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The Phenomenon of Invoking Fudō for Pure Land Rebirth in Image and Text

Invoking the esoteric Buddhist deity Fudō for rebirth is a lesser known aspect in the development of Pure Land worship. Fudō was invoked by reciting his incantation as a deathbed practice to attain proper mindfulness at death allowing rebirth into the Pure Land, particularly Miroku's Heaven, from the late Heian into the Kamakura period. The association of Fudō and Miroku's Heaven extends back to the Tendai monk Sōō (ninth century), and invoking Fudō for rebirth was practiced by such notables as Emperor Shirakawa and the Kegon monk Myōe. Fudō was incorporated into Miroku Raigō paintings from the end of the twelfth century into the fourteenth century, probably as a last recourse by the traditional schools of Buddhism to the rising popularity of Amida worship and easy access to Amida's Pure Land through the nenbutsu.

KEYWORDS: Fudō – Raigō – Acalanatha – Myōe – Miroku – Sōō – Maitreya – Genshin – Tosotsu – *anjin* – Tuṣita – *jikushu*

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INVOKING the esoteric Buddhist deity Fudō for rebirth is a lesser known aspect in the complex development of Pure Land worship in Japan. As is well known, Fudō is a manifestation of the cosmic Buddha Dainichi 大日 (Sk. Mahāvairocana) sent to assist Buddhist practitioners and to arrest those who would impede the Buddhist path. Nevertheless, he was also invoked for rebirth in the heaven where Miroku (Sk. Maitreya) resides, and was also incorporated into Raigō paintings. Reviewing the process by which Fudō was incorporated into Pure Land worship reveals alternative developments within Pure Land worship and the subtle influence of esotericism even within the mainstream Tendai tradition.

The earliest recorded association of Fudō and Miroku’s Heaven began with the Tendai priest Sōō 相応 (831–918) who, according to legend, was carried to Miroku’s Heaven by Fudō (*Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 193: 15/8, SNKBT 42: 386). By the twelfth century, Fudō was being invoked for proper mindfulness at the moment of death (*shōnen rinju* 正念臨終) by members of the court nobility such as Emperor Horikawa 堀河 (1079–1107, r. 1086–1107) and Emperor Shirakawa 白河 (1053–1129, r. 1072–1086). In the late twelfth century to thirteenth century, legends of the efficacy of Fudō’s “Mantra of Compassionate Help” for removing the hindrances at death were recorded in collections of tales such as the *Hosshinshū* 発心集 and *Shasekishū* 沙石集. Depictions of Miroku Raigō paintings that included Fudō in their composition began in the twelfth century and continued into the fourteenth century. The production of Miroku Raigō with Fudō may well have been a response by the Nara schools of Buddhism to the challenge of the rising popularity of the new Kamakura schools that promoted easy access to Amida’s Pure Land. Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232) himself, who wrote the *Saijyarin* 摧邪輪 criticizing Hōnen’s *Senchakushū* 選択集 on Amida’s Original Vow and the nenbutsu, also had Fudō’s “Mantra of Compassionate Help” invoked for him on his deathbed. This paper will look at these historical developments to help clarify the role of Japanese Fudō worship in the aspiration for rebirth in Miroku’s heaven, in order to understand Fudō’s somewhat unexpected appearance in Miroku Raigō paintings.

Description of Fudō

Fudō 不動, also written Mudō 無動, is a literal translation of the Sanskrit Acala, which means “not-moving” in the full sense of the word “steadfast.” Fudō is also referred to as a Myōō 明王 (Sk. Vidyārāja, “Mantra King”). In the oldest sections of the first extant tantric text, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, *vidyārāja* refers to

a personified incantation emanating from a Buddha (see J. Przyłuski [1923], 313, note 1, cited in MEECH 1969, 41–42, note 4). In early Chinese translations and commentaries, the characters used to denote Fudō appear to be translations of Acalanatha (literally, “Not-Move Lord”).¹ The appellation of “Fierce Fudō Vajra” 威怒不動金剛 relates to his incantations.² For example, Fudō’s “Mantra of Compassionate Help” (Jikushu 慈救呪) is *Namaḥ samanta vajrāṇām, Caṇḍa Mahāroṣaṇa sphaṭaya, hūm traḥ hām mām*, which loosely translates as “Homage to the All Encompassing Vajra, the Manifestation of Great Wrath. Eliminate [all hindrances], hūm traḥ hām mām.”³

Pictorial renditions of Fudō have a fair number of variations, but the most common traits are the sword in his right hand and rope in his left, the plait of hair that hangs down on the left of his face, the wrinkles on his forehead in the form of waves, his portly body surrounded in flames, and the rock he stands or sits firmly on.⁴ His many aspects also have symbolic meaning. For example, his sword destroys the three poisonous hindrances of sentient beings and his rope draws them to enlightenment (*Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔, DBZ 48: 343).

Technically, Fudō is a manifestation of the cosmic Buddha Dainichi, sent as an assistant to Dainichi to sever the sources of hindrances to the Buddha’s teachings and to devour the obstacles of practitioners.⁵ Nevertheless, Fudō was most popular among the nobility for his efficacy for propitious birth, restoration of health and resurrection from death, and the subjugation of adversaries. Fudō was invoked for these purposes through a Fudō ritual (*Fudōbō* 不動法), during which Fudō’s “Mantra of Compassionate Help” was chanted as a part of the ritual.

1. The earliest references to Fudō by name in the Chinese canon are the *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羂索神變真言經 (Jp. *Fukūkenjaku jinpen shingon kyō*, T 20, n1092, 271) translated by Bodhiruci 菩提流志 in 709 in which “The Attendant Fudō” 不動使者 appears, and the *Mahāvairocana Sutra* 大日經 (Jp. *Dainichi kyō*, T 18, n848) translated by Śubhakarasiṃha 善無畏 (637–735) in 725 in which appear The Venerable Fudō 不動尊, The Lord Fudō 不動主, and The Venerable Mudō 無動尊. I have supplied the Chinese readings on the first appearance of a Chinese text, but afterwards I have used the Japanese reading, so that the reader may more readily follow the discussion in Japanese primary and secondary sources of this Japanese form of Fudō worship.

