

国際仏教学大学院大学研究紀要  
第 25 号 (令和 3 年)

Journal of the International College  
for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies  
Vol. XXV, 2021

# The Fugen Enmei Scripture: Samantabhadra Becomes a Deity for Longevity

Mónika Kiss



# The Fugen Enmei Scripture: Samantabhadra Becomes a Deity for Longevity

Mónika Kiss

Fugen Enmei bodhisattva 普賢延命菩薩, or Samantabhadra of Long Life is a deity venerated for the benefit of long life and curing people of illnesses. The bodhisattva was first introduced to Japan probably at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century by Kūkai 空海 (774-835), the founder of the Shingon sect. Hence, I found it rather fascinating that the bodhisattva became one of the main Buddhist icons of the Tendai sect,<sup>1</sup> which was brought to Japan by Saichō 最澄 (765-822), the other famous founder and a contemporary of Kūkai.<sup>2</sup> These two sects are considered *esoteric*, a unique label of the Japanese Buddhist world.

As a sequel to a previous study about three of five scriptures<sup>3</sup> that can be linked directly to the Fugen Enmei ritual 普賢延命法, the focus of this paper is an esoteric text with an ambiguous past, the *Bussetsu issai shō nyorai shin kōmyō kaji Fugen bosatsu enmei kongō saishō darani kyō* 佛說一切諸如來心光明加持普賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀羅尼經 (*Sūtra of the Most Excellent Adamantine Dhāraṇī of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva of*

<sup>1</sup> The Fugen Enmei ritual is still one of the four great rituals (*shika daihō* 四箇大法) of the mountain gate lineage (*sanmon ha* 山門派). This lineage regards Ennin 円仁, a 9<sup>th</sup> century Tendai monk to be its founder. This monk is one of the three Japanese Buddhist monks who introduced Fugen Enmei to Japan.

<sup>2</sup> For the Tendai tradition of Fugen Enmei bodhisattva, see Kiss 2019a.

<sup>3</sup> The texts are related to the notion of the adamantine life-span. Other than the *Fugen Enmei Scripture* there is the *Kongō jumyō darani nenju hō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼念誦法 (T20.1133); the *Kongō jumyō darani kyō hō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼經法 (T20.1134A); *Kongō jumyō darani kyō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼經 (T20.1134B); *Bussetsu issai nyorai kongō jumyō darani kyō* 仏說一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經 (T20.1135). For more about these texts, see Kiss 2020.

*Long Life, Empowered by the Light of the Minds of All the Tathāgatas, Preached by the Buddha*, T20.1136: 579-580; hereafter cited as *Fugen Enmei Scripture*). Its significance lies in its detailed description of Fugen Enmei bodhisattva, who became the principal image of the Fugen Enmei ritual, created in Japan in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The fact that the ritual had strong ties to the imperial family and ruling classes through the two Japanese esoteric traditions makes the Fugen Enmei Scripture more than qualified to be included in the Taishō Buddhist canon. The copies of this text, and other related texts (ritual manuals, oral traditions, etc.), are still parts of the inventories of long-standing Japanese esoteric Buddhist monasteries, such as the Kōzanji 高山寺, Tōji 東寺, or Daigoji 醍醐寺 temples in Kyoto. These were the most influential places since the beginning of the Heian period, together with the many temples on Kōyasan 高野山 and Hieizan 比叡山.

### 1. The Text's Origin

Although the Scripture is designated as a translation, no original text exists in any of the Asian Buddhist languages, as far as we know today. It is not once mentioned or listed in any of the Chinese canons or translated sutra lists. Thus, we only have Japanese sources to present the history of the text and to hint at a vague connection to China. It seems to be completely absent in other Buddhist traditions.<sup>4</sup>

Surviving sources suggest that the scripture was initially brought to Japan by Shingon monks, first by Eun 惠運 (798-869) in 847. The *Fugen Enmei scripture* is listed in two of his catalogs of imported treasures.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> As far as my research goes and by interactions with researchers of such Buddhist canons, I am inclined to maintain this view.

<sup>5</sup> *Eun zenshi shōrai kyōhō mokuroku* 惠運禪師将来教法目錄 (*Catalogue of the Buddhist Texts Brought back by Meditation Master Eun*, T55.2168A: 1087-1089). 「最勝延命經一卷」 (1087c22). *Eun risshi sho mokuroku* 惠運律師書目錄 (*Catalogue of the Writings of the Vinaya Master Eun*, T55.2168B:

Then it appears again, with two different titles, in the catalog compiled by Shūei 宗叡 (809-884) in 865.<sup>6</sup> There are some controversies, however, around the introduction of not just the scriptures, but also the bodhisattva's images. The common ground for the texts of the adamantine life-span and Fugen Enmei bodhisattva is non-other than Amoghavajra 不空 (705-774), one of the three famous Indian monks who brought the esoteric tradition to China.<sup>7</sup>

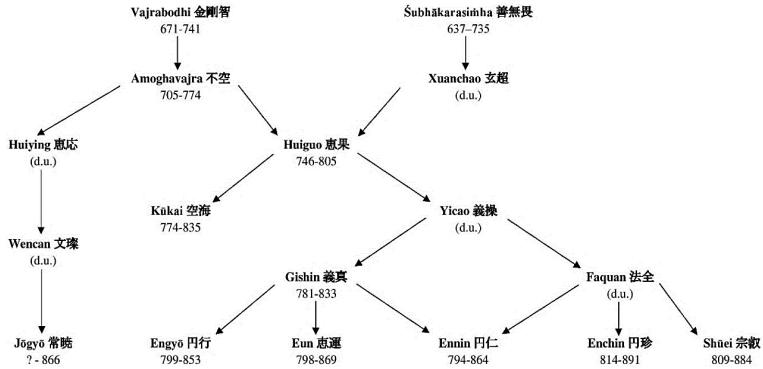
The adamantine life-span texts were brought to Japan by Kūkai, then by two Tendai monks, Ennin 円仁 (794-864) and Enchin 円珍 (814-891), who all stayed at the Qinglongsi monastery 青龍寺 at one point of their journeys in Tang China. Kūkai studied with Huiguo 惠果 (746-805), the other two with Faquan 法全 (d.u.), the disciple of Yicao 義操 (?-822+), who was again the disciple of Huiguo. This may indicate that the texts were passed down by monks of that monastery, especially those in Amoghavajra's lineage.

---

1089-1092). 「佛說一切(諸)如來心光明加持普賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀羅尼經一卷 大廣智不空譯」 (1089a29 – b01).

<sup>6</sup> *Shin shosha shōrai hōmon tō mokuroku* 新書寫請來法門等目錄 (*Catalogue of New Writings and Buddhist Teachings*, T55.2174A: 1108-1111). 「一切如來心光明加持普賢菩薩延命陀羅尼經一卷 不空三藏譯此同先請壽命(經)同本異譯也 四紙; (...) 普賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀羅尼經一卷 不空三藏譯 (異譯也) 四紙」 (1108b06 – 09).

<sup>7</sup> For more about Amoghavajra, see Chou 1945, Orlando 1981, and Lehnert 2011.



