

# HŌKYŌSHŌ

' THE COMPENDIUM OF THE PRECIOUS MIRROR '

OF THE MONK YŪKAI

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鈔

Translated with an Introduction and Notes

by

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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

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INTRODUCTION

I N T R O D U C T I O N

I. TEXT AND AUTHOR

The Hōkyōshō 寶鏡鈔 ('Compendium of the Precious Mirror') is included in the Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經 ('Newly Compiled Tripitaka 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 明曆 Period (= 1656)<sup>1</sup> and which used a manuscript dated Meiō 明應 8 (= 1499)<sup>2</sup>.

The translation here uses this printed edition as republished by Rittaiisha 立体社 in Tōkyō in 1976 as volume III of the Tachikawa-ryū Shōgyō Ruisan 立川流聖教類纂 ('Classified Collection of the Sacred Teachings of the Tachikawa School'), edited by Matsushita Takahiro 松下隆洪. 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.

I do not know of any modern Japanese translation of this text. A few short excerpts are translated into English in Wm. Theodore de Bary et al. (eds.), Sources of Japanese Tradition, Vol. I, N.Y.-London, 1969<sup>5</sup>, pp. 163-165.

The Hōkyōshō is the work of the Shingon monk Yūkai 宥快 (1345-



1416). The Kōya Shunjū Hennen Shūroku 高野春秋編年輯錄 ('The Spring and Autumn Chronological Compilation of Kōya'), the annals of Kōyasan between 816 and 1718 as compiled by Kaiei 懷英 (1642-1727), inform us that Yūkai wrote it in Eiwa 永和 1 (= 1375)<sup>3</sup>.

Yūkai, a scholar-priest, was the author of numerous works<sup>4</sup>. He wrote commentaries on, among other things, the Dainichikyōsho 大日經疏 (T. Vol. XXXIX n° 1796)<sup>5</sup> and on the works of Kūkai 空海 (774-835; otherwise known as Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師), the founder of the Japanese Shingon school (Shingon-shū 真言宗)<sup>6</sup>.

Yūkai devoted himself to the unification of the Shingon doctrine on Kōyasan. He made great contributions to the flowering of the orthodox Shingon doctrine there and also succeeded in getting the adherents of the nenbutsu 念佛 expelled from this Shingon centre<sup>7</sup>. He is also known for his suppression of the heretical Tachikawa-ryū 立川流 (Tachikawa school)<sup>8</sup>. In 1375, he wrote this anti-Tachikawa treatise and destroyed the writings of this school, which were also numerous on Mt. Kōya<sup>9</sup>. Through this short text it is possible to trace some of the fundamental ideas of Tachikawa teachings<sup>10</sup>. It also contains important historical material for the study of Ninkan 仁寛<sup>11</sup> (1057-1114), the founder of the Tachikawa school, and the controversial Monkan 文觀 (1278-1357), also known as Kōshin 弘真, who is traditionally regarded as the person who perfected Tachikawa teachings<sup>12</sup>.

## II. CONTENTS

Yūkai starts his Hōkyōshō by citing evidence for the superiority of Shingon esotericism (pp. 1-3)<sup>13</sup>. He asserts that the line of trans-

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 御請來目錄 (T. Vol. LV n° 2161). He then discusses the line of transmission after Kūkai (pp. 3-4) and records the genealogical tables of the Hirokawa 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 Ninkan 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<sup>14</sup>. Yūkai warns the reader against this heresy by quoting from the Daibutchōshuryōgonkyō 大佛頂首楞嚴經 (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 nirvāna' 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 Kōyasan 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 瑜祇經 (T. Vol. XVIII n° 867), Rishukyō 理趣經 (T. Vol. VIII n° 243) and

Bodaishinron 菩提心論 (T. Vol. XXXII n° 1665), three of the four texts regarded as canonical in the Tachikawa school<sup>15</sup>. The author also stresses the multiplicity of Tachikawa texts.

The next topic is the reliability of the many works attributed to Kōshin (Monkan), the abbot of Daigoji 醍醐寺 and the 120th head of Tōji 東寺<sup>16</sup>. Yūkai 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). Yūkai 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 Kūkai'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 Daigoji. In the first part of the letter (which is quoted in the Hōkyōshō 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 Kūkai. 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 Kūkai but a precept master of the Small Vehicle. This part of the letter contains a quotation from the Goyuigō 御遺告 (T. Vol. LXXVII n° 2431) in which Kūkai states that Tōji should be used exclusively for followers of Shingon (pp. 20-21).

After that (pp. 24-25), Yūkai states that books of Kōshin's school are numerous in Yamato 大和 and Etchū 越中 and that they also reached Kamakura. Musashi 武藏 is identified as the centre of the Tachikawa school. He also refers to a book-burning in Saga 嵯峨 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 寶篋 (c. 1270), the founder of the Miwa-ryū 三輪流, a branch of the Sanbōin-ryū 三寶院流 of the

orthodox Ono school.

Yūkai then quotes further from the Daibutchōshuryōgonkyō (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 煩惱即菩提 ('the afflictions are bodhi'). Yūkai offers several interpretations by quoting from various texts. First, he quotes from the (Shohō)mugyōkyō (諸法) 無行經 (T. Vol. XV n° 650). Then he gives the Tendai interpretation by quoting from the Makashikan 摩訶止觀 (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 Jūjūshinron 秘密曼荼羅十住心論 (T. Vol. LXXVII n° 2425).

The Hōkyōshō concludes with a quotation from the Dainichikyōsho which explains one of the symbolic meanings of the thorny kuśa plant.

THE COMPENDIUM OF THE PRECIOUS MIRROR

I.

THE COMPENDIUM OF THE PRECIOUS MIRROR

Noted down by śramana Yūkai

Shingon esotericism is the secret teaching expounded by Vairocana, the king of awakenment, and transmitted by the eight patriarchs<sup>17</sup>. 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<sup>18</sup> there are five masters. They are Kōbō Daishi<sup>19</sup>, Shūei Sōjō<sup>20</sup>, Eun Sōzu, Engyō Wajō<sup>21</sup> and Jōkyō Wajō. In the other branch<sup>22</sup> there are three transmitters. They are Dengyō Daishi<sup>23</sup>, 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<sup>24</sup>.

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 Dharmakāya Vairocana Tathāgata<sup>25</sup> to preceptor Hui-kuo<sup>26</sup> of the Ch'ing-lung Temple<sup>27</sup> in Great T'ang<sup>28</sup>. I cannot discourse further on this. Even though preceptor Hui-kuo transmitted the doctrine to many people<sup>29</sup>, there was no one except for the servant<sup>30</sup> I-ming<sup>31</sup> in T'ang and Kōbō Daishi in Japan who inherited the two realms<sup>32</sup>. 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 sagesness<sup>33</sup>.

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. Dengyō Daishi learned Shingon from ācārya Shun-hsiao<sup>34</sup>, the honourable disciple of tripitaka<sup>35</sup> Śubhākara<sup>36</sup>. However, he is not the legitimate disciple of Śubhākara<sup>37</sup>. 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)<sup>38</sup>. 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<sup>39</sup>. Besides, he did not transmit the learning to anyone<sup>40</sup>. Only one person, Kōbō Daishi, is the true heir of the preceptor Hui-kuo. The Goshōrairoku<sup>41</sup> says: "As soon as the preceptor<sup>42</sup> saw me<sup>43</sup> 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 no one to whom I can transmit the learning<sup>44</sup> ... Now I have completed teaching you'." The fact that he said that there was no one 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 sageness.

IV. The disciples of Daishi who entered the mandala<sup>45</sup> and who were instructed in the teachings are numerous. Among them the ten great disciples<sup>46</sup> are the most important. Among these, Jitsue<sup>47</sup> and Shinga<sup>48</sup> 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 Nanchiin)<sup>49</sup>. Under Gennin are the two sōjō, Yakushin<sup>50</sup> and Shōbō<sup>51</sup>. Yakushin is the founder of the Hirosawa<sup>52</sup>.

Yakushin Sōjō

Kanpyō Hōō<sup>53</sup>

Kangū Sōjō<sup>54</sup>

Kanchō Sōjō<sup>55</sup>

(the term Hirosawa begins here<sup>56</sup>)

Saishin Sōjō<sup>57</sup>

Chōwa Shinno<sup>58</sup>

(Shōshin, called Ōomuro)

Kanjo Sōjō<sup>59</sup>

— Kakuhō Shinno<sup>60</sup>

(called Go-ryū<sup>61</sup>)

— Shinshō Sōjō<sup>62</sup>

(called Nishinoin-ryū<sup>63</sup>)

— Yōgen Hōin<sup>64</sup>

(called Hojuin-ryū<sup>65</sup>)

— Shōkei Shinno<sup>66</sup>

(called Kezōin-ryū<sup>67</sup>)

— Kanpen Sōjō<sup>68</sup>

(called Ninnikusen-ryū<sup>69</sup>)

— Kakuban Shōnin<sup>70</sup>

(called Denbōin-ryū<sup>71</sup>)

The above are the six Hirosawa-branches.

— Shin'yo Ajari<sup>72</sup>

(called Kōya Jimyōin-ryū<sup>73</sup>)

— Kōya Omuro Kakuhō<sup>74</sup>

— Kakuzei Sōjō<sup>75</sup>

— Ryūhen<sup>76</sup>

(called Jison'in-ryū<sup>77</sup>)

— Kenryū<sup>78</sup>

— Kan'i<sup>79</sup>

(Kannon'in Daisōzu<sup>80</sup>, instructed by Shōshin)

— Kenni<sup>81</sup>

(Jōren'in<sup>82</sup>)

V.

Shinkaku<sup>83</sup> (called Jōkiin-ryū<sup>84</sup>)

In the above-mentioned Hirosawa-ryū there are nine branches. Adding the Hōjuin of the Kingyokugata<sup>85</sup> there are ten branches.

In addition to this there is the :

Jōjuin-ryū<sup>86</sup> (under Jitsuyu Sōjō<sup>87</sup>)

VI. Shinjōin-ryū<sup>88</sup>, etc. (furthermore there is the Hirosawa-branch transmitted by Genkaku<sup>89</sup>)

Ono-ryū<sup>90</sup> (Shōbō Sōjō<sup>91</sup> Daigoji<sup>92</sup> Hongan<sup>93</sup>, called Sonshi<sup>94</sup>)

Shōbō Sōjō

Kangen Sōjō<sup>95</sup> (called Hannyaji<sup>96</sup> Sōjō. A person who was devoted to Daishi and who worshipped him<sup>97</sup>)

Shunnyū Naiku<sup>98</sup> (Ishiyama<sup>99</sup>)

Gengō Sōzu<sup>100</sup>

Ningai Sōjō<sup>101</sup> (the name Ono began to exist from here, called Ame no Sōjō<sup>102</sup>)

Seizon Sōzu<sup>103</sup> (called Ono Sōzu)

Hanjūn Sōjō<sup>104</sup>

Genkaku Daisōzu<sup>105</sup>

Sōi<sup>106</sup> (called Anjōji-ryū<sup>107</sup>)

Kanjūn<sup>108</sup> (called Kajūji-ryū<sup>109</sup>)

Zōshūn<sup>110</sup> (called Zuishinnin-ryū<sup>111</sup>)

The above are the three Ono-branches<sup>112</sup>

Seiyo<sup>113</sup> (lived on Ishiyama<sup>114</sup>)

VII.

Gihan Sōzu<sup>115</sup>

Shōkaku Sōjō<sup>116</sup>

Jōkai<sup>118</sup>

Genkaku<sup>119</sup>

Shōken<sup>121</sup>

(called Sanbōin-ryū<sup>117</sup>)

(called Sanbōin-ryū)

(called Rishōin-ryū<sup>120</sup>)

(called Kongōin-ryū<sup>122</sup>)

The above are the three Daigo-branches.

Ono and Daigo together are six

branches.

(called Kōya Chūin-ryū<sup>124</sup>)

Meizan Ajari<sup>123</sup>

Transmission by Kangen<sup>125</sup>

Ichijō Risshi<sup>126</sup>

Jōjo<sup>127</sup>

Hōzō<sup>128</sup>

Ninga<sup>129</sup>

Shingō<sup>130</sup>

(called Koshima-ryū<sup>131</sup>)

Shōkaku<sup>132</sup>

Jōkai<sup>133</sup>

Genkai<sup>134</sup>

Ikkai<sup>135</sup>

(called Matsubashi-ryū<sup>136</sup>)

Gakai<sup>137</sup>

Zenken<sup>138</sup>

Jōshin<sup>139</sup>

Raiken<sup>140</sup>

Shinjō<sup>141</sup>

Shun'yo<sup>142</sup>

Kōshō<sup>143</sup>

VIII.

Shin'e<sup>144</sup>  
 |  
 Eison<sup>145</sup> (a Ritsu-monk<sup>146</sup>. Called Saidaiji-ryū<sup>147</sup>)

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.

