



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

A Transmission and its transformation : the Liqujing shibahui mantuluo in Daigoji

Hunter, H.J.

Citation

Hunter, H. J. (2018, September 26). *A Transmission and its transformation : the Liqujing shibahui mantuluo in Daigoji*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/65999>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/65999>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/65999> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Hunter, H.J.

Title: A Transmission and its transformation : the Lijujing shibahui mantuluo in Daigoji

Issue Date: 2018-09-26

CHAPTER SEVEN: FAQUAN'S TRANSMISSION

INTRODUCTION

In this final chapter I reconstruct the contents of Faquan's transmission by examining his compositions, as well as the writings and inventories of his Chinese contemporaries and his Japanese disciples. Such an investigation elucidates Faquan's religious concerns that stand in marked contrast to those of the earlier Tang Dynasty Esoteric Buddhist masters Amoghavajra and Huiguo.

Faquan considered the Esoteric Buddhist teachings to be tripartite and it was this system of three interrelated categories 三部 that he transmitted to his Japanese disciples. The *Susiddhikara sūtra* had a prominent role in certain lineages of Japanese Esoteric schools that postdate Saichō and Kūkai. Misaki Ryōshū's studies of late Tang Dynasty Esoteric Buddhism and the early Tendai Esoteric Buddhist system reveal the components of this special category of teachings and Jinhua Chen's work documents the patterns of the Esoteric Buddhist transmissions from the time of Śubhākarsimha and Vajrabodhi onwards.¹ In this chapter, first I examine the content, function and significance of the accomplishment 蘇悉地 (*susiddhi*) category of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings that Faquan transmitted. I begin by investigating the writings of Faquan's contemporary, Haiyun 海雲, and his Japanese disciples to determine the form in which he transmitted the Esoteric Buddhist teachings. In addition, I consider the content and function of the accomplishment category of teachings within the tripartite system of the late Tang Dynasty Esoteric Buddhism.

Second, it is my contention that, because the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* was important to Faquan, he gave it a special role within the Esoteric Buddhist system of three interrelated categories that he transmitted. Here I present the unique features of his manuals for the matrix rite. In so doing, I uncover a direct relationship between the iconography of the mandala that served as the focus of his matrix rite and the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing mantuluo*.

EVIDENCE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE *SUSIDDHI* CATEGORY IN FAQUAN'S TRANSMISSION

Before examining the content and function of the accomplishment category of the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist 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 accomplishment 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 Buddhist teachings, within which the *susiddhi* was a separate category, is recorded in the works of his Chinese contemporaries and Japanese disciples. I examine four sources of confirmation: Haiyun, Ennin, Enchin, and disciples' inventories.

We learn from the Chinese monk Haiyun that Faquan propagated the system of three interrelated categories of the scriptural and ritual traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras*. Haiyun's *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* is a dated work that documents the transmission of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings from Śubhākarasimha's (637-735) time on downwards to his own time.² His *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* consists of two parts. The second scroll, composed on the eighth day of the tenth month of the eighth year of Yonghe 永和 (834), recounts the transmission of the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, which Haiyun calls the *Dapiluzhena dajiaowang jing* 大毘盧遮那

大教王經 (Scripture of the King of the Great Teachings of Mahāvairocana). It is in this second scroll on the transmission of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* that Haiyun elaborates on the fundamental components of the system that all Esoteric Buddhist masters transmitted to their disciples. These are the teachings of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisambodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras*, which he designates as “the great teachings in three categories” 三部大教. Haiyun interrupts his profile of Amoghavajra to discuss the significance of these texts and their teachings:

The Preceptor [Amoghavajra], Tripiṭaka of Daixingshansi, received the methods of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界法 from the Great Preceptor, Tripiṭaka 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 the elderly Ācārya Samantabhadra (Puxian Asheli). He questioned him repeatedly and received again the methods of the Five Families of the Adamantine Realm in one hundred thousand stanzas 金剛界五部百千頌法. He also acquired the [*Vairocanābhisambodhi*] *sūtra*³ in one hundred thousand stanzas.

Accordingly, these two books of the King of the Great Teachings are secret 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 secret mind-ground [that is, the power of mind or faculty of thought required for the performance] of *dhāraṇī* 持念 that we [monks of China now] possess does not extend beyond these two books of the King of the Great Teachings (note in small letters: these are the King of the Great Teachings of Mahāvairocana and the King of the Great Teachings of the Adamantine Realm), which synthesize all of the teachings of *dhāraṇī*.

Then there is the teaching on the accomplishment (*susiddhi*) of special powers 蘇悉地教 (note in small characters: this one calls wondrous perfection 妙成就) that broadly clarifies [the ritual practices of] the Three Families [of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra]. Moreover, [this teaching of the *susiddhi*] includes and explains the methods of *dhāraṇī*, and among these [methods], only [those of the *susiddhi*] clarify the successful accomplishment of [ritual] acts 明事成就. The significance and flavor [of the *susiddhi* teaching] are connected with [those of the] Adamantine Realm and [those of the King of the Great Teachings of] Mahāvairocana. Furthermore, [the *susiddhi*] is an exceedingly essential and wondrous method. [Thus], as for that which Tripiṭaka Śubhākarasiṃha translated, the great teachings of the previous[ly mentioned] two categories [of the King of the Great Teachings of Mahāvairocana and the King of the Great Teachings of the Adamantine Realm] and the *Susiddhi[kara sūtra]* collectively form the great teachings in three categories 三部大教.⁴

In this passage Haiyun emphasizes the special function and position that the teaching of the *susiddhi* have within the Esoteric Buddhist system he is documenting. He states that the teaching of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* rank equally with those of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Moreover, according to Haiyun, the teachings of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* span those of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, 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 Buddhist master (*ācārya*) concurrently bestowed upon his disciple the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras*. He describes in this scroll on the transmission of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* the transmission of the two scriptures as follows:

Then the [Korean] monk, Master Hyonch'o [C. Xuanchao] 沙門玄超阿闍梨, transmitted the King of the Great Teachings of Mahāvairocana and the teaching of the *susiddhi* to Master Huiguo of Qinglongsi's Dongtayuan 青龍寺東塔院慧果阿闍梨. Master [Huiguo] [then] transmitted them to the monk Weishang of Chengdufu 城都府僧惟尚 (note: we also call him Weiming 惟明), to Bianhong of Bianzhou 汴州辨弘, to the Korean monks Hyeil [C. Huiji] 新羅國僧慧日 and Ojin [C. Wuzhen] 悟眞, to Kūkai of Japan 日本國空海, to the monks Yiman 義滿, Yiming 義明, Yizheng 義證, Yizhao 義照, Yicao 義操, Yimin 義愍 and Farun 法潤 of the same hall [of Qinglongsi]. (Note in small characters: Those to whom he transmitted the teachings and the position of master who transmits the teachings 伝法阿闍梨位 numbered twelve people.) Some resided in the capital and transmitted and maintained [the transmission] and some were in the vast teaching's remote regions. All have passed away. Then Master Yicao of Dongtayuan [of Qinglongsi] 東塔院義操阿闍梨 transmitted [these teachings] to the monk Yizhen 義眞 of the same doctrine [and the same hall], to Shenda of Jinggongsi 景公寺深達, to his disciple Haiyun of Jingzhusi 淨住寺弟子海雲, to the monk Dayou of Chongfusi 崇福寺僧大遇 and to the monk Wenyan of Lichuansi 醴泉寺僧文苑. (Note in small characters: The above five all transmitted the teachings.) He then transmitted [to them] the position of master [who transmits the teachings]. Then Master Farun of Dongtayuan 東塔院法潤阿闍梨 transmitted [the teachings] to the monk Daosheng of Jingzhusi 淨法寺僧道昇 and to Faquan and Weijin of Xuanfasi 玄法寺法全惟謹.⁵

Further, Haiyun restates at the end of this scroll on the transmission of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* that this scripture and the *Susiddhikara sūtra* were handed down together.

The above clarifies in detail the meaning of the teaching of the matrix repository. I have respectfully followed the underlying principles of the two teachings of the revealed and secret and have briefly described their purport. The meaning of the teachings is profound and vast and it is difficult to probe its bottom. However, I,

Haiyun, have gratefully received the Buddha's favor and succeeded in encountering these sacred teachings. Having personally received the eye of the *dharma* [whereby I can clearly discern the truth], I have made known the transmission of [the scriptures of] *Mahāvairocana* and the *Susiddhi[kara]* from above on down to the present seven petals [generations], and I have roughly described the essence [of these scriptures]. And, according to what I have seen and heard, I have briefly recorded this procedure [of transmission] and its wise ones.⁶

From the time of Śubhākarasiṃha's and Vajrabodhi's introduction of Esoteric Buddhist doctrine to China the teaching 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 this teaching assumed a prominent status.

Haiyun documents in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* the Esoteric Buddhist system of his time.⁷ The most notable feature of this system that he describes was the new and crucial standing given to the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. Although Haiyun classifies the transmission of this scripture 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 *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, forming a system of three categories which were interrelated by means of ritual practices and mantras, as I shall explain more fully later.

Ennin uses the phrase "the great methods in three categories" 三部大法 to describe Faquan's transmission in his travel diary, the *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 (Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Teachings). In fact Ennin mentions twice in his *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* that Faquan was the monk who profoundly understood the great methods in three categories.⁸

Ennin received the Esoteric Buddhist transmission from a number of Chinese masters in Chang'an. He documents in his *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* that he received the transmission of the Adamantine Realm from Yuanzheng of Daxingshansi 大興善寺元政. 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), receiving the Great Method of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界大法 and the consecration as a transmitter of the [Esoteric Buddhist] teachings 傳法灌頂.⁹ In a letter sent to Yizhen of Qinglongsi, dated to the twenty-eighth day of the fourth month of the first year of Huichang, Ennin writes that he seeks to study with this master the Great Method of the Matrix Repository 胎藏大法. On the third day of the fifth month of that year Ennin received from Yizhen an introductory consecration. He then cast a flower into the matrix mandala, and began his study of the Great Methods of the Scripture of Vairocana's Matrix Repository 胎藏毘盧遮那經大法 and of the *susiddhi* 蘇悉地大法.¹⁰

The fact that Ennin studied the teachings of the matrix 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 fufaji* Haiyun records that Huiguo transmitted the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras* to Yicao and Farun, and that Yicao then transmitted these teachings to Yizhen and to Haiyun himself, while Farun transmitted them to Faquan.¹¹ Yizhen was known, as Ennin himself records, as a specialist in the dual

transmission 兩部 of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.¹² It seems that the teaching of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* was, nevertheless, a part of Yizhen's expertise.

On the twenty-ninth day of the second month of the second year of Huichang (842), in Xuanfasi Ennin began for a second time instructions on the Great Method of the Matrix Repository. This time his teacher was Faquan.¹³ He records in an entry in his travel diary dated to the twelfth day of the third month of that year that Faquan gave him "for propagation abroad a *Taizang dayigui* 胎藏大儀軌 (Extensive Ritual Manual on the Matrix Repository) in three scrolls, *Biezun fa* 別尊法 (Separate Rites for the Venerables) in three scrolls, and the *Taizang shouxie* 胎藏手契 (Mudrās of the [Venerables in the Mandala of the] Matrix Repository)."¹⁴ Despite the fact that Faquan was highly qualified in the three categories of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings, Ennin makes no mention in his travel diary of having studied with him the teaching of the *susiddhi*.

