THE INFLUENCE OF THE *VAJRAPANI*

ON JAPANESE MARTIAL IDEOLOGIES

JENNIFER NORRIS

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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Jennifer Norris

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Jennifer Norris, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;

- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;

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ABSTRACT

The Influence of the *Vajrapāṇi* on Japanese Martial Ideologies

This study follows the relationship between the iconic warrior figure *Vajrapāṇi*, and two of its derived characters: *Fudō Myō-ō* and the *Niō*, as they influence the development of martial ideology in Japan, following the symbolic representations developed in India and the patterns of royal interactions developed in China, culminating in an analysis of modern martial relevance. Origin theories and symbolism are first addressed, to which I will add two observations pertaining to the Bharhut *yavana* the iconic warrior figure dating to the first century BCE and the cross-chest belt *channavīra*, as a symbol of warrior qualities. The integration of *Fudō* into the imperial and political spheres via Shingon Buddhist priest *Amoghavajra* in China, and the manner in which it was carried forward into Japan by *Kūkai* are examined. *Vajrapāṇi* extended from the imperial house within Japan and entwined with the several groups including the developing warrior class (bushi) and fighting monks, commonly known as *Sōhei*, as well as means of popular culture. This thesis demonstrates how the *Vajrapāṇi* and its derivative characters, have played a foundational role in the development of martial ideology in Japan, which was guided through features that were evident from the *Vajrapāṇi*'s origin, including imperial connection, liminality, bellicosity, transitional or liminal status, association with 'necessary evil' and popular appeal. It is the aim of this thesis to aid the depth of the bridging of ancient Buddhist symbolism and mythological meaning and current martial philosophy.

ÖZET

Japon Savaş Sanatı Anlayısında Vajrapani'nin Etkisi

Bu çalışma ikonik savaşçı figürü *Vajrapāṇi* ile onun türevleri olup Japonya'da savaş sanatı ideolojisinin gelişiminde etkin olan *Fudō Myō-ō* ve *Niō* karakterlerinin ilişkisi üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Araştırma, Hindistan'da ortaya çıkan simgesel *Vajrapāṇi* temsillerini, Çin'de soylu sınıflarla etkileşim vasıtasıyla gelişmesini takip ederek Doğu Asya modern savaş sanatı anlayışı üzerindeki etkilerinin bir analizini yapacaktır. Öncelikle köken teorileri ve sembolizm ele alınacak, ardından da M.Ö. 1. yüzyıla tarihlenen Bharhut *yavana* savaşçı ikonografisi ve savaşçı nitelikleri temsil eden çapraz göğüs kemeri *channavīra* gibi örneklere ait gözlemler üzerinde durulacaktır. Çalışmanın devamında Fudō figürünün Çin'de Amoghavajra görünümünde imparatorluk ve buna bağlı siyasi çevrelerde nasıl entegre edildiğinden bahisle ünlü Budist rahip *Kūkai* tarafından Japonya'ya nasıl getirildiği ele alınacaktır. *Vajrapāṇi* simgesi Japon imparatorluk sarayından başlayarak savaşçı sınıf (bushi) , savaşçı rahipler (*Sōhei*) gibi toplum katmanlarına yayılmış ve nihayet popüler halk kültürüne nüfuz etmiştir. Bu tez, *Vajrapāṇi* ve türevlerinin, simgenin kökenlerinden taşınan özelliklerine uygun olarak, Japon savaş sanatı ideolojisinin gelişiminde üstlendiği kurucu rolü göstermektedir. Bunu yaparken imparatorluk bağlantıları, sosyal eşikler, şiddet eğilimleri, statü geçiş ve dönüşümleri, "kaçınılamaz kötülük" gibi kavramlar ve bu kavramların geniş halk kitleleri üzerindeki etkileri üzerinde durulacaktır. Bu tezin temel amacı kadim Budist sembolojisi ve taşıdığı mitolojik anlamlar ile günümüz savaş sanatı düşüncesi arasında bir köprü oluşturma gayretlerine katkıda bulunmaktır.

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I would also like to thank the committee members who took the time to sit through the defense and evaluate my thesis, Professor Arzu Öztürkmen, PhD, of the Boğaziçi University Department of History, Professor Selda Altan, PhD, of the Department of History at Randolph College, and Professor Hale Eroğlu, PhD from the Boğaziçi University Department of History. Without their participation and input, the thesis could not have been successfully completed and I'm incredibly grateful for their help throughout the process.

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Jennifer Norris

DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated to Dante, an absolute.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ch. Chinese

Jp. Japanese

Py. Pinyin

Rj. Rōmaji

Sk. Sanskri

GLOSSARY OF NONENGLISH TERMS

Aramushagoto: A wild and rough style of acting utilized in warrior roles

Bakufu: The term used for the Shogun government in Japan

Budo: Martial way or philosophy in Japan

Bujutsu: Martial craft in Japan

Bushi: Samurai

Channavīra: A cross-body chain thought to symbolize sexual vitality

Chuan Fa: A Chinese Fighting form

Dvārapāla: Door guardians

Fudō Myō-ō: The core deity of the Five Wisdom Kings

Fudoshin: Condition of adamantine spirit and awareness

Godai Myō-ō: A group of five wisdom kings, of which *Fudō* is central

Homa: A fire ritual often involving *Fudō* in Japan's *Vajrayāna* tradition

Kaicho: Temporary public exhibitions

Kaihōgyō: Circumambulatory monks

Kenpō: A Japanese fighting form

Kerounos: Zeus' lightning bolt weapon

Kokutai: Japanese national essence

Kurikara: The snake-entwined sword associated with *Fudō*

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Lokapāla: Directional guardians

Mahavairocana: The cosmic Buddha

Maheśvara: One of the challengers of the Buddha

Māra: The challenger of the Buddha Shakyamuni

Mushin: Condition of no mind

Nagas: Snakes in Buddhism, at times oppositional or supportive

Nata: Early Indian fighting forms

Nihon Shugi: Japanism, referring to Japanese militarism and nationalism

Ninno-kyo: The Humane Kings Sutra

Niō: The door guardian entities *Agyo* and *Ungyo* found at temple entrances

Ryobu Mandaras: A pair of mandalas representing the *Vajrayāna* Buddhist faith.

Sankosho: Three pointed *vajra*

Sanrinjin: A theory suggesting that there are three forms of the Buddha coexisting

Sashimono: Japanese military banner used in battle

Shukongōshin: The merged form of the *Niō*

Sōhei: The fighting monks of Japan

Sunya: The ultimate cause of the universe in Buddhist mythology

Tantra: A doctrinal text within Buddhism

Triratna: An ancient symbol of Buddhism's three jewels

Vajra: The ancient adamantine weapon that characterizes the *Vajrapāṇi*

Vajradhara: A category of entity bearing the vajra (literally meaning "vajra in hand")

Vajramukti: An Indian fighting form

Vajrapāṇi: The vajra bearing servant to the Buddha

Varna: A precursor to the caste system in India

Yaksha: A mischievous spirit, often represented animalistically or demonically

Yavana: A word meaning 'foreigner' used to reference a statue in Bharhut

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis seeks to demonstrate the influence of the *Vajrapāṇi* (Ch., Jp. 金剛手菩薩, Rj. *Kongōshu Bosatsu*, 'Vajra in Hand'), along with its derivative *Fudō Myō-ō* (Sk. *Acalanātha*, Jp. 不動明王) and *Niō* (Jp. *Kongō Rikishi*, 金剛力士) (En. Benevolent Kings) on Japanese martial thought through their emergence and initial symbolism in India, formalized imperial involvement in Tang China (which influenced adoption in Japan), and expanding influence past the imperial family and into emerging bands of warrior monks and warriors until codified by premodern military philosophers. The last facet examined in this thesis will be the modern expansion of particularly the *Fudō Myō-ō* character into modern martial thought (surrounding the turn of the century and with relevance in the period of imperial expansion) and into popular cultural understandings of martial arts through literature and theater. While seemingly not directly relating to martial activity, both the theater and literature each had an impact on wider social understandings of martial philosophy and what it means to be a warrior in the Japanese imagination, in ways overpowering the direct understanding of historical facts or practices, to influence the culminating martial understanding in Japan. The *Vajrapāṇi* originated as a protective figure of the Buddha Shakyamuni who, despite having a rather mysterious path, is seen to emerge time to time throughout history connected to warrior clans. This martial connection is yet to be examined thoroughly, and this thesis seeks to begin that process, and to demonstrate the *Vajrapāṇi* as a Buddhist figure who helped shape imperial identity within Japan.

This thesis begins with a close analysis of the symbolic attributes of the figures, to develop a foundation by which we can understand which features are transcendent and begin to postulate a reason. It is important to distinguish here that there are two forms that will be used of the term '*Vajrapāṇi*' in this context. The first is the capitalized form, '*Vajrapāṇi*', referring to the narrative character who is the protector of the Buddha Shakyamuni, who later became a prominent god in Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism, and who was tied to esoteric (*mikkyō*) practices in China and East Asia, and later was identified as *Shukongōshin* in Japan.[1] Secondly, there is the lower-case *Vajrapāṇi*, which refers to vajra[2] wielding characters, of which there are now many in *Mahāyāna* and *Vajrayāna* Buddhism. When referencing one of the *Vajrapāṇi* -derivative characters, such as *Fudō* or *Niō*, I use the specific name of that character. It should also be noted that not all of the *Vajrapāṇi*-derivative characters are addressed here. *Mañjuśrī*, Sk. मञ्जुश्री,Ch. 文殊) another figure derived from the *Vajrapāṇi*, would be a topic for further study.

In compiling an understanding of the figure and its implications, this thesis has tried to avoid the pitfalls of looking solely at scriptures, which can be written persuasively or in an ahistorical manner, looking strictly to aesthetic renderings (though these can be quite informative), and looking solely to any one branch of historical study, be it political, cultural, or religious history of an area. Rather, I have tried to craft a three-dimensional awareness of the figure over time by looking at visual and literary creations as well as ritual, within the historical context that

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[1] Ironically, *Shukongōshin* (Jp. 執金剛神) is not a focal point of this thesis as, according to my studies, the figure did not become prominent or influential in his Japanese manifestation, likely due to his lack of imperial integration of *Fudō* and positional prominence in the temple that the *Niō* had, and the importance of the other characters who had assumed the primary roles of the *Vajrapāṇi*.
[2] The *Vajra* is an ancient weapon that is revered as a symbol of spiritual power within Hinduism and Buddhist faiths. It will be explained in greater detail in this chapter.

entwined with political, social and economic realities. Certainly, as the *Vajrapāṇi* moves across lands and language barriers, through religious and nonreligious circles, initiated and uninitiated adherents, the scriptures, stories and aesthetic renditions (paintings, sculptures, etc…) of the character will wax and wane in prominence among different groups. In this first chapter, I seek to explain the basic aesthetic and symbolism of the three main figures we will delve into today. While they have branched off, often in similar ways, their core symbolism remains intact. The second chapter addresses the integration of the figure into political spheres, predominantly occurring in China, which acted as a template for its introduction later into Japanese society. The third chapter focuses on the transformation and adoption of the figure in Japan. Finally, the fifth chapter takes on the means by which the figure influenced martial circles through popular culture means.

While facets of the *Vajrapāṇi* and derivative characters, as well as connections to particular martial arts, such as Shahar's[3] coverage of the *Vajrapāṇi* influence on Shaolin monks, or Braverman's[4] research on Suzuki *Shōsan* have been addressed, a more comprehensive analysis of the historic and symbolic mechanisms by which the figure gained impact is a topic which stands to be substantiated further. The particular significance of early symbolism in relation to its later martial applications and adoption is another are what this thesis seeks to fortify. Particular features of interest include the imperial connection, which I seek to establish as a motive from the earliest Heraklean depictions, the liminality[5] as represented through the guardian and *dvarapala*, or door guardian roles, and the philosophical symbolism

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[3] Shahar, M. *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts.*
[4] Braverman, A. *Warrior of Zen: The Diamond-Hard Wisdom Mind of Suzuki Shōsan*
[5] Liminality herein refers to the condition of being of a transitional condition, which, when mythologically represented, suggests both development and bridging divergent realms, be they mundane and spiritual or living and dead, as with the chthonic connection.

of the vajra itself, which, while certainly expanding past the *Vajrapāṇi* and derivative

characters, was not comprehensively representative of other figures in the way that it

became representative of these. In later years, the vajra itself becomes abstracted, but

the 'adamantine' principle, from its founding symbolism, bolstered by the other

symbolically rendered attributes of the narrative *Vajrapāṇi*, remains poignant for

martial arts practitioners and those studying the warrior's mind. The adamantine

nature, now often lacking a strictly religious connotation, but desired nonetheless in

martial practitioners, has also absorbed many of the other traits that the figures once

bore.

Of the relevance of the *vajra*, research into its origins conducted by Falk[6],

Das Gupta[7], and Kuznetsov[8] revealed its existence in ancient society and posit a

warrior affiliation from its earliest known appearances. Whitaker expounded on the

early symbiotic relationship fostered within the caste system by use of the vajra as a

symbol. Zin[9] and Guiliano[10] have analyzed the vajra alterations and depictions over

time and drawn conclusions about the meaning of differing hand positions and their

narrative connections. Analyses of the transformations of the *Vajrapāṇi* itself have

been conducted by Lamotte.[11] The majority of research on the *Vajrapāṇi* character

itself has centered around his depictions within Gandharan sculptures, particularly

due to the initial Greek-influenced representations in which the character was

depicted as Herakles, Pan, Dionysus, or other Greek deities or demigods.

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[6] Falk, H (1993) "Copper Hoard Weapons and the Vedic *vajra*".
[7] Das Gupta, T. "Die Anthropomorphen Figuren der Kupferhortfunde aus Indien", *Jahrbuch des Römisch- Germanischen Zentralmuseums*
[8] Kuznetsov, P. "An Indo-Iranian Symbol of Power in the Earliest Steppe Kurgans".
[9] 9 Zin, M. "*Vajrapāṇi* in the Narrative Reliefs, in: Migration".
[10] Giuliano, L. "Some Considerations of a Particular Vajra Iconography: The Skambha, the Yupa, the Bones of Dadhica and Related Themes".
[11] Lamotte, E. "*Vajrapāṇi* in India"

While originally, it was assumed that the *Vajrapāṇi* derived from *yaksha*, or bestial creatures for which a more detailed description will be provided in the first chapter, there have been many recent challenges that more precisely look at the figure's origins. Origin theories have been provided by Tanabe[12], Filigenzi[13] and Homrighausen[14]. These theories are viewed in comparison here. They, in combination, overturn the *Yaksha* hypothesis (Tanabe) and suggest novel traits that support the choice of Herakles (Filigenzi). Both use comparisons of different narrative depictions and textual characterizations to substantiate their hypotheses, and provide compelling arguments. We will examine the different origin theories, all of which date back to the Gandharan period (from the 3rd century BCE) and possibly earlier, by looking at the relevance of the early selection of Herakles (En. Hercules, Gr. Ἡρακλῆς) as a representation of the Gandharan *Vajrapāṇi*, and subsequent representational choices.

For the association of the Bharhut *yavana*, I rely on the symbolic interpretations of Boardman[15] and Banerjea.[16] For an understanding of the ancient northern Indian role of Herakles, I rely on Arrian[17], Narain[18] and Tarn[19] for early accounts and sources and the research of Mairs[20], Marshall[21], Brancaccio[22] and

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[12] Tanabe, K. "Why is the Buddha Sakyamuni Accompanied by Hercules/Vajrapāṇi? Farewell to the Yaksha Theory".
[13] Filigenzi, A, et al. "Ānanda and Vajrapāṇi: An Inexplicable Absence and a Mysterious Presence in Gandharan Art".
[14] Homrighausen, J. "When Herakles Followed the Buddha: Power, Protection, and Patronage in Gandharan art".
[15] Boardman, J. *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity.*
[16] Banerjea, J. et al. "A Bharhut Railing Sculpture."
[17] Arrian, translated by Hamilton, J.R. "The Campaigns of Alexander". *Indika of Arrian.*
[18] Narain, A. *The Indo-Greeks.*
[19] Tarn, W. et al. *The Greeks in Bactria and India.3rd Edition.*
[20] R. Mairs, *The Archaeology of the Hellenistic Far East. A Survey. Bactria, Central Asia and the Indo- Iranian Borderlands, c.300 BC–AD 100.*
[21] Marshall, J. *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara. The Story of the Early School, Its Birth, Growth, and Decline.*
[22] Brancaccio, P., et al. *Gandharan Buddhism: Archaeology, Art, Texts.*

Behrendt[23] for more modern analyses. In part, to substantiate the imperial association of Herakles within the Greek- influenced northern Indian region, I relied on symbolic depictions on coinage of the era, which images and descriptions provided by Coin India.[24]

After establishing the symbolic attributes, the first chapter will delve into the individual characters of *Fudō Myō-ō* and *Niō*. Particular attention is paid to the concept introduced in this thesis of the evolving *channavira* and the connection to depictions of Mara's army on Sanchi stupa. The rationale for the attention paid to these two facets is that they highlight characteristics as yet overlooked that feed into the symbolic import of the figure. The *channavira* remains a mystery as far as its relevance and provides questions for further research whereas the connection to Mara's army may provide an additional challenge to the *yaksha* origin argument. The deeper understanding of the historic symbolism of the *Niō dvarapala* (door guardian) also adds dimension to the character that aids our understanding of how it might come to be the central focus of a philosopher's life work, as in the case of Suzuki *Shōsan*.

The social and political configuration of the *Vajrapāṇi*-derivative characters, particularly *Fudō Myō-ō*, who is explained to be a "wrathful manifestation of the *Vajrapāṇi*[25], was established prior to entering Japan and was predominantly impacted by the translations of *Amoghavajra* that cast certain rituals. Much of the research in the second chapter of the thesis is informed by the extensive work on political integration of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism done by Charles Orzech. Particular attention is

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[23] Behrendt, K. *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.*
[24] Coin India. "The Coin Galleries: Western Kshatrapas: Kshaharata Dynasty". https://coinindia.com/
[25] Sorensen, H. "Central Divinities in the Esoteric Buddhist Pantheon in China". 102.

paid to the Scripture of the Humane Kings and the *Ryobu Mandaras* (Twin Mandalas) in the method by which *Fudō* and the *vajra* began to gain prominence and to move from a narrative role to an iconic role worthy of direct worship, even equating with some of the major deities of the era. This is understood through temple construction, which as a carefully considered symbolic act. Tajima, in Twin Mandalas of *Vairocana* in Japanese Iconography, provides an extensive and in-depth overview of the *Ryobu Mandalas* and their symbolism. Ritual integration of the new religion was addressed by Orzech through several texts. Translated scriptures, the *Vairocanabhisambodhi* Sutra, and the *Mahesvara* Subjugation myth, are used to directly understand the narrative role being emphasized of *Fudō* in this period. Biswas, Mack, and Orzech covered ritual integrations of *Fudō* with the imperial household.

Upon entering Japan, Shingon founder *Kūkai* was the most prominent figure in advancing the adoption of esoteric Buddhism and thus the prominence of *Vajrapāṇi* and derivative figures, so this thesis will trace his involvement in the spread of esoteric Buddhism as it related to these figures. Bond[26] had provided research on the means by which *Kūkai* utilized the adapted the *Sanrinjin* theory to highlight the status of *Fudō*. Mack has assessed the design of *Tō-ji* Temple to demonstrate an architectural equation of *Fudō* to previously higher deity *Mahāvairocana*and also addressed the implication of the Latter Seven Days Ritual for *Fudō* worship in Japan.[27] *Kūkai's* elevation of the *Vajrapāṇi*-derivative characters seems to imitate his Shingon predecessors, and the mechanisms by which the figure was integrated in Japan were patterned after the mechanisms in place in China,

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[26] Bond, K. *Ritual and Iconography in the Japanese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition: The Nineteen Visualizations of Fudō Myo-o.*
[27] Mack, K. "The Function and Context of Fudō Imagery From the 9th to 14th Century in Japan".

therefore, the second chapter draws many parallels between the two, also illustrating that the rise in prominence was by design rather than an isolated interpretation in Japan, though *Vajrapāṇi* and derivative characters did gain greater popularity in Japan than elsewhere. One of the important subsequent effects of these mechanisms was to alter the purpose of ritual exchange from its earlier purpose of heightening the spirituality of the adherent to affecting real world change. This illustrates the bridge of the *Vajrapāṇi* to real world action, which would propel his appeal and his later extension outside of religious circles, and further characterize the figure as a liminal beast.

The third chapter addressed the expansion of the *Vajrapāṇi* outside of religious and imperial circles. This expansion also was not isolated in Japan, and its trajectory outward prior to arriving in Japan is covered by Dukes (substantiating the idea that it might result from facets of the character rather than region that facilitate expansion and martial affiliation), even going so far as to interpret the mudras or Buddhist hand positions as martial arts maneuvers.[28] Shahar also provided the most comprehensive research on the *Vajrapāṇi* impact on the Shaolin monks, which touched on the association of the figure with justified rule breaking, another theme that we see follow the entity.[29] Adolphson addressed the power dynamic shifting in the Heian Era that led bolstered the growth, and funding of *Vajrayāna* temples as well as the financial circumstances that incentivized a growing independence and militarization of temple complexes.[30] Wakabayashi examined the association of abbot *Ryōgen* and *Fudō*, and the embodiment process of *Fudō* rituals that had

[28] Dukes, T. *Bodhisattva Warriors.*
[29] Shahar, M. *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts.*
[30] Adolphson. "Monks, Courtiers and Warriors in Premodern Japan: The Secular Power of Enryakuji in the Heian and Kamakura Eras".

popularized for diverse and increasingly secular reasons.[31] Mack's research also substantiate the variety of *Fudō* rituals used at the time, and their secularization.[32] Miyake[33], Hitoshi[34], and Stevens[35] took a close look at the relationship between the *Shugendō* sect and *Fudō* , involving austerity rituals that continue to this day.

Stevens and Draeger provide a background on the integration of *Fudō* into warrior circles of *bushi*, or samurai warriors. LaRocca[36] and Turnbull[37] provide research into military symbolism. Conlan[38] and Adolphson[39] traced the evolution of these warrior groups. The emergent martial philosophies of the seventeenth century are then examined herein predominantly using first-hand texts by Suzuki *Shōsan* and Takuan *Sōhō* to understand the divergent philosophies surrounding *Vajrapāṇi* and *Vajrapāṇi*-derivative characters that emerged from this time period. Braverman[40] is also relied upon for an understanding of *Shōsan*. Victoria provides a study into the emergence of 'soldier Zen' and 'imperial state Zen'.[41] Suzuki, who influenced Japanese imperial wartime philosophy, extended the ideas of earlier martial philosophers, particularly *Sōhō*, while not referencing *Fudō* as specifically as *Sōhō*, illustrating the transfer of the adamantine principle of the *vajra* to greater abstraction from the religious and symbolic origin into a more commonly accepted principle. His

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[31] Wakabayashi, H. "From Conqueror of Evil to Devil King: Ryōgen and Notions of Ma in Medieval Japanese Buddhism".
[32] Mack, K. "The Function and Context of Fudo Imagery From the 9th to 14th Century in Japan".
[33] Miyake H. Religious Rituals in Shugendō: a Summary".
[34] Hitoshi, M. "Religious Rituals in Shugendō".
[35] Stevens, J. *The Marathon Monks of Mount Hiei*.
[36] LaRocca, D. *The Gods of War: Sacred Images and the Decoration of Arms and Armor*.
[37] Turnbull, S. *Samurai Heraldry*.
[38] Conlan, T. *The Culture of Force and Farce: Fourteenth-Century Japanese Warfare*.
[39] Adolphson, M. "The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha: Monastic Warriors and Sōhei in Japanese History".
[40] Braverman, A. *Warrior of Zen: The Diamond-Hard Wisdom Mind of Suzuki Shosan*.
[41] Victoria, B. *Zen at War: Second Edition*.

life-giving sword principle mirrors the justification of violence that the *Vajrapāṇi*

brought to *Vajrayāna* Buddhism in his guardian role, particularly during conversions.

Lastly, this thesis takes a look at the modern influences on martial arts

perceptions that shape the relevance of *Vajrapāṇi* and derivative characters. These

include the integration into theatrical portrayals of *Fudō* by the *Danjūrō* Troupe.

Bond provides the bulk of research on this integration[42] and Ketelaar examines

specific narrative depictions of *Fudō*.[43] A brief examination of the influence of *Fudō*

through literature is made, because this topic has been covered elsewhere by Payne.[44]

Conlan is relied upon for the martial relevance of this literary inclusion.[45]

This thesis follows the *Vajrapāṇi* through its emergence in northern India and

its politicization and move to iconic status predominantly taking place in China, both

of which are examined in terms of their effect on the eventual outcomes and

understandings of the figure in Japan. The process of dissemination of the figures

beyond formal religious and imperial settings is relevant to our understanding of how

the figures came to impact groups like martial artists today, as well as other facets of

society. The process also shapes the reception of information about the character and

the means to which ritual or worship are employed. For non-religious purposes, it

impacts the narratives evolving around the character and the impressions of martial

philosophy for those who gain exposure through popular cultural expressions of the

deity's martial expressions. The *Vajrapāṇi* is revealed to have played a more

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[42] Bond, K. *Ritual and Iconography in the Japanese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition: The Nineteen Visualizations of Fudo Myo-o.*
[43] Ketelaar, J. *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution*
[44] Payne, R. "Standing Fast, Fudo Myoo in Japanese Literature"
[45] Conlan, T. "The Culture of Force and Farce: Fourteenth-Century Japanese Warfare".

important and multi- faceted role than previously imagined in shaping the outcomes

of modern martial thought in Japan.

CHAPTER 2

VAJRAPANI SYMBOLISM AND ORIGIN

2.1 Who is the *Vajrapāṇi*?

To better understand the *Vajrapāṇi* and derivative characters, an understanding of the

shared symbolism should first be addressed. While outwardly, the figures of

Vajrapāṇi, *Fudō Myō-ō* and the *Niō* have their own unique iconic and narrative

depictions and correlations, there are certain threads that connect the three figures,

that are, at the same time, prominent in defining the longevity and appeal of the

character. This chapter will delineate and address these, as well as add two

observations may prove relevant. These include the similarities between the

Gandharan *Vajrapāṇi* and the Bharhut Stupa, which would substantiate an imperial

importance for the association of *Vajrapāṇi* with Herakles early on, and the

observation of the retained *channavira* chain, that seems to have morphed into

musculature in later renditions of the *Niō*. Of the *Niō*, as well, this chapter adds the

observations of strikingly similar symbolism when compared to one of the Sanchi

stupa reliefs depicting Mara's Army. These observations help to inform the makeup

of the entity, and its important characteristic integrations that facilitated its adoption

in later years by both imperial authorities and rebelling groups.

2.2 Symbolism of the *Vajrapāṇi*

While the *Vajrapāṇi* manifests with different qualities across different terrains and

time periods, there are some factors which remain throughout the depictions, these

include the bearing of the *vajra*, the guardian position, and imperial connection.

Therefore, it is best understood through its strongest and more enduring attributes,

and which will be explained herein. The *vajra* is the characteristic weapon from which he derives his name and which grows to be equated with the character and his derivatives. In certain manifestations, his role as a guardian (symbolically as a guardian of transitional adherents in the *Vajrapāṇi* and of the Buddha Shakyamuni himself, and as an actual door guardian in the *Niō*. Lastly, the imperial connection, which was thoroughly substantiated by Amoghavajra, seems to have been apparent from earlier times, albeit not delineated in such clear roles as during the Tang Dynasty. While the role of Amoghavajra and imperial association will be approached in Chapter II, the earliest symbolic indicators will be examined here, with the addition of an imperial understanding of Herakles and a new look at the Bharhut Stupa. These three facets examined herein enveloped much of the lesser symbolism, and bridged the *Vajrapāṇi* and derivative characters.

2.2.1 The Divine Weapon, the *Vajra*

The *vajra* is a symbol common to all evolutions of the *Vajrapāṇi*, perhaps stemming from the name itself, which, translated into English, means '*Vajra* in Hand'. The *vajra*, identified in the Rigveda as "his heavenly bolt of thunder Tvastar fashioned"[46], in other cases, designed from the diamond bones of the sage Dadhichi[47] and used it to decapitate the serpentine Vritra, a demigod who was blocking the waters.[48] The *vajra* played an important role in establishment of a symbiotic relationship between the two groups of the varna system[49], Kshatriya and Brahmin, as these classifications

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[46] Trans. Griffith, R. The Rig Veda. https://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/rigveda/index.htm
[47] Zenith Infonet Contributor. "The Great Sage Dadhichi."
[48] Thus, was Indra, by wielding the vajra against his enemy "giving life to the Sun and Dawn and Heavens" in *Book I*, *Hymn XXII of the Rigveda*. Tr. Griffith. The Rigveda. 30/ 2-4.
[49] The varna system was an early caste system present in India consisting of four divisions.

began to take shape within the pre-caste systems of India.[50] Jarrod Whitaker theorizes that the *vajra*, known as the *dorje* in Tibet, "functions as a key tool to naturalize specific metaphysical truths, while enforcing certain sociopolitical relationships" and that the religious function of the tool in ancient times was partly to subjugate the Kshatriya warrior caste to the priestly Brahminic caste, bonding and solidifying the symbiotic relationship between emperor and warrior and empowering both. This process initiated in the Vedic varna system (Sk. वर्ण) long before the occurrence of our subjects of study, though similar templates of interaction hold and may prove active in later evolutions of vajra-bearers. This relationship between Kshatriya (warrior) and Brahmin (priest) of the varna will manifest between warrior kings and monks, and later kings, monks and warriors, (as will be explained in the subsequent chapters of this thesis), and the role of the *vajra* will be supplanted by the *Vajrapāṇi* entities, and later by their principles, becoming more and more abstracted from the original weapon, yet maintaining the connections to kingship and war.

Some have connected the vajra to the copper bar celt of the Indo-Aryan southward migration, and others to Yamnaya groups who share linguistic features with the Indo-Aryans. Falk, Das Gupta and Kuznetsov separately linked semi-psychological, semi-functional weapons found in the Copper Hoard Culture to the vajra, including copper bar celts (Falk, 1993)[51], anthropomorphic figures (Das Gupta, 2009)[52] and cudgels found in burial mounds that were "by far the largest metal object found in a Yamnaya grave", held by the status-holding male, figure prominently featured in the mounds, dating approximately 3000-2900 BCE (Kuznetsov, 2005).[53]

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[50] Whitaker, J. "I Boldly Took the Mace (Vájra) for Might: Ritually Weaponizing a Warrior's Body in Ancient India". 51-94
[51] Falk, H (1993) "Copper Hoard Weapons and the Vedic vajra". 193-206
[52] Das Gupta, T. "Die Anthropomorphen Figuren der Kupferhortfunde aus Indien", Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums. 39-80
[53] Kuznetsov, P. "An Indo-Iranian Symbol of Power in the Earliest Steppe Kurgans". 10-11.

