Hōkyōshō
'The Compendium of the Precious Mirror'
Of the Monk Yūkai

Translated with an Introduction and Notes
by

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p. 86, note 327: SJED = SJEB

p. 87, note 337: DJK = DKJ
L.S.

It is no coincidence that the writings of Yūkai, a scholar-monk from Heian-kyō (1345-1416 AD), one of the most ardent propagators and defenders of Shingon orthodoxy on Mt. Kōya, have become the object of attention of Dr. Vanden Broucke. Yūkai's Hōkyōshō defends orthodoxy against the heterodox Tachikawa-ryū. Mt. Kōya, the Vatican of Japanese esotericism, has long been studied by the writer of this book. He continues an already fine tradition of scholars of Sino-Japanese Buddhist esotericism in Belgium. Their influence has raised interest -both supporting and antagonizing- is there really any difference? in other European countries. While Indo-Tibetan Buddhism has been studied for quite some time now, Sino-Japanese esotericism has been overlooked, also in China and in Japan, until recently a Shingon-boom has occurred in Japan.

However, the difficulties are considerable. Mastery of the 'Latin' of East-Asia, i.e. of literary Chinese, of the Indian background and of the Japanese situation are some of the necessary abilities when studying Shingon. I am convinced that these requirements are met in this scholarly work. Yūkai and his reincarnations would agree.

Ch. Willemen
Del Rio, Summer 1992
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Despite the assistance rendered by the above-mentioned persons, it goes without saying that any error or fault in the work remains my responsibility.

Pol Vanden Broucke
Zeveneken, Summer 1992
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword by Ch. Willemen

v

Acknowledgements

vii

Table of Contents

ix

Introduction

1

I. Text and Author

3

II. Contents

4

The Compendium of the Precious Mirror

9

Notes

35

Abbreviations

89

Bibliography

93

Index of Places, Persons, Temples, Schools, Rituals and Scriptures mentioned in the Hōkyōshō

103

Text

117
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

I. TEXT AND AUTHOR

The *Hōkyōshō* ('Compendium of the Precious Mirror') is included in the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏経 ('Newly Compiled Tripiča of the Taishō Period'), Vol. LXXVII n° 2456, pp. 847-851. The text in this Taishō edition is based on the first printed version of the *Hōkyōshō*, which appeared in the second year of the Meireki 明暦 Period (= 1656)¹ and which used a manuscript dated Meijō 明應 8 (= 1499)².

The translation here uses this printed edition as republished by Rittaisha 広体社 in Tōkyō in 1976 as volume III of the *Tachikawa-rō Shōyō Ruisan* 立川流聖教類纂 ('Classified Collection of the Sacred Teachings of the Tachikawa School'), edited by Matsushita Takahiro 松下隆弘. The Meireki edition indicates both the kaeriten 返り点, to show the proper Japanese word order, and the okurigana 送り假名, to indicate Japanese particles, suffixes and pronunciation. The Taishō edition omits the okurigana but adds some interpunction. The original text, however, was probably written without any of these reading aids.


The *Hōkyōshō* is the work of the Shingon monk Yūkai 有快 (1345-
mission of Shingon teachings as passed down from Vairocana to Hui-kuo 惠果 (746-805) and inherited by Kūkai is the only orthodox lineage. He also mentions that only Kūkai was fully initiated into both of the two realms, quoting from Kūkai’s Goshōrai Mokuroku 御請來目録 (T. Vol. LV n° 2161). He then discusses the line of transmission after Kūkai (pp. 3-4) and records the genealogical tables of the Hiroswa 廣澤 and Ono 小野 schools of Shingon (pp. 4-8).

Thereafter, Yūkai explains in question-and-answer form the origin and doctrine of the Tachikawa school (pp. 8-10). Here we read that the Tachikawa school goes back to the exiled Shingon monk Kinkan and a yin-yang master from Tachikawa. In this school, ‘the path of man and woman’ (i.e. sexual intercourse) is considered to be the means to instant personal realization of Buddha-hood. Yūkai warns the reader against this heresy by quoting from the Dainichikyōsho 大佛頂首楞嚴経 (T. Vol. XIX n° 945) and the Dainichikyōsho. According to the former, the ignorant man who believes that the senses are the Pure Land and that the genitals are ‘the true places of bodhi and nirvāṇa’ will fall into the avīci hell. The Dainichikyōsho stresses the importance of looking for a reliable master.

In the following pages (pp. 11-13), important information is provided on the spread of Tachikawa teachings in Japan. Yūkai alludes here to the existence of Tachikawa teachings on Köyasen and then provides several titles of Tachikawa works, most of them no longer extant. Some of these works he describes as forgeries attributed to orthodox Shingon masters. Others deal with the orthodox Yugikyō 瑜祇経 (T. Vol. XVIII n° 867), Rishukyō 理趣経 (T. Vol. VIII n° 243) and
Bodai shinron 菩提心論 (T. Vol. XXXII n° 1665), three of the four texts regarded as canonical in the Tachikawa school. The author also stresses the multiplicity of Tachikawa texts.

The next topic is the reliability of the many works attributed to Kōshin (Monken), the abbot of Daigo-ji 醍醐寺 and the 120th head of Tōji 東寺. Ōkai writes that, to form a judgement, it is necessary to know the affairs of Kōshin in detail. He goes on (pp. 14-16) to provide this information. It may be summarized as follows:

1. Kōshin was a distant disciple of Dōjun 道順 (?-1321). Ōkai asserts that the transmission of the doctrine to Kōshin was not detailed.

2. Kōshin became influential under Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐 (1288-1339, r. 1318-1339), supporting the emperor in his activities against the Kamakura government.

3. He rose from rissō 律僧, the lowest of the three major ranks in the Buddhist priesthood, to sōjō 僧正, the highest rank in this system.

4. He was the author of more than a thousand volumes of works. He fabricated texts, attributing them to other masters.

5. He performed magic and the dākinī-ritual.

6. He composed forgeries by copying Ōkai's handwriting.

7. Through the influence of Emperor Go-Daigo, he was put in charge of Tōji and performed the goshichinichi-no-hō 後七日法, the important annual Shingon ritual at the imperial palace.

8. All the priests of noble descent of Kyōto were afraid of his influence and remained silent about him.

9. He was expelled from Tōji when the priests of Kōya presented a letter to the emperor in 1335. In this document, they requested that Kōshin be suspended immediately from his position as head of Tōji and Daigo-ji. In the first part of the letter (which is quoted in the Hōkōshō in its entirety – pp. 16-23), the importance of Tōji for the protection of the nation is stressed (pp. 16-19). This is backed up by quoting Ōkai. The rest of this petition deals with the career and dissolute behaviour of Kōshin (pp. 19-23). The priests of Kōya reproach him for, among other things:

1. Covetousness, arrogance and a desire for fame and wealth.
2. His arbitrary conduct with regard to religious affairs at court.
3. His worship of dākinīs and his practising of magic.

They go on to protest about his position as head of Tōji in spite of the fact that he was originally not a follower of Ōkai but a precept master of the Small Vehicle. This part of the letter contains a quotation from the Goyūgō 御遺告 (T. Vol. LXXII n° 2431) in which Ōkai states that Tōji should be used exclusively for followers of Shingon (pp. 20-21).

After that (pp. 24-25), Ōkai states that books of Kōshin's school are numerous in Yamato 大和 and Etchu 越中 and that they also reached Kamakura. Musashi 武蔵 is identified as the centre of the Tachikawa school. He also refers to a book-burning in Saga 島根 and the infiltration of Tachikawa teachings into the orthodox Shingon schools in Kyōto and Kōya. We are also informed of the presence of heterodox teachings in the books of Hōkyō 寶蓮 (c. 1270), the founder of the Miva-ryū 三輪流, a branch of the Sanbōin-ryū 三寶院流 of the
orthodox Omo school.

Yüka then quotes further from the Daibutsushurōgonkō (pp. 25-28). The first quotation is an account of a demon who enters the heart of a practitioner and causes him to drink wine, eat meat and commit obscenities. This person will gain a hold over people without arousing suspicion. The second quotation speaks of the necessity of cutting off the sensual body and mind in order to achieve enlightenment. The third quotation is an account of an ignorant meditator who relies on a teacher possessed by a demon.

The remainder of the text (pp. 28-32) is devoted to the principle of bonnō soku bodai 頑悩即菩提 ('the afflictions are bodhi'). Yüka offers several interpretations by quoting from various texts. First, he quotes from the (Shōhō)mugyōō (諸法) 諸法 (T. Vol. XV n° 650). Then he gives the Tendai interpretation by quoting from the Makashikan 應詣止觀 (T. Vol. XLVI n° 1911). This is followed by an interpretation from a Kegon 華嚴 text. The Shingon interpretation is represented by a quotation from Kūkai's Himitsu Mandara Jūshinron 秘密曼荼羅十住心論 (T. Vol. LXXVII n° 2425).

The Hōkyōshō concludes with a quotation from the Daishichikyōshō which explains one of the symbolic meanings of the thorny kuša plant.
I.

THE COMPENDIUM OF THE PRECIOUS MIRROR

Noted down by Gannū Yūkai

Shingon esotericism is the secret teaching expounded by Vairocana, the king of awakening, and transmitted by the eight patriarchs\textsuperscript{17}. It is called the unsurpassed supreme Buddha-vehicle and is referred to as the sphere surpassing all schools. It is truly only in this school that one eradicates the extremely grave sinful actions, saves beings difficult to convert and immediately realizes Buddha-knowledge. It was for this reason that wise men of high antiquity entered T'ang seeking the doctrine. The transmission of Shingon reached eight people. In Tōji\textsuperscript{18} there are five masters. They are Kōbō Daishi\textsuperscript{19}, Shūei Sōjo\textsuperscript{20}, Eun Sōzu, Engyō Wajō\textsuperscript{21} and Jōkyō Wajō. In the other branch\textsuperscript{22} there are three transmitters. They are Dengyō Daishi\textsuperscript{23}, Jikaku Daishi and Chishō Daishi. I have not yet heard of such things in another school. Through this may be observed the excellence of the secret storehouse\textsuperscript{24}.

II.

The honourable transmission by Kōbō Daishi is the orthodox lineage within these. The reason for this is that it was passed down in direct succession from the great patriarch Dhammacāya Vairocana Tathāgata\textsuperscript{25} to preceptor Hui-kuo\textsuperscript{26} of the Ch'ing-lung Temple\textsuperscript{27} in Great T'ang\textsuperscript{28}. I cannot discourse further on this. Even though preceptor Hui-kuo transmitted the doctrine to many people\textsuperscript{29}, there was none except for the servant I-ming\textsuperscript{31} in T'ang and Kōbō Daishi in Japan who inherited the two realms\textsuperscript{32}. As for his other disciples, only a few were instructed in the one realm and there were none who had a thorough understanding of both realms. It is clear that they were no elements of sageness\textsuperscript{33}. 
entrusted by the rightful disciple. The masters who entered T'ang afterwards all transmitted it from persons who had inherited the one realm. One cannot say that they are the legitimate disciples of Hui-kuo. Dengyö Daishi learned Shingon from Śārya Shun-hsiao\(^{34}\), the honourable disciple of tripiṭaka\(^{35}\) Subhākara\(^{36}\). However, he is not the legitimate disciple of Subhākara\(^{37}\). Besides, the learning he received in Great T'ang was not detailed, and for this reason he was initiated at our court by Kōbō Daishi in the Jingoji (Takao)\(^{38}\). Consequently, only Kōbō Daishi and the servant I-ming were instructed in the two realms. Although, of these two, the servant I-ming was initiated in the two realms, one cannot call him a full vessel\(^{39}\). Besides, he did not transmit the learning to anyone\(^{40}\). Only one person, Kōbō Daishi, is the true heir of the preceptor Hui-kuo. The Goshōrairokuzu\(^{41}\) says: "As soon as the preceptor\(^{42}\) saw me\(^{43}\) he smiled and joyfully said, 'I knew beforehand that you would come. I have been waiting for you a long time! It is a pleasure to meet you today. My life is about to end and there is noone to whom I can transmit the learning... Now I have completed teaching you'." The fact that he said that there was noone to whom he could transmit the doctrine shows that I-ming was no full vessel. The fact that he also said that he had completed teaching him means that Daishi was the only one entrusted with his sagesness.

The disciples of Daishi who entered the mandala\(^{44}\) and who were instructed in the teachings are numerous. Among them the ten great disciples\(^{45}\) are the most important. Among these, Jitsue\(^{46}\) and Shinga\(^{47}\) are the most eminent. Both of these traditions have come down to the present but the honourable tradition of Shinga is considered to be the basic one. Shinga transmitted the learning to Gennin (called Nanchin)\(^{48}\). Under Gennin are the two Sōjō, Yakushin\(^{49}\) and Shōbō\(^{50}\). Yakushin is the founder of the Hirogawa\(^{51}\).

Yakushin Sōjō
Kanpyō Hōō\(^{52}\)
Kangū Sōjō\(^{53}\)
Kanchō Sōjō\(^{54}\)

(Shōshin, called Ōmuro)

Kanjo Sōjō\(^{55}\)
- Kakuho Shinno\(^{60}\) (called Go-ryū\(^{61}\))
- Shinshō Sōjo\(^{62}\) (called Nishino-ryū\(^{63}\))
- Yōgen Hoín\(^{64}\) (called Hojuin-ryū\(^{65}\))
- Shōkei Shinno\(^{66}\) (called Kezōin-ryū\(^{66}\))
- Kanpen Sōjo\(^{68}\) (called Minnikusen-ryū\(^{67}\))
- Kakuban Shōin\(^{70}\) (called Denbōin-ryū\(^{71}\))

The above are the six Hirogawa-branches.

Shin'yo Ajiiri\(^{72}\)
Kōya Ōmuro Kakuho\(^{74}\)
Kakuzei Sōjo\(^{75}\)
- Ryūhen\(^{76}\) (called Jison'in-ryū\(^{77}\))
- Kenryū\(^{78}\)
- Kan'i\(^{79}\)
- Kënri\(^{81}\) (Jōren'in\(^{82}\))
In the above-mentioned Hirosawa-ryū there are nine branches. Adding the Hōjuin of the Kingyokugata there are ten branches.

In addition to this there is the:

**Jōjuin-ryū**
(under Jitsuyu Sōjo)

Shinjōin-ryū, etc. (furthermore there is the Hirosawa-branch transmitted by Genkaku)

Ono-ryū
(Shōbō Sōjo, Daigoji, Hongan, called Sonshi)

Shōbō Sōjo

Kangen Sōjo (called Hannyaji Sōjo. A person who was devoted to Daishi and who worshipped him)

Shunyū Naiku (Ishiyama)

Gengō Sōzu

Ningai Sōjo (the name Ono began to exist from here, called Ame no Sōjo)

Seizon Sōzu (called Ono Sōzu)

---

**Gihan Sōzu**

**Shōkaku Sōjo**
(Jōkai)

**Genkaku**

**Shōken**

The above are the three Daigo-branches. Ono and Daigo together are six branches.

