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The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and Its Chinese Interpretation:

The Huayan Understanding of the Concepts of

*Ālayavijñāna* and *Tathāgatagarbha*

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## Introduction

I defended my PhD thesis at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1997. I studied the biography of the fourth patriarch of the Huayan school of Chinese Buddhism, Chengguan, and his central philosophical concept, the theory of the four *dharmadhātus*. I chose this eminent monk because his biography and teachings had received very little scholarly attention in the west. I carefully collated all extant accounts of his life, and wrote his critical biography. My study on his biography was published separately in English under the title *A Religious Leader in the Tang: Chengguan's Biography* by The International Institute for Buddhist Studies in Tokyo. This book has become the standard work of reference on Chengguan in international Buddhist studies, and is regularly cited in works on Chinese Buddhism.

However, it was very clear for me that the scope of my investigation was somewhat narrow in terms of research into the school of Huayan Buddhism, which is regarded as one of the scholastic schools of Chinese Buddhism that flourished under the Tang dynasty. Its patriarchs were influential monks in Chinese society who not only contributed to the development of Chinese Buddhism but also had a considerable impact on the intellectual and political life of China. They were very prolific, writing numerous essays and commentaries which became the legacy of Chinese Buddhism, which has distinct features compared by Indian Buddhism. At the same time Huayan monks were on good terms with rulers and high-ranking officials who were the major contributors to the economic wealth and prestige of the Chinese Buddhist community in Chinese society.

The Huayan school gained its name from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, a voluminous Mahāyāna *sūtra* which was translated under the title *Huayan jing*. The patriarchs of the school regarded this *sūtra* as the ultimate or most perfect teaching of the Buddha; thus they wrote commentaries on this scripture and interpreted its tenets very extensively. After I had defended my thesis my main research orientation was the study of this great Mahāyāna *sūtra* and the way in which the Huayan monks understood its teachings. However, once again the topic is too large and complex: a thorough study would require several life-times. In order to limit the scope of this study I focused my research on two central concepts of Buddhism, the *ālayavijñāna* and the *tathāgatagarbha*. The *ālayavijñāna* is the eighth consciousness in Yogācāra Buddhism, which is said to preserve the karma seeds that can be activated under certain conditions and create the outside world. The *tathāgatagarbha* is the essence/nature of the Buddha inherent in all living beings that enables them to become Buddha in the future.

The Tathāgatagarbha<sup>1</sup> teachings cannot be attributed to a separate school; they often appear along with Yogācāra concepts in Yogācāra scriptures. However, the Chinese Buddhist scholars are regarded as a distinct school. The relationship between *ālayavijñāna* and *tathāgatagarbha* is not very clearly defined or is even ambiguous in Indian Buddhist sources. This problem definitely perplexed Chinese Buddhist thinkers, who attempted to find the ontological source of existence on the basis of their own indigenous tradition. In this thesis I will show how these concepts are or seem to be reflected in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and how these passages related to *ālayavijñāna* and *tathāgatagarbha* are interpreted in the exegetical tradition of Huayan Buddhism. In addition, I study those Huayan tenets that were formulated on the basis of Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha teachings.

Chapter I is an introduction to the history and philosophy of the Huayan school, which gives the background and the context of my main object of research in this thesis. I show that Huayan Buddhism was not only a school of Chinese Buddhism but also exerted considerable influence in East Asia. We find eminent monks in Korea and Japan who adopted Huayan teachings and contributed to the development of Huayan theory and practice. In addition, I introduce the main Huayan tenets i.e. dependent arising of *dharmadhātu*, phenomena and principle, six aspects, ten mysteries, nature origination, the four *dharmadhātus* and the cosmogonic map for Buddhist practice. The concepts of *ālayavijñāna* and *tathāgatagarbha* often appear in these Huayan tenets, which reveals that these concepts played a crucial role in formulating the distinct Huayan tenets.

Chapter II is a study of various aspects of the base text of my research, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Given that all Huayan tenets are supposed to originate from this *sūtra*, it is important to know the history of its compilation. The first section gives an account of different versions of this scripture, the shorter and larger ones. Some chapters of this *sūtra* were translated and circulated as independent *sūtras* before and after the two Chinese and one Tibetan larger versions appeared. The larger version could be finalised by expanding one of the independent *sūtra*, entitled *The fundamental activity of a bodhisattva as related by Buddha* (*Fo shuo pusa benye jing* 佛說菩薩本業經). This *sūtra* can be called a proto-*Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. I compare the chapters of the three larger versions, and make it clear that new chapters were added to the *sūtra* in the later translation. It is important to note that the larger version has not survived in Sanskrit and the Indian Buddhist literature does not cite

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<sup>1</sup> I write *tathāgatagarbha* with a small initial letter if it means the concept of Buddha-nature, but I use a capital letter if it refers to this teaching as a school, even if it cannot be identified as a separate school.

this version, thus it is highly likely that *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* was compiled in Central Asia, probably in Khotan.

The eastern end of the Silk Road which crossed Central Asia was Dunhuang, a flourishing city in terms of trade and various religious traditions. The caves of Dunhuang preserved the memory of this flourishing culture, as wall paintings reveal the development of Buddhism in this region, and the hidden library provide us with an invaluable source of the literary tradition of this city. The *Huayan jing* must have been very popular in Dunhuang as the library preserved numerous copies of this scripture. As in the cases of other popular *sūtras*, the *Huayan jing* served a votive purpose attested by the surviving colophons of these manuscripts. Dunhuang manuscripts are precious sources for philological collation of texts. I selected the chapter *Baowang rulai xingqi pin* 寶王如來性起品, which is a very important text related to the Tathāgatagarbha teaching that I studied in my thesis, to compare the Dunhuang manuscripts with the received text preserved in the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon. Although we cannot find very significant alterations, this collation reveals important features of *sūtra* copying as a religious practice.

Dunhuang manuscripts prove that *Huayan jing* was often copied by pious believers who expected this scripture to have miraculous effects and to guarantee the well-being of the copyist or the donor and his/her family in this or later lives. The miracles related to a *sūtra* created a special genre of literature called “miraculous stories”. The earliest extant collection of miraculous stories related to the *Huayan jing* is the *Account of Stimuli and Responses Related to Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Da fangguang fo huayan ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳), compiled shortly after 783 by Hu Youzhen 胡幽貞 (?-783+). Huayan scholars in their commentaries also included these miraculous stories. Chengguan establishes six categories of circumstances under which these miracles were experienced: 1. translation (*fanyi* 翻譯), 2. writing commentary (*zaolun* 造論), 3. copying (*shuxie* 書寫), 4. recitation (*dusong* 讀誦), 5. meditation (*guanxing* 觀行), and 6. interpretation (*jiangshuo* 講說).

The Chinese commentaries on the *Huayan jing* are my main sources in the study of Huayan interpretation of the concepts of *ālayavijñāna* and the *tathāgatagarbha*. Chapter III discusses the development of Chinese Buddhist commentary-writing, thus providing the context and background of Chinese commentaries on *Huayan jing*. The commentary is a very important genre in Asian cultures: interpreting the ancient texts is an essential intellectual vocation. To understand the characteristics of Chinese Buddhist commentary-writing we have to study both the Indian Buddhist and the Chinese approaches. In Chinese Buddhism there are

‘interlinear commentaries’ (*zhu* 注) and ‘expounding commentaries’ (*shu* 疏). Commentary-writing reached its apogee during the Tang dynasty, when most of our sources were written.

After setting the framework of our research by introducing the Huayan school in East Asia, the history of *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, and the tradition of commentary-writing in Chinese Buddhism, I focus on the concepts of *ālayavijñāna* and *tathāgatagarbha* in Chapter IV, which is divided into four sections. The first gives an account of the reception of Yogācāra teachings in China. The first schools of Yogācāra were the Dilun and Shelun schools, thus they are known as the “old schools” of Yogācāra. These schools inspired by the Tathāgatagarbha teachings agreed that reality can be traced back to an absolute pure source, and claimed that all sentient beings are endowed with Buddha-nature; thus all of them can become Buddha. The appearance of the apocryphal scripture *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, which offers a solution for harmonising Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha teachings, can be related to these schools. However, Xuanzang 玄奘 (600-664), who mastered the authentic Yogācāra teachings in India, challenged the old schools. He accepted neither the existence of a final pure reality, nor the universality of Buddha-nature. His school is called the new school of Yogācāra. The second patriarch of the Huayan school, Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668) defended the achievements of the old schools and criticised Xuanzang’s teachings. This is reflected in his system of Buddhist teachings (*panjiao* 判教), where he ranked Yogācāra as the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna, while Tathāgatagarbha was the advanced teaching of Mahāyāna.

Section two shows those passages in *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and its Huayan interpretations that are or are supposed to be related to Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha teachings. In order to understand the original meaning more clearly I compare the Tibetan texts with the Chinese versions. The most famous slogan that is also connected to Yogācāra by Indian authors is the claim that “the three realms are mind only;” however, it is not certain that the *sūtra* refers to Yogācāra. The next passage that is linked to Yogācāra is a poem that describes mind as a painter. Here, again, it is dubious whether the *sūtra* really explicitly involves Yogācāra teachings. The Huayan commentators used the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* to interpret this poem. The third passage referred to as the metaphor of great *sūtra* is regarded as a precursor of the Tathāgatagarbha teachings. It says that all sentient beings possess the wisdom of the Tathāgata but due to their false thinking they cannot realise it.

After the interpretation of these three passages, in section three I turn my attention to the position of Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha teachings in Huayan Buddhism. The *panjiao*



was one method to relate these teachings. Another method was the usage of two terms Faxiangzong and Faxingzong. The term Faxiangzong was created by Fazang to denote the Yogācāra teachings of Xuanzang, while Faxingzong was formulated by Chengguan to include both Tathāgatagarbha and Madhyamaka teachings. However, I show that Faxiangzong and Faxingzong are more properly interpreted as principles and not as schools, as has been suggested by others. One passage in the *sūtra* about the nature of the Buddha's mind is quite ambiguous. I show how Chengguan interprets this passage in the context of Faxiangzong and Faxingzong. He introduces the two views on this topic: Faxiangzong propounds the pure existence of the Buddha's mind while Faxingzong denies any kinds of existence of the Buddha's mind, as only *tathatā* exists on his level. Chengguan finally proposes the Huayan understanding of this problem, which is the non-obstruction of the existence and non-existence of Buddha's mind. I provide the outline (*kepan* 科判) of this short essay within the commentary. The *kepan* is a Chinese exegetical innovation to structure the original text that is being commented upon. I include the translation of Chengguan's commentary and subcommentary on this passage.

Section four gives an insight into how the Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha teachings were juxtaposed under one rubric in Huayan Buddhism, thus arriving at a synthesis of these tenets. The teaching of ten levels of Consciously-only was originally propounded by Fazang, but was modified by Chengguan and Zongmi. It starts from the classical Yogācāra theory that perception can be divided into a perceiving subject, mind and perceived objects evolved out of mind. Fazang shows that this duality of perception can be deconstructed step by step, first arriving at *ālayavijñāna* on the fourth level, and then at *tathāgatagarbha* on the fifth level. On the sixth level the process of reconstruction starts by stating that all phenomena evolve out of the pure Absolute. The next four levels describe the world that can be traced back to a pure entity using Huayan terms. These phenomena are identical with the Absolute, mutually included, identical with each other, and interdependent. I show that later patriarchs, Chengguan and Zongmi significantly modified Fazang's theory in order to emphasise their own philosophical and religious conviction. The other important Huayan innovation is the tenet of nature-origination. This term can be found in the title of a chapter of the 60-fascicle *Huayan jing*, the *Nature Origination of the Jewel King Tathāgata*. Thus this chapter, as we saw above, teaches that living beings inherently possess the Buddha's wisdom. Although the word *tathāgatagarbha* cannot be found here, this chapter was circulated as an independent *sūtra* before the compilation of the *Huayan jing* and can be regarded as a precursor to the Tathāgatagarbha teachings. Although the word nature is a Chinese interpolation, the term

nature-origination became very important in Huayan philosophy. I compare the Chinese and the Tibetan occurrences of this term in the *Huayan jing* and study its original meaning in the scripture. I show how the term nature-origination was elaborated by the Huayan patriarchs. I make a very clear parallel between the *sūtra* and the Huayan tenet of nature-origination. Nature-origination describes how the world of phenomena evolves out of the Absolute. This is very close to the original intent of the *sūtra* which shows how the Tathāgata, the representation of the Absolute world, becomes manifested in the world of phenomena in order to teach living beings and help them to leave the world of suffering.

The issue of how to leave the world of suffering is intimately related to the question of religious practice which is treated in chapter VI. The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is said to describe the religious practice in fifty two stages, starting from initial faith up to complete enlightenment. It provides a gradual path to enlightenment. However, one passage of the *sūtra* says that at the stage of initial faith the bodhisattva experiences complete enlightenment. This sudden enlightenment seems to be in contradiction with the gradual path of fifty two stages. Fazang and Chengguan solved this contradiction by explaining the stages from two aspects: gradual (*cidi xingbu* 次第行布) and mutual interfusion (*yuanrong xiangshe* 圓融相攝). Chengguan, influenced by Chan Buddhism, proposed four models of cultivation and enlightenment. He emphasised the importance of gradual cultivation even after the sudden enlightenment, which became the standard model for his disciple Zongmi. The famous Huayan lay hermit Li Tongxuan stressed the importance of faith in the identity of living beings with Buddha. His teaching had a great impact on the development of Chan Buddhism.

At the end of my thesis two appendixes can be found. The first is a list of the works that Chengguan cites in his commentary and subcommentary. This list sheds light on a commentator's erudition during the Tang period. It proves that a commentary can transcend the scope of a mere explanation of a scripture: by incorporating the Buddhist and non-Buddhist knowledge of its age it can become a Buddhist encyclopaedia. The other appendix is a sample of the diplomatic edition of the Tibetan text of the chapter Manifestation of the Tathāgata, which is referred to frequently in my thesis. I have been working on this project for several years, and I compared the following editions of the text: London, Berlin, Derge, Kawaguchi, Lhasa, Narthang, Nyingma, Peking, Phug brag, Stog. The whole edition is about two hundred pages, thus here I provide only the famous passage on the inherent existence of Tathāgata's wisdom. This edition of the Tibetan text will be published by the International

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## II. The Avatamsaka school in East Asia and its central concepts

## 1. Famous masters

The Huayan 華嚴 school is a special East Asian form of Buddhism that reflects the East Asian understanding of Indian Buddhism; it took its name from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, which was translated into Chinese under the title of *Huayan jing*. This school is famous for its elaborate metaphysical and ontological system of thought, which exerted a great influence on the later development of Chinese Buddhism and Chinese philosophy. Even Chan Buddhism, known for its emphasis on meditation and practice, is indebted to the profound philosophy of Huayan Buddhism, which entails a special insight into the world of phenomena from the perspective of an enlightened being. The masters of this school were prominent figures of society who became the teachers of rulers and aristocrats, and thus played an important role in the social and religious world of East Asia.

The Huayan school flourished in China during the Tang dynasty (618-907), when the five patriarchs of the school lived. The lineage of five patriarchs was established during the Song period (960-1279). They were Du Shun 杜順 (557-640), Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668), Fazang 法藏 (643-712), Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839) and Zongmi 宗密 (780-841). Du Shun and Zhiyan represent the early period when the basic ideas and concepts of Huayan philosophy were formulated. In the classical period, Fazang further elaborated and systematised the innovations of the early period. In the late period indigenous Chinese thought and Chan Buddhism had a considerable impact on Huayan philosophy.

Du Shun is regarded as the first patriarch of the Huayan school; according to his biographies he did not focus on the exegetical study of the scriptures, especially of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, but became famous as a miracle-worker. When Zhiyan was twelve years old, Du Shun accepted him as his disciple. He also studied under masters of the Dilun and Shelun schools. After receiving a broad education in Buddhist literature, he chose *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* by chance as his major text to study. Dissatisfied with the earlier interpretation, he formulated his own, including such features as the ten mysteries. Fazang, the third patriarch of the Huayan school, under the patronage of Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690-705), was able to increase the influence of Huayan school in Chinese society. Nonetheless, he was not only a philosopher but also played an important role in the political-

religious struggles of his age and was involved in all kinds of religious activities.<sup>2</sup> Chengguan studied under various Buddhist masters, and thus accumulated a vast knowledge of Buddhist doctrine and practice that he used to interpret the teaching of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* in his commentaries.<sup>3</sup> Zongmi was not only the patriarch of the Huayan school, but also of the Chan school, thus he created a synthesis of these two schools.

Another famous master of the Huayan school was Huiyuan 慧苑 (673-743), Fazang's disciple, who was severely criticized by Chengguan because he had modified Fazang's system too radically. Supposedly, it was because of this criticism that he could not become part of the orthodox Huayan lineage. The other eminent figure of Huayan Buddhism is Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635-730), the lay hermit who gave an original explanation of the sūtra. He emphasized meditation on the light emanating from Buddha. Li Tongxuan had a considerable impact on Song Buddhism.<sup>4</sup> During the Song dynasty there was a revival of Huayan studies by the so-called "four masters" (Daoting 道亭, Shihui 師會 (1102-1166), Xidi 希迪, Guanfu 觀復), but their main contributions were the commentaries on the works of Tang masters that they wrote.

The Huayan school spread to Korea and Japan.<sup>5</sup> Ūisang 義湘 (625-702), a monk of Silla, went to China and studied Huayan under Zhiyan. He kept up his friendship with his fellow disciple Fazang after his return to Korea, as is reflected in their correspondence, which has survived.<sup>6</sup> He founded the Hwaōm school in Korea, and established several monasteries to spread the Hwaōm teachings. His most famous work is the *Diagram of Dharma-dhātu according to One Vehicle of Hwaōm*. The other eminent scholar in Korea was Wōnhyo 元曉 (617-686), who did not formally join the Hwaōm school but was strongly influenced by its ideas. His commentary on the *Awakening of Faith* has become a very influential work in East Asian Buddhism. Chinul 知訥 (1158-1210) created a synthesis of Hwaōm theory and Sōn practice, which became normative in Korean Buddhism, with the result that Hwaōm philosophy still plays an important role in Korean Buddhism.

Huayan (*Kegon* in Japanese) teaching was introduced to Japan by the Korean monk Simsang 審祥, who gave a lecture on *Huayan jing* to Emperor Shōmu 聖武 (r. 724-749) in 740. Rōben 良辯 established the Kegon school as one of the eight schools of Nara Buddhism. Under the influence of Huayan Buddhism Emperor Shōmu ordered the casting of a statue of

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<sup>2</sup> Chen 2007.

<sup>3</sup> Hamar 2002.

<sup>4</sup> Gimello 1983

<sup>5</sup> Poceski 2004.

<sup>6</sup> Forte 2000.

Vairocana Buddha, the principal Buddha of Huayan Buddhism, which was consecrated in the Tōdaiji temple in 752. Subsequently, the temple became the centre and the symbol of Kegon Buddhism. Two famous Kegon monks of the Kamakura period (1185-1333) were Myōe Kōben 明惠高弁 (1173-1232) and Gyōnen 凝然 (1240-1321). Li Tongxuan's writings on the meditation on Buddha's light strongly influenced Myōe, who was trained as a Shingon monk. His temple, Kōzanji 高山寺, in the outskirts of Kyoto became the centre of Kegon Buddhism. Gyōnen was a Kegon monk of great erudition, he was also well versed in the teachings of other schools. His *Outline of the Eight Schools*, which provides a summary of the doctrines of the major Japanese Buddhist schools, has remained a popular book to the present day.

## 2. Central concept: the *dharmadhātu* dependent arising

One of the best-known concepts of Huayan Buddhism is *dharmadhātu* dependent arising. Buddha originally taught the doctrine of dependent arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*) to show the cause of suffering, which is ignorance, and to explain how to eliminate it. In Abhidharma philosophy it became the law that coordinates the existence of *dharmas*, but in Madhyamika, which denied the real existence of *dharmas*, it served as a proof for their emptiness. According to Fazang, the third patriarch of the school, the doctrine of dependent arising became ever more perfected from Hīnayāna to Huayan. The four stages of its development are: 1. karma causation (*yegan yuanqi* 業感緣起); 2. *ālayavijñāna* causation (*laiye yuanqi* 賴耶緣起); 3. *tathagātagarbha* causation (*rulaijang yuanqi* 如來藏緣起); 4. *dharmadhātu* dependent arising (*fajie yuanqi* 法界緣起).<sup>7</sup> The famous metaphor of the *dharmadhātu* dependent arising is Indra's net, which is described by Francis Cook as follows:

Far away in the heavenly abode of the great god Indra, there is a wonderful net which has been hung by some cunning artificer in such a manner that it stretches out infinitely in all directions. In accordance with the extravagant tastes of deities, the artificer has hung a single glittering jewel in each "eye" of the net, and since the net itself is infinite in dimension, the jewels are infinite in number. There hang the jewels, glittering like stars in the first magnitude, a wonderful sight to behold. If we now arbitrarily select one of these jewels for inspection and look closely at it, we will discover that in its polished surface there are reflected *all* the other jewels in the net, infinite in

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<sup>7</sup> Lai 1977:248-259

number. Not only that, but each of the jewels reflected in this one jewel is also reflecting all the other jewels, so that there is an infinite reflecting process occurring.<sup>8</sup>

The dependent arising of *dharmadhātu* is a Sinitic understanding of the theory of Buddhist causation, which cannot be found in Indian Buddhism; however, the main scripture of the Huayan school, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, includes similar ideas that were interpreted by the Chinese Huayan masters as the teaching of *dharmadhātu* dependent arising. The Huayan masters meticulously explained these passages, and created their own description of the world where the practitioners live and the realm of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas that is attained through spiritual cultivation. They formulated tenets such as the ten mysteries, the identity and interpenetration of phenomena, nature origination, the four *dharmadhātus* and so on in order to reveal the hidden relationship among phenomena and to show their origin. However, all these theoretical constructs are not only intended to provide a description of the phenomenal world, but also have profound consequences for spiritual cultivation and the realization of enlightenment. The final goal is to trace back the pure source of all phenomena; that is, to achieve the pure mind through Buddhist practice. Once this state has been attained the practitioner, who in that moment becomes enlightened, spontaneously gains an insight into the *dharmadhātu*, which is the true way in which all phenomena exist. In addition, when formulating the theory of *dharmadhātu* in Chinese Buddhism, the influence of indigenous Chinese thinking also must be taken into consideration.

### 3. Scriptural basis

The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is one of the most voluminous Mahāyāna *sūtra*; its English translation is about 1500 pages long.<sup>9</sup> This scripture is regarded as the most perfect description of the truth realized by Buddha in his enlightenment under the bodhi tree. The first scene of the *sūtra* is the very moment Buddha reached enlightenment, when flowers and jewels are raining from the sky while innumerable bodhisattvas, spirits, and other creatures arrive to praise his supernatural capacity to appear in the world in all kinds of ways to teach the *Dharma*. Next, Buddha, not leaving his original place under the bodhi tree, is able to manifest himself in a second location, and next, without moving from the first two locations he appears in the third place. This is repeated in seven locations. He teaches in three human places (the place of enlightenment, the Hall of Universal Light, Anātha-piṇḍa-dasyārāmaḥ)

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<sup>8</sup> Cook 1977: 2

<sup>9</sup> Cleary 1993



and four heavenly realms (the heavenly realm of thirty-three gods on the Peak of Sumeru, the palace of the god Suyāma, Tuṣita, the Palace of Paranirmita-vaśavartin). This multiplication of the Buddha might have affected the title of the *sūtra*. As Ōtake Susumu showed, the term *buddhāvataṃsaka* meant the miracle that Buddha performed in his contest with the heretic teachers: the miraculous multiplication of his body.<sup>10</sup> This title underlines the profoundly visual and imaginative nature of the text. In the *sūtra* Buddha preaches in these seven locations, but in fact, he teaches through bodhisattvas who gain empowerment through light emitted from the Buddha.

Today there are three major versions of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*: the first Chinese translation, which came to be called the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing* and was made by Buddhahadra in 421, the second Chinese translation, the eighty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, translated by Śikṣānanda in 699, and the Tibetan translation, completed in the first quarter of the ninth century by two Indian masters, Jinamitra and Surendrabodhi, as well as the Tibetan master Ye-shes-sde.<sup>11</sup> The texts of these three major versions are not identical, as new chapters were added to the later translations, and the division of chapters also differs. However, several chapters of this major *sūtra* were circulated independently before the appearance of the whole translation, and some chapters, probably due to their popularity, were translated again as independent *sūtras* after the translation of the whole *sūtra*.

The chapters of the *sūtra* revolves around two central topics: the eulogy of Buddha's abilities and his appearance in the world as a teacher, and the description of the bodhisattva's career. The two most famous chapters of the *sūtras*, the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* and the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, which are preserved in Sanskrit, are concerned with the second theme. The *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* describes the bodhisattva's path from his/her vow to liberate all living beings from suffering to enlightenment in ten stages (1. happiness, 2 detachment from defilements, 3. emitting light, 4. radiant wisdom, 5. difficult to overcome, 6. presence, 7. distant journey, 8. not moving, 9. excellent wisdom, 10. *dharma*-cloud). The *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* depicts the spiritual quest of a young boy named Sudhana, who visits fifty-three spiritual friends from all walks of life. Finally he enters the tower of Maitreya, where he has an insight into the realm of reality. Another important chapter of the *sūtra* describes the Lotus-womb realm, which is the pure land of Vairocana Buddha. Like the earth in Buddhist cosmology, the ocean of this pure land depends on wind-circles, and a giant lotus flower, which includes this pure land, grows out of this ocean; this is why it is called Lotus-womb

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<sup>10</sup> Ōtake 2007

<sup>11</sup> Hamar 2007

realm. This world is square, flat, surrounded by diamond mountains, inhabited by living beings. The realm includes innumerable Buddha-lands, and the *sūtra* lists the names of some lands, oceans and Buddhas. In this way this Lotus-womb realm itself reaches cosmic dimensions. This chapter played a key role in establishing Huayan religious practice, as a society of believers took a vow to be reborn in the Lotus-womb realm.

#### 4. Pure and impure dependent arising of *dharma-dhātu*

Zhiyan summarises the dependent arising from two points of view. The first is the explanation of dependent arising from the perspective of ordinary defiled *dharma*s, and the second is the treatment of dependent arising from the perspective of the pure bodhi. This interpretation seems to be in harmony with the early tenet of dependent arising, which describes how suffering originates from ignorance and how liberation from the chain of *samsāra* can be attained through the elimination of ignorance.

Defiled dependent arising has two aspects: 1. dependent arising of one-mind (*yuanqi yixin* 緣起一心), and 2. support of one-mind (*yichi yixin* 依持一心). The dependent arising of one-mind is divided into three aspects. The first of these, the dependent arising of absolute and false (*zhenwang yuanqi* 真妄緣起) shows the lack of distinction between absolute and false while the *ālayavijñāna* creates the phenomenal world. The second aspect, inclusion of fundamental into derivative (*sheben congmo* 攝本從末), emphasizes the process through which the *ālayavijñāna* creates the phenomenal world, while the third aspect, inclusion of derivative into the fundamental (*shemo congben* 攝末從本), underlines the existence of absolute mind behind the phenomenal world. The meaning of the other aspect of the defiled dependent arising, "support of one mind" is that the six and the seventh consciousnesses are formed on the basis of *ālayavijñāna*.<sup>12</sup>

While the *dharma-dhātu* impure dependent arising elaborates the manifestation of the phenomenal world from the pure mind, the *dharma-dhātu* of pure dependent arising describes how one can achieve the pure source that created all phenomena. Pure dependent arising has four aspects: 1. innate (*benyou* 本有), 2. innate and generated by cultivation (*benyou xiusheng* 本有修生), 3. generated by cultivation (*xiusheng* 修生), 4. generated by cultivation

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<sup>12</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shouxuan fenqi tongzhi fangui* 大方廣佛華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌, CBETA, T35, no. 1732, p. 63, b1-c6.

and innate (*xiusheng benyou* 修生本有).<sup>13</sup> In terms of early Buddhism, pure dependent arising is the reversal of the twelve members of dependent arising, the cessation of suffering through awakening. The first aspect, innate awakening, means that the essence of this pure dependent arising is ineffable. All living beings are endowed with the Buddha-nature; that is, they all have the capacity to become Buddha. The second aspect shows that pure *dharmas* are not only innate but can also be generated by religious cultivation. Even if this practice is based on various conditions, and thus cannot be absolute like the innate Buddha-nature, the wisdom realized through this practice is closely associated with absolute nature, and in this sense we cannot say that something new is born out of cultivation. The third aspect refers to all those pure *dharmas*, like faith, that are generated by religious cultivation. In contrast with the previous aspect, where the goal of practice, i.e. realization of wisdom and its relationship with the original enlightenment, are discussed, here the pure *dharmas* generated before the attainment of enlightenment are emphasized. The fourth aspect reveals that even if living beings are endowed with *tathāgatagarbha*, they are not aware of their great capacities. In this respect, the Buddha-nature is so well hidden that it seems to be not existent. Only when non-discriminating wisdom is realized after cultivation does this hidden absolute nature become manifested.

As we saw above, here Zhiyan meticulously studied various aspects of the innate buddha-nature and the enlightenment realized by cultivation. He states that in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* only the aspects "generated by cultivation" and "generated by cultivation and innate" are introduced, while the other two aspects, which underline that buddha-nature is innate and the wisdom realized through practice is not different from buddha-nature, are represented in the chapter *Nature-origination of Tathāgata (Manifestation of Tathāgata)*. Here Zhiyan touches upon a very important topic in Mahāyāna Buddhism that is often discussed in Chinese Buddhism. If all living beings are endowed with Buddha-nature, i.e. they are enlightened from the beginning, why should they bother about any kind of spiritual cultivation? If Buddhahood is attained, there is nothing to be attained, thus they do not need any kind of religious cultivation. In the Chan movement this kind of rhetoric can be found, but the scholastic Huayan school took a very clear stance on the issue. Spiritual cultivation is necessary, it cannot be given up because of the inherent Buddha-nature. First of all, Zhiyan makes it very clear that the *tathāgatagarbha* is only latent, and cultivation is the way to make it visible and efficacious. The other question raised by Zhiyan is the relationship between the

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<sup>13</sup> Gimello 1976: 437-440.

inherent Buddha-nature and wisdom realized through cultivation. Even if Zhiyan seems to credit the original enlightenment with a higher position, he argues that wisdom which grows out of the phenomenal world in fact shares the same nature with original enlightenment.

## 5. Phenomena and principle

Du Shun's main philosophical contribution to Huayan Buddhism is elaborated in his work entitled *Discernments of the dharma-dhātu of the Avataṃsaka* (*Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門). This essay is divided into three sections: 1. Discernments of true emptiness (*zhenkong guanfa* 真空觀法), 2. Discernment of the mutual non-obstruction of principle and phenomena (*lishi wuai guan* 理事無礙觀), 3. Discernment of total pervasion and accommodation (*zhoubian hanrong guan* 周遍含容觀).<sup>14</sup> The first discernment is the explanation of the important Mahāyāna tenet that *dharmas* do not have essential existence, thus they are empty. Here Du Shun refutes three erroneous views regarding the identity of form and emptiness. He states that emptiness is not identical with annihilation, it does not exist as a quality of a thing, and it is not an entity apart from form. Du Shun's final conclusion is that form and emptiness are "non-obstructive". Finally, Du Shun encourages his readers to practice meditation in order to realize the meaning of identity of form and emptiness. This discussion remains within the framework of Indian Buddhist concepts.

However, the second section introduces new nomenclature, the terms phenomena (*shi* 事) and principle (*li* 理). Du Shun explains their relationship from ten aspects: 1. Principle pervades phenomena 2. Each phenomenon pervades principle 3. Phenomena are formed by principle 4. Phenomena can reveal principle 5. Phenomena are sublated by principle 6. Phenomena can conceal principle 7. True principle is identical with phenomena 8. Each phenomenon is identical with principle 9. True principle is not a phenomenon 10. Phenomena are not principle. By introducing these new terms the discussion of Indian Mahāyāna concept gains new perspectives. First of all, the term "principle" lacks the negative connotation of emptiness, which can cause problems during religious practice, and thus provides a more affirmative view of the reality the practitioner is supposed to see. In early Buddhism the theory of *dharmas* was a useful method to refute the idea that a substantial ego exists behind phenomena. This theory revealed that the *dharmas* were the ultimate reality, and no

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<sup>14</sup> Gimello 1976b.

substantial ego was to be found. However, Mahāyāna Buddhism went one step further and also refuted the existence of *dharmas* as ultimate reality. Thus it is meaningless to make a difference between the *dharmas* and the composite of *dharmas*, as they are both empty, in the sense that they do not have any substantial existence. The substitution of form (*rūpa*), one of the *dharmas*, with phenomena very clearly reflects this shift in Mahāyāna philosophy. Not only are the terms redefined, but the relationship between them is also reconsidered. In addition to the identity of the two terms, we learn that they also simultaneously pervade, constitute, reveal, conceal, and abolish each other.

The third section, "Discernment of Total Pervasion and Accommodation" is divided into ten specific discernments: 1. Principle as phenomena 2. Phenomena as principle 3. Each phenomenon subsumes the mutual non-obstruction of principle and phenomena 4. The diffuse and the local are mutually non-obstructive 5. The broad and the narrow are mutually non-obstructive 6. Pervading and including are mutually non-obstructive 7. Containing and entering are mutually non-obstructive 8. Interpenetration is without obstruction 9. Coexistence is without obstruction 10. Universal interfusion is without obstruction. From the third discernment the principle is dropped, and only phenomena are described, underlining that phenomena inherently include principle. In addition, the third discernment also explains the relationship between phenomena by showing that all phenomena are mutually interpenetrated.

#### 6. Six aspects and ten mysteries

Once Zhiyan met a strange monk who advised him to meditate in seclusion on the six aspects (*liu xiang* 六相) of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*. He accepted this advice, and finally understood all teachings.<sup>15</sup> The six aspects is one of the famous Huayan doctrine which depicts the dependent arising of *dharma-dhātu*. Each phenomenon can contain (*zong* 總) all others while remaining distinct (*bie* 別), can be similar (*tong* 同) to all others while being different (*yi* 異), it can establish (*cheng* 成) the whole and can destroy (*huai* 壞) the whole. This shows that every phenomenon is simultaneously related to every other one in these six ways.

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<sup>15</sup> Gimello 1976a: 46-56, 130-212.

The other famous concept of Huayan Buddhism is the ten mysterious gates which was elaborated by Zhiyan in his work "Ten mysterious gates of the unitary vehicle of the Huayan".<sup>16</sup> This teaching was developed by Fazang. The foundation of this doctrine seems to be based on the ten principles in "Discernment of Total Pervasion and Accommodation" put forward by Du Shun.

The ten mysteries show the relationship among various *dharmas*. The last chapter of Fazang's seminal work on five teachings discusses this topic.<sup>17</sup> Fazang first establishes ten pairs of *dharmas*: 1. teaching and meaning, 2. principle and phenomena, 3. understanding and practice, 4. cause and result, 5. man and *dharmas*, 6. differences among objects and religious practices, 7. *Dharma* and wisdom, master and disciple, 8. two kinds of karmic reward of primary (Buddha) and attendants (bodhisattvas). 9. the capacity (of living beings) and the manifestation (of Buddhas and bodhisattvas in accord with capacities), 10. direct and indirect methods of teaching, essence and function. These ten pairs of *dharmas* totally include the infinite *dharmas*. Next, Fazang explains the relationship of these pairs from ten perspectives, which he calls ten mysterious gates: 1. simultaneous inclusion and correspondence, 2. one and many are mutually inclusive and different, 3. all *dharmas* are mutually identical freely, 4. the realm of the Indra's net, 5. subtle *dharmas* include others through their establishment, 6. hidden and manifested are accomplished simultaneously, 7. all *dharmas* have the quality of pure and impure, 8. the separated *dharmas* of ten times are completed variously, 9. excellent establishment of all *dharmas* through the transformation of consciousness-only, 10. reach understanding about the truth manifested through phenomena.

The first aspect is simultaneous inclusion and correspondence, which is a general feature of the *dharmas*, while the other nine aspects are particular descriptions. The first aspect shows that all *dharmas* simultaneously correspond to and include each other without any confusion. The second aspect is that the one and many mutually contain each other yet they are different. As the second aspect emphasizes that the *dharmas* can penetrate into each other (*xiangru* 相入), the third aspect underlines the identity of *dharmas* (*xiangji* 相即). The fourth aspect is the realm of the Indra net which is the symbol of the infinite relations among *dharmas*. In fact this fourth aspect does not add any new content to the first three aspects, but clarifies them using the well-known symbol from Buddhist literature. The fifth aspect shows that subtle and tiny *dharmas* can contain all other *dharmas* and they play an important role in establishing all other *dharmas*. Just as a single thought instant can include all *dharmas*, or the

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<sup>16</sup> Cleary 1983: 125-146.

<sup>17</sup> Liu 1979: 431-444, Cook 1970: 494-527.

tip of a single hair can include all Buddha-lands. The sixth aspect reveals that a *dharma* can be manifested and hidden simultaneously: depending on whether it is regarded from the aspect of determining other *dharmas* or being determined by other *dharmas*, it is manifested or hidden. The seventh aspect defines the relationship of *dharmas* in terms of their pure or mixed nature. As *dharmas* both contain and are contained they are called "storehouse" (*zang* 藏). When a *dharma* determines other *dharmas* with its essence, it is called pure, and when it is determined by other *dharmas*, it is called mixed. The eighth aspect extends the principle of mutual interpenetration and identity to the ten times. Past, present and future are each divided into past, present and future, thus we have nine times. The tenth time is their integrity. As *dharmas* are located in ten times, the principles of identity and interpenetration also apply to the ten times. The ninth aspect underlies the origin of all *dharmas* which are established through the transformation of consciousness-only. The word excellent confirms the final purity of *dharmas* as their existence can be traced back to the Absolute mind. Here, Fazang explicitly relates Huayan teaching to the old school of Yogācāra in China, which argued for the universal existence of immaculate consciousness. The final aspect shows that the practitioner can gain insight into the final reality by understanding that all *dharmas* originate from Absolute mind.

The ten aspects explained above are called the "old ten mysteries" (*gu shixuan* 古十玄), as Fazang later made some alterations to the the names and order of the gates, which came to be known as the "new ten mysteries" (*xin shixuan* 新十玄). He dropped the seventh and ninth mysteries, and introduced the freedom and non-obstruction of breadth and narrowness, and the primary and secondary are perfectly bright and embody all qualities. The former is parallel with the eighth mystery in the old mysteries which emphasizes time, while here space is in focus. The latter clarifies that we can select one *dharma* from the universe and regard it as primary, while all other *dharmas* are primary. They can change their roles, and thus can have all qualities.

## 7. Nature origination

As we saw above, the theory of ten mysterious gates described the relationship among *dharmas*, and even if the ninth gate of the "old ten mysteries" showed that all *dharmas* ultimately originate from Absolute mind, this aspect was not emphasized in the "new ten

mysteries". However, another essential Huayan doctrine, nature origination (*xingqi* 性起), revealed this important feature of phenomenal existence. The term "nature origination" was adopted from the title of the thirty-second chapter of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*. This chapter relates the Buddha's manifestation in the world. Huayan exegetes gave a special interpretation of this term in their works explaining the meaning of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.<sup>18</sup> We are going to discuss this topic in details.

#### 8. The four *dharma-dhātus*

As we saw above, Fazang was concerned with the explanation of phenomenal existence from two points of view. First, he elaborated the harmonious coexistence of phenomena by propounding the tenet of ten mysteries, second he underlined the reason why all phenomena can be identical and interpenetrated, which is their common origination from Absolute mind, depicted by the tenet of nature origination. The fourth patriarch of the Huayan school, Chengguan (738-839) proposed the theory of four *dharma-dhātus* which is a synthesis of these two theories. The four *dharma-dhātus* are: the *dharma-dhātu* of phenomena, the *dharma-dhātu* of principle, the *dharma-dhātu* of non-obstruction of phenomena and principle, and the *dharma-dhātu* of non-obstruction of phenomena. Chengguan explains the four *dharma-dhātus* in terms of the meaning of "*dhātu*". He states that the *dhātu* has two meanings: the first it something that is divided, and the second it is nature. Using the philological analysis of this term, he relates *dharma-dhātu* to phenomena because they are divided and the principle which refers to Buddha nature or Absolute nature. As this one term includes both meanings, the two meanings intermingle, and this is the *dharma-dhātu* of phenomena and principle. Then he emphasizes that these two aspects, phenomenal existence and Absolute nature, cannot be separated; they cannot exist without each other. Finally, Chengguan confirms that the *dharma-dhātu* of non-obstruction of phenomena can be established because all phenomena are endowed with Absolute nature.

*Dharma* means the upholding law. The *dhātu* has two meanings: from the aspect of phenomena it means something that is divided (*fen* 分), because phenomena are divided and different. On the other hand it means the nature (*xing* 性) from the perspective of the *dharma-dhātu* of principle, because the nature of the *dharma*s is immutable. These two [meanings] intermingle, and thus the *dharma-dhātu* of phenomena and principle comes into being. Phenomena are produced while

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<sup>18</sup> Hamar 2007.



attached to the principle, the principle is manifested through the phenomena. If the phenomena and the principle cease to exist together, then both the phenomena and the principle perish. If the phenomena and the principle arise together, then they are the permanent phenomena and the permanent principle. The fourth [*dharmadhātu*] is the *dharmadhātu* of non-obstruction of phenomena, which means that the principle includes phenomena.<sup>19</sup>

In Chengguan's time Chan Buddhism had considerable influence on Chinese society and religious life; he studied under several Chan masters, and this is reflected in Chengguan's writings. This is the reason for the modification of the *dharmadhātu* theory in later Huayan thought. While Fazang emphasized the mutual identity and interpenetration of all phenomena, Chengguan and his disciple, Zongmi (780-841), who was not only the fifth patriarch of the Huayan school but also a patriarch of the Chan school, emphasized the origin of all phenomena, the Absolute pure source, and its importance in establishing the harmonious coexistence of all phenomena. As meditation was the essential practice in Chan Buddhism, Chengguan also elaborated the special Huayan meditation, the Huayan *samādhi*, by establishing ten levels of discernment and relating them to the four *dharmadhātus*.

1. The marks return to reality
2. Realization of reality by extinction of marks
3. The non-obstruction of marks and reality
4. Marks include things originated
5. Conditionally originated things mutually interfuse
6. Contents of tiny things
7. The mutual identity of one and many
8. The interrelatedness of Indra's net
9. The perfect interfusion of host and guests
10. The equality of result-ocean.<sup>20</sup>

Chengguan states that these ten levels of discernment contain the four *dharmadhātus*. The first and second are the *dharmadhātu* of principle, the third is the *dharmadhātu* of non-obstruction of phenomena and principle, the fourth is the *dharmadhātu* of phenomena, the

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<sup>19</sup> *Da Huayan jing celüe* 大華嚴經略策, T 36, no. 1737, p. 707, c9-15.

<sup>20</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing sui shu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T 36, no. 1736, p. 271, a20-23.

fifth to ninth comprise the *dharmadhātu* of non-obstruction of phenomena and phenomena, the tenth links together the previous four *dharmadhātus*.

### 9. The cosmogonic map for Buddhist practice

As we saw above, Chengguan emphasized the metaphysical and ontological aspect of *dharmadhātu*, and since he borrowed the words and maybe also the concept from the Laozi, indigenous Chinese thinking had a great impact on the meaning of the term *dharmadhātu*. Zongmi, who was Chengguan's disciple, was indebted to his master in many respects, but also made his own contribution to the development of Huayan Buddhism. First of all he included the non-Buddhist teachings, Confucianism and Daoism, in his own system of classification of teachings (*panjiao* 判教), acknowledging their possible merits on the religious path.<sup>21</sup> In addition, as a patriarch of Chan Buddhism, he underscored the Buddhist practice in Huayan Buddhism, thus he elaborated the *dharmadhātu* concept from the perspective of Buddhist practice.

Combining Chengguan's concept of one true *dharmadhātu* and the teachings of the *Awakening of Faith*, he proposed a five-stage theory of phenomenal evolution.<sup>22</sup> This theory explains how the world of defilements, as it is experienced by ordinary people, evolves out of an intrinsically pure and enlightened ontological source. Zongmi's cosmological map, which reveals the ontological basis for all phenomena, serves a soteriological purpose. Buddha taught the twelve-link chain of dependent arising in order to provide a method for practitioners to break free from the bondage of *samsāra*. Zongmi propounded his five-stage cosmological process to reach the same aim.

The first stage of the evolution is the ultimate source of all phenomena, the one mind which is also called wondrous mind of perfect enlightenment, and the one true *dharmadhātu*, terms that originate from the *tathāgatagarbha* concept of Mahāyāna. This is the ontological source of all phenomena, and this is the source to which the practitioner returns through attaining enlightenment. In the second stage, the originally pure mind divides into two aspects: the mind as suchness (*xin zhenru* 心真如) and the mind subject to birth-and-death (*xin shengmie* 心生滅). The first aspect is unchanging, while the second aspect is able to

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<sup>21</sup> Gregory 1995.

<sup>22</sup> Gregory 1991:173-187.

conditionally originate, and thus is able to manifest itself in the phenomenal world. It is an important difference between the Yogācāra propounded by Xuanzang and the Huayan school which was based on the old Yogācāra schools (Dilun 地論, Shelun 攝論). The new Yogācāra school did not accept the tenet that the Absolute, or *tathatā* has anything to do with the *samsāra*.<sup>23</sup> At this point the philosophical question arises of how the intrinsically pure mind becomes defiled. If ignorance is the cause, then where does it come from? Does it have a separate ontological source? The Huayan tradition believes that it does not, but is manifested from the same pure ontological source.<sup>24</sup> The third stage describes the two modes of *ālayavijñāna*: enlightened and unenlightened. Pure *dharmas* originate from the enlightened mode, while impure *dharmas* are produced from the unenlightened mode. The fourth stage is the three subtle phenomenal appearances, namely activation or the activity of ignorance, the perceiving subject, and the perceived object. The activity of ignorance is the first thought based on the unenlightened mode of *ālayavijñāna*, which results in the manifestation of consciousness as subject and object. The fifth stage is the six coarse phenomenal appearances, namely, discrimination, continuation, attachment, conceptual elaboration, generating karma, suffering of karmic bondage. The final stage shows how the generation of subject and object leads to the attachment to *dharmas*, and eventually to all sufferings.

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<sup>23</sup> Lai 1986.

<sup>24</sup> Gregory 1986.

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III. The base text: The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*

1. The History of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*: Shorter and Larger Texts

In the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon, one can find the *Huayan* section (*huayan bu* 華嚴部) in part two of volume nine as well as in volume ten. It does not merely contain the so-called “original or complete translations” of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (T 278. and T 279., known in Chinese as *benbu* 本部), but also freestanding translations of works corresponding to certain of the chapters in these larger works (referred to in Chinese as *zhipin* 支品),<sup>25</sup> as well as works which do not correspond to any of the chapters but were presumably written under the influence of the *Huayan* works and were thus traditionally considered to be *Huayan*-related works (*juanshu jing* 眷屬經). The Chinese terms *ben* 本 (root, origin) and *zhi* 支 (branch, descendent) clearly imply that according to the Chinese tradition the freestanding translations originate from a “complete” *sūtra* which is regarded as the revelation of Buddha’s experience of enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree.<sup>26</sup> However, modern filological investigations, as we will see below, have shown that the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtras* ( T 278. and T 279.) were compiled on the basis of shorter *sūtras*.

The so-called “original translations” are also called abridged version (*lüeben* 略本) since, as legend has it, the primordial *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* was much longer than any of the extant versions. According to this legend, Nāgārjuna (c. second century CE), the founder of the *Madhyamaka* philosophy, brought the *sūtra* into the world from the palace of serpents (*nāga*).<sup>27</sup> The serpents guarded three versions, which the Chinese exegetes call the upper (*shang* 上), middle (*zhong* 中) and lower (*xia* 下) *sūtras*. The longest is the upper version, which consisted of *ślokas*<sup>28</sup> identical in number to that of the specks of dust in the great universe and chapters identical in number to that of the specks of dust in the four worlds. The middle version contained 498,800 *ślokas* and 1200 chapters while the

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<sup>25</sup> As of the Sui period (581-618), the catalogues indicate the correspondences between the so-called partial translations and chapters from the larger works. See Fajing’s 法經 *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄 T55, no. 2146, p.119, c11-120a1. and Yancong’s 彥琮 *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄 T55, no. 2147, p. 159, a22-b6.

<sup>26</sup> Wei 1998: 41.

<sup>27</sup> *Nāgas* played an important role even in early Buddhism. A *nāga* can be a serpent, man or low-ranking god. See Rawlinson 1986: 135-153. According to the Mahāyāna legend, Nāgārjuna visited the *nāgas* and there he discovered the *prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*, which had been unknown after Buddha’s death. Williams 1989: 55.

<sup>28</sup> The Chinese *jie* 偈 and *song* 頌 are translations of the Sanskrit *gāthā* and *śloka*. If it is a measure of length, *śloka* is the appropriate Sanskrit term. Gómez 1967: XXV. n. 1.

lower version consisted of 100,000 *ślokas* and 48 chapters.<sup>29</sup> The upper and middle versions were too difficult for people, so Nāgārjuna brought the shortest version with him. This story was thought to be borne out by the fact that, according to the *Dazhi du lun* 大智度論, *The sūtra of the inconceivable enlightenment* (\**Acintyavimokṣa-sūtra*, *Buke siyi jietuo jing* 不可思議解脫經) consisted of 100,000 verses.<sup>30</sup> And this *sūtra* is none other than the last chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. This legend can be traced back to Jizang 吉藏 (549-613), who had read about it in Nāgārjuna's biography.<sup>31</sup>

In the first half of this chapter, I wish to examine the translations of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and the freestanding translations of its chapters (T 278-298), while the second half will demonstrate with a chart how the chapters of the larger works and the freestanding translations of the chapters may correspond to one another. I will not cover those works here that can be found in the *Huayan* section but do not correspond to any of the chapters in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (T 299-309.).<sup>32</sup>

#### a. The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* in India

The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is among the lengthiest of the Mahāyāna *sūtras*; however, only two chapters have survived in Sanskrit: the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, which describes the spiritual development of a bodhisattva, and the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, which relates the search

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<sup>29</sup> We first encounter this with Zhiyan in the *Huayan* school in his work entitled *Huayan jing nei zhangmen deng za kongmuzhang* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章 T45, no. 1870, p. 586, c23-26. It can also be found in the works of the later patriarchs: Fazang's *Huayan jing zhigui* 華嚴經旨歸 T45, no. 1871, p. 593, b10-15. and *Huayan jing guanmai yiji* 華嚴經關脈義記 T45, no. 1879, p. 656, c1-22, and Chengguan's *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 T35, no. 1735, p. 523, a10-22.

<sup>30</sup> *Dazhi du lun* 大智度論, T25, no. 1509, p. 756, b7.

<sup>31</sup> Jizang examined why the title of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* does not appear in the text. He explained that only 36,000 of the 100,000 *ślokas* of the lower version reached China and that the title can only be found in the part that follows, which was not translated into Chinese. See *Jingming xuan lun* 淨名玄論, T38, no. 1780, p. 863, b19-27. According to Indian custom, the title can be found at the end of the work; it was Daoan 道安 (312-385) who placed it at the beginning of the work in line with Chinese customs. See *Jingming xuan lun* 淨名玄論, T38, no. 1780, p. 863, c8-9. Jizang read about the three versions in Nāgārjuna's biography, which Sengtan 僧曇 had brought from Khotan. Sengtan and his 11 companions set off for Inner Asia in 575 with the objective of bringing back Buddhist works that had been lacking in China. They returned home in 581 with 260 Sanskrit manuscripts. These works were translated into Chinese by Jñānagupta (Shenajueduo 闍那崛多) and other translator-monks. The translation of Nāgārjuna's biography has not survived, however, and none of the catalogues confirms the existence of such a work from this era. Nāgārjuna's biography has only survived in a translation by Kumārajīva (344-409/413); however, it is missing the section about the three versions. If we accept Jizang's report as credible then this detail was added to the text during the 150 years between the death of Kumārajīva and the expedition. Perhaps it was in Khotan that the text was thus expanded, bearing out the close connection between Khotan and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. See Ōnishi 1985: 500-505.

<sup>32</sup> For a detailed description of the *Huayan sūtras*, see Takamine 1976: 457-469; Ishii 1964: 57-134. It is on the basis of these that Frédéric Girard prepared his excellent French-language summary. See Girard 1990: 16-27.

for the path by a young boy named Sudhana.<sup>33</sup> This latter work has inspired a great deal of Buddhist art; indeed, the theme is depicted in pictures and carvings from Barabudur to Japan.<sup>34</sup> In fact, I had an opportunity not long ago to view by torchlight the statues depicting the 53 stations of Sudhana's journey in the Duobao 多寶 Pagoda of Dazu 大足.<sup>35</sup> Relatively few Buddhist *sūtras* have survived in Sanskrit, so the dearth of Sanskrit manuscripts is by no means an indication that the work never existed in Sanskrit. The commentaries are of great use in determining the originality of a work and in examining how it is cited in other Indian works.

No written Indian commentary to any version of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* collection has survived, nor is it certain whether one ever existed. Two Indian commentaries relevant to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* have been preserved, although both discuss only one chapter of the *sūtra*, the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*. The first is the *Shizhu piposha lun* 十住毘婆沙論,<sup>36</sup> which, according to tradition, was written by Nāgārjuna and which expounds on the first two of the ten stages. Vasubandhu (400-480) wrote the second, the *Daśabhūmivyākhyāna* (*Shidi jing lun* 十地經論),<sup>37</sup> which expounds on the entire *sūtra*. Several Indian works quote from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. The *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論, which is attributed to Nāgārjuna, cites the *Bukesiyi jing* 不可思議經, which corresponds to the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. If we accept the authorship of Nāgārjuna, then the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* must already have existed in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. However, Lamotte disputes this and considers the author of the work a Northern Indian monk who lived in the 4<sup>th</sup> century and is likely to have belonged to the *Sarvāstivāda* school.<sup>38</sup> The *Ratnagoṭravibhāga*, written by Sāramati in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, quotes from the *Appearance of Buddha in the world* chapter (*Rulai chuxian pin* 如來出現品),<sup>39</sup> while in his work entitled *Śikṣāsamuccaya Śāntideva* (686-763) quotes from the *Leader of the Good* chapter (*Xianshou pin* 賢首品), the *Ten dedications* chapter (*Shi huixiang pin* 十迴向品), *Detachment from the world* chapter (*Li shijian pin* 離世間品) and the *Pure practice*

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<sup>33</sup> For these works and Sanskrit publications, see Nakamura 1980: 194-197. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* title is difficult to define. The word *gaṇḍa* means 'stem of a plant, part of sg.' and *vyūha* is 'arrangement, heap, manifestation'. On the basis of this, Gómez translated the title as *The Sūtra Containing Manifestations in Sections*. This definition is also supported by the fact that the text was referred to by sections called *vimokṣas*. See Gómez 1967: 61-62.

<sup>34</sup> Fontein 1967.

<sup>35</sup> For a detailed description of the statues, see Li 2002: 171-193.

<sup>36</sup> T 1521.

<sup>37</sup> T 1522.

<sup>38</sup> Lamotte 1970.

<sup>39</sup> Takasaki 1966: 189-192.

chapter (*Jingxing pin* 淨行品) using the titles *Ratnolkādhārāṇī*,<sup>40</sup> *Vajradhvaja-sūtra*,<sup>41</sup> *Lokottaparivarta*,<sup>42</sup> *Gocarapariśuddhi-sūtra*,<sup>43</sup> respectively. It is important to note that even in this late Indian work Śāntideva refers to chapters in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* as freestanding *sūtras*. This might indicate that the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, which corresponds to the sixty- and eighty-fascicle versions of the *Huayan jing*, was unknown in India as one work, only individual chapters. However, Ōtake Susumu has attempted to show that the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, in fact, was composed in India.<sup>44</sup>

b. Partial translations before the translation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*

The first Chinese translation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* was finished in 420; prior to that, however, certain chapters had appeared as separate *sūtras*.<sup>45</sup> These early translations characteristically do not correspond to individual chapters, but are rather extracts from several chapters of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. This raises the question of the connection between the partial translations and the translation of larger version. Were summaries made from the larger works or, conversely, were the larger *sūtras* compilations based on early freestanding works? According to Kimura Kiyotaka, the simplicity of the early works provides evidence that they appeared earlier than the larger works.<sup>46</sup>

The earliest translation is associated with the name Lokakṣema, who translated a work entitled *Fo shuo dousha jing* 佛說兜沙經<sup>47</sup> between 178 and 189, which corresponds to the *Names of Tathāgata* (*Rulai minghao pin* 如來名號品) and *Enlightenment through the light of Tathāgata* (*Rulai guangming jue pin* 如來光明覺品) chapters in the sixty-fascicle work.<sup>48</sup> The word *dousha* in Lokakṣema's title is a transliterated Sanskrit word; however, it cannot be unmistakably identified. One possible solution is *daśa*, which means ten.<sup>49</sup> One reason that

<sup>40</sup> Bendall and Rouse 1922: 3, 152, 291.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 24, 29, 204, 255, 291.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 151.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. 310. Ōtake Susumu called my attention that Vasubandhu's *Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkāra-bhāṣya* also refers to this chapter under this title and Asvabhāva's *Mahāyānasamgraha-upanibandhana* quotes a poem from the *Gocarapariśuddhi-sūtra* as well. See *She dasheng shi lun* 攝大乘論釋, T31, no. 1598, p.412, b-

<sup>44</sup> See Ōtake 2007.

<sup>45</sup> For a listing and examination of the early works, see Kimura 1977: 6-12.

