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Marishiten: Buddhism and the warrior goddess

Hall, David Avalon, Ph.D.

University of California, Berkeley, 1990

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**Marishiten:
Buddhism and the Warrior Goddess**

By

David Avalon Hall

**B.A. (Guilford College) 1974
M.A. (University of Hawaii at Manoa) 1977**

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

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in

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of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA at BERKELEY

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**DOCTORAL DEGREE CONFERRED
MAY 22, 1990**

Marishiten: Buddhism and the Warrior Goddess

by David A. Hall

ABSTRACT

A good deal of literature has appeared in the post-World War II period concerning Buddhism, warfare, and combative arts. Most of this literature has centered on the relationship between Zen and "martial arts" while the influence of the Tantric, or "Esoteric," Buddhist tradition has been left relatively neglected. This dissertation examines the often disregarded relationship between Tantric Buddhism and the arts of war through a detailed investigation of the evolution of the Buddhist warrior goddess, Mārīcī (Jp. Marishiten).

The aim of this dissertation was to 1) examine the origins and development of the cult of Mārīcī, 2) explore the nature of the cult within the larger framework of Sino-Japanese Tantric Buddhism, and 3) determine the way in which the Buddhist cult was adapted and used by the Japanese warrior class from the ninth through the sixteenth centuries.

Chapter 2 proposes reasons for the origin and evolution of the Marici cult on and around the Indian subcontinent from the fifth through the tenth centuries. A number of comparisons are made concerning Mārīcī's attributes and functions and those of antecedent and contemporary deities.

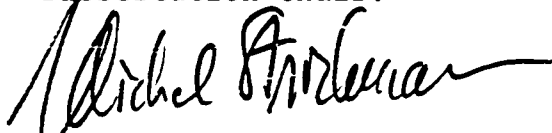
Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the Buddhist cult in China. Chapter 3 covers the "early" period (sixth and seventh centuries) while Chapter 4 covers the "mid- to late" period (eighth through tenth centuries). These chapters deal mainly with the introduction of the cult, the process of Buddhist assimilation it underwent, and a later period reflecting the development of Vajrayāna in India.

Chapter 5 turns to Japan where the cult of Mārīcī was fitted into the modular ritualism of the medieval Tantric schools. Comparisons are also made with the rituals of Marishiten as performed by practitioners of Shugendō.

Chapter 6 deals with the Mārīcī cult as it was viewed and practiced by Japanese warriors. A number of unpublished warrior documents are examined in this chapter in order to illuminate the "warrior" Marishiten of Japan.

Chapter 7 provides an extensive examination of the significance Marishiten held for the Japanese warrior.

Dissertation Chair:



Michel Strickmann
Associate Professor

Marishiten: Buddhism and the Warrior Goddess

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MEMORIAL

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Donn F. Draeger (1921-1982), friend, teacher, collaborator, and founder of the International Hoplological Research Center / International Hopology Society. Without his inspiration and direction during the years c. 1972 - 1982, this dissertation might never have been envisioned.

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First of all I would like to thank my wife, Margery M. Hall, for her inexhaustible patience and support during the years it took to produce this dissertation, and for proof-reading the chapters. In addition, a number of people in Japan, many of whom are mentioned in the bibliography, were helpful in producing this work. Special thanks go to Rev. Shôshin Ichishima and Rev. Chiba Shôkan, Tendai priests of Taisho University in Tokyo; Rev. Miyajima Kigyô of Koyasan University; all members of the Kinyobikai, especially Mutô Masao (headmaster of the Ôtsubo line of the Yagyû Shinkageryû) and Professors Watanabe Ichirô and Irie Kohei of Tsukuba University; Yagyû Nobuharu Toshimichi, 21st headmaster of the Yagyû Shinkageryû; Ôtake Risuke, head instructor, and Iizasa Shurinosuke Yasusada, 20th headmaster, of the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû; Higuchi Sadahiro, 24th headmaster of the (Maniwa) Nenryû; Kaminoda Tsunemori of the Shindô Musôryû; Hunter B. Armstrong and Richard Hayes of the International Hoplology Society; and, finally, Meik Skoss who read the manuscript several times and gave useful suggestions concerning content.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Agni Frits Staal, ed., Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar Vol. II.
- AMND Ārya-Mārīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī, edited by Ashikaga Atsuuji.
- Av. Atharvaveda.
- DH Margaret and James Stutley, Dictionary of Hinduism.
- GNB Alice Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism.
- HG David Kinsley, HINDU GODDESSES: Visions of the Divine Feminine in the Hindu Religious Tradition.
- IBI Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography.
- KBC Lewis R. Lancaster, compiler, The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue.
- MW Sir Monier Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
- NBZ Imamura Yoshio, ed., Nippon budō zenshū, 7 vols.
- Nsp. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, ed., Niṣpannayogaḥvalī of Mahāpandita Abhayākara Gupta.
- Rv. Rgveda.
- Sād. B. Bhattacharyya, ed., Sādhanamālā, GOS, nos. 26 and 41.
- SBI Dipak Chandra Bhattacharyya, Studies in Buddhist Iconography.
- Śsm. Dr. P.L. Vaidya, ed., Śikṣāsamuccaya of Śāntideva.
- SZ Shingonshū zensho.
- T. Taishō shinshū daizōkyō.
- TT Tao-tsang.
- TZ Taishō zuzō.
- TPS Giuseppe Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, vol. I.

TT Agehananda Bharati, The Tantric Tradition.

* * *

Ch. Chinese

Jp. Japanese

Skt. Sanskrit

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Chapter 1: Introduction

There are numerous accounts of the relationship between Buddhism and fighting arts; more specifically between the Chinese Ch'an and Japanese Zen schools and the "martial arts." Inspired by such writers as D.T. Suzuki and others, it seems to have become accepted as fact that Chinese Ch'an and Japanese Zen were the major, perhaps only, Buddhist traditions which appealed to practitioners of combative arts.¹ While it is true that Zen did influence the bushi (warrior class) in Japan to some extent as early as the Kamakura period (1185-1333), the assumption that this phenomenon was the major connection between Buddhism and the warrior is unfounded. The major influence of Zen on martial arts in Japan was during the peaceful Tokugawa period (1603-1867) when many Japanese bujutsu (war arts) evolved into budô (agonistic training aimed at spiritual development). Proponents of the "Zen and the sword are one" theory tend to ignore the history of the relationship between practitioners of fighting arts and Buddhism as well as the appeal that Buddhism had for professional combatants.

¹For example, see Ichimura Shôhei, "Buddhist Martial Arts," The Encyclopedia of Religion, Mircea Eliade, editor in chief, vol. 2 (New York, 1987), 228-229. Ichimura states that concerning Japanese combative swordsmanship (kenjutsu), archery (kyûjutsu), and wrestling (jûjutsu), "only Zen, of all the schools of Mahâyâna Buddhism, was able to have an effect on these forms." (p. 228).

In this dissertation I shall introduce another major element of the Buddhist tradition which appealed to warriors in China, Japan and probably also in India. This other element was the development of cults around Buddhist worthies which promised protection for warriors in combat through the use of battle charms and spells. There have been several of these cults, the primary one being devoted to the goddess Mārīcī.

Mārīcī (known as Mo-li-chih-t'ien in China and Marishiten in Japan) has filled many roles over the centuries. In the cultures where she has been popular - India, Tibet, China, and Japan - she has been referred to as a mote of light, Goddess of the North Star or the constellation of the Great Bear, Queen of Heaven (residing in the constellation of Sagittarius), the Goddess of the Dawn, a healer, a protectress of travellers, a bodhisattva who has vowed to bring all sentient beings to enlightenment, and a warrior goddess. Reflecting these various functions, she has been depicted in many guises ranging from a beautiful woman sitting benignly on an open lotus, to a ferocious demon perched on the shoulders of a wild boar or riding upon a fiery chariot drawn by a singular of seven savage boars or sows. In her long career as a Buddhist "goddess," a period that now spans about 1500 years, she has, indeed, filled most of these roles, never being confined to one dimension.

Mārīcī's early chroniclers in European languages tended

to assume that the benign aspects of this Buddhist goddess were somehow more primordial and pure. Eighteenth century Western Buddhist scholars, such as Giorgi, even added a new dimension by claiming she was a Buddhist adaptation of the Virgin Mary. (He evidently thought the name Mārīcī was derived from "Mary."² No one from Eitel³ to Werner,⁴ challenged this.) We find Doré in 1922 condemning the Taoists for somehow changing Mārīcī into a male god of war (after which he notes the tantric Buddhists were also responsible for this deviation).

In contrast to this traditional view, it is apparent from the evidence gathered for this dissertation that Marishiten evolved in the Tantric Buddhism of the Indian subcontinent primarily as a warrior protectress. Although showing characteristics of a number of non-Buddhist antecedents, she seems to have taken shape essentially as a Buddhist version of the ferocious warrior goddesses which were popular with the peoples of north India. Notwithstanding all the various forms and powers attributed to her by her devotees in India, China, Tibet, or Japan, her primary functions have usually been: 1) protection of combatants - a "mundane" goal, the fulfillment

²Earnest J. Eitel, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, (1888; reprint, New Delhi, 1981), 98.

³Eitel, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, (Hong Kong, 1870, 1888).

⁴E.T.C. Werner, A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology, (Shanghai, 1932).

of which is accomplished through the transference of her supernatural abilities (invisibility, perspicuity, healing powers etc.) to her followers - and, 2) a "supramundane" function - that of a compassionate bodhisattva (enlightened being) which is to bring all sentient beings to enlightenment. This second goal (which may be seen to include the first, as the granting of invisibility and healing might be considered acts of compassion) is not mentioned in the earliest surviving Mārīcī text. In fact, the bodhisattva aspect of Mārīcī emerges slowly, over a period of several hundred years as the goddess became more assimilated into the Buddhist fold. Consequently, in contrast to Doré's statement, Mārīcī might well be called a corruption (or pacification) of the cults of the ferocious Indian warrior goddesses. Indeed, "pacification" may be the wrong term for, as we shall find, her warrior-protective aspect appears to have just as much importance, if not more than her Buddhist one in China and Japan, countries in which her Buddhist assimilation was complete.

The aim of this dissertation, then, is to 1) examine the origins and development of the cult of this Buddhist "warrior goddess," 2) explore the nature of the cult within the larger framework of Sino-Japanese Tantric Buddhism, and 3) determine the way in which the Buddhist cult was adapted and used by the Japanese warrior class from the ninth through the sixteenth centuries.

- Theoretical Perspectives -

Dealing with a Buddhist devī (goddess) such as Mārīcī necessitates consideration, not only of her Buddhist "character" but also of her martial nature, for a good deal of the characteristics or functions are "martial." This is indicated by Mārīcī's popularity among warriors and other combatants in the Sino-Japanese geographical area and her amalgamation in India with non-Buddhist battle gods and goddesses such as Caṇḍī. However, if we simply stop with pointing out that a certain characteristic displayed by Mārīcī - such as invisibility or unctuousness⁵ - would have been popular with combatants, we would not have discovered much more about her nature than is already available in Japanese secondary sources.

Therefore, in addition to investigating the canonical and exegetical literature concerned with the cult of Mārīcī, I have also drawn upon nascent research currently being carried out in the area of combative psychology. This research falls under a broader field of study known as hoplology.⁶ The term hoplology was coined by the explorer and linguist, Sir Richard Burton, in the nineteenth century, but it was not until the

⁵I use this term here to indicate the quality displayed by Mārīcī which means she cannot be fettered or grasped.

⁶This term is derived from the Greek terms hoplos (a mythical plate-armored animal) and hoplite, the term for the classical Greek warrior.

1960's that hoplology began taking shape as an academic field under the direction of Donn F. Draeger. Draeger, drawing upon years of personal experience and research, had defined hoplology by the 1970's as:

the study of the basis, patterns, relationships, and significances of combative behavior at all levels of social complexity.⁷

While hoplology is still in its infancy, it has become an accepted area of study by scholars in several other areas such as history, anthropology, psychology, and so forth. Thus, in this investigation of Máricí, I shall also draw upon research in the field of hoplology to help illuminate the psychological aspects of the "supernatural" martial powers which Máricí was thought to have provided to her warrior devotees.

In relation to this, several terms used in this dissertation should be clarified. The term "warrior," as it shall be used here, refers to professional combatants, versed in the hand-operated weapons of the classical battlefield (that is, pre-firearm weapons), who trained primarily for fighting against a single opponent, although battle situations sometimes required they fight with a group against multiple

⁷Donn F. Draeger, "The Hoplological Glossary," Hoplos 4, no. 1 (March 1982): 6.

opponents. The term "soldier," refers to professional combatants who trained primarily for fighting with a group against multiple opponents, although battle situations sometimes required they fight against single opponents. Finally, "martial arts," as used here, refers only to those skills and techniques used by warriors and soldiers for the classical battlefield. This, incidently, includes both fighting arts (such as swordsmanship) and non-fighting arts (such as the building of field fortifications).⁸

Several Japanese terms also need clarification. The Japanese tend to refer to all pre-modern fighting arts under the generic term budô or, sometimes, kobudô. This generic usage of the term budô, however, is insufficient for understanding the evolution of Japanese combative systems. Thus, I shall use categorizations derived from the works of Ôtake Risuke and Donn F. Draeger.⁹ There are two Japanese term which translate as "martial arts." They are bugei (lit., martial arts) and bujutsu (lit., martial technique). Those later Japanese disciplines (post-1600 A.D.) which shifted their emphasis from battlefield effectiveness to spiritual development are properly referred to as budô. Other terms will be defined later in this dissertation.

⁸For additional information in the Japanese context, see Donn F. Draeger and Robert W. Smith, Asian Fighting Arts (Tokyo, 1969), 83-84.

⁹See bibliography.

- Literature in the Field -

A good deal of the literature in the field will be covered in each chapter of this dissertation. However, several works should be mentioned in this introductory section. In the area of Buddhist studies, information concerning Mārīcī in works on the Mahāyāna/ Vajrayāna pantheon is, at best, minimal. This is understandable as investigators, in both the "East" and the "West," have concentrated on more important members of the Buddhist pantheon such as Mahāvairocana, Avalokiteśvara,¹⁰ Bhaiṣajyaguru,¹¹ Tārā,¹² and so on. In fact, there has been much more work done on other minor deities such as Gaṇeśa,¹³ Hayagrīva,¹⁴ and Fudō-myōō than Mārīcī. Most of these works, especially those of the type pioneered by Alice Getty¹⁵ and Benoytosh Bhattacharyya,¹⁶

¹⁰I.e., John Blofeld, Bodhisattva of Compassion: The Mystical Tradition of Kuan Yin (Boulder, 1978).

¹¹I.e., Raoul Birnbaum, The Healing Buddha (London, 1979).

¹²I.e., Stephan Beyer, The Cult of Tārā: Magic and Ritual in Tibet (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973).

¹³Alice Getty, Gaṇeśa: A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God (1936; reprint, New Delhi, 1971) and Lewis R. Lancaster, "Gaṇeśa in China: Demon or Saint?" (Paper presented at the Association of Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., 1984).

¹⁴I.e., Robert Hans van Gulik, Hayagrīva: The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-Cult in China and Japan (Leiden, 1935).

¹⁵The Gods of Northern Buddhism (Oxford, 1928).

concentrate on iconographical studies with little reference to the psychological significance attached to the divinities by their Tantric creators.¹⁷ (Bhattacharyya did note this shortcoming and improved his survey somewhat in his second edition.)¹⁸ None of these general works deals with the cult rituals of Mārīcī, although van Gulik's work on Hayagrīva and Beyer's excellent study on the Tibetan cult of Tārā do devote a great deal of attention to the ritual practices associated with those deities.

Bhattacharyya draws his iconographical information on Mārīcī from canonical texts in Sanskrit. These Sanskrit texts will be covered in more detail in Chapter 2. However, since the text of the Sino-Japanese cult of Mārīcī pre-date most of those remaining in Sanskrit, the actual importance of the latter in our understanding of the development of the Sino-Japanese cult is minimal.

The Chinese canon provides us with the largest amount of material related to the development of the Sino-Japanese cult of the goddess and these texts will be examined in Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation. In addition, a number of

¹⁶The Indian Buddhist Iconography, (Oxford, 1924).

¹⁷This includes Alicia Matsunaga's Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation (Tokyo, 1969). The section of this work which deals with Marishiten is drawn mainly from Bhattacharyya's iconographical studies.

¹⁸Bhattacharyya, Indian Buddhist Iconography, second edition (Calcutta, 1958), ix.

extensive works on the Buddhist pantheon and its cult practices in the Sino-Japanese geographical area were created in Japan. Many of these works, which contain information on practices dating back to the eighth century, are available in Japan and were useful in interpreting the Chinese texts of Chapters 3 and 4. Some of these, such as the twelfth century Gyôrinshô and thirteenth century Asabashô will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 5. In addition, some examples of Marishiten ritual texts from one of Japan's native religions - Shugendô - will also be examined in Chapter 5. These Shugendô works can be found in Hattori's Shugendô yôten. Other texts used will be described in that chapter.

Since the cult of Mâricî as a warrior protectress was so popular in Japan, one would expect a much greater abundance of scholarship in Japanese concerning the goddess. The amount of Buddhist exegetical literature available is large,¹⁹ and was written by actual practitioners who had access not only to the Chinese texts but also oral traditions concerning the rituals of the cult. Unfortunately, as most of this information was written by Buddhist priests who tended to give much space to sûtra quotations and very little, if any, to analysis, this material soon becomes repetitive.

¹⁹This material was written over a period of several hundred years; from the early Heian period (794-1185) through the Edo period (1603-1867). See Bibliography - [Buddhist texts produced in Japan] - for a listing of the texts examined for this dissertation.

Modern Japanese scholarship has presented us with few articles of any length dealing with Mārīcī. Two which should be noted came to light during research on this project. Shimaji Daitō's "Marishitenron"²⁰ (An Essay on Marishiten) and Ichikawa Chizu's "Hadami hanasazu mottareta Marishiten" (The Marishiten Which Isn't Separated from One's Body) in Bukkyō to kamigami.²¹ Shimaji's article is of special interest as he attempts to deal with the confusion over whether Marishiten is male or female. Ichikawa's article is less analytical but, due to its comprehensiveness, is the most useful of any modern articles in Japanese, including those in the large Buddhist dictionaries such as the Mikkyō daijiten and Mochizuki's Bukkyō daijiten.

Few works in English or Japanese deal in any detail with Mārīcī as a warrior protectress. Most works on Buddhism or on the Buddhist pantheon do little more than refer to her as a "goddess of the sunrise and protectress of warriors." In literature on the "martial arts" we find even less.

Much of the literature in this latter category purports to teach martial skills to the public and contains little, if any, useful information suitable for research purposes (of any

²⁰Shimaji Daitō, "Marishitenron," in Kyōri to shiron (Tokyo, 1931): 151-174.

²¹Ichikawa Chizu, "Hadami hanasazu mottareta Marishiten" in Bukkyō to kamigami (Daihōrin), Tokyo, 1988, 203-214.

type). Some of these works, however, contain historical information and short sections on the "spiritual" side of the martial arts. Few, if any, say anything more about Marishiten than a short reference to her being the God or Goddess of War. Most, indeed, concentrate on Zen.

A number of books have been published in Japan on warrior history, most including some reference to the connection between warriorship and Zen Buddhism. The "classic" work in this area is generally considered to be Yamada Jirōkichi's Nippon kendōshi²² (A History of Japanese Kendō ["sword way"]). Part of this text has been translated into English in Reinhard Kammer's Zen and Confucius in the Art of Swordsmanship.²³ Yamada's work, however, is marred by the fact that he uncritically repeats information from mid-Edo period sources, presents little in the way of analysis of historical developments, and makes no document comparisons. His work has been superseded by Shimokawa's Kendō-no hattatsu²⁴ (The Development of Japanese Swordsmanship) and Watatani's [Zusetsu] Kobudōshi²⁵ (History of Classical Martial Arts [Illustrated]) which

²²Yamada Jirōkichi, Nippon kendōshi (1925; reprint, Tokyo, 1976).

²³Reinhard Kammer, Zen and Confucius in the Art of Swordsmanship: The Tengu-geijutsu-ron of Chozan Shissai, trans. into English (from German) by Betty J. Fitzgerald (London, 1978).

²⁴Shimokawa Ushio, Kendō-no hattatsu (1925; reprint, Tokyo, 1985).

²⁵Watatani Kiyoshi, [Zusetsu] Kobudōshi, (Tokyo, 1967).

contain many document comparisons and critical examinations of historical material. Concerning the development of Japanese martial strategy and its basis in religious esoterica, the Nippon heihô zenshû²⁶ (Collected Works of Japanese Strategy) by Ishioka and Arima is probably the most complete. Others will be mentioned in Chapter 6 but these are the most thorough, basic sources.

Several English works in this field are worth mentioning. E.J. Harrison's The Fighting Spirit of Japan was written in the early part of this century by a man who had first-hand experience in one of the budô, that is jûdô. Harrison had many interesting insights and commented extensively on the spiritual esoterica of Japanese martial ways, c. 1910. Many of these comments were never investigated by other authors and, when his book was reprinted after World War II (1966), a number of his comments on Japanese martial spirit had been expurgated.

Another, now "classic" work in this field by an actual practitioner of martial ways, is Eugene Herrigel's Zen and the Art of Archery (1953). This is a short but inspiring work which concentrates on the influences of the Zen school of Buddhism on the martial way of kyûdô (archery). A number of less introspective works of a similar fashion have been published since this work appeared almost forty years ago.

²⁶Nippon heihô zenshû. Edited by Arima Shigeyoshi and Ishioka Hisao. Tokyo, 1967.

This brings us to the numerous works which are devoted to, or include sections on, Zen and martial culture, the most important of which is D.T. Suzuki's Zen and Japanese Culture. Suzuki, unlike Harrison and Herrigle, was not a practitioner of martial disciplines. However, his work devotes three chapters to the Japanese warrior and swordsmanship, introducing many valuable, original works to western readers. Due to his strong emphasis on Zen, however, he neglects the influences of Esoteric Buddhism, Shintô, Shugendô, Taoism, and Neo-Confucianism on Japanese warrior culture. In addition, he draws most of his documentation from Edo period, Zen-based sources. Later writers have tended to accept Suzuki's work, ignoring its bias, as a comprehensive statement and have made few inroads into other facets of warrior culture.

In the late 1960's and early to mid-1970's, new ground was broken in the works produced by Donn F. Draeger. Draeger was the first author to present a general "typology" of the history, organization, philosophy, training methods, and so forth of Japanese martial systems. He based his pioneering work on observation and participation in a number of those systems and traditions in addition to interviews with leading authorities in the field. These interviews included leaders of a number of martial traditions and martial historians such as Watatani Kiyoshi, Otsubô Shihô, Watanabe Ichirô, and others. In 1973-1974 he published his trilogy on Japanese martial traditions - Classical Bujutsu, Classical Budo, and

Modern Bujutsu and Budo - in which he made an historical analysis of the evolution of Japanese combatives from classical martial arts (bugei or bujutsu) to spiritually oriented martial ways (budô) and their modern counterparts. While these works do have a number of shortcomings, in the 15 years or so since their publication, they have remained the most complete works on Japanese martial culture to date.²⁷ Draeger makes some mention of Esoteric Buddhism and the warrior but does not give any details on the cult of Marishiten.

Ôtake Risuke's three volumes on the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû (a Japanese martial tradition dating back to the fifteenth century) finally began to reveal the importance of Buddhist, Taoist, Shintô, and Shugendô esoterica to the Japanese warrior. References were also made regarding the importance of Marishiten within that martial tradition but little detail on the goddess is presented. Since these three volumes were produced in the late 1970's, no one has added much to this area of inquiry.²⁸

²⁷Unfortunately, Draeger's proposed ten volume survey of the history of Japanese martial culture remained unfinished at the time of his death in 1982.

²⁸Under the influence of Draeger and Ôtake, I published a short, general article on Tantric Buddhism and the warrior: David A. Hall, "Bujutsu and the Esoteric Tradition," (Part 1) HOPLOS 1.5 (Nov. 1979): 1-4; (Part 2) 1.6 (Dec. 1979): 2-5. Since beginning this dissertation research in 1985 I have produced two more related articles. (See bibliography).

- Field Work -

In addition to examining and translating canonical texts for this dissertation, I also conducted extensive field work in Japan during the period 1985-1989. This entailed visiting and interviewing a number of scholars involved with Japanese martial arts history and literature, Buddhist priests of the Tendai, Shingon, Nichiren, and Zen sects (several of whom perform Marishiten rituals today), and master instructors of a number of Japanese martial traditions. Several rituals - both warrior and Buddhist - were photographed and taped at various locations under the auspices of these men.

An understanding of Marishiten rituals, of both the Buddhist and warrior types, was facilitated by my own training in similar rituals under Tendai Rev. Shōshin Ichishima while I was studying in Japan during the period 1977-1981. In addition, my training in several classical warrior traditions²⁹ not only facilitated my understanding of how the Marici cult is viewed and practiced in Japanese martial traditions today but also opened many doors to human resource material that would have otherwise been closed.

- Preview of Chapters -

Chapter 2 proposes reasons for the origin and evolution

²⁹Shindō Musōryū since 1975, Jiki Shinkageryū since 1978, Yagyū Shinkageryū since 1983 and several others.

of the Mārīcī cult on and around the Indian sub-continent. Since accurate historical data is difficult to obtain in this area, a number of comparisons are made concerning Mārīcī's attributes and functions and those of antecedent and contemporary deities.

Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the Buddhist cult in China. Chapter 3 covers the "early" period (sixth and seventh centuries) while Chapter 4 covers the "mid- to late" period (eighth through tenth centuries). These chapters deal mainly with the introduction of the cult, the process of Buddhist assimilation it underwent under such Chinese Tantric masters as Amoghavajra, and a late period reflecting the development of Vajaryāna in India.

Chapter 5 turns to Japan where the cult of Mārīcī was fitted into the modular ritualism of the medieval Tantric schools. Comparisons are also made with the rituals of Marishiten as performed by practitioners of Shugendō.

Chapter 6 deals with the Mārīcī cult as it was viewed and practiced by Japanese warriors. A number of unpublished warrior documents are examined in this chapter in order to illuminate the "warrior" Marishiten of Japan.

Chapter 7 briefly examines the nature of the Buddhist cult of modern Japan and provides an extensive examination of the significance Marishiten held for the Japanese warrior.

CHAPTER 2: The Indian Background of the Buddhist Mārīcī

- From Mahāyāna Buddhism to Mantrayāna,
the 'Vehicle of Spells' -

In order to understand the evolution of Marīcī from a simple "mote of light" to a Buddhist Goddess of the Dawn and tutelary deity for the Japanese warrior, it will be helpful to first examine the evolution of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism into Mantrayāna.

During the first and second centuries A.D., Mahāyāna Buddhism began to embrace new philosophical teachings and expand the number of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.¹ Among the most important philosophical "innovations" was the proposition (in contrast to the earlier schools) that there is essentially no difference between nirvāna (the state of enlightenment or awakening)² and samsāra (the state of not being enlightened or awakened).³ The earlier Buddhist schools (often referred to

¹The Bodhisattva (lit. "enlightened being") is one who, due to infinite compassion (karuṇa), works for the enlightenment of all beings instead of himself alone. The Mahāyānists often contrast this term with the Arhat (lit. "worthy of respect"), the Hīnayāna saint, who works for and is satisfied with attaining enlightenment for himself alone.

²Nirvāna, lit. "blowing out," "extinction," "expiration." The enlightened state as described by the historical Buddha, Sākyamuni.

³Lit. "transmigration." The cycle of birth and death perpetuated by karma [action and its effects] which originates in ignorance [the opposite of enlightenment]).

as Hīnayāna by the Mahāyāna schools)⁴ tended to believe that to reach nirvāṇa one must cut off samsāra. However, since the Mahāyāna schools postulate the identity of samsāra and nirvāṇa, one cannot cut off defilements by living away from the temptations of human society. One must live in the mundane world of samsāra in order to know real nirvāṇa. As Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch of Ch'an Buddhism in China states, "...evil passions are (themselves) enlightenment (bodhi)..."⁵ Esoterism would take this concept to its most extreme consequences.

This postulate also makes room for the new Mahāyāna ideal, the Bodhisattva.⁶ When one realizes the nature of phenomena (including one's own self-hood) is śūnyatā ("void" or "devoid of substratum"),⁷ the barrier between self and other, or one's own suffering and the suffering of others, is destroyed for all sentient beings are united in the essential nature of śūnyatā.

⁴Hīnayāna, lit. the "Lesser Vehicle" in comparason to Mahāyāna, the "Great Vehicle."

⁵Philip B. Yampolsky, The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch: The Text of the Tun-huang Manuscript with Translation, Introduction and Notes (New York, 1967), Tun-huang Manuscript, p. 11, line 14.

⁶See above, fn. 1.

⁷Śūnyatā is usually translated as "emptiness" and means that all phenomena (activities as well as things) are empty of self-nature. All phenomena exist in an interdependent causal relationship (Skt. pratītya-samutpāda) based in śūnyatā. The concept was a principle developed by the Mādhyamika school of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Among the perfections (Skt. pāramitā) of a Bodhisattva sought by Mahāyānists, prajñā (wisdom) and dāna (giving without thought of recompense) are considered most important. In Esoterism the perfection of prajñā is still emphasized but dāna became superseded by karuṇā (compassion) which is equated with upāya (skillful means or enlightened action). These two elements (prajñā and upāya) are polar concepts for one was seen to be incomplete (and corrupt) without the other. Thus, through meditation one awakens to prajñā which allows one to act through compassion (Skt. karuṇā) or "skillful (or expedient) means" (Skt. upāya) within the world of samsāra. The unification of these two aspects also identify the practitioner-become-Bodhisattva with samsāra and nirvāṇa. Consequently the Highest Truth in Esoterism is usually referred to as the consubstantiation of wisdom and means.⁸

Continuing this evolution in the third and fourth centuries, a new development began to take shape within Mahāyāna. In part as a reaction to the scholasticism and social crises of the times, a new emphasis on practice became widespread. Whereas some Mahāyāna schools had described the process of becoming a Buddha or Bodhisattva as entailing many kalpa (cosmic ages) of rebirths, this new trend began to emphasize the realization of one's "innate Buddhahood" in this lifetime; in this very body, by identification with the

⁸David L. Snellgrove, The Hevajra Tantra, vol. 1 (London, 1959), 23.

supreme principle, śūnyatā. Śūnyatā, became symbolically represented in this new movement by idealized forms of the Buddha (male and female), magical utterances and ritual instruments such as the vajra (thunderbolt scepter or diamond scepter). At the same time, many practices such as magic and necromancy, various rituals and, later, sexual mysticism were incorporated into this new movement which has been called by various names such as Mantrayāna (in that the recitation of mantra and dhāraṇī [magical formulae] is one of its basic practices), Vajrayāna (in that one of its major symbols is the vajra),⁹ and sometimes Tantrayāna in that many of its texts are called tantras.

The responsibility of realizing one's innate Buddhahood in this later movement, usually referred to as Esoteric or Tantric Buddhism, falls upon the devotee with the skillful guidance of a personal instructor. Practice generally entails training of the body (through yogic and other austere practices), speech (through recitation of magical formulae) and mind (through various types of meditation and visualization) although the emphasis may vary greatly from one master, school and/or text to another.

⁹Winternitz has referred to Vajrayāna as "...a queer mixture of monistic philosophy, magic and erotics, with a small admixture of Buddhist ideas." Maurice Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, vol. 2, Buddhist and Jain Literature (Calcutta, 1933), 388.

In addition, cult practices involving "mystical fire" - both as psycho-physical meditation and performance of fire rituals - became important within the tantric movement. Concern with mystical heat did not begin with the rise of tantra for it finds its origins in a pre-shamanistic ideological complex which Eliade has termed "mastery of fire."¹⁰ Even in early Buddhism, long before the rise of the esoteric schools, certain yogic techniques were used to produce mystical heat.¹¹ In fact, certain meditations, in combination with breathing techniques (Skt. prāṇāyāma), required the devotee to concentrate on the element of fire (Skt. tejodhātu).¹² These meditations were variously referred to in the early texts (Agamas, Jātakas, etc.) as tejodhātusamādhi (lit. "concentration on the element of fire"), vyotisprabhasamādhi (lit. "concentration on a brilliant spark [of fire]").¹³ As Tantric Buddhism, its rituals and meditations evolved, a modified form of the Brāhmanistic fire ritual - known as homa in Sanskrit - became incorporated. (The Buddhist eventually appropriated the term homa along with their adaptation of the

¹⁰Mircea Eliade, Yoga, Immortality and Freedom, Bollingen Series LVI (Princeton, 1969), 106.

¹¹Majjhima-nikāya, I, 244, etc. cited by Mircea Eliade, Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, Bollingen Series LXXVI (Princeton, 1964), 437.

¹²Eliade, Yoga, 195.

¹³Michel Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar, Vol. II, Edited by Frits Staal (Berkeley, 1983), 427.

Brāhmanistic ritual.) Performed as a combination of internal meditation and external ritual, the Buddhist version of "mastery of mystical fire" had become a central practice in Buddhists Esoterism by the seventh or eighth century.¹⁴ These fire rituals can be readily observed, even today, in the Tendai and Shingon Buddhist traditions of Japan.¹⁵

The mature Esoteric schools which had evolved by the seventh or eighth century in India (and are still extant in the Shingon and Tendai sects in Japan) believed that all sentient beings inherently contain the seed, or potential, of Buddhahood. Thus, these ritualized body, speech and mind practices are aimed at reintegrating all aspects of one's psycho-physical personality (which has become disorganized and deluded due to the centrifugal forces in the development of the ego consciousness) in order that the devotee become recentered in his original Buddha Nature.

¹⁴Evidently the earliest use of the term homa in Chinese Buddhist texts (Ch. hu-mo) appears in two translations by Bhodiruci, c. 709 A.D. See Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," Agni, 434.

¹⁵Probably the best overview to date on the development of the Sino-Japanese tantric fire ritual is that by Michel Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," Agni, 418-455. For Southeast Asia and Tibet see, respectively, (in the same text) C. Hookyaas, "Agni-Offerings in Java and Bali," 382-402 and Tadeusz Skorupski, "Tibetan Homa Rites," 403-417.

However, in the process of taking all facets of man's psycho-physical personality¹⁶ into account in performing this reintegration, Esoterism came to deal directly with the most 'base' aspects of man as well as the most spiritual in its lush symbolism and diverse rituals. The movement rose to this challenge by working through the most volatile drives and emotions in man and thus we find in its texts passages dealing with cannibalism, murder, sexual intercourse, fear, hate, anger, love, passion, compassion and a great variety of other strongly emotional experiences. Obviously, the premise of the identity of samsâra and nirvâna combined with the license of upâya - skillful, expedient means - gave the Tantric Buddhists great flexibility in adapting and adopting whatever they felt necessary in order to fulfill the charge of the Bodhisattva; that is, to bring all sentient beings to enlightenment.

This great flexibility resulted in Esoteric Buddhism's remarkable eclecticism. While attempting to retain its original goals and philosophical background,¹⁷ Esoteric Buddhism assimilated a number of non-Buddhist, Indian elements as well as many varied regional religious cults in the

¹⁶This is taken doctrinally as the pañcaskandha (five aggregates). They are rûpa (form), vedanâ (sensation), samjña (perception), samskara (dispositions toward karmic action), and vijñâna (consciousness). For a more detailed description see Theodore Stcherbatsky, The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word "Dharma" (1923; reprint, Delhi, 1979).

¹⁷E.g. The main Mahâyâna schools of philosophy - Yogacâra and Mâdhyamika.

countries through which it travelled. An example of this is the proliferation of the Esoteric pantheon. Many local deities throughout Asia were added as "protectors of the Buddhist doctrine" or as variant manifestations of Buddhist worthies in India, Southeast Asia, Tibet, China and Japan.¹⁸ While this process may have been partially political, it also reflects the willingness of the masters of Buddhist esoterism to adopt and adapt local deities which were psychologically and religiously important in the lives of their followers.

At the same time this process was taking place, numerous 'spells' (known by such Sanskrit terms as dhāraṇī, mantra, vidyā, etc.), mystical hand configurations (Skt. mudrā), and pictorial representations of deities to be visualized were added to the ritual paraphernalia and sacred texts of Esoteric Buddhism. In order to better understand the works dealing with Mārīcī, it will be to our advantage to briefly survey the development of these esoteric texts.

Esoteric Texts

Due to the paucity of dated documents in India, it is difficult to know exactly when texts and/or cults associated

¹⁸For an interesting overview of this process see Alicia Matsunaga, The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation (Tokyo, 1969).

with specific worthies¹⁹ such as Mārīcī appeared. The earliest reliable dates we have for most texts are those assigned to their Chinese translations, thus, we must investigate the Chinese canon in order to obtain approximate dates for the appearance of texts in India.

Japanese scholars have defined two stages of tantric development within the Chinese canon. The earlier stage is referred to as "miscellaneous esoterism" (zōbu mikkyō or zōmitsu) and includes texts which were translated into Chinese as early as the third century A.D. These include books of spells (Skt. dhāraṇī-sūtra), works devoted to a variety of specific worthies, astrological texts, etc. The instruction in these texts is attributed to the historical Buddha, Sākyamuni, and they have little unity in practice of ritual, dhāraṇī, mudrā and meditation, no standard of organization for maṇḍala (in fact, some contain no maṇḍala at all), and their fire rituals (if any are included) are generally simple and display great variation in their content and methodology. In general these texts appear to have preserved a large collection of geographically diverse cult rituals, many of which were developed in response to non-Buddhist practices and/or greatly influenced by practitioners on the periphery between Buddhist and non-Buddhist traditions. In the Japanese view,

¹⁹This term shall be used throughout this paper to include all categories of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Deva, Devī, Yakṣa, Yakṣiṇī, Nāga, and so on.

the goal of the practices described in these texts is attainment and perfection of "miraculous powers" (Skt. siddhi) through specific rituals (Skt. sâdhana, Jp. jôjuhô).²⁰ The powers are numerous including production of rain (an accomplishment credited to many Chinese tantric masters), protection from bandits, disease and demons, subjugation of enemies, etc. Tibetan sources categorize these works as kriyâtantra, a term which means "rites of magic."²¹

The second level of development, as seen by the Japanese tradition, is that referred to as "pure esoterism" (seijun mikkyô or junmitsu). Instruction in these texts is credited to Mahāvairocana-tathâgata (Jp. Dainichi-nyôrai), here no longer the historical, earthly Buddha of the earlier texts but now the Dharmakâya, a "spiritual" body of the Buddha, which symbolizes the essence of Buddhahood, the absolute. Japanese sources note that these texts no longer have perfection of miraculous powers as the goal but have a higher purpose; that of attainment of Buddhahood through identification, via ritual means, with the absolute essence of reality. Certainly the ritual of these texts has become more organized, containing

²⁰Depending on the text both siddhi and sâdhana have been translated as Ch. ch'eng-chiu / Jp. jôju.

²¹Giuseppe Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls (TPS), vol. I, (Rome, 1949), 220-221; David L. Snellgrove, Buddhist Himalaya (Oxford, 1957), etc.

some standardization of maṇḍala, mudrā, etc.²² Tibetan sources divide these same texts into two groups - caryātantra and yogatantra. (None of the Tibetan classifications is the exact equivalent of the Japanese and there are several grey areas.)²³ The basic caryātantra used by both Shingon and Tendai today is the Mahāvairocanasūtra²⁴ while the yogatantra most important in Japan is the Vajrasekharasūtra.²⁵ These two texts are also the sources of the "standard" maṇḍala used by

²²Many works contain details of both the development of Buddhist maṇḍala and its standardization. For early development see R.Ā. Gunatilaka, "Ancient Stūpa Architecture: The Significance of Cardinal Points and the Catummahāpatha Concept," The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, 5 (nos. 1 & 2, January-December, 1975); G. Tucci, The Theory and Practice of the Mandala (New York, 1961) and Tibetan Painted Scrolls, 3 vols. (Rome, 1949); etc. For the "mature" Sino-Japanese tantric maṇḍala the best sources are in Japanese. For example see in Toganoō Shōun's collected works - Toganoō Shōun zenshu (Kōyasan, 1982); vol. 4, Mandara-no kenkyū; vol. 5, Risshūkyō-no kenkyū, etc.

²³These Tibetan classifications are given here as they seem to be the most common list in secondary works. Other descriptions, such as those given by Kazi Dawa-Samdup, translator of Evans-Wentz's Tibetan Book of the Dead, may contain more categories, i.e. the addition of mahāyogatantra-yāna between #3 and #4 and atiyogatantrayāna after #4.

More recent scholarship has pointed out that the tantras were given an orderly philosophical basis in Tibet by assigning them to each of the four siddhāntas (levels of teaching): 1) For Vaibhāsikas - kriyātantra; 2) for Sautrāntikas - caryātantra; 3) for Yogācāras - yogatantra; and for 4) Mādhyamikas - anuttarayogatantra. See F.D. Lessing and A. Wayman, Introduction to the Buddhist Tantrika Systems (New Delhi, 1978), Introduction, 2.

²⁴T. 848, XVIII: 1-55.

²⁵T. 865, XVIII: . Chin kang ting i ch'ieh ju lai chen shih she ta ch'eng hsien cheng ta chiao wang ching. Translated by Amoghavajra (Ch. Pu-k'ung Chin-kang) in 743 A.D. (T. 1257, LV: 881b).

the Japanese traditions since the ninth century; respectively the Taizōkai (Skt. Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala) and Kongōkai (Skt. Vajradhātu-maṇḍala).

As can be seen below, Tibetan sources also list a fourth category, the anuttarayogatantra. The anuttarayogatantra texts did not gain great acceptance in China or Japan.²⁶ However, while the so-called "outrageous" practices (sexual mysticism, cannibalism,

<u>Tibetan Def.</u>		<u>Japanese Def.</u>		
1) <u>kriyātantra</u>	Rites of Magic		Miscellaneous Esoterism	
2) <u>caryātantra</u>	Rites of Religious Practice			
3) <u>yogatantra</u>	Rites of Yoga			Pure Esoterism ²⁷
4) <u>anuttara-yogatantra</u>	Rites of Supreme Yoga			

ritual murder, etc.) in a number of these texts have prompted some Japanese scholars to claim that these texts never entered

²⁶This statement deserves some qualification. There were certain periods in which the anuttarayogatantra were popular in both China and Japan. See van Gulik's Sexual Life in Ancient China (Leiden, 1961), Appendix I; Mizuhara Gyōei's Jakyō Tachikawaryū no kenkyū (Tokyo, 1931); and Hall, "The Question of the Left-Hand Path in China and Japan," in Young East, New Series Vol. 4, No. 1, (Winter, 1978): 19-29.

²⁷The anuttarayogatantra are included under the Pure Esoterism category only in their expurgated Chinese versions. See previous note.

Japan,²⁸ expurgated versions²⁹ of several anuttarayogatantra are included in the Japanese Taishō Canon (T.), Volume XVIII; notably the Guhyasamājatantra³⁰ and the Hevajratantra³¹ and, thus, I have included them in a "questionable" area in the chart above.

Magical Formulae

The use of spells and incantations has played an important part in Indian culture since earliest times and, as Winternitz has pointed out, the mantra of such texts as the Atharvaveda "...played far too great a part in the mind of the

²⁸I.e., see Yūkei Matsunaga, "Tantric Buddhism and Shingon Buddhism," Eastern Buddhist, New Series, (vol. 2, no. 2): 6.

²⁹R.H. van Gulik has noted that by the 14th century the Chinese government took harsh measures against any secret cults and "...bigoted Neo-Confucian rules made the engaging in 'immoral cults' (Ch. yin-szu) a capital offence. As a measure of self-defense all the Chinese Buddhist sects had to try to make their doctrines conform to the prejudice of the government, and they expurgated the Buddhist canon, just as the Taoists did with theirs." Van Gulik, Sexual Life in Ancient China, 357-358.

³⁰T. 885, XVIII: 469-511. Fo shuo i ch'ieh ju lai chin kang san yeh tsui shang pi mi ta chiao wang ching. Translated into Chinese by Dānapāla (Ch. Shih-hu) in 1002 A.D. Ta chung lu, vol. 12, p. 11a - 14a.

³¹T. 892, XVIII: 587-601. Fo shuo ta pei k'unq chih chin kang ta chiao wang i kuei ching. Translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa (Ch. Fa-hu), a monk from Magadha, in 1004 A.D. Nakamura Hajime, "A Critical Survey of Mahāyāna and Esoteric Buddhism chiefly based upon Japanese Studies," Acta Asiatica, vol. 7 (Tokyo, 1964): 83.

Indian people for Buddhism to dispense with them."³² The Sanskrit terms mantra, dhāraṇī and vidyā refer to the spells (or magic formulae) that are among the most important 'tools' of Esoteric Buddhism. In fact, emphasis on such formulae led to the use of the term "Mantrayāna" (lit. "spell vehicle") to distinguish this type of Buddhism from its parent, Mahāyāna. The development of Esoteric Buddhism can be traced by following the evolution of these formulae through the ages but, before going any further, a definition of these three terms, their purposes, and their place in Esoteric Buddhist literature should be presented.

Even though the terms mantra and dhāraṇī are often used interchangeably in the Sino-Japanese tradition, some scholars of Indian Tantrism have stated that it is improper to do so.³³ In the strict sense of the term, dhāraṇī, are magical formulae which, when uttered properly, allow devotees to obtain religious merit from the texts which from which they are taken. As the etymology of the term indicates,³⁴ they are a

³²Winternitz, 380.

³³For example see Agehananda Bharati, chapter entitled "On Mantra," The Tantric Tradition (TT) (London, 1965), 101-163.

³⁴Dhāraṇī <√dhā (to hold). Monier-Williams notes, "√dhā I. dhā...(A.) to direct or fix the mind or attention upon..." (p. 513); and "Dhāraṇī, f....a mystical verse or charm used as a kind of prayer to assuage pain..." (p. 515); and, with the suffix -ya, "Dhāraṇīya, mfn. to be held or borne or sustained..." (p. 515).

Edgerton notes, "dhāraṇī...magic formula...in Tib. regularly gzuns, lit. 'hold,' 'support,' or (Mvy 4239) gzuns snags (=mantra, incantation ...) Franklin Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, vol. 2, Dictionary

support for memory and also are thought to give the user special magical powers. (The earliest use of this term apparently first occurs in the Lalitavistara-sûtra and the Saddharmapundarika-sûtra [c. first century BC to first century AD]).³⁵ Dhâranî may also contain mantra (praises of the gods, Buddhas, etc.).

Mantra, on the other hand, are not considered to be dhâranî by such scholars as A. Bharati. He notes that mantra should not be confused with sandhâbhâṣâ (intentional language),³⁶ yâman (incantations listed in texts), kavaka (a cuirass formula) or similar phonetic devices; nor, it should be added, are they senseless jumbles of meaningless syllables. He goes on to give a very specific definition of mantra:

A mantra is a quasi-morpheme or a series of quasi-morphemes, or a series of mixed genuine and quasi-morphemes arranged in conventional patterns, based on codified esoteric traditions, and passed on from one preceptor to one disciple in the course of a prescribed initiation ritual.³⁷

(Delhi, 1935), 284.

³⁵Winternitz, p. 386, fn. 3 quoting "Waddell in OZI, 155 ff."

³⁶For a through explanation of sandhâbhâṣâ see Bharati, TT, chapter 6, "On Intentional Language," 164-184.

³⁷TT., 111.

While this clear-cut definition is tempting to use, it is not very practical when dealing with the massive amount of both proto- and mature Tantric texts which flooded into China from the third through the eleventh centuries. Aside from a small variety of straight transliterations from Sanskrit (e.g. t'o-lo-ni < dhāraṇī; man-ta-lo < mantra,³⁸ etc.), many ambiguous terms meaning mantra, dhāraṇī or vidyā are usually used, e.g. chou (spell), shen chou (magical spell), chen yen (true word), etc. Contrary to Bharati's position, this lack of distinction between a mantra and a dhāraṇī was not a phenomenon restricted to east Asia for in Indian texts the differences between paritta (spell of protection),³⁹ mantra, dhāraṇī and vidyā (spells containing wisdom) became obscured.⁴⁰

The purpose for which these magical formulae are used is extremely valuable in reconstructing the historical development of spells in Buddhism. Bharati also conveniently divides purpose into three major categories: 1) propitiation, 2) acquisition, and 3) identification or introjection.

Propitiation appears to have been one of the most ancient

³⁸T. 945, XIX: 136B.

³⁹Pāli paritta < pari-√trā. "Protection, an amulet." Dines Anderson, A Pāli Reader with Notes and Glossary, Part II: Glossary (Copenhagen, 1907), 165.

⁴⁰Winternitz, 387; Yūkei Matsunaga, "A History of Tantric Buddhism in India, with Reference to Chinese Translations," Buddhist Thought and Asian Civilization, Kawamura and Scott, eds., (Emeryville, 1977), 170.

purposes of spells. With it a particular utterance is decided upon which defends the user against unpleasant, harmful powers and integrates him with beneficial ones.⁴¹ In example of this are the magical paritta mentioned above which were used in the early saṅgha (monastic community) to fend off calamity. The Dhammaguttas (a Buddhist splinter sect from the Sthavirans which flourished around the first century B.C.)⁴² had a canon which contained a collection of such spells known as the Vidyādhara-piṭaka (or Dhāraṇī-piṭaka).⁴³

Acquisition includes the attainment of powers by which things can be controlled such as "...remedies, prophylaxes, all the occult siddhi and magical skills, and the tantric and yogic 'ṣaṭkrama.'"⁴⁴

Identification, or introjection, is the most important use of magical formulae in mature Esoteric Buddhism for it is by this means that one may visualize his guiding worthy and identify himself with the Absolute. By the japa (recitation, or utterance) of a mantra belonging to a certain Buddha or Bodhisattva (i.e. oṃ manipadme hūṃ for Avalokiteśvara, oṃ pram hūṃ for Prajñāpāramitā, etc.), one may become consubstantiated

⁴¹TT, 111.

⁴²Matsunaga, "Tantric Buddhism...", 2; "A History...", 169.

⁴³Manji Zokuzokyô, I, 83.3, 220. I pu tsung lin lun shu chi.

⁴⁴TT, 112.

with the Ideal. Through this practice, a gradual merging and identification of the practitioner and idealized Buddhahood, one achieves the ultimate goal of mantra. This goal, however, seems to have become important no earlier than the seventh or eighth centuries A.D. when caryâtantra such as the Mahâ-vairocana-sûtra began to appear.

Dhâraṇī may have been adopted by early Buddhism in order to satiate less advanced followers who were more interested in worldly gain and personal fears than in attaining nirvâṇa or Buddhahood. These followers were commanded to read and memorize the sûtras but must have often found them beyond their comprehension. In order to aid these followers, some sûtras were shortened gradually into dhâraṇī which were to be committed to memory, one of the practices which ultimately led to the development of Buddhist mantra.

In example of this is the 8,000 line Prajñâpâramitâ-sûtra which was much too large even for many learned Buddhists, much less the illiterate masses of India, to understand. This problem was multiplied with the expansion of this sûtra to 18,000 line, 25,000 line and, possibly, 125,000 line versions. These massive editions were so repetitious and drawn out that it was extremely difficult to follow the arguments, even if one were a Buddhist scholar.⁴⁵

Since this text was much too long to be read, even in

⁴⁵Edward Conze, The Prajñâpâramitâ Literature, Indo-Iranian Monographs, vol. 6 (London, 1960), 18.

order to acquire religious merit, the trend began in which these large texts were gradually reduced in size to smaller texts such as the Vajracchedikaprajñāpāramitā-sūtra (Diamond Sutra)⁴⁶ of 300 lines, the Śataslokiprajñāpāramitā-sūtra of 100 lines, and the Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra (Heart Sutra)⁴⁷ of 25 or 14 lines. (These texts were written prior to the 5th century A.D.) After this, the next step of reduction was the Prajñāpāramitā-dhāraṇī leading to the Prajñāpāramitā-mantra and, finally, the bījākṣara (lit. "seed syllable") praṃ.⁴⁸ By the proper recitation of this seed syllable, śūnyatā (the primary concept in Prajñāpāramitā literature) may become manifest as the goddess Prajñāpāramitā. Thus, this deity has

⁴⁶T. 235-237, VIII, etc. This sūtra which, according to Edward Conze, would better be translated as the "Perfection of Wisdom Which Cuts Like the Thunderbolt of Indra," does not survey the whole of Prajñāpāramitā literature; it only covers a few topics. However, it became extremely important in various Buddhist sects such as Chinese Ch'an after the time of the sixth Patriarch.

⁴⁷T. 250-253, VIII, etc.

⁴⁸The meanings of each bījākṣara (seed syllable) may be quite profound. Consequently, to regard them simply as abbreviated sūtras would be incorrect as they are not considered by practitioners to be simple contractions. Bharati postulates that tantric practitioners, while in a state of trance or contemplation, probably took phonetic elements from deity names, texts, and other sources, and from there "intuited" the bīja. (TT, 116) Consequently, in Buddhist tantra we commonly find bīja which contain part of the name of the deity which they represent; vaṃ for Mahāvairocana (of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala), ma or maṃ for Mārīcī, etc. Bharati also makes note of the astra bīja (weapon seed syllable) "phaṭ" which has been used ritually as an aggressive mantra from very early times. Significantly we find this bīja used in a number of sādhanas devoted to Mārīcī.

been described as the "...veritable metamorphosis of the Prajñāpāramitā literature."⁴⁹

This trend toward the development of magical utterances becomes prominent in the kriyātantra texts. It is also significant that while they are filled with magical formulae, they make little or no mention of interior palingenesis.⁵⁰ On the other hand, in these kriyātantra there are numerous cases in which dhāraṇī (magical formulae) were chanted in order to break the karmic chain. These dhāraṇī, as noted above, were partially a development of the abbreviation of sūtras, easily remembered due to their mnemonic character and chanted for various magical purposes. Thus, in addition to helping the devotee gain the merit of a whole discourse by uttering its "spell,"⁵¹ these formulae were thought to expunge the consequences of evil deeds and cure sickness which the Indians believed to be an imbalance due to the combination of evil forces and maturation of previous karma acting upon the individual.⁵²

One of the earliest Chinese texts to illustrate the addition of dhāraṇī is the Mātāṅgīsūtra, translated around 230

⁴⁹Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies, vol. 46 (Varanasi, India, 1964), 55-56.

⁵⁰Tucci, TPS, 222.

⁵¹In China the idea developed that the recitation of a dhāraṇī was necessary for the efficacy of the text.

⁵²Tucci, TPS, 222.

A.D. by Chu Lü-yen, a monk from Central India.⁵³ The text contains at least four dhāraṇī which begin with the seed syllable om and end with svāhā.⁵⁴ The text also contains ceremonial instructions. One of these rites appears to be an early type of Tantric fire ritual in which flowers are thrown into a fire at the end of the recitations.⁵⁵ Later in that century, Chih Ch'ieh (d. after 253 A.D.) translated some texts which contain dhāraṇī but no rites accompany the recitations.⁵⁶

Although these are early texts the significance here is that once Mahāyāna had made the proposition that the recitation of sūtra or dhāraṇī gave protection from calamities and destroyed karmic action, the door was opened wide to this sort of development. Thus, after this time there was an uninterrupted proliferation of these mystical utterances with texts

⁵³T. XXI, 1300, 399-410. Mo teng ch'ieh ching. Matsunaga. Mikkyō no rekishi, 33. It should be noted, however, that Hayashiya Tomojirō dates this text in the mid-to-late fifth century. See Hayashiya, Iyaku kyōrui no kenkyū (Tokyo: 1945), 524-543, cited in Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," Agni, 426.

⁵⁴Although Chou Yi-liang mentions "...six dhāraṇī which all begin with the word om and end with svāhā..." [Chou Yi-liang, "Tantrism in China," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 8, nos. 3-4 (March, 1945), 242.], I was only able to locate four such dhāraṇī [T. 1300, XXI: 404a27; 404b3; 404b6; 404b9].

⁵⁵T. 1300, XXI: 400a27-b1. However, according to Strickmann, the earliest version of this text, T., 551 (second century A.D.), contains no fire ritual. The flowers are "magically produced in eight jars of water." Strickmann, Agni, 426-427.

⁵⁶T. 1351, XXI: 864c25-26; T. 1356, XXI: 875a13-22; etc. See Chou, "Tantrism in China," 242.

devoted to the subject.

Often, it seems, dhâraṇī were added to a text that had not had them earlier and occasionally this development took place in a relatively short period of time. For instance, while Bodhiruci's translation of the Lankâvatârasûtra⁵⁷ (c. 513 A.D.) contains protective dhâraṇī, the edition translated less than seventy years earlier by Gunabhadra⁵⁸ has none.

As later Mahâyâna developed, dhâraṇī which could be used for starting and stopping rain and affecting people for good or evil and so on were composed and added. At about the same time a number of other practices and tutelary deities influenced by local non-Aryan elements as well as foreign influences from Persia and Central Asia in the Northwest and, possibly, China in the East, were assimilated. An example of this is the hypothesis of M.H. Sâstri who believed that a significant portion of the esoteric movement came from such extra-Indian sources as the Scythian Magi priests.⁵⁹

More recently a number of scholars have been investigating the relationship between Buddhist Tantrism and Saivite

⁵⁷T. 671, XVI: 514-586. Ju leng chia ching.

⁵⁸T. 670, XVI: 480-514. Leng chia a pa to lo pao ching.

⁵⁹Mahâmahopâdhyâya Harapasâd Sâstri, "Introduction," to N.N. Vasu's Modern Buddhism and Its Followers in Orissa (Calcutta, 1911), 10.

cults,⁶⁰ while it has long been proposed that the Zoroastrian religion may have been influential upon the "sun cults" of such important esoteric worthies as Amitābha and Vairocana.⁶¹ The worthies Lokeśvara (=Avalokiteśvara, a manifestation of Amitābha), Mārīci, Kurukullā and Urdhvapāda-Vajravārāhi, notes D.C. Sircar,⁶² are all associated with Uḍḍiyāna which is thought to have been located in the area of Swāt in North Pakistan. This would place those cults in close contact with Zoroastrian influence. On the other hand, it should be noted that there are divergent opinions concerning the location of Uḍḍiyāna. B. Bhattacharyya has noted that the Sācchanamālā mentions four pīṭhas (sacred spots) important in the development of Tantrism; i.e. Kāmākhyā, Sirhaṭṭa, Pūrṇagiri and Uḍḍiyāna.⁶³ Since Kāmākhyā and Sirhaṭṭa have been located in the area of Bengal, he assumes that Uḍḍiyāna and Pūrṇagri (locations unattested) must be in the same area. There may

⁶⁰See Michel Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honor of R.A. Stein, (Brussels, 1981), 2-3; and Agni, 418-420.

⁶¹Concerning Amitābha and the Iranian cult of "light," Lokesh Chandra cites L.A. Waddell, S. Beal, P. Pelliot, Sylvain Levy, and A. Ghetty. See Lokesh Chandra, "Iranian Elements in the Formation of Tantric Buddhism," Paper presented to the symposium on The Silk Route and the Diamond Path held on 7, 8 November 1982 at the Frederick S. Wight Art Gallery, University of California, Los Angeles, CA, 59.

⁶²D.C. Sircar, The Śākta Pīṭhas, 2nd revised edition (Delhi, 1973), 16.

⁶³B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, (1st edition), (London, 1924), p. xxvii.

be some strength to this argument if we agree that Orissa may be identified with Uḍḍiyāna (also Oḍḍa, Oḍra, Oḍiyāna, etc.). However, Hsüan-tsang, who visited India in the early mid-seventh century, writes of (W)u-chang-na (=Uḍyāna), a kingdom located in the Swât valley area of ancient, northwest India (now Pakistan's Northwest Frontier).⁶⁴

In addition, the Sâdhanamâlâ is a late Tantric work, the oldest edition dating no earlier than 1165 A.D.,⁶⁵ and may refer to pīṭhas that were important during the Pâla Dynasty (c.750 - 1200), a kingdom located in the East Indian area of Bengal. In this sense, its information concerning the development of local cults around certain Buddhas, bodhisattvas, devi, and so on is, perhaps, only valid with regard to that period and area of India. It should not be arbitrarily applied to earlier texts, such as those concerned with Mârīcī which were entering China in the sixth and seventh centuries. In any case, it gives no geographical location for Uḍḍiyāna.

By the fifth century A.D. a text containing the rudimentaries of the maṇḍala had been translated into Chinese. Known as the Ta chi i shen chou ching,⁶⁶ it was translated around 462

⁶⁴Hsüan-tsang associates (W)u-chang-na with with the river Su-p'o-fa-su-to. Watters noted that this river corresponds with the river Subhavastu in modern Swât. See Thomas Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (A.D. 629-645) (1904-05; reprint, Delhi, 1973), 226.

⁶⁵Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Sâdhanamâlâ, Gaekwad's Oriental Series (GOS) No. 26 (Baroda, 1968), xi.

⁶⁶T. 1335, XXI: 568-580.

A.D. by T'an-yao with the help of some Indian monks. Describing methods for making an area where Buddha images are arranged in a circle in order for pūjā (offerings) to be performed, the text also includes siddhis for winning war, concealing one's form and so on.⁶⁷

It appears that as early as the first half of the fifth century, certain of these spells called vidyā⁶⁸ became personified (actually deified) as vidyārāja or vidyārājñī (King or Queen of Magical Skill). The earliest of these appears to be found in the Mahāmâyûrīvidyārājñīsûtra.⁶⁹ Chou Yi-liang prefers to place this development in 705 A.D. with the translation of this text by I-ching,⁷⁰ citing a passage which commands the practitioner to "Draw a gold colored image of Mâyûrī-vidyārājñī in the center of (the images of) Buddhas

⁶⁷T. 1335, XXI: 579c2. Cited by Chou Yi-liang, 243-244.

⁶⁸Vidyā - "Knowledge" or "magical skill." MW, 963-964.

⁶⁹Three translations of this text appear around the beginning of the 5th century - T. 986, XIX; T. 987, XIX; T. 988, XIX. Although Chou returns the Chinese chou-wang to Sanskrit as vidyārāja - a masculine noun- (i.e. T. 985, XIX: 459a23-24, 459c5, etc.), the deity of this text is female - Mahāmâyûrī - and consequently chou-wang should here be read as vidyārājñī.] Mahāmâyûrī-vidyārājñī (the Great Peacock Queen of Magical Skill) is the deification of a magical formula used against snake bite. D.C. Bhattacharyya notes that the Buddhist Mahāmâyûrī spell is reminiscent of the Mahâgârudî-mantra "of the Purânas, both of which had to be uttered for gaining immunity from snake bites." SBI, 72. [Gaurda and Mayûra (peacock) are both birds and traditionally the enemies of serpents.]

⁷⁰I-ching (635-713).

and Bodhisattvas."⁷¹ However, since Mahāmâyûrî's title is "chou-wang" (sometimes wang-chou) (Lit. "Queen of Spells" in Chinese <Skt. vidyârâjñî) it seems we should place the period of this deification in the fourth or early fifth century with the first appearance of a text in which she is given the title.⁷² Vidyârâja and vidyârâjñî, their titles translated into Chinese as ming-wang,⁷³ proliferate in the later Tantric texts of the eighth and ninth centuries; many of their images being preserved in Japan today. They are usually represented with an angry or fierce countenance and are considered masters of "miraculous powers" (Skt. siddhi).

Although the attainment of siddhi is a major concern of the Mâricî texts, she does not appear to be a simple, deified spell as are the ming-wang or chou-wang. She is a goddess (Skt. devî or devatâ, Ch. t'ien-nu),⁷⁴ and, consequently,

⁷¹T. 985, XIX, 476b25. Chou, 245.

⁷²The two earliest editions of this text, both of which assign the title vidyârâjñî (Ch. wang-chou) to Mahāmâyûrî, have an unknown translator and are listed in the Ch'in lu (350-431 A.D.). [Vis. T. 2157, LV: 929a25-929a27.] They are both entitled Ta chin se k'ung ch'iao wang chou ching; T. 986 & 987, XIX.

⁷³Amoghavajra's eight century translation of the Mahâ-mâyûrîvidyârâjñîsûtra and an associated ritual manual both contain the term ming-wang in lieu of chou-wang: T. 982, XIX, Fo mu ta-k'ung-ch'iao ming-wang ching; T. 983(A), XIX, Ta-k'ung-ch'iao ming-wang hua-hsiang-t'an-ch'ang i-kuei.

⁷⁴While the term devî is sometimes used in reference to Mâricî in the twelfth century Sanskrit Sâdhanamâlâ, the term devatâ is also common in such texts as the tenth century Ārya-Mâricî-nâma-dhâraṇî. The name itself rarely appears with either term suffixed to it. For the Sanskrit edition of this text see Iwamoto, et al, Indo-gaku, vol. 2 of Ashikaga Atsuuji

displays a number of functions and attributes in common with several other deities.⁷⁵ She appears on the scene in India sometime during the fifth century; about the same time as the early Vidyârâja and Vidyârâjñî. In fact, one of the earliest texts in which the name Mâricî appears is the sixth century Chinese translation of the Mâyûrf-vidyârâjñî-sûtra.⁷⁶

- The Early Development of the Buddhist Mâricî Cult -

As already mentioned above, during the first and second centuries A.D., Buddhism began to evolve and embrace new philosophical teachings as well as expand its cult of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. In addition to these new Buddhist worthies accompanying the original Buddha, Sâkyamuni, the eclectic Mantrayâna and Vajrayâna schools of the mid-first millennium A.D. not only began to deify magical spells under the titles

Chosakushû (Tokyo, 1988) 79-88.

⁷⁵For an overview of the phenomenon of shared functions, see Théodore M. Ludwig, "Gods and Goddesses," The Encyclopedia of Religion, Mircea Eliade, editor in chief (New York, 1987), 59-66.

⁷⁶T. 984, XIX: 446b-459a. The name appears at least twice in the text. The first is in a list of male spirits (Skt. yaksa) where the text notes, "...Mâricî-yaksa (the Liang call [him] 'brightness, glory') residing in the country of Lo-mo-ch'i-lo [glossed by the Taisho editors as Râmakâsî]..." (T. 984, XIX: 451b10). [This note on the Liang epithet - Kuang-ming - would seem to indicate that Mâricî was already known there prior to translation of this text.] The second appearance in this text is in a list of female spirits (Skt. mahârâksasî) where she is called Mo-li-chin⁽⁴⁾. (T. 984, XIX: 453c15-18).

of vidyārāja and vidyārājñī but also began to incorporate local Hindu divinities and their cult practices into Buddhism.

In the tantras,⁷⁷ the texts of these new schools, can be found an array of Buddhisized Hindu gods, goddesses and spirits, sometimes rather thinly covered by a Buddhist veneer. These new texts (attributed of course to Sâkyamuni) were accepted by the Buddhist community in order to allow non-Buddhists to join while still continuing to follow the cults of their own deities.⁷⁸

One of these new Buddhist cults was that of the goddess Mâricī. The origins of the goddess are obscure, perhaps because she appears to be a Tantric Buddhist amalgamation of several Brâhmanical, Iranian, and non-Aryan antecedents.

As we saw in Chapter One, a number of miscellaneous supernatural powers are attributed to the Buddhist Mâricī. The major aspects of her character or nature, however, can be narrowed to two: 1) a strong association with light or fire, usually expressed in solar - and, less frequently, stellar - symbolism, and 2) a martial character, displayed as various siddhi especially useful to combatants. These combative siddhi become more prominent in later recensions of the

⁷⁷A tantra is a Buddhist ritual text which concentrates on the cult of a deity.

⁷⁸For a more in-depth description of this process see David L. Snellgrove, "Buddhism in North India and the Western Himalayas - Seventh to Thirteenth Centuries," The Silk Road and the Diamond Path. (Los Angeles, 1982), 64-80.

dhāraṇī-sūtra devoted to her.

The Buddhist Mārīcī is frequently associated with the sun or Sun God⁷⁹ and this "solar character" is also evident in several other aspects of the goddess. The first is Mārīcī's connection with the sunrise. She is referred to as 'Goddess of the Dawn' in Tibet and Lamas invoked her every morning as the sun rose.⁸⁰ This practice was not restricted to Tibet. In Japan today, Shingon Sect priests who are undergoing certain types of austerities also call on Mārīcī (Jp. Marishiten) at sunrise and petition her to give them the power and strength to be successful in their training.⁸¹ The Japanese warrior also chanted to Marishiten at sunrise in order to be victorious in battle and this practice is still carried on today by members of certain classical martial traditions.⁸²

This association with the sunrise would also seem to indicate that some characteristics of Uṣas, the Vedic Dawn

⁷⁹In some texts Mārīcī is said to precede both the sun and the moon. I.e. the Ārya-mārīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī notes: ṣā sūryacandramaso purato 'nugacchati - "She (Mārīcī) is always followed by the sun and moon." See Ashikaga's Sanskrit text, p. 81, lines 6-7.

