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A (Presumably Chinese) tantric scripture and its Japanese exegesis: the *Yuqi Jing* 瑜祇經 and the practices of the *Yogin*

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ABSTRACT

The *Yuqi jing* [*Sūtra* of the *Yogin*] is often listed as one of the most important scriptures of Tantric Buddhism in East Asia, but its content and contribution to the esoteric system have so far been little understood. Traditionally regarded as a translation by Vajrabodhi, it was probably compiled in China in the late eighth century. The role that it played in Chinese Buddhism, however, remains unclear. In medieval Japan on the other hand, the scripture appears to have been rediscovered and enjoyed great fortunes. Medieval interpreters intervened on the text by articulating novel conceptual associations, often expressed through curious imagery. At the same time, a new type of initiatory *abhiseka* informed by the *sūtra* emerged, which engendered a distinctive discourse on the yogic identities pursued by a tantric practitioner. What spurred such sudden interest in the *Yuqi jing* in medieval Japan? What did Japanese exegetes read into the text? This article addresses these issues by exploring ‘canonical’ commentaries and unpublished initiatory documents that have recently come to light in temple archives.

KEYWORDS

Yuqi jing 瑜祇經; Esoteric Buddhism; Tendai 天台; Shingon 真言; *abhiseka*; *yugi kanjō* 瑜祇灌頂

The *Jin'gangfeng louge yiqie yujia yuqi jing*/Jp. *Kongōbu rōkaku issai yuga yugi kyō* 金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 [*Sūtra* of the *Yogin* [Practicing] Total Union at the Adamantine Peak Pavilion; T no. 867, 18: 253–269], better known as *Yuqi jing*/Jp. *Yugikyō* 瑜祇經 (lit. *Yogin Sūtra*), is often listed as one of the most important scriptures of Tantric Buddhism in East Asia, arguably because it is one of the ‘five basic texts’ (*gobu hikyō* 五部祕經) of both major schools of the Japanese Tantric tradition, Tendai 天台 and Shingon 真言.¹ Yet its content and contribution to the Tantric system have so far been little understood. The role that it played in Chinese Buddhism remains unclear. Its doctrinal or ritual relevance for the initiators of Tantric Buddhism in Japan seems negligible. In medieval Japan, on the other hand, the scripture appears to have been rediscovered and enjoyed great fortunes. From the twelfth century onwards, commentaries of varying size and format were compiled by scholar-monks of the major Esoteric lineages, while the circulation of ‘secret transmission documents’ (*injin* 印信) attests to the emergence of a new type of initiatory *abhiseka* informed by the *sūtra* (called *yugi kanjō* 瑜祇灌頂) and performed across lineages.

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Thus, the significance attributed to the *Yuqi jing* appears to rely on medieval developments that occurred in Japan. What spurred such a sudden interest in the *Yuqi jing* among Japanese scholiasts? Which particular features of the scripture appealed to their concerns? What did Japanese exegetes read into this scripture and how did they translate it into performative terms? Attempting to address these questions, this article recovers the history of the *Yuqi jing* reception in Japan and explores the characteristics of its exegesis, both textual and ritual. Despite the wealth of material related to the *Yuqi jing* which has been preserved in Japanese archives, the *Yuqi jing* has been remarkably understudied in its whole. Several Japanese scholars have touched on specific aspects of the scripture in their analyses of sectarian positions and ritual imagery, but there is not a single monographic study of this scripture yet.² In my own research I, too, first approached the *Yuqi jing* as a canonical source to explore different areas of enquiry, namely, the medieval permutations of a deity called Aizen 愛染,³ which originates in this scripture, and Taimitsu hermeneutics, of which the *Yuqi jing* is a fundamental component.⁴ However, the closer analysis of recently discovered medieval exegetical and ritual works brought to the fore a more expansive role that the scripture might have played in shaping new paradigms for conceptualising Tantric practice.⁵ A more comprehensive analysis of the scripture and its Japanese reception is thus necessary to shed light on the prominence of the *Yuqi jing* in the Japanese medieval landscape, as well as its place within Tantric Buddhism.

1. The *Yuqi jing*, a (probably) Chinese scripture

1.1. Transmission

Modern scholars consider the *Yuqi jing* an ‘apocryphal’ scripture, probably compiled in China in the second half of the eighth century, sometime after the death of Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空 [705–774]) and before the arrival of the Japanese monk Kūkai 空海 (774–835) in 804.⁶ Traditionally it was held to be a text translated by Vajrabodhi ((Jin’gangzhi 金剛智 [671–741]) and as such it is included in the Taishō canon.⁷ However, no Sanskrit or Tibetan editions of the scripture exists. Further, doubts concerning the authorship of the Chinese text were raised by medieval Japanese scholiasts, who discussed the possibility of two different translators, puzzled by the fact that Kūkai (the first source to mention the scripture in Japan) had given it as translated by Vajrabodhi in one of his writings and by Amoghavajra in another.⁸

Curiously the *Yuqi jing* does not appear in contemporary official Chinese catalogues, nor among the manuscripts from Dunhuang. Its title first surfaces in a Chinese-Tibetan inventory of the Yuan-period, where it is noted that there is no Tibetan edition.⁹ It would later be included in the Ming-period edition of the canon that the Ōbaku school reprinted in Japan.¹⁰ Nonetheless, the scripture must have existed in Tang China and widely circulated in esoteric circles, because it is listed in the inventories of sacred texts acquired in China by three of the Japanese monks who travelled there in the ninth century, Kūkai, Eun 惠運 (798–869) and Shūei 宗叡 (809–884).¹¹ In addition, Chapter Nine of the *Yuqi jing* appears to have been transmitted independently, for it is recorded as a separate scripture in the catalogues of Ennin 圓仁 (794–864), Engyō 圓行 (799–852) and Shūei.¹²

Kūkai listed the *Yuqi jing* among the works that his disciples were required to study.¹³ It is also said that the name that Kūkai gave to the main temple complex he established on Kōyasan, Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺 (Temple of the Adamantine Peak) was inspired by the title of the *Yuqi jing*, which starts with the three characters *kongōbu* 金剛峰 in its long version. The *Yuqi jing* may therefore have had a symbolical role in the institutional development of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan, but as we shall see its impact on doctrinal or ritual exegesis cannot be discerned in Kūkai's writings.

1.2. Structure

The *Yuqi jing* is a composite scripture, constituted of twelve chapters loosely connected, suggesting that the scripture might be a collation of passages from different Indian works that were translated into Chinese and brought together in the text we have now. (See Table 1).

The scripture is not centred on a single deity, but presents a number of deities which would become significant in Japanese Buddhism as objects of individual worship (*besson* 別尊). Two of these seem to have been of interest only to Japanese interpreters, as they do not appear in the pantheon of Chinese or Tibetan Tantric Buddhism: the above-mentioned Aizen, to whom two chapters of the *Yuqi jing* are dedicated, Chapter Two, 'Zen'aibon' and Chapter Five, 'Aizenbon,' and a deity called Daishōkongō 大勝金剛, presented in Chapter Eight.¹⁴ The scripture also provides information on the ritual identity of deities that appear in Chapter Nine, Buddhhalocanā (Jp. Butsugen 佛眼) and the Five Ākāśagarbhas (Jp. Go Kokūzō 五虛空藏). Further, Chapter Eleven describes a distinct visualisation practice centred on a set of fifteen deities. As the title of the

Table 1. The Chapters of the *Yuqi jing* (T no. 867, vol. 18)

Chapter One	Introductory Chapter	序品第一
Chapter Two	The Righteous and Unshakeable Mind of the Love-Tainted King, the Unsurpassed Vajra King among All Tathāgatas	一切如來金剛最勝王義利堅固染愛王心品第二
Chapter Three	The Rank of Great Acarya Encompassing All Tathāgatas	攝一切如來大阿闍梨物品第三
Chapter Four	Vajrasattva's <i>bodhicitta</i>	金剛薩埵冒地心品第四
Chapter Five	King Aizen	愛染王品第五
Chapter Six	The Encompassing Method of the Four Yoga Practices, the Unsurpassed Principle of the Excellent, Resplendent King among All Tathagata-Crowns, which is Difficult to Destroy but Destroys Evil Everywhere	一切佛頂最上遍照王勝義難摧摧邪一切處瑜伽四行攝法品第六
Chapter Seven	The Yogic Accomplishment of the Great Victorious Adamantine Mind among All Tathāgatas	一切如來大勝金剛心瑜伽成就品第七
Chapter Eight	The Great Vow of Unsurpassed Truth of the Great Victorious Adamantine Crown among All Tathāgatas	一切如來大勝金剛頂最勝真實大三昧耶品第八
Chapter Nine	The Great Accomplishments of Vajraśrī	金剛吉祥大成就品第九
Chapter Ten	The Adamantine Rules of All Tathāgatas' Inner Goma	一切如來內護摩金剛軌儀品第十
Chapter Eleven	The Accomplishment of Vajrasattva's Awakening Mind through an Initiation [performed] by Inner Actions	金剛薩埵菩提心內作業灌頂悉地品第十一
Chapter Twelve	The Great Adamantine Flaming Mouth who Subdues All Devils	大金剛焰口降伏一切魔怨品第十二

chapter recites, this represents the ‘Accomplishment of Vajrasattva’s Awakening Mind through an Initiation performed by Inner Actions’ (*Kongōsatta bodaishin naisagō kanjō shicchi* 金剛薩埵菩提心内作業灌頂悉地).

1.3. A ‘combinatory’ scripture?

The *Yuqi jing* belongs to the textual lineage of the *Jin’gangding jing* 金剛頂經, one of the two major scriptures of East Asian Tantric Buddhism and the canonical basis of the Adamantine world (Jp. *kongōkai* 金剛界) *maṇḍala*.¹⁵ This can be inferred from the full title of the *Yuqi jing* and from the system that underlines its narrative: the text continuously refers to the five families and the 37 deities of the *maṇḍala* of the Adamantine world.¹⁶

Yet modern Japanese scholarship has held the *Yuqi jing* as an example of Tantric texts that combines the two maṇḍalic realities crystallised in the Womb world (*taizōkai* 胎藏界) and Adamantine world. This contention draws on the fact that at various points the *Yuqi jing* uses *mudrās* and *mantras* originated in either the Womb or the Adamantine systems. Combinatory constructions have also been read in the pairing of deities portrayed in the scripture, Aizen and Vajrasattva (Jp. Kongōsatta 金剛薩埵) in Chapter Five and Buddhalocanā and Ekākṣarauṣṇīṣacakra (Jp. Ichiji kinrin 一字金輪) in Chapter Nine, perceived as sexual opposites. For instance, Misaki Ryōshū 三崎良周 (1921-2010) pointed out that Ekākṣarauṣṇīṣacakra is generated by the mantra of Buddhalocanā, mother of all the buddhas (*issai butsumo butsumo* 一切仏母仏眼) and that the instructions for the corresponding *maṇḍala* allocate the male deity, Ekākṣarauṣṇīṣacakra, to a seat directly in front of his female partner, proving that Buddhalocanā was understood as Ekākṣarauṣṇīṣacakra’s *śakti*.¹⁷ Following the hint of Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 (1868–1927) at the beginning of the twentieth century, scholars have suggested that the combinatory practice of the Womb and Adamantine systems (*taikon gōgyō* 胎金合行 or *myōgō* 冥合), which today is regarded as the fundamental pattern of Tantric Buddhism in Japan, had already occurred in China in the second half of the Tang period.¹⁸ These scholars see the pattern reflected in a number of scriptures and ritual manuals compiled at that time, which incorporate elements of both systems – another example often given is that of *Fahua guanzhi yigui* 法華觀智儀軌, the canonical source for the esoteric rituals of the *Lotus Sūtra*, also attributed to Amoghavajra.¹⁹ However, the extent to which this association can be traced back to China remains controversial. Undoubtedly, to present it as a Chinese formulation served to legitimise the Japanese version of Tantric Buddhism and, within it, the sectarian theorization of the non-duality of the two maṇḍalic realities (*ryōbu funi* 兩部不二). Yet evidence for such development in China at the time of Amoghavajra is scant.²⁰ This issue cannot be addressed in any length in the context of this article, but it is crucial to take it into account and interrogate the available material as to when the *Yuqi jing* started being interpreted in combinatory terms.