### *Nittō hakke* lineages with Chinese masters

The origin of the *Fugen Enmei Scripture* is more obscure and we can only guess how it ended up in the possession of the abovementioned two Shingon monks. If it had been passed down by the alleged translator, Amoghavajra, to his disciples, with Huiguo among them, consequently it should have been included in Kūkai's initiation into the two-fold esoteric doctrines – as was the case with the adamantite life-span texts. Instead, there is sufficient evidence to prove that he imported the so-called oral tradition of the twenty-armed Fugen Enmei deity image, not present in any scripture.<sup>8</sup> This twenty-armed deity is associated with Daianraku fukū kongō zanmai shinjitsu bosatsu 大安樂不空金剛三昧真実菩薩 (Sk. Vajrāmoghasamayāsattva), therefore connected to the Womb world.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> For more about this oral tradition, see Kiss 2019b (in Hungarian).

<sup>9</sup> The deity sits in the Henchiin 遍知院 section of the Womb World mandala (Jp. Taizōkai mandara 胎藏界曼荼羅). In the *Shinjitsu kyō monku* 眞實經文句 (*Textual Explanation of the Zhenshi jing*, T61.2237: 612-615.), Kūkai's commentary to the *Āryaprajñāpāramitānayaśatapañcaśatikā* (*Sūtra of the Principal of Wisdom*, shortly *Liqu jing* 理趣經, T19.1004) we read the united name of Vajrāmoghasamayāsattva Samantabhadra of Long Life Vajrasattva (T61.2237: 613b06-07. 「大樂金剛普賢延命金剛薩埵垂菩薩」).

His connection to and fondness for Samantabhadra is noticeable in his biographies. There is a record of a statue, he had it made for the Haoling Hall 號令堂 of the Dazhungfusi temple 太崇福寺 in Taiyuan 太原, as we can see in his letter to same emperor in 770.<sup>10</sup> There are other indicators of his partiality for Samantabhadra. On the one hand, he is the translator (writer?) of an esoteric text called *Puxian jingang saduo lue yujia niansong yigui* 普賢金剛薩埵略瑜伽念誦儀軌 (*Brief Proceedings of Concentration, Chanting, and Ritual of Samantabhadra Vajrasattva*, T20.1124; hereafter cited as *Puxian jingang saduo yigui*).<sup>11</sup> This is the only known text in which Samantabhadra and Vajrasattva (Kongōsatta 金剛薩埵) merge into one deity. This could be a significant step towards the birth of the deity Fugen Enmei. The main attributes of Fugen Enmei in the Fugen Enmei Scripture is the vajra and vajra bell, which happen to be the two things that Vajrasattva also holds in its hands. The text also mentions Samantabhadra thus entering the Diamond Realm.<sup>12</sup> Samantabhadra in this text essentially does not differ from Fugen Enmei. The image of Fugen Enmei, described in the Fugen Enmei Scripture without the white elephants is virtually undistinguishable from that of Vajrasattva.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Orlando 1981: 65. See also the *Daizong zhao zeng sikong da bianzheng guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozi ji* 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集, T52.2120: 837c24. 「號令堂請安置普賢菩薩像一鋪。」

<sup>11</sup> Another Amoghavajra text of obscure origins. From its beginning line (我今說) we can assume that it was probably written, rather than translated, by Amoghavajra.

<sup>12</sup> T20.1124: 531b02. 「入金剛界大曼荼(茶)羅」

<sup>13</sup> Another bodhisattva called Enmei 延命菩薩 in Japan complicates this question more. It is not yet clear how it was introduced or created in Japan, but the earliest sources of the 9th and 10th centuries in Japan suggest that it was different in the Tendai and Shingon traditions. It was only after some decades when the Fugen Enmei rituals were held that the *honzon* 本尊 (principal image during a ritual) was fixed. In the Shingon tradition they conducted the Enmei ritual for the ordination of the new emperors in the Heian- and Kamakura periods (11<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries) during which they started using the Enmei image as the

On the other hand, the vajra and vajra bell also hold a special place in Amoghavajra's life. In his last will and testament, recorded in his previously mentioned biographies, we read that he got two ritual implements, a vajra and a vajra bell from his master, Vajrabodhi as a gift.<sup>14</sup> He also advises his disciples in this document to „become one with the body of Samantabhadra.”<sup>15</sup> In the *Puxian jingang saduo yigui* we find a very similar notion.<sup>16</sup>

The Fugen Enmei text is possibly linked to two places in China, one of them is Wutaishan 五台山, which appears in Amoghavajra's letters as well. In 766 Amoghavajra asks Emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762-779) to help the monk Daohuan 道環 rebuilding the Jingsi 金閣寺 temple there.<sup>17</sup> The two Shingon monks who introduced the Fugen Enmei text, Eun and Shūei, both made a pilgrimage to the sacred mountains. The Tendai monk Ennin also visited the mountains in 840, at the beginning of his sojourn in China. According to his surviving journal, the *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡礼行記 (*A Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*) and *mokuroku*, he was also the one, who brought the other (two-armed) image of the bodhisattva to Japan.<sup>18</sup>

---

*honzon*. The Enmei images kept in the Daigoji 醍醐寺 temple in Kyoto show the exact same iconography as the Vajrasattva images. For more about the problems regarding the Enmei and Fugen Enmei images, see Kiss 2018: 146-153; 156-162; 192-196.

<sup>14</sup> Orlando 1981: 115; T52.2120: 0844b08 – 09. 「吾受持金剛。鈴杵并銀盤子菩提子念珠水精念珠并合子。」 See also the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (*Biographies of eminent monks compiled during the Song period*) T50.2061: 0713b24 – 26. 「乃以五股金剛鈴杵先師所傳者并銀盤子菩提子水精數珠。」

<sup>15</sup> T52.2120: 0845a13 – 14. 「汝等諸子是從佛口生從法化生得佛法分。即同普賢身。」

<sup>16</sup> T20.1124: 0531b03 – 04. 「剎那剎那常懷得普賢菩薩身。」

<sup>17</sup> Orlando 1981: 56-60. T52.2120: 834a5-b12.

<sup>18</sup> It is listed in one of Ennin's catalog of imported treasures, in the *Nittō shingū shōkyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄 (*Catalogue of sacred teachings newly sought in the Tang*). T55.2167:1084c02. 「普賢延命像 一鋪三輻苗」



開成五年七月二日<sup>19</sup>(...)開普賢堂。禮普賢菩薩像。三象並立。背上安置一菩薩。堂內外莊嚴、綵畫鏤刻、不可具言。  
20

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the 7<sup>th</sup> month in the 5<sup>th</sup> year of Kaicheng [840] (...) we opened the Fugen Hall and worshipped the image of the Bodhisattva Fugen. Three elephants<sup>21</sup> stand side by side, and on their backs is placed a single image of the Bodhisattva. The hall both inside and outside is very impressive, and its colored paintings and carvings cannot be described in detail.<sup>22</sup>

A conflict arises, however, when we compare against what we know of Eun's and Ennin's stay in China. Both monks visited Wutaishan, as mentioned before, and were the disciples of Gishin 義真 (781-833) in Japan. Eun spent five years in China in the same decade as Ennin, but we do not find any of the Adamantine life-span scriptures on his list of imported treasures, only the Fugen Enmei text, twice. Ennin saw a Fugen Enmei sculpture on Wutaishan and brought back not just its image (a drawing perhaps), but copies of the adamantine life-span texts and *mantras*, but we find no Fugen Enmei text in his records. Nevertheless, Eun may have also brought back an image or had one made based on the Fugen Enmei text, because there is one such image listed in the *Anjōji shizaichō* 安祥寺資材帳 (*Assets of the Anjōji Temple*, DNBZ vol. 86), which tells the founding circumstances of the temple, founded by this monk upon his

---

<sup>19</sup> Reischauer gives the Gregorian calendar date as August 3, 840. (Reischauer 1955a: 254.)