⁸⁰This idea was evidently articulated originally by A. Foucher in the early part of the twentieth century. It has since been repeated by Alice Getty in her Gods of Northern Buddhism, B. Bhattacharyya in IBI, and others.

⁸¹Rev. Miyajima Kigyō, Professor of Kōyasan University, interview with the author, 25 July 1989.

⁸²Otake Risuke, head instructor of the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū, interview with the author, 13 February 1988. Details of this ritual will appear in Chapter 6.

Goddess, may have also played a role in the creation of the Buddhist Mārīcī.⁸³ Uṣas is identified with dawn in the Rgveda and many of her characteristics are reflected in the later Mārīcī texts preserved in Chinese. Uṣas is described as a young maiden (Rv. I.92.10) drawn in a brilliant (Rv. I.23.7), bright (Rv. III.61.2), shining chariot (Rv. VII.78.1) by ruddy-colored cows or bulls (Rv. I.92.2; I.124.11; V.80.3). She brings forth light and is followed by the sun, Sūrya (or Savitr) (Rv. I.113.16; I.115.2; V.18.21). She also wards off evil spirits (Rv. VII.75.1).

A second solar relationship of Mārīcī is her appearance in several late Tantric texts where she is depicted in a chariot drawn by seven pigs or wild boars.⁸⁴ The boar is often associated with the sun or sun's rays in Indo-European mythology. For instance, in Norse mythology a boar known as

⁸³A seemingly parallel mythological character called Marija appears in an Erzjanian incantation used to heal injuries due to falls: "O free light, Darija, the gloaming, and Marija, the dawn, and thou light, Nastasiya, assist us, help us!" F. Max Muller, Contributions to the Science of Mythology, vol. II (London, 1897), 464.

⁸⁴The Sanskrit texts available often mention a singular of seven boars - I.e. in the twelfth century Sād.: Sādhana no. 132, p. 274, line 10, the text notes that the goddess Mārīcī is saptaśūkararathārūdhām; that is, "bestriden a seven-boar chariot." Similar references can be found in Sādhana no. 134, p. 276, line 13; Sādhana no. 136, p. 281, line 18; et passim. In the Chinese translations the boar-drawn chariots are restricted to the tenth century Fo-shuo Ta-mo-li-chih p'u-sa ching, translated by T'ien Hsi-tsai. See T. 1257, XXI: 265b20; 268b23; 269b8; et passim. Sometimes the devotee of this text is directed to visualize Mārīcī (Ch. Mo-li-chih) sans chariot, riding on a boar (267a23) which is sometimes the color of gold (275a15).

Gullinbursti (lit. "golden bristle") pulled Frey's chariot.⁸⁵ (The deity Frey had several functions, one of which was the dispensing of sunlight.) Freyja, a Norse fertility goddess, sister of Frey and also wife of Od, a sun god, is also associated with a boar called Hildisvín (lit. "battle swine").⁸⁶ B. Bhattacharyya, IBI, points out that in India the image of Mâricî's boar-drawn car is a parallel of the chariot of Sûrya, the Hindu Sun God, whose vehicle is drawn by seven horses. Sûrya's charioteer is Aruna (who is legless)⁸⁷ while Mâricî's driver is a legless goddess or the asura Râhu who is depicted as only a head with no legs or body.⁸⁸ In addition, D.C. Bhattacharyya (SBI) has noted that the Hindu Sûrya is called Mâricîmâlî (lit. "She Who is Garlanded with

⁸⁵Jobes notes that the boar is also a fire symbol "on account of its bristly and prickly hide, which typifies flame flashes or rays of the sun." Gertrude Jobes, Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore and Symbols, vol. 1, (Metuchen, N.J., 1961-62), 231.

⁸⁶See H.R. Ellis Davidson, Gods and Myths of Northern Europe (Middlesex, England, 1964), 98-99.

⁸⁷Aruna literally means "ruddy." One of the epithets of Sûrya's charioteer Aruna is "An-uru" (thighless). See John Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, (London, 1972), 23-24. Unfortunately Dowson supplies no reference for this epithet.

⁸⁸Bhattacharyya comments that "In actual images, a legless lady charioteer may sometimes be met with instead of Râhu while some images retain the charioteer as well as Râhu." IBI, 211. Râhu appears in a number of the sâdhanas of the Sâdhanamâlâ. I.e. No. 134 (p. 276, line 14); No.137 (p. 281, line, 19), etc. Râhu is a demon who is said to seize the sun or moon when eclipses occur. MW, 879.

Rays") in the Brāhmanical tradition.⁸⁹ He goes on to speculate that Mārīcī may also represent "...the solar aspect of the Devī or Śakti, and that it might have originated out of the ideology of syncretism between the cults of the Śāktās and the Sauras."⁹⁰ Equating Mārīcī to Sauri-Caturakṣarī, "the supreme Brāhmanical goddess - Devī or Caṇḍī," he notes that this is likewise, "a form of Tārā, the supreme Buddhist goddess."⁹¹

There is much information in support of Bhattacharyya's statement. Evidently at Khiching in the Mayurbhanja state, the Buddhist Mārīcī was represented as Caṇḍa-Thākuraṇī. In Ayodhya and Sujangarh, in Nīlgiri state, she was called Mārīcī-Thākuraṇī and the Budhār-Caṇḍī (the "Buddhist Caṇḍī").⁹² Chinese and Tibetan sources note that Mārīcī also became amalgamated with other deities originating on the subcontinent

⁸⁹SBI, 19. MW, 790, lists only a masculine form, marīcimālin.

⁹⁰The Śākta was a Hindu cult based on the concept of divine energy (śakti). Saura literally means "solar" or "related to the sun." In India the Sauras were a cult which centered on Savitr (the sun).

⁹¹D.C. Bhattacharyya, SBI, 18. See Sād., Sādhana no. 89 for Mārīcī as Tārā and no. 104 dedicated to Sītātāra. Again, a possible parallel may be found in Lettish songs the sun-daughter, Maria, is said to have carried off one golden bough of the oak tree (= a beam of the sun tree). The oak tree is also known as the oak of Taara. Muller, Contributions..., 438.

⁹²D.C. Bhattacharyya, SBI, references N.N. Vasu, The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja, Vol. I, (Calcutta, 1911), xcii.

such as Vajravārāhī (adamantine boar),⁹³ Durgā,⁹⁴ and Bhīmā⁹⁵ (also a consort of Śiva).

An additional solar element of Mārīcī is her association with Āditya, a Hindu Sun God. This connection is found in a common spell associated with the goddess which is preserved in the Taishō Canon in Japan.⁹⁶ Interestingly this spell, which is given in both Chinese characters (Ch. ân a-erh-tyêh mo-li-chih sfo-ho)⁹⁷ and in Sanskrit Siddham script (om adityâ mārīci svâhâ) - is not found in the major Sanskrit texts dealing with Mārīcī which remain today.⁹⁸ This "preserved"

⁹³Fo-lo-i. J. Hackin, "The Mythology of Lamaism," Asiatic Mythology (New York, n.d.), p.165; GNB, p. 132; etc.

⁹⁴T'u-chia, "The wife of Maheśvara, to whom human flesh was offered once a year in autumn." Ernest J. Eitel, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism (1888, reprint; New Delhi, 1981), 56.

⁹⁵Pi-mo, Ibid.

⁹⁶T. 1259, XXI: 285c. This text appears neither in the Korean canon (see KBC) nor the Manji canon.

⁹⁷I have indicated "elongated" vowels in this phrase in the same manner that I have used for Japanese; i.e. a long letter "a" is "â." The Japanese for these characters would be ôn ajichâ-marishi swaka. Evidently the spacing between characters in this Taishō edition indicated which vowels are to be dropped.

⁹⁸This spell is also given in Japanese (on ajichâ-mārīshiei sowaka) and Sanskrit in Siddham script as om aditya-mārīciye svâhâ by Iwata. [See Iwata kyōjun, Bonbun shingonshō (Tokyo, 1968), 52. As can be seen there are some divergences with T. 1259.] There are some grammatical problems with this spell as given in Sanskrit in both T. 1259 and Iwata's version. The Sun God should be āditya, the initial letter a long â. Also the declension of Mārīcī should be mārīcyai or, possibly, mārīciye (if declined like dhī, "thought"). If feminine, "Mārīciye" would be very unusual as the Sād. and Nsp. normally use "Mārīcyai." If masculine, the declension should be "Mārīcaye." Consequently, both the

spell appears to be propitiating "Aditya," the Sun God and one of the offspring of Aditi. In the R̥gveda we find that the goddess Aditi⁹⁹ also has several characteristics in common with the Buddhist Mārīcī. Aditi is called upon to unfetter the worshipper from not only personal psycho-physical problems (sin and sickness) (R̥y. II.27.4), but is also petitioned to help in escaping from a situation where he is physically tied up (R̥v. VIII.67.14). Aditi, like Uṣas and other goddesses, is rather ill-defined in the R̥gveda.¹⁰⁰ She is probably best known as mother of the Ādityas, a group of gods which includes both Varuṇa and Mitra.¹⁰¹ Since the Ādityas are "fundamentally aspects of light,"¹⁰² they are often collectively referred to as the sun deity called Āditya. Āditya is also found in some Buddhist maṇḍala¹⁰³ and, as mentioned above, rides in a chariot drawn by seven horses. In his left and right hands are held

Sanskrit version in T. 1259 and in Iwata's work appear to be reconstructions; not "preserved" originals.

⁹⁹"Aditi" literally means "un-fettered." DH, 3, defines this as "not-limited" (=space) and HG, 9, as "unbound."

¹⁰⁰HG, 9.

¹⁰¹The group varies in number from five to twelve. See DH, 3.

¹⁰²DH, 3.

¹⁰³E.g. see the Nsp., "Heruka Maṇḍala" described (Skt. text, 20-21), "Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara Maṇḍala" described (Skt. text, 54-65); and "Bhūtadāmara Maṇḍala" described (Skt. text, 72-74).

disks of the sun on lotuses.¹⁰⁴ The association of the Vedic term marīci in the plural with "particles of light" and "shining motes"¹⁰⁵ also easily ties in with various references to the goddess Mārīci as the star η in the Great Bear (Ursa Major).¹⁰⁶

This Indian stellar and solar symbolism was of major importance in the evolution of Mārīci over a period of several hundred years and may very well have been influenced by the Iranian Zoroastrianism and the sun-cult of Mithra.¹⁰⁷ In the

¹⁰⁴Nsp. (Skt. text, p. 62, line 19). Clark's work on Chinese Buddhist iconography also contains one image of the Sun God under the title of Sūrya. Walter Eugene Clark, Two Lamaistic Pantheons 2 Vols. (1937; reprint, New York, 1965), 178.

¹⁰⁵Arthur Anthony MacDonell and Arthur Berriedal Keith, Vedic Index of Names and Subjects, Vol. II (reprint; Delhi, 1982), 135-136. Marīci is referred to in the plural as "particles of light" or "motes of light" in apposition to raśmi which are "rays of light." MacDonell and Keith cite Rv. x. 57, 12; 177, 1; Av. iv. 38, 5 "...where raśmi and marīci are opposed..." They also note that marīci is later found mentioned in the Upanisads as "ray of light."

The term marīci is also related to the old Indo-European root mer-², "to flicker / flash / sparkle" and may possibly have been associated with mer-⁴ and mer-⁵, "to rub away, harm." [This last root is, interestingly, related to the Germanic *marôn- (goblin) and the Old English mare, a goblin or incubus; i.e. "nightmare."] Julius Pokorny, Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (Bern, 1959), mer-², p. 733 and mer-⁴, mer-⁵, p. 735. See also Chapter 3, fn. 67.

¹⁰⁶MW, 790, cites Virāha-mihira's Brhat Samhitā, an astrological work. As a "mote of light" preceding the sun, she might also be associated with the morning star, prabhātātārā, lit. "morning" (MW, 684) - "fixed star" (MW, 443).

¹⁰⁷Banerjea notes, "From the early centuries of the Christian era the sun-cult appears to have developed in northern India along a certain well-marked line. That (Hinduism's) north Indian form was much reorientated by the east Iranian mode of sun-worship is fully proven by many

Iranian Mithra cult, rooted in Zoroastrianism, Mithra (Skt. Mitra, one of the Adityas) was associated with the sun and was depicted riding in the sun's chariot.¹⁰⁸ Mithra was described as the companion of the sun (much like Mārīcī) and was also associated with the constellation of the Great Bear.¹⁰⁹ Many of the characteristics of Mithra also parallel those of the later Buddhist Mārīcī. Mithra precedes the sunrise¹¹⁰ and during the day traverses the sky in a chariot drawn by four white horses. At night he "still illumines with flickering glow the surface of the earth..."¹¹¹ Mithra is all knowing and "none can deceive him."¹¹² Mithra also protects his followers in battle for "the blows of their (the followers') enemies

literary and archaeological data." Jitendra Nath Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: 1956), 430. See also A.L. Basham, The Wonder that was India (New York, 1954), 344. There are, however, some who believe that Iranian and Iranian-influenced Greek elements were less important than native Indian ones. See Lalita Prasad Pandey, Sun Worship in Ancient India (Delhi, 1971), 177-190.

¹⁰⁸See illustration in Franz Cumont, The Mysteries of Mithra (1903; reprint; New York, 1956), 133, Fig. 32. This illustration is of a "Fragment of the Bas-Relief of Virunum." Cumont cites Ctesias apud Athen. X., 45 (Textes et monuments, Vol. II, p. 336).

¹⁰⁹Carlyon notes, "Mithra holds the golden shoulder of a young bull and this is indicative of his power over the animal, whose constellation (The Great Bear not Taurus) turns the heavens about." Richard Carlyon, A Guide to the Gods (New York, 1982), 327.

¹¹⁰Cumont, Mithra..., 2.

¹¹¹Cumont, 3.

¹¹²Ibid.

'miss their mark, for Mithra sore incensed, receives them...'"¹¹³ Evidently the kings of ancient Iran invoked Mithra on the eve of battle and "unquestioningly regarded him as the god that brought victory to monarchs."¹¹⁴ As a tutelary deity of warriors Mithra's companion was Verethraghna (=Skt. Vṛtrahan / Indra). Similar stellar and solar associations and martial characteristics are key elements in the Buddhist Mārīcī cult and may very well have been influenced by the cult of Mithra in Northwest India and central Asia.

In addition to solar characteristics, a second significant aspect of Mārīcī is her function as a goddess of warriors. One aspect of this is her relation to the Brāhmanistic antecedent deity, Marīci. The name of this worthy appears at various times and places among the post-Vedic Aryans of India. For example, there is a male rākṣasa named Mārīca in the Rāmāyaṇa who is known for his ability to cast spells.¹¹⁵ He assumes the form of a beautiful deer in order to distract Rāma while Rāvaṇa, a rākṣasa king, abducts Rāma's

¹¹³Cumont, 4.

¹¹⁴Cumont, 8. Eliade notes that the Parthian king was seen as Mithra reincarnated. Mircea Eliade, A History of Religious Ideas, Vol. 2, From Gautama Buddha to the Triumph of Christianity, Translated by Willard R. Trask (Chicago, 1982), 322.

¹¹⁵The Rāmāyaṇa contains a number of references to Mārīca as a powerful rākṣasa; i.e. Sarga 19.18, Sarga 24.8, etc. See The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, Vol. 1, Bālakāṇḍa, translated by Robert P. Goldman (Princeton, 1984). Also see S.N. Vyas, India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age (Delhi, 1967), 40.

wife, Sita. The devi Mārīci, however, does not appear as an independent goddess in pre-Buddhist Indian mythology.

The martial aspect of the Brāhmanistic Mārīci appears in the Bhagavad-gītā. The "martial" form I refer to here is Mārīci as one of the Maruts.¹¹⁶ The Maruts were storm gods and allies of Indra in his role as the Vedic god of war.¹¹⁷ Being a patron of warriors, the Buddhist Mārīci also has characteristics of both Indra and the Maruts. In the Atharvaveda Indra is called upon as a battle talisman to "confuse enemies" (a characteristic of the later Buddhist Mārīci) while the Maruts are requested to destroy them.¹¹⁸ Later, in the same text, the Maruts are also invoked to cause darkness to prevent the enemy from seeing¹¹⁹ (also a characteristic of the Buddhist Mārīci).

Obviously there is a close association in Brahmanism between the martial characteristics of Indra and his allies the Maruts, and Mārīci. These characteristics (the ability to confuse and confound enemies, the ability to prevent the enemy from seeing, etc.) were carried over into the Buddhist

¹¹⁶Mārīci is referred to as a Marut in the Bhagavadgītā (X.21 - marīci marutām asmi |). Sir Monier Monier-Williams notes concerning the term Marut: " मरुत, marut, m.pl. (prob. the 'flashing or shining ones; cf. marīci and Gk. marmero) the storm-gods..." MW, 879.

¹¹⁷Of course this is only one of the roles of Indra for he is called pururūpavat, "having many forms." [Betty Heimann, Facets of Indian Thought (London: 1964), 90.]

¹¹⁸Av., III.1,6.

¹¹⁹Av., III.2,6.

Mārīcī cult when it began to evolve, probably around the early fifth century A.D. These martial attributes also provided the basis for the evolution of warrior cults in China and Japan which focused on Mārīcī.

The North India of the fifth through the twelfth centuries (the "Tantric" period during which the texts of the Buddhist Mārīcī were composed) was a fertile ground for the rise of local cults; some of which appear to have had a martial orientation. The fifth century also saw the rise of numerous cults centered on female deities, probably associated with fertility.¹²⁰ These cults and their magic rites were the nascent Sākta cults which were to have a major role in the development of Buddhist Vajrayāna. Several of these Sākta cults, significantly those of goddesses who became epithets for Mārīcī (e.g. Durgā, Kālī, and Caṇḍī), were very martial in their orientation.

One of the earliest of these was probably that of Durgā who, by the fourth century A.D., appears to have evolved from a number of local demonesses into a warrior goddess and śakti of Siva.¹²¹ Durgā is independent and powerful and is able to defeat all male warriors and demons. She is ferocious on the battlefield and, in an interesting parallel with Mārīcī,

¹²⁰Romila Thapar, A History of India, vol. 1, (London, 1966), 160.

¹²¹HG, 96. As warrior goddess her most popular epithet is Mahiṣa-mardini (lit. "Destroyer of [the asura] Mahiṣa).

Kinsley notes that her powers include "sleep" and "shadow," an ability to confuse and delude her enemies. These powers are sometimes referred to as mahâmâya (great illusion) and a similar term is sometimes used in conjunction with Mârîcî.¹²² Durgâ was offered blood sacrifices (sometimes the blood of the devotee) and, until 1835, human sacrifices were made to her.¹²³ In a festival called the Durgâ Pûjâ, she is still worshipped as a "battle queen" in North India.¹²⁴ Kâlî dates from around 600 A.D., is usually described as located on the battlefield,¹²⁵ and is a personification of the wrath of Durgâ or Pârvatî.¹²⁶

¹²²The term "mahâmâya" ("the power that throws people into the bondage of delusion and attachment"), notes Kinsley, is mentioned in the Mahîsa episode of the Devî-mâhâtmya. HD, 100. Lancaster mentions a similar term, evidently found attached to Mârîcî's name, in the Sanskrit original for T. 1257 - Mâyâ-marîcî-jâtatatrâd... [See KBC, 392; K 1156 (5)]. The term mâyâ has a range of meanings: "...supernatural power (only in the earlier language); illusion, unreality, deception, fraud, trick, sorcery, witchcraft, magic,..." etc. MW, 811. Ashikaga's Sanskrit edition of the beginning section of T. 1257, however, does not contain this term. See Iwamoto, Indo-gaku, 79-88.

¹²³DH, 82, cites E.A. Gait, "Human Sacrifice (Indian)," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, edited by James Hastings (1908-21, reprint; Edinburgh, 1960).

¹²⁴HG, 106, notes that this was originally done for success in battle. Evidently the Rajputs, a ksatriya group in Rajisthan, also worshipped a warrior goddess (variant of Durgâ?) called Gudeychee (lit. "Fort Protectress) in the late 1800's. HG, 107, cites Alexander Kinloch Forbes, Râs-Mâlâ: Hindu Annals of Western India (New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1973), 614.

¹²⁵HG, 116.

¹²⁶HG, 118-119.

The Hindu Caṇḍī (an epithet for the warrior goddess Durgā / Kālī, wife of Śiva) evidently appears around the seventh century in a drama by Bāṇabhaṭṭa called Kādambarī.¹²⁷ A later work called Yaśatilaka by Somadeva composed around 1200 A.D. contains a description of a goddess almost identical with Kālī¹²⁸ whose name appears to be a combination of Mārīcī and Caṇḍī - Caṇḍamārī.¹²⁹ It appears that Caṇḍī had a martial character, at least in East India. Taranatha (sixteenth century) noted that in the eighth century, when Gopāla was elected king of the Pāla dynasty he was assisted by Caṇḍī. Others had been elected before him but all were killed immediately by an evil demoness. Upon Gopāla's election, however, the goddess Caṇḍī (consort of Siva) gave him a club with which he was able to kill the demoness. This story indicates that not only was Gopāla a powerful leader and warrior, but also that he was probably a follower of the cult of Caṇḍī.¹³⁰ As we have seen above, Mārīcī became closely

¹²⁷HG, 117. The sixth century also presents us with the earliest Chinese translation of a text devoted to Caṇḍī. Translated by Divākara in 685 A.D., it is entitled Ch'i-chū-chih fo-mu-hsin ta-chun-t'i t'o-lo-ni ching, T. 1077, XX.

¹²⁸HG, 117, cites Krishna Kanta Handiqui, Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture (Sholapur: Jaina Saṃskṛiti Saṃrakṣhaka Saṅgha, 1949), 56.

¹²⁹This title may also indicate an association with yet another Durgā-related goddess, Marī. Marī (or Mārī) was the personification of death (Skt. māra) or pestilence. See Margaret Stutley, Illustrated Dictionary of Hinduism (Boston, 1985), 90.

¹³⁰Thapar, A History..., 223.

associated with the cult of the warrior goddess Caṇḍī, so much so that the character and names of the two devī became practically interchangeable.

The cults of these Hindu martial goddesses began to proliferate from around the fifth century onward, probably in response to a deteriorating socio-political situation in which the demand for combatants also greatly increased. During the early to middle part of that century, the Huns attacked Northwest India. They provided constant military pressure in the Northwest throughout the century and successfully invaded the subcontinent at the end of that period. Along with the Huns came a great deal of Iranian influence¹³¹ and several tribes of central Asians which settled permanently in the area. Some of these tribes gradually became acclimated to Indian culture. This acclimation process may have been facilitated by the necessities of warfare; evidently to such an extent that the group which came to be known as the Rajputs were actually accorded dviija (lit. "twice born") status as ksatriya (warriors).¹³² The invasion of the Huns sounded the

¹³¹Hun control extended from Persia to Khotan. See Thapar, A History..., 141.

¹³²The dviija castes were the three highest of the early Indo-Aryans: the brāhman (priests), ksatriya (warrior), and vaiśya (farmers/herdsmen). In practice there were evidently many subdivisions and in India a large class of conquered peoples came to be called the śudra. See also Basham, The Wonder..., 137-188. These dviija classes were not unique to India but were reflected in other Indo-European groups. In example of this are the Celts who, noted Caesar in his De Bello Gallico (6.13), also recognized three social classes - the Druids, knights, and oppressed "people." Eliade notes

death knell for a unified, peaceful north India and the sixth through the thirteenth centuries saw almost constant warfare between contending kingdoms and regional states. In addition, pressure from Moslem¹³³ raiders and invaders began to exert itself on Northwest India in the eighth century, increased in intensity in the tenth century, and peaked in the thirteenth century.¹³⁴ The interminable warfare and large number of combatants necessary for maintenance of such protracted hostilities must have provided the impetus for a number of martial cults such as those of the Durgâ, Kâlî, Caṇḍî, and the Buddhist Mârîcî. As we shall see in Chapter Three, being a Buddhist creation, the early Mârîcî was probably the most benign of the martial goddesses. However, this relatively mild nature was to rapidly change in the ninth and tenth centuries; probably due to the pressures of increased incursions by Moslem invaders and a merging of the cult with those of the more savage Hindu martial devî mentioned above.

that in Ireland these classes were under the authority of the *rig (cognate with Skt. râj-) and were called Druids (priests), flaith (warrior aristocracy) and bó airig (free men who owned cows). Interestingly, flaith literally means "power" and is evidently phonetically equivalent to the Skt. ksatra. See Eliade, A History of Religious Ideas, Volume 2, 140-141. See also G. Dumézil, Les dieux des Indo-Européens (Paris, 1952), 7.

¹³³Arabs, Turks, and Afghans.

¹³⁴See Thapar, Chap. 10 "The Beginnings of Regional States in Northern India - c. A.D. 700-1200," 221-240, and Chap. 11 "Feudalism in the Regional States - c. A.D. 800-1200," 241-265.

While a martial protectress like Mārīcī might have been of use to Buddhism in converting the members of the warrior caste (or, perhaps, fighting men in India who were outside the official ranks of the kṣatriya), the Buddhist goddess may have also appealed to "fighting monks." Of course there is a prescription in Buddhism against killing, however, monks skilled in self-defense techniques and even the arts of warfare have appeared at various times in such places as Central Asia, Tibet, China and Japan.

As Buddhism began to spread beyond the boundaries of the Indian subcontinent, monks established "fortified monasteries defended by martial monks" along the trade routes from India through Central Asia.¹³⁵ In China, accounts begin to appear as early as the Northern Wei dynasty (386-535) concerning Buddhist monks possessing weapons such as "bows, arrows, spears and shields."¹³⁶ There are numerous Chinese accounts of warrior monk activity during the period from the Sui dynasty (589-618) through the Sino-Japanese war in the 1930's¹³⁷ and Japanese Buddhism has also been known for its sōhei (warrior

¹³⁵Frits Staal, "The Himalayas and the Fall of Religion." in The Silk Route and the Diamond Path, edited by Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (Los Angeles, 1982), 40.

¹³⁶Wei Shou (The Book of Wei), Roll 114, by Wei Shou of Ch'i, Chapter 20. Edited and translated with notes by Leon Hurvitz. WEI SHOU - Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism, (Kyoto, 1954), 64, section [63], line 2.

¹³⁷Paul Demiéville, "Le Bouddhisme et la guerre," Mélanges publiés par l'institut des hautes études Chinoises. Tome Premier (1957): 343-385.

monks) who were a military force of note during Japan's middle ages. Apparently even outside of India there was a ready-made audience for a Buddhist warrior protectress among the clergy and the laity of China and Japan.

* * *

- Buddhist Mārīcī Texts In Sanskrit -

While the oldest extant works concerning Mārīcī are those in the Chinese canon, some mention should be made of the Sanskrit editions that are extant. The Sanskrit texts available dealing with Mārīcī are Śāntideva's Śikṣāsamuccaya (c. 800 A.D.),¹³⁸ a short section of the Ārya-mārīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī (c. 980 A.D.),¹³⁹ Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta's Niṣpan-nayogāvalī (c. 1100 A.D.),¹⁴⁰ and the Sādhanamālā (1165 A.D.).

The Śikṣāsamuccaya exist in original Sanskrit¹⁴¹ and translated Tibetan¹⁴² and Chinese¹⁴³ editions. The Chinese text, entitled Ta ch'eng chi p'u sa hsueh lun (S. Mahāvāna

¹³⁸There are various conflicting dates for the "Tantric" Śāntideva although it seems probable that he lived during the second half of the 7th century A.D. See Lalmani Joshi, Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India (During the 7th and 8th Centuries A.D.) (Delhi, 1967), 187.

¹³⁹Ashikaga notes that this Sanskrit text is equivalent to that found in T. 1257, XXI, 262. (See Iwamoto, Indo-gaku, 80.) This text was translated during the Northern Sung dynasty, c. 986-987 A.D.

¹⁴⁰B. Bhattacharyya gives Abhayākaragupta's dates as c.1084 - 1130), IBI, 385.

¹⁴¹Dr. P.L. Vaidya, ed., Śikṣāsamuccaya of Śāntideva (Śsm.), Buddhist Sanskrit Texts - No. 11 (Darbhanga, 1961).

¹⁴²Otani Cat. No. 5336, Bsla-pa Kun-las btus-pa.

¹⁴³T. 1636, XXXII: 75-145. The Chinese edition credits Fa-ch'eng (Skt. Dharmakīrti; 600-660 A.D.) with authorship. For a discussion of this question see Shōshin Ichishima, "Realizing Skillful Means in the Future of Buddhist Institutions," (Paper presented to the First Chung-Hwa International Conference on Buddhism, January 13-15, National Library, Taipei, Taiwan), 1-3.

saṃgīti-bodhisattva-vidyāśāstra)¹⁴⁴ is a work of twenty-five chüan translated into Chinese by Jih-ch'eng and Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu) during the Northern Sung Dynasty (1058 - 1072). It is a large compendium of Mahāyāna teachings and contains quotations from many other texts. Mārīcī is mentioned in Chapter Six¹⁴⁵ (chüan #9 in the Chinese edition)¹⁴⁶ as one of the protectors, specifically from "bandits, invaders or harm."¹⁴⁷ A long dhāraṇī is given which the practitioner should chant in order to obtain this protection although no ritual accompanies the recitation.¹⁴⁸ This is the "basic" dhāraṇī of Mārīcī and is found in most texts dedicated to her. In the Chinese, this passage closes with the words, "By intoning this spell, (one) produces infinite, great, virtuous tejaḥ..." (illumination; fire), a pseudonym for Mārīcī.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴Nanjio Cat. No. 1298; Joshi, 210, fn.42.

¹⁴⁵Sṣm., (Skt. text, p.78, line 28 - p. 79, line 2).

¹⁴⁶T. 1636, XXXII: 102c1-17.

¹⁴⁷T. 1636, XXXII: 102c1. The Sanskrit version says only, "In making an alliance with Mārīcī one should mutter..." [.- .pratīkare mārīcīm jayet...]. Sṣm., (Skt. text, p. 78, line 28).

¹⁴⁸The Taishō Canon includes a Sanskrit rendition of this dhāraṇī [XIX: 238 (F)] which is evidently taken directly from the Sanskrit edition, however, there are a number of discrepancies between the Sanskrit rendition and the Chinese transliteration contained in the text itself.

¹⁴⁹T. 1636, XXXII: 102c17. Tejo is also found in the Mārīcī maṇḍala in the Nṣp. (Skt. text), p. 40, line 13.

The Ārya-māricī-nāma-dhāraṇī, as it exists today, is a short fragment of the beginning section of the text translated into Chinese as the Ta-mo-li-chih p'u-sa ching (T. 1257). While the Chinese text is the longest version in existence of a Māricī dhāraṇī-sūtra, the Sanskrit text is only about thirty lines long.¹⁵⁰ The Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākara-gupta of Vikramaśilā is available in Sanskrit¹⁵¹ and Tibetan¹⁵² but no Chinese translation exists. It is composed of twenty-six chapters, each containing a maṇḍala of numerous Tantric worthies including the maṇḍala of Māricī.¹⁵³ Māricī is also prominent in the section concerned with the Kālacakra-maṇḍala.¹⁵⁴

The Sādhnamālā is also unavailable in Chinese¹⁵⁵ although Tibetan¹⁵⁶ and Sanskrit¹⁵⁷ editions exist. This text contains a

¹⁵⁰See Iwamoto, Indo-gaku, 81-82 for this text.

¹⁵¹B. Bhattacharyya, ed., Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākara-gupta (Nsp.), Gaekwad's Oriental Series (GOS), no. 109 (Baroda, 1949).

¹⁵²Otani Cat. No. 3962, Rdsoqs-pahi rnal-hbyor-gyi phren-ba shes-bya-ba.

¹⁵³The Māricīmaṇḍala is found in the Nsp. (Skt. text, 40 - 41).

¹⁵⁴Ibid., (Skt. text, 89 - 91).

¹⁵⁵One sādhana was translated into Classical Buddhist Chinese by Ashikaga Atsuuji at Kyoto University. See Iwamoto, Indo-gaku, 89-104.

¹⁵⁶Sādhnamālā (var. Sādhana-samuccaya-nāma), Otani Cat. [No. 4221 - No. 4466 (Vol. 81)], Sgrub-thabs Kun-las btus-pa shes-bya-ba.

number of sādhanas (directions for ritual invocations) complete with mantra and dhāraṇī, mudrā, and descriptions of the worthy to be called upon. Eighteen of these sādhanas mention various forms of Mārīcī; sixteen of them being devoted to her.¹⁵⁸ All of these Sanskrit texts, however, are late and appeared in India several hundred years after the earliest Sanskrit Mārīcī dhāraṇī-sūtras began to be translated into Chinese.

¹⁵⁷B. Bhattacharyya, ed. Sāadhanamālā (Sād.), GOS, nos. 26 and 41 (Baroda, 1968).

¹⁵⁸Sād., No. 39, Tārā (as Mārīcī); No. 104, Sītātāra; and, devoted to Mārīcī, Nos. 132-147.

CHAPTER 3: The Buddhist Mārīcī in China, the Initial Phase

Overview

As we have seen, the Mārīcī cult evolved in north and northwest India over a period covering several hundred years; presumably from the late fifth through the twelfth centuries. Those were chaotic times in which much of the region was prone to protracted warfare. Indian Buddhist texts generated by the Mārīcī cult soon made their way to China where translations were made; the earliest remaining text dating from the sixth century, the latest from the eleventh. It is unclear how these texts were viewed or used in China during the early centuries of that extended period. However, in later years - especially during the Northern Sung dynasty (960-1127) - certain aspects of Mārīcī-cum-Candī were adapted into Taoism in the form of the Goddess Tou-mu. Little evidence remains of Mārīcī's early impact on Chinese culture before the middle of the T'ang (618-907) and, even after that time, there is scant detail that remains available today.

If Mārīcī was seen by the Chinese primarily as a warrior protectress and if her devotees were predominately members of the military, information on any cult centered upon her would probably be sparse and cryptic in nature; this due to the secretive nature of combative arts practice. (As we shall see, the requirement of secrecy among members of combative traditions was certainly a factor in the abstruse nature

documentation on Mārīcī found in Japan.) Unfortunately, this scarcity would also be the case if the goddess experienced only minimal popularity. In any event, non-canonical information on the Buddhist Mārīcī during the period from the sixth to tenth century appears to be very limited. Consequently, our main information source on the Buddhist Mārīcī in China from the sixth through the tenth centuries appears to be the Buddhist canon itself.

The four-and-a-half century period covered by these texts was an often turbulent one in which Buddhism experienced intervals of great patronization interspersed with sometimes devastating anti-Buddhist persecutions. In addition to the military adventurism usually found in such times of political and civil strife, these periods also produced a number of "Buddhist" rebellions in which the involvement of armed monks and lay followers was not uncommon. In order to understand the culture and times into which the Mārīcī cult (if, indeed, it could be called a "cult" at that time) was imported from India, it will again be to our advantage to first briefly examine the history of this period.

- Historical Background -

China, from the fourth century until the unification under the Sui dynasty in the sixth century, was swept up in great change and turmoil. In the south dynasties rose and

fell approximately every fifty years and, in the north, even more rapidly after the fall of the "barbarian" Northern Wei dynasty in 534. In contrast, there were also areas of the country where periods of peace allowed for a flowering of commerce, literature, religion, and other civilizing pursuits. However, these periods were often interrupted by outbreaks of violence and rebellion. Chinese historians usually describe this era as that of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (Ch. Nan-pei-ch'ao) and it was during these times that the earliest Buddhist texts referring to Mārīcī were translated into Chinese. It was during this same period that, particularly in the north, rebellions and martial activity were often associated with Buddhism. In addition, Buddhism in the north gradually became an instrument of the state, a phenomenon that was to have important consequences on later Japanese Buddhism. In the south, Buddhism remained a separate entity and generally experienced a period of patronization by rulers.

The Northern Wei Dynasty (386-534)

The most powerful and long lasting dynasty of this era was the Northern Wei. This dynasty was founded by a non-Chinese ethnic group known as the T'o-pa¹ (Tabgatch) whom, by 440 A.D., controlled all of northern China. The history of

¹The T'o-pa were a non-Chinese, possibly Turkic people. See William Ch'en, Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey (Princeton, 1964), 145.

Buddhism under this dynasty is well known and need not be described in detail here.² However, it should be noted that even with the upheavals Buddhism experienced during the Northern Wei, it almost always served as an arm of the state. In fact, the first emperor of the dynasty, T'ai-tsu,³ seems to have placed great reliance on his Buddhist advisor, Fa-kuo. Fa-kuo, liberally exercising Buddhist upāya (expedient means), evolved a doctrine which recognized the ruler as the "Tathāgata in person,"⁴ a precedent which would later strongly color Japanese Buddhism. After a period of suppression under the third Northern Wei emperor, Buddhism again became popular with the ruling powers, and the unity between the religion and the state was strengthened through the development of official

²See Tsukamoto, Zenryū, Shina bukkyōshi kenkyū, Hoku-Gihen (1942, reprint; Tokyo, 1969); Paul Demiéville, "Le Bouddhisme et la guerre," Mélanges publiés par l'institut des hautes études Chinoises 1 (1957): 357-359; Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey (Princeton, 1954), 145-183; etc.

³Also known as T'o-pa Kuei he became "King of Tai" in 386 A.D. WEI SHOU Treatise On Buddhism And Taoism: An English Translation of the Original Chinese Text of Wei-shu CXIV and the Japanese Annotation of Tsukamoto Zenryū, translated and annotated by Leon Hurvitz, reprinted from Yün-kang, The Buddhist Cave-Temple of the Fifth Century A.D. in North China, Volume XVI, Supplement (Kyoto, 1954), 51, [40], fn. 1.

⁴Ch'en, 146.

government bureaus controlling Buddhist affairs.⁵ This was a divergence with earlier Chinese Buddhism and the Buddhist community in the south which retained a great deal of independence. The close tie between the Buddhist church and the state in the North may have been due to the fact that the community in the north was a conquered people and an official "church" was an effective tool of political control over its subjects.

A number of "Buddhist" rebellions against the state occurred during the Northern Wei. One of the earliest took place in 446 A.D. during the reign of emperor T'ai-wu and seems to have been sparked by the emperor's anti-Buddhist policies.⁶ The rebellion failed in its attempt to oust T'ai-wu and resulted in a suppression of Buddhism in which the emperor began to exterminate the monastic community of Ch'ang-an and ordered temples and images burned.⁷ The emperor, according to Kenneth Ch'en, later regretted the

⁵These bureaus were called the Chien Fu Ts'ao (Office of Benefits Supervision) and the Chao Hsüan Ssu (Bureau of Nuns). This system worked to the advantage of the ruler (direct supervision of the saṅgha through the chief monk) and to the advantage of the Buddhist community (direct support of government in spreading Buddhism).

⁶According to the Wei shu, in that year a rebellion, led by a man named Kai Wu, began in the city of Ch'ang-an. Hearing of this, Emperor T'ai-wu immediately proceeded there with an armed force in order to pacify the rebels. Arriving at Ch'ang-an a cache of "bows, arrows, spears and shields" was discovered within a Buddhist temple. Because of this evident support of the rebellion, T'ai-wu ordered a general suppression of Buddhism. (See WEI SHOU, Hurvitz, 64-65, section [63].)

⁷Ibid., 64-66, sections [63-65].

persecution and may have felt he had allowed himself to be unduly influenced by his anti-Buddhist advisors.⁸

After T'ai-wu, Buddhism again found itself supported as an official arm of the state. In time, however, anti-government Buddhists and political rebels used Buddhist centers as rallying points for subversive activities.⁹ These Buddhist inspired rebellions were to multiply in the Tabgatch empire during the sixth century. In fact, in his study of the Buddhism of that era, Tsukamoto Zenryû points out that at least nine rebellions occurred between 402 and 517.¹⁰

A typical rebellion of the type investigated by Tsukamoto was that led by the monk Fa-ch'ing who became a rebel chief in 515 in the area of what is now the province of Hopei. This rebellion was characterized, according to Tsukamoto, by continual warring that devastated the region. Fa-ch'ing took the name of Ta-ch'eng (= Skt. Mahâyâna or "Great Vehicle") and proclaimed the era of the New Buddha, Maitreya.¹¹ He had, for a lieutenant, a Chinese aristocrat named Li Kuei-po to whom he gave the titles Consolidating Prince of the Han, Commander of the Army Who Triumphs Over Mâra, and Bodhisattva of the

⁸Ch'en, 151.

⁹Ibid, 157.

¹⁰See Tsukamoto, 247-285.

¹¹Demiéville, 358-359.

Tenth Stage.¹² Fa-ch'ing had more than 50,000 men under his command¹³ who, according to Demiéville, do not seem to have been real monks.¹⁴

The title "Bodhisattva of the Tenth Stage" is also interesting. The Tenth Stage refers to anyone who has completed the ten successive stages [Skt. vihāra] toward becoming a Bodhisattva. However, under Fa-ch'ing, a follower who killed a man had the right to the title of Bodhisattva the First Stage. The greater number of people they killed, the higher they advanced on the scale of sainthood.¹⁵ On killing the tenth, they advanced to the Tenth Stage. Murder was legitimized in their crusade against Māra, and Fa-ch'ing's followers were given alcoholic drugs which made them "agitated to the point where father and sons, brothers (older and younger) would neither recognize each other nor hesitate to kill each other."¹⁶ The new recruits were largely illiterate peasants whose beliefs were fanatical. They were persuaded that they were fighting for a new Buddha (perhaps in contrast to the emperor-cum-"Tathāgata"): the messiah Maitreya whose cult was flourishing at that time in China. The texts do not

¹²Ch. Shih-chu P'u-sa, P'ing-mo-chün-szu - Ting Han-wang. Tsukamoto, 273.

¹³Tsukamoto, 274.

¹⁴Demiéville, "Le Bouddhisme et la guerre," 358.

¹⁵Tsukamoto, 273.

¹⁶Ibid.

state clearly if Fa-ch'ing was identifying himself with Maitreya or proclaiming himself a prophet or a universal ruler. The rebellion was crushed by 517 A.D. and the "Buddhist" rebels executed.¹⁷

Most of the other Buddhist rebellions of that era were of a similar character. They consisted of popular movements directed not only against a central state authority but also against the official Buddhist church. Maitreyan messianism, the belief in a utopian cakravartin (universal lord), often inspired the rebels. The soldiers of these rebellions, however, were evidently not fully ordained Buddhist priests. Demiéville notes that these rebellions could find recruits neither among the clergy nor "irregular clergy" but rather among the peasants under the encouragement of inspired, zealous monks who were believed to be prophets of Maitreya. They were also often regarded as founders of new dynasties which would bring Great Peace (Ch. t'ai-ping) on earth and the rule of the Real Law (Ch. cheng-p'ing).¹⁸ This particular pattern would be often repeated in later centuries.

Obviously there was a ready-made audience for a protectress of combatants. However, there are no Mâricî texts which come down to us from the Northern Wei. On the other hand, the frequent association of Buddhism with armed forces at that

¹⁷See Tsukamoto, 269-280, for more detail.

¹⁸Demiéville, 359.

time is significant. It indicates the proclivity toward legitimization of warfare for a just cause such as "destroying the army of mâra," which was a rallying cry in Fa-ching's rebellion. In fact we shall find similar phrases in later Chinese Mâricî texts. It is in the south, however, where our earliest surviving Mâricî text appears.

Southern Dynasties

Buddhism in the south fared well under the successive Liu Sung (420-479), Ch'i (479-502), and Liang (502-557) dynasties. In fact, it found special favor under Emperor Wu, founder of the Liang. Emperor Wu had been brought up in a Taoist family but became interested in Buddhism due to the influence of the monks at the court of Ching-ling, a son of the founder of the Ch'i dynasty. A very strong pro-Buddhist, he took the Indian Buddhist king, Aśoka (r. 268-231 B.C.), as his example. While gradually increasing political pressure on the Taoists of his realm, he held mass Buddhist assemblies and wrote commentaries on various sûtras. Frequently attending meetings on Buddhist matters, he once expounded upon them "to an audience which consisted not only of monks and officials, but also of foreign envoys from Persia, Khotan, and Korea."¹⁹

Ironically, Emperor Wu's preoccupation with Buddhism may have contributed to the fall of the Liang. In his later

¹⁹Ch'en, 126.

years, he turned over much power to followers, a situation which resulted in wide-spread political corruption. Although the south did see its share of civil strife and war, it did not suffer the Buddhist rebellions or persecutions that plagued the north. Apparently anti-Buddhist urges in the south took the form of anti-Buddhist treatises.

A second important factor in the collapse of the Liang was the rise of semi-private armies whose loyalty to the central government was weak. From the time of the Liu Sung (420-479), the institution of families dedicated to arms (shih-chia or ping-lu) had been dropped and governments began using armies which were half-official and half-private. These armies contained many mercenaries recruited in the provinces by both the government and aristocratic families. Led by power-seeking commanders, these legions of "rascals and bandits" took advantage of the political corruption engendered by Emperor Wu and completed the fall of the Liang in the mid-sixth century.²⁰

While we have no solid evidence regarding the popularity of Mārīcī among either the Buddhists clergy or soldiers of the Liang, the worthy was known at that time by the epithet, Kuang-ming (lit. "Brightness" or "Radiance").²¹ In addition,

²⁰Jacques Gernet, A History of Chinese Civilization, trans. by J.R. Foster (Cambridge, 1982), 184-185.

²¹See Chapter 2, fn. 76. According to T. 984, XIX: 446b-459a, Mārīcī-yaksa (probably a male worthy) was known in the Liang as Kuang-ming. It is unclear whether Mārīcī-yaksa was considered to be the same as the goddess Mārīcī but the

our earliest preserved translation of a Mārīcī dhāraṇī-sūtra comes down to us from the Liang. Unfortunately, as with the Northern Wei, there is little information available concerning Mārīcī cults, martial or otherwise, which may have flourished during the Liang.

- The Proliferation of Esoteric Buddhism in China -

It was by the sixth century, as we have already seen, that the trend toward adding dhāraṇī chapters to earlier Mahāyāna sūtras had become a common practice.²² Shortly after that, in the seventh century, Esoteric Buddhism as Mantrayāna became an influential school in its own right. During this era we find the monk Wu-hsing (630-?)²³ writing from India prior to 685 A.D., "...Now there is this novelty, the teaching of the mantra Chen-yen which is in great honor all over the country."²⁴ The Chinese pilgrims Hsüan-tsang (612-664) and I-ching (635-713) also spoke of observing Buddhist sorcery and

epithet used here - Kuang-ming (lit. 'brightness' or 'glory') - indicates they were probably identical.

²²In example of this was the Laṅkavatāra-sūtra, mentioned above, translated in Chinese around 513 A.D.

²³Wu Hsing died in India. He also took the name Prajñādeva while at Nālanda. (Van Gulik, Sexual Life..., 350.)

²⁴Lin Li Kouang, "Punyoda (Na-t'i), Un Propagateur Du Tantrisme," Journal Asiatique 222 (July-September, 1935): 83-84, fn. 1.

magic in the various areas they visited.²⁵ I-ching makes no mention of either the sexo-yogic practices or symbolism which would fill the anuttarayoga-tantras of the ninth century and even speaks of the strict adherence to the vinaya he discovered among the monks at the Buddhist university of Nālanda around 690 A.D.²⁶ However, within a hundred years, that great university and most of Bengal and Assam had been transformed into the heartland of Vajrayāna. In fact, it was from Nālanda that Guru Rinpoche Padma Sambhava is said to have first introduced Buddhist Vajrayāna into Tibet in the late eight century.²⁷

It is generally agreed that in the seventh century there was an attempt to unify the large, disorganized pantheon of Esoteric worthies, their maṇḍala, and the ritualistic "tools" of mantra and mudrā into fixed orders. Two works that exemplify this combination of Buddhist philosophy, mystical utterances, and ceremony were the (Fo-shuo) T'o-lo-ni-chi ching,²⁸ a work compiled and translated in China by Atikūṭa,²⁹

²⁵Van Gulik, Sexual Life..., 350.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷There is some controversy over this date. See Sircar, The Śākta Pīṭhas, 17, fn. 1.

²⁸T. 901, XVIII: 785-897.

²⁹The Chinese, A-ti-ch'u-to (Var. Wu-chi-kao), has sometimes been returned to Sanskrit as Atigupta. See R.H. van Gulik, Hayagrīva: The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-Cult in China and Japan (Leiden, 1935), 56, fn. 2; Siddham: An Essay on the History of Sanskrit Studies in China and Japan, Sarasvati-Vihāra Series, vol. 36 (New Delhi, 1956), 48, fn.

and the I-ch'ien-fa-ting-lin-wang ching,³⁰ translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci. Both of these texts attempted to systematize the many deities that had been lately incorporated into Mahâyâna-cum-Mantrayâna. It was also at this time that the foundation of maṇḍala organization appears in texts and pictorial, systematic representation of the esoteric pantheon was developed.

The seventh and eight centuries have been called the Golden Age of Indian Esoteric Buddhism for it was the time when the antecedents of all the later schools were brought together in formalized texts which combined the magical practices and mystical tendencies of Mahâyâna into Mantrayâna. It was also the Golden Age of Tantrism in China, a period during which the great foreign transmitters and native formulators of the East Asian esoteric tradition flourished³¹; i.e., Subhakarasiṃha (637-735)³² and his Chinese disciple I-hsing (683-727), Vajrabodhi (671-741),³³ Amoghavajra (705-774),³⁴ and his Chinese disciple Hui-kuo (746-805). During the

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³⁰T. 951, XIX: 224-260.

³¹See Chou Yi-liang, "Tantrism in China," for an English translation of standard biographies of Subhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and Amoghavajra.

³²Ch. Shan Wu-wei.

³³Ch. Chin-kang Chih.

³⁴Ch. Pu-k'ung Chin-kang.

ninth century, most of this school and its texts were transmitted to Japan via such famous figures as Saichō (767-822), Kūkai (774-835) and other monks, mainly from the Japanese Tendai and Shingon sects.

Not only Tantrism but also Buddhism in general prospered and reached its zenith under the Sui (589-618) and T'ang dynasties, at least until the anti-Buddhist suppression of 845 A.D. After that suppression it suffered a decline, especially in those sects - such as Mantrayāna (Ch. Chen-yen or Mi-tsung) - which had formerly enjoyed imperial patronage. The Mi-tsung tradition never fully recovered from the suppression of 845 A.D. and, although a number of texts still flowed into China until the general destruction of Buddhism in Northern India during the twelfth century,³⁵ this "first wave"³⁶ of esoterism did not see a revival. We do find, however, that even during the Sung dynasty several practices of the tantric schools were preserved in surviving Buddhist sects such as Ch'an.³⁷

³⁵According to research carried out by Hajime Nakamura, Buddhism was still flourishing in Kāñcīpura (the modern state of Madras), the Chola kingdom and, surprisingly, Jālandhara (the Punjab!) as late as the fourteenth century. See Hajime Nakamura, Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes (Hirakata City, Japan, 1980), 341.

³⁶Later "waves" of Buddhist Tantrism would include the Tibetan form of Vajrayāna introduced both during the Mongol Yüan dynasty (1279-1368 A.D.) and the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911 A.D.).

³⁷I.e., the funeral mass was adopted by other sects and Ch'an monks used bijākṣara written in Indian Siddham letters as meditational aids.

- The Buddhist Mārīcī Cult in China -

As noted above, the Chinese began receiving and utilizing Buddhist Mārīcī texts as early as the sixth century and the Buddhist cult reached a peak, probably in the eighth century, under the imperial support of the T'ang dynasty and the monk Amoghavajra. In later centuries it appears to have suffered the same decline as esoteric Buddhism in general. Possibly earlier but certainly after the T'ang, Mārīcī became a popular folk cult figure under the guise of the Taoist Tou-mu (Mother of the Dipper) and Goddess of Polaris, the North Star.³⁸

As we saw in Chapter 2, in India Mārīcī was sometimes associated with Ursa Major, the constellation of the Great Bear (the Big Dipper).³⁹ Her identification in China with Tou-mu as "Mother of the Dipper" and the Goddess of the North Star also appears to have been martial in nature. Evidently there was a close relationship between the Dipper and Taoist military "Thundermagic" as early as the late Sung period. When Mārīcī became identified with Tou-mu, "Goddess of the Dipper," she was also made patron goddess of the "Five Thunder

³⁸Tou Lao. See E.T.C. Werner, A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology (New York, 1961), 511; Eitel, 97, etc. Maspero notes that she has been referred to as the Mother of the Southern Bushel, Sagittarius. See Henri Maspero, "The Mythology of Northern China," Asiatic Mythology, J. Hackin, ed., 340.

³⁹Mithra was also associated with this constellation.

method,"⁴⁰ the military magic of the Taoist Pole Star Sect (Ch. Pei-chi P'ai). This sect, centered originally in the area of Mt. Wu-tang⁴¹ in Hupei, devoted a great deal of energy to "exorcistic and militaristic ritual" during the late Sung dynasty and was later patronized by Ming dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.) emperors.⁴²

The Taoist Adepts,⁴³ reflecting the eclectic nature of the Indian Mārīcī, retained the name Mārīcī (Ch. Mo-li-chih) but also gave her the appearance of Candī (Ch. Chun-t'i).⁴⁴ She

⁴⁰M. Saso notes that this association took place during the T'ang and that the texts in the Tao-fa hui-yuan (Taoist canon, Vols. 884-941) which describe this association date from the early Sung. [See Michael Saso, "Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Taoist Ritual" in Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society, edited by Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford, 1974), 334, fn. #16.] However, M. Strickmann assigns the actual association to the late Sung. (Telephone conversation with Michel Strickmann, 26 November 1989.) Since martial texts dealing with Mārīcī in Japan trace their origins to the T'ang and early Sung periods and make no mention of Tou-mu, I here follow Strickmann's dating.

⁴¹Ch. Wu-tang Shan.

⁴²Michael R. Saso, Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal (Seattle, 1972), 6. For additional information on the Wu-tang Shan and its relationship with martial cults see Anna Seidel, "A Taoist Immortal of the Ming Dynasty: Chang San-feng," in Self and Society in Ming Thought, William Theodore de Bary and the Conference on Ming Thought (New York, 1970): 483-531 and, from a more general perspective, Lt. Col. Stanley E. Henning, "The Chinese Martial Arts in Historical Perspective," Military Affairs (December, 1981): 173-178.

⁴³Ch. tao-shih.

⁴⁴Henri Maspero, Taoism and Chinese Religion, Frank A. Kierman, Jr., translator, (Amherst, 1981), 157. See also Henry Doré, Researches into Chinese Superstitions, Vol. VII (Shanghai, 1922), 303-312, for more on Mo-li-chih-cum-Chun-t'i.

was still worshipped under both the guise of Tou-mu and Chun-t'i in mainland China before the Communist Revolution (1949) and can be found in these forms in Chinese community Buddhist and Taoist temples around the world today. The Chinese version of Mārīcī which remains with us today at times seems far removed from her Indian origins, for the Chinese, it appears, carried on the eclecticism of the Indian Tantrics with great vigor. In the case of Mārīcī, this was effected to such an extent that Maspero remarked "this goddess is a rather heterogeneous mixture of ill-assembled Buddhist and Taoist ideas."⁴⁵ This Chinese mixing is not so apparent in the canonical Buddhist texts concerned with Mārīcī, probably because they were fairly accurate translations of, or compilations from, Sanskrit originals.

The major source of information on the development of the Buddhist Mārīcī in China, and in India for that matter, are the various renditions of the Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtra. A number of editions of this dhāraṇī-sūtra were translated or compiled in China at various times and places; only a few surviving today.

Mārīcī also appears in various other Chinese Buddhist sūtras as a minor character and occasionally these references can throw some light on her significance as a worthy in the esoteric pantheon. In most, however, she usually appears in

⁴⁵Maspero, Taoism..., 157.

a minor role; to be placed here or there in the maṇḍala of another divinity (particularly that of Mahāvairocana in texts of the eighth century)⁴⁶ and in lists of deities and their spells (located most often after the Sun God, Sūrya⁴⁷). She is also listed in various places under the epithets of Yang-yen (lit. "Flaming Sun" or "Mirage")⁴⁸ and Wei-kuang (lit. "Awesome or Menacing Brightness"). However, these are minor references. Most of the pertinent information on Mārīcī, especially that which was used in Japan, comes from the dhāraṇī-sūtras devoted to her.

Indian and Chinese monks also translated and composed ritual manuals called i-kuei (J. giki) which were supplementary guides to be used along with the sūtras. Unfortunately, in the case of Mārīcī who was, after all, only one of scores of miscellaneous Buddhist deities imported from India, only a few fragments remain of the i-kuei devoted to her. These are preserved in Japanese commentaries and will be discussed in Chapter 4.

It is useful to divide the Mārīcī dhāraṇī-sūtras received by the Chinese into three historical phases: 1) an initial phase in which the basic components of the cult were intro-

⁴⁶For example see I-hsing's Ta-jih ching i-shih, Manji Zoku-zōkyō XXXVI: 0643a9-10.

⁴⁷Ch. Jih-t'ien.

⁴⁸T. 1124, XX: 532b; T. 1128, XX: 547b; T. 1191, XX: 839b; et passim.

duced into China during the Liang (sixth century) and early T'ang (seventh century); 2) an assimilation phase in which the cult and its texts were brought in line with the standardization processes going on in the mid-T'ang (eighth century); and 3) a late phase in which a new, innovative text appears in the early Sung (tenth century).

While the dhāraṇī-sūtras⁴⁹ are our major source of information, we must also take into account other information sources which supplement these major cult works. An important example of this is the Ta-ch'eng-chi p'u-sa hsüeh lun (T. 1636),⁵⁰ a text which quotes from 101 Mahāyāna sūtras. As noted in Chapter 2, this work was probably composed in India by Sântideva during the seventh century, although it was not translated into Chinese until around 1058-1072.⁵¹ Although little information is given on Mārīcī in this text other than the dhāraṇī, it is extremely useful in helping re-transliterate the various versions of the Chinese dhāraṇī back into Sanskrit. Since the only reference to Mārīcī in the Ta-ch'eng-chi p'u-sa hsüeh lun is a quotation of the dhāraṇī, T. 1636 will not be dealt with separately in this study.

⁴⁹One from the sixth century, one from the seventh, four or five from the eighth century and one from the tenth century.

⁵⁰T. 1636, XXXII: 102c1-17.

⁵¹See Chapter 2, fn. 140, concerning the authorship of this text.

The Initial Phase: Mārīcī in the Sixth and Seventh Century

- The Sixth Century -

As we saw in Chapter 2, Mārīcī was known to the Chinese at least as early as the sixth century Liang dynasty. The earliest major⁵² Mārīcī text extant also comes down to us from the Liang, although its translator is unknown. Entitled the Mo-li-chih-t'ien t'o-lo-ni-chou ching (T. 1256),⁵³ this is a comparatively brief work (it covers only about forty-eight lines in the Japanese edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon). However, it contains the core corpus found in most later translations.

As with all sūtras and kriyātantras, the text begins by setting the scene where the Buddha (Śākyamuni) is about to give a discourse; in this case the familiar grove of the Jetavana Park in Srāvastī. Also, in standard format, he is surrounded by a great assembly of bhikṣus numbering 1,250.

The Buddha begins the discourse with a description of the Goddess Mārīcī:

⁵²Throughout this essay "major" will indicate texts which dedicated to Mārīcī or contain significant portions concerning the goddess. Minor texts are those in which there is only passing reference to Mārīcī.

⁵³Lit. "The Dhāraṇī-sūtra of the Goddess Mārīcī" (Skt. *Mārīcī-devī [or devatā] dhāraṇī-sūtra). T. 1256, XXI: 261b-262a.

There is a goddess named Mārīcī.⁵⁴ She always precedes the sun and moon...⁵⁵

As mentioned above, Mārīcī is often referred to as the "Goddess of the Dawn"⁵⁶ and this line supports the connection with the rays of light preceding the rising of the sun and moon or, perhaps, indicates the morning star.

Following this is a list of Mārīcī's characteristics:

There is no one who can see her, no one who can seize her, no one who can deceive her no one who can bind her, no one who can destroy her wealth. Those who bear malice cannot obtain her abilities.⁵⁷

The listeners are informed that "one who knows the name

⁵⁴Although neither the Chinese term t'ien nor Mo-li-chih-t'ien indicate gender, I have chosen to use feminine endings in reconstructing such Sanskrit terms as devī, devatā, and Mārīcīdevī. I have done this because Mārīcī is almost always referred to as a goddess; her images are modeled after goddesses (Ch. t'ien-nu) in Chinese texts; and her name almost always appears with feminine endings in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts in which she appears. It should also be noted that while various manuscripts of the Sādhnamālā reveal some diversity in the spelling of Mārīcī, e.g. Mārīci, Mārīcī and Mārīci, all are feminine. [See Sād., vol. 1, "Sādhana 132" (Skt. text, p. 274, fn. 1).]

⁵⁵T. 1256, XXI:261c2-3.

⁵⁶See above Chap. 2, p. 28, for similarities with Uṣas, the Vedic dawn goddess.

⁵⁷T. 1256: 261c3-5.

of Mārīcīdevī" will also acquire these characteristics. The use of names of power of various deities is certainly not a practice unique to either India or China. It was observed by Egyptian priests, Jewish mystics, and countless others. With this passage the repetitive, mnemonic character of the text begins to appear.

Next, the Buddha instructs the "sons and daughters of good families"⁵⁸ who know Mārīcīdevī's name to make the following pledge:

I, disciple (so and so), know the name of
this Mārīcīdevī and thus, no one can see me...⁵⁹

Again the characteristics are listed along with the caution concerning malice. After the disciples have recited this passage, they are given the dhāraṇī "which affords protection." Part of the spell is transliterated, evidently attempting to retain the power of the Sanskrit sounds, while most of the dhāraṇī is translated into Chinese:

Tad yathā arkamasi markamasi cīvaramasi
cīvaramasi mahācīvaramasi antardhānamasi.

While traveling on the road, protect me! While not

⁵⁸Shan nan tzu shan nu jen is a standard term used by the Buddha to address his disciples.

⁵⁹T. 1256: 261c10.

on the (correct) road, protect me! During the day,
protect me! During the night, protect me! During
difficulties due to bandits, protect me! During
difficulties due to flood, protect me! During
troubles due to fire, protect me! During plagues,
protect me!

Ākuli! Ākuli! Sovereign Mārīcī!⁶⁰

Kili! Kili! Anti! Anti!

Thus, in all actions, at all times, protect me,
disciple (so and so)! Svâhâ!⁶¹

The terms in the beginning lines of this dhāraṇī, which have been retained in Sanskrit, can be read as deity names (i.e. Arkamasi, Markamasi, Cīvaramasi, Mahācīvaramasi, Antardhānamasi). Three of these, in fact, appear in the "Mārīcī-maṇḍala" section of the Niṣpannayogāvalī: Arkamasi,⁶²

⁶⁰The actual Chinese term found here is Wu-li-chih-ti 利支帝 . I believe that wu is either a copyist's error for mo 摩 , or perhaps it is an alternate transliteration for the Sanskrit sound ma since the Middle Chinese pronunciation for 無 was probably myu. [See Edward H. Schafer, Introduction to T'ang Literature (Berkeley: Department of Oriental Languages, 1981), p. 70.]

⁶¹T.1256: 261c15-23.

⁶²Arkamasi, in the Mārīcī-maṇḍala of the Nṣp. is a goddess the color of a "Pentapetes Phoenicea" flower who holds a needle and thread (accouterments of Mārīcī), located to the east of Mārīcī in the first circle of eight goddesses. ["Mārīcī-maṇḍala" in Nṣp. (Skt. text, p. 40, line 9).]

Civaramasi,⁶³ and Mahâcivaramasi.⁶⁴ All of these deity "names" can also be read as descriptions of Mârîcî: i.e. arkam asi (You are a ray of light) or possibly, (You are the roar of the Maruts),⁶⁵ markam asi (You are the seizer)⁶⁶ and civaram asi

⁶³The Chinese term Chih-p'o-lo-mo-ssu 支婆羅摩私 is often transliterated back into Sanskrit as Civaramasi [see Iwata, Bonbun shingon sho, 52-53]. However, the most probable Skt. original for this Chinese term is Civaramasi. Civaramasi is the name of a goddess located in the Isâna (northeast) direction in the first circle of eight goddesses in the Mârîcî-mandala of the Nsp. (There are numerous instances in which the Skt. sound "va" व is transliterated by the Chinese character 婆 which, in modern Mandarin, is read as p'ô). Later Chinese translations of this and closely related dhâranî (i.e. T. 1257, XXI: 262b7-11) seem to confirm the use of the term Civaramasi.

Interestingly the three other corner deities listed in the text - Udayamasi in the Agni (southeast) corner, Gulmasi in the Nairrta (southwest) corner and Vanmasi in the Vâyu (northwest) corner - are not mentioned in this Chinese text. [See Nsp., (Skt. text, p. 40, lines 14-15).]

⁶⁴In the Nsp., Mahâcivaramasi is a black colored goddess located with the goddess Varâhamukhî (lit. "boar-snouted" or "boar-faced") to the east of Mârîcî in the second circle of eight goddesses in the cardinal directions. [See Nsp., (Skt. text, p. 40, line 16-17).]

⁶⁵Other possibilities for arkam are "...the sun, a flash of lightning, fire, the plant Calotropis Gigantea, copper,...(the roar of the Maruts or Indra's thunder)...etc." MW, p. 89; also Apte, p. 147.

⁶⁶Also, "...the mind, seizure i.e. eclipse (of sun),...a demon presiding over various sicknesses of childhood,...the vital breath which pervades the body...etc." MW, p. 791; also, Apte, p. 745.

In addition to the relationship to the Indo-European roots mentioned above (see Chapter 2, fn. 105), Pokorny also lists a mer-¹ which means "to tie / bind," a root also found in the Middle low German term môren, to tie or moor. [Pokorny, Indogermanisches..., mer-¹, p. 733].

(You, dressed in the rags of a religious monk).⁶⁷

The last deity name / pseudonym for Mārīcī in this list is the term antardhānam asi (You are Invisibility, the Vanisher, the One Who Disappears). This Skt. transliteration would seem to be confirmed by a Sung dynasty translation of the Śikṣāsamuccaya (Ch. Ta-ch'eng chi-p'u-sa-hsüeh lun⁶⁸) in which the Mārīcī-dhāraṇī is written in different Chinese characters - 須多哩馱訶那摩象 . These may be transliterated as antardhānam asi. Several of the situations in which protection is effected, which are actually translated into Chinese - "on the road, protect me, etc." - are also very close to those found in the Sanskrit edition of the Śikṣāsamuccaya.⁶⁹

In the two lines following the translated section, ākuli seems to be "The One Who Confounds" or "The One Who Bewilders."⁷⁰ Since the term can be transliterated back into Sanskrit in the same case, number and gender as Mārīcī (vocative, singular, feminine), ākuli may be interpreted as

⁶⁷Cīvara can also mean "iron filings" and may possibly indicate a relationship to the ritual use of iron in the homa fire of the abhicāra (a rite of exorcism used for subduing forces of black magic, enemies met in battle, etc.). The rite of exorcism became very important in later Chinese translations of Mārīcī texts and, in its battlefield applications, is still preserved in Japan today in selected martial traditions.

⁶⁸T. 1636, XXXII. See Chapter 2 for a brief description.

⁶⁹Śsm., 78, lines 29-30.

⁷⁰Cf. MW, 127.

an epithet of Mārīcī, thus indicating her ability to confound or bewilder the enemies of her followers, much like the Maruts of the Atharvaveda mentioned above.⁷¹ Kili kili turns up in a number of spells as a "defensive mantra"⁷² and may be onomatopoeic for a loud noise.⁷³ Anti anti can mean "in the presence of (a deity)" but its actual use here is rather unclear.

Following this dhāraṇī the Buddha addresses the assembled monks and tells them that anyone, including monks, apprentices, kings, and so on who recites and "single mindedly holds to" the Mārīcī-devī-dhāraṇī will be invulnerable to harm.

Subsequent to the dhāraṇī section a simple ritual is presented which is to be performed in conjunction with the copying of the sūtra and recitation of the spell. The practitioner, again a "son or daughter of good family," is directed to keep to the Buddhist precepts and "pure food" while residing in a single cell. Incense paste should be smeared on the ground and the spell given above should be

⁷¹Ākuli apparently does not appear in either the Nispan-nayoqāvalī or the Sādhanamālā as a deity name. Interestingly, a Russian dialectical derivative of mer⁻² translates as "sleep," "not pay attention." [Pokorny, mer⁻², p. 733]

⁷²Michel Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honor of R.A. Stein*, (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudies Chinoises, 1981), p. 33.

⁷³Edgerton describes a similar term, kilikila, as "...a noise made by the army of Māra, in attacking the Bodhisattva..." [Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid..., vol. 2, Dictionary, 184.]

recited for seven days and seven nights, one hundred and eight times per day. Upon completion of this the practitioner is able to "pass through all military camps and malicious bandits, pacifying (bewildering?) all (who bear) weapons."⁷⁴

This passage is apparently a direct reference to the military/martial applications of the Mārīcī spell which would be of great importance in the evolution of the Mārīcī cult among the Chinese Taoists⁷⁵ and, later, in Japan among the bushi (warrior class).⁷⁶ In establishing Mārīcī's identity as a warrior protectress, it is significant that this first of

⁷⁴T.1256: 262a1-2.

