Names* (pp. 581–592)

A collection of mantras appearing in the *Jingangfeng louge yiqie yuqie yuzhi jing* 金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 (T. 867). They have been transliterated with notes by Miyasaka.⁹⁵

41. *Rengebu san* 蓮花部讚 *Eulogy of the Lotus Division* (p. 593)

Corresponds to the eulogy of Cakravartīcintāmaṇi found in Chinese transliteration in the *Guanzizai pusa ruyilun niansong yigui* 觀自在菩薩如意輪念誦儀軌 (T.1085.20:206a19–22). The Siddhamāṭṛkā text is also

found in notebook no. 27 of the *Sanjūjō sasshi*; it has been transliterated by Miyasaka.⁹⁶

42. *Shittan shō* 悉曇章 *Chapters on Siddham* (pp. 595–702)

A primer listing several thousand Siddhamāṭṛkā glyphs, reproduced from a woodblock edition printed in 1734 (Kyōhō 享保 19).

NOTES

* I wish to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Sakuma Hidenori 佐久間秀範 in obtaining a copy of the relevant sections of vol. 5 of Hase Hōshū's collected works, and also the invaluable input provided by Diwakar Nath Acharya, Arlo Griffiths, Iain Sinclair, Jeffrey Sundberg, and Tanaka Kimiaki 田中公明.

1 T.2161.55:1063b10–c24. For a recent translation of the *Go-shōrai mokuroku*, see Shingen Takagi and Thomas Eijō Dreitlein, *Kūkai on the Philosophy of Language* (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2010), pp. 199–232. It does not, however, include the list of Sanskrit texts (p. 212).

2 On Prajña (or Prajñā), see Paul Copp, “Prajña,” in Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 360–362.

3 T.2161.55:1065c8–13. Ryūichi Abé, in *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 119, states that these were the Sanskrit originals of Prajña's translation of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (or, more specifically, the *Gaṇḍavyūha*), but this is by no means certain; cf. Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏, *Chūgoku mikkyō no kenkyū* 中国密教の研究 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha 大東出版社, 1979), p. 21. It can, however, be pointed out that the Sanskrit texts brought back by Kūkai include the entire *Bhadracariprañidhāna* from the closing section of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (with interlinear glosses in Chinese; text no. 5 in the Appendix, above) and that two verses of the same work (slightly truncated, possibly owing to eye-skip on the part of the copyist) are found in Siddhamāṭṛkā script in notebook no. 23 of the *Sanjūjō sasshi*. Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, who has reproduced the original Siddhamāṭṛkā text of these latter two verses together with a transcription, was unable to identify them (*Indo koten ron* インド古典論, vol. 1 [Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1983], pp. [90], [112]), but they had already been identified by Inokuchi Tajun 井ノ口泰淳 in 1978 (see *Chūō Ajia no gengo to Bukkyō* 中央アジアの言語と仏教 [Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1995], pp. 195–198), as corresponding to the first two verses of the *Bhadracariprañidhāna* (Kaikioku Watanabe, *Die Bhadracarī: Eine Probe buddhistisch-religiöser Lyrik untersucht und herausgegeben* [Leipzig: Druck von G. Kreysing, 1912], p. 29). It may also be noted that the *Bongaku shinryō* 梵學津梁

by Jiun Onkō 慈雲飲光 (1718–1804) includes seventeen Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Bhadracaripranīdhāna*, at least some of which presumably derive from Kūkai’s Sanskrit text; see Okukaze Eikō 奥風栄弘, “Kōkiji-zō bonbun *Fugen gyōgan san ni tsuite*” 高貴寺蔵梵文『普賢行願讚』について, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 60/2 (2012): 941–938.

4 For details, see Rolf W. Giebel, “The One Hundred and Eight Names of Mañjuśrī: The Sanskrit Version of the *Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta-aṣṭottaraśātakanāma* Based on Sino-Japanese Sources,” *Indo ronrigaku kenkyū* インド論理学研究 3 (2011): 303–343.

5 In 1909–1915 (Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai 佛書刊行会) and 1977 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan).

