Faquan's Transmission of the *Susiddhi* Category of the Esoteric Buddhist Teachings

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I. Introduction

Chinese esoteric Buddhism changed between 805 when Kūkai 空海 studied in Chang'an and 834 when Haiyun 海雲 (Kaiun) documented the Chinese esoteric transmission in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* 両部大法相承師資付法記 (*Account of the Transmission from Teacher to Disciple of the Great Teachings of the Two Categories*). There was, for instance, a renewed focus on ritual practice that can be characterized as a deliberate mixing of disparate ritual traditions. The *Zunsheng foding xiuyujiafa guiyi* 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽法軌儀 (*R ritual Manual of Prescriptions for the Practice of the Yoga of Vikāraṇośnīṣa*), a Chinese composition, is an example of this trend. Moreover, there was a re-presentation of ritual sources. More accessible texts were composed, as well as texts that addressed the Chinese concerns of the time. Faquan’s *法全* (Hassen, mid 9th century) ritual manuals for the

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2 T.LI.2081.

3 T.XIX.973.
garbha rite\(^4\) serve as examples of the first endeavour mentioned to clarify ritual procedures for the practitioner and, again, texts such as the *Zunsheng foding xiuyujiāfā yīguī* were composed with the second concern mentioned in mind. Further, there was the resurrection of the *Sūtikara Sūtra*,\(^5\) resulting in the reclassification of esoteric teachings under the rubric of “the great teachings in three categories” 三部大教 (*sanbu daijō*). The *susiddhi* category, with its emphasis on ritual procedure, became important in mid-ninth century Chinese esoteric Buddhism. The late Tang Dynasty was characterized by such religious upheavals as the persecution of Buddhism in 840-46 and its subsequent revival during the reign of Xuanzong 宣宗 (846-59). This renewed emphasis on ritual must be construed as a reaction to a felt need.

In this paper I will examine the content, function and significance of the *susiddhi* category of the esoteric teachings that were transmitted by Faquan. As Misaki Ryōshū’s studies of late Tang Dynasty Buddhism and the early Tendai school’s esoteric system reveal, the components of this special category of teachings are unclear, making any reconstruction of them difficult.\(^6\) Using Misaki’s studies as a guide, I will investigate the writings of Faquan’s contemporary, Haiyun, and of two of his Japanese disciples to determine the form in which he transmitted the esoteric teachings. In addition, I will consider the content and function of the *susiddhi* category of teachings

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\(^4\) T.XVIII.852 and 853.
\(^5\) T.XVIII.893.
within the tripartite esoteric system of the late Tang Dynasty. Such an investigation will elucidate the late Tang concerns of Faquan that stand in marked contrast to those of the earlier Tang Dynasty esoteric masters Amoghavajra 不空 (Fukū, 705-774) and Huiguō 慧果 (Keika, 746-805). My aim is to show that in the esoteric Buddhism of the late Tang period there were focuses other than the dual form of the esoteric teachings 両部 (ryōbu) that Kūkai (774-835), the founder of the Japanese Shingon school, inherited from Huiguō.

II. Evidence of the importance of the susiddhi category in Faquan's transmission

Before examining the content and function of the susiddhi category of the esoteric teachings, it is necessary to establish the importance of this category by ascertaining the emphasis that Faquan placed upon it in his teachings. Faquan left no writings on the susiddhi category, but there is evidence that testifies to his transmission of this category. Concrete evidence of Faquan's transmission of the three categories of the esoteric teachings, within which the susiddhi was a separate category, is recorded in the works of his Chinese contemporaries and Japanese disciples. I will examine four sources of confirmation: Haiyun, Ennin 圆仁 (794-864), Enchin 圆珍 (814-891) and disciples' inventories.

We learn from the Chinese monk Haiyun, who was a contemporary of Faquan, that Faquan propagated the system of three interrelated categories of texts and ritual traditions of the Vairocanābhisambodhi and Susiddhikara Sūtras and the Tattvāsāṃgraha Tantra. Haiyun's Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji is a dated work that documents the transmission of the esoteric teachings from Šubhākarasimha’s 善無畏 (Zenmui, 637-735) time on downwards to his
own time.\textsuperscript{7} His Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji consists of two parts. The second scroll recounts the transmission of the teachings of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra, which Haiyun calls the Sūtra of the King of the Great Teachings of Mahāvairocana 大毘盧遮那大教王經 and which he composed on the eighth day of the tenth month of 834. It is in this second scroll on the transmission of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra that Haiyun elaborates on the fundamental components of the esoteric system that all esoteric masters transmitted to their disciples. These are the teachings of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi and Susiddhikara Sūtras and the Tattvasamgraha Tantra, which he designates as "the great teachings in three categories." Haiyun interrupts his profile of Amoghavajra to discuss the significance of these texts and their teachings:

Tripitaka [Amoghavajra] of the Daixingshansi received the teachings of the Adamantine Sphere from the great monk Vajrabodhi. Having obtained them, he feared [however] that the great teachings were not complete [and so] he himself went to southern India and personally worshipped [under] the elderly Acarya Samantabhadra (Aduli Puxian). He questioned him repeatedly and received again the teachings in one hundred thousand stanzas of the five Families of the Adamantine Sphere. He also acquired the [Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi] Sūtra\textsuperscript{8} in one hundred thousand stanzas.

\textsuperscript{7} Haiyun states that he documents the transmission of the Tattvasamgraha Tantra through eight generations of monks (T.2081:785b27-29) and that of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra through seven generations (T.2081:787a27-28).

\textsuperscript{8} Haiyun does not give the title of this text but, because he continues to discuss the Tattvasamgraha Tantra and the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra in the next paragraph, he clearly is referring to the extended version of the
Accordingly, these two books of the King of the Great Teachings are mysterious and extremely profound, and a competent transmitter [of them] is rare. After the passing of some hundreds of years, [these two books were] transmitted by one person and it is close to one thousand odd years since the buddhas’ teachings flowed eastward to China. The dissemination of the teachings of the mysterious mind-ground of thought retention 持念 that [we monks of China now] possess does not extend beyond these two books of the King of the Great Teachings, these are the King of the Great Teachings of Mahāvairocana and the King of the Great Teachings of the Adamantine Sphere which synthesize all of the teachings of thought retention.

Then there are the teachings of supernatural attainments 蘇悉地教 (susiddhi) (note: this one calls wondrous perfection) that broadly clarify [the ritual practices of] the three divisions [of the buddha, padma and vajra]. Moreover, [these teachings of the susiddhi] include and expound the rites of thought retention, and among the [teachings], only [those of the susiddhi] clarify the perfection of [ritual] acts 明事成就. The significance and flavor [of these susiddhi teachings] span [those of] the Adamantine Sphere and the Vairocanābhisambodhi [Sūtra]. Furthermore, [the susiddhi] is an exceedingly essential and wondrous dharma. [Thus], as for that which Tripitaka Śubhākarasimha translated, the great teachings of the previous [ly mentioned] two categories [of the Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra and Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra] and the Susiddhi [kaṇa Sūtra] collec-

_Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra_. Haiyun explains earlier in his work that the extended versions of the Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra and the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra consisted of one hundred thousand stanzas; see T.2081:784b26-c14 where he discusses the versions of the Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra and 784c for his discussion of the versions of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra.
tively form the great teachings in three categories 三部大教。9

In this passage Haiyun emphasizes the special function and position that the doctrine of susiddhi has within the esoteric system he is documenting. He states that the teachings of the Susiddhikara Sūtra rank equally with those of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra and the Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra. Clearly this is because of the teaching’s function: the Susiddhikara Sūtra explains the successful accomplishment of ritual practice. Moreover, according to Haiyun, the teachings of the Susiddhikara Sūtra span those of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra and the Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra, resulting in a common significance, although he does not explain just what this significance is.

We also learn from Haiyun’s work that the esoteric master concurrently bestowed upon his disciple the teachings of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi and Susiddhikara Sūtras. He describes in this scroll on the transmission of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra the transmission of the two texts as follows:

Then the Master Xuanchao 玄超 transmitted the teachings of the King of the Great Teachings of Mahāvairocana and of the Susiddhi [kara Sūtra] to Master Huiguo of the Qinglongsi’s Dongtayuan 東塔院. Master [Huiguo] [then] transmitted them to the monk Weishang 惟尚 of Chengdufu 城都府 (note we also call him Weiming 惟明) to Bianhong of Bianzhou 汴州, to the Korean monks Huiri 慧日 and Wuzhen 悟真, to Kūkai of Japan, to the monks Yiman 義滿, Yiming 義明, Yizheng 義諄, Yizhao 義照, Yicao 義操, Yimin 義愍 and Farun 法潤 of the same temple [Qinglongsi]. Those to whom he transmitted

9 T.2081:786c2-14.
the teachings and the position of the transmission of the consecration [to become] a master numbered twelve people. Some resided in the capital and transmitted and maintained [the teachings] and some were in the vast teaching's remote regions. All have passed away. Then Master Yicao 義操 of the Dongtayuan [of the Qinglongsi] transmitted [the teachings] to Yizhen 義真 of the same school [and the same hall], to Senda 深達 of the Jinggongsi 景公寺, to his disciple Haiyun of the Jingzhushi 淨住寺, to the monk Dayu 大遇 of the Chongfusi and to the monk Wenyuan 文苑 of the Liquansi 體泉寺. The above five all transmitted the teachings. He then transmitted [to them] the position of master. Then Master Farun 法潤 of the Dongtayuan transmitted [the teachings] to the monks Daosheng 道昇 of Jingfasi 淨法寺 and to Faquan and Weijin 惟謹 of the Xuanfasi 玄法寺.\(^\text{1}\)

Further, Haiyun restates at the end of this scroll on the transmission of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra that this text and the Susiddhikara Sūtras were handed down together.

The above clarifies in detail the meaning of the teachings of the matrix repository. I have respectfully relied on the spheres of the two teachings of the revealed and secret and have briefly described their purport. The meaning of the teachings is profound and vast and it is difficult to probe its bottom. However, I, Haiyun, have gratefully received the Buddha's favor and succeeded in encountering these sacred teachings. Having personally received the eye of the dharma [whereby I can clearly discern the truth], I have made known the transmission of [the sūtras of] Mahāvairocana and the susiddhi from above on down

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\(^\text{10}\) T.2081:786c23-787a10.
to the present seven leaves (generations) and I have roughly described the essence [of these texts]. And, according to what I have seen and heard, I have briefly recorded this procedure [of transmission] and its wise ones.\[11\]

From the time of Śubhākarasimha’s and Vajrabodhi’s introduction of the esoteric doctrine to China the teachings of the Susiddhikara Sūtra would have formed one of the many components of this doctrine, but it was during the life time of Haiyun and Faquan that these teachings assumed a prominent status.

