

From Tiantaishan to Hieizan: The View from the *Keiran Shūyō* *Shū* 溪嵐拾葉集

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Abstract: After its transmission to Japan, Chinese Tiantai Buddhism developed into a namesake school (Tendai) based not only at Enryakuji 延曆寺 on Mount Hiei 比叡山, but also at Onjōji 園城寺 (also known as Miidera 三井寺). While preserving the main principles of its origin in China, Japanese Tendai also took on remarkable characteristics under the influence of Esoteric Buddhism. This aspect was known as Taimitsu 台密 (the esoteric teaching of Tendai), by opposition to Tōmitsu 東密 (the esoteric teaching of Shingon 真言, based on Tōji 東寺 Temple in Kyoto). Taimitsu developed in particular a discourse on nonduality centered on the notion of susiddhi (‘perfect realization’). This study highlights some of these innovations, mainly using the evidence gleaned from a major Tendai compendium compiled in the early fourteenth century, the *Keiran shūyōshū* 溪嵐拾葉集 [Leaves Gleaned from the Mountain Streams].

Keywords: *Keiran shūyō shū* 溪嵐拾葉集, Kōshū 光宗 (1276–1350), Saichō 最澄 (Dengyō Daishi 伝教大師, 767–822), Tiantai/Tendai 天台, Taimitsu 台密, Hieizan 比叡山, Enryakuji 延曆寺, Onjōji 園城寺 (a.k.a. Miidera 三井寺)

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After its importation to Japan by Saichō 最澄 (Dengyō Daishi 伝教大師, 767–822), the Tiantai doctrine greatly evolved—while preserving the main insights of its founder, Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顓 (538–597). Tendai developed not only at Enryakuji 延暦寺 on Mount Hiei, but also at Onjōji 園城寺 (also known as Miidera 三井寺), a monastery located at the foot of Mount Hiei, by the shore of Lake Biwa. In the medieval period, Onjōji (referred to as Jimon 寺門, the Temple Gate, by opposition to its rival Enryakuji, the Sanmon 山門 or ‘Mountain Gate’) was so important that it was listed as one of the three main branches of Buddhism (with Shingon and the Sanmon).¹ The main incentive for the development of Tendai was thus the rivalries—but also the mutual influences—between these three currents. Much of medieval Tendai was an attempt to assert the superiority of Tendai esotericism (Taimitsu 臺密) over Shingon esotericism (Tōmitsu 東密).

During his stay in China, Saichō had encountered the new esoteric Buddhist teaching introduced by the Indian masters Śubhakarasiṃha (Shanwuwei 善無畏, 637–735), Vajrabodhi (Jingangzhi 金剛智, 671–741), and Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空, 705–774). After his return to Japan, he was initially perceived as a specialist in Esotericism, and received the prestigious title of *ācārya* (Jp. *ajari* 阿闍梨). His fame was overshadowed, however, by the return of Kūkai 空海 (774–835), who had stayed in Tang China from 804 to 806 and had been able to receive a more complete initiation from a prestigious esoteric master, Huiguo 慧果 (746–805). Kūkai founded the Shingon school 真言宗 of esoteric Buddhism, which claimed to transmit the ultimate Buddhist teaching. Saichō tried to get from him more information on this new form of Buddhism. The story of the relation between the two men is well known and need not be rehearsed here. Suffice it to say that after the defection of Saichō’s disciple Taihan 泰範 (778–?) to Kūkai, the relation between the two men shifted from friendship to rivalry, and Kūkai refused to lend esoteric texts to Saichō. Only after Saichō’s death did his two main disciples, Ennin

¹ On the rivalry between Sanmon and Jimon, see McMullin, ‘The Sanmon-Jimon Schism’.

円仁 (Jikaku Daishi 慈覚大師, 794–864) and Enchin 円珍 (Chishō Daishi 智証大師, 814–891), manage to bring new esoteric texts to Mount Hiei. This caused a major development in Tendai, known as Taimitsu, that is, Tendai Esotericism (by opposition to Tōmitsu, Tōji Esotericism, that is, Shingon).

An Evolving Tradition

Contrary to Kūkai's emphasis on 'pure esotericism', Saichō emphasized a twofold teaching—exoteric (*kengyō* 顕教), with the 'perfect teaching of the *Lotus sūtra*', and esoteric (*mikkyō* 密教). Accordingly, Saichō divided the Tendai teaching into two complementary curricula: the *shikangō* 止観業, based on Zhiyi's practice of meditation (*shikan* 止観; Skt. *śamatha-vipaśyanā*); and the *shanagō* 遮那業, based on the study of the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* (Jp. *Dainichi kyō* 大日経) and its commentary by the Chinese esoteric master Yixing 一行 (683–727) (who had himself studied Tiantai and Northern Chan). Saichō's approach paved the way to the development of what has been labeled by Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄 (1926–1993) as the 'exo-esoteric system' (*kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制). For Saichō, however, esotericism was not the most important part of the curriculum. It is with his successors, Ennin and Enchin, that esotericism moved to the foreground, and only then can one really speak of Taimitsu.

Ennin stayed in China from 838 to 847, Enchin from 853 to 858. It is Ennin who founded Sōji-in 総持院 (on which more later) on Mount Hiei, and who spread the *Hokke maṇḍala* 法華曼荼羅, based on an esoteric interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra*. It is also with Ennin that the esoteric transmission became tripartite, adding the *Susiddhikara sūtra* to the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* and the *Tatvasaṃgraha*.

In spite of its esotericization—most marked in Enchin's teaching and the Jimon—Tendai remained a mixed teaching, much more diverse in this respect than Shingon. The attempt to harmonize the teachings of the *Lotus Sūtra* with those of the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* sometimes looked like trying to put a square peg in a round hole, yet it runs like a red thread through the Tendai tradition and

it still formed the basic structure of the *Keiran shūyō shū* 溪嵐拾葉集 [Collection of Leaves Gathered in Tempestuous Brooks] in the fourteenth century.

On the doctrinal plane, several major theoretical developments characterize Tendai doctrine, beginning with the *hongaku* 本覺 and the *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 (Traces from the original ground) theories.

The Innate Awakening Theory derived from the *Lotus Sūtra*, has been well studied by Jacqueline Stone and others, and I will not dwell on it here.² The other main development in Tendai was the emergence of the *honji suijaku* theory at the beginning of the Heian period, which led to the assimilation of Japanese gods into the Buddhist pantheon.³ This theory appeared on Mount Hiei, but its origins go back to Chinese Tiantai, with its emphasis on the two gates, the ‘gate of the essential teaching’ (*benmen* 本門) and the gate of the ‘trace’ (*jimen* 迹門), as defined in the *Lotus Sūtra*. Esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō* 密教) also contributed to it, by dividing Dainichi’s body into body of fundamental nature (*honji-shin* 本地身) and body of empowerment (*kaji-shin* 加持身), and making all the buddhas, bodhisattvas, wisdom-kings (Myōō 明王), and devas into manifestations of Dainichi. While the *honji suijaku* theory initially sought to incorporate local deities into a two-tiered framework, the emphasis on ‘oral traditions’ (*kuden* 口伝) paved the way to a proliferation of local theories.

Likewise, the buddhas of Enryakuji and the kami of Hie Taisha 日吉大社 (present-day Hiyoshi Taisha) were perceived as ‘original ground’ (*honji* 本地) and ‘traces’ (*suijaku* 垂迹), respectively. The *honji suijaku* theory also led to the transformation of Hieizan’s topography into a cosmology. Indeed, the Hie Sannō *maṇḍala* nicely reflects the two-tiered logic of the *honji suijaku* theory, with the buddhas represented above Mount Hiei, and the corresponding deities

² Stone, *Original Enlightenment*; Habito, ‘Originary enlightenment’.

³ On the *honji suijaku* theory, see Kuroda, ‘Historical Consciousness and Honjaku Philosophy’; Rambelli & Teeuwen, eds., *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*.

arranged in a hierarchy below.⁴ The systematic synthesis of esoteric Buddhism with local cults (later gathered under the label ‘Shintō’) led the elaboration of Sannō Shintō 山王神道, the shintō of Mount Hiei that developed in the dual institution formed by Enryakuji 延暦寺 and Hie 日吉 Shrine. Another characteristic of Tendai is the importance of astral cults. Stars already played an important role in Chinese Buddhist esotericism. Yixing is also credited with the translation of a *Xiuyao jing* 宿曜經 [*Sūtra* on Constellations and Luminaries] and the calculation of the precession of the equinoxes.⁵ As we will see, the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper (Ursa Major) came to play a major role in Tendai.

During his stay in China, Saichō is said to have inherited the main Buddhist teachings prevalent at the time. Based on this claim, the Tendai tradition came to be known as the synthesis of the four lineages (*en-mitsu-zen-kai* 円密戒禪; i.e., Tendai, or the ‘Perfect teaching’ 円教, esoteric Buddhism, Chan/Zen, and the Vinaya of the Bodhisattva precepts). In his *Secret Genealogy* (*Naishō Buppō sōjō kechimiyaku fu* 内証仏法相承血脈譜), however, Saichō lists five lineages, and gives them in a different order: the Bodhidharma’s lineage; the Lotus teaching (Tiantai proper); the Bodhisattva precepts of the perfect teaching (Tiantai again), and two esoteric lineages: the *maṇḍalas* of the Womb and Vajra realms (Taizōkai and Kongōkai), on the one hand, and ‘various *maṇḍalas*’ on the other.⁶

As Chen Jinhua has convincingly shown, the claim of Saichō’s esoteric orthodoxy gradually developed in several texts, most notably in his *Secret Genealogy*, and in Kōjō’s 光定 (779–858) *Denjutsu issnin kaimon* 傳述一心戒文 [Articles Related to the Transmission of the ‘One-mind Precepts’].⁷ In the *Dengyō Daishi*

⁴ Actually, a third tier is constituted by the seed-letters (*bīja*) corresponding to these buddhas and deities, and it may represent the no capital viewpoint of the *usiddhi* discussed below.