2. Fierce Fudō Vajra 威怒不動金剛 appears in the *Renwang niansong yigui* 仁王念誦儀軌 (Jp. *Ninnō nenju giki*, T 19, n994) translated by Amoghavajra (705–774) in 765 and the *Renwang jingshu* 仁王經疏 (Jp. *Ninnōgyōsho*, T 33, n1709) written in 766 by the Chinese priest Liangbi 良賈 (717–777), who resided at the esoteric temple Qinglongsi 青龍寺 in the Chinese Tang capital of Chang’an. See ARIGA 1993, 9–10.

3. Sanskrit cited in WATANABE 1975, 204. This mantra is found in the *Budong shizhe tuoluoni mimi fa* 不動使者陀羅尼祕密法 (Jp. *Fudō shisha darani himitsu hō*) translated by Vajrabodhi 金剛智 during the Tang dynasty (T 21, n1202, 271a–a5). The transcription of the Sanskrit reads (in Japanese) *nama samanta bazaradan senda maka roshana sopotaya un tarata jin man* 那麼三曼多縛日囉敕戰祭摩訶盧灑拏馱頗吒也吽怛刺吒鳩忙.

4. *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* (Jp. *Daibirushana jōbutsu jinben kaji kyō*, 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經: scroll 1, T 18, n848, 7b17–22).

5. See *Nenju giki* (T 19, n994, 515a) and *Ninnōgyōsho* (T 33, n1709, 516b); *Yōson dōjō kan* 要尊道場觀 (T 78, n2468, 43); MJ: 608.

Sōō and Invoking Fudō for Miroku's Heaven

Invoking Fudō in the context of Miroku's Heaven in Japan seems to have originated with the Tendai priest Sōō, who was carried to Miroku's Heaven (Tosotsuten 兜率天, Sk. Tuṣita) by Fudō, according to the legend recorded in the late twelfth- to early thirteenth-century text *Uji shūi monogatari*:

Now, long ago, at Mudōji on Mt. Hiei resided a person called Sōō Kashō. He also used to go to the place called the Third Waterfall [Santaki] on the Katsuragawa river to the west of Mt. Hira to perform ascetic practices. At that waterfall, he insistently implored of the venerable Fudō, "Please carry me to the inner palace of Tosotsu and bring me to the place of Miroku Bosatsu,"⁶ [Fudō] responded, "That is extremely difficult, but as you asked it of me, I must take you. Go wash your bottom." [Sōō] went to the source of the waterfall and with its shower washed his bottom well. He climbed on the Myōō's shoulders and ascended to the Tosotsu Heaven.

There at the gate to the inner palace was a plaque that had written on it, "Lotus Blossom of the Wondrous Dharma" (*Lotus Sutra*). The Myōō said, "Those who enter here, recite this sutra to enter. If you cannot recite this sutra, you cannot enter." Sōō looked up on high and said, "As for reading this sutra, I can read it, but as for reciting it, I cannot yet do that." The Myōō said, "Well then, that's very unfortunate. In that case, you cannot enter. Go home and recite the *Lotus Sutra* and then come again," and so saying, took [Sōō] on his shoulders and brought him back to the Katsuragawa river, where [Sōō] wept bitterly without relent. But it is said that later he recited the sutra before the main image [of Fudō] and achieved his desire. This venerable Fudō is even now in the Mudōji as a life-size sculpture.⁷

Sōō was a monk of the Tendai school ordained by Ennin 円仁 (794–864) in 856 as a special ordinand sponsored by Fujiwara no Yoshimi 藤原良相 (813–867) to perform Buddhist practices in his stead. Because of his relation with Yoshimi, Sōō was the first priest to become closely involved in performing esoteric rituals to serve the needs of the nobility. Sōō became renowned for the efficacy of his rituals when called upon to use his powers to alleviate the serious illness of Yoshimi's daughter, the Lady Nishi Sanjō 西三條女御 (n. d.), in 858.⁸ The earliest citation of a Fudō Ritual held for the restoration of health was performed in 865

6. Tosotsuten has an inner and outer palace; Miroku resides in the inner palace, which is a pure land in the fourth heaven in the realm of desire, whereas the outer palace is still a mundane land (*edo* 穢土) in the realm of desire in which dwell ordinary mundane beings (*bonbu* 凡夫). For information on Tosotsuten, see MJ: 527–8.

7. *Uji shūi monogatari* 193: 15/8, SNKBT 42: 386, compiled circa 1190–1242. All translations unless otherwise noted are my own. For an alternative translation of this legend, see MILLS 1970, 429.

8. *Konryū Kashō den* (*Tendai nanzan Mudōji Konryū Kashō den* 天台南山無動寺建立和尚伝), GR 5: 545–546. The *Konryū Kashō den* is attributed to circa 918–923.

by Sōō to cure the Empress Somedono 染殿皇后 (829–900) of her illness caused by a *tengu*.⁹

After his ordination in 856, Sōō set out to perform the twelve years of ascetic practices incumbent upon Tendai ordinands (*Konryū Kashō den*, GR 5: 545a). During this time he received the Fudō Ritual and the Procedures for Fire Offerings to Various Deities (*besson giki goma hō* 別尊儀軌護摩法) from Ennin.¹⁰ Sōō built a hermit's hut for his ascetic practices on the south side of Mt. Hiei, which later became the Mudōji 無動寺 (*Konryū Kashō den*, GR 5: 545a–545b). After curing Lady Nishi Sanjō, for nearly three years from 859 through 861, when he was again summoned to the court to hold an Abisha 阿尾舍 (Sk. *āveśa*) Ritual, Sōō performed ascetic practices by a waterfall on the Katsuragawa river 葛川.¹¹ During Sōō's practices at the Katsuragawa waterfall, Fudō is said to have appeared to him in the guise of a floating *katsura* 桂 tree. Sōō carved this tree into a rough image of Fudō in 863, and later had it refinished by Ninsan 仁算 (n. d.).¹² Two years later, in 865, he built a hall to enshrine it, which was named the Mudōji.¹³ This sculpture is the one referred to in the legend quoted above.¹⁴

According to this legend, while Sōō was performing ascetic practices before a waterfall on the Katsuragawa river, he prayed to Fudō to take him to Miroku's Heaven. Fudō did indeed carry Sōō to Miroku's Heaven, but when they arrived at the gate to the inner palace, Sōō was not allowed in because he could not yet recite the *Lotus Sutra* from memory. But when Sōō later recited the *Lotus Sutra* before the image of Fudō at his temple, he was able to gain entry. The first record of this legend occurs in the earlier eleventh-century *Hokke genki* 法華驗記, which basically recounts the same legend with the addition of Fudō chiding

9. *Konryū Kashō den*, GR 5: 548a; "How Sōō Expelled the Tengu from the Somedono Empress" in *Kojidan* 古事談, KT 18: 56–57. The *Kojidan* is a collection of tales dating to circa 1212–1215 and attributed to Minamoto no Akikane 源顯兼 (n. d.). The legend concerning the Empress Somedono found in the *Uji shūi monogatari* (SNKBT 42: 387–388) mistakes the identity of the female protagonist, whom from other sources can be identified as Lady Nishi Sanjō. A *tengu* 天狗 is a mythological creature with a long nose, often depicted in a form resembling a crow.