⁷⁵As noted above, Mārīcī as Tou-mu, the Mother of the Dipper, or Tou-lao, the Goddess of the North Star, was to become an important figure in the military Taoism of Wu-tang Shan. This is illustrated in several texts devoted to her in the Taoist Canon such as those dealing with military magic, TT 1016, vol. 34, chapter 14, p. 27454; and the Lu (register) of the Pei chi p'ai (Pole Star Sect of Wu-tang Shan), TT 1215, vol. 47, p. 38222. Interestingly, I have discovered no use of these two epithets in reference to Mārīcī in Japanese Buddhist or martial texts prior to the mid-Edo period (1600-1867).

⁷⁶In Japan, numerous densho (transmission scrolls) of warrior traditions dating back at least as early as the fourteenth century contain references to Mārīcī (Jp. Marishiten/Marishisonten) as a tutelary deity of warriors. Some traditions, such as the Maniwa Nenryū have Mārīcī texts which are devoted to military strategy (i.e. the Marishi-setsu shōgun kyō) while others appropriated Buddhist canonical Mārīcī texts as part of their "secret" traditions. An example of this latter type is the Shingyōtōryū's almost verbatim inclusion of the Mo-li-chit-t'ien t'o-lo-ni-chou ching (here discussed in the "Marishiten-no ben" section of its densho entitled Kan-kō (Swordsmanship), vol. 2. Several combative traditions in Japan which were not the direct product of the warrior class (i.e. ninjutsu traditions) also held Mārīcī in high esteem.

several martial aspects of Mārīcī - the ability to make her patrons "invisible" while bewildering and confusing their enemies - appears in this earliest text devoted to her.

Next, the audience is informed that when one copies the dhāraṇī, the copy should be placed within the copier's top knot or carried within the clothing in order that the body be protected. This being accomplished, "all the group of evils are unable to increase (their ability to) harm you and they (all), without exception, retreat and disperse without (being able to) decisively attack you."⁷⁷

The placing of a copy of the text in the clothing (in later texts this location is prescribed as the kaṣāya for clergy) or in the top knot (in later texts prescribed for laymen) is another common feature found in most Mārīcī texts. Texts which were translated later, however, tend to suggest an image of Mārīcī be worn in the clothing (actually the kaṣāya) or top knot.⁷⁸

Mārīcī also provides protection against disease and this is discussed in the next section of the text. Again the practitioner is directed to reside in a single cell, keeping to the precepts and spreading incense on the floor. This time,

⁷⁷T. 1256: 262a3-4.

⁷⁸The wearing of a Mārīcī image in the helmets of warriors was a custom which survived in Japan at least as late as the Satsuma Rebellion (1877). Various examples of this type of helmet are still available in museums and private collections in Japan.

however, the ritual given above is modified:

...burn various kinds of auspicious incense, set up seven dishes of fruit and rice, covered with a cloth of five colors. Set up five-colored food and "invite"⁷⁹ the devī Mārīcī. Also, (set up) lamps, continuously shining for seven days and seven nights, and chant this Mārīcīdevī-dhāraṇīsūtra two hundred times. All illness demons will, every one, produce a mind of compassion which radiates to those who are diseased, thus, they attain removal of imbalances.⁸⁰

Without a commentary on this text it is impossible to do more than speculate on the specific significance of each of these ritual items to the practitioner. The seven dishes of fruit and burning of lamps for seven days and nights may tie in with the seven stars of the dipper (Ursa Major) and the use of five colored cloth and five colored food may be an early

⁷⁹The character ch'ing can mean either "pray" or "invite." Later texts usually use the character huan which specifies "inviting."

⁸⁰ T. 1256: 262a6-10.

reference to the Five Tathāgatas.⁸¹ The actual meaning is unclear here.

Finally, the Buddha informs his listeners that the Māricidevī-dhāraṇī can also be used to protect one from "a prefectural official who seizes records."⁸² The ritual is similar to the one performed for sickness except that the dhāraṇī must be recited five hundred times. Any "similar boons" from Māricī may be attained, it seems by performing the ritual with additional offerings of food "placed around the seat (of Māricī)."⁸³

Thus, ends this earliest Māricī text. Almost all of the basic elements to be found in later texts are mentioned here: i.e. Māricī's characteristics; a spell of protection; rituals (in coordination with the spell) for protection against various troubles - human (e.g. military and bureaucratic enemies), natural (e.g. water and fire), and psychophysical (e.g. illnesses and illness demons); and the copying and use of the spell as a physical talisman against all evils. The elements missing here (i.e. the wild boar upon which Māricī

⁸¹Indeed, it may be a purely Chinese element as the sixth century is generally considered too early for the appearance of the Five Tathāgatas. The five colors here might be those considered important in Taoist cosmology.

⁸²T. 1256: 262a10.

⁸³Ibid., 262A:13.

rides,⁸⁴ a developed fire ritual, various mudrâ assigned to Mârîcî, descriptions of the goddess, instructions on making the image and altar of Mârîcî, etc.) may very well have part of an oral tradition, not to be written down, at the time this text was translated.⁸⁵

* * *

In this sixth century text we can clearly see the "warrior protectress" elements of Mârîcî which have been carried over and assimilated into Buddhism from her various antecedents. This "conversion" to Buddhism of Mârîcî was apparently so new in this short dhâraṇî-sûtra that the

⁸⁴While Mârîcî's traditional vehicle or "mount" (Skt. vâhana) is a wild boar, this appropriately martial representative of the animal world is absent from the text examined here. It may well have been part of oral tradition at that time, especially if the lay patrons involved in the cult practices of Mârîcî were warriors. The boar has long been a totem of warriors and a symbol of martial prowess in Indo-European cultures. While the boar was associated with a variety of symbolic meanings by the Indo-Europeans, it was primarily seen as a storm demon and a sun and fire symbol (see also supra, Chapter 2) in several European cultures. As a warrior totem, it was often depicted on helmets, pieces of armor and other martial accouterments by the Celts, Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians and others. [See Donald A. Mackenzie, Myths of Crete & Pre-Hellenic Europe, (London: The Gesham Publishing Company, n.d. [c. 1920]), 67-68; Nora Chadwick, The Celts (London, 1971), 161; David Wilson, The Anglo-Saxons (London, 1981), plts. #28 & #29; all works by H.R. Ellis Davidson cited in this paper, etc.]

⁸⁵This is certainly not an unusual occurrence within the esoteric tradition and, even today, oral tradition taught alongside the text is a common occurrence in Japan.

Buddhist elements are minimal; only to be found in the "setting" of the discourse and the relatively benign character of the goddess. No mention is made of Buddhist virtues, or even the more advanced tantric rituals of homa, or consubstantiation of the devotee with the deity. While these all appear in later renditions of the dhâraṇī-sûtras devoted to Mâricî, here we find only the thinnest Buddhist membrane covering the cult of this martial divinity.

The martial aspect, however, is very prominent and begins with the first list of supernatural powers, or capabilities. These attributes are key ones in the development of the warrior-oriented Mâricî cult. Invisibility (no one can see her) and perspicuity (no one can deceive her) are immediately apparent as qualities or abilities desirable for combatants. The abilities to avoid seizure and binding are also useful and here may indicate more than physical entrapment. Various spells with a similar goal were used by other Indo-Europeans - ancient Celtic, Germanic and Icelandic warriors - in order to both place "war-fetters"⁸⁶ upon the enemy and to avoid them being placed upon themselves. The dreaded "war-fetters," a paralysis thought to be the result of hostile magic, left the warrior helpless on the battlefield. H.R. Ellis Davidson quotes Odin's words from the Hávamál:

⁸⁶I.e., Ice. herfcturr.

I know a third: if I should have great need of shackles to put on my adversaries, I can blunt the edges of hostile weapons, and their blades and staves will do me no harm. (148)⁸⁷

This "battle paralysis" has always been of great concern for combatants and has been an important factor in warfare even in the twentieth century.⁸⁸

The meaning of the phrase "No one can destroy her wealth" is unclear in this text, especially as a martial attribute.⁸⁹ As we shall see as we move on to the seventh century, however, one of the many rituals for obtaining supernatural powers (Ch. ch'eng-chiu-fa)⁹⁰ devoted to Mārīcī interprets "wealth" (Ch. ts'ai wu in T. 1256 which is rendered as ch'ien-ts'ai in the seventh century text) as hsien (lit. "mind"). "Mind" in the Mārīcī texts may mean "vitality of mind" or "will," yet

⁸⁷H.R. Ellis Davidson, Myths and Symbols in Pagan Europe: Early Scandinavian and Celtic Religions (Syracuse, 1988), 69.

⁸⁸Evidently many of the well-trained, well-armed, well-led U.S. troops landed on the beaches of Normandy on D-Day, 6 June 1944, were rendered totally ineffective due to combat paralysis. See Stanley W. Davis, "Stress in Combat," Scientific America. 194, no. 3 (March, 1956): 31-32.

⁸⁹Saunders translated this line as "(men) cannot take her possessions." E. Dale Saunders, Mudrā: A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture, Bollingen Series LVIII (New York, 1960), 118.

⁹⁰Jp. jōjuhō; translation of Skt. sādhana. Generically, sādhana are rituals aimed at siddhi (accomplishment or acquisition) of merit or the miraculous powers of a certain worthy.

another important martial aspect. Also in support of interpreting "wealth" as "vitality of mind" is Ashikaga's edition of the Ārya-māricī-nāma-dhāraṇī. There, in a comparable passage in Sanskrit,⁹¹ the term used is "na muṣyate" from the root $\sqrt{\text{muṣ}}$. This root indicates not only "to ravage" or "to plunder" wealth, but also indicates "to blind, to dazzle, to cloud or obscure the mind."⁹² Thus, both the Chinese of T. 1256, pu wei jen chai ch'i ts'ai wu, and the Sanskrit of Ashikaga's text, na muṣyate, can mean that one's mind cannot be blinded or clouded.

The final phrase in this list of powers - "Those who bear malice cannot obtain her abilities"⁹³ - appears to be a benign, Buddhist innovation. Where as the Indian war goddesses contemporary with Māricī - Durgā, (and later) Kālī, Caṇḍī, etc. - were often personifications of "battle fury" and required human sacrifices from their devotees, this Buddhist goddess required the practitioner to eschew malice or hate. In addition to fitting the cult of the warrior goddess into a more Buddhist framework, this emphasis may well have led to a different state of mind for her followers in combat. More on this will be examined in Chapter 7.

⁹¹Iwamoto, Indo-gaku, 81, line 8.

⁹²MW, 824.

⁹³An alternative may be "those who bear malice cannot obtain her aid," the Ch. pien possibly indicating fang-pien, Skt. upāya.

An additional combative association with Mārīcī which was mentioned earlier - the martial association with the seven stars of the Great Bear - does not appear clearly in this dhāraṇī-sūtra. It may be significant, however, that in this earliest text (and in several later ones) Mārīcī rituals should be carried out for seven days. The number seven also seems meaningful in this work as it is the number of bowls of fruit to be offered to the goddess.

As noted earlier in this chapter, the goddess would later come to be called Tou-mu - the Mother of the Dipper (a constellation of seven stars) - by the military Taoist of the Pole Star Sect. While it may be argued that this association was mainly a Chinese innovation, there is evidence that not only Mārīcī but other Indo-European battle deities were identified with the seven stars of the dipper.

Several years ago in an article entitled "An Ancient Military System," Lt. Col. J.G.O. Whitehead hypothesized the existence of Indo-European warrior cults centering on constellations with seven stars such as the Great Bear.⁹⁴ Drawing his information from Indo-European mythology and linguistic connections, Whitehead pointed out several Indo-European warrior fraternities - the vena among the ancient Indo-Aryans, the pheni in Persia, the feinn among the Celts of ancient

⁹⁴Lt. Col. J.G.O. Whitehead (retd.), "An Ancient Military System," Journal of the United Service Institution of India, vol. LXXXI, no. 383 (April-June, 1961): 110-118.

Britain, etc. - and noted that they were all dedicated to a social philosophy based on the constellation of the Great Bear. Citing a "Latin writer" who was in the midst of a war between Rome and the Celts of Britain in 60 A.D., he supported his thesis:

Happy are the folk on whom the Bear looks down,
whom dread of death, the greatest of all fears,
moves not. Hence their warrior's heart hurls
them against the steel, hence their ready
welcome death: for, who were coward enough to
grudge a life sure of its return?⁹⁵

These Celtic warriors, the "folk on whom the Bear looked down," had for their patron protector Arctur, the star charioteer who directed the seven stars of the Great Bear "battle wagon." However, the cult evidently varied somewhat in its content among different groups of Celts and other Indo-Europeans. Whitehead proposed that among the "military caste of kindred tribes" some held the bear (Celtic arc) as their totem while others revered the wild boar (Celtic orc).

It is well known that the pig and wild boar were important symbols of warrior power and fertility to Indo-Europeans such as the Celts. In Welsh Triads, notes H.R. Ellis David-

⁹⁵Whitehead, 110.

son, the legendary King Arthur pursues seven great sows, one of whom is called Henwyn (Ancient White One) and appears to symbolize fertility.⁹⁶ This type of supernatural pig was evidently considered a source of "Otherworld energy" by Celtic tribes.⁹⁷ Celtic warriors even coveted the pig's hindquarters at feasts and fought in single combat to the death in order to claim the roasted meat!⁹⁸

Returning to Whitehead's thesis, each of the seven stars represented a secret social principle (the first five also being associated with the fingers of the hand) and the standard color of these groups of feinn was black. Black evidently stood for selflessness, a quality which the initiates had to demonstrate through severe initiations.⁹⁹

⁹⁶H.R. Ellis Davidson, Myths and Symbols..., 49.

⁹⁷H.R. Ellis Davidson cites J. Carey, "Coll son of Collfrewy," Stud. Celt 16-17 (ii), 171f.

⁹⁸H.R. Ellis Davidson, Myths and Symbols..., 48. Davidson cites several Irish tales including "Bricriu's Feast" [Fled Bricrend, ed. Henderson, Irish Texts Society, 1899; trans. by J. Gantz, Early Irish Myths and Sagas (Harmondsworth, 1981), 225f] and "Mac Da Thó's Pig" [Scéla mucce Maicc Da Thó, ed. by Thurneysen 1935, trans. by J. Grantz (Ibid.), 186].

⁹⁹Lincoln has written extensively on the nature of Indo-European warrior bands (see Lincoln, Priests..., 122-132) while H.R. Ellis Davidson and M. Eliade and others have recounted in detail the initiatory tests of the Indo-European warrior bands [see, for example, H.R.E. Davidson, Myths and Symbols..., 78-89; Mircea Eliade, A History of Religious Ideas. Vol. 2 From Gautama Buddha to the Triumph of Christianity (Chicago, 1982), 162-163; M. Eliade, Rites and Symbols of Initiation (New York, 1958), 81-87; etc.]

Although Whitehead's hypothesis is, as yet, unverified through further research, it certainly indicates the possibility that Mâricî's association with the boar and the seven stars of the Great Bear was martial in nature and pre-dated the appearance of the cult in sixth century China. These elements are not obvious in this text as only a hint of the significance of the number seven is found here and no mention is made of the boar. These elements will surface somewhat more clearly in the seventh century.

* * * * *

- Seventh Century China -

One of the three largest Mārīcī texts¹⁰⁰ appears in mid-seventh century in China. It is included as the first half of chüan #10 of the (Fo-shuo) T'o-lo-ni-chi ching¹⁰¹ (T. 901) - Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras - by the Indian priest Atikūṭa.¹⁰² At first glance, the Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras seems to be little more than an assortment of proto-tantric, magical texts. However, it does contain elements found in the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, a standard "Pure Esoterism" text according to Japanese Shingon. These elements are scattered about Atikūṭa's work, few, if any, appearing in the Mārīcī section.¹⁰³ As with all other Mārīcī texts, the main purpose of her dhāraṇī-sūtra included in T. 901 is perfection of siddhi, (miraculous powers).

The Mārīcī section of T. 901 contains all the elements mentioned in the sixth century text but here we find a great

¹⁰⁰The Mārīcī section of T. 901 covers about four and a half pages in the Taishō Canon. The other two large Mārīcī texts are T. 1254 which covers three and a half pages and T. 1257 which covers about twenty-three. All the remaining texts cover less than one page.

¹⁰¹T. 901, XVIII: 869b-874b.

¹⁰²See supra, Chapter 3, fn. 29.

¹⁰³I.e. T. 901, XVIII: 787c23-25. "First, visualize the four mahābhūtas as virtually (nothing but) śūnyā, having no reality. Next, visualize the five skandhas and know that their nature is śūnyā (and know that śūnyā is their nature)....," etc.

deal of elaboration in the sections on ch'eng-chiu fa; ritual sādhana aimed at acquisition of supernatural powers. In addition, the inclusion of several mudrā, a number of dhāraṇī, and procedures for making images, made this text an important source of Mārīcī cult information in Japan in later centuries.

The introduction of the Mārīcī section is much more elaborate than that of the sixth century T. 1256. Along with a group of great arhats,¹⁰⁴ an innumerable, large group of bodhisattvas (including Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara), Mārīcī and all the devas and nāgas of the "eight quarters" are listed among the group of listeners as the Buddha preaches the sūtra.¹⁰⁵

Next is a short section in which Sāriputra rises from his seat, approaches the Buddha and, after making proper obeisance, asks the World Honored One by what sort of practices will sentient beings of the future, during the third and last period of the dharma, be able to attain avoidance or removal of all sorts of misfortunes. The Buddha responds by reciting the discourse on Mārīcī.

¹⁰⁴The Chinese term used here in T. 901 is ta-a-lo-han, lit. "great arhats;" while that in T. 1256 is ta-ch'iu-ch'iu-chung (possibly a ms. error for ta-pi-ch'iu-chung), lit. "great bhiksus." All other texts which contain this introduction, except T. 1257, use the phrase "great arhats." There are many such minor discrepancies throughout these texts. Unless they are significant to the meaning of the text I shall avoid noting any others.

¹⁰⁵T. 901: 869b27-c1.

* T. 901 - The Core Text: Basic Powers and Spells of Mārīcī *

The Buddha - the World Honored One - begins by explaining the characteristics of Mārīcī. Here she is said to precede the sun but no mention is made of the moon. It is also pointed out that she has methods for achieving mastery of "great supernatural powers."¹⁰⁶ Subsequently her powers are listed and here we find the list has been expanded from that in T. 1256:

No one can see (her), no one can know (her), no one can seize (her), no one can harm (her), no one can deceive (her), no one can bind (her), no one can plunder her wealth,¹⁰⁷ no one can punish (her), and no one who bears malice can attain these powers.¹⁰⁸

Here, as in T. 1256, it is noted that one who "knows the name" of Mārīcī can attain the same abilities. A later Japanese commentary on this section of T. 901 notes that

¹⁰⁶Ch. ta-shen-t'ung-tzu-tsai-chih fa.

¹⁰⁷The character used here is chai¹ (lit. "torment" or "torture"). However, in several texts chai² (lit. "to make a debt") is used.

¹⁰⁸T. 901: 869c8-10.

"knowing the name" means to chant the name."¹⁰⁹

Next, the disciples are given the pledge/request which repeats the characteristics and is essentially the same as in the earlier text but includes the new attributes mentioned above.

Before giving the disciples the dhāraṇī, the Buddha does not here simply say the spell "affords protection." There is some elaboration along with mention of building an altar.

This spell has great supernatural power and thus its perfection can cause the destruction of all evils. If one uses a (Mārīcī) altar, all the group of evils dare not enter within a circumference of one hundred yojana¹¹⁰ (of it).¹¹¹

This is the first mention of a Mārīcī altar. As the siddhi rituals require the use of the altar, a good portion of the text is later taken up with directions for its construction and use.

¹⁰⁹This from the eighteenth century (c. 1736) Himitsu giki denju kuketsu, SZ II: 332a4.

¹¹⁰The actual distance of a yojana is unclear. MW notes that it is about 9 English miles. I doubt that actual distances were meant in such contexts as this and suggest that we simply assume it to mean "a good distance."

¹¹¹T. 901: 869c20-21.

Following this, the dhāraṇī is given and we find a number of variances with the sixth century text. Atikūṭa evidently had access to several Mārīcī texts for three alternative spells are given in T. 901. The first is:

namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namo saṅghāya
tad yathā arkamasi markamasi sutumasi
cīvaramasi mahācīvaramasi marīciyamasi
antardhānamasi namo 'stu te svāhā!¹¹²

Here, possibly to standardize the dhāraṇī in the Buddhist mold, reverence to the Buddha, dharmā (the teaching), and the saṅgha (community of monks) has been added to the beginning of the spell. The first Sanskrit section of the dhāraṇī as given in the sixth century text is then included, almost in its entirety, with the addition of several new terms: sutum asi (?), marīciyam asi (You are a ray of light),¹¹³ and namo 'stu te svāhā (Praise! Hail!).

Atikūṭa subsequently notes that "another source" gives a second version of the spell. This type of statement, plus his commentary note on the following page, indicate that T. 901 is probably in its entirety a collection not only of dhāraṇī-sūtras but also that each sūtra section itself may be

¹¹²T. 901: 869c24-27.

¹¹³The text here does not distinguish between long and short vowels; consequently I have chosen the descriptive epithet marīci- in lieu of the name, Mārīcī.

an "edition" produced by Atikūṭa from the Sanskrit works he had either brought with him from India or found already available in Ch'ang-an. He notes that all the Sanskrit originals are the same (concerning the dhāraṇī). In the "west" (e.g. India, Central Asia), there are many who recite them and keep their traditions in order to attain the benefits thereof. He also notes that both the former and latter spells are efficacious. The second dhāraṇī is quite similar to the first and also resembles that found in T. 1256:

namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namo saṃghāya
tad yathā arkamasi ma[r]ikamasi atumasi¹¹⁴ cī-
varamasi antardhāna[-ya-]masi marīcivaramasi
namo 'stu te svāhā

During difficulties due to rulers, protect me.

During difficulties due to bandits, protect me.

During travel on the road, protect me.

When lost from the road, in the wilderness,
 protect me.

During the day, protect me.

During the night, protect me.

During difficulties due to flood, protect me.

¹¹⁴Ashikaga suggests that this term may be ātmamasi ("You are my own self") although it appears in various texts as utmamasi in the Kyoto University text and adhomasi (possibly from a-dhūm-asi - "You are unshaken, imperturbable"?) in Jōgen's Futsū shingonzō.

During difficulties due to fire, protect me.
 During difficulties due to rākṣa, protect me.
 During difficulties due to dākinī, protect me.
 During difficulties due to poison, protect me.
 The Buddha's true words protect me. The Dharma's true words protect me. The Saṅga's true words protect me. The devas' true words protect me. The ṛṣi's true words protect me.¹¹⁵

Again, here we have not only new items from which the devotee may seek protection - rākṣa (demons), dākinī (female imps), and poison - we also now have the aid of the "true words" (spells) of the Buddha, Dharma (the Buddha's teachings), Saṅgha (community of Buddhists monks), deva (heavenly beings), and ṛṣi (sages). In addition, along with more elaboration on the cult's content we are given a stronger dose of Buddhist elements. Since these items are included in only one of these examples, it appears that these Buddhist elements were included in the originals Atikūṭa used and were not an innovation of his own.

Subsequently, the text reverts to Sanskrit transliteration. A few of the deity names found in the Mārīcī-maṇḍala of the Niṣpānnaḥ - i.e. Alo, Kālo, etc. - appear to be included in this section. The terms are obscure and I have

¹¹⁵T. 901: 869c29-870a11.

not attempted to return them to Sanskrit here.¹¹⁶

Next, is presented the invocation spell for the goddess known as the "Body Spell of the Goddess Mārīcī":

namo ratnatrayāya mārīcī-hṛdaya-mahātejaṃ tad
yathā varāḷī vadāḷī varāhamukhī sarvadustā-
bandha bandha svāhā¹¹⁷

Here, as is often the case, the proper Sanskrit grammatical endings have either been lost in the Chinese transliteration or were not properly represented in the original "Sanskrit."¹¹⁸ The term ratnatrayāya (lit. the "three treasures") is used here as a synonym for the Buddha, dharma, and saṃgha found in the earlier spells of this text. Mārīcī-hṛdaya-mahātejaṃ evidently refers to Mārīcī's essence of "great brilliance" or "fiery energy."¹¹⁹ The two Chinese translitera-

¹¹⁶See Appendix 1.

¹¹⁷T. 901: 870a23-27.

¹¹⁸Many of the extant Sanskrit Mārīcī texts are written in unorthodox or "hybrid" Sanskrit. For more on hybrid Sanskrit, see F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary; F. Edgerton, "Meter, Phonology, and Orthography in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit," JAOS 66 (1946): 197-206; and John Brough, "The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts," BSOAS 16 (1954): 351-375.

¹¹⁹Hṛdaya can mean heart, essence, core, etc. (MW, 1302) while mahātejas refers to great glow, glare, ardor, vital power, spirit, etc. (MW, 454).

tions after tad yathā - P'o-lo-li and P'o-t'o-li - are here rendered as the Sanskrit deity names Varāli and Vadāli. These two worthies are also found in the Mārīci-maṇḍala of the Niṣpannayogāvalī,¹²⁰ the Sādhanamālā, and the Ārya-mārīci-nāma-dhāraṇī.¹²¹ Two similar deity names - Barāli and Badāli - are also found in the Mārīci section of the Śikṣāsamuccaya.¹²² The Chinese P'o-lo-ho-mu-hsi is here returned to Sanskrit as Varāhamukhī (lit. "boar-faced" or "boar-snouted"); a deity name or epithet of Mārīci which appears not only in the Niṣpannayogāvalī¹²³ but also in various sections of the Sādhanamālā.¹²⁴

The Sanskrit sarvaduṣṭā- means "all defilements" and, in the Śikṣāsamuccaya version of this spell, is found in the phrase sarvaduṣṭānām nivāraya, lit. "coverer of..." or "suppressor of all defilements."¹²⁵ Here, however, it appears to be attached to the following term - bandha - which ap-

¹²⁰In the Nsp. are found worthies with the same or similar names; e.g. Varāli (p. 40, line 18 & 22; p. 41, line 1), Vadāli (p. 40, line 19), and Varttalī (p. 40, line 21). Similar references are found in the Sādhanamālā.

¹²¹The names Vadāli and Varāli appear in Ashikaga's AMND, 81, line 26.

¹²²Śsm., 79, line 1.

¹²³The name is found in several places in the Mārīci-maṇḍala. See Nsp., 40-41.

¹²⁴See Sādhana #134 (p. 276, line 16), (p. 277, line 4); Sādhana #137 (p. 282, line 14); et passim.

¹²⁵Śsm., 79, line 1.

parently makes the compound term "binder of (or the one who captures) all defilements."

Again the Buddha addresses the bhikṣus and tells them that one who knows the Goddess, Mārīcī-bodhisattvā,¹²⁶ abolishes all difficulties due to hindrances (e.g. evil passions),¹²⁷ all difficulties due to rulers, bandits, fierce animals and poisonous serpents,¹²⁸ flood, fire, etc. These things from which the devotee is protected are, again, evidently from the core tradition of the Mārīcī cult and can be found in various Sanskrit texts concerned with Mārīcī. For example, the corresponding passage in the Śikṣasamuccaya lists thieves,

¹²⁶Ch. Mo-li-chih-t'ien-p'u-sa; T. 901: 870a28. Again, this line and the following section seem to be taken from another source. This is the only place in this text where Mārīcī is referred to as both a goddess (Ch. t'ien) and a bodhisattva (Ch. p'u-sa). This appellation is used, however in the title of the eighth century (Fo-shuo) Mo-li-chih-t'ien-p'u-sa t'o-lo-ni ching (Skt. *Mārīcī-devatā-bodhisattvā-dhāraṇī-sūtra), T. 1255[A], XXI: 259b-260a.

¹²⁷T. 901: 870a29. The Chinese term used here - chang (Jp. shō) literally means "barricade" or "screen" and is often used for translating the Skt. terms āvaraṇa (hinderance, obstruction) or kleśa (impurities, passions). See O. Rosenberg, Introduction to the Study of Buddhism according to material preserved in Japan and China (Tokyo, 1916), 491, etc. Inagaki equates it with the Japanese bonnō (Ch. fan-nao) - "evil passions" which hinder enlightenment. See Hisao Inagaki and P.G. O'Neill, Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms, A: Based on References in Japanese Literature (Kyoto, 1985), 311.

¹²⁸The term used here, Ch. tu-ch'ung, can mean poisonous worms, insects, and/or serpents. Available Sanskrit editions, however, specify serpents with Skt. sarpa.

rulers, lions, tigers, nāgas, serpents, etc.¹²⁹

The Mārīcī ritual method is said to be the most superlative of all such conjurations and that ghosts, spirits of the dead, and evil people within one hundred yojana of one who holds to this spell are unable to take advantage of that devotee.

Next, directions are given concerning the use of the Mārīcī method with regard to difficulties at the time of practice. The devotee is instructed to begin reciting the above mentioned "Body Spell" at dawn.¹³⁰ Enchanting one ladle of water, he is then told to sprinkle it in the four (cardinal) directions and then on his own body, the lapels of his robe, the sleeves of the robe and the corners of the kaṣāya; chanting one spell for each knot making three altogether.¹³¹ Then, in the case of future difficulties in practice, he should continuously recite the spells (the two long spells listed above) and then proceed with the practice.

Significantly, the text here notes that in all cases where an enemy military commander is causing difficulties for the devotee, these spell methods will cause the enemy com-

¹²⁹Śsm., p. 78, lines 29-30. ...| caurato me rakṣa | rājato me rakṣa | sihato me rakṣa | vyāghrato me rakṣa | nāgato me rakṣa | sarpato me rakṣa |... See also the slightly variant text in the AMND, 81, lines 21-22.

¹³⁰This practice, we saw in Chapter 2, is still carried out in Japan although a simpler spell is used.

¹³¹The three knots are the neck area and two tying places.

mander to become as if drunk and deluded to the point he does not even know himself.¹³² Here the text again points out the efficacy of the power of Mārīcī's spell in combative situations; that is, the ability to delude and confound enemies. Although its content is a bit different from that of T. 1256 where one may "pass through all military camps and malicious bandits, pacifying (or bewildering) all who bear weapons," the import - confusion of the enemy - is the same. Consequently the basic Mārīcī spell and ritual again appear to be primarily aimed at combative use.

* T. 901 - The Mārīcī Image *¹³³

Now we are, for the first time, introduced to directions for making an image of Mārīcī. The image is made for the purpose of making obeisance to the goddess when any kind of difficulties are present. In making such obeisance, all manner of benefits will be obtained. The devotee who desires to attain the benefit of making an offering to the Goddess Mārīcī is directed to make the image as follows:

(The devotee) should use gold or silver or

¹³²Although neither the text nor any commentary I have thus far located specifically state "enemy" commander, the context indicates an enemy general as contrasted with the devotee who has just been taught the spells. I.e., see Himitsu giki denju kuketsu, SZ II: 332a6.

¹³³The following covers T. 901, XVIII: 870b8-b22.

gold-copper alloy or white sandalwood or red sandalwood, etc., in accordance with his means,This is the method for making the image. It should be in the form of a goddess. That image's left arm is bent upward at the elbow. The hand and arm touch the left breast making a fist in front. In the fist is grasped a "heavenly" fan.¹³⁴ The fan is like that "bundled" fan held by the goddess who is located in front of Vimalakīrti.¹³⁵ On the fan in the center, make a Central Asian / Indian sauvas-tika 卐.¹³⁶ This character is like that sauvas-tika found on the Buddha's chest. Within each of the sauvastika character's hooks, make four sun shapes, one on each of them. Above this "heavenly" fan, make a form of blazing light. The right hand/arm stretches from the elbow in a line with the five fingers stretched out. The fingertips hang down. The body length, from the smallest to the largest, is from one

¹³⁴Ch. T'ien-shan, Jp. tensen. This type of fan is often depicted in the hands of Chinese heavenly worthies.

¹³⁵It appears that the term used here - Ch. wei-mo-chieh (Jp. imakitsu) - is an abbreviation for Ch. Wei-mo-chieh so-shuo ching (Jp. Imakitsu shoshô kyô), the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra.

¹³⁶This in contrast to the swastika who's crampons point in the opposite direction.

or two inches¹³⁷ to about a foot and a half.¹³⁸

The one among these that is most desirable is that of one or two inches.¹³⁹

This appears to be the earliest surviving reference concerning the making of the Mārīcī image and this seated, two-armed type is still very common. (See Figs. #1-3). The text subsequently suggests that the artisan should be someone who has received the Eight Precepts¹⁴⁰ and, probably due to the sanctity of the operation, he should daily anoint himself with water and put on pure robes to create it. A prescription is also made against haggling with the artisan over the price of the image and it is suggested the commissioner pay whatever price the artisan demands.

The description of the image continues as two attendant worthies are added, one each at Mārīcī left and right side.

¹³⁷The actual term here is Ch. ts'un. A length of about an inch.

¹³⁸The term used here is Ch. chou² (the length of a forearm; an elbow to the tip of the middle finger according to some practitioners). The term is often used to translate the Skt. hasta; a length of about 18 inches (MW, 1294). See also Rosenberg, 383, etc.

¹³⁹T. 901: 870b8-16.

¹⁴⁰While an artist who had received the Buddhist precepts may have preferable, this was evidently not always the case in India. Snellgrove notes that while the craftsmen who constructed and decorated Buddhist temples in India during the "Tantric Period" were laymen, "they need not have been Buddhist laymen." Snellgrove, "Buddhism in North India and the Western Himalayas...", 68.

(See Fig. #1). These attendants are also made in the form of goddesses with various, glorious adornments.

Subsequently the devotee is informed about the use of the image. If one desires to travel, and is a monk (a bhikṣu), he should wear the image hidden inside his kaṣāya; if a Buddhist layman (an upāsaka), the image should be kept on one's person except when going to the toilet!

* T. 901 - The Seven Esoteric Hand Seals of Mārīcī *¹⁴¹

Next are explained seven seals (hand configurations - Skt. mudrā) for use with Mārīcī rituals. Perhaps in the seventh century the seven mudrā had some significance that was tied in with the seven stars of Ursa Major, however, this text makes no such statement. Later Japanese commentaries only take two of these mudrā - the first and the sixth - as being significant in the cult as it was later transmitted to Japan. The mudrā are as follows:

1. Body Seal¹⁴²

The devotee is directed to fold his hands together, the two little fingers and two ring fingers residing inside the palms, the right pressing against the left. The two index fingers go behind the upper tips and oppose each other. The

¹⁴¹This summarizes T. 901: 870b24-c29.

¹⁴²Ch. shen yin.

two thumbs line up their lengths. Each thumb leans aside the index fingers and the thumbs "come and go." (See Fig. #4.)

The movement of the thumbs here is significant in that it resembles an "invitation" mudrâ; that is one which invites a worthy into a maṇḍala. Later on we shall see it used exactly in that way. This mudrâ is one of the two most important seals of Mārīcī. For the purpose of avoiding confusion when examining later Mārīcī texts, I shall consistently refer to this seal as the Body Seal.

2. Head Seal¹⁴³

This corresponds to the previously mentioned Body Mudrâ. On each hand bend the tips of the upper sections of the two middle fingers touching the thumbs, covering the back. (See Fig. #5.)

3. Crown Seal¹⁴⁴

Again, this mudrâ is similar to the Body Mudrâ. However, here the devotee should change the two thumbs by bending their upper tip sections and inserting them into the palms. This Crown Mudrâ is probably done with the hands on top of the head.¹⁴⁵ (See Fig. #6.)

¹⁴³Ch. t'ou yin.

¹⁴⁴Ch. ting yin.

¹⁴⁵Chiba Shōkan, interview with the author, August, 1989.

Here the text again mentions the wearing of the image in the kaśāya or the topknot. One should evidently make the head and crown mudrā, place the image on the crown of the head, recite the spell twenty-one times and then proceed with his journey. Because of the protection afforded, he will arrive at the destination without having to fear any of the calamities mentioned above.

4. Body Protection Seal¹⁴⁶

This also corresponds to the Body Mudrā. This time, however, the devotee is instructed to change the opening of the two index fingers a little over 2/10 of an inch. The devotee is directed to use this mudrā for protecting the body.¹⁴⁷ (See Fig. #7.)

5. "Joy" Seal¹⁴⁸

This mudrā is rather confusing and, as described here, is not found in standard current day mudrā guides in Japan. After the devotee has pressed the tip of the left thumb to the ring finger's first joint he is then directed to "bundle the remaining four fingers into a fist." Although this makes the Joy Seal appear much like a Vajra Fist Seal in which the thumb

¹⁴⁶Ch. hu-shen yin.

¹⁴⁷I use the Yüan and Ming (T. 901: 870, fn. 24) editions here as they seem more appropriate.

¹⁴⁸Ch. huan-hsi yin.

is held inside the fist, the latter does not require the practitioner to first press the thumb to the first joint of the ring finger.

Upon making this mudrâ the practitioner is then informed that when one chants the spell facing the king¹⁴⁹ and his ministers,¹⁵⁰ those to the front (i.e. the king, etc.) will be "joyful." The use of the Chinese term huan-hsi (lit. "joy" or "gladness" or "pleasure") later on in this text, however, seems to indicate pacification of that which is causing problems for the devotee. In example of this is a sâdhana in which the devotee first burns various offerings along with the chanting of spells. This being accomplished, the ghosts and spirits causing insanity are "joyful" and the illness is cured.¹⁵¹ Consequently it appears that "pacification" may be a more fitting term for hsuan-hsi in this text.

¹⁴⁹The phrase in the Yüan and Ming editions adds the character hsiang (向) (to face toward) before the term lo-she (= Skt. râja); king or ruler. The eighth century Mo-li-chih t'i-p'o hua-man ching (T. 1254), which is very similar to T. 901, also contains the character hsiang in this phrase.

¹⁵⁰While lo-she has a Skt. equivalent in râja, I have not yet found a satisfactory Sanskrit term for t'o-ch'ü-pien. T. 1254 (see previous note) replaces the transliteration t'o-ch'ü-pien with the translated term ch'en-pien, which evidently indicates a minister by the side of the king. (See T. 1254, XXI: 256b6.)

¹⁵¹T. 901: 873c10-13.

6. Concentration of Will [or Invisibility] Seal¹⁵²

The practitioner is directed to bend the left arm so that the palm of the hand faces toward the chest, wrap the four fingers below into a fist, and take the thumb and press it against the index finger, capping the top of the fist. Within the small opening in the palm he should make a hole or socket. Then, he should take the right hand and stretch it out flat. With the right hand he covers the hole's top. Then he must concentrate on it and "imagine" that the palm of the left hand is the divine essence (Skt. hrdaya = heart) of Mārīcī while the palm of the right hand is the body of Mārīcī. (See Fig. #8) Concentrating upon this, the devotee visualizes:

Within the left palm my own body is enclosed,
hidden, residing within the divine essence of
Mārīcī. In this way the goddess¹⁵³ encloses my
body. Mārīcī resides on the crown of my head,
protecting my body. (A notation states that
this is also called the "Good Knowledge Mudrā,"

¹⁵²Ch. mo-nu yin (Jp. manu-in) transliterated from the Skt. manu. According to a Japanese Shingon commentary, manu means "will" or "mind." See Himitsu giki denju kuketsu, SZ, II: 332a9-10. This mudrā is later more commonly referred to as the Invisibility Seal. Apparently there is an association being made between "mind" or "force of will" and invisibility.

¹⁵³The Sung and Ming editions use the term t'ien (goddess) here. The Taishō text, however, here uses the character wen meaning "text." The eighth century text, T. 1254, inserts the name of the goddess - Mo-li-chih-t'ien - in lieu of either wen or t'ien. (T. 1254, XXI: 256b12.)

Ch. hau-chih yin).¹⁵⁴

As mentioned above, this one of the two most important Mâricî mudrâ as it is closely connected with spells of invisibility. It is found in almost all the Chinese texts concerned with the Goddess although it has a number of different names which will be mentioned later. For the purpose of avoiding confusion when examining later Mâricî texts, I shall consistently refer to this mudrâ as the Invisibility Seal.

7. Messenger Seal¹⁵⁵

This mudrâ is almost identical to #6 although an extra operation is required. First the devotee must curl the left hand's four fingers into a hollow fist. He then curls his thumb until it touches the two central fingertips, again making a "socket" as in #6. He must then move his right hand toward the left, until it is located under the left elbow / side / armpit. At this point he is cautioned to not cover the left hand with the right. The five fingers of the right hand are now lined up and spread. He must chant the spell given below seven times. Then and only then, should he move his right hand and unite it with the top of the socket formed by

¹⁵⁴T. 901: 870c20-23.

¹⁵⁵Ch. shih yin.

the left hand. The spell is as follows:

namo mārīcyai sarvasattva [a-hsi-li-sha-li]¹⁵⁶ svāhā |¹⁵⁷

* T. 901 - The Initiation Altar and Abhiṣeka *¹⁵⁸

Next is presented the method for creating the altar for abhiṣeka, the all-important esoteric initiation ceremony. The importance of the baptism is made clear as the text notes that one must first receive the abhiṣeka before practicing the various sādhana for attaining the siddhi or "miraculous powers" of Mārīcī. Through this baptismal ritual the devotee enters the lineage of the cult of his master, a line of spiritual transmission which originates from the goddess herself.

Abhiṣeka is performed within an altar in this text. This altar is actually a mandala; basically a two- or three-dimensional diagram based on the antecedent Mesopotamian or Iranian zikkurat. The zikkurat was a royal city or palace and evidently was constructed to symbolize the universe rotating around the central axis, the throne of the king. The throne

¹⁵⁶ 阿唎唎沙哩.

¹⁵⁷T. 901: 870c28-29.

¹⁵⁸This section summarizes T. 901: 871a1-871b8.

of the king itself was identified with the Pole Star or a mountain "axis" around which the world revolved. By the sixth century these diagrams were being formally organized within Mantrayāna as psycho-cosmograms - meditational aids for realizing the scheme by which the Absolute disintegrates into multiplicity and multiplicity is reintegrated into Absolute Unity.¹⁵⁹ The worthy in the center of the maṇḍala, Mārīcī in this case, is associated with the Cakravartin (universal monarch). This association with royalty is further born out in the fact that the Buddhas in later maṇḍala often wear royal tiaras¹⁶⁰ and their spheres of influence are referred to as buddhakṣetra¹⁶¹ (Buddha kingdoms). G. Tucci describes a typical Tibetan tantric baptism in which the disciple is given such royal emblems as a crown of flowers, a vajra scepter and so on before entering the maṇḍala. This is known as the muktābhiṣeka or "tiara baptism" because the devotee becomes the Cakravartin or Universal King as he becomes "consubstantiated with the Tathāgatas."¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹G. Tucci, The Theory and Practice of the Mandala (New York, 1961), 24-25. See also my chapter on "Stūpa and Mandala" in "A Study of the Development of Esoteric Buddhism," 56-77. M.A. Thesis in Asian Studies, University of Hawaii, 1977.

¹⁶⁰We also find Mārīcī wearing such accouterments in a tenth century text.

¹⁶¹Ch. fo-ch'a, Jp. bussetsu.

¹⁶²Tucci, Mandala, 44-45.

The abhiṣeka here in our seventh century text is not as grandiose as those of later, "mature" Sino-Japanese esoterism or that of Tibetan Vajrayāna. It is extremely interesting, however, as it reflects the proto-tantric developments that were taking place in India and China during the seventh century.

The time for creating an altar for abhiṣeka is given as the fifteenth day of the twelfth lunar month. However, the construction must be begun on the dawn of the eleventh day of the month. The devotee is required to enter into a good state of practice, arrange the location for the construction, exorcise evil things from the area, correctly construct the altar, and perform "body protection," disciplines and rituals. Since these rituals are not described here in detail it may be assumed that the text is here indicating practices described earlier or standardized rituals already commonly known among seventh century tantric Buddhists. We shall find, as we move on to the eight century, that there is also a general progression toward the standardization of esoteric Buddhist rituals which is reflected even in the Mārīcī dhāraṇī-sūtras.

The texts here notes that if "body protection" is performed, this ritual must be initiated at the beginning of the month and should be repeated on each of the eleven days. The spell should be chanted three times each day along with the above mudrā. It should also be done three times for safeguarding the altar.

The body protection mudrâ and spell must be repeated five times at the construction of the altar. As this is done, the mudrâ should be rotated five times to the right. This perfects the altar area.¹⁶³

On the dawn of the fourteenth day, the devotee should again make a large altar area. Casting a spell over ashes seven times, he should then scatter them to the four cardinal directions. For the purpose of "fixing" the inner area, he should make a mud disk in ten layers. One by one he should cast a spell on each layer seven times. Then he should toss away (some mud?) in the eight directions as well as above and below. This area is now called the great altar and in this way it is protected. Next, he must take up incense and water and blend it with earth, making a paste. He should then repeat the plastering of the altar ground. Thus the practitioner has now completed the setting up of the sacred altar area (Ch. tao-ch'ang).¹⁶⁴

Having done that, he is instructed to suspend banners and canopies and various adorned things. Taking a five-colored

¹⁶³Rotation of mudrâ to establish the altar area is still performed today by Japanese tantric practitioners in standard rituals such as the Jûhachidô. In later ritual texts in Japan the mudrâ which establishes the altar is rotated three times. This may reflect the early Buddhist practice of paying homage to the cremated relics of the Buddha by circumambulating the sepulcher (stûpa). See Akira Hirakawa, "The Rise of Mahâyâna Buddhism and Its Relationship to the Worship of Stûpas," Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko No. 22 (1963): 98.

¹⁶⁴Jp. dôjô; Skt. probably bodhimanda.

rope and winding it around the four sides of the altar,¹⁶⁵ he must next take a small measure of fragrant flowers, enter the center of the altar, burn incense and make mudrā.

The devotee, having prepared a sacred palace through these physical and mental operations, should summon the Goddess Mārīcī, make offerings (Skt. pūjā),¹⁶⁶ and circumambulate the altar. Afterwards, he can send her away.

The text seems somewhat abbreviated here as no directions are given as to how to summon, send away, or make the offerings to the goddess. As noted above, the Body Seal appears to be an "invitation" mudrā and would probably be used for that type of operation, although no accompanying spell is given here. The process for the making of offerings is equally obscure. Since the success of such rituals usually necessitates that each operation be done in an exact manner, we may assume that the Mārīcī cult as practiced in the seventh century must have contained additional verbal instructions or ritual manuals which have not survived.

The text continues with direction for the dawn of the fifteenth day. At that time the devotee should take pure cow

¹⁶⁵This five-colored rope became a standard in the Sino-Japanese tradition and is still a common element in esoteric Buddhist altars in Japan.

¹⁶⁶Ch. kung-yang, Jp. kuyō.

dung (Skt. gomaya),¹⁶⁷ mix it with incense water paste and adhere it to the ground of the altar. Here, again, he should use various types of high quality incense to mix with the water. With finely-crumbled, pure soil, the altar ground is plastered one time. After it dries, he should take five-colored powder and spread it over the altar ground causing it to be greatly adorned.¹⁶⁸ The altar itself should be about four feet in diameter.¹⁶⁹ In the center of that altar a lotus seat is to be made. On the top of this seat is placed an image of the Goddess Mārīcī. On the Eastern side is placed the seat of a messenger called Vadāla-śrīyā (or Bādāla-śrīyā),¹⁷⁰ on the Southern side, the seat of the messenger

¹⁶⁷Although generally used by the tantric practitioners in India for 'cleansing' altars and found in many texts translated into Chinese its actual use does not seem to have been transferred to Japan.

¹⁶⁸This practice is used, even today, by Tibetan monks in creating mandala. I viewed this process at a Tibetan Buddhist art exhibition around 1979 at the Parco Department Store in Ikebukuro, Tokyo. It was also performed by the Dalai Lama at the Naritasan Shingon Sect temple in 1984. See "Chibetto mikkyō gomaku," in Chūgai nippō, 18 May 1984, 15.

¹⁶⁹Tendai Rev. Shōshin Ichishima notes that the measurement given here - four chou - is the length from fingertip to fingertip of both arms spread out. Mandala in Japan, whether round or square, tend to be blocked inside a square altar. This text prescribes a round altar so I assume the measurement of four chou is the diameter. However, as we shall see later, water bottles are placed at each of the four corners of the altar so the round altar is apparently constructed on a square.

¹⁷⁰Ch. P'o-to-lo-shih-li-yeh.

named Mārīnī,¹⁷¹ and, on the North side, rests the seat of the messenger named Keśīnī.¹⁷² The Western gate is the place where rests the seat of the Spell Master. (See Fig. #9).

This earliest description of the Mārīcī "maṇḍala" is interesting in that it places no attendant seat on the "Western" face of the altar while the practitioner - the Spell Master - sits at the Western gate. Later, for the various ritual sādhana, the Spell Master resides in the "Western seat."¹⁷³

With the arrival of night, twenty-five cups (of oil) should be lit. Next, five water pitchers (or bottles)¹⁷⁴ are arranged, one in the center and the other four placed at the four corners. After placing the pitchers, various kinds of offerings (pūjā) - incense, flowers, rice cakes, fruit, drinks and food, should be made. The water pitchers should also be

¹⁷¹Ch. Mo-li-ni. The Taishō Index suggests Skt. Mālinī. (See TS. X: 445a.

¹⁷²Ch. Chi-shih-ni. This worthy is also counted among the five messengers of Mañjuśrī.

¹⁷³T. 901: 871b11-12.

¹⁷⁴According to a Japanese Shingon commentary, the Chinese term shui-kuan (Jp. suikan) (lit. "water jar" or "water pitcher") actually means "bottle" (Jp. bin / Ch. p'ing). See Himitsu giki denju kuketsu, SZ, II: 332a11. The bottle itself is also a symbol of Mārīcī as one of the alternate terms for the Concentration of Will Mudrā (#6 above) is "Bottle Mudrā." See Taizōkai nenju shidai yōjūki, SZ, XXV: 331a16-b3.

adorned as described elsewhere in T. 901.¹⁷⁵ Place an assortment of offerings. Finally, the spell master sits on a seat of green grass. He makes the mudrâ inviting the Goddess Mârîcî, and having done that, the mudrâ of various offerings. Leaving the altar area, all remaining drink and food should be scattered for use by ghosts and spirits.

After scattering the offerings, the Spell Master picks up the grass and chants the spell. He must rub the grass from his head to his foot one hundred and eight times and then make the body protection mudrâ. Within the mudrâ he should hold the bundle of grass and place it on the top of his head.¹⁷⁶ One disciple is then dispatched to take the central water pitcher. Next, the water is poured over the head and crown mudrâ of the one receiving the initiation.

This proto-tantric baptism is unusual in its use of a bundle of green grass by the spell master. This procedure certainly did not survive the standardization processes of the eighth century and I have located no one who has ever heard of it being used for Shingon or Tendai tantric initiations in

¹⁷⁵Atikûta is evidently referring to the first chûan of T. 901. There it is noted that water pitchers should be filled with pure water and oak and pear leaves (or leaves and branches) should be used to fill the mouth of the pitcher. Also various kinds of lotus flowers should be bound to the mouth of the pitcher with silk thread. (T. 901: 786a6-8).

¹⁷⁶No commentaries I have located thus far illuminate this passage, probably because this type of abhiṣeka was rarely if ever used in Japan.

Japan. Perhaps an investigation of Saivite practices would turn up something similar.

Although this completes the actual abhiṣeka, the devotee is now directed to put on new, pure robes (those previously used having become dirty and wet) and, performing "body protection," again enter the aitar. The devotee should now single-mindedly concentrate on paying reverence to the Buddha and the image of the Goddess Mārīcī. He should imagine the Goddess consuming a meal of ordinary rice, dry rice, and milk for a meal. This matter finished, Mārīcī is again sent away. (Here also no directions are given.) Afterwards, sweep the area except for the altar. Smear it with mud and dedicate the remaining drink and food. The Spell Master himself and the disciple receiving initiation do not take the food from the altar.

This ends the abhiṣeka section of the text. This particular initiation ritual from seventh century is interesting in that it gives us an insight not only into the Mārīcī cult of that era, but also illuminates the proto-tantric practices which were being carried out at that time in China and India. The Sino-Japanese esoteric Buddhist initiation, however, was to become much more standardized and codified with the appearance of the schools of the great Tantric masters of the eight century - Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and

Amoghavajra - and translations of the Mahāvairocanasambodhi-sūtra (T. 848), the Susiddhikara-mahātantra (T. 893),¹⁷⁷ and the Vajrasekhara-sūtra (T. 865).¹⁷⁸ In Japan it became traditional that all ordained priests of Shingon and Tendai were first initiated into the Jūhachidō - a ritual based on the Susiddhikara-mahātantra, Taizōkai (Skt. Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala) - a maṇḍala centering on the Tathāgata Mahāvairocana and derived from the Mahāvairocanasambodhi-sūtra - the Kongōkai (Skt. Vajradhātu-maṇḍala) - a maṇḍala also centering on Mahāvairocana which is derived from the Vajrasekhara-sūtra, and the Goma, a fire ritual which finds its procedures and regulations in several texts, the most important of which is the Mahāvairocanasambodhi-sūtra. Other initiations might be opted for later but this appears to have been rather a rare occurrence and, at least in current day Japan, this is extremely unusual.¹⁷⁹ Even if a monk received abhiṣeka in additional tantras, those initiations were often of a standardized variety based on the three texts mentioned here.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷Both T. 848 and T. 893 were translated by Śubhakarasiṃha.

¹⁷⁸T. 874 was translated by Amoghavajra.

¹⁷⁹An exception to this appears to be Tendai Rev. Ikuta Kōken of the Bishamondō in Yamashina who sells initiations in a number of maṇḍala.

¹⁸⁰Rev. Miyajima, interview with the author, 25 July 1989; Rev. Chiba, specialist in Tendai Mikkyō at Taishō University, Tokyo, 28 August 1989.

* T. 901 - Preparation for Offerings
and Rituals of Siddhi *¹⁸¹

After the devotee has been initiated into the cult of Mārīcī as described here in her dhāraṇī-sūtra, he may begin to "perform and use all of the great mystical powers."¹⁸² A caution is also given here in the text warning that those who have not yet received initiation under Mārīcī will gain no benefits from the following methods. The first part of the process is to set up an altar for offerings which is very much like that one constructed for the abhiṣeka.

As in the abhiṣeka above, the devotee is directed to make a round altar. This is to be accomplished in a purified "single cell" where cow dung is then smeared on the floor in squares and circles of one, two or four feet.¹⁸³ In the center of this altar is placed a Mārīcī image. The practitioner daily purifies himself before proceeding with the practice by bathing or, at least, rinsing his hands and washing his mouth, before entering the bodhimāṇḍa. The Spell Master¹⁸⁴ resides in this altar's western seat and the front of

¹⁸¹This section is a summary of T. 901: 871b8-c6.

¹⁸²T. 901: 871c8-9. The term used here for "great mystical powers" is Ch. ta-yen (lit. "great fulfillment"), something like Skt. siddhi.

¹⁸³This is much like the siddhi section found at the end of the sixth century text. (T. 1256: 262a6-10).

¹⁸⁴It appears the devotee who has received the abhiṣeka is here referred to as the Spell Master.

the altar faces East.

Next, Mārīcī is invited to reside in the center of the altar. (Again, no details are given on how this is done.) Inexpensive, finely crumbled incense and all kinds of good incense are burnt and various kinds of pūjā are offered. Daily the devotee should chant the spells, one hundred and eight times at a sitting. The text also notes that some practitioners chant the spells one thousand and eight or eighteen thousand times.

The Spell Master is then directed to take a pinch of sesame seed and ordinary rice and mix them together. Moving to the front of the altar, he should burn them in the fire pit located there.¹⁸⁵ As he burns each pinch of grain, he should chant a spell over it. This is repeated one hundred and eight or one thousand and eight times. A warning is given here charging the practitioner to guard against distractions.¹⁸⁶

Offerings should again be made each day from the first to the fifteenth of the month. The amount should be in accordance with the devotee's means and should consist of drink and food, (clarified) butter,¹⁸⁷ honey, milk, sour

¹⁸⁵No description is given of the fire pit in this text. It is simply referred to as a huo-lu; e.g., a "hearth."

¹⁸⁶The practitioner warned that "the continuity of (his) mind and mental conditions [Ch. hsin-hsin (Skt. citta-caitta-samtāna)] must not become bound to other things." T. 901: 87ib18-19.

¹⁸⁷The Sung and "Kung" editions replace su 酥 (curds, butter) with su 蘇 (thyme). [p. 871, fn. 7].

milk,¹⁸⁸ fruit, flowers, incense, and lantern light. Alcoholic liquor, meat and the "five forbidden and pungent roots"¹⁸⁹ should be avoided. It is also noted that the devotee may wish to double the offering and "complete a full one hundred-thousand repetitions of the spell." The offerings should be placed on the altar which has been properly constructed.

The fifteenth day of the twelfth lunar month is recommended for the making of this altar in order that the siddhi method be successful. Alternate dates are also suggested such as the first day of the first month a Keng-tzu year.¹⁹⁰ As for the remaining months the building can be done on the first day.

The design of this altar is apparently much like that of the one described above for initiation. Five colors are again used to make the altar although how these colors are arranged

¹⁸⁸Ch. lao 酪 , Sk. dadhi. A thick, sour milk.

¹⁸⁹These are "...garlic, three kinds of onions, and leeks." This exclusion of these items seems very "Chinese" and may have been an accommodation made by Atikūṭa.

¹⁹⁰The terminology here is also a little odd as the texts states the "first day of the first month of a Keng-tzu 'day'" (Ch. jih) as opposed to a Keng-tzu "year" (Ch. nien). T. 901: 871b24-25.

is not stated specifically in this text.¹⁹¹ Mārīcī is again located in the altar's center with Vadāla-śrīyā to the East, Keśīnī to the North and Mārīnī to the South. The Spell Master goes to each worthy in sequence - Mārīcī, Vadāla-śrīyā, Keśīnī, Mārīnī - inviting each of them to come to their "base seat." Next he makes various offerings to the worthies in order to increase the chances of success in the siddhi rituals. This completed he takes his place in the seat in the West, facing East. Subsequently he chants the spell one thousand and eight times and makes various offerings, thus completing this in seven days. After that he sends away the worthies.

Atikūṭa here notes that there is another method. If this particular ritual is performed on days when there is an eclipse of the sun, the devotee will attain great mystical power. This may indicate Mārīcī's special relationship with Rāhu, the Indian asura who was thought to cause eclipses of the sun and moon. However, there is no elaboration in the text on this point.

Next Atikūṭa presents yet another method for siddhi preparation. We need not examine this one here as it adds

¹⁹¹In the Mārīcī-mandala of the Nṣp., colors are fixed according to the Tathāgatās of the cardinal directions: White for deities emanating from Vairocana (or Śāśvata) in the Center, blue for deities emanating from Akṣobhya in the East, yellow for Ratnasambhava in the South, red for deities emanating from Amitābha in the West, and green for deities emanating from Amoghasiddhi in the North. See Nṣp., 41, lines 12-16.

little new information that was important to the later cult practices of Mārīcī.¹⁹²

After the devotee has performed the above preparations, he is ready to practice the various ritual sādhana for cultivation of siddhi; miraculous powers. These rituals take up most of the remainder of the text¹⁹³ and, briefly, include those for: 1) protection while travelling a great distance;¹⁹⁴ 2) attaining the great wisdom of a master of debate;¹⁹⁵ 3) attaining protection from harm from birds, animals and/or poisonous serpents while residing in the mountains;¹⁹⁶ 4) obtaining a vision of Mārīcī (from whom he may obtain various boons such as the joy (or pacification) of all devas);¹⁹⁷ 5) making "joyful" (or pacifying) the ruler and his ministers,¹⁹⁸ all kavaca-yakṣa,¹⁹⁹ ghosts and spirits,²⁰⁰ all river spirits,²⁰¹

¹⁹²This method, which is similar to those already mentioned, also includes the use of a "Buddha Ganapati Spell" (Ch. Fo Chia-na-po-ti yi-chou) [T. 901, 871c11-19] to exorcise problems due to "hindrances." (See supra, fn. 128).

¹⁹³T. 901: 871c27-874b2.

¹⁹⁴T. 901: 871c27-29; 872b14-16.

¹⁹⁵T. 901: 872a6-8. The Chinese term used here - lun-shih can be interpreted as "śāstra-writer or interpreter," i.e., a philosopher of the Abhidharma or Mādhyamika schools.

¹⁹⁶T. 901: 872a9-10.

¹⁹⁷T. 901: 872a11-18.

¹⁹⁸T. 901: 872a19-24; ____.

¹⁹⁹This term is unclear but appears to mean "armored" supernatural beings. Although the Skt. kavaca may literally mean "armor" or "mail" it may also refer to a mystic syllable used as a mantric talisman. See MW, 264.

all evil ghosts and spirits,²⁰² other people,²⁰³ etc.;²⁰⁴ 6) curing fever;²⁰⁵ 7) entering a graveyard without fear;²⁰⁶ 8) attaining wisdom;²⁰⁷ 9) attaining a miraculous experience which words cannot describe;²⁰⁸ 10) curing hemorrhoids;²⁰⁹ 11) overcoming a plague (due to rampaging ghosts and spirits);²¹⁰ 12) curing muteness;²¹¹ 13) aiding in a difficult birth;²¹² 14)

²⁰⁰T. 901: 873c1-3.

²⁰¹T. 901: 873c4-5.

²⁰²T. 901: 873c6-8.

²⁰³T. 901: 874a16-21.

²⁰⁴T. 901: 873c9-10; 874a9-10; 874a11-12; etc.

²⁰⁵T. 901: 872b8-9.

²⁰⁶T. 901: 872b10-13.

²⁰⁷T. 901: 872b21-28.

²⁰⁸T. 901: 872b29-c17. This is a rather elaborate pūjā which requires exotic materials such as refined Sumatran camphor (Ch. lung-nao-hsiang). The inclusion of this substance may indicate that Southeast Asia may have been the origin of this particular ritual. (Rev. Shōshin Ichishima, interview with the author, November 1989).

²⁰⁹T. 901: 872c18-21.

²¹⁰T. 901: 872c24-873a25. This is a relatively long ritual in which the devotee builds another round altar. In this altar are placed one hundred images of demons - made from river mud - which have animal heads and human bodies. The "king" of these demons is Vināyaka whose head is that of a white elephant. By tying up the demons with a five colored rope and burning calf dung in a fire, the demons and the plague they represent are controlled.

²¹¹T. 901: 873b1-2; 873b3-4.

²¹²T. 901: 873b9-10.

curing poisonous serpent bites;²¹³ 15) curing boils;²¹⁴ 16) curing anxiety when one encounters those born of, or whose behavior is like, wild animals (i.e. a brute);²¹⁵ 17) attaining great, miraculous powers through a vision of Mārīcī;²¹⁶ 18) attaining "wealth";²¹⁷ 19) attaining the binding of demons;²¹⁸ 20) attaining a healing or happiness(?);²¹⁹ 21) overcoming or disrupting others;²²⁰ etc.

Many of these siddhi have several variations as noted. Since most of these appear to have little to do with Mārīcī's central, martial function, we need not examine more than one or two in order to get an idea of what the practices were.

For instance, if we examine siddhi number three from the above list - Attaining protection from harm from birds,

²¹³T. 901: 873b16-21; and including harm from birds and animals, 873b22-23.

²¹⁴T. 901: 873b24-25.

²¹⁵T. 901: 873b26-29. The Chinese term used here - ch'u-sheng - has come to be used as a curse in Japan (Jp. chikushō) when addressing a brute or enemy.

²¹⁶T. 901: 873c14-26. Here fasting may be required (873c25) before the great, miraculous powers (Ch. ta-ling-yen) is effected.

²¹⁷T. 901: 873c26-29. "Wealth" is here equated with Ch. hsien (vitality of mind). On the following page - 87413a15 - no such distinction is included.

²¹⁸T. 901: 874a1-3.

²¹⁹T. 901: 874a6-8. The Chinese term here - she-lo-chia - may possibly be a transliteration of Skt. jalāsha; lit. "healing" or "happiness."

²²⁰T. 901: 874a25-b2.

animals and/or poison serpents while residing in the mountains - we find that first the practitioner "imitate the previous ritual." This refers back to the ritual in which the devotee must make round altars, day by day, for seven days; invite Mārīcī and place her in the altar; make a hearth in which to burn grain and wood. In the fire burn regular rice, white rice, and sesame seeds in one hundred and eight repetitions, of course chanting spells with each offering.²²¹ This ritual for protection from harm, however, requires the burning of butter²²² along with one hundred and eight repetitions of the spell so that "all birds and animals and poison serpents cannot harm you."²²³ Most of these rituals for attaining miraculous power are much like this one.

The final siddhi ritual is also of interest as it returns us to Mārīcī's main characteristic; the ability to confuse or overcome enemies. Here, again, one must bathe, make a round altar, invite Mārīcī, etc. Then her spell must be chanted one hundred thousand times. This should be completed within seven days without any "discontinuity." Upon completion of the required number of spells, the devotee says the word "altar," and "in this one sound the altar is established."

²²¹T. 901: 872a1-6.

²²²As above (fn. 162), different editions of the text may contain either the character su (curds, [clarified?] butter) or su (thyme).

²²³T. 901: 872a9-10.

At this point, without making mudrā or enchanting ashes, etc, the practitioner will attain all of his requested boons. No problem-causing things will be able to approach him and he will be able to overcome/disrupt any other people's efforts. (A note is added here clarifying that the term "other people" means "evil people who are not of 'the way';" [in other words, not Buddhists.]) "Therefore," concludes this section, "the spells of perfection of the Goddess' supernatural powers thus cause this to be accomplished."

* T. 901 - Mārīcī's Narration *²²⁴

After this final ritual, the Goddess Mārīcī takes up the narration of the text and describes, in brief, a Mārīcī image "three fingers wide and three inches long" made from purple oak.²²⁵ This image, in a like manner to the one described previously, is a female one with two attendant goddesses. This figure also has a small roof over it. The image should be hidden in one's clothing (layman use is not specified here) and should always be kept close to one's body. It should be kept secret from others and many spells should be cast upon it.

If one desires boons from Mārīcī, again a pūjā ritual

²²⁴T. 901: 874b3-15.

²²⁵"Purple oak" as a combustable is evidently mentioned in several texts of this period. See Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," 433 fn.

with a round altar is prescribed. The image should be placed inside the altar and the goddess invited after which various offerings are made including one hundred and eight lotus flowers, sesame seeds, regular rice and white rice. A new item here is that the text suggest holding the small image during the practice in order to attain various siddhi.

* T. 901 - The Closing of the Text *

The World Honored One gave his "Seal of Ability"²²⁶ saying, "Excellent, excellent is that which you have now explained. I am overjoyed for it benefits all sentient beings." The Buddha thus spoke this discourse and those monks and nuns,²²⁷ devotees (laymen and laywomen,²²⁸ kings, great ministers and all people) whom he addressed, hearing the Buddha's explanation of this Mâricî-devatâ-dhâraṇî and single-mindedly holding to it, were unable to be harmed by any evil. Any bhikṣu or any person who can write, copy, read, chant, re-

²²⁶Ch. yin-k'o; Jp. inka.

²²⁷Skt. Bhikṣus and bhikṣunî.

²²⁸S. . upâsaka and upâsikâ.

ceive and hold to this discourse, or wear it in their topknot or within their clothes so that it accompanies their body (person) and their practice is one from whom all the group of evils retreat and scatter and without daring to strike. Therefore, the surrounding sentient beings, devas and nāgas of the eight classes, all saluted the Buddha and, filled with joy, left that place.²²⁹

Thus ends the Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtra found in T. 901, the Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras.

This text was an important one in the development of the Sino-Japanese Mārīcī cult. The inclusion of several sections concerned with the making of the image of the goddess, detailed descriptions of the seven mudrā, and instructions on altar making caused it to be one of the most often quoted sources used by medieval Japanese commentators. As we have seen, Atikūṭa collected and researched several editions of Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtra in order to compile this one and thus its comprehensiveness remained unequalled until the tenth century.

Although the core dhāraṇī and Mārīcī's basic attributes and supernatural powers were already known to the Chinese

²²⁹T. 901: 874b15-24.

(from the sixth century Liang text), a number of new elements introduced in Atikūṭa's compilation became standard: i.e. the description of the image, the Body Seal and Invisibility Seal, and several of the miraculous powers.