IX. Answer : Jade is hard to detect, and one is easily deluded by a dead mouse<sup>148</sup>. It is difficult to grasp the difference between right and wrong immediately. However, one commentary says : 'Among the disciples of the gonsōjō of the Daigo Sanbōin<sup>149</sup>, there was a man called teacher Ninkan (later known as Rennin<sup>150</sup>), the younger brother of the sōjō . Because of some crime, he was exiled to the province of Izu<sup>151</sup>. 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<sup>152</sup> from a place called Tachikawa in the province of Musashi<sup>153</sup> 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<sup>154</sup> were inter-

changed. It was called the Tachikawa School<sup>155</sup> 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<sup>156</sup> of the Toyoharaji<sup>157</sup>. 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<sup>158</sup>. 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 Daibutchōshuryōgonkyō<sup>159</sup> says : '... [he<sup>160</sup> 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 nirvāna. 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 ...<sup>161</sup>. If you are deluded and do not know it, you will fall into immediate karma<sup>162</sup>. How can people with immediate karma be called Shingon practitioners ?

The Dainichikyōsho<sup>163</sup> 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<sup>164</sup> 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 Etchū<sup>-165</sup>. Two generations of teachers, Kakumyō<sup>-166</sup> and Kakuin<sup>167</sup>, lived in seclusion on Mount Kōya. During this time, many credentials<sup>168</sup> 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<sup>169</sup>. 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 Ono and the Hirosawa (the genuine and the fake should be investigated). There are many heresies in the transmission of the lineages with the names of Myōcho<sup>-170</sup>, Kensei<sup>171</sup> and others. This was not conjectured by man, but proclaimed by Niu Daimyōjin<sup>172</sup>. The people who have practised this method have been numerous but have no arcane protection<sup>173</sup>. 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.
- XII.

Horidashi no Hō<sup>-174</sup>

Hikō Jizai no Hō<sup>-175</sup>

Toten no Daiji<sup>176</sup>

Shusoku Funi no Daiji<sup>177</sup>

Sanze Jōgō no Hō<sup>178</sup>

Gonyūjō Nanjū no Daiji<sup>179</sup>

The number of such Great Practices may have increased. They cannot be mentioned in detail. 'With one you understand a myriad<sup>180</sup>'. To continue : the term Goryū Sanbōin<sup>181</sup> is applied to many writings and oral transmissions in Kantō<sup>-182</sup>. Remaining additions from Yataku<sup>183</sup>, excerpts from the Rishukyō<sup>-184</sup>, master and disciple sitting side by side and the like<sup>185</sup> 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<sup>186</sup>, Jōganji<sup>187</sup>, Shōkaku<sup>188</sup> and others. There are many such writings written by ignorant people.

[Examples are] :

Kōso Daishi no Hō<sup>-189</sup>

Daigo no Sanzonchō no Daiji<sup>190</sup>

Zuishin Kongō no Hō<sup>-191</sup>

Texts of this kind number a hundred volumes. Further [examples are] :

XIII. Enmanshō<sup>-192</sup>

Ajikan Sanjūjū no Kuketsu<sup>193</sup>

Shinnō Shinju no Kanjō<sup>-194</sup>

Jūhatte no Kanjō<sup>-195</sup>

Gayūshi Rokugatsushō<sup>-196</sup>

and numerous other texts. And among the scriptures and ritual texts :

Sokushin Jōbutsukyō<sup>-197</sup>

Bodaishinkyō<sup>-198</sup>

Monjukyō<sup>-199</sup>

Kokuzōkyō<sup>-200</sup>

Hōshutsukyō<sup>-201</sup>



Shingon Shutsugen Honjige<sup>202</sup>

Hikanshō<sup>203</sup> (the truthfulness of the Hikan should be examined).

Furthermore, there are numerous heterodox credentials and writings concerning the Yugikyō, the Rishukyō and the Bodaishinron<sup>204</sup>. The Kakibukuro<sup>205</sup>, as it is called, contains the Great Practices of the two scriptures (Yugi and Rishu) and the treatise<sup>206</sup>. The oral transmission says this: 'The oral transmission that Seizon<sup>207</sup> taught Hanjun<sup>208</sup> ...'. 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 Kōshin Sōjō (this is the monk Monkan<sup>209</sup>). 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 valuables, 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 Kōshin Sōjō in detail. He is a descendant of Kenjin Sōjō of the Daigo Hōon-in<sup>210</sup>. Namely:

Kenjin Sōjō<sup>211</sup>

Jitsujin Sōjō<sup>212</sup>

Kakuga Hōin<sup>213</sup>

Kenjun<sup>214</sup>

Dōjun<sup>215</sup>

Under Dōjun there is Ryūyo Sōjō<sup>216</sup> and Kōshin Sōjō. Ryūyo was instructed by Dōjun Sōjō. He died in Minami Hokkeji<sup>217</sup> in the province of Yamato<sup>218</sup>. Kōshin was no vessel filled by Dōjun. He was a distant disciple. The transmission was not detailed. But when Emperor Go-Daigo was planning a revolt, he had faith in Kōshin because of his prayers and that was when he was influential<sup>219</sup>. Though he was originally a rissō, he became a sōjō<sup>220</sup>. He read sacred teachings here and there and wrote more than one thousand volumes of books, manifold Great Practices and more than

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thirty credentials. He did this in connection with the Daigo school<sup>221</sup>. Among them there are a great deal for which he borrowed names<sup>222</sup>. 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 dākinī-ritual<sup>223</sup> 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<sup>224</sup>. When he performed the 'latter seven-days ritual'<sup>225</sup>, 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<sup>226</sup> : "We, adherents of the Kongōbuji<sup>227</sup>, sincerely revere and sincerely fear. With careful wordings we earnestly beseech you that the promoted sage Monkan Hōshi<sup>228</sup> of Tōji may be stopped by your divine ruling. He fulfils his duties of chōja<sup>229</sup> 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<sup>230</sup> of the city of Ch'ang-an of Great T'ang there was a Buddhist monastery by decree of Emperor Wen<sup>231</sup> of the Sui. It was called the Ta-hsing-shan Temple<sup>232</sup>. 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 Kanmu<sup>233</sup> and was called Kyōgokokuji<sup>234</sup>. That was the temple where tripitaka Amoghavajra translated scriptures<sup>235</sup>. He conferred the initiation of the five knowledges<sup>236</sup> to three courts<sup>237</sup>. This is the place of practice where Kōbō Daishi transmitted the doctrine<sup>238</sup>. He personally brought

about empowering of the three mysteries<sup>239</sup>. 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 14<sup>240</sup> : 'Tōji was built at the beginning of the transfér of the capital by the former court of Kashiwabara<sup>241</sup> in order to defend the nation. Our court considers this temple to be the highest ... !'

XVIII.

Daishi says<sup>242</sup> : 'Tōji is a place superbly suited to esotericism. It is the heart of the defence of Batai<sup>243</sup>. If one takes refuge in it and is respectful, the royal power of conversion will shine and the land<sup>244</sup> 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<sup>245</sup> is equal to that of the model government of the Superior Officials and that his virtue surpasses the great undertakings of T'ai-tsung<sup>246</sup>. 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 dō<sup>247</sup> all took pride in the great peace of the unification brought about by Wu of the Chou<sup>248</sup>. The hundred officials and the numerous people all sang the praises of the laws in the three chapters of Kao-tsu of the Han<sup>249</sup>. In these times, in the first year of Genko<sup>250</sup>, the emperor visited the temple and worshipped the Goose King<sup>251</sup>, the revered one who protects the land. The emperor visited this place again in the Kenmu period<sup>252</sup> and subsequently decreed the worship of the Goose Pagoda<sup>253</sup>.

XIX. 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 rissō of the Hōjōji in the province of Harima, a branch temple of the Saidaiji<sup>254</sup>. At the same time he studied arithmetic and was fond of divination. He is especially versed in magic and practised mountain asceticism<sup>255</sup>. 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<sup>256</sup> and subsequently became the daikanjin-no-hijiri<sup>257</sup> of Tōji. Improperly donning the black garments of asceticism, he sits unwarrantedly next to the highest dignitaries, the karmadāna<sup>258</sup>. Outside he is called the Wise Holy Man, inside he has the title of head of the Daigo<sup>259</sup>. 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<sup>260</sup> 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<sup>261</sup> and recklessly takes charge of that wonderful precious task which is an inexplicable process, the affairs of the true doctrine<sup>262</sup>. 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<sup>263</sup> to Kauśika<sup>264</sup>, he sits in heavenly garments and expounds on the dharma ! This Monkan, worshipping dākinīs, approaches the dragon face<sup>265</sup> 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.

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He may well have been a precept master of the Small Vehicle<sup>266</sup> 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<sup>267</sup> : 'When Emperor Kōnin<sup>268</sup> 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<sup>269</sup>. 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<sup>270</sup>. 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 Kōnin 14<sup>271</sup>, I was granted Tōji for ever (the imperial messenger was the court noble Fujiwara Yoshifusa<sup>272</sup>; 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 sōgō<sup>273</sup>, 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 Jōwa<sup>274</sup> : 'The path is esotericism. Do not let monks of other schools dwell together ...'. As a whole, with regard to the ichi-no-ajariya<sup>275</sup> of Tōji, more than ninety generations of chōja, from Jitsue Sōzu<sup>276</sup> to Yakushu Sōjō<sup>277</sup>, were all pillars of esotericism, masters of our school. For more than five hundred years of religious affairs, from the brilliant time of Jōwa to the noble court of Kenmu<sup>278</sup>, monks of different schools who were kanjinhiijiri<sup>279</sup> have never been allowed admittance. Selecting those with aptitude is certainly the best policy of the wise king. Who would go against the virtuous

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conduct of former kings ! The exclusion of others is delicately mentioned 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<sup>280</sup>. 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 respect, 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 transformed devamāra<sup>281</sup> is destroying the Buddhist law is debatable. But one wonders whether a demonic metamorphosis is disturbing the saṃgha ! 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<sup>282</sup>. To subdue him, the ritual of Ōsashihyō<sup>283</sup> 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<sup>284</sup>. We wish that His Majesty would promptly suspend Monkan from his position as ichi-ni-chōja of Tōji and as zasu of the said temple [so that] Buddhists might prosper far and wide, adding to the spring colours of the nāgapuṣpa tree<sup>285</sup>. 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<sup>286</sup>."

XXIV. The affairs of the monk Monkan Kōshin can be examined through this. 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 [?] of nearby (seidō in the rear) brought them down to the district of Kamakura<sup>287</sup>. The sacred teachings by Kōshin's own brush have been destroyed by fire in the vicinity of Saga<sup>288</sup> ... . 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 examples 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 Kyōto 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

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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<sup>289</sup> 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 Rendō<sup>290</sup>) of Miwa<sup>291</sup> in the province of Yamato. The Ittekishō<sup>292</sup> 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 Shuryōgonkyō (Vol. IX) says<sup>293</sup> : '... then there will be a vain demon<sup>294</sup> who will enter into his heart<sup>295</sup> 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 dānapati 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<sup>296</sup>.'

The text further says (Vol. VI)<sup>297</sup> : '... 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<sup>298</sup> and one will certainly not be able to escape. As for the

Tathāgata's nirvāna, 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 bodhi. This teaching of mine<sup>299</sup> is called the teaching of Buddha. Teachings which are not like this are teachings of demons<sup>300</sup>.'

XXVII. The text further says (Vol. IX)<sup>301</sup> : '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 nirvāna. He will come to another person in order to divert<sup>302</sup> him. Oh excellent son<sup>303</sup>, he will sit down on his seat and expound the doctrine. His body<sup>304</sup> 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<sup>305</sup>. 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<sup>306</sup>. 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 avīci hell.'

Question : The meaning of 'the afflictions are bodhi'<sup>307</sup> is the ultimate import of the Great Vehicle. Concerning this, the Mugyōkyō<sup>308</sup> 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<sup>309</sup> : 'Aṅgulimālya<sup>310</sup> was full of murder and full of compassion. Jeta(vana) Malli(kā)<sup>311</sup> [thought]

only of wine and the precepts. Vasumitra<sup>312</sup> was lewd and pure acting. XXIX. Devadatta<sup>313</sup> took his false views to be right, ... .'  
In Kegon<sup>314</sup> : 'The true includes the top of the false, the false penetrates the source of the true<sup>315</sup>.'  
Again, there is a commentary : 'On meeting the three poisons, the three virtues become perfect<sup>316</sup>.'  
According to a Shingon commentary<sup>317</sup> : 'If one can clearly see the profundity of the secret appellations and names, and if one can open the decorated secret storehouse<sup>318</sup>, then the hells and heavens, the Buddha-nature and icchantika<sup>319</sup>, the afflictions and bodhi, saṃsāra 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<sup>320</sup> 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'<sup>321</sup> and that XXX. 'all the skandhas and āyatanas are such'<sup>322</sup>. Furthermore, Shingon is based on the principle that the six elements are without obstruction<sup>323</sup> and that the syllable 'A' is original and unborn<sup>324</sup>, and it is a statement that the progression along the three paths<sup>325</sup> 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<sup>326</sup>. 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 'VAM' and the syllable 'OM'<sup>327</sup>. He may then expect to see the scrolls, which [of course] one normally

sees [anyway] , unfolded<sup>328</sup>. When his sovereign omniscience knows right and wrong, he cannot embark on a heterodox path. The Dainichi-kyōsho says<sup>329</sup> : 'The third (meaning)<sup>330</sup> is : this auspicious grass<sup>331</sup> symbolizes wisdom<sup>332</sup>. 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 expedients are deficient, it may harm the knowledge-body<sup>333</sup>. Therefore it is thought of as the symbol of the dharma-gate<sup>334</sup>.

