

RITUAL AND ICONOGRAPHY IN THE JAPANESE ESOTERIC BUDDHIST TRADITION:
THE NINETEEN VISUALIZATIONS OF FUDŌ MYŌ

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THE NINETEEN VISUALIZATIONS OF FUDŌ MYŌŌ

By

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ABSTRACT

Japanese Esoteric Buddhism is characterized as a tradition with extensive use of complex rituals including elaborate rites of incantations, physical hand gestures, and sophisticated meditation techniques. Central to the performance of Esoteric rites is the invocation of a particular deity (or group of deities) accomplished in part through the use in ritual of an iconographic representation of the deity. One such ritual that epitomizes the Esoteric dynamic of art and ritual is the *jūkyūkan*, the “Nineteen Visualizations,” part of ancient meditation rites performed in order to invoke and manipulate the powers of Fudō Myōō and accomplish the goals of the Esoteric practitioner.

Fudō Myōō is one of the most important deities in the Esoteric pantheon whose presence permeated the religious culture of ancient and medieval Japan. In the ancient Heian and medieval Kamakura Periods (794-1185, 1185-1333), Fudō imagery saw great changes. These changes, pointing to a source beyond artistic or local variance, were not only modifications of existing features, but also included additional elements never seen before.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine in detail the Nineteen Visualizations as they relate to both the art and ritual of Fudō. The objectives of this study are two: first, this study seeks to illustrate that the changes in Fudō’s iconography were a direct result of the emergence of the Nineteen Visualizations in the Heian Period (the thesis of Part One); and second, it attempts to determine how, as a ritual performance, the Nineteen Visualizations provided the basis for these changes in the iconography that persist even today (the thesis of Part Two).

This thesis will not only highlight the strong relationship between art and ritual in Esoteric Buddhism, but will also redress the Western treatment of Fudō as primarily an artistic icon. Studies of Fudō in the West have been predominately art historical, largely ignoring Fudō’s vast scriptural and ritual dimensions, without which the iconography can never be fully understood.

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ABBREVIATIONS OF PRIMARY SOURCES

- DBZ. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書 (*The Collected Works of Japanese Buddhism*). 100 vols. Tōkyō: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木學術財団 (The Suzuki Research Foundation), 1970.
[Reference format: text number, volume, page, range (a, b, c), and line numbers. For example: DBZ.431.55.7c.6-10.]
- KZ. [1911] *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai zenshū* 弘法大師空海全集. 5 vols. Kōyasan: Rokudai Shinpō Shakan 六大新報社刊, 1911.
[Reference format: volume, page, and line numbers. For example: KZ.4.670.4-6 [1911].]
- KZ. [1983] *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai zenshū* 弘法大師空海全集. 8 vols. Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝 et al., eds. Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1983.
[Reference format: volume, page, and line numbers, [1983]. For example: KZ.2.531a.5-6 [1983].]
- NDK. *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經 (*The Sacred Books of Japanese Buddhism*). 98 vols. Tōkyō: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木學術財団 (The Suzuki Research Foundation), 1976.
[Reference format: volume, page, range (a, b), and line numbers. For example: NDK.82.376a.12-13.]
- T. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (*The Tripiṭaka in Chinese*). 85 vols. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al., eds. Tōkyō: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Kankōkai 大正新修大藏經刊行會, 1978.
[Reference format: text number, volume, page, range (a, b, c), and line numbers. For example: T.848.18.7b.17-21.]
- TZ. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō* 大正新修大藏經圖像. 12 vols. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al., eds. Tōkyō: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Kankōkai 大正新修大藏經刊行會, 1976.
[Reference format: text number [taken from *Mikkyō jiten*], volume, page, range (a, b, c), and line numbers. For example: TZ.3119.7.22b.14-17.]

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INTRODUCTION: A BRIEF BACKGROUND OF FUDŌ MYŌŌ IN EARLY JAPAN

Fudō Myōō is one of the most important Buddhist deities found in the religious culture of Japan. Since his introduction from China in the early 9th century, Fudō has maintained an almost unparalleled level of popularity among the Japanese. This popularity is evident in various religious rituals such as mortuary rites, exorcism, and ascetic pilgrimage, as well as in folklore and myth, art and drama. Few gods in Japan—Buddhist, Shintō, or otherwise—enjoy the status of Fudō. Neither a *buddha* nor *bodhisattva*, Fudō, throughout ancient and medieval Japan had earned the patronage of the military and aristocracy, including the imperial family and Emperor himself. Today, Fudō is of great importance among the common folk. Together with Kannon Bosatsu (Skt. Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva) and Jizō Bosatsu (Skt. Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva), Fudō is considered to be the most widely worshipped deity in Japan today (Tanaka 5).

Fudō is commonly characterized in Japan as a wrathful, often demonic-looking guardian deity who carries a large sword and coiled rope in each hand. The Japanese word “*fudō*” 不動¹

¹ The scriptures define and emphasize the term “*fudō*” as an unshakable quality of mind that is the origin of a *buddha*’s enlightenment. The *Chirisanmaya Fudōson seija nenju himitsu hō* (Ch. *Dirisanmeiye Budongzun shengzhe niansong mimi fa*) 底哩三昧耶不動尊聖者念誦秘密法 (“*Secret Invocation Rites of the Trisamaya Ārya Acalanātha*”) (T.1201.21) writes:

不動者。是菩提心。大寂定義也...即是大寂定不動菩提本因三世諸佛皆幻化義。現種種身雲。教化調伏諸衆生故。因事立號號不動尊。

“*Fudō*” (“immovable”, “unmoved”) refers to the great tranquil *samādhi* of the mind of *bodhi*...From this original source of *samādhi fudō bodhi* all the *buddha*-s of the three periods [past, present, and future] appear as illusory transformations. They appear as various bodies [like] clouds [i.e., in great numbers]. They enlighten and subdue all living beings. For these reasons, he is given the name “Fudōson [Skt. Acalanātha].”

(T.1201.21.15a.18, 22-25)

The *Daibirushana jōbutsu kyō sho* (Ch. *Daipiluzhena chengfo jing shu*) 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 (“*Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra*”) (T.1796.39) also speaks of Fudō’s name in its capacity to destroy spiritual defilements:

若行者常能憶念能離一切障也。所謂不動者。即是真淨菩提之心。爲表是義故。因事立名也。

If [Esoteric] practitioners are able to continually meditate [on Fudō] they will be able to sever all hindrances. “*Fudō*” is the mind of the true and pure *bodhi*. In order to express this teaching, the [deity] is given this name.

(T.1796.39.678b.6-8)

is a Chinese translation of the deity's original Sanskrit name, "Acala," literally meaning "immovable" (and by extension, "mountain"), and as his name suggests, Fudō sits or stands motionless atop a rock platform. Not surprisingly, Fudō has developed strong ties to the Japanese mountains. During the Heian Period (794-1185), Fudō was adopted as a central deity in the mountain cult of Shugendō 修験道, an ancient ascetic tradition with roots in pre-Buddhist Japan, whose practitioners, known as *yamabushi* 山伏 or *shugenja* 修験者, conducted austerities deep in the mountains in order to cultivate magical powers. Shugendō's favor of Fudō was due not only to connections with the mountains, but was also partially due the deity's wrath, well suited to the tradition's focus on occult practices such as the conquest of one's enemies and exorcism.² Shugendō's patronage of Fudō is well recorded in popular literature and folklore. Tales abound of *yamabushi* invoking Fudō and chanting his *mantra*-s in order to exorcise demons and ward-off evil spirits.³

Consistent with his widespread popularity, Fudō figures most prominently as a deity of the Esoteric Buddhist pantheon. Esoteric Buddhism, known variously as Tantric Buddhism, Vajrayāna ("Diamond Vehicle"), and Mantrayāna ("*Mantra* Vehicle"), was the means by which Fudō was introduced to Japan and was the source of his adoption by Shugendō. While there is

Such definition recalls the calm and unshakable mind of Śākyamuni and his vow not to move from beneath the *bodhi* tree until he had achieved enlightenment. Śākyamuni's mind of enlightenment finds illumination and personification in Fudō as the "Immovable [One]."

² Shugendō has always favored the wrathful deity. According to tradition, the 7th-8th century mythological founder of Shugendō, En'no Gyōja 役行者 (also En'no Ubasoku 役優婆塞; En'no Otsuno 役小角), while performing austerities on Ōminesan 大峰山, rejected the appearance of such peaceful deities as Senju Kannon 千手観音 (Skt. Sahasrabhujāvalokiteśvara), Miroku 弥勒 (Skt. Maitreya), and even Śākyamuni himself in favor of the wrathful deity Zaō Gongen 蔵王権現 as the tradition's *honzon* 本尊 or main deity.

³ For example, see the *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集 ("Collection of Tales from Times now Past") (12th century) where Fudō is invoked to protect Hieizan 比叡山 from a mischievous Tengu 天狗 goblin (chapter 20). Also see the medieval *nōgaku* plays, *Ataka* 安宅 ("Peaceful House"), *Funa Benkei* 船弁慶 ("Benkei Aboard Ship"), *Danpu* 壇風 ("Platform Wind"), and *Aoi no ue* 葵上 ("Above Lady Aoi"). The last play, *Aoi no ue*, most notable, is taken from the famous episode of the *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 ("Tale of Genji") (11th century) which describes arguably the most famous possession found in Japanese literature. After failed attempts to rid Genji's wife, the young Lady Aoi, of the (supposed) malevolent spirit of Lady Rokujō, Shugenja invoke Fudō through his *mantra*-s to exorcise the evil spirit. The inclusion of Fudō's *mantra*-s in these tales is evidence of the degree of popularity that Fudō had gained as a guardian deity in medieval Japan.

little need to give a full history of the Esoteric tradition in Japan,⁴ it is, however, necessary to establish a few items before continuing.

I. Shingon Esoteric Buddhism

Although vestiges of Esoteric Buddhism had existed in Japan for some time, it was not until the establishment of the Tendai 天台 (“Heavenly Platform”⁵) and Shingon 真言 (“True Word”) schools that it became properly systematized as a tradition distinct from the established Buddhist orthodoxy. The Esoteric component⁶ of Tendai and Shingon were introduced from Tang Period (618-907) China to Japan during the early Heian Period (9th century), where they came to be generally known as “*mikkyō*” 密教, the “esoteric teachings.” During this time, *mikkyō* was not a religion of the ordinary people, but primarily an elite aristocratic tradition. *Mikkyō*’s high ritualism, aesthetics, and magical focus on “this-worldly” secular benefits such as the conquest of political rivals, agricultural blessings, and protection from disease, appealed greatly to the Heian nobility as a means to secure future prosperity and perpetuate their rule. Through such aristocratic patronage, Heian Esoteric Buddhism quickly became a Buddhism of the imperial court.

In 805, Saichō 最澄⁷ (767-822) returned from China bearing the teachings of the Tendai tradition. With support from the Emperor, he established his school north of the capital of Kyōto atop Hieizan 比叡山, (Mount Hiei), perhaps the most important religious center in Japanese history. Saichō, however, considered the *mikkyō* he had studied in China to be limited, and taught that the Esoteric teachings were only a component of the larger syncretic Tendai school.

⁴ For a history of Esoteric Buddhism, see Yamasaki (chapters 1-2).

⁵ Named after the Chinese mountain Tiantai located in Zhejiang 浙江 province, from which its teachings originated.

⁶ The Tendai school is commonly considered to be comprised of both Esoteric and Exoteric teachings (*kengyō* 顕教), where the Exoteric teachings are somewhat more the basis of the tradition.

⁷ Posthumously known as Dengyō Daishi 伝教大師, the “Great Teacher who Spreads the [Buddhist] Teachings.”

But Kūkai 空海⁸ (774-835), who returned from China (where he had become the eighth patriarch of the Shingon tradition⁹) a year later and who had studied *mikkyō* much more extensively than Saichō, felt that the Esoteric teachings were not limited but in fact a consummation of Buddhist doctrine. *Mikkyō* was, to Kūkai, the Buddhist teachings in their absolute form, and thus he established his Shingon school as a “pure” form of *mikkyō* (*junmitsu* 純密) while relegating the syncretic Tendai to a subordinate position.¹⁰ Moreover, Kūkai expanded his classificatory scheme to include all other forms of Buddhism (as well as other Asian religious traditions), which were classified as inferior “*kengyō*” 顯教 (“exoteric teachings”) in contrast to his supreme Esoteric teachings. In Kūkai’s ranking of the various Buddhist schools, his Shingon tradition was placed at the top as the ultimate revelation of Buddhist doctrine.

Shingon’s aggressive elitism was legitimized through Kūkai’s argument that Shingon doctrine was expounded by the Buddha Mahāvairocana Tathāgata (Jpn. Dainichi Nyorai 大日如來), the ultimate deity in the Esoteric—or, according to Kūkai, any Buddhist—pantheon. As Shingon was considered to be the consummation of other forms of Buddhism, so too was Mahāvairocana considered to be the consummation of all other divinities. To argue Mahāvairocana’s unparalleled status, Kūkai used the theory of the *trikāya* (Jpn. *sanshin* 三身) or “three bodies [of the Buddha]”: (1) the *dharmakāya* (Jpn. *hosshin* 法身; “*dharma* [or absolute] body”); (2) *saṃbhogakāya* (Jpn. *ōjin* 応身; “reward body”); and (3) the *nirmāṇakāya* (Jpn. *keshin* 化身; “transformation [or manifested] body”). Mahāvairocana was placed in the head

⁸ Posthumously known as Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, the “Great Teacher who Spreads the *Dharma*.”

⁹ The usual Shingon transmission of its Esoteric patriarchs runs as follows: (1) Mahāvairocana Tathāgata (Jpn. Dainichi Nyorai 大日如來); (2) Vajrasattva (Jpn. Kongōsatta 金剛薩埵); (3) Nāgārjuna (Jpn. Ryūju 龍樹); (4) Nāgabodhi (Jpn. Ryūchi 龍智); (5) Vajrabodhi (Jpn. Kongōchi 金剛智, 670-741); (6) Amoghavajra (Jpn. Fukū 不空, 705-774); (7) Huiguo (Jpn. Keika 惠果, 746-805); (8) Kūkai.

¹⁰ To distinguish between Shingon and Tendai *mikkyō*, the terms “*taimitsu*” 台密 (a contraction of “Tendai *mikkyō*” 天台密教) and “*tōmitsu*” 東密 (a contraction of “Tōji *mikkyō*” 東寺密教, Tōji being Kūkai’s head Shingon temple) are often used.

position of the Shingon pantheon as the *dharmakāya* or absolute, unconditioned Buddha from which all other deities were manifested as subordinates, including the Pure Land Amida (as a *saṃbhogakāya*) and even (and especially) the historical Śākyamuni (as a *nirmāṇakāya*).

In addition to its reverence of the Dharmakāya Buddha, Shingon advocates as its soteriological trademark a doctrine of a “this-worldly enlightenment” (Jpn. *sokushinjōbutsu* 即身成仏, lit., “become a *buddha* in one’s very own body”). Kūkai propagated a “fast-track” to enlightenment that was favored over the traditional, arduous *bodhisattva* path shared by most Mahāyāna schools. This “fast-track” to enlightenment was acquired through the ritual practice of *sanmitsu* 三密, the “three mysteries,” a manipulation of three ritual elements “revealed” by the Dharmakāya: (1) *mantra* (Jpn. *shingon* 真言; *kumitsu* 口密, *gomitsu* 語密 [Skt. *vāṅguhya*], “mystery of speech”), spells and incantations of various sorts; (2) *mudrā* (Jpn. *in[-gei]* 印[-契]; *shinmitsu* 身密 [Skt. *kāyaguhya*], “mystery of the body”), physical hand gestures; and (3) *samādhi* (Jpn. *tei* 定; *imitsu* 意密 [Skt. *manoguhya*], “mystery of the mind”), complex meditative visualizations of various symbols and images that are often performed in the presence of a *maṇḍala* (Jpn. *mandara* 曼荼羅), an iconographical representation of Esoteric deities dwelling in their heavenly realms. The *mikkyō* practitioner engages in the practices of *sanmitsu* in order ultimately to attain *kaji* 加持 (lit., “add and sustain”) (Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*, “standing upon”), a mutual interpenetration with the worshipped deity where the body, speech, and mind of the practitioner become identified with that of the deity. In *kaji*, the powers of the god are “added” to the practitioner who then “sustains” them for the duration of the ritual. Thus empowered, the practitioner may then manipulate his magic in order to accomplish the objectives of the ritual.¹¹

¹¹ Esoteric ritual will be more fully discussed in Part Two.

Kūkai based the Shingon teachings on the systematization of two textual sources, each representing a separate transmission of Esoteric doctrine earlier synthesized in China. Each text was accompanied by a *maṇḍala* which it described. The first transmission was known as the Taizōkai 胎藏界 (Skt. Garbha[-koṣa-]dhātu [“Womb Realm”]), consisting of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhivikurvitādhiṣṭhāna sūtra* (Ch. *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing*; Jpn. *Daibirushana jōbutsu jinpen kaji kyō* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經)¹² (“*Sūtra of the Enlightenment, Divine Transformation and Empowerment of Mahāvairocana*”) (T.848.18) and its Taizōkai Mandara 胎藏界曼荼羅 (Skt. Garbhadhātu Maṇḍala). The second transmission was called the Kongōkai (Skt. Vajradhātu [“Diamond Realm”]), based on the *Vajraśekhara sūtra* (Ch. *Jingangding jing*; Jpn. *Kongōchō kyō* 金剛頂經) (“*Diamond Head Sūtra*”) (T.865.18) and the Kongōkai Mandara 金剛界曼荼羅 (Skt. Vajradhātu Maṇḍala). Together the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* and *Vajraśekhara sūtra* represent the scriptural basis of the Shingon tradition,¹³ with their respective *maṇḍala*-s iconographically forming the foundation of the Esoteric pantheon.

Fudō, as an Esoteric deity, naturally stems from these two major Esoteric transmissions, but, as will be seen in the following section, underwent a final development in China that was ultimately responsible for his lasting reception in Japan.

II. Fudō’s Classification and Role in the Esoteric Pantheon

Although Shingon worships a plethora of Buddhist divinities, iconographically represented in the Taizōkai and Kongōkai Mandara-s and numbering almost two thousand, the Esoteric pantheon can be divided into four general categories. Hierarchically arranged they are:

¹² Hereafter cited as *Mahāvairocana sūtra* (Ch. *Dari jing*; Jpn. *Dainichi kyō* 大日經).

¹³ A third text, the *Susiddhi[-kāra] sūtra* (Ch. *Suxide[-jieluo] jing*; Jpn. *Soshitsuji[-kara] kyō* 蘇悉地[羯羅]經) (“*Sūtra of Well-perfectedness*”) (T.893.18), is often considered to be the third major Esoteric text, representing yet another transmission in China.

buddha-s, *bodhisattva-s*, *vidyārāja-s*, and *deva-s*. The *buddha-s* (Jpn. *butsu* 仏), enlightened beings, occupy the center sections of the *maṇḍala-s*, indicative of their unparalleled status as the professors of the Buddhist teachings. The *bodhisattva-s* (Jpn. *bosatsu* 菩薩), second only to the *buddha-s*, maintain a compassionate state of postponed enlightenment in order to assist living beings. The *bodhisattva-s* often preside over their own halls or sections of the *maṇḍala-s*. The *deva-s* (Jpn. *ten* 天), originally Hindu gods such as Vaiśravaṇa and Indra, play the role of guardian figures that protect the outlying quarters of the *maṇḍala-s*.

These three classes are common to almost all schools of Buddhism, and function much the same in *mikkyō*. The fourth category—the *vidyārāja*—however, is particular and not found outside the Esoteric tradition. It is within this class of deities that Fudō is found. “*Vidyā*” comes from the Sanskrit root *vid*, “knowledge, wisdom,” but also carries a connotation of “light” as wisdom illumines its objects. The term was thus originally rendered into Chinese as “*ming*” (Jpn. *myō*) 明, a term which similarly denotes both wisdom and light. “*Rāja*” (Jpn. *ō* 王) is simply a lord or king. Thus *vidyārāja* is most often rendered as “king of light,” “king of wisdom,” “luminescent king,” etc.

The term *vidyā* also carries an additional, often Esoteric, meaning of “spell” (the translated *myō* carries the same secondary meaning in Chinese and Japanese), suggestive of Fudō’s strong ties to the use of *mantra*.¹⁴ “Fudō Myōō”¹⁵ is thus often translated as the “Immovable King of Spells.”

¹⁴ There are said to be three fundamental types of *mantra-s* used to invoke Fudō: long, middle, and short. They are:
 i. Long *mantra* (Jpn. *daiju* 大呪, “great spell”; *kakaiju* 火界呪, “fire-realm spell”): *Namaḥ sarva tathāgatebhyaḥ sarva mukhebhyaḥ sarvathā traḥ caṇḍa mahāroṣaṇa kham khāhi khāhi sarva vighnam hūm traḥ hāṃ māṃ* (Jpn. *Nōmaku saraba tatagyateibyaku saraba bokkeibyaku saraba tarata senda makaroshada ken gyaki gyaki saraba bikin ’nan un tarata kan man* 曩莫薩縛怛他藥帝毘藥薩縛他咀羅讀贊拏摩訶路灑拏欠佉囉佉囉薩縛尾覲南吽但羅吒德轄) (“Homage to all the Tathāgata-s and all the gates everywhere! *Traḥ!* The great wrathful one of fury! *Kham!* Consume! Consume all hindrances! *Hūṃ traḥ hāṃ māṃ*”). The long *mantra* is said to be used in order to burn away all hindrances. It is first found in Amoghavajra’s *Kongōshu kōmyō kanjō kyō saishō ryūin shōmudōson daiinuō nenju giki hō hin* (Ch. *Jingangshou guangming guanding jing zuisheng liyin*

Among the variety of *myōō*-s, Fudō is most often the head deity of a particular group of five—(1) Daiitoku [“Great-strengthened”] Myōō 大威徳明王 (Skt. Yamāntaka [“Destroyer of Death”] Vidyārāja); (2) Gundari Myōō 軍荼利明王 (Skt. Kuṇḍarī [“Serpent”] Vidyārāja); (3) Kongōyasha Myōō 金剛夜叉 (Skt. Vajrayakṣa [“Indestructible Demon”] Vidyārāja); (4) Gōzanze Myōō 降三世明王 (Skt. Trailokyavijāya [“Conqueror of the Three Worlds”] Vidyārāja); and (5) Fudō. Together these five gods comprise the Godai Myōō 五大明王, the “Five Great Myōō,” the object of much reverence and worship in Japan (plate 1).¹⁶

The emergence of Fudō and the Godai Myōō as central gods in the Esoteric pantheon was surprisingly not due so much to the normative scriptural foundations of the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* and *Vajraśekhara sūtra*, but rather to a popular Mahāyāna text known as the *Nin'nō gyō* (Ch. *Renwang jing*) 仁王經 (“*Sūtra of the Benevolent Kings*”). Although the Godai Myōō can be found loosely organized in the Shingon *maṇḍala*-s (more so in the Kongōkai Mandara),¹⁷ it was

shengmudongzun daweinuwang niansong yigui fa pin) 金剛手光明灌頂經最勝立印聖無動尊大威怒王念誦儀軌法品 (T.1199.21.1b.14-17).

- ii. Middle mantra (Jpn. *chūju* 中呪, “middle spell”; *jikuju* 慈救呪, “compassion-protection spell”): *Namaḥ samanta vajrāṇām caṇḍa mahāroṣaṇa sphataya hūm traḥ hām māḥ* (Jpn. *Nōmaku sanmanda bazaradan senda makaroshada sohataya un tarata kan man* 曩莫三曼多縛日羅報戰拏摩訶路灑拏薩頗吒他吽但羅伽悍漫) (“Homage to all the *vajra*-s! The great wrathful one of fury! Destroy! *Hūm traḥ hām māḥ*”). The middle spell is the most widely used of the three, and is recorded in the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* as “*daisaisawari shōja Fudōshu shingon*” 大摧障聖者不動主真言 (“great hindrance-destroying mantra of Ārya Acalanātha”) (T.848.18.15b.21-24). It also appears in the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (“*The Tale of the Heike*”) (ca. late 13th century) (scroll five, chapter seven).
- iii. Short mantra (Jpn. *shōju* 小呪, “short spell”): *Namaḥ samanta vajrāṇām hām* (Jpn. *Nōmaku sanmanda bazaradan kan* 曩莫三曼多縛日羅報悍) (“Homage to all the *vajra*-s! *Hām*”). Although recorded in the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* (as “*Fudōson shingon*” 不動尊真言 [“mantra of Acalanātha”]) (T.848.18.16a23-24), the short mantra is seldom used in Japan.

¹⁵ Although “Fudō Myōō” is often the standard name, Fudō maintains a multitude of designations. There are as many as a dozen different names found throughout Fudō’s texts, most of them variant descriptions of Fudō’s character as a messenger, fierce guardian, or different renderings of his Sanskrit name. Moreover, “Fudō Myōō” may have been an abbreviation of “Fudō Inu [“Wrathful”] Myōō” 不動威怒明王, an early title found in the Chinese sources.

¹⁶ Other groupings of *myōō* exist such as the Hachidai Myōō 八大明王, the “Eight Great Myōō,” which consist of the five Godai Myōō in addition to Ususama Myōō 烏枢沙魔明王 (Skt. Ucchuṣma [“Devourer”] Vidyārāja), Munōshō Myōō 無能勝明王 (Skt. Aparājita [“Unconquerable”] Vidyārāja), and Batō Myōō 馬頭明王 (Skt. Hayagrīva [“Horse-necked/headed”] Vidyārāja).

¹⁷ In the Taizōkai Mandara, Fudō, Gōzanze, and Daiitoku appear just below center in the *Jimyōin* 持明院 (“Hall of those who Sustain *Vidyā*”) (plate 13). Here, Fudō is not the head deity, but rather Han’nya Haramitsu Bosatsu 般若

the *Nin'nō gyō* that properly systematized the group as they exist in Japan today. The *Nin'nō gyō* exists in two Chinese translations: the “old translation” (*kuyaku* 旧訳) of Kumārajīva (Jpn. Kumarajū 鳩摩羅什, 344-413), properly known as the *Nin'nō han'nya haramitsu kyō* (Ch. *Renwang banruo boruomi jing*) 仁王般若波羅蜜經 (“*Sūtra of the Benevolent Kings of Perfected Wisdom*”) (T.245.8), and the “new translation” (*shinyaku* 新訳) of the Esoteric master Amoghavajra (Jpn. Fukū 不空, 705-774), known as the *Nin'nō gokoku han'nya haramitta kyō* (Ch. *Renwang huguo banruo boluomidou jing*) 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經 (“*Sūtra of the Benevolent Kings of Perfected Wisdom who Protect the Nation*”) (T.246.8).

In Kumārajīva’s translation, chapter seven, there appears a group of five *bodhisattva*-s who are described as guardians of the land who assist the kings of the nation who protect and sustain the Buddhist *dharma*. These *bodhisattva*-s are not the traditional, pristine deities epitomizing gentleness and compassion, but are, in keeping with their service to the kings of the land, militant guardians bearing an array of weaponry (plate 2). They are collectively called the “Godai Riki Bosatsu” 五大力菩薩 (“Five Great-strengthened Bodhisattva-s”) (figure 1a) and are each given the designation “*kubosatsu*” 吼菩薩 or “Roaring Bodhisattva,” which, as Yoritomi suggests, refers to their ability to destroy evil beings (Yoritomi 171). No description of the deities is given other than a brief mention of the weapons they bear in order to defend the state.

In Amoghavajra’s subsequent translation of the *Nin'nō gyō*, the Godai Riki Bosatsu are renamed the Gohō Bosatsu 五方菩薩 (“The Bodhisattva-s of the Five Directions”). They are also given new individual names (figure 1b). More importantly, both the new directional assignments and new names now match that of the five *bodhisattva*-s who occupy lofty positions

波羅蜜菩薩 (Skt. Prajñāparāmitā Bodhisattva). This hall, also known as the *Godaiin* 五大院 (“Hall of the Five Great [Ones]”), suggests a distant connection to the Godai Myōō. Gundari appears separately in the *Soshitsujiin* 蘇悉地院 (“Hall of the Susiddi [Skt. “Well-perfected (Ones)”]”) as Kongō Gundari 金剛軍荼利 (Skt. Vajra Kuṇḍarī) near the bottom of the *maṇḍala*. Kongōyasha does not appear in the Taizōkai Mandara. The Kongōkai Mandara arrangement of the deities will be discussed below.

in the center section (*Jōjin e* 成身会, “Assembly of Perfected Bodies”) of the Kongōkai Mandara where they surround Mahāvairocana Buddha (plate 3a).¹⁸ It is unclear whether or not Kumārajīva’s *bodhisattva*-s referred to the same deities of the Kongōkai Mandara, since their names are of no resemblance to them whatsoever, and no mention is made of any directional placement. In any case, it seems that Amoghavajra’s redactions—the renaming of the *bodhisattva*-s as those found in the Kongōkai Mandara—was an initial attempt to strengthen the bond between the *Nin’nō gyō* and the Kongōkai Mandara and reflects the desire to legitimize the *Nin’nō gyō* as part of the Kongōkai transmission.

In order further to explain the role of the Five Bodhisattva-s as well as the contents of the *Nin’nō gyō* in general, Amoghavajra subsequently wrote the *Nin’nō gokoku han’nya haramitta kyō darani nenju giki* (Ch. *Renwang huguo banruo boluomidou jing tuoluoni niansong yigui*) 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經陀羅尼念誦儀軌 (“*Ritual Text of Dharāṇī Invocations for the Sūtra of the Benevolent Kings of Perfected Wisdom who Protect the Nation*”)¹⁹ (T.994.19). The *Nin’nō nenju giki* adds new details about the Five Bodhisattva-s, the most important of which is:

然五菩薩依二種輪現身有異。一者法輪。現真實身。所修行願報得身故。二教令輪。示威怒身。

Thus the Five Bodhisattva-s use two types of wheels to manifest different bodies. The first is the *dharm*a-wheel [*hōrin* 法輪]. Such bodies are a manifestation of reality. They are the reward-bodies attained through practicing the vow. The second is the teachings-command-wheel [*kyōryōrin* 教令輪]. These bodies are a manifestation of wrath.

(T.994.19.514a.22-24)

The “*kyōryōrin*” specifically refers to a new group of five deities, the Gokongō 五金剛 (“The Five Vajra[-wielders]”) (figure 1c). As their names suggest (all bear the *kongō* 金剛 [Skt. *vajra*] designation), the Gokongō are essentially composites of Amoghavajra’s Gohō Bosatsu; they are

¹⁸ The names of Kongōshu 金剛手 and Kongōyakusha 金剛樂叉 are described slightly differently in the Kongōkai Mandara as Kongōsatta 金剛薩埵 and Kongōgyō 金剛業, respectively. Kūkai later adopted the latter designations.

¹⁹ Hereafter cited as *Nin’nō nenju giki* (Ch. *Renwang niansong yigui*) 仁王念誦儀軌.

“split” into two groups, each described as a different manifestation.²⁰ The *bodhisattva*-s take the title of *hōrin* 法輪 (also called *shōborin* 正法輪), referring to their superior status as the teachers of the *dharma* (Jpn. *hō* 法) or Buddhist law, and begin to shed their former wrathful personas which are now assumed by the Gokongō as the *kyōryōrin* or subordinate “command”-figures who carry out the orders of the *bodhisattva*-s.

The new appearance and arrangement of the Gokongō suggests the spatial arrangement—four cardinal deities surrounding a fifth in the middle—of the five *myōō* in the Kongōkai Mandara. To the right (north) of the center *Jōjin e* Assembly in which the five *bodhisattva*-s dwell, is the *Gōzanze e* 降三世会 (“Assembly of Gōzanze”) (plate 3b). Fudō,²¹ Daiitoku, Kongōyasha, and Gundari guard each of the four corners of the Assembly as subordinates of Gōzanze, who appears near the middle of the section. But the single most important difference between the deities of Amoghavajra’s Gokongō and those of the *Gōzanze e*, is that Fudō and Gōzanze are switched; Amoghavajra, apparently unsatisfied with Fudō’s treatment as a subordinate of Gōzanze, and thus as one of the least important deities of the Kongōkai Mandara, placed Fudō as the head deity of the five *myōō*. This is perhaps indicative of the growing popularity of Fudō worship during the Tang dynasty. Thus, although the five *myōō* appear together in a similar arrangement in the Kongōkai Mandara, we must consider the Gokongō figures of Amoghavajra’s *Nin ’nō nenju giki* as the Godai Myōō in their earliest form.²²

²⁰ The medieval Japanese text *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記 (“Miscellaneous Records of Particular Deities”) (TZ.3007.3) contains a curious depiction of (a four-armed) Fudō as the head deity of the Godai Riki Bosatsu, despite the fact that neither this name nor description is present in the *Nin ’nō gyō* (plate 4).

²¹ It must be noted that the Kongōkai Fudō is wholly different from the Taizōkai Fudō in form. The Kongōkai Fudō is described as a celestial female (Fudō Myōō hi 不動明王妃 [Acalanāthā]) (or perhaps, the female counterpart of Fudō) who plays the harp (plate 5). The deity’s *bīja* (*hūm*) and *samaya* form (*sankoshō* 三鉗杵, “triple-pronged vajra pounder”) are also different from those of the Taizōkai Fudō. Somekawa describes the Kongōkai Fudō’s form: “青灰色。天女形。箏篋を持ち曲を奏てる姿” (“The color is blue-gray. [Fudō’s] form is that of an angel, and holds a harp which [the deity] plays”) (Somekawa 394).

²² The exception is the inclusion of *Jōjin Kongō* 淨身金剛, a translation of *Ucchuṣma* (Jpn. *Ususama* 烏枢沙摩), in the northern direction in place of the usual Kongōyasha. *Ususama Myōō* is often used by the Tendai tradition while Shingon favors the use of Kongōyasha (who later replaces *Jōjin*).

In his later *Shōmuge daihishin daidarani kyōkei ippō chūshutsu muryōgi nanpō mangan fudarakukai egobu shosontō guzei riki hōi oyobi igi gyōshiki shūji sanmaya hyōshiki mandara giki* (Ch. *Shewuai dabeixin datuoluoni jingji yifa zhongchu wuliangyi nanfang manyuan butuoluohai huiwufu zhuzun deng hongshilifang wei ji weiyi xingse zhichi sanmoya piaozhi mantuluo yigui*) 攝無礙大悲心大陀羅尼經計一法中出無量義南方滿願補陀落海會五部諸尊等弘誓力方位及威儀形色執持三摩耶幟幟曼荼羅儀軌²³ (T.1067.20), Amoghavajra adds the final touches to his development of the five *myōō* by introducing a third and final group, the Gobutsu 五佛 or “Five Buddha-s,” which include Mahāvairocana himself (figure 1d). As with the five *bodhisattva*-s and *myōō*-s, the Five Buddha-s are taken from the Kongōkai Mandara where they appear in the same center section as the *bodhisattva*-s (plate 3a). Amoghavajra subordinates the five *bodhisattva*-s, now classified as “*jishōrin*” 自性輪 (“self-nature-wheel”) to the *buddha*-s who now assume the grand title of *hōrin*. The Gokongō, retaining their classification as *kyōryōrin*, are renamed the “Gofun’nu” 五忿怒 (“Five Wrathful [Ones]”).²⁴ As their new names suggest, there is greater emphasis in the Gofun’nu on their being wrathful subordinates when compared to the Gokongō. This reflects their increased dependence on the newly added *buddha*-s. For example, Fudō is described as follows:

毘盧遮那忿怒薩
不動尊 自性輪般若菩

Fudōson is the wrathful [form] of Mahāvairocana and *jishōrin* [Kongō] Han’nya Bosatsu.

(T.1067.20.130a.6)

Together these three classes of deities—the five Buddha-s (*hōrin*), the five Bodhisattva-s (*jishōrin*), and the five Gofun’nu (*kyōryōrin*)—comprise the *sanrinjin* 三輪身 [“three-wheels bodies”]. Amoghavajra’s *sanrinjin* can be considered to comprise the essence of the Esoteric

²³ Hereafter cited as *Shōmuge kyō* (Ch. *Shewuai jing*) 攝無礙經.

