

Buddhist Vocabulary and Doctrines in Medieval Shintō Texts: The Case of the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki* 麗氣記

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Introduction

At a roundtable organized by Matthew Kapstein and Christine Mollier in Honolulu in April 2011, on the theme of “Buddhism and the Medieval Religious Traditions of China/Tibet/Japan,” I presented a paper entitled “Buddhist Ideas, Vocabulary and Quotations in Medieval Shintō Texts: The Case of the *Yamato katsuragi hōzanki*.”¹ The present essay is a continuation of the study of Buddhist vocabulary and images in medieval Shintō texts as initiated in that presentation.²

Traditionally, Shintō has been believed to be a “native Japanese religion” which has existed since the beginning of time, and is therefore a phenomenon which can represent the “Japanese essence.” This view has changed drastically over the last forty years, after Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄 (1926-1993) proposed a number of revolutionary ideas, according to which the construction of Shintō was a gradual process which took place during Japanese Middle Ages under the strong influence of Buddhism.³ Before the medieval period, there certainly existed various complexes of cult systems, myths and beliefs related to *kamis*, deities whose origin is not clearly Buddhist or Chinese.⁴ But they had never been well defined, and there was no clear consciousness of the existence of a different religious system than Buddhism. Around the beginning of Middle Ages in Japan, that is the latter half of the 11th century,

¹ To be published in a collective volume edited by Matthew Kapstein and Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and the Medieval Religions of China, Tibet and Japan: The Formation and Function of Sacred Languages and Scriptures* (in preparation).

² I would like to express my deep gratitude to the organizers of the International Conference on Buddhist Studies, *Imagination, Narrative, and Localization*, Drs. Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, Chanwit Tudkeao, Suchitra Chongstitvatana, Arthid Sheravanichkul, Fu Zengyou, and Peter Skilling (?), held in January 2012 in Bangkok, where I have presented an earlier form of this essay. I would like to say all my thanks to Dr. xxxx too, who kindly corrected my English of this essay. Needless to say, however, all errors and mistakes in this article are mine only.

³ On Kuroda’s work, see the special issue “The Legacy of Kuroda Toshio” (guest editor James C. Dobbins) of *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 23/3-4 (Fall 1996).

⁴ To state that *kamis* are *indigenous* deities of Japanese people is not correct for several reasons: the state “Japan” did not exist before the end of the 7th century; there never existed a single ethnic unity called “Japanese people” in Japanese archipelago; and many important *kamis* (such as those worshiped by Kamo 賀茂 or Hata 秦 clans) were imported from Korea. On this point, see for example Michael Como, “Immigrant Gods on the Road to *Jindō*,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie*, 16 (2006-2007), 19-47.

esoteric Buddhism was the overwhelmingly dominant system of thought, and it tended to incorporate in itself and interpret in its own terms all phenomena of religious relevance of the archipelago. *Kami*-related phenomena were naturally among them. It was in this current of thought that precursory elements of what would later become the core of Shintō religion emerged little by little. It is believed that a clear consciousness of Shintō as a distinct religion was formed only around the beginning of the 15th century.⁵ This new vision of Shintō history is now largely accepted among specialists. Numerous innovative studies on medieval Shintō emphasize and analyze the close relationship between Buddhism and the foundations of Shintō.⁶ However, it seems that so far there has been no sustained attempt to identify the Buddhist sources of Shintō ideas and images; the study that I began with my earlier presentation was an essay to fill this gap.

Hereafter, I introduce briefly the text that I study, the *Reikiki* and its Fourteenth Chapter; then I will explain the research method that I use in this study, presenting an example.

An important characteristic of the early “Shintō” (I enclose the word between quotation marks, because “it” had not yet a clear existence during the period I consider here) literature is that practically all the texts related to it were apocryphal works, ascribed to some ancient authors, but were in reality written by anonymous authors. This is why, it is extremely difficult to assess their origin — who wrote them, where, and when. It is believed that some of the earliest ones (such as the *Nakatomi no harae kunge* 中臣祓訓解⁷ or the *Mitsuno kashiwa denki* 三角柏傳記⁸) were written before or around the reconstruction of the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji 東大寺大佛 in 1185, in Sengūin 仙宮院, a temple affiliated to Ise Shrine

⁵ See for example Mark Teeuwen, “From *Jindō* to Shinto: A Concept Takes Shape,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 29/3-4 (Fall 2002), 233-63. Teeuwen claims that before that period, “Shintō” 神道 used to be pronounced “*jindō*.” This is very probable (although almost impossible to prove).

⁶ The latest state of the studies on Medieval Shintō can be found in the special issue “Rethinking Medieval Shintō/Repenser le shintō médiéval” (guest editors Bernard Faure, Michael Como and Iyanaga Nobumi) of *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie*, 16 (2006-2007) [published in 2009]; in Japanese, some of the most important among more recent works are: Itō Satoshi 伊藤聡, *Chūsei Tenshō daijū shinkō no kenkyū* 中世天照大神信仰の研究, Kyōto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 2011; Itō Satoshi, *Shintō toha nanika: Kami to hotoke no Nihon-shi* 神道とは何か——神と佛の日本史, Chūkō shinsho 中公新書, Tōkyō: Chūō kōron shinsha 中央公論新社, 2012; Hara Katsuaki 原克昭, *Chūsei Nihon-gi ronkō: Chūshaku no shisō-shi* 中世日本紀論考——註釋の思想史, Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2012.

⁷ Translated by Mark Teeuwen and H. van der Veere, *Nakatomi Harae Kunge: purification and enlightenment in late-Heian Japan*, München: Iudicium, 1998.

⁸ See Itō Satoshi, “The Medieval Cult of Gyōki and Ise Shrines: Concerning the Narratives of Gyōki’s Pilgrimage to Ise,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie*, 16, 49-69, especially p. 53-54 and sq.

伊勢神宮。⁹ Many others were composed during the 13th and early 14th century. One of the earliest works clearly dated and of which the author is known is the *Ruiju jingi bongen* 類聚神祇本源 by Watarai Ieyuki 度會家行 (1256 - ?), composed in 1320.¹⁰ In this work are quoted numbers of texts that were written before it: the *Yamato katsuragi hōzanki* 大和葛城寶山記 as well as the *Reikiki* are among them.

The *Yamato katsuragi hōzanki* was probably composed in the mid-thirteenth century. It has a rather special position among early medieval “Shintō” texts: while many of them are directly connected to Ise Shrine (and more specifically to its Outer Shrine [*gekū*]), this work focuses on Mount Katsuragi 葛城山, which was an important center of Shugendō 修驗道. This may be one of the reasons why this text is particularly rich in Buddhist images and vocabulary. The *Reikiki*, on the other hand, seems to have been written later than the *Yamato Katsuragi hōzanki* (it contains references to it and its doctrines);¹¹ one can presume that it was written during the latter half of the 13th century or early years of the 14th century. It is a collection of eighteen chapters of text and images (14 chapters of text, to which are added 4 chapters with only iconographical materials), possibly disparate in origins and dates, but nonetheless forming a roughly homogeneous entirety. As a whole, it constitutes one of the longest works of the early medieval “Shintō.” Moreover, it had a very special significance in later “Shintō” tradition (after the Nanbokuchō 南北朝 period, the closing years of the 14th century), in that it was considered as the most sacred text for the transmission of which a

⁹ Ise Shrine is divided into Inner Shrine (*naikū* 内宮) and Outer Shrine (*gekū* 外宮); at the Inner Shrine is installed Amaterasu ōmikami 天照大神 (or Tenshō daijin 天照太神 as the deity used to be called in medieval period), the ancestral goddess of the Imperial Dynasty, venerated as the supreme goddess of the state; and at the Outer Shrine is installed Toyouke no ōkami 豐受大神, a deity who was supposed to serve food for Amaterasu. Toyouke was originally a deity of much lower status than Amaterasu, but in early medieval period, the priest clan of the Outer Shrine, the Watarai-s 度會, had an increasing political influence, and claimed a higher status for their *kami*, at the equal, or even higher position than Amaterasu of the Inner Shrine. See for example Yamamoto Hiroko 山本ひろ子, *Chūsei shinwa* 中世神話, Iwanami shinsho 岩波新書, Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1998, 11-12, 18-24.

¹⁰ Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎, “Shintō as Written Representation: The Phases and Shifts of Medieval Shintō Texts,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie*, 16, 91-117, especially p. 95-97.

¹¹ See Shinbutsu shūgō kenkyū-kai 神佛習合研究會, ed., *Kōchū kaisetsu gendaigoyaku Reikiki* 校注解説現代語譯・麗氣記, I, Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2001, 43b-44a (Chapter I, note 46); p. 45a-b (Ch. I, note 50), p. 58a-59a (Ch. I, note 109), p. 129b (Ch. II, note 144), p. 216a (IV, note 4), p. 235a-b (IV, note 89), p. 325a-b (Ch. V, n. 153). — This book, edited by Shinbutsu shūgō kenkyū-kai, is an extensive study on the first six chapters of the *Reikiki*, with a critical edition of the text, a translation into modern Japanese, and full annotations. For the six first chapters of the work, I will refer to this book, with references to notes. — For the Chapters 7 to 13 of the *Reikiki*, *Shintō taikēi* (Shintō taikēi 神道大系. Shintō taikēi hensankai 神道大系編纂會, Ronsetsu hen 論説編, I, *Shingon shintō* 眞言神道, I, Tōkyō: Shintō taikēi hensan-kai, 1993), 52, 71-72, 77.

“Shintō” *abhiṣeka* ritual (called *reiki kanjō* 麗氣灌頂) was required.¹² Several commentaries were composed on it, which explain its words, reveal their pronunciations or expound ritual elements of the *reiki kanjō*. It is noteworthy that in the medieval period, only the mythological part of the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (820) and the *Reikiki* were object of commentaries:¹³ this means that these two works had a special status of divine scriptures (*shinten* 神典), and were considered as having been written under a saintly inspiration.¹⁴

The *Reikiki* is traditionally classified as a Ryōbu-shintō 兩部神道 text, that is, as a “Shintō” text belonging to the Shingon 眞言 discourse. More specifically, it discusses the religious signification of the Inner and Outer Shrines (*naikū* and *gekū*) of Ise, which are associated with the two main *maṇḍalas* of Japanese Shingon school, the *garbha-maṇḍala* and the *vajradhātu-maṇḍala*. The text is an original composition on mythical and doctrinal subjects. Its contents are known as excessively difficult to understand. It is full of mysterious images and coded words. To take an example, the word of the very title of the work, “*reiki*” is unknown otherwise (the final “*ki*” means “record”); its literal meaning is the “beautiful *pneuma*,” but in some chapters, the two characters have pronunciation indications (*furikana*) according to which one must read them as “*uruwashiki ikidōri*” ウルハシキイキトホリ, or “*makoto wo oboshimesaruru*” マコトヲオホシメサル、. The meaning of the latter reading can be understood as “thought of truth” while the former reading is more difficult to interpret. As “*ikidōri*” (normally written 憤り) means “anger,” the expression would signify the “beautiful anger,” which does not make sense. As a matter of fact, a commentary states that the meaning of “*ikidōri*” in this instance is not “anger” (憤り) but “*ikioi*” 勢, that is “power,” or “vigor.” It adds also that “*uruwashiki*” does not mean “beautiful” but “solemn” (*itsukushiki* 厳しき); thus, the title would mean “Record of Solemn Power” if we were to follow this exegesis. Moreover, another commentary writes: “‘*Reiki*’: in Buddhism, it is said ‘*kanjō*’ (*abhiṣeka*); in Shintō, it is said ‘*reiki*.’” Thus, “*reiki*” would mean “*kanjō*” in Shintō language.¹⁵ All these additional pronunciations and meanings were transmitted in Middle

¹² See Itō Satoshi, *Chūsei Tenshō daijin shinkō no kenkyū*, 341-370; and Fabio Rambelli, “The Ritual World of Buddhist ‘Shinto’: The *Reikiki* and Initiations on *Kami*-Related Matters (*jingi kanjō*) in Late Medieval and Early-Modern Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 29/3-4 (Fall 2002), 265-297.

¹³ Hara Katsuaki, *Chūsei Nihongi ronkō: Chūshaku no shisō-shi*, 38-54.

¹⁴ Hara, *Chūsei Nihongi ronkō*, 199-217.

¹⁵ Shinbutsu shūgō kenkyū-kai, ed., *Kōchū kaisetsu gendaigoyaku Reikiki*, I, 6-7; see also p. 313a (a quotation from the *Jindai no maki shi-kenmon* 神代卷私見聞 by Ryōhen 良遍 [beginning of the 15th century]). — This notion of languages specific to “Shintō” or Buddhism, is connected to the idea of coded languages.