10. *Konryū Kashō den*, GR 5: 545a. According to interpretation, the *Besson giki goma hō* 別尊儀軌護摩法 may refer to two separate groups of procedures, the *Procedures for Various Deities* (*Besson giki*) and the *Fire Offering Rituals* (*Goma hō*).

11. *Konryū Kashō den*, GR 5: 546a. The *Abisha* ritual entails using mediums to foretell the future or to exorcise malevolent spirits causing misfortune.

12. *Katsuragawa engi* 葛川縁起, ZGR 28上: 119–20; *Konryū Kashō den*, GR 5: 547b–548a. Ninsan was a descendant of the Southern House of the Fujiwara.

13. *Konryū Kashō den*, GR 5: 548a. Alternatively, in 864, BD 4: 3036c.

14. Sōō had the tree carved into three sculptures of Fudō, one he carried back to his hermit's hut which he converted into the Mudōji 無動寺 in the Yokawa 横川 precinct of Enryakuji 延暦寺, one he installed in the Sokushō Myōōin 息障明王院 near the waterfall at Katsuragawa, and one he installed in the Isakiji 伊崎寺 built out on a peninsula extending from the far side of Lake Biwa. Unfortunately, none of these images are extant; the sculpture currently at the Mudōji is roughly dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the Myōōin sculpture to roughly the mid twelfth century, and the Isakiji sculpture to around the tenth century. For more on the dating of these works, see MACK 2006, 228–32.

Sōō for not practicing the “four types of *samādhi* meditation” introduced into Japanese Tendai Buddhism by Saichō 最澄 (767–822).¹⁵

Naturally it would be incumbent upon Sōō to know the *Lotus Sutra* thoroughly, since it is the main text of the Tendai school. In addition, the *Lotus Sutra* does promise rebirth in Miroku’s Heaven: he who “receives and keeps it [the *Lotus Sutra*], reads and recites it, and interprets the import of its meaning...at life’s end...he shall straightway ascend to the top of Tuṣita Heaven [Tosotsuten], to the place of the bodhisattva Maitreya [Miroku]” (HURVITZ 1976, 335; T 9, n262, 61c). However, there is no doctrinal relationship between Fudō and the *Lotus Sutra* or Miroku’s Heaven. The association of Fudō and Miroku’s Heaven first occurs in association with Sōō and this is also the first incident of Fudō being invoked to access a pure land.

Although according to the late twelfth to early thirteenth-century *Uji shūi monogatari* and the eleventh-century *Hokke genki*, Sōō is carried to Miroku’s heaven by Fudō, the more historical early tenth-century *Konryū Kashō den* 建立和尚伝 only has Sōō praying to his image of Fudō a few years before his death asking where he would be reborn and being told to meditate on Miroku’s heaven.¹⁶ According to the *Konryū Kashō den*, in a following dream, Sōō was welcomed by a person mounted on a golden lion who said his rebirth was assured due to the power of reciting the *Lotus Sutra* (*Konryū Kashō den*, GR 5: 551b–552a). The legend of Fudō carrying Sōō to Miroku’s heaven arose just a half-century before the practice of invoking Fudō at the hour of death.

Accounts of Invoking Fudō at Death

Records of invoking Fudō at the hour of death begin in the early twelfth century. Emperors such as Horikawa and Shirakawa were involved in the practice as well as minor nuns and monks. According to the court diary *Chūyūki* 中右記 by Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062–1141), Emperor Horikawa on his death bed in 1107, “first chanted the titles of the larger *Hannya* and *Lotus* sutras, as well as the august name of the venerable Fudō; then chanted the august names of Śākya[muni] and [A]mida and faced the west” (*Chūyūki* 中右記 [7/19/1107] ZST 11: 230b, cited in STONE 1998, 160, note. 37).

15. *Hokke genki* (*Dai Nippon hokkekyō genki* 大日本法華經驗記), 194: “Eizan Mudōji no Sōō Kashō” [叡山無動時相応和尚], ZGR 8上: 119–120, compiled circa 1040–1044. The “four types of concentration practice” (*shishu zanmai gyō* 四種三昧行) were introduced by Saichō and can be found in the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (Jp. *Maka shikan*), lectures by Zhiyi 智顛 (538–597) recorded in 594 by his disciple Guanding 灌頂 (T 46, n1911, 26c). The four are the *jōza zanmai* 常坐三昧 of 90 days of seated meditation, the *jōgyō zanmai* 常行三昧 of 90 days of circumambulating a sculpture of Amida while meditating and reciting the nenbutsu, the *hangyō hanza zanmai* 半行半坐三昧 of both seated and ambulatory meditation, and the *higyō hiza zanmai* 非行非坐三昧 of meditation with unspecified action and unspecified length of time, IBJ, s.v. “shishu zanmai” and DJBT: 309.

16. The *Sōō Kashō den* recounted in the *Miroku Nyorai kanō shō* 弥勒如来感応抄 (5) also has Sōō attaining rebirth in Miroku’s heaven, cited by HIRAOKA 1984, 133.

According to the court diary *Chōshūki* 長秋記 by Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時 (1077–1136), Fudō's incantation was read by the Tendai Archbishop Ninjitsu 仁実 (1091–1131) at the time of Emperor Shirakawa's death in 1129.