²⁴ Here, Jōjin is replaced with Kongōyasha in the northern direction.

pantheon, as it is used to explain both the expedient means by which the prime Esoteric deities collaborate with one another in order to teach and enlighten living beings, as well as to elucidate the occupation of each individual deity. Mahāvairocana Buddha may manifest the Kongōhan'nya Bodhisattva in order to preach the Buddhist doctrine and enlighten living beings. Yet as a peaceful deity, a *bodhisattva* is often ill-equipped to engage such beings as demons and malevolent spirits, at which time Mahāvairocana may manifest and employ the wrathful Fudō. Essentially, in the *sanrinjin* schema, the *bodhisattva*-s and *myōō*-s act as the left and right-hand attendants of the five *buddha*-s, allowing them to manifest their compassion and wrath according to circumstance.

Amoghavajra's *Shōmuge kyō* represents the final stage of development that Fudō and the Godai Myōō underwent in China. A general restatement of this development is as follows: first, Amoghavajra begins to link the *Nin'nō gyō*—specifically the *bodhisattva*-s—to the Kongōkai Mandara by giving names and directional positions to the *bodhisattva*-s that match those of five *bodhisattva*-s who dwell in the center section of the Kongōkai Mandara. Second, Amoghavajra strengthens this link by adding the five Gokongō which (nearly) match the five *myōō* that dwell adjacent to the *bodhisattva*-s in the Kongōkai Mandara. Third and last, Amoghavajra consummates the link by adding the five *buddha*-s that, as the *bodhisattva*-s, perfectly match five deities found in the center section of the Kongōkai Mandara.

Amoghavajra progressively developed his *sanrinjin* deities—adding the five *myōō*-s and *buddha*-s to the original *Nin'nō gyō bodhisattva*-s—to ultimately identify with the three groups of Kongōkai deities, and to provide a new explanation for their communal *modus operandi*. More importantly, amidst all these redactions and developments, Amoghavajra's *sanrinjin* deities ultimately differed from their template Kongōkai Mandara counterparts in only one, but crucial, way—Gōzanze, as head deity of the five *myōō*, was replaced by Fudō. Amoghavajra,

again, although a proponent of the Kongōkai transmission, was evidently unsatisfied with the Kongōkai's arrangement of the five *myōō* and especially of the subordinate treatment of Fudō to Gōzanze. Amoghavajra's promotion of Fudō paralleled his prolific writings and studies of Fudō worship, and suggests the degree of importance the patriarch had placed on the deity as a central figure in the Esoteric tradition. Fudō, as head of the Godai Myōō and according to the rule of the *sanrinjin* schema, was now regarded as a direct manifestation of Mahāvairocana Buddha.

In addition to commonly being characterized as head deity of the Godai Myōō, Fudō is also considered to be a powerful guardian. Fudō's treatment as a guardian, like the Godai Myōō, can be traced not to the Taizōkai but rather the Kongōkai transmission. Fudō's classification as a guardian is most evident in the writings of Amoghavajra, but also appeared earlier in the writings of his teacher, the legendary Vajrabodhi (Jpn. Kongōchi 金剛智, 670-741). In his *Fudō shisha darani himitsu hō* (Ch. *Budong shizhe tuoluoni mimi fa*)²⁵ 不動使者陀羅尼秘密法 (“*Secret Dharāṇī Rites of the Messenger Fudō*”) (T.1202.21), Vajrabodhi writes:

於三界中現威德光明自在之身。號曰不動金剛明王。能與人天安樂利益。安鎮家國無衰患。

Within the three realms is manifested a body of a supernatural deity of magnificent radiant light. He is called Fudō Kongō Myōō [“Immovable, Indestructible King of Light”]. He is able to bestow peace and merit to both men and gods. He protects the state without reprieve.

(T.1202.21.27c.2-5)

Furthermore, Vajrabodhi's²⁶ *Shōmudōson anchin kakokutō hō* (Ch. *Shengbudongzun anzhen jiguodeng fa*) 聖無動尊安鎮家國等法²⁷ (“*Rites of Ārya Acalanātha for the Protection of the State*”) (T.1203.21) writes:

²⁵ Hereafter cited as *Fudō shisha hō* (Ch. *Budong shizhe fa*) 不動使者法.

²⁶ Although the Taishō gives no reference of the date and author of this text, Sawa lists the work as that of Vajrabodhi (Sawa 1975: 63 [index]).

²⁷ Hereafter *Mudō anchin hō* (Ch. *Budong anzhen fa*) 無動安鎮法.

我大日如來 安鎮家國法
 現威德自在 號不動明王
 於一切有情 斷三惡道業
 能離諸八難 使三界獲安

I am Mahāvairocana Tathāgata.
 In [performing] the rites for the protection of the state,
 I manifest the magnificent powers,
 Called Fudō Myōō.
 For [the sake of] all sentient beings
 [He] destroys the *karma* [which leads to the] three evil paths,²⁸
 And is able to cut off the eight hindrances,²⁹
 So that tranquility will prevail in the three realms [of past, present, and future].
 (T.1203.21.28b.11-12)

Although the Taizōkai transmission does make passing mention of Fudō as a protector of *mantra* practitioners (T.1796.39.678b.6), the treatment of Fudō as a guardian deity and protector of the state is predominately a Kongōkai one. The *Mahāvairocana sūtra* briefly describes Fudō as a simple “*shisha*” 使者 (Skt. *ceṭa*) or messenger-servant of the Buddha, the meager treatment of which seems to remain the mainstay of the Taizōkai Fudō.

To summarize, we can draw three conclusions from these Chinese sources concerning the nature and role of Fudō as an Esoteric Buddhist deity in Japan. First, in spite of his low ranking in the normative *ryōbu* 兩部 or “dual” scriptures of the *Mahāvairocana* and *Vajraśekara sūtra*-s and their *maṇḍala*-s, Fudō developed much more predominately in the prolific writing of Amoghavajra and his teacher Vajrabodhi, thus becoming a central deity in the Esoteric pantheon.

²⁸ Jpn. *sanakudō* 三惡道, the three lowest of the six sentient rebirths in the *kāmadhātu* (Jpn. *yokkai* 欲界) or “realm of desire.” In descending order they are: (1) *tiryagyoni* (Jpn. *chikushō* 畜生), “animals”; (2) *preta* (Jpn. *gaki* 餓鬼), “hungry spirits”; and (3) *naraka* (Jpn. *jigoku* 地獄), “hells.”

²⁹ Skt. *aṣṭākṣaṇā* (Jpn. *hachinan* 八難, lit., “eight hardships”), the eight conditions or places in which it is difficult or impossible to see the Buddha or listen to the *dharma*. They are: (1) *naraka* (Jpn. *jigoku* 地獄), “hells”; (2) *tiryadhyoni* (Jpn. *chikushō* 畜生), animals”; (3) *preta* (Jpn. *gaki* 餓鬼), “hungry spirits”; (4) *dirghāyurdeva* (Jpn. *chōyuten*), the heavens of long life (i.e., [i] *naivasamjñānāsamjñāyatana* [Jpn. *hisōhihisōsho* 非想非非想處], the heaven neither thought nor non-thought in the realm of non-form [*arupa dhātu* (Jpn. *mushiki kai* 無色界)]; and [ii] *asamjñinaya* [Jpn. *musōten* 無想天], the heaven without thought in the realm of form [*rūpadhātu* (Jpn. *shiki kai* 色界)]); (5) *pratyantajanapada* (Jpn. *henchi* 辺地), remote places; (6) *indriyavaikalya* (Jpn. *konketsu*), the state of deformed senses; (7) *mithyādarśana* (Jpn. *sechibenso*), the state of secular prejudices; (8) *tathāgatānam anutpāda*, the period in which no *buddha* is present (Snodgrass 101 fn.9).

Second, the most important of these developments (of which Amoghavajra was primarily responsible) were Fudō's elevation as the head deity of the Godai Myōō and third, Fudō's new important role as a powerful guardian of the state. The record of these developments is contained in the form of the *giki* 儀軌 (Skt. *tantra*) or ritual manuals; practically all extant Chinese sources concerning Fudō are ritual manuals (again, those of Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi) that prescribe the proper methods of worshipping and invoking the deity.

Although the existence of Fudō was known in ancient Japan prior to the establishment of the Esoteric schools of Shingon and Tendai (the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* and the *Nin'nō gyō* had, for example, quickly made their way to Japan), Kūkai is commonly held to have been the first properly to introduce and propagate Fudō as a Shingon deity among the Japanese. Since, as his *Shōrai mokuroku* 請來目錄 (“*Catalogue of Imported [Items from Tang China]*”) (KZ.2 [1983]) reveals, most of the texts that Kūkai imported from China were those translated and written by Amoghavajra, the Fudō that Kūkai introduced to Japan was based not so much on the scriptural and iconographical norm of the Taizōkai and Kongōkai transmissions presenting a relatively unimportant Fudō, but rather on the highly developed Fudō adopted from Amoghavajra's *sanrinjin* as guardian and head of the Godai Myōō. Amoghavajra's writings were so influential as to inspire Kūkai to construct the Nin'nō gyō Mandara 仁王經曼荼羅,³⁰ a three-dimensional representation of the *sanrinjin* deities contained in the Kōdō Lecture Hall of Kūkai's head Shingon temple, the Tōji (figure 2).³¹ The twenty-one deities that comprise the Nin'nō gyō Mandara, today all designated National Treasures by the Japanese Government, collectively received great attention and worship by the Heian government as the *maṇḍala* and its texts were “designed” for the protection of the state (*gokoku* 護國).

³⁰ Also called the Katsuma Mandara 羯磨曼荼羅 (Skt. Karma Maṇḍala). Any three-dimensional *maṇḍala* is called a Katsuma Mandara.

³¹ Note how in contrast to Amoghavajra's inherited nomenclature, Kūkai's *sanrinjin* schema uses the term “*jishōrin*” to represent the *buddha*-s and “*shōbōrin*” to represent the *bodhisattva*-s.

Although other forms of Fudō were imported from China (discussed below), it is primarily due to his inclusion as a prime deity in the Nin'nō gyō Mandara that Fudō became well-known in Japan. The practice of patronizing and invoking Fudō as a guardian deity became so commonplace that Fudō quickly emerged as one of the most popular deities of the time. Fudō was called upon time and time again to quell a variety of insurrections during the Heian Period and ultimately was invoked to protect the whole of Japan during the Mongolian invasions of the late 13th century (Tanaka 15).³² Fudō's popularity as a protector of the state did not suffer with the collapse of aristocratic rule in the late 12th century but, due to his wrathful and militant appearance, Fudō found new favor among the military class. Fudō became widely accepted as a patron saint of the *samurai* and icons were carried around in battle as both a display of militant might and for protection on the battlefield. Due to his continuing patronage with the military, the lore of Fudō began to spread into medieval literature such as the celebrated *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (“*The Tale of the Heike*”)³³ (ca. late 13th century) where he appears as a the object of ascetic practices. Fudō also became well known in the *nōgaku* 能楽 (*noh*) and *kyōgen* 狂言 plays as a figure to be invoked during exorcism, especially by the *yamabushi*.

Today, although faith and worship of the deity have expanded to include a variety of religious mediums such as two major pilgrimage routes³⁴ and his inclusion as one of the

³² According to Tanaka, the icon invoked to quell the Mongolian invasion was the famous Namikiri Fudō 波切不動 or the “Wave-cutter Fudō” stored at Kōyasan’s Nan’in 南院. Since, according to legend, Kūkai carved this image in order to return safely from China across the rough waves, the Namikiri Fudō was similarly used in order to summon the typhoons and heavy rains which washed out the Mongolian fleet.

³³ In scroll five, chapter seven of the *Heike monogatari*, Fudō is uniquely assigned a residence in the prestigious *tuṣita* (Jpn. *tosotsu* 兜率) heaven, popular as the dwelling place of the Buddha-to-be. It is located in the realm of desire as the fourth of the six heavens of desire (Takagi 355).

³⁴ They are: (1) the Kinki sanjūroku Fudōson reijō 近畿三十六不動尊霊場 (“Pilgrimage Route of the Thirty-six Fudō-s of the Kinki Region”); and (2) Kantō sanjūroku Fudōson reijō 関東三十六不動尊霊場 (“Pilgrimage Route of the Thirty-six Fudō-s of the Kantō Region”). For a listing of the routes, see Tanaka (26-7).

jūsanbutsu 十三佛, “the Thirteen Buddha-s,”³⁵ Fudō’s characterization is still that of a wrathful guardian deity, due predominately to Kūkai’s adaptation of Amoghavajra’s treatment of Fudō.

III. Texts and Sources of the Nineteen Visualizations

The Nineteen Visualizations (hereafter 19V) are today attributed to the writings of two men who were active in the study of Esoteric Buddhism during the early Heian Period. The first was Annen 安然³⁶ (841-915), a well-known Tendai patriarch considered to have been related by blood to Saichō. Annen spent much of his time on Hieizan, where he founded the Godaiin 五大院 and wrote such important works as the *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 諸阿闍梨真言密教部類總錄 (“Complete Record and Classification [of Items Imported by] Esoteric Mantra Masters”) (T.2176.55). The second man was Shunnyū 淳祐³⁷ (890-953). Due to a physical illness at birth, Shunnyū is said to have entered the Buddhist order where he became a monk in the Shingon tradition. At the Ishiyamadera 石山寺, located close to Annen’s Godaiin, Shunnyū, too, became a prolific writer in Esoteric studies.

Both men were the first to popularize the ritual of the 19V in their respective traditions—Annen in Tendai and Shunnyū in Shingon. Annen’s writings of the 19V are found in the ritual text *Fudō Myōō ryūin giki shugyō shidai taizō gyōhō* 不動明王立印儀軌修行次第胎藏行法 (“Womb Realm Prescriptive Rites of Fudō”)³⁸ (NDK.82). Shunnyū’s version is found in the *Fudōson dōjōkan* 不動尊道場觀 (“Dōjō Visualizations of Fudō”), part of the larger *Yōson*

³⁵ The Thirteen Buddha-s are comprised of the most popular Japanese Buddhist deities that are worshipped after the death of a relative in order to secure their pacification in the afterlife. Fudō is the first of the thirteen deities. Thus, according to Japanese belief, upon dying one is first greeted and protected by Fudō for the first seven days. Statues of Fudō are accordingly commonplace in the Japanese *butsudan* 仏壇, the Buddhist family household memorial altar. Fudō’s inclusion as the only non-*buddha* or *bodhisattva* attests to his widespread acceptance as a not only a primarily Shingon, but major Buddhist deity.

³⁶ Posthumously known as Akaku Daishi 阿覚大師.

³⁷ Also pronounced “Jun’nyū.”

³⁸ Hereafter cited as *Fudō ryūin giki* 不動立印儀軌.

dōjōkan 要尊道場觀 (“*Dōjō Visualizations of Principle [Esoteric] Deities*”) (T.2468.78). The versions are nearly identical, suggestive of a single authorship. Annen was Shunmyō’s senior and, according to evidence such as the *Kechimyaku ruijū ki* 血脈類集記 (“*Recorded Compendium of Lineages*”), was the first of the two to have established the practice of the 19V (Shōji 67). Shunmyō evidently later copied the ritual.

However, the earliest sources in which the 19V appear in a coherent, systematized form—the apparent sources of Annen’s text—are Kūkai’s *Fudō Myōō nenju shidai* 不動明王念誦次第 (“*Prescriptions for Invocations of Fudō Myōō*”) ³⁹ (KZ.2.80 [1911]; NDK.85) and *Kan jūkyūkansō ryakujumon* 十九觀想略頌文 (“*Abbreviated Verse of the Nineteen Visualizations and [the Syllable] Hām*”) ⁴⁰ (KZ.2.81 [1911]). Annen, well-read in the works of the early Japanese Esoteric patriarchs, most likely discovered Kūkai’s writings of the 19V while compiling such works as the aforementioned *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*.

Kūkai’s original 19V contained in these texts can be traced to scattered, unsystematized descriptive explanations of Fudō’s form and character, originating mainly in the writings of Amoghavajra (Jpn. Fukū 不空, 705-774) and Yixing (Jpn. Ichigyō 一行, 683-727), two of the most important proponents of Esoteric Buddhism in China. These writings are, specifically, the *Daibirushana jōbutsu kyō sho* (Ch. *Daipiluzhena chengfo jing shu*) 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 (“*Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra*”) ⁴¹ (T.1796.39) of Yixing and the *Chirisanmaya fudōson shōja nenju himitsu hō* 底哩三昧耶不動尊聖者念誦秘密法 (“*Secret Invocation Rites of the Trisamaya Ārya Acalanātha*”) ⁴² (T.1201.21) of Amoghavajra. We have seen that, Amoghavajra, considered the greatest master of Esoteric Buddhism in Chinese history, translated

³⁹ Subtitled as *Nōryōbō shidai* 納涼房次第 (“*Prescriptional Rites of the Nōryōbō*”), named after the Nōryōbō (“Cool Breeze Room”), part of the Takaosanji where Kūkai was in residence and where he evidently wrote the text.

⁴⁰ Subtitled as *Fudōson kōnō* 不動尊功能 (“*The Efficacy of Fudō*”).

⁴¹ Hereafter cited as *Commentary*.

⁴² Also pronounced *Teirisanmaya*.

⁴³ Hereafter cited as *Chiri himitsu hō* 底哩秘密法.

and annotated the earliest extant rituals of Fudō that later provided the foundation for Fudō worship in Japan. Yixing, Śubhakarasiṃha's finest student, who had assisted in the translation of the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, later wrote his well-known authorized annotation *Commentary* as a means further to explain and elucidate the contents of the cryptic *Dainichi kyō*. This included details surrounding Fudō. Although Kūkai's use of Yixing and Amoghavajra may seem syncretic, since that Yixing belonged to the Taizōkai transmission and Amoghavajra to the Kongōkai line, Amoghavajra, as the great Esoteric master, was in fact well-versed in both transmissions. Amoghavajra was undoubtedly familiar with Yixing's *Commentary*; Kūkai was more indebted to Amoghavajra's texts which virtually subsume the contents of Yixing's *Commentary* as they relate to Fudō.

Although Kūkai's two texts—especially the second one—reveal the importance he had placed on the practice of the 19V, little acknowledgement has yet been given to Kūkai's initial work in systematizing the ritual of the 19V from Amoghavajra and Yixing's writings. This is perhaps due to the fact that, while Shunmyō had essentially copied from Annen's text, Annen had substantially modified Kūkai's 19V from their original form. Kūkai had composed the 19V in *gāthā* verses consisting of a five-character meter (figure 3). *Gāthā* verse (Jpn. *geju* 偈頌), one of the twelve divisions of the Mahāyāna canon (Jpn. *jūnibukyō* 十二部經), was often used in the Esoteric rituals that Kūkai had studied in China. It was favored for its repetitive, mnemonic qualities ideal for recitation. Restricted by *gāthā* convention, Kūkai's 19V were necessarily brief and terse. Annen chose to return to the original sources, quoting more fully from Amoghavajra and Yixing in order to lengthen and elucidate the 19V. For instance, Kūkai's original Visualization 4⁴⁴ reads:

⁴⁴ Hereafter I shall cite "Visualization" as "V." For example, Visualization 10 will be rendered as "V10."

安坐大盤石 鎮衆生重障

[Fudō] sits peacefully on a great rock-platform
 Quelling the hindrances of living beings.

(NDK.85.290)

Annen separated Kūkai's basic structure of the 19V—that of a five-character description followed by a five-character explanation/commentary—more clearly into steps with the explanations now as interlinear commentaries. Annen also dispensed with Kūkai's *gāthā* verses and newly presented the 19V in prose form:

十四安坐大盤石。表鎮衆生重障令不復動
 使成淨菩提心妙高山王。

Number fourteen. [Fudō] sits peacefully on a great rock-platform. This expresses quelling the hindrances of living beings, causing [them] not again to move and to attain the pure *bodhicitta* of the king of wondrous high mountains.⁴⁵

(NDK.82.376a.12-13)

It is perhaps due to such modifications⁴⁶ that build on Kūkai's initial systematization that the 19V as they flourished in ancient and medieval Japan took Annen's text as their basis. Under these circumstances, it is plausible to suggest that Annen's redactions were an attempt to claim originality and distinguish the text and its practice as Tendai (by this time the two traditions had become bitter rivals).

At any rate, while Kūkai's 19V remained in relative obscurity, Annen's redactions standardized the use of the 19V in Japan, and became of considerable importance in both Tendai and Shingon. Annen's version re-appears in nine additional texts throughout the canon, beyond that of Shunmyō.⁴⁷ All are virtual copies of Annen's original, suggesting the degree of authority

⁴⁵ I.e., Mount Sumeru (Jpn. Shimisen 須弥山), the central and highest mountain in every realm, atop which are the celestial heavens. Sumeru's four sides are guarded by the Shiten'nō 四天王 (Skt. Cāturmahārāja; Lokapāla) ("The Four Deva Kings"), the same deities who guard the four corners of Amoghavajra's *sanrinjin*.

⁴⁶ Beyond the difference in *gāthā* form and interlinear commentary, Annen modified Kūkai's 19V in three additional ways: V1 and V2 were reversed in order by Annen; Kūkai's V19 was removed; and to keep the number at nineteen, V16 was added.

⁴⁷ They are as follows: (1) *Jōju kongō shiki* 常住金剛私記 ("Private Records of the Eternally Abiding Vajra [i.e., Fudō]") (NDK.43) (10th century, Tendai); (2) *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 ("Collected Notes of Kakuzen") (TZ.3022.4-5;

Annen's text had commanded. Due to these reasons, throughout this thesis I will use the 19V contained in Annen's *Fudō ryūin giki* (figure 4), occasionally referring to other editions, primarily that of Shunmyō, where necessary.

DBZ.53-56) (late 12th-early 13th centuries, Shingon); (3) *Denjushū* 傳受集 (“Collected Notes of [Esoteric] Initiation”) (T.2482.78) (12th century, Shingon); (4) *Shosonyōshō* 諸尊要抄 (“Collected Notes of Essential Deities”) (T.2484.78) (12th century, Shingon); (5) *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記 (“Miscellaneous Records of Particular Deities”) (TZ.3007.3.366b-c.14-2) (12th century, Shingon); (6) *Gojūkanshō* 五十卷抄 (“Collected Notes in Fifty Fascicles”) (12th century, Shingon); (7) *Byakuhokkushō* 白寶口抄 (“Oral Notes of the Hō[-bodaiin] on the Secret [Teachings]”) (TZ.3119.6-7) (13th-14th centuries, Shingon); (8) *Gyōrinshō* 行林抄 (“Collected Notes of the Avenue of Trees [?]”) (T.2409.76) (13th century, Tendai); (9) *Asabashō* 阿娑縛鈔 (“Collected Notes on the Buddha, Lotus, and Vajra [Sections of the Taizōkai Mandara]”) (TZ.3190.8-9; DBZ. 35-41) (13th century, Tendai).

PART ONE: THE NINETEEN VISUALIZATIONS AS ATTRIBUTES OF FUDŌ MYŌŌ

Fudō Myōō is commonly known in Japan as a fierce Buddhist guardian deity bearing a wrathful, scowling countenance complete with protruding fangs, leaping flames rising from behind, and a large sword in one hand and a coiled rope in the other. Fudō is slightly obese and has a braid or lock of hair that hangs over the left side of his head, often resting on his shoulder and upper chest. He is generally dark in color and sits or stands motionless atop a rock platform. This is the most basic description of Fudō and can be said to describe in general most of the Fudō statues and paintings produced in Japan.

Not feeling bound by this convention, however, Japanese artists periodically created new and inventive Fudō images over the centuries. One of the finest examples of a unique Fudō iconography is Shinkai's 1282 monochromatic ink painting which depicts Fudō standing on a rock in the middle of the Sea of Japan with the sword inverted and pointing downward, as if to draw a line between Japan and the continent in order to ward off the Mongolian invasions of the late 13th century (plate 6). Shinkai's inverting of Fudō's sword is the only painting of its kind, and recalls the image of Śākyamuni's Māra-defeating *bhūmisparśa* or "ground touching" *mudrā*, alluding to an immovable force unperturbed in the face of approaching evil.

Another unique example is the "Running Fudō" (*Hashiri Fudō* 走り不動), a somewhat incongruous representation, as the very essence of Fudō has always been to remain still and unmoved (plate 7). A similar moving Fudō appears in the *engi* 縁起 narratives of *Fudō riyaku engi* 不動利益縁起 ("Narrative of Fudō's Merit") (14th century) (plate 8) and *Naki fudō engi* 泣不動縁起 ("Narrative of the Crying Fudō") (16th century) (plate 9), and as the *honzon* of the Shingon Temple (Takidani Fudō) Myōōji (瀧谷不動)明王寺, the thirty-second temple of the Kinki sanjūroku Fudōson reijō 近畿三十六不動尊霊場 ("Pilgrimage Route of the Thirty-Six

Fudō-s of the Kinki Region”) in southern Ōsaka. Fudō is depicted above the main hall dashing towards a group of young children in order to assist them with their eye afflictions (plate 10).

These inventive examples which deviate from the norm of Fudō’s iconographies are, however, quite rare. Although interesting, they are predominately isolated examples of local and artistic inventiveness, and cannot be said to represent any new major shift in the formulation of Fudō iconography. However, in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods (11th-13th centuries), many Fudō images began to show changes of a different sort. These changes were not due to sporadic, individual creativity and appeared in great number. If we inspect closer the same Fudō who wards off the Mongolian armada with an inverted sword, in particular the facial features, we see that Fudō’s left eye seems swollen and half-closed. Moreover, Fudō’s fangs are also uneven; the left fang protrudes upward while the right points downward, mimicking the *mudrā* positions of Buddhist divinities such as Vairocana (Jpn. Birushana 毘盧遮那), the famed Great Buddha of Tōdaiji 東大寺 in Nara. This treatment of the eyes and teeth are simply nowhere to be found among the early figures brought back from China by the early Japanese Esoteric patriarchs, and would seem to be attributable to artistic inventiveness. However, when we examine the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, chapter two, fascicle one, we read:

真言主之下	依涅槃底方
不動如來使	持慧刀羅索
頂髮垂左肩	一目而諦觀
威怒身猛焰	安住在盤石
面門水波相	充滿童子形

Below the Lord of *mantra* [i.e., Mahāvairocana Tathāgata],
 To the *nirṛti* [south-western] direction [of the *Jimyōin* 持明院 Hall of the
 Taizōkai Mandara],
 Is Fudō, the messenger of the Tathāgata.
 He carries the sword of wisdom and a rope.
 Hair hangs from the top of his head over his left shoulder.

His one eye glares fixedly.⁴⁸
 His body is wrathful and [surrounded by] fierce flames.
 He rests peacefully atop a rock platform.
 On his forehead are marks in the form of waves.
 He is imbued with the form of a *kumāra* acolyte.

(T.848.18.7b.17-21)

Yixing's *Commentary*, chapter one, provides added detail, particularly that of Fudō's teeth:

於此下位依涅槃底方。畫不動明王。如來使者。作童子形。右持大慧
 刀印。左持羅索。頂有莎髻。屈髮垂在左肩。細閉左目。以下齒嚙右
 邊上唇。其左邊下唇。稍齧外出。額有皺文。猶如水波狀。坐於石
 上。其身卑而充滿肥盛。

Below to the *nirṛti* [south-western] direction [of the *Jimyōin* 持明院 Hall of the Taizōkai Maṇḍala], draw Fudō Myōō, the messenger of the Tathāgata. Give him the form of a *kumāra* acolyte. In his right hand he holds the sword seal of great wisdom. In his left hand he holds a rope. There are topknots atop his head and a lock of hair hangs over his left shoulder. His left eye is half closed. With his lower [right] tooth he bites the upper-right side of his lip, and with his left [-upper tooth he bites] his lower lip which sticks out. There are patterned wrinkles on his forehead in the form of waves. He sits atop a rock platform. His body is grotesque and stout.

(T.1796.39.633b.3-8)

Here we see that the above variations in the eyes and teeth are in fact not due to individual artistic choice, but actually reflect earlier textual prescriptions on how properly to depict Fudō in the Taizōkai Mandara. What is odd, however, is that despite these seemingly strict regulations prescribed by the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, some of these details, in particular the squinting left eye and inverted fangs, were not present in the Chinese icons of Fudō. The early imported forms of Fudō in Japan inherited the absence of these details. Thus, as these lost features began to reappear in the Heian and Kamakura periods, we seen a return to and acknowledgement of the authority of the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* and the *Commentary*. While it is beyond the scope of this

⁴⁸ Yamamoto incorrectly translates this as “He has only one eye and looks on fixedly” (Yamamoto 22). Nowhere has Fudō ever appeared bearing only one eye. Yixing's *Commentary* makes it very clear that the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* is referring to the right eye which is fully opened in contrast to the squinting left eye.

project to consider why there was such a loss of detail in China, here I will address how and why they came to be re-introduced in Japan.

The matter is in fact even more complex. Beyond changes in the eyes and teeth, Fudō images also began to exhibit additional elements never seen before. For example, the well-known Red Fudō (*Akai Fudō* 赤不動) of Kōyasan's Myōōin 明王院 depicts Fudō in the presence of two boy servants and with a dragon encircling his sword (plate 11). Both these additions to the iconography are nowhere to be found in the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* or even the *Commentary*. This raises the question: what was the inspiration behind these changes? Why did the Japanese feel it necessary to change or add to Fudō's existing features?

In the following sections of Part One I will argue that the origins of these changes have as their foundation the 19V. In considering the tension between the early forms of Fudō imported from China and the later forms which bear characteristics such as the squinting left eye or dragon-sword, we can classify Fudō's Japanese iconography into two categories using the emergence of the 19V as a standard point of reference. We can speak of the early or pre-19V and later or post-19V. Before examining the 19V as characteristics of Fudō, however, it is first necessary to establish what exactly the pre-19V forms of Fudō in Japan were like in order to distinguish them from those later influenced by the 19V. Having established what the original forms in Japan were like, it will be possible to argue in what ways and to what extent the 19V affected Fudō's imagery.

I. The Iconography of Fudō Myōō Prior to the Nineteen Visualizations

According to Ariga, early Fudō images in Japan can be classified into four types, each one attributed to four of the eight renowned *nittō hakke* 入唐八家 (the eight initial Japanese patriarchs who traveled to Tang China in order to study *mikkyō*) (Tanaka 24). In the early Heian

period (early 9th century), four men each brought back slightly different forms of Fudō over a period of fifty years, introducing and establishing the earliest Fudō images in Japan. The first three types were imports of Kūkai, Ennin (post. Jikaku Daishi 慈覚大師, 794-864), and Kūkai's nephew, Enchin (post. Chishō Daishi 智證大師, 814-891). The fourth type is also of Enchin, the well-known Yellow Fudō, which was not an import, but an original work of Enchin himself. To these four types, Shōji adds a fifth, that of Eun 惠運 (798-869), also one of the *nittō hakke*. Together these five types can be said to represent in totality the earliest images of Fudō in Japan (figure 5).

Kūkai's Fudō is of two styles (Type I). The first is the Fudō of the Takao Mandara 高雄曼荼羅 (plate 12), named after Kyōto's Takaosan 高雄山 (Mount Takao), at the base of which is the Jingoji 神護寺, also known as the Takaosanji 高雄山寺, Kūkai's first commissioned temple and the place where Saichō performed the first *abhiṣeka* (Jpn. *kanjō* 灌頂) or Esoteric consecration in Japan. The Takao Mandara actually refers to the Ryōbu Mandara 兩部曼荼羅, Shingon's dual *maṇḍala*-s, the Taizōkai 胎藏界 and Kongōkai 金剛界 Mandara-s. Kūkai himself painted the *maṇḍala*-s⁴⁹; the Takao Fudō remains faithful to the Taizōkai Fudō (plate 13). Kūkai's second style is the Fudō pictured in the Nin'nō Gyō Mandara 仁王經曼荼羅,⁵⁰ the *maṇḍala* used in the rites prescribed by the *Nin'nō Gyō*. Here Fudō is found to the bottom right of the center section of the *maṇḍala* (plate 14). Kūkai's two forms are practically identical except that the Fudō of the Takao Mandara (i.e., Taizōkai) is seated, whereas in the Nin'nō Gyō Mandara he is found standing. Beyond this difference, Kūkai's Fudō can be described as follows: both eyes are open, there are wrinkle marks on the forehead, and the teeth and two fangs

⁴⁹ From Kūkai's hand, these *maṇḍala*-s are the oldest (and largest) Taizōkai and Kongōkai Mandara-s in Japan, and are National Treasures.

⁵⁰ The Nin'nō Gyō Mandara does not appear in Kūkai's *Shōrai mokuroku* 請來目錄 (“*Catalogue of Imported Items [from Tang China]*”), although Amoghavajra's translation of the *Nin'nō gyō*, however, does (KZ.2.539.5 [1983]).

bite down on the lower lip. Fudō faces right.⁵¹ The hair is combed and tied neatly into a braid which hangs over the left side of the head in front of the ear. A six-petaled lotus crown sits atop the head behind which is a halo-like circle surrounded by flames which envelop the entire of Fudō, including the three-tiered platform, called a *shitsushitsuza* 瑟瑟座,⁵² on which he rests. Upon closer inspection, *garuḍa*-s, the mythological Hindu birds, are found scattered throughout the flames. In the Takao Mandara nine are clearly shown, their forms little more than two eyes and a beak formed by the swirling flames. The well-known Fudō enshrined at the Tōji's Kōdō Lecture Hall (plate 15) shows a nearly identical form and the extent of Kūkai's favor of this particular style of Fudō.

A decade following Kūkai's death, Ennin return from China bearing the Fudō of the Hachidai Myōō 八大明王 (plate 16) (Type II). Missing were the lotus crown, wrinkle marks on the forehead, and *garuḍa*-s. The sword, however, was seemingly the first to bear the added element of flames, the description of which is nowhere to be found in the scriptures. Although copies can be found in the Tōji, this form of Fudō is extremely rare in Japan, and was seemingly reproduced very little; its importance lies predominately in its being among the first Fudō images in Japan.

Eun returned to Japan the same year as Ennin in 847, and Enchin over a decade later in 858. The styles of Fudō that returned with them were not subordinate figures as were Kūkai's Takao and Nin'nō Gyō Fudō, but were now the *honzon* 本尊 or main deity of their own *maṇḍala*. Based on Annen's aforementioned *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, Shōji refers to both *maṇḍala*-s as the Fudōson Mandara 不動尊曼荼羅. This is, however, a generic name

⁵¹ Fudō's facing right is perhaps due to his early positioning in the Taizōkai Mandara, where Fudō sits on the far right of the Jimyōin 持明院 Hall beneath Mahāvairocana (plate 13). His gaze, directed towards the center, turns his head to the right. Daiitoku Myōō, on the left side, in a similar manner turns his head left in order to face center. This centering on Mahāvairocana also seems responsible for Fudō's flames drifting to his left, while those of Daiitoku drift to the right, drawing attention to the grandeur of the *honzon*.

⁵² The nature of the *shitsushitsuza* will be described below.

used to describe several *maṇḍala*-s in which Fudō appears as the central deity, and it thus should not be surprising that Eun and Enchin's styles differ considerably.⁵³ Enchin's Fudō (Type III) lacks a proper lotus crown and sits upon a many-tiered platform (plate 17). No *garuḍa*-s are present but the sword is still aflame like that of Ennin. Most important to Enchin's Fudō is the addition of surrounding attendants. Three *dōji* 童子 (Skt. *kumāra*) acolytes stand to the sides and rear while five messengers (*shisha* 使者) prostrate themselves in front. This is the first non-solitary Fudō in Japan and suggests the degree of importance that Fudō had gained in China since his humble beginnings as a subordinate deity in the Taizōkai and Kongōkai Mandara-s.

Eun's Fudō (Type V) is distinguished primarily by the replacement of the lotus crown with seven topknots, a characteristic of the 19V (viz., V5) (plate 18). Annen's *Kōshō Fudō Myōō hiyōketsu* 廣攝不動明王秘要訣 (*"The Secret Key of the Extensive Compendium [of Writings of] Fudō Myōō"*) (NDK.81.134), makes note of this rarity:

慧雲阿闍梨唐本幀。像頂安黑髮之七髻也。餘本幀多安蓮華。

[Maṇḍala] Scroll of Tang Ācārya [Master] Eun. On the image's head there are seven topknots dark in color. Most have a lotus [crown].