The latter claim indicates that the symbolic object of the *Vajrapāṇi* may trace nearly 5000 years back to primitive Indo-Aryan warriors. Notably, both the copper bar celts and the tomb cudgels were weapons designed to be thrown or swung, in accord with Vedic descriptions of the *vajra*. The shape of the *vajra* is transformed over time. After analyzing representations of the *vajra* across time, Monika Zin suggests that extant representations of the *vajra* are more closely modeled on the Greek *kerounos*, or lightning bolt, which, interestingly enough, was also used by Zeus to slay a giant serpentine being, indicating a possible narrative mythological overlap.[54]

Zin demonstrates a further connection with Vedic literature, in her study of *Vajrapāṇi* reliefs, determining that the positioning of the vajra in the hands indicates the *Vajrapāṇi*'s role in a given narrative. There are two main positions, as can be seen in *Agyo* (Sk. *Guhyapāda*) (Jp., Ch. 密迹金剛) (Rj. *Misshaku Kongō*), the open-mouthed *Niō* typically to the right of the *Niōmon* (仁王門) temple doorway, and his counterpart, typically to the left of the gateway and with a closed mouth, the *Ungyo* (Nārāyaṇa) (那羅延金剛) (Naraen Kongō), along with their Chinese, Korean and Central Asian counterparts. According to Zin, in narratives where the vajra is held in the left hand, the character is standing by, much like *Ungyo*, and observing with a readiness to action that hasn't yet been activated. Aloft, in the right hand indicates a readiness to fight, as demonstrated by *Agyo*, and connected to Indra's vajradaksina position[55] in the battle against the giant serpent Vritra (Sk. वृत्र), Vṛtrá), in which the deity is likewise compelled to take the vajra in the hand, indicating battle action.[56] We can see these echoes in the hand positioning of *Agyo* and *Ungyo*, in which the

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[54] Zin, M. "Vajrapāṇi in the Narrative Reliefs, in: Migration". 73-83
[55] This is translated from Sanskrit as 'holding a thunderbolt in the right hand'.
[56] Zin, M., "Vajrapāṇi in the Narrative Reliefs, in: Migration" 73-83

active *Agyo* indicates attack, and the down-facing palms of *Ungyo* indicate forbearance (see Figure 1).

The *vajra*,[57] an often-present symbol of late *Mahāyāna* and *Vajrayāna* Buddhism, is associated with its list of historic victories, not in the least with its use by Indra to destroy the world snake *Vritra* in the Vedas, but also is associated with conversion[58] and protection, and may be considered a transitional vessel and representation of liminality. Its symbolism includes adamantine moveability and impenetrability, a fact which has endeared vajra bearers to martial communities and warriors over time, from its actual use as a weapon, to its ritual uses, to its later

Figure 1 *Ungyo* (left) and *Agyo* (right) Hand Gestures of Forbearance and Attack. Edited. More Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan". Source: https://www.ojisanjake.com/2010/07/nio-at-chokoku-ji.html. 2010

equation with the impermeable condition of the mind, as extolled by warrior turned monk, *Suzuki Shōsan* (Ch. Jp. 鈴木正三) (1579-1655).[59]

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[57] The *vajra* is a hand-held supernatural tool or weapon typically with a narrower grip center and expanding on both ends to form spheres points, or otherwise shaped caps. It was first found in the Rig Veda as a weapon of Indra, and incorporated into Buddhism through the Gandharan *Vajrapāṇi* attendant to the Śākyamuni Buddha, later found extensively among deities, with a special connection with wrathful or benevolent kings and Lokapāla guardians.

[58] Lamotte, E. "Vajrapāṇi in India." 19-26.

[59] Shosan, S. *Selected Writings of Suzuki Shosan*. 60

The shape of the symbol itself represents the "separation of the spheres… and the and the center from which the universe comes into existence", a "gateway" and "joins heaven and earth and is a sign of the descent of a divine power".[60] It is also understood as an evolution into symbol of the abstract concept of *sunya*, or "the Ultimate Cause of the Universe… from which everything originates and into which everything merges"[61] that came about as a result of the natural shifting of religious thought towards concrete representations from abstracted concepts, a process that is likewise reflected in the *Mahāyāna* development of multiple focal deities and in the emergence of *Mahāyāna* and eventually esoteric rituals,[62] which progressively developed after the core Hinayana[63] philosophies. The tool in itself is understood to be the most powerful of weapons.

Through a study of Vedic texts, Whitaker concludes that between 1000- 600 BCE, with the development of class divisions between Brahmin priests and Kshatriya warriors, the *vajra* became increasingly symbolic of the Kshatriya warrior class. As the Kshatriya class was thought capable of rule, kings (of the Kshatriya class) were ceremoniously handed *vajras* during coronations, symbolically dedicating their service to the Brahmin priests, and the relationship between Brahmin and Kshatriya was reinforced by symbolic splitting of the *vajra* into four pieces, two held by each side, during the slaying of Vritra.[64] Yet, we can begin to establish that the

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[60] Giuliano, L. "Some Considerations of a Particular Vajra Iconography: The Skambha, the Yupa, the Bones of Dadhica and Related Themes". 113-114

[61] Biswas. S. *Fudō Myō-ō.* 7.

[62] The distinction between rituals of the Mahayana and Vajrayana or Mantrayana strains of Buddhism is a matter of dispute. Mahayana did involve certain esoteric rituals and a proliferation of entities, Vajrayana would not have appeared entirely distinct, while in their developed phases they can be differentiated, there is much overlap in the ritual and symbolic field.

[63] Hinayana was an earlier form of Buddhism to spread from northern India.

[64] According to Whitaker, "…two pieces become the sacrificial post and wooden sword of priests, and two become the chariot and bow and arrows of Kshatriyas". This symbolized the symbiotic nature of the relationship between the religious authority of the Brahmins, and the warrior king role of the Kshatriya, which later will experience a shift as the role of king migrates from necessitating a warrior status.

relationship of the *Vajrapāṇi* with the king, perhaps more closely than other deities to the king, continued past Vedic times and was in fact part of the social understanding and ongoing role of the figure.[65] The *vajra* remains the core symbolic element divulging the power of the characters and the potential power transmittable[66] to adherents, or leveraged against challengers.

2.2.2 Guardian Roles

The *Vajrapāṇi* in its earliest narratives is a guardian of the Buddha Shakyamuni who interferes and assists with tricky and difficult converts on behalf of the Buddha, often violently. He meets prospective adherents prior to their envelopment into Buddhism, and therefore in a liminal space. He meets them with ferocity, much like the expressions we come to see on the later door guardian, or *dvārapāla*, *Niō*.

In the character of *Vajrapāṇi* and *dvārapāla*, are unique characters in that they not only stylistically adapt to host cultures across geographical expanses and time, an adaptation that takes place across the Buddhist pantheon, but they also appear, at least until reaching China, to uniquely integrate local ruler symbolism, and in some cases the rulers themselves, assuming deified protector-warrior roles. In both mythological symbolism and practical usage, then, the *vajra* and *vajradhara*[67] represent and facilitate coalescence of the perceived spiritual and mundane world, along with a variety of players and perspectives. This category of *vajradhara*

However, the leverage of the tool to form a somewhat controlling, somewhat empowering relationship, in its core premise, stays the same. Whitaker, J. "I Boldly Took the Mace (Vájra) for Might: Ritually Weaponizing a Warrior's Body in Ancient India". 54.

[65] A more extensive study might be conducted on the symbiotic relationship between the religious and warrior classes, and the role of consecrated weapons in maintaining relationships, as well as study in the symbolism of the features of the vajra, as it clearly doesn't attempt to appear to be a deadly weapon in the way that a more functional blade or projectile might.

[66] In Vajrayana esoteric rituals, the power desired by the adherent was often not considered transmitted, but rather inhabited by the practitioner.

[67] *Vajradhara* is a *vajra* carrying entity.

includes the *Niō* along with a host of other deities, though many other factors influence their particular roles. It is important to look at how the weapons make the warrior (as well as vice versa), contribute to the perception of what the ideal warrior is, and even help define what the aspiring warrior becomes, from being shaped by philosophies that drive their actions to influencing decisions about mechanical or psychological martial responses themselves (that is, development of martial arts systems, values and psychological strategies).

The door guardian feature of many *Vajrapāṇi* imbues in it a sense of liminality that relates to the value of a heroic chthonic, liminal nature, or the heroic ability to transverse the worlds of living and dead or any two opposing parallel worlds, which can be, for the martial artist, that of the novice and that of the experienced practitioner. Paralleling the fearsome gargoyles of gothic Christianity, they are meant to signify the breaking point from reality, the entryway to the temple, and to bestow the proper attitude of fear and respect necessary for spiritual entry. This liminality is taken as a further indicator, as we will see in the later 17th century interpretations, of being unfixed to any facet of life, a theme that developed with the maturation of bushido or warrior philosophy. In addition, the *dvārapāla* often acts as the first figure an adherent sees upon entering worship, as they stand at the gate. In their often humane or monstrous characteristics, their level can seem more attainable to new adherents. They are both threatening and compelling, relatable and demanding. They interact through judgement of the adherent. Their severity fortifies the barriers of the sacred world symbolically.

2.2.3 The Symbolic Imperial Connection

It is not enough to point to the flowing, crown-like ribbons or fiery hair that often protrude from the *Niō*'s mostly bald scalp, or to reference that they are referred to in China as 仁王 or 'benevolent kings'; it isn't enough to indicate *Fudō Myō-ō*'s status as the central figure among the Five Wisdom Kings (Sk. विद्याराज, *Vidyārāja*, Ch., Jp. 五大明王, Rj. *Godai Myō-ō*), there are other factors that link them with historical kings.

Artists were first thought to shift from aniconic depictions of the Buddha to iconic renderings during the Kushan Empire (30-375 CE), with initial renderings generally thought to blend Greek, Iranian (Zoroastrian) and Indian (Hindu) influences to formulate representations that would later replicate throughout Asia
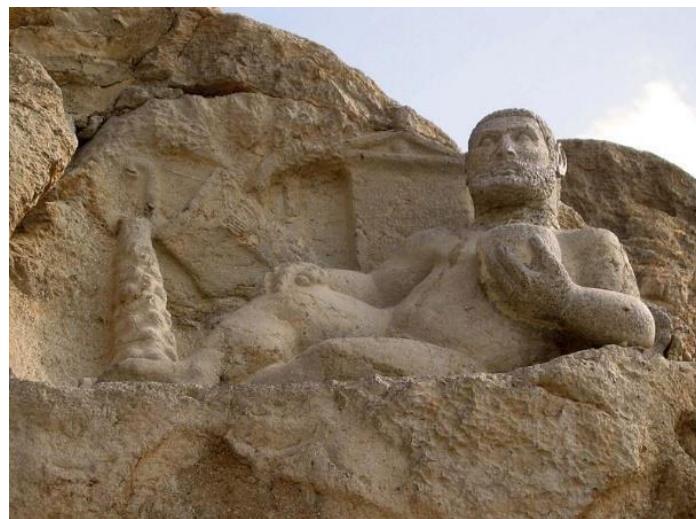
Figure 2: Herakles Kallinikos *Dvarapala* in Kermanshah. "Bistoon Kermanshah." Marmoulak. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:BistoonKermanshah.jpg. 2006

with the transmission of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism[68]. According to Lamotte, the popular *Vajrapāṇi*, "iconographical type derives from Hellenistic models far more than Indian motifs",[69] due to initial representations enveloping many of the Greek

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[68] Foltz, R. *Religions of the Silk Road: Premodern Patterns of Globalization.* 46.
[69] Lamotte, E. "Vajrapāṇi in India". 142

pantheon, including Eros, Pan, Hermes, Dionysus and others, of which Herakles emerged dominant (as one might expect of Herakles).[70]

At Kizil[71] in the Cave of the Statues, the royalty connection continues with a wall painting the *Vajrapāṇi*, dating around the 5th century CE, that suggests an Indo-Iranian influence, which we will look into shortly. This depiction has been associated with the Sasanian god Verethragna (Bahram). Verethragna was sculpted as a cave temple guardian Herakles around the same time as the emergence of the Heraklean *Vajrapāṇi* (148 B.C.), in Kermanshah, Iran (see figure).[72] This sculpture is known as the Herakles Kallinikos (Gr. Ἡρακλῆν Καλλίνικον, En. Hercules Glorious in Victory). Much like the Heraklean casting, Verethragna had a close historic connection with royalty as well, with generations of Sasanian kings taking his name. Another figure of *Vajrapāṇi* can be found in Kizil Caves (Ch. 克孜爾千佛洞) a massive Buddhist cave complex in Xinjiang, China, dating from the 4th to 6th century. Of the Kizil *Vajrapāṇi* (Figure 3), bearing Iranian aesthetic influence and thought to have been created in the 5th century, it is stated:

> His divinity is indicated by a halo. On his head is a diadem decorated with beads and disks, with a white and hanging from either side; rising from it are plumes of feathers at the sides and in the center a large ornamented disk. Similar diadems appear in Sasanian art- for example, on a stone relief of the third century A.D. from Sar Meshed that depicts King Bahram II as a lion slayer (Ghirshman 1962, figs. 215, 216). Roman Ghirshman has pointed out that a royal crown decorated with eagle feathers was originally the symbol of the Avestian God of victory, Verethragna. Verethragna had the same function as Indra, the Vedic god of war, who was included in the Buddhist pantheon.[73]

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[70] Tanabe, K. "Why is the Buddha Sakyamuni Accompanied by Hercules/Vajrapāṇi? Farewell to the Yaksha Theory". 364

[71] Kizil Caves is the largest ancient cave complex of the Tochan Kingdom in Xinjiang, China dating from the 3rd to 8th centuries CE.

[72] Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art. "List of Rulers of the Sasanian Empire." https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/saru/hd_saru.htm

[73] Berlin State Museum. *The Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums*. 68.

Figure 3: Kizil Cave Vajrapāṇi, Edited User: Daderot. "*Vajrapani*, Kizil, Caves of the Statues (Cave 77), 406-425 AD, wall painting - Ethnological Museum, Berlin". Edited. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vajrapani,Kizil,_Caves_of_the_Statues_(Ca ve_77),_406-425_AD,_wall_painting_-11 November 2014.

This seems to indicate that the *Vajrapāṇi* was indeed a king, and that the royal root of the earlier Heraklean depictions may have been intentional. Harkening now to an amalgamate of ancient gods, Verethragna, Indra, and Herakles, and now adopting the form of a temporal ruler, the musculature of the Gandharan figure has turned into a lean form, and the figure is seated with one leg poised for movement, the right hand raised and holding a flywhisk with which he attends to the Buddha, the right hand is grasping the *vajra* with a fist shaped in a mudra. This transformation is one of many that would follow, as the *Vajrapāṇi* adapts to the cultures it enters. While the headgear in the *dvārapāla Vajrapāṇi* of Ajanta caves[74] is damaged and rather difficult to make out, it appears to be a form of royal headgear as well. The

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[74] Ajanta Caves are Buddhist cave structures dating back to the 2nd century BCE, located in Aurangabad, India.

Ajanta *Vajrapāṇi*, along with its corresponding *dvārapāla Avalokitesvara* wear elaborate ornamental crown headgear and regal adornments (Figure 4).

It seems that from its earliest depictions, the narrative *Vajrapāṇi* was often related to mythical and actual representations of existing kings, perhaps indicating a continuation of the ancient Vedic symbiotic relationship between Kshatriya and Brahmin, perhaps in recognition of existing relationships or to facilitate the development of new ones. This is echoed in the Gandharan representations of the figure as Herakles, to the Kizil and Ajanta, Central Asian and Indian representations, and even possibly tracing back to the role of the Bharhut *yavana*, as we will propose herein.

Figure 4: Ajanta Cave *Vajrapāṇi*, Edited. Pisani. "The Ajanta Cave Paintings". Source: http://www.theglobaldispatches.com/artic les/the-ajanta-cave-paintings. 2013.

In later iconic manifestations of the *Vajrapāṇi*, the king association remains, as *Fudō Myō-ō* is one of the Five Wisdom Kings (Ch., Jp. 五大明王) (Rj. *Godai Myō-ō*), and the *Niō* (Rj. *Kongō Rikishi*) are known as Benevolent Kings (Ch., Jp. 仁王) (Rj. *Renwang*). Further study into the purpose of this rendering may be conducted, and with the relative dissolution of the narrative *Vajrapāṇi* on entry into

China, it is left to see how this significance carries on to the increasingly significant *dvārapāla* and iconic *Vajrapāṇi*.

2.2.3.1 The Bharhut *Dvārapāla*

I suggest that the earliest connection may date back to a figure that has not yet been related with the *Vajrapāṇi* , the Bharhut *yavana*[75] (figure 5), a *dvarapala* of about 100 BCE, styled after an Indo-Greek warrior whom some allege to be King Menander.[76] Menander, of the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings, is the one historical figure of the time to remain in local literature, to have earned the title of Chakravartin (a religiously affiliated, Buddhist version of 'King of Kings'), and even to have had even some comparable stories to the Buddha transposed in his history in Indian accounts.[77] Menander was reportedly converted to Buddhist to campaign against enemy Pushyamitra, and was also the inspiration for the carving of the Emerald Buddha (though both these claims are contested by Narain); yet the existence of these tales emphasize Menander's popularity through his inclusion in Buddhist tales, and even Narain, critical of the authenticity of the conversion of Menander, concedes that the distribution of Menander's ashes in a manner reminiscent of that of the Buddha is a historic peculiarity, even among kings.

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[75] *Yavana* means 'foreigner'.
[76] Banerjea, J. et al. "A Bharhut Railing Sculpture." 65-68
[77] Ibid. 260-265.

Figure 5 Bharhut Yavana, Triple Vajra/Sankosho, Triratna. Edited. पाटविपुत्र. "Bharhut Stupa Yavana symbolism".Source:https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bharhut_Stupa_Yavana_symbolism.jpg #filelinks /Copyright Frederic, Louis. (1995). "Three- Pointed Vajra". Source: Flammarion Iconographic Guide. Buddhism. Bussier Arts Fabrique. Paris, France. p64. (2017).

The Bharhut *Yavana* is a *dvarapala* as are the *Niō*, giving protection to the temple at Bharhut[78], whose initial construction took place during the Mauryan reign of the famed Buddhist convert king Ashoka (Sk. *Aśoka*) (268-232 BCE). Ashoka was known for vast and varied constructions to support the spread of Buddhism throughout his land. Interestingly, through the Gandharan period, the guardian figure outside of temples would continue to often be foreigners and often Greek. The Bharhut *yavana* (Figure 5), dating back to the 1st or 2nd century BCE, is robed in what appears to be a sleeved tunic with the belly button exposed. There is only one figure, with no counterpart and it is crowned with a Greek king's headband,[79] the likes of which we can see in other renderings of *yavana* (foreigners) at both Bharhut and Sanchi stupa sites.

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[78] The Bharhut Stupa contains some of the earliest Indian Buddhist art, generally thought to date from the third century BC, though the origin date is disputed.

[79] Boardman, J. *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity*. 112

Absent of a *vajra*, the *yavana*'s weapon is a sword with wraps crossing over a *triratna*, heading what appears to be a staff or stick. This *triratna* (Figure 3) is symbolic of Buddhism's three jewels: the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha, a symbol reflective of the meaning of the *vajra* as the Dharma, borne by the protector of the Buddha. Structurally, the stick and three prongs are comparable to trident *vajra*, albeit one-sided. The later *vajras* come in a variety of shapes, outlined by Louis Frederic, who identifies the three-pointed *vajras*, known in Japan as *sankosho*; in the material and spiritual universe, these three points represent the *triratna*, the 'three jewels' of Buddhism (the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha), the three mysteries of word, thought and action."[80]

This seems to be the earliest extant example of delegation of the Dharma-bearing symbolism to a foreigner (as we see becomes popular in the Gandharan period) and exclusive to the *dvarapala*, rather than a more central figure. It may be that, much in the way that the *nagas* (snake worshipping converts of the Buddha Shakyamuni, often depicted as snakes) and other opponents of the empires of Buddhism, (like the Greek rulers left behind by Alexander who were driven out by the Mauryan Empire), the Bharhut *yavana*, and possible by connection, the *Vajrapāṇi* were appropriated into Buddhism as foes overtaken who were now repurposed to serve the Buddha.

2.2.3.2 The Gandharan Herakles

Representations of Herakles and other Greek mythological figures in non-Buddhist arts of the region have been traced to the 327 BCE invasions of the Bactrian and Gandharan regions by Alexander the Great, (a figure known to have identified

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[80] Frederic, Louis. Transl. by Nissim Marshall. *Flammarion Iconographic Guide: Buddhism*. 65.

himself with Herakles, modeling his representations and occasionally his life after the trials of the demigod),[81] the influence of subsequent Greco-Bactrian rulers, the Indo-Greek Kingdom, and development of overland and sea trade in the following centuries. Lieut- Colonel W.H. Sykes found that only Clemens and Arrian refer to worship of the Hercules figure in India prior to Buddhist integration of the figure; Clemens refers to a Brahminical worship of Herakles that Sykes finds unlikely[82] and Arrian, relying on accounts by Megasthenes and Eratosthenes, described Heracles as having been integrated into local Indian myths, in stories of the founding of sea-pearls as adornments, and fathering the incestuous albeit praised reign of his alleged daughter, Pandaia, and establishing a legal system there,[83] from which we might posit an early association with rulership. If we are to believe their accounts, it would seem Herakles had an existing mythic presence locally, that parallels existing Greek allegory and depiction, distinct from local deities.

The Gandharan period of the *Vajrapāṇi* has perhaps received the most attention because of the unique cultural crossover that occurred. Features of the Greek hero Herakles are incorporated in the spreading of Gandharan Indo-Greek influence include the loincloth, lion or tiger skin[84], a wind scarf, asymmetrical lower-body stance, unarmored musculature, often bearded face, presence of a lion skin helmet and uneven, knotted club. These aspects derived from Gandharan art have

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[81] Arrian, translated by Hamilton, J.R. *The Campaigns of Alexander*. 33
[82] Sykes, W.H. "Notes on the Religious, Moral and Political State of India before the Mahomedan Invasion, chiefly founded on the Travels of the Chinese Buddhist Priest, Fa Hian, in India, A.D. 399, and on the Commentaries of Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, Burnouf and Landresse." 385
[83] Arrian. *Indika of Arrian*. 201-203.
[84] While the tiger-skin was theorized to have developed locally from Chinese tribes, Crowell and Hsing provided substantial evidence otherwise. Crowell, William and Hsing, I-Tien. "Heracles in the East: The Diffusion and Transformation of His Image in the Arts of Central Asia, India, and Medieval China". 103- 154.

been covered extensively by Behrendt[85], Brancaccio and Behrendt[86], and Mairs[87].The association of the *Vajrapāṇi* with Herakles during the period of flourishing of Gandharan art has been well-documented, so we won't go into detail of that aesthetic transformation except to say that the protective figure of Herakles gained dominance among visual renderings of certain events of the Buddha's life, particularly during resistant conversions and was used as the aesthetic for the *Vajrapāṇi*.

Figure 6: Abhiraka and Nahapana coin with Nike goddess and 3 pronged vajra. Edited. Coin India. "Nahapana, silver drachm c. middle of 1st century CE". The Coin Galleries: Western Kshatrapas: Kshaharata Dynasty. Source: http://coinindia.com/galleries-kshaharatas.html

If we are to analyze the figure from the proposed vantage point of a connection with kings, the choice of Herakles is not far off the mark. It must be remembered that the Indo-Greek kings since Alexander the Great frequently represented themselves as Herakles in coinage,[88] and primitive portraits would incorporate parts of the Heraklean iconography into their own, predominantly the

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[85] Behrendt, K. *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*.
[86] Brancaccio, P., et al. *Gandharan Buddhism: Archaeology, Art, Texts.*
[87] R. Mairs, *The Archaeology of the Hellenistic Far East. A Survey. Bactria, Central Asia and the Indo- Iranian Borderlands, c.300 BC–AD 100.*
[88] Vasishtha Dev Mohan, M. *The Indo-Greek Coins.*

lionskin headdress and the club as outlined by Tarn[89] and Narain.[90] Abhiraka and

Nahapana, of the 1-2nd century Kshaharata dynasty of northern India, were

influenced by earlier Greek civilizations, and inscribed at times the *vajra* 'three

jewels' symbol on coins, along with and depictions of Greek gods like Nike (Figure

6),[91] indicating that even non-Greek rulers would use the Greek gods as a sign of

authority.

Current research on *Vajrapāṇi* 's emergence in Gandhara as a protective

figure of the Buddha focus on early Gandharan depictions rather than Mathuran, later

Gandharan or South Indian depictions, and thus center origin research in the aesthetic

productions of the figure within the Gandhara region in the first century CE. The

Vajrapāṇi character was documented by Sir John Marshall in Gandharan art between

60 -320 CE,[92] appearing frequently, as demonstrated by Lamotte[93] and evidence has

substantiated its northern origin for its emergence, a fact which supports the temporal

and geographical selection of turn of the century Gandharan material for study, as

well as a prioritization of these depictions over later written accounts and

translations. While there are extant depictions of the character before Heraklean

incorporation, it was with the developments of this incorporation that the figure

became an individual character worth recognition by adherents, and therefore from

this point of incorporation we will begin examination.

The question of why Herakles was successful while the other foreign deities,

who might seem more suitable for *Vajrapāṇi*, (due to, for example, Zeus' extant

association with the thunderbolt, posited presence of Dionysian Cults, local *Yakshas*

[89] Tarn, W. et al. *The Greeks in Bactria and India.3rd Edition.*
[90] Narain, A. *The Indo-Greeks.*
[91] Coin India. "The Coin Galleries: Western Kshatrapas: Kshaharata Dynasty". https://coinindia.com/
[92] Marshall, J. The Buddhist Art of Gandhara. *The Story of the Early School, Its Birth, Growth, and Decline.*
[93] Lamotte, E. "Vajrapāṇi in India". Pp 18.

already affiliated with the religion) were addressed by Tanabe, who suggested a greater importance on the traveler role of Herakles (in the life of the traveling Siddhartha Gautama) than was previously supposed (*Yakshas* do not embody this traveler role), and further suggests that, given the travels of Shakyamuni Buddha, Herakles' conquer of "ferocious animals or monsters such as the Nemean Lion, Hydra, Wild Boar, Cerberos, and so forth symbolize Herakles' role of eliminating evils and dangers from highways", revealing a powerful traveling companion.[94] Another option exists in an association of the liminal, bipolar elements of Herakles which parallel the figure of *Ānanda*, a theory proposed by Anna Filigenzi.[95] In the end, the important characters of Herakles that were incorporated into or identified with the *Vajrapāṇi* are those of strength, traveling, conquest of evils, his chthonic nature, and, as I posit herein, the royal connection.

2.3 The Origin Dispute

It is as yet undetermined the exact origin of the figure, and whether the commonly repeated idea that *Vajrapāṇi* derived from *yakshas* (devilish creatures), from Indra, or from other figures in the Buddha Shakyamuni's realm. Here we will examine the origin theories, and point out their strengths and weaknesses.

2.3.1 *Yaksha* Affiliation

One of the most popular theories regarding the origin of the *Vajrapāṇi* is that it derived from yaksha. *Yaksha* are rather variously defined, but can be said to be benevolent or trickster deities acting as helper figures in Buddhist narratives.

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[94] Tanabe, K. "Why is the Buddha Sakyamuni Accompanied by Hercules/Vajrapāṇi? Farewell to the Yaksha Theory". 372.
[95] Filigenzi, A, et al. "Ānanda and Vajrapāṇi: An Inexplicable Absence and a Mysterious Presence in Gandharan Art".

According to some definitions (Lamotte, 1966), this may be broadened to include manifestations of higher beings as well, including bodhisattvas and Buddha himself.[96] Broadly, they are often thought to be mischievous spirits that can be helpful or malevolent. With such a broad definition it might be hard to contest an origin in *Yaksha* on the premise of divergent characteristics apparent in *Vajrapāṇi* depictions, unless, as is the condition in Katsumi Tanabe's study, the *Yaksha* figure that would otherwise be present, and is missing in the scenes into which the *Vajrapāṇi* has been interjected, as Tanabe did (described below).[97] One can also note that the *Vajrapāṇi* is not labeled as a yaksha, but as a "great sage" as early as the 4th century in the *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī Sūtra* (Ch., Jp. 佛母大孔雀明王經), in literature that clearly defines other yaksha: "The great *Yaksha* Bhadra resides in Saila. The great deity Manava resides in Uttara. The great sage *Vajrapāṇi* though lives in Rajagrha".[98] Clearly, in this excerpt, it is differentiated from yaksha.

Tanabe, in his 2005 study of the *Yaksha* origin hypothesis, relies on comparisons in primitive visual depictions of *Yaksha* and of *Vajrapāṇi* in pertinent relief scenes of the Buddha's life, to suggest a direct transition of the role previously held by Hindu and Vedic god Indra to Herakles, rather than a merging of *Yaksha* characteristics, Indra weaponry (*vajra*) and Hellenic aesthetics, as some have supposed. This is due to the idiosyncrasies in *Yaksha* depictions, dates of stylistic emergence, and an evident lack of early textual integration of the *Vajrapāṇi* in many stories with which he was later affiliated.[99]

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[96] Lamotte, E 'Vajrapāṇi en Inde'. 113
[97] Tanabe, K. "Why is the Buddha Sakyamuni Accompanied by Hercules/Vajrapāṇi? Farewell to the Yaksha Theory". 369.
[98] Amoghavajra. "The Mahamayuri Vidyarajni Sutra 佛母大孔雀明王經." https://mahamayurividyarajni.wordpress.com/2012/06/10/mahamayuri/
[99] Tanabe, K. "Why is the Buddha Sakyamuni Accompanied by Hercules/Vajrapāṇi? Farewell to the Yaksha Theory. 369.

It is thus unlikely that the *Vajrapāṇi* has developed from an extant active *Yaksha* figure, and rather more likely to have been a foreign imported figure either a) integrated into *Yaksha* or b) an original character given additional roles. Tanabe's research challenges the first option, citing the meager role and degraded early depictions of yaksha, who are made to bear the hooves of a horse (a low-status labor), depicted as smaller statured, and often detested, suggesting that these do not suit the emergent depictions of the Herculean *Vajrapāṇi*. Even if the *Yaksha* origin might be accepted, the depiction as a curly bearded figure in Greek clothing amongst other figures in Indian clothes seems significant and even intentional.

Tanabe criticizes existing hypotheses which attributes the Heraklean depiction to a preexisting role in kinship protection for mistaking the critical factor of Herakles adoption for his "bellicose and quasi-martial character" and instead highlights a travel- wise, psychopompos and chthonic nature.[100] Where Filigenzi emphasizes the deviant and liminal nature and a possible association with *Ānanda*, she established her premise based on parallels in mythological characteristics. Homrighausen affirms Filigenzi's characterization and extends the analysis of Herakles' character to the hero's connection with prosperity and royalty, introducing a hypothesis of the inclusion of Herakles as a primitive marketing effort by the sangha, or priests, directed at Kushan rulers to elicit support of the religion, concluding "The Herakles-*Vajrapāṇi* connection, then, tells a tale not only of interchange between East and West, but of a dialogue in art between sacred and secular cultural realms".[101]

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[100] Ibid 364.
[101] Homrighausen, J. "When Herakles Followed the Buddha: Power, Protection, and Patronage in Gandharan art". 33.

While the latter statement, I believe, points us in the right direction, Homrighausen's argument is undercut by his revelation of the focus of Kushan rulers on Iranian deities, in spite of his alleged choice by the sangha of Greek deities to draw their support. It would seem more persuasive towards the rulership were the active deities valued by the target population to be included rather than royalty-affiliated deities of past rulers who were conquered by the Kushans. The Kushans were not of Greek origin, nor were they strictly Hellenized, fusing a variety of different cultures, Chinese, Persian, Greek and more. This doesn't completely rule out the possibility of an economic incentive, but it begins to look less favorable. Importantly though, we can understand that a secular incentive might have existed, and attitudes towards the separation of secular and religious cultures at this time in history may have been quite different than they are today.