<sup>46</sup> Kimura 1992: 11-14.

<sup>47</sup> T 280.

<sup>48</sup> Eric Zürcher accepts 29 works as Han period translations on the basis of the Buddhist catalogues and the stylistic marks in the works. Included among these is the *Fo shuo dousha jing*. See Zürcher 1991: 298.

<sup>49</sup> Alternative solutions are Tathāgata, *toṣa* (satisfaction). See Girard 1990: 17.



this is likely is that the number ten has great significance in the work. It introduces the characteristics of a bodhisattva with a list of ten.<sup>50</sup> Some of these characteristics can also be found in the titles of individual chapters of the larger works; it is therefore likely that the editors of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtras* used this work as a source in editing individual chapters.<sup>51</sup> The number ten frequently occurs throughout the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* with the suggestion of perfection.

The *sūtra* entitled *The fundamental activity of a bodhisattva as related by Buddha* (*Fo shuo pusa benye jing* 佛說菩薩本業經),<sup>52</sup> which Zhi Qian translated nearly fifty years later between 222 and 228, is extremely important in terms of the formation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Before any further investigation, it is important to clarify that the chronological order of the translations is not necessarily an indication of the order in which the original source works appeared. Indeed, it is conceivable that one work came to China much later than another. As a result, it is not certain that the Indian antecedent of *Fo shuo dousha jing* mentioned previously was composed earlier than that of *The fundamental activity of a bodhisattva*. The work is divided into three parts: the first part either has no title or it has not survived, the title of the second part is *The practice of making good wishes* (*yuanxing pin* 願行品), and that of the third is *The ten stages* (*shidi pin* 十地品). The antecedents of the following chapters in the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing* can be discerned in the work: *The names of Tathāgata* (*Rulai minghao pin* 如來名號 品), *Enlightenment through the light* (*Rulai guangmingjue pin* 如來光明覺品), *Pure practice* (*Jingxing pin* 淨行品), *The ascent of Buddha to the peak of Mount Sumeru* (*Fo sheng Xumiding pin* 佛昇須彌頂品), *The bodhisattvas gather as clouds in the Palace of the Glorious Victory and recite poems* (*Pusa yunji miaosheng dianshang shuojie pin* 菩薩雲集妙勝殿上說偈品) and *The ten abodes of the bodhisattvas* (*Pusa shizhu pin* 菩薩十住品).<sup>53</sup>

According to Sakamoto Yukio, it would be erroneous to assume that these six chapters evolved directly out of this *sūtra* since the following works can be considered to be their middle stations of development: *Fo shuo dousha jing*, the *Bodhisattvas ask about the*

<sup>50</sup> *Fo shuo dousha jing* 佛說兜沙經, T10, no. 280, p. 445, a27-b3.

<sup>51</sup> The following chapters are in the sixty-fascicle work: *The ten abodes* (11), *The ten deeds* (17), *The ten inexhaustible treasures* (18), *The ten dedications* (21), *The ten stages* (22), *The ten supernatural knowledges* (23) and *The ten acceptances* (24). They correspond to the following chapters in the eighty-fascicle version: 15, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29.

<sup>52</sup> T 281. According to Jan Nattier as well, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* developed from this *sūtra*. See Nattier 2003: 192, n. 38. Kobayashi Jitsugen, however, points out that there are significant differences between this *sūtra* and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Indeed, the protagonist here is Śākyamuni buddha, whereas it is Vairocana buddha in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Furthermore, the essential aim of the work is to describe the path of the bodhisattva and not to introduce the absolute world of Buddha. See Kobayashi 1958: 168-169.

<sup>53</sup> For a comparison of the texts, see Sakamoto 1964: 301-314.

*fundamental activity of Buddha sūtra* (*Zhupusa qiu fo benye jing* 諸菩薩求佛本業經)<sup>54</sup> and the *Practices of the ten stages of the Bodhisattvas* chapter (*Pusa shizhu xingdao pin* 菩薩十住行道品).<sup>55</sup> However, Jan Nattier compared these three works (*Dousha jing*, *Zhupusa qiu fo benye jing*, *Pusa shizhu xingdao pin*) with the *Fundamental activity of the Bodhisattva* and convincingly showed that fitting the three *sūtras* together produces a text that corresponds to the *Fundamental activity of the Bodhisattva*. It can be concluded that the three texts were originally a translation of one work, although it was preserved in three parts in the transmission process and therefore later came to be seen as three separate works.<sup>56</sup> Accordingly, from the aspect of the evolution of the text, the three works do not represent a later developmental stage, but another translation/recension of the very same work. This translation was done by Lokakṣema.

The work of Dharmarakṣa, who also translated several *Huayan sūtras* into Chinese, represents a milestone in the spread of these works. Already in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, the following works are listed as his translations:<sup>57</sup>

1. *Crossing the world* (*Du shi pin jing* 度世品經)<sup>58</sup> 27 May 291.
2. *The appearance of Tathāgata as related by Buddha* (*Fo shuo rulai xingxian jing* 佛說如來興現經)<sup>59</sup> 31 January 292.
3. *Gradually obtaining the virtue of omniscience* (*Jianbei yiqie zhi de jing* 漸備一切智德經)<sup>60</sup> 21 December 297.
4. *The ten abodes of the Bodhisattva* (*Pusa shizhu jing* 菩薩十住經) 9 November 302.<sup>61</sup>
5. *The ten stages of the Bodhisattva* (*Pusa shidi jing* 菩薩十地經) 28 December 303.<sup>62</sup>
6. *The bodhisattva of the Equal Eyes asks about the ten samādhis* (*Dengmu pusa suowen sanmei jing* 等目菩薩所問三昧經)<sup>63</sup> 284-308?

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<sup>54</sup> T 282.

<sup>55</sup> T 283.

<sup>56</sup> See Nattier's article in this volume and Nattier 2005.

<sup>57</sup> For the dates of the works on the basis of the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, see Boucher 1996: 33.

<sup>58</sup> T 292.

<sup>59</sup> T 291.

<sup>60</sup> T 285.

<sup>61</sup> The date of this work can only be found in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集. It is therefore uncertain.

<sup>62</sup> The date of this work can only be found in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集. It is therefore uncertain.

<sup>63</sup> T 288.

According to Dharmarakṣa's biography, he travelled with his master to Central Asia, where he learned the local languages and collected Buddhist manuscripts. Unfortunately, we do not learn when this journey took place or what areas he visited. However, there is no mention made of his translating between 273 and 284, and it is therefore possible that he journeyed west then.<sup>64</sup> He translated the *Huayan sūtras* afterwards, so he is likely to have collected these materials during his journey. The fourth and fifth works have not survived, while the rest can be found in the Buddhist canon. The date of the sixth work is uncertain although it can presumably be placed after he returned from Central Asia (284?) and before he completed the last translation which can be dated with certainty (308). This item is missing from Daoan's catalogue, which is frequently cited by the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, so this provides some grounds for suspicion.<sup>65</sup> This *sūtra* is extremely interesting in respect of the fact that it is absent from the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, whereas it is included in the eighty-fascicle version under the title *Chapter of the ten concentrations* (*Shiding pin* 十定品). Kimura Kiyotaka is of the opinion that on the basis of this it cannot be ruled out that the eighty-fascicle *sūtra* appeared earlier than the sixty-fascicle work.<sup>66</sup> It is more likely, however, that the eighty-fascicle version came about later and that its editor or editors also incorporated this *sūtra*, which had previously been spread as an independent work.

Dharmarakṣa's *Appearance of Tathāgata sūtra* (\**Tathāgatotapattisaṃbhavanirdeśa-sūtra*)<sup>67</sup> is also noteworthy in several respects. First of all, as has been demonstrated by Takasaki Jikidō, this work is an important precursor to the inception of the *tathāgatagarbha* theory.<sup>68</sup> The translation by Dharmarakṣa contains an introductory part which is not included in either the sixty- or eighty-fascicle *Huayan jing*; however, it can be found in the Tibetan translation.<sup>69</sup> Either the translators of the larger Chinese version omitted this part or it had been missing from the original Sanskrit manuscript as well. A further remarkable aspect of the work is that, in addition to the *Chapter of the appearance of Tathāgata*, it also contains the *Chapter of the ten acceptances* (*Shiren pin* 十忍品). Like translations from earlier periods, therefore, this translation also includes more than one chapter in the later larger *Huayan jing*. It appears that the *Rulai xingxian jing* 如來興顯經, a work mentioned by the *Lidai sanbao ji*

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<sup>64</sup> Boucher 1996: 34-35. For an English translation of his biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, see Ibid. 23-30. For more details on Dharmarakṣa, see Zürcher 1959: 65-70.

<sup>65</sup> *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, T55, no. 2145, p. 8, c11.

<sup>66</sup> Kimura 1992: 13.

<sup>67</sup> Takasaki Jikidō reconstructed the Sanskrit title on the basis of the Tibetan title. See Takasaki 1958: 348-343.

<sup>68</sup> Takasaki 1974: 574-602.

<sup>69</sup> For a Japanese translation of the Tibetan text, see Takasaki 1981: 127-280.

歷代三寶紀 and translated by Bai 白 or Bo 帛 Fazu 法祖, who lived in the time of Emperor Hui 惠 (r. 290-306) of the Jin 晉 dynasty (265-420), is another translation of this work.<sup>70</sup> However, the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 makes no mention of this work and so its existence is in serious doubt. According to the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀, another translation of this *sūtra* is the *Da fangguang rulai xingqi weimizang jing* 大方廣如來性起微密藏經, which was completed in the Yuankang 元康 period and whose translator is unknown.<sup>71</sup> According to the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, however, this is simply an independently spread version of the text in the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, and it therefore cannot be considered a new translation.<sup>72</sup> This version was lost in China, but was recently discovered in the Nanatsudera Temple in Nagoya.<sup>73</sup> An investigation of this text has borne out the claim made by the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄.<sup>74</sup>

The *Gradually obtaining the virtue of omniscience sūtra*, the translation of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, and the two other lost translations by Dharmarakṣa (4, 5) also demonstrate the ten stages of the spiritual development of a bodhisattva. This indicates that this work enjoyed great popularity during this period. The *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 is the first source that attributes the translation of five *Huayan sūtras* to Nie Daozhen 聶道真, Dharmarakṣa's scribe. From among these it is only the *Bodhisattvas ask about the fundamental activity of Buddha sūtra* mentioned previously which has survived. The *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 makes mention of this and two other works, *The original vow and practice of the bodhisattvas* (*Pusa benyuan xing pin jing* 菩薩本願行品經)<sup>75</sup> and *The ten-stage path of the bodhisattvas* (*Pusa shi dao di jing* 菩薩十道地經);<sup>76</sup> however, it considers their translator unknown. The other two works attributed to Nie Daozhen (*Shizhu jing* 十住經 and *Pusa chudi jing* 菩薩初地經) also deal with the spiritual development of a bodhisattva.

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<sup>70</sup> *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀, T49, no. 2034, p. 66, b2. His biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 does not mention the translation. See T50, no 2059, p. 327, a13-c11.

<sup>71</sup> *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀, T49, no. 2034, p. 68, a22, b1-2.

<sup>72</sup> *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, T55, no. 2154, p. 590, c12. Kaginushi Ryōkei 鍵主良敬 also argued in favour of this prior to the discovery of the text. See Kaginushi 1973: 37-56; 1974: 842-848.

<sup>73</sup> Numerous works thought to have been lost have come to light at this temple, so it is an extremely important discovery for research on Buddhism. See Ochiai 1991.

<sup>74</sup> For an edition of the text, see Kimura 1999.

<sup>75</sup> *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, T55, no. 2145, p. 23, a13.

<sup>76</sup> *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, T55, no. 2145, p. 22, c23.

Among the works lost early on we find the *Shidi duanjie jing* 十地斷結經, whose translator, according to certain works, was Zhu Falan 竺法蘭,<sup>77</sup> who, as legend has it, came to Luoyang with the Chinese delegation following a dream of the Emperor Ming 明 (r. 58-75).<sup>78</sup> If this were true, it would mean that the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* would already have been translated into Chinese in the first century. According to the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 also translated a work 365-385, the title of which is the *Shidi duanjie jing* or *Shizhu duanjie jing* and which consists of ten fascicles. The title of Taishō's 309<sup>th</sup> work is similar: *Zuisheng wen pusa shizhu chugou duanjie jing* 最勝問菩薩十住除垢斷結經. The translator of this is also Zhu Fonian and it also consists of ten fascicles; it is therefore likely that the catalogue is referring to this work. This *sūtra*, however, is not identical to the *Ten stages* chapter in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, so it can only be listed among works related to the *Huayan*. It is a sign of serious interest in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* that, prior to the translation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, it was rendered into Chinese two more times: by Gīnamitra under the title *Fo shuo Pusa shizhu jing* 佛說菩薩十住經<sup>79</sup> and by Kumārajīva and Buddhayaśas under the title *Shizhu jing* 十住經.<sup>80</sup>

The last chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, had also been translated before the larger translation. The Taishō canon also contains the *Foshuo luomojie jing* 佛說羅摩伽經,<sup>81</sup> which Shengjian 聖堅 rendered into Chinese between 389 and 406.<sup>82</sup> The work consists of only three fascicles, so it is quite fragmentary compared to later translations.<sup>83</sup> According to the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀, An Faxian 安法賢 had translated it in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century under the same title,<sup>84</sup> whereas Dharmakṣema translated it at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>85</sup> However, neither work has survived.

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<sup>77</sup> *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, T 2154: 55.478b08, *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, T 2059: 50.323a14.

<sup>78</sup> Tsukamoto 1979: vol I. 45.

<sup>79</sup> T 284.

<sup>80</sup> T 286.

<sup>81</sup> T 294.

<sup>82</sup> T 2034: 49.83b19.

<sup>83</sup> For a brief summary of the work, see Fontein 1967: 176.

<sup>84</sup> T 2034: 49.56c25.

<sup>85</sup> T 2034: 49.84b12.

c. The sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*<sup>86</sup>

The Sanskrit manuscript that served as the source for the first Chinese translation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* was brought from Khotan (Yutian 于闐, Hetian xian 和田縣 today). The sacred scriptures were jealously guarded and foreigners were not allowed to take them out of the country. Zhi Faling 支法領, however, ultimately succeeded in having the king present him with the first part of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, which consisted of 36,000 *ślokas* (*jie* 偈). Afterwards, he brought the work to Chang'an. Another monk who was travelling with him, Zhiyan 智嚴, did not return home, but carried on his journey toward Kashmir. He was surprised at what a pure life the monks in Kashmir lived and at how strictly they followed the monastic regulations. When he asked who could teach the Chinese, he was told it was Buddhahadra and so he asked the master to accompany him to China.<sup>87</sup>

The foreign master stayed in Chang'an 406-408 but probably had a difference of opinion with the other famous master translator of the age, Kumārajīva, who maintained his own harem behind the walls of the monastery and thus received criticism from monks who argued in favour of following the strict moral code. From Chang'an he went to Lushan 廬山, where he joined the community of Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-417) and commenced translating several texts on meditation. In 413, he went to Jiankang 建康, where he settled at the Daochang 道場 monastery. Here he met Zhi Faling, who had arrived from Chang'an. Zhi Faling asked Buddhahadra to translate the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, which he had brought with him from Khotan. On the tenth day of the third month of 418, he began the work and completed it in the sixth month of 420. Financial support for the work was provided by two officials: Meng Yi 孟顓,<sup>88</sup> who held the office of governor of Wu prefecture (*wujun neishi* 吳郡內史), and Chu Shudu 褚叔度,<sup>89</sup> who was the general in charge of the garrison on the right flank (*youwei jiangjun* 右衛將軍). After this, he compared the Sanskrit text with the Chinese translation. He completed this phase of the work on the twenty-eighth day of the twelfth

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<sup>86</sup> For a German translation of the work, see Doi 1978, 1981, 1982; for a Japanese translation, see Etō 1917.

<sup>87</sup> For a biography of Buddhahadra, see *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, T 2059: 50.334b26-335c14.

<sup>88</sup> We know that Meng Yi was a devout Buddhist; however, other sources do not confirm an association with the translation of the *Huayan jing*.

<sup>89</sup> Chu Shudu's biography can be found in the *Nanshi* 南史 (*juan* 28), but it does not write about his Buddhist connections.

month of 421. The scribal (*bishouzhe* 筆受者) work was carried out by Faye 法業.<sup>90</sup> Faye expounded on the teachings of the opus in a work of his own entitled *Huayan zhigui* 華嚴旨歸 and written in two fascicles. He placed the Sanskrit manuscript on a table and presumably made offerings to it. A Huayan hall (*Huayan tang* 華嚴堂) was built in the monastery, where the monks would probably have made offerings.

According to both the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 and the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, it consisted of fifty fascicles at the beginning and was later divided into sixty.<sup>91</sup> Other catalogues also confirm this. It is not known who re-named it the sixty-fascicle work, but it already had that name in the Sui period (581-618).<sup>92</sup> However, the fifty-fascicle work continued to survive according to the catalogues and this is borne out by a manuscript from the Song period (960-1279) which consists of fifty fascicles. Since the third patriarch of the Huayan tradition, Fazang 法藏 (643-712) calls it the sixty-fascicle work in his commentary, this name is likely to have become common by the start of the Tang period (618-907). In terms of content, however, the text did not change.

Divākara (Rizhao 日照 in Chinese), a translator from India,<sup>93</sup> arrived in the Chinese capital in 680, settled at the Taiyuan 太原 monastery, and soon became the most respected master translator of the age. He brought with him the Sanskrit manuscript of the last chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, and, with the aid of Fazang, compared it as well as the other Sanskrit manuscripts available to him with the translation by Buddhahadra. They compared a total of 8-9 Sanskrit manuscripts,<sup>94</sup> and found that nine stations which were missing in Buddhahadra's translation were present in all the versions; the master, therefore, had omitted them from the work.<sup>95</sup> Similarly, the part between the meeting with Maitreya and the one with Samantabhadra, where Mañjuśrī touches Sudhana's head from a distance was also missing from Buddhahadra's version. Naturally, in the

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<sup>90</sup> The colophon of the *Huayan jing* provides this information on the translation of the work. T 278: 9.788b3-9. *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, T 2145: 55.60c29-61a8. According to the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 it was not Zhi Faling who requested Buddhahadra to translate the work, but two officials, Meng Yi and Chu Shudu. In addition to Faye, it also mentions Huiyan 慧嚴 as a participant in the work and adds that over a hundred others also assisted. It makes mention of the creation of the *Huayan tang*; however, it does not provide the time of the translation. T 2059: 50.335c4-9. The *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 also says that Faye was knowledgeable in the *Huayan* as Tanbin 曇斌 had learnt *Huayan* from him. T 2059: 50.373a23.

<sup>91</sup> *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, T 2145: 55.11c9, *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, T55, no. 2154, p. 505, b21.

<sup>92</sup> *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄, T55, no. 2146, p. 115, a11

<sup>93</sup> For his biography, see *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 T50, no. 2061, p. 719, a19, HZ T 2073: 51.154c10. See Forte 1974: 135-164.

<sup>94</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 122, c22-27, p. 484, c9-15.

<sup>95</sup> Parts that have been omitted: the ten persons called on between the visits to Māyā and Maitreya.

absence of the original manuscript, we cannot fault Buddhahadra for this omission with certainty since it is possible that these parts were truly missing from the manuscript that he used. The missing parts were translated and the work was spread independently during the Tang dynasty under the title *Da fangguang fo huayan jing rufajie pin* 大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品.<sup>96</sup> It was only in the Song period that they were incorporated into the sixty-fascicle translation.<sup>97</sup>

d. The eighty-fascicle *Huayan jing*<sup>98</sup>

Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (623/625-705) learned that the original manuscript of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* could be found in Khotan and so she sent envoys to collect it. Śikṣānanda brought the work to China and later settled at the Dabian 大遍 monastery in the eastern capital, where he began translating it. This Sanskrit manuscript was longer than the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing* by 9,000 *ślokas* and consisted of a total of 45,000 *ślokas*. The Sanskrit text was read aloud by Bodhiruci 菩提流志 and Yijing 義淨 while Fazang and Fuli 復禮 took it down. The work commenced on the fourteenth day of the third month of 695 and was completed in the Foshouji 佛授記 monastery on the eighth day of the tenth month of 699 with a foreword written by the empress herself. Foshouji appears as the site of the translation in Huiyuan's 慧苑 (673-743) *Xu Huayan lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴略疏刊定記 whereas the Empress Wu mentions the Dabiankong 大遍空 monastery in her foreword. A move was presumably made from there to the Foshouji monastery.<sup>99</sup>

The earlier translation contained eight assemblies and 34 chapters while the new text had nine assemblies and 39 chapters in it. Despite the fact that the translation by Śikṣānanda is far longer than Buddhahadra's, the part in which Mañjuśrī touches Sudhana's head from a distance has been omitted here as well. As noted earlier, this part had also been missing from the sixty-fascicle version; Divākara filled the gap on the basis of the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*,

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<sup>96</sup> T 295.

<sup>97</sup> For these added parts in the text of Taishō edition, see *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 765, a3-p. 767, b28; p. 783, b28-c15.

<sup>98</sup> For an English translation of the work, see Cleary 1993; for a Japanese translation, see Etō 1929, revised by Itō Zuiei 伊藤瑞叡 1959, Reprint 1980.

<sup>99</sup> Li 2000: 66.



which he had brought with him. Fazang completed the eighty-fascicle version with the part that had been omitted.<sup>100</sup>

Śikṣānanda returned to Khotan in 704 to visit his sick mother and returned to China at the request of Emperor Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 684, 705-710) in 708. He died in 710 at the age of 59. According to his biography, after he was cremated his tongue remained and was sent back to Khotan. In his honour, a seven-storey pagoda was erected outside the northern gate of Chang'an and was named "the Pagoda of the Huayan Translator" (*huayan sanzang ta* 華嚴三藏塔).<sup>101</sup>

e. The forty-fascicle *Huayan jing*

The king of the southern Indian state of Oḍḍiyāna sent a Sanskrit manuscript of the forty-fascicle *Huayan jing* to Emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 779-805), which Prajñā (744-810?) translated into Chinese. The master translator was originally from northern India and in his youth studied the Hīnayāna teachings, especially those of the Sarvāstivāda. After his ordination he travelled a great deal and came to know Yogācāra and Tantric Buddhism. He came to China to visit the Wutaishan 五台山, which was regarded as the residence of Mañjuśrī.<sup>102</sup> In 781, he came to Guangzhou. He went on to Chang'an, where he was treated with great respect and enjoyed the support of the emperor. He began the translation on the fifth day of the sixth month of 796 and completed it on the twenty-fourth day of the second month of 798. He was also assisted in his work by the fourth patriarch of the Huayan school, Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839).<sup>103</sup> This version, which is called the forty-fascicle *Huayan jing*,<sup>104</sup> contains all the parts which are missing from the last chapter of the sixty- and eighty-fascicle works.

Of particular interest in this regard is the last fascicle, which includes *The vow of Samantabhadra* (*Bhadracarī-praṇidhānarāja-gāthā*, *Puxian xingyuan pin* 普賢行願品). This was first translated by Buddhabhadra as a separate work under the title *Wenshu shili fayuan*

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<sup>100</sup> Huiyuan, a disciple of Fazang's, provides a report on this. *Xu Huayan lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴略疏刊定記 R 5.49a1-12.

<sup>101</sup> For his biography, see *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, T50, no. 2061. p. 718, c19-p. 719, a17.

<sup>102</sup> For the connection between Mañjuśrī and the Wutaishan, see Birnbaum 1983.

<sup>103</sup> For a critical biography, see Hamar 2002.

<sup>104</sup> T 293.

*jing* 文殊師利發願經,<sup>105</sup> which is shorter than the later translations. The second translation was prepared by the famous Tantric master, Amoghavajra (705-774), under the title *Puxian pusa xingyuan zan* 普賢菩薩行願贊.<sup>106</sup> Bart Dessein compared the three versions and came to the conclusion that Amoghavajra had changed the title of the work and that Prajñā had adopted this change from him.<sup>107</sup> It appears to be contradictory, however, that Samantabhadra would be in the title of both the Sanskrit version and the two Tibetan translations (one of them as part of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, the other as a separate work). It is more likely, therefore, that the name Mañjuśrī in the title had already been changed to Samantabhadra in India.

#### f. The Sanskrit version

It is clear from the foregoing that according to the sources both the sixty- and eighty-fascicle versions of the *Huayan jing* were translated into Chinese based on Sanskrit manuscripts (*fanben* 梵本) from Khotan. This doubtless indicates that this work enjoyed enormous popularity in this area and was perhaps compiled at this very place.<sup>108</sup> However, the Sanskrit manuscript has unfortunately not survived. According to Ōnishi Ryūhō, however, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* never in fact existed in Inner Asia.<sup>109</sup> Zhi Faling did not bring one work with him called the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, but a number of sūtras which Buddhābhadrā compiled and named the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Śikṣānanda in turn attempted to collect similar works based on the Buddhābhadrā version, and this gave rise to the Sanskrit manuscript which served as the basis for the eighty-fascicle translation.

This appears to be contradicted by a report by the second patriarch of the Huayan tradition, Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668, not to be confused with Zhiyan 智嚴 mentioned above) on a Sanskrit manuscript that could be found in the Dacien 大慈恩 monastery.<sup>110</sup> He provides a precise description: it consisted of 541 pages with 55 syllables (*zi* 字) in one line and 20 lines on one leaf. One *śloka* (*song* 頌) consisted of 32 syllables.<sup>111</sup> He counted 2280 (?) syllables on

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<sup>105</sup> T 296.

<sup>106</sup> T 297.

<sup>107</sup> Dessein 2003: 317-338.

<sup>108</sup> During this period in Inner Asian, Sanskrit was used as the ecclesiastical language and Sanskrit texts were not translated into the vernacular of the peoples living here. It is therefore likely that works were also written in Sanskrit. Natier 1990: 195-219.

<sup>109</sup> Ōnishi 1985.

<sup>110</sup> *Huayan jing nei zhangmen deng za kongmu zhang* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章, T45, no. 1871, p. 588, a13-589b13.

<sup>111</sup> This corresponds to the traditional Indian number of syllables in a *śloka*. See Monier-Williams 1899: 1104.

two sides of one leaf and thus there is a total of 1,323,480 syllables according to his count, making 41,980 *ślokas* plus ten syllables. Zhiyan's count is not accurate because if he is basing his calculations on 2280 syllables then there is still only a total of 1,233,480 syllables, which, when divided by 32, gives us 38,546 *ślokas* and eight syllables. However, if we count 2200 syllables per leaf, this gives us 1,190,200 syllables and therefore makes 37,193 *ślokas* and 24 syllables. If we use this last count, the Sanskrit version is not much longer than the sixty-fascicle version, which consists of 36,000 *ślokas*. Zhiyan lists the chapters of the Sanskrit version as well, which I examine later in this chapter.

The next question is how this Sanskrit manuscript came to be in the Dacien monastery. We may consider the option that the manuscript used by Buddhahadra or a copy of it found its way here. However, due to the distance both spatial and temporal as well as the significant differences in the arrangement of the chapters, there is little likelihood of this. According to Sanada Ariyoshi, Xuanzang 玄奘 (600-664) might have brought the Sanskrit *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* with him from his pilgrimage since the Dacien monastery featured prominently in his life.<sup>112</sup> Here he translated a short Huayan *sūtra* as well, which I will cover later.

As I noted previously, a part was missing from the last chapter of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, which was later translated by Divākara with the assistance of Fazang. Fazang wrote that he and Divākara had jointly examined the various Indian versions (*tianzhu zhuben* 天竺諸本), the Kunlun version (*kunlun ben* 崑崙本) and the freestanding version from Khotan (*yutian biexing ben* 于闐別行本), and that they had found that the parts that were missing from the sixty-fascicle version could be found in all of them.<sup>113</sup> We can conclude from this mention of the “freestanding version from Khotan” and the fact that we know that Divākara had brought the *Gaṇḍavyūha* with him that they compared the last chapter of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing* with the freestanding *sūtra*.<sup>114</sup>

Like Zhiyan, Fazang also mentions that the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* could be found in the Dacien monastery: “I recently saw in the pagoda of the Dacien monastery three versions of the Sanskrit *Buddhāvataṃsaka-[sūtra]*. I briefly compared all of them with the Chinese version and they were largely identical; the numbers of *ślokas* were also similar.”

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<sup>112</sup> Sanada 1949: 48-50.

<sup>113</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 484, c9-15.

<sup>114</sup> According to Li Huiying, it is not clear whether the matter in question is the entire *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* or only the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, although the phrase “freestanding version” suggests that it was only the *Gaṇḍavyūha* that was compared with the last chapter of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*. See Li 2000: 70-71.

近於大慈恩寺塔上見梵本華嚴有三部。略勘並與此漢本大同。頌數亦相似。<sup>115</sup>

g. Partial translations after the translation of larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*

The chapters translated after the eighty-fascicle translation was completed also raise several questions. The third patriarch of the Huayan school, Fazang, who was himself involved in the work of the eighty-fascicle translation, compared the final translation with the Sanskrit manuscript and found that the Teaching of Samantabhadra chapter was missing from the Chinese version but that it was part of the Sanskrit original.<sup>116</sup> At the same time, the translator of the eighty-fascicle work also translated this *sūtra* under the title *Da fangguang Puxian suo shuo jing* 大方廣普賢所說經. The question therefore is why Śikṣānanda omitted this chapter from the *Huayan jing*. This chapter can also be found in the Tibetan translation prepared in the ninth century under the title *Kun-tu bzang-pos bstan-pa*. It is thus conceivable that the Sanskrit version that Fazang had access to was close to the version which the Tibetan translators used.

After the translation of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, one of the greatest translators of Chinese Buddhism, Xuanzang, also translated a short Huayan *sūtra* entitled *Xian wubian fotu gongde jing* 顯無邊佛土功德經, which corresponds to chapter twenty-six of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, Life span (*Shouming pin* 壽命品). This same chapter was also translated by Dharmabhadra in 1001 under the title *Foshuo jiaoliang yiqie fosha gongde jing* 佛說較量一切佛刹功德經. It is interesting to note that two freestanding Tibetan translations of this short work have also survived.<sup>117</sup> In the work, the Consciousness-king bodhisattva relates that one kalpa in our world corresponds to one day in the world of Amitābha and that one kalpa in the world of Amitābha corresponds to one day in the next world. This last world where beings therefore live the longest is the Lotus-womb world, which is the pure realm extolled by the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. The popularity of the *sūtra* can be explained in part by the strengthening of the Amitābha-cult in the Tang period and in part by the cult associated with Huayan Buddhism. The importance of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* is demonstrated by the fact that, after the partial translations of the previous era and after the translation of the larger

<sup>115</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p.122, b24-25.

<sup>116</sup> *Huayan jing zhuan ji* 華嚴經傳記, T51, no. 2073, p. 156, a20.

<sup>117</sup> P 772, 934. For their titles, see below.

works, Śīladharma translated it once more in 799 under the title *Foshuo shidi jing* 佛說十地經.

#### h. The Tibetan version

In addition to the sixty- and eighty-fascicle Chinese translations, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* has also survived in a Tibetan translation. It is not known how the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* arrived in Tibet, but since the Tibetans enjoyed active ties with Khotan perhaps the manuscript was brought from there.<sup>118</sup> This forms part of the Bka'-gyur called Phal-chen. The Tibetan title of the work is *Sangs-rgyas phal-po-che zhes bya-ba shin-tu rgyas-pa chen-po 'i mdo*.<sup>119</sup> On the basis of this, the Sanskrit title is reconstructed as *Buddhāvataṃsaka nāma mahāvaipulya sūtra*. In the Derge version, the work fills four volumes in the Tibetan canon, with each volume divided into *bam-pos*<sup>120</sup> and the *bam-po* numbering beginning anew with each volume. At the end of each *bam-po*, the work is referred to by the following title: *Sangs-rgyas rmad-gcad ces bya-ba shin-tu rgyas-pa 'i mdo*.<sup>121</sup> According to the *Ldan-kar catalogue* compiled during the time of King Khri-srong-lde-brtsan (754-797), the work consists of 45 chapters and 39,030 *ślokas*. This makes 130 complete *bam-pos* and 30 *ślokas*. It is not difficult to calculate that one *bam-po* consists of 300 *ślokas*. The colophon of the Derge edition states that the Tshal-pa edition of this *sūtra* is divided into 115 *bam-pos*, and current editions have different way of division. It is worth noting that this division is similar to the manner in which Zhiyan measured the length of the Sanskrit manuscript.<sup>122</sup> The Tibetan translation was prepared in the first quarter of the ninth century by two Indian masters, Jinamitra and Surendrabodhi, as well as the Tibetan master Ye-shes-sde. The work consists of 45 chapters (*le'u*), and the bodhisattvas gather on nine occasions in seven places. According to the catalogue prepared by Qing Jixiang 慶吉祥 between 1285-1287, *Zhiyuan fabao kantong zonglu* 至元法寶勘同總錄, the Tibetan translation was prepared on the basis of the

<sup>118</sup> Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan (704-754) had a Chinese wife as well, who interceded for the monks who had fled in large numbers from Khotan. It is owing to this that they were able to settle here and that seven monasteries were built for them. Three years later, however, after the death of the queen, they were driven out. See Snellgrove 1986: 77.

<sup>119</sup> P 761.

<sup>120</sup> One *bam-po* consists of 300 *ślokas*. Lalou 1953: 313-314. The works in the catalogue prepared during the reign of Khri-srong-lde-btsan were arranged by number of *bam-pos*, in descending order. The origin of the term *bam-po* must be sought in Chinese as Indian tradition knows no such division. See Skilling 1997: 92.

<sup>121</sup> This is the old Tibetan title for the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo* 1985: II. p. 1711.

<sup>122</sup> Lalou 1953: 319.

Chinese version.<sup>123</sup> However, the Tibetan translation also contains two chapters which cannot be found in any of the Chinese translations; it is therefore more likely that the Tibetan translation was also prepared from Sanskrit.<sup>124</sup> This is also supported by the fact that we know that Jinamitra and Surendrabodhi translated from Sanskrit.<sup>125</sup>

The colophon of the Derge edition sheds a certain degree of light on the issue. First of all, according to this the number of *bam-pos* differs in the various editions. It mentions two lines of tradition: one is the Chinese, the other the Indian. In the Chinese line, the teaching went from Buddha to Mañjuśrī and then on to Nāgārjuna. Buddhahadra (paṇḍita Byang-chub bzang-po) and Śikṣānanda (paṇḍita Dga'-ba) subsequently translated it into Chinese. The text was later passed on by Thu-thu-zhun hwashang, and then Sangs-rgyas-'bum of Dbus obtained the teaching from Gying-ju hwashang. This tradition has survived thanks to outstanding translators. The Indian line of tradition is as follows: the teaching came from Buddha to Nāgārjuna, then to Āryadeva and later to 'Jam-dpal-grags-pa. The teaching was received by a contemporary of Milarepa's (1040-1123), Bari lo-tsaba (1040-1111), from Rdo-rje-gdan-pa and later by the great Sa-skya-pa (1092-1158) from Mchims-brtson-seng.

Partial translations also survived in *Bka'*-*'gyur*, which nevertheless cannot be found in the *Phal-chen* part but, with one exception, in the *Mdo sna-tshogs* part. As mentioned before, there are two translations of the Life span chapter: *The listing of the virtues of Buddha's buddha-lands* (*'Phags-pa De-bzhin gshegs-pa-rnams-kyi sangs-rgyas-kyi zhing-gi yon-tan brjod-pa'i rnam-grangs*)<sup>126</sup> and *The king-sūtra which cannot be grasped by thoughts* (*'Phags-pa bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa'i rgyal-po'i mdo zhes bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo*).<sup>127</sup> According to the Derge edition, the former was translated by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-shes-sde.<sup>128</sup> The translators of the later work are unknown.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> T 99.190b.

<sup>124</sup> This confirms my own research as well, during which I have compared the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Appearance of the Tathāgata sūtra*. The Tibetan version contains an introductory section which cannot be found in any of the Chinese translations, except for the translation by Dharmarakṣa. The Chinese translators presumably took out this introductory section or it was already missing from the version that they used. Professor Aramaki Noritoshi, who examined the various versions of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* as the work was being translated into Japanese, also found that this chapter had been translated from Sanskrit (personal communication).

<sup>125</sup> *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gynis-pa* lists him among the translators from Sanskrit. For the relevant Tibetan text and its translation, see Scherrer-Schaub 1999. Bu-ston writes that King Ral-pa-can (r. 815-836) ordered Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Ye-shes-sde and other masters to translate the Buddhist works into Tibetan directly from Sanskrit because the words, or terminology, had been variously rendered in translations from Chinese and other languages, thus making it difficult to study the teaching. See Obermiller 1931: 196-197.

<sup>126</sup> P 772.

<sup>127</sup> P 934.

<sup>128</sup> *A Comparative Analytical Catalogue* 1930-1932: 276.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.* 363.

*The Inconceivable teaching of Buddha sūtra* (*Sangs-rgyas-kyi chos bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa bstan-pa*)<sup>130</sup> is contained in the translation of larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* under the same title. The names of the translators have not survived, but the colophon says the following: “Chapter twenty-nine of the *Large ear ornament sūtra*<sup>131</sup> consisting of one hundred thousand chapters is the teaching of Buddha which cannot be grasped by thought (*Snyan-gyi gong-rgyan rgyas-pa chen-po'i mdo le'u 'bum-pa-las sangs-rgyas-kyi chos bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa bstan-pa'i le'u nyi-shu dgu-pa*)”.<sup>132</sup> In fact, this chapter is not the twenty-ninth in the Tibetan translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, but the thirty-ninth. Bu-ston (1290-1364) writes that the entire Buddhist canon has not survived and that many parts have been lost. He cites the example of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, which had originally consisted of 100,000 chapters, of which only forty survived.<sup>133</sup> This report is surprising because the Tibetan translation consists of forty-five chapters. The 100,000 chapters (*le'u*) probably refers to the 100,000 *ślokas*. As mentioned earlier, according to the legend, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* which Nāgārjuna brought out of the palace of serpents contained 100,000 *ślokas*. It is interesting to note that this version is close to the sixty-fascicle Chinese version, while the version in the larger work is close to the eighty-fascicle work.<sup>134</sup> This chapter is the twenty-eighth in the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, so it is possible that this freestanding Tibetan translation is part of another, probably earlier Tibetan translation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, which might have been based on this recension of the *Huayan jing*.

*The king of the prayer of outstanding acts* (*'Phags-pa bzang-po spyod-pa'i smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po*),<sup>135</sup> which is a translation of *Bhadracarī-praṇidhānarāja-gāthā*, can be found in the *Rgyud* section of *Bka-'gyur*. Unlike the two larger Chinese translations, the larger Tibetan translation also contains this work.

#### i. Comparing the chapters in the various versions

Although the Sanskrit *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* has not survived, Zhiyan noted the Chinese translations of the Sanskrit chapter titles in his commentary.<sup>136</sup> We are thus afforded an opportunity to compare the arrangements of the chapters in the Sanskrit, the two Chinese

<sup>130</sup> P 854.

<sup>131</sup> This is the old Tibetan title for the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo* 1985: II. p. 1711.

<sup>132</sup> P 208: 34.200b5-6.

<sup>133</sup> Obermiller 1931: 169.

<sup>134</sup> *A Comparative Analytical Category* 1930-1932: 330.

<sup>135</sup> P 716.

<sup>136</sup> *Huayan jing nei zhangmen deng za kongmu zhang* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章 T45, no. 1871, p. 588, a21-c14.

and the Tibetan versions. The number of chapters differs: the sixty-fascicle *sūtra* consists of thirty-four chapters, the eighty-fascicle work contains thirty-nine, the Tibetan translation has forty-five and the Sanskrit original – according to Zhiyan’s report – comprises forty-four.<sup>137</sup> This difference can be traced back to two causes. First, some chapters were omitted from certain versions. Thus, for example, chapter eleven of the Tibetan translation, *The garlands of Tathāgata*, and chapter thirty-two, *The speech by Samantabhadra*, are missing from all of the other versions; the *Ten concentrations* chapter can only be found in the eighty-fascicle and Tibetan texts. Second, the text is divided into chapters in different ways and thus the chapter titles also differ. Chapter two of the sixty-fascicle Chinese text, *Vairocana Buddha*, for instance, makes up five separate chapters in the eighty-fascicle version, whereas this number is nine in the Tibetan and Sanskrit works. The last chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, is uniquely divided into three chapters in the Sanskrit original. Another difference is that chapters of identical content are sometimes given different titles. For example, the title of chapter one is “The eye that sees the world clearly” in the sixty-fascicle and Sanskrit versions, whereas it is “The wondrous ornaments of the Lord of the World” in the eighty-fascicle and Tibetan works.

On examining the arrangements of the chapters, therefore, we find that the Tibetan and Sanskrit versions are similar. On the basis of these findings, it can be concluded that the Tibetan recension, which also contains two chapters which the other two do not, represents the fourth and last station of development of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, whereas the eighty-fascicle Chinese recension, which contains one more chapter than the Sanskrit and the sixty-fascicle recensions, is the third station. Next, we provide a comparative chart of the titles of chapters in these four recensions of larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.

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<sup>137</sup> For a detailed comparison of the various versions, see Kimura 1992: 4-10.



Sanskrit (Zhiyan's report)	Buddhabhadra (T 278)	Śikṣānanda (T 279)	Tibetan (P 761)	Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan
(1) 世間淨眼品	(1) 世間淨眼品	(1) 世主妙嚴品	(1) 'jig-rten-gyi dbang-po thams-cad-kyi rgyan-gyi tshul rab-tu byung-ba	
(2) 如來品	(2) 盧舍那佛品	(2) 如來現相品	(2) de-bzhin gshegs-pa	
(3) 普賢菩薩修行入三摩提品		(3) 普賢三昧品	(3) kun-tu bzang-po'i ting-nge-'dzin dang rnam-par 'phrul-pa rab-tu 'byung-ba	
(4) 說入世界海品		(4) 世界成就品	(4) 'jig-rten-gyi khams rgya-mtsho shin-tu bstan-pa'i phyogs gsal-bar bya-ba yang-dag par bsgrubs-pa	
(5) 淨世界海功德海光明品		(5) 華藏世界品	(5) 'jig-rten-gyi khams rgya-mtsho gzhi dang snying-po me-tog-gi rgyan-gyis brgyan-pa'i yon-tan rgya-mtsho	

			yongs-su dag-pas snang-ba	
(6) 世界輪圍莊嚴海品			(6) 'jig-rten-gyi khams rgya-mtsho'i khor yug-gi rgyan rgya-mtsho shin-tu bstan-pa	
(7) 說世界海莊嚴地品			(7) 'jig-rten-gyi khams rgya-mtsho'i sa'i gzhi'i rgyan shin-tu bstan-pa	
(8) 觀世界性處品			(8) zhing-gi rgyud-kyi gnas shin-tu bstan-pa	
(9) 觀世界處安住音聲品			(9) 'jig-rten-gyi khams-kyi rgyud rnam-par dgod-pa shin-tu bstan-pa	
(10) 毘盧舍那品		(6) 毘盧遮那品	(10) rnam-par snang-mdzad	
			(11) de-bzhin gshegs-pa phal-po che	
(11) 如來名稱品	(3) 如來名號品	(7) 如來名號品	(12) sangs-rgyas-kyi mtshan shin-tu bstan-pa	佛說兜沙經 T 280: 10.445a5-446a15. 佛說菩薩本業經 T 281: 10.446b28-447a18.

(12) 四諦品	(4) 四諦品	(8) 四聖諦品	(13) 'phags-pa'i bden-pa	
(13) 如來光明熾然覺品	(5) 如來光明覺品	(9) 光明覺品	(14) de-bzhin gshegs-pa'i 'od-zer-las rnam-par sangs-rgyas	佛說兜沙經 T 280: 10.446a15- b9. 佛說菩薩本業經 T 281: 10.447a19-b4.
(14) 菩薩明難品	(6) 菩薩明難品	(10) 菩薩問明品	(15) byang-chub sems- dpas dris-pa snang-ba	
(15) 圓淨行品	(7) 淨行品	(11) 淨行品	(16) spyod-yul yongs-su dag-pa	佛說菩薩本業經 T 281: 10.447b6-449b23. 諸菩薩求佛本業經 T 282: 10.451a6-454a7.
(16) 賢勝品	(8) 賢首菩薩品	(12) 賢首品	(17) bzang-po'i dpal	
(17) 須彌頂入如來品	(9) 佛昇須彌頂品	(13) 昇須彌山頂品	(18) de-bzhin gshegs-pa ri-rab-kyi rtse-mor gshegs-pa	佛說菩薩本業經 T 281: 10.449b25-29. 諸菩薩求佛本業經 T 282: 10.454a8-20.
(18) 須彌頂如來作菩薩集 說偈品	(10) 菩薩雲集妙勝殿上說 偈品	(14) 須彌頂上偈讚品	(19) ri rab-kyi rtse-mo de-bzhin gshegs-pa'i rnam-par 'phrul-pa dang byang-chub sems-dpa'i tshogs-kyi tshigs-su bcad-pa	佛說菩薩本業經 T 281: 10.449b29-c4. 諸菩薩求佛本業經 T 282: 10.454a20-26.

(19) 十菩薩說住品	(11) 菩薩十住品	(15) 十住品	(20) byang-chub sems-dpa'i rnam-par dgod-pa bcu bstan-pa	佛說菩薩本業經 T 281: 10.449c4-450c25. 菩薩十住行道品 T 283. 佛說菩薩十住經 T 284.
(20) 梵行品	(12) 梵行品	(16) 梵行品	(21) tshangs-par spyod-pa	
(21) 說初發心菩薩功德花聚喻偈品	(13) 初發心菩薩功德品	(17) 初發心功德品	(22) byang-chub sems-dpa' sems dang-po bskyed-pa'i bsod-nams-kyi phung-po'i dpe yang-dag-par bsags-pa tshigs bcad-pa	
(22) 明法品	(14) 明法品	(18) 明法品	(23) chos snang-ba	
(23) 蘇夜摩富作品	(15) 佛昇夜摩天宮自在品	(19) 昇夜摩天宮品	(24) ran mtshe-ma'i gnas-na rnam-par 'phrul-ba	諸菩薩求佛本業經 T 282: 10.454a8-20.
(24) 蘇夜摩富菩薩集說偈品	(16) 夜摩天宮菩薩說偈品	(20) 夜摩宮中偈讚品	(25) rab mtshe-ma'i gnas-su byang-chub sems-dpa'i 'dus-pas tshigs-su bcad-pa bstan-pa	
(25) 說功德花和合十菩薩	(17) 功德華聚菩薩十行品	(21) 十行品	(26) yon-tan-gyi me-tog	

行品			shin-tu bsags-pa zhes bya-ba byang-chub sems- dpa'i spyod-pa bstan-pa	
(26) 十無盡藏品	(18) 菩薩十無盡藏品	(22) 十無盡藏品	(27) gter mi zad-pa bcu bstan-pa	
(27) 如來昇入兜率陀天品	(19) 如來昇兜率天宮一切 寶殿品	(23) 昇兜率天宮品	(28) de-bzhin gshegs-pa dga'-ldan-du bzhud-pa dang gshegs-pa dang bzhugs-pa'i rgyan	
(28) 兜率宮菩薩來說偈品	(20) 兜率天宮菩薩雲集讚 佛品	(24) 兜率宮中偈讚品	(29) dga'-ldan-gyi gnas- su byang-chub sems-dpa' 'dus-pa'i tshigs-su bcad- pa bstan-pa	
(29) 金剛幢迴向品	(21) 金剛幢菩薩十迴向品	(25) 十迴向品	(30) rdo-rje rgyal- mtshan-gyis yongs-su bsngo-ba	
(30) 十地品	(22) 十地品	(26) 十地品	(31) sa bcu	漸備一切智德經 T 285. 十住經 T 286. 佛說十地經 T 287.
			(32) kun-tu bzang-pos bstan-pa	大方廣普賢所說經 T 298.

		(27) 十定品	(33) ting-nge-'dzin bcu	等目菩薩所問三昧經 T 288.
(31) 神通品	(23) 十明品	(28) 十通品	(34) mngon-par shes-pa	
(32) 忍辱品	(24) 十忍品	(29) 十忍品	(35) bzod-pa	佛說如來興顯經 T 291: 10.614b15-617b7.
(33) 心王問算教入品	(25) 心王菩薩問阿僧祇品	(30) 阿僧祇品	(36) sems-kyis rgyal-pos dris-nas grags-la 'jug-pa bstan	
(34) 壽量品	(26) 壽命品	(31) 壽量品	(37) tshe'i tshad	顯無邊佛土功德經 T 289. 佛說較量一切佛刹功德經 T 290. De-bzhin gshegs-pa-rnams-kyi sangs-rgyas-gi yon-tan brjod-pa'i rnam-grangs P 772. Bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa'i rgyal- po'i mdo P 934.
(35) 菩薩住處品	(27) 菩薩住處品	(32) 諸菩薩住處品	(38) byang-chub sems- dpa'i gnas	
(36) 說佛法不思議品	(28) 佛不思議法品	(33) 佛不思議法品	(39) sangs-rgyas-kyi chos bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa bstan-pa	Sangs-rgyas-kyi chos bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa bstan-pa P 854.
(37) 說如來十身相海品	(29) 如來相海品	(34) 如來十身相海品	(40) de-bzhin gshegs-pa'i sku'i mtshan rgya-mtsho	

			bstan-pa	
(38) 小種好光明說功德門 品	(30) 佛小相光明功德品	(35) 如來隨好光明功 德品	(41) dpe-byad bzang-po'i 'od-zer bstan-pa	
(39) 說普賢菩薩行品	(31) 普賢菩薩行品	(36) 普賢行品	(42) kun-tu bzang-po'i spyod-pa bstan-pa	
(40) 說如來性起品	(32) 寶王如來性起品	(37) 如來出現品	(43) de-bzhin gshegs-pa skye-ba 'byung-ba bstan- pa	佛說如來興顯經 T 291: 10.592c6-614b14.
(41) 出世間品	(33) 離世間品	(38) 離世間品	(44) 'jig-rten-las 'das-pa	度世品經 T 292.
(42) 善財離貪藏品 (43) 彌勒離貪名善財所問 品 (44) 說如來功德不思議境 界上境界入品	(34) 入法界品	(39) 入法界品	(45) sdong-pos brgyan-pa	大方廣佛華嚴經 T 293. 佛說羅摩伽經 T 294. 大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品 T 295. 文殊師利發願經 T 296. 普賢菩薩行願贊 T 297. 'Phags-pa bzang-po spyod-pa'i smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po P 716.

## 2. Huayan Texts in Dunhuang

### a. Huayan Buddhism in Dunhuang

The Huayan宗 華嚴宗 is one of the schools of Chinese Buddhism that is regarded as a product of a long process usually called Sinification, which refers to the way in which this originally foreign religion was adopted in China. However, it was not easy to internalize the foreign concepts and beliefs. Huayan is an example of fully fledged Chinese Buddhism, which was preceded by the transmission of the basic text, the *Huayan jing*, and the meticulous interpretation of this scripture by Chinese monks. During this exegetical analysis, the Chinese interpreters formulated the ideas of Huayan philosophy, such as the dependent arising of *dharma-dhātu*, the ten mystical gates, the six characters, the four *dharma-dhātus*, the classification of teachings, etc. Those who wish to understand Huayan philosophy automatically turn to the essays written by Chinese exegetes that elaborate all these concepts in a clear way, but which are often unrelated to the *Huayan jing* source text. It is not surprising that the modern study of Huayan Buddhism focuses on the works of the Chinese patriarchs (Du Shun 杜順, Zhiyan 智儼, Fazang 法藏, Chengguan 澄觀 and Zongmi 宗密), and seems to neglect the earlier history of Huayan, which should be traced back to Central Asia, where this new insight on the Buddha-*dharma* was born.

Even if the Chinese understanding of *Huayan jing* was essential to the formation of Huayan Buddhism, and indigenous Chinese ideas and concepts played an important role in establishing Huayan thought, we cannot ignore the fact that all the concepts reflected in the *Huayan jing* were originally created in Central Asia, in the oasis cities of the Taklamakan Desert. All these concepts were later further elaborated by Chinese exegetes under the influence of indigenous Chinese thought and the earlier achievements in interpreting Buddhist philosophy. Unfortunately, we know relatively little about the early history of Huayan Buddhism in Central Asia, as the beginning of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the origin of Mahāyāna *sūtras* are also unclear. We have no sources on the history of Huayan Buddhism and the Central Asian interpretation of the *Huayan jing*. In the case of Chinese Buddhism the historical records preserved the names of the monks who studied the *Huayan jing*, the Huayan lineage of five patriarchs was established, and many works attributed to these monks are extant, thus we naturally tend to assume that Huayan school was created in China. However,



the absence of sources does not mean that Huayan Buddhism was not influential in Central Asia.

The provenance of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* seems to show that this scripture was probably compiled in Central Asia and was highly respected by political leaders and the populace. Even if we have no written sources on the history of Huayan Buddhism in Central Asia, we do possess many artworks and ritual objects that reflect the cult of *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. It is important to bear in mind that the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is extremely visionary in nature, thus it is an ideal topic for visual art. This *sūtra* is preached by Vairocana Buddha, but in fact it is most often bodhisattvas who preach after receiving empowerment through light emitted by Buddha. Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra bodhisattvas very frequently play this role in the *sūtra*. These three celestial beings form the Huayan trinity, where Vairocana represents the aim of Buddhist practice, the state of enlightenment, Samantabhadra is the symbol of Buddhist practice, while Mañjuśrī is the representative of wisdom. This Huayan trinity is described in different ways by artists in Central and East Asia. Vairocana Buddha is a central topic in the exegetical tradition of Huayan in China: the patriarchs of the Huayan school regarded him as the representation of absolute truth. This absolute truth is none other than the real nature of all phenomena; that is, emptiness. In turn, this emptiness is revealed by the Buddhist teaching of dependent arising which is elaborated as the *dharma-dhātu* dependent arising in the Huayan school. The *sūtra* emphasizes the identity of Vairocana, emptiness and dependent arising:

Clearly know that all *dharmas*

Are without any existence in their own being.

To understand the natures of *dharmas* in this way

is to see Vairocana.<sup>138</sup>

The appearance of Vairocana images in Central Asia strongly suggests that Huayan Buddhism was popular in this region. We have to bear in mind that at the beginning Buddha was not the object of any art, and it was only in the Gandhāra art of Buddhism under Hellenistic influence in the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century that Buddha images first appeared. At first Shākyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, was described, but later bodhisattvas and celestial

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<sup>138</sup> Cook 1972.

buddhas appeared. The most popular celestial beings who were shown by early images were Amitābha, Bhaiṣajyagura and Akṣobhya. However the cult of all these beings was a later development of Buddhism in Central and East Asia.<sup>139</sup> A very important example of this cult seems to be a Vairocana figure in Cave no. 17 of Kizil, which is situated at Kucha, the northern route of the Silk Road. In the headlight and on the body of the Buddha small buddhas are seen, thus some scholars reached the conclusion that it must be Vairocana Buddha. Other scholars raised doubts about this and identified it as the cosmic Buddha of the Lotus *sūtra*. Li Ruizhe thinks that the Buddha of this cave is a Buddha of the Hīnayāna Buddhism, and only a similar Buddha in cave 123 represents Vairocana Buddha.<sup>140</sup> He argues that the Buddha in cave 17 includes only images of small buddhas and not other beings, while the Buddha in cave 123 also includes the images of other beings. Vairocana with other beings on his body became a standard representation of Vairocana in Central and East Asian Buddhist Art as Vairocana and the *dharmadhātu*.<sup>141</sup> This reflects the basic narrative of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*: that Buddha manifests himself in different locations, in the whole *dharmadhātu*, without leaving his earlier abodes. Thanks to his magical power Buddha is able to multiply and manifest himself simultaneously without obstruction in various locations. This basic concept of the *sūtra* probably inspired Chinese exegetes to formulate the theory of non-obstruction of phenomena and absolute, a key concept in Huayan philosophy.

The commercial and cultural center at the eastern end of the Silk Road, Dunhuang also testifies to the influence of Huayan Buddhism in Central Asia. The image of Vairocana with the *dharmadhātu* appears in 13 caves; the earliest painting can be dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century, but most of the images were made under the Tang dynasty.<sup>142</sup> It is interesting to note that in several cases Vairocana with *dharmadhātu* is shown in the context of the *Buddha Recompenses the Favour Sūtra* (*Baoen jing* 報恩經). It is possible that later Huayan transformation tableaux became the standard visual description of the *Huayan jing*, thus Vairocana with *dharmadhātu* was connected with the *Buddha Recompenses the Favour Sūtra*.<sup>143</sup> The Huayan transformation tableaux shows the seven locations and nine assemblies where Buddha taught the *Huayan jing*.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Schopen 2004.

<sup>140</sup> Li Ruizhe 2009.

<sup>141</sup> Sorensen 2004.

<sup>142</sup> Yin 2001, 2002a.

<sup>143</sup> Yin 2002b.

<sup>144</sup> Wong 2007.