XXXII.

Written down by Yūkai, Hōin<sup>335</sup> Gondaisōzu.

On the 26th day of the 4th month of the 8th year of Meio<sup>336</sup>.

'Lucky day' of the 5th month of the 2nd year of Meireki<sup>337</sup>.

NOTES



NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. See Hō., p. 32 line 5; NBTD, p. 467 s.v. Hōkyōshō.
2. See Hō., p. 32 line 4.
3. See KS, pp. 217-218. For Yūkai, see MD, pp. 2192-2193 s.v. Yūkai; MJ, pp. 686-687 s.v. Yūkai; MR, p. 251; HBS, pp. 184-185; SJEB, pp. 43-44.
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 Vairocanābhisambodhi (T. Vol. XVIII n° 848, in Japan better known as the Dainichikyō 大日經) expounded by Śubhākara (637-735, 善無畏 Chin. Shan-wu-wei, Jap. Zenmui) and recorded by his disciple I-hsing 一行 (683-727). Yūkai quotes twice from the Dainichikyōsho, 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 :
  - G. Mizuhara 水原, Jakyō Tachikawa-ryū no Kenkyū 邪教立川流の研究, Kyōto, 1923.
  - R. Kushida 櫛田, Shingon Mikkyō Seiritsu Katei no Kenkyū 真言密教成立過程の研究, Tōkyō, 1964, pp. 329-408.
  - Sh. Moriyama 守山, Tachikawa Jakyō to sono Shakaiteki Haikai no

Kenkyū 立川 邪教とその社会的背景の研究, Tōkyō, 1965.

- K. Muraoka 村岡, 'Mikyō to Erosu' 密教とエロス, in Gendai Mikyō Kōza 現代密教講座, Vol. VII, Tōkyō, 1975, pp. 350-400.

- Y. Sasama 笹間, Sei no Shūkyō 性の宗教, Tōkyō, 1988.

Primary sources can be found in :

- T. Matsushita 松下 (ed.), Tachikawa-ryū Shōgyō Ruisan 立川流 聖教類纂, 5 Vols., Tōkyō, 1976-1977.

- Sh. Moriyama, Tachikawa Jakyō to sono Shakaiteki Haikai no Kenkyū, Tōkyō, 1965, pp. 523-609.

About 20 titles related to Tachikawa and Monkan are contained in Mikyō Kankei Bunken Mokuroku 密教関係文献目録, pp. 214-215, the bibliography of esoteric Buddhism compiled by Shuchiin Daigaku Mikyō Gakkai 種智院大学密教学会, Tōkyō, 1986.

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

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

The few exceptions are :

- R.H. Van Gulik, Sexual Life in Ancient China, Leiden, 1961. Reprint. 1974, pp. 358-359.

- Ch. Willems, The Chinese Hevajratāntra, Leuven, 1983, p. 15 n. 25.

- Sh. Manabe, 'Die häretische Tachikawa-Schule im Esoterischen Buddhismus Japans', in R. Goepper et al., Shingon. Die Kunst des Geheimen Buddhismus in Japan, Köln, 1988, pp. 28-30.

- J. Sanford, 'The Abominable Tachikawa Skull Ritual', in Monumenta Nipponica, Vol. 46, n° 1, 1991, pp. 1-20. Information on the development of the Tachikawa-ryū is found in Ibid., pp. 2-3. This study deals with the skull ritual described in Shinjō's 心定 (1215-?) Juhō Yōjinshū 受法用心集 :

9. About 300 titles of Tachikawa works are listed in the Tachikawa Shōgyō Mokuroku 立河聖教目録 ('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, TJSHK, 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, TJSHK, p. 63 regards the Hōkyōshō 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 TJSHK, pp. 14-66; JTK, pp. 1-4; SS, pp. 30-42; MD, pp. 1770-1771; MN, pp. 2; SMSKK, pp. 329-340.

12. An important part of the Hōkyōshō deals with Kōshin see Hō., pp.

14-17, 19-20, 22-24. The most detailed treatment of Kōshin is to be found in TJSHK (Chapter II, III, IV). See also MD, pp. 513-514; BDJ, Vol. V, pp. 4874-4875 s.v. Monkan; JTK, pp. 79-94; SS, pp. 54-84; SMSKK, pp. 383 et seq.

According to Y. Matsunaga, MR, 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

Hō., pp. 16-23) enumerates Kōshin's misdeeds without making mention of the Tachikawa school.

See also SJEB, pp. 44; Sh. Moriyama, TJSHK, p. 385; SMSKK, pp. 383-386.

13. Page numbers refer to my pagination of the original text as indicated at the end of the volume. They are also indicated in Roman numerals at the left of this translation.

Details on the texts, persons, etc. mentioned in this summary of the contents may be found in the annotation of the translation of the Hōkyōshō.

14. Sexual yoga also plays an important role in the anuttarayogatantras. This category of texts was translated in China at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. They arrived too late in Japan to flourish within Shingon. It would, however, be difficult to deny that the few Chinese anuttarayogatantras which reached Japan must have exerted an important influence on Tachikawa teachings. Ch. Willemsen, CHT, p. 15 note 25, p. 24 draws attention to the Japanese Tendai monk Jōjin 成尋 (1011-1081) who sent Chinese translations of the Hevajratantra to Japan in 1073. It is quite possible that Ninkan (1057-1114) used Chinese anuttarayogatantras in conjunction with the yogatantras translated into Chinese by Vajrabodhi (671-741) and especially Amoghavajra (705-774). At any rate, it is hard to believe that the Tachikawa school started in Japan independently. Only further investigation of the surviving Tachikawa texts will throw light on the origins of this branch of Japanese esoteric Buddhism.

15. The Tachikawa school considers four orthodox Shingon texts as basic. They are the so-called sangyō-ichiron 三經一論 'The Three Sūtras and the Treatise' :

- Rishukyō 理趣經, T. Vol. VIII n° 243, translated by Amoghavajra.
- Yugikyō 瑜祇經, T. Vol. XVIII n° 867, translated by Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi.
- Hōkyōinkyō 寶篋印經, T. Vol. XIX n° 1022, translated by Amoghavajra.
- Bodaishinron 菩提心論, T. Vol. XXXII n° 1665, composed by Amoghavajra (?).

Three other sets of sangyō-ichiron are given in Shinjō's Juhō Yōjinshū. See JTK, pp. 13-14; TJSHK, pp. 101-114, 534; MD, p. 1558 s.v. Tachikawaryū; MN, p. 5 note 10, pp. 7-8.

16. Kōshin is said to have been the author of more than a thousand writings (see Hō., 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 Rishukyōhichū 理趣經秘註 (Nihon Daizōkyō 日本大藏經, Vol. IX), Kōshin's commentary on the Rishukyō and one of his few surviving texts. See also MR, p. 249; TJSHK, pp. 387-422; JTK, pp. 88-94.

THE COMPENDIUM OF THE PRECIOUS MIRROR

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 :

	Posthumous title	Birth and death dates	Period of stay in China
Saichō	最澄 Dengyō Daishi 傳教大師	767-822	804-805
Kūkai	空海 Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師	774-835	804-806
Jōkyō	常曉	?-866	838-839
Engyō	圓行	799-852	838-839
Ennin	圓仁 Jikaku Daishi 慈覺大師	794-864	838-847
Eun	惠運	798-869	842-847
Enchin	圓珍 Chishō Daishi 智證大師	814-891	853-858
Shūei	宗叡	809-884	862-865

Saichō, Ennin and Enchin are Tendai 天台 masters, the other five belong to the Shingon 眞言 school. See MJ, pp. 542-543 s.v.

Nittō Hakke; MD, p. 1711 s.v. Nyūtō Hachike. Yūkai enumerates them in Hō, 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 Kanmu 桓武 (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 嵯峨 (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 Tō(ji)'. The

esotericism of the Tendai 天台 school founded by Saichō is called Taimitsu 台密.

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 僧綱, 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 僧正 ('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')
- gonshōsōzu 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')
- gonrisshi 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 wajō in Hossō, Shingon and Ritsu. Title of respect for monks with a high virtue. BD, p. 124 s.v. Oshō.

22. I.e. Tendai.
23. The founder of the Japanese Tendai school. For a biography see P. Groner, Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School, Berkeley, 1984.
24. 密藏 Jap. Mitsuzō. The abbreviation of 秘密藏 Jap. Himitsuzō ('Secret storehouse'), the esoteric teaching. See MD, p. 2110 a, s.v. Mitsuzō. Compare infra note 318.
25. Dainichi Nyorai is the first in the series of eight patriarchs who transmitted the esoteric teaching, the Fuhō Hasso 付法八祖 ('The eight patriarchs who transmitted the Dharma'):

		<u>Skt.</u>	<u>Birth and death dates</u>
1. Dainichi Nyorai	大日如來	Vairocana Tathāgata	-
2. Kongōsatta	金剛薩埵	Vajrasattva	-
3. Ryūmyō	龍猛	Nāgārjuna	-
4. Ryūchi	龍智	Nāgabodhi	-
5. Kongōchi	金剛智	Vajrabodhi	671-741
6. Fukū	不空	Amoghavajra	705-774
7. Keika	惠果	-	746-805
(Ch. Hui-kuo)			
8. Kūkai	空海	-	774-835

See MJ, p. 411 s.v. Shingon-shū Hasso.

Dainichi is the central deity in Shingon. Shingon considers Dainichi as a personification of the dharma-body (法身 Jap. hosshin, Skt. dharmakāya), the absolute unconditioned and unchanging Buddha-

nature. On the identification of Vairocana with the dharmakāya, see KMW, pp. 81-93; SBTP, pp. 60-61; SJEB, pp. 62-64.

26. Jap. Keika (746-805), disciple of Amoghavajra, the master of Kūkai and the seventh patriarch in the Shingon tradition. See MJ, pp. 155-156; MD, pp. 430-431; SJEB, pp. 20-22; KMW, pp. 31-33.
27. Jap. Shōryūji ('Blue-green Dragon Temple'). The temple in Ch'ang-an 長安, the T'ang capital, where Kūkai was initiated by Hui-kuo. MJ, p. 395 s.v. Shōryūji; MD, p. 1212 s.v. Shōryūji.
28. T'ang China. 618-907.
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.
30. 供奉 Jap. kuba, Chin. kung-feng. Also 供僧 Jap. kusō, Chin. kung-seng; 內供奉 Jap. naikuba, Chin. nei-kung-feng. 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. Naikuba; BD, p. 1031 s.v. Naikuba; Saichō, pp. 31-32.
31. Jap. Gimyo. Birth and death dates unknown. Scanty information in MD, p. 280 s.v. Gimyo.
32. The two realms, Jap. ryōbu 兩部, refer to the taizō 胎藏 and kongōkai 金剛界. The term taizō (Skt. garbhakośa), '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 taizo(kai)- and kongōkai-mandalas, the two main mandalas in Shingon Buddhism. These mandalas depict the teachings

- of the two fundamental texts of Shingon : respectively the Dainichi-kyō (see supra note 5) and the Kongōchōgyō 金剛頂經 (Skt. Tattvasamgraha, three Chinese versions : T. Vol. XVIII n° 865, n° 866, n° 882). See SBTP, pp. 83, 93; MJ, p. 713 s.v. Ryōbu; A. Snodgrass, The Matrix and Diamond World Mandalas in Shingon Buddhism, 2 vols., New Delhi, 1988.
- Mandalas are important in initiation rituals, Jap. kanjō 灌頂 (Skt. abhiseka). Of the disciples of Hui-kuo, only I-ming and Kūkai were initiated into the taizō(kai)- and kongōkai-mandalas, the so-called ryōbukanjō 兩部灌頂 . The initiation of I-ming and Kūkai is mentioned in Kūkai's Himitsumandarakyōfuhōden 秘要曼荼羅教付法傳 (KDKZ, Vol. II, p. 473), Shingon-fuhōden 眞言付法傳 (KDKZ, Vol. II, p. 514), Goshōraimokuroku 御請來目錄 (KDKZ, Vol. II, pp. 558-560). See also HMJ, 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. Nōnin.
34. Jap. Jungyō. No dates of birth and death. Saichō was initiated by Shun-hsiao in 805 in Yüeh-chou 越州 . See Saichō, pp. 52-61, 67, 253; KMW, p. 36; MJ, p. 368 s.v. Jungyō.
35. 三藏 Jap. sanzō, Chin. san-tsang ('three storehouses'), Skt. tripiṭaka ('three baskets'). Epithet for monks who are well-versed in all the three divisions of the Buddhist scriptures ( 經 Jap. kyō, Skt. sūtra : the teachings of Buddha; 律 Jap. ritsu, Skt. vinaya : the precepts; 論 Jap. ron, Skt. abhidharma : commentaries). See BD, p. 481 s.v. Sanzō.
36. 善無畏 Jap. Zenmui, Chin. Shan-wu-wei. 637-735. The first

