

Faquan's Transmission of the *Susiddhi* Category of the Esoteric Buddhist Teachings¹

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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* 兩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*).² 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 (*Ritual Manual of Prescriptions for the Practice of the Yoga of Vikīraṇoṣṇīṣa*), a Chinese composition, is an example of this trend.³ 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 rite⁴ serve as examples of the first endeavour mentioned to clarify ritual procedures for the practitioner and, again, texts such as the *Zunsheng foding xiuyujiafa yigui* were composed with the second concern mentioned in mind. Further, there was the resurrection of the *Susiddhikara Sūtra*,⁵ resulting in the reclassification of esoteric teachings under the rubric of "the great teachings in three categories" 三部大教 (*sanbu dai kyō*). 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

⁴ T.XVIII.852 and 853.

⁵ T.XVIII.893.

⁶ See Misaki's "Taimitsu no soshiji ni tsuite", *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 10/1 (1962), pp. 217-220, "Taimitsu no jūhachidō ni tsuite", *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 11/2 (1963), pp. 445-450, "Tōmatsu no mikkyō to soshiji", *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū*, Kōyasan daigakuhen, 1965, pp. 255-279. Most of these articles have been collected into his *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988.

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 Huiguo 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 兩部 (*ryōbu*) that Kūkai (774-835), the founder of the Japanese Shingon school, inherited from Huiguo.

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 圓仁 (794-864), Enchin 圓珍 (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 *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra*. Haiyun's *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* is a dated work that documents the transmission of the esoteric teachings from Śubhākarasiṃha's 善無畏 (Zemui, 637-735) time on downwards to his

own time.⁷ His *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* consists of two parts. The second scroll recounts the transmission of the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi 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 *Vairocanābhisambodhi 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 *Vairocanābhisambodhi* and *Susiddhikara Sūtras* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha 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 [*Vairocanābhisambodhi*] *Sūtra*⁸ in one hundred thousand stanzas.

⁷ Haiyun states that he documents the transmission of the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra* through eight generations of monks (T.2081:785b27-29) and that of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra* through seven generations (T.2081:787a27-28).

⁸ Haiyun does not give the title of this text but, because he continues to discuss the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra* and the *Vairocanābhisambodhi 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 *Vairocanābhisam̐bodhi* [Sūtra]. Furthermore, [the *susiddhi*] is an exceedingly essential and wondrous *dharma*. [Thus], as for that which Tripitaka Śubhākarasiṃha translated, the great teachings of the previous [ly mentioned] two categories [of the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra* and *Vairocanābhisam̐bodhi Sūtra*] and the *Susiddhi* [*kara Sūtra*] collec-

Vairocanābhisam̐bodhi Sūtra. Haiyun explains earlier in his work that the extended versions of the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra* and the *Vairocanābhisam̐bodhi 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 *Vairocanābhisam̐bodhi 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 Huirì 慧日 and Wuzhen 悟真, to Kūkai of Japan, to the monks Yiman 義滿, Yiming 義明, Yizheng 義証, 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 Jingzhusi 淨住寺, to the monk Dayu 大遇 of the Chongfusi and to the monk Wenyan 文苑 of the Liquansi 醴泉寺. 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.¹⁰

Further, Haiyun restates at the end of this scroll on the transmission of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi 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 *dharmā* [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

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 Śubhākarasiṃha'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 *Tattvasaṃgraha 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 *Tattvasaṃgraha 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

¹¹ T.2081:787a25-29.

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 *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra* and their *maṇḍala*.¹⁴ The fact that Ennin received the transmissions of the *garbhadhātu* and the *susiddhi* concurrently corroborates Haiyun's description of these transmissions in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji*. In fact, in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* Haiyun records that Huiguo transmitted both the *Vairocanābhisambodhi* and *Susiddhikara* teachings to Yicao and Farun, and that Yicao then transmitted these teachings to Yizhen and to Haiyun 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.

¹³ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, p. 251a, p.252b and Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary. The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*, New York: Ronald Press Co., 1955, p. 294, p. 302.

