An Annotated, English Translation of the Tenth Stage of Kūkai's *Jūjūshinron*

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Introduction

The following is an annotated translation of the tenth stage of Kūkai's (774-835 A. D.) $J\bar{u}j\bar{u}shinron$ (十住心論, Treatise on the Ten Stages of the Mind¹), known in Japanese as the $Himitsu\ sh\bar{o}gon\ j\bar{u}shin\ (秘密主义)$, or the Stage of the Mind adorned with the Mysteries.² According to Kūkai this stage explains the realization of the Shingon practicioner and is the esoteric teaching of the Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana which incorporates all the previous nine, exoteric stages.

The Jūjūshinron is the largest single doctrinal treatise written by the founder of the Japanese Shingon sect.³ The work was written in 830 A.D. in response to an order of Emperor Junna (r. 823-33) that the leaders of all six contemporary Buddhist schools-Ritsu (Vinaya), Hōssō (Yogācāra), Sanron (Mādhyamika), Tendai (T'ien-tai), Kegon (Avatamsaka) and Shingon-present a work to the court on the essentials of their teachings. After Kūkai presented the ten fascicle Jūjūshinron apparently another order was made to condense this work and so Kūkai produced the Hizō hōyaku (秘蔵宝鑰, The Precious Key to the Secret Treasury⁴). This work contains, moreover, some dramatically different material.⁵

It is well known that the $J\bar{u}j\bar{u}shinron$ as well as the $Hiz\bar{o}$ $h\bar{o}yaku$ present ten stages in the development of the mind of the Shingon practicioner and that the stages are correlated with the above Buddhist schools, in addition to Confucianism and various Hindu schools. In the beginning of the $J\bar{u}j\bar{u}shinron$ Kūkai states that based on the $Mah\bar{u}vairocana$ $s\bar{u}tra$ (Jap.: $Dainichiky\bar{o}$; in particular chüan one) he is now "going to reveal the stages of the mind of the Shingon practicioner. Distinctions

of exoteric and esoteric teachings also exist within these. Although there are innumerable levels of mind, I will briefly present ten stages."

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Kūkai entertained the correlations between the stages and the Buddhist schools discussed in the Jūjūshinron and Hizō hōyaku many years before either were completed. He explicitly presents this viewpoint in his Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron (弁顕密二教論, Treatise on the Differences between Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism, ca. 814-5 A.D.)8, Unji gi (吽字義、The Meanings of the Word Hūm, ca. 822 A.D.)9, and the Heizei Tennō Kanjō Mon (平城天皇潅頂文, ca. 823 A.D.)10. In addition, his Hannya shingyō hiken (般若心経秘鍵、ca. 822 A.D.)11 presents a similar discussion. This viewpoint was being expressed after his return from China at a time when he sought to gain court sanction for the Shingon school by arguing for its novel and valuable rites, practices and doctrines, especially in contrast to those established by Saichō.12

The distinguishing feature of the $J\bar{u}j\bar{u}shinron$ is that it consists almost entirely of quotations from Buddhist sūtras and commentaries. Although Kūkai makes clear his primary reliance on the $Mah\bar{u}vairocana$ and its commentary by Śubhakarasimha as recorded by I-hsing¹³, he bases his treatment, in addition, on the quotation of many other works. His aim was to disclose scriptural support for his analysis of the ten stages. What the $J\bar{u}j\bar{u}shinron$ reveals is his integrating and syncretic vision. That is,

"Although Kūkai found esoteric elements in many so-called exoteric texts¹⁴, some of the latter naturally had a more esoteric flavor than others. The stronger this flavor, the higher Kūkai ranked the text in question. Those doctrines which came closest to the esoteric teachings were, in his judgement, more profound and integrated. Shingon Buddhism, the most profound teaching of all, embraced all others, however imperfect, as integral parts of itself. Kūkai's final viewpoint was that the other varieties of Buddhism were as steps ascending toward the final, exalted level of Shingon." ¹⁵

Due to this structure and hermeneutics study of the $J\bar{u}j\bar{u}shinron$ by post-Meiji Japanese scholars¹⁵ has focused more and more on clarifying how Kūkai quoted and interpreted various texts to reveal his understanding of their relative esoteric value and content, and to contrast this with contending interpretations so as to purpoint and articulate sources of controversy. ¹⁷

Kūkai's partial justification, i. e., his quotation and evaluation of various texts, for the theory of the correlations was immediately challenged by other Japanese Buddhists and continues to this day to foster rivalry between Shingon and non-Shingon adherents. Enchin (814?-891?)¹⁸, Annen (841-915?)¹⁹, Hōnen (1133-1214)²⁰, Nichiren (1221-1282)²¹, and Hōtan (1654-1738)²², are some of the well known figures in the history of Japanese Buddhism who left works disputing Kūkai's theory.²³ After Kūkai's death down through the Tokugawa period Shingon adherents replied to these attacks by arguing for the soundness of Kūkai's standpoint.²⁴ In general terms, Kūkai's challengers argued there was no scripture (in particular the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*) clearly and entirely backing his assertions and that he freely construed and interpreted various texts to suit his own purposes. This is certainly the cause for the great controversy in Japan surrounding Kūkai's assignment of the Tendai and Kegon schools to stages eight and nine respectively.

Although Kūkai by and large follows the discussion in the Mahāvairocana sūtra and its commentary up until stage six, his entire classification finds no evidence of being clearly presented in the sutra. In the first chüan of the Mahāvairocana sūtra the initial non-Buddhist minds are described as mundane.25 The names and description of Kūkai's first three minds are taken without change from the sūtra²⁶ and are also given in the commentary.27 The names of the fourth and fifth stages and their description are also clearly taken from the Mahāvairocana sūtra28 and are repeated in the commentary.²⁹ These form the Hinayana vehicles and the minds transcending this world. The following Mahāyāna vehicle is described in the Mahāvairocana sūtra as one which realizes the original unborn nature of the mind, the latter as all natures (dharmas) lacking an intrinsic nature. Here Kūkai differentiates stages six (Yogācāra) and seven (Mādhyamika). This approach is urged due to the further discussion of the storehouse consciousness (ālayavijnāna) and the discussion of the void (śūnyatā) in the Mahāvairocana sūtra30 and it's commentary by Śubhakarasimha31, although these schools are not specifically singled out. eighth stage (T'ien-tai) finds no clear basis in the Mahāvairocana sūtra. The latter finally describes the Mahāyāna Shingon teaching as one which transcends the three vehicles (i.e., Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna

and Bodhisattvayāna).³² This is the esoteric mind in Kūkai's discussion before which he again differentiates a ninth stage corresponding with the Kegon teaching. The name of this latter stage (Jap. Goku $mujish\bar{o}$ $j\bar{u}shin$; the absolute mind aware of the absence of an intrinsic nature or the mind aware of the absence of an intrinsic nature in the absolute³³) does appear in the $Mah\bar{a}vairocana$ $s\bar{u}tra^{34}$ and the commentary.³⁵ The commentary also mentions the term Kegon-hannya in a discussion on the void which $K\bar{u}kai$ says means the $Kegonky\bar{o}$.³⁶

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Research is necessary to further clarify why a ten stage schemata as discussed by Kūkai was chosen. This will be important especially for understanding Kūkai's assignment of the T'ien-tai and Hua-yen schools to stages eight and nine.³⁷

In this regard, it is important to remember in analysing the $J\bar{u}j\bar{u}$ shinron that Kūkai's ten stage schemata may be based on the ten stages
mentioned in Śubhakarasimha's commentary. The passage in question says:

"...Furthermore, in reference to the preceding three minds, we will establish ten minds to explain this. In a general discussion of the stage of faith and understanding the first stage is the seed; the second stage is the sprout; the third stage is the bud; the fourth stage is the foliage; the fifth stage is the flower; the sixth stage is the fruit; the seventh stage is the seed of enjoyment; the eighth stage is the basis of fearlessness; the so-called fruit in the fruit; the ninth is the birth of knowledge which seeks the Buddha stage, the supreme mind; the tenth stage is the certainty of this mind. These (last) two minds are not of different realms; they are still contained in the eighth mind and only for expediency are they unfolded. Again, within each stage, each also possesses these ten minds." 38

Taking the above passage as a model it is possible Kūkai intended the T'ien-tai and Hua-yen stages to correspond to stages nine and ten (these are expedient, exoteric minds) while the Shingon school corresponds to stage eight (the tenth, esoteric mind in the Jūjūshinron). This is hinted at, for example, in his discussion of the T'ien-tai school when he quotes a long passage from the Mahāvairocana sūtra which ends (T. 77, No. 2425, p. 35la, 1.22ff.) by saying "Lord of Mysteries, this is the Bodhisattva's teaching of the pure mind of enlightenment known as the initial way of clarifying the teaching." Kūkai then goes on to say this is the preliminary stage of entering the Buddhist path (i.e., the Shingon path) as stated in the Daichidoron.