It further stands to reason that if the figure were to be integrated solely for economic gain, a motive which might at most bear a partial consideration when integrating a substantial deity, a lesser role might be offered, and one that doesn't supplant other important figures such as Indra and *Ānanda*. If there is such willingness to bend the scripture in advocacy of the religion, a new character could have been added rather than replacing important extant characters. Pre-Kushan integration of Greek figures into Buddhist art, including Dionysus and Indra mythological integration, led to speculation regarding the Dionysian cult influence on Buddhist conceptions of heaven and reincarnation, the presence of which indicates a willingness to fuse elements of the diverse religions.[102] Figures of Dionysus has been found in Buddhist stupa embellishments of the turn of the first

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[102] Behrendt, K. *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. 30.

century AD, predating the Kushan empire, demonstrating not just a merging but an addition of foreign figures.[103]

Vajrapāṇi -themed Heraclean representations in the Begram archaeological and iconographically similar coins from Tillya Tepe, were found "which symbolizes the power of the Buddhist doctrine and tuition in Gandharan art;" both sites are suspected to pre-date the Kushan Empire in the early first century AD.[104] These factors mitigate the likelihood of a purely economic motive appealing to Kushan authorities, though they don't quite rule out a pre-Kushan appeal for funding in the integration of Greek figures, the aforementioned factors make it seem less likely. Rather, it would seem that there was a more purposeful integration and transformation in the *Vajrapāṇi* character, specifically pertaining to Hellenistic influence or persons, prior to the Kushans.

Another mystery of the figure is the presence of multiple *Vajrapāṇi* in certain scenes simultaneously without the presence of barriers considered customary in temporal panoramics[105], suggesting a duality or multiplicity of the figure within a scene in time. We will look at Filigenzi's response to this later on. Lamotte's studies of the literature draw similar conclusions to Tanabe, linking the *Vajrapāṇi* to Indra, despite widespread descriptions of the *Vajrapāṇi* as the '*yaksha*-general', and suggests integration of the *Vajrapāṇi* into critical episodes of the Buddha's life over time.[106] Yet, Lamotte describes *Vajrapāṇi* early interactions in which Indra (here, Sakya) is still otherwise present as a separate figure, in which *Vajrapāṇi* mysteriously appear to address those hesitating to answer the Buddha's questions by

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[103] Ibid. 26
[104] Mehendale, S. et al. *Belgram Catalog*. 161
[105] Temporal panoramics are Buddhist depictions of different time frames on one surface, separated by drawn barriers in the image.
[106] Lamotte, E. "Vajrapāṇi in India". 18

threatening "I will instantly cause his head to shatter into seven fragments"[107], accord with Tanabe's descriptions of *yaksha*, relying on Foucher, as "ferocious savages undeserving of any kind of veneration".[108] In further instances, the pre-Indra-integration *Vajrapāṇi* seem to act as selectively visible enforcers for the Buddha, threatening and punishing erroneous behaviors encountered in the Buddhists quests, though, according to Tanabe, this role doesn't appear in literature predating the artistic representations.

Lamotte further substantiates the tie between *Vajrapāṇi* and Indra in stating that the *vajra* bearers "form a privileged class of *yakshas* removed from the authority of *Vaisravana* and directly attached to the Buddhist Indra whose attribute, the thunderbolt (*vajra*), they share".[109] Even where Lamotte seems to accept the derivation of *Vajrapāṇi* from *yaksha* and association with Indra (distinguished from a derivation from Indra), this is complicated by the simultaneous presence of Indra and *Vajrapāṇi*. The question stands as to why the *yaksha-Vajrapāṇi* figure over time seems to have integrated both the Herculean figure and the role of Indra, and what import the *yaksha* affiliation offers, as it has remained a dominant theme in the understanding of the *Vajrapāṇi*, whether correct or incorrect. Both the Indra and *yaksha* theories, therefore, have unresolved issues.

2.3.2 *Ānanda* Theory

The narrative inclusion of Herakles-*Vajrapāṇi* might be partially explained not by derivation from Indra or a yaksha, but from *Ānanda* (Sk. आनन्द), a central Buddhist figure who is notably absent from Gandharan Buddhist sculpture, and who is in many

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[107] Ibid. 5

[108] Tanabe, K. "Why is the Buddha Sakyamuni Accompanied by Hercules/Vajrapāṇi? Farewell to the Yaksha Theory". 368

[109] Lamotte, E. "Vajrapāṇi in India". 2

ways characteristically similar to Herakles (as outlined by Filigenzi), possibly providing solutions for the mysteries of the concurrent depiction of yaksha-*Vajrapāṇi* and Herakles-*Vajrapāṇi* as well as drunken depiction that have complicated the Herakles figure in its Gandharan representations[110]. *Ānanda*, is one of the Buddha's closest disciples who, among other traits, symbolized corporeality (a somewhat counterbalance or entry-point to the goal of enlightenment and thus metaphorically acting as a *dvarapala*), about which Filigenzi states *Ānanda* "illustrates an ideological attitude of Buddhism towards human nature that stigmatizes it as weak and imperfect and yet reveres it as a substratum of the conscience" [111] and characterizes the deep symbolism of *Ānanda*'s relationship with the Buddha as "in a sense, his double, his earthly and opaque counterpart, the servant who carries the weight of the eternal and dynamic *prakrti*"[112], thus enabling the distancing and elevation of the Buddha from the corporeal while himself struggling with its temptations.

In this description we can begin to see ties to the mythological associations of Herakles with both the excesses and providences of corporeality. This fallible human nature is represented by *Ānanda*s proclivities towards women, material attachment to the Buddha incarnate and general fallibility, highlighting as well the bipolarity of *Ānanda*'s characterization which might suggest a dual nature,[113] *Ānanda*'s liminal nature might be comparable to the chthonic trait Herakles, and *Ānanda*'s service of

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[110] Filigenzi, A, et al. "Ānanda and Vajrapāṇi: An Inexplicable Absence and a Mysterious Presence in Gandharan Art". 270

[111] Ibid. 272

[112] Prakrti is defined in Merriam Webster concisely as "the phenomenal world". https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/prakriti

[113] Similar in characterization to the vajra symbolism itself and possibly accounting for concurrent representations of the character in the same relief, and possibly implicate later divergence into a dual character as seen in the *Niō* guardian figure

corporeal protection for Shakyamuni relates to the protective pure physicality of the Herculean figure.

 The *Ānanda* hypothesis proposed by Filigenzi seems a more likely premise than the *yaksha* evolution, given the substantial mythic overlap and conspicuous absence of *Ānanda* in depictions including the *Vajrapāṇi*. For example, both *Ānanda* and *Vajrapāṇi* are said to have been emotive during the death of Buddha, in which *Vajrapāṇi* is in some cases said to have dropped the vajra and rolled in the earth in mourning,[114] the extreme emotion in contrast to the arhats parallel to that of *Ānanda*. *Ānanda* is said to have mourned due to the aforementioned connection with the physical master, attributed to an excessive physicality of his nature, in which "the supreme composure of the monks finds a pathetic contrast in *Ānanda*'s desperation."[115] The *Vajrapāṇi* rolling in the dirt during the parinirvana, or death of the Buddha, is quite a similar condition. Regarding the selection of Herakles based on degenerative traits, Filigenzi supports the similarities of characterizations of *Vajrapāṇi* as Greek Gods associated with degeneration, lust and physical temptations such as Silenus, Pan, and Herakles,[116] to which we can add Eros and Dionysus from Tanabe's listing[117] and simultaneously ties in the suffering and redemption in conquest of the human existence (after all, Herakles' trials are his journey towards redemption) that reveal a flawed character. However, where seemingly fitting representations like Dionysus or Pan might both embody the liminal and transgressive nature, they also glorify it, while Herakles more closely submits his degeneration to a 'higher purpose'. This parallels the struggle of the adherent, and

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[114] Getty, A. *The Gods of Northern Buddhism.* 48
[115] Filigenzi, A. et al. "Ānanda and Vajrapāṇi: An Inexplicable Absence and a Mysterious Presence in Gandharan Art". 271
[116] Ibid
[117] Ibid

enhances the relatability of the character, which is something that has enhanced the appeal of *Vajrapāṇi* -derived characters like *Fudō Myō-ō* as well.

Homrighausen substantiates this association of Filigenzi's with an analysis of Gandharan reliefs depicting an inebriated Herakles, at times surrounded by women, stating "Herakles connects the powerful image of kingship with the drinking and revelry that can take place because of the peace won with Heraklean strength and protection".[118] As early as the first century BC, Herakles was depicted on Gandharan plates, drunken with women on each arm, so his image as a debauch was regionally known.[119] Yet these figures are not uniformly represented, and, are we to accept this association, the specific relation and attributes of the *vajra*-bearer (depicted respectable, as a protector and often beside the Buddha) to the *yaksha-Vajrapāṇi* (often diminutively portrayed and engaged in debased or terrorizing activity), if such a relation exists (and it seems to be substantiated by narrative overlap in the cases in which they both appear), it demands further elucidation.

2.4 The Symbolic Traditions of the *Vajrapāṇi*-Derivative Entities

Vajrapāṇi and *Vajrapāṇi-* derivative characters have a layered and mysterious history developed through the interactions of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism that emerged from northern India, with ancient Indo-Greek, Central Asian and Chinese and Hindu cultural influences, as well as the wider mix of culture and commerce that interacted along the silk road trade routes where Buddhism first spread eastward. Their ancient history lies in this mixture and is most readily traceable through a study of the

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[118] Homrighausen, J. "When Herakles Followed the Buddha: Power, Protection, and Patronage in Gandharan art". 30.
[119] Behrendt, K. *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. 9-10

symbolic attributes in the remnants of ancient sites marking the religion's spread. Here we will examine two of the central, martially-connected derivative characters.

2.4.1 *Fudō Myō-ō*

Now that we have delved into the background of the prototypical figure of the *Vajrapāṇi* and before we go into extended theories, we should turn our attention to *Fudō Myō-ō*, a *Vajrapāṇi*-derived character who was particularly beloved in Japan and can, most prominently of all *Vajrapāṇi*-derived characters, be seen to affect popular culture and the martial arts. He is the "wrathful manifestation of *Vajrapāṇi*"[120], though not the only one. *Fudō Myō-ō* specifically, the wisdom king, traces back along a lineage of diverse cultures from Hermes and *Acalanatha* (*Vaisravana*) and then merged in South India with Shiva (Rudra)[121] due to their shared symbolism and ithyphallic nature, represented by the serpent and sword of *Fudō Myō-ō*.[122] Payne[123] and others connect the immovability of *Fudō* with the archaic ithyphallic nature of Shiva and Hermes, and with ideas of male sources of life, a trait which would carry forward and be evident even in dualistic mandala representations on entry into Japan, specifically the *Ryōbu* Mandalas (Ch., Jp. 両界 曼荼羅, Rj. *Ryōkai mandara*), or the Diamond World and Womb Mandalas outlined in the second chapter of this thesis. The original figure of *Fudō Myō-ō* is thought to have originated in Southern India.[124]

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[120] Sorensen, H. "Central Divinities in the Esoteric Buddhist Pantheon in China". 102
[121] According to O'Flaherty "The raised linga is the plastic expression of the belief that love and death, ecstasy and asceticism, are basically related", and represents "the power to spill [semes] and to retain", a condition that parallels the immovability aspect of *Fudō Myō-ō*. Doniger-O'Flaherty, W. *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Siva.* 10, 277
[122] Ibid. 7.
[123] Payne, R. "Firmly Rooted: On *Fudō Myō-ō*'s Origins". 10
[124] Warder, A.K. *Indian Buddhism.* 487.
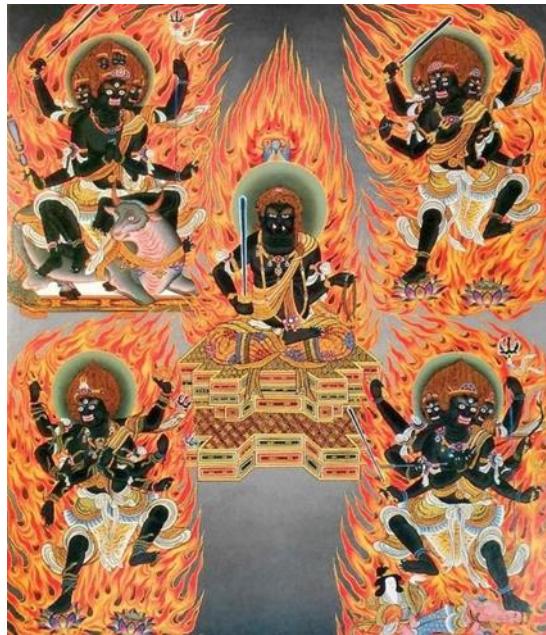
Figure 7 The Five Wisdom Kings with Fudo in the Center. Unknown author, public domain. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Five_Wi sdom_Kings.jpg

Fudō Myō-ō was known as *Acala* (Sk. *Acalanātha*, Jp. 不動明王) in India, and was

the central figure (and eventual syncretic figure) of the five Wisdom Kings (Sk.

Vidyārāja, Rj. *Godai Myōō*, Jp. 五大明王) which included *Vajrayaksha* (Rj.

Kongōyasha *Myō-ō*, Jp. 金剛夜叉明王), *Trailokyavijaya* (Rj. *Gozanze Myō-ō*, Jp. 降

三世明王), *Kundalin* (Rj. *Gundari Myō-ō*, Jp. 軍荼利明王) and *Yamantaka* (Rj.

Daiitoku Myō-ō, Jp. 大威德明) (See Figure 7), which are in turn manifestations of

the primordial buddha, *Mahāvairocana*, when dealing with difficult conversions.[125]

While the origins of *Fudō Myō-ō* are contested, the most likely candidate to have

derived from, as demonstrated by Bernard Faure, is the *Vajrapāṇi*.[126] The narrative

of the *Vajrapāṇi* and of the *Fudō Myō-ō* involves transitions from subjugation or

servitude to empowerment and control, both within the mythological realm and

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[125] It should be noted that this was the exact same role that the narrative *Vajrapāṇi* played for the Buddha *Śākyamuni*.
[126] Faure, B. *The Fluid Pantheon: Gods of Medieval Japan*. 116.

within the historic contextual adoption of the figure, whose continuous characteristic is, as Faure points out, a tension between the servile and superior.[127] According to Sawa, it is likely that initially, *Fudō Myō-ō* , and his often-conflated counterpart in India, *Trailokitesvara*, were incorporated into Buddhism as subduers of Shiva, possibly with an eye, conscious or not, to reducing conversions to Hinduism.[128] It is also thought that the monstrous form of *Fudō*, along with his exalted state, are a result of events in China, including the commentary on the *Mahāvairocana* by *Yixing* (683-727)[129] which will be addressed in detail in the next chapter.

Esoteric Buddhism, and particularly the Shingon (Jp. 真言宗, Rj. *Shingon-shū*) sect, believed in the transmissibility of truth via images as supreme to transmissibility of truth via language when expressing eternal truths. The particular symbolism, therefore, combined with transmitted understandings of symbolic relevance, played a strong part in developing the *Fudō Myō-ō* as accepted into the Japanese imagination. The visual imagery of *Fudō Myō-ō* was predominantly set by the Tang Dynasty and didn't change much on entry into Japan. The figure retained much of its core symbolism. The characteristic of contradiction is in the forefront of *Fudō Myō-ō* 's symbolism. The figure has one upward fang and one downward, gesturing to the heavenly and earth realms. It is a wrathful figure whose hair locks are said to denote compassion. It is a figure who historically is poised in an active and ready stance, yet is named the 'immovable' (See Figure 8). The fearful aspects and weapons are put to positive use. The fire consuming the figures head "are the

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[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Astley-Kristensen, I. "An Annotated Translation of Amoghavajra's Commentary on the Liqujing (Rishukyo)—Part 1.". 27—53

flames of *Acalanatha's* fire of knowledge, which burns away the hindrance of the black obscurity of ignorance in all beings".[130]

Figure 8: Fudō Myōō (Achala Vidyaraja), The Immovable Wisdom King. Kaikei. MET.

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:% E4%B8%8D%E5%8B%95%E6%98%8E% E7%8E%8B%E5%9D%90%E5%83%8F- Fud%C5%8D_My%C5%8D%C5%8D_ME T_DP356182.jpg. 2015.

The sword of *Fudō Myō-ō*, rather than being a simple military weapon, represents the conquest by the dharma over ignorance and illusion, and therefore ties physical action into spiritual goals. It is notable for later uses of the figure that its violence and weaponry are all excused for their purposes for the dharma, a Machiavellian valuation of the figure.

Fudō Myō-ō is encapsulated by enlightening fires, yet his adherents, in a painful ritual of passage, immerse themselves in the outpour of cold waterfalls. He carries both the sword and the lasso, and thus embodies a fending off or attack, along with a drawing in or containment. He exudes ferocity and yet is a patron and protector. He is a king bearing esoteric wisdom who yet bears bestial fangs of the

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[130] Snodgrass, A. *The Matrix and Diamond World Mandalas in Shingon Buddhism*. 275.

yaksha. The myriad contradictions and polarities of the figure have shown to increase

in popularity in turbulent political times (wartime), and among populations engaged

in turbulent professions (warriors, martial artists, gangsters).

In *Fudō Myō-ō*, the vajra extends into the sword called *Kurikara*[131] (Rj.

kurikara-ken, Jp. 倶利迦羅剣) which he holds upright, in his right hand, traditionally

the active hand of the *Vajrapāṇi*, representing attack and action, rather than the

forbearance of the left. The particular upright holding of the sword, as it is often

depicted as held in seated postures, may be associated with the *linga*[132] and the

sexual energies of the figure, a point which again merges the corporeal with the

ethereal to further substantiate *Fudō Myō-ō* 's liminality. As we will see with *Fudō

Myō-ō*, this embrace and interplay of opposites is an integral feature to his meaning

and symbolism. The embrace of opposites puts the figure in a relatable place for

soldiers, warriors and those form whom an understanding of one's noble acts involve

an extension beyond the immediacy of visceral experience. The soldier may be

fighting for the 'greater good', or 'freedom', but in the moment engaging in

gruesome acts which require an ideological bridging to complete in conscience. The

competing martial artist, along with the soldier, must bridge the intensity of facing an

opponent and responding to split second movement with improvisation and

appropriate strategy, at physical peril, bridging a fierce concentration with awareness

and planning. Thus, the fearsomeness of the *Fudō Myō-ō* is conjoined with

compassion, motion with immobility, secrecy with awareness, on an ideological

level, and fire with water, swords with wisdom, beasts with kings on a basic

symbolic level. The *Fudō Myō-ō* is the figure which most engenders the essential,

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[131] Schumacher, M. "*Fudō Myō-ō*, 不動明王". https://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/fudo.html
[132] The *linga* is a stone phallic representation deriving from pre-Buddhist Indian traditions, but found in many other cultures, representing male energies, creation and reproduction.

omnipresent, yet necessarily rarely manifested 'shadow' or bestial aspects of humankind.

Figure 9: Kongo Rikishi *Agyo* and *Ungyo*, Edited. Taiwankengo, Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dadaocheng_Cisheng_Templ e2018%E5%93%BC%E5%B0%87%E8%BB%8D.jpg

2.4.2 *Niō*

The *Niō* duo that menacingly greets entrants to ancient Buddhist temples of Japan, or *Niōmon*. While an amateur might mistake them as a uniquely Japanese phenomena, the *Niō* retains much of the aesthetic material of much earlier *dvarapala*s, or temple gatekeepers, found millennia ago in central India, and reoccurring throughout archaic figures found across modern day Afghanistan, China, and Korea prior to its appearance in Japan.

After explaining the basic aesthetic of the *Niō*, we will then analyze elements of the iconographic symbolism of the *Niō* as a *Vajrapāṇi* to begin to unravel the character that has been prominent in certain traditional Asian martial arts, with a particular focus on the relationship to the king as demonstrated through ornamentation, and the significance of the *channavīra* chain, (a torso ornamentation

of divergent symbolic relevance present on diverse iterations of the *Vajrapāṇi*, including possible ties to the army of the primary tempter and opponent of Buddha Shakyamuni, *Māra*, the 'devil' figure of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism), and the embodiment of the *channavīra* feature in the greater scheme of the *Niō*'s essential physicality. The integration of these features can tell us about how the character was viewed, and reflexively, what important facets of the *Vajrapāṇi* are that may have been overlooked.

Subsequent to its adoption in Buddhism, the figure winds a multifaceted path, undergoing enormous aesthetic transformation, particularly during the early years of *Mahāyāna* expansion, coinciding with early integration in Central Asia and China, approximately from the 1st century BCE through the 7th century CE. By the time the *Vajrapāṇi* -derived characters *Niō* entered Japan on the *Hokke Sesso* plaque (Jp. 銅板法華説相図, En. Bronze Plaque of the Lotus Sutra) in the 7th century, they were fully developed figures, with little alteration from their renderings in earlier Chinese cave temples in either stature or positioning (Figure 10). To this day, those characters remain essentially the same as those found in the 7th century. So, while we will examine the figure as it stands in the exterior gates of some Japanese Buddhist temples, we also have to take a look back to its transitions elsewhere before its seeming final manifestation present today.

While the *Vajrapāṇi* became central in the *Vajrayāna* strain of Buddhism that picked up speed in the 6-8th century CE, particularly in Tibet, the character *Shukongōshin*, the single, armored deity form of the *Niō*, did not become as popular in Japan as the *Niō*, or as *Fudō Myō-ō*, another derivative character, did. So, we will look to the connections between these popular deities, the divided *Shukongōshin*, or the *Niō*, and their original forms.

Figure 10: Hokke Sesso Bronze Plaque Hasedera. Edited. Amanuma Shunichi. Public Domain.

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hokke_Sesso_Bronze_ Plaque_Hasedera.JPG. 1931.

The Minneapolis Institute of Art provides the origin story of the *Niō* in Japan as

follows:

> According to a Japanese story, there once was a king who had two wives. His first wife bore a thousand children who all decided to become monks and follow the Buddha's law. His second wife had only two sons. The youngest was named Non-o and helped his monk brothers with their worship. The eldest, *Kongō Rikishi* 金剛力士, however, had a much more aggressive personality. He vowed to protect the Buddha and his worshipers by fighting against evil and ignorance. *Kongō Rikishi* was the first of the heavenly kings, called *Niō* (or *Kongō*). The second is called *Shukongōshin* 執金剛神. Within the generally pacifist traditions of Buddhism, stories of *Niō* guardians like *Kongōrikishi* justified the use of physical force to protect cherished values and beliefs against evil.[133]

Much like the role of *Fudō Myō-ō* and the original *Vajrapāṇi*, the *Niō* act as a

justification of physical force and violence in the name of the religion. The duality

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[133] Schumacher, M "Nio." https://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/nio.shtml

likewise reflects the concept of nurturing force and destructive force that would accompany the figure throughout its transitions.

2.4.2.1 The Embodied *Channavīra*

The *Vajrapāṇi*, like many other bodhisattvas, *yakshi's*, *yakshinis* and other mythological Buddhist and Hindu beings have uniquely patterned adornments which can identify or reveal aspects of the character, history or lineage. One common adornment that can be seen draped across the shoulder onto the opposite hip of figures is the sacred thread (Sk. यज्ञोपवीतम्, En. *yajñopavītam*), an adornment that was increasingly represented in Buddhist images after the 5th century[134]. While most of *yajñopavītam* extend to just past the waist, there are some examples of extended *yajñopavītam* found on *Avalokitesvara* and *Mañjuśrī* as early as the 6th century.[135] The double chain that is evident on the *dvārapāla Vajrapāṇi* looks very similar to the single-stranded *yajñopavītam* in its style of beading and can be found in the attendants of diverse bodhisattvas as well as a host of other figures throughout the 8th and 9th century. Yet the double chain seems to have particular significance for the *Vajrapāṇi*. It is found in Longmen Guyangdong Cave during the Binyang Period of the late Northern Wei between 500 - 523 AD (Appendix A: 4)[136], and in the Tang-era completed between 672 – 675, Feng Xian Temple[137] (Appendix A: 5), long before its widespread use.

The chain is a *Channavīra* (छन्नवीर), and can be found in relatively rare instances when compared to the *yajñopavītam*. The chain seems entirely absent from

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[134] LaPlante, J. "A Pre-Pāla Sculpture and Its Significance for the International Bodhisattva Style in Asia." 247-84.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Refer to Appendix A.
[137] Schumaker, M. "Nio". https://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/nio.shtml

the *Vajrapāṇi* narrative assistant to Buddha Shakyamuni role in its renderings

through northern India and Central Asia. Some of the earliest extant representations

of the *Channavīra* in Buddhist art can be found at Sanchi Stupa I, dating the first

century BCE, where one of the *Lokapāla* (directional guardian) figures, of the pillars

upheld by four different *Lokapāla*, facing and representing protection of different

directions, wears a *channavīra* with a rectangular clasp (Appendix A: 1). The

gateway of Sanchi Stupa III, dating to the first century CE, has four *yakshas* that

quite resemble the *lokapāla* entwined among decorative lintel. Notably only one

Yaksha of each pair of four wears the *channavīra* and notably, it has a similar clasp

to the *lokapālas* of Sanchi I (Appendix A: 2). It is evident that the characters are

distinguished by their ornamentation, suggesting this is a specific figure that may aid

us in understanding the symbolic genealogy of the *Niō*. These *yakshas* have been

labeled genies by Marshall[138] and *kumbhanda*, or dwarf-like spirits, by Agrawala.[139]

The non-*Yaksha dvarapala* of Sanchi do not wear *channavīra*, but have outwardly

splayed feet and exposed navels like the Bharhut *yavana*.

Kongwang Mountain (Ch. 孔望山) reliefs of the late Han era (206 BCE- 200

CE) in China also reveal figures wearing the *channavīra* though it is rare. About one

particular figure, Marilyn Martin Rhie recounts:

> Portrayed in a posture of activity or squatting with both elbows akimbo and
> fists on his thighs, he wears a large hat on his head and X-crossed straps cross
> his bare chest. Such crossed straps (*channavīra*) occur frequently in male
> figures in Kushana period art Ist-3rd century A.D… and this suggests that,
> despite the *channavīra* not having a history in Chinese native art, it has
> traveled as a symbol, and stayed with a figure holding a squat posture, bare
> chested, and with limbs extended. are common in Greek and Roman art,
> especially on warrior figures.[140]

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[138] Marshall, J. *The Monuments of Sanchi*.
[139] Agrawala, P. "The Kumbhāṇḍa Figures in Sanchi Sculpture." 179-89.
[140] Rhie, M. "Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia: Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin in China and Bactria to Shan-shan in Central Asia.". 39

We have already described that *Niō*-like figures wearing the chain can be found at Longmen Caves. In one other Tang era example from Longmen, we can see a *dvārapāla* figure much like the *Niō* who doesn't wear the chain but instead has the puckered or crisscrossed belly button and the unusual, ball like upwardly curving musculature in the abdomen. This musculature can be seen in the earliest *Niō* statues in Japan of *Hōryū-ji* (Jp. 法隆寺, En. Temple of the Flourishing Dharma), among others. The puckered navel can be seen in a 9th century *Vajrapāṇi*. That is not to say that the new musculature replaced the ornamental cross, for there are later versions of the *Niō* in which the ornamentation is again used, especially in versions of Heng and Ha (Ch. 哼哈二將) (Appendix A: 9), characters that emerged in China much later during the Ming Dynasty between 1368-1644. Yet even when the chains are reintroduced, as we can see in Heng and Ha the navel is uncrossed, the abdomen returns to a realistic contour.

The presence of these two means of dealing with the rendering of the belly of the figure suggests some import to the positioning of the chain, covering of the navel and nipples, that wasn't present in the earliest examples of the chain in Sanchi Stupa I. Though the import of covering the navel seems more consistent, in works like the *Todai- ji* (Jp. 東大寺, En. Eastern Great Temple) *Niō*, flowers that cover the nipples, where in previous iterations the chains covered them or they were bare, and in later iterations clothing would take the place, but the covering of the nipples is not as frequent as that of the navel. Even in the kingly depictions of the narrative *Vajrapāṇi* in Ajanta and Kizil caves, the navel is covered (Ajanta, see Figure 4) and crossed (Kizil, see Figure 3). We can see in the depictions of Heng and Ha, post-12th century Chinese versions of the *Vajrapāṇi*, who are relatively clothed, the cross patten is still replicated in some circumstances, and in fully clothed *Niō*, the crossed pattern is

achieved with the outfit (Appendix A: 12). The *Kiyumizu-dera* (Jp. 清水寺) *Niō* (Figure 14.7), with tense, bulging musculature extending up the center of the sternum as well, might suggest the musculature to be indicative of the *channavīra* . Lastly, in newer versions of the *Vajrapāṇi* stemming from the Tibetan tantric traditions, the crossed chain has again been introduced with popularity (Appendix A: 13).

One must note that the *channavīra* is not exclusively found on *yakshas*, nor on warriors, despite its relatively rare presence before the 6th century, and seems to have other connotations. In fact, it is often found on women, including the female Chulakoka Devata[141] found at Sanchi. It is also worn by some of the members of *Māra*'s army in the Sanchi Stupa I, which we will look into later at length. Notably, other renditions of the attack by *Māra*'s army also include both male and female figures sporting the crossed *channavīra*, including a relief in Ajanta caves where two male figures to the left of the Buddha appear to wear it (Figure 13), as well as multiple temptress female figures on the right. in addition to female figures. Interestingly, as in Sanchi, not all the army figures bear the chain, they are distinguished by their features and some bear the chain. In another instance from Ajanta, *Māra* is himself wearing the *channavīra* and poised next to the *Vajrapāṇi* (Figure 12). Also, the *channavīra* is found in Begram ruins (modern-day Afghanistan) from the 1st-2nd century CE, worn by a woman thought to be a river goddess.[142]

It is also seen on two female figures retrieved from Sirkap, in modern-day Pakistan, dating to the same time, who are identified as fertility goddess because of the presence of the *channavīra*, indicating an association with fertility.[143]

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[141] Mankodi, K. "The Case for Devata Mahakoka from Bharhut"
[142] Ollivier, T. *Musee Guimet.*
[143] Dobbins, K. "Gandharan Art from Stratified Excavations." 279-94

Figure 11: "Ajanta Caves 26-30: Temptation of Mārā Panel -Top left of the Panel -Cave-26". Edited. Source: https://www.speakingtree.in/blog/ajanta--- cave-26---30. 2014.

Benjamin Rowland, in the understanding that all human representation in Buddhist art is symbolic, also identifies the *channavīra* as a symbol of fertility often used in *Yaksha* and *yakshini* (female yaksha) and goes on to elaborate on the role of such adornments in terms of the demonstrating Buddhist religious concepts:

Certain attributes of fertility already recognized in the prehistoric figurines are still present in the shape of the beaded apron and the crossed scarves or *channavīra*... the very sharpness and precision with which these jeweled ornaments are carved connote by contrast the softness of the flesh parts that are rendered in smooth, unbroken convex planes. As in the free-standing statues of the Maurya Period, the conception of the body in terms of a collection of interlocking rounded surfaces is the sculptor's device to suggest the expanding inner breath or prana, as well as the quality of flesh in stone.[144]

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[144] Rowland, B. *The Art and Architecture of India*. 49

Figure 12: "Frieze fragment depicting a scene from the legend of the Temptation of Mara". Edited Source: https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news- photo/frieze-fragment-depicting-a-scene-from-the- legend-of-the-news- photo/152194889?adppopup=true

This interpretation suggests the fertility connotation of the *channavīra* visually connects with demonstrations of prana. Might this interpretation then relate to the rounded musculature found in the later *Niō*? It is possible that the fertility significance is relevant to the *Vajrapāṇi* figure, particularly considering the forthcoming argument regarding the relationship of *Māra* (associated with Eros),[145] to *Vajrapāṇi*, though the characterization of fertility would seem far from the protective understanding of the figure. It is possible that the *Niō* only tangentially related to the notion of fertility through an association with *Māra*'s army. The philosophical and religious linkage between fertility, prana and the Kshatriya or warrior status might also be a point of entry into further understanding of this potential.