**Meizan Ajari**

Transmission by Kangen

Ichijō Risashi

Jojo

Hōzō

Ninga

Shingō

Shōkaku

Jōkai

Genkai

Ikkei

Gakai

Zenken

Joshei

Raiken

Shingō

Shun'yō

Kōshō

The above are the three Ono-branches.
Apart from the foregoing six branches there are three other branches, making nine branches altogether. With the separately established Saidaiji-ryū there are ten branches. When these are divided, there are many branches.

Question: It is true that Shingon teaching is the highest of all schools, and the direct way to become a Buddha. But in these latter days, right and wrong are confused. Entering a deflected path and going against the right path to Buddha-hood is like regarding east as west. When one's understanding is distorted, how then can one attain the goal of personally becoming a Buddha? I would very much like to be shown the right way.

Answer: Jade is hard to detect, and one is easily deluded by a dead mouse. It is difficult to grasp the difference between right and wrong immediately. However, one commentary says: 'Among the disciples of the gongōjō of the Daigo Sanbōin, there was a man called teacher Ninkan (later known as Rennen), the younger brother of the sōjō. Because of some crime, he was exiled to the province of Izu. In that province he taught Shingon for a living to married laymen and meat-eating, impure people and suchlike, and made them his disciples. It was here that a yin-yang master from a place called Tachikawa in the province of Musashi learned Shingon from Ninkan and included it in his yin-yang teachings. [In this way] the right and the wrong were mixed up, the inner and the outer were inter-

changed. It was called the Tachikawa School and described as a school of Shingon'. This was the beginning of the heretical teachings. The titles of all these writings are roughly recorded in the two volumes written by the monk Seigan of the Toyoharaji. Whoever needs them may find them. As for the philosophy of this school, they considered the path of man and woman, yin and yang, to be a secret technique for instant personal realization of Buddha-hood. Apart from this, there was no way to become a Buddha and obtain the path. When they put forward unfounded ideas, the Tathāgata was also supposed to have explained these. [In fact,] they gave diabolical explanations. They caused immediate karma. The ignorant man does not know this and clings to it as if it were an extremely profound and secret doctrine. How can one say that they have the correct views and knowledge of the truth?

The Daishōshūryōgenkyō says: '... he will perform acts of greed in secret. He is fond of saying that the eyes, ears, nose and tongue are all Pure Land, and that both organs, male and female, are the true repositories of bodhi and nirvāṇa. The ignorant man believes these filthy words. This is called a poisonous, nightmarish and evil demon. When old, he becomes a demon and troubles people... If you are deluded and do not know it, you will fall into immediate karma. How can people with immediate karma be called Shingon practitioners?

The Daishōshūryōgenkyō says: 'Why are there people with immediate karma who are able to benefit themselves and to benefit others, and who in both cases bring about subtle fruition? Therefore, those who practise this method should look to the best of their ability for a
bright teacher and consult him in everything. [This way] they will receive the subtle meaning and gain clear insight.'

XI. The Tachikawa School later spread to the province of Etchu\textsuperscript{165}. Two generations of teachers, Kakumyo\textsuperscript{166} and Kakuin\textsuperscript{167}, lived in seclusion on Mount Kōya. During this time, many credentials\textsuperscript{168} and books of this heretical school were spread. The oral transmission of what are called the doctrinal aspects and the Great Practices increased. Foolish people have hitherto practised them, regarding them as the highest thoughts. In fact, they are neither practical aspects nor doctrinal aspects\textsuperscript{169}. They are only like wrapped-up stones treated as jewels. If one is able to meet a wise teacher, it can be distinguished which branch the oral transmission is from and by whom it was recorded. Furthermore, it happens that people write borrowing from the virtuous reputation of the Ōno and the Hiroshima (the genuine and the fake should be investigated). There are many heresies in the transmission of the lineages with the names of Myōchō\textsuperscript{170}, Kensei\textsuperscript{171} and others. This was not conjectured by man, but proclaimed by Niu Daisyojin\textsuperscript{172}. The people who have practised this method have been numerous but have no arcane protection\textsuperscript{173}. For the greater part, both the men and the learning became extinct on the aforementioned mountain. A little may remain, but I do not know.

Horidashi no Ho\textsuperscript{174}
Hiko Jizai no Ho\textsuperscript{175}
Toten no Daiji\textsuperscript{176}
Shusoku Funj no Daiji\textsuperscript{177}
Sanze Joagō no Ho\textsuperscript{178}

Gonjūrō Nanjū no Daiji\textsuperscript{179}

The number of such Great Practices may have increased. They cannot be mentioned in detail. 'With one you understand a myriad.' To continue: the term Goryū Sanbōin\textsuperscript{180} is applied to many writings and oral transmissions in Kanto\textsuperscript{182}. Remaining additions from Yataki\textsuperscript{183}, excerpts from the Rishukyo\textsuperscript{184}, master and disciple sitting side by side and the like\textsuperscript{185} cannot be spoken of in detail. And though they are not of the lineage of the Tachikawa school, for the sake of fame they borrow the names of those who know the learning, such as Daishi\textsuperscript{186}, Jōganji\textsuperscript{187}, Shokaku\textsuperscript{188} and others. There are many such writings written by ignorant people.

[Examples are]:
Kōso Daishi no Ho\textsuperscript{189}
Daigo no Sanzonchō no Daiji\textsuperscript{190}
Zuishin Konō no Ho\textsuperscript{191}

Texts of this kind number a hundred volumes. Further [examples are]:
Enmanshō\textsuperscript{192}
Atikey Sanjūsāno Kuketsu\textsuperscript{193}
Shinshō Shinjū no Kanjō\textsuperscript{194}
Jūhate no Kanjō\textsuperscript{195}
Gyōshi Rokugatsuho\textsuperscript{196}

and numerous other texts. And among the scriptures and ritual texts:
Sokushin Jōbutsukyo\textsuperscript{197}
Bodaihinkyo\textsuperscript{198}
Monjukyo\textsuperscript{199}
Kokūzōkyō\textsuperscript{200}
Hohehutsukyo\textsuperscript{201}
Shingon Shûteugen Honjûgë

Hikanbô (the truthfulness of the Hikan should be examined).

Furthermore, there are numerous heterodox credentials and writings concerning the Yugikyô, the Rishukyô and the Bodaishinron. The Kakibukuro, as it is called, contains the Great Practices of the two scriptures (Yugi and Rishu) and the treatise. The oral transmission says this: 'The oral transmission that Seizôn taught Hanjun...'.

Generally, when scriptures which cite a person's name as if it were true contain mistakes, one may discard them. When they are truthful, one may pick them up. This is certain. Borrowing the appellation of a Buddha, a bodhisattva or a tripitaka and mentioning them in the writings of foolish people in combination with lies and heterodox views is terrible.

XIV.

Question: There is a man called Kôshin Sôjô (this is the monk Monkan). The documents which he has written are numerous and are circulating in the world. How about their reliability?

Answer: The treatises written in the school of his lineage may easily be recognised. The people of the orthodox schools all know them. Even though they do not approve of them, those who do not know someone who may guide them sincerely accept them. Some put forward arrogant ideas, some manifest heretical views. The reason for this is that they write books borrowing the name of a Buddha, bodhisattva, patriarch or great master. And so, those who transmit them are experts in the Great Practices not known by other people and persons outside their own lineage or own person do not know great and secret practices...

Even though they feel compelled to put forward arrogant ideas that they surpass others concerning the true secret practices, they are not persons with correct views. A fortiori, when they have tiles and small stones in their hands and regard them as valuates, and when they put forward arrogant ideas, how could they enjoy arcane protection?

XV.

This branch, however, is non-existent in the Daigo centre. Furthermore, those who practise it are mostly without arcane protection. On the whole, their fame is unfounded. In addition, they are given to talking about the inner realization of the dharma-body with the consciousness of common knowledge. Those who rely on this and who study it arouse heretical views. One should mark this well. Generally speaking, one should know the affairs of Kôshin Sôjô in detail. He is a descendant of Kenjin Sôjô of the Daigo Hoon-in. Namely:

Kenjin Sôjô
Jitsujin Sôjô
Kakuga Hoon
Kenjun
Dôjun

Under Dôjun there is Ryûyo Sôjo and Kôshin Sôjô. Ryûyo was instructed by Dôjun Sôjô. He died in Minami Hokkeji in the province of Yamato. Kôshin was no vessel filled by Dôjun. He was a distant disciple. The transmission was not detailed. But when Emperor Go-Daigo was planning a revolt, he had faith in Kôshin because of his prayers and that was when he was influential. Though he was originally a risô, he became a sôjo. He read sacred teachings here and there and wrote more than one thousand volumes of books, manifold Great Practices and more than...
thirty credentials. He did this in connection with the Daigo school. Among them there are a great deal for which he borrowed names. When an ignorant one sees them, he considers them to be the ultimate of the esoteric school. But again, they are not true explanations. Furthermore, he performed the dakini-ritual and achieved results with magic. He made a collection of copies of characters written by Daishi and invented credentials and oral transmissions. Examples of these are numerous. With the authority of Emperor Go-Daigo, he was put in charge of Tōji. When he performed the 'latter seven-days ritual', all the priests of noble descent of Kyōto were afraid of his influence and kept quiet. Thereupon, the priests of Kōya sent a report to the emperor requesting the expulsion of Kōshin from the community of disciples in Tōji. Their denunciation says: "We, adherents of the Kongō-ji, sincerely revere and sincerely fear. With careful wordings we earnestly beseech you that the promoted sage Monkan Hōshi of Tōji may be stopped by your divine ruling. He fulfills his duties of chōja in a vulgar manner and handles religious affairs in a reckless way. In support of our accusation we will carefully examine an old incident. In the left part of the city of Ch'ang-an of Great T'ang there was a Buddhist monastery by decree of Emperor Wen of the Sui. It was called the Ta-hsing-shan Temple. Under this court, there is a monastery in the eastern part of the city of Heian. It was built at the request of the Emperor Kannu and was called Kyōgokokuji. That was the temple where tripitaka Amoghavajra translated scriptures. He conferred the initiation of the five knowledges to three courts. This is the place of practice where Kōbō Daishi transmitted the doctrine. He personally brought about empowering of the three mysteries. Although his secret techniques to protect the nation and to bring peace to the people for a hundred kings were essentially the same, his excellent strategies to retain the dharma surpassed those of other courts! Therefore, the court proclaimed on the second day of the twelfth month of Kōnin: 'Tōji was built at the beginning of the transference of the capital by the former court of Kashiwabara in order to defend the nation. Our court considers this temple to be the highest...!' Daishi says: 'Tōji is a place superbly suited to esotericism. It is the heart of the defence of Bata. If one takes refuge in it and is respectful, the royal power of conversion will shine and the land will be peaceful. If one is negligent and not reverential, there will be calamities at the court and pernicious disorders in the land...'. When one considers the fate of our court, it completely depends on this. They equally prosper and decline. We humbly think that the benevolence of our ruler is equal to that of the model government of the Superior Officials and that his virtue surpasses the great undertakings of T'ai-tsung. When adverse waves are turned over, the four seas will be clear. When hidden disorder is dispersed, the whole sky will be quiet. The five ki and the seven do all took pride in the great peace of the unification brought about by Wu of the Chou. The hundred officials and the numerous people all sang the praises of the laws in the three chapters of Kao-tsu of the Han. In these times, in the first year of Genko, the emperor visited the temple and worshipped the Goose King, the revered one who protects the land. The emperor visited this place again in the Kenu period and subsequently decreed the worship of the Goose Pagoda. His imperial faith in it was greater than [his faith in] other temples.
and the rewards from the court surpassed [those given to] other schools. The splendour of our school was bright then.

There is someone here who resembles a bhikṣu. His name is Monkan. He was originally a rinnō of the Hōjōji in the province of Harima, a branch temple of the Saidaiji. At the same time he studied arithmetic and was fond of divination. He is especially versed in magic and practised mountain asceticism. His mind is full of desire and his conceited thoughts are extreme. He has entered the capital and visited the court. He usurped the position of Shōdō Shōnin and subsequently became the daikanjin-no-hijiri of Tōji. Improperly donning the black garments of asceticism, he sits unwarrantedly next to the highest dignitaries, the karamadā. Outside he is called the Wise Holy Man, inside he has the title of head of the Daigo. He is completely bound by the desire for fame and wealth. He is never without shameful thoughts. He has not yet changed his nature of a batlike bird and never forgets to switch the look in his eyes from hawk to dove. On top of this, he has been appointed ichi-no-chōja and recklessly takes charge of that wonderful precious task which is an inexplicable process, the affairs of the true doctrine. Nevertheless, the monks and the laity, fearing the imperial law, look the other way. Fearing the authority of the court, the high and the low keep silent. As for the relation of that jackal to Kaušika, he sits in heavenly garments and expounds on the dharma! This Monkan, worshipping Ōkinās, approaches the dragon face and gives his reports! Although he may enjoy wordly intrigue, how could one allow him to practise the unsurpassed great doctrine? He is a disgrace to the dharma and a blemish on his school. In short, he should be expelled and stopped. From the beginning he was no follower of Daishi.

He may well have been a precept master of the Small Vehicle and he may be versed in the false texts of magic. How could these be anything other than some strange customs from a border region! Let us again examine an old record: 'When Emperor Konin gave me Tōji, I was overcome with joy to have attained that secret place of practice. I did my best not to let others dwell there as well. This was not narrow-mindedness but a way to protect the truth. Even though the good doctrine is perfect, it is not in five thousand parts. Even though Tōji is large, it is not a place for different kinds. Why do I say this? On the nineteenth day of the first month of Konin, I was granted Tōji for ever (the imperial messenger was the court noble Fujiwara Yoshifusa; the imperial document is elsewhere). Accordingly, it has become the throne of Shingon esotericism. It should be the place of practice for the transmission from master to master. How would it be proper for non-followers to intermingle? Those who will become my disciples, those who in the latter period will be established in the sogo, will not seek for higher or lower seniority. They will take him who has attained perfection first as the director of Tōji.' The government has said during Jowa: 'The path is esotericism. Do not let monks of other schools dwell together ...'. As a whole, with regard to the ichi-no-ajariya of Tōji, more than ninety generations of chōja, from Jitsue Sōzu to Yakusu Sōjo, were all pillars of esotericism, masters of our school. For more than five hundred years of religious affairs, from the brilliant time of Jowa to the noble court of Kenmu, monks of different schools who were kanjinhijiri have never been allowed admittance. Selecting those with aptitude is certainly the best policy of the wise king. Who would go against the virtuous...
conduct of former kings! The exclusion of others is delicately men-
tioned by our master, and how could one turn one's back on the teaching
bequeathed by Daishi? If you carefully examine the behaviour of Monkan,
it is far from upright. During his service in the Ritsu school, he
shamelessly violated the precepts. Upon entering Shingon he broke his
samaya\textsuperscript{280}. He was not on the right path; he did not even retire from
the world. Since he is a type who is not so constituted in either res-
pect, how could he, with his liking for military bravery and his liking
for weaponry, have risen to the rank of ichi-no-ajari? Whether a trans-
formed devamara\textsuperscript{281} is destroying the Buddhist law is debatable. But one
wonders whether a demonic metamorphosis is disturbing the sangha! One
should be fearful and careful for the world and for the Dharma. Long
ago, there was a bad brahman in India in the South who destroyed the
secret flower garden\textsuperscript{282}. To subdue him, the ritual of Ôsashihyō\textsuperscript{283} was
performed. Now, in Tōji, there is an alien presence who brings disgrace
on the post of religious affairs. Having submitted ourselves to this,
we have recourse to [this] report from the Kongōbuji. 'When one opens
one's mouth, calamities enter.' Even though we are afraid of these
words, we will examine according to our principles whether he is suited
to his place. Why should we not caution posterity! It is because of
our desire to make our sad appeal (which has not until now been voiced)
reach you that we have presented these words left by the founder\textsuperscript{284}.