The high regard Kūkai held for the T'ien-tai and Hua-yen teachings is testified by his assigning them to stages eight and nine. Moreover, this is revealed in his discussion of the esoteric meaning of these two stages. The esoteric meaning of all stages is a hermeneutic he uses to incorporate all the previous nine exoteric minds within the final esoteric vehicle. Thus in stage eight he quotes the Joju myōhō rengekyō ō yuga kanchi giki (T. 19, No. 1000, p. 594c, 1.19ff) which says "If one recites the Lotus sūtra, i. e., if a man or woman, by reciting mantras, should secretly cultivate the Bodhisattva path, he/she will first enter the Garbha Mahā-mandala of great compassion." The esoteric aspect of stage eight is the samādhi and mantra of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva (Sarva-tathāgatālokita karunāmaya ra ra ra hūm jah; Oh seeing of all the Tathāgatas having compassion! ra ra ra hūm jah). The esoteric aspect of stage nine is the samādhi and mantra of Samantabhadra (Samantānugata viraja-dharmanirjāta mahā-mahā syāhā; Oh one who goes everywhere, manifested from pure nature! Very mighty one! svāhā). Kūkai interprets Samantabhadra as the enlightened mind of Vairocana.

Having been composed in India it is not surprising that the Mahāvairocana sūtra does not mention the T'ien-tai and Hua-yen schools or their teachings by name. In any case, Kūkai defends his view of these two schools from the standpoint of the new Shingon teachings. As explicitly developed in his Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron, the T'ien-tai and Hua-yen schools are exoteric because they maintain the position that the Dharmakāya, which Kūkai identifies with Vairocana, is beyond representation. In contrast, Kūkai develops the thought that the Dharmakāya Vairocana is immanent and can be graphically depicted, for example, in the Vajradhātu and Garbha mandalas. For this reason alone these two schools must be less profound than the Shingon teaching.

It should be remembered also that each of the last four stages in the $J\bar{u}j\bar{u}shinron$ is described as being part of the samādhi of Vairocana and that Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara and Samantabhadra (the esoteric teaching of these stages is described as the samādhis of these deities) are to the N.E., N.W., S.W., and S.E. respectively, of Vairocana Tathāgata in the Garbha maṇdala.

The Jūjūshinron continued the chiao-pan (Jap. Kyō-han; classifica-

tion of the teachings) tradition of Chinese Buddhism begun in the fifth century A.D.³⁹ However, instead of classifying all of the Hīnayāna and Mahāyana teachings (and practices) of the Buddha as more or less profound, as in the Tien-tai and Hua-yen schools, Kūkai now organizes all of the exoteric and esoteric teachings of the Dharmakāya Vairocana and correlates these with an ever more profound samādhi ending in the crowning stage of the Shingon school.

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The following commentaries were consulted for this article. 40 All Almanuscripts were examined in the Kōyasan University library.

- Kakuban (覚鑁, 1095-1143), Jūjūshinron damonshū (十住心論打聞集); Kōgyō Daishi Senjutsushū, (興教大師撰述集), gekan (下巻), edited by Miyasaka Yūshō, Sankibō, Tokyo, 1977, pp. 223-55.
- Chōyo (重譽, ?-1139?), *Jūjūshinronshō* (十住心論鈔), three chüan, T. 77, No. 2442.
- Raiyu (頼瑜, 1226-1304), Jūjūshinron shumōshō (十住心論衆毛鈔), eighteen chüan, Shingonshū Zensho, Vol. 10, Shingonshū Zensho Kankōkai, Tokyo, 1936.
- Yūkai (宥快, 1345-1416), Jūjūshinron girin (十住心論義林), two chüan, T. 77, No. 2454.
- Seishuku (政柷, 1366-1439?), Jūjūshinron shiki(十住心論私記), twelve chüan; manuscript; also titled Jūjūshinronshō; chüan no. twelve.
- Inyū (印融, 1435-1519), Jūjūshinron kūmyōmoku (十住心論広名目), six chüan; manuscript; chüan no. six.
- Chōei (澄栄, 1586-1650), Jūjūshinron taikōki (十住心論大綱記), one chüan; manuseript.
- Shūō (秀鍋, 1626-1699), Jūjūshinron kachū (十住心論科註), thirtytwo chüan bound in fifteen vols., manuscript; vol. fifteen.
- Ryōkai (亮海, 1698-1755), Jūjūshinron kanchū (十住心論冠註), ten chüan, Chizan Zensho, Vol. 7, Chizan Zensho Kankōkai, 1967.

Jūjūshinron damonshū (十住心論打聞集), T. 77, No. 2443, pp. 673b-685c; anonymous. The commentaries by Seishuku, Shūō and Ryōkai are the most instructive. In the following all commentaries will be paraphrased and the pages number(s) in the above texts will be given in parenthesis.

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THE STAGE OF THE MIND ADORNED WITH THE MYSTERIES

The stage of the mind adorned with the mysteries is the highest realization of the source of one's own mind. It is to know one's countless bodies as they really are, i. e., the Garbha sea assembly maṇḍala, the Vajradhātu assembly maṇḍala and (namely?) the eighteen assembly maṇḍala of the Vajraśekhara. These maṇḍalas each have four types of maṇḍalas, four knowledge-seals (jñānamudrā), etc. The four types are the Great (Mahā), Symbolic (Samaya), Law (Dharma) and Action (Karma). These four types of maṇḍalas are infinite in number. As a land's dust is incomparable, how much less are drops of sea water!

Seishuku writes (p. 1) the two terms for this stage, "mystery and adorned," are based on the Mahāvairocana sūtra (T. 18, No. 848, p. la, 1,23-4) and the Tattvasamgraha sūtra (T. 18, No. 865, p. 207a, 1,17). He and Ryōkai (p. 326a) say mystery refers to the three mysteries of the body, speech and mind of the Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana. Raiyu (p. 587a) says all exoteric schools profess their own teachings to be supreme while the Shingon school teaches the endless development of the mind and therefore it is known as the mystery of all Buddhas. In this regard Kūkai says there are two meanings for the term mystery, i. e., mystery of living beings and mystery of the Tathāgatas. Since living beings conceal their innate enlightenment due to ignorance the phrase 'living beings own mystery' is coined. The mystery of the Tathāgatas is their inner realization which is not revealed to those in the ten bhūmis (Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron, T. 77, No. 2427, p. 381b, 1, 3ff).

The above three mandalas are identified in the commentaries with the present day Mahā-karuṇā-garbhodbhava and Vajradhātu mandalas of the Shingon sect and the so-called eighteen assembly mandala of the Tattvasam-graha (T. 18, No. 869, pp. 284-87). Ryōkai (p. 326a) and Inyū (p. 25b) correlate the Vajradhātu mandala with Chi (智) or knowledge and the Garbhodbhava mandala with Ri (理) or principle. Inyū (p. 26b) also says the Vajradhātu mandala represents a process from a cause to an effect (i. e., of practice to the attainment of enlightenment) while the Garbhodbhava mandala represents the process of unfoldment from effect to cause. In T. 77, No. 2443, p. 682a, it is stated that the Hall of Eight petals in the center of the Garbhodbhava mandala represents the ten stages of the mind in the $J\bar{u}j\bar{u}shinron$. Mahāvairocana in the center is stage ten. The surrounding four Buddhas represent stages nine to six. The four Bodhisattvas represent stages five to two. Maitreya is also connected with stage one. Chōei (pp. 17-8) and Shūō (p. 7a) say both mandalas are innate to all living beings.

Seishuku also says(p. 2ff.) Kūkai is also referring here to all the mandalas described in the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* and the commentary by Subhakarasimha (i. e., T. 848, p. 22bff., commented on in chüan 12·3 of the *Dainichikyōsho*: p. 30bff., commented on in chüan five, etc.; in all he gives

ten mandalas).

Seishuku(p. 21-2), Shūō (p. 15ff.) and Ryōkai (p. 32a) describe the three families of the Garbhodbhava manḍala as follows: The Lotus family represents the pure mind of enlightenment innate to all; the Thunderbolt (Vajra) family represents the indestructible mind of enlightenment; the Buddha family represents endowed with principle and knowledge. Ryōkai says the other two families of Gem and Action of the Tattvasamgraha are encompassed in the Buddha family. He and Shūō say the Gem family represents boundless blessings and virtues while the Action family represents the accomplishment of all affairs out of compassion for living beings. Both Seishuku and Ryōkai refer to Kūkai's Hizōki (松蔵記, KDZ, vol. 2, p. 6) in describing these families.

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Inyū's commentary, which might well be called a manual of Shingon doctrine, presents a concise outline of all Shingon teachings in discussing the beginning of the $J\bar{u}j\bar{u}shinron$. He correlates the tenth stage with the third kalpa, the sixth nirbhaya and the realization of Buddhahood in the $Da\dot{s}abh\bar{u}mi$ system.⁴²

The four mandalas as described by Raiyu (p. 584), Seishuku (p. 3ff.), Inyū (p. 19ff.) and Shūō (p. 8) are as follows: The Great mandala depicts the images of the deities. In the Symbolic mandala objects like a sword, banner or thunderbolt are drawn. The Law mandala depicts the seed syllables of the deities. The Action mandala, representing the universal and splendid action of all Buddhas, is depicted by images made of wood, bronze, etc.