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 the Esoteric Buddhist transmission in three categories, albeit from a number of different masters, during his sojourn in China, and it was this transmission in three categories that he propagated on Hieizan upon his return to Japan.¹⁵

Although Enchin does not, as Haiyun and 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 *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Susiddhikara sūtra*. Faquan himself actually describes the 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 Teachings in Qinglong Temple), the inventory that Enchin compiled on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the ninth year of Daizhong 太中 (855) when he was residing in Chang'an and studying under Faquan.¹⁶ Faquan states in this inscription that:

On the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the ninth year of Dazhong¹⁷ [Enchin] entered [the Matrix Mandala and received] the Consecration (*abhiṣeka*) of the Five Jars [for] the Matrix [Mandala] of Great Compassion 大悲胎藏五瓶灌頂 and attained [the position of] Bodhisattva Prajñāpāramitā. I then taught him the Great Teachings of the Matrix Repository 胎藏大教. Further, on the third day of the tenth month [Enchin] entered [the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and received] the Consecration of the Five Families of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界五部灌頂 and attained [the position of] Bodhisattva Vajrapāramitā. Then I taught him the [Methods] of the Adamantine [Realm] and of the *susiddhi*, as well as the yoga of the Venerables 金剛界蘇悉地并諸尊瑜伽. [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 傳五部大教大阿闍梨位 and he attained [the position of] Bodhisattva Maṇḍala.¹⁸

Faquan's administering of the Esoteric Buddhist consecrations to his Japanese disciple involved a three-fold process: first he bestowed upon Enchin consecration into the matrix mandala and then he instructed him on the teachings and rites of this mandala; he then granted him

consecration into the mandala of the adamantine realm, which was followed by instructions on the rites of this mandala, as well as on those of the *susiddhi* and other deity practices; finally he gave Enchin the master's consecration which authorized him to initiate and teach others. Faquan thus enumerates in an ascending order of importance the consecration ceremonies that he granted Enchin: first the matrix, then the adamantine realm and lastly instructions on the rites of the *susiddhi* and other deity yogic practices. It is interesting to note that Ennin did not receive his initiations in this order, perhaps because he did not study under one master. First Ennin had received the transmission of the mandala of the adamantine realm and then that of the matrix mandala concurrently with the teaching of the *susiddhi*.

Enchin describes the consecrations that Faquan granted him in greater detail in another document. In the *Seikōden shingon shikan ryōshūkan* 請弘傳眞言止觀兩宗官 (Official Petition Requesting the Universal Transmission of the Two Doctrines of the Mantra and the Zhiguan [*Samatha-Vipasyana*]), which dates to the seventh day of the third month of the fifth year of Jōgan 貞觀 (863), Enchin records his receiving Faquan's instructions on the teaching of the *susiddhi*.

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, the Tripiṭaka from Nalanda Temple in central India, Master Faquan, Director of Monks (*Bhadanta*), former *Dhāraṇī* Chanter and Offering Chaplain in the Hall of Long Life 前長生殿持念供奉大德僧, the Preceptor 和尚 (Heshang) who Transmits the Teachings in Qinglongsi in [Chang'an's] streets on the left, who granted me permission to receive the purport of the yoga doctrine. He is, namely, the Preceptor from whom the Great Dharma Teacher, Master Ennin, the transmitter of the teachings in Enryakuji, received the teachings. (Note in small characters: The writing that has been struck out on the back beneath the character 矣 states that: the Preceptor 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.)...

On the fifteenth day of the seventh month I entered together with Ensai 圓載 the Altar [Mandala] of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion 大悲胎藏壇 and was given the Consecration of this Great Method 大法灌頂. Then I was granted the Great Yoga of the Matrix Repository 胎藏大瑜伽. Next I entered the practice hall of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies 金剛界九會大曼荼羅道場. Sprinkling water of the Consecration of the Five Wisdoms, I received such teachings as those of the Supreme Vehicle of Great Offerings 大供養最上乘教, the Yoga of the Venerables of the Two Categories 兩部諸尊瑜伽 and the Great Method of the *Susiddhi* 蘇悉地大法. And also I summoned the offering artisans Diaoping 刁慶 and the others and I had images of the great mandalas drawn in Longxingsi. The Preceptor of [Qinglongsi] checked and corrected [their work] from start to finish... On the first third day of the eleventh month I visited Preceptor [Faquan's] place and consulted him about (Note: beneath the character 請 there are the three characters "the Master's

permission” 和上許) the matter of my consecration into the teachings. The Preceptor (Note in small characters: beneath 尚 there are the four characters “[with] great compassion [he] then” 大慈悲便) 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 mandala, 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 [Preceptor Faquan] conferred on me the Consecration for the Position (note in small characters: beneath [the character] 位 there is the character 之) of Master [who] Transmits the Great Teachings of the Two Categories 傳兩部大教阿闍梨位灌頂. I then attained [the positions of] Bodhisattvas Prajñā, Mahākāśagarbha and Mahābodhisattva Dharmacakrapravartin. The Preceptor’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 whose underlying nature is the letter *a*, and should transmit the teachings of the Supreme Vehicle of All the Tathagatas.”¹⁹

Here Enchin confirms that Faquan’s instructions on the *susiddhi* followed his consecrations into the mandalas of the matrix and adamantine realm.

There is also other documentary evidence that verifies that Enchin did indeed study Faquan’s transmission of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. The first piece of evidence is a dated colophon that Enchin wrote on his personal copy of the *Soshitsujikatsura kuyōhō hiki* 蘇悉地羯羅供養法批評記 (Note of Commentary on the Offering Rite of the *Susiddhikara* [sūtra]). The colophon on the first scroll of this manuscript states that:

[This is] the book which I, having requested the Preceptor [Fa]quan’s book, copied and [then] collated in the quarters of the Preceptor Yunji of Jingtuyuan of Longxingsi 龍興寺淨土院雲居, [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.²⁰

The second piece of evidence that confirms Enchin did indeed obtain the *susiddhi* rite from Faquan is the *Soshitsuji kishōjō* 蘇悉地起請狀 (Written Pledge [concerning] the *Susiddhi*). Enchin describes in this document, which he composed in 874, the significance of the method of the *susiddhi* as follows:

Concerning the fact that after receiving the Position of Master (*ācārya*) one can be given the Great Method of the *Susiddhi*.

The Great Method [mentioned] above forms the two wings of the Great Methods of the Two Categories of the Matrix Repository and the Adamantine Realm. For this reason [my] great teacher in Tang [China] and others, as well as our Jikaku Daishi [Ennin], secretly treasured it in particular. It is not the same as the other categories. Therefore, from now on the one who transmits the teachings

must instruct his disciples [in this method] and, after having them ascend [to the Position of] Master, he must confer on them this said method. If this 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 Jōgan²¹

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 method of the *susiddhi* was granted after the disciple's consecration as a Master of the Transmission of the Teachings. Although both Faquan and Enchin do note that instruction on the *susiddhi* was conferred after the disciple's consecration into the mandalas of the matrix and adamantine realm, respectively, thus suggesting that the method of the *susiddhi* stood above those of the matrix and adamantine realm, Enchin explicitly states in his *Soshitsuji kishōjō* that the *susiddhi* is supreme in status.²²

In short, there is ample evidence demonstrating that Enchin received from Faquan the teachings and methods of the matrix, adamantine realm and *susiddhi*. Moreover, Enchin himself tells us something about the transmission that he received from Faquan. He writes in his *Soshitsuji kishōjō*, for example, that the method of the *susiddhi* was considered to be the most crucial of the three categories.

The inventories of Faquan's Japanese disciples and Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, which recapitulates the contents of both the official and unofficial inventories of the eight Heian pilgrim-monks who went to Tang China, further attest to Faquan's involvement with the *susiddhi* category of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings. An examination of the texts and religious articles that Faquan's disciples Ennin, Enchin and Shūei brought back from their travels indicates that they received a transmission of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings in the three major categories of the matrix, adamantine realm and *susiddhi*.²³

Ennin, for instance, records in his *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* the religious articles that he collected while residing in Chang'an, and he includes the following works of the *susiddhi* category: Sanskrit books of the *Susiddhikara* and *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtras* 蘇悉地并蘇摩呼經 梵本, each in one scroll, and the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang zhenyan ji* 蘇悉地羯羅供養眞言集 (Collection of Mantras for Offering from the *Susiddhikara* [sūtra]) in one scroll.²⁴ Annen records these works in his inventory, and adds the *Suxidi gongyang fa* in two scrolls 蘇悉地供養法二卷 (Rite of Offering for the *Susiddhi*), noting that Ennin did not include this work in his official inventories.²⁵ Annen also records as listed outside of Enchin's official inventory a copy of Śubhākarasiṃha's *Suxidi gongyang fa* 蘇悉地供養法二卷 無畏. He notes that this is an abbreviated version, whereas Ennin's copy of this manual is slightly more detailed.²⁶

Shūei records in his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku*, 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 that he attributes to Śubhākarasiṃha,²⁷ and a copy of the *Suxidi yigui qiyin* (Mudrās in the Ritual Manual for the [Rite] of *Susiddhi*), a scroll that his Chinese master Faquan possessed illustrating the mudrās performed in this rite.²⁸ Because the *Suxidi yigui qiyin* bears an inscription which states that the scroll was copied in Chang'an's Eastern Market by a certain Zhaozong in the fifth year of Xiantong (864), we can surmise that Shūei had at that time received, or was about to receive, instructions in the *susiddhi* rite from Faquan.²⁹

However, Annen does not document in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* that Shūei brought back copies of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* or the *Suxidi yigui qiyin*. He records in

his inventory four versions of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* in two scrolls, and he notes under the fourth version that this ritual manual was introduced, not by Shūei, but by Eun (798-869) who was in China 842-847. Most interestingly, Annen adds in this note that the copy Ennin returned with was the first version of this work and that the other three copies brought back by Eun, Engyō (799-852) and Enchin were works that Faquan had collated.³⁰ Annen's notation provides further evidence of Faquan's involvement in the transmission of the *susiddhi* teaching.³¹

INTERPRETATION AND REINTERPRETATION OF THE *SUSIDDHIKARA SŪTRA*

There were changes in the interpretation of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* during the Tang Dynasty from the time of Śubhākarasiṃha's translation of this text in 726 to the time of Faquan. Here I will present the fundamental teachings of this scripture, in particular those of the special mantras and methods of the threefold accomplishments 三種悉地. It is the mantras and methods of the threefold accomplishments that undergo significant reinterpretations.

The *Susiddhikara sūtra* always held a place of importance in the Chinese Esoteric Buddhism of the Tang Dynasty. The *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa*, a ritual manual whose translation is attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, as well as the *Suxidi yigui qiyin*, provide evidence of the practice of its ritual procedures after Śubhākarasiṃha's translation of the scripture.³² Further, Amoghavajra used the liturgical instructions provided in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* to compose his own versions of rites to such deities as Akṣobhya, Cintāmaṇicakra, and Amṛtakunḍalin, for example.³³ The biographies of Amoghavajra and Huiguo record the transmission of its teachings within the circles of the early Chinese Esoteric Buddhists.³⁴ Moreover, the Tang Dynasty catalogues, the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* and the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, dated to 730 and 800 respectively, categorized this scripture, together with the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra*, as the disciplinary rules of the teachings of spells 呪毘奈耶.³⁵ Most importantly, these Tang Dynasty Buddhist catalogues include a note under the *Susiddhikara sūtra* entry prohibiting those who have not been initiated into the mandala from reading this text.³⁶ Clearly, in Chinese Esoteric Buddhist circles of the seventh century this text was profoundly significant.

The contents of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* include such items as (a) a special mantra, (b) rites of threefold accomplishments, (c) consecration and offering rites, and (d) deities and mandalas. In short, the scripture contains all the elements necessary for the performance of the category of the *susiddhi*. In addition, there is a separate ritual manual for an offering rite (*Suxidi jielou gongyang fa*).³⁷ However, it seems that the contents of the *susiddhi* category are not to be found in these works alone.