¹⁴ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, p. 254b and Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, pp. 307-308.

monk Huaqing 懷慶 labeled as a specialist in the dual transmission of the *Vairocanābhisam 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 *Mohezhi guan* 摩訶止觀 (*Makāshikan*), the specialized study of *Vairocana 遮那業* (*shanagō*), which focused exclusively upon the *Vairocanābhisam bodhi 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* (*Kongōchōkyōshō*) in Ninju 仁

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* 青龍寺求法目錄 (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* (*Soshijjikarakyo ryakusho*) 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 chengfo jingzhou* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏.)

¹⁷The Chinese reign era should be written as Daizhong 太中. This copiest'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] Maṇḍala-bodhisattva.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 emunerates 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* 請弘傳眞言止觀兩宗官牒款狀 (Official Petition

¹⁸ T.LV.2172:1097a.

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 貞觀 (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 Śubhākarasiṃha Tripitaka 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

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* 余芳編年雜集 (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 淨土院 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 Ensai 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 勺慶 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 day 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 Dharmacakrapravartin 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."²⁰

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.²¹

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

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.

Enchin 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 Enchin²²

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 *garbhadhāu* and the *vajradhāu maṇḍala*, respectively, thus suggesting that the *susiddhi* rite stood above those of the *garbhadhātu* and *vajradhātu*, in his *Soshiiji kishōjō* Enchin explicitly states that the *susiddhi* rite was supreme in status.²³

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 *Soshiiji kishōjō*, for example, that the *susiddhi* rite was considered to be the most important of these rites. Further, in the document entitled *Ketsuji sanshu shiji 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* 諸阿闍梨眞言密教部類総録 (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.²⁴ An ex-

²³ This is the position that the *susiddhi* rite holds in the esoteric Tendai school today. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1410 (*Soshijīkarakyō*), p. 1412 (*Soshijī hō*), p. 1414 (*Soshijī kanjō*) and *ibid*, vol. 2, p. 824 (*sanbu daihō*); *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3152-3 (*Soshijī kanjō*), pp. 3153-4 (*Soshijī 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錄 (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 Śubhākarasiṃha, and a copy of the *Suxidi yigui qi Yin* 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 maṇḍala*. (*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 Śubhākarasiṃha. Although Shūei lists in his inventory a two scroll version of this work, Annen notes that this ritual manual was intro-

眞言傳 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*. (*Honchōkōsōden*, 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 *Gaṃbhīra shō* 嚴避羅鈔 (Compendium of [the profoundness of the three letters] *gaṃ bhī ra*) by the scholar-monk Yōkai 榮海 (1278-1347) and the *Hōsaku shō* 寶冊鈔 by Gōhō 果實, a disciple of Yōkai. See *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 52, p. 311, pp. 318b-319c and *T.LXXVII.2453:799c-800c*. Misaki presents a detailed discussion of these works in his *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, "Tōmitsu ni okeru soshiji", 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 *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* 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

²⁷ T.LV.2176:1117a.. See also Misaki, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, 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 實惠 (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* 眞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.³⁰ The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* and *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra* thus formed the two major categories in the transmission that Kūkai received from Huiguo 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 *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara Sūtras ex aequo* under the phrase "the great teachings in three categories."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 兩部不二 (*ryōbu funi*), the Tendai esoteric school conceives the two lineages of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra* as separate 爾二 (*nini*), and regards the *Susiddhikara Sūtra*, which is considered to be without distinctions 不二 (*funi*), as joining

teachings in three categories (*Kōbō Daishi zenshū*, opening vol., pp. 99-101). See Takagi Shingen, "Kūkai no kai to fuhō ni tsuite", *Mikkyō bunka* 82 (1967), pp. 1-18, esp. pp. 8-18 and Matsunaga Yūkei, "Sanshu shijji to hajigoku", *Mikkyō bunka* 121 (1978), pp. 1-13, esp. 12-13. However, all the above works date after the time of Huiguo and Kūkai. Clearly, the contents of the transmissions of the esoteric masters Amoghavajra, Huiguo and Kūkai require further investigation.

³⁰ *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1410a-c.