Shūō (p.8a) says the knowledge seals (Jñānamudrā) represent the inner four knowledges associated with the four mandalas. These knowledge seals are also correlated with the first four mandalas described in the Tattvasamgraha sūtra (T. 18, No. 864, p. 284c, 1. 18-9). The Great knowledge seal means the absolute truth transcending all oppositions. The Symbolic knowledge seal signifies the marvellous fruit in all images. The Law knowledge seal signifies the world of truth represented by words. The Action knowledge seal means the action of the body, speech and mind.

The sūtra states: "What is enlightenment? It is to know one's own mind as it really is." This single phrase encompasses countless meanings. Vertically it expresses ten kinds of shallow and profound meanings. Horizontally it indicates an enormous quantity like that of dust. Again it states "The features of the mind continually born are a great secret of all Buddhas. Now I will completely reveal ..." This is the vertical explanation. That is, from the initial dark mind of the goat, this is the process of gradually turning away from darkness towards light and striving onward. These stages, in brief, are of ten varieties, as already explained above. Again it states "Also, next, one determined to investigate the phrase 'supreme enlightenment,'

by knowing the infinity of the mind, will thus know the infinity of the body. By knowing the infinity of the body one will understand the infinity of knowledge. By knowing the infinity of knowledge one will then know the infinity of sentient beings. By knowing the infinity of sentient beings one will then understand the infinity of space."47 This is the horizontal meaning. The minds of living beings are infinite. Living beings madly intoxicated don't know or realize this. The great Buddha, in accordance with their capacity to understand the Buddhist teachings, indicated their number. The two vehicles of "only skandhas" (IV) and "removing karma" (V) merely know the six perceptions. Both teachings of "bound to others" (VI) and "enlightened mind" (VII) only reveal the eight minds. The "single path" (VIII) and "mind of absolute absence of a self-nature" (IX) merely know the nine perceptions. The Che mo ho yen louen (釈 摩訶衍論) explains ten perceptions48 and the Lord of the Mahāvairocana sūtra explains infinite mental perceptions, bodies, etc. To know the extremes of these minds and bodies is to realize the stage adorned with the mysteries. Thus the sutra says "If you enter the stage of the great knowledge initiation of the enlightened Bhagavat you personally will abide in the three samaya."49

Raiyu (p. 5) says the Dharmakāya in Transformation⁵⁰ (*Nirmāṇakāya-Dharmakāya 變*化身法身) explains the theory of six or eight perceptions. The Other-oriented body of the Dharmakāya in Bliss (*Para-?-saṃbhogakāya-Dharmakāya* 他受用身法身) explains nine perceptions.⁵¹

In regards to the three samaya, the first is the samaya of the Buddha family; the second the samaya of the Lotus family; the third the samaya of the Thunderbolt family. The various deities of these three families are infinite in number. Each of the various deities is endowed with the four types of mandalas. The Buddha family is the mystery of body, the Law family is the mystery of speech and the Thunderbolt family is the mystery of mind.

Ryōkai (p. 328b), quoting Kūkai's *Hizōki* (*KDZ*, vol. 2, p. 7), says samaya can mean essential pledge, enlightenment, equality, to remove defilements and time.

As for "shingon" moreover, in connection with the mystery of

speech, they have a name. Based on Sanskrit, these are known as 曼荼羅 (maṇḍala). Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva termed this the mystery of speech.⁵² Now, in regards to the Shingon teaching on the mystery of speech, I will reveal the heart of the Law maṇḍala. The sūtra states:

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"Why is this the mantra teaching? Because the principle of the letter A is that all natures (dharmas) are fundamentally unborn; because the principle of the letter Ka is that all nature's actions are unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Kha is that all natures like space are unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Ga is that all movements of all natures are unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Gha is that the unity of all natures is unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Ca is that all natures transcend all transformations; because the principle of the letter Cha is that all nature's reflections are unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Ja is that all nature's birth is unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Jha is that all nature's opposition is unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Ta is that all nature's pride is unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Tha53 is that all nature's growth is unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Da is that all nature's grudges are unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Dha is that the grasping of all natures cannot be obtained; because the principle of the letter Ta is that all nature's absolute enlightenment is unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Tha is that all nature's residence is unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Da is that all nature's alms are unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Dha is that all nature's Dharmadhatu is unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Pa is that all nature's absolute truth is unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Pha is that all nature's fragility is like a gathering of spray; because the principle of the letter Ba is that all nature's binding is unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Bha is that all nature's being is unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Ya is that all nature's teachings are unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Ra is that all nature's impurities are unobtainable; because the principle of the letter La is that all nature's features are unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Va is that all natures transcend words; because the principle of the letter $\hat{S}a$ is that all nature's essential nature is quiescient; because the principle of the letter Sa is that the stupidity of all natures is unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Sa is that all truths of all natures are unobtainable; because the principle of the letter Ha is that all

nature's direct cause is unobtainable. $\dot{N}a$, $\tilde{N}a$, $\tilde{N}a$, Na and Ma encompass all places. In all samādhis they freely and quickly can perfect all affairs. Thereby the benefits of the meanings are all completely accomplished."⁵⁴

Raiyu (p. 594), Seishuku (p. 9b) and Ryōkai (p. 329b) say the heart of the Dharma Mandala is represented by the forty-two letters. The above passage is interpreted in the *Dainichikyōsho*, T. 39, No. 1796, pp. 651b, 1.26-656c, 1.15. In summary this quotation is meant to illustrate the principle of śūnyatā or the void. That is, as all natures are unborn, no intrinsic nature or quality can be grasped and thus there is no birth, growth, etc.

The explanation of the meaning of various Siddham letters by the use of the theory of śūnyatā saw several applications. Kūkai in his Bonji shittan ji mo shakugi (梵字悉曇字釋義, T. 84, No. 2701,) selects forty-nine principle Siddham letters and explains how Ña, for example, means the knowledge of all natures cannot be obtained. (The letters he gives are a, i, 1, u, ū, r, r̄, l, l̄, e, ai. o, au, am, ah, ka, kha, ga, gha, na, ca, cha, ja, jha, na, ta, tha, da, dha, na, ta, tha, da, dha, na, pa, pha, ba, bha, ma, ya, ra, la, va, sa, sa, sa, ha and kṣa) The forty-two letters mentioned above are treated in the Makahannya haramitsukyō (摩訶般若波羅蜜経, T. 8, No. 223, chüan five), the Daihōkōbutsu kegongyō (大方廣佛華厳経, T. 9, No. 278, chüan seventy-six), etc. 55

Raiyu (p. 595b), Seishuku (p. 9bff.) and Ryōkai (p. 330a) all say the initial A is the foundation of all letters, that this is the first sound made when opening the mouth. Vairocana is represented by this letter and with it he forms all other mantras and his speech.

When meditating on a circle of such Siddham letters by so understanding them the full implications of the theory of $\hat{sunyata}$ are clarified.

Both Shūō (p. 17-24) and Seishuku (pp. 9b-16) follow the explanation of the *Dainichikyōsho*. Both say Na, Na, Na, Na and Ma signify appendage or limb, knowledge, foolish argument, name and ego respectively, all of which are unobtainable.

Note: In the following (p. 101) Kūkai states the above forty-two letters differ from the forty-nine letters explained in the Mahāvairocana-sūtra. Although this appears to contradict the commentaries it should be remembered the explanation in the Dainichikyōsho draws on the explanations in the Makahannyakyō, etc. in explaining the letters in the Dainichikyō.

Each of these various principles of the letters is accompanied by twelve articulated letters. Now as regards the initial letter Ka there are twelve articulations: Ka, Kā, Ki, Ki, Ku, Kū, Ke, Kai, Ko, Kau, Kaṃ and Kaḥ. These twelve letters are each one of twelve stages of deities. Excluding the eight letters in the middle, the first and last four letters (Ka, kā, kaṃ, kaḥ) are the principles of cause, practice, realization and entrance to enlightenment which is sought. Moreover, there is the letter Kāḥ and this means endowed with expedient means.

The five letters of each letter's principle are the five Buddhas and five knowledges of each principle.⁵⁷ These five Buddhas are of infinite number. The five Buddhas are the Lords of the Mind and the other deities are the mental attributes. The Lords of the Mind and mental attributes are innumerable.

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The twelve articulations obviously refer to the twelve primary vowels of the Siddham alphabet as combined with each consonant. Kūkai, in his $Hiz\bar{o}ki$, (KDZ, vol. 2, p. 20: see also Seishuku, p, 17) correlates a, ā, am, ah, and āh with cause, practice, realization, entrance and means as well as Mahāvairocana, Ratnaketu, Saṃkusumitarāja, Amitābha and Divyadundubhimeghanirghosa, respectively.

Chōyo (p. 672a) and Ryōkai (p. 331a) say the "five letters of each letters principle" refer to A, Va, Ra, Ha and Kha which are the five primary letters correlated with the five Buddhas, knowledges and elements. Ryōkai (p. 336b) says earth, water and fire form the mystery of body, wind and space the mystery of speech and consciousness the mystery of mind.

The above passage thus is interpreted as combining references to both the Vajradhātu and Garbhodbhava maṇḍalas.

Thus the text states "Similarly, if the Bhagavat enters the great knowledge initiation he indicates the affairs of the Buddha with dhāraṇī forms." It also states

"Lord of Mysteries, contemplate my sphere of the circle of words which is broad and the pure teaching which is everywhere and extends to infinite worlds. It manifests as its fundamental nature Dharmadhātus wherein living beings are taught in accord with their differences. It makes all living beings joyful."