6 One notable exception is a study by Miyasaka Yūshō (included in *Indo koten ron*), in which he reproduces, transcribes, and identifies all the Siddhamāṭṛkā passages found in four of the notebooks (nos. 23, 26, 27 and 29); see also n. 77.

7 Hase Hōshū 長谷寶秀, *Daishi go-shōrai bonji shingon shū* 大師御請来梵字真言集. First published in 1938 in two volumes (Kyoto: Kyōto Senmon Gakkō 京都専門學校) and later reprinted, first in one volume in 1976 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会) and then in 1997 as volumes 4 and 5 of *Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo* 種智院大学密教資料研究所, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū* 長谷寶秀全集 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan). I have used the 1976 reprint. On a previous occasion (Giebel, “The One Hundred and Eight Names of Mañjuśrī,” p. 307) I unthinkingly wrote that all forty of the Siddhamāṭṛkā texts reproduced by Hase were in his own hand, and I take this opportunity to correct this error.

8 The following information is based on Hase Hōshū, “Kōbō Daishi go-shōrai no bonji shingon shū” 弘法大師御請来の梵字真言集, *Rokudai shinpō* 六大新報 1774 (12 June 1938), reprinted in *Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo*, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, pp. 397–401.

9 Here and below the text numbers are those of the texts as listed in the Appendix.

10 Said to have originally consisted of about 1,000 fascicles, 300 fascicles are preserved at Kōkiji, and some of them have been reproduced in Lokesh Chandra, *Sanskrit Manuscripts from Japan* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1972).

11 Kodama Giryū 児玉義隆 and Noguchi Keiya 野口圭也, “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō—*Daishi go-shōrai bonji shingon shū* shoshū no shingon ni tsuite” 第四卷・第五卷概要—『大師御請来梵字真言集』所収の真言について, *Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo kiyō* 種智院大学密教資料研究所紀要 1 (1998): 28–41. This is a modified version of the explanatory remarks (“Kaisetsu” 解説) by Noguchi included in *Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo*, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, pp. 403–420.

- 12 “Bonji shingon kōgoroku” 梵字真言校合録, in Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, pp. 362–395.
- 13 Bonji Kichō Shiryō Kankōkai 梵字貴重資料刊行会, ed., *Bonji kichō shiryō shūsei* 梵字貴重資料集成 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu 東京美術, 1980).
- 14 Here and throughout BHSG refers to Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, Volume I: Grammar* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953).
- 15 “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 35. The end-title and colophon have been transliterated by Noguchi (Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, p. 412).
- 16 The mantra in question reads: *namo ratnatrayāya, namaś caṇḍa-mahāvajrakrodhāya, om huru huru tiṣṭha tiṣṭha bandha bandha hana hana amṛte hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*. This mantra is also found, e.g., at T.864.18:198b1–12, 199a14–23; T.893C.18:664b21–24; and T.1146.20:603c16–604a3. Cf. Hatta Yukio 八田幸雄, *Shingon jiten* 真言事典 (Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha 平河出版社, 1985), p. 73, no. 437.
- 17 Cf. Rolf W. Giebel, trans., *Two Esoteric Sutras: The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra, The Susiddhikara Sutra* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2001), pp. 132, 203–204.
- 18 Miyasaka, *Indo koten ron*, pp. (101)–(102), (126).
- 19 Matsunaga Yūkei 松長有慶, *Himitsu shūe tantora kōtei bonpon* 秘密集会タंत्रラ校訂梵本 (*The Guhyasamāja Tantra*) (Osaka: Tōhō Shuppan 東方出版, 1978), p. 62.
- 20 Ngawang Samten and S. S. Bahulkar, eds., “Vasudhārādhāraṇīsūtra,” *Dhīh* 44 (2007): 134.
- 21 Cf. Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*, p. 315, n. 25.
- 22 On the term *śākyabhikṣu*, see Gregory Schopen, “Mahāyāna in Indian Inscriptions,” in *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India: More Collected Papers* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2005), pp. 223–246; Richard S. Cohen, “Kinsmen of the Son: Śākyabhikṣus and the Institutionalization of the Bodhisattva Ideal,” *History of Religions* 40 (2000): 1–31.
- 23 Several other of Kūkai’s Sanskrit texts end with *samāpta* or a variation thereof (nos. 1, 6, 21, 24, and 28), while no. 23 ends with the words *sumeru lekḥita*, possibly indicating that a certain Sumeru was involved in copying it or had it copied, or perhaps even that it was written on a mountain called Sumeru.
- 24 Kodama and Noguchi, “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 36.
- 25 Bonji Kichō Shiryō Kankōkai, ed., *Bonji kichō shiryō shūsei* vol. 1, p. 233 (A collections [sic] of hymns and mantras).