Fortunately, the frescos, statues and painting are not the only sources that enable us to detect the impact of Buddhism, and draw conclusions about the spread of Buddhism in different periods in Dunhuang. The famous cave library of Dunhuang preserved many sources that shed light on the history of Chinese Buddhism. Eighty-eight percent of the materials found in Dunhuang are Buddhist texts that can be divided into eight categories, according to Fang Guangchang:<sup>145</sup>

1. Canonical works (*zhengcang* 正藏)
2. Extracanonial works (*biecang* 別藏)
3. Tiantai works (*tiantai jiaodian* 天台教典)
4. Vinaya works (*pinicang* 毗尼藏)
5. Chan Canon (*chancang* 禪藏)
6. Popular works propagating Buddhism (*xuanjiao tongshu wenshu* 宣教通俗文書)
7. Documents of Monasteries in Dunhuang (*Dunhuang siyuan wenshu* 敦煌寺院文書)
8. Apocryphal *sūtras* (*yiwei jing* 疑偽經)

The Huayan texts include translations of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, commentaries on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and treatises on Huayan philosophy written by Huayan patriarchs. These texts belong to the first two categories established by Fang Guangchang. In terms of numbers, it is true that *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is far behind the Mahāyāna *sūtras* like the *Lotus sūtra*, the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*, or the *Diamond sūtra* which have thousands of copies in Dunhuang. Altogether 149 manuscripts of the eighty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, the later complete Chinese translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, are found in the Dunhuang library, and only fifteen manuscripts preserved the earlier translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*.<sup>146</sup> However we must bear in mind that the number of the texts found in Dunhuang does not necessarily reflect the importance of a certain scripture in Chinese Buddhism. Some scriptures, due to their content, served votive purposes, thus believers asked professional copyists to copy scriptures for the benefit of their family, or for protection. The *Huayan jing* could also be used for this purpose, as a story in the *Account of Stimuli and Responses Related to Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Da fangguang fo*

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<sup>145</sup> Fang 1998: 88-93.

<sup>146</sup> Li 2008.

*huayan ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳), compiled shortly after 783 by Hu Youzhen 胡幽貞 (?-783+), clearly shows.

In the Zhengsheng period (695) Deng Yuanying (originally Yuanshuang) of Huayin had a close friend who suddenly was infected with a disease, and suffered from this disease. He came back to life after seven days. He told Yuan Shuang: “I saw that the official of the underworld was about to chase your father, and the order was soon to be issued. You should accumulate merit to avoid this disaster. Yuanying was frightened and asked: “What kind of merit do I need for my father to avoid this fate?” He replied: You should hurry to copy the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*! Don’t be late, the date of your father’s death is not far! Yuanying went to the market, and bought paper. He went to the Chan shrine of the neighbouring monastery, and asked the Chan master to introduce him to a scribe of sūtras who lived a pure life according to the *Dharma*, and can start to write right away. He finished the copying of the whole *sūtra* in less than ten days. They celebrated it with a vegetarian feast. This way he could avoid this calamity. Yuanying subsequently followed the custom of observing the mourning period for his deceased mother, which kept his sorrow keen in his heart. In that winter in the eleventh month the withered plants on his mother’s grave that had been planted a long time before suddenly started to blossom and grow leaves. The grave became covered with fragrant and beautiful flowers. It must have been the effect of copying the *sūtra*. The officials of that region wrote memorials about this. Empress Wu Zetian greatly appreciated it, and presented him with a gate of filial piety with the imperial inscription.

證聖年中，花陰鄧元英(有本名元爽)有一親友，忽染時患。死經七日却蘇，謂元爽曰：“見冥道宮吏將追君父，文案欲成，急修功德以禳之。”元英驚懼曰：“修何功德，而疾獲免？”彼人云：“急寫《大華嚴經》一部，若遲大期不遠。元英乃遽市買紙，向隣寺伏禪師院，請禪師與名召經生，如法護淨，一時書寫。未旬日，經已周畢，辦齋慶之。於後遂免斯厄。元英仍依母服，哀切在懷。至其冬十一月中，於母墳所舊種寒枯之莖，忽生花葉。芳[廿/(夬-夫+玉)]榮艷，五彩含英。斯蓋寫經之感也。洲縣以之聞奏，則天嗟異，賜立孝門，降勅旌表。<sup>147</sup>

In fact, we find some evidence that the manuscripts of the *Huayan jing* were made in order to gain merit, and even the names of the donors were preserved in colophons to some of the manuscripts.<sup>148</sup> The colophon of S. 6476 says that the manuscript was made as an offering (*gongyang* 供養) by bhikṣu Deren 德仁. S. 1608 was copied as an offering by bhikṣu

<sup>147</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳, T51, no. 2074, p. 177, a10-21.

<sup>148</sup> For the colophons, see *Dunhuang yishu zongmu suoyin xinbian* 敦煌遺書總目索引新編 2000.

Daoxiang 道祥, S 2245 by bhikṣu Tanwei 曇威, S. 5361 by bhikṣu Tanyong 曇詠. All these examples would suggest that the *Huayan jing* was mostly popular among monks, probably due to the abstruse teachings proclaimed in this voluminous Mahāyāna *sūtra*. However, we find an example of a layman called Gao Bi 高弼, who made a copy of the *sūtra* (S. 4252) for his deceased wife Yuan Shengwei 元聖威.

Nonetheless the *Huayan jing* was certainly not as popular as the other above mentioned Mahāyāna *sūtras* in terms of copying for gaining merit. Examining the reconstructed *Huayan jing* from Dunhuang manuscripts in *Dunhuang baocang* 敦煌寶藏 we find that nine fascicles are missing from the eighty-fascicle *Huayan jing* (11-14, 18, 20, 49, 51-52), and also nine from the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing* (3, 6-7, 10-13, 29-30, 32).

b. The manuscripts of the chapter *Baowang rulai xingqi pin* 寶王如來性起品 in Dunhuang

In order to ascertain the textual differences between the Dunhuang manuscripts and the transmitted scripture found in the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon we select the thirty second chapter of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing: The nature-origination of the Jewel King Tathāgata* (*Baowang rulai xingqi pin* 寶王如來性起品).<sup>149</sup> This chapter is preserved in the following five manuscripts owned by the Beijing National Library:

1. 北 21 (冬 80): T. 9, no. 278, p. 627a16-631a18. (fascicle 35)
2. 北 22 (號 89): T. 9, no. 278, p. 616a20- b9. (fascicle 34)
3. 北 23 (洪 40): T. 9, no. 278, p. 616 b17-c9. (fascicle 34)
4. 北 24 (師 98): T. 9, no. 278, p. 617c11-618a29. (fascicle 34)
5. 北 25 (闕 89): T. 9, no. 278, p. 623a5-631b5. (fascicle 35-36)

At first sight it is very obvious that these five manuscripts must originally have belonged to at least two different manuscripts, as the texts of the first and fifth manuscripts

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<sup>149</sup> On the significance of this chapter in the *Huayan jing* and its Chinese interpretation by the Huayan school, see Hamar 2007b.

overlap. However, if we compare the styles of writing it turns out that these five manuscripts were written by four copyists.北 22 and 北 23 were written by the same person.<sup>150</sup>

21	22	23	24	25
无 无	无	无	无 无 无	无 无
以 以	以	以	以	以 以
法	法		法 法	法 法
尔	尔	尔	尔 尔	
如 如 如	如	如	如 如	如 如
切 切 切 切	切 切	切 切	切 切 切	切 切 切

There are many orthographic variations in these manuscripts: some of them are the traditional simplifications called *suzi* 俗子 like 学, 花, 乱, 礼, 号, 无, 与, others are special variations also found in other Dunhuang manuscripts.

<sup>150</sup> I relied on Imre Galambos' expertise in making this conclusion.

Collating with the Taishō edition of the text we find examples that prove these three of the five texts are not the same recension of the *sūtra* as the one that the Taishō edition was based on; i.e. the Korean edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon. The Beijing 21, 22 and 25 include six alterations that are also found in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of the *sūtra*, according to the philological examination conducted by the editors of the Taishō edition. It is interesting to compare Dunhuang manuscripts with a manuscript found in Japan. This text is *Da fangguang rulai xingqi weimizang jing* 大方廣如來性起微密藏經, which seems to be an independent *sūtra*, but is in fact identical with the *Rulai xingqi pin* of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, the text under consideration here. It is probable that this chapter was so popular under the Tang dynasty that it was circulated as an independent text. The *Da fangguang rulai xingqi weimizang jing* was lost in China, but has been recently discovered in the Nanatsudera of Nagoya.<sup>151</sup> The text of *Da fangguang rulai xingqi weimizang jing* found in Nagoya was published by Kimura Kiyotaka.<sup>152</sup> In the first case the Japanese manuscript agrees with the Korean edition, while it confirms the Dunhuang versions in the other cases. In the comparative tables below we have added the Taishō punctuation to the Dunhuang manuscripts in order to facilitate comparison, even if there is no punctuation in the Dunhuang texts. In addition we use the regular characters even where the Dunhuang manuscripts display orthographic variations.

Dunhuang manuscripts	Taishō
B22: 所謂除滅眾惡。長養善法。慧光 普照	所謂滅惡饒益。長養善法。普照饒益 <sup>153</sup>
B21/B25: 而轉淨法輪	而轉正法輪 <sup>154</sup>
B21/B25: 當知不以一刹示現涅槃故。	當知不以一佛刹示現涅槃故。 <sup>155</sup>
B21/B25: 於如來所。少殖善根。	於如來所。少植善根。 <sup>156</sup>
B21/B25: 從諸如來種性家生。	姓從諸如來種姓家生。 <sup>157</sup>
B25: 譬如有一人 吞服小金剛	譬如有一人 吞服少金剛 <sup>158</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Ochiai 1991.

<sup>152</sup> Kimura 1999.

<sup>153</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 616, b5, Kimura 1999: 583.

<sup>154</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 628, a20; Kimura 1999: 648.

<sup>155</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 628, c21-22; Kimura 1999: 651.

<sup>156</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 629, b19-20; Kimura 1999: 655.

<sup>157</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, a7; Kimura 1999: 658.

However, we also find cases where one of the Dunhuang manuscripts differs from the others, but its reading is confirmed by other Chinese manuscripts transmitted to Japan, according to the notes in the Taishō edition. This attests to the fact that in Dunhuang region different recensions of this *sūtra* were circulated.

B21: 悉離語言道 不可為譬喻	悉離語言道 不可為譬喻 <sup>159</sup>
B 21: 不可為論。何以故。如來不可思議過思議故。但隨所應佛為作論。	不可為論。何以故。如來不可思議過思議故。但隨所應佛為作論。 <sup>160</sup>
B 21: 東踊西沒。	東涌西沒。 <sup>161</sup>
B 25 不可言說。不可思議。我說小喻。	不可言說。不可思議。我說小論。 <sup>162</sup>
B 25 唯除如來法王真子。從諸如來種性家生。	唯除如來法王真子。從諸如來種姓家生。 <sup>163</sup>

We can also find cases where Dunhuang manuscripts might have preserved recensions that none of the transmitted recensions can confirm. Using other characters than in the transmitted text results in changes to the meaning of the text; however, these changes are acceptable in the context of the *sūtra*.

B 25: 剎外有風起 名曰障散壞 若無此散壞 十方悉磨滅	剎外有風起 名曰障散壞 若無此風者 十方悉磨滅 <sup>164</sup>
B 25: 安住大乘行 無量德莊嚴 除受記菩薩 一切莫能見	安住大乘藏 無量德莊嚴 除受記菩薩 一切莫能見 <sup>165</sup>
B 25: 念出無量佛 又放無量光	念出無數佛 又放無量光

<sup>158</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, b11.

<sup>159</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 629, b8.

<sup>160</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 629, c17-19.

<sup>161</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, b24.

<sup>162</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 625, b3.

<sup>163</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, a6-7

<sup>164</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 624, c29-p. 625, a1.

<sup>165</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 624, b26-27.



光有無量華 華有無量佛	光有無量華 華有無量佛 <sup>166</sup>
B 25: 答言。	答曰。 <sup>167</sup>
B 25: 如是微妙法 無量劫難聞	如是微密法 無量劫難聞 <sup>168</sup>
B 25: 流出不斷龍王。	流注不斷龍王。 <sup>169</sup>
B 21: 譬如無量劫 念念化諸佛 若化若不化 皆悉等無量	譬如無量劫 念念化諸佛 若化若不化 皆悉等無異 <sup>170</sup>
B 21: 三世一切劫 佛刹及諸法 諸根心心法 一切虛空法	三世一切劫 佛刹及諸法 諸根心心法 一切虛妄法 <sup>171</sup>
B 25: 捨離虛空顛倒。	捨離虛妄顛倒。
B 25: 是故離放逸 一心常奉行	是故離放逸 一心常奉持 <sup>172</sup>

In addition to providing information on textual history, the Dunhuang manuscripts are also invaluable sources because of the light that they shed on the tradition of copying texts. The colophons give us clues about the donors, the individuals who copied, the purpose of the donation and the time when the copying took place.<sup>173</sup> The donor and the copyist might be the same person, but the donor also could hire someone else specialized in copying *sūtras* (*jingsheng* 經生). The copyist could be a lay person, or a monk. In the story above, we learn that Deng Yuanying bought the paper and ink and hired a monk from a Chan monastery to copy the *Huayan jing* in order to save his father from death. The Dunhuang manuscripts certainly reveal the proficiency of the copyist: the style of the calligraphy and the mistakes in the manuscripts indicate the skill of the person who copied the *sūtra*.

<sup>166</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 629, a29-b1.

<sup>167</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 627, a15.

<sup>168</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 631, a25.

<sup>169</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 625, b16.

<sup>170</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 627, b22-23.

<sup>171</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 627, c1-2.

<sup>172</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 631, b5.

<sup>173</sup> Lin Zongming 1991

One of the most frequently made mistakes is the omission of characters. However, we should bear in mind that the copyist also depended on a manuscript which might already contain that omission, thus he was only repeating mistakes, and not generating them himself.

Dunhuang manuscripts	Taishō
B 21: 如來菩提身。無處不至。無處有故。 。	如來菩提身。無處不至。無處不有故。 <sup>174</sup>
B 21: 時有眾生善根熟者。見如來身。心調伏。	時有眾生善根熟者。見如來身。心皆調伏。 。 <sup>175</sup>
B 21: 若有者眼得清淨。	若有見者眼得清淨。 <sup>176</sup>
B 21: 具足成就一切智智。	具足成就一切智智。 <sup>177</sup>
B 21: 雨眾華雲。勝過諸天。雨寶衣雲。蓋雲。幢雲。幡雲。香。塗香雲。	雨眾華雲。勝過諸天。雨寶衣雲。蓋雲。幢雲。幡雲。香雲。塗香雲。 <sup>178</sup>
B 21: 我承佛神力故。	我等承佛神力故。 <sup>179</sup>
B 23: 常放無量無礙智慧光。	常放無量無礙智慧光明。 <sup>180</sup>
B 25: 能過聲聞辟支佛地。	能過聲聞辟支佛地。究竟佛地。 <sup>181</sup>
B 25: 知心境界是如來境。	知心境界是如來境界。 <sup>182</sup>
B 25: 彼如來智慧無來處	彼諸智慧悉無來處 <sup>183</sup>
B 25: 如是二萬五千河水。	如是二萬五千九百河水。 <sup>184</sup>
B 25: 於來無量智海	於如來無量智海 <sup>185</sup>
B 25: 日月周行虛空。不作是念。我虛空。	日月周行虛空。不作是念。我行虛空。 <sup>186</sup>
B 25: 菩薩摩訶	菩薩摩訶薩 <sup>187</sup>

<sup>174</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 627, a28-29.

<sup>175</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 629, a2-3.

<sup>176</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 629, b28.

<sup>177</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, a28.

<sup>178</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, b29-c1.

<sup>179</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 631, a9.

<sup>180</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 616, b19-20.

<sup>181</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 623, c21-22.

<sup>182</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 625, a24.

<sup>183</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 625, a29.

<sup>184</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 625, b8.

<sup>185</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 625, c13-14.

<sup>186</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 626, b10-11.

B 25: 當如是知如般涅槃。	當如是知如如般涅槃。 188
B 25: 虛空界。	如虛空界。 189
B 25: 彼人即清淨色身。	彼人即得清淨色身。 190
B 25: 此諸寶等自然散。	此諸寶等自然散滅。 191
B 25: 是菩薩摩訶薩。聞此經者。歡喜恭敬頂戴受持。	是故菩薩摩訶薩。聞此經者。歡喜恭敬頂戴受持。 192
B 25: 如是句。如是味。如是相貌。	如是句。如是味。如是行。如是相貌。 193
B 25: 欲說如來功德。	欲說如來無量功德。 194
B 25: 欲生一切菩薩無量本行。	欲出生一切菩薩無量本行。 195

Some of the omissions seem to consist in shortening a two-character word into one character, for example *guangming* 光明 becomes *guang* 光, or *jingjie* 境界 becomes *jing* 境, or *sanmie* 散滅 becomes *san* 散, which do not detract from the meaning of the text. Some of the omissions cause more serious damage to the text, as information can be lost by leaving out two or three characters, while omitting the word of negation (*bu* 不) gives the sentence the opposite meaning. It is very clear that the copyist was not careful enough when he omitted the last character of the well-known technical term *pusa mohesa* 菩薩摩訶薩 (*bodhisattva mahāsattva*).

Another very frequent alteration in manuscripts is to use a different character than in the transmitted text. However, in some cases this does not corrupt the text as the character used in the manuscript has the same meaning, even if one of its radicals is different.

Dunhuang manuscripts	Taishō
B 21: 往詣道場菩提樹下。處師子坐。	往詣道場菩提樹下。處師子座。 196

<sup>187</sup> This omission appears twice: *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 627, a24, T09, no. 278, p. 627, c25

<sup>188</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 628, b8-9.

<sup>189</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 628, b10.

<sup>190</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 629, c9.

<sup>191</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, a5.

<sup>192</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, a11-12.

<sup>193</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 631, a8-9.

<sup>194</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 631, a13.

<sup>195</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 631, a19.

<sup>196</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 627, b1.

B 21: 各有寶師子 <u>坐</u> 。一一 <u>坐</u> 上。各有如來結跏趺坐。	各有寶師子 <u>座</u> 。一一 <u>座</u> 上。各有如來結跏趺坐。 <sup>197</sup>
B 25: 普 <u>現</u> 三世一切諸佛悉現前故。	普 <u>見</u> 三世一切諸佛悉現前故。 <sup>198</sup>
B 21: 菩薩讚嘆 <u>雲</u> 。	菩薩讚歎 <u>雲</u> 。 <sup>199</sup>
B 25: 照 <u>曜</u> 菩薩不善波浪。	照 <u>耀</u> 菩薩不善波浪。 <sup>200</sup>
B 25: 我當 <u>勩</u> 作方便破彼微塵。	我當 <u>勤</u> 作方便破彼微塵。 <sup>201</sup>
B 22: 譬如日出世 <u>間</u> 。	譬如日出世 <u>間</u> 。 <sup>202</sup>
B 25: 皆悉熾 <u>燃</u> 燒盡無餘。	皆悉熾 <u>然</u> 燒盡無餘。 <sup>203</sup>
B 25: 清淨甚深智 如來 <u>姓</u> 中生	清淨甚深智 如來 <u>性</u> 中生 <sup>204</sup>
B 25: 開發示現如來種 <u>姓</u> 。	開發示現如來種 <u>性</u> 。 <sup>205</sup>
B 25: 知見法輪如 <u>響</u> 。	知見法輪如 <u>響</u> 。 <sup>206</sup>
B 25: 青琉璃 <u>色</u> 。	青琉璃 <u>色</u> 。 <sup>207</sup>

In other cases the difference of one radical in a character results in a character which has a different meaning which does not fit into the text.

Dunhuang manuscripts	Taishō
B 21: 維除第一夫人所生太子。	唯除第一夫人所生太子。 <sup>208</sup>
B 25: 無 <u>想</u> 。無行。無退。	無 <u>相</u> 。無行。無退。 <sup>209</sup>
B 21: 亦復不起二不 <u>二</u> 相。	亦復不起二不 <u>二</u> 想。 <sup>210</sup>
B 25: 滅除疑 <u>或</u> 。	滅除疑 <u>惑</u> 。 <sup>211</sup>

<sup>197</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 628, c28-29.

<sup>198</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 628, b16-17.

<sup>199</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, c2.

<sup>200</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 623, a11.

<sup>201</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 624, a10-11.

<sup>202</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 616, a27-28.

<sup>203</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 623, c4.

<sup>204</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 624, c17.

<sup>205</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 629, c23-24.

<sup>206</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 627, c12.

<sup>207</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 625, c8-9.

<sup>208</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, a2-3.

<sup>209</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 626, c11.

<sup>210</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 628, b17-18.

<sup>211</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 626, c11.

B 21: 一切法輪無所轉。	一切法轉無所轉。 <sup>212</sup>
B 21: 若有八十不可說百千億那由他世界微塵等如來。	各有八十不可說百千億那由他世界微塵等如來。 <sup>213</sup>
B 25: 波涌流水。	彼涌流水。 <sup>214</sup>
B 25: 三世一切劫 佛刹及諸劫	三世一切劫 佛刹及諸法 <sup>215</sup>

Sometimes it is very obvious that the mistake is a consequence of careless copying.

Dunhuang manuscripts	Taishō
B 21: 彼一一心。悉能化作恒河如來。無色無形。如是河沙等劫。常化不絕。	彼一一心。悉能化作恒沙如來。無色無形。如是恒沙等劫。常化不絕。 <sup>216</sup>
B 21: 譬如文字。於無量無所劫。說不可盡。	譬如文字。於無量無數劫。說不可盡。 <sup>217</sup>
B 21: 譬如轉輪聖王所有七寶。因此寶故。行轉聖王法。聖王七寶無堪持者。	譬如轉輪聖王所有七寶。因此寶故。行轉輪王法。聖王七寶無堪持者。 <sup>218</sup>
B 23: 乃是深山幽谷無不普照。	乃至深山幽谷無不普照。 <sup>219</sup>
B 25: 一切諸智慧 悉知誓智	一切諸智慧 悉依善逝智 <sup>220</sup>
B 25: 若無此四寶 天地四漂沒	若無此四寶 天地悉漂沒 <sup>221</sup>
B 25: 樹單越內。流出一萬河水。	鬱單越內。流出一萬河水。 <sup>222</sup>
B 25: 從歡喜故乃至究竟無礙智地故。	從歡喜地乃至究竟無礙智地故。 <sup>223</sup>
B 25: 聲聞學無學 辟如佛無量	聲聞學無學 辟支佛無量 <sup>224</sup>

<sup>212</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 627, c7.

<sup>213</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, c7-9.

<sup>214</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 625, c8.

<sup>215</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 627, c1.

<sup>216</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 627, a12-14.

<sup>217</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 627, c15-16.

<sup>218</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, a1-2.

<sup>219</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 616, b26.

<sup>220</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 624, b4.

<sup>221</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 624, c1.

<sup>222</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 625, b7.

<sup>223</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 625, c20.

<sup>224</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 626, a13.

B 25: 十方世界中 一切眾生類 無上菩提海 而海而不現	十方世界中 一切眾生類 無上菩提海 無法而不現
B 25: 悉能照明一切世界一切世界一切眾生。	悉能照明一切世界一切法界一切眾生。 <sup>225</sup>
B 25: 若有念如來者。即念佛三昧。	若有念如來者。得念佛三昧。 <sup>226</sup>

We also find cases where due to the mistake of the copyist the text contains one or more extra characters.

B 21: 悉能除滅無量眾生病。	悉能除滅無量眾病。 <sup>227</sup>
B21 東涌西沒。西沒涌東沒。	東涌西沒。西涌東沒。 <sup>228</sup>
B 21: 照明一切如來功德。讚歎一切如來功德。讚歎一切如來正法。	照明一切如來功德。讚歎一切如來正法。 <sup>229</sup>
B 25 彼諸如來智慧無來處。	彼諸智慧悉無來處。 <sup>230</sup>
B 25 成就如是平等功德。	成就如是等功德。 <sup>231</sup>
B 21: 雖無量億那那由他劫。行六波羅蜜。修習道品善根。未聞此經。	雖無量億那由他劫。行六波羅蜜。修習道品善根。未聞此經。 <sup>232</sup>
B 21: 若見見聞如來 恭敬及供養	若見聞如來 恭敬及供養 <sup>233</sup>
B 21: 各作作是言。	各作是言。 <sup>234</sup>

In the last three cases one character, *na* 那, *jian* 見, or *zuo* 作 has been duplicated in the text, which can be attributed to carelessness. All three cases appear in manuscript B 21, which also

<sup>225</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 628, b29.

<sup>226</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 629, c10.

<sup>227</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 629, c2.

<sup>228</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, b24-25.

<sup>229</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 631, a1-2.

<sup>230</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 625, a29.

<sup>231</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, b4-5.

<sup>232</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, a14-16.

<sup>233</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 630, b7.

<sup>234</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 631, a5.

includes a very special kind of error. We find four cases where the order of two characters is changed, even if the second character forms a term with the third character. For example, *ci sanmei* 此三昧 means *samādhi* in the original text, but B 21, by changing the order of *ci* and *san*, gives *san ci mei* 三此昧 which is clearly wrong. Based on these mistakes we might suspect that this was probably not a professional copyist but a non-professional devotee who copied this *sūtra* as an offering.

B 21: 道場成菩提 逮得三此昧	道場成菩提 逮得此三昧 <sup>235</sup>
B 21: 若有得見如來色身。眼清得淨。	若有得見如來色身。眼得清淨。 <sup>236</sup>
B 21: 譬如乾積草 等彼須彌山	譬如乾草積 等彼須彌山
B 21: 爾時十方各過十不可說百千億那由佛他刹微塵等世界之外。	爾時十方各過十不可說百千億那由他佛刹微塵等世界之外。

### c. Conclusion

As we have seen, Huayan Buddhism had a considerable impact in Central Asia, as it is attested by visual art and scriptures found in Dunhuang. Even if the *Huayan jing* was not as popular for votive purposes as some other *sūtras*, Chinese miraculous stories and colophons in Dunhuang manuscripts prove that this *sūtra* was also copied to gain merit for the donor or his/her relatives. This shows very clearly that Huayan Buddhism was not only a scholastic school of Chinese Buddhism, but also a form of Buddhism that was widely practiced among the populace in Tang China.

By collating the Dunhuang manuscripts with the transmitted text, we have found that various recensions of this *sūtra* are preserved by the former. Some of these recensions are confirmed by the transmitted texts, others are recensions that have been lost during transmission. These Dunhuang manuscripts are invaluable sources for reconstructing the textual history of a *sūtra*, as they preserve certain variations that are not found in the transmitted text, and can confirm others that are found in the transmitted versions.

However, these manuscripts also include mistakes that occurred during the process of copying: even if the copyist is supposed to copy the sacred text with full attention, there are

<sup>235</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 627, b27.

<sup>236</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 629, c4-5.

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limits to human capacity and error can never be avoided. It also reminds us that if there is no transmitted text, and only the manuscript is extant, we must exercise great caution with these manuscripts, as the text may indeed be corrupt.



### 3. Chinese Miraculous Stories about the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*

#### a. Introduction

Chinese people have been fascinated by supernatural, strange and unusual happenings since ancient times, and a great many records of rare celestial appearances, spirits and other phenomena were recorded. From the Han dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD) onwards, dynastic histories included a chapter on such events.<sup>237</sup> The appearance of strange phenomena was linked to human behaviour: one of the oldest Chinese books, the Book of Documents, relates how the emperor’s behaviour influences Nature.

Gravity: seasonable rain responds to it. Orderliness: seasonable sunshine responds to it. Wisdom: seasonable heat responds to it. Deliberation: seasonable cold responds to it. Sageliness: seasonable wind responds to it.

Wildness: constant rain responds to it. Presumption: constant sunshine responds to it. Laxity: constant heat responds to it. Rashness: constant cold responds to it. Stupidity: constant wind responds to it.<sup>238</sup>

In the history of ancient Chinese philosophy Zou Yan 鄒衍 (305–240 BC), is credited with founding the school of five elements (*wuxing* 五行), which claims that the human and cosmic worlds influence one another. This philosophical concept is labelled “correlative cosmology”.<sup>239</sup> It was adopted by the famous Confucian philosopher of the Han dynasty, Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BC), who emphasized the mutual influence of the heavenly and human realms (*tianren xianggan* 天人相感).<sup>240</sup>

With the collapse of the Han empire Confucian ideology lost much of its authority, leaving space for other intellectual initiatives. Frustrated with the current political and social situation, the scholarly elite indulged in metaphysical speculations of the philosophical school called Dark Learning (*xuanxue* 玄學). In their literary genre, Pure Conversation (*qingtan* 清

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<sup>237</sup> See Sharf 2002: 97.

<sup>238</sup> See Nylan 1992: 20.

<sup>239</sup> See Schwartz 1985: 350-382.

<sup>240</sup> Sharf 2002: 88.

談), we find mystical discussions of the Buddhist *prajñā* and the Daoist *dao*.<sup>241</sup> Given the growing interest in the discussion of transcendental topics, it is hardly surprising that a whole series of works were written on strange phenomena. These works are referred to as “records of strange phenomena” (*zhiguai* 志怪).<sup>242</sup>

It was during the 3rd-4th centuries that the newly introduced religion of Buddhism started to attract many followers, and even the scholarly elite became interested in *prajñā* philosophy, which resembled the indigenous daoist teachings. The Chinese scholars discovered not only the mystical aspects of Buddhism, but also its magical side. In the biography of Buddha we find several miraculous episodes, the best-known of which is his victory over rival religious teachers in Śrāvastī by means of a magical performance involving the multiplication of his body.<sup>243</sup>

Several monks from India or Central Asia became famous for their ability to work miracles. They were able to foretell important political events, or make rain in times of drought. Not surprisingly, the emperors greatly appreciated these monks, and sometimes appointed them as their advisors.<sup>244</sup> At the same time, this imperial approval facilitated the spread of Buddhism in China. The first miraculous stories were probably written about these masters and their extraordinary talents, and were later incorporated into the official accounts of these monks’ lives in the collections of Buddhist biographies. The miraculous stories undoubtedly served a didactic purpose: ordinary people were unable to understand the abstruse philosophical tenets of Buddhism, so these stories about masters and their amazing achievements were an ideal way to inspire them to religious development.

#### b. The early miraculous stories in Buddhism

In addition, the Mahāyāna scriptures were also suitable sources for the composition of miraculous stories, since they depict celestial bodhisattvas who, according to their bodhisattva vow, must work for the benefit of all living beings, and help them to leave the world of suffering, the *samsāra*. The twenty-fifth chapter of the *Lotus sūtra* in Kumārajīva’s translation states that Avalokiteśvara can save anybody at the mere invocation of his name; he is

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<sup>241</sup> Zürcher 1959: 93-95.

<sup>242</sup> Gjertson 1989: 3.

<sup>243</sup> Ōtake 2007: 89.

<sup>244</sup> A famous example is Fo Tudeng. See Wright 1948.

especially effective in cases of fire, storm, illness, demons, fetters, brigands and the sword. If a woman wishes to bear a child, she must pray to him. Such was the popularity of this chapter that it was circulated alone under the title *Avalokiteśvara-sūtra*, and the first collection of miraculous stories, *Records of Miracles Concerning Avalokiteśvara* (*Guangshiyin yingyan ji* 光世音應驗記), written by Xie Fu 謝敷 around 399, describes seven cases of bodhisattva saving someone. Later on, several continuations of this work were authored. One of them, *The Additional Records of Miracles Concerning Avalokiteśvara* (*Xi Guangshiyin yingyan ji* 繫光世音應驗記), arranges the tales according to the kinds of trouble from which the bodhisattva rescued people.<sup>245</sup>

The didactic purpose is very obvious in the tales which describe cases of karmic retribution. The aim of the collection, *Records of Miraculous Retribution* (*Mingbao ji* 冥報記), written by the government official and pious Buddhist practitioner Tang Lin 唐臨 (601-660) in the mid seventh century, was to persuade non-believers of the reality of karmic retribution.<sup>246</sup> These stories show that the virtuous will enjoy a better rebirth, while those who commit evil deeds will be reborn into a vicious world. Many of the stories include accounts of the nether world and its bureaucracy.

The other type of collection of miraculous stories is associated exclusively with one of the Mahāyāna *sūtras*. The early Indian followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism greatly respected the Mahāyāna *sūtras*, as they represent the wisdom of the Buddha: in the absence of Buddha's relics the *sūtras* can be venerated.<sup>247</sup> The *sūtras* also encouraged believers to recite, copy and explain the texts, as innumerable good karmas can be accumulated by means of these pious activities. The importance of *sūtra* copying in China is well attested by the collection in the Dunhuang cave library, where hundreds or thousands of copies of votive *sūtras* have survived.<sup>248</sup> The first of these works is the *Miraculous Stories about the Diamond Sūtra* (*Jin'gang bore jing lingyan ji* 金剛般若經靈驗記), written by Xiao Yu 蕭瑀 (575-648) at the end of 6th century. We find other collections about the *Lotus sūtra* and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.

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<sup>245</sup> Gjertson 1989: 28.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid., 118.

<sup>247</sup> Schopen 1975.

<sup>248</sup> Sam van Schaik and Imre Galambos 2012.

c. Miraculous stories about the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*

Several collections of miraculous stories about the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* were written. The earliest extant collection is the *Account of Stimuli and Responses Related to Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Da fangguang fo huayan ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳, hereafter *Ganying zhuan*), compiled shortly after 783 by Hu Youzhen 胡幽貞 (?-783+). This collection must have been based on *The Collection of Buddhāvataṃsaka-related Numinous Tales* (*Huayan zuanling ji* 華嚴纂靈記), which has been lost since the 14th century, though citations by Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839), Purui 普瑞 (1254-1329), Zongmi 宗密 (780-841), Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904-975) and Tan'ei 湛叟 (1271-1346) have survived.<sup>249</sup> Chengguan states that this work was authored by Fazang 法藏 (643-712) and was later “polished”;<sup>250</sup> however, he does not provide the names of the editors. Choe Jiweon in Fazang's biography seems to corroborate this statement, but adds that this work is also called *The Record of the Transmission of the Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記) in five fascicles, and that Fazang was prevented from finishing this work by his death, and his disciples Huiying 惠英 (?-712+), Huiyuan 慧苑 (673-743) and others added comments (*lun* 論) and eulogies (*zan* 贊), but did not change much.<sup>251</sup> Purui 普瑞, who lived under the Yuan dynasty, in his commentary on Chengguan's introduction to his commentary on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, says that originally the *Zuanling ji* was Fazang's *Huayan jing zhuan ji*, and by the time of Chengguan, Huiyuan wrote a work entitled *Zuanling ji* in five fascicles, Huiying authored the *Huayan ganying zhuan* in two fascicles, and the layman Hui Youzhen edited it in one fascicle.<sup>252</sup> This seems to be substantiated by a Korean catalogue which lists *Huayan jing zhuan ji* and *Zuanling ji* side by side, the former being attributed to

<sup>249</sup> Sakamoto 1964: 30-45; Chen 2007: 22-24.

<sup>250</sup> *Da fangguang fo Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 (T36, no. 1736, p. 110): 纂靈記說: 然此記本是藏和尚製, 後經修飾。

<sup>251</sup> *Tang Tae Ch'ōnboksa kosaju pōn'gyōng taedōk Pōpjang hwasang chōn* 唐大薦福寺故寺主翻經大德法藏和尚傳 (T50, no. 2054, p. 283a7-8): 緝華嚴傳五卷, 或名纂靈記(此記未畢而逝。門人慧苑慧英等續之, 別加論贊。文極省約, 所益無幾)。

<sup>252</sup> *Huayan xuantan huixuan ji* 華嚴懸談會玄記 (X vol. 8, no. 236, p. 379b15-21.): 纂靈記, 說者以華嚴傳記五卷, 本賢首集, 文有十章: 一部類, 二隱顯, 三傳譯, 四支流, 五論釋, 六講解, 七[言\*?]奉誦, 八轉讀, 九書寫, 十雜述。此賢首初集, 後經修飾。至清涼時, 有二家, 並賢首弟子。一靜法寺慧苑法師修五卷, 名纂靈記。二經行寺慧英法師修兩卷, 名華嚴感應傳。又近四明居士胡幽貞纂成一卷。

Fazang and the latter to Huiyuan. The catalogue also lists Hui Youzhen's work, but does not mention Huiying.<sup>253</sup>

The concept of stimulus and response (*ganying* 感應) is rooted in the ancient Chinese belief in correlative cosmology. The practitioner of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* creates a stimulus by his/her efforts, and the Buddha, bodhisattvas or other celestial beings respond with a miracle. Miraculous responses of this kind have been recorded recently: stories have spread about miraculous cures experienced after worshipping a bodhisattva or reciting a sūtra.<sup>254</sup> Similar phenomena are described in Daoism, when a Daoist god makes miraculous responses (*lingying* 靈應) after being invoked by an adept.<sup>255</sup>

Although Huayan Buddhism declined after the Tang dynasty three further collections are extant: the first is the *Short Record of Account of Stimuli and Responses Related to Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Huayan jing ganying lueji* 華嚴經感應略記) by Zhuhong 祿宏 (1535-1615),<sup>256</sup> the second is Hongbi's 弘璧 (1598-1669) *Causes of Stimuli and Responses Related to the Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing ganying yuanqi zhuan* 華嚴經感應緣起傳),<sup>257</sup> and the third is the *Chronological Account of the Efficacies of Huayan jing* (*Lichao huayan chiyan ji* 歷朝華嚴持驗記) written by Zhou Kefu 周可復 under the Qing dynasty.<sup>258</sup>

As we saw above the *Ganying zhuan* must have been based on *the Record of the Transmission of the Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記),<sup>259</sup> which is a conscious attempt to create a separate Huayan tradition by giving a detailed account of the texts and masters related to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. The work is divided into ten chapters. The first chapter, Versions (*bulei* 部類), relates that originally there were three versions of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, of which the shortest, consisting of a hundred thousand ślokas<sup>260</sup> and forty-eight chapters, was transmitted into the human world.<sup>261</sup> The second chapter, Hidden and Manifested (*yinxian* 隱顯), says that in the land of Zhejupan 遮拘槃<sup>262</sup> king Liye 歷葉 greatly respected this sūtra, and Zhi Faling 支法領 was able to receive thirty-six

<sup>253</sup> *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 (T55, no. 2184, p. 1167c12-14): 傳記五卷, 已上, 法藏述纂靈記五卷, 慧苑述. 感應傳一卷, 胡幽貞刊纂.

<sup>254</sup> Yü 2007: 1243–1245.

<sup>255</sup> Chau 2006, 2–3.

<sup>256</sup> X vol. 77. no. 1532.

<sup>257</sup> X vol. 77, no. 1533.

<sup>258</sup> X vol. 77, no. 1534.

<sup>259</sup> T 2073.

<sup>260</sup> Śloka is a distich of Sanskrit verse consisting of two sixteen-syllable lines.

<sup>261</sup> For a detailed explanation of the three versions, see Hamar 2007c: 139-140.

<sup>262</sup> Zhejupan can be identified as Karghalik, the present-day Yecheng 葉城 in Xinjiang. See Chen 2007: 107.

thousands *śloka*s. The third chapter, Transmission of Translations (*zhuan yi* 傳譯), includes short biographies of three translators, Buddhābhadrā (359/360-429), Divākara (613-688) and Śikṣānanda (652-710). The fourth chapter, Partial Translations (*zhiliu* 支流) lists scriptures which were translated either before or after the translation of the complete *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, and can be regarded as separate translations of single chapters, or are related to the whole corpus of *Buddhāvataṃsaka*-literature.<sup>263</sup> The fifth chapter, Commentaries (*lunshi* 論釋), while listing some Indian and Chinese commentaries on the *sūtra*, includes the story that when Vasubandhu wrote his commentary on the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, the *sūtra* emitted light and the mountain and the ground trembled, which everybody took as an auspicious sign.<sup>264</sup> The sixth chapter, Interpreters (*jiangjie* 講解) records the biographies of seventeen masters and the names of another twenty-four masters who explained the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Here we find the biography of Fazang's master, Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668). The seventh chapter, Reciters (*fengsong* 諷誦), includes the biographies of eleven masters who recited this scripture. Four stories can be found in *The Account of Stimuli and Responses related to Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Da fangguang fo huayan ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳) by Hu Youzhen. The eighth chapter provides the biographies of eight monks who chanted (*zhuandu* 轉讀) the *sūtra*. This kind of chanting differs from the previously described reciting in that in case of chanting only the title of the *sūtra* and some parts of it are recited.<sup>265</sup> The ninth chapter, Copying (*shuxie* 書寫) contains six biographies, one of which tells the story of a person who dies but then comes back to life and speaks of his experience in the nether world of the merit of copying the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. The last chapter, Miscellaneous Records (*zashu* 雜述), lists some works related to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* composed by Chinese authors.

#### d. Miraculous stories in Huayan exegetical works

However, collections of miraculous stories are not the only sources for legends associated with the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. These legends are recorded in the great exegetical works of the Huayan school, Fazang's commentary on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, (*Huayan jing Tanxuanji* 華嚴經探玄記) and Chengguan's 澄觀 (738-839) commentary (*Da*

<sup>263</sup> For a list of these works and their relation to the complete translation, see Hamar 2007c.

<sup>264</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳, T51, no. 2073, p. 156, b27-c1.

<sup>265</sup> Kamata 1981: 268.

*fangguang fo Huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏) and subcommentary (*Da fangguang fo Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔) on the same scripture. Fazang divides his introduction (*xuantan* 玄談) to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* into ten sections.<sup>266</sup> The eighth section, Versions and Transmission of Translations (*bulei chuanyi* 部類傳譯) introduces the various versions of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, the commentaries on this scripture, its Chinese translation, the independently circulated chapters, and finally the stimuli and responses.<sup>267</sup>

Fazang includes six miraculous stories in his commentary. While giving an account of the various translations he tells the story about Buddhahadra's translation which can be found in many other sources, though his biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 does not record it.<sup>268</sup> The legend says that when Buddhahadra made his translation in the Xiesikong monastery 謝司空寺 of Yangzhou 揚州 there was a lotus pond before his hall, and every morning two boys dressed in green (*er qingyi tongzi* 二青衣童子) emerged from the pond, cleaned the master's room, made ink and served him. In the evening they returned to the pond. Fazang says that tradition explains (*xiangzhuan shiyun* 相傳釋云) that according to the legend the original version of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* was hidden in the *nāgas'* palace, and the king of *nāgas* was pleased to see the transmission of this text, and sent two *nāgas* to serve the master.<sup>269</sup>

The legend that the original version was kept in the *nāgas'* palace has been well documented in the exegetical tradition of the Huayan school. The legend goes on to say that it was Nāgārjuna who took the shortest version of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* to the human world.<sup>270</sup> The other famous story about Buddhahadra is told as an example of stimulus and response. The Chinese emperor asks Buddhahadra to explain the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* to him, but the foreign master is afraid that he will be unable to express himself properly. He prays for seven days, and during the night he dreams that his Indian head has changed into a Chinese one. As we might expect, the next day he can speak Chinese perfectly. This story is also missing from Buddhahadra's official biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan*. Thus we might

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<sup>266</sup> For a comparative table of the divisions of the introduction by Zhiyan, Fazang, Huiyuan and Chengguan, see Hamar: 1998: 349.

<sup>267</sup> T35, no. 1733, p. 122, a29-p. 123, a26.

<sup>268</sup> For his biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, see T50, no. 2059, 334b26-335c14.

<sup>269</sup> T35, no. 1733, p. 122, c14-18.

<sup>270</sup> Hamar 2007c.

conclude that even if Buddhābhadrā is described as a wonder-worker in his biography, these two stories were probably later additions to it.<sup>271</sup>

It is important to note that these miraculous stories were included in the introduction of Fazang's commentary. They are related along with the transmission of the text of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, its commentaries and the Chinese translations, and are thus organically incorporated into the Huayan tradition. It is obvious that in Fazang's view there was no sharp division between popular religion and the Buddhism of the scholarly elite who were engaged in the exegetical discovery of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Fazang is usually depicted as a scholarly monk and credited with founding the Huayan school by elaborating the main tenets of the school on the basis of his predecessors' work, especially that of his master, Zhiyan, but in his new book on Fazang Chen Jinhua very clearly shows that this is an one-sided evaluation of his role in the religious-political world of the Tang period.<sup>272</sup> Fazang played an active part as a political advisor, and performed rituals in order to provide rain for agriculture and to quell the Khitan rebellions. In addition, we might surmise that he was even engaged in popular Buddhist practices. Evidently there was no distinction between "popular and elite" for those who practiced Buddhism in the Tang period. Fazang expanded the scope of Huayan Buddhism beyond a mere exegetical school of one of the Buddhist scriptures by incorporating these miraculous stories which reflected certain aspects of Buddhist practice related to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. As we will see below, these miracles happened during the recitation, copying, or reading of this sūtra.

Chengguan, the fourth patriarch of the Huayan tradition, is famous for his commentary and subcommentary on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.<sup>273</sup> Even if he was not a disciple of Fazang, as he was born after Fazang's death, he was his loyal follower. His main religious/philosophical intention was to create an orthodox Huayan lineage by sorting out some Huayan concepts, for example by creating a classification of teachings, ten mysteries, ten kinds of consciousness only, and so on, out of Fazang's legacy, and rigorously adhering to them.<sup>274</sup> He severely criticised Huiyuan 慧苑 (673-743), Fazang's disciple, for altering Fazang's teaching, for example, by including non-Buddhist teachings in the classification of teachings.<sup>275</sup> Because of his criticism, Huiyuan was excluded from the Huayan lineage, even if in fact his work had quite a strong influence on Chengguan. Nonetheless, in response to the

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<sup>271</sup> T35, no. 1733, p. 123, a13-16.

<sup>272</sup> See Chen 2007 and my review of his book Hamar 2009.

<sup>273</sup> For Chengguan's biography, see Hamar 2002.

<sup>274</sup> I elaborated my views on Chengguan's position in Huayan tradition in several articles, see Hamar 2007a, 2010, 2012.

<sup>275</sup> Hamar 1999.



social, religious and political changes at the end of the Tang dynasty, within the framework of orthodoxy, Chengguan himself modified his predecessor's teachings. All these changes are very clearly reflected in his magnum opus, his commentaries on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.

In the introduction to his commentary, Chengguan relates twenty-four miraculous stories about the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, however he makes these references more extensively than Fazang, and he establishes six categories of circumstances under which these miracles were experienced: 1. translation (*fanyi* 翻譯), 2. writing commentary (*zaolun* 造論), 3. copying (*shuxie* 書寫), 4. recitation (*dusong* 讀誦), 5. meditation (*guanxing* 觀行), and 6. interpretation (*jiangshuo* 講說). Comparing these with Fazang's categories in the *Huayan zhuanji*, we can see that Chengguan lumped the two kinds of recitation, *fengsong* 諷誦 and *zhuandu* 轉讀 together under one category, *dusong* 讀誦. The other important difference is the introduction of a new category, meditation. We have to bear in mind that Chengguan studied under several Chan masters, and even if he was very wary of the radical Chan movements, Chan Buddhism did have a significant impact on his teachings.<sup>276</sup> I would suggest that this influence is the reason why he added this new category.

In the first category, he not only repeats the stories about Buddhahadra, but also records the auspicious sign of the decency of sweet dew after Empress Wu's 武 (r. 690-705) dream and the trembling of earth after Fazang's preaching of the new translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* by Śikṣānanda.<sup>277</sup> While Chengguan does not give accounts of any new miracles in the case of commentary-writing, in the section about copying he refers to a story which is not included in *Huyanjing zhuanji*, but is recorded in *Ganying zhuan*.<sup>278</sup>

In the fourth section Chengguan mentions five stories in connection with miraculous phenomena that had occurred during the recitation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Four of these stories can be found in the *Huayan jing zhuanji*, the fifth, however is not found in Fazang's works, but is related in *Ganying zhuan*, where the protagonist is called Huizhao 惠招.<sup>279</sup> The story goes as follows:

Master Huiyou was a monk in the Chongfu monastery in the capital. His discipline and practice were extremely rigorous. He served Monk Zhiyan as his master, and exclusively practiced

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<sup>276</sup> Hamar 2003.

<sup>277</sup> Chen 2004.

<sup>278</sup> For the translation of the story, see chapter Huayan texts in Dunhuang.

<sup>279</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳, T51, no. 2074, p. 177, b25-c5.

Huayan. Every day from early morning to late evening he burned incense and recited the chapter Manifestation [of the Tathāgata]. Once suddenly more than ten bodhisattvas appeared from the earth, their manifested golden bodies emitted light while sitting on a lotus seat. They joined their palms, and listened to the recitation of this chapter with great concentration. When the recitation was finished, they became invisible.

慧祐法師，京崇福寺僧。戒行精苦，事儼和尚，專以華嚴為業。每清景良宵，焚香專誦《出現》一品。後時忽見十餘菩薩從地踊出，現金色身皆放光明，坐蓮華座。合掌斂念，聽誦此品經。經了便隱。<sup>280</sup>

It is interesting to note that Fazang does not mention this story in his *Huayan jing zhuanji*, although Huiyou must have been his fellow-disciple, as they both studied under Zhiyan. It is possible that the story, which is repeated in later sources,<sup>281</sup> originally comes from the *Zuanling ji*, or from the edited version of *Zuanling ji*. However, it is also possible that this monk was too close to Fazang, so the story was created only later.

The fifth section contains stories about masters of meditation who experienced supernatural phenomena owing to their practice. Here, even if it is a new category that had not been used by Fazang, Chengguan does not tell any new stories, but simply refers to stories that were told by Fazang as cases related to the recitation and interpretation of the *sūtra*. The most eminent master in this category is Master Jietuo 解脫 (561-642), who lived in the Foguang monastery (*Foguangsi* 佛光寺) on Wutaishan in the seventh century. He is credited with the establishment of the Buddha-light meditation based on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and is said to have had a vision of Mañjuśrī bodhisattva on Wutaishan, his alleged abode.

In the sixth section, Interpreters we find Du Shun 杜順 (557-640), later regarded as the first patriarch of Huayan masters, even if he seems to have been a master more involved in meditation that exegesis.<sup>282</sup> Fazang also mentions Du Shun in connection with Zhiyan, but describes him as a spiritual monk (*shenseng* 神僧). Chengguan emphasized that he practiced Huayan, and relates that he was able to cure a person who had been deaf since birth simply by talking to him. He was definitely a wonder-working monk, and thus he was venerated as a manifestation of Mañjuśrī bodhisattva. Chengguan also mentions Fazang as an interpreter of

<sup>280</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing sui shu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 115, a23-28.

<sup>281</sup> *Fajie zong wuzu lueji* 法界宗五祖略記, X vol. 77, no. 1530, p. 620, b9-13; *Huayan jing ganying lueji* 華嚴經感應略記, X vol. 77, no. 1532, p. 632, c7-10; *Huayan ganying yuanqi zhuan* 華嚴感應緣起傳, X vol. 77, no. 1533, p. 640, b24-c3; *Huayan jing chiyuan ji* 華嚴經持驗記, X vol. 77, no. 1534, p. 652, b19-22.

<sup>282</sup> On Dushun, and his connection with Zhiyan, see Gimello 1976.

the scripture, and relates that Fazang's mother dreamed of a strange light, and then became pregnant. Here Chengguan makes a conscious effort to create a lineage for Huayan Buddhism by adding Du Shun to the lineage, which later became widely accepted.

After listing these stories in six categories, Chengguan records the story of Wang Minggan, who was saved from hell because he recited one poem from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.<sup>283</sup> He wants to show the function of the scripture (*gongneng* 功能).<sup>284</sup> The Huayan monk cites this story from *Zuanling ji*. Fazang also includes it in his *Huayan jing Zhuanji*, but provides only the family name of the protagonist, saying that we do not know his personal name.<sup>285</sup>

#### e. Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how the popular traditions of miraculous stories were incorporated into the exegetical tradition of Huayan Buddhism, which seems to have been no more than a highly sophisticated scholarly orientation under the Tang Dynasty. However, Fazang wanted to show that even if translating, commenting and interpreting are the mainstream of Huayan tradition, the practice of Huayan Buddhism cannot be limited to these activities. Fazang tells us many stories of the recitation and copying of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, which are very effective practices as miraculous events can result from all of them. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Fazang wanted these stories to encourage Buddhist followers to recite and copy the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* just like the *Lotus-sūtra*, the *Diamond sūtra*, and so on. Thus his main purpose was not only to record these miracles, but also to spread the Huayan tradition into lower levels of society. Chengguan went on recording these stories in order to establish the lineage of Huayan Buddhism. At the same time he did not forget that Chan Buddhism was becoming ever more popular, so he showed that the practice of meditation is also a part of the Huayan tradition.

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<sup>283</sup> For the translation of this story, see chapter the Metaphor of Painter.

<sup>284</sup> He records the story twice in his commentary: first in his introduction of the sub-commentary and secondly while interpreting this poem in the text. See *Da fangguang fo huayan jing sui shu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 116, b18-c4; p. 324, b5-18.

<sup>285</sup> *Huayan jing zhuan ji* 華嚴經傳記, T51, no. 2073, p. 167, a18-29.

III. The Development of Chinese Buddhist commentary-writing: The Chinese  
exegesis of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*

## 1. The characteristic features of commentaries

In several major cultures of the world (Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Chinese, Indian) commentaries make up a considerable amount of the full corpus of written texts. Holy scriptures are often hazy and ambiguous, or, what is more, fully incomprehensible without additional explanations, and thus, to understand them in the right way is both an important task and a serious challenge for the literati of all times. It is no wonder that the discipline of hermeneutics was born from the interpretations of the *Bible*. Hermeneutics as a discipline is, on one hand, concerned with the methods necessary for the right interpretation of written texts, on the other hand, recently, it has also become a philosophical school that investigates understanding, conceiving as a universal problem.<sup>286</sup>

The individual commentators of a certain text are centuries away from each other, and given that they are highly influenced by the way of thinking of their own era, it is only natural that their commentaries should differ to a significant extent. What a commentator essentially does is to reconstruct the meaning of the text with his own knowledge and ideas in mind. Thus, he might involuntarily reveal layers of the text that have previously been hidden from the author himself. It is a question, of course, if all interpretations are correct, or we only accept those that aim strictly at interpreting the original thoughts and intentions of the author. Some commentators incorporate the entire knowledge of their age into their commentaries of the holy scriptures, making their works extend beyond the limits of commentaries, growing into encyclopedias. The famous commentator of the *Koran*, al-Tabarī (838–923), for instance, provides a summary of the early Islamic culture in his work. Similarly, the commentary on *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* produced by the outstanding Chinese Buddhist monk of the middle Ages, Chengguan, is indeed the storehouse of Buddhist wisdom of his own age, or a *Summa Theologiae*, using a Christian expression.

The question arises whether or not commentary writing has universal features that are independent of culture as such, and thus can be discovered in all commentaries. Henderson, after having thoroughly studied the above mentioned cultures, does presume the existence of such universal features and defines them as the following: the exegetes suppose that the canon 1) contains all essential truths, 2) is well-organized and coherent, 3) and all the contradictions that might emerge while reading it are merely superficial.<sup>287</sup> In the middle Ages the works of

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<sup>286</sup> Grondin 2002: 53-57.

<sup>287</sup> Henderson 1991: 89-138.

Plato and Aristotle enjoyed widespread popularity because of their comprehensive nature. Confucian intellectuals believed that their canon can be traced back to more different sources, and so they took it for granted that it comprised all possible knowledge available. Jewish and Christian commentaries attach great importance to explaining why certain sections of the *Bible* follow each other in the sequence they do. Likewise, the new term *laiyi* 來意 introduced in Chinese commentaries meaning 'the meaning of appearance', is made use of to explain why the certain sections of *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* appear after each other in the sequence they actually do. Chengguan starts every chapter by explaining how the current section fits into the framework, thus proving that the *sūtra* containing Buddha's words is not of random arrangement, but that it was Buddha himself who put forward his teachings in this very order.

In Christian tradition, Origen resolves the contradictions of the *Bible* by means of typological symbolism, going as far as to interpret everything allegorically, not accepting anything in the literal sense of the words.<sup>288</sup> Some of the Buddhist teachings do indeed contradict each other. This phenomenon is attributed to the fact that after the death of the founder the development of Buddhist philosophy never stopped, leaving space for the appearance of later teachings, that eventually bear considerable differences to the original ideas. To resolve this contradiction, Mahāyāna Buddhism qualified certain teachings of early Buddhism as *upāya*, 'skilful methods', stating that Buddha employed these methods to teach his less able disciples, gradually preparing them to be able to comprehend the meaning of his more complicated teachings.

## 2. Commentary literature in China

It is the well-known life philosophy of Confucius 'to only mediate and not create anything new'. From this point of view, we may regard him as the first Chinese hermeneutic. He adopted the cultural orientation that had evolved centuries earlier and had been documented in the *Book of Odes*, the *Book of Documents* and the oracle bones of the Shang-Yin period referring to the cult of the ancestors, and interpreted them in his own age, setting the course for the further development of Chinese culture.<sup>289</sup> Confucius' approach influenced all later intellectual works, and commentary remained a significant literary genre up to modern times. In fact, it is a frequent phenomenon that later innovators put forth their ideas

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<sup>288</sup> Grondin 2002: 53-57.

<sup>289</sup> On this early cultural orientation, see Schwartz 1985: 16-39.

staying in the shadow of the classics. The most well-known work of the founder of neoconfucianism, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) is a commentary written on the Confucian canon, in which he explores the metaphysical and ontological aspects of the classics.

Commentaries appear as early as in the Zhou-era. The sixth and seventh chapter of the summarizing work of Han Feizi 韓非子 (?–233 B.C.), the famous figure of legism, contains commentaries written on *Laozi*. Commentaries can be found in the Confucian canon as well. The language of the *Annals of Spring and Autumn* is extremely succinct, it can hardly be understood in itself. The *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 elaborates in detail on the historical events only briefly mentioned in the *Annals*, which makes it an indispensable piece of reading for the proper comprehension of the standard work. The two other commentaries, the *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳 and the *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳, presumably both written during the reign of the Western-Han dynasty, also help with the interpretation of the *Annals*.