The title of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* emphasizes its focus: the scripture effectuating (*karāṇa*) the accomplishment of special powers 蘇悉地 (*susiddhi*). In the first chapter of this 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.³⁸ Vajrapāṇi explains that this scripture teaches five types of rites³⁹ but it is the fifth rite of the effectuating of all mantras that is supreme. He extolls the efficaciousness of this scripture 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 scripture and you will immediately be successful.

This scripture 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] arena, inviting [the Venerables to enter the mandala], as well as those acts of offering, of assisting others, determining punishments and instructions, and it can bring about the successful accomplishment of all mantras.⁴⁰

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. 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 later lineages of the Japanese Tendai Esoteric school.⁴¹

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*). Kuṇḍalī poses over forty questions, asking about the characteristics of, for example, mantra recitation, the master (*acārya*), the practitioner and his companions, the site of the ritual performance, the offerings, the successful accomplishment of superior, middling and inferior rites, and the mandalas. Further, he inquires about the characteristics of, instructions for and the results of the rites of pacification (*śāntika*), increasing benefits (*pauṣṭika*), wrathful subjugation (*ābhicāruka*), consecration (*abhiṣeka*) and fire oblation (*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, middling and inferior. For example, the mantras of the Buddha Family quickly perfect the rite of pacification, the mantras of the Padma Family quickly accomplish the rite of increasing benefits, and those of the Vajra Family quickly and successfully effectuate the rite of wrathful subjugation.⁴² Further, the mantras of the Buddha Family produce supreme accomplishments (*siddhis*), those of the Lotus Family bring about middling accomplishments, and those of the Vajra Family lower accomplishments.⁴³ And yet, Vajrapāṇi also states that, in fact, there are no distinctions when following this scripture's rules.

This scripture's profundity and wondrousness are like the heavenly beings (*devas*) among the heavenly, and also its mantras are the sublime among the sublime. If you rely on its [ritual] methods 法, then there will be no [ritual] acts 事 that you cannot successfully accomplish. Although this scripture belongs to the inferior family of the Vajra, because reverence for the ordinances of the Buddha's teachings permeates and accomplishes [all], this scripture can also perfect the rites of the upper two families [of the Buddha and Padma].⁴⁴

The *Susiddhikara sūtra* specifies, then, the significance (rules for ritual "success") and function (efficacious mantra practice) of the category of the *susiddhi*, and its accompanying ritual manual provides the prescriptions for an offering rite. 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).

However, in the Esoteric Buddhist 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 matrix and adamantine realm. 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 of these families as supreme, middling and inferior, respectively.⁴⁵ This focus upon the accomplishment of the three grades of supreme, middling and inferior accomplishments can be linked to the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* textual tradition that predated the composition of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgrha*.⁴⁶ Haiyun's statement, however, implies that the teachings of this text successfully effectuated not only the ritual practices of the three families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra of the matrix mandala but also those of the five families (Buddha, Padma, Vajra, Gem and Action) of the mandala of the adamantine realm.

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 both those of the systems of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgrha*.

Further corroboration of a late Tang Dynasty reinterpretation of the concept of the threefold accomplishments 三種悉地 are Faquan's oral teachings as documented in Enchin's *Ketsuji sanshu shiji hō* 決示三種悉地法 (Transmission concerning the Methods of the Threefold Accomplishments). This new concept of the threefold accomplishments also requires investigation because Enchin records that there was a cult of the threefold accomplishments during his visit to China.

The *Ketsuji sanshu shiji hō* contains explanations of the three mantras of accomplishments that Enchin passed on to his disciple Henjō 遍照 (817–890) in 871 or 873.⁴⁷ Here, Enchin records Faquan's teachings on the significance of the five-letter mantra of the grade of supreme accomplishment.

Master [Fa]quan of Qinglongsi bequeathed to Enchin miscellaneous mantras, saying as follows. “[When] Brahmācari Prabhutaratna selected the essential subtleties among the thirty thousand characters of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, its highest and finest merit-field [turned out to] be nothing but this five-letter mantra. If one retains [this mantra], one's meritorious virtue is incomparable. [Further], [this merit] cannot be calculated, nor can it be explained.

The five-letter mantra is *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ*. If you [chant] it once, you will have held in your mind the scripture repository (note: scripture means all the scriptures) one million times. [The letters of this mantra] then become the seed letters 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, prowess and purity, all are governed by this five-letter mantra.

The Great Preceptor [Fa]quan's Personal Transmission 全大和尚面決 states that “This is the mantra of the Body of the Absolute Principle of Truth 法身 (*dharmakāya*). As for those two Buddhas [in the mandalas of the matrix and adamantine realm], their complete bodies dwell in the scriptures of the two categories [of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-*

saṃgraha]. Therefore, I do not speak [about them]. [This is something] you yourself ought to know.”

The above is what Enchin saw and heard.⁴⁸

The concept of a mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment, derived from the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, has been superimposed upon the already amalgamated teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. According to Faquan’s oral teachings, then, this single mantra is the essence of the two major Esoteric Buddhist scriptures and it governs the universe: all social and physical phenomena issue from its letters.

Although the rites of supreme, middling and lower accomplishments and their mantras are presented in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, the mantras are not the same as the mantras of the threefold accomplishments that Enchin received from Faquan and documented in his *Ketsuji sanshu shiji hō*.⁴⁹ Enchin identifies in this document the textual sources of the three mantras of the threefold accomplishments that he had inherited.⁵⁰ He first records that Saichō received the mantras of the threefold accomplishments from the Chinese monk Shunxiao 順曉 in 804 (貞元末年).⁵¹ 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 Suinan’s Tiangongsi 水南天宮寺 in the eastern capital of Luoyang.⁵² Then, after providing the textual sources of the mantras, Enchin documents the oral teachings of the mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment that his Chinese master Faquan transmitted to him.⁵³

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 accomplishments of supreme, middling and lower grades. The mantra of the lower grade 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 accomplishments? Further, why are two of the threefold accomplishment mantras drawn from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*? A brief investigation of the function and significance of these mantras in the textual sources that Enchin has provided seems relevant at this point.

Enchin documents that the source of the mantra of the middling grade of accomplishment is the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*’s sixth chapter, the *Xidi chuxian pin* 悉地出現品 (Manifestation of Accomplishments). Further, he notes under the mantra of the middling grade that “[this] is called the phrase of adamant letters 金剛字句 whereby one subjugates the four demons (*māra*) 降伏四魔,⁵⁴ liberates [those in] the six paths 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 grade 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

After revealing the mantra *āḥ vi ra hūṃ khaṃ* and its soteriological powers to the assembly of Vajra Holders and Bodhisattvas, Vairocana then expounds in the rest of this chapter the practice

and the wondrous accomplishments that the practitioner obtains by applying these five letters to his body. This discourse focuses on the letters *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

The letter *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 mandala that is called the seat of yoga. Contemplation upon the letter *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 cure sicknesses generated from actions done in his previous lives, abandon the defiling influences of desires, anger and delusion and transcend all transgressions.

A second example is the letter *va*, which is placed upon the navel and forms the pure white, circular, nine-layered mandala of the element water, and symbolizes the water of compassion. Contemplation upon the letter *va* enables the practitioner to eradicate all fevered mental sufferings and leave behind the poisons of passions that hinder the attainment of enlightenment, and to acquire such boons as longevity, a special body, the reverence of people and heavenly beings, purity and erudition, as well as the immediate fruit of all accomplishments.⁵⁹

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

Enchin cites the source of the mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment as the *Chitong faze pin* 持誦法則品 (Rules for Recitation), which is the fourth chapter of the seventh fascicle of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, and under this mantra he adds that "the explanation of the meaning of the letters [of this mantra] is identical to [that given in] that [scripture's] chapter."⁶¹ This chapter of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* provides the prescriptions for the ritual phase of recitation and identification with the deity. In this ritual phase of identification, the practitioner performs the visualization practice of the body adorned with five letters 五字嚴身觀 whereby his body becomes identical to that of Mahāvairocana. He visualizes the five letters *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ* and *khaṃ* on specific parts of his body and contemplates that these areas of his body assume the shapes of the five elements of earth, water, fire, wind and space and thus that of the body of Mahāvairocana.⁶² This theory of the five cosmic elements, which compose both the forms of the universe and the body of Mahāvairocana of the matrix mandala, and its visualization practice are found in several chapters of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, for instance in the *Xidi chuxian pin* mentioned above, as well as in the scripture's commentary, the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏.⁶³

This visualization practice also appears in the Chinese ritual manuals for the matrix rite. The *Shedapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing rulianhua taizang haihui beisheng mantuluo guangda niansong yigui gongyang fangbian hui*,⁶⁴ for example, contains a short visualization practice of the five cosmic elements that is based upon that given in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*'s eleventh chapter, *Bimi mantuluo pin* 祕密曼荼羅品 (Secret Mandala). The mantra *āḥ vi ra hūṃ khaṃ* associated with this practice is, however, from the *Xidi chuxian pin*.⁶⁵ There is also a mixing of ritual components from different chapters of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* in the *Dapiluzhena jing guangda yigui*'s version of this visualization practice.⁶⁶ The *Guangda yigui* details this visualization practice of the *dharmakāya* composed of five cosmic elements in the

ritual phase of purification, which precedes the phase of the construction of the sacred sanctuary. The characteristics of the five elements and their syllables *a vi raṃ haṃ khaṃ* are a fusion that has been taken from the *Chitong faze pin* and the *Xidi chuxian pin*.⁶⁷

Faquan's manuals are the only ones among the Chinese ritual manuals that quote this visualization practice directly from the *Chitong faze pin*.⁶⁸ In his *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuluo guangda chengjiu yigui gongyang fangbian hui* and *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti chuangbiaozhi putong zhenyanzang guangda chengjiu yuqie*,⁶⁹ this visualization practice opens the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body which precedes the ritual phase of the visualization of the sacred sanctuary. The performance of this ritual phase of the Tathāgata's body transforms the practitioner's body into that of Vairocana/Śākyamuni, purifying and empowering him so that he can construct mentally the sacred sanctuary where the mandala will be laid out and the deities will assemble. Moreover, this visualization practice of the body adorned with five letters also appears in the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* 建立曼荼羅護摩儀軌, a manual attributed to Faquan wherein ideas and practices from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* predominate, as we have demonstrated in Chapter Six.⁷⁰ 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 grade of accomplishment, and all are ritual manuals for Mañjuśrī that belong to the textual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgrha*.⁷¹ Mañjuśrī, the bodhisattva of wisdom, is associated with the teachings of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*. There is an iconographic type of this bodhisattva who holds this scripture as his emblem and has inscribed around the lunar disc in which he sits the five letters of his special mantra *a ra pa ca na*.⁷² The five syllables *a ra pa ca na* are, in fact, the first five in the doctrine of the forty-two *siddhaṃ* letters 悉曇四十二字門 whose practice is expounded in Kumārajīva's translation of the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, as well as in other texts of the *Prajñāpāramitā* lineage.⁷³ Meditative recitation on these forty-two letters leads to the understanding of the emptiness 空 (*śūnyatā*) of all elements of existence. Enchin records in this document the significance of Mañjuśrī's special five-letter mantra, as well as the wondrous results that are obtained through its recitation. These passages have been extracted from a work that was translated by Vajrabodhi.

The *Jingangding Wenshushili wuzi tuoluoni pin* 金剛頂文殊師利五字陀羅尼品 states that *a* means without birth, *ra* means purity, without stains and transcending the defilements [of the passions], *pa* means [because] also devoid of supreme reality 無第一義諦, all [elements of reality] (*dharmas*) are equal, *ca* means the *dharmas* are without phenomenal changes 諸行, and *na* means the *dharmas* do not possess [a real, unchanging] nature nor [external] form 性相, and that all [the meanings of these] letters are unattainable...⁷⁴

In Vajrabodhi's manual Mañjuśrī continues and states that the one who contemplates and understands the significance of these five letters 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.⁷⁵

Enchin's description of the special boons that the reciter of this mantra will acquire is also from Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding Wenshushili pusa wuzi tuoluoni pin*.