Haiyun documents in his Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji, then, the esoteric system of his time and this system differed markedly from that which Kūkai said he inherited from Huiguo. The most notable feature of the system that Haiyun describes was the new and crucial standing given to the Susiddhikara Sūtra, which Kūkai had relegated to a subordinate position within his Shingon system of the two major categories of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra and the Tattvasamgraha Tantra. Although Haiyun classifies the transmission of this text together with that of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra in his Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji, the position, significance and function of the Susiddhikara Sūtra equalled that of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra and the Tattvasamgraha Tantra, forming a system of three categories which were interrelated by means of ritual practices and their mantras, as I shall later explain.

Ennin uses the term “the great teachings in three categories” to describe Faquan’s transmission in his travel diary, the Nittō guhō junrei gyōki 入唐求法巡禮行記 (Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of

the Law). In fact Ennin mentions twice in his Nittō guhō junrei gyōki that Faquan was the monk who best understood "the great teachings in three categories".\(^{12}\)

Ennin received the esoteric transmission from a number of Chinese masters in Chang'an. He documents in his Nittō guhō junrei gyōki that he received the transmission of the vajradhātu from Yuanzheng 元政 of the Daxingshansi 大興善寺.\(^{13}\) He studied under Yuanzheng from the twenty-ninth day of the tenth month of the fifth year of Kaicheng 開成 (840) until the thirteenth day of the second month of the first year of Huichang 會昌 (841). From the third day of the fifth month of the first year of Huichang he received the transmission of the garbhadhātu and the susiddhi from Yizhen of the Qinglongsi, who was known, as Ennin himself records, as a specialist in the dual transmission of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra and Tattvasamgraha Tantra and their mañḍala.\(^{14}\) The fact that Ennin received the transmissions of the garbhadhātu and the susiddhi concurrently corroborates Haiyün's description of these transmissions in his Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji. In fact, in his Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji Haiyün records that Huiguō transmitted both the Vairocanābhisambodhi and Susiddhikara teachings to Yicao and Farun, and that Yicao then transmitted these teachings to Yizhen and to Haiyün himself, while Farun transmitted them to Faquan. It is also interesting to note that Ennin received instructions in the susiddhi from a master whom the Chinese

\(^{12}\) *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, pp.169-282.


monk Huaiqing 懐慶 labeled as a specialist in the dual transmission of the Vairocanaḥbisam bodhi Sūtra and Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra. It seems that the teachings of the Susiddhikara Sūtra were, nevertheless, a part of Yizhen’s expertise. Ennin then received for a second time instructions on the garbhadhātu from Faquan on the twenty-ninth day of the second month of the second year of Huichang (842). This time, however, Ennin makes no mention of the susiddhi teachings.\(^{15}\)

In summary, Ennin’s description of Faquan’s transmission is identical to that of Haiyun: Faquan was a master of the "great teachings in three categories." Moreover, Ennin documents his initiation into an esoteric transmission in three categories, albeit from a number of different masters, during his sojourn in China, and it was this esoteric transmission in three categories that he himself promulgated on Hieizan upon his return to Japan.\(^{16}\)

\(^{15}\) Dainihon bukkyō zensho, vol. 113, p. 2515b and Reischauer, Ennin’s Diary, p. 311.

\(^{16}\) Ennin petitioned the court in Kajō 嘉祥 3 (850) to be allowed to establish on Hieizan the specialized studies of the Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra and the Susiddhikara Sūtra. (See Fukuda Gyōei, Tendaigaku gairon, Tokyo: Nakayama shobō busshorin, 1954, p. 294, Shimizutani Kyōjun, Tendai mikkyō no seiritsu ni kansuru kenkyū, Tokyo: Bunichi shuppan kabushiki gaisha, 1972, p. 118 and Kiuchi Gyōō, Tendai mikkyō no keisei -- Nihon Tendai shisōshi kenkyū, Tokyo, 1984, pp. 283-4.) Ennin thus sought to enlarge the programme of esoteric studies on Hieizan that had first been set up by its founder Saichō 最澄 (767-822). Saichō had petitioned Emperor Kanmu to allow him to introduce, along with the study of the Mohezhiguan 摩訶止観 (Makāshikan), the specialized study of Vairocana 遮那業 (shanagō), which focused exclusively upon the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra. (See Fukuda Gyōei, Tendaigaku gairon, p. 294 See also Hazama Jiko, "The Characteristics of Japanese Tendai", Japanese Journal of Religious Studies, 1987, 14/2-3, pp. 101-112.) Moreover, Ennin wrote commentaries on the Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra (Kōnōchōkyōsho) in Ninju 仁
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Although Enchin does not, as Ennin did, label Faquan’s transmission as "the great teachings in three categories", his documentation of the teachings that he received from his Chinese master affirms that the primary components of Faquan's transmission were the teachings of the Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra and the Vairocanābhisambodhi and Susiddhikara Sūtras. Faquan himself actually describes the esoteric transmission he bestowed upon Enchin in a colophon on Enchin’s Shōryūji guhō mokuroku 青龍寺求法目録 (Catalogue of [Items Collected during a] Search for the Law in Qinglong Temple), the inventory that Enchin compiled in 855 when he was residing in Chang’an and studying under Faquan. Faquan states in this inscription that:

On the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the ninth year of Dazhong17 [Enchin] entered [the garbhadhātu maṇḍala and received] the consecration (abhiṣeka) of the five jars [for] the garbha[dhātu maṇḍala] of great compassion and attained [the position of] Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattva. I then taught him the great teachings of the garbha [dhātu maṇḍala]. Further, on the third day of the tenth month [Enchin] entered [the vajradhātu maṇḍala and received] the consecration of the five families of the vajradhātu [maṇḍala] and attained [the position of] Vajrapāramitā Bodhisattva. Then I taught

寿 1 (851) and on the Susiddhikara Sūtra (Soshijiharakyō ryakuso) in Saiko 齊衡 2 (855) for these newly added specializations, as well as ritual manuals for the rites of the garbhadhātu, vajradhātu and susiddhi. (There already existed a commentary on the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra: Yixing’s 一行 (Ichigyō) Dapiluzhena chengžō jingzhou 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏.)

17The Chinese reign era should be written as Daizhong 太中. This copyist’s mistake appears in many of Enchin’s documents that will be examined in this paper.
him the [rites] of the vajradhātu [maṇḍala] and of the siddhi, as well as the yoga of the Honored Ones. [There were] close to one hundred odd books. Furthermore, on the fifth day of the eleventh month [Enchin] entered the practice hall [and received] the consecration for the position of Great Master who Transmits the Great Teachings of the Five Families and he attained [the position of] Maṇḍalabodhisattva.\(^{18}\)

Faquan’s administering of the tantric consecrations to his Japanese disciple involved a three-fold process: first he bestowed upon Enchin the consecration into the garbhadhātu maṇḍala and then he instructed him on the teachings and rites of this maṇḍala; then he granted him the consecration into the vajradhātu maṇḍala, which was followed by instructions on the rites of this maṇḍala, as well as on those of the siddhi and other deity practices; finally he gave Enchin the master’s consecration which authorized him to initiate and teach others. Faquan thus enumerates in an ascending order of importance the consecration ceremonies that he granted Enchin: first the garbhadhātu maṇḍala, then the vajradhātu maṇḍala and lastly instructions on the rites of the siddhi and other deity practices. Ennin, however, did not receive his initiations in this order, perhaps because he did not study under one esoteric master. Ennin first received the transmission of the vajradhātu maṇḍala and then received that of the garbhadhātu maṇḍala concurrently with the susiddhi.

Enchin describes the consecrations that Faquan granted him in more detail in another document. In the Seikōden shingon shikan ryōshū chōkanjō 請弘傳真言止觀両宗官牒款狀 (Official Petition

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\(^{18}\) T.LV.2172:1097a.
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Requesting the Universal Transmission of the Two Schools of the Mantra and the Zhiguan), which dates to the seventh day of the third month of the fifth year of Jōan 貞観 (863), Enchin records his receiving Faquan’s instructions on the teachings of the siddhi.\(^{19}\)

On the first third day of the sixth month [of the ninth year of Daizhong] I had the honor of meeting the fifth generation dharma transmitting disciple of the former Master Śubhākarasimha Tripiṭaka of the Nalanda Temple in central India. Master Faquan, the great virtuous monk who maintains the thought [of enlightenment] and [performs] the offerings in the Former Hall of Long Life, the monk who transmits the teachings in the Qinglongsi in [Chang’an’s] streets on the left, granted me permission to receive the purport of the school of yoga. He is, namely, the monk from whom the Great Dharma Teacher, Master Ennin, the transmitter of the teachings in Enryakuji, received the teachings...[T]he Heshang repeatedly spoke of Master Ennin’s extremely detailed understanding of the teachings and that the Master [Ennin] and he discussed the teachings in detail and to an extreme. The refined content [of these discussions] was particularly marvelous.

After a few days I met Enkaku of Taguchi 田口圓覺, a monk [from] Japan who is making a pilgrimage [here] and I consider him to be a fine guide.

On the first day of the seventh month I shifted my lodgings to the

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\(^{19}\) This document, which is an official petition wherein Enchin requested the universal transmission of the two schools of the mantra and the samatha-vipasyana, is collected in the Yohō hennen zasshū 余芳編年雑集 (A Chronological Miscellanea of Remnant Fragrances). This work, which was compiled by Honee 本會, is published in Dainihon bukkyō zensho, vol. 28, Chishō Daishi zenshū 4, pp. 1310-1311.
quarters of the monk Yunzhu 雲居 of the Jingtuyuan 净土院 of the Longxingsi 龍興寺. The original name [of this temple] is the Jingxingsi 經行寺 and it is in the Chonghua Ward 崇化房 of [Chang'an's] streets on the right.

On the fifteenth day of the seventh month I entered together with Ensaï 圓載 the maṇḍala of the great compassionate matrix repository and was given the consecration of this great dharma. Then I was granted the great yoga of the matrix repository. Next I entered the practice hall of the mahāmaṇḍala of the nine assemblies of the vajradhātu. Sprinkling the water of the consecration of the Five Wisdoms, I received the teachings of the supreme vehicle of great offerings, as well as the yoga of the Honored [Ones] of the two categories and the great rites of the susiddhi, and so on. And also I summoned the offering artisans Shaoqing 旬慶 and the others and I had images of the mahāmaṇḍala drawn in the Longxingsi. The Master of the [Qinglongsi] checked and corrected [their work] from start to finish...