⁵ It is owing to that discovery that his name is inscribed on the frontispiece of the Sainte Geneviève Library in Paris next to those of famous Western scientists.

⁶ *Naishō Buppō sōjō kechimiyaku fu*, *Dengyō Daishi zenshū* 2: 199–248.

⁷ Chen, *The Formation of Early Tendai Esoteric Buddhism in Japan*; *idem*,

shōrai Eshū roku 伝教大師将来越州録 [Catalogue of the Buddhist Texts Acquired by Dengyō Daishi in Yue Prefecture] (*T* no. 2160, vol. 55), a bibliographical text compiled by Saichō during his stay in China, he writes that he had just received a simple initiation from the esoteric monk Shunxiao 順暁 (d.u.) based on Śubhakarasiṃha's Garbhakoṣadhātu (Jp. Taizōkai 金剛界) *maṇḍala*, and he presents Shunxiao as a relatively minor provincial master. In his *Kenkairon* 顯戒論 [A Treatise on Promoting the Precepts], written late in his life, he claims to have received the threefold esoteric transmission, not just the transmission of the *Kongōkai* lineage.

Focusing on the discrepancy between the *Eshū roku* and Saichō's transmission certificates (*fuhōmon* 付法文) allegedly written by Shunxiao, Chen has demonstrated how Saichō's claim to esoteric legitimacy increased with time, and concluded that these documents are forgeries.

The *Secret Genealogy*, duly edited by Saichō's disciples after his death, takes up Saichō's claim in the *Kenkairon* (820) that he had received from Shunxiao the initiation into the two *maṇḍalas* and places Shunxiao in the lineage of Śubhakarasiṃha.⁸ In later documents, Shunxiao is no longer a heir of Śubhakarasiṃha, but of Amoghavajra, the most famous esoteric master of the time, and Saichō receives from him the transmission of the three siddhis—a triad that became the signature of the Tendai school and that supersedes the dual transmission of the two Shingon *maṇḍalas*. In the *Kenkairon engi* 顯戒論緣起 [Causes and Conditions for (Composing) the *Kenkairon*], the *susiddhi* is added in a clear attempt to go beyond the Shingon emphasis on the two *maṇḍalas*.⁹

Through this editing process, the theory of Saichō's initiation in the three 'procedures of attainment' (*siddhis*) was amalgamated with the three classes (*sanbu* 三部), which added to dual taxonomy (*liangbu* 兩部) formed by the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* and the *Tat-*

'The Construction of Early Tendai Esoteric Buddhism'; and *idem*, *Legend and Legitimation*.

⁸ Chen, *The Formation of Early Tendai Esoteric Buddhism in Japan*, 88 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 109–110.

tvksamgraha—and their two *maṇḍalas*—the Womb realm *maṇḍala* (Jp. *Taizōkai mandara* 胎藏界曼荼羅) and the Vajra realm *maṇḍala* (Jp. *Kongōkai mandara* 金剛界曼荼羅)—a third division forming their synthesis and marginalizing Kūkai’s dual lineage.¹⁰

According to Chen, this process eventually led to the creation of three Japanese *siddhi*-texts attributed to Śubhakarasiṃha, still included in the Chinese esoteric section of the *Taishō* canon (*T* no. 905, 906, and 907).¹¹ The earliest of these scriptures (*T* no. 907) might have been compiled by the Tendai master Annen 安然 (841–889?). At any rate, all these documents seem aimed at demonstrating that Saichō’s esoteric credentials were superior to Kūkai’s.

The *Keiran shūyō shū*

A good source, already mentioned above, to measure the distance traveled between Zhiyi’s early Chinese Tiantai and the fully developed Tendai doctrine is a fourteenth-century ritual and mythological compendium compiled by the monk Kōshū 光宗 (1276–1350), the *Keiran shūyō shū*.¹² Little is known about the author Kōshū, other than that he spent much of his life on Mount Hiei, before becom-

¹⁰ *T* no. 2376, 74: 643c. and Chen *The Formation of Early Tendai Esoteric Buddhism in Japan*, 63–64.

¹¹ The texts in question are: 1) the *Sanzhong xidi podiyu zhuanyezhang chusanjie mimi tuoluoni fa* 三種悉地破地獄轉業障出三界祕密陀羅尼法 (*T* no. 905), 2) the *Foding zunshengxin podiyu zhuanyezhang chusanjie bimi sanshen foguo sanzong xidi zhenyan yigui* 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界祕密三身佛果三種悉地真言儀軌 (*T* no. 906), and 3) the *Foding zunshengxin podiyu zhuanyezhang chusanjie bimi tuoluoni* 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界祕密陀羅尼 (*T* no. 907). They all describe three types of *siddhis* (upper, middle, and lower) related to three parts of the body (from the top of the head to the armpit, from the armpit to navel, and from navel to the foot, respectively), and link them to three sets of five seed-letters. On *T* no. 905, see Rambelli, ‘Tantric Buddhism and Chinese Thought in East Asia.’

¹² *Keiran shūyō shū*, *T* no. 2410, 76: 312a.

ing for a time the superior of a monastery, the Hosshōji 法性寺, in the Iyo 伊予 province (present-day Ehime Prefecture, on the island of Shikoku). He studied the Tendai doctrines and traditions, both exoteric and esoteric, and in particular Zen, Vinaya or Discipline, as well as the Sannō shintō 山王神道, the Shintō of Mount Hiei. His magnum opus took him forty years to complete, and is said to have comprised 300 fascicles. Only 113 fascicles are extant today, but they reveal the impressive scope of the enterprise.¹³

The *Keiran shūyō shū* follows in the footsteps of earlier ritual compendia such as the *Gyōrinshō* 行林抄 [Compendium on walking in the forest] (*T* no. 2409, vol. 76), a ritual compilation compiled by the Hieizan monk Jōnen 静然 [d.u.] in 1154), and the *Asabashō* 阿婆縛抄 [Anthology of A, Sa and Va], a thirteenth-century corpus of Tendai esoteric images and rituals by the monk Shōchō 承澄 (1205–1282),¹⁴ but it shows a greater diversity and a more deliberate attempt to integrate Buddhist teachings with local cults.¹⁵

Kōshū's approach is typical of the so-called Chroniclers (*kike* 記家).¹⁶ These Chroniclers were not archivists in the ordinary sense, since the traditions they collect concern sacred beings or objects (deities, places, thaumaturgic monks, relics of the Buddha and the 'wish-fulfilling jewel,' etc.). According to his preface to the *Keiran shūyō shū*, their jurisdiction extended to four areas: exoteric and esoteric doctrines and practices, Discipline, and documents (*kiroku* 記録). This last area required initiation into six subjects: the sacred space of the temples, the deities worshipped there, the supernatural manifestations of the protective deities, the protection of the realm through Buddhist rites, those rites themselves, and contemplative practices.

¹³ On this text, see Grapard, 'Keiran shūyō shū'; Tanaka, *Keiran shūyō shū no sekai*; and Park, *Shaking Dance in the Stormy Valley*.

¹⁴ *T* no. 3190, vol. 94–95 (Zuzō 8–9).

¹⁵ For a short description of these texts, see Dolce, 'Taimitsu Rituals in Medieval Japan'; Frank, *Dieux et bouddhas au Japon*, 261–265.

¹⁶ On the *kike*, see Kuroda, 'Historical Consciousness and *Hon-jaku* Philosophy in the Medieval Period on Mount Hiei'.

Note the paradoxical character of a Tendai *Summa Theologia* recording oral traditions that were in principle secret, dealing with the sacred places, gods, rites and soteriological techniques of esoteric Buddhism (both Shingon and Tendai). Kōshū's work is straddling two traditions: mythological (concrete) and cosmological or doctrinal (more abstract). The classical mythology (of the *Kojiki* 古事記 [An Account of Ancient Matters] and the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 [Chronicle of Japan]) that these Chroniclers reinterpreted was in fact already a 'disenchanted' mythology, in which the principles (the *logos*, if you like) of the Tendai contradicted (but also sometimes reinforced) local beliefs (the *mythos*). The true heterotopic nature of the *Keiran shūyō shū* only really becomes apparent in the specific presentation of the subjects. The incessant cross-referencing, echoes and repetitions, and other mirror effects create a kind of hypertext *avant la lettre*, before the text, or even beyond the text.

Onward to *Susiddhi*

An important, largely unnoticed development in Ennin's disciples' rewriting of Saichō's biography was an emphasis on esoteric initiation and 'realization' (*siddhi*)—in other words, the notion that the non-dual unity of the two great *mandalas* (and the texts from which they derive) is effected through a third higher level, the *susiddhi*, derived from the *Susiddhikara sūtra* (*T* no. 893, vol. 18) translated by Śubhakarasiṃha). This reinterpretation undoubtedly derived from the ternary tendency already observed in Tendai with the notion of the Threefold Truth (*santai* 三諦), but it imposed on all subsequent doctrinal (and also ritual and mythological) developments a ternary structure that became the fundamental characteristic of Tendai. This circumstantial *clinamen* had thus profound repercussions on the later evolution of Tendai and on the religious history of Japan. We will try to follow some of its ramifications.

