

## Tantrism and Reactionary Ideologies in Eastern Asia: Some Hypotheses and Questions

In: Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie, Vol. 13, 2002. pp. 1-33.

### Résumé

Le bouddhisme a-t-il joué un rôle dans la formation de la modernité en Extrême-Asie, et notamment au Japon ? Le présent article est une tentative pour élaborer une des réponses possibles à cette question d'ensemble. D'une manière plus spécifique, nous essayerons de vérifier l'hypothèse que le bouddhisme de tendance tantrique de la fin de l'époque Heian et du Moyen Rge - ce qu'on peut appeler l'idéologie du bouddhisme kenmitsu - a pu avoir une influence décisive dans la formation de certaines formes de l'idéologie de l'État de l'époque médiévale (telles que par exemple le shinkoku shisō ou une certaine "mystique" impériale), et que celles-ci ont pu être à leur tour une des composantes importantes de l'idéologie réactionnaire du Japon moderne. Nous userons du terme "tantrisme" ou "tantrique" exprès pour parler de la tendance ésotérique du bouddhisme japonais de cette époque (au lieu de l'ésotérisme" ou du "mikkyō" plus usuels) dans l'intention de souligner la continuité de cette religiosité depuis l'Inde - l'Inde non seulement bouddhique, mais l'Inde tout court, puisque le phénomène tantrique n'a pas été limité au bouddhisme, mais a été un mouvement général des religions indiennes. On relèvera un certain nombre de cas particulièrement frappants dans les faits religieux du Moyen Rge japonais où l'on peut déceler des influences de la pensée tantrique, notamment des éléments d'origine plus ou moins shivaïte. On analysera en particulier un ensemble d'images mythiques relatives à des démons cannibales en remontant à leur origine indienne et en suivant leur développements japonais. Nous proposerons d'expliquer les très riches développements proprement japonais par ce qu'on peut appeler le modèle en virus de la structure mythique : une structure mythique importée dans une culture différente pourrait transformer celle-ci d'une manière semblable à un virus qui transforme l'organisme du corps de l'hôte qui l'a incorporé. En ce qui concerne l'évolution de cet ensemble idéologique après le Moyen Rge, nous ne pourrions relever que très peu d'exemples (comme le cas de Hirata Atsutane). Un certain nombre de questions proposant des perspectives de recherches futures termineront cet article.

---

Citer ce document / Cite this document :

Iyanaga Nobumi. Tantrism and Reactionary Ideologies in Eastern Asia: Some Hypotheses and Questions. In: Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie, Vol. 13, 2002. pp. 1-33.

doi : 10.3406/asie.2002.1175

[http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/asie\\_0766-1177\\_2002\\_num\\_13\\_1\\_1175](http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/asie_0766-1177_2002_num_13_1_1175)

---

## TANTRISM AND REACTIONARY IDEOLOGIES IN EASTERN ASIA: SOME HYPOTHESIS AND QUESTIONS

IYANAGA Nobumi 彌永信美

*Le bouddhisme a-t-il joué un rôle dans la formation de la modernité en Extrême-Asie, et notamment au Japon ? Le présent article est une tentative pour élaborer une des réponses possibles à cette question d'ensemble. D'une manière plus spécifique, nous essayerons de vérifier l'hypothèse que le bouddhisme de tendance tantrique de la fin de l'époque Heian et du Moyen Âge – ce qu'on peut appeler l'idéologie du bouddhisme kenmitsu (顯密佛教) – a pu avoir une influence décisive dans la formation de certaines formes de l'idéologie de l'État de l'époque médiévale (telles que par exemple le shinkoku shisō 神國思想 ou une certaine "mystique" impériale), et que celles-ci ont pu être à leur tour une des composantes importantes de l'idéologie réactionnaire du Japon moderne. Nous userons du terme "tantrisme" ou "tantrique" exprès pour parler de la tendance ésotérique du bouddhisme japonais de cette époque (au lieu de l'"ésotérisme" ou du "mikkyō" 密教 plus usuels) dans l'intention de souligner la continuité de cette religiosité depuis l'Inde – l'Inde non seulement bouddhique, mais l'Inde tout court, puisque le phénomène tantrique n'a pas été limité au bouddhisme, mais a été un mouvement général des religions indiennes. On relèvera un certain nombre de cas particulièrement frappants dans les faits religieux du Moyen Âge japonais où l'on peut déceler des influences de la pensée tantrique, notamment des éléments d'origine plus ou moins shivaïte. On analysera en particulier un ensemble d'images mythiques relatives à des démons cannibales en remontant à leur origine indienne et en suivant leur développements japonais. Nous proposerons d'expliquer les très riches développements proprement japonais par ce qu'on peut appeler le modèle en virus de la structure mythique : une structure mythique importée dans une culture différente pourrait transformer celle-ci d'une manière semblable à un virus qui transforme l'organisme du corps de l'hôte qui l'a incorporé. En ce qui concerne l'évolution de cet ensemble idéologique après le Moyen Âge, nous ne pourrons relever que très peu d'exemples (comme le cas de Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤). Un certain nombre de questions proposant des perspectives de recherches futures termineront cet article.*

Let me begin this paper with some personal remarks.

What I am interested in in my studies is, ultimately, to know myself: who I am, what kind of person I am, why I like something but dislike another thing, etc. Or more precisely, I have some satisfaction when I seem to understand more deeply than before the nature of the things I like or dislike, because I feel that in such a way, I understand more objectively who I am or why I like or dislike such or such things. In this paper, I am more specifically interested in

the “modernity” in myself and in the culture in which I live. Modernity has certainly many aspects, but here, I would like to seek the sources of reactionary ideology in modern Japan.

I belong to the generation of people born just some years after the Second World War. It is the generation of the political student movement of the late Sixties. I was in Paris at the moment of the so called “Revolution of May 68”; I was in Tokyo at the moment of the occupation, by the students, of many universities, especially Tokyo University. At that time, there were many political slogans that were more or less attractive; one of them was particularly fascinating for me and, I think, for many others: that was “Revolutionary romanticism.” For us, politics could be not restricted to economical matters or to a power-game between states or between established political parties; we could, and should participate in it with our daily desires or with our generosity, our ideals and our passion for justice, etc.

Some years later, reading books on the history of European thought, I discovered to my surprise that romanticism was one of the sources of modern reactionary ideologies. More recently, while studying the history, or rather the “prehistory” of Western orientalism, from the time of Herodotus up to the Sixteenth century,<sup>1</sup> I discovered that many ideas and topics of European romanticism could be traced back to medieval Christian thought. One of the striking examples is the theology of history and eschatology developed by many Christian thinkers from the very beginning of Christianity, but especially by Joachim of Fiore, whose mystical eschatology had a long and deep influence on the thought of numerous religious and political movements, including (in some aspects) Marxist philosophy of history on the one hand, and the idea of the “Third Empire” of Nazism on the other hand.<sup>2</sup>

Wouldn't it be possible to trace back in a similar way the sources of some of the ideas of reactionary ideologies of modern Japan in the history of thought of medieval or ancient times? If it were possible, we would be able to understand more deeply the nature of these modern reactionary ideologies, and to criticize them (in ourselves, or at least myself) in a more effective way. In fact, this would imply some reformulation of the concept of “modernity” itself, because we generally (more or less implicitly) admit that the modern world is a world ruled by universal(ist) values inherited from the West. However, at least in the case of Japan (as for other non Western cultures, I have no competence to say anything), we often have a vague feeling that before entering the modern age in the Meiji period, forced by the Occidental powers, Japan had been “preparing” its own form of modernity. This would explain why Japan could adapt itself so quickly and easily to the “Occidental” version of modernity. For those who adhere to the values of modernity, this would be a sign of the “advancement” of pre-modern Japan; I would rather say that we cannot impute all the responsibility of modernity to the Occidental world (which is “the Other” for us, the Orientals) only. Thus, if it were

---

<sup>1</sup> See my *Gensō no Tōyō* 幻想の東洋 [Imaginary Orient], Iyanaga, 1987.

<sup>2</sup> See Henri de Lubac, 1979, 1981.

possible to “dig out” the roots of some of the ideas of modern Japanese reactionary ideologies in Japanese or Oriental thought in the Middle or Ancient Ages, it would constitute a sign of the fact that at least some form of “pre-modern modernity” had been prepared in the Oriental world itself.

Now, I have to say some words on what I mean by “reactionary ideology.” It would be certainly very difficult to define exactly what a “reactionary thought” is or “ideology,” but I personally think that it is not the same as (political or social) conservatism. It stems from some dissatisfaction and from consciousness of a crisis in the current state of things. It is something active and frequently revolutionary. It is something that attempts to drive history. Is it specific to modern history—in other words, is it anachronistic to speak of reactionary ideology for medieval or ancient times? This is a hard question, especially because it seems difficult to find some equivalent of “left-wing” (or “progressive”) revolutionary thought before the modern age (the opposition of “right-wing” and “left-wing” thoughts and movements is certainly characteristic of modern history, and it seems now just about to disappear...). Nevertheless, I think that, for example, the image (perhaps not the reality?) of ancient Spartan militarism has been often alluded to by many modern reactionary (and totalitarian) ideologies. Many of the European medieval and modern revolutionary movements related more or less to joachimist eschatology, so that, for instance, the revolution of Savonarola in Florence at the end of the Fifteenth Century, may be characterized as reactionary. In the Asia, the revolution of the Empress Wu (武后) in the Tang period in China seems to have been typically “reactionary” in the sense that it invoked the ideal ancient empire of Zhou 周.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, I think that it is possible to say that the revolution of Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐 in the Fourteenth century in Japan had been driven by some kind of reactionary ideology.<sup>4</sup> And it is well-known that the work “*Jinnō shōtō-ki* 神皇正統記” written by the ideologue of this revolution, Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房 (1293-1354), has been one of the most important reference books in modern Japanese imperial mysticism and reactionary thought. These are only some very elementary and intuitive examples, without any claim to prove anything. However, I think that we can safely say, as a working hypothesis, that, while it seems precarious to speak of “reactionary ideology” in Ancient times, we can probably find at least some “forbears” of this kind of thought in some ideologies and movements that appeared in the Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See Antonino Forte, 1976. On the Buddhism of the Empress Wu, see also Ishii Kōsei, 2002C.

<sup>4</sup> See Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦, 1986.

<sup>5</sup> Umberto Eco wrote a very interesting article, “Eternal Fascism,” in which he proposed the concept of “Ur-Fascismo” or “fascismo eterno” and tried to define it (Fabio Rambelli has pointed out this article at the Evans-Wentz Conference, Stanford, May 1999; this article is published in his *Cinque scritti morali*, Milan, R. C. S. Libri S. p. A., 1997; I read it in the Japanese translation of this book by Wada Tadahiko 和田忠彦, 1998, pp. 29-68). Although his “Ur-Fascismo” refers only to modern history, I think that this attempt could be extended to pre-modern history as well.

On the other hand, I think that the subject of reactionary ideology, that is to say the people who promote it actively, does not come exclusively from the dominating stratum of society and from the elite thinkers at its service. Or it would be more precise to say that as pure ideology, it has its main root in the dominating stratum of society, but to become a political or social movement of any real power, it needs to mobilize an active popular participation. Popular participation in such ideological movements may come from various social levels in any given society, but—more often than not—they appear to well up from the most deprived elements (socially and economically, or both at the same time). Even though the nature of their dissatisfaction is certainly not the same as the one among dominating elements, they at least share the general dissatisfaction, and they are most attracted to the idea of the possibility of a general change in the whole social and political order. In this regard, I think that the analysis of Hannah Arendt on the importance of “mobs” in the formation and development of modern totalitarianism is still valid<sup>6</sup>—not only for modern society but also, at least to a certain extent, in the development of any reactionary movement in history (I think here especially of the role played by those who were called *akutō* 悪黨 or *hinin* 非人 in the reactionary revolution of Godaigo).

Of course—or perhaps, should I rather say “although”...?—, I do not adhere personally to any of the “reactionary” patterns of thought or movement, yet I think it is important to attempt to understand as far as it is possible, “from the inside” the motivations and motifs of such phenomena in history, if only to prevent that kind of ideology and movements to gain power one more time in our society.

Now, before entering our main topic, Japanese medieval religious thought, I must say some words on the method that I am going to adopt here. This method is definitely historical, and here is why. I wrote more than ten years ago an article with the title “Rethinking « Japanese Thought » —« Things specifically Japanese » and Buddhism—.”<sup>7</sup> “Japanese Thought” in this title refers of course to the title of the famous book by Maruyama Masao 丸山眞男.<sup>8</sup> I wrote this article after having read some works by Hakamaya Noriaki 袴谷憲昭, who was then beginning to publish some of his numerous articles on “critical Buddhism,” a critique of what he, and some others, were calling “*hongaku-shisō* 本覺思想,” or “Original Enlightenment” thought. As we know, Maruyama Masao had criticized some years after the war what he called “Japanese Thought,” describing it as something extremely amorphous and eclectic, including in its body various propositions or statements, even if they are contradictory to each other, a way of thinking where all real oppositions coalesce in the loose logic of “identity-of-each-other” (*sōsoku-ronri* 相即論理), in what he called “an embrace *ad infinitum*” (*mugen hōyō* 無限抱擁). I really

<sup>6</sup> Hannah Arendt, 1973; Japanese translation, by Ōkubo Kazuo 大久保和郎, Ōshima Kaori 大島かおり, Ōshima Michiyoshi 大島通義, 1981.

