

An Annotated Translation
of the *Pañcābhisam̐bodhi*
Practice of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*

Dale Todaro

Dale Todaro

密
教
文
化

The *pañcābhisam̐bodhi*¹ (five stages of realization) visualization practice which Kūkai introduced to Japan and established as a hallmark of Shingon Buddhist practice is based on the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.² It constituted an integral part of the required *Vajradhātu vidhi* (Jap. *Kongōkai shidai*) undertaken by all Shingon adherents. In the tenth stage of Kūkai's *Hizō hōyaku* Kūkai states this visualization practice should be perfected by Shingon followers.³ The following English translation of that part of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* discussing the *pañcābhisam̐bodhi* practice is based on the authoritative, 1983 romanized edition of the complete Sanskrit text in five parts by Professor Kanjin Horiuchi.⁴ Horiuchi based his edition on the two Sanskrit manuscripts of the sūtra discovered in Nepal in 1932 and 1956 by G. Tucci and D. Snellgrove respectively. As Horiuchi follows the commentaries of Ānandagarbha⁵ and Śākyamitra⁶ (both 10th century) these also will be referred to below in addition to the major Japanese commentary on the *Tattvasaṃgraha* by Donjaku (1674–1742).⁷ The initial question to be answered in the following is how faithful were Kūkai and his early followers to the original practice? What if any changes can be discerned in known writings of Kūkai and his disciples? How did they understand this practice?

I Translation

Then all the Tathāgatas filled this Buddha realm like sesame seeds.⁹

At that time all the Tathāgatas formed a great assembly and approached the Sarvārthasiddhi Bodhisattva Mahāsattva seated at the seat of enlightenment. Approaching, they appeared with Saṃbhoga type bodies of Bodhisattvas and spoke thus: “Son of a noble family, you who endure all austerities, how will you realize the supreme, perfect enlightenment without knowing the truth of all the Tathāgatas?”

(the *pañcābhisaṃbodhi*)¹⁰

(1)¹¹ Then the Sarvārthasiddhi Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, upon being exhorted by all the Tathāgatas, rose from the *āśphānaka* samādhi. Prostrating to all the Tathāgatas he said: “Blessed ones! Tathāgatas! Teach (me)! How should I practice? What is this truth?”

Thus speaking, all the Tathāgatas addressed this Bodhisattva in accord and said: “Son of a noble family, you should proceed with the mantra, muttered at will, which is naturally successful and which composes and thoroughly masters your own mind: *Oṃ* I perform thought penetration.

Then the Bodhisattva spoke thus to all the Tathāgatas: “I have been taught. Blessed ones! Tathāgatas! I see the form of a moon disc in my own mind.” All the Tathāgatas said: “Son of a noble family, this mind is naturally luminous. As one cleanses it, so it becomes. It is just like dyeing with color a white garment.”

(2) Then all the Tathāgatas, for the increase of the knowledge of the naturally luminous mind, for this Bodhisattva, also produced the mind of enlightenment with this mantra which is naturally successful: *Oṃ* I produce the mind of enlightenment.

Then the Bodhisattva again, by the command of all the Tathāgatas, generated the mind of enlightenment and said: “That form of a moon disc I see just as a moon disc.”

(3) All the Tathāgatas said: “The mind of all the Tathāgatas, Samantabhadra, the mind arisen, has become consistent. Practice it well! For the strengthening of the arisen mind of Samantabhadra of all the Tathāgatas imagine a vajra form in the moon disc in your own mind with the mantra: *Oṃ* Stand up, oh thunderbolt!”

The Bodhisattva said: “Blessed ones! Tathāgatas! I see a thunderbolt in the moon disc.”

(4) All the Tathāgatas said: “Stabilize this thunderbolt of the Samantabhadra mind of all Tathāgatas with this mantra: *Oṃ* I consist of thunderbolt!

Now these body, speech and mind Vajradhātus of all Tathāgatas, assembling as far as all of space, entered that Sattvavajra completely by the empowerment of all Tathāgatas. Then the Bhagavat Sarvārthasiddhi Mahā-bodhisattva was consecrated with the thunderbolt named initiation “Vajradhātu, Vajradhātu!” by all the Tathāgatas.