26 Here and throughout STTS refers to the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* and H. to Horiuchi's edition: Horiuchi Kanjin 堀内寛仁, ed., *Bon-Zō-Kan taishō Shoe Kongōchōgyō no kenkyū: bonpon kōtei hen* 梵藏漢对照初會金剛頂經の研究 梵本校訂篇, 2 vols. (Kōyachō 高野町: Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo 密教文化研究所, 1983). Note that *tatva* and *satva* in Horiuchi's edition have been given in their regular forms *tattva* and *sattva*, respectively.

27 This conforms with the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, whereas the Sanskrit manuscripts (T and S) have *vajracitta*; see *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 320–321, n. 13). The Dunhuang manuscript transcribed by Tanaka (see n. 38) has *vajracinta*.

28 The word *mahā* is metrically superfluous, but it appears in the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* (H. §632) and in the Dunhuang manuscript transcribed by Tanaka (see n. 38).

29 Bonji Kichō Shiryō Kankōkai, ed., *Bonji kichō shiryō shūsei*, vol. 2, p. 187b.

30 H. §§619–635; Lokesh Chandra, ed., *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), pp. 55–56. Part II is best known for the tale of the subjugation of Maheśvara by Trailokyavijaya; see Nobumi Iyanaga, “Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya—d’après les sources chinoises et japonaises,” in Michel Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein III* (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1985), pp. 633–745.

31 Lokesh Chandra and David L. Snellgrove, *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha: Facsimile Reproduction of a Tenth Century Sanskrit Manuscript from Nepal* (New Delhi: Mrs. Sharada Rani, 1981), p. 39.

32 The opening prose section may be translated as follows: “Then the Blessed Ones, all the Tathāgatas, reassembled and solicited the Blessed One Sarvatathāgatamahācakravartin [for instruction] with this one-hundred-and-eight-name [eulogy].”

33 *Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshishe dacheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經 (T. 865); see Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*.

34 As presented in the *Jingangding jing yuqie shibahui zhigui* 金剛頂經瑜伽十八會指歸 (T. 869); see Rolf W. Giebel, “The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation,” *Naritasan Bukkyō Kenkyūjo kiyō* 成田山仏教研究所紀要 18 (1995): 107–201.

35 Cf. Matsunaga Yūkei, *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsushi ron* 密教經典成立史論 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1980), p. 193.

36 Horiuchi, *Bon-Zō-Kan taishō Shoe Kongōchōgyō no kenkyū*, vol. 1, p. 20.

37 Text no. 27. This same passage is also included in another of Kūkai's Sanskrit texts (no. 3; Hase, *Daishi go-shōrai bonji shingon shū*, pp. 170–174). On

the six *nāmāṣṭasata* of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, see Horiuchi Kanjin, “Hyakuhachi myōsan no chūshakuteki kenkyū” 百八名讃の註釈的研究, pts. 1–3, *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化 112 (1975): 96–80, 113 (1976): 95–54, 114 (1976): 112–46; “Shōe Kongōchōgyō shosetsu no rokushu no hyakuhachi myōsan ni tsuite” 初会金剛頂經所説の六種の百八名讃について, *Mikkyō gakkaihō* 密教学会報 16 (1977): 24–50; “Shōe Kongōchōgyō shosetsu no rokushu hyakuhachi myōsan no tōkeiteki kōsatsu” 初会金剛頂經所説の六種百八名讃の統計的考察, pts. 1–4, *Mikkyō bunka* 122 (1978): 96–60, 123 (1978): 112–67, 124 (1978): 77–31, 125 (1979): 104–72. It may be further pointed out that what would seem to be another version of the second *nāmāṣṭasata* with which we are here concerned is preserved in Chinese transliteration in the *Sheng jingangshou pusa yibaiba ming fanzan* 聖金剛手菩薩一百八名梵讃 (T. 1131; translated by Faxian 法賢 in the late tenth century).