The Imperial Prince of the Dharma recited both the second and third chapters. Archbishop Ninjitsu read Fudō's incantation and offered prayers. Dharma Disciple Kakuyū [Toba Sōjō] intoned the august name in the imperial ear. Close to when Lord Nagazane rang the chimes at the hour of the serpent [9–11 AM], [Shirakawa] lost consciousness and closed his eyes. All the people wept unrelentingly.... He had lived seventy-seven years.¹⁷

According to the court diary *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 by Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207), a sculpture of Fudō with attendant figures was dedicated in 1176 to insure proper mindfulness at death, probably for Kenshunmon'in 建春門院 (1142–1176) who was consort to Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河天皇 (1127–1192, r. 1155–1158) and died that year.¹⁸

Today, dedicated as offerings were a one *shaku* five *shun* [approximately 45 cm] venerable Fudō with attendant figures. Chisen Ajari was the leader, his expounding of the dharma was exceedingly beautiful, and it was a Shingon offering.... Today's and the following events are intended to be directed toward proper mindfulness at death.¹⁹

The practices of the emperors and the court nobility were recorded in historical records such as court diaries, but the practices of the less famous and the common devotee were recounted in collections of tales. Unlike tales concerning Jizō and Kannon, tales of Fudō were never assembled together and a meticulous

17. *Chōshūki* 長秋記 (7/7/1129), ZST 16, cited in TANAKA 1993, 46, note 30. The Imperial Prince of the Dharma (*hōshinnō* 法親王) must be Shōe 聖慧 (1094–1137) because he was the second designated Imperial Prince of the Dharma after Kakuyō 覚行 (1075–1105), who died before this event took place. Shōe was the fifth son of Emperor Shirakawa and a Shingon priest at Ninnaji 仁和寺. He participated in Five Altar Rituals, dedicated to the Five Great Myōō, chief of whom is Fudō, for propitious child-birth in 1124 and 1126, so he would have been knowledgeable about Fudō; see NBJJ, 606. Ninjitsu was an abbot of Enryakuji and became Tendai Abbot in 1123, NBJJ, 997. Toba Sōjō Kakuyū 鳥羽僧正覚猷 (1053–1140), famous in connection to the *Frolicking Animal Scrolls* formerly attributed to him, was an important priest at the end of the Heian period and renowned as a painter of Fudō images. He was a Tendai Abbot and served as head of both the Shitennōji 四天王寺 and Onjōji 園城寺 temples. Under the patronage of Emperor Toba 鳥羽天皇 (1103–1156, r. 1107–1123), he lived at the Shōkongōin 証金剛院 located within Emperor Toba's detached palace. Fujiwara no Nagazane 藤原長実 (1075–1133) was the son of Fujiwara no Akisue 藤原顯季 (1055–1123), who was an intimate of Emperor Shirakawa, and the father of Bifukumon'in 美福門院 (1117–1160), who was an empress to Emperor Toba 鳥羽天皇 (1103–1156, r. 1107–1123).

18. These sculptures of Fudō and his acolytes may have been the main images of the Fudō Hall built in this year at Hōjūji 法住寺, which is where Goshirakawa had established his palace as an retired Emperor. For more on this temple and its images, see FUKUYAMA 1976, 102.

19. *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 21: 9/7/1176, cited in TANAKA 1993, 46, note 30. Chisen 智詮 was the prayer monk 祈禱僧 for the Kujō family.

survey of *Ōjōden* 往生伝 [Accounts of rebirth] is required to find examples (see ARIGA 1993, 20). One such example is the *Hosshinshū*, attributed to Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明 (ca. 1155–1216), according to which there was a sculpture of Fudō in Nara that used to appear to a nun at Higashiyama in Kyoto because she recited Fudō's Mantra of Compassionate Help twenty-one times everyday praying for proper mindfulness at death.

Not long ago, there was a monk from Nara. Some years ago, a three-*shaku* [90 cm] Fudō was made the main image, which he worshipped day and night. Once, when he was in the midst of performing a ritual, his eyes were blocked [from seeing the image]. No matter how he prayed, the main image was gone and only the empty seat remained. He was astounded and thought this peculiar. He wondered about various [possible reasons], “Was this some trick by an evil spirit or did I, by some faithless act or lack of attention, fail to fulfill the Buddha's will?” He despaired with his heart troubled by both possibilities. After a short time, he could see [the image] again, which reappeared in the same form as before. In any case, he thought it was difficult to understand. Afterwards, he encountered this experience time and time again.

Without losing a moment, he soon purified himself and in faith performed a three-hour ritual for seven days praying on this event. He had a dream in which he saw the main image just as if he was right in front of it. While he was wondering about this inexplicable experience, the main image told him, “You shouldn't wonder about this. For some twenty years, I have been invoked by someone praying about the demonic hindrances at the moment of death. In order to help, I have sometimes visited [there].” The monk, in his dream, replied, “What place is this and who is this person?” [The main image] answered, “In the area of Higashiyama in the north of Kyoto there is a place called Chōrakuji, at which there is a nun named Yuirenbō. Since it is near the end [of her life], I still must visit her sometimes for the next two or three years.” Having been told this, he awoke from his dream. The monk came to tears pondering this wonder.

Shortly, he called upon the Chōrakuji to ask if the story about the nun was really so, and indeed it was true. He went to check at her hut, but the door was closed and no one was there. As instructed by the person next door, he went to the Ungoji temple to ask around and indeed met with her. At first without explaining his experience, he just talked with her in general. [Then] he asked her what kind of things she did for the exigency of the afterlife. According to what she said, she did nothing else special except for the nenbutsu. When [he] ardently asked for greater detail, she answered, “For as many as twenty years, I have been repeating Fudō's “Mantra of Compassionate Help” twenty-one times a day, praying

for proper mindfulness at the moment of death.” When the monk heard this, he said it was truly not for nothing that he had come to make a call on her. After he explained everything from the beginning, the nun, feeling reassured and grateful, had to restrain herself from tears. They made a vow together to be born in the same Buddha land.

Not long after this, in less than a short breath, the nun became seriously ill. The people around her said it would be hard for her to survive and several visited her. “I am not going to die this year. The fifteenth day of the second month of the next year will be the day I take my leave,” she told them in response and, “I am not going to go just yet.” The next year, on the fifteenth day of the second month at the hour of the Ram [2:00 PM], without sickness, she came to the end with proper mindfulness. She put her hands together to form Fudō’s *mudra* and seated properly, her breath stopped.

This nun had a hut built at Chōrakuji, but was never there.²⁰ She was a member of the Ungoji nenbutsu group and ordinarily just lived at the temple. She did no other practice than the nenbutsu. At no time did she blithely chat with all and sundry people or laugh out loud. Almost always, she addressed others with a subdued expression. Since this happened just ten some years ago, many people either saw or heard about it. The Nara monk’s name too, it is said, was held in people’s memory at the time, but has since been forgotten.