As Hariett Hunter has shown, the notion of *susiddhi*, held as subaltern at the time of Kūkai (and Saichō), has moved to the forefront at the time of Faquan 法全 (fl. 800–870)—for reasons

that are not entirely clear.¹⁷ In 840, Ennin received from Faquan three initiations—into the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* (Ch. *Dari jing*/Jp. *Dainichikyō* 大日經; T no. 848, vol. 18), the *Tattvasamgraha* (Ch. *Jin'gangding jing*/Jp. *Kongōchōkyō* 金剛頂經; T no. 865, vol. 18), and the *Susiddhikāra sūtra* (Ch. Ch. *Suxidi jieluo jing*/Jp. *Soshitsujikyara kyō* 蘇悉地羯羅經).¹⁸ Among them, the *susiddhi* initiation was different from the three *siddhis* that Saichō was said to have received from Shunxiao several decades earlier, but it was tempting to read back into these the full initiation into the *susiddhi*.

The link that Ennin established between that new metaphysical notion of *susiddhi* and the three kinds of *siddhi* allegedly received by Saichō, while intended to establish the superiority of Taimitsu over Kūkai's Tōmitsu, was to have momentous consequences, as it provided a template for the later developments of Tendai (and, subsequently, Shingon) doctrine and ritual.

As Hunter points out, the tripartite division, including the *Susiddhikārasūtra* as a synthesizing link between the *Tattvasamgraha* and the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, is a key element of the Tendai teaching. According to the *Liangbu dafa xiangchen shizi fufa ji* 兩部大法相承師資付法記 [The Record of Master-to-Disciple Dharma Transmissions of the Two-division Major Procedures], a work by Faquan's contemporary Haiyun 海雲, 'The *Susiddhi*, taken together with the Two Classes of the Great Teaching which the Tripitaka Śubhākarasimha translated previously, constitutes the Great Teaching of the Three Divisions' 三部大教.¹⁹ Hunter describes the *Susiddhi* as an 'alternative current' of Chinese esoteric Buddhism, which was centered since Amoghavajra on the 'two classes' (Ch. *liangbu* /Jp. *ryōbu* 兩部). Japanese scholars, influenced by Shingon orthodoxy, have tended

¹⁷ See Hunter, 'Faquan's Transmission of the *Susiddhi* Category of the Esoteric Buddhist Teachings.' See also Misaki, 'Taimitsu no soshitsuji ni tsuite'.

¹⁸ The *Susiddhikāra sūtra*, translated in 726, describes a variety of supernatural powers (*siddhis*) ranging from invisibility to flying through the air. It has recently been translated into English: see Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*.

¹⁹ *Liangbu dafa xiangchen shizi fufa ji*, T no. 2081, 51: 2.786c13–14: 三藏善無畏所譯兼前二部大教及蘇悉地, 共成三部大教.

to consider that current as ‘heterodox,’ although it became the mainstream of Japanese Tendai, whereas Shingon continued to rely on the ‘two classes’ and their maṇḍalas (the *Taizōkai* and *Kongōkai maṇḍalas*).

Taimitsu monks had regarded the transmission of the two as separate and established a threefold system in which the ‘accomplishment class’ (*soshitsuji bu* 蘇悉地部), based on the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, played the central role. Thus, the notion of *susiddhi* imposed itself in Taimitsu as the ultimate expression of the truth of the Middle, and the supreme realization of Tendai soteriology. According to the *Keiran shūyō shū*: ‘The ultimate secret of the Mystery school is the *susiddhi*.’²⁰ ‘In Sanmon, the *susiddhi* is superior.’²¹ And ‘The *Susiddhikara-sūtra* is the king of all the *sūtras* of the Three Classes.’²²

Kōshū also refers to an oral tradition of the Ōhara 大原 master (Chōen 長宴, 1016–1081), according to which the *Susiddhi* comes from a chapter on the three kinds of *siddhi*, and he quotes the *Bucchō Sonshō hajigoku giki* 仏頂尊勝破地獄儀軌 (= *Bucchō Sonshō shin hajigoku tengosshō shutsusangai himitsu darani* 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界秘密陀羅尼; *T* no. 907, vol. 18; one of the three *siddhi* texts mentioned above) as the source of the *mudrās* and *mantras* of the three kinds of *siddhi*. He concludes that it is the reason why Sonshō Bucchō 尊勝仏頂 (Skt. *Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa*) is the *honzon* 本尊 of the *susiddhi*.²³ He also points out that, while Tōmitsu emphasized the nonduality of the two realms, it did not formulate a third realm that embodies this nonduality, as did Taimitsu.²⁴

The prominent role attributed to the *Susiddhikara sūtra* may be surprising when one realizes that this text is essentially a lengthy discussion of ritual and magical techniques for obtaining supranormal powers. It outlines three levels of accomplishment (*siddhi*), but does not present a cohesive program; it is more like a ritual encyclopedia

²⁰ *Keiran shūyō shū*, *T* no. 2410, 76: 883c: 密宗極祕在蘇悉地。

²¹ *Keiran shūyō shū*, *T* no. 2410, 76: 735b, 738c: 山門蘇悉地經殊勝事有也。

²² *Keiran shūyō shū*, *T* no. 2410, 76: 686a: 所言蘇悉地羯羅經者，是三部經王。

²³ *Keiran shūyō shū*, *T* no. 2410, 76: 558b.

²⁴ *Keiran shūyō shū*, *T* no. 2410, 76: 554c, 593b–c, 662b–c.

to be consulted in the performance of ritual. At first glance, there is nothing here to encourage metaphysical speculations about the ultimate (ternary) nature of reality. But perhaps it is precisely in this return to concreteness that the real metaphysics lies—as is suggested by the fact that the *sūtra* in question is in fact a *tantra*. In other words, the *Susiddhikara sūtra* may have escaped binary (or pseudo-ternary) logic through magical practices.

In any case, one cannot underestimate the evolution that leads from the three *siddhis* to the *susiddhi*, or from the binary structure asserted by Kūkai and his master Huiguo to the ternary structure asserted by Faquan and inherited by Ennin, even if the latter could not foresee the importance that this structure, a true meme turned generative schema, would take on in later Tendai.

While the *Susiddhikarasūtra* played an important role in Taimitsu, a similar role was attributed in Tōmitsu to the *Yuqi jing*/Jp. *Yugikyō* 瑜祇經 (i.e. Ch. *Jingangfeng louge yiqie yuqie yuqi jing*/Jp. *Kongōbu rōkaku issai yuga yugi kyō* 金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 [Pavilion of Vajra Peak and all its Yogas and Yogins; *T* no. 867, vol. 18], a scripture whose translation is attributed to Vajrabodhi. Myōan Yōsai 明菴榮西 (1141–1215), while being a Taimitsu adept, based his interpretation of the *susiddhi* on the *Yugikyō*. This use of the *Yugikyō* seems to have been a trend in the medieval period, drawing on the emphasis that Annen, for the first time, had placed on that text as the scriptural authority for uniting the Womb and Vajra realms.²⁵

The ternary or triadic symbolism, which complements but also subverts the polar structures, obviously translates a quasi-universal mental structure. In China, it was expressed for instance by *Laozi's* famous opening lines ('The Dao produces the One; the One produces the Two; the Two produce the Three; the Three produce All Things' 道生一、一生二、二生三、三生萬物)²⁶ or by the notion of the 'Three Talents' (*sansai* 三才)—Heaven, Earth, and Man—which supplemented (without replacing it) the polar opposition between Heaven and Earth or Yin and Yang, and became a convenient herme-

²⁵ Dolce, 'Duality and the *Kami*', 144–145.

²⁶ Translation adapted from Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, 85.

neutical structure.

Another triadic symbolism, specific to Tendai, was that of the Three Truths—an extension of the Two Truth theory of Mādhyamika. These three truths are, strictly speaking, three views of one and the same reality: that of the Emptiness (*kūtai* 空諦) of phenomena, that of their Provisional existence (*ketai* 假諦), and the Truth of the Middle (*chūtai* 中諦), which encompasses the first two. At the level of practice, this theory was formulated as the Threefold contemplation in a single thought (*isshin sangan* 一心三觀). The logic expressed on the exoteric plane with the analysis of the characters ‘Sannō’ 山王 in terms of *isshin sangan* 一心三觀, etc., developed with the notion of *susiddhi* (‘realization’).²⁷ The term used to translate *siddhi*, *chengjiu* 成就, means ‘accomplishment,’ ‘realization,’ and is therefore tantamount to the supranormal attainments, *susiddhi* (Ch. *suxidi*/Jp. *soshitsuji* or *soshiji* 蘇悉地, a term translated as *myōchengjiu* 妙成就 ‘wondrous realization) and referring to various powers obtained through ritual.

The notion of *susiddhi* imposed itself as the ultimate expression of the truth of the Middle, and the supreme realization of Tendai soteriology.²⁸ This ternary model became the template of Tendai hermeneutics and proliferated as a kind of meme, permeating all degrees of theory and practice, from doctrinal formulations to rituals and mythology, even to mental and material architecture. As Erwin Panofsky said of the relationship between Gothic architecture and Western scholastic thought, we thus see how the mental habits produced by scholasticism affect the form of Buddhist architecture. To do this, as Panofsky notes, one must bracket the conceptual content of the doctrine and focus on the *modus operandi*.²⁹

²⁷ Grapard, ‘Linguistic Cubism’.