An obscure but extremely important addition (or revelation) in this text is the introduction of one of Mārīcī's epithets contained in the Body Spell: that is Skt. varāha-mukhī, the "boar-faced one." No explanation of this term is given in this text and the term itself remains in transliterated Sanskrit. We shall find in the tenth century, however, that this boar epithet becomes a most prominent aspect of the goddess. In addition to the boar epithet we also find several places in this text where the number seven is prominent. Seven Seals (mudrā) are given for ritual use and, in several places, seven repetitions of spells are required; i.e., the spell used with the Messenger Seal, the spell to be cast over ashes in creating the abhiṣeka altar, and the spells used with each of the mud layers of the altar. In addition, the number of days required for several of the siddhi rituals is seven. Again, while the martial relationship between Mārīcī, the seven stars of the Dipper, or the boar may have been transmitted within an oral tradition paralleling this text, no direct statement of any such relationship is made here.

Many of the other elements and innovations of this text would soon fall into disuse due to the standardizing trends

of eighth century Sino-Japanese esoterism and the great tantric masters of that time. It is to that era that we must journey to observe the further "evolution" of the Mârîcî cult.

CHAPTER 4: The Buddhist Mārīcī in China,

Standardization and Innovation

- Eighth Century Standardization -

The process of standardization and assimilation of the Mārīcī cult into a Buddhist mold accelerated in the eighth century with the rise of Chinese Mi-tsung (the esoteric school). The goddess is found in many miscellaneous texts of this period and it will be worthwhile to have a brief look at them before exploring Chinese translations of the dhāraṇī-sūtra devoted to Mo-li-chit-t'ien.

A number of minor texts appear in the eight century in which Mārīcī and her spells are collected along with those of other worthies in lengthy lists. The goddess is usually found in these collections following Jih-t'ien (Sūrya, the Sun God) or She-ya-p'ishe-ya (Jayavijaya) who himself usually follows Sūrya or Mārīcī.¹ The great majority of these appearances of Mārīcī in other texts, however, provide little additional information on the character of Mārīcī cult practices. In all of these minor texts² Mārīcī plays an insignificant role. For example, Mārīcī is included among the scores of worthies of the Womb Realm Maṇḍala which originates in the Mahāvairocana-

¹See, for example, T. 852, XVIII: 124a; 140c; T. 853, XVIII: 162c; etc. where Mārīcī and Jayavijaya are placed alongside Sūrya's chariot.

²"Minor" in the sense that they are of little importance to the development of the Mārīcī cult.

sambodhi-sûtra. However, her role is no greater than any other secondary figure.

Several texts and manuals by Subhakarasiṃha and his Chinese disciple I-hsing include brief descriptions of Mārīcī. In the She-kuei (T. 850, XVIII),³ a ritual manual also concerned with the Womb Realm Maṇḍala, a spell for Mārīcī is given - namah samanta buddhanan mārīcī svâhâ - alongside one for Sûrya - namah samanta buddhanan adityâ svâhâ.⁴ This pair is evidently closely associated and, as we shall see, later their two spells seem to become combined. Prior to these two spells, one mudrâ for Mārīcī is also given. This text describes, in very simple terms, the Invisibility Seal of T. 901. However, here it is called the Mārīcī Jeweled Bottle.⁵ The text notes that when any problems afflict the devotee, he should visualize his body within the "wisdom fist" (formed by the left hand) and cover it (with his right hand). He will be hidden from all beings, both heavenly and human.⁶ An interesting reference to this description is found in a twelfth century Japanese text which notes that Mārīcī's

³The full title of this work is the She Ta-p'i-lu-che-na ch'eng-fo shen-pien chia-ch'ih ching ju lien-hua t'ai-tsang hai hui pei sheng man-ch'a-lo kuang-ta-nien-sung i-kuei kung-yang fa-pien hui.

⁴T. 850, XVIII: 80c11-14. As is often the case, the Chinese does not clearly indicate the proper grammatical endings for the components of the Sanskrit spells.

⁵T. 850: 80b19-21. Ch. Mo-li-chih pao-p'ing.

⁶Ibid.

"heavenly fan" symbol has the same meaning as that of the jeweled bottle;⁷ that is, "invisibility."

Amoghavajra, who spent many years in China and died there in 774 A.D.,⁸ became the major figure in the standardization of the Mārīcī cult in the eight century. Not only did he translate and edit the majority of the texts from that century dealing with the Goddess, he also wrote or translated a ritual manual entitled the Mo-li-chih-t'ien i-kuei which contained information on the goddess's mythological background. Amoghavajra's ritual manual appears to be no longer extant but we do find it quoted in a twelfth century Japanese text called the Denjushū. The story is essentially as follows:

When Rāhu-cittani-asura assaulted Indra's palace in an attempt to abduct Sācī, Sūrya-deva and Candra-deva fired pure light which dazzled the asura. Rāhu attempted to reach out his hand to take hold of Sūrya and Candra but Mārīcī, appearing in the form of a young child, concealed the palace along with Sūrya and Candra and perplexed the asura. Now this is the ritual method of invisibility...⁹

⁷That is the Gyōrin(shō), T. 2409, LXXVI: 468a4.

⁸T. 2157, LV:890a8.

⁹Denjushū, T. 2482, LXXVIII: 242c20-26.

Later Japanese texts elaborate upon this story¹⁰ but this shorter reference appears to be from Amoghavajra's original. Japanese commentators, following Amoghavajra's ritual manual, take the story as an illustration of Mārīcī supernatural powers of producing invisibility and confusion of enemies.

Amoghavajra brought the cult of Mārīcī to the T'ang imperial house and is said to have initiated the emperor Hsüan-tsung (r. 712-756) into the Mārīcī protective ritual prior the emperor receiving abhiṣeka.¹¹ Later, in 762 A.D., the renowned monk presented the Emperor Tai-tsung (r. 762-779) with a sandalwood image of Mārīcī, which he had carved himself, along with a copy of the Ta-fo-ting t'o-lo-ni written in an Indian script.¹² These initiations and presentations are significant since the mid-eighth century was a particularly difficult time for the T'ang emperors. A civil war had begun with the An Lu-shan's rebellion in 755 and lasted until 763. Shortly after the end of that conflict the Chinese capital at Ch'ang-an fell to Tibetans and the emperor was forced to flee the city. Japanese sources¹³ indicate that these presentations

¹⁰See the Kakuzenshō, NBZ, L: 252a6-b13; Asabashō, TZ. IX: 467c3-468a25. For example, Shōchō's Asabashō references various other texts such as the Lotus Sutra, Nirvana Sutra, and others, concerning the cosmic events in this story. These referenced texts, however, make no mention of Mārīcī's involvement in those events.

¹¹See the Zusōshō, TZ. III: 50c6-7.

¹²Ch. Chou-san-shou ching, T. 1338, XXI: 640a-b.

¹³See, for example, Eijū's Zuzōshō, TZ. III: 50c4-7.

and initiations into the Mārīcī cult were performed for the purpose of securing protection and victory for the emperors; an interesting parallel with the Iranian tradition in which Mithra was the patron protector and source of victory for the Persian kings.

Unlike the seventh century Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras (T. 901), there is little "new" information on the Mārīcī cult found in the major Mārīcī texts of the eighth century, although a number of translations do appear. Four, possibly five,¹⁴ texts remain to us today, most of them translations attributed to Amoghavajra.

Two of these texts are collected under T. 1255; e.g. the (Fo shuo) Mo-li-chih-t'ien p'u-sa t'o-lo-ni ching (T. 1255[A])¹⁵ and the (Fo shuo) Mo-li-chih-t'ien ching (T. 1255[B]).¹⁶ T. 1255[A] is very much like the first sections of the Mārīcī text in Atikūṭa's Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras (T. 901). They are so similar, in fact, that one wonders if

¹⁴There are five if we include T. 1259, XXI, the Mo-li-chih-t'ien yi-yin-fa. The editors of the Mikkyō daijiten, vol. 5, p.2089A:6, place this text in a list between Amoghavajra's eighth century texts and T'ien Hsi-tsai's tenth century text. I have found no translation date for this work and its translator (assuming it is a translation and not a Chinese compilation) is unknown.

¹⁵T. 1255[A], XXI: 259b-260a. The Taishō editors make no distinction in numeration between this text and T. 1255[B]. Since they are two different editions, however, I distinguish between them here with the addition of the letters [A] and [B]. In addition, the Himitsu giki zuimonki (go-kan) deals with 1255[B] as a separate text. See SZ, I: 105b.

¹⁶T. 1255[B], XXI: 260b-261b.

Amoghavajra actually translated this eighth century text or if it is simply an abbreviated copy of the earlier text with Amoghavajra's name attached. Probably one of the most significant features of T. 1255[A] is that its title refers to Mārīcī as a bodhisattvā as well as a goddess. The title of bodhisattvā occurs only once in the seventh century T. 901.¹⁷ In contrast to T. 901, T. 1255[A] contains none of the corpus of miscellaneous rites for obtaining siddhi and may be passed over here without further comment.

The (Fo shuo) Mc-li-chih-t'ien ching (T. 1255[B]) contains a number of variances with T. 901 which we should examine here. In T. 1255[B], Mārīcī precedes the sun and moon (as in the sixth century T. 1256); a contrast to T. 901 in which she precedes only the sun. In addition, the Chinese terms jih (sun) and yüeh (moon), which were found in the sixth century text, are here replaced by the deity names Jih-t'ien and Yüeh-t'ien (<Skt. Sūrya and Candra). There are also a number of changes in location of some of the material found in earlier texts, but with little modification. In addition this is apparently the earliest text in which Mārīcī is referred to by the Chinese term t'ien-mu, one of the many epithets used by the Chinese Taoist in their version of the

¹⁷T. 901: XVIII: 870a23. See supra, fn. 124.

Mâricî cult.¹⁸

Although the core dhâraṇī contains some variation,¹⁹ the most significant developments in this text are ritualistic; i.e., the addition of several spells, or phrases in spells, and mudrâ, some of which were to become standards of the Sino-Japanese esoteric tradition. The first of these is the Mind Spell:²⁰

namaḥ samanta-buddhânān oṃ mâricî svahâ

The phrase used here - namaḥ samanta-buddhânân - (lit. "reverence to all Buddhas") became a common one in tantric rituals in the eighth century and can still be found today as a prefix to other spells in the standard ritual texts used by

¹⁸T. 1255[B]: 260b16-17. As a proper name T'ien-mu is also a common pseudonym for Tou-mu, the Mother of the Bushel (Dipper) and Goddess of the North Star, Mâricî. [E.T.C. Werner, A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology (New York, 1961), 507.] Sawa explains T'ien-mu (J. Tenmu) as another name for Kishimojin (Skt. Hâritî). [Sawa Ryûkei, Mikkyô jiten (Kyoto, 1975), 515.] The term t'ien-mu in this text, however, simply means "goddess." There are other texts of this period in which this term is used. For example, see the Fo mu ta-k'ung-ch'iao ming-wang ching (T.982, XIX: 429b26-429c13), where twelve goddesses (t'ien-mu) with supernatural powers are mentioned. Although Mâricî is not listed among the twelve, Vârâhî (the boar goddess with whom Mâricî became confused in China) is found in the list.

¹⁹There is some addition after namo 'stu te. However, the terms are rather unusual - perhaps the Sanskrit was corrupt - and a translation will not be attempted here.

²⁰Ch. hsien-chen-yen.

Japanese Shingon and Tendai practitioners.²¹ We will also find in later centuries that this prefix is often dropped so that the Mind Spell becomes: om mārīcī svāhā.

After this spell, the Buddha directs devotees of Mārīcī to recite the now standard request for protection from various difficulties; i.e. rulers, bandits, etc. In this version, however, some new additions are included such as "problems caused by armed soldiers in military encampments."²² Also added in this list are ghosts and spirits of the dead; evil demons; violent, evil beasts; poisonous serpents; and malicious, evil people;²³ in other words, several of the situations for which T. 901 provided rituals of power.

The Buddha then notes that when any good son or daughter, bhikṣu, etc. have any kind of trouble, if they then sincerely recite the Mārīcī-dhāraṇī, they will immediately attain the benefits of it.²⁴ This is an important statement for lay followers who might not find it practical to perform complicated priestly rituals involving great expenditures of time and the creation of elaborate altars and pūjā. Essentially

²¹This spell became common in later "standardized" Japanese tantrism. See Yukio Hatta, Shingon jiten (Tokyo, 1985), a work on tantric spells of the Sino-Japanese tradition, where this phrase is so common that it is abbreviated to N-S-B in front of most spells.

²²T. 1255[B]: 260c10.

²³T. 1255[B], 260c11-13.

²⁴T. 1255[B], 260b16-19.

we see here that to obtain Mārīcī's basic powers of protection and invisibility, one need not perform any of the elaborate siddhi rituals of T. 901! One must simply recite the Mārīcī-dhāraṇī in a sincere manner.

In addition, at the time of chanting the devotee should smear incense on his hands and make the essential mudrā. Again there are seven, although they are not the seven mudrā of Atikūṭa's seventh century text. This new set of seven is also interesting in that it does not exclusively contain Mārīcī-specific seals as in T. 901; some of them being mudrā which, obviously by the eight century, were becoming "standard" for the proper performance of a variety of tantric rituals.

As mentioned above, the standardization of Sino-Japanese esoteric rituals came to be based on the three major tantric texts translated into Chinese during the eight century; the Mahāvairocanasambodhi-sūtra (T. 848), the Susiddhikaramahātāntra (T. 893),²⁵ and the Vajrasekhara-sūtra (T. 865).²⁶ This is reflected in later Japanese ritual manuals, composed during Japan's middle ages, which are based on these texts. The four major ritual manuals also represent four initiations into which the practitioner is introduced. These four are the

²⁵Both T. 848 and T. 893 were translated by Śubhakarasiṃha in the early eight century. See, respectively, T. 2157, LV: 874c1 and 874c6.

²⁶T. 865 was translated by Amoghavajra in the mid-eighth century. See T. 2157, LV: 881b14.

Jûhachidô,²⁷ Taizôkai,²⁸ Kongôkai²⁹, and Goma³⁰ and the texts are still used today in both Japanese Shingon and Tendai sects.³¹ In fact, the first major ritual most Japanese tantric practitioners must master is the Jûhachidô.³² In the Jûhachidô manual of Tendai's Hômanryû³³ the ritual therein is explained as being an "abbreviated form of the Susiddhikara-mahâtantra," and a "marvelous accomplishment in which the Thunderbolt Realm³⁴ is united with the Womb Realm³⁵."³⁶

²⁷Based on a combination of elements found in both the Womb and Thunderbolt Realm Maṇḍala.

²⁸Based on elements of the Womb Realm Maṇḍala (Jp. Taizôkai) of the Mahāvairocanasambodhi-sûtra.

²⁹Based on elements of the Thunderbolt Realm Maṇḍala (Jp. Kongôkai) of the Vajraśekhara-sûtra.

³⁰(Skt. homa). This all-important tantric fire ritual finds its origins in several textual sources including the above mentioned T. 848, T. 893, and other texts and manuals by Subhakarasiṃha and I-hsing.

³¹This order varies from sect to sect. Generally speaking the order given here is that of the Taimitsu (Tendai Esoteric Sects) while the Tômitsu (Shingon Esoteric Sects) generally reverse the Taizôkai and Kongôkai initiations.

³²Only a few English translations of this ritual manual have been made. See Jûhachidô in A Study of the Ritual Mudras in the Shingon Tradition: A Phenomenological Study on the Eighteen Ways of Esoteric Recitation (Jûhachidô Nenju Kubi Shidai: Chûin) in the Koyasan Tradition -. Translated and annotated by Rev. Taisen Miyata, M.A., Privately pub., 1984. Rev. Shôshin Ichishima also has prepared a translation of the Tendai Hômanryû Jûhachidô manual which has not yet been published.

³³The Hômanryû is a branch tradition of Tendai esoterism.

³⁴Skt. *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala; Ch. Chin-kang-chieh; Jp. Kongôkai.

The first three mudrâ found in Amoghavajra's new Mâricî text are used to invite the various worthies of the three sections of the maṇḍala; that is, those of the Buddha, Lotus and Vajra classes.³⁷ This hierarchical arrangement of classes of deities within Buddhist maṇḍala is common within the kriyâ- and caryâ-tantra of this period. These particular mudrâ and accompanying spells are also found in the Jûhachidô³⁸ and, as already noted, were derived from the Susiddhikara-mahâtantra, one of the standardizing ritual texts of eighth century China. Consequently this is a pivotal Mâricî text in which a movement away from miscellaneous mudrâ, spells and rituals and toward mainstream, standardized Sino-Japanese esoterism is apparent. The seven "new" mudrâ are as follows:

³⁵Skt. *Garbhadhâtu-maṇḍala; Ch. T'ai-ts'ang-chieh; Jp. Taizôkai.

³⁶Hômanryû Jûhachidô shiki ritual manual.

³⁷For the history of the development of this hierarchical arrangement, See D. Snellgrove, "Buddhism in North India...", 64-80. Snellgrove notes that pupils were "consecrated depending upon their aptitudes according to this 'Three Family' structure": the Buddha family including pratyeka-buddhas and those who have taken the vows of a Buddhist monk; the Lotus family encompassing those who were originally non-Buddhist and followed cults of benign deities; and the Vajra family, also concentrating on those who were originally non-Buddhist but who followed the cults of horrific deities. (Snellgrove, 68).

³⁸In the Japanese Jûhachidô all three of these seals and their associated spells are included in the section entitled Geishô shôju (lit. "invitation of the group of worthies"). Shibuya Jigai, "Jûhachidô shiki kajû" in Shido gyôki jishô (Tokyo, 1933), 24.

1. The Mind Seal of All Tathāgatas.³⁹

This mudrā invites all the Tathāgatas, or "Buddha Class worthies," into the maṇḍala. It is formed by clasping both hands together with the fingertips kept inside, the two thumbs remaining outside. (See Fig. 10) With this mudrā one should recite the spell: oṃ jina-jik.⁴⁰ (oṃ Conquering One)⁴¹

2. The Mind Seal of the Lotus Section.⁴²

This mudrā invites all the worthies of the "Lotus Class" into the maṇḍala. It is almost identical to the previous seal except that the left thumb is kept inside the palm of the left hand. (See Fig. 11) With this mudrā one should recite the spell: oṃ alolik.⁴³ (oṃ

³⁹T. 1255[B]: 260c22. Ch. I-ch'ieh-ju-lai hsien-yin; Jp. Issai-nyorai shin-in.

⁴⁰This is either an abbreviation or an early form of this spell. The standard one used in rituals in Japan today is slightly longer - on jinajikya eigeiki sowaka. See Shibuya, "Jūhachidō shiki kajū", 24. Hatta, 45, spell #240, gives the Skt. as oṃ jina-jik ehyehi svāhā. (oṃ Conquering One, Come! Come! Praise!)

⁴¹Lit. "victor" or "conqueror," epithets of the Buddha.

⁴²T. 1255[B]: 260c24. Ch. Lien-pu hsien-yin; Jp. Ren-bu shin-in.

⁴³Again this appears abbreviated. The standard spell used in rituals in Japan today is slightly longer - on arorikya eigeiki sowaka. See Shibuya, "Jūhachidō shiki kajū", 24. Hatta, 15, spell #63 gives the Skt. as oṃ alolik ehyehi svāhā. (oṃ Benign One, Come! Come! Praise!)

Benign One)

3. The Mind Seal of the Vajra Section.⁴⁴

This mudrâ invites all the worthies of the "Vajra Class" into the maṇḍala. It is almost identical to the previous seal except that this time the right thumb is kept inside the palm of the right hand. (See Fig. 12) With this mudrâ one should recite the spell: oṃ vajra-dhṛk.⁴⁵ (oṃ Vajra Bearer).

4. The Body Protecting Tathâgata Fist Seal.⁴⁶

This body-protecting mudrâ, in contrast to #4 of T. 901, is probably not Mârîcî specific. The Mârîcî body-protection mudrâ has here been supplanted by a variant one. The devotee should make a fist with his right hand, holding the right thumb inside. With this fist he empowers the five points of the body by touching them in

⁴⁴T. 1255[B]: 260c27. Ch. Chin-kang-pu hsien-yin; Jp. Kongô-bu shin-in.

⁴⁵Again this appears abbreviated. The standard spell used in rituals in Japan today is slightly longer - oṃ basara-dorikya ariyâsaranata eigeiki sowaka. See Shibuya, "Jûhachidô shiki kajû", 24. Hatta, 142, Spell #1090 gives the Skt. as oṃ vajra-dhṛk ehyehi svâhâ (oṃ Vajra Bearer, Come! Come! Praise!), excluding the Skt. term âryâcalanâtha. There appear to be many variations. For example, the Tendai Hômanryû text also includes the Jp. transliteration bôjisatabaya makasatabaya <Skt. bodhisattvâya-mahâsattvâya.

⁴⁶T. 1255[B]: 261a1. Ch. Hu-shen ju-lai-ch'üan yin; Jp. Goshin-nyoraiken-in.

sequence - forehead, right shoulder, left shoulder, heart, and throat. (See Fig. 13) At each point he recites the spell: om bhûh jvala hûm.⁴⁷ (om Shinning Land, hûm).

5. The Seal of Origination of Mâricî-bodhisattvâ.⁴⁸

This is a Mâricî-specific seal which was called the Body Seal (muḍrâ #1) in T. 901. The only variance here appears to be that it is stated that the little fingers and ring fingers are to be hooked together, not simply pressed against each other. (This does make the hand configuration slightly easier to accomplish.) The devotee is here directed to touch the seal to his heart and chant the previously mentioned Body Dhâraṇî ⁴⁹ - including the short "mind spell" mentioned above - seven times.

At each chanting, the thumbs are bent inward "inviting" the goddess. Consequently, here this muḍrâ

⁴⁷The more "standard" version of this seal requires the devotee to make a thumb-enclosing fist with both hands. The spell given in this text is the same as that of Hatta, 96, Spell #643 although the character for Skt. bhûh is different in T. 1255[B].

⁴⁸T. 1255[B]: 261a6. Ch. Mo-li-chih p'u-sa ken-pen yin; Jp. Marishi-bosatsu konpon-in.

⁴⁹Actually, the spell is simply called the "dhâraṇî" in this text, not the "Body dhâraṇî."

is also given the name "Invitation Seal."⁵⁰ Upon making the seal, the devotee uses it to empower the five points of the body and, at last, offers it up above his head in what was to become a standard tantric method.

6. The Great Meditation Seal (Great Symbol of Exclusion).⁵¹

This mudrâ has the ritual use of separating the sacred and profane by consolidating the sacred territory. The thumb and little fingers of the right hand touch, forming a ring, with the remaining three fingers standing up. (This imitates a three-point vajra scepter.) The left hand is balled into a vajra fist, with the thumb inside, and is placed above the heart. As the spell is chanted the right hand - in vajra form - is placed on top of the head. (See Fig. 14)

The left hand rotates 3 times, sweeping away/excluding all those problems which create hindrances. Then the right hand turns three times along with shaking up and down. Thereby is completed the establishment of the ten directions and no gods or nâga or humans or non-humans can follow closely: om śṛṅkhale mahâ-samayaṃ svâhâ. (om Chain! Great Samaya! svâhâ.)

⁵⁰Ch. Ying-ching yin; Jp. Geishô-in.

⁵¹T. 1255[B]: 261a13. Ch. Ta-san-mei-yeh yin; Jp. Daisammaya-in. The Skt. samaya has a number of meanings but the context here is the exclusion of hindrances from the sacred area through the use of the seal and the spell.

This particular process - the consolidation of territory - is called Jûketsu daikai in the Jûhachidô and is used to protect the sacred mandala. The spell is the same but a two-handed mudrâ is used.⁵² (See Fig. 15)

7. The Mârîcî Invisibility Seal.⁵³

This seventh mudrâ is also a Mârîcî-specific seal and is found in T. 901 as #6, the Concentration of Will Mudrâ. As in T. 901 the left hand makes a standing, hollow fist on which is placed the flattened right hand. The devotee visualizes the mudrâ as the body of Mârîcî-bodhisattvâ within whose essence / heart the devotee is enclosed and hidden. Again, as in mudrâ no. 5 of this text, the Mârîcî-dhâraṇî and mind spell are to be chanted. The number of times for chanting is not specified here but the devotee is charged with repeating it with sincerity. This done he will attain the bodhisattvâ's awesome powers of protection and no malicious or evil people will be able to see him. He will also be able to gain emancipation from all calamities.

⁵²See Shibuya, 28; Hatta, 191, spell #1563.

⁵³T. 1255[B]: 261a21. Ch. Mo-li-chih an-ta-t'an-na yin; Jp. Marishi antantanna-in. These are from Skt. *Mârîcy-antarddhânam-mudrâ. The text also notes that this is also called the Form-Hiding (Seal) [Ch. Yin-hsing (yin); Jp. Ongvô(-in)].

The above seven seals reflect a good deal of standardization of the Chinese Mārīcī (Mo-li-chi-t'ien) cult and indicate a shift toward the formalized pattern which finds its culmination in the tantric practices of Japan. Here mudrā one through three are a sequence of seals which deal with the Buddha, Lotus and Vajra classes of deities. Those are followed by a fourth for body protection. In formalized Japanese tantric manuals, these seals are used as invitation mudrā. Those same Japanese ritual texts pair worship mudrā of the Buddha, Lotus, and Vajra classes with that of body protection. The fifth mudrā given here is the familiar Body Seal which is used to invite Mārīcī. This is followed by an "exclusion" seal which is used to consolidate the territory of the maṇḍala.

This sequence indicates an attempt at alignment with standardized invocation practices in which the devotee 1) pays homage to the worthies of the three classes and protects his body, 2) creates a maṇḍala, 3) invites the deities of the three classes, 4) invites the main divinity of the ritual, 5) secures the maṇḍala area and excludes any māra. Finally, 6) the devotee introjects or interpenetrates himself with the main divinity of the maṇḍala. This is accomplished here by the devotee's use of the Invisibility Seal. The practitioner, by associating his body (the formation of the mudrā), speech (the chanting of Mārīcī spells) and mind (visualization of

himself hidden or wrapped within the essence of the goddesses; e.g., "invisibility"), in effect becomes Mārīcī and attains all of her supernatural powers.

Subsequently directions for making an image for the purpose of pūjā are given. They need not be examined closely here as they are very similar to those in T. 901. Some new elements, however, are included. In this text it is noted that the image may be made sitting or standing.⁵⁴ Goddesses on the left and right may also be made standing. The image may be kept on the head, in the clothing or on one's shoulder, no distinctions between laity and priests being made.⁵⁵ We are told that due to the bodhisattvā's awe-inspiring power⁵⁶ the devotee will not encounter calamity and, when in the territory of those who are malicious (i.e., an enemy), he will be victorious.⁵⁷ Again, it is noted that ghosts, spirits of the dead, and evil people cannot obtain these powers.

If one desires miraculous powers, he must obtain a vision of Mārīcī's "true body" and seek success for his requests, much as in T. 901. He must chant the dhāraṇī 100,000 times and establish a mandala (not described here). The devotee

⁵⁴T. 1255[B]: 261b4.

⁵⁵T. 1255[B]: 261b7-8.

⁵⁶Ch. wei-shen-li.

⁵⁷T. 1255[B]: 261b9-10.

draws an image of Mārīcī, placing it in the altar and makes various offerings along with a homa fire altar. Doing this, Mārīcī will certainly appear to him, manifesting herself. Having done this, the boons sought to be won will certainly be perfected, sweeping away any lack of sincerity (or "weakness of will.")⁵⁸

The text is then ended with the Buddha's explanation that he has explained this abbreviated Mārīcī method⁵⁹ because he is conscious that in the future there will be an evil world in an age of suffering and pain. Mārīcī has made the vow or resolve of great compassion and, consequently, we are told, will constantly aid all those suffering during that time. This is also a new Buddhist emphasis. It indicates that if the practitioner devotes himself to Mārīcī, not only will he obtain "mundane" supernatural powers (=invisibility) but also "supramundane" supernatural powers (those of a bodhisattva which benefit all beings on the path to awakening).

Our next text, the Mo-li-chih p'u-sa lueh nien-sung-fa (T. 1258)⁶⁰ is a very short work, the translation of which is also attributed to Amoghavajra. As the name states it is an abbreviated meditational Mārīcī text. Since it is a manual

⁵⁸T. 1255[B]: 261b14-15.

⁵⁹Ch. Mo-li-chih-t'ien-fa; Jp. Marishitem-bô.

⁶⁰T. 1258, XXI: 285a-285b.

of practice, it does not begin as an ordinary sūtra but simply lays down rules for meditation on Mārīcī-bodhisattvā; notably no longer referred to as a devī or devatā here, only as a Bodhisattva (or Bodhisattvā). Aside from the formation of mudrā and recitation of associated spells, no ritual is included.

Here the tradition of seven seals is dropped altogether and only four are mentioned. The first is significant in that it ties Mārīcī to the Buddha "family" which originates with the Tathāgata, Mahāvairocana (lit. "great radiant one"). Since Mahāvairocana is sun-like (his name translates into chinese as Ta-jih, "great sun"), Mārīcī is still closely connected with solar symbolism.

1. The first is the "Seal of the Buddha Vairocana,"⁶¹ formed in the same manner as mudrā #1 in T. 1255[B] - the Mind Seal of All Tathāgatas; that is, the two hands clasped together with fingertips inside, the two thumbs stretched out. As this mudrā is made the devotee should recite the spell seven times: namah samanta-buddhānān a vi ra hūm kham.⁶²

⁶¹Ch. Pi-lu-che-na fo yin; Jp. Biroshana-but-su-in.

⁶²Ch. A wei lo hung ch'ien; Jp. A See Hatta, 16, #68. "Om a vi ra hūm kham" is the spell of Mahāvairocana of the Garbhadhātu Māṇḍāla.

2. The second seal is identical with the "Body Mudrâ" of T. 901 (where it was seal #1) and the "Seal of Origination of Mârîcî-bodhisattvâ" of T. 1255[B] (where it was seal #5) (Fig. 2). Here it is given a new name, the "Seal of the Origination Spell of Mârîcî-bodhisattvâ."⁶³ After making this hand configuration the devotee is directed to touch it to the five points of the body in sequence - forehead, right shoulder, left shoulder, heart, and above the throat. The core Mârîcî spell/dhâraṇî should be recited as the seal touches each body point.
3. The third seal is not described as a hand configuration but is called the Mârîcî-bodhisattvâ Mind Seal.⁶⁴ Here the devotee is directed to recite the short spell: namaḥ samanta-buddhânân om mârîcyai svâhâ. This spell⁶⁵ is the same one used after the core dhâraṇî in T. 1255[B]. T. 1255[B] requires no change in mudrâ as one continues to use T. 901's "Body Mudrâ."⁶⁶ I assume that this is the case here.

⁶³Ch. Mo-li-chih p'u-sa ken-pen chen-yen yin; Jp. Marishi-bosatsu konpon-shingon-in.

⁶⁴Ch. Mo-li-chih p'u-sa hsin yin; Jp. Marishi-bosatsu shin-in.

⁶⁵Interestingly the Chinese here seems to indicate the correct Sanskrit grammar.

⁶⁶Called the "Seal of Origination of Mârîcî-bodhisattvâ" in T. 1255[B].

4. Finally, the devotee is directed to form the Invisibility Seal which is called the "Seal of the Mind Spell,"⁶⁷ again indicating a connection between concentration of the mind and Mārīcī's power of invisibility.

Following the mudrâ, the protective characteristics of Mārīcī are mentioned which provide the devotee with an "extraordinary empowerment."⁶⁸ This empowerment provides him with the ability of invisibility so that he cannot be seen by any obstructing evil people nor can his body be afflicted by any misery. In addition, all speech becomes sinless,⁶⁹ and no snakes, dangerous animals, fire, etc. are able to harm the devotee. (This list is similar to those we have already seen.)

The text then ends with a short section which is filled with Buddhist elements. In summary, the devotee's wisdom will increase, he will not lose his bodhicitta (thought of enlightenment), and, when he chants the spells, karunâ (compassion) will arise which will aid in ridding all sentient beings of their suffering. As a result, all will attain an elimination of barriers to release and quickly attain the unsurpassed

⁶⁷Ch. Hsin-chen-yen yin; Jp. Shin-shingon-in.

⁶⁸T. 1258: 285b16.

⁶⁹Lit. the sins of the speech faculty are exorcised.

path of enlightenment. Finally, he is cautioned to refrain from indiscriminately transmitting the secrets (of the text).⁷⁰

This last section, which appears almost as an "attachment" to the essential spells and seals of Mārīcī, seems to be an attempt to complete the Buddhist assimilation of the cult of the goddess. According to this passage, the Mārīcī cult spells could, and perhaps should, be directed toward the supra-worldly goal of bringing enlightenment to all sentient beings. Amoghavajra may have composed this text in China for that purpose. But we shall find when we enter the tenth century that the cult as it continued to develop in India retained a preponderance of rituals aimed at worldly goals such as success in battle.

The last major text of the eighth century translated by Amoghavajra is the Mo-li-chih t'i-p'o hua-man ching (T. 1254).⁷¹ This text is very much like Atikūṭa's seventh century T. 901 with some minor differences. It seems to be a new translation of one of the Sanskrit texts used for the Mārīcī section of the Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras, not simply a copy of a section of the Chinese text as T. 1255[A] appears to be. The most unusual difference in this text is Amoghavajra's use of the character mo 末 in lieu of mo 摩 for the Sanskrit

⁷⁰T. 1258: 285b17-23.

⁷¹T. 1254, XXI: 255c-259b.

sound ma in Māricī. This is the only surviving text in which this alternate character is used.⁷²

The Mo-li-chih-t'ien vi-yin-fa (T. 1259),⁷³ if indeed it belongs to this period, is similar to T. 1258 though even shorter, covering only twenty-two lines in the Taishō. A ritual manual, it contains only a simple explanation of the two primary mudrā of Māricī; the Body Seal (here given the same name as in T. 901) and the Invisibility Seal (here called the Form Hiding Seal as in T. 1255[B]). In this text it is noted that the Body Seal is the same as the Great Vajra Disc Seal,⁷⁴ yet another standard mudrā. The spell accompanying this mudrā is given both in Chinese and Siddham script. The Chinese indicates that the spell should be om marici svaha. However, the Siddham transliterates as om māliṣi svāhā. This would seem to indicate that the Siddham was either composed

⁷²Although de Visser notes that later on the Japanese do list Marīcī (Jp. Marishi) as one of the twelve Yaksa Generals under the zodiac sign of mo 末, his Japanese sources appear to be very late (seventeenth century?) and this association probably had no relationship to Amoghavajra's choice of Chinese characters. (See M. W. de Visser, Ancient Buddhism in Japan: Sūtras and Ceremonies in use in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D. and their History in Later Times, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1935), 551-553.

⁷³T. 1259, XXI: 285c.

⁷⁴Ch. Ta-chin-kang-lun yin; Jp. Dai-kongōrin-in; <Skt. *Mahāvajra-cakra-mudrā. This seal appears in standardized ritual texts on the goma. See Shibuya, "Gomaku shiki kajū" in Shido gyōki jishō (Tokyo, 1933), 7. The Hōmanryū text includes the spell. The spell may be found in both Chinese transliteration and Sanskrit in the MDJ, vol. 3, 1459c12-22.

from the Chinese or that it came from a very corrupt Sanskrit original.

The powers effected by the Invisibility Seal are similar to those already mentioned. A new addition here are seven activities during which it can be used to empower the devotee: 1) during drowsiness or torpor; 2) at the time of spiritual awakening; 3) during ablutions; 4) during a long journey; 5) when meeting guests; 6) while dining; and 7) while in the toilet. During these situations the seal should be used to empower the five points of the body.

The spell given here to be used with the Invisibility Seal is given in Chinese and Siddham script. Although the Chinese indicates that the spell should be om adityâ marici svaha, the Siddham transliterates as om adityâ mâliṣi svâhâ.⁷⁵ This seems to be the earliest example available in a Chinese text of this particular spell. As mentioned earlier, this particular spell is unusual in that it does not appear in Sanskrit sources. It is probably a combination of the two spells we found together in Subhakarasiṃha's She-kuei (T. 850); 'namah samanta buddhanan adityâ svâhâ' for Sûrya and 'namah samanta buddhanan mârici svâhâ' for Mârici. Whether this was done in India or China it indicates that practitioners of the cult assumed a close connection between Mârici and the bright, blinding, character of the sun. In this case it

⁷⁵See Chap. 2, fn. 98.

is the sun as Sûrya, the Sun God. In the process of the Buddhist assimilation of the goddess, it came to be the relationship between Mârîcî and Mahāvairocana, the "Great Shining One."

* * *

- Summary -

As can be seen by these texts from the eighth century, the Mārīcī cult underwent a stage of general standardization. Five of the mudrā from the seventh century have been replaced by more "standard" ones which were becoming commonly used among Chinese tantric practitioners of the period. These eighth century texts are short and even the longest - T. 1254 - eliminates a good deal of material found in T. 901, its direct predecessor.

The Mārīcī abhiṣeka does not appear in any text we have surviving from the eighth century. This could be due to various reasons. It is quite possible that the main text Atikūṭa used for T. 901 (apparently the same original from which T. 1254 was translated) did not originally contain the abhiṣeka and he inserted it from another source, or, a second possibility, the abhiṣeka was eliminated in Amoghavajra's translation of T. 1254 because a standard tantric abhiṣeka had already been developed causing the Mārīcī one to become obsolete. Since Atikūṭa was usually clear concerning his use of variant sources and he notes none for the Mārīcī abhiṣeka, I feel the second possibility - standardization of the abhiṣeka - is the most probable.

Amoghavajra's translations of T. 1255[B] retains the numerological element of "seven" found in earlier Mārīcī texts although several of the original seven seals have been

replaced by more standardized ones. In the more abbreviated texts (i.e. T. 1258), the pretence is dropped altogether and only the two important mudrá (Body Seal and Invisibility Seal) are explained, along with a seal of Mārīcī's sire, Mahāvairocana. The use of "seven" does appear again in T. 1259 in which the seven times (or situations) for use of the Invisibility Seal are given.

Amoghavajra's i-kuei (ritual manual), partially available in Japanese commentaries, is an interesting view into the mythology surrounding the goddess and it is unfortunate not more of it survives.⁷⁶ Obviously the Goddess was an important concern for him as his presentation of her image to Emperor Tai-tsung in 762 indicates. As noted, this event is reminiscent of the Persian kings' association with Mithra as a protector of great rulers. Another point, which may also reflect Indo-Iranian influences in the eighth century Chinese cult of Mārīcī, is the equation in Subhakarasiṃha's She-kuei of the goddess's Invisibility Seal with a bottle. This reference was commonly known to later Japanese commentators and makes an interesting parallel with the Iranian concept of the magical jinn in a bottle.

Even with the standardizing trends of eighth century Chinese esoterism, Mārīcī's essential nature - the ability to

⁷⁶A copy of this text may be located in Tōji, a Shingon Temple in Kyoto. Unfortunately I have been unable to gain access to this Heian period manuscript.

hide her followers, protect them, confuse enemies, and insure success - remains intact. The Mārīcī cult, as established under the systematizing influences of Amoghavajra, is essentially the basis of the cult as it was transmitted to Japan and adopted by warriors there. Before leaving China, however, we must make a short stop in the tenth century where one more important, innovative Mārīcī text makes its appearance.

- Tenth Century Innovation -

No new major texts concerned with Mārīcī appeared in the ninth century, most likely due to the unfavorable political trends, Buddhist persecutions, and fewer pilgrims travelling to and from India. It was a time, however, when many foreign priests from East and Southeast Asia visited China and took many texts and teachings to their own countries.⁷⁷

In the tenth century the last and by far the most elaborate Mārīcī text was brought to China. This dhāraṇī-sūtra, which has variant titles in Sanskrit,⁷⁸ was translated by T'ien Hsi-tsai in 986 or 987 A.D. as the (Fo-shuo) Ta-mo-li-chih p'u-sa ching (T. 1257).⁷⁹ Although it is an obvious evolution of the texts we find in earlier centuries, this work is a large, fascinating assemblage covering seven chüan in Chinese. The text includes scores of new spells and rituals aimed at cultivation of miraculous powers and often modifies

⁷⁷I.e. Saichō, Kūkai, Ennin, etc. from Japan; Pien-hung from Java; Hui-jih from Silla (Korea); and others. See Chou, Appendix S, 329.

⁷⁸I.e., in addition to Mārīcīdhāraṇī(sūtra) Lancaster gives both Mâyāmarīcījātatantrādudhrtakalparājaccimāṇḍala-vidhimarīcījātadvādaśasahasrād uddhrtakalpardayasaptaśata (p. 392, K 1156) and Mārīcīmaṇḍalavidhimārīcījātadvādaśasahasrād-uddhrtakalpahrdayasaptaśata (p. 511). As noted above, however, Ashikaga gives the name of the introductory "core" section T. 1257 as Ārya-mārīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī.

⁷⁹T. 1257, XXI: 262a-285a.

those which appeared in earlier renditions. In addition, there are several new maṇḍala in this work, populated with a host of marvelous beings.

T. 1257 is a compendium of "latter day" tantric ritual, much of it clearly aimed at military application (although there is some concession toward the quest for Buddhist enlightenment).⁸⁰ Some interesting revelations concerning the nature of Mārīcī's power of invisibility and her martial character appear in this text and are important in understanding her influence on the Japanese warrior class. In addition, since this text is so large and reflects the evolutionary trends taking place within tenth century Indian Vajrayāna, a separate study should be made on T. 1257 in order to do it proper justice. Unfortunately, due to limitations of space and time, and the lamentable fact that medieval Japanese commentators rarely refer to T. 1257 when discussing the Mārīcī cult in Japan, it will be only briefly covered in this study.

Although the descriptions of Mārīcī's magical powers in the introductory section of this text (including the "core" dhāraṇī) are essentially the same here as in previous renditions, the phrasing has been changed in order to add some

⁸⁰Some of the ritual methods in this text are actually aimed a "becoming a Buddha." For example, see T. 1257: 268c9-11; 276b25 et seq.; etc.

attributes to the goddess. For example, in addition to no one being able to see or bind her, etc., we are informed that the bodhisattvâ "is free from all fear, timidity, and pride."⁸¹ The ability to avoid these three mental states can, again, be interpreted as an important martial attribute. Fear (lack of a calm, controlled mind), timidity (lack of volition; inability to take initiative), and pride (lack of selflessness) will almost certainly lead a combatant into destruction.

Another interesting change in the introductory section of this tenth century dhâraṇī-sūtra is in the phrase concerning those who cannot attain the goddess's powers. T'ien Hsi-tsai's translation eschews the use of the term yüan-chia¹ (those who are malicious or filled with hate), which is found in all of the earlier texts, and replaces it with the homophonic yüan-chia² (lit. an enemy).⁸²

Next, the core dhâraṇī is given (although again with some variations as seems to be normal with these texts) and, subsequently, lists the situations in which Mâricî is requested to protect the devotee. Here the goddess is not simply said to "protect" the practitioner,⁸³ but to actually

⁸¹T. 1257: 262b3-4.

⁸²Rosenberg (p. 53) equates the yüan of yüan-chia² with Skt. śatruḥ ("overthrower, enemy, foe, rival, a neighboring hostile king" MW, 1051) and the complete term yüan-chia² with Skt. pratyaṃitrah (one who is "not a friend" or "an enemy").

⁸³Ch. hu-wo in previous Chinese texts, Skt. me rakṣa in several Sanskrit editions of the dhâraṇī.

make him invisible,⁸⁴ an obvious evolution or clarification of the use of the yin-hsing yin (Invisibility Seal). Along with protection from worldly calamities the practitioner is also provided with defenses against various mental weaknesses such as kleśa, delusion and depression.⁸⁵ T. 1257 then presents us with several new dhāraṇī and scores of spells, most of which are contained in rituals aimed at attaining miraculous powers.

The tenth and eleventh centuries were difficult times in North India. As noted in Chapter 2, warfare between contending kingdoms and regional states increased in intensity during the tenth century and peaked in the thirteenth due to pressure from Moslem raiders and invaders. During that period tantric Buddhism was flourishing in India and its devotees had established a number of Buddhist monasteries and "universities" which were not only centers of education and practice but also storehouses of great wealth, often resembling fortresses.⁸⁶ Consequently, they became prime targets for pillage and destruction by the invaders.

In response to that military pressure, Buddhist movements appeared in order to challenge the invaders. This is reflected in some of the Buddhist texts of that period. In example

⁸⁴T. 1257: 262b12-15. Ch. yin-hsing; Jp. onshin.

⁸⁵T. 1257: 262b12-15.

⁸⁶Nsp., "Introduction," (in English) by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, 11.

of this, Nakamura notes that Puṇḍarīka's Paramārthasevā, composed during the mid-eleventh century, refers to Islamic customs such as circumcision and fasting.⁸⁷ Also composed sometime between the tenth and twelfth centuries was the Kālacakra-tantra.⁸⁸ This work, centering on the deity Kālacakra (lit. "wheel of time") is filled with astrological references and heavenly worthies. It urges an alliance between Buddhist and Hindus (Vaiṣṇavas and Saivas) in order to destroy the Islamic invaders. The text also refers to Mecca and the Muhammedan era.⁸⁹ B. Bhattacharyya notes that the Vimalaprabhā, a commentary on the Kālacakra-tantra, promoted inter-marriage and inter-dining between the Hindu and Buddhist groups within the Kālacakra cult.⁹⁰

Māricī is included within the Kālacakra-maṇḍala as described in the Niṣpānnayogāvalī⁹¹ and was evidently a popular cult deity during the same period. Her own maṇḍala is also

⁸⁷Nakamura, Indian Buddhism, 339.

⁸⁸The date for the composition of this text is unsettled. J.N. Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, (Oxford, 1920), 272, gives the earliest date - 965 A.D. H. Nakamura, however, lists two alternate dates - c. 1027-1087 A.D. or the twelfth century. H. Nakamura, Indian Buddhism, 339.

⁸⁹Nakamura, Indian Buddhism, 339; Winternitz, 401; Bhattacharyya, Nsp., 22. The Muhammedan era is the era used by Moslem cultures for numbering the calendar. It begins with Hegira (the flight of Muhammad from Mecca) in 622 A.D.

⁹⁰Bhattacharyya, "Introduction (in English)," Nsp., 22.

⁹¹Nsp., 90, (Sanskrit text, line 9).

described in the Niṣpānnayoḡāvalī and a number of sādhana are dedicated to her in the twelfth century Sādhanaṃālā. Not surprisingly, the Mārīcī abhiṣeka maṇḍala of the tenth century T. 1257 is almost identical with the Mārīcī-maṇḍala of the Niṣpānnayoḡāvalī. The former is not explained in as great a detail as the latter, but these correspondences do indicate that the Mārīcī cult was popular at about the same time and place as the Kālacakra cult. Consequently, it is not inconceivable that the Mārīcī cult, as depicted in T. 1257, may also have been affected by Islamic influences.

An example of this may be the apparently sudden appearance of the wild boar as Mārīcī's mount (Skt. vāhana) in T. 1257. In the tenth century text, not only do Mārīcī (and several other deities) appear astride wild boars; boar blood becomes an ingredient used in several of the rituals providing the devotee with miraculous powers such as invisibility.⁹² What better anathema to use against Moslems than a pig! On the other hand as mentioned already, Mārīcī is given an epithet of "boar-faced" in the seventh century T. 901, and this seems like a natural evolution of that epithet. In addition, as we have seen the wild boar, along with the bear, was a pan-Indo-European symbol of warriors. The boar's fearlessness and bravery against overwhelming odds are well known outside of any context dealing with Islam. In T. 1257,

⁹²See T. 1257: 267c18-24 and 274c12-18 where boar blood is required in rituals aimed at attaining invisibility.

then, it may be a re-appearance of an ancient symbol of fearlessness, bravery and volition; qualities which become prominent in this text where the devotee is charged to "shoot forth a brave mind which is like Mārīcī."⁹³

As noted, rituals for subjugating, destroying, bewitching and controlling enemies abound in the expanded portion of this text. Many of these rites are aimed at subjugation of a particular, named enemy while others concentrate on stopping his armies.⁹⁴ (The Chinese term ching-ai (pacification or bewitchment by means of spells)⁹⁵ appears throughout the text,⁹⁶ apparently as a replacement for Ch. huan-hsi (joyful [=pacification?]) found in earlier renditions. [Of course, if one wishes to interpret these terms in a "pure esoterism" context, they indicate "increasing love or affection (in order to bring sentient beings to enlightenment)," However, the context of this text makes "pacification by bewitchment" seem more appropriate.]

In example of these numerous and often horrific rites is a short ritual in the first chüan where the practitioner is

⁹³I.e., T. 1257: 271c3-4.

⁹⁴I.e., see the Great Mārīcī Subjugation of Enemy (Armies) Ritual (Ch. Ta-mo-li-chih-chiang-fu-yüan-p'ing-chih-fa), T. 1257: 265a25-265b25.

⁹⁵Rosenberg (p. 225) gives Skt. vaśīkaraṇam for Ch. ching-ai (Jp. keiai). Vaśīkaraṇam means subjugation or bewitching by means of spells, charms and incantations, etc. (MW, 927)

⁹⁶I.e., see T. 1257: 274b-c where no less than ten rituals have this as their aim.

given a method for killing enemies. This method requires the use of poison herbs, salt, mustard seeds and the practitioner's own blood. Mixed together, this potion is used as an ink with which the enemy's name and the Sanskrit syllables hūm phat are written (with a brush made from a human bone) on a specially prepared human skull. Then a special spell should be recited 8,000 times and the enemy will surely die.⁹⁷

Also indicative of the martial nature of T. 1257 are the numerous homa rituals contained therein, the most common being those aimed at subjugation of enemies. T. 1257 describes four distinct types of homa which are rituals for: 1) stopping calamities (requiring a round fire altar);⁹⁸ 2) increasing (merit) (requiring a square fire altar);⁹⁹ 3) pacification by bewitchment [or "achieving love and respect"] (requiring a triangular fire altar);¹⁰⁰ and 4) subjugation of enemies and devils (requiring a half-moon shaped fire altar).¹⁰¹ These homa fires do not appear unusual, at least in name, for they are part of the five standard rituals of Sino-Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, the only one missing here being a ritual

⁹⁷T. 1257: 264b22-27. The spell is unclear but appears to be om mārīcī hūm amukham-āraya (or ārya) hūm phat thah svâhâ.

⁹⁸T. 1257: 266c14-17. Ch. hsi-tsai-lu; Jp. sokusairo.

⁹⁹T. 1257: 266c18-22. Ch. tseng-i-lu; Jp. sôyakuro (or zôyakuro).

¹⁰⁰T. 1257: 266c23-28. Ch. ching-ai-lu; Jp. keiairo.

¹⁰¹T. 1257: 266c29-267a5. Ch. chiang-fu-lu; Jp. gôbukuro.

for summoning sentient beings so that they might attain higher states of existence or enlightenment.¹⁰² The most common in T. 1257 are #3 and #4.

However, few of the ritual innovations appearing in T. 1257 were taken up by Japanese practitioners, even though this text was available to them at least as early as the twelfth century.¹⁰³ In fact, T'ien Hsi-tsai's tenth century edition of the Mâricî-dhâraṇî-sûtra is rarely cited by Japanese commentators and, aside from occasional references to the by-now-standard mudrâ and spells and the new boar-mounted images of Mâricî introduced in this text, it is almost completely ignored. On rare occasions reference is made to the prolific homa with their often horrific effects, but these references are rare.¹⁰⁴

This relative disregard of T. 1257 by the Japanese is not surprising considering that this text entered China after

¹⁰²Ch. kou-chao-fa; Jp. kôchôhō.

¹⁰³See the Besson-zakki compiled during the twelfth century by the Japanese monk Shinkaku (1117-1180) where several sections of T. 1257 are quoted (TZ. III: 572a19 et seq). These quotations, however, are concerned only with the formation of the two basic mudrâ and simple directions for making a Mâricî image. None of the corpus of complicated rituals are included in the Mâricî section of the Besson-zakki.

¹⁰⁴The only detailed Japanese references that I have thus far discovered to the homa of T. 1257 are those in the fourteenth century Goma hiyôshô. See SZ. XXVI: 104a9-b11 where they are very briefly summarized. There are probably others but they do not seem to be readily available or very prolific.

the zenith of Buddhism esoterism had passed. The mainstream of Sino-Japanese tantrism, as we have already seen, was based firmly in the eight century's Mahāvairocanasambodhi-sūtra, Susiddhikara-mahātantra, and Vajraśekhara-sūtra and the interpretations and innovations made by the great tantric leaders of that time. Later Vajrayāna texts (with their "innovative" contents) that arrived after that time tended to be translated...and ignored.¹⁰⁵ While the rituals of T. 1257 may not have made a great impression upon the development of later Japanese esoterism, however, the boar image of Mārīcī became the primary one among Mārīcī-oriented warrior traditions in Japan where the goddess was called Marishiten.

A number of visualizations of various forms of Mārīcī are included in this text. In the first of these a two-armed form of Mārīcī is described as holding the needle and thread, with which she sews up the mouths and eyes of evil beings.¹⁰⁶ In Indian texts such as the Sādhanamālā these are two of her most characteristic iconographic accouterments. They are obviously intended to illustrate Mārīcī's ability to blind and confuse enemies. No vāhana ("mount") is mentioned here. Many variant forms of Mārīcī are described in this text (some with three

¹⁰⁵Other examples of this are the Guhyasamājatantra (T. 885 translated in 1002 A.D.) and Hevajratantra (T. 892 translated in 1004 A.D.). Neither of these two texts are used by Japanese Shingon or Tendai. As mentioned above, an exception may have been the "heterodox" Tachikawaryū of Japan's middle ages.

¹⁰⁶T. 1257: 262c6-11.

heads and six or eight arms). In fact, the seated version of Mārīcī holding her heavenly fan of "invisibility" has completely disappeared from this text. There is no point in discussing each of these new images of Mārīcī here, but it will be of use to look at least one.

T. 1257 contains a new Mārīcī abhiṣeka in which the comparatively simple altar of T. 901 has been greatly expanded into an elaborate maṇḍala. (See Fig. 17) As already noted, this new maṇḍala is much like that of the c. 1100 A.D. Niṣpānnayogāvalī. In this diagram Mārīcī is described as having a yellow colored body which shines like the sun. She is crowned with a jeweled caitya or stūpa (a symbol of Vairocana), wears green garments and various adornments. She has six arms and three faces with three eyes each and rides a wild boar. In her six hands are held a bow, an aśoka branch, a thread, a vajra scepter, a needle and an arrow. The fan of invisibility has disappeared in T. 1257; replaced by the accouterments of a needle and thread and the boar vāhana.

She is surrounded by a circle of eight bodhisattvā,¹⁰⁷ many whose names we have heard before. To the East is Arkamasi-bodhisattvā; to the South, Markamasi-bodhisattvā; to the West, Antardhānamasi-bodhisattvā; and to the North,

¹⁰⁷Although these attendant worthies are not referred to as bodhisattva or bodhisattvā in the Nsp., they are all considered to be goddesses. Because of this, I have given them feminine titles here. See B. Bhattacharyya, "Introduction," Nsp., 52.

Tejomasi-bodhisattvâ.

Among the worthies mentioned here, only Mâricî and Antardhânamasi (personification of Mâricî's power of invisibility) ride wild boars. While I have discovered no commentary on this section of T. 1257, this maṇḍala appears to indicate a special association between Mâricî, her power of invisibility, and the wild boar. As noted above, neither Mâricî nor any of the attendant deities in this maṇḍala hold the heavenly fan. However, Antardhânamasi, the personification of invisibility rides the boar; the symbol of warrior volition. In addition, boar blood is used in some sâdhana rituals which are aimed at attaining invisibility. This is a key relationship and indicates something of the nature of Mâricî's ability to bestow the miraculous power of invisibility upon her devotees. Further discussion of the importance of this relationship will be made in Chapter 7.

Returning to the maṇḍala, we find in the intermediate directions, moving clockwise from the Southeast to the Northeast, are Udayamasi-bodhisattvâ, Gulmasi-bodhisattvâ, Vanmasi-bodhisattvâ, and Cîvaramasi-bodhisattvâ. Each of these intermediate goddesses has three faces (one of which is a boar face) and all are attended by a singular of boars.¹⁰⁸ (See Fig. 17). The Mâricî-maṇḍala of the Niṣpârnayogâvalî is slightly more elaborate but essentially the same. (See Fig.

¹⁰⁸T. 1257: 267a21-b25.

18)

It is with some regret that we must leave this tenth century Chinese text for, in many ways, it is the most interesting. Filled with more tantric ritual material than any of its predecessors it also contains more overt martial symbolism than any of the texts we have previously examined. But even with all its varied mandala, Japanese practitioners rarely refer to any part of it that diverges from earlier texts; and even with its numerous rituals for subjugation of enemies, Japanese martial traditions rely upon it only for its boar-mounted Mārīcī imagery. With the decline of Mi-tsung during the Sung Dynasty, it is also doubtful that this particular text was influential on Chinese Buddhism after that time.

CHAPTER 5: The Buddhist Mārīcī in Japan

Mārīcī was known in Japan at least as early as the eighth century during the Nara period (710-794 A.D.) and one of the dhāraṇī-sūtra devoted to her was recorded as appearing there in the ninth year of the Tempyō era (737 A.D.).¹ However, the goddess Mārīcī, called Marishiten in Japan, may have been known to the Japanese even earlier. A famous image, housed today in Tokyo's Tokudaiji Temple,² depicts Marishiten standing upon the back of a wild boar and is attributed to the skillful hands of Shōtoku Taishi (572-621 A.D.), Empress Suiko's imperial regent. This image of Marishiten is a male figure holding a straight, double-cutting-edged sword in the right hand while the left hand is stretched toward the front. (See Fig. 19).

Shōtoku Taishi is often credited with making images that he could not possibly have created but the claim that he carved this image of Marishiten cannot be summarily disregarded. First of all, although we do not find this particular image of Marishiten described in any texts extant today, lack of such a description is, in itself, not conclusive proof that the image is falsely attributed to the

¹The Dainippon kobunsho, vol. 8, 80, lists Amoghavajra's Mo-li-chih p'u-sa t'o-lo-ni ching (T. 1255[A]). See Ishida Mosaku, Shakyō yori mitaru Narachō Bukkyō kenkyū (Tokyo,), 83.

²Tokudaiji is located next to Tokyo's Okachimachi Station, not far from Ueno.

imperial regent. As we saw in Chapter 3, the Mārīcī cult was known in China at least as early as the first part of the sixth century and, over the years, several Mārīcī texts which are themselves no longer extant were brought to Japan.³ Due to the efforts of Japanese Buddhist monks over the ages, we do have a few fragments of these texts available to us today.

However, since none of these fragments describe the image in question we have no way of knowing whether or not any of the texts available to Shōtoku Taishi contained a description of this boar-mounted image.

Other factors, however, make it seem questionable that Shōtoku Taishi did indeed produce this image. First of all, he is often considered a Buddhist "culture hero" by the Japanese and apparently several images he did not carve have been accredited to him in order to increase their status. In addition, as we have seen, the earliest reference to the boar in any preserved Mārīcī text is that found in the Body Spell of Atikūṭa's mid-seventh century Collected dhāraṇī-sūtras (T. 901), and the earliest appearance of a boar-mounted Mārīcī does not appear until T'ien Hsi-tsai's tenth century Ta-mo-li-chih p'u-sa ching (T. 1257). Even if Shōtoku Taishi created this image, it is odd that it is not described in the Sanskrit texts (Niṣpānnayogāvalī and Sādhanamālā) or the

³I.e., see the quotations in the Hishō kuketsu concerning a Mo-li-chih-t'ien ching (SZ XXVIII: 503b7 et seq.) and a Mo-li-chih-t'ien ta-p'u-sa t'o-lo-ni ching (SZ XXVIII: 504a9-11).

Chinese texts (Collected Dhâraṇī-sūtras or Ta-mo-li-chih p'u-sa ching). Consequently, claims that Shōtoku Taishi produced a board-mounted image of Marishiten in the early seventh century are probably unjustified.

In addition, during the reign of Empress Suiko (r. 593-628 A.D.), at the time when Shōtoku Taishi was the imperial regent, we find that works on invisibility - Marishiten's most significant attribute - were being brought to Japan. The Nihongi (720 A.D.) contains the following reference concerning the tenth year of the reign of Empress Suiko:

A Paekche priest named Kwalluk arrived and presented by way of tribute books of calendar making, of astronomy and of geomancy, and also books on the art of invisibility and magic.⁴

Although Marishiten is primarily associated with invisibility, the actual content of these texts brought by Kwalluk is unknown to us today and their apparent antiquity precludes

⁴William Theodore de Barry, Donald Keen, and Ryusaku Tsunoda, editors, Sources of Japanese Tradition, (New York, 1958), 95.

their containing information concerning the goddess.⁵

The Japanese priest Annen (?-889), a Taimitsu⁶ specialist who wrote several texts on Marishiten during the ninth century,⁷ mentions a male form of the deity although he makes no mention of a boar mount. In fact, Annen goes so far as to state that Marishiten is definitely a male deva (Jp. nanten) and that people have confused the female images of Kisshôten (Skt. Lakṣmī or Mahāśrī) with Marīci.⁸ This seems to be a rather curious pronouncement for all the Chinese texts we have examined thus far (and all of the Sanskrit texts for that matter) describe Mārīci as a goddess whenever any gender is indicated. An exception may be the K'ung-ch'iao wang-chou ching (T. 984) which, as we saw in Chapter 2, lists an apparently male Mārīci yakṣa.

⁵The Nihon koten bungaku taikei, Vol. 68 and the Zoho-jigen state that this book on the "art of invisibility" (Jp. tonko hōjutsu) was a work existing in the Late Han dynasty and is noted as such in the Ho Han-shu (eleventh Century). The Zoho-jigen (p. 1973) and Kojien (p. 1582) note that the term tonko hōjutsu means a kind of ninjutsu which is an art of stealth or espionage.

⁶Taimitsu is Tendai Tantrism in contrast to Tōmitsu, Shingon Tantrism. Annen, a student of Ennin, was an important formulator of Taimitsu doctrine on Mt. Hiei during the ninth century.

⁷I.e., the Marishiten yōki and Marishiten hihō, both of which appear to be unavailable today.

⁸See Annen's Futsūju bodaikai kōshaku, T. 2381, LXXIV: 768a13-16.

Doré, in his 1922 essay on a contemporary Chinese version of Mārīcī,⁹ speculated that when the Taoists borrowed Mārīcī from Buddhism they ignored her origins and made her a "purely Taoist deity, even changing the sex, and transforming her into a warrior."¹⁰ He goes on to note that the tantric Buddhists had also "disfigured" the goddess and had given her a warlike character in addition to assigning magical formulae to her.¹¹ As we have seen, however, the goddess Mārīcī most probably evolved within the Buddhist tradition as a warrior protectress in order to attract non-Buddhist warriors: the followers of such horrifying deities as Durgā, Caṇḍī, and Kālī. Doré's own article, in fact, described a contemporary Chinese Mārīcī which had been completely fused with Caṇḍī.

A number of male images of Marishiten were created in Japan (see Figs. 20 - 21) and which leads one to wonder if there may have been an oral tradition - or perhaps some sūtras, now no longer extant - which described the deity as a male. Japanese scholarship provides no conclusive answers to the question of the worthy's gender, although some attempts have been made. In an article written in 1931 entitled

⁹Henry Doré, "Marichi, Goddess of the Dawn," in Researches into Chinese Superstitions, vol. 7, Article XI, trans. by M. Kennelly (Shanghai, 1922), 303-312.

¹⁰Ibid., 304.

¹¹Ibid., fn. 2.

"Marishiten-ron" (Comments on Marishiten),¹² the Tendai priest Shimaji Daitô acknowledged both male and female forms. He equated the female forms (the single-faced, two-eyed, two-armed, fan-holding images such as are described in T. 901.) with affection, happiness, prosperity, healing power and wisdom,¹³ and male forms (three three-eyed faces, six- or eight-armed, sometimes boar-mounted images such as those in T. 1257) with martial power.¹⁴ This male martial form is said to be able to enter an enemy camp and with a single rod (or horse whip) smash the enemy to bits and destroy powerful warriors via his ability to rob them of their prowess or bravery.¹⁵

Shimaji's equation of masculinity with the martial, boar-riding forms seems premature. While T. 1257 does not explicitly state that the horrific, boar-associated images of Marishiten should be made in the form of a goddess, neither does it state they should be made in the form of a male deity. All similar boar-riding or boar-driven chariot forms of Marishi

¹²Shimaji, Daitô, "Marishitenron" in Kyôri to shiron (Tokyo, 1931): 151-174.

¹³Shimaji, 154-156.

¹⁴Ibid., 156. A look at Figs. 19 - 21 shows that the Japanese certainly did not restrict "male" Marishiten forms to the boar-mounted, three-faced type.

¹⁵Ibid., 154. This reference to a horse whip or whipping-rod seems to have been influenced by Shugendô texts concerned with Marishiten. Such texts will be examined at the end of this chapter.

in the Sādhanamâlâ and Niṣpānnayoḡāvalī are female. Additionally, we find in T. 1257 (which is contemporary with these two Sanskrit texts) that the spells are usually transliterated with indications of feminine Sanskrit endings for Mārīcī (e.g., Mārīcī,¹⁶ Marīcī,¹⁷ etc.). And, in the visualizations of T. 1257 in which any gender is indicated, it is always female.¹⁸ In addition, Annen's writings on Marishiten in which he proclaims the deity's masculinity were made at least a hundred years before T. 1257 with its boar-mounted Mārīcī was translated into Chinese. Consequently, while the boar form is martial in nature and is often made to appear masculine in Japan, there appears to be no textual basis on which to equate the boar form and the male form.

Returning to our historical examination of the Japanese assimilation of the cult of Mārīcī, we find most of the Chinese texts listed (except, of course, T. 1257) in the catalogs of esoteric texts brought to Japan during the ninth century.¹⁹ Extensive works from later centuries which contain

¹⁶T. 1257, XXI: 263a17.

¹⁷T. 1257, 263b19.

¹⁸I.e. T. 1257, XXI: 266b19, where Mo-li-chih-p'u-sa (Mārīcī-bodhisattvā) has the countenance of a t'ung-nü (girl or maiden). While many of the heroic or horrific images of Mārīcī are given no specific gender in T. 1257 (i.e. a six-armed, three-faced form described in 269b12-19), similar images in the Sādhanamâlâ are female.

¹⁹Kūkai brought a copy of T. 1254 (see T. 2162, LV: 1066b); Ennin, copies of T. 1254 (T. 2167, LV: 1080a), possibly T. 1256 (T. 2167, LV: 1081a), two spells written in Sanskrit (T. 2176, LV: 1127c), and an image of the goddess (T.

explanations of cult rituals performed by various lines of tantric practitioners also contain many references to Chinese sūtras. From these works it is apparent that at least by the latter part of the Heian period (794-1185 A.D.) all of the Chinese information on Marishiten - including T. 1257 - seems to have been available to the Japanese.²⁰

- Japanese Texts -

The Japanese tended to continue the systematization of the rituals and cults found in the Chinese texts they imported. Consequently, while there is little in the Japanese Buddhist texts in the way of "unusual" Mārīcī cult practices, we can learn a good deal about the general process of the systematization of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan, as well as the Mārīcī cult itself. These Japanese texts contain a vast amount of information in form of commentaries on the Chinese dhāraṇī-sūtras and transcriptions of oral traditions concerned with Mārīcī ritual elements. This information, as noted in Chapters 3 and 4, facilitates an understanding of the Chinese texts as well as the cult as it was practiced in Japan's

2164, LV: 1073b); E'un, a copy of T. 1258 (T. 2168, LV: 1090a); Chishō, copies of T. 1256 (T. 2173, LV: 1102b) and T. 1255[B] (T. 2173, LV: 1103c); etc.

²⁰The Taishō edition of the twelfth century text - Zuzōshō (by 1135 A.D.) (TZ III: 50) - contains illustrations of both seated and boar-mounted images of Marishiten. However, the earliest reference to T. 1257 appears to be in the twelfth century (by 1180 A.D.) Besson zakki (TZ III: 572a19 et seq.).

middle ages.

The texts compiled in Japan which contain significant information on Marishiten can be divided into two general categories: 1) descriptive works and 2) ritual manuals. Descriptive works are large texts which appear as reference guides to the various worthies of the Sino-Japanese tantric pantheon. They are often divided into sections such as those of the Kakuzenshō which includes the following: 1) Butsu-bu (Buddha Section); 2) Butchō-bu (Buddha Crown S.)²¹; 3) Kyō-bu (Sūtra S.); 4) Kannon-bu (Avalokiteśvara S.); 5) Monjū-bu (Mañjuśrī S.); 6) Bosatsu-bu ([Other] Bodhisattvas S.); 7) Myōō-bu (Vidyārāja/-rājñī S.); 8) Ten-bu (Deva/Devī S.) and 9) Zō-bu (Miscellaneous S.). Of course, each compiler made divisions according to the material he had available and his own personal interests. Marishiten is always found in the "Ten-bu" sections of these texts.

Drawing mainly upon the Chinese sūtras, these compilations provide us with an enormous amount of material on the nature of the pantheon. In addition, these works often include copious references to obscure and/or no-longer-extant editions of Chinese sūtras, Sanskrit texts, Sino-Japanese exegetical literature, and oral traditions dating back as early as the ninth century.