Then the Vajradhātu Mahā-bodhisattva spoke thus to all the Tathāgatas: “Blessed ones! Tathāgatas! I see myself as the body of all Tathāgatas.”

(5) All the Tathāgatas replied: “Now, great being! Visualize yourself as the Sattvavajra, the Buddha form endowed with the best of all forms, reciting at will with this naturally successful mantra: *Oṃ* As all the Tathāgatas are, so am I.

Having been so addressed, the Vajradhātu Mahā-bodhisattva knew himself to be a Tathāgata. He prostrated to all the Tathāgatas and spoke thus: “Empower me! Blessed ones! Tathāgatas! May you strengthen this enlightenment!”

Having been so addressed, all the Tathāgatas entered this Sattvavajra of the Vajradhātu Tathāgata.

II Japanese Examples of the *Pañcābhisambodhi* Practice

The above five stages of meditation Kūkai outlines in his *Hizō hōyaku*: “...Next, I will clarify the five stages of perfecting the body (五相成身). The first is to penetrate the mind (通達心). The second is generating the mind of enlightenment (成菩提心). The third is the thunderbolt mind (金剛心). The fourth is the thunderbolt body (金剛身). The fifth is realizing unsurpassed enlightenment and obtaining a firm body like that of a thunderbolt. When these five stages of meditation are perfected then one attains the body of the principle deity of worship. Your radiance will be that of the body and mind of Samantabhadra, identical with that of all Buddhas in the ten directions. Also, although there are those who are early or late in their perfection of yoga in the three periods, once achieving enlightenment they experience no past, future or present.”¹²

This brief description of Kūkai closely follows that of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*. Fuller descriptions of these stages, using Kūkai’s terminology, which are nearly identical with the *Tattvasaṃgraha* are found likewise in all of the following sources (listed here for easy reference). These are *Vajradhātu vidhi*’s incorporating the *pañcābhisambodhi* practice.

1. Kūkai (?) (A.D. 774–835): *Kongōkai kigami shidai*; also called *Kongōkai bonji shidai* and *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*; dated 1226.¹³
- 2) *Mujin sōgonzō shidai*; written by either Kūkai, Shūei (A.D. 809–884) or Genjō (active 900 A.D.).¹⁴
- 3) *Kongōkai daigiki*, copy dated 1167; written either by Kūkai or Shūei.¹⁵
- 4) Jichie (A.D. 786–847): *Kongōchō yuga renegebu daigiki*.¹⁶
- 5) Uda Tennō (Kanpyō: A.D. 867–931): *Kongōchōkyō renegebu shinnenju shidai*.¹⁷

- 6) Jōkei (Chōkei: A.D. 866–900?): *Kongōkai nenshidai shiki*.¹⁸
- 7) Junnyū (A.D. 890–953): *Kongōchō regebu shinnenju shidai*.¹⁹
- 8) Shingō (A.D. 934–1004): *Kongōchō regebu shinnenju giki shiki*.²⁰ 密
- 9) Yūkai (A.D. 1345–1416): *Chūinryū shido kuden*; *Kongōkai shidai*.²¹ 教
- 10) Shinzei (A.D. 800–860): *Gobukanjinki*.²²
- 11) Gengō (A.D. 914–995): *Kongōkai nenju shiki*.²³ 文

These sources testify to the uniformity in the early Shingon tradition of the *pañcābhisambodhi* practice. The only obvious difference from the *Tattvasaṃgraha* in all the above sources is the addition within the third stage of a secondary visualization practice. This involves the visualized expansion and contraction of a thunderbolt. Sources #1, #6 and #11 above state this visualization is based on an oral tradition. The Shingon monk Saisen (濟暹; A.D. 1025–1115) tells us they were added to clarify to the yogin the characteristics of the container world of the Dharmakāya Buddha.²⁴ 化

III Commentary

It should be remembered the *Vajradhātu* recitation manuals used in the Shingon school in Japan are based by and large on the *Chin kang ting lien hua pu hsin nien sung i kuei* translated by Amoghavajra. As indicated by the term *lien hua pu* this meditation manual is said to correspond to the Lotus family among the five families of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* lineage texts²⁵ and the mystery of speech among the three mysteries of the body, speech and mind.²⁶ It is also said this manual was translated by Amoghavajra because it is with the flower of the mind of enlightenment as cause that Buddhahood is achieved.²⁷ This correspondence with the Lotus family is indicated by the Amitābha samādhi mudrā first formed upon entering the *pañcābhisambodhi* practice and the lotus visualized in the moon.²⁸ Also,

discriminative knowledge among the five knowledges corresponding to this family is suggested by the Japanese term *kansatsujishin* samādhi which is first entered when practicing the *pañcābhisambodhi* meditation (妙觀察智＝觀察自心; discriminative knowledge or wisdom＝observing one's own mind).