The character *jing* 經, standing for 'classical works', according to Han-time explanations, originally meant the thread holding together the bamboo strips used for writing, while at the same time it also meant a kind of text that is continuous and never-ending, in the sense that it possesses an everlasting message.<sup>290</sup> In the second half of the Western-Han-era there were two different types of commentaries. One of them was a kind of a decoding key, using the *yinyang* 陰陽 and the theory of the five elements to explore the secret meaning of the text. The other type of commentaries interpreted the text word by word on the literal level. The reason this kind of interpretation became absolutely necessary lies in the considerable changes terminology, grammar and society have undergone during the time passed since the birth of the text. An example of the former type is a commentary on the *Annals of Spring and Autumn* called *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露, written by Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179?–104? B.C.), one of the leading figures of Han-time Confucianism. This work explains the classic on the basis of the doctrines of correlative cosmology, advocated by Zou Yan 鄒衍 (4th century B.C.) at the end of the Zhou-era.<sup>291</sup> The other category is the so-called *zhangju* 章句 ('chapter and verse') commentaries, that clarify the meaning of every single word through long explanations, and consequently tend to be rather lengthy. One of such works provides a twenty-thousand-word commentary on the first sentence of the *Book of Documents*.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> On the commentary literature during the Han dynasty, see Wagner 2000:31-52.

<sup>291</sup> Sarah A. Queen argues that this work did not play as important role in reviving Confucianism as most people suppose. Several chapters are later compilations. See Queen 1996.

<sup>292</sup> Kramers 1986: 757-758.

In the second half of the Han-era the attention of the literati shifted from the *Annals of Spring and Autumn* to the *Book of Changes*, the *Laozi* and the *Annalects*. The new commentators criticized *zhangju* commentaries, stating that they had failed to communicate the message of the text while having been lost in minute details. Commentaries written at this time focused much more on the meaning and the system of the classics. The new method of inserting the comment right after the part of the text commented, instead of placing it after the whole body of the text appeared at this time, and proved to become a standard for later commentary-writing. It was the invention of paper that made this innovation possible, since on bamboo strips it was still insoluble to insert two vertical lines of comment under one vertical line of text. This method ensured an easy distinction between text and comment, thus making the use of commentaries incomparably simpler. Ma Rong 馬融 (79–166) was the first commentator to use this new technique.

Not long after the fall of the Han-dynasty, in 248 Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249) presented his commentary of *Laozi*, which followed the tradition of the exegesis exploring the meaning of the text, but at the same time also set the path for further development.<sup>293</sup> With the downfall of the Han-dynasty the Confucian apparatus of the state also fell apart, and consequently, the institutions of Confucian education (universities, private schools) were closed down as well. Earlier commentaries were born from the notes disciples took of the lectures the master gave on the classics. With the disappearance of the old school system, however, the institutional background for this kind of commentary-writing was lost. We know little of the contemporary reception of Wang Bi's work, but we do know that this has been one of the most popular *Laozi*-commentaries ever since and up to the present day. This is primarily due to its uniquely individual approach. This commentary has never been classified as part of any philosophical school, but the tradition it established and the school its subsequent thinkers formed was given a name of its own: *xuanxue* 玄學, or the dark learning.

At that time it was customary to question the authenticity of texts. Some attributed the *Book of the Way and Virtue* to more than one author. Wang Bi, however, argued in favor of its unity and coherence, and believed it to be the work of a sole writer. Wang Bi stated that the message of *Laozi* could be summed up in one single sentence, and if one understands this sentence, it becomes easy for him to interpret the individual parts of the text. This sentence is the following: : "Emulating the root [by way] of bringing to rest the stem and branches

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<sup>293</sup> On Wang Bi's commentary, see Wagner 2000.



[growing from it] that is all!"<sup>294</sup> The *Laozi* shows us the way that leads back to the root, to the *Dao*, propagating the abandonment of the phenomenal world that the *Dao* once created. Wang Bi did not introduce any external ideas in order to be able to reconstruct the meaning of *Laozi*, but used the text itself for this purpose. He interpreted the more obscure passages of the work with the help of the clear sentences. It is interesting here to draw a parallel with the exegesis of the *Bible*, where it was Augustinus (354–430) who first adopted this method.<sup>295</sup>

### 3. Indian Buddhist commentaries

Commentaries play an important role in Indian culture as well, since it is often impossible to interpret the ancient texts without additional explanations. Therefore, it is not surprising that we find a large number of commentaries in Indian Buddhist literature. Indeed, Buddha himself also facilitated the rise of commentary-writing, in the way that he never appointed a single heir to his teachings, thereby authorizing this one person to judge which way to interpret his doctrines. After Buddha's death, councils were summoned together from time to time, with the task of defining Buddha's main teachings, and the right way of their interpretation. These councils usually ended with a schism, since there were always certain groups that did not submit themselves to the decisions of the council but maintained their original understanding of the doctrines, and eventually, separated themselves from the community.

After the appearance of the Mahāyāna *sūtras*, each master or *bhānaka* specialized himself in one specific work, memorized it, and lectured the followers on its teachings. By this time, the 1st century B. C., writing was already quite widespread in India. In the beginning, it was used only for business purposes, but later they also employed it to preserve ancient texts.<sup>296</sup> Unfortunately, the majority of Buddhist literature written in Sanskrit language has been lost, thus, most of the commentaries that have come down to us are Tibetan or Chinese translations. There are ninety commentaries included in the Tibetan-language Buddhist canon, and there is reference to the former existence of another nine in the *Lhan karma catalogue*, which have been lost since the compilation of this work at the beginning of the

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<sup>294</sup> Ibid. 176.

<sup>295</sup> Grondin 2001.

<sup>296</sup> Gombrich 1990.

9th century.<sup>297</sup> One third of the commentaries were written on the most famous *sūtras*, the *Diamond sūtra*, the *Lotus sūtra*, the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* and the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*. It is only ten percent of the *sūtras* that have their corresponding commentaries in *Tanjur*. The content of the commentaries was highly influenced by some external factors, namely which philosophical school the author belonged to, of what rank he was in the monastery, and consequently, what political role he played in the era.<sup>298</sup>

Vasubandhu, the outstanding figure of the Yogācāra school devoted a whole separate work to the methodology of commentary-writing.<sup>299</sup> In his *Vyākhyāyukti (Principles of Exegesis)* he claims that a commentary must consist of five components. It has to explain (1) the purpose, or intent (*prayojana, dgos-pa*), (2) the summarised meaning [of the *sūtra*] (*piṇḍārtha, bdsus-pa'i don*), (3) the meaning of the words (*padārtha, tshig-gi don*), (4) connection of the various parts [of the *sūtra*] (*anusam̐dhi, mtshams-sbyor*), and (5) objections and their rebuttal (*codya parihāra, brgal-lan*). Vasubandhu wrote several commentaries, but it was only in the 8th century that the principles he outlined here were fully employed in commentary-writing by Kamalaśīla and some other commentators.

#### 4. The appearance of Chinese Buddhist commentaries

In Chinese Buddhist literature the significance of commentaries is well illustrated by the fact that in the Taishō edition (?) they make up eleven and a half volumes, as opposed to the four and a half volumes of essays expounding the teachings of schools.<sup>300</sup> These commentaries were canonized separately, without the text they comment, which is probably due to their extensive length. This solution rendered the use of commentaries more difficult, but fortunately, the more important works were also published outside the canon on their own, with the body of the text divided up into parts and the commentary inserted in between. The formal and essential criteria of commentary-writing have been formulating gradually, and commentary as a genre attained its final form by Tang-times. This was the form that had become the model to be followed by later generations, no new innovations were born afterwards. As far as their methodology was concerned, commentators relied on two different sources: the commentaries written on Chinese classics, and Indian Buddhist commentaries.

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<sup>297</sup> Schoening 1996

<sup>298</sup> Eckel 1987.

<sup>299</sup> Schoening 1996: 118-119.

<sup>300</sup> The only detailed study on the Chinese Buddhist commentaries is Ōchō Enichi's early article in 1937, which was republished in his collected works in 1979. See Ōchō 1979. For a short summary, see Luo 2001: 41-53.

This blending resulted in a peculiar style, which was to become exclusively characteristic of Chinese Buddhist commentaries.

The first commentators were the translators who arrived from abroad, and necessarily were more acquainted with the texts than anyone else. This is well reflected in the several prefaces they wrote to the *sūtras*. The works produced at the early stages of translation when the newcomers still did not master the Chinese language, nor did Chinese speak the language of the great masters, should be regarded as explanations rather than word-by-word translations.<sup>301</sup> The procedure was the following: the master explained the meaning of the *sūtra*, and his Chinese assistants took notes of his words. Dharmarakṣa is said to have been the first interpreter, who after having translated *Lotus sūtra*, attached an oral explanation to it. Among the early interpreters there is Kang Senghui 康僧會 (?–280) and Zhi Qian 支謙 (end of 2nd cent. – beg. of 3rd cent.) who, as we know, have both produced explanations of Buddhist scriptures.<sup>302</sup> It is hard to tell the exact time when written word-by-word commentaries of the *sūtras* appeared, since they had been formulated much earlier verbally before they were finally noted down. Chinese masters soon joined in into commentary-writing, and the new method of combining Buddhist concepts with corresponding Chinese expressions (*geyi* 格義) was born and developed side by side with commentary-writing itself.

The earliest remaining commentaries are the following: *Yinchiru jing zhu* 陰持入經注<sup>303</sup> by Chenhui 陳慧, *Ren benyu sheng jing zhu* 人本欲生經注<sup>304</sup> by Dao'an 道安 (314–385), *Zhu Weimojie jing* 注維摩詰經<sup>305</sup> by Sengzhao 僧肇 (384–414), and *Jin'gang boruo boluomi jing zhu* 金剛般若波羅蜜經注, which is attributed to Sengzhao but was actually written by Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433). The fifth commentary is embedded in the *Damingdu jing* 大光明度經, translated by Zhi Qian. Similar to this is An Shigao's (2nd cent.) translation, the *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經, in which the text of the *sūtra* and that of the commentary are intertwined to such an extent that they are hardly distinguishable. The commentaries of Chenhui, Dao'an and Sengzhao share the characteristic feature of having a preface preceding the commentary, and also that they do not divide the text into chapters. In the titles we find the character *zhu* 注 referring to 'commentary', instead of *shu* 疏 that became commonly used later on. The former type can be termed as 'interlinear commentary' and the latter

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<sup>301</sup> For the history of the translation of Buddhist works into Chinese, see Cao 1989.

<sup>302</sup> On Zhi Qian and Kang Senghui, see Zürcher 1959: 43-56.

<sup>303</sup> T33, no. 1694.

<sup>304</sup> T33, no. 1693.

<sup>305</sup> T38, no.1775.

as 'expounding commentary'. The task of the preface preceding the commentary, just like that of the prefaces attached to translations, was to thoroughly explain the title of the work.

In the preface of Chenhui's commentary the expression 'the master says' (*shi yun* 師云) is repeated fifteen times, while the phrase 'according to one of the explanations' (*yi shuo yun* 一說云) recurs three times. This testifies that Chenhui also made use of other masters' commentaries while compiling his own. In the process of interpreting the *sūtra* he makes references to thirteen other *sūtras*. It is unique of Dao'an's commentary that it contains remarks of textual criticism. Early translations prone to be inaccurate in some places, and the Buddhist master pointed out this deficiency. The critical comment 'the order of the clauses is reversed' (*judaο* 句倒), for instance, is mentioned five times in the text. He also points out if there were words left out from or added to the translation. According to Jizang 吉藏 (549-623), it was Dao'an who created the three-part-division of the *sūtras* into prefatory setting (*xu* 序), main body (*zhengzong* 正宗), and dissemination section (*liutong* 流通). These terms, however, cannot be found in Dao'an's surviving commentaries, thus, it seems likely that they only emerged later. Sengzhao's commentary on *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* is in fact the collection of the interpretations of three masters: Sengzhao, Kumārajīva and Daosheng 道生 (360–434). It is commonly characteristic of early commentaries that they lack the *kepan* 科判, that is, the structural outline of the *sūtra*; Xie Lingyun's work already contains this. He divides the *Diamond sūtra* into three parts: the first deals with the emptiness of objects, the second discusses the emptiness of wisdom, while the third is concerned with the emptiness of the bodhisattva.

##### 5. The appearance of expounding commentaries

With the spread of Buddhism on Chinese soil, Buddhist scriptures became more and more integrated into the common knowledge of literati. As rulers and aristocrats generously supported Buddhist monasteries, Buddhist monks living there gradually monopolized the knowledge of Buddhist literature. Earlier Confucian scholars attempted to explain the meaning of Buddhist works, sometimes adopting terms from Chinese philosophy, now, with the immense growth of Buddhist works in Chinese language, it became rather difficult, as the special skill required for interpreting the abstruse scriptures had to be acquired from specially educated monks in monasteries.

The first extant expounding, or *shu* commentary was written by Daosheng 道生 to the *Lotus sūtra*. Its title is *Miaofa lianhuajing shu* 妙法蓮花經疏.<sup>306</sup> He also composed commentaries to the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* and the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*, but they were preserved in works that collect commentaries to the same scripture from different authors.<sup>307</sup> He breaks the tradition of writing a preface (*xu* 序) to the commentary, instead, he directly inserts his preliminary remarks before the text of the commentary. Later the formulation of *Xuantan* 玄談, the Enigmatic Discussion that provides the essential meaning of the *sūtra* and explains the system of Buddhist teachings before the commentary might have been indebted to this work. Here, Daosheng reveals the purpose of writing this commentary, and emphasizes that this *sūtra* originates from the time of Buddha. He claims that the central concept (*zong* 宗) of the *Lotus sūtra* is the Mahāyāna. Prior to him Dao'an and Sengzhao also had the intention to summarize tersely the main teaching of a *sūtra*, but they had not used the term *zong* for this purpose. The Buddhist exegetes must have been influenced by Confucian commentaries while searching for the central concepts of *sūtras*. The practice of summarizing the tenets of a particular *sūtra* paved the way to the classification of teachings (*panjiao* 判教). In addition, during the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-420) a great amount of *sūtras* were translated into Chinese, thus a system for treatment of their teachings had to be established. In Daosheng's commentary we find an early classification of teachings, which is a precursor to the elaborate *panjiao* formulated by Tiantai and Huayan masters.

The commentary to each chapter is preceded by a synopsis, and an explanation of the title and the reason the particular chapter is located at that place in the *sūtra* (*laiyi* 來意). Daosheng's major concern was not the meticulous exegetical examination of some terms, but finding the overall meaning of the scripture. His style is extremely terse, he often has recourse to Daoist expressions. It is interesting to note that he does not refer to any other Buddhist scriptures. In that he certainly bears a resemblance to Wang Bi, who quotes only from Laozi to explain Laozi, because he wanted to explain Laozi using Laozi's words and not others'. Daosheng must have had the same intention. Every chapter is divided into passages and every passage has a heading. These headings provide the outline of the text, which is called *kepan* or *kewen* 科文. When explaining a passage, he does not repeat the whole passage, but only indicates the beginning of the passage by saying „below this” (*cixia* 此下), or identifies the passage by quoting the beginning and end, saying from A to B (A *zhi* 至 B). When he

<sup>306</sup> X 27, 577. For its English translation, see Kim 1990.

<sup>307</sup> T38, no. 1775; 37, no. 1763.

furnishes some explanation to the translation of terms, he introduces these remarks with „it is said in Song” (*Song yan* 宋言 or *Song yun* 宋云). Song refers to Liu Song dynasty (420-479) during which period Daosheng lived.

One of three great masters of the Liang dynasty (502-557) was Yunfa 雲法 whose commentary to the *Lotus sūtra*, *Fahuaqing yiji* 法華義記,<sup>308</sup> was recorded by his disciples. The introduction, the *Xuantan* 玄談 consists of two parts: 1. the essential meaning (*dayi* 大意), which explains the essential teachings of the *sūtra* and its title, 2. detailed explanation (*guangshi* 廣釋), which gives three definitions of reason and result. His way of structuring the text of the *sūtra* became the standard outline (*kepan* 科判) for the next commentators. Here, the three divisions (*xu* 序, *zhengzong* 正宗, *liutong* 流通), which later became widespread in commentary literature, can be very clearly identified. It is not known where this way of divisions originates from, but probably it could be traced back to the exegetical tradition of the *Lotus sūtra*. The terms *xu* and *liutong* can be found in the *sūtras*, while the term *zhengzong* could be adopted from the *zongyao* 宗要 explanations prevalent in those times.

Establishing the outline of a *sūtra*, the *kepan* is a Chinese innovation, which was, probably, formulated during the Song dynasty. This was the time when China was ruled by several dynasties. The Southern dynasties regarded themselves as legitimate rulers of China, while the Northern part of China was conquered by nomadic people who established their own dynasties. This political division of China had influenced the development of Buddhism, in the southern dynasties the Buddhist scholasticism flourished, intellectuals were engaged in studying Buddhist scripture, while in the northern part of China the practical aspect of Buddhism, meditation, monasticism became emphasized. This is the reason *kepan* as an exegetical method was mostly applied in the Southern dynasties. However, monks living in the Northern part also contributed to the exegetical studies of scriptures. Bodhiruci, for example, translated several Yogācāra works, including some of Vasubandhu’s commentary, which exerted great influence on commentary writing in the Northern territories. The northern commentaries gave priority to Buddhist praxis, searching for the way how scriptures could benefit practice.

What is the advantage of *kepan*? Through realizing the hierarchy of these small units, the structure of the text, readers can get access to the meaning of the text more easily. After all, the whole text cannot be understood without the correct understanding of the parts. *Kepan*

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<sup>308</sup> T33, no. 1715.

furnishes a new perspective to reading and understanding Mahāyāna *sūtras*. It requires constant deconstruction and reconstruction of the text. It stops the overwhelming flow of words which sometimes makes reading *sūtras* tedious for those who either have not reached the realm from which these scripture originate, or do not have the faith that presupposes a kind of insight into that world. It breaks the text into small pieces in order to reconstruct it by showing the connection between the parts and establishing their hierarchy. It introduces an analytical level that coexists with the original mythological level of the *sūtra*.

## 6. The *xuantan*

During the Sui dynasty (581–618) China had become united, and this change triggered the unification of the Buddhist community. On the other hand, Buddhism also served as an ideology for funding the centralized power. The Sui emperors, Wendi 文帝(541– 604) and Yangdi 煬帝 (569 – 618) summoned the leading monks to Chang’an to dispute their Buddhist tenets, thus the capital became the center of Buddhist learning and exegesis. Those monks who fled to the Southern returned to the North, facilitating the exchange of ideas between North and South.

In terms of commentary-writing the most significant development was the expansion of introduction, or *xuantan* 玄談, which became a separate treatise before the commentary. The *xuantan* was divided into parts which were called gate (*men* 門) or meaning (*yi* 義). Following the earlier tradition, the explanation of the title and the classification of teachings is found here. However, a new feature of the *xuantan* is that many Buddhist scriptures are cited, and the different explanation of various schools are pointed out, and the tenets of rival schools are refuted. The reason the *xuantan* became more elaborate in this period might be the merge of northern and southern Buddhist teachings, and, in addition, the new translations of Paramārtha in the South and Bodhiruci in the North introduced new ideas which had to be harmonized with the earlier teachings.

From this period we find works which are not word by word commentaries of the *sūtras*, but rather attempt to give an overall meaning of the text. Two leading monks, the founder of Tiantai school, Zhiyi 智顛 (538–597), and the founder of Sanlun 三論 school, Jizang 吉藏, for example, authored this kind of works (*Fahua xuanyi* 妙法蓮華經玄義;<sup>309</sup> *Weimojing*

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<sup>309</sup> T33, no. 1716.

*xuanshu* 維摩經玄疏;<sup>310</sup> *Fahua xuanlun* 法華玄論;<sup>311</sup> *Jingming xuanlun* 淨名玄論;<sup>312</sup> *Fahua youyi* 法華遊意<sup>313</sup>). If we look at the content of these works, it turns out that they are very similar to *xuantan*, but instead of placing them before the commentary as an introduction, probably due their size, they became independent essays. Zhiyi's *The enigmatic meaning of the Lotus sūtra* (*Fahua xuanyi*) is divided into five sections: 1. the explanation of the title (*shiming* 釋名); 2. discussion of the essence (*bianti* 辨體), which is the description of the final reality of phenomena; 3. illumination of the central concept (*mingzong* 明宗), which treats the reasons and results of Buddhist practice; 4. treatment of function (*lunyong* 論用), which describes the function of wisdom that is able dispel the doubts and awake the faith; 5. classification of teachings (*panjiao* 判教), which evaluates the ranking of the *Lotus sūtra* among Buddha's teachings. It is interesting to note that the explanation of the title makes eighty eight pages out of the total one hundred thirty three pages.<sup>314</sup> In the course of elaborating the meaning of two characters in the title, the *dharma* (*fa* 法) and wonderful (*miao* 妙), Zhiyi propounds his new teaching, the third truth, the middle truth, which is a sinic innovation.<sup>315</sup>

Jizang's work, *Fahua youyi*, gives much more information about the exegetical tradition of the *Lotus sūtra*. It is divided into ten parts or gates (*shi men* 十門): 1. the reason for the origination of the *sūtra* (*laiyi* 來意), which shows the purpose why Buddha taught this *sūtra*; 2. the central concept of the *sūtra* (*zongzhi* 宗旨); 3. explanation of the title (*shi mingti* 釋名題); 4. classification of the teachings (*panjiao yi* 辨教意); 5. discussion of the exoteric and esoteric teachings (*xianmi* 顯密), where "esoteric" means that the real meaning is hidden for the audience 6. the "three" and the "one" (*sanyi* 三一), which discusses the relation between the three vehicle and one vehicle; 7. efficient function (*gongyong* 功用), which claims that given the ten inconceivables of the *sūtra*, it is endowed with liberating power; 8. transmission of the *sūtra* (*hongjing* 弘經), which describes the way the *sūtra* was transmitted and the persons who were involved; 9. versions of the *sūtra* (*budang* 部黨), which compares the various translations; 10. the history of the exegetical tradition of *Lotus sūtra* (*yuanqi* 緣起).

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<sup>310</sup> T38, no. 1777.

<sup>311</sup> T34, no.1720.

<sup>312</sup> T38, no. 1780.

<sup>313</sup> T34, no. 1722.

<sup>314</sup> For the outline of the text, its partial translation, see Swanson 1989: 157-259.

<sup>315</sup> For a study on three truths, see Swanson 1989: 115-156.



## 7. Final stage: Tang period (618-907)

At the beginning of Tang dynasty Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664) exerted considerable influence on commentary-writing.<sup>316</sup> He first had read the Yogācāra works using the old translations, but he was not satisfied with them, and realized that some important works had not been rendered into Chinese. He thought it is important to know these scriptures to understand Yogācāra philosophy, thus he traveled to India, where he mastered Sanskrit language and Buddhist philosophy at the center of Buddhist learning, the Nālanda university. He realized that the earlier translations sometimes are inaccurate and misleading. Returning home, he translated and retranslated many Buddhist scriptures, advocating the accurate, literal translation of the original works. He accomplished translations which have been the most precise translations in the history of Chinese Buddhism. Nonetheless, they have not become very popular, as their technical, strange language was not very appealing to the Chinese audience. Yet, his translations of Sanskrit grammar and phonetics and the Indian commentaries influenced the work of Chinese exegetes, as through this books Chinese monks got acquainted with Indian logic, argumentation and the method of commentary-writing.

This was the time when the explanation of commentaries, subcommentaries were compiled. For example, after Zhanran 湛然 (711-782), the most famous Tiantai patriarch during the Tang, Tiantai scholars wrote subcommentaries to Zhiyi's commentary. They authored special works, charts revealing the outline or the structure, or using Robert Buswell's translation, segmental analysis of his commentaries. This kind of works are called scriptural cartography by Robert Gimello.<sup>317</sup> They might have served as a kind of visual aid for commentators, or subcommentators, although the real use of these works are not known. Usually they are very complicated charts which are not necessarily helpful in understanding the commentary for a modern reader. Zhanran composed charts to three of Zhiyi's works. The appearance of this genre could be attributed to the increasing importance of the patriarchal lineage by the end of Tang and especially in the Song.

One of the most important Buddhist scholiast of Tang period, and maybe in the history of Chinese Buddhism was Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839), the fourth patriarch of the Huayan 華

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<sup>316</sup> Xuanzang translated several Yogācāra works, but his most influential work is the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論. It has three translations in Western languages, see La Vallée Poussin 1928, Wei 1973, Cook 1999. For a study on this work, see Lusthaus 2002. .

<sup>317</sup> Based on personal communication with Robert Buswell and Robert Gimello.

嚴 school. His lifespan was long, he is said to have lived 101 years. He studied, commented and lectured upon the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, called *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 in Chinese. He authored his *opus magnum*, a commentary on this scripture on Wutaishan 五台山, the sacred mountain of Chinese Buddhism, the abode of Mañjuśrī bodhisattva, in the Huayansi 華嚴寺, which is now called Xiantongsi 顯通寺. The monks and the abbot of the monastery asked him fervently to compose his commentary.

Chengguan gained high reputation with his commentary, he was summoned to the court, and served as a teacher of several emperors, who acknowledged his outstanding talent by conferring a few titles and offices on him. As the commentary turned out to be too abstruse, he was asked to elaborate it further, and his disciples recorded his further explanations which include a lot of citations from Buddhist and non-Buddhist literature. His work is considerable voluminous. The eighty fascicle *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* runs through 444 pages in the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon, which is almost 1500 pages in Cleary's English translation. Chengguan's commentary and subcommentary are 460 and 700 pages, respectively. The three works altogether consists of more than 1600 pages, which occupy one and half volumes of the Taishō canon. If we add the characters in these three works it totals up to around 744,000. Although on the request of high officials, he authored shorter works to summarize the teachings of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, his *opus magnum* is undoubtedly his commentaries, that is the reason he is sometimes called the commentator. In terms of the history of commentary-writing in Chinese Buddhism, his work represents a full-fledged commentary. The *xuantan* section is very elaborate, including the following ten gates.

The first section explains the circumstances of establishing the teachings (*jiaoqi yinyuan* 教起因緣), clarifying ten causes (*yin* 因) and ten conditions (*yuan* 緣). The second section, the contents of the Buddhist Canon and teachings (*zangjiao suo she* 藏教所攝) treats the contents of the Tripiṭaka and the Indian and Chinese masters' various classification systems of Buddhist teachings. The third section, the division of doctrines (*yili fenqi* 義理分齊), summarizes the doctrines of perfect teaching, i.e. Hua-yen. The fourth section describes the ability of those living beings who can understand the teachings (*jiaosuo beiji* 教所被機). The fifth section, the different levels of teaching (*jiaoti qianshen* 教體淺深), discusses the Buddhist teachings from Hīnayāna to Huayan. The sixth section explains the cardinal purport of the *Huayan jing* according to various schools of Buddhism and especially the Huayan school (*zongqu tongju* 宗趣通局). Chengguan, like Zhiyan and Fazang, stated

that the central concept of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is the *dharmadhātu* dependent arising (*fajie yuanqi* 法界緣起), which reveals the interrelatedness of all phenomena. The seventh section, the versions and chapters (*bulei pinhui* 部類品會) lists the different versions and the chapters of the *Huayan jing*, and those chapters which survive as separate works, as well as the Indian and Chinese commentaries on it. The eighth section, the translations (*chuanyi gantong* 傳譯感通), gives information on the translators' names, the date and the length of translations of *Huayan jing*, and describes the "wondrous" events which occurred during the time the translations were executed. The ninth section, the general explanation of the title of the *Huayan jing* (*zongshi mingti* 總釋經題), explicates the seven characters of the title one by one and together. The tenth section, the various divisions of the text (*biejie wenyi* 別解文義), explains how different masters divided the *Huayan jing* into parts.

The *Xuantan* section was edited as a separate work and later further commentaries were written to it. This is called *Huayan jing shuchao xuantan* 華嚴經疏鈔玄談.<sup>318</sup> This way the subcommentary has further subcommentaries. It has a very elaborate and complicated system of *kepan*, outline, thus later a chart was also composed. It is titled *Huayan jing shu kewen* 華嚴經疏鈔科文.<sup>319</sup> If we had only the texts in Taishō, it would be very difficult to read the *sūtra*, commentary and subcommentary together. To facilitate this task, modern editions combine the three works into one, arranging according to the passages of the *sūtra*. The latest project of this kind was finished a few years ago by the Taiwanese Huayan society. The final work consists of 20 volumes.

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<sup>318</sup> X 05, no. 232.

<sup>319</sup> X 05, no. 231.

## 8. Hermeneutical methods

I am going to show how Chengguan made his comments in order to reveal the hidden meaning of the text. The chapter we selected from this voluminous scripture is of great interest on its own right. The original title of the *sūtra*, according to Professor Takasaki Jikidō's reconstruction, is *Tathāgata-utpattisaṃbhava-nirdeśa-sūtra*.<sup>320</sup> This is an early Mahāyāna *sūtra* that was probably composed in Central Asia around AD 1-2. century. It was circulated before the compilation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, as is attested by Dharmarakṣa's early translation titled *Rulai xingxian jing* 如來興顯經. The title of this chapter in the sixty and eighty volume *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is *Rulai xingqi pin* 如來性起品 and *Rulai chuxian pin* 如來出現品, respectively. The fourth Chinese version, *Dafang guang rulai xingqi weimizang jing* 大方廣如來性起微密藏經, lost in China, has been discovered recently in Nanatsudera of Nagoya along with other important scriptures.<sup>321</sup> This *sūtra* describes the *Tathāgata*'s appearance in the world, the features of his body, speech and mind, as well as his activity in the world. The importance of this work, from the aspect of the development of Buddhist philosophy, lies in being a precursor to the *tathāgatagarbha* theory. Moreover, it also had a great impact on Huayan philosophy, as one of the central concepts of the school, the nature-origination (*xingqi* 性起) is associated with this chapter.

As Chengguan remarks, the special feature of this *sūtra* is that it draws a parallel between the outer world and Buddha's spiritual world. For example, Buddha's wisdom does not rely on anything like space in the world. However, the parallels are not so clear everywhere in the text, therefore Chengguan has to make a great effort to clarify them. Describing Buddha's body, the *sūtra* compares it to the sun from which infinite living beings receive benefit. The text lists seven benefits from the sun and ten benefits from Buddha's body.

When the sun comes out, infinite living beings all receive its benefits – (A) it disperses the darkness and gives light, (B) dries up moisture, (C) causes plants and trees to grow, (D) matures crops, (E) permeates the sky, (F) causes lotuses to bloom, (G) allows travellers to see the road, (H) allows people to do their work – because the orb of the sun radiates infinite beams of light everywhere. The sun of knowledge of Buddha is also like this, benefiting sentient beings everywhere by infinite works – (1) destroying evil and producing good, (2) breaking down ignorance and creating knowledge, (3) benevolently saving, compassionately liberating, (4)

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<sup>320</sup>Takasaki 1958.

<sup>321</sup> For the bibliographical information on these scriptures, see Hamar 2003a: 339-341.

causing growth of faculties, powers, and elements of enlightenment, (5) causing beings to develop profound faith, [expelling impure thoughts,]<sup>322</sup> (6) enabling them to see inevitable cause and effect, (7) fostering in them the celestial eye to see where beings die and are born, (8) causing their minds to be unimpeded and not destroy roots of goodness, (9) causing them to cultivate illumination by knowledge and open the flower of awakening, (10) causing them to determine to fulfill their fundamental task.<sup>323</sup>

譬如日出於閻浮提。無量眾生。皆得饒益。所謂。破闇作明。變濕令燥。生長草木。成熟穀稼。廓徹虛空。開敷蓮華。行者見道。居者辨業。何以故。日輪普放無量光故。佛子。如來智日。亦復如是。以無量事。普益眾生。所謂滅惡生善。破愚為智。大慈救護。大悲度脫。令其增長根力覺分。令生深信。捨離濁心。令得見聞。不壞因果。令得天眼。見歿生處。令心無礙。不壞善根。令智修明。開敷覺華。令其發心。成就本行。T 10, 279: 266a20-b1.

Chengguan relates them and comments on their relationship in the following way.

(A) disperses the darkness and gives light

(1) destroys evil and produces good

(2) breaks down ignorance and creates knowledge

Commentary:

The first two [benefits of Buddha's body] are parallel with the first of the parable, and show the difference between this world and transcendental world.

初二合初句世出世異故。<sup>324</sup>

(B) dries up moisture

(3) benevolently saving, compassionately liberating

Commentary:

Buddha saves beings from the stream of the four swift torrents,<sup>325</sup> and presents them with the transcendental happiness. He saves the followers of two vehicles from sinking in the water of meditation, and causes them to taste the joy of bodhi. In both cases, he dries beings [like the sun].

三拔四流之苦與出世之樂。拯二乘沈定水之苦。與菩提樂。皆變濕令燥之義。<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> This is missing from Cleary's translation, I have added it.

<sup>323</sup> Cleary 1993: 983-984.

<sup>324</sup> *Da fangguang fo huyan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 875, b17.

<sup>325</sup> The four swift torrents (*catur-ogha*) are the defilements that sweep away all virtues: 1. desires 2. mental defilement such as attachment 3. wrong views 4. ignorance.

(C) causes plants and trees to grow

(4) causing growth of faculties, powers, and elements of enlightenment

Commentary:

Due to the different practices on the way to enlightenment the plants and trees of the three vehicles will grow.

四道品通長三乘草木。<sup>327</sup>

(D) matures crops

(5) causes beings to develop profound faith and expels impure thoughts

Commentary:

Faith has two meanings. On one hand, completing the meaning above, faith calls all teachings into life, on the other hand "maturing" implies that faith can bring someone to the world of the Tathāgata.

五信有二義。一成上義。信能增長一切法故。二合成熟信。能必到如來地故。<sup>328</sup>

(E) permeates the sky

(6) enables them to see inevitable cause and effect

(7) fosters in them the celestial eye to see where beings die and are born

Commentary:

The sixth and seventh [benefits from Buddha] are parallel with [that the sun] "permeates the sky". The wisdom that understands the Four Noble Truths and the cause and result, the three clarities, as well as the wisdom of ten powers are like the sun that makes the space bright.

六七二句合廓徹虛空。一得見聞四諦因果智。二得三明十力智如空有日廓淨照徹故。<sup>329</sup>

(F) causes lotuses to bloom

(8) causes their minds to be unimpeded and not destroy roots of goodness

(9) causes them to cultivate illumination by knowledge and open the flower of awakening

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<sup>326</sup> *Da fanguang fo huyanjing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 875, b17-19.

<sup>327</sup> *Da fanguang fo huyanjing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 875, b19-20.

<sup>328</sup> *Da fanguang fo huyanjing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 875, b20-22.

<sup>329</sup> *Da fanguang fo huyanjing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 875, b22-24.

## Commentary:

The eighth [benefit from Buddha] has two meanings. As the mind becomes unimpeded, above it pervades the space, as the roots of goodness are unharmed, below the lotuses are blooming. Just like if the red flower of the lotus does not have sunshine, it will die in the shade without doubt, the roots of goodness of three vehicles can stay alive, if they meet the sun of wisdom. The ninth [benefit from Buddha] is parallel with the “blooming lotuses”. Formerly it is said that the roots of the lotuses that have already been blooming remain unharmed, but here the lotuses that have not bloomed yet, now start to bloom.

八有二義。令心無礙成上徹空。不壞善根成下蓮華。如赤蓮華不遇日光翳死無疑。三乘善根若遇智日則便不壞。九正合開華。上已開不壞。今未開今開。<sup>330</sup>

(G) allows travellers to see the road

(H) allows people to do their work

(10) causes them to determine to fulfill their fundamental task.

## Commentary:

The tenth [benefit from Buddha] is correspondent to the last two parts [of the parable]. After taking the bodhisattva vow, they see the great way, carry out their fundamental task, and do their job at home.

十合後二句。發菩提心即見大道。成就本行是辦家業。<sup>331</sup>

In these examples, Chengguan not only draws parallels between the two lists, but also introduces several important Buddhist terms and refers to other scriptures. He tries to contextualize the *sūtra* into the Buddhist knowledge and practice of his days. In his *Commentary* and especially in his *Subcommentary*, he often quotes from other scriptures, treatises, Chinese Buddhist and non-Buddhist works. He even has philosophical arguments with other Buddhist schools to prove his own Huayan stance.<sup>332</sup> His commentary is meant not only to decode the text of the *sūtra*, but also to provide the background which helps understanding the text, or, from a modern hermeneutical point of view, gives us some clues about the knowledge that presupposed the understanding of a *sūtra* in Tang China. His commentary could be called an Encyclopedia of Buddhist knowledge or rather *Summa*

<sup>330</sup> *Da fangguang fo huyanjin shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 875, b24-28.

<sup>331</sup> *Da fangguang fo huyanjin shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 875, b28-29.

<sup>332</sup> Concerning the question whether Buddha has a mind or not, he shows the various arguments of *Faxingzong* 法性宗 and *Faxiangzong* 法相宗. See Hamar 2003a.

*Theologiae* as he shows the teachings of Buddha from a Huayan aspect, never forgetting that the most perfect teaching is his first sermon, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.<sup>333</sup>

### 9. Impact of indigeous thought on exegesis

Sometimes it is perplexing to read Chengguan’s commentary as his perfect mastery of Chinese literary tradition and his frequent allusions to Daoist works reveal not only his intent of using Chinese philosophy as an *upāya* in proselytizing Chinese elite but also his personal fascination with Chinese tradition. It is no wonder that Kamata Shigeo affiliated him with Sengzhao 僧肇, whose work, the *Zhaolun* 肇論, is a masterpiece of applying Daoist works for Buddhist purpose.<sup>334</sup> I show here one example how masterfully Chengguan applied Daoist terms and reconstructed them in the Buddhist context. The very first sentence of the preface of his commentary on *Huayan jing* runs as follows:

“Going and returning have no limits, movement and quiescence have one source. It includes all subtleties and yet it has surplus, it transcends speech and thinking thus it is outstanding. This is the *dharma-dhātu*!”

往復無際。動靜一源。含眾妙而有餘。超言思而迥出者。其唯法界歟。<sup>335</sup>

It is not difficult to recognize the similarity with the first chapter of the *Daode jing*. He even cites the terms “all subtleties”. However, the subject of this sentence is not the Dao, but the *dharma-dhātu*. The term *dharma-dhātu* has several meanings in Buddhist sources: principle of truth, one of the eighteen *dhātus* in Hīnayāna, and Absolute or *tathāgatagarbha* in Mahāyāna. In the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* it denotes the world after the experience of enlightenment, i.e., the world how a Buddha sees it. This whole *sūtra* is believed to describe this crucial experience, thus it is reasonable that Chengguan explains the meaning of this term at beginning of his Magnum Opus. This one sentence is painstakingly explained in his own *Subcommentary* through almost two pages in its Taishō edition.<sup>336</sup> It is worth reading some portions of the *Subcommentary*, as these shed light on the way how Daoist expressions get deeply immersed in Buddhist meaning.

<sup>333</sup> For a list of those Buddhist and non-Buddhist works that Chengguan cites, see Appendix.

<sup>334</sup> Kamata 1965: 338-357.

<sup>335</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 503, a6-7.

<sup>336</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing shu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 1, b11-p. 3, b24.



He applies to this sentence the three rubrics of the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, this apocryphal scripture that made a great impact on the development of Chinese Buddhism. These are essence (*ti* 體), feature (*xiang* 相), and function (*yong* 用), which are called the three kinds of greatness (*sanda* 三大). Each illustrates one aspect of the *dharma-dhātu*.

This passage is divided into five sentences

1. 往復無際

Going and returning have no limits: this is the function (*yong* 用) of *dharma-dhātu*.

2. 動靜一源

Movement and quiescence have one source: this is the essence (*ti* 體) of *dharma-dhātu*.

3. 含眾妙而有餘

It includes all subtleties and yet it has surplus: it is the features of *dharma-dhātu*.

4. 超言思而迥出者

It transcends speech and thinking and it is outstanding: it merges and eliminates (*rongfo* 融拂) the above three kinds of [greatness].

5. 其唯法界歟

It is the *dharma-dhātu*: it possesses all the above qualities.

1. 往復無際

Going and returning have no limits.

This is the function (*yong* 用) of *dharma-dhātu*.

It has three aspects

略有三義:

- a. The first aspect is when it is explained from the aspect of both delusion and enlightenment  
一雙約迷悟說:

If somebody is deluded concerning the *dharma-dhātu*, he/she goes to the six destinies. This is going and movement. If somebody becomes enlightened concerning the *dharma-dhātu*, he/she returns to the one mind. This is coming and quiescence.

謂迷法界而往六趣。去也。動也。悟法界而復一心。來也。靜也。

b. From the aspect of delusion

二唯約妄說:

In addition it has two meanings. Vertically discussing going and coming: the past has no beginning, the future has no end. There is no former and later. Horizontally discussing: the basis of delusion is great and limitless.

復有二義。一豎論去來。過去無始。未來無終。無初後際。二約橫說。妄念攀緣浩無邊際。

c. Returning to the source

返本還源說:

The first is a comprehensive definition, the second is the aspect of delusion when it only goes but it does not come. And here it only returns. It returns to the source. This is the meaning of quiescence. 初義是總。第二約妄惟往非來。今此唯復。復本源故。斯即靜義。

That is why the *fu gua* of the *Zhouyi* says: “Do we not see in Fu the mind of heaven and earth?”<sup>337</sup>

If it goes, it must return. The *tai gua* says: “‘There is no going away so that there shall not be a return’ refers to this as the point where the interaction of heaven and earth takes place.”<sup>338</sup>

故周易復卦云。復其見天地之心乎。然往必復。易泰卦云。無往不復。天地際也。

In the *Mañjuśrī explains the ineffable nature of the realm of Tathāgata sūtra*<sup>339</sup> .... the cultivation of the path of bodhisattva is designated as it has going and returning.

故文殊師利所說不思議佛境界經中。..... 有往有復名修菩薩道。

The going is to observe what the sentient beings like, and the returning is to teach the *Dharma* according to their needs, the going is to enter *samādhi* by himself, the returning is to have other beings entered *samādhi*, etc.

觀諸眾生心所樂欲。名之為往。隨其所應而為說法。名之為復自入三昧名之為往。令諸眾生得於三昧。名之為復。

[Another eight pairs follow in the text]

The explanation says: In the above ten pairs the first part always refers to self-benefit, which is regarded as “going” because [the bodhisattva] goes to *nirvāṇa* through it; the second part is the benefit for others which is regarded as returning because [the bodhisattva] returns to *saṃsāra* to convert living beings. Though here the words ‘going’ and ‘returning’ are applied, in fact we can

<sup>337</sup> Legge 1899/1963: 233.

<sup>338</sup> Legge 1899/1963: 281.

<sup>339</sup> T12, no. 340.

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state generally that it is to describe the returning to source or returning to the original mind. Here the limitless has two meanings: 1. the ocean of the deeds of bodhisattva is vast and limitless, 2. the principle that they describe is limitless.

釋曰。上來十對。皆上句自利為往。往涅槃故。下句利他為復。復於生死化眾生故。雖有往復。總為返本還源復本心矣。此中無際。亦有二義。一菩薩行海廣多無際也。二一一稱理深無邊際也。

The above three aspects [a,b,c] are the function of the *dharmadhātu*

然上三義。皆法界用矣。

2. movement and quiescence have one source.

動靜一源

This is the essence of *dharmadhātu*.

法界體也

a. The first aspect is when it is explained from the aspect of both delusion and enlightenment

約迷悟者

The movement is going and the quiescence is returning. Although delusion and enlightenment are two gates, the object of delusion and the real nature have one source. The source that is not two is the essence.

動即往也。靜即復也。動靜迷悟雖有二門。所迷真性一源莫二。莫二之源即是體也。

b. from the aspect of delusion

二對唯妄者。

Movement is going and returning, quiescence is the essence, i.e., emptiness, as the [nature of] mutually originated [*dharmas*] is stillness. ...In every movement quiescence has to be searched, thus though it is movement but it is eternal quiescence. Therefore movement and quiescence have different names, but their sources are not two. This source that is not two is the one essence.

動即往復。有去來故。靜即體虛。相待寂故。....必求靜於諸動故。雖動而常靜。則動靜名殊。其源莫二。莫二之源。即一體也。

c. returning to the source

三對返本還源說。

To benefit oneself is quiescence, and to benefit others is movement. Two benefits lead together to converting and non-converting, thus the one source that is the essence of *dharmadhātu* is not lost. ....Movement and quiescence is non-obstructed. This is the one source.

自利靜也。利他動也。二利相導化而無化。則不失一源。為法界體也。動寂無礙為一源也。

2. 含眾妙而有餘

It includes all subtleties and yet it has surplus.

It is the greatness of the features of *dharmadhātu*.

法界相大也。

Inside the darkness all wonders are found. The pure *dharmadhātu* is dark, and able to contain the immeasurable qualities of nature. The greatness of subtle features is that which is contained. Features are dependent on nature, and there is nothing that the nature does not include. Thus this is called “to contain”. There is nothing outside the nature-essence, and the feature-qualities have names. A category that has a name cannot pervade the essence that does not have outside. That is why it says “it has surplus”.

謂杳冥之內眾妙存焉。清淨法界杳杳冥冥。以為能含恒沙性德。微妙相大。以為所含。相依乎性。性無不包。故稱為含。性體無外。相德有名。有名之數不能遍無外之體。故云有餘。

The greatness of feature has two aspects (*yi* 義). From the aspect of nonemptiness, it refers to the immeasurable qualities of nature. This is the interpretation of the common teaching (*tongjiao* 同教意). From the aspect of nonobstruction of phenomena, it refers to the self-completeness of the features of the ten mystical gates (*shixuan* 十玄). This is the interpretation of the distinct teaching (*biejiao* 別教).

然此相大略有二義。一約不空具恒沙性德故。此是同教意。二約事事無礙。十玄之相。本自具足。即是別教之意也。

The term „all wonders” is used by Laozi. The Scripture of the Dao says:

然眾妙兩字。亦老子意。彼道經云。

The Dao that can be told of is not the eternal Dao;

The name that can be named is not the eternal name.

The Nameless is the origin of Heaven and Earth;

The Named is the mother of all things.

Therefore let there always be non-being so we may see their subtlety

And let there always be being so we may see their outcome.

The two are the same,  
But after they are produced, they have different names.  
Deeper and more profound,  
The door of all subtleties.<sup>340</sup>

道可道非常道。名可名非常名。無名天地之始。有名萬物之母。常無欲以觀其妙。常有欲以觀其徼。此兩者。同出而異名。同謂之玄。玄之又玄。眾妙之門。

The explanation: according to this meaning the voidness and spontaneity (xuwu ziran 虛無自然) are the profound subtleties. In addition, to rub out the traces is called “profound again.” This is the desireless towards desireless (wuyu yu wuyu 無欲於無欲). The myriad thing originate from this. Thus, it says „the door of all subtleties.” Now we borrow the words, but not the meaning. According to our interpretation the one real *dharma-dhātu* is the essence of all subtleties. The features that are identical with the essence are „all subtleties”

釋曰。然彼意以虛無自然。以為玄妙。復拂其迹。故云又玄。此則無欲於無欲。萬法由生故。云眾妙之門。今借其言而不取其義。意以一真法界為玄妙體。即體之相為眾妙矣。

#### 4. 超言思而迥出者

it transcends speech and thinking thus it is outstanding

It merges and eliminates (rongfo 融拂) the above three kinds of [greatness]. 融拂上三也。

“To merge” means that the three and one mutually include each other. To eliminate means that the three and one both become quiescent. What does transcend mean? This is to say that principle is perfect while speech is one-sided. Once speech comes to being, principle is lost. This *dharma* does not have features that can be thought of, thus thinking leads to confusion. It transcends thus it is said to be outstanding.

融拂上三也。融則三一互收。拂則三一雙寂。云何超耶。謂理圓言偏。言生理喪。法無相想思則亂生。並皆超之。故云迥出。

Sengzhao said: “You wish to speak with your mouth, but words are destroyed; you wish to grasp it with thinking, but thoughts are eliminated.” Therefore it surpasses the presentation of words and symbols. If you want to discuss its features and function, they are quiescent like essence. If you want to discuss the quiescence of its essence, the features and function are confused. They are one but three as their features are not identical. They are three but one, as their essence is not two. Three and one are nonobstructed, they become eliminated together. Their existence and nonexistence are not confined, how could they be expressed by the symbols of speech? Therefore it says “outstanding”.

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<sup>340</sup> Chan 1963: 139.

故肇公云。口欲談而詞喪。心將緣而慮亡。則迥出於言象之表矣。何者。欲言相用即同體寂。欲謂體寂相用紛然。即一而三相不同。即三而一體無二。三一無礙互奪雙亡。存泯莫羈。豈言象之能至。故云迥出。

When we negate speech and thinking by using the terms “eliminating and exceeding”, this is not to say that no-speech can become the foundation. Thus the *sūtra* says: “Although speech cannot be relied on, no-speech cannot be clung to.”<sup>341</sup> The features of speech originally quiescent, thus eliminating and exceeding must be eliminated too. In this way the dependent connection between speech and no-speech becomes quiescence, too. Thus by saying “outstanding”, the traces of speech and no-speech are wiped out.

又借斯亡絕以遣言思。非有無言可為棲託。故下經云。雖復不依言語道。亦復不著無言說。況言相本寂亡絕亦亡。斯則言與亡言相待亦寂故。假迥出之稱。以拂言與亡言之迹矣。

#### 5. 其唯法界歟

This is the *dharmadhātu*.

It concludes with that where *dharma*s belong to. It possesses all the above qualities.

結法所屬法界也。謂具上諸德獨在於法界矣。

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<sup>341</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 129, b4.

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IV. The Yogācāra and Tathāgatarbha teachings in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and the  
Huayan school

## 1. The reception of Yogācāra in China and its position in Huayan *panjiao*

Huayan Buddhism is regarded as one of the most philosophical schools of Chinese Buddhism, representing the elite-scholar Buddhism under the Tang dynasty. Its vision of truth is based on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, the scripture that Huayan masters studied, explained and commented intensively throughout their lives. This was the common vocation of these monks, which gradually created a lineage of the Huayan tradition, a succession of exegetes who believed that the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* was the consummate teaching of Buddha preached directly after his enlightenment under the bodhi tree. Although the base text of Huayan Buddhism was the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, classified as the round or perfect teaching in the classification of doctrines (*panjiao* 判教), other teachings, such as Madhyamaka, Yogācāra, and Tathāgatagarbha had exerted a great influence on the way Huayan scholars apprehended and interpreted this Mahāyāna scripture. In this chapter we are going to discuss how Yogācāra philosophy was evaluated in the context of Huayan Buddhism, how the Huayan masters classified the consciousness-only teachings, and finally how they applied this philosophy in revealing the purport of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, formulating its own distinctive school, the round teaching of one vehicle.

### a. Background: old and new schools of Yogācāra in China

It is widely known that Huayan Buddhism is greatly indebted to the first advocates of Yogācāra philosophy in China, the masters of the Dilun and Shelun schools. These schools agreed that the ultimate level of consciousness is pure, untainted.<sup>342</sup> Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠 (523-592), the famous Dilun master, posited that the *ālayavijñāna* is the true, pure consciousness on which the defiled world is dependent.<sup>343</sup> Paramārtha (499-569), the translator of many important Yogācāra works and the founder of the Shelun school, proposed the existence of the ninth level of consciousness, a pure consciousness, the *amalavijñāna*.<sup>344</sup> Their positions were based on Indian scriptural sources, such as for instance the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, a significant and influential Yogācāra scripture, which claims that *tathāgatagarbha* is identical with the *ālayavijñāna*, implying that the mind is ultimately pure. The exegetical

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<sup>342</sup> Liu 1982: 189.

<sup>343</sup> Liu 1985: 365.

<sup>344</sup> For Paramārtha's view on consciousness, see Paul 1981.



analysis and interpretations of sometimes contradictory Indian sources led to the appearance of the *Awakening of Faith*, one of the most influential apocrypha in the history of Chinese Buddhism. This work had established the ontological and soteriological framework of Chinese Yogācāra that was crucial for Huayan thinkers in establishing their own ontological and soteriological theories. Its thesis that the one mind has two aspects, the *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* seemed to solve the philosophical problems inherent in Yogācāra and Tathāgata-garbha literature.<sup>345</sup> Nonetheless, one major problem has not been solved, that is the ontological origin of ignorance that is said to cause the essentially pure mind to become tainted in the course of creating the phenomenal world.

This view on the existence of pure consciousness was challenged by Xuanzang 玄奘 (600-664) who in accordance with his education in classical Yogācāra in India propounded that the final reality, the *ālayavijñāna*, contains both pure and impure seeds, and consequently the pure entity behind the phenomenal world cannot be substantiated. For him the pure mind was not an ontologically existent entity, but it was realised soteriologically through the process called turning about of the basis (*āśraya-parāvṛtti*), which is the experience of enlightenment when *ālayavijñāna* is transformed into wisdom. His newly imported doctrines not only refuted the earlier ontological speculations, but also denied the universality of Buddhahood which had become the mainstream of Chinese Buddhism. Xuanzang, however, argued that some living beings, the *icchantikas*, lack the potential to become a Buddha.

#### b. The position of Yogācāra in *panjiao* of Huayan

This was the intellectual and religious background for the founding of the Huayan tradition, which had to make a response to this new branch of Yogācāra in order to defend the achievements of the eminent predecessors, and to substantiate its own existence. This task was first taken up by Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668), the second patriarch of the Huayan school, who was Xuanzang's contemporary, and thus an eyewitness to the arising conflict between the old and new schools of Yogācāra. That is the reason why he wrote most of his works relatively late, near the end of his life.<sup>346</sup> Given that Xuanzang was a monk of high erudition who had the prestige of having studied in India under famous masters and enjoyed the lavish support of

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<sup>345</sup> Hakeda 1967: 31; Girard 2004: 21.

<sup>346</sup> Robert M. Gimello convincingly argued for it in his Ph.D. dissertation which is the best treatment of early Huayan philosophy in western language. See Gimello 1976.

the Chinese emperor in his activity of translating the scriptures he had brought from India, Zhiyan's position must have been extremely difficult.

Zhiyan was the first Huayan master to formulate his own *panjiao* system. He had proposed different ways to classify the various teachings, but the system of five teachings became the standard *panjiao* of Huayan Buddhism. The five teachings are Hīnayāna, the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna, the advanced teaching of Mahāyāna, the sudden teaching, and the round teaching.<sup>347</sup> For our discussion the second and third teachings are relevant, as they refer to Xuanzang's new Yogācāra and the old Yogācāra of Dilun and Shelun, respectively. Zhiyan's method of defending the old tradition was its elevation to a higher rank, arguing that the elementary teaching only reveals the unreality of self and physical objects whereas the advanced teaching shows the ultimate reality, the *tathatā*, or *tathāgatagarbha*.<sup>348</sup> It is important to note that the Madhyamaka philosophy was also regarded as the elementary teaching. This invention of elementary and advanced Mahāyāna laid the ground for the next Huayan masters to elaborate their own theories. In doing so, however, the interpretation and evaluation of these teachings altered in accordance with their individual philosophical and religious persuasions.

Fazang 法藏 (643-712) inherited from his master, Zhiyan, not only the *panjiao* of five teachings but also his detestation toward the new Yogācāra school. It is reflected in the name he gave to this school, Faxiangzong, which implies that it treats only the characteristics of the *dharmas*. He argues that the essence of the elementary teaching lies in the concept of *ālayavijñāna*, that is the ultimate source of all kinds of existence and contains all the karmic seeds. He criticizes this school for regarding *ālaya* apart from the *tathāgatagarbha*. Fazang mainly identifies Xuanzang's school with the elementary teaching, but sometimes he also mentions Madhyamaka, the school that maintains that the *dharmas* are conditionally originated and empty of self-nature. In contrast, the final teaching holds that the *tathatā* does not exist apart from conditions, but actively takes part in the origination of phenomenal world.<sup>349</sup> This relationship is described, in typical Huayan terminology, as the interpenetration of principle and phenomena (*lishi wuai* 理事無礙). However, in Fazang's *panjiao* system the interpenetration of phenomena (*shishi wuai* 事事無礙) plays a more significant role, as it is said to be the teaching propounded by the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>347</sup> Liu 1981: 10-47.

<sup>348</sup> Liu 1981: 17.

<sup>349</sup> Liu 1981: 23.

<sup>350</sup> Gregory 1991: 155.

Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839) created the orthodoxy of the Huayan lineage by severely criticizing Huiyuan 慧苑 (673-743), the disciple of Fazang, for modifying Fazang's *panjiao* system.<sup>351</sup> He applied most of the philosophical concepts put forward by Fazang, thus he preserved the classification of five teachings. Establishing Huayan orthodoxy, however, did not prevent him from changing or elaborating further his predecessors' teachings, or even formulating his own theories. His most well-known contribution to Huayan philosophy is the four *dharma-dhātus*: *dharma-dhātu* of phenomena (*shi fajie* 事法界), *dharma-dhātu* of principle (*li fajie* 理法界), *dharma-dhātu* of nonobstruction of phenomena and principle (*lishi wuai* 理事無礙法界) and *dharma-dhātu* of nonobstruction of phenomena (*shishi wuai* 事事無礙法界).<sup>352</sup> Fazang emphasized the nonobstruction of phenomena, the interrelated relationship among all phenomena of the universe that is described by the famous metaphor of Indra's net. The nonobstruction of phenomena and principle was only important for laying the ground for the nonobstruction of phenomena. As all phenomena could be traced back to the same source ontologically, thus their mutual identity (*xiangji* 相即) and mutual interpenetration (*xiangru* 相入) were substantiated. However, Chengguan attributed much more significance to the nonobstruction of principle and phenomena in its own right, as the link with the ultimate source of reality.<sup>353</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> Sakamoto 1964: 58-110.

<sup>352</sup> Hamar 1998: 1-19.