We wish that His Majesty would promptly suspend Monkan from his position
as ichi-ni-chōja of Tōji and as asazu of the said temple [so that]
Buddhists might prosper far and wide, adding to the spring colours of
the nāgapuspa tree\textsuperscript{285}. The royal influence would shine continuously

into the distance [like] the splendour of the constellations at the
dawn of the kalpa! We are unworthy of your great kindness. We disciples
sincerely revere and sincerely fear. We are careful with our words.

The disciples of the Kongōbuji, day of the fifth
month of Kenmu 2\textsuperscript{286}."

The affairs of the monk Monkan Kōshin can be examined through this.

XXIV. The facts recorded in this way are, moreover, not meant to slander that
person. They are only for future study so that one might not enter the
wrong path.

The writings of Kōshin's school circulate everywhere. There are
many in Yamato and Etchū provinces. I cannot comment on them one by one.
Storehouse-keeper Shūho \textsuperscript{27} of nearby (seidō in the rear)brought
them down to the district of Kamakura\textsuperscript{287}. The sacred teachings by
Kōshin's own brush have been destroyed by fire in the vicinity of
Saga\textsuperscript{288} ... . The Tachikawa-ryū has spread everywhere. It originated
in Musashi and then became widespread in the provinces of Etchū and
Yamato. I do not know the number of its writings. There are many ex-
amples of the heterodox school being mixed into the orthodox schools
in this way. Feeling somewhat unsure of myself with regard to this, I
shall not set down everything about it here. One can hear it from a
wise master. I think there is a great deal of confusion between right
and wrong in Kyoto and on Kōya. Perhaps there are many who do not know
about this and they all practise and transmit it. Or, even if they have
a rough idea of it, they adhere to it because of circumstance, praising
this branch and its last disciple [and thus] transmitting it. All
people with false views of the heretical path do likewise. [For them,] the true doctrine is so hard to encounter that it is perhaps an impossibility in their lifetime. They waste paper and ink, pass the years and months in vain, throw away wealth and bring about suffering, writing about it and experiencing it. The fact that they have no arcane protection in the present world and that they immediately enter their next existence is the grief among griefs, the sorrow among sorrows.

If one can dwell quietly in [accordance with] the correct principles, look for a person with correct views and transmit the correct school, one may develop a doubly beneficial way of conducting oneself. I have presented the essence of doing away with what is wrong and of gaining insight into what is right for people whose previous wholesomeness has come to a pure maturation.

Furthermore, there are many heretical views in the teachings of the writings by Hōkyō Shōnin (the monk Rendo) of Miwa in the province of Yamato. The Itteki-cho and the like are Tachikawa teachings. One should regard writings of this kind and their oral transmission as generally false writings. If one takes together all the heterodox teachings in that school, one may discover what sort of school it is!

The Shuridōconkō (Vol. IX) says: "... then there will be a vain demon who will enter into his heart and so reduce his moral fame to the level of Hīnayāna. When a bodhisattva is awakened to emptiness, what [rules] would he keep or offend against? In the presence of pious dānāpati he often drinks wine, eats meat and generally behaves in a lewd manner. Because of the demon's power, he gains a hold over the people in front of him, who do not suspect or blame him. When these demonic thoughts have been present for a long time, he may eat excrement and urine together with wine and meat. [For him] they are the same and both empty. He will offend against the Buddhist lawful demeanour. He will mistakenly commit evil and will be deficient in concentration. Consequently, he will fall into the abyss."

The text further says (Vol. VI): "... if one is unceasingly lewd and develops meditation, it is like steaming gravel and wanting it to become rice. For hundreds, even thousands of kalpas, it will still be hot gravel. Why? Because it is actually gravel not rice, that is made. If you seek the subtle fruition of Buddha-hood with a lewd body, even if you obtain subtle enlightenment it will be in any case a basis for lewdness. Being fundamentally lewd, one revolves in the three existences and one will certainly not be able to escape. As for the Tathāgata's nirvāṇa, what is the way to develop its realisation? One should eliminate lewdness, both physical and mental. When the elimination is by nature also non-existent, then you may expect Buddha's boddhi. This teaching of mine is called the teaching of Buddha. Teachings which are not like this are teachings of demons."

The text further says (Vol. IX): "Then the celestial demon will gain the advantage over him, do away with his spiritual power, take possession of his mouth and expound the teaching. At first he does not know about the demon's grip. He will even say that he has gained unsurpassed nirvāṇa. He will come to another person in order to divert him. Oh excellent son, he will sit down on his seat and expound the doctrine. His body will have an awe-inspiring spirit and he will conquer the one he is looking for, so that the mind of anyone sitting
there will spontaneously submit, even though they have not yet heard any doctrine. Everyone [there] will mistake Buddha's nirvāṇa, his bodhi and dharma-body for their present own physical person. Fathers and children alternately come into existence, but the dharma-body itself constantly remains and is unceasing. In every case he will point to the present as being Buddha's land [as though] there were no other pure abode or golden appearance. This man will piously accept [this teaching] and forget the loss of his previous mental and corporal life. Taking refuge he may obtain what is wonderful. These delusions may mistakenly be taken as bodhi. Looking into his mind he will break the Buddhist lawful demeanour and perform acts of greed in secret. He is fond of saying that the eyes, ears, nose and tongue are all Pure Land, and that both organs, male and female, are the true repositories of bodhi and nirvāṇa. The ignorant man believes these filthy words. This is called a poisonous, nightmarish and evil demon. When old, he becomes a demon and troubles people. When he gets the idea that he has had enough, he will leave that person. Both the disciple and the teacher will fall into difficulties with the king. You should be aware in advance and not enter into the turning of the wheel. If you are deluded and do not know it, you will fall into the svāci hell.'

Question: The meaning of 'the afflictions are bodhi' is the ultimate import of the Great Vehicle. Concerning this, the Mūsākyō says: 'Lewdness is the path. Hatred and foolishness are also like this. In such three things is the path of the innumerable Buddhas'. The interpretation of the Tendai school says: 'Angulimālīya was full of murder and full of compassion. Jeta(vana) Malli(kā) [thought] only of wine and the precepts. Vasumitra was lewd and pure acting. Devadatta took his false views to be right, ... .'

In Kegon: 'The true includes the top of the false, the false penetrates the source of the true.'

Again, there is a commentary: 'On meeting the three poisons, the three virtues become perfect.'

According to a Shingon commentary: 'If one can clearly see the profundity of the secret appellations and names, and if one can open the decorated secret storehouse, then the hells and heavens, the Buddha-nature and ichchantika, the afflictions and bodhi, samsāra and nirvāṇa ... are all terms for the Buddha of one's mind. So what should we discard and what should we choose?'

Given this, how can one say that the meaning of 'the afflictions are bodhi' is a kind of false view?

Answer: If one bases one's discussion of 'the afflictions are bodhi' on true principles, then this is the tenet of the true teaching of Mahāyāna. But when one only recognizes the falsehoods and takes the afflictions themselves as bodhi, not knowing the actual meaning, one will sink into the three predestinations. This is to be seen as a false view. Tendai itself namely says that 'the afflictions are bodhi', relying on the principle that 'the three truths are it.' and that 'all the skandhas and āyatanas are such.' Furthermore, Shingon is based on the principle that the six elements are without obstruction and that the syllable 'A' is original and unborn, and it is a statement that the progression along the three paths carries the source of all dharmas. Moreover, when one reaches the stage of the path of mental knowledge, one understands the secret appellations and names and one
gains ability to realize 'what to discard and what to choose'. However, how could one say that 'the afflictions are bodhi' if one is ignorant of its cause and leaves it to mistaken feelings? Yes, they say that the father and the mother are principle and knowledge, and that the child they give birth to is the Buddha of the non-duality of principle and knowledge. It has a name but [this] is without real meaning. If the three poisons are Buddha, then all delusions are Buddha. When one does not use any skilful means, one will be a natural Buddha. So what is the explanation for the beginning of the exoteric and esoteric teaching?

Question: If one knows that the afflictions are bodhi, then one knows their origin. If one does not know that the afflictions are bodhi, nurtures afflictions, produces karma and experiences the results, then one is an ordinary man. How can one say that there is no beginning and no end for the ordinary and the noble, and that there is no explanation which establishes teaching?

XXXI.

Answer: Though one hears with the ears that the afflictions are bodhi, and one explains with the mouth that the afflictions are bodhi, in the mind one does not know its essential meaning. He who, recognizing the fundamental common feelings, clings to bodhi and indulges in afflictions may increase his transmigration. How can he realize the knowledge of the omniscience of the Tathāgata? He who wants to attain the path before him of instant personal realization of Buddha-hood visualizes the mental moon-disc, relying on the teaching of samādhi and reflecting on the syllable 'A', the syllable 'AM' and the syllable 'OM'. He may then expect to see the scrolls, which [of course] one normally sees [anyway], unfolded. When his sovereign omniscience knows right and wrong, he cannot embark on a heterodox path. The Dainichi-kyōsha says: 'The third (meaning) is: this auspicious grass symbolizes wisdom. Both sides of the plant have a great number of sharp thorns. If one sits or lies on it, or grasps it in an inexpedient manner, one may yet be hurt by it. If one is suitably careful with it, then it cannot be harmful. The same applies to all dharmas. If one observes them in accordance with the principles of the truth, all impurity will have essentially pure functions. If one's expediency is deficient, it may harm the knowledge-body. Therefore it is thought of as the symbol of the dharma-gate.'

XXXII.

Written down by Yukai, Hoin Gondaizōzu.

On the 26th day of the 4th month of the 8th year of Meio.

'Lucky day' of the 5th month of the 2nd year of Meireki.
NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. See Hō, p. 32 line 5; NETD, p. 467 s.v. Hōkyōshō.
2. See Hō, p. 32 line 4.
4. For a list of his works, see MD, p. 2193 s.v. Yūkai; MJ, p. 687 s.v. Yūkai.
5. This is the commentary on the Vairocanaśīlambodhi (T. Vol. XVIII n° 848, in Japan better known as the Dainichikyō 大日経) expounded by Śubhākara (637-735, 善無畏 Chin. Shan-wu-wei, Jap. Zenmūi) and recorded by his disciple I-hsing 一行 (683-727). Yūkai quotes twice from the Dainichikyōshō, see Hō, p. 10 line 7-9; p. 31 line 6 - p. 32 line 2.
6. Kūkai is quoted in Hō, p. 3 line 4-7; p. 18 line 2-4; p. 20 line 7 - p. 21 line 6; p. 29 line 2-5.
7. For more details, see SJEB pp. 43-44; MR, pp. 251-252; HBS, p. 185; HMJ, p. 97, p. 134, pp. 150-151.
8. For studies on Tachikawa, see:
   - Sh. Moriyama 守山, Tachikawa Jakū to sono Shakaiteki Haikai no
Kenkyū立川邪教とその社会的背景の研究, Tōkyō, 1965.


Primary sources can be found in:


About 20 titles related to Tachikawa and Monkan are contained in Mikkyō Kankei Bunkens Mokuroku 秘教関係文献目録, pp. 216–215, the bibliography of esoteric Buddhism compiled by Shuchin Daigaku Mikkyō Gakkai 極智院大学密教学会, Tōkyō, 1986.

Important information is also found in the Buddhist lexicography under the headword Tachikawa-ryū. See BDJ, Vol. IV, pp. 3470–3472; BDJI, Vol. V, pp. 3244–3246; BSI, pp. 147–149; MJ, p. 488; MD, p. 1558.

Tachikawa-ryū has hardly been touched upon by Western scholars.

The few exceptions are:


About 300 titles of Tachikawa works are listed in the Tachikawa Shōgyō Mokuroku 立川聖教目録 ('Catalogue of the Sacred Teachings of Tachikawa'). This catalogue is attributed to Yūkai who copied these titles from the Shingon monk Kaisei 快成 (?–1367). This list is included in JTK, pp. 175–195, TISHK, pp. 582–598 and T. Matsushita (ed.), Tachikawa-ryū Shōgyō Ruisan, Vol. I, Tōkyō, 1976.

10. See especially Hō, p. 9 line 8 – p. 10 line 1.

Sh. Moriyama, TISHK, p. 63 regards the Hōkyōshō 仏教経抄 as an important historical document for the study of the Tachikawa school. But he warns us that the text is not entirely trustworthy. See also note 16.

11. Ninkan is mentioned in Hō, p. 9 line 1–6.

See also TISHK, pp. 14–66; JTK, pp. 1–4; SS, pp. 30–42; MD, pp. 1770–1771; MN, pp. 2; SMS, pp. 329–340.


According to Y. Matsunaga, MD, p. 249, Kōshin's role as the person who perfected Tachikawa teachings should be re-examined. In support of this contention, he points out that the letter of complaint written by the monks of the Kongōbuji (quoted in full in Yūkai's work – see
15. The Tachikawa school considers four orthodox Shingon texts as basic. They are the so-called sangyō-ichiron 弘経一論 'The Three Sutras and the Treatise':

- Rodashinron 菩提心論, T. Vol. XXXII n° 1665, composed by Amoghavajra (?).

Three other sets of sangyō-ichiron are given in Shinjō’s Juhō Yōinshū. See JTK, pp. 13-14; TISH, pp. 101-114, 534; MD, p. 1558 s.v. Tachikawa-ryū; M, p. 5 note 10, pp. 7-8.

16. Kōshin is said to have been the author of more than a thousand writings (see HG, p. 16 line 1-2). This statement may also be part of the slanderous accusations of Kōshin’s opponents. Sh. Togano, HBS, p. 173 writes that Kōshin’s works should not necessarily be considered heterodox. He points to the non-Tachikawa character of the

Rishukyōchū 理趣経抄 (Nihon Daizōkyō 日本大藏経, Vol. IX), Kōshin’s commentary on the Rishukyō and one of his few surviving texts. See also MR, p. 249; TISH, pp. 387-422; JTK, pp. 88-94.
17. The Nittō Hakke 入唐八家 'The eight persons who entered T'ang'.

The eight Japanese monks who went to T'ang China in the ninth century and who transmitted esoteric Buddhism in Japan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Posthumous title</th>
<th>Birth and death dates</th>
<th>Period of stay in China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saichō 藤原尊弘</td>
<td>767-822</td>
<td>804-805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūkai 空海</td>
<td>774-835</td>
<td>804-806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jōkyō 常陸</td>
<td>799-852</td>
<td>838-839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enryō 原行</td>
<td>794-864</td>
<td>838-847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ennin 雲根</td>
<td>798-869</td>
<td>842-847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enchin 地真</td>
<td>814-891</td>
<td>853-858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shōei 宗厳</td>
<td>809-884</td>
<td>862-865</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Saichō, Ennin and Enchin are Tendai 天台 masters, the other five belong to the Shingon 真言 school. See MD, pp. 542-543 s.v. Nittō Hakke; MD, p. 1711 s.v. Nyūtō Hachike. Yūkai enumerates them in R, p. 1 line 6-8.

