

The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch'ieh*
shih-pa-hui chih-kuei:
An Annotated Translation

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Introduction

The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei* 金剛頂經瑜伽十八會指歸 (Jp.: *Kongōchō-gyō yuga jūhatteljūhachie shiki*; T. No. 869), or *Indications of the Goals of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture* (hereafter: *Indications*), is an inventory of eighteen Tantric works purported to constitute a scriptural corpus collectively known as the *Chin-kang-ting ching* 金剛頂經 or *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*. “Translated” by Amoghavajra (Pu-k'ung 不空; 705–774), the *Indications* represents our sole detailed source of information on this eighteen-assembly *Chin-kang-ting ching* (on which more will be said below), and for this reason it should not be overlooked in any consideration of the historical evolution of Buddhist Tantric scriptures. Yet in spite of its importance, to date there have been available only partial translations in French by Ryujin Tajima (partially adapted into English in Lokesh Chandra 1987: 26–27) and Iyanaga Nobumi,¹ and to the best of my knowledge there is no complete translation in any Western language (nor for that matter in Japanese, apart from a rather unreliable rendering in the

1. Japanese names are given in the Japanese order, with the family name preceding the given name, except in the case of Western-language works where the author's name appears in Western order.

pseudoclassical *kundoku* 訓讀 style).² The purpose of the present study, then, is to provide a complete annotated translation of the *Indications*. Before doing so, however, it behoves us to consider certain matters concerning the work as a whole.

Amoghavajra himself should not require any introduction. Suffice it to say that he was an eminent Tantric master whose activities as a proselytizer, thaumaturge and translator were largely responsible for bringing about a period during which Esoteric Buddhism reached the high-water mark of its overt influence in China. (For details on his biography, see Chou 1945: 284–307 and Matsunaga 1973: 158–183.) As is implied by the fact that he is traditionally counted among the four great translators in the history of Chinese Buddhism (along with Kumārajīva, Hsüan-tsang 玄奘 and Paramārtha), Amoghavajra was a prolific translator. But not all of his “translations” were translations in the strict sense of the word, and some in fact were attributed to him posthumously because of the prestige associated with his name. Since the *Indications* is already included in a list of his translations submitted to the throne by Amoghavajra in Ta-li 大曆 6 (771; T. 52: 839b14), it is clear that this work does not fall into the latter category, but it is nevertheless open to question whether it is in fact a true translation. In the Japanese Shingon 眞言 sect the traditional consensus appears to have been that it was composed, rather than translated, by Amoghavajra (e.g., *Shogiki honjōroku* 諸儀軌稟承錄 12 [ZSZ 3: 119a], *Himitsu giki denju kuketsu* 祕密儀軌傳授口決 6 [SZ 2: 420b]), and in works such as the *Shogiki ketsuei* 諸儀軌訣影 12 (ZSZ 1: 385a), *Himitsu giki zuimonki* 祕密儀軌隨聞記 18 (SZ 1: 418a) and *Himitsu giki denju zuihitsu* 祕密儀軌傳授隨筆 (ZSZ 4: 303a) we even find the suggestion that Amoghavajra may have first written it in Sanskrit and then translated it into Chinese. These works all

2. *Zoku kokuyaku himitsu giki* 續國譯祕密儀軌, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kan-kokai 国書刊行会, 1975), pp. 18–28.

date from the eighteenth century,³ and setting aside the question of whether or not Amoghavajra initially wrote it in Sanskrit, it seems reasonable to concur with their authors that the *Indications* was composed or compiled, rather than translated, by Amoghavajra, presumably some time between his return to China in 746 and 771.

More problematical is the exact nature of the *Chin-kang-ting ching*, of which the *Indications* purports to be a digest. Today the Japanese equivalent *Kongōchō-gyō* (*/-kyō*) is often used in Japan to refer to the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*, the first of Amoghavajra's eighteen assemblies and the *mūla-tantra* of a group of *tantras* that in the Indo-Tibetan fourfold classification of the *tantras* have come to be known as the Yoga Tantras, but in the present instance it is a generic term embracing all eighteen assemblies, each, it is said, consisting of 4,000, 5,000 or 7,000 verses and together comprising 100,000 verses. The Sanskrit equivalent of *Chin-kang-ting ching* is generally considered to be *Vajraśekhara*/*śikhara*-*sūtra* (although the *siddhaṃ* equivalent given by Kūkai 空海 [774–835] reads “*vajra-uṣṇīṣa*. . . *-sūtram*” [T. 61: 2b11–15], and Hai-yün 海雲, who also flourished in the early ninth century, similarly gives *vajroṣṇīṣa* as the Sanskrit equivalent of *chin-kang-ting* [T. 51: 784b23]), but the only extant Indo-Tibetan text with the term ‘*vajraśekhara*’ in its title is the *Vajraśekhara-tantra*, an explanatory *tantra* of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* thought to be closely linked to Amoghavajra's 2nd and 3rd Assemblies (*q.v.*). It is nevertheless evident that a term such as *Vajraśekhara-sūtra*/*Chin-kang-ting ching* was being used at the time as the designation of some larger work or works since it is used not only by Amoghavajra but also by his predecessors Śubhakarasiṃha (Shan-wu-wei 善無畏; 637–735) and Vajrabodhi (Chin-kang-chih 金剛智;

3. But we read already in the *Shijūjōketsu* 四十帖決 (T. No. 2408), for example, in a passage dated the 3rd month of Eishō 永承 3 (1048) that “because the large version [of the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture* in 100,000 verses] was not transmitted, [Amoghavajra] wrote [the *Indications*] in order to acquaint people with its general purport” (T. 75: 864c3–4).

671–741), although they do not necessarily use it to refer to one and the same work. We also find the cognate term “Vajraśekhara sect” (*Chin-kang-ting tsung* 金剛頂宗).

It will be noticed, however, that all recensions of the *Indications* other than the base text (Koryō 高麗 edition) have *Chin-kang-ting yü-ch'ieh ching* 金剛頂瑜伽經 (“Adamantine Pinnacle Yoga Scripture”) instead of *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch'ieh* 金剛頂經瑜伽 (“Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture”). *Chin-kang-ting yü-ch'ieh ching* (**Vajraśekhara-yoga-sūtra*) also happens to be the name of one of the scriptures into which Vajrabodhi is said to have been initiated while studying for seven years under Nāgabodhi in southern India (T. 55: 875b11). This *Chin-kang-ting yü-ch'ieh ching* is thought to be related to the *Chin-kang-ting yü-ch'ieh chung lüeh-ch'u nien-sung ching* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (T. No. 866; hereafter: *Lüeh-ch'u nien-sung ching*) later translated by Vajrabodhi and said to have been abridged from a 100,000-verse **Vajraśekhara-mahā-yoga-kalpa-rāja* (金剛頂大瑜伽教王; T. 18: 223c12). According to Matsunaga (1980: 194–196), the *Lüeh-ch'u nien-sung ching* reflects a somewhat primitive form of the extant *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*, a view which has however been challenged by Takahashi (1982: 74–77). But since this is not the place to enter into a discussion of the rather thorny issues relating to the early history of the *Chin-kang-ting ching* and *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*, here I shall do no more than note these two variant forms of the title of our text and confine myself to a brief consideration of the “100,000 verses” and “eighteen assemblies” by which the *Chin-kang-ting ching* is characterized in the *Indications*.

Reference to an extended version of the *Chin-kang-ting ching* in 100,000 verses first appears at the start of the *Lüeh-ch'u nien-sung ching*, and according to the *Chin-kang-ting ching ta-yü-ch'ieh pi-mi hsin-ti fa-mên i-chüeh* 金剛頂經大瑜伽祕密心地法門義訣 (T. No. 1798; hereafter: *I-chüeh*), a commentary on the *Lüeh-ch'u nien-sung ching* purportedly dictated by Vajrabodhi and recorded by Amoghavajra, Vajrabodhi had copies of both an extended and an abridged version of the *Chin-kang-ting ching* when he

set sail from India for China, but on the way the extended version of 100,000 verses was mistakenly thrown overboard with other cargo during a storm in order to lighten the ship, and Vajrabodhi was left with only an abridged version (later said to consist of 4,000 verses), of which the *Lüeh-ch'u nien-sung ching* is a translation (T. 39: 808b). However, no mention of this episode is made in any other primary sources relating to Vajrabodhi, and its historicity is suspect (Matsunaga 1973: 151–152). Equally debatable is whether or not there actually existed an extended version of the *Chin-kang-ting ching* in 100,000 verses even in Amoghavajra's time, notwithstanding the fact that in his final memorial to the throne, dated the day of his death, Amoghavajra again refers to the “one hundred thousand verses of the *Adamantine Pinnacle Yoga*” that he had previously acquired (T. 52: 846b15–16). Orthodox Shingon scholars have generally argued for the existence of such a work, but the results of recent scholarship have tended to invalidate any such thesis; a succinct summary of the arguments for and against the existence of a 100,000-verse *Chin-kang-ting ching* may be found in Matsunaga 1980: 187–191.

This does not mean to say, however, that the tradition of an eighteen-assembly corpus (also alluded to elsewhere by Amoghavajra [e.g., T. 18: 899c7; T. 20: 535b8; T. 52: 844a25]) was a complete fabrication on the part of Amoghavajra. At this point it may be helpful to summarize the fruits of recent research on the eighteen assemblies in the form of a table listing the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese works thought to be related in varying degrees to each of the eighteen assemblies (cf. Tanaka 1987: 267; for more details, see the corresponding sections of the translation below). It should be stressed at the outset that this table is only meant to indicate possible or probable links between the eighteen assemblies and extant works, and it is not my intention to imply that these works necessarily *correspond* to the eighteen assemblies in a literal sense. (The Sanskrit titles are for the most part based on the Tibetan translations, and at present the Sanskrit texts of only the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and *Guhyasamāja-tantra* are readily accessible; parentheses indicate partial translations or closely related

texts.)

Assembly	Sanskrit	Tibetan	Chinese
1st	<i>Sarvatathāgatātattva- saṅgraha</i>	P. No. 112	T. Nos. 882 (865)
2nd	<i>Vajrasekhara-tantra</i>	P. No. 113	(T. Nos. 908, 909)
3rd	<i>Vajrasekhara-tantra</i>	P. No. 113	
4th	<i>Trailokyavijaya</i>	P. No. 115	(T. Nos. 1040, 1171)
5th	<i>Laukikalokottarava- jra-tantra?</i>		
6th	<i>Śrīparamādya</i>	P. No. 119	T. No. 244
7th	<i>Śrīparamādya</i>	P. No. 120	(T. No. 1121?)
8th	<i>Śrīparamādya</i>	P. No. 120	T. Nos. 244 (1119, 1120A, 1123?)
9th	<i>Samāyoga-tantra</i>	(P. Nos. 8, 9; 376)	(T. No. 1051)
10th			
11th			T. No. 868?
12th			
13th	<i>Mahāsamaya-tantra</i>		T. Nos. 883 (1004)
14th			
15th	<i>Guhyasamāja-tantra</i>	P. No. 81	T. No. 885
16th	<i>Advayasamatāvijaya</i>	P. No. 87	T. No. 887
17th			
18th			

Amoghavajra's description of the first of these eighteen assemblies, the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṅgraha*, accounts for approximately half of the entire text of the *Indications*. Amoghavajra himself translated only the first

chapter of Part 1 of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* (T. No. 865),⁴ but it is evident from both his translation and his synopsis that his Sanskrit text was similar to that extant today (with the possible exception of the *Uttara-tantra* and *Uttarottara-tantra*). By comparison, his summaries of the 2nd to 18th Assemblies are very brief, and whereas the 1st Assembly is termed a **kalparāja* (*chiao-wang* 教王), the names of the remaining seventeen assemblies all end in *-yoga* (*yü-ch'ieh* 瑜伽). This would suggest that at the time of Amoghavajra there were circulating a large number of ritual manuals associated with what might be called the *Vajrasekhara* cycle, centred on the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, and that some of these later evolved into works evidencing a certain affinity with Amoghavajra's eighteen assemblies in the manner indicated in the above table.

Moreover, as has been pointed out by Tanaka (1984: 67–70; 1987: 268), the order in which Amoghavajra has arranged the eighteen assemblies is by no means random, but reflects a certain logical progression. That is to say, the 1st to 4th (and maybe 5th) Assemblies belong to the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* cycle, the 6th to 9th Assemblies to the *Śrīparamādyā* cycle, and the 15th and 16th Assemblies to the *Guhyasamāja* cycle, with in each case the *mūla-tantra* being followed by one or more explanatory *tantras*; judging from their content, the 10th to 14th Assemblies are also probably interrelated, and the description of the 17th Assembly suggests links with the work thought to correspond to the 16th Assembly. Assuming that the *Indications* was composed or compiled, rather than translated, by Amoghavajra, it could perhaps be argued that this apparently calculated arrangement reflects the imposition by Amoghavajra of a certain logic upon a body of loosely connected texts circulating at the time. But it is just as likely that there did exist some sort of tradition that considered these eighteen assemblies to form a single integrated corpus.

4. I have prepared and submitted a translation of T. No. 865 for inclusion in the BDK English Tripiṭaka being published by the Bukkyō Dendo Kyōkai 仏教伝道協会 and Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, but the planned date of publication is unknown.

In this regard it is to be noted that a tradition concerning a body of eighteen scriptures is known to have been current in India at the time of Jñānamitra (fl. late 8th cent.), for in the preface to his *Āryaprajñāpāramitānayaśatapañcāśatikā-ṭīkā* (P. No. 3471) he refers to “eighteen great sections” (*sde chen po bco brgyad*; rGyud-'grel Gu 295a5) headed by the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* (= *Samāyoga-tantra*) and also including the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and *Śrīparamādya*, all three of which also figure in Amoghavajra's eighteen assemblies (cf. Togano 1930: 37–38; Fukuda 1987: 22–23, 149–150, 486–490). Togano in fact identifies the “eighteen great sections” alluded to by Jñānamitra with Amoghavajra's eighteen assemblies. But in view of the fact that the tradition of eighteen scriptures to which Jñānamitra bears witness seems to have been headed by the *Samāyoga-tantra*, it is now considered to be related rather to the eighteen Mahāyoga Tantras transmitted by the rNying-ma-pa school in Tibet, which similarly begin with the *Samāyoga-tantra* (cf. Fukuda 1987: 23, 487–488; Matsunaga 1980: 206; Eastman 1981). The only works common to both the eighteen Mahāyoga Tantras and Amoghavajra's eighteen assemblies appear to be the above-mentioned *Samāyoga-tantra*, *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and *Śrīparamādya*.

To sum up, we may conclude that although it is highly improbable that there actually existed a *Chin-kang-ting ching* consisting of literally 100,000 verses as claimed by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, it is quite conceivable that there was current a tradition concerning a scriptural corpus of the same name and composed of eighteen individual works. The *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, the foremost work in this corpus, is thought to have already reached by the time of Amoghavajra a stage of textual development close to the existing Sanskrit text, while the remaining seventeen works would probably have been little more than ritual manuals (although Amoghavajra's summaries of some of the assemblies suggest a more advanced stage of development), and some of these may have later developed into the works that are today believed to evidence parallels with certain of Amoghavajra's eighteen assemblies.

Lastly, a few explanatory comments on the translation and notes may be in order. For the convenience of the reader, I have reproduced the Chinese text as given in Volume 18 of the Taishō edition (together with the footnotes but with some minor changes in punctuation),⁵ and this I have divided into sections, with the notes immediately following the translation of each section. (The page and register of the Taishō edition are added in brackets in both the Chinese text and English translation, e.g., [285a].) In the translation of the 1st Assembly, I have used the section numbers given in Horiuchi Kanjin 堀内寛仁's edition of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* when indicating probable correspondences with the Sanskrit text, and I make no apology for having used Horiuchi's edition rather than that of Isshi Yamada or Lokesh Chandra, for it is far superior to either of these in its attention to detail and deserves, I believe, wider recognition outside of Japan.

As will be obvious from the notes, I have relied heavily on the research of Japanese scholars, especially that of Sakai Shinten (Shirō) 酒井真典 (紫朗), who pioneered efforts to establish links between the eighteen assemblies described in the *Indications* and works in the extant canon, and more recently that of Tanaka Kimiaki 田中公明. I have, however, endeavoured to restrict the content of the notes to matters with a direct bearing on our understanding of the text, and I have therefore refrained from dealing with subjects of a more general nature about which information is readily available elsewhere.

At the same time, it will be noticed that I frequently also cite past Shingon

5. Among the various editions, etc., collated by the editors of the Taishō edition, I have to date been able to check only A (甲) and B (乙) in the facsimile reproduction of the *Sanjūjō sakushi* 三十帖冊子 (Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 [ed.], *Sanjūjō sakushi* [卅帖策子], Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai Zuzōbu 佛書刊行會圖像部, 1915), and an examination of these two texts has revealed that the footnotes to the Taishō edition contain a number of errors. But since these do not affect the received text (and also because it seemed inadvisable to enter into text-critical matters without consulting all the other editions as well), I have not noted these errors in the notes to the text given below.

scholar-monks, in particular Dōhan 道範 (1178–1252), Raiyu 賴瑜 (1226–1304), Gōhō 杲寶 (1306–1362), Yūkai 宥快 (1345–1416) and Donjaku 曇寂 (1674–1742). Owing to obvious historical constraints, their interpretations do not offer much to further our comprehension of the text *per se* when considered in the light of modern scholarship, but they do nevertheless provide some interesting insights as well as serving to place our own efforts in a historical context. Raiyu's *Jūhatte shiki shō* 十八會指歸鈔 appears to be the only commentary devoted exclusively to the *Indications*, but it is not a word-for-word commentary, and only selected passages are taken up for explication. In this respect, Yūkai's *Kongōchō-gyō kaidai shō* 金剛頂經開題鈔 and Donjaku's *Kongōchō-daikyō-gyō shiki* 金剛頂大教王經私記 are perhaps more instructive. In the second part of his *Kongōchō-gyō kaidai* 金剛頂經開題, a short introduction to the *Kongōchō-gyō* or *Chin-kang-ting ching*, Kūkai quotes from the *Indications* in somewhat abridged form the sections on the 2nd to 18th Assemblies (T. 61: 1b1–2a1), and elsewhere in the same work (4c12–5a9) he summarizes the section on the 1st Assembly; Yūkai's above work is the standard commentary on the *Kongōchō-gyō kaidai*, while in Donjaku's work (a commentary on the 30-fasc. Chinese translation of the *Sarvatathāgatata-tvasaṃgraha* [T. No. 882]) the first three and a half fascicles (as far as T. 61: 161c14) are essentially a running commentary on this same *Kongōchō-gyō kaidai*, and the sections in both of these works dealing with those sections in the *Kongōchō-gyō kaidai* where Kūkai quotes from the *Indications* thus constitute subcommentaries on the *Indications*.⁶ To facilitate reference, the relevant sections in these three commentaries by Raiyu, Yūkai and Donjaku are noted at the end of each section of my translation. Very cursory commentaries on the *Indications* are also to be found, for example, in the *Shogiki honjōroku*, etc., cited earlier, but since, at least in the case of the *Indications*, these works generally reflect orthodox views already covered

6. The latter (specifically T. 61: 128a24–136b6) is therefore not strictly speaking “un commentaire perpétuel du *Juhachi-e shiki* [viz. *Indications*]” as stated by Iyanaga (1985: 638, n. 2).

by Dohan *et alia*, I have not quoted them in the notes.⁷

ABBREVIATIONS

- H. Horiuchi 1983.
- JSS Raiyu 賴瑜, *Jūhatte shiki shō* 十八會指歸鈔 (ZSZ 7).
- KDS Donjaku 曇寂, *Kongōchō-daikyō-gyō shiki* 金剛頂大教王經私記 (T. No. 2225).
- KK Kukai 空海, *Kongōchō-gyō kaidai* 金剛頂經開題 (T. No. 2221).
- KKK Dohan 道範, *Kongōchō-gyō kaidai kanchū* 金剛頂經開題勘註 (ZSZ 7).
- KKM Yukai 宥快, *Kongōchō-gyō kaidai mondai* 金剛頂經開題問題 (ZSZ 7).
- KKS Yūkai, *Kongōchō-gyō kaidai shō* 金剛頂經開題鈔 (*Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經 [Tōkyō 東京: Nihon Daizōkyō Hensankai 日本大藏經編纂會, 1919–21], Vol. 16).
- KKY Goho 杲寶, *Kongōchō-gyō kaidai yōgakushō gendanbun* 金剛頂經開題幼學鈔玄談分 (ZSZ 7).
- KSP Yüan-chao 圓照, *Tai-tsung ch'ao tsêng Ssü-k'ung Ta-pien-chêng Kuang-chih San-tsang Ho-shang piao-chih chi* 代宗朝贈司空大辨正廣智三藏和上表制集 (T. No. 2120).
- P. *The Peking Edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka* (Tokyo-Kyoto:

7. In closing this "Introduction," I wish to express my gratitude first to Dr. Yoshimizu Chizuko 吉水千鶴子, who made the initial approach to Dr. Ihara Shoren 伊原照蓮 of the Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies about the possibility of having my translation of the *Indications* published in the Institute's *Journal*, and then to Dr. Ihara himself for having agreed to take the matter up with the Editorial Committee. In addition, Tanaka Kimiaki kindly provided me with a photocopy of the relevant pages of Sakai Shinten's *Ramakyō no tenseki* (a scarce work of which I have yet to see a complete copy) and also answered a number of queries, while Watanabe Shōgo 渡辺章梧 not only sent me a photocopy of Yukai's *Kongōchō-gyō kaidai shō*, but as always also served as a dependable last resort on information about bibliographical details impossible to ascertain here in New Zealand far removed from the centres of Buddhist studies.

- Suzuki Research Foundation, 1955–61).
- SKM** Gōhō, *Sanjikkān kyōōgyō monshidai* 三十卷教王經文次第 (T. No. 2226).
- STTS** *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* (see Horiuchi 1983).
- SZ** *Shingonshū zensho* 眞言宗全書 (Kōyasan 高野山: Shingonshū Zensho Kankōkai 眞言宗全書刊行會, 1933–37).
- T.** *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Tōkyō: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Kankōkai 大正新修大藏經刊行會, 1924–34).
- TIY** Chio-yüan 覺苑, *Ta-jih ching i-shih yen-mi-ch'ao* 大日經義釋演密鈔 (*Dainihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 [Kyōto 京都: Zōkyō Shoin 藏經書院, 1905–12], Case 37: 1–2).
- ZSZ** *Zoku Shingonshū zensho* 續眞言宗全書 (Kōyasan: Zoku Shingonshū Zensho Kankōkai 續眞言宗全書刊行會, 1975–88).

*The *sigla* used in the notes to the Chinese text of the *Indications* are as follows:

- A (甲) *Sanjūjō sakushi* 三十帖冊子 27.
- B (乙) *Ibid.* 20.
- C (丙) Ōbaku 黄蘗 [*sic*] edition.
- D (丁) *Shukusatsu daizōkyō* 縮冊大藏經 version.
- I (宮) Old Sung edition belonging to the Library of the Imperial Household.
- M (明) Ming edition.
- S (宋) Sung edition.
- Y (元) Yüan edition.

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金剛頂經瑜伽¹十八會指歸一卷²

³開府儀同三司特進試鴻臚卿⁴肅國公食邑三千戶賜紫贈司空諡大鑒正號大廣智大興善寺三藏沙門⁵不空奉 詔譯

¹SYMIABCD have 瑜伽經 for 經瑜伽. ²SYMIBC omit 一卷. ³SYCD omit 開府...智; M has 唐 for 開府儀同三司; AB omit 開府儀同三司. ⁴M omits 肅國...寺; AB omit 肅國...智. ⁵SYMIABCD add 大廣智.