To my knowledge there are no extant Chinese commentaries or ritual manuals on the *Yuqi jing* that can help reconstruct the formative stages of the scripture. A close analysis of early Japanese works that cite the *Yuqi jing* does not provide evidence of combinatory reading. Kūkai employed the text in some of his major works, such as *Benkenmitsu nikyōron* 辯顯密二教論 and *Jūjūshinron* 十住心論, as expression of the

Adamantine system. His position was clear to medieval commentators. Yūgi 佑宣 (1536–1612), for instance, would acknowledge that Kūkai used the *Yuqi jing* ‘to explain the tenets of the *Jin'gangding jing*, because he saw this *sūtra* as belonging to the Adamantine Textual lineage.’²¹ Kūkai did not write any commentary on the scripture. To him is attributed only a short explanatory work on Chapter Eight of the *Yuqi jing*, which consists of the procedures for a liturgy to Daishōkongō.²² Another writing of Shingon lineage, compiled by the imperial prince Shinjaku 眞寂法親王 (886–927), third son of Uda tennō 宇多天皇 (866–931), similarly gives only instructions on the *mudrās* and mantras to use for each chapter of the scripture.²³ Thus, the early interest in the scripture among Shingon scholar-monks does not support the suggestion that the scripture was imported and read as a combinatory scripture.

2. Annen's commentary: repositioning the *Yuqi jing*

A significant change in the interpretation of the *Yuqi jing* was triggered by Annen 安然 (841–889?), the Tendai monk known as the great systematiser of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism.

Annen compiled the first substantial commentary on the scripture, known as *Yugikyō shugyōbō* 瑜祇經修行法, or *Yugikyōsho* 瑜祇經疏.²⁴ This very influential work would become a reference manual for scholar-monks of all Tantric lineages in Japan interested in the hermeneutical and ritual practices of the *Yuqi jing*. Given that Annen never travelled to China, his interpretation may appear born out of distinctly Japanese concerns. It cannot be excluded, however, that it was precipitated by instructions he received from his masters, the Tendai monks who went to China after Kūkai.²⁵

Annen's exegesis contributed to a new assessment of the *Yuqi jing* both at the hermeneutical and the performative level and thus deserves dedicated attention.

2.1. Scholastic reframing

Annen elaborated a complex hermeneutics of the *Yuqi jing* whereby the scripture became a crucial term in the threefold system of Esoteric Buddhism created by Tendai scholiasts. Without entering in the technical details of the system, it is worth taking it into account for the consequences it will have on the medieval interpretation of the *Yuqi jing*. The starting point is once again the relation between the Womb and Adamantine worlds. Annen's predecessors had posited the two textual lineages as distinct because they were transmitted separately, but had devised an ‘accomplishment class’ (*soshitsuji* 蘇悉地) that functioned as their unifying element. This third element of the system is usually identified with the *Suxidi jieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯羅經, a text belonging to the Womb scriptural lineage – indeed so it appears in the writings of Ennin and Enchin. Annen, however, while maintaining the two Womb and Adamantine realities separate, unified them according to two distinct modes, one informed by the *Suxidi jieluo jing* and another by the *Yuqi jing*. The *Yuqi jing* became ‘the accomplishment method (*soshitsuji* 蘇悉地法) according to the Adamantine reality.’²⁶ In this way, Annen created an alternative system to Kūkai's interpretation of the two maṇḍalas as two and yet nondual (*nijifuni* 二而不二). Eventually he posited the practices of the *Yuqi jing* as a more complete ‘accomplishment practice’ than those of the *Suxidi jieluo jing* and ‘the essence of the

practices of the two *maṇḍalas*' (*ryōbu daihō no kanjin* 兩部大法之肝心).²⁷ This reading sealed the status of the scripture in Tendai and, at the same time, reinforced the significance of the Adamantine textual lineage for Taimitsu scholiasts.

2.2. Ritual transformation

Annen may also be seen to lay the foundations for ritual practices informed by the *Yuqi jing*. The beginning of *Yugikyō shugyōbō* may resemble a ritual manual more than a textual commentary, for there Annen presented fourteen types of practice that can be detected in the chapters of the scripture.²⁸ I shall here draw attention to two.

As mentioned above, the *Yuqi jing* includes *mudrās* and *mantras* associated to the Womb *maṇḍala* and the Adamantine *maṇḍala*. Annen focused on a crucial set called the 'eight syllable mantra [that engenders] the sudden enlightenment of the great compassion womb' (*daihi taizō tonshō hachiji shingon* 大悲胎藏頓証八字真言). This *mantra* appears in Chapter Nine of the *Yuqi jing*. Its title points to a Womb lineage provenance, great compassion (*daihi*) being a function embodied by the Womb *maṇḍala*.²⁹ Of the eight syllables of this mantra, *a vi ra hūṃ khaṃ hūṃ hrīḥ aḥ*, the first five are the seed-syllables of the five elements, earth, water, fire, wind and ether. Their visualization is a fundamental practice advocated in several passages of the *Dari jing* and further articulated in its *Commentary*.³⁰ The remaining three syllables embody three of the five buddhas of the Adamantine *maṇḍala*. By uttering this mantra, making the corresponding *mudrās*, and visualizing the eight syllables on his body, the practitioner is said to realize the unification of the two *maṇḍalic* realities.³¹ Annen thus was the first scholiast who put forward a ritual exegesis of the *Yuqi jing* in combinatory terms. Annen instructed the practitioner to distribute the eight syllables on eight parts of the body as explained in the *Dari jing*, but argued that with the method expounded in the *Dari jing* alone it was not possible to achieve the fulfilment of this practice. For that it was necessary to use the *Yuqi jing*, which subsumed the gist of the Adamantine lineage and helped demonstrate the indispensable combination of the two worlds ritually. Annen called this practice 'secret *abhiṣeka*' (*himitsu kanjō* 祕密灌頂), borrowing a term from the *Dari jing*.

In addition, Annen supplied a wealth of details on the meaning of another practice of syllable installation, described in Chapter Eleventh of the *Yuqi jing*. Annen's interpretation will be reused by all medieval ritualists for the performance of the initiatory *abhiṣeka* created according to that chapter, which would be known as *yogin* consecration (see below). Indeed later sectarian sources, such as Keikō's 敬光 (1740–95) *Sange gakusoku* 山家学則, attribute to Annen the origin of this initiation, which would eventually become the climax of the ritual training programme of Tendai tantric practitioners.³²

3. Medieval commentaries

3.1. Sources

Let me now turn to the medieval commentaries. I have mapped out the medieval exegetical production on the *Yuqi jing* across major lineages on the basis of extant works. (See also Table 2, arranged in chronological order).

Table 2. Major Japanese commentaries on the *Yuqi jing* (in chronological order).

Early period	
<i>Yugikyō gyōbōki</i> 瑜祇經行法記	Kūkai (774-835), attr.
<i>Yugikyō gyōbō</i> 瑜祇經行法	Annen (841-889?)
<i>Yugi sōgyō shiki</i> 瑜祇總行私記	Shinjaku (886-927)
Medieval Commentaries	
<i>Yugisotoran hiketsu</i> 瑜祇經秘決	Jitsuun (1105-1160), attr.
<i>Yugisotoran kuketsu</i> ㄩㄘㄘㄘㄘ(YU GI SU TRAM)口訣	Dōhan (1178-1252), dated 1224
<i>Yugisotoran kuden</i> ㄩㄘㄘㄘㄘ(YU GI SU TRAM)口伝	Dōhan, compiled in 1241
<i>Kongōōinryū hiketsu</i> 金剛王院流秘決	n.d., early Kamakura period (1185-1333)
<i>Yugikyō kenmon</i> 瑜祇經見聞	Enni Benn'en/ Daiei, compiled in 1274
<i>Hikyōketsu</i> 秘經決	Enni Benn'en/ Daiei, 1273-1274
<i>Yugikyō chōmonshō</i> 瑜祇經聽聞抄	Chōgō (1259-1350), compiled before 1334
<i>Yugikyō kuketsu nukigaki</i> 瑜祇經口決抜き書き	Kōshū (1276-1350), compiled in 1312
<i>Yugi kaishinshō</i> 瑜祇開心抄	n.d., Kamakura period (1185-1333)
<i>Yugikyō jūnibon daiyō</i> 瑜祇經十二品大要	n.d., Kamakura period (1185-1333)
<i>Yugikyō shūkoshō</i> 瑜祇經拾古鈔	Raiyu (1226-1304), dated 1284
<i>Taimitsu keigushō</i> 胎密契愚鈔	Dōshō (n.d.) or Son'en Shinnō (1298-1365)
<i>Yuga yugi hikanshō</i> ㄩㄘㄘㄘㄘ(YU GA YU GI) 秘肝鈔	Monkan (1278-1357), compiled before 1334
<i>Yugikyōhō</i> 瑜祇經法	Monkan, compiled in 1339
<i>Yugisotoran</i> ㄩㄘㄘㄘㄘ(YU GI SU TRAM)	Monkan, compiled in 1339
<i>Yugi hiyōketsu</i> 瑜祇秘要決	Shōshin, compiled in 1357
<i>Yugikyō hidenshō</i> 瑜祇經秘伝抄	Yūgi, compiled in 1576
Early Modern Period	
<i>Yugikyō gijutsu</i> 瑜祇經義述	Yūhan (or Yūban) 宥範 (1843-1920)

A number of these commentaries have been included in the sectarian collections of the Shingon and Tendai schools or in standard editions of the Buddhist canon, such as the *Nihon daizōkyō*. Thus, we can assume that these writings were considered representative of scholastic positions, either because their authors were erudite and prolific scholar-monks, or because the texts exerted considerable influence on the tradition. Others commentaries have been printed in the publications of specific temple archives, such as Kanazawa bunko, for their historical value. Others still remain unpublished. I shall review the most prominent works according to their sectarian affiliation, not because I find the sectarian division of Buddhist exegeses particularly useful to investigate the *Yuqi jing* reception, but because this helps underscore the presence of the scripture in canonical corpora.