<sup>7</sup> Iyanaga, 1988.

<sup>8</sup> Maruyama Masao 丸山眞男, *Nihon no shisō* 日本の思想, 1961.

understand the irritation one can feel when faced with that kind of “eclectic thinking,” and I believe that Maruyama was fundamentally right when he said that this tradition of eclectic thinking was an important base on which reactionary ideology in Japan has always been founded. However, Maruyama was prone to consider this way of thinking as something “specifically Japanese,” a reasoning which would imply that every Japanese person, by the very fact that he or she was born in Japan, belongs almost inevitably to the tradition of this way of thinking. I wanted to react to this despairing “essentialism,” by showing that the *sōsoku-ronri* (“logic of identity-of-each-other”) had its root in the Buddhist logic of *hongaku-shisō* (used here in a very broad sense of the term, implying almost the entire Mahāyānic tradition of East Asian Buddhism, and especially the one of Japanese Buddhism). Although I do not share the somewhat rigorist, or fundamentalist, attitude of Hakamaya and his friends regarding “authentic Buddhism” and “falsified (non-)Buddhism,” I thought that his critique of the Buddhist traditions in East Asia and in Japan as the source from which developed many reactionary ideologies, was in general relevant.<sup>9</sup> If this inevitable and fatal “Japanese way of thinking” can be traced back to this very specific and *historical* form of East-Asian Buddhism, it will be possible to analyze its origins and development, to understand its characters and nature, and finally to exorcize its magical yoke. After fifteen years, my “strategy,” here, has not changed: I want to avoid any meta-historical entity or “essentiality”; and to this end, I want to show that any kind of “yoke” which seems to bind us, has some historical origins and development... I am aware of the weakness and danger of such a strategy: on the one hand, what we tend to consider as “historical *facts*” are the result of interpretation as well; on the other hand, related to this, we are often compelled to build hypothesis on hypothesis, to reach our goal—but, in the end, all the entire construction may be a “*château de cartes*,” a mere figment of our imagination. This is why I would like to submit to the reader some hypothesis that may be confirmed with evidence, or on the contrary refuted. And I would like also to submit some questions, hoping that good questions open doors leading to fruitful research.

Since I wrote the above mentioned article on the influence of *hongaku-shisō* on the history of culture and thought in Japan, more than fifteen years have passed; during that time, I have been working on various themes of Buddhist mythology, from India to Japan, following as far as possible the method used by

---

<sup>9</sup> I have to remark at this point that, at least during the period when I was writing the above mentioned article (that is some fifteen years ago), Hakamaya himself was ascribing the mysticism of *hongaku-shisō* to the influence of some “indigenous traditions” or thought (*dochaku-dentō* 土着傳統 or *dochaku shisō* 土着思想) belonging to each culture in which Buddhism has lived or been imported (Hindu, Chinese or Japanese, etc.). I would say that while the critique of *hongaku-shisō* opens the door to the possibility of a historical critique of each Buddhist tradition, this “return to the indigenous traditions” puts an end to this possibility, and at the same time, falls in the same essentialism as that of Maruyama Masao...

R. A. Stein in some of his remarkable works, especially on the Gate-keeper gods (what we could call “Skanda/Gaṇeśa complex”) and on the feminization of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in China (and in other cultures under influence of Chinese culture).<sup>10</sup> My work, which deals mainly with the mythology of Mahākāla (Jp. Daikoku-ten) and with the figure of Avalokiteśvara in China and Japan,<sup>11</sup> led me more and more to the conviction that Tantrism had played an immense role in the formation of East Asian culture in general, and especially in Japanese medieval culture; moreover, it seems to me that, Buddhist Tantrism having a deep connection with the Śaiva (and also Śākta) religion, Japanese medieval religion may be, in some aspects, considered as a special local development of the Śaiva religiosity. However, since there are very few works of Buddhist mythology “à la R. A. Stein,” at some moments I was feeling very lonely in my work, and I was not sure of my own thoughts. Then, I suddenly discovered the “new wave” of the Japanese medieval studies, led by those brilliant scholars like Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎, Yamamoto Hiroko 山本ひろ子 or Tanaka Takako 田中貴子 and others; their fascinating studies were shedding new light on some Japanese medieval religious facts, which seemed to me very familiar, because of my background of studies on Śaiva deities in East Asian Buddhism (such as Maheśvara, Mahākāla, *dākinī*, etc.).<sup>12</sup> This gave me some confidence in my thoughts. On the other hand, these new Japanese medieval studies were showing that this current of thought and practice (which could be qualified by the word “*kenmitsu epistèmè*,” an expression coined by Fabio Rambelli that I find very illuminating) had been closely related to the formation of medieval Japan state ideology (imperial ideology and “Land of Kami” *shinkoku* ideology) and it had been one of the main fundamentals on which medieval Shintō had been built.

I shall give here as examples only some very well known facts<sup>13</sup>:

– The *abhiṣeka* of enthronement (*sokui-kanjō* 即位灌頂) in which Dakini-ten 荼吉尼天—which is the Japanese form of *dākinī*, the cruel female demon attendant of Hindu Kālī—has the role of principle deity (*honzon* 本尊). As has been shown in many authoritative studies by several leaders of the Japanese “new wave” of medieval studies (among whom I would especially like to mention Sakurai Yoshirō 桜井好朗 and Abe Yasurō), this ceremony has been one of the most important foundations of the imperial system in the Middle Ages from the point of view of Buddhist mysticism (see also below on this ceremony and its relation with the Śaiva mythology).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> R. A. Stein, 1981 (see also English translation); Id., 1986.

<sup>11</sup> Iyanaga, 2002A and Id. 2002B.

<sup>12</sup> Please note that I myself have no specialized knowledge on Hinduism or Śaiva religion, although I am interested in them.

<sup>13</sup> I have dealt with almost all of these questions in some of my earlier works, in which I gave full references. See particularly “Daikokuten 大黒天,” *Hōbōgirin* 法寶義林, VII, 1994, pp. 839-920; Iyanaga, 1996-1997, 1998A, 1998B, 1999A, 1999B, and 2002A, 2002B.

<sup>14</sup> See Iyanaga, 1999B; and Alan Grapard, “Of Emperors and Foxy Ladies,” in this volume.

– The myth of King Māra of the Sixth Heaven who plays a major role in the myth of the creation of Japan.<sup>15</sup> Because of the confusion between Īśvara, one of the names of Maheśvara-Śiva, and Vaśavartin, which is the name given to the King of the Sixth Heaven in the Sphere of Desire—both these names had been translated by *Zizai-tian/Jizai-ten* 自在天 in Chinese—the representation of this King Māra is often mixed up with the image of Maheśvara as the deity who has rebelled against the order of the Buddha Vairocana and has been subjugated by Vajrapāṇi/Trailokyavijaya in the *Jingangding-jing/Kongō-chō kyō* 金剛頂經 cycle<sup>16</sup>; I think that it is even possible to consider that the concept of *ma* 魔 (which is very close to that of *tengu* 天狗) in medieval Japan is in many aspects related to the image of this rebelling Maheśvara. The myth of King Māra of the Sixth Heaven has many complicated variations, but it is worth noting especially that the Japanese god Izanagi 伊弉諾尊, the great father of the goddess Amaterasu 天照太神, was often assimilated to Īśāna, another name of Maheśvara-Śiva; another interesting fact is that the Divine Seal, one of the Three Regalia, which inaugurate and guarantee the legitimacy and the perennity of the Imperial lineage, has often been considered as the paper on which the contract given by King Māra to Amaterasu or Izanagi, the creator god of Japan, had been written (with his blood).

– At the beginning of *Yamato Katsuragi hōzan-ki* 大和葛城寶山記, we find a cosmogonical myth which is an almost literal quotation from a passage of *Daichido-ron* 大智度論; this passage, in its turn, is one of the rare citations in Buddhist texts of a purely Hindu myth of creation, in which Viṣṇu plays the role of the primordial god: at the beginning of the world (*kalpa*), Viṣṇu is sleeping on the cosmic serpent *śeṣa* at the bottom of the ocean; from his navel a stalk of lotus comes out and a great lotus flower with a thousand petals bursts into bloom; on this lotus flower is seated the god Brahmā, who creates the world...<sup>17</sup> This passage (of *Yamato Katsuragi hōzan-ki*) seems particularly important in the history of the formation of medieval Shintō “theology,” because on the one hand, it introduces Brahmā who will be assimilated to the most important divinitie(s) in Ise Shintō, and, on the other hand, it presents the idea of a primordial creating god. By the way, we know that in the writings of Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776-1843), who is one of the most famous founders of (pre-)modern ultra-nationalism in Japan, this god Brahmā (who is more or less identified to Maheśvara, Viṣṇu and also to Māra) is assimilated to some of the Japanese primordial gods, especially to the god Taka-mi-musu-hi 高皇產大神. Thus, we could say that (at least one of the) primordial gods of “our Great Imperial State” (*wa-ga dai-kō-koku* 我が大皇國) has his origin in Hindu mythology...<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See Iyanaga, 1996-1997, 1998A, 1998B, 1999A.

<sup>16</sup> On this important myth, see my old article “Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya—d’après les sources chinoises et japonaises,” Iyanaga, 1985.

<sup>17</sup> The text in *Chūsei shintō-ron* 中世神道論, Ōsumi, 1977, p. 58 [Japanese *kundoku-bun*], p. 273b [original text]. See my “Dairoku-ten Maō...,” Iyanaga, 1998B, p. 30a-b; Itō Satoshi 伊藤聡, 1997, pp. 50b-51a and n. 3.

<sup>18</sup> See Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤, *Indo zōshi* 印度藏志, 1918, pp. 297b-319a, etc.; and my



– In the famous *Nakatomi no harae kunge* 中臣祓訓解, we find statements like the following: “Takama-no-hara 高天原 [the mythical “Heaven” in Japanese classical mythology] (the First Ecstasy in the Sphere of Forms; the Heaven of the gods Brahmā[kāyika] (*shikikai shozen Bonshu no ten nari* 色界初禪、梵衆天也)...” Another striking statement says: “All the gods (*yaorozu no kami-tachi* 八百萬神達): that is King Brahmā and Śakra devendra, innumerable sons of gods, the Four Great Kings of Gods, innumerable Kings Brahmā, Eighty four thousand gods” [*Bonnō Taishaku, muryō no tenshi, Shidai-tennō, muryō no Bonnō-ten, hachiman-shisen no kami nari* 梵王帝釋、無量ノ天子、四大天王、無量ノ梵王天、八萬四千の神なり].<sup>19</sup> The expression “*yaorozu-no-kami*” seems usually to designate specifically *Japanese* gods, but here, it may have the signification of all the gods in general. By the way, this word “*yaorozu-no-kami*” reminds Japanese people of a certain generation of the war time atmosphere with the hysterical nationalism urged by the militarists, who used to state that our divine country was protected by these mighty Japanese gods... Another statement of the text in the same vein says: “Countries of the four directions (*yomo no kuni* 四方之國): that is Great Japan. It is the Palace of Mahāvairocana, that is to say the territory of the world” [*Dai-nihon-shū nari. Dainichi-gū, sekai no kokudo nari* 大日本州也。大日宮、世界ノ國土なり].<sup>20</sup> Thus, we could say that in the thought of these thinkers of early medieval “Buddho-shintoism,” Japan is simply identified to the “world,” and that this is done by referring to Buddhist (Indian) mythology and cosmology. This is a very strange amalgamation of particularism and universalism (Japan, our very particular and specific country, is identified directly with the universe; it is not simple and primitive ethnocentrism, because the authors are very conscious of the *particularity* of “our divine country”), which seems to be based on the crisis of consciousness regarding the legitimacy of the Japanese state and of its rulers, the Imperial dynasty. This crisis of consciousness, which no doubt originated from the crisis of power in late Heian period, seems to characterize all medieval thought in Japan. The *statu quo* of Japan—which was oscillating dangerously—could no longer be “justified” by itself, it was no longer “self-evident”; to be justified and legitimized, it had to be referred to the universal value system of Buddhism; these thinkers were aware of the fact that Buddhism was also the product of a particular country, India, but this country, although located geographically, was so far in the *imaginaire* of these people that it remained a dream-country and of universal gods and Buddhas... By the way, the interpretation of the term “Great Japan” (*Dai-nihon*) by the “Palace of Mahāvairocana” (*Dainichi-gū*) recalls the famous medieval Buddho-Shintoist doctrine of “Great Japan” as the “Original Land of

---

“Dairoku-ten Maō...,” Iyanaga, 1999A, p. 30b-32a.—Of course, for Hirata himself, the relation is reversed: it is the Japanese myth of Taka-mi-musu-hi which is the source of the Hindu Brahmā!