Ages as oral transmissions, of which the foundation cannot be verified. When the extant medieval commentaries (many of which are not yet published) do not explain a word or passage, we have to guess their meaning, and too often, our understanding may not be correct. There are many manuscripts and woodblock print editions of the *Reikiki* (26 are enumerated and studied by Morimoto Sensuke 森本仙介).¹⁶ As I have no access to manuscripts, I will use the edition of the Shintō Taikai 神道大系, which is based on one of the oldest manuscripts preserved at Shinpukuji 眞福寺 Library (Ōsu bunko 大須文庫) in Nagoya 名古屋; its date is not known, but is believed to be early 14th century.¹⁷ I consulted also the edition published in the fifth volume of the Kōbō daishi zenshū 弘法大師全集, which is based on a woodblock print edition of 1672.¹⁸

Here I examine only the last chapter of the work (that is, last before the final four chapters which contain images only), entitled “Buppō Shintō Reikiki” 佛法神道麗氣記 or “*Reikiki* on the Buddhist Law and Shintō,” a short text of only about two thousand, six hundred characters. The chapter is a kind of doctrinal recapitulation of the earlier chapters from a Buddhist point of view. It is full of Buddhist vocabulary, generally easier to understand than previous chapters. It is good to present here the general contents of our text, a short chapter which gives an introduction to the main doctrines of Buddhism that were current in its time. It can be divided into five sections of differing lengths. After a line of introductory remarks (“In the previous sections, we have shed light on the original oath [of *kamis*] of granting benefits to beings by softening their [majestic] light, by [an account on] the origin of their descent. Now, in the depth of Buddhist language, we will reveal the *jingi* 神祇 of our own mind”),¹⁹ it presents in four lines a very brief summary of the myth of

¹⁶ Morimoto Sensuke 森本仙介, “‘*Reikiki*’ no shohon” 『麗氣記』の諸本, in Shinbutsu shūgō kenkyū-kai, ed., *Kōchū kaisetsu gendaigoyaku Reikiki*, I, 481-520.

¹⁷ Morimoto Sensuke, “‘*Reikiki*’ no shohon”, 485-486. — Shintō taikai 神道大系, Ronsetsu hen 論説編, I, *Shingon shintō* 眞言神道, I, Tōkyō: Shintō taikai hensan-kai 神道大系編纂會, 1993: 84-90.

¹⁸ Shinbutsu shūgō kenkyū-kai, ed., *Kōchū kaisetsu gendaigoyaku Reikiki*, I, 7. — Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo 密教文化研究所, ed., *Kōbō daishi zenshū* 弘法大師全集, V, Kyōto: Dōhō-sha 同朋舎, 1978, 112-117.

¹⁹ Shintō taikai, 84: “以前ノ條々、以テ降化縁起ヲ明ス和光利物ノ本誓ヲ、次ニ於テ佛語甚深ニ顯ス己心ノ神祇ニ。” — “Softening the light” (*wakō* 和光) is an expression applying to the manifestations of Buddha or Bodhisattva in the world; they appear in this world *softening* their majestic *light*, which would be unbearable to the human beings; they descend in it in order to save them. In Japan, this expression was especially used to *kamis* who were believed to be temporary manifestations of Buddhas and Bodhisattva. — The “*jingi* of our own mind” (*onore no kokoro no jingi* 己心ノ神祇) is difficult to understand, but it is a way of expressing the idea of “Original Enlightenment”: the mind of human beings in its pure essence is identified with the absolute. “*Jingi*” normally means “celestial and earthly deities”; here, we can interpret it as “divinity.” — One can state that this is the most fundamental tenet of all this text. In other passages, the “*jingi*” is replaced by

descent of *kami* (presumably the supreme *kami*, Amaterasu) to Jambudvīpa and its signification in Buddhist terms. Then it expounds in short the doctrines of some of the main Buddhist schools, first the *Hossō shū* 法相宗 (Dharma-character school, or Vijñānavādin) in four lines, the Sanron-shū 三論宗 (Three Treatise school or Madhyamaka) in two lines, and the Tendai school in six lines. The remaining fifty-five lines are dedicated to a more detailed account on the Shingon doctrine. After three introductory lines, the chapter quotes famous verses from the *Sokushin-jōbutsu-gi* 即身成佛義 (*Treatise on the Realization of Buddhahood in the Present Body*) ascribed to Kūkai, which summarize his doctrine on the crucial idea of “realization of buddhahood in the present body” in Shingon school. A long commentary on these difficult verses follows. Then we find an interesting discussion on the philosophical and cosmological meaning of the primordial letters *A* and *VAM*, corresponding to the *garbha*- and *vajradhātu-maṇḍalas* respectively. The last four lines conclude the whole work, stating in substance that “. . . Because of all that was expounded, from the opening of the cosmos until now, the Dharma manifest itself as *kamis*, beginning with the Inner and Outer Shrines of Ise and all the other innumerable deities of the Three Worlds, who display endless miraculous powers, practice Buddhist visualizations, and realize the supreme correct enlightenment.” These concluding sentences are written in a marked rhythmical style, suggesting that they may have been recited in ritual contexts.

As this summary makes clear, although there are some notes on *kamis*, the chapter as a whole can be characterized as a brief presentation of the main Buddhist doctrines, focusing especially on the Shingon school. Even though the chapter is short, the vocabulary is full of technical expressions proper to medieval Shingon and Tendai, and hence is not easy to understand. The text was almost certainly written by a learned monk with a high level of

“*shintai*” 神體 (“Substance of divinity” or “divine Substance”) or “*myōtai*” 妙體 (“marvelous Substance”). Thus, the notion of *kami* is indirectly identified with the Buddhist absolute (“Original Enlightenment” or the “letter *A*”, etc.). — See also below, our section “Doctrine of mind/heart.”

scholarship.²⁰ It directly quotes several texts (there are ten quotations which are marked by the character “*bun*” 文), some with their titles, some without any title; the given titles are not always correct (see the next section).

The vocabulary study that I conduct here is only possible thanks to the digitalization of the Taishō Canon, and its online search capability offered especially by the Japanese team of SAT database.²¹ The principle of my research method is simple: I take some significant (or non-significant) units of text (which may be a word, words or other sequences of characters) in the target text (the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki*) and I search them in the SAT database. Of course, not every word would bring interesting result. It is possible, in some cases, to find long sequence of words in such or such texts in the Taishō Canon; we can then assume that the author had, directly or indirectly, quoted them from these texts. On the contrary, if shorter sequences of words, or a word, can be found in many texts, we will say that these words or word are of a common use and have no significant relevance for our research. However, in certain cases, the distribution of the words (that is, in which texts or sections of texts the words occur) may present some particularity, and this may be of a great interest (see an example below, our section entitled “Doctrines of mind/heart”). If for a word or an expression, there are only very few matching texts, then, this word may retain our attention. And if the same few matching texts occur many times, for many words, one can probably presume that they constitute a group of texts that has a particularly close relationship with our text. In fact, this kind of method allows to point out not only vocabulary similarity between works, but also similarity of style or wording between them: to obtain such kind of results, we can extend our searches by including in our search words grammatical elements such as — to take examples from the beginning sentence of our text quoted above (n. 19 [CROSS REFERENCE]) — “*yi/motte*” 以 (“by means of,” “by,” “with”) or “*yu/oite*” 於 (“at,” “in,” “on”), or verbal elements such as “*ming/akasu*” 明 (“to shed

²⁰ Some authors propose the hypothesis that the *Reikiki* was composed in a milieu of Shugendō (e.g. Mihashi Tadashi 三橋正, “‘*Reikiki*’ no seiritsu” 『麗氣記』の成立, in Shinbutsu shūgō kenkyū-kai, ed., *Kōchū kaisetsu gendaigoyaku Reikiki*, I, 465-477, especially p. 476). If this hypothesis implicates that those who have been involved in the composition of this text were not scholar monks of the highest intellectual level, I have to notice that the result of my vocabulary study will not confirm it. At any rate, as of the latter half of the 13th century at the latest, it is certain that the highest scholarship in Buddhist learning was disseminated to remote provinces: see for example Shyōmyōji 稱名寺 at Kanazawa 金澤 (near Kamakura 鎌倉) or Zentsūji 善通寺 in Shikoku 四國, etc.

²¹ The SAT database (version 2007): <<http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/database.html>> (last accessed on July 13, 2012), and more recently, SAT database (version 2012) <<http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/ddb-bdk-sat2.php>> (last accessed on August 5, 2012). — A similar search capability is offered by CBETA <<http://www.cbeta.org/result/search.htm>> (last accessed on July 13, 2012), but as it does not contain data of the Japanese section of the Taishō Canon, I did not use it.

light,” “to show”) or “*xing/arawasu*” 顯 (“to manifest,” “to reveal”). We can also extend our searches by ignoring punctuation marks, that is ignoring meaningful units of character sequences: for instance, in the sentence quoted above, the two characters “*honzei*” 本誓 (“original oath”) forms a meaningful unit of expression with the two previous character “*ributsu*” 利物 (“to grant benefits to beings”), while the two following characters separated by a punctuation mark “*tsugi-ni . . . oite*” 次於 (“next, in . . .”) belong to the next meaningful unit of characters (*tsugi-ni butsugo jinshin ni oite* 次_ニ於_ニ佛語甚深_ニ: “next, in the depth of Buddhist language”); but we can search for example a sequence such as “*sei tsugi oite butsu*” 誓次於佛 (literally “oath - next - in - Buddha”) in all the Taishō Canon (the result is zero in this case).²² This kind of searches, regardless of meaning of text, may allow to find similarity of expressions or wording between works for which the authors themselves are almost never conscious.²³

However I must point out also important weaknesses of this method. First, as the SAT database is limited to the Taishō Canon, vol. 1 to vol. 85, the corpora against which we can do our searches are limited. There exist other Buddhist digitalized texts, such as the corpora of “Tendai CD’s,”²⁴ which may contain interesting materials; it is not impossible to do searches in these materials too, individually and manually, but this is so inconvenient that it is impracticable in reality. Another weakness is that the matches must be literal; while it often happens that authors quotes texts with slightly changed wordings, the automated searches of SAT do not record any match if a single character is different. With the text files of the digitalized Taishō Canon,²⁵ and using some specialized searching software such as GREP,²⁶ it is possible to do more sophisticated searches, but this is not practical either, and I could conduct such searches only very occasionally.

²² The SAT database supports this kind of searches by default (to switch off this capability, one must check the checkbox named “punctuation”).

²³ See an excellent example of study of this kind in Ishii Kōsei 石井公成, “Sankyō gisho no kyōtō hyōgen to hensoku gohō, jō” 三經義疏の共通表現と変則語法 (上), *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō-gakubu ronshū* 駒澤大學佛教學部論集, 41 (October 2010): 394-376.

²⁴ See Tendai CD <<http://www.biwa.ne.jp/~namu007/>> (last accessed on August 5, 2012).

²⁵ These text files used to be distributed from the SAT website from July 2005 until sometime before April 2008: see Charles Muller’s message to the H-Buddhism mailing list of July 30, 2005 with the subject line “RESOURCE> JAIBS Digital Taisho Complete” (<<http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=h-buddhism&month=0507&week=e&msg=smp8PrSPTIhbtqYMdPeSbw&user=&pw=>>) and his another message to the same mailing list of April 21, 2008 with the subject line “RESOURCE> Grand Re-Opening of SAT Daizokyo Database” (<<http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=h-buddhism&month=0804&week=c&msg=9R2SYR8WsjyIMTHyvukcgg&user=&pw=>>).

²⁶ See for example Wikipedia, s.v. “grep” (<<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grep>>, last accessed on July 16th, 2012).

In contrast with the case of the *Yamato katsuragi hōzanki*, the search for Buddhist sources of the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki* turned out to be very difficult. While I was able to identify some interesting Buddhist sources quoted in the former text, in the latter work, it was only possible to find fragments of Buddhist vocabulary besides a few quotations. I first present an example of vocabulary search, where will be shown how I proceed with the vocabulary. The section on the Shingon doctrine in the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki* begins as follows:

惣持教^ト者、自性法身^ノ大日如來、於^ニ金剛法界宮^ニ、與^ニ自眷屬^ト共^ニ爲^ニ自受法樂^ノ、各說^ニ内證果海之法門^ノ、即六大四曼三密、本有法身^ノ摩尼珠也、

As for the teaching of *Dhāraṇī* (*sōji-kyō* 惣持教), it is the Tathāgata Mahāvairocana of the Dharma Body of Proper-Nature (*jishō hosshin* 自性法身) who, in the Palace of Dharma Realm of vajra (*kongō hokkai gū* 金剛法界宮), with his own retinue (*ji-kenzoku* 自眷屬), for receiving by himself the Dharma Enjoyment (*jiju hōraku* 自受法樂), preaches with each one [of his retinue] the Dharma Gate (*hōmon* 法門) of the Inner Realization of the Ocean of Fruit (*naishō kakai* 内證果海); that is [the teaching of] Six Great [Elements], Four *maṇḍalas* and Three Mysteries (*rokudai shiman sanmitsu* 六大四曼三密), [that of] the Dharma Body of the Original Substance (*honnu hosshin* 本有法身) [which is] the Wish Fulfilling Jewel (*maniju* 摩尼珠, Skt. *cintāmaṇi*).