*Indications of the Goals of the Eighteen Assemblies
of the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture¹
in One Fascicle*

Respectfully translated on Imperial Mandate by Pu-k'ung,² a Tripiṭaka [Master] and *śramaṇa* of Ta-hsing-shan monastery:³ a Commander with Honorary Rank Equal to That of the Three Dignitaries,⁴ a [Lord] Specially Advanced,⁵ and Probationary Chief Minister of the Court of State Ceremonial,⁶ he was Duke of the region of Su with a fief of three thousand households,⁷ upon whom was [also] bestowed the purple [robe];⁸ he was posthumously appointed a Minister of Works,⁹ posthumously named Ta-chien-chêng,¹⁰ and entitled Ta-kuang-chih.¹¹

1. As is mentioned in my "Introduction," all texts except the base text (Koryō 高麗 edition) have *Chin-kang-ting yü-ch'ieh ching* 金剛頂經瑜伽 ("Adamantine Pinnacle Yoga Scripture") instead of *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch'ieh* 金剛頂經瑜伽 ("Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture"), and it may also be noted that *ching* 經 ("scripture") is omitted altogether in the title given by Amoghavajra himself in the list of his translations submitted to the throne in Ta-li 大曆 6 (771; *KSP* 3: 839b14) and in the title recorded in the *Hsü K'ai-yüan lu* 續開元錄 (T. No. 2156) and *Chên-yüan lu* 貞元錄 (T. No. 2157), two catalogues of the Chinese Buddhist canon completed in 794 and 800 respectively (T. 55: 749a12, 767a14, 772b5, 879b22, 935c11). On the designation *Chin-kang-ting [ching]*, see "Introduction." The Yoga Tantras, of which the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* (*STTS*),

corresponding to Amoghavajra's 1st Assembly, is the *mūla-tantra*, are by definition closely associated with *yoga*, and it will be observed that all eighteen assemblies other than the first are thus characterized. The term *Chin-kang-ting [ching] yü-ch'ieh* appears, moreover, in the titles of many translations ascribed to Amoghavajra and his master Vajrabodhi (e.g., T. Nos. 241, 789, 866, 870, 871, 872, 876, 879, 908, 909, 932, 1056, 1112, 1122, 1125, 1155, 1171, 1175, 1209, 1665).

2. "Pu-k'ung" 不空 is an abbreviation of Pu-k'ung-chin-kang 不空金剛, the Chinese equivalent of "Amoghavajra." As is noted in my "Introduction," it is highly questionable whether this work actually is a translation, and it is more likely that it was composed or compiled by Amoghavajra. An identical or abridged enumeration of Amoghavajra's official titles follows the scriptural title in the majority of translations attributed to him, and an English translation of that appearing in T. No. 1665 may be found in Kiyota 1982: 80, but my interpretation differs somewhat from that of Kiyota. See also, e.g., the section on "Interpreting the Translator's Titles" (釋譯號) in Donjaku's commentary (*KDS* 4: 161c15–162a20).

3. Ta-hsing-shan ssū 大興善寺. A large monastery in Ch'ang-an 長安 founded by Emperor Wên 文帝 of the Sui 隋 in K'ai-huang 開皇 2 (582). Amoghavajra took up residence here in the 5th month of Chih-tê 至德 1 (756) after having been summoned back to the court at Ch'ang-an from Hsü-hsi 河西 upon the outbreak of the An Lu-shan 安祿山 rebellion in late 755, and he remained here for most of the rest of his life, turning it into a major centre of Esoteric Buddhism.

4. *K'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssü* 開府儀同三司. Translated by Hucker (1985: 3105) as "Commander Unequaled in Honor." This title was bestowed on Amoghavajra by the emperor Tai-tsung 代宗 on the 11th of the 6th month, Ta-li 9 (774), four days before Amoghavajra's death; see *KSP* 4: 845c–846b.

5. *T'ê-chin* 特進. Cf. Hucker: 6335. This supplementary title was bestowed on Amoghavajra by Tai-tsung on the 1st of the 11th month, Yung-t'ai 永泰 1 (765); see *KSP* 1: 832c–833a.

6. *Shih hung-lu ch'ing* 試鴻臚卿. Cf. Hucker: 5204, 2905. This title was

granted together with that of Lord Specially Advanced; see n. 5.

7. This title was granted together with that of Commander with Honorary Rank Equal to That of the Three Dignitaries; see n. 4. According to Chou (1945: 300, n. 82). “[t]he name Su was chosen because Amoghavajra visited Kansu in his early years and that part of the country came to be regarded as his native place.”

8. According to the biography of Amoghavajra by his disciple Chao Ch'ien 趙遷 (T. No. 2056) and the epitaph by Fei Hsi 飛錫 (contained in *KSP* 4), Amoghavajra was presented by the emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 with a purple robe and 200 bolts of silk in either T'ien-pao 天寶 5 (746) or 6 in reward for having caused rain to fall during a drought shortly after his return from Sri Lanka and India (T. 50: 293a21–24, T. 52: 848c20–23; cf. Chou: 292). But Matsunaga (1973: 172) points out that there is no record in the official histories of any drought in 746, and he suggests that this episode was fabricated by Amoghavajra's biographers in order to emphasize his thaumaturgical activities in the imperial court.

9. *Ssü-k'ung* 司空; cf. Hucker: 5687 (“a title of great prestige from high antiquity”). It was bestowed posthumously on Amoghavajra by Tai-tsung on the 5th of the 7th month, Ta-li 9 (774), about three weeks after his death; see *KSP* 4: 848ab.

10. Amoghavajra's posthumous title was Ta-pien-chêng 大辨正 (also written 大辯正), and it was granted together with the rank of Minister of Works (see n. 9), but in his translations it is generally given as Ta-chien-chêng 大鑒 (/鑑監) 正; the exceptions are T. Nos. 1042, 1067, 1134A and 1134B, which have Ta-pien-chêng, and T. No. 243, which has Ta-chêng-chien 大正監. This latter Ta-chêng-chien is interpreted by Miyasaka (1986: 111) as an official title, but it should probably be regarded as a scribal or typographical error for Ta-chien-chêng. The reason for two recorded forms of Amoghavajra's posthumous title (Ta-pien-chêng and Ta-chien-chêng) is unclear, and I have yet to come across any mention of this anomaly in the relevant literature.

11. Ta-kuang-chih 大廣智. This honorary name (“Great and Extensive

Wisdom") was conferred together with the titles of Lord Specially Advanced and Probationary Chief Minister of the Court of State Ceremonial; see n. 5.

金剛頂經瑜伽¹有十萬偈十八會。

¹ICD have 瑜伽經 for 經瑜伽。

The *Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture* has one hundred thousand verses and eighteen assemblies.¹² [JSS: 1a]

12. The section to the end of [I] [1] (corresponding to Part 1 of the *STTS*) is translated in Tajima 1959: 146–147. On issues relating to the “one hundred thousand verses” and “eighteen assemblies,” see “Introduction.”

初會名一切如來真實攝教王。有四大品。一名金剛界。二名降三世。三名遍調伏。四名一切義成就。表四智印。

[I] The First Assembly is called *King of Teachings: Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas*¹³ and consists of four main parts: (1) “Adamantine Realm,” (2) “Victory over the Three Worlds,” (3) “Universal Subjugation” and (4) “Accomplishment of All Objectives.” These represent the four knowledge-seals.¹⁴ [JSS: 1b; KKS 9: 105b; KDS 3: 152b10–153b9]

13. **Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* [nāma] *kalparāja*. The title given in the Sanskrit text is simply *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, while each of the four main parts is termed a ‘*mahākalparāja*’. Amoghavajra’s own translation of this work (T. No. 865) corresponds to only the first chapter of Part 1, and a complete Chinese translation appeared only in 1015 (T. No. 882).

14. This presumably means that the four parts of the *STTS* and the four knowledge-seals (*jñāna-mudrā*; here synonymous with the four seals, i.e., *mahā-mudrā*, *samaya-mudrā*, *dharma-mudrā* and *karma-mudrā*) corres-

pond in the given order (cf. Lessing and Wayman 1968: 225). In a parallel passage in one of his introductions to the *STTS*, however, Kūkai lists the four seals in the order *mahā*, *karma*, *dharma* and *samaya* (*KK*: 2a17), and although Yūkai attempts to rationalize this ordering (*KKS* 3: 50b17–51a16), Donjaku speculates that it is probably a scribal error for the standard order (*KDS* 2: 136c1). (Iyanaga [1985: 659–660] translates the opening section of our text as far as here.)

於初品中有六曼茶¹羅。所謂金剛界大曼茶羅。并說毘盧遮那佛受用身。以五相現成等正覺²五相者³所謂通達本心修菩提心成金成佛後。以金剛三摩地。現發生三十七智。廣說曼茶羅儀則。爲弟子受速證菩薩地佛地⁴法。

¹Here and below SYMIABCD have 茶 for 荼. ²A omits 五相. . . .五智通達.
³B omits 者. ⁴SYMIABCD omit 佛地.

[1] [H. 1–617]¹⁵ In Part 1 there are six *maṇḍalas*.¹⁶

(i) [H. 1–318]¹⁷ [The first is] namely the Great Maṇḍala of the Adamantine Realm.¹⁸ It is also explained how the enjoyment-body of the Buddha Vairocana¹⁹ realized perfect enlightenment in five phases (H. 17.2–33).²⁰ (The five phases are ‘penetration of one’s original mind’, ‘cultivation of the *bodhi*-mind’, ‘accomplishment of the adamantine mind’, ‘realization of the adamantine body’ and ‘consummation of the Buddha-body’; these represent mastery of the five knowledges.)²¹ After having attained Buddhahood, [Vairocana] generated the thirty-seven knowledges by means of adamantine *samādhi* (H. 34–190)²² and explained extensively the ritual rules for the *maṇḍala* (H. 202–234)²³ and how to confer upon the disciple methods for the speedy realization of the stages of a bodhisattva and the stage of a Buddha (H. 235–249/298).²⁴ [*JSS*: 2ab; *KKS* 9: 105b–107b; *KDS* 3: 153b9–22]

15. In the *STTS* Part 1 is called *Sarvatathāgatamahāyānābhīsamayo nāma mahākālpārāja*. The standard Sino-Japanese designation “Adamantine Realm” (金剛界: *Vajradhātu*) presumably derives from the title of

Chap. 1, i.e., *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara*, but as is pointed out by Horiuchi (H. 617), the analogous designation *rDo rje dbyings kyi dum bu* (**Vajradhātu-khaṇḍa*) is already used by Ānandagarbha to refer to Part 1 as a whole.

16. Strictly speaking, this should be “six types of *maṇḍalas*” (i.e., *mahā-, samaya-, dharma-, karma-, caturmudrā-* and *ekamudrā-maṇḍala*), and there are in fact ten *maṇḍalas* described in Part 1 if one includes all five *caturmudrā-maṇḍalas* (cf. n. 42; Horiuchi 1969: 115–114).

17. Chap. 1: *Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara*.

18. *Vajradhātu-mahā-maṇḍala*. ‘*Mahā-maṇḍala*’ is a taxonomical designation (cf. n. 16), while ‘*Vajradhātu*’ is the specific name of the *mahā-maṇḍala* described in Chap. 1. (It is therefore incorrect to speak of a ‘Great *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*’ or ‘Mahā-*Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*’, as does Snellgrove [1981: 11, 13, etc.].) It is the *maṇḍala* par excellence of the *STTS*, constituting the prototype of all the other *maṇḍalas* subsequently described in the *STTS*, and it corresponds to the central *Jōjin-e/ Jōjin-ne* 成身會 or “Assembly of the Attainment of the [Buddha’s] Body” in the *Kue-mandara* 九會曼荼羅 (“Nine-Assembly *Maṇḍala*”), which is the standard form assumed by the *STTS* cycle of *maṇḍalas* in Japan.

19. In the *STTS* it is the bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi (whose name is obviously a variation of ‘Siddhartha’, Śākyamuni’s name prior to his enlightenment) who realizes “perfect enlightenment in five phases,” but after his enlightenment he is referred to first as the Tathāgata *Vajradhātu* (H. 30), then as the Tathāgata Śākyamuni (H. 33), and then as the Tathāgata *Vairocana* (H. 34). The ontological status of Sarvārthasiddhi is the subject of much discussion by the commentators and is closely linked to the question of the location of the site of his enlightenment, but the reference here to the “enjoyment-body (*sambhoga-kāya*) of the Buddha *Vairocana*” would imply that Sarvārthasiddhi attained enlightenment in the Akaniṣṭha Heaven (“...where according to Mahāyāna tradition [say, the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*], Gautama was initiated as a Complete Buddha with the body called *Sambhoga-kāya*” [Wayman 1973: 91]), as is in fact maintained

by, e.g., Śākyamitra and Ānandagarbha (although their reasoning differs; cf. Lessing and Wayman 1968: 26–29). We may note in this connection that All the Tathāgatas manifest themselves to Sarvārthasiddhi “with their enjoyment-bodies (*sāmbhogikaiḥ kāyair...*[H. 18]),” and it is also worth noting that in the Preface to T. No. 870 (translated by Amoghavajra), a distinction is made between the transformation-body (*nirmāṇa-kāya*) of the Tathāgata that attained enlightenment “at the *bodhi*-site (*bodhimāṇḍa*) in the land of Magadha in Jambūdvīpa” and the enjoyment- or recompense-body of Vairocana that attained enlightenment “in the fourth [stage of] meditation in the palace of the Akaniṣṭha Heaven at the summit of the realm of form” (T. 18: 288a), while the main part of the same work begins as follows: “At that time the Buddha Vajradhātu-Vairocana was in the palace of the Akaniṣṭha Heaven at the summit of the realm of form and had as an enjoyment-body attained perfect enlightenment for the first time,...” (288b7–8). See also n. 156.

20. These “five phases” constitute what is traditionally known in Japan as the *gosō-jōshin-gan* 五相成身觀 or “visualization for attaining the body [of a Buddha] in five phases”; the corresponding Sanskrit term (which does not appear in the *STTS*) is *pañcākārābhīśambodhi-krama*, although evidence for the term *pañcābhīśambodhi* used by Todaro (1987) may be found in Tibetan translations of Indian commentaries (e.g., *mngon par byang chub pa lnga* [**pañcābhīśambodhi*] and *lnga mngon par byang chub pa'i rim pa* [**pañcābhīśambodhi-krama*] used by Padmavajra in his *Tantrārthavātārvyākhyāna* [P. No. 3325; rGyud-'grel Dsi 118a4; 195b2, 196a3]). This five-stage process of realization corresponds to the *ādīyoga-nāma-samādhi*, the first of the three *samādhis* characteristic of the Yoga Tantras. Wayman reconstructs the Sanskrit equivalent of the corresponding Tibetan as *prathama-prayoga-nāma-samādhi* (Lessing and Wayman 1968: 223, n. 19; cf. Wayman 1977: 160), but the term *ādīyoga* [*nāma samādhi*] appears, e.g., in the *Sarvavajrodāya* (Mikkyō Seiten Kenkyūkai 1987: 289, §33) and *Sarvadūrgatiparīśodhana-tantra* (Skorupski 1983: 160.13). English translations of the corresponding section of the *STTS* (or portions thereof) may be

found in Snellgrove 1981: 15–16, 1987: 240–242; Todaro 1987: 145–143; and Tsuda 1978: 198–203.

21. The names given for each of these five phases or stages in different texts and by various commentators are by no means uniform, nor is the order in which the five knowledges are allocated to these five stages (see, e.g., Lessing and Wayman 1968: 28–35).

22. This corresponds to the *maṇḍalarājāgrī-nāma-samādhi*, the second of the three *samādhis* characteristic of the Yoga Tantras. Wayman reconstructs the Sanskrit equivalent of the corresponding Tibetan as *vijaya-maṇḍala-nāma-samādhi* (Lessing and Wayman 1968: 223, n. 19; cf. Wayman 1977: 160), but the term *maṇḍalarājāgrī* [*nāma samādhi*] appears, e.g., in the *Sarvavajrodaya* (Mikkyō Seiten Kenkyūkai 1986: 243, §10; 1987: 289, §33) and *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra* (Skorupski 1983: 170.19). Strictly speaking, according to the *STTS* Vairocana generates only twenty-four deities (Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, Four Inner Offering Goddesses and Four Gatekeepers); Four Pāramitās and Four Outer Offering Goddesses are generated by the Four Tathāgatas/Buddhas (Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Lokeśvararāja/Amitāyus and Amoghasiddhi), and these thirty-six deities together with Vairocana constitute the thirty-seven central deities of the *Vajradhātu-mahā-maṇḍala*, here referred to as the “thirty-seven knowledges.” But in the aforementioned T. No. 870, for example, which is primarily concerned with this epiphany of thirty-seven deities, it is Vairocana who generates all the other deities. The names of the *samādhis* into which Vairocana and the Four Tathāgatas enter when producing this epiphany of deities end in *-vajra* (or *-vajrādhiṣṭhāna* in the case of the Four Pāramitās); hence the reference to “adamantine *samādhi*.” An abridged translation of the section on the epiphany of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas appears in Snellgrove 1981: 17–24.

23. The section on the construction of the *maṇḍala* (H. 203-4)–209-25)) is translated in Snellgrove 1987: 215–217, while the following sections on the qualifications of the initiand (H. 210–213) and on the actual initiation rite

(H. 214–234) are also translated in Snellgrove 1987: 145 and 217–220. 24. This presumably corresponds in the *STTS* to the methods for obtaining various kinds of success (*siddhi*; H. 235–249; cf. Snellgrove 1981: 33 [=H. 238–239]) and also perhaps to knowledge of the four seals (*catur-mudrā-jñāna*; H. 250–298; cf. Snellgrove 1981: 33–34 [=H. 256-2–262]). I read the character 受 (“receive”) here and often below in the sense of 授 (“confer”). As noted above, all texts except the base text omit 佛地 (“stage of a Buddha”).

第二說陀羅尼曼荼羅。具三十七。此中聖衆。皆住波羅蜜形。廣說入曼荼羅儀軌。爲弟子受四種眼。說敬愛鉤召降伏息災等儀軌。

(ii) [H. 319–417]²⁵ Secondly is explained the Dhāraṇī Maṇḍala,²⁶ which comprises thirty-seven [deities].²⁷ The divine hosts in this [*maṇḍala*] all abide in the *pāramitā* form.²⁸ Explained extensively are the ritual rules for entry into the *maṇḍala* (H. 356–358); the disciple is conferred the four kinds of gazes (H. 365–370),²⁹ and the ritual rules for enrapturement, hook-summoning, subjugation and pacification are [also] explained (H. 359–388).³⁰ [*JSS*: 2b–3a; *KKS* 9: 107b–108a; *KDS* 3: 153b22–154a19]

25. Chap. 2: *Vajraguhyavajramanḍala-vidhivistara*.

26. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Vajra-guhya-maṇḍala* or *Vajra-guhya-vajra-maṇḍala*, and it corresponds to the *Sanmaya-e* 三昧耶會 or “Samaya Assembly” of the *Kue-mandara* in which the deities are represented by objects symbolizing their respective vows or functions (*samaya*); ‘*vajra-maṇḍala*’ is a taxonomical designation synonymous with *samaya-maṇḍala*. In regard to the use of the designation *dhāraṇī-maṇḍala* instead of *samaya-maṇḍala*, Tajima (1959: 197) explains that there is no contradiction “puisque le mot *dhāraṇī* signifie “tenir, contenir, garder”, et qu’il représente en effet le *samaya* qui contient le voeu ou les mérites des divinités,” while Togano, noting that the objects symbolizing the different deities are considered to represent the Buddha’s “mystery of

the mind," states that in the *STTS* this "mystery of the mind" is termed *dhāraṇī* in the sense of "to retain" because the mind of the Buddha encompasses various merits and faculties (1927: 263–264; cf. Horiuchi 1969: 107). In this connection we may note that the names of the *samādhis* into which Bhagavat (*viz.* Vairocana) enters at the start of each of the five chapters (2, 7, 12, 16 and 20) describing a *samaya-maṇḍala* contain the term *dhāraṇī-samaya-sambhava* (H. 320, 991, 1333, 1613, 1962), and in the case of Chap. 12 the Tibetan equivalent of the chapter title has *vajra-dhāraṇī-maṇḍala* instead of the *vajra-maṇḍala* of the Sanskrit and Chinese (H. 1371, n. 1), while in the *Wu-pu hsin-kuan* 五部心觀 (T. Nos. 2974–2976) we find "*vajra-dhātau guhya-dhāraṇī-maṇḍalaṃ*" (Hatta 1981: 71) for the name of the *maṇḍala* described in Chap. 2. It may also be noted, for instance, that in his *Tattvālokakārī* (P. No. 3333) Ānandagarbha frequently uses the term *dhāraṇī-maṇḍala* (*gzungs kyi dkyil 'khor*) in the sense of *samaya-maṇḍala* (*dam tshig gi dkyil 'khor*), a usage that is mirrored by mKhas-grub-rje (Lessing and Wayman 1968: 225). But at the same time it should also be pointed out that in the present instance a number of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas (in this case goddesses; see n. 28) do in fact represent deifications of popular *dhāraṇīs* (e.g., Ratnolkā, Dhvajāgrakeyurā [H. 332] and Sahasrāvartā [H. 334]), and the use of the term *dhāraṇī-maṇḍala* could simply be an indication of the fact that this *maṇḍala* reflects the incorporation of various popular *dhāraṇīs* into the *STTS* cycle (cf. Tanaka 1987: 90).

27. In the case of this *maṇḍala* and subsequent *maṇḍalas* the *STTS* does not necessarily mention all thirty-seven deities noted by Amoghavajra, but it is to be understood from the commentaries that they do in fact comprise thirty-seven central deities.

28. I.e., female form. The deities in this *maṇḍala* (and in the four subsequent *samaya-maṇḍalas*) do indeed all have feminine names, and although they should, properly speaking, be represented by their respective insignia or symbols ([*samaya*]-*mudrā*/*cihna-mudrā*), in the *Wu-pu hsin-kuan*, for example, they are depicted in female form and holding their respective

symbols. In this connection one may quote the following *udāna* appearing in the opening section of this chapter (also quoted by Donjaku [KDS 3: 153c11–13]):

aho hi bodhicittasya sarvasatvahiṣitā/

yad vineyavaśād vīrāḥ strirūpam api kurvate// (H. 322)

Raiyu (JSS: 2b10–17) thus clearly errs when, citing Kūkai's *Kongō-hannya-haramitsu-kyō kaidai* 金剛般若波羅蜜經開題 (T. 57: 2c14–17), he identifies “*pāramitā*-form” in the present context with *samaya*-(body) (*sanmayā[-shin]*) 三昧耶[身]; similar interpretations are also given by, e.g., Dōhan (KKK: 14a17–b3) and Yūkai (KKS 9: 107b9–108a7).

29. *Ssū-chung yen* 四種眼 (lit., “four kinds of eyes”). They presumably correspond to the ‘adamantine gaze’ (*vajra-dṛṣṭi*), ‘blazing gaze’ (*dīpta-dṛṣṭi*), ‘angry gaze’ (*krodha-dṛṣṭi*) and ‘friendly gaze’ (*maitrī-dṛṣṭi*) that constitute the ‘seal-knowledge of the adamantine secret gazes’ (*vajraguhya-dṛṣṭi-mudrā-jñāna*; H. 365–370), one of the five kinds of ‘seal-knowledge’ explained in this chapter. These four gazes are used with the four acts of enrapturement, hook-summoning, subjugation and pacification respectively; cf. H. 383–388. Similar references to ‘four gazes’ appear in the *Lüeh-ch’u nien-sung ching* 1 (T. 18: 225c–226a), *Tou-pu t’o-lo-ni mu* 都部陀羅尼目 (T. 18: 899a) and *Pu-k’ung chüan-so shên-pien chên-yen ching* 不空羂索神變真言經 9 (T. 20: 274ab) (cf. KDS 3: 154a13–18). The corresponding Sanskrit term *catur-dṛṣṭi* appears in the *Hevajra-tantra* I.xi.6 (Snellgrove 1959, 2: 40), but the four rites with which they are used differ.

30. The four sections into which each of the five kinds of ‘seal-knowledge’ explained in this chapter are divided (H. 359–388) describe different methods of enrapturement (敬愛: *vaśikaraṇa*), hook-summoning (鈎召: *ākaraṇa*; viz. attraction), subjugation (降伏: *abhicārika*; in the *STTS* ‘slaying’) and pacification (息災: *sāntika*; in the *STTS* ‘protection’) respectively. In a more common fourfold Sino-Japanese classification of magical rites enrapturement and hook-summoning are combined and ‘increasing prosperity’ (增益: *pauṣṭika*) is added.