²¹Here Butchō-bu appears to refer to Sākyamuni and the worthies of the third chamber of the Taizōkai Mandara (Womb Realm Maṇḍala).

References to Marishiten in these texts vary greatly in length, some covering only a few lines while others are long, detailed expositions. They are repetitive, add little to what we have already seen, and are mainly useful in clarifying the Chinese texts.²²

Ritual works are essentially manuals of practice which center on the cults of particular worthies. Sometimes these are included as part of the descriptive texts mentioned above, but many are available as separate works and are often found in manuscript form. After examining a number of these, it is apparent that there is a definite "main" type of Marishiten ritual text. This is a relatively common one usually referred to as the Marishitembô (Marishiten Ritual). A second type, of which I have located only one edition, is the Marishi zôyaku gomaku shidai (a Marishiten ritual aimed at increasing merit and securing prosperity through making offerings in a goma [Skt. homa] fire). The use of Marishiten fire rituals by Japanese Buddhists seems to have been relatively rare.²³

²²For a list of works examined for this paper, please see Section 2, "Primary canonical sources: Buddhist sûtras, Taoist texts, commentaries, chronicles, catalogues, etc., [Buddhist texts produced in Japan]."

²³According to Rev. Miyajima of Kôyasan University and Rev. Chiba of Taishô University, this goma text is unusual as Marishiten fire rituals have never been of importance in the mainstream of either Shingon or Tendai esoterism. The text is interesting, however, and should be examined apart from this current writing. Even the exorcistic goma which was carried out on Kôyasan to drive away the U.S. Seventh Fleet during the closing days of World War II was centered not on Marishiten but on the Dainichi Nyorai (Mahâvariocana) of the Womb Mandala. Interview with Shingon Rev. Yamada Ikazuma

Several other common type of Marishiten ritual manual fall somewhat outside of the Buddhist cult. These are Shugendô manuals, the most common of which are the Marishiten benpô (Marishiten "Whip" Ritual) and the (Marishiten) ben kaji-no hô ("Whip" Empowerment Ritual). Some of these manuals may date from the Kamakura period (1185-1333 A.D.).²⁴ These will be briefly touched upon at the end of this chapter.

By far the most common Buddhist ritual manual is the Marishitembô. In manuscript form this type can be found under a variety of names. In addition to the title Marishitembô we also find Marishiten ku (Marishiten Pûjâ [Offerings]), Marishiten hihô (Marishiten Secret Ritual), Marishi yômitsuki (Record of Marishiten Secrets), etc. They are all essentially the same, although each manuscript examined was unique in one way or another.

The earliest example of the Marishitembô appears to be that found in the twelfth century Gyôrinshô (T. 2409).²⁵ This text contains, in addition to the actual ritual, lists of textual sources, instructions for image making, and other information concerning the goddess. A later work, the

while at Kôyasan, July 1989.

²⁴I have been unable to locate any copies of these texts which are dated. However, Shibuya lists some ritual texts for empowering warrior accouterments which date from the Kamakura period; e.g. the Ben kaji shidai. Rev. Ryôtai Shibuya, Shôwa genson Tendai shoseki sôgô mokuroku (1943; reprint, Kyoto, 1978), 829a.

²⁵T. 2409, LXXVI: (Marishitembô section) 467b-470a.

thirteenth century Asabashô,²⁶ includes essentially the same ritual but with much greater elaboration on image making, mudrâ, etc. Most of the Marishitembô texts thus far examined imitate, more or less, these two pattern works which are, themselves, based on the standard Jûhachidô.

- The Standardization of the Jûhachidô -

The Jûhachidô is, as we have seen, a ritual manual derived from the Susiddhikara-mahâtantra, one of the great synthesizing works of eighth century China. Doctrinally it is viewed as a ritual method of self-realization in the Buddhist sense. It is a process designed to lead the devotee to an understanding, or "apprehension," of the Mahâyâna Buddhist concept of reality; that is (Skt.) pratîtya-samutpâda,²⁷ the "interdependent nature of existence." As noted in Chapter 2, Mahâyâna Buddhism views the nature of existence as impermanent, interdependent, without substance or substratum. This nature, in Mahâyâna, is referred to in Sanskrit as śûnyatâ.

Kûkai, the founder of the Mantrayâna (or tantric) school in Japan known as Shingon, interpreted pratîtya-samutpâda through a concept known in Japanese as the rokudai. This term indicates the traditional five elements of the Buddhist

²⁶TZ IX: 465b-468a.

²⁷Jp. engi; Ch. yüan-ch'i

Esoteric Tradition - earth, water, fire, wind, void - plus a sixth, mind. Kūkai posited a theory of practice in which one could come to know, or apprehend, the nature of existence - e.g., the interplay of the six elements - through ritual practices which utilize the Three Mysteries of the Esoteric Tradition.²⁸ These Three Mysteries, both in the Shingon and Tendai traditions, refer to the actions of Body, Speech and Mind. Ritually these actions are produced through mudrā (hand 'seals,' body posture, etc.), mystical spells, and meditation/visualization. Thus, an apprehension or experience of pratītya-samutpāda (the impermanence of existence; śūnyatā) can be arrived at through the ritual actions of making mystical seals, chanting specified spells, and performing meditation.

Rev. Taisen Miyata, in his enlightening essay on the Shingon version of the Jūhachidō, refers to this process as one of "cosmicization" in which the human situation is ritually expressed in cosmological,²⁹ or idealized, terms. Through the ritual, the devotee identifies himself - his body, speech, and mind - with the nature, abilities and wisdom of the worthy around whom the ritual is centered. Consequently,

²⁸Yoshito S. Hakeda, Kūkai: Major Works (New York, 1972), 227. This was also the view of the great Tendai masters of Tantrism such as Ennin. (Conversations with Rev. Shōshin Ichishima while practicing the Jūhachidō, Tamon-in, Inzai-machi, Japan, May 1979.)

²⁹Taisen Miyata, A Study of the Ritual Mudras in the Shingon Tradition (privately published, 1984), 4.

if the main image (Jp. honzon) is that of Mahāvairocana, through performing the ritual the devotee himself becomes "interpenetrated" with that Buddha and realizes the enlightened state of Mahāvairocana; e.g. the wisdom of the Absolute which wipes away delusion.

A clarification should be made here. While "the standardized Jūhachidō" has been consistently referred to by the author, there are a number of editions of this ritual manual. Each "tradition" or "school" (Jp. ryū) within Tendai Esoterism (Taimitsu) has its own version of the Jūhachidō and there are evidently several versions within Shingon Esoterism (Tōmitsu) as well. All are generally the same in that they take the devotee through similar ritual practices toward common goals.

The ritual process of the Jūhachidō, as it is practiced³⁰, can be divided into two distinct phases. The first is an "Association Phase"³¹ which leads the devotee into identification with the central image of the altar (Jp. honzon). The second phase is a "Disassociation Phase"³² in which the devotee reverses the procedures of the first phase in order to re-

³⁰This information is taken not only from ritual manuals but also from numerous discussions I had with Tendai Rev. Shōshin Ichishima as he led me through the ritual process of the Jūhachidō in 1979.

³¹This is a centripetal or afferent phase which parallels Tucci's discussion of mandala. See Giuseppe Tucci, The Theory and Practice of the Mandala (New York, 1961), 24-25.

³²This is a centrifugal or efferent phase. See Tucci as in previous note.

enter a normal state of consciousness. Interestingly, the title of the ritual manual only refers to eighteen (Jp. jūhachi) mudrā and their operations in the initial phase of the practice. This does not include the actual consubstantiation/introjection operation in which the devotee unifies himself with the central deity of the ritual. This emphasis on the Association Phase is interpreted by Tendai Rev. Ichishima as being due to the fact that the Jūhachidō is an initiatory ritual performance in which the devotee is expected to learn the practices which are basic as well to the execution of the Taizōkai, Kongōkai, and Goma rituals.³³ In addition, since the performance of the eighteen seals of the Jūhachidō is the basis from which rituals devoted to all ten-class (Skt. deva, devī) worthies are created, the exclusion of the seal of the central deity of the ritual would seem a logical decision. Thus, the process of introjection with the central deity is flexible and can be modified by each practitioner.

The sections of the ritual are essentially given below.³⁴

³³Tendai Rev. Shōshin Ichishima, interview with the author, 7 February 1990.

³⁴Since these categories were explained to me in 1979, Rev. Ichishima has published an article describing the Hōmanryū version of the Jūhachidō. For a comparison of the Hōmanryū Jūhachidō with other Tendai versions see Ichishima Shōshin, "Shido-kegyō kaisetsu," Tendai: Shūkyōgirei to Tendai-no hōgi, No. 9 (January, 1985): 59-73.

[Association Phase]

- I. Adornment of the Practitioner (Jp. Shōgon gyōja-no hō).
 This section is also known as the "Self-protection Ritual" (Jp. Goshinpō) and is performed prior to conducting most other esoteric rituals. It includes the following rituals/spells: [1] Jōsangō (Purification of body, speech, and mind); [2] Butsubu, [3] Rengebu, [4] Kongōbu (the three classes of maṇḍala worthies - Buddha, Lotus, and Vajra); and, finally, [5] Hikō goshin (Body armoring or "self-protection").
- II. "Binding" and Protecting the Sacred Area (Jp. Kekkaihō).
 This includes the rituals of [6] Jiketsu (Firming the ground of the sacred area) and [7] Kongōshō (Making a fence of vajra around the altar).
- III. Adornment of the Sacred Altar Area (Jp. Shōgon dōjōhō).
 This includes the rituals of [8] Dōjōkan (Visualization of the honzon or "main image") and [9] Futsū kuyō (Pervasive offerings, a second visualization in which innumerable utensils and pavilions "emerge" from the devotee's mudrā and make offerings to all sacred deities).

IV. "Summoning Up" or "Invitation" Ritual (Jp. Kanjôhô).

Three operations are included here: [10] Sôsharo (Sending off the sacred car to "pick up" the deities), [11] Shôsharo (Bringing the sacred car containing the deities into the altar), and [12] Bujô (Respectfully inviting the deities into the altar).³⁵

V. Protecting the Sacred Altar Area (Jp. Ketsugôhô). This

section includes three operations: [13] Tôbu myôô (Making the Seal of Origination {"Main Root" mudrâ} of the main image - in the case of the standard Jûhachidô this is Fudô-myôô), [14] Kongômô (Vajra net which protects the area above the sacred altar), and [15] Kainkai (A seal/spell which protects the sacred altar area with a ring of fire).

VI. Offerings (Jp. Kuyôbô). This section includes three

types of offerings: [16] Aka (Scented water with which to wash the feet of the honzon),³⁶ [17] Keza (Seat of flowers offered to the honzon), [18] Fukuyô (Verses and

³⁵This does not appear as a separate operation under this title in either the Hômanryû text or Shibuya's analysis of the Anôryû Jûhachidô. (Perhaps it is equivalent to the "inviting" ritual called Geishô?) It is included in the Hômanryû Taizôkai. Perhaps it appears under this name in the texts of other schools?

³⁶From Sanskrit argha, water which is offered to a guest upon his arrival.

seals dedicating offerings).

In addition to these eighteen essential mudrâ operations of the Jûhachidô, a number of other operations are included in the actual ritual performance. After the Offerings of Section VI are made, the devotee makes the mudrâ, recites the spell, and visualizes the form of the main image of the ritual (Fudô-myôô, Marishiten, Bishamonten, etc.) in a process of identification with the deity.

[Disassociation Phase]

After the above has been completed, the devotee performs many of the same operations in reverse sequence or on the left side of the altar (all of the above having been performed at the center or right side of the altar) in order to return to the mundane world, our "normal" state of consciousness.

All of the above operations are found in the Marishitembô (Marishiten Ritual). The following is a brief summary of the longer Marishitembô found in the thirteenth century Asabashô (with reference to the almost identical but more elaborate twelfth century Gyôrinshô).

- The Marishiten Ritual Method -

[From the Asabashō compiled by Shōchō]

After noting that this ritual is normally performed inside a room, Shōchō takes a passage from Annen's ninth century Secret Rituals of Mārīcī:³⁷

Marishiten-bosatsu is Dainichi-nyorai's fourth dharma-body. (The bosatsu) is manifested as this "homogeneous transformation body"³⁸ in order to benefit all sentient beings.³⁹

In this short passage, quoted from Annen's ninth century text, Marishiten's official place in the matured form of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism is clearly defined. She is a manifestation of Dainichi-nyorai (Skt. Mahāvairocana), the principal worthy of the two central maṇḍala of Sino-Japanese esoterism: the Womb and Thunderbolt Realms. Her equation with Mahāvairocana's "fourth dharmakāya" (that is, a manifestation made for the purpose of saving sentient beings) also harkens back to the systematization tendencies of Amoghavajra for it

³⁷Jp. Marishi hihō. This work also appears to be unavailable.

³⁸Jp. tōrushin or tōruhoshin. This is the body form of a human, heavenly being, animal, etc. into which the Buddha transforms himself in order to save sentient beings.

³⁹TZ. IX: 466a18-20.

was he who established that soteriological hierarchy.

The quotation from Annen's text continues:

If a visualization (of Marishiten) is not accomplished, there will be no efficacy/effect (in the ritual).⁴⁰

The term used here for efficacy (Jp. ken) is the same which was translated earlier as "miraculous power" (siddhi). In other words, if the practitioner is unable to obtain a visualization of Marishiten, the ritual will be ineffective and no miraculous powers or acquisition of boons will be forthcoming.

The ritual actually begins from this point and closely follows the standard Jûhachidô. This manual abbreviates much of the preliminary material of the Jûhachidô texts, such as preparation for entry into the dôjô (sacred altar area), preparation of the altar, purification of the practitioner's robes, etc., under the first section which is entitled Hôben. Many of these details are included in the earlier version of this ritual found in the twelfth century Gyôrinshô,⁴¹ including the setting up of a Mârici altar as described in T. 901.⁴²

⁴⁰TZ. IX: 466a20.

⁴¹T. 2409, LXXVI: 467c9-20.

⁴²The Gyôrinshô quotes the altar description from T. 901.

Also interesting in its absence from the Marishiten rituals in both the Gyōrinshō and Asabashō texts is Jūhachidō Section I - Adornment or Self-protection (the Goshinpō). This short ritual of protection is included as a prelude not only to the performance of the Jūhachidō but also the Taizōkai, Kongōkai, and Goma rituals. Some manuscript copies of the Marishitembō include it, as do several other types of Marishiten ritual texts.

Since most of the following ritual is from the Jūhachidō, a description here of each practice with its involved mudrā, spells and recitations is not necessary. This has already been done by several scholars, both in the Shingon and Tendai sects, Miyata's version being the most comprehensive.⁴³ Items which vary from the standard Jūhachidō, or those sections which are Marishiten-specific, will be noted by an asterisk. Numbers before a parenthesis indicate sections designated by the Asabashō text.

⁴³An English version of the Hōmanryū Jūhachidō text by Rev. Shōshin Ichishima of Taishō University is currently in the editing stages. A Shingon version has also been published: Jūhachidō in A Study of the Ritual Mudras in the Shingon Tradition: A Phenomenological Study on the Eighteen Ways of Esoteric Recitation (Jūhachidō Nenju Kubi Shidai: Chūin) in the Koyasan Tradition -. Translated and annotated by Rev. Taisen Miyata, M.A., Privately pub., 1984.

The Ritual

1) Hôben [as usual]: Preparations.

Keibyaku: A statement on why the ceremony is being performed.

[The Tendai Hômanryû text makes a statement that it is for the "equality of the Dharma World and the World of Sentient Beings" (e.g. in order to bring all sentient beings to Buddhahood), dispelling sins, encouraging "good acts" and bring on enlightenment. Shibuya's essay on the Jûhachidô lists four possible purposes which may be stated in the Keibyaku: 1) to show respect to various deities, 2) spiritual satisfaction, 3) praise for virtues of the main image of worship, 4) to obtain something desired by the practitioner.⁴⁴]

*Here the practitioner would name the specific powers or boons desired from Marishiten.

Jimbun: A Dedication Chanted for Various Worthies.

2) Kuyômon: Phrases which Dedicate Offerings.

3) Shôrai: Salutations (to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas).

*Sanjin: The Three Bodies (of the Buddha).

⁴⁴Shibuya, Jûhachidô, 16.

[Neither the Asabashô nor the Gyôrinshô specify as to which sanjin ritual is performed. None is found at this point in the Hômanryû text or Shibuya's essay.]

*Butsugen: Praise to the Buddha Eye.

[The Buddha Eye (origin or 'mother' of all wisdom) is part of the Jûhachidô. However, it is usually found much later in the ritual.]

*[Spells]: namo mandarashu ariya-marishi-deiba-bosatsu makasatsu (x3)

[Here a Marishiten-specific spell is inserted. Mandarashu (lord of the maṇḍala) is given here as a title for Mārīcī. Interestingly, in this spell the goddess is apparently called a male deva - Arya-mārīci-deva-bodhi-sattva Mahāsattva - in lieu of a female devatâ.

Spells are also included for the Godai(myôô),⁴⁵ Daisho,⁴⁶ and Sambu.⁴⁷]

- 4) Kyôgaku: Awakening (of the Worthies for the Ritual).
- 5) Kuhôben: The Nine Skillful Means.

⁴⁵The "Five Great Myôô (Skt. vidyarâja). These are Fudô- (Skt. Acala), Gôsanze- (Skt. Trailokyavijaya), Gundari- (Skt. Kundalin), Daiitoku- (Skt. Yamântaka), and Kongôyasha- (Vajrayakṣa).

⁴⁶Various great and small deities.

⁴⁷The three classes of maṇḍala deities.

6) *Hotsugan...: Making Requests...

...Godaigan: ...and Vows.

[Hotsugan and Godaigan are usually found together in standard Tendai Jûhachidô texts. In Hotsugan the practitioner invites the worthies into the mandala or altar. In the Jûhachidô the main worthy is usually Fudô-myôô. However, here we can imagine the devotee invites Marishiten and her attendants (see T. 901) into the altar. The practitioner also requests protection from mishap at this point. The Godaigan here is probably the standard one as no specific worthies are involved.

7) Sambu: (Obeisance to the) Three Classes of Worthies.⁴⁸8) Hikô: Armoring.

[Here the practitioner performs a ritual of body protection. The mudrâ used here is very similar to Mârîcî's Body Seal except that the two index fingers are spread apart instead of trapped by the two middle fingers. The seal used here is a standardized one, not the Mârîcî-specific Body Protection Seal of T. 901.]

9) Jiketsu: Firming the Ground (of the Altar).10) Kongôshô: Vajra Fence (Protecting the Sacred Ground).11) *Dôjôkan: Visualization for the Sacred Altar.

⁴⁸Buddha, Lotus, and Vajra Class.

[Here we depart from the Jûhachidô and a Marishiten visualization is performed in lieu of the standard one of Fudô-myôô.]

On the ground which you have made firm, within the net of vajra, visualize an ocean in which there is a mountain for supporting a Buddhist image. On the peak of the mountain is a castle. Within the castle is a four-petalled lotus throne.⁴⁹ Upon the lotus throne, visualize the Sanskrit letter ma . This letter changes into the form of a heavenly fan. (See the fan held by Marishiten in Fig. #2).

[Here Shôchô inserts a quotation from the Yonjûjôketsu by Tendai priest Jôen,⁵⁰ which states that you may also use a pot or bottle for this symbol.]

This fan changes to become Marishiten who resembles the form of a goddess...surrounded by attendants.⁵¹

⁴⁹Specifically a (Jp.) kayôza. This is a throne specifically used for deva-class worthies such as Marishiten. (Rev. Shôshin Ichishima, interview with the author, December, 1989.)

⁵⁰From T. 2408, LXXV.

⁵¹TZ. IX: 466b4-14.

[At this point the seated form of the goddess found in T. 901, T. 1254, and T. 1255[B] is described; this need not be repeated here. (See Fig. 1) The actual wording of the text in the Gyōrinshō is different but the description is essentially the same.⁵²]

- 12) Sanriki(gei): Three Powerful Verses.
- 13) Futsū(kuyō): Pervasive Offerings.
- 14) Shinrei: Ringing Bells.
- 15) Sōsharo: Sending off the Carriage (to pick up the Worthies).
- 16) *Shōsha(ro): Inviting the Worthies brought by the Carriage into the Altar.

[Again, since specific deities must be named here this text diverges from the standard Fudō-myōō-centered Jūhachidō and adds a Marishiten phrase to the end of the standard spell. The revised spell would then be: (Jp.) namaku shichiriyajibikyanan tatagyatanan on basara-giniya kyarishaya [marishi-deiba-eigeiki] sowaka. Attempting to reconstruct a Sanskrit equivalent we have namas try-adhvikānām tathāgatānām om vajrāgny ākarṣaya mārīci-dev[āya]⁵³ ehy-ehi svāhā. This translates as "Obeisance

⁵²T. 2409: 467c28-468a7. The description in T. 2409 is also more elaborate.

⁵³Of course, if we include all the sandhi the phrase would be mārīcidevāyāihyehi. However, spells like this in such texts as the Sādhanamālā often leave out much of the sandhi.

to the Tathāgatas of the Three Worlds; Om vajra-fire drawing near, Mārīci, Come! Come! Svāhā."⁵⁴]

17) *Geishō: Inviting the Worthies to Enter the Altar.

[Here are performed the three mudrā and spells mentioned above in T. 1255[B].⁵⁵ In this Marishitembō, the spell is changed in the Vajra Class section to accommodate the replacement of Fudō-myōō with Marishiten. The revised spell would thus be: on basara-dorikya ariya-marishi-deiba bojisatabaya makasatabaya eigeiki sowaka. The Sanskrit reconstruction: om vajra-dhr̥k mārīci-dev[āya] bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya ehy-ehi svāhā. "Om Vajra-bearing Mārīci-deva, Bodhisattva, Mahāsattva, Come! Come! Svāhā.]

[It is also interesting to note Marishiten's place in the Buddhist pantheon is here clearly defined as the Vajra Section. The Vajra Section of the pantheon was, according to Snellgrove, for devotees who were "originally outside the Buddhist fold, who place their faith in fierce and horrifying divinities."⁵⁶ Her inclusion in that section here may indicate that one of her original uses was to attract devotees of fierce deities such as

⁵⁴See Hatta, no. 428, 71.

⁵⁵See Chapter 4, 152-153.

⁵⁶Snellgrove, "Buddhism in North India...", 68.

Durgâ.]

- 18) Hekigo(jûma): Driving away any Mârâ or Demons who followed the Worthies into the Altar.
- 19) Jisam(maya): Displaying the Original Vow.
- 20) Kongômo: Vajra Net (for Protection from Mârâ).
- 21) Kain(kai): Fire Court.
- 22) Aka: Scented Water (offering).
- 23) Keza: Flowers (offering).
- 24) Zenrai(qe): Welcoming Worthies.
- 25) Jûketsu (daikai): Consolidating Territory.
 [Evidently the process used in T. 1255[B] has been replaced here by the standard one. No note mentions any divergence from the Jûhachidô.]
- 26) Goku(yô): Five Offerings.
 [These five are 1) fine incense, 2) flowers, 3) rough, crumpled incense, 4) food vessels (rice), 5) light.]
- 27) Fuku(yô): Universal Offering.
- 28) San: Praise (to the Honzon).
 [A note here indicates that a verse of praise for "all devas" should be used (in lieu of the standard one for Fudô-myôô).]
- 29) *Nyûsamaji: Entering Meditation.

Visualize a moon disc on which there is the Sanskrit letter ma म . The letter ma changes to become a

heavenly fan form. Gradually it extends and enlarges becoming Marishiten. My body and Marishiten become one, non-dual.

30) *Konpon-inmyô: Seal and Spell of Origination (Main Root Mudrâ)

[Here in the Jûhachidô the seal of origination of Fudô-myôô is made and his spell is chanted. Our Marishiten text diverges here and includes two mudrâ as described in T. 1258.]

Seal of Origination of the Buddha, Biroshana (Skt. Vairocana).⁵⁷ Along with this seal the devotee must chant the spell: namah samanta-buddhânân a vi ra hûm kham.⁵⁸

31) *Marishibosatsu Konpon Shingon-in: Seal of Origination of Marishiten [Body Seal].⁵⁹

Here the core dhâranî is given as it appears in T. 1258.

⁵⁷The Gyôrinshô refers to seal #1 of T. 1258. See Fig. 8.

⁵⁸Jp. a bi ra un ken. See Hatta, 16, #68.

⁵⁹Here the Asabashô and Gyôrinshô (T. 2409, LXXVI: 468b2) note that T. 901 refers to this mudrâ as the Body Seal. The Asabashô notes that this seal is just like the Kongôrin-in and that both the seal and spell are found in the Ohara dôjô kanshû and Subhakarasiṃha's Kuang-ta-kuei (T. 851, XVIII).

- 32) *Marishitenbosatsu Shin-shingon: Mind Spell of Mārīcī⁶⁰ -

namaḥ samanta-buddhānān om mārīcyai svāhā.

- 33) *Shin-shingon (in): Mind Seal [Invisibility Seal]⁶¹

After describing the now familiar seal, the devotee visualizes himself hidden within the seal of Marishiten's essence.⁶² Jōen is then quoted on how to make the seal. It is very similar to standard directions and he refers to the "socket" formed by the thumb and index finger of the left hand as the "mouth of the jeweled bottle." Jōen is also cited to support the use of both the Seal of Origination of the Buddha, Biroshana (Vairocana), and the Seal of Origination of Marishiten. This is because Mahāvairocana is the hon (origin) and Mārīcī is the jaku (manifestation).

- 34) Kajiju: Empowering the Rosary.

⁶⁰Jp. Marishiten-bosatsu-shinshingon of T. 1258.

⁶¹This also follows T. 1258. However, while it was unclear as to which seal was indicated in that text, here in the Asabashō it is clearly stated that it is the Invisibility Seal. The author here notes that in the Hsüan-fa (T. 852, XVIII) and Ch'ing-lung-kuei (T. 853, XVIII), the same term - Ch. hsin chen-yin, Jp. shin shingon; the Tui-shou-chi refers to it as the an-ta-tsu-na yin [Invisibility Seal] while in other texts call it the yin-hsing yin [Invisibility Seal]; T. 901 calls it the mo-nu yin, etc.

⁶²Here there is a note that T. 851 gives the same directions.

35) *Shônenjû: Right Mindfulness.

Spells are chanted for the following:

- 1) Dainichi (Mahāvairocana) - a bi ra un ken.
[Buddha-locana (Buddha Eye) is not included here as it was done earlier]
- 2) Main Image (Marishiten) - No spell is specified here, but it is probably on marishie sowaka.
- 3) Various Worthies - on rokya rokya kyaraya sowaka⁶³
- 4) Buddha Compassion and Protection (Non-standard)
- 5) Kisshô(ten)
- 6) Gattenson

36) Genjû: Returning the Rosary.*37) Gonyûsamaji: "Latter" Ritual of Entering Meditation

[The directions here are rather obscure (due to abbreviation?) but the text appears to indicate that the devotee visualizes the Sanskrit letter ma म within a moon sphere.⁶⁴ This letter means that (the nature) of all dharma is impossible to realize. In the Jûhachidô this moon sphere is a symbol of freedom from all attachments, for the letter envisioned (here, ma) is śûnyatâ. The devotee becomes interpenetrated or consubstantiated with the object of meditation. This is a state which the

⁶³Skt. om lokâloka-kârâya svâhâ.

⁶⁴Gyôrinshô, T. 2409, LXXVI: 468c20.

Jûhachidô text refers to as "I am in the Buddha and the Buddha is in me.]

*38) Komponinmyô: Seal of Origination and Spell

[In the Jûhachidô this would be the mudrâ for the main image - Fudô-myôô. In this text the devotee should repeat sections 32 and 33. Here no explanation is given of whether the devotee should perform this section using the Vairocana or Mâricî seals and spells.]

39) Bumô(in): Seal of the Buddha Mother⁶⁵

40) Gokuyô [As in 26]; 41) Fuku(yô) [As in 27]; 42) San [As in 28]; 43) Aka [As in 22]; 44) Gekai [Extinguishing the fire established in the Kainkai, section 21];

45) Busô: Seeing off the Worthies

[This is similar to the process carried out in sections 15 and 16, but here the worthies are sent back. No special spell is suggested at this point. However, Marishiten would probably replace Fudô-myôô in the Vajra class, as noted above. This section may also include Busôshôju (a reverse of the Geishô, section 17, but that is not indicated in this text. The Gyôrinshô version requires the devotee to form the kongôbaku (vajra fist

⁶⁵In the Hômanryû, often an abbreviated form of the Buddha Eye seal is performed here.

seal of the Kongōkai) and chant: on bajira-mokusha-
moku(?)

- 46) Sambu [As in 7]; 47) Hikō [As in 8];
48) Ekōhōben: Transference of Skillful Means (Merit)
49) Zuihōekō: Transference of Merit to all Directions
50) Geza-reibutsu-shutsudō: [Lit. "Get down from the seat,
bow to the Buddha, and leave the meditation hall.]

This Marishitembō represents the culmination of the assimilation of the Mārīcī cult into the standard Sino-Japanese tantric ritual mold. While the essential aspect of her nature (the power of invisibility) has survived along with her iconographic representation, many of her unique cult aspects (her abhiṣeka and seven unique mudrā from T. 901, the seven times or activities when the invisibility seal should be used described in T. 1259, etc.) have been superseded by more standardized practices or simply dropped. From this point in the thirteenth century there appears to have been little or no further development of the cult of the Indian Buddhist goddess within the "higher church" of Japanese Shingon and Tendai.

As noted, a number of variations on this theme did appear over the centuries, but most of the variations are, more or less, similar to the text we have just examined and do not necessitate an analysis here. The most unusual of the

Marishitembô manuscript examine during the course of this research, in fact, was interesting due to its brevity. This short text⁶⁶ was composed by a priest named Shôzen in 1759. Harkening back to the early cult, it simply contains the core spells of Marishiten preceded by the Goshinpô (Self-protection Ritual) and a spell praising the Buddha, Śākyamuni. (See Fig. 22). Its sequence is as follows:

- 1) Goshinpô Body Protection (Adornment of the Practitioner)
- 2) [Spell] namu shakamuni-butstu (X 10)
- 3) [Spell] namu marishiten-bosatsu (X 10)
- 4) Vow/pledge of Marishiten similar to those found in the core text of the various Chinese texts.
- 5) [Spell] on marishi swaka (X 1000)

With this short text from the eighteenth century we have come almost full circle - (warrior) protectress / provider of invisibility to compassionate bodhisattvâ (manifestation of Mahāvairocana) to protectress / provider of invisibility. But even though this text is little more than the Mārīcī dhāraṇī of the sixth century with a thin Buddhist veneer, we should remember that the Buddhist practitioners of eighteenth century Japan also had the background of the Jûhachidô and other

⁶⁶Text # 507.1514 from Eizan Bunko.

standard tantric rituals on which to base their practices. Consequently even this "abbreviated" text should, perhaps, be viewed as a part of the cultural milieu within which it was produced. Its purpose might well be more than a simple request for the benefits mentioned in the spell. On the other hand, most editions of the Marishitembô examined at Mt. Hiei and other locations resemble more closely those Jûhachidô-based texts found in the twelfth century Gyôrinshô and thirteenth century Asabashô. Thus, it is apparent that this abbreviated type was aimed specifically at obtaining the boons of protection and invisibility.

- Shugendō and Marishiten -

This emphasis on protection and invisibility (in contrast to an emphasis on bringing all sentient beings to enlightenment) is even more obvious in the short Marishiten texts produced by one of Japan's native religious traditions, Shugendō. While the Marishiten texts of Shugendō were not necessarily an "intermediary phase" between the orthodox Buddhist tradition of the Heian and Kamakura (1185-1333) periods and the warrior rituals which appear in the late Muromachi age (1338-1573), they do seem, in some ways, to bridge the gap between the Buddhist Marishiten and the warrior Marishiten.

In addition, according to several authorities on the development of Japanese heihō (military strategy), some of the early, key figures in the development of schools of heihō, such as Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159-1189) and Kusunoki Masashige (1294-1336), were supported in their military endeavors not only by the sōhei (warrior monks) of the Tendai sect but also by Shugendō priests in the area of Yoshino.⁶⁷ As a result, there may very well have been a mixing of heihō with Buddhist and Shugendō esoterics as early as the twelfth century, although documentation of such mixing dating from that period is practically non-existent.

⁶⁷Ishioka Hisao and Arima Shigeyoshi, Shoryū heihō (Part 1), vol. 6 of Nippon heihō zenshū (Tokyo, 1967), 18.

Shugendô, the way (dô) of practicing religious austerities (shu) for the purpose of mastering magico-religious power (gen)⁶⁸, finds its origins in the pre-history of Japan.⁶⁹ Its practices, from its earliest origins, centered on sacred mountains and its practitioners came to be known as both yamabushi⁷⁰ (lit. "to lie down in the mountains") and shugenja (practitioners of shugen). By the seventh century the practices of early Shugendô had become fused with Buddhist and Taoist beliefs and rituals. Then, from the ninth through the twelfth centuries, Shugendô came under strong influence from the Esoteric Buddhist centers of both the Tendai and Shingon sects. It was most probably during those latter centuries that the Shugendô "version" of the Marishiten cult evolved.

Several Shugendô Marishiten texts are readily available and most of the "types" have been reprinted in Hattori's Shugendô yôten.⁷¹ There we find, in a ten volume text known as the Shugen shimpi gyôhô fujushû, four texts dealing primarily with Marishiten. These include the Marishiten-no

⁶⁸The Jp. term gen (as in Shugendô) is equivalent to the Ch. yen of ta-yen or ta-ling-yen (great miraculous powers).

⁶⁹H. Byron Earhart, A Religious Study of The Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendô: An Example of Japanese Mountain Religion (Tokyo, 1970), ix.

⁷⁰This term may be written in two ways (see glossary, yamabushi and yamabushi⁽²⁾). The first term is the oldest.

⁷¹See Hattori Nyojitsu, Shugendô yôten (Tokyo, 1972), 487-492.

daiji [The Essentials (or Most Important Ritual Elements) of Marishiten],⁷² Marishiten benpô [Marishiten Whipping-rod Ritual],⁷³ Benkaji-no hô [Whipping-rod Empowerment Ritual],⁷⁴ and the Marishi ichi-inpô [One-Seal-Ritual of Marishi].⁷⁵

All of these Shugendô texts contain relatively simple rituals when compared with the Buddhist Marishitembô examined above. Of course, the practices and symbols contained in these Shugendô ritual manuals may have a number of interpretations which vary with standard Buddhist interpretations, but without accessing the oral traditions of the yamabushi, these will be difficult to examine. Consequently, within the constraints of this particular study there will be no attempt to delve deeply into the Shugendô-specific interpretations of these rituals. However, it will be of use to us to briefly examine their content as we will find some of the same elements in the abstruse warrior documents of the Muromachi and Edo (1600-1867) periods.

The Marishi ichi-inpô is the shortest of these four rituals and appears to be a simple, abbreviated version of the Mo-li-chih-t'ien yi-yin-fa (T. 1259) which we examined in

⁷²Hattori (text #59), 487-488.

⁷³Ibid., (text # 60), 488-490. This text is also found under the title Marishitenshin benpô in another collection in Hattori's work - Shugen jôyô hihôshû [The Collected Standard-Use Secret Rituals of Shugen(dô)], 378-380.

⁷⁴Ibid., (text #61), 490-491.

⁷⁵Ibid., (text #62), 491-492.

Chapter 4. Thus, it need not be looked at in detail here.

In summary its contents are:

- 1) Make the Body Seal and chant the Mind Spell (X 7)
- 2) Touch and empower the five points of the body.

At each point chant: on marishi(ei) saha

- 3) Make the Invisibility Seal over the heart. Chant the spell (X 100): on aditiyâ marishi(ei) saha

You should use this for empowerment at the seven times.

(The list of the seven times is the same one as is found in T. 1259.)

There is nothing new here, at least not on the surface. No specific purpose other than "empowerment" (Jp. kaji) is mentioned in the text itself. As noted, this is simply a concise version of T. 1259.

The next shortest text in Hattori's compilation is the Marishiten-no daiji. This ritual performance is rather interesting in its association of Marishiten with the Kuji (nine characters),⁷⁶ and solar symbolism. The text requires the devotee to first perform the Goshinpô, a process of five mudrâ and spells which we saw were essential to the performance of the Jûhachidô and other Shingon and Tendai esoteric rituals.

⁷⁶More on the Kuji will be given below.

Next, the devotee makes the gebakushishi-in with his hands⁷⁷ and chants the sounds of the nine characters of the Kuji. This is normally used as a protective device like the Goshinpô but no explanation is given in this edition of the Marishiten-no daiji.

After that, the shugenja performs the naijishi-in while chanting the Mind Spell of Marishiten. (No number of repetitions is indicated.) Following these processes the devotee forms the "horse head seal" (Jp. Battô-in). Perhaps this indicates some relationship to Battô Kannon - the "horse-head" Avalokiteśvara (Skt. Hayagrīva) but no information is included in this manual.⁷⁸ This seal is formed by holding the hands together (as in prayer) but keeping a space inside the palms. Next the two ring and index fingers are turned inside the palms and the Kuji is chanted.

The next step apparently follows directly on the mudrā given above. This is called the nichirin-hôkô-in (Seal of Emitting Light from the Sun's Disc). Here, while keeping the two thumbs lined up from the Battô-in, the devotee opens all

⁷⁷It is unclear here which seal this indicates. In the performance of the Kuji there are both a Gejishi-in and a Gebaku-in. See Figs. 25 and 27.

⁷⁸Getty stated that Mārīcī was the śakti (tantric consort) of Hayagrīva and mentioned a red-colored, three-faced, ten-armed version of the goddess depicted with a horse-head in her hair. Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism (1928; reprint, Tokyo, 1962), 133. R.H. van Gulik, however, in his essay on Hayagrīva, evidently felt that this particular relationship was questionable. See van Gulik, Hayagrīva, 37.

his fingers outward and chants: namu nichirin marishiten svâhâ. [Obeisance to Sun-Disc Marishiten!]

Finally, the devotee makes a seal called the ongyô-daikongôrin-in. This is not explained and a note indicates that the kuden (oral transmission) gives the directions for this seal. Its name indicates that it may be either Marishiten's Invisibility Seal (ongyô-in) or Body Seal (daikongôrin-in) or, perhaps, a combination of both? With this the practitioner chants: om citraya svâhâ. [om Illusion! svâhâ].⁷⁹ This use of an appropriate Sanskrit term for illusion would seem to indicate an authentic (oral?) tradition concerning Marishiten's original supernatural powers accompanied the cult to Japan and found its way into Shugendô. Following this seal the devotee states the following: "I (name) am safe and at ease." No other directions are included in this ritual.

The longest of these four Shugendô works is the Marishiten benpô.⁸⁰ We need not examine the whole text in detail here, but it does contain some elements that were also important in the Japanese warrior cult of Marishiten. The Marishiten benpô was evidently a very common ritual text and

⁷⁹The Skt. citra (here in the dative case, citrâya), if indeed this is the actual word meant by the text, has a number of meanings such as "bright, bright-colored, variegated, illusion, unreality," etc. MW, 396.

⁸⁰The Benkaji-no hô, while interesting, need not be examined for this paper.

several manuscripts of it are available at Mt. Hiei and other temples. Like the Marishiten-no daiji it includes both the Goshinpô and Kuji rituals. In Hattori's edition of this text, neither the Goshinpô nor the Kujihô are described in detail. Some texts from Mt. Hiei, however, contain a description of these rituals. Since we have already examined the Buddhist Goshinpô, we may bypass a description of it here as the Shugendô version is essentially the same.⁸¹ The Kujihô, on the other hand, deserves a closer look for we will find it again as an important element in warrior scrolls dealing with Marishiten. Fortunately, one of the manuscripts of the Marishiten benpô from Mt. Hiei gives a full outline of the Kuji ritual. Since the performance in this text from Mt. Hiei is similar to that described in the transmission scrolls of several ancient Japanese warrior traditions (Jp. koryû), it will be useful to examine that process here before continuing with the Marishiten benpô.

The Kuji ritual as found in Japan today has acquired many uses during its long history. Carmen Blacker, in fact, describes such diverse uses for the Kuji as the facilitation of medium possession and the curing of headaches!⁸² In contrast to this, its earliest uses appear to have been for

⁸¹Of course, the Shugendô version may have a variety of interpretations that are not standard Buddhist ones.

⁸²See Carmen Blacker, The Catalpa Bow (London, 1975), 244 (for headache cures) and 289 (in connection with medium possession).

protection while travelling in the mountains and as a talisman for the battlefield.⁸³ H. Byron Earhart, citing Soothill and Hodous, notes that the nine characters of the Kujihô - pronounced rin pyô tô sha kai jin retsu zai zen in Japanese⁸⁴ - meant "the armed forces are arrayed against the powers of evil."⁸⁵ It was evidently known to Chinese Taoist as the Liu-chia-mi-chu (Six-arming secret prayer) and first appears in the "Ti-szu Teng-she-p'ien" (#4 'Climbing and Fording' Chapter) of the "Nei-p'ien" (Inner Section) of the Chinese work entitled the Pao-p'u-tzu. Its use among Taoists and soldiers is well known,⁸⁶ but it was (and is) especially important to the shugenja or yamabushi going into the mountains to perform austerities. It is unknown when the spell entered Shugendô or when the nine seals⁸⁷ were added.⁸⁸

⁸³See Murayama Shûichi, Nippon onyôdôshi sôsetsu (Tokyo, 1981), 405.

⁸⁴The actual characters sometimes vary.

⁸⁵Earhart, 133, fn. 60.

⁸⁶Watatani, Jutsu, 103; Earhart, 133, fn. 60.

⁸⁷Although the late Watatani Kiyoshi noted that the Kuji in Japan is said to be patterned after the nine worthies of the Taizôkai and the nine sections of the Kongôkai [Watatani Kiyoshi, Jutsu (1964; reprint, Tokyo, 1979), 103], several versions are known in Japan, not all of which are correlated with Buddhist mandala. See, for example, the various versions of the Kuji as listed by Miyake Hitoshi. In a comparative chart he lists two versions that do not give correspondences with Buddhist deities. One of these is the "Heihô kuji-no daiji" (Essential Elements of the Nine Characters for Martial Strategy) which makes correspondences with Chinese celestial worthies such as Hsüan-wu, Yü Nü, Pai Hu, Ch'ing Lung, and others. See Miyake Hitoshi, Shugendô shisô-no kenkyû (Tokyo, 1985), 402 (Chart #26); Murayama, Nippon onyôdôshi..., 405-

The Kujihô (Ritual Method of Nine Characters) begins with the devotee performing a series of nine mudrâ as he chants the sound of their corresponding Chinese character. The nine of the Mt. Hiei Marishiten benpô text are as follows:

<u>Character</u>	<u>Mudrâ</u>	<u>Seal Name</u>
1) <u>rin</u> 臨	<u>shin-in</u>	(Needle Seal)
2) <u>pyô</u> 兵	<u>kongôrin-in</u>	(Vajra Wheel Seal)
3) <u>tô</u> 闍	<u>gejishi-in</u>	('Outer' Lion Seal)
4) <u>sha</u> 者	<u>naijishi-in</u>	('Inner' Lion Seal)
5) <u>kai</u> 皆	<u>gebaku-in</u>	('Outer' Binding Seal)
6) <u>jin</u> 陣	<u>naibaku-in</u>	('Inner' Binding Seal)
7) <u>retsu</u> 烈	<u>chijitsu-in</u>	(Wisdom-Dulling Seal)
8) <u>zai</u> 在	<u>nichirin-hôkô-in</u>	(Light-emitting Sun Disc Seal)
9) <u>zen</u> 前	<u>hobyô-in</u>	(Bottle Seal)

The nine characters and seals of this manuscript are standard except for the names of seals 1, 2, 7, and 8. Seal #1 is most commonly referred to as the tokko-in (Single-point Vajra Seal); Seal #2, the daikongôrin-in (Great Vajra Wheel Seal); Seal #7, the chiken-in (Wisdom Fist Seal); and seal #8, the nichirin- (Sun-Disc) or hikô-in (Sunlight Seal). The actual mudrâ are probably the same. (See Figs. 23-31) In

406.

⁸⁸See Mikkyô daijiten, vol. 1, 332.

fact, while several different forms of Kuji ascribe variant interpretations to the nine seals and characters, the actual mudrâ are usually the same.⁸⁹

After performing the nine seals while chanting the nine characters, the practitioner makes the tôshô-in (Sword and Scabbard Seal). This is done by forming a "sword" by extending the index and middle fingers of the right hand while grasping the ring and little fingers with the thumb. A similar configuration is made with the left hand which becomes the "scabbard." (See Fig. 32)⁹⁰ In this particular manuscript the devotee then uses this sword to "cut" the nine characters, either in the air or in the palm of his left hand, which is held in front of the practitioner.⁹¹ The actual operation is not described. The first character - rin - is chanted with a horizontal stroke (left to right), the second - pyô - with a vertical stroke (top to bottom). Each character alternates, horizontal or vertical, until the nine have been completed and

⁸⁹See, for example, "Goshinpô to kuji no kirikata" in Watatani's Jutsu, 100-107, and "Juhô ni mirareru sūhaitaishô" (especially the chart on p. 402) in Miyake's Shugendô..., 399-403.

⁹⁰This same mudrâ is also made in the Hômanryû performance of the Taizôkai but its use is different.

⁹¹This particular text from Eizan Bunko does not specify whether the grid should be drawn in the air or in the palm of the left hand. The latter seems to be more "standard" although I have seen it done in the air while the practitioner holds the left hand "scabbard" against his left hip. C. Blacker also describes the nine strokes being performed in the air in front of the practitioner. Blacker, 349.

a grid has been drawn as illustrated below:

	<u>pyô</u>	<u>sha</u>	<u>jin</u>	<u>zai</u>
<u>rin</u>				
<u>tô</u>				
<u>kai</u>				
<u>retsu</u>				
<u>zen</u>				

According to this text, upon completion of this operation, the devotee uses the right hand sword to inscribe a tenth Chinese character, gyô 行, and the Siddham letters ban (Skt. vaṃ) and boron (Skt. bhrūṃ). The character gyô placed in the grid while travelling is supposed to lead to fulfillment of one's desires.⁹² The meanings vary somewhat between different traditions, and in other texts the character gyô is used for protection from difficulties while travelling (much like the Mâricî-dhâraṇî).⁹³

The "tenth" character may vary, according to some texts. In the Shugendô work known as the Heihô kuji-no daiji (Essen-

⁹²See "Heihô kuji-no daiji" in the larger work entitled Shugen jôyô hihôshû in Hattori, 413. A different edition of this text is also published in the Nippon daizôkyô vol. 90: 249b-250c.

⁹³This particular interpretation appears within one of the secret transmission scrolls (Jp. hidensho) of the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû, a Japanese warrior tradition dating from the early fifteenth century. That document will be examined in Chapter 6.

tials of the Nine Characters of Military Strategy), which is almost identical to the Kujihô we are examining here, a number of alternate tenth characters are given.⁹⁴ The use of the Siddham (Sanskrit) letters vaṃ and bhrûṃ is unusual and the text itself does not explain their significance.⁹⁵

Following the tenth character gyô and the two Siddham letters in our Marishiten benpô from Mt. Hiei, we find a list of nine Chinese celestial worthies who are represented by the nine seals of the Kujihô.⁹⁶ Again, the sword seal should be made and the nine characters are listed, after which the devotee chants: "All armies of malicious enemies of the three worlds⁹⁷ (are hereby) subdued." These last three operations are at variance with the Heihô kuji-no daiji in Hattori's text and the Nihon Daizôkyô. This completes the Kujihô.

Since, as we have seen, Mârîci's original supernatural

⁹⁴See, for example, Hattori, 413.

⁹⁵The Buddhist implication of these two letters would most likely be that vaṃ signifies Mahāvairocana (as it is his "seed syllable" or bījākṣara in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala) and that bhrûṃ is the "seed syllable" of Ekâksaroṣṇīṣa-cakra (Jp. Ichiji-kinrinbutchôô, although this divinity has various names), evidently a deification of a spell which wards off poison, evil spirits, and other disasters. Ekâksaroṣṇīṣa-cakra is usually depicted forming the chiken-in and has an appearance much like Mahāvairocana. For illustrations see MKD, vol. 1, 83-85.

⁹⁶This list includes such worthies as Hsüan-wu, Yü Nü, Pai Hu, and Ch'ing Lung. It is of the same type as that listed in Miyake's chart under the Heihô kuji-no daiji, although several of the nine are not the same. (See fn. 82 above.)

⁹⁷That is, past, present, and future. Jp. sanze, Ch. san-shih.

powers were mainly concerned with the control and suppression of opponents in combat, it is significant that subjugation of malicious enemies is the goal of the Kuji ritual in this Marishiten benpô. In addition, several of the mudrâ found within the nine of the Kujihô are identical with those used for Marishiten. Seal #2, the (dai)kongôrin-in, which corresponds with the character pyô, is identical to the Body Seal of Mârîcî, and seal #9, the hobyô-in which corresponds with the character zen, is identical to the Invisibility Seal. Mudrâ #7, for which the "standard" name is chiken-in, is the seal of Mahāvairocana (Jp. Dainichi) within the Vajradhātumaṇḍala (Jp. Kongôkai). Mahāvairocana, as we have seen, is Mârîcî's sire and his seals and spells are often included within Buddhist rituals devoted to Marishiten. Finally, seal #8, the nichirin-hôkô-in was also found above in the Marishiten-no daiji and was evidently considered a key mudrâ of Marishiten by the shugenja.

These associations are not necessarily made by those who practice the Kujihô in Japan today and it is doubtful that they were standard interpretations in the past.⁹⁸ There are, in fact, several variant traditions concerning the deities

⁹⁸Practitioners of the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû, for example, consider only the "tenth" character to represent Marishiten. (Ôtake Risuke, interview with the author, Narita, Japan, January 1989.)

assigned to each seal of the Kuji.⁹⁹ In reference to Mārīcī symbolism, the late Watatani Kiyoshi, a specialist on the history of Japanese martial traditions, noted that the daikongōrin-in does represent Marishiten in several of the Kujihō which he had examined.¹⁰⁰ Again, in support of Marishiten's martial characteristics, Watatani notes that the ninth character, (zen), which corresponds to the Bottle Seal of Marishiten, represented a "method for fighting war, winning and not losing, and shutting out fear."¹⁰¹ The Chinese character zen (which literally means "before" or "front") is occasionally found embossed on Japanese armor as a talisman representing the ninth character of the Kuji.

Also in support of Marishiten's significance within the Kujihō is the fact that many of the texts available on this ritual included Mārīcī spells following the inscribing of the tenth character in the grid. This Mārīcī spell is also included in the text here from Mt. Hiei. After chanting the spell for Marishiten - on marishiei sowaka - the devotee must also recite the Hiten (Sūrya) spell - on aditiya sowaka. This completes the Kuji sequence of this manuscript from Mt. Hiei. (This particular sequence is very similar to that found in

⁹⁹Miyake's Shugendō shisō-no kenkyū lists five different interpretations within Shugendō traditions (p. 402) and if we include warrior traditions we will find several more alternatives.

¹⁰⁰Watatani, Jutsu..., 104.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 103.

several common texts on the Kuji.)¹⁰²

Returning to our Marishiten benpô, the text notes next that the essential operations of this ritual must be performed daily for 100 days. This includes (again) performance of the Goshimpô, the use of the conch shell (a common element in Shugendô practices), chanting of "a sûtra" (probably the Heart Sutra),¹⁰³ and visualization practice of the Siddham script (Sanskrit) letter a.¹⁰⁴

Completing these operations, the shugenja draws a sun shape (a circle) in which he writes several "seed syllables" and the jitsumyô (lit. "true name") (perhaps of the enemy he wishes to subdue?). It is unclear what the "true name" is here, but there are several similar rituals in T. 1257 where the practitioner is instructed to draw a human form on which he inscribes the name of an enemy along with the chen-yen (Jp.

¹⁰²I.e., see Kuji goshinpô published by the Sanseidô Shobô in 1932 which is a direct copy of an Edo period text (manuscript in possession of Muto Masao, Zushi, Japan.)

¹⁰³The reading of the Heart Sutra (Jp. Hannya shingyô) is a common practice accompanying both standard Buddhist esoteric ritual and Shugendô practices. C. Blacker notes that in the Kuji rituals she observed there was "...several times repeated, the inevitable Hannya shingyô." C. Blacker, 289.

¹⁰⁴This is also a common practice, basic to more complicated tantric visualizations. It has been described in Miyata, 4. Various version of this visualization (Jp. a-ji kan) are translated and compared in Taikô Yamasaki's Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism (Boston and London, 1988), 102, 190-215.

shingon) (lit. "true words") = Mind Spell of Mārīcī.¹⁰⁵

Following this, the devotee makes the Bottle Seal within which he visualizes a sun disc. The text continues, "Within the sun disk is myself. My body is the same as the sun disc which is the same as my body." Although there is no explanation in the text (this would most likely be conferred via kuden - oral transmission -), it seems obvious that this is a ritual of consubstantiation with Marishiten = Bottle Seal = Sun Disk = me, the practitioner.

After the performance of several more operations, a second visualization is presented:

Within the dôjô (sacred altar area) there is a seat. Upon the seat is a lion and upon the lion is a three-legged crow. The three-legged crow transforms, becoming the (Sanskrit) letter ma. The letter ma, in turn, transforms becoming Sun Disc Marishiten.

Although no explanation is given of the significance of the three legged crow and its association with Marishiten, we will find that Mārīcī is often referred to as Nichirin Marishiten (Sun Disc Marishiten) in Japanese martial texts and, in at least one warrior tradition, she was depicted as

¹⁰⁵T. 1257, XXI: 268b13-17; 270a20-25; etc.

a three-legged crow within a sun disk which is located on the back of a wild boar.¹⁰⁶ (See Fig. 33) This type of crow is a common motif in the Kumano area of Japan¹⁰⁷ and perhaps this association grew out of a Shugendô (or warrior?) tradition in that region.

After several more operations, a sun disc is again drawn in which the character ha 破 (to crush, defeat, baffle) is written, along with the enemy's name. (See Fig. 34) While chanting a special spell, this diagram is struck three times with the whipping-rod which has been prepared. The Marishiten Mind Spell is then recited 1,000 times and, with three snaps of the fingers, the enemy is swept away. Again, the conch shell is used and, after several more operations, the devotee chants the seed syllable of Marishiten - on ma sowaka - 1,000 times. With the reading of the Heart Sutra 3 times the ritual is finished.

¹⁰⁶This was in the warrior tradition known as the Shingyôtoryû. See, for example, Tominaga Yoshimatsu, Hiradohan-no bugei kyôiku: Matsuura Hideyama wo chûshin to shite (Nagasaki, 1986), 159, where two of these images are illustrated.

¹⁰⁷The three Kumano Shintô shrines - Kumano Hongu, Hayatama, and Nachi - as well as the local shrine in Shingu known as Kamikurasan are associated with this three-legged crow image. The three Kumano shrines are also known as the Kumano Gongen and were (are?) important in syncretic Buddhism/Shintô/Shugendô in that area. Meik Skoss, interview with the author, January 1990.

Although I have abbreviated this explanation of the ritual, the essential elements are still clear. Here we find Marishiten as the central worthy of a ritual used specifically for the purpose of subjugation of enemies. This text illustrates a primary concern with combative application. And, even if this function was seen as somehow symbolic, its combative applicability is clear, at least as it may have been used among warriors, and probably among shugenja and/or warrior monks (Jp. sōhei), involved in combative practices. As we will find when examining warrior documents in the next chapter, much of this same material turns up in rituals specifically aimed at the subjugation of enemies, victory in battle, cultivation of selflessness, and invisibility. It is somewhat ironic that at the same time the cult of Mārīcī was completing its full assimilation into the "modular mysticism" of Sino-Japanese "Purified" Esoterism, the cult of Marishiten as a warrior protector was flourishing among the bushi - and, possibly, among the shugenja and sōhei - of Japan.

CHAPTER 6: Marici and the Japanese Warrior

- The Rise of the Bushi -

Although Marishiten was definitely known to the Japanese by the eighth century, the classical Japanese warrior (Jp. bushi) had yet to evolve as a social class. Certainly there had been fighting men in Japan as long as there had been human beings on those islands,¹ but the bushi - the horse-mounted, semi-aristocratic, provincially-supported warrior class - was not to clearly emerge until the ninth or tenth century. Early clan-centered military power² had been nationalized under the

¹Draeger notes that swords made of stone have been discovered in Japan which were probably used prior to the second century B.C. Donn F. Draeger and Robert W. Smith, Asian Fighting Arts (Tokyo, 1969), 95. Also, I shall often use the term fighting "men" in this chapter and it should be pointed out that women engaged in the profession of arms in Japan during the classical period were rare in the extreme, if they existed at all. I have located no information concerning such professionals outside of a single reference to an armored corset dating from the Muromachi period (1392-1573) that may have been designed for use by a woman. [See Sasama Yoshihiko, Nippon-no gunsô, vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1970), 218-219. (Not all authorities agree with Sasama's analysis.)] For a more multi-cultural survey of this phenomenon see Marvin Harris, Cannibals and Kings: The Origins of Cultures (New York, 1977); especially Chapter 4. "The Origin of War" and Chapter 6. "The Origin of Male Supremacy and the Oedipus Complex."

²The early Japanese term for clan was uji. During the Kofun period (c. 250-552 A.D.) these uji consisted of blood-related clansmen, hereditary professional groups (Jp. be) not necessarily related to the clansmen but with whom they had permanent social ties, and slaves. Group solidarity among members of an uji (both blood and non-blood relationships) was strengthened by mutual veneration of the clan's ujigami (gami = kami, a manifestation of spiritual power). [See "Pre-historic Background of Japanese Religion," in Joseph M.

Chinese style ritsuryô codes of the seventh century.³ Under the ritsuryô system, a form of generalized peasant conscription had begun, and the conscripts had been formed into provincial garrisons (Jp. gundan).

The military aspects of the ritsuryô system soon proved to be inadequate and in 792 A.D. the court abolished the gundan, effectively bringing an end to the peasant conscription system.⁴ The system was not abolished in one stroke, for conscript soldiers were still being used in frontier regions in the north and south well into the late ninth century.⁵ As the use of ritsuryô conscript troops decreased, more and more reliance was placed on the fighting men of rural areas. They were of partially noble origin. This rural elite was made up of the same men who had been the officers and cavalry men of the conscript gundan.

Over a period of time, the methods of calling up and

Kitagawa's On Understanding Japanese Religion (Princeton, 1987), 3-40, for a detailed explanation of the uji.] Some of these be specialized in warriorship. According to Sansom, the name Mononobe (a professional group name from the sixth century) indicates a family specializing in the "corporation of arms" - mono (arms) no (possessive particle) be (occupational group). [George S. Sansom, A History of Japan to 1333 (1963; reprint, Tokyo, 1974), 36-37.]

³These regulations (ritsu) and codes (ryô) engendered, according to Kitagawa, Japan's "first religious-political-cultural-social synthesis." Kitagawa, 335.

⁴Karl Friday, "Teeth and Claws: Provincial Warriors and the Heian Court," Monumenta Nipponica, vol. 43, no. 2 (Summer, 1988): 155.

⁵Ibid.

recruiting these rural elite forces came to be based wholly on private martial ties. Consequently, by the time of the rebellion of Taira Masakado (935-940 A.D.) the main forces fielded by the court were made up of this private, rural elite.⁶

Masakado's rebellion is significant in the history of the Japanese bushi for it is the earliest conflict from which there is evidence of the use of the tachi, the long, single-cutting-edged, curved⁷ sword associated with the classical warrior. This type of blade was primarily wielded with one hand from horseback in a similar manner to the Middle Eastern scimitar and Indian talwar.⁸ Although tactics used in tenth century Japan relied heavily on the bow and arrow, the modification of the sword from the straight, dual-cutting edge

⁶For an overview of this rebellion see Judith N. Rabinovitch, Shōmonki: The Story of Masakado's Rebellion, Monumenta Nipponica Monograph 58 (Tokyo, 1985), and Giuliana Stramigioli, "Preliminary Notes on the Masakadoki and the Taira Masakado Story," Monumenta Nipponica, vol. 28, no. 3 (1973): 261-293.

⁷Some early versions of the tachi were not curved. Instead, they were straight swords with angled hilts which achieved the same type of cutting efficiency.

⁸Various essays describe the superior cutting ability of scimitar-like blades. The classic description in English is Sir Richard F. Burton's The Book of the Sword (1884; reprint, Mineola, NY, 1987), 123-142. (Burton preferred the spelling scymitar.) Somewhat more recent are Eduard Wagner's Cut and Thrust Weapons, trans. by Jean Layton (New York, 1967); and Tom Conroy, "Preliminary Case Study: The Military Sabre," HOPLOS, vol. 2, no. 1 (February, 1980): 1-3; and "Chop, Slice, and Slanted Chop," HOPLOS, vol., 3, no. 5 (October, 1981): 3-5.

type used in the Nara period and earlier,⁹ indicates the rise in importance of horse-mounted swordsmanship. This change took place due to the increased participation in battle by a martially proficient, horse-mounted, elite fighting force.

The obvious appearance of these professional, well-equipped forces by 935 A.D. indicates a lengthy period of development, perhaps over a century or two. Karl Friday alludes to this process by referring to the professional fighting men this developmental period as "proto-warriors." Other specialists in the area, such as Donn F. Draeger, simply placed the bushi's origins in the eighth century. Friday has also shown that even during the early days of the conscript-oriented ritsuryô period, the court had encouraged the development of military skills by the rural aristocracy.¹⁰

- The Early Development of Japanese Martial Strategy -

The association of these rural bushi with Marishiten, if indeed there was any, is obscure and no records from those early times provide us with any concrete information. However, while we have no information concerning Marishiten's popularity with the "proto-warriors" of the seventh through

⁹For descriptions with illustrations of sword types in the Kofun (250-552 A.D.) through the Nara periods, see Sasama, Nippon-no gunsô, vol. 1, 12-37.

¹⁰Friday cites his own work - "Hired Swords: The Rise of Private Warrior Power in Early Japan," Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, forthcoming.

ninth centuries, sources from later times indicate that the Japanese did import a great deal of information from China concerning military arts, much of which was in the area of magic and divination.

A passage in the seventh century Nihonshoki may refer to combative arts which were being imported from the T'ang. The passage notes that Empress Jitô (r. 690-697) praised the "three military arts" (Jp. sambei) - archery, swordsmanship, and spearmanship - of Takada Sekijô.¹¹ The late Watatani Kiyoshi speculated that the three arts demonstrated by Takada were T'ang imports, even though the Japanese were already familiar with the use of the bow and arrow, sword, and spear.¹²

The Nara and Heian periods were a time when many official embassies were sent to (T'ang and Sung) China. While many of these official embassies were well documented, it appears that a number of them were not. In addition, there appear to have been several unofficial trips made to the mainland. The only data we have concerning some of these unofficial communications with the Chinese is in the form of legends and oral traditions which were written down many years after the fact.

¹¹The pronunciation of the second name may be in error. See glossary.

¹²Watatani Kiyoshi, [Zusetsu] Kobudôshi (Tokyo, 1967), 38. Ishioka also notes several passages in the Nihonshoki concerning strategy (heihô) texts (i.e., the Sun-tzu ping-fa) during the sixth and eighth centuries. See Ishioka, Hisao, Nippon heihôshi vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1972), 7.

One such story is that of Kibi-no Makibi (693-775 A.D.).¹³ It is believed that in 735 A.D., Kibi-no Makibi returned to Japan from China bringing a number of texts on Chinese arts such as divination, brush writing, and various other skills. In addition he is said to have brought several volumes on strategy (Jp. heihô, Ch. ping-fa), along with illustrations of the "eight troop formations" (Jp. hachijin, Ch. pa-chen).¹⁴ No information is available as to whether any Marishiten-type esoterica was included in these imported volumes and it is doubtful that any was incorporated into those early T'ang works on strategy.

The Honchô bugei shôden¹⁵ also notes that during the reign of Emperor Daigo (r. 897-930), Oe Koretoki returned from T'ang China with forty-two volumes, several of which were concerned with military science (Jp. gumpô).¹⁶ Included among these volumes were the Liu-t'ao (Jp. Rokutô), San-lüeh (Jp. San-ryaku), Chün-sheng-t'u (Jp. Gunshôzu), and others.¹⁷ Japanese translation of these texts were evidently made sometime around

¹³Sansom notes that the story of Kibi-no Makibi dates from a thirteenth century scroll but that it "evidently rests on a well-based tradition..." Sansom, Japan to 1334, 133.

¹⁴Watatani, Kobudôshi, 38.

¹⁵First published during the Kyôhō era (1716-1735 A.D.), this work has most recently been republished in Watatani Kiyoshi's Nippon bugei shôden (Tokyo, 1961), 17-382.

¹⁶Honchô bugei shôden, Watatani edition, 27.

¹⁷Watatani, Kobudôshi, 38.

the tenth century and, along with a mixture of Buddhist and Taoist esoterica, they became the family-transmitted martial tradition of the powerful warrior clan known as the Minamoto.¹⁸ This family-transmitted compendium on military strategy was usually a well-guarded-secret and, consequently, we do not find the Minamoto family strategy appearing in written form until the late 1500's, at which time it appears within the Ogasawara family under the title of Genke kinesshū.¹⁹

Much legend surrounds the transmission of Oe Koretoki's texts to the Minamoto family. One version notes that Oe Tadafusa (1041-1111 A.D.), one of the three most renowned literary men of his era and a descendant of Oe Koretoki, translated the works of Koretoki into Japanese and passed those on military science over to either Minamoto Yoriyoshi (995-1082 A.D.) or Minamoto Yoshiie (1041-1108 A.D.), one of

¹⁸Honchō bugei shōden, 27-28. A number of warrior families descended from the Minamoto. Taking names from the places in which they resided, they include the Nitta, Tokugawa, Hosokawa, Ashikaga, Takenouchi, Takeda, Ogasawara, and others. For more on the intricacies of the lineages of the Seiwa Genji (the Minamoto warrior family), see Okutomi Takayuki, Seiwa Genji-no zenkakei, #1, Tennōke to Tada Genji (Tokyo, 1988).

¹⁹The Ogasawara are a branch of the Minamoto dating from the thirteenth century. Manabe Takejirō, editor of the Genke kinesshū, dates his copy of the text around 1564-1565. However, he notes, the language used in the text appears to be mid-Muromachi period (c. 1470-1480). See Manabe Takejirō, editor, "Introduction," Genke kinesshū (Osaka, 1938), 1. Several other editions under this title are available, all post-dating Manabe's text. See Ishioka Hisao and Arima Shigeyoshi, Shoryū heihō (Part 1), vol. 6 of Nippon heihō zenshū (Tokyo, 1967), 18-19.

the most famous generals of his age.²⁰

In another legend, these collected texts are supposed to have been held at Kuramadera, then a Tendai temple located about twelve kilometers north of Kyoto. A compilation of these texts on military science was supposed to have been placed there by an enigmatic Taoist magician named Ki'ichi Hôgen during the reign of Emperor Goshirakawa (r. 1155-1158 A.D.). According to the legend, Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159-1189 A.D.), one of Japan's greatest tacticians, secretly copied Ki'ichi's work on military science while imprisoned at Kurama.

It is true that in c. 1159-1160, the infant Yoshitsune was incarcerated at Kuramadera by order of Taira Kiyomori, the leader of a rival warrior clan and conqueror of the Minamoto in the Heiji War of 1159. Yoshitsune remained at Kurama until the age of eleven, when he escaped to begin a military career along with his brother, Minamoto Yoritomo, which eventually resulted in the overthrow of the Taira family in 1185 in the Gempei war.

Legends concerning the life of Minamoto Yoshitsune abound²¹ and it is sometimes difficult to separate fact from

²⁰Ishioka and Arima, Shoryû heihô (Part 1), 16, 18-19; Watatani, Kobudôshi, 38-39; Honchô bugei shôden, Watatani edition, 27; Manabe, "Introduction," Genke kinesshû, 6; etc. Obviously, most Japanese researchers tend to accept the story as plausible.

²¹See, for example, Helen Craig McCullough, Yoshitsune: A Fifteenth Century Japanese Chronicle (Stanford, 1966).

fiction. The story of the transmission of Chinese military strategy (i.e., that of the Liu-t'ao and San-lüeh which became the Genke kinesshû) from Ki'ichi Hôgen to Minamoto Yoshitsune probably falls in the latter category. However, it should be remembered that Yoshitsune was a great general, he was imprisoned at Kuramadera during his youth, and he was supported by both Tendai and Shugendô sôhei (warrior monks) during his campaigns against the Taira during the Gempei War, 1180-1185.²²

Both of these legends indicate that Chinese Taoist magical practices influenced the heihô of the Minamoto family. This definitely was the case as the (Genke) kinesshû is not simply a translation of the Liu-t'ao and San-lüeh. The earliest written version available of the (Genke) kinesshû (the copy mentioned above which was held by the Ogasawara branch of the Minamoto family), appears to have little or no relationship to the Liu-t'ao and San-lüeh as it is filled with what Watatani notes are "Taoist methods" of magical strategy such as hachimon tonkôjutsu.²³ divination via "clouds and

²²Manabe also speculates that Yoshitsune was instructed in heihô by the warrior monks (sôhei) around Kuramadera. Manabe, "Introduction," Genke kinesshû, 6.