<sup>20</sup> Ono vol. 3, 1967: 95.

<sup>21</sup> Reischauer remarks that the character is rendered 尊 as „deities” in the ZZGR text, but in the Tōji and the DNBZ versions we find a character which appears to be a variant for 象 or „elephant.” (Reischauer 1955: 255.)

<sup>22</sup> Translation from Reischauer *ibid.*

return from China in 847.<sup>23</sup>

In the *Fugen Enmei scripture* Amoghavajra is named as the translator:

大興善寺開府儀同三司肅國公特進試鴻臚贈司空諡大辨正  
廣智食邑三千戶師子國三藏沙門不空譯<sup>24</sup>

Translated by the *śramaṇa* Amoghavajra, the *tripiṭaka* master from Sindhala, of the Da Xingshan monastery, 'Commander Unequaled in Honour,' the Duke of Su with a fief of 3000 households, 'Specially Promoted Probationary Chief of Court of State Ceremonial,' who was given the official title of 'Minister of Works,' posthumously called the 'One of Great Discrimination and Broad Wisdom'

We see that in the case of the *Fugen Enmei Scripture* the usual “translated for imperial order” (奉詔譯) is omitted and all of Amoghavajra’s titles are listed. It is not included in his list of the already translated scriptures, which he made in 771 as a present to Emperor Daitung’s 太宗 birthday. Nevertheless, both in Eun’s and Shūei’s catalogs the text is attributed to Amoghavajra, therefore it was undoubtedly handed down as Amoghavajra’s translation.

There is one question left, namely, how did the notion of longevity appear in Amoghavajra’s corpus? One possible answer may be concluded

---

<sup>23</sup> The Anjōji temple, built by Eun, lists an Enmei image among its icons in the *Anjōji shizaichō*, DNBZ vol. 86: 302. One Enmei sculpture (延命菩薩像) is listed among the images that were offered by the founding master who transmitted the secret teachings (秘密教伝法祖師), by which the author possibly refers to Kūkai, since the *Anjōji shizaichō* was written by Eun himself in 867. (The text survives in a 1385 copy of a 1136 copy in the Tōji Kanchiin 東寺觀智院 temple and is designated as an Important Cultural Property.)

<sup>24</sup> T20.1136: 579a06 – 08.

by looking at the events described in his biographies, especially the one from the end of his life. I refer here to Emperor Daizong asking Amoghavajra in 773 to take care of his daughter, Qionghua 瓊華, who had been ill for a long time. The biographies also mention that the emperor presented the Buddhist master and the temple where he was living at that time (Daxingshansi 大興善寺) with a Buddhist canon of 5050 fascicles, to be housed in the Hall of Sutra Translations (翻經院) of the Daxingshansi.<sup>25</sup> Amoghavajra probably did not succeed in the given task, the girl died the next year, the same year the master also died. It may have been a noble attempt of his to save the girl's life by creating a Samantabhadra longevity deity merging it with Vajrasattva. Besides, in the Fugen Enmei Scripture the Daxingshansi monastery is named as his temple. This could also explain why the Fugen Enmei Scripture is not mentioned in his list of translated texts presented to Emperor Daizong in 771.

Although we saw the connections of Fugen Enmei with Wutaishan, but it seems more plausible that the text and its image may have originated in the Daxingshansi monastery of Chang'an. One proof of this is in the first volume of the *Tendai myōmoku ruiju shō* 天台名目類聚鈔 (*Selected Collection of Tendai Names and Titles*). It is stated in this text that the three Japanese monks, who were directly connected to either the text or the image of Fugen Enmei, Ennin, Eun, and Shūei, all visited this monastery and all of them received their initiation into the Diamond Realm from the Chinese monk Yuanzheng 元政 (d. u.).<sup>26</sup> Although this text was written by a Japanese monk called Jōshun 貞舜 (1334-1422), who lived half a

---

<sup>25</sup> Orlando 1981: 74; Sen 2014: 215; T52.2120: 843a19 – 22. 「瓊華真人真如金剛一切經一藏凡五千五十卷。 (...) 並賜不空。當院安置。」

<sup>26</sup> CBETA D40.8903: 0058a19 – 21. 「又人王五十四代仁明天王治六年承和五年(成午)六月十三日奉勅慈覺大師圓載圓行常曉瑟運宗觀等六人同道入唐先值長安城大興善寺翻經院元政阿闍梨學金剛界大教五瓶灌頂及圖繪金剛界大[曼-又+(元-几+又)] 荼羅」

millennium later than those three monks, this statement is further proven by Ennin, who himself records his encounter with this master in his aforementioned journal.<sup>27</sup>

## 2. The Text

The *sūtra* shows many corresponding parts with the Adamantine Life-span texts, especially the *Bussetsu issai nyorai kongō jumyō darani kyō* 仏説一切如来金剛寿命陀羅尼經 (*Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span of All the Tathāgatas, Preached by the Buddha*, T20.1135; hereafter cited as *Issai kyō*) text. It can be divided into four smaller parts, and the first two parts are expanded with various events and communication including Samantabhadra. Apart from Samantabhadra, the main characters, the places, and the *dhāraṇīs* also accord with the *Issai kyō* text.

In the beginning, the setting of the sermon is introduced. Here we are also told how Samantabhadra obtained the powers of the buddhas to help the sentient beings obtain the adamantine life-span. This part lasts until the end of the first – and longest – *dhāraṇī*. The second part starts with the Buddha expounding the various benefits, and also some instructions to be followed to attain these benefits and how to draw Fugen Enmei bodhisattva's image. The third part comprises the vows of the Four Heavenly Kings, their testimonials, and *dhāraṇīs* of long life with which they help the sentient beings. The last part defines the various means of acquiring the benefits.

The main character is Samantabhadra, who is empowered by the Tathāgatas, and abodes in the *samādhi* of the adamantine life-span, thus

---

<sup>27</sup> Ono 1967: 283. 「大興善寺有元政和尚、深解金剛界、事理相解。」 We still cannot answer, however, why the Fugen Enmei Scripture is not listed among Ennin's imported texts when he is clearly linked to it.

becoming Samantabhadra of Long Life.<sup>28</sup> The bodhisattva is among a gathering of great *bhikkṣu* monks, bodhisattvas, *mahāsattvas*, heavenly beings, and men, who are all listening to the Buddha. The text probably refers to Śākyamuni, because the form of address here is simply the 'Buddha' (佛), while in the other three adamantine life-span texts, it is Vairocana (毘盧遮那報身佛 or 毘盧遮那如來) expounding the teachings and ritual instructions.<sup>29</sup> The Four Heavenly Kings are also present, as the guardians who pledge themselves to help Samantabhadra Bodhisattva in his task of helping sentient beings attain the adamantine life-span.

The text starts with the usual phrase of “Thus have I heard (如是我聞), after which comes the basic description of the sermon. Samantabhadra emerges out of the secret *samādhi* of the Tathāgatas, here the word 如來 is used; and shows his supernatural powers (現大神通力; these are not elaborated further). Then comes his empowerment by the many buddhas (諸佛加持), and the preaching of the adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī*, which has many benefits for the sentient beings, first and foremost, it prolongs their life and so they will not die an untimely or violent death. So the main benefit of the text is not having an untimely death. This benefit, again, can be the result of Amoghavajra’s attempt to save the life of the emperor’s young daughter.