Shingon commentaries on the *Yuqi jing* are included in Volume Five of *Shingonshū zensho* 眞言宗全書 and Volume Seven of *Zoku Shingonshū zensho* 續眞言宗全書. Based on intertextual citations and the number of extant later copies, three works appear to have been particularly influential. The first, *Yugisotoran hiketsu* ㄩㄘㄘㄘㄘ秘決, in two *kan*, is attributed to the Daigoji 醍醐寺 monk Jitsuun 實運 (1105-1160) and consists of short comments on important passages of each chapter of the scripture.³³ The other two are writings by Dōhan 道範 (1178-1252), eminent scholar-monk of Kōyasan: *Yugisotoran kuden* ㄩㄘㄘㄘㄘ口傳, in two *kan*, dated 1224;³⁴ and *Yugisotoran kuketsu* ㄩㄘㄘㄘㄘ口訣, in five *kan*, based on the oral transmission that Dōhan is said to have received from Jitsugen 實賢 (1176-1249), abbot of Daigoji, in 1241.³⁵ These texts refer extensively to Annen's commentary, attesting to the continuing significance of the Tendai scholiast in the

medieval period.³⁶ Noteworthy is also the later *Yugikyō hidenshō* 瑜祇經祕傳抄, an extensive exegesis in six *kan* by Yūgi 瑜祇 (1536–1612), erudite monk with a broad intersectorian training who would become the second patriarch of Chishakuin 智積院.³⁷

Outside sectarian collections, we find a *Yugikyō shūkoshō* 瑜祇經拾古鈔 by Raiyu's 賴瑜 (1226–1304), eminent Shingon scholar-monk trained on Mount Kōya as well as Daigoji and Ninnaji 仁和寺. Dated 1284, it is said to record the transmission of Jōhen 靜遍 (1165–1223).³⁸ Connected to the spread of Esoteric Buddhism in Eastern Japan is the *Yugi kaishinshō* 瑜祇開心抄, a lengthy, systematic commentary to the *Yuqi jing* in the archives of Shōmyōji 稱名寺 (Kanazawa bunko), which borrows heavily from Annen's work as well as Jitsuun's transmission. Of an unknown author but probably dating from the Kamakura period, it was one of the several works on the *Yuqi jing* owned and used by Kenna 劔阿 (1261–1338), the second abbot of Shōmyōji 稱名寺.³⁹ Also owned by Kenna and with inscription by him is a *Yugikyō jūnibon daiyō* 瑜祇經十二品大要, a small-format commentary on the twelve chapters of the scripture.⁴⁰ Finally, not yet published are three commentaries by Monkan Kōshin 文觀弘真 (1278–1357), head administrator (*chōja* 長者) of Tōji 東寺, head (*zasu* 座主) of Daigoji and counsellor of emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐 (1288–1339). Among them, the *Yuga yugi hikanshō* 毘打毘打秘肝鈔 is a beautifully illustrated manuscript that has recently come to light in the archives of Ninnaji.⁴¹ It was probably compiled before 1344 in Yoshino 吉野, where Monkan is also said to have bestowed a *yogin abhiṣeka* to emperor Godaigo and the empress dowager.⁴² Monkan inherited the Sanbōin 三寶院 lineage (one of the Daigoji lineages).

Fewer of the medieval Taimitsu commentaries have been made available in print. The volumes of the *Zoku Tendai shū zensho* dedicated to Tantric texts includes three writings, which attest to the concern with the *Yuqi jing* in the main Taimitsu lineage, Sanmon 山門, as well as in the influential Yōjō 葉上 lineage initiated by Yōsai 榮西 (1141–1215). The first, *Yugikyō kenmon* 瑜祇經見聞, is the record of a series of lectures given by Enni Ben'en 圓爾辨圓 (i.e., Shōichi Kokushi 聖一國師 [1202–80]) at Tōfukuji 東福寺 in 1274, compiled by his disciple Chikotsu Daie 癡兀大慧 (1229–1312).⁴³ It is a short work which explains salient passages of the *sūtra* in a question and answer format, with a long digression on tropes from the *Putixin lun* at the end, followed by an embryological chart (on the latter, see below). Enni is better known as a Zen monk, but at Tōfukuji he also continued the Tantric lineage of Yōsai, having received Tantric teachings and initiations from two of his disciples, Tōyō Eichō 東陽榮朝 (1428–1504) and Anin 阿忍.⁴⁴ Interestingly, two other manuscripts recording instruction that Enni gave on the *Yuqi jing* in 1273 and 1274 have recently come to light in the Ōsu 大須 archives at Shinpukuji, Nagoya and have been printed in a multi-volume collection of medieval Zen works. One, titled *Hikyōketsu* 秘經決, by and large corresponds to the text included in *Zoku Tendai shū zensho*.⁴⁵ (Figure 1a & b) The second manuscript, titled *Yugikyō kenmon (daiichi)* 瑜祇經見聞 (第一), is a more extended discussion of the meaning of the *sūtra*, starting from its title, and the particularities of each chapter.⁴⁶

The other two texts published in the *Zoku Tendai shū zensho* were produced in the Sanmon Anō 穴太 branch: *Yugikyō kuketsu nukigaki* 瑜祇經口決拔書, by Kōshū 光宗 (1276–1350), the compiler of the monumental *Keiran shūyōshū* 溪嵐拾葉集, is a chapter by chapter explanation of the meaning of the *sūtra*, composed according to the colophon in 1312, when Kōshū received transmission from his master, Chōgō 澄豪 (1259–1350)⁴⁷; *Yugikyō chōmonshō* 瑜祇經聽聞抄 is a lengthy and complex work that Chōgō compiled

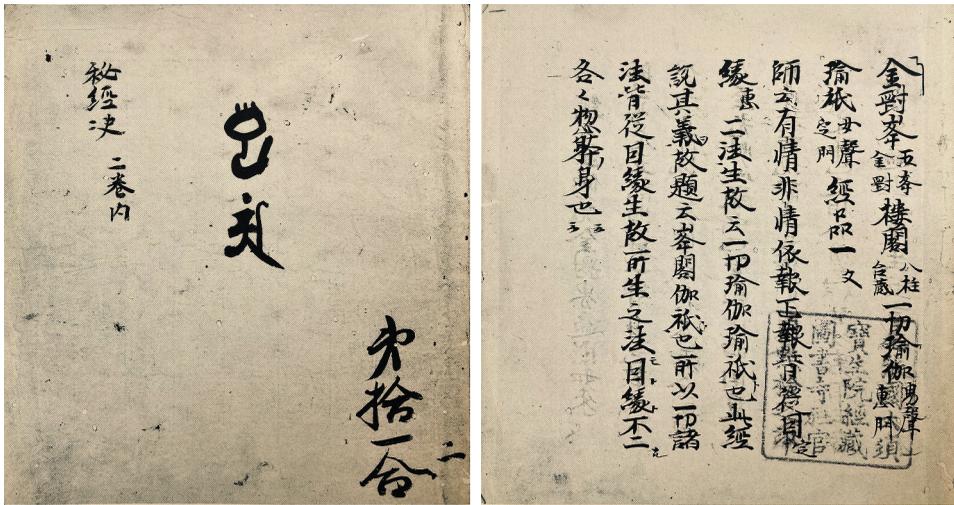


Figure 1. Cover page (1a) and first page (1b) of *Hikyōketsu* 秘經決. Ōsu bunko, Shinpukuji (Nagoya). Reproduced with permission.

before 1334. Although this work centres on interpretations of the Anō lineage, it also includes readings upheld by other branches of Tantric Buddhism, Tendai (for instance from the Onjōji 園城寺 line) as well as Shingon (Tōji 東寺 line). It may be considered a Taimitsu summa of exegeses and oral instructions on the *Yuqi jing*, of the same standing as Dōhan's *Kuketsu* introduced above.⁴⁸ To these writings we should add commentaries that do not bear the scriptural connection in the title. One eminent case is *Taimitsu keigushō* 台密契愚抄, a long commentary attributed to Enni's disciple Dōshō 道照 (Tōfukuji lineage) according to one manuscript, and to Son'en shinnō 尊円親王 (1298–1365), abbot of Shōrein (Sanmai 三昧流 lineage as transmitted by Jien 慈円 [1155–1225]), according to other extant editions.⁴⁹ Speaking of Jien's lineage, it may be worth mentioning that two unpublished manuscripts that may well represent the oldest dated medieval sources on the scripture are in the Shōrein 青蓮院 collection (Kissui 吉水 Archives) and are expected to be included in a forthcoming volume dedicated to Sōjitsu.

This basic inventory of exegetical works on the *Yuqi jing* gives sufficient evidence to assert that between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries knowledge of the scripture spread throughout different Tantric lineages. Although it may be convenient to arrange these works along sectarian lines, in fact individual interpretations circulated across sectarian boundaries. This fluidity partly ensued from the multifarious training that monks received, in the medieval period as well as before. For instance, the ninth century *Yugi sōgyō shiki* by Shinjaku (mentioned above) referred to Kūkai's (textual) transmission as well as to the oral transmission received from Sōō 相應 (831–918) of Mudōji 無動寺 (Ennin's lineage), attesting that Shinjaku was trained both at Ninnaji and on Mount Hiei.⁵⁰ In-text references offer ampler evidence of exchanges: one finds citations of commentaries compiled within competing lineages as well as details of ritual instructions given by masters belonging to different lineages. Daie, for instance, in a passage of the *Kenmon* refers to a 'Kanjō shiki' 灌頂私記 (Personal notes on the *abhiseka*) which, he glosses, was the 'personal record of another lineage' (*tamon no shiki* 他門ノ私記).⁵¹

Further, in the version known as *Yugikyō kenmon* (*daiichi*) Daie states to have presented ‘the fundamentals of the transmissions of Tōji, Tendai and Onjōji lineages.’⁵² *Kuketsu nukigaki* is explicit about the intersectarian use of the *Yuqi jing* and suggests that the Tōji and Tendai lineages share the same interpretations of the *yugi* rituals. From the end of the medieval period onwards major commentaries also appear to have been copied irrespective of the lineage where they were originally produced. Dōhan’s *Yugisotoran kuketsu*, for instance, was copied by Tendai monks, as a perusal of copies preserved at Eizan bunko archives reveal. A point in case is a *Yugikyō kikigaki* 瑜祇經聞書, copied in 1561 together with the *Yuqi jing* by the Tendai monk Shunkei 舜慶 (1522–1604). Despite the different title, this document turns out to be a copy of Dōhan’s work, transmitted to Shunkei as part of his training.⁵³

3.2. Format and content

As it is evident from their titles, several medieval commentaries presented themselves as ‘secret transmissions’ (*hidenshō*), ‘oral decisions’ (*kuketsu*), ‘oral transmission’ (*kudensho*), betraying their connection with (and perhaps origin within) an initiatory ritual context. Also titles such as *kenmon* (lit. ‘what was seen and heard’) or *chōmonshō* (lit. ‘notes of things heard’), which may be taken to indicate the public delivery of a lecture or a seminar (*dangi* 談義), identify a more intimate genre of medieval exegetical texts meant to convey the inner understanding of a teacher in experiential terms (‘seeing and hearing’), as it occurs in a ritual setting.⁵⁴ In terms of subject matter, the commentaries also encompassed performative issues, intersecting more doctrinal points with specific ritual matters. This may be a consequence of the very nature of the *Yuqi jing*, which includes a wealth of ritual elements, mantras, *mudrās* and visualisations, as well as indication for ritual programmes. Chōgō’s *Yugikyō chōmonshō*, for instance, in the exegesis of Chapter Eleven spends several pages to explain the steps and symbolic meaning of the *yogin abhiṣeka*, as well the relation this bears to other types of initiations. The style of the commentaries, too, is at times more fragmentary than discursive, as one may expect from ritual instruction manuals.