³¹ T.2081:786c11, 14.

the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha 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 Śubhākarasiṃha'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. Śubhākarasiṃha's Chinese translation of this text in 726, the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa*, a ritual manual whose translation is attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, as well as the *Suxidi yigui qi Yin*, 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.³² 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* 貞元新定釋教目錄 (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", *Mikkyō bunka* 82, p. 16) suggests that references to the *susiddhi* category in Amoghavajra's bibliography could be later additions. See also Misaki, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 489-91.

respectively, categorized this *sūtra*, together with the *Subāhupariṣṭchā Sūtra* 蘇婆呼童子請問經, as the disciplinary rules of the teachings of spells 呪毘奈耶 (*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 T.LV.2154:571c-572a and 2157:674c.

³⁴ See Misaki, "Butchōkei no mikkyō", *Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū Yoshioka Hakushi kinen*, 1977, p. 478.

³⁵ T.LV.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 T.XVIII.894. The relationship between the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* and the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* is the same as the relationship between the *Tattvasaṃgraha 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 *Vairocanaḥhisambodhi 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.³⁷ Vajrapāṇi explains that this *sūtra* teaches five types of rites³⁸ 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*.³⁹

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.

³⁷ T.893:603a7-b13.

³⁸ T.893:603b13-16.

³⁹ T.893:603b21-25.

Interestingly, Vajrapāṇi 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 *Susiddhikara 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*).⁴⁰ Kuṇḍalī poses over forty questions, asking about the characteristics 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 sādhanopāyika paṭala* (Section on expedient means for rites of accomplishment in the *Susiddhikara Great Tantra*). See Kōda Junnin, "Soshijjikarakyō Shōmonbon no kōsatsu", *Mikkyō gaku* 32 (1996), pp. 109-128 and Rolf Giebel, "Soshijjikarakyō 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 *śantika*, *pauṣṭika* and *abhicāra*), but these differences do not hamper one's understanding of the contents of the scripture. For the differences see Kamabashi Ryūjō *Buśsho 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*, *pauṣṭika*, *abhicāra*, consecration and *homa*.

Vajrapāṇi's exposition centers on the three families of *buddha*, *padma* and *vajra*, and the answers he provides are categorized respectively into the ranks of supreme (*buddha*), middling (*padma*) and inferior (*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 *pauṣṭika*, and the inferior *mantra* of the *vajra* family makes the rite of *abhicāra* 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 sublime. If you rely on its ritual prescriptions 法, then there will be no [ritual] acts 事 that you cannot successfully accomplish. Although this *sūtra* belongs to the inferior division of the *vajra*, because reverence for the ordinances of the Buddha's teachings permeates and accomplishes [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 category of the *susiddhi*. The purport of Vajrapāṇi's statements in the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* is reiterated in Haiyun's emphasis on this teaching'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 Buddhōṣṇīṣa textual tradition that predated the composition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra*.⁴⁴

⁴³ One text that predates the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* and that discusses the three families 三部 (*sanbu*) is Atikūṭa's *Dhāraṇīsamuccaya*. 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 bunka* 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 bunka* 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 Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣa. Further, Osabe argues that both *Susiddhikara Sūtra* and the *Yizi foding lunwang jing* are concerned with secular benefits, in contrast 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 *Susiddhikara Sūtra* was extended to include the esoteric systems of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha 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

mikkyōshi ronbunshū, Koyasan, 1965, pp. 227-254, esp. p. 238) that the rite of the threefold *siddhi* is explained in the manuals for the rite of the *garbhadhātu* and is not seen in ritual manuals of the lineage of the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra*. I feel that the last two statements made by Osabe require further investigation.

⁴⁵The *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* is published in *Dainihon bukkyō 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 Brahmacari 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*.⁴⁶ If one retains [this *mantra*], one's meritorious virtue is incomparable. [Further], [this merit] cannot be calculated, nor can it be explained.⁴⁷

by the Suzuki Research Foundation, vol. 99/3, Tokyo: The Suzuki Research Foundation, 1978, pp. 72-3.

⁴⁶Faquan'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 Brahmacari, 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 vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ*].

Recorded also in the *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* are the instructions of another master, either Saichō's disciple Ninchu 仁忠 (?-824) or Ennin (see Misaki, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, p. 522 and his entry on the *Ketsuji sanshu shijji 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*)" 貝多梵策. Nevertheless, this disciple's citation is much closer to the original than that of Enchin's. See also Mizugami Fumiyoshi, "Taimitsu ni okeru sanshu shijji hō", no denshō," *Tendai gaku* 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 vaṃ raṃ 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 yigui* (*T.* 905:910b18-22, 906:912b17-21, 907:915a8-12).