第三說微細金剛曼荼羅。亦具三十七。聖衆〔285a〕於金剛杵中盡。各持定印。廣說入曼荼羅儀軌。爲弟子令心堪任。令心調柔。令心自在。說微細金剛三摩地。修四靜慮法。修四無量心及三解脫門。

(iii) [H. 418–492]³¹ Thirdly is explained the Subtle Vajra Maṇḍala,³² which also comprises thirty-seven [deities]. The divine hosts [285a] are drawn within a *vajra*-pestle³³ and each maintains the concentration seal.³⁴ Explained extensively are the ritual rules for entry into the *maṇḍala* (H. 452), and [in order to] render the disciple's mind workable, render his mind pliant and render his mind free, it explains the *samādhi* of the subtle *vajra*, [whereby] one cultivates the four methods of quiet contemplation and cultivates the four infinite thoughts and three gates to liberation.³⁵ [JSS: 3ab; KKS 9: 108a–109b; KDS 3: 154a19–c26]

31. Chap. 3: *Vajrajñānadharmamaṇḍala-vidhivistara*.

32. **Sūkṣma-vajra-maṇḍala*. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Vajra-sūkṣma-jñāna-maṇḍala* or, in view of the fact that taxonomically speaking it is a *dharma-maṇḍala*, *Vajra-sūkṣma-dharma-maṇḍala* or *Vajra-jñāna-dharma-maṇḍala* (both abbreviations of *Vajra-sūkṣma-jñāna-dharma-maṇḍala*); it corresponds to the *Misai-e* 微細會 or “Subtle Assembly” of the *Kue-mandara*. ‘*Sūkṣma-vajra*’ is, however, a key term in this chapter: it signifies specifically a *vajra* (according to Ānandagarbha, “a five-pronged *vajra* the size of a grain of barley and white in colour” [rGyud-'grel Zi 215b2]) symbolizing ‘subtle knowledge’ (*sūkṣma-jñāna*; cf. H. 424–432), and by extension a meditation technique in which this ‘subtle *vajra*’ is visualized (cf. n. 35).

33. Cf. “*vajramadhye likhed buddham buddhamāṇḍalakeṣv api*” (H. 450). This is graphically represented in the *Misai-e* of the *Kue-mandara* by depicting each deity backed by a *vajra*.

34. Cf. “*mahāsatvāḥ...samādhito niṣaṇṇās tu vajrabandhakaradvayā iti*” (H. 451). This instruction is reflected in the *Wu-pu hsün-kuan*, which depicts the deities of this *maṇḍala* (except Vairocana) with both hands clasped in

the 'vajra-bind' (*vajra-bandha*).

35. The *STTS* describes four kinds of '(seal-)knowledge' (H. 453–481; cf. Snellgrove 1981: 37 [=H. 475–481]), but the only direct correspondence is with the "four infinite thoughts" (四無量心: *catvāry apramāṇāni* ["four infinitudes"]) of friendliness (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*), joy (*muditā*) and equanimity (*upekṣā*) (H. 459–463). Three of the four kinds of 'seal-knowledge' do, however, involve visualization of the 'subtle vajra' (see n. 32), which in turn involves the expansion (*spharaṇa*) and contraction (*saṃharaṇa*) of the object of visualization, and the reference to making the disciple's mind "workable," "pliant" and "free" could be related to this (cf. [4] (iii)). "Quiet contemplation" (靜慮) is the standard translation for *dhyaṇa* (with "four methods of quiet contemplation" corresponding to *caturdhyaṇal dhyāna-catuṣṭaya*), while the "three gates to liberation" (三解脱門: *trīṇi vimokṣa-mukhāni*), also know as the "three *saṃādhis*" (三三昧), usually refer to 'emptiness' (*śūnyatā*), 'signlessness' (*ānimitta*) and 'purposelessness' (*apraṇihita*).

第四說一切如來廣大供養羯磨曼茶羅。亦具三十七。彼中聖衆。各持本幟¹幟。供養而住。廣說入曼茶羅法。爲²弟子³說受十六大供養法。⁴說四種祕密供養法。

¹SAB have 標 for 幟. ²SYMICD omit 爲. ³AB have 互 for 爲弟子. ⁴SY MIABC omit 說...法.

(iv) [H. 493–561]³⁶ Fourthly is explained the Karma Maṇḍala of Extensive Offerings to All the Tathāgatas,³⁷ which also comprises thirty-seven [deities]. The divine hosts in this [*maṇḍala*] each hold their own insignia³⁸ and abide in making offerings. Explained extensively is the rite of entry into the *maṇḍala* (H. 521–524); for the disciple the conferment of the rite of the sixteen major offerings³⁹ is explained, and the rite of the four kinds of secret offerings is [also] explained (H. 549–554).⁴⁰ [*JSS*: 3b–4a; *KKS* 9: 109b–110a; *KDS* 3: 154c26–155a5]

36. Chap. 4: *Vajrakāryakarmamaṇḍala-vidhivistara*.

37. **Sarva-tathāgata-pūjā[-vidhi]-vistara-karma-maṇḍala*? In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Vajra-kārya-karma-maṇḍala*. It corresponds to the *Kuyō-e* 供養會 or “Offering Assembly” of the *Kue-mandara*. What I have provisionally translated as the name of the *maṇḍala* could equally well be translated as “Karma Maṇḍala for making extensive offerings to All the Tathāgatas.” Tajima (1959: 147) reconstructs the corresponding Sanskrit as ‘*Sarvatathāgatavistarapūjākarma-maṇḍala*’, but the phrase ‘*sarva-tathāgata-pūjā[-vidhi]-vistara*’ appears in the name of the *samādhi* into which Vairocana enters when generating the sixteen offering goddesses whereby the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas manifest themselves in this *maṇḍala* (H. 499).

38. Cf. “*samudrādevatā likhed*” (H. 520). In the *Kuyō-e* of the *Kue-mandara* the deities are depicted holding up in offering a lotus flower bearing their respective insignia.

39. The corresponding term in the *STTS* is *ṣoḍaśa-pūjā* (H. 523), and according to Ānandagarbha (rGyud-'grel Zi 239b3-4) they appear to refer specifically to the *mantras* of the sixteen offering goddesses (H. 506-517), although judging from the context of this reference to “sixteen major offerings” by Amoghavajra it is equally possible that he is here referring to sixteen subsequent rites comprising four kinds of ‘seal-knowledge’ (H. 525-548); the second of these four sets of rites is translated in Snellgrove 1981: 37-38 (=H. 531-535).

40. As noted above, several texts omit this final clause (說四種祕密供養法), as does Tajima in his translation (1959: 147). The section on “secret offerings” (*rahasya-pūjā*) is translated in Snellgrove 1987: 267.

第五說四印曼荼羅法。¹弟子受四種速成就法²。以此曼荼羅。求悉地成就。像³如上四曼荼羅中⁴所求悉地。於此像前求成就。

¹C adds 爲. ²SYMICD omit 法. ³D omits 像. ⁴A omits 中.

(v) [H. 562-596]⁴¹ Fifthly the rites for the Four-Seal Maṇḍala⁴² are

explained. The disciple is conferred the four kinds of rites for speedy accomplishment (H. 577–585?). By means of this *maṇḍala* one seeks the accomplishment of *siddhi*; one seeks the accomplishment of the *siddhi* sought in the above four *maṇḍalas* in front of this image (cf. H. 586–590).⁴³ [JSS: 4a–5a; KKS 9: 110a; KDS 3: 155a6–b9]

41. This constitutes the first part of Chap. 5, which has no title in the *STTS*.
 42. *Caturmudrā-maṇḍala*. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Vajra-siddhi*; *caturmudrā-maṇḍala* is a taxonomical designation on a par with *mahā-maṇḍala*, etc. It corresponds to the *Shiin-el Shiin-ne* 四印會 or “Four-Seal Assembly” of the *Kue-mandara*. According to the *STTS* (and Ānandarāya [rGyud-'grel Zi 31b7–8]), there are five versions of this *caturmudrā-maṇḍala*, i.e., one for each of the Five Buddhas (cf. H. 592); ‘*Vajra-siddhi*’ is the name of that centred on Vairocana. The section on the initiation rite (H. 572–576) is translated in Snellgrove 1981: 38, 1987: 146.
 43. I follow Yūkai, etc., in omitting the initial 像 (“image”) at the start of this sentence, even though it appears in all but one of the texts. The *caturmudrā-maṇḍala* is a simplified *maṇḍala* encapsulating the essence of the *mahā-maṇḍala*, *samaya-maṇḍala*, *dharmā-maṇḍala* and *karmā-maṇḍala* and devised for people for whom the *mahā-maṇḍala*, etc., are too complex (cf. H. 573–574; Snellgrove 1981: 38); hence “one seeks the accomplishment of the *siddhi* sought in the above four *maṇḍalas*.” In principle it consists of a central three-dimensional image (rather than a two-dimensional representation) of one of the Five Buddhas surrounded by depictions of the insignia of his four attendant bodhisattvas (cf. H. 570–571); “this image” presumably refers specifically to the statuary image of the central deity rather than to the *maṇḍala* as a whole (cf. Toganoo 1927: 310).

第六說一印曼荼羅。若持毘盧遮那真言及金剛薩埵¹菩薩²具十七尊。餘皆具十三。亦說入曼荼羅儀。與³弟子受先行法。修集本尊三摩地。

¹C omits 薩埵. ²CD add 真言. ³CD have 爲 與.

(vi) [H. 597–611]⁴⁴ Sixthly the One-Seal Maṇḍala⁴⁵ is explained. If one recites the *mantra* of Vairocana or [the *mantra* of] the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva,⁴⁶ it comprises seventeen deities; in all other cases it comprises thirteen [deities].⁴⁷ Also explained is the ritual of entry into the *maṇḍala* (H. 602–604). The disciple is conferred the methods of preliminary practice and [is made to] cultivate in condensed form the *samādhi* of the chief deity.⁴⁸ [JSS: 5ab; KKS 9: 110a–111a; KDS 3: 155b10–c18]

44. This constitutes the second part of Chap. 5 (prior to the conclusion to Part 1 as a whole [H. 612–617]).

45. *Ekamudrā-maṇḍala*. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Vajrasattva* or *Mahāyānābhisamaya-maṇḍala*. The term *ekamudrā-maṇḍala*, again a taxonomical designation like *caturmudrā-maṇḍala*, is not used in the *STTS* to refer to specific *maṇḍalas* of this category, but it does appear in the corresponding section of the *Wu-pu hsin-kuan* (Hatta 1981: 141). It corresponds to the *Ichūin-el Ichūin-ne* 一印會 or “One-Seal Assembly” of the *Kue-mandara*. The exposition of this *maṇḍala* (and the corresponding *maṇḍala* in Parts 2, 3 and 4) appears to have escaped the notice of past Shingon scholars, for Donjaku writes, “the thirty-fascicle scripture does not explain this *maṇḍala*” (KDS 3: 155b10–11), while Gōhō makes a similar comment in regard to the *ekamudrā-maṇḍala* in Parts 1–4 and speculates that the apparent omission may have been due to lacunae in the Sanskrit text (KKY: 7a9–10, 17b8–9). Elsewhere (SKM 1: 371b, 2: 378b) Gōhō similarly omits the *ekamudrā-maṇḍala* from his enumerations of the *maṇḍalas* in Parts 1–4, but owing to the passing use of the term in the corresponding section of Part 3 (T. 18: 411c14; H. 1826: *eka[mudrā]-maṇḍala-yogena*) he appears to realize that the *maṇḍala* following the *caturmudrā-maṇḍala* in Parts 1–4, which he had until then looked upon as *maṇḍalas* of the corresponding division or family (*jibu mandara* 自部曼荼羅), may in fact correspond to the *ekamudrā-maṇḍala* (SKM 2: 384c20–28). Snellgrove also fails to mention the *ekamudrā-maṇḍala* in his summaries of the corresponding sections; cf. nn. 88, 128, 151.

46. As noted above, 眞言 (“*mantra*”) is added in two texts. The *STTS* gives only the *mantra* for Vajrasattva (H. 598: ‘*vajra-satva*’).

47. Because the *ekamudrā-maṇḍala* should strictly speaking consist of only one deity, the interpretation of this passage has been the subject of some discussion in the past. Togano (1927: 324–325) resolves the problem by suggesting that the seventeen-deity *maṇḍala* centred on Vairocana or Vajrasattva (who embody the attributes of the Vajra, Gem, Lotus and Action Families) consists of, in addition to the central deity, Four Attendant Bodhisattvas (representing the Four Families), Eight Offering Goddesses and Four Gatekeepers, while the thirteen-deity *maṇḍala* is centred on any other deity symbolizing an attribute of only one of the Four Families and therefore lacks the Four Attendant Bodhisattvas; cf. *JSS*: 5a4–b16, *KKK*: 15a1–5, *KKM*: 18a7–b17, *KKS* 9: 110b8–111a4. Donjaku (*KDS* 3: 155c16–18), on the other hand, writes that because there is no corresponding reference in the *STTS*, it is impossible to determine the meaning of this passage and therefore one should refrain from any forced interpretation since it would be no more than speculation, but elsewhere (*KDS* 1: 124c19–22) he notes that according to a *Hotsumonshū* 發問集 by Shinkaku 心覺 (1117–1180) the reference here to seventeen deities would suggest that T. No. 876 (a ritual of the *STTS* cycle translated by Vajrabodhi) was based on this section on the *ekamudrā-maṇḍala*; the same citation is already given by Gōhō (*KKY*: 16a9–14). The *Ichiiin-e* of the *Kue-mandara* depicts Vairocana alone, while the composition of the seventeen-deity *Rishu-e* 理趣會 or “[*Prajñāpāramitā*]naya Assembly” of the *Kue-mandara*, centred on Vajrasattva, bears a certain resemblance to Amoghavajra’s description of this *ekamudrā-maṇḍala*.

48. The *STTS* explains only a rite for attaining union with Vajrasattva (H. 605–606). “Preliminary practices” are mentioned also in connection with the *ekamudrā-maṇḍala* of Part 2, whereas in Parts 3 and 4 they are associated with the *caturmudrā-maṇḍala* (cf. n. 125), but it is not clear to what they refer in this context. My translation of 修集 as “cultivate in condensed form” is only tentative.

次說降三世大品。有六曼荼羅。

[2] [H. 618–1467] Next the main part “Victory over the Three Worlds”⁴⁹ is explained; there are six *maṇḍalas*.⁵⁰ [KKS 9: 111a; KDS 4: 155c21–156a9]

49. In the *STTS* Part 2 is called *Sarvatathāgatavajrasamaya* [*nāma mahākalparāja*]. The standard Sino-Japanese designation “Victory over (/Vanquisher of) the Three Worlds” (降三世: **Trilokavijaya*) presumably derives from the title of the first chapter in this section, i.e., *Trilokavijaya-mahāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara*, but the analogous designations *Khams gsum rnam par rgyal ba'i dum bu* and *'Jig rten gsum las rnam par rgyal ba'i dum bu* (**Triloka-vijaya-khaṇḍa*) are already used by Ānandagarbha (e.g., rGyud'grel Zi 13b3, 7, 31b8, 370b1) to refer to Part 2 as a whole.

50. There are in fact ten *maṇḍalas* described in Part 2 of the *STTS* (and by Amoghavajra below), as is noted by Kūkai (*KK*: 5a5); cf. *Tou-pu t'o-lo-ni mu* (T. 18: 899a1–2). The “six *maṇḍalas*” alluded to here are the first six ((i)~(vi)), namely, the six standard types of *maṇḍalas* described in each of the four main parts of the *STTS*. But according to Ānandagarbha (Zi 31b8) there are in all fourteen *maṇḍalas* in Part 2, meaning that there are again five versions of the *caturmudrā-maṇḍala* (cf. n. 42).

如來成等正覺已。於須彌虛頂轉金剛界輪¹已。與諸菩薩名號受職已。摩醯首羅等剛強難化。不可以寂靜法而受化。盡虛空遍法界一切如來。異口同音。請以一百八名讚。禮金剛薩埵。如是諸天。不可以寂靜法而受化。²時金剛手菩薩受一切如來請已³。即入悲⁴怒金剛三摩地。現大威德身。以種種方便調伏。乃至命終⁵。摩醯首羅死已。自見於下方。過六十二恒河沙世界。名灰莊嚴。彼世界中成等正覺。名為怖畏自在王如來。執金剛菩薩以脚按之⁶。誦金剛壽命真言。復得蘇。既受化已。金剛薩埵則說大曼荼羅。引入諸天。受金剛名號。諸天有五類。⁷居上界天王摩醯首羅等無量諸天及后。〔285b〕第二遊虛空諸天日天子等無量諸天及后。第三居虛空天魔王等無量諸天及后。第四地居天主⁸藏天等無量諸天及后。第五地下時囉咽天等無量諸天及后。

悉皆引入已⁹。勅諸天建立諸曼荼羅。汝¹⁰等赴會。所求一切悉地¹¹皆與成辦。此等皆是外金剛部。

¹M has 轉 for 輪. ²SYMIAB omit 時...受. ³SYMI have 以 for 已. ⁴SYMICD have 忿 for 悲. ⁵SYMIABD have 至死 for 命終. ⁶SYMABCBD have 上 for 之. ⁷SYMBBCD add 第一; A omits 居...第五...后. ⁸B has 生 for 主. ⁹SYMIAB have 已入 for 入已. ¹⁰B has 法 for 汝. ¹¹SYMAB omit 地.

(i) [H. 618–989]⁵¹ The Tathāgata had realized perfect enlightenment, had turned the wheel of the Adamantine Realm on the summit of [Mt.] Sumeru, and had bestowed names on the bodhisattvas and conferred duties on them, and [now] it was proving impossible to convert by peaceful means Maheśvara and others who were unyielding and difficult to convert. [Accordingly] All the Tathāgatas throughout empty space and pervading the Dharma-realm invoked [Vajrasattva/Vajrapāṇi/Vajradhara] in unison with the eulogy of One Hundred and Eight Names (H. 619–639)⁵² and, paying homage to Vajrasattva, [said] “It is impossible to convert these gods by peaceful means.” Thereupon the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, having received the entreaties of All the Tathāgatas,⁵³ then entered into the *samādhi* “Vajra of Compassionate Wrath”⁵⁴ and manifested a form of awesome majesty which by various expedient means subjugated [Maheśvara and the other gods]⁵⁵ until they expired. After Maheśvara died, he saw in the nether regions, past world-systems [equal in number to] the sands of sixty-two Ganges Rivers,⁵⁶ [a world-system] called “Adorned with Ashes.”⁵⁷ In this world-system he realized perfect enlightenment and was called the Tathāgata King-Sovereign-Over-Fear.⁵⁸ The Bodhisattva Vajradhara held him down with his foot and recited the *mantra* “Adamantine Life,”⁵⁹ whereupon [Maheśvara] was restored to life. Having finished converting him, Vajrasattva then explained the induction of the gods into the Great Maṇḍala (H. 734–743)⁶⁰ and their conferment of adamantine names (H. 744–774). There are five categories of gods:—⁶¹

[1.] The heavenly kings dwelling in the upper realms: Maheśvara and other innumerable gods (H. 745–747) and their consorts (H. 760–762).

[285b] 2. The gods moving about empty space: the heavenly son Sūrya⁶² and other innumerable gods (H. 748–750) and their consorts (H. 763–765).

3. The gods dwelling in empty space: the king Māra⁶³ and other innumerable gods (H. 751–753) and their consorts (H. 766–768).

4. The gods dwelling in the earth: the god Treasury Master⁶⁴ and other innumerable gods (H. 754–756) and their consorts (H. 769–771).

5. [The gods dwelling] below the earth: the god Vārāhi⁶⁵ and other innumerable gods (H. 757–759) and their consorts (H. 772–774).

Having inducted them all, [Vajrapāṇi] ordered the gods to construct *maṇḍalas*,⁶⁶ [saying] “Betake yourselves to the assembly and grant success in every *siddhi* that is sought [of you]!”⁶⁷ These [gods] are all outside the Vajra Division.⁶⁸ [JSS: 5b–10a]

51. Chap. 6: *Trilokavijayamahāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara*. The subjugation of Maheśvara (*viz.* Śiva) has been made the subject of a lengthy study by Iyanaga (1985); the relevant section in our text is translated on pp. 660–663, while the first half is also translated in Tajima 1959: 147–148. In addition, there is an abridged translation of the corresponding section of the *STTS* in Snellgrove 1981: 39–42, 1987: 136–139.

52. This is the second of the six *nāmāṣṭaśata* eulogies appearing in the *STTS*. For a detailed comparative analysis of their content, see Horiuchi Kanjin, “Shōe Kongōchō-gyō shosetsu no rokushu hyakuhachi myōsan no tōkeiteki kenkyū” [初会金剛頂經所説の六種百八名讃の統計的研究] (A Statistical Inquiry into Six Kinds of the Hymns on 108 Names in the *Sarva-Tathāgata-Tattva-Saṃgraha* [sic]), 1–4, *Mikkyō Bunka*, Nos. 122–125 (1978–79).

53. Cf. “*Atha Vajrapāṇiḥ sarvatathāgatādhipatiḥ sarvatathāgatādhye-ṣaṇavacanam upaśrutyā...*” (H. 640).

54. In the corresponding section of the *STTS* Vairocana (not Vajrapāṇi) twice enters into *samādhi*, first in order to produce a variety of fearsome Vajrapāṇi-forms (*vajrapāṇi-vigraha*) and then in order to produce a single

fearful manifestation of Vajrapāṇi (comparable to the “form of awesome majesty” in our text), and the names of these two *samādhis* are given as ‘*sarva-tathāgata-mahā-karuṇopāya-krodha-samaya-vajra*’ (H. 649) and ‘*sarvatathāgata-mahā-krodha-vajra-samaya-vajrādhiṣṭhāna*’ (H. 655) respectively. Iyanaga (661, n. 9) writes, “Au lieu de *hinu* 悲怒 que porte le texte, il faut sans doute lire *funnu* 忿怒, d’après la leçon de la var.,” and he gives *krodhavajra* as the Sanskrit equivalent of 忿怒金剛. Although the name of the second of the above two *samādhis* does indeed incorporate the term *krodhavajra*, the name of the first, *viz. sarva-tathāgata-mahā-karuṇopāya-krodha-samaya-vajra*, would suggest that the reading 悲怒 need not necessarily be rejected out of hand in favour of 忿怒. (In T. Nos. 1133 and 1134AB, which both open with an account of Maheśvara’s subjugation that is clearly based on the *STTS* and which are both attributed to Amoghavajra, we find 忿怒 [三摩地] in the former [T. 20: 575b4] and 悲怒 [三摩地] in the latter [T. 20: 576a23; 577c2]; cf. Iyanaga: 665, n. 31.)

55. Tajima’s translation of the section on the 1st Assembly ends here. As is noted by Gōhō (*SKM* 2: 379c7), the subsequent course of events differs somewhat from the account given in the *STTS*; see Snellgrove 1981: 41–42, 1987: 137–138; Iyanaga: 667–677.

56. The *STTS* has “thirty-two Ganges Rivers” (H. 732: *dvātriṃśad-gaṅgā-nadī...*). It is perhaps possible to interpret 見 (“saw”) as used here in the sense of 現 (“appeared”).

57. This probably corresponds to ‘Bhasmāchanna’ (H. 732; “Covered in Ash”), although Yamada (1981: 169.11), Snellgrove (1981: 41, 1987: 138), and Lokesh Chandra (1987: 59.9) all have ‘Bhasmacchatra’ (“Umbrella of Ashes”). But judging from the Tibetan *thal bas khebs pa* and the Chinese transcription 跋娑摩餐那 (T. 18: 372b25), ‘Bhasmāchanna’ is doubtless the correct reading.

58. Bhaṣeśvararāja? The *STTS* has ‘Bhāśmeśvaranirghoṣa’ (H. 732). Although Iyanaga, who translates 怖畏自在王 as “Roi-Souverain de Terreur,” writes, “en ce qui concerne *Fui*, on hésitera entre les diverses épithètes de Śiva-Maheśvara qui contiennent l’idée de <terreur>: par

example *bhairava*, *ugra*, *rudra*, etc.” (662, n. 12), it is also possible that 怖畏 (Jp. *fu*: “fear”) may have resulted from a scribal error or misreading of *bhaya* for *bhasma* at some stage in the transmission of Amoghavajra’s source(s).

59. Cf. ‘*vajr’āyuh*’ (H. 708).

60. Iyanaga (662) translates: “Vajrasattva prêche alors [la construction d’] un grand *maṇḍala*, dans lequel il fait entrer (...) les Dieux, qui reçoivent les Noms de Diamant (...),” but I have opted for the above translation in view of the fact that the actual construction of the *maṇḍala* is described only later in the *STTS*.

61. There are references to a similar fivefold classification of gods in, e.g., the *Tou-pu t’o-lo-ni mu* (T. 18: 898c16–20), *Hsien-chieh shih-liu tsun* 賢劫十六尊 (T. 18: 339c24–340c2) and *Li-ch’ü shih* 理趣釋 (T. 19: 615b26–c3); they comprise in all twenty gods accompanied by their consorts.