38 *rDo rje hung zhes pa'i bsgrub pa bsdus pa* (*Vajrahūmkārasādhanopāyikā*). See Tanaka Kimiaki 田中公明, *Tonkō: mikkyō to bijutsu* 敦煌 密教と美術 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2000), pp. 135–149, 230–246. Like Kūkai's text, the transliteration of the *nāmāṣṭasata* ends at H. §635 (pp. 243–244), with the following three verses having been translated into Tibetan and the final verse omitted. It also exhibits a greater number of variant readings than does Kūkai's text when compared with the extant manuscripts of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*.

39 See Appendix, no. 41, for further details.

40 The sequence *trayanetra* has provisionally been taken in the sense of *trinetra*.

41 Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, p. 413.

42 Rolf W. Giebel, “Notes on Some *Dhāraṇī-sūtras* in Chinese Translation,” in Kimura Kiyotaka Hakushi Kanreki Kinenkai 木村清孝博士還暦記念会, ed., *Higashi Ajia Bukkyō—sono seiritsu to tenkai* 東アジア仏教—その成立と展開 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 2002), pp. 30–36.

43 Peking edition, rGyud Na 35b4–5 (*The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition* [Tokyo-Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1957–1958], vol. 6, p. 164-3-4~5).

44 Isshi Yamada, ed., *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1968), vol. 2, p. 137.2.

45 Kodama and Noguchi, “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 36.

46 Sakai Shinten 酒井眞典, *Sakai Shinten chosakushū* 酒井眞典著作集, vol. 4 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1991), pp. 78, 85–86.

47 E.g., *Kāraṇḍavyūha* in P. L. Vaidya, ed., *Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Part I, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 17 (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1961), p. 301.12. Vaidya's edition of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* omits *tad yathā* and has *cunye* for *cunde*, but the full version is attested in several Chinese texts, e.g., T.1034.20:17a25–26

(without *om*, but added in the Yuan and Ming editions); T.1075.20:173a9–11; T.1076.20:178c20–179a1; T.1077.20:185a12–14; and T.1078.20:186b10–15. There are also the following variants: *namaḥ saptānāṃ samyaksambuddhakoṭināṃ, namaḥ* (> *namaś*) *cale cunde namaḥ* (T.1169.20:678c18–19); *namaḥ saptānāṃ samyaksambuddhakoṭināṃ, om cale cule cunde* (T.1169.20:686b22–23). On the above passage in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* and on a textual witness in Siddhamātrkā script from ancient Java, see also Arlo Griffiths, “Written Traces of the Buddhist Past: Mantras and Dhāraṇīs in Indonesian Inscriptions” (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 76, forthcoming).

48 On this point, see Robert M. Gimello, “Icons and Incantation: The Goddess Zhunti and the Role of Images in the Occult Buddhism of China,” in Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, eds., *Images in Asian Religions: Texts and Contexts* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), pp. 233, 252, n. 6.

49 Cf. Miranda Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 268.

50 If it were possible to interpret *sthitvā* in *pāda* 3b as a non-causative form used in a causative sense (cf. BHS, §38.24), then *dakṣiṇe sphuṭaṃ sthitvā* could possibly be translated as “having raised an open [flower] in your right [hand]” and taken as a reference to the lotus flower held in one of Cundā’s right hands.

51 T.2087.51:915ab; Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)* (London: Trübner & Co., 1884), vol. 2, pp. 114–115.