If a person recites [this five-letter 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 (*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 behalf. As for that which he seeks in his heart, [Mañjuśrī] will fulfill all his fundamental vows.⁷⁶

Further, Mañjuśrī adds that the practitioner will obtain such rewards as knowledge of previous lives 宿命智, facility of unhindered discourse 辯才無礙, sovereignty and miraculous powers 自在神足, and will quickly realize the Tathāgata's Adamantine Body of the Absolute Principle of Truth (*dharmakāya*) 速證如來金剛法身.⁷⁷

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.⁷⁸ Amoghavajra also promoted the cult of Mañjuśrī and translated scriptures and ritual manuals devoted to this bodhisattva.⁷⁹ For example, Mañjuśrī states in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie Wenshushili pusa jing* 金剛頂瑜伽文殊師利菩薩經 (Scripture on Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown) that the teachings of All the Tathāgatas are subsumed into this five-letter mantra (*dhāraṇī*), 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 stages of the Tathāgata and the Holder of the Vajra (Vajrapāṇi).⁸⁰

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 concept of the threefold accomplishments. It does, however, disclose that all three were powerful mantras by means of which the practitioner could bring about both mundane and supramundane accomplishments, as well as identification with Mahāvairocana. Clearly, monks who had been initiated into the teachings of the major Esoteric Buddhist scriptures and ritual manuals would have been familiar with these awesome mantras revealed by Mahāvairocana and Mañjuśrī. Given the fact that Enchin saw these mantras affixed to temple gates in Luoyang (Enchin's statements in *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō*, *Gimon* and *Sasagimon*), that these three mantras were allocated to the Three Bodies of the Buddha (*Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō*), and that Faquan orally transmitted to Enchin the mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment, which corresponded to the Body of the Absolute Principle of Truth 法身 (*dharmakāya*) (Faquan's teachings as documented in Enchin's *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō*),⁸¹ we can surmise that there was in China at the time of Faquan a cult that centered upon these three mantras.⁸²

As noted above, Vajrapāṇi does not reveal the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s fundamental mantra. Further, the special mantra, called the mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment, in Faquan's teachings simultaneously signified the main visualization practice of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the Five Buddhas of the Five Families of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Adamantine Realm. Moreover, because this mantra of the supreme grade of

accomplishment conflated into its five letters concepts belonging to the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, it brought about auspicious results for all esoteric rites, regardless of their textual lineage. Perhaps the concept of threefold accomplishments and their mantras was the common property of Chinese masters of Esoteric Buddhism in the late Tang Dynasty.

I contend that at some point, most likely during the time of Haiyun and Faquan, the special characteristics of this third category of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings were set down in manuals and practices of some form. Substantiation for this claim is the fact that the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefu guiyi*, the source of the Mandala of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa that is appended to the Daigoji exemplar, contains a chapter on the threefold accomplishments. The yogic practice of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa's mantra brings about two types of threefold accomplishments, one with aspects and one without aspects. Influences are clearly from the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras*.⁸³ The threefold accomplishments was thus an crucial concept in Esoteric Buddhist circles of the late Tang Dynasty.

In sum, the *Susiddhikara sūtra* was important in the Tang Chinese Esoteric Buddhist teachings because it detailed the Esoteric Buddhist precepts 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 and for the performance of the rites of consecration and fire oblation, as well as for the effectuation of the mantras and articles used in these rites and for the construction of their mandalas. Further, Vajrapāṇi states in the first chapter of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* that the function of this scripture was to bring about the success of all ritual practices and this it does through the power of its fundamental mantra. Thus, this scripture taught a special mantra, which, strangely, Vajrapāṇi does not reveal. Moreover, according to chapter 16 of this scripture, Distinguishing the Methods of Accomplishment, the special powers of the mantras of each of the three families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra can effectuate 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 masters that resulted in the ideological and ritual reassessment of the scripture's teachings and rites.

Haiyun's reference in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* to a common significance between the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* must be interpreted as the singular power that the *susiddhi* category possesses to effectuate, perhaps via the performance of special *dhāraṇī*, although he is not specific about this, the felicitous outcome of all ritual practices, regardless of their textual tradition. The potency of the *susiddhi* category lies, then, in its transcendent nature, that is its ability to transcend textual and ritual distinctions, thus making it, as Haiyun records, "an exceedingly essential and wondrous [esoteric] method" 亦是至極要妙法.⁸⁴

Enchin, on the other hand, precisely explicates in his *Kyōji ryōbu hiyō gi* 教示兩部祕要義 (The Meaning of the Secret Essence Set Forth in the Dual Categories) how the threefold mantras of accomplishment constitute the essence of the two categories of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. He equates the phrases of two passages from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and a text that belongs to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* to the letters of the threefold mantras of accomplishment, especially the mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment, 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 mandalas. Enchin's argument goes as follows:

The gateway [to understanding] these three [mantras of] five letters *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ / āḥ vi ra hūṃ khaṃ / a ra pa sa⁸⁵ na* is the essence of the two categories. The Body of the Absolute Principle of Truth (*dharmakāya*) in the Realm of Absolute Truth (*dharmadhātu*) is the real substance 眞實體 of the Tathāgata. Therefore, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* states as follows: “I understand [the principle of] originally non-arising and have transcended the way of words and phrases. I attained liberation from various transgressions and am far removed from primary and secondary causes. I know that emptiness 空 (*śūnyatā*) is equivalent to empty space 虛空 (*ākāśa*).”⁸⁶ The *Tattvasaṃgraha*⁸⁷ states that “The elements of reality (*dharmas*) are originally non-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 empty space.” An Explanation⁸⁸ states that “The meaning of the sentences ‘I understand [the principle of] originally non-arising’ and ‘the elements of reality are originally non-arising’ is identical; that is to say, they elucidate the meaning of the above three groups of letters. *A* is the seed letter of the adamant circle [of the element earth, which is] the *Dharmakāya* of Mahāvairocana. The significance of the words “and I have transcended the way of words and phrases” and “their self-nature is removed from words and explanations,” when aligned side by side, is the same. That is to say, they translate the [letters] *vaṃ*, *vi*, and so on. [The letter] *vi* is, namely, the seed letter of the perfection of the circle of the water element [which signifies] the ocean of knowledge of Tathāgata Mahāvairocana. The purport of [the phrases] “I attained liberation from various transgressions” and “[the elements of reality] are pure and untainted” are one and the same; namely, they make known the significance of the above letter *raṃ*. [The letter] *raṃ* is, namely, the seed letter of the fire element [which signifies] the mental ground of Tathāgata Mahāvairocana. [The phrases] “[I] am far removed from the primary and secondary causes” and “the primary cause is equivalent to empty space” are to be explained as the significance of the above letter *hūṃ*. [The letter] *haṃ* is, namely, the seed letter of the wind element [which signifies] the life span of the eternally residing Tathāgata Mahāvairocana and it is the circle of the letter *hūṃ*. The meaning of the sentences “[I] know that emptiness is equivalent to empty space” and “the operation [of primary causes] is equivalent to empty space” is, from the outset, one; that is to say, they elucidate the significance of the above letter *khaṃ*. [The letter] *khaṃ* is, namely, the mark (*lakṣaṇa*) of the invisible crown of Tathāgata Mahāvairocana; [that is, it is] the place where the Five Buddhas have realized the wisdom of great emptiness. This is, then, in outline the reciprocal correlation 相對 of the two texts. If one were to explain it in a broader manner, then there would be numerous meanings.

The Commentary states...⁸⁹ Now, it is said that these three [mantras of] five letters are in fact the fifteen adamant *samādhis*. One letter [of the three mantras] is in fact the fifteen letters [of the three mantras] and the fifteen letters are then the one letter. One letter [of one mantra] is in fact the five letters [of this mantra] and the five letters are then the one letter. Reversing the order and

rotating them, they are, from first to last, nondual. Truly, they are the substance that [Mahāvairo]cana possesses, his *Dharmakāya*, and [they are] the origin of the reality of the five families [of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm] and of the three families [of the Matrix Mandala].⁹⁰

Correlation between the five syllables (*a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ*), the five fundamental elements of the Buddhist universe (earth, water, fire, wind and space) and the special properties of Mahāvairocana thus integrates the dual mandalic realities of the Matrix and Adamantine Realm.

In short, Faquan's teachings, which Enchin documents in the *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō*, and Enchin's argument in the *Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi* express another aspect of the late Tang reinterpretation of the ideology of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*: there is a mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment that positively affects all rites. The source of this mantra, which distills in its letters the essence of the two major Esoteric Buddhist scriptures, derives from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This text was important to Faquan, as I demonstrate in the following section.

FAQUAN'S MANUALS FOR THE MATRIX RITE

Faquan composed two manuals for the Esoteric Buddhist matrix rite. He wrote the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuluo guangda chengjiu yigui gongyang fangbian hui* 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 (hereafter, the *Xuanfasi yigui*) during the Huichang era (841–847) while residing in Xuanfasi in the Tang capital of Chang'an. Later he composed a second manual for the same rite entitled the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti chuangbiaozhi putong zhenyanzang guangda chengjiu yuqie* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標幟普通真言藏廣大成就瑜伽 (hereafter, the *Qinglongsi yigui*) sometime during the Daizhong era (847–860) while he was residing in Qinglongsi.⁹¹ According to Faquan's disciple Enchin, the *Qinglongsi yigui* is "the final, collated" version of the two matrix ritual manuals that his Chinese master composed.⁹² While some scholars doubt that Faquan composed the *Xuanfasi yigui*, I accept these ritual manuals as Faquan's compositions because his Japanese disciples relied upon them for their own versions of the matrix rite.⁹³

A closer study of Faquan's handbooks discloses a number of unique features. Two innovations are of singular interest. First, Faquan's strict adherence to the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* is the most conspicuous feature in his manuals. As I shall demonstrate, the structural and ritual features of the matrix rite attributed to Huiguo and his Japanese disciple Kūkai are patterned after those of the rite of the adamantine realm, and thus are evidence of the priority that Huiguo and Kūkai gave to the teachings of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* over that of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. On the other hand, Faquan, a second-generation disciple of Huiguo, composed his two manuals with an intimate knowledge of the contents of the matrix ritual manuals attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha. While there are differences between Faquan's ritual handbooks and those of Śubhākarasiṃha, the similarities suggest that Faquan intentionally rejected the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*-dominated rite that was transmitted by Huiguo and Kūkai and returned to the structure and content of a rite based upon the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its ritual tradition. This is Faquan's first significant innovation.

The second significant feature seen in Faquan's handbooks is that he actually recorded the iconography of the mandala to be used in his rite. There is, as we shall see, a correspondence between the iconography of his focal mandala and that of the Shingon school's *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (figs. 33, 34), as well as that of the mandala appended to the *Bizangji*, the earliest compilation among Chinese Esoteric Buddhist circles on the Mandalas of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realms (*Genzu mandara*). The original copies of the Mandalas of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realms (*Genzu mandara*) dated back to the time of Huiguo, and clearly it was still very much in use during Faquan's lifetime.⁹⁴ This match between text and image is not seen in earlier manuals for the matrix rite that are attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha. This match does not even characterize the matrix rite that is attributed to the Huiguo-Kūkai lineage of transmission. There is no mention in this rite of the type of mandala that is to function as the focal image. Thus, despite the fact that Kūkai records three types of matrix mandalas in his *Shōrai mokuroku*, we have no firm idea of the iconography of the mandala that he and his master Huiguo would have paired with their matrix rite.⁹⁵ Faquan, on the other hand, has been very careful to elucidate for the practitioner the iconography of his rite's focal mandala.