Despite their titles, many of the works surveyed above are long writings that follow the traditional formats of Sinitic *sūtra* commentaries, either a line-by-line exegesis (*mongu* 文句) or one focused on the meaning (*genji* 玄義). Accordingly, they provide an analysis of the title of the scripture, its main deities and a chapter by chapter elucidation of its content, with some chapters drawing more attention than others. Let us take a closer look at Dōhan’s *Yugisotoran kuden*, which unfolds along this basic pattern. It opens with a long section on the title of the *Yuqi jing* (*daimoku no koto* 題目事), divided in five entries: ‘the place where the scripture was expounded’ (*sessho no koto* 説處事), which compares the narrative of the *Yuqi jing* with the place and sequence of preaching in other scriptures of the *Jingandīng* lineage (*Kongōchō tō sessō sessho shidai no koto* 金剛頂等説相説處次第事); the time of preaching (*setsuji no koto* 説時事); the buddha who preaches the scripture (*kyōshū* 教主); its abode (*shojū* 所住) and its retinue (*kenzoku* 眷屬). The Introductory Chapter addresses significant points of the preface (*jobun daiji no koto* 序文大事事) and highlights the Adamantine affiliation of the scripture by listing the seed syllables of the 37 venerable ones in the central assembly of the Adamantine world *maṇḍala* as well as a strophe on the 16 great bodhisattvas (a group within the 37 deities).

Within these sections, Dōhan carries out a line-by-line exegesis of text. Similarly, Chapter Two ('Zen'aiō') discusses the chapter title and major tropes in the chapter: the so-called 'samādhi of the hidden organ of the horse'; the 'hidden and profound' matter of all Tathāgatas; the lion's roaring; the identity of the *cakravartin* buddhas; the relation between Zen'ai and Aizen. Of the remaining chapters, some are elucidated in more abridged form than others, by selecting a single line or an expression that identifies a concept or deity expounded in the chapter. The exegesis is carried out through equivalences to other elements of the maṇḍalic worlds, references to established meanings within the Esoteric tradition and quotations from previous masters, forming a complex scholastic framework around the scripture. Interestingly, Dōhan also draws connections between different chapters. For instance, he links the Introductory Chapter and the Chapter on Aizen arguing that both illustrate the notion of duality, the first by interpreting the title of the *sūtra*, the latter by interpreting the names of Aizen and Zen'ai (these two names are composed of the same two characters in inverted position).⁵⁵ Eventually Dōhan claims that each of the twelve chapters of the *Yuqi jing* embody the meaning of non-duality, and this makes the scripture into a consistent whole. Dōhan also connects chapters in order to clarify the rituals they outline. For instance, he links Chapter Ten and Chapter Eleven in liturgical terms, explaining how the consecration ritual presented in Chapter Eleven is contingent on the practice of inner fire ritual (*nai goma* 内護摩) prescribed in Chapter Ten.⁵⁶

In short, extended commentaries, such as Dōhan's exegesis, dissect the scripture in multiple segments in order to recompose it according to the specific meaning a scholiast claims it embodies.

3.3. Reading duality into the *Yuqi jing*: the title of the *sūtra*

At the beginning of his exegesis Dōhan argued that there is an implicit hermeneutical strategy embedded in the *Yuqi jing*, reflected also in its title. It consists in first positing the dualism of principle and cognition instantiated by the two *maṇḍalas* and then resolving it by using non-dualistic terms (*funi no gon* 不二之言), which Dōhan describes as the 'melodic sound of union' (*sōō no bon'on* 相應梵音).⁵⁷ This approach may be deemed to be the fundamental characteristic of medieval commentaries. Taken together, despite differences in structure and details of interpretation, all commentaries show that their compilers read elaborated expressions of duality and its overcoming in the *Yuqi jing*, and in so doing unequivocally transformed the scripture into a 'combinatory' scripture.

The exegesis of the title of the *Yuqi jing* is perhaps the most incisive example of this tendency. In directing their attention to the meaning of the title of the *Yuqi jing* medieval scholiasts followed an established Sino-Japanese exegetical tradition that saw in the title of a scripture its essence. One may recall, for instance, the well-known exegeses of the title of the *Lotus sūtra* in Tiantai treatises or the esoteric elucidations of the title (*kaidai* 解題) of non-esoteric scriptures, including the *Lotus Sūtra*, compiled by Kūkai in Japan.⁵⁸ The interpretation of the title of the *Yuqi jing* plays on the conventional dualistic motif of the two *maṇḍalas*. For this, too, parallels and antecedents may be found in the Japanese exegetical tradition of the *Lotus Sūtra*. For instance, *Kōen Hokkegi* 講演法華義, a work purporting to explain the esoteric meaning of the *Lotus Sūtra*, attributed to Enchin but probably compiled later, matches

the characters of the *Lotus Sūtra* title, *Myōhō renga* 妙法蓮華 (‘Lotus of the Wonderful Law’) to the two esoteric *maṇḍalas*: the two characters for *myō-hō* are said to embody the Womb *maṇḍala* and the two characters for *ren-ge* the Adamantine *maṇḍala*; eventually the title in its entirety is conceived as an embodiment of the non-dual nature of these *maṇḍalas*.⁵⁹ While this remains the essential interpretive pattern, the medieval commentaries on the *Yuqi jing* introduce new elements. To understand how this exegesis unfolded, one needs to focus on the full title of the *sūtra*, *Jin’gangfeng louge yiqie yujia yuqi jing*, Jpn. *Kongōbu rōkaku issai yuga yugikyō*. This title is unpacked by glossing each term with one or more Tantric concepts. For instance, Dōhan’s *Yugisotoran kuden* starts as follows:

The Adamantine peak (*Kongōbu* 金剛峯) is the Adamantine world (*kongōkai* 金剛界). Peak (*bu* 峯) means top (*chō* 頂). Pavilion (*rōkaku* 樓閣) indicates the Womb world (*taizōkai* 胎藏界). All (*issai* 一切) refers to all physical and mental elements (*shikishin shohō* 色心諸法) –matter (*shiki* 色) is the principle (*ri* 理), that is, Womb (*tai* 胎); mind (*shin* 心) is cognition (*chi* 智), that is, *vajra* (*kon[gō]* 金[剛]). *Yoga* (*yuga* 瑜伽) is the male voice; *yogi* (*yugi* 瑜祇) is the female voice. *Yuga yugi* 瑜伽瑜祇, taken together, signify perfect union (*sōō* 相應).⁶⁰

Thus, not only did Dōhan subsume the combination of the Adamantine and the Womb world in the title of the *Yuqi jing*. He also posited a male-female opposition by imaginatively reading the compound *yuga yugi* in gendered terms. According to medieval exegetes, the terms *yuga* and *yugi*, which in Sanskrit identify a practice (*yoga*) and its practitioner (*yogin*), would both mean *yoga*, *yuga* being the masculine form and *yugi* the feminine. By combining the two terms, perfect union (*yoga*, Jp. *sōō* 相應) is shown to be actualised. It is not clear where Japanese scholiasts appropriated such etymology from, for *yogi* is not a feminine noun in Sanskrit.⁶¹ Yet this turned out to be an effective hermeneutical strategy to convey the combinatory meaning of the scripture. Dōhan reiterates it across his commentary applying it also to specific deities from the scripture: Aizen and Zen’ai, for instance, are made to embody that sexual opposition.

This reading of the title of the *Yuqi jing* appears to have been shared across lineages, for one finds it in the same or slightly different format in different sources. Enni/Daie’s *Yugikyō kenmon* dissects the title accordingly (Figure 1b):

kongōbu 金剛峯 = five peaks 五峯 = Adamantine 金剛
rōkaku 樓閣 = eight pillars 八柱 = Womb 胎藏
issai yuga 一切瑜伽 = male voice 男聲 = gate of discernment 慧門
yugi 瑜祇 = female voice 女聲 = gate of meditation 定門.⁶²

Here the characters of the title are also matched to the architectural details of a *stūpa* called ‘*yogin stūpa*’ (*yugitō* 瑜祇塔), which would become a symbol of the scripture: ‘five peaks’ refer to the five spears with five rings each, which are depicted on the *stūpa*’s roof; ‘eight columns’ are the pillars inside the *stūpa* which support it.⁶³ (Figure 2) This numeric pairing provides the opportunity to reinforce the correlation with the two *maṇḍalas*, which can be identified by another set of five and eight, namely, the five Buddhas of the



Figure 2. *Yuqi stūpa*. Dated 1334. Colour on paper. 46.8 × 31.5. Art Research Center Collection (Ritsumeikan University), eik3-2-23. Reproduced with permission.

Adamantine system and the eight petals of the central section of the Womb *maṇḍala*. The analogy thus articulates the combination of the Adamantine and Womb systems that takes place in the *Yuqi jing* in yet another mode.

4. Ritual exegesis: initiatory documents as commentaries

If the interpretation of the title sets the stage for a sustained reading of the *sūtra* along dualistic patterns, this reading does not remain confined to exegetical works. It becomes part of the knowledge transmitted in the ritual context and it is therefore reiterated in the

documents that certify such transmission. A compelling example is a manuscript titled ‘The inner, unfathomable meaning of one’s body attaining Buddhahood’ (*Jishin jōbutsu ō fukatoku gi* 自身成仏奥不可得義).⁶⁴ (Figure 3) The manuscript comes from a private archive, the Fujii Eikan bunko, held at the Art Research Centre of Ritsumeikan University and comprising material originally in the Kongōzō 金剛藏 depository of Kanchiin 観智院 at Tōji. The folio is dated Kenmu 建武 1 (1334) 7/12. It consists of the title of the *sūtra*, a drawing of a human figure and several passages explaining the function of the syllable VAM. The *siddhām* letters for ‘Yugi’ are written on the upper corner, identifying the document as related to the *Yuqi jing*. The title of the scripture is glossed in colour-coded terms that point out biological duality and the generative potential that duality incorporates:

kongōbu 金剛峯 = white fluid (*byakutai* 白滯)/cognition (*chi* 智)

rōkaku 樓閣 = red fluid (*shakutai* 赤滯)/principle (*ri* 理)

issai 一切 [no gloss]

yuga yugi 瑜伽·瑜祇 (*yuyu* 瑜瑜/*gagi* 伽祇) = merging of the two fluids in which the seed of consciousness is entrusted/This is called ‘the human body is the buddha’s body’ (*nitai wagō shiki no shushi kono naka ni tasu* 二滯和合識種子託其中/是云人躰即仏身也) = non-duality of principle and cognition (*richi funi* 理智不二)⁶⁵

kyō 經 [no gloss]

It is noteworthy that the compiler (or the copyist) of this manuscript intervened further to disclose his understanding: the last four characters of the title are linked with red lines that pair them in sets of two and conveys in powerful visual terms the interaction between opposite sexes that starts a creative process. (Figure 3)