Some people say that although it is the age of *mappō*, for those who believe, there can still be such miraculous wonders. As for all those without aspiration for the Buddhist path, who are dull in mind and without knowledge, it is foolish of them to blame all misfortunes on the age of *mappō* and allow themselves to give up in resignation.

(*Hosshinshū* 發心集 8: 6, DBZ 147: 132–134)

Another example of a nameless ordinand whose deathbed practices involved invoking Fudō occurs in the *Shasekishū* 沙石集 compiled by Mujū Ichien 無住一円 (1226–1312) in 1279–83. When an old monk from Shinshū was dying, his disciples recited Fudō’s Mantra of Compassionate Help for proper mindfulness at death. The efficacy of Fudō is explained in regard to the severity of the Three Hindrances to enlightenment and also in that Jizō is the ultimate expression of Dainichi’s compassion and Fudō his wisdom:

After many years of discipline at a mountain temple in Shinano province [Shinshū], an old monk began having hallucinations and was no longer his

20. Chōrakuji 長樂寺 was purportedly founded by Saichō in 805 and was a center of Kannon and Amida worship. It became a temple of the Pure Land Jishū 時宗 sect in the Nanbokuchō period and is located at Maruyama Kōen 円山公園 in Kyoto (see κ, s.v. “Chōrakuji”).

usual self. So his many disciples recited the Spell of Compassionate Help in order that he might meet death in the proper frame of mind. Among those present was a man from whose head issued black smoke. When the others later questioned him, the man related that he had seen many obstacles on the old monk's path; but, as he persisted in the spell, he was aware of Fudō's sword sweeping them away. The old monk calmly prepared for death, and, in appreciation of the man's help, bequeathed to him, rather than to his close disciples, a relic of the Buddha which was the principle object of worship at the temple. He then passed on peacefully.

The following day a lay priest who had been the monk's benefactor rode up to the temple and related a dream of the previous night. He had seen the hindrances to the holy man's enlightenment swept away by Fudō Myōō, and observed that he came to a happy end.

A sutra says that we should pray to Fudō because of the severity of the Three Hindrances to enlightenment. Jizō is the ultimate of Mahavairocana's compassion; Fudō, of his wisdom. The help of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas appears in response to the sincerity of the devotee, just as a bell sounds according to the force with which it is struck.

Yixing [Ichigyō, 683–727] says that even though one performs religious exercises for the sake of worldly happiness, he will ultimately attain the fruits of Buddhahood. The world's waters all flow into the ocean; so also does all good return to the Buddha-nature. But a person who applies himself will achieve the goal sooner.

(MORRELL 1985, 116–17; *Shasekishū* 2: 7, NKBT 85: 113–16)

Myōe's Deathbed Practices Invoking Fudō

Myōe, a famous priest of the Kegon school, is also known to have invoked Fudō on his deathbed seeking rebirth in Miroku's Heaven. According to the *Kokon chomon jū* 古今著聞集, at the time of Myōe's death in 1232, "Two or three times he intoned the invocation *Namu Miroku Bosatsu*, raising his hands in prayer and devoutly reciting the nenbutsu, while three of his disciples also called upon the Treasured Name (*hōgō* 宝号) [of Miroku]. To the left of the main object of worship, [which was the Mandara of the Five Buddhas with Dainichi in the center], appeared an image of Fudō. Kōben (Myōe) had one of his disciples intone [Fudō's] Mantra of Compassionate Help and again had them recite the Five-Character Incantation of Monju Bosatsu" (MORRELL 1998, 84).

Myōe had in his possession a small devotional rendition of the Miroku Mandara 弥勒曼荼羅, 12.5 centimeters across, with paintings of Fudō in a triangle and Gōzanze 降三世 in a half-moon on the inner sides of two doors that open to reveal a small sculpture of Miroku. Myōe received this devotional Miroku Mandara, called the Kagami Miroku Image 鏡弥勒像, from Genchō 玄朝 (n. d.),

who according to an inscription found on the Kagami Miroku, dedicated it for his mother in 1224.²¹ The Miroku Mandara proper has Miroku in the center surrounded by four Haramitsu Bodhisattvas and four attendant Bodhisattvas.²² Fudō is in a triangle to the lower right and Gōzanze is in a half-moon in the lower left. This *mandara* is used in the Contemplating Miroku Ritual (Jishi Nenju Hō 慈氏念誦法) for eliminating sins and averting calamity. The Miroku Mandara proper is extant as an early Kamakura painting owned by the Reunji 靈雲寺 in Tokyo and a later Kamakura period painting owned by the Daigoji 醍醐寺. However, iconographic drawings of it were already recorded in the twelfth-century *Mandarashū* 曼陀羅集, *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記, and *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 collections of iconographic drawings, and the description of it occurs as early as the late seventh or eighth century in the *Mile Pusa mantuluo* (Jp. *Miroku Bosatsu mandara*) 弥勒菩薩曼陀羅 (T 20, n1141) attributed to Śubhakarasiṃha (637–735).

Myōe studied under Mongaku 文覺 (1139–1203) at Jingoji and at age nineteen received the Kanjō ordination of the Kongōkai and Taizōkai Mandara from Kōzen 興然 (1121–1203), the author of the *Mandarashū* mentioned above. Mongaku lived in the twelfth century at the end of the Heian period and the beginning of the Kamakura period and is famous for his waterfall austerities related to Fudō worship. According to the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語, Mongaku vowed to stand under the Nachi waterfall at Kumano for twenty-one days in the middle of the twelfth month, reciting Fudō's invocation three hundred thousand times. During his first attempt, he passed out after four or five days and floated down the rapids. After his rescue, he returned to the fall to complete his vow. After three days, he turned numb and stopped breathing. Two divine youths with their hair in side loops came to assist him. Mongaku questioned them after regaining consciousness, and found they were Kongara and Seitaka sent by Fudō to help Mongaku complete his vow. When he asked where Fudō was, the youths replied that he was in Miroku's Tosotsu Heaven (see "Mongaku's Austerities," 5: 7, in McCULLOUGH 1988, 178–79).