Faquan's matrix handbooks became far more popular than those of Śubhākarasiṃha and Kūkai in both the Japanese Shingon and Tendai Esoteric Buddhist schools. For instance, the fourteenth-century Shingon scholar-monk Gōhō 果實 (1306-1362) records in his commentary on the matrix rite, the *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki* 胎藏界念誦次第要集記 (Account of Essentials Gathered on the Ritual Procedure for Visualization and Recitation on Realm of the Matrix Repository), that monks of both the Ono and Hirosawa branches of the Shingon school used Faquan's manuals to perform their matrix rite.⁹⁶ Many monks composed their own, often shorter, versions of the matrix rite on the basis of Faquan's handbooks.⁹⁷ Further, Faquan's matrix manuals have been a subject of study by medieval scholar-monks. In addition to Gōhō, the Tendai monks Annen and Kakuchō 覺超 (955-1037) and the Shingon monks Shingō 眞興 (934-1004), Gengō 元果 (914-995) and Raiyū 頼瑜 (1226-1304), to mention a few, also wrote commentaries on these manuals.⁹⁸

A Comparison of the *Xuanfasi yigui* and the *Qinglongsi yigui*

Faquan's two handbooks for the matrix rite are included in a collection of manuals for this rite known in the Japanese Shingon school as the "four ritual manuals" 四部儀軌 (*shibu giki*). The other two manuals, which are attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, are the *Shedapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing rulianhua taizang haihui beisheng mantuluo guangda niansong yigui gongyang fangbian hui* (hereafter, the *Sheda yigui*) and *Dapiluzhena jing guangda yigui* (hereafter, the *Guangda yigui*).⁹⁹ According to Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, wherein he recapitulates the contents of the inventories of the eight Heian pilgrim-monks who went to Tang China, Ennin, Enchin and Shūei introduced to Japan the *Sheda yigui*, Shūei introduced the *Guangda yigui*, Ennin introduced the *Xuanfasi yigui*, and both Enchin and Shūei brought back copies of the *Qinglongsi yigui*.¹⁰⁰

A comparison of Faquan's two ritual manuals reveals variations which Enchin verifies in his inscriptions on his personal copies.¹⁰¹ While there are differences in the title, order of ritual subphases, and notational information, to name a few, these variations do not signify a change in the fundamental meaning of this rite. On the contrary, Faquan's variations and additions in the *Qinglongsi yigui* can be interpreted as an updating of the *Xuanfasi yigui*. The information that he

has included in the *Qinglongsi yigui* elucidates for the practitioner important aspects of this esoteric rite such as the meanings of the figures of the mandala, their positions in the mandala, and their mantras and mudrās. This appended information seems to reflect Faquan's experiences as a teacher for it evinces his concern to make this rite more accessible to the practitioner.

The first, and most obvious, difference between Faquan's two handbooks is that of title. The title of Faquan's first manual can be translated as "The Offerings, Expedient Means and Assemblies [contained] in the Extensive and Perfected Ritual Manual [for the] Mandala Born from the Compassion of the Matrix Repository of the Lotus [as expounded] in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*." His second manual is titled "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 expounded] in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*." Both manuals contain an identical rite that can be parsed, according to Japanese Buddhist scholars, into the ritual phases of preliminary expedients 前方便法, establishing the altar 作壇法, the assembly of the Tathāgata's body 如來身會, visualization of the sacred sanctuary 道場觀, offerings 供養法, the assemblies of the mandala 諸院會, recitation and identification 正念誦法, and the deconstruction rites of the latter offerings 後供養法, which include the phases of the dispatching of the deities and the dissolution of the seat of enlightenment.¹⁰²

Thus, the ritual phases of offerings, expedient means and assemblies mentioned in the title of the *Xuanfasi yigui* are found in both manuals. Further, the iconography of the figures installed in the mandala that is the focus of this rite, their placement, meanings, mantras and mudrās are, as I shall demonstrate below, identical. Hence, the deities' mantras and their symbols and banners of enlightenment which serve to identify them, and which are referred to in the title of the *Qinglongsi yigui*, are common to both handbooks, despite their different titles.

A second difference seen in the two manuals is the rearrangement of a subphase of the rite of the mandala's assemblies. Faquan changes the order of installation of the deities in the courts of the mandala. In the *Xuanfasi yigui* he places the subphase of the installation of the nine figures of the Court of the Eight-Petaled Central Dais *last* in the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala, after the deities of all the other courts of the mandala have been installed. In the *Qinglongsi yigui*, however, Faquan has the practitioner first install the nine figures of this central court in the mandala and then install the deities of the other courts. This reordering in his *Qinglongsi yigui* results in a change in the ritual procedure whereby the practitioner begins the installation of the deities of the mandala in the center and moves outward to its peripheries. The late tenth-century Shingon monk Shingō does not mention this reordering in his commentary on Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui*, the *Renge taizōkai giki kaishaku* 蓮華胎藏界儀軌解釋.¹⁰³ Gōhō, however, does discuss in detail this reordering in his *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*. We learn from Gōhō that the personal interpretation of the master determined the method of installing the deities into the mandala and that this method of installation was correlated with the disciple's ability to understand the Buddhist teachings.¹⁰⁴

A third difference is the information Faquan provides for the steps of the ritual phases. He appends notes to the text wherein he elaborates on, for instance, the mudrā that accompanies a mantra, instructions for forming a hand gesture and the Sanskrit names of the deities who appear in the rite's focal mandala.¹⁰⁵ The *Qinglongsi yigui* is far more detailed and extensive than the *Xuanfasi yigui*, and only the *Qinglongsi yigui* includes glosses on the meanings of the mantras and information that elucidates the significance of the rite's mudrā-mantra pairs and the mandala's deities. In fact, Gōhō records in his *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshū* that Shingon monks began using

Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui* for this rite rather than Kūkai's handbook because the mantras were not written in *siddham* and because the rite was far more detailed.¹⁰⁶

An example that reveals Faquan's greater concern to elucidate for the practitioner the steps of this matrix rite in the *Qinglongsi yigui* than in the *Xuanfasi yigui* is found in the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body 如來身會. In this ritual phase the practitioner performs a series of mudrās and mantras that represent the supernatural physical and spiritual qualities of the Tathāgata and thus signify the three mysteries of body, speech and mind of Mahāvairocana. The mudrā-mantra pairs include those that symbolize Mahāvairocana's special attributes, physical characteristics of body, speech and mind, and functions: examples are his sword of great insight 大慧刀, his *uṣṇīṣa* 頂相 and universal light 普光, his bestowal of fearlessness 施無畏 and his unparalleled teaching ability 辯說. The main text of both manuals, which is based on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s ninth chapter, entitled *Miyin pin* 密印品 (Secret Seals), is identical. Here each of the mudrās that the practitioner is to form in this ritual phase are enumerated, but both texts are equally cryptic.

At that time the World Honored One, observing the great assembly, announced to the Master of Mysteries, saying:

These [syllables *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ*] are symbols of the Dharma realm. Because you adorn your body [with them], you will course through *saṃsāra*. In the Great Assembly of the Tathāgata are the symbols of the banner of enlightenment. The many *devas*, *nagas* and *yakṣas* respect [them] and [so] are granted the teachings. First make the [hand] seals of the *samādhi* of the Buddhas, the *dharmadhātu* and the *dharmacakra*. Form for the *khadga*¹⁰⁷ [the handclasp of] refuge 歸命合掌, and bending the wind fingers, add them to the sides of the backs of the circles of emptiness. Form for the [conch] shell of the Dharma 法螺 [the handclasp of] the empty mind 虛心合掌 and join the winds to the top of the circles of emptiness. The vow of good fortune 吉祥願 is the lotus, the *vajra* is the [hand] seal of great insight, greatness (*mahā*) is the *uṣṇīṣa* of the Tathāgata, the fist of insight 慧拳 is the repository of his *ūrṇa*, *yoga* is the characteristic of holding the begging-bowl 持鉢相. Raising the hand of insight upwards is called the granting of fearlessness 無畏施者. Lowering [this hand] downward and turning the palm outward is called fulfilled wishes 滿願. If you extend the fist of insight and press emptiness on fire and water, wisdom forms the eye of the Buddha 佛眼. [Forming the] inner bonds 內縛 and making the circle of wind into a rope is the mind seal 心印. Extending the circle of fire [and then] extending water is the navel of the Tathāgata 如來臍, and forming the previous [hand] seal and entering wind into moon is called the loins of the Tathāgata 如來腰.¹⁰⁸

Despite the abstruseness of the text, however, the *Xuanfasi yigui* does not have a single note in this section. The *Qinglongsi yigui*, on the other hand, has extensive notes to guide the practitioner through the text. Faquan explains in these notes the method of forming the required mudrās, as well as their meanings and accrued benefits. The note under the mantra for the Tathāgata's function of bestowal of fearlessness, for example, states that

The left hand, like the previous mudrā [of the Great Begging Bowl], holds the two corners of the robe. This gesture enables [one] to remove the various fears and afflictions of all sentient beings. That is to say, all [sentient beings] will attain tranquility. Moreover, [this mudrā] removes [sentient beings'] rivers of fears for the future.¹⁰⁹

The contents of the many notes in the *Qinglongsi yigui* thus indicate Faquan's intent to instruct the practitioner in the particulars of this rite. Other informative notes wherein Faquan augments the contents of the main text and so clarifies the significance of the ritual phases are, for example, the sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs for the visualization of the sacred sanctuary, the offering rite and the ritual phase of the mandala's assemblies.¹¹⁰

The two handbooks also contain differences in the mandala that functions as the focus of this rite. For example, Faquan enumerates in the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala the figures that are to be visualized in each of the halls of this mandala. The *Qinglongsi yigui* lists figures who are not present in the *Xuanfasi yigui*'s mandala.¹¹¹ Further, the *Qinglongsi yigui* is better organized in its presentation of the mandala's figures than the *Xuanfasi yigui*. Faquan uses far more directional indicators in his instructions in the *Qinglongsi yigui*. In addition to the phrases "place [in the] first [row] [and in the] westernmost [position]"¹¹² or "next the first arrangement in the east,"¹¹³ or "[in the] second [row]", which are also given in the *Xuanfasi yigui*,¹¹⁴ he demarcates the positions of the figures in the other rows of the mandala with such directional phrases as "third [row]",¹¹⁵ and "in the southern gate",¹¹⁶ which are not specified in the *Xuanfasi yigui*.

However, despite these differences,¹¹⁷ the contents of Faquan's two ritual manuals for the matrix rite are, for the most part, identical. Common to both manuals are the phases of the rite, with only slight variations in the order of installation of the figures into the mandala, the main text, the configuration of the focal mandala and its deities, and the mudrā-mantra pairs of the deities who appear in the mandala, as well as their iconographic descriptions. Faquan did not alter the praxis or the meaning of this rite in his *Qinglongsi yigui* but rather clarified it, furnishing his disciples with a detailed roadmap so that they could access and follow the Esoteric Buddhist path correctly.

Faquan's Indebtedness to Earlier Manuals for the Matrix Rite

Faquan has, in fact, modelled his rite upon that of the ritual lineage of Śubhākarasiṃha. There are similarities between Faquan's manuals and the *Sheda yigui* which, of the two manuals attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, is the one that most closely follows specific chapters of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. Faquan has also consulted the *Guangda yigui*, the second matrix ritual manual that the Shingon school attributes to Śubhākarasiṃha.¹¹⁸ He has used these earlier manuals as guides for the composition of his own works. By composing ritual manuals that closely follow those of Śubhākarasiṃha, Faquan highlights his intent to remain within the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This concern does not characterize the ritual manual for the matrix rite that is attributed to Huiguo and Kūkai.