18. 'The Eastern Temple'. The main temple of the Tōji branch of the Shingon school in Kyōto. The temple was founded by Emperor Kammu 天武 (737-806, r. 781-806) in 796 after the removal of the capital from Nagaoka to Kyōto in 794. It was the guardian temple of the capital and was granted to Kūkai by Emperor Saga 善哉 (786-842, r. 809-823) in 823. Kūkai made Tōji the headquarters of Shingon Buddhism. The esotericism introduced by Kūkai is often called Tōmitsu 東密, meaning 'Esotericism of Tōji'. The

esotericism of the Tendai 天台 school founded by Saichō is called Tōmitsu 東密.

19. The founder of the Japanese Shingon school, Daishi, 'Great Master', is an honorific title bestowed posthumously by the emperor on eminent monks. For a biography, see Y. Hakeda, Kūkai, Major Works, New York, 1972. See also note 17.

20. Sōjō is one of the ranks in the system of sōgō 僧頭, the officials of the Buddhist priesthood in charge of superintending monks and nuns. There were three major ranks, each with subdivisions. Consisted of (in descending order of rank):

   a) sōjō 僧頭 ('superior of monks')
      daisōjō 大僧正 ('great superior of monks')
      sōjō 僧正 ('superior of monks')
      gonsōjō 權僧正 ('provisional superior of monks')

   b) sōzu 僧都 ('supervisor of monks')
      daisōzu 大僧都 ('great supervisor of monks')
      gondaisōzu 權大僧都 ('provisional great supervisor of monks')
      shōsōzu 少僧都 ('minor supervisor of monks')
      gonsōshōzu 權少僧都 ('provisional minor supervisor of monks')

   c) risshi 律師 ('master of discipline')
      dairisshi 大律師 ('great master of discipline')
      chūrisshi 中律師 ('middle master of discipline')
      gonorisshi 權律師 ('provisional master of discipline')

See MD, pp. 1380-1381 s.v. Sōgō; DJBT, pp. 330-331.

21. Skt. upādhyāya, 'teacher, preceptor'. This title is pronounced kashō
in Tendai, oshō in Zen and Jōdo, and waō in Hossō, Shingon and Ritsu. Title of respect for monks with a high virtue. BD, p. 124 s.v. Oshō.

22. I.e. Tendai.


25. Dainichi Nyorai is the first in the series of eight patriarchs who transmitted the esoteric teaching, the Fuhō Hassō 付法八祖 ('The eight patriarchs who transmitted the Dharma'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skt.</th>
<th>Birth and death dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Dainichi Nyorai 大日如來</td>
<td>Vairocana Tathāgata -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kongōsatta 金剛薩埵</td>
<td>Vajrasattva -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ryūmyō 龍猛</td>
<td>Nāgārjuna -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ryūchi 龍智</td>
<td>Nāgābodhi -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kongōchi 金剛智</td>
<td>Vajrabodhi 671-741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Fukū 不空</td>
<td>Amoghavajra 705-774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Keika 鬼果</td>
<td>746-805</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ch. Hui-kuo)

8. Kūkai 空海 | 774-835 |


Dainichi is the central deity in Shingon. Shingon considers Dainichi as a personification of the dharma-body (法身 Jap. hosshin, Skt. dharmākāya), the absolute unconditioned and unchanging Buddha-
nature. On the identification of Vairocana with the dharmakāya, see KMM, pp. 81-93; SBTF, pp. 60-61; SJE, pp. 62-64.


29. His disciples can be found in MD, p. 431 s.v. Keika and MJ, p. 156 s.v. Keika. See also the lineage table in MJ, appendix p. 125.


Title for the priest who served at the court and who made offerings to the main deity. This post was first instituted in China in 756. See MD, pp. 1693-1694 s.v. Naikubu; BD, p. 1031 s.v. Naikubu; Saichō, pp. 31-32.


32. The two realms, Jap. ryōbu 兩部, refer to the taizō 胎蔵 and kongōkai 金剛界. The term taizō (Skt. garbhakāśa), 'womb-store', refers to the all-inclusiveness or creation, the compassion of Dainichi. Kongōkai (Skt. vajradhātu), 'diamond-realm', symbolizes the wisdom of Dainichi which is indestructable like diamond and which destroys all delusion. The taizō and kongōkai are represented respectively in the taizō(kai)- and kongōkai-mandalas, the two main mandalas in Shingon Buddhism. These mandalas depict the teachings

Mandalas are important in initiation rituals, Jap. kanjō 灌頂 (Skt. abhiṣeka). Of the disciples of Hui-kuo, only I-ming and Kūkai were initiated into the taizō(kai)- and kongōkai-mandalas, the so-called ryōbukanjō 輔部灌頂. The initiation of I-ming and Kūkai is mentioned in Kūkai's Himitsumandaraskyōfūhōden 秘密曼荼羅敷付法傳 (KDKZ, Vol. II, p. 473), Shingon- fūhōden 真言付法傳 (KDKZ, Vol. II, p. 514), Goshōrai-mokuroku 御請來目錄 (KDKZ, Vol. II, pp. 558-560). See also KMM, p. 33.

33. I prefer to render 仁 as 'sageness'. Compare with 能仁, the Chinese interpretation of Śākyamuni. See BD, p. 1087 s.v. Nonin.


37. It is not clear in what degree Shun-hsiao can be connected with Śubhākara. On the problems of Shun-hsiao's lineage, see Saichō, pp. 57-61; R. Misaki, Taimitsu no Kenkyū, Tōkyō, 1988, p. 197.

38. On the initiation he received from Kūkai, see KMM, pp. 42-45; Saichō, pp. 80-83. The Takaosanji 高雄山寺 (later called Jingoji) in the northwestern suburbs of Kyōto was the centre of Kūkai's activities from 809 till he moved to Tōji in 823. See KMM, p. 38; MJ, pp. 406-407 s.v. Jingoji.

39. 瀉瓶 Jap. Shabyō. 瀉 meaning 'pour' and 瓶 'vessel'. This expression means 'pouring (water from one) vessel (into another)'. This metaphor is used for a master who transmits all his knowledge to a disciple. This expression appears in the Ta-p'an-chieh-p'an Ching 大般涅槃經, T. Vol. XII n° 374, p. 601 c 4. See BD, p. 608 s.v. Shabyō; HD, p. 1064 s.v. Shabyō; KMM, p. 32.

40. According to HRS, p. 81, I-ming did not transmit his teachings because of his premature death.

41. Kūkai's Goshōrai-mokuroku 御請來目錄. A catalogue of texts and religious objects brought home from China and a report of his activities in China presented to Emperor Heizei 平城 (774-824, r. 806-809) after he reached Japan in 806. Partly translated into English by Y. Hakeda in KMM, pp. 140-150. For the quoted passage, see T. Vol. LV n° 2161, p. 1065 a 22-25. For Y. Hakeda's English translation of this part, see KMM, pp. 31-32.
42. Hui-kuo.

43. Kūkai.

44. Kūkai met Hui-kuo for the first time in the sixth month of 805. Hui-kuo died on the twelfth month of the same year at the age of sixty. See MJ, p. 137 s.v. Kūkai.

45. 入壇 Jap. nyūdan, 'to enter the platform (= mandala). To receive abhiseka. See BD, p. 1056 s.v. Nyūdan.

46. Jitsue (or Jichie) 齋素 786-847
Shinga 真雅 801-879
Shinzai 真齋 800-860
Dōyū 道雄 860
Enmyō 圓明 851-851
Shinnyo 真如 862
Gōrin 果臨 767-837
Taishan 泰範 778-837
Chisen 智泉 829-825
Chūen 征延 837

See MD, p. 324 s.v. Kūkai; MJ, pp. 77-79.


49. Gennin (818-887) was a disciple of Jitsue and Shinga. He is also known as Nanchiin Sōzu 南池院僧都 or as Jōganji Sōzu 成願寺僧都. See MD, pp. 482-483 s.v. Gennin; MJ, pp. 174-175 s.v. Gennin.

50. 827-906. Founder of the Hiroswa school of Shingon (see infra notes 52, 56) and seventh head of Tōji. See MJ, pp. 682-683 s.v. Yakushin.

51. 832-909. Founder of the Ono school of Shingon (see infra note 52, 102). Eighth head of Tōji and founder of Daigoji 醍醐寺 (see also infra note 92) in Kyōto. See MJ, pp. 390-391 s.v. Shōbō.

52. The Hiroswa and the Ono school are the main branches of Shingon. The Hiroswa school was rather oriented towards the nobility and put stress on the scriptures, while the Ono placed more emphasis on the oral transmission. The Hiroswa and the Ono school later split into twelve sub-schools, which were later further divided, forming thirty-six and later more than seventy sub-schools. See MJ, p. 409 s.v. Shingon-shū, p. 587 s.v. Hiroswa-ryū; SJER, pp. 37-38; HBS, pp. 140-152; MR, pp. 211-214.

Here follows the lineage of the Hiroswa, for a table see HBS, p. 143.

53. Kanpyō (or Kanbyō) Hōō = Emperor Uda 宇多 (867-931, r. 887-897). Hōō, 'Dharma Emperor', is a title for emperors who, after their abdication, take the tonsure and enter the priesthood. Emperor Uda became the first Hōō. He was a disciple of Yakushin and second in the lineage of the Hiroswa school. He founded Ninna-ji 仁和寺 in Kyōto which became a major Shingon centre. MJ, p. 41 s.v. Uda Tennen; SJER, pp. 36-37.


56. The Shingon lineage established at Ninna-ji came to be called the Hiroswa school when Kanchō founded Kenjō-ji 通照寺 in 989
near the Hirosawa pond in Sagano 嵯峨野 in Kyōto. See MJ, p. 110 s.v. Kanchō; KRE, p. 211.


58. Alias Shōshin, Ōmuro (1005–1085), the fourth prince of Emperor Sanjō 三條 (976–1017, r. 1011–1016) and disciple of Saishin. MJ, pp. 381–382 s.v. Shōshin. Shinnō is a title given to imperial sons or brothers.


60. 1091–1153. The fourth prince of Emperor Shirakawa 白河 (1053–1129, r. 1072–1086) and disciple of Kanjo. See MJ, p. 84 s.v. Kakuhō. See also note 74.

61. Or Ninna Go-ryū 仁和御流. See MJ, pp. 229–230 s.v. Go-ryū; KSJ, p. 211 s.v. Ninna Go-ryū. The branch founded by Kakuhō Shinnō. See lineage table in HBS, p. 143 for this and the next five branches. The honorific 'Go-' 御 is associated with emperors, princes, etc. Ninna is the abbreviation of Ninnaijī.


64. 1075–1151, disciple of Kanjo. MJ, p. 691 s.v. Yōgen. Hōin is the abbreviation of Hōin Daikashō-i 法印大和尚位 ('Rank of Dharmaseal Great Preceptor'). The first of the three priestly ranks (僧位 sōi) given by the court to outstanding monks who were members of the sōgō (see supra, note 20). This title was used for the first time in 864. BB, p. 1228 s.v. Hōin. For the other two sōi, see DABT, p. 102 s.v. Hōin, p. 331 s.v. Sōi.


69. Named after the place Ninnikusen in Nara where Enjōji 国成寺, the base of this branch, is located. MJ, p. 552 s.v. Ninnikusen-ryū.

70. 1095–1143. Alias Köryō Daishi 興教大師, disciple of Kanjo and founder of the Denboin branch of the Hirosawa school. He is also the founder of the Shingi-ka 新義派 ('New Meaning Branch') as opposed to the more traditional Kogī-ka 古義派 ('Old Meaning Branch') of Köyasen 高野山. This division of Shingon into two branches is apart from the Ono and the Hirosawa school. Later, in the sixteenth century, Shingi split into the Buzan 豊山 and the Chizan 智山 branches. For Kakuban, see MJ, pp. 83–84 s.v. Kakuban; SJK, pp. 41–42; MJ, pp. 224–228; for the doctrinal aspects of Shingi–Kogi, see SHTP, pp. 74–80. Shōnin is a respectful title, meaning 'superior person'.


74. Koya Omuro, alias Kakuho, see supra note 60.

75. Shoyo 1126-1198. The first character is incomplete in the original text. Disciple of Kakuho and Yogen, forty-ninth head of Toji. MI, p. 80 s.v. Kakuzei.

76. 1145-1205. Disciple of Kakuzei. See MI, p. 709 s.v. Ryuhen.


78. Kano (1171-after 1204). Disciple of Ryuhen. See MD, p. 489 s.v. Kanryu. The Taisho edition writes Kano (1672-1707), this is of course impossible. See T. Vol. LXXVII n. 2456, p. 848 b 12. For Kanryu, see MI, p. 112 s.v. Kanryu. Also the original seems to be incorrect (八 ). Among the disciples of Ryuhen, there are none of which the first character contains radical n. 10. See MI, p. 709 s.v. Ryuhen; MD, p. 2251 s.v. Ryuhen.


80. Other name of Kan'i. He is the founder of the Kannoi in school, named after the Kannoi in Ninnaji. MD, pp. 379-380 s.v. Kannoi-in-ryu.

81. Also read Ken'i. 1072-1145. Disciple of Kan'i. See MI, p. 174 s.v. Ken'i.

82. The temple on Mt. Koya where Ken'i lived in seclusion. See MD, p. 459 s.v. Ken'i.


85. The Kingyoukai (or Kingyoukyu-ryu 金玉流) is a sub-branch of the Hojuin-ryu (see supra note 65). Its founder is Kenku (12th-13th century), see MI, p. 165 s.v. Kenku. He is the author of the Kingyoukyu 金玉 (MD, pp. 318-319 s.v. Kingyoukyu, p. 319 s.v. Kingyoukyu-ryu). Hojuin 寶壽院 should be Hojuin 保寿院. Hojuin is a temple founded in 1913, see MI, p. 626 s.v. Hojuin. See supra note 65 for Hojuin.

86. The Jojuin school was founded by Kanjo (see supra note 59) and is named after the Jojuin in Ninnaji. See MD, p. 1159 s.v. Jojuin-ryu.


88. Founded by Kakujo 覚政 (1167-1242) and named after the Shinjoin in Ninnaji. See MD, p. 1286 s.v. Shinjoin-ryu.

89. Also read Gonkaku. 1080-1156. Disciple of Shinkaku (1011-1084) 信覚. See MI, p. 165 Gonkaku.

90. See supra note 52. Here follows the lineage of the Ono-ryu, for a table, see HRB, p. 143.

91. See supra note 51.

92. Daigoji in Kyoto was built by Shosho, the founder of the Ono-ryu, in 874. MI, pp. 459-461 s.v. Daigoji.
93. 'Original vow'. See DJBT, p. 109 s.v. Hongan: 'The sponsor of a Buddhist service or the initiator of a plan to build a temple, etc.'.

94. Shōbō was called Sonshi, 'Venerable Master', see MD, pp. 1422-1423 s.v. Sonshi.


97. Kangen repeatedly requested the court to bestow the posthumous title of Kōbō Daishi on Kūkai. Kūkai was given this title in 921. See SJER, p. 38.