- great esoteric master in China. For a biography, see Chou Yi-liang, 'Tantrism in China', in HJAS, 8, 1945, pp. 251-272. On Śubhākara's name, see Ch. Willemen, 'Tripitaka Shan-wu-wei's Name. A Chinese Translation from Prākṛit', T'oung Pao, 68, 3-5, 1981, pp. 362-365.
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 KMW, 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 KMW, p. 38; MJ, pp. 406-407 s.v. Jingoji.
39. 瀉瓶 Jap. shabyō. 瀉 meaning 'to 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-pan-nieh-p'an Ching 大般涅槃經 , T. Vol. XII n° 374, p. 601 c 4. See BD, p. 608 s.v. Shabyō; MD, p. 1064 s.v. Shabyō; KMW, p. 32.
40. According to HBS, p. 81, I-ming did not transmit his teachings because of his premature death.
41. Kūkai's Goshōraimokuroku 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 KMW, 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 KMW, 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) | 實慧 | 786-847 |
| Shinga                 | 真雅 | 801-879 |
| Shinzei                | 真濟 | 800-860 |
| Dōyū                   | 道雄 | ? -851  |
| Enmyō                  | 圓明 | ? -851  |
| Shinnyo                | 真如 | ? -862  |
| Gōrin                  | 果隣 | 767-837 |
| Taihan                 | 泰範 | 778-837 |
| Chisen                 | 智泉 | 789-825 |
| Chūen                  | 忠延 | ? -837  |
- See MD, p. 324 s.v. Kūkai; HMJ, pp. 77-79.
47. Jitsue (or Jichie), alias Dōkō Daishi 道興大師 (786-847).  
Second head of Tōji. MJ, p. 306 s.v. Jitsue.
48. Younger brother of Kūkai. Fourth head of Tōji and founder of Jōganji 貞觀寺 in Kyōto. MJ, pp. 402-403 s.v. Shinga.
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 Hirosawa 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 Hirosawa and the Ono school are the main branches of Shingon. The Hirosawa school was rather oriented towards the nobility and put stress on the scriptures, while the Ono placed more emphasis on the oral transmission. The Hirosawa 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. Hirosawa-ryū; SJEB, pp. 37-38; HBS, pp. 140-152; MR, pp. 211-214.  
Here follows the lineage of the Hirosawa, 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 Hirosawa school. He founded Ninnaji 仁和寺 in Kyōto which became a major Shingon centre. MJ, p. 41 s.v. Uda Tennō; SJEB, pp. 36-37.
54. 884-972. Disciple of Kanpyō Hōō and next in the Hirosawa lineage. He became the fifteenth head of Tōji. MJ, p. 102 s.v. Kangū.
55. 916-998. Also read as Kanjō. Grandchild of Emperor Uda and disciple of Kangū. Nineteenth head of Tōji. MJ, pp. 110-111 s.v. Kanchō.
56. The Shingon lineage established at Ninnaji came to be called the Hirosawa school when Kanchō founded Henjōji 遍照寺 in 989

- near the Hirosawa pond in Sagano 嵯峨野 in Kyōto. See MJ, p. 110 s.v. Kanchō; MR, p. 211.
57. 954-1030. Also read Seijin. Disciple of Kanchō and twenty-second head of Tōji. MJ, pp. 427-428 s.v. Seijin.
58. Alias Shōshin, Ōomuro (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.
59. 1052-1125. Disciple of Chōwa Shinnō and thirty-seventh head of Tōji. Each of the six disciples mentioned under Kanjo founded one branch in the Hirosawa school. See MJ, p. 104 s.v. Kanjo. Kanjo founded the Jōjuin-ryū 成就院流, see infra note 86.
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. Kakuho. See also note 74.
61. Or Ninna Go-ryū 仁和御流. See MJ, pp. 229-230 s.v. Go-ryū; BSJ, p. 211 s.v. Ninna Go-ryū. The branch founded by Kakuho 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 Ninnaji.
62. 1088-1142. Grandchild of Emperor Go-Sanjō 後三條 (1034-1073, r. 1068-1072), disciple of Kanjo and thirty-ninth head of Tōji. MJ, pp. 413-414 s.v. Shinshō.
63. Named after the Nishinoin 西院 in Ninnaji where Shinshō resided. Saidaiji Nishinoin is the base of this branch. See MJ, pp. 535-536 s.v. Nishinoin-ryū.
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 Dharma-seal 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. BD, p. 1228 s.v. Hōin. For the other two sōi, see DJBT, p. 102 s.v. Hōin, p. 331 s.v. Sōi.
65. Named after the Hojuin in Ninnaji, founded by Yōgen. MJ, p. 635 s.v. Hojuin-ryū.
66. 1094-1137. Fifth child of Emperor Shirakawa 白河 (1053-1129, r. 1072-1086) and disciple of Kanjo. MJ, p. 376 s.v. Shōkei.
67. Named after the Kezōin in Ninnaji, founded by Shōkei. MJ, p. 376 s.v. Shōkei, p. 161 s.v. Kezōin-ryū.
68. 1100-1166. Disciple of Kanjo and forty-third head of Tōji. MJ, p. 111 s.v. Kanpen.
69. Named after the place Ninnikusen in Nara where Enjōji 圓成寺, the base of this branch, is located. MJ, p. 552 s.v. Ninnikusen-ryū.
70. 1095-1143. Alias Kōgyō Daishi 興教大師, disciple of Kanjo and founder of the Denbōin branch of the Hirosawa school. He is also the founder of the Shingi-ha 新義派 ('New Meaning Branch') as opposed to the more traditional Kogi-ha 古義派 ('Old Meaning Branch') of Kōyasan 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; SJEB, pp. 41-42; MR, pp. 224-228; for the doctrinal aspects of Shingi-Kogi, see SBTP, pp. 74-80. Shōnin is a respectful title, meaning 'superior person'.



71. Named after the Daidenbōin 大傳法院 founded by Kakuban on Mt. Kōya. See MD, pp. 1497-1498 s.v. Daidenbōin; SJEB, p. 41.
72. 1069-1137. Disciple of Kanjo and Kakuban. MJ, p. 420 s.v. Shin'yo. Ajari = Skt. ācārya, 'teacher'.
73. Yūkai mentions here some more branches apart from the above-mentioned six basic branches of the Hirosawa school. The Kōya Jimyōin-ryū is named after the Jimyōin 持明院 founded by Shin'yo on Mt. Kōya. MD, pp. 1030-1031 s.v. Jimyōin-ryū.
74. Kōya Omuro, alias Kakuō, see supra note 60.
75. 覺成 1126-1198. The first character is incomplete in the original text. Disciple of Kakuō and Yōgen, forty-ninth head of Tōji. MJ, p. 80 s.v. Kakuzei.
76. 1145-1205. Disciple of Kakuzei. See MJ, p. 709 s.v. Ryūhen.
77. Named after the Jison'in in Ninnaji. See MD, pp. 961-962 s.v. Jison'in-gata.
78. 賢隆 (1171-after 1204). Disciple of Ryūhen. See MD, p. 489 s.v. Kenryū. The Taishō edition writes 寬隆 Kanryū (1672-1707), this is of course impossible. See T. Vol. LXXVII n° 2456, p. 848 b 12. For Kanryū, see MJ, p. 112 s.v. Kanryū. Also the original seems to be incorrect (儿). Among the disciples of Ryūhen, there are none of which the first character contains radical n° 10. See MJ, p. 709 s.v. Ryūhen; MD, p. 2251 s.v. Ryūhen.
79. 1054-1101. Disciple of Shōshin (see supra note 58). MJ, p. 99 s.v. Kan'i.
80. Other name of Kan'i. He is the founder of the Kannon'in school, named after the Kannon'in in Ninnaji. MD, pp. 379-380 s.v. Kannon'in-ryū.

81. Also read Ken'i. 1072-1145. Disciple of Kan'i. See MJ, p. 174 s.v. Kenni.
82. The temple on Mt. Kōya where Kenni lived in seclusion. See MD, p. 459 s.v. Ken'i.
83. 1117-1180. Disciple of Kenni. See MJ, p. 404 s.v. Shinkaku.
84. Shinkaku founded the Jōkiin-ryū, named after the Jōkiin on Mt. Kōya. MD, p. 1123 s.v. Jōkiin-ryū.
85. The Kingyokugata (or Kingyoku-ryū 金玉流) is a sub-branch of the Hojuin-ryū (see supra note 65). Its founder is Kenkaku 顯覺 (12th.-13th. century), see MJ, p. 165 s.v. Kenkaku. He is the author of the Kingyoku 金玉 (MD, pp. 318-319 s.v. Kingyoku, p. 319 s.v. Kingyoku-ryū). Hōjuin 寶壽院 should be Hojuin 保壽院. Hōjuin is a temple founded in 1913, see MJ, p. 626 s.v. Hōjuin. See supra note 65 for Hojuin.
86. The Jōjuin school was founded by Kanjo (see supra note 59) and is named after the Jōjuin in Ninnaji. See MD, p. 1159 s.v. Jōjuin-ryū.
87. 1201-1264. Sixty-seventh head of Tōji and disciple of Dōjo 道助 (1196-1249). See MJ, p. 315 s.v. Jitsuyu.
88. Founded by Kakukyō 覺教 (1167-1242) and named after the Shinjōin in Ninnaji. See MD, p. 1286 s.v. Shinjōin-ryū.
89. Also read Gonkaku. 1080-1156. Disciple of Shinkaku (1011-1084) 信覺. See MJ, p. 165 Genkaku.
90. See supra note 52. Here follows the lineage of the Ono-ryū, for a table, see HBS, p. 143.
91. See supra note 51.
92. Daigoji in Kyōto was built by Shōbō, the founder of the Ono-ryū, in 874. MJ, 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.
95. 853-925. Disciple of Shōbō and head of Tōji, Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺 and Daigoji. MJ, p. 102 s.v. Kangen; SJEB, p. 38.
96. The temple in Kyōto founded by Kangen. MD, p. 1833 s.v. Hannayaji (2).
97. Kangen repeatedly requested the court to bestow the posthumous title of Kōbō Daishi on Kūkai. Kūkai was given this title in 921. See SJEB, p. 38.
98. 890-953. Also read Shun'nyū. Disciple of Kangen. MJ, p. 370 s.v. Shun'nyū. Naiku = naikubu. See supra note 30 and BD, p. 1031 s.v. Naiku.
99. Shun'nyū retired to Ishiyamadera 石山寺 in Ōtsu 大津, in the present-day prefecture of Shiga 滋賀. See MJ, p. 370 s.v. Shun'nyū, pp. 20-21 s.v. Ishiyamadera.
100. 914-995. Disciple of Shun'nyū. MJ, p. 167 s.v. Gengō.
101. 951-1046. Disciple of Gengō and founder of Mandaraji 曼荼羅寺 in Kyōto, now Zuishinnin 隨心院. See MJ, p. 550 s.v. Ningai and infra note 102.
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; SJEB, p. 37.  
Ame no Sōjō literally means 'Rain Sōjō', alias Ningai. He was known for his successful rainmaking rituals. See SJEB, p. 37; MJ, p. 550 s.v. Ningai.

103. 1012-1074. Disciple of Ningai and thirtieth head of Tōji. MJ, p. 428 s.v. Seizon.
104. 1038-1112. Disciple and nephew of Seizon. Thirty-sixth head of Tōji. MJ, p. 573 s.v. Hanjun.
105. See supra, note 89. Disciple of Hanjun. MJ, p. 165 s.v. Genkaku.
106. 1074-1148. Nephew and disciple of Genkaku. MJ, p. 441 s.v. Sōi.
107. Founded by Sōi, named after the Anjōji in Kyōto. See MJ, pp. 16-17 s.v. Anjōji-ryū.
108. 1084-1153. Disciple of Genkaku and forty-second head of Tōji. See MJ, p. 107 s.v. Kanjin.
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 till then attached to Mandaraji. See supra, note 101 and 102; MJ, p. 444 s.v. Zōshun.
111. Founded by Zōshun and named after the Zuishinnin. See preceding note and MJ, p. 422 s.v. Zuishinnin-ryū.
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 Kongōōin-ryū are the three Daigo schools. See MJ, pp. 66-67 s.v. Ono-ryū.
113. Lived around 1105. Disciple of Hanjun and Genkaku. Founded the Kōmyōzen-ryū 光明山流, a branch of the Kajūji-ryū. See MJ, pp. 428-429 s.v. Seiyo; MD, pp. 544-545 s.v. Kōmyōzen-ryū.
114. See supra, note 99.
115. 1023-1088. Disciple of Ningai and Seizon. See MJ, p. 121 s.v. Gihan.
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 Sanbōin 三寶院 in Daigoji. Sanbō, 'The Three Treasures', refers to the teachings of Jōken, Gihan and Hanjun. See also note 149.
117. Founded by Jōkai (see next note). MJ, pp. 274-275 s.v. Sanbōin-ryū.
118. 1074-1149. Disciple of Shōkaku and fortieth head of Tōji. See MJ, p. 372 s.v. Jōkai.
119. 1080-1156. Disciple of Shōkaku. MJ, p. 165 s.v. Genkaku.
120. Founded by Genkaku and named after the Rishōin of Daigoji. MJ, p. 704 s.v. Rishōin-ryū.
121. 1083-1149. Brother of Genkaku and disciple of Shōkaku. MJ, pp. 376-377 s.v. Shōken.
122. Founded by Shōken and named after the Kongōōin of Daigoji. MJ, p. 231 s.v. Kongōōin-ryū.
123. 1021-1106. Disciple of Seizon. MJ, pp. 669-670 s.v. Meizan.
124. Founded by Meizan and named after the Chūin (= Ryūkōin 龍光院) on Mt. Kōya. MJ, pp. 498-499 s.v. Chūin-ryū.
125. See supra, note 95.
126. 884-947. Disciple of Kangen. MJ, p. 26 s.v. Ichijō.
127. 888-957. Disciple of Ichijō. MJ, pp. 380-381 s.v. Jōjo.
128. 904-968. Disciple of Jōjo. NBJJ, p. 1053 s.v. Hōzō.
129. Dates unknown. Disciple of Hōzō. MJ, p. 213 s.v. Koshima-ryū.
130. 934-1004. Disciple of Ninga. MJ, p. 406 s.v. Shingō.
131. Also called Tsubosaka-ryū 壺阪流. Founded by Shingō and named after the Koshimaji 子島寺 (Takaichi-gun 高市郡, prefecture of Nara). Its lineage originates with Kangen. MJ, p. 213