<sup>19</sup> Text in Ōsumi, 1977, p. 44 [Japanese *kundoku-bun*], p. 268b [original text]; see Iyanaga, 1998B, p. 30a.

<sup>20</sup> Text in Ōsumi, 1977, p. 45 [Japanese *kundoku-bun*], p. 269a [original text]; see Iyanaga, 1998B, p. 30a.

the Buddha Mahāvairocana” (“Dainichi no hongoku 大日の本國”). As Itō Satoshi 伊藤聡 has shown in his brilliant article on the myth of Māra of the Sixth Heaven, the first occurrence of this doctrine seems to be a passage of the “*Shingon Fuhō San’yōo-shō* 眞言付法纂要抄” written by the Shingon monk Jōson 成尊, in 1060.<sup>21</sup>

– In the famous *Keiran-jūyō-shū* 溪嵐拾葉集, we find this very strange and important statement: “Moreover, our country is a divine country. If we seek its original god, it is the Great Divinity Amaterasu. [I]his divinity is no other than] Maheśvara. The Master of the teaching of True Formulae (*shingon kyōshū* 眞言教主) has also realized the awakening in the Heaven of Akaniṣṭha, [which is] the Heaven of the god Maheśvara. This is why we say [in our tradition] that the Clear Divinity [*jinmyō* 神明, i.e. Amaterasu] is Mahāvairocana.”<sup>22</sup> In the same text, a little further, in an answer to the question “Why do we say that the ancestor god of our country is Amaterasu?,” we read as well: “Moreover, Maheśvara considers all the Beings in the Three Spheres as his own children; he forms the view of providing for living beings and is compassionate to them. [We say that Amaterasu is the ancestor god of our country,] because our Great Divinity Amaterasu is also Maheśvara. We must think profoundly about this.”<sup>23</sup>—I must admit that I have been unable to find any other example of such a direct assimilation between Mahāvairocana, Maheśvara and Amaterasu. But the doctrine alluded here, according to which the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* has been preached in the Heaven of Akaniṣṭha, in the Palace of Maheśvara, is based on a well established doctrine of Mahāyāna (which says that the Bodhisattva of the Tenth *bhūmi* are born in the Palace of Maheśvara at the summit of the Sphere of Forms); it is known also that Maheśvara is identified to the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra in the Commentary of *Rishu-kyō* 理趣經 by Amoghavajra

<sup>21</sup> 眞言付法纂要抄, T. LXXVII 2433 421c2-4; see Itō Satoshi 伊藤聡, 1995, p. 69a. According to Robert Borgen, the Tendai monk Jōjin 成尋 (1011-1081), who went to China in 1072, used the word “Dai-nihon-koku” (“Great Japanese Nation”) in his diary written in China; but, as Borgen writes, “reading too much into this term is dangerous. [...] Jōjin was merely imitating Chinese usage. If Japan is ‘The Great Japanese Nation,’ China is ‘The Great Song Nation,’ a term Jōjin also adopts. Jōjin is simply attempting to put Japan on an equal footing with China, not asserting Japanese superiority.” Although Borgen writes that “The oldest example of ‘Great Japanese Nation’ cited in the authoritative dictionary *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* is a document dated 1046, a mere 26 years before Jōjin used the term,” and quotes a prayer to Hachiman Daibosatsu (Robert Borgen, 1998), the use of this term is attested much earlier, since we can find it in the *Nihon-shoki* 日本書紀, the second year of Tenji 天智, eighth month (ed. Iwanami koten bungaku taikai 岩波古典文學大系, II, pp. 358-359; I owe this information to a message by John Bentley to the mailing list pmjs [Premodern Japanese Studies] on Mon. Apr. 21, 2003.

<sup>22</sup> *Keiran-jūyō-shū*, T. LXXVI 2410 vi 516a17-21: 加之我國<sup>ハ</sup>神國也。尋<sup>ニ</sup>其元神<sup>ヲ</sup>天照太神也。此則大自在天也。今<sup>ノ</sup>眞言教主<sup>モ</sup>色究竟天<sup>ノ</sup>成道大自在天是也。故以<sup>テ</sup>神明<sup>ニ</sup>習<sup>フ</sup>大日<sup>ト</sup>也。

<sup>23</sup> *Keiran-jūyō-shū*, T. LXXVI 2410 vi 521b14-17: 加<sup>レ</sup>之大自在天<sup>ハ</sup>三界所有<sup>ノ</sup>衆生<sup>ヲ</sup>悉<sup>ク</sup>是我子也<sup>ト</sup>思<sup>フ</sup>、成<sup>シ</sup>テ<sup>ニ</sup>生者養者見<sup>フ</sup>、立<sup>テ</sup>慈悲<sup>ニ</sup>給也。今<sup>ノ</sup>天照太神又大自在天<sup>ナレハ</sup>也。深可<sup>ク</sup>思<sup>フ</sup>合<sup>ス</sup>之<sup>ニ</sup>。

(Samantabhadra in this context represents Mahāvairocana according to the Gōhō's 杲寶 commentary).<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, Amaterasu and the Buddha Mahāvairocana are very often assimilated in Japanese medieval Buddhoshintoism because of their common solar symbolism.<sup>25</sup> Thus, we can assume that the assimilation between Amaterasu and Maheśvara-Śiva is not as surprising as it may seem at a first glance.

– Sexual imagery, doctrines and practices of Japanese medieval religion seem to resemble in many regards the Śaiva/Śākta or later Buddhist (Indo-Tibetan) Tantra imagery, doctrines or practices. By sexual imagery, doctrines and practices of Japanese medieval religion, I especially mean those practices and doctrines generally known as “Tachikawa-ryū 立川流” or some imagery within Ise-shintō, etc., but obviously, sexual elements are general phenomena in this precise form of religiosity, and are not limited to these restricted areas. The work entitled *Sangai-issbin-ki* 三界一心記 (or *Sanken icchi-sho* 三賢一致書) written by a monk of Rinzaï school in the early Edo period named Dairyū 大龍, is a very good example of this generalized “sexualism.”<sup>26</sup> By the way, we can find again in some writings of Hirata Atsutane images and ideas which seem to continue this tradition.<sup>27</sup> I think that this resemblance between Japanese and Indian and/or

<sup>24</sup> See my article “Daijizai-ten 大自在天,” *Hōbōgirin*, VI, Iyanaga, 1983, pp. 751b-752a.

<sup>25</sup> See Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎, 1993, p. 218 and n. 37.

<sup>26</sup> *Sangai-issbin-ki* 三界一心記 edited in the collection *Nihon shisō tōsō shiryō* 日本思想闘争史料, vol. V (reprint Tōkyō, Meicho kankō-kai 名著刊行会, 1969). On this work, see also Yamashita Takumi 山下琢巳, 1993.—On the so-called “Tachikawa-ryū,” I presented a paper entitled “Human Yellow and the Skull Ritual of the so-called «Tachikawa-ryū»” at the conference held in San Marino in June 2002 on “Symbol, Language, and Metaphor in Tantric Traditions.” We should at least say that, in the extant documents which can certainly be traced back to Tachikawa-ryū, we find only very few elements which can be really considered as different from those taught in other schools. Stefan Köck in a recent study concludes that “Ninkan’s school was an ordinary school of the Shingon tradition” (Stephen Köck, 2000, pp. 81, 82).

<sup>27</sup> For example in his *Indo-zōshi*, pp. 314b-315a, in the above mentioned edition (n. 18): まづ此の天地世界は。皇祖天神の御執しの天の瓊戈。いはゆる天根玄牡を。かの玄牝なせる一物に。指下し給へるに資りて成立せる。是ぞ道の根元なる。[...] かくて伊邪那岐。伊邪那美二柱ノ神。その道に因順して坐て。始めて夫婦の道を興し給へるより。其の蕃息し給へる人種は更なり。萬物までも。其道を稟継ぎ有ちて。父また子に傳へざれど。自然に其の道を識り行ひつゝ。子子生々無窮ならしめ。人としては。人倫の道の此に端起ることを辨へて。皇祖天神より賜はれる命性を。失たず復行を。正道とし常とし。此に背ふを。邪徑とし變とす。[...] 世間萬物悉く、玄牝玄牡に生じ、人種萬物、また自然に其状を得て男女を別ち、また自然の如く、其の道を知りて、産靈の徳を繼嗣すること無窮なる、是ぞ人種萬物の道なる、然れば、世間および萬物を生成せる、二物の状を、玄牝玄牡なせりと云を、嗚呼なる説に、思はむ人も有べけれど、實には彼の二物の、其状なりし故に、人種萬物の牝根牡根の、其に肖て成れる物ぞ、と云ふ理を思はむ人は、異なしと思はざらまし... Tentative translation: At first, this world of heaven and earth was formed [in the beginning] from the fact that the heavenly god ancestor of the Imperial dynasty let down the heavenly halberd adorned with jewels, which is the heavenly root, the dark male, into the dark female: this is the original foundation of the true path. Thus, the [divine couple] Izanagi and Izanami, following this path, founded the path of husband and wife; and those men [and women]

Tibetan representations has already been noticed by some scholars, but it seems that there is no extensive work yet comparing these two series of facts or attempting to explain this resemblance. On the other hand, it is almost sure that there has been no direct influence from late Indian or Tibetan (or Mongolian) thought or practice in medieval Japan. Medieval Japanese thought had certainly its own specific reasons or motivations to develop these kinds of speculations and practices. For instance, one of them would have been the motif of sexual union of Izanagi and Izanami at the beginning of the creation of Japan in classical mythology. As I have already suggested, the legitimacy of Japan having been in question at the end of Heian period and the beginning of the Middle Ages, the problems of the origins of Japan had been one of the most important and urgent concerns for those thinkers who belonged to the current that created different variants of *Chūsei Nihon-gi* 中世日本紀, or medieval re-interpretations of classical Japanese mythology. The myth of the creation of Japan by the sexual union between Izanagi and Izanami appeared to them as one of the best explanations, especially because it could fit very well in the model of Ying-Yang cosmology of Chinese origin as well as in the Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu cosmology of Esoteric Buddhism. Another important feature of sexual elements in medieval Japanese religiosity may be what I would call a symbolic phallo-centrism; many Shintō myths put stress on the image of *vajra* or mystical “pillar” which would be at the foundation of the Japanese country or of the Ise Shrine.<sup>28</sup> Yet another specific feature was embryological interests; is it the same concern about the primordial origins, which, in one case, led men to seek the origins of Japan and of the world, which led them in this case to seek the origins of human beings and to speculate on the steps of the formation of the fetus in mother’s womb? Finally, an important element that must be taken into account is the deep and pressing concern of imperial and aristocratic families for blood lineage: to have the rightful heir was the most frequently used

---

who were generated from this [couple] followed the same path even more. And thus, all the beings inherited [this path] in an inborn way; even though fathers do not transmit it to sons, the latter know it naturally and practice it, so that children are born infinitely. In the capacity of man, the right and constant path is to be aware of the fact that human morals began from this point, and their meaning is to continue the life granted by the heavenly god ancestor of the Imperial dynasty, and the wrong and unstable path is to act against this [path]. [...] All the beings in the world are generated from the dark female and the dark male, and all men and all the beings are naturally divided into male and female. The [true] path of all men and of all beings is to know naturally this path and to carry on infinitely the virtue of the generation of souls; yet even if there are people who may find foolish that the two [fundamental] things from which the world and all the beings inhabiting it are generated are the dark female and the dark male, it is indeed these two things with their forms [which are the origin of all the beings; and this is] why the female root and the male root [i.e. male and female sexual organs] are formed like them. We should think that those [persons who] understand this principle are right in their opinion...