62. The *STTS* has ‘Amṛtakuṇḍali’, for which the Tibetan sDe-dge and sNar-thang editions have ‘Nyi-ma’, viz. Sūrya/Āditya, while Ānandagarbha also identifies Amṛtakuṇḍali with Sūrya/Āditya; see H. 749, n. 3.

63. Or “king of Māras”? The corresponding section of the *STTS* (H. 752) lists Madhumatta, Madhukara, Jaya and Jayāvaha, but the list of their consorts (H. 767) is headed by Māraṇi, which would suggest that Madhumatta corresponds to Māra (or represents the king of Māras).

64. Kośapati? The *STTS* has ‘Kośapāla’ (H. 755). Cf. Iyanaga: 662, n. 14.

65. Since ‘Vārāhi’ is a feminine form, this is probably an error for ‘Varāha’ (H. 758). Cf. Iyanaga: 662, n. 15.

66. In the context of our text it is probably most natural to identify these “gods” with the aforementioned “five categories of gods” (as does Iyanaga), but if we wish to seek parallels in the *STTS*, it is equally possible that the order to construct *maṇḍalas* is directed at the groups of lesser evil beings who are subsequently subjugated by Vajrapāṇi and form *maṇḍalas* ranged around the outer periphery of the summit of Mt. Sumeru (H. 795–843).

67. The interpretation of this sentence is problematical, and although I have tentatively followed Iyanaga’s interpretation, it could perhaps be equally

well translated: “Betake yourselves to the assembly (/assemblies?)!” He (*viz.* Vajrapāṇi) granted them success in every *siddhi* that they sought.’
68. See n. 92.

第一說大¹曼荼羅儀則。皆具三十七。說降伏法及修神通法。
¹SYMIAB omit 大。

Firstly are explained the ritual rules for the Great Maṇḍala (H. 847–904),⁶⁹ which comprises thirty-seven [deities] in all. [Also] explained are methods of subjugation and methods for cultivating supernatural faculties.⁷⁰

69. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Triloka-vijaya-mahā-maṇḍala*. It corresponds to the *Gōzanze-e* 降三世會 or “Assembly of Victory over the Three Worlds” of the *Kue-mandara*.

70. Following the description of the *maṇḍala* and the initiation rite, the *STTS* explains various rites of controlling, destroying, etc. (H. 905–933; cf. Snellgrove 1981: 42–43 [=H. 916–919]) that might be loosely described as “methods of subjugation” and could, together with the subsequent instructions relating to the four kinds of seals (H. 934–958) and general instructions on seal-binding (H. 959–988), perhaps be termed “methods for cultivating supernatural faculties.”

第二說祕密曼荼羅。具三十七。說引¹弟子儀。此中諸音聲及金剛歌舞。
¹A adds 入。

(ii) [H. 990–1066]⁷¹ Secondly is explained the Secret Maṇḍala,⁷² which comprises thirty-seven [deities]. [Also] explained is the ritual for inducting the disciple (1022–1043), which involves sounds and adamantine song and dance.⁷³

71. Chap. 7: *Krodhaguhyamudrāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara*.

72. **Guhya-maṇḍala*. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is variously called

Vajra-samaya-guhya, *Krodha-guhya-mudrā-maṇḍala* or *Vajra-kula-guhya-maṇḍala*, and it corresponds to the *Gōzanze-sanmaya-e* 降三世三昧耶會 or “Samaya Assembly of Victory over the Three Worlds” of the *Kue-mandara*.

73. It is not clear to what the “sounds” refer, but the *STTS* mentions “adamantine song” (*vajra-gīta*; H. 1025) and “adamantine dance” (*vajra-nṛtya*; H. 1026), and the subsequent section describing an intricate ritual dance (H. 1026–1043) is translated in Snellgrove 1981: 43–44.

第三說法¹曼荼羅。具三十七。說引入弟子儀。此中說以慈悲喜捨。作²阿毘遮嚕迦法。微細金剛調心儀軌³。

¹SYMICD omit 法。 ²CD omit 作。 ³SYMIABCD have 軌儀 for 儀軌。

(iii) [H. 1067–1120]⁷⁴ Thirdly is explained the Dharma Maṇḍala,⁷⁵ which comprises thirty-seven [deities]. [Also] explained is the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 1087–1089). Herein are explained how to perform *abhicāruka* rites by means of benevolence, compassion, joy and equanimity (H. 1095–1099)⁷⁶ and the ritual rules for regulating the mind with the subtle *vajra*.⁷⁷

74. Chap. 8: *Vajrakuladharmajñānasamayamaṇḍala-vidhivistara*.

75. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is variously called *Vajra-kula-sūkṣma-jñāna* (-*samaya*)-*maṇḍala*, *Vajra-kula-dharma-jñāna-samaya-maṇḍala* or *Krodha-jñāna*. The sections on the construction of the *maṇḍala*, the initiation rite and the first set of special rites (cf. n. 76) (H. 1082–1093) are translated in Snellgrove 1987: 237–238.

76. In the *STTS* this represents the second of four sets of rites collectively called ‘*vajra[-krodha]-sūkṣma-jñānāni*’ (H. 1090–1109) and bears a close resemblance to H. 459–463 (corresponding to the cultivation of the “four infinite thoughts” in [1] (iii) above; cf. n. 35), except that in the present instance the “four infinite thoughts” have been adapted to the violent aims of the *abhicāruka* rites.

77. The majority of ritual practices described in the sets of rites termed ‘*vajra[-krodha]-sūkṣma-jñānāni*’ (H. 1090–1109) and ‘*vajra-kula-dharma-rahasya-mudrā-jñāna*’ (H. 1110–1114) involve the visualization practice called ‘*sūkṣma-vajra*’ or “subtle *vajra*”; “regulating the mind” perhaps refers again specifically to the expansion and contraction of the object of visualization that accompanies this practice (see nn. 32, 35).

第四說羯磨曼茶羅。具三十七。說入曼茶羅儀。令弟子學護摩儀軌。於無量佛菩薩所。成廣大供養。速得悉地現前。說二十五種護摩爐。隨類所求法。

(iv) [H. 1121–1168]⁷⁸ Fourthly is explained the Karma Maṇḍala,⁷⁹ which comprises thirty-seven [deities]. [Also] explained is the ritual of entry into the *maṇḍala* (H. 1134–1137), and the disciple is taught the ritual rules for *homa* (H. 1139–1159),⁸⁰ whereby he makes extensive offerings to innumerable Buddhas and bodhisattvas and quickly obtains the manifestation of *siddhi*. Twenty-five kinds of *homa* hearths and methods for [obtaining] that which is sought according to its type are explained.⁸¹ [JSS: 10ab]

78. Chap. 9: *Vajrakulakarmamaṇḍala-vidhivistara*.

79. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Karma-vajra* or *Vajra-kula-karma-maṇḍala*.

80. The *STTS* describes four sets of four *homa* rites, collectively termed ‘*śānti-karmādi-jñāna*’; the first three (H. 1140–1143, 1145–1148, 1150–1153) are translated in Snellgrove 1987: 239 (cf. Snellgrove 1981: 45 [=H. 1150–1153]).

81. Raiyu (*JSS*: 10b12–13) suggests that the reference to “twenty-five kinds of *homa* hearths” has resulted from combining the five kinds of rites (pacification, subjugation, enrapturement, increasing prosperity, and hook-summoning) with each of the Five Families. But as noted above (n. 80), the *STTS* describes four sets of four *homa* rites, which would suggest only sixteen kinds of hearths. This question is discussed in Sakai 1985: 96–105; see also n. 169.

第五說四印曼茶羅。具二十一。成就諸藥法等。已上四¹曼茶羅中成就法。於此曼茶羅²中成就法於此曼茶羅像前求。

¹A adds 印. ²CD omit 中...羅.

(v) [H. 1169–1190]⁸² Fifthly is explained the Four-Seal Maṇḍala,⁸³ which comprises twenty-one [deities]⁸⁴ and whereby one accomplishes medicinal rites and so forth.⁸⁵ The rites for accomplishment in the above four maṇḍalas are sought in front of the image of this maṇḍala.⁸⁶ [JSS: 11a]

82. This constitutes the first part of Chap. 10: *Mahā[vajra]kalpa-vidhivistara*.

83. In the *STTS* this maṇḍala is called *Triloka-vijaya-catur-mudrā-maṇḍala* or *Krodha-vajra*. According to Anandagarbha, there are again five versions of this *caturmudrā-maṇḍala*, i.e., one for each of the Five Buddhas (cf. nn. 42, 50).

84. Raiyu mentions several explanations for the number “twenty-one,” but its import is by no means clear, although it could be said to follow on logically from the seventeen deities allocated by Amoghavajra to the following *ekamudrā-maṇḍala* (cf. T. 61: 382a20–21); the *caturmudrā-maṇḍalas* of Parts 3 and 4 are also said to comprise twenty-one deities.

85. The *STTS* describes only several rites with strongly sexual connotations (H. 1178-2–1185; translated in Snellgrove 1981: 46), four *samaya*-seals (H. 1186), and a ritual dance (H. 1187–1190) representing an abridgement of that alluded to in [2] (ii) above.

86. On the implications of this statement, see n. 43. (I follow texts CD in omitting 中...羅.)

第六說一印曼茶¹羅。具十七。說引入弟子及先行法。

¹Here the Taishō text correctly has 荼 for 茶, but it is presumably a typographical error.

(vi) [H. 1191–1201]⁸⁷ Sixthly is explained the One-Seal Maṇḍala,⁸⁸ which comprises seventeen [deities].⁸⁹ [Also] explained are the induction of the disciple [H. 1195] and the methods of preliminary practice.⁹⁰

87. This constitutes the second part of Chap. 10 (prior to the conclusion to Chaps. 6–10 [H. 1202–1205]).

88. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Vajra-huṃ-kāra*. The exposition of this *ekamudrā-maṇḍala* again seems to have escaped the notice of Donjaku, for he writes, “This scripture does not expound it” (*KDS* 4: 156a2); cf. n. 45.

89. On the number “seventeen,” see n. 47.

90. Cf. n. 48.

次¹爲外金剛部衆。說四種曼荼羅。各說本眞言本印契獻佛。

¹A omits 次.

Next, four kinds of *maṇḍalas*⁹¹ are explained for the multitudes outside the Vajra Division.⁹² In each the basic *mantras*, basic seal-pledges and oblations to the Buddhas are explained.

91. The generic term for these four *maṇḍalas* in the Sino-Japanese tradition is *chiao-ch'ih man-t'u-lo* (Jp.: *kyōchoku mandara*) 教勅曼荼羅 (**ājñā-maṇḍala*) or “injunction *maṇḍala*,” so called because they symbolize Vajrapāṇi’s victory over Maheśvara and other Hindu deities who now, submitting to his commands, deploy themselves in the form of these *maṇḍalas*. In the *STTS* the term common to their names is ‘*sarva-vajra-kula*’, on which see n. 92.

92. *Bāhya-vajra-kula* (H. 1224). Although Iyanaga translates this term as “le Clan extérieur du (/de) Diamant” (1985: 663, 682; cf. 663, n. 16) in the sense of “outside the circle of *vajras* marking the outer limits of the *maṇḍala*” (an interpretation commonly found in the Sino-Japanese tradition), in the present instance it should no doubt be understood in the manner

of Snellgrove as “extraneous to (/outside) the Vajra Family” (1981: 47, 1987: 140) since the purpose of these *maṇḍalas* is to establish a place within Buddhism (specifically, the Vajra Family) for Maheśvara and other non-Buddhist gods hitherto “outside the Vajra Family”; hence the names of these four *maṇḍalas* have in common the epithet ‘*sarva-vajra-kula*’, implying that these gods have now become part of the Vajra Family. The Sino-Japanese equivalent *wai chin-kang pu* (Jp.: *ge-kongō-bu*) 外金剛部 could perhaps be more literally translated as “External Vajra Division” in view of the fact that these Hindu deities newly incorporated into the fold of Buddhism are sometimes contrasted with the “Internal Vajra Division” (Jp.: *nai-kongō-bu* 內金剛部) consisting of Vajrapāṇi and other deities of the Vajra Family that had already been assimilated by Buddhism sometime earlier.

佛¹爲說教勸大曼荼羅。具三十七。說引入弟子儀。說爲弟子使役外²金剛部軌則。此中說大佛頂及光聚佛頂眞言及契。亦通一字頂輪法。

¹AB have 已 for 佛. ²SYM omit 外.

(vii) [H. 1206–1331]⁹³ The Buddha explains for [those outside the Vajra Division] the Great Maṇḍala of Injunction,⁹⁴ which comprises thirty-seven [deities]. [Also] explained is the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 1291–1303), and the rules for controlling those outside the Vajra Division are explained to the disciple.⁹⁵ Herein are expounded the *mantras* and pledges of Mahoṣṇīṣa and Tejorāśyusṇīṣa,⁹⁶ which are also applicable to the Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣacakra-vartin rite. [KDS 4: 156a9–21]

93. Chap. 11: *Trilokacakramahāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara*. The opening section, which continues the tale of Maheśvara’s subjugation, is translated in Snellgrove 1987: 139–140 (=H. 1206–1224) and 141–142 (=H. 1228–1238), while the corresponding section of the Chinese translation is summarized in Iyanaga 1985: 677–682.

94. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Sarva-vajra-kula-mahā-maṇḍala*

or *Triloka-cakra-mahā-maṇḍala*.

95. The rules alluded to here perhaps correspond to the instructions for the seals of these deities (H. 1314–1321, 1326–1330). Since these deities are strictly speaking no longer outside the Vajra Family, the use here of the term *wai chin-kang pu* 外金剛部, at least in its original sense, is questionable (which is possibly why 外 [“outside”] is omitted in some texts), and it should perhaps be translated “External Vajra Division” (cf. n. 92).

96. This presumably refers to the *mantras* called ‘*tathāgatoṣṇīṣa*’ (H. 1225) and ‘*sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣa*’ (H. 1227) and their corresponding seals ‘*satvoṣ-ṇīṣā*’ (H. 1305) and ‘*tejorāṣī*’ (H. 1306); the benefits of these two seals are given in H. 1324, where the former is called ‘*mahoṣṇīṣā*’. The connections with Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣacakravartin in the context of the *STTS* are unclear (*pace* Donjaku, who writes that “the meaning is clear” [*KDS* 4: 156a11–12]).

次說第二教勅三昧耶曼茶羅。彼諸天后等各獻本真言。佛爲說曼茶羅。具三十七。說爲弟子說¹修藥叉藥²叉女法。廣說諸儀軌。

¹Omit 說? AB omit 修藥叉. ²SYM omit 藥.

(viii) [H. 1332–1373]⁹⁷ Next is explained the second Samaya Maṇḍala of Injunction.⁹⁸ The consorts of the gods and so forth each offer their own *mantra*.⁹⁹ The Buddha explains for them the *maṇḍala* (H. 1349–1355), which comprises thirty-seven [deities]. It is [also] explained to the disciple how to practise the *yakṣa* and *yakṣiṇī* rites,¹⁰⁰ and the ritual rules are explained extensively.

97. Chap. 12: *Sarvavajrakulavajramāṇḍala-vidhivistara*.

98. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Sarva-vajra-kula-vajra-maṇḍala*.

99. Since this *maṇḍala* is a *samaya-maṇḍala*, the deities are all female (cf. n. 28), but in the *STTS* the *mantras* of the “consorts of the gods and so forth” are enunciated by their male counterparts (H. 1333–1348).

100. In the *STTS* there is no reference in this chapter to *yakṣa* or *yakṣiṇī* rites.

[285c] 次第三說教勅法曼荼羅。諸天說真言獻佛。佛¹爲彼等說曼荼羅。具三十七。說引入弟子儀。爲弟子說諸天之²法³印已⁴。由此印不違越本誓。

¹AB have 已 for 佛. ²I has 子 for 之. ³SYMIAB add 法. ⁴SYMI omit 已.

[285c] (ix) [H. 1374–1401]¹⁰¹ Next, thirdly is explained the Dharma Maṇḍala of Injunction.¹⁰² The gods expound their *mantras* and offer them to the Buddha (H. 1381–1385). The Buddha explains for them the *maṇḍala* (H. 1386–1388), which comprises thirty-seven [deities]. [Also] explained is the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 1389–1393), and the Dharma-seals of the gods are explained to the disciple (H. 1394–1400). On account of these seals [the gods] will not violate their own vows.

101. Chap. 13: *Sarvavajrakuladharmasamayamaṇḍala-vidhivistara*.

102. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Sarva-vajra-kula-dharma-samaya-maṇḍala*.

次第四說教勅羯磨曼荼羅。具三十七。說引入弟子儀。彼等諸天各說本真言。佛爲說曼荼羅。說諸天舞²儀。說成就諸事業速疾法。

¹M has 第 for 弟. ²A omits 舞.

(x) [H. 1402–1455]¹⁰³ Next, fourthly is explained the Karma Maṇḍala of Injunction,¹⁰⁴ which comprises thirty-seven [deities]. [Also] explained is the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 1445–1449). The gods each expound their own *mantra* (H. 1411–1437),¹⁰⁵ and the Buddha explains the *maṇḍala* for them (H. 1438–1444). The dancing ritual of the gods is explained (H. 1450–1454), and swift methods for accomplishing various deeds are explained.¹⁰⁶

103. Chap. 14: *Sarvavajrakulakarmamaṇḍala-vidhivistara*.

104. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Sarva-vajra-kula-karma-maṇḍala*.

105. In the *STTS* it is the gods' consorts who enunciate these *mantras*.
 106. There is no exposition of any "swift methods for accomplishing various deeds" in the *STTS*, although the explanation of the dancing rite (*nṛtyopahāra-mudrā-jñāna*) ends: "...*karmasiddhir bhaved dhruvam*" (H. 1454).

次說遍調伏大品。有六種曼荼羅。

[3] [H. 1468–1830] Next the main part "Universal Subjugation"¹⁰⁷ is explained; there are six *maṇḍalas*.¹⁰⁸ [*KKS* 9: 111b; *KDS* 4: 156a22–c17]

107. In the *STTS* Part 3 is called *Sarvatathāgatadharmasamaya* [*nāma mahākālparāja*]. The standard Sino-Japanese designation "Universal Subjugation" (遍調伏: **Sakala*[/*Sarva*]*jagadvinaya*) presumably derives from the title of the first chapter in this section, i.e., *Sakalajagadvinaya-mahāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara*, but the analogous designation '*Gro ba 'dul ba'i dum bu* (**Jagadvinaya-khaṇḍa*) is already used by Ānandagarbha (e.g., rGyud-'grel Zi 20b6, 21a3, 21b2) to refer to Part 3 as a whole.

108. Although the *STTS* expounds only six *maṇḍalas*, according to Ānandagarbha (Zi 31b8–32a1) Part 3 has the same number of *maṇḍalas* as Parts 1 and 4, viz. ten, meaning that there are again five versions of the *caturmudrā-maṇḍala* (cf. n. 42).

第一¹大曼荼羅。具三十七。皆觀自在菩薩變現。說引入弟子儀。此中說十六種成就速疾神通三摩地儀。

¹CD add 說。

(i) [H. 1468–1612]¹⁰⁹ Firstly [is explained] the Great Maṇḍala,¹¹⁰ which comprises thirty-seven [deities], all transformations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.¹¹¹ [Also] explained is the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 1538–1548). Herein are explained sixteen kinds of *samādhi* rituals for accomplishing swift supernatural faculties.¹¹² [*JSS*: 11b–12a]

109. Chap. 15: *Sakalajagadvinayamahāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara*.

110. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Sarva-jagad-vinaya-padma-maṇḍala* or *Sakala(/Sarva)-jagad-vinaya-mahā-maṇḍala*.

111. Part 3 is devoted to the Lotus Family (*padma-kula*), presided over by Avalokiteśvara; hence all the deities in this *maṇḍala* (and in the following five *maṇḍalas*) are described as “transformations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.”

112. This presumably refers to the four sets of four rites collectively called ‘*padma-kula-mudrā-jñāna*’ (H. 1549–1568); the second set (H. 1554–1558) is translated in Snellgrove 1981: 52.

第二說三昧耶¹曼荼羅。具三十七。皆觀自在菩薩變現。說引入弟子儀。此中說鈎召敬愛十六種三摩地。

¹I has 邪 for 耶.

(ii) [H. 1613–1708]¹¹³ Secondly is explained the Samaya Maṇḍala,¹¹⁴ which comprises thirty-seven [deities], all transformations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. [Also] explained is the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 1644–1650). Herein are explained sixteen kinds of *samādhi* for hook-summoning and enrapturement.¹¹⁵

113. Chap. 16: *Padmaguhyamudrāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara*.

114. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Padma-guhyā-mudrā-maṇḍala*.

115. The *STTS* describes five sets of four rites (H. 1651–1676), the objective of one set of which is enrapturement (*anurāgaṇa*; H. 1661–1665); Gōhō (*SKM* 2: 383c22–25) suggests that the first four sets correspond to Amoghavajra’s “sixteen kinds of *samādhi*.”

第三說法曼荼羅。具三十七。皆觀自在菩薩變現。說引入弟子儀。此中說修心及求智慧辯才法十六種。

(iii) [H. 1709–1750]¹¹⁶ Thirdly is explained the Dharma Maṇḍala,¹¹⁷ which comprises thirty-seven [deities], all transformations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. [Also] explained is the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 1726). Herein are explained sixteen kinds of methods for cultivating the mind and seeking wisdom and eloquence.¹¹⁸

116. Chap. 17: [*Dharma*]jñānamāṇḍala-vidhivistara.

117. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Dharma-jñāna-maṇḍala* or *Padma-dharma-maṇḍala*.

118. Although “cultivating the mind and seeking wisdom and eloquence” are fitting goals to be realized in a *dharma-maṇḍala*, the four sets of four rites actually described in the *STTS* (H. 1727–1747) are meant to enable the practitioner to levitate, become invisible, change form at will, and gain control over others.

第四說羯磨曼荼羅。具三十七。皆觀自在菩薩變現。說引入¹弟子儀。此中蓮花部供養儀。及轉罪障報障蓋纏業障法。

¹SYM omit 入。

(iv) [H. 1751–1797]¹¹⁹ Fourthly is explained the Karma Maṇḍala,¹²⁰ which comprises thirty-seven [deities], all transformations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. [Also] explained is the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 1768). Herein are explained the offering rituals of the Lotus Division (H. 1780–1784) and methods for commuting sin-caused hindrances, retributive hindrances, obstructions and fetters, and karmic hindrances.¹²¹ [*JSS*: 12a]

119. Chap. 18: [*Padma*]karma[maṇḍala-vidhivistara].

120. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Padma-karma-maṇḍala*.

121. The *STTS* describes two sets of four rites for the ‘confession of sins’ (*pāpa-deśanā*; H. 1769–1774) and ‘destruction of all hindrances’ (*sarv’āvaraṇa-parikṣaya*; H. 1775–1779) respectively. ‘*Kai-ch’an*’ 蓋纏, which I have provisionally translated as “obstructions and fetters,” may be used as a

synonym for 'mental defilements' (煩惱: *kleśa*) or it may refer to the 'five obstructions' (五蓋: *pañca nivaraṇāni*) and 'ten fetters' (十纏: *daśa paryavasthānāni*); if it has been used here in the former sense, then *pao-chang* 報障 (**vipākāvaraṇa*), *kai-ch'an* (**kleśa[-āvaraṇa]*) and *yeh-chang* 業障 (**karmāvaraṇa*) would correspond to the 'three hindrances' (三障: *trīṇy āvaraṇāni/ āvaraṇa-traya*), with *tsui-chang* 罪障 (**karmadoṣa*) serving as a more general term.

第五說蓮花部四印曼荼羅。具二十一。皆觀自在菩薩變現。說引入弟子儀。此中說成就先行¹法及成就先行²如上四種曼荼羅法。

¹D omits 先行. ²C omits 先行.

(v) [H. 1798–1817]¹²² Fifthly is explained the Four-Seal Maṇḍala of the Lotus Division,¹²³ which comprises twenty-one [deities],¹²⁴ all transformations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. [Also] explained is the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 1806). Herein are explained methods for accomplishing the preliminary practices¹²⁵ and methods for accomplishing the above four kinds of *maṇḍalas*.¹²⁶ [JSS: 12ab]

122. In the *STTS* this constitutes the first part of the epilogue to Part 3.

123. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called simply *Catur-mudrā-maṇḍala*, and according to Ānandagarbha there are again five versions, i.e., one for each of the Five Buddhas (cf. nn. 42, 108).