On the first third of the eleventh month I visited Master [Faquan’s] place and consulted him about the matter of my consecration into the teachings. The Master answered as follows: "I have already authorized you. It is not that you have to perform it at all, [but] if it is essential for you to enter the maṇḍala, I leave it up to you. For four days, then, arrange incense and flowers and make offerings to the wise ones and sages." That day I entered meditation and received the samaya precepts.

On the fifth watch of the fifth day [Master Faquan] conferred on me the consecration for the position of master of the great teachings of the two categories. I then attained [the positions of] Prajñā Bodhisattva and Mahākāśagarbha Bodhisattva and Dharmacakra-pravartin Mahābodhisattva. The Master’s certificate [of the prophecy of my future enlightenment] states as follows: "You have
received the empowerment of the Wisdom Mother of Mahāvairocana and [so you] should course through the great emptiness that is of the nature of the teachings of the letter a and should transmit these supreme teachings of all the Tathāgatas.”

There is also other documentary evidence that verifies that Enchin did indeed study Faquan’s transmission of the Susiddhikara teachings. The first piece of evidence is a dated postscript that Enchin wrote on his copy of the Soshijji kara kuyō hiki 蘇悉地羯羅供養批記 (Note on the Offering Rite of the Susiddhikara). The postscript on the first scroll of Enchin’s Soshijji kara kuyōhiki manuscript states that:

[This is] the book which I, having requested the monk [Fa]quan’s book, copied and [then] collated in the quarters of the monk Yunzhu of the Jingtuyuan of the Longxingsi, [which is in] the city of Chang’an’s streets on the right, on the twenty-third day of the seventh month of the ninth year of Dazhong.

The second piece of evidence that confirms Enchin did indeed obtain the susiddhi rite from his Chinese master Faquan is the Soshijji kishōjō 蘇悉地起請狀 (Written Pledge [concerning the rite of the] Susiddhi), a written pledge that Enchin composed in 874. Enchin describes in this

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20 Dainihon bukkyō zensho, vol. 28, Chishō Daishi zenshū 4, pp. 1310-1311.
21 This work, which was also compiled by the monk Honne 本會, is published in Dainihon bukkyō zensho, vol. 28, Chishō Daishi zenshū 4, pp. 1284-1285. The postscript on the second scroll of this work contains the identical information as that on the first scroll.

Eochin seems to have first procured a book of the rites that he sought, and then to have received the initiations and instructions.
document the significance of the rite of the *susiddhi* as follows:

Concerning the fact that after receiving the position of Master (*ācārya*) one can be given the great rite of the *susiddhi*. The great rite [mentioned] above forms the two wings of the great rites of the two categories of the matrix repository and the *vajra* sphere. For this reason [my] great Chinese teacher and others, as well as our Jikaku Daishi [Ennin], earnestly treasured it in particular. It is not the same as the other categories. Therefore, from now on the one who transmits the *dharma* must instruct his disciples [in this rite] and, after having them ascend [to the position of] Master, he must confer on them the said rite. If it is not [carried out] so, you will most probably harm the great way. Consequently, it has been established as a precedent.

The eleventh day of the eleventh month of the sixteenth year of Jōgan Master and Great Dharma Teacher Enchin

However, in neither Faquan’s colophon on the *Shōryūji guhō mokuroku* nor in Enchin’s *Seikōden shingon shikan ryōshū chōkanjō* do the authors document that the rite of the *susiddhi* was granted after the disciple’s consecration as a master of the *dharma* transmission. Although both Faquan and Enchin do note that instruction on the *susiddhi* rite was conferred after the disciple’s consecration into the *garbhadhātu* and the *vajradhātu maṇḍala*, respectively, thus suggesting that the *susiddhi* rite stood above those of the *garbhadhātu* and *vajradhātu*, in his *Soshiji kishōjō* Enchin explicitly states that the *susiddhi* rite was supreme in status.

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22 This work is included in the *Yohō hennen zasshū, Chishō Daishi zenshū* 4, p. 1332.
In short, there is ample evidence demonstrating that Enchin received from Faquan the teachings and rites of the three categories of the *garbhadhātu, vajradhātu* and *susiddhi*. Moreover, Enchin himself tells us something about the transmission that he received from Faquan. He writes in his *Soshiji kishōjō*, for example, that the *susiddhi* rite was considered to be the most important of these rites. Further, in the document entitled *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* 決示三種悉地法 (Transmissions Referring to the Rites of the Threefold *Siddhi*) Enchin records Faquan’s teachings about the significance of the five-syllable mantra of the category of supreme *siddhi*. I will discuss this document later in this paper.

The inventories of Faquan’s Japanese disciples and Annen’s 安然 (841-915) *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 諸阿闍梨言密教部類総録 (Comprehensive Record of the Categories of the *Ācāryas’* Secret Teachings on the *Mantras*), which recapitulates the contents of both the official and unofficial inventories of the eight Heian pilgrim-monks who went to Tang China 入唐八家 (*nittō hakka*), further attest to Faquan’s involvement with the *susiddhi* category of teachings. An ex-

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23 This is the position that the *susiddhi* rite holds in the esoteric Tendai school today. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1410 (*Soshijiharakyō*), p. 1412 (*Soshiji hō*), p. 1414 (*Soshiji kanjō*) and ibid, vol. 2, p. 824 (*sanbu daihō*); *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3152-3 (*Soshiji kanjō*), pp. 3153-4 (*Soshiji hō*), and ibid, vol. 2, pp. 1645-6 (*sanbu daihō*).

24 The inventories of the early Heian pilgrim-monks, which are listings of the texts, images and ritual implements the pilgrims collected during their sojourn in China, serve as invaluable sources for reconstructing Buddhism in Tang China and for understanding the type and source of Buddhist teachings the monks introduced to Japan. Annen’s *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, which he composed between 885 and 902, functions as a guidebook for the study of these pilgrims’ inventories. Because Annen relied not only on the inventories
amination of the texts and religious articles that Faquan’s disciples Ennin, Enchin and Shūei 宗叡 (809-884) brought back from their travels indicates that they had received a transmission of the esoteric teachings in the three major categories of the garbhadhātu, the vajradhātu and the susiddhi.25

Shūei, for instance, records in his Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku 新書寫請來法門等目録 (Inventory of Newly Copied and Imported [Works on] the Gate [that leads to] Truth) a copy in two scrolls of the Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa 蘇悉地羯羅供養法, a ritual manual for the performance of the susiddhi rite of offering translated by Śubhākarasimha, and a copy of the Suxidi yigui qiyin 蘇悉地儀軌契印 (Hand gestures [described] in the Ritual Manual for the Susiddhi [Rite]), a scroll that his Chinese master Faquan possessed illustrating the hand gestures performed in this rite of susiddhi.26

of these eight monks but also consulted their personal records, as well as temple catalogues (see Misaki Ryōshū “Annen no Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku”, Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū 16/2 (1968) 96-105, especially 98-100), his work provides evidence of the development and changes that had occurred in the esoteric teachings after Saichō and Kūkai. However, the Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōkoku must be used together with other sources because an examination of this work and the pilgrim-monks’ inventories reveals that Annen records selectively. There are numerous discrepancies between Annen’s recording and the items that the pilgrim-monks list in their inventories.

25 See T.LV.2167, 2171 and 2174A.
26 T.2174A:1108a, 1111b. Shūei, unlike Ennin and Enchin, does not document the esoteric transmissions that he received during his sojourn in China. There are, moreover, discrepancies in the information about the transmission that Shūei received from his Chinese masters in the contemporary and later historical sources. For instance, according to Zaoxuan’s 造玄 Xiangcheng xuemo 相承血脈, which is dated to ca. 865, Shūei received from Faquan initiations into both the vajradhātu and garbhadhātu mandala. (Shingonshū zensho, vol. 39, pp. 14-15.) His biographies in the Honchō kōsō den 本朝高僧傳 and the Shingon den,
Annen records in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* a two scroll version of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa composed by Śubhākarasimha*. Although Shūei lists in his inventory a two scroll version of this work, Annen notes that this ritual manual was intro-

_真言傳_ however, both state that he received initiation into the *vajradhātu maṇḍala* from Xuanqing 玄慶 during his stay in Bianliang 汴梁 and that while in Chang’an he received from Faquan initiation into the *garbhadhātu maṇḍala*. (Hōchōhōsōden, 7 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, p. 131 and Shingonden, 3 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 160. See also my article entitled “The Rishyukyō Mandara Said to Have Been Introduced by Shūei”, *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie*, 8 (1995), p. 372.) The Shingon school’s *Kechimyaku ruijū ki* 血脈類集記, which is of unknown authorship but which bears a repair stamp dated to 1482 (文明 14), records that Shūei received the *vajradhātu* teachings from Faquan and the *garbhadhātu* teachings from Farun. (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, pp. 15-16.) Nevertheless, despite the difficulty of reconstructing the transmission that Shūei received in China, an examination of the texts and religious articles that Shūei brought back from his travels, as well as the esoteric teachings that he himself handed on to his own disciples indicates that he, too, had received a transmission of the esoteric teachings in the three major categories of the *garbhadhātu*, the *vajradhātu* and the *susiddhi*. Moreover, documentation of Shūei’s transmission in later sources further confirms that Shūei passed on to his own disciples the teachings in the three categories of the *vajradhātu*, *garbhadhātu* and *susiddhi*, thus perpetuating the esoteric transmission in three major categories that he himself had received in China. There are a number of medieval Shingon writings wherein discussion focuses upon the transmission of the *susiddhi* within the esoteric transmissions of the various Shingon sub-schools. Among these works, two in particular elucidate Shūei’s role in the transmission of the *susiddhi* teachings within the Shingon school. These are the *Gambhīra shō* 偏避羅書 (Compendium of [the profoundness of the three letters] gam bhī ra) by the scholar-monk Yōkai 栄海 (1278-1347) and the *Hōsaku shō* 寶冊抄 by Gōhō 果寶, a disciple of Yōkai. See *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 52, p. 311, pp. 318h-319c and T.LXXVII.2453;799c-800c. Misaki presents a detailed discussion of these works in his *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, “Tōmitsu ni okeru soshijī”, pp. 606-653.
duced, not by Shūei, but by Eun 慧運 (798-869) who was in China 842-847 AD. Most interestingly, however, Annen adds under this entry that there are four versions of this work: the version Ennin returned with was the first version and the other three versions brought back by Eun, Engyō 圓行 (799-852) and Enchin were works collated by Faquan.27 Annen’s notation provides further evidence of Faquan’s involvement in the transmission of the susiddhi teachings.