Therefore, Faquan's manuals and those of Śubhākarasiṃha correspond in content: the series of mudrā-mantra pairs that compose certain ritual phases are identical in these manuals. In this respect a greater similarity of content is seen, however, between the *Sheda yigui* and Faquan's

manuals. Agreement of content is seen, for example, in the introductory passages,¹¹⁹ and in the ritual phases of preliminary expedients¹²⁰ and the visualization of the sacred sanctuary.¹²¹

The similarity of content seen in the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala most clearly verifies that Faquan had consulted these earlier ritual handbooks as a guide for the composition of his own manuals. The contents of all the mantras in this ritual phase, as well as the iconographic descriptions of the figures of the mandala, concur, on the whole, with those given in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*. The textual source is the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. In the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala, the authors of the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* synthesized and coordinated information on the figures of the mandala and their mudrās and mantras from a number of the scripture's chapters. For example, the iconographic prescriptions of the deities in the *Sheda yigui* are closely patterned after the material in the *Ru mantuluo juyuan zhenyan pin* 入漫荼羅具緣真言品 (second chapter on Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala) in the scripture's first fascicle and the *Miyin pin* (ninth chapter on Secret Seals) in fascicle four. Both the *Guangda yigui* and Faquan's manuals include descriptive passages from these two chapters, as well as passages from the *Bimi mantuluo pin* (eleventh chapter on the Secret Mandala) in fascicle five of the scripture.¹²² Faquan's passages, although based upon the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*, are more often than not closer to the passages given in the *Sheda yigui*.

Finally, there are a number of other common features in the content of the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandalas of the two early handbooks and those of Faquan, which further demonstrates that Faquan used these manuals as his models. For instance, the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* include figures and mantras that are also present in Faquan's manuals but not in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.¹²³ Occasionally the *Guangda yigui* includes figures and their mantras that are not in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* or in the *Sheda yigui* but are in Faquan's manuals.¹²⁴ Faquan's manuals, too, contain figures and their mantras that appear only in his works.¹²⁵ There are, to be sure, discrepancies between these manuals' texts of the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala that must be discussed. Nevertheless, although these discrepancies preclude an absolute correspondence, it does not negate the claim that Faquan used these earlier handbooks as a model. Faquan has obviously followed the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* in his selection of mantras for this ritual phase of the mandala's assemblies.

A second major correspondence between Faquan's manuals and the *Sheda yigui* is the order of installation of the deities into the focal mandala. Faquan has replicated the order of installation presented in the *Sheda yigui* in his *Xuanfasi yigui*, but he has altered this order in the *Qinglongsi yigui*, as we have seen, by installing the nine deities of the central court first. The installation of the figures into the halls of the mandala in the *Sheda yigui* begins with the figures in the Hall of Universal Wisdom, continues with the figures in the halls of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Sarvanivāraṇaśambhū, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha, Vajrapāṇi, the Vidyādhara, Śākyamuni, the protective gods and ends with the figures of the central court.¹²⁶ These concurrences between Faquan's manuals and the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* are evidence that Faquan did indeed consult these earlier ritual handbooks. Clearly, his intent was to compose a rite that adhered to the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* by closely following the content of the *Sheda yigui*¹²⁷ and, to a lesser extent, that of the *Guangda yigui*.

The Unique Features of Faquan's Matrix Manuals

Three major differences are evident between the earlier *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* and Faquan's handbooks: these are the order of the ritual phases, the presence of elements from the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm and the iconography of the rite's focal mandala. These differences reflect a later stage in the development of Chinese Esoteric Buddhist practices.

The first difference is that of the order of the ritual phases. Faquan has reordered the ritual phases of his matrix rite and has placed the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body before the visualization of the sacred sanctuary.¹²⁸ He has expressly composed a rite whose ritual order differs from that given in the *Sheda yigui* and, as we shall see, this is because he adapted his rite to a new focal mandala configuration. The ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body is not an independent ritual phase in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* or in the *Sheda yigui*, whose ritual phases are preliminary expedients, establishing the altar, visualization of the sacred sanctuary, offerings, assemblies of the mandala, recitation and identification and, lastly, dissociation.¹²⁹ Rather, the thirty-three mudrā-mantra pairs of this ritual phase in the *Sheda yigui* are performed to install the symbols of the special qualities of the Tathāgata's body, speech, mind and function into the mandala's Hall of Universal Wisdom.¹³⁰ The ritual phases of the *Guangda yigui* follow those of the *Sheda yigui* but for one major alteration: this manual includes the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body.¹³¹ Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui*, emulating the *Guangda yigui*, also contain the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body.

From these distinctions, it appears that the performance of this ritual phase of the Tathāgata's body was extremely flexible. Gōhō, having examined a number of matrix ritual manuals, records in his *Taižōkai nenju shidai yōshūki* the various placements of this ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body. He notes that

...There are in general three explanations concerning the performance of the [ritual phase of the] assembly of the Tathāgata's body. One is [that it is done] before the [ritual phase of the] mandala's assemblies. The second is [that it is practiced] within the [ritual phase of the] mandala's assemblies. The third is [that it is performed] after the [ritual phase of the] mandala's assemblies.¹³²

What, we may then ask, is the significance of performing this ritual phase? Shingō states in his *Renge taižōkai giki kaishaku* that the mudrā-mantra pairs of this ritual phase manifest "the virtues [which are] the result of enlightenment of the transformation body" 化身成道果德 (*keshin jōdō katoku*).¹³³ The transformation body (*nirmāṇakāya*) is the human form that the Absolute Principle of Buddhist Truth (*dharmakāya*) assumes on earth in order to propagate the Buddhist teachings to sentient beings. In Shingon teachings the historical Buddha Śākyamuni appeared as a transformation body. The practitioner thus assumes in this ritual phase the qualities of Śākyamuni, a temporal manifestation of the Absolute. Gōhō, citing the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*'s exegesis on the scripture's chapter on the Secret Seals, which is the source of the mudrā-mantra pairs for the assembly of the Tathāgata's body, provides the following explanation in his *Taižōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*:

Because all the Buddhas use these [mudrās] to adorn themselves, they attain the body of the Tathāgata's Dharma realm 如來法界之身. If there is a being who performs this rite, because he employs these mudrās to unite [with the Tathāgata], then [his body] becomes the same as the body of the Tathāgata's Dharma realm. These mudrās are the symbols of the Dharma realm. Because one uses these mudrās, one manifests the body of the Dharma realm, and so [they] are called the banner of the Dharma realm.¹³⁴

In this ritual phase, then, the practitioner realizes the virtues of Mahāvairocana/Śākyamuni by visualizing that his own body possesses the many special characteristics of these Buddhas, thereby preparing himself for the subsequent ritual act. The next ritual act is the installation of the deities into the mandala in the *Guangda yigui* and into the mandala's other halls in the *Sheda yigui*, and it is the visualization of the sacred sanctuary in Faquan's manuals.¹³⁵ Thus, the order of this ritual phase may change but its underlying meaning does not.¹³⁶ Faquan has reordered his rite in order to make it conform to the iconography of a mandala that postdates the composition of the *Sheda yigui* because his focal mandala does not contain the numerous symbolic figures of the Tathāgata's body, as we shall see.

Unlike the *Sheda yigui*, which is closely modelled after the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and comprises only mudrā-mantra pairs that are expounded in this scripture, Faquan's manuals contain mudrā-mantra pairs that are not found in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*. This constitutes a second difference between the *Sheda yigui* and Faquan's two ritual handbooks. Elements that have been taken from other ritual traditions, in particular that of the adamantite realm, are present in Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui*. A mixing of elements from both the ritual traditions of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* is not unusual in Chinese Esoteric Buddhist manuals that date to the late eighth and ninth centuries, as I have demonstrated.¹³⁷ However, this intent is absent in Faquan's manuals, and there is also no sense of a random intermingling of elements from these ritual traditions in his manuals. Rather, a conformity to the ritual practices expounded in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* characterizes Faquan's matrix rite, despite the inclusion of these few mudrā-mantra pairs from other traditions. This provides further validation of Faquan's choosing the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* over the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

Examples of these elements from other ritual traditions that are common to both Faquan's works are the mudrā-mantra pairs of the procedure of holding the earth deities 地神持次第, the great ocean 大海 and the seeing off of the deities 奉送. The first of these mudrā-mantra pairs, the procedure of holding the earth deities, is performed in the ritual phase of establishing the altar. Faquan records its purpose in a note beneath this mantra in the *Qinglongsi yigui*: the mantra *om bhūḥ* (great earth) *kham* (the seed letter for space, *ākāśa*) and the movements of the ritual hand gesture make the ground firm.¹³⁸ The practitioner thus establishes and stabilizes with this mudrā-mantra pair the ritual site, which is actually constructed in his mind.¹³⁹ This mantra opens the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui*, a manual attributed to Faquan, whose reference source is the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, and appears in manuals both authored by and attributed to Amoghavajra.¹⁴⁰ In Amoghavajra's *Wuliangshou rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* (Ritual Manual for the Offerings and Visualization Practice of Tathāgata Amitāyus), for example, a manual whose majority of mudrā-mantra pairs are drawn from the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, this mantra transforms the universe into a pure land.¹⁴¹ It operates in the *Wuliangshou rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* and in

Faquan's matrix rite as the mantra of the ground, which is the actual, psychological and metaphysical base upon which the ritual takes place.

The mudrā-mantra pair of the great ocean derives from the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm and it is a part of the ritual phase of the visualization of the sacred sanctuary. In Faquan's matrix rite, the ritual phase of the visualization of the sacred sanctuary consists of the visualization of attaining the Buddha body by means of the five circles 五輪成身觀, the visualization of the container world 器界觀, the visualization of the mandala's central palace and the visualization of the individual halls of the mandala.¹⁴² With the mudrā-mantra pair of the great ocean, which belongs to the visualization of the container world, the practitioner begins to transform the ritual site into a mandala setting into which he will invite the deities.¹⁴³

This ritual act of the creation of the great ocean is performed as a part of the container world visualization that Amoghavajra prescribes in his handbook for the rite of the adamantine realm, the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui*.¹⁴⁴ This mudrā-mantra pair is also performed in the *Guangda yigui*, along with the mudrā-mantra pair of Mount Meru, which is the subsequent ritual step in the visualization of the container world detailed in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui*.¹⁴⁵ Faquan appropriates only the mudrā-mantra pair of the great ocean from the rite of the adamantine realm's visualization of the container world but returns to the ritual prescription given in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, instructing the practitioner to perform next the mudrā-mantra pair of the lotus held by Vajrapāṇi 金剛手持華.¹⁴⁶

Shingō states in his *Renge taizōkai giki kaishaku* that this mudrā-mantra pair results in the creation of the realm of the flower [adorned] respository 花藏世界.¹⁴⁷ Faquan then has the practitioner perform the visualization of the central palace, and this too has been taken directly from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This visualization is found in the Mysterious Mandala chapter in fascicle five and in fascicle seven's chapter of the Offering Ceremony.¹⁴⁸

The third mudrā-mantra pair, that of seeing off the deities, is the last mudrā-mantra pair in Faquan's rite and it is performed to send the deities back to their transcendental abode. It, too, belongs to the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm and occurs in a number of its major texts.¹⁴⁹

Thus, Faquan's ritual manuals do include mudrā-mantra pairs from the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm, a feature that is not seen in the *Sheda yigui*. However, these elements are not numerous, nor are they incongruous with the structure and contents of the matrix rite. Most importantly, each of the elements from the adamantine realm presented above are preceded and followed by ritual acts intrinsic to the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.¹⁵⁰

A final, and major, difference between Faquan's manuals and the *Sheda yigui* and *Guangda yigui* is the iconography of the rite's focal mandala. Gōhō states in his *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki* under the rubric "similarities and differences [between] the mandalas explained in the four ritual manuals" 四部儀軌所說曼荼羅同異事 that, according to Annen, the deities of the mandala and their mantras in the *Sheda yigui* are based upon the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* but that Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui* include deities from the Indian mandala 天竺曼荼羅 (*tenjiku mandara*) and that these deities do not have mantras. Further, Gōhō cites in this same entry the *Kita'in goshō* 北院御鈔 (Northern Hall Compendium) which records that, whereas the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* base their mandalas on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, the mandalas in Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui* are based upon the Shingon school's *Genzu mandara*.¹⁵¹

Faquan has made a significant addition to the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala because he also provides in his manuals lists of figures who appear in the halls of his rite's focal mandala (figs. 33, 34). Whereas each figure that appears in the mandalas in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* is accompanied by a short iconographic description and a mantra and mudrā, this one-to-one correspondence does not occur in Faquan's manuals. Faquan has composed this ritual phase from two disparate elements: he reproduces the selection of mantras and iconographic descriptions for the figures that are found in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* but then he also provides a separate listing of figures who appear in each of the halls of the mandala. This second element, the listing of the figures of the focal mandala, is particular to Faquan's manuals.