As the translation makes it clear (as best I can do), the sentences are formed with well-known technical terms which are juxtaposed with each other in rhythmical arrangement. If we take short elements of these terms and search them in the Taishō Canon, there are too many occurrences, and the results are not interesting (for example, for terms such as “*jishō hosshin*” or “*kongō hokkai gū*,” we find 495 and 204 occurrences respectively), but as soon as we extend a little the search words, the results become extremely rare. A typical example is “於金剛法界宮” (the character “*yulokeru*” 於 is a mark of locative, and can be translated by “in . . .”) which returns no occurrence at all. As for the expression “*jishō hosshin* Dainichi nyorai” 自性法身大日如來 (the Tathāgata Mahāvairocana of the Dharma Body of Proper-Nature) there are only 11 occurrences, 10 of which are found in a commentary by Saisen 濟暹 (1025-1115) on the treatise by Kūkai 空海 (774-835) on the Distinction between Exoterism and Esotericism (*Kenmitsu shabetsu mondō* 顯密差別問答).²⁷ This result may be interesting, because Saisen is known as one of active proponents in the early Shingon school of ideas of the “Original Enlightenment thought” (*hongaku-shisō* 本覺思想) developed in the

²⁷ T. LXXVII 2435 in 2 *kan* 卷. — I will mention the length of texts with the numbers of *kan* 卷, because lengths are significant. Longer a text is, wider variety of vocabulary it has.

Tendai Esotericism (*taimitsu* 台密), especially by Annen 安然 (841-915 ?)²⁸ — and the vocabulary of the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki* has a clear tendency of this current. The term “*naishō* 内證” (Inner Realization) occurs 3393 times in the Taishō Canon; “*kakai* 果海” (Ocean of Fruits) 957 times, but there are only 4 occurrences of “*naishō kakai*” (3 in Japanese sub-commentaries of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and 1 in a Japanese treatise of Avatamsaka school), and there is none of “*naishō kakai no hōmon*” 内證果海之法門 (Dharma Gate of the Inner Realization of the Ocean of Fruit). The case of the enumeration “*rokudai shiman sanmitsu*” 六大四曼三密 (Six Great [Elements], Four *maṇḍalas* and Three Mysteries) is typical: there are 35 occurrences in all, all in Japanese esoteric texts (except one Avatamsaka commentary, the *Kegon gokyōshō kyōshin shō* 華嚴五教章匡眞鈔).²⁹ In fact, this enumeration is an allusion to the verses from the *Sokushin jōbutsu-gi* that our text will quote just in the next paragraphe, which begin as follows:

六大無碍常瑜伽 四種曼荼各不離 三密加持速疾顯...³⁰

The Six Great [Elements] are without obstruction, in permanent yoga (union)

The Four Kinds of *maṇḍalas* are not separated from each other

The application of the Sacramental Power of the Three Mysteries manifests promptly [its efficacy]

Among 35 occurrences of the expression, 13 are from two long sub-commentaries of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* by a single author, Yūban 宥範 (1270-1352), a Shingon monk who resided as Izu 伊豆, the *Dainichi-kyō-sho myōin-shō* 大日經疏妙印抄³¹ [hereafter, *Myōinshō*] (in one of these occurrences, there is even the form “即六大四曼三密”) and the *Dainichi-kyō-sho myōin-shō kuden* 大日經疏妙印抄口傳;³² 1 from a commentary of the *Putixin lun/Bodaishin-ron* 菩提心論 attributed to Amoghavajra (T. XXXII 1665), the *Bodaishin-ron kenmon* 菩提心論見聞 [hereafter, *Kenmon*] by a Tendai monk of the 14th century, Anchō 安超 (composed in 1328)³³; 5 from a long Tendai compilation of oral

²⁸ See for example Ōtani Yoshihiro 大谷欣裕, “Sanrinjin no keisei ni kansuru ichi-kōsatsu 三輪身の形成に關する一考察,” *Bukkyō-gaku kenkyū* 佛教學研究, 64 (March 2008), 114-136; Id., “Annen kyōgaku ni okeru busshin-kan: Sanrinjin to no kanren ni tsuite” 安然教学における佛身觀——三輪身との關連について, *Indo-gaku Bukkyō-gaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究, 55-2 (2007), 155-158, etc.

²⁹ T. LXXIII 2344, by Hōtan 鳳潭 (1654/1657 - 1738).

³⁰ *Sokushin jōbutsu-gi* 即身成佛義, T. LXXVII 2428 381c17-18. See also Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, *dir*, *Kūkai korekushon* 空海コレクション, [Chikuma gakugei bunko ちくま學藝文庫] II, Tōkyō, Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房, 2004, 25-30.

³¹ T. LXVIII 2213 in 80 *kan*.

³² T. LXVIII 2214 in 10 *kan*.

³³ T. LXX 2294 in 4 *kan*.

traditions of the 14th century, the *Keiran-shūyō-shū* 溪嵐拾葉集³⁴ [hereafter, *Shūyōshū*] by Kōshū 光宗 (composed between 1311-1348); 1 from a ritual compilation of the master of this Kōshū, Chōgō 澄豪 (1259-1350), the *Sōji-shō* 總持抄³⁵; 3 from another ritual compilation by a Tendai author who belonged to a close lineage to that of Chōgō and Kōshū, Ryōe 了惠, *Ryōin-ketsu* 了因決³⁶ (composed between 1335-1381). These works constantly come back again in results of our searches of words from the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki*.

Finally, the result of a search for the term “*honnu hosshin*” 本有法身 (Dharma Body of the Original Substance) is interesting too. There are 120 occurrences in all — too many to be really significant. But from the result, we can trace a rough history of this important concept in Sino-Japanese Buddhism: the first work using the expression is the *Jingangxian-lun/Kongō-sen ron* 金剛仙論 composed by Bodhiruci in 535³⁷; we find it once in a commentary by Jizang/Kichizō 吉藏, the *Zhongguan-lun shu/Chūgan-ron sho* 中觀論疏³⁸; very important is the famous apocryphal commentary on the *Dasheng qixin lun/Daijō kishin-ron* 大乘起心論, the *Shi Moheyan lun/Shaku Makaen-ron* 釋摩訶衍論, in which we count 16 occurrences of the term. Probably a little later than the latter work, the Chinese apocryphal Tantric *sūtra*, the *Jingangfeng louge yiqie yuqie yuqi jing/Kongoō-bu rōkaku issai yuga-yugi-kyō* 金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 uses also once the same expression. In Chinese Buddhism, another work mentioning it 12 times is the *Zongjing lu/Sukyō-roku* 宗鏡錄 in 100 *kan*, a compilation by Yanshou/Enju 延壽, a Chinese Chan master of the 10th century (904-976).³⁹ In Japan (82 occurrences in all), practically all the works using the term are from esoteric schools (except the same Avataṃsaka commentary). After Kūkai who mentions it once in his *Explanatory note on the Vajraśekhara-sūtra* (*Kongōchō-kyō kaidai* 金剛頂經解題,⁴⁰ Annen uses it also in his doctrinal treatise the *Shingon-shū kyōji-gi* 眞言宗教時義.⁴¹ The sub-commentary by Saishin on the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (*Dainichi-kyō-sho jūshin-bon shiki* 大日經住心品疏私記)⁴² has 6 occurrences; and *Myōinshō* and *Myōin-shō-kuden* have together 4 occurrences; *Sōji-shō* has once, *Shūyōshū* 12, and *Ryōin-ketsu* once. Another interesting work mentioning it once is the *Kankō ruiju* 漢光類聚,⁴³ a Tendai medieval apocryphal text attributed to Chūjin

³⁴ T. LXXVI 2410 in 116 *kan*.

³⁵ T. LXXVII 2412 in 10 *kan*.

³⁶ T. LXXVII 2414 in 48 *kan*.

³⁷ 2 occurrences, T. XXV 1512 in 10 *kan*.

³⁸ T. XLII 1824 in 20 *kan*.

³⁹ T. XLVIII 2016.

⁴⁰ T. LXI 2221 and 2222 (both in 1 *kan*).

⁴¹ T. LXXV 2396 in 4 *kan*.

⁴² T. LVIII 2215 in 16 *kan*.

⁴³ T. LXXIV 2371 in 4 *kan*.

忠尋 (1065-1138), famous for it is a representative work of the Tendai Original Enlightenment thought. — The history of this concept “Dharma Body of Original Substance” can represent a larger current of East Asian Buddhist philosophy which would have begun with the Chinese interpretation of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* (the *Jingangxian-lun* was a record of teaching by Bodhiruci, who translated the first version of this *sūtra*; he seems to have been also implicated in the composition of the *Dasheng qixin lun*),⁴⁴ continued with the *Dasheng qixin lun* and its commentary, the *Shi Moheyan lun*. On the one hand, it was developed in Tiantai philosophy and the Chinese *Avataṃsaka* (Huayan 華嚴) school, on the other hand, a new inspiration was added to it with the introduction of Tantrism in China. Later in China, it was further continued in some Chan currents (the *Zongjing lu* seems to be a text particularly illustrative of this tendency); imported in Japan mainly in Tantric philosophy, but also in Tendai and Kegon (Huayan) metaphysics, it kept developed in medieval Tantric literature and Tendai “Original Enlightenment” thought. Important features of this extreme mysticism may be characterized by its marked “substantialism” and its emphasis on the “mind-only” metaphysics. To anticipate our conclusion, we can already state that our medieval Shintō text can be considered as a crystalization of this trend of thought.

Quotations of the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki*

As I already mentioned, our text contains ten explicit quotations from other sources (other than the verses from the *Sokushin jōbutsu-gi* of Kūkai): they are marked with the small character “*bun*” 文, which usually closes a literal quotation in commentarial literature (when the title of the source text is mentioned, the beginning of the quotation is clear, but when it is not, we can hesitate as to where the quotation begins). All of them are found in the section where the author explains different significations of the letters *A* and *VAM*. I will pick them up one by one and examine their possible sources.

1.

大般若經云、如此字門是悟_レ入法空_ノ無邊際_ニ、除_レケハ如_レ此字_ヲ表_ス諸法_ノ空_ヲ更_ニ不可得_{ナリ} (文)⁴⁵

The *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra* says: “By the Gate of such a letter, one apprehends and enters in the limitless [realm] of the emptiness of the *dharmas*. Without such a

⁴⁴ On the *Jingangxian-lun* and Bodhiruci’s role in the formation of this current, see Takemura Makio 竹村牧男 and Ōtake Susumu 大竹晉, “‘*Kongōsen-ron*’ kaidai” 『金剛仙論』解題, in Takemura Makio and Ōtake Susumu, *Kongōsen-ron* 金剛仙論, *jō* 上, Shin Kokuyaku issai-kyō 新国譯一切經, XIV, Shaku kyō ron bu 釋經論部 XI, Tōkyō: Daizō shuppan 大藏出版, 2003, 9-36.

⁴⁵ Shintō taikēi, 88.

letter, it is impossible to express the emptiness of the *dharmas*.”

This is almost a literal quotation from the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, which says: “如是字門。是能悟入法空邊際。除如是字表諸法空更不可得。”⁴⁶ The only differences are the use of “此” instead of “是” in two places; the omission of “能” before “悟入” and the insertion of “無” before “邊際.” The last difference introduces a difference of meaning: a literal translation of the *sūtra* would be: “. . . one apprehends and enters in the extreme [realm] of the emptiness of the *dharmas*”; but the result is almost the same. While in the *sūtra*, this is given as a conclusion of a long list of meanings of various Sanskrit letters, in our text, it only concerns the letter A (therefore, following the *sūtra*’s context, we should rather translate “such letters,” while in the *Reikiki* context, “this letter” would be better).

2.