It also states

"Since one knows countless minds, one attains four types of immeasurables. Once attaining them one achieves the highest enlightenment. One possesses ten powers of understanding, subdues the four demons and roars like a lion without fear."

Ryōkai (p. 331a) says "dhāranī forms" refers to the wheel of mantras or the speech of Vairocana which is omnipresent. He says the four "immeasurables" refer to body, knowledge, living beings and space. (? The immeasurable minds.)

Raiyu (p. 596) notes that once achieving enlightenment one attains ten powers of understanding. Namely: 1) the ability to distinguish that which

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conforms to the truth and that which doesn't; 2) the ability to know the true relationship between each cause and effect; 3) the power to know the four dhyānas (meditation), eight liberations, etc.; 4) the power to know the different capacities of all living beings; 5) the power to know the intrinsic nature of all living beings and all natures; 6) the ability to know the various desires of all living beings; 7) the power to know the various destinies of all living beings; 8) the power to know the present, past and future of oneself and others; 9) the power to know the place of birth and death of all living beings; 10) the power to know the means to transcend the realm of suffering and attain Nirvāna.

Again, the five types of letter A^{61} are the mind of the highest enlightenment. That is, based on these letters sounds issue forth and Buddhism is taught, i.e., these are speakers and listeners. This is an affair of the Buddhas of the Law maṇḍala body. The dhāraṇī forms as well as the circle of words clarify the body of the Law maṇḍala. The body of the Law teaching being so, how much more so are the other bodies!

The Mahāvairocana sūtra clarifies the realm of the four types of infinite maṇḍala bodies as well as the benefits of teaching Buddhism. This is the secret, inexhaustible and adorned realm. Thus the sūtra states "At one time the Bhagavat resided in the Tathāgata's empowered (adhiṣṭhāna) and vast, thunderbolt Dharmadhātu palace. All thunderbolt holders had assembled."

To comment, this in general clarifies the five knowledges and four mudrās of the great esoteric and absolute Mahāvairocana, the Lord of Mind Tathāgata, as well as his heart's infinite assembly. "Bhagavat" is a term of respect for the countless deities. It is as commented in detail in the Chou. "Resided" expresses one who resides and the place of residence. That is, each of the various deities dwells in a self-realized samādhi. "Tathāgata's empowered and vast, thunderbolt Dharmadhātu palace" is a different name for the five Buddhas. It is as the arrangement Mahāvairocana, Ratnaketu, Saṃkusumitarāja, Amitābha and Divyadundubhimeghanirghoṣa.

Shūō (p. 32) says the empowered Dharmadhātu palace is in the fourth dhyāna of the form world. He (p. 31) and Seishuku (p. 19) say the five Buddhas represent the Self-oriented Dharmakāya in Bliss (Jap. Jijuyōjin or Jijuyūshin Hosshin 自受用身法身). Seishuku (p.18) also says the passage quoted above (No. 62) refers to four certainties: time-"at one time" means at all

times; place-the Dharmadhātu palace; teacher-the Dharmakāya; audience-the nineteen Vajradharas.

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Again, concerning "Tathāgata", he is the body of the Great maṇḍala. This is the Garbha maṇḍala which is explained in the text later on. 64 "Thunderbolt" is the symbolic body. The fourth fascicle explains the secret mudrās and signs. 65

The "Dharmadhātu" is the Law mandala body. The second and fifth fascicles explain the seed syllables and mantras of the wheel of letters, etc. 66 "Empowerment" is the majestic body of actions. These penetrate the three kinds of bodies. "Vast" makes clear the measure of each body is identical with the space of the Dharmadhātu. Thus, the following section states "Bhagavat's body, speech and mind are alike. The extent of his body is the same as space. The extent of his speech and mind is also like this. 67

"Palace" expresses that dwelt in. Now the Lords of the Mind Tathāgatas are beginningless and endless and each resides in their Dharmadhātu samādhis. Thus the following sections state

"Once the Bhagavat Mahāvairocana Tathāgata, by the empowerment of the vast Dharmadhātu, i. e., at this time he resided in the Dharmadhātu Garbha samādhi and explained the pledge of entering Buddhahood."68

"Once Śākyamuni Buddha resided in the samādhi of the gem realm and explained the mantras of his own heart as well of his assembly. Similarly, Samantabhadra resided in the samādhi which adorns the realm of the Buddha; Maitreya resided in the samādhi which gives birth to a ubiquitous and great compassion; Avalokiteśvara resided in the samādhi of universal contemplation; Vajrapāṇi resided in the invincible samādhi of the great thunderbolt." [69]

Shūō (p. 31b) says the "three kinds of bodies" are the Great, Symbolic and Law maṇḍalas. The above Buddhas represent virtues of the Buddha (Mahāvairocana). Samantabhadra represents the self-realized realm of enlightenment. Maitreya symbolizes the compassion filling the entire Dharmadhātu. Avalokiteśvara emits rays of the Shingon teaching which also fill the Dharmadhātu. Vajrapāṇi or Vajradhara represents the indestructible substance of all Buddhas. Each of these Buddhas issue a mysterious light from their hearts as well as mantras.

Likewise, other deities were all like this. Each resides in a selfrealized samādhi in the four types of mandalas with the various deities of the three or five families in the infinite ten Buddha lands.

"All thunderbolt holders had assembled" clarifies the marvellous retinue of mental attributes.

"Where the Lord of Mind resides there are always mental attributes as infinite as sand and dust. The mental attributes form the retinue. Now the Lord of Mind Vairocana perfects a natural enlightenment. At that time all mental attributes are present i.e., they enter the Vajradhātu and attain the different knowledge seals $(j\bar{n}\bar{a}na-mudr\bar{a})$ which are the Tathāgata's inner realized virtues. Such knowledge seals are common only among Buddhas. They alone can possess these. As for the meaning of enlightenment, this is the infinite and boundless thunderbolt seal. As for the meaning of Buddha, this is the infinite and boundless Vajradhara. Because all virtues are of one characteristic and one flavor and lead to truth, these are thus called an assembly." 10

"Thunderbolts" are the Dharmadhātu emblems held by the various deities of the five families. The single, three and five pronged thunderbolts, wheels, swords, jewels and lotuses, etc., of the various symbolic bodies are commonly termed thunderbolt. Thunderbolt expresses the meaning of constant, immovable, indestructible and the ability to destroy.

Again, it is stated

"The great pavilion with precious gems, arising from magical and miraculous manifestations based on the confidence and understanding of the Tathāgata, is high and without a middle. It is variously adorned with all great and marvelous, precious gems. The bodies of Bodhisattvas form lion seats."

The commentary states

"The great masses have already gathered and should be where Buddhism is being taught. Thus, next, it clarifies the site of the pavilion and lion seats. The pavilion of the precious gems and lion seats is also the body of the Tathāgata. This is high, without discomfort and should be understood as vast and limitless. As its limits are unobtainable, it has no center. This is where all bodies reside. One should know that this pavilion encompasses all places."

That is, this is a symbolic body.

Again the sūtra states

"This thunderbolt is known as the Vajradhara in space without impurities, ... down to Vajrapāṇi, the Lord of Mysteries, who occupies the seat of honour along with the masses of thunderbolt holders in the infinite ten Buddha lands." ⁷³

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The commentary states

"From the said 'space without impurities' down to 'the masses of thunderbolt holders of the Lord of Mysteries, etc.,' this is all the inner realized knowledge seal of Vairocana Tathāgata. The 'infinite ten Buddha lands' are the different knowledge seals of the Tathāgata. Their countless number cannot be known with any metaphoric number. Also, the ten types of powers of understanding of the Tathāgata, in reference to each of the infinite Buddha lands, express the number of assemblies. Moreover, the virtues inwardly realized by this Vairocana, because of empowerment and through each of the knowledge seals, manifest the bodies of the thunderbolt holders. Their form, color, nature and number are all manifested images. They draw in and embrace every living being in accordance with their basic karma, nature and desire. If practicioners earnestly engage in discipline, practice the three mysteries and become identified with principle deity of worship, by this one teaching they will gain entrance into the Dharmadhātu, i.e., this is everywhere entering the Teaching of the Dharmadhātu."

Next the sutra states

"In addition, Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, Maitreya Bodhisattva, Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva and Sarva-nivāraņa-viṣkambhī Bodhisattva, etc., encircled before and behind and explained the teaching."

The commentary states

"Next is the assembly of Bodhisattvas lined up with the four wise ones seated in the place of honour. The above revealed, manifold thunderbolt holders are always the knowledge seals of the Tathāgata. These bodhisattvas signify union with meditation $(dhy\bar{a}na)$, knowledge and also compassion. Thus they are individually given names. Also, these are Vairocana's inwardly realized virtues. Such thunderbolt holders are the masses of the infinite ten Buddha lands. It should be known that the teachings of the various Bodhisattvas are juxtaposed and also, that they are the masses of the infinite ten Buddha lands. Because of

empowerment they are each manifested from the one teaching of the Dharma-dhātu and form the body of a good and wise friend. These four Bodhisattvas are the four virtues of the Buddhakāya. If there were something incomplete and imperfect it would be impossible to achieve supreme enlightenment. Accordingly, by the ranks and places of honour formed all virtues as infinite as sand and dust are consolidated. If the one teaching of the Dharma-dhātu and something incomplete and imperfect it would be impossible to achieve supreme enlightenment.