(NDK.82.358a.16-7)

The topknots interestingly anticipate their inclusion in the 19V. Ariga does not include Eun's Fudō among the pre-19V type, most likely for this reason, but Shōji argues that beyond the topknots, Eun's Fudō conforms to Kūkai's style in almost every way, and thus should not be considered among the later forms (Shōji 61).

Enchin's second form (Type IV), the well-known Yellow Fudō (plate 19), is the most original of the pre-19V images. The Yellow Fudō (黃不動 *Ki* Fudō) is believed to have been

⁵³ Annen distinguishes between the two by adding glosses. To the listing of Enchin's *maṇḍala* he adds: “珍尊者葛髮右一使者左二使者下五使者” (“To the right of [En]chin's stringy-haired [Fudō] is one messenger. To the left are two messengers. Five more are in front”). Following the listing of Eun's Fudō *maṇḍala* Annen writes: “運尊有黑髮” (“[E]un's [Fudō] has black hair”) (T.2176.55.1131b.29.c.1).

painted after Enchin had a vision of a golden Fudō while meditating in 838, and is thus termed a “miraculously obtained” (*kantoku* 感得) form in contrast to the other pre-19V imported (*shōrai* 請來) forms. The Yellow Fudō stands like the Fudō of the Nin’nō Gyō Mandara, but lacks any braid, crown, or flames. Enchin’s Fudō, although still somewhat obese, shows a very muscular and fierce figure, emphasized with larger fangs which point not down but upwards, and an intense stare pointed straight forward and not to the right. What is particular about Enchin’s envisioned Fudō other than its yellow hue is that, although it stands on a rock, it is considered to exist in “space,” recalling the dream-like state in which it first appeared to Enchin. Inscribed on the painting is “...*ashibumi kokū*” 足踏虚空 (“[Fudō] stands in space”) (Washizuka 168). Today the painting is considered to be a National Treasure by the Japanese Government, representing the earliest original workmanship of Fudō imagery in Japan.

What can be said with certainty about the earliest Fudō images in Japan is that they all presented a Fudō with both eyes open and fangs pointed in the same direction. Almost all share the *shitsushitsuza* platform on which they sit, wrinkle marks, and lotus crown. They did not deviate far from Kūkai’s original forms, especially when considering the abundant variety of Fudō images in China, bearing multiple heads and arms, different weapons and postures, that were readily available for export.

Despite this degree of conformity, however, the prominence of these early forms was short-lived. Enchin’s imported Fudō and Eun’s Fudō of the seven topknots already suggest a trend away from the solitary, lotus-crown wearing Fudō that marked Kūkai’s classical style. The inclusion of attendants in Enchin’s Fudō was evidence of the growing popularity of the deity in China and Japan as a central figure in his own right, and the Eun’s Fudō bearing seven topknots suggested an iconographical influence beyond the normative scriptural basis of the

Mahāvairocana sūtra, anticipating its inclusion in the 19V which represented this new breed of Fudō imagery.

II. The Nineteen Visualizations

Having established the dominant forms of Fudō's iconography in Japan prior to the emergence of the 19V, it is now possible to turn to the 19V themselves. An examination of each Visualization in detail is, however, beyond the spatial limitations of this thesis; I will limit myself to a discussion of four of the 19V—viz., V8, V9, V18, and V19—which respectively deal with Fudō's eyes, fangs, sword and *kumāra* (Jpn. *dōji* 童子) acolytes (an examination of the remaining fifteen Visualizations is included in the appendix).

I have chosen these four Visualizations specifically for two reasons. First, not all of the 19V are present in the iconography of Fudō. That is, some Visualizations describe characteristics that are not physical and thus remain “non-iconographic.” For example, V2 describes Fudō's *bīja*-s or “seed” syllable *mantra*-s that are used to invoke the deity during ritual. In dealing with incantations, V2 does not provide a physical trait of Fudō, and is therefore not reflected in the iconography. I will use V8, V9, V18, and V19 since they are “iconographical.”

Second, of those 19V that are “iconographical” or reflected in the iconography, V8, V9, V18, and V19, as will be seen, spurred the greatest and perhaps most important changes in Fudō's art. These four examples will best illustrate my argument that the 19V provided the basis for a new movement in the formation of Fudō iconography beginning in the 10-11th centuries.

In the following four sub-sections, I will discuss each of these four Visualizations and examine their sources. Since Part Two will discuss the 19V as a ritual performance, I will here limit my treatment of the 19V to characteristic attributes of Fudō. I will illustrate precisely what

the new teachings of the 19V changed in Fudō's imagery through a comparison of the pre-19V forms discussed above with the later forms which bear characteristics of the 19V.

I will conclude Part One by outlining the new features of the post-Visualization forms of Fudō iconography. My fundamental argument in Part One is that the new details that emerged in the Japanese iconographies of Fudō during the Heian and Kamakura Periods take as their foundation iconographical prescriptions found in the ritual of the 19V as written by Annen.

i. Visualization 8

閉左一目開右一目。表掩蔽左道⁵⁴
令入一乘。(DBZ.82.376a.8)

Close the left eye. Open the right eye.

[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses covering up the left [i.e., heretical] path and leading [one] into the one-vehicle (*ekayāna*⁵⁵).

Of Fudō's various physical attributes, it is perhaps the eyes that best distinguish the original Japanese forms of Fudō imported from China from the new iconographies bearing features described in the 19V; that is, two open eyes in the early images versus one closed eye in the 19V images (plate 29). If we examine two of the major sources of the 19V—Amoghavajra's *Chiri himitsu hō* and Yixing's *Commentary*—we find, first in the *Commentary*:

細閉左目。

Partially close the left eye.

(T.1796.39.633b.6)

and second, in the *Chiri himitsu hō*:

⁵⁴ To the end of the interlinear commentary, Shunmyō adds: “左道者外道” (“The left path is the heretical path”) (T.2468.78.43c.26-27).

⁵⁵ The *ekayāna* (Jpn. *ichijō* 一乘), “one vehicle,” a core teaching of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra* (Ch: *Miaofa lianhua jing*; Jpn. *Myōhō renge kyō* 妙法蓮華經) (“*Sūtra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Dharma*”) (T.262.9), refers to the final and “complete” Buddhist teachings of the Mahāyāna in distinction to the “limited” teachings of the Hīnayāna (Theravāda).

閉一目有深意。

Closing the one eye has profound significance.

(T.1201.21.15a.26-27)

Although these sources (as well as practically all Chinese scriptures that concern Fudō such as the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*) agree that Fudō's left eye is (partially) closed (and that the right eye is open), Fudō's eyes in the pre-19V images, as seen above, are clearly both open. Moreover, it was not only the early imported styles of Kūkai, Enchin, et al., but all continental images of Fudō that, although possessing a wide range of forms, appear to share the same feature of two open eyes. This tension did not go unnoticed by the Japanese. The *Byakuhokkushō* 白寶口抄⁵⁶ (“*Oral Notes of the Hō[-bodaiin]*”⁵⁷ on the Secret [Teachings]”) (TZ.3119.6-7), a 13th-early 14th century Shingon text which perhaps contains the definitive commentary on Fudō, recognizes the contradiction:

大師繪像木像共兩目開也。又智證大師請來不動像兩目共開。大師御意等合。雖然大日經并疏等大日所變不動閉一目。

The paintings and statues of the Great Teacher [i.e., Kūkai] have both eyes open. The imported forms of Fudō of Chishō Daishi [Enchin] also have both eyes open, following the same design of the Great Teacher. But according to the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* and the *Commentary*, the Fudō as a manifestation of Mahāvairocana [Buddha] closes one eye.⁵⁸

(TZ.3119.7.22b.27-29c.1)

This self-conscious questioning of the discrepancy between scripture and icon concerning Fudō's eyes, however, is a late one, and seems to have attracted little attention in both China and early Japan before the emergence of the 19V. Nowhere in any Chinese writing concerning Fudō have I been able to locate a reference of this inconsistency between text and icon, nor even do

⁵⁶ Also pronounced “*Byakuhōkushō*.”

⁵⁷ The Hōbodaiin 宝菩提院, located just north of the Tōji in Kyōto known for its large collection of Esoteric materials, was the residence of the *Byakuhokkushō*'s author, Kanzen 亮禪 (1258-1341).

⁵⁸ The *Byakuhokkushō*, however, in discussing Fudō's asymmetrical eyes in relation to the two open eyes of the pre-19V Fudō images, writes that the Fudō manifested from Mahāvairocana conversely bears two open eyes, while the Fudō manifested from Śākyamuni has only one eye open (TZ.3119.7.20b.16-19).

the writings of Kūkai, Annen, and Shunmyō— the men who propagated the 19V— address this problem. This tension was evidently non-problematic for the patriarchs; images of Fudō bearing features of the 19V did not appear until after Shunmyō's death. The early Japanese patriarchs consciously prescribed Fudō's form according to the teachings of the 19V, but used images that did not reflect the details described therein.

Let us now examine the symbolism of Fudō's asymmetrical eyes as explained in the scriptures in the attempt better to understand V8 and its interlinear commentary. The aforementioned *Byakuhokkushō* writes:

左目如悲母。於邪見子塞目鐘愛。右目如慈父。於子善惡見知賞罰之。故不動尊悲智橫照十方豎徹三世。此併不動尊利生也。

The left eye is like the compassion of a mother. When [she] sees the child [do] evil, she covers [her] eyes [out of] love. The right eye is like the affection of a father. When [he] sees the child [do] good and evil, he [administers] reward and punishment [accordingly]. For this reason, Fudō's compassion and wisdom stretches horizontally across the ten directions and permeate vertically into the three worlds. This is Fudō's altruism with living beings.

(TZ.3119.7.22b.14-17)

Here we have a common interpretation that Fudō's asymmetrical eyes represent some sort of dichotomy.⁵⁹ The *Byakuhokkushō* describes Fudō as a deity that, like the Buddha who manifests him, embodies both the compassion of a mother's love and of a father's justice. In this light, we may read V8's interlinear commentary in a similar dualistic manner, in that closing the left eye is Fudō's motherly shutting out of heretical evil, and the open eye is Fudō's fatherly just teachings that leads living beings into the *ekayāna* and starts them on the path to salvation. Fudō's eyes

⁵⁹ Fudō's non-uniform eyes are also explained in terms of a good-bad dichotomy in the writings of Kakuban 覚鑊 (post. Kōgyō Daishi 興教大師, 1095-1143). Watanabe quotes Kakuban's *Fudō kōhishiki* 不動講秘式 ("Secret Rituals of Fudō [Taken from] Lectures[?]"):

「右左の眼を開閉するは専ら悪を遮し善を持つ徳を表す」。

The right and left eyes which are [respectively] open and closed express the blocking off of evil and the virtue of upholding goodness.

(Watanabe 162)

here symbolically represent his primary function compassionately to subdue (cover up the left path [left eye]) and enlighten living beings (lead beings into the *ekayāna* [right eye]) at the command of the Buddha.

However, although we have several such interpretations of Fudō's asymmetrical eyes, these discussions, as with the text-icon discrepancy as a whole, did not appear until after the 19V had become established by Annen and Shunmyō. Fudō's eyes were never discussed as a pair in the earliest sources; attention was initially rather given to the "one eye." Yixing's *Commentary* writes:

一目視之意。明如來以等目所觀。一切衆生無可宥者。故此尊凡有所爲事業。唯爲此一事因緣也。

The meaning of staring with one eye is to illustrate that the Tathāgata looks at all living beings that cannot be appeased with an equal [i.e., indiscriminatory] eye.⁶⁰ Thus all that this deity does can be reduced to just this one thing.

(T.1796.39.633b.16-18)

In addition to its act of staring, moreover, the left squinting eye seems to have been originally explained in terms of Fudō's characterization as a grotesque and wrathful divinity, a sort of mark of a physical deformity, a consequence of the Buddha's vow to save living beings via Fudō. Yixing's *Commentary* again writes:

以三昧耶本誓願故。表現初發大心諸相不備之形。

On account of [Mahāvairocana Buddha's] original vow, he manifests the initial great mind in form with defective marks.

(T.1796.39.633b.10-11)

This "form" is Fudō whose "defective marks," which include the left closed eye, are here explained as the result of the Buddha's original vow to save living beings. Watanabe explains

⁶⁰ The language in this passage is obscure.

that the foundation of Fudō's "defective" or deformed eye (as well as other physical features of Fudō) is the Buddha's vow:

『大日經疏』にもいうように、不動尊の「初發大心の諸相不備の形を表示する」という本願からいえば、眼も歯もできるだけ不ぞろいいし、唇を歪め、額には皺を寄せ、髪はばらばらで、皮膚は黒く、体は肥満し、石の座の上に坐ることになる。したがって眼が左右不均等なのも本来は“醜化”を目的とした…

If we consider the original vow [of Mahāvairocana Buddha] in the *Commentary*—he “manifests the initial great mind in forms with defective marks” of Fudō—then these [marks] are the crooked eyes and teeth, the gnarling of the lip, the water marks on the forehead, the disheveled hair, the black skin, the stout body, and the sitting upon the rock platform. Thus, the asymmetry of the left and right eyes was originally a case of a “grotesque distortion”...

(Watanabe 162-63)

This “grotesque distortion” (Jpn. *shūka* 醜化) of the eyes (and other features) fits well with Fudō's characterization as a wrathful, almost ugly figure who, acting as the Buddha's manifested *kyōryōrin*, is employed in order to both combat and enlighten malevolent beings.⁶¹ Amoghavajra accordingly writes:

以大願故。於無相中而現作相閉一目有深意。示現極惡醜弊身也…我下劣卑弊之身。亦是怖魔之義。

Due to the original vow [of Mahāvairocana Buddha], he [dwells] within formlessness but nonetheless manifests forms. Closing the one eye has profound significance. It expresses an extremely grotesque and frightful body...Even my [i.e., Mahāvairocana Buddha] lowly and humble body [representing a servant] has the meaning of frightening demons.

(T.1201.21.15a.26-29)

In examining these early sources of Yixing and Amoghavajra, we see not only that attention was predominately given to Fudō's squinting eye, but that it was defined either by its action of staring or its grotesqueness as a sign of Fudō's servitude to the Buddha as a fighter of

⁶¹ Watanabe further hypothesizes that, in order to make for a more aesthetically pleasing deity more attractive to worshippers, Fudō's eyes were “straightened” in China, accounting for the text-icon dilemma (Watanabe 163).

malevolent deities. Thus later symbolic interpretations such as those found in V8's interlinear commentary and the *Byakuhokkushō*, which concentrate on the dual interpretation of both eyes together, seem to have developed later. Although V8 is clearly founded in the earliest scriptures, its interlinear commentary is not; the commentary instead re-interprets the function of Fudō's eyes in a more symbolic and soteriological tone, perhaps attempting to distance itself from the early interpretations of Fudō as an emphatically ugly figure.

ii. Visualization 9

下齒喫上右脣。下左脣外翻出。表慈悲用力
令怖魔羅。 (DBZ.82.376a.8-9)

[Fudō's] bottom [-right] tooth bites the upper-right lip. His lower-left lip sticks out.
[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses the power of compassion that causes fear among demons.

As with most deities of the *myōō* class, Fudō's role as a fierce and fearless Buddhist divinity is partially conveyed and emphasized by large fangs which, in Fudō's case, protrude from the sides of the mouth. While the fangs of *myōō* such as Daiitoku and Kongōyasha emerge from an open mouth recalling Kumārajīva's early "roaring" *bodhisattva* prototypes of the Godai Myōō, Fudō's mouth remains closed (q.v., V10). His fangs and teeth bite the lips as if to prevent any sound from escaping, let alone any "roar." As we have seen above, the pre-19V images show that Fudō's dual upper fangs, with his teeth, bite down on his lower lip. The exception is, again, Enchin's envisioned Yellow Fudō which simply inverts the process—lower fangs bite the upper lip. In all cases of the pre-19V images, Fudō's fangs are uniform in that they always bite in the same direction, up or down.

Yet V9 describes Fudō's fangs asymmetrically; the lower-right fang bites the upper lip while the upper-left fang bites the lower lip (plate 29).⁶² Here we encounter much the same problem as we saw above with Fudō's eyes: the textual description of Fudō's (asymmetrical) teeth does not agree with their (symmetrical) representation in the early images. The asymmetry again recalls the "grotesque distortion" (further enforced by Fudō's protruding [i.e., gnarled and ugly] lip) discussed above; the teeth, as the eyes, may have been "straightened" in order to make for a more aesthetically pleasing deity potentially more attractive to worshippers (Watanabe 163).

But where the Chinese sources readily commented on Fudō's eyes, attributing to them great significance and symbolism, they scarcely mention Fudō's teeth. The writings of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, for instance, while describing multiple forms of Fudō, make little if any reference to the deity's teeth. Even the later Japanese commentaries are somewhat silent on the matter.⁶³ In all the sources of Fudō, the most significant and detailed mention of Fudō's teeth is in Yixing's *Commentary*:

以下齒嚙右邊上脣。其左邊下脣。稍翻外出。

With his bottom [right] tooth, [Fudō] bites his upper-right side of his lip. His left lower lip sticks out.⁶⁴

(T.1796.39.633b.6-7)

⁶² Although V9 does not directly say that the upper-left fang bites the bottom lip, it is implied. This is explained below.

⁶³ Even the *Byakuhokkushō*, what I consider to be the finest commentary on Fudō, does not discuss any asymmetry in Fudō's teeth. The text only mentions a few sporadic interpretations that do not deal with Fudō's crooked teeth:

仁海僧正云。雙牙如牛角。厭捨邪見趣定慧正理云~

The great monk Ningai [951-1046] says that [Fudō's] two fangs are like bull's horns. They wear down heterodox views [so that one may] enter into *samādhi*, *prajñā*, and proper reason.

(TZ.3119.7.22c12-18)

⁶⁴ Soothill similarly translates these sentences as: "His lower right tooth protrudes slightly over his upper lip and his upper left tooth protrudes slightly over his lower lip" (Soothill 273).

This passage is the obvious source of V9; its language is near identical to Annen's V9. But Annen, due to Kūkai's intentionally pithy and condensed 19V in five-character *gāthā* verse form, omits reference to the left fang that bites down on the lower lip. Due to this elliptical writing style, we can read V9's interlinear commentary more fully in Yixing's above description.

Yixing does not comment on the meaning of Fudō's teeth as a symbolic power of compassion which frightens demons, described by V9's interlinear commentary in Annen's account of the 19V. This is perhaps due to the fact that their symbolism was originally merely an expressive mark of Mahāvairocana's vow and Fudō's consequential grotesqueness. Symbolic interpretation of Fudō's teeth beyond Yixing's "physical defects," then, most likely began with the Japanese; V9's gloss seems to have been the product of Kūkai's own hand, as it finds no precedent in the Chinese sources. This is supported by the fact that Annen, who expanded Kūkai's pithy *gāthā* 19V by returning to the original sources from which he quoted more fully, did not significantly expand on V9's original commentary; Annen's only source of V9's interlinear commentary was Kūkai.

How exactly Fudō's crooked fangs "express the power of compassion that causes fear among demons" is somewhat unclear,⁶⁵ but they seem to return us once again to Yixing's "physical defects." Fudō's grotesqueness, often recorded in the scriptures as instilling a fleeing terror among the malevolent divinities, is both a function and consequence of Mahāvairocana's original vow of compassion to save all living beings. In any case, the new-found iconographical

⁶⁵ Fudō's asymmetrical teeth recall the well-known *mudrā* positions held by many Buddhist divinities such as Hōryūji's Śākyamuni Buddha and Tōdaiji's Vairocana Buddha. The right hand is held upwards, palm out, in a position called *semui in* 施無畏印 (Skt. *abhayaṃdada mudrā*, "mudrā of bestowing fearlessness [to living beings]"). The left hand is held downwards, palm up, and is called *segan in* 施願印 (also *yogan in* 与願印) ("mudrā of bestowing the vow [of compassion]"). These hand positions perfectly match the asymmetry of Fudō's fangs—right up, left down. The connection between Fudō's fangs and the *mudrā*-s is furthermore strengthened when we consider their symbolism. We may interpret Fudō's right fang to "express the strength of compassion," comparable to the compassionate vow symbolized by the right *segan in mudrā*, while the left fang may express "causing fear among demons," paralleling the *semui in mudrā* and its fearlessness against evil beings. Such cognate symbolism of the *mudrā*-s and fangs well agrees with Fudō's character.

asymmetry of Fudō's teeth in Japan, perhaps originally little more than a mark of the “physical defects” of Mahāvairocana's vow mentioned in Yixing's *Commentary*, became a strong signifier of both the purpose of the deity's existence, and the particular characterization of that existence.

iii. Visualization 18

變成俱力迦大龍⁶⁶纏劍。表智龍火劍摧滅九十五種外道龍火。⁶⁷ (DBZ.82.376a.14-15)

[Fudō] transforms and becomes the great *kulika nāga* which encoils the sword.
[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses the sword of the *nāga*-fire wisdom which destroys the *nāga*-fire of the ninety-five types of heretics.

Perhaps Fudō's greatest stereotypical trademark is the large double-edged sword he carries in his right hand, the weapon used in the prime occupation of the deity—the destruction of evil and spiritual defilements at the behest of the Buddha. According to the ritual texts, the sword is also Fudō's *samaya* (Jpn. *sanmaya* 三昧耶) form, an alternate, non-anthropomorphic representation of the deity, strengthening the weapon as a symbol of Fudō's militant strength. Whereas those 19V that spurred changes in the iconographies of Fudō were predominately modifications of existing features (such as the new asymmetry of the deity's eyes and teeth seen above), V18 represents the only Visualization that added a definite, unprecedented feature to Fudō's iconographies—a *nāga* or serpent / dragon⁶⁸ which wraps itself around Fudō's sword (plates 20-21).

⁶⁶ Shunmyū simply writes: “俱力迦羅” (“*kurikara*”) (T.2468.78.44a.10).

⁶⁷ Shunmyū omits the final “龍” (“*nāga*”) of the “*nāga*-fire” (*ibid.*).

⁶⁸ The character 蛇 (“serpent”) is occasionally used in place of 龍 (“dragon”). This is simply due to a similarity in shape. The *Fudō shisha hō* writes:

龍形如蛇。

The form of [Fudō's] dragon is like a serpent.

(T.1202.21.25a.8)

The name of the *nāga* is often rendered as “*kurikara*,” variously written as 俱力迦羅, 俱利加羅, 俱梨迦羅, 瞿利伽羅, etc., all examples of which, according to Watanabe, are mistaken transliterations of the original Sanskrit term “*kulika*”—the extra “-*ra*” was erroneously added (Watanabe 170) (Annen’s V18 adopts a more accurate transliteration of “*kurika*” 俱力迦). Monier-Williams defines “*kulika*” (from “*kul*,” “kinsman”) as “one of the eight chiefs of the Nāgas or serpent-race” (Monier-Williams 295). Accordingly, the term *kulika* is often accompanied by the epithets *dairyū* 大龍 (Skt. *mahānāga*, “great serpent”) or *ryūō* 龍王 (Skt. *nāgarāja*, “serpent king”).

The *nāga* appears in Hindu Brāhmaṇa literature where it appears as a serpent bearing a half-moon crown with flames and smoke emanating from the entire body, a description reminiscent of Fudō (Watanabe 170). The *nāga* was later absorbed into Buddhism where it became, like the many adopted Hindu *deva*-s, a guardian.⁶⁹ The *nāga* appears in the second chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra* (Ch: *Miaofalianhua jing*; Jpn. *Myōhōrenge kyō* 妙法蓮華經) (“*Sūtra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Dharma*”) (T.262.9) as one of Śākyamuni’s *hachibushū* 八部衆 (“eight groups of [guardian] beings”), a well-known group of eight types of deities who protect the Buddhist *dharma*.⁷⁰ The specific *kulika nāga* appears in the *Daranishū kyō* 陀羅尼集經 (“*Sūtra of Collected Dhāraṇī-s*”) (T.901.18) where, as suggested by Monier-Williams, it is one of the *hachiryūō* 八龍王 (“eight *nāga* kings”).⁷¹ Here the dragons are briefly

⁶⁹ For example, the *nāga* appears as one of the twenty-eight guardians (*nijūhachibu* 二十八部衆) of Kannon in Kyōto’s National Treasure Sanjūsangendō 三十三間堂 (properly called the Rengeōin 蓮華王院).

⁷⁰ Viz.: (1) *deva* (Jpn. *ten* 天, “god”); (2) *nāga* (Jpn. *ryū* 龍, “dragon”); (3) *yakṣa* (Jpn. *yasha* 夜叉, “demon”); (4) *gandharva* (Jpn. *kendatsuba* 乾闥婆, “celestial musician”); (5) *asura* (Jpn. *ashura* 阿修羅, “demon”); (6) *garuḍa* (Jpn. *karura* 迦樓羅, “devouring [bird]”); (7) *kiṃnara* (Jpn. *kin’nara* 緊那羅, “what [sort of] man?”); (8) *mahoraga* (Jpn. *magoraka* 摩睺羅伽, “great dragon”) (T.262.9.12a.7-9).

⁷¹ Viz.: (1) *nanda* (Jpn. *nanda* 難陀); (2) *vāsuki* (Jpn. 婆素雞); (3) *takṣaka* (Jpn. *tokushaka* 德叉迦); (4) *karkoṭaka* (Jpn. *katsukota* 羯固吒); (5) *padma* (Jpn. *hanma* 般摩); (6) *mahāpadma* (Jpn. *makahanma* 摩訶般摩); (7) *śaṅkhaḥāla* (Jpn. *shōkeipara* 商佉波羅); (8) *kulika* (Jpn. *kurika* 鳩利迦) (T.901.18.838a-b.27-1).

mentioned as deities in the Hayagrīva Avalokiteśvara Maṇḍala (Jpn. Batō Kannon Mandara 馬頭觀音曼荼羅).

But where the *kulika* dragon figures most prominently is in its connection to Fudō. As with most of the 19V, the dragon as the subject of V18 appears in the ritual texts of Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi. Amoghavajra's *Chiri himitsu hō*, for example, reads:

又於壁上畫劔契。又畫句律迦大蛇纏劔上。其劔周圍有火焰。

Next on the wall above draw the shape of a sword. Then draw the great *kulika* serpent encircling the sword upwards. Encircling the sword are flames.

(T.1201.21.22b.13-14)

The language of the second clause matches that of V18, and seems to be a partial source. Yet there is no mention of Fudō's transformation into the dragon, nor any reference to the destruction of the ninety-five heretics as noted in the interlinear commentary. Although comprising the foundation of Fudō's ritual texts, Amoghavajra's *Ryūinki*, *Chiri himitsu hō*, *Chiri shisha hō* and Vajrabodhi's *Fudō shisha hō* merely contain the above brief description of the dragon and lack these two details mentioned in V18.

This lack of detail points to the more peripheral Fudō rituals where the *kulika* dragon occupies a more prominent position as a major deity. These texts include the eponymous *Bussetsu kurikara dairyū shōgedō fukudarani kyō* (Ch. *Foshuo julikaluo dalong shengwaidao futuoluoni jing*) 佛說俱利伽羅大龍勝外道伏陀羅尼經 (“*Dhāraṇī Sūtra Expounded by the Buddha of the Great Kurikara Dragon which Conquers Heretics*”) ⁷² (date unknown) (T.1206.21), *Setsu kurika ryūōzō hō* (Ch. *Shuo julika longwangxiang fa*) 說矩里迦龍王像法 (“*Expounded Ritual of the Iconography of the Kurika Dragon King*”) (date unknown) (T.1207.21), and *Kurikara ryūō giki* (Ch. *Julikaluo longwang yigui*) 俱力迦羅龍王儀軌 (“*Ritual Text of the Kurikara Dragon Lord*”) (8th century) (T.1208.21) written by Vajrabodhi.

⁷² Hereafter cited as *Kurikara shōgedō kyō* (Ch. *Jurikaluo shengwaidao jing*) 俱利迦羅勝外道經.

Vajrabodhi's *Kurikara shōgedō kyō* begins with a quotation that reappears more lucidly in the *Riteibō* (Ch. *Lidifang*) 理諦房.⁷³ The *Riteibō* text better explains the nature of the dragon:

昔色究竟天魔醞首羅智所城有九十五種外道。其主人名智達。以百八十術力發邪見。明王共論出種種神變。智達先出利劍。次明王出智火大劍。次智達同出智火大劍。其時明王出高十萬由旬俱力迦羅大龍王。吞智達智火大劍。智達忽盡術困絕及死…龍王右上足降三世。下足軍荼利。左上足浣魔都迦。下足金剛夜叉也。此四大明王者龍王爲倍神力所變也…龍王從口出氣如二萬億雷一時鳴。聞其聲者皆捨惡歸正見。

Long ago [within] the *akaniṣṭha*⁷⁴ [heaven] of Maheśvara [the “Great Lord,” i.e., Śiva] there were ninety-five types of heretics. Their chief was called “Attaining Wisdom.” With one hundred and eighty [types of] magical powers he created heterodox views. Together with [Fudō] Myōō he debated and presented various supernatural powers. Attaining Wisdom first presented [the form of] a sharp sword. Next [Fudō] Myōō presented [the form of] the great sword of fire-wisdom. Next Attaining Wisdom likewise presented [the form] of the great sword of fire-wisdom. Then [Fudō] Myōō presented [the form of] the great dragon lord *kurikara* whose length spans one hundred thousand *yojana*-s,⁷⁵ and then swallowed Attaining Wisdom’s great sword of fire-wisdom. The magic of Attaining Wisdom instantly and completely became wasted and he died…The upper-right leg of the dragon king is Gōzanze. The lower[-right] leg is Gundari. The upper-left leg is Daiitoku. The lower[-left] leg is Kongōyasha. These four great Myōō are transformations of the dragon king’s supernatural power…The vital breath that issues from the mouth of the dragon king is like two billion thunderclaps all sounding at once. All those who hear it abandon evil and take refuge in proper views.⁷⁶

(TZ.3119.7.23c.27-24a.20)

Here we find the source of V18’s interlinear commentary, i.e., the dragon which, evidently of greater power than that of the sword, destroys (the chief of) the ninety-five types of heretics.⁷⁷

⁷³ I have yet to identify and locate this text. When citing this unknown source, the *Byakuhokkushō* gives the gloss: “高野谷上安養院良智也” (“[Written by] Ryōchi of the Anyōin [situated] above the Kōya valley”) (TZ.3119.7.23c.21).

⁷⁴ Lit., “not the smallest,” i.e., the highest heaven in the eighteen Brāhmaloka-s or realms of form (Jpn. *shikikukyōten* 色究竟天, “the highest heaven of form”).

⁷⁵ An ancient Indian measure of distance. There are numerous opinions as to how far the actual distance is. Monier-Williams gives about nine miles (Monier-Williams 858).

⁷⁶ Skt. *samyagdṛṣṭi*. The first of the eight-fold noble path which comprises the last of the four noble truths.

⁷⁷ The ninety-five (or six) heretics are described in chapter nine of the *Shakuron shinanshō tsurimon* 釋論指南鈔鈞物 (“*Treatise of the Teachings of Encumbering Things*”), a commentary on the *Shakumakaen ron* 釋摩訶衍論 (“*Treatise on the Mahāyāna Teachings*”) (T.1668.32).

The dragon, its wrathful character and fiery image well suited to that of Fudō, mimics Fudō's sword in that it too proves to be a powerful weapon. As V18 and the (title of the) *Kurikara shōgedō kyō* both describe, the *kurika* dragon specializes in the conquering of heretics (Jpn. *gedō* 外道), those infidels who wander outside the Buddhist path; it is here more powerful than the sword presented by the malevolent Attaining Wisdom. The conquering power of the dragon, as illustrated by Attaining Wisdom's death, include its ability to swallow evil. For this reason, the *kurika* dragon is depicted in the iconographies of Fudō as biting (or, about to swallow) Fudō's sword, recalling the swallowing of Attaining Wisdom's sword.

The *Kurikara shōgedō kyō* also contains V18's second element not found in the above writings of Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi, that is, Fudō's little-known ability to take on the form of the *kurika* dragon. Elsewhere we see similar circumstances of Fudō's unique talent. In the *Bucchō sonshō shinha jigoku tengyō sawarishutsu sangai himitsu sanjin bukka sanshu shicchi shingon giki* (Ch. *Foding zunsheng xinpo diyu zhuanya zhangchu sanjie mimi sanshen fogue sanzong xidi zhengyan yigui*) 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界秘密三身佛果三種悉地真言儀軌 (T.906.18) of Śubhākarasiṃha (Ch. Shanwuwei; Jpn. Zemmui 善無畏, 637-735), the famous monk who together with Yixing's assistance translated the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, we find:

大日如來變成懺字。字變成劍。劍變成不動明王身。明王變成瞿利伽羅大龍。現忿怒相纏利劍。

Mahāvairocana Tathāgata transforms and becomes the *hām*⁷⁸ syllable. The syllable transforms and becomes a sword. The sword transforms and becomes the body of Fudō Myōō. The Myōō transforms and becomes the great *kurikara nāga*. It manifests the form of wrath and encoils the sword.

(T.906.18.913b.22-24)

⁷⁸ The character 懺 (Jpn. *kan*) is used in the transliteration of both the Sanskrit syllables *ham* (short vowel) and *hām* (long vowel); based on other rituals, I would assume the latter.

In this explanation of a certain transformative meditation we find, as in the *Kurikara shōgedō kyō*, an intimate identification between Fudō, his sword, and the *kurika* dragon. These texts present the dragon (and the sword) not as a separate entity, but rather as a transformation of the deity, that, emulating Fudō's sword used to fight evil, becomes an alternate *samaya* form of Fudō (Kimura 360).

The presentation of the *kurika* dragon as a manifestation of Fudō perhaps explains why Fudō and the dragon rarely occupy the same space in the iconographies. Although we may find images where Fudō and the dragon appear together (as seen above with the well-known Red Fudō [plate 11⁷⁹]), these examples are sparse; in the majority of images where the dragon is present in connection with Fudō, the dragon occupies the central position in the absence of Fudō. For example, plates 22-24 depict the dragon-sword as the main deity in the usual place of Fudō; the two *dōji* acolytes (discussed below) worship the dragon-sword as they would Fudō himself, suggesting the considerable importance placed on the dragon as an acceptable surrogate.

Iconographies of Fudō's *kurika* dragon-sword are, however, somewhat rare. Those that do exist are predominately the *hakubyō* 白描 monochromatic ink paintings and not sculptured images.⁸⁰ Perhaps because Fudō and the dragon were kept separate for the above reasons, V18 was the least artistically influential of the 19V; artists preferred to depict the *kurika* dragon in the presence of Fudō's sword—and not Fudō himself.

⁷⁹ Note how Fudō's eyes concentrate on the dragon's head.

⁸⁰ I do not know of any three-dimensional images of the dragon. The closest examples are a few sporadic two-dimensional relief images sculpted from a stone face. See Watanabe (324, 327).

iv. Visualization 19

變作二童子給使⁸¹ 一名矜迦 羅恭敬小心者表隨順正道者。二
 名制吒迦。難共語惡性者表不順正道者。 (DBZ.82.376a.15-16)

[Fudō] transforms and fashions two *dōji* [acolyte] attendants.

[Interlinear commentary:] The first, named Kimkara, who is reverential and timid, expresses one who submits to the proper path. The second, named Ceṭaka, who is difficult to converse with and is of an evil nature, expresses one who does not submit to the proper path.

As we have seen above with Enchin's imported Fudō, the iconographical representation of Fudō in the presence of subordinates (here, three *dōji* acolytes and five *shisha* messenger-servants) was not new. The iconographical addition of surrounding attendants to Fudō, originally little more than a subordinate himself, was evidence of the growing status that the deity had gained in Tang Period China as a main figure of worship in his own right. This rise in popularity was paralleled by the profusion of Fudō-related writings such as those composed by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra that began to describe Fudō in the presence of followers.

Of the various deities that comprise Fudō's subordinates such as the *deva*-s, *shisha*-s, *yakṣa*-s (demons), the various other *myōō*-s, and even *bodhisattva*-s, we are here concerned with the *dōji*-s (Skt. *kumāra*, lit., "child [followers]") or acolytes. There are a variety of different groupings of Fudō's *dōji* followers. The *Byakuhokkushō* lists schemas of three, four, eight,⁸² and thirty-six,⁸³ in all of which are present Kimkara and Ceṭaka, the two *dōji*-s here mentioned in

⁸¹ Shunnyū's text adds to the end "行人" ("[...whom serve] practitioners").