⁴⁹ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 127, *Chishō Daishi zenshū* 3, p. 985b.

Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō.⁵⁰ Enchin identifies the textual sources of these three *mantras* in his *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō*.⁵¹ Enchin first records in this document that Saichō received the *mantras* of the three-fold *siddhi* from the Chinese monk Shunxiao 順曉 in 804 (貞元末年).⁵²

⁵⁰ The chapter entitled "Characteristics 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.

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 raṃ haṃ khaṃ* [are] the supreme category, *a vi ra huṃ khaṃ* [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.

⁵² Recorded in the *Kenkairon engi* 顯戒論緣起, 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 mikkyō shisō, *Firosafia* 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.⁵³ 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 *dharmakāya*, 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 *Vaircanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra*? A brief investigation of the function and significance of these *mantras* in the

who made in his *Ketsuji sanshu shiji hō* a link between Shunxiao's transmission of the pledges of the three divisions and the *mantras* of the threefold *siddhi*. See Misaki, *ibid*, pp, 48-9, 60-1, his "Dengyō Daishi no mikkyō shisō ni okeru shomondai", *Dengyō Daishi kenkyū*, Tendai gakkai hen, Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppan bu, 1980, pp, 477-95, Paul Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000, pp. 52-61 and Jinhua Chen, "The Construction of Early Tendai Esoteric Buddhism: The Japanese Provenance of Saichō's Transmission Documents and Three Esoteric Buddhist Apocrypha Attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha", *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21/1 (1998), pp. 21-76.

⁵³ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 127, *Chishō Daishi zenshū*, 3, p. 985a4-12.

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 *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi 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,⁵⁴ liberates [those in] the six realms of existence 解脫六趣 and perfects the wisdom of all wisdoms 一切智智."⁵⁵ Enchin's description of the significance of the *mantra* of the middling category comes directly from Vairocana's pronouncement in the *Xidi chuxian pin*.⁵⁶ This *mantra* is formidable: the vast assembly of Vajra Holders and Bodhisattvas disclose that the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, world saviours, *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.⁵⁷

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) *mṛtya-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.

⁵⁵ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 127, *Chishō Daishi zenshū* 3, p. 985a13-14. The source of this *mantra* is given in the *Foding zunsheng xin podiyu zhunyezhang chusanjei bimi tuoluoni* 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界秘密陀羅尼 (T.907:b14).

⁵⁶ T.848:20a16-19.

⁵⁷ T.848:20a20-27.

After revealing the *mantra āḥ vī raṃ huṃ khaṃ* 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 *aṃ vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ*.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 erradicate 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 huṃ khaṃ* 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 hiyōgi* 教示兩部秘要義 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 *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi 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 *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi 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 *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi 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 五字嚴身觀 (*goji gonshin kan*) whereby his body becomes identical to that of Vairocana. He visualizes the five syllables *a vaṃ ra-ṃ 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

⁵⁹ T.848:20a20-21b10.

⁶⁰ T.848:19b5.

⁶¹ T.848:18c27-19a5.

⁶² *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 127, *Chishō Daishi zenshū* 3, p. 985a15.

the forms of the universe and the body of Vairocana of the *garbhadhātu maṇḍala*, and its visualization practice pervade the *Vairocanābhisambodhi 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.⁶³

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* 撰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 *Vairocanābhisambodhi 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 huṃ khaṃ* associated with this practice is, however, from the *Xidi chuxian pin*.⁶⁴ There is also a mixing of elements from different chapters of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi 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] *Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, hereafter the *Guangda yigui*). The *Guangda yigui* details this

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 kanreki 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 characteristics of the five elements and their syllables *ā vī raṃ haṃ khaṃ* are a fusion that has been taken from the *Chitong faze pin* and the *Xidi chuxian pin*.⁶⁵

Faquan's manuals are the only ones among the Chinese ritual manuals that quote this visualization practice directly from the *Chitong faze pin*.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經蓮華胎藏悲生曼荼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] *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi 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經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標幟普通眞言藏廣大成就瑜伽 (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] *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi 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

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 *khaṃ haṃ raṃ vaṃ a* creates the container world in the *Guangda yigui* (T.851:92c12-93a3).