<sup>28</sup> One will find interesting examples of these myths in Yamamoto Hiroko’s 山本ひろ子 book, *Chūsei shinwa* 中世神話, 1998, especially in the chapters II-III, pp. 84-193.

weapon in the struggle for power within these spheres. This was at least one of the reasons why many people were literally obsessed by sexual relations between different members of the aristocracy, and why there were so many occurrences of deviant sexual behavior in this world. As the monks of high degree were generally of aristocratic extraction, they logically shared this concern.<sup>29</sup> Anyway, although these images, speculations and practices were certainly proper to medieval Japan, and although they were certainly more dissimulated in Japan than in medieval India or Tibet, they seem sometimes surprisingly close to some elements of sexual representations in these countries. One single example may suffice here: in the interpretation of the famous dream about the sexuality of the king and of his consort, a dream that he had at dawn of the Twenty-second of the Sixth month of 1203, Jien 慈圓 (1155-1225) evokes the image of the King Acala's Seal of the Sword and Scabbard (*Fudō tō-shō-in* 不動刀鞘印); the Sword would correspond to the Treasure Sword of the imperial Regalia, symbolizing the King's body; and the Scabbard would correspond to the Divine Seal, symbolizing the Queen's. The copulation of the one with the other would realize the King Acala's Seal.<sup>30</sup>—This image can be compared to the one of the Dragon King Kurikara 俱利迦羅龍王, a special form of Acala that has been created in Japan. As it is well known, the Dragon King Kurikara is represented as an immense sword planted on a rock, with the point upward, while a dragon coiled around it seems to swallow its point. With regard to this image of the Dragon King Kurikara, *Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten* quotes a passage of a work

<sup>29</sup> On this problem, see an important article by Hotate Michihisa 保立道久, "Heian-jidai no ōtō to chi 平安時代の王統と血" 1990, pp. 62-70; see also my "Dākinī et l'Empereur," Iyanaga, 1999B, pp. 74-82.

<sup>30</sup> Jien 慈圓, *Bizei betsu* 毘逝別, i: texte in the collection *Zoku-Tendai-shū zensho* 續天台宗全書, Mikkyō 密教 III, Kyōten-chūshaku-rui 經典註釋類 2, Tōkyō, Shunjū-sha 春秋社, 1990, p. 231b14-232a3: 建仁三年六月二十二日曉夢云。國王御寶物。神璽寶劍<sup>レ</sup>神璽<sup>ハ</sup>玉女也。此玉女<sup>ハ</sup>皇后<sup>ノ</sup>體也。王入<sup>レ</sup>自性清淨玉女體<sup>ニ</sup>令<sup>レ</sup>交會<sup>ニ</sup>。能所共<sup>ニ</sup>無<sup>レ</sup>罪歟。此故神璽者清淨<sup>ノ</sup>玉女也<sup>ト</sup>。夢想之中<sup>ニ</sup>覺<sup>レ</sup>知之<sup>ニ</sup>訖。其後。此夢覺歟未<sup>レ</sup>覺歟之間。此事<sup>ノ</sup>樣樣<sup>ニ</sup>思連也。不動刀鞘印則是也。刀<sup>ハ</sup>寶劍也。王<sup>ノ</sup>體也。鞘<sup>ハ</sup>神璽也。后<sup>ノ</sup>體也。以<sup>レ</sup>此交會之義<sup>ニ</sup>成<sup>レ</sup>就此印<sup>ニ</sup>歟。不動專可<sup>レ</sup>爲<sup>レ</sup>王之本尊歟。—Translation: At the dawn of the Twenty-second of the Sixth month of the third year of the *kenkyū* era, [I had] a dream which said: Among King's Treasure, there are the Divine Seal and the Divine Sword. The Divine Seal is the Jade-Maiden, and this Maiden of Jade is the body of the Royal Consort. When the King, who is pure in his own-nature (Sk. *prakṛti-prabhāsvara*), penetrates the body of this Jade-Maiden, and has intercourse [with her], it seems that neither the active [i.e. the King] nor the passive [i.e. the Consort] commits any sin. This is why the Divine Seal is the pure Jade-Maiden. I understood this in the dream, and I had just woken up when I started to think about it. [I thought that] this [dream] corresponds to King Acala's Seal of Sword and Scabbard: the Sword is the Treasure Sword, and is the King's body, and the Scabbard is the Divine Seal, which is the Consort's body. The junction-intercourse [of these two] should mean the Realisation (Sk. *siddhi*) of this Seal. King Acala should be considered as the Principal object of veneration specialized for [the protection of] the King...—See also a French translation in my "Dākinī et l'Empereur," Iyanaga, 1999B, pp. 76-77.

called *Kaku-Gen shō* 覺源鈔. One of its two authors, Kakukai 覺海 was Jien's contemporary (he lived from 1142 to 1233).<sup>31</sup> This text says: "The Snake Kurikara is the Sphere of Beings, while the Sword is the Sphere of Buddha. [The form of the Snake Kurikara] symbolizes the penetration of the Sword of the Sapience of the Sphere of Buddha into the body of the Sphere of Beings, [which realizes] the Sense of the non-duality of Beings and of the Buddha. This is why Kurikara is represented as if he were going to swallow the Sword. Kurikara is shown as a snake, because it [represents] the Sphere of Beings, and because it is [at the same time] the Sphere of Buddha, it is shown as a sword, manifesting the sharp Sapience [cutting the Ignorance]. Kurikara is also the Principle, and is the Scabbard; and the Sword is the Sword, and is Sapience."<sup>32</sup> The sexual symbolism is clearly visible here. Doesn't this image resemble so closely the Śaiva/śākta image of *liṅga* planted onto *yonī*?

Now, one may wonder why so many motifs and themes resembling Śaiva or śākta (or more generally Hindu) representations are found in medieval Japanese religions. A simple answer would be that Buddhist Tantra and Śaiva or śākta religions were almost the same thing, and that Japanese medieval religious thought was profoundly influenced by tantric thought.—Here, a small yet an important terminological issue and methodology must be raised. When we say "Buddhist Tantra," we immediately think of Indian (and incidentally Tibetan) Buddhist Tantra, but when we say *mikkyō* 密教 in Japanese, we tend to think of a particular form of *Japanese* (or Chinese and Japanese) Buddhism, forgetting somehow its continuity from Indian origins. The reason for this terminological use is probably complex. On the one hand, Japanese Shingon and Tendai scholarship traditionally tended to stress the "purity" of Japanese *mikkyō*, which would have represented the summit of the *pure* Indian Buddhist philosophical and religious tradition, the apex of which would be around the eighth century; afterward, later Indian Buddhist Tantra would have been "polluted" by the contamination of Hindu (non Buddhist) popular or magic traditions. On the other hand, there is the problem of compartmentalization of specialities:

<sup>31</sup> See *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 佛書解説大辭典, II, p. 64c, where it is said that this work, *Kaku-Gen shō* 覺源鈔, was a compilation of oral traditions of Kakukai 覺海 and of Yūgen 融源; on Kakukai, see *Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten* 望月佛教大辭典, pp. 408c-409a.—It was compiled by Rendō 蓮道 (1189/87-1233 and later), known also as Hōkyō 寶篋, who is considered as the founder of the Miwa-ryū 三輪流 shintō; it is incorporated in the collection *Shingon-shū zensho* 眞言宗全書, XXXVI. See *Shingon-shū zensho kaidai* 眞言宗全書解題, Kōyasan 高野山, 1937 (reprint Kyoto, Dōhō-sha 同朋社, 1982), pp. 261a-262a, 321b-322a. It seems that this work is considered as representing a tendency close to the so-called "Tachikawa-ryū 立川流"; see Moriyama Shōshin 守山聖眞, 1965, pp. 140-141.

<sup>32</sup> *Kakugen-shō* 覺源鈔, iii.2, *Shingon-shū zensho* 眞言宗全書, XXXVI, p. 384a8-11 = *Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten*, p. 735a: 先俱利迦羅生界也、劔<sup>レ</sup>佛界也。是即衆生界<sup>ノ</sup>身中<sup>ニ</sup>入<sup>レ</sup>佛界<sup>ノ</sup>智劔<sup>ヲ</sup>、表<sup>ス</sup>生佛不二<sup>ノ</sup>義<sup>ヲ</sup>故<sup>ニ</sup>、俱利迦羅吞<sup>レ</sup>劔<sup>ヲ</sup>也○俱利迦羅<sup>ノ</sup>生界<sup>ナルカ</sup>故<sup>ニ</sup>畫<sup>レ</sup>蛇形<sup>ヲ</sup>、佛界<sup>ノ</sup>故<sup>ニ</sup>顯<sup>トシテ</sup>能斷<sup>ノ</sup>智<sup>ヲ</sup>畫<sup>レ</sup>劔形<sup>ヲ</sup>也。又俱利迦羅<sup>ノ</sup>理也鞘也。劔<sup>レ</sup>劔也。智也。—On this passage, see also my "Dākinī et l'Empereur," Iyanaga, 1999B, p. 78.

generally, specialists in the history of Japanese Buddhism or in Japanese religions are completely separated from specialists in history of Indian Buddhism—and those specialists in history of Indian Buddhism rarely have any interest in the history of Indian religions or of Indian traditions in general. This may be the reason why when one says that Japanese medieval religious thought was replete with the *mikkyō* thought, one seems to make an obvious statement, and nobody is surprised, while if one says that the same Japanese medieval religious thought was replete with *tantric* thought, it may sound as a very strange and audacious hypothesis. I think, and would like to emphasize, that both this “self-teleological,” apologetic scholarship tradition of Japanese “*mikkyō* studies,” and this separation between specialities in historical scholarship should be overcome in some way<sup>33</sup>; the more I study the mythological elements of Buddhism in general and of Japanese Buddhism in particular, the more I am impressed by the astonishing continuity of traditions from India (not only Buddhist India, but also, and especially, *Hindu* India) all through Eastern Asia as far as Japan (and probably Bali or Tibet and other places). By the way, since the pioneering works of Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄 onward, we all know the decisive role played by *mikkyō* thought in *kenmitsu* ideology of the Middle Ages in Japan, and especially how decisive a contribution it made in the formation of medieval Shintō thought<sup>34</sup>; what I would like to propose here can be described as simply to see what new perspectives we may discover if we use the word “*Tantra*” instead of “*mikkyō*” in this vision of the Japanese medieval religion.

I think that we can all agree in saying that Tantric thought which originated in India exerted an immense and profound influence on all East Asian cultures, from Central Asia to Tibet, China, Korea, Japan, and on South East Asian cultures as well. But stating this is nothing more than making an obvious statement; what we should seek is to evaluate how immense and profound was that influence, and to determine the way it worked in each of these cultures. My hypothesis here, at least as far as Japan is concerned, is that tantric influence worked through a kind of “mythical structure.” Tantric culture had been imported massively to Japan from the Nara period up to at least the end of the eleventh century (Jōjin 成尋 went to China in the days of the Northern Song dynasty in 1072 and he died there in 1081), carrying with it a whole “mythical structure,” consisting of mythical tales, cosmological visions, images, practices, and ways of thinking. It seems to me that, more than (or unlike) clear and articulated ideas, this kind of pervasive mythical structure works like some viral

---

<sup>33</sup> On the apologetic character of traditional scholarship of Japanese “*mikkyō* studies,” see Michel Strickmann’s interesting pages, in *Mantras et mandarins*, 1996, p. 127–130.—The word “tantrism” itself is an Occidental creation and it may be problematic. But it has at least the advantage of indicating the fundamental continuity of “tantric phenomena” from India throughout South-East and East Asia.

<sup>34</sup> On the works of Kuroda Toshio, see “The Legacy of Kuroda Toshio,” Guest Editor: James C. Dobbins, special issue: fall 1996, 23/3–4 of the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*.

or DNA structures; it “impregnates” the “host body” of the culture in which it is imported and lives, and changes from the inside this host body, shaping it in its own image. Thus, the whole unconscious “symbolic function” of the host culture is transformed, so that it produces, as if it were on its own, new images and myths which duplicate in some way the original mythical structure which had been imported. Of course, this “virus model” is a mere hypothesis and cannot be proved by some decisive evidence. All we can do is accumulate examples and increase the probability of its validity.

As this is one of the main themes of this paper, I would like to elaborate this point with an example. There is a chapter on Dakini-ten in the *Keiran-jūyō-shū*, and there, a short section on the *abhiṣeka* of enthronement. There, the author says among other things that “In the *Renwang-jing/Ninnō-kyō* 仁王經, there is [a tale] about the worship of the graveyard god [offering up this]; we must strongly keep this in mind.”<sup>35</sup> The tale referred to here is found in the Fifth chapter of the *Ninnō-kyō*, a well known Chinese *sūtra* in Amoghavajra version (a previous “translation” of this *sūtra* is ascribed to Kumārajīva).<sup>36</sup> The tale in question is a version, actually a very simplified version, of the famous legend of King Kalmāṣapāda, whose name means “the One with spotted feet (Banzu-wang/Hanzoku-ō 斑足王).” Once upon a time, a prince named Kalmāṣapāda of the country “Tianluo/Tenra 天羅” was on the point of ascending to the throne; the master of the state, a heretic master (*waidao-shi/gedō-shi* 外道師) named Sudāna (Shanshi/Zense 善施) ordered him to chop the heads of a thousand kings and to offer them to the graveyard god named Mahākāla. The prince followed his advice and captured 999 kings to have their heads lopped off. The last king named Samantaprabhāsa (Puming-wang/Fumyō-ō 普明王), was a Buddhist king, and, once he was made prisoner, he taught him a stanza on the impermanence of the world. Kalmāṣapāda repented of his evil deed, released all the prisoners and became a monk.<sup>37</sup>

So, the first, visible reason why this tale is referred to in the section on the *abhiṣeka* of enthronement in this chapter of the *Keiran-jūyō-shū* is that it relates a story about the enthronement of a king. But if we examine other texts related to this passage of the *Ninnō-kyō*, we can find other very interesting facts. First, the legend of Kalmāṣapāda is much more complicated in different and more original versions (by the way, there is also a version of the same legend in the *Mahābhārata*). The most elaborated one, found in the *Xianyu-jing/Kengū-kyō* 賢愚經, is the following; (the details are very complex and interesting, but I must

<sup>35</sup> *Keiran-jūyō-shū*, T. LXXVI 2410 XXXIX 633c5: 仁王經’以祭塚神事、深可思之。— On all what follows, see my “Dākinī et l’Empereur,” Iyanaga, 1999B, pp. 42-50, 55-57, 65-69; and *Daikokuten hensō* 大黒天變相, Iyanaga, 2002A, chapters III, VII, XII.