It is clear, then, that the ranking of the Susiddhikara Sūtra changed after Huiguo’s death in 805. The significance of the Susiddhikara Sūtra in Faquan’s transmission and in the Chinese esoteric Buddhism of the mid-ninth century shows that the major esoteric texts had been differently categorized since the days of Huiguo and Kūkai. Haiyun states in his Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji that the Korean Master Xuanchao transmitted the Vairocanābhisambodhi and the Susiddhikara Sūtras to Huiguo and that Master Huiguo in turn transmitted these teachings to a number of disciples, including the Japanese monk Kūkai.28 This means, then, that both Huiguo and Kūkai knew of the Susiddhikara Sūtra.29 Kūkai classifies the Susiddhikara Sūtra as a

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27 T.LV.2176:1117a. See also Misaki, Taimitsu no henkyū, p. 586.
28 T.2081:786c25-787a3. Xuanchao is described in sentence 786c17.
29 Circumstantial evidence seems to indicate that Huiguo and Kūkai did study the susiddhi teachings. In addition to Haiyun’s Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji wherein he records, as we have seen, that Huiguo received and transmitted the teachings of the Susiddhikara Sūtra, there are passages in Huiguo’s biography, which dates to 826, concerning the esoteric transmission he received. This transmission included the susiddhi teachings. The relevant passages in this biography are given in footnote 30. Further, according to the Chinese response, which dates to 839, to the letter that Jitsue 賢恵 (786-847) composed in 837 and had Engyō deliver, Kūkai had studied under Huiguo the esoteric
text of discipline (vinaya) in his Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku 真言宗所學經律論目錄 (Catalogue of the Sūtras, Vinaya and Śāstras for [those of] the Mantra School), a list of texts that a Shingon monk must study.\textsuperscript{30} The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra and Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra thus formed the two major categories in the transmission that Kūkai received from Huigu and the Susiddhikara Sūtra was but a subordinate text.

In the Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji, however, Haiyun classifies the Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra and the Vairocanābhisambodhi and Susiddhikara Sūtras ex aequo under the phrase "the great teachings in three categories."\textsuperscript{31} Moreover, the Susiddhikara Sūtra has a place of central importance in the writings on the transmission that the Tendai monks Ennin and Enchin received from Faquan and in subsequent Tendai esoteric teachings. In contrast to the Shingon school, which construes the teachings and maṇḍala of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra and the Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra as a single indivisible unit 両部不二（ryōbu funi），the Tendai esoteric school conceives the two lineages of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra and the Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra as separate 營二（ninī），and regards the Susiddhikara Sūtra, which is considered to be without distinctions 不二（funi），as joining

\textsuperscript{30} Mikkyō daijiten, vol. 3, p. 1410a-c.

\textsuperscript{31} T.2081:786c11, 14.
the teachings of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra and the Tattvasaṁ-
gra ha Tantra into a single unit.

III. Interpretation and Reinterpretation of the Susiddhikara Sūtra

This section focuses on changes in the interpretation of the Susiddhikara Sūtra during the Tang Dynasty from the time of Śubhākarasimha’s translation of this text to the time of Faquan. I will present the fundamental teachings of this sūtra, in particular those of the special mantra and rites of the threefold siddhi. It is the special mantra and the rites of the threefold siddhi that undergo significant reinterpretations.

The Susiddhikara Sūtra always held a place of importance in the Chinese esoteric system of the Tang Dynasty. Śubhākarasimha’s Chinese translation of this text in 726, the Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa, a ritual manual whose translation is attributed to Śubhākarasimha, as well as the Suxidi yigui qiyan, provide evidence that this text and its ritual tradition were important in the early Tang esoteric school. Further, the biographies of Amoghavajra and Huiguo attest to the transmission of these teachings within the early Chinese esoteric school. Moreover, the Tang Dynasty catalogues, the Kaiyuan shijiao lu 開元釋教錄 (The Kaiyuan Catalogue of Buddhism) and the Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu 貞元新定釋教目録 (The Zhenyuan Newly Established Catalogue of Buddhism), dated to 730 and 800 A.D.

32 T.L.2056:292c8-12, 294b24-26 and 2057:295a8-11, 295c23-27. There are, however, problems with these works. For instance, Takagi (“Kūkai no kai to futō ni tsuite”, Mikkō bunka 82, p. 16) suggests that references to the susiddhi category in Amoghavajra’s bibliography could be later additions. See also Misaki, Taimitsu no kenkyû, pp. 489-91.
respectively, categorized this sūtra, together with the Subāhuparipṛčchā Sūtra 蘇婆呼童子請問經, as the disciplinary rules of the teachings of spells 呪呪奈耶 (ju binaya).³³ Perhaps because of this Chinese classification, both Kūkai and Saichō regarded these texts as works that elucidated the precepts of the esoteric teaching.³⁴ Most importantly, these Tang Dynasty Buddhist catalogues include a note under the Susiddhikara Sūtra entry prohibiting those who have not been initiated into the maṇḍala from reading this text.³⁵ Clearly, in the Chinese esoteric teachings this text was profoundly significant.

The contents of the Susiddhikara Sūtra include such items as (a) a special mantra (b) rites of the threefold siddhi 三種悉地法 (c) consecration and offering rites (d) deities and maṇḍala. In short, the text contains all the elements essential for the performance of the category of the susiddhi. In addition, there is a separate ritual manual for an offering rite, entitled the Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa.³⁶ However,

³³ TLV.2154:571c-572a and 2157:674c.
³⁵ TLV.2154:571c-572a and 2157:674c and Misaki, "Butchōkei no mikkyō", Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū Yoshioka Hakushi kinen, pp. 478-9. The contents of the entry in the Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu are based upon those in the Kaiyuan shijiao lu.
³⁶ TXVIII.894. The relationship between the Susiddhikara Sūtra and the Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa is the same as the relationship between the Tattvasamgraha Tantra and Amoghavajra’s Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦儀軌 and the first six chapters of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra and its seventh chapter. The ritual manual explains in detail the rite of offering 供養 (kuyō) and recitation and visualization 念誦 (nenju) which centers on the deities expounded in the main sūtra. In the ritual manuals the hand gestures and mantras are given, whereas the construction of the maṇḍala and its deities are detailed in the sūtra.
it seems that the contents of the susiddhi category are not to be found in these works alone.

The title of this text emphasizes its focus: the sūtra effecting (karaṇa) supernatural attainments (susiddhi). In the first chapter of the text, Kuṇḍalī asks Vajrapāṇi a number of questions concerning esoteric praxis, in particular the rules for reciting mantras so that one can attain one’s aims quickly and successfully, and the answers constitute the contents of the text’s subsequent chapters. Vajrapāṇi explains that this sūtra teaches five types of rites but it is the fifth rite of the perfection of all mantras that is supreme. He extolls the efficaciousness of this sūtra in the following way:

As for this Susiddhikara Sūtra, if you hold [in your mind] other mantra practices but cannot bring about their success, you can concurrently hold [in your mind] the fundamental mantra of this Sūtra and you will immediately be successful. This Sūtra is the king among the three families. Moreover, it can bring about the success of all [ritual] acts such as the so-called practices of protection of body, binding the [sacred] sphere, inviting [the Honored Ones to enter the maṇḍala], as well as those of offering, helping each other, determining punishments and instruction, and it can bring about the successful accomplishment of all mantras.

Haiyun has also described the powers of the susiddhi category in similar terms in his Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji, as we have seen.

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37 T.893:603a7-b13.
38 T.893:603b13-16.
39 T.893:603b21-25.
Interestingly, Vajrapâṇi lauds the effectiveness of the text's fundamental mantra but he does not reveal the contents of this mantra. The contents of this fundamental mantra became an issue in the esoteric Tendai school.

The Susiddhirka Sūtra does not concern itself with matters of doctrine. Instead, this text elaborates on the rules conducive to the successful performance of esoteric rites and the attainment of special powers (siddhi).\(^\text{40}\) Kuṇḍalī poses over forty questions, asking about the characterisitcs of, for example, mantra recitation, the acārya, the practitioner and his companions, the site of the ritual performance, the offerings, the successful accomplishment of superior, middling and in-

\(^{40}\) A Sanskrit original of this text does not exist, but both the Tibetan and Chinese translations provide evidence that the text was originally part of a much larger Sanskrit work whose title can be reconstructed from the Tibetan as Susiddhikara mahātantra sādhanopāyiṇa paṭala (Section on expedient means for rites of accomplishment in the Susiddhikara Great Tantra). See Kōda Junnin, "Soshijiharakyō Shōmonbon no kōsatsu", Mikkyō gaku 32 (1996), pp. 109-128 and Rolf Giebel, "Soshijiharakyō genten kenkyū shotan", Tōhōgaku 99 (January 2000), pp. 105-91. In the Tibetan fourfold classification of the Buddhist tantras, this text is included among the action (kriyā) tantras, a category of texts whose emphasis is upon ritual practices.

The Taishō shinshū daizōkyō has published three versions of this text: a Korean version 高麗本, a Song version 宋本 and a Japanese version kept in Sanpōjuin 三寶壽院本. There are differences in, for example, the division of the scrolls, the order of some chapters, and the contents (only the Korean version contains separate chapters on the rites of santika, pauṣṭika and abhicāraha), but these differences do not hamper one’s understanding of the contents of the scripture. For the differences see Kamabashi Ryūjō Bussho kaisetsu daijiten, vol. 7, pp. 9-12. I have consulted the Korean version and all my citations are based upon this version. See the English translation of this text by Rolf W. Giebel, Two Esoteric Sūtras, Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2001.
ferior rites, and the maṇḍala. Further, he inquires about the characteristics of, instructions for and the results of the rites of śantika, 
pauṣṭiṣka, abhicāraka, consecration and homa.

Vajrapāṇi’s exposition centers on the three families of buddha, 
padma and vajra, and the answers he provides are categorized respectiv-
ely into the ranks of supreme (buddha), middling (padma) and in-
ferior (vajra). For example, the supreme mantra of the buddha family 
perfects the rite of śantika, the middling mantra of the padma family 
accomplishes the rite of pauṣṭiṣka, and the inferior mantra of the vajra 
family makes the rite of abhicāraka successful.41 Moreover, Vajrapāṇi 
states that

the profundity and wondrousness of this sūtra [s teachings] are like 
the deva among devas, and also its mantras are the sublime among the 
suble. If you rely on its ritual prescriptions 法, then there will be no 
[rival] acts 事 that you cannot successfully accomplish. Although 
this sūtra belongs to the the inferior division of the vajra, because re-
verence for the ordinances of the Buddha’s teachings permeates and ac-
complishes [all], this sūtra can also perfect the rites of the upper two 
families [of the buddha and padma].42

The Susiddhikara Sūtra specifies, then, the significance (rules for 
ritual ”success”) and function (efficacious mantra practice) of the cate-
gory of the susiddhi. The purport of Vajrapāṇi’s statements in the 
Susiddhikara Sūtra is reiterated in Haiyun’s emphasis on this teach-
ing’s special function (clarification of the success of ritual practices).