A detailed explanation of the names and meanings is given in the Chou. Next, the sūtra states

"Because of the empowerment of the Tathagata who is like a sun transcending the three times, there is the teaching phrased the equality of the body, speech and mind. Once, among these Bodhisattvas, Samantabhadra occupied the seat of honour and among the thunderbolt holders the Lord of Mysteries occupied the seat of honour. Because of Vairocana Tathagata's empowerment they expressed promptly the inexhaustible and glorious treasure of the body. Likewise do they promptly express the inexhaustible and glorious treasure of the equality of the speech and mind. They do not rely on the body, speech or mind of Vairocana Buddha to arise. In all places the limits of their birth and death are unobtainable. Moreover, all the physical, vocal and mental acts of Vairocana, in all times and places, explain the teachings of the mantra path in the worlds of living beings. Again, they manifest images of thunderbolt holders, Samantabhadra and Padmapāņi Bodhisattva, etc. Everywhere in the ten directions they explain the pure teaching of the mantra path. That is, from the initial mind aspiring to Buddhahood until the attainment of the tenth bhumi, this life is gradually fulfilled. The destinies of the types of living beings who increase illusion, karma and suffering are eliminated. Again, there are buds that variously develop."78

The commentary states

"Furthermore, as this teaching of equality is explained by a samādhi empowering at will, it conforms to and moves the masses. The esoteric, glorious, mysterious and unprecedented affairs of the universal sphere of Mahāvairocana are all revealed. The various benevolent ones like Samanta-bhadra, the Lord of Mysteries, who occupy the seats of honour, are the different knowledge bodies of Vairocana. They have already been perfected in such a sphere for a long time. Moreover, wise friends appearing from these manifold teachings of liberation each lead countless beings able to understand the teaching. Likewise they enter the Dharmadhātu maṇḍala. To benefit various Bodhisattvas who have first entered this teaching and truly

practice the Tathāgata empowers and promptly reveals great spiritual power. Just as when the Lion king wants to roar and always, at first, dashes forward with his body, revealing his talents and power and then later raises his voice, so does the Tathāgata act. Moreover, because he inevitably wants to roar like a lion and explain the teaching of every knowledge, he first promptly reveals innumerable, adorned treasures. The said 'adorned' depends on one body of equality to everywhere manifest every splendour. Such splendour is not without esoteric seals. All sounds everywhere are revealed from one speech of equality. Such sounds are not without mantras. All principle deities of worship are revealed everywhere from one mind of equality. These principle deities of worship are in samādhis. Certainly the different features of each of these three actions are all unlimited and cannot be measured. Thus these are known as inexhaustible and glorious." 79

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Again, the Vajraśekhara sūtra (金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祗経) states⁸⁰ "At one time the Bhagavat, the Vajradhātu Vairocana Tathāgata, (This,81 with a general phrase, praises the virtues of all deities) with the four kinds of Dharmakayas consisting of the five knowledges (The "five knowledges" are 1 mirror-like (ādarśa) knowledge, 2 equality (samata) knowledge, 3 discriminative (pratyaveksana) knowledge, 4 procedure of duty (krtyānusthāna) knowledge and 5 intrinsic Dharmadhātu knowledge (Dharmadhātu-svabhāva-jñāna). These are the Buddhas of the five directions. You should know that these are arranged in the order East, South, West, North and the center. The "four kinds of Dharmakayas" are 1 the body in absolute state (svabhāvakāya Jap. Jishōshin), 2 the body in bliss (or participation) (sambhogakāya Jap. Juyōshin), 3 the body of transformation (nirmānakāya; Jap. Hengeshin) and 4 the body in emanation (nioyandakāya Jap. Torushin). These four types of bodies are endowed with two meanings, vertical and horizontal. Horizontally, these are self-benefitting, vertically other benefitting. Their deep meaning, moreover, is a subject for discussion), (resides) in his inherent Vajradhātu (This clarifies the nature of the intrinsic Dharmadhatu) Knowledge, his natural, great samaya (This is discriminative knowledge), original self-enlightenment (equality knowledge), the full moon of the great enlightened mind of Samantabhadra (Mirror-like knowledge), and his palace of the radiant mind of the indestructible thunderbolt. ("Inde-

structible thunderbolt" celebrates all deities eternal bodies. "Radiant mind" praises the enlightenment and virtues of the mind. clarifies that the body and mind mutually are the dwellers and the dwelling. "In" is the mystery of speech and also means transcending boundaries. These are the three mysteries which transcend the five one-sided views and one hundred negations. Alone, they abide in the center of the centerless path. Those nearly enlightened beyond the tenth bhumi are unable to see or perceive this. This is called the sphere of the Dharmakaya's self-enlightenment. This is also the procedure of duty knowledge. The actions of the three mysteries all depend on this Those above five phrases all clarify dwelling. The term dwelling, in other words, is a secret term for the five Buddhas and is an excellent virtue. This esoteric meaning should be known.) (He resides) together with the retinue composing his own nature, the sixteen Bodhisattvas like Vajrapāni as well as the four goddesses of drawing in (samgraha) action and the eight offering, $(p\bar{u}j\bar{a})$ thunderbolt goddesses in the inner and outer circles of the Vajradhatu (mandala).82 Each, by their original vows and empowerment, themselves reside in thunderbolt moon discs. They hold emblems of their innate samādhi. All are body, speech and mind thunderbolts having subtle Dharmakaya, secret heart bhumi, transcending the ten bhūmis (This clarifies the Dharmakāya's inner retinue of thirty-seven basic and innate knowledges).

From each of the radiant thunderbolts of five knowledges, there issue 500,000,000 kotis of infinitesimal thunderbolts filling the space of the Dharmadhātu. Bodhisattvas of all bhūmis cannot see these. Also, they do not realize their blazing radiance and natural power. (This clarifies that the innate five knowledges of the thirty-seven deities are each endowed with virtues as countless as the sands of the Ganges. It we were to describe their arrangement it is given in the text. If we rely on our basic nature we will perfect all such virtues simultaneously.) Constantly, in the three times, the indestructible bodies of transformation benefit living beings and no time, even briefly, do they rest. (The "three times" are the three mysteries. "Indestructible" expresses thunderbolt. "Transformation" means ac-

tion. By means of the action of the three mysteries of the thunderbolts, extending over the three times, oneself and other living beings are made to enjoy the marvellous teaching.) By means of a thunderbolt nature (The seal of Aksobhya), an all permeating radiance (The seal of Ratnasambhava), an untainted purity (The seal of the pure Dharmadhatu body), various actions (Seal of the knowledge body of Action), and the expedient of empowerment (Seal of the expedient body of enjoyment), they save living beings (The virtue of great compassion) and spread the Vajrayana (The wisdom and virtue of teaching Merely one thunderbolt (The virtue of a complete mandala) can eliminate suffering. (The virtue of beneficial knowledge. The above nine phrases are the five seals and four virtues. seal of the Buddhas is endowed with four virtues. For the sake of self-enjoyment they constantly explain the one vehicle of the thunderbolt.) By means of this extremely profound mind, the innate and constant Dharmakava which is Samantabhadra, various bodhisattvas are embraced. (This clarifies that the absolute Dharmakaya is united with his own retinue and that he pervades and is united with others who simultaneously are joined with him.) Only these Buddha lands, consisting entirely of a pure thunderbolt nature, are Kegon adorned with secrets. (The word secret signifies the three mysteries of the thunderbolt. "Ke" signifies flower of enlightenment in bloom. "Gon" means endowed with various virtues. That is, the body and Buddha lands are adorned with Buddha virtues as infinite as the sands of the Ganges and the infinite three mysteries and this is termed mandala. "Thunderbolt" expresses knowledge. "Purity" expresses principle. "Natures" are considered twofold. These deities are each endowed with an inherent principle and knowledge.) With various acts and vows of great compassion they perfect living beings whose stock of blessings and knowledge is matured. (The above mentioned "deities (with virtues) as countless as the sands of the Ganges" are each endowed with the expedient means of Samantabhadra's actions and vows.) With the radiance of the five knowledges they constantly dwell in the three times and no time, even briefly, do they relax. This is the body of the knowledge of equality." (The

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"five knowledges" are the knowledges consisting of the five elements. The individual elements are each endowed with a knowledge seal. The "three times" are the three mysteries and the three bodies. "Not even briefly relaxing" means the actions of deities such as these are without interval. With these enlightened actions they benefit others and themselves. The "body of the knowledge of equality" signifies that knowledge is the mind's function and body the mind's substance. "Equality" means ubiquitous. That is, the knowledge seals of the three mysteries consisting of the five elements are countless. The knowledge of the body and mind permeates the three kinds of worlds, performs the affairs of the Buddha, and does not relax even for a moment. Each sentence and phrase of these stanzas are all the secret words of the Tathagata. Ordinary men like Śrāvakas & Pratyekabuddhas, however, understand the (obvious) meaning of the stanzas but cannot understand the (esoteric) meaning of the letters. However, if they understand the features of the letters they cannot know the esoteric names of the letters. A wise man who considers this, with the obvious meaning of the stanzas, does not impair the esoteric meaning. If we examine the commentaries of Vajrasattva this meaning can be known. Do not doubt this!!)