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[145] Grunwedel, A. *Buddhist Art in India.* 95

2.4.2.2 *Māra*'s *Ōṃ* and Some Curious Stances

Many believe the popularized Gandharan *Vajrapāṇi* to derive from yaksha, as

discussed earlier, and this perception certainly influenced later stories developed

about the character. In Tang era (Ch. 唐朝) (618-907 CE) China, stories were passed

around in which the *Vajrapāṇi* convinced monks to break religious taboos such as

flesh consumption, even human flesh, in order to gain physical strength. Though,

rather than being seen as going against the dharma, this rule-breaking, monstrous

personage was highlighted as core to the character's power and uniquely imitated by

his Shaolin adherents. It was even the case that monks would mimic this behavior in

hopes to attain his power, according to Shaolin researcher Meir Shahar.[146] The belief

that the *Vajrapāṇi* derived from a *Yaksha* seems to have impacted its monstrous

aesthetic, the *Niō* bears significant yaksha-like features: a disproportionate head,

distended belly, wrathful expression, threatening posture, in some cases fangs and

encasing in fire to name a few. Yet while many of the versions of the *Niō dvārapāla*

Vajrapāṇi are monstrous, their branching lineage includes rather lifelike renditions,

and it can't be assumed that the figures that developed did so in a linear fashion, with

clear-cut or singular influences. It may be that the *Niō* derived from the narrative

Vajrapāṇi figure, as seems to be the conclusion drawn by the tracing of the

Gandharan iconography across Central Asia and China, but in the way that no human

can claim to be the offspring of just one grandparent, the *Niō* may source from

various figures. One possibility I propose here is that of *Māra*'s Army, based on the

renderings at Sanchi Stupa I.

     According to Mankodi, in his study of Bharhut, "during the second century

BCE, Indian iconography had not yet developed the concept of associating attributes

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[146] Shahar, M. *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts*.

with divinities".[147] So, were there but one relation between the Sanchi depictions of *Māra*'s army and the *Niō* that developed as *dvarapala*, we might discount it as the misfires of an undeveloped symbolic system, particularly when we see other figures bearing a similar ornamentation to seemingly indicate fertility. Yet there is another important feature that ties the Sanchi *Māra*'s army to the *Niō*, that of the *Ōṃ* (Sk. ॐ). It has been well documented that mouth position of the *Niō* guardians in which *Agyo*, baring his open mouth, complements *Ungyo*, with a closed mouth. Of the significance and usage of these sounds, Mark Schumaker states:

> Each is named after a particular cosmic sound. The open-mouth figure is called ''*Agyō*," who is uttering the sound "ah," meaning birth. His close-mouth partner is called "*Ungyō*," who sounds "un" or "om," meaning death… Western audiences are most familiar with the sacred term "OM" or "ON." In Chinese, this term is sometimes written 唵. It is rendered in Chinese as ǎn, in Korean as 옴 (or) OM (or) AM, and in Japanese as オン (or) ON. These versions of the sacred term from India remain faithful to the initial logic behind them -- the term begins with open vowel and ends with closed consonant, thus representing all possible outcomes (from alpha to omega, open to closed, birth to death). [148]

Sanchi Stupa contains the earliest dated representations of *Māra*'s Army, with much attention paid by the sculptors to create animated and expressive figures, described as "a group of grimacing, thick-featured men, whose grotesque physiognomies contrast with their elaborate head-dresses and ornament" (Figure 14).[149] In many of the later depictions of *Māra*, the most outstanding features are of the tempting daughters being offered to the Buddha, or of the animal-headed monsters armed and attacking. As Malandra points out, this earliest relief focuses almost entirely on the human figures rather than weapons, or animalistic features.[150] The figures, facing we can

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[147] Mankodi, K. "The Case for Devata Mahakoka from Bharhut". 7
[148] Schumaker, M. "Nio". https://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/nio.shtml
[149] Malandra, G. "Māra's Army: Text and Image in Early Indian Art". 122
[150] Ibid. 123

note the figures on the left have closed mouths while the figures on the right have open mouths.

The majority of the left-side figures with closed mouths are facing rightward, much like *Ungyo*, and the majority of the right-side figures with open mouths are facing leftwards, much like *Agyo*. There are two figures whose posture we can particularly focus on, the two whose hands are emphasized. The largest figure on the left with the closed mouth has a palm-facing outward with fingers pressed together gesture (circled in red). The standing figure, third from the right on the top row, with an open mouth and bared teeth, has a palm facing to the side and the right arm raised (circled in yellow). While not every figure wears a *channavīra*, these two do, as well as the two figures facing backwards whose positioning reveals that the back of the chain has an identical floral clasp to the front. The two seated figures likewise have a closed mouth on the left and an open mouth on the right and seem to be complimentary of each other.

The mudra with the outward facing palm and first digit touching the thumb, held by the large figure on the left corresponds to a mudra held by a closed mouth *dvarapala* figure in Maijishan, and again can be seen in the *Todai-ji* Temple *Ungyo*, indicating that the particular mudra has been associated with *Vajrapāṇi* figures along the route of transmission. The positioning of the standing figure on the right's hands will be recognizable to anyone familiar with the *Niō* or similar deities like *Shukongōshin* in Japan. The association of the *Vajrapāṇi* to *Māra* through its role of Indra has been suggested by Grunwedel on the basis of the figures *Māra* and *Vajrapāṇi* uniquely doubling in certain narrative panels and due to the presence of a Gandharan relief of Lahore presumed to depict *Māra*'s army in which "The clubs

and peculiar fold of the sleeve are purely Greek; indeed, were it not for the fangs and

the demoniacal features, one would be reminded of a Hercules." (Figure 14)[151]

Figure 13 Figure 14 "*Māra*'s Army Om and Hand Gestures at Sanchi Stupa 1, Edited".

Figure 14.1: "Temptation of the Buddha". Source: The Guide to Sanchi. Calcutta. 1918

Figure 14.2: "Ungyō 吽形 H = 842.3 cm Kongō Rikishi 金剛力士(Kongou, Kongo) Wood with Paint (Saishiki 彩色). Tōdaiji Temple 東大寺, Nara." Schumaker, M https://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/nio.shtml. 2015

Figure 14.3: "Agyō 阿形 H = 378 cm Kongō Rikishi 金剛力士 (Kongou, Kongo) Clay (sozō 塑像) with paint (saishiki 彩色) Nara Era, 711 AD (Wadō Period Year 4) Hōryūji Temple 法隆寺 in Nara". Schumaker, M. https://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/nio.shtml. 2015

Figure 14.4: "Agyō 阿形 H = 378 cm Kongō Rikishi 金剛力士 (Kongou, Kongo) Clay (sozō 塑像) with paint (saishiki 彩色) Nara Era, 711 AD (Wadō Period Year 4) Hōryūji Temple 法隆寺 in Nara". Schumaker, M . https://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/nio.shtml. 2015

Figure 14.5: "Agyō 阿形 Also known as Kongō Rikishi 金剛力士(Kongou, Kongo) Wood, with paint applied. H = 154 cm. Kamakura Era. Kōfukuji Temple 興福寺. Scanned from Temple Brochure". Schumaker, M. https://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/nio.shtml. 2015.

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[151] Grunwedel, A. *Buddhist Art in India*. 93-95

Figure 14 "Temptation of the Buddha". Edited. Marshall, Sir John.

Source: The Guide to Sanchi. Calcutta. 1918

Another relief of Gandhara reveals *Māra*'s army to have weapons such as the trident, full beards and clothing clearly echoing Herculean Greek figures (Figure 15). In his analysis, Grunwedel continues to suggest that the *Vajrapāṇi* split into two figures, one, a bodhisattva, and another, the remnant of Indra, a *yaksha* that fell in stature.[152] This doesn't seem consistent with the continued evolution of the *dvārapāla Vajrapāṇi*, who increased in significance over time, nor does the *Vajrapāṇi* aesthetic seem to emerge from *Māra* multiple examples, *Māra* and *Vajrapāṇi* are pictured in the same relief, indicating they must be separate entities.

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[152] Ibid. 99-100

Channavīra can be found in multiple depictions of the assault on *Māra* from the 8th century Burobudor Stupa in Indonesia where *Māra* as an archer sports a *Channavīra*.[153]

Figure 15: "Les Assauts De Mara". Arca Drouot Source: http://www.castor-hara.com/lot/8821/1691016?npp=50&

The similarities between *Niō* and specific outlined members of the earliest *Māra*'s army at Sanchi outlined herein include the Om mouth positing, the symbolic presence of the *channavīra* chain, the body positioning of the army group that seemingly corresponds with their mouth position, the individual body positioning and mudras of the two standout figures and the overall stylistic congruity of monstrous human figures. These complement Grunwedel's findings regarding the relief of Lahore. Given that the *Vajrapāṇi* does seem to split into two types of figures that I have roughly categorized here as 'narrative' and '*dvārapāla*', there seems to be

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[153] Fraser, S. "Borobudur. Stupa, second terrace, scenes from the life of Buddha: Temptation of Mara. Java, Indonesia, ca. 775-850 CE".

enough evidence to suggest further investigation of a connection or possible

derivation of the *dvārapāla Vajrapāṇi* from *Māra*'s army.

CHAPTER 3

EARLY INTEGRATION OF THE VAJAPANI AND DERIVATIVE ENTITIES IN

CHINA AND JAPAN

3.1 Background

According to historian Charles Orzech, "all forms of Buddhism which stand in the

full light of history are already linked to the imperial state and are permeated with the

terminology of kingship and preoccupied by its aims, its discourses, and its

iconography".[154] He goes on to make the case that "it was in East Asian Esoteric

Buddhism and Tibetan *Vajrayāna* that the full political implications of the *Mahāyāna*

insistence upon the identity of this world and nirvana were developed and deployed

in a comprehensive rhetoric and practice of 'National Protection' (hu-kuo)."[155] This

association was partially achieved through rewriting and reinterpretation of scripture

to fit the particular imperial political needs of the time. In this chapter, the formal

integration of *Vajrapāṇi* will be analyzed to understand how the features that were

evident early on, remained and facilitated imperial association through China,

creating a template that was utilized again in Japan.

    Vajrayāna Buddhist[156] mantras, mandalas, and sutras began to develop

around the third century and didn't manifest in a comprehensive form until about the

eighth century, which brought forth an expansion of the belief system through the

works and travels of core religious figures in the Shingon (Ch. Jp. 真言宗) tradition,

known as the Eight Great Lineage Patriarchs (Rj. *Fuho-Hasso*) and the Eight Great

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[154] Orzech, C. *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism*. 6.
[155] Ibid, 8.
[156] Vajrayāna Buddhism, and "Thunderbolt Vehicle" was the third wave of Buddhism after Theravada and Mahayana.

Doctrine- Expounding Patriarchs (Rj. Denji- Hasso). It was through the efforts of these patriarchs that *Vajrayāna* Buddhism became integrated into the imperial authority in both China and later, in Japan, the focus of this study. Of the *Vajrapāṇi*, it is understood that he began as a subservient figure prior to his introduction in *Vajrayāna* Buddhism and, through *Vajrayāna*, began to take on central and iconic roles. As stated in the first chapter, *Acala* (*Fudō Myō-ō*), who is understood as "wrathful manifestation of *Vajrapāṇi*"[157], also rose to prominence during the Tang Dynasty (Ch. Jp. 唐朝) (681- 907) in China. He became the central figure of the *Myō-ō* or Wisdom Kings with the rise of Shingon Buddhism. *Vajrapāṇi* played a central role in core Shingon texts, and the methods by which *Yi Xing* (Ch., Jp. 一行, Rj. *Ichigyō-Zenji*) (683-727) and *Amoghavajra* (Rj. *Fukūkongō-Sanzō*) (705–774) translated key texts and the incorporation of the two core esoteric mandalas into architecture and geography led to the embrace and empowerment of *Vajrapāṇi* and *Vajrapāṇi*-derivative characters.

 Vajrayāna Buddhist sutras first were introduced by *Śubhakarasiṃha* (637-735) (Ch., Jp.善無畏), who promoted the *Mahāvairocana*Scripture (*Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra*, Sk. वैरोचनाविसंबोवि सूत, Ch., Jp. 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經). They were translated by *Yi Xing*. Subsequent to this was the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, *Sarvatathagata-tattvasamgraha*, (Sk. तत्त्वसंग्रह). These two sutras are expressed within the two core mandalas of Shingon Buddhism, the Womb Realm Mandala (*Garbhadhātu Maṇḍala*, Rj. *Taizōkai Mandara*, Ch., Jp. 胎蔵界曼荼羅), and the Diamond Realm Mandala (*Vajradhātu Mandara*, Sk. वज्ञात, Ch., Jp. 金剛界, Rj. *Kongōkai*). Through these works, the *Vajrapāṇi* figure strengthened,

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[157] Sorensen, H. "Central Divinities in the Esoteric Buddhist Pantheon in China". 102.

took his role within the imperial house and among warriors, and paved the way for its effect on Japan.

It should be understood that, while there was a distinct effort by the early Shingon patriarchs to ingratiate the Tang dynasty emperors with their new religion, this was not a unilateral effort. According to Orzech:

> On arrival at the court, they were placed under house arrest as "guests" in a government monastery where they could be watched and interrogated. Once accepted they were put to work in the service of the state with teams of translators, rendering texts and performing rituals to augment state policy, to ensure seasonable rain, to repel invasion and put down uprisings, and to help promote the well-being of the imperial family and its ancestors. Effectively to transplant Esoteric Buddhism to China meant combining religious ideology and political expediency.[158]

Esoteric Buddhist sutra, symbolism and ritual, thus, cannot be viewed as fully distinct from imperial concerns. In the first chapter of this thesis, the royal connection to *Vajrapāṇi* characters was introduced, in which the character itself represents as a king, and may have been integrated into the pantheon due to some primitive political circumstance. The royal connection takes a turn here, to a seemingly active rewriting and coopting of the scriptures in order to ingratiate the Tang Dynasty royals with esoteric Buddhism. We will trace these intentional-seeming machinations as well as other scriptural, aesthetic and ritual factors that furthered the *Vajrapāṇi* connection to imperial society into Japan.

3.2 The Literary and Philosophical Inclusions of *Vajrapāṇi*

The core tradition of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism, from which the figure of *Fudō Myō-ō* , in particular, popularized and spread, derived from a series of visual and literary works thought to have officially originated around 800 CE with the establishment of the

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[158] Orzech, C. "Mandalas on the Move: Reflections from Chinese Esoteric Buddhism Circa 800 C. E." 212-3

University of Vikramashila (Sk. বিক্রমবিলা)[159] by Dharmapala, yet was condoned

and spread by the Pala Empire of the late 8th century CE throughout northern India,

Central Asia and beyond similar to how Ashoka had spread *Mahāyāna* Buddhism

nearly a millennium prior. We will examine how a few of these core works,

including the Ryobu Mandalas, the Scripture of Humane Kings and a few

contributory lesser-known scriptures.

Before *Vajrayāna* 's official spread and acceptance, it was practiced among

several minorities, evidenced from the blossoming statue production of early eras,[160]

and even has a series of originating stories that trace back to oral traditions of

Siddhartha, or the Buddha *Śākyamuni*, called the *Guhyasamāja* (Tantra of the Secret

Community) Tantra,[161] which were said to be finally written around the 4th century

CE after having been transmitted orally for around 800 years. The historical accuracy

of such claims rightly elicit doubt, particularly when there has been historic pressure

to validate new branches of Buddhism by tracing lineage back to the original

Hinayana emergence.[162] Yet, we can understand that, though *Vajrayāna* is associated

with its spread and official embrace that began around the 8th century, it has existed

for centuries prior.

We will look at several changes that indicated a more important role of the

Vajrapāṇi and derivative characters, particularly *Fudō Myō-ō*. First, we'll examine

the established interpretation of the *vajra* as an aspirational spiritual condition that

manifested at least partially in the mundane world. Then, we can look at the

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[159] *Vikramashila* was a massive ancient monastery complex containing a university that was developed under the Pala Empire that functioned as a Buddhist center of learning.
[160] Sutton, D. "*Fudō Myō-ō* 's Independent Cult in Japan: An Analysis of its Evolution and Value".
[161] Sengupta, S. *Buddhism in the Classical Age*. 126.
[162] Hinayana was the original form of Buddhism that branched off into Mahayana, and was given the title Hinayana 'lesser vehicle' derogatorily by Mahayana Buddhists to distinguish from the philosophy that focused on internal Buddhism and that which extended Buddhism practices to a systematized world view that could include widespread social participation.

appearances of the *Vajrapāṇi* and derivative characters in the core *Vajrayāna* texts of

the Shingon lineage, and finally, we can examine the accompanying rituals and

political maneuvering of the Shingon Patriarchs, that gained entry to imperial circles.

3.2.1 *Vajra* as Vehicle: from Assistant to Icon

Despite doubts about the veracity of the aforementioned primitive origin claims,

there is evidence of Tantric practices prior to the *Guyyasamaja* text production

period, including the use of yoga (physical postures), mudras (hand gestures),

mantras (chants), and mandalas (representative pictures). It is in this text that the

function and appearance of demonic deities is first explained. Under *Kūkai's* (774-

835) philosophy of "The Six Elements", which included the five traditional elements

of earth, fire, wind, water, ether, which are included in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism as well.

To these he added conscience or *citta*. *Vajra-citta* became an ideal. According to

Sengupta, within the *Guhyasamāja* text, when the bodhisattvas develop the

awareness of the unity of the dualities, they become '*citta-vajra*' or bodhicitta and

impermeable or unaffected (adamantine like the vajra itself); and when then reach the

highest phase of meditation, they experience innumerable visions of deities,

including violent ones like *Fudō Myō-ō*.[163] In envisioning these deities, the bodhicitta

is, according to the text, uniting with them and acquiring their spiritual powers.

The term vajra was also used in contrast to the term *garbha* at the time, the former

signifying "active knowledge" and the latter signifying "passive or latent

knowledge".[164] From the *Mahāvairocana*sutra commentary, Tajima quotes:

> We compare with vajra, the perfect knowledge [of the Buddha] because it
> goes beyond all the ways of utterance and of thought. … It has neither
> beginning nor end; it is inexhaustible and indestructible. IT removes all sins,
> it cannot be changed, it cannot be broken. Hence, it is given the epithet vajra.

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[163] Sengupta, S. *Buddhism in the Classical Age*. 126
[164] Tajima, R, et al. *Twin Mandalas of Vairocana in Japanese Iconography*. 171

> Like the material gem (vajra), it excels in three ways: the first, that it cannot be broken; the second, that it is most precious of all precious things; the third, that it is the best of weapons.[165]

With this description, we can understand the vajra is being cast as an aspirational state, of which weaponry is a core aspect.

The *Vajrapāṇi* was the first to hold the vajra and used it to bring about difficult converts, even if it meant destroying them. As a servant, he exudes power and terrifies the enemies of the master Shakyamuni. As a servant he yet exhibits uncouth behaviors and an at times monstrous aesthetic that would seem to diminish his spiritual connection. Over time, we begin to see the *Vajrapāṇi*, along with the derivative character *Fudō* or *Acalanatha* (*Acala*) increasingly depicted as iconic character sin their own right, rather than servile figures peripheral to a Buddha. The symbolic path from 1identify and seek to embody or be embodied by these entities and the vehicle for this change is vajra nature.

3.2.2 Mandalas

The design of the mandalas was meant to convey a microcosm of the spiritual dimensions of the world, and relationships within the *Vajrayāna* cosmology. We will take a look at certain facets of the mandalas to understand how they bolstered the position of *Vajrapāṇi* and *Vajrapāṇi* derivative deities like *Fudō* and *Niō*, how the *Vajrayāna* cosmology contributed to the importance of their roles, and how the Mandala was used to fortify local sects. The two mandalas introduced are the Womb Realm Mandala (*Garbhadhātu Maṇḍala*, *Taizōkai Mandara*, Jp. 胎蔵界曼荼羅), and

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[165] Ibid.

the Diamond Realm (*Vajradhātu*, Sk. वज्रिात, Ch., Jp. 金剛界, Rj. *Kongōkai*)[166]

Mandala. There are many texts devoted to the layout of the Mandalas, to which full

volumes could be devoted, one worth reference is Ryujun Tajima's Twin Mandalas

of Vairocana in Japanese Iconography.[167] Where other texts have covered the

mandalas in detail, I will not repeat that here and will focus just on their

incorporation of *Vajrapāṇi* and *Vajrapāṇi*-derivatives.
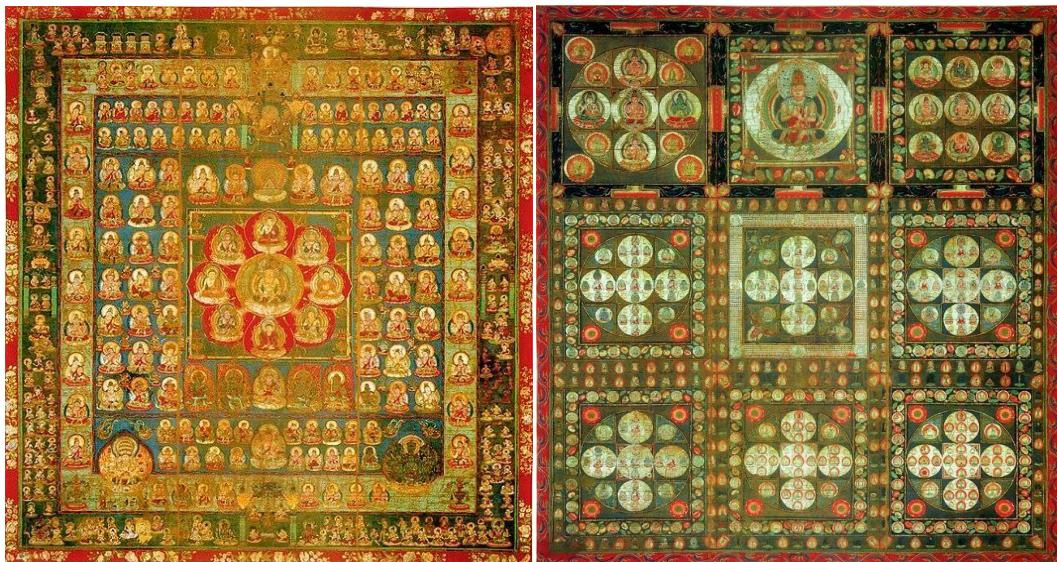
Figure 16: "Womb Realm Mandala." "Diamond Realm Mandala.".

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diamond_Realm#/media/File:Kongokai.jpg
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Womb_Realm#/media/File:Taizokai.jpg,

3.2.2.1 Womb Realm Mandala

Within the Womb Realm Mandala is a section called the Hall of *Vajrapāṇi*. This

quarter is thought to counterbalance the quarter of *Avalokitesvara*, on the opposite

side. There are 21 deities herein, in seven lines of three each, each bearing a *vajra*.

Of the role of the *Vajrapāṇi* here, he is said to "satisfies all the prayers", "symbolizes

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[166] The sexual representation here in the names alone should be clear, reaffirming the *Vajra* and therefore the *Kurikara* as ithyphallic weapons.

[167] Tajima, R, et al. *Twin Mandalas of Vairocana in Japanese Iconography*.

the great wisdom of *Vairocana* who destroys all the obstacles arising from our

passions", "personifies the unshakable solidity of our pure heart of bodhi".[168]

The quarters of the Mahākaruṇāgarbha-maṇḍala

East

12 External quarter of vajras 外金剛部院	
7 Quarter of Mañjuśrī 文殊院	
6 Quarter of Śākyamuni 釋迦院	
2 Quarter of Universal Knowledge 遍知院	
1 Central quarter of the eight-petalled lotus 中臺八葉院	
3 Quarter of Vidyādharas 持明院	
10 Quarter of Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏院	
11 Quarter of Susiddhi 蘇悉地院	
12 External quarter of vajras 外金剛部院	

North — 12 External quarter of vajras 外金剛部院 — 8 Quarter of Kṣitigarbha 地藏院 — 4 Quarter of Avalokiteśvara 觀音院

5 Quarter of Vajrapāṇi 金剛手院 — 9 Quarter of Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin 除蓋障院 — 12 External quarter of vajras 外金剛部院 — South

West

Figure 17: "Layout of the Womb Realm Mandala. Edited." Tajima, Ryujun. Tr. Chandra et al.
Source: International Academy of Indian Culture. New Delhi, Adtya Prakashan. 2012.

Within the Womb Realm Mandala is also *Acalanatha*, in a section called

"The Quarter of *Vidyādhara*" ('Wisdom-holder'). During the rituals, *Acala* is

summoned for consecration of vessels.[169] The adherent is instructed "Later on the

west side, sketch innumerable *vajradharas*, with the *vajras* that are their attributes

and the colour that matches each; they radiate with splendor for the benefit of all

beings."[170] Among these, *Acala* is in the south-west. According to Tajima, "The

quarter symbolizes the victorious power of *Mahāvairocana* over the passions. In it

are grouped the irritated divinities whose function is to obey the orders of the Buddha

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[168] Ibid 94-95
[169] Ibid 57
[170] Ibid 73

in exercising their violence against beings difficult to be vanquished. The two deities mentioned by name in the *Mahāvairocana* Sutra of this quarter are *Acala* and *Trailokyavijaya*, both wrathful aspects of the *Vajrapāṇi*. Within these figures is a peaceful female deity called Prajnaparamita, who is meant to symbolize the Buddhas desire not to have to use this power.

Around the edges of the Womb Realm Mandala are local deities that might have otherwise been considered opponents in the competitive world of religious conversion. *Vajrayāna* Buddhism didn't rule out these local deities, like Shiva, Indra, and Maheśvara, but rather gave them a peripheral position around the mandala, and included them in stories of compassionate (albeit often violent) conversion. This allowed for easier conversion, and less cognitive dissonance among potential converts.

Shingon Buddhist understandings are visually transmitted through the *Taizho-kai* (Womb World) and *Kongo-kai* (Diamond World) mandalas, and accompanied by ceremony, including, in the case of the *Taizho- kai*, "a practice lasting up to two hours that elaborately includes offerings, incense, music and possibly dancing".[171] The goal of unification with a deity, in this case *Dainichi Nyorai* or *Vairocana*, is quite a different aim than simple worship and appealed to soldiers required to engage in daring and mortal endeavors.

3.2.2.2 Diamond Realm Mandala

The *Vajradhātu* mandala etymologically means 'vajra (diamond/ thunderbolt) body', and therefore is indicative of the expansive interpretation of the vajra that is characteristic of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism. This mandala is formed with nine squares

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[171] Ibid 20

through proper construction of which, an adherent will be able to enter the way of the vajra.

Outside of the five core deities, *Mahavairocana*, *Aksobhya*, *Ratnasambhava*, *Lokesvaraja*, and *Amoghasiddhi*, every other of the thirty-seven deities of the central panel of the mandala has a name beginning with '*Vajra*', for example, *Vajradharms*, *Vajrahetu*, and so on¸ except for *Dharmaparamita*.[172] Within the outer enclosure, we see a section including the Wisdom Kings or *Vidyārājas* (Sk: ववद्याराज; Ch., Jp.: 明王; Rj.: *Myōō*), of whom *Acala* is the leader in the North-East corner. In some cases, *Trailokyavijaya* is represented crushing *Maheśvara* and Uma underfoot, a role in which we will soon see him supplanted by *Fudō*.[173]

Religious syncretism played a big role in gaining *Vajrayāna* Buddhism a foothold in new countries. Japan was no exception. When the mandalas were introduced to Japan, local Shinto deities were associated with those in the mandalas. Local Shinto shrines were associated with the mandalas. Amaterasu, the core Shinto deity, was associated with the *Vajradhātu* Mandala.[174] This inclusion of local deities in the mandalas and in the core doctrines enabled the philosophy of *honji suijaku* (本地垂迹) to develop, which suggested that local deities were manifestations of Buddhas. This development was tied in to the mandalas, as is evidenced from the name of their practice, according to Rambelli, "…tantric discourses about the kami are generally known as *Ryōbu Shintō* 両部 神道 (literally, 'the *Shintō* of the Twofold Mandala of Shingon 真言 Buddhism, *Shingon Shintō*".[175] This may have been a

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[172] Tajima, R. *Twin Mandalas of Vairocana in Japanese Iconography*. 186
[173] Ibid 223
[174] Rambelli, F. "Shintō and Esoteric Buddhism" 840
[175] Ibid 838-839

reason that the worship of Fudō was able to survive the persecutory Meiji Era[176]

when Buddhism was targeted in Japan, as we will see more clearly in the next

chapter.

3.2.3 *Mahāvairocana* Sutra

The *Mahāvairocana* Sutra (Sk: महावैरोचन तन्त्र; Ch., Jp.: 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持

經) was the earliest core Shingon work, and had an influence on establishing the

religion in China. The text includes a conversation between the *Vajrapāṇi* and

Mahāvairocana in the former asks a series of questions through which the doctrine is

revealed, along with prescribed ritual for different circumstances. One of the core

questions is of the path to enlightenment. This sutra reiterates the common paths of

Mahāyāna Buddhism (these were, in a nutshell, meditation and understanding the

difference between reality and delusion), and then adds ritual, as outlined in this text,

as an additional means to enlightenment.[177]

Whereas the *Mahāyāna* means to enlightenment were long and arduous and

involved a lifetime of work, the *Vajrayāna* ritual method was comparably fast.

Secondly, the process features embodiment as a focus, rather than learning.

According to Orzech, during the abhisheka (*abhiṣeka*) or stages of tantric

empowerment (Sk. अविषेक)[178], "the disciple does not 'learn' or 'practice' a teaching

first expounded by *Śākyamuni*, transmitted through his disciples and sutras; during

ritual practice the disciple becomes *Mahāvairocana*"[179] The text also provides means

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[176] Persecution of Buddhism during the early Meiji era is discussed in" Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism" by Ketelaar, J.

[177] 178 Orzech, C. "Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang: From Atikūṭa to Amoghavajra (651–780)" 277

[178] The term abhiseka originally comes from a ritual common across Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism of pouring ablutions over a statue of a deity as a ritual offering. Within the Shingon tradition, it became a reference to 'pouring the tradition from teacher to disciple', which was an initiation ritual to deeper levels of the cult. Orzech, C. (2011). *On the Subject of Abhiseka*. 113-128

[179] Orzech, C. "Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang: From Atikūṭa to Amoghavajra". 277-278

of vanquishing the impediments to one's spiritual attainment, which is where the *Vajrapāṇi* and *Acala*, his fearsome form, play a core role. One of the questions in the text was "When [preparing] the ritual site, how does one eliminate obstructors So that they are unable to torment the mantra-cultivating practitioner? How does one recite mantras? What results do they produce?" According to the text, the response included the following[180]:

> One should always think in one's mind of the *mahāsattva Acala* and bind his mystic seal, whereby one will be able to remove all obstructions…
> Alternatively, the practitioner, with fearless mind, makes a kīlakam (stake), and he completely identifies this adamantine stake with a vajra.
> Next, I shall now explain the quelling of all obstacles. One thinks on the ferocious and very powerful *Acala* with his mantra dwelling in his own maṇḍala, or else the practitioner [himself] dwells therein. He visualizes an effigy [of the obstacle] with [*Acala's* or his own] left foot placed on its head: The obstacle will be eliminated and extinguished, not to arise [again].[181]

Acala is of primary importance in the text. In total, *Acala* (Fudō) is referenced about thirty times in the scripture, more than any of the other deities aside from *Vajrapāṇi* and Buddha himself. *Acala* is equated with conquering obstacles, and described as quite powerful, "infallible and most wrathful"[182] The figure is heavily relied upon. It is evident throughout the text that the descriptor "adamantine" has grown past the *Vajrapāṇi*, though the *Vajrapāṇi* has a central role and is lavishly praised by *Mahāvairocana* in the sutra. The *Vajra* state, now referenced as a condition of the mind, is equated with enlightenment, in stating "The Perfectly Awakened One dwells in *samādhi*: this is called the great adamantine state."[183]

Patriarch Yi Xing, who wrote a commentary on the *Mahāvairocana* Sutra, equated Trailokyavijaya, another manifestation of wrathful *Vajrapāṇi*, with *Acala*

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[180] The response had many different ways to affect the buildup of obstacles. I've isolated those that pertain to our focal characters here.
[181] Trans. Giebel, R. "The Vairocanabhisambodhi Sutra". 55
[182] Ibid. 246
[183] Ibid. 82

and even substitutes *Acala* for *Trailokyavijaya* in an important scene, the taming of

Maheśvara, a substitution which was echoed in later depictions.[184] This text, drawing

more attention to *Acala*, is thought to have influenced *Kūkai*.