41 T.893:604b23-25. 
42 T.893:604c26-29.
However, in the esoteric system of Haiyun's time the signification of this text had changed. According to Haiyun's statement in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji*, its significance spanned the two categories of the *garbhadhātu* and *vajradhātu*. But, as we have seen, the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* centers upon the three families of the *buddha*, *padma* and *vajra*, and classifies the *mantras*, rites and accomplishments (*siddhi*) of these families as supreme, middling and inferior, respectively.\(^{43}\) This focus upon the accomplishment of the three grades of supreme, middling and inferior *siddhi* can be linked to the Buddhôṣṇīśa textual tradition that predated the composition of the *Vairocanâbhisambodhi Sūtra* and the *Tattvasamgraśa Tantra*.\(^{44}\)

\(^{43}\) One text that predates the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* and that discusses the three families 三部 (*sanbu*) is Atiṅgâ's *Dhāranīsamuccaya*. The content of this text is presented by using the three families of the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and Vajra. See Osabe Kazuo, "Kanyaku sanshu shijji hō no keifu", *Mikkyō bunha 77-78* (November 1966), pp. 57-78, esp. p. 58 and reprinted in his *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō* pp. 226-52, esp. p. 228.

\(^{44}\) Texts that predate the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* and expound the rites of the threefold *siddhi* as supreme, middling and inferior are the *Yizi foding lunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 and the *Wufoding sanmei tuoluoni jing* 五佛頂三昧陀羅尼經. The first gives the most detailed account. Although a comparison of texts shows that the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* is not based on the *Yizi foding lunwang jing*, clearly the authors of both texts consulted the same work for the rites of the threefold *siddhi* (Osabe, "Kanyaku sanshu shijji hō no keifu", *Mikkyō bunha 77-78*, pp. 59, 75-6). Moreover, the main difference is that the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* allocates these three rites to the three families of the *buddha*, *padma* and *vajra* whereas the focus of the *Yizi foding lunwang jing* is the success of the rite of Ekâkṣarôṣṇiśa. Further, Osabe argues that both *Susiddhikara Sūtra* and the *Yizi foding lunwang jing* are concerned with secular benefits, in constrast to Yixing's discussion of the benefits of the rites of the threefold *siddhi* in his *Dapiluzhena chengfo jing jingzhou* (ibid, pp. 59-60). Osabe also states ("Tōdai-kōki taizō space mikkyōgaku no ryūha to sanshu shijji hō, *Mikkyōgaku..."
Haiyun's statement, however, implies that the teachings of this text successfully effected not only the ritual practices of the three families of the *buddha, padma and vajra* of the *garbhadhātu maṇḍala* but also those of the five families (*buddha, padma, vajra, ratna and karma*) of the *vajradhātu maṇḍala*. Thus, at some point during the Tang Dynasty, either before or during the lifetime of Haiyun, the efficacy of the practices of the *Susiddikara Sūtra* was extended to include the esoteric systems of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra* and the *Tattvasamgraha Tantra*.

Further corroboration of a late Tang Dynasty reinterpretation of the concept of the threefold *siddhi* are Faquan's oral teachings as documented in Enchin's *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* 決示三種悉地法 (Transmissions Referring to the Rites of the Threefold *Siddhi*). This new concept of the threefold *siddhi* also requires investigation because it is found in a number of esoteric ritual manuals that were composed during the late Tang Dynasty, as we shall see.

The *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* contains explanations of the three *mantras* of *siddhi* that Enchin passed on to the Tendai monk Henjō 遍照 (817-890) in 871 or 873.⁴⁵ In this document Enchin records the oral

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⁴⁵The *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* is published in *Dainihon bēkkō yō zensho*, vol. 127, *Chishō Daishi zenshū* 3, pp. 985-986. Tajima Tokuon in his discussion of this document in the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* (vol. 3, p. 136) suggests that the term *ketsuji* refers to the oral transmission a master personally confers on his disciple 面授口決, and so dates this document to the time of Enchin's bestowal of the esoteric Tendai transmission on Henjō. See also Misaki's discussion of this document in "Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō", *Nihon daizōkyō*, Enlarged and Revised
teachings of the *mantra* of the supreme category of *siddhi* that his Chinese master Faquan transmitted to him.

Master [Fa] quan of the Qinglongsi bequeathed to Enchin miscellaneous *mantras*, saying as follows. "[When] Prabhutaratna Brahmaçarī selected the essential subtleties among the thirty thousand characters of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra*, its highest and finest merit-field [turned out to] be nothing but this five-syllable *mantra*. If one retains [this mantra], one’s meritorious virtue is incomparable. [Further], [this merit] cannot be calculated, nor can it be explained."  


46 Faquan’s words parallel a passage found in the three *Podiyu yigui* 破地獄義軌 (Manuals for Destroying the Hells), but he has made a few changes. The reference to Prabhutaratna Brahmaçarī, for example, is not found in this passage in these three manuals. Instead the texts states that (T.XVIII.905:910b28-c1; T.906:912b27-c1; T.907:915a17-20) This book has five divisions; its Sanskrit original counts four hundred thousand words, [which] have been extracted from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra*. If one selects [these texts'] essential subtleties, their highest merit-field, these will [turn out to] be nothing but the five-syllable *mantra* [*a vam raṃ haṃ kham*].

Recorded also in the *Ketsuji sanshu shijī hō* are the instructions of another master, either Saichō’s disciple Ninchū 仁忠 (?-824) or Ennin (see Misaki, *Taimitsu no kenyū*, p. 522 and his entry on the *Ketsuji sanshu shijī hō* in *Nihon daizōkyō, Kaidai 3*, p. 72). This master also cites the very same passage found in the three ritual manuals but he inserts into the original passage the phrase "Sanskrit texts [made from] palm leaves (*pattra*)" 貝多梵箋. Nevertheless, this disciple’s citation is much closer to the original than that of Enchin’s. See also Mizugami Fumiyoshi, "Taimitsu ni okeru sanshu shijī hō", no denshō," *Tendai gakuhō* 30 (October 1989), pp. 87-91.

47 See T.905:910c1-2, as well as 906:912b27-c1, 907:915a17-20.
The five-syllable mantra is a vāṃ ramaḥ haṃ khaṃ. If you [chant] it once, you will have held in your mind the sūtra repository (note sūtra means all the sūtras) one million times. [The syllables of this mantra] then become the seed syllables of the buddhas in the east, west, south, north and center. Heaven and earth, the mountains and oceans, the rivers, streams and ten thousand currents, the sun, moon, stars and constellations, gold, silver and precious gems, flaming jewels and brilliant lights, the five fruits and the five grains, the opening and scattering of many kinds of flowers, classical features, wealth and honor, knowledge, insight, merit and virtue, exceptionalness and purity, all are governed by this five-syllable mantra.\(^{48}\)

The Great Monk [Fa] quan’s Personal Transmission 全大和尚面決 states that: "This is the mantra of the Law Body. The entire body of each and every one of the buddhas dwells in the sūtras of the two categories. Therefore, that this has not been revealed is something you ought, as a matter of course, to know."

The above is what Enchin saw and heard.\(^{49}\)

According to Faquan’s oral teachings, then, this single mantra conflates within itself the essence of the two major esoteric texts, and this mantra governs the universe: all phenomena issue from its syllables.

Vajrapāṇi does not reveal the Susiddhikara Sūtra’s fundamental mantra. Moreover, the mantras of the threefold siddhi given in the Susiddhikara Sūtra are not the same as those mantras of the threefold siddhi that Enchin received from Faquan and documented in his

\(^{48}\) Although there are slight changes, this section, too, corresponds to passages from the three Podiyu yiguī (T. 905:910b18-22, 906:912b17-21, 907:915a8-12).

\(^{49}\) Dainihon bukkyō zensho, vol. 127, Chishō Daishi zenshū 3, p. 983b.
Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō.\textsuperscript{50} Enchin identifies the textual sources of these three mantras in his Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō.\textsuperscript{51} Enchin first records in this document that Saichō received the mantras of the threefold siddhi from the Chinese monk Shunxiao 順曉 in 804 (貞元末年).\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{50} The chapter entitled "Characterisitcs of Mantras" 真言相 (shingon no sō), in the Susiddhikara Sūtra provides the three main mantras of the three families, of which that of the mothers of the families are also used in the rite of worship that is detailed in chapter 18, "Rites and Procedures for Offering" 供養次第法 (kuyō no shidai hō). See T.893:603c15-604b4 and 616b25-c14. See also Matsunaga Yūkei, "Sanshu shijji to hajigoku", Mikkyō bunka 121, pp. 8-9.

\textsuperscript{51} Dainihon bukkyō zensho, vol. 127, Chishō Daishi zenshū 3, pp. 985a13-17, 936a12-c1. Enchin's own writings show that he was uncertain of the sources of these mantras. For example, in his Sasagimon 些些疑問, which scholars date to 882, Enchin records the following questions for his former Chinese master Zhihuilun (Dainihon bukkyō zensho, vol. 127, Chishō Daishi zenshū 3, p. 1039b): [The syllables] a vaṃ ram haṃ kham [are] the supreme category, a vi ra hum kham [are] the middle [category] and a ra pa ca na are the lower siddhi. These [mantras] appear in what text? Once when I visited the temples in Luoyang, many had [these mantras] recorded on stickers on their gates. What is the main significance of this?

Enchin also asks for the textual sources of these mantras which, he records, correspond to the three Buddha bodies and the threefold siddhi, in his Gimon 疑問. See Dainihon bukkyō zensho, vol. 127, Chishō Daishi zenshū 3, p. 1033a. This work is considered to be a draft of the questions that he sent to Zhihuilun, whereas the Sasagimon is thought to be a more organized version, perhaps the final version, of his list of questions for his former teacher.

\textsuperscript{52} Recorded in the Kenkairon engi 顯戒論縁起, for example, is the statement that Saichō received from Shunxiao the mantras for the pledges (samaya) of the three divisions 三部三昧耶真言 (sanbu sanmaya shingon). See Dengyō Daishi senshū (Tokyo: Nihon bussho kankōdai, 1975), vol. 1, p. 279 and Misaki, "Dengyō daishi Saichō no mikkgyō shisō, Firosófia 56 (1969), 41-66, esp. pp. 47-8. There are, however, problems concerning the content of the esoteric transmission that Saichō received from Shunxiao, as well as the authenticity of the documents that record this content. For instance, it seems that it was Enchin
Next he states that he himself saw these *mantras*, which were allocated to the three bodies of the Buddha, affixed to the gate turret of the Shuinantiangongsi in the eastern capital of Luoyang 大唐東都水南天宮寺. Then, after providing the textual sources of the *mantras*, Enchin documents Faquan’s oral teachings on the *mantra* of the supreme category of *siddhi*, which we have seen above. Enchin’s documentation seems to suggest that there was in the eastern Chinese capital that he visited a special cult that centered on these three *mantras* which were allocated to the three Buddha bodies, that of the *dharma-kāya*, the *sambhogakāya* and the *nirmāṇakāya*, respectively. Further, his documentation suggests that Faquan, too, knew of this cult, whose *mantras* were also associated with the threefold *siddhi* of supreme, middling and lower categories. The *mantra* of the lower category was the focus of the cult of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, which had a long and prestigious history in China. Nevertheless, questions arise: how did Mañjuśrī’s *mantra* become connected to the three Buddha bodies and the threefold *siddhi*? Further, why are two of the threefold *siddhi mantras* drawn from the *Vairācanābhisambodhi Sūtra*? A brief investigation of the function and significance of these *mantras* in the

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textual sources that Enchin has provided seems relevant at this point.