⁸² The best known iconographical examples of the eight *dōji* in Japan are those sculpted by the famous Unkei in the late-12th century. The statues are today National Treasures, and are on display at Kōyasan's Kongōbuji.

⁸³ The full thirty-six *dōji* acolytes are: (1) Kongara 矜迦羅; (2) Seitaka 制吒迦; (3) Fudōe 不動慧; (4) Kōmōshō 光網勝; (5) Mukukō 無垢光; (6) Keshini 計子儻; (7) Chiedō 智慧幢; (8) Shitsutara 質多羅; (9) Chōshōkō 召請光; (10) Fushigi 不思議; (11) Aratara 囉多羅; (12) Harabara 波羅波羅; (13) Ikeira 伊醯羅; (14) Shishikō 師子光; (15) Shishie 師子慧; (16) Abarachi 阿婆羅底; (17) Jikenba 持堅婆; (18) Rishabi 利車毘; (19) Hōkyōgo 法挾護; (20) Indara 因陀羅; (21) Daikōmyō 大光明; (22) Shōkōmyō 小光明; (23) Butsushugo 佛守護; (24) Hōshugo 法守護; (25) Sōshugo 僧守護; (26) Kongōgo 金剛護; (27) Kokūgo 虛空護; (28) Kokūzō 虛空藏; (29) Hōzōgo 寶藏護; (30) Kichijōmyō 吉祥妙; (31) Kaikōe 戒光慧; (32) Myōkūzō 妙空藏; (33) Fukōshu 普光主; (34) Zen'nishi 善儻師; (35) Harika 波利迦; (36) Ubakei 烏婆計. For a variant listing, see the *Byakuhokkushō* (TZ.3119.7.9a.6-23).

V19.⁸⁴ *Kimkara* (“servant,” lit., “what [am I] to do?”) (Jpn. *Kongara* 矜迦羅, 矜羯羅) (plate 25) and *Cetaka* (Jpn. *Seitaka* 制吒迦) (plate 26) are the most popular acolytes of the entire thirty-six, and are *Fudō*’s prime flanking attendants— *Kimkara* on *Fudō*’s left, *Cetaka* on the right. They appear in such prose literature as, for example, the aforementioned *Heike monogatari* where they rescue a devout ascetic from death at the request of *Fudō* (chapter five, “*Mongaku no aragyō*” 文覺荒行, [“*Mongaku*’s Austerities”]) (McCullough 178-79).

The placement of V19 following V18 highlights the initial two characters used in each Visualization—*henjō* 變成 (“transform and become”) in V18 and *hensaku* 變作 (“transform and fashion”) in V19, suggesting a close connection. If we re-examine the above quotation from the *Bucchō sonshō giki* concerning the *kulika* dragon, this time reading further, we find:

大日如來變成憾字。字變成劔。劔變成不動明王身。明王變成瞿利伽羅大龍。現忿怒相纏利劔。龍王變成二人使者。矜迦羅使者制吒迦羅使者此也。

Mahāvairocana Tathāgata transforms and becomes the *hām* syllable. The syllable transforms and becomes a sword. The sword transforms and becomes the body of *Fudō Myōō*. The *Myōō* transforms and becomes the great *kurikara nāga* dragon. It manifests the form of wrath and encoils the sword. The dragon king transforms and becomes two servants. They are the servants *Kimkara* and *Cetaka*.⁸⁵

(T.906.18.913b.22-25)

The *Riteibō* likewise writes:

大日如來變成金剛忿怒不動明王。明王變成俱力迦羅大龍王。龍王變成二童子。

Mahāvairocana Tathāgata transforms and becomes the wrathful *vajra* [-holder] *Fudō Myōō*. [*Fudō*] *Myōō* transforms and becomes the great *kurikara nāga* dragon king. The dragon king transforms and becomes two *dōji* [*Kimkara* and *Cetaka*].

(TZ.3119.7.23c.21-23)

⁸⁴ *Kimkara* and *Cetaka* are at times described as *shisha* instead of *dōji*. The term *dōji* is, however, by far the more common of the two designations.

⁸⁵ The transliteration here of *Cetaka* as *Cetakala* (Jpn. *Seitakara* 制吒迦羅) is a mistake.

Here we see a hierarchy of manifestations in descending order: (1) Mahāvairocana Buddha→(2) (*hām* syllable)→(3) (sword)→(4) Fudō→(5) *kulika* dragon→(6) two *dōji* acolytes. These progressive transformations involving Fudō are the general inspiration of V19 (and V18), in that Fudō manifests two servants who carry out his commands in order to fulfill the ultimate objectives of the Buddha. The 19V seem to begin and end with this idea of manifested servants. Where V1 describes Fudō as manifestation who assists the Buddha in performing various deeds, V19 now places Fudō in the head position similar to that of the Buddha as master and employer of lesser manifestations who, as Fudō, serve the Esoteric practitioners. This hierarchy of manifestations perhaps explains why the acolytes often appear in the presence of the *kulika* dragon as seen above (plates 22-24).

The asymmetry of Fudō's eyes and teeth are somewhat continued in the addition of *Kimkara* and *Cetaka* as suggested in the interlinear commentary. *Kimkara* is described as obedient while *Cetaka* is disobedient. Where Amoghavajra's *Chiri himitsu hō* and *Chiri shisha hō* together with Yixing's *Commentary* are the major sources of practically all of the 19V, V19 finds its precedent in Vajrabodhi's *Fudō shisha hō*. Here we find:

此神作小童子形。有兩種。一名矜羯邏恭敬小心者是。一名制吒迦難共語惡性者是。

This deity [Fudō] fashions the forms of small acolytes. There are two types. The first is named *Kimkara*, one who is reverential and timid. The other is named *Cetaka*, one who is difficult to converse with and is of an evil nature.

(T.1202.21.24c.11-25a.2)

Vajrabodhi's language here matches that of V19's interlinear commentary, and is clearly its source. The additional phrases included in the interlinear commentary added by Annen that "express" *Kimkara*'s "reverential and timid" nature and *Cetaka*'s "evil nature" seem to stem

from an unidentified source⁸⁶ in the *Byakuhokkushō* that describes the two *dōji* in greater detail. The passage (TZ.3119.7.24c.7-14) describes the contrasting characters of the two acolytes in part by using of the words *zuijun* 随順, “obedient” (Kiṃkara) and *ihai* 違背, “disobedient” (Ceṭaka). These terms seem to be the basis for the interlinear commentary’s similar contrast between the acolytes.

In examining the iconographies we can clearly see the dichotomy. Kiṃkara, on Fudō’s right, most often looks up at the grandeur of Fudō, suggesting his obeisance to the Buddhist *dharma*, his face and overall demeanor reflecting his passivity. His hands are often held together in supplication (plates 25, 28, 32) at times with a *dokkoshō* 独鉤杵 or single-pronged *vajra* balanced between his thumbs and forefingers (plate 25). The *Byakuhokkushō* alternatively describes Kiṃkara as holding the *dokkoshō* in his right hand and a red lotus flower (Jpn. *gurenge* 紅蓮華) in his left hand (TZ.3119.7.25a.7-8), such as seen with Genchō’s drawing (plate 29) and the Blue Fudō image (plate 31). Ceṭaka, on the other hand, usually stares down at the ground, a physical expression of his “disobedience” or non-committal to the Buddhist path. Ceṭaka’s body is often slightly more grotesque than that of Kiṃkara. His facial expressions almost suggest a pouting (plates 27, 28). The *Byakuhokkushō* writes that Ceṭaka holds a *dokkoshō* in his left hand and a *kongōbō* 金剛棒 or *vajra* staff in his left⁸⁷ (TZ.3119.7.25a.10-11) (plate 26, 27, 30).

The new acolytes, one of the most striking features of the 19V Fudō iconographies, began to rival the four Great Myōō as comprising Fudō’s most popular entourage. Moreover, the positioning of Kiṃkara and Ceṭaka to the left and right of Fudō mimics the well known *sanzon*

⁸⁶ The *Byakuhokkushō* believes this text to be Vajrabodhi’s *Fudō shisha hō*, yet the passage is clearly not contained therein. A few subscript notes have been added to the *Byakuhokkushō* in order to point out its mistaken references to Vajrabodhi’s text. I have yet been able to locate the origin of this reference.

⁸⁷ Note how the Ceṭaka of Genchō’s drawing (plate 29) leans over the *vajra* staff in a manner near identical to the unique image of Fudō with his inverted sword (plate 6). It would seem that Genchō’s Ceṭaka, whose physical form is not found anywhere else (of which I know), perhaps provided the inspiration for Shinkai’s Fudō.

三尊 or trinity of the more popular deities such as Amitābha (Jpn. Amida 阿弥陀) with his flanking attendants Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva (Jpn. Kannon Bosatsu 観音菩薩) and Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva (Jpn. Daiseishi Bosatsu 大勢至菩薩), which, again, evidences Fudō's growing eminence as one of the most popular deities in Japan.

III. Conclusions

Although we can identify a variety of individual examples of new and inventive Fudō images in Japan modified from their Chinese and early Japanese forms imported by Kūkai, Enchin, et al., the biggest and most important changes in Fudō's iconography in Japan were without a doubt those that began to appear in the mid-Heian Period (10th-11th centuries). These changes emerged as a part of a concerted effort that were not due to individual artistic inventiveness and point to a single textual source. This source was the 19V, a core section of Fudō rituals originally written by Kūkai but later developed and popularized by Annen and Shunmyō. The 19V described nineteen of Fudō's fundamental characteristics that, owing to the intimate relation of art and ritual in the Esoteric tradition, provided the textual and ritual foundation for a new movement of representing Fudō in the iconographies. This new movement has since remained the dominant style of Fudō imagery in Japan today.

Although all nineteen of the Visualizations (and most of the interlinear commentaries) can be traced to earlier Chinese sources—mainly Yixing's *Commentary* and Amoghavajra's *Chiri himitsu hō*—they existed in these texts in a scattered form detached from any unifying ritual framework. It was not until their proper systematization in Japan in the ritual form of the 19V that they began to take effect on the construction of Fudō's imagery. While many of the 19V had already existed in the iconography of Fudō (such as the sword and rope), the 19V were responsible for such new modifications (eyes, teeth) and additions (*kurika* dragon-sword, *dōji*

acolytes) that, despite their foundations in the Chinese sources, were uniquely Japanese in their representation in art, and were artistically indigenous to Japan, setting the Japanese Fudō apart from its earlier continental forms.

This new Fudō iconography of the 19V can be summarized as follows (comprised of seven major new changes): (1) a new asymmetry of the eyes (left closed, right open) and (2) teeth (right pointed up, left pointed down); (3) a flower crown of seven topknots in place of the old crown; (4) Fudō's bottom lip extends above the upper one, covering his teeth and leaving room only for his two fangs to protrude from the sides of the mouth; (5) the replacement of the *shitsushitsuza* platform with a simple rock one; (6) the addition of the acolytes Kimkara and Cetaka; (7) and the addition of the *kurika* dragon-sword. These seven new elements (with the exception of Eun's Fudō of the seven topknots) were artistically unique to Japan. Elements that remained with little or no change were the wrinkle marks on the forehead, the flames, the rope, and the overall posture of Fudō, either standing or sitting on the rock platform. This new Fudō was, as Ariga shows (Tanaka 24), first epitomized by the new iconographies of artists such as Genchō 玄朝 (also 源朝) (late 10th century) (plate 29)⁸⁸ and Enjin 円心 (late 12th-early 13th centuries) (plate 31) (figure 6). The style of Genchō, the first known artist to depict the Fudō of the 19V, became the subsequent inspiration of Teichi's 定智 Fudō (plate 30) as well as the famous Blue Fudō (*Ao Fudō* 青不動)⁸⁹ (plate 32), that, together with Enchin's Yellow Fudō, and Kōyasan's Red Fudō, form the three famous Fudō-s of Japan.

The 19V represented a new Japanese iconographical interpretation of Fudō that developed from a reworking of the strong Esoteric dynamic of text and icon, insisting that any discussion of Fudō's iconography in Japan require an acknowledgement and discussion of the

⁸⁸ Note the focus Genchō places on the new details of Fudō's facial features, clearly emphasizing what was at that time a new form of Fudō imagery.

⁸⁹ The Blue Fudō is the oldest extent color representation of Fudō bearing features of the 19V.

19V. To date, this has not been the case in the West. Fudō has been studied primarily as an artistic icon without attention to his scriptural dimensions, which, in the case of the 19V Fudō of Japan, provided the foundation for the iconography.

PART TWO: THE NINETEEN VISUALIZATIONS AS RITUAL OF FUDŌ MYŌŌ

Having discussed the 19V as descriptions of Fudō's characteristic attributes that were responsible for a new development in the iconography of the deity in the Heian and Kamakura periods of Japan, we can finally turn to the ritual of the 19V itself. Where Part One discussed the 19V as descriptive features of Fudō, Part Two will analyze the 19V in their ritual context. My main concern in Part Two will be this: how did the 19V provide the ritual basis for the change in Fudō's imagery? To answer this question, I will here seek to identify and explain the locus of interaction between the rituals and iconography of Fudō through an examination of the ritual sphere and performance of the 19V. This will include the discussion of two separate ritual foundations to which, I will argue, the 19V were appended, and the analysis of which will help explain how the 19V fit into their larger ritual context. Before approaching the specificity of the ritual of the 19V, however, it will be necessary first to outline the general framework and characteristics of Esoteric rites as well as those of Fudō, as the 19V lie deeply embedded in their ritual context.

I. Esoteric Ritual and Soteriology

Due to the vast number of deities that comprise the Esoteric pantheon, the Shingon tradition enjoys a rich repertoire of rituals designed to summon and employ its many deities, either individually or in small groups. Although overwhelming in number, scope, and frequency, and classified according to different criteria, Japanese Esoteric invocation rituals can be briefly characterized as follows. The Esoteric practitioner, wishing to summon a particular deity (or group of deities), first "binds off," purifies, and protects a provisional sacred space in which the ritual will physically operate, most often inside a meditation hall in front of an altar. The ritual

space is adorned with a variety of ritual implements and offerings centered around the altar, attesting to the elaborate and complex nature of the ritual (plate 33).

Since the Esoteric deities reside in the *maṇḍala*-s, they must first be conjured and “invited” into the realm of the practitioner before they can be worshipped. The practitioner thus next prepares himself and the altar space with offerings in order properly to receive the guest deity, a practice said to derive from the ancient Indian practice of welcoming and entertaining an honored guest (Yamasaki 162). The conjuration of the god is largely a process of complex, prescribed visualizations of the deity (*honzonkan* 本尊観) in its realm of dwelling located above the altar space. This is called the *dōjōkan* 道場観 (discussed below). Most often the deity invoked is iconographically present in the form of a sculpture or painting, giving, as Payne writes, the practitioner an objective physical base as an aid in the visualization of the deity (Payne 21).

With the deity conjured, it is next retrieved from its realm of dwelling above by means of a special vehicle and invited into the practitioner’s ritual space. Through the ritual manipulation of the “three mysteries” (explained below), the deity undergoes a progressive identification with the practitioner, ultimately culminating in *nyūga ga’nyū* 入我我入 (“[deity] entering self, self entering [deity]”), arguably the core of the Esoteric ritual as it is here that the two entities undergo a complete ritualized identification. During *nyūga ga’nyū*, there is no distinction between the two; practitioner and deity are considered as one.

Having gained ritualized union with the deity, the practitioner attains the empowerment of *kaji* and is now able to manipulate the powers of the deity and fulfill the objectives of the ritual. The magical powers gained are employed for such secular benefits as warding off evil or the petition for a good harvest. The ritual ends with a return of the deity to his realm of dwelling, and a collapse of the sacred space. This is the general format of the Esoteric ritual.

Throughout the entirety of the ritual the aforementioned practices of *sanmitsu* (the “three mysteries”) play a major role. The practices of *sanmitsu* (those rituals involving *mantra*-s, *mudrā*-s, and *samādhi*) form the general framework in which the ritual operates. *Mantra*-s, an umbrella term used to describe different sorts of spells and liturgies, take on a variety of forms constantly uttered in invocation, obeisance, protection, and exorcism. *Mudrā*-s are ritualized hand gestures used in tandem with the *mantra*, offering a physical complement to the practitioner’s recitations. *Mudrā*-s are often gestured with ritual implements in hand such as the *vajra* pounder (Jpn. *kongōsho* 金剛杵), one of the most important characteristic symbols of the Esoteric tradition. The *vajra*, said to have derived from an ancient Indian weapon, comes in different forms (plate 34) which symbolically represent such things as indestructible truth or the means by which a practitioner cuts through and destroys delusion and evil. *Samādhi* refers primarily to the visualization of the deity, usually in the presence of the proper *maṇḍala* in which it dwells or an alternate image such as a statue. The ritual manipulation of these three practices constructs the environment in which the practitioner is able to obtain the ideal ritualized identification with the invoked deity. Esoteric union, then, is the union of the actions of the host practitioner’s speech, body, and mind with that of the guest deity.

Of the variety of Esoteric rituals, the *goma* 護摩 (Skt. *homa*) or “fire oblation” ceremony, an ancient pre-Buddhist rite traced to Vedic India, is one of the most popular practices in the Shingon tradition. The general classification of Shingon *goma* rituals is most often into four distinct categories (*shishuhō* 四種法) according to their objectives, viz.: (1) *sokusai* 息災 (Skt. *sāntika*, “averting calamities”); (2) *zōyaku* 增益 (Skt. *puṣṭika*, “increasing prosperity”); (3) *chōbuku* 調伏 (also *gōbuku* 降伏) (Jpn. “subjugation [of evil, demons, etc.]”; Skt. *ābhicārika*, “magic,” “spell”), and (4) *keiai* 敬愛 (Jpn. “reverence and love”; Skt. *vaśīkaraṇa*,

“subjugating”).⁹⁰ These three rituals appear in chapter twenty-seven of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, “Worldly and Other Worldly *Goma* Rituals” (“*Seshussei goma hō*” 世出世護摩法) (T.848.18.43a.27-29). The fourth ritual of *keiai*, according to Payne, was introduced to China following the above three (Payne 61), and was later added to the above four-fold schema to form the major divisions of the Shingon *goma* rituals.

The *goma* ritual is here relevant not only because of its favored usage in Shingon, but particularly since the *goma* ceremony is practically always devoted to the worship of Fudō. Fudō, among his variety of characterizations as guardian, messenger, and god of the mountains, is also the god of fire in Japan, recalling the leaping flames in which, according to V3, he perpetually dwells. For these reasons, Fudō has developed strong ties to the Vedic god of fire, Agni (Jpn. Katen 火天) (Agni often appears in the *goma* rituals). In most cases, the *goma* ceremony of Fudō begins following the mutual empowerment of practitioner and deity where one sacrifices objects into the fire, and is predominately of the *sokusai* sort. Fudō’s role as the god of fire is equally strong in the Shugendō tradition where the *yamabushi* of, for example, Kyōto’s Shōgoin 聖護院 and Daigoji 醍醐寺, are well-known for their performance of the massive outdoor *goma* ritual known as the *saitō goma* 柴澄護摩.

Although used to cultivate material blessings, the Esoteric ritual plays the core role in the tradition’s soteriology. Kūkai proposed an enlightenment that transcended the long and difficult Mahāyāna norm of the *bodhisattva* path (that of traveling for many eons through *saṃsāra*, slowly accumulating merit). This enlightenment is characterized not only as inherent, but one

⁹⁰ In order to match the “three-fold division” (*sanbu* 三部) of the Taizōkai (viz.: (1) *butsubu* 仏部 [“buddha division”], (2) *rengebu* 蓮華部 [“lotus division”], and (3) *kongōbu* 金剛部 [“vajra division”]), the *keiai* ritual is often omitted in the Taizōkai tradition. Similarly, in order to fit the “five-fold division” (*gobu* 五部) used by the Kongōkai transmission (viz.: (1) *nyoraibu* 如來部 [“Tathāgata division”], (2) *kongōbu*, (3) *hōbu* 宝部 [“treasure division”], (4) *rengebu*, and (5) *katsumabu* 羯磨部 [“karma division”]), a fifth ritual, the *kōshō* 鈎召 is added to the existing four. According to Payne, however, the *kōshō* ritual is currently not used in the Shingon tradition (Payne 63).

that was also available in this lifetime and, more radically, in one's own physical body (*sokushinjōbutsu*). The emphasis of the physical body as a viable medium for enlightenment underlies Shingon's soteriological argument that the physical world is the world of enlightenment. Recognition that "self is deity" during ritualized Esoteric union is the recognition that the physical, mundane, conventional world is ultimately identifiable with the absolute, enlightened realm of the Dharmakāya Buddha. The Esoteric Buddhists regard ritual as *the* method for attaining such goals. A practitioner's empowered union with the deity, then, becomes the ritual goal of the Esoteric tradition and a physical aspiration of its soteriology.

II. The Ritual Texts of Fudō

There are a variety of ritual manuals, called *giki* 儀軌 ("ritual model") and *shidai* 次第 ("prescription"),⁹¹ designed to invoke Fudō. These manuals, as mentioned, form the major textual sources of Fudō. The late 12th-early 13th century commentary *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 ("Collected Notes of Kakuzen") (TZ.3022.4-5; DBZ.53-56) gives a list of twenty-one Tang Period Chinese Fudō rituals (DBZ.431.55.75a-b.4-15), the first twelve of which are quoted directly from Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* (T.2176.55.1126b.1-21), and are considered to be the core Fudō rituals, most of them the products of the great Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi.⁹² These texts prescribe different forms of Fudō with an assortment of colors (yellow [*ki* 黄], red [*aka* 赤], blue [*ao* 青], dark blue [*aokuro* 青黑]), bodies (one head with two arms, one head with four arms, four heads with four arms), and implements and weapons in hand

⁹¹ The term "*giki*" tends to have been used more to describe the Chinese rituals, while use of "*shidai*" seems to have been preferred by the Japanese.

⁹² The exception is the inclusion of Annen's Japanese *Kōshō Fudō Myōō hiyōketsu*. Annen included this text himself.

(sword [*ken* 劍], rope [*kenjaku* 繩索], single-pronged vajra pounder [*dokkosho* 独鈷杵], *chakra* [*rin* 輪, “wheel, disk”], jeweled staff [*hōbō* 寶棒], *sakti* [爍訖低, “spear, halberd”]).⁹³

Despite this great variety of forms, however, we need only consider those rituals that prescribe the majority of Fudō images found in Japan. These are the forms common to Japan both before and after the emergence of the 19V, that is, the Fudō that is dark in color bearing one head, two arms, and a sword and rope in each hand. Shōji illustrates that, of the twelve major Chinese rituals listed in Annen’s bibliography of the early Esoteric masters, those most influential in early Japan that describe the “Japanese Fudō” can be reduced to four in number (Shōji 62-63). These four rituals appear sequentially in the Taishō canon (T.1199-2002.21), the first three being those translated by Amoghavajra:

1. *Kongōshu kōmyō kanjō kyō saishō ryūin shōmudōson daiinuō nenju giki hōhin*⁹⁴
(Ch. *Jingangshou guangming guanding jing zuisheng liyin shengmudongzun daweinuwang niansong yigui fa pin*)
金剛手光明灌頂經最勝立印聖無動尊大威怒王念誦儀軌法品
 (“*The Sūtra of the Vajrapāṇi’s Radiant Abhiṣeka, and the Ritual Text of Supreme Mudrā-s and Incantations of the Great Wrathful King Ārya Acalanātha*”)
(T.1199.21)
2. *Chirisanmaya Fudōson inuō shisha nenju hō*⁹⁵
(Ch. *Dirisanmeiye Budongzun weinu shizhe niansong fa*)
底哩三昧耶不動尊威怒王使者念誦法
 (“*Invocation Rites of the Wrathful King and Messenger Trisamaya Acalanātha*”)
(T.1200.21)
3. *Chirisanmaya Fudōson seija nenju himitsu hō* (*Chiri himitsu hō*)
(Ch. *Dirisanmeiye Budongzun shengzhe niansong mimi fa*)
底哩三昧耶不動尊聖者念誦秘密法
 (“*Secret Invocation Rites of the Trisamaya Ārya Acalanātha*”)
(T.1201.21)

⁹³ For a discussion on the different classifications of Fudō rituals according to their descriptions of the deity, see Yoritomi (163-68).

⁹⁴ Hereafter cited as *Ryūinki* 立印軌.

⁹⁵ Hereafter cited as *Chiri shisha hō* 底哩使者法.

The fourth ritual is that translated by Vajrabodhi:

4. *Fudō shisha darani himitsu hō (Fudō shisha hō)*
 (Ch. *Budong shizhe tuoluoni mimi fa*)
 不動使者陀羅尼秘密法
 (“*Secret Dharāṇī Rites of the Messenger Fudō*”)
 (T.1202.21)

Although all four of these rituals describe multiple forms of Fudō (many rare and non-existent in Japan) they all contain descriptions of what would become the dominant one-headed and two-armed form of Fudō in Japan. All four of these ritual texts appear in Kūkai’s *Shōrai mokuroku*,⁹⁶ attesting to both their prominence in China and authoritative influence on the early Japanese Fudō rituals. Of these four, Nasu writes that it was primarily the first, Amoghavajra’s *Ryūinki*, that, as it is the most structured of the four, provided the basis for the subsequent Fudō rituals used in Japan (Nasu 58).

Nasu states that the oldest Fudō rituals written in Japan were those composed by Kūkai and that they were largely based on the above four rituals (*ibid.* 59). They are three in number:

1. *Kongōshu kōmyō kanjō kyō saishō ryūin shōmudōson daiinuō nenju giki hōhin (ryaku shidai)*⁹⁷
 金剛手光明灌頂經最勝立印聖無動尊大威怒王念誦儀軌法品^{略次第}
 (“*The Sūtra of the Vajrapāṇi’s Radiant Abhiṣeka, and the Ritual Text of Supreme Mudrā-s and Incantations of the Great Wrathful King Ārya Acalanātha [Abbreviated Prescription]*”)
 (KZ.4.158 [1911])
2. *Fudō Myōō nenju shidai (mata iu Nōryōbō shidai)*
 不動明王念誦次第^{又云納涼房次第}
 (“*Prescriptions for the Invocations of Fudō Myōō [Nōryōbō Prescriptions]*”)
 (KZ.2.80 [1911]; NDK.85)

⁹⁶ The *Chiri shisha hō*, *Chiri himitsu hō*, and the *Ryūinki* appear under the heading “*Fukū sanzō no yaku* 不空三蔵の訳” (“Translations of the *Tripitaka* [Master] Amoghavajra”) (KZ.2.536, 541 [1983]). Vajrabodhi’s *Fudō shisha hō* appears under the heading “*Fukū sanzō igai no yaku* 不空三蔵以外の訳” (“Translations other than those of the *Tripitaka* [Master] Amoghavajra”) as *Fudō shisha himitsu hō* 不動使者秘密法 (“*Secret Rites of the Messenger Acalanātha*”) (*ibid.* 545)

⁹⁷ Hereafter cited as *Ryūinki ryaku shidai* 立印軌^{略次第}.

3. *Mudōson yuga jōju hōki shidai* (*yotte Dainichi kyō*)

無動尊俞伽成就法軌次第<sup>依大
日經</sup>

(“*Prescriptions for Yoga and Siddhi Rites of Acalanātha* [*According to the Mahāvairocana Sūtra*]”)

(KZ.2.79 [1911])

Since, as Nasu writes, the contents of the *Mudōson yuga jōju hōki shidai* are wholly different from the norm of Japanese Fudō rituals, and since it remained in relative obscurity, almost unpracticed (*ibid.*), it is here omitted from consideration.

The *Ryūinki ryaku shidai*, as is suggested by its borrowed title, was Kūkai’s abbreviation of Amoghavajra’s *Ryūinki*. Kūkai reduced Amoghavajra’s version of substantial length to a mere few pages. To perhaps compensate for its brevity, Kūkai consequently wrote the *Fudō Myōō nenju shidai* (*ibid.*). Its structure and contents, like its predecessor the *Ryūinki ryaku shidai*, were based on that of Amoghavajra’s initial *Ryūinki* (*ibid.*). The *Ryūinki ryaku shidai* and the *Mudōson yuga jōju hōki shidai* remained marginal and it was the *Fudō Myōō nenju shidai* that became the primary foundation of the later Japanese Fudō rituals (*ibid.*). Despite the availability of the many imported Chinese rituals, it was Kūkai’s newly written *Fudō Myōō nenju shidai* that stood at the forefront as the most influential Fudō ritual text in early Japan (*ibid.*); modern Japanese Fudō rituals still very much follow the same format as outlined in this ritual manual.

We need to focus our attention on the *Fudō Myōō nenju shidai* not only because it was one of the prime foundations of Japanese Fudō rituals, but also because it is here that Kūkai first composed the 19V. While following Amoghavajra’s *Ryūinki*, this text introduced a variety of modifications, one of the greatest of which is the new addition of the 19V. The innovation of the 19V, indigenous to Japan, represented uniquely Japanese contributions to Fudō worship; in contrast to the Chinese rituals of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra that described various forms of Fudō, this work affected the formation of Fudō iconography more directly by describing only a

single Fudō. But how, exactly, did the 19V in their ritual context influence Fudō's iconography? To answer this requires a dissection of the ritual element of the *dōjōkan*.

III. The *Dōjōkan* and the Ritual Performance of the Nineteen Visualizations

The *dōjōkan* is the one and only place in which the 19V appear as part of the early Japanese rituals of Fudō. Its analysis, then, will be a key element in understanding how the ritual of the 19V works, and, more importantly, how it consequently affected the construction of Fudō's imagery. Not all Japanese Fudō rituals contain the 19V, however, as they are often abbreviated and modified according to their Esoteric lineage. Moreover, those rituals in which the 19V are present (q.v., fn. 47) often vary in their specific placement of the 19V in the *dōjōkan*, as well as their use of specific *mantra*-s and meditation techniques. I will investigate the three *dōjōkan*-s written by Kūkai (contained in his *Fudō Myōō nenju shidai*), Annen (contained in his *Fudō ryūin giki*), and Shunmyū (contained in the *Fudōson dōjōkan* [of his *Yōson dōjōkan*]). Not only are they the earliest sources of the 19V, but their study will also allow for a more comprehensive analysis of the 19V.

i. Objectives of the *Dōjōkan*

The term *dōjōkan* is comprised of two main words, “*dōjō*” 道場 and “*kan*” 觀. *Dōjō*, literally meaning “place of the way,” is most often used to describe such edifices as certain meditation rooms in Buddhist temples or martial art training halls. The term often, however, takes on an alternate meaning, which is also its earliest meaning. *Dōjō* is considered to have originally been a Chinese translation (*daochang*) of the Sanskrit “*bodhimaṇḍa[-la]*” or “seat of enlightenment.” The *bodhimaṇḍala* refers to the archetypal spot where Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, attained his enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree in India. This idea is transposed into

Esoteric Buddhism where it similarly describes the physical area of the Buddhist divinities, dwelling in their enlightened realms among the *maṇḍala*-s. *Dōjō*, then, should be here taken as the dwelling place of the deity, i.e., the *maṇḍala*. As *kan* is “visualization” or calling forth and sustaining the image of an object in the mind, the *dōjōkan* is the visualization of the deity in its abode dwelling in the *maṇḍala*.

Visualization of the *dōjō* more specifically refers to a progressive construction of the *maṇḍala* and its resident deity through prescribed meditation techniques. The Esoteric practitioner first engages in a series of what I call “transformative visualizations,” whereby the deity’s realm of dwelling is envisioned in the mind by concentrating on certain images. Proper construction of the *dōjō* is of utmost importance since the practitioner wishes to invite the deity from its realm into that of his own in order to fulfill the objectives of the ritual.

Complete and proper construction of the *dōjō* allows the practitioner next to visualize the deity therein. This is the aforementioned *honzonkan* or “visualization of the main deity,” comprising the latter section of the *dōjōkan*. The practitioner visualizes the physical body of the deity in detail, thus revealing the ultimate objective of the *dōjōkan*: systematically to construct the deity’s dwelling place through prescribed visualizations in order to visualize and construct the deity itself. Doing so allows for a proper invitation of the deity into the practitioner’s ritual space where an empowered identification may begin, following which, the ritual continues onward to, for example, the *goma* ceremony.

ii. Descriptive Analysis

Modern Japanese Esoteric commentaries classify the ritual of the *dōjōkan*—regardless of deity invoked—into three types. These three classifications refer to the length of the *dōjōkan*, viz., “long” (*hiro* 広), “medium” (*chū* 中), and short or “abbreviated” (*ryaku* 略) (Nasu 88). In

the “long” visualization, the practitioner visualizes three main things, under which more specific visualizations appear: (1) the “receptacle world” (*kikai* 器界); (2) the “lofty tower” (*rōkaku* 樓閣); (3) and the *maṇḍala*. The “middle” visualization omits the Receptacle World and visualizes only the Tower and *maṇḍala*, while the “abbreviated” visualization omits both the Receptacle World and Tower and visualizes the *maṇḍala* directly. The *dōjōkan*-s of Kūkai and Annen are the “long,” while that of Shunmyō is the “abbreviated.”

The *kikai* (an abbreviation of *kisekai* 器世界, also *kiseken* 器世間) or Receptacle World is often defined in opposition to *ujōsekai* 有情世界 (also *shujōsekai* 衆生世界) or the world of living beings. A Buddhist world may be defined in two ways, that of the living beings who receive their *karma* accordingly (*shōhō* 正報) and that of the physical, material world or “that on which *karma* depends for expression” (*ehō* 依報) (Soothill 164). Where the former is the realm of living beings, the latter physical world is the Receptacle World, since it is the material basis of its living beings. Moreover, the Receptacle World or “that on which *karma* depends for expression” is often interpreted as the *gorin* 五輪 (also *godai* 五大) or the five constituent elements of earth (*chi* 地), water (*sui* 水), fire (*hi* 火), wind (*kaze* 風), and emptiness (*kū* 空). The five elements are a popular schema used in Esoteric Buddhism (especially in the Kongōkai transmission), and are often physically represented in the form of the well-recognized five-storied stone pillar (*gorintō* 五輪塔), a kind of Japanese *stūpa* found in temples and graveyards on which the elements are engraved. The practitioner’s visualizations in the Receptacle World section are thus largely concerned with the elements.

The *rōkaku* or Tower (also *hōrōkaku* 宝樓閣 [“jeweled tower”]; *hōkyūden* 宝宮殿 [“jeweled palace”]), often described with “five peaks” (*gomine* 五峯) and “eight columns”

(*hachihashira* 八柱),⁹⁸ is a popular non-anthropomorphic form of Mahāvairocana Buddha. The *Mahāvairocana sūtra* opens with reference to the jeweled tower as the celestial and mystical abode of the Buddha (T.848.18.1a.8). Although the *dōjōkan* is used to invoke a variety of divinities like Fudō, the inclusion of the Tower alludes to the ubiquitous presence of the Mahāvairocana Buddha as the source of all Esoteric deities. The visualizations that take place here progressively take on more concrete forms than those of the Receptacle World.

Despite forming the first two major steps in the “long” *dōjōkan*, the Receptacle World and Tower visualizations are here relatively unimportant. Shunmyō’s abbreviated *dōjōkan*, containing only the third and final visualization of the *maṇḍala*, reduces the Receptacle World and Tower visualizations to a preamble and illustrates the importance of the *maṇḍala* section as the core of the ritual, as it is here that the deity (Fudō) is ultimately constructed.

The *maṇḍala* section of the *dōjōkan* is epitomized by the progressive visualization of the *shusanzon* 種三尊 or the “three types of the deity,” characterizing the *honzonkan*.⁹⁹ The first type is the deity in the form of its *bīja* (*shujikei* 種子形). The *bīja* (Jpn. *shuji* 種子) or “seed” *mantra* consists of a single Sanskrit syllable written using the ancient Indian *siddham* script.¹⁰⁰ Each Esoteric deity has at least one *bīja* which is considered to epitomize its essence, source, or “seed,” from which the deity is “generated.” A *bīja* is of such importance to the Esoteric pantheon that its divinities are often represented in the *maṇḍala*-s as nothing more than a depiction of their *bīja*. The dominant *bīja* of Fudō is *hām* 𑖦 (Jpn. *kan* 憾; *han* 唵).