- s.v. Koshima-ryū; BSJ, p. 58 s.v. Kojima-ryū.
132. See supra, note 116.
133. See supra, note 118.
134. 1094-1157. Disciple of Jōkai. MJ, p. 165 s.v. Genkai.
135. 1116-1179. Disciple of Jōkai and Genkai. MJ, p. 27 s.v. Ikkai.
136. Founded by Ikkai and named after Matsuhashi, another name of the Muryōjuin 無量壽院 of Daigoji. See MJ, p. 648 s.v. Matsuhashi-ryū; BSJ, p. 241 s.v. Matsuhashi-ryū.
137. 1138-1222. Disciple of Ikkai. MD, p. 211 s.v. Gakai.
138. 1184-1233. Disciple of Gakai. MD, p. 1349 s.v. Zenken.
139. ?-1240. Disciple of Zenken. MD, p. 1171 s.v. Jōshin.
140. 1196-1273. Disciple of Jōshin. MD, p. 2223 s.v. Raiken.
141. ?-1271. Disciple of Raiken. MD, p. 1285 s.v. Shinjō.
142. ?-1301. Disciple of Shinjō. NBJJ, p. 570 s.v. Shun'yo.
143. ?-1319. Disciple of Shun'yo and 102nd head of Tōji. MD, pp. 511-512 s.v. Kōshō.
144. 信惠 = 信慧 Shin'e (also read as Shinne).  
信慧 is another name of Jōkyō 靜慶 (1153-1243).  
See lineage table in MJ, appendix p. 132; NBJJ, p. 443 s.v. Shin'e; MD, pp. 756-758 s.v. Saidaiji-ryū.
145. 1201-1290. Disciple of Shin'e. MJ, p. 47 s.v. Eison; SJEB, pp. 50-51.
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; SJEB, pp. 50-51.
147. Founded by Eison. A branch of the Sanbōin-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 Sanbōin, belonging to Daigoji, was established by him in 1115. Shōkaku was the fifteenth head priest of the Daigo temple and became gonsōjō in 1127. MJ, 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 Rennin. See MJ, p. 551 s.v. Ninkan; TJSHK, pp. 15-16; supra note 11.
151. Ninkan was exiled to the province of Izu (the southeastern part of the present-day Shizuoka prefecture) in 1113 because of his involvement in a plot against the life of Emperor Toba 鳥羽 (1103-1156, r. 1107-1123). Ninkan supported Prince Sukehito 輔仁 (1073-1119), the third son of Emperor Go-Sanjō 後三条 (1034-1073, r. 1068-1072). See TJSHK, p. 20 et seq.; SS, pp. 34-42. G. Cameron Hurst, Insei. Abdicated Sovereigns in the Politics of Late Heian Japan. 1086-1185, N.Y.-London, 1976, pp. 138-139; R.K. Reischauer, Early Japanese History, Part A, Gloucester-Mass., 1967 (1937), p. 374.
- 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 Ajari 大仁阿闍梨 'The ācārya of Ōhito'. See TJSHK, p. 26; SMSKK, pp. 333-334.
152. It is generally assumed that Kenren (兼蓮 or 見蓮) 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. Tachi-

- kawa; TJSHK, p. 33.
153. Now the area of Tōkyō, the prefecture of Saitama and the eastern part of Kanagawa prefecture.
154. Naige 内外 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 建曆元年 or 1211. See SMSKK, p. 342; TJSHK, pp. 63-65.
156. Alias Shōjō 正定, Shinjō 心定. According to JTK, p. 122, he was born in the third year of Kenpō 建保 (1215) in the Echizen 越前 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.

- TJSHK, pp. 94, 169 writes that it is less known than the Hōkyōshō because it only circulated in manuscript. Seigan of the rural Toyoharaji had also less fame than the celebrated Yūkai of Mt. Kōya. The whole work is included in TJSHK, pp. 530-571. See also TJSHK, p. 64, pp. 94-101; supra note 8.
157. Reading according to BDJI, Vol. V, p. 3518 s.v. Toyoharaji. 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. mukenjigoku 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, Mukenjigoku.
159. T. XIX n° 945. In Japan often shortened to Shuryōgonkyō 首楞嚴經, generally considered to be a Chinese apocryphal text. See E. Lamotte, La Concentration de la Marche Héroïque (Śūramgama-samādhisūtra), 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 VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle sous le titre abrégé de Śūramgamasūtra (T 945) a été souvent confondu par les anciens et les modernes avec l'authentique Śūramgamasamādhisūtra qui nous occupe ici, et cette confusion explique en partie le succès considérable que ce faux rencontra en Chine'. Ibid., p. 106 : 'C'est un apocryphe chinois composé au début du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, probablement par Fang Jong 房融, un ministre de l'impératrice Wou 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 MJ, p. 368 s.v. Shuryōgonkyō; K. Mizuno, Shin-Butten Kaidai Jiten, Tōkyō, 1971<sup>3</sup>, p. 98; Ch. Luk, The Śūraṅgama Sūtra, London, 1969<sup>2</sup>. Ch. Luk's translation of this text is based on a commentary written by Han-shan 憨山 (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 Hō., p. 28 line 1-6. The six lines preceding this part of the Shuryōgonkyō are also quoted in Hō., 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 Shuryōgonkyō. See Hō., 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 無間獄, the avīci hell, instead of 'immediate karma'.
163. See note 5. T. Vol. XXXIX n° 1796 p. 746 c 5-7.
164. This quoted part of the Dainichikyōsho is a comment on chapter XII of the Dainichikyō. This chapter deals with 入秘密漫荼羅法 Jap. nyūhimitsumandarahō, 'the ritual of entering the secret maṇḍala'. 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. Tachikawa-ryū : 'Kakumyō received abhiṣeka from Kenni (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 Kōyasan and instructed Dōhan 道範 and others'.
167. 1097-1164. See MJ, p. 77 s.v. Kakuin.
168. 印信 Jap. injin, inshin. Documents conferred by the master to his disciple as a proof of the transmission of a teaching. The injin mentions among other things the lineage of the disciple and the mudrās and formulae which have been transmitted to him.
169. 事相 Jap. jisō and 教相 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 dwelled in the Kongōin 金剛院 on Kōyasan. He received the 'secret abhiṣeka', 秘密灌頂 (Jap. himitsu kanjō), from Dōhan 道範 on the eleventh month of the second year of Kenchō 建長 (1250), ..." In KS, p. 158 we read that he received the ryōbu kanjō 兩部灌頂 in the Shōchiin 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 abhiṣeka from Myōchō (?) on the eleventh month of the first year of Kōchō 弘長 (1261). See also KS, p. 167.
172. One of the four Shintō guardian deities of Kōyasan. See MJ, pp. 197-198 s.v. Kōyashishomyōjin.
173. The invisible protection of a Buddha or bodhisattva. See BD, 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'. BD, 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'.
178. Literal translation : 'Ritual of Permanence in the Three Periods' (= past, present and future).
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 Gonyūjōhō 御入定法 or Gonyūjō Daiji 御入定大事 mentioned in MD, p. 626 s.v. Gonyūjōhō. According to the Chūin-ryū 中院流 (see note 124) a ritual to be transmitted to the head priest of Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺 on Kōyasan. MD mentions the mudrā and the formula he should use at the time he enters eternal samādhi. MD also explains the same ritual according to the Jimyōin-ryū 持明院流 (see note 73).
180. Compare Homer H. Dubs, The Works of Hsüntze, Vol. I, Taipei, 1972, p. 84 : 以一知萬 '... by one you can understand a myriad'.
181. MD, p. 649 s.v. Goryū Sanbōin, refers to Sanbōin Goryū 三寶院御流 . See note 117.
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 廣澤流 . 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', Hō., 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 Hōkyōshō, see JTK, pp. 173-175.
186. Kōbō Daishi.
187. This temple was first called Kajōji 嘉祥寺 . The Kajōji was founded by Shinga 眞雅 (801-879) in 851 and was located in Fushimi 伏見 in Kyōto. In 862 it was called Jōganji 貞觀寺 . See MJ, 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 Sōjō 貞觀寺僧正 'Superior of Monks of the Jōganji'. As he is closely associated with the temple he founded, Shinga himself may be meant here. See MJ, 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 Jūhatte no Kanjō, 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 MD, pp. 1318-1319 s.v. Zuishinkongō. Compare this title with the Zuishin Kongō Shidai 隨心金剛次第 explained by Kūkai and recorded by Shinga. See MD, p. 1319 s.v. Zuishinkongōshidai; NBTD, 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 DCBT, 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 MJ, p. 413 s.v. Shinju.
195. 'Initiation of the Eighteen Assemblies'. The Tattvasamgraha (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 CHT, p. 13 note 16; SBTP, p. 23.
196. BDJ, Vol. IV, p. 3472 b s.v. Tachikawa-ryū discerns two titles : 我友之 and 大月鈔 . JTK, p. 175 considers it as one title : 'Six Months Compendium of my Friends'. MD mentions a work in two volumes which is said to be written by Shōkaku (see note 116), the Gayūshishō 我友之鈔 '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 MJ, 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. Gayūshishō. The Rokugatsu-shō 六月鈔 '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. Rokugatsushō.
197. 'Scripture of Instant Personal Realization of Buddha-hood'. Compare this title with Kūkai's Sokushin Jōbutsugi 卽身成佛義 (T. Vol. LXXVII n° 2428). See M. Kiyota, Tantric Concept of Bodhicitta: A Buddhist Experiential Philosophy, Wisconsin-Madison, 1982.
198. 'The Scripture on Bodhicitta'. 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 眞譽 (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.
210. Kenjin (1192-1263) founded the Hōon-in branch, a subbranch of the Sanbōin-ryū (see note 117). See BSJ, p. 226 s.v. Hōon-in-ryū; MJ, p. 172 s.v. Kenjin. Kōshin's lineage is treated in detail in TJSHK, pp. 359-369.
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.
212. 1206-1277. See MJ, p. 308 s.v. Jitsujiin.
213. 1243-1292. See MD, p. 215 s.v. Kakuga.
214. 1258-1308. See MJ, p. 171 s.v. Kenjun.
215. ?-1321. Hundred and fourth head of Tōji. See MJ, pp. 519-520 s.v. Dōjun.
216. Ryūyo received the denbō kanjō 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 壺阪寺, Nara prefecture. See MJ, p. 508 s.v. Tsubosakadera.
218. Now Nara prefecture.
219. Go-Daigo (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 元弘の變) 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). Kōshin, who was close to the emperor, performed rituals to destroy the Hōjō already in 1322. In 1330 (or 1331) he practised a ritual to subdue Hōjō Takatoki 北條高時 (1303-1333), the head of the government in Kamakura. This came to light and he was exiled to Iōgashima 硫黃島. When Hōjō died in 1333 he was called back to Kyōto. In 1335 he was appointed the 120th head of Tōji. See MD, pp. 513-514 s.v. Kōshin; BDJ, Vol. V, pp. 4874-4875 s.v. Monkan; MJ, pp. 183-184; TJSJK, pp. 281-294; SS, pp. 70-82.

220. Before entering Shingon, Monkan had studied in the Shingonritsu-school 眞言律宗 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 Saidaiji in Nara. See supra note 146 and Hō., p. 19 line 3.
221. Kōshin 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 Hō., p. 7 line 2-6; p. 15 line 4-8.
222. Compare Hō., p. 13 line 8 and p. 14 line 5.
223. Dākinī are female yakṣas 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

稻荷. See infra note 263.

224. Kōshin 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. Kōshin.
225. Goshichinichi mishuhō 御七日御修法. See DJBT, p. 80 s.v. Goshichinichi mishuhō: "Also goshichinichi mishihō. 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 goshi-chinichi '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 Hō., p. 16 line 8 - p. 23 line 8.
227. Kūkai called the temple complex of Kōyasan, Kongōbuji 'Vajra Peak Temple'. This name is now only used for the head temple of the Shingon school on Mt. Kōya.
228. Or Hosshi, 'Dharma master'. Buddhist master, priest. See BD, p. 1232 s.v. Hōshi.
229. Head of Tōji. Kūkai became the first head priest of Tōji in 823. Under Kūkai it became an exclusively Shingon temple, renamed Kyōō-gokokuji 教王護國寺. See also infra note 234.
230. 左衛門 should be read as 左衛 ( 'left streets'). By 'left' is meant the eastern halve of the city, seen from the imperial palace in the north.