Images of Miroku Raigō with Fudō

As discussed previously, the first association of Fudō and Miroku's Heaven occurs in association with Sōō's ascetic practices at the third waterfall on the Katsura River. According to the *Katsuragawa engi* 葛川縁起, which also narrates this legend of Sōō, the third waterfall on the Katsuragawa river on Mt. Hiei leads directly to the inner palace of Miroku's Heaven (*Katsuragawa engi*, ZGR 28

21. ITŌ 1992, 47; NAKANO 1986, 43. For a color reproduction of the Kagami Miroku image, see NAKANO 1986, fig. 20.

22. The Four Haramitsu Bodhisattvas are the four bodhisattvas that surround Dainichi in the central assembly of the Kongōkai Mandara: East, Kongō Haramitsu 金剛波羅蜜; South, Hō Haramitsu 宝波羅蜜; West, Hō Haramitsu 法波羅蜜; North, Katsuma Haramitsu 羯磨波羅蜜.

上: 119). Fudō, his two child acolytes, and the waterfall are included in paintings of the Miroku Raigō.

The Kamakura-period Miroku Raigō painting in the Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku collection depicts the descent of Miroku against a mountain background (FIGURE 1). Fudō with his lasso and sword sits on a rock in a cave to the right of Miroku's entourage. His two child acolytes, Seitaka and Kongara, are on the rock below Fudō. Between Fudō and Miroku's entourage is a gorge with a waterfall.

At the top of the painting are three pavilions representing Miroku's Heaven. Miroku, in the center of his entourage, is seated in a half-lotus position on a lotus and is wearing a crown. His attributes, the vase in his left hand and the *abhaya mudra* formed by his right hand, conform to the iconography of Miroku found in the *Badapusa mantuoluo jing* (Jp. *Hachi Daibosatsu mandara kyō*) 八大菩薩曼陀羅經 (T 20, n1167, 675b; ITŌ 1992, 76). The eighteen bodhisattvas in his entourage are as described in the *Mile shangsheng jing* (Jp. *Miroku jōshō kyō*) 弥勒上生經 (T 14, n452, 419c; OKAZAKI 1969, 84) and the two bodhisattvas before him, one extending the lotus seat to receive the soul and the other supporting a small canopy, are very similar to renditions of Kannon and Seishi in Amida Raigō paintings.²³ The light from Miroku's *ūrṣa* extends to the monk below who is reading a sutra. There are two more bodhisattvas behind this monk, one of whom is blessing the monk's head with his hand. Above the monk is Kūkai 空海 (774–835), the Shingon monk who sits on Mount Koya in a state of *samādhi* awaiting the future coming of Miroku.

According to the *Miroku jōshō kyō*, which propounds Miroku's ascent to Tosotsuten heaven, "if in the future sentient beings should hear the name of the great merciful Miroku Bodhisattva, make an image, and offer incense, flowers, clothing, canopies, and banners in homage and prayer, then at the time of death, Miroku will emit a great light from his *ūrṇā* and with many celestial deities scattering flowers, will descend to greet them. They will achieve birth in Tosotsuten and be able to see Miroku. They will be able to hear the preaching of the Dharma in the space of lowering their heads in homage and raising them again. They will attain the path to supreme perfect enlightenment with no retrogression" (T 14, n452, 420b; ITŌ 1992, 76).

This painting is largely based on the iconographical drawing by Kakuzen 覚禪 (1143–ca. 1219) that according to its inscription records the Miroku Raigō painted by Jōgen 定源 (n. d.) at Nara in 1184 (FIGURE 2). In this drawing, Miroku is holding his left hand before his chest and his right hand is extended in what appears to be the *varada mudra*. Miroku's entourage is considerably smaller with only five attendants. Behind him is a three-story pagoda representing Miroku's Heaven. As in the Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku painting, there are two bodhisattvas

23. See, for example, the fourteenth-century *Amida and Fifteen Bodhisattvas Raigō* owned by the Chion'in, reproduced in OKAZAKI 1969, fig. 10.

before him, one extending the lotus seat to receive the soul and the other supporting a small canopy. Likewise, Fudō appears sitting on a rock with his two child acolytes below him and the waterfall to the left.

The fourteenth-century Miroku Raigō from a private collection is very similar to Kakuzen's drawing (FIGURE 3). Miroku is seated in the center of his entourage in a half-lotus position on a lotus and is wearing a crown. He is holding a vase in his left hand and forming the *abhaya mudra* with his right hand. He has five bodhisattvas in his entourage. From the upper left, one playing a pipe organ, one a flute, one beating a drum, and one perhaps holding a cymbal; and on the upper right one holding a banner. There are again two additional bodhisattvas before him, one extending the lotus seat to receive the soul and the other supporting a small canopy. To the upper left in the painting, is the pagoda representing Miroku's heaven.

However, in this fourteenth-century Miroku Raigō, instead of Fudō being depicted seated in his cave with his two child acolytes, he is shown standing on a rock before a waterfall which divides him from Jizō 地藏, who appears to the left. Fudō and Jizō were frequently paired as savior figures; Jizō rescuing one from hell and Fudō, not only for maintaining proper mindfulness at the moment of death, but also for the restoration of life. As seen previously, the two were paired in the *Shasekishū* in the context of proper mindfulness at death, with Jizō being an expression of Dainichi's compassion and Fudō his wisdom. The *Senjūshō* 撰集抄 contains a story of the sister of Genshin 源信 (942–1017), the Tendai priest who compiled the *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集, being brought back to life by the dual efforts of Fudō and Jizō. According to the story, An'yōni 安養尼 (n. d.) died on her way to meet her brother Genshin, but she was brought back to life when Shōsan 勝算 (939–1011) of the Shugakuin 修学院 recited Fudō's incantation and her brother, Genshin, prayed to Jizō (*Senjūshō*, scroll 9, ZGR 32 輯下; DBZ 147; TANAKA 1993, 41).

Eclectic Practices and their Relation to Traditional Schools of Buddhism

Taking the above-described images and texts together, it can be seen that invoking Fudō for rebirth in Miroku's Heaven cannot be ascribed to one single Japanese Buddhist school of thought. Invoking Fudō in the context of Miroku's Heaven appears to have originated in the Tendai tradition with the priest Sōō. The Tendai Archbishop Ninjitsu read Fudō's incantation at the time of Emperor Shirakawa's death, but the dedication of the Fudō triad in 1176 presumably for Emperor Goshirakawa's consort, Kenshunmon'in, was performed as a Shingon offering. The incorporation of an image of Kūkai in the Miroku Raigō painting in the Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku collection attests to Shingon influence. The earliest iconographic drawing of a Miroku Raigo recorded by Kakuzen is ascribed to the priest Jōgen, who belonged to one of the Nara schools of Buddhism. Myōe,



FIGURE 1. Miroku Raigō painting, Kamakura period (1185–1333). Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Collection.

FIGURE 2. Miroku Raigō iconographic drawing. Copy by Kakuzen (1143–ca. 1219) of Miroku Raigō painted by Jōgen (n. d.) at Nara in 1184. T 5, insert after page 26.



FIGURE 3. Miroku Raigō painting, Nanbokuchō period (1333–1392). (Private collection).

who intoned Fudō's incantation at his deathbed, was a Nara monk of the Kegon school, but also studied esoteric Buddhism and Zen. These images and texts reflect the eclectic beliefs of the Heian and early Kamakura periods, but it is also informative to review these beliefs as they developed in their respective schools and their relation to deathbed practices.

Prior to Hōnen, in the Tendai school, aspiration for rebirth in Amida's Gokuraku 極樂 and Miroku's Tosotsuten existed side by side. This philosophy was based on the *Lotus Sutra*, which described the possibility of rebirth in both lands due to the efficacy of the sutra. Although the aspiration of rebirth in Amida's pure land may have already been predominate, it was thought that even if one achieved rebirth in Amida's land, one could still visit Tosotsuten to attend Miroku's lectures on the Dharma and join Miroku's assembly when Miroku achieved Buddhahood and descended to our world to expound the Dharma under the dragon-flower tree (HIRAOKA 1984, 134.). According to the passage on Genshin in the *Hokke genki*, even though Genshin faced the left and aspired for birth in Amida's land, he was told by two celestial acolytes that he was assured of birth in Tosotsuten due to the efficacy of his profound understanding of the *Lotus Sutra* (HIRAOKA 1984, 134, citing the *Hokke genki*, "Genshin Sōzu den" 源信僧都伝). Sōō's religious practices reflect this Tendai belief in the efficacy of the *Lotus Sutra* for attaining birth in Miroku's Heaven. The five types of practice recommended by the Dharma Authorities 五種法師 (Ch. *wuzhong fashi*; Jp. *goshu hosshi*) in the "Dharma Authorities" chapter of the Lotus sutra (receive and keep, read, recite, expound, and copy the sutra) were used in the Tendai school as a method of concentration (stilling the mind) for clear insight into the ultimate reality (*shikan* 止觀), and these in return were related to the five kinds of *samādhi* (*goshu zanmai* 五種三昧).²⁴ These were practices based on the *Lotus Sutra* to be performed in this life prior to attaining rebirth in either pure land afterwards.

Shingon beliefs in relation to Miroku and Tosotsuten began with Kūkai who in his last testament said that he would be reborn in Tosotsuten and after fifty-six million years would descend along with Miroku.²⁵ It is believed that Kūkai was interred on Koyasan and awaits there in eternal *samādhi* for Miroku's descent (see HAKEDA 1972, 60, note 8). Many of Kūkai's disciples wished to follow their master and join him in Tosotsuten while waiting for Miroku's descent.²⁶ In the

24. HIRAOKA 1984, 133. The five kinds of *samādhi* are: 1. On mortality, the four meditations (*shizen* 四禪) and eight degrees of fixed abstraction (*hachijō* 八定); 2. *śrāvaka* on the four axioms; 3. *pratyeka-buddha* on the twelve *nidānas*; 4. bodhisattva on the six perfections (*rokudo* 六度) and the all activities (*mangyō* 萬行); 5. Buddha on the one Buddha-vehicle, which includes all others. DDB, s.v. "五位三昧" entry by C. Muller.

25. According to Kūkai's *Yuigo* (17), "After I have entered eternal *samādhi*, I will be reborn in Tosotsuten Heaven and after fifty-six million years, I will descend along with Miroku Bosatsu." MJ: 527; HIRAOKA 1984, 135.

26. For a list of Kūkai's disciples that were supposed to achieve rebirth in Miroku's Heaven see HIRAOKA 1984, 139.

Tendai school, Miroku was important as the next Buddha to follow Śākyāmini, but in the Shingon school Miroku was understood as another form of the cosmic Buddha Dainichi, which further developed into the belief that Dainichi, Miroku, and oneself, as well as Kūkai, were all equivalent (HIRAOKA 1984, 139). The main emphasis however, was to enter *samādhi* (*nyujō* 入定) in keeping with Kūkai's philosophy of attaining enlightenment in this very body (HIRAOKA 1984, 138). By attaining rebirth in Miroku's Heaven, one could attend Miroku's expounding of the dharma, enter *samādhi* there, and then descend along with Miroku (and Kūkai) when the time came (HIRAOKA 1984, 138). The purpose of Fudō as described in the *Shasekishū* above may well have been to access the wisdom of Dainichi in this context.²⁷

In order to attain rebirth, whether in Amida's Pure Land or Miroku's Heaven, it was thought that one had to have proper mindfulness at the last moment before death or rebirth would be forfeited (YOSHIMIZU 2005, 88.). Proper mindfulness is one of the eight practices of the eightfold path taught by Śākyamuni in his first sermon. It is ideally practiced by all in everyday life, and for the ordinands it is supposed to be fully absorbed into their everyday conduct. Proper mindfulness at the moment of death prevents the occurrence of the three poisonous hindrances of desire, anger, and stupidity so that the mind can be wholeheartedly dedicated to enlightenment (BDJ: 1805). Again, according to the same account in the *Shasekishū*, Fudō is invoked due to the severity of these three hindrances to enlightenment.

In order to achieve proper mindfulness at death, it is necessary to have a pacified mind (*anjin* 安心). The pacified mind is one that has stopped mental distractions, disclosed insightful wisdom, and is anchored in the basis of the essential dharma nature (BD: 82). Often this definition of *anjin* is simplified by the phrase, "stable and immovable" (*antei fudō* 安定不動), which leads one to wonder if Fudō was not invoked in part due to this fortuitous phrase. In the context of rebirth in Amida's Pure Land, the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (Jp. *Kanmuryōjūkyō*) 觀無量壽經 describes the three minds of *anjin* as the sincere mind (至誠心), profound mind (深心), and the mind of transferring merit in aspiration for rebirth in the Pure Land (廻向發願心)(T 12, n365, 344c). The importance of transferring merit in aspiration for rebirth, as well as receiving the precepts, is also stressed in the *Miroku jōshō kyō* (HAYAMI 1984, 119; T 14, n452, 420b, 419c.).