Now we know the dwelling of the stage of the mind adorned with the mysteries as well as the infinity of the body, speech and mind mystery. Now, who establishes the mantra teaching which is transmitted?

Answer: According to the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* the various Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, Maheśvara, Brahman, Nārāyaṇa, Indra and the four heavenly guardian Kings, etc. are unable to establish it. How can this be known? Because Mahāvairocana clearly explains it. What does he explain?

The Buddha instructed the Lord of Mysteries:

"The features of these mantras are not established by any of the various Buddhas. They do not make others establish them. Also, (the Buddhas) have no sympathetic joy. Why? Because these manifold natures are natures like this. Whether the various Tathāgatas appear or not these manifold natures naturally exist like this. This is because the said various mantras are true natures."

It is explained that

"Because Tathāgata's body, speech and mind are absolutely alike, the features of these mantras-their sound and letters-are all constant. Because they are constant, they are not swayed and do not change. True natures as such are not fashioned or formed. If they can be formed then they are a created nature. If a nature is created then it can be destroyed. It then changes in four ways (catvāri lakṣaṇāni) becoming inconstant and selfless. How then can it by called true speech? Accordingly, Buddha himself did not make this nor did he cause others to make it. If it is something made then again (the Buddhas will have) no sympathetic joy. Thus, in regards to the features of these mantras, whether Buddhas appear in the world or not, whether they preach in the past, future or present, natures abide in the state of natures, their essential natures and appearances being constant. They are termed absolutely set seals. The path of all sages is identical. All mantras of this mandala of great compassion and each mantra's feature are all true natures." 84

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We now know they are true natures and exist without men being able to fashion them. If it is so, who transmitted them?

Answer: At first, from Mahāvairocana down to the master of the Ch'ing-lung temple, there were seven generations of great masters. Their Buddhist names are Mahāvairocana, the absolute and great master; Vajrasattva great master; Nāgārjuna great master; Nāgabodhi Bodhisattva; Tripiṭaka Master Vajrabodhi; Tripiṭaka Master Amoghavajra of great and broad knowledge; Hui-kuo, master of Ch'ing-lung Temple. These great masters transmitted and inherited (the teaching).

Now we know the lineage of the transmitted teaching. What were the features of the first teaching? The sūtra states:

"Lord of Mysteries, the all knowing and all seeing one who perfected the highest enlightenment, appeared himself in the world with this teaching and explained various paths in accord with various pleasures and desires... with the sounds of the various paths of rebirth and by empowerment, he explained the mantra path." 85

It is explained that

"This means that Tathagata's self-realized self-nature is not formed by

Buddha himself. No other heavenly beings form it; it is a true nature always. Moreover, by means of the spiritual power of empowerment, he appears in the world and benefits living beings. Now the esoteric body, speech and mind of these mantras are the identical body, speech and mind of the Dharma-(kāya) Buddha. Moreover, by the power of empowerment he thus appears in the world and benefits living beings. Tathāgata's unhindered knowledge exists within the continuous succession of all living beings. It is perfected naturally and not absent. As there is no true realization of the characteristics of the self-nature of this mantra it is styled 'men within samsāra.' When you yourself can know and perceive this then you will be named the all knowing and all seeing one. Thus, such knowledge and insight is not something the Buddha himself fashions. Again, it it not something transmitted by others.

The Buddha, seating under the Bodhi tree, realized this teaching. He realized all worlds are fundamentally the constant Dharmadhātu. At that time the Buddha gave rise to a mind of great compassion. Why do living beings leave the Buddhist path so near and cannot realize it themselves?

Thus, through these direct and indirect causes, the Tathāgata appears in the world. That is, by means of this mysterious Dharmadhātu he fashions various paths and reveals various teachings. In accord with the capacities of minds having various wishes and desires and by various phrases and expressions, he freely empowers and teaches the mantra path. Although such arose based on the direct and indirect causes of the different capacities of people to understand the teaching, there was no change in the absolute itself. Although it was done through virtuous expediences, certainly nothing was fashioned by the Buddha. Although he gives different explanations by means of the universal teaching, still it is with Buddha's knowledge and insight that he instructs and enlightens living beings. If a practicioner, in regards to these ten similes of the mantras, indiscriminately perceives conditioned saṃsāra, and furthermore increases his mind's impurites, he misses the fundamental meaning of the Tathāgata." 86

Ryōkai (p. 339bff.) notes the transmitters of the Shingon teaching are also given in Kūkai's Fuhōden (KCZ, vol. 2, pp. 34-116). He says the legend that Nāgārjuna discovered the Mahāvairocana and Tattvasamgraha sūtras in a small iron stūpa in southern India means that he discovered the source of his own mind at which time the Shingon teaching appeared. The legendary full editions of both texts in 100,000 verses (see below) he interprets to mean the constant preaching of the Dharmakāya while the known abbreviated versions are what is explained at one place at one time.

The ten similes Raiyu (p. 611) gives as phantom, heat waves, dreams,

shadows, Gandharva castle, echo, reflection of the moon in water, foam, flower in the sky and a whirling ring of fire. Arising from causes they lack any intrinsic nature. They are explained in T. 18, p. 3c, 1.10ff. and T. 39, pp. 606-09 as well as by Kūkai (Shōryōshū 性霊集, KCZ, vol. 3, pp. 440-53).

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Moreover, because living beings in future worlds will have dull faculties and be perplexed by the two truths (provisional and absolute), not knowing the provisional is the absolute truth, the Bhagavat diligently indicates these matters saying,

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"Lord of Mysteries, what is the mantra path of the Tathāgata? It is the empowerment of these manuscript's letters."87

"Because the world's letters and words have a true meaning, accordingly, the Tathāgata empowers these by the true meaning of the mantras. If the true nature appears differently as the letters of the world, this is the misperception of the indiscriminate mind. All lack any essence which can be sought. Moreover, if it is said the Buddha, by spiritual power, empowers these, this again is contrary to the truth. This is not the mantra teaching."88

Now we know that which is empowered. By what methods does the Tathagata empower these? The Buddha next states

"Lord of Mysteries, the Tathāgata, for countless koţis & nayutas of kalpas, practiced and cultivated right speech, the four noble truths, four types of mindfulness, four bases for attaining magical powers (rddhipādas), ten powers of a Tathāgata, six pāramitās, seven jewels of enlightenment, four immeasurable minds and the eighteen uncommon merits of a Buddha. Lord of Mysteries, in summary I will say this. With the all knowing knowledge of all Tathāgatas, the powers of all the Tathāgata's own merits and insight, the power of knowledge originating in their own vows, the power of the empowerment of all Dharmadhātus, and in accord with living beings as suits their variety, the mantra teachings are revealed."89

"That is, with the Tathāgata's countless kalpa-asaṃkhyeyas of amassed virtues, he establishes a universal empowerment. Thus, in accord with every word and name established, all are like Indra's teaching, since all have meanings, are beneficial and are not imperfect. Again, these individual virtues are identical with the features of the mantras. The true nature naturally is not something that has been made."

"What is the mantra teaching? It is these: the letters a, a, ka, kha, ga, gha, na, sa, sa, sa and ha etc., that form the basic vowels and consonants. In

every letter there are twelve changes giving letters. Each of these twelve are basic. There are one, two, three, four or more letters joined together. All, if counted, exceed ten thousand. Each of these letters is endowed with countless exoteric and esoteric meanings. Each sound, letter and true feature encompass the Dharmadhātu. They form the samādhi and dhāraṇi teaching of all deities. In accord with the various capacities of living beings to understand the teaching they manifest exoteric and esoteric teachings. The esoteric teachings are the 100,000 verses of the Mahāvairocana sūtra as well as the 100,000 verses of the Vajraśekharayoga sūtra. The exoteric teachings are the sūtras of the five vehicles and five types of scripture explained by Śākyamuni Tathāgata who is the (?) para-saṃbhoga (Jap. Tajuyō 他受用) and Nirmita-buddha (Jap. Ōke butsu 応代佛)."⁹¹

The twelve changes refer to the twelve basic vowels (a, ā, i, i, u, ū, e, ai, o, au, am, aḥ) which when combined with the consonants give the different Siddham letters. Shūō (p. 60) lists the five types of scriptures as sūtras, vinaya, abhidharma, prajñā and dhāranī. The five vehicles are those of men, devas, Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas and Bodhisattvas.

Question: The Avatamsaka, 92 $Praj\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$, 93 $Nirv\bar{a}na^{94}$ $s\bar{u}tras$, etc., all explain forty-two letters. How is this sutra's (i.e., the $Mah\bar{a}vairocana$ $s\bar{u}tra$, chuan five) forty-nine letters different?

Answer: The Avatamsaka's and $Praj\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$'s explanation of the letters is a derivation.

Although the $Nirv\bar{a}_{n}a's$ explanation concerns the basic syllables and consonants it certainly, however, speaks of the shallow and simplified meaning, veiling the esoteric import.