<sup>36</sup> For this *sūtra*, see the full study by Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, 1998.

<sup>37</sup> *Renwang-huguo-banruoboluomiduo-jing/Ninnō gokoku hannya-haramitsuta-kyō* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經, T. VIII 246 II 840b5-c8; see the older “translation,” T. VII 245 II 830a24-b27; Charles Orzech, 1998, pp. 247-249.



omit them here)<sup>38</sup> a king went hunting in the forest and got lost. Suddenly, he encountered a female lion on heat; in fear of the lion, he was compelled to have intercourse with the animal. Some months after that, the lion came to the palace of the king, carrying with her a human baby with spotted feet like a lion. This is the prince Kalmāṣapāda. When this prince grew up, his father king died, and he himself became king. But then, because of an accident, he offended a wise hermit, who made a curse according to which the king would have to eat human flesh for twelve years. Time went by and, one day, the palace cook suddenly discovered that there was no more meat in the kitchen; he went out to buy some meat, but on his way, he found the body of a dead child in the street. He took up this corpse, returned to his kitchen and cooked it and served it to the king. The latter found this meat so delicious that he asked the cook about it, and having learned about its origin, he ordered the cook to serve him child's flesh every day. In the beginning, the cook could find dead children, but afterwards, he had to kidnap living children and kill them to satisfy the king's appetite. The people became very affected, and urged the ministers to seek after the criminal. They finally discovered that their king had become a frightful cannibal; they had a conference and decided to kill him. One day, while the latter was taking a bath in the pool of his garden, the ministers attacked him with the army. The king was taken by surprise; but before being killed, he pronounced an oath, saying that from now, he will become a flying *rākṣasa* and wreak havoc on people and on ministers. Thus, the king became a horrible king of *rākṣasa*, gathering many subordinates under his order and causing calamities to the people. One day, he decided to organize a great feast in which he would sacrifice and eat with his subordinates a thousand kings. To prepare this feast, he caught 999 kings and made them prisoners... From this point, the story is the same as the one related in the *Renwang-jing/Ninnō-kyō*. —This story shows that King Kalmāṣapāda was not only a king induced in error by a non-Buddhist master, but that he also was both a cannibal king eating the flesh of children and a flying *rākṣasa*. Moreover, the sanskrit version of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* has a little passage in which it makes an allusion to the story of Kalmāṣapāda; and there, it is said that the children born from the union between the king, Kalmāṣapāda's father and the female lion (so there were several children according to this version) were *dāka* and *dākinī*...<sup>39</sup>

Now, I turn to other texts. We can find in the Chinese Canon two texts commenting the word “Mahākāla, god of the graveyard” of the *Ninnō-kyō* in Amoghavajra's version—two texts, which can be traced back to the teaching of Amoghavajra himself. One of them, which is a passage of the commentary of the *Renwang-jing/Ninnō-kyō* by Liangbi 良贄 (a member of the “translation” team of *Renwang-jing/Ninnō-kyō* supervised by Amoghavajra) describes the graveyard in Ujjayinī in which Mahākāla lives with his subordinate demons. It is

<sup>38</sup> *Xianyu-jing/Kengu-kyō* 賢愚經 *Taisho* IV 202 xi 425a18-427a5; see Et. Lamotte, 1949, pp. 260-262 and the notes for other Buddhist versions.

<sup>39</sup> *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, see D. T. Suzuki, *The Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, London, 1932; reprint 1968, p. 216.

said there that Mahākāla is a transformation of Maheśvara. The demons under his order are all cannibals; they eat the flesh of living men and drink their blood and they own a great magical power.<sup>40</sup> This text is particularly interesting because we find in the famous collection of legends in Sanskrit, the *Kathā-saritsāgara* by Somadeva (11th century), some very similar descriptions of Indian graveyards with demons of the same kind; moreover, it is said that one of the described graveyard is in Ujjayinī and is named *Mahākāla*.<sup>41</sup> Although the commentary of Liangbi does not mention the name of these demons, their description is so close to that of the *dākinīs* found in the commentary of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (大日經疏, T. XXXIX 1796 x 687b18-c11), that we can reasonably think that they are all the same kind of demons, that is to say *dākas* and *dākinīs* or *rākṣasas* and *rākṣasīs*.

Another text is a description of the iconography of Mahākāla that we find in Huilin's 慧琳 Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary. Huilin who was also a member of Amoghavajra's translation team. Here a wrathful and terrifying eight-armed Mahākāla holds in the main hands a trident in front of his chest; another hand holds the coils of hair of a haggard *preta*; two others hold a skin of an elephant behind his shoulders; finally, there is the goddess of Earth under him, supporting his feet on her hands.<sup>42</sup> It seems that this iconography had been the model for the iconography of Mahākāla in the maṇḍala of Garbhadhātu, which is identical to the one appearing in one of the maṇḍalas of the *Liqu-jing/Rishukyō* 理趣經, representing the group of Eight Mother Goddesses surrounding Mahākāla in the center (although there are some differences [in Japanese iconography, Mahākāla has only six arms, etc.]). Now, if we turn to the field of Hindu mythology and iconography, we find that a form of Śiva, named *Andhakāsura-vadha-mūrti*, that is Śiva of the aspect of subjugation of asura Andhaka, also has eight arms, the same elephant skin behind his shoulders, a trident on which is impaled the asura Andhaka who seems so haggard that he looks like a *preta*; on the sculpture of this form of Śiva found at Ellora, there is also a figure of *dākinī* represented as a half bird half woman monster who is just asking for her share of Andhaka's blood. The myth of the subjugation of the asura Andhaka by Śiva teaches us that it is at the occasion of the battle between the god and the asura that the group of Eight Mother goddesses appeared. Finally, we also know that this form of Śiva is sometimes called Mahākāla...<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Renwang-huguo-banruoboluomiduo-jing-shu/Ninnō gokoku hannya-haramita kyō sho* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經疏, T. XXXIII 1709 III.1 490a24-b16.

<sup>41</sup> See Tanaka Sumio 田中純男, 2000, pp. 3-6 and notes.

<sup>42</sup> *Yiqiejing-yinyi/Issai-kyō ongi* 一切經音義, T. LIV 2128 x 366b14-17.

<sup>43</sup> On this myth and its iconography, see W. Doniger O'Flaherty, 1973, pp. 190-192; Id., 1975, pp. 168-173 and the notes, pp. 327-328; Stella Kramrisch, *Manifestations of Shiva*, (Catalog of the Exhibition), Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1981, p. 50: pl. 42; p. 51: pl. 43; Id., 1992, pp. 374-383, 456-457; Charles Dillard Collins, 1988, p. 57-65; T. A. Gopinath Rao, 1971, I-2, pp. 379-382; II-1, pp. 192-194; Thomas E. Donaldson, 1987, III, pp. 1108-1109, and fig. 3577-3584; Tachikawa Musashi 立川武蔵, Ishiguro Atsushi 石黒淳, Hishida Kunio 菱田邦男, Shima Iwao 島岩, 1980, pl. 81-84 and pp. 84-86, 93.

With all these elements, we can now return to Japanese medieval religions. One of the most interesting texts for us is another passage of the *Keiran-jūyō-shū* is, where it is said that the god Matara-jin 摩多羅神 is the same as Mahākāla and also a *ḍākinī*.<sup>44</sup> The true nature of this Matara-jin is very obscure, but one thing that seems more or less certain is that his name can be traced back to a transliteration of the plural form of the Sanskrit word “mother” (*mātr̥ ~ mātārah*).<sup>45</sup> If this can be accepted, then the association between the Mother Goddesses, Mahākāla and *ḍākinī* can be considered as very significant, because it directly refers to the myth and iconography of the subjugation of Andhaka asura by Śiva-Mahākāla. The name of Matara-jin is given also to a “strange god (*kijin* 奇神)” of Tōji by Shukaku 守覺. He describes in the *Gyoki* 御記 (composed around 1179) a god of Tōji, whose name is either Yasha-jin or Matara-jin; this god has three heads, Holy God (Shōten or Shōden 聖天, that is Gaṇapati) is in the center, *ḍākinī* on the left and Sarasvatī on the right. This god is said to be a “messenger of Inari (Inari-myōjin shisha 稻荷明神使者)” (this is not surprising because of the close association of Inari with Dakini-ten).<sup>46</sup> Shōten or Gaṇapati is also one of the well known divinities of the Śaiva lineage. One more text can be considered here. There is a strange story of the subjugation of Gaṇapati by Eleven Headed Avalokiteśvara in the *Kakuzen-shō* 覺禪鈔: in the country of Marakeira 摩羅醯羅, there was a king who used to eat only beef meat and radish. Soon after, there were no more cows in the country; the king ate then bodies of dead men; but soon there were no more dead men either, then the king began to kill and eat living men. Then the people, in concert with the ministers, revolted: they surrounded the king, who, before being killed, transformed into a great demon Vināyaka. This demon continued devastating the country. The people prayed to Eleven Headed Avalokiteśvara to save them. The latter transformed into a female Vināyaka, and seduced the evil king Vināyaka, who was so pleased that he stopped his ravages...<sup>47</sup> Thus, this king was a cannibal demon just like King Kalmāṣapāda—it is obvious that the first part of this story is borrowed from the legend of King Kalmāṣapāda. Another interesting coincidence is found in the *Tōbō-ki* 東寶記 of Gōhō 杲寶 (1306-1362): he describes two gate-keeper yakṣas (*yasha-jin* 夜叉神), one male and the other female yakṣa, of the Central Gate of Tōji. It is not certain that the gods he describes are the same as the *yasha-jin*/Matara-jin of Shukaku, but it seems most likely that they had at least some relation with the latter. Anyway, about the male *yasha-jin* he quotes a passage from a work by Zongmi 宗密, in which it is said that male yakṣa have wings and are able to fly in the sky, and that they only eat children.<sup>48</sup> Here again, we find

<sup>44</sup> *Keiran-jūyō-shū* 溪嵐拾葉集, T. LXXVI 2410 xxxix 632c28-633a10.

<sup>45</sup> The transliteration Matara 摩多羅, for the Sanskrit word *mātārah*, is used for example in the Chinese translation of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, T. XX 1191 iv 852c6.

<sup>46</sup> *Gyoki* 御記, T. LXXVIII 2493 614-a13-21.

<sup>47</sup> *Kakuzen-shō* 覺禪鈔, T. Zuzō V 3022 cv 452c17-26; see also *Byakuhō-ku-shō* 白寶口抄, T. Zuzō VII 3119 cxxx 181c3-11; R. A. Stein, 1981, p. 20; Id., 1986, p. 38; James H. Sanford, 1991, pp. 291-292 and n. 31.

<sup>48</sup> *Tōbō-ki* 東寶記, i, collection *Zoku-zoku gunsho ruijū* 續々群書類從, XII, pp. 7b8-8a13.

another reminiscence of the legend of the King Kalmāṣapāda, who was an eater of children and who became a flying *rākṣasa*.