Enchin documents that the source of the mantra of the middling category of siddhi is the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra’s sixth chapter, the Xidi chuxian pin 悉地出現品. Further, he notes under the mantra of the middling category that “[this] is called the adamantine phrase with letters 金剛字句 (kongō jiku) whereby one subjugates the four demons (māra) 降伏四魔,” liberates [those in] the six realms of existence 解脫六趣 and perfects the wisdom of all wisdoms 一切智智.” Enchin’s description of the significance of the mantra of the middling category comes directly from Vairocana’s pronouncement in the Xidi chuxian pin. This mantra is formidable: the vast assembly of Vajra Holders and Bodhisattvas disclose that the Buddhhas, Bodhisattvas, world savours, pratyekabuddhas and śrāvakas use this mantra to destroy the afflictions of passions and delusions; further, pervading everywhere where ritual acts are performed, it brings about various supernatural powers and the acquisition of supreme wisdom and supreme, perfect enlightenment.

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54 These are the four demons that cause suffering, and they are: (1) kleśa-māra demons of illusions and passions (2) shandha-māra demons of aggregates five elemental aggregates of body, perception, conception, volition, consciousness (3) mṛttya-māra demon of death (4) devaputra-māra the demon named Paranirmitavaśavartin (Takejizaiten), king of sixth heaven in the world of desire, who obstructs the good acts and intentions of Buddha and his followers. See Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary (Revised edition), Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1999, p. 310.
56 T.848:20a16-19.
57 T.848:20a20-27.
After revealing the mantra āḥ vī raṃ hum kham and its soteriological powers to the assembly of Vajra Holders and Bodhisattvas, Vairocana then expounds in the rest of this chapter the praxis and the wondrous accomplishments (siddhi) that the practitioner obtains by applying these five syllables to his body. This discourse focuses on the syllables a va ra ha kha of the five elements earth, water, fire, wind and space, respectively, and their rotation into the syllables am vam ram ham kham.\(^{58}\) For example, the syllable a is equated with the great adamantine earth and, when visualized upon the lower body, it transforms this part of the practitioner’s body into an adamantine maṇḍala that is called the seat of yoga. Contemplation upon the syllable a enables the practitioner to smash the citadels of ignorance, making him firm and immobile, and impervious to the attacks of heavenly beings and asuras. Further, the practitioner can accomplish such wondrous deeds as curing sicknesses generated from actions done in his previous lives, abandoning the defiling influences of desires, anger and delusion and transcending all transgressions. A second example is the the syllable va, which is placed upon the navel and forms the pure white, circular, nine-layered maṇḍala of the element water, and symbolizes the water of compassion. Contemplation upon the syllable va enables the practitioner to eradicate all fevered mental sufferings and leave behind the poisons of passions that hinder the attainment of enlightenment, and to acquire such boons as longevity, a special body, the reverence of people and heavenly beings, purity and

\(^{58}\) The discrepancy between the syllables of the mantra āḥ vī raṃ hum kham and those of the five elements is not significant, it seems, for no explanation is given in the scripture. Enchin does, however, explain this discrepancy in his Kyōji ryōbu higōgi 敦示両部秘要義 by noting that the syllables are transformations of the fundamental syllable.
erudition, as well as the immediate fruit of all accomplishments (siddhi). 59

Vairocana’s instructions for the five syllables serve to elucidate the theme of this chapter of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra, which is that of making apparent the supranatural accomplishments (siddhi) of mantra practice. 60 The key theme of the Xidi chuxian pin is, then, mantra efficacy which is possible because of the threefold empowerment 三種加持 (sanshu kaji) that Vairocana presents earlier in the chapter: the merits of the practitioner, the empowerment of the Tathāgata and the dhamadhātu. 61

Enchin cites the source of the mantra of the supreme category of siddhi as the Chitong faze pin 持誦法則品, which is the fourth chapter of the seventh fascicle of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra, and under this mantra he adds that "the explanation of the meaning of the syllables [of this mantra] is identical to [that given in] that [text’s] chapter." 62 This chapter of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra explains the prescriptions for the ritual phase of recitation and identification with the deity. And, in this ritual phase of identification, the practitioner performs the visualization practice of the body adorned with five syllables 五字嚴身観 (goji gonshin kan) whereby his body becomes identical to that of Vairocana. He visualizes the five syllables a vaṃ raṃ haṃ and khaṃ on specific parts of his body and contemplates that these areas of his body assume the shape of the five elements of earth, water, fire, wind and space and thus that of the body of Vairocana. This theory of the five supramundane elements, which compose both

60 T.848:19b5.
61 T.848:18c27-19a5.
the forms of the universe and the body of Vairocana of the garbhadhātu maṇḍala, and its visualization practice pervade the Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi Sūtra and reference to it is found in many chapters of the text, for instance in the Xidi chuxian pin, as noted above, as well as in the Dapiluzhena chengfo jingzhou 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏.

This visualization practice also appears in the Chinese ritual manuals for the garbha rite. The Shedapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing rulianhua taizang haihui beisheng mantuoluo guangda niansong yigui gongyang fangbianhui 摽大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經入蓮華胎藏海會悲生曼陀羅廣大念誦儀軌供養方便會 (The Offerings, Expedient Means and Assemblies [contained in] the Extensive Ritual Manual for the Visualization and Recitation [Practice on] Entry into the Maṇḍala Born from the Compassion of the Ocean Assembly of the Lotus Matrix Repository [that is] Included in the Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi Sūtra), for example, contains a short visualization practice of the five elements that is based upon that given in the chapter of the Mysterious Maṇḍala 秘密曼荼羅品. The mantra aḥ vī ra hum kham associated with this practice is, however, from the Xidi chuxian pin.

There is also a mixing of elements from different chapters of the Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi Sūtra in the version of this visualization practice given in the Dapiluzhena jing guangda yigui 大毘盧遮那經廣大儀軌 (Extensive Ritual Manual [based on the] Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi Sūtra, hereafter the Guangda yigui). The Guangda yigui details this

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63 T.848:20b-21a, 38b and 31a and T.1796:727c. See also Nasu Seiryū, “Sanshu shijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū”, Indogaku bukkyōgaku ronshū: Miyamoto Seison kyōgu hanreki kinen ronbunshū (1954), pp. 441-2 for a number of interpretations based on oral traditions in the Shingon school.
64 T.XVIII.850:83c18-94a2 and 848:31a25-29.
visualization practice of the dharmakāya composed of five elements in the ritual phase of purification that precedes that of the construction of the sacred sanctuary. The characterisitics of the five elements and their syllables ā vi ram haṁ kham are a fusion that has been taken from the Chitong faze pin and the Xidi chuxian pin.\textsuperscript{65}

Faquan's manuals are the only ones among the Chinese ritual manuals that quote this visualization practice directly from the Chitong faze pin.\textsuperscript{66} In his Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuoluo guangda chengjiu yigui gongyang fangbianhui 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持持經蓮華胎藏悲生曼茶羅廣大成就儀軌供養方便會 (The Offerings, Expedient Means and Assemblies [contained in the] Extensive and Perfected Ritual Manual [for the] Maṇḍala Born [from] the Compassion of the Matrix Repository of the Lotus [as based on the] Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra) and his Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti chuangbiaozhi putong zhenyanzang guangda chengjiu yujia 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持持經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標識普通真言藏廣大成就瑜伽 (The Extensive and Perfected Yoga [of the] Repository [of] Universal Mantras and Symbols and Banners of Enlightenment [for the] Matrix Repository of the Lotus [as based on the] Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra), this visualization practice opens the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body that precedes the ritual phase of the visualization of the sacred sanctuary. And as we have learned, the performance of this ritual phase of the Tathāgata's body transforms

\textsuperscript{65} T.XVIII.851:91c15-92b7 and 848:20b4-21a22 and 52b13-29. Further, the visualization of the five elements and their syllables in the reversed order of kham haṁ ram vaṁ a creates the container world in the Guangda yigui (T.851:92c12-93a3).

\textsuperscript{66} T.XVIII.852:110b22-c10, T.853:146b11-29.
the practitioner's body into that of Vairocana-Śākyamuni, purifying and empowering him so that he can construct in his mind the sacred sanctuary where the maṇḍala will be laid out and the deities will assemble. Moreover, it is interesting to consider that this visualization practice of the body adorned with five syllables also appears in Faquan’s Jianli mantuoluò humo yigui 建立曼茶羅護摩儀軌 (Ritual Manual for Setting Up the Maṇḍala [and Performing] Homa), a manual in which ideas and practices from the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra predominate.67 Clearly, this was a practice to which Faquan attached great importance because it appears in three of the four rites for which he composed handbooks.

In his Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō Enchin notes a number of sources for the mantra of the inferior category of siddhi, and all are ritual manuals for Mañjuśrī that belong to the Tattvasamgraha Tantra textual lineage.68 Mañjuśrī, the bodhisattva of wisdom, is associated with the teachings of the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra, and so holds this sūtra as his emblem. The five syllables a ra pa ca na are, in fact, the first five in the doctrine of the forty-two siddhām letters 悉曇四十二字門 (shittan shijūni jimon), each of which embodies a special spiritual concept that is independent of its use among the alphabetic signs. Recitation of the forty-two letters provides a contemplation on the absolute truth of emptiness 空 (kū, śūnyatā), that is the non-substantiality of all things. The practice of the forty-two siddham letters is expounded in Kumārajiva’s translation of the Pañcabimśati-

67 T.XVIII.912:930c20-21. In this manual the practice is called the attainment of the Buddha body by means of the letters of the five circles 五輪字成仏身 (gorinji jōbusshin).
68 Dainihon bukkyō zensho, vol. 127, Chishō Daishi zenshū 3, pp. 985a16-b1, 936a12-b2.
sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra, as well as in other texts of the prajñāpāramitā lineage, and it is explained in his commentary on the Pañcavimśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra, the Dazhi du lun 大智度論 (Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra).\textsuperscript{69} Mañjuśrī states in Vajrabodhi's Jingangdingjing Manshushili Pusa wuzi xintuolunipin 金剛頂經曼殊室利菩薩五字心陀羅尼品 (Chapter on the Heart Dhāraṇī [composed of the] Five Syllables of Mañjuśrī [who appears in the] Tattvasamgraha Tantra) that the one who contemplates and understands the significance of these five syllables resides in the samādhi wherein one's mind possesses the characteristics of an original purity that is without taints or attachments and transcends the discrimination of self and that related to the self.\textsuperscript{70}

Enchin's description of the special boons that the reciter of this mantra will acquire is based upon a passage from Vajrabodhi's Jingangdingjing Manshushili Pusa wuzi xintuolunipin.