²³Morohashi notes that, "this is a type of strategy or trick or intrigue. Taking advantage of the changes in yin and yang, one is hidden from observation or vanishes; the body is concealed; a technique by which good fortune is obtained and bad luck is warded off." See T. Morohashi, Daikan-wa jiten (1956; reprint, Tokyo, 1984), vol. 2, p. 1104 (for hachimon) and vol. 11, p. 11654 (for tonkô).

ch'i,"²⁴ mantric talismans (Jp. jufu), and collections of "spell words" (Jp. jugon).²⁵

An additional factor is pointed out by Ishicka and Arima in their comprehensive work entitled Nippon heihô zenshû (Collected Works on Japanese Strategy). Evidently, the Oe and Abe families were hereditary specialists in onyôdô (Taoist practices) and were associated with the Onyôryô, a special government bureau on Taoist affairs which had been established by the Taihō Code of 702 A.D. Oe Tadafusa, in particular, was revered by "men of rank" as an expert in onyôdô.²⁶

In addition to Taoist practices, several sections of the (Genke) kinesshû contain rituals related to Marishiten. In Section 21 we find the "Most Secret Method" of Marishiten.²⁷ This is a short ritual in which the practitioner may divine the best day for battle. In it are included a slightly modified version of the Mind Spell - on hei marishiei sowaka - to be recited seven times, the spell for the Kuji, and other esoterica. Part VI, which includes Sections 24-28, deals with the "whip" (Jp. saku) and "fan" (Jp. uchiwa) methods. These are battle charms aimed at the destruction of enemies. Some references are made to Marishiten and the kuji (along with

²⁴Jp. unki uranai.

²⁵Watatani, Kobudôshi, 38-39.

²⁶Ishioka Hisao and Arima Shigeyoshi, Shoryû heihô (Part 1), 13.

²⁷Genke kinesshû, edited by Manabe, 26.

Dainichi Nyorai and several other deities) and the ritual makes use of a sun circle inscribed with the character kô/hikari (lit. "brightness" or "sparkling"). This particular section obviously contains several parallels with the Shugendô Marishiten benpô (Marishiten Whipping-rod Ritual) examined in Chapter 5.²⁸ Section 31, which is concerned with the mandala of a deity known as Mura, is also significant in that it refers to Marishiten as Hokuto Daishin, a deity of the Dipper stars.

In all, this late Muromachi period version of the (Genke) kinesshû contains forty-two sections, much of which appear to be concerned with battle charms. The similarity of various versions of it held by other branches of the Minamoto, lends credibility to its authenticity as a text on strategy held by the early Minamoto.²⁹

There are historical records which note the use of these divination practices by Minamoto warriors. For example, it is recorded that in 1180, Minamoto Yoritomo (Japan's first permanent shôgun and brother of Yoshitsune) was using astro-

²⁸Ishioka and Arima (Shoryû heihô (Part 1), 18) note that the Minamoto family-transmitted heihô (especially that exemplified by the texts on strategy held by the Ogasawara) was greatly influenced by the Shugendô practitioners in the area around Yoshino and the Yoshimizu-in (a Buddhist temple which became a Shugendô center). It is also recorded that Minamoto Yoshitsune had Shugendô warrior monks among his retainers and used Yoshimizu-in as a headquarters after fleeing his wrathful brother, Yoritomo, in 1185.

²⁹That is, before the various family branches separated.

logy and divination techniques to decide the "selection of direction, date, and hour" of battle.³⁰

During the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, the "military science" of the warrior clans centered on a smattering of ancient Chinese military strategies with a large portion of Tantric Buddhist, Taoist, and Shugendô derived esoterica. By the mid- to late Muromachi period, these practices came to be called gumbai heihô (the strategy of "allocating" armies) or gumbaijutsu (techniques for "allocating" armies). The term gumbai⁽²⁾ may also be written with alternate characters which mean "to defeat armies."

During the incessant wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, military commanders began using a special type of "war fan" on which were drawn charts for divination. These charts were used for selection of date and time of battle and usually consisted of diagrams in which the Siddham letter vaṃ was surrounded with a circle of twelve moons representing the "twelve branches."³¹ A second circle, surrounding this first one, consisted of twenty-eight red and white dots signifying the twenty-eight constellations of the Chinese zodiac.³² From this diagram, a commander or trusted retainer who knew the

³⁰Ishioka and Arima, Shoryû heihô (Part 1), 14, cite the Gosai-no kagami which gives 8/6/1180 and 10/27/1180 for the dates of these divination practices.

³¹Ch. shih-erh-chih; Jp. jûni shi. These are twelve Chinese characters used in the cyclic computation of years.

³²Ch. erh-shih-pa su; Jp. nijû-hasshuku.

divining process, would be able to determine the proper date, time, and directions of battle.

Instructions on divination were included in the secret strategies of the military clans, some which were written in manuscript form as early as the fourteenth century. Two such are the Heihô hijutsu ikkansho [One-Scroll Text on the Secret Methods of Strategy] (1354)³³ and Heihô reizuisho [Text on Miraculous Signs of Strategy] (1359).³⁴ The initial section of the (Genke) kinesshû, entitled the "Nichitorishû," is also devoted to a collection of tables dealing with the twelve branches and twenty-eight constellations.³⁵

In several traditions of heihô, the war fans (Jp. gumbai uchiwa) upon which these divination diagrams were inscribed, display the name or seed syllable for Marishiten in lieu of

³³The text itself contains a "legendary" line of transmission going back to Huang Shih-kung of the Ch'in dynasty (255-206 B.C.). This particular text also includes Oe Koretoki in its lineage.

³⁴Ishioka and Arima, Shoryû heihô (Part 1), 14. Ishioka notes in another work that although the Heihô reizuisho is dated 1359, the earliest copy of which there are any remains is dated 1419. See Ishioka Hisao, Nippon heihôshi, vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1972), 24, note 2. The text itself traces its lineage to Kibi-no Makibi.

³⁵Manabe, (Genke) kinesshû, (Text), 1-6.

that for Dainichi Nyorai (See Fig. 35).³⁶ Others sometimes display Marishiten's name or seed syllable on the reverse side or replace the name of the goddess with a sauvastika, causing the war fan to resemble the one described in the Chinese texts as being held by Mārīci. This particular fan shape (see Fig. 35) also became an accouterment of Marishiten when the goddess was depicted in warrior transmission scrolls (Fig. 36). We may thus speculate that a commander or his retainer who was performing divination with such a fan may have seen himself as drawing his divination power from Marishiten and/or was concealing his tactical intentions or troop movements from his enemy via the use of Marishiten's fan of invisibility. The texts examined thus far do not make such direct statements; however, these written works are often filled with references to kuden (secret oral transmission) and such an oral tradition may well have accompanied the written texts.³⁷ This specula-

³⁶Fig. 35 is an illustration from the "Nichitori" (divination) section of a Hōjōryū transmission scroll entitled Shikanshō (jō). The Hōjōryū was founded by Hōjō Jichō (1609-1670). (Ishioka and Arima, Hōjōryū heihō, vol. 3 of Nippon heihō zenshū (Tokyo, 1967), 11. The divination section of the text is found on pp. 42-55, although the "Nichitori" section covers only pp. 47-51.

³⁷This is an important point to keep in mind when dealing with written documents produced by the bushi. Warrior documents are usually cast in what social-anthropologist Edward T. Hall refers to as "high context" communication style. This means that most information is not transmitted via language, either written or verbal. In the case of warrior-produced documents, the reader will only understand a certain document up to the point to which he has been contextualized by its author.

tion is also supported by the inclusion of the Marishiten Invisibility Spell in a number of text on heihô through the ages.³⁸ From the Namboku period (1336-1392) through the end of the Muromachi period (1392-1573) a number of texts on heihô appeared, most of which were evidently based on the same body of knowledge as the Genke kinesshû, Heihô hijutsu ikkansho,³⁹ and Heihô reizuisho. Two of the most common name "types" for these later texts are the Heihô yonjûni-ka-jô [Forty-two Sections on Strategy, reflecting the sections of the (Genke) kinesshû] and the (Heihô) Tora-no maki (Tiger Scroll on Strategy). The contents of these texts are varied somewhat, as are their names.⁴⁰ However, they all appear to come from the same body of knowledge which includes T'ang-style divination mixed with Buddhist Tantric, Taoist, and Shugendô

³⁸An early example of this is Section 31 of the Heihô reizuisho. There we are informed that a Marishiten spell can make one invisible from enemies. It states that there is a "jeweled bottle" in front of Sûrya (Jp. Hitenshi) which is the form of the worthy Marishiten. In order to be concealed within this bottle, the devotee must chant the spell seven times. Upon completion of the spell the enemy will not be able to see him. In fact, that enemy will not be able to see anything and, after seven days, he will be ruined. The practitioner is advised to enter the Marishiten samaji (meditative state), a secret ritual of invisibility. The spell is given as: om mari-nitten onrô sowaka. [om Mari(shiten) - Sûrya Seclusion-Nest svâhâ]. Heihô reizuisho as reprinted in Ishioka and Arima, Shoryû heihô (Part 1), 66.

³⁹Both the Genke kinesshû and Heihô hijutsu ikkansho were transmitted by the Ogasawara line of Minamoto warriors. (Ishioka and Arima, Shoryû heihô (Part 1), 18.)

⁴⁰See Ishioka and Arima, Shoryû heihô (Part 1), 17, for several alternate titles.

esoterica. Toward the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, we find a number of these texts under the titles of Ki'ichi Hôgen tora-no maki or Yoshitsune tora-no maki. The use of these legendary names was evidently an attempt by their authors to bestow greater antiquity and legitimacy on their contents. Most texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tend to concentrate even more on wiping away misfortune via spells and battle charms. We will also find these elements appearing in the warrior transmission scrolls (Jp. densho) of the martial traditions which began to appear in the fourteenth century.

The validity of the legends of the importation of texts on divination and martial tactics during the Nara and Heian periods seems clear. But, if the family-transmitted heihô of the (Genke) Kinesshû, Heihô hijutsu ikkansho, and Heihô reizuisho originated in the Heian period, it seems odd that no mention of Marishiten is made in the Heike monogatari, the most famous war epic containing descriptions of that period.⁴¹ Various other Buddhist and Shintô worthies are mentioned in that text - bodhisattvas Maitreya, Mañjŕî, and Hachiman, to name only a few - but Marishiten is conspicuously absent. Commentators in later ages refer to a warrior cult of Marishi-

⁴¹The authorship of the Heike monogatari is uncertain but its core was probably composed in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The Tale of the Heike, trans. by Hiroshi Kitagawa and Bruce T. Tsuchida (Tokyo, 1975), "Foreword" by Edward Seidensticker, xvi.

ten during the late Heian, but these statements tend to be unsubstantiated with reference material.⁴²

Perhaps the compilers of the Heike monogatari were silent on Marishiten because the warrior cult of the goddess was included in the secret transmissions of heihô.

On the other hand, less than 100 years after the Gempei War, the warrior cult of Marishiten and the kuji was apparently common knowledge. Sometime around the mid-thirteenth century, we find the priest Nichiren (1222-1282), founder of the Hokke (Lotus) Sect, writing in a letter to a military commander named Shijô Kingo:

Marishiten precedes Sûrya (the Sun God) and, since Sûrya is a protector of practitioners of the Rengekyô (Lotus Sutra), does it not follow that Marishiten is also (such a protector)?... Marishiten also takes up the Lotus Sutra in order to assist all sentient beings. The characters [of the kuji] - rin pyô tô sha kai jin retsu zai zen - are also derived from the Lotus Sutra.⁴³

⁴²I.e., see Hishô kuketsu, SZ XXVIII: 499b1-2.

⁴³Shôwa teihon Nichiren Shônin ibun, edited by Risshô Daigaku shûgaku kenkyûjô, vol. 2: (Document # 347), (Shinmachi, 1953), 1685.

Aside from Nichiren's proselytizing efforts among the warrior class, this document does indicate that by the mid-1200's the warrior cult of Marishiten and the kuji were well known and probably date from earlier centuries.

Around the end of the Kamakura period (c. 1333), we find more evidence of Marishiten as a popular warrior protector. At that time the warrior Kusunoki Masashige (1294-1336)⁴⁴ was using a battle standard which depicted the Sansenjin.⁴⁵ The upper part of the banner depicts a chrysanthemum (floating) in the water. In the bottom section are drawn three circles which enclose Fudō-myōō, Aizen-myōō in the center, and, below, a three-faced, six-armed Marishiten riding on a wild boar.⁴⁶ Although some sources give different trios for the Sansenjin,⁴⁷ these same three deities are found together in Section 31 of the (Genke) kinesshū. Around that same time we do find Marishiten appearing in a famous war tale known as the Taiheiki⁴⁸ where the god(ess) is again represented bestowing

⁴⁴For a brief introductory article on Kusunoki, see Donn F. Draeger, "Brigand or Patriot?: Kusunoki Masashige," Great Historical Figures of Japan (Tokyo, 1978), 113-122.

⁴⁵For an illustration, see Sasama Yoshihiko, Nippon katchū daikan (Tokyo, 1987), 817.

⁴⁶Sasama Yoshihiko, Nippon katchū daikan (Tokyo, 1987), 817. The use of images of Mārīcī on battle standards is also found in T. 1257, XXI:

⁴⁷I.e., Marishiten, Daikokuten and Bishamonten.

⁴⁸For an English translation, see The Taiheiki: A Chronicle of Medieval Japan, translated by Helen Craig McCullough (New York, 1959). The original text can be found in Taiheiki. Vol. 1, Edited by Yamashita Hiroaki. Shinchō Nippon

her powers of invisibility on a devotee.⁴⁹

It is also from the fourteenth century that we begin to discover more documentation concerning the warrior cult of Marishiten, although much of it is abstruse and sometimes intentionally obscure in nature. As we have seen, the earliest appearance of manuscripts on the esoterica of heihō also appear at that time. In addition, due to a changing social climate, we begin to see the appearance of martial traditions (Jp. ryū) which accredit Marishiten with their founding "inspiration." This inspiration included not only Marishiten's miraculous powers - invisibility, confusion of enemies, perspicuity, etc. - but also actual combative technique which was thought to guarantee victory on the battlefield.

- The Classical Martial Traditions -

The appearance of the early ryū (schools/traditions) of bugei (martial arts) in Japan was due, I propose, to a number of interrelated factors and events. The profession of arms in Japan had been primarily dominated by the bushi (warrior class) from the ninth century through the early Muromachi period (1338 - 1573). Since being a "warrior" was an hereditary occupation, the bugei were taught privately within family

koten shūsei (series), (Tokyo, 1972, 1980), 220-221.

⁴⁹For the Japanese edition, see Taiheiki. Vol. 1, 220-221.

lines during those early centuries. This custom of family-centered teaching began to shift, however, due to a number of reasons. In the political/military arena the Ashikaga Shogunate (military government of the Muromachi period) was never able to tightly control the country. This led to an increase in the strength and number of contending political/military factions; i.e., warrior families not aligned with the Ashikaga, monasteries with powerful armies of sōhei (warrior monks), and so forth. After the Onin War (1467 - 1477), there was a great increase in the fluctuation of the fortunes of many of these contending factions.

This state of uncertainty had several consequences concerning the development of the early ryū: 1) Civilians became more interested in learning combatives for self-preservation. 2) The number of combatants from non-bushi families greatly expanded to fill the ranks of the numerous contending military forces. 3) There was an increase in the number of disenfranchised bushi who began to hire themselves out as mercenaries and/or trainers for warriors of other clans, nobushi and ashigaru.⁵⁰ (In contrast to the traditional, family/clan oriented instruction of the classical bushi, this training of increasingly larger numbers of combatants in

⁵⁰Nobushi (field hands who were part-time warriors - also called jisamurai "farmer-warriors") and ashigaru (lightly armored foot soldiers) were low ranking soldiers of non-warrior background. For a more in-depth description see Donn F. Draeger, Classical Bujutsu, The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan, vol. I (New York: Weatherhill, 1973), 40-45.

a shorter length of time required the development of much greater systematization of martial curricula.)⁵¹

The increase in the number of fighting men on the battlefield, especially the non-bushi, changed the character of warfare in Japan in a distinct way. As the number of mercenary bushi, nobushi and ashigaru increased, the relative percentage of wealthy, hereditary warriors decreased proportionally. Since most of these "common" soldiers and mercenary bushi did not have the economic backing equal to the support of a mounted, armored warrior, the number of horses on the battlefield also decreased proportionally. This, in turn, led to an increasing shift in emphasis on the battlefield away from cavalry tactics to infantry tactics.⁵²

Infantry tactics required a new type of swordsmanship and a new type of sword. The preferred sword of the Japanese horse-mounted bushi from the ninth through the fourteenth centuries had been the tachi, a long, curved blade that was used primarily for one-handed slashing from horseback. As early as the turbulent beginnings of the Muromachi period,

⁵¹Examples of this are Iizasa Chôisai Ienao's modification of Katori-no-ken (Katori swordsmanship) into the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû and Tsukahara Bokuden's transformation of Kashima-no-tachi (Kashima swordsmanship) into Kashima Shintôryû. For some specific examples of this process see Watatani Kiyoshi, Kobudôshi, 57-68.

⁵²The Japanese had long understood the importance of infantry in battle. A shift to an infantry emphasis had actually already begun in the Kamakura period, but was accelerated during the Muromachi period. See Draeger, Classical Bujutsu, 58.

however, a new, less curved sword called the uchigatana (or katana) began to appear. Due to its comparatively straight blade, the katana was better suited for infantry cut-and-thrust use than the tachi. As combat with the katana grew more sophisticated,⁵³ survivors of the battlefield began to evolve their own "secret techniques" which they felt "guaranteed" success in combat.

These interrelated elements - 1) an increase in the demand for combative arts instruction; 2) experienced warriors systematizing and modifying family warrior arts in order to teach both bushi and non-bushi combatants; and 3) a decrease in the use of the horse, leading to a modification of the sword and an increase in the dependency upon infantry-useable swordsmanship with specialized technique - led to the rise of itinerant kensei (lit. "sword saints," or master swordsmen). It was around these martial geniuses, and their systematization of secret techniques centered on the katana, that the earliest ryū formed.⁵⁴

⁵³Fighting with the tachi - on horseback in heavy armor - tended to be clout fighting with a very limited range of possible maneuvers. [For information on comparable European cavalry sabre techniques see Wagner, Cut and Thrust Weapons, 78-88.] Once the warrior was on the ground and able to close on foot with a more lightly armored opponent, many specialized techniques and "tricks" began to evolve.

⁵⁴A number of weapons systems were taught by these early ryū founders, however, their combative arts teachings usually centered on the use of the katana or how to deal with the katana when using other weapons. Their martial curricula were, in fact, very comprehensive, including not only combative weapons-handling, but also strategy and tactics, field fortifications, espionage, etiquette, morals, and Buddhist,

Almost all of these early ryū and their secret techniques were seen to be inspired by kami,⁵⁵ often in cooperation with, or manifested as, the Buddhist esoteric deity Marishiten. And, as we have seen, this spiritual connection between the warrior and esoteric Buddhism goes back at least as early as the Heian period (794 - 1185).

Several of these earliest traditions were the Nenryū (c. 1368);⁵⁶ Chūjōryū (c. 1368);⁵⁷ Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū (dating from the mid-1400's);⁵⁸ and the Kage-no Ryū, which dates from around 1488. Many of the early ryū taught a number

Taoist and Shintō esoterica.

⁵⁵Japanese kami (a term often translated as "god") in the sense used here can be seen as manifestations of spiritual power. For a more detailed description see Joseph M. Kitagawa, On Understanding Japanese Religion (Princeton, 1987), 69-74.

⁵⁶Most of these dates are approximate. According to the Higuchi family records, Nen Ami Jion, founder of the Nenryū, was teaching swordsmanship and the use of the lance in Kamakura by 1368. At that time, also according to Higuchi records, he was 18 years old and a Buddhist priest. [Higuchi Sadahiro (24th headmaster of the Nenryū), interview with the author, Maniwa, Japan, 20 October 1985.]

⁵⁷This date, 1368, is also approximate. The Chūjōryū was a family tradition of martial arts passed down from the mid-13th century. However, it appears that it's curriculum was extensively modified after the second official headmaster, Chūjō Nagamitsu trained with a monk from Jōfukuji in Kamakura. That monk was, evidently, Nen Ami Jion. [See Watatani, Kobudōshi, 81.]

⁵⁸If we use Watatani Kiyoshi's dates for Iizasa Chōisai Ienao, we may estimate he had formed the by 1480. [Watatani, Kobudōshi, 57.] However, the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū celebrated the 600th anniversary of Chōisai's birth in 1987, which would make the date for the foundation of that ryū around 1447, the year he would have been sixty years old.

of weapon-systems, which might include such skills as combative swordsmanship (kenjutsu), archery (kyûjutsu), long-hafted glaive (naginatajutsu), grappling in armor (yoroi kumiuchi) - and skills that were not directly related to weapon use - the construction of field fortifications (chikujôjutsu), espionage (ninjutsu), the playing of the conch shell for directing troops in battle (jingaijutsu), and so on. The ryû also taught various forms of strategy (many derived from the traditions we have already seen), and imbued its members with a warrior ethos. These martial traditions were transmitted from one generation to another through a series of consanguineous (sei) and non-consanguineous (dai) headmasters.⁵⁹ Martial creativity flourished in Japan and by the late Edo period about nine thousand ryû had been catalogued.⁶⁰

Over the centuries, these ryû have produced a wealth of information in the form of martial transmission scrolls (densho). These scrolls, although often cryptic in nature, can provide us with insights into the significance of Marishiten within those warrior traditions. The densho of a particular martial tradition may cover a variety of topics (i.e., some are philosophical treatises while others contain technical

⁵⁹Donn F. Draeger, Classical Bujutsu, The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan, vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1974), 20-23.

⁶⁰Watatani Kiyoshi and Yamada Tadafumi, Bugei ryû-ha daijiten, [Third Edition (not noted in the text)] (Tokyo, 1978). Draeger usually repeated Watatani's estimate while Fujita Seiko lists over forty-four hundred in Bujutsu kenkyû shohô, (Tokyo, n.d. - c. 1958).

information on weapon handling or strategy). Most are simply licenses recognizing the recipient's progress within the curricula of the ryû. Unfortunately, those of this latter type are often difficult to decipher, for they were not meant to be teaching texts. While some contain useful illustrations, the majority often simply list a technique or ritual (i.e. "kuji") and indicate that all of the pertinent explanations are given through oral transmission from the teacher.⁶¹ In other cases, intentionally misleading information may be included or significant information may be encoded in such a way that only the oral teachings of the headmaster can enlighten one to its true meaning.

In addition, we are always faced by the problem of separating omote and ura (the facade and the true intention; the explanation for outsiders and the explanation for insiders), a concept which permeated not only the warrior traditions of the bushi but Japanese culture as a whole. Even with these handicaps, however, the martial densho are still useful in helping us to gauge the importance of Marishiten within the classical ryû and the extent to which she was popular with the warriors of the Muromachi and Edo periods.

Marishiten is not found in all densho, for a number of ryû, especially those of the mid- to late-Edo period, had little or no relationship with the divinity or had lost that

⁶¹This indicated by such phrases as "Ijô kuden ga ari.," lit. "There is an oral explanation for all of the above."

connection during the years of peace under the Tokugawa.⁶² In addition, most densho that refer to Marishiten do so in a very superficial way, often simply mentioning the name of the god(dess) toward the end of a particular scroll. For instance, in Fig. 36, in a scroll of the Yōshinryū entitled Kaku-go-no hikan,⁶³ we find an illustration of a three-headed, six-armed Marishiten standing upon a wild charging boar. In the divinity's hands are held a spear, bow and arrow, sword and fan.⁶⁴ The second line to the left of the illustration states: "Marishisonten kuden." Lit. "The Worthy Marishiten, oral transmission."

In Fig. 37, we have a scroll produced by the Kōgen Ittōryū entitled Mokuroku.⁶⁵ In this densho we find only the name - Marishisonten - paired with Kashima Daijin, the main deity of Kashima Shrine. These names are followed by a section entitled "Iai, Tachi'ai-no koto." Usually the term

⁶²The Tokugawa family, a branch of the Minamoto, held the shogunate during the Edo period, 1603-1867. It should be noted, however, that a number of ryū specializing in jūjutsu which were formed during this period did hold Marishiten in high esteem.

⁶³Dated 12/1785. From the collection of Mutō Masao, Zushi, Japan.

⁶⁴This particular image is of Japanese derivation. None of the boar-riding images of Mārici in T. 1257 hold the fan. In addition, while the sword held by this image is straight, many versions of this illustration display a curved Japanese tachi.

⁶⁵Dated 10/1891. From the collection of Nitta Suzuyo, Headmaster of the Toda-ha Bukoryū, Tokyo, Japan.

iai refers to sword-drawing techniques from a kneeling posture while tachi'ai refers to sword-drawing techniques from a standing posture. The subsequent line, however, contains the nine characters of the kuji. The meaning here is obscure and requires kuden (oral explanation) from the headmaster.

Obviously we cannot derive much meaning from these terse references. In addition, both of these traditions were founded during the Edo period. Those ryû and ryû-ha⁶⁶ founded during that age often had a rather tenuous connection with Marishiten, the name being invoked in their transmission scrolls only as a matter of respect to the deity that was so important to Japan's warrior past. It is in the documents of the earliest and most influential ryû, those founded during the Muromachi period with its recurrent warfare, that we must search to find information on this relationship.

- The Nenryû -

One of the earliest ryû founded during that age - the Nenryû - is still extant in a branch tradition known as the Maniwa Nenryû. The Nenryû, as noted above, is thought to have been founded by Sôma Shirô Yoshimoto, better known by his

⁶⁶A ryû-ha is a "branch" tradition. Ryû-ha account for the majority of the 9,000 traditions mentioned above. Often a ryû-ha arose due to socio-political reasons, and not due to "inspirations" from battlefield experience and/or religious austerities.

Buddhist name - Nen Ami Jion (c. 1350-1408).⁶⁷ According to the Higuchi family archives, Jion had a history similar to that of Minamoto Yoshitsune in that his father, a warrior named Sôma Shirô Tadashige,⁶⁸ was executed or assassinated when Jion was about five years old. Held in hiding by his wet nurse, the young Yoshimoto is said to have been passed over into the care of a Buddhist priest around the age of seven. At that time he was given the Buddhist name Nen Ami. Around the age of ten or eleven, he was placed in Kuramadera (the famous temple where Yoshitsune had spent his youth) where he learned bugei (martial arts) in addition to whatever priestly training he may have had. By the age of sixteen he had mastered that training and come to be known as Okuyama (Nen Ami) Jion. By his eighteenth year he was teaching swordsmanship and the use of the lance at Jôfukuji temple in Kamakura. That was c. 1368.⁶⁹ He is then supposed to have travelled to Kyûshû, where, at a temple in Tsukushi known as Anryakuji, he

⁶⁷Nen Ami Jion is another enigmatic figure. According to Watatani, the only information we have on his personal history is from the ancient densho held by the headmaster of the Maniwa Nenryû, (currently, Higuchi Sadahiro). (Watatani, Kobudôshi, 17.) However, we do find him listed in the documents of other traditions such as the Isshinryû of kusarigamajutsu (combative chain and sickle techniques).

⁶⁸Tadashige was a retainer of Nitta Yoshisada (1301-1338), a famous warrior who supported Emperor Go-Daigo along with Kusunoki Masashige.

⁶⁹Higuchi Sadahiro (twenty-fourth headmaster of the Nenryû), interviews with the author, Maniwa, Japan, 20 October 1985; February, 1986; November, 1987.

performed austerities and in a "dream-vision" state (Jp. musô) he received from Marishiten the secrets of what would come to be called Nenryû.

One of his fourteen disciples⁷⁰ was a warrior named Higuchi Tarô Kaneshige,⁷¹ from whom the "Higuchi" Nenryû descended. With Higuchi Takashige (1425-1513), the third-generation headmaster after Kaneshige, the family moved to Maniwa, a small village in Kôzuke (present-day Gumma Pref.). There Takashige dropped Nenryû in favor of another tradition called the (Kashima) Shintôryû. The seventh generation headmaster, Higuchi Sadatsugu, evidently dissatisfied with the Shintôryû he had received from his father, sought out a warrior named Tomomatsu Gian who was the seventh headmaster of the Nenshuzaryû (the Akamatsu line of the Nenryû).⁷² In 1591 Sadatsugu received a license known as inka (seal of competency or ability), becoming the eighth headmaster of the Nenryû. From that time the tradition has been known as the Maniwa Nenryû.

Due to the "break" in the Nenryû tradition from the generation of Higuchi Takashige to Sadatsugu, a period of

⁷⁰Watatani, Kobudôshi, 75.

⁷¹Kaneshige was a tenth generation descendant of Higuchi Kanemitsu (?-1184), one of the Shitennô (four great retainers) of Minamoto Yoshinaka (1154-1184)

⁷²Akamatsu Shigemitsu was one of Nen Ami Jion's disciples. See Watatani, Kobudôshi, 80.

about 100 years, we have no original densho available from the time of Nen Ami Jion. All Nenryû documents held in the Higuchi family archives date no earlier than the time of Sadatsugu (late 1500's) and were copies made by his teacher, Tomomatsu Gian. (Traditions that were passed down within one family line tend to be more "stable" in the transference of documents and ritual.) Consequently, while there is a Marishiten "tradition" within the Nenryû as it is preserved today (see Fig. 40 for the Nenryû Marishiten), little emphasis appears to be placed on "secret teachings" or insights that are supposed to come from the deity.

Evidently Tomomatsu did pass along the importance of Marishiten within the ryû for, in 1796, the sixteenth generation headmaster of the Higuchi family - Higuchi Sadayoshi - erected a stone monument to Nen Ami Jion. This monument still stands on a hill known as Marishiten San and became a place of pilgrimage for Nenryû members.⁷³

In addition, the densho transmitted to the Higuchi family by Tomomatsu reveal that Nen Ami Jion derived the Nenryû from the "inspiration" received from Marishiten. See, for example, Fig. 38 which shows the lineage of the Nenryû as listed on a transmission scroll entitled Marishi-setsu shôgun kyô. Here the lineage is given as: Marishiten - Shôtengu - Okuyama Nen (Ami Jion) - etc. Watatani notes that the name "Okuyama" is

⁷³Marishiten San is located in Nagano Pref. in a small village (close to Iida City) called Namiaimura.

derived from Nen Ami Jion's stay at Kuramadera.⁷⁴

The inclusion of the Shôtengu here is also interesting in that a tengu (a mountain spirit that is half-human, half-bird, usually a crow)⁷⁵ is the intermediary between Marishiten and Jion. This harkens back to legends of the young Yoshitsune learning swordsmanship from a tengu in Sôjô-ga-tani, a ravine on Mt. Kurama. It may also indicate Shugendô influences, for often the tengu is depicted dressed as a yamabushi.⁷⁶ (One Hikida Shinkageryû densho located during the course of researching this project, in fact, depicts Marishiten as a tengu riding a wild boar!)⁷⁷ The Nenryû oral tradition contains no enlightening details concerning these relationships, at least not for the un-initiated.⁷⁸

Members of the Nenryû today, under Higuchi Sadahiro

⁷⁴Watatani, Kobudôshi, 75. Unfortunately, Watatani gives no source for this particular point.

⁷⁵The classical study (which is still worthwhile reading) on the tengu is by Dr. M. W. De Visser, "The Tengu," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. XXXVI (1908): 23-99.

⁷⁶See Carmen Blacker, The Catalpa Bow (London, ,1975), 182-185; De Visser, "The Tengu," 48, et passim; and Earhart, A Religious Study, 25.

⁷⁷Hikida Shinkageryû densho. Located in Katô family archives, Nagoya, Japan. As can be seen in the illustration, Marishiten/tengu also appears to be related or equated to a gongen, (a spiritual manifestation - a kami or Buddhist deity - as described in Shugendô).

⁷⁸A good deal of oral transmission may have been lost during this century. The previous two headmasters both died around the age of thirty, evidently before passing on much information.

(twenty-fourth headmaster) perform a small ceremony to Marishiten every year around 15 February. The ceremony is very simple and entails the making of mochi (rice cakes) which are then presented to the Marishiten shrine located several yards from the dôjô (martial training hall). Other than presenting the mochi to Marishiten and bowing in a manner which would be correct at any Shintô shrine, no other ritual is performed.

- The Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû -

The Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû, in contrast to the Nenryû, has experienced an unbroken family tradition for over six hundred years. This has created a situation in which documents, oral traditions, and rituals have been more well preserved than in many still-extant classical ryû. However, in the six hundred years since its founding, there have, of course, been cases in which original documents were destroyed by fires, weather, or insects, and ritual has been modified or dropped altogether.

The Katori Shintôryû was founded by Iizasa Ienao (c. 1387-1488).⁷⁹ Later in life he became a zaike hosshi (lay

⁷⁹As noted above, there are varying dates for Iizasa Ienao's birth. Iizasa Shurinosuke Yasusada, current (twentieth) headmaster of the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû and a lineal descendant of Ienao, gives 1387 as the birth year. (Iizasa Yasusada, interviews with the author, 11-12 January 1989, Sakura, Japan.) Watatani (Kobudôshi, 57) seems to prefer 1417 to 1420.

Buddhist priest), and took the name of Chōisai (Nyūdō).⁸⁰ A member of a warrior family, he became proficient in the sword and spear arts practiced around the area of the warrior shrines of Katori and Kashima. Ōtake Risuke, chief instructor of the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū, notes that, at the age of 60, Ienao entered upon a period of religious austerities at Katori Shrine which lasted 1,000 days.⁸¹ While at the shrine, he received a vision in which the secret techniques and concepts that were to become the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū (= The Shintō tradition which flows from a true and correct transmission from the deity of Katori Shrine), were passed down to him.

This event attains mythical proportions in a text of that tradition known as the Katori shinryō shintōryū kongenshō. Prior to Ienao receiving his revelation these same combative techniques had been passed from Marishiten to the main deity of Katori Shrine:

Through a divine vision,⁸² Marishiten taught

⁸⁰This was done by a number of members of the warrior class. This is often indicated by the addition of the term "Nyūdō" in their names. This literally means that they have shaved their heads and "entered the way" but still live in their own homes.

⁸¹Ōtake Risuke, The Deity and the Sword: Katori Shinto Ryu (Contains both English and Japanese texts), vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1977), 8.

⁸²Jp. reimu. This may also be translated as "supernatural" or "magical" dream.

Futsunushi-no-mikoto⁸³ that there are Itsutsu, Nanatsu, and Kasumi [sword techniques], and Hakka-(spear). Marishiten also brought one volume [on strategy] and manifested a sword called "Ame-no totsukanomi tsurugi."⁸⁴

This "inspiration" was later passed on to Iizasa Chôisai Ienao. From this text it is clear that the "inspiration" (reimu) from which the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû was founded was seen to be derived from Marishiten via Futsunushi-no-mikoto, the Shintô kami of Katori Shrine. The inspiration consisted of a "text" on strategy (later described as the dragon and tiger scrolls)⁸⁵ and four sets of combative kata⁸⁶ -

⁸³Futsunushi-no-mikoto is the primary kami of Katori Shrine.

⁸⁴Manuscript (scroll) c. 1848 by Iizasa Chô-i-no Shigenobu (sixteenth headmaster) in a lineage from Iizasa Iganokami Ienao. ["Iganokami" is a title.] Iizasa family archives, Sakura, Japan. Katori shinryô shintôryû kongenshō, manuscript Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû kinenshi (Sawarashi, Japan, 1987), 49. According to Otake Risuke and Iizasa Yasusada, the current (twentieth) headmaster the ryû, even though the date of this text is rather late, it is derived from an unbroken Iizasa family tradition and its contents are supported by other family documents and oral tradition. (Evidently over the centuries, three fires have destroyed a number of original documents produced by Ienao and other early members of the family.) Otake Risuke and Iizasa Yasusada, interviews with the author, Sakura and Narita, Japan, 1986-1989.

⁸⁵This "text" is described as two scrolls, the Ô-ryû-no maki (Great Dragon Scroll) and Ô-tora-no maki (Great Tiger Scroll). Katori shinryô shintôryû kongenshō, 54.

Itsutsu, Nanatsu, Kasumi, and Hakka. These four sets are still an essential part of the combative curriculum of that tradition.

The text continues with a myth (evidently also transmitted to Ienao during his supernatural vision) which describes how Marishiten taught these techniques to two Shintô deities - Futsunushi-no-mikoto and Takemikazuchi-no-mikoto. By the orders of Amaterasu-no-ômikami (the Shintô Sun Goddess), Futsunushi- and Takemikazuchi- were dispatched to the earth (Japan)⁸⁷ in order to pacify it for Amaterasu. The "age of the gods" passed and there came a time of turmoil when no one could govern the country. It was at about that time that Iizasa began his rigorous, thousand-day spiritual disciplines at the Katori and Bishamon Shrines.⁸⁸ These disciplines, notes the text, were combined with an intense study of swordsmanship (Jp. heijutsu).⁸⁹

One night a spirit manifested itself to Ienao and lauded him for his efforts. He was then ordered to take up a wooden

⁸⁶Combative training sequences, usually performed with wooden practice weapons or real weapons. Kata train the warrior not only in the secret techniques of a particular ryû, but also cultivate proper breathing, timing, distancing, intuition, volition, "coolness," and many other qualities needed by the warrior.

⁸⁷Referred to in the text as Ashiwarano Mizuhonokuni.

⁸⁸Like Marishiten, Bishamonten is a Buddhist-assimilated version of an Indian god; in this case, Kuvera/Vaiśravaṇa.

⁸⁹Katori shinryô shintôryû kongenshō, 51.

sword, with which the spirit taught him the secrets of a number of Marishiten-derived techniques including:

Itsutsu, Nanatsu, Kasumi, Hakka-no, Ontachi-no
nijutsu, Mitsu, Yotsu, Naginata, In, Sha,
Hotsu, Fuwa, Empi...

...and several other sets of weapons techniques.⁹⁰

The text is repetitive and not always consistent (perhaps because it was taken from several earlier manuscripts and/or oral traditions), for, later, Futsunushi-no-mikoto again notes that he received a decree from Amaterasu and subdued the evil gods then controlling Japan with the techniques received from Marishiten.⁹¹ In addition, an interesting point is made concerning the four sets of kata used to pacify the country:

The spear techniques (Hakka), [and sword techniques] Mitsu-, Nanatsu-, and Itsutsu-no tachi are all methods for self-protection. One is the Jôsangyô, one is the Butsu-bu

⁹⁰For a description of several of these sets see Ôtake Risuke, The Deity and the Sword: Katori Shinto Ryu, 3 vols. (Tokyo, 1977-1978). A number of them are also demonstrated in video format: See David A. Hall, Meik Skoss, and Jeff Acopian, The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan, International Hopology Society, Tokyo, 1982; Michael Croucher, The Way of the Warrior: Katori Shinto Ryu, BBC, Bristol, 1984.

⁹¹Katori shinryô shintôryû kongenshō, 52.

sammai, one is the Renge-bu sammai, and one is the Kongô-bu sammai. The four methods are a single one of protection, or armoring.⁹²

In this method of protection,⁹³ one should face the "coming figures" of Tendô Marishiten and various kami. As he sits facing them he becomes shielded.⁹⁴

Here a direct connection has been made between the Tantric Buddhist / Shugendô ritual of self- (or "body") protection and the basic weapons kata (combative training sequences) of the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû. Although no details are given on the connection in the text, we can speculate that the swordsman might put himself into a frame of mind in which he feels protected by the religious ritual of the Goshinpô before training or an actual battle. While performing the kata, or while on the battlefield, this equation of the basic combative techniques of the ryû with the Goshinpô, a ritual of protection which had been performed in the presence of Marishiten and other kami⁹⁵ (Futsunushi-no-mikoto, etc.), might well give him a psychological edge over

⁹²Jp. ôi-mamoru to môsu = Hikô goshin.

⁹³Jp. goshin-no hô = Goshinpô.

⁹⁴Katori shinryô shintôryû kongenshō, 52.

⁹⁵Marishiten is often referred to as a kami in these texts.

his opponent. Ōtake Risuke believes this to be the case and feels that the performance of the Goshinpō and the Kuji-no daiji were much more efficient for warrior use than the practice of zazen.⁹⁶

Rituals for protection, healing, and other purposes abound in this tradition, although most are considered secret and not open to examination. Most of the transmission scrolls of the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū, in fact, are considered to be hi-densho (lit. "secret transmission scrolls") and members are cautioned to neither display nor discuss the content of scrolls they have received.⁹⁷ However, during the six hundred year period in which the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū has been in existence, some of those scrolls have become available for research.

One of these available scrolls, located during this project is entitled the Honchō bujutsu-no kongen Tenshinshōden Shintōryū hikan. This densho is evidently a section of the scroll called the Mokuroku (lit. "list" [of techniques]); a lower-level teaching license. This text contains a section on the Goshinpō which is almost identical with the Jūhachidō

⁹⁶Ōtake, interviews with the author, Narita, Japan, 1986-1989.

⁹⁷This prescription is respected by members of the tradition. The late Donn F. Draeger, who ranked as a menkyō-kyōshi (fully-licensed teacher) of the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū, required in his will that his hidensho be returned to the headmaster of the ryū upon the former's passing.

version.

This is followed by a section entitled "Heihōjutsu ryū-tora-sanryaku-no maki." "Heihōjutsu," of course, means "techniques of strategy." The terms "ryū"⁽²⁾ (dragon) and "tora" (tiger) indicate that this section of this scroll comes from the Marishiten-inspired texts received by Iizasa Ienaō during his dream-vision, while "sanryaku" evidently refers to one of the ancient Chinese texts on strategy, the San-lüeh. In contrast to Chinese style strategies, however, this section of the Mokuroku is entirely devoted to the Kujihō, the Ritual of Nine Characters we examined in Chapter 5.

This ritual begins by giving the nine seals of the kuji along with their corresponding worthies and spells. This is followed by the kuji grid, the nine characters, a short verse, and explanations of each of the "tenth-character" meanings.⁹⁸ While the nine seals, as explained in this text, are standard, the worthies corresponding to the seals are sometimes mixed

⁹⁸Ōtake has already explained in English these seals and spells as used by the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū. As a new translation would add little at this point, I shall not repeat them here. See Ōtake Risuke, The Deity and the Sword: Katori Shinto Ryu, vol. 3 (Tokyo, 1978), 16-19.

around and not in the same order.⁹⁹

A little further on we find a simple illustration of a (sun) circle in which are written (right to left): Hitenson (Sûrya), Marishnitenshin (The Kami, Marishiten), and Gattenson (Candra). Above and below the circle are two characters - sui-getsu - which may have a number of combative significances. This is followed by a spell: on marishie [obscured terms] on un. As explained by Ôtake, the purpose of using the kuji in the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû is protection of the warrior. By performing the kuji, the warrior enters a state of egolessness or selflessness in an instant.¹⁰⁰ This facilitates other qualities necessary for the warrior such as fudôshin ("coolness," or an "imperturbable mind") and kan-ken futatsu-no koto (the ability to see with the mind - kan [i.e., intuition] - as well as the eyes - ken).¹⁰¹

Several rituals for warrior protection are also mentioned

⁹⁹Although the Kuji-no daiji explained by Ôtake (see previous note) corresponds exactly with the Kuji-no daiji listed in Miyake's Shugendô shisô-no kenkyû (p. 402), that of the text under examination here contains some variances. That is, while most of the included deities are the same, some are matched with variant seals. Also, in this text Gosanze-myôô has been eliminated in favor of Aizen-myôô. Ôtake believes that this text is an erroneous copy, not produced by the Iizasa family.

¹⁰⁰Ôtake, The Deity..., vol. 3, 18. Ôtake's terms in the Japanese text (p. 17) are muga (lit. "non-self" or "egolessness") and bôga (lit. "forgetting oneself," "selflessness").

¹⁰¹Ôtake Risuke, interviews, 1986-1989. See also his The Deity..., vol. 3, 12-13.

in a second densho entitled Menkyô (lit. "license"), the advanced, full teaching license of the tradition. This scroll licenses the holder not only in weapons handling but also in the use of several "Marishiten spells." As the scroll is only a license, the spells and their uses are not explained in detail there; most of the explanation coming, again, from oral transmission. Ôtake Risuke was kind enough to explain these from a manuscript in which he collected all of the oral teachings of his late master. Ôtake's guide is called the Shintôryû hihô (Secret Ritual Methods of the Shintoryû) and contains spells for subjugation, healing, etc.¹⁰² All of these are attributed to Ienao's time. The Marishiten-specific rituals contained in Ôtake's manual are the Teki to tatakau-tomo kizu o fujû-no hô (Ritual for Preventing Injury when Facing Enemies) (which includes a ritual for blinding enemies called Teki-no me o karamasu-hô), Tatakau-toki makenaihô (Ritual for Not Being Defeated During Battle), and Teki to kyû ni tatakau-toki ([Ritual] for use When Suddenly Meeting and Enemy in Battle).

Several of these rituals presume the daily chanting of an additional Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû text known as the Marishiten goharai (The Marishiten who Sweeps Away [All Difficulties]). This text is written entirely in Chinese

¹⁰²Ôtake is also a "faith" healer. An example of his healing technique is available in the BBC film mentioned above; Michael Croucher, The Way of the Warrior: Katori Shinto Ryu, BBC, Bristol, 1984.

characters but the language is Japanese. It is chanted, much in the same manner as Shintô religious texts. Its contents briefly summarize Marishiten's mythical background (as provided by the Katori shinryô shintôryû kongenshō), tell how the god(dess), who sits upon a white boar, sweeps away all calamities, and request her help for members of the Ten-shinshōden Katori Shintôryû. This text, according to Ōtake Risuke, should be chanted each morning in the direction of the sunrise. It is also used on various other auspicious occasions of concern to the ryû.

The rituals, in brief, are as follows:

Teki to tatakau-tomo kizu o fuju-no hô (Ritual for Preventing Injury when Facing Enemies)¹⁰³:

[May be preceded by Marishiten goharai]

Every morning face southeast and do the following -

- 1) Make the mudrâ for the kuji character rin. Holding this seal in front of your heart, recite the ma spell: on

¹⁰³Ōtake Risuke also refers to this as the Teki-ni katsuhô (Method for Defeating Enemies).

basaragini harajibataya sowaka.¹⁰⁴

- 2) Make the kô-no in (Armoring Seal). This is identical with the first seal, but here it is held over the head of the practitioner. Recite the Marishiten spell: on mari mari marishii sowaka.¹⁰⁵

The "prevention of injury" portion of the ritual is evidently ended at this point. However, according to Ôtake, the process continues with the method for blinding enemies:

Again, the practitioner should face the direction of the (rising) sun daily.

- 3) Make a seal (no special name given to it) by holding the left fist out in front of you, thumb up. Grasp this thumb with the right fist, also thumb up. This acts as a pen or brush. As the spell is chanted, the warrior should write the Siddham Sanskrit letter boron in the

¹⁰⁴Ôtake and the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû are not concerned with the original Sanskrit in these spells. Many, in fact, probably have no Sanskrit original. This particular one appears to be om vajrâgini pradîptâya svâhâ

¹⁰⁵This is the only instance I have seen of this particular spell. Several priests have commented that it appears to be similar to Shugendô-type spells.

sky,¹⁰⁶ while reciting the spell: shinte kisshidaiten
on.¹⁰⁷

[From this point, notes the text, the practitioner becomes concealed; invisible.]

- 4) Continuing, draw a riken (sword) with its tip pointed up and recite: yatamei shōbu tsugo nen shiddan.¹⁰⁸
- 5) Again, draw the letter boron while reciting: koushin-no sendan-no kiri kin kiri tano kirifu kon sowaka.¹⁰⁹
- 6) Next the practitioner makes a tōshō-in (Sword & Scabbard Seal). Withdrawing the sword from the scabbard, the left hand is opened and the kuji grid inscribed in the palm of the left hand. This is done while chanting the nine

¹⁰⁶Actually, while the letter in Otake's text resembles boron (Skt. bhrūṃ), it lacks the anusvara for the sound "m." Sanskrit letters in Japanese martial texts often tend to drift from the correct execution.

¹⁰⁷The exact meaning of these phrases has become obscured by time. An approximation of the meaning is "om auspicious warrior, great deva, who has created this new mode (of combat)."

¹⁰⁸Again the meaning has become obscured. An approximation: Skt. yad me (Thus am I) perfected in mindfulness for the facilitation of the combat about to be engaged.

¹⁰⁹This appears to be, "My body is (guarded by the spell words of) candra (= the brilliant one, the moon) - hrīḥ hūṃ hrīḥ tad hrīḥ hūṃ svāhā."

letters: rin pyô tô sha kai jin retsu zai zen.

This process is completed by inscribing the tenth letter, tai, in the center of the grid. The left hand is then balled into a fist and the ten letters are thrown to the southeast. Simultaneously, the practitioner chants: shihô happô a bi ra un ken sowaka.¹¹⁰

This procedure combines Marishiten's power of invisibility with the protection of the kuji and ends with the familiar spell of Marishiten's sire, Mahāvairocana. In addition to Shugendô influence, there also appears to be some Shintoryû-specific elements, or modifications, involved. Here the mudrê of invisibility has become the first seal of the kuji, the shin-in or "Needle Seal." However, the Shintoryû text refers to it as the hôbyô-in or "Jeweled Bottle Seal."

The Tatakau-toki makenaihô (Ritual for Not Being Defeated During Battle) is a much simpler process. Every morning face southeast and chant the following:

- 1) on ken ran un sowaka = om khâm ram svâhâ¹¹¹
- 2) on marishie sowaka = om mâricyai svâhâ.
- 3) marishitenson on mari mari marishii sowaka.

¹¹⁰In the four and eight directions [I am protected], a vi ra hûm khâm (= Mahāvairocana), svâhâ.

¹¹¹Rev. Ichishima believes this may be om a vi ra hûm khâm svâhâ.

4) on a bi ra un ken = om a vi ra hûm kham.

Here we have simply the recitation of two Marishiten spells and one, possibly two, for Mahāvairocana. No special mudrâ are required.

Of course, the warrior did not always have time to effect even this second, shorter ritual. Consequently there is also a "quick" method; one which calls upon the efforts made prior to battle in the rituals we have seen above. This is the Teki to kyû ni tatakau-toki ([Ritual] for use when Suddenly Meeting and Enemy in Battle):

When finding yourself under attack, snap your fingers three times (danshi - Use 3 fingers) and recite: a bi ra marishiten un ken sowaka.

This, of course, is simply a combination of the spells for Marishiten and Dainichi Nyorai (Mahāvairocana).

The Goshinpô, Kujihô and other methods of protection we have seen here were not the only Marishiten-oriented rituals performed by members of the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû. In the past there were evidently a number of ceremonies performed for, or in front of, Mârîcî. One of these is found in a densho entitled Yajiri-no maki (lit. "Arrow-head Scroll") and in it we find a description of a Shintô-like Marishiten

altar.¹¹² Unfortunately, this altar is evidently no longer used by the ryū and the concise style of the text does not provide us with much information.

The altar consists of a Marishiten image (not described)¹¹³ flanked by illustrations of the sun (west side) and moon (east side). (This arrangement is fairly common in Marishiten illustrations in Japan. In another Katori scroll we find a similar illustration of the kuji grid - probably representing Marishiten -flanked by a sun and moon.)¹¹⁴ The text notes that offerings should be placed in front of the image. Various other items are included among the altar accouterments such as a set of armor, a bow, short sword, mirror, bottle, and other items. While the use of the altar is not made clear in this text, we will find that similar altars were used by other ryū for disclosure of secret technique and, possibly, licensing ceremonies. Today, however, the Katori Shintōryū does not use this altar, perhaps because a permanent Marishiten shrine has been established next to the headmaster's house.

A special ceremony of dedication to Marishiten is held

¹¹²The Yajari-no maki is part of a larger text simply called the Shintōryū heihōsho (c. late 1500's) and is reprinted in the Nihon budō zenshū, edited by Imamura Yoshio, vol. 2 (Tokyo, 1966), 257-258.

¹¹³Many ryū have an official version of a Marishiten image. Consequently, it was probably not thought necessary to describe one in this text.

¹¹⁴See Otake Risuke, The Deity..., vol. 2, 27.

every year in front of this Marishiten shrine, and it takes place on the first Hitsuji-no-hi (day of the sheep) of January.¹¹⁵ This ceremony, which is similar to that held every year by the Nenryū, precedes the first day of martial training for the year at the headmaster's home dōjō (martial training hall), located about 1,000 meters south of Katori Shrine. The family has lived close to Katori Shrine since the days of the founder, Ienao.

Beginning about 7:30 P.M., members of the ryū begin to arrive, bringing with them various items for the ceremony's preparation. The next few hours are spent twisting rice straw into ropes, fifty in number, which are then bundled into a single bale. Fifty rice cakes are also made as an offering. The fifty ropes and rice cakes represent the fifty kerai (retainers) who were associated with Ienao.

A number of gohei (the white, zig-zag paper adorning Shintō shrines) are also made to replace the paper in the dōjō shrine, family shrine, and Marishiten shrine. In addition, various offerings of dried squid, black beans, chestnuts, carrots, radishes, Mandarin oranges, salt, and water are also prepared.

These offerings are placed in the dōjō shrine and Marishiten shrine at midnight. Candles are lit at both locations and the group assembles in front of the Marishiten

¹¹⁵It is no longer known why the ceremony is held on that particular day.

shrine. Ōtake Risuke then chants the Marishiten goharai for empowerment of the headmaster and members of the ryū. Everyone claps their hands twice and bows, in the same manner as in front of any Shintō shrine.

This ends the ceremony. However, it should be noted that, in the past, before proceeding to the shrine, new members of the ryū were first initiated by drawing up buckets of cold water which they poured over their body. (This is similar to Japanese Buddhist initiations.) The practice is optional today, depending on the desires of the initiate. Evidently none have opted for this traditional method in recent years.

The following day is hatsugeiko, the first day of training for the year, which is always held at the home dōjō of the headmaster.¹¹⁶ After this training and "in the presence of Marishiten," transmission scrolls are awarded to various members.

As seen here, Marishiten is not simply a symbolic warrior protector/protectress or one of the many "supplementary" gods that should be propitiated before going to battle. She has become the central figure in the origins of the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū. According to the ryū's history, Iizasa Chōisai Ienao did not simply receive a spell or ritual of

¹¹⁶Most of the training is currently carried out at the home dōjō of Ōtake Risuke, the chief instructor.

invisibility from Marishiten. In his "miraculous dream" he received the strategy (heihô) on which the tradition is based in the two scrolls known as the Ô-ryû-no maki (Great Dragon Scroll) and Ô-tora-no maki (Great Tiger Scroll); the rituals and secret spells which guaranteed protection and victory in battle; and, in addition, the actual combative techniques for weapons-handling.

This comprehensive vision is something we have not seen associated with Marishiten either in the Buddhist or Shugendô traditions thus far examined. It does seem to be indicated, however, in the inclusion of Marishiten in the "most secret" sections of heihô texts such as the Genke kinesshû.¹¹⁷ There, as we have seen, Marishiten was seen as a warrior protector/protectress, bringer of victory and invisibility, and aid in battlefield divination, although those texts did not attribute actual combative techniques to the goddess.

- The Shinkageryû -

A third ryû of major influence which was formed toward the end of the warring states period was the Shinkageryû (New Shadow Tradition). Founded by a warrior named Kamiizumi Isenokami Nobutsuna (1508-1578), it was based mainly on a

¹¹⁷Watatani has noted that various editions of the Tora-no maki, the Genke kinesshû, and the scrolls of the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû have a great number of similarities. See Watatani, Kobudôshi, 44-45, where he compares the Genke kinesshû and the Tenshinshô Shintôryû zukai kaidensho.

modification of its antecedent, Kage-no Ryû, which had been founded in 1488 by Aisu Ikôsai. Kamiizumi had trained in several martial traditions, including the Nenryû and/or Chûjôryû, Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû and/or Kashima Shinryû, and the Kage-no Ryû. Consequently, he created an eclectic school of swordsmanship which contained elements of Kage-no Ryû, Nenryû, Shintôryû and, possibly, Chûjôryû. These earlier ryû, which, as we have seen, were based on a strong tradition of Minamoto heihô, were closely associated with the Japanese cult of Marishiten. Because of this, we might expect to find a strong emphasis on Marishiten within the Shinkageryû and this, indeed, is the case. Some of these elements can still be found, even today, within extant lines of the Shinkageryû. However, two of the most famous and widely practiced lines descendant from Kamiizumi's tradition - the Yagyû Shinkageryû and the Jiki Shinkageryû - have almost completely eliminated the cult of the god(dess) from their teachings.

All of the combat-oriented kata designed by Kamiizumi in the 1500's were intended for use by armored swordsmen in battlefield situations. According to the densho passed down in various lines of the Shinkageryû, these kata were inspired by a vision from Marishiten, formulated and/or revised by Kamiizumi, and passed on to his various disciples during the

mid- to late sixteenth century.¹¹⁸ Various lines of the Shinkageryū preserve different numbers and versions of these.¹¹⁹ An example of this curriculum are the following kata from the Yagyū line. These number around 45 and are divided into several "sets" as follows:¹²⁰

Empi - A complex kata of six simpler kata, or techniques, which are practiced in a continuing sequence. This set has its origins in the antecedent Kage-no Ryū founded by Aisu Ikōsai Hisatada in 1488.

¹¹⁸For example, Kamiizumi's most famous disciple, Yagyū Sekishūsai Muneyoshi, was awarded an Inka (license of full mastery) in the Shinkageryū in 1565. Watatani notes in his Kobudōshi, 113, that the date was 1571. The date on the actual license, however, is 1565. For the reprinted document see Yagyū Genchō, Shōden Shinkageryū (Tokyo, 1957), 244-246.

¹¹⁹In only the first generation down from Kamiizumi, twenty-three disciples received full licenses for the Shinkageryū. While there is a great deal of similarity among these documents, most all the densho which remain to us today show variant kata names as well as number of techniques. For the lineage of the Shinkageryū, see Watatani and Yamada, Bugei ryū-ha daijiten, 385-390. A number of densho containing variant kata names are included in the "Kage-no Ryū-no shoryūha-no mokurokurui" section of Shimokawa Ushio's Kendō-no hattatsu, (1925; reprint, Tokyo, 1985); the "Shinkageryū heihō mokuroku-no koto" in Watanabe Ichirō's edition of Yagyū Munenori's Heihō kadensho, 123-152; and Yagyū Genchō's Shōden Shinkageryū.

¹²⁰These sets are listed on transmission scrolls called Kagemokuroku. Several of the original scrolls passed from Kamiizumi to Yagyū Muneyoshi are still extant and in the possession of the twenty-first headmaster of the Yagyū Shinkageryū, Yagyū Nobuharu Toshimichi. They are the scrolls entitled Empi, Nanatachi, Sangaku, and Kuka. The Inka (license of full mastery) awarded to Yagyū Muneyoshi is also extant.

Nanatachi - A set of seven kata, which Kamiizumi evidently developed to counter the Nanatsu(-no tachi) of the Shintôryû.¹²¹

Sangaku - A set of five kata, some of which are counters for similar kata (probably the Itsutsu(-no tachi)) of the Shintôryû.

Kuka - A set of nine kata intended as counters to Nenryû, Chûjôryû, and Shintôryû gokui (secret techniques).

Tengushô - A set of eight kata which, in various transmission scrolls, depict the Shinkageryû swordsman as a tengu.¹²²

These forms begin the oku (secret teachings) of the Shinkageryû.¹²³

¹²¹According to various densho (transmission scrolls) Kamiizumi received a full license in the Kashima Shinryû (also called Kashima Shinkageryû); a derivative tradition of the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû.

¹²²As already noted, the tengu is an important mythical creature in Japan. Often associated with swordsmanship and, sometimes, Marishiten in martial scrolls, the tengu are usually depicted in human form with bird-like faces or long noses.

¹²³The transmission scroll passing these techniques from Kamiizumi to Yagyû Muneyoshi is no longer extant; however, other scrolls describing or illustrating these techniques do exist.

The origin of the Tengushô teachings is an interesting question. Various lines of the Shinkageryû contain various names for these kata. (See the densho reproduced in the "Kage-no Ryû-no shoryûha-no mokurokurui" section of Shimokawa Kendô-no hattatsu, pls. 48-58, 104-108; the "Shinkageryû heihô mokuroku-no koto" in Watanabe edition of Yagyû Munenori's Heihô kadensho, 139-146; and Yagyû Genchô's Shôden Shinkageryû, 283-284, 307-308.)

It is difficult to establish whether or not Kamiizumi Nobutsuna received a Tengushô from Aisu Koshichirô Genkôsai, his teacher of the Kage-no Ryû, for there are very few documents extant from that tradition. Some martial scholars,

Okugi - A set of six kata which are the "inner secrets" of the Shinkageryû.¹²⁴

Kamiizumi based his Shinkageryû on battlefield experience and, because of that, placed a great emphasis on psychological development which became a characteristic of the various lines of his tradition. The psychological emphasis in Kamiizumi's Shinkageryû was, of course, conditioned by Buddhist, Shugendô, Shintô, and Taoist influences from the warrior culture of which he was a member.¹²⁵ Zen Buddhist elements are found within Shinkageryû densho written by Kamiizumi himself. In example of this are the kata names from the Sangaku set - Ittô Ryôdan, Zantei Settetsu, Hankai Hankô, Usen Saten and Chôtan Ichimi - which are all Zen terms taken

however, claim that the earliest Tengushô was a part of Aisu Ikôsai's Kage-no Ryû. [See Katô Junichi, "Shinkage Yagyûryû-no seihô ni kansuru kenkyû: Kaisha kenjutsuchô o chûshin ni." Nippon budô gakkai 21 (Sept. 1988): 5.]

¹²⁴Six kata are preserved in the Okugi of the Yagyû Shinkageryû today. (Some of these, of course, may have been created by Yagyû Muneyoshi.) Other lines descended from Kamiizumi preserved different numbers of these, sometimes with variant names. For examples of these differences see Shimokawa's Kendô-no hattatsu, 176-178 and, in the same text, the section entitled "Kage ryû no shoryûha no mokurokurui." This section of Shimokawa's work (pl. 23) reproduces a portion of a densho written by Nishi Itton Minamoto-no Takanori (a disciple of Kamiizumi) in which the Okugi are listed as Kôjô-no Tachi and Gokui-no Tachi. These two kata names are also found in the Okugi of the Yagyû Shinkageryû.

¹²⁵Kamiizumi was also the originator of a tradition of heihô known as the Kamiizumiryû. His knowledge of heihô was derived from the Ogasawaryû of strategy. Ishioka and Arima, Shoryû heihô (Part 1), 450.

from the Pei-yen-lu.¹²⁶ While there is no documentation available which would indicate that Kamiizumi made a formal study of Rinzai Zen,¹²⁷ his was the first ryû to use Zen terminology for kata names. Extreme caution should be used here, however, in assuming that Kamiizumi's Shinkageryû was "Zen-oriented" in the way in which many twentieth century writers (both Japanese and Westerners) would have us believe. As we have seen, the Buddhism which appealed to the warriors of the Muromachi period was a mixture containing Esoteric Buddhism, Taoism, Shugendô, and Shintô elements. Zen elements were also present, but tended to be a less dominant influence in the classical ryû founded during that period.¹²⁸

The Shinkageryû founded by Kamiizumi contained a strong flavor of Esoteric Buddhism, as is indicated in the documents that have come down to us. The "spiritual" stance today of some of its later derivative lines, such as the Yagyû Shinkageryû, tend to be non-denominational in that, while psycho-

¹²⁶See Yagyû Nobuharu, Sangakuen-no tachi, vol. 4 of Shinkageryû heihô kudensho (Tokyo and Nagoya: Yagyûkai, 1978), 2-15. The Pei-yen-lu (J. Hekiganroku) is a Chinese collection of kôan compiled by the Sung Dynasty monk Hsüeh-pao and completed in 1125 A.D.

¹²⁷Watatani, Kobudôshi, 143.

¹²⁸For a description of the assimilation of Rinzai Zen and Esoteric Buddhism during the Kamakura Period (1185-1333) see Martin Collcutt, Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan (Harvard East Asian Monographs, no. 85. Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 57-89. Trevor Leggett's Zen and the Ways (Boulder, 1978) also contains some interesting information on the type of Zen Buddhism which appealed to warriors.

logical concepts are often expressed in Buddhist terms (sometimes specifically Zen), there tends to be no special concern for either Esoteric Buddhism or Zen. The tendency to use Zen terminology in the Yagyû Shinkageryû, of course, stems from the influence of the Zen priest Takuan (1573-1645) on the Yagyû Shinkageryû in the early 1600's.¹²⁹

These sets of kata listed above are recorded in transmission scrolls written by Kamiizumi and his immediate disciples, many of which refer to the inspiration he received from Marishiten. For example, in the transmission scroll entitled Kage-no mokuroku Empi which was passed from Kamiizumi to Yagyû Muneyoshi, we find the following passage (lines 45-49):

After practicing the secret methods of Marishisonten¹³⁰ day after day for a long time, training day and night, I received an inspiration from the deity and suddenly, from my own heart, (the Shinkageryû) gushed out!¹³¹

¹²⁹Yagyû Nobuharu Toshimichi, current (twenty-first) headmaster, of the Yagyû Shinkageryû, interviews with the author, Tokyo, Japan, 1985-1990.

¹³⁰Jp. Marishisonten hihô.

¹³¹Kamiizumi Isenokami Fujiwara-no Nobutsuna (to Yagyû Shinzaemon [Muneyoshi]) 5th month of 1566, Yagyû family archives, Yagyû Nobuharu, Nagoya, Japan. This same passage is contained in the Empi scroll of other lines of the Shinkageryû. For example, see Kendô-no hattatsu, 176-178 and, in

Here, as with the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū and the Nenryū, we find the founder of the tradition attributing its origins to a revelation or vision from Marishiten. Examining the densho of various lines of the Shinkageryū which were written in the late 1500's we find a great deal of material dealing with the cult of Marishiten.

An example of these, a document called the Shinkageryū - Dōjō sōgon gishiki (Training Hall Adornment Ritual),¹³² is an illustrated scroll in which items for a Marishiten altar are listed. It is much like the Yajiri-no maki (Arrow-head Scroll) of the Shintōryū briefly described above in that it includes such items as a mirror, brocade to wrap around the four posts at the corners of the altar, bottles, two swords, candles, a bow and two arrows, two fans, etc. (In contrast to the Shintōryū text, this altar does not require an actual image of Marishiten. See Fig. 41)

At the end of this scroll there is a statement that illuminates the purpose of this Marishiten altar:

the same text, the section entitled "Kage ryū no shoryūha no mokurokurui," pl. 40.

¹³²Shimokawa, "Kage ryū no shoryūha no mokurokurui," Kendō-no hattatsu, pl. 21-26. A similar document (c. 1600) from an alternate line - the Shinkageryū - Dōjō sōgon gishiki kumotsutē-no koto - can be found in Imamura, Yoshio, Shiryō Yagyū Shinkageryū. vol. 2 (Tokyo, 1967), 404-405.

Only transmit this to one person:

Kôjô-no tachi

Gokui-no tachi

Midare

on marishie svâhâ

These stratagems, listed above, are based in the miraculous powers of Marishitenson...¹³³

Again, this particular transmission scroll from the Shinkageryû indicates that the most secret techniques of the tradition were derived from Marishiten. In addition, we see here that these most secret combative kata - Kôjô-no tachi and Gokui-no tachi - are to be transmitted to only one person, in front of the Marishiten altar. The use of the term Midare (lit. "conflict") is obscure here. It may refer to a third secret kata, as some other branches of the Shinkageryû do have a combative training sequences which uses the same character, namely Karanbô, in the series known as Tengushô.¹³⁴ However, since the suffix tachi (lit. "sword technique") is not appended to this character it may indicate that a mock duel or practice session was supposed to take place in front of the Marishiten altar. Unfortunately, no oral tradition or

¹³³Shimokawa, "Kage ryû no shoryûha no mokurokurui," Kendô-no hattatsu, pl. 23.

¹³⁴See "Shinkageryû heihô mokuroku-no koto" in Watanabe edition of Yagyû Munenori's Heihô kadensho, 144.

commentaries survive from the Nishi Itton line to enlighten us concerning this document.