52 It is also mentioned by Faxian 法顯 in his *Faxian zhuan* 法顯傳 (T.2085.51:863ab; cf. Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. 1, p. lxii; Herbert A. Giles, trans., *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms* [London: Trübner & Co., 1877], p. 75; James Legge, trans., *A Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886], pp. 87–88), although he does not give the name of the mountain.

53 This opening section is cited by Kodama and Noguchi (“Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 39), who have *mahārate* for *mahārata*.

54 ‘:’ is here used to represent a punctuation mark consisting of two stacked dots to the left of a *daṇḍa* (which resembles the *akṣara* “ra” without the horizontal bar on top). The two stacked dots are also used alone and are represented below by a colon.

55 *Pādas* ab also appear in the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* (H. §2492, 44ab), but with nominative endings.

56 On this form see Horiuchi, *Bon-Zō-Kan taishō Shoe Kongōchōgyō no kenkyū*, vol. 1, p. 109, n. 7.

57 These final two *pādas* are cited by Kodama and Noguchi (“Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 39).

58 See Giebel, “The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch’ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*,” pp. 185–191. With regard to the mantra, it may be noted that the syllables *jaḥ huṃ* (for *hūṃ*?) *vaṃ hoḥ* are the seed-syllables of the four gatekeepers in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (Vajrāṅkuśa, Vajrapāśa, Vajrasphoṭa, and Vajrāveśa) and are commonly found as a single unit in many mantras.

59 For a brief discussion of 108-name eulogies, see Rolf W. Giebel, “The One Hundred and Eight Names of Tārā: A Partial Sanskrit Reconstruction of the *Tārādevī-nāmāṣṭasataka*,” *Indo ronrigaku kenkyū* 1 (2010): 441–442.

60 Cf. Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*, p. 21. I owe this observation to Tanaka Kimiaki (private communication).

61 T.869.18:287a7-8; cf. Giebel, “The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch’ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*,” p. 186.

62 While it is possible that the term *maṇipadmasambhava* is a double entendre, here it probably refers to the famous mantra *oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ*.

63 Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, p. 419.

64 See Janardan Shastri Pandey, *Bauddhastotrasaṃgrahaḥ* (Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1994), p. 38. I was able to consult only the digital text of this *stotra* (<http://www.dsbcproject.org/avalokiteśvarastotram/avalokiteśvarastotram>), and so I am indebted to Iain Sinclair for providing me with the corresponding page number in Pandey’s edition and also for pointing out that the attribution of this *stotra* to Vāsukināgarāja may have been an innovation in the Nepalese transmission of this text. In addition, the *Avalokiteśvarastotra* can be found among the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library (Seiren Matsunami, *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library* [Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1965], p. 292, no. 43; accessible at: <http://utlsktms.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/utlsktms/>), and here too we find *sadāprasannānacandra*° in *pāda* b.

65 The mantras in T. 848 have been reconstructed in Hatta, *Shingon jiten* (see pp. 306–308 for the mantra numbers); see also Rolf W. Giebel, trans., *The Vairocanaḥbhisambodhi Sutra* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2005).

66 Miyasaka Yūshō, *Indogaku mikkyōgaku ronkō* インド学 密教学論考 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1995), pp. 93–106, 112–117. The mantras in T. 873 and T. 874 have been reconstructed in Hatta, *Shingon jiten* (see pp. 319–321 for the mantra numbers).

67 Kodama and Noguchi (“Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 32) would seem to err when they state that this text coincides with the mantras in the *Jingangding jing Piluzhena yibaiba zun fashen qiyan* 金剛頂經毘盧遮那一百八尊法身契印 (T. 877).

68 On the Sanskrit manuscripts of this text, see Tanigawa Taikyō 谷川泰教, “Bonbun *Butchō-daibyakusangai-darani-kyō* ni tsuite—Nepāru shahon hōkoku [1]” 梵文『仏頂大白傘蓋陀羅尼經』について—ネパール写本報告 [1], *Mikkyō bunka* 138 (1982): 106–87.