The Fujii Eikan *injin* brings to the fore the exegetical value of ritual material. Similar transmission documents may be found in important medieval temple archives. I had previously identified a similar version within the holdings of Kanazawa bunko 金澤文庫. Dated 1297, this, too, consisted of a single folio and therefore its exegetical backdrop was more difficult to identify.⁶⁶ Another version has recently come to light in the archives of Zentsūji 善通寺, Kagawa prefecture, within a set of transmission documents of the *Yuqi jing* called *Kongōōinryū hiketsu* 金剛王院流秘決. (Figure 4a) It is not dated, but according to a colophon the set was transmitted by Shōkaku 勝覺 (1057–1129), founder of the Sanbōin lineage, to Shōken 聖賢 (1083–1149), initiator of the Kongōōin lineage, which places the origins of this interpretation at the beginning of the twelfth century.⁶⁷ The set of transmission documents consists of several folios, each purporting to transmit the secret meaning of one chapter of the *Yuqi jing* (although not all chapters are covered). *Kongōōinryū hiketsu* thus reiterates the format of the commentaries hitherto examined, providing compelling evidence that *injin* functioned as scriptural exegeses, albeit in more elliptic, and often visual, terms. Comparative analysis enables us to situate the curious one-folio *injin* within a more systematic interpretation of the *Yuqi jing*. The outer title of the matching folio in the Kongōōin set explicitly indicates that the content illustrates the Introductory Chapter of the *Yuqi jing*. (Figure 4b) Accordingly, as established in the commentarial tradition, the document starts with an explanation of the title of the scripture. The central image of the document, a human figure standing in a yogic position that reproduces the form of syllable VAM (Figure 5) can also be read as a legitimate interpretation of the chapter. The meaning of the syllable VAM is in fact addressed in this chapter, which describes it as ‘the one-syllable heart-mantra of the bodhisattva Fugen’

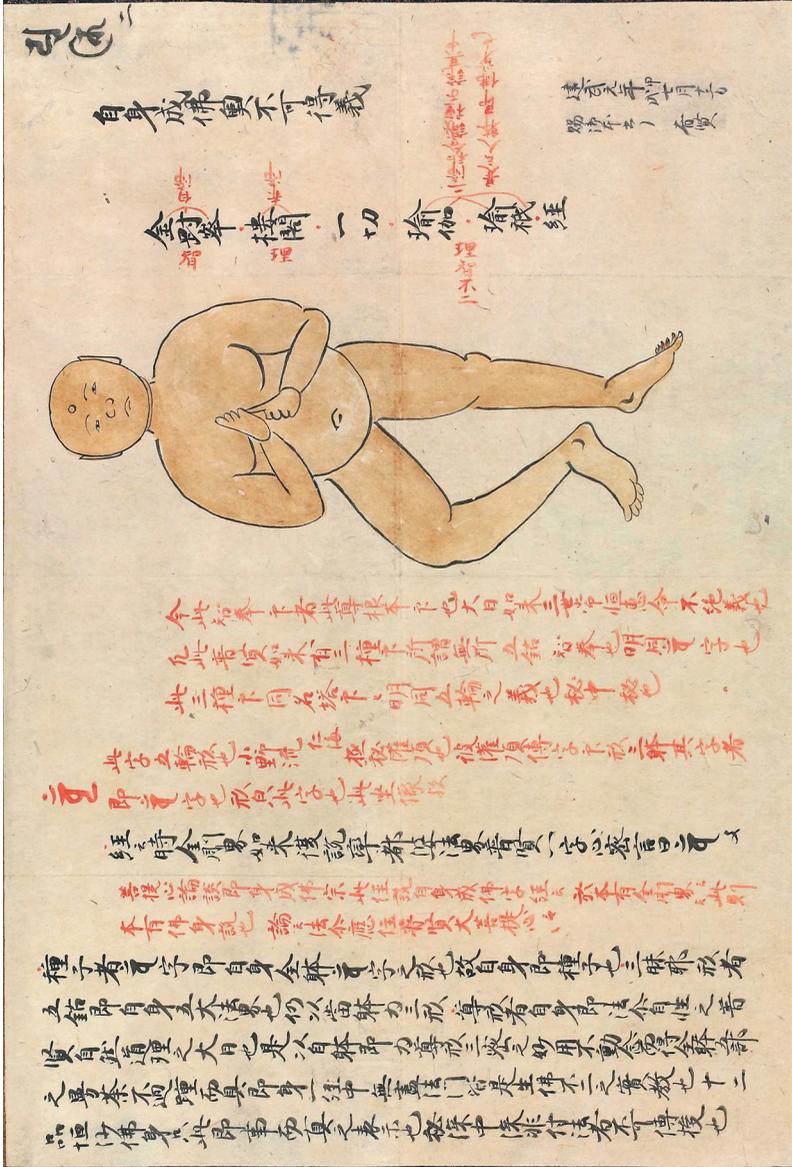


Figure 3. Yugi kiribumi. Dated 1334. Colour on paper. 31.7 × 46.7. Art Research Center Collection (Ritsumeikan University), eik2-0-20. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 4a. Introductory Chapter of the *Yuqi jing*, *Kongōinryū hiketsu*. Zentsūji Archives, dozō 23–249-28. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 4b. 'Yugi, From the Introductory Chapter.' Outer title of the folio. *Kongōinryū hiketsu*, Zentsūji Archives, dozō 23–249-28. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 5. The letter VAM.

(*ichiji shin myō* 普賢菩薩一字心明), corresponding to a ‘three-dimension *mudrā*’ (*katsuma-in* 羯磨印).⁶⁸ The discussion of this syllable also occupies a relevant place in the commentaries. *Yugikyō kenmon*, for instance, explains at length that the two gates of meditation and wisdom, the 16 bodhisattvas and the five Buddhas of the five directions (that is, the constituents of the adamantine world) are all subsumed in this one-syllable mantra and the 37 deities [of the *maṇḍala*] are perfectly realised therein:

The master says: ‘The syllable 𑖀 (VAM) of the Introductory Chapter of this scripture is the most fundamental spell (*shin chū shinju* 心中心呪 [lit. ‘the heart of the heart’]). The entire body and all marks (*tsūtai sōsō* 通体惣相) of the thirty-seven venerable ones [of the *maṇḍala*] are [comprised in] just this one character 𑖀(VAM). (...) Accordingly, in this syllable the seeds, marks and forms of the dharma world are like a ‘circular *stūpa*’ (*entō* 円塔). This is called the essence of the dharma-body (*hosshintai* 法身體), the non-duality of principle and cognition.⁶⁹

The commentary reiterates over and again that the syllable embodies the ‘cognition-body’ (*chishin* 智身) of the Buddha, that is, Mahāvairocana of the Adamantine world.⁷⁰ In the *injin* the *mudrā* that the figure of a *yogin* ties in fact is the ‘cognition-*mudrā*’ (*chiken-in* 智拳印), signifier of the Adamantine aspect of the Buddha. In other words, the initiatory document shows in diagrammatic mode how the practitioner can actualise a Buddha-body by reproducing the sonic and bodily form of the ‘All-encompassing Tathāgata,’ namely, Mahāvairocana. It does so on the basis of the knowledge and acceptance of a conceptual system of correspondences, which is explicated in lengthy details in the commentaries and crystallised in the images and short pronouncements of the transmission documents.

The attention to ritual matters exhibited in the medieval commentaries to the *Yuqi jing* transforms these into a form of ritual exegesis and precipitates the need, I argue, to read them together with ritual documents concerning initiatory practices, such as protocols (*shidai* 次第), transmission certificates and even maps of the ritual space (*danzu* 壇圖), in order to fully understand specific points of the exegesis. At the same time, ritual material such as the *Kongōōinryū hiketsu* amply demonstrates that initiatory documents carried exegetical meaning. Evidence from both types of sources suggests a blurred demarcation between textual genres and demands a new categorization of the commentarial tradition, one that includes ritual material next to more traditional discursive treatises.

5. New rituals and the Tantric paradigms of the *Yuqi jing*

5.1. The *yogin* consecration

The *injin* examined above point to a ritual, rather than scholastic, occasion for the transmission of the meaning of the *Yuqi jing*, but are not explicit about the configuration of such ritual. A closer inspection of the material related to the *Yuqi jing* suggests that it is in the context of an initiation that much knowledge of the *Yuqi jing* was communicated. Known as ‘*yogin* consecration’ (*yugi kanjō* 瑜祇灌頂), this was an advanced initiatory practice seemingly created by Japanese ritualists in the medieval period on the basis of Chapter Eleven of the scripture. As we have seen, medieval commentaries as well as ritual documents of the *Yuqi jing* devoted particular attention to this chapter, which contained

instructions for a visualisation practice aimed at attaining ‘Vajrasattva’s mind.’ The ritual shaped by it enjoyed immediate and enduring success, judging from the volume of sources preserved in temple archives of different lineages. I have reconstructed it elsewhere, but it is useful to summarise relevant points here to grasp the extent of the impact of the *Yuqi jing* in Japan.⁷¹

Chapter Eleven of the *sūtra* instructs the practitioner ‘to visualise [his] body in the shape of the Buddha’ 觀身如佛 and gives a list of deities to locate on specific parts of the practitioner’s body:

根本命金剛 Vajra[sattva] of original life
 釋論以爲虛 makes of Indra’s wheel its seat,
 多羅爲二目 Tārā is the two eyes,
 毘俱胝爲耳 Bhr̥kūṭī is the ears,
 吉祥爲口舌 Śrī/Lakṣmī is the tongue,
 喜戲爲鼻端 Ratī is the top of the nose,
 金剛觀自在 Vajra [karma?] and Avalokiteśvara,
 以成定慧臂 Become the arms of meditation and wisdom,
 三世不動尊 Trailokyavijaya and Acala,
 以爲兩膝脚 Are the knees and legs,
 心爲遍照尊 The Venerable One who Shines Everywhere [Mahāvairocana] is the heart,
 臍成虛空眼 Buddhalocanā is the navel,
 虛空寶爲冠 Ākāśamālā is the crown,
 相好金剛日 Vajratejas is the marks [of the Buddha].⁷²

These deities are a curious group not documented in any other textual source. Taken together, the scripture states, ‘these fifteen deities become a single Buddha-body’ – an expression that would become ubiquitous in the medieval exegetical and ritual material related to the *Yuqi jing*.