In the Hikida (Shin)kageryû, a line established by Kamiizumi's nephew, Hikida Bungorô, we find several densho that add somewhat to that of the Nishi Itton line. Marishiten figures prominently in the "Kanjô gokui-no maki" section of a transmission scroll entitled Shinkage-no ryû empi moku-roku.¹³⁵ The title of this section - "Kanjô gokui" - is itself interesting for the first term is the Chinese translation for the Sanskrit word abhiṣeka, the Tantric Buddhist baptismal ceremony. The second term - gokui - usually refers to sections of densho where the most secret or privileged information is imparted. Gokui sections are usually where we find references to Marishiten.¹³⁶ The contents of this section are as follows:

Heihô is enlightenment through the way of the warrior. When facing a life-and-death battle, do not be afraid of death. When you advance a step or cut one stroke, do not let thoughts, good or bad to enter your mind. The best path of swordsmanship is,

¹³⁵The "Kanjô gokui-no maki" section is found in Shimokawa, "Kageryû no shoryûha no mokurokurui," Kendô-no hattatsu, pls. 62-63. This text is dated 3/1628.

¹³⁶This was also true of the Genke kinesshû.

instead, to cut the objects of the five senses¹³⁷ [which pollute the mind and lead to desire], the six desires,¹³⁸ and mental afflictions.¹³⁹ This is the highest level of swordsmanship.

In this way, clearly I, myself, am none other than the original enlightenment of Dainichi Nyorai and Nichirin Marishiten.

When you pass on the contents of this scroll you should not eat fish or meat for seven days and make yourself pure. Decorate the dôjô as directed in the Dôjô sôgon-no shidai. Make offerings to various kami and (Buddhist) deities. Then you should pass on the secret sword techniques in front of this altar.¹⁴⁰

This passage confirms the process passing on the gokui - most secret techniques - of the tradition in front of the Marishiten altar as described above in the Shinkageryû - Dôjô sôgon gishiki (Training Hall Adornment Ritual). Although the text mentioned here has a different title - Dôjô sôgon-no

¹³⁷Jp. gojin.

¹³⁸Jp. rokuyoku.

¹³⁹Jp. bonnô, translated from Skt. kleśa.

¹⁴⁰See the "Shinkage-no-ryû kanjô gokui-no maki" section of the Shinkage-no-ryû empi mokuroku found in Shimokawa, pl. 62.

shidai - its meaning is the same - (Procedures for Training Hall Adornment). No illustration is given in this 1628 edition of the "Kanjō gokui-no maki," but we do find a sketch of the altar in a later version written in 1857. (See Fig. 42). The text of this later scroll is almost identical to the 1628 edition.

In summary, these three traditions, which were of great influence to later ryū - the Nenryū, Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū, and Shinkageryū, were created by experienced warriors who had survived many encounters on the battlefield. After much experience had been gained and much study completed, these founders performed religious austerities for many days; these practices usually centered on Marishiten. Each of these founders also was rewarded with a "vision," an inspirational insight into the secrets, not only of invisibility, but of comprehensive martial curricula. These curricula included everything from combative sword techniques to rituals methods of concentration which were aimed at providing the warrior with a state of selflessness,¹⁴¹ "coolness" in battle,¹⁴² intuition and awareness,¹⁴³ and volition.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹Ōtake Risuke refers to this as selflessness (Jp. muga) while the Shinkageryū texts refer to cutting off desire.

¹⁴²I.e., not fearing death as mentioned in the quotation above.

¹⁴³The kan-ken futatsu-no koto mentioned by Ōtake Risuke.

Examining the densho of several later ryû (i.e., the Toda-ha Bukoryû, Shingyôtôryû,¹⁴⁵ Arakiryû, and others provides little more information concerning the cult of the god(dess). Most of those documents contain references to Marishiten, the kuji, and often associate their gokui (secret techniques) with the deity along with this or that Shintô kami. There are so many revelations recorded by the early Edo period that one wonders if, in fact, it had become necessary to claim a vision from Marishiten in order to legitimize a ryû.¹⁴⁶ This is probably not the case, however, for most ryû (actually ryû-ha, "branch traditions") seem to have been formed through socio-political disputes during the Edo period.

¹⁴⁴"When you advance a step or cut one stroke, do not let thoughts, good or bad to enter your mind." In other words, do not let your mind hesitate. Act! Don't think! A moment's hesitation in battle means death.

¹⁴⁵Shingyôtôryû documents contains some interesting information on the warrior Marishiten including a three-legged crow image of the god(dess) riding a wild boar, a long text on swordsmanship which quotes extensively from several of the Chinese Mâricî-dhâranî-sûtras, and speculations on the significance of the image of Marishiten attributed to Shôtoku Taishi. Due to limitations of space and time, it will not be covered in this particular study. However, since the Shingyôtôryû is an extant tradition, it will be worthwhile to investigate it in detail at some future date.

¹⁴⁶Watatani lists a number of these in Kobudôshi.

Chapter 7: Reflections on Mārīcī's Significance

- Marishiten within Japanese Buddhism -

As we saw in Chapter 5, with the creation of the Marishi-tembô by the twelfth century, the cult of Mārīcī had been fully assimilated into the "modular ritualism" of the Japanese Jûhachidô. There is no indication that any further evolution of the Buddhist cult took place within the seats of higher learning of the Tendai and Shingon sects after that time.¹ None was needed for, as already noted, Marishiten had come to be seen by Sino-Japanese Esoterism as a manifestation of Mahāvairocana, the supreme fountainhead of Buddhahood. By uniting with the goddess - that is, performing ritual co-substantiation through the Jûhachidô - the devotee was supposed to have achieved an understanding, or apprehension, of the Mahāyāna Buddhist concept of reality.² And, in the closing of that ritual as described in the Asabashô, the devotee transferred the merit attained through performance of the ritual to all sentient beings. Thus, he fulfilled the vow of a bodhisattva by helping all sentient beings toward

¹Of course individual practitioners may have produced texts and devised rituals for their own needs. The Marishi zôyaku gomaku shidai (Goma zenshû, vol. 65), according to Shingon Rev. Miyajima Kigyô of Kôyasan University, is one of that type.

²That is, pratitya-samutpâda, the interdependent nature of existence.

enlightenment. Aside from seeking this higher purpose, any other use of the powers of the goddess might be requested in the initial section of the Jûhachidô-style Marishitembô.

Ironically, this complete assimilation of the Buddhist Marishiten into the Jûhachidô "system" appears to have created a situation in which the goddess began a descent into obscurity. Why perform a ritual centering on Marishiten (one of many "manifestations" of Mahāvairocana) when you can perform one more directly aimed at Dainichi Nyorai (Mahāvairocana) or his most popular manifestation, Fudô-myôô? Today the performance of the Marishitembô in Japan seems to be non-existent, although goma rituals for the goddess can be found occasionally at temples which contain images of her.³

Of several Marishiten temples visited in the course of this research, the most active today (if we judge "active" by actual number of patrons and rituals performed) does not even belong to the Esoteric Sects; Shingon and Tendai. It is a Nichiren Sect temple known as Tokudaiji (Marishiten-san). (Perhaps its convenient location in the metropolitan area of Ameyokochô in Tokyo has had something to do with its continuing popularity.) There, two or three times a month, a "goma" is performed in which parishioners make offerings in the name

³Of course there may be local or private temples which carry out such practices but they are difficult to locate and are even more difficult to enter.

of Marishiten in order to receive some advantage. Although the service performed there is referred to as a goma, it includes no real fire ritual. The chief priest and his assistants chant from various texts important to the Nichiren Sect (including many repetitions of the inevitable spell of homage to the Lotus Sutra: nam'myôhō rengekyô) along with requests for aid to those who are making offerings. During the chanting, a curtain is raised (automatically) revealing the image of Marishiten. As the chanting is completed, the curtain is lowered, covering the image. The service ends with an assistant priest striking a piece of flint upon stone; making a rain of sparks over the offerings.

Obviously, this is not a goma in the sense of the fire rituals we find in the Tendai and Shingon sects. The Chinese characters used for this "goma" (displayed on a sign at the temple's entrance), should actually be pronounced kitô, a term that literally means "prayer" or "grace." The complete title of the ritual performed there is kai-un shôgan jôju kitô, lit. prayers (kitô) for the accomplishment (jôju) of all requests (shôgan) for kai-un "establishing (one's) fortune" or "enhancing (one's) fate." This temple has been in existence since the early Edo period but was evidently not especially popular among the warrior class of that time. Nichiren Rev. Ichikawa Chizu, in fact, notes that the majority of patrons of the Tokudaiji Marishitensan temple were "actors, geisha, commoners, and financial speculators" who sought after success

in their careers.⁴

The performance of rituals devoted to Marishiten in the Shingon and Tendai sects is practically non-existent.⁵ One slight exception discovered during this research project is the Tendai temple known as Tairinji located in Oyama. Every April fifteenth, at the Marishiten Goma Hall there, goma fires are burned for Marishiten. (See Figs. 43-45) According to Rev. Saitô Wadô, the assistant priest there, the goma for Marishiten is performed for the "protection of the danka (parishioners) and for soldiers from danka families in wartime."⁶ He then pointed out the many photographs of soldiers adorning the walls of the temple. (Fig. 46) During the Taishô and early Shôwa eras, many families with sons in the Japanese military burned offerings to Marishiten there in order to provide them with protection in battle. Many photographs of those soldiers and sword-shaped talismans inscribed with the names of devotees and contributors still festoon the inner walls of the Marishiten Goma Hall. (Fig. 47)

⁴Ichikawa, Chizu, "Hadami hanasazu mottareta Marishiten" in Bukkyô to kamigami, edited by staff of Daihôrin (Tokyo, 1988), 214.

⁵Shingon Rev. Miyajima Kigyô and Tendai Rev. Chiba Shôkan, interviews with the author, summer, 1989.

⁶Saitô Wadô, interviews with the author, Tairinji, Oyama, Japan, April 1988, April 1989.

Although goma rituals to Marishiten are performed at Tairinji every April, the ritual itself is a standard, "abbreviated" Tendai goma⁷ which takes about thirty minutes to perform. Beginning with the Hannyashingyô, the chief priest performs a standard goma with the assistant priest striking the drum and chanting the spell for Fudô-myôô. (The two priests take turns at being the chief performer.) After the standard goma is ended (again with the Hannyashingyô), the chief priest of the ritual recites a short postscript to elicit Marishiten's protection for the danka. Although it varies a little each time the ritual is performed, it is very close to the Ekô hôben (transference of merit) at the end of standard goma and was also included in the Marishitembô we examined in Chapter 5.

Here in front of auspicious Marishiten we perform this goma for the sake of each family's happiness. Please grant each request.

This is followed by the recitation of the Marishiten Mind Spell:

on marishie sowaka (X 3)

⁷The chief priest of Tairinji, Miyao Shindô, uses a text of the Tendai Anôshôryû and assistant priest Saitô Wadô uses one of the Tendai Hômanryû. In performing the abbreviated form of the goma, the texts are almost completely interchangeable.

And, the seed syllable of Ichiji-kinrinbutchôô: boron (X3)

Since the Marishiten portion of this goma is actually an addenda, performed after the "standard" goma is finished, there is little to comment upon here. This "Marishiten goma" is, consequently, hardly different from many of the small-temple fire rituals found around Japan. It is little more than a local custom; a means by which the parishioners (Jp. danka) renew social ties with each other as well as make offerings in support of the temple. Of course, there are pious (and not so pious) followers who make offerings to Marishiten in the hopes of obtaining the boon of success in careers, business, school exams, etc.

All in all, it appears that Marishiten's importance within Japanese Buddhism has long since passed its zenith. But, even with Marishiten's relative decline in popularity in the modern age, the temples of several sects - Rinzai Zen, Nichiren, Tendai, Shingon - which contain images of Marishiten testify to the fact that the god(dess) was once considered important enough to devote a good deal of time to making her images and performing her rituals. The Tendai, Rinzai Zen, and Nichiren sects in particular were closely associated with the warrior class (both as allies and adversaries) and it seems likely that their efforts in the area of the Marishiten cult were due to their social relationships with the bushi.

As the extended age of wars (c. 1467-1600) passed into an era of peace with the Edo period (1603-1867), and the warrior class itself was abolished (early Meiji period 1867-1912), the need for this martial devi decreased proportionally. Without the impetus of warfare and warriors, there was little need for a warrior goddess.⁸

As we have seen, however, there are still those in Japan who are devoted to the cult of the warrior Marishiten. Although the cult is somewhat subdued in comparison to the Warring States period, temples, such as Tairinji, and living martial traditions, such as the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintô-ryû, Maniwa Nenryû, and others, testify to the reliance of soldiers and martial practitioners on Marishiten's powers.

In addition, a number of adherents of related agonistic disciplines - such as sumô - also preserve a remnant of the warrior's faith in Marishiten. In a recent work on sumô, author Andy Adams records an example of this faith in regard to an injury suffered by Jesse Kuhaulua⁹ probably known better in Japan by his official wrestling name, Takamiyama:

⁸The Western-style Japanese military, which began developing during the Meiji era (1867-1912) had, by the 1930's, found its spiritual center in a modified form of bushidô. This hybrid philosophy inculcated loyalty to the Emperor. See Draeger, Modern Bujutsu and Budo, 17-52, and Dann, "Kendo...", 69-98.

⁹Jesse has become a nationalized citizen of Japan under the name of Watanabe Daigorô.

With his arm not responding to rehabilitation, Jesse desperately cast about for alternatives. He went to a practitioner of Chinese seitai (a type of massage) and every night [his wife] Kazue massaged his arm while praying to Marishiten (the god of war).¹⁰

This type of belief harkens back not only to Mārīcī healing powers found in the Chinese texts, but also to Marishiten's suggested origins in India as a protectress of warriors. As we have seen, even taking into account a Buddhist intent of bringing non-Buddhists into the path of the bodhisattva, it seems probable that the cult of Mārīcī, as it evolved in India, was intended for an audience of professional combatants. This same emphasis is apparent in China, considering the developments that took place such as the apparent influence of the Buddhist Mo-li-chih (Mārīcī) on the Taoist cult of Tou-mu, a warrior goddess of the Mt. Wu-tang Pole Star Sect. Even Amoghavajra, the great synthesizer of eighth century Sino-Japanese tantrism, presented images of the Mārīcī to Chinese emperors for the purpose of victory and protection. In Japan also, it is clear that, at least prior to the Edo

¹⁰Andrew Adams and Mark Schilling, Jesse! Sumo Superstar (Tokyo, 1985), 120.

period,¹¹ the social groups with the greatest interest in Marishiten were those of the warrior and professional soldier. Consequently, while the official Buddhist view of the goal of the cult was enlightenment and fulfillment of the vow of the bodhisattva, the cult of the goddess never fully separated itself from its combative origins. In fact, those "miraculous supernatural powers" which the goddess was thought to provide were probably of much more interest to the Japanese warrior than Buddhist enlightenment (Jp. satori). In order to clarify this question, let us move now to an investigation of what really made Marishiten popular among Japanese (and, perhaps, Indian and Chinese) warriors.

- Importance to the Warrior -

As we have seen, the Chinese translations of the Māricī dhāraṇī-sūtras contain a number of methods for providing miraculous powers which would be advantageous to a warrior; this aside from the fact that the Buddhist intent was probably one of encouraging the warrior toward the path of the bodhi-sattva. These methods range from the one found in the sixth century text (T. 1256) in which the practitioner simply

¹¹The cult of Marishiten became popular among actors, geisha, and commoners during the Edo period. Ichikawa, Chizu, "Hadami hanasazu mottareta Marishiten" in Bukkyō to kamigami (Daihōrin), (Tokyo, 1988): 214.

recites the pledge that he "knows the name of Mārīcī"¹² in order to obtain invisibility (and various other powers)¹³ to the elaborate tenth century homas of subjugation and rituals requiring the exotic pharmacopeia found in T. 1257. Since this last text was only occasionally used as a ritual reference by medieval Japanese commentators, it is apparent that the complex siddhi-producing sādhanas of T. 1257 were not of great popularity among the Japanese Buddhists of the late Heian, Kamakura and Muromachi periods. (They did, after all, have an enormous variety of texts to choose from and appear to have been more interested in standardization than variety.) The evidence that comes down to us from the various Japanese warrior traditions (Jp. koryū) also indicates that, while the warrior was interested in Marishiten's ability to ensure victory, provide invisibility and confuse enemies, he had little martial use for the complicated Mārīcī gomas and rituals requiring exotic fuels and the mixing of strange herbs, grains, woods, and other chemicals. (In all probability, the warrior was not seeking to enter the bodhisattva path in order to aid all sentient beings. If that were his purpose would he have not abandoned warfare completely and become a monk?) As we have seen, most of the warrior Marishiten-

¹²T.1256, XXI: 261c3-5. As noted above, Japanese sources indicate that knowing the name means to chant the name.

¹³Other powers, as we have seen, were also included: i.e. perspicuity, an ability to avoid seizure or binding (unctuousness?), etc.

oriented rituals were restricted to relatively simple spells and mudrā for battlefield usage, and the Marishiten altars used by warriors tended to have a strong Shintō orientation.

Marishiten's popularity was due, I propose, primarily to the particular synergy of combative traits attributed to and represented by Marishiten in Japan: 1) Invisibility/Confusion of Enemies, 2) Intuition, 3) Mental Imperturbability and (possibly) 4) Selflessness.

We have already seen above that this first ability was characteristic of Indra and the Maruts, the predecessors of the Buddhist Mārīcī, and that these powers are frequently mentioned in Buddhist Mārīcī texts. Also already mentioned is the fact that Marishiten and the kuji were well known for their association with the Japanese warrior by the thirteenth century as attested by the letter written by Nichiren.

While Nichiren's thirteenth century reference does not mention the specific powers attributed to Marishiten,¹⁴ we do find a direct reference, in the fourteenth century war tale called the Taiheiki,¹⁵ to Marishiten's ability to make her

¹⁴Nichiren, as we saw in Chapter 6, does mention both the kuji and Marishiten but goes into no detail.

¹⁵The Taiheiki is a war tale concerned with events in early fourteenth century Japan. This reference can be found in Chapter Five of McCullough's translation, The Taiheiki: A Chronicle of Medieval Japan. The original text can be found in Taiheiki. Vol. 1, Edited by Yamashita Hiroaki. Shinchō Nippon koten shūsei (series), (Tokyo, 1972, 1980), 220-221.

devotees invisible while confusing their enemies. In this section the Prince of the Great Pagoda covers himself with Buddhist sūtras and silently recites a spell of invisibility¹⁶ in order to hide himself from a band of enemy warriors. As the warriors leave, the prince subsequently notes that he has been saved by the "invisible" or "unseen" workings of Marishiten¹⁷ and the Sixteen Good Deities.¹⁸ This section was evidently composed during the early mid-fourteenth century,¹⁹ very close in time to the period when Kusunoki Masashige was displaying battle flags of the sansenjin (three war kami) - Fudō-myōō, Aizen-myō-ō, and Marishiten.²⁰ At about the same time, we begin to find Mārīcī's power of invisibility being applied to martial use in such texts on battlefield strategy as the Heihō reizuisho (1359).²¹

It is difficult to imagine, from a twentieth century perspective, what sort of invisibility powers these references

¹⁶ongyō-no ju.

¹⁷Marishiten-no myō-ō.

¹⁸Taiheiki. Vol. 1, 220-221.

¹⁹McCullough states that the first twelve chapters of the Taiheiki were probably composed at that time and notes that some of the sections may have been composed before the fall of the Hōjō in 1333. See McCullough, The Taiheiki..., xviii.

²⁰Sasama Yoshihiko, interview with the author, Kamakura, Japan, 12 April 1988. See also Sasama Yoshihiko, Nippon katchū daikan (Tokyo, 1987), 817-818 for a description of the sansenjin and an illustration of Kusunoki's banner.

²¹Heihō reizuisho in Ishioka and Arima, Shoryū heihō (Part 1), 18. See supra Chapter 6, fn. 38.

are indicating. One possibility noted in Chapter 6 was on a strategic or tactical, mass-troop movement level. That is, a gumbaisha (practitioner of battlefield divination) may have seen himself as deriving his divination power from Marishiten and/or was concealing his tactical intentions or troop movements from his enemy via the Marishiten fan of invisibility. On a more personal level, it may well have been a "sleight of hand" or "disappearing act" sort of invisibility for which the Japanese ninja in later centuries became famous (at least in the popular literature).²² However, in contrast to the ninja, those mercenary specialists of espionage in traditional Japan, the Japanese warrior of the Heian, Kamakura, and early Muromachi periods did not rely on camouflage coloration or other techniques to hide himself from his enemies on the battlefield. In fact, it appears from reading war tales such as the Heike monogatari, Taiheiki, and so on, that, once on the field, the warrior made every effort to be seen! This was especially true in the late Heian period when warriors shouted out challenges to each other before engaging

²²Another type of "invisibility" is found in one of the original nuances of the term ninja. The first character in this compound is sninobi - "endurance." Evidently a ninja might be planted in a certain location, much like a "mole," for a number of years before being called upon to supply information. In this way he was "invisible." However, warrior "invisibility," I believe, was something different.

in battle.²³ A look at armor catalogs dealing with those eras also reveals a complete lack of any attempt toward concealment as far as armor design and coloration are concerned. In fact, such works as the Heike monogatari devote a good deal of space to describing how colorfully each combatant was dressed.

It might be argued that "concealment"²⁴ is more useful to soldiers using firearms while mounted swordsmen must necessarily relinquish concealment when they go out to meet opponents. This is, of course, true. However, the classical Japanese warrior also depended heavily on the bow and arrow,²⁵ a missile weapon like the firearm, which can be used from concealment. Japanese history, however, reveals that this weapon too was often used out in the open, it being an important matter of courage to face one's opponent "man-to-man."²⁶

²³There are numerous references to this. For example, see Book 9, Chapter 2, "Race at the Uji River" and Chapter 3, "Battle on the River Bank," in The Tale of the Heike, translated by Hiroshi Kitagawa and Bruce T. Tsuchida (Tokyo, 1975), 511-518. Also see Donn F. Draeger and Robert W. Smith, Asian Fighting Arts (Tokyo, 1969), 83.

²⁴I use this term here in contrast to "cover." Cover protects one from hostile fire but does not necessarily "conceal." Concealment hides you from view but does not necessarily protect you from fire.

²⁵The classical term for Japanese warriorship was kyūba-no michi, the "way of the bow and horse."

²⁶Consequently the warrior had to become accomplished in the proper shooting posture known as yugamae. Mastering this posture was essential so that, on the battlefield, it would express the warrior's physical and mental dominance (zanshin) over his opponent. See Draeger, Classical Bujutsu, 81-83.

In the situation recounted above from the Taiheiki, a nobleman, the Prince of the Great Pagoda, hid himself from a group of warriors. Not being a warrior, he appears to have had no ethical dilemma in simply hiding. If the warrior ethos of the time, however, precluded hiding as a legitimate battlefield tactic, what then was this Marishiten-derived invisibility which was not only efficacious but acceptable in the socio-cultural climate of the early Japanese warrior class? I propose that this much sought after invisibility was a cultivated, psychological ability, not simply a physical cloaking. Consequently, "invisibility" might indicate a range of possibilities including anything from "hiding of one's intentions" (strategically or tactically), to the "psychological blinding" of an opponent in hand-to-hand combat. Concerning warriors on the battlefield, it will be useful to call upon current hoplological²⁷ research into combative psychology to throw some light on what that "invisibility" might have been.

The Innate/Manifest Adaptive Traits

In the past twenty years or so there has been a great

²⁷Hoplology is a term coined by the explorer Sir Richard Burton during the nineteenth century. Its modern definition was created by Donn F. Draeger, founder of the IHS: "Hoplology is the study of the basis, patterns, relationships, and significances of combative behavior at all levels of social complexity." See "The Hoplological Glossary," Hoplos Vol. 4, No. 1 (March, 1982): 6.

deal of research carried out in several fields relevant to the nature of combativeness; i.e. cultural anthropology, biomechanics, psychology, etc. Richard Hayes, a researcher for the International Hopology Society (IHS) has proposed viewing the combative behavior of hominids, specifically human beings, as an interaction of eight genotypical adaptive traits. I do not propose here that we accept Hayes's analysis and hypothetical models without question and neither does he. It should be noted, however, that since the introduction of his ideas in HOPLOS²⁸ several years ago, they are coming to be accepted by specialists in such areas as combative psychology.²⁹ In addition, the framework he has devised is useful in attempting to understand what the Japanese warrior was referring to by ongyôhô, majutsu, (both terms for invisibility) and other powers attributed to Mârici.

The eight combative adaptive traits proposed by Hayes are as follows:³⁰

²⁸HOPLOS: The Journal of the International Hopology Society has been publishing a continuing series on Hayes' hopological theoretics since 1984. See bibliography for a full listing.

²⁹See Laurie Hamilton, Ph.D., "Fight, Flight or Freeze: Implications of the Passive Fear Response for Anxiety and Depression," Phobia Practice and Research Journal, vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring/ Summer 1989): 17-27.

³⁰The Japanese terms used here were constructed by Hayes as he examined the Japanese combative ethos. While they are derived from the Japanese language and reflect traditional Japanese combative behavior, they are not terms used, as such, by the Japanese.

[Brain-bound Traits]

Steadfast-/Imperturbable-Mind Trait

Cognitive/Intuitive Trait

Volitional Trait

[Body-Manifested Traits]

Omnipoise Trait

Abdominal Trait

Respiratory/Vocality Trait

Force/Yield Trait

Synchronous Trait

These traits, notes Hayes, have two aspects - innate (or genetic potential) and manifest (active expression; functional). Briefly explained, the nature of the brain-bound traits are as follows:

1. Steadfast-/Imperturbable-Mind.

When threat is apprehended by the five senses (sight, hearing, touch, smell, taste) it is perceived by the cognitive/intuitive function of the brain through a processing of the left and right brain hemispheres.³¹ When danger threatens,

³¹Of course, danger/threat may be real or it may be imagined when it does not actually exist. Richard Hayes, "Hopology Theoretics, An Overview: Part 4 - The Innate/Manifest Imperturbable-mind/Steadfast-mind Trait." Hoplos: Journal of the International Hopology Society. 6, no. 3 (Fall 1988): 11.

the psycho-physical system responds with an alarm reaction (AR) which gives rise to what behavioral researchers call the General Adaptive Syndrome (GAS),³² or "fight or flight" reaction in the human psycho-physical system.³³ However, before the alarm reaction sets the GAS into motion, it may be controlled or completely stopped by the brain's production of hormones which chemically block the old brain structures, preventing the precipitation of the GAS, completely or in part.³⁴ If the alarm reaction is partially or completely blocked, we may refer to these states respectively as Steadfast- and Imperturbable-Mind. Inability to block the alarm reaction results in anxiety, fear, panic or, in some cases, mindless rage. While the AR may be adaptive in fight or flight situations it is maladaptive for protracted periods of combat as it uses up energy reserves and may quickly result in collapse or even death.³⁵

³²See the article by Laurie Hamilton above and Hans Selye, Stress Without Distress (Philadelphia, 1974).

³³In addition to the above references, see Desmond Morris, The Naked Ape (London, 1967), 128-163, for more detail on fight or flight.

³⁴Personal correspondence from Richard Hayes, 10 October 1989.

³⁵Hayes, "Overview, Part 4," Hoplos 6, no. 3: 8. Also, H.R. Ellis Davidson, paraphrasing the Táin, notes that battle fury [which is one extreme of AR] among the Celts was sometimes "so violent that some men died before the fighting began." H.R.E. Davidson, Myths and Symbols in Pagan Europe: Early Scandinavian and Celtic Religions (Syracuse, 1988), 98. Davidson cites Táin, Recension I (ed. C. O'Rahilly, 1976), p. 245, note 210.

Hayes notes in his hypothetical model that the evolution of the ability to block the AR may have occurred due to:

...the advantage of energy conservation and...the superior cognitive ability of the hunter, who was 'cool, calm, and collected' in the face of danger during the vicissitudes of the hunt... The ability to devise tactics and to problem-solve while on the move and on the run, without greatly elevated (augmented) parameters, and to function without anxiety, fear or anger, became the hallmark of the most proficient hunters (of the paleolithic period)..."³⁶

Most societies have their own terms for the ability to block the AR. For example, the German kaltblütig and French sangfroid are equivalent to the English "cold blooded" or "cool" and, Hayes points out, even large animal predators (lions, tigers, etc.) "...stalk and kill their prey without any of the displays of aggression associated with the defense of territory or competition for females."³⁷

The Steadfast-/Imperturbable-Mind Trait plays a critical role in combative behavior for it facilitates the manifesta-

³⁶Hayes, Hoplos 6, no. 3, 9.

³⁷Ibid., 8.

tion of not only the other two brain-bound traits but the five bodily manifested traits as well. In the grip of panic, fear, or mindless rage, the human organism would not be able to "perform with a clear sensorium" nor would the manifest adaptive traits be able to facilitate the movement patterns necessary for combat.³⁸ Consequently, Steadfast-/Imperturbable Mind is the basis from which all of the other traits operate to form a unified whole.

2. Cognition/Intuition

The second brain-bound trait hypothesized by Hayes is the Cognitive/Intuitive Trait, that is, the processing of sensory data by the right and left brain hemispheres in a constant flux of cognition and intuition. In a combative context, sensory data is constantly screened for signs of danger or threat. And here, depending on the intensity and immediacy of threat, the brain/mind, in a mix of cognition and intuition decides how to respond instantly - "seamlessly" as Hayes puts it - in order to resolve the situation. If the individual is a warrior (or some other type of combatant) with years of experience and training, he would be able to respond through the combative systems in which he had trained. Instantaneous response, however, requires a third mental element, the Volitional Trait.

³⁸Ibid., 9.

3. Volition

Based in the stability of Steadfast-/Imperturbable Mind and mediated by Cognition/Intuition, is Volition (will, initiative, etc.), a term that covers a sometimes obscure area of human psychology.³⁹ This trait, in humans, has become modified by two, sometimes diametrically opposed, types of motivation: 1) Endogenous motivation - determined by our own "genotypical instincts, drives and sentiments," and 2) Exogenous motivation - determined by the values, beliefs, etc. of the various cultures into which we are born.

Current research has evidently not clarified whether these motivations should be classified under Cognition/Intuition or Volition.⁴⁰ Hopologically, the Volitional Trait is limited to "initiative within the phenomenology of combat."⁴¹

In the Japanese combative context, Volition is described variously as sen, go-no sen, sen-no sen, and sensen-no sen.

³⁹Hayes notes in IHS Newsletter (December, 1987): 2, that "what had been organically united in proto-man's primate ancestor's, became isolated and disassociated, with the evolution of the neocortex and language systems. While animal species other than ourselves do not experience their own behaviors self-consciously (the I looking at Me), we can and must examine the wellsprings of our own actions, and finding nothing definite, cover our confusion with the term 'volition.'"

⁴⁰Although endogenous and exogenous motivation can be differentiated for analytical purposes (i.e. like "heredity" and "environment"), they are experientially or phenomenologically undifferentiated. See Maya Pines, "The Human Difference," Psychology Today (Sept. 1983).

⁴¹Richard Hayes, IHS Newsletter (Dec. 1987): 3.

All of these terms indicate a type of action taken (or, in some cases, withheld) in relation to a combative situation, i.e. the interval (Jp. ma) of space and time separating opponents. In general, these terms may be translated as follows:⁴²

<u>sen</u>	Initiative in the first instance
<u>go-no sen</u>	Response; counter attack ⁴³
<u>sen-no sen</u>	Using initiative to prevent the opponent's taking initiative ⁴⁴
<u>sensen-no sen</u>	Using initiative to suppress or defeat an opponent before he has a chance to contemplate an attack. ⁴⁵

As mentioned above, the three brain-bound traits act as a unified whole and facilitate manifestation of the five body-bound traits. The Omnipoise, Abdominal, Respiratory/Vocality, Force/ Yield, and Synchronous Traits, in turn are expressed either through system-bound (i.e. formalized/trained) or

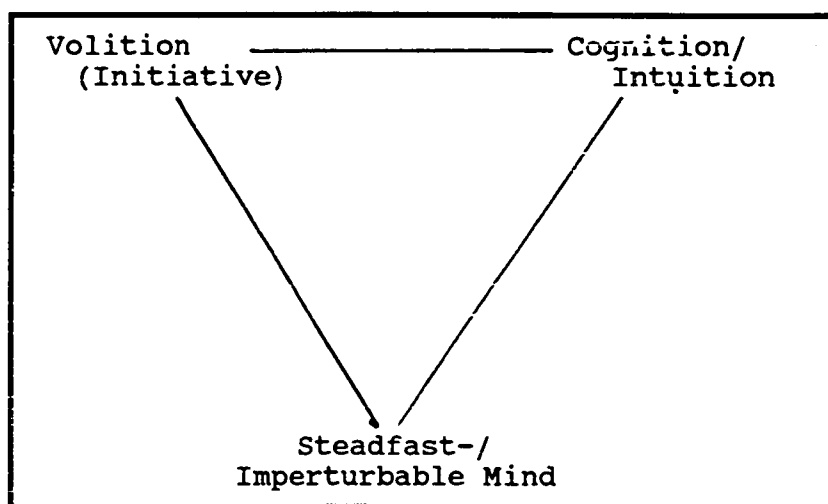
⁴²Kaminoda Tsunemori, a fully licensed teacher of several Japanese martial traditions and former instructor of the Tokyo riot police (Kidôtai) concurs with these definitions.

⁴³This is also referred to as machi-no sen. See Kaminoda Tsunemori, Isshinryû kusarigamajutsu (Tokyo: Kaminoda Tsunemori, 1987), 52.

⁴⁴This is also referred to as tai-no tai. See Kaminoda, Isshinryû..., 52.

⁴⁵This is also referred to as kakeri-no sen. See Kaminoda Isshinryû..., 52.

system-free (informal/untrained) actions. In the case of the Japanese warrior, there were many years of training in system-bound functions. The acme of a warrior's development, however, included not only physical proficiency in combative systems, but also a high level of development of the three brain-bound traits. The balance of these three traits might be seen as illustrated below.



- Combative Traits and the Japanese Warrior -

In Japan, Steadfast-/Imperturbable Mind has often been represented or symbolized by the Buddhist worthy, Fudô-myôô. The concept of fudôshin, the "Immoveable Mind," has long been a topic of concern for the Japanese warrior and a number of treatises relating fudôshin to warriorship have been produced by both warriors and civilians over the years. The most

famous of these, the Fudôchi shinmyôroku, was in fact not written by a warrior but by the Zen priest Takuan.⁴⁶

Modern writers, both inside and outside Japanese culture, have often commented upon and written about fudôshin in a "Zen and combative arts" context. Steadfast-/Imperturbable-Mind, in fact, seems to be the prime concern (with the Cognitive/Intuitive Trait a weak second) of the zen-ken ichi (Zen and the Sword are One) school of writers. The trend of this philosophical school - emphasis on Steadfast-/Imperturbable-Mind with secondary emphasis on Cognition/Intuition and an almost complete neglect of Volition - reflects the social changes of the peaceful Edo period during which a greatly expanded Japanese warrior class generally evolved away from the practice of battlefield bugei (martial arts) and toward budô (agonistic training for psychological purposes). In the budô, emphasis shifted from combative effect to "spiritual perfection,"⁴⁷ this latter goal often being expressed in Zen terms.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Otake Risuke notes that the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû densho contain a text entitled Fudô shinmyôroku which was written by a warrior and predates Takuan's text by one hundred and fifty years. Otake Risuke, interview with the author, Narita, Japan, 10 February 1986.

⁴⁷Jp. seishin tanren.

⁴⁸It is not surprising that many writers, both Japanese and "western," have confused the bugei and the budô. Non-specialists in Japan (e.g., those who do not practice the bugei) tend to use the term budô in a generic sense. (Even Paul Demiéville in his excellent essay on Buddhism and warfare fails to make a distinction when he associates disciplines such as kyûdô [le tir à l'arc - referencing Herrigel's Le Zen dans l'art chevaleresque du tir à l'arc] with "la tactique de combat." (Demiéville, Le Bouddhisme et la guerre, 374).

Some traditions took an in-between route which tended toward development of civilian-oriented police tactics while other warrior families eschewed the profession of arms altogether and sought more profitable careers in the commercial and political sectors of the society.⁴⁹

This general shift away from battlefield efficiency meant that many warriors of the Edo period began to neglect the importance of Volition in their training and philosophies; consequently giving rise to martial schools purporting "vacant" styles of swordsmanship. These vacant styles grew in popularity throughout the peaceful Edo period and a number of anecdotes concerning them are available in English.⁵⁰ In contrast to the "positive" schools of swordsmanship founded during the Warring States period, the vacant styles appear to have emphasized waiting with an "immoveable mind" for the opponent to attack so that a counter stroke might be made.

A cautionary note should be made here. While the go-no sen type of volition mentioned above might be viewed by an

However, as Draeger has pointed out in his three volume series - The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan, the bugei are aimed at combative efficiency (battlefield efficiency) while the budō are oriented toward a variety of "civilian" goals such as spiritual development, self-discipline, self-defense, etc.

⁴⁹See Jeff Lewis Dann, "'Kendo' in Japanese Martial Culture: Swordsmanship as Self-Cultivation," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1978; Donn F. Draeger, Modern Bujutsu and Budo, The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan, vol. III, (New York, 1974).

⁵⁰See D.T. Suzuki, Zen and Japanese Culture. Bollingen Series no. 64. (Princeton, 1959), Chapters 5 and 6.

untrained observer as a vacant, waiting posture, it is not. It is, in fact, still "volitional" or "positive"; e.g. the waiting swordsman holds the initiative although his body may be in a static posture. An example of this can be found even today in the Sangaku-en strategies the Yagyū Shinkageryū.⁵¹ In these combative kata, the Yagyū Shinkageryū swordsman waits for an attack by the enemy swordsman. His body is in a static posture (referred to as tai) but it is essential that his mind be not only Steadfast or Imperturbable (fudōshin) but also filled with volition (referred to as ken⁽²⁾). In other words, the assumption of a particular static posture is intended as an offering of bait; a trick to lure the enemy into range so that he can be destroyed.⁵²

Draeger recounts an interesting story concerning the proponents of "positive" and "vacant" sword schools in the early Edo period:

A classical example is that of Yagyu Jubei (c. 1607-50), the one-eyed son of the originator of the Edo Yagyū line of the Shinkage Ryu, Yagyu Munenori (1571-

⁵¹These strategies were originally developed during the Warring States period by Kamiizumi Isenokami Nobutsuna, founder of the Shinkageryū. For more detail on Sangaku-en see David A. Hall, "The Yagyū Shinkageryū," Part 2, HOPLOS 6, no. 4 (Winter, 1989): 7-22.

⁵²Yagyū Nobuharu, twenty-first headmaster of the Bishu line of the Yagyū Shinkageryū, interviews with the author, 1985-1989.

1646). Jubei was a highly spirited warrior and a staunch supporter of the positive style of combat. In his great remorse over the fact that the vacant style of swordsmanship was growing in popularity, Jubei sought and obtained shogunal permission to test his skill against swordsmen trained in the vacant style. The combat was to be made with live blades. Jubei arbitrarily selected seven swordsmen standing in a group and provoked them to attack him by deliberately insulting them and other crudities, which included spitting upon them. In the clash that followed, Jubei severed the arms of two, who ran away, blood gushing from their wounds, then killed another outright, while the remaining four ran for their lives. Jubei's display of skill called attention to the superiority of the positive style over the vacant style...⁵³

The lack of effectiveness in combat of the vacant schools was primarily due to their neglect of Volition. The ability to manifest Volition, however, appears to be the key to Marishiten's power of invisibility. And perhaps it is logical that the popularity of Marishiten decreased with the rise of

⁵³Donn F. Draeger, Modern Bujutsu and Budo, 79.

the vacant schools during the Edo period.⁵⁴

- Invisibility -

As we have seen above, the early Japanese warrior made little attempt to physically conceal himself from his enemy once he was on the battlefield. On the other hand, reliance on Marishiten's power to make the warrior invisible and confuse his enemies is alluded to in the densho of the earliest ryû of the Muromachi period⁵⁵ and, warrior devotion to Marishiten was apparently a wide-spread phenomenon by the middle of the Kamakura period.⁵⁶ I propose that the power of "invisibility" represented or granted by Marishiten had nothing to do with camouflage or physical concealment. It was, instead, directly related to the manifestation of Volition by a combatant and the effect of that Volition on an

⁵⁴In example of this are the densho of the Yagyû Shinkageryû which, during the early Edo period, place less and less emphasis on any mention of Marishiten. The Kashimashinden Jiki Shinkageryû, a line of swordsmanship also derived from Kamiizumi Isenokami but via his disciple, Okuyama Kyûkasai, contains only a slight reference to Marishiten in its densho. (For the reprinted texts of the Kashimashinden Jiki Shinkageryû see Ōnishi, Hidetaka, Kenshō Yamada Jirokichi sensei-no shōgai (Tokyo, 1956), "Densho," 204-254. Earlier versions of the Jiki Shinkageryû densho are similar. One such document located in the course of this research was a license scroll entitled Jiki Shinkageryû kyûri-no maki signed by Dannō Minamoto-no Michiyoshi, 12/1866. (From the collection of Mutō Masao, Zushi, Japan.)

⁵⁵I.e., the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryû, Nenryû, etc.

⁵⁶See the letter from Nichiren in Chapter 6.

opponent. In support of this, let us take a look at a hypothesis developed by Prof. Paddy Griffith, a senior lecturer at the Department of War Studies at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst.

Griffith, in his intensive investigation of battles from Waterloo to Vietnam discovered that, in contrast to generally accepted military theory, the victor of many of the engagements in the wars examined was not necessarily the side which brought the most firepower to bear upon the enemy. It was, instead, the force which refused to be intimidated, which displayed a great deal of personal volition and exhibited a balance of morale and steadiness.

In one example of this, Griffith quotes I. Hamilton, a staff officer who participated in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05):

"...the Okasaki Brigade was crossing the open to try and storm Terayama by one supreme effort; and the only English expression which will convey an idea of their haste is that of the hunting-field, 'Hell for leather.' Bullets fell thick among those who ran for life or death across the plain, and the yellow dust of their impact on the plough rose in a cloud almost up to the men's knees. By what magic these bullets almost always struck in the vacant spaces and very rarely on the bodies of the men, I cannot explain,

beyond saying that it was ever thus with the bullets of a bad shooting corps... To the best of my observation the assaulting infantry ran 600 yards without the semblance of a halt, as their leading files reached the sunken road they dashed unhesitatingly into it, right onto the top of the crouching Russian infantry! Next second the Russians and their assailants were rushing up Terayama slopes in one confused mob, the whole mass convulsively working bayonet and bullet and clubbed rifle as they ran. The hill was carried. Bravo! Bravo!! Bravo!!!⁵⁷

Here, then, is a twentieth century report of an enemy practically blinded (they were unable to effectively fire on the Japanese) and confused by the power of the Volition of the attacking troops; Volition, of course, based in Steadfast-/Imperturbable-Mind. It is important to note here that Hamilton's statement concerning the marksmanship of the Russians - "...it was ever thus with the bullets of a bad shooting corps..." - does not mean that those troops were poorly trained in shooting skills. Marksmanship has little to do with it. Jeff Cooper, a retired, combat seasoned Marine

⁵⁷From I. Hamilton, A Staff Officer's Scrap Book during the Russo-Japanese War (2 vols., London, 1905). Reprinted in Paddy Griffith's, FORWARD INTO BATTLE: Fighting Tactics from Waterloo to Vietnam. (Sussex: Antony Bird Publications, 1981), 66.

and one of the top combat pistol authorities in the U.S.
notes:

We have known several cases in which a highly qualified marksman fired a series of atrocious short-range misses, not because he couldn't shoot but because he didn't pay attention to shooting. In these cases he seems to have been thinking about the wrong things - such as the danger in which his life was placed, the anticipation of shock,..." etc.⁵⁸

There are many such instances recorded in the annals of warfare. Captain T. Kamozaawa noted of his own experience in the Russo-Japanese war:

"Looking at instances in the recent Russo-Japanese War, where the combatants fought with the very latest firearms, one is convinced that the advocates of fire effect alone are mistaken in their arguments. Victory always attended the side which, with martial spirit roused and naked sword in hand, absolutely refused to yield; which fought on resolutely to the end, in combat after combat, and which had the grim determination of attacking and annihilating the enemy. However

⁵⁸Jeff Cooper, "The Combat Mind Set," American Handgunner (July/ August, 1985), 57.

great the power possessed by rifles and cannons, it is not possible by their means, and theirs alone, to either drive the enemy from his works or to repulse an enemy who bravely advances with the intention of coming to close quarters. The final result in each case depends absolutely on the charge with cold steel."⁵⁹

I need not go on quoting here to make the point. It is of interest, however, that Griffith and other authorities such as Hackworth in his recent work entitled About Face⁶⁰ comment extensively on the importance of having the "will" or "determination" to close with the enemy in face-to-face combat; i.e. a Volition which so disturbs the enemy's composure that he becomes confused, blinded, and in many cases becomes paralyzed⁶¹ and/or flees the scene of battle.⁶²

⁵⁹Captain T. Kamoza, "The Value of the 'Arme Blanche,' from Actual Instances in the Russo-Japanese Campaign." The Cavalry Journal. Great Britain. Vol. 6 (July, 1911): 323.

⁶⁰See Col. David H. Hackworth and Julie Sherman, About Face (New York, 1989).

⁶¹Stanley Davis notes that "well-trained, well-equipped, well-led" U.S. troops were paralyzed on the beaches at Normandy during the D-Day invasion of 6 June 1944. [The phenomenon seems to be a modern version of the herfioturr (war fetters) mentioned with such dread in the Icelandic sagas.] See Stanley W. Davis, "Stress in Combat," Scientific America vol. 194, no. 3 (March, 1956): 31-35.

⁶²Griffith sums up: "In view of the general reluctance of soldiers (today) to mix it hand to hand, it has long been recognized that the side which goes out and actively seeks a confrontation will enjoy a great psychological advantage.

{Volition and the Boar}

As we have seen, the Japanese interpreted Marishiten's hand-held fan (tensen) as a symbol of invisibility.⁶³ However, in the final Marishiten text, translated in late tenth century China (T. 1257), the fan does not appear. Instead we find a new element, an animal which embodies Volition, the wild, charging boar.

As a warrior totem the wild boar has appeared at many times and in many cultures. Even the Roman poet Ovid remarked on the power of the sacred boar:

Both blood and fire wheeled in his great eyes;
 His neck was iron, his bristles rose like spears,
 And when he grunted, milk-white foaming spittle
 Boiled from his throat and steamed across his should-
 ers...
 Only an elephant from India
 Could match the tusks he wore, and streams of light-
 ning
 Poured from wide lips, and when he smiled or sighed

Provided that the enemy can be convinced of both your intention and your ability to reach him, he will in all probability run away and leave you the victory." Griffith, "The Yom Kippur War: The Demise of the Bayonet?" Forward..., 141.

⁶³That is the Gyôrin(shô), T. 2409, LXXVI: 468a4.

All vines and grasses burnt beneath his breath.⁶⁴

Interestingly, not only the boar but also several of the Marishiten images themselves in T. 1257 display some of the characteristics of this boar image; i.e. a tongue flashing out of the mouth like lightning, etc.

As noted, the boar symbol was used as a warrior totem among many Indo-European cultures.⁶⁵ For example, Tacitus notes in his Germania that the Aestii,⁶⁶ a group of people living along the southwest shores of the Baltic Sea,

...worship the Mother of the gods,⁶⁷ and wear, as an emblem of this cult, the device of a wild boar, which stands them in stead of armour or human protection and gives the worshipper a sense of security even among

⁶⁴Horace Gregory, Ovid, The Metamorphoses. (New York, 1958), 214.

⁶⁵This somewhat supports Whitehead's theory of the feinn mentioned in Chapter 3.

⁶⁶They were probably Celts as their language was "like the British."

⁶⁷Possibly related to Cailleach (or Muilearteach)? Muilearteach was the Scoto-Irish Great-Mother Goddess, she of the "blue-black face and roaring mouth" who was the spirit of the tempest. She was offered boars slain by heroes in folktales. See Donald A. Mackenzie, Myths of Crete & Pre-Hellenic Europe (London, n.d. [c. 1920]), 67-68.

his enemies.⁶⁸

Other groups of Celts as well as the Norse, Germans, Anglo-Saxons, Swedes, etc. also venerated the boar as a warrior symbol.⁶⁹ We find references to this in such texts as Beowulf where the following describes warriors' helmets:

[303-306] Over the cheek-pieces boar-shapes shone out, bristling with gold, blazing and fire-hard, fierce guards of their bearers' lives.⁷⁰

The boar and other fierce animals were not simply symbols of martial prowess to Indo-European warriors. The connection goes much deeper. Bruce Lincoln notes in his study on Indo-European religions,⁷¹ that warriors often assimilated themselves into the "state of a wild beast." As Lincoln points

⁶⁸Tacitus, Germania 45 in The Agricola and The Germania. Translated by H. Mattingly; Translation revised by S.A. Handford. (New York, 1970), 139.

⁶⁹See H.R. Ellis Davidson, Gods and Myths of Northern Europe (London, 1964), 98-99; The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford, 1962), 59-60; and Pagan Europe, 48-50. For boar-helmets, see R. Cramp, 'Beowulf and Archaeology', Medieval Archaeology, 1 (1957), 60 ff.

⁷⁰Beowulf, translation by Michael Alexander (London, 1973), 60.

⁷¹Bruce Lincoln, Priests, Warriors & Cattle: A Study in the Ecology of Religions (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981).

out, this was not simply a masquerade for the warrior who thought of himself as a beast - a wolf, a boar, a bear, etc. - was "transformed by this belief and became formidable in battle as a result."⁷² This was a state of "furor," known by the Indo-European technical term *aisma which is cognate with the Sanskrit iṣmin,⁷³ Avestan aesma, Greek ο (σ)μα and Latin ira. To the early Indo-Iranians, the state of *aisma was evidently much like the force which possessed the Old Norse berserkr. Consequently, in many cultures this "furor," which often appears to have been drug induced,⁷⁴ seems more akin to

⁷²Lincoln, Priests..., 127. For more on the "wolf" state see Mircea Eliade, "Military Initiations: Ritual Transformation into a Predatory Animal," in Zalmoxis, the Vanishing God (Chicago, 1972), 5-9. Evidently this state sometimes was sometimes associated with actual cannibalism among the members of secret brotherhoods of warriors in various cultures including Iran and India. Eliade, Zalmoxis..., cites G. Widengren, Hochgottglaube im alten Iran (Uppsala-Leipzig, 1938), 331 ff for Iran and E. Arberman, Rudra: Untersuchungen zum altindischen Glauben und Kultus (Uppsala-Leipzig, 1922), 266 ff, for India.

⁷³Lincoln notes that this term is "used only of the Maruts, the divine models of the storming warrior." Priests..., 127.

⁷⁴Evidently berserkers, those violent warriors whose uncontrolled "rage" often resulted not only in the death of many of the enemy but also themselves, may have been given intoxicants - strong drink or drugs - before battle. Personal correspondence from Richard Hayes, 10 October 1989. There are numerous examples of this in many cultures; i.e. the intoxicants and hallucinogens which Davidson speculates were taken by the berserkrs and shape-changers of the early Celts and Germans (Davidson, Pagan Europe, 87-88); the soma taken by the Indo-Aryans in the Rgveda, equivalent of the haoma of the Indo-Iranians (Lincoln, 131), the k'uang-yo (an alcoholic drug which makes one violently deranged) which agitated the Chinese "Buddhist" rebels of Fa-ch'ing (Tsukamoto, 273); and so on.

the "mindless rage"-extreme of AR. As noted above, berserk, being a form of extreme AR, is maladaptive and, in fact, often resulted in the death of the practitioner.

Furor, according to Dumézil, is also expressed in terms of "heat" and "rage" in other Indo-European terms; i.e. furor, ferg, wut, ménos, etc. Various Indo-European mythical heroes, such as Cú Chulainn of the Irish, were in this state of "heat" or "furor" when performing martial exploits. In India, notes Eliade, furor is equated with tapas - "magical heat" - and, in a wider sense with "mastery of fire."⁷⁵ Interestingly, there is apparently a strong connection between the "mastery of fire" of the shaman and fakir, and the production of "mystical heat" by the tantric yogin.⁷⁶ "Mystical heat" is often the experience of sacred power and this is also seen in martial endeavors such as battle or initiation:

Like the shaman, the young hero "heats" himself during his initiatory combat. This "rage" and this "heat" are not "profane" or "natural;" they are the syndrome of the appropriation of a sacrality.⁷⁷

⁷⁵Eliade, Yoga, 106.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid., 332.

This martial "rage" or shamanistic "heat," continues Eliade, could be transformed and refined toward integration or sublimation. However, it appears that this power of "rage" or "heat" in its active, positive state was of interest mainly to magicians and warriors. Vedic Indians evidently felt there was also danger in this magic and resisted the temptation to excessive power. This resistance was echoed by the later yogins who had to overcome the temptations of siddhi (miraculous powers).⁷⁸ The Mārīcī texts, however, are mainly aimed at attainment of siddhi.

Although "furor" was often symbolized in warrior culture as a wolf, bear, boar, bull, etc.,⁷⁹ the boar manifestation was evidently more apparent among the ancient Iranians than their Indian counterparts. Lincoln gives examples from the Rgveda and Yast where the Indian Vṛtrahan (=Indra) and his Iranian counterpart Verethraghna punish wrong-doers who betray Mitra/Mithra. The Avestan text evidently portrays Verethraghna in a rage racing "through the opposing army in the form of a wild boar."⁸⁰ It seems somewhat out of the ordinary then that, while the Indians of the sixth or seventh centuries A.D.

⁷⁸Ibid., 333.

⁷⁹The boar, bull and stallion were also important animals of martial sacrifice among the Germans and Celts. All were intrepid combatants and associated with the battlefield. (Davidson, Pagan Europe, 70.

⁸⁰Lincoln, Priests..., 98 cites Yast 10.70-72. This may also indicate Persian/Mithran influence in the Buddhist Mārīcī cult.

represented battle fury in the form of the terrible goddesses of the battlefield - Durgâ, Kâli, and Caṇḍî - it was also at that time that we first find Varâhamukhî (Boar-snouted) as an epithet of Mârîcî. And, as we have seen, this symbol became more important in later texts devoted to the goddess. Perhaps this boar symbol, then, does represent extra-Indian elements in the Mârîcî cult, perhaps derived from Iranian Mithranism.

Returning to the medieval Japanese, we find that the warrior almost always chose the boar-mounted Marishiten of T. 1257 when that god(dess) was pictured in martial scrolls or on armor. In some cases only the name or seed syllable of Marishiten appears on a helmet while other examples exhibit only a boar, or boars, sometimes appearing with a sun and moon. (See Fig. 48) In addition, in T. 1257, the boar is closely associated with invisibility; Mârîcî and Antardhânamasi being the only two boar-mounted figures in the initiatory maṇḍala and boar blood constituting an important element in some of the rituals used for producing invisibility. Thus, it appears the practitioners of the cult saw a close, connection between Mârîcî, invisibility, the boar, and, by extension, volition. While direct explanations are not made in the text concerning this relationship, there may have been such included in oral traditions, restricted to initiates. For the present, we have only this circumstantial textual evidence.

- Intuition -

A second trait which is closely aligned with the Marishiten and the Japanese warrior is Cognition/Intuition. As noted above, Cognition/Intuition takes place as a result of normal bicameral brain processing. However, a warrior in the midst of battle has little time to think ("normal" cognition) about what he is doing. He often must intuit (kan) the situation and, with a steady mind (fudôshin), manifests the necessary volition (sen) through the systems he has internalized.

In the case of Japan, some warriors - martial geniuses - were able, in the midst of battle and/or at locations of spiritual power⁸¹ to intuit and create highly effective strategies for combat. These strategies (heihô in Japanese) were not simply techniques in the sense of manipulating a weapon. They were methods requiring the utmost mastery of psycho-physical perfection; a supreme synergy of mind, breath and body⁸² in a unified whole that would empower the warrior with the ability to defeat an enemy with what might appear to an observer as the simplest of movements. While we may analyze these strategies through our own cognitive abilities, they were not designed constructions arrived at through normal

⁸¹In addition to martial shrines which were well known for this, such as Kashima and Katori, Buddhist locations, such as the ancient Tendai temple of Kuramadera, were also noted for martial revelations.

⁸²Hayes's hypotheses views this as a manifestation of all the adaptive traits.

cognition. They were, instead, intuited in the heat of battle or as the culmination of exhaustive, protracted religious austerities. Also, these strategies are neither applied through normal, cognitive consciousness, nor are they taught through normal intellectual-pedagogical means. A master teacher passes them on to a disciple in a way that requires the student to use intuition under stressful conditions.⁸³

Since these strategies were originally intuited in stressful situations and not intellectually constructed, they were subjectively viewed by the Japanese warrior as spiritual revelations,⁸⁴ not unlike the experience of tapas or "sacred heat" of the Indo-Europeans. Consequently, in many den sho we find these intuitive leaps variously referred to as musô (dream-vision),⁸⁵ musôken (dream-vision sword strategy),

⁸³This may have been accomplished in front of Marishiten altars described in Chapter 6.

⁸⁴Ôtake Risuke, head instructor of the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû, notes that this revelation is something like "telepathy." Ôtake Risuke, interview with the author, 27 August 1989.

⁸⁵The term musô is probably the most common concerning this phenomenon. It is apparently found much less frequently outside the martial context. Carmen Blacker, in her studies of shamanism in Japan has only encountered the term musô as a healing oracle (incubatory) at Hasedera and Ishiyamadera in the Kyoto-Nara area. These oracles manifest themselves in dreams while the petitioner sleeps in a sacred place. (Carmen Blacker, personal correspondence, 22 September 1989; telephone interview with the author, Tokyo, Japan, 29 September 1989).

musôshinden⁸⁶ (transmission of the dream-vision of the deity), tenshinshôden⁸⁷ (true and correct transmission from the deity [of Katori Shrine]), Kashimashinden (a true transmission from [the deity] of Kashima Shrine), shinkage,⁸⁸ shôtengu (a correct transmission via a Tengu),⁸⁹ and so on. Some of the names of the strategies transmitted in these revelations also reflect the concepts of volition, invisibility, and their divine origins. For example:

- 1) The Shindô Musôryû's⁹⁰ divinely revealed strategies are the Gomusô-no Jô (Five Dream-Vision Staff Strategies).⁹¹ For

⁸⁶Watatani lists more than thirty ryû names that begin with this term. There are many more that contain the term. See Watatani, Bugei ryûha daijiten.

⁸⁷Retired Prof. Watanabe Ichirô is currently researching the variations and origins of this particular term.

⁸⁸The term shinkage (as well as several others in this list) may be written in several ways, each with a different meaning. The variant I refer to here is that combination of the characters kami (a manifestation of spiritual power / a Shintô deity) and kage (shadow; e.g. "influence") which is attributed to Kamiizumi Isenokami. It indicates a sacred transmission that was received under the influence of a kami.

⁸⁹This Tengu is found listed as the "intermediary" between Marishiten and Okuyama Nen Ami Jion, the founder of the Nenryû in the Marishi-setsu shôgun kyô, manuscript (scroll) dated c. 1596 and attributed to the founder of the Nenryû, Okuyama Nen (c.1350-?). Higuchi family archives, Maniwa, Japan.

⁹⁰These are from the Shindô Musôryû (Lit. "Shintô Dream-Vision Tradition").

⁹¹Often a weapon term (i.e. jô = staff/stick, tachi = sword) found in the title of a combative technique indicates a "strategy" for manipulating that weapon.

example - Yamiuchi (Unseen Strike); Yumemakura (Dream Revelation [Lit. "Appearance in a dream"]); Inazuma (Lightening Strike); etc.

- 2) The Shinkageryū's "revealed" strategies increased as the founder, Kamiizumi Nobutsuna, sought deeper insights into the art of swordsmanship. The earliest set of divine strategies were called the Tengushō and each kata has the name of a special Tengu attached to it - Kōrinbō, Chiraten, Konpirabō, etc.⁹² (Marishiten appears in the guise of a Tengu in some Shinkageryū densho,⁹³ although not in this particular set.)

A second set of revealed strategies are simply called the Okugi ("Secret Principles" or "Inner Mysteries"). The names of these tend to vary in different branches of the Shinkageryū. Some of those are - Gokui (Secret Principle); Muniken (Sword Strategy of Non-Duality); Shinmyōken (Marvelous Sword Strategy); Reikenden⁹⁴ (Magical/Miraculous Sword Strategy) etc.

⁹²See Shinkageryū Tengushō-no maki in Shimokawa's Kendō-no hattatsu, pls. 48-58.

⁹³This document is a Hikida Shinkageryū densho from Shunpūkan Dōjō in Nagoya, Japan. It is in the personal collection of Katō Isao.

⁹⁴A similar term meaning magical power (Jp. reiken) appears in various places in T. 1257. While these terms are not necessarily connected, associations may well have been made by the Japanese warrior.

There are many more. Often a tradition will not even reveal the names of these strategies to those not initiated.

Again, these subtle strategies, even today, are not "taught" in an intellectual sense. Learning them requires the disciple to use intuition based on years of experience and training. This teaching approach is very interesting when viewed in light of current psychological studies. According to current research into intuition, people possess that special ability precisely because they have mastered a relatively narrow field of endeavor.⁹⁵ Evidently the thousands of hours of effort devoted to training by the warrior may have provided him with a large body of experience/ knowledge which actually created a change in the way he thought and reasoned by giving him the ability to deal with larger "chunks" of internalized knowledge (long-term memory).

Robert Glaser, a specialist in research on intuition at the University of Pittsburg, notes, "The performances of highly competent individuals indicate the possession of, rapid access to, and efficient utilization of an organized body of conceptual and procedural knowledge,"⁹⁶ this phenomenon of "rapid access" being commonly referred to as a flash of

⁹⁵Beryl Lief Benderly, "Everyday Intuition: Experience, Recognition, Insight," Psychology Today (September, 1989): 36.

⁹⁶Ibid.

intuition. The ability to make intuitive "leaps" meant that a warrior trainee had advanced past the stage of taking a plodding, analytical approach to dealing with combative situations, such as a sudden attack, and had advanced to one of instantaneous, intuitive response.⁹⁷ Those "flashes" or insights experienced by the seasoned Japanese warrior - especially in the early ryū founded during the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries - were most often attributed to Marishiten.

- Revealed Strategies -

Surprisingly, in addition to cultivating Intuition in the trainee, the "revealed" kata of these Marishiten-originated systems also foster the development of Steadfast-/Imperturbable-Mind and Volition.⁹⁸ By internalizing pre-arranged combative forms, the practitioner is able to reduce combative stress levels by reducing the "unknown." The warrior who has practiced these "inspired" kata will not be easily surprised in actual combative situations and the effect of his AR will be correspondingly lower.

Again, this is not a phenomenon restricted to Japan, since the practice of pre-arranged combative scenarios, aimed

⁹⁷This might be considered the combative equivalent of the Zen koan.

⁹⁸This is not meant to indicate that this phenomenon is restricted to Marishiten-originated systems.

at cultivating Steadfast-/Imperturbable-Mind, can be found in the annals of personal combat in many other cultures. A prime example is that of the Spanish fencing schools which were founded at about the same time as the Japanese. Egerton Castle noted in his classic Schools and Masters of Fence:

Spaniards enjoyed during the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the reputation of being very dangerous duelists, a fact which may be explained by the habit of coolness developed by those methodical notions, and the necessity of constant and careful practice for the acquisition of even a rudimentary "destreza,"⁹⁹ starting from such principles.¹⁰⁰

In addition to this, the Spanish schools also leaned toward a psycho-physical approach to martial practice, much in the same manner as their Japanese counterparts. Castle again noted:

⁹⁹The Spanish destreza means "dexterity," and "cleverness."

¹⁰⁰Egerton Castle, Schools and Masters of Fence, 3rd ed. (1885; reprint, London, 1969), 71. Although Castle's work has been treated as infallible by many later writers, it should be noted that there have been criticism of his analyses. Castle considered the Spanish school's theory of "geometric complications and circular emphasis" was inferior and felt that its deadly reputation must have been due to long practice of prearranged combative sequences; "a triumph over theory, not of theory." See Tom Conroy's "Errors and Oversights in Castle's Schools and Masters of Fence," Part 1, HOPLOS, vol.2, no. 3 (June 1980), 2. Conroy notes that Castle's bias was due to "his linear prejudice and foil background."

It is a remarkable fact that in Spain, the supposed birthplace of systematic swordsmanship, so little progress should have been made towards what may be called the more practical use of the sword. Whilst the Italians and, after their example, the French, Germans and English gradually discovered that simplification led to perfection, the Spanish masters, on the contrary, seemed to aim at making fencing a more and more mysterious science, requiring for its practice a knowledge of geometry and natural philosophy, and whose principles were only explainable on metaphysical grounds.¹⁰¹

Castle does not go into detail on what those metaphysical grounds were. However, while the "mysticism" of Caranča's Spanish system was evidently the object of extensive criticism by the Italians, French, Germans and English, their ability as cool, fearless combatants was well known.¹⁰²

- Combative "Flow State" -

As we have already seen, this cool formidability can be explained hopologically as an expression of the three brain

¹⁰¹Castle, 67.

¹⁰²Arthur Wise, The History and Art of Personal Combat (London, 1971), 53.

bound traits - Steadfast-/Imperturbable-Mind, Cognition/Intuition, and Volition. Even outside the realm of combative behavior, it appears the synergistic combination of these traits results in a psycho-physical state in which, notes M. Csikszentmihalyi of the University of Chicago, "time is distorted, a sense of happiness and well being overcomes them."¹⁰³ People in this state have entered a highly creative psychological state, a "flow state,...when things seem to go just right, when you feel alive and fully attentive to what you are doing."¹⁰⁴ Csikszentmihalyi's research deals with writers and the term "flow state" has been developed in relation to creativity among athletes. However, the applicability to martial culture is clear.

In the case of the Japanese bushi, we find numerous accounts of warriors (i.e., the martial geniuses mentioned in Chapter 6) who entered a state of both peak-level performance and physical and psychological "non-arousal" (= interdiction of AR); in other words, a state of peak-level performance and relaxation which appears to be identical with the athletic "flow state." This state was attainable because 1) the Japanese warrior, like the swordsman of Caranča's Spanish school, had practiced pre-arranged movement patterns many times. This practice allowed the warrior to be more physical-

¹⁰³Anne C. Roark quoting researcher Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, University of Chicago.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

ly relaxed in battle; that is, able to perform combative movements easily because the training of the specific neuromuscular paths allowed "non-activity in the muscles uninvolved in the desired action."¹⁰⁵ 2) Having repeated the pre-arranged movement patterns numerous times, the warrior also became confident of his ability and, consequently, psychologically relaxed; attained a state of "coolness" or sangfroid. These factors, added to a belief that he would be invisible or invulnerable in battle due to his faith in the rituals of initiation and protection which had been performed under the auspices of Marishiten,¹⁰⁶ placed the warrior in a state of Steadfast-/Imperturbable-Mind. In addition, this faith would be strengthened by the fact that the combative techniques themselves had been divinely inspired by Marishiten.

- Selflessness -

Much literature has been devoted to Zen and the sword; especially concerning such concepts as mushin (freedom from discriminative thinking) and muga (egolessness or selfless-

¹⁰⁵From IHS research in progress on the "flow state" and the warrior being conducted by Richard Hayes and Hunter B. Armstrong. Personal correspondence from Hunter B. Armstrong, Director, IHS, 7 November 1989.

¹⁰⁶See the Shinkageryū initiation ritual and Marishiten protection rituals of the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū described in Chap. 6.

ness).¹⁰⁷ While Zen thought did indeed permeate the philosophy of the classical budô (spiritually oriented "martial ways" established during the Edo period), we also find the concept of selflessness, or self-effacement, appearing within the cult of Mâricî.

As we saw in T. 1257, not only is Mâricî described as free from fear (= Steadfast-/Imperturbable-Mind) and timidity (= Volition, ability to take initiative), she is also free from pride; selfless. In the Japanese warrior version of the Mâricî cult, the devotee, by becoming one with the goddess or performing the kuji, also attains a "state of self-effacement or egolessness," according to Otake Risuke of the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû.¹⁰⁸ This is important regarding combat for, as long as the warrior embodies a "grasping persona" (fear of death, concern with winning and losing, etc.), it may block the combative "flow state" (sometimes referred to in Japanese as myôyû¹⁰⁹). This causes the swordsman to hesitate or become indecisive, even if for only an instant, during

¹⁰⁷See, for example, D.T. Suzuki, Zen and Japanese Culture, 61-214; E.J. Harrison, The Fighting Spirit of Japan; E. Herrigel, Zen in the Art of Archery, trans. by R.F.C. Hull (New York, 1953); Donn F. Draeger, Classical Budo (Tokyo, 1973), 27-29; etc.

¹⁰⁸Ôtake uses the term muga. Interviews with Ôtake Risuke, Narita, Japan, 1985-1989. See also his Katori Shintôryû, vol. 3, 16-18.

¹⁰⁹Lit. "mystic" or "wondrous activity." Suzuki, drawing from the Zen-influenced warrior texts of the Edo period, notes that this is a state of egolessness. Suzuki, Zen and Japanese Culture, 144.

which he is vulnerable to attack.