²⁸ Another term used for *susiddhi* in the *Keiran shūyō shū* is *sōtai* 總体, ‘global body’. See *T* no. 2410, 76: 515b, 554b.

²⁹ Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, 27.

Applications of the *Susiddhi* Model

Whereas Shingon scholar-monks recognized the nonduality of the two *maṇḍalas* by emphasizing their mutual interpenetration, Tendai commentators chose to transcend their polarity by the addition of a *tertium quid*. As Lucia Dolce points out, this ternary model ‘resolves the interaction of opposites in a third element, crystallized into the physical characteristics of the fetus, symbolized by the cosmology of the *stūpa* or the jewel, and anthropomorphically conveyed in imaginative icons.’³⁰

Whereas the two classes of Shingon found their source in the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* and the *Tattvasamgrāhatantra*, and their iconographic expression in the Taizōkai and Kongōkai *maṇḍalas*, the *Susiddhikarasiddhisūtra* offered no *maṇḍala* that represents the *susiddhi*. In fact, given the aporetic nature of the *susiddhi*, there could be no specific ‘*Susiddhi maṇḍala*.’ The solution adopted in Taimitsu consisted in using preexisting *maṇḍalas*: the Butsugen *maṇḍala* and the Lotus *maṇḍala*.

The *Butsugen Maṇḍala*

According to the *Keiran shūyō shū*: ‘The *susiddhi* of the Sanmon is the Butsugen *maṇḍala*’.³¹ The structure of that *maṇḍala* was said to contain elements of both the Kongōkai and Taizōkai, thus expressing their nonduality. Butsugen 佛眼 (‘Buddha-eye’; Skt. *Bud-dhalocanī*) is also known as Bumo 仏母, ‘Mother of the buddhas.’

³⁰ Dolce, ‘Duality and the Kami,’ 144–45. Dolce, however, traces the model back to the *Yuqi jing* (Jp. *Yugikyō*), not to the *Susiddhikara-sūtra*. Indeed, the notion of *susiddhi* is usually traced back to the *Yugikyō* in Shingon, and sometimes even in Tendai. See for instance *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 554b. Thus, the *Yugikyō* came to play the same role as the *Susiddhikara-sūtra* as a reference for nonduality.

³¹ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 555a9–10: 故ニ佛眼ノ曼荼羅ヲ以爲蘇悉地ノ本尊ト也。

She is usually paired with Ichiji Kinrin [Bucchō] 一字金輪仏頂 (Skt. Ekākṣara-uṣṇiṣacakra, the Single-syllable Golden Wheel Buddha), an astral version of Dainichi, who played a central role in the Blazing Light Ritual (Shijōkō-hō 熾盛光法—hence Kinrin’s other name, Shijōkō Bucchō 熾盛光仏頂, or Blazing Lights Buddha).³² The term *ichiji* 一字 (single letter) refers to the seed-letter *bhrūṃ* (awkwardly transcribed into Japanese as *boron*), out of which this buddha emanates during the esoteric visualization process. Whereas Butsugen symbolizes the Womb *maṇḍala* and is identified with Fudō Myōō 不動明王, Kinrin 金輪 symbolizes the Vajra Realm *maṇḍala* and is identified with Aizen Myōō 愛染明王. The nonduality of Butsugen and Kinrin is also a way of expressing that of the ‘red’ and ‘white’ drops (blood and semen). According to the *Yugikyō chōmonshō* 瑜祇經聽聞抄 [Notes on the hearing of the *Yugi jing*] by Kōshū’s master Chōgō 澄豪 (1259–1350), it is the union of Kinrin and Butsugen that gives birth to the universe.³³

When it is the nonduality of the two *maṇḍalas* that is emphasized, however, it is usually Butsugen that comes to the forefront, and her ritual is therefore presented by Kōshū as the ultimate secret ritual of the Sanmon school.³⁴ Kōshū further argues that nonduality is better formulated doctrinally in Tendai than in Shingon—notably in the ternary structure of its metaphysics, which adds a third, synthetic level to the two levels symbolized by the Womb and Vajra Realm *maṇḍalas* of Shingon. This third level, called ‘supreme realization’ (*Susiddhi*), is precisely symbolized by the Butsugen *maṇḍala*.³⁵

Kōshū explains that Butsugen is the *honzon* of the non-dual *susiddhi*.³⁶ To the question—‘Why does one make Butsugen the

³² He is represented in the Northern Dipper *maṇḍala* as a buddha holding the wheel (one of the seven jewels of the *cakravartin* king). He sits atop Mount Sumeru, the axis mundi of Buddhist cosmology, the summit of which is none other than the pole star. He is therefore symbolically equated with the latter.

³³ *Zoku Tendaiishū zensho*, Mikkyō 2, *Kyōten chūshakurui* 1.

³⁴ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 644a.

³⁵ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 555b–556a.

³⁶ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 554c.

highest secret ritual the Sanmon current?’—he paradoxically replies that Butsugen is the main deity of the *Yugikyō* (instead of referring to the *Susiddhikara-sūtra*) according to Ennin, while it is Aizen for Kūkai, and Daishō Kongō 大勝金剛 for Enchin.³⁷

In the *Tsuiki* 追記 [Postscript] by Shukaku Hōshinnō 守覚法親王 (1150–1202), Butsugen Myōō 仏眼明王 and Kinrin Myōō 金輪明王 (sic) are compared to the father and mother, and their compassion unites to produce *dato* (Skt. *dhātu*). *Dhātu* is a polysemic written here in *Siddham* script, meaning ‘element,’ ‘realm,’ or ‘relic,’ and designating by extension the wish-fulfilling jewel, i.e., Aizen.³⁸ As we will see, Butsugen and Kinrin were further identified with the two stars that rule human destiny.

The Lotus *Maṇḍala*

Lucia Dolce has argued that the Lotus *maṇḍala* (*Hokke mandara* 法華曼荼羅), based on an esoteric interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra*, may also have played the role of unifying the two realms of the *Kongōkai* and *Taizōkai*.³⁹ The basic structure of the Lotus *maṇḍala* is based on an esoteric interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra* chapter on the Treasure *Stūpa*.⁴⁰ It consists of an eight-petal lotus flower derived from the *Taizōkai maṇḍala*, at the center of which is a Treasure *stūpa* (*bōtō* 宝塔), inside of which are seated the two buddhas Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna (Jp. Tahō 多宝). On the eight lotus petals are eight bodhisattvas, while four *śrāvakas* are in the corners

³⁷ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 554b. Daishō Kongō (Mahāvairocana), a manifestation of Mahāvairocana, is sometimes identified with Ichiji Kinrin and with Aizen. He does not appear among the Worthies of the two *maṇḍalas*, because he transcends and unifies them, but he plays an important role in the *Yugikyō* and in the Jimon. On this figure, see Duquesne, ‘Daishō Kongō’.

³⁸ See *Tsuiki*, T no. 2494, 78: 618c; *Usuzōshi kuketsu*, T no. 2535, 79: 182c; and *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 644a.

³⁹ Dolce, ‘Reconsidering the Taxonomy of the Esoteric’.

⁴⁰ Watson, trans., *The Lotus Sūtra*, 170–181.

of the central court. The other two courts include deities from the *Kongōkai* and *Taizōkai maṇḍalas*: the offering bodhisattvas in the second court, and various protective deities in the external court.⁴¹

The Lotus ritual was eventually adopted in Tōmitsu as well. The *Kakuzenshō* 覚禅抄 [Notes of Kakuzen 覚禅 (1143–1213)], for instance, has a long section describing it. Significant here is the ternary structure formed by the *stūpa* and the two buddhas inside: The *stūpa* corresponds to the Dharma-body (*dharmakāya*), Prabhūtaratna to the Retribution body (*sambhogakāya*), Śākyamuni to the correspondence body (*nirmanakāya*). The three bodies form a single *stūpa*, which is the main object of worship (*honzon*). The two buddhas can also be taken as *honzon*, depending on the purpose of the ritual.⁴² The central court corresponds to the Dainichi of the *Kongōkai*, the eight bodhisattvas are the Worthies of the eight-petalled lotus of the *Taizōkai*.⁴³ Śākyamuni is identified with the Taizōkai Dainichi, Prabhūtaratna with the *Kongōkai* Dainichi, whereas the *stūpa* itself comes to symbolize the *susiddhi* synthesis.⁴⁴

Dolce suggests that the Lotus *maṇḍala* and Taimitsu's 'three-fold system' form an 'alternative system' of esoteric Buddhism. A similar point was already made by Hunter regarding the use of *Susiddhikarasūtra* in China. Dolce is right, however, in arguing that it is only in Japan, through the theoretical elaborations of Taimitsu scholar-monks, that the ternary model reached such a comprehensive format, and that 'it crucially affected the development of the esoteric paradigm along lines different from those set by Kūkai.'⁴⁵ A concrete application of this hermeneutical model, in which the Lotus *maṇḍala* functioned in lieu of the missing '*susiddhi maṇḍala*,' can be found for instance in a set of three *shuji maṇḍalas* (*Kongōkai*, *Taizōkai*, and Lotus *maṇḍalas*) dated 1052, recently excavated on

⁴¹ See Dolce, 'Reconsidering the Taxonomy of the Esoteric', 149. See also Horie, "Hokke mandara zu" ni okeru buttō no ichi kōsatsu', 200–202.