Now, before coming back to our starting point, a final fact that can be evoked is the story of the magical fox named Tamamo-no-mae 玉藻前. The story tells that Tamamo-no-mae appeared in the palace of the ex-emperor Toba 鳥羽院 as a beautiful and cultivated young woman. She seduced the ex-emperor and had intercourse with him. The latter got ill and his illness got more and more serious. The *onmyō-dō* 陰陽道 master named Abe no Yasunari 安倍泰也 practiced divination to identify the origin of the illness, and he discovered the true nature of the young woman: she was the transformation of a 800 years old fox with nine tails, living in the field of Nasuno 那須野 in Shimotsuke 下野 province; moreover, she was in reality the graveyard god in the country named Tenra 天羅國; a god to whom the sacrifice of the heads of a thousand kings was destined according to the story told in the *Renwang-jing/Ninnō-kyō*. This god had a profound hatred of Buddhist Law; after having lived in the country of Tenra, he went to China, seduced king You 幽王 of the Zhou 周 dynasty and killed him, and then he came to Japan to kill the king, to destroy Buddha's Law and to become himself king... It is reported that this fox is finally killed by a warrior<sup>49</sup>—but the main point for us is that this fox was identified to the “graveyard god” in the *Renwang-jing/Ninnō-kyō*, Mahākāla (but certainly assimilated to a form of Dakini-ten/magic fox in this story). Thus, this legend takes us back to our starting point, the passage of the *Keiran-jūyō-shū* on the *abhiṣeka* of enthronement. It seems very likely that the author(s) of the story of Tamamo-no-mae was aware of, if not of the text in *Keiran-jūyō-shū* that I quoted above, at least of a tradition linking the *abhiṣeka* of enthronement with the legend of King Kalmāṣapāda. The magic fox, that is to say Dakini-ten, who presides over the ceremony of *abhiṣeka* of enthronement, is so powerful that he (or she) can plot to overthrow imperial power, and this is precisely why he (she) can give that power to the new emperor. The atmosphere of dark violence and blood in all this mythological background is striking. I think that the author of the *Keiran-jūyō-shū* was aware, perhaps not very clearly, but at least in some unconscious way, of all this background; his statement implies that to become a king, one must offer to the graveyard god the heads of a thousand kings; the imperial power requires this cruel violence...

What can we learn from this tour of mythological elements from Japan to India and from India back to Japan? First, we can notice that there are not many specifically Śaiva elements in this mythical complex: the only important component is the myth and the iconography of the subjugation of Andhaka asura by Śiva, but it seems that even Amoghavajra, the Buddhist author who knew the most about its Hindu origins, was not fully conscious of the source of the iconography of Mahākāla he himself describes. One of the main sources of Japanese medieval developments is the legend of King Kalmāṣapāda, which belongs to classical *avadāna* literature of Indian provenance. Nevertheless, the

<sup>49</sup> Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎, 1998, p. 308; Komatsu Kazuhiko 小松和彦, 1992, pp. 42-74.

result is remarkable: almost all the gods involved in this complex in Japan—namely, Dakini, Mahākāla, Vināyaka-Gaṇapati, Mother Goddesses, etc., are of Śaiva origin or nature. I think that this reflects the character of Buddhist Tantra itself as it has been imported to Japan. I would not say that Buddhist Tantra had borrowed from, or incorporated in itself specifically Śaiva elements; I would rather say that Buddhist Tantra and Śaiva religiosity had a common root, and that they grew up on a same, or at least on very similar ground(s). Japanese Buddhists could, so to speak, find again, or “re-invent” on their own the Śaiva elements among Buddhist tantric mythological structure that they had received, because this structure had at its core the seed, or the “virus,” of that common ground or root.

Now, I would like to present a very rough hypothesis, and submit some questions, on the origin and evolution of Tantric thought in the East Asian world.

First, on the origin of Tantric religion in India, I would like to say how much I learned from the epoch-making book written by the late and regretted Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins*.<sup>50</sup> The idea that Śaiva and Buddhist Tantra have a common root is his own. He writes: “I am convinced that the āgamas of medieval Śaivism and the tantras of medieval Buddhism represent simply different versions, different renditions of one and the same thing. We can even go so far as to affirm it with some confidence, because the common element is neither the doctrine nor the theory. If we start the comparison with the doctrine, we observe then the two systems at their highest level of elaboration, and we can only perceive their intentional differences. If, on the contrary, we consider the effective rituals or practices, we are able to discern there what the two systems have in common” (p. 24). He points out also that “the dates of these documents [of Śaivāgama] are esteemed to begin from the third century onward and go through up to the eleventh century, a period which corresponds curiously to that of the parallel sources in Chinese [tantric] Buddhism” (p. 22). I also share with him the idea that “as far as the question of casts or social classes is concerned, I am convinced that Tantrism soared from the summit of society, not from the lowest stratum” (p. 40). He puts stress on the close connection of tantric clergy with kingship and aristocracy in China, Japan and Tibet, and also on the high cost of the rituals.

It seems that there is a general opinion, according to which Tantrism has its root in Hindu superstitious and magical thought, and that Buddhism, which had essentially a different basis from this “indigenous” (*dochaku-teki* 土着的) religiosity, had incorporated these elements, and was finally reabsorbed in the surrounding Hindu religions. I think on the contrary that Tantrism, or tantrization, was a “pan-Indian” phenomenon of all Indian religions, and that Buddhism played an active role in its formation (along with Śaivism). Although Strickmann puts stress on ritual or practical aspects of Tantrism—and although I also think that they are most important—, it seems to me that some typical

---

<sup>50</sup> Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins*, 1996.

philosophical or existential attitude played a very important role in the formation of Tantrism. Tantric thought is characterized by a deliberate search for impure, horrible, violent or erotic values, which is the result of a will to go beyond all social norms and discursive oppositions; the lowest in the social value system is the path to the highest transcendence. This paradoxical way of thinking seems very similar to that of classical Mahāyāna, which identifies every discursive opposition to go beyond the ontological dimension (for example “the *samsāra* is identical to the *nirvāṇa*,” “the *kleśas* are identical to the *bodhi*”) to attain the transcendental absolute. This kind of reasoning is generally typical of elite elements in society—not of the lower stratum. In terms of sociology of religion, we can probably say that Tantrism is a certain attempt to bring to lay society the values of the world of the *samnyāsīn*<sup>51</sup>; it can also be noted that this bold jump to transcendence may contain in itself a certain social dissatisfaction or a certain incentive to rebellious attitudes in society. By the way, we can observe the same kind of reasoning acting in Japanese medieval Shintō thought, in which we often find inversions of the lower values to the higher values, etc. (like the *kamis* with regard to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, i.e. the “Left Traces” [*suijaku* 垂迹] with regard to the “Original Ground” [*bonji* 本地]).

With regard to practice, Śaivism is characterized by an extreme asceticism and a search for the impure (practice in the graveyard, use of human bones and skulls, etc.).<sup>52</sup> The same tendency may be observed in Buddhist Tantrism (something that can be qualified as “graveyard syndrome,” a very interesting expression that I borrow from Robert Mayer); I think that we can find at least one of its root in the contemplation of the impure (*bujing-guan/fujō-kan* 不淨觀, *aśubha-bhāvanā*), a very old and classical practice in Buddhism. On this point, we can find a particularly interesting passage in the *Theragāthā* (II, v. 151-152), one of the oldest Buddhist texts, in which an elder named Mahākāla is said to have attained arhathood when he was practicing in the graveyard, contemplating the bones of a corpse. The same elder Mahākāla seems to be referred to in the *Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin*; there, he also practices in the graveyard, eating dumplings offered to dead people, putting on their clothes and sleeping by the side of the corpses, and the people of the town mistake him for an eater of corpses.<sup>53</sup> The name of the elder, which has a clear Śaiva ring, is interesting, because it suggests that in graveyard practice a close relation between Buddhist ascetics and Śaiva ascetics existed from a very old period. By the way, there are some Japanese medieval painted scrolls (*emaki-mono* 繪卷物) which show in great details the decomposition of the body of some dead young

<sup>51</sup> Louis Dumont, 1966, pp. 341-346 characterizes (Hindu) Tantrism as “a replacement of the renunciation by the reversal” (p. 346).

<sup>52</sup> See for example Madelaine Biarreau, 1976, p. 100.

<sup>53</sup> *Shisong-li/fūju-ritsu* 十誦律, T. XXIII 1435 XIII 95c25-96b10; *Genben-shuo-yiqie-youbu-pinaiye/Kompon setsu issai-ubu binaya* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶, T. XXIII 1442 xxxvi 825a25-827b11; *Genben-shuo-yiqie-youbu-bichuni-pinaiye/Kompon setsu issai-ubu hisshuni binaya* 根本說一切有部藏<M030828>芻尼毘奈耶, T. XXIII 1443 xiv 981b12-982a3. See also my *Daikokuten hensō* 大黒天變相, Iyanaga, 2002A, chapter IV.

woman (one of the most famous one is the *Ono no Komachi sōsui emaki* 小野小町装衰繪卷)<sup>54</sup>; I think that they can be considered at the same time as visual representations of the contemplation of impurity *and* as the results of this “graveyard esthetics” of tantric nature. It is also possible to find a reminiscence of the same “graveyard esthetics” in some popular art products of the Edo period, which manifest a very particular taste for macabre and grotesque elements—a taste that may be qualified as “*eros* and *thanatos* taste.”

From the point of view of rituals, as Strickmann eloquently showed, Buddhist Tantra and Śaiva Tantra are almost the same; they are essentially variants of Vedic rituals.

As to mythological elements, Buddhism has a very particular position. Mythology is all fragmented in Buddhist literature, buried under a mass of theological or doctrinal discourse. However, searching patiently for these fragments, and looking for their characteristics and provenance, we can find out that many mythological elements in Mahāyāna have a relation with Hindu, and especially Śaiva mythology; moreover, when comes the age of Tantra, it seems possible to say that representations of almost all Buddhist “wrathful deities” are created under some degree of Śaiva influence.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, Śaiva deities have often a very strongly ambivalent character: the more terrible and dangerous they are, the more powerful the protection their devotees obtain from offerings made to them. We can find exactly the same ambivalent character in many Buddhist (tantric or non tantric) deities as well.

As Strickmann pointed out, Buddhist *dhāraṇī sūtra* and Śaiva *āgama* literature seem to have both begun to form around the third century onward, but the turning point of the generalized “tantrization” of Indian religions is obviously the first half of the seventh century; some early Buddhist tantras, such as the *Tuoluoni-ji-jing/Darani-jikkyō* 陀羅尼集經 translated by Aṭikūta in 653-654 (T. XVIII 901) or the *Bukong-juansuo-shenbian-zhenyan-jing/Fukū-kenjaku jimpen shingon-kyō* 不空羼索神變真言經 (T. XX 1092) translated by Bodhiruci in 709 are full of elements of the highest interest for the history of the beginnings of Indian Tantrism. All the more so because there seems to remain only few texts of this period (which can be dated with such an accuracy) in Indian languages.

After that period (that is to say roughly the middle of the seventh century), Tantrism, in its Buddhist or Hindu fashion, began to be exported from India to other countries of Central, East and South-East Asia, and to flood their cultures, like a huge deluge. The effects of this “tantric deluge” were certainly variegated depending on many conditions, such as the different degrees of maturity of the culture which received it.

Here begins one of my questions: what would have been the effects of the movement of tantrization of Indian religions in terms of political and/or social ideology in India itself? For example, we know that in China and in Japan at

<sup>54</sup> On these paintings, see the interesting study of Gail Chin, 1998.

<sup>55</sup> On the “wrathful deities,” see the brilliant book by Rob Linrothe, *Ruthless Compassion*, 1999.

least, the tantric clergy has always been in very close connection with dominant powers; but was the situation identical in India? We know—or I hope at least that we can admit to a certain extent—that tantric cosmology and mythology played a decisive role in the formation of a new state ideology in the Japanese Middle Ages, but would it be possible to say something similar with regard to Tantra in India? It seems that there are in general only few studies related to the history of political/social ideologies in India; anyway, I do not know any work dealing with the history of the influence of tantric religions on these ideologies.<sup>56</sup> Do these questions make sense in the Indian context, and is such a study even possible?

I would raise the same question also for the history of Tibet. The case of Tibet is particularly important for us, because of some similarities between this country and Japan: both of them imported Buddhism in general, and Buddhist Tantra in particular, at a very early stage of maturity in their respective cultures; and both countries evolved on the margins of Chinese culture (see Strickmann, 1996, p. 231).

The case of China seems a little better known. I would mention here of course the work of Strickmann which I referred to already several times, and the studies published by Charles Orzech which were particularly enlightening for me<sup>57</sup> (but there are certainly other studies which I am not aware of). But although we know that at least at the time of Amoghavajra (705-774), that is to say from the time of the emperor Suzong 肅宗 to that of the emperor Daizong 代宗 especially, Tantrism had a prominent power and influence at the Chinese court, it seems to have maintained this power for a brief time in Chinese society. One of the main reasons is surely the great maturity of Chinese culture itself when it received the tantric wave of Buddhism. There were native elements of culture which could play similar roles in China; and these elements could easily absorb different contributions brought by Tantrism as well. We know some later destiny of Tantrism. Kobayashi Taichirō wrote for example an important article on the cult of the Bodhisattava Avalokiteśvara with a Thousand faces and a Thousand arms in the late Tang and Song periods.<sup>58</sup> Strickmann showed in a conclusive way that

---

<sup>56</sup> Four years after these lines were written, it seems that some studies eventually, dealing with those issues, appeared in print. I would like to mention especially the new book by Ronald M. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism. A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2002. Davidson emphasizes the importance of the political concerns in Tantric Buddhism. He writes: in “esoteric Buddhism,” “the monk or practitioner becomes the Supreme Overlord (*rājādhirāja*) or the Universal Ruler (*cakravartin*). [...] Esoteric Buddhism is seen as an attempt to sacralize the medieval world”... (pp. 4-5).