Raiyu (p. 613) says the above three sūtras as well as the little mantras referred to below are explained by the Nirmāṇakāya Buddha and thus are exoteric. 95 Chōyo (p. 672c) notes the Nirvāna sūtra neglects to explain that the letter A means all natures are fundamentally unborn and that all the above sūtras fail to explain the true meaning of the letters a, i, ī, u, ū, e, ai, o, au, am, ah, r, r̄, l, l̄, na, jha and na.

Question: The Siddham syllables and consonants are all recited and learned by the children of this world. How is this mantra teaching different?

Answer: Now the Shittanjūhasshō recited and learned in the world is basically explained by the Tathāgata. Brahman, etc., convey, transmit and impart these to the world. Although it is said they

likewise use these, still, they do not know the true meaning of the letter's obvious or profound meaning in phrases. Thus, although they explain the four types of speech of the world, 96 they do not understand the true meaning of the mantras. Not knowing the true meaning of speech, all is illusory speech. Illusory speech increases the four types of language 97 forming three other painful causes of rebirth. If one knows the true meaning then he will eliminate all evil and gain all knowledge. For example, it is like knowledge or ignorance of poison and medicine which have their effects in being harmful or beneficial.

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How should we understand the meaning of suchness?

For example, each of the five forms of A^{98} etc., signify fundamentally unborn, quiescent, and ultimately unattainable, etc. Again, the letter A means all true natures, cause and effect, not two and the Dharmakāya. This is the seed mantra of Mahāvairocana. These five expansions are the seed mantras of the five Buddhas. In reference to the sought teaching of enlightenment these are cause, practice, realization, entrance and expedient. This single letter possesses 120 meanings as well as countless principles. It is as explained in detail in the *Cheou hou kouo king.* To interpret this letter's meaning, it is known as the Dharmavasitā Lord Bodhisattva as well as Mahāvairocana Buddha. 100

Each of the other letter's meaning is also like this. The various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas generate countless clouds of bodies which last for countless kalpas. They explain the meaning of each letter. A kalpa can be terminated but the true meaning of the mantras cannot be exhausted. This is to know the meaning of the letters as it really is.

Question: The teachings of Vairocana are termed esoteric. The teachings of Śākyamuni are termed exoteric. In the teachings of Śākyamuni also there are the terms mantra as well as esoteric. How are these different?

Answer: The mantras explained by Śākyamuni are selected numerous names and phrases given the term esoteric. The meaning of these mantras also is restricted by the various capacities of people to

understand them. In the Lotus, Nirvāṇa, Vinaya canon, etc., there is also the term secret. In accord with what is aimed at each simply has this name. The Vinaya canon has the term secret in contrast to (the canons of) the heretics of the world. The Lotus is concerned with guiding and unifying two vehicles and has this term. The Nirvāna, by indicating the nature of the Buddha, presents this.

Also, this term exists in the scriptures of the world's heretics. In accord with each thing loved and treasured this is named! Still, these are small mysteries and not explanations of the absolute. The Mahāvairocana sūtra states "The mind's successively arising features are the great mysteries of all Buddhas in the passages of the supreme Mahāyāna." In reference to the mysteries, there are great and little ones. The mantras also are great and little. Thus the P'ou t'i tch'ang king states "T.....am called mantra and also great mantra." The first mantras are the mantras explained by the Nirmitakāya (Jap. Ōkeshin) Buddha. The following great mantras are mantras explained by the absolute Dharmakāya.

Question: How are mantras and great mantras different?

Answer: For example, it is like Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. are concerned with explaining the shallow and simplified teachings, the shallow and profound are not alike. Why do we say not alike? If explained in relation to the initial letter A, in all the mantras explained by the retinue of Mahavairocana up to those explained by the Tathagata, there is the letter A. Letter A means fundamentally unborn. In reference to this unborn, there are countless The mantras used in secular incantations, in reference to their removal of illnesses like chills and fevers, are termed unborn. The mantras of the four guardian Kings of the world, in reference to their surpression of plagues, etc., are termed unborn. The mantras of Indra, in reference to their surpression of the ten evils and calamities, clarify this meaning. The mantras of Brahman, in reference to their surpression of the thought of desire are termed unborn. The mantras of Mahesvara and the mantras of the Śrāvakas, in reference to the knowledge of the complete elimination of the defilements (ksaya-jñāna) and unborn knowledge, are termed unborn. The

mantras of Pratyekabuddhas, in reference to their surpression of the twelve links of dependent origination, are termed unborn. The mantras of various Bodhisattvas, by each being mastered, are termed unborn. The vehicle concerned with saving others (stage six), in reference to the non-arising of the two obstructions and two voids of self and natures (dharmas), clarifies this meaning. The vehicle of the enlightened mind which is unborn (stage seven), in reference to the elimination of all ludicrous talk, explains this meaning. The vehicle of the absolute, transcending contradictions (stage eight), in reference to the constancy of ignorance, clarifies unborn. The vehicle of the absolute absence of a self-nature (stage nine), in reference...

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Raiyu (p. 616) says the two obstructions (in stage six) are that which is known and the defilements.

Seishuku (p. 39) says the text is left unfinished because the last two vehicles are clarified in the *Dainichikyōsho*. Ryokai (p. 34) gives also the attractive explanation that the text is left incomplete to express the inexhaustible nature of the Shingon teaching which arises from the letter A.

Finally, it should be observed that while Kūkai refers largely to the $Mah\bar{a}vairocana$ $s\bar{u}tra$ and its commentary by Śubhakarasimha, he balances his discussion by also interpreting a text of the Tattvasamgraha lineage. Among the writings of Kūkai the commentators most often refer to the $Hiz\bar{o}ki$, 103 and to a lesser extent the $Sh\bar{o}ji$ $jiss\bar{o}gi$ (壁字質相義) and $Ben\ ken\ mitsu\ ni\ ky\bar{o}\ ron$.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations

KDZ Kōbō Daishi Zenshū, Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, Kōyasan, 1965. KCZ Kōbō Daishi Chosaku Zenshū, edited by Katsumata Shunkyō, Sankibō, 1973.

T Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō

- T., vol. 77, No. 2425, pp. 303-62; KDZ, vol. 1, pp. 128-416. For two modern Japanese translations see KCZ, vol. 1, pp. 215-573 and Kōbō Daishi Kūkai Zenshū, vol. 1 (Tōkyō, Chikuma Shobō, 1983).
- 2. T. 77, pp. 359-62.
- Y. Hakeda writes the Jūjūshinron was "perhaps the most comprehensive religious work that has come down to us in Japan." Kūkai, Major Works, translated with an Account of his Life and a Study of his Thought, p.67 (New York, Columbia, 1972).

- 4. Translated by Hakeda, loc. cit., pp. 157-224; T. 77, No. 2426; KCZ, pp. 123-206.
- See Katsumata Shunkyō, Mikkyō no Nihonteki Tenkai (Tōkyō, Shunjūsha, 1970),
 pp. 190-2, for a summary of these differences.
- 6. Hakeda, loc. cit., p. 163ff. The correlations are 1) None, the Mind of Lowly Man, goatish in its desires; 2) Confucianism; 3) Heretics and Hinduism in general; 4) Śrāvakayāna and Sāmkhya, etc.; 5) Pratyekabuddhayāna; 6) Yogācāra; 7) Mādhyamika; 8) T'ien-tai; 9) Hua-yen; 10) Shingon.
- 7. T. 77, p. 303e, 1.26ff.
- 8, T. 77, No. 2427.
- 9. T. 77, No. 2430; Hakeda, loc. cit., pp. 246-62. T. 39, No. 1796, p. 767.
- KDZ,vol. 2, pp. 154-72; KCZ, vol. 2, pp. 117-34. A work written by Kūkai as an introduction to Shingon Buddhism for the ex-emperor Heizei.
- 11. T. 77, No. 2203 (a); Hakeda, loc. cit., pp. 262-75.
- 12. Matsunaga Yūkei, Mikkyō no Rekishi (Kyōto, Heirakuji, 1974), pp. 173-80; Takeuchi Kōzen, "Jūjūshin shisō no seiritsu katei ni tsuite," Mikkyōgaku Kenkyū, No. 10, 1978, pp. 101-34.
- 13. T. 39, no. 1796. This is true also in the Hizō hōyaku.
- 14. Kūkai regarded as esoteric those passages in exoteric sūtras which asserted the Dharmakāya preaches and mantras.
- 15. Hakeda, loc. cit., p. 66.
- 16. Due to the length of the $J\bar{u}j\bar{u}shinron$ it has always received much less attention than the more manageable $Hiz\bar{o}\ h\bar{o}yaku$.
- 17. The following represent a growing body of literature on the subject: 1) Tokiwa Daijō, "Jūjūshinron o chūshin to suru Kegonshū gaku no Mondai," Bukkyōgaku no Shomondai, Buttan Nisengohyakunen Kinen Gakkaihen (Tökyö, Iwanami, 1935), pp. 956-78; 2) Nasu Seiryū, "Jūjūshin no Kōsei ni tsuite," Chizan Gakuhō, no. 19 (1955), pp. 1-33; 3) Hanayama Shōyū, "Kūkai no Shisō Taikei-Jūjūshinron o chūshin to shite," Bukkyō ni okeru Hō no Kenkyū, Hirakawa Akira Hakase Kanreki Kinen Ronshū (Tōkyō, Shunjūsha, 1975), pp. 447-65: 4) Ibid., "Jūjūshinron no Mondaiten — (1), (2)," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku $Kenky\bar{u}$, Vol. 22, no. 1, Dec. (1973), pp. 25-32; Vol. 23, no. 1, Dec. (1974), pp. 379-84; 5) Ibid., "Jūjūshinron no Kenkyū-Joron," Indo Shisō to Bukkyō, Nakamura Hajime Hakase Kanreki Kinen Ronshū (Tōkyō, Shunjūsha, 1973), pp. 629-41; 6) Onozuka Kichō, Inyō Butten ni tsuite, Taishō Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō, no. 54 (1969), pp. 1-141 (well known traditional and more recent studies on the quotations in Kūkai's works are listed on p. 3); 7) Matsunaga Yūkei, "Fuhōden no Tenkyo to Chosaku Mokuteki," Kōbō Daishi Kenkyū, edited by Nakano Gishō (Tōkyō, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1978), pp. 1-32; 8) Ibid., "Kōbō Daishi no Chosaku no Inyōbun," Kokuyaku Issaikyō, Wakan Senjutsubu, Shoshūbu, no. 20, 175 (1979), pp. 1-8; 9) Katsumata Shunkyō, editor, $Hiz\bar{o}$ hōyaku, Hannya Shingyō Hiken, Butten Kōza, No. 32 (Tōkyō, Daizō Shuppan, 1977), pp.17-57.
- 18. T. 58, No. 2212.