69 The first four mantras constitute the *dhāraṇī* of the *Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī*. The corresponding page numbers in the Sanskrit texts edited by Gergely Hidas (*Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājñī: The Great Amulet, Great Queen of Spells* [New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2012]) are as follows: (1) 48.8–54.9, 115.3–126.7; (2) 54.9–55.1, 127.1–4; (3) missing in Sanskrit text (cf. T.1153.20:633, parenthetical note); (4) 55.1–4, 127.4–6; (5) 65.30, 151.10; (6) 66.1, 152.1; (7) 66.3, 152.3; (8) 66.4, 152.4–5.

70 Kodama and Noguchi, “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” pp. 33–34; cf. Hidas, *Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājñī*, pp. 73.9–27, 176.8–182.1.

71 In a partial Sanskrit manuscript of the *Mahāmaṇivipulavimāna-kalparāja* discovered among the Gilgit manuscripts, the mantras on pp. 319–324 of Hase’s text correspond to those in chapter 4 (“*Mudrāvidhāna*”); see Matsumura Hisashi 松村恒, “Girugitto shoden no mikkyō zuzō bunken” ギルギット所伝の密教図像文献, *Mikkyō zuzō* 密教図像 2 (1983): 71–79 (esp. pp. 74–75).

72 Kodama and Noguchi, “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 35.

73 Mikkyō Seiten Kenkyūkai 密教聖典研究会, “Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalopāyika-Sarvavajrodaya—Bonbun tekisuto to wayaku—(II) kan” Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalopāyika-Sarvavajrodaya—梵文テキストと和訳—(II) 完, *Taishō Daigaku Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo nenpō* 大正大学総合佛教研究所年報 9 (1987): (15); for the Sanskrit text of 21 of the verses, see pp. (64)–(68); and Takahashi Hisao 高橋尚夫, “Kikkyō bonsan ni tsuite” 吉慶梵讃について, *Taishō Daigaku Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo nenpō* 1 (1979): 162–179.

74 Miyasaka, *Indo koten ron*, pp. (84)–(85), (107), (128)–(129); *Indogaku mikkyōgaku ronkō*, pp. 112, 119.

75 Miyasaka, *Indo koten ron*, pp. (107)–(108), (129)–(131).

76 For a recent study of the epigraphical data, see Ingo Strauch, “Two Stamps With the Bodhigarbhāṃkārakṣa Dhāraṇī from Afghanistan and Some Further Remarks on the Classification of Objects with the *ye dharmā* Formula,” in Gerd J. R. Mevissen and Arundhati Banerji, eds., *Prajñādhara: Essays on Asian Art History, Epigraphy and Culture* (New Delhi: Kaveri Books, 2009), pp. 37–56.

77 T. 1000 is included in notebook no. 18 of the *Sanjūjō sasshi*, where the mantras in Chinese phonetic transcription are also rendered in Siddhamātrkā script; these have been transliterated with notes in Miyasaka, *Indo koten ron*, pp. (157)–(173).

78 The Siddhamātrkā text of T. 974B has been transliterated and also presented in Devanāgarī in Yuyama Akira 湯山明, “Fukū on’yaku Tonkō shutsudo

Butchō sonshō darani” 不空音譯敦煌出土佛頂尊勝陀羅尼, *Sōka Daigaku Kokusai Bukkyōgaku Kōtō Kenkyūjo nenpō* 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 9 (2005): 262–269; this study also gives transliterations of several versions of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī* preserved in Chinese phonetic transcription. In addition, Sasaki Daiju 佐々木大樹 has published several studies of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī*, and three versions of the Sanskrit text are given in his “Butchō sonshō darani gaikan” 仏頂尊勝陀羅尼概観, *Gendai mikkyō* 現代密教 20 (2009): 211–234 (esp. pp. 226–228). See also Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, pp. 244–245.

79 Robert Hans van Gulik, *Hayagrīva: The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-Cult in China and Japan* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935), p. 85.

80 Giebel, “The One Hundred and Eight Names of Mañjuśrī.”

81 For the Sanskrit text of the *Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa*, see Nalinaksha Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts* (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1984, reprint), vol. 1, pp. 93–100.