According to F. Edgerton,²⁹ *āsphānaka* samādhi doubtlessly is the same as *āsphuraṇaka* samādhi. While both manuscripts of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* have *āsphaṇaka* samādhi, the Tibetan³⁰ and both Chinese translations of Amoghavajra and Sego³¹ have *āspharaṇaka* samādhi. The latter is translated as “Space-filling” by Lessing.³²

Ennin interprets *āsphānaka* samādhi as breath counting meditation (ānāpāna).³³ He writes that in this meditation the mind and body should be still. The lips and teeth are closed and both eyes are slightly opened. Mindfulness of breathing is practiced to stop the obstructions of confusion, dissipation, etc. This is practiced by the slow learning Mahāyānists, Hīnayānists and heretics. If one can quickly enter the path of this sūtra there is no need to rely on this meditation.³⁴

According to Donjaku, it is through *āsphānaka* meditation that one enters the first of the five stages of religious practice known in Japanese as *Tsūdatsushin*. Quoting from the *I kuei*³⁵ he writes:

“On *āsphānaka*, *ā* means the absence of. *Spānaka* means consciousness. This is a samādhi where the mind is held in equilibrium. *Ka* means body. One should say (this is a samādhi where) there is absence of the consciousness and the body is held in equilibrium.”³⁶

Donjaku clearly states this is not breath counting meditation.³⁷ Rather, in this meditation, one should abide in quietude and equilibrium, and by the knowledge of the absolute truth, visualize countless Buddhas in space, as numerous as sesame seeds. Through this samādhi one realizes that all

defilements and obstructions are like a ring of fire, an echoe in an empty valley, etc. In such a meditation one does not perceive the body-mind complex and one knows all things are without an intrinsic nature.³³

密
教
文
化

Donjaku also says Sarvārthasiddhi is another name for Samantabhadra.³⁹ This is the mind of enlightenment. The seat of enlightenment is the devotee's own mind. The Sambhogakāyas are the devotee's bodies of equality knowledge.⁴⁰ When the Shingon practitioner first undergoes an initiation into the *Vajradhātu* maṇḍala he/she receives the *bodhicitta* precepts and practices this visualization of five features.

While *āsphānaka* cannot be interpreted as Ennin does strictly as breathcounting it is clear that the Shingon tradition orally taught a preliminary practice prior to the *āsphānaka* samādhi which involved stilling the breathing process as described by Ennin. This is explained, for example, in sources #1 and #11 above. First the breath is quieted. Then the letter *hūṃ* is visualized (a symbol of the mind of enlightenment) entering and exiting the body with the breath. During this visualization the tongue is held stationary touching the roof of the mouth and the body is held erect and still in a lotus position. While identifying with the letter *hūṃ* consciousness of the body and mind subsides. Hereafter one enters the *āsphānaka* samādhi and cultivates the wisdom that observes the objects of the mind free from discrimination. All *kleśas*, skandhas, etc. are known to be without an abiding, intrinsic nature and are likened to various illusions. The objects of the mind Jichie says are thus known to arise from the *ālaya* consciousness; one hereby knows they all arise based on one's own mind. This visualization practice leads to a state of profound quietude and equilibrium which, however, must not be attached to. This is followed in our text by the *pañcābhisambodhi* practice which leads to the realization of the intrinsic nature of the mind and body (recall above consciousness

of the mind and body is absent). While abiding in this samādhi countless numbers of Sambhogakāya Buddhas are visualized filling the air. One abides in the tenth *bhūmi* gained by the enlightened Bodhisattvas of the three vehicles (one has yet to enter the Buddha stage). After being exhorted by the Sambhogakāya Buddhas and leaving the *āspḥānaka* samādhi one moves into the causal stage of the Shingon school and beyond the ten *bhūmis*.⁴¹

Donjaku gives the following names⁴² for these five stages of religious practice: 1) *Tsūdatsuhonshin* (通達本心); 2) *Shubodaishin* (修菩提心); 3) *Jōkongōshin* (成金剛心); 4) *Shōkongōshin* (證金剛身); 5) *Busshinenman* (佛身圓滿). His discussion of these stages is as follows.