此心自性清淨ナル故ニ譬ニ蓮華ニ、萬徳圓滿ナル故ニ譬ニ滿月ニ、無碍自在ナル故ニ譬ニ大空ニ、摧破スル惑障ヲ故ニ譬ニ金剛ニ、如此無量無數ナリ（文）

Because this mind is pure in its original nature, it is compared with the lotus; because it has the plenitude of all virtues, it is compared with the full moon; because it is omnipotent and without any obstruction, it is compared with the great emptiness; because it conquers the disturbing hindrances, it is compared with the *vajra*. In this manner, [it is compared with] a boundless and limitless number [of things].

This is given as a quotation, but I was unable to identify any source of it. We shall analyze below a short passage immediately following this “quotation”; it takes again its contents — which suggests that the author really quoted these sentences from some source. The only thing that is certain is that they cannot be found in the Taishō Canon. Perhaps it comes from some Japanese source of esotericism not included in that Canon.

3.

一切ノ諸法ハ從ニ妄相ニ生シテ自性空ナリ、自性空ナルカ故ニ本不生ナリ（文）⁴⁷

All the *dharmas* are produced from the deluded conceptualization, and are empty in their original nature. Because they are empty in their original nature, they are originally unproduced.

The context of this quotation concerns the “originally unproduced nature of the letter

⁴⁶ T. V 220 liii 302c17-19.

⁴⁷ Shintō taikēi, 88

A” (*a-ji hon fushō no gi* 阿字本不生之義);⁴⁸ the author introduces this quotation saying: “About the ‘original non-production,’ there is a little difference between Exoterism and Esotericism. In the exoteric [teaching, it is said]: . . .” The source of this quotation without title is certainly a passage from the *Ōjō kōshiki* 往生講式 by Yōkan (or Eikan) 永觀 (1033-1111),⁴⁹ a monk who lived at Zenrinji 禪林寺 at Kyōto. Zenrinji at Yōkan’s time was a famous temple of Shingon; Yōkan himself received the Shingon *abhiṣeka* from his master Jinkan 深觀 (1003-1057). He then turned to traditional learnings of Tōdaiji 東大寺, especially the Sanron. Afterwards, he lived at Zenrinji and professed his faith in Pure Land. He authored several works of Amidism, among which the *Ōjō kōshiki* and the *Ōjō shūin* 往生拾因⁵⁰ are the most famous. We can say that his works played a similar role as the *Ōjō yōshū* 往生要集 of Genshin 源信 (942-1017). The source text in the *Ōjō kōshiki* is: “一切業障皆妄想生。自性空也。自性空故本不生也” (All hindrance of acts are produced from the deluded conceptualization, and are empty in their original nature. Because they are empty in their original nature, they are originally unproduced).⁵¹ Yōkan expresses the same idea in his *Ōjō shūin* too, where he writes: “緣生妄念即自性空。自性空故實不生也” (The conditions produce the deluded thought, which is empty in its original nature. Because it is empty in its original nature, it truly is not produced).⁵² Kakuban 覺鑊 (1095-1143), who was one of Shingon masters having introduced Original Enlightenment ideas to Shingon school, and has also actively professed Pure Land faith, expounded again the same thought at the beginning of his commentary on the letter A, the *A-ji hishaku* 阿字祕釋 in these terms: “一切有爲有漏無明染法。從本已來自性空無畢竟不生。故本不生云也” (All the *dharma*s that are conditioned, tainted, based on ignorance and defiled, are empty in their original nature from their origin, and ultimately are not produced. This is why, it is said that they are unproduced).⁵³ This quotation is a good example of the wide range of readings on which the composition of the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki* is based; it also sheds light on the proximity of discourse between esoteric and exoteric (especially Amidist) thoughts in

⁴⁸ The doctrine of the “original unproduction of the letter A” is mentioned also in the Sixth Chapter of the *Reikiki*. See Shinbutsu shūgō kenkyū-kai, ed. *Kōchū kaisetsu gendaigoyaku Reikiki*, I, 380 (Chap. VI, note 173).

⁴⁹ T. LXXXIV 2725.

⁵⁰ T. LXXXIV 2683.

⁵¹ T. LXXXIV 2725 881b8-9.

⁵² T. LXXXIV 2683 99c3.

⁵³ T. LXXIX 2512 8b19-20. — The fact that the author of our text referred to this commentary by Kakuban on the letter A can be deduced also from the use of the pair of categories “*shajō*” 遮情 (repression of afflictions) and “*hyōtoku*” 表徳 (manifestation of virtues), which is apparently based on Kakuban: compare Shitō taiei, p. 88 with T. 2512 8b18. On these two categories (first used in Chinese Huayan philosophy, and then developed in Japanese esoteric literature), see *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 望月佛教大辭典, III, 2165c-2166a.

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4.

大論⁵⁴言、大乘⁵⁵因者諸法實相、大乘果者亦諸法實相（文）⁵⁴

It is said in the *Dairon* 大論 (Great Treatise): “The cause of Mahāyāna is the True Aspect of *dharmas*; the fruit of Mahāyāna is [also] the True Aspect of *dharmas*.”

The abbreviated title “*Dairon*” usually designates the *Daichido-ron* (*Dazhidu lun*) 大智度論 (*Upadeśa*, T. XXV 1509), but here, the sentence is quoted from Zhiyi (Chigi)’s 智顗 (538-598) commentary on the *Lotus sūtra*, the *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi*/*Myōhō renga-kyō gengi* 妙法蓮華經玄義: “故普賢觀云。大乘因者諸法實相。大乘果者亦諸法實相” (. . . This is why the [*Sūtra*] on the Contemplation of Samatabhadra says: “The cause of Mahāyāna is the True Aspect of *dharmas*.” The fruit of the Mahāyāna is [also] the True Aspect of *dharmas*).⁵⁵ In fact, Zhiyi repeats the same text twice in this commentary, twice in his commentary on the Chapter on Avalokiteśvara of the *Lotus sūtra*, the *Guanyin xuanyi*/*Kannon gengi* 觀音玄義, and once again in his commentary on the *Sūtra of Human king*, the *Renwang huguo banre jing shu*/*Ninnō gokoku hannya kyō sho* 仁王護国般若經疏⁵⁶ — so that we cannot determine which was the exact source of the author of the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki*. As Zhiyi’s text makes it clear, the first phrase of his text is taken from the *Guan Puxian pusa xing fa jing*/*Kan Fugen bosatsu gyōhō kyō* 觀普賢菩薩行法經,⁵⁷ traditionally considered as the concluding *sūtra* of the *Lotus sūtra* (its translation is ascribed to Dharmamitra, in the second quart of 5th century, but it may be an apocryphal *sūtra* composed in Central Asia).⁵⁸ In Japan, Zhiyi’s text was quoted several times by Enchin 圓珍 (814/815-891/892), one of the founders of Japanese Tendai school.⁵⁹ Other than Enchin, the only other references in the Japanese section of the Taishō Canon are two quotations in the *Shūyōshū* and a quotation in a Shingon sub-commentary on the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* by

⁵⁴ Shintō taikēi, 88

⁵⁵ T. XXXIII 1716 v.1 733a8-9. — The “True Aspect of *dharmas*” (*shohō jissō* 諸法實相) is one of the most important concepts in Japanese Tendai doctrine.

⁵⁶ T. XXXIII 1716 ix.2 794b25-26; *Guanyin xuanyi* T. XXXIV 1726 i 880c29-881a1; ii 890a5 (only the quotation from the *Guan Puxian pusa xing fa jing* is given); *Renwang huguo banre jing shu* T. XXXIII 1705 i 254c24-25.

⁵⁷ T. IX 277.

⁵⁸ *Guan Puxian pusa xing fa jing* T. IX 277 392b2; French translation by Jean-Noël Robert, *Le Sūtra du Lotus*, Paris: Fayard, 1997, 443. On this *sūtra*, see Tsukinowa Kenryū 月輪賢隆, *Butten no hihan-teki kenkyū* 佛典の批判的研究, Kyōto: Hyakkaen 百華苑, 1971, 119-124.

⁵⁹ *Kan Fugen bosatsu gyōhō kyō ki* 觀普賢菩薩行法經記, T. LVI 2194 ii 241b22 (quotation of the phrase of the *Guan Puxian pusa xing fa jing*), 241c3-4 (quotation from the *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi*, T. 1716 v.1 733a8-9); *Nyū shingon-mon jū-nyojitu ken kōen hokke ryakugi* 入眞言門住如實見講演法華略儀, T. LVI 2192 i 193c10 (quotation of the phrase of the *Guan Puxian pusa xing fa jing*); *Juketsu shū* 授決集, T. LXXIV 2367 i 288a28-29; ii 306c8-9.

Gōhō 杲寶 (1306-1362) in the 14th century.⁶⁰ Thus, this quotation can be considered as evidence for a strong Tendai tendency in our text.

5.

疏云、住_{スル}此乘_ニ者_ハ初發心ノ時_ニ即成_ニ正覺_ヲ、不_レ動_ニ生死_ヲ而至_ニ涅槃_ニ、故心自證_レ心心自覺_レ心 (文) ⁶¹

The *Commentary* says: “Those who reside in this Vehicle will realize the correct enlightenment at the moment of their first production of the mind [of *bodhi*]; they will reach the *nirvāṇa* without moving from the [realm of] birth and death. This is why, the mind by its own realizes (*shō* 證) the mind, the mind by its own awakes itself (*kaku* 覺) to the mind.”

The “*Commentary*” (*shō* 疏) is the abbreviated title for the *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra* in esoteric literature of this period. And the quoted text is found indeed in this commentary, in two different passages: *Dari jing shu/Dainichi kyō sho* 大日經疏: “住此乘者。初發心時即成正覺。不動生死而至涅槃”⁶² (Those who reside in this Vehicle will realize the correct enlightenment at the moment of their first production of the mind [of *bodhi*]; they will reach the *nirvāṇa* without moving from the [realm of] birth and death) and “是心自證心心自覺心”⁶³ (Thus, the mind by its own realizes the mind, the mind by its own awakes itself to the mind). In the Japanese section of the Taishō Canon, there are 28 occurrences of the first phrase, and 10 of the second phrase, but nowhere, the two are cited consecutively.

6.

亦云、不_レ受而_モ受不_レ到而到 (文) ⁶⁴

It is also said: “They receive [it] although they do not receive, and they reach [it] although they do not reach.”

This quotation immediately follows the previous one; one naturally expects that it comes from the same *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra* (the formula “It is also said” normally introduces a quotation from the same source as the previous one). However, the source of this text is not single: the first phrase (“they receive [it] although they do not receive”) is probably taken from the *Commentary on the Vimalakīrti sūtra* (*Weimo jing*

⁶⁰ T. LXXXVI 2410 xxvii 591c25-26; xxviii 601c22-24. — *Dainichi kyō sho ennō shō* 大日經疏演奧鈔 T. LIX 2216 xxxi 330a6-7.

⁶¹ Shintō taikēi, 89.

⁶² T. XXXIX 1796 i 581c10-11.

⁶³ T. 1796 i 587c9.

⁶⁴ Shintō taikēi, 89.

liēshu/Yuima gyō ryaku sho 維摩經略疏) by Zhiyi,⁶⁵ while the last phrase (“they attain [it] although they do not attain”) comes from the *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra*.⁶⁶ Although the two phrases have the same construction, they have no relation in their respective source.⁶⁷ In the Japanese section of the Taishō Canon, there are 14 occurrences of the first phrase, and 36 occurrences of the last phrase. But (like in the quotation 5), they are never cited consecutively.

7.

亦云々、一切衆生ノ色心實相、從_二本際_一已來、常_レ是_レ毘盧遮那平等智身_{ナリ}、非_下是_レ得_二菩提_一時強_テ空_ニシテ諸法_一ヲ使_レムルニ成_中セ法界_上ヲ也 (文) ⁶⁸

It is also said: “The form and mind of all the sentient beings, in their True Aspect (*jissō*), are, since their beginning limit, the Body of the Equal Wisdom of Vairocana. It is not that, when one obtains the *bodhi*, one forcibly empties the *dharma* and makes realize the *Dharma Realm*.”

This quotation is separated from the previous one by three lines, but the stream of ideas remains the same. As the formula “It is also said” suggests, this is again a quotation from the *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra*.⁶⁹ The quotation is entirely literal. The idea is that the sentient beings are “originally enlightened” since in their “true nature,” they are originally the “Body of Equal Wisdom” of the Buddha Mahāvairocana.

8.

經云、舌相言語皆是眞言、身相舉動皆是密印、妄念邪〔見皆是密〕觀 (文) ⁷⁰

The *Sūtra* says: “Each speech of the Aspect of tongue (*zessō* 舌相) is all a *mantra*; each movement of the Aspect of body (*shinsō* 身相) is all a secret seal (*mudrā*); a deluded

⁶⁵ T. XXXVIII 1778 xv 663c1. The context is a doctrine on Bodhisattva: because of their compassion of beings, they do not receive the (true) *nirvāṇa*; however, they provisionally receive the (apparent) *nirvāṇa*.