<sup>57</sup> Charles Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, and Id., “The Power of Metaphor: Humane Kings and Brilliant Kings,” paper presented at the Evans-Wentz Conference, Stanford, May 1999, in this volume, pp. 55-83.

<sup>58</sup> See the great study of Kobayashi Taichirō on this issue: Kobayashi Taichirō 小林太郎, “Tō-dai no Daihi-kannon 唐代の大悲観音,” Kobayashi, 1974.



many tantric elements survived in China disguised in Taoism (example of *āveśa*, in Strickmann, pp. 231-241). It is also possible to find tantric survivors in some components of Chinese popular religion (example: the deity named Xuantan-zhao-yuanshua 玄壇趙元帥 or Zhao-xuantan-shen 趙玄壇神 in whom we can see some reminiscence of Mahākāla [perhaps from Mongolian Buddhism, or rather, from the Dali 大理 Buddhism in Yunnan 雲南])<sup>59</sup> or in Chan 禪 culture (example: Avalokiteśvara with white clothes, Baiyi-guanyin/Byakue-kannon 白衣觀音).<sup>60</sup> On the other hand, as Professor R. A. Stein could point out in his fascinating study on the motifs and the process of the feminization of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, many legends of Chinese literature (examples: the legend of Miaoshan 妙善 or that of the Wife of Mr. Ma 馬郎婦) contain elements which can be traced back to tantric motifs.<sup>61</sup> But here again, my question is on possible influences of tantric religiosity (or tantric ways of thinking) on political and/or social ideology in Chinese history. There were certainly many forms of imperial mysticism in China, varying according to historical situations. It is probably Taoism which mainly assumed the role of carrying out such ideologies. It is also often said that “Neo-Confucianism” of the Song period received strong influence from the Avatamsaka philosophy.<sup>62</sup> Must we then conclude that Tantrism played no role at all in the history of political ideologies in China?

Finally, we can return to the Middle Ages in Japan. We can find in many legends and myths of medieval Japan a very particular and dramatic pattern of story: I would call it the “abjection and redemption structure.” Many typical examples can be picked up from the literature of “*bonji-mono* 本地物”: the main hero or heroine suffers misfortunes and ill luck of every kind; he/she falls down more and more deeply in abjection and dies in a paroxysm of pain and unhappiness, but by this very fact, he is saved and becomes a powerful god(dess) of mercy. There are many variants of this pattern, but one of the constants is the extreme opposition between the hero/heroine’s misfortunes and his/her glory in redemption. The same pattern can be found also in some Chinese

<sup>59</sup> See Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穂, 1982, p. 104-116; Iyanaga, 2002B, pp. 729-733, p. lxxvii; and also my web page: [http://www.bekkoame.ne.jp/~n-ianag/buddhism/mythbuddh/corr\\_add4.html](http://www.bekkoame.ne.jp/~n-ianag/buddhism/mythbuddh/corr_add4.html)

<sup>60</sup> See Iyanaga, 2002B, Index, p. xxxvii.b-c, and especially pp. 310-319.

<sup>61</sup> R. A. Stein, 1986; and also Iyanaga, 2002B, chapters X-XII.

<sup>62</sup> It is perhaps possible to observe some influence of Avatamsaka philosophy in the “imperialism” of the reign of the emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (724-749) (but according to Ishii Kōsei’s 石井公成 study, 1996, pp. 443-489, it is rather the *Suvarna-prabhāsa-sūtra* or *Jingguangming-jing/Konkōmyō-kyō* 金光明經 which had an important influence on his reign); and much later in history in the philosophy of the Kyōto school (*Kyōto gakuha* 京都學派) just before and during the Second World War... (on this point, see Ishii Kōsei, 2000A, 2000B, 2002A, 2002B.) On the other hand, it is well known that the Maitreyan eschatology played an important role in many revolutionary movements in Chinese history (especially in the “reactionary revolution” of the empress Wu; see the works of Antonino Forte).

Buddhist medieval legends (for example the legend of Miaoshan), and certainly in other religious cultures (Christian legends of saints often have the same structure). We could perhaps consider this pattern as a characteristic of what we may call an “universal medievality.” In Japan, however, it seems that it has been particularly developed and that it took many varying forms. I would consider, for example, that the two myths, one of the Shingon school and the other of the Tendai school, underlying the ritual of *abhiṣeka* of enthronement, are based on a variant form of the same structure (they relate that, at first, some deviation from the norm has been committed; the hero must pay for his negative initial act, and finally, he appears in glory). Moreover, the ritual itself is based on the same pattern: the ceremony must be presided by Dakini-ten, the vilest of the gods, because the vilest is the only way through which the emperor in his highest and sacred glory may come into the light.<sup>63</sup> Likewise, the myth of King Māra of the Sixth Heaven is based on another variant on the same structure: it puts at the origin of the country an Evil and anti-Buddhist being; he is overcome by a fraud of the creating god, but his existence was somehow needed to assure the legitimacy of the kingship and to make Buddhism flourish in the country. We can observe that this structure is similar to structure of the Indian legend of Kalmāṣapāda, and that it is closely related to the characteristic “paradoxical logic” of Tantrism on which I insisted above. According to this logic, one must pass through an extreme negativity to go beyond the dichotomy of positivity and negativity and then emerge in absolute transcendence. In other words, such a logic *needs* some negativity to manifest transcendence in the world.

From the point of view of social history, this may have been one of the many and complex causes of a very important phenomenon in medieval Japan: the problem of the so-called “Japanese out-cast” population. We can observe that Tantrism in its Indian origin already had a very peculiar position as to the problem of casts and out-cast. Tantrism is based on a system of distinction between pure and impure; it needs such a system to go beyond it and to abolish it (at least temporarily). I would not venture to say that Tantrism was *the* only cause of the Japanese system of social discrimination, but at least, it seems to me to have been one of the components of very complex (social, economic, political and religious/ideological) causes which made such a system possible: to manifest positive and absolute sacredness in this world, the medieval system of sacredness needed a negative sacredness—from which it could emerge... The general historical evolution may confirm this hypothesis, since the period in which these “out-cast” populations were most active, that is roughly the first half of the Middle Ages, corresponds to the period where schools of *kenmitsu* ideology exerted their strongest influence. Moreover, many historians have insisted on the almost hysterical fear of impurity at court and among the aristocracy from the Heian period onward; I would venture to say that this mentality may also have been a “by-product” of the tantric way of thinking (and living). The more contact with the impure seems to be dangerous, the more it

<sup>63</sup> See my “Dākinī et l’Empereur,” Iyanaga, 1999B, pp. 83-96.

may attract people fascinated by danger.

As to the relation between this kind of tantric way of thinking and living and political ideology, I think that a crisis of consciousness about the legitimacy of the Japanese state and of its kingship—a crisis which began between the end of the Ancient times and the advent of the Middle Ages (see above), played a decisive role. The example of *shinkoku* discourse (in its various forms) may be particularly instructive. We can find a typical statement at the beginning of a Kōwaka-mai play named “*Yuriwaka-daijin* 百合若大臣” which says: “Now, our country, although it is a little country on the margins [of the world], one among many other little countries scattered like the birdseed (*zokusan bendō* 粟散邊土), owns however the Three Jewels since the Age of the gods. [...] These are the greatest jewels in the world; even though there are ill-omened barbarians in every period coming to our country to betray it, it is never overthrown because it is a Land of Kamis.”<sup>64</sup> As Satō Hiroo clearly showed, the conscience that “our country is a little country on the boundary of the world,” and *shinkoku-shisō* are closely related: they are complementary to each other, the obverse and the reverse of one and the same coin.<sup>65</sup> It is because this country is so insignificant and so remote from the imaginary center of the world (i.e. Sumeru and India) that it has the special destiny to be a “Land of Kamis.” By the way, the *kamis* who protect it are often represented as violent local genii rather than great cosmic powers; the *kamis* are not as much “divine,” as they are “spiritual” or “supernatural” beings; nevertheless, they are *at the same time* the local manifestations of universal Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. This paradoxical status of things Japanese is really typical of medieval thought in Japan. Japan as a whole, is the special *locus* in which and by which universal and mystical transcendence manifests itself in the world. It is, so to speak, a pin hole opened on the surface of this impermanent world through which glimmer the mystical beams of transcendence.

I think that it is mainly this desperate quest for universality—in other words, this desperate feeling of being without any natural existential foundation—which led men to build myths, speculations and rituals that constituted slowly this religious and ideological nebula we are accustomed to call “medieval Shintō” or more generally “medieval religiosity.” And of course, the tantric way of thinking and living provided them with almost all the stock of needed tools for thought and practice to make it possible.

It is time, now, to say some words of conclusion. I must confess that when I began to write this paper, I was more convinced than I am now of the profound, inherent affinity between Tantrism and reactionary ideologies. I was close to thinking that in every country in which Tantrism left some influence, it left something like a “seed” of reactionary ideology, even if it was only in Japan that this “seed” grew up and produced a poisoned flower. Now, at the end of this

<sup>64</sup> *Yuriwaka-daijin* 百合若大臣 edited in Araki Shigeru 荒木繁, Ikeda Kōji 池田廣司, Yamamoto Kichizō 山本吉左右, Tōkyō, 1979, pp. 14-15.

<sup>65</sup> See Satō Hiroo 佐藤弘夫, 1998, pp. 326-328.

work, I tend more to think that Japan constituted a special case, probably because of the historical evolution at the end of the Ancient times and in the beginning of the Middle Ages, that is to say the crisis of power in that period and the crisis of conscience which resulted from it. Nevertheless, I still continue to believe that, at least in Japan, tantric thought played a decisive role in the formation of mystical nationalism and imperial ideology during the Middle Ages, and that it has been the ground on which were built later reactionary ideologies. Obviously, ideologies and realities seldom correspond with each other. In the case of the mystical nationalism and imperial ideology of the Japanese Middle Ages, the relation to political realities seems to have been even in reverse proportion. The more the power of the imperial court declined in reality, the more the sacredness of the kingship was elevated and became “mystical.”

My final question is on the evolution of this current of thought from the later Middle Ages throughout the pre-modern (Edo period) and the modern times in Japan. My general impression is that it never really died; even though changing form and taking varying flavors and powers depending on situations, it continued to live on, and is probably living still even in our times. However, my other impression is that during the later Middle Ages and the pre-modern times, it lost an important characteristic: I put stress above on negativity which worked, so to speak, as a spring board on which all medieval patterns of thoughts of the kind we are concerned with, had been built. Behind the most sacred symbols, there was always something like a shadow of the most horrible or impure negative sacredness; it is this extreme ambivalence of sacredness which is one of the most important features of Japanese medieval religions. It seems that this feature is no longer obvious in the Shintō of later Middle Ages; even in a work like the *Sangai isshin-ki* of the early Edo period, the author exposes his pan-sexualism in a very platitudinous discourse. The same thing can be said of the works of Hirata Atsutane. This thinker is very interesting from many points of view. As I already mentioned several times above, although he appears to be strongly anti-Buddhist and anti-medieval Shintō (being pro-ancient, and in favor of “original or pure” Japan), many themes and motifs that he deals with seem to have their root in medieval Buddho-Shintoist thought; but at the same time, his discourse on these themes and motifs appears generally without any negativity in the background. Anyway, I think that Hirata, who was one of the main thinkers and leaders of the “National Studies” (*kokugaku* 國学) movement, can be considered an important “link” between medieval *kenmitsu* ideology and modern reactionary ideology. But, in my opinion, his case constitutes only an example among many others.

I wrote above that I wanted to see what new perspectives we may have if we use the word “*tantra*” instead of “*mikkyō*” in the vision of Japanese medieval *kenmitsu* religions as they were defined in the works of Kuroda Toshio. Starting from Japanese medieval religions, we could trace back ideas, motifs and practices up to Indian Tantrism. Now, starting from the same medieval thought, I think that we can take the opposite direction, not up to the origins, but down to our times. My question concerning later evolutions of the *kenmitsu*

ideology remains open. I only wish that this question will be considered a fit one for forthcoming studies by my learned colleagues.

### Bibliography

Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎

1993 “Nihon-gi to setsuwa 日本紀と説話,” in *Setsuwa no ba – Shōdō, chūshaku* 説話の場－唱導・注釋, Collection “Setsuwa no kōza 説話の講座,” III, Tokyo: Bensei-sha 勉誠社, pp. 199-226.