102. This lineage came to be called the Ono-ryū under Ningai. This school is named after the location of Zuishinnin (see also preceding note) in Ono 小野 in the Higashiyama 東山 ward, Kyōto. See MJ, p. 66 s.v. Ono-ryū; SJER, p. 37.

Ame no Sōjō literally means 'Rain Sōjō', alias Ningai. He was known for his successful rainmaking rituals. See SJER, p. 37; MJ, p. 550 s.v. Ningai.


109. Founded by Kanjin and named after the Kajūji in Kyōto. See MJ, pp. 87-88 s.v. Kajūji-ryū.

110. 1084-1165. Disciple of Genkaku. He changed the name of Mandaraji into Zuishinnin. The Zuishinnin was then attached to Mandaraji. See supra, note 101 and 102; MJ, p. 444 s.v. Zōshun.


112. The six basic schools of the Ono-ryū consist of three Ono and three Daigo schools. The three Ono schools are the Anjōji-, Kajūji- and Zuishinnin-ryū. The Sanbōin-, Rishōin- and Kongōin-ryū are the three Daigo schools. See MJ, pp. 66-67 s.v. Ono-ryū.


114. See supra, note 99.


116. 1057-1129. Disciple of Jōken 定賢 (1024-1100, head priest of
Daigoji) and Gihan. Thirty-eighth head of Tōji. MJ, p. 373 s.v. Shōkaku.

Shōkaku founded the Sanboin 三寶院 in Daigoji. Sanbo, 'The Three Treasures', refers to the teachings of Jōken, Gihan and Hanjun. See also note 149.


120. Founded by Genkaku and named after the Rishōin of Daigoji. MJ, p. 704 s.v. Rishōin-ryū.


125. See supra, note 95.


132. See supra, note 116.

133. See supra, note 118.


137. 1138-1222. Disciple of Ikki. MD, p. 211 s.v. Gakai.


139. 7-1240. Disciple of Zenken. MD, p. 1171 s.v. Jōshin.


141. 7-1271. Disciple of Raiken. MD, p. 1285 s.v. Shinjō.

142. 7-1301. Disciple of Shinjō. NBII, p. 570 s.v. Shun'yo.

143. 7-1319. Disciple of Shun'yo and 102nd head of Tōji. MD, pp. 511-512 s.v. Köshō.


146. Eison is the founder of the Shingonritsu school 眞言律宗 ('Shingon-precepts school') with its headquarters in Saidaiji 西大寺 in Nara. See MJ, p. 412 s.v. Shingonritsu-shū; SJE, pp. 50-51.

147. Founded by Eison. A branch of the Sanboin-ryū and named after
Saidaiji in Nara. See BSJ, p. 61 s.v. Saidaiji-ryū.

148. Literally 'a dried mouse', i.e. a useless thing. See DKJ, Vol. XII, p. 1066 s.v. Sohaku.

149. I.e. Shōkaku (see supra, note 116). The Sanbō-in, belonging to Daigoji, was established by him in 1115. Shōkaku was the fifteenth head priest of the Daigo temple and became gonsōjō in 1127. ME, p. 373 s.v. Shōkaku.

150. Ninkan (?-1114) was the younger brother and disciple of Shōkaku. After his exile to Izu (see next note) he changed his name to Rennō. See ME, p. 551 s.v. Ninkan; TISHK, pp. 15-16; supra note 11.


There are various theories on the exact place of his exile. According to Sh. Moriyama he probably lived in exile in Ōhito 大仁, in the north of the Izu Peninsula. He refers to the fact that Ninkan was also called Ōhito Ajarī 大仁阿闍梨 'The ācārya of Ōhito'. See TISHK, p. 26; SMEXX, pp. 333–334.

152. It is generally assumed that Kenren (兼運 or 見運) is meant here. We lack further details on the identity of this yin-yang (Jap. on'yō or onmyō) master. See BDJ, Vol. IV, p. 3471 s.v. Tachikawā; TISHK, p. 33.

153. Now the area of Tōkyō, the prefecture of Saitama and the eastern part of Kanagawa prefecture.

154. Naige 内教 refers to naikyō 内教 and gekyō 外教, respectively Buddhist and non-Buddhist teachings. The non-Buddhist teachings here are the Taoist yin-yang beliefs. See BD, p. 1031 s.v. Naikyō and p. 304 s.v. Gekyō.

155. Tachikawa-ryū 立川流, also written as 立河流 (BDJ, Vol. IV, p. 3470 s.v. Tachikawa-ryū). It is not clear why this school has been named after Tachikawa instead of Ōhito (see supra, note 151). The oldest written record of the name Tachikawa-ryū has been found in the Kanazawa Bunko by Ryōkō Kushida. The document in question is a credential (*Jap. inshin, see infra note 168) dated Kenryaku gannen 建暦元年 or 1211. See SMEXX, p. 342; TISHK, pp. 63–65.

156. Alias Shōjō 定, Shinjō 心定. According to JTK, p. 122, he was born in the third year of Kenpō 建保 (1215) in the Echizen province, the eastern part of the present-day Fukui prefecture. JTK, pp. 122–124 gives a chronological survey of the teachings he received. From this we see that he was mainly active in the Kansai area. Unfortunately, JTK does not mention any source. Seiganbō is not included in MD.

The work mentioned here is his Juhō Yōjinshū 受法用心集 (2 volumes), written in the fifth year of Bun'ei 文永 (1268), see MD, p. 1096 s.v. Juhō Yōjinshū. The Juhō Yōjinshū is written in characters and kana. It is the first work which criticises the Tachikawa school. It is more extensive and detailed than the Hōkyōshō.
Reading according to BDIT, Vol. V, p. 3518 s.v. Toyohara. It was a temple belonging to Tendai and located in the present-day Sakai-gun 坂井郡 of the Fukui prefecture.

158. Skt. ānantaryakarma. Deeds which cause one to fall into the unintermitted hell (Jap. mokenjigoku 無間地獄, Skt. avīci), the eighth of the eight hot hells (Jap. hachinetsujigoku 八熱地獄) where one suffers without interruption. See BD, p. 1322 s.v. Mukengō, Mokenjigoku.

159. T. XIX n° 945. In Japan often shortened to Shurvyōgonkyō 首楞嚴経, generally considered to be a Chinese apocryphal text. See E. Lamotte, La Concentration de la Marche Héroïque (Śrāmaneśvara-sūtra), Brussels, 1965, pp. 2–3: 'Les titres de presque tous les Mahāyānasūtra accusent de ces imprécisions, mais dans le cas présent elles eurent des conséquences particulièrement graves: un apocryphe chinois composé au début du VIIIᵉ siècle sous le titre abrégé de Śrāmaneśvara (T 945) a été souvent confondu par les anciens et les modernes avec l'authentique Śrāmaneśvarahārāyana qui nous occupe ici, et cette confusion explique en partie le succès considérable que ce faux rencontrera en Chine'. Ibid., p. 106: 'C'est un apocryphe chinois composé au début du VIIIᵉ siècle, probablement par Fang Jong 房融, un ministre de l'impératrice Wu des T'ang. Bien que sa provenance indienne eût été rapidement contestée, c'est actuellement encore l'un des ouvrages bouddhiques les plus répandus en Chine'.

See also Mō, p. 368 s.v. Shurvyōgonkyō; K. Mizuno, Shin-Butten Kaidai Jiten, Tōkyō, 1971, p. 98; Ch. Luk, The Śrāvakamātra, London, 1969. Ch. Luk's translation of this text is based on a commentary written by Han-shan 般山 (1546–1623), alias Te-ch'ing 德清. See Ibid., p. 212 for his English version of the quoted passage. For the Chinese original quoted by Yūkai, see T. XIX n° 945, p. 150 a 11–16. Yūkai quotes the same passage again in Ho., p. 28 line 1–6. The six lines preceding this part of the Shurvyōgonkyō are also quoted in Ho., p. 27 line 4 – p. 28 line 1.

160. The man possessed by the demon mentioned in the six lines preceding this part of the Shurvyōgonkyō. See Ho., p. 27 line 4 – p. 28 line 1.

161. Yūkai omits 24 characters from the quoted text. The English translation of the omitted passage T. Vol. XIX n° 945, p. 150 a 14–15 is: 'When he gets the idea that he has had enough, he will leave that person. Both the disciple and the teacher will fall into difficulties with the king. You should be aware in advance and not enter into the turning of the wheel'.

162. The quoted text T. Vol. XIX n° 945, p. 150 a 15 has the avīci hell, instead of 'immediate karma'.


164. This quoted part of the Dainichikyōsho is a comment on chapter XII of the Dainichikyō. This chapter deals with 入秘室遊法 Jap. nyūhinitsumandara, 'the ritual of entering the secret mandala'. See EMS, p. 125; MS, p. 138.
165. The present-day prefecture of Toyama.

166. This monk is only mentioned in BDJ, Vol. IV, p. 3471 a s.v. Tachi-kawa-ryū : 'Kakunyō received abhiseka from Kennō (see note 81) on the twelfth month of the second year of Kōji 康治 (1143) in the Jōkōin 淨光院. He secluded himself on Kōya-san and instructed Dōhan 道範 and others'.


168. 印信 Jap. inrin, inshin. Documents conferred by the master to his disciple as a proof of the transmission of a teaching. The inrin mentions among other things the lineage of the disciple and the mudrās and formulae which have been transmitted to him.

169. 教相 Jap. jisō and 救相 Jap. kyōsō are respectively the practical (ritual) and doctrinal aspects of esoteric Buddhism.

170. Myōchō (?) is mentioned in BDJ, Vol. IV, p. 3471 a s.v. Tachikawa-ryū : "Myōchō dwelt in the Kongöin 金剛院 on Kōya-san. He received the 'secret abhiseka', 秘密灌頂 (Jap. himitsu kanjō), from Dōhan 道範 on the eleventh month of the second year of Kenchō 俊長 (1250), ..."

In KS, p. 158 we read that he received the ryōbu kanjō 部灌頂 in the Shōōchin 正智院 on the seventeenth day of that month. See also next note.

171. BDJ, Vol. IV, p. 3471 a s.v. Tachikawa-ryū mentions that Kensei (?) received abhiseka from Myōchō (?) on the eleventh month of the first year of Kōchō 弘長 (1261). See also KS, p. 167.


173. The invisible protection of a Buddha or bodhisattva. See BDJ, p. 1309 s.v. Myōga.

174. Literal translation : 'Ritual of Digging Up'. A ritual to dig up valuable objects? The works mentioned here are called forgeries in JTK, pp. 173-175.

175. Literal translation : 'Ritual of Flying Freely'.

176. Literal translation : 'Great Practise of Going over to India'.

BDJ, p. 996 s.v. Toten explains 渡天 Jap. toten as 'going over to India'. 天竺 Jap. Tenjiku is an ancient name for India.

177. Literal translation : 'Great Practise of the Non-duality of Hands and Feet'.


179. Literal translation : 'Great Practise of Repeated Entry into Samādhi'.

Gonyūjō 御入定 may refer to Kūkai's entrance into eternal samādhi at his death in 835. This title resembles the orthodox Gonyūjō 御入定法 or Gonyūjō Daijō 御入定大乗 mentioned in MD, p. 626 s.v. Gonyūjō. According to the Chuín-ryū 中院流 (see note 124) a ritual to be transmitted to the head priest of Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺 on Kōya-san. MD mentions the mudra and the formula he should use at the time he enters eternal samādhi. MD also explains the same ritual according to the Jōmyōin-ryū 持明院流 (see note 73).


182. The east central part of Honshū.
183. Ya 野 refers to the Ono-ryū 小野流 and Taku 澤 to the Hirosawa-ryū 広澤流. See note 52.
184. See note 15.
185. According to BDJ, Vol. IV, p. 3472 b s.v. Tachikawa-ryū, this part of the sentence (the 13 characters from 'Yataku', 鴨, p. 12 line 5-6) would refer to three titles of Tachikawa forgeries:
1. Yataku no Yohasami (?)
2. Rishukyō no Kiridashi
3. Shishi Heiza
However, G. Mizuhara does not mention these three works in his list of the apocryphal works found in the Hokyōshō, see JTK, pp. 173-175.
186. Kōbō Daishi.
187. This temple was first called Kajōji 嘉祥寺. The Kajōji was founded by Shinga 奉教 (801-879) in 851 and was located in Fushimi 伏見 in Kyoto. In 862 it was called Jōganji 観覧寺. See MI, p. 373 s.v. Jōganji.
From the context one would expect the name of a person instead of a temple. Shinga, one of Kūkai's disciples, is also called Jōganji Sojo 観覧寺僧正 'Superior of Monks of the Jōganji'. As he is closely associated with the temple he founded, Shinga himself may be meant here. See MI, p. 402 s.v. Shinga.
188. Founded the Sanbōin in the Daigoji. See note 116. Elder brother of Ninkan, see note 150.
189. This series of titles, except Juhatte no Kanrō, is also mentioned in the list of apocryphal works in JTK, pp. 173-175.
Kōso Daishi no Hō: 'Ritual of Daishi, the Founder'.
190. 'Great Practices of the Notebooks of the Three Worthies of the Daigo'. The 'Three Worthies' refer to Jōkai (see note 118), Genkaku (see note 119) and Shōken (see note 121), the founders of the three Daigo schools.
191. 'Ritual of Vajrakelikila'. For this deity, see MU, pp. 1318-1319 s.v. Zuishinkongō. Compare this title with the Zuishin Kongō Shidai 随心金剛次第 explained by Kūkai and recorded by Shinga. See MI, p. 1319 s.v. Zuishinkongōshidai; NTPT, p. 316 s.v. Zuishinkongōshidai.
192. 'Compendium of the Complete'.
193. 'Thirtyfold Oral Transmission on the Visualization of the Syllable A'.
194. 'Initiation of the Mind-king and That which is counted as Thoughts'. See DCE, p. 150: 'The esoterics make Vairocana the 心王, i.e. Mind or Will, and 心數 the moral qualities, or mental attributes, are personified as his retinue'; and MI, p. 413 s.v. Shinju.
195. 'Initiation of the Eighteen Assemblies'. The Tatvasamgraha (see note 32) is traditionally considered as a series of texts consisting of sermons delivered at eighteen assemblies and organized into 100,000 verses. See CRT, p. 13 note 16; NTPT, p. 23.
196. BDJ, Vol. IV, p. 3472 b s.v. Tachikawa-ryū discerns two titles: Satsu 交友 and 100 月釵. JTK, p. 175 considers it as one title: 'Six Months Compendium of my Friends'. MU mentions a work in two volumes which is said to be written by Shōkaku (see note 116), the Gavūshishō 交友之釵 'Compendium of my Friends'. This is a record of the oral transmissions of Gihan (see note 115), Hanjun (see note 104) and Jōken 定賢 (1024-1100, see MI, p. 377 s.v.
Jōken). This work is considered as a forgery and must have been written after Shōkaku. See MD, p. 250 s.v. Gayūishishō. The Rokugatsu-
shō 六月節 'The Six Months Compendium' is also said to be written by Shōkaku. He wrote it after six months of speculation. This may also be a forgery. See MD, p. 2309 s.v. Rokugatsu shō.