3.2.4 The Conquest of *Maheśvara* and Establishment of the *Vajrayāna* Worldview

Part of the role of scriptures is to establish the authenticity of lineages and emergent

practices. There is no exception for the esoteric establishment. One of the core stories

which is thought to have established an authority of the *Vajrapāṇi* and *Acala* (*Fudō*),

who were alternated as the conquering figure in different editions, is the Conquest of

Maheśvara (Ch., Jp.: 大自在天, Kj. Daijizaiten). The story, said to be "perhaps the

most influential myth of esoteric Buddhism", is as follows:

> On the peak of Mt. Sumeru, all the tathagatas requested the bodhisattva
> *Vajrapāṇi*, the master of mysteries, to produce the divinities of his clan (kula)
> for the mandala. *Vajrapāṇi*, however, declined, saying that there yet existed
> criminals, such as *Maheśvara* and other gods. So, Vairocana uttered the
> mantra OMSUMBHA NISUMBHA HUM... VAJRA HUMPHA T, and forms
> of *Vajrapāṇi* issued forth from the hearts of all the assembled tathagatas,
> coming together to create the body of Mahavajrakrodha. Vairocana intoned
> the mantra OM TAKKI JJAH, which is known as the disciplinary ankus of all
> the tathagatas. By this utterance the criminals, *Maheśvara* and the like, were
> all dragged to the Adamantine Jeweled Palace on Sumeru. *Vajrapāṇi* then
> commanded them to accomplish the Buddha's teaching by taking refuge in
> the Buddha, the dharma, and the sangha, and by obtaining the gnosis of
> omniscience.
>
> But *Maheśvara* replied to *Vajrapāṇi*, "Hey, you're just a local spirit (yaksha)\
> I'm the creator and arranger of the triple world, the master of all spirits, the
> highest God of gods. Why should I do as you, a local ghost, command?" So
> *Maheśvara* turned to Vairocana, "Just who does he think he is, giving orders
> to God?" Vairocana responded, "I'd really do what he says, friend, and go for
> the refuges! Don't make *Vajrapāṇi*, this cruel, mean, angry spirit, destroy the
> whole world with his flaming vajra." Maheśvara, however, decided to show
> *Vajrapāṇi* what fear is all about, so he displayed his great wrath and cruelty
> in the form of Mahabhairava, flames spurting out, with Maharaudra's laugh,
> together with all of his minions: "Hey, I'm the Lord of the Triple World! You
> do what I command!"

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[184] Faure, B. *The Fluid Pantheon.* 125

They then exchanged more mutual challenges and insults and *Vajrapāṇi* returned to Vairocana. "Well, Lord, he's not paying homage to the teaching, being God and all. Now what do I do?" Again, Vairocana intoned the mantra OM NISUMBHA VAJRA HUM PHAT, and *Vajrapāṇi* added his own adamantine HUM. Immediately, all the gods, Maheśvara, etc., fell down on their faces, uttering a cry of pain, and went for refuge to the Lord *Vajrapāṇi*. *Maheśvara* alone remained fallen on the ground, unconscious, and there he perished.Vairocana lectured the other gods about the virtues of the Buddhist perspective and they became entirely restored, happy and virtuous.

Then Vairocana addressed *Vajrapāṇi*: "If we revive His Deadness, he could become a real person." So, *Vajrapāṇi* intoned he correct VAJRAYUH, and *Maheśvara* was brought back from the dead. He wanted to stand up but couldn't, and demanded, "What are you trying to teach me?" Vairocana responded, "You still haven't done what he said to do. It's his business, not mine." "But aren't you supposed to protect criminals like me?" *Maheśvara* asked. Vairocana replied, "I can't. He is the Lord of All Tathagatas." *Vajrapāṇi* then intervened: "Why don't you just do what I tell you?" When *Maheśvara* heard *Vajrapāṇi*, he again became incensed and violent, displaying his form as Maharaudra, saying, "I can endure death, but I will not do as you command!"

With that *Vajrapāṇi* uttered the appropriate mantras, and while the world laughed, *Maheśvara* and his consort, Uma, were both dragged stark naked feet first before *Vajrapāṇi*, who stepped on *Maheśvara* with his left foot, while standing on Uma's breasts with his right. Then he uttered the mantra OM VAJRAVISA HANAYA TRAM TRAT and *Maheśvara* started beating his own thousand heads with his own thousand arms, while all his minions outside the palace gave a great roar of laughter and said, "Look at our Lord being disciplined by this great being!"

Then Vairocana took pity on *Maheśvara* and, with the mantra OM BUDDHA MAITRI VAJRA RAKSA HUM, the touch of *Vajrapāṇi* 's feet became the consecration which allowed him to obtain the level of the Tathagata. Abandoning his form of Mahadeva, *Maheśvara* passed beyond countless world systems and was reborn into the world known as Bhasmacchanna as the tathagata Bhasmesvara-nirghosa. At that point, *Vajrapāṇi* commanded all the other gods, "Friends, enter into the great circle of the adamantine assembly of all tathagatas and protect that assembly!" And they replied in assent, "As you inform us, so we will perform!" Then all the gods and goddesses—Maheśvara, Uma, and the others—were given new names and positions in the mystic circle.[185]

It was this tale, included in one of the three core sources of *Vajrayāna*, the

Sarvatathagata-tattvasamgraha, the Summary of All Tathagatas Reality (abr.

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[185] Davidson, R. "Reflections on the *Mahesvara* Subjugation Myth: Indie Materials, Sa-skya-pa Apologetics, and the Birth of Heruka". 200-202

Tattvasamgraha) (*Vajraśekhara Sūtra*) (Sk. तत्त्वसंग्रह) of the taming of *Maheśvara* (who was thought to have become the mythological antagonist to the Buddha Shakyamuni, Mara). This story was used to justify the new Mantrayana (*Vajrayāna*) lineage as having been directly transmitted to the Shingon lineage to patriarch Nagarjuna from the disciple of *Mahavairocana*, Vajrasattva. The *Vajrapāṇi* plays an important role in this scripture; importantly, in the scripture, it is through *Vajrapāṇi* that the universal Buddha *Vairocana* is able to function in the real world and to subdue his enemy, emphasizing the liminality of the *Vajrapāṇi* figure between the mundane and spiritual realms (a factor demonstrated as well in the positioning of *Vajrapāṇi* door guardians or *dvarapala*). The scripture also substantiates the esoteric understanding of the universal Buddha, *Mahāvairocana*.

The *Mahāvairocana* Buddha would not intervene in the matters of everyday life, it being too myopic of his involvement, unless through an intermediary, who happens to be *Vajrapāṇi*. According to Davidson, this scripture substantiated the idea the Universal Buddha (*Mahāvairocana*) is past all immediate troubles and spans all times, it shows "he works through *Vajrapāṇi* for the salvation of beings from their own rude behavior—even if such behavior is as degenerate as that of *Maheśvara*—insisting finally on their integration into the balanced array of reality's mandala".[186]

While the story doesn't indicate a direct route to the *Mahāvairocana* for enlightenment, it indicated that the pathway is through the *Vajrapāṇi*, giving the *Vajrapāṇi* an immensely important role in the emergent esoteric Buddhism. The story affirms the world view expressed in the core *Vajrayāna* philosophy and the mandalas brought to Japan by *Kūkai*. It is understood that the lineage of *Kūkai*

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[186] Ibid. 217

carefully planned the design of rituals and mandalas to form a state-protective

Buddhism which would be conducive to missionary spread.[187]

A secondary condition of great importance to the role of the *Vajrapāṇi* and

Vajrapāṇi-derivative characters is the notion contained within the story that violence

or degradation of a foe could serve the purpose of converse and therefore be morally

justifiable, or, "the transformation of defilement into gnosis", as Davidson aptly

describes it.[188] This justification of violence is a long running theme in the *Vajrapāṇi*

and derivative characters, especially under the influence of *Fudō* -based ideology,

whose echoes we will see well into the twentieth century with the principle espoused

by *Yagyū Munenori* (Jp. 柳生 宗矩) (1571-1646), in his work *Heihō kandensho* (En.

The Life- Giving Sword), when conceiving of the duality of 'life-giving sword and a

killing sword'.[189] This story also affirmed the relevance that *Vajrayāna* puts on

reform and influence in the real world, the path which is illustrated in the mandalas.

3.3 Political Mechanisms of Integration

Religious history of any creed is teeming with stories of persecution and

perseverance. It seems less attention is paid to the manner in which institutions

support and fortify the influence of emergent religions. Upon entering a new

territory, any proponent of a theretofore unpopular religion will face a power

struggle. It is often not simply the pull of the dogma of the faith that attracts

adherents, and certainly, in the case of Buddhism in China, political leveraging came

to be helpful. Herein we will examine this leveraging in China, which informed its

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[187] Orzech, C. "Mandalas on the Move: Reflections from Chinese Esoteric Buddhism Circa 800 C. E."
211
[188] Davidson, R. "Reflections on the Mahesvara Subjugation Myth: Indie Materials, Sa-skya-pa
Apologetics, and the Birth of Heruka" 218
[189] This topic will be addressed further in later chapters.

entry into Japan, and its impact on the imperial adoption of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism in Japan.

3.3.1 Amoghavajra and the transformation of *Acalanatha* in Tang China

The next major phase in the development of the *Vajrapāṇi* is revealed upon entry into the Tang Dynasty (618-907), China, and promotion by the renowned figure, Amoghavajra (Sk. अमोघवN, Ch. 不空, Py: *Bùkōng*; Rj. *Fukū*) (705-774). One of the earliest scriptures to prominently feature *Fudō Myō-ō* was the Scripture of the Humane Kings (仁王經, Ninnō-gyō) written in the 5th century. The scripture has been substantiated, albeit facetiously, in 597 by Fei Chang Fang (Jp. 費長房) (562–598), who confirmed the attribution of translations of the Scripture of the Humane Kings to Dharmaraksa, Kumarajiva and Paramartha, three renowned figures of the then-popular Tian Tai sect.[190] This was used to establish a lineage that predated the Chinese translations. *Bùkōng*, or Amoghavajra, a devout Buddhist who became one of the eight Shingon patriarchs, and who lived as a translator and imperial servant during tumultuous times in China, was the architect of a new translation, which might be more closely called an interpretation, of the Scripture of the Humane Kings, in the 8th century, that significantly affected how the philosophy was to be absorbed in later transmissions.

Bùkōng wasn't the writer of the scripture, but made significant edits, as we will see, as a disciple of the master Vajrabodhi at the time when Vajrabodhi and Subhakarasimha were resident in Luoyang[191] and were relying on the texts *Mahāvairocana*Sutra and Sarvatathahatatattvasamgraha, described above.

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[190] Ibid. 127
[191] The appearance of these two figures is generally considered to be the introduction of esoteric or tantric Buddhism to China. Subhakarasimha arrived in 716 and Vajrabodhi in 720, and they are

The Wisdom Kings of China were known to have been a particularly malleable point of entry into Buddhism for the royals of diverse nations who sought religious representation, yet they weren't the only contributing factor. In some cases, the synthesis effort was a push by imperial interests, in other cases, by *sangha* (Sk. संघ), or religious affiliation, interests. In the Northern Wei (Ch. 拓跋魏) (386-534), Emperor Wencheng (Ch. 文成,) (440-465) and Buddhist monk Tanyao (Ch. 曇曜)(385–534), "set out to create a form of state Buddhism with the sangha subservient to the imperial bureaucracy" justified through the emperor's identification with Buddha.[192] He also created statues of the Buddha Shakyamuni in the likeness emperors he served, in Yungang Grotto; "Emperor Wencheng, who restored Buddhism to the dynasty, is represented such as seated Buddha of 14m high in cave 20".[193] Thus, integration of Buddhism into imperial prestige and authority were not new to the 8th century. Yet, the textual integration efforts by Amoghavajra were to have a lasting impact not just in China but in Japan.

Amoghavajra (*Bùkōng*), who had traveled through China, Sri Lanka and South India, was known for translating over five hundred texts including five of the seven texts that mention *Fudō Myo-ō* ,[194] rewrote The Scripture for Humane Kings[195] seemingly with the political purpose in mind of attributing the origin of spiritual

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assumed to have interacted and influenced each other in this time though there is no extant record of such an interaction.

Biswas, S. *Fudō Myo-o (Acalanatha Vidyaraja) in art and Iconography of Japan*. 6.

[192] Orzech C. "Metaphor, Translation, and the Construction of Kingship in The Scripture for Humane Kings and the Mahāmāyūrī Vidyārājñī Sūtra. 70

[193] Wonders.org Contributor. "Yungang Grottoes".

[194] Payne, R. "Firmly Rooted: On Fudō Myōō's Origins". 10

[195] According to Orzech, the metaphor of this scripture and its purposeful translation were used by Bùkōng to shape the relation between Buddhist monks and kings, establishing a dyadic function of kings, both a worldly and otherworldly in role. Bùkōng 's revisions were said to erase traces of the scripture's Chinese origin, to sanctify the relationship of the priesthood and imperial family by identifying the King as a buddha and by taking away the stigma of monks associated with the court. Scripturally, this was achieved through an appropriation of the descriptor 'sage king' from Confucianism to Buddhism over time, as well as selective editing and 'retranslation', but rituals played a large role as well.

authority to the emperor rather than the allocation of authority to the emperor for protective acts, as it had been understood before. Yet the relationship was not strictly beneficial for the emperors, as they were placed in a dual lineage that left room for the sangha to maintain prominence.

Whether for preservation of the persecuted Buddhists[196] or to bolster the royal authority, *Bùkōng*'s translations successfully blended the Confucian concept of sage-king with the Buddhist concept of 'forbearance' in a lasting way that carried on into Korea and Japan, which helped to merge the Confucian ideology with the Buddhist. One important purpose of *Bùkōng*'s revision of the Scripture of the Humane Kings was the inclusion of vajra bodhisattvas and highlight of the *vidyaraja*, or "enlightenment kings", also knowns as *Myō-ō*, of which *Fudō* is the leader. The Scripture of the Humane Kings also, by delineating tiered stages of the way (a move thought to be undertaken to assuage the historic Chinese attention to lineage) and conflating the statuses of kings with regard to bodhisattvas so that they may be seen as both equal and at times as subordinate, allowing the clergy a leverage point and tying in the management of state with protection of the sangha, allowing advancement along the bodhisattva path through protection of the way.[197]

Such a formulation would, if initially accepted, allocate authority to the imperial house dependent on their relationship status with the sangha, who would be ultimately the arbiters of the dharma. Royalty within this system was believed to then, through ritual engagement, be imbued with supernatural or spiritual powers, or in the least to have been granted the hallowed status of bodhisattva. For the *sangha*,

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[196] There was an ebb and flow of Imperial preference between Buddhism and Daoism, the withdrawal of which led to severe persecution at times of Buddhists. It was also a well-established strategy of each religion to seek imperial favor and protection. Amoghavajra's time was no exception. This is explained in depth by Shi, Longdu in "Buddhism and the state in medieval China: case studies of three persecutions of Buddhism".
[197] Ibid. 96.

it also acted as a buffer against persecutions of Buddhism, yet this buffer was proven not to be absolute, and the close relationship would open Buddhist adherents who were close with former rulers, up to dangers when political power shifted or when empires changed rule. This was not a wholly novel concept and other instances of religious figures using such devices in ancient China are expounded upon by Shi in the essay "Buddhism and the state in medieval China: case studies of three persecutions of Buddhism" and therefore will not be outlined here.[198] It suffices to say that while the concept itself was not original, the establishment of the relationship delineated by the Scripture of the Humane Kings was a particularly salient example with important historic repercussions.

The connection between the vajra-bearing *Fudō Myō-ō* figure and authority continued unabated into the Japanese Empire with its transmission by *Saichō* (Ch., Jp. 最澄) (767 - 822) and *Kūkai* (Ch., Jp. 空海) (774- 835), who has been disciples in China and returned to form the Tendai (Ch., Jp. 天台宗, *Tendai-shū*) and Shingon sects in Japan. The connections of the esoteric Buddhist philosophy with national security were established from its earliest introduction, as was established in the preceding paragraphs relating to China, and were not a creation of *Saichō* and *Kūkai*. Yet, the integration was an evident goal from the earliest institutional outreach of esoteric Buddhism in Japan as well.

The official title of *Saichō* Tendai monastery on Mount Hiei (Ch., Jp. 比叡山) was "Chief Seat of Buddhist Religion for Ensuring the Security of the Country"[199], indicating a priority of national protection. *Saichō* further established a connection between *Vajrayāna* Buddhism and the state by altering the oath taken by

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[198] Shi, Longdu. "Buddhism and the state in medieval China: case studies of three persecutions of Buddhism".
[199] Biswas, S. *Fudō Myo-o*. 29.

Tendai monks at Mount Hiei to include a line supporting Emperor Kammu (Jp. 桓武

天皇, Rj. *Kanmu- tennō*) (735- 806), an inclusion said to derive from his love of the

Japanese nation, as such a move was not standard in previous iterations of the

oath.[200] Rituals further substantiated the connection between *Vajrayāna* and the

Imperial House.

3.3.2 The Ritual Traditions of *Fudō Myō-ō*

Emphasis on ritual that bonded the practitioner with the deity invoked and its local

adaptability were two essential features in the transmission of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism.

While *Saichō* connections with Emperor Kammu allowed for Tendai to flourish, after

Kammu's death, the features of Shingon were particularly attractive to the courts and

aristocracy, including the use of masculine deities and elaborate rituals, changing the

nature of esoteric worship. In their introduction into Japan, *Kūkai* was quick to draw

parallels between the *Mahavairocana*, meaning 'Great Sun' and the revered Shinto

sun goddess Amaterasu, from which the Japanese Imperial line is said to descend,

allowing for an easier embrace of the new pantheon.[201] It wasn't only royalty who

were able to achieve a union, the Shingon sect, deriving from the Indian Yogacana

tradition[202], emphasized the goal of ecstatic union with the Universal Being,

compared to the focus on individual consciousness of the Tendai school, and rituals

like the homa could make this achievable, particularly for *Fudō*.

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[200] Ibid. 31.
[201] Amaterasu was later said to be a manifestation of Mahavairocana, completing the assimilation. Ibid. 37.
[202] This tradition traces back to India, and was passed to *Kūkai* through a long lineage tracing through China.

3.3.2.1 Chakravartin King Ritual

The architect of the revised version of the Scripture of the Humane Kings, Amoghavajra or *Bùkōng*, emerged from the An Lushan Rebellion (Ch. 安史之乱) (755-763) with tight relations to the Tang royal family, having supported them when they were driven from the capital and performed rituals invoking *Acala* (*Fudō*) for the Tang emperor's victory. After a victory left the heir with a decimated kingdom and the threat of rivalling factions, the imperial house turned to the emerging esoterism to replace the previously sanctioned Taoism, seemingly in an effort to try something new, and also seemingly under the influence of their close attendant *Bùkōng*. *Bùkōng* soon performed the ritual to make Emperor Suzhong a chakravartin king (Sk.: चक्रववर्तणन्, Ch., Jp.: 轉輪王, Rj.: *Tenrinjōō*), or 'wheel turning king', meaning universal ruler. Thus, through the desire to remain in power after a severe struggle, and under the guidance of *Bùkōng*, the chakravartin role, which conflated with the Confucian concept of the sage-king, solidified the mixture of esoteric Buddhism and Confucianism.

The literary alterations of *Bùkōng* outlined above were among the first known adaptations that shaped the role of *Fudō Myō-ō*. This connection carried on in the Latter Seven Days Imperial Ritual, which assigned the emperor the role of the Chakravartin King, or king of all empires[203]. Using the now familiar technique of juxtaposition of Buddhist rituals and figures over existing rituals and figures, *Kūkai* established a festival to honor and authentical the imperial rule, relying on rituals performed by *Bùkōng* in China to adapt a ceremony to "secure the realm and validate the emperor's right to rule as an 'universal monarch' (Cakravartin King) justified by

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[203] This title, meaning "through whom the Dharmachakra is turning", and which has transformed along its travels into something like a divine right of kings, originally referred to Chandragupta Maurya of the 3rd or 4th century BCE.

his support of Buddhism".[204] The ritual included a fire offering (homa ritual) to *Fudō Myō-ō* to prevent destruction and enhance prosperity.

3.3.2.2 The Homa Ritual

Accompanying this merging of Confucianism and Buddhism were rituals to legitimize the chakravartin through establishing the homa (Sk.: होम, Ch., Jp.: 護摩, Rj.: goma) and *abhiṣeka*.[205] The homa is a fire ritual dating nearly a thousand years prior to the advent of Buddhism in Vedic practices that were incorporated into the Buddhist tradition through the 6th-8th centuries.[206] Both *Bùkōng* and one of his core disciples, Huilin, are credited with having integrated the homa ritual with the ritual that designates imperial bodhisattvas. Using the verbal technique that *Bùkōng* devised to equate wisdom kings with sage kings, Buddhist monk Huilin (Ch. 慧琳) (733-817) used the term "*jisi*", a word which indicates a high-level indigenous sacrifice, to describe the homa ritual, equating it to powerful existing Chinese rituals. Fire rituals were a well-loved practice in themselves, and integration into Buddhism assisted its spread. One major transformation between the Chinese and Japanese practice of these rituals was that for Japan, practice extended beyond the elite few and have had a broader cultural appeal in the warrior class and aristocracy.[207] In Japan, also, *Fudō Myō-ō* became one of the core deities to be approached through

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[204] Mack, K. "The Function and Context of Fudō Imagery From the 9th to 14th Century in Japan". 120.
[205] The homa ritual specifically invokes Fudō Myo-o as a protector is divided into subtypes junmitsu or 'pure esoterism' and zomitsu, or 'diffuse esoterism' in Japan, a tradition also imported from northern Buddhist practices in China, but that has its earliest roots over in pre-Buddhist Vedic rituals for the dead. Verardi, Giovanni. *Homa and Other Fire Rituals in Gandhara*. 45
[206] Orzech, C. et al "Homa in Chinese Translations and Manuals from the Sixth through Eighth Centuries". 266–268
[207] Orzech, C "Homa in Chinese Translations and Mauals from the Sixth through the Eight Centuries". 359.

this ritual, indicating that, despite his privileged role elsewhere, he bore a unique significance in Japan.

3.4 *Kūkai*'s Role on Entering Japan

First and foremost, it must be acknowledged that the symbolic manifestations were adopted predominantly through the interpretations of *Bùkōng* that entwined existing political institutions with the Mikkyo philosophies, and the strategic actions of *Kūkai* in weaving Mikkyo into existing *Mahāyāna* Buddhist practices and further developing ties with political institutions, were reminiscent of *Bùkōng* 's, as has been substantiated earlier in this chapter. After the time of *Kūkai*, there were several bureaucratic and social changes that inadvertently facilitated the spread of worship of Fudō and other esoteric figures, along with the growing martial affection for the figure found in temples and in Japanese society in general. These changes, enhanced by the aesthetic and narrative power of *Vajrapāṇi* figures paved the way for social and imperial martial adoptions of the figures in Japan that would extend past religious significance and exceeded the adoption of the figures in countries in which it had existed prior to entering Japan.

 Fudō Myō-ō entered Japan as a relatively minor figure and grew to widespread popularity, with much greater religious significance than could be found in Baekje (Korea), China or India, through which the deity first passed. Much of the longevity and importance of *Fudō* within Japan derives from the legacy of *Kūkai*, who interpreted the character with special significance and positioning.

The first text and correlating ritual relating to *Fudō* to enter Japan predated *Kūkai* by over 150 years and was the *Ninnō kyō sutra* (En. Benevolent Kings Sutra, Ch., Jp. 仁王経), described earlier in its entry to China; it was called upon in 660 to support

Japan's militaristic endeavors against Korea (then Baekje). This early sutra directly references military benefit and was heavily promoted by Emperor Temmu and Jita, who built *Kokubunji* (En. National Temples, Jp. 国分寺) in 67 provinces, modeled after the Chinese system that sought to centralize power and focus widespread regions on state protection.

These heavily laced together Buddhism of the Nara Period, military power and government administration, but did not bring *Fudō* to the forefront by any stretch of the imagination. According to Bond, "Budong's [sic][208] common description [of *Fudō*] as a subduer of demons and heretics… provide a doctrinal basis for the several Budong rituals designed to overthrow military forces", (to which ends the *goma* (homa) ritual was applied); yet, early on, these rituals were practiced within imperial circles.[209]

Mack gives a multifaceted explanation of the entry and early adoption of *Fudō*, attributing part of the early proliferation of *Fudō* 's imagery to the *Myō-ō* sculptures and symbolism of *Tō-ji* (Jp. 東寺), which adopt the *Sanrinjin* concept explained below and depict it in architectural form. The other factor she attributes early popularity to is the Imperial applications of the Latter Seven Days Imperial Ritual, which we will examine later one. No single factor will provide a complete picture as to the importance of this figure. Here we will isolate the specific feeders of the martial lineage of *Fudō*.

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[208] In Bond's text, "Budong" is in reference to Amoghavajra or Bùkōng.
[209] Bond,K. . *Ritual and Iconography in the Japanese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition: The Nineteen Visualizations of Fudō Myo-o*. 19-20.

3.4.1 *Sanrinjin* Theory

To understand the status accorded *Fudō* upon entry to Japan, the *Sanrinjin* (Ch. 三輪身, En. Bodies of the Three Wheels or Three Chakra Bodies) theory must first be understood. The *Sanrinjin* theory of Buddhism derived from Indian Tantrism (Esoterism), suggests that each of the *Nyorai* (Jp. 如来. En. thus come) or Buddhas have three forms in which they appear in the world. These three forms are the "*Jishorinj'in* (Jp. 自性輪身), the body of the Buddha's essence; the *Shoborinj'in* (Jp. 正法輪身), a concrete form based on the latter, which appears to teach Buddhism, and the *Kyoryorinjin* (Jp. 教令輪身), a terrifying form appearing upon Buddha's command to convert persons not turning to spiritual enlightenment".[210] *Nyorai* correspond to different directions and have affiliated Bodhisattvas and Wisdom Kings (*Myō-ō*) who are equated to the Buddha. *Bùkōng*'s (Amogavajra's) switched the *Acala* (*Fudō Myō-ō*) character with the previously prioritized Gozanze as head of the *Myō-ō* and simultaneously interpreted the *Godai Myō-ō* (En. Wisdom Kings) (of which *Fudō* is a member), to be in the *Sanrinjin*, with *Acala* (*Fudō*) specifically understood as a *kyōryōrin-shin* of Buddha *Mahavairocana*.[211] *Fudō* was also previously extolled in the works of Amoghavajra's mentor, the patriarch[212] Vajrabodhi (761-741), in which he was again cast as a protector of state and guardian deity, as explained by Bond.[213] This shift towards the focus on *Acala* (*Fudō*) and towards integration of fierce deities occurred around the 6th century in India and made its way to Japan later and corresponded with an emphasis on the return of the

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[210] Matsunaga, Yukei. *From Indian Tantric Buddhism to Japanese Buddhism.* 155
[211] Bond, K. *Ritual and Iconography in the Japanese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition: The Nineteen Visualizations of Fudō Myo-o.* 14-15
[212] There are 8 great patriarchs in Shingon Buddhism
[213] Bond, K. *Ritual and Iconography in the Japanese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition: The Nineteen Visualizations of Fudō Myo-o.* 14.-15

aim of Buddhist practices to attainment of Buddhahood, away from the commonly accepted aim at that time of achieving worldly pleasures.[214]

3.4.2 *Tō-ji* Temple

Tō-ji (Ch., Jp. 東寺, Rj. *Kyō-ō-gokoku-ji*, a.k.a. Ch., Jp.: 教王護国寺), or 'East' Temple, also known as The Temple for the Defense of the Nation by Means of the King of Doctrines was a significant construction in the formation of esoteric Buddhist understanding, and it gives us a clear indication of the hierarchy espoused by *Kūkai*. *Kūkai* is understood to be the main protagonist in the promotion of the worship of wrathful divinities in Japan after his return from China around 813 CE (early Heian Era) through early Shingon Buddhism. In his lifetime, he established religious ideas and institutions that influenced subsequent generations and existing religious orders. He often prioritized *Fudō*, according to the previously established *Sanrinjin* theory equating *Fudō* with Mahavairocana.

In *Tō-ji* temple, one of the few Buddhist temples allowed in the nascent Heian capital Kyoto (and whose planning was entrusted to the discretion of *Kūkai*), was constructed a "… ritual altar for the worship of the five wrathful divinities… located against the northern wall of the inner chamber, its placement suggesting that the ritual's significance was second only to that of *Mahāvairocana* and his mandala."[215] Predominant shrine placement of *Fudō* in a capital temple by the man considered the architect of Shingon Buddhism (*Kūkai*), when given the liberty to establish a shrine

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[214] Matsunaga, Yukei. *From Indian Tantric Buddhism to Japanese Buddhism.*159

[215] Abe, R. *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse*. 349

in full accord with his sect, indicated the espoused importance of the figure from this influential 8th patriarch of Esoteric Buddhism.[216]

There has been some disagreement about the specific textual source of the architectural design at *Tō-ji*, which led many to believe it was built on an erroneous interpretation. However, Mack has made an important point that likely contributed to the subsequent adoption of *Fudō* as an essential figure. Mack demonstrated *Tō-ji* layout and inclusions as emphasizing the fierce or bestial aspects of the figures derived from Amoghavajra's *Ninno-kyo*, in which:

> After the introduction of Amoghavajra's version, the Godairiki Bosatsu take on a fierce appearance under the influence of esoteric Buddhism. Their attributes remain largely consistent with the description in the earlier version of the Ninno kyō, but they are depicted with flaming hair, fangs, multiple eyes, chubby bodies and wearing animal pelts.[217]

This is in keeping with the trend after *Kūkai* of expansion of the wrathful deity aspects that first entered with the *Niō* door guardians and *Yaksha* generals. Further, an intentional conflation with the *Kongōkai mandara*, which visually depicts the *Sanrinjin* theory, as explained earlier, equating the *Myō-ō* with the Buddha on certain levels. Mack states:

> The superimposition of the Kongōkai Mandara over the Ninnōgyō Mandara is justified by the *Sanrinjin* theory of cakra bodies as presented in the Shōmuge kyō and Hizōki treatises, by which the three groups of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and *Myō-ō* can be understood as equivalent transformations manifested to serve different purposes.[218]

This choice, led by *Kūkai*, to construct the temple according to these two sources strengthened the position of the *Myō-ō* and focused on his role as a manifestation of the Buddha rather than an acolyte or servant.

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[216] The formal name of the temple, Kyō-ō-gokoku-ji (教王護国寺,) or 'The Temple for the Defense of the Nation by Means of the King of Doctrines', further substantiating the ties between the emerging Esoteric Buddhism and the State. Hakeda, Y. Kūkai and His Major Works. 7.
[217] Mack, K. "The Function and Context of Fudō Imagery From the 9th to 14th Century in Japan". 78
[218] Ibid. 103

3.4.3 Latter Seven Days Ritual

The Benevolent Kings Sutra exhibited *Fudō* 's value to the imperial family.