82 Cf. Itō Yoshiyuki 伊藤善之, Yaita Hideomi 矢板秀臣 and Maeda Takashi 前田崇, “Transcribed Sanskrit Text of the Amoghapāsakalparāja Part IV,” *Taishō Daigaku Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo nenpō* 23 (2001): (29).

83 Fujita Kōkan 藤田光寛, “Fūkūkenjaku darani no bongo shahon” 不空羅索陀羅尼の梵語写本, in *Nepāru shōrai Bukkyō, Mikkyō, Indokyō kankei bonbun shahon no genten hihanteki kenkyū* ネパール将来仏教・密教・インド教関係梵文写本の原典批判的研究 (report of grant-in-aid for scientific research, 1982), pp. 49–50. (This information is based on Kodama and Noguchi, “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 37; I have not seen Fujita’s study.)

84 The version of the *dhāraṇī* found in T. 1060 has been reconstructed in Lokesh Chandra, *The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications & Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 92–104.

85 A reconstruction of the Chinese phonetic transcription can be found in Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, p. 246.

86 A reconstruction of the Chinese phonetic transcriptions can be found in Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, p. 245. Parts of this *dhāraṇī* are inscribed on six of the eight so-called “*dhāraṇī* stones” from Abhayagiriya; see Gregory Schopen, “The Text of the ‘Dhāraṇī Stones from Abhayagiriya’: A Minor Contribution to the Study of Mahāyāna Literature in Ceylon,” in *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India*, pp. 306–313. Recently Tanaka Kimiaki has identified this *dhāraṇī* in an inscription unearthed at Udayagiri II in Orissa; see Kimiaki Tanaka, “A Newly Identified *Dhāraṇī-sūtra* of Udayagiri II,” paper presented at the International Conference on “Buddhist Heritage of Odisha: Situating Odisha in the Global Perspective,” Udayagiri, February 1–3, 2013.

87 Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, pp. 415–417. Noguchi does not, however, note the correspondences with T.

874 and T. 881. The corresponding mantras in T. 874 have been reconstructed in Hatta, *Shingon jiten* (see p. 333 for the mantra numbers).

88 Sakai, *Sakai Shinten chosakushū*, vol. 4, pp. 86–88.

89 For an edition of the Sanskrit text, see Iwamoto Yutaka 岩本裕, “Parunashabarī darani ni tsuite” パルナシャバリ一陀羅尼に就いて, *Bukkyō kenkyū* 佛教研究 3/1 (1939): 49–70.

90 For a reconstruction of T. 1061, see Lokesh Chandra, *The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara*, pp. 189ff.

91 A comparison with the Chinese text shows that in Kūkai’s text the section from *hata* . . . on p. 517, l. 5 to . . . *apra*ti on p. 521, l. 2 should follow . . . *apra*[*ti*] on p. 524, l. 3. This transposition is presumably due to confusion in the ordering of the folio sides at some stage in the transmission of the text. Kūkai’s text ends with four additional mantras not included in T. 954 (but which correspond to the final five mantras in T. 953, with the third being repeated in T. 953).

92 The mantras in T. 1225 and T. 1226 have been reconstructed/transliterated in Hatta, *Shingon jiten* (see pp. 332–333 for the mantra numbers).

93 The mantras in T. 1120A and T. 1120B have been reconstructed/transliterated in Hatta, *Shingon jiten* (see p. 330 for the mantra numbers).

94 Kiyota Jakuun 清田寂雲, “Shaka san (ōjin san) to shoten bongo san (ten ryū hachibu san) no yakukai ni tsuite” 釋迦讚 (應身讚) と諸天梵語讚 (天龍八部讚) の譯解について, *Tendai gakuho* 天台學報 24 (1982): 26–28. The Siddhamātrkā text has also been transliterated (but not identified) by Noguchi (Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, p. 419).

95 Miyasaka, *Indogaku mikkyōgaku ronkō*, pp. 106–111, 117–119. The mantras in T. 867 have also been reconstructed in Hatta, *Shingon jiten* (see pp. 317–318 for the mantra numbers).

96 Miyasaka, *Indo koten ron*, pp. (100)–(101), (125). For the Sanskrit text, see pp. 197–198 above.