231. Alias Yang Chien 楊堅 (541-604), the founder of the Sui dynasty (589-618).
232. Jap. Daikōzenji. 'The Great Goodness Promoting Temple'. Founded in 582. Occupied the whole ward of Ching-shan-fang 靖善坊 on the east side of the central north-south avenue in Ch'ang-an. See MJ, p. 458 s.v. Daikōzenji; Chou Yi-liang, 'Tantrism in China', in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 8, 1945, p. 294.
233. 737-806, r. 781-806. Founded the capital Heian (= Kyōto) in 794.
234. This name is based on the title of two scriptures. Kyōō ('King of the Teaching') is derived from the Kongōchōissainyoraishinjitsushō-daijōgenshōdaikyōkyō 金剛頂一切如來真実攝大衆現證大教王經 (T. Vol. XVIII n° 865) and gokoku ('nation-protecting') from the Ninnōgokokuhan'yaharamittakvō 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經 (T. Vol. VIII n° 246). The Tōji came to be called Kyōōgokokuji when Kūkai built the lecture hall 講堂 (Jap. kōdō) of the Tōji in 825. Under Kūkai it became the first centre for Shingon. See Kokushi Daijiten, Vol. IV, p. 266 s.v. Kyōōgokokuji; DNJS, Vol. I, p. 201 s.v. Kyōōgokokuji.
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 jñānas in Shingon Buddhism. See SBTP, pp. 61-62; KMW, pp. 83-84. These jñānas 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.

237. Amoghavajra served three successive emperors :

Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 (r. 713-755)

Su-tsung 肅宗 (r. 756-762)

Tai-tsung 代宗 (r. 763-779)

See BC, p. 335.

238. 'This' refers to the Kyōōgokokuji.
239. Skt. triguhya. 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 Kanmu. In 794 he transferred the capital from Nagaoka 長岡 to Heian. The Tōji was founded in 796. See MD, appendix p. 5.
242. See Shūizatsushū 拾遺雜集 in KDKZ, Vol. VII, pp. 186-187.
243. Also read Badai. The abbreviation of 耶馬臺 Yabatai (Yamatai)= Japan. See NKDJ, Vol. XVI, p. 258 s.v. Badai.
244. Kai 花夷 (or 華夷) can mean China 華 and the barbarians 夷, or the capital and the provinces. See NKDJ, Vol. IV, p. 208 s.v. Kai.
245. This letter was written in 1335 (see Hō., p. 23 line 8) during the reign of Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐 (r. 1318-1339).

246. Li Shih-min 李世民 (598-649), the second emperor of the T'ang dynasty. On his attitude toward Buddhism, see BC, pp. 216-219; S. Weinstein, Buddhism under T'ang, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 11-27.
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	攝津
Izumi	和泉

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 NKDJ, Vol. VII, p. 677 s.v. Goki shichidō.

248. King Wu founded the Chou dynasty (+ 1100-221 BC).
249. Kao-tsu 高祖, alias Liu Pang 劉邦, is the founder of the Han dynasty (206 BC - 220 AD). He reduced the complicated laws of the Ch'in 秦 (221-206 BC) into three chapters, the Fa San-chang 法三章. See B. Watson's translation of the Shih chi 史記, Records of the Grand Historian of China, New York, 1961, p. 90 :

'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. Gaō.
252. 1334-1336.
253. Originally a pagoda built on Mt. Indrasailaguhā in Magadha for a goose which sacrificed itself to provide a monk with food. After his arrival from India, Hsüan-tsang 玄奘 (600-664) requested the construction of the Great Goose Pagoda 大雁塔 in the Ta-hsing-shan Temple of Ch'ang-an. See SBD, Vol. I, p. 225 s.v. Gantō; NBJ, p. 165 s.v. Gantō. 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.
254. Hōjōji is now the Sakami 洒見 Temple in Kasai-gun 加西郡, Hyōgo prefecture. The old province of Harima corresponds to the southwestern part of the Hyōgo prefecture. See DNJS, Vol. I, p. 665 s.v. Sakami; Z. Tsuji, Nihon Bukkyō-shi, Vol. IV 3, Tōkyō, 1970, p. 52. For Saidaiji, see note 146.
255. Practising asceticism in mountains according to the teachings of the syncretic Shugendō 修驗道 which combines the ancient Japanese worships of mountains with the doctrine and ritual of

- esoteric Buddhism. See H. Byron Earhart, A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō, Tōkyō, 1970, pp. 1-37.
256. Shōdō (1247-1339) became daikanjin 大勧進 in 1326. See next note and MJ, p. 387 s.v. Shōdō. Shōnin ('superior person') is an honorary title for eminent priests.
257. Monkan became daikanjin in 1334. See TJSHK, 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 BD, p. 192 s.v. Kanjinhijiri; MD, p. 404 s.v. Kanjin; infra note 279.
258. Kōi 綱維 may refer to :
- a) the sangō 三綱 'the three bonds'. Three priests in charge of the general affairs in a temple or monastery :
- jishu 寺主, Skt. viharasvāmin
  - jōza 上座, Skt. sthavira
  - ina 維那, Skt. karmadāna
- b) karmadāna
- See BD, 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 MJ, p. 183 s.v. Kōshin.
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-ajari 一ノ阿闍梨. See MJ, 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 BD, p. 704 s.v. Shōbōmu.

263. In Japanese lexica we find the following explanations for yakan 野于 :
- BD, p. 1374 s.v. Yakan : a wild fox. A kind of wolf which moves at night eating human flesh. Śrgāla in Skt.
  - DCBT, p. 366 : śrgāla; a jackal, or an animal resembling a fox which cries at night.
  - NKDJ, 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 śrgāla or śrgāla is a jackal according to SED, p. 1245 s.v. Sṛigālā. According to SS, p. 144 野于 came to be misread as 'kitsune' (fox) in Japan. For the relation between dākinī, foxes and jackals in Japan, see J. Sanford, MN, p. 16 : 'Jackals, also common visitors to graveyards, became closely associated with dākinī in India and Tibet. When this complex of ideas reached Japan, jackals (J. yakan 野于) 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 稻荷 Shinto'.
- See also Ibid., pp. 15-18; supra note 223.
264. Indra's human name. See BD, p. 239 s.v. Kyōshika. BDJT, p. 1178 s.v. Dakini, refers in its entry on dākinī to an interesting passage in the Keiranshūyōshū 溪嵐拾葉集 (see T. Vol. LXXVI n° 2410, p. 633 b 26-27) of the Tendai monk Kōshū 光宗 (lived around 1317). He writes : 'According to the Mizoukyō 未曾有經 (T. Vol. XVII n° 754) Indra worships a jackal as a master'.

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.
267. The Goyuigō 御遺告, a series of deathbed injunctions supposedly given by Kūkai to his disciples in 835. See KDKZ, Vol. VIII, pp. 49-50, 59.
268. The posthumous name of Emperor Saga.
269. Only Shingon monks were allowed to reside in Tōji.
270. According to KDKZ, 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. Saddharmapundarikasūtra. 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. For an English translation, see B. Katō et alii, The Threefold Lotus Sutra, Tōkyō, 1988<sup>10</sup>, pp. 58-59; L. Hurvitz, Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma, N.Y., 1976, p. 29.
271. March 5, 823.
272. Fujiwara Yoshifusa (804-872) became the first Fujiwara regent (sesshō 攝政). He married a daughter of Emperor Saga.
273. See note 20.
274. The Jōwa Era of Emperor Ninmyō 仁明, 834-848.
275. See note 261.
276. See note 47.
277. No dates of birth and death. Became the ninety-ninth head of Tōji in 1332. See MD, p. 2177 s.v. Yakushu.
278. The reign of Emperor Go-Daigo, 1334-1336.

279. According to DJBT, p. 166 s.v. Kanjin-no-hijiri, the same as Kanjin-no-shōnin 勸進の聖人: 'A virtuous priest who urges people to make donations (for building a temple, etc.)'. See also note 257.
280. The samaya precepts (sanmayakai 三昧耶戒). 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.
- See KMW, pp. 95-96; MJ, p. 276 s.v. Sanmayakai; SJEB, pp. 56-57.
281. 'Heavenly devil'. One of the four māras who dwell in the paranirmita-vaśavartin 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. BD, p. 985 s.v. Tenma.
282. A similar story is mentioned in the Goyuigō (see note 267), KDKZ, Vol. VIII, p. 85. Ibid., p. 92 note 95 explains 'secret flower garden' 密花園 (Jap. mitsuken) in two ways:
1. 密 (Jap. mitsu, 'secret') is 密嚴 (Jap. mitsugon, Vairocana's Pure Land, also called 密嚴國 Jap. Mitsugonkoku).  
花 (Jap. ke, 'flower', also written as 華) is 華藏 (Jap. kezō, 'lotus-respository', the abbreviation of 蓮華藏世界 Jap. rengzōsekai, 'lotus-respository world') or garbhakośa.  
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 abhicāruka ritual.

MD mentions four different explanations for the meaning of ōsashihyōhō (or ōsashiheihō) :

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. Ōsashi would be a secret word for Gōzanze.
3. 奥砂 Jap. ōsa explained as the Aca- of Acalanātha, Jap. Fudō 不動. Shihyō 子平 would mean 'appeasing disciples' by the ritual of Fudō.
4. 奥 = 陰藏 Jap. onzō, 'concealed'.  
砂 = 舍利 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 寶生.

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

For these interpretations, see also Shingon-shū Zensho, Vol. II, p. 352; Vol. V, p. 123; Vol. IX, p. 232; Vol. XXXIV, p. 47, pp. 191-192, p. 217, p. 458; Vol. XXXVI, p. 24, p. 364. See also HJK, pp. 179-181.

284. Kūkai.

285. 'Dragon-flower tree'. When Maitreya, the future Buddha, will appear in this world, he will attain enlightenment under the nāgapuspa. See BD, p. 1422 s.v. Ryūgeju. According to SED, p. 533 s.v. Nāgapuspa, the name of several plants : Mesua Roxburghii, Rottlera Tinctoria, and Michelia Champaka, L. According to T. Maku, Butten no Shokubutsu, Tōkyō, 1978<sup>2</sup>, p. 161, it is generally considered as Singhalese iron-wood.

286. May 1335.

287. 周輔藏主 = 'Storehouse-keeper Shūho' or 'Assistant storehouse-keeper Shū' ? 周輔 neither 周 are mentioned in NBJJ 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.

藏主 Jap. zōshu, zōsu, the priest in a Zen temple who is in charge of the repository of Buddhist scriptures. See BD, pp. 883-884 s.v. Zōshu. 後西堂 Jap. goseidō is unclear. In Zen terminology seidō, 'western hall', is a title. See BD, pp. 883-884

- s.v. Zōshu. According to JEBD, 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 tōdō (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 杲賢 (1306-1362). See MJ, p. 188 s.v. Gōhō; BSJ, p. 148 s.v. Tachikawa-ryū.
289. Benefiting oneself and benefiting others. See DCBT, p. 21.
290. Lived around 1270. Founder of the Miwa-ryū 三輪流. Received the denbōkanjō 傳法灌頂 'abhiseka of the transmission of the dharma' from Jitsugen 實賢 (1176-1249) of the Kongōin-ryū (see note 122). The Miwa-ryū is a branch of the Sanbōin-ryū (see note 117). See MD, p. 1995 s.v. Hōkyō, p. 2129-2130 s.v. Miwa-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 guhyābhiseka 'secret consecration'. This drop represents bodhicitta. See CHT, p. 30; D.L. Snellgrove, Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, London, 1987, p. 132.
293. See T. Vol. XIX n° 945, p. 149 a 14-19. Compare with SSu., p. 208.
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 Shuryōgonkyō.
295. Of the practitioner.
296. 倫墜 'to fall from the right principles' is 淪墜 'to sink down' in T. XIX n° 945, p. 149 a 19.
297. See T. Vol. XIX n° 945, p. 131 c 24 - p. 132 a 2 and SSu., p. 152.
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. pāpīyas, pāpīyān.
301. See T. Vol. XIX n° 945, p. 149 c 2-4. See SSu., p. 210.  
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 practitioner's mind is free from receptiveness, the demon is unable to influence it, so he uses another man to deceive and harm him'.
302. In T. Vol. XIX n° 945, p. 149 c 3 無 'nothing' = 遊 .
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. lakṣana.
306. Part of this passage (Hō., p. 28 line 1-6) has already been quoted

in Hō., p. 10 line 3-6.

307. Jap. bonnō soku bodai. The Mahāyāna principle that the afflictions are identified with enlightenment. See SJEB, pp. 72-75.
308. The Shohōmugyōkyō 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 Hō.: 貪欲是涅槃 'Desire is nirvāna'. A passage similar to the one in the Hō. also appears in the Daichidoron 大智度論, a commentary on the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra. See T. Vol. XXV n° 1509, p. 107 c 21-22; BDJ, Vol. V, p. 4704 s.v. Bonnō soku bodai; E. Lamotte, Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna, Vol. I, Leuven, 1949 (1966), p. 401; HBS, p. 175 note 5.
309. Yūkai quotes here from Chih-i's 智顓 (538-597) Makashikan 摩訶止觀, one of the three major works of Tendai. See T. Vol. XLVI n° 1911, p. 17 c 14-16.
310. Jap. Ōkutsumara. 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 BDJT, p. 8 s.v. Ōkutsumara.
311. 祇阨 Jap. Gida is the phonetical rendering of Jeta(vana), i.e. the Jetavana garden south of Śrāvastī in Central India. 末利 Jap. Mari or Matsuri is Malli(kā). Mallikā 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 SBD, Vol. II, p. 1358 s.v. Mari; KHS, p. 164 note 16, p. 447 note 103; T. Index, Vol. XXVI, p. 410.