If a person recites [this five-syllable mantra] once, he will eliminate all sufferings and difficulties. If recited twice, he can eradicate the serious transgressions of countless kalpas of births and deaths, if recited three times, the emblem 三昧 (sanmai, S. samaya) [of Mañjuśrī] will manifest before him, if recited four times, he will remember and maintain [all] without forgetting, and if recited five times, he will quickly attain supreme enlightenment. If recited for one month, Mañjuśrī will appear before him and expound the teachings on his be-

\textsuperscript{69} Versions of these forty-two letters with different meanings and contemplations appear also in texts and ritual manuals of the Avataṃsaka textual lineage. Mikkō daijiten, vol. 2, pp. 999-1001, Bukkyō daijiten, vol. 2, pp. 1945-6 and Bukkyō daijiten, vol. 1, p. 521a-b.

\textsuperscript{70} T.XX.1173:710b5-11.
half. As for that which he seeks in his heart, [Mañjuśrī] will fulfill all his fundamental vows.\textsuperscript{71}

In the *Jingangdingjing Manshushili Pusa wuži xintuoluonipin* Mañjuśrī adds that the practitioner will obtain knowledge of his previous lives 得宿命智, acquire perfect freedom of debate and miraculous power 神足 (rddhipāda), and will quickly realize the adamantine Law Body of the Tathāgata 速證如来金剛法身.\textsuperscript{72}

Mañjuśrī was, then, the custodian of an extremely powerful mantra, a fact that played a significant role in the spread of the Tang Dynasty cult of Mañjuśrī. Amoghavajra also promoted the cult of Mañjuśrī and translated a number of ritual manuals devoted to this bodhisattva.\textsuperscript{73} The significance of the five syllables of Mañjuśrī's mantra and the special boons it brings about are elucidated in, for example, his *Jingangding chaosheng sanjie jingshuo wenshu wuži zhenyan shengxiang* 金刚頂超勝三界經說文殊五字真言勝相 (Wondrous Aspects of Mañjuśrī’s *Mantra* [composed of] Five Syllables [that is] Explained in the *Sūtra* Of the Vajra Peak [that] Transcends the Three Worlds), and these passages are identical to those given in Vajrabodhi’s *Jingangdingjing Manshushili Pusa wuži xintuoluonipin*.\textsuperscript{74} Further, Mañjuśrī states in Amoghavajra’s *Jingangdingjing yujia Wenshushili Pusa fa yipin* 金刚頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩法一品 (A Chapter on the Rite

\begin{footnotes}
\item[71] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 127, *Chishō Daishi zenshū* 3, p. 936a14-b1, *T.* 1173:710b13-18. Note that this passage is cited in the *Sanzhong xidi tuoluonifa* (T.905:911a7-12) as well.
\item[72] *T.*1173:710b18-20.
\item[73] See the *Daizong chao zeng sikong danhian zheng guangjin sanzang heshang biaozhijī* (T.LII.2120:839) and the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T. LV.2157:879b880c).
\item[74] *T.*XX.1172:709:b15-b5.
\end{footnotes}
of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī [whose] Yoga [appears in the] Tattvasamgraha Tantra) that the teachings of all the tathāgatas are subsumed in this five-syllable mantra, and that this mantra benefits sentient beings by causing them to bring to perfection the highest wisdom (prajñāpāramitā), and by fulfilling all vows, especially the vow to realize the stage of the tathāgata.75

An investigation of the original sources does not clarify the mantras and their associations with the cult of Mañjuśrī, the doctrine of the three bodies of the Buddha, or the threefold siddhi. It does, however, disclose that all three were powerful mantras by means of which the practitioner could bring about both ordinary and supernatural attainments (siddhi), as well as identification with Vairocana. Clearly, monks who had been initiated into the teachings of the major esoteric texts and ritual manuals would have been familiar with these awesome mantras revealed by Vairocana and Mañjuśrī. Given the fact that Enchin saw these mantras affixed to temple gates in Luoyang (Enchin’s statements in his Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō, Gimon and Sasagimon), and that Faquan orally transmitted to Enchin these mantras as those of the threefold siddhi and the three bodies of the Buddha (Faquan’s teachings as documented in Enchin’s Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō and explained, as we shall see, in his Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi), we can surmise that there was in China at the time of Faquan a cult that centered upon these three mantras.76

The only other documentation that corroborates Enchin’s textual

75 T.XX.1171:705a16-7, b3-9.
76 For a discussion of the three bodies of the buddha and Faquan’s incorporation of a hymn to the three bodies in his garbha rite, see Mizukami Fumiyoshi, "Sanshu shijji to sanshin shingon", Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū 73 (1988), pp. 253-7.
identification and clarifies the *mantras* and their associations is the group of three ritual manuals collectively called the *Podiyu yigui* 破地獄儀軌 (Manuals for Destroying the Hells).\textsuperscript{77} Faquan’s oral instructions as documented by Enchin in the *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* correspond, albeit with a few minor changes, to the revelation of the significance of the *mantra* of the supreme category that is given in these three ritual manuals. The problem is the date and provenance of the *Podiyu yigui*. Japanese scholars all accept these manuals as works that date to the mid or late Tang Dynasty.\textsuperscript{78} The scholar Jinhua Chen, however, argues that these are Japanese works composed by Tendai monks in order to substantiate the transmission Saichō received from Shunxiao and so compete with Kūkai’s Shingon school.\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{77} These manuals have a common theme: the practitioner can, by means of three *mantras* of supernatural attainment (*siddhi*), destroy his personal hells (*kleśa, bonnō*) and so release himself from the hindrances of his past actions (*karma*). The three manuals exhibit many similarities, most significantly that of the mixing of elements from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi* and *Susiddhikara Sūtras*, the *Tattvasamgraha Tantra*, as well as the application of Chinese medicine and medical cosmology to the three *mantras*.


\textsuperscript{79} “The Construction of Early Tendai Esoteric Buddhism: The Japanese Provenance of Saichō’s Transmission Documents and Three Esoteric Buddhist...
In fact, the Podiyu yigui are not ritual manuals per se because they do not provide prescriptions for the performance of a rite. Instead, they focus on the mantras of the threefold siddhi, explaining the "mystery of the five syllables" 說五字秘密, especially those of the supreme siddhi. It is not difficult to imagine that a monk conversant with the contents of the Vairocanābhisambodhi and Susiddhikara Sūtras, and Faquan was such a monk, composed a manual that centred upon the powers of the mantras of the threefold siddhi, and in particular on that of the mantra of the supreme category. As noted above, Vajrapāni does not reveal the Susiddhikara Sūtra's fundamental mantra. Further, the special mantra, called the mantra of the supreme category of siddhi, in Faquan's teachings and in the three manuals of the Podiyu yigui simultaneously signified the main visualization practice of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra and the Five Buddhas of the Five Families of the Tattvasamgraha Tantra's vajradhātu maṇḍala. Moreover, because this mantra of the supreme category of siddhi conflated into its five syllables concepts belonging to the Susiddhikara, Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtras and the Tattvasamgraha Tantra, it brought about auspicious results for all esoteric rites, regardless of their textual lineage. It cannot be unequivocally asserted that Faquan authored one of the Podiyu yigui because perhaps these teachings were the common property of Chinese esoteric masters of the late Tang Dynasty. Nevertheless, I contend that at some point, most likely during the time of Haiyun and Faquan, the special characteristics of the mantras of the third category of the esoteric teachings were set down in the manuals of the Podiyu yigui. Substantiation for this claim is the

Aprocratha Attributed to Śubhākarasimha, Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies 21/1, pp. 21-76.
fact that the Zunsheng foding xiuyujiafa yigui also contains the theme of the threefold siddhi. The threefold siddhi was thus an important concept in the esoteric school of the late Tang Dynasty.\(^81\)

**IV. Conclusion**

The *Susiddhikara Sūtra* was important in the Tang Chinese esoteric school because it detailed the precepts of the esoteric school and provided precise directives for the threefold rites of the families of the *buddha*, *padma* and *vajra* that were respectively categorized as supreme, middling and inferior, as well as for the construction of *maṇḍala* and the performance of consecration rites. Further, Vajrapāṇi states in the first chapter of the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* that the function of the teachings of this text is to bring about the success of all ritual practices and this it does through the power of its fundamental *mantra*. Thus, this scripture also taught a special *mantra*, which, strangely, Vajrapāṇi does not expound. Moreover, according to Vajrapāṇi’s statements in chapter 16 of the *Susiddhikara Sūtra*, "Distinguishing the Rites of Accomplishment", the special powers of the *mantras* of each of the three families of the *buddha*, *padma* and *vajra* can effect all *mantras*, regardless of family. Clearly it was not what the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* did or did not contain, but how its teachings were interpreted by Tang Dynasty esoteric masters that resulted in the ideological and ritual re-assessment of the teachings of this text and its rite.

\(^81\) See Osabe, "Kanyaku sanshu shijji hō no keifu", *Mikkyō bunka* 77-78, pp. 64-66, 78 and his "Tōdaikōki taizō mikkyōgaku no ryūha to sanshu shijji hō, *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū*, pp. 244-45, 251.
Haiyun’s reference in his Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji to a common significance between the Susiddhikara and Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtras and the Tattvasamgraha Tantra must be interpreted as the singular power that the susiddhi category possesses to effect, via a special mantra, for example, the felicitous outcome of all ritual practices, regardless of their textual tradition. The potency of the susiddhi lies, then, in its transcendent nature, thus making it, as Haiyun says, “an exceedingly essential and wondrous” esoteric method.