As another benefit it also allows them to obtain the adamantine life-span, and through that, they can achieve the *bodhi* and the stage of non-retrogression (成就菩提到不退地). The appearance of the *bodhi* corresponds with the *Issai kyō*. This is the abbreviated form of the *anuttarasamyaksambodhi* (阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 or 無上正等正覺), the

<sup>28</sup> Although there is a Sanskrit name for Samantabhadra of Long Life as Samantabhadrāyus in the *Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辭典 (first published in the 1930s), but this is probably the translation of the Chinese and Japanese 普賢延命 since there is no Sanskrit text surviving about this bodhisattva. Therefore, I am only using the name as Samantabhadra of Long Life.

<sup>29</sup> Only the *Issai kyō* differs, in which the Buddha is also Śākyamuni.

highest correct, and universal knowledge (Samantabhadra). The stage of non-retrogression refers to a bodhisattva, who progressed so far as to never retrograde to a lower state of attainment (*avaivartika*, *avivartin*, or *aparivartya* 阿毘跋致).

The three benefits listed above can be regarded as progress from worldly benefits, which are expounded in the other adamantine life-span scriptures, to spiritual goals that are offered by Buddhism. The reaching of the bodhi is new compared to the other texts.

The next scene is when the Buddha summons the Tathāgatas of the worlds in the ten directions, who are as numerous as the sand particles in the River Ganges. Then they fill up the skies and give off light that is like Indra's net (各放光明如因陀羅網). He does that by transforming his heart into (precious) light (於心轉光明). All these phrases and metaphors are quite common in Buddhist texts.

Then the story continues with one of the most important scenes when Samantabhadra becomes Samantabhadra of Long Life, which part is cited on every occasion that Fugen Enmei bodhisattva is examined. The bodhisattva acquires the heart seal of all buddhas, then dwells in the adamantine life-span *samādhi* (普賢菩薩得諸佛心印即住金剛壽命三昧耶). Then with his unobstructed supernatural powers, he preaches the *dhāraṇī* of the adamantine life-span. We arrive at the end of the first part of the text.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> There are six *dhāraṇīs* in this scripture, the first one (the longest of all) is called the adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī*, and the other five are the long life *dhāraṇīs*. All are given in transliterated Chinese text. There are no *siddham* syllables, like in the adamantine life-span scriptures. The Tendai iconography and ritual manual of Jōnen 靜然, the *Gyōrinshō* 行林抄, gives *siddham* syllables to the adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī*, but their source is not named. The transliterated version of Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, and Devaprajñā is also quoted. Vajrabodhi's text is the *Issai text*, Amoghavajra's text is the *Fugen Enmei scripture*, and Devaprajñā's is the *Shobutsu shūe darani kyō* 諸佛集會陀羅尼經 (*Sutra of the Dhāraṇī of the Assembly of All Buddhas*, T21.1346). The last one is

The adamantine life-span *samādhi* that he dwells in, is explained by scholars in other words as the *samādhi* of long life.<sup>31</sup> After the *dhāraṇī* was preached many extraordinary supernatural things happened, and along with them the text explains that the sick and suffering reached the stage of arrested breath (病苦衆生當時蘇息). The stage of arrested breath refers here to reaching partial nirvana as explained in the *Sutra of Queen Śrīmālā of the Lion's Roar (Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanāda sūtra, Shengman shizi hu yisheng da fangbian fangguang jing 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經, T12.0353)*.<sup>32</sup> This part explains why this bodhisattva's ritual was used in the time of illness. We have many Japanese sources that account for the ritual being used for the curing of illnesses. The former texts also mention the Vajradhara Bodhisattvas, or *vajra*-holders, who also preach a long life *dhāraṇī* and with the great bodhisattvas and *mahāsattvas* all helped prolong the sentient beings' lives (衆悉助延命) and made them reach the adamantine life-span (令獲金剛壽命).

With this, Samantabhadra and the Four Heavenly Kings also obtain the adamantine life-span. Then the Buddha speaks again, after snapping his fingers, he first praises Samantabhadra and the Four Heavenly Kings who can benefit the sentient beings with joy and goodwill (能快善利益衆生). He also gives out the instructions that sentient beings should do to gain the benefits, to be cured of their sickness. The instructions are clear and simply:

- take a bath 沐浴;
- wear new and pure clothes 著新淨衣;

---

the earliest text of the three (end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century).

At the end of the 1960s a Japanese scholar, researcher of the esoteric teachings, Hatsuzaki Shōjun 初崎正純 gave a translation, for which he used the extant Tibetan version of Devaprajñā's text. For more, see Hatsuzaki 1968.

<sup>31</sup> See for example Sawa 1970: 84.

<sup>32</sup> For more about this and the link with the fourth *dhyāna*, see Wayman – Wayman 1974: 91, esp. n. 70.

- burn incense 燒香;
- scatter flowers 散花;
- uphold the *mantra* of long life in their mind 持我延命心眞言.

These are the usual ritual instructions found in many esoteric scriptures. And again the benefit is described as by increasing their life-span, they will be freed from sicknesses. Then we get another set of instructions, which now includes the building of a ritual space (道場). The result of this is the obtainment of the adamantine life-span:

- build a ritual sphere in a pure place 建立道場於清淨屋舍;
- invite twenty-one pure monks 請三七比丘清淨僧;<sup>33</sup>
- read and recite this scripture, each for forty-nine times 轉讀此經各四十九遍;
- and again this *dhāraṇī* a hundred thousand times 別持是陀羅尼滿十萬遍.

It is clear that the increase of the life-span and recovering from illnesses, and the obtaining of the adamantine life-span are two different concepts, and the set of instructions for acquiring them are not quite the same either. In the case of the second set, we understand that the intervention of the Buddhist priests is required, showing that it is more substantial and spiritual. This brief “ritual manual” is more detailed in the adamantine life-span texts.

After the description of the image (which is explained in detail in the next part of the paper), the Buddha repeats what is to be done, but now with the principle image involved, with one of the benefits described at the end. It is emphasized that the ritual sphere is to be built with this image.

In the third part of the scripture, we listen to the oaths of the Four

---

<sup>33</sup> The number of monks may be related to the number of small altars that are featured during the Tendai Fugen Enmei ritual. These small altars are mentioned in the *Shobutsu shūe darani kyō* as well (T21.1346: 0859c05 – 06.).



Heavenly Kings, they utter a *dhāraṇī* each, and explain the benefits they will bring to the sentient beings. They vow to assist Samantabhadra, proloner of life, to bind themselves together to protect and make sure that there is no untimely death (結護令無夭橫). They also promise to descend to the pure ritual spheres, and if they failed to do so, then they would regress and do not attain liberation (退失菩提心不得解脫). They name Jambūdvīpa, as the place where this doctrine is expounded, which is one of the four continents south of Mt. Sumeru, inhabited by humans.

After their initial vow, all the Vajradhara Bodhisattvas say in unison the long life *dhāraṇī*. Then each of the Heavenly Kings takes their pledge, one after another, all of them saying that empowered by all the Tathāgatas they expound the long life *dhāraṇī*, which makes all the sentient beings increase their life-span and avoid untimely death (令一切衆生獲得壽命無夭橫). The four kings are called by their transliterated Sanskrit names, the first is Bishamonten 毘沙門天 (actually he is Vaiśravaṇa in the Shitennō [Jp. Tamonten 多聞天]), then it is Virūdhaka 毘樓勒叉天 (Jp. Zōchōten 增長天), Virūpakṣa 毘樓博叉天 (Jp. Kōmokuten 廣目天), and Dhṛtarāṣṭra 提頭賴吒天 (Jp. Jikokuten 持国天).