⁴² *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, 135b–136a.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 136b.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 137a.

⁴⁵ Dolce, 'Reconsidering the Taxonomy of the Esoteric', 152.

Mount Kōya 高野山.⁴⁶

Triune Deities and Divine Triads

One characteristic of medieval Taimitsu commentaries is their attempts to reinterpret Japanese deities in Tendai terms. The threefold hermeneutical model culminating in the *susiddhi* was for instance applied to Taimitsu deities such as Benzaiten 弁才天, Ugajin 宇賀神, and Jūzenji 十禪師.

In the *Keiran shūyō shū*, Benzaiten is said to control the three main aspects of human life: happiness, emoluments, and longevity (*fuku-roku-ju* 福祿壽). The fact that she has fifteen acolytes (*dōji* 童子) is explained as the combination of these three aspects (or levels of reality) with the ‘Three talents’ (heaven, earth, and man) and the Five phases (*gogyō* 五行) of Chinese cosmology. These acolytes are also said to symbolize the fifteen vowels of the Sanskrit alphabet, which are also the seed-syllables (*shuji* 種子; Skt. *bīja*) of the cosmic emanation process.

The threefold meaning of Benzaiten is also linked to the Three Truths and the Threefold contemplation in a single thought (*isshin sangan* 一心三觀) of Tendai.⁴⁷ Above all, Kōshū clearly identifies Benzaiten with the *susiddhi*.⁴⁸ He also connects her with the Blazing Light Ritual (*Shijōkō-hō* 熾盛光法) performed at Sōji-in to ensure the longevity of the ruler and the prosperity of his kingdom. I will return to this ritual.

Benzaiten was combined with the ophidian deity Ugajin 宇賀神 (represented as an old man with a snake’s body) in a composite figure called Uga Benzaiten 宇賀弁才天.⁴⁹ In spite of his uncanny appearance, Ugajin is said to be the ‘warp and woof of Heaven and earth.’ Thus, heaven and earth are mutually interwoven in Uga Benzaiten,

⁴⁶ Ibid, 153.

⁴⁷ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 620c.

⁴⁸ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 619c.

⁴⁹ On this question, see Faure, *Protectors and Predators*.

just like the two *maṇḍalas*. The syllables *U* 宇 and *Ga* 賀 also correspond to the two bodhisattvas Kokūzō 虚空藏 (Ākāśagarbha, Space Womb) and Jizō 地藏 (Kṣitigarbha, Earth Womb). Here the interpretation shifts from a binary to a ternary model. King Ugajin (Ugajin-ō 宇賀神王) is said to encompass the Three Talents (*sansai* 三才) of Heaven (*ten* 天), Earth (*chi* 地), and Man (*jin* 人). The three syllables of his name correspond to Heaven (the father), Earth (the mother), and Man (the child born of their union). Or again, they represent the *Kongōkai*, the *Taizōkai*, and the *Susiddhi*, respectively.⁵⁰

A similar interpretive model was applied to other deities. Its paradigmatic expression is found in the triad formed by the ‘Three Devas’ (*santen* 三天): Shōten 聖天, Benzaiten 弁財天, and Dakiniten 荼枳尼天.⁵¹ In one source, their essential nature is defined as follows: Dakiniten’s essential nature (body of self-nature) is equated with the *Taizōkai* Dainichi and the Moon, her manifestation (metamorphosis body) is the fox; Shōten’s essential nature is equated with the *Kongōkai* Dainichi and the Sun, his manifestation is a three-legged bird (the solar symbol of classical Chinese mythology); Benzaiten’s essential nature is identified with the *Susiddhi* Dainichi and Venus (Myōjō 明星), her manifestation is a white snake.⁵² These three devas were also combined into a single, three-headed, fox-riding deity.

The devas were interpreted in esoteric Buddhism as ‘manifestations’ (*gongen* 權現) of Indian buddhas and bodhisattvas. In the honji suijaku paradigm, another category was that of the local deities known as ‘bright deities’ (*myōjin* 明神). A case in point is that of the divine youth Jūzenji, a deity worshiped at Hie Shrine at the foot of Mount Hiei. Significantly, it is Jūzenji whom Saichō first met when he climbed Mount Hiei, even before meeting the mountain god Sannō Gongen 山王權現.⁵³ Jūzenji introduced himself not only as a local protector, but as a primordial god that control human lives.

⁵⁰ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 620a–b.

⁵¹ On this question, see Faure, *Protectors and Predators*, 235–268.

⁵² Each deva has two more bodies, which are irrelevant here. See Ōmori, ‘Tokubetsuten ni okeru Benzaiten, Dakiniten-zō ni tsuite’.

⁵³ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 518b.

He was often identified with Sannō Gongen, and Kōshū calls him the ‘global body’ (*sōtai*) of Sannō⁵⁴ —the god that subsumes all the deities of Hie Shrine, beginning with the three main gods Ōmiya 大宮, Ninomiya 二宮, and Shōshinji 聖真子 (the ‘traces’ of Shaka 釋迦, Yakushi 藥師, and Hachiman 八幡, respectively). As we have noted, that expression was used to signify the *susiddhi*.

Jūzenji is usually represented as a child or as a young monk. He is one of these ‘wild gods’ (*kōjin* 荒神) that flourished in medieval Japan.⁵⁵ He was said to possess children or young novices, send oracles, and curse people who transgress taboos. His ‘original ground’ (*honji* 本地) is usually the bodhisattva Jizō 地藏菩薩, but it can also be Miroku 弥勒 or Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪觀音. He is also identified with Ugajin 宇賀神.

According to Tendai sources, Jūzenji is Kokūzō 虛空藏 in Heaven; Jizō on Earth. This is why he is the deity of the ‘warp and woof of heaven and earth’ 天地經緯—an often quoted line that also defines Ugajin. Jūzenji was also said to be the manifestation of the kami Ninigi no Mikoto 瓊瓊杵尊, the grandson of the sun-goddess Amaterasu 天照 and the first earthly ancestor of the imperial lineage. He is also identified with King Yama 閻羅王, the ruler of the underworld.⁵⁶

Jūzenji’s name led to far-fetched speculations. It was interpreted in terms of mind-contemplation (the so-called *kanjin Jūzenji* 觀心十禪師), according to the ternary rubrics of Tendai hermeneutics: its three characters (CKJ glyphs) are linked to the name Sannō 山王, the Mountain-king, i.e., the protector of Mount Hiei, whose two characters are made of three vertical strokes linked by one horizontal stroke (山), and three horizontal strokes linked by one vertical stroke (王), respectively. They are also said to refer to the Threefold Truth (*santai* 三諦) of Tendai: Emptiness (*kūtai* 空諦), temporary existence (*ketai* 假諦), and the Middle (*chūtai* 中諦); to the Threefold Contemplation in one single thought (*isshin sangan*), that is, the simultaneous realization of the three aspects of reality; to the Three Bodies (*sanshin*

⁵⁴ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 515b.

⁵⁵ On this type of deities, see Faure, *Rage and Ravage*.

⁵⁶ Faure, ‘Jūzenji, ou l’enfance du divin’.

三身; Sk. *trikāya*) of the Buddha: Dharma-body (*hosshin* 法身, Sk. *Dharmakāya*), Retribution-body (*bōshin* 報身, *sambhogakāya*), and Metamorphosis-body (*ōjin* 応身, *nirmanakāya*); and to the ‘Three thousand realms in one single thought’ (*ichinen sanzen* 一念三千). Jūzenji is more particularly the master of the ‘Perfect and Sudden meditation’ (*endon shikan* 円頓止観) that characterized the Tendai teaching since Saichō. He seems to have had a particularly important meaning for the Tendai ‘Vinaya masters’ (*kaike* 戒家), as he was said to symbolize the ‘essence of the precepts’ (*kaitai* 戒体): in that sense too he corresponds to the *susiddhi*.⁵⁷

Triads and Heptads

The main deities of the Butsugen *maṇḍala*, Butsugen and Kinrin, were also at the center of star *maṇḍalas*, and astral worship was an important aspect of Taimitsu. The ternary model found another symbolic expression in the astral set formed by the Sun, the Moon, and Venus.

The Sun and the Moon constitute a Yin/Yang dyad, while Venus represents their non-duality.⁵⁸ It is one of the main deities worshiped by the adepts of the Genshi kimyōdan 玄旨歸命壇, a secret current of Tendai. According to the *Genshidan hishō* 玄旨壇秘鈔 [Secret Extracts regarding the Platform of Mysterious Purports], Venus mediates between day and night, between Ignorance and Awakening.⁵⁹

Incidentally, Venus is known in the West as both the evening star and the morning star, an ambivalence that resonates with nonduality.

⁵⁷ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 559c.

⁵⁸ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 572b.

⁵⁹ See *Genshidan hishō*, Hayakawa, ed., *Shinkō sōsho*, 92b, 95a. Venus appears at the end of the hour of the Ox and at the beginning of the hour of the Tiger. The Ox, being the ultimate point of the Yin phase, of darkness, represents ignorance. The hour of the Tiger is the beginning of the Yang phase, it represents the appearance of the Dharmatā (*hosshō* 法性), i.e., awakening. It symbolizes the mind’s emergence from the long sleep of *samsāra*, and its entry into Suchness.