⁶⁶ T. XXXIX 1796 i 583a25. The *Commentary* explains here the Body of Fruition of Sacramental Power (*kaji juyū-shin* 加持受用身) of the Buddha Mahāvairocana; this body is a universal body pervasive in all space. It is identified with the practitioner’s “Body of the Equal Wisdom” (*byōdō chi shin* 平等智身) — a concept that is used in the next quotation (quotation 7); this is why, is it said: “Those who reside in this Vehicle go while not going (“以不行而行”); they reach although they do not reach.”

⁶⁷ In fact, the construction “Not doing xxx, but doing xxx” (不○而○) is a characteristic paradoxical construction very common in Chinese and Japanese Buddhism.

⁶⁸ Shintō taikēi, 89.

⁶⁹ T. XXXIX 1796 i 585b28-c3: “一切衆生色心實相。從本際已來。常是毘盧遮那平等智身。非是得菩提時。強空諸法便成法界也。”

⁷⁰ Shintō taikēi, 89. — The four characters in brackets (“見皆是密”) are missing in the manuscript of Shinpukuji on which the edition of the Shintō taikēi is based. They are supplied by the editor.

thought or a perverse view are all a secret visualization.”

The abbreviated title “*Sūtra*” normally designates the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*; but here, the direct source of the quoted text is not the *sūtra* itself, but a doctrinal work by Annen, the *Taijō Kongō bodaishin-gi ryaku mondō shō* 胎藏金剛菩提心義略問答抄, where we read: “大日經云。身相舉動皆是密印。舌相言語皆是眞言（云云）例之心想妄念皆是密觀（云云）” (The *Mahāvairocana sūtra* writes: “Each movement of the Aspect of body is all a secret seal; each speech of the Aspect of tongue is all a *mantra*,” etc. So that for example a thought in mind or a deluded thought are all a secret visualization, etc.).⁷¹ This is not without a foundation in the *sūtra* itself: at the end of the ninth chapter on the “Secret Seals,” it is said: “又祕密主乃至身分舉動住止。應知皆是密印。舌相所轉衆多言說。應知皆是眞言” (Moreover, O Master of Secrecy, you should know that all the movements or state of staying of the body are all secret seals; you should know that the various discourses that the Aspect of tongue produces are all *mantras*).⁷² A search for the expression “舌相言語” in the SAT database gives an interesting result: the matching texts are all from Japanese Tendai, except one Zen text. They are the *Kankō ruiju*,⁷³ the *Shingon-shū kyōji-gi* (2 occurrences),⁷⁴ the *Taijō Kongō bodaishin-gi ryaku mondō shō* (see above and note 71 [CROSS REFERENCE]), the *Shūyōshū*, the *Ryōin-ketsu*,⁷⁵ and a Zen work of the 14th century, the *Daitō zenshi goroku* 大通禪師語錄 by Guchū Shūkyū 愚中周及 (1323 [var. 1334]-1409).⁷⁶ Annen is the oldest author among these, so he is the original source.

9.

疏云、生死老病死流轉法、彼即自生不生、是阿字也（文）⁷⁷

The *Commentary* says: “The *dharma* of transmigration of the birth and death, the old age, the illness and the death, these are by their own produced and not produced. [All] this is the letter A.”

I was unable to identify the source of this “quotation.” The text itself seems to contain some corruptions: “生死老病死” (the birth, death, old age, illness and death) is not normal; it should be “生老病死” (the birth, old age, illness and death); and “自生不生” (by their own

⁷¹ T. LXXV 2397 ii 508c22-24.

⁷² T. XVIII 848 iv 30a18-20 (see also the *Commentary*, T. XXXIX 1796 xiv 722b12-18; quoted also by Kūkai, in his *Himitsu mandara jūjū-shin ron* 祕密漫荼羅十住心論, T. LXXVII 2425 iii 329b6-8).

⁷³ T. LXXIV 2371.

⁷⁴ T. LXXV 2396.

⁷⁵ The *Ryōin-ketsu*, T. LXXVII 2414 i 158c12-15, gives the sources of the quotations, the first part the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* and the second part the *Taijō Kongō bodaishin-gi ryaku mondō shō* by Annen.

⁷⁶ T. LXXXI 2563.

⁷⁷ Shintō taikēi, 89.

produced and not produced) is odd too; it should probably be “自性不生” (are not produced in their original nature). But even with these possible corrections, a search for “生老病死流轉” finds only 8 occurrences in the *Mihāvibhāṣa*⁷⁸ or a commentary on the *Abhidharma kośa*,⁷⁹ and a search for “即自性不生” finds nothing at all.

10.

天文地文大神’咒、修行觀道、皆成佛道、得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心 (文)⁸⁰

[With?] the Charm of the great deities (?) of heavenly design and earthly design, one practices the path of visualization; everybody realizes the Buddha’s path, and obtains the mind of the unsurpassable correct complete *bodhi*.

This is the final sentence of the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki*; although the character “*bun*” 文 at the end normally indicates the end of a quotation, in this case, this is not certain. Here, the *bun* may simply mean that this is the end of the text. At any rate, if this is a quotation, I was unable to determine its source. There is no occurrence of the first phrase, “*tenmon chimon dai-shinju*” 天文地文大神咒(the Charm of the great deities (?) of heavenly design and earthly design), in the Taishō Canon (the “great deities (?) of heavenly design and earthly design” seem to refer to the deities of the Outer and Inner Shrines of Ise; the “heavenly and earthly design” would designate the designs of the shrine buildings).⁸¹ The phrase “*shugyō kandō*” 修行觀道(one practices the path of visualization) can be found once in the *Zun Poxumi pusa suoji lun/Son Basumitsu bosatsu shoshū ron* 尊婆須蜜菩薩所集論⁸² but this should be a coincidence. As for the phrase “*mina jōbutsu dō*” 皆成佛道 (everybody realizes the Buddha’s path) there are 133 occurrences, especially once in the *Lotus sūtra*,⁸³ and therefore, many Tiantai/Tendai works mention it (for example 12 occurrences in the *Shūyōshū*, 5 times in works by Annen). Finally, there are 41 occurrences of the phrase “*toku anokutara sanbō sanbodai-shin*” 得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心 (one obtains the mind of the unsurpassable correct complete *bodhi*) in the Taishō Canon. But nowhere these phrases are found together.

Doctrine of mind/heart

⁷⁸ T. XXVII 1545.

⁷⁹ T. XLIX 1822.

⁸⁰ Shintō taiki, 90.

⁸¹ On the designs of the Outer and Inner Shrines of Ise and their symbolic meanings, see Shinbutsu shūgō kenkyū-kai, ed. *Kōchū kaisetsu gendaigoyaku Reikiki*, I, 57b-58a (Chap. I, note 108); 161b (Chap. II, note 266); 196b-197a (Chap. III, note 147); 297b (Chap. V, note 18).

⁸² T. XXVIII 1549 ii 732c12.

⁸³ T. IX 262 i 4b10.

Reading the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki*, it is easy to understand that its principal tenet is the doctrine that one's own mind (and/or heart) is, as it is truly (*nyojitsu* 如實), the ultimate reality, which can be expressed by different words or metaphors. As we have already seen, the first line of the work ends with the statement that this chapter “will reveal the divinity of our own mind (*onore no shin no jingi wo akasu* 顯^ス己心^ノ神祇^ヲ).”⁸⁴ Later in the text, introducing the summaries of different Buddhist school doctrines, it writes: “The main principle of different teachings is condensed in the [doctrine] of the Substance of divinity of one single mind (*isshin no shin[tai]* 一心^ノ神[體]); that is the main thesis of all the teachings.”⁸⁵ In the summary of Tendai doctrine, we read again: “The marvelous Substance of the True Aspect of the Unique Vehicle (*ichijō jissō no myōtai* 一乘實相^ノ妙體) is the marvelous *dharma* of the original nature of the sentient beings. It is the unproduced heart-lotus in the chest (?) (*dankan fushō no shinren* 段間不生^ノ心蓮)⁸⁶ which is the marvelous principle of original purity. It is the Aspect of mind which is the limitless empty space (*kokū muhen no shinsō* 虚空無邊^ノ心相), the permanent and immutable thusness. It is the original

⁸⁴ This can be compared with Zhanran (Tannen)'s 湛然 (711-782) commentary on Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀, T. XLVI 1912 ii.1 187b20-21, where it is said: “. . . This is why, seeing the Buddha's mind is seeing one's own mind; one's own mind and Buddha's mind constitute the Middle Path” (故見佛心即見己心。己心佛心即是中道)。

⁸⁵ Shintō taiki, 84: “諸教大綱^ハ只以^ニ一心^ノ神[體]^ニ爲^ス宗旨^ト” (I add *tai* 體 after *shin* 神 according to Suzuki Hideyuki 鈴木英之, *Chūsei gakusō to Shintō: Ryōyo Shōgei no gakumon to shisō* 中世學僧と神道——了譽聖岡の學問と思想, Tōkyō: Beisei shuppan 勉誠出版, 2012, p. 258 and n. 8 [p. 272]). — This statement, and the subsequent presentation of doctrines of different Buddhist schools, are representative of the trend of eclecticism that was characteristic of the period. Mujū 無住 (1227-1312), the author of the collection of tales *Shasekishū* 沙石集, writes for example: “In general, the main principle of the Buddhist Law . . . is the non-duality of the marvelous Substance of the single mind in all teachings” (*Oyoso buppō no taikō ha . . . isshin no myōtai ha shokyō funi nari* 凡佛法大綱ハ、. . . 一心ノ妙體ハ諸教不二也): *Shasekishū*, Nihon koten bungaku taiki 日本古典文學大系, LXXXV, Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1966, 172. A similar tendency can be also noticed in the famous doxography by Gyōnen 凝然 (1240-1321), the *Hasshū kōyō* 八宗綱要 (1268); but the insistence on the “single mind” is more notable in works by Zen authors such as Enni 圓爾 (1202-1280) or Mujū who were also practitioners of esoterism. See Takayanagi Satsuki 高柳さつき, “Nihon chūsei Zen no minaoshi” 日本中世禪の見直し, *Shisō* 思想, 960 (April 2004), 107-123 (she quotes the sentence of Mujū that I mention in this note, p. 115a). As Takayanagi clearly shows, the doctrine of “single mind” in these Zen authors was formed under the strong influence of the *Zongjing lu*. For the author of the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki*, it is evidently the Shingon doctrine which is the center of interest, but he does not state that other teachings are inferior to it. He seems to treat all the teachings as of equal value.

⁸⁶ The word “*dankan*” 段間 is unknown. The editor of the *Kōbō daishi zenshū* 弘法大師全集 (vol. V, p. 113, line 4) adds a note suggesting that this might be an error for “*kyōkan*” 胸間 (in the chest). I adopt this emendation. I notice also that the expression “heart-lotus” (*shinren* 心蓮) is often associated with the word “*nikudan*” 肉團 (mass of flesh); see for example the *Gorin kuji-myō himitsu shaku* 五輪九字明祕密釋 by Kakuban 覺鑊, T. LXXIX 2514 15b7. In fact, this is based on the Sanskrit expression *padma-māṃsa* (“lotus flesh”) which designates the physical heart. The first “*dan*” of *dankan* 段間 reminds the final “*dan*” of “*nikudan*.” — See below p. 25-26. [CROSS REFERENCE]

marvelous store of the Buddha realm and sentient beings' realm, the divine jewel of all the Buddhas of the three times (past, present and future).⁸⁷ Again, in the explanation of the last verse of the *Sokushin jōbutsu gi*, we read: “[The last verse says:] ‘Because of the power of the Round Mirror (*enkyō-riki* 圓鏡力), [one obtains] the knowledge of the truth (*jitsu kakuchi* 實覺智).’ This means that the original nature of Three Mysteries without any attributes (*sanmitsu musō* 三密無相) is the mirror without obstruction of the Single mind (*isshin muge no kagami* 一心無礙鏡). The water of mind (*shinsui* 心水) stays quiet and profound and there is no movement of wave; that is compared with the mirror.⁸⁸ It is the original vow of deities and Buddhas (*shinmei butsuda* 神明佛陀), the Capital of the thusness of the Original Enlightenment.”⁸⁹ Here, the important point is the metaphor of mirror, because mirrors are used as representations of *kamis*’ “bodies” (or “Substance”) (*shintai* 神體, *mishōtai* 御正體); several earlier chapters of the *Reikiki* discuss about the divine mirrors (*shinkyō* 神鏡) of Ise Shrine.⁹⁰