1998 *Yuya no kōgō* 湯屋の皇后, Nagoya: Nagoya-daigaku shuppan-kyoku 名古屋大學出版局.

Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦

1986 *Igyō no ōken* 異形の王權, Tokyo: Heibon-sha 平凡社.

Araki Shigeru 荒木繁, Ikeda Kōji 池田廣司, Yamamoto Kichizō 山本吉左右, eds.

1979 *Kōwaka-mai* 幸若舞, I, Yuriwaka-daijin hoka 百合若大臣他, [coll. Tōyō bunko 東洋文庫, 355], Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

Arendt, Hannah

1973 *The origins of totalitarianism*, New ed. with added prefaces, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, first ed., 1951; Japanese translation, by Ōkubo Kazuo 大久保和郎, Ōshima Kaori 大島かおり, Ōshima Michiyoshi 大島通義, *Zentai-shugi no kigen* 全體主義の起原, 3 vols., new ed., Tokyo: Misuzu shobō みすず書房, 1981.

Biardeau, Madeleine

1976 “Le sacrifice dans l’hindouisme,” in M. Biardeau and Charles Malamoud, *Le Sacrifice dans l’Inde ancienne*, Paris: P.U.F., pp. 7-154.

Borgen, Robert

1998 “Japanese Nationalism – Ancient and Modern,” an online paper of the e-journal of the “Premodern Japanese studies mailing list” [PMJS], pp. 6-7 of the pdf version [[http://www.meijigakuin.ac.jp/~pmjs/papers/Borgen\\_Jojin.pdf](http://www.meijigakuin.ac.jp/~pmjs/papers/Borgen_Jojin.pdf)]; this paper was originally published in the Annual Report of the Institute for International Studies [Meiji Gakuin University], no. 1 (December 1998), pp. 49-59 [Journal title in Japanese: 研究所年報(明治學院大學国際學部付屬研究所)].

Chin, Gail

1998 “The gender of Buddhist truth: The female corpse in a group of Japanese paintings,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, XXV/3-4, Fall 1998, pp. 277-317.

Collins, Charles Dillard

1988 *The Iconography & Ritual of Śiva at Elephanta*, New York: State University of New York Press.

- Davidson, Ronald M.  
2002 *Indian Esoteric Buddhism. A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Dobbins, James C., *guest editor*  
1996 "The Legacy of Kuroda Toshio," special issue: Fall 1996, 23/3-4 of the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* [Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture].
- Donaldson, Thomas E.  
1987 *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Doniger O'Flaherty, Wendy  
1973 *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva*, London: Oxford Un. Pr.  
1975 *Hindu Myths*, Penguin Classics, New York.
- Dumont, Louis  
1966 *Homo Hierarchicus*, Paris: Gallimard.
- Eco, Umberto  
1997 "Eternal Fascism," *Cinque scritti morali*, Milan, R. C. S. Libri S. p. A.; Japanese translation: Wada Tadahiko 和田忠彦, *transl: Eien no fashizumu 永遠のファシズム*, Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1998.
- Forte, Antonino  
1976 *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century*. Inquiry into the nature, authors and function of the Tunhuang document S. 6502, followed by an annotated translation, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici.
- Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤  
1918 *Indo zōshi 印度藏志*, in *Hirata Atsutane zenshū 平田篤胤全集*, II, Tokyo: Hirata gakkai jimusho 平田学会事務所.
- Hotate Michihisa 保立道久  
1990 "Heian-jidai no ōtō to chi 平安時代の王統と血," in *Tennō-sei. Rekishi, Ōken, Daijō-sai 天皇制・歴史・王権・大嘗祭*, special issue of the *Bessatsu Bungei 別冊文藝*, Tokyo: Kawade-shobō shinsha 河出書房新社, pp. 62-70.
- Ishii Kōsei 石井公成  
1996 *Kegon-shisō no kenkyū 華嚴思想の研究*, Tokyo: Shunjū-sha 春秋社.  
2000A "Kyōto-gakuha no tetsugaku to nihon-bukkyō – Kōyama Iwao no baai 京都學派の哲學と日本佛教－高山岩男の場合," *Kikan Bukkyō 季刊・佛教*, Feb. 2000, pp. 111-119.  
2000B "Daitōa-kyōeiken no gōrika to kegon-tetsugaku I – Kihira Tadayoshi no yakuwari wo chūshin toshite 大東亜共榮圏の合理化と華嚴哲學 (一)－紀平正美の役割を中心として," *Bukkyō-gaku 佛教學*, XLII, Dec. 2000, pp. 1-28.

- 2002A "L'idée de 'Sphère de co-prospérité de la Grand Asie Orientale' et la philosophie bouddhique – Le rôle de l'école de Kyôto," *Cipango*, Numéro hors-série, printemps 2002.
- 2002B "Daitôa kyôeiken ni itaru kegon-tetsugaku – Kametani Seikô no *Kegon-kyô sen'yô* 大東亜共榮圏に至る華嚴哲學 – 龜谷聖馨の『華嚴經』宣揚," *Shisô* 思想, No. 943, Nov. 2002, pp. 128-146.
- 2002C "Sokuten Bu-kô 'Daijô nyû-Ryôga-kyô jo' to Hôzô 'Nyû-Ryôga shin gengi' – zen-shû to no kanren ni ryûi shite 則天武后「大乘入楞伽經序」と法藏『入楞伽心玄義』 – 禪宗との関連に留意して," *Komazawa daigaku zen kenkyûjo nenpô* 駒澤大學禪研究所年報, XIII-XIV, Dec. 2002, pp. 25-44.

## Itô Satoshi 伊藤聡

- 1995 "Dairokuten Maô setsu no seiritsu – toku-ni Nakatomi no harae kunge no shosetsu wo chûshin toshite 第六天魔王説の成立 – 特に中臣祓訓解の所説を中心として," *Nihon Bungaku* 日本文学, Tokyo: Mirai-sha 未来社, July 1995, pp. 67-77.
- 1997 "Hoke-kyô to chûsei jingi-sho 『法華經』と中世神祇書," *Koku-bungaku. Kaishaku to kanshō* 國文学・解釋と鑑賞, March 1997, pp. 50a-57b.

## Iyanaga Nobumi 彌永信美

- 1983 "Daijizai-ten 大自在天," 法寶義林 *Hôbôgirin*, VI, Paris-Tokyo, pp. 713-765.
- 1985 "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* [Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, vol. XXII], Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, pp. 633-745.
- 1987 *Gensô no tōyō* 幻想の東洋 [Imaginary Orient], Tokyo: Seido-sha 青土社.
- 1988 "« Nihon no shisô » saikō – « tokushu Nihon-teki na mono » to bukkyô 「日本の思想」再考 – 「特殊日本的なもの」と佛教," *Kikan Bukkyô* 季刊佛教, V, October 1988, pp. 135-149.
- 1994 "Daikokuten 大黒天," *Hôbôgirin* 法寶義林, VII, Paris-Tokyo, pp. 839-920.
- 1996-1997 "Le Roi Māra du Sixième Ciel et le mythe médiéval de la création du Japon," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie IX* (1996-1997), *Mémorial Anna Seidel*. Religions traditionnelle d'Asie orientale, II, Kyoto, pp. 323-396.
- 1998A-B, 1999A "Dairoku-ten Maô to chûsei Nihon no sôzô shinwa 第六天魔王と中世日本の創造神話," I-III, *Hirosaki-daigaku kokushi kenkyû* 弘前大学國史研究, No. 104 (March 1998), pp. 44-68, No. 105 (October 1998), pp. 23-39, No. 106 (March 1999), pp. 17-41.
- 1999B "Dākinī et l'Empereur. Mystique bouddhique de la royauté dans le Japon médiéval," in Fabio Rambelli and Patrizia Violi

- eds., *Reconfiguring Cultural Semiotics: The Construction of Japanese Identity*, Special issue of *VS (Versus)*, *Quaderni di studi smiotici*, no. 83/84, May-December 1999 (published in December 2000), pp. 41-111.
- 2002A *Daikoku-ten hensō* 大黒天變相, Kyoto: Hōzō-kan 法藏館.
- 2002B *Kannon hen'yō tan* 觀音變容譚, Kyoto: Hōzō-kan 法藏館.
- Kobayashi Taichirō 小林太市郎
- 1974 “Tō-dai no Daihi-kannon 唐代の大悲觀音,” *Kobayashi Taichirō chosaku shū* 小林太市郎著作集, vol. VII, Kyoto: Tankō-sha 淡交社, pp. 83-186.
- Köck, Stephen
- 2000 “The Dissemination of the Tachikawa-ryū and the Problem of Orthodox and Heretic Teaching in Shingon Buddhism,” 東京大學大學院人文社會系研究科・文學部・インド哲學佛教學研究室, *インド哲學佛教學研究 Studies in Indian Philosophy and Buddhism*, Tokyo University VII, pp. 69-83.
- Komatsu Kazuhiko 小松和彦
- 1992 *Nihon yōkai ibun-roku* 日本妖怪異聞録, Tokyo: Shōgaku-kan 小學館.
- Kramrisch, Stella
- 1981 *Manifestations of Shiva*, (Catalog of the Exhibition), Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art.
- 1992 *The Presence of Śiva*, 2nd ed. [coll. Mythos], Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press.
- Lamotte, Etienne
- 1949 *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna*, t. I, Louvain, reprint. 1966.
- Linroth, Rob
- 1999 *Ruthless Compassion. Wrathful Deities in Early Indo-Tibetan Esoteric Buddhist Art*, Boston: Shambhala.
- Lubac, Henri de
- 1979, 1981 *La Postérité spirituelle de Joachim de Flore*, 2 vol., Paris: Lethielleux; Namur: Culture et Vérité.
- Maruyama Masao 丸山眞男
- 1961 *Nihon no shishō* 日本の思想, Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.
- Moriyama Shōshin 守山聖眞
- 1965 *Tachikawa jakyō to sono shakai-teki haikai no kenkyū* 立川邪流とその社會的背景の研究, Tokyo: Rokuya-en 鹿野苑.
- Orzech, Charles D.
- 1998 *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism*, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.



Ōsumi Kazuo 大隅和雄

- 1977 *Chūsei shintō-ron* 中世神道論, ed., Ōsumi Kazuo 大隅和雄 [coll. Nihon shisō taikai 日本思想大系, 19], Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.

Rao, T. A. Gopinath

- 1971 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, second ed., Varanasi-Delhi.

Sanford, James H.

- 1991 "Literary Aspects of Japan's Dual-Gaṇeśa Cult," in Robert L. Brown, ed., *Ganesh. Studies of an Asian God*, [Suny series in Tantric Studies] Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 287-335.

Satō Hiroo 佐藤弘夫

- 1998 *Kami, botoke, ōken no chūsei* 神・佛・王権の中世, Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館.

Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穂

- 1982 *Chūgoku no minkan shinkō* 中國の民間信仰, Tokyo: Kōsaku-sha 工作舎.

Stein, Rolf A.

- 1981 "Porte (Gardien de la): un exemple de mythologie bouddhique, de l'Inde au Japon," in Yves Bonnefoy, dir., *Dictionnaire des Mythologies et des Religions des sociétés traditionnelles et du monde antique*, Paris: Flammarion, 2 vol., II, pp. 280-294 (I quote here the pagination of the off-print); English translation by Wendy Doniger and Gerald Honigsblum, *Asian Mythologies*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 119-136.
- 1986 "Avalokiteśvara/Kouan-yin, un exemple de transformation d'un dieu en déesse," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* II (1986), pp. 17-80.

Strickmann, Michel

- 1996 *Mantras et mandarins. Le bouddhisme tantrique en Chine*, Paris: Gallimard.

Suzuki, D. T.

- 1932 *The Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, London, reprint 1968.

Tachikawa Musashi 立川武蔵, Ishiguro Atsushi 石黒淳, Hishida Kunio 菱田邦男, Shima Iwao 島岩

- 1980 *Hindū no kamigami* ヒンドウの神々, Tokyo: Serika shobō せりか書房.

Tanaka Sumio 田中純男

- 2000 "Kodai Indo no bochi 古代インドの墓地," in Tanaka Sumio ed., *Shigo no sekai – Indo, Chūgoku, Nihon no meikai shinkō* 死後の世界 – インド・中国・日本の冥界信仰, Tokyo: Tōyō shorin 東洋書林, pp. 2-37.

Yamamoto Hiroko 山本ひろ子

- 1998 *Chūsei shinwa* 中世神話, Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.

Yamashita Takumi 山下琢巳

1993 “Ōsakafuritsu Nakanoshima-toshokan Ishizaki-bunko zōshahon Sanken-icchi-no-sho ni tsuite; fu honkoku 大阪府立中之嶋圖書館石寄文庫藏寫本『三賢一致之書』について 付翻刻,” *Tōkyō Seitoku tanki daigaku kiyō* 東京成徳短期大學紀要, XXVII, March 1993, pp. 99-110.