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 mantuoluo humo yigui* 建立曼荼羅護摩儀軌 (Ritual Manual for Setting Up the *Maṇḍala* [and Performing] *Homa*), a manual in which ideas and practices from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi 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 shiji 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 *Tattvasaṃgraha 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 Kumārajīva's translation of the *Pañcaviṃśati-*

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 *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, the *Dazhi du lun* 大智度論 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*).⁶⁹ Mañjuśrī states in Vajrabodhi's *Jingangdingjing Manshushili Pusa wuzi xintuoluonipin* 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] *Tattvasaṃgraha 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.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 xintuoluonipin*.

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-

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

⁷⁰ T.XX.1173:710b5-11.

half. As for that which he seeks in his heart, [Mañjuśrī] will fulfill all his fundamental vows.⁷¹

In the *Jingangdingjing Manshushili Pusa wuzi 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 adamant Law Body of the Tathāgata 速證如來金剛法身.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.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 wuzi zhenyan shengxiang* 金剛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 wuzi xintuoluonipin*.⁷⁴ Further, Mañjuśrī states in Amoghavajra's *Jingangdingjing yujia Wenshushili Pusa fa yipin* 金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩法一品 (A Chapter on the Rite

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.

⁷² *T.* 1173:710b18-20.

⁷³ See the *Daizong chao zeng sikong dabian zheng guangjin sanzang heshang biaozihi* (*T.* LII.2120:839) and the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T.* LV.2157:879b880c).

⁷⁴ *T.* XX.1172:709:b15-b5.

of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī [whose] *Yoga* [appears in the] *Tattvasaṃgraha 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).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.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.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ These manuals have a common theme: the practitioner can, by means of three *mantras* of supernatural attainment (*siddhi*), destroy his personal hells (*kṛeṣa*, *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 *Vairocanābhisamṃbodhi and Susiddhikara Sūtras*, the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra*, as well as the application of Chinese medicine and medical cosmology to the three *mantras*.

⁷⁸ See, for example, Matsunaga Yūken, "Sanshu shijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū", *Mikkyō kenkyū* 35 (1929), pp. 1-18, Kambayashi Ryūjō "Hajigoku sanshu shijji hō kaidai", *Kokuyaku issaikyō, Mikkyōbu*, vol. 3, pp. 80-94, Nasu Seiryū "Sanshu shijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū", *Indogaku bukkyōgaku ronshū: Miyamoto Seison kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, pp. 431-44, Osabe, "Kanyaku sanshu shijji hō no keifu", *Mikkyō bunka* 77-78, pp. 57-78, and his "Tōdaikōki taizō mikkyōgaku no ryūha to sanshu shijji hō", *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū*, Koyasan, 1965, pp. 237-254, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, "Gorin kuji hishaku to dōkyō gozōkan", *Mikkyō bunka* 69/70 (1964), pp. 77-97, Matsunaga, "Sanshu shijji to hajigoku", *Mikkyō bunka* 121, pp. 1-13 and Misiaki, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 499-507.

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*.⁸⁰ It is not difficult to imagine that a monk conversant with the contents of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* 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, Vajrapāṇi 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 *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* and the Five Buddhas of the Five Families of the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra's vajradhātu maṇḍala*. Moreover, because this *mantra* of the supreme category of *siddhi* conflated into its five syllables concepts belonging to the *Susiddhikara*, *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtras* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha 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

Apocrypha Attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha", *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21/1, pp. 21-76.

⁸⁰ T.907:914c27-8 and 906:912b14-15.

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 shiji hō no keifu", *Mikkyō bunka* 77-78, pp. 64-66, 78 and his "Tōdaikōki taizō mikkyōgaku no ryūha to sanshu shiji 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 *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra* must be interpreted as the singular power that the *susiddhi* category possesses to effect, via a special *mantra*, for example, the felicitious 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* 教示兩部秘要義 (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 *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra*. He equates the phrases of two passages from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* and a text that belongs to the lineage of the *Tattvasaṃgraha 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 ha-ṃ khaṃ aḥ vi ra huṃ 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.⁸² 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

⁸² See T.905:911a2.

secondary causes. I know that emptiness is equivalent to *sūnyatā*.⁸³
The *Tattvasaṃgraha*⁸⁴ states that: "The *dharmas* are originally non-

⁸³ 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 issaikyō, 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 kha*. Further, in his discussion of the *Podiyu yigui*, Kambayashi states ("Hajigoku sanshu shiji hō kaidai", *Kokuyaku issaikyō, 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*.