In the last part of the text we are offered again different instructions for the ritual, but this time, we get a longer list of benefits and the recipients' group is also widened. According to this text, the sentient beings will obtain the benefits, if they copy the *sūtra*, uphold and recite it, and besides, they can also do so by drawing the image of Samantabhadra of Long Life. This notion is only introduced in the present text, and that may be the reason why the detailed depiction is given. Another way to such benefits is the performing of the ritual on the first, eighth, fifteenth days of the month, with a ritual sphere built, forty-nine lanterns lit, and flowers and various offerings placed on the altar space, just as the ritual texts described

above.<sup>34</sup> Here it is also important that the practitioner repent their faults in the past. And what would they gain? They will not be reborn in the three evil realms (不墮三惡道)<sup>35</sup> or born again at all. And the four kinds of Buddhist disciples (四衆)<sup>36</sup> also gain the riddance of fear of short life or unnatural deaths (離於短命夭橫之怖); of bad dreams at night (夜惡夢), *vetālas*,<sup>37</sup> curses, maledictions, fearsome *rākṣasas*, birds' calls, hundred goblins (夜惡夢厭魅呪咀惡形羅刹鳥鳴百怪之屬). Another new aspect of the rewards is the freedom from the bodily harms of water, fire, weapons, and poisons (不爲水火兵毒之所傷害). The sermon is then finished and the text ends with all the attending beings rejoicing and accepting the Buddhas words with faith.

As we saw, this text, and the ritual related to it, is not aimed merely at the increasing of one's life-span or curing illnesses, it promises much more. The first and foremost benefit on the list is unquestionably the achieving of the *bodhi*, or in other words, the aspiration for enlightenment. This one feature helps us determine that it is not just a text for worldly benefits, such as the earlier esoteric scriptures (by which characteristic they may be cast in the group of the miscellaneous texts), but it also contains the ultimate

---

<sup>34</sup> These instructions are met during the Fugen Enmei ritual, suggested by the ritual platform plans, which survive in the recorded rituals of the *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄, written down by Shōchō 承澄 (1205-1282), a Tendai monk of the Kamakura era (1185/92-1333/36).

<sup>35</sup> This refers to three of the six realms (*rokudō* 六道), which are considered bad: the animal realm (*chikushōdō* 畜生道), the hell realm (*jigokudō* 地獄道), and the hungry ghost realm (*gakidō* 餓鬼道).

<sup>36</sup> Monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen.

<sup>37</sup> In the text the 厭魅 name is used, another way to write this is 毘陀羅. Evil spirits, demons who can raise the dead to harm humans. Also, *vetāda*. The demon originates in Hindu mythology. It appears in the *Lotus sutra* as well, in the 28<sup>th</sup> chapter it is Samantabhadra who tells the Buddha that he will protect the people who uphold the sutra from many evil things and one of them is the *vetāla* (in this text it is written as 韋陀羅). (*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, T09.0262: 0061a27 – 28.)

goal of Buddhism, although, it offers a shorter and quicker way to achieve it, as do many other esoteric scriptures.

### 3. The Description of the Bodhisattva's Image

The Fugen Enmei Scripture is also important because of the image description of Fugen Enmei bodhisattva. It is convenient and straightforward, still we face the problem of having two different iconographies for the horizon of the Fugen Enmei ritual.<sup>38</sup> The image, which is described in detail in the scripture, is the two-armed deity on a three-headed or three elephants. The text says,

我此延命法先須彩書普賢菩薩。如滿月童子形。五佛頭冠。右手持金剛杵。左手持召集金剛鈴。契鬢縱緩帶坐千葉寶華。下有白象王象有三頭。鼻卷獨股杵。各具六牙。其象四足踏一大金剛輪。輪下有五千群象。各負其輪。於菩薩身放百寶光。光外盡白月輪衆 彩莊嚴盡得<sup>39</sup>

I, in the ritual of long life, first should draw a colorful image of Samantabhadra. His form is like a prince in the full moon, with a Five-Buddha crown on his head. In his right hand, he holds a vajra, and in his left an all-summoning vajra-bell. His hair is tied up and he wears a robe loosely and sits on a thousand petal jewel lotus flower. Under [this flower] there is a white elephant king, which has three heads. A single-prong vajra is folded in each of its trunks, and each head has six tusks. This elephant

---

<sup>38</sup> For more about this, see Kiss 2018. The twenty-armed image is not originated in any Buddhist texts, but is based on an oral tradition. All the two-armed images – except for two standing Enmei images in the Daigoji temple – are shown sitting on a colorful lotus throne, either in full (*kekkaifuza* 結跏趺坐) or half-lotus position (*hankafuza* 半跏趺坐).

<sup>39</sup> T20.1136: 579b15 – 21.

stands on a great vajra-wheel with four legs, and under the wheel, there are 5000 elephants, each carrying the wheel on their backs. The body of the bodhisattva gives off a hundred rays of precious light, outside the light a white moon-ring is formed, and this image is covered with colorful adornments.

We can see that the depiction is based on Samantabhadra's usual iconography.<sup>40</sup> The five-Buddha crown, representing the five Wisdom (*Dhyāni*) Buddhas,<sup>41</sup> is an unvarying feature of all Fugen Enmei images, just as the two attributes, the *vajra* in the right hand and the *vajra* bell in the left. The usually five-pronged *vajra*, a common symbol in esoteric and tantric Buddhism, is also the *samaya* form of Vajrasattva, and symbolizes the Five Knowledges possessed by the Five Wisdom Buddha.<sup>42</sup> The *vajra* is employed as the wisdom and the power over illusion and evil spirits. The bell is for attracting the attention of the objects of worship, and for stimulating all who hear it.<sup>43</sup> These are typically depicted with five prongs which can symbolize the five elements or, again, the five wisdom powers of the *vajradhātu* which destroy the five poisons obscuring the mind from enlightenment.<sup>44</sup>

The garments and jewels show the standard bodhisattva attire. On his upper body, there is a drapery hanging across the chest from the left shoulder (*jōhaku* 条帛), and the *mo* or *kun* is covering the folded legs. Fugen Enmei also wears chest jewelry (*munakazari* 胸飾), metal (golden) armbands on his wrists (*wansen* 腕釧) and upper arms (*hisen* 臂釧). The

---

<sup>40</sup> For more about the Samantabhadra iconography, see Hamar 2019 and Hamar 2020.

<sup>41</sup> The Five Buddhas are Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi.

<sup>42</sup> Snodgrass 1988: 265.

<sup>43</sup> Snodgrass 1988: 283.

<sup>44</sup> Snodgrass 1988: 121.

clothes are beautifully decorated mostly with colors, patterns, and *kirikane* 截金 (decorative patterns applied with gold leaf) in the case of paintings.