<sup>353</sup> Yoshizu 1983: 300-321.

2. Passages connected to Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*

a. Three realms are mind mind only

i. The original passage

One of the most famous teaching of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is that the tree realms are mind only. This occurs in the following passage of the sixty fascicle version of the sūtra:

The three realms are illusion, created only by mind, the twelve chains of dependent arising rely on mind.

三界虛妄但是心作；十二緣分是皆依心<sup>354</sup>

The same passage in the eighty fascicle version:

All existent things in the three realms are only one-mind. Thus the Tathāgata explained that the twelve branches of existence are established relying on one-mind.

三界所有，唯是一心。如來於此分別演說十二有支，皆依一心，如是而立。<sup>355</sup>

The Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of this passage are very close to the Chinese renditions.<sup>356</sup> It is tempting to interpret this text as an evidence for the presence of Yogācāra, or even the Absolute mind in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, however, it is quite clear from the context that here mind is deluded due to ignorance about the Absolute truth, and this ignorance leads to the existence, death and suffering, which are described by the twelve chains of dependent arising. The *gāthā* section of the sixty fascicle version unequivocally attributes tainted aspect to mind:

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<sup>354</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 558, c10-11.

<sup>355</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 194, a14-15.

<sup>356</sup> For a comparative study of the various versions of this passage, see Tamaki 1960.

One understands that the three realms  
Exist only from the craving mind,  
Knows that the twelve chains of dependent arising  
Exist in one-mind.

Similarly, birth and death  
Arise only from mind,  
If mind becomes extinguished,  
Birth and death will come to an end.<sup>357</sup>

了達於三界， 但從貪心有，  
知十二因緣， 在於一心中。  
如是則生死， 但從心而起，  
心若得滅者， 生死則亦盡。

As existence comes into being due to the craving mind, we can be certain that one-mind mentioned in this passage is not the Absolute One-mind advocated by the famous Chinese apocryphal scripture, *The Awakening of Faith*.<sup>358</sup> It is interesting to note that mind (*citta*) is predicated as the source of existence, and it sets the twelve chains of dependent arising in motion. However, consciousness (*viññāna*) is the third member of the dependent arising, consequently it also gains its existence from the mind. It is evident that in later Yogācāra the meanings of *citta*, *viññāna* and *manas* were distinct, but in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* they seem to have the same denotation.<sup>359</sup> Being so, what does one-mind mean? It could refer to a previous existence, which accumulates karmic seeds for the future *viññāna* and existence. As the stanza says, if this mind becomes extinguished, the next *viññāna*, existence and death will not occur.

## ii. Interpretations of the passage

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<sup>357</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 560, a11-14.

<sup>358</sup> For an old English translation, see Hakeda 1967. Frederic Girard recently has made an excellent French translation. See Girard 2004.

<sup>359</sup> In the chapter, Manifestation of the Tathāgata it is asked what a bodhisattva should know about the *citta*, *viññāna* and *manas* of the Tathāgata, where all these terms refer to the Tathāgata's mental realm. See Hamar 2003a. For the English translation of relevant passage in the scripture, see Cleary 1993: 998, Chien 1993: 97-98.

As we saw above, it is quite certain that one-mind in the *sūtra* has nothing to do with the Absolute One-mind, and it is feasible to propose that this passage, in fact, cannot be linked to Yogācāra. Nonetheless, the famous Yogācāra philosopher, Vasubandhu in his commentary to the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* seems to suggest that this passage indeed propounds Yogācāra teaching:

'Only made by one-mind' means that everything in the three realms is evolved by only the mind. Why are there various mundane truths? Following the discernment of mundane truth one can realize the absolute truth.

但是一心作者。一切三界唯心轉故。云何世諦差別。隨順觀世諦即入第一義諦。<sup>360</sup>

Vasubandhu explains that all phenomena in the three realms are evolved by mind. As a result of this process we find a great diversity in the phenomenal world, but duly contemplating on these phenomena, one can realize the absolute truth, if one is able to see the source of phenomena.

In his work on substantiating consciousness-only, *Viṃśatikā-kārikā* [*vṛtti*] Vasubandhu refers to this passage in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*:

In the Great Vehicle, the three realms of existence are determined as being perception-only. As it is said in the *sūtra*: “The three realms of existence are citta-only.” *Citta*, *manas*, consciousness, and perceptions are synonyms. By the word “*citta*”, *citta* along with its associations is intended here. “Only” is said to rule out any (external) object of sense or understanding.<sup>361</sup>

Vasubandhu interprets this passage as a proof for consciousness-only, and furnishes two important comments. First, he underlines the identity of the terms, *citta*, *manas*, consciousness, and perceptions. Second, he notes that the term, “*citta*” here also includes mind associates. It will become important in Fazang’s treatment of the ten levels of consciousness-only, as he makes difference among propositions whether they include mind associates, or not.

Xuanzang, who compiled the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, as a commentary on Vasubandhu’s *Triṃśikā-kārikā*, also refers to this passage:

<sup>360</sup> *Shidi jing lun* 十地經論, T26, no. 1522, p. 169, a16-17.

<sup>361</sup> This is a translation of the Sanskrit version. See Anacker 1984: 161. The Chinese version is 安立大乘三界唯識。以契經說三界唯心。心意識了名之差別。此中說心意兼心所。唯遮外境不遣相應。 See *Weishi ershi lun* 唯識二十論, T31, no. 1590, p. 74, b27-29.

According to what the [*Daśabhūmika*]-*sūtra* says, “The three realms are mind only.” Also, [the *Samdhanirmocana-sūtra*] says, “Objects are only manifestations of consciousness.” Also, [the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*] says, “None of the *dharmas* is apart from mind.” Also, [the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*] says, “Sentient beings become impure or pure through mind.” It is also said, “Bodhisattvas who are provided with four knowledges can, in accordance with awakening, enter [the truth of] consciousness only and objectlessness.”

如契經說三界唯心。又說所緣唯識所現。又說諸法皆不離心。又說有情隨心垢淨。又說成就四智菩薩能隨悟入唯識無境。<sup>362</sup>

Here, we find this passage along with other citations from classical Yogācāra works, *Samdhanirmocana-sūtra*, the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, and the famous Mahāyāna *sūtra*, *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* to prove that only consciousness exists, and there are no external objects.

It would be interesting to know how the Dilun school interpreted this passage, but, unfortunately, this relevant section has not survived in either Fashang’s or Huiyuan’s commentary to the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*.<sup>363</sup> However, Huiyuan alludes to this passage in his *Mahāyāna Encyclopedia* (*Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章) twice. First, he says:

The *sūtra* says: The twelve chains of dependent arising is created by only one-mind. ‘Created by only mind’ means that all forms and objects arise depending on the deluded mind. Just like all objects of dream arise dependent on the dreaming mind.<sup>364</sup>

經說言。十二因緣。唯一心作。唯心作者。謂依妄心。便有一切色境界起。如依夢心便有一切夢境界生。

Here, Huiyuan attributed tainted quality to mind, which rises all objects in the phenomenal world. This understanding is very close to the original meaning of the *sūtra*. However, discussing the dependent arising, he lists three types of dependent arising: 1. phenomenal dependent arising (*shixiang yinyuan* 事相因緣), dependent arising based on deluded thinking (*wangxiang yinyuan* 妄想因緣), and absolute dependent arising (*zhenshi yinyuan* 真實因緣). Explaining the last one, he says:

<sup>362</sup> Cook 1999: 234. T31, no. 1585, p. 39, a6-9.

<sup>363</sup> Yoshizu 1981: 163.

<sup>364</sup> *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章, T44, no. 1851, p. 550, a16-18.

The absolute is the essence of the previous dependent arising based on deluded thinking. Reaching the limit of the original nature, everything is collected only by the absolute dependent arising. Eventually, there is no delusion outside the absolute that could be attained. This is the principle of absolute dependent arising. As the [*Daśa*]-*bhūmika-sūtra* says: 'all the twelve chains of dependent arising are created by one-mind.' 'All is created by mind' means that created by the absolute mind.

言真實者。即前妄想因緣之體。窮其本性。唯是真識緣起所集。真外畢竟無妄可得。即是真實因緣之理。故地經云。十二因緣皆一心作。皆心作者。謂真心作。<sup>365</sup>

In contrast to the previous citation, Huiyuan explains that one-mind, which creates the phenomena, is the absolute mind. If one understands the real nature of phenomenal dependent arising, one will realize that it relies on the dependent arising of absolute mind. These two quotations from Huiyuan works reflect his ambiguous stance regarding the nature of *ālayavijñāna*, the final reality: he attributes both impure and pure aspects to it.

Commenting on this passage, the second patriarch of the Huayan tradition, Zhiyan explains that it refers to two kinds of consciousness-only:

This text includes two kinds of consciousness-only. 'The three realms are mind-only' is the consciousness-only of root-consciousness. Later in the *sūtra* the *gāthā* says: ' [three realms] exist from the craving mind,' is the consciousness-only of mental consciousness.<sup>366</sup>

今此文內通二唯識。三界唯心作即本識唯識。如經下偈但從貪心有即意識唯識。

These two kinds of consciousness-only are the root-consciousness, or *ālaya* consciousness and the mental consciousness. Elsewhere he clarifies that the absolute consciousness and deluded consciousness are the essences of consciousness-only of *ālaya* and the consciousness-only of mental consciousness, respectively.

The first is the consciousness-only of *ālaya*, which takes the absolute mind as its essence; the second is the consciousness-only of mental-consciousness, which takes deluded consciousness as its essence.<sup>367</sup>

一梨耶唯識。即以真識為體。二意識唯識。即以妄識為體也。

<sup>365</sup> *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章, T44, no. 1851, p. 551, a12-16.

<sup>366</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shouxuan fenqi tongzhi fanggui* 大方廣佛華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌, T35, no. 1732, p. 64, c22-24.

<sup>367</sup> *Huayan jing wenda* 華嚴經問答, T45, no. 1873, p. 605, b10-11.



Thus following the footsteps of Huiyuan, he also interprets the one-mind as both pure and tainted. However, he associates the tainted aspect of mind with the mental consciousness which is the first six consciousnesses in the Yogācāra, while the root-consciousness, or *ālaya* is connected with the absolute mind.

#### b. The Metaphor of Painter in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and its Chinese Interpretation

The famous mind-painter metaphor in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* can be found in the chapter entitled *Hymns recited in the palace of Yama*. At the beginning of the chapter, through the magical powers of Buddha, the bodhisattvas of the ten great directions appear before him accompanied by an infinite number of bodhisattvas; then, receiving inspiration, they start to recite hymns one by one, extolling Buddha. The ninth among the declaimers is the bodhisattva called Forest of Awakening, who, like the others, recites ten stanzas. He compares the mind to a painter: just as the painter creates his picture, the mind creates the external world. It is plausible to identify the influence of Yogācāra philosophy in the poem, as the latter denies the existence of external objects, and only accepts the existence of the mind that projects external objects.

The mind-painter metaphor was extensively studied by Chinese and Japanese Buddhist masters; Chinese commentaries give detailed explanations of the meaning of the poem.<sup>368</sup> In Japan, separate works were written to interpret these ten stanzas. The poem was taken out of the *sūtra*, and was called the *Mind-only Poem* (*Weixin jie* 唯心偈).<sup>369</sup> The seventh and eighth stanzas were considered to be the central part of the text:

The Buddha is also like the mind,  
and living beings are like the Buddha.  
It must be known that the Buddha and the mind  
are, in their essence, inexhaustible.

If one understands that the activity of the mind

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<sup>368</sup> Commentaries written on the *Mind-only Poem* were collected meticulously by Kamata Shigeo. See Kamata 1989.

<sup>369</sup> Hirakawa 1989: 7. Japanese monks did not write separate commentaries on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, they used Chinese commentaries instead. On Hōtan's 鳳潭 (1659-1738) interpretation of Fazang's commentary on the *Mind-only Poem*, see Kojima 1989.

creates the worlds everywhere,  
he will see the Buddha,  
and understand the real nature of the Buddha.

The popularity of the poem is reflected in its influence on Buddhist legends. It is sometimes called the *Hell-Breaking Poem*, in reference to the following story:

There was man of Jingzhao, whose family name was Wang, and his personal name was Minggan. Originally, he did not follow any particular religious practice, and did not cultivate any good deeds. He died in an accident, and two men took him to hell. In front of the gate of hell, he saw a monk who said that he was Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha. Then he taught him to recite one poem:

If somebody wants to know  
all the Buddhas of the three worlds,  
he has to discern like this:  
mind creates all the Tathāgatas.

The Bodhisattva, having finished the lesson, said: “By reciting this one poem, you can be saved from all the suffering of hell.” That man mastered the recitation of this poem, and went to see the king [of the underworld]. The king asked: “What virtue does this man have?” He replied: “I can recite only a poem with four lines.” He recited it as he was taught, and the king excused him. When he recited this poem, wherever his voice reached, all the suffering people were set free. After three days, he came back to life, and remembered this poem, and told all the monks and lay people. After investigating, he discovered that this poem comes from the chapter called Countless Bodhisattvas Assemble in the Heavenly Palace of Yama of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Wang told this to master Dingfa of the Kongguan temple.

文明元年京師人。姓王。失其名。既無戒行。曾不修善。因患致死。被二人引。至地獄門前。見有一僧云。是地藏菩薩。乃教王氏。誦一行偈。其文曰。若人欲求知三世一切佛。應當如是觀。心造諸如來。菩薩既授經文。謂之曰。誦得此偈。能排地獄。王氏盡誦。遂入見閻羅王。王問此人。有何功德。答云。唯受持一四句偈。具如上說。王遂放免。當誦此偈時。聲所及處。受苦人皆得解脫。王氏三日始蘇。憶持此偈。向諸沙門說之。參驗偈文。方知是華嚴經第十二卷夜摩天宮無量諸菩薩雲集說法品。王氏自向空觀寺僧定法師說云。<sup>370</sup>

#### i. Antecedents of the painter metaphor

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<sup>370</sup> *Huayan jing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記, T51, no. 2073, p. 167, a18-29.

The painter metaphor can be found in early Buddhist scriptures.<sup>371</sup> The *Therīgāthā* says that the eyebrows of a young woman are as beautiful as if they were painted by a painter, but when she grows old, her eyebrows become ugly. The *Samyuktāgama* [or *Khaṇḍa-samyukta?*] says that living beings are determined by their anger, desire and ignorance. If the mind becomes tainted by these poisons, living beings will also be tainted, but if they remove them, they will become pure. This process is compared to the way a painter paints forms on the paper.<sup>372</sup> Here, it is clearly described how the deeds or karma of living beings influence their future: our deeds determine the quality of our existence just as the painter creates the different forms.

In the *Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra*, also known as the Hīnayāna *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, the painter metaphor occurs a number of times.<sup>373</sup> In one instance it appears as follows:

Mind creates every activity.

As they come from the mind, all consequences come into being.

This way, because of the different actions of the mind,  
different consequences are achieved.

Mind is the skilful painter of all things;

it can form all kinds of actions in the three *dhātus*.

Mind pervades all forms of being,  
they are born at different places without end.

Mind is the root of being bound or liberated;

that's why it's said that mind is the first.

Those who do good will be liberated;  
those who do evil will be bound.

心能造作一切業	由心故有一切果
如是種種諸心行	能得種種諸果報
心為一切巧畫師	能於三界起眾行
為心所使遍諸趣	處處受生無窮已
心為繫縛解脫本	是故說心為第一
為善則能得解脫	造惡不善則被縛 <sup>374</sup>

<sup>371</sup> Kimura 1989.

<sup>372</sup> *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經, T2, no. 99, p. 69, c19-25.

<sup>373</sup> *Bussho kaisetsu dai jiten* vol. 5, 330. For the analysis of this work, see Lin 1949.

The *Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra* says that mind creates karma, different deeds have different consequences, and thus living beings are reborn into various places in the course of their endless rebirths. Those who commit evil deeds are chained to *saṃsāra*, while those who accumulate merit can find the way out of suffering, and attain *nirvāṇa*. Mind is the most important factor, as, in generating karma, it depends on mind whether one can achieve liberation or must suffer. Consequently, mind is responsible for the world, the environment one lives in, and in this sense mind is said to create the world. Here, the creative power of mind is definitely interpreted on the soteriological level, and has much less to do with ontological issues.

## ii. Translation and interpretation of the *Mind-only Poem*

In the following sections, we will analyze the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the poems, together with the commentaries of the Chinese masters.<sup>375</sup> Tibetan versions are usually closer to the Sanskrit original, which enables us to estimate how the text changed in the process of translation into Chinese. Of course, we do not know the texts on which the Chinese and Tibetan translations were based, and there is no extant version of the poem in Sanskrit. Therefore, the exact relations between the versions cannot be determined.

It is also interesting to study what kind of commentaries the Chinese masters wrote on the poem, and in what context they placed them. We will analyze the commentaries of two Huayan masters, Fazang 法藏 (643-712) and Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839); the former wrote a commentary to the sixty-fascicle Chinese translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, and the latter to the eighty-fascicle version. The two masters explain the text similarly in many respects, but in some important questions they present very different viewpoints. Chengguan's commentaries are characterized by the citation of a large number of other Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts, so his commentaries become something like an encyclopedia that contains all the knowledge an educated Tang dynasty monk was supposed to acquire.

Both monks base their explanation of the poem on the text entitled *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論).<sup>376</sup> This work, highly influential on the

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<sup>374</sup> *Zhengfa nianchu jing* 正法念處經, T17, no. 721, p. 114, b3-8.

<sup>375</sup> For the Japanese translation of the three versions, see Tamaki 1989: 26-28. Yamaguchi Susumu attempted to reconstruct the original Sanskrit terms on the basis of the Tibetan text. See Yamaguchi 1949.

<sup>376</sup> For an outstanding French translation, see Girard 2004; for an English translation, see Hakeda 1967.

development of East Asian Buddhism, says that the one-mind (*yixin* 一心) has two aspects: the absolute aspect (*zhenru* 真如) and the *samsāra* aspect (*shengmie* 生滅).<sup>377</sup> The commentators compare the absolute mind to the painter, while external objects, the world of phenomena, are the painting that comes from the absolute mind. Chengguan, unlike Fazang, refers to the Faxiang school quite often, and quotes Xuanzang's 玄奘 (602-664) translation of the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論<sup>378</sup>, a summary of Yogācāra philosophy. Fazang, on the other hand, regarded the dependent arising of the *dharmadhātu* as much more important than the mind-only school. This is proven by the fact that he omitted Yogācāra from the New Ten Mysteries. In the era of Chengguan, Chan Buddhism was especially popular, which may be the reason for his much greater appreciation of Faxiang, a school that studied mind in a scholastic way.<sup>379</sup>

According to Fazang, “the first six stanzas tell us how mind creates the world of phenomena; the next four tell how mind gives rise to the Saint.” 初六明心作凡。後四明心起聖。<sup>380</sup> In other words, in accordance with the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, the first six stanzas deal with the everyday aspect of the mind, while the last four stanzas explore the absolute aspect.

Chengguan says that this poem delineates how the real and the false become united (*zhenwang hecheng* 真妄合成), and it is called the “complete consciousness-only” (*jufen weishi* 具分唯識) because this poem not only elucidates how tainted phenomena originate, but also reveals the attainment of Buddha-mind. Thus it includes both aspects of absolute mind.<sup>381</sup>

Chengguan arranges the poem differently than Fazang. According to him, the first five stanzas show the teaching from the viewpoint of the metaphor, while the next five stanzas explain the formation of the right approach based on the teaching. The first two stanzas of the first part clarify the matter from the point of view of phenomena, and the next three from the point of view of mind (大分為二。前五約喻顯法。後五法合成觀。前中二。前二約事後三約心。)<sup>382</sup>

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<sup>377</sup> Girard 2004: 21

<sup>378</sup> T31, no. 1585.

<sup>379</sup> For a comparison of the commentaries by Chengguan and Fazang, see Yoshizu 1989.

<sup>380</sup> See *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 215, b5-6.

<sup>381</sup> See *Da fanguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 658, a8; *Da fanguang fohuayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 321, c9-10.

<sup>382</sup> See *Da fanguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 658, a8-10.

In the following, we first provide two Chinese and one Tibetan versions of the poem,<sup>383</sup> then an English translation of the version made by Śīksānanda.<sup>384</sup> After this, we will compare these versions, and analyze the Chinese interpretations.<sup>385</sup>

1.
  - a. 譬如工畫師 分布諸彩色  
虛妄取異色 四大無差別
  - b. 譬如工畫師 分布諸彩色  
虛妄取異相 大種無差別
  - c. ji-ltar ri-mo'i las-rnams-la /  
mtshon-rnams sna-tshogs kun 'du-ba /  
kun kyang 'byung-ba chen-por mnyam /  
sems-kyis yongs-su brtags-pa yin /

Like when a painter  
is spreading the paint:  
the different forms are apprehended in a wrong way;  
the components are not distinct.

The painter blends different colors, and people perceive them as different. In reality, however, the four elements (Earth, Water, Fire, Wind) that constitute the material world (*mahābhūta* 四大/大種, *'byung-ba chen-po*), together with the colors, are “differentiated only by the mind”, as the Tibetan text says. Fazang explains this poem on the basis of the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* in this way: the four elements symbolize the absolute mind, while colors symbolize the empty forms that arise dependently. (四大喻真心也。彩色喻緣起虛相也。)<sup>386</sup>

<sup>383</sup> In the following, ‘a’ refers to Buddhahadra’s translation (see *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T 278: 9.465c16-466a6); ‘b’ refers to Śīksānanda’s version (see *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T 279: 10.102a11-b1); ‘c’ denotes the Tibetan variant (see Tibetan Tripitaka Peking Edition, ed. by D. T. Suzuki, Kanjur, Phal-chen I. XXV. 135.3.7.-4.6.). The following English translation is based on ‘b’.

<sup>384</sup> The French translation was provided by Frédéric Girard, for which I am very grateful.

<sup>385</sup> For Fazang’s commentaries on the poem see *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T33, no. 1733, p. 215, b4-c29; for Chengguan’s one see *Da fanguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 658, a7-p. 659, a19; *Da fanguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 321, c9-p. 324, b18.

<sup>386</sup> See *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T33, no. 1733, p. 215, b22-23.

Chengguan interprets the first stanza in accordance with the Three Natures teaching of Yogācāra. In the first line the painter is a summing up of everything (*zong* 總), symbolizing the one-mind that encompasses the absolute and the phenomena, the subject and object, all *dharmas*. The spreading of the paint in the second line symbolizes the process in which things come into being as a consequence of ignorance, according to the law of *pratītya-samutpāda* or dependent arising (*suiyuan xunbian* 隨緣熏變). This is dependent nature. The third line reveals that living beings do not understand the process of dependent arising, so they differentiate between things wrongly. This is imagined nature. The last line tells us that if phenomena arising dependently are exhausted (*yita xiang jin* 依他相盡), that is perfect nature.<sup>387</sup>

2.

a.        四大非彩色    彩色非四大  
          不離四大體    而別有彩色

b.        大種中無色    色中無大種  
          亦不離大種    而有色可得

c.        khams-la tshon-rtsi de-dag med /  
          tshon-rtsi-la yang khams med-de /  
          khams-rnams ma gtogs gzhan-na yang /  
          tshon ces bya-ba gang yang med /

In the composing element, there is no form.

In the form, there is no composing element.

Outside the composing element

form cannot be apprehended.

The second stanza first ascertains that colors are not identical with the four elements, and conversely, that the four elements are not the same as colors. Then it goes on to say that colors cannot exist without the elements, as they are comprised of them.

Chengguan first explains their differences in a very practical way: the four attributes of the four elements (hardness, wetness, warmth, movement) belongs to the territory of touch, while colors are the objects of vision. The four elements are unchanging, but if one of the four

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<sup>387</sup> See *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 658, a19-22; *Da fangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 322, a4-19.

becomes dominant, then different colors arise. The dominance of Earth creates yellow; that of water, white; fire makes red, and wind produces blue. Following this, Chengguan returns to the dichotomy of real and false (*zhen wang* 真妄), saying that false comes into being relying on the real. In other words, the world of phenomena is produced by the absolute mind, so subject and object are different. Similarly to the invariability of the four elements, buddha-nature is also unchanging, but the world of phenomena is diverse, just as colors are different. The last two lines point out that phenomena cannot be separated completely from the source of their existence, the absolute mind, as they do not have another, separate essence (*wu bieti* 無別體). Nature and phenomena blend into each other (*xingxiang jiaoche* 性相交徹). According to Chengguan, a question arises: is it possible to reverse the relationship between real and false; can real come into existence from false? His answer is a definite ‘no’.

Commenting on this part Fazang points out that, despite the close relationship between phenomena and absolute, they are different, because their natures are different: phenomena are empty, while the absolute is real. At the same time, however, they are not separated, because the absolute can be manifested through emptiness:

The first half of the [second] stanza clarifies that the real and false are not identical. The first sentence shows that in the metaphor the creator is not the created. The real that includes the false is not identical with the false, because its nature is real. The next sentence illustrates that the created is not the creator. The false that relies on the real is not identical with the real, because its nature is empty. The second half elucidates that the false is not apart from the real. It means that emptiness penetrates the real, because the real is manifested if emptiness is eliminated. Thus we say they are not separated. They are neither separated, nor different, nor identical. Think about it!

後偈上半明真妄不即。上句明能造非所造喻。攝妄之真不即妄。以性真故。下句明所造非能造喻。依真之妄不即真。以性虛故。下半明妄不離真。謂以虛徹真虛盡真現故云不離。是故不離不異不即思之。<sup>388</sup>

3.

- |    |       |       |
|----|-------|-------|
| a. | 心非彩畫色 | 彩畫色非心 |
|    | 離心無畫色 | 離畫色無心 |
| b. | 心中無彩畫 | 彩畫中無心 |
|    | 然不離於心 | 有彩畫可得 |

<sup>388</sup>*Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T33, no. 1733, p. 215, b23-28.



- c.       sems-la ri-mo de med-do /  
           ri-mo-la yang sems med-de /  
           sems de ma gtogs gzhan-du yang /  
           ri-mo gang yang mi dmigs-so /

In the mind, there is no colorful painting.  
 In the colorful painting, there is no mind.  
 Outside the mind, therefore,  
 the colorful picture cannot be apprehended.

While the first two stanzas are about the painter and the colors, mind appears here in the place of the painter. Similarly to the previous stanza, the difference and identity of the mind and the painter are discussed: in the first two lines, their difference, in the next two lines, their identity. It is interesting to note that in Buddhahadra's translation not only can painted colors not exist without the mind, but the mind cannot exist without painted colors either. This latter statement does not appear in the later Chinese and Tibetan versions. Chengguan, who comments on the text of Śikṣānanda, emphasizes that similarly to what was said in the previous stanza, objects cannot exist without the mind, but the reverse is not true. This is why we talk of consciousness-only (*weishi* 唯識), not object-only (*weijing* 唯境). To put it in Yogācāra terms, mind is the percipient (*jianfen* 見分), while objects are the perceived phenomena (*xiangfen* 相分). Fazang says that mind is the root, and forms are the branches (*xin ben xing mo* 心本形末). They cannot be separated from each other. He emphasizes that these two are not identical and not different, and that objects are created by the mind.

4.  
 a.       彼心不常住     無量難思議  
           顯現一切色     各各不相知
- b.       彼心恒不住     無量難思議  
           示現一切色     各各不相知
- c.       sems de rtag-pa ma yin-pa /  
           bsam-gyis mi khyab tshad med-cing /  
           phan-tshun shes-pa med-pa-yi /  
           gzugs-rnams thams-cad ston-par byed /

Mind does not remain forever  
numberless and incomprehensible.  
It manifests all forms  
that do not know each other.

Fazang says that the non-constant mind is the root, and it brings phenomena into existence. The latter do not have their own essence, so they cannot be known. Chengguan presents a much more substantial exegetical explanation. First he quotes the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, saying “the not-born and not-ceasing is connected to the born and the ceasing called *ālayavijñāna*.” Then he goes on to explain the fourth and fifth stanzas by quoting extensively from passages of the *Cheng weishi lun*. He writes that the *ālayavijñāna* is neither eternal nor ceasing: it evolves without interruption; it perishes and is born from moment to moment, entering new states all the time.<sup>389</sup>

To clarify the last line, he cites the tenth chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* entitled *Bodhisattva requests explanation*:

The *dharmas* do not have functioning,  
do not have essential nature.  
So they mutually  
do not know each other.

諸法無作用  
亦無有體性  
是故彼一切  
各各不相知<sup>390</sup>

Thus, similarly to Fazang’s view, Chengguan holds that phenomena do not know each other because they do not possess separate essential nature.

5.
  - a. 猶如工畫師 不能知畫心  
當知一切法 其性亦如是

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<sup>389</sup> *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, T31, no. 1585, p. 12, b28-c7. For English translation, see Cook 1999: 75.

<sup>390</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 66, b6-7. For an English translation, see Cleary 1993: 298.

- b. 譬如工畫師 不能知自心  
而由心故畫 諸法性如是

- c. ji-ltar ri-mo-mkhan-gyi rnam /  
sems ni gang-gis ri-mo de /  
bris-pa'i sems ni mi shes pa /  
de-bzhin chos-kyi rang-bzhin-no /

Just as in the case of the painter  
who does not know his own mind,  
but the painting comes from his mind  
– the nature of everything is like this.

Fazang does not give a detailed explanation of the fifth and sixth stanzas. Chengguan already referred to the description of *ālaya* consciousness in the *Cheng weisihi lun*; here he carries on with this, saying that given its never-ceasing change, the *ālayavijñāna* cannot be known. The previous moment has passed, but the next moment is not yet born, thus there is no essence that could know the previous moment. If mind is not able to know itself, how could it know objects?

Therefore, the fifth stanza has four meanings. First of all, it clarifies emptiness, because it reveals that the ever-changing mind does not have essence. Second, even if mind is empty, it does not obstruct the origination of objects (*bu ai yuanqi* 不礙緣起). Third, given the delusion about reality, the pseudo-world comes into being (*mi zhen qi si* 迷真起似). If one could understand the real nature of mind, false objects (*wang jing* 妄境) would not be originated. Fourth, objects come into being due to emptiness, as said in the *Treatise on the Mean*.<sup>391</sup>

That is why the last line says “the nature of everything is like this”—not only is mind empty, but *dharmas* are empty as well.

6.  
a. 心如工畫師 畫種種五陰  
一切世界中 無法而不造

<sup>391</sup>以有空義故，一切法得成，若無空義者，一切則不成。See *Zhonglun* 中論, T30, no. 1564, p. 33, a22-23 .

- b. 心如工畫師 能畫諸世間  
五蘊悉從生 無法而不造
- c. sems ni ri-mo-mkhan dang 'dra /  
sems ni phung-po byed-pa ste /  
'jig-rten khams-na ji snyed-pa'i /  
'jig-rten 'di-dag sems-kyis bris /

Mind, just like the painter,  
can paint the different worlds.  
The five skandha are born from it;  
there is nothing it does not create.

At this point, Chengguan refers to the *Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra*, describing how the mind paints the different worlds: the mind-painter uses five colors (black, blue, red, yellow, and white) to paint the six forms of existence (man, god, demigod, animal, hungry ghost, hell-dweller). The *sūtra* characterizes the karma of living beings in the different forms of existence with more than one color. For example, the karma of animals is black because of their fear, and, in the same time, it is red because they destroy each other.<sup>392</sup> According to the last line of the stanza, the *skandha*, *dhātu* and *āyatana*, that is to say, all *dharma*s come from the mind. Chengguan adds that the ten *dharmadhātu* that include not only the above-mentioned six forms of existence, but also the four saints (*śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha*, bodhisattva, buddha), all come into existence from the mind.

7.

- a. 如心佛亦爾 如佛眾生然  
心佛及眾生 是三無差別
- b. 如心佛亦爾 如佛眾生然  
應知佛與心 體性皆無盡
- c. sems dang 'dra-ba sangs-rgyas-te /  
sangs-rgyas ji bzhin 'gro-ba'o /

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<sup>392</sup> See *Zhengfa nianchu jing* 正法念處經, T17, no. 721, p. 286, c28-p. 287, b9. It is interesting to note that blue (*qing* 青) was not mentioned on the original *sūtra*.

sems dang sangs-rgyas-dag-la yang /  
ngo-bo-nyid-kyis zad-pa med /

The Buddha is also like the mind,  
and living beings are like the Buddha.  
It must be known that the Buddha and the mind  
are, in their essence, inexhaustible.

The seventh stanza goes beyond the mind-painter metaphor that characterizes the Yogācāra school; by establishing the identity of the buddhas and the living beings it moves into the direction of the Tathāgatagarbha teachings, according to which living beings possess buddha-nature, so they will sooner or later become buddhas. It is the translation of Buddhahadra that states this most clearly: “The mind, the buddhas and the living beings—there is no difference between these three.” Śikṣānanda’s version, which is identical to the Tibetan variant, says “It must be known that the Buddha and the mind are, in their essence, inexhaustible.” ‘Living beings’ are omitted from both the Tibetan and the later Chinese translations, so it is Chengguan’s task to reconcile the two Chinese versions. Fazang, commenting on Buddhahadra’s translation, explains the identity of the three in the following way:

This stanza interfuses the root and the branch. Three statements can be made on root and branch. The first [statement] proposes only the root that is the real principle (*zhenli* 真理). Its nature is pure and originally enlightened, thus it is called Buddha. The second [statement] includes only the branch that refers to living beings evolved [from mind]. The third [statement] includes both [root and branch] refers to mind that is able to evolve. It can evolve because it relies on the absolute. These three are dependently originated, interfused, and unobstructed. One completely includes the others. As their nature is not different, it says that they do not differ.

偈融結本末。本末有三。一唯本謂真理以就性淨本覺名佛。二唯末謂所變眾生。三俱謂能變之心。以依真能變故。此三緣起融通無礙。隨一全攝餘。性不異故云無差別也。<sup>393</sup>

Fazang expounds the identity of the mind, the buddhas and the living beings inside the framework set up by the *Qixin lun*. Root is the *nirvāṇa* aspect of the one-mind that holds the absolute truth; thus, from among the three, it corresponds to the Buddha. Branch is the *saṃsāra* aspect of the one-mind that is equivalent to living beings experiencing the sufferings

<sup>393</sup>*Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 215, c18-23.

of *samsāra*. And finally, mind includes both living beings and buddhas, as both come into existence from mind. Following this, Fazang uses typical Huayan rhetoric to assert the dependent arising, interfusion and unobstructedness of the three.

Chengguan, following in the footsteps of Fazang, writes that if someone understands that everything originates from mind, then pure dependent arising (*jing yuanqi* 淨緣起) happens, so the person becomes a buddha. He who does not understand this will become a living being through tainted dependent arising (*ran yuanqi* 染緣起). However, even if we can talk about pure and tainted dependent arising, in the case of buddhas and living beings mind is not distinct in its essence, as the consequence of buddhahood is contained in the mind. Therefore, similarly to the absolute, it is inexhaustible. Buddha also originates from mind, as the four wisdoms and the bodhi are created by the pure eighth consciousness, that is, the purified *ālayavijñāna*. Chengguan here points to the different views of Paramārtha (499-569) and Xuanzang on this question.<sup>394</sup> Paramārtha describes this pure mind as the ninth consciousness above the *ālayavijñāna*, which he calls *amalavijñāna*. Xuanzang, on the other hand, states that during the process of becoming buddha, the eighth consciousness transforms into untainted consciousness (*wugou shi* 無垢識), so there is no separate ninth consciousness.<sup>395</sup>

In the case of the Buddha, it is easy to recognize his inexhaustibility and infiniteness. In the case of living beings, however, this is a more difficult task, as they live in a tainted world, *samsāra*, so their minds are also tainted. Chengguan says that this is the reason why the Tang dynasty translation only mentions the inexhaustibility of the mind and the buddhas. Tainted mind, however, in its essence, is just as pure as the mind of the Buddha, so we can say that the mind of living beings is also infinite. Thus, in this respect, the mind, the buddhas and living beings are identical. Chengguan here refers to the famous tenet of the Tiantai school, according to which Tathāgata also has evil nature (*xing'e* 性惡). According to the Tiantai interpretation, Buddha possesses evil nature, but he has ceased to perform evil deeds, so he can never become evil. He has understood the characteristics of evil nature, so in

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<sup>394</sup> Paramārtha was the first Indian master to introduce Yogācāra teachings to China, translating a number of important works into Chinese. The Shelun school of China was based on Paramārtha's teachings, the most important of which was that there exists a pure consciousness in every living being, called *amalavijñāna*. Xuanzang, who mastered the Sanskrit language in India, and made new translations of many Yogācāra texts already rendered by Paramārtha, did not accept this new concept, and questioned the tenets of the earlier Chinese Yogācāra school. Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668), the second patriarch of the Huayan school came to the defense of the old school, in order to preserve the teaching of tracing back the human existence to pure sources. Robert M. Gimello provides an excellent outline of this era in his doctoral dissertation (see Gimello 1976). On Paramārtha's life and philosophy, see Paul 1984. By the time of Chengguan, this controversy seems to ease, as Chengguan attempts to reconcile these two opinions

<sup>395</sup> Chengguan here quotes the commentary written by Kuiji 窺基, a disciple of Xuanzang. See *Cheng weishi lun shuji* 成唯識論述記, T43, no. 1830, p. 344, c9-13.

the course of proselytizing living beings he can use evil methods consciously; he can also descend to hell in order to save living beings. At the same time, there are the *icchantika* who lack the root of goodness; they, according to some earlier masters, can never become buddhas.<sup>396</sup> The Tiantai master Zhiyi 智顛 (538-597) said, however, that *icchantika* had not cut the root of goodness, they just do not practice good; but under benevolent influence they can still do good things.<sup>397</sup> Chengguan, as in other cases, explains this teaching in the spirit of *Qixin lun*. Evil and good *dharma* both originate from absolute nature, as *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are two aspects of the one-mind. The good nature of a living being cannot cease to exist, as the absolute cannot cease to exist. Chengguan, finally, lays down a theoretical basis for proving that the two translations are not contradictory, but complementary. In order to substantiate the identity of buddhas, living beings and mind, Chengguan divides each into pure and impure aspects. Their impure aspects have to do with their appearances in the world of phenomena, or *saṃsāra*, while their pure aspects are realized through leaving this world, and finally arriving at *nirvāṇa*. Given that each has pure and impure aspects, they are identical and interpenetrated:

The three above each have two aspects. These are two aspects of the comprehensive mind: first, being tainted and, second, being pure. These are the two aspects of a Buddha: first, in response to the faculty [of living beings] he follows the tainted, and second, in his equanimity he avoids the tainted. These are two aspects of living beings: first, they wander in *saṃsāra* turning away from Buddha, and second, the faculties of living beings ripen and generate belief in Buddha. In accordance with their first aspect, they do not differ in that they wander in the *saṃsāra*. In accordance with the second aspect, they do not differ in that they return from *saṃsāra*. Thus if we say that they are not different, it includes both their limit and limitlessness.

上三各有二義。總心二義者。一染二淨。佛二義者。一應機隨染。二平等違染。眾生二者。一隨流背佛。二機熟感佛。各以初義成順流無差。各以後義為反流無差。則無差之言含盡無盡。<sup>398</sup>

8.

a. 諸佛悉了知 一切從心轉

<sup>396</sup> According to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, translated by Faxian 法顯 (cca. 337-cca. 422) in 418, *icchantikas* cannot be buddhas. In spite of this, Daosheng 道生 (360?-434) stated that every living being can attain buddhahood, and he was excommunicated for his views. Dharmakṣema's translation, however, said that *icchantikas* could become buddhas. Following this, Daosheng became highly respected. See Kim 1990: 35.

<sup>397</sup> Liu 1994: 241-242.

<sup>398</sup> *Da fangguang fo huyan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 658, c14-19.

若能如是解 彼人見真佛

- b. 若人知心行 普造諸世間  
是人則見佛 了佛真實性

- c. sems-kyi rgyud-rnams ci 'dra-ba /  
de-dag sangs-rgyas rab-tu mkhyen /  
de-phyir sangs-rgyas rang-bzhin-gyis /  
'gro-ba sna-tshogs gyur-pa snang /

If one understands that the activity of the mind  
creates the worlds everywhere,  
he will see the Buddha,  
and understand the real nature of the Buddha.

The eighth stanza is rather problematic, so we present a translation of the other two versions as well:

- a.  
All buddhas know that  
everything develops from the mind.  
If someone understands this,  
he will see the real Buddha.

- c.  
What the courses of the mind are like  
—buddhas know it very well.  
So buddhas, because of their nature,  
perceive how living beings come into existence.

The most obvious difference is that in the first two lines the two Chinese translations state that everything, that is to say, all worlds, originate from the mind. Buddha knows this truth, and other beings need to recognize it. This might be a result of the influence of Yogācāra on the Chinese translators. The Tibetan version, however, speaks differently. It says that buddhas know the courses of the mind very well (*sems-kyi rgyud*, *citta-saṃtati*). As a result, the poem goes on, buddhas know what kinds of rebirth await living beings. This ability of Buddha was taught by early Buddhism as well; this is the third of the six superior



knowledges (*abhijñā*), called *ceto-pariya-ñāṇa*.<sup>399</sup> The last two lines of the Chinese translations, on the other hand, say that those who understand that everything originates from the mind will see the real nature of Buddha.

This stanza shows us what the original meaning of the *Mind-only poem* could have been. In fact, the mind-painter metaphor can be interpreted here in the same way as in earlier works: our deeds have consequences, they will determine the circumstances of our existence in our next lives, so they paint the world in which we will have to live. Buddha, with his special ability, can see what kind of future awaits us, what kind of picture our mind is painting. Buddha sees it, and, as emphasized frequently in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, he helps living beings with different *upāya*, or expedient means.

Chengguan comments this stanza briefly: he notes that living beings apprehend the different forms wrongly, so they do not get to know the activity of the mind. If they realized that the activity of the mind created the worlds, then their delusion would end, and they would understand reality (*zhenshi* 真實).

9.

a.       心亦非是身     身亦非是心  
          作一切佛事     自在未曾有

b.       心不住於身     身亦不住心  
          而能作佛事     自在未曾有

c.       lus-kyi rnams-la sems med-de /  
          sems-la'ang lus-rnams yod-pa min /  
          sangs-rgyas mdzad-pa'ang rab-tu byed /  
          de-ltar spyod-pa ngo-mtshar che /

The mind does not dwell in the body,  
and the body does not dwell in the mind.  
However, it can still perform Buddha's deeds  
freely and in an unequalled way.

Chengguan, in his commentary to the ninth stanza, shows that these parts are parallel to earlier lines. “*The mind does not dwell in the body, and the body does not dwell in the mind*” corresponds to the first two lines of the second and third stanzas: “*In the composing element*

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<sup>399</sup> See Guang 2005: 16.

*there is no form, in the form there is no composing element*”, and “*In the mind, there is no colorful painting, in the colorful painting, there is no mind*”. All these emphasize that two things are not identical. Mind is that from which things are formed (*nengbian* 能變), and body is that which is formed from mind (*suobian* 所變), so they cannot be the same. The following two lines (“*However, it can still perform Buddha’s deeds, freely and in an unequalled way*”) refer back to the second two lines of the second and third stanzas (“*Outside the composing element, form cannot be apprehended*”; “*Outside the mind, therefore, the colorful picture cannot be apprehended*”). These lines stress the identity of two things. Though mind is not contained in form, and form is not contained in mind, functioning comes into existence by virtue of essence (*yi ti qi yong* 依體起用). The absolute, therefore, can appear in the world of phenomena without losing its absolute character. Buddha appears in the world for the sake of living beings, he teaches them in order to save them from suffering, but meanwhile, his deeds do not become separated from the absolute, so they manifest themselves freely, they are unequalled, or, as the Tibetan version says, ‘marvelous’ (*ngo-mtshar che*).

10.

- a.        若人欲求知      三世一切佛  
             應當如是觀      心造諸如來
- b.        若人欲了知      三世一切佛  
             應觀法界性      一切唯心造

- c.        gang-zhig dus gsum thams-cad-kyi /  
             rgyal-ba thams-cad shes ‘dod-na /  
             sangs-rgyas thams-cad sems-kyi dngos /  
             chos-kyi dbyings-su blta-bar-gyis /

If somebody wants to know  
all the buddhas of the three worlds,  
he has to discern the nature of *dharmadhātu*:  
everything is created by the mind.

The first two lines are identical in the other two versions, but the following two are different:

- a. He has to discern like this:  
mind creates all the Tathāgatas.
- c. All buddhas need to be viewed as the mind itself  
and as *dharmadhātu*.

The two Chinese versions clearly reflect the Yogācāra tenet, according to which only the mind exists, as “mind creates all the Tathāgata”, and “everything is created by the mind”. The Tibetan version is less convincing in this respect. It seems more probable that the text emphasizes the identity of the buddhas, the mind and living beings, similarly to the seventh stanza. If the mind runs out of bad karma, this will lead to the state of buddhahood, so if one wants to know the buddhas and the state of buddhahood, he has to strive to achieve a pure mind. On the other hand, Buddha has to be sought for in the whole *dharmadhātu*; this may imply that there is buddhahood in every living being. This interpretation would mean that this stanza goes beyond Yogācāra, and anticipates Tathāgatarbha teachings. This is similar to what is said in the chapter entitled *Appearance of Tathāgata*, according to which the wisdom of Buddha is present in every living being.

According to Fazang, one has to discern things relying on principle (*yi li guan* 依理觀), which means that we have to reach reality by meeting the mind (*hui xin ru shi* 會心入實). Chengguan says that this stanza refers adversely (*fanhe* 反合) to the metaphor according to which the painter does not know his own mind. If he does not know his own mind, then he will paint unreal objects; but if he realizes that everything is created by the mind, then he will get to see the real Buddha. Following this, he explains this stanza in two ways.

On the one hand, he says that if someone wants to know Buddha, he has to discern the nature of *dharmadhātu*, which leads to the realization of everything being created by the mind. If he can see the *dharma*s in an appropriate way, thus he must see Buddha. On the other hand, Chengguan applies the paradigm of *Awakening of Faith*, saying that the discernment of *dharmadhātus* is the absolute aspect, while the discernment that everything is created by the mind is the *samsāra* aspect. He proposes that the two kinds of discernment in Mahāyāna are discernment regarding the truth of the absolute (*zhenru shi guan* 真如實觀) and discernment regarding the truth of mind-only (*weixin shi guan* 唯心實觀). One-mind includes these two kinds of discernment, and all the *dharma*s. He emphasizes that the two truths are interpenetrated, unobstructed and one-flavored. The Buddha realized this teaching, thus those who want to know him must realize this, too. This is most amazing (*miaoji* 妙極) thing, so

whoever can realize it is able to escape from hell. Here Chengguan cites the story, already quoted, in which a man escaped from hell with the help of the poem.

### iii. Conclusion

In the preceding analysis we demonstrated that the mind-painter metaphor had already appeared in early texts and other Mahāyāna works, but the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is the first work in which it reflects a Yogācāra teaching, or, at least, Chinese commentators interpret it this way. Comparison between the Tibetan and the Chinese versions shows us that the Tibetan translation is rather different from the Chinese ones at many points: it lacks those parts that strengthen Yogācāra interpretation. The difference is most obvious in the eighth stanza. Here the two Chinese texts clearly state that the world is created by the mind, while the Tibetan version says that the buddhas know the course of the mind of living beings. We do not have a Sanskrit version, so it is impossible to establish the authenticity of one or the other translation. Because of the complicated genesis of Mahāyāna texts, even if we had a Sanskrit original that confirmed the Tibetan interpretation, we could not exclude the possibility of the Chinese versions being the exact translations of other, “original” versions, written probably in Sanskrit. It is true, however, that Śīksānanda relies extensively on Buddhahadra’s earlier translation; sometimes he copies the previous text word by word, or modifies some lines only for stylistic reasons. Buddhahadra was heavily influenced by Yogācāra and *tathāgatagarbha* teachings, so it is possible that it was under his hands that the text was transformed, and took on a form that was easily interpreted as having a Yogācāra meaning.

From among the Chinese commentaries, we studied the interpretation of Fazang and Chengguan. We concluded that both masters found the doctrines of the *Qixin lun* in the poem: one-mind has two aspects, the *nirvāṇa* aspect that can be attained by the buddhas, and the *saṃsāra* aspect that is experienced by living beings. Thus, the painter in the poem refers to the one-mind that was the origin of the worlds of the buddhas and living beings.

As we have seen, Chengguan wrote much more substantial commentaries on the poem. While Fazang seems to have been satisfied with attaching a few Huayan terms to the text, Chengguan did real exegetical work. The latter compared the two Chinese versions, provided detailed explanations of the phrases, cited Buddhist literature extensively to clarify the texts, and revealed the relationship between the different parts of the poem. Of course, he did not forget about Huayan terminology as well.

Finally, we would like to interpret the mind-painter metaphor on the basis of the text and contents of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, setting aside later interpretations. At the beginning of the work, Buddha sits under the bodhi tree after his enlightenment, then without leaving that place, visits different locations miraculously, accompanied by countless bodhisattvas, to start to spread his teaching. One of the places visited is the palace of Yama where ten bodhisattvas extol the limitless merits of Buddha. Like the other nine poems, the ninth one, studied in this chapter, is also a laudation of Buddha. Therefore, the mind-painter metaphor has to refer to Buddha's mind, which is able to manifest itself differently in the world, and teach the audience, comprised of living beings on different intellectual levels, with different methods. It appears in the world, but is different from the phenomena of the ordinary world. Thus this poem, like the whole *sūtra*, reveals a concept of Buddha that had gone through great changes in Mahāyāna. Buddha is no longer a human being, but has transcendent attributes, and he appears in the world with the help of these transcendent attributes. This idea is expressed clearly in the tenth poem of the chapter:

Like the pearl that makes wishes come true,  
 displays all the colors;  
 it is colorless, but displays the colors  
 —Buddha is like this.

Like the pure space,  
 it has no form, and is invisible;  
 though it shows all forms,  
 space cannot be seen by anyone.

Buddhas are just like this:  
 they show countless forms.  
 They are not at places mind can travel to;  
 no one can see them.

譬如隨意珠	能現一切色
無色而現色	諸佛亦如是
又如淨虛空	非色不可見
雖現一切色	無能見空者
諸佛亦如是	普現無量色

非心所行處 一切莫能觀<sup>400</sup>

c. The metaphor of great *sūtra*

The chapter *Manifestation of Tathāgata* is very remarkable in terms of Buddhology, as it clearly states that the reason why Buddha appeared in the world was to benefit sentient beings, and in order to accomplish his aim he had recourse to all kinds of skilful methods (*upāya*). The *sūtra* shows ten aspects of the Tathāgata: 1 the characteristics of the manifestation of Tathāgata, 2. the body of Tathāgata; 3. the voice of Tathāgata, 4. the mind of Tathāgata, 5. the realm of Tathāgata, 6. the deeds of Tathāgata, 7. the perfect enlightenment of Tathāgata, 8. the turning of the *Dharma* wheel by Tathāgata, 9. the *parinirvāṇa* of Tathāgata, 10. the merits originating from seeing, hearing and being associated with Tathāgata. Takasaki Jikidō emphasized that this *sūtra* is a precursor to the *tathāgatagarbha* theory, the concept that all living beings are endowed with the capacity of Buddhahood.<sup>401</sup> Even if the *sūtra* does not use the word *tathāgatagarbha*, it stresses that all living beings have the wisdom of the Buddha, but due to their defilements they are not able to see it. The Buddha's mission is to reveal this fact to living beings.

Further, children of the Buddha, there is no place where the wisdom of the Tathāgata does not reach. Wherefore? There is not a single sentient being that is not fully possessed of the wisdom of Tathāgata. It is only due to their false thinking, fallacies, and attachments that beings fail to realize this. If they could only abandon their false thoughts, then the all-encompassing wisdom, the spontaneous wisdom, and the unobstructed wisdom will clearly manifest themselves.<sup>402</sup>

[Tibetan] kye rgyal ba'i sras gzhan yang de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes ni thams cad du khyab pa ste / de ci'i phyir zhe na / kye rgyal ba'i sras sems can gyi ris na / de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes kyis thams cad du mi khyab pa de lta bu gang yang med de / de yang ci'i phyir zhe na / de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes ni 'du shes su 'dzin pas rnam par dgod pa ma yin te / thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes gang dang gang gi ye shes chags pa med pa'i ye shes ni 'du shes dang / rnam par bral bas rab tu 'byung ngo //

<sup>400</sup> *Da fangguang fo huyan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 102, b12-18.

<sup>401</sup> Takasaki 1958.

<sup>402</sup> Chien 1993: 105.

[Dharmarakṣa] 復次佛子，如來之慧遊入一切，聖智巍巍，靡不周遍一切黎庶，終始之界。所以者何？若有欲想，世尊之慧，欲及達者，未之有也。又如來慧悉離諸相，自在之慧則遊自然，無所罣礙。<sup>403</sup>

[Buddhabhadra] 復次佛子，如來智慧無處不至。何以故？無有眾生無眾生身，如來智慧不具足者，但眾生顛倒不知如來智。遠離顛倒，起一切智無師智無礙智。<sup>404</sup>

[Shikṣānanda] 復次佛子，如來智慧無處不至。何以故？無一眾生，而不具有如來智慧，但以妄想顛倒執著，而不證得。若離妄想，一切智自然智無礙智則得現前。<sup>405</sup>

After this passage we can read the famous metaphor about the *sūtra* which is as large as the whole universe and comprises all phenomena, but this large *sūtra* can be comprised by a small particle of dust.

Children of the Buddha, just as if there was a great *sūtra*, as extensive as the great universe, in which are written down all phenomena in the great universe. That is to say, in it is written about the phenomena in the great enclosing iron mountains, as extensively as the great enclosing iron mountains; it is written about the phenomena on earth, as extensively as the earth; it is written about the phenomena in the small universe, as extensively as the small universe. In the same vein, all phenomena – be they of the four continents, or the great oceans, Sumeru mountains, the palaces of the gods on earth, the palaces of the gods in the heavens of the realm of desire, the palaces in the realm of form, and the palaces of the formless realm – are written down to an equal length. Even though this *sūtra* is as extensive as the great universe, it can be fully comprised within a single particle of dust. As it is with one particle of dust, so it is with all particles of dust.<sup>406</sup>

[Tibetan] kye rgyal ba'i sras 'di lta ste dper na / ri mo'i gzhi chen po stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams tsam zhig yod par gyur la / ri mo'i gzhi chen po de la stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams rim gyis rdzogs par bris te / 'di ltar khor yug chen po'i tshad du ni khor yug chen po bris / sa chen po'i chad du ni sa chen po bris // stong gnyis ba'i (117b) 'jig rten gyi khams kyi tshad du ni stong gnyis pa'i 'jig rten gyi khams bris / stong gi 'jig rten gyi khams kyi tshad du ni stong gi 'jig rten gyi khams bris / gling bzhi pa'i 'jig rten gyi khams gyi tshad du ni gling bzhi pa'i 'jig rten gyi khams bris / rgya mtsho chen po'i tshad du ni rgya mtsho chen po bris / 'dzam bu'i gling gi tshad du ni 'dzam bu'i gling bris / shar kyi lus 'phags kyi gling gi tshad du ni shar kyi lus 'phags kyi gling bris / nub kyi ba lang spyod kyi gling gi tshad du ni nub kyi ba lang spyod gyi gling bris / byang gi sgra mi snyan gyi gling gi tshad du ni byang gi sgra mi snyan gyi gling bris / ri rab kyi tshad du ni ri rab bris / sa bla na spyod pa'i lha'i gzhal med khang gi tshad du ni sa bla na spyod pa'i lha'i gzhal med khang rnams bris / 'dod pa la spyod pa'i lha'i

<sup>403</sup> *Fo shuo rulai xingxian jing* 佛說如來興顯經, T10, no. 291, p. 607, c1-4.

<sup>404</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 623, c23-27.

<sup>405</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 272, c4-7.

<sup>406</sup> Chien 1993: 106.

gzhal med khang gi tshad du ni 'dod pa la spyod pa'i lha'i gzhal med khang rnams bris / gzugs la spyod pa'i lha'i gzhal med khang gi tshad du ni gzugs la spyod pa'i lha'i gzhal med khang rnams bris / gzugs med pa la spyod pa'i lha'i gzhal med khang gi tshad du ni gzugs med pa la spyod pa'i lha'i gzhal med khang rnams bris par gyur la ri mo'i gzhi chu zhed du stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams tsam yod pa de / [r]dul shin tu phra ba gcig gi nang du bcug par gyur la rdul gcig la ji lta ba de bzhin du rdul shin tu phra ba ma lus pa thams cad re re la yang de tsam gyi ri mo'i gzhi chen po re re yod par gyur te /

[Dharmarakṣa] 如書一經，其卷大如三千世界。或有大經，而未書成，猶如三千世界之海，或如神圍山，如大神圍，或如普地，舉要言之，如千世界，或如四域，天下之界，或如閻土，或如大海，如須彌山，如大神宮，欲行天館，如色行天，如無色天。假集大經，廣長上下，猶如三千大千世界，而有一塵在大經卷。又諸經上各各有塵，悉各周遍，在大經裏。<sup>407</sup>

[Buddhabhadra] 佛子，譬如有一經卷，如一三千大千世界，大千世界一切所有無不記錄。若二千世界等悉記二千世界中事，小千世界等悉記小千世界中事，四天下等悉記四天下事，須彌山王等悉記須彌山王事，地天宮等悉記地天宮殿中事，欲天宮等悉記欲界天宮殿中事，色天宮等悉記色界天宮殿中事，若無色天宮等悉記無色界天宮殿中事。彼三千大千世界等經卷在一微塵內，一切微塵亦復如是。<sup>408</sup>

[Shikṣānanda] 佛子，譬如有一大經卷，量等三千大千世界，書寫三千大千世界中事，一切皆盡。所謂：書寫大鐵圍山中事，量等大鐵圍山；書寫大地中事，量等大地；書寫中千世界中事，量等中千世界；書寫小千世界中事，量等小千世界；如是若四天下，若大海，若須彌山，若地天宮殿，若欲界空居天宮殿，若色界宮殿，若無色界宮殿，一一書寫，其量悉等此大經卷。雖復量等大千世界，而全住在一微塵中。如一微塵，一切微塵皆亦如是。<sup>409</sup>

The next passage describes that a person, who must be a Buddha or a bodhisattva breaks the dust and takes out the *sūtra* in order to benefit all living beings.