197. 'Scripture of Instant Personal Realization of Buddha-hood'. Compare this title with Kūkai's Sokushin Jōbutsu- jin 即身成佛義 (T. Vol. LXXVII n° 2428). See M. Kiyota, Tantric Concept of Bodhi-

198. 'The Scripture on Bodhiscitta'. Compare this title with the Bodai-
shinron, see note 15.

199. 'The Scripture on Mañjuśrī'.

200. 'The Scripture on Ākāśagarbha'.

201. 'The Appearance of the Law'.

202. 'Stanzas of the Fundamental Stage of the Appearance of the Formulas'. See also next note.

203. 'Secret and Essential Compendium'. 'Hikanshō' would be part of the title of the preceding work according to JTK, p. 174. BDJ, Vol. IV, p. 3472 b s.v. Tachikawa-ryū considers the Hikanshō as a separate work.

204. See note 15 for these three works.

205. Compare with another text also called Kakibukuro 'Persimmon Bag' (T. LXXVIII n° 2477) in one volume and written by Shin'yo 善養 (1069-1137), the founder of the Jimyōin-ryū (see notes 72, 73). This is a collection of rituals transmitted orally by various masters. This work was kept in a persimmon-coloured bag. MJ, p. 76 s.v. Kakibukuro; MD, p. 211 s.v. Kakikyōbukuro. JTK, pp. 20-21

quotes from the Kakibukuro mentioned here in the Hōkyōshō.

206. Bodaishinron.

207. See note 103.

208. See note 104.

209. See note 12.


211. This is part of the lineage-table of the Hōon-in-ryū. For the complete table, see MD, p. 1990 s.v. Hōon-in-ryū.


216. Ryūho received the denbō kanro 傳法灌頂 'initiation of the transmission of the dharma' from Dōjun in 1311. He died in 1353. See SSN, pp. 363, 401.

217. Or Minami Hōkeji, also called Tsubosakadera 壹阪寺, Nara prefecture. See MJ, p. 508 s.v. Tsubosakadera.

218. Nara prefecture.

219. Go-Deigo (1288-1339, r. 1318-1339) devoted himself to the task of restoring the imperial control over Japan. He was involved directly or indirectly in plots against the Kamakura government. In 1331 he launched a revolt (Genkō-no-Hen 元弘の変) to get rid of the Hōjō 北條 who ruled the country as shōgunal regents. This
uprising was suppressed and Go-Daigo was exiled to the island of Oki. In 1333, Go-Daigo escaped from his exile and succeeded to return to the throne (建武中興 Kenmu-no-Chūkō, Kenmu Restoration). Koshin, who was close to the emperor, performed rituals to destroy the Hōjō already in 1322. In 1330 (or 1331) he practiced a ritual to subdue Hōjō Takatoki 北条時宗 (1303-1333), the head of the government in Kamakura. This came to light and he was exiled to Tōgashima 碧波島. When Hōjō died in 1333 he was called back to Kyoto. In 1335 he was appointed the 120th head of Tōji. See MD. pp. 513-514 s.v. Koshin; BDJ, Vol. V, pp. 4874-4875 s.v. Monkan; MJ, pp. 183-184; TJSX, pp. 281-294; SS, pp. 70-82.

220. Before entering Shingon, Monkan had studied in the Shingonritsu-school 真言律宗 or Risshū 律宗, a school which combines the Shingon doctrines and the precepts (律 Jap. ritsu, Skt. vinaya) of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. Its headquarters is in the Saïsaiji in Nara. See supra note 146 and HS., p. 19 line 3.

221. Koshin belonged to the Hōon-in branch (see supra notes 210, 211), a subbranch of the Sanbōin-ryū, one of the three schools of the Daigo-ryū. See HS., p. 7 line 2-6; p. 15 line 4-8.


223. Dākinī are female yaksas which eat human flesh. A group of 3 dākinīs is shown in the Taizōkai-mandala (see note 32). The central figure is eating human limbs. See A. Snodgrass, The Matrix and Diamond World Mandalas in Shingon Buddhism, Vol. 2, New Delhi, 1988, p. 485, fig. 234. The term can also refer to yoginī in esoteric Buddhism. In Japan dākinī became identified with the Shintō deity Inari.

rice. See infra note 263.

224. Koshin became the 120th head of Tōji (東寺長者 Tōji Chōja) on the fifteenth day of the third month of Kenmu 建武 2 (1335). See MD, p. 514 s.v. Koshin.

225. Goshichinichī mishūho 御七日御修法. See BDJ, p. 80 s.v. Goshichinichī mishūho: "Also goshichinichī mishūho. The annual Shingon service held at the imperial palace from the 8th to the 14th day of the 1st month, for the purpose of praying for the health of the emperor, the ever-lasting continuity of the imperial lineage, the peace of the state, and for good crops. The term goshichinichī 'the latter seven days' was used because various Shintō ceremonies were held during the first week of the New Year. The practice was begun by Kōbō Daishi in 834, and then became an annual event ..."

226. This report was presented to Emperor Go-Daigo in 1335. The full text is quoted by Yūkai. See HS., p. 16 line 8 – p. 23 line 8.

227. Kūkai called the temple complex of Kōya-san, Kongōbuji 'Vajra Peak Temple'. This name is now only used for the head temple of the Shingon school on Mt. Kōya.


229. Head of Tōji. Kūkai became the first head priest of Tōji in 823. Under Kūkai it became an exclusively Shingon temple, renamed Kyō-gokoku-ji 教王護國寺. See also infra note 234.

230. Sui-shō should be read as Sui-shō ('left streets'). By 'left' is meant the eastern half of the city, seen from the imperial palace in the north.
231. Alias Yang Chien 杨坚 (541-604), the founder of the Sui dynasty (589-618).


233. 737-806, r. 781-806. Founded the capital Heian (= Kyōto) in 794.

234. This name is based on the title of two scriptures. Kyō (King of the Teaching) is derived from the Kongōchōissainvoraishintetsushō-daigongoshōdaikyō and kokokuy (nation-protecting) from the Ninno-go-kokuhannayaharamittakyō. The Tōji came to be called Kyōgokokuku when Kūkai built the lecture hall Hōhōjō (Jap. kōdo) of the Tōji in 825. Under Kūkai it became the first centre for Shingon. See Kokushi Daijiten. Vol. IV, p. 266 s.v. Kyōgokokuku; DNJ, Vol. 1, p. 201 s.v. Kyōgokokuku.

235. 'That' refers to the Ta-hsing-shan Temple. Amoghavajra or Pu-k'ung (Jap. Fukū, 705-774) took up his residence in this temple from 756. MJ, p. 458 s.v. Daikōzenji.

236. The five categories of jānas in Shingon Buddhism. See SBTP, pp. 61-62; KMM, pp. 83-84. These jānas correspond with the five Buddhas, the five parts of the Tattvasamgraha (Buddha, Vajra, Ratna, Padma and Karma), etc. In this initiation the master sprinkles water on the head of the disciple from five jars representing the five Buddhas and five knowledges. This initiation is also called gobukanjō 五部灌頂 'initiation of the five families'. See MD, p. 632 s.v. Gobukanjō.


238. This refers to the Kyōgokokuku.

239. Skt. trīghyā. Buddha's functions of body, voice and mind. These functions can be united through adhisthāna ('empowering') with the three actions (Skt. trikarma; physical, verbal and mental actions) of the sentient beings. See SBTP, pp. 69-71, 159-160.

240. Is January 6, 824 in the Western calendar. Kūkai received charge of the Tōji on the nineteenth day of the first month of 823. See MD, appendix p. 7.

241. Kashiwabara is another name for Emperor Kannō. In 794 he transferred the capital from Nagaoka 長岡 to Heian. The Tōji was founded in 796. See MD, appendix p. 5.


244. Kai 花 (or 華) can mean China 華 and the barbarians 賢, or the capital and the provinces. See NKDJ, Vol. IV, p. 208 s.v. Kai.

245. This letter was written in 1335 (see HK, p. 23 line 8) during the reign of Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐 (r. 1318-1339).

247. Under the Ritsuryō 律令 system of the Nara period, Japan was divided in five ki and seven dō.

The five ki are the five provinces nearest to the capital:

- Yamashiro 山城
- Yamato 大和
- Kawachi 河内
- Settsu 摂津
- Izumi 琵琶

The seven dō:

- Tōkai 東海
- Tōsan 東山
- Hokuriku 北陸
- San'in 山陰
- San'yō 山陽
- Nankai 南海
- Saikai 西海

These dō contained each several provinces. See NKJ, Vol. VII, p. 677 s.v. Goki shichidō.

248. King Wu founded the Chou dynasty (+ 1100–221 BC).


'I hereby promise you a code of laws consisting of three articles only: He who kills anyone shall suffer death; he who wounds another or steals, shall be punished according to the gravity of the offense; for the rest I hereby abolish all the laws of Ch'in.'

250. 1331. During the reign of Emperor Go-Daigo.

251. One of Buddha's epithets, Skt. Hamsarāja. Buddha's webbed hands and feet are considered as one of his thirty-two marks. BD, p. 162 s.v. Gaś.

252. 1334–1336.


According to the chronological table in MD, appendix p. 45, the emperor made offerings to the five-storied pagoda of Tōji on the 23rd day of the 9th month of 1334. This pagoda was completed in 1293.


255. Practising asceticism in mountains according to the teachings of the syncretic Shugendō 修験道 which combines the ancient Japanese worships of mountains with the doctrine and ritual of

256. Shōdō (1247-1339) became daikanjin 大勸進 in 1326. See next note and MD, p. 387 s.v. Shōdō. Shōnin ('superior person') is an honorary title for eminent priests.

257. Monkan became daikanjin in 1324. See TIWK, p. 297. The daikanjin (-no-hijiri) collects funds for the construction or restoration of temples, statues, temple bells, etc., and urges people to make donations. See RD, p. 192 s.v. Kanjin-hijiri; MD, p. 404 s.v. Kanjin; infra note 279.

258. Kōi 綱維 may refer to:
   a) the sangō 三縄 'the three bonds'. Three priests in charge of the general affairs in a temple or monastery:
      - jishu 寺主, Skt. vihāraśvāmin
      - jōza 上座, Skt. sthavira
      - ina 随那, Skt. karmadāna
   b) karmadāna
      See RD, p. 399 s.v. Kōi.

259. Monkan became the 64th head priest (Jap. zasu 座主) of Daigoji in 1323. 'Inside' may mean 'in Buddhist circles'. See MD, p. 183 s.v. Koshin.

260. I.e. imitating people who are better than oneself.

261. The highest in rank of the four head priests of Tōji. Also called ichi-no-arjari 一笑阿闍梨. See MD, p. 503 s.v. Chōja; MD, p. 1605 s.v. Chōja.

262. Shōbōmu 正法務 refers to the religious affairs of the court.
      See RD, p. 704 s.v. Shōbōmu.

263. In Japanese lexica we find the following explanations for yakan 野干:

   - DCDT, p. 366: Ṙgāla; a jackal, or an animal resembling a fox which cries at night.
   - NKU, Vol. XIX, p. 426 s.v. Yakan: another name for fox. Or, in China a fabulous bad animal resembling a fox, climbing trees and crying at night like a wolf.

The Sanskrit Ṙgāla or Ṙgāla is a jackal according to SED, p. 1245 s.v. Stigṣat. According to SS, p. 144 野干 came to be misread as 'kitsune' (fox) in Japan. For the relation between dākini, foxes and jackals in Japan, see J. Sanford, MD, p. 16: 'Jackals, also common visitors to graveyards, became closely associated with dākini in India and Tibet. When this complex of ideas reached Japan, jackals (J. yakan 野干) were confused with foxes. Elements of the Skull Ritual—or parallel Buddhist rites—eventually became entangled with Japanese fox cults and with the formation of Inari 櫃荷 Shinto'.

See also Ibid., pp. 15-18; supra note 223.

265. The face of the emperor.

266. 'Small Vehicle' (Skt. Hīnayāna) probably refers to the Shingonritsu-school which combines Shingon doctrines with the precepts of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. See note 220.


268. The posthumous name of Emperor Saga.

269. Only Shingon monks were allowed to reside in Tōji.

270. According to KDZ, Vol. VIII, p. 89 n. 41 this sentence would have its base on a parable of the Miao-fa Lien-hua Ching 妙法蓮華經 (Jap. Myōhōrengekyō, Skt. Saddharma-pundarīka-sūtra, T. Vol. IX n° 262 p. 7 a 7) in which 5000 sinful and haughty monks, nuns, etc. rose from their seat and withdrew while Buddha was speaking.


271. March 5, 823.

272. Fujiwara Yoshifusa (804–872) became the first Fujiwara regent (mesahō 撃政). He married a daughter of Emperor Saga.

273. See note 20.

274. The Jōwa Era of Emperor Ninmyō 仁明天, 834–848.

275. See note 261.

276. See note 47.


278. The reign of Emperor Go-Daigo, 1334–1336.

279. According to DURT, p. 166 s.v. Kanjin-no-hijiri, the same as Kanjin-no-shōnin 親進の聖人: 'A virtuous priest who urges people to make donations (for building a temple, etc.)'. See also note 257.

280. The samaya precepts (samayaka二昧耶戒). The fourfold precepts to be observed by Shingon practitioners:

1. not to abandon the Dharma.
2. not to give up the aspiration to attain enlightenment.
3. not to be tight-fisted about any of the teachings.
4. to do one's best to save the sentient beings.


281. 'Heavenly devil'. One of the four māras who dwell in the paranirmita-vasavartin heaven ( 他化自在天 Jap. takejizaiten), the sixth heaven, at the top of the kāmadhātu ( 欲界 Jap. yokkai). He obstructs the followers of Buddhism. BP, p. 985 s.v. Tennu.

282. A similar story is mentioned in the Goyuiō (see note 267), KDZ, Vol. VIII, p. 85. Ibid., p. 92 note 95 explains 'secret flower garden' 神花園 (Jap. mitsukeen) in two ways:

1. 明 (Jap. mitsu, 'secret') is 明厳 (Jap. Mitsugon, Vairocana's Pure Land, also called 明厳園 Jap. Mitsugonkoku).

2. 花 (Jap. ke, 'flower', also written as 華) is 華厳 (Jap. kezō, 'lotus-respository', the abbreviation of 運華厳世界 Jap. rengezōsekai, 'lotus-respository world') or garbhakāśa.

園 (Jap. en) is 'garden, park' or vajradhātu.

2. Mitsu refers to the triguhya ( 三密 Jap. sanmitsu, 'three secrets', i.e. Buddha's function of body, voice and mind),
'flower' would be a metaphor for the teaching and 'garden, park' means 'country'. In other words 'a country where the teaching of the three secrets has spread'.

283. According to MD, p. 179 s.v. ōsashihyōhō, a secret abhīcāraka ritual. MD mentions four different explanations for the meaning of ōsashihyōhō (or ōsashihēhō):

1. ōsashihyōhō interpreted as the ritual of Tenbōrin 轉法輪法. Jap. Tenbōrinhō, in which the enemy is subjugated by putting him into a tube (the so-called Tenbōrinzutsu 轉法輪筒, see MD, p. 1643 s.v. Tenbōrinzutsu). According to this interpretation, ōsashihyō would be read in Japanese as:

砂子を奥めて平らぐる法
"sashi ('sand') o osamete ('to store') tairaguru ('subdue, subjugate') hō ('ritual')."