The lotus throne is supported by a great white elephant with three heads and six tusks on each head, with the trunks holding a single-prong vajra each. Adrian Snodgrass gives a very detailed and explanatory description of the elephants' forms and what they symbolize. This single-pronged *vajra* scepter, he says, is the symbol (*samaya* form) of the single Dharma Body that abides eternally in the three worlds, and by grasping them with the trunks, the channels of the breath of life, it symbolizes the attainment of the longevity.<sup>45</sup> The elephant stands on a great dharma wheel, which is in turn supported by five thousand small elephants. Snodgrass carries on saying that these elephants represent the countless manifestations of the five fundamental attachments (*pañca kleśa*, *go konpon bonnō* 五根本煩惱),<sup>46</sup> which causes us to stay in the cycle of birth and death. The wheel crushes the passions, which result in the four sufferings, therefore it also represents the attainment of adamantine longevity.<sup>47</sup>

The earliest examples of the Fugen Enmei two-armed images show this iconography, however, some depictions show three elephants standing side by side. The confusion of the three heads or three elephants could have evolved from the ambiguous phrase in the scripture (下有白象王象有三頭).<sup>48</sup> This can be translated as 'the elephant which has three heads,' or that 'elephants, there are three.' The problem with the description in the text is that the counter *kanji* for large animals is the character of the head 頭. Thus, the text can be read as three-headed elephant or three elephants.

---

<sup>45</sup> Snodgrass 1988: 265.

<sup>46</sup> The five attachments are (*rāga*, *tan* 貪), anger (*pratigha*, *shin* 瞋), ignorance (*avidyā*, *chi* 痴), pride (*māna*, *man* 慢), doubt (*vicikitsā*, *gi* 疑). They are also called the five serious hindrances.

<sup>47</sup> Snodgrass 1988: 265.

<sup>48</sup> T 1136, vol. 20: 579b17 – 18.

However, repetition of the word elephant in this sentence would probably suggest the first interpretation with the three heads. This is further confirmed by the suggestion of four legs for the elephant, which is also brought up by Jōnen in his previously cited commentary, arguing that it cannot be three elephants with four legs, then it should be twelve legs on the dharma wheel.<sup>49</sup>

The question of the number or the heads of elephants seems to be up for interpretation. As early as the Heian period the Buddhist monks tried to explain the meaning of the number of heads or elephants in the different pictures. It seems it has been generally accepted that the four elephants of the twenty-armed images symbolize the four sufferings, e.g. life, sickness, old age, and death, as it is suggested by the *Betsugyō* 別行,<sup>50</sup> the *Atsuzōshi* 厚造紙,<sup>51</sup> or the *Hishō* 秘鈔<sup>52</sup> in the Shingon, and the *Shijū jōketsu* 四十帖決<sup>53</sup> in the Tendai tradition.<sup>54</sup>

If we consider the common lineage and transformation of Fugen into Fugen Enmei, because of the association with Vajrasattva, it would be easy to say that the image should be always depicted with two arms, with the attributes of Vajrasattva. Alice Getty, one of the first Western scholars of East Asian art, called this the ‘mild’ form (not wrathful) of the Japanese representation of Vajrasattva, seated on a lotus throne, often supported by a (white) elephant.<sup>55</sup> It is interesting that according to her explanation, the elephant is the mount of the spiritual father of Vajrasattva, the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya (Ashuku nyorai 阿閼如来), hence he can be appearing

<sup>49</sup> T 2409, vol. 76: 147c07 – 09. 「四足踏大輪者。三頭象各踏也。四足云只是云也。委云所謂三四十二足可云歟 持明説云云」

<sup>50</sup> T78.2476: 152a05. 「四象表生老病死四苦」

<sup>51</sup> T78.2483: 262b03 – 04. 「乘四象表對治生老病死四苦」

<sup>52</sup> T78.2489: 530c14 – 15. 「乘四象表對治生老病死之四苦也」

<sup>53</sup> T78.2408: 0894c05 – 06. 「可有四頭也。即表ス生老病死ノ苦ヲ也」

<sup>54</sup> For more about this, see Kiss 2018: 156-162.

<sup>55</sup> Getty 1914: 6.

on top of a white elephant, and the two-armed Fugen Enmei iconography with Vajrasattva's symbols must be a Japanese mistake. She also writes that Samantabhadra, represented as Vajrasattva, is sometimes depicted on an elephant with three heads, and often confused with Fugen.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, we know from the Fugen Enmei Scripture that this bodhisattva is an emanation of Samantabhadra, not Vajrasattva, and their corresponding symbols can be explained by the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha sūtra* (*Compendium of the Reality of All Tathāgatas*, T18.0882), where Samantabhadra and Vajrasattva come forth from Mahāvairocana's chest and obtain the same symbols from the buddha.<sup>57</sup>

Although the image description is clear about the two arms and their attributes, we notice that depictions of the bodhisattva with twenty arms become more common in Japanese Buddhist art. This is the iconography that can be linked to the Shingon founder, Kūkai, through the *Shishu goma honzon oyobi kenzo zuzō* 四種護摩本尊及眷属図像 (*Figures of Main Deities and Attendants in the Four Kinds of Homa*, TZ cited hereafter as *Shishu goma zuzō*) text of the Daigoji temple in Kyoto.<sup>58</sup> There is a twenty-armed drawing called Fugen Enmei. The large number of this image can be explained by the many Fugen Enmei rituals that were conducted by both the Tendai and Shingon schools. By the 13<sup>th</sup> century both schools had their own kind of Fugen Enmei ritual proceeding and the *honzon* was accordingly selected: the Tendai ritual usually displayed the two-armed

---

<sup>56</sup> Getty 1914: 46. Unfortunately, Getty does not show how she arrived at this conclusion.

<sup>57</sup> Chandra – Snellgrove 1981: 17-18. See also T 0882, vol. 18: 342c29 – 343a06.

<sup>58</sup> The Fugen Enmei drawing shows a twenty-armed deity mounted on three elephants with single-pronged vajras in their trunks. According to the *okugaki* of the text, it was originally written in 821 and only survives in a copy made by Shūjitsu 宗実 (d. u.) in 1213.

(URL: <https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/nenki/13140.html>)

image and the Shingon used the twenty-armed image.<sup>59</sup>

### Conclusion

The Fugen Enmei Scripture is an example how Buddhism could evolve in different cultures. It may also represent how Buddhist monks influenced the teachings and created ritual traditions to serve rulers and gain authority or even power. Although this text originates in China, it was Japanese monks who realized its potential and usefulness for the Japanese ruling elite, creating a Buddhist tradition, which persevered until today.

The proofs of this are the text's arrival to Japan, its incorporation into what may be referred to as the Japanese esoteric canon – if such a thing exists – and its ritual context, to serve the ruler and gain authority, quite similarly to how these kind of texts were used in China. Furthermore, the appearance and evolution of the Fugen Enmei depiction and ritual in Japan is undeniable proof of how Japanese monks advanced, and not just mimicked, the knowledge that they obtained in China.

### Appendix

#### English Translation

***Sūtra of the Most Victorious Adamantine Dhāraṇī of Samantabhadra  
Bodhisattva of Long Life, Empowered by the Light of the Minds of All  
the Tathāgatas, Preached by the Buddha***<sup>60</sup>

Translated by the *śramaṇa* Amoghavajra, the *tripiṭaka*

---

<sup>59</sup> This can be explained by the different ritual setups of the altars at the rituals. The Tendai version used separate altars for the Four Heavenly Kings, with their image displayed of the deities. These altars are missing in the Shingon ritual platform, therefore the images of the Four Heavenly Kings are included in the twenty-armed depiction, each deity standing on one of the elephant's heads.