In East Asia, the name Myōjō 明星 usually refers to the evening star, while the morning star is known as Taihaku 太白. The characters used for Venus (Myōjō) lend themselves superbly to the kind of etymological play that Tendai commentators like so much. Myō 明, 'bright' is formed by the combination of 'nichi' 日 (Sun) and 'gatsu' 月 (Moon), while the character 'sei' (here read *jō*) 星 (star) is made from 'sun' 日 and 'life' 生. It was a short step to explain that the union of the Sun and Moon, that is, the essences of the Yin and Yang, produced Venus.

In the Butsugen *maṇḍala*, Butsugen is surrounded by the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper (Ursa Major). Indeed, Kōshū tells us that Butsugen is the ruler of the Seven Stars.⁶⁰ The Seven Stars were said to be the source of all things. In particular, they give to all beings their breath or vital essence. They also came to symbolize the nonduality of the *Kongōkai* and *Taijōkai*. For this reason, the northeastern direction where they abide is perceived as the source of all things, and in particular of the human body.⁶¹

In Taimitsu, the Seven Stars were identified with the seven emanations of the Healing Buddha Yakushi (Shichibutsu Yakushi 七仏薬師). It is for that reason that seven statues of Yakushi are enshrined in the Main Hall (Konpon chūdō 根本中堂) of Enryakuji, which is known, together with Sōji-in, as the 'site of practice of fundamental destiny' (Honmyō dōjō 本命道場).⁶²

In a section of the *Keiran shūyō shū* entitled 'The Sannō [deity] that follows the shadow like its shadow' (sic!), we read: 'In Heaven it is called the seven stars; on Earth it is called the Bright deities (*myōjin*) of the Seven Shrines. It is the shadow cast by the seven Yakushi Buddhas from the east on the Jambu[dvīpa].'⁶³

The Seven Stars were identified with the seven upper shrines

⁶⁰ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 555b, 858c.

⁶¹ *Mudai ki*, Itō et al., comp., *Shūgō Shintō*, 514.

⁶² *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 549a.

⁶³ Read 'follows the body'. The error is corrected in later passages: see *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 549 and 865a.

of Hie.⁶⁴ According to the *Sange yōryakki* 山家要略記 [Collection of Essential records on the Sannō Worship],⁶⁵ for instance: ‘In the Yang they are called the seven stars, in the Yin the seven bright deities (*myōjin*).’⁶⁶ Or: ‘The seven stars of the Northern Dipper are the seven buddhas Yakushi.’

Thus, the identity between Sannō Gongen and the Northern Dipper developed into an identity between the Seven Stars and the Seven Yakushi, or between Ichiji Kinrin 一字金輪, as ruler of the Seven Stars, and Shijōkō Bucchō 熾盛佛頂 (*Tejaprabhā*). This shows that these theories developed in close relation with the Taimitsu rituals of the Northern Dipper, of Ichiji Kinrin, and of Shijōkō Bucchō.

Because the Seven Stars descend to earth and give life to all beings, they are called Stars of Fundamental Destiny.⁶⁷ The stars of Fundamental Destiny are actually two: the birth star or Star of Fundamental Destiny (*honmyōshō* 本命星) proper, and the Star of the Primordial Spirit (*ganjinshō* 元神星). In Tendai speculations, and in particular in the *Genshi kimyōdan* 玄旨歸命壇, it is the union of these two stars that forms the human body. These two stars are also identified with Butsugen and Kinrin, whose union, being the union of Form and Mind, constitutes the human body (symbolized by a *stūpa*).⁶⁸

The *honmyōshō* is said to come down from Heaven and enter the body through its head, constituting a person’s mental elements; while the latter rises from the Earth and enters the body through its feet, constituting the person’s physical elements.⁶⁹ These two stars are also identified with the ‘red and white [drops]’ (blood and semen) that form the embryo. According to the *Keiran shūyō shū*, when the two stars, identified with Kinrin and Butsugen, that is, with the *Kongōkai* and *Taijōkai* Dainichi, unite harmoniously, they form the

⁶⁴ On the Northern Dipper and Hie Shrine, see Arichi, ‘Seven Stars of Heaven and Seven Shrines on Earth’.

⁶⁵ *Zoku Tendaiishū zensho* 1: 142b.

⁶⁶ *Zoku Tendaiishū zensho* 1: 71a.

⁶⁷ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 549a.

⁶⁸ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 858c.

⁶⁹ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 549b.

Susiddhi Dainichi.⁷⁰ According to this embryological symbolism, the union of the red (blood) of the mother and the white (semen) of the father creates the (golden) embryo.

From Topology to Architecture

Mount Hiei's three precincts—known as the Eastern *stūpa* (Tōdō 東塔), the Western *stūpa* (Saitō 西塔), and Yokawa 横川—were identified with the *Kongōkai*, the *Taizōkai*, and the *Susiddhi*, respectively.⁷¹ Yokawa was also called Peak of Non-duality (Funi-hō 不二峯), or Peak of *Susiddhi* (Soshitsuji-hō 蘇悉地峯).⁷²

The same symbolism was applied to other sacred sites, like Ise. In the so-called Ryōbu shintō 兩部神道, a form of Shintō influenced by Shingon, Ise's two shrines were used as a symbolic expression of the nondual *Kongōkai* and *Taizōkai*. For Kōshū, however, Ise is yet another expression of the ternary model: the Inner Shrine is identified with the *Kongōkai*, the Outer Shrine with the *Taizōkai*, and the seven separate shrines (*betsugū* 別宮) with the *Susiddhi*.⁷³

Kōshū interprets along the same lines the sacred sites of Shugendō: 'Ōmine 大峰 is the peak of the two [Womb and Vajra] sections of Shingon. Thus, Kumano 熊野 is the provisional manifestation (*gongen*) of the *Taizō*[kai], Kinpusen 金峰山 that of the *Kongō*[kai], and Ōmine in-between is the nondual *maṇḍala* of the two sections [i.e., the '*susiddhi*' *maṇḍala*].'⁷⁴

⁷⁰ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 622a.

⁷¹ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 845b.

⁷² *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 868a.

⁷³ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 516b, 557b.

⁷⁴ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 520a. The same logic is at work in Monkan's *Kinpusen himitsuden* 金峯山秘密伝, which identifies Benzaiten's cultic center, Tenkawa 天川 (in Kii province), as the *Susiddhi* uniting the Womb and Vajra realms symbolized by Yoshino and Kumano. Tenkawa is located at the foot of Misen 彌山 (a mountain whose name evokes Mount Sumeru, the cosmic mountain of Buddhist cosmology), and it is part of the Ōmine 大峯山 range, which

In his reply to a question about Japan as a threefold *maṇḍala*, Kōshū explains: ‘The imperial capital has nine sections which symbolize the nine assemblies of the Kongōkai *maṇḍala*; the five provinces of Kinai symbolize the Taizōkai *maṇḍala*; the seven provincial circuits symbolize the *susiddhi maṇḍala*’.⁷⁵ Kōshū also mentions a tradition according to which the entire land of Japan actually symbolizes the Susiddhi realm, a definition that contributed to promoting Japan to the status of ‘divine land’ (*shinkoku* 神国).⁷⁶

This triadic (and astral) logic was also applied to religious architecture. One case in point is that of the Sōji-in of Enryakuji, which was also, like the Main Hall, known as ‘site of practice for the fundamental destiny’ (Honmyō dōjō 本命道場). This pavilion, facing south, is composed of two halls linked by a corridor, the Blazing Light Hall (Shijōkō-dō 熾盛光堂) or Kinrin Hall (Kinrin-dō 金輪堂) and the Butsugen Hall (Butsugen-dō 仏眼堂), in front of which stands a *stūpa* known as ‘*Stūpa* of Nonduality’ (Funi no tō 不二塔). Here is Kōshū’s description of the place: ‘On the western side is the Blazing Lights Hall, on the eastern side the Butsugen Hall, and at the center the *stūpa* of non-duality. The Blazing Lights Hall is the Kinrin Hall. Kinrin is the *Kongōkai* Dainichi (like the father). Butsugen is the *Taizōkai* Dainichi (like the mother). These two Worthies are surrounded by the Seven Stars. The *stūpa* of non-duality at the center is the *Susiddhi* (like the child). This is why one calls Sōji-in the site of practice for Fundamental Destiny.’⁷⁷

stretches from Yoshino 吉野 to Kumano 熊野. Ōmine, in turn, is said to be the abode of the Dainichi of the Two Classes, the extremely deep treasure land of non-duality, and this is why it [Japan] is called the ‘Original Land of Dainichi’ (Dainichi honkoku 大日本國, a pun on Dai Nihonkoku, ‘Great Land of Japan’). See Morris, *The Kinpusen Himitsuden*.

⁷⁵ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 516a.

⁷⁶ On Japan as divine land, see Rambelli, ‘Religion, ideology of domination, and nationalism’; and Satō, ‘The Emergence of *Shinkoku*’.