1) *Shin* of *Tsūdatsuhonshin* means the mind of enlightenment. *Tsūdatsu* means to see the path (i.e., this is the practice of visualizing the mind of enlightenment symbolized by the moon). He says that visualization of the letter A is a means to perfect the visualization of the moon. In regards to the latter he quotes from the *Bodaishinron*:

“The mind of the common person is like a closed lotus. The mind of a Buddha is like a full moon...The practitioner should visualize a sun or moon disc in the mind. By practicing this visualization one will radiate the original mind’s natural purity. Moreover, this should be like the full moon’s light which pervades space without distinctions... This is called the pure Dharmadhātu and also the sea of prajñā pāramitā and truth. It can encompass manifold and countless, precious gem samādhis...Why is the example made with a moon disc? To create the round, bright form of a full moon is similar to encouraging the mind of enlightenment.”⁴³

The devotee should practice this visualization for a long time. Cultivating and perfecting it, it should not be ignored and forced.⁴⁴

2) The second stage is where the visualized moon is seen constantly.

Non-discriminating knowledge is hereby cultivated. Quoting again from the *Bodaishinron* Donjaku writes “If one, just for a moment, visualizes it, this is called seeing reality...If one constantly sees it this is to enter the first Bodhisattva *bhūmi*.”⁴⁵ Here one first should attain a stable mind whereby joy is experienced, i.e., this is the *pramuditā bhūmi*. Donjaku says this stage includes all practices from the first *bhūmi* up until the tenth *bhūmi*.⁴⁶

3) Now one attains mastery of the tenth *bhūmi* although the mind is still affected by the impressions of the storehouse consciousness. The thunderbolt is visualized to strengthen the mind of enlightenment which has been awakened. This thunderbolt visualized in the moon disc has five prongs which emit rays of light. This represents the unstained, pure Buddha knowledge. Here one attains the initial stage of *Tōgaku* (等覺), i.e., enlightenment.⁴⁷

4) The fourth stage of realizing the thunderbolt mind is the stage where one receives an *ācārya* consecration, equivalent to the thunderbolt *samādhi*. The crown placed on the head during this consecration consists of the five Buddhas and the thunderbolt one holds in the hand indicates one is the Lord of the teaching. The consecration is called *Vajradhātu* because all the deities of the *Vajradhātu* maṇḍala enter the body. *Sattvavajra* means to realize the thunderbolt at the time of the consecration.⁴⁸

5) In the final stage one's body becomes a maṇḍala body, i.e., one becomes fully enlightened. The Buddhas of the five quarters enter the body. These are endowed with the three mysteries and perfect the devotee. Being thus endowed with the three mysteries and reciting the mantra, one perfects the realization gained in stage four.⁴⁹

Buddhaguhya and other Indian commentators also give an explanation of the *pañcābhisaṃbodhi* practice.⁵⁰ The devotee first practices breath

meditation whereby the six senses are quieted and concentration can begin. The tongue is placed against the palate, the eyes are half closed and the body should be sitting in an upright posture. Once the body and mind are still one is to concentrate the mind with the mantra “*Oṃ* I perform thought penetration.”

In regards to breath meditation, Padmavajra says *prāṇa* (wind) issues from all openings of the body and the perceptive consciousness usually rides on these winds. By stopping the inhalation and exhalation process it is possible to gain concentration by stopping the flow of consciousness to the external world.

When the moon disc is seen in the mind Buddhaguhya says the devotee realizes the principle of *śūnyatā* or the void. The moon disc at first is not constantly seen because in the next stage the Mahā-bodhisattva is made to say “That form of a moon disc I see just as a moon disc.” This is because habitual mental patterns have not been completely purified and one’s merits and insight are immature. Buddhaguhya says the mark of the moon disc which appears is a sign of the devotee appearing as the principle deity of worship.