<sup>60</sup> The *Taishōzō* used one version of this scripture: the old copy treasured at the Sanmitsuzō 三密藏 (the sutra repository of the Hōbodaiin temple 宝菩提院) of the Tōji temple.



master from Siṃhala, of the Daxingshansi monastery, 'Commander Unequaled in Honour,' the Duke of Su with a fief of 3000 households, 'Specially Promoted Probationary Chief of Court of State Ceremonial,' who was given the official title of 'Minister of Works,' posthumously called the 'One of Great and Broad Wisdom'

Thus have I heard. Once the Buddha was on the bank of the River Ganges with a multitude of great *bhikṣu* monks, bodhisattvas, *mahāsattvas*, and heavenly beings. At that time Samantabhadra bodhisattva was in the assembly, abiding in the secret *samādhi* of the *Tathāgatas*. He emerged out of the *samādhi* and showed great supernatural powers. Empowered by the *Tathāgatas*, he preached the adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī*, which allows the lives of all sentient beings to be lengthened so that they do not die before their time or violent death. And it also allows (them) [the sentient beings] to obtain the firmness and indestructibility of the adamantine life-span, to achieve enlightenment, and to reach the stage of non/retrogression. At that time, the World Honoured One turned the light in the heart, and summoned buddhas as numerous as the sand in the River Ganges from the worlds in the ten directions and filled the sky with them. Everyone (of those *Tathāgatas*) gave off light like Indra's net. As their light illuminated Samantabhadra it made him preach the *Adamantine Life-span Sūtra*.

At that time, Samantabhadra acquired the heart seal of all buddhas and dwelled at the *Samādhi of the adamantine life-span*. The pores of his body gave off innumerable light that equalled in number to the particles of dust and expanded throughout the worlds in the ten directions. With unobstructed supernatural powers, he was preaching. The *dhāraṇī* said,

‘What is called a goddess of destiny, which is immovable and yet movable, and which is humble, which possesses *cakrārigā*’s sacred aspects. Strike out, all sicknesses of all beings. Oh *naṭi* [scented trees], *kunaṭi* [herbs], great *naṭi*. That which is full of life, that which is full of life, the summit of snow. White snow, that which possesses the glory of the snow, the top of the snow, which is awe-inspiring, awe-inspiring. Oh, *kurara* (medicine tree), *kurara*, *kumati*, that which possesses the supreme *maṇi*, that which possesses powerful light, that which is immovable, away from transitions, do not lean, *humu*, *humu*. *Oṃ vajrāyūse svāhā*.’<sup>61</sup>

After the *dhāraṇī* was preached, the earth, the mountains, the rivers all shook and trembled, hell was crushed, the palaces (in the heavens) shook, and at the same time, the sentient beings, who were sick and suffering (reached the stage) of arrested breath. Among the gathering there were the innumerable *Vajradharas*, they also preached (the *dhāraṇī*) in unison, and the great bodhisattvas and *mahāsattvas* all helped prolong (the sentient beings’) lives, they preached the *dhāraṇī* and allowed (them) [the sentient beings] to acquire the adamantine life-span.

At that time, the *Tathāgatas* of the worlds in the ten directions, as numerous as the number of sand in the River Ganges, empowered Samantabhadra and the Four Heavenly Kings with their mind seal and made them increase and attain the adamantine life-span.

At that time, the World Honoured One snapped his fingers and praised (Samantabhadra), saying: ‘You with joy and goodwill benefit the

---

<sup>61</sup> Hatsuzaki 1968: 58-59. I added the last *mantra*, according to this text.

sentient beings very well. Suppose there are good sons and daughters who experience fear, early or accidental death, and unfortunate things. If they take a bath, wear new and pure clothes, burn incense, scatter flowers, and if they uphold my mantra of extending life in their mind, then their life is increased. Suppose there are sentient beings who suffer from illness, by wishing long life they are released from the suffering of illness. So if they build a ritual sphere, in a pure household or Buddhist temple, invite twenty-one immaculate *bhikṣu* monks, each of them recite this *sūtra* forty-nine times, and also this *dhāraṇī* a hundred thousand times, then they will obtain (long) life. So the beings themselves who are suffering from illness, in their dreams at night will have a marvelous realm [or *Sudarśana*'s region, Mt. Sumeru?]. I, in the ritual of long life, first should draw a colorful image of Samantabhadra. His form is like the Prince of the Full Moon, with a Five-Buddha crown on his head. In his right hand, he holds a vajra, and in his left an all-summoning vajra-bell. His hair is tied up and he wears a robe loosely and sits on a thousand petal jewel lotus flower. Under [this flower] there is a white elephant king, which has three heads. A single-prong vajra is folded in each of its trunks, and each head has six tusks. This elephant stands on a great vajra-wheel with four legs, and under the wheel, there are 5000 elephants, each carrying the wheel on their backs. The body of the bodhisattva gives off a hundred rays of precious light, outside the light a white moon-ring is formed, and this image is covered with colorful adornments and a ritual sphere is built on a pure place. I will have the pure monks uphold this mantra, and recite this *sūtra* and even copy them, and uphold the adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī* 100 thousand times, all to increase the life-span and avoid untimely death.

At that time, the Four Heavenly Kings, empowered by the Buddha, each made a vow to assist Samantabhadra of Long Life. In the southern (continent) of the *sahā* world, Jambūdvīpa which is the only to have places where the teachings of this *sūtra* are carried out, we, the Four Kings, will

bind ourselves together to protect and make sure that there is no untimely death. If there is a pure ritual sphere of this sutra, and if we do not descend there, I vow that I will lose my light, and I decrease my retribution. We will retrogress from our *bodhicitta* and do not attain liberation.

At that time, the *Tathāgatas* of the ten directions empowered all the *Vajradharas*, and they again preached in unison the *dhāraṇī* of prolongation of life: *Oṃ vajrāyūse huṃ huṃ śikhi svāhā*.<sup>62</sup>

After preaching like this, all the *Tathāgatas* and the *Vajradharas* of the ten directions disappeared into the sky and vanished.

At that time, Bishamonten said to the Buddha: ‘World Honoured One, with the aid of the buddhas’ supernatural powers and the empowerment and protecting thoughts for avoiding untimely death, I preach this *dhāraṇī*: *Oṃ vajrāyūse śvete śvete śve la li li svāhā*.

After preaching this *dhāraṇī*, it was to have all the sentient beings obtain the (adamantine) life-span and avoid unnatural death.

At that time, Virūdhaka Heavenly King said to the Buddha: ‘World Honoured One, again with the supernatural powers of the buddhas, I preach the *dhāraṇī* of long life, saying: *Oṃ vajrāyūse mātaṅge mātaṅge mātaṅge śūma śūma svāhā*.

After preaching this *dhāraṇī* they obtained the (adamantine) life-span because they avoided unnatural death.

At that time Virūpakṣa Heavenly King said to the Buddha: ‘World Honoured One, with the supernatural powers of the buddhas, I help preaching the *dhāraṇī* of long life, saying: *Oṃ vajrāyūse care care care re*.

Preaching this *dhāraṇī* made all the sentient beings obtain the adamant life-span since [they avoided] unnatural death.

At that time Dhṛtarāṣṭra Heavenly King said to the Buddha: ‘World Honoured One, I again, with the supernatural powers of the buddhas,

---

<sup>62</sup> I have transliterated this, and the next four mantras from Chinese to Sanskrit.

preach the *dhāraṇī* of long life, saying: *Om vajrāyūse balini vaḥ vaḥ vaḥ svāhā*.

After preaching this *dhāraṇī*, it made all the sentient beings obtain the adamantine life-span since [they avoided] unnatural death.