In transforming the instructions of the scripture into a full-fledged ritual, Japanese ritualists tried to build an ‘inner *maṇḍala*,’ as opposed to the painted *maṇḍala* used in the consecration rituals of the two major *maṇḍalas*. As its title indicates, Chapter Eleven focuses on ‘inner actions’ (*nai sagō* 内作業). Medieval exegetes applied this notion to the very name of the consecration, which sources describe as a ‘consecration through inner actions’ (*nai sagō kanjō* 内作業灌頂), as well as to its performance. The initiation entails a set of visualizations of the 15 deities aimed at recreating the practitioner’s body as the body of Mahāvairocana. Most of the 15 deities are allocated to the sensorial organs (eyes, ears, nose, tongue) and the limbs (arms and legs), which may be understood as marking the points of exposure of the practitioner’s body to the external world in order to protect them.⁷³ However, if one considers the vertical sequence of the central points on which four of the deities are visualised, one finds that it links the heart, the head, the tongue and the navel, i.e., the four *cakras* that are central in the conception of a subtle body, the ‘invisible’ body made of vital points and channels through which energy flows.⁷⁴ Some Japanese medieval commentaries illustrate the installation of the 15 deities with drawings that translated the scriptural instructions graphically and make this reading more explicit. One such example is included in the above-cited *Yugikyō hiketsu* attributed to Jichiu.⁷⁵ (Figure 6) Further, drawing on Annen’s interpretation of the *Yuqi jing* as the fulfilment of

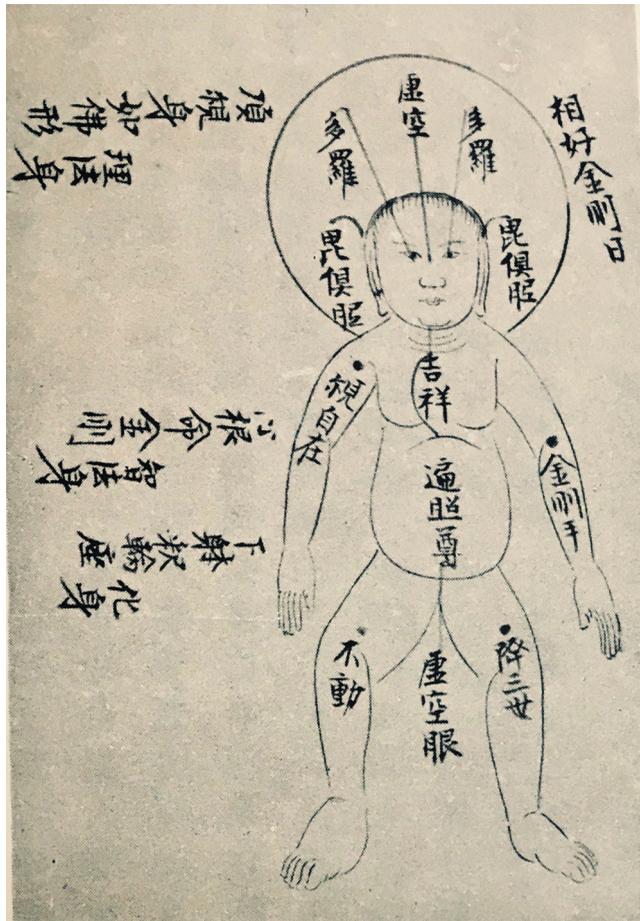


Figure 6. Visualisation of the fifteen deities. *Yugisotoran hiketsu*, attributed to Jichiun. SZ5, 24.

the Adamantine and Womb maṇḍalas, medieval ritualists established a system of correspondences between each of the fifteen deities and the sections of the two maṇḍalas, thus engendering the transformation of the practitioner's body into the double maṇḍalic being of Mahāvairocana.⁷⁶ We could understand these visualisations as sophisticated instantiations of the idea of 'becoming a Buddha with one's own body' (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成佛), whereby the practitioner unites with the principal deity. This was a fundamental notion in East Asian Tantric Buddhism. The *yogin* consecration, however, transposes such a dynamic in the interior of the body. Commentaries reiterate that for this consecration it is not necessary to construct a ritual platform, for the place of performance is a *himitsudan* 祕密壇, the secret altar in the mind of the practitioner, where the practitioner visualises and attains his own maṇḍalic body. The practitioner is instructed 'to make offerings to himself according to procedure.' He visualizes each of these objects in a specific order and mentally present them to himself. At the end of this oblation the practitioner can be proclaimed a 'new Buddha.' The act of self-veneration thus reflects the attainment of the status of a Buddha.



Figure 7. Embryological chart (*tainai goi*). From *Hikyōketsu*, 32 ♪. Ōsu bunko, Shinpukuji (Nagoya). Reproduced with permission.

The paradigm of this hermeneutics of transformation goes beyond the application of the standard model of duality based on the interaction of the Adamantine and Womb *maṇḍalas*. In fact, the central elements highlighted in the ritual exegesis of the *Yuqi jing* are more easily understood in the context of the practices of interiorization that characterise the Higher Yoga Tantras in Indian sources.⁷⁷

5.2. The ritual performance of gestation

Another ritual element that characterised the medieval exegeses of the *Yuqi jing* is the insertion of visual maps of gestation in both the commentarial and liturgical material. These maps, which I have called ‘embryological charts,’ articulate the process of formation of a new being in a basic pattern of five stages (*tainai goi* 胎内五位).⁷⁸ (Figure 7) Different correlations are added to the pattern in order to subsume different aspects of Tantric teachings or practice, so the charts are not all identical. They are also included at different places in the commentaries. In some cases, they are placed at the end of the treatise, as in *Yugikyō kenmon*, or appear as a supplement to the commentary, as in

Taimitsu keigushō.⁷⁹ In other cases, such as in *Yugikyō hiketsu* and *Yugikyō hidenshō*, the charts are inserted within Chapter Two, focused on Zen'ai (Aizen's alter ego).⁸⁰ Further, these charts were also transmitted as independent documents, usually in a set with other initiatory documents – this is the case with *Kongōinryū hiketsu* discussed above. It is possible to relate the mapping of foetal growth to the content of the chapter which include them, and I have attempted to do so elsewhere.⁸¹ Yet, considering their circulation, it may be more appropriate to consider these charts as diagrammatic expressions of the meaning attributed to the *Yuqi jing* in its whole.

The embryological charts illustrate the condition in which birth takes place, with semen and menstrual blood mixing in the mother's womb and the implanting of consciousness in the womb. The gradual formation of a physical (*rūpa*) body culminates in the image of the five-element *stūpa* (*gorintō* 五輪塔) that appears in the fourth stage of gestation. The five elements are the five material constituents of reality (earth, water, fire, wind, and space) and a correlative term for the five viscera that regulate the human body. Thus, the five elements denote the cosmic composition of the human body, indispensable to transform the human body in the cosmic body of the Buddha. The *stūpa* stage of gestation reveals a body endowed with the five organs and the sense fields. Last stage in the charts conveys the transformation of such body in that of the tathāgata. In some commentaries the five stages of gestation are also presented as performed through a sequence of five hand gestures, which compose the so-called 'five-pronged *mudrā*' – also known as '*mudrā* of the human form' (*ningyō-in* 人形印). The first stage corresponds to the fists tied together; then the two middle fingers up and the two fingers next to them progressively make the form of a human being, until the hands open up to indicate the birth of the foetus. *Yugikyō chōmonshō*, for instance, explains that the half-*mudrā* made with the left hand reproduces the shape of a woman (*nyogyō* 女形); the half-*mudrā* made with the right hand signifies the male shape (*nangyō* 男形). By joining left and right hands the practitioner produces a five-pronged *vajra mudrā*, thereby 'uniting principle and cognition into the body of a non-dual single reality' (*funi ichijitsu no tai* 不二一實ノ體).⁸² The embryogenetic model presented in these works seems to resolve the reflection on duality that the sūtra exuded in the production of a new body.

There is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that such embryological conceptualisation is linked to the performance of the *yogin abhiṣeka*. Dōhan hints to it through analogies when, in his exegesis of Chapter Eleven (the canonical basis of the *yogin abhiṣeka*), divides the title of the chapter in three parts, *Kongōsatta bodaishin* 金剛薩埵菩提心, *naisa[gō] kanjō* 内作[業]灌頂 and *shitsuji* 悉地, and make the first and the third parts correspond, respectively, to father (*nyofu* 如父) and mother (*nyobo* 如母), while the middle section is the 'child' (*nyoshi* 如子).⁸³ The *Yugisotoran hiketsu* attributed to Jitsuun is more explicit in linking the *abhiṣeka* to gestation. It explains that the 'water of the vase of knowledge' used for the consecration ritual is the mixture of red and white fluids; the 15 deities are subsumed in it. The sprinkling of the water that occurs at the moment of the anointment of the practitioner embodies the emplacement of the twin fluids in the practitioner's body. When the practitioner visualises the 15 deities on his body, he is instructed to form the *mudrā* of inner five prongs: the five prongs indicate five

parts of the practitioner's body, which grow from the interaction of the two fluids.⁸⁴ This type of exegesis, too, resonates with continental practices of transformation that focus on the symbolic use of sexual fluids.⁸⁵

6. Concluding considerations: towards a transnational understanding of the *Yuqi jing*

Probing the reception and interpretation of the *Yuqi jing* in Japan has uncovered a distinct commentarial and ritual tradition established in the medieval period. The defining features that this analysis has identified carry significant consequences for reassessing the place that the scripture occupies within the history of East Asian Buddhism. A few, preliminary conclusions may be drawn here.

The historical circumstances in which the *Yuqi jing* was composed remain to be clarified. Focusing on its content, the absence of deities that are central in the scripture, such as Aizen or Daishō Kongō, from the Indian or Tibetan tantric pantheon, supports the theory of a Chinese origin of the scripture. Other chapters of the scripture, however, in particular those that expound the principles of the *yogin* consecration, link the scripture more closely to Higher Yoga tantras. These links should perhaps be self-evident if one considers the textual family to which the *Yuqi jing* belongs, the Adamantine scriptures. Its representative text, *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*, which emerged during the second half of the seventh century, is indeed considered one of the most important Yoga tantra.⁸⁶ Yet the Chinese version of this tantra (*Jin'gangding jing*) was not put to the same use in Japan. On the contrary, the exegetical and ritual practices of the *Yuqi jing* developed in the medieval period flesh out the connections with continental yogic literature in a conspicuous manner.

Japanese interpreters operated a consistent reading of duality in the *Yuqi jing* and eventually associate it to practices of bodily transformation. While drawing on Annen's interpretation, medieval commentaries proffer an accretion to the standard dualistic pattern crystallised into the two maṇḍalas, making biological opposites meaningful in symbolic and practical terms: the 'red drop-white drop' model introduces a new rationale in the analysis of the scripture and engenders new patterns of ritual performance. The resolution of duality in the production of a new being, in particular, deserves consideration, for it invokes the generative function of dualisms that practitioners experience in their worldly life.

These developments elicit further questions as to whether the medieval practices of the *Yuqi jing* reveal distinct shifts in the Japanese understanding of Tantric Buddhism or should be linked to interpretative trends in continental Tantric Buddhism. The evidence gathered in this article attests that commentarial production reached its peak between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Why did it flourish at this moment in the history of Japanese Buddhism? To answer this puzzling question, further analysis is necessary than it has been possible in the limited space of this article. In particular, it is indispensable to reframe the interpretations of medieval Japanese scholiasts in a broader, transnational history that considers how the ideas and practices inferred from the *Yuqi jing* were

construed across the Tantric Buddhist tradition (and not only in Chinese Buddhism) at the time of the compilation of the scripture as well as in the span of time corresponding to the climax it enjoyed in medieval Japan.