The figures that are given a mantra and an iconographic prescription in the *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui* match those that appear in the *Sheda yigui*'s and in the *Guangda yigui*'s mandalas, and these figures are, on the whole, found in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*.¹⁵² On the other hand, the figures that are included in Faquan's separate lists have neither mantras nor iconographic descriptions, and many of them do not appear in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*.¹⁵³ An example of the dissimilarity between the earlier handbooks' and Faquan's mandala is the Hall of Avalokiteśvara. In this hall in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*, there are eight figures, but Faquan records the names of the twenty-one deities who appear in this hall of the mandala (fig. 33).¹⁵⁴ He also mentions in the *Qinglongsi yigui* the many attendant figures that accompany these deities.¹⁵⁵ Present, in addition to the deities who are in the *Sheda yigui*'s mandala and whose textual source is the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, are such figures as Mahāpratisarā, Cintāmanīcakra, Padmakuladbhava, Palāśāmbarī and Amoghapāśa, to name but a few, and their textual source is not the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*.¹⁵⁶

A second example of disparity between the mandalas delineated in these ritual handbooks is the Hall of Ākāśagarbha (fig. 34). As opposed to the nine figures in the *Sheda yigui*'s and the *Guangda yigui*'s hall, there are thirty figures in Faquan's hall.¹⁵⁷ Nine of these deities are the same as those in the two earlier handbooks, of which six are described in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*. The remaining figures include such deities as Aṣṭottaraśatabhujavajradhara, Ekādaśamukha, Mahāmayūrī, Sahasrabhujā-Avalokiteśvara, Mahācakra, Vajrakuṇḍalī and the ten Pāramitā Bodhisattvas and, once again, their textual source is not the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*.¹⁵⁸

There are, then, many more figures included in Faquan's mandala than in the mandalas described in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*. The uniqueness of Faquan's matrix ritual manuals is seen in the match between text and image: the configuration of figures recorded in the lists in the *Xuanfasi yigui* and the *Qinglongsi yigui* is identical to the figures depicted in the halls of the *Genzu taižōkai mandara* and enumerated in the mandala appended to the *Bizangji*, whose iconography concurs with that of the *Genzu taižōkai mandara*.¹⁵⁹ This correspondence between text and image suggests that Faquan intentionally composed manuals for a matrix rite wherein a mandala belonging to the iconographic lineage of the Shingon school's *Genzu taižōkai mandara* functioned as its main icon. The names, placement and number of figures in Faquan's mandala are, on the whole, identical with the *Genzu taižōkai mandara* and the *Bizangji*. Further, Faquan's intent to match text and image can clearly be seen in the directional indicators that he provides in his instructions for the creation of his rite's focal mandala. There are minor variations between Faquan's manuals and the iconography of the *Genzu taižōkai mandara*, but they are few in number.¹⁶⁰

Moreover, the intention to match text and image would explain Faquan's creation of an independent ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body for the numerous symbolic forms

of the Tathāgata's virtues. These personified virtues of the Tathāgata are not present in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s Hall of Universal Wisdom. This match between text and image also clarifies the presence in this matrix mandala of numerous figures whose textual source is not the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.¹⁶¹

In short, there is a correspondence between the iconography of the mandala described in Faquan's ritual manuals and that of the Shingon school's *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. Such an accord between text and image is not found among the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*, ritual handbooks attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, and the earlier versions of the Chinese matrix mandalas, the *Taizang tuxiang* 胎藏圖像 (Icons from the Matrix Repository [Mandala]) and the *Taizang jiutuyang* 胎藏舊圖樣 (Old Style Drawings from the Matrix Repository [Mandala]).¹⁶² Faquan, on the other hand, considered it helpful for the practitioner to know the iconography of the mandala that functioned as the focal image in his rite and so he carefully listed all its figures in his manuals. The prototype of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* was composed during Huiguo's lifetime because Kūkai returned from China with a mandala whose iconography corresponded to the present day *Genzu taizōkai mandara*.¹⁶³ Further, although the date of the *Bizangji* is problematic, it can be linked to Huiguo's transmission of Esoteric Buddhist teachings.¹⁶⁴ The iconography of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* thus existed long before Faquan's time, but it was not until he wrote the *Xuanfasi yigui* that a ritual text could be paired with this form of the matrix mandala.

A Comparison of Faquan's and Kūkai's Matrix Rites

It seems that Faquan expressly adapted his rite to the iconographic changes that the matrix mandala underwent after its introduction to China in the early eighth century by pairing his rite with a version of the matrix mandala whose iconography includes deities from works that belong to textual and ritual traditions other than that of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. However, a mixing of textual and ritual traditions does not characterize the rite itself. Faquan's rite is singularly based on the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. As I have demonstrated above, Faquan has based much of the content of his manuals on that of the ritual handbooks attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, in particular that of the *Sheda yigui*, a handbook that most closely conforms to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. Another noteworthy point about Faquan's matrix rite is the primacy given to the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This focus is in accordance with the ritual lineage of Śubhākarasiṃha, and in contrast to the prominence of elements from a number of ritual traditions, in particular those from the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm, apparent in the matrix rite of the Huiguo-Kūkai lineage.

A comparison of Faquan's manual for the matrix rite and the matrix manual attributed to Kūkai discloses that there are four main differences which occur in structure, ritual phase, order of visualization and installation of the deities into the mandala, and the iconography of the rite's focal mandala.¹⁶⁵

First, there is a mixing of disparate ritual traditions in Kūkai's rite and this results in a structure that differs from that of Faquan's rite. According to Gōhō, the ritual phases described in the chapters of the seventh fascicle of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* serve as the model for the structure of the matrix rites attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha and those of Faquan.¹⁶⁶ Kūkai, however, has composed a matrix rite following the structure of his rite of the adamantine realm. He has patterned the ritual phases of purification, construction, encounter, identification and dissociation of his adamantine realm rite after the adamantine realm rite that Amoghavajra delineates in his

Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui.¹⁶⁷ Further, as we shall see, he has inserted into this adamantine realm-based structure a number of mudrā-mantra pairs from the ritual phases that characterize the rite of accomplishment (*susiddhi*).¹⁶⁸

Second, there is a difference in the placement of the ritual phase of the assemblies of the matrix mandala in Kūkai's and Faquan's rites. Kūkai has included the assemblies of his matrix mandala within the rite of the adamantine realm's phase of encounter with the deities. This placement stands in marked contrast to the *Sheda yigui*, the *Guangda yigui*, and Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui*, wherein the assemblies of the mandala form a separate ritual phase that is performed before the ritual phase of offering. In his rite of the adamantine realm, Kūkai specifies the processes for visualizing the thirty-seven principal figures of the mandala of the adamantine realm and for the offering rites to be performed for these figures in the ritual phase of encounter with the deities. The practitioner commences the processes for visualizing the figures of the mandala of the adamantine realm and their offering rites with the mudrā-mantra pair for ringing the bell.¹⁶⁹ The practitioner performs these very same ritual acts of ringing the bell and visualization of the figures of the mandala in Kūkai's matrix rite but he substitutes the mudrā-mantra pairs of the figures of the mandala of the adamantine realm with those of the figures of the matrix mandala.¹⁷⁰ Once the visualization and installation of the deities into the matrix mandala have been completed, the practitioner of Kūkai's matrix rite then forms the mudrā-mantra pairs of the four gathering deities 四攝 (*samgraha*), Hook, Rope, Chain and Bell.¹⁷¹ These deities belong to the thirty-seven principal deities of the mandala of the adamantine realm and function both to draw sentient beings to the Buddha's way and to guard the four gateways of the mandala's innermost court. The mudrā-mantra pairs of these deities are also performed in the rite of the adamantine realm to protect the deities who have entered the sacred site created within the practitioner's mind.¹⁷²

Third, Kūkai's order of performing the mudrā-mantra pairs of the deities and so visualizing and installing them into the focal mandala of his matrix rite also differs markedly from the order given in the *Sheda yigui*, the *Guangda yigui*, and Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui*. The nine figures of the central court are first installed in Kūkai's rite. They are followed by the mudrā-mantra pairs of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body. Next come the mudrā-mantra pairs of Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Ākāśagarbha and Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhī. The figures of the other courts of the mandala are then installed, beginning with those in the Hall of Avalokiteśvara, continuing with the figures in the Halls of Mañjuśrī, Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhī, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśgarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Śākyamuni, including the figures of Acala and Trailokyavijaya, and ending with the figures of the protective gods. This order is closer to that given in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, except that the figures of the central court are installed first rather than last, as in the scripture.

Finally, Kūkai has taken the mudrās and mantras for the mandala's deities from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s chapters of the Secret Eight Seals and the Secret Seals. He has in fact included for his rite's focal mandala only those figures whose mudrā-mantra pairs are expounded in these two chapters of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This constitutes the fourth difference and stands in marked contrast to the mandalas in the *Sheda yigui*, the *Guangda yigui*, and Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui* which, as we have seen, contain figures that are not mentioned in the scripture.