Then a person with perfect wisdom, who has perfected the pure heavenly eye, seeing that great *sūtra* inside a particle of dust, without being of even the slightest benefit to all sentient beings, thinks, "I should exert myself to break that particle of dust and take out the *sūtra* so that it would be of benefit to sentient beings." Having thought thus, he contrives an expedient method to break the particle of dust and take out the great *sūtra*, thus enabling all sentient beings to obtain benefits. As he does with one particle of dust, it should be known that he does so with all particles of dust.<sup>410</sup>

<sup>407</sup> *Fo shuo rulai xingxian jing* 佛說如來興顯經, T10, no. 291, p. 607, c5-12.

<sup>408</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 623, c27-p. 624, a7.

<sup>409</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 272, c7-17.

<sup>410</sup> See Chien 1993: 106.



[Tibetan] de nas skyes bu mkhas pa yid gzhungs pa / khong bzo ba gsal ba de bzhin nyid khong du chud pa'i rtog pa dang ldan pa zhiḡ skyes par gyur te / de la 'phrul gyi mig kun tu dag pa shin tu 'od gsal ba yang bdog par gyur la / des 'phrul gyi mig gis bltas na mthong bar gyur nas ri mo'i gzhi chen po de ltar shin tu p[hr]a mo'i rdul de dag la 'khor kyang sems can su dag la yang phan par ma gyur bas / de 'di snyam du sems te / kye ma bdag gis brtson 'grus kyi mthu dang / stobs (118a) shig gis rdul phra mo 'di kha phye ste / ri mo'i gzhi chen po 'di dag 'gro ba thams cad nye bar 'tsho bar bya'o snyam nas / des brtson 'grus kyi stobs dang mthu chen po bskyed de ri mo'i gzhi chen po de dag 'gro ba thams cad kyi bsam pa ji lta ba bzhin du nye bar 'tsho bar byed pa zhiḡ yod na //

[Dharmarakṣa] 當爾之時有一丈夫，自然出現，聰明智慧，身試入中。又有天眼，其眼清淨，普有所見，則以天眼，而觀察之。今斯經卷如是比像廣大無極，其上則有少少塵耳，於諸眾生無所加益。我身寧可以無極力大精進勢，裂壞此經，解散大卷，當以饒益一切黎庶。適念此已，則時興隆無極之力精進之勢，輒如所願，取大經卷，各自散解，以給黎庶。如一經卷，眾經之數亦復如是。<sup>411</sup>

[Buddhabhadra] 時有一人，出興於世，智慧聰達，具足成就清淨天眼，見此經卷在微塵內，作如是念：云何如此廣大經卷在微塵內，而不饒益眾生耶？我當動作方便破彼微塵，出此經卷饒益眾生。爾時彼人即作方便破壞微塵，出此經卷饒益眾生。<sup>412</sup>

[Shikṣānanda] 時有一人，智慧明達，具足成就清淨天眼，見此經卷在微塵內，於諸眾生無少利益。即作是念：我當以精進力破彼微塵，出此經卷，令得饒益一切眾生。作是念已，即起方便，破彼微塵，出此大經，令諸眾生，普得饒益。如於一塵，一切微塵應知悉然。<sup>413</sup>

Next, the text confirms that living beings have the bondless and unobstructed wisdom of the Tathāgata, but they are unable to realise it.

Children of the Buddha, the wisdom of the tathāgata is also thus – boundless and unobstructed, universally able to benefit all sentient beings, it is fully present within the bodies of sentient beings. But those who are ignorant, prone to false thinking and attachments, do not know this, are not aware of it, and thus do not obtain benefit.<sup>414</sup>

kye rgyal ba'i sras de bzhin du de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes / tshad med pa'i ye shes chags pa med pa'i ye shes / sems can thams cad nye bar 'tsho ba'i ye shes kyang sems can thams cad kyi sems la rim gyis chud par gnas te / sems can gyi sems de dag thams cad de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes kyi tshad dang mnyam yang de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes de ni byis pa 'du shes su 'dzin pas / rnam par glags pa rnams mi shes shing khong du mi chud la mngon tu mi byed nyams su myong bar mi

<sup>411</sup> *Fo shuo rulai xingxian jing* 佛說如來興顯經, T10, no. 291, p. 607, c12-21.

<sup>412</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 624, a7-12.

<sup>413</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing*, T10, no. 279, p. 272, c17-22.

<sup>414</sup> Chien 1993: 106.

byed de /

[Dharmarakṣa] 若此仁者，如來至真以無量慧，不可計明，悉入一切眾生江海心之所行，而普曉了群萌志操。如來之慧不可限量，靡不周達，不可窮極。正覺之智不可計會，觀察一切萌類境界，怪未曾有斯眾生類。愚駭乃爾不能分別如來聖慧。<sup>415</sup>

[Buddhabhadra] 佛子，如來智慧，無相智慧，無礙智慧，具足在於眾生身中。但愚癡眾生顛倒想覆，不知不見，不生信心。<sup>416</sup>

[Shikṣānanda] 佛子，如來智慧亦復如是，無量無礙，普能利益一切眾生，具足在於眾生身中。但諸凡愚妄想執著，不知不覺，不得利益。<sup>417</sup>

Finally, Buddha sees that living beings are unable to realise their own wisdom thus he decides to help them to get rid of their attachment and realise their innate wisdom.

Then the Tathāgata with his unobstructed pure eye of wisdom, universally beholds all sentient beings in the *dharmadhātu*, and says: 'Strange! How strange! How can it be that although all sentient beings are fully possessed of the wisdom of the Tathāgata, because of their ignorance and confusion, they neither know nor see that? I should teach them the Noble Path, thus enabling them to forever leave false thoughts and attachments, and perceive the great wisdom of the Tathāgata within themselves, not different from the Buddhas.' Having taught them how to cultivate the Noble Path so that they can forsake false thinking, after they forsake false thinking, they will realize the limitless wisdom of the Tathāgata, thereby benefiting and comforting all sentient beings.<sup>418</sup>

[Tibetan] de nas de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes chags pa med pas sems can gyi khams thams cad la / rnam par gzigs nas / ngo mtshar kyi dgongs pa sbye bar 'gyur te / kye ma sems can 'di dag de ltar de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin du yang mi shes la / de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes kyang khong na yod pa ngo mtshar ches / bdag gis sems can 'di dag ci nas kyang rang rang gi 'du shes kyi mdud pa chen po 'phags pa'i lam gyis stobs dang shugs kyis bkrol te / de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes khong du chud cing / de bzhin gshegs pa'i mnyam pa nyid kyang thob par 'gyur bar 'phags pa'i lam bstan te / 'du shes kyi rnam pas rnam par glags pa thams cad bsal bar bya'o zhes nas / de bzhin gshegs pa'i lam bstan pas de dag gi 'du shes kyi rnam pa thams cad yongs su bsal ba mdzad do // de ltar 'du shes kyi rnam pa thams cad yongs su sel ba'i phyir / de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes tshad med pas 'gro ba thams (118b) cad yongs su 'tsho//

<sup>415</sup> *Fo shuo rulai xingxian jing* 佛說如來興顯經, T10, no. 291, p. 607, c20-26.

<sup>416</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 624, a13-15.

<sup>417</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 272, c22-25.

<sup>418</sup> Chien 1993: 106-107.

[Dharmarakṣa] 世尊普入，而自念曰：吾寧可宣顯示大道，使諸想縛，自然蠲除。如佛法身聖塗力勢，當令捨離一切著念。設使曉了正真之慧誼所歸趣，獲致無極三昧之定，暢說正道，去一切想，誨令使念無上道慧，化諸黎庶在五趣者，令達無極。<sup>419</sup>

[Buddhabhadra] 爾時如來以無障礙清淨天眼，觀察一切眾生。觀已，作如是言：奇哉奇哉！云何如來具足智慧在於身中，而不知見？我當教彼眾生覺悟聖道，悉令永離妄想顛倒垢縛，具見如來智慧在其身內，與佛無異。如來即時教彼眾生，修八聖道，捨離虛妄顛倒。離顛倒已，具如來智，與如來等，饒益眾生。<sup>420</sup>

[Shikṣānanda] 爾時如來以無障礙清淨智眼，普觀法界一切眾生而作是言：奇哉奇哉！此諸眾生云何具有如來智慧，愚癡迷惑，不知不見？我當教以聖道，令其永離妄想執著，自於身中得見如來廣大智慧，與佛無異。即教彼眾生，修習聖道，令離妄想。離妄想已，證得如來無量智慧，利益安樂一切眾生。<sup>421</sup>

In the following chapters we are going to study this text in great details. We will show how the Chinese exegetes interpreted this passage and influenced their teachings.

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<sup>419</sup> *Fo shuo rulai xingxian jing* 佛說如來興顯經, T10, no. 291, p. 607, c26-p. 608, a2.

<sup>420</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 624, a15-22.

<sup>421</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 272, c25-p. 273, a3.

### 3. Faxiangzong versus Faxingzong

#### a. The Origin and Meaning of *Faxiangzong* and *Faxingzong*

##### i. Introduction

Dan Lusthaus finds the origin of the paradigm *xing* 性 versus *xiang* 相 in the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 and concludes:

“Ironically, this very distinction became one of the major rhetorical weapons used by Fa-tsang against Hsüan-tsang’s school, calling them ‘[the mere] fa-hsiang’ (*Dharma*-Characteristics) school against his own Sinitic ‘fa-hsing’ (*Dharma*-Nature) school. This distinction became so important that every Buddhist school originating in East Asia, including all forms of Sinitic Mahāyāna, viz. T’ien-t’ai, Hua-yen, Ch’an, and Pure Land, came to be considered *Dharma*-nature schools.”<sup>422</sup>

Whalen Lai also attributes the establishment of this paradigm to Fazang, referring to Zhili 知禮: “The name ‘Fa-hsiang’ was, however, attributed to it by its critics; it is a derogative term alleging that the school did not know thoroughly the deeper Fa-hsing (*Dharma*-essence). The contrast was intended to bring out the ‘Hinayānist phenomenalism’ [sic] inherent in the Wei-shih school and to highlight the ‘Mahāyāna essentialism’ of its critic. As recalled by Sung T’ien-t’ai master Ssu-ming Chih-li (959-1028), the distinction arose at the time of Fa-tsang’s (643-712) attack on the Wei-shih school:

“At the time [of Hua-yen (Avatamsaka) patriarch, Fa-tsang,] there was widely held the theory of *chen-ju sui-yüan* (Suchness or *tathatā* accompanying the conditions [the *pratyaya* that brought *samsāra* into being]) and the theory of a (passive) Suchness that would not create (‘let rise’) the various existents (*dharmas*). From that is derived the distinction between a *hsing-tsung* ([*Dharma*] essence school) and a *hsiang-tsung* ([*Dharma*] characteristic school). This distinction was made by Fa-tsang and was unknown to our [T’ien-t’ai] master Chih-i.”<sup>423</sup>

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<sup>422</sup> Lusthaus 2002: 372.

<sup>423</sup> Lai 1986: 1.

They are right in that Fazang 法藏 introduced the term *faxiangzong* 法相宗 for the Yogācāra teachings of Xuanzang 玄奘 (600-664), and later this designation became widespread in East Asian Buddhism. In Japan, the Hossō 法相 school represented the most outstanding of the six schools (Sanron 三論, Hossō, Jōjitsu 成實, Kusha 俱舍, Ristu 律, Kegon 華嚴) of the Nara period (710-784).<sup>424</sup> However, attributing the invention of the term *faxingzong* 法性宗 to Fazang is rather dubious, as it cannot be found in his works. The *faxing* 法性 is the Chinese equivalent of the Sanskrit *dharmatā*,<sup>425</sup> which means ‘essence’ or ‘inherent nature.’<sup>426</sup> I will not delve into this frequently used term in Indian and Chinese Buddhism here as this would go beyond the scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that the founder of the Tiantai 天台 school, Zhiyi 智顛 (538-597), identified *dharma*-nature with Buddha-nature by saying: “Buddha-nature is *dharma*-nature 佛性即是法性.”<sup>427</sup> He thus attributes Buddha-nature not only to the sentient beings but also to the non-sentient beings.<sup>428</sup> Lusthaus’ other claim that Huayan “came to be considered *Dharma*-nature school” can also be called into question. In order to provide an answer as to whether Huayan belongs to the *Dharma*-nature school, I shall examine the origin and meaning of these two important terms in the history of Chinese Buddhist thought: the *zong* of *dharma*-characteristics (*faxiangzong* 法相宗) and the *zong* of *dharma*-nature (*faxingzong* 法性宗).

## ii. Faxiangzong as Yogācāra in Fazang’s works

In his commentary on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經談玄記), Fazang relates the story of how he met a Central Indian monk, Divākara<sup>429</sup> (Dipoheluo 地婆訶羅, or Rizhao 日照 613-688),<sup>430</sup> in the Taiyuan 太原 monastery<sup>431</sup> of Chang’an in 684,

<sup>424</sup> Tamura 2000: 46.

<sup>425</sup> Soothill 1937: 269, Nakamura 1975: 1252d-1253a.

<sup>426</sup> Monier-Williams 1899: 511.

<sup>427</sup> *Weimojing lüeshu* 維摩經略疏, T38, no. 1778, p. 681, a26.

<sup>428</sup> Ng 2003: 78.

<sup>429</sup> On Divākara, see Forte 1974.

<sup>430</sup> Divākara is said to have translated 18 works between 676 and 687. *Kaiyuan shijiaolu* 開元釋教錄 T55, no. 55, p. 564, a12-17. With the assistance of Fazang, he translated the *Ghanavyūha-sūtra* (*Dasheng miyan jing* 大乘密嚴經 T 681.), on which Fazang wrote a commentary (*Dasheng miyan jing shu* 大乘密嚴經疏 X vol. 34.). In addition, they worked together on the translation of the parts of the last chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, that were missing from Buddhahadra’s translation. See Liu 1979: 8-9.

and asked him whether Indian monks distinguish between provisional and actual (*quanshi* 權實) teachings.<sup>432</sup> In his reply, Divākara said that there were two famous Indian masters of the Nālandā monastery: Śīlabhadra (Jiexian 戒賢 529-645)<sup>433</sup> and Jñānaprabha (Zhiguang 智光).<sup>434</sup> He interprets their views on the different levels of Buddhist teachings in the following way.

Śīlabhadra, a disciple of Dharmapāla (Hufa 護法 530-561), who belongs to the lineage of Maitreya (Mile 彌勒) and Asaṅga (Wuzhu 無著 310-390?),<sup>435</sup> establishes three levels of teachings on the basis of *Samḍhinirmocana-sūtra* and *Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra*.<sup>436</sup> In the first period, Hīnayāna teaches the emptiness of living beings (*shengkong* 生空), but fails to realise the true principle (*zhenli* 真理) of the emptiness of *dharmas* (*fakong* 法空). In the second period, the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* advocate the emptiness of *dharmas*. The correct principle (*zhengli* 正理) of Mahāyāna is revealed only in the third period, when the tenets of Yogācāra, i.e. three natures and three non-natures, are taught. In addition, these three levels of teaching are explained in terms of the capacity of the audience, the teaching, and the revelation of principle. In the first period, only *śrāvakas* are taught exclusively Hīnayāna teachings that reveal the principle of emptiness of the person. In the second period, only bodhisattvas are taught exclusively Mahāyāna teachings that show the emptiness of both the person and *dharmas*. In the third period, beings of various capacities are instructed in all vehicles that expose both emptiness and existence (*kongyou* 空有). As the third period comprises all capacities, teachings and principles, it represents the level of explicit statement (*nītārtha*, *liaoyi* 了義).

Jñānaprabha, who belongs to the lineage of Mañjuśrī (Wenshu 文殊) and Nāgārjuna (Longshu 龍樹 ca. 150-250), follows in the footsteps of Āryadeva (Tijo 提婆 170-270) and Bhāvaviveka (Qingbian 清辯 500-570). He distinguishes three levels of teaching on the basis

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<sup>431</sup> Empress Wu established this monastery by converting her mother's residence after she passed away. She appointed Fazang as the first abbot. See Liu 1979: 8.

<sup>432</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 111, c8-p. 112, a22.

<sup>433</sup> Śīlabhadra was Xuanzang's 玄奘 (600-664) teacher at Nālandā, and is mentioned in his famous record of his travels, *Xiyuji* 西域記 T 2087. See *Xiyuji* 西域記, T51, no. 2087, p. 914, c2-p. 915, a2; p. 924, a3-7; Lusthaus 2002: 395-397.

<sup>434</sup> Mochizuki 3571.

<sup>435</sup> According to the legend, Maitreya took Asaṅga to the Tuṣita where Yogācāra works were given to him. Some scholars suspect that Maitreya could be a historical person, Asaṅga's teacher, who is referred to as Maitreyaṅga. See Williams 1989: 80-81.

<sup>436</sup> It is interesting to note that Xuanzang's biography (*Da Tang Daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 T50, no. 2053.) by Huili 慧立 and Yancong 彥悰 cites a letter by Xuanzang where Śīlabhadra is said to be the successor to both Āryadeva and Nāgārjuna. This contradicts Divākara's alleged account that associates Śīlabhadra exclusively with Āryadeva and the Yogācāra. See Li 1995: 231.

of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* and *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. In the first period, Buddha instructed people of small capacity in the Hīnayāna teaching, according to which both mind and objects exist (*xinjing juyou* 心境俱有). In the second period, the *faxiang* of Mahāyāna (*faxiang dasheng* 法相大乘) is taught to people of mediocre capacity. It explains that objects are empty, while the mind is existent (*jingkong xinyou* 境空心有), which is the principle of consciousness-only. However, these people cannot understand the equality of true emptiness (*pingdeng zhenkong* 平等真空). In the third period, the *wuxiang* of Mahāyāna (*wuxiang dasheng* 無相大乘) is taught to people of superb capacity. It argues that the equal emptiness of both objects and the mind is the level of true explicit statement (*zhen liaoyi* 真了義). In the first period, the audience consisted of the two vehicles which must refer to *śrāvaka-yāna* and *pratyekabuddha-yāna*; in the second, it was made up of the followers of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, and in the third, it was only bodhisattvas. In terms of teaching, the first period is the teaching of Hīnayāna, the second is that of three vehicles (*sansheng* 三乘), and the last period is that of one vehicle (*yisheng* 一乘). As regards the revelation of principle, the heretical view of self-nature (*zixing* 自性) is refuted in the first period, clinging to the essential being of those things that dependently arise is refuted gradually in the second, and the apparent existence still retained in the second period is refuted in the third.

The classification of the two Indian masters can be summarised in two tables:

<i>period</i>	<i>audience</i>	<i>teaching</i>	<i>principle</i>
1. Hīnayāna	śrāvaka	Hīnayāna	emptiness of person
2. Wuxiang	bodhisattva	Mahāyāna	emptiness of person and dharmas
3. Faxiang	all	all	emptiness and existence

(Classification by Śīlabhadra)

<i>period</i>	<i>audience</i>	<i>teaching</i>	<i>principle</i>
1. Hīnayāna	two vehicles	Hīnayāna	refutation of the heretical view of self-nature
2. Faxiang	both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna	three vehicles	refutation of essential being
3. Wuxiang	bodhisattva	one vehicle	refutation of apparent being

(Classification by Jñānaprabha)

Śīlabhadra's classification is quite well-known from the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra* as the three turnings of the *Dharma*-wheel. According to this scripture, Buddha's teaching can be divided into three successive periods. The first period is the Hīnayāna when the emptiness of self was preached. In the second period, the emptiness of all *dharmas* was proclaimed in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*. However, the hidden meaning of these *sūtras* was revealed only in the third period, which is the teaching of the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*. This is the explicit meaning of the teachings that require no further explanation.<sup>437</sup> By the time Bhāvaviveka lived, doctrinal disagreements between the followers of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka had come to the fore. Though he was willing to borrow some methods from his opponents, he was critical of Yogācāra, and maintained the basic Madhyamaka principle of the emptiness of all *dharmas*, including consciousness.<sup>438</sup>

Fazang introduced two names: *Faxiang* 法相 (characteristics of *dharmas*) and *Wuxiang* 無相 (without characteristics). He applied the first name to the Yogācāra, and though it was a rather pejorative designation, suggesting that it was a kind of Hīnayāna school dealing only with the characteristics of *dharmas*, it became the traditional name for this Indian school of Buddhist thought in East Asian Buddhism. He applied the term *Wuxiang* to the Madhyamaka school of thought, as it denied the existence of characteristics. Divākara's account of the Indian classification of Buddhist teaching must have exercised a great influence on Fazang, because he refers to it in his other works as well.<sup>439</sup> This small episode in the history of Chinese Buddhism sheds light on the process usually referred to as the 'sinification of Buddhism'. Fazang's encounter with Divākara shows that there was an active dialogue between Chinese and foreign monks during the transmission of Buddhism.<sup>440</sup>

In his commentaries on the *Awakening of Faith* and on the *Dasheng fajie wuchabie lun* 大乘法界無差別論, in which he discussed the Indian Buddhist teachings, Fazang distinguishes four cardinal principles (*zong* 宗): (1) clinging to the [existence] of *dharmas* through their characteristics (*suixiang fazhi zong* 隨相法執宗); (2) real emptiness without characteristics (*zhenkong wuxiang zong* 真空無相宗); (3) consciousness-only [established by] the characteristics of *dharmas* (*weishi faxiang zong* 唯識法相宗); and (4) the dependent

<sup>437</sup> *Jie shenmi jing* 解深密經, T16, no 676, p. 697, a23-b9.

<sup>438</sup> Ruegg 1981: 65-66.

<sup>439</sup> *Shiermen lun zongzhi yiji* 十二門論宗致義記, T42, no. 1826, p. 213, a5-c23; *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記, T44, no. 1846, p. 242, a29-b21.

<sup>440</sup> Robert Sharf has a different view, arguing that "whatever 'dialogue' transpired took place among the Chinese themselves". Sharf 2002: 19.



arising of the *tathāgatagarbha* (*rulaizang yuanqi zong* 如來藏緣起宗).<sup>441</sup> These four cardinal principles refer to the teachings of Hīnayāna, Madhyamaka, Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha, respectively. He defines these lineages with the help of the basic Huayan paradigm: phenomena (*shi* 事) and principle (*li* 理).<sup>442</sup> Hīnayāna clings to the characteristics of phenomena. Madhyamaka reveals the principle by the coalascence with phenomena. Yogācāra provides a description of various aspects of phenomena that arise on the basis of principle. The Tathāgatagarbha discusses the interpenetration and non-obstruction of principle and phenomena. In addition, in his commentary on the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, he again furnishes these four kinds of cardinal principles, though with their names slightly changed: (1) existence of characteristics (*youxiang zong* 有相宗); (2) non-existence of characteristics (*wuxiang zong* 無相宗); (3) characteristics of *dharmas* (*faxiang zong* 法相宗); and (4) ultimate truth (*shixiang zong* 實相宗).<sup>443</sup> Fazang discusses these four categories in terms of *dharmas*, consciousness, dependent arising, turning to Mahāyāna from Hīnayāna and vehicles.<sup>444</sup> In Fazang’s classification of teachings these four lineages can be related to the first three of the five teachings.<sup>445</sup> Hīnayāna represents the lesser vehicle, Madhyamaka and Yogācāra the elementary teachings of Mahāyāna, and Tathāgatagarbha the advanced teaching of Mahāyāna.

<i>names in the commentary on the Awakening of Faith</i>	clinging to the [existence] of <i>dharmas</i> through their characteristics	real emptiness without characteristics	consciousness only [established by] the characteristics of <i>dharmas</i>	the dependent arising of the <i>tathāgatagarbha</i>
<i>names in the commentary on the Laṅkāvatāra-</i>	existence of characteristics	non-existence of characteristics	characteristics of dharmas	real characteristics

<sup>441</sup> *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記, T44, no. 1846, p. 242, b23-c7; *Dasheng fajie wuchabie lun shu* 大乘法界無差別論疏, T44, no. 1838, p. 61, c9-13.

<sup>442</sup> The first patriarch of the Huayan lineage, Du Shun 杜順 (557-640), introduced these terms when he changed the terms *form* for *phenomena* and *emptiness* for *principle*. For a translation of his important work, *Discernments of Dharmadhātu* (*Fajie guanmen* 法界觀門), see Gimello 1976: 454-510, and for another which includes Chengguan’s commentary, see Cleary 1983: 69-124. For a summary of arguments in this work, see Ziporyn 2000: 171-174.

<sup>443</sup> *Ru Lengqie xin xuanyi* 入楞伽心玄義, T39, no. 1790, p. 426, b29-p. 427, a2.

<sup>444</sup> He expounds only on the aspects of *dharmas*, consciousness and vehicles in his commentary on the *Dasheng fajie wuchabie lun*. Here the explanation of the vehicles is slightly different. I refer to it with a (b) in the table. See *Dasheng fajie wuchabie lun shu* 大乘法界無差別論疏, T44, no. 1838, p. 61, c13-c28.

<sup>445</sup> The system of the five teachings (lesser vehicle, elementary teaching of Mahāyāna, advanced teaching of Mahāyāna, sudden and perfect) was first established by Zhiyan, but it was Fazang who used this scheme in his works exclusively. For detailed studies of the formulation and content of the five teachings, see Cook 1970, Liu 1981, Gregory 1991: 116-135.

<i>sūtra</i>				
<i>scriptures</i>	Four Āgamas, Vibhāṣā	Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras, Mūlamadhyamaka-kārika	Samdhinirmocana-sūtra, Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra	Lañkāvatāra-sūtra, Ghanavyūha-sūtra, Ratnagotravibhāga Śāstra, Mahāyāna-śradhotpāda Śāstra
<i>masters</i>	Dharmatrāta <sup>446</sup>	Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva	Asaṅga, Vasubandhu	Aśvagoṣa, Sāramati <sup>447</sup>
<i>dharmas</i>	75 dharmas	emptiness of dharmas	three natures, three non-natures, 100 dharmas based on consciousness	all dharmas arise in dependence on <i>tathāgatagarbha</i>
<i>consciousness</i>	six consciousnesses	emptiness of the six consciousnesses	eight impure consciousnesses	the eighth consciousness is established by the <i>tathāgatagarbha</i> dependent arising
<i>dharmas that dependently arise</i>	existent	empty	both existent and empty	neither existent nor empty, fusion of phenomena and principle
<i>turning to Mahāyāna from Hīnayāna</i>	followers of two vehicles do not become Buddha	beings of determinate nature of two vehicles do not become Buddha, some of the beings of indeterminate nature turn to Bodhisattva path	beings of determinate nature of two vehicles do not become Buddha, beings of indeterminate nature turn to Mahāyāna	both beings of determinate nature and beings of indeterminate nature turn to Mahāyāna
<i>vehicles (a)</i>	only three vehicles	both three vehicles and one vehicle: three vehicles are revealed, one vehicle is hidden	three vehicles	only one vehicle
<i>vehicles (b)</i>	lesser vehicle	three vehicles	three vehicles	one vehicle
<i>five teachings</i>	lesser vehicle	elementary teaching of	elementary teaching	advanced teaching of

<sup>446</sup> A master of the Sarvāstivāda school. Mochizuki 3543.

<sup>447</sup> He is the author of *Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun* 大乘法界無差別論, T31, no. 1626, 1627. Fazang wrote a commentary on it titled *Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun bingxu* 大乘法界無差別論疏并序, T44, no. 1838. Mochizuki 925-926.

		Mahāyāna	of Mahāyāna	Mahāyāna
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### iii. The interfusion of xing and xiang in Fazang's works

While Fazang's Huayan master Zhiyan mainly applied various tenets of Yogācāra philosophy, Fazang often referred to Madhyamaka in his works. As Kamata Shigeo demonstrated, the great master of the Sanlun 三論 lineage, Jizang 吉藏 (549-623),<sup>448</sup> had a considerable impact on Fazang's philosophy.<sup>449</sup> Fazang intended to transcend the scope of Yogācāra by incorporating elements of Madhyamaka. In his commentary on the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, in which he discussed the nature of dependent arising (*yuanqi xing* 緣起性), he argued that it is actually both existent and empty, that these two concepts complement one another and form one unity. Nāgārjuna explained that existence does not differ from emptiness (*you bu yi kong* 有不異空), as Asaṅga made clear that emptiness does not differ from existence (*kong bu yi you* 空不異有). However,

“The later generation of philosophers lived in a degenerate age and their wisdom was slight. If they heard about the emptiness [of dependent arising], they said that [this concept] interrupts causality. If they heard about the existence [of dependent arising], they said that [this concept] obstructs real emptiness (*zhenkong* 真空). Therefore, Bhāvaviveka refuted the existence that is in contradiction with emptiness. Making this extreme view return to emptiness is the only way to show the existence that is identical with emptiness (*jikong zhi you* 即空之有). Thus, causality is not lost. Dharmapāla and others refuted the emptiness that extinguishes existence. To establish causality is the only way to reveal the emptiness that is identical with existence (*jiyou zhi kong* 即有之空). Thus, real nature (*zhenxing* 真性) is not hidden. Each of these two masters refuted one extreme; thus, they show the middle path together. Their views mutually become complete, and are not contradictory.”

<sup>448</sup> For an introduction to Jizang's philosophy, see Liu 1994: 82-187.

<sup>449</sup> Kamata 1965: 134-143, 325-331.

後代論師為時澆慧薄。聞空謂斷因果。聞有謂隔真空。是以清辨破違空之有。令蕩盡歸空。方顯即空之有。因果不失。護法等破滅有之空。令因果確立。方顯即有之空。真性不隱。此二士各破一邊共顯中道。此乃相成非相破也。<sup>450</sup>

This passage can be regarded as a Huayan contribution and solution to the well-known debate between the followers of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka on the theory of the three natures advocated by the Yogācārins.<sup>451</sup> Yogācārins held that though the imaginary nature is empty the dependent nature and the perfect nature have both empty and real aspects. Those things that arise out of the seeds contained in *ālaya* are empty, but the *ālaya* and the seeds are real. The perfect nature is presented as the pure *ālaya* in the *Cheng weishi lun*; it must therefore be the ultimate reality, and cannot be empty.<sup>452</sup> Being advocates of the emptiness of all *dharmas*, the Mādhyamikas refuted the existence of these two natures as well. In order to harmonize these two views, Fazang formulated a Huayan interpretation of the doctrine of three natures. He wrote that each of the three natures has an empty and an existent aspect:<sup>453</sup>

“Each of the three natures has two aspects. The two aspects of the perfect [nature] are changelessness and responding to condition. The two aspects of the dependent [nature] are semblance of existence and being without self-nature. The two aspects of the imaginary nature appear to have being to the ordinary senses and have non-existence in reality.”

三性各有二義。真中二義者。一不變義。二隨緣義。依他二義者。一似有義。二無性義。所執中二義者。一情有義。二理無義。<sup>454</sup>

	EMPTINESS	BEING
<i>perfect nature</i>	changelessness	responding to condition
<i>dependent nature</i>	without self-nature	semblance of existence
<i>imaginary nature</i>	non-existent in reality	appearing to have being to common sense
	REAL	FALSE
	NATURE	CHARACTERISTICS

<sup>450</sup> *Ru Lengqie xin xuanyi* 入楞伽心玄義, T39, no. 1790, p. 430, c16-22. A slightly different version of this passage appears in *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqizhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章, T 45, no. 1886, p. 501, a16-25. For a translation of this version, see Liu 1979: 379-380.

<sup>451</sup> Bhāvaviveka criticised the doctrine of three natures in chapter five of *Madhyamaka-hṛdaya śāstra* and in *Prajñāpradīpa*. See Ruegg 1981: 65.

<sup>452</sup> Liu 1979: 377-379.

<sup>453</sup> I used Liu's translation of these terms. Liu 1979: 365. For a further explanation of this Huayan doctrine, see Cook 1970: 30-53; 1977: 59-61.

<sup>454</sup> *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章, T45, no. 1886, p. 499, a13-15.

As the empty aspects of the three natures are identical, and the existent aspects are also identical, the identity of the three natures is established. The former aspects are designated as “the eternal origin without destroying derivative 不壞末而常本,” and the latter aspects as “the eternal derivative without moving origin 不動本而常末 .” With these designations he places the question into the context of Chinese philosophy. On the other hand, the empty aspects are not identical with the existent aspects; hence, the difference between the three natures is established as well. Fazang concludes with the typical Huayan statement that “reality includes the false derivative and falsehood penetrates the source of reality; it is the interfusion and non-obstruction of nature and characteristics 真該妄末妄徹真源。性相通融無障無礙.” Various versions of “interfusion of nature and characteristics,” such as interpenetration of nature and characteristics (*xingxiang jiaoche* 性相交徹) and perfect interfusion of nature and characteristics (*xingxiang yuanrong* 性相圓融), are found throughout Fazang’s works.<sup>455</sup> Terms such as real-false and origin-derivative frequently occur in the Chinese Buddhist texts, but the paradigm of *xingxiang* seems to be a novelty. Where does it originate?

Lusthaus attributes this invention to Xuanzang, who was a prominent figure of his day and Fazang’s contemporary. In verses 5 and 7 of his translation of *Triṃśikā* he – supposedly deliberately – altered the original Sanskrit text through the interpolation of *xingxiang*, though he is famous for the accuracy of his translations. In the definitions of *mano-vijñāna* and the five consciousnesses we read that “discerning perceptual-objects is its nature and characteristic” and “willing-deliberating is its nature and characteristic”, respectively.<sup>456</sup> In the *Cheng weishi lun*, Xuanzang explains *xing* and *xiang* as self-nature (*svabhāva*, *zixing* 自性) and activity-characteristic (*ākāra*, *xingxiang* 行相), respectively. In the case of the five consciousnesses, discerning perceptual-objects is their self-nature, and the functioning (*yong* 用) of this nature is their activity-characteristic. In the same way, the willing-deliberating is the self-nature of the *mano-vijñāna*, and the functioning of this nature is its activity-characteristic. The text goes on to say that these natures and functions define each consciousness. This is to say that the self-natures of the consciousnesses are none other than their activities.

As Xuanzang’s usage of *xing* versus *xiang* is confined to a rather technical discussion of Yogācāra, other considerations should be taken into account in tracing Fazang’s application of

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<sup>455</sup> Yoshizu 1983.

<sup>456</sup> For a discussion of *xingxiang* in Xuanzang’s translation, see Lusthaus 2002: 371-373.

*xing*. First, it can be explained as emptiness of self-nature (*zixing kong* 自性空) because the ultimate nature of *dharmas* is emptiness. There is no doubt that this is the stance of Madhyamaka in this discussion. Thus, the interfusion of nature and characteristics is another sinitic explanation of the famous Mahāyāna formula, “emptiness is form and form is emptiness” just like “principle is phenomena”, advocated by the first patriarch of the Huayan lineage, Du Shun 杜順 (557-640). With the introduction of this short expression, interfusion of nature and characteristics, Fazang managed to achieve the same goal as with the discussion of the three natures: to harmonize Yogācāra and Madhyamaka. Second, *xing* can refer to *tathāgatagarbha*, or Buddha-nature that leads to another explication on the basis of the Chinese transmission of Yogācāra that includes Tathāgatagarbha teachings. One of the important tenets of Huayan Buddhism is the theory of nature-origination (*xingqi* 性起), which clarifies how the world evolves out of a pure mind.<sup>457</sup> Thus, *xing* means the nature out of which the world evolves, and *xiang* represents the characteristics of the outer world evolved from nature. However, this Yogācāra is not the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna represented by the teachings of Xuanzang, but rather the advanced teaching of Mahāyāna, that is Tathāgatagarbha. Nonetheless, this deeper level of interfusion apropos of *xing* and *xiang* would later be discovered and discussed by the fourth patriarch of the Huayan lineage, Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839),<sup>458</sup> who was the most loyal disciple of Fazang, though they never met.

#### iv. Ten differences between faxingzong and faxiangzong

Fazang’s disciple, Huiyuan 慧苑 (673-743), did not discuss the teachings of the two Indian masters elaborated in great detail by Fazang, putatively because the tenet of dependent arising did not play a central role in his philosophy.<sup>459</sup> Chengguan, however, took up this topic again in his commentary on the *Huayan jing*. At the beginning of his account of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka, he recapitulates the two versions of three periods summarised by

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<sup>457</sup> This name originates from the title of chapter 32 of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, *Baowang rulai xingqi pin* 寶王如來性起品. The version of the eighty-fascicle *Huayan jing* will be discussed below.

<sup>458</sup> For his biography, see Hamar 2002. For his philosophy, see Hamar 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2003a, 2003b, 2004.

<sup>459</sup> Yoshizu 1983: 308-309. For a recent study on Huiyuan’s philosophy, see Li 2000.

the third patriarch.<sup>460</sup> He uses the names *faxiang dasheng* and *wuxiang dasheng* introduced by Fazang, but he often refers to them as two *zongs* 宗. Like Fazang, he arrives at the conclusion that these two *zongs* complement one another; neither of them can stand alone, and they must be combined. It is important to note that at the end of this section in his Subcommentary on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Da fangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏 演義鈔), Chengguan identifies Madhyamaka as *faxingzong*:

“From the aspect of the first school, the *faxiangzong* is the ultimate [meaning of the teaching] and *faxingzong* is not ultimate. From the aspect of the second school, the *faxingzong* is the ultimate, and the *faxiangzong* is not ultimate. Therefore, they are both ultimate and not ultimate, and equally share the principle.”

謂約初門。則法相宗為了。法性宗非了。若約後門。則法性宗為了。法相宗非了。既皆二義了。二義不了。於理則齊。<sup>461</sup>

As Chengguan continues, in order to combine these two lineages first the differences between them should be known. He lists ten differences:<sup>462</sup>

- (1) one vehicle or three vehicles 一乘三乘
- (2) one nature or five natures 一性五性
- (3) consciousness is only real or false 唯心真妄
- (4) the *tathatā* is dependent arising or immovable 真如隨緣凝然
- (5) the emptiness and existence related to the three natures are identical or different 三性空有即離
- (6) the number of living beings is not increasing or not decreasing 生佛不增不減
- (7) the two truths are identical or different, as well emptiness and existence are identical or different 二諦空有即離
- (8) the four characteristics are simultaneous or successive 四相一時前後
- (9) the subject and the object of enlightenment are identical or different 九能所斷證即離
- (10) the body of Buddha is unconditioned or conditioned 佛身無為有為

<sup>460</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 510, b23-c22. *Da fangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義, T36, no. 1736, p. 52, c7-p. 53, b27. *Xinxiu Huayan jing shuchao* 新修華嚴經疏鈔 vol. 1. 547-564.

<sup>461</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義, T36, no. 1736, p. 53c18-20.

<sup>462</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 511, a2-6.

In each of the ten statements, the first part is the tenet of the *faxingzong* whereas the second is that of the *faxiangzong*. For example, one nature and one vehicle form part of the doctrines of *faxingzong*, and the three vehicles and five natures are proclaimed by *faxiangzong*.

The first two differences are lumped together as the one vehicle, and three vehicles are closely associated with one nature and three natures, respectively.<sup>463</sup> If the doctrine of five natures is regarded as the ultimate teaching, then the doctrine of three vehicles is evident. Those who have the *śrāvaka*-nature belong to the *śrāvaka*-vehicle, those who have the *pratyekabuddha*-nature belong to the *pratyekabuddha*-vehicle, those who have the bodhisattva-nature belong to the bodhisattva-vehicle. Those who do not have a determinate nature can belong to any of the three vehicles, while those who do not have an untainted nature do not belong to any of the three vehicles but to the vehicle of men and gods. Thus, the five vehicles are established. In contrast to this stance, the *faxingzong* accepts the doctrine of one nature, i.e. universal salvation, as the ultimate teaching; it therefore proclaims the one vehicle.

In fact, the question of Buddha-nature is a long debated topic in East Asian Buddhism. It is a well-known story in the history of Chinese Buddhism that Daosheng 道生 (ca. 360-434) was bold enough to argue against the so-called southern translation of the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* which says that *icchantikas* can never become Buddha.<sup>464</sup> After the northern translation of this *sūtra* supported Daosheng's claim, the view of universal liberation became widespread in China. However, Xuanzang took up the orthodox Yogācāra position and excluded *icchantikas* from salvation. But even some of his disciples did not share the opinion of their teacher. His most talented student, Fabao 法寶 (early 8th c.), claimed in *Yisheng foxing jiujiing lun* 一乘佛性究竟論 that one vehicle was the actual teaching (*shijiao* 實教) and the three vehicles were only provisional teachings.<sup>465</sup> His other disciple Huizhao 慧沼 (650-714) refuted Fabao's views in his *Nengxian zhongbian huiji lun* 能顯中邊慧日論.<sup>466</sup> Approximately during Chengguan's lifetime, a long debate on this problem raged in Japan between the Hossō 法相

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<sup>463</sup> This is discussed in great detail in the *Commentary and Subcommentary*. See *Da fanguang fo huyan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 511, a6-p. 512, b13; *Da fanguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義, T36, no. 1736, p. 54, a25-p. 61, b10. *Xinxiu Huayan jing shuchao* 新修華嚴經疏鈔 vol. 1. 566-642.

<sup>464</sup> For Daoan's view on *icchantikas*, see Kim 1990: 34-38. The *Fo shuo daban nihuan jing* 佛說大般泥洹經 (T12, no. 376.) translated by Faxian 法顯 and Buddhahadra was called the southern text, while the *Daban nieban jing* 大般涅槃經 (T12, no. 374.) translated by Dharmakṣema was known as the northern text. See Ch'en 1964: 113-114. For a study on the Buddha-nature in the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*, see Liu 1982.

<sup>465</sup> Groner 2000: 103-104.

<sup>466</sup> T45, no. 1863.



monk Tokuitsu 德一 (780?-842?), and the founder of the Tendai 天台 school, Saichō 最澄 (767-822), resulting in several works by these two eminent scholars.<sup>467</sup>

The next eight differences are discussed under the rubrics of the elementary and advanced teachings of Mahāyāna.<sup>468</sup> On the level of the elementary teaching, mostly the characteristics are elaborated, the nature of *dharmas*, i.e. their absolute aspect, appears only as one of the hundred *dharmas*.<sup>469</sup> On the other hand, the advanced teaching mainly expounds on the nature of *dharmas*, and the way in which characteristics can revert to nature. This is to say that the *dharmas*, like *skandhas*, are empty, and their emptiness is their nature. The *faxingzong* also teaches about the characteristics, but its main purport is to reveal nature as the enigmatic subtlety (*xuanmiao* 玄妙). This explanation seems to be in accord with the tenets of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka, as Yogācāra teaches the doctrine of a hundred *dharmas*, and Madhyamaka emphasises emptiness as the ultimate reality of *dharmas*. The third and fourth differences touch upon the nature of the *ālayavijñāna*, which is a key issue in the Chinese transmission of Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha philosophies.<sup>470</sup>

According to the *faxiangzong*, the eighth consciousness, the *ālayavijñāna*, possesses only the aspect of *saṃsāra* and is only tainted; Chengguan therefore depicts it as “false”. This impure consciousness is the cause of both rebirth in *saṃsāra* and attaining *nirvāṇa*. He cites Xuanzang’s translation of *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* as a source for this statement.<sup>471</sup> In contrast to this, the *faxingzong* argues that this consciousness also has an aspect of the absolute mind (*zhenxin* 真心) due to the untainted *tathāgatagarbha*. He refers to the famous statement from the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論) according to which the *saṃsāra* and that which is beyond *saṃsāra* are fused in *ālayavijñāna*.<sup>472</sup>

The issue at stake is the relationship between the absolute and phenomena.<sup>473</sup> Is the *tathatā* the Absolute dependent arising, or is it immovable? Does the Absolute have anything to do with the phenomenal world? According to the interpretation of the final teaching of

<sup>467</sup> In this debate, Saichō often referred to the arguments of Fabao. See Groner 2000: 91-106.

<sup>468</sup> *Da fanguang fo huyan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 512c12-p. 513, a13; *Da fanguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義, T36, no. p.62c27-p. 67, b28; *Xinxiu Huayan jing shuchao* 新修華嚴經疏鈔 658-702.

<sup>469</sup> The *tathatā* is one of the unconditioned dharmas (*asaṃskṛta-dharmas*). See Lusthaus 2002: 553.

<sup>470</sup> Paramārtha (499-569) played a crucial role in spreading Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha philosophies in China, although these teachings had been known to the Dilun 地論 masters before his arrival in China. For the process of the transmission of Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha teachings, see Paul 1984 and Gimello 1976: 212-337.

<sup>471</sup> *She dasheng lunben* 攝大乘論本, T31, no. 1594, p. 133, b15-16. For a detailed study on the concept of *ālayavijñāna* in the *Mahāyānasamgraha*, see Waldron 2003: 128-170.

<sup>472</sup> *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論, T32, no. 1666, p. 576, b8-9. See Girard 2004: 28-29.

<sup>473</sup> Whalen Lai translated and analysed the relevant part of the *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章. See Lai 1986.

Mahāyāna (i.e. *faxingzong*), the Absolute and phenomena can be described with the ‘water and wave’ metaphor. Due to the wind of ignorance, waves of phenomena rise and fall, yet they are not different in essence from the water of the Absolute. In contrast with this explanation, the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna (i.e. *faxiangzong*) can be presented by the metaphor of ‘house and ground’. The ground supports the house but is different from it.<sup>474</sup> Referring to the same scriptural sources as Fazang does, Chengguan claims that the dependent arising of *tathatā* is taught on the level of advanced teaching. However, he also emphasises that *tathatā* not only has a dependent arising aspect, but also an immovable one. It can be immovable because it is dependent arising, and it is dependent arising because it is immovable. If the water were to be deprived of its nature of moisture, how could it create waves under the influence of wind? Phenomena can be established by retaining the self-nature of the Absolute. On the other hand, if *tathatā* is not dependent arising, its essence cannot penetrate conditions (*bianyuan* 遍緣). If its essence cannot be found in conditions, how can it be unchanged (*bubian* 不變)? These two aspects are not contradictory, but complement one another.

The next topic touches upon the question of differing opinions between the followers of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka on the status of the three natures. Chengguan seems to be quite aware of the dispute on this matter in Indian Buddhism. As we saw above, Yogācāra attributed emptiness only to the imaginary nature, retaining some kind of existence of the other two natures. Chengguan explains that the dependent nature has a resembling existence and is therefore not nonexistent (*siyou buwu* 似有不無). Thus, it cannot be identical with the perfect nature that is revealed through the absence of self-nature. However, according to the *faxingzong*, the absence of self-nature in the dependent nature is identical with the perfect nature, and as absence of self-nature is emptiness, the perfect nature is identical with emptiness. This way, *faxingzong* demonstrates that the perfect nature is empty, just like the imaginary nature. The dependent arising (*yinyuan* 因緣) includes all three aspects, being identical with both emptiness and existence; hence, these are not separate.

The fifth difference is related to the first and second differences. According to the five natures of *faxiangzong*, beings of the fifth nature divested themselves of Buddha-nature forever and can never become Buddha. Consequently, they can never leave the realm of living beings; they are sentenced to maintain this world. Thus, this realm cannot decrease. The *faxingzong* teaches that the one principle is ubiquitous (*yili qiping* 一理齊平), that is to say

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<sup>474</sup> Ibid. 2-3.

the potency of becoming Buddha is inherent in all living beings including *icchantikas*. The realm of living beings cannot decrease, while the realm of Buddha cannot increase. Why? Because both living beings and Buddhas have already been in the domain of *faxing*, and *faxing* cannot increase *faxing*. This is similar to how the Eastern space cannot add anything to the Western space, i.e. the Western space cannot increase with the decrease of the Eastern space. In other words, Buddha and sentient beings share the same absolute nature; there is therefore nothing to increase or decrease.

In the next topic, two questions are discussed: first, the identity or difference of two truths; then, the identity or difference of emptiness and existence. These are closely related as emptiness and existence are regarded, especially by Madhyamaka, as absolute truth and mundane truth, respectively. According to *faxiangzong*, the mundane truth and the absolute truth are different, while according to *faxingzong* they are in fact identical, and as the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* states it is only an *upāya* that there are two truths.<sup>475</sup> The Absolute is not beyond the mundane, it is absolute if it is identical with the mundane. The former concentrates on discriminating the two truths, while the latter tends to fuse them. Chengguan warns against clinging to any of these positions one-sidedly. The *faxiangzong* argues that the cause ceases when the fruit is produced (*guosheng yinmie* 果生因滅). This way, the extremes of nihilism and eternalism are avoided, as existence is not eternal due to the cessation of cause, and is not interrupted due to the production of fruit. The way in which the *faxingzong* avoids the two extremes is to underline that emptiness is the emptiness that is identical with existence (*jiyou zhi kong* 即有之空), and existence is the existence that is identical with emptiness (*jikong zhi you* 即空之有). It is therefore empty but not interrupted, and existent but not eternal. Non-existence and existence are neither identical, nor different. This is how the middle way is achieved. If they were identical, then the meaning of existence and non-existence would be abolished. If they were different, then it would lead to the extremes of nihilism and eternalism. As is quite obvious, the differing views of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka on the absolute truth are found here. As we discussed above, Yogācāra does not accept the emptiness of absolute nature that is the absolute truth, while Madhyamaka strongly argued for it.

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<sup>475</sup> For the relevant passage cited by Chengguan, see *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經, T12, no. 374, p. 443, a7-19.

The *faxiangzong* propounds the successiveness of the four characteristics (birth, duration, differentiation, cessation),<sup>476</sup> which is to say that something that was not existent is born due to various conditions. It then endures and in this duration it changes, and finally it reverts to non-existence. According to the *faxingzong*, the past, present and future are all empty; their essential natures are therefore extinct, and this is what Chengguan calls returning to nature through coalescence with characteristics (*huixiang guixing* 會相歸性). In this way, *faxingzong* establishes that the four characteristics are simultaneous.

The ninth difference concerns the result of religious practice. The *faxiangzong* states that the object and subject of enlightenment are different. It says that there are two aspects of wisdom: wisdom that eliminates delusion (*duanhuo* 斷惑) and wisdom that realises principle (*zhengli* 證理). According to one of the interpretations, the fundamental nondiscriminating wisdom (*genben zhi* 根本智), i.e. Buddha's absolute wisdom, is able to eliminate the propensities (*suimian* 隨眠) of delusions concerning both principle and phenomena, while the subsequently acquired wisdom (*houde zhi* 後得智), i.e. wisdom related to the ordinary world, cannot. The other opinion is that this latter wisdom can eliminate only the propensities of delusions concerning phenomena.<sup>477</sup> Consequently, the fundamental wisdom and the subsequently acquired wisdom are different. Regarding the wisdom that realises the principle, it says that wisdom that is the subject of enlightenment is conditioned (*youwei* 有為), but the principle that is realised by this wisdom is unconditioned (*wuwei* 無為). Thus, the subject and object of enlightenment are not identical. The *faxingzong* also discusses two aspects of wisdom. It shows that in both cases wisdom and the object of wisdom are not different. The wisdom that eliminates the delusion (*huo* 惑) and the delusion that is eliminated, in fact, share the same substance. If we search for the origin of delusion, it cannot be found anywhere; it is thus has a nonabiding origin (*wuzhu ben* 無住本). Therefore, the origin of delusion is nonabiding; that is to say, it does not have an origin (*wuben* 無本). Next, this nonabiding origin is nothing more than a different name for the ultimate truth (*shixiang* 實相). Thus, the origin of the delusion is the essence of wisdom, and consequently their essences are not different. Regarding wisdom that realises the principle, Chengguan argues that the essence of wisdom is being without thought (*wunian* 無念), and it can be defined only with the help of

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<sup>476</sup> For the relevant passage from *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 cited by Chengguan, see T31, no. 1585, p. 6, a8-17. For the English translation, see Cook 1999: 34-35.

<sup>477</sup> This is discussed in *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, which is cited by Chengguan. See *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, T31, no. 1585, p. 54, c29-p. 55, a6. For the English translation, see Cook 1999: 337-338.

delusion; thus, wisdom does not have a self-nature (*zixing* 自性). This absence of self-nature is also the essence of *tathatā* that is realised in the process of enlightenment. As wisdom, subject, and the *tathatā*, object, have the same essence, i.e. not having self-nature, the identity of subject and object is established.

The last topic revolves around the conditioned or unconditioned nature of the body of Buddha. The main divergence lies in what the two lineages regard as the support of the transcendental wisdom. According to the *faxiangzong*, it is the seeds of the saṃsāric consciousness (*shengmie shizhong* 生滅識種), while according to the *faxingzong* it is the *tathāgatagarbha*. The *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 clearly states that the four kinds of wisdom include all conditioned qualities of the stage of Buddha.<sup>478</sup> As the four kinds of wisdom are born of seeds, they must therefore be conditioned. In addition, if the consciousness that gives birth to wisdom has a nature of *saṃsāra*, wisdom that is born out of it must be conditioned. The four kinds of wisdom are included in the three bodies of Buddha. Moreover, one of these four kinds of wisdom, the great perfect mirror wisdom (*mahādarśana-jñāna*, *dayuanjing zhi* 大圓鏡智), creates what a Buddha receives for his own use or enjoyment (*zi shouyong* 自受用); therefore, the body of retribution (*sambhogakāya*, *baoshen* 報身) is conditioned and untainted (*youwei wulou* 有為無漏). However, the *tathāgatagarbha*, the supporter of wisdom is eternal, thus, that which is supported, i.e. wisdom, must also be eternal. The *Awakening of Faith* distinguishes between two kinds of enlightenment: one is that which beings originally possess (*benjue* 本覺), the other is that which is attained through cultivation (*shijue* 始覺).<sup>479</sup> Consequently, the former is eternal as it exists as a principle (*liyou* 理有), whereas the latter is not because it requires conditions in order to be generated. Chengguan abolishes the distinction between these two kinds of enlightenment, stating that they are both eternal. On the one hand, enlightenment attained through cultivation from the aspect that it is generated it must be regarded as conditioned. On the other hand, it is identical with the nature of *tathāgatagarbha*, and thus is unconditioned. Even the *nirmāṇakāya* of the three bodies of Buddha is therefore eternal. If this is eternal, then the more subtle *sambhogakāya* must be eternal as well. Chengguan adds that wisdom must be identical with essence because if it existed outside essence then it would not be eternal.

<sup>478</sup> *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, T31, no. 1585, p. 56, b1-2. See Cook 1999: 348.

<sup>479</sup> Girard 2004: 30-37.

In order to evaluate the content of these differences it is worth examining the scriptural sources that Chengguan quotes to substantiate his statements.<sup>480</sup> As we might expect, Chengguan often refers to the *Cheng weishi lun* and other Yogācāra works in discussing the teaching of *faxiangzong*, and cites Madhyamaka and Tathāgatagarbha scriptures to demonstrate the arguments of *faxingzong*. However, we also find Yogācāra works (*Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, Vasubandhus's commentary on the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*) and Mahāyāna sūtras (*Lotus Sūtra*, *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*, *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*) under the rubric of *faxingzong*. It is important to note that the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* and Prajñāpāramitā scriptures are cited by both *faxiangzong* and *faxingzong*.

	<i>faxiangzong</i>	<i>faxingzong</i>
1. one vehicle or three vehicles	Samdhinirmocana-sūtra T 676:	Saddharmapuṇḍarika-sūtra T 262:
2. one nature or five natures	16.695a19-20, 22-25; 697b5.	9.7c5; 8a17-19; 9a6-11; 11b14-15;
	Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra T 220:	13c10-14; 15a18-19, a29-b3, b9c1-
	7.1066a28-b6.	5; 17b7-10, 13-15; 18c14-15;
	Daśacakraṣṭīgarbha-sūtra* T 411:	25c12-20; 30a15, a19-b1; 31b16-
	13.769c4-27.	21; 50c20-51a1.
	Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra T 671: 16.526c8-	Saddharmapuṇḍarikopadeśa* T
	11.	1519: 26.8b15-17; 8c25-9a3; 9a12-
	Mahāyānasūtrālamkāravākhyā T	20; 18a4-5
	1604: 31.594b1-17.	Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra T 279:
	Yogācārabhūmiśāstra T 1579:	10.275a19-21, 25-26; 444a10-11.
	30.478b13-c15; 720c23-26. T 1581:	Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra T 374:
	30.888a20-21, b4-5; 900a16-17.	12.365c6-7; 419b1-7; 420a23-25;
	Mahāyānasamgraha-upanibandhana	493b17-18; 522c23-24; 523c1-2;
	T 1598: 31.447a25-b10.	524b8, c8-9, 11-16, 559a21-23;
		574b11-28, c5-6
		Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra T 1509:
		25.369c13; 714a9-21.
		Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra T 671:
		16.525c12-19; 527b2-20; 540a9-10;
		541a11-12; 555a9-10.
		Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanāda-sūtra T 353:
		12.219c5-18; 220c21; 223b8-9.
		Anuttarāśaya-sūtra T 669:

<sup>480</sup> These references are included in *Xinxiu Huayan jing shuchao* 新修華嚴經疏鈔. Some of the scriptures listed here are well-known Indian ones, others have survived only in Tibetan and Chinese translations, and we also find works that were presumably written in China. I use the Sanskrit titles whenever they are available or have reconstructed versions. For the reconstructed titles, I am indebted to Demiéville 1978 and Conze 1982.