124. On the number "twenty-one," see n. 84.

125. I follow text C in omitting the second 先行 ("preliminary practices"). It will be noticed that whereas the "preliminary practices" were associated with the *ekamudrā-maṇḍala* in Parts 1 and 2, in Parts 3 and 4 they are associated with the *caturmudrā-maṇḍala*, even though it is still not clear to what exactly they refer; cf. n. 48.

126. See n. 43.

第六說蓮花部中¹一印曼荼羅。具十三。皆觀 [286a] 自在菩薩變現。說引

入弟子儀。此中說修本尊法。通修世間出世間法。

¹SYMB have 印 for 中; ACD omit 中。

(vi) [H. 1818–1826]¹²⁷ Sixthly is explained the One-Seal Maṇḍala of the Lotus Division,¹²⁸ which comprises thirteen [deities],¹²⁹ all [286a] transformations of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. [Also] explained is the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 1822). Herein is explained how to practise the rite of the chief deity and how to practise both mundane and supramundane rites.¹³⁰

127. In the *STTS* this constitutes the second part of the epilogue to Part 3 (prior to the conclusion to Part 3 as a whole [H. 1827–1830]).

128. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called (*Sarva-ḥjagad-vinaya*). The exposition of this *ekamudrā-maṇḍala* again seems to have escaped the notice of Donjaku (cf. *KDS* 4: 156c14–15); cf. n. 45.

129. On the number “thirteen,” see n. 47.

130. The two rites described in the *STTS* are aimed at “subduing the (whole) world” (*[sarva-ḥjagad-vinaya]*) (H. 1823–1825).

次說一切義成就大品中。有六曼荼羅。

[4] [H. 1831–2130] Next is explained the main part “Accomplishment of All Objectives,”¹³¹ within which there are six *maṇḍalas*.¹³² [*KKS* 9: 111b–112a; *KDS* 4: 156c18–157a26]

131. In the *STTS* Part 4 is called *Sarvatathāgatakarmasamaya* [*nāma mahākālparāja*]. The standard Sino-Japanese designation “Accomplishment of All Objectives” (一切義成就: **Sarvārthasiddhi*) presumably derives from the title of the first chapter in this section, i.e., *Sarvārthasiddhi-mahāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara*, but the analogous designation *Don thams cad grub pa'i dum bu* (**Sarvārthasiddhi-khaṇḍa*) is already used by Ānandagarbha (e.g., rGyud-'grel Zi 24b3, 24b8–25a1) to refer to Part 4 as a whole.

132. Although the *STTS* expounds only six *maṇḍalas*, according to Ānandagarbha (Zi 31b8–32a1) Part 4 has the same number of *maṇḍalas* as Parts 1 and 3, *viz.* ten, meaning that there are again five versions of the *caturmudrā-maṇḍala* (cf. n. 42).

第一大曼荼羅。具三十七。此中說引入弟子儀。由入此曼荼羅。除貧賤業。說求豐財。求佛菩薩位及世間榮位。

(i) [H. 1831–1961]¹³³ The first is the Great Maṇḍala,¹³⁴ which comprises thirty-seven [deities]. Herein is explained the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 1891–1897). By entering this *maṇḍala* one eliminates the karma of poverty; it is explained how to seek wealth and how to seek the stages of a Buddha or bodhisattva and the stage of worldly prosperity.¹³⁵

133. Chap. 19: *Sarvārthasiddhimahāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara*.

134. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Sarvārtha-siddhi-mahā-maṇḍala*.

135. In the *STTS* all the rites described in this chapter are concerned with obtaining treasure (H. 1898–1922; the first set [H. 1898–1902] is translated in Snellgrove 1981: 55), although among the benefits accruing from the different *mahā-mudrās*, 'Buddhahood' (*buddhatva*) is attributed to the 'Buddha-seal' (*buddha-mudrā*) (H. 1925).

第二祕密三昧耶曼荼羅。具三十七。此中說引入弟子儀。說求伏藏法。速滿檀波羅蜜福德聚法。

(ii) [H. 1962–2036]¹³⁶ The second is the Secret Samaya Maṇḍala,¹³⁷ which comprises thirty-seven [deities]. Herein is explained the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 1987). [Also] explained are methods for seeking hidden treasure and methods for speedily completing one's accumulation of merit through the *dāna-pāramitā* (*viz.* perfection of giving).¹³⁸ [JSS: 12b–13a]

136. Chap. 20: *Ratnaguhyamudrāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara*.

137. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Ratna-guhya-mudrā-maṇḍala* or *Maṇi-guhya-maṇḍala*.

138. In the *STTS* the rites described in this chapter (H. 1988–2013) are concerned primarily with obtaining kingship and the like, and the term “methods for seeking hidden treasure” is more appropriate as a description of the rites in the previous chapter (cf. *SKM* 2: 385b14–15); the final set of rites (H. 2009–2013) is translated in Snellgrove 1987: 267.

第三法曼荼羅。具三十七。此中說引入弟子儀。說¹寶部中修三摩地法。令心安住。令心堪任。令心調柔。令心自在。見虛空藏菩薩法²。

¹A omits 說. ²SYMICD omit 法.

(iii) [H. 2037–2080]¹³⁹ The third is the Dharma Maṇḍala,¹⁴⁰ which comprises thirty-seven [deities]. Herein is explained the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 2050). [Also] explained are the methods for practising *samādhi* within the Gem Division, which render the mind stable, render the mind workable, render the mind pliant and render the mind free, and the rite for beholding the Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha.¹⁴¹

139. Chap. 21: [*Ratna*]jñānamāṇḍala-vidhivistara.

140. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Ratna-jñāna-maṇḍala*.

141. In the *STTS* the rites described in this chapter (H. 2051–2075) are concerned primarily with obtaining jewels and other possessions. Ākāśagarbha is the bodhisattva presiding over the Gem Family (*ratna-kula*), to the rites of which Part 4 is devoted, and in the second set of rites (H. 2056–2060) it is stated that the practitioner should ask Ākāśagarbha for wealth, etc. On rendering the mind stable, workable, etc., cf. [1] (iii) and n. 35.

第四羯磨曼荼羅。具三十七。此中說引入弟子儀。說加持掘伏藏事業法。并說寶部中廣大供養諸佛儀。

(iv) [H. 2081–2109]¹⁴² The fourth is the Karma Maṇḍala,¹⁴³ which comprises

thirty-seven [deities]. Herein is explained the ritual for inducting the disciple (H. 2098). It [also] explains the method of empowering the deed of digging for hidden treasure, as well as explaining the ritual for making extensive offerings to the Buddhas within the Gem Division.¹⁴⁴

142. Chap. 22: [*Ratna*]karmamaṇḍala-vidhivistara.

143. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Ratna-karma-maṇḍala*.

144. Although the “making of extensive offerings” is naturally associated with the *karma-maṇḍala* (cf. [1] (iv), [2] (iv), [3] (iv)), in the *STTS* the rites described in this chapter (H. 2099–2104) are concerned with gaining control over all the Buddhas, obtaining consecration, etc.; each rite is, however, to be performed while “worshipping with all kinds of offerings” (*pūjayan sarvapūjābhīḥ*) or “worshipping all the Buddhas” (*pūjayan sarvabuddhāṃs tu*). (The corresponding section is translated in Snellgrove 1981: 58–59.)

第五四印曼茶羅。具二十一。說引入弟子儀。說修先行法。及說¹四曼茶羅中悉地法。

¹SYMIABCD add 修。

(v) [H. 2110–2122]¹⁴⁵ The fifth is the Four-Seal Maṇḍala,¹⁴⁶ which comprises twenty-one [deities].¹⁴⁷ The ritual for inducting the disciple is explained (H. 2117). It [also] explains methods for practising the preliminary practices,¹⁴⁸ as well as explaining [how to practise] the *siddhi* rites of the [above] four *maṇḍalas*.¹⁴⁹

145. In the *STTS* this constitutes the first part of the epilogue to Part 4.

146. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Maṇi-kula-catur-mudrā-maṇḍala*, and according to Ānandagarbha there are again five versions, i.e., one for each of the Five Buddhas (cf. nn. 42, 132).

147. On the number “twenty-one,” see n. 84.

148. Cf. n. 125.

149. Cf. n. 43.

第六一印曼荼羅。具十三。說引入弟子儀。說修¹一尊法。及修諸藥等三摩地。
¹A omits 修。

(vi) [H. 2123–2126]¹⁵⁰ The sixth is the One-Seal Maṇḍala,¹⁵¹ which comprises thirteen [deities].¹⁵² The ritual for inducting the disciple is explained (H. 2124). It is [also] explained how to practise the single-deity rite and how to practise the *samādhi* for medicines and so forth.¹⁵³

150. In the *STTS* this constitutes the second part of the epilogue to Part 4 (prior to the conclusion to Part 4 as a whole [H. 2127–2130]).

151. In the *STTS* this *maṇḍala* is called *Sarva[-artha]-siddhi*. The exposition of this *ekamudrā-maṇḍala* again seems to have escaped the notice of Donjaku (cf. *KDS* 4: 156c28); cf. n. 45.

152. On the number “thirteen,” see n. 47.

153. The *STTS* describes only a very simple rite (H. 2125) which is said to bring about ‘*kalpa-siddhi*’ (on the interpretation of which see H. 2125, n. 6).

皆是則彼婆伽梵執金剛虛空藏變化。

These are all transformations of Bhagavān Vajradhara Ākāśagarbha.¹⁵⁴

154. This refers to the deities in all six *maṇḍalas* described in Part 4. As noted in n. 141, Ākāśagarbha is the bodhisattva presiding over the Gem Family, with the rites of which Part 4 is concerned, and as such he is identified with Vajradhara (cf. H. 1832). It may also be noted here that T. No. 1145, an Ākāśagarbha ritual translated by Śubhakarasiṃha and made famous because it served as Kūkai’s introduction to Esoteric Buddhism, is said to have been taken from “the section ‘Accomplishment of All Objectives’ in the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*” (金剛頂經成就一切義品; T. 20: 601c9; cf. T. 55: 572a4), that is, Part 4 of the *STTS* (cf. *KKY*:

16a15-b2; *KDS* 1: 124c24-27), although its content does not suggest any direct links with the extant *STTS*.

次都說如前——曼荼羅中祕密助成方便散誦。次後示¹釋迦牟尼佛。降於閻浮提。變化身八相成道。皆是普賢菩薩幻化。一切如來還以一百八名。讚揚金剛薩埵。如是第一會。

¹CD add 現。

Next are explained collectively for each of the previous *maṇḍalas* secret auxiliary and expedient methods of recitation.¹⁵⁵ Then it is shown how the Buddha Śākyamuni descended to Jambūdvīpa and attained enlightenment in eight phases as a transformation-body; these are all illusory transformations of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra.¹⁵⁶ [Then] All the Tathāgatas again extolled Vajrasattva with the One Hundred and Eight Names (H. 3043-3065).¹⁵⁷ Such is the First Assembly.

155. According to Ānandagarbha, Chaps. 23-25 of the *STTS* constitute the *rgyud phyi ma (uttara-tantra)* and Chap. 26 represents the *rgyud phyi ma'i phyi ma (uttarottara-tantra)*, whereas Chaps. 1-22 constitute the *rgyud rtsa ba (mūla-tantra)* (cf. H. 2131). Chaps. 23-25 (*Sarvaka-lpōpāyasiddhi-vidhivistara-tantra* [H. 2132-2403], *Sarvakulakalpa-guhyā-vidhivistara-tantra* [H. 2404-2566], and *Sarvakalpāguhyottara-tantra-vidhivistara* [H. 2567-2708]) consist of sets of generally five verses that express the position of [All] the Tathāgatas and each of the Four Families (*viz.* Tathāgata, Vajra, Lotus and Gem) in regard to the various accomplishments dealt with in Parts 1-4 (parts of which are translated in Snellgrove 1981: 60-61 [=H. 2264-2274, 2324-2333], 63-67 [=H. 2418-2428, 2454-2473, 2592-2603, 2669-2679], 1987: 268 [=H. 2418-2428]). Chap. 26 (*Sarvakalpānuttara-tantra* [H. 2709-2979]), on the other hand, opens with sets of detailed descriptions of ritual procedure for each of the Four Families, and these are followed by further sets of verses, some arranged in family sets and others arranged according to other

methods of categorization. Assuming that my interpretation of the phrase 祕密助成方便散誦 is correct, one might be able to posit a link between these “secret auxiliary and expedient methods of recitation” and the *Sarvathāgatopacāra-vidhivistara* (H. 2712–2811) and *Sarvakulasādhāraṇa-sādhanopacāra-vidhivistara* (H. 2812–2822) in Chap. 26, which both deal specifically with procedures for the recitation of *mantras* (*jāpa*). Matsunaga (1980: 193) states that the Sanskrit text of the *STTS* brought back from India by Amoghavajra consisted of only Parts 1–4, but this final section of Amoghavajra’s synopsis of the 1st Assembly would suggest that his text contained at least embryonic elements of what later evolved into the final four chapters and epilogue of the extant *STTS*.

156. This presumably corresponds to H. 3020–3043 in the final epilogue (H. 2980–3070); in the *STTS* this section consists mainly of a dialogue between Bhagavat (=Vairocana), who has descended from the summit of Mt. Sumeru to the *bodhimaṇḍala*, and the gods. This passage must be understood in conjunction with the opening section of the *STTS*, and the reference here to the “transformation-body” (*nirmāṇa-kāya*) contrasts with the “enjoyment-body” mentioned in connection with Vairocana’s enlightenment in five phases in [1] (i) (cf. n. 19). In the *STTS* Samantabhadra serves in particular as a personification of (*mahā*-)*bodhicitta*, but he is also identified with Mahāvairocana (e.g., H. 17), and it will be this aspect that is being hinted at when it is said that “these are all illusory transformations of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra.” The “eight phases” (not specifically mentioned in the *STTS*) refer to eight major events in the life of Śākyamuni; the practice of selecting eight particular events by which to capsulize the course of Śākyamuni’s career (in contrast to, e.g., the tradition of “twelve deeds” [*mdzad pa bcu gnyis*] prevalent in Tibet) is thought to have been established in China, and among the several traditions concerning the events constituting these “eight phases” the most common (deriving from the *Ssū-chiao i* 四教義 [T. No. 1929] by Chih-i 智顓 [538–597]) is: (1) descent from Tuṣita Heaven, (2) conception, (3) birth, (4) renunciation, (5) subjugation of demons, (6) enlightenment, (7) preaching the Dharma, and

(8) death.

157. In the *STTS* it is Bhagavat (=Vairocana) immediately after his enlightenment at the *bodhimāṇḍa(la)* (*viz.* Śākya-muni) who extols Vajrapāṇi, residing in his own heart, with the One Hundred and Eight Names (*nāmāṣṭaśata*). But prior to this Vairocana has already realized his identity with All the Tathāgatas (cf. H. 3015–3020), and the first of the One Hundred and Eight Names is 'Vajrasattva' (H. 3044); hence Amoghavajra's references to All the Tathāgatas and Vajrasattva are not without foundation.

次說第二會。名一切如來祕密王¹瑜伽。於色究竟天說。具四大品。廣說²微細實相理。及廣說降摩醯首羅³。⁴摩醯首羅天⁵以偈與金剛菩薩酬答。

¹YMCD have 主 for 王。 ²A omits 微細...廣說。 ³BCD add 天。 ⁴SYMIA omit 摩醯首羅。 ⁵B omits 天。

[II] ¹⁵⁸ Next is expounded the Second Assembly, called *Yoga of the King of Secrets of All the Tathāgatas*.¹⁵⁹ It was expounded in the Heaven at the Extremity of [the Realm of] Form (*viz.* Akaniṣṭha).¹⁶⁰ It comprises four main parts,¹⁶¹ and it explains extensively the subtle principle of reality,¹⁶² as well as explaining extensively the subjugation of Maheśvara; the god Maheśvara responds in verse to the Bodhisattva Vajra[sattva].¹⁶³ [KKS 2: 24b–25b; KDS 2: 128b13–129a9]

158. This section is translated in Iyanaga 1985: 663.

159. **Sarva-tathāgata-guhya-rāja-yoga/ Sarva-tathāgata-guhyendra-yoga*. This 2nd Assembly has been tentatively identified by Sakai (1985: 133–134) with the second half of the *Vajraśekharamahāguhyayogatantra* (P. No. 113; hereafter: *Vajraśekhara-tantra*), an explanatory *tantra* of the *STTS*, although this identification (and that of the 3rd Assembly with the first half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra*; see n. 164) has been challenged by Sakurai (1985, 1986), who argues that the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* represents an amalgamation of two originally independent works that were combined

in their present form only at a date considerably after the time of Amoghavajra; Sakurai does, however, accept the possibility that certain elements common to the extant *Vajraśekhara-tantra* and Amoghavajra's summary of the 2nd and 3rd Assemblies had already evolved by the time of Amoghavajra. (A case in point would be two *homa* rituals attributed to Amoghavajra [T. Nos. 908, 909], parts of which have been shown by Sakai [106–121] to tally with a section in the second half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra*, and other parallels between the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* and different works in the Chinese canon have also been pointed out.) The fact that Amoghavajra treats of the 2nd and 3rd Assemblies separately and that they would appear to be related in reverse order to the two parts of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* also suggests two originally separate works. One may note, however, that the chapter titles of the second half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* would indicate that they belonged to a work entitled **Sarva-tathāgata-guhya-sūtreन्द्रa(-rāja)* (*De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi gsang ba'i mdo sde'i dbang po* [rGyud ṅNa 243a2–3], *De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi mdo sde gsang ba'i dbang po* [ṅNa 263b3], *De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi mdo sde'i dbang po gsang ba* [ṅNa 289b1], *De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi gsang ba'i mdo sde'i dbang po'i rgyal po* [ṅNa 301a4]), which is similar to the title of the 2nd Assembly, and provided that the assumption of some connection between the 2nd Assembly and the prototype of the second half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* is correct, then there is probably no need to reject 王 in favour of the variant 主, as suggested by Iyanaga (663, n. 18), who reconstructs the Sanskrit title of the 2nd Assembly as “*Sarvatathāgataguhyapatīyoga?*”

160. No site of exposition is mentioned at the start of the second half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra*, but the Akaniṣṭha Heaven corresponds to the site of the opening scene of the *STTS* (H. 4), of which the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* is (as already noted) an explanatory *tantra*.

161. The second half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* appears to end abruptly midway through Chap. 5; a summary of its contents may be found in Sakai: 132–133; cf. Sakurai 1986: 38. The “four parts” referred to by Amoghavajra

suggest a parallel with Parts 1–4 of the *STTS*, but the exposition of the second half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* goes only as far as Part 2 of the *STTS*.

162. Or “principle of subtle reality”? In this regard one may note that a section bearing the name “*Sūkṣma*” (“Subtle”) appears in Chap. 4 of the second half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* (Ña 292a5–294a8) and deals with a meditation technique involving visualization of the ‘subtle *vajra*’ (*sūkṣma-vajra*), on which see n. 32.

163. An account of the subjugation of Maheśvara and other gods and of their dialogue with Vajrasattva, based on a similar account in Part 2 of the *STTS* ([I] [2]), appears in Chap. 3 of the second half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra*, which is entitled *Khams gsum rnam par rgyal ba* (**Triloka-vijaya*; Ña 263b3–289b2).

[286b] 次說第三會。名一切教集瑜伽。於法界宮殿說。一切如來異口同音。問金剛薩埵菩薩一百八問。金剛薩埵菩薩一一答。此經中說大曼荼羅。五部一部中五曼荼羅。各具三十七。都成一大曼荼羅。一一尊各各說四印。所謂大印。三昧耶印。法印。羯磨印。各說成就法。此經中說一百二十五種護摩爐。一一爐所求各異。

¹SYM have 三 for 二.

[286b] [III] Next is expounded the Third Assembly, called *Yoga of the Collection of All Teachings*.¹⁶⁴ It was expounded in the Dharma-Realm Palace.¹⁶⁵ In unison All the Tathāgatas ask the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva one hundred and eight questions, to each of which the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva replies.¹⁶⁶ In this scripture there is explained a great *maṇḍala*; in each division of the Five Divisions there are five *maṇḍalas* each comprising thirty-seven [deities], and together they constitute a single great *maṇḍala*.¹⁶⁷ For each of the deities there are explained the four seals, namely, the great seal, *samaya*-seal, *dharma*-seal and *karma*-seal, and for each there are explained methods of accomplishment.¹⁶⁸ In this scripture there are [also] explained one hundred and twenty-five kinds of *homa*

hearths; the objective of each hearth differs.¹⁶⁹ [KKS 2: 25b–27a; KDS 2: 129a10–25]

164. **Sarva-kalpa-samuccaya-yoga*. This 3rd Assembly has been tentatively identified by Sakai (1985: 122–173) with the first half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra*, although this identification has been challenged by Sakurai; see n. 159. The first half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* (rGyud Ña 162b2–218b3) is divided into three chapters, and the chapter titles would indicate that they belonged to a work entitled **Sarva-kalpa-samuccaya* (/ *-samgraha[-mahā-tantra-rāja]*) (*rTog pa thams cad bsdus pa* [Ña 210b6–7, 218b1–2], *rTog pa thams cad bsdus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po* [Ña 218b3]). A summary of the contents of these chapters may be found in Sakai: 127–131; cf. Sakurai 1986: 38. Elsewhere Amoghavajra refers to what may be assumed to be this same work by the names **Sarva-kalpa-samuccaya-yoga-sūtra* (一切教集瑜伽經; T. 19: 616c8–9), **Sarva-tathāgata-kalpa-samuccaya-yoga* (一切如來教集瑜伽; T. 18: 899a9) and **Yoga-mahā-guhya-kalpa* (/ *-tantra?*) (瑜伽大祕密教; T. 39: 811c13–14); cf. nn. 167, 169. (The first of these names is misconstrued by Miyasaka [1986: 488–490], who takes only 瑜伽經 [*Yoga-sūtra*] to be the title of a work which, he suggests, may correspond to the *Lüeh-ch'u nien-sung ching*; the passage in question is quoted in n. 167 below.)

165. No site of exposition is mentioned in the first half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra*.

166. According to Sakai (127), the questions posed to Vajrasattva by the Buddhas in the first half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* number about 300, of which about 115 are immediately followed by a reply; Amoghavajra's reference to "108" probably reflects Indic notions of auspiciousness attached to this number.

167. A 'great *maṇḍala*' (*dkyil 'khor chen po*) incorporating five *maṇḍalas* each representing one of the Five Divisions or Families (Tathāgata, Vajra, Gem, Lotus and Action) is described in the second half of Chap. 2 of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra*, and this section (Ña 194a5–203a6) is translated in

Sakai: 143–170. But Amoghavajra's description of the *maṇḍala* of the 3rd Assembly does not necessarily tally with this *maṇḍala*, for the statement that “in each division of the Five Divisions there are five *maṇḍalas* each comprising thirty-seven [deities]” would suggest a “single great *maṇḍala*” consisting of twenty-five *maṇḍalas* (cf. *JSS*: 10b15–16) with thirty-seven deities each (resulting in a total of 925 deities; cf. T. 61: 740a26) and five times the size of the *maṇḍala* of the *Vajrasekhara-tantra*, which consists of five main *maṇḍalas* and a total of 189 deities (for an illustration, see Sakai: 171; cf. Tanaka 1987: 168–170). When commenting in his *Li-ch'ü shih* on Chap. 16 of the *Rishu-kyō* (see n. 182), Amoghavajra similarly states that the Vajra, Gem, Lotus and Action Divisions each have a five-division *maṇḍala*, and in an apparent allusion to a *maṇḍala* similar to that of the 3rd Assembly he continues:

This *maṇḍala* is enormous, as is described in the *Scripture of the Yoga of the Collection of All Teachings* (一切教集瑜伽經: **Sarva-kalpamuccaya-yoga-sūtra*), and the gold-painted *yoga-maṇḍala* of the Great Preceptor of Chien-fu 薦福 [Temple in Ch'ang-an] (*viz.* Vajrabodhi) corresponds to this. (T. 19: 616c8–10)

A copy of this gold-painted *maṇḍala* at Chien-fu Temple is said to have been brought to Japan by Ennin 圓仁, and a copy of this was later made by Eju 惠什, but neither is extant today; for more details, see Sakai: 123–125. Tanaka (1984: 67–68), meanwhile, argues that the order of the first three assemblies may reflect their historical course of development; that is to say, after the appearance of the *STTS* (1st Assembly) there was first composed an explanatory *tantra* (2nd Assembly) today preserved in incomplete form as the second half of the *Vajrasekhara-tantra*, and then with the development of the *maṇḍala* of the Action Family (not found in the *STTS*) there appeared another work integrating the *maṇḍalas* of all Five Families in the form of a single *maṇḍala* incorporating the Five Families (*rigs bsdus pa'i dkyil 'khor*) and today preserved as the first half of the *Vajrasekhara-tantra* (3rd Assembly).