⁷⁷ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 549a8–13: 西ニ在熾盛光堂, 東ニ在佛眼堂, 中央ニ在不二塔婆. 熾盛光堂ト者, 卽是金輪堂也. 金輪ト者, 金大日也如父. 佛眼ト者, 胎大日如母. 此二尊ヲ七星圍遶ス之ヲ. 中央不二ノ塔婆ハ是蘇悉地也

The rituals of Sōji-in, as described in the *Keiran shūyō shū*, were centered on the cult of the birth star (*honmyō-shō*) of the emperor. The main rituals consisted in prayers for the longevity of the reigning emperor, and thus for the prosperity of the country.⁷⁸ They had both an astral and an embryological aspect, as their *honzon*, Butsugen and Kinrin, were identified with the *honmyōshō* and the *ganjinshō*, two stars whose union constitutes all beings. Since these deities were also identified with the Dainichi of the two-realm *maṇḍalas*, their union symbolized the *Susiddhi* Dainichi, symbolized by the ‘*stūpa* of non-duality.’⁷⁹

The nondual *stūpa* of Sōji-in is actually a three-tiered *stūpa*, each tier symbolizing the fundamental destiny of the people, the officials, and the ruler, respectively. From the standpoint of the ternary logic, the ruler is equated with the *Susiddhi* level, although the text does not make the point explicitly. Kōshū also compares this *stūpa* to the legendary Iron *Stūpa* of Southern India (Nanten tettō 南天鉄塔), the source and fountainhead of the esoteric Buddhist tradition (and in particular of the relics and the Wish-fulfilling Jewel).⁸⁰ It enshrined icons of the Five Buddhas and the Buddha’s

如子。故以總持院ヲ號本命道塔ト也。

⁷⁸ The Ritual of the Burning Lights (*shijōkō-hō* 熾盛光法) is said to have been introduced from China in 847 by Ennin. It was first performed in 850 on behalf of Ninmyō Tennō 仁明天皇 (r. 833–850). From the tenth century onwards, it was performed whenever calamities befell the country.

⁷⁹ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 622a. See also Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*; and Dolce, ‘Taimitsu Rituals in Medieval Japan’.

⁸⁰ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 858b. Concerning the Iron *Stūpa*, see Rambelli, ‘The Myth of the South Indian Iron *stūpa* (Nanten tettō) in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism’; and Orzech, ‘The Myth of the Iron *Stūpa*’. The image of Nāgārjuna’s encounter with Vajrasattva inside the Iron *Stūpa* also resonates with that of Śākyamuni and Prabhūtarana inside the Jewelled *Stūpa* in the *Lotus Sūtra*. Kōshū also identifies the Iron *Stūpa* with the Heavenly Rock-Cave into which Amaterasu withdrew after being aggressed by her brother Susanoo. See *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 516c. See also *Jindai no maki kuketsu*, Itō et al., comp., *Shūgō Shintō*, 56. Both the *stūpa* and the cave are embryological symbols.

relics brought back from China by Ennin, and it symbolized the nonduality of the *Susiddhi*: ‘The meaning of the esoteric [Taimitsu] teaching is that the jeweled *stūpa* of the *Lotus Sūtra* is the conventional (*samaya*) form of the *Susiddhi*.’⁸¹ Kōshū further argues that the *Susiddhi* is none other than the human body, and that this realization is specific to Taimitsu.⁸²

The Three *Torii* of Hie

Another architectural triad is that of the three *torii* gates of Hie Shrine (at the foot of Mount Hie). The *Keiran shūyō shū* explains that they symbolize the ternary structure of Tendai doctrine and soteriology, as expressed by the three *siddham* (Sanskrit) letters *A* 𑖀, *Ban* 𑖃 (Sanskrit: *Vam*), and *Un* 𑖄 (Skt: *Hūṃ*).⁸³

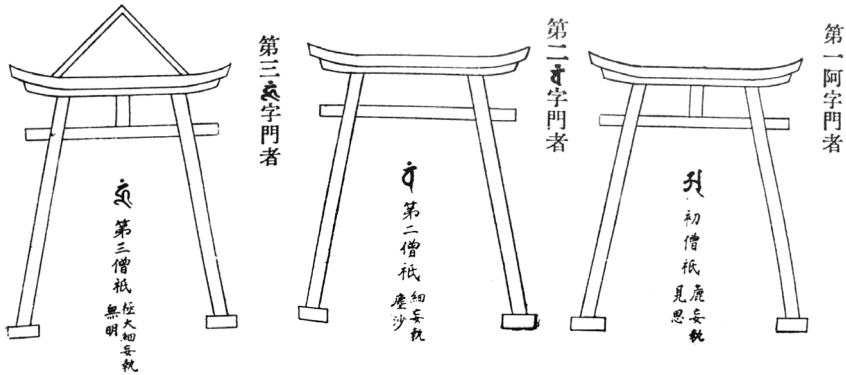


FIG. 1 The Three Gates of Hie Shrine (T no. 2410, 76: 524b–c)

⁸¹ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 609c5–6: 密教ノ意ハ今ノ塔婆ハ即是蘇悉地ノ三摩耶習也。

⁸² *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 554c.

⁸³ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 524b–c.

Thus, the first torii, represented by the seed-letter *A*, symbolizes the *Taizōkai*; the second, represented by the seed-letter *Ban* (Vam), symbolizes the Kongōkai; and the third, represented by the seed-letter *Un* (Hūṃ), symbolizes their mysterious nondual union, the ‘ultimate realization,’ the *Susiddhi*. Passing through these three gates was perceived as a three-phase purification process leading from Ignorance to Awakening.⁸⁴

Relics and Jewels

Toward the end of the Heian period, as relic worship grew increasingly detached from the physical reality of the object, relics came to be considered the equivalent of the seed-letter *bhrūṃ* (Jp. *boron*), the source of all things and the symbol of Ichiji Kinrin.⁸⁵ Butsugen and Ichiji Kinrin were also linked to the worship of the Buddha’s relics and to the wish-fulfilling jewel (*cintāmaṇi*)—other symbols of the ultimate nonduality that produces all things.⁸⁶ Likewise, all deities linked with the wish-fulfilling jewel (for instance Benzaiten, Ugajin, Nyoirin Kannon) were also perceived as symbols of the *Susiddhi*.

The wish-fulfilling jewel, in turn, came to be associated with the

⁸⁴ The three torii are also identified with the three cosmic kalpas corresponding to the three kinds of illusion: crude, subtle, and very subtle. *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 515c–516a. A similar model can be found on sacred mountains like Mount Hiko 英彦山, but usually the distance between the three gates (made out of bronze, stone, and wood) is bigger. On Mount Hiko, see Grapard, *Mountain Mandalas*.

⁸⁵ This conception was based on the distinction between three types of relics in accordance with the three bodies of the Buddha. The relics of the Dharma body (Skt. *dharmakāya*, Jp. *hosshin* 法身) corresponded to physical dharmas; those of the Reward body (*sambhogakāya*, Jp. *hōshin* 報身), to mental dharmas; while those of the Transformation body (*nirmāṇakāya*, Jp. *ōjin* 応身) were verbal acts (in this case, the seed-syllable *bhrūṃ*). They also corresponded to the three mysteries (*sanmitsu* 三密) of Dainichi’s body, mind, and speech.

⁸⁶ See Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 238–240.

three regalia of the Japanese imperium—the Mirror, the Sword, and the Divine Seal (*shinji* 神璽). These regalia were also equated with the three bodies of the Buddha;⁸⁷ with the seed-syllables *A*, *Ban* (Vam), and *Un* (Hūm); and with the *Taizōkai*, *Kongōkai*, and *Susiddhi* realms, respectively. A significant nationalist spin was given when Japan was identified with the seed-syllable *Un*, i.e., the highest, non-dual realm, the *Susiddhi*.⁸⁸

The *Susiddhi* in Shingon

While the ternary structure found one of its paradigmatic expressions in Chinese esoteric Buddhism, it is in Japanese Taimitsu that it reached its full development. The sectarian context that opposed Tendai to Shingon provided it with a fertile ground and allowed it to extend gradually to all aspects of Taimitsu religious life.

Initially, because the binary model (*ryōbu*) had received the stamp of Shingon orthodoxy from Kūkai, it was difficult for Kūkai's successors to openly question it and adopt the ternary model of their Tendai rivals. Only later, after much back and forth and reciprocal influences between the two schools, and on the basis of the *Yugikyō* rather than the *Susiddhikharasūtra*, would they come to adopt this model in the early medieval period.

The triadic model became so dominant that it made its way into Tōmitsu, as can be seen in various Ryōbu Shintō texts like the *Amano sekkutsu kuketsu* 天石窟口訣 [Oral Traditions on the Heavenly Rock Cave].⁸⁹ Initially, Shingon emphasized the nondual unity of the *Taizōkai* and *Kongōkai* through symbolic pairs such as the wis-

⁸⁷ Here, however, the sequence is inverted: instead of identifying the Divine Seal with the Dharma-body as symbol of the *Susiddhi*, it is the Mirror that plays that role, while the Sword is equated with the Retribution body and the Divine Seal with the Transformation body. This inversion may reflect an attempt to place Amaterasu's symbol, the Mirror, at the apex.

⁸⁸ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 511b.

⁸⁹ Dolce, 'Duality and the kami,' 130–136.

dom-kings Aizen and Fudō.⁹⁰ As Dolce points out, these two complementary figures interpenetrate like the Yin and the Yang, or like the ‘red’ and the ‘white’ drops of esoteric embryology. Inasmuch as their nonduality is already implicit in their interpenetration, there seemed to be no need of a third, mediating figure to express it. The so-called ‘two-headed’ Aizen (Ryōzu Aizen 兩頭愛染), representing in fact Aizen and Fudō, is also interpreted in that manner.⁹¹

In Taimitsu, however, Aizen was sometimes associated with the couple formed by Butsugen and Kinrin: he identifies with one or the other of these terms, but he also constitutes their synthesis. The same is true of his primary symbol, the jewel. Kōshū quotes a Shingon source according to which King Aizen and Butsugen are one.⁹² Incidentally (or not), Aizen and Butsugen were both called ‘mother of the buddhas’ (*butsumo* 佛母). At any rate, Aizen seems to have played the same role (as ‘master of the teaching,’ *kyōshu* 教主) in Shingon as Butsugen in Taimitsu. According to Kōshū, the Aizen ritual at Tōji corresponds to the Blazing Lights ritual in Tendai.⁹³ Kōshū also describes a three-headed Aizen, whose left and right faces represent Butsugen and Kinrin, respectively. In this triad, then, Aizen represents the *Susiddhi* realm.