		16.470b3-6; 472a24 Ratnagotravibhāga T 1611: 31.830b8-11; 831b6-9. Buddhatvaśāstra* T 1610: 31.788c19-23; 799a6-7. Ghanavyūha-sūtra T 682: 16. 774a13-16. Mahāyānasamgraha T 1594: 31.151b17-18. 1595: 31.212b17. 無量義經 T 276: 9.386a10-12. 百喻經 T 209: 4.548a22-23.
3. consciousness only is real or false	Yogācārabhūmiśāstra T 1579: 30.478c12-16. Āryaśāsanaprakaraṇa* T 1602: 31.581a2-3. Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585: 31.14a17. Mahāyānasamgraha (Xuanzang's version) T 1594: 31.133b15-16.	Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda Śāstra* T 1666: 32. 576b8-9. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra T 672: 16.594c11-14.
4. the <i>tathatā</i> is dependent arising or is immovable	Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585: 31.48a23-24.	Śrīmālādevīśimhanāda-sūtra T 353: 12.222c4-5. Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda Śāstra* T 1666: 32.576c13-14. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra T 670: 16.510b4- 8, 512b16-17.
5. the emptiness and existence related to the three natures are identical or different	Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585: 31.45c8-11; 46b5-18.	Madhyamakaśāstra T 1564: 30.33b11-12. Ghanavyūha-sūtra T 681: 16.746c10-11.
6. the number of living beings is not increasing or not decreasing		
7. the emptiness and existence are identical or different, two truths are identical or different	Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585: 31.7c19-20; 12c4; 48a19-21. Yogācārabhūmiśāstra T 1579: 30.653c27-654a6.	Madhyamakaśāstra T 1564: 30.20b17-18. Nirvāṇa-sūtra T 374: 12.443a7-19. Mahāyānasamgraha (Paramārtha's version) T 1595: 31.53c5. Kāruṇikā-rājā-prajñāpāramitā- sūtra* T 245: 8.829a4-8, 9-13, 16- 17, 20.
8. the four characteristics are	Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585:	Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda Śāstra* T

simultaneous or successive	31.6a8-17.	1666: 32.576c1-4. Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra T 475: 14.542b3-6. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra T 670: 16.512c18-19.
9. the subject and the object of enlightenment are identical or different	Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585: 31.54c29-55a6.	Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra T 279: 10.134b5-6, 24-25. Nirvāṇa-sūtra T 374: 12.410c21, 27-28. Daśabhūmivyākhyāna T 1522: 26.133a10, 28-b2.
10. the body of Buddha is unconditioned or conditioned	Buddhabhūmyupadeśa T 1530: 26.301c1-8. Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585: 31.55b2-3; 56a7-11; 56b1-2.	Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra T 374: 12.374a21-23, a19-b2, b10-14; 388b26-27. Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra T 475: 14.542a17-18.

#### v. One vehicle of faxing

Fazang's classification of teachings was at variance with that of his master Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668) in that he exclusively identified the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 with the perfect teaching while his master related it to the sudden teaching as well. In addition, they both regarded the *Huayan jing* as the separate teaching, and the *Lotus Sūtra* as the common teaching, but Fazang degraded the *Lotus Sūtra* to the level of the advanced teaching of the Mahāyāna.<sup>481</sup> He thus established the superior position of Huayan, and his awareness of it was certainly enhanced by the lavish support that he received from Empress Wu 武 (r. 684-705). Fazang was eager to demonstrate that the one vehicle of Huayan is different from the one vehicle of *Lotus Sūtra* and from the one vehicle of *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*, proclaiming that the one vehicle of *Huayan* is the basic one vehicle (*genben yisheng* 根本一乘). Chengguan, however, identifies

<sup>481</sup> Gregory 1991: 128-129; in his comprehensive book, Yoshizu Yoshihide discusses the separate teaching of one vehicle as a central concept of Fazang's teachings. He demonstrates the distinction between separate and common teachings in Zhiyan's writings; then he treats various aspects of this question in Fazang's works. See Yoshizu 1991.



all one vehicles as *faxing*, accepting them as his own tradition.<sup>482</sup> On the other hand, though he, unlike Fazang, does not draw a sharp distinction between separate and common teaching, he retains the superiority of Huayan:

“The ocean of this teaching is vast and profound; there is nothing that it does not include. Form and emptiness exchange their brightness, merit and function interpenetrate. Concerning its content, it contains the five teachings in their entirety. It comprises all teachings as far as the teaching of men and gods. This is the only way to reveal its profundity and broadness. It is similar to how rivers do not include the ocean, but the ocean must include rivers. Though it includes all rivers, it tastes salty everywhere. Therefore, every drop of the ocean is different from rivers. The previous four teachings do not include the perfect teaching, but the perfect teaching must include those four teachings. Although the perfect teaching includes the four teachings, it goes beyond them. Thus, ten virtues and five prohibitions can also be found in the perfect teaching, but they are not those of the third and the fourth teachings, not to speak about those of the first and the second teachings. [These four teachings] have teachings in common [with the perfect teaching], but they do not hold the same position. As this perfect teaching is described as broad, it is named immeasurable vehicles. It is said to be profound because this teaching reveals the one vehicle. There are two kinds of one vehicle. The first is the one vehicle of common teaching that is common in the sudden and real [final] teachings. The second is the one vehicle of separate teaching that perfectly comprises all merits. The separate teaching includes the common teaching, and the perfect teaching comprises all teachings.”<sup>483</sup>

此教海宏深包含無外。色空交映德用重重。語其橫收全收五教。乃至人天總無不包。方顯深廣。其猶百川不攝大海。大海必攝百川。雖攝百川同一鹹味。故隨一適迥異百川。前之四教不攝於圓。圓必攝四。雖攝於四圓以貫之。故十善五戒亦圓教攝。上非三四。況初二耶。斯則有所通無其所局。故此圓教語廣名無量乘。語深唯顯一乘。一乘有二。一同教一乘。同頓同實故。二別教一乘。唯圓融具德故。以別該同皆圓教攝。<sup>484</sup>

#### vi. Conclusion: is Huayan *faxingzong*?

It is quite clear from the discussion above that it was Chengguan who introduced the term *faxingzong*, and started to use the paradigm of *faxiangzong* versus *faxingzong*. In doing

<sup>482</sup> Yoshizu 1991: 470-477.

<sup>483</sup> For a Japanese translation of this passage, see Yoshizu 1991: 473-474.

<sup>484</sup> *Da fanguang fo huyan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 514a6-16.

so, he had recourse to philosophical frameworks established by Fazang. First, in treating Divākara's classification of Indian Mahāyāna philosophies, Chengguan identified Madhyamaka with *faxingzong*. Second, on the basis of the paradigm of *xing* versus *xiang* propounded by Fazang, Tathāgatagarbha teachings also came to be included in *faxingzong*. Thus explaining the ten differences between *faxiangzong* and *faxingzong*, the stance of *faxingzong* is described by the teachings of Madhyamaka and/or Tathāgatagarbha. In terms of scriptures that represent *faxiangzong* and *faxingzong*, we have seen that some scriptures belong to both categories. The paradigm of *faxiangzong* versus *faxingzong* is thus a hermeneutical, 'transscriptural' device for the classification of Mahāyāna teachings. It is more flexible than the classical Huayan classification of five teachings advocated by Fazang, which simply qualifies Yogācāra and Madhyamaka as elementary teachings of Mahāyāna, and Tathāgatagarbha as the final teaching of Mahāyāna. This paradigm attempts to sort out some principles in the giant corpus of Mahāyāna literature, and one group of principles or guidelines is called *faxiangzong* while the other is referred to as *faxingzong*. Consequently, the term *zong* 宗 should be rendered as a principle or guideline and definitely not as a 'school'.

When Chengguan elaborates on the ten differences, he says that *faxiangzong* is the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna while *faxingzong* is the final teaching of Mahāyāna. If *faxingzong* is the final teaching, it cannot be identified with Huayan, which represents the perfect teaching, the highest of all teachings. The final teaching claims that the *tathāgatagarbha* is not isolated from the world of life and death; it is thus described as the non-obstruction of principle and phenomena (*lishi wuai* 理事無礙) using the Huayan terminology. The perfect teaching also includes this important tenet, but it goes one step further. It advocates the notion that on the basis of the non-obstruction of principle and phenomena, the interrelatedness of phenomena becomes established. This interrelatedness is depicted as the non-obstruction of phenomena (*shishi wuai* 事事無礙).<sup>485</sup> As we have seen above, the perfect teaching includes the set of advanced principles called *faxingzong*, but they are not identical: "although the ocean includes all rivers, it tastes salty everywhere."

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<sup>485</sup> Shih 1992: 138.

## b. A debate between Faxingzong and Faxiangzong on the nature of Buddha's mind

The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, one of the largest Mahāyāna *sūtras*, consists of numerous chapters that treat the teachings of emptiness, *upāya*, the bodhisattva career and other major Mahāyāna tenets. Some of these chapters were circulated independently before the compilation of this collection of *sūtras* as attested by their early Chinese translations. The most famous *sūtras* are undoubtedly the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* and the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*.<sup>486</sup> Although the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* has been preserved only in Chinese and Tibetan translations,<sup>487</sup> the Sanskrit originals of these two works are extant.<sup>488</sup>

As Takasaki Jikidō pointed out, another remarkable part of this collection is the *sūtra* entitled *Manifestation of the Tathāgata*. He regards it as a precursor of the *tathāgatagarbha* theory, as the *sūtra* says that all beings are endowed with the wisdom of *Tatahāgata* but due to their ignorance, delusion and grasping they cannot realise it. The reason why Buddha appeared in the world is to teach living beings in order to enable them to realise their inner potencies.<sup>489</sup> On the basis of the Tibetan translation he reconstructed the Sanskrit title as *Tathāgata-utpatti-sambhava-nirdeśa-sūtra*.<sup>490</sup> Today we have five versions of this work, four in Chinese, one in Tibetan:

1. *Fo shuo rulai xingxian jing* 佛說如來興顯經 (T10, no. 291, p. 592, a1–p. 617, b7)
2. *Baowang rulai xingqi pin* 寶王如來性起品 (T9, no. 278, p. 611, b1–p. 631, b5)<sup>491</sup>

<sup>486</sup> For a study of *Gaṇḍavyūha*, see Gómez 1967. The chief protagonist of this work is a boy called Sudhana who meets spiritual friends (*kalyāṇamitra*) along the way in his search for enlightenment. This story was often depicted in Asian Art. See Fontein 1967. Recently, paintings of Sudhana's journey along with the inscription of the Tibetan text were discovered in the temple of Ta Pho. See Steinkellner 1995, 1999.

<sup>487</sup> For a German translation of the 60-fascicle *Huayan jing*, see Doi 1978, 1981, 1982. For an English translation of the 80-fascicle *Huayan jing*, see Cleary 1993. For a Japanese translation, see Etō 1929, 1959. For a summary of each chapter of the 80-fascicle *Huayan jing*, see Cleary 1983: 171–205.

<sup>488</sup> For the bibliographical information of the editions of these Sanskrit texts, see Nakamura 1980: 195–196.

<sup>489</sup> For Takasaki's discussion of this *sūtra* from the aspect of the development of *Tathāgatagarbha* theory, see Takasaki 1974: 574–602. For a recent summary, see Zimmermann 2002: 11–93.

<sup>490</sup> Takasaki 1958. Although the Sanskrit title has not survived, the text's famous metaphor of the big book that is as big as the world and describes the whole world but can enter one particle of an atom is cited by the *Ratnagotravibhāga*. See Takasaki 1966: 189–192. For an analysis of the title, see Itō 1967.

<sup>491</sup> For a detailed study of this version, see Kaginushi 1972a. The Chinese exegetes of the 80-fascicle *Huayan jing*, Huiyuan and Chengguan, remarked that the word *xing* in the title had been added by the translator. See *Xu huayan jing lueshu kanding ji* 續華嚴經略疏刊定記, X03, no. 221, p. 828, b5-8 // Z 1:5, p. 260, b16-c1 // R5, p. 519, b16-p. 520, a1; *Da fangguang fo huyan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 872, a11–12. According to the Tibetan translation of the *sūtra*, *utpatti* (*skye-ba*), or *sambhava* (*'byung-ba*), or combinations of them, were rendered as *xingqi* by the translator. See Takasaki 1960: 282–289. Nonetheless, one major tenet of *Huayan* Buddhism, nature-origination, took its name from this

3. *Rulai chuxian pin* 如來出現品 (T10, no. 279, p. 262, a15–p. 278, c22)
4. *Da fangguang rulai xingqi weimizang jing* 大方廣如來性起微密藏經 (Kimura 1999)
5. *De-bzhin-gshegs-pa skye-ba 'byung-ba* (Peking 761: 75b2–142b4)

The first is the earliest Chinese translation done by Dharmarakṣa between 265 and 289. This early translation clearly shows that it is an early Mahāyāna *sūtra*, and had existed independently before it came to be a chapter in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.<sup>492</sup> The second and third renditions are included in the 60- and 80-fascicle *Huayan jing*, respectively. The fourth version has been lost in China but was found in Japan among the manuscripts discovered recently in the Nanatsudera temple of Nagoya.<sup>493</sup> However, this text seems to be a version of the *Baowang rulai xingqipin* as it is very similar to it, but contains several errors, probably due to unreliable copying.<sup>494</sup> This demonstrates the popularity of this *sūtra* because it was taken out of the *Huayan jing* and was circulated independently. The fifth version is a chapter from the Tibetan translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.<sup>495</sup>

At the beginning of the *sūtra*, Buddha appears as emitting light that illuminates all the worlds and extinguishes the suffering of all beings. Finally, the light enters the head of the bodhisattva Wondrous Quality of the Origination of Tathāgata-nature. Inspired by the light of the Buddha the bodhisattva asks who is able to reveal Buddha's teaching. Then Buddha emits light from his mouth again which arrives at the mouth of bodhisattva Samantabhadra. In reply to the question of bodhisattva Wondrous Quality of the Origination of Tathāgata-nature, he relates that Buddha shows this kind of transformation before declaring the teaching of the manifestation of Tathāgata. Next, bodhisattva Wondrous Quality of the Origination of Tathāgata-nature poses ten questions, to which Samantabhadra replies in the remaining part of

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title. This reveals how the absolute becomes manifested in the phenomenal world. For studies of this important teaching, see Kamata 1957, 1965: 565–574, Endō 1965, 1966, 1967, Kaginushi 1972b, 1986, Gimello 1976: 442–445, Yoshizu 1983b, Nakajō 1988, Chung 1991, and Gregory 1991: 187–192, 242–243.

<sup>492</sup> Kawano Satoshi collated this version with the Tibetan translation, and concluded that it has several interpolations that are due partly to the impact of Dark Learning (*xuanxue* 玄學) and partly to the inclusion of Dharmarakṣa's own commentaries on the text. See Kawano 1995. Kagawa Takao showed that due to the early production of this version, the theory that all living beings are endowed with Tathāgatajñāna is not as well formulated as in the other later versions. See Kagawa 1967. For Dharmarakṣa's method of translation, see Boucher 1996 and Karashima 1998.

<sup>493</sup> For a report on this discovery, see Ochiai 1991. For pictures and an edition of the text, see Kimura 1999.

<sup>494</sup> The first Chinese source that records the existence of this *sūtra* is the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記 written by Fei Changfang 費長房 in 597. See T49, no. 2034, p. 68, a22. According to this, it was translated during the Yuankang 元康 period (291–299) of Western Jin, and its translator is unknown (68b1–2). Prior to the discovery of the manuscript in Nanatsudera, Kaginushi Ryōkei had demonstrated that this translation cannot antedate the 60-fascicle *Huayan jing*. See Kaginushi 1973, 1974. His hypothesis was substantiated by the manuscript.

<sup>495</sup> I have been working on the critical edition of the Tibetan text, collating the following versions: Peking, Phug-brag, Narthang, Lithang, Derge, Lhasa, Stog Palace, London, and Tokyo.

the *sūtra*. These ten topics are as follows: 1. the characteristics of the manifestation of Tathāgata; 2. the body of Tathāgata; 3. the voice of Tathāgata; 4. the mind of Tathāgata; 5. the realm of Tathāgata; 6. the deeds of Tathāgata; 7. the perfect enlightenment of Tathāgata; 8. the turning of the *Dharma* wheel by Tathāgata; 9. the *parinirvāṇa* of Tathāgata; 10. the merits originated from seeing, hearing and being associated with Tathāgata.<sup>496</sup>

i. The original passage in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*

The passage we will study here is found at the beginning of the fourth topic where the mind of Tathāgata is described.

1. 佛言。何謂佛子。而諸菩薩。遊入如來至真等正覺心所念行。如來不為心有所念。不分別名。不曉了識。如來無心。乃能入遊無量之念。<sup>497</sup>

Buddha said: “Sons of Buddha, how can the bodhisattva enter the [realm of] mental activity of Tathāgata, Arhat and the completely enlightened being? The Tathāgata cannot be a thought of mind, neither a name that is discriminated, and neither a consciousness that [one] can be aware of. Only if [the bodhisattva understands that] Tathāgata has no mind, can he enter [the realm of] infinite thought.”

2. 佛子。云何菩薩摩訶薩。知見如來應供等正覺心。此菩薩摩訶薩。知心意識非即如來。但知如來智無量故。心亦無量。<sup>498</sup>

Son of Buddha, how should the bodhisattva *mahāsattvas* know and see the mind of Tathāgata, Arhat and the completely enlightened being? Sons of Buddha, the bodhisattva *mahāsattvas* know that Tathāgata cannot be defined by mind (*citta*), thought (*manas*) and consciousness (*vijñāna*). However, they know that as the wisdom of Tathāgata is infinite, his mind is also infinite.<sup>499</sup>

3. 佛子。諸菩薩摩訶薩。應云何知如來應正等覺心。佛子。如來心意識。俱不可得。但應以智無量故。知如來心。<sup>500</sup> (T10, no. 279, p. 271, a23–25)

<sup>496</sup> The presumably earliest Mahāyāna *sūtras* preserved, the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* emphasised the *śūnyatā* of Tathāgata. A major shift in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* is the development of the soteriological aspect of Tathāgata. This is to say that the Tathāgata appeared in the world in order to liberate all living beings. See Guang 2002: 132–136. For a study of the description of Tathāgata in this *sūtra*, see Kawanabe 1976. Itō Zui’ei investigates this *sūtra* in connection with the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*. The former *sūtra* explains the realisation of Tathāgata-*jñāna-guṇa* from the aspect of fruition, while the latter one teaches the realisation of Tathāgata-*jñāna-guṇa* from the aspect of bodhisattva deeds as cause. See Itō 1988: 966–987.

<sup>497</sup> *Fo shuo rulai xingxian jing* 佛說如來興顯經, T10, no. 291, p. 605, a15–18.

<sup>498</sup> *Da fangguang fo huyan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T9, no. 278, p. 622, b12–14.

<sup>499</sup> Torakazu Doi translates this passage as follows: “Liebe Söhne Buddhas! Auf welche Weise schaut und begreift der Bodhisattva den Geist des heiligen Buddha, des „Erhellten“, des „Unvergleichlichen“? Der Bodhisattva begreift daß der Geist des urteilenden Verstandes nicht einfach der Geist Buddhas ist. Nur darum, weil er begreift, daß die Weisheit Buddhas unermesslich ist, begreift er auch, daß der Geist Buddhas unermesslich ist.” See Doi 1982: p. 158. Etō Sokuō’s Japanese translation is as follows: “佛子よ、云何が菩薩摩訶薩は、如来応供等正覚の心を知見せん。此の菩薩摩訶薩は、心意識は即ち如来に非ざることを知る。但如来の智は無量なるが故に、心も亦無量なりと知る。” See Etō 1917: vol. 5, p. 514.

<sup>500</sup> *Da fangguang fo huyan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 271, a23–25.

Son of Buddha, how should the bodhisattva *mahāsattvas* know the minds of Tathāgatas, *Arhats* and the completely enlightened being? Sons of Buddha, the mind (*citta*), thought (*manas*) and consciousness (*viññāna*) of Tathāgata cannot be grasped, but given his infinite wisdom the mind of Tathāgata should be known.<sup>501</sup>

4. 佛子。云何菩薩摩訶薩。知見如來應供等正覺心。此菩薩摩訶薩。知心意識非即如來。但知 □□□□。(Kimura 1999: p. 617.)

Son of Buddha, how should the bodhisattva *mahāsattvas* know and see the mind of Tathāgata, *Arhat* and the completely enlightened being? Sons of Buddha, the bodhisattva *mahāsattvas* know that Tathāgata cannot be defined by mind, thought and consciousness. However, they know...

5. byang-chub sems-dpa' sems-dpa' chen-po de-bzhin gshegs-pa'i rigs-su byung-ba'i dpal-gyis byang-chub sems-dpa' sems-dpa' chen-po kun-tu bzang-po-la 'di skad ces smras-so / kye rgyal-ba'i sras byang-chub sems-dpa' sems-dpa' chen-pos / ji-lta-bur de-bzhin gshegs-pa dgra-bcom-pa yang-dag-par rdzogs-pa'i sangs-rgyas-rnams-kyi thugs skye-ba khong-du chud-par bya / de skad ces smras-pa dang byang-chub sems-dpa' sems-dpa' chen-po kun-tu bzang-pos / byang-chub sems-dpa' sems-dpa' chen-po de-bzhin gshegs-pa'i rigs-su byung ba'i dpal-la 'di skad ces smras so / kye rgyal-ba'i sras de-bzhin gshegs-pa-rnams ni sems-kyis rnam-par dgod-pa ma yin / yid-kyis rnam-par dgod-pa ma yin rnam-par shes-pas rnam-par dgod-pa ma yin-te / kye rgyal-ba'i sras de-bzhin gshegs-pa'i thugs skye-ba ni / de-bzhin gshegs-pa'i ye-shes tshad-med-pas khong-du chud-par bya'o / (Peking 761: 111a3–7.)<sup>502</sup>

The bodhisattva *mahāsattva* Wondrous Quality of Being Born in the Family of Tathāgata told bodhisattva *mahāsattva* Samantabhadra: “Son of Buddha, how should the bodhisattva *mahāsattvas* know the origination of the mind of Tathāgata, Arhat and the completely enlightened being?” After saying this bodhisattva *mahāsattva* Samantabhadra told bodhisattva *mahāsattva* Wondrous Quality of Being Born in the Family of Tathāgata: “Sons of Buddha, the Tathāgatas cannot be established by means of mind, thought or consciousness. The origination of the mind of Tathāgata should be known as the infinite wisdom of Tathāgata.”<sup>503</sup>

<sup>501</sup> Cleary's translation: “How should great enlightening beings know the mind of Buddha and truly awake? The mind, intellect, and consciousness of Buddha are ungraspable. One can know the mind of Buddha only in terms of infinity of knowledge.” Cleary 1993: p. 998. Cheng Chien's translation: “Children of the Buddha, how should all Bodhisattva-mahāsattvas know the mind of the Tathāgata, Arhat, Perfectly Enlightened One? Children of the Buddha, the mind, thought, and consciousness of the Tathāgata are unobtainable (anupalabhya). It should be known that only because wisdom is boundless that one can know the mind of Tathāgata.” See Chien 1993: 97–98. Etō Sokuō's Japanese translation: “佛子よ、諸菩薩摩訶薩は、応に云何んが如来応正等覺の心を知るべきや。佛子よ、如来の心意識は俱に不可得なり、但応に智の無量なるを以ての故に、如来の心を知るべし。” See Etō 1959: 89.

<sup>502</sup> For different editions, see Narthang: 157b1–6, Stog: 147a4–147b1, Derge: 110b1–4, Tokyo: 141a6–141b3, Lithang: 119a6–119b3, Lhasa: 152b1–6, London: 112b4–8.

<sup>503</sup> Takasaki Jikidō's Japanese translation of the Tibetan version is as follows: 偉大なる如来性起妙徳菩薩は、偉大なる普現菩薩に向かい、次のように質問した。「ジナの子よ、菩薩大士は、正しく完全なさとりをひらいた世の尊敬をうけるに値する如来たちの心の生起を、どのように理解すべきであろうか」かく言われて、偉大なる普現菩薩は、偉大なる如来性起妙徳菩薩に向かい、次のように述べた。ジナの子よ、如来たちは、心によっても想定されず、意によっても想定されず、認識によっても想定されない。ジナの子よ、如来の心の生起は、無量なる如来の知恵をもって理解されるべきである。See Takasaki 1981: 210.

The question here is how the bodhisattvas should understand the mind of Buddha. It is stated in various scriptures that the wisdom or awareness (*jñāna*) of Buddha does not resemble any kind of mental activity. However, it is also stated that his wisdom is different from the state of cessation of sensation and conceptualisation (*samjñāveditanirodha*), and belongs to the categories of mind and mental associates (*cittacaitta*). The only way to resolve this contradiction is to say that his wisdom is different from all other mental activities to such an extent that its being a mental activity can be denied.<sup>504</sup> Thus *The Manifestation of the Tathāgata* says that Buddha does not have the discriminating mind that can be called *citta*, *manas* or *vijñāna*,<sup>505</sup> but his mental activity, his production of intention (*thugs skye-ba*, *cittotpāda*) can be depicted in terms of his infinite wisdom (*jñāna*).<sup>506</sup> This is a crucial issue as Buddha is described as having appeared in the world with the intention of teaching living beings. However, in accordance with the explanation of the *sūtra*, this intention cannot be classified as a kind of mental activity, but rather it should be attributed to the infinite wisdom of Buddha.

It is interesting to note that only Dharmarakṣa's early translation has an equivalence for the Tibetan term *thugs skye-ba*, which is *xinsuo nianxing* 心所念行, while in the 60- and 80-fascicle *Huayan jing* only *xin* can be found. Moreover, the ambiguity regarding the mental activity of Buddha discussed above seems to haunt in the 80-fascicle *Huayan jing* when it says, “the mind, thought and consciousness of Tathāgata cannot be grasped” 如來心意識。俱不可得。 Is this to say that the mind of Tathāgata cannot be grasped because it does not exist, or because his mind is quite different from the ordinary deluded mind? This question was raised by the Chinese commentator of the 80-fascicle *Huayan jing*, the renowned fourth patriarch of the *Huayan* lineage, Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839).<sup>507</sup>

## ii. Chinese interpretations

Before turning to Chengguan's interpretation, first we study how other *Huayan* masters preceding Chengguan explained this passage.<sup>508</sup> Fazang 法藏 (643–712), the third patriarch,

<sup>504</sup> Griffith 1994: 153–158.

<sup>505</sup> Here, the three words *citta*, *manas* and *vijñāna* are synonyms and do not seem to possess the separate meanings later attributed to them by Yogācāra authors. For the different definitions of these terms in Hīnayāna and Yogācāra, see Nakamura 1975: 762–763.

<sup>506</sup> Edgerton 1953: 229.

<sup>507</sup> For Chengguan's biography, see Hamar 2002a; for various aspects of his philosophy, see Hamar 1998a, 1998b, 1999.

<sup>508</sup> We will study the commentaries of Fazang and Huiyuan, though the second patriarch Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668) and the hermit Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635–730) also wrote commentaries on the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*. However, Zhiyan's

in his commentary on the 60-fascicle *Huayan jing*, *Huayan jing tanxuanji* 華嚴經探玄記, explains this passage under the rubric of five teachings.<sup>509</sup> According to the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna, that is the Faxiangzong, the Yogācāra teachings introduced by Xuanzang, the Tathāgata has eight pure consciousnesses, and thus on this level the existence of his mental activity is confirmed. On the level of the final teaching of Mahāyāna this is rejected with the statement that only his wisdom exists. The sudden teaching states that at the level of Buddhahood the great wisdom is inherently identical with the real nature because its illumination is identical with the quiescent nature of all things 佛地大智內同真性, 以照即寂故. The perfect teaching includes the previous three explanations without obstruction, emphasising the identity of principle and wisdom, as well as the identity of the king, i.e. mind and the subordinate, i.e. wisdom.

Fazang commenced to write a commentary on the 80-fascicle *Huayan jing* but was unable to finish it; the task of completing it thus fell to his disciple Huiyuan 慧苑. This work is entitled *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kandingji* 續華嚴經略疏刊定記. Although Huiyuan leaves out the categories of five teachings, he also discusses four different interpretations of the passage.<sup>510</sup> According to the first explanation, neither the mind nor *dharmas* of the Tathāgata are defiled; the mind and *dharmas* with which he is endowed are pure. On this undefiled level wisdom is strong and consciousness is weak (*zhiqiang shilie* 智強識劣). If there were no king, i.e. mind, what would the supported (*suoyi* 所依), i.e. wisdom rely on? In the second explanation, Buddha is said to have no mind because he does not discriminate. Still, he has a kind of mind (*xin zhonglei* 心種類), because his mind is the cause of the attained stage of Buddhahood due to “perfuming” (*vāsanā*). According to the third view, the Tathāgata actually does not have a mind or any mental *dharmas*, as he possesses only wisdom. The fourth position points out that both the existence and nonexistence of the mind of Buddha are right and wrong in some respects. In terms of the nonexistence of the defiled aspect (*ranfen* 染分) he has no mind, and in terms of the existence of the pure aspect (*jingfen* 淨分) he has a mind. However, if we clung to the nonexistence of his mind it would lead to the nonexistence of his

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commentary *Da fanguang Huayan jing souxuan fenqi tongzhi fangui* 大方廣華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌 T33, no. 1732, except the introductory part, contains only the outline of the text, while Li Tongxuan’s commentary *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論 T33, no. 1739 is not a word-for-word exegetical work but rather focuses on the general meaning of the chapters.

<sup>509</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing tanxuanji huiben* 大方廣佛華嚴經探玄記會本, T35, no. 1733, p. 410, b19–c11. For a thorough treatment of the development of doctrinal classification in Huayan tradition, see Gregory 1991: 115–153. Francis H. Cook studied and translated Fazang’s most important work related to the five teachings, *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqizhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章, T45, no. 1866. See Cook 1970.

<sup>510</sup> *Xu huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴經略疏刊定記, X03, no. 221, p. 833, b14-c14 // Z 1:5, p. 265, c7-d13 // R5, p. 530, a7-b13.



form and voice, and if we clung to the existence of his mind it would lead to the defiled nature of his mind. Huiyuan does not provide an account of sudden teaching, but instead he inserts a new interpretation as the second level. However, the first, third and fourth interpretations correspond to the elementary, final and perfect teachings propounded by Fazang, respectively.

Chengguan is definitely indebted to both Fazang and Huiyuan in his interpretation of the passage. He also explained the text from the aspect of different philosophical views but unlike Fazang he did not apply the system of five teachings but introduced two categories, the *Faxiangzong* and *Faxingzong*. The *Faxiangzong* 法相宗, the lineage of *dharma*-characteristics (*dharma-lakṣaṇa*), refers to the Yogācāra teachings that were brought from India to China by the famous Chinese pilgrim, Xuanzang 玄奘 (600–664). It was Fazang who provided this pejorative name implying that this school is preoccupied with the characteristics of *dharma*s and is thus a quasi-Hīnayāna school.<sup>511</sup> The other category, *Faxingzong* 法性宗, the lineage of *dharma*-nature (*dharma-tā*), is regarded as an invention of Fazang, too, and understood as the Chinese school of Yogācāra.<sup>512</sup> In fact, it was not Fazang but Chengguan who invented and construed this term, and it would be difficult to substantiate that it covers only Yogācāra teachings as it includes *Madhyamaka* elements as well.<sup>513</sup>

In addition to introducing these terms, he expanded the scope of the discussion by setting up a polemic framework. His commentary on this passage thus came to be a short essay that is worth studying in its own right. At the first step, he gives an account of *Faxiangzong* and *Faxingzong/Wuxiangzong* 無相宗 providing the reason and scriptural evidences with which they prove their theses. Two masters of *Faxiangzong* state that Buddha in fact has mental activity. The first master argues that the mind and mental associates with which Buddha is endowed are pure, and we know that he must have a mind as wisdom evolves by relying on consciousness. The second master says that eight consciousnesses are found at the level of Buddhahood, but they are associated with four kinds of wisdom; the *ālayavijñāna* thus does not accumulate *karma*, the *manas* does not regard *ālayavijñāna* as an ego, and the first six consciousnesses do not discriminate objects. In conclusion, Buddha has

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<sup>511</sup> Yoshizu 1983a.

<sup>512</sup> For this view, see Lusthaus 2002, 372 and Lai 1986.

<sup>513</sup> Chengguan found ten differences between *Faxingzong* and *Faxiangzong*: 1. one vehicle or three vehicles 一乘三乘; 2. one nature or five natures (i.e. *gotras*) 一性五性; 3. consciousness only is real or false 唯心真妄; 4. the *Tathatā* is dependent-arising or is immovable 真如隨緣凝然; 5. the emptiness and existence of three natures are identical or different 三性空有即離; 6. [the number of] living beings and buddhas is not increasing or not decreasing 生佛不增不減; 7. the emptiness and existence of two truths are identical or different 二諦空有即離; 8. the four characteristics are simultaneous or successive 四相一時前後; 9. the subject and the object of enlightenment are identical or different 能所斷證即離; 10. the body of Buddha is conditioned or unconditioned 佛身無為有為. See *Da fanguang fo huyan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 511, a2–6.

the essence of a mind but does not possess its function. In contrast with the opinions of masters of *Faxiangzong*, the *Faxingzong/Wuxiangzong* state that Tathāgata does not have a mind as on the level of *dharma-kāya* only Suchness and the wisdom of Suchness exist.

Next, he interprets the tenets of *Faxiangzong* and *Faxingzong/Wuxiangzong* from the aspect of *Huayan* Buddhism. First, he demonstrates that neither of these two views can be correct as they are in contradiction to the doctrine and text itself. The doctrine referred to is that the *dharmas* are both existent and nonexistent, a tenet that Chengguan adopted from the *Cheng weishi lun*. Both lineages are one-sided as they either emphasise existence or nonexistence. In addition, they fail to conform to the text of the *sūtra*. If the mind of Tathāgata were existent, then why does the *sūtra* say, “his mind cannot be grasped”? If it were nonexistent why does it say, “given his infinite wisdom the mind of Tathāgata should be known”? Moreover, Chengguan also stresses that it is not valid to say that either both assertions or neither of them is correct. It is important to note here that the reason why these two assertions cannot be merged is that “they are fixed in advocating either the existence or the nonexistence [of the mind of the Tathāgata] (*dingwei youwu* 定謂有無)”. It is these two fixed positions that Chengguan challenges next.

He shows that these two positions can be merged or harmonised: “existence that is identical with actuality (*jizhenzhi you* 即真之有) and actuality that is identical with existence (*jiyouzhi zhen* 即有之真) are two aspects that become complete together (*eryi xiangcheng* 二義相成). It is the nonobstruction of existence and nonexistence”. He argues that the mind of Tathāgata cannot be described one-sidedly using terms like existence, nonexistence, pure, impure, “one”, various, animate or inanimate. In fact, these are in perfect interfusion without obstruction (*yuanrong wuai* 圓融無礙). Finally, he arrives at the conclusion that the mind of Tathāgata is both existent and nonexistent. Formerly, he refuted this assertion because of the fixed nature that was attributed to existence and nonexistence by *Faxiangzong* and *Faxingzong*. However, after eliminating the sharp lines between these two concepts by the *Huayan* way of interfusion and penetration, he managed to reconstruct this thesis on a different plane. Nonetheless the stage of fruition has remained ineffable, as Chengguan points out.

The *Faxiangzong* in Chengguan’s discussion is congruent with the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna in Fazang’s commentary and the first and second views in Huiyuan’s work. The tenets of the first and second masters of the *Faxiangzong* are identical with the first and second views, respectively. The *Faxingzong* can be related to the third view and the final teaching. However, the *Faxingzong* is also called *Wuxiangzong*, which is none other than the

sudden teaching which Chengguan identified with the *Chan* lineage.<sup>514</sup> The [Huayan] lineage is the perfect teaching and the fourth view.

Fazang	Huiyuan	Chengguan
Elementary	1st view	<i>Faxiangzong</i> 1st master
	2nd view	2nd master
Final	3rd view	<i>Faxingzong/Wuxiangzong</i>
Sudden		
Perfect	4th view	The [Huayan] lineage

### iii. Conclusion

The philological study of this short passage sheds light on certain aspects of medieval Chinese Buddhism.

1. As we saw, Indian Buddhist texts are ambiguous about the existence of mental activity in Buddha. Chinese Buddhism is frequently accused of misunderstanding or misinterpreting Indian Buddhist concepts. The sinification of Buddhism thus sometimes has the connotation of altering the “pure model” of Buddhism.<sup>515</sup> However, an analysis of this passage showed that the ambiguity of Indian texts about the nature of Tathāgata was recognised and carefully investigated by Chinese masters of Buddhist texts. In addition, they attempted to resolve this contradiction by applying the system of *panjiao* 判教, which enabled them to interpret the teachings on different levels. No doubt, for *Huayan* monks the perfect teaching is the *Huayan*, which proclaims the infinite interpenetration of all things, tenets, etc. Apropos of this topic, this means that mental activity in Buddha both exists and does not exist without obstruction.

2. This study of Chinese commentaries reveals the development of the *Huayan* exegetical tradition. Fazang who definitely paved the way for the next generation of *Huayan* exegetes with his authoritative explanations of the scripture wrote the first sentence-by-sentence commentary of the *Huayan jing*. However, on the foundation laid by Fazang,

<sup>514</sup> While Fazang treated the sudden teaching as the fourth teaching, Chengguan degraded it to the level of third teaching, and identified it with the *Chan* teachings. This shift must be attributed to the growing popularity and influence of *Chan* by the second half of the Tang dynasty against which Chengguan emphasises the importance of doctrinal study. See Yoshizu 1985.

<sup>515</sup> For a discussion of the term sinification in Buddhist studies, see Sharf 2002: 1–27.

Huiyuan and Chengguan modified the interpretation of the passage. Huiyuan left out the framework of five teachings that played a central role in Fazang's philosophy, and he simply listed four views in connection with the text of the *sūtra*. Moreover, Chengguan who otherwise sharply criticised Huiyuan for his heretical views, and intended to reestablish the orthodoxy of Fazang, in fact, introduced two new categories, *Faxingzong* and *Faxiangzong*, instead of five teachings for the interpretation of the text.<sup>516</sup> One reason for the differences is that they were commenting on different versions of the *Huayan jing*. The other reason could be the different socio-religious backgrounds of these monks. Fazang who enjoyed the generous support of Empress Wu<sup>517</sup> did not wish to compromise with other Buddhist teachings and proclaimed the superior position of the *Huayan* teaching. Although Chengguan was an eminent and highly recognised monk in his day, by the second half of the Tang dynasty it became more important for the Buddhist community to establish unity in the face of waning imperial support. The emphasis in his teaching, therefore, shifted away from the superiority of *Huayan* to its all-inclusiveness.

3. Last but not least, it is important to underline the role of commentary as a genre in Chinese Buddhism. As in other traditional cultures, commentary was held in high esteem in China, and its prevalence cannot be overemphasised.<sup>518</sup> If we examine the *Taishō* edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon we find that eleven and a half volumes (33–44) include the commentaries while the treatises fill only four and a half volumes (44–48). The method of writing a Buddhist commentary evolved through the centuries and reached its apogee during the Tang dynasty.<sup>519</sup> Chengguan's commentary and subcommentary on the 80-fascicle *Huayan jing* are masterpieces of this genre. They include a very elaborate outline, *kepan* 科判 or *kewen* 科文, which is a Chinese invention in Buddhist exegesis. His commentaries represent not only explanations of the *sūtra* text but also an encyclopedia, or *Summa Theologiae*, of the Buddhist knowledge of medieval China. In what follows, you will find an outline and translation of Chengguan's commentary and subcommentary on the passage studied in this chapter. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time that a section of his *Magnum Opus* has been made available in English.<sup>520</sup>

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<sup>516</sup> For Chengguan's criticisms of Huiyuan, see Sakamoto 1964: 58–110.

<sup>517</sup> For a thorough study of how Empress Wu used Buddhism as an ideology, see Forte 1976. For Tang emperors and Buddhism, see Weinstein 1973, 1987.

<sup>518</sup> For a study of common features of commentaries in different cultures, and especially in China, see Henderson 1991.

<sup>519</sup> The only thorough treatment of the history of Chinese Buddhist commentary writing is Ōchō's early article 1937, reprint 1979. For an English study of the early period, see Kanno 2003.

<sup>520</sup> I translated into Hungarian a section from his introduction (*xuantan* 玄談) to the commentary and his selected commentaries on the chapter *Manifestation of the Tathāgata*. See Hamar 1998c: 85–135; 2002b: 75–155.

iv. Outline of the text

1. explanation of the meaning of the text
2. separately expounding varying explanations
  - 2.1. introduction
  - 2.2. other views
    - 2.2.1. two masters of the *Faxiang* lineage
      - 2.2.1.1. the first master
        - 2.2.1.1.1. thesis
        - 2.2.1.1.2. refutation of objection
        - 2.2.1.1.3. contraposition
        - 2.2.1.1.4. scriptural evidence
        - 2.2.1.1.5. refutation of objection again
      - 2.2.1.2. the second master
        - 2.2.1.2.1. thesis
        - 2.2.1.2.2. scriptural evidence
        - 2.2.1.2.3. refutation of objection
    - 2.2.2. conclusion of the above topic and introduction to a new one
    - 2.2.3. masters of *Wuxiangzong* and *Faxingzong*
      - 2.2.3.1. thesis
      - 2.2.3.2. scriptural evidence
3. coalescence of explanations through a return to [the Huayan] lineage
  - 3.1. errors of one-sidedness
    - 3.1.1. topic
      - 3.1.1.1. explanation
        - 3.1.1.1.1. separate refutation
          - 3.1.1.1.1.1. refutation of *Faxiangzong*
            - 3.1.1.1.1.1.1. direct refutation
              - 3.1.1.1.1.1.1.1. in contradiction to doctrine
              - 3.1.1.1.1.1.1.2. in contradiction to the text

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- 3.1.1.1.1.1.2. indirect refutation
- 3.1.1.1.1.1.3. refutation of objections
  - 3.1.1.1.1.1.3.1. first objection
  - 3.1.1.1.1.1.3.2. second objection
- 3.1.1.1.1.2. refutation of *Faxingzong*
  - 3.1.1.1.1.2.1 direct refutation
    - 3.1.1.1.1.2.1.1. in contradiction to doctrine
    - 3.1.1.1.1.2.1.2. in contradiction to the text
  - 3.1.1.1.1.2.2. indirect refutation
    - 3.1.1.1.1.2.2.1. in contradiction to doctrine
    - 3.1.1.1.1.2.2.2. in contradiction to the text
- 3.1.1.1.2. joint refutation
- 3.2. summary of the correct doctrine
  - 3.2.1. link between the previous and the next parts
  - 3.2.2. two topics in two sections
  - 3.2.3. a different explanation of the two views
    - 3.2.3.1. coalescence of two lineages
      - 3.2.3.1.1. separately
        - 3.2.3.1.1.1. *Faxingzong*
        - 3.2.3.1.1.2. *Faxiangzong*
      - 3.2.3.1.2. together
    - 3.2.3.2. explanation of the *sūtra*
      - 3.2.3.2.1. brief clarification
      - 3.2.3.2.2. scriptural evidence
      - 3.2.3.2.3. extensive explanation
        - 3.2.3.2.3.1. negative statements
          - 3.2.3.2.3.1.1. one-sided expressions cannot completely convey its principle
          - 3.2.3.2.3.1.2. the unification of *xing* and *xiang* is unfathomable
          - 3.2.3.2.3.1.3. inclusion of *xing* and *xiang* can be only revealed with interfusion of the doctrines of the two lineages
          - 3.2.3.2.3.1.4. as they are neither identical nor different, it is difficult to describe
          - 3.2.3.2.3.1.4.1. the treatment of the mind-king from the aspect of eight consciousnesses

- 3.2.3.2.3.1.4.2. the treatment of the king and its associate in opposition
- 3.2.3.2.3.1.4.3. conclusion for all [doctrines]
- 3.2.3.2.3.2. explanation of profundity using positive statements
- 3.2.4. a humble conclusion

v. Translation<sup>521</sup>

SON OF BUDDHA, HOW SHOULD THE BODHISATTVA MAHĀSATTVAS KNOW THE MIND OF TATHĀGATA, ARHAT AND THE COMPLETELY ENLIGHTENED BEING?

SONS OF BUDDHA, THE MIND, THOUGHT AND CONSCIOUSNESS OF TATHĀGATA CANNOT BE GRASPED, BUT GIVEN HIS INFINITE WISDOM THE MIND OF TATHĀGATA SHOULD BE KNOWN.

/1. *explanation of the meaning of the text*/ “THE MIND, THOUGHT AND CONSCIOUSNESS OF TATHĀGATA CANNOT BE GRASPED” is the negative statement (*zhequan* 遮詮) from the aspect of essence, and “BUT GIVEN HIS INFINITE WISDOM THE MIND OF TATHĀGATA SHOULD BE KNOWN” is the positive statement (*biaoquan* 表詮) relying on function.

Subcommentary (hereafter S): The mind is the king, the mind is treated as the essence and thus wisdom is subordinate. Function is clarified from the aspect of the subordinate. Essence cannot be described using positive statements; therefore, only negative statements [can be applied]. Features of function can be clarified; therefore, positive statements are applied. However, function is also referred to using negative statements, as it is identical with essence and is immeasurable. If it were described only using negative statements, it could not manifest its subtlety (*miao* 妙). Therefore, positive statements are used to discuss the Enigmatic Supreme (*xuanji* 玄極). *Relying* means that by relying on the subordinate the king is manifested. By relying on function essence is manifested.

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<sup>521</sup> I am very grateful to Professor Aramaki Noritoshi for his invaluable assistance in understanding this text while I was a visiting researcher at the Ōtani University in 2002. However, I take full responsibility for all the mistakes in the translation. For my translation, I used the edition that contains the *sūtra* along with Chengguan’s commentary and subcommentary. This edition was organised by Chiang Tsu Chuang 蔣竹莊 in 1936 in Shanghai, and during this project more than twenty different versions were collated. A reprint edition was made by Nanting 南亭 in Taiwan in 1966: *Huayan jing shuchao* 華嚴經疏鈔, 10 vols. Xinwenfeng chubanshe, Taipei. Recently, a revised edition of this work, *Xinxiu Huayan jing shuchao* 新修華嚴經疏鈔, has been undertaken by the Huayan Society 華嚴蓮社 in Taipei under the guidance of Master Chengyi 成一. The chapter *Manifestation of the Tathāgata* has not been published yet, as only 10 of the scheduled 20 volumes have been released to date; I thus had to rely on the previous edition in my translation. This new edition includes references for all works that Chengguan quotes; therefore, it is a very useful work for those studying Chengguan’s writings. For the relevant parts in the *Taishō* edition, see *Da fangguang fo huyan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 878, a10–p. 878, c5; *Da fangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義, T36, no. 1736, p. 617, c27–p. 619, b18.

Function and mental associates (*xinsuo* 心所)<sup>522</sup> both have negative implications. In this context we only rely upon their positive [sense] in order to illumine their profundity.

/2. separately expounding varying explanations/

/2.1. introduction/ There were many explanations of this passage in the past.

/2.2. other views/

/2.2.1. two masters of the Faxiang lineage (*Faxiangzong* 法相宗)/

/2.2.1.1 the first master/

/2.2.1.1.1. thesis (*zhengming* 正明)/ The first [master] says that there are two kinds of consciousness: defiled and pure. At the level of Buddha, that [kind of] mind and mental associates that is under the sway of impurities (*sāsrava*, *youlou* 有漏) [and hence] defiled is absent, but mind and mental associates belonging to the pure [kind] do exist.

☞: [Buddha] has only eight consciousnesses as the mind-king and twenty-one mental associates, i.e. five always active, five specific and eleven advantageous ones.

/2.2.1.1.2. refutation of objection (*jiefang* 解妨)/ At the stage of fruition, wisdom is strong and consciousness is weak. Thus, as for the king, [the *sūtra*] shows it [to be one of which] the defiled [kind] does not exist, and his wisdom that pertains to [the mind] is illuminated as being immeasurable.

☞: Someone may [object] asking: “If it is like that, then the king and the subordinate both exist. Why does the [*sūtra*] say that as for the king, it CANNOT BE GRASPED?” This is why it is explained that at the stage of fruition the consciousness is weak. This is the reason for saying CANNOT BE GRASPED. As wisdom is strong, it is said to be immeasurable. *Consciousness is weak* means that it has only pure aspects of the two aspects; it is not identical with that of sentient beings whose discrimination is strong. *Wisdom is strong* means that there is no being unwise (*dausprajña*, *ehui* 惡慧),<sup>523</sup> because determination (*vinīscaya*, *jueduan* 決斷) is dominant.

/2.2.1.1.3. contraposition (*fancheng* 反成)<sup>524</sup>/ If there is no king, how can the dependent be established?

<sup>522</sup> There are six groups of mental associates: always-active (*sarvatraga*, *bianxing* 遍行), specific (*vinīyata*, *biejing* 別境), advantageous (*kuśala*, *shan* 善), mental disturbances (*kleśa*, *fannaο* 煩惱), secondary mental disturbances (*upakleśa*, *sui fannaο* 隨煩惱), and indeterminate (*anīyata*, *buding* 不定). Altogether, there are 51 mental associates. See Lusthaus 2002: 542–543.

<sup>523</sup> Nakamura 1975: 18b.

<sup>524</sup> The expression *fancheng* literally means “reverse establishment”. It might be the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit logical term *vyatireka*, though Nakamura gives the Chinese word *yuanli* 遠離 for this Sanskrit term. See Nakamura 1975:



§: Wisdom is a mental associate. Without the mind-king what could wisdom rely on?

/2.2.1.1.4. *scriptural evidence (yinzheng 引證)*/ That is why the third volume of *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 cites *Rulai gongde zhuangyan jing* 如來功德莊嚴經<sup>525</sup> saying: “The undefiled mind (*amala-vijñāna*, *wugoushi* 無垢識) of the Tathāgata is the pure realm without impurities; it is liberated from all obstacles and is associated with the wisdom of the perfect mirror (*ādarśa-jñāna*, *yuanjingzhi* 圓鏡智)”;<sup>526</sup> therefore it is clear that [even in the case of the Buddha] there is the king (i.e. *citta* exists).

§: *The pure realm without impurities* means that impurities are defilement. *The undefiled mind* means that [the Tathāgata] has consciousness. *It is associated with the perfect mirror wisdom* makes clear that his mind-king exists and is associated with the subordinate. The subordinate is not established independently. Thus it concludes that *it is clear that [even in the case of the Buddha] there is the king (i.e. citta exists)*.

/2.2.1.1.5. *refutation of objection again (chongtong fangnan 重通妨難)*/ Transmutation of consciousness (*zhuanshi* 轉識) means that wisdom evolves by relying on consciousness, but it is not the case that [when attaining Buddhahood] one transmutes the essence of consciousness [into wisdom].

§: Someone may object saying that as it was said the four kinds of wisdom are completed by the transmutation of eight consciousnesses.<sup>527</sup> It is thus clear that only wisdom exists and consciousness does not exist. This is the reason for explaining here that *wisdom evolves by relying on consciousness*. *Wisdom evolves by relying on consciousness* means that consciousness is the ruler (*zhu* 主), and wisdom is not. Still, [in order to explain why earlier sources like *Mahāyānasamgraha* express themselves in such a way as if] “consciousness only” were transmuted, we have the opinion of three masters. Here, all of them are referred to. This is one of them. [When it was stated] above that [in the state of Buddhahood] *wisdom is strong and consciousness is weak*, this is [the opinion of] another master.<sup>528</sup>

140b. The classical example for *vyatireka* in Buddhist logic is “wheresoever there is no fire, neither is there smoke”. See Stcherbatsky 1930–1932: vol. 1, 301–303. In our context: if there is no mind, there is no wisdom.

<sup>525</sup> This *sūtra* has not been translated into Chinese. See Kamata 1999: 644.

<sup>526</sup> *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, T31, no. 1585, p. 13, c24; Cook 1999: 82. For other translations of the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, see La Vallée Poussin 1928 and Wei 1973.

<sup>527</sup> The four kinds of wisdom are acquired by the transmutation of the mental *dharmas* associated with the eighth, seventh, sixth, and first five consciousnesses, respectively. 此轉有漏八七六五識相應品, 如次而得。 *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, T31, no. 1585, p.56, b2–3. See Cook 1999: 348–349.

<sup>528</sup> Chengguan here paraphrases the following passage from the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論: 智雖非識 而依識轉識為主故說轉識得。又有漏位智劣識強, 無漏位中智強識劣。 *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, T31, no. 1585, p. 56, b3–4. In

/2.2.1.2. *the second master*/

/2.2.1.2.1. *thesis*/ As the [Tathāgata] does not have [the mental activity of] accumulating [karma], thinking, etc., his mind is said not to be grasped. His nondiscriminative wisdom manifests in innumerable ways. It is not that it does not have the essence of the mind (*xinti* 心體).

§: *Accumulating [karma]* is called the mind; *thinking* is called thought; discrimination is called consciousness. Now, at the stage of fruition the eighth [consciousness, i.e. *ālayavijñāna*] manifests [actual cognitions] without accumulating [karmic] seeds. The seventh [consciousness, i.e. *manas*] does not think the eighth [consciousness] to be an ego. *Etc.* refers to the first six [consciousnesses] that do not discriminate objects. The reason for this is that all of them are associated with the four kinds of wisdom.<sup>529</sup> Therefore, it is said that they do not exist. However, this is not to say that [the Tathāgata] does not possess the nonaccumulating eighth [consciousness], nonthinking seventh [consciousness], and nondiscriminative six [consciousnesses]. It thus concludes that *it is not that it does not have the essence of mind*.

/2.2.1.2.2. *scriptural evidence*/ Therefore, the eighth fascicle of *Mahāyānasamgraha[upanibandhana]* says: “The support of the nondiscriminative wisdom is not mind, because it is not reflection on meaning.”

§: *is not mind, because it is not reflection on meaning* clarifies that the eighth [consciousness] does not accumulate, the seventh [consciousness] does not think, etc.

/2.2.1.2.3. *refutation of objection (zhejiu 遮救)*/ “Nor is it [the case that it] has non-mind as its support (*suoyizhi* 所依止), as it is a kind of mind (*xinzhonglei* 心種類). The mind is regarded as [its] cause. Through the power of the repeated cultivation [of the mind] the stage [of fruition] is attained by [the Tathāgata]. Therefore it is called a kind of mind.”<sup>530</sup>

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Cook’s translation: “Even though knowledge is not consciousness, it nevertheless evolves supported by consciousness. Inasmuch as consciousness is ‘king,’ [knowledge] is said to be acquired by the transmutation of consciousnesses. Also, in an impure state, knowledge is weak and consciousness is strong, while in a pure state knowledge is strong and consciousness is weak.” See Cook 1999: 349.

<sup>529</sup> There are four kinds of wisdom: 1. wisdom of the great, perfect mirror (*ādarśa-jñāna*, *yuan jingzhi* 圓鏡智) that reflects all forms without discrimination; 2. wisdom of sameness (*samatā-jñāna*, *pingdengxing zhi* 平等性智) that treats everything equally; 3. wisdom of wonderful observation (*pratyavekṣaṇā-jñāna*, *miao guan cha zhi* 妙觀察智), which sees the real nature of everything; 4. wisdom of achieving the task (*kṛtya-anuṣṭhāna-jñāna*, *cheng suo zuo zhi* 成所作智) that benefits living beings with three kinds of deed (mental, verbal, and physical). For a discussion of these terms in *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, see T31, no. 1585, p. 56, a12–p. 57a12; Cook 1999: 347–353.

<sup>530</sup> Here Chengguan quotes from Asvabhāva’s commentary on *Mahāyānasamgraha*: 謂無分別智所依非心, 非思議故。亦非非心為所依止心種類故以心為因, 數習勢力引得此位, 名心種類。See *She dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋, T31, no. 1598, p. 430, a5–8. It comments on the following verse from the Xuanzang’s version of *Mahāyānasamgraha*: 諸菩薩所依非心而是心 是無分別智 非思議種類。See *She dasheng lun ben* 攝大乘論本, T31, no. 1594, p. 147, c4–5. Paramārtha’s

§: Someone might raise an objection saying that if [the Tathāgata] does not have an aspect of mind, then nondiscriminative wisdom must rely on matter (*rūpa*, 色). Hence it is shown that the king that is support is not completely without essence. Above this is generally stated (*zongbiao* 總標) that [the Tathāgata] has [a mind]. Next, starting at *it is a kind of mind* [the commentary] explains what it means for [the Tathāgata] to have [a mind]. How could it be non-mind if it is said to be *a kind of mind*? Next from *the mind is regarded as [its] cause* it explains again [why] his mind is a kind of [mind]. *The stage* refers to the stage of fruition. This is to say that because the eight pure consciousnesses of the stage of fruition are attained by means of the accumulating mind, etc. as the cause, the [basis of non-conceptual insight of the bodhisattvas] cannot be called a non-mind. It is like the nonindicative form (*avijñapti-rūpa*, 無表色) that is born relying on the indicative form (*vijñapti-rūpa*, 表色).<sup>531</sup> This is the reason why it is called form. It is on these grounds that the non-accumulating mind, etc. received their names.

/2.2.2. *conclusion of the topic above and introduction to a new one (jieqian shenghou 結前生後)*/ The two explanations above both clarify that the mind, thought and consciousness of [the Tathāgata] exist.

§: It concludes the two [explanations] by *Faxiangzong* and introduces one explanation by *Faxingzong*. Question: What is the difference [between the two explanations by *Faxiangzong*] if both of them [state that the Tathāgata] has [a mind]? Answer: The former explains that [the Tathāgata] has a pure [mind] but not a defiled one. The latter expounds that [the Tathāgata] has an essence but not a function. Therefore, their meanings are different. Still, two meanings are completed mutually: as [the Tathāgata] does not think, etc. he does not have a defiled [mind]; as he does not have a defiled [mind], he does not have the aspect of accumulation, thinking, etc.