No data is available on how successful Japanese warriors were at becoming "selfless," although the kodan (romanticized "warrior tales") of the peaceful Edo period abound with such stories. In addition, researchers in combative psychology have only recently begun to examine how this phenomenon may have affected other adaptive traits. According to Hayes, "selflessness" may also not be an "either/or" state. It may, in fact, have a "range," much like that from Steadfast-Mind (partial blockage of the AR) to Imperturbable-Mind (complete blockage of the AR). While investigation into this phenomenon, as it affects combative behavior, has not yet produced enough data from which to make any conclusions, the martial texts available, such as the Marishiten-inspired "Kanjō gokui" of the Hikida (Shin)kageryū, allude to this state as "the highest level of swordsmanship."

Watatani expresses this in the Buddhist influenced terminology of Japanese martial culture:

In not being caught by 'winning and losing,'
and being flexible and free from obstructions,
one can 'create' technique freely.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰Watatani, Kobudōshi, 142.

Watatani's comment also indicates that the combative "flow state" is related to a sort of egolessness; a giving up of ideas of self and other, winning and losing, in order to unfetter the mind.

The experience of this selflessness, in fact, may be a real cross-over area between the "spirituality" of Buddhism and the "spirituality" of martial arts. Both are paths of realization, engendering a free-flowing, creative mind. However, while the aim of the Buddhist bodhisattva path is the directing of all sentient beings toward that same path, the aim of the battlefield swordsman was survival and success in battle. The actual experience of the psychological states of "selflessness" and the "flow state" may have been the same. However, since it is not the intent of this writer to rehash the pros and cons of this old controversy, let us move on.

In their manifest form, the three brain-bound traits, and Selflessness, gave a warrior a great physical and psychological advantage. His body relaxed in a manner that allowed it to use energy explosively and efficiently; his mind calm and cool, in a state of fearless fudōshin, Imperturbability; non-grasping, selfless, free from concentration-blocking elements;¹¹¹ the warrior was able to draw freely on the mass of combative knowledge and experience he had accumulated,

¹¹¹I.e., desires, distractions, and other mental afflictions.

allowing him to Intuit and freely execute the most effective response to stressful, combative situations. Consequently, he entered the creative "flow state,"¹¹² time appeared to become distorted, or slowed, facilitating the constant taking of initiative in combative situations; e.g. he manifested Volition. Manifesting Volition (based in Steadfast-/Imper-turbable-Mind and Intuition):

No one can see him, no one can know him,
no one can seize him, no one can harm him, no
one can deceive him, no one can fetter him, no
one can cloud his mind, and he does not bear
malice.

- The Decline of Positive Swordsmanship
and the Cult of Marishiten -

During the peaceful Edo period, with its de-emphasis on combat-effective training, restrictions on dueling with live weapons and general lack of opportunities for practical combative experience, zazen became a popular supplementary

¹¹²Armstrong defines the flow state as "optimum creative response to situations of stress, and based upon learned movement or behavior patterns." Correspondence from Armstrong, 7 November 1989.

practice in many of the budô.¹¹³ Watatani, speaking of the Edo period, notes:

The unification of the mind of zazen, derived via the realization of the power of centering, from the viewpoint of selflessness without desire became a most powerful backing of martial arts training.¹¹⁴

The early traditions we have examined - Nenryû, Shintô-ryû, Shinkageryû, etc. - taught "positive" swordsmanship and aimed at battlefield efficiency. (Otherwise, they would not have survived the Warring States period.) However, in spite of the combative effectiveness of the positive schools of swordsmanship (many of which, as we have seen, were based on a revelation from Marishiten), the 250 years of peace and stability during the Edo period provided a combative lull in which the vacant styles were able to develop and flourish. This gradually led to the appearance of the strongly Zen influenced schools of budô which tended to emphasize cultivation of selflessness, Steadfast-/Imperturbable-Mind and Cognition/Intuition through zazen practice. The socio-political reasons for this are well known and have been

¹¹³This is still practiced in an abbreviated form in most dôjô dedicated to Japanese budô.

¹¹⁴Watatani, Kobudôshi, 142.

covered by both Draeger and Dann.¹¹⁵

This trend tended to neglect Volition and, consequently, began to neglect the cult of Marishiten. It is of note that the densho of those ryû of swordsmanship formed under the influence of "Zen and the Sword are One" and bunbu ryôdô thinking tend to de-emphasize Marishiten or neglect her altogether. In fact, even those Warring States period ryû which claimed a foundation based on a revelation from Marishiten tended to greatly de-emphasize the importance of the god(dess) if they were located in centers of shogunal power such as Edo, or their members adopted the zen-ken-ichi stance.¹¹⁶ Indeed, a number of the positive traditions drifted into the vacant style during this period.

Consequently, with the end of the Edo period (1867), and the abolition of the warrior class, the classical warrior as well as the cult of the warrior Marishiten became anachronistic. With no warriors, there was no need of a warrior cult. Of course there were (and perhaps still are) soldiers and their families who, in times of war, have turned to this Buddhist worthy. In this particular phenomenon, however, the devotee has tended to look upon Marishiten, not so much as a symbol/source of invisibility, combative intuition, or imperturbability, but as a simple talisman for protection from

¹¹⁵See supra, fn. 38.

¹¹⁶The Edo line of the Yagyû Shinkageryû is a prime example of this.

harm; little different from that faith which religious pilgrims have in Jizô-bodhisattva (in his role as a protector of travelers and pilgrims) or Kannon (for child birth). In addition, Japanese troops have not been in battle since World War II, a period of 45 years, and have had no real need for even a talisman. Consequently, there seems to be little future for this cult within modern Japan. Even assuming Japanese troops were to become involved in combat in the foreseeable future, it is doubtful we would see any greater intensity in the cult than that of the simplified, talismanic one of World War II.

The ancient cult of the Buddhist warrior goddess remains alive within some of the extant martial traditions of Japan, although her future here also looks bleak. As we have seen, the Nenryû and Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû still perform rituals connected with Marishiten, but a real interest and understanding of the cult within Nenryû is on the wane. It is, in fact, little more than we would have found among the soldiers of World War II. What is preserved in the Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû is vigorous and strong today, but that is due mainly to the efforts of Otake Risuke, the chief instructor. Otake's understanding of the cult as it is preserved in the ryû and faith in the goddess are profound and he has expanded his knowledge by consulting with both Shingon and Tendai specialists in mikkyô. However, he also laments that his most advanced students within the tradition

have shown little interest in the very esoterica that have empowered the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintōryū since its founding 600 years ago.

Under the influence of the Zen monk, Takuan, the Shinkageryū of the extant Yagyū line began drifting away from an interest in Marishiten during the early 1600's. There are other branches of the Shinkageryū still extant which seem to have preserved more in the way of the cult of Marishiten, however, as of this writing it is unclear how much of the cult is still followed in those lines.¹¹⁷

- Summary -

We have followed the evolution of the Mārīcī cult from India through China to Japan. In India we examined the probable origins of the cult as a Buddhist attempt to appeal to the needs of a large population of fighting men. In China the cult became more assimilated into Buddhism, although the early warrior-orientation was still apparent. In Japan the cult had become fully assimilated into the "modular ritualism" of Japanese mikkyō by the late Heian period, and, during the Edo period, appears to have moved somewhat into obscurity as

¹¹⁷An example of this is the Taisha (Shinkage)ryū founded by Marume Kurandōnosuke Tessai (1540-1629), a disciple of Kamiizumi Nobutsuna. Several years ago in a film on this ryū, the current headmaster demonstrated a number of kata which were preceded by a short verse chanted to Marishiten. Nippon-no kobudō: Taisharyū, Nippon Budōkan, 1980.

far as being a popular ritual cult among Japanese Buddhists.

The cult of the god(dess) as followed by the warrior class remained active as long as there were warriors involved in battlefield operations. However, the Japanese warrior left the battlefield in the early 1600's and, by the end of the peaceful Edo period, he had become an anachronism, as had the cult of the warrior Marishiten. Today, the best preserved version of a "living cult" is found in some of the extant warrior traditions. This is significant in that the Mārīcī cult remains alive in a social context which reflects its origins, that of a warrior protectress.

The process by which Mārīcī became assimilated as a member of the Tantric Buddhist pantheon is a fairly typical phenomenon. Many such non-Buddhist worthies were handled in the same way. However, her "mythological" function as a warrior protectress who, in addition to healing powers, bestows on her devotees the supernatural powers of invisibility, perspicuity, and unctuousness, (that is, she acts as a catalyst by which the Innate Adaptive Traits become a synergy of Manifest Adaptive Traits), appears to be unique. Perhaps it is these very human Adaptive Traits which made her an enduring figure within the Tantric Buddhist pantheon for well over a thousand years. Significantly, in Japan it was the suppression of the combative behavior resulting from those traits during an extended period of peace which caused her cult to fall into relative obscurity.

As the human race has moved away from the sword to the firearm, nuclear bomb, and computerized warfare, we have tended to depersonalize combat. Consequently, various schools of thought have arisen which have greatly de-emphasized the human element on the battlefield. Perhaps this depersonalization is an attempt to separate ourselves from a basic fact of nature; man is the only creature on this planet who makes war against his own kind.¹¹⁸ Perhaps the cult of Mārīcī was successful in leading a number of warriors into the path of the bodhisattva. But this may not have been possible in a single leap. Consequently, the more passive, Zen-oriented budô of the Edo period seem to have provided a "second step" in the process. On the other hand, our human, combative nature is still with us, a potential lurking just below the surface of normal consciousness. Hopefully in understanding more about Mārīcī and what she symbolizes we have come to understand a little more about ourselves.

¹¹⁸There are many theories as to why this is so. See, for example, P. Ardrey, The Hunting Hypothesis.

ILLUSTRATIONS

ILLUSTRATIONS



Two armed, seated Mâricî - c. 800 A.D.

(Fig. #1)



Two armed, seated Mārīcī - Twelfth Century

(Fig. #2)

摩利支三尊像



或三人
 白拂
 天女形
 左右侍者

Two armed, seated Mārīcī - Twelfth Century

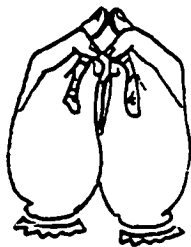
(Fig. #3)



The Body Seal
(Fig. #4)



The Crown Seal
(Fig. #6)



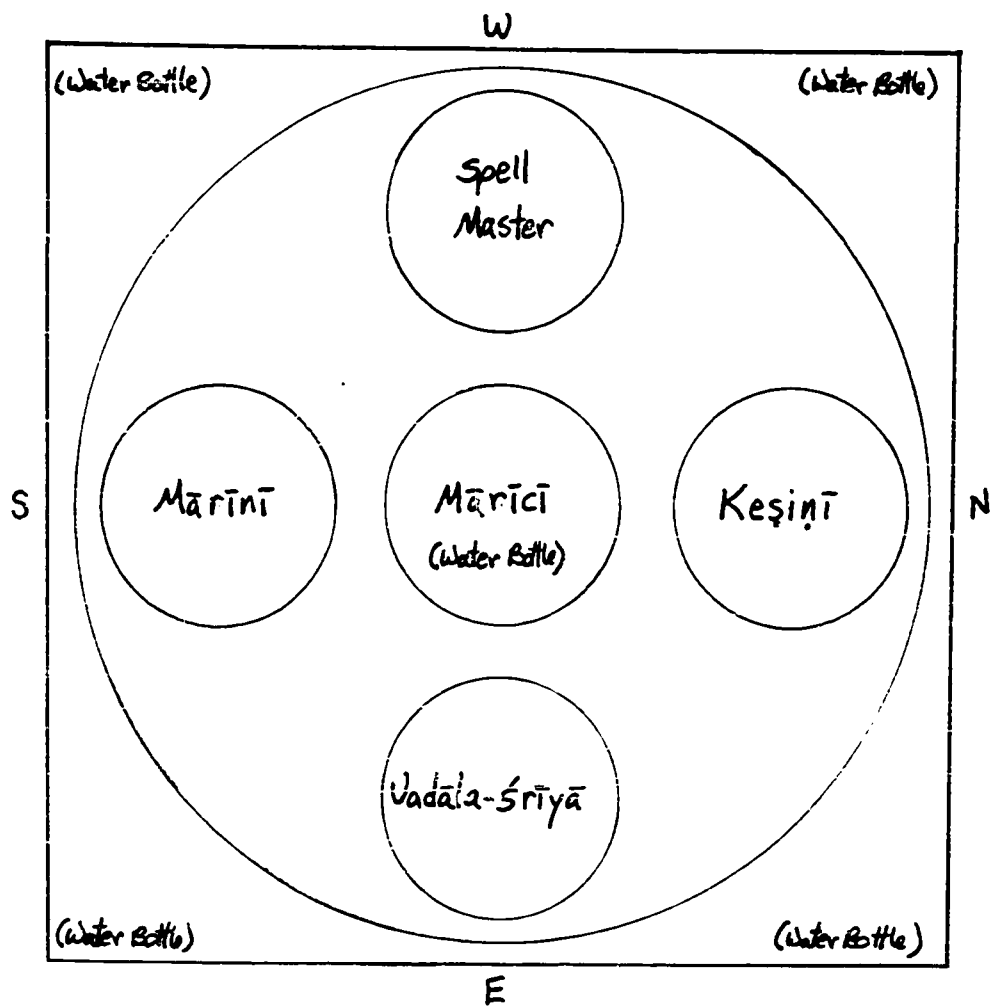
The Head Seal
(Fig. #5)



The Body Protection Seal
(Fig. #7)



Concentration of Will Seal
(Fig. #8)



The Mārīcī abhiṣeka altar as described in T. 901.

(Fig. #9)



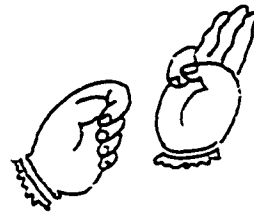
Mind Seal of All Tathāgatas
(Fig. #10)



Body Protection Tathāgata Fist
(Fig. #13)



Mind Seal of the Lotus Section
(Fig. #11)



Great Meditation Seal
(Fig. #14)



Mind Seal of the Vajra Section
(Fig. #12)

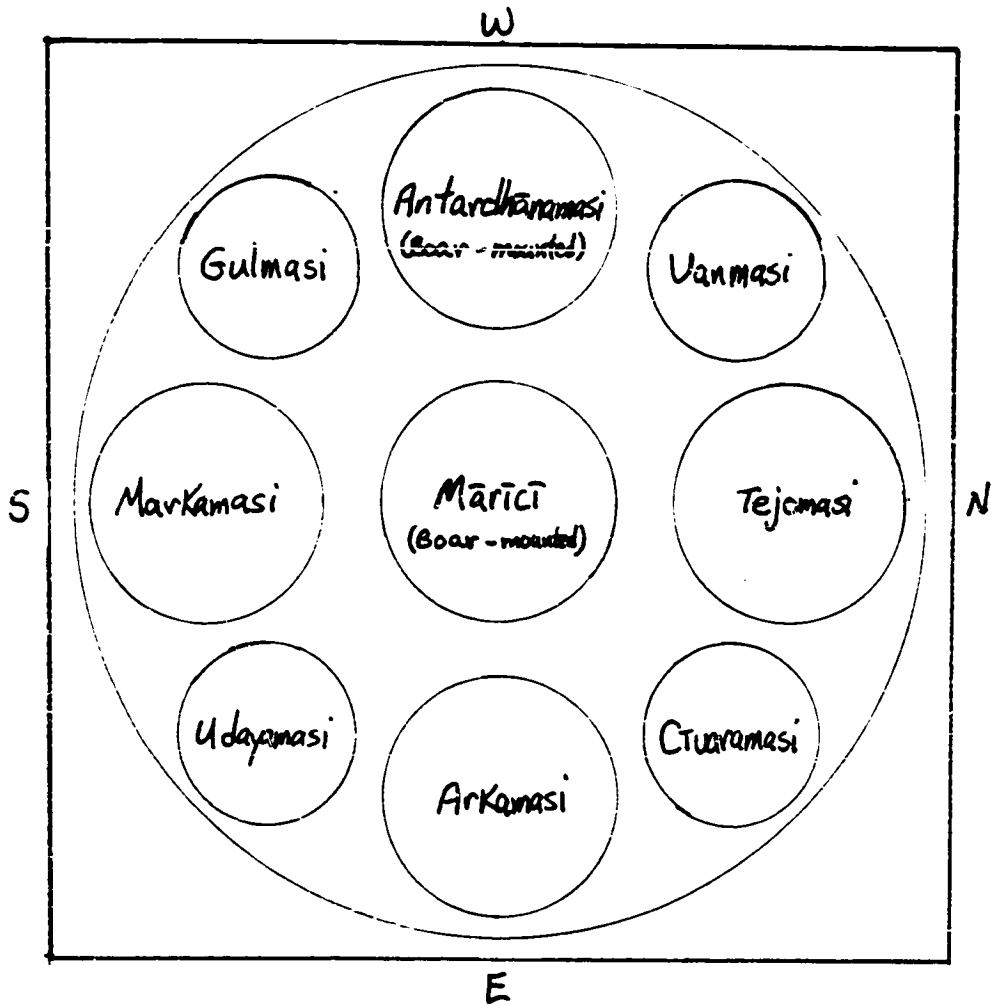


Consolidation Seal
(Fig. #15)



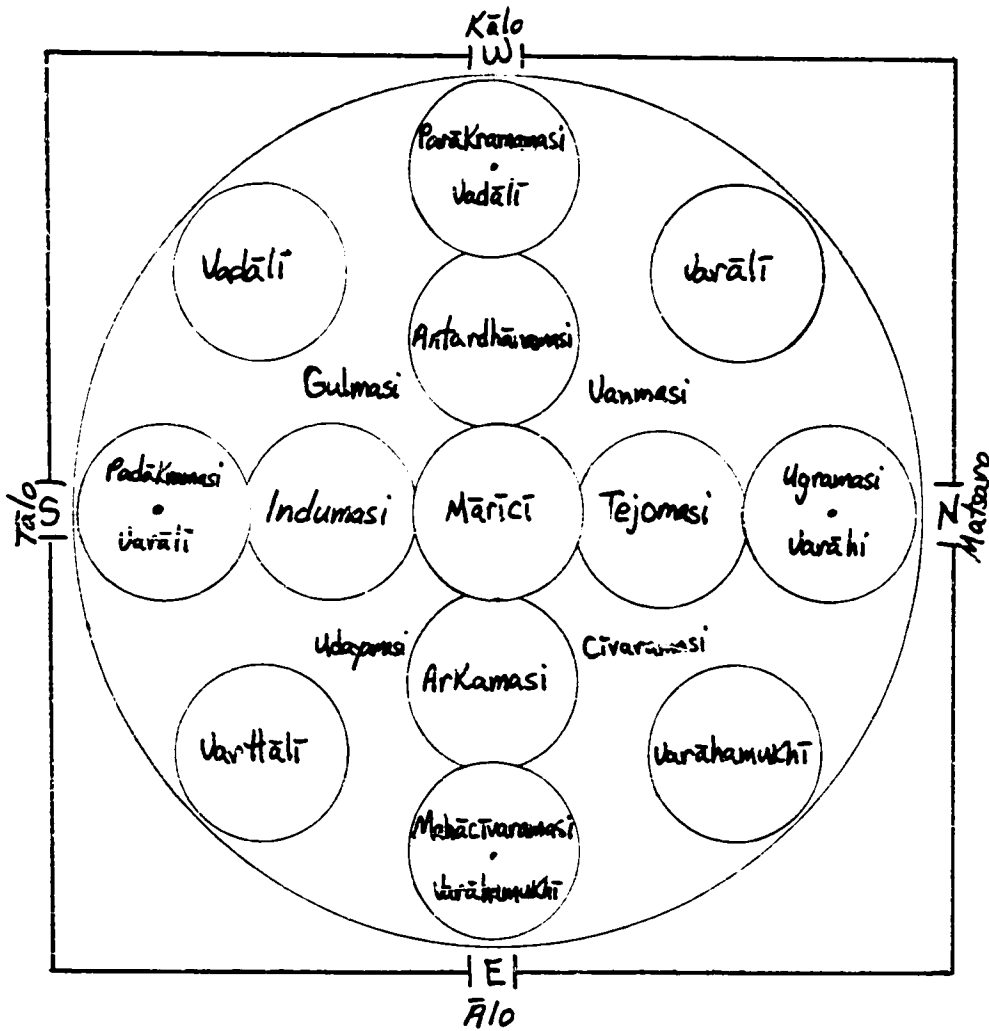
Eight-armed, boar-mounted Mārīcī - Twelfth Century

(Fig. #16)



The Mārīcī abhiseka altar as described in T. 1257

(Fig. #17)



The Mārīcī Mandala of the Nispannavogāvalī

(Fig. #18)



Copy of the
Boar-mounted Mārīcī attributed to Shōtoku Taishi

(Fig. 19)



"Male" Mârîcî by Hokusai

(Fig. 20)



"Male" Mārīcī by Hokusai

(Fig. 21)

摩利支天法

先護身法

南無釈迦牟尼佛 十聲

南無摩利支天菩薩 十聲

我弟子^{某甲}皈命^上之三寶摩利支菩薩願護我身無人能

見我無人能知我無人能捉縛加害我無人能債我財

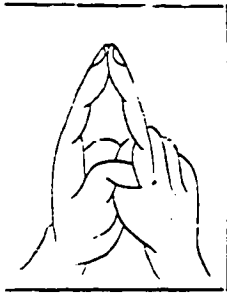
寶不為死家能得其便即說最上真曰

唵摩利支娑婆訶 十聲

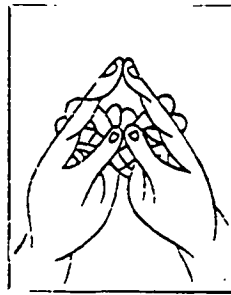
寶曆九年七月八日

受者

韶禪



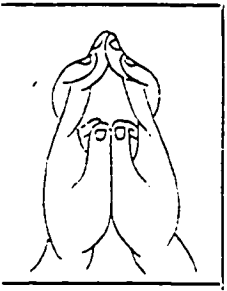
[Rin]
Tokko-in
(Fig. 23)



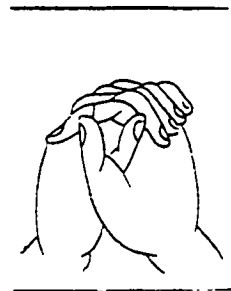
[Sha]
Naiishi-in
(Fig. 26)



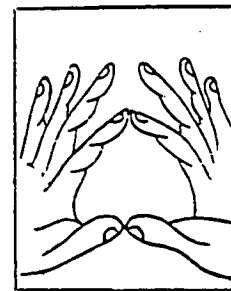
[Retsu]
Chiken-in
(Fig. 29)



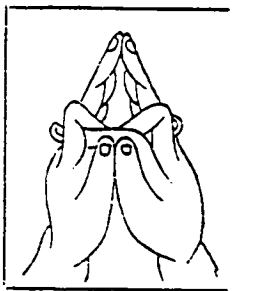
[Pyô]
Daikongôrin-in
(Fig. 24)



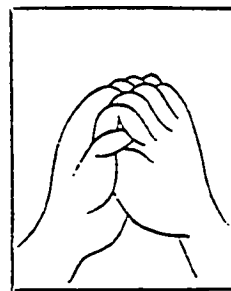
[Kai]
Gebaku-in
(Fig. 27)



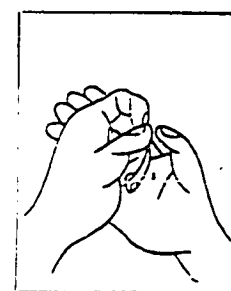
[Zai]
Nichirin-in
(Fig. 30)



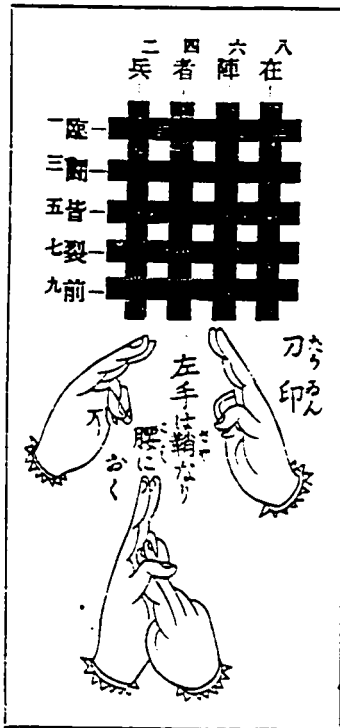
[Tô]
Geishi-in
(Fig. 25)



[Jin]
Naibaku-in
(Fig. 28)



[Zen]
Ongyô-in
(Fig. 31)



Tōshō-in
(Fig. 32)



Marishiten as Three-legged Crow
(Fig. 33)

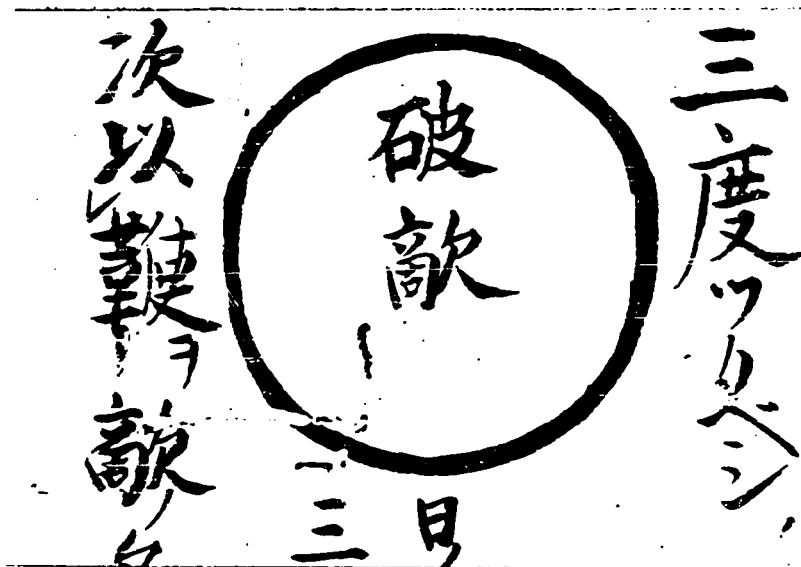
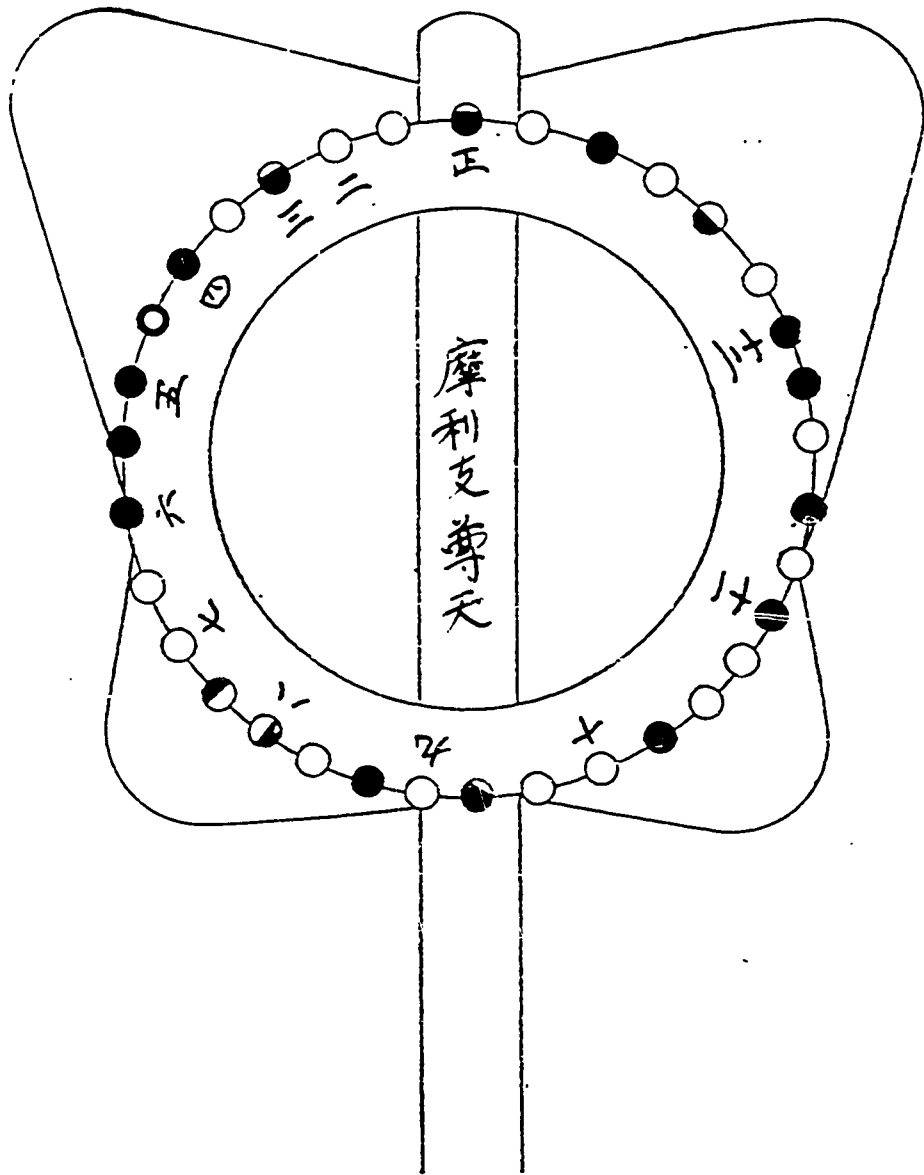


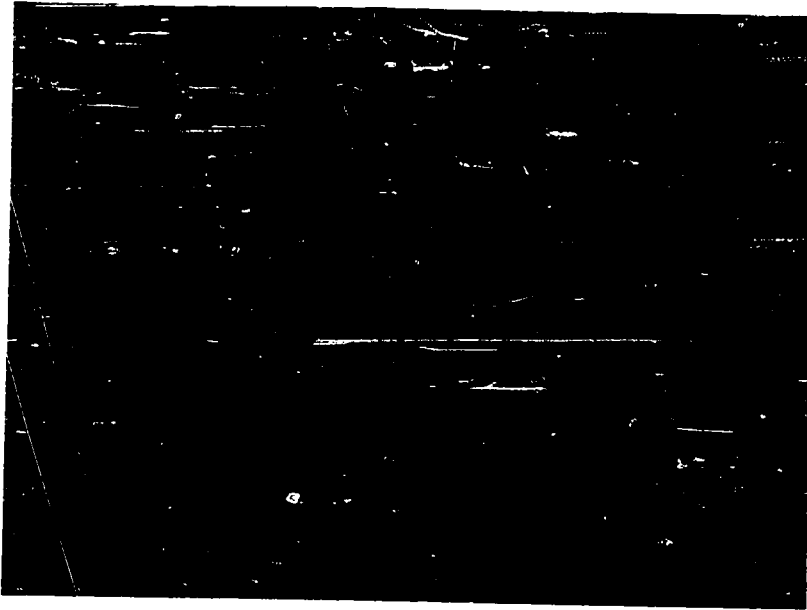
Illustration from Marishiten benpō

(Fig. 34)



Gumbai uchiwa of the Hōjōryū

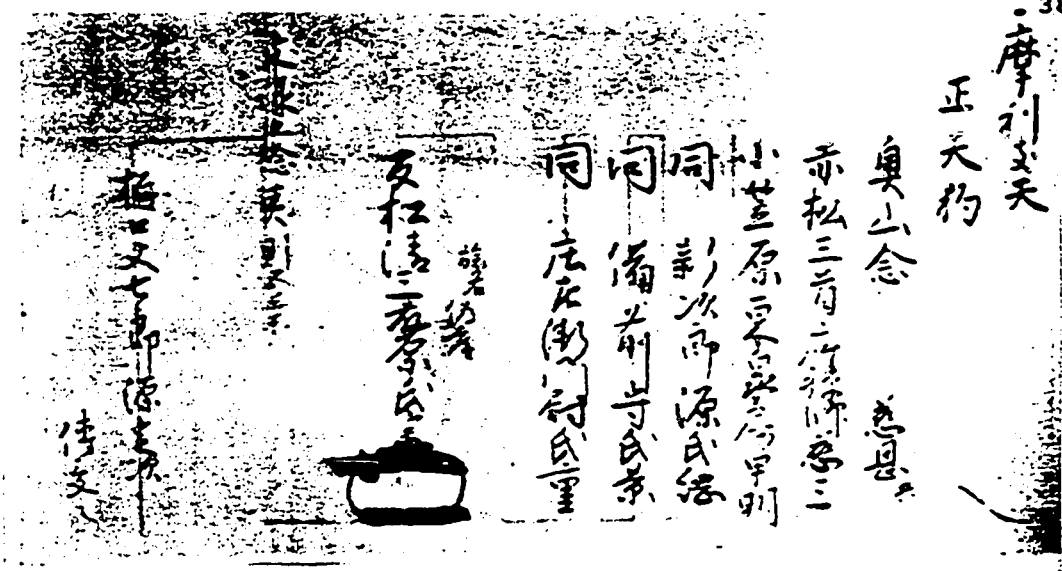
(Fig. 35)



Marishiten illustration in Yōshinryū densho
(Fig. 36)



Marishiten notation in Kōgen Ittōryū densho
(Fig. 37)



Nenryū densho with lineage from Marishiten through Shōtengu

(Fig. 38)



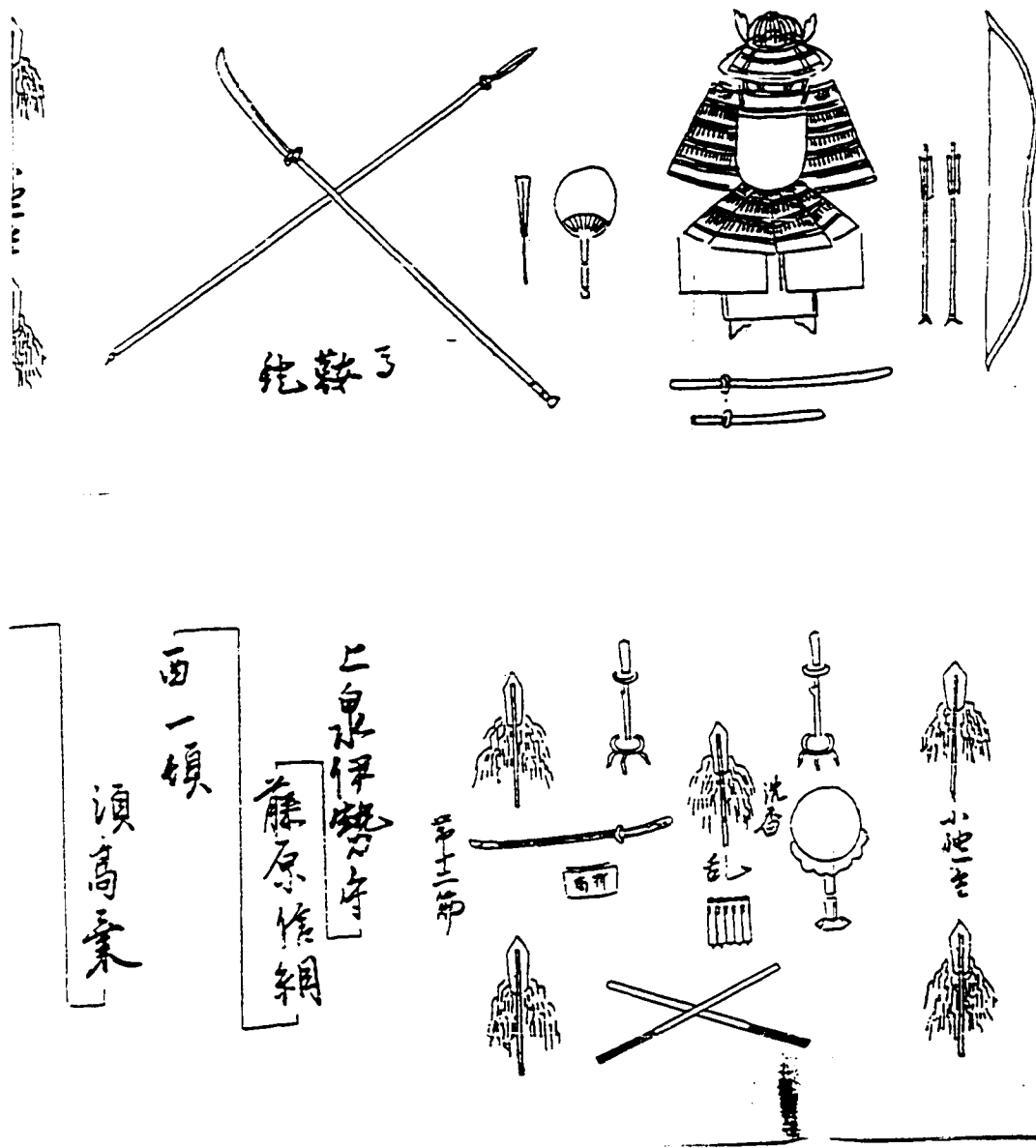
Hikida (Shin)kageryū densho depicting Marishiten as a tengu

(Fig. 39)

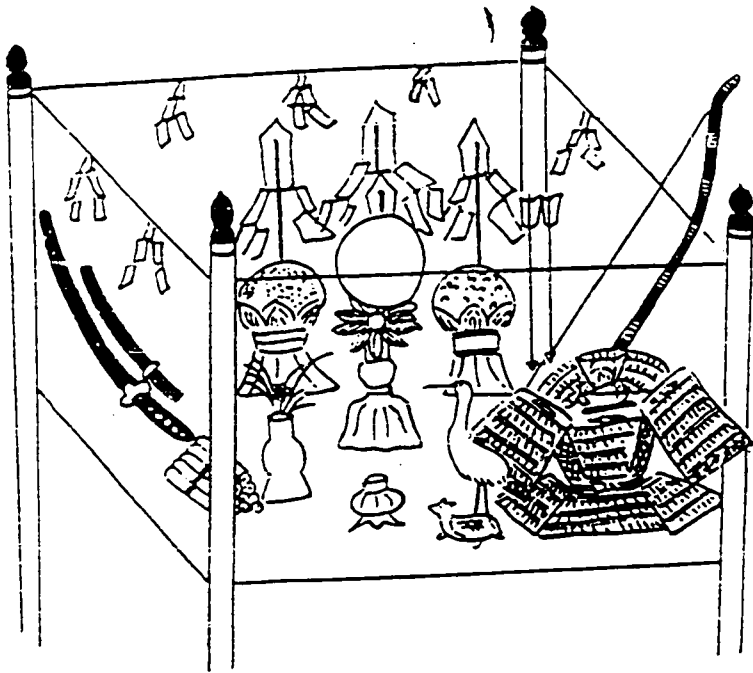


Nenryū honzon Marishiten

(Fig. 40)



Marishiten Altar from the Sixteenth Century
 Shinkageryū - Dōjō sōgon gishiki
 (Fig. 41)



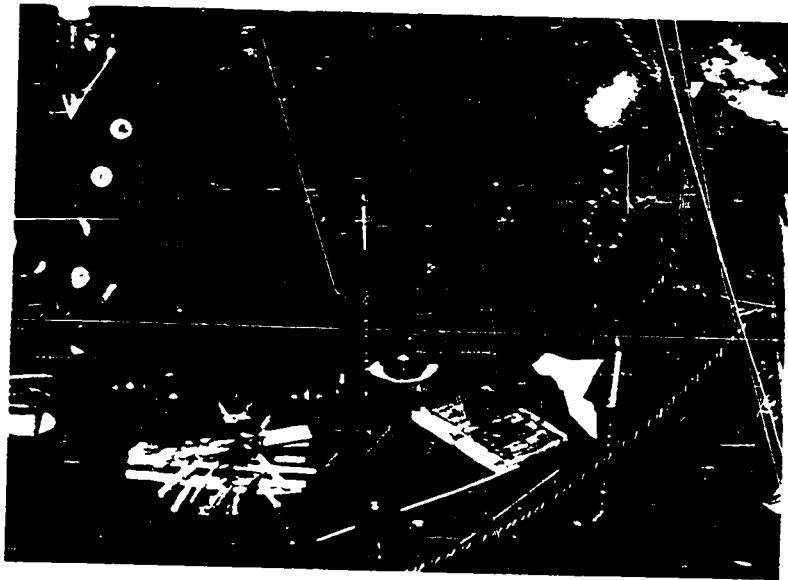
春日鞍摩利多天無外此卷相傳之時一七日精進
 以道場在殿之次不供養諸神諸天皇於檯前
 可相傳極末之太刀者也

Marishiten Altar from the Nineteenth Century
 Hikida (Shin)kageryû - Kanjô gokui-no maki
 (Fig. 42)



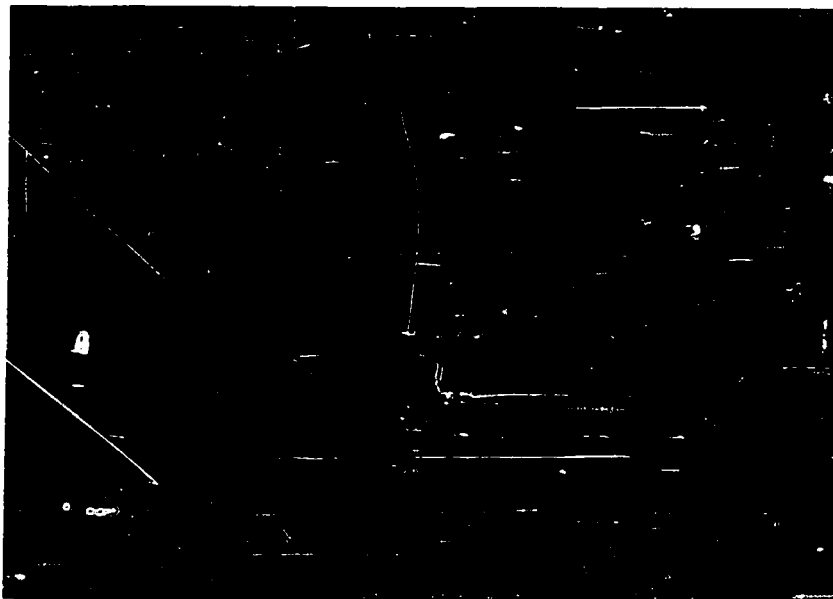
Marishiten Image at Tairinji in Oyama

(Fig. 43)



Marishiten Gona at Tairinji in Oyama

(Figs. 44 and 45)



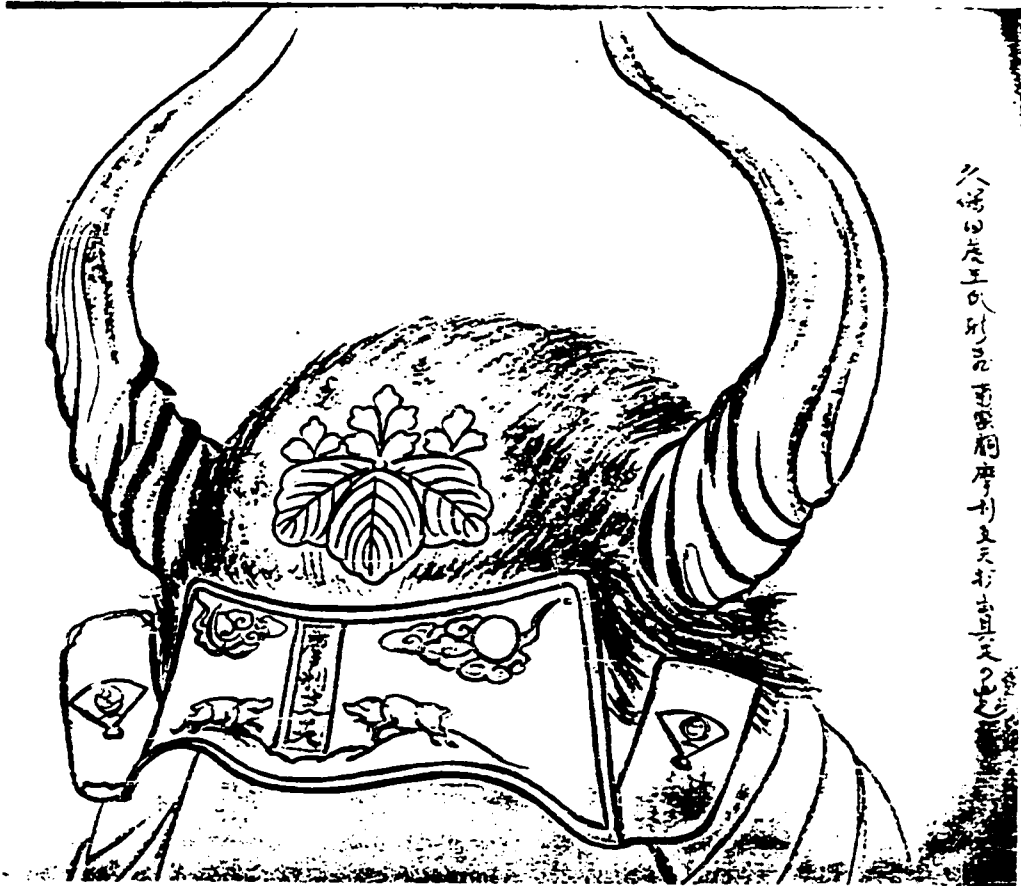
Photograph of Soldiers at Tairinji in Oyama

(Fig. 46)



Photograph of Sword Talismans at Tairinji in Oyama

(Figs. 47)



Sixteenth Century Japanese Warrior's Helmet

(Fig. 48)

Character Glossary

* Chinese *

- A -

an-ta-tsu-na yin 安怛祖那
印

A-ti-ch'u-to 阿地瞿多

ân a-erh-tyêh mo-li-chih

sfo-ho 唵引阿爾底也引
摩利支娑縛賀

- C -

chai⁽¹⁾ 責

chai⁽²⁾ 債

chang 障

ch'en-pien 臣邊

Chen-yen, chen yen 真言

ch'eng-chiu-fa 成就法

Chi-shih-ni 計室儻

chiang-fu 降伏

chiang-fu-lu 卍爐

Chien Fu Ts'ao 監福曹

ch'ien-ts'ai 錢財

Chih Ch'ieh 支謙

ch'ing 請

ching-ai 敬愛

ching-ai-lu 卍爐

Chin-kang-pu hsien-yin 金剛

部心印

Ch'ing Lung 青龍

chou 咒

chou⁽²⁾ 肘

Chu Lü-yen 竺律炎

ch'u-sheng 畜生

Chun-t'i 準提

- E -

erh-shih-pa su 二十八宿

- F -

Fa-ch'ing 法慶

Fa-hu 法護

Fa-kuo 法果

fang-pien 方便

Fo-lo-i 囉囉曳

- H -

hau-chih yin 好知印

hsi-tsai-lu 息災爐

hsien 心

hsien-chen-yen 心真言

hsien-chen-yen yin 卍印

hsien-jen 仙人

Hsüan-tsang 玄奘

hsüan-wu 玄武

huan 喚

huan-hsi 歡喜

huan-hsi yin 印

Hui-hui 惠暉

huo-lu 火爐

hu-shen yin 護身印

hu-wo 護我

- I -

i 意

I-ching 義淨

I-ch'ieh-ju-lai hsien yin

一切如來心印

i-kuei 儀軌

- J -

jih 日

Jih-ch'eng 日稱

Jih-t'ien 日天

- K -

Kai Wu 蓋吳

kou-chao-lu 鈎召爐

K'ou Ch'ien-chih 寇謙之

Kuang-ming 光明

kung-yang 供養

- L -

Lien-pu hsien-yin 蓮部心印

Liu-chia-mi-chu 六甲秘祝

Liu-t'ao 『六偉』

lo-she 羅闍

lun-shih 論師

lung-nao-hsiang 龍腦香

- M -

man-ta-lo 漫怛羅

Ming Wang 明王

Mi-tsung 密宗

Mo-li-chih 摩利支

Mo-li-chih⁽²⁾ 末利支

Mo-li-chih⁽³⁾ 摩里支

Mo-li-chih⁽⁴⁾ 摩利止

Mo-li-chih-t'ien i-kuei

『摩利支天儀軌』

Mo-li-chih-t'ien-p'u-sa

摩利支天菩薩

Mo-li-ni 摩利儺

mo-nu yin 摩奴印

- P -

Pai Hu 白虎

pa-chen 八陣

pao-p'ing yin 寶瓶印

Pei-chi P'ai 北極派

Pei-yen-lu 『碧巖錄』

Pi-mc 毗摩

pien 便

p'ing 瓶

P'ing-mo-chün-szu 平魔軍司

P'ing-sha Wang 瓶沙王

P'o-lo-ho-mu-hsi 婆囉呵日溪

P'o-io-li 婆囉梨

P'o-t'o-li 婆馱梨

P'o-to-lo-shih-li-yeh 婆多

羅室唎夜

Pu-k'ung Chin-kang 不空金剛

pu wei jen chai ch'i ts'ai
^{wu} 不為人債其財物

- 8 -

San-lüeh 『三略』

San Lun 三論

Seng-lang 僧朗

shan nan tzu shan nu jen

善男子善女人

she-lo-chia 闍囉迦

shen chou 神咒

shen yin 身印

She-ya-p'i-she-ya 逝耶毘逝耶

Shih-chu P'u-sa 十住菩薩

shih-erh-chih 十二支

shih yin 使印

shui-kuan 水罐

- T -

ta-a-lo-han 大阿羅漢

ta-ch'iu-ch'iu-chung 大丘象

ta-pi-ch'iu-chung 大比丘象

t'ai-ping 太平

T'ai-tsu

T'ai-wu 太武

T'an-yao 曇曜

tao-ch'ang 道場

tao-shih 道師

ta-shen-t'ung-tzu-tsai-chih

fa 大神通自在

法

ta-yen 大驗

ta-ling-yen 大靈驗

Ta-mo-li-chih-chiang-fu

yüan-ping-chih-fa 「大摩

里支降伏寃兵之法」

t'ien 天

T'ien Hsi-tsai 天息災

T'ien-mu, t'ien-mu 天母

t'ien-nu 天女

Ting Han-wang 定漢王

ting yin 頂印

t'o-ch'ü-pien 沱屈邊

t'o-lo-ni 陀羅尼

T'o-pa 拓跋

T'o-pa Kuei || 珪

Tou-lao 斗姥

Tou-mu 斗母

t'ou yin 頭印

ts'ai 財

tseng-i-lu 增益爐

Ts'ui Hao 崔活

ts'un 寸

T'u-chia 突迦

- 卍 -

U-chang-na [See (W)u-chang-na]

- 卍 -

Wang Chou 王咒

Wei-kuang 威光

wei-mo-chieh 維摩訶

Wei-mo-chieh so-shuo ching

維摩訶所說經

(W)u-chang-na 烏仗那

Wu-hsing 無行

Wu-tang Shan 武當山

- 彳 -

Yang-yen 陽焰

yin-hsing 隱形

yin-hsing yin || 印

yin-k'o 印可

yin shen 隱身

yin-szu 淫祠

Yü Nü 玉女

yüan-ch'i [See engi]

yüan-chia⁽¹⁾ 怨家

yüan-chia⁽²⁾ 冤家

yüeh 月

* Japanese *

- A -

Abe 安倍

Aisu Ikôsai Hisatada 愛洲

移香齋久忠

Aisu Koshichirô Genkôsai ||

小七郎元香齋

Aizen-myôô 愛染明王

Aka 關伽

Akamatsu Nenryû 赤松念流

Akamatsu Shigemitsu || 慈三

"Ame-no totsukanomi tsurugi"

天十握御劍

Annen 安然

Anôryû 穴太流

Anryakuji 安樂寺

Arakiryû 葉木流

ashigaru 足輕

Ashiwarano Mizuhonokuni

葦原瑞穂國

- B -

Battô-in 馬頭印Ben kaji shidai 『鞭加持次第』bin [See p'ing]

Eishamonten 毘沙門天

bôze 忘我bonnô 煩惱

Bosatsu-bu 菩薩部

budô 武道bugei 武藝Bujô 奉請bujutsu koryû 武術古流Bumô(in) 部母(印)bushi 武士Busô 奉送Busôshoju || 聖衆

Butchô-bu 佛頂部

Butsu-bu 佛部

Butsu-bu (samaya) || (三摩耶)Butsugen 佛眼

- C -

chijitsu-in 智釵印chikushô [See ch'u-sheng]

Chiraten 智羅天

Chishô 智證

Chôtan Ichimi 長短一味

Chûjô Nagamitsu 中条長秀

Chûjôryû || 流

- D -

dai 代
 Daiitoku-myōō 大威德明王
 Daikokuten 大黒天
daikongōrin-in 大金剛輪印
 Dainichi Nyorai 大日如來
 Daisho 大小
danshi 彈指
densho 傳書
dōjō (see Ch. tao-ch'ang)
Dōjōkan 道場觀
Dōjō sōgon-no shidai 『道場
 莊嚴次第』

- E -

Ekōhōben 迴向方便
Empi(-no tachi) 燕飛(七太刀)
engi 縁起
 Ennin 圓仁
 Eun 惠運

- F -

Fudōchishinmyō roku 『不動智
 神妙錄』
 Fudō-myōō 不動明王
fudōshin 〓心
Fukuyō 普供養

Futsunushi-no-mikoto 經津
 主大神

Futsū (kuyō) 普通(供養)

- G -

Gattenson 月天尊
gebaku-in 外縛印
gebakushishi-in 〓獅子印
Geishō 迎請
gejishi-in 外獅子印
Gekai 解界
Genjū 還珠
Geza-reibutsu-shutsudō 不座
 禮佛出堂
Godaiigan 五大願
 Godai(myōō) 五大(明王)
gohei 御幣
gojin 五塵
Gokui/gokui 極恚
Gokui-no Tachi 〓太刀
Gokuyō 五供養
goma 護摩
 Gokusō-no Jō 五夢想杖
gongen 權現
go-no sen 後の先
Gonyūsamaji 後入三摩地
Gosai-no kagami 『吾妻鏡』

Gōsanze-myōō 降三世明王
 goshin-no hō 護身の法
 Goshinpō 護身法
 gumbai 軍配
 gumbai⁽²⁾ | 敗
 gumbai heihō 軍配兵法
 gumbai-jutsu || 術
 gumbai uchiwa || 團扇
 gumpō 軍法
 gundan 軍團
 Gundari-myōō 軍荼利明王
 Gunshōzu (See Chūn-sheng-
 t'u)

- H -

hachijin (See pa-chen)
 Hachiman-bosatsu 八幡菩薩
 hachimon tonkōjutsu 八門遁甲術
 Hakka 八箇
 Hankai Hankō 半開半向
 hatsugeiko 發糶古
 heihō 兵法 / 平法
 Heihō hijutsu ikkansho 『兵法
 秘術一卷書』
 heihōjutsu 兵法術
 (Heihō) Tora-no maki 『兵法
 虎又巻』

Heihō yonijūni-ka-jō 『兵法
 四十二ヶ条』
 heijutsu 兵術
 Heike monogatari 『平家物語』
 Hekigo(jūma) 辟除(從魔)
 hidensho 秘傳書
 Higuchi Kanemitsu 樋口兼光
 Higuchi Sadatsugu || 定次
 Higuchi Sadayoshi || 定伊
 Higuchi Takashige || 高重
 Higuchi Tarō Kaneshige ||
 太郎兼重
 Hikida Bungorō 足田豊五郎
 Hikida (Shin)kageryū || (新)
 陰流
 Hikō 被甲
 Hikō goshin || 護身
 Hitenshi 日天子
 Hitenson || 尊
 Hitsuji-no hi 未の日
 Hōben 方便
 hōbyō-in 寶瓶印
 Hōjō Jichō 北条氏長
 Hōjōryū || 流
 Hokke(-shū) (Sect) 法華(宗)
 Hokuto Daishin 北斗大晨

Hōmanryū 法曼流

hon/jaku 本/迹

honzon 本尊

Hotsu 發

Hotsugan 發願

- I -

iai 居合

Ichiji-kinrin-butchō 一字

金輪佛頂王

Iizasa (Chōisai) (Iganokami)

Ienaō 飯籬 (長威齋) (伊

賀守) 家直

Iizasa Shurinosuke Morishige

|| 修理亮盛重

In 陰

Inazuma 稻妻

Inka/inka [See yin-k'o]

Issai-nyorai shin-in [See I-

ch'ieh-ju-lai-hsien yin]

Itsutsu(-no tachi) 五津 (又

太刀)

Ittō Ryōdan 一刀兩段

- J -

Jiketsu 地結

Jiki Shinkageryū 直心影流

Jimbun 神分

Jisam(maya) 市三摩耶

jisamurai 地侍

jitsumvō 實加

Jōen 長宴

Jōfukuji 壽福寺

jōjuhō [See ch'eng-chiu-fa]

Jōsangō 淨三業

jufu 咒符

jugon 咒言

Jūhachidō 『十八道』

Jūketsu (daikai) 重結 (大界)

jummitsu 純密

jūni shi [See shih-erh-chih]

- K -

Kagemokuroku 『影目鏡』

Kage-no Ryū 陰の流

kai 皆

Kain(kai) 火院 (界)

kaji 加持

Kajiju || 珠

kakeri-no sen 懸りの先

Kakuzen 覺禪

kami 神

Kamiizumi Isenokami

Nobutsuna 上泉伊勢守
信綱

Kamiizumiryū || 流

"Kanjō gokui-no maki" 「灌頂
極意又卷」

Kanjōhō 勸請法

kan-ken futatsu-no koto 觀見
二ノこと

Kannon-bu 觀音部

Karanbō 火乱房

Kashima Daijin 鹿島大神

Kashima-no-tachi || 又太刀

Kashima shinden || 真傳

Kashima Shin(kage)ryū || 神

影流

Kashima Shintōryū || 新當流

Kasumi(-no tachi) 神集(又太刀)

katana 刀

Katori-no-ken 香取又劍

kavōza 荷葉座

Keibyaku 啓白

Kekkaihō 結界法

kan 驗

ken⁽²⁾ 懸

kensei 劍聖

kerai 家來

Ketsugōhō 結護法

Keza 葦座

Kibi-no Makibi 吉備真吉備

Ki'ichi Hōgen 鬼一法眼

Kishimojin 鬼子母神

Kisshōten 吉祥天

kitō 祈禱

kō/hikari 光

kōan 公案

Kōgen Ittōryū 甲源一刀流

Kōjō-no tachi 向上太刀

kongōbaku 金剛縛

Kongō-bu (samaya) 金剛部

三摩耶

Kongō-bu shin-in ||| 心

印

Kongōmō 金剛綱

Kongōyasha-myōō 金剛夜

又明王

Kongōrin-in 金剛輪印

Kongōshō 金剛塔

kō-no in 光の印

Konpirabō 金比羅房

Konponinmyō 根本印明

Kōrinbō 高林坊

koryū 古流
kuden 口傳
Kuhōben 九方便
kuji 九字
Kujihō 〓法
Kuka 九箇
kūkai 空海
Kuramadera 鞍馬寺
Kusunoki Masashige 楠正成
kuyō [See Ch. kung-yang]
Kuyōbō 供養法
Kuyōmon 〓文
Kyō-bu 經部
Kyōgaku 驚覺
kyūba-no michi 弓馬道

- M -

machi-no sen 待の先
majutsu 魔術
Maniwa Nenryū 馬廐念流
Marishi hihō 『摩利支秘法』
Marishisonten hihō 『摩利支
 尊天秘法』
Marishiten 摩利支天
Marishiten-bosatsu 〓菩薩
Marishibosatsu Konpon

Shingon-in 摩利支菩薩
 根本真言印
Marishitenbosatsu Shin-
shingon 〓天菩薩心
 真言
Marishiten hihō 『〓秘法』
Marishiten yōki 『〓要記』
Marishiten San 〓山
Marishtenshin 〓神
Menkyō 『免許』
menkyō-kyōshi 免許教士
Midare 乱
Minamoto Yoritomo 源賴朝
Minamoto Yoriyoshi | 賴義
Minamoto Yoshiie | 義家
Minamoto Yoshitsune | 義經
Minamoto Yoshinaka | 義仲
Mitsu(-no tachi) 三津(又
 太刀)
Mokuroku 『目鏡』
Monjū-bu 文殊部
Mononobe 物部
muga 無我
Muniken 無二劍
Mura 武羅
musō 夢想

musôken 夢想劍

musôshinden 眞傳

Myôô-bu 明王部

- N -

Naginata 長刀

naibaku-in 内縛印

naijishi-in 内獅子印

Nanatachi 七太刀

Nanatsu(-no tachi) 七津(七太刀)

nanten 男天

Nen Ami Jion [See below,

Okuyama Nen Ami Jion]

Nenryû 念流

Nenshuzaryû 念首座流

Nichiren 日蓮

Nichirin Marishiten 日輪摩

利支天

nichirin-hôkô-in 日放光印

"Nichitorishû" 「日取集」

nijûhasshuku 二十八宿

ninja 忍者

ninjutsu 忍術

ninpô 忍法

Nishi Itton Minamoto-no

Takanori 西一頓源高乘

Nitta Yoshisada 新田義貞

nobushi 野武士

Nyûdô 入道

Nyûsamaji 入三摩地

- O -

Ôe Koretoki 大江維時

Ôe Tadafusa 医房

Ogasawararyû 小笠原流

Ôhara dôjô kanshû 『大原道

場觀集』

ôï-mamoru to môsu 「被」護

石と申す

oku 奥

Okugi 奥議

Okuyama Nen Ami Jion 奥山

念阿弥慈恩

omote 表

ongyô-daikongôrin-in 陰形

大金剛輪印

ongyôhê 陰形法

ongyô-no iu 咒

onshin [See yin-hsing]

Ontachi-no hijutsu 御太刀

秘術・

onyôdô 陰陽道

- P -

pyô 兵

- R -

Reikenden 靈驗傳reimu 靈夢Ren-bu shin-in 蓮部心印Renge-bu (samaya) 蓮華部

三摩耶

retsu 烈riken 利劍rin 臨ritsuryô 律令rokudai 六大Rokutô [See Liu-t'ao]rokuyoku 六欲ryû 流ryû⁽²⁾ 龍ryû-ha 流派

- S -

saku 策sambei 三兵Sambu 三部San 讚Sanzaku 三覺Sanjin 三身Sanriki(gei) 三力(偈)Sanryaku [See San-lüeh]Sansenjin 三戰神sei 世seijun mikkyô 正純密教seishin tanren 精神鍛鍊sen 先sen-no sen 先の先sensen-no sen 先先の先Sha 捨Shijô Kingo 四條金吾Shimmyôken 神妙劍Shindô Musôryû 神道夢想流Shingyôtôryû 心形刀流shin-in 針印Shinkage 新陰Shinkage⁽²⁾ 神影Shinkageryû 新陰流Shinkaku 心覺shinobi 忍Shinrei 振鈴Shin-shingon (in) 心真言(印)Shôchô 承澄Shôgon dôjôhō 莊嚴道場法Shôgon gyôja-no hō 〓行者

の法

Shōnenjū 正念誦

Shōrai 唱禮

Shōsharo 請車輅

Shōtengu 正天狗

Shōtoku Taishi 聖德太子

Shōzen 詔禪

Shugendō 修驗道

shugenja 〓者

sōhei 僧兵

Sōma Shirō Tadashige 相馬四郎

忠重

Sōma Shirō Yoshimoto 〓〓〓

義元

Sōsharo 送車輅

sui-getsu 水月

suikan [See shui-kuan]

Suiko 推石

- T -

tachi 太刀

tachi'ai 立合

tai 待

Taiheiki 『太平記』

Taimitsu 台密

tai-no tai 対の対

Taira Kiyomori 平清盛

Taira Masakado 平將門

Takada Sekijō 高田石成

Takuan 沢庵

Tatakau-toki makenaihō 戦う

時負ケテ法

Teki-no me o kuramasuhō 敵

月ヲ暗ス法

Teki to kyū ni tatakau-toki

敵ト急ニ戦ウ時

Teki to tatakua-tomo kizu

o fujū-no hō 敵ト戦ウ

トモキズヲフダノ法

Ten-bu 天部

Tendō Marishiten 天道摩

利支天

tengu 天狗

Tengushō 『天狗鈔』

tensen 天扇

tenshinshōden 天真正傳

Tenshinshōden Katori

Shintōryū 天真正傳

香取神道流

tō 闘

Tōbu myōō 當部明王

Toda-ha Bukoryū 戸田派武甲流

tokko-in 獨鈷印

Tokudaiji 徳大寺

Tômitsu 東密
 Tomomatsu Gian 友松偽庵
 tonko(hô)jutsu 遁甲(法)術
 tora 虎

Tora-no maki [See Jp.

(Heihô) Tera-no maki]

tôru(hos)shin 等流(法)身
 tōshō-in 刀鞘印
 Tsukahara Bokuden 塚原卜傳

- u -

uchigatana 刀
 uchiwa 團扇
 uji 家
 ujigami 家神
 unki uranai 雲氣占
 ura 裏
 Usen Saten 右旋左轉

- y -

Yagyû Jûbei 柳生十兵衛
 Yagyû Munenori || 宗矩
 Yagyû Muneyoshi || 宗嚴
 Yagyû Shinkageryû || 新陰流
 yamabushi 山臥
 yamabushi⁽²⁾ 山伏
 Yamiuchi 闇打

Yoshimizu-in 吉水院
 Yotsu(-no tachi) 四津(太刀)
 Yumemakura 夢枕

- z -

zai 在
 zaike hosshi 在家法師
 zanshin 殘心
 Zantei Settetsu 斬釘截鉄
 zen 前
 zen-ken ichi 禪劍一
 Zenrai(ge) 善來(偈)
 zô-bu 雜部
 zôbu mikkyô || 密教
 zômitsu 雜密
 Zuihōekô 隨方迴向

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 dated 1925 was written by Sakai. Copy made from original
 held by Watanabe Ichiro, Tokyo, Japan.

Nenryū shōhō heihō miraiki mokuroku - Shishi-no maki. 念流正
 法兵法未來記目錄一獅子又卷 Manuscript text (scroll)
 is a copy which dates from c. 1596 and is attributed to
 the founder of the Nen Ryu, Sōma Shirō Yorimoto Nyūdō
 Okuyama Nen. This copy, written by Tomomatsu Muzaemon is
 located in the Higuchi family archives in Maniwa, Japan.

Nenryū Tachikoqu mokuroku 念流太刀組目錄 . Ms. (scroll) dated
 2/1591 by Tomomatsu Gian in a lineage from Nen Ami.

Shinkage-no-ryū Empi mokuroku - Shinkage-no-ryū kanjōgokui-no
 maki 新陰又流猿飛目錄一新陰又流 灌頂極意又卷
 . Ms. (scroll) dated 3/1628 was written by
 Yamaoka Tarō Uemon in a lineage from Aisu Ikō. Shimo-
 kawa, Kendo-no hattatsu, "Kagenoryū-no shōryūha-no
 mokurokurui," pl. 62-63.

Shinkage-no-ryū - Kōyō kannen-no maki. 新陰流紅葉觀念
 又卷 Ms. (scroll) dated 3/1628 was written by Yamaoka

Tarô Uemon in a lineage from Aisu Ikô. Ms. reprinted in Shimokawa's Kendo-no hattatsu, "Kagenoryû-no shôryûha-no mokurokurui," pl. 63-65.

Shinkageryû - Dôjô sôgon gishiki 新影流道場莊嚴儀式 Ms. (scroll) dated 7/1600 written by Nishi Itton Minamoto-no Takanori in a lineage from Kamiizumi Isenokami Fujiwara-no Nobutsuna. Shimokawa, Kendo-no hattatsu, "Kagenoryû-no shôryûha-no mokurokurui," pl. 21-26.

Shinkage Ryû - Dôjô sôgon gishiki kumotsutô-no koto 新影流道場莊嚴儀式供物算次第 Ms. (scroll) n.d. (c. 1600) written by Matsuda Oribenosuke (Sumiyoshi) in a lineage from Kamiizumi Isenokami Fujiwara-no Nobutsuna. Imamura Yoshio, Shiryô Yagyû Shinkage Ryû. vol. 2 (Tokyo, 1967), 404-405.

Shinkageryû - Tengusho-no maki 新陰流天狗巻 Ms. (scroll) dated 7/1600 written by Nishi Itton Minamoto-no Takanori in a lineage from Kamiizumi Isenokami Fujiwara-no Nobutsuna. Shimokawa, Kendo-no hattatsu, "Kagenoryû-no shôryûha-no mokurokurui," pl. 48-58.

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Shintôryû sôden shinmon 神刀流相傳神文 Ms. (scroll) dated 1802 by Kurosawa Minamoto-no Shichirô in a lineage from Iizasa Iganokami Chôi(sai). NBZ, 2: 328-329.

Tenshinshôden Katori Shintôryû Marishiten-no O-harai 天真正傳香取神道流摩利支天御掬(n.d.) Ôtake Risuke collection, Narita, Japan.

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