One of the most interesting notions used in this regard is the “knowledge of one’s own mind as it truly is” (*nyojitsu chi ji-shin* 如實知自心) which appears twice in the context of explanation about the classification into three categories of the *sokushin jōbutsu*: *rigu sokushin jōbutsu* 理具即身成佛 (realization of the buddhahood in the present body because one is fully endowed of the absolute principle), *kaji sokushin jōbutsu* 加持即身成佛 (realization of the buddhahood in the present body because one’s practices of the Three mysteries correspond with the Tathāgata’s Three Mysteries by the Sacramental Power), and the *kentoku sokushin jōbutsu* 顯德即身成佛 (realization of the buddhahood in the present body, because, having accomplished the practices of the Three Mysteries, one manifests all

⁸⁷ Shintō taikai, 85: “一乘實相妙體トハ者、衆生ノ自性妙法、段間不生ノ心蓮、本來清淨ノ妙理也、虚空無邊ノ心相、常住不變ノ眞如也、佛界生界ノ本妙藏、三世諸佛ノ神珠也”

⁸⁸ This image may be based on a passage of Zhiyi’s treatise, the *Shi chan-bo luomi cidi famen/Shaku zen-haramitsu shidai hōmon* 釋禪波羅蜜次第法門, T. XLVI 1916 v 515c3-5, where it is said: “. . . At that time, the mind is like a clear mirror without movement; it is also like a pure water without wave. One cuts off all the confused thoughts. The correct mind stands firm, just like an empty space” (爾時心如明鏡不動。亦如淨水無波。絕諸亂想。正念堅固。猶如虚空). Zhiyi uses similar metaphors in several of his works: see T. XXXIII 1716 viii.2 782b8-9; *Mohe zhiguan*, T. XLVI 1911 v.1 57a18-19; *Sijiao yi/Shikyō gi* 四教義, T. XLVI 1929 viii 749a4.

⁸⁹ Shintō taikai, 86: “圓鏡力故實覺智者、三密無相ノ本性、一心無碍ノ鏡也、心水湛然トシテ不レ動ニ波浪ニモ、以レ鏡ヲ喩レ之ニ、神明佛陀ノ本誓願、本覺眞如ノ都也。” — The final phrase “it is the Capital of the thusness of the Original Enlightenment” is an often used figure of speech in medieval Japanese Buddhism. See Frédéric Girard, “Note sur l’expression ‘Capitale de l’éveil foncier’ (*hongaku no miyako*),” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient*, 92 (2007), 555-569.

⁹⁰ See Shinbutsu shūgō kenkyū-kai, ed. *Kōchū kaisetsu gendaigoyaku Reikiki*, I, 107b-108a (Chap. II, note 36); 174b-176a (Chap. III, notes 8 and 9); 313b-315b (Chap. V, notes 106-110). See also Kadoya Atsushi 門屋温, “‘Shintai-zu’ to no kenren ni tsuite” 神體圖との関連について, in Shinbutsu shūgō kenkyū-kai, ed. *Kōchū kaisetsu gendaigoyaku Reikiki*, I, 548-557, especially p. 557. For Chapters 7 to 13 of the *Reikiki*, see Shintō taikai, 52, 54, 56, 60-62, 74-76.

the virtues of the Buddha).⁹¹ The “knowledge of one’s own mind as it truly is” is mentioned concerning the first of the three, the one which is the most fundamental and most “substantialiste.” Our text writes in particular:

理具ト者、一切衆生之自心品ニ、本來法然トシテ而具ニ足セリ過恒沙ノ心王心數ヲ、以ニテ心王ヲ爲シ大日ト、以ニ心數一名ニ諸尊ト、是ヲ名ニク心王心數薩般若智ト、是ヲ爲ニ無邊滿德本圓滿ト也ト、聞ニテ此理ヲ如レク實ノ知ニルヲ自心ト、名ニク理具ノ即身成佛ト、但シ如實知自心ニ有ニ重重ト、

The *rigu* [*sokushin jōbutsu*] means that the own mental functions (*shinpon* 心品) of all the sentient beings are from their origin in a complete accord with the *dhama* (*honrai hōnen to shite* 本來法然トシテ), fully endowed with the Mind-king and its factors (*shinnō shinju* 心王心數, Skt. *citta-caitta*), more numerous than the number of grains of sand in the Ganges river. The Mind-king is [the Buddha] Mahāvairocana and the mental factors are all the worthies. This is named ‘the Omniscient knowledge (Skt. *sarva-jñajñāna*) of the Mind-king and its factors’ (*shinnō shinju sahannya chi* 心王心數薩般若智).⁹² This is the original plenitude of full virtues without limit. Listening to this [absolute] principle (*ri* 理) and knowing one’s own mind as it truly is is named the *rigu no sokushin jōbutsu*. Notice that there are several levels of the knowledge of one’s own mind as it truly is.⁹³

The history of the expression “*nyojitsu chi ji-shin*” is interesting: it first appears in the translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* by Bodhiruci in 513, where we find this statement:

Because of the view of the knowledge of one's own mind as it truly is, because of the view by which the discursive discrimination in one's own mind is not produced, by the non discrimination of any attributes, one can enter in the three gates of the deliverance, namely that of the emptiness, non-attributes and non-volition: it is named the deliverance.⁹⁴

⁹¹ This classification appears only in “variant recensions” of the *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* (*ihon Sokushin jōbutsu gi* 異本即身成佛義, six of which are edited in the Taishō Canon (T. LXXVII 2428), as well as in the Kōbō daishi zenshū, IV: 1-87. These variant recensions are all apocryphal works. — On the three categories of the *sokushin jōbutsu*, see Nakamura Bukkyō-go daijiten 中村佛教語大辭典, 469c-d; Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten, IV, 3136c; Mikkyō daijiten 密教大辭典, 1403b-c.

⁹² All this passage is based on the verse of the (original) *Sokushin jōbutsu gi*: T. LXXVII 2428 381c19: “法然具足薩般若 心數心王過刹塵” (In accord with the *dharma*, [one is] endowed with the Omniscient knowledge. Mental factors and the Mind-king are more numerous than the infinity of atoms [dusts] of Realms).

⁹³ Shintō taikēi, 86-87. The text says that “there are several levels of the knowledge of one’s own mind as it truly is,” but it does not explain anywhere in what consist these “levels.”

⁹⁴ T. XVI 671 vi 547c25-27: “以如實知自心見故。不生自心分別見故。以不分別一切相者。而能入空無相無願三解脫門名爲解脫。”

Then we find it in the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* where it is simply identified with the *bodhi*.⁹⁵ The *Commentary* on this *sūtra* explains the notion in several passages, in particular in the following one concerning the meaning of the letter A:

The *Sūtra* says: “The gate of the letter A [has the meaning that] all the *dharma*s are originally unproduced”.⁹⁶ — The letter A is the foundation of all the teachings. Generally speaking, the first sound that is uttered when one opens the mouth is always A. If there were no sound A, there would be no language at all. This is why it is the mother of all sounds. All the languages in the Three Realms are based on names (*myō* 名, Skt. *nāma*), and [all] the names are based on letters. This is why, the *siddham* letter A is the mother of all the letters. You must know that the gate of the letter A is the meaning of the Truth. Also, it is thus: it pervades in the meaning of all the *dharma*s. Why is it thus? Because among all the *dharma*s, there is none that is not produced from conditions. Every[thing] that is produced from conditions has an original beginning. Now, if we consider this condition which is productive, it is also produced from various conditions. Thus, pursuing [the productive conditions], we seek for the origin. When we consider thus, we arrive at the extremity where we know the original unproduction. This is the origin of all the *dharma*s. This is just like [when we understand that] hearing all language is hearing the sound A. Thus, seeing the production of all the *dharma*s in this way is seeing the extremity of the original unproduction. If we see this extremity of the original unproduction [of all *dharma*s], we know our own mind as it truly is. Knowledge of our own mind as it truly is is the omniscient knowledge. This is why, [the Buddha] Vairocana made of this single letter [A] the *mantra*.⁹⁷

The expression is used again in Kūkai’s works: in his *Jūjū-shin ron*, he first takes it as another way of naming the “unconditioned mind of the single path” (*ichidō mui-shin* 一道無爲心), that he identifies with the Tendai school practitioner’s mind state, the eighth in the progress to the ultimate, tenth stage of mind.⁹⁸ But later, at the beginning of the tenth *kan*, dedicated to the “abode of the secretly ornamented mind” (*himitsu sōgon-shin jū* 祕密莊嚴住

⁹⁵ T. XVIII 848 i 1c1-2: “祕密主云何菩提。謂如實知自心” (O Master of Mysteries, what is called the *bodhi*? It is the knowledge of one’s own mind as it truly is).

⁹⁶ See T. XVIII 848 ii 10a25.

⁹⁷ T. XXXIX 1796 vii 651c4-17: “經云。謂阿字門一切諸法本不生故者。阿字是一切法教之本。凡最初開口之音皆有阿聲。若離阿聲則無一切言說。故爲衆聲之母。凡三界語言皆依於名。而名依於字。故悉曇阿字。亦爲衆字之母。當知阿字門真實義。亦復如是。遍於一切法義之中也。所以者何。以一切法無不從衆緣生。從緣生者。悉皆有始有本。今觀此能生之緣。亦復從衆因緣生。展轉從緣誰爲其本。如是觀察時則知本不生際。是萬法之本。猶如聞一切語言時即是聞阿聲。如是見一切法生時。即是見本不生際。若見本不生際者。即是如實知自心。如實知自心即是一切智智。故毘盧遮那。唯以此一字爲眞言也。”

⁹⁸ T. LXXVII 2425 viii 350c4.

心), that is the Shingon follower's mind, he quotes the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*'s passage “What is called the *bodhi*? It is the knowledge of one's own mind as it truly is,” and claims that “this sentence contains an unlimited meaning” (*kore ha kono ikku muryō no gi wo fukumu* 此是一句含無量義), revealing that all his treatise was a development of this notion.⁹⁹ Thus, we can say that this was truly a crucial idea on which all the Shingon, and esoteric, philosophy was based. As a matter of fact, there are 624 occurrences of the expression in the Japanese sections of the Taishō Canon (out of 669 in all); among them, Yūkai 宥快 (1345-1416) uses it 68 times, Yūban 56 times, Saishin 42 times, Kakuban 36 times, Kōshū 21 times, Annen 18 times, Anchō 17 times, and Chōgō 12 times, etc.

I shall now mention some of the most typical sentences of the work, in which the doctrine of mind/heart is dealt with, and try to identify their possible sources; this will show the fragmentary state of the identified vocabulary. For example, we read, just after the second quotation of which I was unable to identify the source (see above p. 13-13 [CROSS REFERENCE]):

此教ノ意ハ自レ本談ニル法喻一體ニテ故、於ニ自心ニ觀ニテハ滿月ニテ即身圓明ノ月輪也、觀ニ蓮華ニ自身即蓮華也、觀ニ金剛ニ自身即金剛也、觀ニ寶珠ニ自身即寶珠也、如レ是無量無邊形色等モ亦如レ是

This teaching professes fundamentally that the *dharma*s and the metaphors are one single Substance. This is why, when we visualize our own heart [or mind] as the full moon, our actual body is [or becomes] the full and brilliant moon wheel; visualizing [our own heart or mind?] as the lotus flower, our own body is the lotus flower; visualizing [it] as the *vajra*, it is the *vajra*; visualizing [it] as the jewel, it is the jewel; and thus, [as well for] the innumerable and unlimited shapes and forms.

The phrase “the *dharma*s and the metaphors are one single Substance” (*hō-yu ittai* 法喻一體) has no occurrence in the Taishō Canon. However, it seems to refer to a similar assertion that “the *dharma* and the metaphor form one pair” (*hō-yu ittai* 法喻一對) which can be traced to 9 texts: it appears first in Chinese commentaries affiliated with the Avataṃsaka school (T. 1733, 1735, 1736), then Kūkai reuses it in one of the versions of his *Explanatory note on the Mahāvairocana sūtra* and his *Explanatory note on the Vajraśekhara sūtra* (T. 2211F and 2221). In fact, in Mahāyāna philosophy, the absolute, either named “*dharma*” or “*nirvāṇa*” or “emptiness” or “thusness” etc., is at any rate inseparable from the transmigratory world; it can only be expressed by words which are necessarily metaphors,

⁹⁹ T. LXXVII 2425 x 359a22-23. — On this passage of the *Jūjū-shin ron*, see *Mikkyō daijiten*, 1743c-1744a.

and in this sense, it is inseparable from them. From this view point, it seems that the idea that “the *dharma* and the metaphor form one pair” is rather easily comprehensible. Nevertheless, stating that they are “one single Substance” appears as a bold way of expressing a similar idea, since “Substance” normally is the opposite of “emptiness.” This can be qualified as an innovative tenet that uses a homonym expression authorized by Kūkai, but enhancing its “substantialist” tendency.

The phrase “visualize our own heart as” (*jishin ni oite kan-zuru* 於自心觀) can be found in a tantra and in some Japanese commentaries or ritual texts of an esoteric nature.¹⁰⁰ I cannot find any exact counterpart to the phrase “our actual body is [or becomes] the full and brilliant moon wheel” (*sokushin enmyō gachirin* 即身圓明月輪), but the idea of visualizing one’s heart as the moon is frequent in esoteric texts. In particular, in an *Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī* ritual composed by Amoghavajra, we find the phrase “Imagine in the heart of your own body that there is a full and brilliant moon wheel” (*xiang zishen yu xinzhong you yuanming yuelun* 想自身於心中有圓明月輪),¹⁰¹ and similar phrases can be found in certain Japanese ritual texts.¹⁰² In fact, the visualization of one’s own mind as the full moon is the basic esoteric visualization, and especially of the *vajradhātu* rituals. It is fully described in a famous passage of the *Putixin-lun/Bodaishin-ron* 菩提心論 ascribed to Amoghavajra:¹⁰³

The practitioner must visualize in his inner mind (*naishin* 內心) a white moon wheel [or according to a variant a wheel of sun and moon]. Having made such a visualization, he will shed light on his original mind, which is deep and quiet, just like the full moon’s light pervading the empty space, without any distinction between places. It is also named the complete enlightenment, or the pure *Dharma* realm, or again the Ocean of the *prajñāpāramitā* of the True Aspect, which can contain all kinds of rare jewels of *samādhi*, just like the full moon, clean, white and clear.

The next visualization, that of the lotus flower, is proper to the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, and is described especially in a passage of the *Commentary* on that *sūtra*:¹⁰⁴

The [physical] heart (*utsurida-shin* 汚栗駄心, Skt. *hṛdaya*) in ordinary men has the form of a lotus flower which has not yet come into bloom. It has muscles and vessels,

¹⁰⁰ T. 965, T. 2219, 2228, 2409, etc.

¹⁰¹ T. XIX 972 366b27.

¹⁰² T. 2448, 2468 and 2501.

¹⁰³ T. XXXII 1665 573c14-18: “令修行者。於內心中。觀白〔日〕月輪。由作此觀。照見本心。湛然清淨。猶如滿月光遍虛空無所分別。亦名覺了。亦名淨法界。亦名實相般若波羅蜜海。能含種種無量珍寶三摩地。猶如滿月潔白分明。”

¹⁰⁴ T. XXXIX 1796 iv 623a6-11: “凡人汚栗駄心狀。猶如蓮花含而未敷之像。有筋脈約之以成八分。男子上向女人下向。先觀此蓮令其開敷。爲八葉白蓮花座。此臺上當觀阿字。作金剛色。首中。置百光遍照王。而以無垢眼觀之。以此自加持故。即成毘盧遮那身也。”

and is constituted from eight parts (*hachibun* 八分). The male's heart is upward and the female's one is downward. First, visualize that this lotus flower is coming into bloom. It is a white lotus flower seat of eight petals. On this pedestal, visualize the letter A, in golden color. At its top, place the king of pervading light of one hundred lights (*hyakkō henjō ō* 百光遍照王). Visualize it with an eye without any impurity. Empower yourself with this, and then, you will realize right away the body of Vairocana.

Here, the object of the visualization is the physical heart (*hṛdaya*), which can be noted by the character *xin/shin* 心, character that translates also the mind (Skt. *citta* or *manas*). This is a very important feature of our text, as well as that of many esoteric works of medieval period. Based on this intrinsic ambiguity of the word *shin* (mind and/or heart), the authors emphasize on the idea that one is enlightened since the ultimate origin, not only “spiritually” but also in one's very physical body. This is why, in our short text, there are no less than six occurrences of the word “*shiki-shin*” 色心, which underlines the non-separable nature of (physical) forms (Jp. *shiki*, Skt. *rūpa*) and mind (*citta*).

The comparison of practitioner's (or Buddha's or Bodhisattva's) mind — mind of faith, mind of *bodhi* or mind of discipline, etc. — as hard as the *vajra* is quite frequent in all the Canon (there are 97 occurrences of expressions such as “*shin nyo kongō*” 心如金剛 [the mind as the *vajra*], “*shin nyaku kongō*” 心若金剛 [same meaning] or “*shin kengo nyo kongō*” 心堅固如金剛 [the mind as hard as the *vajra*]). In esoteric rituals, it is often indicated to visualize one's own mind (or mind of *bodhi*) as the *vajra* of five wisdoms or five pronged *vajra*.¹⁰⁵

In a similar way, the mind (especially the *bodhi* mind) is often compared to different jewels (jewel of clear moon, *myōgatsu-ju* 明月珠, jewel of lapis-lazuli, *ruri-ju* 瑠璃珠, wish-fulfilling jewel, etc.) because of its purity and transparence. In one impressing passage of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* in particular, the *bodhi* mind is successively assimilated with the dragon jewel (*ryūju* 龍珠), the water jewel (*suiju* 水珠) and the wish-fulfilling jewel.¹⁰⁶ In esoteric

¹⁰⁵ E.g. (in the Indian section) *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing/Fukū kenjaku jinpen shingon kyō* 不空羼索神變真言經, T. XX 1092 viii 265c8-9 (translated by Bodhiruci in 709); *Jingang-wang pusa mimi niansong yigui/Konō-ō bosatsu himitsu nenju giki* 金剛王菩薩祕密念誦儀軌, T. XX 1132 572c4-5 (translated by Amoghavajra); (in the Japanese section) *Kongōkai jōchi ki* 金剛界淨地記, T. LXXV 2386 30b9-10 (by Ennin 圓仁 [794-864]); *Kongōkai daihō taiju ki* 金剛界大法對受記, T. LXXV 2391 i 122c1-2 (by Annen); *Ibid.*, T. 2391 i 126a20; *Taijō Kongō bodai-shin gi ryaku mondō shō* 胎藏金剛菩提心義略問答抄, T. LXXV 2397 iv 516b21-22 (by Annen); *Konkai hotsue shō* 金界發惠抄, T. LXXIX 2533 i 115a28 (by Raiyu 賴瑜 [1226-1304]); *Usuzōshi kuketsu* 薄草子口決, T. LXXIX 2535 x 236c4-5 (by Raiyu); *Dainichi-kyō-sho ennō-shō* 大日經疏演奧鈔, T. LIX 2216 xii 128b3 (by Gōhō 杲寶 [1306-1362]).

¹⁰⁶ T. IX 278 lix 776a11-14 (translation by Buddhahadra). See also *Zongjing lu*, T. XLVIII 2016 ix 465b5-7.

literature, the practitioner is taught to visualize his own mind as the wish-fulfilling jewel: in the *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra* in particular, it is said that the practitioner must visualize on his heart of lotus a wish-fulfilling jewel, clear and transparent internally and externally.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, the *Myōin-shō kuden* by Yūban quotes twice a text named “*Hi-ki*” 祕記 (Secret record), which instructs the following visualizing method: “I visualize on my mind a moon wheel; on that moon wheel, I visualize the letter A, which transforms itself into a wish-fulfilling jewel. This jewel pervades all the *Dharma* Realm.”¹⁰⁸

Finally, there is only one occurrence of the phrase “無量無邊形色” (the innumerable and unlimited shapes and forms) in the Taishō Canon, found in a passage of the *Myōinshō*.¹⁰⁹

In another passage, explaining the meaning of the letter A, our text writes:

法ニ無_レ語、顯_ス以_レ言_ヲ之_ヲ、阿字本不生ノ故ニ自心本不生ナリ、自心本不生故ニ諸法本不生ナリ、諸法本不生故ニ以_ニ阿字_ヲ爲_ス諸法ノ種子ト、

The *dharma*s have no words, and we express this by words. Because the letter A is originally unproduced, our own mind is originally unproduced. Because our own mind is originally unproduced, the *dharma*s are originally unproduced. Because the *dharma*s are originally unproduced, it is the letter A which is the seed (Skt. *bīja*) of all the *dharma*s.

The first phrase “The *dharma*s have no words” (*hō ni go nashi* 法無語) can be found in the *Ratnakūṭa*, *Mahāsaṃnipāta* and *Upadeśa*.¹¹⁰ The next phrase “we express this by words” has no counterpart in the Taishō Canon. The next three phrases, that is to say “the letter A is originally unproduced,” “our own mind is originally unproduced” and “the *dharma*s are originally unproduced” are formulas that can be found in many texts — but they appear almost always separately. However, there is a compendium on Shingon doctrine ascribed to Kūkai, entitled *Zō-mondō* 雜問答 or *Shingon mondō* 眞言問答, in which the former two phrases are juxtaposed in a causal succession, in a manner very similar to that of our passage

¹⁰⁷ T. XXXIX 1796 iv 623a17-18: “當自觀心蓮花上。如意寶珠内外明徹。” Quoted by *Myōinshō*, T. LVIII 2213 xxvii 233b24; by Gōhō in his *Dainichi-kyō-sho ennō-shō*, T. LIX 2216 viii 78a22-23; by Annen in his *Kan Chūin senjō jigō kanjō gusoku shibun* 觀中院撰定事業灌頂具足支分, T. LXXV 2393 ii 226a20-21 and vi 240a18; and his *Dainichi-kyō kuyō jishō fudō* 大日經供養持誦不同, T. LXXV 2394 i 300b4-5.

¹⁰⁸ T. LVIII 2214 v 658c21-22, vii 667a20-23: “祕記云。我心觀月輪。月輪上觀阿字。成如意寶珠。寶珠遍滿法界。” — According to a variant of T. 2214 v 658c21, the “Secret record” should be read the “Secret store record” (*hizō-ki* 祕藏記); this is the title of a work ascribed to Kūkai. And indeed, we find the quoted text in the second *kan* of the *Hizō-ki*, TZ. I 2921 ii 10b6-7.

¹⁰⁹ T. LVIII 2213 xxvi 231c6.

¹¹⁰ T. XI 310 xxiii 128c11; T. XIII 397 lvii 384a7-8 and T. XXV 1509 lxvi 551a2.

(“Because the letter A is originally unproduced, we know that our own mind is originally unproduced”: *A ji hon-fushō no yue ni jishin no hon fushō wo shiru* 阿字本不生故知自心本不生). Moreover, this is given as an answer to the question of what the knowledge of one’s own mind as it truly is is called (*nyojitsu chi jishin*), one of the typical phrases that appears in our text.¹¹¹ However, the phrase “all the *dharma*s are originally unproduced” does not occur in this passage of the *Zō-mondō*. Two Shingon sub-commentaries on the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, one by Saishin and the other by Gōhō mention the two successive phrases of the *Zō-mondō*, and then, separated by about twenty lines, the third phrase “all *dharma*s are originally unproduced”.¹¹² Finally, the exact counterpart of the phrase “it is the letter A which is the seed of all *dharma*s” cannot be found in any text in the Taishō Canon, but in the Chinese *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra*, we find the phrase that “the letter A is the seed of all the letters” (*A-zi wei yiqie zi zhi zhongzi/A ji wo issai-ji no shūji to nasu* 阿字爲一切字之種子).¹¹³

As Itō Satoshi 伊藤聰 has noted, one of the most important features of medieval “Shintō” thought is its tendency to interiorize the notion of *kami* which comes to be identified with the human mind (in antiquity, *kamis* were uniquely external supernatural powers that were difficult to control by human means).¹¹⁴ The Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki* is characteristic in this tendency; and our analysis could show that this current of thought was fundamentally based on Buddhist idea of the “mind-only” philosophy. Our text adds somehow artificially *kami* or the mirror, to the Buddhist notion of absolute, or replace the Buddha by *kami*, to express this idea.

In search of closer texts to the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki*

As I mentioned earlier, my searches in the SAT database led me to a group of early fourteenth century texts which seem to be particularly close to our text. Among them are sub-commentaries on the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* due to Yūban, especially the very long *Myōinshō* (T. 2213); the Tendai commentary on the *Treatise on the Bodhicitta*, *Kenmon* (T. 2294) by Anchō; the *Shūyōshū* by Kōshū, also of the Tendai school (T. 2410); the *Sōji-shō* (T. 2412) by Chōgō, and the Tendai compilation of rituals, *Ryōin-ketsu* by Ryōe (T. 2414). I took another

¹¹¹ Compare the *Zō-mondō* in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, IV, 179-180 with Shintō taikēi: 87. — This is based on a passage of the *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra* translated above p. 23-23 [CROSS REFERENCE].