312. KHS, p. 164 note 18 refers to 婆須蜜多 (Skt. Vasumitrā) 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 BDJT, p. 538 s.v. Gojūsan-chishiki, 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. Hua-yen) school.
315. BD, p. 780 s.v. Shingen mentions two sources for the term 眞源. In these texts we find a similar passage :
- a) T. Vol. XLV n° 1866, p. 501 c 26-27, 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 Jap. Kegonichijōkyōgibunzaishō (Fa-tsang 法藏 643-712).
- b) T. Vol. XLV n° 1876, p. 637 c 10-11, 修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀 Jap. Shūkegonōshimōjingengenkan (same author).
316. It is not clear which commentary is meant here. Passion (Skt. rāga), hatred (Skt. dvesa) and foolishness (Skt. moha) are the three poisons.
- The three virtues of Buddha are :
1. 恩德 Jap. ondoku. Bestowing benefits on living beings.
  2. 斷德 Jap. dantoku. Destroying all afflictions.
  3. 智德 Jap. chitoku. Seeing all things as they are through wisdom.
- See BD, p. 484 s.v. Santoku, p. 484 s.v. Sandoku.



317. Here follows a quotation from Kūkai's Himitsu Mandara Jūjūshinron  
 秘密曼荼羅十住心論 , see KDKZ, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.
318. The teachings of esoteric Buddhism. See MD, p. 1871 s.v. Himitsuzō.  
 Compare note 24.
319. 闍提 = 一闍提 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 = 沈淪 . See BD, p. 968 s.v. Chinrin.
321. 三諦即是 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) kūtai 空諦 , 'truth of voidness', i.e.  
 all existences are void and non-substantial in essence; (2) ketai  
 假諦 , 'truth of temporariness', i.e. all existences are tem-  
 porary manifestations produced by causes and conditions; (3) chūtai  
 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  
 三諦即是實相 : 'the triple truth is identical with real-  
 ity-aspect'. The Tendai teaching that the triple truth (santai) re-  
 garding reality is interrelated and in perfect harmony with the  
 ultimate reality-principle (jissō)."  
 See also J. Takakusu, The Es-  
 sentials of Buddhist Philosophy, Honolulu, 1956<sup>3</sup>, pp. 129-130.
322. 陰入 Jap. onnyū = 五陰 Jap. goon and 十二入 Jap. jūninyū.  
 Goon is another term for 'the five aggregates' 五蘊 Jap. goun,  
 Skt. pañca skandha. See DJBT, p. 83 s.v. Goun : 'the five consti-

- tuent elements of all existences : (1) shikiun 色蘊 , matter or  
 form; (2) ju-un 受蘊 , perception; (3) sō-un 相蘊 , concep-  
 tion; (4) gyō-un 行蘊 , volition; and (5) shiki-un 識蘊 ,  
 consciousness'.
- Jūninyū is also called jūnisho 十二處 Jap. jūnisho, consisting  
 of six sense-organs (六根 Jap. rokkon, Skt. ṣaḍ indriya : eyes,  
 ears, nose, tongue, the tactile body, mind) and six objects of cog-  
 nition (六境 Jap. rokyō, Skt. ṣaḍ viśayāḥ) corresponding to  
 the six sense-organs : colour and shape, sound, odour, taste, tan-  
 gible objects and elements (= 法 Jap. hō, Skt. dharma). See DJBT,  
 p. 155 s.v. Jūni-sho; pp. 247-248 s.v. Rokkon; p. 248 s.v. Rokkyō.
323. The six elements are earth, water, fire, wind, space and conscious-  
 ness. 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) bonnōdō 煩惱道 or wakudō 惑道 , evil passions or de-  
 lusions; (2) gōdō 業道 , good or evil acts; and (3) kudō 苦道 ,  
 suffering. Each of them 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 Hosshin 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 KMW, pp. 85-86.
327. A is the seed-syllable of Vairocana in the garbhakośā, VAM corresponds with Vairocana in the vajradhātu. OM is said to consist of the syllables A, U, M, which respectively symbolize the dharmakāya (法身 Jap. hosshin), sambhogakāya (報身 Jap. hōjin) and nirmanakāya (應身 Jap. ōjin). In esoteric Buddhism seed-syllables (Skt. bīja, 種子 Jap. shuji) may be visualized on a mental moon-disc. See MJ, p. 69 s.v. Onjikan; MD, p. 196 s.v. Onjikan, p. 1827 s.v. Ban. For the visualization of the syllable A see SJED, pp. 190-215; SBTP, pp. 71-74.
328. This may refer to the scrolls used in the visualization of Sanskrit syllables.
329. See T. Vol. XXXIX n° 1796, p. 662 c 10-14.
330. According to the Dainichikyōsho (Ibid., p. 662 c 4-14) the kuśa grass has three meanings. Firstly, a practitioner sitting on kuśa grass will not become indolent or unrestrained. Secondly, the Buddha attained enlightenment sitting on it. The third meaning is quoted by Yūkai.

331. Botanical name Poa cynosuroides, Skt. kuśa. See D.L. Snellgrove, Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, London, 1987, p. 226 note 174; SED, pp. 296-297 s.v. Kuśa.
332. Hō. writes 慧性 Jap. eshō, the Dainichikyōsho (T. Vol. XXXIX n° 1796, p. 662 c 10) 慧性 Jap. eshō.
333. According to MD, p. 1594 s.v. Chishin, the jiyūō chihosshin 自受用智法身 . This is the svasambhogadharmakāya of the four dharma-body theory. See SBTP, pp. 63-64.
334. The Buddhist teaching. See BD, p. 1237 s.v. Hōmon.
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. 吉辰 Jap. kisshin or 吉日 Jap. kitsujitsu is the first day of the month. See DJK, Vol. II, p. 808 s.v. Kisshin, p. 807 s.v. Kitsujitsu.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

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- BC : CH'EN K., Buddhism in China.  
 BD : NAKAMURA H., Bukkyōgo Daijiten.  
 BDJ : MOCHIZUKI Sh., Bukkyō Daijiten.  
 BDJI : RYŪKOKU DAIGAKU ed., Bukkyō Daijii.  
 BDJT : ODA T., Bukkyō Daijiten.  
 BSJ : KANAOKA Sh., Bukkyō Shūha Jiten.  
 Ch. : Chinese.  
 CHT : WILLEMEN Ch., The Chinese Hevajratantra.  
 DCBT : SOOTHILL W. and HODOUS L., A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist  
 Terms.  
 DJ : UEDA K., Daijiten.  
 DJBT : INAGAKI H., A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms.  
 DKJ : MOROHASHI T., Dai Kanwajiten.  
 DNJS : HORI Y. comp., Dainihon Jiin Sōran.  
 EMS : TAJIMA R., Etude sur le Mahāvairocana-sūtra.  
 HBS : TOGANOO Sh., Himitsu Bukkyō-shi.  
 HJK : TOGANOO Sh., Himitsu Jisō no Kenkyū.  
 HMJ : YAMAMOTO Ch., History of Mantrayana in Japan.  
 Hō. : Hōkyōshō.  
 Jap. : Japanese.  
 JEBD : IWANO Sh., Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary.  
 JTK : MIZUHARA G., Jakyō Tachikawa-ryū no Kenkyū.  
 KD : KOKUSHI DAIJITEN HENSHŪ IINKAI ed., Kokushi Daijiten.  
 KDKZ : KŌBŌ DAISHI KŪKAI ZENSHŪ HENSHŪ IINKAI ed., Kōbō Daishi  
 Kūkai Zenshū.  
 KHS : MIYASAKA Y., Kana Hōgo Shū.  
 KMW : HAKEDA Y., Kūkai. Major Works.  
 KS : HINONISHI Sh., Shinkō Kōya Shunjū Hennen Shūroku.  
 MD : Mikkyō Daijiten.  
 MJ : SAWA R., Mikkyō Jiten.  
 MN : SANFORD J., The Abominable Tachikawa Skull Ritual, in  
Monumenta Nipponica.

- MR : MATSUNAGA Y., Mikkyō no Rekishi.  
 MS : YAMAMOTO Ch., Mahāvairocana-sūtra.  
 NBJ : IWAMOTO Y., Nihon Bukkyōgo Jiten.  
 NBJJ : WASHIO J., Nihon Bukka Jinmei Jisho.  
 NBDT : KANAOKA Sh., Nihon Bukkyō Tenseki Daijiten.  
 NKDJ : NIHON DAIJITEN KANKŌKAI ed., Nihon Kokugo Daijiten.  
 Saichō : GRONER P., Saichō : The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School.  
 SBD : SŌGŌ BUKKYŌ DAIJITEN HENSHŪ IINKAI ed., Sōgō Bukkyō Daijiten.  
 SBTP : KIYOTA M., Shingon Buddhism. Theory and Practice.  
 SED : MONIER-WILLIAMS Sir M., A Sanskrit-English Dictionary.  
 SJEB : YAMASAKI T., Shingon. Japanese Esoteric Buddhism.  
 Skt. : Sanskrit.  
 SMSKK : KUSHIDA R., Shingon Mikkyō Seiritsu Katei no Kenkyū.  
 SS : SASAMA Y., Sei no Shūkyō.  
 SSN : MORIYAMA Sh., Shingon-shū Nenpyō.  
 SSu. : LUK Ch., The Śūraṅgama Sūtra.  
 T : TAKAKUSU J., WATANABE K. ed., Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō.  
 T. Index : Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Sakuin.  
 TJSHK : MORIYAMA Sh., Tachikawa Jakyō to sono Shakaiteki Haikai no Kenkyū.

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TEXT

## 寶鏡鈔

沙門宥快記

真言密教大日覺王所說八祖相承秘法也。号無上寂上佛乘辨諸宗超絕境界誠滅極重之罪業度難化之衆生頓證佛智獨在此宗。因茲上古賢哲入唐求法傳受真言及八家矣。東寺在五家弘法大師宗叡僧正惠運僧都圓行和尚常曉和尚是也。他門有三傳傳教大師慈覺大師智證大師是也。他宗未聞如此事密藏殊勝以之可察就中以弘法

吾朝對弘法大師於神護寺高受灌頂然聞弘法大師與義明供奉二人許受學兩部此中義明供奉雖受兩部不云漏瓶又無附法之人只弘法大師一人惠果和尚正嫡也御請來錄云和尚乍見會笑喜歡告曰我先知汝來相待久矣今日相見太好報命欲竭無人付法到今則授法有在文既云無人付法義明非漏瓶又云授法有在大師獨委附仁也大師御弟子入壇授法之人頗多於中十大弟子其棟梁也其中

大師御相承為嫡流其故者始從高祖法身大日如來迄于大唐青龍寺惠果和尚嫡嫡傳來更不能述之惠果和尚付法雖多之唐土義明供奉日本弘法大師外無兩部相承之人自餘弟子纔受一界無兩部貫通之儀非嫡弟委附之仁事明也後入唐之諸師皆對一界相承人傳之不可云惠果正嫡傳教大師對善無畏三藏御弟子順曉闍梨習學真言是又非善無畏嫡弟加之傳教大師者大唐受學不委悉故於

寬遍僧正

号忍辱山流

覺鑊上人

已上廣澤流

号傳法院流

真譽阿闍梨

号高野持明院流

高野御室覺法

号成僧正

隆遍

号慈尊院流

号隆

寬意

觀音院大僧都  
性信付法

号意

成蓮院

心覺

号常喜院流

已上廣澤流有九流若加金玉方寶壽院者有十流此外有成就院流 實瑜僧正下

實惠真雅是上首也此兩傳于今相承傳來但

以真雅御傳為本真雅付法源仁号南源仁下

有益信聖寶兩僧正益信廣澤根本也益信僧

正寬平法皇寬空僧正寬朝僧正廣澤名字自此時始

濟信僧正長和親王

性信号大椰室

寬助僧正

覺法親王

号御流

信證僧正

号西院流

永嚴法印

号保壽院流

聖惠親王

号華嚴院流

靜譽

住石也

義範僧都

勝覺僧正

号三寶院流

定海

号三寶院流

賢覺

号理性院流

聖賢

号金剛王院流

已上醍醐三流也  
小野醍醐合有六流

明筭阿闍梨 名高野中院流

觀賢付法

壹定律師

定助

法藏

仁賀

真興

号小嶋流

寶鏡抄

三

真乘院流等

又有嚴覺相承  
廣澤流

小野流

聖宝僧正醍醐寺  
本願也号尊師

聖寶僧正

觀賢僧正

号般若寺僧正  
親奉持大師入也

淳祐内供

石山

允泉僧都

仁海僧正

小野名字從此時  
始有之号雨僧正

成尊僧都

号小野僧都

範俊僧正嚴覺大僧都

宗意

号安祥寺流

寬信

号勸修寺流

增俊

号隨心院流  
三三三三三三

別難輒知但一說云醍醐三寶院權僧正弟子僧正有仁寬阿闍梨後蓮云人依有罪過子細舍弟被流伊豆國於彼國為渡世具妻俗人肉食汗穢人等授真言為弟子爰武藏國立川云所有陰陽師對仁寬習真言引入本所學陰陽法邪正混亂内外交雜稱立川流搆真言一流是邪法濫觴其具書等名字粗載豐原寺誓願房記二卷書所要之人可尋見其宗義者以男女陰陽之道為即身成佛之秘術成佛得道之法無此