168. There is a brief description of 'seals' and 'near-seals' (*nye ba'i phyag*

rgya/ upamudrā) at the beginning of Chap. 3 of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* (Ña 211a1 *infra*), followed by instructions for a variety of rites, but Sakurai (1985: 386, 1986: 39) points out that there is no exposition of the “four seals” in the first half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra*.

169. Raiyu (*JSS*: 10b13–11a2) suggests that there are five hearths for each of the twenty-five *maṇḍalas* constituting the “great *maṇḍala*,” resulting in a total of 125 hearths. In another apparent reference to the 3rd Assembly, Amoghavajra writes elsewhere that “in the *Yoga of the Collection of the Teachings of All the Tathāgatas* (一切如來教集瑜伽: **Sarva-tathāgata-kalpa-samuccaya-yoga*) there are one hundred and twenty kinds of *homa* based on twenty-five kinds of hearths” (T. 18: 899a9–10) (which calls to mind the “twenty-five kinds of *homa* hearths” mentioned in [I] [2] (iv); cf. n. 81). But in the first half of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra*, where the instructions for *homa* precede the description of the great *maṇḍala* in Chap. 2 (Ña 187a6–192a2; 189b1–8 is translated in Sakai: 115–117), the number of hearths is given as twenty (Ña 189b1), and the varieties of *homa* are also said to number twenty (Ña 189a1, 192a2). In this connection it may be noted that the *I-chüeh* (T. 39: 811c13 *infra*) cites as its authority in a reference to twenty (and a further 110) kinds of *homa* rites and twenty kinds of hearths the *Great Secret Teachings of Yoga* (瑜伽大祕密教: **Yoga-mahā-guhyakalpa[-tantra?]*), which is identified by Sakai (120, n. 19) with the *Vajraśekhara-tantra*.

次說第四會。名降三世¹金剛瑜伽。於須彌盧頂說。金剛藏等八大菩薩。一一尊各說四種曼荼羅。初會說降伏摩醯首羅及諸²天人³曼荼羅授⁴職位⁵授⁶名號。四種曼荼羅。所謂大曼荼羅。三昧耶曼荼羅。法曼荼羅。羯磨曼荼羅。及一一⁷尊說引入弟子儀及成就法。後都說⁸諸⁹尊三昧耶¹⁰結印次第。及說祕密禁戒及祕密修行。

¹I has 母 for 世. ²SYMICD have 說 for 諸. ³SYM have 人 for 入. ⁴SYM IAB have 受 for 授. ⁵SYMIB omit 位. ⁶I has 受 for 授. ⁷SYM have 切 for 一. ⁸AB omit 說. ⁹SYMI omit 諸. ¹⁰I has 邪 for 耶.

[IV]¹⁷⁰ Next is expounded the Fourth Assembly, called *Adamantine Yoga of Victory over the Three Worlds*.¹⁷¹ It was expounded on the summit of [Mt.] Sumeru.¹⁷² Vajragarbha and the other Eight Great Bodhisattvas¹⁷³ each explain the four kinds of *maṇḍalas*.¹⁷⁴ The First Assembly expounded the subjugation of Maheśvara as well as the entry of the gods into the *maṇḍala* and their conferment of duties and conferment of names.¹⁷⁵ The four kinds of *maṇḍalas* are, namely, the great *maṇḍala*, *samaya-maṇḍala*, *dharma-maṇḍala* and *karma-maṇḍala*.¹⁷⁶ Each deity also explains a ritual for inducting the disciple and methods of accomplishment.¹⁷⁷ Thereafter the procedure for *samaya* seal-binding for the deities is fully explained, and the secret prohibitory precepts and secret practices are also explained.¹⁷⁸ [JSS: 13ab; KKS 2: 27a–28b; KDS 2: 129a26–b7]

170. This section is translated in Iyanaga 1985: 664.

171. **Triloka(/Trailokya)-vijaya-vajra-yoga*. This 4th Assembly has been identified by Sakai (1985: 174) with the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākālparāja* (P. No. 115; hereafter: *Trailokyavijaya*), an explanatory *tantra* of Part 2 of the *STTS*. The extant *Trailokyavijaya* consists of a *rtsa ba'i rgyud* (*mūla-tantra*; rGyud Ta 1a1-38b1), *phyi ma'i rgyud* (*uttara-tantra*; Ta 38b1–51b4) and epilogue (Ta 51b4–52a8), and two chapters of the *mūla-tantra* exist in Chinese translation: T. No. 1040 (an Avalokiteśvara ritual translated by Amoghavajra) corresponds to Chap. 4 (Ta 25b7–27b8) with some supplementary passages from the *uttara-tantra*, while the first part of T. No. 1171 (a Mañjuśrī ritual also translated by Amoghavajra) corresponds to Chap. 7 (Ta 33a7–34b3), to which T. Nos. 1172 (translated by Amoghavajra) and 1173 (translated by Vajrabodhi) also exhibit a close affinity; for a comparison of the Tibetan and Chinese texts, see Sakai: 174–185, 186–198.

172. The *Trailokyavijaya* also unfolds on the summit of Mt. Sumeru (Ta 1a3).

173. Chaps. 3–10 of the *Trailokyavijaya* are each concerned with one of eight bodhisattvas, *viz.* Vajrapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha, Vajra-

muṣṭi, Mañjuśrī, Vajracakra, Gaganagañja and Maitreya. Several different enumerations of “Eight Great Bodhisattvas” are found in various Mahāyāna and Tantric works, but the eight bodhisattvas given in the *Trailokyavijaya* resemble most closely those appearing in the *Rishu-kyō* cycle (and *STTS*: H. 5; see nn. 182, 184), with which the *Trailokyavijaya* would appear to be closely connected (cf. Kawashima 1989). There is, however, no mention of Vajragarbha in any of the standard lists of Eight Great Bodhisattvas.

174. In the *Trailokyavijaya*, the four standard types of *maṇḍalas* are explained in each of the eight chapters devoted to the eight bodhisattvas, but as is noted by Sakai (174, 187), they are described not in the standard order of *mahā-*, *samaya-*, *dharma-* and *karma-maṇḍala* (as given by Amoghavajra), but in the order *mahā-*, *dharma-*, *samaya-* and *karma-maṇḍala*. (Sections on the *mahā-maṇḍala* in Chaps. 1 and 3 are translated in Sakai: 252–256.)

175. Chap. 1 of the *Trailokyavijaya* (esp. to Ta 6a7) gives an account of the subjugation of Maheśvara and other gods based on Part 2 of the *STTS*.

176. See n. 174.

177. In the *Trailokyavijaya*, rites of induction and various other rites are explained in varying degrees of detail in each chapter of the *mūla-tantra*.

178. There are parallels between this sentence and the content of the *uttara-tantra* of the *Trailokyavijaya*, which includes a long section on seal-binding (*phyag rgya bcing pa/ mudrā-bandha*; Ta 40a2–45b8), a description of the *ācārya*'s observances (*brtul zhugs/ vrata*; Ta 50b3–51a5) in the section on the *ācārya* (*slob dpon*; Ta 50a3–51a6), and a section on secret accomplishment (*gsang ba[i] bsgrub pa/ rahasya-sādhana*; Ta 45b8–46a4).

第五會名世間出世間金剛瑜伽。於波羅奈國空界中¹。略說五佛曼荼羅。及諸菩薩諸外金剛部曼荼羅。一一曼荼羅具四種。各說引入弟子儀及求悉地法。

¹CD add 說。

[V] The Fifth Assembly is called *Adamantine Yoga of the Mundane and*

Supramundane.¹⁷⁹ [It was expounded] in the realm of space [above] the kingdom of Vārāṇasī. It briefly explains the *maṇḍalas* of the Five Buddhas and the *maṇḍalas* of bodhisattvas and those of the External Vajra Division.¹⁸⁰ Each *maṇḍala* comprises four types, and for each are explained a ritual for inducting the disciple and methods for seeking *siddhi*. [KKS 2: 28b–29a; KDS 2: 129b8–13]

179. **Laukika-lokottara-vajra-yoga*. This 5th Assembly has been identified by Sakai (1985: 199, 252, 306) with the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra*, an explanatory *tantra* of Parts 2 and 3 of the *STTS*, but he offers no concrete evidence to substantiate this identification. A work entitled *Laukikalokottaravajra-tantra* is quoted in the *Tattvasiddhi* (P. No. 4531; rGyud.'grel Nu 33a4–6) attributed to Śāntarakṣita, and it would seem more reasonable to posit a connection between this work and the 5th Assembly. (For the reference to the *Laukikalokottaravajra-tantra* I must acknowledge my debt to Matsumoto Shirō 松本史朗, Yoshimizu Chizuko and Yoshimizu Kiyotaka 吉水清孝, together with whom I read two Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Tattvasiddhi*. Presumably referring to the same work, Tanaka [1987: 268] calls it the *Sarvalaukikalokottara Tantra*.)

180. **Bāhya-vajra-kula*. The interpretation of this term is problematical (see n. 92), but here and below I provisionally translate it as “External Vajra Division.”

第六會名大安樂不空三昧耶眞實瑜伽。於他化自在天宮說。此經中說普賢菩薩曼荼羅。次說毘盧遮那曼荼羅。次後說金剛藏等至金剛拳菩薩及外金剛部。說般若理趣。一一尊具說四種曼荼羅。各說引入弟子儀。授理趣般若波羅蜜多法¹及受²四種印法。品³中各說求世間出世間悉地法。

¹SYMICD omit 法. ²SYMICD have 授 for 受. ³CD add 品.

[VI]¹⁸¹ The Sixth Assembly is called *Yoga of the Truth of the Infallible Samaya of Great Bliss*,¹⁸² and it was expounded in the Palace of the Gods Who Control the Magical Creations of Others (*viz.* Paranirmitavaśa-

artin).¹⁸³ In this scripture is explained the *maṇḍala* of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. Next is explained the *maṇḍala* of Vairocana. Thereafter are explained [the *maṇḍalas* of] the Bodhisattvas Vajragarbha and so forth up to Vajramuṣṭi as well as the External Vajra Division,¹⁸⁴ and the guiding principle of *prajñā* is explained.¹⁸⁵ Each deity fully explains the four kinds of *maṇḍalas*, and each explains a ritual for inducting the disciple, the methods for conferring the guiding principle *prajñāpāramitā*, and the methods for conferring the four kinds of seals.¹⁸⁶ In [each] section each [deity] explains the methods for seeking mundane and supramundane *siddhi*. [JSS: 13b–15b; KKS 2: 29a–30b; KDS 2: 129b14–23]

181. An abridged translation of this section is given in Tajima 1959:148, and it is also summarized in Astley-Kristensen 1991: 21–22.

182. **Mahā-sukhāmogha-samaya-tattva-yoga*. This 6th Assembly was identified already by Kūkai (T. 61: 611a24–25, 612b9) with Amoghavajra's translation of the *Rishu-kyō* 理趣經 (T. No. 243; for an annotated translation of this work, see Astley-Kristensen). *Rishu-kyō* (*[*Prajñāpāramitā*]naya-sūtra) is the Japanese generic designation for a corpus of scriptures broadly divided into two groups of shorter and longer works (for want of a better word, I will use the term *Rishu-kyō* when referring to this corpus as a whole): the former comprises the *Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Sanskrit, P. No. 121 (=P. No. 740) in Tibetan, and T. Nos. 220 (fasc. 578) and 240–243 in Chinese, while the latter comprises P. Nos. 119, 120 and 123 in Tibetan and T. Nos. 244 and 886 in Chinese (for details on these texts, see Astley-Kristensen: 8–22). The relationship between the shorter and longer versions, as well as between the individual texts, is complex (for an overview of research history and the issues involved, see Matsunaga 1980: 198–231), and it is the *Śrīparamādya* (corresponding to P. Nos. 119–120 and T. No. 244) to which the 6th Assembly is now thought to be most closely related. The *Śrīparamādya* may be divided into three distinct parts or cycles which originally existed as independent works but were later combined to form a single work; P. No.

119 (*Śrīparamādyā nāma mahāyānakalparāja*) corresponds to Part 1 and P. No. 120 (*Śrīparamādyā-mantrakalpakhanda nāma*) to Parts 2 and 3, while T. No. 244 consists of only Parts 1 and 3. (Strictly speaking, the first section of P. No. 120 [rGyud Ta 178a7–179a4] also belongs to Part 1.) Although Matsunaga (216; cf. Astley-Kristensen: 22) states that “the content of the account [of the 6th Assembly] in the *Shih-pa-hui chih-kuei* bears no very close relationship to the extant extended version [i.e., *Śrīparamādyā*],” Tanaka (1984: 68, 1987: 183; cf. Sakai 1985: 305–306) believes that the 6th Assembly is related specifically to Part 1 of the *Śrīparamādyā*, which also bears the name **Mahā-sukha-vajrāmogha-samaya-mahā-kalpa-rāja* (*bDe ba chen po rdo rje don yod pa'i dam tshig gi rlog pa'i rgyal po chen po* [rGyud Ta 178a5]) and corresponds in content largely with the shorter versions of the *Rishu-kyō*.

183. This tallies with the place of exposition given in Part 1 of the *Śrīparamādyā* (Ta 154a5; T. 8: 786b22–23) and in fact in all versions of the *Rishu-kyō* except for the Sanskrit text (the first section of which is corrupt) and P. No. 123 (and T. No. 886); it is dealt with in detail by Astley-Kristensen (56–63).

184. This sequence of names has baffled the commentators since it differs from the order suggested by the *Rishu-kyō*. If Samantabhadra is equated with Vajrasattva (cf. *JSS*: 15a10; *KKS* 2: 30a17–b1), as he often is, then the *maṇḍalas* of Samantabhadra and Vairocana would correspond to the *maṇḍalas* described in Chaps. 1 and 2 of the *Rishu-kyō*, while the reference to the “External Vajra Division” would suggest links with Chaps. 12–15 (Chap. 12 in the *Śrīparamādyā*). Amoghavajra’s reference to “the Bodhisattvas Vajragarbha and so forth up to Vajramuṣṭi,” however, is problematical for although Chaps. 3–10 are concerned with eight bodhisattvas (Trailokyavijaya, Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha, Vajramuṣṭi, Mañjuśrī, Sahacittotpādadharmacakrapravartin, Gaganagaṇja and Sarvamārabala-pramardin), Vajragarbha does not figure in this list, nor does it end with Vajramuṣṭi. Both Raiyu (*JSS*: 15b5) and Yūkai (*KKM*: 5b4–6; *KKS* 2: 30b5–9) identify Vajragarbha with Ākāśagarbha, although Yūkai (*KKS* 2:

30b2–12) suggests other possibilities as well. Astley-Kristensen (22) identifies this sequence of bodhisattvas from Vajragarbha to Vajramuṣṭi with the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas (of the *STTS* cycle), with Vajragarbha corresponding to Vajrasattva, but if Vajragarbha is to be identified with one of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, it should probably be with Vajraratna/Ākāśagarbha, whose ‘adamantine name’ (*vajra-nāma*) is Vajragarbha (cf. H. 68).

185. **Prajñā-naya*. On the term *naya* (*li-ch’ül rishu* 理趣), cf. Astley Kristensen: 27. (I have adopted his translation of “guiding principle” for this term.) Each chapter of Part 1 of the *Śrīparamādyā* is devoted to a different formulation of “the guiding principle of *prajñā*.”

186. If we accept Tanaka’s thesis that the 6th Assembly is in some way related to Part 1 of the *Śrīparamādyā* (which is not meant to imply that the latter already existed in its extant form at the time of Amoghavajra), then this and the following sentence may be regarded as a fair summary of Part 1, although the “four kinds of *maṇḍalas*” and “four kinds of seals” are not necessarily explained individually. Donjaku (*KDS* 1: 125a29–34) also notes the correspondence between the reference here to “mundane and supramundane *siddhi*” and T. No. 244 (i.e., *Śrīparamādyā*).

第七會名普賢瑜伽。於普賢菩薩宮殿中說。¹此經中說普賢菩薩等至金剛拳菩薩及〔286c〕外金剛部。一一尊各說四種曼荼羅。說引入弟子儀。說受四種印。修世間出世間悉地。此經中說修行人無²時無²方。不依世間禁戒。以菩提心為先。無為戒為本。

¹I omits 此經; SYMABCD omit 此經中說. ²Y has 元 for 無.

[VII] The Seventh Assembly is called *Yoga of Samantabhadra*,¹⁸⁷ and it was expounded in the Palace of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra.¹⁸⁸ In this scripture are expounded the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra and so forth up to the Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi, as well as [286c] the External Vajra Division.¹⁸⁹ Each deity explains the four kinds of *maṇḍalas*, explains a ritual for inducting the disciple, and explains the conferment of the four

kinds of seals and the cultivation of mundane and supramundane *siddhi*.¹⁹⁰ In this scripture it is explained that the practitioner is without time and without direction,¹⁹¹ does not adhere to mundane prohibitory precepts, gives priority to the *bodhi*-mind, and regards the unconditioned precepts¹⁹² as fundamental. [*JSS*: 15b; *KKS* 2: 30b–31a; *KDS* 2: 129b24–c16]

187. **Samantabhadra-yoga*. Tanaka (1984: 68; 1987: 183) believes that this 7th Assembly corresponds to Part 2 of the *Śrīparamādyā* (cf. n. 182; rGyud Ta 179a4–209b1), which bears the name **Mahā-sukha-vajra-guhyā-mahā-kalpa-rāja* (*bDe ba chen po rje gsang ba'i rlog pa'i rgyal po chen po* [Ta 187a4–5, etc.]). Donjaku (*KDS* 2: 129c1–3) suggests that T. No. 1124 (a Vajrasattva ritual of the *Rishu-kyō* cycle translated by Amoghavajra and linked by Raiyu to the 13th Assembly [see n. 211]) derives from this 7th Assembly, and it may also be noted that the title of T. No. 1121 (a similar ritual) contains the term **Samantabhadra-yoga-mahā-kalpa-rāja-sūtra* (金剛頂普賢瑜伽大教王經大樂不空金剛薩埵一切時方成就儀), abbreviated to **Samantabhadra-yoga-sūtra* in the end title (普賢瑜伽經大樂金剛薩埵成就儀軌); cf. Tanaka 1987: 267. In addition, Sakai (1985: 272) writes, “In the writer’s view, it would seem that according to the explanation in the *Shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*, [the *Śrīvajraṃḍalālamkāra nāma mahātantrarāja*] may correspond to the Eighth Assembly *Samantabhadra-yoga*.” “Eighth Assembly” is presumably an error for “Seventh Assembly” (cf. Sakai: 10, 306), but he does not elaborate on its correspondences with the *Śrīvajraṃḍalālamkāra* (P. No. 123), which is one of the longer versions of the *Rishu-kyō* corpus.

188. In support of his thesis that the 7th Assembly corresponds to Part 2 of the *Śrīparamādyā*, Tanaka (1984: 68) states that the latter was also expounded in the palace of Samantabhadra, but strictly speaking, according to the Tibetan text, the Tathāgata Mahāvairocana was residing in the palace of Mahāsukha-Vajrasattva (*bDe-ba chen-po rDo-rje sems-dpa'*; Ta 179b1), who may however be equated with Samantabhadra. Donjaku (*KDS* 2: 129c11–16) maintains that Samantabhadra’s palace is located on the

summit of Mt. Sumeru.

189. On this sequence of names, see n. 184. In the 10th Assembly the sequence of bodhisattvas from Samantabhadra to Vajramuṣṭi is specifically referred to as the “Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas.”

190. These somewhat stereotypical statements are not closely reflected in the content of Part 2 of the *Śrīparamādya* (for a summary of which see Fukuda 1987: 94–101).

191. I. e., “is not bound by auspicious/inauspicious times and directions” or perhaps even “transcends time and space.” This phrase calls to mind the title of the aforementioned T. No. 1121 (see n. 187), the latter half of which might be translated as “Ritual for the Accomplishment of Mahāsukhāmogha-Vajrasattva at All Times and in All Places.”

192. **asamskrta-śīla*. This term appears in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra* (P. No. 126, T. No. 848) in Chap. 1 (rGyud Tha 118b3: 'dus ma byas kyi tshul khrims; T. 18: 2a2–3) and also in Chap. 20 (Chap. 18 in the Chinese), where it is contrasted with **samskrta-śīla* (Tha 185b4–5: 'dus byas kyi tshul khrims; T. 18: 40a11–12). Cf. Tajima 1936: 62, n. 8; Wayman and Tajima 1992: 276, n. 137.

第八會名勝初瑜伽。於普賢宮殿說。普賢菩薩等至外金剛部。各各說四種曼茶羅。說實相理。及分別諸曼茶羅儀則。稍廣於第七會說。大略同。

[VIII] The Eighth Assembly is called *Supreme First Yoga*,¹⁹³ and it was expounded in the Palace of Samantabhadra. The Bodhisattva Samantabhadra and so forth up to the External Vajra Division each explain the four kinds of *maṇḍalas*, explain the principle of reality and differentiate the ritual rules for the various *maṇḍalas*.¹⁹⁴ It is somewhat more extensive than the exposition of the Seventh Assembly but is largely the same.¹⁹⁵ [JSS: 16a; KKS 2: 31a–32a; KDS 2: 129c17–26]

193. **Paramādya-yoga*. Tanaka (1984: 68; 1987: 183; cf. Sakai 1985: 305–306) believes that this 8th Assembly corresponds to Part 3 of the

Śrīparamādyā (cf. n. 182; rGyud Ta 209b1–277a5), which bears the name **Śrīparamādyā-mahā-kalpa-rāja* (*dPal mchog dang po'i rtog pa chen po'i rgyal po* [Ta 219bl, etc.], *dPal mchog dang po'i rtog pa'i rgyal po chen po* [Ta 221b8]). It is to be noted that the titles of two Vajrasattva rituals belonging to the *Rishu-kyō* cycle and translated by Amoghavajra indicate that they are based on a work similarly entitled **Paramādyā-yoga-sūtra* (T. No. 1120A: 金剛頂勝初瑜伽經中略出大樂金剛薩埵念誦儀) or **Paramādyā-yoga* (T. No. 1123: 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法), while a gloss added to the title of a third (T. No. 1119) states that it was taken from a **Śrīparamādyā-kalpa-rāja-yoga-sūtra* (吉祥勝初教王瑜伽經); cf. *KKS* 2: 31b17–32a7; *KDS* 1: 125a12–17. These three works are primarily concerned with the Five Mysteries and evidence an affinity with Chap. 1 in Part 3 of the *Śrīparamādyā* (cf. Fukuda 1987: 48–49). This would support Tanaka's thesis that the 8th Assembly corresponds to Part 3 of the *Śrīparamādyā*, which would however have probably existed only in an embryonic form at the time of Amoghavajra (cf. Matsunaga 1980: 218).

194. These statements are too generalized to permit of any meaningful comparison with Part 3 of the *Śrīparamādyā*.

195. In support of his thesis that the 8th Assembly corresponds to Part 3 of the *Śrīparamādyā*, Tanaka (1984: 68) points out that although Parts 2 and 3 are of essentially similar content, the latter is longer than the former, which accords with this statement by Amoghavajra.

第九會名一切佛集會拏吉尼戒網瑜伽。於真言宮殿說¹。此中說立自身為本尊瑜伽。詞身外主²形像瑜伽者。廣說實相理。并說五部根源。并說瑜伽法。具九味。所謂華麗^{金剛}勇健³慈悲⁴喜笑⁵瞋怒⁶恐怖⁷厭患⁸奇特⁹寂靜¹⁰。說普賢菩薩等至金剛拳。各說四種曼荼羅。及引入弟子儀。及受⁴四種印。并說五部中歌讚舞儀。

¹SYMI omit 說. ²YM have 至 for 主, while CD have 立. ³A omits 金剛薩埵 and the subsequent eight glosses. ⁴SYMICD have 授 for 受.