However, the rituals of the *Goshichinichi Mishuhō* (En. Latter Seven Days Imperial

Ritual, Ch., Jp. 後七日御修法) featured the homa fire ritual for which Fudō was

central. This ritual is described as an "all-encompassing esoteric ritual to sanctify the

emperor and protect his realm, incorporating within it rituals for averting calamity,

increasing prosperity, controlling rainfall, protecting the state, and anointing the ruler

as a Chakravartin King", and the same rituals had been introduced in China by

Amoghavajra (705-774) years earlier were held for the first time in 835 CE and

continued after his death by appointees.[219] The *goma* (homa) fire ritual, mentioned

earlier, became a core part of this ritual, featuring Fudō . Prior to *Kūkai*'s version,

Fudō did not have a place in a similar ritual in Japan.

 Kūkai was first permitted to perform esoteric rituals in 810 and utilized a

version or scripture that entered Japan in the ninth century, written by Amoghavajra,

which outlined secret rituals to influence real-world events that must be performed

by highly trained individuals.[220] This marked an important change in the role of the

deities. No longer were they simply to instruct or elucidate points to the adherent, but

they could be called upon to affect change. *Fudō* was among the wrathful group of

primary deities called upon for this purpose.[221] The purpose then, of Buddhist deities

became to manifest change in the real world rather than to advance the spirituality of

the adherent. Deities were utilized, perhaps not altogether unknowingly, as tools of

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[219] Ibid. 121, 131

[220] This was in contrast to earlier versions which dominantly included lectures.

[221] Not all deities called upon in secret ritual were wrathful. They typically split between two group of benevolent and wrathful and the deity summoned would depend on the nature of the circumstance and outcome desired. Mack, K. "The Function and Context of Fudō Imagery From the 9th to 14th Century in Japan". 52, 138

power.[222] This factor of impacting real life, in a physically perceptible way, is attractive to those with martial concerns, though also to other groups within society.

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[222] One could claim that both Bùkōng reinterpretation and Kūkai's continuance to integrate Fudō and the wisdom kings with imperial protection were indications that Buddhist deities and ritual had, since he early spread of Vajrayāna Buddhism, been used as tools to gain standing and power, but the presence of such a use shouldn't be mistaken for implying that the belief wasn't genuine.

CHAPTER 4

THE EXPANSION AND MARTIAL INTEGRATION OF THE VAJRAPANI IN

JAPAN

4.1 Background

The integration of *Vajrapāṇi* derived entities into the Japanese military is simpler to

delineate than its entry into Japanese martial arts for a few reasons. There is a lot of

uncertainty and myth surrounding the development of martial arts practices, and

incentives to falsely bolster or reinterpret lineages. From our modern perspective, we

also tend to distinguish more sharply between martial and non-martial applications in

life whereas, in earlier times, the martial necessity of existence was known more

thoroughly to your average human, particularly to men, and wouldn't be as clearly

distinguished. The distinctions between personal defense, national defense and

martial systems aren't defined in consensus, and martial considerations were more

predominant in the past than in the average person's life in the developed world

today. Mikael Adolphson points out: "armed confrontations and incidents were part

of the societies into which the Buddhist schools were introduced and thus were never

disassociated from them."[223] It is only in modern centuries that the martial arts would

be a distinct field rather than a part of everyday life.

For the purpose of this thesis, we will define the martial arts and martial arts

philosophy *bushido* (Jp. 武士道, En. the way of the warrior) as the individual martial

forms as they emerge in formalized styles. Prior to reaching these formalized and

divided styles, there was an emergent martial culture founded in the militarization of

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[223] Adolphson, M "Monks, Courtiers and Warriors in Premodern Japan: The Secular Power of
Enryakuji in the Heian and Kamakura Eras". 6

two core groups, the *Sōhei* (Jp. 僧兵), or warrior monks, and the *bushi* (Jp. 武士) or samurai. This chapter traces the entry into these military fields and beyond.

4.2 Pre-Japan Martial Integration of the *Vajrapāṇi*

Much like the literary and symbolic tradition of the character, the expansion of *Vajrapāṇi* derivative characters paralleled that within China and India before it. To understand the influences and uniqueness of the situation within Japan, therefore, we need to examine the preexisting conditions that in many cases influenced the trajectory within the country.

4.2.1 Martial Connections from India: From *Nata* to *Chuan Fa* to *Kenpō*

Prior to the existence of Buddhism in India, much less the *Vajrapāṇi*, the vajra was associated hand to hand combat. The method of hand-to-hand self-defense that originated out of the Kshatriya warrior class into which the Buddha Shakyamuni was born was called nata which was practiced in organized sequences, developed over time according to the success of their forms and techniques, and would be utilized according to the predicted specific necessities of a coming battle.[224] Nataraja was the deity of these practices, and practitioners called Narayana (a name we will recognize from *Ungyo*, or Naraen Kongo, the closed-mouth *Niō*). When incorporated into Buddhism, the name of this artform became *Vajramukti*.

While various invasions in India led to these traditions having to alter into dance or mime to preserve themselves, some practices were brought by refugees to neighboring lands like China, where is became *Chuan Fa*, and Japan, where it became *Kenpō*. The transmission of *nata* (later *kata* in Japanese) and its

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[224] Dukes, T. *Bodhisattva Warriors*. 167

substantiation in Buddhist literature is substantiated by Dukes. He also has a novel interpretation of the distinction between *Mahāyāna* and *Vajrayāna* schools of Buddhism, which by other analysts, has been admittedly a grey area topic, in saying "Buddhist schools which dealt with these powerful energies were in general called *Vajrayāna* (Thunderbolt Path) Schools", seemingly suggesting that it was the physical and energetic practices distinguished *Vajrayāna*.

Dukes goes on to state that among the environment of Chinese Wu Shu (Ch. 武術) or local martial arts, in the militaristic societies that existed before Buddhism's influence, the Buddhist *Vajramukti* began to be published, including the earliest and highly influential treatise, Lion's Skill (*Simhasiksa*) (*Shih Yu Hsu Hsiu Hsing*), and the later 'Tiger Striking' or (*Po Fu*) which would appear hundreds of years later in the "Up Down Pretend Mudras" (Rj. *Jotoka Shakushuin*) of the Tang Dynasty.[225] He interprets the Vajradhatu Mandala according to the defensive arts indicated in the mudras[226]; where his work is extensive, it won't be covered here but it worth examining to see the continuous presence of martial themes through *Vajrayāna* Buddhism.

4.2.2 Shaolin Temple Influence on Chan Buddhism

Zen Buddhism arrived in Japan around the 13th century after having developed for centuries in China. It's a school of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism that centers around direct embodiment and meditation, said to have been transmitted to China by Bodhidharma (Ch., Jp. 達摩) (440 – 528), an itinerant and colorful monk of disputed origin, around the 5th century. Rinzai Chan (Zen) Buddhism arrived in Japan in the 13th century

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[225] Ibid. 208
[226] Ibid. 209-211

form China due to the efforts of Myoan Eisai (Jp. 明菴栄西) (1141-1215). Whereas throughout the Nara and Kamakura periods, *Vajrayāna* Buddhism under *Kūkai* had become the primary Buddhist sect affiliated with protection of the state, and this was now to shift to Zen. There are many similarities between the two forms of worship found within their ancient texts and rituals, among other likenesses, this has led researchers to speculate that Chan (Zen) can be considered to have been 'grafted on' to *Vajrayāna* Buddhism, rather than having formed independently.[227]

Within China, the Shaolin monastery had begun to develop a form of martial arts that incorporated Zen Buddhist mental techniques, Daoist breathing and energy techniques and physical training had become widely known throughout the region. Particularly in the early centuries of Chan Buddhism, can we find relation to the *Vajrapāṇi*. While some sources credit Bodhidharma to be the patron of the Shaolin martial arts, Meir Shahar, who will be relied on for much of the information concerning Shaolin history in this chapter, demonstrates how the attribution to Bodhidharma was a misattribution of the 17th century, and the original patron, without dispute, was the *Vajrapāṇi*, in a form that very much resembled *Fudō*, but known to relate directly to the Kongo Rikishi in his dual form aspect. In modern times, due to Daoist interest in Bodhidharma, most monks now attribute the development of their martial arts to him.[228] We will see here the earlier influence that the *Vajrapāṇi* had here through the 17th century.

While the Shaolin monks have a reputation today as excellent performing martial artists, this trend began around the 7th century, when their martial skills were put to much more practical means. From their early training period, the Shaolin have

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[227] Anderl, C, et al. *Chan Buddhism in Dunhuang and Beyond.* 355
[228] Shahar, M. *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts*. 173

worshipped *Vajrapāṇi*. Stories within the Shaolin tradition indicated that the *Vajrapāṇi*'s strength could be transmitted to the adherent, given that they underwent often austere practices and proved worthiness. Shahar provides an example of such a story by Zhang Zhuo (660-741) about the monk Sengchou (480-560), in which a bullied monk begs the *Vajrapāṇi* for aid by appealing to his icon and hangs from the feet of the *Vajrapāṇi* statue for 7 days, after which the *Vajrapāṇi* appeared, forced him to break his vows by eating meat[229] granted a superhuman physique and strength to drive away his tormenters and disappeared saying "Now, you are already extremely strong. However, you should fully uphold the [Buddhist] Teachings. Beware!"[230]

A steele was rebuilt at the temple in the early 12th century (supposed to have originally have been built as far back as the medieval period) depicting *Vajrapāṇi* (The Shaolin Stele Ch. 皇唐嵩岳少林寺碑) and stating "According to the scripture, this deity (*Nârâyaÿa*) is a manifestation of *Avalokitešvara* (Guanyin). If a person who compassionately nourishes all living beings employs this [deity's] charm, it will increase his body's strength (*zengzhang shen li*). It fulfills all vows, being most efficacious".[231] *Bùkōng*'s disciple Huilin (737-830) was also said to have stated that the *Vajrapāṇi*'s power could be transmitted through prayer.

Another story from the Ming Period (1368-1644) suggests that the *Vajrapāṇi* incarnated as a Shaolin worker and fought off bandits during the Red Turban Uprising, who were attempting to invade the monastery. The physicality of the figure, interestingly, mirrors descriptions of Bodhidharma, or *Fudō*, of Musashi:

> There was a saint (shengxian) at Shaolin, who up until then had been working in the monastery's kitchen. Several years he diligently carried firewood and

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[229] Though it is not the tradition of all sects to forego eating meat, it was the tradition of the protagonist, according to the story, and he did resist the initial request of the deity.
[230] Shahar, M. *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts*. P 36
[231] Ibid. 42

tended the stove. His hair was disheveled, and he went barefoot. Wearing only thin trousers, his upper body was exposed. From morning til night he hardly uttered a word, arousing no interest among his fellow monks. His surname, native place, and first name, were unknown. He constantly cultivated all the deeds of enlightenment.[232]

From this point, another stele was erected in the 16th century with the *Vajrapāṇi* bearing a staff. Prior to this story, the *Vajrapāṇi* was known to often hold his historically characteristic weapon, the Vajra and this thus signified the adoption of the staff and the role as the ancestor of the monastery's staff skills.[233] The rule breaking and Machiavellian nature of the *Vajrapāṇi* was already evident in this early tale.

Figure 16: "Shaolin Stele of Nârâyaÿa (Vajrapâni)". Source: Shahar, M. The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts. University of Hawaii Press. p 4. 2008

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[232] Ibid. 83
[233] Ibid

During the 17th century the Shaolin monastery began focusing on hand-to-hand combat, and in a nearby town, the founder of Taiji Quan (Tai Chi), Chen Wangting, was developing the foundational texts for Tai Chi at the same time and with a very similar style to Shaolin Quan (Shaolin fist or hand- fighting style).[234] Also, within the Henan area and around the same time several different martial arts began to develop. Martial artist authors like Ji Xingyi were said to spend years at Shaolin, a feat which would bolster their credentials; according to Shahar, "inventors of new fighting styles were supposed to have traveled to the monastery and mastered its techniques before creating their own superior ones".[235] All and all, Shaolin and the surrounding region (most likely due to the presence of Shaolin) became perhaps the most significant historical site of developing martial arts forms in China, notable including Xing Yi and Tai Chi, many of which were sectarian and religiously affiliated, and a great many of which looked to Shaolin to improve their technique, theory and authenticity.

Shahar makes three important points with regards to the Shaolin *Vajrapāṇi*. First, that the scripture that was quoted on the stele was altered to suggest that the warriors could embody strength rather than borrow it though some magical means. It is Shahar's conclusion here that the "martial monks transformed a magic formula to suit their physical training agenda".[236] The resort to military training of the Shaolin Monastery is thought to be due to the necessity of fending off bandit attacks and aiding the nearby king. It seems circumstance influenced myth here, rather than vice versa. The Shaolin temple was also unique in revering *Vajrapāṇi*, where other temples held up different gods.

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[234] It is known that the Chen family were aware of the Shaolin legends due to inclusion in their writings. Ibid. 134
[235] Ibid. 135
[236] Ibid. 42

Figure 17:"Staff-bearing Vajrapâni". Shahar, M. (2008). The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts, University of Hawaii Press. P 84

Secondly, Shahar points out that, unlike other martial gods who were depicted wearing protective armor, part of the reason that the *Vajrapāṇi* became more easily affiliated with the martial arts was because of his semi-nude depictions238. Sculptors and painters were able to depict him with bulging, impossible musculature, portraying an entity for which the body became one's weaponry. In his third major point, Shahar suggests that the *Vajrapāṇi* character acted as a means to sanction monastic violence. He suggests:

> If Vajrapâni can descend from heaven to defend a Buddhist temple, then by implication his Shaolin devotees can resort to arms as well. That his legend was read in this way is indicated by several hymns in honor of the staff-wielding deity. The hymns seek moral grounds for the god's military action in the Buddhist virtue of loving kindness. They suggest that the protection of the Buddhist faith—even if it involves violence—is an act of compassion.[237]

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[237] Ibid. 92

As we can see from the stories involving the *Vajrapāṇi* at the Shaolin Monastery, new training seems to have been attributed to the tutelary deity, and he was made the patron of Shaolin as well as of the staff fighting style that derived from the monastery.

4.3 Expansion of the *Vajrapāṇi* and Esoteric Buddhism outside the Imperial Court

Esoteric rituals and practice were brought into importance in Japan with scriptures, with rituals, with imperial connections including the construction of *Tō-ji*, the Latter Seven Day Ritual, and the Five Altars Ritual, as outlined in the previous chapter. Within a short time, Shingon rituals began to interest the nobility, warriors and other groups through a series of socio-economic changes that had repercussions in the religious world. It was through the eventual impact of early bureaucratic and economic changes, that we see the extension of *Vajrapāṇi* characters into the development of warrior monk troupes, known as *Sōhei* (Jp. 僧兵), and the simultaneously into the developing warrior class, the *bushi* (Jp. 武士).

Spiritual interest wasn't the sole driver of the expansion of esoteric Buddhism and thus the worship of *Fudō* and practice of rituals involving *Fudō*. The balance of power between shifting factions that arose throughout the 11th through 15th centuries that led to empowerment of esoteric sects and a shift of imperial favor away from the *Mahāyāna* Nara Buddhist sects of *Tōdai-ji* (Jp. 東大寺, En. Eastern Great Temple) and *Kōfuku-ji* (Jp. 興福寺), that had maintained priority positions in previous centuries by acting as sole providers of imperial Buddhist rituals under the

ōbō buppō sōi ron (Jp. 王法仏法相依論) ideology or "Imperial law and Buddhist law".[238]

4.3.1 Shifting of Power from Nara to Kyoto

There were a series of events that led to the establishment, support, independence and eventual militarization of esoteric temples, during which the role of Fudō extended past imperial protection into private and temple protection, and during which the esoteric sects were known to militarize. These factors were interwoven into various power struggles. In the early Heian Era (Jp. 平安時代, Rj. *Heian jidai*), the drive for the imperial family to reclaim some of the power and influence that had been accumulated by rising temples in Nara led Emperor Kammu (Jp.: 桓武天皇, Rj: *Kanmu-tennō*) (735-806) to move the imperial seat to Kyoto, away from temples like Kofukuji and *Tōdai-ji* which were gaining political power and influence. Emperor Kammu also began to fund different, competing sects of Buddhism, moving away from Nara's *Mahāyāna* sects, and including Saichō's Tendai sect at Enryakuji (Jp. 延暦寺) on Mt. Hiei and eventually *Kūkai*'s Shingon Sect at *Tō-ji* Temple, mentioned in Chapter 2 of this thesis[239].

These sects were then to grow in affluence and attention with the shift of the power dynamic to Kyoto, nearby which the new esoteric temples were situated. It was also Emperor Kammu who would send Saichō to China to further study the religious texts, indicating a great deal of imperial support for the rising *Vajrayāna*. Likewise, during Kammu's rule, there was also a move to privatization of land and

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[238] 240 Toshio, K. "The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law". 104
[239] Adolphson. "Monks, Courtiers and Warriors in Premodern Japan: The Secular Power of Enryakuji in the Heian and Kamakura Eras". 35

an end to conscription of peasants as soldiers.[240] This would lead to the development

of samurai retainers as personal protection of large estates by nobility in the secular

world, and the increasing buildup of large estates or *shoin* (Jp. 書院) and eventual

militarization to protect these estates by Buddhist sects.

Furthermore, certain measures were passed that allowed Kyoto Buddhist sects

more independence from Nara sect control; this was accomplished with the

substitution of the preexisting *sogo* (Jp. 僧綱) system (which allowed Nara temples

to hold leverage over newer temple appointments) with the *Zoku Betto* system, which

evened out the playing field for the Kyoto based sects.[241] While these abbots were

now appointed by the emperor, the release from the control of other competing sects

gave growing esoteric Buddhist sects more freedom, and with the confidence of

imperial control of abbot appointment, gave esoteric Buddhist temples in Kyoto more

direct support.[242]

Due in part to the tax relief policies under which religious establishments

operated, and due to the necessity of diversifying support from outside of the

imperial family, Buddhist estates were able to strengthen economic ties and expand

their estates, donors and clients over time. Temple and shrine networks that

connected with merchants began to form because the Buddhist temples could offer

tax havens and having branch temples could support the head temple during any

appeals to the capital. This had the effect of tying in secular interests to the estates or

attracting non-religious interest to temple participation and affiliation. When the

economic power of the temples began to grow, so did their attractiveness for other

parties. It is alleged that the divide between Enryakuji and Onjoji occurred because

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[240] Ibid
[241] Ibid. 32-37
[242] Ibid. 38

of the abbot, Jie Daishi *Ryōgen* (Jp. 良源) (912-985) prioritizing of aristocratic-born

monks, which led to the "Jimon-Sanmon" split within Tendai[243]. Through *Ryōgen*,

patronage was ensured, burned buildings were restored, and renewed interest was

focused on the esoteric Tendai school.

Adolphson, in his history of Enryakuji, demonstrates how it was the plan of

imperial figures like Emperor Shirakawa (Jp. 白河天皇) (1053-1129) to institute

their family members as monks to balance the power of other factions.[244] Clearly,

however, there was a novel politicization of the position of abbot among the imperial

family, both active and retired. As the power potential of the temples grew, they

attracted many aristocratic monks, until these aristocratic monks filled the high ranks

in many monasteries and caused rifts between their positions and the lay monks.

4.4 The Emergence of the *Sōhei*, or Warrior Monks

The specific emergence of the *Sōhei* (Jp. 僧兵) (warrior monks), is disputed, as is the

reason for their emergence. Adolph, compiling research on the matter, explains the

extant theories of this emergence, which I will briefly summarize here. Some

calculate that the primitive form of the *Sōhei* emerged at Enryakuji under *Ryōgen's*

(who personally had a connection to the deity *Fudō*, which we will delve into in the

next section) time as abbot in the 10th century, when the first known conflicts

occurred between Enryakuji and Onjoji (a rival temple); others claim that it was the

entry of Heian era nobles who retained warriors into the monastery, others yet claim

the monks were corrupted by worldly possessions, that clergy recruited armed

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[243] Ibid. 49
[244] Ibid. 79

commoners to protect their estates, or that commoners who were evading taxes had joined the clergy, bringing their own weapons[245].

It should be noted that aside from the militarization, *Fudō* was a predominant figure in these circles, *Ryōgen* himself was known to identify with *Fudō Myō-ō* , as one of his core associations, and to have taken his form convincingly in ritual.[246] The most convincing explanation is that a number of socio-political considerations arose that made the temples more independent and needing of military protection, including the potential for tax relief, expanding estates and secular funding, and the opening of monkhood to aristocratic persons. These measures likely necessitated the development of protective measures, including the amassment of sprawling estates, vicious competitiveness between monasteries, as well as being influenced by the secular militarization found elsewhere in society.[247]

Imperial bureaucratic weakening, entry of nobles into abbot and monk positions, and the increased interweaving of secular interests in the temples saw the emergence of more armed monks. The 11th century is considered a period of militarization among monks, who competed in relatively frequent and often violent skirmishes between clans and by the 13th and 14th centuries; in this time, *sōhei* were fully developed.[248] These warrior monks, *sōhei*, didn't get along with the samurai, or *bushi* who emerged around the same time, or with the *sōhei* from other temple sects due to competition for imperial favor and privileges. The inter-temple conflicts that arose between *sōhei* of different sects weren't religious in nature and rather had to do

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[245] Adolphson, M. "The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha: Monastic Warriors and Sōhei in Japanese History". 8

[246] Wakabayashi, H. "From Conqueror of Evil to Devil King: Ryōgen and Notions of Ma in Medieval Japanese Buddhism". 481-507

[247] Adolphson, M. "The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha: Monastic Warriors and Sōhei in Japanese History". 7

[248] Ibid. 63

with power struggles to achieve or maintain imperial favor. Speaking on Enryakuji, historian Adolphson states, "[T]here is little doubt that the most violent and intense conflicts were over religious appointments… the monks' first concern was to maintain the temple's position as a protector of the state and as a preferred provider of religious rituals".[249]

  Fudō's popularity grew, as did his presence in temples in the Heian Era. Mack states "Rituals invoking *Fudō* or the Five Great *Myō-ō* became so prevalent that it became almost de rigueur for nearly all large-scale temples to have at least one esoteric hall related to the *Myō-ō*, such as a hall dedicated to *Fudō* (Rj. *Fudōdō*, Jp. 不動堂), the Five Great *Myō-ō* (Rj. *Godaidō*, Jp. 五大堂), or for a fire offering (Rj. *Gomadō*, Jp. 護摩堂)" within which were held the *Fudō* Ritual (Rj. *Fudōbō,* Jp. 不動法) and the Five Altar Ritual (Rj. *Godanhō*, Jp. 五壇法), which accentuated the symbolism and imagery of *Fudō*, thereby helping to spread it.[250] Later, subjugation rituals would gain popularity and would continue to be used to reinforce state power, such as for quashing the Masakado rebellion (RJ. *Tengyō no Ran*, Jp. 天慶の乱) and for defending Kyoto from the impending attacks of the Enryakuji monks in 1113 and 1170, and again to dispel the quarreling monk factions in 1213, 1258 and 1264.[251] *Fudō* rituals were frequently relied on in these tumultuous times and the status of *Fudō* would take on a life of its own outside the palace.

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[249] Adolphson, M. "Monks, Courtiers and Warriors in Premodern Japan: The Secular Power of Enryakuji in the Heian and Kamakura Eras". 94
[250] Mack, K. "The Function and Context of Fudo Imagery From the 9th to 14th Century in Japan". 172-3
[251] Ibid. 209-10

4.4.1 *Ryōgen's* Embodiment of *Fudō*

It is within these liminal figures such as *Fudō Myō-ō*, poised on the edge of worldly and ethereal concerns, that the aspirant has the most clearly defined access of the layman to transcendental faith, as these figures provide the rationalization for traversing the gaps between spiritual conditions that the faith professes. This liminal role of *Fudō* is perhaps clearly defined in the case of Jie Daishi *Ryōgen* (良源) (912-985). In the year 981, famed Enryaku-ji reformer *Ryōgen*'s powerful connections with Emperor Murakami (Jp. 村上天皇, Rj. *Murakami-tennō*) (924 –967) as a *gojiso* (Jp. 御持イ曽) (priest in charge of imperial protective prayers as established by the Scripture of Humane Kings), established solid political connections between the clergy and Emperor Murakami and as well as a reputation for personal affiliation with *Fudō-Myō-ō*; this connection was established due to the skill in ritual performance by *Ryōgen*, in which *Ryōgen* was believed to be able to embody *Fudō Myō-ō* .[252]

This connection was evidenced in iconographic representation for centuries, indicating that significance of the perceived embodiment of the *Fudō Myō-ō* by *Ryōgen*, and the continued appeals to strengthen of the connection between religious order and imperial house. Tendai monks of Enryakuji as late as 1211 performed rituals to *Ryōgen* represented as *Fudō Myō-ō*, to protect the monastery from attack, providing a written explanation of the need for their devotions that pointedly connected the enemies of the dharma to enemies of the imperial house; the principle of which was, according to Wakabayashi, "The country's peace and stability and the

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[252] Wakabayashi, H. "From Conqueror of Evil to Devil King: Ryōgen and Notions of Ma in Medieval Japanese Buddhism." 488

prosperity of the Buddhist Law depended on each other as the two wheels of a cart or the two wings of a bird."[253]

Rituals surrounding *Ryōgen* continued into the Muromachi period, and were entwined with the establishment of Hongaku Thought (Jp. 本覺思想, Rj. *hongaku shisō*), a concept that emphasized the oneness of opposites, in some sense equating Mara the tempter with the Buddha, leaving the distinction that Buddha, while experiencing the temptations and negative aspects of Mara, was in control of them. In such a dynamic, rivalling the Manichaean tendency to side with good or evil and engage actively in the promotion of one side of affairs, in this unifying perspective, power or control is instead the primary focus. The symbolism of *Fudō Myō-ō* will further our understanding of the relevance of a unity of opposites.

4.4.2 *Fudō* Worship and Austerity in *Shugendō*

Shugendō (Jp. 修験道) is a syncretic religious practice that blended ancient Shinto, Daoist, Buddhist and shamanistic beliefs and practices. *Fudō* was the core deity for *Shugendō* practice, associated with mountain austerity, and rituals often involved embodying the entity were common. According to Hitoshi, a core mountain ritual of *Shugendō* involved embodying *Fudō Myō-ō* , and the practitioner was thought to have achieved a capability of the deity once performed.[254] The mountain was symbolic of the universe to the *Shugenji* (adherents of *Shugendō*) and *Fudō* was the figure able to draw an individual into a community with universal influence; *Fudō* was the core deity of a wide variety of *Shugendō* practices in which "… the more common approach is to have the *shugenji* experience identity with *Fudō Myō-ō* , and

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[253] Ibid. 489-490
[254] Miyake H. Religious "Rituals in Shugendō: a Summary". 108

have the evil activity cease through manipulating the supernatural power of *Fudō Myō-ō* or his retinue".[255] Hitoshi States that this identification, most often with *Fudō*, was one of the core tenets of *Shugendō* ritual.

Fudō was said to have appeared in 859 before *Shugendō* monk So-o (Jp. 相応) (831-918) during his thousand days of austerity at Katsuragawa, at which time the monk "leaped into the falls to embrace the deity. Instead, he collided with a large log, which he then dragged out and carved into the image of *Fudō* he had just seen. The image was enshrined, and the temple built around it was names *Myō-ō*-in."[256] He constructed the *Myō-ō*-do Hall in Hiei, a center for the *kaihōgyō* (Jp. 回峰行) or circumambulatory monks. These monks were most notable for connecting athletic practices to their spirituality.

The circumambulation is an arduous path between 6-7 hours long, dotted with ritual practices at intermittent stations and undertaken with a series of specific rules by adherents, which should then be repeated daily, along with other ritual tasks and chores, by the monks for 100 days. It is a process said to cause severe discomfort, including frostbite, infection, fevers, and other problems that eventually give way to steadiness and concentration towards the 70th day; the whole time during which, "…the monk also runs in time with the *Fudō Myō-ō* mantra he continually chants".[257] They were originally said to have carried a dagger and rope, much like the vajra and noose carried by *Fudō* himself, and to wear a hat that symbolizes the deity; in failing, they are to use the tools to kill themselves.[258] The monks fast and undertake painful austerities hoping to unite with *Fudō*.

[255] Ibid. 113
[256] Stevens, J. *The Marathon Monks of Mount Hiei*. 58
[257] Ibid 68
[258] Rhodes, R. "The Kaihogyo Practice of Mt. Hiei". 195

The mantra that is repeated is "*Namaku samanda basarada senda makaroshana sowataya un tarata kamman*" or "I dedicate myself to the universal diamond, may this fury be destroyed! He who harkens to My Law shall gain enlightenment he who knows My Heart will be a Buddha in the flesh."[259] For the monks (Rj. *gyoja*) that attempt the 1000 days circumambulation trial, which is spread over 7 years, they must also undergo a nine-day fasting period, *doiri*, meant to purify them by bringing them to the brink of death. During the *doiri*, the *gyoja* must recite the *Fudō* mantra 100,000 times without sleep, food or water, and when the *gyoja* comes into Kyoto to bless people, he "…is considered to be a vehicle, if not an incarnation, of the great saint Fuso [sic] *Myō-ō*[260], with the capability of transferring his merit to others."[261] There are several other austerities and painful rituals that the *gyoja* may undertake.

Shugendō influenced outside the sphere of the mountain in a few ways. The *gyoja*, commonly known as *yamabushi* (Jp. 山伏) was popular among townsfolk, who would come to meet them during their excursions to town, or who would go to visit the accomplished monks for guidance. Media likewise popularized the practice in modern times. *Shugendō* was also thought to integrate many of their unique rituals, Buddhists practices and gods into folk religions due to their frequent involvement in local shrines.[262] The practitioners were not wholly removed from imperial life. Notoriously, So-o was called to the palace to resolve a toothache using his spiritual powers, and until even the Meiji Era monks were called to the palace to perform rituals.

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[259] Keene, D. *Traditional Japanese Theater, 203-204*
[260] *Original spelling is used.*
[261] Stevens, J. *The Marathon Monks of Mount Hiei*. 75-77
[262] Miyake, H. "Religious Rituals in Shugendō." 113-114

During the pre-WWII era, in the 1930s, *Shugendō* was taken to be a prime example of Japanese uniqueness and military characteristic, was associated with combat training, and was promoted by local governing bodies as cultivating the Japanese mind and body. Under the policies of *Nihon shugi* (En. Japanism, Jp. 日本主義), which refer to Japanese militarism and nationalism, even civilians were expected to militarize and show uniformity for the national cause. Masataka points out that major publications were released about *Shugendō* (in a time where publications were highly regulated and propagandistic), including Wakamori Tarō's *Shugendōshi kenkyū* (Jp. 修験道史研究) (A study of the history of *Shugendō*) and Murakami Toshio's *Shugendō no hattats* (Jp. 修験道の発達) in which *Shugendō* was represented as a deep part of Japanese ethnic culture and also tied to combat training.[263] This paired with the introduction of group mountain climbing to draw further attention to the religion and their practices.