The tradition mentioned by Kōshū that places Aizen in the midst of the couple formed by Ichiji Kinrin and Butsugen constitutes a synthesis of the Shingon and Tendai teachings. The doctrinal explanation is that this arrangement represents the nondual Aizen emerging from the samādhi of the nondual realization of the Blazing Light Ritual (*Shijōkō-bō* 熾盛光法).

According to the *Keiran shūyō shū*, for Kūkai, Aizen was the ‘global body’ (i.e., the *Susiddhi*) representing the nonduality of the *Kongōkai* and the *Taizōkai*.⁹⁴ The same symbolism applied to Aizen’s twin, Fudō. When he stands alone, Fudō represents the Dainichi of

⁹⁰ See for instance Dolce, ‘Duality and the *Kami*’, 136–138.

⁹¹ See Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 199–202.

⁹² *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 567b.

⁹³ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 578c.

⁹⁴ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 554b.

the *Susiddhi* realm, as does Butsugen in Taimitsu. His two acolytes, Kongara 矜羯羅 and Seitaka 制多迦, represent the Dainichi of the *Kongōkai* and the *Taizōkai*, and the good and evil tendencies, respectively. Thus, Fudō also transcends the moral dualism they symbolize.⁹⁵

Fudō became the main deity of the form of mountain asceticism known as Shugendō 修驗道. The legendary founder of that tradition, En no Gyōja 役行者, was identified with Fudō. Thus, it is not surprising to find the ternary model expressed in Shugendō by the triad formed by En no Gyōja and his two demonic acolytes: the blue demon is said to represent the *Taizōkai* Dainichi, the red demon the *Kongōkai* Dainichi, and En no Gyōja himself the *Susiddhi* Dainichi.

Aizen and Fudō eventually became part of Shingon triads. In such triads, the *Susiddhi* function could be fulfilled by another deity such as Amaterasu or Nyoirin. The *Bikisho* 鼻歸書 [Book of Returning to the Origin; composed in 1324], for instance, identifies the triad formed by Aizen, Fudō, and Amaterasu with the cosmological triad consisting of the sun, the moon, and the stars.⁹⁶ Shōkaku 勝覺 (1057–1129), the founder of the Sanbōin branch of Shingon, is said to have conceived a portable shrine, representing a five-tiered *stūpa* flanked by Aizen and Fudō. Above Fudō and Aizen are painted the *Taizōkai* and *Kongōkai maṇḍalas*, while on the ceiling above the *stūpa* is a *maṇḍala* of Butsugen (not Nyoirin) symbolizing nonduality.

One of the main rituals centered on the wish-fulfilling jewel is the Joint Ritual of the Three Worthies (*Sanzon gōgyō-hō* 三尊合行法), created by the Shingon priest Monkan 文觀 (1278–1357). This ritual and its iconographic representation have attracted scholarly attention lately, so I will just mention it here for lack of space.⁹⁷ In

⁹⁵ *Keiran shūyō shū*, T no. 2410, 76: 864a.

⁹⁶ Lucia Dolce has discussed the triad formed by the Aizen-Fudō dyad and a third figure (Nyoirin, Amaterasu, or Kūkai), as an expression of the different stages of ritual practice culminating in a union of opposites. See Dolce, 'Reconsidering the Taxonomy of the Esoteric', 153.

⁹⁷ On this question, see Abe, 'Hōju no katadoru ōken'; Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 210–219; Morris, *The Kinpusen Himitsuden*; and Rappo, 'Tantric Rituals and Imperial Power in Medieval Japan'.

its iconographic descriptions, Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪觀音 (symbol of the jewel) at the center is flanked by Aizen and Fudō, and she unifies their polarity. In this way, the expression ‘One buddha, two *myōō* 一仏二明王’ came to represent the iconographic expression of absolute reality. The three deities also express the tripartite nature of the wish-fulfilling jewels (symbolized by the colors red, white, and golden).

Coda

It is hard to decide whether the symbolic permutations allowed by the notion of *susiddhi* constitute a ‘mythologization’ of the Tendai doctrine or an ‘endoctrination’ of its mythology and ritual. It may be a two-way street in which doctrine and mythology worked hand in hand—as part of a larger cultural and intellectual movement that led to a complete rewriting of Japanese mythology in esoteric Buddhist terms.

One may consider the ternary model, like the invention of the *trinity* according to Jorge Luis Borges, ‘to be more impressive, bolder, more beautiful than that of the sphinx and the centaur.’⁹⁸ At the same time, the triadic structure became the heart of the esoteric Buddhist ideology—and by extension of the imperial ideology (with the Three Regalia). It served as a subliminal way of structuring the world, an a *priori* category or generative schema akin to what Pierre Bourdieu calls a *habitus*, i.e., a vision or *di*-vision of the world that implies power relations. The explicit, orthodox theology of Mikkyō tried to reduce everything to the unity of a central principle (the jewel) by means of binary and ternary structures. Its implicit theology, however, multiplied transversal links, detours, and shortcuts.

I have tried to show how what started out as an almost contingent event, a circumstantial manipulation intended to bolster Saichō’s esoteric credentials, by encountering a latent epistemological

⁹⁸ Dufour, *Les mystères de la Trinité*, 20.

structure—the ternary model—, became a foundational moment in Tendai thought. To be sure, this evolution had already begun in China, in the interval between the time of Huiguo's death in 805 and Faquan's transmission to Ennin and Enchin, in the mid-ninth century. But it is after Ennin that it reached its full scope, becoming an updated form of the Three Truths under the name of *susiddhi*, and extending to virtually all aspects of religious theory and practice, in Tendai as well as in Shingon.

At the same time, what may originally have been an insightful attempt to formulate the problem of transcendence and to escape the constricting nature of binary thinking always risked becoming a static hermeneutic device, losing much of its emancipatory potential in the process. The ternary generative scheme, no longer opening onto radical alterity, tended to become a habitus, an extension of the binary schema, a simulacrum whose textual repetition sounds like a kind of stuttering. One should therefore distinguish between a genuine, always elusive *Susiddhi* and its domesticated counterpart, which is merely a distant echo of the first. This re-presentation or simulacrum, in its ideological effects, becomes hardly distinguishable from the binary model. The nonduality symbolized by this *susiddhi* has become a static, doctrinal one, it is no longer the dynamic nonduality initially aimed at. Perhaps the concept could be expressed by the untranslatable title of Maurice Blanchot's book, *Le pas au-delà* (meaning both 'The Step Beyond' and 'The Step Not Beyond').⁹⁹

And yet, as in the case of the three-body problem, the ternary model mobilized the structure, allowing a new dynamics to take place, producing as it were a third setting in motion of the Dharma-wheel. In the end, the *clinamen* it created between Chinese Tiantai and the Tendai of the Heian period unleashed the symbolic, ritual and mythological creativity of the medieval period, changing the course of Japanese religion. I will elude closure and conclusion by ap-

⁹⁹ Blanchot, *Le Pas au-delà*. Here, the second 'pas' does not mean 'step,' but the negative (hence 'Not-Beyond'). The double-entendre is unfortunately lost in the English translation, Nelson, trans., *The Step Not Beyond*.

plying to the *Susiddhi* the words of St. Paulinus of Nola (354–431) about the Trinity: *Toto coruscat trinitas mysterio* ('The Trinity gleams in full mystery').¹⁰⁰

Bibliography

Abbreviation

T *Taishō shinsbū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 [Buddhist Canon Compiled during the Taishō Era (1912–1926)]. 100 vols. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu & Watanabe et al., eds.

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Foding zunshengxin podiyu zhuan yezhang chusanjie mimi sanshen fogue sanzong xidi zhenyan yigui (Jp. *Butchō sonshō shin hajigoku tengosshō shutsusangai himitsu sanshin bukka sanshu shichchi shingon giki*) 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界秘密三身佛果三種悉地真言儀軌 [The Manual of *Dhāraṇīs* Related to the Three Ranks of *Siddhi* (Which Belong to) the Supreme Mind of the *Buddhoṣṇīsa*, (and Lead to) the Smashing of (the Torments of) Hells, the Transformation of Karma and the Transcending of the Three Realms]. 1 *juan/kan*. Allegedly translated by Śubhakarasiṃha (Shanwuwei 善無畏, 637–735) but probably composed in Japan. *T* no. 906, vol. 18.

Foding zunshengxin podiyu zhuan yezhang chusanjie mimi tuoluoni (Jp. *Butchō sonshō shin hajigoku tengosshō shutsusangai himitsu darani*) 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界秘密陀羅尼 [The Esoteric *Dhāraṇīs* (Which Belong to) the Supreme Mind of the *Buddhoṣṇīsa*, (and Lead to) the Smashing of (the Torments

¹⁰⁰ Quoted by Jorge Luis Borges in Borges, *History of Eternity*, 131.

- of) Hells, the Transformation of Karma and the Transcending of the Three Realms]. 1 *juan/kan*. Allegedly translated by Śubhakarasiṃha (Shanwuwei 善無畏, 637–735) but probably composed in Japan. *T* no. 907, vol. 18.
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