The practitioner next visualizes the transformation of the *bīja* into the deity’s second, or *samaya*, form. The *samaya* form (Jpn. *sanmayakei* 三昧耶形), like the *bīja*, characterizes the

⁹⁸ According to Nasu, the five peaks represent the five wisdoms (*gochi* 五智) of the Kongōkai while the eight pillars represent the eight pedaled lotus flower found in the center of the Taizōkai Mandara (Nasu 89).

⁹⁹ The Esoteric dictionaries define the ritual performance of the *honzonkan* according to five different methods, the first of which is the *shusanzonkan* 種三尊觀 (“visualization of the three types of the deity”). I thus take the *maṇḍala* section of the *dōjōkan* as the location of the *honzonkan*. See Sawa (643-44) (1975).

¹⁰⁰ For the definitive work on the *siddham* script, see VanGulik.

deity in an alternate form, most often a physical object, here more tangible than the phonetic and abstract *bīja*. In the case of the wrathful Esoteric divinities, the *samaya* form is usually a weapon, symbolizing their militant and irate characters; Fudō's *samaya* form is either a sword (Jpn. *ken* 劍; *riken* 利劍) or single-pronged *vajra* (Jpn. *dokko*[-*kongō*] 独鈷[-金剛]),¹⁰¹ his two most popular choices of weapons carried in his right hand.

The transformative visualizations finally culminate as the practitioner next visualizes the deity as its anthropomorphic self (*sonkei* 尊形) or, as it appears, for example, in the Taizōkai and Kongōkai Mandara-s. This is the third and final form of the deity. Thus arriving at the last stage of the *dōjōkan*, the construction of the god concludes with a series of descriptions of its physical attributes. These descriptions generally include posture, color, implements in hand, and any other characteristic features of that particular deity. These descriptions moreover act as prescriptive imperatives on how properly to construct or draw the deity in both the mind of the practitioner as well in the external images. In the case of Fudō, these imperatives recall not only the early iconographical standards set by Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi in their early Chinese rituals, but also, naturally, the 19V.

I wish to argue that these iconographical prescriptions found at the end of the *dōjōkan* form the first of two separate foundations for the original construction and inclusion of the 19V into the ritual of the *dōjōkan* that were directly responsible for the new movement in the formation of Fudō's iconographies. To illustrate my argument more clearly, let us examine the *dōjōkan* of Kūkai's *Fudō Myōō nenju shidai*:

¹⁰¹ Fudō's "Esoteric name" (*mitsugō* 密號), described in the scriptures as "Jōju kongō" 常住金剛 ("Eternally Abiding *Vajra*") suggests this connection to the *vajra* weapon.

道場觀 先結羯磨印。二手外相叉。各小指大指端相跂覆心上。即觀想。此下界最上有 𑖀 欠字成空大。其上有 𑖁 哈字成風大。其上有 𑖂 覽字成火大。其上有 𑖃 鑊字成水大。其上有 𑖄 暗字成地大。其上有 𑖅 尾字成大海。其中有 𑖆 縛字成五股金剛。其上有 𑖇 惡字成華藏界。其上有七寶宮殿。其內有 𑖈 哈字成智劍。變成聖無動尊。安坐盤石上。住火生三昧。頂有七莎髻。左垂一辨髮額有水波皺。斜閉左一目。齧上唇下翻。右手執智劍左手持羅索。身編迦樓羅炎。四大明王十二大天等圍繞。如是觀了。真言曰。唵。縛日羅羯磨劍。

Dōjōkan: First, bind the *karma mudrā*. Both hands are crossed. Touch the tips of the small fingers to the thumbs and cover up the heart. This is contemplative visualization. At the very top of this lower realm is the *kham* syllable. It forms the element of emptiness. Above it is the *ham* syllable. It forms the element of wind. Above it is the *ram* syllable. It forms the element of fire. Above it is the *vam* syllable. It forms the element of water. Above it is the *am* syllable. It forms the element of earth.

Above it is the *vi* syllable. It forms the great sea. Within it is the *vah* syllable. It forms a five-pronged *vajra*. Above it is the *aḥ* syllable. It forms the lotus-repository realm. Above it is a palace of seven jewels.

Within [the palace] is the *hām* syllable. It forms the sword of wisdom. It transforms and becomes Ārya Acalanātha. [1] He sits peacefully atop a rock platform. [2] He dwells within the fire-emitting *samādhi*. [3] Atop his head are seven topknots. [4] A single lock of hair hangs over the left side [of his head]. [5] On his forehead are watermarks in the pattern of waves. [6] His left eye is half-closed. [7] He bites his upper lip and the bottom [lip] sticks out. [8] His right hand holds the sword of wisdom. [9] His left hand holds a rope. [10] His body is enveloped everywhere by *garuda* flames. [11] The Four Great Myō¹⁰² and the Twelve Great Deva-s¹⁰³ surround him. Having thus finished the visualization, recite the *mantra*: “*Oṃ. Vajra karma khadga.*”¹⁰⁴

(NDK.85.290a.6-17)

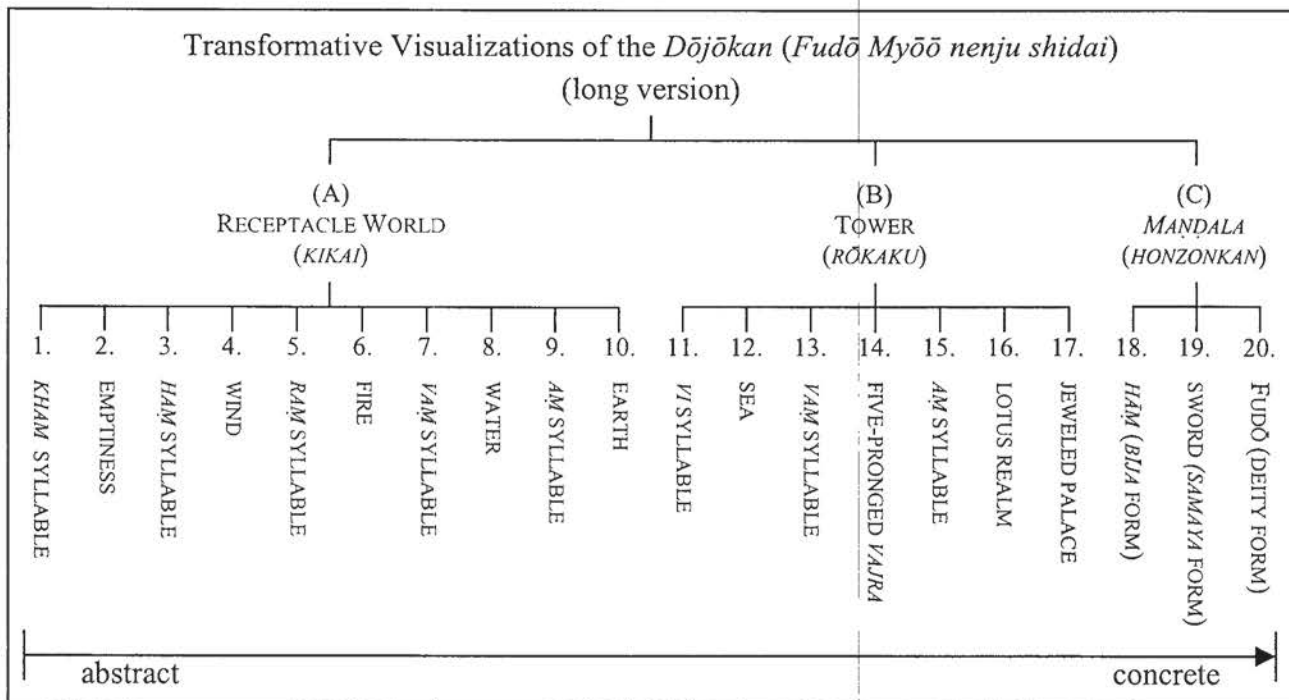
We can graphically represent this *dōjōkan* of Kūkai as follows:¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² That is, the Five Great (Godai) Myōō minus Fudō.

¹⁰³ Viz.: (1) Indra (Jpn. Taishakuten 帝釈天 [east]); (2) Agni (Jpn. Katen 火天 [south-east]); (3) Yama (Jpn. Enmaten 閻魔; 焰魔 [south]); (4) Nairṛti (Jpn. Rasetsuten 羅刹天 [south-west]); (5) Varuṇa (Jpn. Suiten 水天 [west]); (6) Vāyu (Jpn. Fūten 風天 [north-west]); (7) Vaiśravaṇa (Jpn. Bishamonten 毘沙門天 [north]); (8) Maheśvara / Īśāna (Jpn. Daijizaiten 大自在天 / Izanaten 伊舍那天 [north-east]); (9) Brahmā (Jpn. Bonten 梵天 [above]); (10) Pṛthivī (Jpn. Jiten 地天 [below]); (11) Sūrya (Jpn. Nitten 日天); (12) Candra (Jpn. Gatten 月天). The Twelve *Deva*-s together with Fudō, whom they surround, comprise the Jūniten Mandara 十二天曼荼羅 (“*Maṇḍala of the Twelve Deva-s*”), one of the rare examples in Japan imported from China depicting the four-armed Fudō (plate 35).

¹⁰⁴ Parenthetical numerals are mine.

¹⁰⁵ My divisions (A, B, C) are approximations.



Here we see the progressive transformative visualizations numbering twenty, beginning with the elements and ending with Fudō in deity form, characterizing the Esoteric development from the non-anthropomorphic and abstract to the anthropomorphic and concrete. Yamasaki describes this sort of meditative technique as “the mind progressing gradually from the general to the particular” positing the basic Buddhist arguments of *anitya* (Jpn. *mujō* 無常, “impermanence”) and *asvabhāva* (Jpn. *mujishō* 無自性, “non-substantiality”) thus consciously undermining attachment to a singular concept such as the deity itself (Yamasaki 156).

iii. Primary Ritual Basis of the Nineteen Visualizations (*honzonkan*)

But most important to our argument is, again, the concluding series of physical descriptions consummating the construction of Fudō at the height of the transformative visualizations. The set of physical descriptions marking the summation of the *dōjōkan* is part of a well-established meditation technique used in the Japanese rituals; one need only briefly

examine Shunmyō's *Yōson dōjōkan* to understand that the (Japanese) ritual constructions of nearly all Esoteric deities follow this normative practice.

In the *dōjōkan* of the *Fudō Myōō nenju shidai*, the description of Fudō consists of eleven items, and their language is similar to the language used by the 19V. In fact, ten of the items in this description (excluding the last), outlining Fudō's most fundamental features, match ten of the 19V (viz., V3, V5-9, V11-12, V14, V17).¹⁰⁶ Not surprisingly, Kūkai placed the 19V immediately following these eleven descriptions (hereafter 11D). Thus, considering that both the 19V and 11D share a similar prescriptive language, ritual location and format, I argue that the 19V were here appended by Kūkai to supplement the objectives of the Japanese *honzonkan*, that is, to visualize and construct Fudō according to a set procedure.¹⁰⁷ This supplement gave new added descriptions to Fudō; nowhere do we find a more detailed account of the deity's form and character than in the 19V.

However, if we recall the two styles of Fudō images imported by Kūkai (as well as his later statues made for the Tōji and the Kongōbuji, Shingon's two main temples), we clearly see that these are not the iconographies described in Kūkai's *dōjōkan*. As already outlined above, those new elements that characterize the 19V (such as the asymmetrical eyes and teeth) were not present in early imported Fudō images nor in images constructed by the early Japanese Esoteric monks, but took roughly two centuries before they began to appear. Kūkai, like Amoghavajra

¹⁰⁶ We must recognize that where these new Visualizations appear most often is not in the ritual of the 19V itself, but rather in the *dōjōkan*. While the ritual of the 19V proper was often omitted in later texts, the Visualizations were used to form the main corpus of the *dōjōkan*-s used to visualize Fudō—and even remain so today in modern Fudō rituals. Yet we must also recognize that some Visualizations (namely, V18 and V19) that were never included in the *dōjōkan*-s, still appeared in the new iconographies.

¹⁰⁷ Although supplemental, it must be noted that Kūkai's original 19V differ from the 11D in two main ways, beyond their added detail and verse form. First, where the 11D are all descriptions of physical elements, the 19V include non-physical traits such as Fudō's nature as a manifestation of the Buddha (V1). These non-physical descriptions are four in number (viz., V1, V2, V3, V13). Second, the 19V contain interlinear commentaries which explain the symbolic significance of each attribute, not present in the *dōjōkan* visualizations of Kūkai, Annen, and Shunmyō. The *dōjōkan* of Fudō as found in the later *Besson zakki*, however, does include abbreviated versions of the interlinear commentaries in its visualizations (TZ.3119.7.344a.11-21).

and Vajrabodhi before him, was evidently little concerned with this gap; he openly prescribed Fudō in one manner but iconographically represented the deity in another. Although the 19V clearly are an attempt to prescribe regulations concerning the form of Fudō, and the 19V are closely connected to the 11D visualizations of the *dōjōkan* used to construct the deity, they at first had surprisingly little impact on the iconographies, nor is there evidence to suggest that Kūkai wrote the ritual of the 19V for the specific purpose of altering the construction of Fudō images.

In fact, the disjointedness between the early images of Fudō and the 19V did not end with Kūkai. Annen and Shunmyō subsequently eliminated the 11D in favor of the 19V as the means to describe Fudō in the *dōjōkan*. This suggests that they saw a sort of descriptive ritual redundancy in Kūkai's text. Annen's promotion of the 19V as the standard method of visualizing Fudō in the rituals included the redaction into their new prose format (mimicking that of the now absent 11D) using interlinear commentaries. This new prose form replaced the original *gāthā* verse form used by Kūkai. These two developments—the use of the 19V as the basis for Fudō visualizations and the new prose style of the ritual—mark the standardization of the 19V in the rituals of Fudō. However, the images of Fudō used by Annen and Shunmyō, like those of Kūkai, were still the early forms devoid of the new details prescribed by the 19V. Although Annen's rewriting and popularizing the 19V shows a great desire to reconfigure the ritual of the 19V, this ambition, as in the case of Kūkai, seems to have been confined to the realm of ritual. It had yet to affect the iconographies of Fudō.

When, then, did the 19V finally influence the construction of Fudō's iconography? As mentioned above, the earliest images of Fudō bearing characteristics of the 19V of which I am aware (beyond Eun's Fudō of the seven topknots) are the aforementioned late 10th-early 11th century drawings of Genchō (plate 29). The detail of these drawings—only Fudō's facial

features and his two acolytes Kimkara and Cetaka are drawn—suggest that Genchō deliberately wished to emphasize a wholly new representation of Fudō. Since these drawings appeared approximately fifty years after Shunnyū’s death, it is unlikely that any of these three patriarchs—Kūkai, Annen, and Shunnyū—ever saw Fudō images matching the prescriptions of their 19V. Thus, although these new images were clearly inspired by the ritual of the 19V, these changes did not occur immediately, taking some two centuries before they began to appear in Genchō’s monochromatic ink drawings.

iv. Secondary Ritual Basis of the Nineteen Visualizations (*fujikan*)

If we examine what immediately follows the early *dōjōkan*-s prescribed by Kūkai, Annen, and Shunnyū, we find two additional ritual elements clustered around the 19V. They are the rituals of the *jūshikonponin* 十四根本印 (“fourteen *mūla* [root] *mudrā*-s”) (hereafter 14M) and the *jūkyūfuji* 十九布字 (“nineteen spreading syllables”) (hereafter 19SS). In the listing of the *Fudōson dōjōkan* in his *Yōson dōjōkan*, Shunnyū includes all three rituals—the 19V, 14M, 19SS—as part of the *dōjōkan* of Fudō, illustrating their collective importance in deity invocation. Although these three ritual elements individually remained much the same over time, their placement in the rituals did not. Kūkai’s order runs 19V→14M→19SS, Annen’s 19V→19SS→14M, and Shunnyū’s 14M→19SS→19V. In every case, the 14M and 19SS appear sequentially, the 19V either appearing before or after.

The ritual of the 14M is, however, relatively unimportant to my argument and will be here omitted from consideration.¹⁰⁸ I instead wish to argue that the 19SS, following the *dōjōkan*, provided a second ritual foundation to which the 19V were appended. The Visualizations

¹⁰⁸ See figure 7 for a list of the 14M.

concluding the *dōjōkan* were the primary ritual basis for Kūkai's addition of the 19V; the 19SS, in contrast provided the numerical basis, as will be shown next.

When we examine the earliest extant rituals of Fudō prescribed by Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi, we surprisingly find little trace of a systematized, formal *dōjōkan*. The first instance where we find a definite structured *dōjōkan* used to invoke Fudō—marked by its transformative visualizations—is in Kūkai's earliest three rituals described above, the most developed of which is that of the *Fudō Myōō nenju shidai* just discussed. Although I have been able to locate the ritual technique of the transformative visualizations in other earlier Fudō rituals such as the *Chiri himitsu hō*, the *dōjōkan* as a central, developed ritual element is not present in the foundational rites of Fudō prescribed by the Chinese masters.

Without a proper *dōjōkan*, how does one invoke Fudō? In the rituals of Amoghavajra, especially the *Ryūinki*, we find that the core practice used to summon and attain identification with Fudō is the ritual of the *fujī* 布字 (“syllable spreading”) (Skt. *nyāsa*, “writing down,” “affixing”), or, more correctly, the *fujikan* 布字觀 (“syllable spreading visualization”).¹⁰⁹ The *fujikan* is a ritualized visualization technique not specific to the rites of Fudō, but is rather a well-established and standardized Indian tantric practice—both Hindu¹¹⁰ and Buddhist—whereby one sequentially visualizes and places or “spreads” *mantra*-s, most often the single syllable *bīja*, on various key points of the body (eyes, heart, throat, mouth, etc.) by touching the self with the hand and reciting the *mantra*. In doing so, the body is considered to become transformed into and divinely empowered by the invoked deity.

In the case of Fudō, the standardized number of *fujikan* syllables employed is nineteen. Following the completion of the 14M, the *Ryūinki* writes:

¹⁰⁹ See Yamasaki (159-162) for a general discussion on the Shingon use of *fujikan* rites.

¹¹⁰ See Davis (chapters three and four) for a discussion of the Hindu Śaiva system of the *fujikan*.

復次聖無動 布字秘密法
從頂乃到足 一一安布之

Next is the secret *fūji* ritual of Ārya Acala.
From the top of the head down to the feet sequentially place syllables [on the
body].

(T.1199.21.3b.26-7)

The *Ryūinki* then instructs the practitioner to position nineteen *bīja mantra*-s (figure 8), starting from the top and moving progressively downward, on various points on the body (figure 9). According to the *Byakuhokkushō*, one does this by making a fist with the right hand and sequentially pressing it onto each of the nineteen spots (TZ.3119.7.19a.1-2). Following each placement, the text gives a standard *mantra* with the current *bīja* affixed to the end. For example, the first of the 19SS in the *Ryūinki* reads:

頂上安長欠 而成於頂相
頂相真言曰
曩莫薩羅怛他藥帝毘藥^{二合}_{下同}¹¹¹薩羅目契毘藥^{二合}薩羅他⁵¹¹¹²唵阿左羅贊拏欠⁵¹

Atop the head place the long [vowelled] *khām* [syllable]. It becomes a mark on the crown.

Recite the mark on the crown *mantra*:

[Jpn.] *Nōmaku saraba tatagyateibiyaku saraba bokukeibiyaku sarabata. Un ashara senda—ken.*

[Skt.] *Namaḥ sarva tathāgatebhyaḥ sarva mukhebhyaḥ sarvathā. Hūṃ āchārya caṇḍa—khām.*

(“Homage to all the Tathāgata-s and all the gates entirely! *Hūṃ* great wrathful one—*khām!*”)

(T.1199.21.3b-c.28-2)

¹¹¹ Since Chinese is a monosyllabic language, transliterating *mantra*-s from Sanskrit was difficult. Consonant clusters proved a challenge to render in phonetic Chinese, and Sanskrit long and short vowels were often confused. Here the interlinear note instructs the practitioner to render the previous two monosyllables, i.e., 毘藥, as one sound. Thus “*piyao*” (Jpn. *biyaku*) is meant to be taken more as a “*pyao*” (Jpn. *byaku*), a sound that more closely mimics the original Sanskrit dative plural declension “*bhyaḥ*.” The note then instructs the practitioner to continue this practice below when the same syllables repeat.

¹¹² Although long vowels do not exist in the Chinese language, this interlinear note instructs the reader to pronounce the character *ta* 他 as though it were long. The emphasis on replicating the proper sound in a foreign language system as best as possible illustrates the importance the Esoteric tradition places on the efficacy of pronouncing its *mantra*-s correctly.

Upon completion of the 19SS, the *Ryūinki* writes:

是聖無動尊 摩訶威怒王
 布字秘密法 十九種真言
 并布諸支分 修真言菩薩
 作是布置已 自身成聖尊

This is the secret ritual of spreading syllables
 Of Ārya Acalanātha Mahācaṇḍarāja.
 The *bodhisattva* who cultivates
 The nineteen types of *mantra*-s
 And spreads [the syllables] on the various points [of the body]
 Himself becomes the deity.¹¹³

(T.1199.21.4b.11-18)

Here we see one of the main objectives of the Esoteric ritual of attaining identification with the deity. In the early Fudō rituals, this deity-identification seems to have largely been a process of the *fujikan* ritual; construction of the deity via the transformative visualizations of the *dōjōkan* evidently did not play a major role in the early texts.

In the *Fudō Myōō nenju shidai*, however, Kūkai introduces the “new” ritual of the *dōjōkan* to that of the “original” *fujikan*, borrowing its practice from Amoghavajra’s *Ryūinki*. At this point I wish to argue that it was this specific inclusion of the 19SS *fujikan* in the early Japanese Fudō rituals that provided a second ritual basis—more specifically, a numerical one—for the 19V. The similarity in number between the 19SS and the 19V is unlikely a pure coincidence, especially when we consider their close side-by-side positions in the rituals.

If we ask the significance of the number nineteen, the *Byakuhokkushō* tells us:

¹¹³ The *Chiri himitsu hō* describes the more secular benefits of the *fujikan*:

又法於已身上布明梵字。彼羅刹衆退散百由旬外又被毒蛇。經半年不差明之即着。

Next is the ritual where one spreads Sanskrit *vidyā* syllables on one’s body.
Rakṣasa-s will flee for one-hundred *yojana*-s and one will be protected from poisonous snakes.
 For the duration of a half a year, they will not...

(T.21.1201.22b.11-12)

問。十九布字表何事乎 答。大日經十九執金剛智印也
 問。十九執金剛者亦表何事乎 答。胎界八葉九尊。金剛九會尊。
 都合二九十八尊。不動尊兩部不二體故。加本尊是十九布字所表也。

Question: What do the 19SS represent?

Answer: [They represent] the wisdom *mudrā*-s of the nineteen Vajradhara-s of the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*.¹¹⁴

Question: What do the nineteen Vajradhara-s represent?

Answer: The nine deities¹¹⁵ of the eight-petaled [lotus flower¹¹⁶ in the center of the] Tai[-zō-]kai [Mandara], [together with the] nine deities [?] of the Kongōkai Mandara. Nine [multiplied by] two makes a total of eighteen deities. Fudō is in both divisions [i.e., the Taizōkai and Kongōkai Mandara-s], but is one in substance. Add this deity [to the above eighteen] and we get what the 19SS represent.

(T.7.3119.19a.9-14)

It seems that the numerical model of the 19SS was further perpetuated in the construction of the 19V in order to establish a sort of ritual logic; it maintains a trace of the original practice of the *fujikan* in the new *dōjōkan*, and links the 19V with a well-established ritual tradition. In any case, the ritual placement and numerical schema of the 19SS seems to have provided an additional ritual foundation for the new 19V.

It would seem logical that Kūkai appended the 19SS following the *dōjōkan* and the 19V so that they may operate together (in that the *dōjōkan*/19V first constructs and summons Fudō; then the 19SS allows for identification with the deity). But this may not be entirely the case. While we cannot deny that the 19SS and 19V ritually operate in tandem with one another, we must acknowledge the presence of a third ritual element which complicates the relationship of

¹¹⁴ The *Mahāvairocana sūtra* opens with reference to nineteen deities known as Vajradhara-s (“*Vajra*-holders”) who assemble at the Buddha’s palace (T.848.18.1a.10-17). See Yamasaki (1), for an English translation of their names.

¹¹⁵ Viz.: (1) Birushana 毘盧遮那 (Dainichi 大日) Nyorai 如来 (Skt. Mahāvairocana Tathāgata) (center); (2) Hōdō Nyorai 寶幢如来 (Skt. Ratnaketu Tathāgata) (east); (3) Kaifukeō Nyorai 開敷華王如来 (Skt. Saṃkusumitarāja Tathāgata) (south); (4) Muryōju (Amida 阿弥陀) Nyorai 無量寿如来 (Skt. Amitāyus [Amitābha] Tathāgata) (west); (5) Tenkuraion Nyorai 天鼓雷音如来 (Skt. Divyadundubhimeghanirghoṣa Tathāgata) (north); (6) Fugen Bosatsu 普賢菩薩 (Skt. Samantabhadra Bodhisattva) (south-east); (7) Monjushiri Bosatsu 文殊師利菩薩 (Skt. Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva) (south-west); (8) Kanjizai Bosatsu 觀自在菩薩 (Skt. Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva) (north-west); (9) Miroku Bosatsu 弥勒菩薩 (Skt. Maitreya Bodhisattva) (north-east).

¹¹⁶ I.e., the *Chūdai hachiyōin* Hall. Q.v., plate 13.

the 19SS and 19V. This ritual is the visualization of the aforementioned *nyūga ga'nyū* (*nyūga ga'nyūkan* 入我我入). These two sorts of visualizations—the *dōjōkan* and *nyūga ga'nyūkan*—are found paired together in practically all Japanese Esoteric rituals designed to invoke a deity, the one always assuming the presence of the other. Yamasaki describes *nyūga ga'nyūkan* as a ritual where

[t]he practitioner visualizes the deity as a projection of himself, while at the same time visualizing himself as a projection from the deity. Just as a mirror reflects what is in front of it, the practitioner visualizes the self as the deity and the deity as the self... This technique is used in the core section (the culminating portion of practice leading to oneness with the central deity) of full-scale Mikkyo practice as a technique to achieve esoteric union...

(Yamasaki 156)

Whereas deity-identification in the early Fudō rituals is characterized by its “quick” one-step practice of the *fujikan*, the *dōjōkan* and *nyūga ga'nyūkan* later combined to form a standardized, essential two-step visualization characterizing most Japanese Esoteric rituals. Here one first constructs, and then attains Esoteric union with, the deity.

At this point it is difficult to say exactly how the 19SS and *nyūga ga'nyūkan* both work towards deity-identification. Both are specifically designed for this purpose, and this makes it difficult to say exactly how the 19V and the 19SS operate together beyond their numerical likeness. The Japanese commentaries make no mention of how the 19SS and 19V are to operate together; the *Byakuhokkushō* only mentions their close placement in the rituals and their superficial similarity. It seems plausible to suggest that the presence of the 19SS is ritually redundant in that its objective deity-identification is more formally subsumed by the normative *nyūga ga'nyūkan* in the Japanese rituals of Fudō; despite the long-standing tradition of the *fujikan* in continental Esoteric Buddhism, the *nyūga ga'nyūkan* became the ritual locus of deity-identification in the Japanese rituals.

The rituals of Kūkai, Annen, and Shunmyō present rare cases where the *fujikan* and the transformative visualizations of the *dōjōkan* occur in the same ritual space, however awkward and redundant. This is perhaps due to the fact that the *fujikan* (19SS) was such a well-recognized and key ritual element in the early texts; Kūkai's keeping of the normative Esoteric *fujikan*, or rather, the addition of the later standard *dōjōkan* (and the *nyūga ga nyūkan*), shows the attempt to maintain a sort of ritual continuity. Moreover, this redundancy is attested when we notice its common exclusion from abbreviated rituals, such as with the modern Fudō rituals discussed by Nasu (61), suggesting that the *fujikan* is not essential to accomplishing the goals of the ritual.

Thus, I would argue that the ritual redundancy of the 19SS undermines any use of the 19V as a ritual of deity-*identification*, thus strengthening the 19V as a ritual used more in tandem with the preceding *dōjōkan* as a ritual of deity-*construction*.

V. Conclusions

Having discussed the 19V in their ritual context in the early Japanese rituals of Fudō, we can now address our question: how did the ritual of the 19V change the iconography of Fudō? We can say the following. In examining the rituals of Kūkai, Annen, and Shunmyō—the initial locations of the 19V teachings—we can identify two separate ritual elements that helped provide ritual foundations to which the 19V were inserted into the rituals of Fudō.

The first, and primary, ritual basis of the 19V is the conclusion of the *dōjōkan*, specifically, the *honzonkan*. In order for the Esoteric practitioner to obtain the desired ritualized identification and *kaji* empowerment with Fudō (the objective of the ritual), the early Japanese patriarchs prescribed a step-by-step visualized construction of the deity, beginning with abstract items and ending with Fudō in his anthropomorphic form, at the height of which the practitioner visualizes Fudō according to set details in order to consummate the deity-construction. The 19V,

first appearing in Kūkai's foundational *Fudō Myōō nenju shidai*, became the prevailing source of these details recalled during visualization.

The second ritual foundation was the *fujikan*, a well established and standardized Esoteric practice prescribing the placement of nineteen *mantra*-s on the body as the main process of deity-identification in the early rituals of the Chinese patriarchs. In the rituals of Fudō, the *fujikan* take the form of the 19SS. Whereas the *dōjōkan* is a ritual of deity-construction, and the *fujikan* is a ritual of deity-identification, it would seem that the 19V, having strong ties to both, spans both these sorts of rituals. Yet, as I have shown, the foundation that the 19SS provided for the 19V was more structural (both involve the visualization of nineteen items). Moreover, since the *nyūga ga'nyūkan* became the more formal and standardized ritual element of deity-identification in the Japanese rituals, the ritual importance of the 19SS, beyond their structural link to the 19V, was weakened; thus, the ritual importance of the 19V clearly points more to their connection with the *honzonkan* and thus a ritual of deity-construction and not deity-identification.

Thus, due to the innovation of the 19V as the dominant method of visualizing and constructing Fudō in the early *dōjōkan*-s, and the use of Esoteric iconography as an objective physical aid during meditation, it was only a matter of time before Fudō images, following Annen's and Shunmyō's popularization of the 19V, became more closely aligned with the prescriptions set forth in the 19V, reflecting the desire to eliminate a disjointedness between these scriptural regulations and the main iconographical representations of Fudō imported from China.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis comprises a study of the Japanese Esoteric Buddhist ritual of the 19V used in the invocation of the primarily Shingon and Tendai deity Fudō Myōō. The 19V were originally composed by Kūkai, founder of the Shingon tradition in Japan, in *gāthā* verse, but were later redacted into prose form and popularized by Annen, a well-known late 9th-early 10th century Tendai patriarch. Shunnyū, a Shingon monk and contemporary of Annen, evidently copied the new text of the 19V and became the first to propagate its teachings within the Shingon sect.

My concern with the ritual of the 19V lies predominately in its connection to major changes that began to emerge in the iconographies of Fudō in Japan during the Heian and Kamakura Periods. These changes broke with a long-established iconographical tradition of Fudō inherited from Tang Period China that had continued in early Japan. The artistic trend that these changes set in motion, whether in wooden sculptures, monochromatic ink drawings, or color paintings of Fudō, remain widespread even today. Simply, the ritual of the 19V was a new form of Japanese Fudō worship that consequently provided the basis for a parallel new form of Fudō iconography in Japan.

In Part One I began illustrating that, while we can identify many diversions from the norm of Fudō iconographies due to local and artistic inventiveness, the changes here concerned were conversely grounded in the foundational scriptures of Fudō imported from China, written predominately by Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, and Yixing. The text of the 19V collected and systematized scattered descriptions of Fudō's features—both physical and non-physical—from these Chinese sources into a formal visualization practice used during the worship of Fudō. My argument in Part One was that it was specifically due to this new Japanese innovation of the ritual teachings of the 19V that, in describing various attributes of Fudō otherwise found in the

corners of the Chinese scriptures (some little known), generated a parallel movement in the art of Fudō; the “new” features described in the 19V became concretized in the iconographies. Since the 19V had created a “gap” with the existing iconographies by describing “new” features of the deity, the art of Fudō subsequently played “catch up” and became more properly aligned with text.

As the text of the 19V diffused throughout ancient and medieval Japan, so too did the new iconographies bearing features described by the 19V begin to proliferate; most extant copies of the 19V date from the late Heian and early Kamakura Periods—the same time frame in which the new 19V images began to appear in quantity. Moreover, commentaries that explain these new changes like the *Byakuhokkushō* did not surface until this same time, suggesting the attempt to justify what was at that time revolutionary images that had broken with the long-standing iconographical tradition of Fudō. The 19V as a catalyst for this new iconographical movement of Fudō represents a clear case in which text produced a definite change in icon.

In Part Two I examined the ritual context of the 19V in the attempt better to understand how the ritual performance of the 19V affected the iconographies of Fudō. I outlined how the 19V operate in connection with two separate ritual elements. The first ritual is the *honzonkan* concluding the *dōjōkan* (deity-construction) and the second is the *fujikan* (deity-identification). The *fujikan*, practiced in the rituals of Fudō as the 19SS, seems to have been somewhat ritually redundant due to the presence of the *nyūga ga'nyūkan*, a ritual almost always paired with the *dōjōkan*, which assumed the task of deity-identification in these early rituals. Due to the awkwardness of the 19SS, it was often omitted in the later rituals. Thus, although the 19SS provided a ritual template for the inclusion of the 19V, this template was based on the external feature of similarity in number. The numerical schema of the 19SS was perpetuated in the 19V, and established a sort of ritual logic. By contrast, the ritual performance of the 19V was more

rooted in the *honzonkan*—the gradual construction of the deity via prescribed details which the 19V came to provide. Visual construction of the deity in time was concretized in the physical construction of the iconographies.

This desire to align icon with text, however, was not necessarily the chief objective of the original construction (Kūkai) and popularization (Annen and Shunnyū) of the 19V; some two centuries had passed before the new descriptions of the 19V first began to appear in the iconographies of Genchō and, later, Enjin. The tension between scriptural prescriptions and dissimilar icons was not unknown to the Esoteric tradition in Japan, and was evidently not a prime concern of Kūkai, Annen, nor Shunnyū. The early patriarchs were well-aware of existing tensions between the images of Fudō imported from China and their descriptions in authoritative texts such as the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*. Until the time of Genchō, the 19V predominately remained isolated in their ritual sphere, evidently not initially written with the attempt to redress the iconographies of Fudō.

APPENDIX

I. The Remaining Nineteen Visualizations

Visualization 1 (non-iconographic)

此尊大日化身。¹¹⁷ 華臺久已成佛以本願故
為如來使者執持諸務。 (DBZ.82.376a.3)

This deity [Fudō] is a manifestation of Mahāvairocana.

[Interlinear commentary:] [Fudō] long ago became a *buddha* within the flower platform. On account of [Mahāvairocana's] original vow [to save all living beings], [Fudō] became a messenger of the Tathāgata who carries out various duties.

Fudō is most often characterized as a deity with strong ties to the Dharmakāya Buddha Mahāvairocana Tathāgata, the head deity in the Esoteric pantheon who occupies the central position in both Shingon *maṇḍala*-s. Although V1 may seem to be stating a well-known fact—that Fudō is a lesser manifestation of the Buddha—Esoteric Buddhism does, however, recognize forms of Fudō other than that of Mahāvairocana; V1 wishes to clarify that the Fudō in question is a manifestation of Mahāvairocana only, and not of any other deity.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Shunnyū's text imperatively begins V1 with the character *kan* 觀, "visualize" (T.2468.78.43c.16).

¹¹⁸ The *Kakuzenshō* (DBZ.431.55.76a.11-76b.4) and *Byakuhokkushō* (TZ.3119.7.20a.25-20b.15) both identify four different types of Fudō, each a manifestation (the *Kakuzenshō* uses the character "hen" 變, "transformation," where the *Byakuhokkushō* gives "gen" 現, "manifestation," or "genshin" 現身, "manifested body") of a different *buddha* or *bodhisattva*. According to these texts, Fudō can be a manifestation of (1) Mahāvairocana Tathāgata (Jpn. Dainichi Nyorai 大日如來), (2) Śākyamuni Buddha (Jpn. Shaka[muni] Butsu 釈迦[牟尼]仏), (3) Sarvanivāraṇavikṣambhī Bodhisattva (Jpn. Jōgaishō Bosatsu 除蓋障菩薩), or (4) Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva (Jpn. Kongōshu Bosatsu 金剛手菩薩). All four are Taizōkai deities who preside over their own hall in the Taizōkai Mandara. The *Byakuhokkushō* emphasizes, however, as does V1, that it is the Mahāvairocana Fudō that is the most important. This is done in terms of the fundamental Shingon argument that the Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana is the ultimate source of all deities:

何今限大日所觀之乎。

答。釋迦除蓋障金剛手皆大日所現故…故釋迦所現不動大日化身也…是皆大日所現勿論也。

Why must we only visualize the [Fudō manifested] from Mahāvairocana?

Answer: Because Śākyamuni, Sarvanivāraṇavikṣambhī, and Vajrapāṇi are all manifestations of Mahāvairocana...Thus, [for example], the Fudō manifested by Śākyamuni is [ultimately] a manifestation of Mahāvairocana...All are naturally manifestations of Mahāvairocana.

(TZ.3119.7.20b.6-15)

The exact terms used to describe Fudō's relationship with Mahāvairocana as a manifested subordinate often vary. The *Mahāvairocana sūtra* describes Fudō as a *shisha* 使者 (“messenger,” “servant”) of the Buddha (T.848.18.7b.18), whereas Amoghavajra's *Chiri himitsu hō* writes that Fudō is Mahāvairocana's *hosshin* 法身 (“*dharma* body”) (T.21.1201.13a.25-13b.1). Moreover, as seen above, Amoghavajra also discusses Fudō as a *kyōryōrinjin* of the Buddha in his *sanrinjin* schema of the Esoteric deities. Despite these practices, V1 prefers the use of the term *keshin* 化身 (lit., “transformation body”) to describe Fudō as a manifestation of the Buddha. This term does not appear in the normal sources of the 19V (i.e., those of Yixing and Amoghavajra), but rather in Vajrabodhi's *Fudō shisha hō*:

此不動使者毘盧遮那佛之化身。

This Fudō messenger is the *keshin* of the Vairocana Buddha.

(T.1202.21.25a.26)

By contrast, the source of V1's interlinear commentary is more clearly preceded in Yixing's *Commentary*. Yixing's language is nearly identical to that of V1's interlinear commentary:

此尊於大日花臺。久已成佛。以三昧耶本誓願故…爲如來僮僕給使執作諸務。

This deity [Fudō] long ago became a *buddha* within Mahāvairocana's flower platform. On account of [Mahāvairocana's] original *samaya* vow [to save all living beings]...[Fudō] became a servant of the Tathāgata who carries out various duties.

(T.1796.39.633b.9-12)

The “flower platform” (*kedai* 花臺) refers to center section of the Taizōkai Mandara, whose form is the shape of an eight-petaled lotus flower. Mahāvairocana dwells within its center (see plate 13). Since Fudō was originally of the same body as Mahāvairocana, both deities share the

same origin within the flower platform.¹¹⁹ V1's interlinear commentary, borrowing from Yixing's *Commentary*, explains that the two deities "parted" due to the Buddha's original *samaya* (lit., "equal") vow of compassion to save all living beings; he manifested Fudō as a servant in order to fulfill such a design. Watanabe writes that this vow can be characterized by the thought:

「自分は仏陀となってからのちも如来の使者となって雑事を担当したい」。

I [i.e., Mahāvairocana], after becoming a *buddha*, will become a messenger of the Tathāgata, wishing to undertake various duties.

(Watanabe 159)

In the case of Fudō, these various duties or observances include the protection of Esoteric practitioners, the fight against malevolent deities or those who defile the Buddhist teachings, and the altruistic aid of living beings.

V1 is the first of four 19V that are "non-iconographic" in that it describes a "non-physical" feature or trait of Fudō; it is thus not reflected in the iconography of the deity. Despite this, V1 was placed into the head position of the 19V by Annen (Kūkai originally wrote it as V2) since it describes not only the origin of Fudō, but also alludes to the prime design and purpose of the deity as the Buddha's subordinate as described in the scriptures.

¹¹⁹ The *Byakuhokkushō*, in referring to Fudō's origin in the Taizōkai lotus flower, mentions that there is a white lotus flower under the *shitsushitsuza* platform of Kūkai's Fudō stored in the Kōdō Lecture Hall of the Tōji (TZ.3119.7.5c.8-9).

Visualization 2 (non-iconographic)

明中有阿路唵唵四字。三世諸佛皆從此四秘密應現三身。菩提樹下降魔成佛。是寂滅定不動義。(DBZ.82.376a.3-5)

Among [Fudō's] *bīja*-s there are four—*a*, *ro*, *hām*, and *mām*.

[Interlinear commentary:] The *buddha*-s of the three ages [of past, present, and future] all arise from these four mysteries [i.e., the four *bīja*-s] and manifest the three bodies. From under the *bodhi* tree [they] subdued demons and became *buddha*-s. This tranquil *samādhi* is the essence of Fudō.

As the name of the tradition suggests, “Shingon” (a term often considered to be a translation of the Sanskrit word “*mantra*”) Buddhism places considerable importance on the use of *mantra*-s as a means to attain the goals of its practitioners. No form of Buddhism favors the *mantra* in quantity or scope other than the Esoteric tradition; the *mikkyō* practitioner, among all varieties of Buddhists, is the *mantra* specialist.

There are different classifications of *mantra*-s. Well-known varieties employed in the Esoteric tradition include the generic *mantra* (Jpn. *shingon* 真言; *ju* 呪), *dhāraṇī* (Jpn. *darani* 陀羅尼), *vidyā* (Jpn. *myō* 明), and *bīja* (Jpn. *shūji* 種子). All are magical spells that are manipulated by Esoteric practitioners in order to fulfill a variety of ritual objectives such as healing and invocation.

V2 begins with the character “*myō*” 明, normally a translation of *vidyā*, but here more correctly refers to the *bīja*.¹²⁰ The *bīja* or “seed” *mantra* consists of a single syllable most often written using the Indian *siddham* script, or otherwise with Chinese phonetic transcriptions. Each Esoteric deity has at least one *bīja* which is considered to epitomize its essence, source, or “seed” on a visual, but more so, phonetic, level. A *bīja* is of such importance to the Esoteric pantheon

¹²⁰ The character *myō* 明 as referring to the *bīja* is most likely used in its connection to Fudō's classification as a *myōō* 明王.

that its divinities are often represented in the *maṇḍala*-s as nothing more than a depiction of their *bīja*.¹²¹

The *bīja* of Fudō is normally “*hām*” 𑖦 (Jpn. *han* 哈). To this V2 adds the *bīja*-s “*a*” 𑖡 (Jpn. *a* 阿), “*ro*” 𑖣 (Jpn. *ro* 路), and “*mām*” 𑖢 (Jpn. *man* 翰).¹²² These four *bīja*-s as a group can be traced to Amoghavajra’s *Chiri himitsu hō*:

本尊住四密門也。所謂阿路哈翰種種...亦是種子義。

This deity [Fudō] dwells within the gate of the four mysteries. They are called *a*, *ro*, *hām*, and *mām*... They refer to *bīja*.

(T.1201.21.15c.6-8)

The relevant importance of the four *bīja*-s as the “four mysteries” to Fudō is more clearly explained in V2’s interlinear commentary. The interlinear commentary mentions two main features of Fudō’s *bīja*-s.¹²³ The first is the property of the *bīja* as a generative source. As a single syllable combines with others to provide the basis for all subsequent words, the *bīja* is considered by the Esoteric tradition to be the noumenonal foundation of phenomena. The *bīja* as a primary constituent in Esoteric cosmology is responsible even for the existence of the *buddha*-s as alluded in the first phrase of the interlinear commentary. This, as with the entirety of the interlinear commentary, is clearly based on the following from the *Chiri himitsu hō*:

以大願故證三世諸佛應正等覺。皆從四秘密三菩提起。應現三身成等正覺。如來成道時。先坐寶菩提樹降魔成道者。即是大寂定不動...

¹²¹ Such *maṇḍala*-s are called a “*hō mandara*” 法曼荼羅 (Skt. *dharmā maṇḍala*), one of the four major classifications of Shingon *maṇḍala*-s.

¹²² Note copy errors of the *bīja*-s in Annen’s text (see figure 4). *Hām* is written as *ham* 𑖦 (long vowel mistakenly omitted) and *mām* is written as *ma* 𑖢 (long vowel and cerebral nasal mistakenly omitted). Moreover, *ro* is mistakenly written as “*lo*” 𑖣.

¹²³ Watanabe gives the specific properties of each of the four *bīja*-s. He writes that the *a* *bīja* is the source of all things and thus represents the “originally unborn” (*honbushō* 本不生) (Mahāvairocana’s *bīja*), the *ro* *bīja* subdues demons and refers to the “fire-emitting *samādhi*” (*kashō sanmai* 火生三昧), the *hām* *bīja* contains the four knowledge’s of the *buddha*-s, and the *mām* *bīja* represents “immovable *bodhi*” (*fudō bodai* 不動菩提) and “non-self, great emptiness” (*muga daikū* 無我大空) (Watanabe 159).

On account of the great vow, [Mahāvairocana?] generates [?] the *buddha*-s of the three ages [past, present, future] who attain *samyaksaṃbodhi*.¹²⁴ They all arise from the four mysteries [i.e., the four *bīja*-s] and generate *saṃbodhi*. They manifest the *trikāya*¹²⁵ and attain *samyaksaṃbodhi*. When *tathāgata*-s attain the Way, they first sit under the jeweled *bodhi* tree, conquer demons¹²⁶ and obtain the Way. This is great tranquil *samādhi fudō*...

(T.1201.21.15a.19-23)

The origin of the *buddha*-s, their enlightenments, and their subsequent manifestations of the *trikāya* or “three bodies” from the “four mysteries” or *bīja*-s seems to be explained in the latter half of this passage (and in the second sentence of V2’s interlinear commentary which quotes it) in terms of a *buddha*’s subduing of demons, drawing an overt reference to Śākyamuni’s archetypal conquest over Māra while under the *bodhi* tree in India. This is the second characteristic of Fudō’s four *bīja*-s contained in the interlinear commentary, that is, their ability to subdue demons or malevolent deities, after which is achieved the source enlightenment of a *buddha*. Amoghavajra’s *Chiri himitsu hō* makes repeated references to the four *bīja*-s in their capacity to frighten away demons, such as we see here:

阿嚧嚩訶。此四字皆有阿聲。即重怖魔極怖畏也。即是破內外二障之義也。

These four syllables *a*, *ro*, *hām*, and *mām*, which are all pronounced from [the sound] *a*,¹²⁷ frighten demons and are extremely terrifying. They refer to the destruction of defilements both within and without.

(T.1201.21.16c.24-26)

¹²⁴ Jpn. *shōtōgaku* 正等覺. Usually defined as the unsurpassed wisdom of a *buddha*.

¹²⁵ See pages 4-5.

¹²⁶ Or “Mā[-ra].”

¹²⁷ The *Byakuhokkushō* explains that the terrifying capacity of the four *bīja*-s is due to the syllable *a* from which their sounds all derive (I have corrected certain mistakes in the *siddham*):

問。阿嚩訶四字皆有阿聲。故為降魔義如何。
答。阿字一切諸法本初不生…故云破內外二障也。

Question: How can the four syllables *a*, *ro*, *hām*, and *mām* which are all pronounced from *a* frighten away demons?

Answer: The *a* syllable is the originally unborn of all *dharma*-s...Thus they are said to destroy defilements both within and without.

(TZ.3119.7.20c.19-22)

The four *bīja*-s as phonetic equivalents of weapons against evil are well suited to Fudō's role as a guardian figure whose image likewise terrifies demons. Yet the conquest of such evil beings here more importantly points to, for example, Śākyamuni's defeat of Māra and his host of demon followers, after which he attained Buddhahood. Accordingly, the interlinear commentary writes that the "tranquil *samādhi*" of Śākyamuni's resolute mind unafflicted by demons is "the essence of Fudō [immovable]."

V2, like V1, is non-iconographic, and represents one of the least well known of Fudō's features contained in the 19V. As V2 continues to describe the origin and fundamental character of Fudō as begun by V1, it is placed as the second of the 19V (originally placed first by Kūkai).

Visualization 3 (non-iconographic)

常住火生三昧。覽字智火燒一
切障成大智火。 (DBZ.82.376a.5)

[Fudō] perpetually dwells within the fire-emitting *samādhi*.

[Interlinear commentary:] The wisdom-fire of the *raṃ* syllable burns away all defilements and becomes the fire of great wisdom.

In addition to Fudō's various roles as a guardian of Esoteric practitioners, messenger of the Buddha, and fighter of demons, Fudō is also commonly regarded in Japan as the god of fire. Most *goma* or fire ceremonies performed in Japan—whether by Shingon, Tendai, Shugendō, or even practitioners of some of the new (i.e., post-Restoration) religions—are offered to Fudō. Fudō's identification with fire is largely due to the fierce flames which envelop his body, characteristic of the *myōō* class of deities in general.

V3 tells us that Fudō perpetually dwells within *kashō sanmai* 火生三昧 or the "fire-emitting *samādhi*." This can be traced to Amoghavajra's *Chiri himitsu hō*:

不動亦自身遍出火焰光。即是本尊自住火生三昧。

Flames emit everywhere from Fudō's body. This deity perpetually dwells within the fire-emitting *samādhi*.

(T.1201.21.15b.17-18)

The passage then continues to discuss the different types of fires in order to explain the quality of Fudō's *kashō sanmai* flames:

又明火有四義。二種世間。二種出世間。世間火者一是內火。三毒煩惱名之爲火。能燒諸衆生諸善功德故。二外火。能成就衆生養萬物。出世間火者是大智火也。如九十五種外道法中事火爲最。如大火龍變出世火。燒損衆生亦能焚燒衆物是無動智火。先能降伏火龍制諸異道。上至等覺下至衆生。皆能燒諸煩惱乃至菩提大智習氣。亦燒一切衆生無明煩惱黑闇障…種種燒諸菩薩廣大習氣煩惱令盡無餘故名火生三昧。

There are four types of fire. Two are worldly and two are otherworldly. Of the fires that are worldly, the first is an internal fire. Defilements of the three poisons¹²⁸ are called fire. They are able to burn away the merits and virtues of living beings. The second [worldly fire] is an external fire. [This fire] realizes [brings to completion] living beings and nourishes a multitude of things. The fires that are otherworldly are the great fires of wisdom. [These fires] are like the ways of the ninety-five types of heretics...They are like the great serpent-fire which transforms into an otherworldly fire. It burns living beings and is able to burn living things.

[In contrast to these three types of fires,] the wisdom-fire of Fudō is first able to subdue these fire serpents and overcome heretics. It reaches up to *samyaksaṃbodhi* and reaches down to living beings. It burns away everything from defilements to the [remaining] karmic effects of the great wisdom of *bodhi*. Moreover, it burns away the ignorances, defilements, and delusions of living beings...it exhausts the great passions and defilements without remainder, and thus it is called the "fire-emitting *samādhi*."

(T.1201.21.15b.17-29)

Yet there is here no mention of the *raṃ* 𑖀 syllable which is the subject of the interlinear commentary. Kūkai's original V3 simply reads:

¹²⁸ Jpn. *sandoku* 三毒, viz: (1) greed (Skt. *rāga*; Jpn. *ton* 貪); (2) hatred (Skt. *krodha*; Jpn. *shin* 瞋); and (3) delusion (Skt. *moha*; Jpn. *chi* 痴).

住火生三昧 燒障成智火

[Fudō] dwells within the fire-emitting *samādhi* that burns away hindrances and becomes the fire of wisdom.

(NDK.85.290b.3)

Annen seems to have added the *raṃ* syllable as part of his redactions to the 19V.

The *raṃ* syllable is, however, popularly known as the *bīja* of fire, and is often used during ritual (in Kūkai's *dōjōkan* as seen above, the *raṃ* syllable transforms into the element of fire). Annen's addition of the syllable becomes, then, identifiable with the flames of Fudō that consume the defilements of living beings which consequently produce wisdom.

Although V3 describes Fudō's flames—a well-known attribute of the deity—it should still be considered non-iconographic. V3 discusses the flames more so as a metaphysical habitat of the deity and their capacity to destroy delusion. The fires as a more physical attribute of Fudō is more properly addressed by V17, discussed below.

Visualization 4 (no iconographical influence)

現童子形身卑肥滿。表上樣佛勅給使行人
下化衆生接雜類者。 (DBZ.82.376a.5-6)

[Fudō] assumes the form of a *dōji* [acolyte] whose body is lowly and obese.

[Interlinear commentary:] As noted above [in V1], as ordered by the Buddha, [Fudō] provides service to practitioners, teaches living beings below, and brings salvation to miscellaneous sorts of beings.

V4 readdresses Fudō's role as a manifested servant of the Buddha discussed in V1 in terms of the deity's physical form. It describes how Mahāvairocana's employment of Fudō is physically emphasized by the deity's boyish and slightly overweight body.¹²⁹ This is mentioned in the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*:

¹²⁹ The *Chiri himitsu hō* also mentions Fudō's vulgar appearance as referring to frightening of demons:

充滿童子形。

[Fudō] is imbued with the form of a *dōji* [acolyte].

(T.848.18.7b.21)

and in the *Commentary*:

其身卑而充滿肥盛。

[Fudō's] body is lowly and is imbued with obesity.

(T.1796.39.633b.8)

The term *dōji* (Skt. *kumāra*) refers to a young boy, especially those who as acolytes serve elder monks. The *dōji* is often depicted with a robust body which, according to Yoritomi, was the ancient Indian ideal of a child (Yoritomi 181).

According to the interlinear commentary, Fudō's form in the likeness of a *dōji* is said to represent and emphasize three things: (1) his servitude to the Buddha due to the original vow as discussed in V1, the result of which is (2) Fudō's task to additionally serve and protect Esoteric practitioners, and (3) his design to compassionately enlighten and save living beings.

Visualization 5

頂有七莎髻。表轉七
覺分法。 (DBZ.82.376a.6-7)

[Fudō] has seven topknots atop his head.

[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses the seven divisions of *bodhi*.

Most advanced Buddhist divinities carry some sort of appendage or mark atop their heads as a sign of their wisdom, compassion, etc. These marks range from the simple and classic *uṣṇīṣa* (Jpn. *nikkei* 肉髻; *ushitsusha* 烏瑟沙), a fleshy protuberance on a *buddha*'s crown (one

我下劣卑弊之身。亦是怖魔之義。

My [i.e., Fudō's] body is lowly and vile. This refers to the terrifying of demons.

(T.1201.21.15a.28-29)

of the thirty-two *lakṣaṇāni* or marks of a *buddha*), to the more ornate and elaborate headpieces of, for example, Jūichimen Kannon 十一面觀音 (Skt. Ekādaśamukha Avalokiteśvara, “Eleven Faced Kannon”) that bears images of ten faces, each said to symbolize the ten stages of the *bodhisattva* path.

In the case of the early images of Fudō imported to Japan such as that depicted in the Taizōkai Mandara, Fudō wears a lotus crown (Jpn. *chōren* 頂蓮) usually consisting of six pedals. Due to the iconographical influence of the 19V, the lotus crown was subsequently changed to one comprised of seven topknots, representing a well-known schema of the seven divisions of *bodhi* or wisdom. The crown of seven topknots as the subject of V5 originates in the *Chiri himitsu hō* (Yixing’s *Commentary* does briefly mention Fudō’s topknots [T.1796.39.633b.5], but fails to give their number):

頭上七種髮表七菩提分。

Atop [Fudō’s] head there are seven bits of hair that represent the seven marks of *bodhi*.

(T.1201.21.15a.29)

The seven characteristics of *bodhi* (Skt. *saptabodhyāṅgāni*; Jpn. *shichikakushi* 七覺支; *shichibodaibun* 七菩提分) as represented by Fudō’s topknots (as mentioned in Yixing’s *Commentary*) are as follows: (1) *chakuhō* 択法 (Skt. *dharmapracaya*), “discrimination of *dharma*-s”; (2) *seitsū* 精通 (Skt. *vīrya*), “energy, zeal, progress”; (3) *yorokobi* 喜 (Skt. *prīti*), “joy, delight”; (4) *kyōan* 經安 (Skt. *praśrabdhi*), “repose, trust”; (5) *nen* 念 (Skt. *smṛti*), “mindfulness”; (6) *jō* 定 (Skt. *samādhi*), “concentration”; (7) *gyōsute* 行捨 (Skt. *upekṣā*), “abandonment, indifference [to worldly affairs]”.

Visualization 6 (no iconographical influence)

左垂一辮髮。表垂一
子慈悲。 (DBZ.82.376a.7)

A braid of hair hangs over the left [side of Fudō's head].
[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses one's lowering compassion to one¹³⁰ child.

Unique to Fudō's image is a single lock of hair that hangs over the left side of the head in front of the ear, often resting on the left shoulder. The lock, usually braided with seven ties, is balanced and emphasized by Fudō's slight gaze to the right. The *Mahāvairocana sūtra* (T.848.18.7b.19) and the *Commentary* (T.1796.39.633b.5) both give brief mentions (without a symbolic explanation) of the braid, but it is most detailed in the *Chiri himitsu hō*:

左垂一辮向下者。是垂慈悲之義。悲念下惡極苦惱衆生也。

A braid hangs over the left [side of Fudō's head]. It refers to lowering compassion. Compassionate thought is lowered [directed] to evil and suffering living beings.

(T.1201.21.15a.29-15b.2)

Here we find the source of both V6 and its interlinear commentary. The passage explains that Fudō's drooping braid signifies the deity's compassion to a child, i.e., a lower or lesser being, indicative of Fudō's altruism to living beings.

Visualization 7 (no iconographical influence)

額有皺文形如水波。表憶念六道衆
生隨赴多思。 (DBZ.82.376a.7-8)

On [Fudō's] forehead there are wrinkle marks whose form are like waves.
[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses thinking of for the many living beings who travel through the six realms.

¹³⁰ It is unclear to what exactly the "one" or "single" child may refer. I will thus take the term as indefinite.

In the more detailed images of Fudō, the deity often bears a few wrinkle marks on his forehead, suggesting a frown. Yoritomi explains the frown to be an expressive mark of the distress of an ancient Indian slave (Yoritomi 182), recalling Fudō's servitude to the Buddha. Watanabe simply writes that the wrinkles are a physical manifestation of wrath (Watanabe 161).

V7 draws from the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*:

面門水波相

On the forehead there are marks [in the form of] waves.

(T.848.18.7b.21)

but more so from the *Commentary*:

額有皺文。猶如水波狀。

On the forehead are wrinkle marks whose form are like waves.

(T.1796.39.633b.7)

Yet neither the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* nor the *Commentary* offer any explanation of the symbolic meaning of the marks (nor do the other normal sources of the 19V. The *Kakuzenshō* and *Byakuhokkushō* commentaries are also silent on the origin of V7's interlinear commentary); their first interpretive mention I have seen is here in V7, where they are said to express the deity's concern for living beings who are reborn into *rokudō* 六道 (Skt. *ṣaṭgati*, "the six paths") or the six realms of transmigration. The six realms are the lowest rebirths in Buddhist cosmology, and comprise the *yokkai* 欲界 (Skt. *kāmadhātu*) or "realm of desire." The six realms, from highest to lowest rebirth, are: (1) *deva* (Jpn. *ten* 天), "deity" or heavenly existence (containing the *devaloka*-s or heavens of desire); (2) *manuṣya* (Jpn. *nin* 人), human existence; (3) *asura* (Jpn. *ashura* 阿修羅), existence as a malevolent god or spirit; (4) *tiryagyoni* (Jpn. *chikushō* 畜生), animal existence; (5) *preta* (Jpn. *gaki* 餓鬼), existence as a "hungry spirit"; (6) *naraka* (Jpn. *jigoku* 地獄), existence in the hells.

The water marks on the forehead as a sign of concern for living beings (instead of one of wrath as Watanabe writes) balance Fudō's characterization as a wrathful, terrible, demon-fighting deity, reinforcing Fudō's ever-present compassion of living beings.

Visualization 10

緘閉其口。表滅衆生生
死戲論語風。(DBZ.82.376a.9-10)

[Fudō] closes his mouth.

[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses extinguishing the foolish discourse of living beings within *samsāra*.

Unlike many of the *myōō* deities who display their large and fierce fangs from an open mouth, Fudō's mouth has always remained closed. If we examine all the early Japanese forms of Fudō discussed above, we see that the top row of teeth consistently bite down on the lower lip. Despite this practice, however, V10 seems to have spurred an even greater emphasis in closing Fudō's mouth as found among the 19V images—the bottom lip extends above the upper one, covering up the front teeth and leaving room only for the two fangs to protrude from the sides of the mouth.

This overtly emphatic closing of Fudō's mouth as found in the 19V images of the deity is only ever mentioned in the *Commentary*, the clear source of V10:

戲論語風亦皆息滅。是故緘閉其口。

[Fudō] extinguishes the breath of foolish discourse. For this reason,¹³¹ [Fudō] closes his mouth.

¹³¹ The *Byakuhokkushō* quotes an unidentified source that gives another reason for Fudō's closed mouth. This reason is given in relation to the deity's wrinkle marks on his forehead, the subject of V7:

閉口現皺。是悲泣之相也。忍而悲泣閉口也。譬如有人呵責惡子。雖現怒相而內悲愛染。

(T.1796.39.633b.15-16)

“Foolish discourse” (Skt. *prapañca*; Jpn. *keron* 戲論) includes sophistry, heretical speech, or meaningless arguments. The interlinear commentary suggests Fudō’s attempt to enforce the fifth prescription of the *aṣṭāryamārga* (Jpn. *hachishōdō* 八聖道, the “Eightfold Noble Path,” comprising the fourth of the Four Noble Truths), that is, *samyagvāc* (Jpn. *shōgo* 正語) or “proper speech.”

Visualization 11 (no iconographical influence)

右手執劍。表殺害衆生現
在三毒煩惱。 (DBZ.82.376a.10)

[Fudō’s] right hand holds a sword.

[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses cutting through the defilements of the three poisons exhibited by living beings.

As mentioned in the discussion of V18, Fudō’s principle characteristic is perhaps the large double-edged sword he carries in his right hand in order to fight demons and destroy evil and the command of Mahāvairocana.¹³² The sword (Skt. *khadga*; Jpn. *ken* 劍) is of such symbolic importance to Fudō that it is his *samaya* (“equal”), or non-anthropomorphic, form. As seen above in Kūkai’s *dōjōkan*, and in the various images where the *kulika* dragon is present

[Fudō’s] closing of his mouth manifests the wrinkles [on his forehead]. This is a sign of sorrow. [Due to] fortitude and sorrow [Fudō] closes his mouth. It is metaphorically like one’s guilt of an evil child. Although [this] manifests marks of wrath, within it is compassion.

(TZ.3119.7.22c.25-27)

¹³² Fudō is at times (although rarely) depicted as carrying a *dokko* 独鈷 (or *kongōsho* 金剛杵) or single-pronged *vajra* (see plate 34) in his right hand in place of the sword, such as we find in the *Besson zakki* and *Kakuzenshō* (plate 36). Accordingly, the ritual texts mention that Fudō’s *samaya* form may also take the form of a *dokko*. Yet Fudō’s sword and the *dokko* are basically the same weapon; in examining most representations of Fudō’s sword, we see that it is essentially a *sanko* 三鈷 or triple-pronged *vajra* (we find the same *sanko sword* used by other deities such as Varuṇa [Jpn. Suiten 水天] and Rākṣasa [Jpn. Rasetsuten 羅刹天]). The middle prong of the *sanko* is simply extended into the blade of the sword.

(plates 21-24), Fudō can be both iconographically represented and worshipped as little more than his sword.

The *Mahāvairocana sūtra* mentions only in passing Fudō's *etō* 慧刀 or “sword of wisdom” (T.848.18.7b.18). The *Commentary* adds the following additional information:

以利慧刀。斷其業壽無窮之命。令得大空生也。

With the sharp sword of wisdom [Fudō] cuts through those lives of perpetual *karma* and lets [them] obtain birth into the great void.

(T.1796.39.633b.14-15)

The *Chiri himitsu hō*, however, seems to contain the more proper source of V11's interlinear commentary:

執持利劍能斷壞生死業愛煩惱故。降伏三世貪瞋癡我慢煩惱故。

Holding the sharp sword [Fudō] is able to cut through the defilements and karmic passions of *samsāra*. [The sword] conquers the defilements of greed, hatred, and delusion of the self in the three ages [of past, present, and future].

(T.1201.21.15.c.1-2)

Although the scriptures offer many interpretations¹³³ of Fudō's sword as a weapon against evil, Kūkai and Annen chose to focus on the sword as a tool of compassion for conquering the three poisons (Jpn. *sandoku* 三毒)¹³⁴ of living beings as found in this passage, strengthening Fudō's role as an altruistic deity.

¹³³ For example, Yoritomi paraphrases Jōgan 淨嚴 (1639-1702), a Edo Period Shingon monk, who, as Yoritomi writes, later synthesized the various explanations of the sword into the following:

劍には二義がある。第一は中道の意味を明らかにする智慧の劍である。有と無との兩極端を否定し、あらゆる現像の真相は本来不生不滅〔本不生〕であることを悟らせる。第二には降摩の劍である。不二中道の智劍をふるえば、すべての摩軍は戦わずして降伏する。すなわち煩惱が減ぼされるのである。

The sword has two meanings. The first is as the sword of *prajñā* that sheds light on the meaning of the middle way. It negates both extremes of “being” 有 and “nothing” 無, and enlightens one as to the originally unborn and imperishable truth of all phenomenon. The second meaning is as a sword that subdues demons. When [Fudō] uses the sword of wisdom of the non-dual middle way, it subdues entire armies of demons. In other words, it extinguishes defilements.

(Yoritomi 164)

¹³⁴ See fn. 128 above.

Visualization 12 (no iconographical influence)

左手持索。表擊縛不降伏者以利慧
 劔斷惑業令引至菩提。(DBZ.82.376a.10-11)

[Fudō's] left hand holds a rope.

[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses binding those who are unconquerable. With the sharp sword of wisdom [Fudō] cuts through delusion [and with the rope he] pulls [beings] into *bodhi*.

Almost always paired with Fudō's sword is the rope which the deity carries in his left hand. The rope, similarly held by other deities such as Gōzanze and Fukūkenjaku Kannon 不空羅索觀音 (Skt. Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara), is, like the sword, one of Fudō's most popular features. Fudō's rope is coiled¹³⁵ with small weights¹³⁶ attached to the two ends (usually a metallic ring and the tip of a *dokko* [see plate 28], or, more rarely, a *sanko* [see plate 36]). In the sculpted images, the rope is most often made of twined strings of different colors (see plate 28) as used around the Esoteric ritual altar (see plate 33).

Like the sword, the rope or *pāśa* (Jpn. *kensaku* / *kenjaku* 羅索) (perhaps more correctly a noose or snare) is a weapon used by Fudō to fight evil and save deluded beings. Amoghavajra's *Chiri himitsu hō* speaks of the rope in terms of its ability to ensnare and enlighten malevolent deities:

左手執索者是繫縛之義。亦如世間密捉一人。如有違逆難伏者。即以繩繫縛捉將。諸佛秘索降伏四魔亦復如是。

The rope held in [Fudō's] left hand signifies binding. It is like a mystery of the world that catches a person. If there are those who are hostile and difficult to be subdued, then with the rope they are captured. The mysterious rope of the

¹³⁵ The coiling of Fudō's rope recalls those rare images where the deity holds a *chakra* (Jpn. *rin* 輪) in his left hand in place of the usual rope. The circular shape of the *chakra*, an ancient Indian weapon, parallels the coiled form of the rope. The *Besson zakki* also contains some interesting images of Fudō where the rope is replaced by a coiled serpent, with five additional serpents wrapping themselves around of Fudō's neck, forearms and ankles (TZ.3007.3.358-59).

¹³⁶ The weights suggest that the rope, as an ancient Indian weapon, was thrown in the attempt to snare its victim.

buddha-s subdues the four demons¹³⁷ and returns them thus [to the Buddhist path].

(T.1201.21.15b.9-12)

and again:

執金剛索引至大菩提…

Holding the *vajra*-rope, [Fudō] pulls [beings] into the great *bodhi*...

(T.1201.21.15c.5)

Yixing also discusses the rope as does Amoghavajra in its capacity to subdue evil beings, but also classifies the rope as one of four weapons that ensnare such beings and “pulls” them back into the Buddhist path as mentioned by Amoghavajra:

羅索是菩提心中四攝方便。以此執繫不降伏者。

[Fudō’s] rope is one of the four *upāya*-s [“expedient means”] of *bodhicitta*. By holding [the rope, Fudō] binds those who are unconquerable [by conventional methods].

(T.1796.39.633b.13-14)

The four *upāya*-s or expedient means (Skt. *catvāri saṃgrahavastūni*; Jpn. *shishō hōben* 四攝方便; *shishōbō* 四攝法)¹³⁸ or weapons¹³⁹ that are known to catch and retrieve evil beings are: (1) the rope; (2) the hook (Jpn. *kagi* 鉤); (3) the chain (Jpn. *kusari* 鎖); and (4) the bell (Jpn. *suzu* 鈴).

¹³⁷ Jpn. *shima* 四魔, viz.: (1) *skandha māra* (Jpn. *goun ma* 五蘊魔), the demon of “aggregates”; (2) *kleśa māra* (Jpn. *bon'nō ma* 煩惱魔), the demon of defilements; (3) *mṛtya māra* (Jpn. *shima* 死魔), the demon of death; and (4) *devaputra māra* (Jpn. *takejizaitenko ma* 他化自在天子魔), the demon who reigns in the *paranirmitavaśavartin* heaven (the highest of the six *devaloka* heavens in the world of desire).

¹³⁸ The *shishō hōben* more properly refers to the four *bodhisattva* virtues that, like the four weapons, lead living beings into enlightenment. Here Yixing focuses on the weapons as a physical compliment of the virtues. They are: (1) *dāna* (Jpn. *fuse* 布施), almsgiving; (2) *priyavacana* (Jpn. *aigo* 愛語), affectionate speech; (3) *arthakṛtya* (Jpn. *rigyō* 利行), beneficial action; and (4) *samānārthatā* (Jpn. *dōji* 同事), adaptation of oneself to others.

¹³⁹ The use of these four weapons in order to enlighten living beings is epitomized by the four eponymous *bodhisattva*-s of the Kongōkai Mandara who dwell together. They are: (1) Kongōkensaku Bosatsu 金剛羅索菩薩 (Skt. *Vajrapāśa* Bodhisattva), “*Vajra*-rope Bodhisattva”; (2) Kongōkō Bosatsu 金剛鉤菩薩 (Skt. *Vajrāṅkuśa* Bodhisattva), “*Vajra*-hook Bodhisattva”; (3) Kongōkusari Bosatsu 金剛鎖菩薩, “*Vajra*-chain Bodhisattva”; and (4) Kongōrin Bosatsu 金剛鈴菩薩, “*Vajra*-bell Bodhisattva.”

The first clause of the interlinear commentary (comprising the whole of Kūkai’s original explanation of V12)—the rope’s binding of those beings that are difficult to be subdued—is drawn from these latter two passages. The final sentence of the interlinear commentary was later added by Annen, describing the mutual operation of the two weapons. This latter addition seems to have been inspired by Yixing’s mentioning of the rope as a weapon to pull living beings out of delusion and into the Buddhist path,¹⁴⁰ offering a subsequent compliment of the rope’s initial task of binding evil beings.

Visualization 13 (non-iconographic)

喫行人殘食。表噉盡衆生未來無明習氣。(DBZ.82.376a.11-12)

[Fudō] consumes the leftover food of practitioners.

[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses consuming both the past and future remnant delusions of living beings.

V13, as with V2, is one of the least well-known attributes of Fudō; it is hardly mentioned in the scriptures. It is clearly based on the following found in the *Chiri himitsu hō*:

喫殘食者噉一切衆生惡業煩惱重障令盡無餘。證無生法忍故。三降未來世。斷無明煩惱習氣見障故。

[Fudō’s] consuming of leftover food [expresses] the eating without remainder of the hindrances of the defilements of the evil *karma* of all living beings. Realizing the *anupattika dharma kṣānti* (Jpn. *mushōbōnin* 無生法忍, “the *dharma* of non-birth”), it conquers both the past and future worlds, and cuts off the remnant delusions and ignorances.

(T.1201.21.15c.2-5)

¹⁴⁰ Like the sword, the rope has many interpretations. Yoritomi mentions four interpretations of the rope as postulated by Jōgan. Briefly, they are: (1) the binding of evil beings; (2) the expedient method of pulling beings into the Buddhist path; (3) “great fixedness” (Jpn. *daijyakujō* 大寂定) in relation to the sword that punishes by moving; and (4) that which moves and does not move, i.e., immovable in that the rope binds evil and movable in that it pulls such beings into the Buddhist path (Yoritomi 164-65).

This is the only explicit, symbolic mention of Fudō eating leftover food¹⁴¹ of which I am aware. There are, however, various ritual prescriptions in the writings of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra that mention a practitioner's offering of leftover food to Fudō, such as we find in the *Ryūinki*:

每食餘殘者 以置於淨處
奉獻無動使 隨心獲悉地

Every [day] place some leftover food
Into a pure spot
And offer it to Fudō.
One's mind will then acquire *siddhi* ["perfection"].

(T.1199.21.6b.29-6c.1)

and in the *Fudō shisha hō*:

每日清淨飲食。每欲食時 先出一分安淨器中。呪二十一遍侍身食了。將此器食寫著淨處。月滿已後不動使者滿種種願。

Everyday purify your food and drink. Whenever you eat, first take a bit [of food] and place it into a clean receptacle. Chant twenty-one times. Having served the body and eaten, take this receptacle of food and leave it in a pure spot. After the moon is full [i.e., a month has passed], Fudō will fulfill various petitions.

(T.1201.21.25a.21-23)

Compare also the *Chiri shisha hō*:

所用飲食供養聖者。此尊本願。大悲捨身奉侍一切持誦者…受此殘食供養。行者若每食之時心不忘者。我當晝夜常隨擁護。

[Next] is the matter of a monk's offering of food and drink. The original vow of this deity [Fudō] is to [manifest] great compassion, to abandon his body [in the service of others], and to serve all those who recite the scriptures...[Fudō] receives the offerings of leftover food. If practitioners do not forget [this] whenever they eat, I [Fudō] will throughout the night offer protection [to them].

(T.1200.21.10c.1-4)

¹⁴¹ Fudō's eating of leftover food "without remainder" recalls the little-known member of the Hachidai Myōō, Ususama Myōō 烏枢沙魔明王 (Skt. Ucchuṣma ["Devourer"] Vidyārāja) (also translated as Jōjin Kongō 淨身金剛), the *myōō* known for his eating of filth. Yixing's *Commentary* gives an instance where Ususama comes to Fudō's aid in fighting a demon, where it reads:

爾時不淨金剛。須兒悉頁所有諸穢令盡無餘。

At that time Jōjin Kongō instantly and completely devoured all the defilements until none remained.

(T.1796.39.679a.)

It would seem, then, that V13 was derived from the original practice of a monk's offering of food to Fudō after a meal. The above passage suggests a strong correlation between the deity's original vow and the offering of the food; the monk's offering was seemingly a petition to warrant Fudō's protection. The interlinear commentary identifies the leftover food with sentient delusion; Fudō's consuming of leftover bits of food is his symbolic devouring of "remnant delusions," enforcing Fudō's compassionate vow to assist living beings.

Visualization 14

安坐大盤石。表鎮衆生重障令不復動
使成淨菩提心妙高山王。 (DBZ.82.376a.12-13)

[Fudō] peacefully sits atop a great rock platform.

[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses [Fudō's] quelling of the hindrances of living beings, causing [them] not again to move and attaining the pure *bodhicitta* of¹⁴² the king of wondrous high mountains [i.e., Mount Sumeru].

As first mentioned, Fudō's name is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese translation of the deity's original Sanskrit name, "Acala." "Acala," like "fudō," literally means "immovable" or "that which does not move," but can also refer to a mountain; Fudō is almost always found resting upon a large rock, symbolic of a mountain.¹⁴³ As Śākyamuni sat resolute under his *bodhi* tree in India despite obstacles such as demon attacks, so too does Fudō fearlessly sit (or sometimes stand) on his rock platform (*acala*) motionless (*fudō*).

In the early Japanese images seen above, Fudō's rock platform is predominately a tiered one, known as a *shitsushitsuza* 瑟瑟座, consisting of anywhere from three to seven layers, with

¹⁴² Shunmyū's text reads "淨菩提心如妙高山王," ("the pure *bodhicitta* like the king of the wondrous high mountains") (T.2468.78.44.6).

¹⁴³ The *Besson zakki* contains rare images of Fudō standing and sitting instead on a large *chakra* (TZ.3007.3.351, 353, 358-59). The *chakra* as a seat of Fudō is described in Vajrabodhi's *Mudō anchin hō* (T.1203.21.28c.2).

the middle section usually the most narrow. The term *shitsushitsuza*, however, whose etymology is unclear,¹⁴⁴ surprisingly cannot be found anywhere in the Chinese Esoteric scriptures concerning Fudō imported to Japan¹⁴⁵ (Yoritomi 156).

In the later 19V images, the somewhat enigmatic *shitsushitsuza* platform became a more simple and “natural” rock one, called a *banjaku*[-za] 盤石[座] (“rock platform [seat]”) as described in V14.¹⁴⁶ This is the term found in the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, and is described in the *Chiri himitsu hō*:

坐盤石上者亦是不動之義。如世山岳亦以石鎮押方始不動。又如大海亦以須彌山鎮押然始得常湛然圓滿。不動亦爾。其大石性能出生一切寶物。無動坐大磐石者。亦能出生佛功德寶。亦是降伏四魔義。

Sitting atop the rock platform (*banjaku*) refers to Fudō [“immovable”]. It is like the mountains of the world that are held down by rocks, thus becoming immovable. It is moreover like the great seas that are held down by Mount Sumeru, thus becoming filled with unmoving [water]. Fudō is also like this. As the nature of the great rock produces all gems, Fudō, sitting on the great rock, likewise is able to produce the gems of virtue of *buddha*-s. [Fudō?] also refers to the subduing of the four demons.¹⁴⁷

(T.1201.21.15b.12-16)

¹⁴⁴ Yoritomi gives a lengthy analysis of the possible etymology of the term “*shitsushitsu*.” He postulates that the word is perhaps both a transliteration of the Sanskrit word “*śirāsana*,” “large flat rock” (lit., “upper rock seat”), and also a related translation of “*śira*” (as *hekitama* 璧玉, “jewel ball” or *hōseki* 寶石, “jewelled rock,” etc.) that refers to a type of mineral or gem (as it also does in Tibetan [as “crystal”]). Yoritomi argues that *śirāsana* as a large flat rock was more popularly used in India while the term as a jewelled rock platform was favored in Buddhism, as it would have been in its connection to Fudō (Yoritomi 157-58). This seems plausible since Fudō’s rock platform is often referred to in the Chinese sources as *kinbanjaku* 金盤石 (“golden rock platform”), *hōbansan* 寶盤山 (“jeweled mountain platform”), etc. Giles also defines *shitsushitsu* as “the turquoise [gem]” (Giles 1165). Moreover, the *Byakuhokkushō* quotes the *Tosotsu sōzūki* 都率僧都記:

瑟~黑色。或云瑠璃也。

[Fudō’s] *shitsushitsu* which is dark in color is also called “*lapis lazuli*.”

(TZ.3119.7.5b.22-23)

Thus, it seems, Fudō’s *shitsushitsuza* may have once been adorned with jewels.

¹⁴⁵ The term *shitsushitsuza*, in its connection to Fudō, does reappear in Shunmyū’s *dōjōkan* of Fudō in his *Yōson dōjōkan* (T.2468.78.43a.11).

¹⁴⁶ Sawa writes that while the *banjaku* rock is commonly shared by deities such as other *myōō*-s and *deva*-s, the *shitsushitsuza* is exclusively used by Fudō (Sawa 1973: 572-3).

¹⁴⁷ See fn. 137 above.

Despite Amoghavajra's explanation, V14's interlinear commentary quotes (almost directly) from Yixing's *Commentary*:

鎮其重障盤石。使不復動。成淨菩提心妙高山王。故云安住在盤石也。

[Fudō] quells the rock platform of hindrances, and makes [them] not again move. It attains the pure *bodhicitta* of the king of wondrous high mountains. Thus it is known that [Fudō] peacefully dwells on the rock platform.

(T.1796.39.633b.19-20)

According to Yixing and V14, Fudō's sitting on the rock, then, signifies both the deity's pacification and ceasing of the spiritual defilements of living beings, and, as the rock is identified as a symbolic mountain, it also expresses acquiring the wisdom or *bodhicitta* (lit., "mind of enlightenment") of the "king [i.e., the best] of wondrous high mountains," viz., Mount Sumeru (Jpn. Shimisen 須弥山).¹⁴⁸

Visualization 15 (no iconographical influence)

色醜青黑。表調伏相。(DBZ.82.376a.13)

[Fudō's] color is grotesque and dark blue.

[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses the subduing [of malevolent beings].

Although the images of Fudō that were imported to, and reproduced in, Japan are predominately dark in hue, the scriptures describe the deity with an assortment of colors. The ritual texts of Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi prescribe various forms of Fudō as being yellow (*ki* 黄), red (*aka* 赤), "red clay" color (*akatsuchi* 赤土), blue (*ao* 青), deep blue (*konjō* 紺青), and dark blue (*aokuro* 青黑) (the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* and the *Commentary* make no mention of Fudō's body color, although Fudō is always dark in the Taizōkai Mandara).

¹⁴⁸ See fn. 45 above.

Fudō's various colors do not seem arbitrary, as there is often meaning attributed to each (most of these interpretations of color, however, seem to have developed later). As V15 suggests, Fudō's dark blue (Skt. *kṛṣṇa*) appearance is interpreted in relation to the deity's "grotesqueness" or ugliness (Jpn. *minikui* 醜) and his subduing (Jpn. *chōbuku* 調伏) of demons, etc. This color is only mentioned in the *Ryūinki* during the ritual drawing of the deity with no symbolic significance attached to it. The source of Kūkai's identification of Fudō's dark color with the deity's grotesque appearance and the subduing of demons seems to stem from his own *Fudōson kōnō* 不動尊功能 ("The Efficacy of Fudō"):

極惡醜弊。色青黑者。爲表調伏四魔之相。

[Fudō looks] terribly evil and is grotesque. His dark blue color expresses the subduing of the four demons.¹⁴⁹

(DBZ.431.55.106c.3)

Fudō's dark blue color combines with the many other features of Fudō (his fangs, sword, fierce flames, etc.) that, in contrast to those expressing his compassion (his hanging braid, his closed mouth, etc.) enforces the more malevolent and violent side of the deity as a manifestation of the Buddha's wrath.

Visualization 16 (no iconographical influence)

奮迅¹⁵⁰忿怒。表威猛相。(DBZ.82.376a.13)

[Fudō] rages with wrath.

[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses raging strength.

¹⁴⁹ See fn. 137 above.

¹⁵⁰ The first two characters of V16—奮迅 (Jpn. *funjin*, "raging")—draws attention to their common usage in the term, *shishi funjin* 獅子 (or 師子) 奮迅, "raging lion," or, as Soothill writes, "the lion aroused to anger, i.e. the Buddha's power of arousing awe" (Soothill 324). The term is meant to equate Fudō's wrath and vigor with that of a wild animal.

V16 both emphasizes Fudō's character as a wrathful, forceful figure who fights at the command of the Buddha against evil, and contrasts the deity with the gentle and the effeminate appearance and nature of deities like the *bodhisattva* Kannon 觀音 (Skt. Avalokiteśvara). The *Commentary* writes:

作奮怒之勢極忿之形。

Make [Fudō] with the form of raging wrath and forceful fury.

(T.1796.39.633b.8-9)

As the *Byakuhokkushō* seems to imply, this is the main source of Fudō's "raging strength"; little else concerning the matter is mentioned in the writings of Amoghavajra or Vajrabodhi. The characters *fun'nu* 忿怒, "wrath" (as well as the term *inu* 威怒 of similar meaning as found in the *myōō*'s listing in Amoghavajra's *Nin'nō nenju giki*) are often used to describe Fudō (and his attending *myōō*-s) as seen above with Amoghavajra's Gofun'nu deities.

Visualization 17 (no iconographical influence)

遍身迦婁羅炎。表智火金翅鳥王噉
食惡毒有情龍子。 (DBZ.82.376a.14)

[Fudō's] body is surrounded by *garuḍa* flames.

[Interlinear commentary:] This expresses the wisdom-fire of Garuḍa, the king of birds, who swallows the *nāga* children of the evil poison of living beings.

V3 describes how Fudō "perpetually dwells within the fire-emitting *samādhi*." In the early images of Fudō imported to Japan—namely those of Kūkai—we can plainly see the heads (i.e., two eyes, beak, and tufts of feathers on the head) of birds known as *garuḍa*-s, formed by swirling masses of flames, encircling Fudō among the fires. The *garuḍa* (Jpn. *garura* 迦婁羅,

迦樓羅; translated as *konjuchōō* 金翅鳥王¹⁵¹ in the interlinear commentary), as physical addition to Fudō's "fire-emitting *samādhi*" (sometimes omitted by artisans), originate in Hindu literature as early as the *Ṛg Veda* (ca. 1500 B.C.E.). This singular deity Garuḍa is the well-known *vahana* or vehicle of Viṣṇu, and in the *Mahābhārata*, is identified with the sun and fire. Garuḍa was later adopted by the Buddhists, and, like the *deva*, became a guardian figure. It appears, for example, as the sixth of the *hachibushu* (the eight deities who protect the Buddhist *dharma*) in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra* (*Lotus sūtra*).¹⁵²

The interlinear commentary makes reference to two attributes of the *garuḍa*-s in relation to Fudō. The first is their affiliation with fire. The second is their connection to the "nāga children" (Jpn. *ryūko* 龍子). Fudō's connection to the mythological Garuḍa predominately stems from Vajrabodhi's aforementioned ritual manual *Mudō anchin hō* (the *garuḍa*-s are not mentioned in the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, the *Commentary*, or even in the *Chiri himitsu hō*), where we find the bird's connection to Fudō's fires:

坐金盤石光焰熾然。其焰多有伽樓羅狀。

[Fudō] sits atop a golden rock platform (*banjaku*) [surrounded by] bright flames. These flames contain the forms of *garuḍa*-s.

(T.1203.21.28a.11-12)

and again:

猛焰從心生 狀如金翅鳥。

Violent flames issue from [Fudō's] heart. Their form is like a *garuḍa* (*konjuchō*).

(T.1203.21.28c.3)

As Yoritomi suggests, Kūkai most likely drew from these references in writing his *Fudōson kōnō*, the certain source of V17 (Yoritomi 168).

¹⁵¹ The interlinear commentary's translation of Garuḍa (in contrast to its initial transliteration) emphasizes the Garuḍa, as Monier-Williams writes, as the "chief of the feathered race" (Monier-Williams 348).

¹⁵² See fn. 70 above.

The interlinear commentary also mentions a certain antagonism between the *garuḍa*-s and *nāga*-s, more specifically, the “*nāga* children”. This tension, described in the *Mahābhārata*, seems to be an ancient familial one. According to the story, Garuḍa and the *nāga*-s shared the same father, Kaśyapa, but were born of different mothers (Garuḍa from Vinatā and the *nāga*-s from Kadru). Tension between the siblings arose when the wives/mothers became bitter rivals; the *nāga*-s conspired with Kadru to kidnap Vinatā in order to exploit Garuḍa into retrieving the *amṛta* (“immortality”) elixir. Finally, Garuḍa (from *grī*, “swallow,” “devour”) obtained permission from Indra to catch and devour the *nāga*-s, thereby becoming the enemy and nemesis of the *nāga* race (Watanabe 168).

Thus the interlinear commentary’s reference to Garuḍa’s enemy “*nāga* children [i.e., of Kadru]” seems to draw from this popular myth (there appears to be no concrete mention of this familial tension in the scriptures of Fudō). Thus Garuḍa’s eating of the enemy *nāga*-s became a symbolic model of Fudō’s destruction of the “evil poisons of living beings.”

II. FIGURES

Figure 1 (a, b, c)¹
Origins of the Godai Myōō

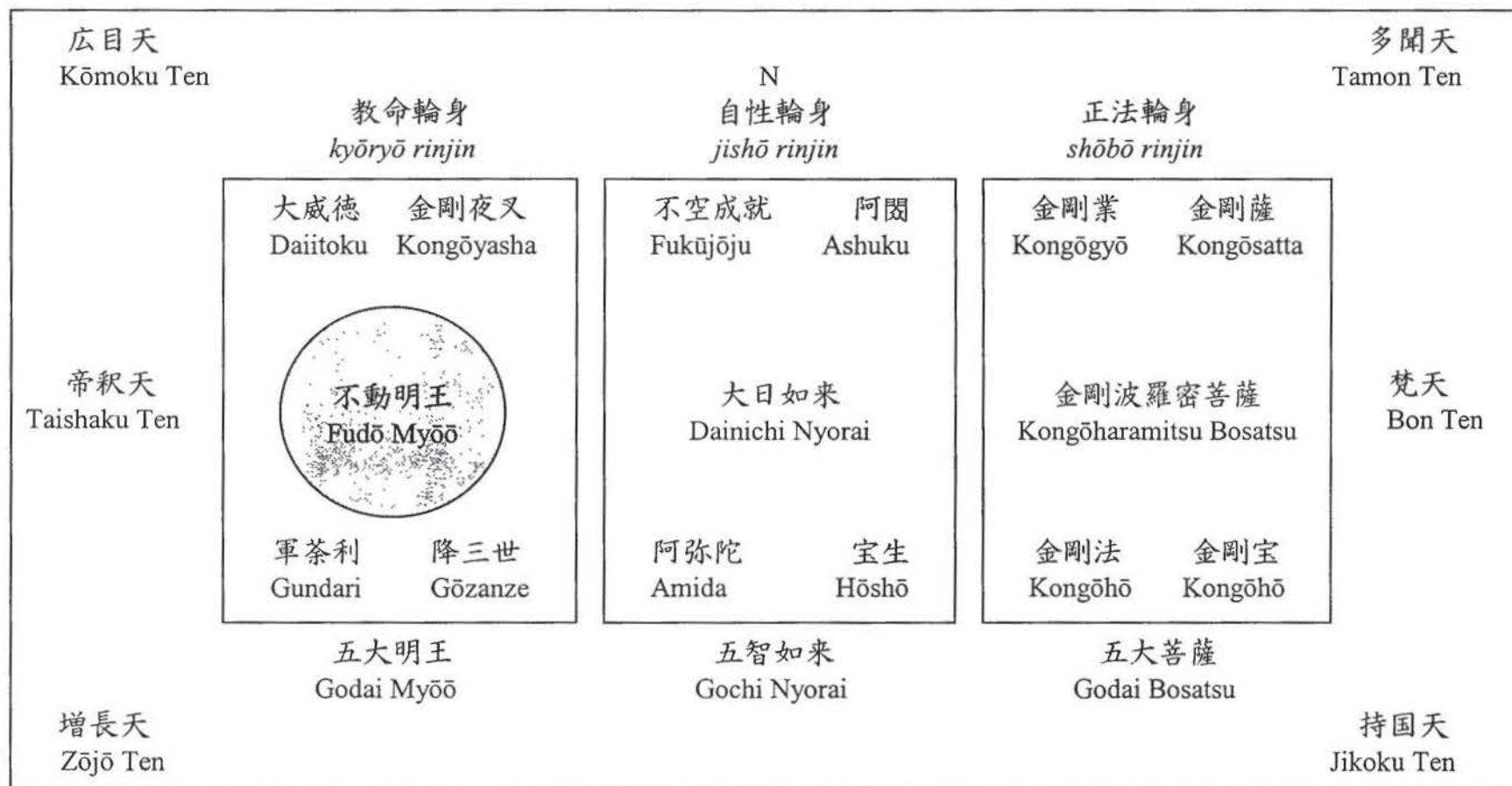
<i>Nin'nō gyō</i> (Kumārajīva) (a)		<i>Nin'nō gokoku kyō</i> (Amoghavajra) (b)		<i>Nin'nō nenju giki</i> (Amoghavajra) (c)
Godai Riki Bosatsu		Gohō Bosatsu		Gokongō
		<i>shōbō rinjin</i>		<i>kyōryō rinjin</i>
1.	Kongōku Bosatsu 金剛吼菩薩 (Skt. Vajranāda Bodhisattva)	Center	Kongōharamitta Bosatsu 金剛波羅蜜多菩薩 (Skt. Vajrapāramitā Bodhisattva)	Inu Fudō Kongō 威怒不動金剛
2.	Ryūōku Bosatsu 龍王吼菩薩 (Skt. Nāgārājanāda Bodhisattva)	South	Kongōhō Bosatsu 金剛寶菩薩 (Skt. Vajraratna Bodhisattva)	Inu Kanro Gundari Kongō 威怒甘露軍荼利金剛
3.	Muijūrikiku Bosatsu 無畏十力吼菩薩 (Skt. Abhayadaśa- balanāda Bodhisattva)	East	Kongōshu Bosatsu 金剛手菩薩 (Skt. Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva)	Inu Gōzanze Kongō 威怒降三世金剛
4.	Raidenku Bosatsu 雷電吼菩薩 (Skt. Meghadundu- bhināda Bodhisattva)	North	Kongōyakusha Bosatsu 金剛藥叉菩薩 (Skt. Vajrayakṣa Bodhisattva)	Inu Jōjin Kongō 威怒淨身金剛 (Ususama 烏枢沙摩)
5.	Muryōrikiku Bosatsu 無量力吼菩薩 (Skt. Amitabalanāda Bodhisattva)	West	Kongōri Bosatsu 金剛利菩薩 (Skt. Vajratikṣṇa Bodhisattva)	Inu Rokusoku Kongō 威怒六足金剛 (Daiitoku 大威德)

¹ These charts have been translated and edited from those of Ariga (Tanaka 11-12). Sanskrit names of the Godairiki Bosatsu have been taken from DeVisser (139).

Figure 1 (d)

<i>Shōmuge kyō</i> (Amoghavajra) (d)			
<i>sanrijin</i>			
	<i>shōbō rinjin</i>	<i>jishō rinjin</i>	<i>kyōryō rinjin</i>
	Gobutsu	Gobosatsu	Gofun'nu
Center	Birushana Nyorai 毘盧遮那如來 (Skt. Vairocana Tathāgata)	Kongōhan'nya Bosatsu 金剛般若菩薩 (Skt. Vajrapāramitā Bodhisattva)	Fudōson 不動尊
East	Ashuku Nyorai 阿閼如來 (Skt. Akṣobhya Tathāgata)	Kongōsatta Bosatsu 金剛薩埵菩薩 (Skt. Vajrasattva Bodhisattva)	Gōzanzeson 降三世尊
South	Hōshō Nyorai 寶性如來 (Skt. Ratnasambhava Tathāgata)	Kongōzaō Bosatsu 金剛藏王菩薩 (Skt. Vajra? Bodhisattva)	Gundari 軍荼利
West	Muryōju Nyorai 無量壽如來 (Skt. Amitābha Tathāgata)	Monjushiri Bosatsu 文殊師利菩薩 (Skt. Manjuśrī Bodhisattva)	Rokusokuson 六足尊
North	Fukūjōju Nyorai 不空成就如來 (Amoghasiddhi Tathāgata)	Kongōga Bosatsu 金剛牙菩薩 (Skt. Vajrayakṣa Bodhisattva)	Kongōrakusha 金剛藥叉

Figure 2
Floor Plan of the Katsuma (Nin'nō gyō) Mandara in the Kōdō Lecture Hall of the Tōji, Kyōto



Ten	(Deva)	Myōō	(Vidyārāja)	Nyorai	(Tathāgatha)	Bosatsu	(Bodhisattva)
Tamon	(Vaiśravaṇa)	Fudō	(Acala[-nātha])	Dainichi	(Mahāvairocana)	Kongōharamitsu	(Vajrapāramitā)
Zōjō	(Virūpākṣa)	Kongōyasha	(Vajrayakṣa)	Ashuku	(Akṣobhya)	Kongōsatta	(Vajrasattva)
Kōmoku	(Virūpākṣa)	Daiitoku	(Yamāntaka)	Fukūjōju	(Amoghasiddhi)	Kongōgyō	(Vajrakarma)
Jikoku	(Dhṛtarāṣṭra)	Gundari	(Kuṇḍari)	Amida	(Amitābha)	Kongōhō	(Vajradharma)
Taishaku	(Indra)	Gōzanze	(Trailokyavijāya)	Hōshō	(Ratnasambhava)	Kongōhō	(Vajraratna)
Bon	(Brāhma)						

Figure 3

Kūkai's original Nineteen Visualizations in five-character *gāthā* verse meter

Fudō Myōō nenju shidai 不動明王念誦次第, *Jūkyūshusō kansō ryakuju* 十九種相觀想略頌
 (“Abbreviated Verse of Nineteen Types of Contemplative Visualizations”) section (NDK.85.290a.2-14).

阿魯哈嚩字	現三身成佛	是尊大日化	爲使執諸務	住火生三昧
燒障成智火	現肥滿童子	承仕佛化身	頂有七莎髻	表七覺分法
左垂一弁髮	垂一子慈悲	額有水波皺	懊念六道生	斜閉左一目
掩左道入一	喫上唇下翻	慈力令怖魔	緘閉口中間	滅戲論語風
右手執智劍	殺害三毒惑	左手持羅索	繫縛不降者	喫行者殘食
噉食無明習	安坐大盤石	鎮衆生重障	色身醜青黑	表示調伏相
奮迅而忿怒	表示威猛相	遍身迦婁炎	表智火金翅	俱力龍繞劍
摧滅諸外道	變矜迦制多	順正不順違		

- (1) The syllables *a*, *ro*, *hām*, and *mām* manifest the three bodies of the Buddha.
- (2) This deity [Fudō] is a manifestation of Mahāvairocana [Buddha] who undertakes various duties.
- (3) [Fudō] dwells within the fire-emitting *samādhi*, burning away hindrances and attaining the fire-wisdom.
- (4) Fudō assumes the form of an obese *kumāra* acolyte that serves the Buddha as a manifested body.
- (5) Atop the head there are seven topknots which express the seven marks of *bodhi*.
- (6) A braid of hair hangs over the left [side], [like] a child's lowering of compassion.
- (7) On the forehead there are wrinkles [in the form of] waves, [expressing] concerned thoughts of those beings in the six realms of transmigration.
- (8) The left eye is half closed, covering up the left path [of heretics] and entering into the One [-Vehicle].
- (9) [Fudō's tooth] bites the upper lip, and the lower [lip sticks] out, [expressing] the strength of compassion that causes fear among demons.
- (10) The mouth is closed in the middle, [expressing] the silencing of foolish speech.
- (11) The right hand holds the sword of wisdom which destroys the three poisons.
- (12) The left hand holds a rope which binds the unconquerable.
- (13) [Fudō] consumes the leftover food of practitioners, [expressing] the eating of ignorance.
- (14) [Fudō] sits peacefully on a great rock platform, [expressing] the quelling of the hindrances of living beings.
- (15) [Fudō's] form is grotesque and blue-black, expressing the subduing [of evil beings].
- (16) [Fudō] is imbued with wrath, expressing a wrathful form.
- (17) The entire body is [surrounded by] *garu[-da]* flames, expressing the fire-wisdom of the *garuḍa*.
- (18) The *kuri[-ka]* serpent encoils the sword, [expressing the] destruction of heretics.
- (19) [Fudō] transforms Kimka[-ra] and Ceta[-ka], the [former] who follows the proper [path and the later who] follows the wrong [path].

Figure 5¹
Fudō Iconography Prior to the Nineteen Visualizations

	Kūkai (Shingon)	Ennin (Tendai)	Enchin (Tendai)		Eun (Shingon)
	Type I (a, b) imported	Type II imported	Type III imported	Type IV original	Type V imported
	a) Takao Mandara (plate 11) b) Nin'nō Gyō Mandara (plates 12, 14)	Hachidai Myōō (plate 16)	Fudōson Mandara (plate 17)	Yellow Fudō (plate 19)	Fudōson Mandara (plate 18)
Eyes	both open	both open	both open	both open	both open
Forehead	wrinkles	no wrinkles	wrinkles	wrinkles	wrinkles
Teeth	upper fangs and teeth bite lower lip	upper fangs and teeth bite lower lip	upper fangs and teeth bite lower lip	lower fangs bite upper lip	upper fangs and teeth bite lower lip
Mouth	closed	closed	closed	closed	closed
Hair	combed & tied in queue	combed & tied in queue	combed & tied in queue	curled w/o queue	combed & tied in queue
Crown	lotus	none	none (comb?)	none	7 topknots
Posture	sitting (a) standing (b)	sitting	sitting	standing	sitting
Gaze	right	right	right	forward	forward
Flames	<i>garuḍa</i> flames with halo	flames with halo	flames with halo	halo only	flames with halo
Platform	<i>shitsushitsu</i> platform (3 tiered)	<i>shitsushitsu</i> platform (3 tiered)	<i>shitsushitsu</i> platform (many tiers)	rock	rock platform
Acolytes	none	none	3 acolytes, 5 messengers	none	none
Sword	no flames	surrounded by flames	surrounded by flames	no flames	no flames

¹ This chart is based on that of Ariga (Tanaka 24), but has been largely edited.

Figure 6¹
Early Fudō Iconography of the Nineteen Visualizations

	Genchō Style			Enjin Style
	Genchō's Asukadera drawing (plate 29)	Teichi's Fudō (plate 30)	Blue Fudō (plate 32)	Enjin's Sanbōin drawing (plate 31)
Eyes	left half-closed	left half-closed	left-half closed	left half-closed
Forehead	wrinkles	wrinkles	wrinkles	wrinkles
Teeth	asymmetrical (lower-left points up, upper-right points down)	asymmetrical (lower-left points up, upper-right points down)	asymmetrical (lower-left points up, upper-right points down)	asymmetrical (lower-left points up, upper-right points down)
Mouth	bottom lip stretches above upper one, covering the teeth	bottom lip stretches above upper one, covering the teeth	bottom lip stretches above upper one, covering the teeth	bottom lip stretches above upper one, covering the teeth
Hair	7 topknots	7 topknots	7 topknots	7 topknots
Crown	flower	flower	flower	flower
Posture	n/a	standing	standing	standing
Gaze	right	right	right	right
Flames	n/a	flames	<i>garuda</i> flames	<i>garuda</i> flames
Platform	n/a	rock	rock	rock
Acolytes	Kimkara & Cetaka	Kimkara & Cetaka	Kimkara & Cetaka	Kimkara & Cetaka
Sword	n/a	no flames	no flames	no flames

¹ This chart is based on that of Ariga (Tanaka 24), but has been largely edited.

Figure 7

The Fourteen *Mūla Mudrā*-s (according to Kūkai's *Fudō Myōō nenju shidai*)

	Japanese		Sanskrit	English
1.	<i>konpon in</i>	根本印	<i>mūla mudrā</i>	root <i>mudrā</i>
2.	<i>hōsen in</i>	寶山印	<i>ratnagiri mudrā</i>	jeweled mountain <i>mudrā</i>
3.	<i>tōmitsu in</i>	頭密印	<i>śīrṣaguhya mudrā</i>	head-mystery <i>mudrā</i>
4.	<i>genmitsu in</i>	眼密印	<i>caksurguhya mudrā</i>	eye-mystery <i>mudrā</i>
5.	<i>kumitsu in</i>	口密印	<i>mukhaguhya mudrā</i>	mouth-mystery <i>mudrā</i>
6.	<i>shinmitsu in</i>	心密印	<i>cittaguhya mudrā</i>	mind-mystery <i>mudrā</i>
7.	<i>kaji shido in</i>	加持四度印	?	four-point <i>kaji mudrā</i>
8.	<i>shishi funjin in</i>	師子奮迅印	?	rushing lion <i>mudrā</i>
9.	<i>kaen in</i>	火焰印	<i>agnijvālā mudrā</i>	fire-flame <i>mudrā</i>
10.	<i>karin in</i>	火輪印	<i>agnicakra mudrā</i>	fire-wheel <i>mudrā</i>
11.	<i>shōgya in</i>	商佉印	<i>sañkha mudrā</i>	conch-shell <i>mudrā</i>
12.	<i>katsuga in</i>	渴譏印	<i>khadga mudrā</i>	sword <i>mudrā</i>
13.	<i>kenjaku in</i>	羅索印	<i>pāśa mudrā</i>	rope <i>mudrā</i>
14.	<i>sanko kongō in</i>	三鈷金剛印	?	triple-pronged <i>vajra mudrā</i>

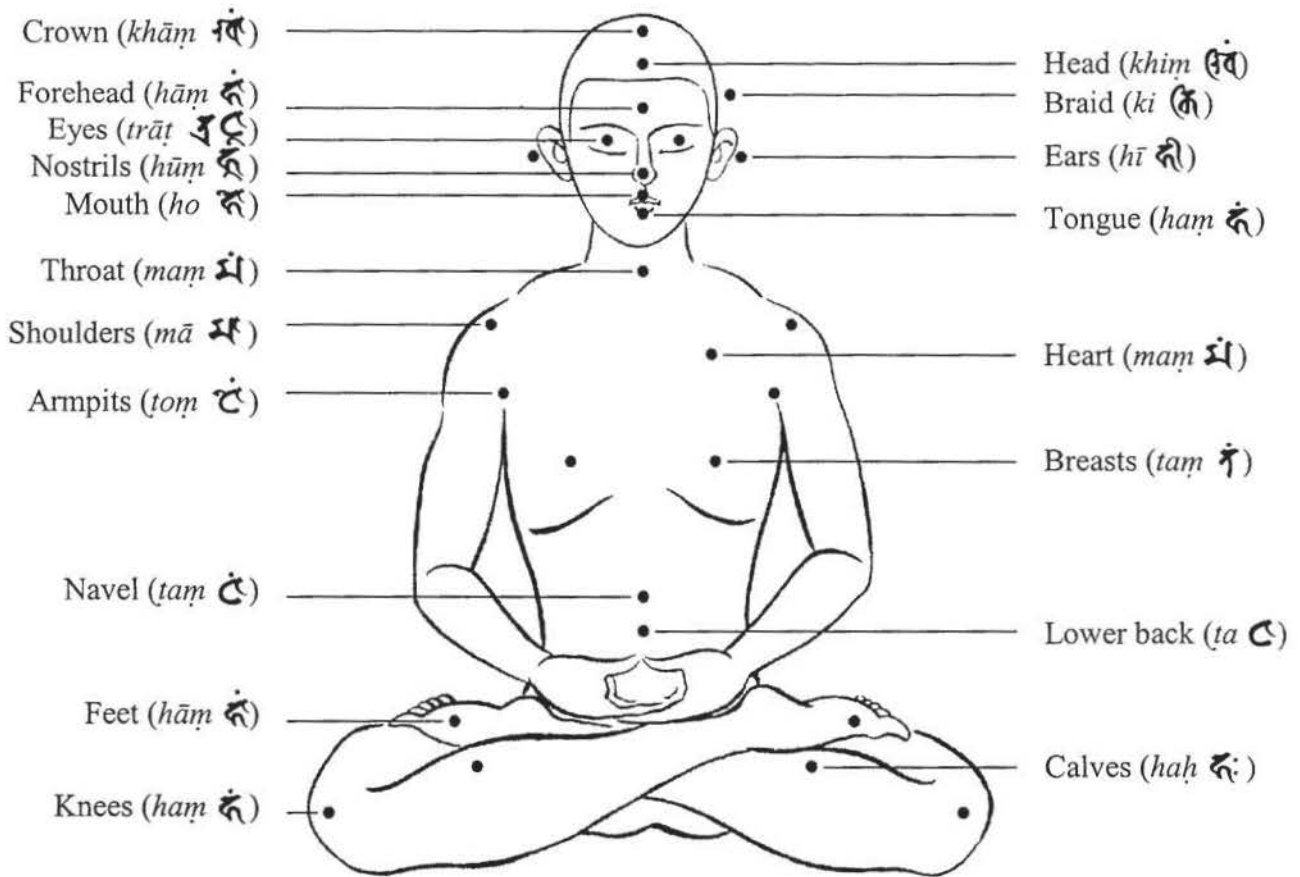
Figure 8
The Nineteen Spreading Syllables¹

	Amoghavajra's <i>Ryūinki</i>		Kūkai's <i>Fudō Myōō nenju shidai</i>		Shunmyū's <i>Yōson dōjōkan</i>		Japanese translit.	Placement on Body
	Sanskrit ²	Translit.	<i>Siddham</i>	Sanskrit	<i>Siddham</i>	Sanskrit		
1.	<i>khām</i>	欠	𑖕𑖜	<i>khām</i>	𑖕𑖜	<i>kham</i>	<i>ken</i>	top of head
2.	<i>khim</i>	企孕	𑖕𑖝	<i>khim</i>	𑖕𑖝	<i>khim</i>	<i>kiyō</i>	top of head
3.	<i>ki</i>	棄	𑖕𑖞	<i>ki</i>	𑖕𑖞	<i>ki</i>	<i>ki</i>	left of head
4.	<i>hām</i>	憾 ^引	𑖕𑖟	<i>hām</i>	𑖕𑖟	<i>hām</i>	<i>kan</i>	forehead
5.	<i>hī</i>	咽	𑖕𑖠	<i>hi</i>	𑖕𑖠	<i>hī</i>	<i>ki</i>	ears
6.	<i>trāṭ</i>	怛囉 ^引 吒 ^{半音}	𑖕𑖡𑖢	<i>traṭ</i>	𑖕𑖡𑖢	<i>trāṭ</i>	<i>tarata</i>	eyes
7.	<i>hūṃ</i>	呬	𑖕𑖣	<i>hūṃ</i>	𑖕𑖣	<i>hūṃ</i>	<i>un</i>	nostrils
8.	<i>ho</i>	護	𑖕𑖤	<i>ho</i>	𑖕𑖤	<i>ho</i>	<i>ko</i>	mouth
9.	<i>haṃ</i>	憾	𑖕𑖥	<i>haṃ</i>	𑖕𑖥	<i>haṃ</i>	<i>kan</i>	tongue
10.	<i>mā</i>	莽	𑖕𑖦	<i>ma</i>	𑖕𑖦	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	shoulders
11.	<i>maṃ</i>	鎗	𑖕𑖧	<i>maṃ</i>	𑖕𑖧	<i>maṃ</i>	<i>man</i>	throat
12.	<i>taṃ</i>	膽	𑖕𑖨	<i>taṃ</i>	𑖕𑖨	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>tan</i>	breasts
13.	<i>maṃ</i>	滿	𑖕𑖩	<i>maṃ</i>	𑖕𑖩	<i>maṃ</i>	<i>man</i>	heart
14.	<i>taṃ</i>	咤暗 ^{二合}	𑖕𑖪	<i>ṭaṃ</i>	𑖕𑖪	<i>ṭaṃ</i>	<i>tamu</i>	navel
15.	<i>toṃ</i>	咤暗 ^{二合} 引	𑖕𑖫	<i>thoṃ</i>	𑖕𑖫	<i>toṃ</i>	<i>tamu</i>	armpits
16.	<i>ṭa</i>	咤	𑖕𑖬	<i>ṭa</i>	𑖕𑖬	<i>ṭa</i>	<i>ta</i>	lower back
17.	<i>haḥ</i>	郝	𑖕𑖭	<i>haḥ</i>	𑖕𑖭	<i>haḥ</i>	<i>kaku</i>	calves
18.	<i>haṃ</i>	憾	𑖕𑖮	<i>hām</i>	𑖕𑖮	<i>haṃ</i>	<i>kan</i>	knees
19.	<i>hām</i>	憾 ^引	𑖕𑖯	<i>hām</i>	𑖕𑖯	<i>hām</i>	<i>kan</i>	feet

¹ Where there are differences between the texts in their pronunciations, I have highlighted that number. These differences are largely due to confusion between long and short vowels (as well as the *Ryūinki*'s favor of the *candra bindu* nasal), illustrating the Chinese and Japanese monks' lack of proficiency with Sanskrit and *siddham* mantra-s.

² I have here reconstructed the Sanskrit pronunciations based on both the *Ryūinki*'s phonetic prescriptions of the original sounds and with their renderings in *siddham* in other texts.

Figure 9
Bodily Positions of the Nineteen Spreading Syllables (according to Amoghavajra's *Ryūinki*)



III. PLATES



Plate 1

Godai Myōō

Important Cultural Property

Painted wood

Height: Fudō: 86.3 cm; Gōzanze: 122.3 cm; Gundari: 125.8 cm;

Daiitoku: 80.3 cm; Kongōyasha: 116.7 cm

Heian Period (10th century)

Daigoji 醍醐寺, Kyōto



Plate 2

Godai Riki Bosatsu (*Nin'nō Gyō*)
 Monochromatic Ink (*hakubyō* 白描)
Besson zakki 別尊雜記
 Heian Period (12th century)

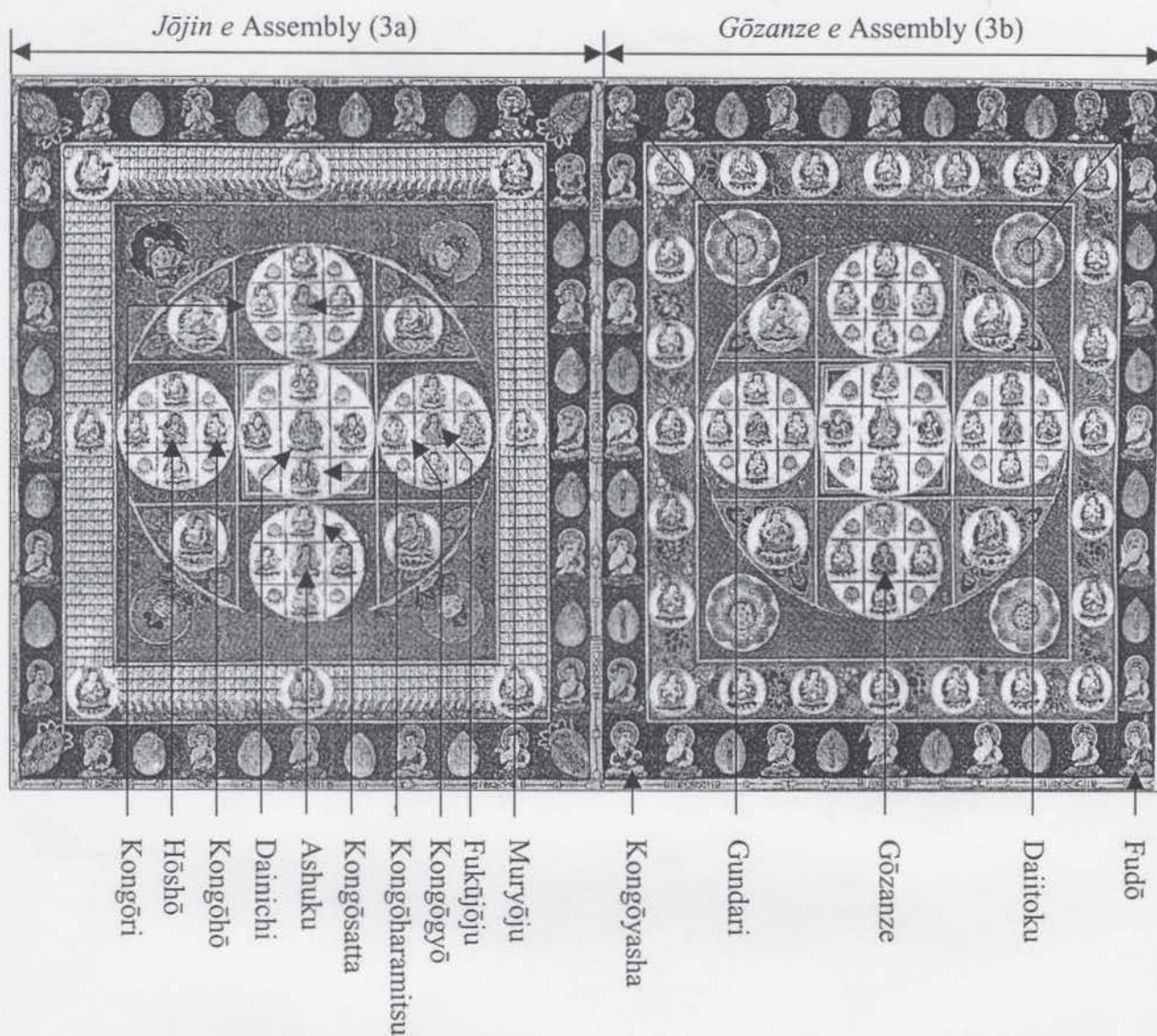


Plate 3a, b (Kongōkai Mandara counterpart to
Amoghavajra's *sanrinjin*)

Kongōkai Mandara (detail of *Jōjin e* Assembly and
Gōzanze e Assembly)

Silk Canvas

Height: 103.3 cm; width: 88.4 cm

Edo Period (17th century)

Daigoji 醍醐寺, Kyōto



Plate 4

Godai Riki Bosatsu (*Nin'nō Gyō*)
 Monochromatic Ink (*hakubyō* 白描)
Besson zakki 別尊雜記
 Heian Period (12th century)



Plate 5

Fudō Myōō hi of the *Gōzanze e* Assembly
of the Kongōkai Mandara (detail)



Plate 6

Fudō Myōō (with inverted sword)

Important Cultural Property

Monochromatic Ink (*hakubyō* 白描)

Height: 113.2 cm; width: 51.7 cm

Kamakura Period (13th century)

Daigoji 醍醐寺, Kyōto

Inscription reads: 有子細以今案私図之異形也 /

不動 信海闍利筆 / 弘安五年九月?日

("I have added certain details to this extraordinary form. /
Fudō. By Ācārya Shinkai. Kōan 5 [1282], September ?").



Plate 7

Fudō Myōō with *Dōji* Acolytes (Running Fudō)

Important Cultural Property

Silk Canvas

Height: 128.8 cm; width: 58.5 cm

Kamakura Period (14th century)

Inoue Family Private Collection 井上家旧蔵, Tōkyō



Plate 8

Fudō riyaku engi (detail)

Important Cultural Property

Paper Scroll

Height: 28.8 cm; length: 919.6 cm

Kamakura Period (14th century)

Tōkyō National Museum, Tōkyō

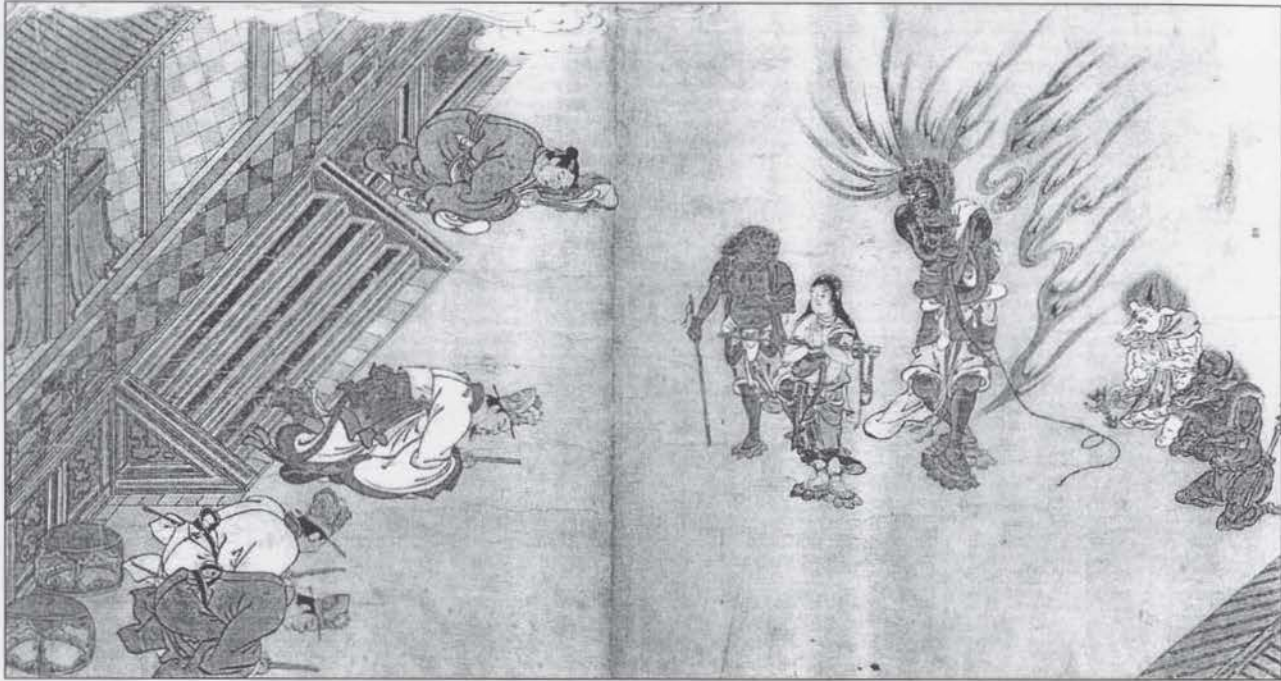


Plate 9

Naki fudō engi (detail)

Important Cultural Property

Paper Scroll

Height: 33.5 cm; length: 1276.5 cm

Moromachi Period (16th century)

Shōjōkenin 清浄華院, Kyōto



Plate 10

Fudō Myōō (Takitani Fudō)

Wood

Shōwa 36 (1961)

(Takitani Fudō) Myōōji (滝谷)不動明王寺, Ōsaka



Plate 11

Fudō Myōō with *Dōji* Acolytes (Red Fudō)

Important Cultural Property

Silk Canvas

Height: 180 cm; width: 95.9 cm

Date Unknown

Myōōin 明王院, Kōyamachi



Plate 12

Takao Mandara (detail)

National Treasure

Kūkai Style

Monochromatic Ink (*hakubyō* 白描)

Daigoji 醍醐寺, Kyōto

Inscription reads: 高雄金沢曼荼羅之内在之
是大師御筆 ("Takao Kanazawa Mandara Detail.

Painted by Kōbō Daishi.")

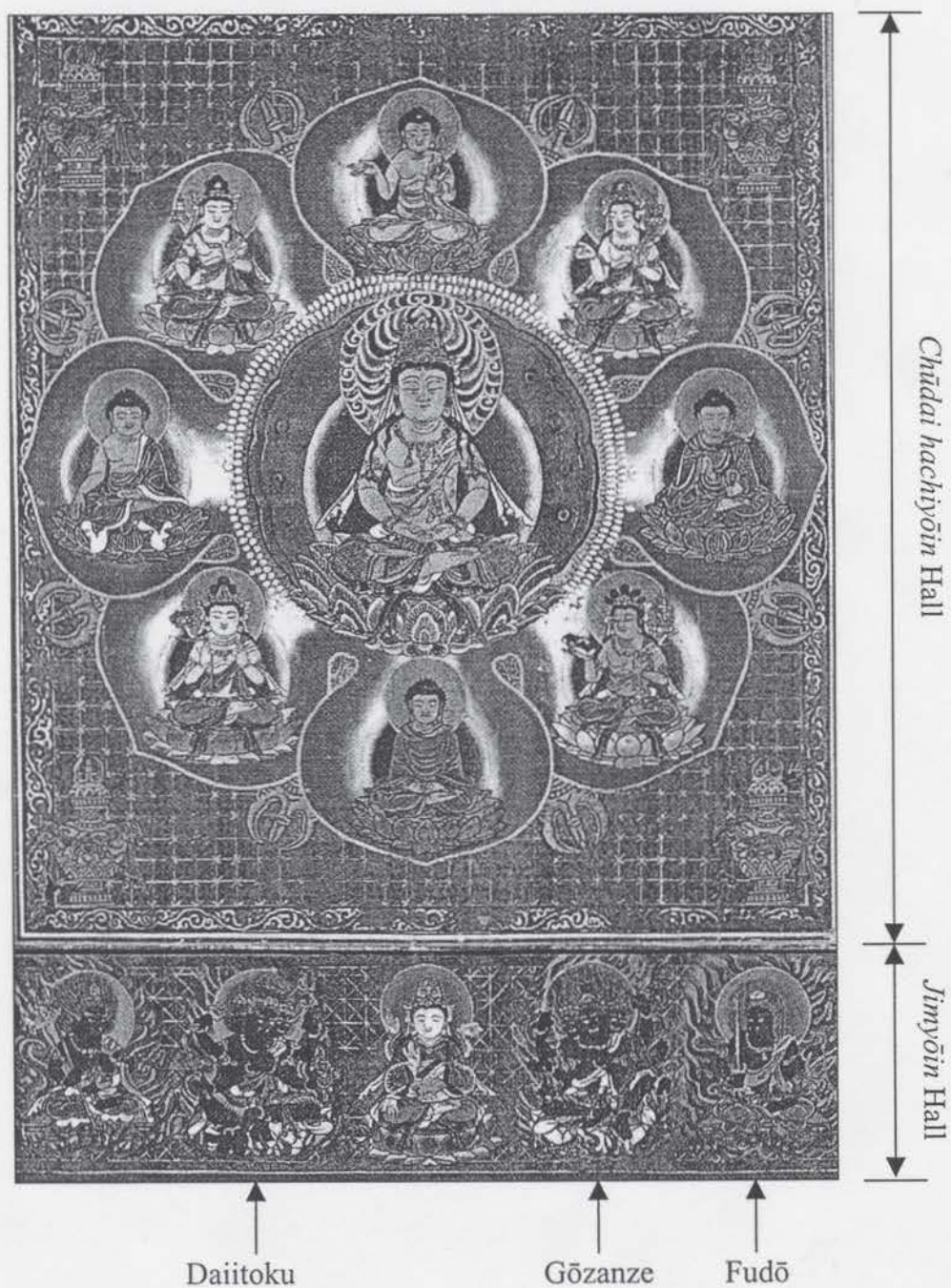


Plate 13

Taizōkai Mandara (detail of *Chūdai hachiyōin* Hall and *Jimyōin* Hall)

Silk Canvas

Height: 104.5 cm; width: 88 cm

Edo Period (17th century)

Daigoji 醍醐寺, Kyōto



Plate 14

Nin'nō Gyō Mandara (detail)

National Treasure

Kūkai Style

Monochromatic Ink (*hakubyō* 白描)

Heian Period (9th century)

Daigoji 醍醐寺, Kyōto

Inscription reads: 仁王經曼荼羅之内在之 是大師御筆
 ("Nin'nō Gyō Mandara Detail. Painted by Kōbō Daishi.")



Plate 15

Fudō Myōō (as central deity of the Godai Myōō enshrined
in the Katsuma [Nin'nō Gyō] Mandara)

National Treasure

Kūkai Style

Painted wood

Height: 173.3 cm

Early Heian Period (9th century)

Tōji 東寺, Kyōto



Plate 16

Fudō Myōō (of the Hachidai Myōō)

National Treasure

Ennin Style

Monochromatic Ink (*hakubyō* 白描)

Daigoji 醍醐寺, Kyōto

Inscription reads: 不動明王 (“Fudō Myōō”)



Plate 17

Fudōson Mandara (detail)
 Enchin Imported Style
 Monochromatic Ink (*hakubyō* 白描)
Besson zakki 別尊雜記
 Heian Period (12th century)
 Tōji 東寺, Kyōto



Plate 18

Fudō Myōō

Important Cultural Property

Eun Style

Wood

Height: 86.7 cm

Heian Period

Ishiyamadera 石山寺, Shiga

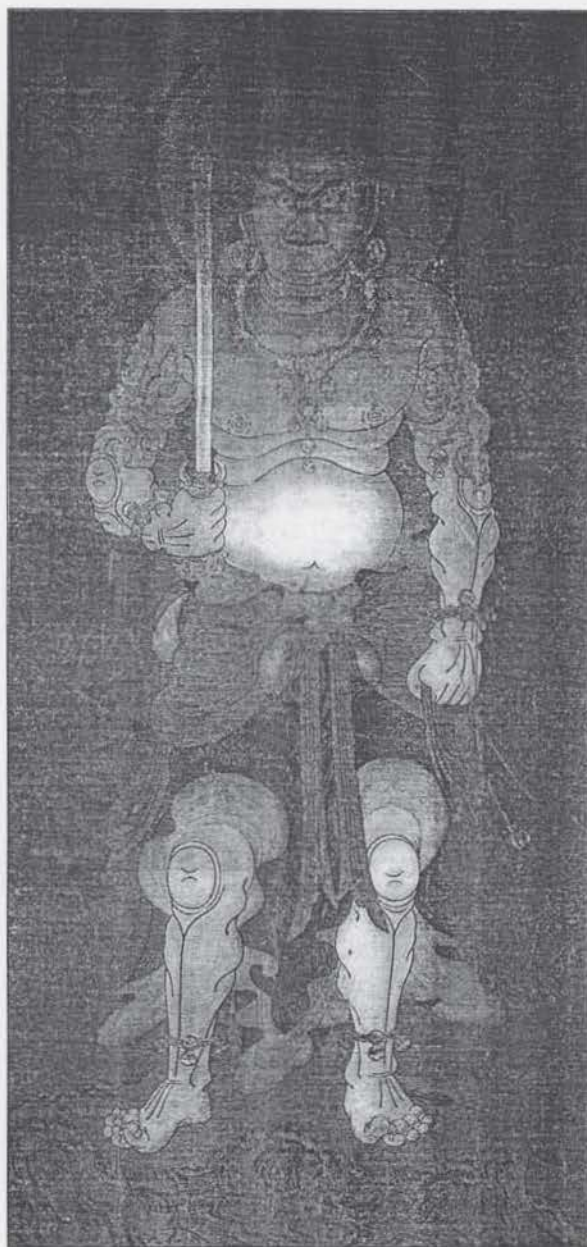


Plate 19

Fudō Myōō (Yellow Fudō)

National Treasure

Enchin Original Style

Silk Canvas

Height: 178 cm; width: 80.5 cm

Heian Period (12th century)

Manshuin 曼殊院, Kyōto

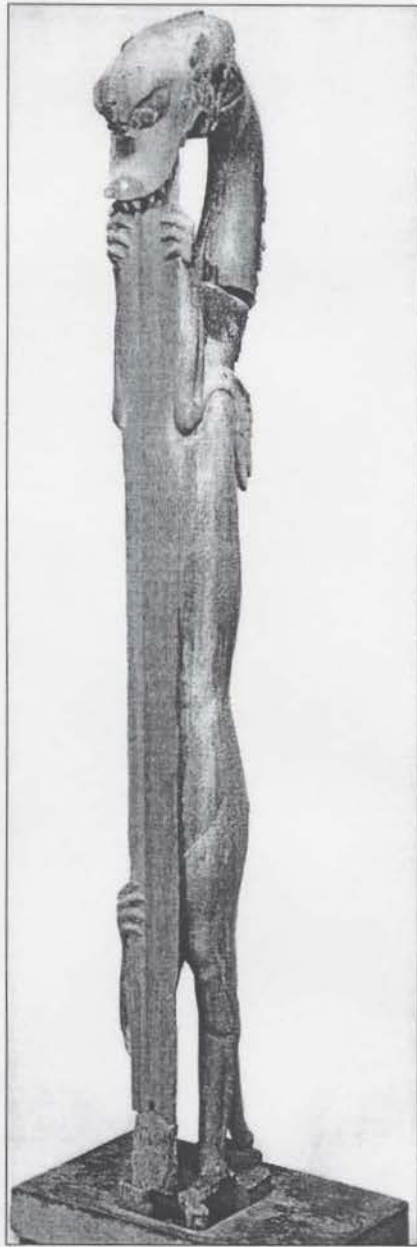


Plate 20

Kulika Dragon-sword

Wood

Height: 179.2 cm

Heian Period (12th century)

Otakeji 小武寺, Ōita



Plate 21

Kulika Dragon-sword

Monochromatic Ink (*hakubyō* 白描)

Kamakura Period (late 12th-early 13th century)

Kakuzenshō 覺禪鈔

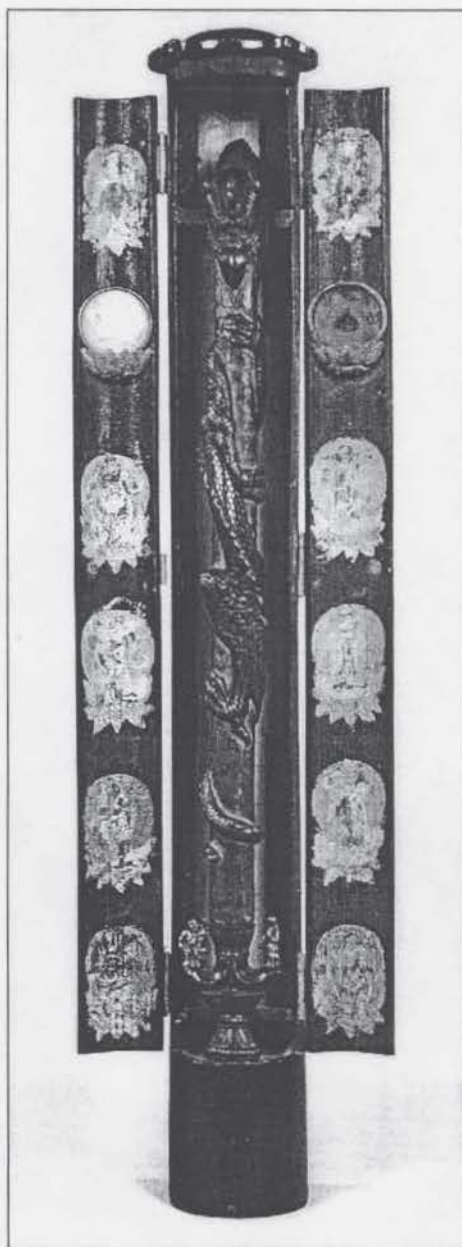


Plate 22

Kulika Dragon-sword with *Dōji* Acolytes in Cabinet

Important Cultural Property

Wood

Height: cabinet: 47 cm; sword: 42.2 cm; blade: 27.3 cm

Cabinet (Japanese): Heian or Kamakura Period (12th-13th century)

Sword (Chinese): Tang Dynasty (8th-9th century)

Ryūkōji 龍光寺, Wakayama



Plate 23

Kulika Dragon-sword with *Dōji* Acolytes (detail)

Monochromatic Ink (*hakubyō* 白描)

Date unknown

Ishiyamadera 石山寺, Shiga



Plate 24

Kulika Dragon-sword with *Dōji* Acolytes

Silk Canvas

Height: 137.4 cm; width; 68.3 cm

Kamakura Period (13th century)

Department of Education, Tōkyō?



Plate 25

Kimkara *Dōji* Acolyte (from Eight Great *Dōji* Acolytes)

National Treasure

Unkei 運慶 (12th century)

Painted wood (with glass eyes)

Height: 95.6 cm

Kamakura Period, *ca.* Kenkyū 健久 8-9 (1197-8)

Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺, Wakayama



Plate 26

Cetaka *Dōji* Acolyte (from Eight Great *Dōji* Acolytes)

National Treasure

Unkei 運慶 (12th century)

Painted wood (with glass eyes)

Kamakura Period, ca. Kenkyū 健久 8-9 (1197-8)

Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺, Wakayama



Plate 27

Fudō Myōō with Two *Dōji* Acolytes

Important Cultural Property

Painted Wood

Height: Fudo: 52.7 cm; Kimkara: 25.8 cm; Ceṭaka: 25.9 cm

Heian Period (12th century)

Bujōji 峰定寺, Kyōto



Plate 28

Fudō Myōō with Two *Dōji* Acolytes

Important Cultural Property

Painted Wood

Height: Fudō: 156.1 cm; Kimkara: 84.2 cm; Ceṭaka: 84.2 cm

Heian Period (12th century)

Shinyakushiji 新薬師寺, Nara



Plate 29

Detail of Fudō Myōō's Head and Two *Dōji* Acolytes (Genchō Style)

Genchō 玄朝

Monochromatic Ink (*hakubyō* 白描)

Heian Period (late 10th-early 11th century)

Kyōto, Daigoji 醍醐寺

Inscription reads: 已上不動御頭并二使者飛鳥寺玄朝筆

("The above head of Fudō and the two messengers were drawn by Genchō of Asukadera").

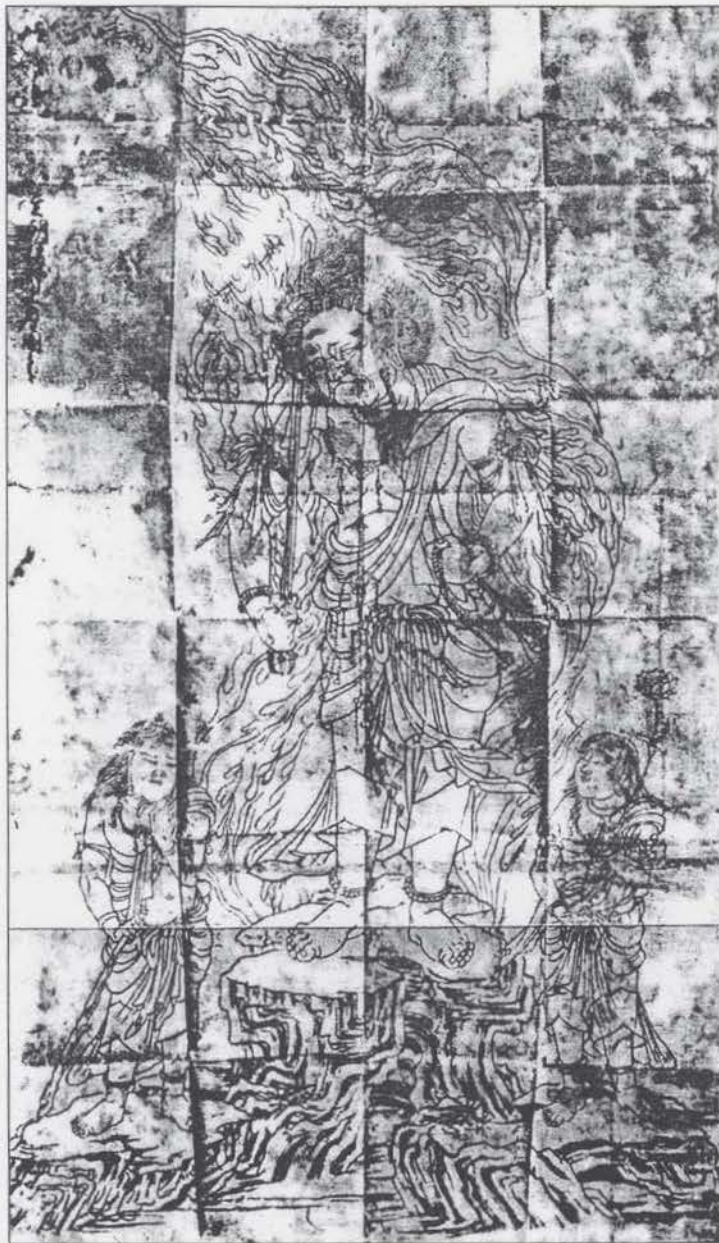


Plate 30

Fudō Myōō with Two *Dōji* Acolytes (Genchō Style)

Teichi 定智 (dates unknown)

Monochromatic Ink (*hakubyō* 白描)

Ishiyamadera 石山寺, Shiga



Plate 31

Fudō Myōō with Two *Dōji* Acolytes (Enjin Style)

Important Cultural Property

Monochromatic Ink (*hakubyō* 白描)

Height: 86.3 cm; width: 45.8 cm

Kamakura Period, Kenkyū 健久 6 (1195)

Daigoji 醍醐寺, Kyōto

Inscription reads: 不動 / 健久六年八月十七日書写了

円心在三宝院筆也経策 (“Fudō. Painted Kenkyū 6 [1195],

August 17th. Painted by Enjin. Stored in the *sūtra* repository of the Sanbōin”).



Plate 32

Fudō Myōō with Two *Dōji* Acolytes (Blue Fudō)

National Treasure

Silk Canvas

Height: 203 cm; width: 147 cm

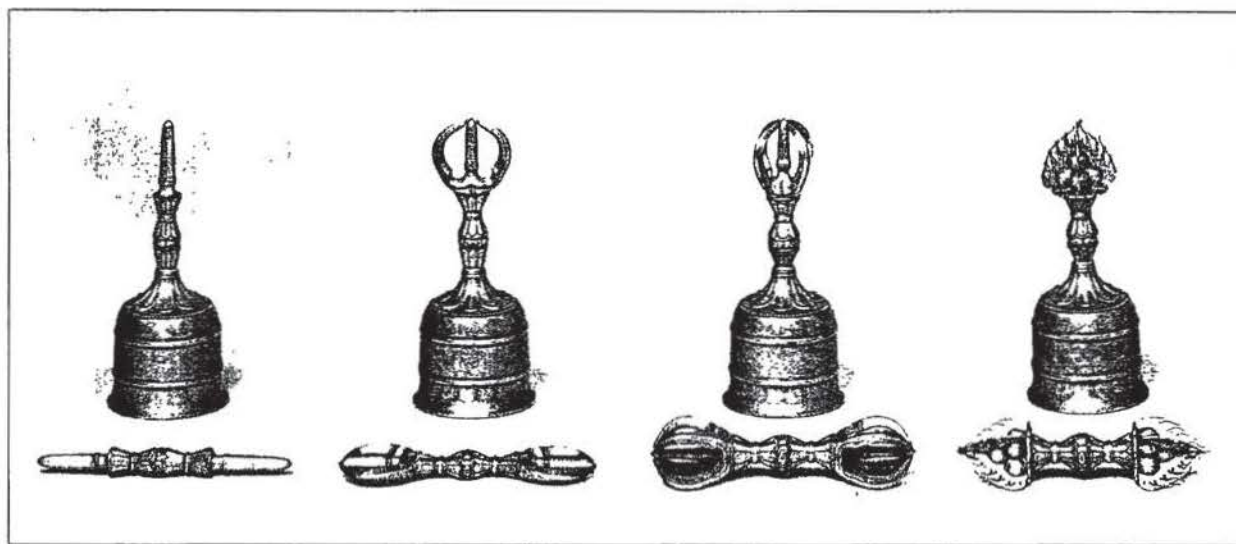
Heian Period (11th century)

Kyōto, Shōrenin 青蓮院



Plate 33

Shingon Ritual Altar with Implements
Altar dimensions: 170.3 cm square
Edo Period (18-19th century)
Daigoji 醍醐寺, Kyōto



Single-pronged *vajra* bell
(*dokkorei* 独鉦鈴)
Height: 22.5 cm

Triple-pronged *vajra* bell
(*sankorei* 三鉦鈴)
Height: 23.5 cm

Five-pronged *vajra* bell
(*gokorei* 五鉦鈴)
Height: 22.5 cm

Jewelled *vajra* bell
(*hōshurei* 宝珠鈴)
Height: 22 cm

Single-pronged *vajra*
pounder (*dokkosho* 独鉦杵)
Length: 19.5 cm

Triple-pronged *vajra*
pounder (*sankosho* 三鉦杵)
Length: 19.3 cm

Five-pronged *vajra*
pounder (*gokosho* 五鉦杵)
Length: 19.2 cm

Jewelled *vajra* pounder
(*hōshusho* 宝珠杵)
Length: 19 cm

Plate 34

Eight Types of *Vajra* Implements

Bronze with gold plating

Edo Period (17th century)

Daigoji 醍醐寺, Kyōto



Plate 35

Fudō Maṇḍala of the Twelve Deva-s
Silk Canvas

Height: 111.1 cm; width: 73.5 cm

Edo Period (Kanbun 3 寛文三年, 1663)

Daigoji 醍醐寺, Kyōto



Plate 36

Fudō Myōō holding a *dokko*

Monochromatic Ink (*hakubyō* 白描)

Kamakura Period (late 12th-early 13th century)

Kakuzenshō 覺禪鈔

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Kongōshu kōmyō kanjō kyō saishō ryūin shōmudōson daiinuō nenju giki hō hin 金剛手光明灌頂經最勝立印聖無動尊大威怒王念誦儀軌法品. No. 1199, vol. 21.

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Nin'nō gokoku han'nya haramitta kyō darani nenju giki 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經陀羅尼念誦儀軌. No. 994, vol. 19.

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