In the second stage the moon is made to shine brightly like a full, autumn moon. Padmavajra like Donjaku says the accomplishments of this stage correspond with the first nine *bhūmis*. According to Ānandagarbha the mantra “*Oṃ* I produce the thought of enlightenment” increases the light of the moon. Śākyamitra says the moon visualized here is like the full moon of the fifteenth day of the month. He also says the first stage corresponds with mirror-like knowledge and the self-nature of Akṣobhya while the second stage corresponds with equality knowledge and the self-nature of Ratnasambhava. (The Japanese likewise makes these same correlations of the five Buddhas and the five stages.)⁵¹

In the third stage Buddhaguhya says a five-pronged thunderbolt should be visualized in the moon disc to strengthen the mind of enlightenment. This symbolizes the five wisdoms. Both Śākyamitra and Ānandagarbha say this practice is correlated with discriminative knowledge and Amitābha.

Ānandagarbha and Śākyamitra both equate the fourth stage with the self-nature of Amoghasiddhi. Buddhaguhya says that by the correct and long visualization of the thunderbolt in the moon it becomes clear and stable and thereby the practitioner becomes the *Vajradhātu* consisting of the body, speech and mind mysteries of all the Tathāgatas.

Buddhaguhya says the final stage is a means the devotee has of unifying the radiating light of the moon. That is, with the body becoming the radiant moon one illumines all worlds as the Bhagavat Vairocana. Padmavajra adds that now one appears as a *Niṣyandakāya* with radiant marks.

IV Conclusion

In general terms Kūkai comments as follows on the effects of this practice:

“If this visualization is perfected visible are the pure and impure lands in the ten directions; all sentient beings in the six transmigratory paths; the practitioners of the three vehicles; the creation and destruction of the worlds in the three times; the differences of karma of sentient beings; the activities of Bodhisattvas in stages leading to enlightenment and all Buddhas in the three times. By realizing the body of the principle deity of worship one will fulfill all the acts and vows of Samantabhadra...Thus, it is this samādhi which enables one to perfect the self-nature of all Buddhas; to realize the Dharmakāya of all Buddhas, to realize the innate wisdom of the Dharmadhātu, and, to perfect the Svabhāvakāya, Sambhogakāya, Nirmāṇakāya and Niṣyandakāya of Mahāvairocana Buddha. Since the yogin has not yet realized this, it is fitting that this is cultivated.”⁵²

It is clear from this that Kūkai taught that this samādhi would lead to complete enlightenment as understood in the Shingon school. That it is unquestionably difficult to perfect, however, is indicated in different ways. First, Kūkai urges his followers to cultivate it—that it could lead to enlightenment does not obscure the fact that it was a practice only for those who had earlier mastered meditation practices associated with the other Buddhist schools (these are outlined in Kūkai’s *Hizō hōyaku*.) As Saisen and even Ennin put it, it was a practice for those in the fast lane, fast learners, those who had gone beyond the traditional Bodhisattva realizations (in former lives perhaps) and entered the Buddhayāna.⁵³ This practice is found in and still remains an integral part of all *Vajradhātu vidhis* so it would be continuously “practiced” over the lifespan of the Shingon adherent initiated into its ritual-visualization order. One reason, perhaps, for the numerous examples of abbreviated Shingon *vidhis* in Japan,⁵⁴ soon after Kūkai introduced *vidhis*, is that much time, indeed, could be spent mastering similar “short” visualizations in any context. Long rituals accompanying these visualization practices weren’t always the rule.

Common to both the Japanese and Tibetan interpretations of this practice are their correlations of the five stages with the five Buddhas. Also, each associate intimately a mantra recitation with each visualization practice—it is the mantra that encourages the success of the visualization. This emphasis on mantra recitation is true to the correlation of this text traditionally with the mystery of speech.

The perfection of this practice leads to an enlightenment characterized by five wisdoms. Saisen states that whoever quickly attains this enlightenment is not aware of there being five stages of practice as such. This practice here is divided into stages for those requiring time to perfect it. He also goes on to say that after the *pañcābhisaṃbodhi* practice is completed

in the *Vajradhātu vidhi* the yogin becomes a self-oriented Sambhogakāya Buddha since one abides in the seat of enlightenment in the *vidhi*. The exact ramifications of Padmavajra's statement (and the statements of other Indian and Tibetan commentators on the results of this practice) that the yogin becomes a *Niṣyandakāya* should be investigated to see if his teachings differed as to the results or effects of this practice.