[IX]¹⁹⁶ The Ninth Assembly is called *Yoga of the Net of Dākinī Precepts of*

the Assembly of All the Buddhas,¹⁹⁷ and it was expounded in the Mantra Palace. Herein is explained the *yoga* whereby one makes of one's own person the chief deity, and it criticizes the *yogin* who makes of images outside the body [the chief deity].¹⁹⁸ It expounds extensively the principle of reality, as well as explaining the root source of the Five Divisions¹⁹⁹ and explaining the methods of *yoga*, which are endowed with nine tastes,²⁰⁰ namely, "splendour" (Vajrasattva), "valour" (Vairocana), "great compassion" (Vajradhara), "mirth" (Avalokiteśvara), "anger" (Vajrateja), "terror" (Trailokyavijaya), "disgust" (Śakyamuni Buddha), "wonder" (Vajrahāsa) and "tranquillity" (Vairocana in *yoga*). It explains how the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra and so forth up to Vajramuṣṭi each explain the four kinds of *maṇḍalas*, a ritual for inducting the disciple, and the conferment of the four kinds of seals.²⁰¹ It also explains the rituals of song, praise and dance for the Five Divisions.²⁰² [*JSS*: 16ab; *KKS* 2: 32a–34a; *KDS* 2: 129c27–131a9]

196. This section is translated in Tanaka 1994.

197. **Sarva-buddha-samāyoga-dākinī-saṃvara-jāla-yoga*. This 9th Assembly has been identified by Sakai (1944: 23) with the *Sarva-buddhasamāyoga-dākinī-jālasaṃvara-tantra* (hereafter: *Samāyoga-tantra*), of which the Tibetan canon preserves the *uttara-tantra* (P. No. 8) and *uttarottara-tantra* (P. No. 9), although according to Bu-ston the *mūla-tantra* was also translated into Tibetan (Nishioka 1983: 1529). Tanaka (1987: 210) suggests that the 9th Assembly corresponds to this lost *mūla-tantra*. The first comprehensive, although inconclusive, comparison of the 9th Assembly with the *Samāyoga-tantra* was undertaken by Fukuda (1987: 486–502; first pub. 1974). Since then Tanaka has published several articles shedding light on different aspects of Amoghavajra's summary of the 9th Assembly (1984, 1989, 1992, 1994; Tanaka 1994 is an English version of Tanaka 1992), and he has also demonstrated that T. No. 1051 and P. No. 376 (*Lokeśvarakalpa*) are both based on the *Samāyoga-tantra* (1993; cf. 1984: 65). Not only is the *Samāyoga-tantra* considered to be the oldest of the Mother Tantras (which means that Amoghavajra's summary "can

probably be regarded as the germinal description of the Prajñā-Mother Tantra scriptures" [Matsunaga 1969: 94]), but Tanaka (1984: 67–70) also argues that the 6th to 9th Assemblies reflect a progressive evolution in the content of the works to which these assemblies are thought to correspond, going back as far as the early versions of the *Rishu-kyō* and culminating in the *Samāyoga-tantra*.

198. I follow texts CD (and Kūkai, Raiyu, etc.) in reading 立 for 主; Fukuda (495) makes “*yogin*” (瑜伽者) the subject of “expounds extensively” (廣說; cf. Tanaka 1984: 71, n. 12). Fukuda (500; 502, n. 23) cites (inaccurately) the following verse from Chap. 1 of the *uttara-tantra* of the *Samāyoga-tantra* as evidence of a comparable emphasis on the internal union of the practitioner and deity without having recourse to external aids: *bdag nyid sangs rgyas thams cad dangl dpa' bo thams cad bdag yin noll de bas bdag nyid lhar sbyor bas/ bdag nyid rab tu bsgrub par ball* (rGyud Ka 165a6). But a more direct expression of the same tendency is provided by the following verse from the same chapter quoted in the *Jñānasiddhi* (Bhattacharyya 1929: 85.18–19): *na yogaḥ pratibimbeṣu niṣiktādiṣu jāyate/ bodhicittamahāyogāt yogin astena devatāll* (=Ka 165a4–5; cf. Takahashi 1977: 103).

199. As is indicated by the characterization of the *Samāyoga-tantra* as representing “the equality of the six families” (*rigs drug ka mnyam pa*) in the traditional sevenfold classification of the Mother Tantras, the *maṇḍalas* described in the *Samāyoga-tantra* combine the *maṇḍalas* of six families (Vajrasattva, Vairocana, Heruka, Padmanarteśvara, Vajrasūrya and Paramāśva), but as has been demonstrated by Tanaka (1984: 60–67), these have evolved from the five families of the *Śrīparamādya* (Vajrasattva, Tathāgata, Vajra, Lotus and Gem), and so the reference to “Five Divisions” here and at the end of this section would suggest that the concept of six families had not yet evolved at the time of Amoghavajra.

200. The “nine tastes” have been dealt with in detail by Tanaka who, with reference to Chap. 9 of the *uttara-tantra* of the *Samāyoga-tantra* and the corresponding commentary, shows that they correspond to the *navarasa*, an important concept in Indian art and dramaturgy; for details see Tanaka

1989, 1992, 1994. The Sanskrit equivalents of the “nine tastes” are as follows: *śṛṅgāra* (華麗), *vīra* (勇健), *karuṇa* (大悲), *hāsya* (喜笑), *raudra* (瞋怒), *bhayānaka* (恐怖), *bībhatsa* (厭患), *adbhuta* (奇特) and *sānta* (寂靜).

201. Although this is again a stereotypical summation, Fukuda (499–500), identifying the sequence of bodhisattvas from Samantabhadra to Vajramuṣṭi with the Sixteen [Great] Bodhisattvas (perhaps because they are so defined in the following 10th Assembly), remarks that they do not necessarily all figure in the extant *Samāyoga-tantra*.

202. In the *Samāyoga-tantra* there are references to song (*glu*) and dance (*gar*) in, e.g., Chap. 8 of the *uttara-tantra* (Ka 180b2–181b7), which deals with offerings.

第十會名大三昧耶瑜伽。於法界宮殿說。普賢菩薩等至金剛拳菩薩¹十六大²菩薩。各各說四種曼荼羅。說引入弟子儀。受³四種印法。此中說偈云。

愚童覆無智 不知此理趣 餘處而求佛 不悟此處有
十方世界中 餘處不可得 心自爲等覺 餘處不說佛

¹SYMI omit 菩薩. ²A omits 大. ³SYMICD have 授 for 受.

[X] The Tenth Assembly is called *Great Samaya Yoga*,²⁰³ and it was expounded in the Dharma-Realm Palace. The Bodhisattva Samantabhadra and the other Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas up to the Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi each explain the four kinds of *maṇḍalas* and explain a ritual for inducting the disciple and the methods for conferring the four kinds of seals. Herein is expounded the following verse:

The foolish child is shrouded in ignorance and does not know this guiding principle;

Seeking the Buddha elsewhere, he does not realize that [the Buddha] is here.

[The Buddha] is unobtainable anywhere else in the world-systems of the ten directions;

The mind itself is the Enlightened One, and the Buddha is not taught to

be anywhere else. [KKS 2: 34ab; KDS 2: 131a10–b16]

203. **Mahā-samaya-yoga*. Neither past commentators nor modern scholars appear to have pinpointed any works in the extant canon that might correspond to this 10th Assembly. (The analogous *Mahāsamaya-tantra* has been shown to correspond to the 13th Assembly; see n. 211.)

第十一會名大乘現證瑜伽。於阿迦尼吒天說。毘盧遮那佛等至金剛¹毘首羯磨菩薩及八大供養四攝。出生同真實攝瑜伽。一一尊具四種曼荼羅四種印。廣說實相理²。心建立曼荼羅儀則。

¹SYMIAB have 金剛至 for 至金剛. ²A omits 理.

[XI] The Eleventh Assembly is called *Yoga of the Realization of the Great Vehicle*,²⁰⁴ and it was expounded in the Akaniṣṭha Heaven. The Buddha Vairocana and others up to the Bodhisattva Vajraviśvakarma²⁰⁵ as well as the Eight Great Offering [Goddesses] and the Four Gatekeepers generate a *yoga* the same as that of the *Compendium of Truth*. Each deity is endowed with the four kinds of *maṇḍalas* and the four kinds of seals. Explained extensively are the principle of reality and the ritual rules for mentally constructing a *maṇḍala*. [JSS: 16b–17a; KKS 2: 34b; KDS 2: 131b17–28]

204. **Mahāyānābhisamaya-yoga*. It will be recalled that Part 1 of the *STTS* is called *Sarvatathāgatamahāyānābhisamayo nāma mahārājakalpa* (cf. n. 15), and when one further takes into account the references in the summary of this 11th Assembly to Akaniṣṭha Heaven, the majority of the thirty-seven central deities of the *STTS* cycle, and the *Compendium of Truth* **Tattva-saṃgraha*; “Compendium of Truth” [*Chên-shih-shê* 真實攝 or *Shê-chên-shih* 攝真實] is the standard Chinese equivalent of *Tattvasaṃgraha* [i.e., *STTS*]), it may be supposed that this 11th Assembly has particularly close links with Part 1 of the *STTS*. The reference to “mentally constructing a *maṇḍala*” also accords with the chief distinguishing feature of the *Yoga Tantras*, that is, the emphasis on inner mental visualization

rather than outer ritual action. Tanaka (1987: 267; erroneously marked “[Assembly] 10”) suggests in fact that the 11th Assembly may possibly correspond to the *Chu-fo ching-chieh shê chên-shih ching* 諸佛境界攝真實經 (T. No. 868; translated by Prajñā, probably between 806 and 810), the greater part of which provides instructions for visualizing the thirty-seven deities of the *STTS* cycle and performing associated rites and which is obviously closely related to Chap. 1, Part 1, of the *STTS*, even if it is not a true translation and shows evidence of having been edited to at least some degree by Prajñā.

205. The name “Vajraviśvakarma” may be regarded as a composite name combining elements of Vajraviśva, Vajrakarma and Viśvakarma, all alternative names of the thirteenth of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas; cf. *JSS*: 16b12–17.

[287a] 第十二會名三昧耶最勝瑜伽。於空界菩提場說。毘盧遮那等四部中上首菩薩。金剛拳等¹八菩薩及外金剛部。各各說四種曼茶²羅四印等。八³此經中。於自身上建立曼茶羅。說自身本尊瑜伽。廣說阿字門通達於染淨有爲無爲無礙。

¹BCD add 二十; SYMI add 第. ²Hereafter the Taishō text correctly has 茶 for 曼, but for the sake of consistency, and also because it is possibly a typographical error, I adhere to 茶. ³SYM omit 八.

[287a] [XII] The Twelfth Assembly is called *Samaya Supreme Yoga*,²⁰⁶ and it was expounded at the *bodhi*-site in the realm of space. Vairocana and so forth, the foremost bodhisattvas of the Four Divisions,²⁰⁷ Vajramuṣṭi and the other Eight Bodhisattvas,²⁰⁸ and the External Vajra Division each explain the four kinds of *maṇḍalas*, the four seals and so forth. In this scripture²⁰⁹ one constructs the *maṇḍala* on one's own person, it explains the *yoga* in which one's own person is the chief deity, and it is explained extensively how the teaching of the letter A²¹⁰ is unimpeded in penetrating defilement and purity and the conditioned and unconditioned. [*JSS*: 17ab; *KKS* 2: 35a–36a; *KDS* 2: 131b29–c27]

206. **Samaya-parama(/-vijaya)-yoga*. Neither past commentators nor modern scholars appear to have pinpointed any works in the extant canon that might correspond to this 12th Assembly.
207. Presumably Vajrasattva, Vajraratna, Vajradharma and Vajrakarma (cf. Donjaku, *KDS* 2: 131c11–12), although Raiyu (*JSS*: 17a16–17) suggests that they correspond to the Four Pāramitās.
208. The texts used by Raiyu and Donjaku had 二十八 (“twenty-eight”) instead of 八 (“eight”), as do texts BCD above, but their interpretations of the “twenty-eight bodhisattvas” differ in accordance with their differing interpretations of the “foremost bodhisattvas of the Four Divisions” (cf. n. 207): according to Raiyu (*JSS*: 17b1–2) they comprise the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, Eight Offering Goddesses and Four Gatekeepers, while according to Donjaku (*KDS* 2: 131c12–13) they consist of the twelve bodhisattvas among the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas other than Vajrasattva, Vajraratna, Vajradharma and Vajrakarma and the Four Pāramitās, Eight Offering Goddesses and Four Gatekeepers.
209. I follow texts SYM in omitting 八 (“eight”).
210. The “teaching of the letter A” (lit., “gate of the letter A”; *a-kāra-mukha*) refers to the doctrinal concept symbolized by the Sanskrit letter A, that is, (*ādy-*)*anutpāda* or “the state of being (originally) non-arisen,” an idea to which great importance is attached in the Shingon sect (where it is generally referred to as *aji-honpushō* 阿字本不生), but which is usually associated with the *Vairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra* rather than with the *STTS* (see, e.g., Tajima 1959: 17–18).

第十三會名大三昧耶¹真實瑜伽。於金剛界曼荼羅道場說。十方一切²佛異口同音。請金剛薩埵。唯³願說三昧耶真實教法。我等先已受訖。唯³願金剛薩埵為諸菩薩既授⁴請已。說普賢菩薩十七字真言。說適悅不空曼荼羅。具十七。亦說四種曼荼羅。說一百八道契。說通求世間出世間悉地。隨此諸菩薩及外金剛部。各各說本曼荼羅本真言本契印⁵竟。普賢菩薩⁶說祕密中曼荼羅十七尊支分。各復入本尊身。共成五尊。同居一蓮花臺。說一字真言。從眼口及

一切支分。變異即成印。但住大印結羯磨印。不待先行。不籍⁷結護加持。亦不假迎請。宿業罪障不能陵⁸逼。亦不障礙。速疾成就。

¹I has 邪 for 耶. ²CD add 諸. ³SYMI have 惟 for 唯. ⁴SYMIABCD have 說得 for 既授. ⁵SYMIABCD have 印契 for 契印. ⁶D adds 復. ⁷SYM have 藉 for 籍. ⁸SYM have 凌 for 陵.

[XIII] The Thirteenth Assembly is called *Yoga of the Truth of the Great Samaya*,²¹¹ and it was expounded at the site of the Maṇḍala of the Adamantine Realm.²¹² In unison all the Buddhas of the ten directions entreat Vajrasattva,²¹³ [saying] “We beseech you to explain the teachings of the truth about *samaya*; we have already received them previously, and we only ask you, Vajrasattva, to explain them for the bodhisattvas.” Having received their entreaties,²¹⁴ he expounds the seventeen-syllable *mantra* of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra,²¹⁵ explains the Maṇḍala of Delight Infallible which comprises seventeen [deities],²¹⁶ also explains the four kinds of *maṇḍalas*,²¹⁷ explains the one hundred and eight path-pledges,²¹⁸ and explains how to seek both mundane and supramundane *siddhi*,²¹⁹ and when these bodhisattvas and the External Vajra Division have each finished explaining their own *maṇḍala*, own *mantra* and own pledge-seal,²²⁰ the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra explains the most secret *maṇḍala* composed of seventeen deities, who each reenter the body of the chief deity and combine to form five deities residing together on a single lotus pedestal.²²¹ [Also] explained is the single-syllable *mantra*,²²² and the eyes, mouth and all parts of the body are transformed to become seals.²²³ One dwells only in the great seal and binds the *karma*-seal,²²⁴ and one neither bothers with preliminary practices, nor resorts to the empowerment of protection by [seal-]binding, nor makes use of invocation; sin-caused hindrances resulting from residual karma are unable to oppress one, nor do they cause any obstacles, and one will be quickly successful.²²⁵ [JSS: 17b–19b; KKS 2: 36ab; KDS 2: 131c28–132b10]

211. **Mahā-samaya-tattva-yoga*. Sakai (1985: 290–303) suggests that the

Pi-mi san-mei ta-chiao-wang ching 祕密三昧大教王經 (T. No. 883; hereafter: *Pi-mi san-mei ching*), translated in 4 fasc. by Dānapāla *et al.*, corresponds to this 13th Assembly. Not only is the term *mahā-samaya-tattva* (大三昧[耶]眞實) frequently used throughout this work, but at the end of what Sakai considers to represent the *mūla-tantra* we read that “this is called the **Uttama(/Parama)-guhya-mahā-samaya-tattva-tantra*” (此名最上祕密大三昧耶眞實儀軌; T. 18: 459b8), while the following section, which Sakai identifies with the *uttara-tantra*, is called “the *uttara-tantra* among all the *tantras* of the **Mahā-samaya-mahā-kalpa-rāja*” (大三昧耶大教王一切儀軌中最上儀軌; 462a15–16). Sakai (292) further points out that a *Mahāsamaya-tantra* is quoted in the *Jñānasiddhi* (Bhattacharyya 1929: 83–84), for which the Tibetan translation has *'Dus pa'i dam tshig gi de kho na nyid* (rGyud-'grel Mi 58b8), which in turn partially parallels “Collected Great Samaya” (總集大三昧耶; 463a13), regarded by Sakai as an alternative title of the *Pi-mi san-mei ching*; in addition, the verses quoted from the *Mahāsamaya-tantra* in the *Jñānasiddhi* have parallels in the *Pi-mi san-mei ching* (see Takahashi 1977: 105–104; cf. Sakai: 297–298, 302, n. 26). Judging from its content, the *Pi-mi san-mei ching* is obviously a Yoga Tantra, and it would appear to have a particular affinity with the *Rishu-kyō* corpus, in which regard it is to be noted that all the Japanese commentators posit links between the latter (including the 6th Assembly) and this 13th Assembly. More specifically, Raiyu (*JSS*: 18a8) and Gōhō (*KKY*: 17a5–11) suggest that T. No. 1125 (a Vajrasattva ritual) might correspond to the 13th Assembly (cf. Donjaku, *KDS* 1: 125a8–11), while Raiyu (*JSS*: 18a8–9) also mentions the possibility of a connection between T. No. 1124 (another Vajrasattva ritual linked by Donjaku with the 7th Assembly [see n. 187]) and the 13th Assembly.

212. The *Pi-mi san-mei ching* opens with the statement that “at one time the World-Honoured One was in the grand pavilion of the palace of Indra on the diversely adorned and soft ground of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three [Gods] (*viz.* Trāyastriṃśa)” (446a6–7), but he was surrounded by a vast assembly headed by the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas and also including the

Eight Offering Goddesses and Four Gatekeepers of the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*, and this opening section, entitled “Assembly of the Adamantine Ritual Rules for the Realization of the Great Vehicle of All the Tathāgatas” (一切如來大乘現證三昧金剛儀軌會 [446a5]: **Sarva-tathāgata-mahāyānā-bhisamaya-vajra-vidhi-pariśad*), reminiscent of the title of Part 1 of the *STTS*, describes a version of the *Vajradhātu-mahā-maṇḍala* (see n. 216) and associated rites.

213. In the *Pi-mi san-mei ching* it is Vajrapāṇi who is asked by the Tathāgatas to expound the teachings and rites for the sake of all sentient beings (446b13–16).

214. I follow the variant reading. Kūkai’s rendition (T. 61: 1c6–7), which differs yet again, makes the meaning of this variant reading more explicit: . . . 爲菩薩說。薩埵得請已。

215. Sakai (297) identifies this “seventeen-syllable *mantra*” with the following *mantra*, given twice towards the end of fasc. 3 of the *Pi-mi san-mei ching* (458a10–11, 26–27), where it is called the **mahāsamayatattva-mantra* (大三昧耶真實大明; 458a25): *oṃ mahāsukhavajrasattva jah hūṃ bāṃ [vām?] hoḥ suratas tvam*. This *mantra* also appears in T. Nos. 1124 and 1125, where it is called the **mahāyānāmoghasamayattattva-mantra* (大乘不空三昧耶真實密語; T. 20: 535a13) and **mūla-mantra* (根本真言; T. 20: 537a29) respectively (cf. Hatta 1985: 785). Yūkai (*KKS* 2: 36b9–12), evidently referring to the same *mantra*, calls it the **mahāsukhāmoghakāya-mantra* (大安樂不空身真言) (which, properly speaking, is the name of another *mantra*: *oṃ mahāsukhavajraṃ sādḥaya sarvasattvebhyo jah hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ* [Hatta 1985: 786]) and then quotes Amoghavajra’s *Li-ch’ü shih*, where the seventeen syllables of the above *mantra* (referred to also in the *Li-ch’ü shih* as the “seventeen-syllable *mantra*” [T. 19: 610a28]) are equated with the seed-syllables of the seventeen deities of what is in Japan known as the “Maṇḍala of Great Bliss” (*Dairaku-mandara* 大樂曼荼羅; cf. Astley-Kristensen 1991: 120–121), the second and most important of the so-called Eighteen-Assembly Maṇḍala of the *Rishu-kyō*.

216. **Raty-amogha-maṇḍala*? None of the *maṇḍalas* described in the

Pi-mi san-mei ching bears this name, but as is pointed out by Sakai (295) it may correspond to the *Vajradhātu-mahā-maṇḍala* described in the opening section of the *Pi-mi san-mei ching* (446c13 *infra*). This *maṇḍala* is not a standard *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*, but is a seventeen-deity *maṇḍala* similar to the “Maṇḍala of Great Bliss” in the *Rishu-kyō* cycle (cf. n. 215). In this regard it is to be noted that T. No. 1004, translated (or composed) by Amoghavajra and describing the attributes of the seventeen deities of the “Maṇḍala of Great Bliss,” closes with a statement to the effect that it represents an abridgement of “the *Yoga of the Truth of the Great Samaya*, the Thirteenth Assembly of the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*” (金剛頂經第十三會大三昧耶真實瑜伽; T. 19: 618b3-4; cf. Sakai: 298, Astley-Kristensen: 17). For 具十七 (“[which] comprises seventeen [deities]”) the text used by Donjaku seems to have read 具十七品 (“[which] comprises seventeen sections”), which Donjaku (*KDS* 2: 132b5-6) tentatively equates with the seventeen chapters of the *Rishu-kyō*. Sakai (295) appears to link the reference to “seventeen” to both the seventeen-deity *Vajradhātu-mahā-maṇḍala* and the seventeen subsequent *maṇḍalas* described in the *Pi-mi san-mei ching*.

217. The *Pi-mi san-mei ching* describes only the *mahā-maṇḍala*.

218. I.e., *mudrā*. The reference to 108 *mudrās* calls to mind the *Chin-kang-ting ching p'i-lu-chê-na i-pai-pa tsun fa-shên ch'i-yin* 金剛頂經毘盧遮那一百八尊法身契印 (T. No. 877) translated by Śubhakarasiṃha and I-hsing 一行 (even though, notwithstanding its title, it gives only *mantras* [numbering 111 in all] and no *mudrās*), and Donjaku (*KDS* 2: 132b6-8) suggests that this work derives from this 13th Assembly.

219. In the *Pi-mi san-mei ching* the description of the *Vajradhātu-mahā-maṇḍala* is followed by instructions for a series of rites collectively termed “the secret teachings of Vajrasattva” (金剛薩埵祕密法門; 447c1-448a22), which are supposed to bring success in all manner of activities, both mundane and supramundane.

220. As noted above (n. 216), in the *Pi-mi san-mei ching* the initial *Vajradhātu-mahā-maṇḍala* is followed by seventeen *maṇḍalas* centred on

Vairocana and the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, and their exposition includes *mantras*, *mudrās* and associated rites. As for the “External Vajra Division,” this could correspond in the *Pi-mi san-mei ching* to the *mantras* of Indra, Mahābrahmā, Nārāyaṇa, etc., and the *mahā-maṇḍala* of the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven (三十三天現集會大曼拏羅) that appear in the section following what Sakai terms the *uttara-tantra* (462a17–463a8; cf. Sakai: 296).

221. Sakai (299–300) identifies this *maṇḍala* with the **Surata*(/*Surati*)-*vajra-guhya-mahā-maṇḍala* (妙樂金剛祕密大曼拏羅) described in the *Pi-mi san-mei ching* after the seventeen *maṇḍalas* mentioned in n. 220 (458b9 *infra*), which is a seventeen-deity *maṇḍala* centred on what are in Japan known as the “Five Mysteries” (*go-himitsu* 五祕密), *viz.* Vajrasattva, Manodbhava, Kelikila, Vajranismara and Vajragarva (here given as 金剛薩埵, 意生金剛, 枳里枳羅, 念金剛 and 欲自在); see Astley-Kristensen: 163ff.

222. There is no reference to any single-syllable *mantra* in the *Pi-mi san-mei ching*, but Raiyu (*JSS*: 19b5–6) suggests the five syllables *om mahāsukha* (representing the seed-syllables of the Five Mysteries) or *hūṃ*, while Donjaku (*KDS* 2: 132b9–10) suggests *hhūṃ*.