¹¹² T. LVIII 2215 vi 727c8-9 and 728a8; T. LIX 2216 xxi 226c4-5 and c27-28.

¹¹³ T. XXXIX 1796 xii 710a2-3.

¹¹⁴ Itō Satoshi 伊藤聰, “Shintō no keisei to chūsei shinwa” 神道の形成と中世神話, in *Nihon shisō-shi kōza* 日本思想史講座, II, *Chūsei* 中世, Tōkyō: Perikan sha ぺりかん社, 2012, 299-332, especially p. 304-311.

long sub-commentary on the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, the *Dainichi-kyō-sho shō* 大日經疏鈔 (T. 2218), by Yūkai, a Shingon monk of the early fifteenth century, known as an opponent of the ideas of “Original Enlightenment thought” as a specimen of texts representing a different trend of thought. I conducted a comparison of these six texts with the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki*, using a computerized text analysis method called NGSM (standing for “N-Gram based System for Multiple document comparison and analysis”).¹¹⁵ This method takes a sequence of a predetermined number of characters (here, 4 characters) from the base text (here, the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki*) and searches in other texts if the same sequence can be found, counting the numbers of matches; then advancing by one character, it takes another sequence of 4 characters, and searches it in other texts, and so forth until it reaches the end of the text. All the punctuation characters or other non-Chinese characters (formatting characters included) are removed beforehand, so that the comparison is done only on sequences of Chinese characters. As I already noticed, this kind of searches, regardless of meaning of text, may allow to find similarity of expressions or wordings between works for which the authors were not conscious. The result of this comparison is presented in the table appended to this essay. At the left, there is the number of occurrences of a term in all the seven texts. Next is the sequence of four characters which was the keyword for which I searched in all the texts. Then appears a list of numbers of occurrences of the term in each text. Finally, in the right column, I added the numbers of occurrences of the term in the entire SAT corpora.¹¹⁶ The number of the total matching sequences is 589 (which is a rather big number if we consider the number of the total characters of the base text, which is 2592 [the percentage is 22.72376]). The total numbers of characters of each text are shown in the first line; the numbers of hits in each text (with their percentage) are listed in the last lines.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ See Ishii Kōsei, “N-gram riyō no kanōsei: Bukkyō bunken ni okeru ihon hikaku to yakusha, sakusha hantei” N-gram 利用の可能性——佛教文獻における異本比較と譯者・作者判定, *Kanji bunken jōhō shori kenkyū* 漢字文獻情報処理研究, 2 (October 2001), 59-61 (available at <<http://www.jaet.gr.jp/archives/journal/jj02.pdf>>; last accessed on August 21, 2012); Id., “Bukkyō-gaku ni okeru n-gram no katsuyō” 佛教學における N-gram の活用, *Asu no tōyō-gaku: Tōkyō daigaku tōyō bunka kenkyūjo fuzoku tōyōgaku kenkyū jōhō sentā hō* 明日の東洋學 東京大學東洋文化研究所附屬東洋學研究情報センター報, 8 (October 2002), 2-4 (available at <<http://ricas.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/pub/pdf/nl008.pdf>>, last accessed on 21 August, 2012). See also Yamada Takahito 山田崇仁. “N-gram moderu wo riyō shita tekisuto bunseki” N-gram モデルを利用したテキスト分析 <<http://www.shuiren.org/chuden/teach/n-gram/index-j.html>> (last accessed on August 13th, 2012).

¹¹⁶ As I obtained these numbers by a personal method (using a script that I wrote myself), they may be not exactly the same as the numbers obtained using the SAT database. But they are generally the same, or almost same. — I uploaded this document, as well as some others related to it, to my personal web site, at <http://n-yanaga.la.coocan.jp/articles/reikiki_14.html> (last accessed on August 23, 2012).

¹¹⁷ The percentage is obtained from the quotient of the number of hits divided by the total number of the characters of each text (multiplied by 100).

These percentages are perhaps the most significant:¹¹⁸ from the result, we can see that the commentary by Yūkai has the lowest number;¹¹⁹ that of Yūban is somehow greater; that of Anchō is roughly three times greater than that of Yūban; that of Kōshū is less than two times greater than that of Yūban; the percentage in the text of Ryōe is much greater, and finally, that in the *Sōji-shō* is the greatest. This seems to suggest that the vocabulary of the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki* is closer to certain Tendai texts than to Shingon texts. This is a rather surprising result, since the *Reikiki* was always considered to be closer to Shingon than to Tendai. But this is the result that came out from our text comparison. — In fact, from the standpoint of vocabulary, the close relationship between Yūban's *Myōinshō* and contemporary Tendai works is confirmed by a similar NGSM text comparison between the *Myōinshō* and the other texts for sequences of 4 characters, which gives the following result:

Total match:	39805 (total characters: 807533; percentage: 4.9292103)
Yūkai 宥快, <i>Dainichi-kyō sho shō</i> :	23161 (4.17922)
Anchō 安超, <i>Kenmon</i> :	6509 (6.04852)
Kōshū 光宗, <i>Shūyōshū</i> :	14750 (3.09545)
Chōgō 澄豪, <i>Sōji-shō</i> :	2957 (5.81662)
Ryōe 了惠, <i>Ryōin-ketsu</i> :	4432 (8.73489)

Thus, paradoxically, the Shingon work *Myōinshō* by Yūban is closer to Tendai Anchō's, Chōgō's or Ryōe's texts than the Yūkai's Shingon commentary (except Kōshū's *Shūyōshū*).

On the other hand, two other NGSM text comparisons reveal interesting results: this time, we keep only the cases where character sequences taken from our base text (the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki*) have no counterpart in any of the other six texts (in other words, these sequences are unique to our text). When we take the sequences of 4 characters, there are 1841 matches (71.02623 percent — much more than 589 sequences that appear at least in one of six other texts); but when we do the same comparison with sequences of 2

¹¹⁸ Yūban 宥範, <i>Myōinshō</i> :	370 (0.04581)
Yūkai 宥快, <i>Dainichi-kyō sho shō</i> :	232 (0.04186)
Anchō 安超, <i>Kenmon</i> :	224 (0.20815)
Kōshū 光宗, <i>Shūyōshū</i> :	351 (0.07366)
Chōgō 澄豪, <i>Sōji-shō</i> :	129 (0.25375)
Ryōe 了惠, <i>Ryōin-ketsu</i> :	125 (0.24635)

¹¹⁹ The difference of percentage between the *Myōinshō* and the *Dainichi-kyō sho shō* is not as big as expected. Perhaps one of the reasons is that Yūkai's text is largely composed of quotations from other texts, old or contemporary (the same tendency can be noticed in all the compared texts, but it is particularly marked in the *Dainichi-kyō sho shō*).

characters, there are only 113 matches (4.35956 percent).¹²⁰ This means that a majority of the text is composed with sequences that can be found in other contemporary texts, if the sequences are short enough (2 characters), but when the sequences are longer (4 characters), very few are common in other texts. In Chinese, compounds of 2 characters form very often meaningful units of words, while sequences of 4 characters form basic units of phrases or expressions. The great difference between the results of NGSM text comparisons with 4 character sequences and 2 character sequences shows that our text most often uses the basic vocabulary common with other contemporary Buddhist (Tendai and Shingon esoteric) texts, but at the same time, uses expressions and phrases which are very often unique to it. This is the real reason why at first glance, we have impression that this text uses a familiar vocabulary of the 13th and 14th esoteric works, but as soon as we attempt to identify more significant sources of it, we meet great difficulties. Is this a unique case? How can we explain this phenomenon? We do not have enough data for answering these questions. However, two other experiments show that a similar tendency can be noticed for other texts, but with different degrees. I did the same NGSM text comparison of sequences of 2 characters and 4 characters taking as the base text the *Kankō-ruiju* (compared to the same six texts as those I used for other comparisons). The result is the following:

Kankō-ruiju 4 grams: Total matching : 42834 (70.63654)

Ibid. 2 grams: Total matching : 2404 (3.96437)

I did another experiment with the *Ryōin-ketsu* as the base text (compared to other five texts that I used for other comparisons). Here is the result:

Ryōin-ketsu 4 grams: Total matching : 32995 (65.46886)

Ibid. 2 grams: Total matching : 2916 (5.78594)

Thus, the *Ryōin-ketsu* has at the same time more unique sequences of 2 characters, and less unique sequences of 4 characters than the *Kankō-ruiju*. On the other hand, the figures of percentages for the *Kankō-ruiju* are very similar with those of the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki*. One hypothetic explanation that I would propose is this: the six works that I compared with our text all follow well-defined literary or textual styles: the *Myōinshō*, the *Dainichi-kyō-shō shō* and the *Kenmon* are commentaries, the *Sōji-shō* and the *Ryōin-ketsu* are compilations of rituals and oral traditions related to rituals, and the *Shūyōshū* is a compilation of oral traditions. Different from these, the *Kankō-ruiju* has common with the Fourteenth

¹²⁰ Note that the addition of the percentage of sequences unique to the base text and that of the sequences that it shares with other texts does not make 100 percent. In the case of sequences of 4 characters, $22.72376 + 71.02623 = 93.75$; but in that of sequences of 2 characters, the percentage of those that the base text shares with other texts is 52.85493, so that $52.85493 + 4.35956$ makes only 57.21 percent.

Chapter of the *Reikiki* of being apocryphal texts of doctrinal contents, and also of being original treatises. The Taishō Canon does not include many works of this kind, but I tend to think that if we do similar vocabulary studies using this kind of works, we will obtain similar results.

Conclusion

As our presentation above could make it clear, the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki* has only very few passages dealing with specifically “Shintō” matters; in its main contents, it is a short but learned account of Buddhist doctrines, focusing especially on the contemporary esoteric teaching. Although we could not identify any specific sources of the work, it seems to have nothing particularly odd compared with other works of the same kind and period; it is especially close to some Tendai works, but as it features Kūkai’s teaching of the *Sokushin jōbutsu gi*, we should probably consider it as a Shingon work, with a particularly strong tendency of “Original Enlightenment” thought. What we must emphasize in this conclusion is that this kind of vocabulary studies has no end. In fact, it has just begun; the method itself is not well experimented; we should take many more examples in this text and examine them in detail. We should also proceed to similar vocabulary studies on other texts, in order to obtain more comparative data, and to improve the method. There is however one negative conclusion that can be drawn from this study: some previous studies on the *Reikiki* and other early medieval “Shintō” texts have pointed out that, in addition to the marked influence of esoteric Buddhism, one can find in these texts some interesting references to Zen Buddhism concepts.¹²¹ But our examination of the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Reikiki* was unable to notice any trace of such influence.¹²² Thus, at least for this Chapter of the *Reikiki*, we can safely say that its author(s) had no relation with, and no particular interest in Zen Buddhism. This might be also an indication of the probability of diverse origins of chapters of the *Reikiki*. But here again, further examinations should be conducted for more certainty.

¹²¹ Ogawa Toyoo 小川豊生, “Chūsei shingaku no mechie: ‘Tenchi reigaku hisho’ wo yomu” 中世神學のメチエ——『天地靈覺祕書』を讀む, in Nishiki Hitoshi 錦仁, Ogawa Toyoo and Itō Satoshi, eds. and authors, “*Ghisho*” no seisei: Chūsei-teki shikō to hyōgen 「偽書」の生成——中世的思考と表現, Tōkyō: Shinwa-sha 森話社, 2003, 155-195; Id., “Jūsan-seiki shintō gensetsu ni okeru Zen no kyōdo: ‘Chūsei shingaku no mechie’ zokukō” 十三世紀神道言説における禪の強度——「中世神學のメチエ」續稿, *Bungaku (Kakugetsu-kan)* 文學 (隔月刊), 6-6 (November 2005), 92-105. See also Wada Ukiko 和田有希子, “Zenrin no shisō to bunka” 禪林の思想と文化, in *Nihon shisō-shi kōza*, II, *Chūsei*, 261-298, especially p. 271-277; Itō Satoshi, “Shintō no keisei to chūsei shinwa,” 317-319.

¹²² Except the fact that much of the doctrinal vocabulary used in our text can be found in the *Zongjing lu*, T. 2016, the early Song Chan compilation that early Japanese Zen masters have cherished. See Wada, “Zenrin no shisō to bunka,” 264; Takayanagi Satsuki, “Nihon chūsei Zen no minaoshi,” 107-123. See also above, n. 85 [CROSS REFERENCE].

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