Notes

1. I shall use the term Tantric Buddhism as synonymous of Esoteric Buddhism (Jp. *mikkyō* 密教). Which of the two terms is more appropriate to designate the Buddhist system that developed from the sixth century onward across Asia has been object of long debates among scholars. (For a summary of different positions see Orzech, Payne, Sørensen, 'Introduction'.) While I am aware of their terminological differences, I use the adjectives 'Tantric' and 'Esoteric' interchangeably, but privilege 'Tantric' for the wider connections this term affords to similar interpretations and material from other areas of the Buddhist world.
2. Interestingly, the *Yuqi jing* spurred some interest in Europe in the 1990s: a full, annotated translation of the *sūtra* in Dutch was the core of the Ph. D dissertation of the late Pol vanden Broucke (vanden Broucke, *Yugikyō*), who later published three articles in English on specific aspects of the scripture (see below). The art historian Roger Goepfer included an English translation of Chapter Five of the *Yuqi jing* in his iconological study of Aizen and presented a range of ritual material from Shingon works related to the *Yuqi jing* (Goepfer, *Aizen-myōō*).
3. For convenience's sake the names of deities with no counterpart in Sanskrit are given in Japanese pronunciation.
4. Dolce, 'Nigenteki genri no gireika'; Dolce and Mano, 'Annen.'
5. Dolce, 'The Embryonic Generation of the Perfect Body.'
6. Misaki, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, 137–140; Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyōshi zakkō*, 240–241.
7. *T* no. 867, 18: 253c: 唐南天竺國三藏沙門金剛智譯.
8. See, for instance, *Yugi kaishinshō*, 134, entry 'On the translator.' The hypotheses articulated in this work can be found in other works by Shingon scholar-monks. Cf. vanden Broucke, 'On the Title and Translator of the *Yuqi jing*.' On the *Yugi kaishinshō*, see below, n. 37.
9. Kamata et al (ed.), *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō hōbō sōmokuoku* 2: 212; *Hōbōgirin*, p.1035; vanden Broucke, 'The Twelve-armed Deity Daishō kongō and His Scriptural Sources,' 150 and 272n28.
10. Yasuhara ('*Yugikyō no kenkyū*' 1: 61) notes that in the Ming canon the *sūtra* appears in two *juan* 卷. However, medieval Japanese sources always give it as one *juan*. See, for instance, *Yugikyō kenmon*, *STZ mikkyō* 2: 207 'this *sūtra* in one fascicle (*kan* 卷) and twelve chapters.'
11. Kūkai, *Shōrai mokuroku*, *T* no. 2161, 55: 1062b29 (金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經一卷), 1066a18; Eun, *Eun risshi shomokuroku*, *T* no 2168, 55: 1090a27; Shūei, *Zenrinji Shūei sōmokuoku*, *T* no. 2174b, 55: 1112c.25. The title also appears in several medieval catalogues, such as the Daigoji *Rokugekyōtō mokuroku* 錄外經等目錄 [Catalogue of Scriptures and Other Writings not Recorded], *T* no. 2175, 55: 1112c24.
12. *Jin'gang jixiang da chengjiu pin jing* 金剛吉祥大成就品經 [Scripture of the Chapter of the Great Accomplishments of Vajrasrī], one *juan*. See entries in Ennin's catalogue, *Nittō shingū shōgyō mokuroku*, *T* no. 2167, 55:1080c28; Engyō's catalogue, *Reiganji wājō shōrai hōmon dōgu tō mokuroku*, *T* no. 2164, 55:1072b6; and Shūei's catalogue, *Shinshosha shōrai hōmon tō mokuroku*, *T* no. 2174, 55: 1108b2. Engyō notes that an alternative name of this text is 'Sūtra of Five Eyes' (*Gogenkyō* 五眼經) and that it comes from the 'Scripture of the Adamantine Crown Peak' (referred to as *Kongōchōbu kyō* 金剛頂峰經). Annen's *Hakke hiroku* also reports that it is a chapter from the scripture (referred to as *Yugikyō*) and that it was brought to Japan by En(nin) and (En)gyō (*T* no. 2176, 55:1119b20).
13. See *Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku* 真言宗所學經律論目錄, *KDZ* 1, p. 106.
14. This chapter has been translated in vanden Broucke, 'The Twelve-armed Deity Daishō kongō,' 150–155.

15. *Jin'gangding jing* (often given with the reconstructed Sanskrit title of *Vajrasekhara-sūtra*) is the title of Amoghavajra's translation of the first five chapters of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasamgraha*, T no. 867, vol. 18. See Kano, 'Sarvatathāgatātattvasamgraha.'
16. Harriet Hunter (*A Transmission and Its Transformation*, 113) however notes that the system is not always consistent.
17. Misaki, *Taimitsu no ken'yū*, p. 138. Cf. T 18: 260a6-12. On the basis of these images Misaki has suggested that Chapter Nine of the *Yuqi jing* was influenced by Higher Yoga Tantras. On the relation between Butsugen and Ichiji kinrin in the *maṇḍala*, see Hunter, *A Transmission and Its Transformation*, 110–114. Misaki sees a sexual relationship also in the relation between Aizen and Vajrasattva presented in Chapter Five of the *Yuqi jing*, where Aizen is described as 'the wife of Vajrasattva and the mother of all the Buddhas' (T 18: 257b2-3). On this association and the changing gender of Aizen, see Dolce, 'Nigenteki genri no gireika.'
18. Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsushi*, 520; Ōsabe, *Tōdai mikkyōshi zakkō*, 240–242; Misaki, *Taimitsu no ken'yū*, 508 *passim*; and vanden Broucke, 'On the Title and Translator,' which summarises Japanese scholarship.
19. *Fahua guanzhi yigui* / Jp. *Kanchigiki* 法華觀智儀軌 (full title: *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhua jing wang yujia guanzhi yigui* 成就妙法蓮華經王瑜伽觀智儀軌), T no. 1000, 19: 594–602. On this ritual, see Dolce, 'Reconsidering the Taxonomy of the "Esoteric."'
20. Harriet Hunter presents an excellent discussion of this point. See Hunter, *A Transmission and Its Transformation*, in particular Chapter Three and Chapter Four.
21. *Yugikyō hidenshō* 瑜祇經秘傳抄, a long commentary on the scripture by Yūgi (see below, n. 37). Yūgi, on the contrary, considers the *sūtra* to embody the meaning of the non-duality of the two realms.
22. The text is listed as *Yugikyō gyōbōki* 瑜祇經行法記 in *Nihon daizōkyō*, and I have used this as its main title, but the internal title is *Issai nyorai Daishōkongōchō saishō shinjitsu samayabon shidai kannen* 一切如來大勝金剛頂最勝真實三昧耶品次第觀念 (see NDZ 36: 235). The text follows the recitative passages of the *sūtra* and offers instructions on diverse practices: an internalised fire ritual (*naikahō* 内火法), the installation of 12 syllables on the practitioner's body (*junijikan* 十二字觀) and a five colour visualization (*goshikikan* 五色觀). See NDZ 1: 527–530 for an analysis of the content.
23. The text is given as *Yugi sōgyō shiki* 瑜祇總行私記 in the *Taishō* canon and as *Yugikyō sōgyōki* 瑜祇經總行記 in *Nihon daizōkyō*. Further, on the title page of the latter *Gikyō kuden* 祇經口傳 appears as its main title and two other alternative titles, *Yugikyō shuin* 瑜祇經手印 and *Yugikyōhōshō* 瑜祇經法抄 are given. The text is considered to be the oral transmission from one of Shinjaku's masters, either Shūei or Jinnichi 神日 (860–916). On the latter, see MDJ 5: 2209.
24. Full title of the *Taishō* version: *Kongōbu rōkaku issai yugi kyō shugyōbō* 金剛峰樓閣一切瑜祇經修行法, T no. 2228, 61: 485a–504b. This is a text in three *kan*, but medieval sources state that there were three different versions, an extended text in six *kan*, a middle one in three *kan* and an abbreviated text in one *kan*. See NDZ (*kaidai*) 1: 521–527. Also known as *Gyōbō shidai*. For an introduction to Annen in English, see Dolce and Mano, 'Annen,' 768–775.
25. Iyanaga Nobumi 彌永信美 has suggested to me that Annen might have received oral instruction from Ennin which engendered his understanding, in particular of the ritual dimension of the *Yuqi jing*. The assumption is that Ennin, in turn, would have learned these interpretations in China. However, in the current status of research on early Japanese Esoteric Buddhism it is difficult to find evidence for such an hypothesis.
26. *Yugikyō shūgyōbō*, T no. 2228, 61: 485a7.
27. See, for instance, *Shingonshū kyōjigi*, T 75: 441a. See also Kagiwada, 'Tōmitsu ni okeru *Yugikyō* kaishaku no henshen.'
28. T no. 2228, 61: 485.
29. *Yuqi jing*, T 18: 263b4–5.

30. The practice is known as ‘visualisation of five syllables on the practitioner’s body’ (*goji gonshin kan* 五字嚴身觀) or ‘visualisation of the five cakras’ (*gorinkan* 五輪觀). See, e.g., *Dari jing*, T n. 848, 18: 31a, 38b–c, 52b–c; *Dari jing shu*, T no. 1796, 39: 727c8–728a9. For a translation and extensive discussion of these passages in English, see Chen, *Legend and Legitimation*, 203–218.
31. *Yugikyō gyōbōki*, T no. 2228, 61: 494c–495a.
32. *Nihon daizōkyō kaidai* 1: 524. *Sange gaksoku* suggests that the *yogin* consecration was transmitted only within Taimitsu lineages, but my research has shown that it was adopted by several Tantric lineages regardless of their institutional affiliation. See Dolce, ‘The *Abhiseka* of the *Yogin*.’
33. SZ 5: 11–26.
34. ZSZ 7: 91–134. According to the colophon this work was copied in 1276 by Kakuman 覺滿 and this copy in turn transcribed in 1297 by Jitsuō 實応 at Negoroji 根来寺. This manuscript, now in Kōyasan University library, is the one printed in ZSZ. See ZSZ 14 (index of titles and authors): 40–41.
35. SZ 5: 27–137. According to the colophon (*shikigo* 識語), Dōhan received the transmission of the *Yuqi jing* at Hosshōji 法性寺, the temple of the Fujiwara house in the capital, at the same time as an individual given as ‘Zenjō tenka’ 禪定展下. The explanatory notes of *Shingonshū zensho* (SZ *kaidai*, 11) associate this title to Dōjo nyūdō shinnō 道助入道親王 (1196–1249), a Ninnaji monk and son of emperor Gotoba. However, in the medieval period the title was used by members of the Regent family when they took tonsure. Here it must refer to Kujō Michie 九条道家 (1193–1252), who is known to have nurtured an interest in the *Yuqi jing*. See Matsumoto, *Chūsei ōken to sokui kanjō*, 356–357 and 362. The colophon also informs us that the instruction lasted 30 days.
36. On the influence of Annen on early Tōmitsu exegesis of the *Yuqi jing*, see Kagiwada, ‘Tōmitsu ni okeru *Yugikyō* kaishaku no henshen.’
37. ZSZ 7: 137–154. According to the information included at the beginning of each *juan*, it records the transmission Yūgi received by a Kōyasan monk called Keiga 景巖 in 1576. Yūgi received instructions at Daigoji, Onjōji 園城寺 and Enryakuji 延曆寺, as well as Nara temples. See ZSZ 14: 255–256 and MDJ 5: 2191 b–c.
38. In NDZ 36 (*kyōzōbu mikkyōbu ge* 2): 1–89. According to Ono (ed.), *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* (11: 84), Jōhen also authored a commentary on the *Yuqi jing*, *Yugikyōshō* 瑜祇經抄, not yet identified. This is said to be quoted by Raiyu in his own commentary.
39. *Kanazawa bunko shiryō zensho* 6. On the dating, see Manabe, ‘Kaishaku.’ The list of texts on esoteric Buddhism held at Kanazawa bunko give more than twenty titles on the *Yuqi jing*, of which six are books owned (*shutakuhon* 手沢本) by Kenna. The latter include a copy of Jitsuun’s *Yugikyō hiketsu* and a manual for the practice of the *yugi kanjō*. Manabe, ‘Kanazawa bunko ni okeru shingon mikkyō tenseki,’ p. 276.
40. Printed in *Kanazawa bunko shiryō zensho* 6. Of the twelve chapters, Chapter Two and Chapter Three are not commented upon. The manuscript is written on the back of a letter in cursive. Although restored, it is not in excellent conditions and several lines are missing at different points. The preface includes the name of Kenna in *Siddhām*. See also Manabe, ‘Kaishaku,’ in *Kanazawa bunko shiryō zensho* 6: 289–290.
41. Unpublished manuscript. Not dated. Copied by Hōren 宝蓮 in 1344. Colophon in Abe, *Chūsei nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikai*: 262. I am grateful to Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎 of Nagoya University 名古屋大學 for introducing me to this text and providing me with photographs of the manuscript. The conditions of the manuscript render its reading arduous in places. The other two commentaries, titled *Yugikyōhō* and *Yugi sotaran*, compiled respectively in 1339 (Ryakuō 2, Engen 3) 6/6 and 6/7, are part of *Onokō hishō*. See Uchida, *Monkanbō Kōshin to bijutsu*, 343–344 and, for the colophons, Abe, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikai*: 259–260.
42. See *Yuga dentōshō* 瑜伽伝灯鈔, the biography of Monkan, in Uchida, *Monkanbō Kōshin to bijutsu* 146–147. The famous portrait of Godaigo in the holdings of Shōjōkōji 清浄光寺, in Fujisawa, where the ruler is portrayed holding the same accessories of Vajrasattva, a *vajra*