223. Sakai (301) equates this statement with the five kinds of “seals applicable to all the teachings” (一切教中通用印相) described in the *uttara-tantra* of the *Pi-mi san-mei ching*, *viz.* “body seals” (身印), “speech seals” (語印), “mind seals” (心印), “adamantine seals” (金剛印) and “gaze seals” (觀視印), for each of which there are four kinds (461a22–b10); thus “eyes” would refer to the ‘four gazes’ comprising the “gaze seals” (with a ‘steady gaze’ replacing the ‘friendly gaze’ of the ‘four gazes’ mentioned in n. 29), “mouth” would refer to the four syllables *ah*, *hūṃ*, *hum* and *jah* comprising the “speech seals,” and “all parts of the body” would refer to “body seals” (*vikriḍita, ākarṣaṇa, āveśa* and *bandhana*), “mind seals” (attracting other people, etc.) and “adamantine seals” (performing various acts of coercion by raising, lowering, striking and holding the ‘adamantine fist’ [*vajra-muṣṭi*]).

224. In view of the fact that in the *Pi-mi san-mei ching* it is stated that one

first binds the *mahā-mudrā* once and then binds the other seals according to one's requirements (460a27–28), and it then goes on to explain the four kinds of seals (460a29–461c8), Sakai (300–301) suggests that this statement means that one binds first the *mahā-mudrā* and then the other kinds of seals up to the *karma-mudrā*.

225. Although there appears to be no explicit correspondence between these final statements and the *Pi-mi san-mei ching*, Sakai (301) quotes the verses given in reply to the eighth question in the *uttara-tantra* on success in binding seals (461c11–14).

第十四會名如來三昧耶真實瑜伽。此經中普賢菩薩十六大菩薩四攝成一身。說四種曼荼羅四印。廣說五部互圓融。如來部即金剛。蓮花部即寶部。互相涉入。法界即真如。般若即實際。於假施設有異。於本即一體。次普賢後諸菩薩及外金剛部。各各說本真言本曼荼羅本印契。

[XIV] The Fourteenth Assembly is called *Yoga of the Truth of the Samaya of the Tathāgatas*.²²⁶ In this scripture the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas and the Four Gatekeepers become one body.²²⁷ The four kinds of *maṇḍalas* and the four seals are explained. [Also] explained extensively is the complete interfusion of the Five Divisions: the Tathāgata Division is identical to the Vajra [Division], the Lotus Division is identical to the Gem Division, and they interpenetrate one another.²²⁸ The Dharma-realm is identical to thusness, and *prajñā* is identical to ultimate reality;²²⁹ in provisional constructs²³⁰ there are differences, but at root they are one. Then the bodhisattvas following Samantabhadra and the External Vajra Division each explain their own *mantra*, own *maṇḍala* and own seal-pledge. [JSS: 19b–20a; KKS 2: 36b–38a; KDS 2: 132b11–133a29]

226. **Tathāgata-samaya-tattva-yoga*. Neither past commentators nor modern scholars appear to have pinpointed any works in the extant canon that might correspond to this 14th Assembly. This is the only of the eighteen assemblies for which no site of exposition is specified, and both

Yūkai (*KKS* 2: 37a1–10) and Donjaku (*KDS* 2: 133a26–29) quote Chio-yüan, who speculates that the 13th and 14th Assemblies were both expounded at the same site (*TIY* 1: 3b5, 4a7–8); Donjaku seems to accept this view, but Yūkai finds it open to question.

227. Raiyu (*JSS*: 19b10–15) interprets this as a reference to Fugen-enmei 普賢延命, a twenty-armed manifestation of Fugen 普賢 (Samantabhadra) associated with longevity (*enmei* 延命) and also known as Daianraku-fukū-kongō-sanmaya 大安樂不空金剛三昧耶 or Daianraku-fuku-sanmaya-shin-jitsu-bosatsu 大安樂不空三昧耶眞實菩薩 (Mahāsukhavajrāmoghasamaya-sattva); in his hands he holds objects symbolic of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas and Four Gatekeepers. Yūkai (*KKM*: 5b9–12; *KKS* 2: 37a12–16) and Donjaku (*KDS* 2: 132b21–23) allude to the same interpretation, but Donjaku (132b23–29) adds another interpretation linked to the seventeen-syllable *mantra* mentioned in the summary of the foregoing 13th Assembly.

228. The omission of any reference to the Karma Division, the fifth of the Five Divisions or Families, is noted and variously explained by all the commentators, and in particular detail by Donjaku (*KDS* 2: 132c14–133a22).

229. Raiyu (*JSS*: 20a5–7) and Donjaku (*KDS* 2: 133a22–26) interpret the identity of the Dharma-realm (法界: *dharmā-dhātu*) and thusness (眞如: *tathatā*) and of *prajñā* (般若) and ultimate reality (實際: *bhūta-koṭi*) in terms of the interfusion of phenomena and noumena and of knowledge and the known respectively.

230. Chia-shih-shê 假施設: *prajñapti*?

第十五會名祕密集會瑜伽。於祕密處說。所謂喻師¹婆伽處說。號般若波羅蜜宮。此中說〔287b〕教法壇印契眞言住禁戒似²如世間貪染相應語。會中除蓋障菩薩等從座而起禮佛白言。世尊大人不應出僂言雜染相應語。佛言。汝等清淨相應語有何相狀。我之此語加持文字應化緣方便³引入佛道。亦無相狀成大利益。汝等不應生疑。從此廣說實相三摩地。諸菩薩各各說四種曼荼羅四印。

¹SYMIAB omit 師. ²SYMIAB have 以 for 似. ³CD add 語.

[XV] The Fifteenth Assembly is called *Yoga of the Secret Assembly*,²³¹ and it was expounded in a secret place, that is to say, it was expounded in the *yoṣidbhaga* place, which is called the Prajñāpāramitā Palace.²³² Herein [287b] the teachings, altars, seal-pledges, *mantras* and abiding by prohibitory precepts are explained by imitating the like of mundane speech consonant with greed and defilement. Among the assembly,²³³ the Bodhisattva [Sarva]nīvaraṇaṣṣkambhin and others rose from their seats, paid homage to the Buddha, and said, “O World-Honoured One, a great person²³⁴ should not utter coarse language or words consonant with contamination.” The Buddha said, “You [bodhisattvas], what are the characteristics of speech that is consonant with purity?²³⁵ This speech of mine empowers the written word and draws [people] into the path of the Buddha by expedient means in accordance with the circumstances of those to be converted; it is, moreover, without characteristics and creates great benefits. You should not engender any doubts.” Thereupon he explained extensively the *samādhi* of the true aspect [of reality],²³⁶ and the bodhisattvas each explained the four kinds of *maṇḍalas* and the four seals.²³⁷ [JSS: 20a; KKS 3: 38a–41b; KDS 2: 133b1–134b3]

231. **Guhya-samāja-yoga*. It is pointed out already by Gōhō (KKY: 17b16–18a1) that the 15th Assembly probably corresponds to the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, translated into Chinese by Dānapāla in 1002 (T. No. 885); cf. Donjaku, *KDS* 1: 125b2–3. For a detailed examination of the correspondences between this summary of the 15th Assembly and the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, see Matsunaga 1980: 250–253 (cf. *id.* 1978: XXIII–XXIV).

232. Cf. the opening sentence of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*: *evaṃ mayā śrutam/ ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvatathāgata-kāyavakcittahrḍa-yavajrayoṣidbhageṣu vijahāra/* (Matsunaga 1978: 4). The phrase 喻師婆伽 [處] (*yoṣidbhaga*: pudendum muliebre) appears to have baffled the commentators: Yūkai (KKS 3: 39a5–14) gives four possible interpretations, one which interprets it as a partial translation and partial transliteration to be read “the master (師) is likened (喻) to the *bhaga* place (婆伽處)”; Donjaku

(KDS 2: 133b7 *infra*) ascribes this interpretation to “Master Gō[hō]” (presumably drawing on Gōhō’s *Kongōchō-gyō kaidai shō* 金剛頂經開題鈔, which I have been unable to consult), who seems to have interpreted this to mean that “the Buddha is likened to a woman,” an interpretation which Donjaku describes as “extremely poor.” Because this phrase is rendered rather freely in Dānapāla’s translation of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, Donjaku makes no reference to the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, but he does cite Dharmapāla’s translation of the *Hevajra-tantra* (T. No. 892), where the same phrase in the opening sentence (identical to that of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* quoted above) is transliterated: 嚧施婆倪數 (T. 18: 587c8). There is no reference to the “Prajñāpāramitā Palace” in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*.

233. A passage similar in content to the following dialogue has been identified by Matsunaga (1980: 252; cf. *id.* 1978: XXIV) in Chap. 5 of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* (Matsunaga 1978: 15–16), and the implications of this same passage are discussed by Snellgrove (1987: 170ff).

234. Kūkai (KK: 1c14–15) has 世間大人 (“great person of the world”) for 世尊大人 (“O World-Honoured One, a great person...”).

235. Matsunaga (1980: 252) takes this sentence to mean “Your speech consonant with purity is marked by characteristics”; 汝等 (“you”) is thus interpreted as a possessive modifier, whereas I have taken it in a vocative sense. In addition, he takes 有何相狀, which I tentatively translate as “What are the characteristics of...?” (lit., “...has what characteristics?”), to mean *salakṣaṇa* (有相) in contrast to the subsequent 無相狀, i.e., *alakṣaṇa* (無相). But if this is indeed the intended meaning, one would expect 有相狀, unless 有何相狀 is to be taken to mean “has some characteristic or other.” Rather than taking the Buddha’s response to the bodhisattvas’ criticism as a statement concerning two different levels of speech (*salakṣaṇa* and *alakṣaṇa*), it seems to me more appropriate to regard it as consisting of a question on the real nature of “speech consonant with purity” followed by a reply (cf. Endō 1984: 147).

236. 實相三摩地. This term is sometimes used in the sense of the ‘three *samādhis*’ or ‘three gates to liberation’ (see n. 35), but here it probably has a

more general meaning.

237. Matsunaga (1978: XXIV, 1980: 253) regards this reference to the four kinds of *maṇḍalas* and four seals, characteristic of the *STTS* and Yoga Tantras in general, and the absence of any reference by Amoghavajra to practices distinctive of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* as evidence that the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* in its present form did not exist before 746, when Amoghavajra returned to China, although certain elements of what later evolved into the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* would have been in a formative stage of development in the first half of the 8th century. In this one must concur with Matsunaga, whereas Western scholars have tended to place the date of composition of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* far earlier (e.g., Wayman [1973: 13–19, 1977: 98–102], who assigns the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* to the 4th century, but whose reasoning is largely rejected by Matsunaga [1980: 247–248]).

第十六會名無二平等瑜伽。於法界宮說。毘盧遮那佛及諸菩薩并外金剛部等。各各說¹四種曼荼羅。具四印。此中說生死涅槃世間出世間自他平等無二。種²心舉目³聲⁴香味觸雜染思慮住亂心⁵無二。同真如法界。皆成一切佛身。
¹SYM omit 說。 ²ABCD have 動 for 種。 ³SYM have 自 for 目。 ⁴M has 身 for 聲。 ⁵CD add 皆。

[XVI] The Sixteenth Assembly is called *Yoga of Nondual Equality*,²³⁸ and it was expounded in the Dharma-Realm Palace.²³⁹ The Buddha Vairocana and bodhisattvas as well as the External Vajra Division and so forth each explain the four kinds of *maṇḍalas* together with the four seals.²⁴⁰ Herein it is explained that *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, the mundane and the supramundane, and self and others are equal and not two and that moving²⁴¹ the mind, raising the eyes, sound, smell, taste, touch, contaminated thoughts, and dwelling in a disturbed state of mind are [all] without distinction, identical to thusness or the Dharma-realm, and all achieve every Buddha-body.²⁴² [JSS: 20ab; KKS 3: 41b–44a; KDS 2: 134b4–22]

238. **Advaya-samatā-yoga*. The name of this 16th Assembly and its position immediately after the assembly corresponding to the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* suggest a link with the *Advayasamatāvijaya*, regarded by Bu-ston as an explanatory *tantra* of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* (Nishioka 1983: 1454) and preserved in Tibetan (P. No. 87: *Advayasamatāvijayākhyāvikalpamahārāja*) and Chinese (T. No. 887; cf. Sakai 1944: 24; Tanaka 1984: 70, 1987: 267); it is also quoted in the *Jñānasiddhi* (Bhattacharyya 1929: 82–83; cf. Takahashi 1977: 106–105) and possibly corresponds to a Sanskrit manuscript entitled *Advayasamatā-kalparāja* (Tsukamoto *et al.* 1989: 244–245). The Tibetan translation by Bu-ston, based on an incomplete manuscript, was later supplemented on the basis of the Chinese translation (cf. Wayman 1977: 86–87; Matsunaga [1980: 275] erroneously states that there is no Chinese translation).

239. The *Advayasamatāvijaya* was expounded in the palace of the Paranirmitavaśavartin Heaven (T. 18: 514b9; the opening section is missing in the Tibetan translation). At the end of his discussion of the site of exposition of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra* (which also unfolds in the “Dharma-Realm Palace” [T. 18: 1a8; rGyud Tha 115b4]), in which he quotes extensively from the *Indications*, Chio-yüan (*TIY* 1: 4a8–12) concludes that the purport of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra* would suggest that it was expounded in the same Dharma-Realm Palace as was this 16th Assembly, but this thesis is rejected by Raiyu (*JSS*: 20a15–b17), Gōhō (*KKY*: 5a6–9), Yūkai (*KKS* 3: 41b17–43a8) and Donjaku (*KDS* 2: 134b13–22), although it is defended by Dohan (*KKK*: 7a5–13) on the authority of Jōhen 靜遍 (1165–1223); it also appears to have been accepted by at least some in the Tendai 天台 sect (see, e.g., T. 77: 164c22–24). (For a more detailed refutation of this view of Chio-yüan’s, see, e.g., the arguments set forth by Raihō 賴寶 [1279–1330?] in his *Shingon honmoshū* 眞言本母集 25 [*ZSZ* 22: 208–209].)

240. The chief expositors of the *Advayasamatāvijaya* are Vajrapāṇi and Mahāvairocana; although there is no systematic exposition of the four kinds of *maṇḍalas* and four seals in the *Advayasamatāvijaya*, there are

nevertheless numerous references to them.

241. I follow texts ABCD in reading 動 for 種.

242. These statements are fully consistent with the general purport of the *Advayasamatāvijaya*.

第十七會名如虛空瑜伽。住實際宮殿說。毘盧遮那佛普賢菩薩及外金剛部一說四種曼荼羅。具四種印。此中修行者與一一尊相應。皆量同虛空。法身相應。離¹一切萬物。法體光明量同虛空無來無去。此經中說虛空三摩地相應法。

¹SYMIAB have 利 for 離.

[XVII] The Seventeenth Assembly is called *Yoga of Similarity to Empty Space*,²⁴³ and it was expounded while [the Buddha was] residing in the Palace of Ultimate Reality. The Buddha Vairocana, the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra and the External Vajra Division²⁴⁴ each explain the four kinds of *maṇḍalas* together with the four kinds of seals. Herein the practitioner identifies with each deity, and all are the same as empty space in measure; he identifies with the Dharma-body and leaves behind all the myriad things.²⁴⁵ The substance of things is radiant and the same as empty space in measure, and there is no coming or going. In this scripture are explained the methods for identifying with the Samādhi of Empty Space. [KKS 3: 44a–46a; KDS 2: 134b23–c20]

243. **Kha-sama-yoga*. Neither past commentators nor modern scholars appear to have pinpointed any works in the extant canon that might correspond to this 17th Assembly, although its name suggests a possible link with the *Khasama-tantra* (P. No. 80: *Yathālabdhakhasama-tantra*), an Anuttarayoga Tantra belonging to the Vajradhara family in the sevenfold classification of Mother Tantras (cf. Tsukamoto *et al.* 1989: 331). But apart from the common emphasis on the practitioner's identifying with the sky or space, there do not appear to be any obvious parallels between the 17th Assembly and the *Khasama-tantra*.

244. Kūkai (KK: 1c24) reduces the protagonists of this assembly to the “thirty-seven deities.”

245. Or alternatively, according to the variant reading, “...benefits all the myriad things.”

第十八會名金剛寶冠瑜伽。於第四靜慮天¹。金剛薩埵菩薩請²佛。爲大梵³天娑訶世界主。說五部瑜伽曼荼羅引入弟子儀。具三十七。亦說四種曼荼羅。具四印。下至外金剛部。爲弟子受⁴學心念誦。於月輪上右⁵旋列與言字。注⁶心於一一字。實相理相應。周⁷而復始。亦通成就世間出世間悉地。不假持珠遍數以爲劑限。但證理門心不散動住本尊瑜伽爲限。此經中⁸微細說不成就二十種相。及說隣近悉地多種相。

¹CD add 說. ²SYMAB omit 請. ³M has 梵大 for 大梵. ⁴SYMICD have 授 for 受. ⁵SYMI have 有 for 右. ⁶SYMIBCD have 住 for 注. ⁷SYM have 用 for 周. ⁸SYMIB omit 此經中.

[XVIII] The Eighteenth Assembly is called *Yoga of the Adamantine Gemmed Diadem*,²⁴⁶ and [it was expounded] in the Heaven of the Fourth [Stage of] Quiet Contemplation.²⁴⁷ The Bodhisattva Vajrasattva entreats the Buddha to explain for Mahābrahmā, lord of the Sahā world-system,²⁴⁸ the *yoga-maṇḍala(s)* of the Five Divisions and the ritual for inducting the disciple; [the *maṇḍala(s)*] comprise(s) thirty-seven [deities]. Also explained are the four kinds of *maṇḍalas* together with the four seals [for the deities] down as far as the External Vajra Division. The disciple is instructed in mental incantation:²⁴⁹ on a lunar disc the letters of the *mantra* are ranged clockwise and [the disciple] concentrates his mind on each letter, identifying with the principle of reality; when he has come full circle, he starts again. [This] is, moreover, applicable to the accomplishment of both mundane and supramundane *siddhi*. One does not resort to setting a limit [to the number of incantations] by counting one's beads; the only limit is realizing the gateway to the noumenal, with a mind that is neither distracted nor active, and abiding in the *yoga* of one's own deity. In this scripture are explained in minute detail twenty kinds of signs of non-accomplishment, and there are

also explained many kinds of signs of one's drawing near to *siddhi*. [JSS: 21a; KKS 3: 46a–47a; KDS 2: 134c21–135b9]

246. **Vajra-mukuta-yoga*. Neither past commentators nor modern scholars appear to have pinpointed any works in the extant canon that might correspond to this 18th Assembly.

247. The fourth of the four stages of meditation (*dhyaṇa-bhūmi*) into which the realm of form (*rūpa-dhātu*) is divided; the highest heaven or class of gods occupying this stage is called Akaniṣṭha, where the 2nd and 11th Assemblies are said to have been expounded.

248. Mahābrahmā is traditionally associated with the first of the four stages of meditation constituting the realm of form, but both Yūkai (KKS 3: 46b12–47a1) and Donjaku (KDS 2: 135a20–b6) cite Mahāyāna scriptures in which he also appears in the fourth *dhyaṇa-bhūmi*.

249. “Mental incantation” here refers to a form of *japa/ jāpa* in which the practitioner does not utter the *mantra* audibly but, as is described here, instead visualizes the letters making up the *mantra* on a lunar disc (envisioned either in front of the practitioner or in his own heart). This practice is called **samādhi-japa* (三摩地念誦) by Vajrabodhi (T. 19: 77b1–20; cf. T. 18: 248a28, 902b1–2), while in Japan it is usually known as “visualization of the circle of letters” (*jirin-kan/gan* 字輪觀); cf. Lessing and Wayman 1968: 186ff.

瑜伽教十八會。或四千〔287c〕頌或五千頌或七千頌。都成十萬頌。具五部四種曼荼羅四印。具三十七尊。一一部具三十七。乃至一尊成三十七。亦具四曼荼羅四印。互相涉入。如帝釋網珠光明交映展轉無限。修行者善達此瑜伽中大意。如遍照佛。一一身分一一毛孔一一相一一隨形¹好一一福德資糧一一智慧資糧。住於果位。演說瑜伽二乘不共佛法。說曼荼羅三昧耶²法門事業。量同虛空。證者如上所說。各各分劑各³不雜亂。圓證四身。所謂自性身。受用身。變化身。等流身。是能頓作⁴利樂一切有情諸菩薩聲聞緣覺及諸外道。名⁵瑜伽金剛乘教⁶法。

金剛頂瑜伽經⁷十八會指歸⁸。⁹金剛頂瑜伽指歸一卷。

¹M has 刑 for 形. ²SYI have 邪 for 耶. ³M adds 各. ⁴SYMIAB have 作頓 for 頓作; D omits 作. ⁵ABC add 爲. ⁶CD have 一乘教王 for 乘教. ⁷SYA omit 經. ⁸AB add 一卷. ⁹SYMIABCD omit 金剛頂...一卷.

The Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga Teachings have either four thousand [287c] verses, five thousand verses or seven thousand verses, and in all they consist of one hundred thousand verses.²⁵⁰ They have Five Divisions, four kinds of *maṇḍalas* and four seals and have thirty-seven deities; each division has thirty-seven [deities], and [each] single deity embodies thirty-seven [deities] and also has four *maṇḍalas* and four seals. They interpenetrate one another just as the radiance of the pearls of Indra's net is reflected from one to another in an endless progression.²⁵¹ If the practitioner properly masters this general purport of *yoga*, he will be like the Buddha Vairocana, with every part of his body, every pore, each [of the thirty-two] characteristics and each [of the eighty] minor features [of a Buddha], every stock of merit and every stock of wisdom abiding in the stage of fruition, proclaiming the Buddha's teaching of *yoga* not shared with the Two Vehicles,²⁵² explaining the deeds of the *maṇḍala* and *samaya* teachings, and the same as empty space in measure. If one realizes the above teaching [of interpenetration], each [nevertheless] has his proper place and there is no confusion among them, and one will completely realize the four bodies, namely, the own-nature body, enjoyment-body, transformation-body and homogeneous body.²⁵³ This enables one to suddenly benefit and delight all sentient beings, bodhisattvas, auditors (*śrāvaka*), dependently enlightened ones (*pratyekabuddha*) and non-Buddhists. These are called the teachings of the Adamantine Vehicle of Yoga.²⁵⁴ [KKS 3: 47a–50a; KDS 2: 135b10–136a1]

*Indications of the Goals of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Adamantine
Pinnacle Yoga Scripture*
Indications of the Goals of the Adamantine Pinnacle Yoga
*in One Fascicle*²⁵⁵

250. On the traditions concerning a 100,000-verse text, see "Introduction."

251. The doctrine of Indra's net (*indra-jāla*) as an analogy for infinite interpenetration and interdependence is generally associated with Hua-yen 華嚴 thought, and the reference to it here by Amoghavajra anticipates both its use by Kukai (e.g., in the first of his two well-known stanzas on "the attainment of Buddhahood with this very body" [*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成佛; T. 77: 381c18]) and the great importance attached by Kūkai to Hua-yen thought in general.

252. *Pu-kung fo-fa* 不共佛法 ("unshared/unique qualities of a Buddha") is the standard translation for *āveṇīka-buddha-dharma*, but it seems unlikely to me that this is the intended meaning here. I take "Two Vehicles" to refer to the Hinayāna and Mahayana.

253. Speculation on the nature of the Buddha's body in Sino-Japanese Esoteric Buddhism is fraught with complexities, but this theory of four bodies (commonly referred to in Japan as the "fourfold Dharma-body" [*shishu hosshin* 四種法身]) may be regarded as the standard formulation, and this passage and a similar statement in the Preface to T. No. 870 (T. 18: 288a2) represent the *loci classici* of this theory. "Own-nature body" (自性身: *svabhāva-kāya*), "enjoyment-body" (受用身: *sambhoga-kāya*) and "transformation-body" (變化身: *nirmāṇa-kāya*) are all Mahayanist terms, but the concept of a "homogeneous body" (等流身: **niṣyanda-kāya*) is peculiar to Sino-Japanese Esoteric Buddhism.

254. *Chin-kang-ch'êng* 金剛乘: Vajrayāna. Although there are other instances of the use of this term by Amoghavajra (e.g., T. 18: 299a3, 940c27; T. 19: 522b18) and other translators of the Chinese canon, it did not win wide currency in China and Japan.

255. It is only the base text that repeats the title. Text C apparently has two colophons (the first reproduced in text D) indicating that it was collated with the Koryō edition by Jōgon 淨嚴 in Enpo 延寶 8 (1680), checked in Jōkyō 貞享 3 (1686), and rechecked by Sonkyō 尊教 in Genroku 元祿 15 (1702).