- 19. T. 75, No. 2396.
- 20. "Chokushu Gyoden," l
n $H\bar{o}nen~Sh\bar{o}nin~Den~Zensh\bar{u},$ edited by Ikawa Jōkei (Inaba Kenji, 1952), pp. 16–20.
- "Shingon Kemmon," in Nichiren Shōnin Ibun Zenshū, jōkan, (Kyōto, Heirakuji, 1934), pp. 880-91.
- 22. T. 75, No. 2396.

- 23. Hanayama Shōyū has recently summarized the criticisms of Enchin, Annen, Hönen, Nichiren and Hötan in "Jūjūshin Kyōhan ni taisuru Kōdai no Ronsō," Daijō Bukkyō kara Mikkyō e, Katsumata Shunkyō Hakase Koki Kinen Ronshū (Tōkyō, Shunjūsha, 1981), pp. 1085-1100. See also Nasu Seiryū, loc. cit.
- 24. See those Shingon commentaries listed in *Shin Butten Kaidai Jiten*, edited by Mizuno Kōgen (Tōkyō, Shunjūsha, 1966), p. 251.

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- 25. T. 18, p. 3a-b.
- 26. T. 18, p. 2b, 1.5-26.
- 27. T. 39, p. 587b, 1.8; 590c, 1.8; 592c, 1.4.
- 28. T. 18, p. 3b, 1.1ff.
- 29, T. 39, p. 601c.
- 30. T. 18, p. 3b, 1.1ff.
- 31. T. 39, p. 602a, 1. 10ff; p. 603a, b.
- 32, T. 18, p. 4a, b.
- 33. Kōbō Daishi Kūkai Zenshū, loc. cit., pp. 746-7.
- 34, T. 18, p. 3b, 1, 20.
- 35. T. 39, p. 604a, 1, 25; 612b, 1, 4, c. 1, 2ff.
- 36. KCZ, vol. 1, p. 519.
- 37. Miysaka Yūshō argues that the discussion of the five types of scriptures (sūtra, vinaya, abhidharma, prajñā-pāramitā and dhāranī) in the Daijō rishurokuharamittakyō (T. 8, No. 261) provided the basic framework for Kūkai's analysis of stages four to ten. See his article "Jūjūshin taikei no Kōza," Kōbō Daishi to Gendai, Tōkyō, Chikuma Shobō, 1984, pp. 449-61.
- T. 39, p. 605a,1. 16ff. See also the ten stages in the Avatamsaka, T. No. 278, p. 445a, etc.; No. 279, p. 84a, etc.; Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Inyō, 1963, Vol. 5, p. 133.
- Hayashiya Tomojiro, "Kyōhan ron Josetsu," Bukkyō Kenkyū, vol. 3, no. 6, Daitō Shuppan, 1939, pp. 1-50.
- 40. See also KCZ, pp. 590-92; Kōbō Daishi Kūkai Zenshū, loc. cit., pp. 755-56.
- 41. See Hakeda, loc. cit., pp. 83-86; On the two mandalas see Minoru Kiyota, Shingon Buddhism Theory and Practice, (Los Angeles and Tökyö, Buddhist Books International, 1978), pp. 83-104; Inyū (p. 28ff) gives the alternative names for the nine assemblies of the Vajradhātu mandala for which see Mikkyō Jiten, edited by Sawa Ryūken (Kyōto, Hōzōkan, 1975), p. 233; KDZ, vol. 2, Hizōki, p. 9.
- 42. For the unique interpretation of these concepts in the Shingon school as explained by Inyū see Minoru Kiyota, loc. cit., pp. 108-23.
- 43. See also KDZ, Hizōki, p. 2.
- 44. Kūkai, Major Works, loc. cit., pp. 90-1.
- 45. T. 18, p. 1c.

46. T. 18, p. 2a.

47. T. 18, p. 40b.

48. T. 32, No. 1668, p. 606b.

- 49. T. 18, p. 40b.
- 50, Kūkai, Major Works, loc. cit., p. 83; Inyū, p. 25b.
- For the theories of the various perceptions see Takakusu Junjiro, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, (Honolulu, 1956) pp. 83-92.
- 52. T. 25, No. 1509, p. 84c.
- 53. Although deleted in the text, the phrase "all natures" should be understood.
- 54. T. 18, p. 10a, b.

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- 55. Mikkyō Daijiten, compact edition (Hōzōkan, 1983), pp. 999-1001. For the Siddham alphabet see Mikkyō Jiten, loc. cit., Appendix, pp. 26-30. Of the two lists of Sanskrit letters the forty-two letter variety is based on the order of the Sanskrit alphabet while the fifty letter variety is based on the mantra of Mañjuśri-a-ra-pa-ca-na. See Hajime Nakamura, Indian Buddhism A Survey with Bibliography Notes, Kansai University of Foreign Studies (KUFS) Publication, Hirakata City, 1980, p. 328.
- 56. The four types of letter A are a, ā, am and ah. The first a is the mind aspiring to enlightenment, the second practice, the third the mind of enlightenment and the fourth Nirvāṇa.
- 57. Hakeda, loc.cit., pp. 83-4.
- 58. T. 18, p. 40b; T. 39, No. 1796, p. 767e, 1.17.
- 59, T. 18, p. 40b.
- 60. T. 18, p. 40b, c.
- Hakeda, loc. eit., pp. 219-20; Hizōki, KDZ, vol. 2, p. 52, T. 39, No. 1796, p. 722e, 1, 22ff.
- 62. T. 18, p. 1a.

63. T. 39, No. 1796, pp. 579c-80a.

64. T. 18, pp. 4c-13a.

- 65. T. 18, pp. 24a-30a.
- 66. T. 18, p. 14eff., p. 30bff.
- 67. T. 18, p. 31b.

68. T. 18, p. 12e.

69. T. 18, p. 14a.

70. T. 39, p. 580b.

71. T. 18, p. 1a. 73. T. 18, p. 1a.

72. T. 39, p. 580c.

75. T. 18, 1a.

- 74. T. 39, p. 582a.
- 76. Shūō, p. 50; Raiyu, p. 607-8: Constancy, Bliss, Selfhood and Purity.
- 77. Т. 39, р. 582а-с.
- 78. T. 18, p. 1a-b.
- 79. T. 39, p. 583b.
- 80 T. 18, pp. 253e-54a.
- 81. All of the following interpretations in parenthesis are given by Kūkai.
- 82. See Mikkyō Jiten, loc. cit., p. 266.
- 83. T. 18, p. 10a.
- 84. T. 39, p. 650b.
- 85 T. 18, p. 10a.
- 86. T. 39, p. 650c. This quotation continues up to and includes quotation No. 89.
- 87. T. 18, p. 10a.

88. T. 39, p. 650e.

89. T. 18, p. 10a.

90. T. 39, p. 651a.

91. T. 18, p. 10a.

- 92, T. 9, No. 278, pp. 765c-66a.
- 93. T. 8, No. 223, p. 256a-b.
- 94. T. 12, No. 375, pp. 653e-55b.
- 95. Mikkyō Daijiten, loc. cit. p. 1000.
- 96. Speech originating in the world, dreams, illusions, and beginningless illusion.
- 97. Slander, flattery, evil speech and conniving speech.
- 98. Bukkyōgo Daijiten, edited by Nakamura Hajime (Tōkyō, Shoseki Kabushiki Kaisha, 1975), p. 373a.
- 99. T. 19, No. 997, pp. 532b-33b.
- 100. See T. 18, No. 880, p. 338b.

101. T. 18, p. 2a.

- 102. T. 19, No. 950, p. 207e.
- 103. On the controversy surrounding the authorship of the Hizôki see KCZ, Vol. 2, p. 710 ff.