2. The ritual of Trailokyavijaya, Jap. Gōzanze 降三世. Ōsashihō would be a secret word for Gōzanze.

3. 奥砂 Jap. ōsa explained as the Ace- of Acalanātha, Jap. Fudō 不動. Shiō子平 would mean 'appeasing disciples' by the ritual of Fudō.

4. 奥 = 隠蔵 Jap. onzō, 'concealed'.
        砂 = 精利 Jap. shari, Skt. śarīra, 'relics'.
        子 = 子弟 Jap. shitei, 'disciple'.
        平 = 泰平 Jap. taihei, 'peace, tranquility'.
This is further interpreted as 'hiding the jewel (Jap. hōju 寶珠 in the Murōzan 室生山 (or 室生寺 Murōji, a Shingon temple in the Nara prefecture)'. Hōju is seen as shari and as the conventional (Skt. samaya) body of Ratnasambhava 精生.

Here the ritual of Kundalī, Jap. Gundari 军茶利 is practised to appease the disciples of Kūkai. This fourth interpretation is also mentioned in KDKZ, Vol. VIII, p. 92 note 96.


284. Kūkai.

285. 'Dragon-flower tree'. When Maitreya, the future Buddha, will appear in this world, he will attain enlightenment under the nāgapuspa. See RD, p. 1422 s.v. Ryūgeju. According to SEK, p. 535 s.v. Nāga-puspa, the name of several plants: Mesua Roxburghii, Rottlera Tinctoria, and Michelia Champaka, L. According to T. Maku, Butternut no Shokubutsu, Tōkyō, 1978, p. 161, it is generally considered as Singhaline iron-wood.

286. May 1335.

287. 周輔蔵主 = 'Storehouse-keeper Shūho' or 'Assistant storehouse-keeper Shū'? 周輔 neither 周 are mentioned in KBJ and Zengaku Daijiten, 3 vols., Tōkyō, 1977. 周 often appears as the first character in the name of Zen monks, see the numerous examples in the above-mentioned dictionaries.

s.v. Žōshu. According to JERD, pp. 261–262 s.v. Seidō: 'More generally, a retired chief priest who has come to live in a monastery other than the one in which he held the leading rank. In this usage, it is the opposite of ōdo (literally, eastern hall), the retired chief priest who continues to live in the same monastery. In current usage, seidō denotes any priest of high rank living in the monastery but not the administrative head of it'.

288. More than 1000 volumes of Kōshin's works would have been burnt in Saga (northwest of Kyōto) by Gōhō 果寶 (1306–1362). See MI, p. 188 s.v. Gōhō; BSJ, p. 148 s.v. Tachikawa-ryū.


291. Near Nara.

292. 'Compendium of the Drop'. This work would have been compiled by Hōkyō, see BDJ, Vol. IV, p. 3471 s.v. Tachikawa-ryū. No further details mentioned in the consulted lexica. 'Drop' probably refers to the Skt. bindu, a term which appears in anuttarayogatantras. The bindu is the drop of the mixture of semen and menstrual fluid or blood with which the disciple is consecrated in the ghyābhiṣeka 'secret consecration'. This drop represents bodhicitta. See CHT, p. 30; D.L. Snellgrove, Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, London, 1987, p. 132.


294. DCBT, p. 278 gives the following definition: 'The demons who arouse in the heart the false belief that karma is not real'. BDJT, p. 283 s.v. Kūma explains it as a demon who rejects and negates cause and effect. BDJT also quotes the same passage of the Shurvyogonkyō.

295. Of the practitioner.

296. 沉淪 'to fall from the right principles' is 沉淪 'to sink down' in T. XIX n° 945, p. 149 a 19.


298. The three lowest states of existence, i.e. hell, the realm of hungry spirits and the realm of animals.

299. Buddha is teaching to Ānanda.

300. According to T. Vol. XIX n° 945, p. 132 a 1–2 破旬 = 波旬, Skt. pāpiyas, pāpiyān.


In this passage the demon takes possession of a man and uses him to deceive the meditator. See SSu., p. 210 note 1: 'As the practiser's mind is free from receptiveness, the demon is unable to influence it, so he uses another man to deceive and harm him'.


303. Ānanda.

304. In Hō, p. 27 line 4 the two sentences '... expound the doctrine' and 'His body ...' are linked: '... expound the dharma-body ...'. The okurigana 'no' between 法 and 身 is incorrect. See T. Vol. XIX n° 945, p. 149 c 2–4 and p. 150 a 4–16. See also SSu., p. 212.

305. Buddha's golden body is one of his 32 distinguishing marks, Skt. laksana.

306. Part of this passage (Hō, p. 28 line 1–6) has already been quoted
in H.  p. 10 line 3-6.

307. Jap. bonō soku bodai. The Mahāyāna principle that the afflictions are identified with enlightenment. See SJB, pp. 72-75.

308. The Shohōmyōkyō 諸法無行經 translated by Kumārajīva (344/350 - 409/413), see T. Vol. XV n° 650, p. 759 c 13-14. The first line of the Chinese original is different from the quotation in the H. : 萬欲是涅槃 'Desire is nirvāṇa'. A passage similar to the one in the H. also appears in the Daichidōron. 


309. Yuki quotes here from Chih-i's 車鍾 (538-597) Makashikan 摩訶観止観, one of the three major works of Tendai. See T. Vol. XLVI n° 1911, p. 17 c 14-16.

310. Jap. Ōkutsunara. At first he believed in wrong teachings and vowed that he would kill 1,000 people. When he was on point of killing his own mother as the 1,000th person, he was stopped by Buddha and became his disciple. See BDJ, p. 8 s.v. Ōkutsunara.

311. 戒障 Jap. Gida is the phonetical rendering of Jeta(vana), i.e. the Jetavana garden south of Śrāvastī in Central India. 禁制 Jap. Mari or Matsuri is Malliki. Mālikī was an ugly maidservant of a brahmin of Śrāvastī. King Prasenajit of Śrāvastī was attracted by her ingenuity and made her his first wife. She persuaded him to take refuge in Buddhism. He became a great patron of Buddhism. She once used wine to appease the king on a day on which lay Buddhists should adhere to the eight precepts. Abstaining from drinking in-toxicating drinks is one of these. See BDJ, Vol. II, p. 1358 s.v. Mari; HKS, p. 164 note 16, p. 447 note 103; T. Index, Vol. XXVI, p. 410.

312. HKS, p. 164 note 18 refers to 婆須密多 (Skt. Vasumitra) mentioned in the Kegonkyō 華嚴經 (T. Vol. X n° 279, p. 365 a 17). She is explained as a famous prostitute who guided men to enlightenment by hugging and kissing. See also BDJ, p. 538 s.v. Gojūsanchishiki, p. 1447 s.v. Bashumitta.

313. Devadatta was a cousin of Śākyamuni. At first he was his follower, but later attempted to kill the Buddha to take over the leadership.

314. The Kegon (Ch. Hsü-yen) school.

315. BD, p. 780 s.v. Shingen mentions two sources for the term 真源. In these texts we find a similar passage:


316. It is not clear which commentary is meant here.

Passion (Skt. rāga), hatred (Skt. dveṣa) and foolishness (Skt. moha) are the three poisons.

The three virtues of Buddha are:

2. 斷德 Jap. tantoku. Destroying all afflictions.
3. 智德 Jap. chitoku. Seeing all things as they are through wisdom.


319. 関提 = 一関提 Jap. issendai, Skt. icchantika. DJBT, p. 126 s.v. Issendai: 'one who has no goodness in his nature and, therefore, no possibility of becoming a buddha'.

320. 沈輪 = 沈淵. See BD, p. 968 s.v. Chinrin.

321. 三諦即四 Jap. sandai sokuze refers to a central theory in the Tendai doctrine. For sandai (also santai) see DJBT, p. 275 s.v. Santai: 'the triple truth'; the Tendai term to explain reality in three aspects: (1) kōtai 空諦, 'truth of voidness', i.e. all existences are void and non-substantial in essence; (2) kёtai 假諦, 'truth of temporariness', i.e. all existences are temporary manifestations produced by causes and conditions; (3) chёtai 中諦, 'truth of the middle', i.e. the absolute reality of all existences cannot be explained in either negative or affirmative terms.' DJBT, p. 275 s.v. Santai sokuze: "Refers to santai sokuze jissō 三諦即義相: 'the triple truth is identical with reality-aspect'. The Tendai teaching that the triple truth (santai) regarding reality is interrelated and in perfect harmony with the ultimate reality-principle (jissō)." See also J. Takakusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, Honolulu, 1956, pp. 129-130.

322. 陰入 Jap. onnyū = 五陰 Jap. goon and 十八入 Jap. jūnin'yū. Goon is another term for 'the five aggregates' 五蘊 Jap. goun, Skt. pañca skandha. See DJBT, p. 83 s.v. Goun: 'the five constituant elements of all existences: (1) shikun 色蘊, matter or form; (2) jū-son 受蘊, perception; (3) so-son 相蘊, conception; (4) avö-son 行蘊, volition; and (5) shiki-son 識蘊, consciousness'.

Jūnin'yū is also called jūninsho 十二處 Jap. jūnisho, consisting of six sense-organs (六根 Jap. rokkon, Skt. saë indriya: eyes, ears, nose, tongue, the tactile body, mind) and six objects of cognition (六境 Jap. rokkyō, Skt. sad visayā) corresponding to the six sense-organs: colour and shape, sound, odour, taste, tangible objects and elements (法 Jap. hō, Skt. dharma). See DJBT, p. 155 s.v. Jūnisho: pp. 247-248 s.v. Rokkon; p. 248 s.v. Rokkyō.

323. The six elements are earth, water, fire, wind, space and consciousness. DJBT, p. 248 s.v. Rokudaimuge: "'Interpenetration of the six great elements'; in Shingon, the six constituent elements of a person interchange with those of Dainichi (Mahāvairocana) Buddha and so he is, in essence, identical with Dainichi. Also, in Shingon, the six elements interchange with each other, and their essence is immutable and all-pervasive'.

324. DJBT, p. 3 s.v. Ajihonpushō: "... the esoteric principle that all phenomena are originally unproduced. This principle is represented by the first sound of the Sanskrit alphabet, 'A'.

325. DJBT, p. 263 s.v. Sandō: 'the three elements of transmigration: (1) honnōdō 煩悩道 or wakudō 惑道, evil passions or delusions; (2) gōdō 賄道, good or evil acts; and (3) kudō 苦道, suffering. Each of these functions as the cause of the next. Thus evil passions are the cause of good (i.e. imperfect and defiled good) and evil acts; they in turn act as the cause of suffering;
and suffering is then the cause of delusions and evil passions'.

326. 理智不二 Jap. richi funi. According to Shingon the Taizō- and Kongōkai-mandala respectively represent ri (principle) and chi (knowledge). Ri and chi are the two aspects of the ultimate reality personified as Hoshin Dainichi 法身大日. They are considered to be non-dual (funi). Knowledge and principle are also associated respectively with masculine and feminine, symbolized by the vajra and the lotus. For the orthodox Shingon interpretation, see KHJ, pp. 85-86.

327. A is the seed-syllable of Vairocana in the garbhakāsa, VAM corresponds with Vairocana in the vajradhātu. OM is said to consist of the syllables A, U, M, which respectively symbolize the dharma-kāya (法身 Jap. hoshin), sambhogakāya (報身 Jap. hōjin) and nirmanakāya (應身 Jap. ōjin).

In esoteric Buddhism seed-syllables (Skt. bīja, 种子 Jap. shūji) may be visualized on a mental moon-disc.


328. This may refer to the scrolls used in the visualization of Sanskrit syllables.


330. According to the Dainichikyōsha (Ibid., p. 662 c 4-14) the kuša grass has three meanings. Firstly, a practitioner sitting on kuša grass will not become indolent or unrestrained. Secondly, the Buddha attained enlightenment sitting on it. The third meaning is quoted by Yūkai.


333. According to ND, p. 1594 s.v. Chishin, the jijuyō chihōshin 自受用智法身. This is the svasambhogadharma-kāya of the four dharma-body theory. See SBTP, pp. 63-64.


335. See note 64.

336. June 4, 1499 in the Western calendar. Date of the written copy.

337. May 24, 1656 in the Western calendar. Date of the printed version.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>CH'EN K., Buddhism in China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>NAKAMURA H., Bukkyōgo Daijiten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BDJ</td>
<td>MOCHIZUKI Sh., Bukkyō Daijiten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BDJI</td>
<td>RYŪKOKU DAIGAKU ed., Bukkyō Daijī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BDJT</td>
<td>ODA T., Bukkyō Daijiten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSJ</td>
<td>KANAOKA Sh., Bukkyō Shūha Jiten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>Chinese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHT</td>
<td>WILLEMEN Ch., The Chinese Hevajratantra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCBT</td>
<td>SOOTHILL W. and NODOUS L., A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJ</td>
<td>UEDA K., Daijiten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJBT</td>
<td>INAGAKI H., A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DKJ</td>
<td>MOROHASHI T., Dai Kanwajiten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNJS</td>
<td>HIRATA Y. comp., Dainihon Jiin Sōran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMS</td>
<td>TAJIMA R., Étude sur le Mahāvairocana-sūtra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBS</td>
<td>TOGANO Sh., Himitsu Bukkyō-shi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HJK</td>
<td>TOGANO Sh., Himitsu Jise no Kenkyū.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMJ</td>
<td>YAMAMOTO Ch., History of Mantrayana in Japan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hō.</td>
<td>Hōkyōshō.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JTK</td>
<td>MIZUHARA G., Jakō Tachikawa-ryū no Kenkyū.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD</td>
<td>KOKUSHI DAIJITEN HENSHŪ IINKAI ed., Kokushi Daijiten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KDKZ</td>
<td>Kōbō DAIŠI KUKAI ZENSHŪ HENSHū IINKAI ed., Kōbō Daishi Kūkai Zenshū.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KHS</td>
<td>MIYASAKA Y., Kan Hōgo Shū.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMW</td>
<td>HAKEDA Y., Kūkai. Major Works.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS</td>
<td>HINONISHI Sh., Shinkō Kōya Shunyū Hennen Shūroku.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td>Mikkyō Daijiten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MJ</td>
<td>SAWA R., Mikkyō Jiten.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

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INDEX OF PLACES, PERSONS, TEMPLES, SCHOOLS, RITUALS AND
SCRIPTURES MENTIONED IN THE Hōkyōshō
INDEX OF PLACES, PERSONS, TEMPLES, SCHOOLS, RITUALS AND SCRIPTURES MENTIONED IN THE HÖKYÖSHÔ.