4.4.3 Subjugation and Birth Rituals for Political Success

The ritual that was most martially significant was the *Chōbuku* (Jp. 調伏), or Subjugation or Adversaries, and in its tenth century usage it was tightly tied to fortification of the state. Mack provides the most detailed outlines of the various uses of these rituals. To put down rebellions, rituals like the *Fudō* Security and Pacification Ritual (Rj. *Anchinhō*, Jp. 安鎮法) were held at Enryakuji, and the Five Altar Ritual was held in the imperial temple developed by Shirakwaw, *Hosshōji* (Jp. 法性寺); many Goma rituals were also held to subjugate the enemies of the imperial

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[263] Masataka, S Et al. "A Critical History of the Study of Shugendō and Mountain Beliefs in Japan". 52

house and court.[264] In the early 12th century, the Benevolent Kings Ritual and Five Altar Ritual continued to be used against invading warrior monks. When Minamoto no Yoritomo was establishing the Kamakura Shogunate, he ordered protective statues of *Fudō* constructed. When attacked twice by the Mongols, *Fudō* was among the core deities invoked for protection.[265] Meanwhile, opposition to the Kamakura shogunate, Emperor Godaigo (Jp. 後醍醐天皇) (1288-1339) would also hold *Fudō*-based rituals in secret,[266] aimed against the shogunate, including the Five Altar Ritual. *Fudō* was emulated and worshipped on all sides of conflicts in these tumultuous times, in the warrior class, among the imperial household and among the esoteric religious orders. Mack succinctly summarizes growing affiliation of *Fudō* with the warrior class in stating:

> The function of *Fudō* and the Five Great *Myō-ō* gradually expanded from the protection of the state to service the individual interests of discrete factions in power struggles and armed conflict. Along with this expanding function, a patronage shift can be seen from the state and the emperor to the nobility and their retainers and finally to the warrior class itself. In addition, the images, the rituals, and the priests who performed them were part and parcel of the Buddhist establishments that, in addition to invoking divine support and creating a rhetoric of legitimacy, supplied substantive assistance of armed forces, protection as sanctuaries, and even became centers of command on occasion.[267]

Childbirth and protection rituals and the Five Altar Ritual, prominently featuring *Fudō*, were in fashion among the Shogun of the 12th and 13th centuries not solely for the healthy birth of a child but for successful political maneuvering. Mack outlines a large retinue of Shoguns who had rituals performed for their birth from the late 12th to the mid-13th century.[268] *Fudō* was also believed to be able to heal and the *Fudō* Ritual

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[264] Mack, K. "The Function and Context of Fudo Imagery From the 9th to 14th Century in Japan". 206-207
[265] Ibid. 213
[266] According to Mack, these rituals were disguised a childbirth ritual. Ibid. 214
[267] Ibid. 215-6
[268] Ibid. 170-190

was used for the ailments and illnesses of many emperors and empresses. Mack concludes "*Fudō* and the Five Great *Myō-ō*, along with Kannon and the healing Buddha Yakushi, were the deities most commonly invoked for the restoration of health", and further suggests that health itself was of concern not independently of political and thus, tangentially martial consequences.[269] Through the diversified ritual offering, the figure was able to expand into circles seeking political power in and around the imperial family.

4.5 *Fudō* among Warriors of the Feudal Era

Fudō Myō-ō has been called the "patron saint of Budo",[270] and his meaning is entwined throughout the philosophies of budo (Jp. 武道) or 'the way of the warrior', which have informed the martial communities in Japan since the 16th century, with significant elaboration in the literary and philosophical works of the 17th century. Prior to this, the term *bujutsu* (Jp. 武術) (En. martial craft) describes the earliest shared martial systems. To describe the difference between the two, Draeger points out "The *bujutsu* are combative systems designed by and for warriors to promote self-protection and group solidarity. The budo are spiritual systems, not necessarily designed by warriors or for warriors, for self-protection of the individual."[271] Yet, none of these indicate the earliest arrival of martial attention of emphasis in Japan, they simply indicate a period when people began to be conscious of it and to put a name to it. Warrior stories are traceable to the earliest written records of culture in Japan, and evident in haniwa or

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[269] Ibid 200
[270] Stevens, J, *Budo Secrets: Teachings of the Martial Arts Masters*. 6
[271] Draeger, D. *Classical Bujutsu: Volume I. The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan.* 8

clay funereal figurines[272], even as early as the *Jōmon period* (Jp. 縄文時代 Rj. *Jōmon jidai*), which ends about 300 BCE.

Figure 18: "Breastplate with Fudo of Ashikaga Takauji". Public Domain Dedication. Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/O- yoroi_Armor_of_Ashikaga_Takauji#/media/File: Armor_(Yoroi)_MET_DT305555.jpg

After the death of Minamoto, no Yoritomo (Jp. 源 頼朝) (1147 –1199), who first shifted ruling power from the imperial household and established the bakufu (Jp. 将軍職) or military government, the strict code of the bushi, or skilled warriors, began to wane. Decadence and corruption began to grow in the warriors under subsequent shogun, until Ashikaga Takauji (JP. 足利 尊氏) (1305- 1358), a general in the Kamakura Shogunate, joined Emperor Go-Daigo (Jp. 後醍醐天皇) (1288 -1339) in overthrowing the existing shogunate during the Kenmu Restoration (Jp.建武の新政, Rj. *Kenmu no shinsei*) (1333-1336), an attempt to return power to the Imperial House from the bakufu. While still claiming loyalty to the Imperial house, he reestablished

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[272] Ibid 3

Kamakura and later supported the Southern Court against Go-Daigo, his former ally.[273] While his allegiance to a specific emperor could be questioned, imperial allegiance was a theme throughout his military career, and time as Shogun. Evidence of the importance of *Fudō* for the Ashikaga bakufu can be found in the armor (Rj. *ō-yoroi*, Jp. 大鎧) of Takauji, which bares the image of *Fudō* on the breastplate (See Figure 21). According to the MET's description (where it is currently held), "The breastplate is covered with stenciled leather bearing the image of the powerful Buddhist deity *Fudō Myō-ō* , whose fierce mien and attributes of calmness and inner strength were highly prized by the samurai".[274] It may be that *Fudō* was still a symbol of imperial protection at the time of the establishment of the Muromachi, he was certainly a symbol known to warriors, and was a common figure featured in blade carvings past this time.[275]

There were other notable figures of these transitional times who used *Fudō*'s likeness or symbolism. Legendary warrior Takeda Shingen (Jp. 武田 信玄) (1521-1573) was known for bringing banners into battle that read "Quick as wind", "Still as Forest", "Conquer like fire", "Immovable as a mountain", seemingly a reference to Sun Tzu's 18th principle of maneuvering "In raiding and plundering be like fire, in immovability like a mountain",[276] yet Takeda was known to revere *Fudō*, so there may have been a dual import in the quality of immovability. According to Turnbull, "Legend tells us that after his head had been shaved and he had taken his Buddhist name, Shingen commanded a portrait to be painted of him in the likeness of the god *Fudō*, 'the immovable one', saying 'Even if our neighbors attack our lands after my

[273] Sansom, G. *A History of Japan, 1334–1615*. 34.
[274] Met Museum. "Armor (Yoroi) of Ashikaga Takauji (1305–1358), early 14th century. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/22506
[275] Sato, K. *The Japanese Sword*. 64
[276] Trans. Giles, L. *Sun Tzu on the Art of War: The Oldest Military Treatise in the World.*

death, if they see this picture of me, they will be deterred from doing anything serious!'"[277] Further, he was known to exhibit the vajra on his military flag and *sashimono* (Jp. 指物) or military banner in battle; likewise, Ikeda Tsuneoka (Jp. 池田恒興) (1536 –1584), a successful retainer of Oda Nobunaga (Jp. 織田信長) (1534-1582) displayed *Fudō* on his banner and Tokugawa Ieyasu's (Jp. 徳川家康) (1543-1616) messenger wore a symbol of *Fudō* on his *sashimono*.[278] LaRocca states of *Fudō* "He is considered to be the first of twelve buddhas who receive the souls of the dead and guide them to the eternal care of Dainichi Nyorai… Images of *Fudō* frequently appear in the decoration of Japanese armor and weapons".[279] He seems to have represented a number of different angles on the battlefield.

4.5.1. *Nanboku-chō* Period Shift to Militarism

By the 14th century, another change began to take place. There was a shift in power over time, due to the uncertainty and conflicts in the *Nanboku-chō* (En. Northern and Southern Courts Period, Jp. 南北朝時代) period (1336-1392) in which social status and influence became more closely tied to military might than status within the nobility.[280] Due to this shift, the influence that nobility had over the monasteries began to deteriorate; likewise, the influence monasteries had over the imperial household began to decline. Violence was exercised as a means to power by different parties. This period had an effect on non-military persons as well. During this time, of the *sōhei* within the monasteries, Adolphson states "There is strong evidence that many of those monastics had as their sole vocation the art of war and owed no

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[277] Turnbull, S. *Kawanakajima 1553-64: Samurai Power Struggle*. 15-16
[278] Turnbull, S. *Samurai Heraldry*. 30, 58, 59
[279] LaRocca, D. *The Gods of War: Sacred Images and the Decoration of Arms and Armor*. 25.
[280] Conlan, T. *The Culture of Force and Farce: Fourteenth-Century Japanese Warfare*.

administrative duties to the temple under whose name they operated".[281] In analyzing

court diaries, he further states that though the monasteries were the seat of the

development of the *sōhei*, and they developed under the auspices of Buddhist rule,

their conduct and precepts at this point didn't likely involve religious justifications or

motivations whereas the codependence of Buddhism and the state was emphasized,

there was a "lack of expressed religious justification for monastic violence".[282]

Likewise, as power began to shift to the Ashikaga bakufu, Buddhist claims to protect

the state, which centered around imperial protection, began to decrease.[283] Despite

these changes, With the heightened relevance of martial understanding, systems

began to be codified and martial groups to grow independent from the temples.

4.6 Martial Treatises of the 17th Century

Martial arts can be generally said to emerge as an institution in the 17th century.

Interest in *Fudō* or *Vajrapāṇi* entities was evident in the religious martial

philosophers, as well as other writings. *Fudō*, along with deity Marishiten were

worshipped for protection and made a part of graduation rituals in the dojo and

martial understanding, like mikkyo rituals, were kept as guarded secrets.[284] It is

during the prolonged relative peace of the Tokugawa Era that distinct martial arts

styles began to develop, along with corresponding philosophies. In this period, the

practice of formerly religious activities associated with deriving certain mental or

physical states, can be seen to be disassociated with adherence to a religion. First,

herein, we will look at *Vajrapāṇi* lineage involvement in the martial arts treatises of

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[281] Adolphson, M. "The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha: Monastic Warriors and Sōhei in Japanese History". 53
[282] Ibid 159
[283] Ibid 53
[284] Ed. Green, T, et al. *Martial Arts of the World: An Encyclopedia Volume 1: A-Q*. 490

this time, then we will examine the important social changes that broke the bonds of religion and martial arts for the time.

4.6.1 Takuan *Sōhō's* Immovable Wisdom

The first major work involving the two was an essay-letter trio written to Yagyu Munenori (Jp. 柳生 宗矩) (1571-1646), a famous Edo-era swordsman of the Yagyu Shinnkage School and instructor of shoguns and retainers, from Takuan *Sōhō* (Jp. 沢庵宗彭) (1573-1645), influential Rinzai Buddhist and son of a ronin, titled The Mysterious Record of Immovable Wisdom[285] (Jp. 不動智神妙録, Rj. *Fudōchi Shinmyōroku*); this was written to the samurai class, to "seek to unify the spirit of Zen with the spirit of the sword".[286] This treatise advocates the cultivation of *Fudōshin* (Jp. 不動心, En. immovable heart), of which is said:

> *Fudōshin* (which follows from the cultivation of mushin) means "immovable heart" or "spirit," which means that one understands what an opponent is going to do before the attack. When attacked, one is never surprised, the mind and nerves are calm, and what is appropriate to the situation is done. Even the feeling "This is the enemy" means that the mind is moving. "Empty mind" gives rise to *Fudōchi* (immovable wisdom).[287]

In his philosophy, *Sōhō* delineates the importance of attaining an 'immovable wisdom', meaning that the mind does not stop at all, when a stop would create an abiding place through which the warrior may be cut down or the Buddhist adherent taken by delusion. In this treatise's introduction, he summarizes the importance of *Fudō* in stating:

> *Fudō Myō-ō* grasps a sword in his right hand and holds a rope in his left hand. He bared his teeth and his eyes flash with anger. His form stands firmly, ready to defeat the evil spirits that would obstruct the Buddhist Law. This is not hidden in any country anywhere. His form is made in the shape of a protector of Buddhism, while his embodiment is that of immovable wisdom.

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[285] This was later retitled The Unfettered Mind: Writings from a Zen Master to a Master Swordsman
[286] Already in the title and parties involved we see a high level of martial entwinement.
[287] Ed. Green, T., et al. *Martial Arts of the World: An Encyclopedia Volume 1: A-Q.* 337

Seeing this form, the ordinary man becomes afraid and has no thoughts of becoming an enemy of Buddhism. The man who is close to enlightenment understands that this manifests immovable wisdom and clears away all delusion. For the man who can make his immovable wisdom apparent and who is able to physically practice this mental dharma as well as *Fudō Myō-ō*, the evil spirits will no longer proliferate. This is the purpose of *Fudō Myō-ō* 's tidings.[288]

This philosophy is then extended into an analysis of the pupil untrained in martial arts, who will respond without attention to form nor notion of technique or strategy. This state of fluidity is similarly the goal of the master martial artist, a concept that carries forward into modern martial philosophies. Mushin, or the Zen art of 'no mind' has been equated with 'Flow state', an idea developed by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and applied to a variety of creative or competitive endeavors. Csikszentmihalyi praised Eastern religious attitudes towards energy conservation in his chapter on Yoga and the Martial Arts, albeit with a primary focus on Indian yogic practices and referenced Daoist and Zen Buddhist "consciousness-controlling skills" without direct reference to mushin.[289] Krein and Ilundain would later engage in a deeper study of this comparison.[290]

While today, Mushin might not be as popular a term in modern martial arts fields, however, 'flow state' has remained prominent in popular martial arts culture, as a quick google search will reveal any number of contemporary blogs, martial arts systems and guide books names after and referencing 'flow state', and even a number of gyms taking their name from the concept. Particularly in Brazilian Jiu Jitsu (BJJ), has the idea of 'flow' taken root, with 'flow rolling' found internationally as a common warmup among practitioners (though admittedly more popular in western

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[288] Sōhō, T. *The Unfettered Mind: Writings of the Zen Master to the Sword Master*. 5
[289] Csikszentmihalyi, M. *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience*. 105-6
[290] Krein, K. et al. "Mushin and Flow: an East-West Comparative Analysis".

cultures).[291] 'Flow sparring' has become a practice integrated into boxing, muay Thai and kickboxing gyms in the west to allow for extended sparring training without taking the at-times excessive damage of full-force sparring. The emphasis here is movement and response, paralleling the philosophies of *Sōhō*. *Sōhō's* theories were to influence subsequent martial thinkers, as we will see in the next chapter.

4.6.2 Suzuki *Shōsan's* Nio Zen

A second important work concerning *Fudō* and the Kongo Rikishi came from 17th century monk Suzuki *Shōsan* (1579-1655) (鈴木正三), who introduced a martial philosophy centered around the *Niō* and *Fudō* based on their role, their physical symbolism, and their effect on observers. *Shōsan* entered the clergy from his long life as a samurai retainer in a time when Buddhism was thought to be deteriorating and, in his own words, "in full decline", having lost its vital energy. This was thought to be due to the Zen clerics having become rich and standardized their practices, and was a condition to which many responded with new ideas, often seeking answers in antiquity.[292] He saw a solution to that in *Fudō* and the *Niō* (*Kongō Rikishi*) and preached this way, as recorded by his disciple Echu:

> One day he gave instruction. He said "When you practice Buddhism, make the Buddha-image your models. And talking of Buddha-images, a beginner won't ever reach Nyorai zazen by gazing at an image of the Nyorai. Let him gaze instead at an image of a Guardian King or of *Fudō*, and let him do Guardian King zazen. Indeed, I've realized that the Guardian Kings are the gateway to Buddhism, and that *Fudō* is the starting point of the Buddhas. That's why the Guardian Kings stand at the gate and why *Fudō* is the first of the Thirteen Buddhas. If you don't get their energy the passions will defeat you. All you need do is act with whole effort from strength of spirit… I just dispose myself so as to conquer all things with a buoyant spirit, twenty-four hours a day. Everyone should get the unshakable energy of the Guardian

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[291] Many modern BJJ gyms use 'flow rolling' for injured or newer practitioners, or to come up with new responses to attacks, as it is a slower, less aggressive or forceful way to roll, instead relying on immediacy of response.

[292] Braverman, A. *Warrior of Zen: The Diamond-Hard Wisdom Mind of Suzuki Shosan.*

Kings or of *Fudō*, then they should practice with it and destroy bad karma and the passions."[293]

Shōsan states that he was unaware of any other sect or clergyman preaching a similar approach to approaching images. He would often imitate the form of the *Niō*. It is said of him that "*Shōsan* himself generally recited the nembutsu with clenched fists and gritted teeth, as though beating off a thousand spiritual demons. This too was the way he meditated in silence. He urged people to catch the spirit of the *Niō*, the Guardian Kings who keep watch at the temple gates, and indeed he often struck the fierce pose of a *Niō*, by way of illustration".[294] The energy of the Guardian Kings and *Fudō*, according to *Shōsan*, would lead to *Tokinokoe zazen*, or "zazen that works amidst war cries."[295]

4.7 Wartime Nationalism and Bushido

While *Shōsan* failed to develop much of a following for his own philosophy of Buddhism, though he was an influential figure. He spoke directly to warriors and from the perspective of a dedicated, life-long samurai who had served under Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu. His philosophy tied the energy of zazen to the practice of military arts, and even suggested that one was able to reach meditative concentration while in practice. According to Brian Daizen Victoria, in Zen at War, Suzuki *Shōsan* was quoted in one of the tomes of Japanese martial philosophy, the *Hagakure* (Jp. 葉隠, En. Book of fallen Leaves), a book that would again become relevant in Japanese military philosophy during the buildup to the second world war.[296] Victoria also

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[293] Shōsan, S. *Selected Writings of Suzuki Shosan*. 75
[294] Ibid. 4
[295] Ibid.
[296] Victoria, B. *Zen at War: Second Edition*. 293.

points out that *Shōsan* and *Sōhō* were key figures in forming 'soldier Zen' or 'imperial-state Zen' that were exercised in World War II.[297]

It is clear that the representational aspect of *Fudō* (and to a lesser degree the *Niō*) in direct relation to its applicability to internal and external martial arts was in consideration during this period by some of the time's most renowned authors. While Miyamoto Musashi never mentioned *Fudō* in his famous Book of Five Rings (Jp. 五輪書), perhaps the most famous of all warrior treatises of the time, he was found to have, among his few possessions after death, a personally carved statue of *Fudō Myō-ō* .[298]

Both *Sōhō* and *Shōsan* are thought to have helped solidify the Confucian principles of the emerging Imperial ideology that had already taken root in the nation.[299] In covering the relationship between Zen and wartime Japan, Brian Daizen Victoria summarizes the literary contributions that led to the equation of Zen with Bushido, and the connection between these two and what it meant to be Japanese as the nation became more and more involved in war with China during the 1930s. During this period of the buildup to World War II, we see the heightened nationalism and fervor that influenced the nation to contribute tirelessly to the war effort. The *kokutai* (Jp. 国体 En. national essence) was discussed in national debates. It had been believed for some time that Bushido had contributed to the success of the Japanese empire during the Sino-Japanese War, which heightened Japan's status in Asia, having dominated for the first time in history, a major western power.

Yet Zen, as well, was cast as entwined into Bushido and into the identity of the nation as well. Victoria outlines the path to the merging of Zen and Bushido by

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[297] Ibid 167
[298] Musashi, M. *Book of Five Rings*. (五輪の書 Go Rin No Sho)
[299] Ives, C. *Ichikawa Hakugen's Critique and Lingering Questions for Buddhist Ethics*. 96.

way of their prominence in consideration as attributes of core Japanese culture.

Confucian notions of filial piety and correct relationships supported adherence to the

war cause. Critic of wartime Zen, Ichikawa Hakugen states "wartime Buddhist

ideologues… deployed on as a bridge between traditional Buddhism and the modern

imperial ideology, frequently underscoring indebtedness to the emperor and the need

to repay that debt through military service."[300] It was only a matter of time that

scholars would try to delve into their connections, and towards this effort, he names

several authors from the turn of the century through the 1930s (we won't go into all

the details here as they are laid out well in Zen at War) who sought to tie Zen

Buddhism into nationalism in a variety of ways. Takuan's philosophy of no-mind

(mushin), 'not stopping' and general dissolution of self were used to convince people

to be unafraid of death and willing to act without hindrance or fear. Author Furukawa

Taigo (paraphrased here by Victoria form the Japanese) took a leap in 1937, claiming

that:

> Unlike Zen in India and China, Japanese Zen was able to transcend the subjective, individualistic, and passive attitude toward salvation that it inherited and become an active, dynamic force influencing the entire nation. It thereby became the catalyst for warriors to enter into the realm of selflessness. This, in turn, resulted in self-sacrificial conduct on behalf of their sovereign and their country. It was the imperial household that made all of this possible, for the emperor was the incarnation of the selfless wisdom of the universe. It can therefore be said that *Mahāyāna* Buddhism didn't simply spread to Japan but was actually created there.[301]

This interpretation emphasizes the connective bonds between Buddhism and imperial

power and authority in a new cast for the new millennium much as the translations of

Bùkōng had centuries earlier, taking the origin of Buddhism from India, the

transmission and refining of Chan (Zen) from China, (now considered an enemy

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[300] Ibid 96
[301] 303 Victoria, B. *Zen at War: Second Edition*. 144

rather than an imitable and advanced civilization) and enabled Zen Buddhism to merge with the pervading nationalism.

4.7.1 D.T. Suzuki's Two Swords

Popular author D.T. Suzuki (Jp. 鈴木 大拙 貞太郎) (1870-1966) continued in these footsteps, equating Zen with Bushido and Japanese warriorhood. In his book Manual of Zen, he outlines several of the gods important to Zen Buddhism, among which *Fudō* is not listed. The *Niō*, are, however, given a few lines "The Niwo [sic][302] or 'two guardian gods' are found enclosed at either side of the entrance gate. They represent the *vajra* god in two forms; the one is masculine with the mouth tightly closed, and the other is feminine with an opened mouth. They guard the holy place from intruders".[303] In his Selected Works Volume 1, he approaches the topic of immovability without reference to *Fudō* at all, but instead to clarify its usage in a poem which he fears people will take to mean advocacy of physical stillness; he also emphasizes singularity of focus and willpower as essential to warriors, similar to what *Shōsan* or *Sōhō* in earlier days would claim warriors could learn from *Fudō*.[304] Suzuki further supported the nobility of killing in theorizing that a sword has two functions: to kill and to give life, the latter of which condones killing necessary in the defense of the country[305]. As we've seen in the *Vajrapāṇi* from its earliest depictions in Gandhara, where it would subjugate the enemies of the Buddha Shakyamuni, the figure has had a special permission surrounding the monastic rules for violence. We see this theme repeated again through the Shaolin monastery stories and through the subsequent military training of the monks.

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[302] Original text used.
[303] Suzuki, D. *Manual of Zen Buddhism*. 125-6
[304] Suzuki, D. *Selected Works of D.T. Suzuki: Volume I Zen*. 132
[305] Victoria, B. *Zen at War: Second Edition*. 233

It seems that, for many practitioners and theorists, *Fudō's* principle had been isolated and removed from his symbolic figure. The "double office", a term coined by Suzuki to describe the relationship of Buddhism to violence is itself an abstraction of the role that the *Vajrapāṇi* served to the Buddha Shakyamuni. Suzuki describes the functions of the sword: "… to destroy anything that opposes the will of its owner and to sacrifice all the impulses that arise from the instinct of self-preservation.[306]

Consider this in relation to the role of the *Vajrapāṇi* to the Buddha Saykamuni explained in the first chapter of this thesis, the metaphysical and supernatural powers attributed to the *Vajrapāṇi*, and it positioning between arhat and commoner. The relationship and dependence between the imperial house and the wisdom kings that was fostered and developed by *Kūkai*. The justifications of the *Vajrapāṇi* derivative entities violence are mirrored here by Suzuki:

> The fact is that the art of swordsmanship distinguishes between the sword that kills and the sword that gives life. The one that is used by a technician cannot go any further than killing, for he never appeals to the sword unless he intends to kill. The case is altogether different with the one who is compelled to lift the sword. For it is really not he but the sword itself that does the killing. He had no desire to do harm to anybody, but the enemy appears and makes himself a victim. It is as though the sword performs automatically its function of justice, which is the function of mercy. When the sword is to play this sort of role in human life, it is no more a weapon of self-defense or an instrument of killing, and the swordsman turns into an artist of the first grade, engaged in producing a work of genuine originality.[307]

Thus, the royal connection of the *Vajrapāṇi* remained significant through one of the most significant conflicts in modern military history, as does the justification of the use of violence that was evident in the earliest scriptures.

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[306] Suzuki, D. *Zen and Japanese Culture*. 145.
[307] Ibid 145

4.8 Separation of Martial Arts from Religion

Here, we shouldn't be hasty to attribute to the appearance of *Fudō* the foundational

principle of immovability nor the entwinement of the imperial house and warriors.

Yet, he seems to be the symbol through which these ideas were deeply conveyed, and

it demands a study as to why such a figure, with his asymmetrical grotesquerie,

would suit such a role.

One possible explanation for the separation of religion from martial arts

comes from Thomas Green, who claims that the reason for the use of Buddhist terms

in early martial arts literature has more to do with the practicality of literacy than an

actual ideological overlap; Green states that, where warrior relied on the literacy of

priests, "Priests not only listed the Buddhist names of warrior religious rites, but also

used Buddhist vocabulary as names of fighting techniques that lacked any

relationship to Buddhist doctrines or practices."[308] Green also suggested that the

religious leanings of many of the treatise composers of this era, including Soho, may

not be representative of widespread social attitudes towards the value of religion in

martial theory; he suggests that more and more, Confucianism was influencing the

priorities and habits of upper- class non-religious martial arts practitioners, while,

relatively in the shadows, rural and uneducated practitioners relied on competition to

hone their skills. Green also suggests that it is after the subsequent meeting of the

two that the reliance on abstract philosophies took a knee to competitive training:[309]

> In the early 1800s, when rural-trained fencers finally appeared in Edo
> (modern Tokyo), they easily defeated men of samurai status who had been
> trained in Confucian theory (or Zen), ceremonial decorum, and prearranged
> pattern exercises (kata). Thereafter established martial art lineages that had
> emphasized theory or mental training became subjects of ridicule, while new
> lineages that taught competition (*uchikomi keiko*) flourished.[310]

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[308] 310 Ed. Green, T. et al. *Martial Arts of the World: An Encyclopedia Volume 1: A-Q*. 490
[309] Ibid. 390
[310] Ibid. 495-6

Green further substantiates the dissolution of traditional religious and abstract reliance of the martial arts during the later Tokugawa in stating that one of the most trusted and published military authors of the time, Kubota Seion (1791-1866), believed religious or supernatural martial arts claims to be deceitful.

In the contemporary martial arts, there are several traces of the figures, a sample of which will be outlined here. The Kongo Rikishi have been associated with martial breathing exercises across several martial arts. This derives from the influence of Chinese philosophy and exercises, which was associated with the versions of *Agyo* and *Ungyo* that existed in China, named Generals Heng and Ha (Ch. 哼哈二将, Py. *Heng Ha Er Jiang*). The generals Heng and Ha were introduced in the first Chapter of this thesis. Like the Kongo Rikishi, their mouth formation symbolizes the meditative Ohm issuance. According to the Headmaster of the Chozen-ji School of *Kyūdō* (Jp: 弓道, En. archery)[311]:

> The foundational martial art taught in the Chozen-ji tradition is a two-person sword form called the Hojo kata. In it, deep, hara breathing is synchronized with movement. The sounds the participants make are prescribed: "Ah" during inhalation and "Um" during exhalation. So, too, are the facial expressions: the mouth opens wide during inhalations, and is shut tightly during exhalation. It said that the expressions actually resemble those of the two *Niō*, the traditional guardians of Buddhist temples often depicted in statues.[312]

Morihei Ueshiba (1883-1969) (Jp. 植芝 盛平), known as the founder of Aikido (Jp. 合気道), carried on the philosophy of immovability, albeit disassociated with the figure of *Fudō*. In an interview with his son, Kisshomaru Ueshiba, he states of the art:

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[311] The Chozen-ji school was established in 1972 and claims "Our approach to Zen training is based in the body—emphasizing breath and posture—and creates leaders with a bold fighting spirit and strong ki'ai". Anonymous Author. "Chozen-ji: Zen Temple Beyond Zen.

[312] Kushner, K. "Hara and Martial Arts: Ah Um Breathing".
https://haradevelopment.org/2016/06/10/hara- and-martial-arts-ah-um-breathing/

Only by pursuing the following three types of training will the immovable truth of diamondlike hardness become part of one's mind and body.
1. Training to harmonize one's mind with the activity of all things in the universe.
2. Training to harmonize one's body with the activity of all things in the universe.
3. Training to make the ki that connects mind and body harmonize with the activity of all things in the universe.[313]

Terms like "diamondlike hardness" and "immovable truth" are recognizable from both ancient and more recent descriptions of *Fudō*. While the characteristics of *Fudō* were still desirable, his worship and his figure had been removed from the equation.

In times of political turmoil, monstrous gods rise in fashion, as was seen in southern India of the wrathful *Fudō's* origin. When approaching the uncertainty of the times, and looking for ways to enhance or extend one's life, we see *Fudō* popularize in another role. During the Heian Era, the Abrogation of Premature Death Ritual (Rj. *jōyōshihō*, Jp. 除夭死法) and the Abrogation of Death and Calamity Ritual (Rj. *jōshisaihō,* Jp. 除死災法) and the *Fudō* Life Extension Ritual (Rj. *Fudō enmei hō*, Jp. 不動延命法) were some of the rituals that grew in popularity at that time; these rituals were then popularized in Heian Era literature like the Tale of Genji (Jp. 源氏物語) and the *Senshuko*.[314] Throughout the Heian Era, there were numerous succession problems in the imperial household and epidemics were rampant; therefore, these vital rituals became more popular. Mack concludes that "the subjugation of troublesome spirits causing illness was extended to include the subjugation of adversaries in the mundane realm".[315] These miracle tales took on a popularity of their own in the theatre and ended up contributing to the longevity of *Fudō*.

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[313] 316 Ueshiba, K. *Spirit of Aikido*. 75.
[314] Mack, K. "The Function and Context of Fudo Imagery From the 9th to 14th Century in Japan" 202-3.
[315] Ibid. 150-201, 201

4.9 *Vajrapāṇi* in the Popular Culture

As the *Vajrapāṇi* and derivative characters began to disseminate through the wider cultural arena, their binding to religious intention and historic associations loosens, and individuals within society gains some creative license to shape and employ the character according to their own interpretations and designs. These popular culture creations, where accepted and even embraced by the public, can have a lasting impact on impressions of the figure, regardless of alignment with historic or religious original intent. *Fudō* became one of the most popular figures from Buddhism, and the manner in which he was depicted in cultural arts would influence subsequent understandings of his representation. Particularly where he was depicted as a warrior or warrior aid, the creative renditions of the character can contribute to a popular understanding of martial arts philosophy and practice as well.