At that time, the Buddha said to the Four Heavenly Kings: 'If there are sentient beings who fear the difficulty of death, suffering from illness or having unnatural death, and if they have these kinds of suffering, if they only copy this sutra, uphold and recite it, and also uphold this *dhāraṇī*, or draw the image of Samantabhadra of Long Life, do this ritual on the first, eighth, fifteenth days of the month, build a ritual sphere and burn forty-nine lanterns, put flowers, incense, fruits, and medicine, each in sixteen bowls, and scatter them on the ritual sphere, put their hands together, do worship, praise out loud this *dhāraṇī*, and repent their faults in the past, then they will not be reborn in the three evil paths. If they renounce this body, they will obtain the adamantine life-span and will not be born again. If there are *bhikṣuṇīs* and the four kinds of Buddhist disciples who recite this sutra, and do not neglect it, then they will be free from the fear of short life, and unnatural death, of bad dreams at night, *vetālas*, curses, maledictions, fearsome like *raḡsasas*, birds' calls, hundred goblins. They will also be free from the bodily harm and injuries of water, fire, weapons, and poisons. All the buddhas and great bodhisattvas will embrace and protect them. And again, they will gain the protection of the buddhas.

At that time, when the World Honoured One finished preaching this sutra, the bodhisattvas, *mahāsattvas*, heavenly beings, the four kinds of Buddhist disciples and Bishamonten, and all the other great crowd rejoiced greatly and accepted (this *sūtra*) with faith and carried (it) out.

*Sūtra of the Most Victorious Adamantine Dhāraṇī of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva of Long Life, Empowered by the Light of the Minds of All Buddhas, Preached by the Buddha*

## ABBREVIATIONS

Citations of and references to Chinese translations are done according to the following model: T20.1136: 0579a04 stands for the *Taishō Canon*, volume 20, text number 1136, page 579, segment a (upper segment), column 04.

- CBETA: *Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association*  
DNBZ: *Dai nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書  
T: *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經  
TZ: *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō* 大正新脩大藏經圖像  
ZZGR: *Zoku zoku gunsho ruijū* 続々群書類從

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

- Bussetsu issai nyorai kongō jumyō darani kyō* 仏說一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經. [trans. Amoghavajra?] T20.1135
- Bussetsu issai sho nyorai shin kōmyō kaji Fugen bosatsu enmei kongō saishō darani kyō* 佛說一切諸如來心光明加持普賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀羅尼經. [trans. Amoghavajra] T20.1136
- Daizong zhao zeng sikong da bianzheng guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozi ji* 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集. [Yuanzhao 円照] T52.2120
- Eun risshi sho mokuroku* 惠運律師書目錄. [Eun 惠運] T55.2168B
- Eun zenshi shōrai kyōhō mokuroku* 惠運禪師將來教法目錄. [Eun 惠運] T55.2168A
- Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經. [Kumārajīva] T09.0262
- Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記. [Ennin 円仁] in: Ono 1967. 4 vols.
- Nittō shingū shōkyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄. [Ennin 円仁]

T55.2167

*Puxian jingang saduo lue yujia niansong yigui* 普賢金剛薩埵略瑜伽念誦儀軌. [trans. Amoghavajra] T20.1124

*Shinjitsu kyō monku* 眞實經文句. [Kūkai 空海] T61.2237

*Shin shosha shōrai hōmon tō mokuroku* 新書寫請來法門等目錄. [Shūei 宗叡] T55.2174A

*Shobutsu shūe darani kyō* 諸佛集會陀羅尼經. [trans. Devaprajñā] T21.1346

*Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳. [Zanning 贊寧 et al.] T50.2061

*Tendai myōmoku ruiju shō* 天台名目類聚鈔. Vol. 1. [Jōshun 貞舜] CBETA D40.8903

### Referenced Works

Chandra, Lokesh – Snellgrove, David L. 1981. *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha. Facsimile Reproduction of a Tenth Century Sanskrit Manuscript from Nepal*. New Delhi

Chou, Yi-Liang 1945. “Tantrism in China.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol. 8, no. 3/4, 241-332.

Getty, Alice 1914. *The Gods of Northern Buddhism: Their History, Iconography and Progressive Evolution through the Northern Buddhist Countries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Hamar, Imre 2019. “A dunhuangi hatagyarú elefánton ülő Samantabhadra ábrázolásán fellelhető indiai és közép-ázsiai hatások. (The six tusked elephant: from Buddha to Samantabhadra)” In: Csibra, Zsuzsanna (ed.) *Művészet, vallás, kultúra - Sinológiai tanulmányok Miklós Pál emlékére*, Budapest: Budapest: ELTE Konfuciusz Intézet, 31-41.

Hamar, Imre 2020. “Szamantabhadra vizualizációs szūtra. (The Samantabhadra visualisation sūtra)” In: Hamar, Imre – Takó, Ferenc (eds.) *Kínai bölcsélet és művészet – Tanulmányok Tőkei Ferenc emlékére*, Budapest: ELTE Konfuciusz Intézet, 123-162.

- Hatsuzaki Shōjun 初崎正純 1968. „A Study of the Dhāraṇī in the Jani-tam.” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 vol. 16, no. 2, 937-942.
- Kiss, Mónika 2018. *Changes in the Iconography of Fugen Enmei Bosatsu*. (PhD dissertation) Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University
- Kiss, Mónika 2019a “Fugen Enmei kínai eredete - Két indiai mester, két hagyomány? (The Chinese Origins of Fugen Enmei – Two Indian Masters, Two Traditions?)” In: Csibra, Zsuzsanna (ed.) *Művészet, vallás, kultúra - Sinológiai tanulmányok Miklós Pál emlékére*, Budapest: ELTE Konfuciusz Intézet, 173-187.
- Kiss, Mónika 2019b “The Tendai Tradition of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra Prolonger of Life: Fugen Enmei Bosatsu.” (Symposium Lecture) In: *International Symposium of Tiantai Studies*, Peking: Peking University, 157-172.
- Kiss, Mónika 2020. “Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra and the Adamantine Life-span Scriptures.” *Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies* vol. 24, 84-58.
- Lehnert, Martin 2011. “Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism.” In: Orzech, Charles D. – Payne, Richard K. – Sørensen, Henrik H. (eds.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden: Brill, 351-359.
- Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年 1964-1969. *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki no kenkyū* 入唐求法巡礼行記の研究. 4 vols. Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan
- Orlando, Raffaello 1981. *A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Fukū (A.D. 705-774)*. (PhD dissertation) Princeton University
- Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研 1970. *Butsuzō zuten* 佛像図典. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan
- Sen, Tansen (ed.) 2014. *Buddhism Across Asia. Networks of Material, Intellectual and Cultural Exchange*. Singapur: Institute of Southeast



The Fugen Enmei Scripture: Samantabhadra Becomes a Deity for Longevity (Kiss) 141

Asian Studies

Snodgrass, Adrian 1988. *The Matrix and Diamond World Mandalas in Shingon Buddhism*. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan

Wayman, Alex - Wayman, Hideko 1974. *The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā*. New York - London: Columbia University Press

Keywords: Fugen Enmei – Samantabhadra – esoteric Buddhism – *mikkyō* – Amoghavajra – Buddhist iconography – Buddhist scripture – Fugen Enmei ritual – adamantine life-span – Tendai – Shingon – Ennin – Eun – Shūei

*Lecturer,  
Eötvös Loránd University  
Research Fellow of 2019,  
International College  
for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies*