

An Annotated Translation of Kūkai's *Kongōchōgyō kaidai*

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Introduction

Kūkai (空海, 774–835) composed his *kaidai* (開題) texts as notes or texts for lectures he gave during publically or privately sponsored Buddhist rituals. Kūkai's *kaidai* texts cover both what are known as exoteric and esoteric texts. Among the exoteric texts Kūkai writes on are the *Lotus Sūtra* (5 versions), *Diamond Sūtra*, *Heart Sūtra*, *Humane Kings Sūtra*, *Brahma Net Sūtra*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* and others. Among the esoteric texts, Kūkai wrote on the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhi-sūtra* (7 versions), the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (2 versions), and the *Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (3 versions). On the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* Kūkai wrote the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai* and the *Kyōōkyō kaidai*. The former is the longer and more detailed of the two, and is translated here in full.

The *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhi-sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* are of course known as the foundations of Kūkai's esoteric Buddhism. However, in formulating his ideas about the differences between exoteric and esoteric Buddhism, the role of the Vajraśekhara texts was of critical importance to Kūkai. Kūkai explained in his *Ben kenmitsu nikyō ron* that,¹

The nondual Mahāyāna and the buddhas of the perfect, perfect ocean of virtues are in fact the own-nature *dharmakāya*. This is called the secret treasury. It is also called the *Vajraśekhara Great King of Teachings*. Those [bodhisattvas] at the stage of awakening nearly equal with the buddhas and those on the ten *bhūmis* and so on (the exoteric stages of practice) cannot see or hear it, and so it is called esoteric. The details are as discussed in the Vajraśekhara texts.

The *Vajraśekhara Great King of Teachings* mentioned here is the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* discussed in the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai*, the first assembly among the eighteen of the Vajraśekhara, and which was partially translated by Amoghavajra.² Kūkai here and elsewhere identifies Vajraśekhara texts³ as the best presentation of esoteric Buddhism as he understood it.

¹ *Ben kenmitsu nikyō ron*, TKZ 3.82 (所謂不二摩訶衍及圓圓海德諸佛者即是自性法身。是名秘密藏。亦名金剛頂大教王。等覺十地等不能見聞故得秘密號。具如金剛頂經說). See also note 17. As NAKAMURA 2007 has pointed out, the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai* is in some ways a later continuation of some of the theses developed by Kūkai in *Ben kenmitsu nikyō ron* in both its emphasis of the importance of the Vajraśekhara texts and its use of the *Awakening of Faith* and the *Shi moheyen lun* for some terminology and concepts.

² A full translation of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* was not available to Kūkai, see note 119.

³ Not limited to the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, Kūkai also has a high appreciation of another Vajraśekhara text, the *Wumimi yigui* (T 1125), sometimes said to belong to the eighth assembly among the eighteen of the Vajraśekhara.

Content of the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai*

The text begins by saying that an overview of the esoteric Buddhism of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* will be given (§I), followed by an interpretation of the title and its individual words (§II), followed by an explanation of the some part of the text (§III).

The overview first poetically explains that the small cannot perceive the very large (§I.1), meaning that the narrowness of the exoteric perspective cannot conceive of the scale of esoteric Buddhism, and next that the realm discussed by esoteric Buddhism is considered to be inexpressible in exoteric Buddhism (§I.2). Next, the shortcomings of the four major forms of exoteric Mahāyāna are mentioned (§I.3), and then the unique features of the esoteric Buddhism taught in the Vajraśekhara texts (§I.4).

The next section discusses the title of the text. First the full Chinese title of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, the first assembly of the eighteen of the Vajraśekhara lineage, is given, and it is explained that Vajraśekhara (Vajra-pinnacle) is the overall name of these texts, and that they each have a particular name (§II.1). Next, the individual names of the eighteen assemblies, where they were preached, and a brief description taken from the *Shibahui zhigui* of Amoghavajra are given. Next, the four chapters of the first assembly are identified (§II.3), again based on the *Shibahui zhigui*.

Next, the strategy of analyzing the title of a Buddhist text based on classifying the words of the title according to a character or protagonist named in the title, the Dharma mentioned in the title, and any analogies used in the title is brought up (§II.4), as Kūkai frequently does in his *kaidai* texts. The Chinese title of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* is explained according to these three categories. Specifically, Kūkai writes, “*Vajra-pinnacle (Vajraśekhara)* is the analogy. *All the Tathāgatas (sarvatathāgata)* is the Person. The other words are the Dharma.”

Next, ten pairs (actually eleven) of terms in the title are discussed (§II.5). Next, a version Sanskrit of the Sanskrit title is given in Siddham script, and the translation of each word is noted (§II.6). A brief discussion on syllables, words, and phrases in Sanskrit follows (§II.7).

After that, the words of the Chinese title are discussed in sequence and in detail. First *Vajra* and *Vajraśekhara* are discussed (§II.8). *Vajra* is identified as “an analogy for the Tathāgata’s wisdom of reality.” The exoteric, or ordinary, and the esoteric meanings of the word *vajra* are given.

For example, in his *Shōrai mokuroku* (TKZ 1.18–19, see TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 210–211) he wrote soon after returning from Tang:

教之優劣法之濫觴如金剛薩埵五祕密儀軌及大辯正三藏表答等中廣說。

The superiority or inferiority of these [esoteric] teachings and the source of this Dharma are discussed at length in the ritual manual of the five secret deities of Vajrasattva (*Wumimi yigui*, T 1125), the *Dabianzheng sanzang biaodai* (*Biaozhi ji*, T 2120), and so on.

This indicates that Kūkai felt the Vajraśekhara text *Wumimi yigui* to be worthy of particular note as an important presentation of the teachings of esoteric Buddhism, while the *Biaozhi ji* gives the historical background of esoteric Buddhism. Kūkai goes on to quote at considerable length the doctrinal parts he found of particular importance in the *Wumimi yigui* in his *Ben kenmitsu nikyō ron* (TKZ 3.99–100), *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* (TKZ 3.26–27, see TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 61–652), and others.

Next, *Vajra* has two meanings, the exoteric and the esoteric. The exoteric meaning is that a *vajra* is [a diamond,] the hardest gemstone in the world. It is used as an analogy for the Tathāgata's wisdom of reality. A *vajra*-jewel (diamond) has many virtues. Buried in the earth it does not decay, and put into a fire it does not melt. It is difficult for the poor to even see [a diamond]. Those who obtain it are wealthy and respected. [A *vajra* (mace) is also] the strongest of weapons, and is always firm. In the same way, the Tathāgata's wisdom of reality has many virtues. It can be buried in the earth of ignorance and the afflictions for a long time, but it will never decay. Even if it is put into the wrathful fires of the Avīci hell, it does not evaporate and does not melt. It is difficult for inferior ordinary beings to see it, even in 100,000 *kalpas*. One who realizes it becomes the king of the triple world. [As a weapon] the horizontal and vertical wisdom-mace destroys the four Māras, is eternal and immutable, and sovereign and blissful.

Kūkai then goes on to explain in this section that there are an infinite number of *vajras*, meaning Vajraśekhara deities and the particular forms of wisdom they each represent.

From the point of view of each *maṇḍala*, all fully possess the four *maṇḍalas* and the four wisdom-seals, and have countless and limitless different *vajras*. How much more so would the eighteen assemblies each possess the four [*maṇḍalas* and seals] and thirty-seven [deities]? The analogy of Indra's net does not express it, and "ink made of the dust of the whole world" cannot enumerate them.

Next, the meaning of *All the Tathāgatas* in the title is discussed (§II.9). This also has an esoteric and an exoteric sense.

The exoteric meaning is that all the buddhas in the ten directions and the three times are called *All the Tathāgatas*. ... The esoteric meaning is that the buddhas of the fivefold wisdom are called *All the Tathāgatas*. ... These five buddhas are accordingly the essence of all buddhas, and the root of all *dharmas*.

This leads into a discussion of the fivefold wisdom and the five buddhas, who are naturally awakened.

These buddhas of the fivefold wisdom, or the buddhas of the thirty-seven-fold wisdom, and so on up to limitless *koṭis* of buddhas, do not recognize any cultivation and do not rely on any corrective measures (i.e. exoteric forms of practice). They originally abide in the natural state of buddhahood.

Based on this, a discussion on inherent awakening follows, making use of terminology from the *Shi moheyan lun*. Following that, the superiority of the nondual inherent awakening taught in the Vajraśekhara is stated, and a deeper understanding of *All the Tathāgatas* is provided leading into another understanding of the word *pinnacle* in Vajraśekhara.

The inherent awakening revealed now in this *sūtra* universally encompasses all the forms of inherent awakening. It specifically reveals the inherent awakening of the nondual gate. The intrinsically possessed *dharmakāya* is uncountable in number. Therefore, it is called *all the tathāgatas*. This *tathāgata* cannot be encompassed by any of the other gates. Moreover, this nondual inherent awakening encompasses the buddhas [taught in] all other gates. Therefore, it is called the *pinnacle*.

In the next section, (§II.10) the word *Truth* in the title is discussed, first using by analyzing various Chinese terms related to the word for truth, concluding with

all the *tathāgatas* of the *Vajra-pinnacle* and all the *samādhis* of the *Vajra-pinnacle* are without exception free of the falseness of useless conceptual proliferation and ideation. Because one realizes the true principle of identity and immutability, it is called *truth*.

Next, the words *Encompassing the Mahāyāna* are briefly discussed (§II.11), then the word *Realization* (§II.12) is discussed in terms of inherent awakening and initiated awakening (awakening through practice).

Realization has two [meanings]. The first is natural realization (inherent awakening). The next is conditioned realization (initiated awakening, i.e. through practice). ... The buddha of inherent awakening ... naturally and spontaneously awakens directly to all teachings and attains all merits. As to conditioned realization, [a being whose] inherent wisdom is subject to conditions within the cycle of *saṃsāra* will for a long time turn his back on the ultimate. If [that being] encounters the inner perfuming and outer conditions he then becomes weary of *saṃsāra* and longs for *nirvāṇa*. The sunlight of initiated awakening illuminates the dark night of ignorance (*saṃsāra*). To thoroughly know the inherently existing treasury is to completely attain the merits [already existing in] your own home. This is what we call *realization*.

The words *King of the Great Teachings* are then discussed (§II.13) using *Shi moheyan lun* terminology, and then *Encompassing the King of the Great Teachings* as whole is discussed (§II.14). Using the concept of king, the relationship between the exoteric and esoteric *sūtras* is discussed.

The *King of the Teachings* preached by the Dharmakāya encompasses the “king of the teachings” of all the teachings taught by the Nirmāṇakāya (Śākyamuni). What is preached by the Dharmakāya is this *sūtra*. The king of the teachings preached by the Nirmāṇakāya is what we call exoteric Buddhism. Although we say that our [esoteric] vehicle is called the king, and moreover it is the teachings of the ... self-awakened *dharmakāya*, in just the same way it encompasses the teachings of the *cakravartin* kings including the many lesser kings. Therefore, [this *sūtra*] is titled *Encompassing the King of the Great Teachings*.

The exoteric is thus the teaching of the Dharmakāya, and includes within itself all the exoteric teachings, which are those of Śākyamuni, the historical buddha. This can be understood in two ways, the so-called vertical way which emphasizes differences of superiority and inferiority, and the horizontal way which sees the intrinsic identity and unity of all these teachings. Kūkai writes,

According to the vertical [interpretation emphasizing] a succession [of levels], there are differences in shallowness or profundity such as these. According to the horizontal [interpretation emphasizing] identity, all are the same, equal, and one, and ultimately there is no disorder.

Therefore, in an important sense the esoteric *sūtras* are superior to the exoteric *sūtras* in their direct exposition of truth. However, they are relative to each other all the teachings of the Buddha and therefore all equally truth. As Kūkai writes in his *Kan'en no sho*,⁴

⁴ TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 314 (TKZ 8.174, 上從應化經。下至論章疏。韞自證而不說。隨他病以垂訓。雖云稀有甚深。而是權非實。傳法聖者。非不知祕而傳顯。知而相讓。良有以也)。

From the *Nirmāṇakāya*'s *sūtras* above to the treatises and commentaries below [exoteric Buddhism], all contain but none explicitly discuss a buddha's own-realization. They prescribe teachings according to the illnesses of others. Those teachings are precious and profound; nevertheless, they are provisional and not final. It is not the case that those *ārya* teachers of the Dharma did not know [the inner realization of a buddha] when they taught exoteric Buddhism. They knew it, but chose to teach the provisional until the conditions were right. There was a good reason for what they did.

Kūkai believes that the esoteric Buddhist teachings can be discovered within the exoteric texts provided one knows how to look deeply below the surface to perceive the Buddha's true intention. Exoteric or esoteric is ultimately not a matter of what a text says on the surface, but of how deeply it is read. In his *Hannya-shingyō hiken* (III) Kūkai says,⁵

The eyes of a great physician see [the plants growing by] the wayside each as medicine [where others see only weeds]. A man who knows gemstones sees jewels [where others see only] rocks and stones. ... [Whether the content of a text is] exoteric or esoteric depends on the [discriminative ability of] the reader. It is not a matter of the sounds and letters [of that text].

In the present text Kūkai takes up the same theme of confirming that what is superficially (i.e. in the “vertical” sense) called the superiority or inferiority of the exoteric or esoteric is actually a relative issue, thus dependent on one's ability to read deeply into the teachings of the Buddha.

Furthermore, each of the *sūtras* can be either the “master” (of central importance) or the “follower” (of peripheral importance) relative to the others. If one gate [taught in a *sūtra*] is taken up as the “master,” then it may be called a *king*. This is because taking up [any one *sūtra* as] the “master” means that it encompasses [the others] as “followers.” Again, from the point of view of the meanings of the letter-gates, none is higher or lower, nor is any of them the more shallow or profound. All are the *dharma*-wisdom-seals (*dharma-jñānamudrās*) of the *dharma-maṇḍala*, and are equal and nondual.

Next, Kūkai discusses the meanings of the word *Sūtra* (§II.15). He gives an extensive discussion with several edifying illustrations.

Sūtra has the meanings of piercing and lacing [together like an Indian-style book], and of gathering and holding together. For example, it is like stringing together flowers [to make a garland], without any disorder or loss. In the same way, the string of the teachings [a *sūtra*] can string together the flowers of men and gods, without any disorder or the loss of any [beings] to the three [undesirable] destinies. Again, [in the mundane sense] the warp threads gather and hold together the woof threads to create damask, gauze, brocade, and figured cloth to adorn the bodies of men and women. In the same way, [the Buddha's] words of truth form the warp (*sūtra*), and the teachings of skillful means form the woof. These are woven together to create the damask, gauze, brocade, and figured cloth that is the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala, which adorns the everywhere-pervading bodies of *samādhi* and wisdom. Therefore, this is called a *sūtra*. Again, [as a mundane comparison] threads can be knotted together to make a net that can be used to trap birds and fish so to nurture the four

⁵ DREITLEIN 2011 §III, (TKZ 3.11, 醫王之目觸途皆藥解寶之人礦石見寶知與不知何誰罪過).

great elements (the physical body). Likewise, the threads of the *dharma*-wisdom-seals (*dharma-jñānamudrās*) of the net of the exoteric and esoteric teachings can be knotted together to trap the birds and fish of ignorance and the afflictions, so to nurture the [inherent] fourfold *dharmakāya* in the same way.

Kūkai has now completed his discussion of the individual meanings of the words in the *sūtra* title. Next, he explains how the words of the title fit together as an organic whole, using the esoteric meditation method of a *dhāraṇī* letter-wheel in which the meanings of Sanskrit syllables are meditated on one after the other in forward and reversed sequence. Here Kūkai applies this method not to individual letters but to the already-discussed individual words of the title (§II.16). Following this, other categories for analyzing the words of the title are mentioned without going into detail (§II.17). Next, the words of the title are explained as each pertaining to one of the five buddhas (§II.18). Then the words of the title are and equated with the three mysteries (§II.19).

Next, to interpret [the words of the title] according to the gate of cultivation, what is called *Vajra* is the three mysteries of the Dharmakāya Buddha. The mystery of body is the Buddha family, the mystery of speech is the Lotus family, and the mystery of mind is the vajra family. These three families all possess the full accumulation of merits, and thus are the jewel family. The three mysteries fully possess action and transformative activities, and so are the karma family. A practitioner of esoteric Buddhism makes *mudrās* with his hands: this is the action (*karma*) of body. This is integration with the mystery of body of the Tathāgata. With his mouth he repeats mantras, and this is integration with the mystery of speech of the Tathāgata. In his mind he visualizes reality, and this is integration with the mystery of mind of the Tathāgata. Preparing various offerings and offering them to the deities is thus integration with the jewel family. Engaging in the activities of the three mysteries with perseverance and without negligence is integration with the gate of great perseverance of the karma family. If a good man or woman, a person belonging to the fourfold assembly, and so on were to cultivate this Dharma gate of the three mysteries, then they would transcend the *pāramitās* to become the most honored and supreme among those of the two vehicles and the bodhisattvas on the gradual path of the six *pāramitās* (the exoteric paths). Therefore, these activities [of the three mysteries] are the *pinnacle*.

After this, the words of the title are interpreted according to the four wisdom-seals (§II.20). This concludes the sections discussing the words of the title.

Next, the four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and the *maṇḍalas* they contain are explained by quoting the *Shibahui zhigui*. Kūkai says “these three fascicles [of the translated by Amoghavajra (r 865)] are translated from the first chapter alone” showing that he is clearly aware that he is not in possession of a full translation of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*.

Lastly among the many sections discussing the words of the Chinese title of the *sūtra* is a discussion of the esoteric meanings of the letter *va* (§II.22), the first letter in Vajraśekhara. Kūkai mentions the superficial and profound meanings of letters as he does in many other texts,

The superficial meaning of the gate of the letter *va* is that all *dharmas* have words and speech (*vāc*). Furthermore, the profound meaning of the letter [*va*] is that because one enters the gate of the letter *a* [of the nonarising of all *dharmas*,] all language is ungraspable.

Furthermore, [because the letter *va* is the first letter of *Vajraśekhara*] it is the sound of the highest vehicle.

Kūkai then explains how twelve additional letters are generated from each Sanskrit *mātrkā*, in this case *va*, and how these letters are related to the path. Specifically, he uses a system of analyzing letters found in the *Darījing shu*, which says that the letter *a* corresponds to the arising of bodhicitta, the letter *ā* to cultivation following that, the letter *aṃ* to the attainment of *bodhi* after that, the letter *aḥ* to entry into *nirvāṇa*, and the letter *āḥ* to the use of skillful means for the liberation others subsequent to that.

These twelve letters reveal that the first letter *va* is the cause (*bodhicitta*). The next nine letters [from *vā* through *vau*] are [the stages of] training. The eleventh letter [*vaṃ*] is the attainment of the fruit. The twelfth letter [*vaḥ*] is entry into *nirvāṇa*.

Kūkai also discusses the letter *va* as the *bija*-letter of the water element among the five great elements, saying “all sentient beings, [including] the gods, men, and animals, whether large or small in body, without exception, are produced and supported by the water element.” He then says the letter *va* is the *bija* of Vajrasattva, who represents *bodhicitta*, and that the letter *vaṃ* is the *bija* and heart-mantra of Vairocana Buddha, which is “the essential core teaching of this *sūtra*.”

In the third and final section Kūkai said he would discuss the text itself, but given that the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai* is at this point already very much longer than any other of Kūkai’s *kaidai* texts, he seems to opt for brevity. He here limits his comments to the meanings of each of the words of the title of the first chapter in the Chinese translation (§III.1), and there ends the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai* without an actual discussion of the text of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*.

金剛頂經開題

*Kongōchōgyō kaidai*On the Title of the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra*[Introduction]⁶

(TKZ 4.67) 今釋此經略顯三分。初陳綱緒。次演題額。後解經文。

A commentary on this *sūtra* now may, briefly speaking, be divided into three sections. The first provides an overview, the second discusses the title, and the last explains the text of the *sūtra*.

[I. The overview]

[I.1. The small cannot conceive of the great]

初綱緒者。

First, an overview.

蝸角民盲羅睺。蚊蚋族聾大鵬。

[Those tiny kingdoms battling on] the horns of a snail⁷ are blind to [something as large as] Rāhu,⁸

And [those miniscule insects living in] the eyelashes of a mosquito are deaf to [the vastness of] a great roc.⁹

[I.2. The esoteric realm is treated as inexpressible in exoteric Buddhism]

況乎

How much more so,

法佛三密四種言語不能及。曼荼四身九種心識不得緣。

Could the four kinds of [ordinary] speech ever extend to the three mysteries of the Dharmakāya Buddha?¹⁰

⁶ The bracketed divisions into sections and the section headings are the additions of the translator. Kūkai's original Chinese text has no such sections or paragraph divisions.

⁷ The *Zhuangzi*, Chapter 25 (則陽) uses the illustration of two warring kingdoms on the horns of a snail in comparison to the limitlessness of space to show the triviality of such concerns (see WATSON 1968: 284–285).

⁸ In Indian mythology, Rāhu is a demon whose head, after being decapitated by the gods, consumes the sun and moon to cause eclipses. The *Darijing shu* (T 1796:39.618a) has:

執有九種。即是日月火水木金土七曜。及與羅睺計都合為九執。羅睺是交會蝕神。計都正翻為旗。旗星謂彗星也。

There are nine luminaries. They are the celestial bodies of the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn, along with Rāhu and Ketu to make a total of nine luminaries. Rāhu is a deity that causes eclipses. Ketu is translated as banner. A banner star is called a comet.

⁹ The *jiao-ming* (蜺螟) is an imaginary insect appearing in Chapter 5 (湯問篇) of the *Liezi* (列子) that is so small it lives in the eyelashes of a mosquito, yet laughs at the *peng* (鵬), a huge mythical bird like a roc, also known from Chapter 1 (逍遙遊) of the *Zhuangzi* (see WATSON 1968: 29). See *Hizō hōyaku* (TKZ 3.131, HAKEDA 1972: 178). The idea is that the extremely small, or exoteric Buddhism, cannot even conceive of the very vast and great, or esoteric Buddhism.

¹⁰ A similar line appears in Kūkai's *Ben kenmitsu nikyō ron*, along with a discussion of the five kinds of speech based on the *Shi moheyan lun*. The first four are ordinary speech, and only the fifth can express suchness. Kūkai takes the first

Or could the nine kinds of mental functions¹¹ be able to perceive the fourfold [*dharmakāya*¹²] of the *maṇḍalas*?

是故

For that reason,

名言絶而機水涸。身土隱而應月沒。大慧懇請能仁不許。迦葉至扣寂尊猶闕。
海妙但見月光。地藏略讚日蔽。

A verbal expression [of esoteric Buddhism] remained unarticulated, [as] the waters of the receptivity [of beings for esoteric Buddhism were still] blocked;

The body and world [of Vairocana] were concealed [by Śākyamuni], like the moon that has set.

Mahāmāti asked sincerely, but Śākyamuni would not relent,¹³

four as the speech of exoteric Buddhism and the fifth as the speech of esoteric Buddhism, saying that the fifth kind of speech is the speech of the own-nature *dharmakāya*.

因位人等四種言語皆不能及。唯有自性法身以如義真實言能說是絕離境界。…龍樹釋大衍論云。言說有五種。名字有二種。心量有十種。契經異說故。論曰。言說有五。云何爲五。一者相言說。二者夢言說。三者妄執言說。四者無始言說。五者如義言說。…如是五中前四言說虛妄說故不能談真。後一言說如實說故得談真理。

(TKZ 3.87) The four kinds of [ordinary] speech of those in the causal stage cannot extend to it. Only the own-nature *dharmakāya* (**svabhāva-dharmakāya*) by means of the true speech of suchness can speak of this transcendent realm. ... (TKZ 3.91) Nāgārjuna in his *Shi moheyan lun* (T 1668:32.606a) says, “There are five kinds of speech, two kinds of names, and ten kinds of mental functions, due to differing explanations in the *sūtras*. Discussion: “there are five kinds of speech.” Which are the five? The first is the speech of discrimination, the second the speech of dreams, the third the speech of uncontrolled attachments, the fourth the speech of beginningless [delusions], and the fifth the speech of suchness. (Here follow quotes of similar passages in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* [T 671:16.605c-606a] and *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra* [T 273:9.371a].) ... (TKZ 3.92-93) Among these five, the first four are false and therefore cannot discuss truth. The last one is the speech of reality as-it-is, and therefore is able to discuss the true principle.

Kūkai has a similar discussion in *Shō-ji-jissō gi* (TKZ 3.41, TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 103):

問曰龍猛所說五種言說今所說二種言說如何相攝。答相夢妄無始者屬妄攝。如義則屬真實攝。

Question. How do the five types of speech discussed by Nāgārjuna [in the *Shi moheyan lun*] apply to the two types of speech you are now discussing? Answer. The speech of discrimination, dreams, uncontrolled attachments, and beginningless delusions belong with what is false. The speech of suchness belongs with what is true.

¹¹ This discussion is similar to the five kinds of speech in the previous line, see preceding note. Kūkai discusses ten kinds of mental functions (十種心量) in his *Ben kenmitsu nikyō ron* (TKZ 3.93) based on the *Shi moheyan lun* (T 1668:32.606b, see also TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 75 note 59). Of these, the first nine are unable to apperceive suchness, while only the tenth can do so. Kūkai here again takes the first nine to be those of exoteric Buddhism and the tenth to be that of esoteric Buddhism.

心量有十。云何爲十。一者眼識心。二者耳識心。三鼻識心。四舌識心。五身識心。六意識心。七末那識心。八阿梨耶識心。九者多一識心十一一識心。如是十中初九種心不緣真理。後一種心得緣真理而爲境界。

There are ten mental functions. What are the ten? The first is eye-consciousness, the second is ear-consciousness, the third is nose-consciousness, the fourth is tongue-consciousness, the fifth is body-consciousness, the sixth is mind-consciousness, the seventh is *manas*-consciousness, the eighth is *ālaya*-consciousness, the ninth is the many-in-the-one consciousness, and the tenth is the single one-consciousness. Among these ten, the first nine minds cannot conceive of the true principle. The last mind can conceive of the true principle and take it as its object.

The ninth and tenth minds are unique to the *Shi moheyan lun*, but for the first eight consciousnesses see the entries for *eight consciousnesses* (1079) and *vijñāna* (968) in BUSWELL and LOPEZ 2014.

¹² For a discussion of the fourfold *dharmakāya* see TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 366-368.

¹³ In the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, Mahāmāti asks 108 questions of the Buddha, who responds that “the wisdom of inner-realization in my vehicle is not the realm of conceptualization and discrimination,” (Bodhiruci tr., T 671:16.569a20, 我

And Mahākāśyapa came to interrupt the stillness (*samādhi*) of the Lord (Śākyamuni), who still kept it hidden.¹⁴

[The Bodhisattva] Oceans of Marvels saw only the light of the moon [of the *nirmāṇakāyas* and *saṃbhogakāyas*, but not the sun of *dharmakāya*],¹⁵

And Kṣitigarbha's brief praises [mention] the concealing of the sun.¹⁶

乘內證智 妄覺非境界). Although the Buddha in the *Laṅkāvatāra* answers Mahāmāti's questions, he nonetheless does not teach his inner own-realization. See DREITLEIN 2014a, note 44.

¹⁴ This refers to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, where a bodhisattva named Mahākāśyapa asks the Buddha, "How do we gain a long life, the *vajra*-indestructible body? Again, by what causes and conditions do we attain a great and solid power?" (T 374:12.379c, T 375:12.619b; 云何得長壽 金剛不壞身 復以何因緣 得大堅固力). The Tathāgata does answer Mahākāśyapa's question, but from the exoteric viewpoint and so does not give an esoteric or complete answer.

¹⁵ In the *Dasheng tongxing jing* (T 673:16.651c-652a), a bodhisattva named Ocean of Marvels asks about the three bodies of the buddha. The Buddha tells him that a *saṃbhogakāya* can be seen in a buddha-field, and the *nirmāṇakāya* appears in an impure world. Regarding the *dharmakāya*, the Buddha says:

如來眞法身者無色。無現。無著。不可見。無言說。無住處。無相。無執。無生無滅。無譬喻。如是善丈夫如來不可說身。法身。智身。無等身。無等等身。毗盧遮那身。虛空身。不斷身。不壞身。無邊身。至眞身。非虛假身。無譬喻身。是名眞身。...善丈夫如來眞實身無有斷絕亦無有相。

The true *dharmakāya* of the Buddha is formless, without appearance, unattached, invisible, ineffable, nonabiding, markless, nongrasping, nonarising and nonceasing, and without anything it can be likened to. In this way, good sir, the inexpressible body of the Tathāgata, the *dharmakāya*, the wisdom-body, the unequaled body, the incomparable body, the body of Vairocana, the body of unobstructed space, the unceasing body, the indestructible body, the limitless body, the absolute truth body, the non-false body, the body that can be likened to nothing, these are called the true body (*dharmakāya*). ... Good sir, the true body of the Tathāgata is unceasing and moreover has no marks.

¹⁶ The *Baiziansong Dajijing Dizang pusa qingwen fashen zan* (T 413:13) is a collection of verses in praise of the *dharmakāya*, containing some limited esoteric elements, but not fully discussing the esoteric understanding of *dharmakāya*. Regarding concealing the sun, this text has (T 413:13.790b):

日日常無垢 以五種覆蔽 雲霧與烟等 羅睺手及塵
如是心光明 覆蔽以五垢 貪愛瞋恚眠 掉舉與疑惑

The sun and moon are without impurity, but can be concealed by five things:

Clouds, mist, and smoke, the hand of Rāhu, and dust.

In the same way the luminosity of the mind can be concealed by the five impurities:

Lust, malice, sloth, agitation, and doubt.

Kūkai seems to mean that concealing the sun means concealing the sunlight of the *dharmakāya*, and may have in mind by way of contrast the opening passage of the *Darijing shu* (T 1796:39.579a) which shows that, unlike the ordinary sun, the sun of Mahāvairocana cannot be occluded.

梵音毗盧遮那者。是日之別名。即除暗遍明之義也。然世間日則有方分。若照其外不能及內。明在一邊不至一邊。又唯在晝光不燭夜。如來智慧日光則不如是。遍一切處作大照明矣。無有內外方所晝夜之別。復次日行闍浮提。一切卉木叢林。隨其性分各得增長。世間衆務因之得成。如來日光遍照法界。亦能平等開發無量衆生種種善根。乃至世間出世間殊勝事業。莫不由之而得成辦。又如重陰昏蔽日輪隱沒。亦非壞滅。猛風吹雲日光顯照。亦非始生。佛心之日亦復如是。雖爲無明煩惱戲論重雲之所覆障。而無所減。究竟諸法實相三昧圓明無際。而無所增。以如是等種種因緣。世間之日不可爲喻。但取其小分相似故。加以大名。日摩訶毗盧遮那也。

In Sanskrit, the word Vairocana is another name for the sun, and means to dispel darkness and bring light everywhere. However, the physical sun is limited in time and space. It illuminates exterior surfaces but cannot reach the interior. It shines in one place but not in another. It shines only in the day and not at night. The light of the sun of the Tathāgata's wisdom is different. It extends to all places and gives great illumination, making no distinctions of interior or exterior, direction or place, or day or night. Also, as the [physical] sun travels over Jambudvīpa, all the plants, trees, thickets, and groves are nourished, each according to its particular needs. All worldly needs are fulfilled through the sun. However, the light of the sun of the Tathāgata extends throughout the *dharmadhātu*. It has the ability to universally and without discrimination develop all the good roots of infinite beings, and perfect all superior activities both worldly and transcendent. Thick clouds may cover and block the [physical] sun, but the sun has not been destroyed. Strong winds may scatter the clouds and the sunlight shines forth again brightly, but the sun has not been made anew. The sun of the buddha-mind is the same. Even though it may be covered and blocked by deep clouds of ignorance, afflictions, and useless conceptual proliferation, it is not diminished. When the *samādhi* of the true characteristics of *dharmas* is perfected,

大衍稱其絕離。地論顯其不說。三大異域一心別源。

The [Shi] *Moheyan lun* praises [the *dharmakāya*'s] transcendence,¹⁷

And the [*Daśa*] *bhūmika-bhāṣya* reveals its ineffability.¹⁸

The [exoteric] “three greatneses” [discuss] a different realm [other than the esoteric], and the [exoteric] “one-mind” [explains] a source apart [from the esoteric].¹⁹

[the sun of the buddha-mind] becomes perfect, round, brilliant, and limitless. Yet nothing has increased. For such reasons as these, the ordinary sun is not an adequate enough metaphor [for *Mahāvairocana*]. Since the sun bears only some degree of resemblance [to *Mahāvairocana*], the word “great” is added to it to make the name of *Mahāvairocana*.

¹⁷ The *Shi moheyan lun* has, “why is the Dharma of the nondual *Mahāyāna* without causes or conditions? It is because this Dharma is ultimate, subtle, profound, of a singular excellence, and beyond inclinations and capacities,” (T 1668:32.601c, 何故不二摩訶衍法無因緣耶是法極妙甚深獨尊離機根故). In his *Ben kenmitsu nikyō ron* (TKZ 3.82) Kūkai explains the “nondual *Mahāyāna*” to be the own-nature *dharmakāya* and the esoteric treasury, which he equates with the *Vajraśekhara*:

所謂不二摩訶衍及圓圓海德諸佛者即是自性法身。是名祕藏。亦名金剛頂大教王。等覺十地等不能見聞故得祕藏號。具如金剛頂經說。

The nondual *Mahāyāna* and the buddhas of the perfect, perfect ocean of virtues are in fact the own-nature *dharmakāya*. This is called the secret treasury. It is also called the *Vajraśekhara Great King of Teachings*. Those [bodhisattvas] at the stage of awakening nearly equal with the buddhas and those on the ten *bhūmis* and so on (the exoteric stages of practice) cannot see or hear it, and so it is called esoteric. The details are as discussed in the *Vajraśekhara* texts.

¹⁸ The *Daśabhūmika-bhāṣya* (T 1522:26.132b, 134a) suggests that the causal stage is discussed in the exoteric texts, but that the result stage of a buddha's realization is not discussed.

十地義如是不可得說聞我但說一分...今言我但說一分。此言有何義。是地所攝有二種。一因分二果分。說者謂解釋。一分者是因分。於果分爲一分故。言我但說一分。

“The meaning of the ten *bhūmis* in this way cannot be either spoken of or listened to. I have only discussed one part of it.” ... What is the meaning of this phrase, “I have only discussed one part of it”? What is encompassed by the *bhūmis* consists of two kinds: first, the causal stage, and second the result stage. “Discussed” is to explain something. The “one part” [the Buddha has discussed] is the causal stage. Another part would be regarding the result stage [but it has not been discussed]. Therefore, “I have only discussed one part of it.”

¹⁹ The three greatneses appearing in the *Awakening of Faith* are the essence-great (體大), the manifestations-great (相大), and the functions-great (用大). The term one-mind (一心) appears many times in the *Awakening of Faith* in connection with suchness. The term “the *Mahāyāna* of the three own-natures (or the three greatneses) and one-mind” (三自一心摩訶衍) appears several times in the *Shi moheyan lun* (T 1668:32.600a, etc.). Kūkai uses these terms to refer to exoteric Buddhism, as he explains in his *Hizō hōyaku*:

Such is the vision [of esoteric Buddhism] that even those most advanced in the Ten Stages [of Exoteric Buddhism] are unable to glimpse and those who contemplate the essence, attributes, and functions of One Mind cannot approach. (HAKEDA 1972: 161, TKZ 3.114: 十地不能窺竅。三自不得齒接)

QUESTION: Is this state of mind (the ninth) rooted in the principle of One Mind to be considered the highest? [ANSWER: The question is answered by] Nāgārjuna [who] said: “Of the principle of One Mind with essence, attributes, and functions, the term One [of One Mind] is used. This ‘One,’ however, is not ‘the One [without a second, that is, the Absolute],’ but it is merely a sign, so that a student can approximate himself to it. Likewise, ‘Mind’ [of One Mind] is not ‘the Mind’ [Suchness] itself, but it is merely a sign, so that a student can approximate himself to it. (HAKEDA 1972: 216, TKZ 3.167: 問如是一心本法至極住心。龍猛菩薩說。三自一心法。一不能一假能入一。心不能心假能入心)

In his *Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō* (NDZ 32.17b) Yūkai says that the “one-mind and the three greatneses are both *dharma gates* of the causal stage, and so the three greatneses are unlike the nondual realm, and the one-mind too is separate from the nondual source” (一心三大共因分法門故三大異不二域一心分不二本源).

NAKAMURA (2007: 2) remarks that in the *Shi moheyan lun* the speech of suchness is not apart from all speech while the Dharma of the nondual *Mahāyāna* is, and that Kūkai was the one who knowingly equated them, which fact Nakamura sees at the root of the above statement without going into any further explanation.

[I.3. Shortcomings of the four schools of exoteric Mahāyāna]

廢詮之客憩郊放牛。絕廬之賓臨廟待鷄。永照椎輪摧轅染淨之岳。水波游艇折楫風水之海。

The masters of [Hossō who abide in] the [realm] beyond speech are only resting in the outskirts of the capital [of esoteric Buddhism], turning their cattle out to pasture.²⁰

The worthies [of Sanron] who cut off thought come to the shrine to wait for the cock's crowing.²¹

The [the white ox] cart²² [of those Tendai practitioners who see the inseparability of] [water and] ice, and light [and shadow] shatters its axles on the hills [of the identity of] defilement and purity.²³

The boat [of the Kegon teaching of the identity of] water and waves²⁴ breaks its oars in the sea of the [dragon king that spews forth the] wind and water [of arising and ceasing].²⁵

[I.4. The unique aspects of the esoteric Buddhism of the Vajraśekhara]

妙雲開塔之朝。金薩灌頂之時。三密祕藏燦神光而曜大虛。五智大我湛妙相以坐靈臺。
十六輪王各領自國。四攝宰輔分職利他。恆沙萬德森羅自居。無盡莊嚴塵麻非^(TKZ 4.68)喻。
各奉大日之垂拱如衆星共北辰。三十七圓智微細住自然。四種曼荼羅本居金剛性。
四種法身共陳斯道。十八瑜伽同示此趣。斯乃不捨此身頓證佛位。不共佛法速疾神通之教也。
自非輪王種性祕密加持。何能聞不思議之法信難信之教。

On that morning when Nāgārjuna opened the *stūpa*,

And at that time when Vajrasattva gave him *abhiṣeka*,²⁶

²⁰ Yūkai says (NDZ 32.18b) in the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō*, “they cling to the one fact of ineffability (the exoteric) as the ultimate, but do not know that after that there is the ultimate truth of the Vajradhātu Palace (the esoteric),” (執廢詮一實理爲至極不知有後際究竟眞實金剛界宮).

²¹ In the *Da Tang xiyuji* (T 2087:51.930c) there is a story of the Madhyamaka teacher Bhāvaviveka, who ensconces himself in a shrine to await the coming of Maitreya in billions of years to reveal the truth.

²² Referring to the parable of the three carts and the burning house in Chapter 3 of the *Lotus Sūtra* (T 262:9.12c). A father wants to bring his three small children out of his burning house. The playing children are unaware of the fire and do not understand the danger. They do not listen to the father, and it is too dangerous to try to carry them out. The father entices his children to leave on their own by telling them they can have goat carts, deer carts, and ox carts to play with if they go outside immediately. Hearing that, the children rush out to get those toys. The rescued children are then each given a marvelous jeweled cart pulled by a great strong white ox (大白牛車). The goat cart corresponds to the *śrāvaka* path, the deer cart to the *pratyekabuddha* path, and the ox cart to the bodhisattva path. Yūkai (NDZ 32.20b) in the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō* identifies the cart mentioned here as the great white ox cart of the single vehicle of the Lotus, which is Tendai.

²³ Yūkai (NDZ 32.20b) in the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō* says that “shattering its axles on the hills of intrinsic awakening [of the identity of] defilement and purity means it (Tendai) has still not reached the original home of nonduality,” (摧轅染淨本覺岳未至不二本宅義也).

²⁴ The inseparability of water (the absolute) and waves (phenomena) is a common Kegon analogy. Kūkai writes in *Hannya-shingyō hiken* (TKZ 3.8, DREITLEIN 2011: §II.3.2.1) regarding Kegon:

色空本不二 事理元來同 無礙融三種 金水喻其宗
Matter and emptiness are fundamentally not two;
Phenomena and the absolute are originally identical.
Without obstruction, triply interpenetrating,
The analogies [of the inseparability of] gold [and what is wrought from it] and water [and waves] are this teaching.

²⁵ Yūkai explains that “although the ninth abode of mind (Kegon) compared to the previous exoteric teachings is the most profound and subtle result, compared to the mantra [teachings] it is still at the causal stage. It sinks in the sea of wind and water and has not yet reached the hills of the nondual result stage,” (第九住心望前顯教最極妙果望風水海未至不二果分岳義也).

The secret treasury of the three mysteries emitted a miraculous light and illuminated the great void;
 And the great-self²⁷ [possessing] the fivefold wisdom (Vairocana) revealed his beautiful appearance and sat on his wondrous [lotus] throne.
 The Sixteen [Great Bodhisattvas,²⁸ like] *cakravartin* kings, each governed their own territory (*samādhi*),
 And the ministers—the Four Gathering [Bodhisattvas]²⁹—assumed their different tasks to benefit others.
 Their 10,000 virtues, [as numerous as] the sands of the Ganges, are infinitely arranged and abide in self-existence,
 And the analogies of the [numberlessness of the] particles of dust [in the world] or of sesame seeds do not express their inexhaustible adornments.³⁰
 With hands folded respectfully, each [*maṇḍala* deity] is in attendance on Vairocana, like the many stars circling the Pole Star.
 The thirty-seven perfect wisdoms³¹ are subtle, and abide in self-existence,
 And the four *maṇḍalas* originally dwell in the nature of the *vajra*.³²

²⁶ Nāgārjuna is said to have opened a mythical Iron Stūpa in southern India where Vajrasattva concealed himself with the teachings of esoteric Buddhism. Vajrasattva then gave him *abhiṣeka* and taught him all the teachings of esoteric Buddhism, and he spread those teachings in the world (see *Jin'gangding-jing da yujia mimi xindi famen yijue*, T 1798:39.808b ff).

²⁷ Kūkai explains “great-self” as meaning Vairocana in his *Bonmōkyō kaidai* (TKZ 4.226, DREITLEIN 2016 § IV.2.2.4):

如來說法為令衆生離妄計我證無我大我。...行者若能入中觀早得無我大我。大我則毗盧遮那之別名。於自心鏡中觀真言大我。

The Tathāgata preaches so that beings will be led away from erroneous suppositions about the self to attain the great-self of no-self. ... If the practitioner can enter the middle view (no-self), he will rapidly attain the great-self of no-self. Great-self is another name for Vairocana. In the mirror of your own mind visualize the great-self of mantra.

²⁸ The sixteen great bodhisattvas of the Vajradhātu are Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrarāga, Vajrasādhū, Vajraratna, Vajrateja, Vajraketu, Vajrahāsa, Vajradharma, Vajratikṣṇa, Vajrahetu, Vajrabhāsa, Vajrakarma, Vajrarakṣa, Vajrayakṣa, and Vajramuṣṭi. Each deity has a particular *samādhi*.

²⁹ The Four Bodhisattvas of Gathering, or the Four Gatekeepers of the Vajradhātu are Vajrāṅkuśa, Vajrapāśa, Vajrasphoṭa, and Vajrāveśa. They correspond to the four means of benefiting others, see the entry for *saṃgrahavastu* in BUSWELL and LOPEZ 2014: 754.

³⁰ The inexhaustible adornments are the adornments of Mahāvairocana's three mysteries. The *Darījing shu* (T 1796:39.583b) explains:

所謂莊嚴者。謂從一平等身。普現一切威儀。如是威儀。無非密印。從一平等語。普現一切音聲。如是音聲。無非真言。從一平等心。普現一切本尊。如是本尊。無非三昧。然此一一三業差別之相。皆無邊際不可度量。故名無盡莊嚴也。

“Adornments” means that from the one identical body all activities are manifested everywhere. There is no activity among these that is not a secret *mudrā*. From the one identical sound all sounds are manifested everywhere. There is no activity among these that is not mantra. From the one identical mind all deities are manifested everywhere. There is no deity among these that is not *samādhi*. However, the differing aspects of every one of these three activities are all limitless and immeasurable. This is called the inexhaustible adornments.

The *Darījing shu* (T 1796:39.619a) also comments, “Vairocana's body of inexhaustible adornments pervades the *dharmadhātu*. All the *tathāgatas* in the ten directions and the three times are the same: each of their bodies of inexhaustible adornments pervades the *dharmadhātu*,” (毗盧遮那無盡莊嚴身周遍法界。十方三世一切如來。亦復如是。一一無盡莊嚴身周遍法界). The analogy of sesame seeds refers to the many sesame seeds inside each pod.

³¹ The thirty-seven forms of wisdom of the core thirty-seven deities of the Vajradhātu, consisting of the five buddhas, the four *pāramitās*, the sixteen great bodhisattvas, the eight offering goddesses, and the four gatekeepers or four gathering bodhisattvas.

Each aspect of the fourfold *dharmakāya* preaches this path,

And the eighteen yogas³³ equally reveal the destination.

In this way, without abandoning the present body we immediately realize the stage of a buddha.³⁴

It is the teaching of the unique qualities of a buddha, and of the rapid attainment of the superpowers.

If not of the predisposition (*gotra*) of a *cakravartin* king³⁵ and [if not] by esoteric *abhiṣeka*,

How could one hear this inconceivable Dharma, or believe a teaching that is difficult to believe?

[II. The title of the text]

[II.1. The overall title (*Vajraśekhara*) and the particular titles of the eighteen assemblies]

次演題額者。所謂金剛頂瑜伽一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經。是其額也。此有二。惣與別也。惣者金剛頂瑜伽五言是也。此經都有十萬偈十八會。通號金剛頂瑜伽。別名者隨會樹號。

Next, a discussion of the title. *The Vajra-pinnacle (Vajraśekhara) Yoga of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas Encompassing the Mahāyāna Realization, the Sūtra of the Great King of the Teachings* (i.e. the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*)³⁶ is the title [of the first assembly among the eighteen]. These [Vajraśekhara texts] have two [kinds of titles], the overall [title] and individual [titles]. The overall [title] is the *Vajra-pinnacle Yoga*, written in five words (Chinese characters). This *sūtra* in total has “100,000 verses in eighteen assemblies.”³⁷ The overall name [of all eighteen assemblies] is the *Vajra-pinnacle*. The individual names [of each of the eighteen assemblies] are established according to the [content of each] assembly [as follows].

[II.2. The titles of the texts of the eighteen assemblies]

初會名一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王。即此經是也

The first assembly is named *The Vajra-pinnacle (Vajraśekhara) of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas Encompassing the Mahāyāna Realization, the Sūtra of the Great King of the Teachings*. This is thus [the name of] the *sūtra*.³⁸

³² Both the thirty-seven wisdoms and the four *maṇḍalas* are the unique teachings of the Vajraśekhara texts under discussion.

³³ The yogas taught in the eighteen assemblies of the Vajraśekhara, see following.

³⁴ This is discussed at length in Kūkai's *Sokushin jōbutsu gi*, see TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 28–78.

³⁵ According to Yūkai (*Kongōchōgyō kaidai mondai*, zsz 7.46b), the *gotra* of a *cakravartin* means the predisposition to and capacity for esoteric Buddhism.

³⁶ The Sanskrit title is *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (*Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas*). The usual Chinese title does not contain the word *yoga* (瑜伽). It might be preferable to parse the Chinese title as *The Sūtra of the King of the Great Teachings of Mahāyāna Realization in the Vajraśekhara Yoga of the Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas*, but in this text Kūkai takes 攝大乘 (“encompassing the Mahāyāna”) as a unit rather than 真實攝 (*tattvasaṃgraha*, “compendium of truth”) as the Sanskrit indicates. The translation follows Kūkai's parsing, see below §II.11.

³⁷ Quoting the *Shibahui zhigui*, T 869:18.284c. See GIEBEL 1995 for the full text of the *Shibahui zhigui*.

³⁸ *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, T 865. The *Shibahui zhigui* gives the name as *Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas, the King of Teachings* (T 869:18.284c, 一切如來真實攝教王), which Giebel (1995: 127) reconstructs as

次第二會名一切如來祕密王瑜伽。於色究竟天說。具四大品廣說微細實相理。及廣說降魔醯首羅天。魔醯首羅天以偈與金剛菩薩酬答。

Next, the second assembly is named the *Yoga of the King of the Secrets of All the Tathāgatas*.³⁹ It was preached in Akaniṣṭha heaven. Specifically, it has four great chapters, and explains in detail the subtle truth of reality. It also discusses at length the conquering of Maheśvara. Maheśvara responds to Vajrasattva in verse [in it].

(TKZ 4.69)第三會名一切教集瑜伽。於法界宮殿說。一切如來異口同音問金剛薩埵菩薩一百八問。金剛薩埵一一答。

The third assembly is named the *Yoga Collecting all the Teachings*.⁴⁰ It was preached in the Dharmadhātu Palace. With one voice, all the *tathāgatas* ask Vajrasattva Bodhisattva 108 questions. Vajrasattva answers each of them.

第四會名降三世金剛瑜伽。於須彌盧頂說。金剛藏等八大菩薩一一尊各說四種曼荼羅。

The fourth assembly is named the *Vajra Yoga of Trailokyavijaya*.⁴¹ It was preached at the summit of Mt. Sumeru. Vajragarbha and each of the others of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas explain the four *maṇḍalas*.

第五會名世間出世間金剛瑜伽。於波羅奈國空界中說。略說五佛曼荼羅等。

The fifth assembly is named the *Mundane and Transcendent Vajra Yoga*.⁴² It was preached in the realm of space above the kingdom of Vārāṇasī. It explains in summary form the five buddhas, *maṇḍalas*, and so on.

第六會名大安樂不空三昧耶真實瑜伽。於他化自在天宮說。此經中說普賢菩薩曼荼羅及毗盧遮那金剛藏等曼荼羅。

The sixth assembly is named the *Great-Bliss Infallible Samaya True Yoga*.⁴³ It was preached in Parinirmītavāsavartin heaven. This *sūtra* explains the *maṇḍala* of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva and the *maṇḍala* of Vairocana, and the *maṇḍalas* of Vajragarbha and the others.

**Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* [nāma] *kalparāja*, noting that “the title in the Sanskrit text is simply *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, while each of the four main parts is termed a *mahākalaparāja*. Amoghavajra’s own translation of this work (T. No. 865) corresponds to only the first chapter of Part 1, and a complete Chinese translation appeared only in 1015 (T. No. 882).” See note 119.

³⁹ Selectively quoting in the following the explanations of the eighteen assemblies in the *Shibahui zhigui*, 卐 869:18.286a–287b. See GIEBEL (1995: 165–199) for a full translation of each section. Giebel reconstructs the Sanskrit title of the second assembly as **Sarva-tathāgata-guhyā-rāja-yoga*. kz reads 祕密王 as 祕密主, in which case the title would be *Yoga of the Secret Lord of All the Tathāgatas*, and the Sanskrit title possibly **Sarva-tathāgata-guhyaka-adhipati-yoga*.

⁴⁰ Giebel reconstructs the Sanskrit title as **Sarva-kalpa-samuccaya-yoga*. The following notes give Giebel’s reconstructions.

⁴¹ **Trailoka(/Trailokya)-vijaya-vajra-yoga*.

⁴² **Laukika-lokottara-vajra-yoga*.

⁴³ **Mahā-sukhāmogha-samaya-tattva-yoga*. Kūkai identifies this as the *Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Amoghavajra’s translation (卐 243) in his *Rishukyō kaidai* (TKZ 4.109, 4.116).

第七會曰普賢瑜伽。於普賢菩薩宮殿中說。普賢菩薩等至金剛拳及外金剛部。一一尊各說四種曼荼羅。

The seventh assembly is named the *Samantabhadra Yoga*.⁴⁴ It was preached in the Palace of Samantabhadra. Each of the deities, from Samantabhadra Bodhisattva and so on to Vajramuṣṭi, and those of the Outer Vajra Court, preaches the four *maṇḍalas*.

第八會名勝初瑜伽。於普賢宮殿說。大略同第七會。

The eighth assembly is named the *Supreme Primordial Yoga*.⁴⁵ It was preached in the Palace of Samantabhadra. For the most part this is the same as the seventh assembly.

(TKZ 4.70)第九會名一切佛集會拏吉尼戒網瑜伽。於真言宮殿說。此中說立自身爲本尊瑜伽訶身外立形像。

The ninth assembly is named the *Yoga of the Ḍākinī Precept-Net of the Assembly of All the Buddhas*.⁴⁶ It was preached in the Mantra Palace. It teaches that one should establish the yoga of [visualizing] one's own body as the main deity, and criticizes the establishing of the image [of the main deity] outside (in front) of [the practitioner's] body.

第十會名大三昧耶瑜伽。於法界宮殿說。此經說偈云。

The tenth assembly is named the *Great Samaya Yoga*.⁴⁷ It was preached in the Dharmadhātu Palace. This *sūtra* explains in a verse,

愚童覆無智	不知此理趣	餘處而求佛	不悟此處有
十方世界中	餘處不可得	心自爲等覺	餘處不說佛

The foolish and immature are veiled in ignorance,

And do not know this path to truth.

They seek for the Buddha outside [their minds],

And do not realize he is right here.

In all the worlds in the ten directions

He cannot be found anywhere else.

The mind itself is identical with the Awakened One,

And the Buddha is not taught as being anywhere else.

第十一會名大乘現證瑜伽。於阿迦尼吒天說。廣說實相理及三十七尊四印等。

The eleventh assembly is named the *Yoga of Mahāyāna Realization*.⁴⁸ It was preached in Akaniṣṭha heaven. It explains in detail the truth of reality, the thirty-seven deities, the four seals, and so on.

⁴⁴ **Samantabhadra-yoga*.

⁴⁵ **Paramādyā-yoga*.

⁴⁶ **Sarva-buddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-saṃvara-jāla-yoga*.

⁴⁷ **Mahā-samaya-yoga*.

⁴⁸ **Mahāyānābhisamaya-yoga*.

第十二會名三昧耶最勝瑜伽。於虛空界菩提場說。此經中於自身上建立曼荼羅。說自身本尊瑜伽。廣說阿字門通達於染淨有爲無爲無礙。

The twelfth assembly is named the *Superior Yoga of Samaya*.⁴⁹ It was preached in the realm of space at the *bodhimaṇḍa*. In this *sūtra*, one constructs the *maṇḍala* on one's own body, and the yoga of [visualizing] one's own body as the main deity is taught. It explains in detail how the gate of the letter *a* penetrates, without any hindrance, what is defiled and pure, and what is conditioned and unconditioned.

第十三會名大三昧耶真實瑜伽。於金剛界曼荼羅道場說。十方(TKZ 4.71)一切諸佛異口同音請金剛薩埵。唯願說三昧耶真實教法。我等先已受訖。唯願金剛薩埵爲菩薩說。薩埵得請已說普賢菩薩十七字真言等。

The thirteenth assembly is named the *True Yoga of the Great Samaya*.⁵⁰ It was preached at the *bodhimaṇḍa* of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala. With one voice, all the buddhas in the ten directions make this request of Vajrasattva, “our wish is that you explain the true teaching of the great *samaya*. We have already received these before, but we ask you, Vajrasattva, to preach them for the sake of the bodhisattvas.” Having been asked to do so, [Vajra]sattva preaches the seventeen-letter mantra of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, and so on.

第十四會名如來三昧耶真實瑜伽。此經中普賢菩薩十六大菩薩四攝爲一身。及五部圓融。如來部即金剛部。蓮華部即寶部。互相涉入。

The fourteenth assembly is named the *True Yoga of the Samaya of the Tathāgatas*.⁵¹ In this *sūtra*, Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, the sixteen great bodhisattvas, and the Four [Bodhisattvas of] Gathering become one in body. The five families also interpenetrate. The Tathāgata family becomes the vajra family, and the Lotus family becomes the jewel family, mutually interpenetrating.

第十五會名秘密集會瑜伽。於秘密處說。所謂喻師婆伽處說。號般若波羅蜜宮。此中說教法壇印真言住禁戒似如世間貪染相應語。會中除蓋障菩薩等白佛言。世間大人不應出麤言雜染相應語。佛言。汝等清淨相應語有何相狀。我之此語加持文字應化緣方便引入佛道。亦無相狀成大利益。汝等不應生疑。廣說實相(TKZ 4.72)三摩地四種曼荼羅四印等。

The fifteenth assembly is named the *Yoga of the Secret Assembly*.⁵² It was preached in the Secret Place, which is to say it was preached in the place of the *yoṣidbhaga* (the “vulva”), called the Prajñāpāramitā Palace. In this [text] the teachings, altars, *mudrās*, mantras, and the keeping of moral discipline are explained using expressions resembling those associated with worldly passions and attachments. Within the assembly, Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkāmbhin Bodhisattva and others said to the Buddha, “O Great One in the World, do not speak vulgar words and words associated with defilement and attachment.” The Buddha said, “What characteristics

⁴⁹ **Samaya-parama(/vijaya)-yoga*.

⁵⁰ **Mahā-samaya-tattva-yoga*.

⁵¹ **Tathāgata-samaya-tattva-yoga*.

⁵² **Guhya-samāja-yoga*. This corresponds to the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*.

[do] you [think] words associated with purity have? My words empower these letters and, depending on the potential [of the listeners] to be taught, they have the power to] skillfully draw [people] into the Buddha's path. Moreover, [these words] have no characteristics, and [so] accomplish the great benefit. You should not give rise to doubts." [The Buddha] explains in detail the *samādhi* of reality, the four *maṇḍalas*, the four seals, and so on.

第十六會名無二平等瑜伽。於法界宮說。此中說生死涅槃世間出世間自他平等無二。動心舉目聲香味觸雜染思慮住亂心無二同真如法界皆成一切佛身。

The sixteenth assembly is named the *Yoga of Nondual Identity*.⁵³ It was preached in the Dharmadhātu Palace. This [text] teaches the identity and nonduality of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, the mundane and the transcendent, and the self and others. Mental perturbation, visual stimuli, sound, smells, tastes, and touch, tainted thoughts, and mental confusion are all nondual, and all accomplish the bodies of all the buddhas in the same way as suchness and the *dharmadhātu*.

第十七會名如虛空瑜伽。住實際宮殿說。說三十七尊四種曼荼羅四種印。此中修行者與一一尊相應皆量同虛空。法身相應離一切萬物。法體光明量同虛空無來無去。此亦說虛空三摩地相應法。

The seventeenth assembly is named the *Yoga Like Unobstructed space*.⁵⁴ It was preached while [the Buddha was] staying at the Palace of the Apex of Reality. This [text] discusses the thirty-seven deities, the four *maṇḍalas*, and the four seals. A practitioner of this [yoga] integrates himself with each deity, making all the same in extent as unobstructed space. Integrating with *dharmakāya*, he is freed from all of the 10,000 things. The essence of *dharmas* is luminous, all are the same in extent as unobstructed space, and are without either coming or going. This [text] also teaches the yoga method of the *samādhi* of unobstructed space.

第十八會名金剛寶冠瑜伽。於第四靜慮天說。金剛薩埵菩薩請佛為大梵天說五部瑜伽。

The eighteenth assembly is named the *Yoga of the Vajra Jeweled Crown*.⁵⁵ It was preached in the Fourth Dhyāna Heaven. Vajrasattva Bodhisattva asks the Buddha to teach the yogas of the five families for the sake of Mahābrahman.

此十八會瑜伽。

[Among] the yogas of the eighteen assemblies,

⁵³ **Advaya-samatā-yoga*.

⁵⁴ **Kha-sama-yoga*.

⁵⁵ **Vajra-mukūṭa-yoga*.

或四千頌。或五千頌。或七千頌。都成十萬頌。具五(TKZ 4.73)部四種曼荼四印。具三十七尊。——部具三十七。乃至一尊成三十七。亦具四種曼荼羅四印。互相涉入如帝釋網珠光明交映展轉無限。——佛等身分——毛孔——相——隨形好——福德資糧——智慧資糧住於果位量同虛空。然各各分齊各不雜亂同證四身。所謂自性身受用身變化身等流身。

some have 4,000 *gāthās*, some have 5,000 *gāthās*, and some have 7,000 *gāthās*: in total there are 100,000 *gāthās*. They [discuss] in detail the five families, the four *maṇḍalas*, and the four seals. They [discuss] in detail the thirty-seven deities, with each family [of the five] fully possessing the thirty-seven [deities], and so on to each individual deity perfecting the thirty-seven [deities] and also fully possessing the four *maṇḍalas* and four seals. The [deities] mutually interpenetrate in an infinite progression like the inter-reflecting luminosity of the jewels of Indra's net.⁵⁶ [If the cultivator successfully penetrates the gist of this yoga, then he will be like Vairocana Buddha⁵⁷] in every part of the bodies of the buddhas and so on, every one of their pores, every one of their [thirty-two] major marks, every one of their [eighty] minor marks, every one of their accumulations of merits, and every one of their accumulations of wisdom, he will abide in the result stage, [preach the yoga of the Buddhadharma not held in common with the two vehicles, preach the action of the Dharma gate of the *maṇḍalas* and *samaya*,⁵⁸] and will be the same in extent as unobstructed space. [If one realizes what has been discussed above,⁵⁹] then even though each [deity] is different, there is no disorder, and all equally realize the four bodies [of the Buddha], which are the *svabhāvakāya* (own-nature body), the *sambhogakāyas*, the *nirmānakāyas*, and the *niṣyandakāyas* (harmonious-emanation bodies).⁶⁰

⁵⁶ This passage in the *Shibahui zhigui* is likely the source of Kūkai's references to Indra's Net in his *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* (TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 66–67, TKZ 3.28):

重重帝網名即身者是則譬舉喻。以明諸尊剎塵三密圓融無礙。帝網者因陀羅珠網也。謂身者我身佛身衆生身。是名身。又有四種身。言自性受用變化等流。是名日身。又有三種。字印形是也。如是等身縱橫重重如鏡中影像燈光涉入。彼身即是此身。此身即是彼身。佛身即是衆生身。衆生身即是佛身。不同而同。不異而異。

“Layer upon layer, the net of Indra is a name for ‘immediately and in this body.’” This line is a simile used to demonstrate the perfect and unhindered infinitely interpenetrating three mysteries of all the *maṇḍala* deities. The net of Indra is Indra's jeweled net. Body means my own body, the Buddha's body, and the bodies of all beings. There are also the fourfold bodies of Dharmakāya, which are the *svabhāvakāya* (body of own-nature), the *sambhogakāyas*, *nirmānakāyas*, and the *niṣyandakāyas*: these are also meant by “body.” There are again three other bodies: letters, seals, and physical forms. These bodies are multiplied infinitely in all directions like an image in many mirrors, and interpenetrate like the light of many lamps. That body is none other than this body. This body is none other than that body. The body of the Buddha is none other than the bodies of beings. The bodies of beings are none other than the body of the Buddha. They are not the same, yet they are the same. They are not different, yet they are different.

⁵⁷ *Shibahui zhigui* phrase omitted (T 869:18.287c, 修行者善達此瑜伽中大意如遍照佛).

⁵⁸ Omitted phrase (T 869:18.287c, 演說瑜伽二乘不共佛法說曼荼羅三昧耶法門事業).

⁵⁹ Omitted phrase (T 869:18.287c, 證者如上所說).

⁶⁰ This sentence is probably a source of Kūkai's exposition of the fourfold *dharmakāya*. Another source is identified as the introductory section of the *Lüeshu jin'gangding yujia fenbie shengwei xiuzheng famen* (T 870:18.288a), which has the same wording as this sentence and probably quotes it.

若修行者善通達此理趣。與本尊三摩地相應。即與如上諸尊平等無異。如上十八會同說金剛頂相應之法。故通惣名金剛頂瑜伽。如上惣別名略釋了。

If the cultivator successfully penetrates this path to truth (*naya*), he will integrate himself with the *samādhi* of the main deity, and then will be the identical with the above deities without difference. The above eighteen assemblies equally preach [specific aspects of] the *Vajra-pinnacle* (*Vajrasākhara*) method of yoga. Therefore, the shared or overall title is the *Vajra-pinnacle Yoga*. The above brief commentary on the overall and individual titles is finished.

[II.3. The four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*]

就第一會中

Regarding the first assembly,

有四大品。一名金剛界。二名降三世。三名遍調伏。四日一切義成就。即表四智印。

there are four great chapters. The first is named *Vajradhātu* (*Vajra-realm*). The second is named *Trailokyavijaya* (*Victory over the Triple World*). The third is named *Sakalajagadvinaya* (*Universal Subjugation*). The fourth is called *Sarvārthasiddhi* (*All Aims Accomplished*). These thus reveal the four wisdom-seals.⁶¹

大羯法三等印。如次配之。

[The four wisdom-seals (*jñānamudrā*) are] the *mahā-*, *karma-*, *dharma-*, and *samaya-*seals. They are to be arranged in sequence.

[II.4. The Person, Dharma, and analogy.]

此四品中。就惣別二名中。又釋得名所由。或古德云。諸經題名或約人立名。(TKZ 4.74)阿彌陀經藥師經等是也。或據法得號。大般若大涅槃等經是。或約喻名之。譬喻經是。或法喻合立。妙法蓮華經是。或人法喻俱舉。大方廣佛華嚴經是。

In these four chapters, regarding the two titles—the shared and the individual—I will further comment on how they receive their names. The virtuous monks of old⁶² have said that the titles of some of the *sūtras* are named for a Person. The *Amitābha-sūtra* (*Sukhāvativyūha*), the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra*, and others are of this [kind]. Others receive their name according to the Dharma [they teach]. The *Large Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, and others *sūtras* are of this [kind]. Others are named for an analogy. The *Avadānas* are of this [kind]. Others are named for both the Dharma and the analogy. The *Lotus of the Subtle Dharma Sūtra* (*Lotus Sūtra*) is of this [kind]. Others have all [three:] the Person, the Dharma, and the analogy. The *Mahā-vaipulya Buddha-avatamsaka-sūtra* is of this [kind].⁶³

⁶¹ Quoting the beginning of the *Shibahui zhigui* (T 869:18.284c).

⁶² This is a Chinese exegetical practice for analyzing the titles of *sūtras* according to the words in the title that Kūkai often makes use of. See DREITLEIN 2011, note 69 for details. “Person” means the name of the preacher or main character, the Dharma is the teaching taught in the *sūtra*, and analogies often appear. Not all are always present in a given title. Kūkai uses this as a device to comment esoterically on a *sūtra*, such as he does with the *Heart Sūtra* (DREITLEIN 2011, §II.1), the *Mahāvairocanaśāmbodhi-sūtra* (DREITLEIN 2014a, §IV.3.1), and so on.

⁶³ In his *Hokkekyō kaidai* (*Jūen shōkai*, TKZ 4.171, DREITLEIN 2015, §II.2) Kūkai similarly writes:

今此經題名准古德淺略釋具人法喻三。金剛頂是喻也。一切如來人也。餘字法也。

Now, according to the shallow and simple (exoteric) interpretation of the virtuous monks of old, the title of this *sūtra* has all three: Person, Dharma, and analogy. *Vajra-pinnacle* (*Vajraśekhara*) is the analogy. *All the Tathāgatas* (*sarvatathāgata*) is the Person. The other words are the Dharma.

[II.5. The ten pairs]

復次有十對。一人法一對。如來人真實等法故。

Moreover, there are ten pairs [in the title of this text]. First, the Person and the Dharma are a pair. This is because *Tathāgata* is the Person and *Truth* and so on are the Dharma.

二法喻一對。金剛頂喻真實等法故。

Second, the Dharma and the analogy are a pair. This is because *Vajra-pinnacle* is the analogy and *Truth* and so on are the Dharma.

三理智一對。如來現證能證智真如實相所證理故。

Third, truth (理) and wisdom (智) are a pair. This is because *Tathāgata* and *Realization* are the wisdom that realizes, and Suchness and Reality (*Truth*)⁶⁴ are the truth that is realized.

四體用一對。真如實相體大乘教王等用故。

Fourth, essence and function are a pair. This is because Suchness and Reality (*Truth*) are the essence, and *Mahāyāna*, *King of the Teachings* and so on are the functions.

五教理一對。大乘教王等教真如實相理故。

Five, the teachings and the truth are a pair. This is because *Mahāyāna*, *King of the Teachings* and so on are the teachings, and *suchness* and *reality* (i.e. *Truth*) are the truth.

六行果一對。金剛頂瑜伽是行如來現證是果故。

Six, cultivation and the fruit are a pair. This is because *Vajra-pinnacle Yoga* is the cultivation, and *Tathāgatas* and *Realization* are the fruit.

七能所一對。如來能入智金剛定所入定故。

Seven, subject and object are a pair. This is because *Tathāgata* is the wisdom that enters, and *vajra-samādhi* is the *samādhi* that is entered into.

古德多云。一切經題目有三義。人法喻。或以人名。藥師彌陀等經是。或以法名。般若深密等經是。或以譬喻名。譬喻經等是。或以人法喻名。大方廣佛華嚴經是。今此經法喻合名。妙法者法也。蓮華者喻。

The virtuous monks of old often said that the titles of all *sūtras* have [words indicating] three meanings: the Person, the Dharma, and an analogy. Some [*sūtras*] are named for a Person. The *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra*, *Amitābha-sūtra* (*Sukhāvativyūha*), and others are of this [kind]. Others are named for the Dharma [they teach]. The *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*, the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*, and others are of this [kind]. Others are named for an analogy. The *Avadānas* are of this [kind]. Others are named for the Person, Dharma, and analogy. The *Mahā-vaipulya Buddha-avatamsaka-sūtra* is of this [kind]. The name of this [*Lotus of the Subtle Dharma*] *Sūtra* is a combination of the Dharma and analogy. “Subtle Dharma” is the Dharma [taught], and “lotus” is an analogy.

⁶⁴ Kūkai splits the Chinese compound for truth (眞實, *tattva*) into its two components, which are in turn the first characters in Suchness (眞如) and Reality (實相). See the first of the ninth pairs below, also §II.10 below.

八因果一對。如來因。如來即菩提菩提心爲因故。現證果故。

Eight, cause and effect are a pair. This is because *Tathāgata* is the cause. *Tathāgata* is *bodhi*, because *bodhicitta* is the cause. This is because *Realization* is the result.

九非因非果一對。眞如實相法然之理常恆之法。非因緣生。是故眞如非因實相非果。眞則眞如。實即實_(TKZ 4.75)相故。

Nine, not-a-cause and not-a-result are a pair. *Suchness* and *reality* (i.e. *Truth*) are natural truths and constant Dharmas. They do not arise due to causes and conditions. For that reason, *suchness* is not a cause, and *reality* is not a result. This is because [in the Chinese word for *Truth*, *zhenshi* 眞實, the first character] *zhen* is [the first character in] *suchness* (*zhenru*, 眞如), [and the second character] *shi* is [the first character in] *reality* (*shixiang*, 實相).

九體相一對。眞如實相是體。一切如來是相故。

Nine,⁶⁵ essence and manifestations are a pair. This is because *suchness* and *reality* (*Truth*) are the essence, and *All the Tathāgatas* are the manifestation.

十相用一對。一切如來相大教王用故。

Ten, manifestation and function are a pair. This is because *All the Tathāgatas* are the manifestation, and *King of the Great Teachings* is the function.

[II.6. The Sanskrit title]

復次約一一名句釋其義者此亦二。一梵言名成立。二唐言名句。

Furthermore, to comment on the meanings of each of the words and phrases [of the title], there are again two [titles]. The first is [the title formed of] Sanskrit syllables, words, and phrases. The second is [the title formed of] Tang (Chinese) words, names, and phrases.

初梵言名等者。據西國語正呼 $\text{वज्रउष्णिषः सर्वतथागतसमया महायान्महाभिसम्बोधि महाअहं राजा सूत्रम्}$ 。

First, the Sanskrit syllables, words, and so on. According to the language of the Western lands, the [title] correctly is **Vajra-uṣṇīṣa sarva-tathāgatā samaya mahāyāṇḍa bhisam̐bodhi mahā-aham̐ raja sūtram*.⁶⁶

वज्र 唐翻云金剛。 उष्णिषः 翻云頂。 सर्व 翻云一切諸。 तथागत 如來如去如知等。 समया 大乘。 महायान् 現證。 महाभिसम्बोधि 大教。 महा 王。 अहं 經。唐梵翻譯如此。

Vajra is translated in Tang as *diamond*. *Uṣṇīṣa* (i.e. *śekhara*) is translated as *pinnacle*.⁶⁷ *Sarva* is translated as *all*. **Tathāgatā* is (*tathāgata*) the *thus-come one*, the *thus-gone one*, the *thus-knowing-one*,⁶⁸ and so on. **Mahāyāṇḍa* is *Mahāyāna*. **Bhisam̐bodhi* (*abhisam̐bodhi*) is *Realization*. **Mahā-*

⁶⁵ There are two items numbered nine. Dōhan (zsz 7.9) in his *Kongōchōgyō kaidai kanchū* says that “because these ten pairs have infinite meanings, perhaps the ninth pair was repeated to express that idea.”

⁶⁶ The Siddham is thoroughly corrupted, or perhaps is a problematic back translation from the Chinese title. TKZ gives Siddham reading **vajrā-uṣṇīṣa sarva-tathāgatā samaya mahāyāṇḍa bhisam̐bodhi mahā-aham̐ raja sūtram*. KZ gives **vajra-uṣṇīṣa sarva-tathāgatā samaya mahāyāṇḍa bhisam̐bodhi mahā-aham̐ raja sūtram*, which is used here. This does not resemble the known title of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, or a reconstructed title of the first assembly, see note 38. No correction has been attempted.

⁶⁷ It seems from this that the word *Vajroṣṇīṣa* is intended instead of *Vajraśekhara* as the Sanskrit for 金剛頂 here and in the following.

⁶⁸ See note 83. “Thus-knowing-one” as a meaning of *tathāgata* is unclear.

aham is *Great Teachings*. **Raja* (*rāja*) is *King*. **Sutraṃ* is *Sūtra*.⁶⁹ The Tang and the Sanskrit, and their translations, are these.

[II.7. Regarding syllables, words, and phrases]

梵言名成立者。一字曰言二字曰名。多字成立亦名句也。今言𑖀𑖡。始𑖀字是言。次𑖡字亦言。二言合表一金剛名。是則二字名。次𑖀𑖡𑖢此亦三字合表一頂名。次𑖀𑖡𑖢𑖣此亦四字合顯一如來名。如此一字二字乃至三四字合詮一物名。積名成句。聚句爲頌。(TKZ 4.76)一名一句皆詮人法等名。此名言等義甚廣無際如聲字義釋。且略之。

Regarding the Sanskrit syllables, words, and phrases, a single letter is called a syllable, two letters [together] are called a word, and many letters [together] make a phrase, or may be called a sentence. In the above, *vajra* begins with the letter *va*, which is a syllable. The next letter *jra* is also a syllable. The two syllables together denote one word, *vajra*. This is thus a word [made up of] two letters. Next, [the word] **tathāgatā* is again a combination of four letters revealing one word, *tathāgata*. In this way, one letter, two letters, or up to three or four letters together make the word for one thing. Amassing [such] words makes a phrase. Gathering phrases together makes a *gāthā*. The single words or phrases all make up the names of a Person, a Dharma, and so on. The meanings of these words, syllables, and so on are extremely extensive and unlimited, as [discussed] in my *Commentary on the Meanings of Sounds and Letters*.⁷⁰ I will abbreviate this for now.

[II.8. The meanings of *Vajra* and *Vajraśekhara* in the title]

復次金剛者具顯祕二義。顯義者金剛者是世間所有堅寶名。以喻如來實智。金剛寶具多功德。此寶埋地不朽入火不銷。貧人難見得者富貴。戰具中最勝。常恆堅固。

Next, *Vajra* has two meanings, the exoteric and the esoteric. The exoteric meaning is that a *vajra* is [a diamond,] the hardest gemstone in the world. It is used as an analogy for the Tathāgata's wisdom of reality. A *vajra*-jewel (diamond) has many virtues. Buried in the earth it does not decay, and put into a fire it does not melt. It is difficult for the poor to even see [a diamond]. Those who obtain it are wealthy and respected. [A *vajra* (mace) is also] the strongest of weapons, and is always firm.⁷¹

⁶⁹ The word *samaya* given in the title in the preceding paragraph is not translated into Chinese in this paragraph. Correspondences with the Chinese words 瑜伽 and 眞實攝 given in the title in §II.1 are also missing here. All the Chinese translations in this paragraph up to this point are given in an interlinear form.

⁷⁰ Kūkai uses a slightly different title but likely means his *Shō-ji-jissō gi* (*The Meanings of Sound, Letter, and Reality*). If he intends to refer to a specific passage in that text rather than the overall text, that passage might be: "The deep, esoteric interpretation is that each syllable, each word, and each phrase contains infinite meanings and truths," (祕密釋者——言——名——成立各能具無邊義理, TKZ 3.37–38, TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 91).

⁷¹ A *Rishukyō kaidai* has (*Deshi kimyō*, TKZ 4.110) has:

世有金剛寶。有能堅能摧不壞不變之力。有難得難見忽富忽貴之能。本有三密亦復如是。自體堅實不變壞。向他餘力能摧屈。纔見纔證尊貴無等富樂無上。故借彼世寶顯此深法。

Second, the analogy. The common *vajra*-jewel (diamond) is hard and can destroy [anything], but it cannot itself be destroyed or altered. It is difficult to obtain or even to see, but it can make one instantly wealthy and powerful. The inherent three mysteries are just the same: they are themselves firm and immutable. [A *vajra* as a weapon] has the power to crush and bend anything. Just by finding [a diamond] or acquiring one, one becomes unmatched in gravity and unequalled in wealth. Therefore,

如是如來實智具多功德。久埋無明煩惱地中不會朽爛。入無間瞋恚火不消不融。下劣凡夫億劫難見。若能得證為三界王。橫豎智杵摧壞四魔常住不變自在安樂。

In the same way, the Tathāgata's wisdom of reality has many virtues. It can be buried in the earth of ignorance and the afflictions for a long time, but it will never decay. Even if it is put into the wrathful fires of the Avīci hell, it does not evaporate and does not melt. It is difficult for inferior ordinary beings to see it, even in 100,000 *kalpas*. One who realizes it becomes the king of the triple world. [As a weapon] the horizontal and vertical⁷² wisdom-mace destroys the four Māras,⁷³ is eternal and immutable, and sovereign and blissful.

復次金剛名約顯乘有一百差別。五十位各有能入智所入定故。約祕密乘豎位有一百金剛義。又一一地位具能入所入故。約橫義有一百別。五十位人各具能入所入故。

Next, the word *vajra* according to the exoteric vehicle has 100 differences. This is because the fifty bodhisattva stages⁷⁴ each have both the wisdom that enters [*samādhi*] (the subject) and the *samādhi* that is entered (the object), [making 100]. According to the secret vehicle (esoteric Buddhism), from the vertical perspective *vajra* has 100 meanings. Again, each stage possesses that which enters (the subject, or wisdom) and that which is entered (the object, or *samādhi*). According to the horizontal meaning, there are 100 differences. Those on the fifty stages each possess that which enters and that which is entered.

復有一千金剛。一一地分十地故。復有微塵數不可說不可說金剛差別。

Furthermore, there are 1,000 *vajras*. This is because each stage is divided into [a further] ten *bhūmis*. Moreover, there are also inexpressible, inexpressible differences in the word *vajra*, as numerous as the particles of dust [in the world].

雖有如是不可說金剛。然除淺就深攝枝歸本有三十七金剛。就此^(TKZ 4.77)三十七又分能入金剛智所入金剛定能證金剛人惣有一百二十金剛名。是三十七金剛金剛智慧之頂。金剛三摩地之尊。金剛人之王。此經能說如是三十七尊三十七王三昧。故名金剛頂。頂者頭頂。表佛行之無上。

Even though there are such inexpressible [numbers of] *vajras*, setting aside the shallow [exoteric interpretation] and following the profound [esoteric interpretation], by gathering in the branches to return to the root there are thirty-seven *vajras* (deities). Accordingly, these thirty-

the term for the common gemstone (the diamond) is borrowed to express this profound Dharma [as a *vajra*].

⁷² The meaning is obscure. Yūkai explains in his *Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō* (NDZ 32.64a) that “horizontal and vertical” means there are “manifold implications, the shallow and simple (exoteric) and the profound and secret (esoteric)” (淺略深祕重重意趣), and goes on to say that the vertical meaning is that the “individual five wisdoms are different” (五智各別得意堅), and the horizontal meaning is that “each of the fivefold wisdom possesses the other five wisdoms” (各具五智得意橫義). However, it should be remembered that Kūkai is still discussing the exoteric meanings here, so this seems somewhat out of place.

In his *Kongōchōgyō kaidai mondai* (zsz 7.52a) Yūkai gives several other possibilities. First, that the *samaya*-form of Akṣobhya is a five-pointed *vajra* placed horizontally with a vertical five-pointed *vajra* above it. Second, that when the practitioner holds a *vajra* at his chest, he holds it “neither horizontally nor vertically” (i.e. diagonally). Third, that a single five-pointed *vajra* has various differentiated (vertical) meanings but is also universally identical (horizontal). Fourth, that vertical and horizontal mean delusion and awakening. Kūkai writes in his *Hannya-shingyō hiken* (TKZ 3.4, DREITLEIN 2011: §I.3.2) “The ‘five aggregates’ point to the realm of confusion shared by all beings (the horizontal), and the phrase ‘buddhas of the past, present, and future’ reveals the awakened mind that is realized only by the buddhas (the vertical),” (五蘊橫指迷境三佛豎示悟心).

⁷³ See the entries for *four Māras* (1071) and *Māra* (531) in BUSWELL and LOPEZ 2014.

⁷⁴ The fifty bodhisattva stages consist of the ten convictions (十信), ten abodes (十住), ten practices (十行), ten dedications (十廻向), and ten grounds (*bhūmi*, 十地).

seven can be [each] categorized by the *vajra*-wisdom that enters, the *vajra-samādhi* that is entered, and the *vajra* Persons (deities) who realize, in total making 120 *vajra* names.⁷⁵ These thirty-seven *vajras* (deities) are the *pinnacles* of *vajra*-wisdom, are foremost in *vajra-samādhi*, and are the kings among *vajra* Persons. This *sūtra* teaches these thirty-seven deities and their thirty-seven royal *samādhis*. Therefore, it is named the *Vajra-pinnacle*. *Pinnacle* means the *crown of the head*,⁷⁶ denoting that the actions of the Buddha are unsurpassable.

此三十七智三十七定且約一曼荼羅上首名之。約三重曼荼羅眷屬有一千五十七尊。此各各具定慧及人。都有三千一百七十一尊。人及定慧悉皆餘法所尊所宗。故共得尊名。

From the point of view of a single *maṇḍala*, this thirty-seven-fold wisdom and thirty-seven-fold *samādhi* are called the leaders. From the point of view of the three-layered [Vajradhātu] Maṇḍala,⁷⁷ the attendants [of the thirty-seven deities] number 1,057 deities.⁷⁸ Each of these possesses *samādhi*, wisdom, and a Person [as a deity]. Altogether, there are 3,171 deities. These Persons and their wisdoms and *samādhis* are all honored and venerated by the other methods⁷⁹ (exoteric Buddhism), and for that reason they are all called deities.⁸⁰

若約一一曼荼羅。各具四種曼荼羅四智印有無量無邊金剛差別。何況十八會各具四種三十七乎。帝網非喻塵墨難記。自非如來智慧薩埵定力誰敢究盡。

From the point of view of each *maṇḍala*, all fully possess the four *maṇḍalas* and the four wisdom-seals, and have countless and limitless different *vajras*. How much more so would the eighteen assemblies each possess the four [*maṇḍalas* and seals] and thirty-seven [deities]? The analogy of Indra's Net⁸¹ does not express it, and “ink made of the dust of the whole world”⁸²

⁷⁵ The reasoning for the number 120 is obscure. Yūkai comments in *Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō* (NDZ 32.66a) that the thirty-seven deities multiplied by the above three makes 111, and so “the fact of 120 *vajras* is difficult to understand” (一百二十金剛事一旦難意得).

In his *Kongōchōgyō kaidai mondai* (zsz 7.52a) Yūkai says that this “has long been considered obscure” but suggests several additional solutions. First, that the nine assemblies of the Vajradhātu Mandala be added to 111 to make a120. Second, that the wisdoms, *samādhis*, and Persons each have these three, for an extra nine. Third, that 120 is a rounded off number. Fourth, that each of the wisdoms, *samādhis*, and Persons have the three families of the Buddha, Lotus, and Vajra, making an additional nine. Yūkai seems to prefer the first, although none seem particularly compelling.

The present translator suggests that might not the characters 十一 (eleven) written of course vertically and in close proximity have been misread as 廿 (the single character form of twenty) at some point, and thereafter so transmitted?

⁷⁶ *Śekhara* means both the crown or top of the head (as Kūkai indicates with 頭頂) and a peak, pinnacle, or summit. However, the corrupted Sanskrit title above had Vajroṣṇa where Vajraśekhara would have been expected, and Kūkai is probably explaining the word *uṣṇa* here. See note 67.

⁷⁷ The Assembly of Perfecting a Buddha's Body (成身會) in the center of the nine-assembly Vajradhātu Maṇḍala is meant. The three layers are first the circle containing Vairocana, second the circle with the offering bodhisattvas and the 1,000 Bhadrakalpa buddhas, and third the twenty gods. Another interpretation has the thirty-seven deities in the first layer, the 1,000 Bhadrakalpa buddhas in the second, and the twenty gods in the third. See *Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō* (NDZ 32.67b).

⁷⁸ This number is the total of the thirty-seven deities, the 1,000 Bhadrakalpa buddhas, and the twenty gods. Yūkai in the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō* (NDZ 32.67b) points out that 1,057 is not just the number of attendants, but also includes the thirty-seven deities who are the ones being attended, so this passage seems problematic (解釋給事一旦不審也).

⁷⁹ Yūkai in the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō* (NDZ 32.68a) says that “what is meant by the ‘other methods’ is the exoteric Buddhism taught by the historical Buddha (指餘法處生身所說顯教也).

⁸⁰ “Honored” (所尊) contains the character translated here as deity (尊), hence the reasoning that since they are honored they are known as deities.

⁸¹ See note 56.

⁸² This story appears in the *Lotus Sūtra*, Chapter Seven (T 262:9.22a–b, see REEVES 2008: 179–180). A great trichiliocosm is ground down to make ink. One drop of this ink as large as a speck of dust is dropped by a traveler in a

cannot enumerate them. If not through the wisdom of the *tathāgatas* and the power of *samādhi* of the [bodhi]sattvas, who could ever hope to thoroughly [know] them all?

[II.9. The meanings of *All the Tathāgatas* in the title]

復次一切如來者具顯密二意。

Next, *All the Tathāgatas* has two senses, the exoteric and the esoteric.

顯義十方三世一切諸佛名一切如來。是則各各衆生修如實道去成正覺來化衆生名如來也。

The exoteric meaning is that all the buddhas in the ten directions and the three times are called *All the Tathāgatas*. In other words, each being cultivates the path of [seeing] things as they really are. Going they attain perfect awakening, and coming they transform beings, and [so] are called *tathāgatas*.⁸³

密義五智佛名一切如來。聚一(TKZ 4.78)切諸法共成五佛身故。此五佛則諸佛之本體諸法之根源。故名一切如來。

The esoteric meaning is that the buddhas of the fivefold wisdom are called *All the Tathāgatas*.⁸⁴ This is because by gathering in all *dharmas*, the bodies of the five buddhas are perfected together. These five buddhas are accordingly the essence of all buddhas, and the root of all *dharmas*. That is why this is called *All the Tathāgatas*.

此五智有二別。一自五智佛。二他五智佛。他五智佛亦二。一先成就者。二未成就佛。先成就亦二。一自先成就。二他先成就。

This fivefold wisdom has two distinctions. The first is the buddhas of the fivefold wisdom of oneself. The second is the buddhas of the fivefold wisdom of others. The buddhas of the fivefold wisdom of others are also of two [types]. The first is those who have already perfected [awakening], and the second is those who have not yet perfected [awakening]. Those who have already perfected [awakening] are also of two [types]. The first is those who first perfect their own [awakening], and the second is those who first perfect [the awakening] of others.

自他本覺佛則法爾自覺本來具足三身四德無始圓滿恆沙功德。所謂恆沙性德者。五智三十七智及塵數眷屬等。故經云

The buddhas of the inherent awakening of oneself and others thus are naturally self-awakened, and are originally in full possession of the three bodies and the four virtues,⁸⁵ and from the beginningless beginning have completely perfected merits [as numerous as] the sands of the Ganges. What is called the “inherent virtues [as numerous as] the sands of the Ganges”⁸⁶ [refers to]

thousand lands, who proceeds in that way until all the ink is exhausted. While usually referring to an inconceivably long period of time, Kūkai seems to mean here an inconceivable number of deities.

⁸³ The word *tathāgata* may be parsed as “thus-gone one” (*tathā-gata*, 如去) and “thus-come one” (*tathā-āgata*, 如來).

⁸⁴ This is also the interpretation in the *Liqu shi* (T 1003:19.607a), which has, “*all the tathāgatas* means, according to the Yoga teachings (the Vajraśekhara), the five buddhas taught in them,” (一切如來者准瑜伽教中五佛是也).

⁸⁵ The three bodies are the *dharmakāya*, *saṃbhogakāya*, and *nirmāṇakāya*; see the entry for *trikāya* in BUSWELL and LOPEZ 2014: 923. The four virtues of a buddha are permanence, bliss, self, and purity (常樂我淨); see the entry for *gūṇapāramitā* in BUSWELL and LOPEZ 2014: 337.

⁸⁶ See also *Hokkekyō kaidai* (*Jūen shōkai*, TKZ 4.179, 恆沙性功德), *Dainichikyō kaidai* (*Hōkai jōshin*, TKZ 4.8, 恆沙性德), etc. This phrase may originally be a paraphrase of the *Awakening of Faith*, which has (HAKEDA 2006: 67), “the essential nature of Mind, however, is motionless [i.e., undisturbed by ignorance]; therefore, it can be inferred that it must have

the fivefold wisdom, thirty-sevenfold wisdom, and their attendants and so on as numerous as the particles of dust [in the world]. That is why a *sūtra*⁸⁷ says,

薄伽梵金剛界遍照如來。以五智所成四種法身。於本有金剛界自在大三昧耶自覺本初大菩提心普賢滿月不壞金剛光明心殿中。與自性所成眷屬金剛手等十六大菩薩及四攝行天女使金剛內外八供養天女使。皆已微細法身祕密心地。各於五智光明峯杵出現五億俱胝微細金剛。遍滿虛空法界。諸地菩薩無有能見。俱不覺知。

The Bhagavat, Vairocana Tathāgata of the Vajradhātu, was [dwelling], through the fourfold *dharmakāya* formed of the fivefold wisdom, in the Incorruptible Vajra Luminous Mind-Palace of the inherently-existing Vajradhātu of the sovereign great *samaya*, the self-awakened primordial great *bodhicitta* that is the full-moon of Samantabhadra, with Vajrapāṇi and the others of the sixteen great bodhisattvas formed of his own-nature, along with the Four Gathering Goddess-servants, and the Inner and Outer Offering Vajra Goddess-servants. [Each was self-dwelling in a *vajra* moon-disc by the empowerment of their root vows, holding the root-signs of their *samādhis*.⁸⁸] Because all were already of the subtle *dharmakāya* secret mind-ground [transcending the ten *bhūmis* and the *vajras* of body, speech, and mind, they⁸⁹] manifested, on each of their fivefold-wisdom-luminous *vajras*, 500,000 *koṭis* of subtle *vajras* that filled unobstructed space and the *dharmadhātu*. The [exoteric] bodhisattvas on the *bhūmis* were unable to see them, and without exception did not know them.

又云。

Again it says,⁹⁰

大日金剛峯 微細住自然 光明常遍照 不壞清(TKZ 4.79)淨業

The Vajra-peak of Vairocana is subtle and abides in self-existence.

Its radiance is eternally all-illuminating, with indestructible and pure actions.

言大日金剛峯者。毗盧舍那法界體性智是。微細住自然者。金剛自性大圓鏡智阿閼佛是。光明常遍照者。南方寶生平等性智自證德是。清淨者。本來清淨心妙觀察智無量壽佛也。不壞業者。無爲作業者成所作智北方不空成就佛也。

What is called “the Vajra-peak of Vairocana” is the wisdom of the essence of the *dharmadhātu* (*dharmadhātu-svabhāva-jñāna*) of Vairocana. “Subtle and abides in self-existence” is the *vajra* own-nature great mirror-like wisdom (*ādarśa-jñāna*) of Akṣobhya Buddha. “Its radiance is constantly all-illuminating” is the virtue of own-awakening of the wisdom of equality (*samatā-jñāna*) of Ratnasambhava in the south. “Pure” is the originally pure mind of the wisdom of subtle contemplation (*pratyavekṣaṇā-jñāna*) of Amitāyus Buddha. “Indestructible actions” means the

various pure and excellent qualities, outnumbering the sands of the Ganges,” (T 1666:32.579b, 心性無動則有過恆沙等諸淨功德相義示現). This phrase appears in a number of Chinese commentaries.

⁸⁷ Quoting the opening of the *Jin'gangfeng louge yiqie yujia yuqi jing* (T 867:18.253c-254a).

⁸⁸ Kūkai omits this sentence in the *Jin'gangfeng louge yiqie yujia yuqi jing*: (T 867:18.254a, 各各以本誓加持自住金剛月輪持本三摩地標幟).

⁸⁹ Kūkai omits this phrase in the *Jin'gangfeng louge yiqie yujia yuqi jing* (T 867:18.254a, 越過十地身語心金剛).

⁹⁰ Quoting the *Jin'gangfeng louge yiqie yujia yuqi jing* (T 867:18.254a).

unconditioned actor of the wisdom of perfected actions (*kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna*) of Amoghasiddhi Buddha.

此五智佛及三十七智佛乃至無量俱胝佛。不觀修行不待對治。本來住此法爾佛位具四種法身備塵沙莊嚴。

These buddhas of the fivefold wisdom, or the buddhas of the thirty-seven-fold wisdom, and so on up to limitless *koṭīs* of buddhas, do not recognize any cultivation and do not rely on any corrective measures (i.e. exoteric forms of practice). They originally abide in the natural state of buddhahood, fully possess the fourfold *dharmakāya*, and are endowed with adornments [as numerous as] the particles of dust [in the world] or the sands [of the Ganges].

言四種法身者。自性身受用身變化身等流身是。如此四種法身自然自覺。故名先成就本覺佛。

What we call the fourfold *dharmakāya* consists of the *svabhāvakāya*, the *saṃbhogakāyas*, the *nirmāṇakāyas*, and the *niṣyandakāyas*. The fourfold *dharmakāya* is self-existing and self-awakened. Therefore, it is called the buddha of the inherent awakening of those who have already perfected [awakening].

此本覺又有三種差別。一三自一心門本覺。二一一心眞如門本覺。三不二摩訶衍一心本覺。初三自一心本覺中有四別。染淨本覺清淨本覺一法界本覺三自本覺是。眞如門本覺又有二別。清淨眞如本覺染淨眞如本覺。如是本覺重重無量。

This inherent awakening also has three different kinds. The first is the inherent awakening of the gate of the one-mind of the three own-natures.⁹¹ Second, the inherent awakening of the gate of suchness of the single one-mind.⁹² Third, the inherent awakening of the one-mind of the nondual Mahāyāna.⁹³ The first, the inherent awakening of the one-mind gate of the three own-natures has four subdivisions: the impure and pure inherent awakening, the pure inherent awakening, the inherent awakening of the single *dharmadhātu*, and the inherent awakening of the three own-natures. The inherent awakening of the gate of suchness also has two divisions: the inherent awakening of pure suchness and the inherent awakening of impure and pure suchness. In this way, inherent awakening is manifold and limitless.⁹⁴

⁹¹ See note 19.

⁹² See note 11.

⁹³ See note 17.

⁹⁴ The *Hokkekyō shaku* (TKZ 4.205) has:

衆生三密有六重本覺。是本覺各各具三十七智百八乃至微塵數佛智四種法身四種曼荼羅身。
Within the three mysteries of beings there are six kinds of inherent awakening. Each of these [kinds of] inherent awakening possesses the thirty-seven-fold wisdom, or 108-fold [wisdom] and so on up to buddha wisdom [as numerous as] the particles of dust [in the world], the fourfold *dharmakāya*, and the forms [appearing in] the four *maṇḍalas*.

A *Hokkekyō kaidai* (*Jūen shōkai*, TKZ 4.169) explains the term “subtle Dharma” (妙法, *saddharma*) in the title of the *Lotus Sūtra*:

謂妙法者且有六重淺深。一染淨本覺妙法。二清淨本覺妙法。三一心法界本覺妙法。四三自本覺妙法。五一如本覺妙法。六不二本覺妙法。

The words “subtle Dharma” also have six layers of meaning [ranging from] the shallow to the profound. The first is the subtle Dharma of the impure and pure inherent awakening. The second is the subtle Dharma of pure inherent awakening. The third is the subtle Dharma of the inherent awakening of the single mind of the *dharmadhātu*. The fourth is the subtle Dharma of the inherent awakening of the three own-natures. The fifth is the subtle Dharma of the inherent awakening of the single suchness. The sixth is the subtle Dharma of non-dual inherent awakening.

今此經所示本覺通_(TKZ 4.80)攝一切本覺。別表不二門本覺。此本有法身其數無量。故云一切如來。此如來餘一切門之所不能攝。然此不二本覺能攝一切門之佛。故名頂。如來頂則最上最勝義故。

The inherent awakening revealed now in this *sūtra* universally encompasses all the forms of inherent awakening. It specifically reveals the inherent awakening of the nondual gate. The intrinsically possessed *dharmakāya* is uncountable in number. Therefore, it is called *all the tathāgatas*. This *tathāgata* cannot be encompassed by any of the other gates. Moreover, this nondual inherent awakening encompasses the buddhas [taught in] all other gates. Therefore, it is called the *pinnacle* (*uṣṇīṣa*, i.e. *śekhara*). This is because the top of the head (*uṣṇīṣa*) of the Tathāgata means that which is highest and supreme.

[II.10. The meanings of *Truth* in the title]

次言眞實者。眞眞如。實實知實相。

Next, in the word *zhenshi* (*truth*, 眞實) [in the Chinese title, the first character] *zhen* means *suchness* (*zhenru*, 眞如), and [the second character] *shi* means *true knowing* (*zhenzhi*, 實知) or *reality* (*shixiang*, 實相).

眞有十種。一根字事眞。二本字事眞。三遠字事眞。四自字事眞。五體字事眞。六性字事眞。七住字事眞。八常字事眞。九堅字事眞。十惣字事眞。如又有十種繁故略之。

[Regarding the word *suchness* (*zhenru*), the first character meaning] *truth* (*zhen*) is of ten kinds: first, the truth of the word *root*; second, the truth of the word *intrinsic*; third, the truth of the word *distant*; fourth, the truth of the word *self*; fifth, the truth of the word *essence*; sixth, the truth of the word *nature*; seventh, the truth of the word *abide*; eighth, the truth of the word *eternal*; ninth, the truth of the word *firm*; and tenth, the truth of the word *source*. [The second character] *suchness* (*ru*) also has [these] ten meanings, which I abbreviate to avoid complexity.

眞者眞理如者如理。此眞與如各具二十種。十種清淨眞理與十種清淨本相應。十種清淨如理與十種清淨覺相應。十種染淨眞理與十種染淨本相應。十種染淨如理與十種染淨覺相應。今所言眞如通攝染淨清淨二種眞如。別顯自門祕密眞如。本能攝末故攝二種耳。

[The character] *truth* (*zhen*) means *true principle* (*zhenli*, 眞理), and [the character] *suchness* (*ru*) means *principle of suchness* (*ruli*, 如理). These [characters for] *truth* (*zhen*) and *suchness* (*ru*) each have twenty meanings. The ten kinds of pure true principles correspond to the ten kinds of pure *intrinsic*s (本). The ten kinds of pure principles of suchness correspond to the ten kinds of pure *awakening* (覺). The ten kinds of impure and pure principles of suchness correspond to the ten kinds of impure and pure *intrinsic*s (本). The ten kinds of impure and pure principles of suchness correspond to the ten kinds of pure *awakening* (覺). What is now called *suchness* (*zhenru*) universally encompasses the two kinds of suchness: the impure and pure, and the pure, and separately reveal the suchness [taught in] our school, the esoteric. What is at the root can encompass what is at the peripheral branches, so it encompasses both kinds.

實知實相者。三自門實知實相。一心門實知實相。性德圓圓海實知實相。各_(TKZ 4.81)各重重差別。今所言實知實相不二門實知實相是。然通攝二門實知實相。

True knowing (*zhenzhi*) and *reality* (*shixiang*) each have three different kinds: the true knowing and reality of the gate of the three own-natures, the true knowing and reality of the gate of one-mind, and the true knowing and reality of the perfect, perfect ocean of inherent virtues. What is

now called true knowing and reality is the nondual gate of true knowing and reality, which moreover universally encompasses the true knowing and reality of the gates of duality.⁹⁵

言實知者能達知。實相者所達境。又實知是心密。實相是身密。

What is called *true knowing* is the knowledge that penetrates, and *reality* is the realm that is penetrated. Furthermore, *true knowing* is the mystery of mind, and *reality* is the mystery of body.

復次智則境。境則智。又非智非境而智而境。然非九種心量之所緣。一一心之所緣而已。又非一一心之所緣。不二心之所證而已。

Next, knowledge is the realm, and the realm is knowledge. Furthermore, it is neither knowledge nor a realm, yet is knowledge and a realm. Moreover, it is not the object of the nine kinds of [ordinary] mental functions, but is nothing other than the object of the [tenth] single one-mind.⁹⁶ Furthermore, it is not the object of the single one-mind, but is nothing other than what is realized by the nondual mind.

復次金剛頂一切如來金剛頂一切三摩地。皆悉離戲論分別之虛僞。證平等不變之眞理。故名眞實。約自他本覺辨眞實准前可知。

Next, all the *tathāgatas* of the *Vajra-pinnacle* and all the *samādhis* of the *Vajra-pinnacle* are without exception free of the falseness of useless conceptual proliferation and ideation. Because one realizes the true principle of identity and immutability, it is called *truth*. Applying this to the inherent awakening of the self and others, how to discern truth can be known by the previous.

[II.11. The meaning of *Encompassing the Mahāyāna* in the title]

次言攝大乘者此有二。初能攝大乘。次所攝大乘。能攝大乘者。根本惣體不二大乘。所攝大乘者二重三十二大乘。本能攝末故云攝大乘。又三十二大乘各各有本有末。各各本法能攝末法。故云攝大乘。

Next, what is called *Encompassing the Mahāyāna* has two [meanings]. The first is the Mahāyāna that encompasses, and next is the Mahāyāna that is encompassed. The Mahāyāna that encompasses is the root, essential, and nondual Mahāyāna. The Mahāyāna that is encompassed is [the sixteen] doubled [to make] thirty-two.⁹⁷ What is at the root can encompass what is at the peripheral branches, so we say *Encompassing the Mahāyāna*. Furthermore, the thirty-two [aspects of] Mahāyāna each have roots and branches. Each of the root *dharmas* can encompass the branch *dharmas*, so we say *Encompassing the Mahāyāna*.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ The duality of the gates of absolute reality or suchness (眞如門) and of arising and ceasing (生滅門) discussed in the *Awakening of Faith* and *Shi moheyan lun*.

⁹⁶ See note 11.

⁹⁷ This refers to the sixteen gates of entering (十六能入門) and sixteen *dharmas* that are entered (十六所入本法) of the *Shi moheyan lun* (T 1668:32.600a), for a total of thirty-two. The thirty-third gate is the nondual Mahāyāna (不二摩訶衍).

⁹⁸ This section shows Kūkai's parsing of the Chinese title of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, see note 36.

[II.12. The meaning of *Realization* in the title]

現證者此有二。初法爾現證。次隨緣現證。法爾現證又三。二門及本體。三種門本覺佛自爾現覺一切法證得諸(TKZ 4.82)功德故。隨緣現證者。隨緣本智流轉生死背源時久。若遇內熏外緣力厭生死欣涅槃。發始覺日光照無明闇夜。遍知本有寶藏悉得自家功德。名之現證。三門現證雖云差別無量。而不過法爾隨緣。所謂現證通別准前知之。

Realization has two [meanings]. The first is natural realization (inherent awakening). The next is conditioned realization (initiated awakening, i.e. through practice). Natural realization also [is subdivided into] three: the two gates⁹⁹ and the original essence. This is because the buddha of inherent awakening of these three gates naturally and spontaneously awakens directly to all teachings and attains all merits. As to conditioned realization, [a being whose] inherent wisdom is subject to conditions within the cycle of *samsāra* will for a long time turn his back on the ultimate. If [that being] encounters the inner perfuming and outer conditions¹⁰⁰ he then becomes weary of *samsāra* and longs for *nirvāṇa*. The sunlight of initiated awakening¹⁰¹ illuminates the dark night of ignorance (*samsāra*). To thoroughly know the inherently existing treasury is to completely attain the merits [already existing in] your own home. This is what we call *realization*. Although there are limitless differences in the realization of the three gates, there is nothing other than [the pair] natural and conditioned [realization]. The general and specific kinds of realization can be known by the previous.

⁹⁹ This probably means the gates of absolute reality or suchness (眞如門) and of arising and ceasing (生滅門) discussed in the *Awakening of Faith* and *Shi moheyan lun*.

¹⁰⁰ “Inner perfuming” (內熏) means that the suchness inherent in beings “perfumes” the confused mind so that it comes to detest the suffering of *samsāra* and desire the peace of *nirvāṇa*. “Outer conditions” (外緣) are influences from outside, such as receiving instruction, the protection of the Buddha, and so on. Both are necessary to realize awakening. This section refers to the *Awakening of Faith* (HAKEDA 2006: 63):

It is like the case of wood: though it possesses a latent fire nature which is the primary cause of its burning, it cannot be made to burn by itself unless men understand the situation and resort to means of actualizing fire out of wood by kindling it. In the same way a man, though he is in possession of the correct primary cause, Suchness with permeating force, cannot put an end to his defilements by himself alone and enter *nirvāṇa* unless he is provided with coordinating causes, i.e., his encounters with the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, or good spiritual friends. Even though coordinating causes from without may be sufficiently provided, if the pure principle [i.e., Suchness] within is lacking in the force of permeation, then a man cannot ultimately loathe the suffering of *samsāra* and seek bliss in *nirvāṇa*. However, if both the primary and the coordinating causes are sufficiently provided, then because of his possession of the force of permeation of Suchness from within and the compassionate protection of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas from without, he is able to develop a loathing for suffering, to believe that *nirvāṇa* is real, and to cultivate his capacity for goodness. (See T 1666:32.578c, 如木中火性是火正因。若無人知不假方便能自燒木。無有是處。衆生亦爾。雖有正因熏習之力。若不值遇諸佛菩薩善知識等以之爲緣。能自斷煩惱入涅槃者。則無是處。若雖有外緣之力。而內淨法未有熏習力者。亦不能究竟厭生死苦樂求涅槃。若因緣具足者。所謂自有熏習之力。又爲諸佛菩薩等慈悲願護故。能起厭苦之心。信有涅槃修習善根。以修善根成熟故。)

¹⁰¹ The term “initiated awakening” (始覺) is awakening, or rather the realization of inherent awakening (本覺), that is initiated and attained through cultivation. Like the firewood in the previous note, inherent awakening cannot be actualized without a process leading towards the realization of that goal. That process is called initiated awakening. The pair might also be expressed in translation as *original* (i.e. inherent or potential) awakening, and *originated* (i. e. through cultivation) awakening. See DREITELIN 2014a, note 16.

[II.13. The meaning of *King of the Great Teachings* in the title]

大教王者。大有三種。一體大。二相大。三用大。

In the *King of the Great Teachings* there are three kinds of *greatness*: the greatness of essence, the greatness of manifestations, and the greatness of functions.¹⁰²

初體大中又四。一無量無邊諸法差別不增不減體大。二寂靜無雜一味平等不增不減體大。此二法又有二門大。故成四。

In the first, the greatness of essence, there are another four. The first is the greatness of essence, neither increasing nor decreasing, of the differences in the countless and limitless *dharma*s. The second is the greatness of essence, neither increasing nor decreasing, of the sameness of the single taste that is serene and unperturbed.¹⁰³ These two *dharma*s both have these two gates, thereby making four [*dharma gates*].

相大又四。一如來藏功德相大。二具足性功德相大。此二法又具二門大。故爲四。

The greatness of manifestations also has four [kinds]. The first is the greatness of manifestations of the virtues of the *tathāgatagarbha*. The second is the greatness of manifestations of the virtues of the nature that is fully possessed. These two *dharma*s both possess these two gates, thereby making four [*dharma gates*].

用大又四。一能生一切世間善因果用大。二能生一切出世間善因果用大。此二法又具二門大。故爲四。

The greatness of functions also has four [kinds]. The first is the greatness of functions giving rise to all mundane positive causes and effects. The second is the greatness of functions giving rise to all transcendent positive causes and effects. These two *dharma*s both possess these two gates, thereby making four [*dharma gates*].

數三種大義各具四大都有十二大。此十二大皆是生滅門法門。約眞如門又具三大義。如是二門大義能含一切教法。故曰大教。此大教各於(TKZ 4.83)自門得自在故名之王。

Counting the meanings of the three greatneses, each has a further four greatneses, making a total of twelve greatneses. These twelve greatneses all belong to the Dharma gate of arising and ceasing (*saṃsāra*). The gate of suchness also has the meanings of the three greatneses. The meanings of great in these two gates includes all teachings. Therefore, [the title of the *sūtra*] has the [words] *Great Teachings*. These great teachings are, in each of their gates, fully sovereign, and so they are named kings.

[II.14. The meaning of *Encompassing the King of the Great Teachings* in the title]

又上攝字流被此大教王字。攝大教王者。此有二別。具能所故。能攝大教王者此經是。所攝大教王者二門大乘教王是。卽是應化身所說大乘教王一乘經王是。王是自在主宰之義。

Furthermore, [in the title] the earlier word *encompassing* can be shifted to come before the words *King of the Great Teachings*. [The resulting phrase,] *Encompassing the King of the Great Teachings* has two distinctions, that of subject and of object. The king of the great teachings that

¹⁰² See note 19.

¹⁰³ These paired names and those in the two following paragraphs are based on the *Shi moheyān lun* (T 1668:32.600b).

encompasses is this *sūtra*. The king of the great teachings that is encompassed is the king of the teachings of the two Mahāyāna gates.¹⁰⁴ Accordingly, this is the Mahāyāna king of teachings, or the king of the single-vehicle *sūtras*, taught by the Nirmāṇakāya (Śākyamuni). *King* means a sovereign ruler.

何故有能攝所攝差別。王之名通大小故。譬如四種輪王及諸粟散王共得王號。然猶尊卑有差。

Why is there this difference of encompasser and encompassed? It is because the word *king* can be applied to both greater and lesser [kings]. For example, there are the four kinds of *cakravartin* kings¹⁰⁵ and the many lesser kings [who hold fealty to them]. These are all called kings, but nevertheless there are differences [among them] of high and low.

如是教王亦復然矣。法身佛所說教王能攝一切應化身所說教王。法身所說者此經是也。應化身所說教王者所謂諸顯教是。雖云於自乘得王名而望法身自證最勝頂輪王教猶如粟散王等輪王之所攝。故名攝大教王。

It is just the same with the *King of the Teachings*. The *King of the Teachings* preached by the Dharmakāya encompasses the “king of the teachings” of all the teachings taught by the Nirmāṇakāya (Śākyamuni). What is preached by the Dharmakāya is this *sūtra*. The king of the teachings preached by the Nirmāṇakāya is what we call exoteric Buddhism. Although we say that our [esoteric] vehicle is called the king, and moreover it is the teachings of the supreme Uṣṇīṣacakra King, the self-awakened *dharmakāya*, in just the same way [as mentioned above] it encompasses the teachings of the *cakravartin* kings including the many lesser kings. Therefore, [this *sūtra*] is titled *Encompassing the King of the Great Teachings*.

若約豎次第有如是淺深差別。若約橫平等悉皆平等平等一。然終不雜亂。

According to the vertical [interpretation emphasizing] a succession [of levels], there are differences in shallowness or profundity such as these. According to the horizontal [interpretation emphasizing] identity, all are the same, equal, and one, and ultimately there is no disorder.

又一一經互爲主伴。若舉一門爲主故各得王名。舉主攝伴故。

Furthermore, each of the *sūtras* can each be either the “master” (of central importance) or the “follower” (of peripheral importance) [relative to the others]. If one gate [taught in a *sūtra*] is taken up as the “master,” then it may be called a *king*. This is because taking up [any one *sūtra* as] the “master” means that it encompasses [the others] as “followers.”

又若約字門義無有高下淺深。悉皆法曼荼羅法(TKZ 4.84)智印平等無二

Again, from the point of view of the meanings of the letter-gates,¹⁰⁶ none is higher or lower, nor is any of them the more shallow or profound. All are the *dharma*-wisdom-seals (*dharma-jñānamudrās*) of the *dharma-maṇḍala*, and are equal and nondual.

¹⁰⁴ See note 99.

¹⁰⁵ The wheel-turning monarchs symbolized by gold (金輪王), silver (銀輪王), copper (銅輪王), and iron wheels (鐵輪王).

¹⁰⁶ Letter-gates, all contain letter *a*, *dharma*-wisdom-seals (*dharma-jñānamudrās*)

[II.15. The meaning of *Sūtra* in the title]

經者貫串義攝持義。譬如以線貫花不亂不墮。如是能以教線貫人天花不亂墮三途。

Sūtra has the meanings of piercing and lacing [together like an Indian-style book],¹⁰⁷ and of gathering and holding together.¹⁰⁸ For example, it is like stringing together flowers [to make a garland], without any disorder or loss. In the same way, the string of the teachings [a *sūtra*] can string together the flowers of men and gods, without any disorder or the loss of any [beings] to the three [undesirable] destinies.¹⁰⁹

又如以經絲能攝持緯成綾羅錦繡莊嚴男女身。如是真實語爲經方便說爲諱。織成法界曼荼羅錦繡綾羅。莊嚴遍一切處定慧身。故云經也。

Again, [in the mundane sense] the warp threads¹¹⁰ gather and hold together the woof threads to create damask, gauze, brocade, and figured cloth to adorn the bodies of men and women. In the same way, [the Buddha's] words of truth form the warp (*sūtra*), and the teachings of skillful means form the woof. These are woven together to create the damask, gauze, brocade, and figured cloth that is the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala, which adorns the everywhere-pervading bodies of *samādhi* and wisdom. Therefore, this is called a *sūtra*.

又如以絲結網能羅殺禽魚長養四大。如是以法智印絲結顯密教網羅殺無明煩惱之禽魚長養四種法身亦復然矣。

Again, [as a mundane comparison] threads can be knotted together to make a net that can be used to trap birds and fish so to nurture the four great elements (the physical body). Likewise, the threads of the *dharma*-wisdom-seals (*dharma-jñānamudrās*) of the net of the exoteric and esoteric teachings can be knotted together to trap the birds and fish of ignorance and the afflictions, so to nurture the [inherent] fourfold *dharmakāya* in the same way.

[II.16. The words of the title explained as a letter-wheel, etc.]

[II.16.1. The letter-wheel in normal sequence]

復次約順相緣釋者。金剛卽是最上故頂。金剛頂無量故一切。

Next, to interpret [the words of the title] in the normal sequence, *vajra* is supreme, so it is the *pinnacle*. The *Vajra-pinnacle* (*Vajrasekhara*) is immeasurable, so it is the *All*.

一切金剛皆是證如實理故如來。

All *vajras* without exception realize the principle of reality as-it-is, and so are *Tathāgatas*.

¹⁰⁷ An Indian-style *sūtra* book is meant. Besides being a sacred text, *sūtra* in Sanskrit also means a string or cord, or "that which, like a thread, runs through or holds together everything" (Monier-Williams).

¹⁰⁸ The *Buddhabhūmisūtra-sāstra* (r 1530:26.291b) says, "That which pierces and gathers together is called a *sūtra*. This is because, by the Buddha's teachings, [a *sūtra*] passes through and holds together the meanings that should be taught and the beings who should be liberated," (能貫能攝故名爲經。以佛聖教貫穿攝持。所應說義所化生故). In several of his *Dainichikyō kaidai* (TKZ 4.9, 21, 46, 62) Kūkai writes, "*Sūtra* means [a book] pierced and laced [together with a cord so that the pages] do not scatter," (經者貫串不散之義). (*Hōkai jōshin*, TKZ 4.14, DREITLEIN 2014a: §III.3.7; *Shujō kyōmei*, TKZ 4.21, DREITLEIN 2014b: §IV.6).

¹⁰⁹ These are rebirths in hell, as a hungry ghost, or as an animal. See the entries for *three baleful destinies* (1066) and *durgati* (274) in BUSWELL and LOPEZ 2014.

¹¹⁰ In Chinese 經, which translates *sūtra*, also means the warp of a fabric.

如來如知皆是離一切虛偽故真實。

The *tathāgatas*, the thus-knowing ones, are all freed from all falseness, and so that is *Truth*.

真實如來故能攝大乘。

The *tathāgatas* are truthful, and so *Encompass the Mahāyāna*.

能攝大乘故現證大菩提。

Because they encompass the Mahāyāna, [the title of this *sūtra*] is the *Realization* of great *bodhi*.

現證大菩提故能說大乘教。

Because [this *sūtra*] is the realization of great *bodhi*, it preaches the *Teachings of Mahāyāna*.

能說大乘教故諸法之王。

Because it preaches the teachings of Mahāyāna, it is the *King* of all *dharma*s.

諸法之王故能爲一切法之經緯。

Because it is the king of all *dharma*s, it forms the warp and woof of all *dharma*s.

故名金剛頂乃至教王經。

Therefore, this [*sūtra*] is named *The Vajra-pinnacle (Vajraśekhara) [of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas Encompassing the Mahāyāna Realization, the Sūtra of the Great] King of the Teachings*.

[II.16.2. The letter-wheel in reversed sequence]

若約逆相承釋者。此經能經_(TKZ 4.85)綸一切故爲諸經之王。

To interpret [the words of the title] in a reversed sequence, because this *sūtra* arranges all the threads it is called the *king of sūtras*.

爲諸經之王故即是大教。

Because it is called the *king of sūtras*, [this *sūtra*] is thus the *Great [King of] Teachings*.

大教故現證佛菩提。

Because it is *Great [King of] Teachings*, it is the *Realization* of great *bodhi*.

現證佛菩提故能攝持大乘之理。

Because it is the *Realization* of great *bodhi*, it is the truth that can *Encompass the Mahāyāna*.

能攝持大乘之理故名如來。

Because it is the truth that can *Encompass the Mahāyāna*, it is named the *Tathāgatas*.

如來無數故名一切。

Because the *tathāgatas* are numberless, it is named the *All*.

一切如來最上人故曰頂。

Because *All the Tathāgatas* are the supreme Persons, it is named the *pinnacle*.

佛頂輪王能破四魔能勝難勝常恆不壞堅固不動。故名金剛。

Because the Buddha-pinnacle wheel-turning kings (*buddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravartin*) destroy the four Māras [this *sūtra*] is victorious, indomitable, constant, indestructible, firm, and changeless. Therefore, it is named *Vajra*.

如此題名文句即是字輪旋陀羅尼。互相釋相生有無量無邊義。恐煩故止耳。

In this way, the words and phrases of the title are thus [like] a letter-wheel for revolving a *dhāraṇī*.¹¹¹ These interpretations are interrelated and produce each other [in sequence], and have uncountable and limitless meanings. Fearing this might become tedious, I shall stop here.

[II.17. Various other categories for analyzing the words of the title]

復次約六合釋及六相義。四悉檀三聲等釋。有無量無數義。煩故不釋。

Next, there are commentaries [on the title words] according to the six Sanskrit compounds (*ṣaṭsamāsa*),¹¹² the meanings of the six marks,¹¹³ the four *siddhāntas* (accomplishments),¹¹⁴ the three [Sanskrit] genders (*trilinga*),¹¹⁵ and so on. These too have uncountable and limitless meanings. As [this explanation] will be lengthy, I will comment no further.

[II.18. The words of the title explained according to the five buddhas]

復次約佛釋者。金剛頂大日尊密號。大日金剛峯故。峯則頂義。

Next, to interpret [the words of the title] according to the [Five] Buddhas, *Vajra-pinnacle* is the secret name of Lord Mahāvairocana. This is because it is the *Vajra-peak*¹¹⁶ of Mahāvairocana. *Peak* means *pinnacle*.

¹¹¹ Kūkai intends that the words of the title may be understood to be like the Sanskrit letters of a mantra arranged around the periphery of a moon-disc positioned in the heart, with the relationships between the meanings of each letter (in the case of a mantra or *dhāraṇī*), or in this case of each word in the title, examined in a forward (clockwise on the moon-disc) and reverse (counterclockwise) sequence, one after the other. For an explanation of “revolving a *dhāraṇī* letter wheel” (旋陀羅尼字輪) see TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 148–155. In his *Hokkekyō shaku* Kūkai describes sixteen methods for revolving a *dhāraṇī* letter-wheel, (TKZ 4.201), the last two of which are used here.

第二祕密者。據大日經王及金剛頂教王祕密法曼荼羅陀羅尼字輪海印三摩地。釋一切經且有十六門。謂遮情。表德。淺略。深祕。字相。字義。一字攝多。多字歸一。一字釋多。多字釋一。一字成多。多字成一。一字破多。多字破一。順旋轉。逆旋轉是也。

Second, the esoteric [interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra*]. According to the ocean-seal *samādhi* of revolving a *dhāraṇī* letter-wheel in the esoteric *dharma-maṇḍala* of the *Mahāvairocanaḥśambodhi-sūtra* King and the *Vajrasekhara King of Teachings*, there are sixteen gates [in eight pairs] used to interpret any of the *sūtras*. They are: (1) counteracting delusions and (2) revealing excellent qualities, (3) the shallow and simple and (4) the profound and secret, (5) the superficial meanings of letters and (6) the profound meanings of letters, (7) one letter encompassing many [letters] and (8) many [letters] returning to one letter, (9) one letter interpreting many [letters] and (10) many [letters] interpreting one letter, (11) one letter establishing many [letters] and (12) many [letters] establishing one letter, (13) one letter refuting many [letters] and (14) many [letters] refuting one letter, and (15) clockwise revolving and (16) counterclockwise revolving [of the letter-wheel].

¹¹² The six Sanskrit compounds (六合釋) Kūkai discusses in *Shō-ji-jissō gi* (TKZ 3.36–37, TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 86–89). In his *Kongō-hannya-haramitsu-kyō kaidai* Kūkai used the six compounds to give fuller interpretation of the words of the title of the *Diamond Sūtra* (TKZ 4.265).

¹¹³ The six marks (六相) are a Kegon teaching: the marks of totality (總相) and particularity (別相), sameness (同相) and difference (異相), and becoming (成相) and decaying (壞相). These appear in the *Avatamsaka* (e.g. ㊦ 279:10.181c, etc.). This appears in more detail in the *Kongō-hannya-haramitsu-kyō kaidai* (TKZ 4.267).

¹¹⁴ The four modes of the Buddha's preaching. They are the accomplishment of mundane or ordinary preaching (世界悉檀), the accomplishment of preaching adjusted to individuals (各各為人悉檀), the accomplishment of preaching as a curative for mental afflictions (對治悉檀), and the accomplishment of preaching the supreme truth (第一義悉檀). This is also discussed in some detail in the *Kongō-hannya-haramitsu-kyō kaidai* (TKZ 4.267).

¹¹⁵ The three grammatical genders of Sanskrit (*trilinga*), masculine (*pumlinga*), feminine (*strilinga*), and neuter (*napumsakalinga*).

¹¹⁶ Kūkai here uses *jin'gangfeng* (金剛峯), possibly from the title of the *Jin'gangfeng louge yiqie yujia yuqi jing* (㊦ 867) but known from other texts, instead of the more common *jin'gangding* (金剛頂). While both terms should be understood

一切如來阿閼佛祕名。阿閼則普賢。普賢名遍一切處佛故。

All the Tathāgatas is the secret name of Akṣobhya Buddha. This is because Akṣobhya is Samantabhadra, and Samantabhadra is the name for the buddhas pervading all places.

眞實者平等性智佛。眞如實法厭異捨別同同無二故。

Truth is the Buddha of the wisdom of equality (Ratnasambhava Buddha). This is because the true Dharma of suchness is incompatible with differences and abandons distinctions, and is identical, the same, and not-two.

攝大乘者則無量壽佛。摩訶衍法部故。

Encompassing the Mahāyāna is Amitāyus Buddha, because Mahāyāna is the Dharma family [he represents].

現證大教者不空成就佛也。能證圓寂之理(TKZ 4.86)兼示教令輪作業故。

Realization, [the Sūtra of the] Great [King of the] Teachings is Amoghasiddhi Buddha. This is because he realizes the truth of perfect peace (*nirvāṇa*), while also revealing the activities of a wrathful deity.

王字通五佛。五佛共爲五大之王。於諸法得自在故。此經說五佛三摩地故以人名冠題額。

The word *King* applies equally to all five buddhas. The five buddhas together are the kings of the five great elements. This is because they have attained sovereignty over all *dharma*s. Because this *sūtra* teaches the *samādhis* of the five buddhas, the names of these Persons are implied in the title.

[II.19. The words of the title explained according to the three mysteries]

復次約修行門釋者。言金剛者法佛三密是。身密則佛部。語密則蓮華部。意密則金剛部。三密皆具福德資糧即是寶部。三密又具作業化用則羯磨部。

Next, to interpret [the words of the title] according to the gate of cultivation, what is called *Vajra* is the three mysteries of the Dharmakāya Buddha. The mystery of body is the Buddha family, the mystery of speech is the Lotus family, and the mystery of mind is the vajra family. These three families all possess the full accumulation of merits, and thus are the jewel family. The three mysteries fully possess action and transformative activities, and so are the karma family.

眞言行者手作印契則身業。與如來身密相應。口誦眞言則與如來語密相應。心觀實相與如來意密相應。辦種種供具供養諸尊。則寶部與相應。三密所作精進不怠。與羯磨部大精進門相應。

A practitioner of esoteric Buddhism makes *mudrās* with his hands: this is the action (*karma*) of body. This is integration with the mystery of body of the Tathāgata. With his mouth he repeats mantras, and this is integration with the mystery of speech of the Tathāgata. In his mind he visualizes reality, and this is integration with the mystery of mind of the Tathāgata. Preparing various offerings and offering them to the deities is thus integration with the jewel family. Engaging in the activities of the three mysteries with perseverance and without negligence is integration with the gate of great perseverance of the karma family.

as Chinese translations of Vajraśekhara, 金剛峯 has been translated as “*vajra-peak*” and 金剛頂 as “*vajra-pinnacle*” throughout to avert confusion.

若有善男善女四衆人等。修行此三密法門超過諸度。於二乘六度等次第菩薩爲尊爲上。故云諸行之頂。

If a good man or woman, a person belonging to the fourfold assembly (of monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen), and so on were to cultivate this Dharma gate of the three mysteries, then they would transcend the *pāramitās* to become the most honored and supreme among those of the two vehicles and the bodhisattvas on the gradual path of the six *pāramitās* (the exoteric paths). Therefore, these activities [of the three mysteries] are the *pinnacle*.

次一切如來者。三密五部中具三十七尊及塵數諸尊。故云一切如來。卽是如來者表身密佛部。

Next, *All the Tathāgatas* fully possesses the thirty-seven deities, and deities as numerous as the particles of dust [in the world]. Therefore, [the title] has *All the Tathāgatas*. Accordingly, *Tathāgatas* reveals the mystery of body and the Buddha family.

眞實者如來語密。眞實語卽是眞言。此_(TKZ 4.87)眞言其數無量。故云一切眞實語。上句一切字被下句故。

Truth is the mystery of speech of the *tathāgatas*. Words of truth then are mantras. These mantras are limitless in number. Therefore, [we might] say *All the Words of Truth*. This [term is made] by applying the word *all* from the previous phrase to the following one.

攝大乘者。攝念大乘理趣與實相相應。卽是意密。

Encompassing the Mahāyāna means that by encompassing in one's thoughts the truth of the Mahāyāna one becomes integrated with reality. This is then the mystery of mind.

行者意密與本尊妙觀相應。則是現覺大菩提故云現證。

The mystery of mind of the practitioner integrates with the subtle contemplation of the main deity. This is then direct awakening and great *bodhi*. Therefore, this is called *Realization*.

此眞言門三密法教爲諸教之王。故云大教王經。

This Dharma teaching of the three mysteries within the mantra-gate is the king of all teachings. Therefore, [the title] has *Sūtra of the Great King of the Teachings*.

[II.20. The words of the title explained according to the four wisdom-seals]

復次就此題目字。釋攝經中諸文義盡者。此經所說不過四智印。

Next, regarding the words of the title, an interpretation [made by] gathering in all the meanings of the passages in the *sūtra* [shows that] this *sūtra* teaches nothing other than the four wisdom-seals.

說大智印文義者如來字句中攝盡。

The passages explaining the *mahā*-wisdom-seals (*mahā-jñānamudrā*) are all gathered into the word *Tathāgatas*.

說三昧耶智印文義者金剛字句中攝也。金剛杵三昧耶身故。又通所有一切三昧耶形同名金剛故。

The passages explaining the *samaya*-wisdom-seals (*samaya-jñānamudrā*) are all gathered into the word *Vajra*. This is because a *vajra* is a *samaya*-form. Furthermore, this is because all the *samaya*-forms can, in the same way, be called *vajras* as a general term.¹¹⁷

說法智印文義者真實及摩訶衍字句中攝。

The passages explaining the *dharmā*-wisdom-seals (*dharmā-jñānamudrā*) are all gathered into the words *Truth* and *Mahāyāna*.

說羯磨智印文義者大教王字句中攝。

The passages explaining the *karma*-wisdom-seals (*karma-jñānamudrā*) are all gathered into the words *Great King of the Teachings*.

[II.21. The four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*]

此經

This *sūtra* (the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*)

有四大品。一名金剛界二名降三世三名遍調伏四名一切義成就。

has four great chapters. The first is named the Vajradhātu (Vajra-realm). The second is named Trailokyavijaya (Victory over the Triple World). The third is named Sakalajagadvinaya (Universal Subjugation). The fourth is called Sarvārthasiddhi (All Aims Accomplished).¹¹⁸

此三卷者初一品中翻出。四品則

These three fascicles [of the *sūtra* translated by Amoghavajra (T 865)] are translated from the first chapter alone.¹¹⁹ The four chapters

表四智印。於初品中有六曼荼羅。所謂金剛界大曼荼羅并說(TKZ 4.88)毗盧遮那佛受用身以五相現成正覺。五相者。一通達本心。二修菩提心。三成金剛心。四證金剛身。五佛身圓滿。此則五智通達。

reveal the four wisdom-seals. In the first chapter there are six *maṇḍalas*.¹²⁰ The [first] is called the Vajradhātu Mahā-maṇḍala, which altogether teaches how Vairocana Buddha as a *sambhogakāya* realized perfect awakening through the five-stage meditation.¹²¹ The five stages are first, penetrating *bodhicitta*; second,

¹¹⁷ In his *Kongō-hannya-haramitsu-kyō kaidai* Kūkai writes, “The Jewel, Lotus, and other families can also be generally known by the word *vajra*, because each possesses the meanings of firmness and indestructibility,” (TKZ 4.264, 亦寶蓮等通名金剛各具堅不壞義故).

¹¹⁸ This and the following quote the *Shibahui zhigui* (T 869:18.284c–285a).

¹¹⁹ The three fascicles of Amoghavajra’s 753 translation of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (T 865) are a partial translation of this first chapter. A full translation of the this text was not available in Chinese until Dānapāla’s complete translation of 1015 in thirty fascicles (T 882), which due to its lateness had only a minimal effect on Japanese esoteric Buddhism. See note 38.

¹²⁰ These six *maṇḍalas* correspond to the six sections in the center and the left side of the nine-assembly *maṇḍala* (*kue-mandara*, 九會曼荼羅) of the Vajradhātu used in Japan.

¹²¹ A meditation sequence in five stages to realize buddhahood (五相成身, lit. “five aspects of perfecting the body” [of a buddha], Skt. *pañcākārābhisambodhi-krama*) central to many Vajraśekhara *sādhana*s. See also TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 362.

cultivating *bodhicitta*; third, perfecting the *vajra*-mind; fourth, attaining the *vajra*-body; and fifth, the body of a buddha is perfected. These are the full realization of the fivefold wisdom.¹²²

第二說陀羅尼曼荼羅具三十七。此中聖衆皆住波羅蜜形。廣說入曼荼羅儀軌。爲弟子受四種眼說四種法。

The second [*maṇḍala*] explained is the Dhāraṇī Maṇḍala¹²³ with thirty-seven [deities]. The *āryas* of this assembly all abide in a *pāramitā*-form.¹²⁴ This explains in detail the rituals steps for [having disciples] enter the *maṇḍala*, [how to] provide disciples with the four kinds of eyes, and explains the four methods.¹²⁵

第三說微細金剛曼荼羅亦具三十七。聖衆於金剛杵中畫各持定印。廣說入曼荼羅儀軌。爲弟子令心堪任令心調柔令心自在。說微細金剛三摩地。修四靜慮法修四無量及三解脫門。

The third [*maṇḍala*] explained is the Subtle-vajra Maṇḍala,¹²⁶ also with thirty-seven [deities]. The *āryas* of this assembly are depicted within *vajras*, each forming a *samādhi-mudrā*. This explains in detail the rites for [having disciples] enter the *maṇḍala*, and [how to] make the minds of disciples fit [to receive the practice, how to] make their minds pliant, and [how to] make their minds unrestricted. It explains the subtle (*sūkṣma*) *vajra-samādhi*, the cultivation of the four *dhyānas*,¹²⁷ the cultivation of the four immeasurables,¹²⁸ and the three gates of liberation.¹²⁹

¹²² The text from “the five stages are first” to the end of the above paragraph is given interlinearly in the Taishō edition. Between this quote and Kūkai’s next quote the *Shibahui zhigui* (T 869:18.284c) has:

成佛後以金剛三摩地現發生三十七智。廣說曼荼羅儀則。爲弟子受速證菩薩地佛地法。
After attaining buddhahood, [Vairocana] directly generated the thirty-seven wisdoms through *vajra-samādhi*. He explained in detail the rites of the *maṇḍalas*, and [how to] provide disciples with the method for rapidly realizing the bodhisattva *bhūmis* and the stage of the buddhas.

¹²³ This *maṇḍala* corresponds to the Samaya Assembly (三昧耶會) of the nine-assembly Vajradhātu Maṇḍala and is a *samaya-maṇḍala*. For further details see GIEBEL (1995: 132–134).

¹²⁴ A *pāramitā*-form is a female form, with each deity holding its *samaya*-sign. Kūkai explains the *pāramitā* form as meaning the appearance of having entered deep meditation in his *Kongō-hannya-haramitsu-kyō kaidai* (TKZ 4.264):

萬行法門身各具三昧耶身。各持標幟住波羅蜜形故。波羅蜜形者所謂入定相耳。
The deities of the Dharma gate of the 10,000 actions each has a *samaya*-form, because each holds its sign while abiding in a *pāramitā*-form. A *pāramitā*-form simply is the mark of having entered *samādhi*.

¹²⁵ Instead of “explains the four methods” (說四種法) the *Shibahui zhigui* (T 869:18.284c) has “explains the rites of subjugating, summoning, destroying, pacifying, and so on” (說敬愛鉤召降伏息災等儀軌). The four kinds of eyes correspond to these four kinds of esoteric practice. Yūkai in the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō* (NDZ 32.112a) gives the four kinds of eyes as joyful eyes (歡喜眼) corresponding to subjugating (*vaśīkaraṇa*), blazing eyes (熾盛眼) corresponding to summoning (*ākarṣaṇa*), wrathful eyes (忿怒眼) corresponding to destroying (*abhicāraṇa*), and benevolent eyes (慈眼) corresponding to pacifying (*śāntika*). HORIUCHI (§§365–370) gives the Sanskrit for these four eyes as *vajra-dṛṣṭi*, *dīpta-dṛṣṭi*, *krodha-dṛṣṭi*, and *maitrī-dṛṣṭi*.

¹²⁶ This corresponds to the Subtle Assembly (微細會) of the nine-assembly Vajradhātu Maṇḍala and is a *dharma-maṇḍala*. Giebel reconstructs this as **Sūkṣma-vajra-maṇḍala*, for further details see GIEBEL (1995: 135–136).

¹²⁷ See the entries for *four absorptions* (1068) and *dhyāna* (256–257) in BUSWELL and LOPEZ 2014.

¹²⁸ The four immeasurable mental states are goodwill (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*), sympathetic joy (*muditā*), and equanimity (*upekṣā*). See the entries for *four boundless states/immeasurables* (1069), *apramāṇa* (59), and *brahmavihāra* (143) in BUSWELL and LOPEZ 2014.

¹²⁹ The three gates of liberation are emptiness (*śūnyatā*), signlessness (*animitta*), and wishlessness (*apraṇihita*). See the entries for *vimokṣamukha* (972–973) and *three gates to deliverance* (1067) in BUSWELL and LOPEZ 2014.

第四說一切如來廣大供養羯磨曼荼羅亦具三十七。彼中聖衆各持本幟幟供養而住。廣說入曼荼羅法。互說受十六大供養法。

The fourth [*maṇḍala*] explained is the Karma Maṇḍala of Vast Offerings to All the Tathāgatas,¹³⁰ also with thirty-seven [deities]. In this, the *āryas* of this assembly each hold their root signs (*samaya*-signs) and abide in making offerings. This explains in detail the rites for [having disciples] enter the *maṇḍala*. It discusses [how to provide disciples with¹³¹] the method for making the sixteen great offerings.¹³²

第五說四印曼荼羅法。弟子受四種速成就法。

Fifth, the method of the four-seal *maṇḍala* (*caturmudrā-maṇḍala*)¹³³ is explained. The disciples are provided with the four methods of rapid accomplishment.¹³⁴

第六說一印曼荼羅。若持大日眞言及金剛薩埵具十七尊餘皆具十三。亦說入曼荼羅儀。與弟子受先行法修(TKZ 4.89)集本尊三摩地。

The sixth [*maṇḍala*] explained is the single-seal *maṇḍala* (*ekamudrā-maṇḍala*).¹³⁵ One who holds the mantras of Mahāvairocana or Vajrasattva will possess the seventeen deities, or will completely possess the thirteen [deities].¹³⁶ This also explains the rites for [having disciples] enter the *maṇḍala*, the giving of preliminary practices to disciples, and [how to have them] persevere in the cultivation of the *samādhi* of the main deity.

第二品降三世會說十種曼荼羅。此中說大佛頂光聚佛頂及一字頂輪法等。

The second chapter is the Trailokyavijaya Assembly, and explains ten *maṇḍalas*. The methods of Maḥoṣṇīṣa, Tejorāśyusṇīṣa, and Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣacakra, and so on are explained in this chapter.¹³⁷

¹³⁰ This corresponds to the Offering Assembly (供養會) of the nine-assembly Vajradhātu Maṇḍala and is a *karma-maṇḍala*. Giebel reconstructs this as “*Sarva-tathāgata-pūjā-[vidhi]-vistara-karma-maṇḍala*, for further details see GIEBEL (1995: 136–137).

¹³¹ Reading 互 as 爲弟子 according to the Taishō edition.

¹³² The Taishō edition of the *Shibahui zhigui* (T 869:18.285a) adds here, “and teaches the methods of the four kinds of secret offering,” (說四種祕密供養法).

¹³³ This corresponds to the Four-seal Assembly (四印會) of the nine-assembly Vajradhātu Maṇḍala. For further details see GIEBEL (1995: 137–138).

¹³⁴ The *Shibahui zhigui* (T 869:18.285a) continues, “Through this *maṇḍala* seek for the accomplishment of the *siddhis*. Regarding the *siddhis* sought in the previous four *maṇḍalas*, seek their accomplishment before this image,” (以此曼荼羅求悉地成就。如上四曼荼羅中所求悉地。於此像前求成就).

¹³⁵ This corresponds to the Single-seal Assembly (一印會) of the nine-assembly Vajradhātu Maṇḍala. For further details see GIEBEL (1995: 139–140).

¹³⁶ According to Yūkai in the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō* (NDZ 32.114b), the seventeen deities are Mahāvairocana, the Four Buddhas, the Eight Offering Goddesses, and the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas. In the case of Vajrasattva the seventeen are the deities of the Path to Truth Assembly (理趣會) of the nine-assembly *maṇḍala* to the immediate right of the Single-seal Assembly, consisting of Vajrasattva, the four bodhisattvas Desire, Touch, Attachment, and Pride, the Eight Offering Goddesses, and the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas. The thirteen deities are either Mahāvairocana or Vajrasattva, and the Eight Offering Goddesses, and the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas. Yūkai points out that the Single-seal Assembly shows Mahāvairocana alone, and the mention of the other deities here is seems problematic (一旦不審), but that the one deity that is manifested possesses all his attendants of the five families (表示一尊五部眷屬悉可具足).

¹³⁷ The explanation of the seventh *maṇḍala* in the second chapter in the *Shibahui zhigui* (T 869:18.285b) has, “The mantras and *mudrās* of Maḥoṣṇīṣa and Tejorāśyusṇīṣa are explained here, which may also be applied to the method of Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣacakra,” (此中說大佛頂及光聚佛頂眞言及契亦通一字頂輪法).

第三遍調伏大品說六種曼荼羅。此中說蓮華部觀自在法。

The third great chapter is [called] Sakalajagadvinaya, and explains six *maṇḍalas*. The methods of Avalokiteśvara of the Lotus family are explained in this chapter.¹³⁸

第四一切義成就大品中說六種曼荼羅。此中說寶部虛空藏法。

The fourth great chapter is [called] Sarvārthasiddhi, and explains six *maṇḍalas*. The methods of Ākāśagarbha of the jewel family are explained in this chapter.

[II.22. The title explained with the Sanskrit letter *va*]

復次據梵名釋者。初 𑖀 字門具二義。一字相二字義。字相者 𑖀 字門一切諸法有言有說。又字義者若入 𑖀 字門一切言說不可得故亦最上乘聲。

Next, to interpret [the words of the title] according to the Sanskrit words, the first letter *va* [in *Vajra*] has two kinds of meanings. The first is the superficial meaning of the letter, and the second is the profound meaning of the letter.¹³⁹ The superficial meaning of the gate of the letter *va* is that all *dharma*s have words and speech (*vāc*). Furthermore, the profound meaning of the letter [*va*] is that because one enters the gate of the letter *a* [of the nonarising of all *dharma*s,] all language is ungraspable.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, [because the letter *va* is the first letter of *Vajrasekhara*] it is the sound of the highest vehicle.

從此一字。生十二聲字。從十二生百八乃至生千名。劫初具有千名。今但在十二言。十二聲者 𑖀𑖁𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋 。

From this one letter, twelve sounds and letters are generated.¹⁴¹ From the twelve, 108 and so on up to 1,000 names (sounds) are generated. At the beginning of the *kalpa* there were 1,000

¹³⁸ Kūkai mentions these six *maṇḍalas* in his *Hokkekyō shaku* (TKZ 4.208).

¹³⁹ The superficial meanings (字相) and profound meanings (字義) of Sanskrit letters are discussed by Kūkai at length in his *Unji gi* (TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 128–197, also 382–383).

¹⁴⁰ Kūkai often repeats his idea that the profound meaning (字義) of a given Sanskrit letter is made with the addition of the meaning of the letter *a*, meaning fundamental nonarising (*ādyanupāda*). For example, in his *Hokkekyō shaku* (TKZ 4.202) he writes of the letter *sa*:

初 𑖀 字有二義。字相字義是。字相者一切諸法諦義。字義者一切諸法入 𑖀 字門即諦不可得。

The first letter *sa* has two meanings: the superficial meaning of the letter and the profound meaning of the letter. The superficial meaning of the letter is the truth (*satya*) of all *dharma*s. The profound meaning is that all *dharma*s enter into the letter *a*, and thus [their] truth is ungraspable.

This is probably based on such texts as the *Mahāvairocanaḥisambodhi-sūtra* (T 848:18.10a), which gives an abbreviated list of the fifty letters beginning with: (see also the full list of letters in TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 292–299)

謂阿字門一切諸法本不生故。迦字門一切諸法離作業故。佉字門一切諸法等虛空不可得故。哦字門一切諸法一切行不可得故...

The gate of the letter *a* is the fundamental nonarising of all *dharma*s, therefore the gate of the letter *ka* is that all *dharma*s are free from action (*kārya*), therefore the gate of the letter *kha* is that all *dharma*s are identical with unobstructed space (*khāsama*) and ungraspable, therefore the gate of the letter *ga* is that the movement (*gati*) of all *dharma*s is ungraspable, therefore ... (continues with the rest of the letters)

¹⁴¹ These are the twelve vowels of Sanskrit. In the *Hokkekyō shaku* (TKZ 4.202) Kūkai writes of the letter *sa*, “This single letter [*sa*] has twelve vowel transformations” (此一字有十二轉聲), which are: *sā, sã, sî, sî, su, sũ, se, sai, so, sau, san, and sah*. In *Bonji shittan jimo narabi ni shakugi* (TKZ 5.111, TAKAGI and DREITLEIN 2010: 300) Kūkai writes:

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names, but today there are only these twelve words (sounds). The twelve sounds [derived from the root letter *va*] are *va*, *vā*, *vi*, *vī*, *vu*, *vū*, *ve*, *vai*, *vo*, *vau*, *vaṃ*, and *vaḥ*.

此十二字表最初𑖀字爲因也。次九字行也。第十一字證果。第十二字入涅槃聲。

These twelve letters reveal that the first letter *va* is the cause (*bodhicitta*). The next nine letters [from *vā* through *vau*] are [the stages of] training. The eleventh letter [*vaṃ*] is the attainment of the fruit. The twelfth letter [*vaḥ*] is entry into *nirvāṇa*.¹⁴²

又第一字根本字母。是爲本體名男聲。次聲女聲。男聲詮慧女聲表定。譬如男女因緣故生成諸子孫。定(TKZ 4.90)慧和合能生成佛果亦復如是。

Moreover, the first letter (*va*) is the root mother-letter (*mātrkā*) [of the other eleven letters]. It is the base form [for the other letters], and is a masculine sound. The following are feminine sounds. A masculine sound denotes [the principle of] wisdom, and the feminine sounds reveal meditation.¹⁴³ For example, because there are a man and woman, children and grandchildren are

ka, *kā*, *ki*, *kī*, *ku*, *kū*, *ke*, *kai*, *ko*, *kau*, *kaṃ*, *kaḥ*. The above twelve letters are the vowel transformations of one letter, *ka*. From the single mother-letter (*mātrkā*) of *ka*, twelve other letters are born. Similarly, twelve letters are born from each of the other mother-letters.

In *Jūjūshin ron* (TKZ 2.322–323):

謂𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏乃至𑖐𑖑𑖒等字爲本母。各各字有十二轉生字。此各各十二爲本。有一合二合三合四合等增加字。都計餘一萬。此一字門具無量無邊顯密教義。一聲一字一實相周遍法界。爲一切諸尊三摩地門陀羅尼門。隨衆生機根量。開示顯教密教。

The letters from *a*, *ā*, *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *gha*, *ṇa* to *śa*, *ṣa*, *sa*, *ha* are the root mother-letters (*mātrkā*). Each letter has twelve vowel transformations to create new letters. These twelve transformations for each of the root letters form the basic letters. One, two, three, four, or more letters can be combined together, increasing the number of letters. In total there are over 10,000 letters. Within each letter there are infinite and limitless numbers of exoteric and esoteric meanings. Each sound, letter, and reality extends throughout the *dharmadhātu* to become the *samādhi*-gates and *dhāraṇī*-gates of all the deities. According to the inclinations and capacities of beings, they reveal either exoteric or esoteric Buddhism.

¹⁴² Kūkai here paraphrases the *Darījing shu* (r 1796:39.657a):

又梵字十二聲中。第一是本體故。即次第二字是行。第三以去以諸畫增加者。皆名三昧。第十一其上安點是證。第十二傍置二點是般涅槃。

Further, among the twelve Sanskrit sounds (*a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *e*, *ai*, *o*, *au*, *aṃ*, *aḥ*), because the first (*a*) is the root form, the next letter, the second (*ā*) is training. From the third [letter] on various diacritical marks are added [to the letters], all of which are called *samādhi* [marks]. The eleventh [letter] (*aṃ*) has a mark (*anusvāra*) placed above it, this is attainment. On one side of the twelfth [letter] (*aḥ*) two marks (*visarga*) are placed, this is *parinirvāṇa*.

This discussion is based on the five vowel transformations of the letter *a* (阿字五轉) discussed in the *Darījing shu*, for example (r 1796:39.723b).

若見阿字。當知菩提心義。若見長阿字。當知修如來行。若見暗字。當知成三菩提。若見嚙字。當知證大涅槃。若見長嚙字。當知是方便力也。

If you see the letter *a*, know that it means *bodhicitta*. If you see the letter *ā*, know that it is cultivating the training of a *tathāgata*. If you see the letter *aṃ*, know that it is perfecting *sambodhi*. If you see the letter *aḥ*, know that it is the attainment of great *nirvāṇa*. If you see the letter *aḥ*, know that it is the power of skillful means.

In the above, the letter *vā* (corresponding to *a*) is the cause, which is *bodhicitta*. The letters *vā* through *vau* all correspond to the letter *ā* in the above, and so are training. The letter *vaṃ* corresponds to *aṃ*, and is the attainment of *bodhi*. The letter *vaḥ* corresponds to the letter *aḥ*, and is the attainment of *nirvāṇa*. A further letter *vāḥ* (*aḥ*) for skillful means is not discussed here.

¹⁴³ A simple solution to this difficult passage might have been to limit the range of 次聲女聲 to only the very next letter and not all of the following eleven letters. In that case the passage makes reasonable sense, since many masculine Sanskrit nouns end in *-a*, and many feminine nouns end in *-ā*. However, as the commentators suggest, Kūkai probably means that all eleven letters after *a* have feminine sounds. In this he may be paraphrasing the *Darījing shu* (r 1796:39.754c-755a):

是從生增加之字。悉皆是女聲。其根本字是男聲也。男聲是慧義女聲是定義也。其根本字遍一切處。

produced. In just the same way, the blending of wisdom and meditation produces the fruit of buddhahood.

又此 ㄅ 字於五大中水輪種子。一切色法水能生能持。一切天人及傍生大身小身有情。皆是水大所生水輪所持。若使須彌山王高十六萬由旬。非水大能攝隨風飛散。何況自餘小山乎。大身有情亦復如是。

Furthermore, the letter *vaṃ* is the *bīja*-[letter] of the element of water among the five great elements.¹⁴⁴ Water produces and supports all physical *dharma*s. All sentient beings, [including] the gods, men, and animals, whether large or small in body, without exception, are produced and supported by the water element. Without the water element to hold it together, even 160,000 *yojana*-high Mt. Sumeru would be blown away and scattered by the wind. How much more so would this be true of the other minor mountains? Sentient beings with large bodies are just the same.

又此 ㄅ 字金剛薩埵菩薩種子法身。一切衆生最初發心悉由金剛薩埵加持故。金剛薩埵名一切如來菩提心。此菩薩爲本出生三十七尊四種法身等。其上首尊名毗盧遮那佛。故此會尊種子及心眞言用 ㄅ 字。此則此經之體宗也。上來題額略釋了。

Again, this letter *va* is the *bīja*-[letter] *dharmakāya* of Vajrasattva Bodhisattva.¹⁴⁵ This is because the first arising of *bodhicitta* in all beings is always due to the empowerment of Vajrasattva. Vajrasattva is called the “*bodhicitta* of all the *tathāgatas*.”¹⁴⁶ Taking this bodhisattva

[After the root letter *a*,] from there on these letters have diacritical marks added to them, and all of these are feminine sounds. The root letter (*a*) is a masculine sound. The masculine sound means wisdom, and the feminine sounds mean meditation. The root letter (*a*) extends to all of them.

Yūkai in his *Kongōchōgyō kaidai mondai* (zsz 7.61b ff) suggests that the letter *a* is the “essential letter” (體文) and the other letters are “mothers” (摩多, *mātr*), which is presumably to say, feminine. The vowel *a* is said to represent wisdom (慧), which is taken as masculine (even though *prajñā* is a feminine noun), and the other vowels represent meditation (定), which is taken as feminine (although *samādhi* is a masculine noun).

¹⁴⁴ A *bīja* is a Sanskrit seed-syllable or letter, written in Siddham and usually in one letter but occasionally more than one, that completely encompasses the enlightenment of that deity, or in this case represents the five great elements. The *bīja*-letters for the five elements are *a* (earth), *va* (water), *ra* (fire), *ha* (wind), and *kha* (space). An *anusvāra* may be added to these.

¹⁴⁵ As Yūkai (NDZ 32.121b) points out in the *Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō*, Vajrasattva's *bīja* as *va* does not appear in any Vajrasāekhara text. Vajrasattva's *bīja* in the Vajrasāekhara is usually *aḥ*, and in the *Mahāvairocanaḥisambodhi-sūtra* it is usually *hūṃ*, but may be *va* in some contexts (r 848:18.22c), and in the *Busiyi shu* (r 1797:39.801b) it may also be *vaṃ*. Perhaps *va* as the first letter of Vajrasattva is simply meant.

¹⁴⁶ The *Jingangding yujia Jingangsaduo wumimi xiuxing niansong yigui* (r 1125:20.538a) says:

金剛薩埵者是普賢菩薩。卽一切如來長子。是一切如來菩提心。是一切如來祖師。是故一切如來。禮敬金剛薩埵。如經所說。

金剛薩埵三摩地 名爲一切諸佛法 此法能成諸佛道 若離此更無有佛

Vajrasattva is the bodhisattva Samantabhadra. He is the eldest son of all the *tathāgatas*. He is the *bodhicitta* of all the *tathāgatas*. He is the ancestral teacher of all the *tathāgatas*. For these reasons all the *tathāgatas* honor and revere Vajrasattva. Therefore a text says:

The *samādhi* of Vajrasattva is called the Dharma of all the buddhas.

This Dharma allows the perfection of the buddhas' path, without it there can be no buddhas.

Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva personifies *bodhicitta*, which “extends everywhere” (is possessed by buddhas, bodhisattvas, and ordinary beings) and is the most excellent and good, as the *Darijing shu* (r 1796:39.582b) explains:

普賢菩薩者。普是遍一切處義。賢是最妙善義。謂菩提心所起願行。及身口意。悉皆平等遍一切處。純一妙善備具衆德。故以爲名。

In Samantabhadra's name, *samanta* (普) means “extending everywhere,” and *bhadra* (賢) means “the most wonderfully goodness.” The meaning is that the cultivation of vows arising from *bodhicitta* and [the three mysteries practice of] body, speech, and mind are all universal and penetrate everywhere, are pure and wonderfully good, and possess all excellent qualities. That is why Samantabhadra is so named.





(i.e. *bodhicitta*) as the source, the thirty-seven deities, the fourfold *dharmakāya*, and so on are brought forth. His master is called Vairocana Buddha. Therefore, in this assembly (the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*), the *bīja* and heart (*hṛdaya*) mantra of this deity (Vairocana) is the letter *vaṃ*.¹⁴⁷ This is the essential core teaching of this *sūtra*. The above is a brief interpretation of the title.

[III. The text]

釋經文者。此又二。初品名。次正經文。

To comment on the text of the *sūtra*, there are again two [divisions]. The first is the name of the first chapter, and the next is the body of the *sūtra*.

[III.1. The name of the first chapter]

品名者金剛界大曼荼羅廣大儀軌品之一者。金剛界者惣名已下別名。金剛界者梵云  。  翻云金剛。  界義身義體義差別義。

The name of the [first] chapter is the “Extensive Ritual Manual of the Mahā-maṇḍala of the Vajra-realm, Chapter One.”¹⁴⁸ *Vajra-realm* (*Vajradhātu*) is the overall name, and the rest are the particular names. *Vajra-realm* [in Chinese] is written in Sanskrit as *vajradhātu*.¹⁴⁹ *Vajra* is translated [into Chinese] as *diamond*, and *dhātu* means *realm*, *body*, *essence*, or *differences*.


金剛身者法佛(TKZ 4.91)身密是。金剛不壞得名。身由積聚立義。如來具戒定慧等五分法身。及常樂我淨等四德。法身般若解脫等三點及三十七菩提分法。十八佛不共法。如是無量法以爲佛體故以身名之。

[To use the meaning of *body* among those,] the *vajra-body* (i.e. *vajradhātu*) is the mystery of body of the *dharmakāya*, which is named for its *vajra*-indestructibility. *Body* (*kāya*) is called so because it is an accumulation.¹⁵⁰ The Tathāgata fully possesses the five virtues of *dharmakāya* including *śīla*, *samādhi*, *prajñā*, and so on,¹⁵¹ the four virtues of permanence, bliss, self, and purity,¹⁵² the three points of *dharmakāya*, *prajñā*, and liberation, the thirty-seven factors of

The *Putixin lun* (T 1665:32.573c) says, “Know that by nature you accord with and abide in the great *bodhicitta* of Samantabhadra,” (當知法爾應住普賢大菩提心).

¹⁴⁷ The mantra *oṃ vajradhātu vaṃ* (唵跋折囉駄都鑊) is given as Vairocana’s mantra in the *Jin’gangding yujia zhong lüechu niansong jing* (T 866:18.242b). The instructions for a visualization in the same text indicates that *vaṃ* is Vairocana’s *bīja*: “in infinite space visualize the letter *vaṃ*; it becomes Vairocana Buddha,” (227a, 於虛空想鑊字爲毗盧遮那佛), and says that *vaṃ* is the *bīja* of the Tathāgata family (225a, 卽以鑊字想如來部), led by Vairocana.

¹⁴⁸ *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, T 865:18.207a.

¹⁴⁹ The Siddham script in TKZ reading **vajradhatu* () seems to be corrupted, and has been adjusted here to *vajradhātu*.

¹⁵⁰ The bodies of ordinary beings are the accumulation of the five aggregates, but a *vajra-body* is the accumulation of the following factors.

¹⁵¹ The five are *śīla-samādhi-prajñā-vimukti-vimuktijñānadarśana*, or morality, meditation, wisdom, liberation, and the knowledge of liberation. In the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, Mahāvairocana bestows these five virtues on Vajrapāṇi (T 865:18.208c).

¹⁵² See note 85.

awakening (*bodhipakṣyadharmā*),¹⁵³ and the eighteen unique aspects of a buddha (*āveṇikabuddhadharmā*).¹⁵⁴ In this way, infinite *dharma*s form the essence of the Buddha, and therefore this is called his body (i.e. *dhātu*).

界者法界心界衆生界三種差別。法界則先覺者。心界則修行者。衆生界者十方三世六趣有情非情。

Realm (*dhātu*) has three differences: the realm of *dharma*s (*dharmadhātu*), the realm of mind, and the realm of beings. The realm of *dharma*s is the [realm] of the already awakened ones. The realm of mind is that of those in training. The realm of beings is that of sentient and insentient beings in the ten directions, the three times, and the six rebirth destinies.

又界有十種。十種法界是如來金剛曼荼羅。聚十界身相爲一箇曼荼羅身故名界。

Further, there are ten kinds of *realm*.¹⁵⁵ The ten kinds [of realms] of the *dharmadhātu* are the Tathāgata's Vajra[*dhātu*] Maṇḍala. Gathering together the marks of the bodies of these ten realms makes a single *maṇḍala*-body, and so this is called a *realm* (*dhātu*).

又界是差別義。如來身以六大爲體故云界。

Moreover, *realm* has the meaning of *differences*. Because the [marks of the different] bodies of the *tathāgatas* [in the four *maṇḍalas*] have the six great elements as their essence, this is called a *realm*.¹⁵⁶

大曼荼羅者一切如來具四種身。謂大曼荼羅身三昧耶曼荼羅身羯磨曼荼羅身法曼荼羅身。此會有四品卽表四身。初品說大曼荼羅身具三十七故云爾。

Mahā-maṇḍala means that all the *tathāgatas* fully possess the four kinds of bodies [of the four *maṇḍalas*], which are the bodies of the *mahā-maṇḍala*, the bodies (*samaya*-forms) of the *samaya-maṇḍala*, the bodies (actions) of the *karma-maṇḍala*, and the bodies (letters) of the *dharma-maṇḍala*. The [text of this first] assembly has four chapters, which thus reveal these four bodies. The first chapter teaches the *mahā-maṇḍala* bodies having the thirty-seven [deities], and for that reason is so named.

廣大者一一尊身量與虛空法界等故。

Extensive means that the size of the bodies of each of the deities is equal in extent to unobstructed space, the *dharmadhātu*, and so on.

儀軌者儀儀形。軌軌則。是法身能一切菩薩二乘天人等所仰則。又此品說一切如來法則引入弟子儀 (TKZ 4.92)法故云爾。

[In the words] *ritual manual*, *ritual* refers to the form of a rite, and *manual* [gives] the standard pattern [to be followed]. This Dharmakāya (Mahāvairocana) is revered by all the bodhisattvas, those of the two vehicles, gods, men, and so on, and is the standard. Moreover, this chapter

¹⁵³ See the entries for *thirty-seven wings of enlightenment* (1095) and *bodhipakṣyadharmā* (133) in BUSWELL and LOPEZ 2014.

¹⁵⁴ See the entry for *eighteen unshared factors* in BUSWELL and LOPEZ 2014: 1092.

¹⁵⁵ The ten worlds or realms are those of the (1) gods, (2) humans, (3) *asuras*, (4) animals, (5) *pretas*, (6) beings in hell, (7) *śrāvakas*, (8) *pratyekabuddhas*, (9) bodhisattvas, and (10) buddhas. See the entry for *ten realms of reality* [*dharmadhātu*] in BUSWELL and LOPEZ 2014: 1085–1086.

¹⁵⁶ This interpretation is based on Yūkai's *Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō* (NDZ 32.126a–b).

explains the standard methods of all the *tathāgatas*, and the ritual methods for leading disciples into [the *maṇḍala*], and therefore is so named.

四種智印各別分區。以類相聚故云品。諸品之中此最初故云一。

The four wisdom-seals are all different and distinct, but because similar aspects are gathered together, this is called a *chapter*. Among all the chapters because this is the very first, it is called [chapter] one.

金剛頂經開題

On the Title of the Vajraśekhara

Abbreviations

- KZ *Kōbō Daishi zenshū* (弘法大師全集)
 NDZ *Nihon daizōkyō* (日本大藏經)
 T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (大正新脩大藏經)
 TKZ *Teihon Kōbō Daishi zenshū* (定本弘法大師全集)
 ZSZ *Zoku Shingon-shū zensho* (續真言宗全書)

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- Daśabhūmika-bhāṣya*. Chinese translation: *Shidi-jing lun* 十地經論, T 1522:26, by Vasubandhu, trans. Bodhiruci, 508.
- Dasheng tongxing jing* 大乘同性經 (*Sūtra on Identity with the Mahāyāna*), T 673:16, trans. Jñānayaśas, 570.
- Da Tang xiyuji* 大唐西域記 (*Great Tang Record of the Western Regions*), T 2087:51, by Xuanzang and Bianji (辯機), 646.
- Jin'gangding-jing da yujia mimi xindi famen yijue* 金剛頂經大瑜伽祕密心地法門義訣 (*Meanings of the Secret Mind-Ground Dharma gate of the Great Yoga of the Vajraśekhara-sūtra*), T 1798:39, trans. Vajrabodhi and recorded by Amoghavajra.
- Jin'gangding yujia zhong lüechu niansong jing* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (*The Sūtra of Mantra Recitation Abbreviated from the Yoga of the Vajraśekhara*), T 866:18, trans. Vajrabodhi, 723.
- Jin'gangfeng louge yiqie yujia yuqi jing* 金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 (*Sūtra for Yogins on the Complete Yoga of the Vajraśekhara Palace*), T 867:18, probable Chinese composition ca. 785–805?, trans. Amoghavajra.
- Jūjūshin ron* 十住心論 (*Ten Abodes of Mind*; full title: *Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron* 祕密曼荼羅十住心論, *On the Ten Abodes of Mind in the Secret Maṇḍala*), TKZ 2.1–326, by Kūkai, submitted to the Japanese court in 830.
- Hannya-shingyō hiken* 般若心經祕鍵 (*Secret Key to the Heart Sūtra*), TKZ 3.1–13, by Kūkai.
- Hizō hōyaku* 祕藏寶鑰 (*Jeweled Key to the Secret Treasury*), TKZ 3.111–176, by Kūkai.
- Hokkekyō kaidai* 法華經開題 (*On the Title of the Lotus Sūtra*), TKZ 4.155–196, by Kūkai, three versions.
- Hokkekyō shaku* 法華經釋 (*Commentary on the Lotus Sūtra*), TKZ 4.199–209, by Kūkai.
- Kongōchōgyō kaidai* 金剛頂經開題 (*On the Title of the Vajraśekhara-sutra*), TKZ 4.65–92, by Kūkai.
- Kongōchōgyō kaidai kanchū* 金剛頂經開題勘註, zsz 7.3–18 (*Notes on the Kongōchōgyō kaidai*), by Dōhan (道範, 1184–1252).
- Kongōchōgyō kaidai mondai* 金剛頂經開題問題, zsz 7.43–65 (*Questions on the Kongōchōgyō kaidai*), by Yūkai (宥快, 1345–1416), 1416.
- Kongōchōgyō kaidai shō* 金剛頂經開題鈔, NDZ 32:6–129 (*Commentary on the Kongōchōgyō kaidai*), by Yūkai (宥快, 1345–1416), 1414.
- Kongō-hannya-haramitsu-kyō kaidai* 金剛般若波羅蜜經開題 (*On the Title of the Diamond Sūtra*), TKZ 4.253–268, by Kūkai.
- Kyōōkyō kaidai* 教王經開題 (*On the Title of the King of Teachings Sūtra*), TKZ 4.95–105, by Kūkai.

Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra. Chinese translation: *Ru lengqie jing* 入楞伽經, T 671:16, trans. Bodhiruci, in ten fascicles, 513.

Liqu shi 理趣釋 (*Commentary on the Path to Truth*), abbreviated title of *Dale jin'gang bukong zhenshi sanmeiye jing bore boluomiduo liqu shi* 大樂金剛不空真實三昧耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣釋 (*Commentary on the Great-Bliss Vajra Infallible True Samaya Sūtra, the Prajñāpāramitā Path to Truth*), T 1003:19, a commentary on Amoghavajra's translation (T 243:8) of the *Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, trans. Amoghavajra.

Lotus Sūtra. Chinese translation: *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*), T 262:9, trans. Kumārajīva, 405.

Liushu jin'gangding yujia fenbie shengwei xiuzheng famen 略述金剛頂瑜伽分別聖位修證法門 (*Dharma gate for Cultivating and Realizing the Different Stages of Attainment Abbreviated from the Yoga of the Vajraśekhara*), T 870:18, trans. Amoghavajra.

Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra. Chinese translation: *Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, T 374:12, T 375:12. T 374 “Northern Edition” trans. Dharmakṣema in 40 fascicles; T 375 “Southern Edition” trans. Huiyan (慧嚴), Huiguan (慧觀), Xie Lingyun (謝靈運), etc. in 36 fascicles.

Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra. Chinese translation: *Da Piluzhe'na chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毗盧遮那成佛神變加持經 (*The Sūtra of the Miraculously Transformative Adhiṣṭhāna of the Mahāvairocana's Attainment of Buddhahood*, full title: *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-vikurvitādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtreन्द्रa-rāja*), T 848:18, trans. Śubhakarasiṃha and Yixing (一行), 724–725.

Putixin lun 菩提心論 (*Treatise on Bodhicitta*), abbreviated title of *Jin'gangding yujiazhong fa anouduoluo-sanmiaosanputixin lun* 金剛頂瑜伽中發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心論 (*The Treatise on Raising the Thought of Supreme and Perfect Awakening within the Yoga of the Vajraśekhara*), T 1665:32, attributed to Nāgārjuna, trans. Amoghavajra.

Shi moheyan lun 釋摩訶衍論, T 1668:32 (*Interpreting the Mahāyāna*, a commentary on the *Awakening of Faith*), East Asian composition attributed to Nāgārjuna with translation attributed to Vṛddhimata (?).

Rishukyō kaidai 理趣經開題 (*On the Title of the Sūtra on the Path to Truth [the Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra]*), TKZ 4.109–118, by Kūkai, three versions.

Shō-ji-jissō gi 聲字實相義, TKZ 3.33–49 (*The Meanings of Sound, Letter, and Reality*), by Kūkai.

Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha. Chinese translation *Jin'gangding yiqie rulai zhenshi she dasheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經 (*The Sūtra of the King of the Great Teachings of Mahāyāna Realization in the Vajraśekhara Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas (Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha)*, a partial translation of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, in three fascicles), T 865:18, trans. Amoghavajra, 753. Note that Kūkai parses this title as *The Vajraśekhara of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas Encompassing the Mahāyāna Realization, the Sūtra of the Great King of the Teachings* in this text, reading 攝大乘 as a unit rather than 真實攝 (*tattva-saṃgraha*) as the Sanskrit indicates. See note 27.

Shibahui zhigui 十八會指歸. Full title: *Jin'gangding-jing yujia shibahui zhigui* 金剛頂經瑜伽十八會指歸 (*Synopsis of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Vajraśekhara-sūtra*), T 869:18, trans. Amoghavajra.

Sokushin jōbutsu gi 卽身成佛義 (*Buddhahood Immediately and in This Body*), TKZ 3.15–31, by Kūkai.

Vajrasamādhi-sūtra. Chinese translation: *Jin'gang sanmei jing* 金剛三昧經, T 273:9, trans. unknown (Northern Liang, 397–439).

Wumimi yigui 五祕密儀軌. Full title: *Jin'gangding yujia Jin'gangsadio wumimi xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂經瑜伽金剛薩埵五祕密修行念誦儀軌 (*Ritual Manual for Mantra Recitation for Cultivation through the Five Secrets of Vajrasattva in the Yoga of the Vajraśekhara*), T 1125:20, trans. Amoghavajra.