4.9.1 *Fudō* in Theatrical Depictions of Martial Arts

Local miracle tales also began to be established, diverging from the established doctrines of the figure, with specific associations to each temple, creating localized renditions of *Fudō* that would take on different characteristics so that "one did not simply pray to a generic '*Fudō*', but to a certain *Fudō* of a certain temple" to achieve the desired results.[316] During the Edo era, with the proliferation of stories and other artforms, *Fudō* branched out into two main strains; One, centering around the Meguro Temple, didn't hold fast to the canonical representations, and rendered *Fudō*

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[316] Examples of this are the Goshiki *Fudō'*, or the network of temples of the five colors of Fudo, the Weeping *Fudō'* of Mejiro, the Narita Fudo of Chiba, and the Megaro *Fudō'*, the 'Army Conquering' Fudo of Renchiin, and the Osaka *Fudō'*, among others. Bond, K. *Ritual and Iconography in the Japanese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition: The Nineteen Visualizations of Fudō'Myo-o*. p 7, 36, 50

to be a water-affiliated deity, whereas the other, at *Shinshō-ji (*Jp. 新勝寺) Temple, upheld the original canonical associations as a military god.[317]

Bond demonstrates that the *Shinshō-ji* Temple ended up being a pivotal point for the spread of interest in *Fudō* outward to the greater cultural sphere from the religious sphere due to the appeal of the *Shinshō-ji Fudō* miracle stories (featuring a version of *Fudō* known as the Narita *Fudō*), and the growing interest in other artforms like theater in Edo, with the particular help of the Ichikawa *Danjūrō* (市川 團十郎) theater guild and the subsequent commercial popularity of the *aramushagoto*, or "wild warrior business" rough and heroic acting style.[318] Bond cites the Yakusha zensho "All About Actors" book of 1774, which contains a personal story of *Danjūrō* I, possibly the most celebrated kabuki actor of the troupe, through which the personal relation to Fudō, and the close relation between religion, creative production and commercial success are shown to be closely entwined:

> Danjiira [sic] is said to have prayed specifically to the Narita Fudō for the birth of a son, possibly influenced by the centuries-old practice of worshipping Fudō for a favourable birth. Danjiira thus attributed the favourable birth of his first son, Kuza (later Danjiira II) in 1688 to Fudō, and as a symbol of his gratitude, wrote a play celebrating the divine favour of the deity. The play was Tsuwamono kongen Soga (The Origin of the Soga Warrior) and was performed at the Nakamuraza Theatre in 1697. Kuza, then ten years of age, made his stage debut in the role of *Fudō*. The play, in which *Fudō* appears to the aid of Soga Gora, was a great triumph. It attracted people from Narita itself, and the audience threw money on stage as offerings and prayed to Danjiira as they would the deity himself, acts of devotion seemingly unprecedented in kabuki theatre. That Danjiira owed the play's success to the Narita *Fudō* was apparent. Following the play's run, he led a group of pilgrims to Shinshaji, and subsequently adopted the professional guild name "the Narita Troupe," thereafter publicizing the troupe's affiliation with Naritasan (Jp. 成田山). Six years later father and son staged the Naritasan funjin (or bunjin) *Fudō* (The Twin *Fudōs* of Naritasan) in 1703. In order to prepare for the play, Danjiira is said to have spent a week in prayer at Shinshoji before its opening, whereupon *Fudō* had appeared before him and granted him the ability to reproduce the deity's fierce appearance. The onstage

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[317] Ibid p77.
[318] Ibid p 82

spectacle of the young Kuza as *Fudō* impressed audiences so much that they were said to have again thrown money on stage as offerings to the deity.[319]

Bond further cites two stories in which *Danjūrō II* (Kuza), is thought to have healed people by mimicking or embodying the *Fudō*, demonstrating the proximity of the commercial endeavor and religion:

> According to the kabuki account Chuko kejosetsu (Old Tales of the Theatre, 1805), one story has it that in 1741, a father, having heard of the miraculous powers of the *Fudō* mie [sic] pose, pleaded with Danjura II to cure his ague-sick daughter. The actor consented. He unsheathed his short sword, coiled his handkerchief into a rope, and glared at the daughter, thus mimicking the *fado mie*[sic]. The girl fainted in a torrent of sweat but soon found that her sickness was gone. Later at the Nakamuraza Theatre, Danjura II was said to have again struck the *fado mie*[sic][320] and cured a woman possessed by a fox (kitsune).[321]

This association of the actors with embodiment of *Fudō* and ability to enact *Fudō's* protection for *Edokko* (people from Edo) became more emboldened through the generations. Many more generations of *Danjūrō* took up this tradition,[322] eventually performing at the *Shinshō-ji* Temple itself. The troupe's theatrical creations also began to incorporate their own ancestors into the extant *Fudō* miracle tale template, while retaining some of the core structure of the Narita miracle tales.[323] For a closer look, Bond cites subsequent examples that aren't necessary to cover here; it is enough for our purposes of demonstrating the trajectory of the figure to note that

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[319] Bond, K. *Ritual and Iconography in the Japanese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition: The Nineteen Visualizations of Fudo Myo-o.* 84-85
[320] Original spelling used.
[321] Ibid p 85
[322] The Danjuro troupe is still operable in Narita today, and even in their most recent play, have involved Fudo Myo-o in the July Grand Kabuki in 2011 featuring the story the famed friends Yoshitsune and Benkei, with Danjuro XII acting as Benkei, who "…is forced to bluff by improvising the contents from an empty scroll. He ends with the impressive Fudo mie, a pose copying the iconography of the Buddhist deity Fudo, guardian protector of the Yamabushi [mountain aesthetics]". Naritaya Kabuki Schedule.
[323] The core of many of the Narita Fudo miracle tales involved significant characters approaching the Fudo with devastating illnesses. After a period of devotion, the character would be taken by Fudo, which might appear in a dream and require the supplicant to swallow his sword. Upon doing this, the supplicant would cough up blood, vomit, and awaken cured and full of brilliance. The sword-swallowing motif is repeated with different characters. P Bond, K. Ritual and Iconography in the Japanese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition: The Nineteen Visualizations of Fudo Myo-o. 74-83

such a conflagration of religion and theatrical art, hinging on the possession of the actor by the god or the god by the actor, played a dominant role in the spread of the figure.

One cannot speak of the commercial success of the deity without touching upon the devotion to the religious faith and the belief in the attributes of the character. These theatrical works helped to popularize and spread specifically the Narita *Fudō*, but it can as likely be said that the fervent religious admiration of the character and the zeitgeist of developing Edo contributed to the widespread popularity of *Fudō* religiosity and commerciality in a symbiotic relationship. The masculine and tough features of *Fudō* were bolstered through association with the *aramushagoto* style, and the actors and plays themselves were made more robust and masculine with the inclusion of *Fudō*.

Of course, the theatrical arts don't occur in isolation and the audience response wasn't limited to live responses to the stage. Strictly commercial applications were soon to follow. Bond illustrates a second manner in which *Fudō* was commercialized and spread to more secular circles, through the *kaicho*, (Jp. 開帳) or 'temporary public exhibitions' that served to financially support the temple and to enhance the enigmatic value of temple relics. In the case of *Shinshō-ji* Temple, located in Narita and farther from the city, these *kaicho* were held in Fukugawa, a location that attracted artists of many disciplines, who, in turn, created their own variants of *Fudō* art, and expanded the character commercially and in popular recognition.

During the Edo era, it was the popular and commercial success of these two endeavors, according to Bond, that allowed the Narita *Fudō* to withstand the Buddhist persecutions of the Meiji Restoration by "promoting the Narita *Fudō's*

reinvention as a modern war deity, in tune with the temple's support of colonialist expansion on the continent".[324] With the temple's popular support not deriving from solely religious activities, but rather from kabuki and *kaicho*, and with the earlier equation of *Fudō* as a kami, or Shinto spirit, by changing the name to Ugokazu no Mikota , a nativized version of 'the Immovable Kami', similar to *Fudō*.[325] Ketelaar suggests another possibility for the continuation of *Fudō's* popularity despite the anti-Buddhist policies, that *Fudō* "…was so popular in many areas that local officials hesitated to call for its removal",[326] affirming the character interpretation that allowed for *Fudō's* preservation, but suggesting that the authorities were complicit to some degree in the choice. *Fudō* wasn't popularly known as a kami prior to this. As with Orzech's example in Tang China, of the intentional conflation of sage kings with bodhisattvas by *Bùkōng*, the trajectory of *Fudō* would seemingly change again based on a localized and politically motivated interpretation of a character, albeit phonetic in this case, rather than the written.[327] While parts of this tale may indeed just be temple lore, *Fudō* remained popular despite the crackdowns of the time, and even expanded through kabuki given the blossoming transportation and technology of the era.[328]

We also see hints of entwinement of *Fudō* with martial arts, in the miracle tales of this era, beginning with Katsuragawa Rikizo, a sumo wrestler who prayed to Naritasan *Fudō* and was granted the strength to avenge his father's death in a match.

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[324] Bond, K. *Ritual and Iconography in the Japanese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition: The Nineteen Visualizations of Fudo Myo-o*. 122
[325] Under the new policies, Shintoism, as a nationalistic religion, was protected whereas Buddhism was heavily persecuted as foreign
[326] Ketelaar, J. *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution*. 124
[327] The altered term, in this case, was '尊, which could be interpreted in the Sino-Japanese manner as 'bodhisattva', or in the nativist manner as 'kami'.
[328] With the construction of railroads, some of the earliest of which led to Nagoya, Edo era arts more easily spread to surrounding cities, and ultimately, after the war, influenced the later transition of the Narita Fudo to a god of traffic safety. Bond, K. *Ritual and Iconography in the Japanese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition: The Nineteen Visualizations of Fudo Myo-o*. 127

The *Danjūrō* description of the play, titled "The Revenge of Narita" demonstrates the family's lasting connection to the Narita *Fudō*:

> A wrestler called Takimiyama, who previously murdered his teacher, uses an underhand throw to kill his opponent Kumonoto Juemon in the ring. Juemon's son takes the name Katsuragawa Rikizo, and goes to Narita where he fasts and undertakes religious austerities in order that his prayer to avenge his father's death may be granted. Finally, with the help of the deity, he is granted his wish. The play provides one more example of the deep connections between the Ichikawa family and Narita.[329]

In the earlier version, provided by Bond and found in the *Naritasan risho no adauchi* of 1885 (The Vendetta and the Divine Benefit of Naritasan Temple), however, we return to the sword-swallowing, blood-vomiting.

The involvement of *Fudō* in popular arts demonstrates that by proliferation into the Meiji Era suggests that *Fudō Myō-ō*, a figure bipolar in almost every measure, was also able to stand simultaneously on the cliffs of both religion and popular culture in the capital city, and to maintain his popular appeal in both spheres after generations. Initially, the maneuvering of *Kūkai* made a big impact on the integration of *Fudō* into religious and imperial spheres of influence. Subsequently, interest was aroused among the Heian era gentility, predominantly focusing on protection, recovery from illness and safe childbirth, frequently with political implications. Through practice of ritual that simultaneously bolstered or protected imperial power and military power during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, with the blossoming of the warrior class, interest in the deity proliferated in the warrior classes. Throughout those eras, *Fudō* was simultaneously expanding influence through diverse sects of Buddhism from the original Shingon and Tendai. From the Edo Era, the theatrical popularity of *Fudō* through the *Danjūrō* family has a

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[329] Naritaya contributor. http://www.naritaya.jp/english/compendium/dictionary_07.html

martial bent of the character, and facilitated the longevity of the *Shinshō-ji* (Narita) *Fudō* through the persecutive Meiji Era.

4.9.2 Influence of the Literary *Fudō*

Fudō and/or his rituals were present in popular Heian literature such as the *The Pillow Book*, *Tale of Genji*, the *Tale of the Heike*, *The Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, the *Konjaku Monogatari* along with period music. Here, according to Mack, nobility recorded encountering and finding interest in *Fudō* through the *Ninnōgyō* text and Latter Seven Days Rituals.[330]

In the *Heike Monogatari* (En. Tales of the Heike, Jp. 平家物語) which recounts the 12th century Genpei War, *Fudō* is addressed thrice. In one instance early on *Fudō* is consulted as to the causes of local illness. In another, the monk Mongaku, who spurred the hero Minamoto no Yoshitomo's revolt against the Taira, immerses himself in a waterfall for five days until losing his senses (much in the manner of the *yamabushi*), demonstrates his resolve and immoveable spirit by avoiding rescue and continuing the devotional activity, is visited by *Fudō'*s attendants at the behest of *Fudō.* In the last instance, the *Fudō* incantation is performed and identified as one of "most potent litanies to overcome evil, by which they trusted to subdue the revolt".[331]

This speaks to the crossover of *Fudō* into warrior groups despite the relaxation in monastic purposes. Conlan elaborates on the effects of the tumultuous 14th century, where the romantic ideas of warriorhood were challenged by on-the-ground realities and suggests that "there arose a new order; a new way of thought;

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[330] Mack, K. "The Function and Context of Fudo Imagery From the 9th to 14th Century in Japan".
[331] Ibid.m

and a new sense that actions need no longer be linked to, and legitimated by, the deeds of an increasingly forgotten past".[332] Yet, while the past was being dramatized, *Fudō* was known to be influential on warrior perception and ambitions during this period. According to Conlan:

> The wars of the twelfth century were recounted and idealized in the literary classic, the Tale of the Heike. This tale reached its final form in 1371, nearly two hundred years after the events it purported to describe had ended and approximately forty years after the opening salvoes of the battles of the 1330s.
> The Heike became immensely popular. Warriors wiled away their final hours before battle listening to blind lute priests reciting this yarn of brave warriors winning glory or stoically accepting their fate. So persuasive and moving was this tale that warriors modeled their behavior on the semi-fictional heroes of this epic.[333]

The interpretation of history and derivation of meaning therefrom greatly impact modern understanding, and this remains the case in the field of martial arts and mythology. Modern interpretations of *Fudō* may rely as much upon his renditions in popular culture as on those historic occurrences and understandings. While this may lead to historically- inaccurate misconceptions or incomplete understandings according to the dogma of the *Vajrayāna* sects, popular cultural renditions offer wider exposure than secretive religious sects; they also act to stir continued interest in figures in ways that can be protective during persecutive eras. The impact of these popular cultural renditions must thus be given their due.

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[332] Conlan, T. "The Culture of Force and Farce: Fourteenth-Century Japanese Warfare". 18
[333] Ibid. P 7

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Summary

Where previous works have touched on the individual characters, their symbolism, narratives, and relationship, this thesis provided a series of connections between the *Vajrapāṇi* in relation to international reception and application towards martial endeavors in society, with a particular focus on the culminating influence in Japan. By examining the *Vajrapāṇi* and derivative characters, the shared distinguishing traits could be isolated for their particular importance and compared with their reception in differing lands to understand the function they serve within the individual and society. To approach the *Vajrapāṇi* from its entry into Japan is to approach an established system that enables one to more easily read not only the unique effects of the character and of the mechanisms deployed by its proponents to ingratiate it in new lands, but it also clarifies the unique adoption by the Japanese people, and personalization of the figure, particularly of *Fudō*.

The core traits that were highlighted in this study that extend through the *Vajrapāṇi* and *Vajrapāṇi* derivative characters are the role of vajradhara or vajra bearer, the role of guardian, best represented in the door guardian role, and the imperial connection which manifest in the roll-out mechanisms of the *Vajrayāna* sects as well as in the characterization of the figure itself, as I try to demonstrate herein through the Heraklean connection to royalty, the possibility of a Bharhut association and through the subsequent classification of *Vajrapāṇi* derivative characters as 'kings'.

Many of the core scriptures and rituals that helped introduced the religion involved *Vajrapāṇi* derivative characters more extensively than with *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. This thesis examined those scriptures, rituals, and even architecture in light of the way that they were carefully introduced as beneficial to members of the existing power structured first in China, and then paved the way for a similar implementation in Japan. The manner in which these scriptures and rituals characterizes the figures, and creates entry points for practitioners and those desiring power or real-world change was revealed in these scriptures.

The expansion of involvement in *Vajrayāna* rituals and particularly Fudō centered worship past the imperial house mirrored the shifting socio-political turmoil of the Heian and subsequent Eras in Japan. Interestingly, whereas the non-religious application of *Fudō* rituals began to grow, the dedicated austerities likewise took hold among groups like the yamabushii or mountain monks. This suggests a personalization and tailoring of the figures that couldn't be detected as clearly in the past, if it existed. Soon, *Fudō* was to be approached anew by philosophical warriors, who, who codified the formerly religious lessons of *Fudō* in a secular casting, opening the figure to wider application and a broader audience. It is these renderings, built upon the foundation of ancient symbolic and narrative development, and preserved through careful political maneuvering, that have been able to translate into the lasting principle of Fudoshin and the fierce approach to the necessary liminality of attention and action in the secular realm as well as spiritual.

Lastly, this thesis touched on a balancing vision of *Fudō*, which has developed for centuries from an unexpected source, the theater. The *Danjūrō* portrayals of *Fudō* became cultural icons. The literary appearances of the figure, may, in the modern era have a more significant impact on newly introduced

populations than historical records will. Thus, this thesis seeks to acknowledge the impact of cultural representations, though the impact may not yet be measurable.

5.2 Discussion

The hypothesis of this thesis is that the *Vajrapāṇi* has played a foundational role in the development of internal martial ideology in Japan, which was enabled through features evident from its origin, including imperial connection, liminality, bellicosity, transitioning status, association with 'necessary evil' and popular appeal. Our earliest glimpse of the *Vajrapāṇi*, in Gandharan India, bore the vestiges of the semi- nude troubled hero of superhuman proportions, albeit not yet monstrous in the narrative *Vajrapāṇi*, monstrous features were evident early on in the *Niō*, seemingly with some connection to Mara's demons at Sanchi. Whereas the *channavira* displays a possible romantic or sexual affiliation, that wasn't evident in this study, though further connections might be traced through Fudō's relationship to companion Aizen *Myō-ō*. The bellicosity of the narrative *Vajrapāṇi* carried forth, along with the liminal nature and the confusing status, simultaneously low and all-powerful, simultaneously human and beast. The royal association and its importance in the longevity of Fudō was established in the second chapter of this thesis, as is the political and authenticating usefulness of the vajra and *Vajrapāṇi*. Colloquially, the symbolic attributes seemed to be the most attractive features of Fudō to sects where the concern with imperial dependence wasn't primary. Fudō, the *Vajrapāṇi* and the *Niō* are a masculine, tough, energetic, fearless, comical yet endearing creature, commanding respect, and evoking greater profundity in its duality, and able to access different faces of humanity due to his versatility of character.

Regarding the specific impact of the *Vajrapāṇi* on the realm of Japanese martial arts, I entered this thesis believing I was writing about the *Vajrapāṇi*, a figure which, derived of the meeting of myriad cultures and the shaping of a protective and violent entity, would shape the martial attitudes of nations it subsequently entered and groups who embraced it. This was incorrect and I found only minor ways in which the *Vajrapāṇi* was tactically, strategically or physically militarily or martially relevant. Rather, the value of the figure lies in that which was at last abstracted and preserved (by *Sōhō* and Shosan, among others), the Vajra-citta, or Adamantine consciousness. This was extracted from each *Vajrapāṇi* of this study. The path to and attainment of any level of this 'adamantine consciousness' is immeasurably useful to martial arts and military minds who consistently have to cut through the external and internal assault of what's colloquially referred to as the 'fog of war', and acts as a prerequisite to use the military or martial tools within one's strategy.

For the martial artist or soldier, Fudō is the personification of the movement beyond that which is real and true and possible today, and the forcing of a point. Through *Fudō*, the practitioners of *Shugendō* are (mostly) able to survive deadly exertions. Through the adoption of the *Niō* Zen adamantine consciousness, adherents can go through their lives unperturbed by death or losses. These figures enabled warriors and warrior monks to reach new levels, if only by the placebo effect of believing they were divinely protected. It's left to question whether the adamantine quality can be achieved or sustained without the deity to transport it, to embody the stories that convey appropriate action and levels of self-discipline or dedication. Without the assurance that *Fudō* will come to the aid of serious seekers along the tumultuous path, will there be as many risk takers who attempt the austerities and to

reach the subliminal space of seemingly having conquered the dominance that death has on the mind, by coming as close as the living can.

Cynically, the *Vajrapāṇi*, as a religious entity, can be viewed as a justification for political or imperial violence in a sectarian nature, as well as a fortification of imperial houses against their enemies. But, I'm not of the cynical view, as we mustn't forget that it has been put to use again and again to achieve what are believed to be the highest aims of the populace, and has clearly been coopted willingly into common society; therefore, it's relevance reaches farther than a political game. The goal to which the *Vajrapāṇi* or derivative character raises the Vajra is a pure goal in the mind of the adherent. The adamantine nature, focus and terrible protective energy, is the resolve that must be achieved to meet that goal.

The core conclusion of this research is as follows: *Vajrapāṇi* is a mirrored representation of the refined beast that it has taken mankind, over the years, to manifest in itself the will to kill, the will to crush, the will to cut on one hand, and on the other, the willingness to sacrifice and die for the unitary vision, that may seem fluid from an outsider, but appears to the adherent as imperturbable. This is its most important lesson, and why it rose in prominence, as it did. *Vajrapāṇi* as the liminal, accessible, fallible, ugly, mighty, and fair reflects myriad sides of the humanity of his adherents. Where the deity remains an icon, he takes on lesser roles, where he has in the past or where he remains a martial edifier of adamantine spirit, is his greatest contribution to modern day martial arts.

Even within the established knowledge about the figure, there is contestation, as we saw with the debate surrounding the origin of the narrative *Vajrapāṇi*, there is much uncertainty due to a lack of concrete evidence and much disagreement by historical figures and researchers. While absolute certainty is out of range, through an

analysis of the evolving visual rendition and narrative inclusions, and the shifting popularity of diverse narratives, we are able to glean insight about which facets of the figures appealed to the society of each time, to the key political figures and to the religious aspirants.

The context of the development of the figure doesn't, however, only inform on the figure, but provides a further understanding of how politicization and socio-economic circumstances impact the nature of religion. The political impact was demonstrated by the mechanisms of Amoghavajra and *Kūkai*. The influence of socio-economic circumstances of religion might be seen through the expansion of the *sōhei*. Lastly, we are able to contract how different and at times oppositional groups are able to turn to the same deities for their substantiation.

5.3 Further Research

Much is left to be explained about what may be one of the most culturally syncretic figures in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, seeming to adopt by its far eastern manifestation, the rounded facial and body characteristics of Chinese art, exaggerated musculature of Indo- Greek Herakles, ornamentation of Persian arts, the Hindu *vajra* and protective role symbolism. This research reveals a few possible connections for further study. I've demonstrated a primitive connection of the *Vajrapāṇi* to royalty, and evidence of the figure being chosen to represent dharma-protective royalty, due to the consistent adoption of royal symbolism and aesthetics I have also posited a connection between the early *Vajrapāṇi dvārapāla* role to a previous *dvārapāla* king, the Bharhut *yavana*, thought to represent Menander.

This thesis also identified the *Channavīra* that is found in many examples of the *Vajrapāṇi*, and posited that the symbolism remains relevant to the different

manifestations of *dvārapāla Vajrapāṇi* including *Niō* in suggesting that, even where the chain is absent, the abnormal musculature indicates an intentional physical integration of the *channavīra* . It was not an adornment cast away, but rather one that was meaningfully integrated into the fabric of the figure. The relevance of this is not yet understood.

Lastly, the *channavīra* , along with the Om mouth position, mudra and arm positioning, and the relative body positioning have been shown to connect *Māra*'s Army in their earliest known depiction in Sanchi Stupa I with the *Niō*. The next step is to seek substantiation of the connection to *Māra*'s army through Buddhist literature. In some instances, the *channavira* is evident on depictions of Mara, as covered in Chpater I. It is possible that the connection simply pertains to coversion, for which *Vajrapāṇi* was a key figure. We tus might inquire whether, if the symbolic connection of the *Niō* and, thus, *Vajrapāṇi* with *Māra* can be further substantiated, what might the relevence be of the aforementioned fertiity symbolism of the *channavīra* when analyzed in its male warrior manifestations thorugh the Mara connection? Perhaps the unusual, *channavīra* -shaped musculature of the *Niō* is a last trace of the ancient, deified tie between fertility, protection and violence. What is the significance of its evolution into musculature?

The question of how the principle and practice of Fudoshin or the wrathful application of the *Niō* demeanor to martial concentration and construction of martial arts systems is left to be studied. While this thesis traced the history of the entry and the broad impact of the *Vajrapāṇi*, based in the coherence and longevity of its original symbolism, and the mechanisms of integration designed and implemented by wise and worldly adherents, it remains to examine how it has developed in the hands of the public and in modern times. Today, *Vajrapāṇi* derivative figures particularly,

can be seem in various popular cultural media, of which we only lightly touched on here. Of particular interest is the association of *Fudō* in particular with criminal groups. It may be that the same justified convention-breaking that we find in the Shaolin Fudō adherents, such as eating meat, lends the character a liminality that exceeds established law as well as spiritual dimensions. This subject is ripe for further research.

Lastly, the figure *Fudō* also seems to have taken on special relevance during World War II, with the soldiers of the Japanese Imperial Army. Understanding the interactions between this figure and the military of this time period may necessitate a more extensive and personal survey than this study permitted, yet it's a field worthy of assignment.

CHANNAVIRA EVOLUTION ON NIO
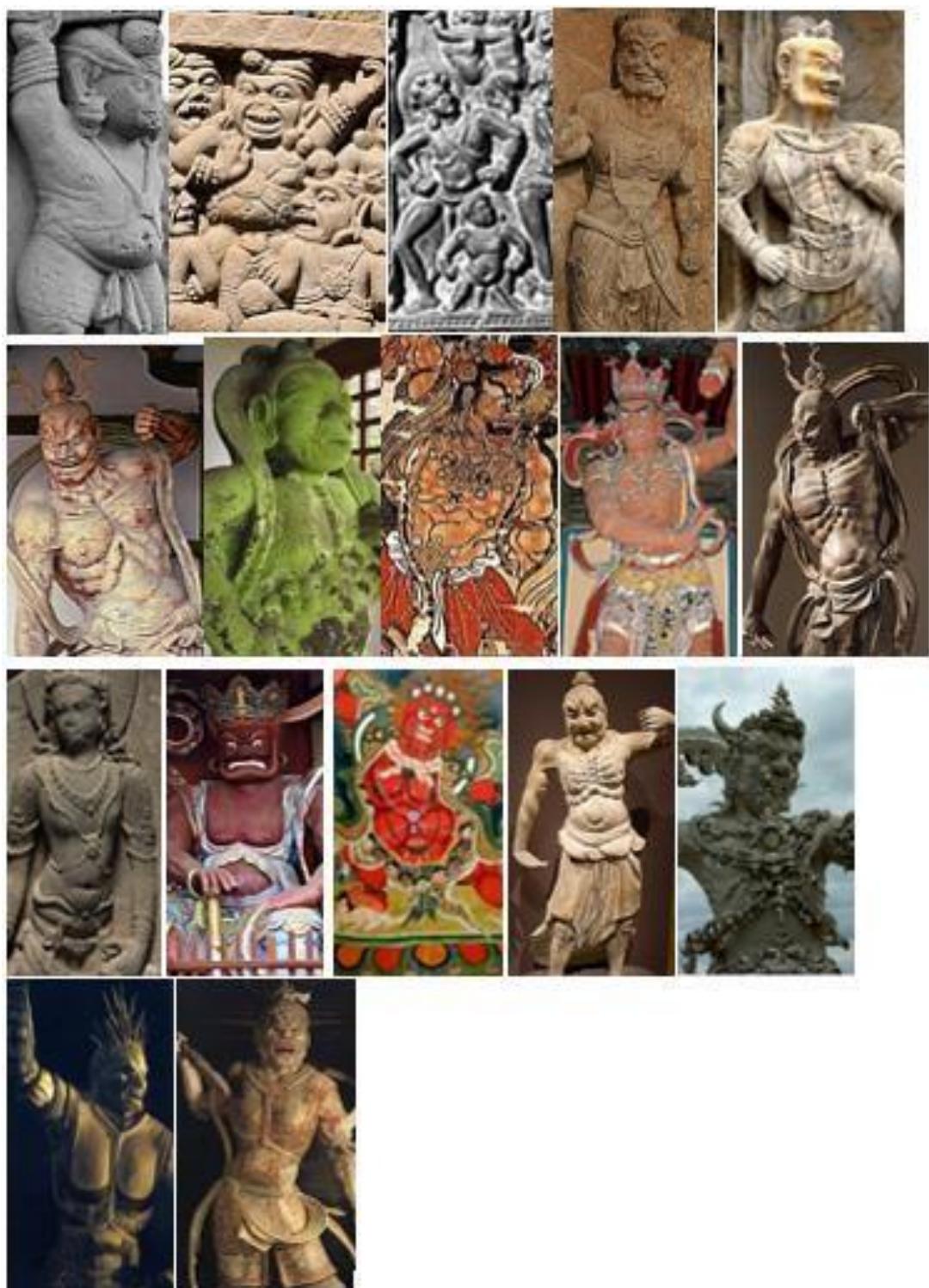
Figure 11.1: Copyright Anandajoti Bhikkhu. "Dwarves Uphold the Pillar". Edited. Photodharma. No date Given. Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0

Unported License https://www.photodharma.net/photodharma.net/India/Sanchi-Stupa-3/Sanchi-Stupa-3.htm

Figure 11.2: Marshall, Sir John. "Temptation of the Buddha". Edited. The Guide to Sanchi. Calcutta. Superintendent Government of Printing, India. 1918.

Figure 11.3: Copyright Samye Institute. "Taming Our Minds: Advice for Modern Buddhists". https://samyeinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Amaravati-2nd-3rd-c.-Temptation-of- Mara.jpg

Figure 11.4: Copyright Mark Schumacher. "biyang-caves-middle-period-8E-NIO". Last Update Jan. 14, 2015. https://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/nio.shtml

Figure 11.5: Ishai Bar. "Massive Lokapala in the Longmen Grottoes near Luoyang, China". Wikimedia Public Domain Photo. 2005 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Longmen_Grottoes#/media/File:LongmenBoddhi.jpg

Figure 11.6: Copyright Mark Schumacher. "Agyō 阿形 H = 378 cm Kongō Rikishi 金剛力士(Kongou, Kongo) Clay (sozō 塑像) with paint (saishiki 彩色) Nara Era, 711 AD (Wadō Period Year 4) Hōryūji Temple 法隆寺 in Nara". Last Update Jan. 14, 2015. https://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/nio.shtml

Figure 11.7: Quirren. "Kiyomizu-dera Nio". Creative Commons License BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=19425184

Figure 11.8: Copyright Dunhuang research Institute. Ed. Sarah E. Fraser. Accessed from Mark Schumacher. "Vajrapani Mogao Caves, Dunhuang Tang Dynasty (9th C) Ink and colors on silk H = 72 cm, W = 17 cm" Palais du Louvre (Paris) No. EO.1172b Scanned from Book. Dunhuang: A Centennial Commemoration of the Discovery of the Cave Library. Arts Media Resourced. Ltd. 2000. ISBN 7-5054-0716-3/J-0396

Figure 11.9: Copyright Schumacher, Mark. "fragrant-hills-beijing-Heng-Ha-Montage". Last Update Jan. 14, 2015. https://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/nio.shtml

Figure 11.10: Copyright Schumacher, Mark. "Agyō at Sanjūsangendō 三十三間堂, Kyoto 12th Century, Life-size Wooden Statue Scanned from Temple Brochure". Last Update Jan. 14, 2015. https://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/nio.shtml

Figure 11.11: "Door Guardian, Mahakala". October 2020. Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Copyright. https://clevelandart.org/art/1980.203

Figure 11.12: Copyright 2012-2020 Shaxi Old Theatre Inn. Xinjiao Temple. https://www.shaxichina.com/shaxi-ancient-town.html

Figure 11.13: "Chengdu: Thangka of a Dharmapala. Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). Sichuan Provincial Museum". Wikimedia Creative Commons Copyright. 2007. Edited. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chengdu_2007_367.jpg

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