Enchin, on the other hand, precisely explicates in his Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi 教示両部秘要義 (The Meaning of the Secret Essence Set Forth in the Dual Categories) how the three mantras constitute the essence of the two categories of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra and the Tattvasamgraha Tantra. He equates the phrases of two passages from the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra and a text that belongs to the lineage of the Tattvasamgraha Tantra, to the syllables of the three mantras and, by extending this process of correlation, he concludes that because of these mantras there is a functional and qualitative correspondence between the two texts and their maṇḍala. Enchin’s argument goes as follows:

The teachings of the three [sets of] five syllables a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ aḥ vi raḥ khaṃ a ra pa sa na are the essence of the two categories. The Law Body of the Dharmadhātu is the true body of the Tathāgata. Therefore, the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra states as follows: "I understand [the principle of] originally non-arising and have transcended the way of words and phrases. I attained liberation from various transgressions and am far removed from primary and

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82 See T.905:911a2.
secondary causes. I know that emptiness is equivalent to śūnyatā."³
The Tattvasamgraha⁴ states that: "The dharmas are originally non-

³ T:848.9b16-18. Yixing’s Dapiluzhena chengfo jing jingzhou states (T. 1796:646b-c) this is one of two gāthās that clarify the true meaning of bodhi. Kambayashi Ryūjō records in a note in his Japanese translation of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra (Kokuyaku issaiykō, Mikkyōbu, vol. 1, p. 74, note 3) that this passage indicates the truth of the mind of enlightenment by means of the five syllables a va ra ha hka. Further, in his discussion of the Pologo yigui, Kambayashi states ("Hajigoku sanshu shijji hō kaidai", Kokuyaku issaiykō, Mikkyōbu, vol. 3, pp. 93-4) that this gāthā from the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra is the textual basis for the theory of the five elements 五大説 (godai setsu), that is earth, water, fire, wind and space, respectively, which are allocated to the phrases of the gāthā.

⁴ Kiuchi Gyōō (entry on the Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi in Nihon daizōkyō, Kaidai 3, pp. 65-66) identifies this text as the Niansong jiehufa putong zhubu 念誦結護法普通諸部 (T. 904), which is attributed to Vajrabodhi. However, Kambayashi ("Hajigoku sanshu shijji hō kaidai", Kokuyaku issaiykō, Mikkyōbu, vol. 3, p. 94) identifies this text as the Jingangdingjing yujia xiuxi Dapiluzhena sanmodi fa 金剛頂經瑜伽修習毘盧遮那三摩地法 (T. 876), which is also attributed to Vajrabodhi. This gāthā is found in both texts (T. 904: 903a, T.876:331a) and occurs in the rite of recitation and identification. In this rite the practitioner performs the visualization of the wheel of syllables 字輪観 (jirin kan), called in these two texts the dhārānī of the revolving five syllables 五字旋陀羅尼 (gojisen daranī), in order to merge his mind with that of Vairocana. The Niansong jiehufa putong zhubu is composed from a medley of sources that are not all related to the Tattvasamgraha Tantra (see Tsuboi Tokko in "Nenju ketsugo hō futsu shobu kaidai", Kokuyaki issaiykō, Mikkyōbu, vol. 2, p. 27 and the same article in Busshō kaietsu daijiten, vol. 8, p. 414). The Jingangdingjing yujia xiuxi Dapiluzhena sanmodi fa is a manual of prescriptions for a rite of union with Vairocana of the vajradhātu that belongs to a different textual lineage than that of Amoghavajra’s Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui and his Jingangding yiqie zhenshishe dacheng xianzheng daijiao wangjing 金剛頂一切真實攝大乘現證大教王經. Thus, because of its content, the Jingangdingjing yujia xiuxi Dapiluzhena sanmodi fa seems the most likely textual source for
arising and their self-nature is removed from words and explanations, and they are pure and untainted. The operation of primary causes is equivalent to śūnyatā." An Explanation states that: "The meaning of the sentences "I understand [the principle of] originally non-arising" and "the dharmas are originally non-arising" is identical; that is to say, they elucidate the meaning of the first three seed syllables. A is the seed syllable of the adamantine circle [which is] the Law Body of Mahāvairocana. The significance of the words "and I have transcended the way of words and phrases" and "their self-nature is removed from words and explanations", when aligned side by side, is the same. That is to say, they translate the [syllables] vaṃ, vi, and so on. [The syllable] vi is, namely, the seed syllable of the perfection of the circle of the

this quote in Enchin's document.

The five syllables of this visualization are not given in the texts, and Shingon scholars record different versions of these syllables. Tsuboi in his discussion of the Niansong jiehufa putong zhubu (Kokuyaku issaikyō, Mihkyōbu, vol. 2, p. 38 footnote 18) gives the five syllables as a ra pa ca na. In his discussion of the Jingangdingjing yujia xiuxi Dapuluzhena sanmodi fa, Okuda Keisho (Kokuyaku issaikyō, Mihkyōbu, vol. 2, pp. 76-7 and footnote 73 on pp. 90-91) presents the five syllables of this visualization as a va ra ha kha. Kambayashi in his discussion of the Jingangdingjing yujia xiuxi Dapuluzhena sanmodi fa (Bussho kaisetsu daijiten, vol. 3, p. 481) also records the five syllables as a va ra ha kha and states elsewhere (Kokuyaku issaikyō, Mihkyōbu, vol. 3, p. 94) that this gāthā and these syllables represent the Tattvasamgraha Tantra’s concept of the five elements 五大說. Further, it is interesting to note that Kūkai also cites these two gāthās from the Vairocanābhisaṃ bodhi Sūtra and the Jingangdingjing yujia xiuxi Dapuluzhena sanmodi fa in his Sokushin jōbutsu gi 即身成佛義 (Kōbō Daishi zenshū, vol. 1, pp. 508-9), using them as textual evidence for his theory of the six elements 六大説 (rokudai setsu). Kūkai allocates the five syllables a va ra ha kha to the elements earth, water, fire, wind and space, respectively.

85 T.905:909c7-9.
water element [which signifies] the ocean of knowledge of Mahāvairo-
cana Tathāgata.86 The purport of [the phrases] "I attained liberation
from various trangressions" and "[they] are pure and untainted" are
one and the same; namely, they make known the significance of
the above syllable ram. [The syllable] ram is, namely, the seed syllable of
the fire element [which signifies] the mental ground of Mahāvairocana
Tathāgata.87 [The phrases] "[I] am far removed from the primary and
secondary causes" and "the primary cause is equivalent to šūnyatā" are
to be explained as the significance of the above syllable hum. [The syl-
labale] hum is, namely, the seed syllable of the wind element [which sig-
nifies] the life span of the eternally residing Mahāvairocana Tathāgata
and it is the circle of the syllable hum.88 The meaning of the sentences
"[I] know that emptiness is equivalent to šūnyatā" and "the operation
[of primary causes] is equivalent to šūnyatā" are, from the outset, one;
that is to say, they elucidate the significance of the above syllable
kham. [The syllable] kham is, namely, the lakṣaṇa of the invisible
crown of Mahāvairocana Tathāgata; [that is, it is] the place where the
Five Buddhas have realized the wisdom of great emptiness.89 This is,
then, in outline the reciprocal 相對 (sotai) interpretation of the two
texts. If one were to explain it in a broader manner, then there would
be numerous meanings... Now [the Commentary] states that90 these
three [sets of] five syllables are in fact the fifteen adamantine samā
dhis. One syllable [of the three sets] is in fact the fifteen syllables [of

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86 T.905:90922-3.
88 T.905:910a20-1.
89 T.905:910b5-6.
90 What follows until the end of the passage parallels that in the Sanzhong xidi tuoluoni fa (T.905:911a25-9), although the order of the sentences is reversed.
the three sets] and the fifteen syllables are then the one syllable. One syllable [of one set] is in fact the five syllables [of this set] and the five syllables are then the one syllable. Reversing the order and rotating them, they are, from first to last, nondual. Truly they are the body that [Mahāvairo] cana possesses, his Law Body, and [they are] the origin of the reality of the Five Families [of the vajradhātu maṇḍala] and of the Three Families [of the garbhadhātu maṇḍala].

There are numerous correspondences between Enchin's document and the Sanzhung xidi tuoluoni fa, one of the three ritual manuals of the Podiyu yigui. Common are (a) the equation made between the five syllables, the special properties of Vairocanā and the five fundamental elements of the Buddhist universe (earth, water, fire, wind and space), and (b) the concept of non-duality as presented in the form of a visualization of syllables taken from Yixing's commentary on the Vairocanābhisaṅgadhisambodhi Sūtra and in the form of the Law and Wisdom Bodies of Vairocana.

In short, Faquan's teachings, which Enchin documents in the Ketsuji sanshu shijī hō and which can be found in the three Podiyu yigui, and Enchin's argument in the Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi, which contains numerous passages that parallel passages in the Sanzhung xidi

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91 Dainihon bukkō zensho, vol. 128, Chishō Daishi zenshū 4, p. 1087a-b. See also Kiuchi's discussion of this document in "Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi", Nihon daizōkyō, pp. 65-66.
92 Compare Dainihon bukkō zensho, vol. 128, Chishō Daishi zenshū 4, p. 1087a-9 and T. 905:909c7-910b7; Dainihon bukkō zensho, vol. 128, Chishō Daishi zenshū 4, p. 1087a14-b3 and T. 905:911a25-b1 (the order of the statements is reversed in Enchin's document); Dainihon bukkō zensho, vol. 128, Chishō Daishi zenshū 4, pp. 1087b8-13, 1088a3-4) and T. 905:912a21-26.
tuoluoni fa, express the late Tang reinterpretation of the ideology of the Susiddhikara Sūtra: there is a supreme mantra that positively affects all rites. It is noteworthy that the source of this mantra of the siddhi of the supreme category, which distills in its syllables the essence of the two major esoteric texts, derives from the Vairocanābhsāṃbodhi Sūtra. This text was important to Faquan. 93

In summary, then, an investigation of the writings of Faquan's Chinese contemporary Haiyun and his Japanese disciples wherein descriptions of Faquan's teachings have been recorded reveals that, in contrast to the dual form of the esoteric teachings that Huiguo had transmitted to Kūkai, a system of three interrelated works constituted the dominant feature of his transmission. Moreover, during the time of Haiyun and Faquan there were differing interpretations of the susiddhi category of the esoteric teachings. Although, according to Haiyun, the susiddhi category spanned those of the garbhadhātu and vajradhātu, he ranked them equally. According to Faquan, however, the susiddhi category was seen as a third, integrating principle that united the two categories of the garbhadhātu and vajradhātu by means of a special mantra whose source was the Vairocanābhsāṃbodhi Sūtra. Both the Podiūy yigui manuals and Enchin's documentation of Faquan's teachings on the siddhi disclose what some branches of the medieval Tendai esoteric school came to consider the special mantra of the susiddhi category of teachings that had not been

given in the scripture. The origin of the tripartite division of the esoteric teachings and the special function and significance given the susiddhi category was in Tang China. However, for documentation of the actual practice of this category of teachings we must turn to the transmissions of the early esoteric Tendai masters in Japan.

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