The *Baming tuoluoni jing* (Jp. *Hachimei darani kyō*) 八名陀羅尼經 (T 21, n1366, 884b) was also recited for rebirth because it promises that not only will bad conduct be extinguished, but those who have not received the precepts can receive them and those that have not practiced celibate conduct (the discipline

27. TANAKA (1933, 40) summarizes that the purpose of this practice was to rely on the power of Dainichi's wisdom to complete a death successfully.

of celibacy which ensures rebirth in the realms beyond form) or equanimity can dwell in them. In addition, it promises salvation from hell and rebirth in Miroku's Heaven. These benefits are empowered by chanting the mantras of eight deities as prescribed in the sutra. Fudō and his Mantra of Compassionate Help, in abbreviated form, are included among the eight (T 21, n1366, 884c). Furthermore, two of the most salient characteristics of Fudō are his attributes of the sword and rope. The sword in his right hand destroys the three poisonous hindrances of sentient beings and the rope in his left hand pulls them to enlightenment (*Kakuzenshō*, DBZ 48: 343). Thus when in the *Shasekishū*, the old monk's disciples recited Fudō's Mantra of Compassionate Help, Fudō's sword swept away the obstacles on the old monk's path.

The accounts of invoking Fudō as related previously can be seen to have some relation to orthodox practice. Sōō's religious practices were a combination of Tendai belief in the efficacy of the *Lotus Sutra* for attaining birth in Miroku's Heaven coupled with his ascetic practices invoking Fudō as a tutelary deity. The purpose of Fudō being invoked due to the severity of the three hindrances to enlightenment in the *Shasekishū* can be understood as a means of acquiring proper mindfulness at death. In the same text it is explained that Jizō is the ultimate expression of Dainichi's compassion and Fudō his wisdom, which can be understood as a means of accessing the ultimate enlightenment of Dainichi through Fudō. The efficacy of Fudō, symbolized by his sword, for removing obstacles on the Buddhist path is also described in the *Shasekishū*. It becomes obvious that the main function of Fudō when invoked in the context of death-bed practices is to eliminate the hindrances to rebirth and, according to the *Hachimei darani kyō*, provide the prerequisites of the precepts, celibate conduct, and equanimity necessary for rebirth in Miroku's Heaven.

Conclusion

Fudō appears in Miroku Raigō paintings because he was associated with rebirth in Miroku's Tosotsu heaven since the time of Sōō. With the proliferation of accounts of invoking Fudō for rebirth in Miroku's Heaven, the association of Fudō and Miroku's Heaven grew ever closer. Fudō's efficacy in attaining rebirth in Miroku's Heaven was to eliminate the hindrances to rebirth and provide the prerequisites. The doctrinal source for this efficacy is found in the *Hachimei darani kyō*. This efficacy was important in Japan because of a widespread belief from the tenth century, not specific to any particular religious school, that maintaining proper mindfulness at the moment of death was crucial for successful rebirth.

The eclecticism of these beliefs is evidenced by the Miroku Raigō itself. The incorporation of Fudō and the Katsuragawa waterfall that is said to lead straight to Miroku's Heaven attest to the influence of the Tendai school and ascetic practices

originated by Sōō. The incorporation of Kūkai attests to Shingon belief in Kūkai waiting in eternal *samādhi* on Mt. Koya for the descent of Miroku. The stylistic iconography of the Miroku Raigō painting with the two foreground bodhisattvas holding a lotus and canopy attest to influence from paintings of Amida Raigō of approximately the same time, such as the fourteenth-century *Amida and Fifteen Bodhisattvas Raigō* owned by the Chion'in. The very origin of the Miroku Raigō painting ascribed to the Nara priest Jōgen attests to the esoteric influence within the Nara schools of Buddhism.

These Miroku Raigō paintings, which were generated at the end of the twelfth century and continued to be painted into the fourteenth century, were probably produced within the traditional schools of Buddhism as a last recourse to the rising popularity of the new Kamakura schools promoting Amida worship and easy access to Amida's Pure Land, which soon eclipsed the older schools in popularity. By relying on the nenbutsu to attain rebirth in the Pure Land, one no longer needed Fudō's mantra to eliminate the hindrances to rebirth and this practice of intoning Fudō's mantra for proper mindfulness at the moment of death fell out of use.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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- BDJ *Ōda Bukkyō daijiten* 織田仏教大辞典. Ed. Ōda Tokuno 織田得野. Tokyo: Ōkura Shoten, 1917.
- DBZ *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書. 151 vols. Ed. Bussho Kankōkai 仏書刊行会. Tokyo, 1912–1921.
- DDB *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*. Ed. Charles Muller. <<http://www.acmuller.net/ddb>>. Edition of 2004/7/26.
- DJBT *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms*. By Hisao Inagaki. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo, 1992.
- GR *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従. 29 vols. Ed. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai 続群書類従完成会. Tokyo, 1959–1970.
- IBJ *Iwanami Bukkyō jiten* 岩波仏教辞典 (electric book edition). Ed. Nakamura Hajime 中村元, et al. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995.
- K *Kōjien* 広辞苑. Ed. Shinmura Izuru 新村出. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003.
- KT *Kokushi taikei* 国史大系. 60 vols. Ed. Kuroita Katsumi 黑板勝美. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929–1967.

- MJ *Mikkyō jiten* 密教辞典. 1 vol. Ed. Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1981.
- NBJJ *Nihon Bukke jinmei jisho* 日本仏家人名辞書. Ed. Washio Junkei 鷲尾順敬. Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu, 1987
- NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系. 102 vols. Ed. Iwanami Shoten. Tokyo, 1968–1978.
- SNKBT *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系. Ed. Satake Akihiro 佐竹昭広. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. 85 vols. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, eds. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1932.
- ZGR *Zoku Gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従. 34 vols. Ed. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai 続群書類従完成会. Tokyo, 1957–1959.
- ZST *Zōho shiryō taisei* 増補資料大成. Ed. Zōho Shiryō Taisei Kankōkai 増補資料大成刊行会. Kyoto, 1965.

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- Chōshūki* 長秋記, court diary by Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時 (1077–1136), ZST 16.
- Chūyūki* 中右記, court diary by Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062–1141), ZST 11.
- Dainichi kyō* 大日經 (*Daibirushana jōbutsu jinpen kaji kyō* 大毘盧那成仏神變加持經) translated by Śubhakarasiṃha 善無畏 (637–735) in 725, T 18, n848.
- Fudō shisha darani himitsu hō* 不動使者陀羅尼祕密法, translated by Vajrabodhi 金剛智 during the Tang dynasty, T 21, n1202.
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