Kūkai has, then, set into this adamantine realm-based ritual structure the mudrā-mantra pairs characteristic of the matrix rite and these mudrā-mantra pairs all derive from the

Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra.¹⁷³ Examples are the mudrā-mantra pairs of the nine expedient means, the series of the entering of the pledge, the birth of the Dharma Realm and the turning of the wheel of the teaching, the visualization of the five circles, the King of one hundred lights 百光王, the five offerings, the King of the twelve mantras 十二真言王, and the mudrā-mantra pairs of the figures of his focal mandala, to name but a few.¹⁷⁴ Despite the fact that Kūkai's matrix mandala comprises only those deities who appear in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, his matrix rite nonetheless has many mudrā-mantra pairs that have been taken from Amoghavajra's rite for the adamantine realm. His matrix rite's phase of ritual purification, for example, contains the rite of the adamantine realm's mudrā-mantra pair for the purification of the three karmic actions 淨三業.¹⁷⁵ Its rite of construction contains the mudrā-mantra pair of universal vision 遍視, whereby the practitioner, having visualized the seed letters *ma* and *ṭ* in his eyes, purifies his sight and so sees all buddhas.¹⁷⁶ Further, there is in this ritual phase the sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the great ocean, the golden tortoise and Mount Sumeru, which is from the visualization of the container world given in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui*.¹⁷⁷

However, a number of mudrā-mantra pairs in Kūkai's matrix rite that are performed in his rite of the adamantine realm are not found in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui*. One example is the mudrā-mantra pair of union with Buddhalocanā which is performed in the ritual phase of identification.¹⁷⁸ And, as I have mentioned above, present in Kūkai's rite of the adamantine realm are a number of mudrā-mantra pairs from the ritual phases of the accomplishment rite, and these mudrā-mantra pairs also appear in his matrix rite. The mudrā-mantra pair of the adamantine stake, the adamantine wall, the adamantine net and the adamantine fire, for instance, are performed in the accomplishment rite.¹⁷⁹ The mudrā-mantra pairs of the adamantine stake and the adamantine wall open the ritual phase of construction in Kūkai's rite of the adamantine realm and those of the adamantine net and adamantine fire close the section on inviting the deities and binding and protecting the sacred site, which is a part of his rite of the adamantine realm's ritual phase of encounter.¹⁸⁰ The ritual phase of construction in Kūkai's matrix rite begins with the mudrā-mantra pairs of binding the earth and binding the four directions and concludes with the mudrā-mantra pairs of the space net and the wall of fire.¹⁸¹

Thus, we see that Kūkai, a direct disciple of Huiguo, has composed a rite whose structure and many of its elements are identical to his rite of the adamantine realm, which is itself a composite rite that draws on a number of ritual traditions, especially that of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. On the other hand, Faquan, a second-generation disciple of Huiguo, has written a rite whose structure and ritual components do not greatly deviate from those expounded in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*. The mudrā-mantra pairs from the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm that Faquan has included in his rite are few in number, and are not, as I have shown, discordant with the structure and content of the matrix rite. In short, Faquan's manuals do not continue the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*-dominated rite that was transmitted by Huiguo and his disciple Kūkai but are instead a return to the structure and content of a rite based upon the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and its ritual tradition.

In sum, Faquan's manuals are clearly indebted to the earlier ritual handbooks for the matrix rite that are attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha. As I have demonstrated, the content of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the ritual phases of Faquan's rite and the order of the installation of the deities into the focal mandala rely on those expounded in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*. Thus, in contrast to the matrix rite attributed to the Huiguo-Kūkai line of transmission, wherein disparate

ritual traditions are mixed and that of the adamantine realm overrides, Faquan has based his rite upon the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*.

Despite their indebtedness to earlier manuals, however, Faquan's handbooks contain a number of innovative features which make a marked contribution to the development and elucidation of Esoteric Buddhist practices. One of these is the appending of extensive notes and glosses to the text of the *Qinglongsi yigui*, thus making the ritual elements of his matrix rite more accessible to the practitioner. Further, Faquan expressly records the iconography of the mandala that was to function as the focal image of his rite. This is another unique feature of his handbooks and, as we have seen, the iconography of this mandala matches that of the present day Shingon Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taijōkai mandara*). Once again, we may interpret Faquan's delineation of the iconography of this rite's focal image as yet another attempt to elucidate the details of this rite for the practitioner. In essence his purpose was not to alter the earlier blueprint for this rite that Śubhākarasiṃha had provided but to clarify it so that his disciples could follow the correct path properly.

Precisely because an image can be linked to his text, Faquan's handbooks exhibit a feature common to the ritual handbooks of the Chinese Esoteric Buddhism of the ninth century. There is a mixing of iconographic traditions from disparate sources, despite Faquan's attempt in his ritual handbooks to remain within the ritual lineage of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*. This is because he pairs his rite with a matrix mandala that has many figures from the textual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Thus, on the one hand, Faquan strives to *purify* his rite of this mixture of textual and ritual traditions by privileging the contents and ritual methods of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* over those of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Yet, on the other hand, he combines his rite with a mandala that is not exclusively of the iconographic tradition of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*. This mixing of originally independent textual and ritual traditions was a very pronounced characteristic in Chinese Esoteric Buddhist ritual manuals that were popular during Faquan's time, as I have demonstrated in Chapter Six. For instance, the manuals for the rite of fire oblations and the offering rite to the directional gods that are attributed to Faquan display this mixing of diverse esoteric systems because he also consulted earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works, although he did give preference to Śubhākarasiṃha's lineage of translations.

CONCLUSION: INTERPRETATIVE STRATEGY OF RECIPROCAL CORRELATIONS

I have demonstrated in this chapter that the origin of the tripartite interpretation of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings and of the special function and significance given the accomplishment (*susiddhi*) category was in Late Tang China. 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 he propagated a system of three interrelated categories of the accomplishment, matrix and adamantine realm. Moreover, during the time of Haiyun and Faquan there were differing interpretations of the accomplishment category of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings. Although, according to Haiyun, the accomplishment category spanned those of the categories of the matrix and adamantine realm, he ranked them equally. According to Faquan, however, the accomplishment category was seen as a third, integrating principle that united the two categories of the matrix and adamantine realm by means of a special mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment, whose source was the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*.¹⁸²

j Furthermore, it was Faquan's teachings and writings that contributed to a renewed emphasis on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* in the late Tang period and to the important role given this text in the transmissions of his disciples Ennin, Enchin and Shūei.¹⁸³ Most crucial for my research is the fact that Faquan's handbooks for the matrix rite provide indisputable evidence of his use of a mandala that belonged to the iconographic lineage of the present day Shingon school's Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*). Enchin documented in his *Seikōden shingon shikan ryōshūkan* that he received consecrations from Faquan into both the Mandala of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion and the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies (*Genzu kongōkai mandara*). We learn that, despite the fact that the origins of these mandalas dated to the late eighth century, their continued use in ninth-century Chinese Esoteric Buddhism attested the sacredness of their models.

The Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies contains in its iconographic program the *Liquhui* 理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle). This is the seventh mandala in this set of nine mandalas whose focus is the Five Mysteries pentad. The iconography of the Assembly of the Guiding Principle in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies serves as the iconographic source for the Daigoji exemplar's Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vajrasattva 金剛薩埵理趣會 (fig. 2, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, p. 777, No. 2).¹⁸⁴ Faquan, a master of the category of the adamantine realm, would have instructed his Japanese disciples in the teachings of the *Liqujing*, its commentaries and ritual prescriptions. His Japanese disciples recorded in their inventories copies of materials that were required for the study of the *Liqujing* and its mandalas and ritual performances.¹⁸⁵

It cannot be unequivocally asserted that Faquan prescribed the iconographical changes apparent in the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. There is no direct evidence linking him to the iconography of the Daigoji *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. However, we learned from Enchin's *Ketsu sanshu shijji hō* that Faquan considered the accomplishment category as a third, integrating principle that united the two categories of the matrix and the adamantine realm by means of the special mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment. Furthermore, Enchin applied in his *Kyōji ryōbu hiyō gi* the hermeneutical strategy of correlations 相對, or reciprocal interpretations, in order to elucidate how the three mantras of the Chinese cult of the threefold accomplishments 三種悉地, a cult that Faquan propagated, revealed the secret essence of the two categories of the matrix and the adamantine realm. Enchin did not explicitly link this strategy of reciprocal interpretations to his Chinese master Faquan. Nevertheless, the redefinition of the boundaries and powers of the accomplishment category and its three mantras, in particular its special mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment, thus would have allowed all manner of correlations among works in the systems of the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

We can see the employment of this interpretative strategy of reciprocal correlations in the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar. For example, we noted in Chapter Three and Appendix A, Figures in the Daigoji Exemplar, intentional juxtaposition of the iconographies of the Mandalas of the Adamantine Realm (*Genzu kongōkai mandara*) and the Matrix Realm (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*) within sets of mandalas and within individual mandalas.

Intentional juxtaposition of iconographies between a set of mandalas is evident in the central figures of Mahāvairocana in the first (fig. 1, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, p. 776, No. 1) and third (fig. 3, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, p. 778, No. 3) mandalas of the Daigoji exemplar. The figure of Mahāvairocana in the first mandala forms the Mudrā of Meditation, the mudrā of the central

figure of Mahāvairocana in the Mandala of the Matrix Realm. Mahāvairocana forms the Mudrā of the Wisdom Fist, the mudrā of Mahāvairocana in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, in the second mandala. Amoghavajra stipulates in the *Liqushi* that Mahāvairocana form the Mudrā of the Wisdom Fist in this second mandala, but he did not prescribe that Mahāvairocana form the Mudrā of Meditation in the opening scene of the *Liqujing*. Despite the *Liqushi*'s directives for the mandala of this opening scene, wherein Mahāvairocana is surrounded by the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, the Eight Offering Bodhisattvas and the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas from the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, the mandala-maker and his master-advisor present Mahāvairocana of the Mandala of the Matrix Realm in the Daigoji opening mandala with the obvious intent of connecting the systems of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

Intentional juxtaposition within an individual mandala can be seen in the Mandalas of Trailokyavijaya (fig. 4), Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, pp. 779, 780, 781, Nos. 4, 5 and 6), for example. We have noted that these mandalas exhibit a pattern whereby a central figure whose iconographic source is the Matrix Realm Mandala is surrounded by a retinue of four figures based on the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. Amoghavajra's directions for these mandalas in the *Liqushi* make it clear that the iconography of *all* the figures of these mandalas accords with prescriptions in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

The figures of Trailokyavijaya's retinue, for instance, are to have wrathful forms.¹⁸⁶ The central figure itself, for example that of Trailokyavijaya in the Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Trailokyavijaya (fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, p. 779, No. 4), illustrates the linking of the two scripture's systems because of the interchangeability of figures from the Mandalas of the Matrix and Adamantine Realms. Amoghavajra prescribes in the *Liqujing* and the *Liqushi* that of a standing figure of Trailokyavijaya, trampling on the prostrate figures of the Maheśvara and his consort Umā, the Hindu deities Śiva and Pārvatī. This is also the iconography for the figure of Trailokyavijaya in the Trailokyavijaya Assembly 降三世會, the eighth mandala in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies, whose iconographic program Amoghavajra had a hand in composing. Trailokyavijaya is a deity whose role is crucial in the *Liqujing*'s and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Chapters on Trailokyavijaya, as we have learned. Subjugation by wrathful means is performed by ferocious manifestations (*vidyārājas*) of the Tathāgatas on those beings who are difficult to discipline because they cannot be guided by the gentle methods of benign deities (bodhisattvas). The story of Trailokyavijaya's trampling of Maheśvara and his consort alludes to the internal struggle of the practitioner. His uncontrolled passions are like those Hindu gods and goddesses who must be forced into submission before they can enter the Buddha's path.¹⁸⁷

In contrast, the wrathful figure of Trailokyavijaya in the Daigoji mandala sits on a lotus blossom and the figures of Maheśvara and Umā are absent. Trailokyavijaya is only mentioned briefly in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, where Mahāvairocana describes his placement and appearance in its mandalas but does not elaborate on his story.¹⁸⁸ The story of Trailokyavijaya's subjugation of the arrogant Maheśvara would have been well known to esoteric practitioners. We can only surmise that, because correlations could be made between the figures in the Mandalas of the Matrix and Adamantine Realms, distinctions between the systems of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and their deities would no longer be relevant. A number of other examples, the central figures of Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha in their respective mandalas, for instance, also reveal that the iconography of the

Daigoji *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* has been carefully selected to reflect the integration of the mandalic realities of the systems of the Matrix and Adamantine Realms.

In sum, I contend that the presence of iconography from the Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*) in the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*, whose textual sources belong to the corpus of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, can best be explained by Faquan's religious contributions. These were the reinterpretation of the function of the accomplishment category as a third, integrating principle, which thus allowed all manner of correlations between differing Esoteric Buddhist systems, and the renewed focus on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its ritual elements (mantras and iconography).