It is remarkable that after so many centuries this tradition on the *pañcābhisambodhi* practice is so little changed and still continues. After an early canonization of the Shingon teachings related to this practice the promise of enlightenment by the master of this practice is still maintained.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

KBZ Kōbō Daishi Zenshū

KM Kokuyaku Mikkyō

NDK Nihon Daizōkyō

SZ Shingonshū Zensho

T Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō

1. See *Mikkyō Daijiten* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1983), p. 613. The Chinese translation 五相成身觀 can be found in T. 18, p. 284c, 1.20ff. and elsewhere.
2. The full title in Sanskrit is *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*. The Japanese name of this text, the *Kongōchōkyō*, is based on Amoghavajra's three chūan translation of Part I, Chapter I, of the full text. (T. 18, No. 865, pp. 207–223). Of course, Kūkai never saw the Sanskrit text and, instead, introduced Amoghavajra's translation. Nevertheless, Amoghavajra's translation is very faithful to the Sanskrit text directly translated here. The *vidhi* (Jap. *shidai*) which incorporated the *pañcābhisambodhi* practice, in turn, are based on T. 18, No. 873, also translated by Amoghavajra. The *Tattvasaṃgraha* is also considered the fundamental text of the Yoga Tantras in Tibet. It was translated by Śraddhākaravarman and Rin chen bzan po (A.D. 958–1055) in the early tenth century: *De bshin gśegs pa thams cad kyi de kho na űid bsdus pa shes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*; Peking edition, *Bkaḥ Ḥgyur Mdo űa* (IX), 1a¹-162b²: Tibetan Tripiṭaka, No. 112,

- Vol. 4, pp. 217–283.
3. Cf. Hakeda, Y.S., *Kūkai Major Works* (New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1972), pp. 217–222.
 4. *Shōe Kongōchōkyō Bonpon Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgrahaṃ nāma mahāyāna-sūtram*, 2 Vols. (Koyasan Daigaku Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1983) 上 (Vol. 1), p. 15ff; this corresponds to T. 18, No. 865, p. 207cff.
 5. *Tattvāloka*, Tohoku Catalogue, No. 2510.
 6. *Kosalālamkāra*, Tohoku Catalogue, No. 2503.
 7. *Kongōchō daikyō ō kyō shiki*, T. 61, No. 2225.
 8. This translation and commentary were based in part on the author's Ph.D. dissertation: *An Annotated Translation of the Tattvasaṃgraha* (Part I) with an Explanation of the Role of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* Lineage in the Teachings of Kūkai (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1986).
 9. For the following section see also Shirō Sakai, “Gosōjōshinkan ni tsuite,” *Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism* (Mikkyōgaku Mikkyōshi Ronbunshū (Koyasan, 1965), pp. 397–409.
 10. Cf. F. D. Lessing and A. Wayman, *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems translated from Mkhas Grub Rje's Rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par gzag pa rgyas par brjod with original text and annotation* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978), pp. 29–35.
 11. The division of the five stages of religious practice by Donjaku are indicated. Ānandagarbha and Śākyamitra agree with Donjaku.
 12. T. 77, No. 2426, p. 374a.
 13. KBZ, Vol. 2, pp. 199–242.
 14. KBZ, Vol. 4, pp. 497–531 or NDK, Vol. 47, pp. 574–87 (Fifty-one vols. Tokyo: Nihon Daizōkyō Hensankai, 1914–21).
 15. KBZ, Vol. 4, pp. 466–96.
 16. NDK, Vol. 47, pp. 335–69.
 17. KM, *Jisō*, Vol. 4 (sixteen vols.; Tokyo: Kokuyaku Mikkyō Kankōkai, 1920–1925), pp. 13–48.
 18. Available in Kozen's commentary, *Kongōkaisho*, SZ, Vol. 24, pp. 63–204.
 19. SZ, Vol. 24, pp. 387–487.
 20. NDK, Vol. 36, *Mikkyōbu Shōso*, pp. 509–34; Y. 61, No. 2231.
 21. T. 78, No. 2504, pp. 895–909.
 22. T. 78, No. 2467, pp. 37–39.
 23. KM, *Jisō*, Vol. 2, pp. 25–92.