勝覺 定海 元海 一海号松橋流 雅海

全賢 淨真 賴賢 真傲言 俊譽 公紹

信惠 叡尊律家号 西大寺流

已上六流之外又有三流合之摠有九流別立西大寺流有十流離分之有數流也

問真言教諸宗最頂成佛直路事誠亦也但至末代者邪正混亂若入邪路違成佛正道如謂東為西見解顛倒豈遂自身成佛之先途乎尤欲蒙指南也 荅玉石難辨覺璞易迷邪正分

川流後流布越中國 覺明 覺印師資二代  
 參籠高野山其時彼邪流印信書藉多流布号  
 教相大事口傳多之至于今從來愚人習之為  
 至極之思實非事相非教相只如畏石執玉能  
 能遇明師分別可糾何流口傳誰人所記或又  
 借小野廣澤之明德之名書事有之坎真偽可尋  
 又明澄賢誓等名字血脉相承之中多有邪法  
 非是人之推度丹生大明神之御託宜也習彼  
 法人多無冥加大略人法共當山斷絕畢

法苑珠林卷第六

六

六

外作妄計也如來兼說之為魔說為無間業愚  
 人不知之執甚深秘法爭可云正見真實之智  
 乎大佛頂首楞嚴經云潛行貪欲口中好言眼  
 耳鼻舌皆為淨土男女二根即是菩提涅槃真  
 處彼無智者信是穢言此名蠱毒魔勝惡鬼年  
 老成魔惱亂是人○迷惑不知隨無間業文豈無  
 間業人名真言行者乎大日經疏云何有無間  
 業人而能自利利他俱成妙果耶是故行此法  
 者勢求明師一一諮受微旨曉了明白文彼立

法苑珠林卷第五

五

五

圓滿鈔 阿字觀三十重口次心王心數灌頂  
 十八會灌頂我友之六月鈔等非一也又經軌  
 中 即身成佛經 菩提心經文殊經虛空藏經  
 法出經真言出現本地偈秘肝鈔 秘肝有真偽可尋之  
 又付瑜祇經理趣經菩提心論邪見印信書籍  
 多号 瑜祇 神袋載二經 理趣 一論大事口次有之成  
 尊授範俊口傳 云 凡如實註其名字書籍有謬  
 捨之有實者取之無相違事也借佛菩薩三藏  
 之名号註愚人之書事兼妄語邪見大有恐事

少々相殘欵不知之

堀出法 飛行自在法 渡天大事 手足不

二大事 三世常恒法 御入定何重大事如

此大事等多之不能具載以察方又關東方号

御流三寶院書籍口次多之野澤餘 水イ 捫理趣經

切出師資並座等不遺毛舉或又雖非立川流

血脉為名利借大師貞觀寺勝覺已下知法之

名愚人所造書籍多之高祖大師法醍醐三尊

帳大事隨心金剛法等其部類數百卷有之又



本所無之又習之者多無真加大底有名無實也又以凡智情識恣談法身內證依之學之者起邪見能可知之凡弘真僧正事委可知之是醍醐報恩院憲深僧正之末流也所謂憲深僧正實深僧正覺雅法印憲淳道順道順下有隆譽僧正弘真僧正隆譽道順僧正付法也於大和國南法華寺逝去弘真非道順瀉瓶疎弟子也受法不委細然而後醍醐天皇御謀叛之企御坐之時分為御祈禱弘真御信仰之間有

室鏡抄

也 問有弘真僧正文觀房之事也云人其所記書籍多之流布世間其真偽如何 答彼相承流所記鈔物尤可知之正流之人皆知之雖不許容不知案内之人者信受之或起高慢之心或發邪見其故者借佛菩薩祖師大師之名作書籍故傳之者習餘人所不見之大事我流我身之外者不知大事秘事也云縱雖真實之秘事我強起勝他慢心者非正見之人况執瓦礫為金寶起勝他之心豈有真加乎然間彼門流醍醐

室鏡抄

東寺勅進聖文觀法師猥補長者恣掌宗務狀  
 右謹考舊貫巨唐長安城之左衛有加藍隋文  
 帝勅願号之大興善寺矣本朝平安城之東京  
 有精舍桓武聖主勸願名之教王護國寺焉彼  
 不空三藏翻經之梵閣也忝授五智灌頂於三  
 朝此弘法大師傳燈之道場也親致三密加持  
 於百王鎮國安民之秘術者誠雖一致令法久住  
 之勝計者卓礫異朝者哉是以弘仁十四年十  
 二月二日官府云東寺遷都之始為鎮護國家

三卷多  
 卷終抄

威勢本雖為律僧成僧正披見麴麴聖教作書  
 籍千餘卷重重大事印信三十餘通付醍醐流  
 造之其中多借名事在之無智者見之謂密宗  
 最極更非實說又行叱呾屈法以咒術立効驗  
 寫集大師御筆文字作印信作口次其類多之  
 欵依後醍醐天皇御權威成東寺寺務行後七  
 日法之時京都諸門跡恐權威閉口于時高野  
 衆徒經卷聞弘真放東寺門徒彼狀云金剛峯  
 寺衆徒等誠惶誠恐謹言請被特蒙天裁停止

願叡信超他寺朝賞勝餘宗自門光花燭于此時也爰有相似苾芻其名云文觀本是西大寺末寺播磨國北條寺之律僧也兼學算道好卜筮專習咒術立修驗貪欲心切憍慢思甚入洛陽伺朝廷掠賜證道上人之職遂為東寺大勸進之聖苟以陰遁黑衣之身謬烈網維崇班之席外号智識聖人內稱醍醐座主偏被繫名利之欲曾無慚愧之心未改端蝸似鳥之質忽成鷹鳩變眼之思刺補一長者恣掌正法務未曾有

柏原先朝所建也我朝以此寺為最頂云大師曰東寺是密教相應勝地馬臺鎮護眼目歸而敬者王化照明花夷太平息不崇者朝有妖害國有災乱云料知吾朝安危者專依此等興廢者也伏惟我君仁均上官之憲政德超太宗之鴻業逆浪翻而四海清潛乱撥而一天靜五幾七道悉誇周武一統之太平百寮兆民皆歌漢高三章之制法然間元弘元年幸當寺拜鵝王護國之尊容建武又幸此砌遂鴈塔供養之勅

五千分雖廣東寺非異類地以何言之去弘仁十四年正月十九日以東寺末給預小僧勅使藤原良房公卿也勅書在別即為真言密教庭既了師師相傳為道場者也豈可非門徒者猥雜哉為我弟子者末世後世之內成立僧綱者非求上下膺次以最初成出可為東寺長者承和官府云道是密教莫令他宗僧雜住凡於東寺一阿闍梨耶自實惠僧都迄益守僧正九十餘代之長者皆是密家棟梁自門宗匠也

之珍事不可說之次第也雖然憚皇憲道俗側目恐朝威貴賤閉口彼野干對齋尸迦也坐天衣而說法焉此文觀之祭茶吉屋也近龍顏而奏事矣縱雖好樂世間之小術爭令修習無上大法乎為法輕忽也為宗瓊瑾也尤擯出且停廢自元非大師之門徒蓋是小乘律師也抑亦習咒術說文豈非邊裔之殊俗哉重檢舊記弘仁皇帝給以東寺不勝歡喜成秘密道場努力勿令他人雜住非此狹心護真謀也雖圓妙法非

之法今東寺有異類而贖宗務職伏此依金剛  
 峯寺之奏口開災禍入云雖憚先言以理糾非  
 據盡誠後昆仍捧高祖之遺詔欲建未資之愁  
 訢望請天裁被早停止文觀東寺之一長者并  
 當山座主職者佛家繁榮遠添龍花樹春色王  
 化照明遙續星宿劫之曙光矣不列懇款之至  
 衆徒等誠惶誠恐謹言

建武二年五月日金剛峯寺衆徒等上

文觀房弘真事以之可察如此書註之事更非

經鏡抄

十一

從承和明時暨建武聖朝五百餘歲之宗務未  
 雜勸進聖異門僧嗟呼撰器用者賢王之善政  
 也誰違先王之德行哉制異類者吾師之雅言  
 也爭背大師遺誠乎倩見文觀形儀頗非直也  
 事在律家破戒無慚也入真言犯三昧耶非正  
 道非遁世既二途不攝之族也好武勇好兵  
 具爭昇一阿闍梨位乎不知天魔變而滅佛法  
 欺不審鬼神化惱僧衆欺為世為法可恐可慎  
 昔南天有凶婆而破密花園降彼修奧砂子平

入寶鏡抄

十一

邪見人皆尔也抑一生無程正法難遇徒費紙墨空經年月投財寶致苦勞書之受之現世無冥加後生入無間事歎中歎悲中悲也能安住正理尋正見之人傳正流可修二利之行爲宿善純熟人呈破邪見正之旨而已

又大和國三輪寶齒上人蓮道房書籍等邪見法門多之一滴鈔等立川法門也此類鈔物口火通可思偽書摠彼門流中有邪義何流哉可尋之 首楞嚴經云則有空魔入其心脏乃謗持

爲謗彼人只後學爲令不入邪路也弘真流書籍處處流布多有 大和國越中國一一不能述之迹比後西堂周輔藏主持下鎌倉邊有之彼弘真自筆聖教於嵯峨邊燒失云立川流者是又處處遍滿本處武藏次越中大和國多之書籍不知其數如是邪流雜入正流之中多之有其憚故一一不書之就明師可聞之京都高野邪正雜乱事多之款或多不知之皆習傳或雖粗知之以情執稱其門流其末弟傳之外道

提斯可希異如我此說名為佛說不如此說即破旬說又云尔時天魔獲得其便飛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敷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肉身上父父子子邈代相生即是法身常住不絕都指現在即為佛國無別淨居及金色相其人信受忘失先心身命歸依得未曾有是等愚迷惑為菩提

戒名為小乘菩薩悟空有何持犯其人常於信心之壇越飲酒噉肉廣行婬穢因魔力故攝其前人不生疑謗鬼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墜文又云若不斷婬修禪定者如蒸沙石欲其成飯經百千劫祇名熱沙何以故此非飯本沙石成故汝以婬身求佛妙果縱得妙悟皆是婬根根本成媯輪轉三途必不能出如來涅槃何路修證必使媯機身心俱斷斷性亦無於佛菩

行提婆達多邪見即正文取意 華嚴真該妄未  
 妄徹真源文或叙遇三毒而三德圓云真言叙  
 若能明察密号名字深開莊嚴秘藏則地獄天  
 堂佛性闡提煩惱菩提生死涅槃○皆是自心  
 佛之名字焉捨焉取文尔者何以煩惱即菩提之義  
 可云邪見之類乎 答依諦理談煩惱即菩提  
 大乘實教之宗義也不知實義只認妄情以煩  
 惱執菩提沈輪三途是云邪見也所謂天台依  
 三諦即是陰入皆如之道理云煩惱即菩提乃

三音少

推究其心破佛律儀潛行貪欲口中好言眼耳  
 鼻舌皆為淨土男女二根即是菩提涅槃真處  
 彼無知者信此穢言是名蠱毒魔勝惡鬼年老  
 成魔惱亂是人獸足心生去彼人躰弟子與師  
 俱陷王難汝當先覺不入輪迴迷惑不知隨無  
 間獄文 問煩惱即菩提義大乘之妙旨也爰  
 以無行經云嬉欲即是道志癡亦復然如是三  
 事中有無量佛道文 天台宗叙云鶻拙摩羅弥  
 殺跡慈祇陞未利唯酒唯戒和修密多嬉而梵

室編抄

十四



耳聞煩惱即菩提，口說煩惱即菩提，心不知其肯認元凡情執菩提，弘行煩惱者可增長輪迴，爭可證得如來，一切智智乎欲遂即身成佛之先途者，依三摩地教觀心月輪思惟，以字之字字等，可期纔見常見卷舒自在之切智智顛倒，正理不可入邪路，大日經疏云三者以此吉祥草表惠性也，此草兩邊多有利刺，若坐卧執持無方便者，反為所傷，若順手將護之，則不能為害，一切諸法亦如是，若順諦理觀之，一切塵

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談也，又至心明道之位，達密号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，顯密教起有何詮乎，問知煩惱即菩提是即知其所由，也不知煩惱即菩提起煩惱造業感果，則是凡夫也，何可云無凡聖起盡無設教證乎，答雖

寶鏡

十六

勞皆有性淨之用若失方便則能損壞智身故  
以為法門表像也文

法印權大僧都宥快記之

于時明應八祀年卯月廿六日

明曆二年丙申五月吉辰