⁸⁴ 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 shiji hō kaidai", *Kokuyaku issaikyō, 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 字輪觀 (*jirin kan*), called in these two texts the *dhāraṇī* of the revolving five syllables 五字旋陀羅尼 (*gojisen darani*), 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 *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra* (see Tsuboi Tokko in "Nenju ketsugo hō futsū shobu kaidai", *Kohuyaki issaikyō, Mikkyōbu*, vol. 2, p. 27 and the same article in *Bussho kaisetsu 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 dajiao 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.⁸⁵ 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, Mikkyōbu*, vol. 2, p. 38 footnote 18) gives the five syllables as *a ra pa ca na*. In his discussion of the *Jingangdingjing yujia xiuxi Dapiluzhena sanmodi fa*, Okuda Keisho (*Kokuyaku issaikyō, Mikkyōbu*, 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 Dapiluzhena 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, Mikkyōbu*, vol. 3, p. 94) that this *gāthā* and these syllables represent the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra's* concept of the five elements 五大説. Further, it is interesting to note that Kūkai also cites these two *gāthās* from the *Vairocanābhisam bodhi Sūtra* and the *Jingangdingjing yujia xiuxi Dapiluzhena 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 Mahāvairocana Tathāgata.⁸⁶ The purport of [the phrases] "I attained liberation from various transgressions" and "[they] are pure and untainted" are one and the same; namely, they make known the significance of the above syllable *ram*. [The syllable] *raṃ* 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 *śūnyatā*" are to be explained as the significance of the above syllable *huṃ*. [The syllable] *haṃ* is, namely, the seed syllable of the wind element [which signifies] the life span of the eternally residing Mahāvairocana Tathāgata and it is the circle of the syllable *huṃ*.⁸⁸ The meaning of the sentences "[I] know that emptiness is equivalent to *śūnyatā*" and "the operation [of primary causes] is equivalent to *śūnyatā*" are, from the outset, one; that is to say, they elucidate the significance of the above syllable *khaṃ*. [The syllable] *khaṃ* 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 相对 (*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

⁸⁶ T.905:90922-3.

⁸⁷ T.905:910a8-9.

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*].⁹¹

There are numerous correspondences between Enchin's document and the *Sanzhong 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 Vairocana 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 *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* and in the form of the Law and Wisdom Bodies of Vairocana.⁹²

In short, Faquan's teachings, which Enchin documents in the *Ketsuji sanshu shijji 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 *Sanzhong xidi*

⁹¹ *Dainihon bukkyō 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 bukkyō zensho*, vol. 128, *Chishō Daishi zenshū* 4, p. 1087a6-9 and *T. 905:909c7-910b7*; *Dainihon bukkyō 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 bukkyō 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 *Vairocanābhisambodhi 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 *Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*. Both the *Podiyu 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

⁹³ See my article "Late Tang Chinese Handbooks for the *Garbhakośa* Rite." *Embodying Wisdom. Art, Text and Interpretations in the History of Esoteric Buddhism*. Rob Linrothe and Henrik Sorensen, eds. Copenhagen: The Seminar for Buddhist Studies, SBS Monographs 6, 2001, pp. 1-36.

given in the scripture.⁹⁴ 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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⁹⁴ For thorough discussions of this problem, see Misaki, "Taimitsu no soshijji wo meguru shomondai", *Mikkyō bunka* 149, pp. 79-95, esp. pp. 80-84, "Taimitsu no soshijji ni tsuite", *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 10/1 (1962), pp. 217-220 and his *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 521-524, 536-537; Mizugami, "Shoki Taimitsu no soshijji sōjō ni tsuite", *Tendai gaku hō* 24 (November 1982), pp. 163-166, esp. pp. 165-166 and Kitagawa Shinken, "Keiran shūyō shū ni okeru mikkyō kyōsetsu no tenkai -- kakkan no kōsei to soshijji wo chūshin toshite", paper presented at the 43rd Conference of Doctrinal Studies of the Tendai School (November 2001), pp. 4-8.