24. T. 78, No. 2474, p. 115.
25. Donjaku, *Kongōkai shidai shiki*, SZ, Vol. 24, p. 205a.
26. Raiyu, *Konkaihotsueshō*, T. 79, No. 2533, p. 27b, 1.15.
27. Ibid., p. 98b.
28. In regards to this mudrā, the little, ring and middle fingers of each hand folded together and facing upwards express the six destinies of living beings. The two index fingers and thumbs with their tips touching express the fourfold Dharmakāya which living beings must realize. Ibid., p. 98b and T. 18, p. 301c, 1.14.
29. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, Vol. 2 (3rd ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977), p. 111.
30. Cf. E. Sakano, *Kongōchōkyō ni Kansuru Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1976), p. 112.
31. T. 18, no. 882.
32. Loc. cit., p. 27. Cf. *Mahāvvyutpatti, Bonzōkanwa shiyakutaikō honyaku myōgitaishū*, Vol. 1, ed. by Ryōzōrō Sakaki (2 Vols.; 3rd ed.; Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1981), p. 114, entry number 1487; Unrai Wogiwara, compiler, *Kanyakutaishō Bonwadaijiten* (Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1979), p. 220; See esp. Kenryū Gachirin, “Āspharanaka ni tsuite,” *Ryūoku Daigaku Ronsō*, No. 302, 1932, pp. 212–236.
33. T. 61, No. 2223, p. 34a, 1.28ff.
34. On the background of Ennin’s interpretation see Ryōshū Misaki, “Jikaku Daishi no Kongōchōkyōshō no ichimondai; toku ni āspharaṇaka samādhi to zengakudaijō ni tsuite,” *Tendai Gakuhō*, No. 23, 1981, pp. 31–36.
35. T. 39, No. 1798, p. 812c, 1.18ff.
36. T. 61, No. 2225, p. 199c, 1.13ff.
37. Ibid., p. 200a, 1.8ff.
38. Ibid., p. 198b, 1.14ff.
39. Ibid., p. 199a, 1.3.
40. Ibid., p. 199b, 1.1ff.
41. Saisen, T. 78, No. 2474, p. 106–7, 111b. For the outcome of the canonization of Shingon doctrines and attainments vis a vis the older Mahāyāna tradition see Kiyota Minoru, *Shingon Buddhism: Theory and Practice* (Los Angeles & Tokyo: Buddhist Books International, 1978).
42. Ennin does not give any names. The *Bodaishinron* which Donjaku quotes gives the following names: 1) *Tsūdatsushin*; 2) *Bodaishin*; 3) *Kongōshin* (金

- 剛心); 4)*Kongōshin* (金剛身); 5) *Shōmujōbodai* (證無上菩提). See T. 32, No. 1665, p. 574b, 1.17ff.
43. T. 32, p. 574b, 1.22; p. 573c, 1.14ff.
 44. T. 61, pp. 201a, 1.15–204b, 1.1.
 45. T. 39, p. 574b, 1.9ff.
 46. T. 61, pp. 204b, 1.2–205a, 1.9.
 47. T. 61, pp. 205a, 1.10–205c, 1.17.
 48. T. 61, pp. 205c, 1.18–207b, 1.21.
 49. T. 61, pp. 207b, 1.22–208c, 1.1. Cf. KBZ, Vol. 2, pp. 208–9. The terms for the *pañcābhisambodhi* given by Donjaku follow Kūkai's terminology.
 50. The following information is taken from Taido Kitamura, “Tantrārthāvatāra o chūshin to shita Kongōchōkyō no Kenkyū (IV)”, *Mikkyōgaku*, No. 10, 1973, 26–43. Many of the preliminary exercises Buddhaguhya describes but which will not be discussed here are also found in the *Vajradhātu* recitation manuals in Japan, i.e., the visualization of the letters *ma* and *ṭa* in the eyes, etc.
 51. T. No. 2474, p. 108c; NDK, Vol. 36, p. 518.
 52. T. 77, No. 2427, p. 374a.
 53. T. 78, No. 2474, p. 106b ff.
 54. NDK, Vol. 47, pp. 570–73; pp. 370–81; T. 78, No. 2467, pp. 37–39; NDK, Vol. 47, pp. 568–9.