- and a *vajra* bell, is said to reproduce the semblance of Godaigo when he received the *yugi* initiation. See Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, *Shinbutsu shūgō*, 196 (no. 177) and Dolce, ‘The *Abhiseka* of the *Yogin*.’
43. See *ZTZ mikkyō* 2, 205–216. From a manuscript in the holdings of Kyoto University Library. Daie succeeded Enni to the abbotship of Tōfukuji 東福寺. He also received transmissions from Sanbōin lineage of Daigoji.
 44. On Yōsai’s Tantric thought and lineage see Mano, ‘Yōsai and the transformation of Buddhist precepts in pre-modern Japan’ and Mizukami, ‘Yōsai no mikkyō shisō.’ On Enni’s interest in the *Yuqi jin* see Mizukami, ‘Enni Ben’en no mikkyōsetsu to taimitsu.’
 45. *Chūsei zenseki sōkan* vol. 4, 457–486 (5–78 facsimile). I am grateful to Shinpukuji for giving permission to publish two photos of this manuscript, and to Abe Yasurō for facilitating the request.
 46. *Chūsei zenseki sōkan*, vol. 12, 545–584. Comparative analysis of the two manuscripts, in particular the calligraphy and the style of annotations, shows that these were copied by the same person, Nōnin 能信 (1291–1355), founder of Shinpukuji. A gloss on the title page of *Hikyōketsu* indicating that this is one of two *juan* suggests that the two manuscripts might have originally been transmitted as a set and later divided. See Abe, ‘*Yugikyō kenmon (daiichi)* kaishaku.’
 47. *ZTZ mikkyō* 2, 217–256.
 48. *ZTZ mikkyō* 2, 257–355. Several manuscripts are preserved at Eizan bunko 叡山文庫 and other Tendai temples on Mount Hiei 比叡山, which bear different internal titles: *Yugikyōshō* 瑜祇經抄, *Yugikyō kuketsu* 瑜祇經口決, *Kanokyō kikigakishō* 彼經聞書抄. See the supplement to *ZTZ mikkyō* 2, ‘Kaidai.’
 49. A printed and edited version of this text has been published in Mizukami, *Taimitsu shisō keisei no kenkyū*, 595–670.
 50. See n. 21 and Tomabechi, ‘Yugi sōgyō shiki.’
 51. *ZTZ mikkyō* 2, 212a.
 52. *Chūsei zenseki sōkan* 12, 558. I am grateful to Kigensan Licha for drawing my attention to this passage.
 53. See Shibuya, *Tendai shoseki sōgō mokuroku*, 1223; and Sonehara, ‘Shunkei no kenkyū.’ I am grateful to Sonehara Satoshi 曾根原理 for bringing this work to my attention.
 54. Ogawa Toyoo 小川豊生 notes that the term *kenmon* first appeared in Tendai ritual texts from the early eleventh century, with the number of occurrences increasing in the fourteenth century. Ogawa suggests that titles such as *kenmon* and *kikigaki* 聞書 indicate a specific category of Japanese texts that combine scriptural passages and teacher’s notes to convey the insights attained through religious experience. Ogawa, *Chūsei Nihon no shinwa, moji,shintai*, 591–598.
 55. *Yugisotoran kuden*, *ZSZ* 7: 106.
 56. *Yugisotoran kuden*, *ZSZ* 7: 128.
 57. *Yugisotoran kuden*, *ZSZ* 7: 93.
 58. Dolce, ‘Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren’s Interpretation of the Lotus Sūtra,’ 310–313.
 59. *Kōen hokkegi*, *Chishō Daishi zenshū* 3: pp. 920–1. For a discussion of this work, see Dolce, ‘Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren’s Interpretation of the Lotus Sūtra,’ 273–278.
 60. *Yugisotoran kuden*, *ZSZ* 7: 93. No gloss is given for *kyō* (sūtra).
 61. This was already noted by vanden Broucke, ‘On the Title and Translator.’
 62. *ZTZ mikkyō* 2: 205; *Chūsei zenseki sōkan*, 459–460.
 63. Several drawings of this *stūpa* exist, either within commentarial writings, as in Jitsuun’s *Yugisotoran hiketsu* (*SZ* 5: 13), or as independent folios. The manuscript in [Figure 2](#), from the Fuji Eikan bunko 藤井永観文庫 at Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, is a beautiful example of the latter. Now framed as a hanging scroll, according to the inscription it is called *Sōōkyō injin* 相応經印信 and it was transmitted on the 5th day of the seventh lunar month of Kenmu 建武 1 (1334) by a certain *ajari* Keishin 堅信. On the *yogin stūpa*,

- see vanden Broucke, ‘The Yugitō’ and Matsumoto, *Chūsei ōken to sokui kanjō*, 340–348. I am grateful to the Art Research Center for allowing me to reproduce this image and providing high resolution photos of the document.
64. Fuji Eikan bunko, Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, eik2-0-20, recorded as *Yugi kiribumi* 瑜祇切文. Currently framed as a hanging scroll. Copied by a certain Shunkei 春賢, it was originally included in a set of 11 folios under the title of *Yugi injin setsumon hiden* 瑜印信説文秘伝. I am grateful to the Art Research Center for allowing me to reproduce this image and providing high resolution photos of the document. I have discussed this document in Dolce, ‘Nigenteki genri no gireika,’ 193–195.
 65. The sentence ‘merging of the two fluids in which the seed of consciousness is entrusted’ comes from the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀, Zhiyi’s treatise on meditation (*T* 47: 93c11–12), which in turns draws on the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (*T* 25: 199a 2–8). While in these classic Chinese sources the sentence served to explain the impurity of the physical body produced by other bodies, in the Japanese *injin* this negative meaning is turned around and the sentence becomes an expression of the identity of Buddha and practitioner.
 66. Dolce, ‘Nigenteki genri no gireika,’ 194.
 67. *Kongōōinryū hiketsu*. Unpublished, Zentsūji Archives, *dozō* 土蔵 23-249-28. I am grateful to Unno Keisuke 海野圭介 of the National Institute of Japanese Literature for sharing the photographs of this document with me and to the Treasure Hall of Zentsūji for graciously allowing me to publish the image.
 68. *T* no. 867, 18: 255b6-20. The syllable VAM is described as the fundamental syllable of the *Yuqi jing*.
 69. *ZTZ mikkyō* 2: 206–207. See also *Hikyōketsu*, *Chūsei zenseki sōkan* 4, 463.
 70. For instance, *ZTZ mikkyō* 2: 207; *Chūsei zenseki sōkan* 4, 463.
 71. For a detailed analysis of the *yugi kanjō*, see Dolce, ‘The *Abhiṣeka* of the Yogin.’
 72. *Yuqi jing*, *T* 18: 267a2-10.
 73. For an interpretation of similar material in Tibetan Buddhism, which focuses on body boundaries, see Dachille, ‘Piercing to the Pith of the Body.’
 74. This is a core element in Indian and Tibetan *tantras*. See, for instance, Bentor, ‘Interpreting the Body Maṇḍala.’ Channels are however not discussed in *Yuqi jing* exegeses.
 75. *SZ*, p. 24. Similar diagrams are included in the above-mentioned initiatory documents *Kongōōinryū hiketsu*.
 76. See Monkan’s *Yuga yugi hikanshō* and Dolce, ‘The *Abhiṣeka* of the Yogin.’
 77. See, for instance, Sugiki, ‘Oblation, Non-conception and Body’ and Dalton, ‘The Development of Perfection.’ Dalton (‘The Development of Perfection,’ 2) argues that by the end of the ninth century these texts presented the tantric subject as the site for the entire ritual performance: ‘the body’s interior provided the devotee, the altar, the oblations, and the buddha to be worshipped.’
 78. For a detailed analysis of the charts see Dolce, ‘The Embryonic Generation of the Perfect Body, 297.’
 79. *Yugikyō kenmon*, *ZTZ mikkyō* 2: 214–215 and *Hikyōketsu*, 485. According to Mizukami this is the first text where such a chart appears. See ‘Enni Ben’en no mikkyō setsu to taimitsu,’ 85. *Taimitsu keigushō*, in Mizukami, *Taimitsu shisō*, 666–667. In other manuscripts of *Taimitsu keigushō* the chart is not included. See Mizukami, ‘Taimitsu shisō,’ 454–455.
 80. *SZ* 5: 14–15 and *SZ* 7:173.
 81. Dolce, ‘The Embryonic Generation of the Perfect Body, 297.’
 82. *Yugikyō chomonshō*, *ZTZ mikkyō* 2: 302. See Dolce, ‘The Embryonic Generation of the Perfect Body,’ 295. This commentary does not include the chart. A similar passage is in *Yugikyō hidenshō*, *SZ* 7: 173–174, which does illustrate these notions with both a gestation chart and a drawing of the five mudras.
 83. *Yugisotoran kuden*, *ZSZ* 7: 127.
 84. *SZ* 5: 23–24.
 85. Cf. Dalton, ‘The Development of Perfection.’
 86. See, for instance, Kano, ‘Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha.’

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Abbreviations

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