The figures to the left and the right of the hyphen refer respectively to the page number and the line in the original text.

| Radical 1. | 一海 | 8-1 |
|           | 一荷釈 | 25-7 |
|           | 三世常恒法 | 12-3 |
|           | 三寶院流 | 7-2, 7-3 |
|           | 三輪 | 25-6 |
|           | 不空三蔵 | 17-5 |
| 3.        | 丹生大明神 | 11-8 |
| 8.        | 元果僧都 | 6-4 |
|           | 京都 | 16-7, 24-7 |
| 9.        | 仁寛 | 9-5 |
|           | 仁寛阿闍梨 | 9-2 |
|           | 仁海僧正 | 6-4 |
|           | 仁賢 | 7-9 |
|           | 伊豆國 | 9-3 |
|           | 保壽院流 | 4-8 |
|           | 信謹僧正 | 4-7 |
|           | 信慧 | 8-3 |
|           | 俊譽 | 8-2 |
|           | 傳教大師 | 1-8, 2-7, 2-9 |
| 10.       | 元海 | 8-1 |
| 11. 全賢               | 8-2       |
| 12. 六月鈞               | 13-2      |
| 公紹               | 8-2       |
| (兼)寬               | 5-6       |
| 19. 勝覺               | 8-1, 12-7 |
| 勝覺僧正       | 7-2       |
| 勸修寺流       | 6-8       |
| 21. 北條寺               | 19-3      |
| 24. 十八會灌頂       | 13-2      |
| 十大弟子       | 3-9       |
| 南天               | 22-9      |
| 南池院           | 4-2       |
| 南法華寺       | 15-7      |
| 26. 即身成佛經       | 13-3      |
| 27. 鷹塔               | 18-9      |
| 29. 寳尊               | 8-3       |
| 30. 吒抑尼法       | 16-4      |
| 如修密多       | 28-9      |
| 周武               | 18-7      |
| 周輔藏主       | 24-3      |
| 善尸迦       | 20-2      |
| 善無畏       | 2-8       |
| 善無畏三藏       | 2-7       |
| 勝覺               | 6-1       |
| 勝覺大僧都       | 6-6       |
| 31. 圓滿鈞       | 13-1      |
| 圓行和尚       | 1-7       |

| 32. 温出法               | 12-2      |
| 增使               | 6-9       |
| 33. 壹定律師       | 7-9       |
| 37. 大和國               | 15-7, 24-2, 24-5, 25-6 |
| 大佛頂首楞嚴經       | 10-3      |
| 大興善寺       | 17-3      |
| 大師               | 3-8, 6-3, 12-7, 16-5, 18-1, 20-6, 22-4 |
| 大御室           | 4-5       |
| 大日經疏       | 10-7, 31-6 |
| 大日覺王       | 1-2       |
| 天台               | 29-8      |
| 太宗               | 18-5      |
| 奧砂子平之法       | 22-9      |
| 40. 安祥寺流       | 6-7       |
| 定助               | 7-9       |
| 定海               | 7-3, 8-1 |
| 宗叡僧正       | 1-6       |
| 宗範               | 6-7       |
| 官休               | 1-1, 32-3 |
| 實慧               | 4-1       |
| 實惠僧都       | 21-8      |
| 實澄僧正       | 15-5      |
| 實瑜僧正       | 5-9       |
| 實信               | 6-8       |
| 實助僧正       | 4-5       |
| 41. 平正法皇 | 4-4 |
| 42. 空寂志正 | 5-6 |
| 44. 僧正 空 | 4-4 |
| 45. 僧正 宽 | 5-1 |
| 46. 宽尊院 | 15-5 |
| 47. 宽尊院 | 15-4 |
| 48. 寳龕上人 | 5-8 |
| 49. 尊師 | 25-6 |

| 50. 小野流 | 6-2 |
| 51. 小野流 | 7-9 |
| 52. 小野流 | 6-4, 6-9, 7-6, 11-6 |
| 53. 小野流 | 6-2 |
| 54. 小野流 | 6-5 |

| 56. 角端 | 24-4 |
| 57. 低峰院 | 5-7 |
| 58. 常曉和院 | 1-7 |
| 59. 常曉和院 | 12-6 |

| 60. 成尊 | 17-3 |
| 61. 建武 | 4-3, 4-4, 5-2, 5-8, 6-1, 11-6 |
| 62. 弘法大師 | 22-1 |

| 63. 弘法大師 | 20-7 |
| 64. 弘法大師 | 16-1, 2-1, 2-4, 3-1, 3-2, 3-4, 17-6 |
| 65. 弘尊 | 15-7, 15-9 |
| 66. 弘尊 | 14-1, 15-3, 15-6, 16-8, 23-9, 24-1, 24-4 |

<p>| 67. 弘尊 | 16-6 |
| 68. 弘尊 | 24-3 |
| 69. 弘尊 | 15-8, 16-6 |
| 70. 弘尊 | 12-3 |
| 71. 弘尊 | 4-6 |
| 72. 弘尊 | 15-12-5 |
| 73. 弘尊 | 3-4 |
| 74. 心王心數灌頂 | 13-1 |
| 75. 心王心數灌頂 | 5-7 |
| 76. 心王心數灌頂 | 5-1 |
| 77. 心王心數灌頂 | 4-5, 5-6 |
| 78. 心王心數灌頂 | 2-7 |
| 79. 心王心數灌頂 | 2-2, 2-3, 3-4 |
| 80. 心王心數灌頂 | 1-6 |
| 81. 心王心數灌頂 | 5-5 |
| 82. 心王心數灌頂 | 1-8 |
| 83. 心王心數灌頂 | 13-6 |
| 84. 心王心數灌頂 | 6-5 |
| 85. 心王心數灌頂 | 5-9 |
| 86. 心王心數灌頂 | 5-6 |
| 87. 心王心數灌頂 | 13-2 |
| 88. 心王心數灌頂 | 13-2 |
| 89. 心王心數灌頂 | 12-2 |
| 90. 心王心數灌頂 | 22-1 |
| 91. 心王心數灌頂 | 21-7 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Volume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>故王護國寺</td>
<td>8-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>観感經</td>
<td>12-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>観感帝</td>
<td>4-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>観感法師</td>
<td>18-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>観感房</td>
<td>4-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86.</td>
<td>無行經</td>
<td>28-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96.</td>
<td>理性院流</td>
<td>7-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108.</td>
<td>普信</td>
<td>13-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108.</td>
<td>普信僧正</td>
<td>13-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108.</td>
<td>普信僧正</td>
<td>13-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108.</td>
<td>普信僧正</td>
<td>13-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109.</td>
<td>越性院流</td>
<td>21-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109.</td>
<td>越性</td>
<td>6-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109.</td>
<td>越性</td>
<td>8-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109.</td>
<td>越性</td>
<td>7-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109.</td>
<td>越性</td>
<td>13-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112.</td>
<td>石山</td>
<td>5-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112.</td>
<td>石山</td>
<td>4-1, 4-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112.</td>
<td>石山</td>
<td>6-3, 7-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113.</td>
<td>祥感末利</td>
<td>28-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113.</td>
<td>祥感末利</td>
<td>3-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115.</td>
<td>秘肝釈</td>
<td>13-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115.</td>
<td>秘肝釈</td>
<td>9-4, 25-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117.</td>
<td>立川</td>
<td>9-4, 25-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>页码</td>
<td>内容</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>立川流&lt;br&gt;9-6, 11-1, 12-6, 24-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>範俊&lt;br&gt;13-7&lt;br&gt;6-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>義明&lt;br&gt;3-7&lt;br&gt;2-3, 3-2&lt;br&gt;7-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>聖寶&lt;br&gt;4-3&lt;br&gt;6-2&lt;br&gt;4-9&lt;br&gt;7-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>茶花展&lt;br&gt;20-3&lt;br&gt;29-1&lt;br&gt;4-9&lt;br&gt;13-3&lt;br&gt;15-5&lt;br&gt;9-2&lt;br&gt;25-6&lt;br&gt;21-3&lt;br&gt;13-3&lt;br&gt;19-2&lt;br&gt;8-3, 8-5&lt;br&gt;4-7&lt;br&gt;11-1&lt;br&gt;5-4&lt;br&gt;11-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>奉願房&lt;br&gt;9-7&lt;br&gt;證道上人&lt;br&gt;19-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>豐原寺&lt;br&gt;9-7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>典觀寺&lt;br&gt;12-7&lt;br&gt;賢覺&lt;br&gt;7-4&lt;br&gt;賢範&lt;br&gt;11-7&lt;br&gt;(賢)隆&lt;br&gt;5-5&lt;br&gt;越中&lt;br&gt;24-5&lt;br&gt;越中國&lt;br&gt;11-1, 24-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>道順&lt;br&gt;15-5, 15-7&lt;br&gt;道順僧正&lt;br&gt;15-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>醬時&lt;br&gt;7-6, 14-9, 19-7&lt;br&gt;醤時三寶院&lt;br&gt;9-1&lt;br&gt;醤時三尊牌大供&lt;br&gt;12-8&lt;br&gt;醤時報恩院&lt;br&gt;15-4&lt;br&gt;醤時寺&lt;br&gt;6-2&lt;br&gt;醤時流&lt;br&gt;16-2&lt;br&gt;野干&lt;br&gt;20-2&lt;br&gt;野澤餘希&lt;br&gt;12-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Page(s)</td>
<td>Content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>16-8, 23-1, 23-8</td>
<td>金剛峯寺 金剛王院流 金玉方 鎌倉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>7-5</td>
<td>長和親王 長安</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>5-8</td>
<td>關東</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>24-3</td>
<td>阿字觀三十重口決 隆慶僧正 隆遍 随心金剛法 随心院流</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>13-1</td>
<td>雅海</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>15-6</td>
<td>雨僧正</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>5-5</td>
<td>青龍寺 静春</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>12-9</td>
<td>賴賢 順興闍梨</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>6-9</td>
<td>飛行自在法 首楞嚴経</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>8-2</td>
<td>鳥塚</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>18-2</td>
<td>高祖大師法 高野 高野中院流 高野山 高野御室</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>12-8</td>
<td>5-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>28-8</td>
<td>鳥塚刺摩羅 鳥王</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>11-2</td>
<td>18-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>16-7, 24-7</td>
<td>5-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
別難亦知但一說云騶翻三寶院標本正弟子僧正有仁寬阿闍梨後道云依有罪過子細被流伊豆國於被國為渡世具俗人肉食汗穢人等授真言為弟子矣武藏國立川云所在隠陽師對仁寬問真言引入本所學隠陽法邪正混論內外交雜稱立川流撰真言一流是邪法濫觴其具書等名字粗載豊原寺哲願房記二巻書所要之人可尋見其宗義者以男女隠陽之道為即身成佛秘術成佛得道之法無此
壇出法，飛行自在法，渡天大事，手足不
少々相残肢不知之，
十八會灌頂我友之六月釈等非一也又經軽
中，即身成佛經，菩提心經，坐驚空戒經
法出真言出現本地伽葉，秘訣有真，
又付瑜祇經理越經菩薩心論，邪見印信書籍
教，授範俊口傳，凡如實書名，書籍有謬
捨之有實者取之無相違事也借佛涅槃三藏
之名號註恩人之書事兼妄語邪見大有恐事
五十年分，雖廣東寺，非異類，何言之乎？弘仁
十四年正月十九日，以東寺未給迎小僧所使
既了師，師相傳為導場者，也豈可不門授者？
雜哉為我弟子者末世後世之內成立僧綱者
非求上下禪次以最初成就可為東寺長者
承和官府之道是當令時，僧雜住云凡
於東寺，阿闍梨果，自資惠僧，僧益守僧正
九十餘代之長者皆是密家棟梁之門宗，而也
之珍事不可說之次第也，難然憚，皇憲道俗側
衣而說法。故此文觀之奈，這吉居也。近龍顏而
奏事，矣，縱難好樂，世間之小術，事令更習無上
大法呼為法輕忽也，為不瑾也，尤難出，停慶
自元非大師之門徒，蓋是小乘律師也。抑亦習
兜術說文，並非遍涅，之殊俗，哉，重撫舊記弘仁
皇帝給以東寺，不勝歡喜成密道場努力勿
令他人難住，非此狭心謹真謹也。難圓妙法非
之法今東寺有異，而顯宗務誠，伏此依金剛

學者之學者，開天養入云，其人言以理，非

誠之誠，後人所未能及之遺記，欲未至之恐

當山，座主坊，佛家顯，顯隱，龍花樹，春色，

化照明遙續，星宿劫之，曉光，下於夜。

衆徒等誠惶誠恐謹言

建武二年五月日，金剛，峯寺，衆徒等

文觀房弘真，事以之可憐，如此書註之事，未

從承和明時，暨建武聖朝五百年，之宗務未

雜勸進聖異門，僧，呼寒，傳用者，賢王之善政

也，誰違先王之德行，哉制，異類者，吾師之雅言

也，事在律家，破戒無罪，人真言犯三昧耶，非正

道非道，世既二途不說之族已好，因而非直也

道不合，大師，遺書，今見文觀形儀，高新，

也，入冥，鬼神化，腦僧言，為世為法，可恐可憐

昔南天有凶婆，而破密花園，降彼修業子，乎
邪见人皆也，抑一生无程正法，难遇徒费纸

经年月投财，致苦劳倦之受，世无

冥加生入，无间事丧，丧悲中，悲岂能安

停正理，喜正见，人传正流可修利，之行为

又大和国三相，簿者上人，道之书，籍等邪，见法

门多之一，滴，等立，川法，门也，此速，物口欠

通可思伪书，破彼，门流中有邪，义流，哉可选

之者比，后，堂，周辅者，主持下，药，倉遍有之彼

是又，处，处，遍满不处，武，裁次，越中大，国，多之

书，籍，不知其数，如是邪流，未，正流之中多之

有其强故一，不书之就，明师可闻之京都，高

野，正，杂，乱事，多之欲或，多不知，皆，传传或

细，粗，之以情，执，称其，门流，其，末，弟，传，之，外道
提斯可希翼如我此說名為佛說不如此說即破句說又云未時天魔護得其便娓精附人口說經法其人先不知魔著亦言自得無上涅槃來彼求無善男子處數坐說法身有威神摧伏求者令其座下雖未聞法自然心伏是諸人等將佛涅槃菩提法身即是現前我身上父父子子遞代相生即是法身常住不絕都指現在心之壇越飲酒死肉等行縛繫因魔力故攝其身名為小乗菩薩悟空有何持犯其人常於信前人不生疑譏怨心久入或食屎尿與酒肉等一種俱空破佛律儀誤入罪失於正受當從倫文又云若不斷魔修禪定者如蒸沙石欲其成飯經百千劫名熱沙何以故此非飯本沙根根本成壞輪轉三途必不能出如來涅槃何路修證必使魔機身心俱新斷性亦無於佛著

先心命命依得未曾有是等愚迷感為菩提即為佛國無別淨居及金色相其人信受忘失
耳聞煩惱即苦，提口說煩惱即苦，提口不知其
言，誤凡情執，執行煩惱者可長輪迴，
先途者依三摩地數觀心月輪思惟，字文
字等可期諷見常見善靜自在之切智智顛
倒正理不可入邪路大日經疏云三者以此吉
祥草表惠性也由此草兩邊多有利刺若坐伏
持無方便者及為所傷若順手將護之則不能
為害一切諸法亦如是若順諦理觀之一切業
至真言依六大無尋阿字本不生之道理三道
流轉運諸法本源說也又至明道之位達客
名字開焉捨焉取之悟何只不知其因由，任妄
情云煩惱即菩提提乎只父母是理智所生，子理
智不二之佛云有名字無實義若三毒即佛一
切迷倒即佛不假方便自然之佛也願密教起
何等何等皆無聖起至盡無設教說乎，於救
夫也何可云無凡聖起盡無設教說乎。