/2.2.3. *masters of Wuxiangzong 無相宗 and Faxingzong 法性宗*

/2.2.3.1. *thesis*/ Buddha in fact does not have a mind, thought or consciousness, nor any *dharmas* of the mind (*citta-dharma*, *xinfa* 心法).<sup>532</sup> [That is why the *Sūtra*] says CANNOT BE GRASPED. He has only great wisdom; this is why it says GIVEN HIS INFINITE WISDOM THE MIND OF Tathāgata is KNOWN.

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rendition: 諸菩薩依止 非心非非心 是無分別智 非思疾類故。T 31, 1593: 128a18–19. “For all bodhisattvas the support is/ Neither thinking nor the absence of thinking./ For non-imaginative wisdom is not a not-thinking / But is something that rapidly [issues from thinking].” See Keenan 1992: 93–94. Vasubandhu also uses the expression “a kind of mind” in his commentary on the *Mahāyānasamgraha*: 此智所依不名為心, 不思義故, 亦非非心, 心所引故, 此生 所依是心種類, 亦名為心因彼而生。She *dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋, T31, no. 1597, p. 364, b1-4.

<sup>531</sup> In the English version of La Vallée Poussin’s translation it is “non-informative” and is defined as follows: “This is an action which does not cause anything to be known to another, and in this it resembles mental action; but it is matter (*rūpa*), in that it resembles bodily and vocal action.” See La Vallée Poussin 1991: 136–137. For a demonstration of nonexistence of indicative and nonindicative forms in *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, see T31, no. 1585, p. 4, c8–p.5, a6. Cook 1999: 27–28.

<sup>532</sup> Eight consciousnesses are called *dharmas* of mind. See Lusthaus 2002: 542.

/2.2.3.2. *scriptural evidence*/ This is why the *Suvarna-prabhāsa-uttama-sūtra* and the Paramārtha’s translation of *Mahāyānasamgraha[-bhāsyā]* say: “Only Suchness (*tathatā*, 如如) and the wisdom of Suchness exist alone.”<sup>533</sup> According to the *Buddhabhūmivyākhyāna*, five *dharmas* contain the nature of great awakening (*dajuexing* 大覺性): the one real *dharma-dhātu* (*yizhen fajie* 一真法界) and the four kinds of wisdom of enlightenment (*sizhi puti* 四智菩提).<sup>534</sup>

It does not mention any other *dharmas*.

☞ The Treatise [*Mahāyānasamgraha*] says “the body of self-nature means *dharma-kāya* (*fashen* 法身)”.<sup>535</sup> It is explained that *only Suchness and the wisdom of Suchness exist alone*. This is called *dharma-kāya*.

/3. *coalescence of explanations through a return to [the Huayan] lineage*/

/3.1. *errors of one-sidedness*/

/3.1.1. *topic (biao 標)*/ The two lineages discussed above are both one-sided; therefore, they are refuted.

/3.1.1.1 *explanation*/

/3.1.1.1.1. *separate refutation (lipo 離破)*/

/3.1.1.1.1.1. *refutation of Faxiangzong*/

/3.1.1.1.1.1.1. *direct refutation (duopo 奪破)*/<sup>536</sup>

/3.1.1.1.1.1.1.1. *in contradiction to doctrine (weiyi 違義)*/ If the former [interpretation that the Tathāgata] has a mind is accepted, then [the extreme of] increase (*zengyi* 增益) is not avoided.<sup>537</sup>

<sup>533</sup> The sources state this in connection with *dharma-kāya*: 惟有如如如智。是名法身, *Hebu jin guangming jing* 合部金光明經, T16, no. 664, p. 363, a6; 云何知此法依止法身。不離清淨及圓智。即如如如如智故。 *She Dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋, T31, no. 1595, p. 249, c26-28.

<sup>534</sup> *Fo di jing lun* 佛地經論, T26, no. 1530, p. 301, b23.

<sup>535</sup> 此中自性身者。是諸如來法身。於一切法自在依止故。 *She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論, T31, no. 1593, p. 129, c4-5. “Among these, the Essence body is the Dharma body of Tathāgatas, because it is the support for mastering all things.” See Keenan 1992: 105.

<sup>536</sup> The expression *duopo* literally means “grasping refutation”.

<sup>537</sup> According to the *Faxiangzong*, there are two erroneous views regarding self and *dharmas*. One of them is to think that self and *dharmas* in fact exist. It is called “increase”. The other one is to think that self and *dharmas* do not exist at all. It is called “decrease”. For the occurrence of this term in the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, see T31, no. 1585, p.1, b13. The *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 concludes: “These forms are metaphorical constructions based on the transformation of consciousness.” See Cook 1999: 10.

§: It cannot [complete the definition] of being identical with both existence and emptiness (*jiyou jikong* 即有即空); therefore, it becomes *increase*.

/3.1.1.1.1.1.2. *in contradiction to the text (weiwen 違文)*/ Thus it cannot explain the meaning of CANNOT BE GRASPED.

§: The text says that THE MIND, THOUGHT AND CONSCIOUSNESS OF TATHĀGATA CANNOT BE GRASPED; it does not say that the defiled [MIND, THOUGHT AND CONSCIOUSNESS OF TATHĀGATA] CANNOT BE GRASPED.

/3.1.1.1.1.1.2. *indirect refutation (zongpo 縱破)*<sup>538</sup> Why does the *Sūtra* not mention the pure aspect (*jingfen* 淨分)?

§: If we suppose that [the Tathāgata] has a pure [mind] but does not have a defiled [mind], why does the *sūtra* not mention that [his mind] has a pure aspect?

/3.1.1.1.1.1.3. *refutation of objections (zhejiu 遮救)*/

/3.1.1.1.1.1.3.1. *first objection*/ Is the undefiled consciousness not mentioned [elsewhere]?

§: We are afraid that somebody could raise an objection saying that pure characteristics (*jingxiang* 淨相) are difficult to describe; thus it is not elaborated. Now, it is refuted with the question [in this case] why the [*Rulai gongde*] *zhuangyan jing* mentioned the consciousness without “impurity” (*wuloushi* 無漏識).

/3.1.1.1.1.1.3.2. *second objection*/ Why does the *sūtra* not say that the defiled [mind] CANNOT BE GRASPED?

§: We are afraid that somebody could raise an objection saying that CANNOT BE GRASPED refers to (*yizai* 意在) the defiled [mind]. It is thus refuted with the question [in this case] why [*the sūtra*] does not say that the defiled [mind] CANNOT BE GRASPED.

/3.1.1.1.1.2. *refutation of Faxingzong*/

/3.1.1.1.1.2.1 *direct refutation*/

/3.1.1.1.1.2.1.1. *in contradiction to doctrine*/ If the latter interpretation is accepted, then [the extreme of] decrease (*sunjian* 損減) is not avoided.

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<sup>538</sup> The expression *zongpo* literally means “refutation by supposition”, which reveals the wrong consequences of a statement.

§: Emptiness obstructs existence (*kong ai you* 空礙有); therefore, it says *decrease*.

/3.1.1.1.2.1.2. *in contradiction to the text*/ It cannot explain the meaning of THE MIND [OF TATHĀGATA SHOULD] BE KNOWN. [The *sūtra*] says GIVEN HIS INFINITE WISDOM THE MIND OF TATHĀGATA SHOULD BE KNOWN. It does not say that he does not have a mind that can be known. Thus it is obvious that this is not to say that he does not have a mind.

§: As it is stated in the text: GIVEN HIS INFINITE WISDOM THE MIND OF TATHĀGATA SHOULD BE KNOWN. It does not say that the wisdom of Tathāgata is to be known. Thus it is clear that relying on wisdom his mind is to be known. Therefore, he has a mind.

/3.1.1.1.2.2. *indirect refutation*/

/3.1.1.1.2.2.1. *in contradiction to doctrine*/ If we [accept that] he does not have a mind, then how could wisdom be established alone [apart from a mind]?

§: If we suppose that as you [said] the mind does not exist but wisdom exists, this results in two errors. First, it is in contradiction to doctrine. As the mind-king is the most excellent (*zuisheng* 最勝), if yet you say that it does not exist, wisdom has nothing to rely on. How can it be established alone? Just like without a monarch (*junzhu* 君主) how can there be a subject (*chenxia* 臣下)?

/3.1.1.1.2.2.2. *in contradiction to the text*/ This is not only in contradiction to the two texts above, but also to the meaning of the *Nirvāṇa-[sūtra]*, which says that in the state of *nirvāṇa* the impermanent consciousness is extinct, but permanent consciousness (*changshi* 常識) is obtained.

§: *The two texts above* refer to the [*Cheng*] *weishi [lun]* and the *Mahāyānasamgraha*. *In the state of nirvāṇa the impermanent* refers to the five aggregates (*skandha, yun* 蘊). The [*Mahāparinirvāṇa*]-*sūtra* says, “Kaundinya, as the impermanent form is extinct, the permanent form is obtained. This holds true for form, feeling, conception, and volition.”<sup>539</sup> As he has a permanent consciousness, he has a mind.

/3.1.1.1.2. *joint refutation (hepo 合破)*/ If we accept both of the two doctrines [of the two lineages], contradiction is not avoided. If we reject both of them, it is better to avoid idle discourse (*prapañca, xilun* 戲論).

<sup>539</sup> The original text is slightly different. 爾時世尊告憍陳如, 色是無常, 因滅是色, 獲得 解脫常住之色. 受想行識亦是無常, 因滅是識, 獲得解脫常住之識. See *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經, T 12, 374: 590c6–8. “At that time the World Honored told Kaundinya: ‘Form is impermanent. As [in the state of *nirvāṇa*] this form is extinct, the liberated and permanent form is obtained. This holds true for feeling, conception, volition and consciousness. When this consciousness is extinct, the liberated and permanent consciousness is obtained’.”

§: The joint refutation of the two lineages leads to the four denials (*apavāda*, *bang* 謗).<sup>540</sup> Here we refute the objection. Someone could ask: “If the two lineages are one-sided, why would it be a mistake to merge them?” This is the reason for saying that *contradiction [is not avoided]*. Hence they are fixed in advocating either the existence or the nonexistence [of the mind of the Tathāgata] (*dingwei youwu* 定謂有無). It is not the nonexistence that is identical with existence (*jiyouzhi wu* 即有之無), and not the existence that is identical with nonexistence (*jiwuzhi you* 即無之有). [Someone could ask:] “Is it not plausible that both of them are rejected?” We answer that *it is better to avoid idle discourse*, as [in this case] there would be no right explanation.

/3.2. *summary of the correct doctrine* (*zhengyi* 正義)/

/3.2.1. *link between the previous and the next parts* (*zhengqian qihou* 徵前起後)/ If it is like that, what is the right direction?

/3.2.2. *two topics in two sections*/ Now, we explain this [correct] doctrine. The first [topic] is the coalescence of the above two lineages; the second [topic] is the interpretation of the meaning of the *sūtra* (*xiao jingyi* 消經意).

/3.2.3. *a different explanation of the two views*/

/3.2.3.1. *coalescence of the two lineages*/

/3.2.3.1.1. *separately*/

/3.2.3.1.1.1. *Faxingzong*/ Now, first [we turn to] the latter lineage which says that “only the wisdom of *Tathatā* [exists]”. As his mind is identical with actual nature (*zhenxing* 真性), it says “only *Tathatā*”. As the function of brightness (*zhaoyong* 照用) is not lost, it says “the wisdom of *Tathatā*”. How could wisdom exist apart from the mind? Thus “only *Tathatā*” is not in contradiction to (*bu guaiyu* 不乖於) the existence [of his mind].

§: According to *Faxingzong*, his mind is identical with *Tathatā*, and his wisdom is the wisdom of *Tathatā*. [However,] there is no *Tathatā* apart from the mind; thus it is known that if he has *Tathatā*, he must have a mind. In addition, function that is identical with essence (*jitizhi yong* 即體之用) is called the wisdom of *Tathatā*, and essence that is identical with function (*jiyongzhi ti* 即用之體) is called *Tathatā* (*zhenru* 真如). It is like a bright pearl. The essence of the pearl is the *Tathatā*, and its brightness is the wisdom of *Tathatā*. How could *Tathatā* exist without a mind?

<sup>540</sup> I.e. 1. denial of existence of the mind of Tathāgata, 2. denial of its nonexistence, 3. denial of both its existence and its nonexistence, 4. denial of neither its existence nor its nonexistence. This is the negative form of the four alternatives (*catuskoṭi*, *siju* 四句) of *Madhyamaka*. For the application of them in Chinese *Madhyamaka*, see Ng 1993: 90–123.

/3.2.3.1.1.2. *Faxiangzong*/ According to the former lineage, he has a pure mind due to the essence of immaculate *Tathatā*. His mind is identical with *Tathatā*. Why would it be wrong [to say] that he has a mind?

§: According to the *Faxiangzong*, [the] existence [of his mind] is identical with *Tathatā*. How could its existence be in contradiction to *Tathatā*? It is like objects that are identical with voidness. Thus it is not wrong to say that [the Tathāgata] has a mind.

/3.2.3.1.2. *together*/ From this it is known that existence that is identical with actuality (*jizhenzhi you* 即真之有) and actuality that is identical with existence (*jiyouzhi zhen* 即有之真) are two aspects that become complete together (*eryi xiangcheng* 二義相成). It is the nonobstruction of existence and nonexistence.

§: *Existence that is identical with actuality* refers to the *Faxiangzong*, and *actuality that is identical with existence* refers to the *Faxingzong*. If these two [views] are not separated, just then will the actual Buddha-mind that is nonobstructed be complete.

/3.2.3.2. *explanation of the sūtra*/

/3.2.3.2.1. *brief clarification*/ Second is the interpretation of the meaning in the *sūtra*. CANNOT BE GRASPED means that the definition of the mind [of Tathāgata] is profound and enigmatic (*shenxuan* 深玄). It cannot be described; thus its profundity is revealed through a reliance on negation. BUT DUE TO [INFINITE] WISDOM THE MIND OF TATHĀGATA SHOULD BE KNOWN means that depending on mental associates its profundity can be revealed through a reliance on positive statements.

§: It [discusses] the two topics of positive and negative statements.

/3.2.3.2.2. *scriptural evidence*/ That is the reason why the Jin [translation of] the *sūtra* says: “If somebody knows the immeasurability of the wisdom of Tathāgata, he/she knows the immeasurability of his mind.”<sup>541</sup>

§: It proves both positive and negative statements. It says *he/she knows the immeasurability of his mind*; thus [Tathāgata] has a mind. There is no flaw in this.

/3.2.3.2.3. *extensive explanation*/

/3.2.3.2.3.1. *negative statements*/

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<sup>541</sup> This refers to Buddhahadra’s translation in 60 fascicles. See *Da fangguang fo huyan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T9, no. 278, p. 622, b14.



/3.2.3.2.3.1.1. *one-sided expressions cannot completely convey its principle (jinli 盡理)/*

What does [*the mind of Tathāgata*] *is profound and enigmatic* mean?

(1) If someone wants to say that it exists, [this is wrong] as it is beyond characteristics (*juexiang 絕相*) like *Tathatā*. If someone wants to say that it does not exist, [this is wrong] as its apparitions (*youling 幽靈*) never cease.<sup>542</sup> (2) If someone wants to say that it is defiled, [this is wrong] as it is devoid of all burdens [of defilements]. If someone wants to say that it is pure [this is wrong] as it has not cut off its evil nature (*xing'e 性惡*). (3) If someone wants to say that it is “one”, [this is wrong] as there is nothing that it does not include. If someone wants to say that it is varied, [this is wrong] as its one-flavor cannot be distinguished. (4) If someone wants to say that it is animate (*youqing 有情*), [this is wrong] as it is not different from the nature of forms (*sexing 色性*). If someone wants to say that it is inanimate (*wuqing 無情*), [this is wrong] as there is no soul (*you 幽*) that it does not penetrate.

☐: Here four pairs [of terms] are found: (1) existence or nonexistence, which are the opposite [views] of the two lineages; (2) pure or impure, which are the [views of] *Faxiangzong*; (3) “one” or varied, which are common [views] of the two lineages; (4) animate or inanimate, which also refer to the two lineages. (1) Phenomena (*shi 事*) are identical with principle (*li 理*); therefore, they do not exist. Principle does not lose (*shi 失*) phenomena; therefore, it is not nonexistent. (2) It is pure from the aspect that it is beyond characteristics, and it is defiled from the aspect that it unites [good and evil] natures. *It has not cut off its evil nature* means that “good” and “evil” are both the nature of the mind. If it cuts off its evil nature, it cuts off the nature of the mind.<sup>543</sup> [However,] nature cannot be cut off. Moreover, *icchantikās* (*chanti 闍提*) have not cut off good nature.<sup>544</sup> (3) Characteristics that are identical with essence (*jitizhi xiang 即體之相*) can include the *one-flavor* of essence that is identical with characteristics (*jixiangzhi ti 即相之體*). (4) Essence that is identical with function (*jiyongzhi ti 即用之體*) is identical with form, and function that is identical with essence (*jitizhi yong 即體之用*) penetrates souls. *It is not different from the nature of forms*

<sup>542</sup> *Youling* is the traditional Chinese designation of the spirit of a deceased person.

<sup>543</sup> This is a reference to the thesis of evil nature of Tathāgata formulated by Zhiyi 智顛 (538–597), the founder of the *Tiantai* lineage. Zhiyi makes this conclusion on the basis of the mutual embodiment of ten realms which claims that the realm of the Buddha includes the ten such-likes of evil realms. He stresses that though the Tathāgata has the nature of evil, he does not practice evil. This evil nature enables Buddha to descend into the realm of hell to save beings destined to be reborn there. See Liu 1994: 240–242. For a recent publication on the philosophical implications of the evil nature of the Tathāgata, see Ziporyn 2000. Chengguan is said to have studied under the famous *Tiantai* master Zhanran. See Hamar 2002a: 38–39.

<sup>544</sup> Whether *icchantikās* (those beings who cut off their roots of goodness) have a Buddha-nature or not has long been debated in Chinese Buddhism. First, it was Daosheng who boldly claimed that they have a Buddha-nature, though Faxian’s translation of *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* disproved this. However, later his statement was substantiated by Dharmakṣema’s translation of this *sūtra*. For Daosheng’s view on Buddha-nature, see Kim 1990: 34–38. When Xuanzang introduced his Yogācāra teaching it again became a subject of fierce debate, as according to Indian Yogācāra *icchantikās* can never become Buddha. For this teaching and the reaction of those Chinese masters who believed in universal enlightenment, see Gimello 1976: 352–362. It is interesting to note that the founder of the Japanese *Tendai* school, Saichō (767–822), also debated this question with the *Hossō* monk Tokuitsu (780?–842?). See Groner 2000: 91–106.

refers to the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* which says: “It is known that the nature of forms is identical with the nature of wisdom; therefore, it is called the body of wisdom. It is known that the nature of wisdom is identical with the characteristics of forms; therefore, it is called the *dharmakāya* that penetrates all places.”<sup>545</sup> In addition, the chapter entitled *Religious Practice* says: “[enlightening beings] will know all things are the mind’s own nature”.<sup>546</sup> How could the nature of animate and inanimate be different in terms of essence?

*/3.2.3.2.3.1.2. the unification of xing and xiang is unfathomable/* If you want to discuss it, words will miss the point. If you want to think about it, thoughts will not reach it. Because the stage of fruition is ineffable.

*/3.2.3.2.3.1.3. inclusion of xing and xiang can only be revealed with the interfusion of the doctrines of the two lineages/* [From the above statements] we know that the mind of Buddha is both existent and nonexistent, both phenomena and principle, both king and subordinate, both “one” and “many”.

*/3.2.3.2.3.1.4. as they are neither identical nor different, it is difficult to describe/*

*/3.2.3.2.3.1.4.1. the treatment of the mind-king from the aspect of eight consciousnesses/* In the mind (*xin* 心) there is no thought (*yi* 意), and it is not that there is not. In thought there is no mind, and it is not that there is not.

*/3.2.3.2.3.1.4.2. the treatment of the king and its associate in opposition/* The king does not have a subordinate, and it is not that it does not. The subordinate does not rely on the king, and it is not that it does not.

*/3.2.3.2.3.1.4.3. conclusion for all [doctrines]/* Each [doctrine] is like that. They are in perfect interfusion without obstruction (*yuanrong wuai* 圓融無礙). In this way, all the above doctrines follow one principle, not causing contradiction in the enigmatic purport (*bu shuang xuanzong* 不爽玄宗).

☐: *There is no* means that they are not identical (*bu ji* 不即), as the two characteristics are different. *It is not that there is not* means that they are not different (*bu li* 不離), as they do not have

<sup>545</sup> Chengguan quotes Paramārtha’s version, though it is slightly different. See *Da sheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論, T32, no. 1666, p. 579, c14–c16. For Śikṣānanda’s version, see *Da sheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論, T32, no. 1667, p. 588, a13–a15. Hakeda’s translation: “Since the essential nature of corporeal form is identical with wisdom, the essence of corporeal form which has yet to be divided into tangible forms is called the ‘wisdom-body’. Since the essential nature of wisdom is identical with corporeal form, [the essence of corporeal form which has yet to be divided into tangible forms] is called Dharmakaya pervading everywhere.” See Hakeda 1967: 72.

<sup>546</sup> This passage is found in the sixteenth chapter of the 80-fascicle *Huayan jing*. See *Da fangguang fo huyan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 89, a2–3. For the English translation, see Cleary 1993: 403.

two essences. In addition, *there is no* means that they do not have two essences, and completely contain each other (*hu shejin* 互攝盡). *It is not that there is not* means [the individual characteristics] of the two are not destroyed, and their effects and function penetrate [each other] (*liyong jiaoche* 力用交徹).

/3.2.3.2.3.2. *explanation of profundity using positive statements/ Its profundity can be revealed through a reliance on positive statements* means that the mind [of Tathāgata] cannot be known by wisdom, but can be praised through a reliance on wisdom, as wisdom is an associate of the mind. Moreover, [the *Sūtra*] elucidates its enigmatic [feature] with ten metaphors.<sup>547</sup> The mind which is a support enigmatic and enigmatic again (*xuan you xuan* 玄又玄).<sup>548</sup> That is the reason why at the end of all the ten metaphors it concludes that it is a characteristic of the mind.

/3.2.4. *a humble conclusion/* If even Buddha did not speak about it, how would an ordinary person dare to think that he is endowed with the appropriate conditions? Thus relying on the principles of teachings I showed the enigmatic purport. I hope I did not make the mistake of being too complicated.

□ *If even Buddha did not speak about it* means that the *Sūtra* says: THE MIND, THOUGHT AND CONSCIOUSNESS OF [TATHĀGATA] CANNOT BE GRASPED. This is to say that it cannot be described. Śākyamuni shut himself in a room of Magadha [for meditation].<sup>549</sup> Vimalakīrti closed his mouth in Vaiśālī.<sup>550</sup> In all cases Buddha did not speak about it. The ocean of fruition is ineffable. It is associated only with enlightenment (*wei zheng xiangying* 唯證相應); thus it cannot be spoken about. The *appropriate conditions* are the conditions of the four *siddhāntas* (*sixitan* 四悉檀)<sup>551</sup> when the speech of that which cannot be spoken about (*wushuozhi shuo* 無說之說) is received.

<sup>547</sup> Here Chengguan refers to the ten metaphors that the *sūtra* discusses after the passage now being studied.

<sup>548</sup> The expression “enigmatic and enigmatic again” is adopted from the first chapter of the *Daode jing*.

<sup>549</sup> This refers to the 21 days after Buddha became enlightened while he did not teach but was absorbed in deep meditation. See Nakamura 1975: 111.

<sup>550</sup> In the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* Mañjuśrī asks Vimalakīrti to express his understanding on the nonduality of *dharma*s, but he remains silent. See *Weimojie suo shuo jing* 維摩詰所說經, T14, no. 475, p. 551, c23–24; Luk 1972: 100. For the translation of the Tibetan version, see Lamotte 1962: 318 and Thurman 1976: 77.

<sup>551</sup> *Siddhānta* is point of view or method of teaching. The four *siddhāntas* are: the worldly point of view (*laukika siddhānta*, *shijie xitan* 世界悉檀), the individual point of view (*prātipaurusika siddhānta*, *gege weiren xitan* 各各為人悉檀), the therapeutic point of view (*prātipāksika siddhānta*, *duizhi xitan* 對治悉檀), the supreme point of view (*pāramārthika siddhānta*, *diyī yi xitan* 第一義悉檀). See Swanson 1989: 23–30.

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4. Huayan synthesis of Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha

a. Ten Levels of Consciousness-only in Huayan Buddhism

i. The original concept propounded by Fazang

It was Fazang's innovation to formulate the ten levels of consciousness-only, however, he was indebted to Xuanzang's disciple, Kuiji 窺基 (632-682) who, based on his understanding of *Cheng weishi lun*, advocated the five levels of consciousness-only.<sup>552</sup> These are:

1. consciousness[-only] of rejecting nonexistence and retaining reality (*qianxu cunshi shi* 遣虛存實識),
2. consciousness[-only] of abandoning the overflowing and keeping the purity (*shelan liuchun shi* 捨濫留純識),
3. consciousness[-only] of the return of branch to root (*shemo guiben* 攝末歸本識),
4. consciousness[-only] of concealing the inferior and revealing the superior (*yinlüe xiansheng* 隱劣顯勝識),
5. consciousness[-only] of rejecting the characteristics and realizing the nature (*qianxiang zhengxing shi* 遣相證性識).

These five levels represent more and more profound understanding of the teaching of consciousness-only. At the beginning level, one must understand that there are no external objects apart from consciousness. Next, after the rejection of external objects, objects are described as internal objects in order to encourage living beings to contemplate on mind to attain liberation. Here, Kuiji cites the 'the three realms are mind-only' from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. At the third step, one realizes that the subject and object of perception rely on consciousness, thus internal objects are also excluded, and the existence of consciousness is underlined. Next, one must see that mental associates are inferior to consciousness, while at the final level one realizes the real nature of the mind.

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<sup>552</sup> Kuiji explains this in the section, *The forest of definition of consciousness-only (weishi yilin 唯識義林)* in his work, *Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang 大乘法苑義林章*. See T45, no. 1861, 258, b21- 260, b10.

As the teaching of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* was degraded to the second level, Fazang, probably, was not satisfied with Kuiji's scheme, and felt prompted to put forward his own interpretation of the levels of Yogācāra. His presentation, which arranges the various views from the perspective of Huayan Buddhism, is as follows:<sup>553</sup>

1. the proposition of consciousness-only in respect of existence of both object and subject of perception (*xiangjian jucun gu shuo weishi* 相見俱存故說唯識),
2. the proposition of consciousness-only in respect of return of the object of perception to the subject of perception (*shexiang guijian gu shuo weishi* 攝相歸見故說唯識),
3. the proposition of consciousness-only in respect of return of the mind associates to the mind (*sheshu guiwang gu shuo weishi* 攝數歸王故說唯識),
4. the proposition of consciousness-only in respect of return of the branches to the root (*yi mo guiben gu shuo weishi* 以末歸本故說唯識),
5. the proposition of consciousness-only in respect of return of the characteristics to [Buddha-]nature (*shexiang guixing gu shuo weishi* 攝相歸性故說唯識),
6. the proposition of consciousness-only in respect of establishment of phenomena through transformation of the Absolute (*zhuanzhen chengshi gu shuo weishi* 轉真成事故說唯識),
7. the proposition of consciousness-only in respect of perfect interfusion of principle and phenomena (*lishi jurong gu shuo weishi* 理事俱融故說唯識),
8. the proposition of consciousness-only in respect of mutual inclusion of phenomena (*rongshi xiangru gu shuo weishi* 融事相入故說唯識),
9. the proposition of consciousness-only in respect of mutual identity of all phenomena (*quanshi xiangji gu shuo weishi* 全事相即故說唯識),
10. The proposition of consciousness-only in respect of non-obstruction of Indra's net (*diwang wuai gu shuo weishi* 帝網無礙故說唯識).

The first level admits the existence of the object and the subject of perception, however, objects are not external objects outside the consciousness, but they evolve out of consciousness, and are only images resembling objects. The division of perception into two parts, or aspects was suggested by Nanda, a Yogācāra master of Northern India in the sixth century. In addition to the subject, seeing part (*darśana-bhāga, jianfen* 見分), and the object, seen part (*nimitta-bhāga, xiangfen* 相分), a third part, the self-authenticating part (*svasaṃvitti-bhāga, zizheng fen* 自證分), was added by Dignāga, and a fourth part that authenticates the self-authentication (*svasaṃvitti-saṃvitti-bhāga, zheng zizheng fen* 證自證分)

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<sup>553</sup> For a detailed explanation of Fazang's text, see Nakamura 1991.

was added by Dharmapāla.<sup>554</sup> Here, Fazang does not refer to the division into three or four parts. He writes:

1. The proposition of consciousness-only in respect of existence of both the subject of perception and the object of perception means that [consciousness-only] includes the eight consciousness, the mental associates and objects of perception evolved [out of consciousness] as original forms (*bimba*, *benzhi* 本質) and reflections (*pratibimba*, *yingxiang* 影像) completely. Due to the perfuming (*vāsanā*, *xunxi* 薰習) power of the members of existence, etc. the direct, the circumstantial and other retributions are manifested in the three realms. It is discussed extensively, for example, in *Mahāyānasamgraha*,<sup>555</sup> *Vijñaptimātrasiddhi-śāstra*<sup>556</sup> and other treatises.<sup>557</sup>

一相見俱存故說唯識。謂通八識及諸心所并所變相分本影具足。由有支等力故變現三界依正等報。如攝大乘及唯識等諸論廣說。

Fazang divides the objects into two parts, the original forms and the reflections. The original form is the seed of a resembling object in the *ālayavijñāna*, and the reflection, the resembling object relies on this original form. Chengguan explains this level of Yogācāra that both mind and mental associates can be divided into a seeing part and a seen part, and the seeing part is the essential (*dangti* 當體). He concludes that this level represents the correct definition (*zhengyi* 正義) of consciousness-only.<sup>558</sup>

This first position of Yogācāra is deconstructed on the second level, as it is shown that the objects, or, more precisely, the images resembling objects cannot be separated from mind. In other words, the existence of the seen part must be attributed to the seeing part. Fazang writes:

2. The proposition of consciousness-only in respect of return of the objects of perception to the subject of perception means that [consciousness-only] includes the mind and mental associates, but the objects of perception evolved out of consciousness are not born from different seeds.<sup>559</sup> When subjectively viewing mind is born, it brings about the arising of reflections. It is explained completely in the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*,<sup>560</sup> *Vimśatikā*<sup>561</sup> and *Ālambana parikṣa*<sup>562,563</sup>

<sup>554</sup> See sifen 四分 in Digital Dictionary of Buddhism, Cook 1999: 60-64.

<sup>555</sup> T31, no. 1592, no. 1593, no. 1594.

<sup>556</sup> T31, no. 1585.

<sup>557</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733: p. 347, a2-5.

<sup>558</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing sui shu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 525, c18-23.

<sup>559</sup> Here I translate Chengguan's version, which is different. 亦通王數。但所變相分無別種生。

<sup>560</sup> T16, no. 675, no. 676

二攝相歸見故說唯識。謂亦通八識王數差別所變相分無別種生。能見識生帶彼影起。如解深密經二十唯識觀所緣論具說斯義。

The third level is the deconstruction of the previous stage, revealing that not only objects rely on mind, but also mental associates, and consequently, consciousness-only includes only mind. Fifty one out of the one hundred *dharmas* of Yogācāra are regarded mental associates. There are six groups of mental associates: always-active (*sarvatraga*, *bianxing* 遍行), specific (*vinayata*, *biejing* 別境), advantageous (*kuśala*, *shan* 善), mental disturbances (*kleśa*, *fannaο* 煩惱), secondary mental disturbances (*upakleśa*, *sui fannaο* 隨煩惱), and indeterminate (*aniyata*, *buding* 不定).<sup>564</sup> Fazang argues that all of them are dependent on the eight consciousnesses:

3. The proposition of consciousness-only in respect of return of the mental associates to the mind means that [consciousness-only] includes the eight consciousnesses. As the mental associates rely on consciousness, they do not have self-essence. They are also manifested by mind. It is discussed in *Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkāra*<sup>565,566</sup>

三攝數歸王故說唯識。謂亦通具八識心王。以彼心所依於心王無自體故。許彼亦是心所變故。如莊嚴論說。

As all the seeds are contained in the *ālayavijñāna*, and all the seven consciousnesses evolve out of it, with further deconstruction we arrive at the root-consciousness, the *ālayavijñāna*. Fazang says:

4. The proposition of consciousness-only in respect of return of the branches to the root means that the seven evolving consciousnesses are the different function of root-consciousness, as they do not have distinct essence. The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* says: “The ocean of storehouse-consciousness is ever abiding, but the wind of objects is moving, causing the various waves of consciousness

<sup>561</sup> T31, no. 1590.

<sup>562</sup> This is Dignāga’s work, see T31, no. 1624.

<sup>563</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733: p. 347, a5-8.

<sup>564</sup> See Lusthaus 2002: 542–543.

<sup>565</sup> T31, no. 1604.

<sup>566</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733: p. 347, a8-11.



arise.”<sup>567</sup> It also says: “Just like the great waves of ocean do not have any forms, all consciousnesses and mind are the same.”<sup>568</sup> The reality of [forms] cannot be grasped. It explains that there is no distinct wave apart from water. It elucidates that there are no six and seventh consciousnesses apart from root-consciousness. It is extensively discussed above.<sup>569</sup>

四以末歸本故說唯識。謂七轉識皆是本識差別功能。無別體故。楞伽云。藏識海常住。境界風所動。種種諸識浪。騰躍而轉生。又云。譬如巨海浪無有若干相。諸識心如是。實亦不可得。解云既離水無別有浪。明離本識無別六七。廣如彼說。

The next stage is the last step in the process of deconstruction, when even *ālayavijñāna* dissolves, as, finally, it turns out not to have self-essence either, since it is the manifestation of Buddha-nature, or *tathāgatagarbha*. Here, we find the position of the old Yogācāra school in China, which advocates the purity of the final reality. Fazang explains:

5. The proposition of consciousness-only in respect of return of the characteristics to [Buddha-]nature means that the eight consciousnesses do not have self-essence, they are only equally manifested by the *tathāgatagarbha*, and all other characteristics extinguish. The [*Vimalakīrti*]-*sūtra* says: “all living beings are endowed with the features of *nirvāṇa*, they do not extinguish [the afflictions] more.”<sup>570</sup> The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* says: “the eight [consciousnesses] have the indestructible feature, it has no features, thus they also do not have features.”<sup>571</sup> Similar texts that can become proofs are not only one.<sup>572</sup>

五攝相歸性故說唯識。謂此八識皆無自體。唯是如來藏平等顯現。餘相皆盡。經云一切眾生即涅槃相。不復更滅等楞伽云不壞相有八。無相亦無相。如是等文成證非一。

Fazang cites from the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, but, originally, this stanza referred to the relationship between the seven consciousnesses and the *ālayavijñāna*. The whole stanza in Suzuki’s translation: “The Citta, Manas, and Vijñānas are discriminated as regards their form;

<sup>567</sup> *Dasheng ru lengqie jing* 大乘入楞伽經, T16, no. 672, p. 594, c13-14; *Lengqie abaduoluo baojing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, T16, no. 670, p. 484, b11-12.

<sup>568</sup> The correct citation is: Like wave of the ocean, there is no distinction, all consciousnesses and mind are similar, there is no difference. 譬如海波浪, 是則無差別; 諸識心如是, 異亦不可得。See *Lengqie abaduoluo baojing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, T16, no. 670, p. 484, b22-23. 譬如海水波 是則無差別 諸識心如是 異亦不可得。See *Ru lengqie jing* 入楞伽經, T16, no. 671, p. 523, c2-3. 譬如海波浪 是則無差別 諸識心如是 異亦不可得。See *Dasheng ru lengqie jing* 大乘入楞伽經, T16, no. 672, p. 594, c23-24.

<sup>569</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 347, a11-16.

<sup>570</sup> It is not cited precisely. The text says: 諸佛知一切眾生畢竟寂滅, 即涅槃相, 不復更滅。See *Weimojie suo shuo jing* 維摩詰所說經, T14, no. 475, p. 542, b18-19

<sup>571</sup> *Lengqie abaduoluo baojing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, T16, no. 670, p. 484, b21.

<sup>572</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 347, a16-20.

[but in substance] the eight are not to be separated one from another, for there is neither qualified nor qualifying.”<sup>573</sup> They cannot be separated just like waves cannot be separated from the ocean. However, Chinese commentators explained that this text describes the relationship between the eight consciousnesses and the *tathāgatagarbha*.<sup>574</sup> As the eight consciousnesses rely on *tathāgatagarbha*, they do not have their own self-essence, thus they do not have characteristics just like the *tathāgatagarbha*. Fazang also understood this stanza this way, thus this could serve as canonical proof for his statement.

The sixth level starts a new process in establishing Yogācāra views that is the reconstruction of perception. After finding the final source, Fazang emphasizes that this source is not like the *tathatā* described by the new Yogācāra school. In contrast to the new school which propounds that *tathatā* is not touched by the world of phenomena, Fazang teaches that *tathāgatagarbha* plays an active role in establishing the realm of perception, the world of phenomena.<sup>575</sup> He refers to those scriptures that reveal the Tathāgatagarbha teachings. He explains:

6. The proposition of consciousness-only in respect of establishment of phenomena through the transformation of the Absolute means that the *tathāgatagarbha* does not preserve its self-nature, but in accordance with conditions it manifests the eight consciousnesses, the mind, the mind associates, the objects of perception and various appearances. Thus the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* says: “The *tathāgatagarbha*, due to the perfumation (*vāsanā*) of bad habits, is called storehouse-consciousness.”<sup>576</sup> The *Ghanavyūha-sūtra* says: “The Buddha said that ‘the *tathāgatagarbha* becomes *ālayavijñāna*.’<sup>577</sup> The impaired intelligence is unable to know that the [*tathāgata*] *garbha* is the *ālayavijñāna*.” It also says: “the pure *garbha* of the Tathāgata and the worldly *ālayavijñāna* are like the ring made of gold, they are mutually not different.”<sup>578</sup> In addition, the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*, the *Ratnagotravibhāga-mahāyānottaratantra-śāstra*, and the *Awakening of Faith* all teach this doctrine. There is not only one proof for that.<sup>579</sup>

<sup>573</sup> See Suzuki 1999: 42.

<sup>574</sup> *Lengqie abaduoluo baojing zhu jie* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經註解, T39, no. 1789, p. 354, c11-20; *Lengqie jing tong yi* 楞伽經通義, X17, no. 323, p. 145, c6-10

<sup>575</sup> The active or passive role of *tathatā* in the evolution of phenomenal world is an essential difference between Xuanzang’s school and the earlier Yogācāra school. See Lai 1986, Hamar 2007a.

<sup>576</sup> *Dasheng ru lengqie jing* 大乘入楞伽經, T16, no. 672, p. 619, c1-5; *Lengqie abaduoluo baojing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, T16, no. 670, p. 510, b4-11.

<sup>577</sup> *Dasheng miyan jing* 大乘密嚴經, T16, no. 681, p. 747, a17; *Dasheng miyan jing* 大乘密嚴經, T16, no. 682, p. 776, a13.

<sup>578</sup> *Dasheng miyan jing* 大乘密嚴經, T16, no. 681, p. 747, a19; *Dasheng miyan jing* 大乘密嚴經, T16, no. 682, p. 776, a15-16

<sup>579</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 347, a20-27.

六轉真成事故說唯識。謂如來藏不守自性。隨緣顯現八識王數相見種現。故楞伽云。如來藏為無始惡習所薰習故名為識藏。密嚴經云。佛說如來藏。以為阿賴耶。惡慧不能知藏即賴耶識。又云如來清淨藏。世間阿賴耶。如金作指環。展轉無差別。又勝鬘經實性論起信論皆說此義成證非一。

The next stage paves the way for the final Huayan view in that it applies the Huayan paradigm of principle and phenomena, and attempts to describe the relationship between the Absolute, the origin of phenomenal world and the phenomenal world. Fazang says:

7. The proposition of consciousness-only in respect of perfect interfusion of principle and phenomena means that the *tathāgatagarbha* with its whole essence in accordance with conditions accomplishes all phenomena, but its self-nature originally is not born, and does not annihilate. The principle and phenomena interfuse and are not obstructed, thus one-mind and the two truths are not obstructed. The *Awakening of Faith* says: “Relying on one-mind, there are two gates, the first is the gate of Absolute, the second is the gate of *saṃsāra*. These two gates comprise all *dharma*s.”<sup>580</sup> The *Śrīmālā-sūtra* says: “The mind, which is pure by its self-nature, is not tainted, and tainted. It is difficult to understand. It is tainted and not tainted. It is also difficult to understand.”<sup>581</sup> The explanation is as follows. ‘It is not tainted and tainted’ clarifies that the pure [Buddha]-nature in accordance with the tainted [conditions] with its whole essence accomplishes the ordinary world. This is the gate of *saṃsāra*. ‘It is tainted and not tainted’ elucidates that the tainted [conditions] are eternally pure, originally identical with the Absolute truth. This is the gate of Absolute. This explains that [on one hand] the tainted, which is identical with the pure, does not obstruct the Absolute, but it is eternally ordinary, and [on the other hand] the pure, which is identical with the tainted, does not destroy the ordinary, but is it is eternally Absolute. Thus the one-mind is not obstructed to have two truths. In order to understand its meaning you must deeply contemplate on it. [*The Perfection of Wisdom*] *Sūtra* [*for Humane Kings Protecting Their Countries*] says: “in terms of truth they are two, in terms of liberation they are one.”<sup>582</sup> The [*Mahāyāna-saṃgrahōpanibandhana*] treatise says: The cognitive hindrances [cause] extreme blindness, which is the attachment to the discrimination of Absolute and ordinary.”<sup>583 584</sup>

<sup>580</sup> *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論, T32, no. 1666, p. 576, a5-7; *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論, T32, no. 1667, p. 584, c5-6

<sup>581</sup> This is not a precise citation. The *sūtra* says: 自性清淨心而有染污難可了知。有二法難可了知。謂自性清淨心。難可了知。彼心為煩惱所染亦難了知。如此二法。 *Shengman shizi hu yisheng da fangbian fanguang jing* 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便廣經, T12, no. 353, p. 222, c3-6.

<sup>582</sup> *Fo shuo ren wang bore boluomi jing* 佛說仁王般若波羅蜜經, T08, no. 245, p. 829, a20; T08, no. 246, p. 839, a20

<sup>583</sup> *She dasheng shi lun* 攝大乘論釋, T31, no. 1595, p. 153, c7

<sup>584</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 347, a27-b11.

七理事俱融故說唯識。謂如來藏舉體隨緣成辨諸事。而其自性本不生滅。即此理事混融無礙。是故一心二諦皆無障礙。起信論云。依一心法有二種門。一心真如門。二心生滅門。然此二門皆各總攝一切法。勝鬘經云。自性清淨心。不染而染。難可了知。染而不染。亦難可了知。解云。不染而染。明性淨隨染舉體成俗。即生滅門也。染而不染。門即染常淨本來真諦。即真如門也。此明即淨之染不礙真而恒俗。即染之淨不破俗而恒真。是故不礙一心雙存二諦。此中有味深思當見。經云於諦常自二。於解常自一。論云智障極盲闇。謂真俗別執。皆此義也。

The last three levels of Yogācāra, in fact, are the description of the Huayan insight into the realm of reality. The first aspect of this truth is the mutual inclusion of phenomena, which is the mutual interpenetration of all phenomena. Fazang writes:

8. The proposition of consciousness-only in respect of mutual inclusion of phenomena means that because the nature of principle is interpenetrated and unobstructed, and the principle accomplishes phenomena, thus phenomena are also interpenetrated, and are mutually not obstructed. Either 'one' can penetrate into 'all', [or] 'all' can penetrate into 'one', there is no any obstruction. The text of [the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*] says: "In one [thing] he can understand immeasurable [things], in immeasurable [things] he can understand one [thing]."<sup>585</sup> *The Vairocana Buddha* chapter says: "In this ocean of Lotus-womb world every tiny particle includes the whole *dharmadhātu*."<sup>586</sup> This chapter later says: "In every tiny particle it is manifested that all the three evil destinies, gods, humans, and asuras receive karmic retribution."<sup>587</sup> There are many similar passages in the [*Avataṃsaka*]-*sūtra*.<sup>588</sup>

八融事相入故說唯識。謂由理性圓融無礙。以理成事事亦鎔融。互不相礙。或一入一切。一切入一。無所障礙。上文云一中解無量無量中解一等。舍那品云於此蓮華藏世界海之內一一微塵中見一切法界。又此品下云於一微塵中現有三惡道天人阿修羅各各受業報。如是等文廣多無量。如上下經說。

As all phenomena rely on the Absolute in their existence, Huayan teaches the mutual identity of all phenomena, which is often described in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Fazang says:

<sup>585</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 423, a1; *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 63, a1.

<sup>586</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 412, c7-8.

<sup>587</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 564, a20-21

<sup>588</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733: p. 347, b11-18

9. The proposition of consciousness-only in respect of mutual identity of all phenomena means that there is no differentiation among phenomena, which rely on principle. Principle has no differentiation of 'this' and 'that'. It makes one phenomenon identical with all phenomena. The [Avatamsaka]-sūtra says: "If you know one world, you know all the worlds."<sup>589</sup> It also says: "He knows that 'one' is identical with 'many', and 'many' is identical with 'one', etc."<sup>590</sup> It is often taught in the sūtra.<sup>591</sup>

九全事相即故說唯識。謂依理之事事無別事。理既無此彼之異。令事亦一即一切。上經云知一世界即是一切世界。知一切世界即是一世界。又云知一即多多即一等。廣如經文說。

The tenth level is the most profound truth of Huayan Buddhism, which is the endless mutual interpenetration of all phenomena. This is described with the metaphor of Indra's net in Huayan literature. Fazang writes:

10. The proposition of consciousness-only in respect of non-obstruction of Indra's net means that 'one' includes the 'all', and that 'all' again includes the 'all'. Thus in one gate it is repeated like that uninterruptedly. Every gate is like that. If you contemplate accurately, you can understand. The reason [the jewels] in Indra's net repeatedly reflect one another is that the *dharma*-nature of mind, consciousness and *tathāgatagarbha* are in perfect interfusion, and this causes all phenomena be unobstructed like this. It is often taught in the sūtra.<sup>592</sup>

十帝網無礙故說唯識。謂一中有一切。彼一切中復有一切。既一門中如是重重不可窮盡。餘一一門皆各如是。思準可知。如因陀羅網重重影現。皆是心識如來藏法性圓融故。令彼事相如是無礙。廣如上下文說。

Finally, Fazang explains the ten levels in terms of his well-known *panjiao* system, the five teachings. The first of the five teachings, the Hīnayāna, of course, cannot be found here, as consciousness-only is a teaching of Mahāyāna. The first three levels belong to the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna, which is the Faxiang school and the Madhyamaka, the next four levels belong to the advanced and sudden teachings of Mahāyāna, and the last three

<sup>589</sup> It is not cited precisely. The *sūtra* says: 知一世界即是無量無邊世界，知無量無邊世界即是一世界。 See *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 450, c17-19; 知一切世界入一世界；知一世界入一切世界。 See *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 299, a14-15.

<sup>590</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 446, a5.

<sup>591</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733: p. 347, b18-23.

<sup>592</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733: p. 347, b23-28.

levels represent the perfect teaching, the teaching of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. These are the distinct teaching of the Mahāyāna, while all ten gates belong to the common teaching. Fazang writes:

These ten gates [reveal] the principle of consciousness-only. The first three gates are the doctrines of the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna. The next four gates are the doctrines of final teaching of Mahāyāna and sudden teaching. The last three gates are the doctrines of distinct teaching of perfect teaching. All the ten gates belong to the common teaching. The explanation above is applied in the whole [*Avataṃsaka*]-*sūtra*, is not limited to this [sixth] level [of the *Daśabhūmika*]. In addition, it is explained in terms of teachings, if we [explain] in terms of meditation and practice, there are also ten gates, just like in the first fascicle of the *Avataṃsaka*-[*sūtra*].<sup>593</sup>

上來十門唯識道理。於中初三門約初教說。次四門約終教頓教說。後三門約圓教中別教說。總具十門約同教說。上來所明通一部經非局此地。又是約教就解而說。若就觀行亦有十重。如一卷華嚴三昧中說。

It is important to note that in terms of dependent arising, the first four levels describe the dependent arising of *ālayavijñāna*, the next three levels show the dependent arising of *tathāgatagarbha*, and the final three levels are the revelation of the dependent arising of *dharma-dhātu*, the central concept of Huayan Buddhism. Consequently, the fourth level, the return of seven consciousnesses to the *ālayavijñāna* should belong to the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna, however, Fazang classifies it as the final teaching of Mahāyāna.<sup>594</sup>

At the end Fazang concludes that the discussion above elucidated the ten levels of consciousness-only from the perspective of teaching, theoretical knowledge. However, it can be treated from the perspective of meditation and practice, which also include ten gates. Here, he refers to a work, *The Huayan samādhi* in one fascicle as a source for this elaboration. Which work does he refer to? He probably refers to the work *The treatise on Huayan samādhi* (*Huayan sanmei zhang* 華嚴三昧章), which was lost in China, but was discovered in Japan. It turned out to be identical with another work, *The treatise on Huayan vow of bodhicitta* (*Huayan fa putixin zhang* 華嚴發菩提心章).<sup>595</sup> Kamata Shigeo proposes that the section, *Meditation on the ten gates of the chapter of form and emptiness* (*sekong zhang shimen*

<sup>593</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733: p. 347, b28-c4.

<sup>594</sup> See Fujimaru 1994: 690-691.

<sup>595</sup> T45, no. 1878.

*zhiguan* 色空章十門止觀) is the text Fazang refers to as the meditation on the ten levels of consciousness-only.<sup>596</sup>

If we attempt to reconstruct how Huayan meditation could be practiced in the light of Fazang's discussion of the ten levels of consciousness-only, we can surmise that it had two aspects, a deconstruction and a reconstruction. First, the practitioner deconstructs the ordinary way of perception, thus he/she reaches from the distinction of subject and object to the pure *tathāgatagarbha*. Second, he/she has to reconstruct his/her perception based on the *tathāgatagarbha* as the final reality which originates all phenomenal existence. Finally, he/she will realize the Huayan perception of the world, the endless interpenetration of all phenomena. Here is the guideline for this practice based on the previous discussion:

#### A. Deconstruction

1. mind - mental associates, objects
2. mind –mental associates
3. mind
4. *ālayavijñāna*
5. *tathāgatagarbha*

#### B. Reconstruction

6. creative *tathāgatagarbha*
7. non-obstruction of *tathāgatagarbha*
8. non-obstruction of phenomena
9. identity of phenomena
10. Indra's net

#### ii. Chengguan's modification

Chengguan, the fourth patriarch of the Huayan school, explaining the meaning of the “three realms are only mind” in his commentary to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, puts forward his set of the ten levels of Yogācāra:<sup>597</sup>

<sup>596</sup> *Huayan fa putixin zhang* 華嚴發菩提心章, T45, no. 1878, p. 654, a29- 655, c24. Kamata 1965: 519-520.

<sup>597</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735: p. 806, b28-p. 807, a10.

1. the proposition of nonreal one-mind (*jiashuo yixin* 假說一心)
2. the proposition of one-mind in respect of existence of both object and subject of perception (*xiangjian jucun gu shuo yixin* 相見俱存故說一心),
3. the proposition of one-mind in respect of return of the object of perception to the subject of perception (*shexiang guijian gu shuo yixin* 攝相歸見故說一心),
4. the proposition of one-mind in respect of return of the mind associates to the mind (*sheshu guiwang gu shuo yixin* 攝數歸王故說一心),
5. the proposition of one-mind in respect of return of the branches to the root (*yi mo guiben gu shuo yixin* 以末歸本故說一心),
6. the proposition of one-mind in respect of return of the forms to [Buddha-]nature (*shexiang guixing gu shuo yixin* 攝相歸性故說一心),
7. the proposition of one-mind in respect of interfusion of nature and characteristics (*xingxiang jurong gu shuo yixin* 性相俱融故說一心),
8. the proposition of one-mind in respect of mutual inclusion of phenomena (*rongshi xiangru gu shuo yixin* 融事相入故說一心),
9. the proposition of one-mind in respect of mutual identity of all phenomena (*quanshi xiangji gu shuo yixin* 全事相即故說一心),
10. the proposition of one-mind in respect of non-obstruction of Indra's net (*diwang wuai gu shuo yixin* 帝網無礙故說一心).

Two changes are very obvious at the first sight. First, instead of consciousness-only he applies the term 'one-mind' for Yogācāra. This is the one-mind of *Awakening of Faith*, which has the absolute and phenomenal aspects, and, of course, reflects the Sinitic understanding of Yogācāra philosophy. This way Chengguan underlined the main doctrine that lies at the kernel of the ten levels of Yogācāra, which paves the way for the Huayan interpretation of reality. Second, the first level of Yogācāra, the nonreal one-mind is actually not the Yogācāra school, but the Hīnayāna teaching. Chengguan very tersely describes the first level:



It says that actually external *dharmas* exist, but they are moved by the mind. The next nine gates actually [teach] only one-mind.<sup>598</sup>

謂實有外法但由心變動故。下之九門實唯一心。

The meaning of “moved by mind” is rather obscure, but it may refer to the fact that the perception of the external objects is influenced by the mind, that is a proposition of a kind of subjectivity.

The next five levels of one-mind are completely identical with Fazang’s levels of consciousness-only from the first to the five, Chengguan repeats Fazang’s definitions almost word by word. However, the seventh level of one-mind which should correspond to the sixth level of consciousness-only is different. Chengguan excludes the category ‘establishment of phenomena through the transformation of Absolute,’ and he calls the seventh level ‘interfusion of nature and characteristics’. The definition of this seventh level, is identical with Fazang’s seventh level, although there it is called ‘interfusion of principle and phenomena.’ The remaining three levels correspond to Fazang’s system.

Why did Chengguan introduce these alterations? The Japanese Kegon monk, Gyōnen 凝然 (1240-1321), who studied the ten levels of consciousness-only and wrote several works on this topic, concludes that Chengguan wanted to interpret the ten levels of consciousness-only in terms of the four *dharma-dhātus* (*dharma-dhātu* of phenomena, *dharma-dhātu* of principle, *dharma-dhātu* of nonobstruction of principle and phenomena and *dharma-dhātu* of nonobstruction of phenomena),<sup>599</sup> which was his contribution to Huayan philosophy.<sup>600</sup> It seems possible, however, Chengguan never explicitly correlated the four *dharma-dhātus* with the ten levels of one-mind in his works.

The reason why Chengguan included Hīnayāna teachings could be traced back to a very essential feature of his philosophy that is its all-inclusiveness. Even if, of course, he maintained the superiority of Huayan thought, he was willing to accept all Buddhist teachings within his system of doctrines. As I showed elsewhere, the main difference between Fazang and Chengguan is their attitude toward Xuanzang’s imported teachings.<sup>601</sup> While Fazang was very hostile toward Xuanzang’s school, Chengguan tried to harmonize the old and new

<sup>598</sup> *Da fangguang fo huyanjing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735: p. 806, b28-29.

<sup>599</sup> For Chengguan’s theory of four *dharma-dhātus*, see Hamar 1998.

<sup>600</sup> Gyōnen studied the ten levels of one-mind, and wrote several works on this topic. See Jin1989a,b; Muramaki 1995: 41-47.

<sup>601</sup> Hamar 2009.

schools of Yogācāra. This harmonization is realized while discussing the levels of Yogācāra, as Chengguan emphasized the 'interfusion of nature and characteristics' at the seventh level, which is the focus of the ten levels. For Fazang the central concept was the sixth level, 'the establishment of phenomena through the transformation of Absolute.'<sup>602</sup> Fazang's primary concern was to show the interrelated existence of phenomena, which is described in Huayan as the dependent arising of the *dharmadhātu*. The interrelatedness could be claimed on the premise that all phenomena originate from the same source, i.e. the Absolute. Chengguan, in contrast, was much more concerned to show that all phenomena, all characteristics can be traced back to a pure entity, *tahāgatagarbha*/Buddha-nature/one-mind. On the seventh level, instead of using categories of principle and phenomena, he had recourse to terms, nature and characteristics, emphasizing the harmonious interfusion of Faxingzong and Faxiangzong, which include all conflicting views.<sup>603</sup> This interfusion lays the ground for the Huayan interpretation of interrelated existence.

We saw above that Fazang related the ten levels of consciousness-only to the five teachings. Chengguan applied different headings for this purpose, he called the first level Hīnayāna, he used the term 'provisional teaching' for the next three levels, and the term 'actual teaching' for the next four levels. Similarly to Fazang, he regarded the Huayan teaching, the last three levels, as the perfect teaching.

### iii. Zongmi's modification

Chengguan's disciple, Zongmi, who is regarded as the fifth patriarch, is at the same time, the patriarch of the Heze Shenhui Chan lineage. The main agenda of his teaching is the harmonization of doctrine and meditation (*jiaochan yizhi* 教禪一致). In his philosophy he is greatly indebted to his Huayan master, but he modified the classical, or orthodox Huayan doctrines formulated by Fazang and Chengguan in many ways. First of all, he dropped Fazang's five teachings, and included the non-Buddhist teachings in his classification of teachings, and did not call the highest teaching as perfect teaching. He calls it the teaching that reveals the nature.<sup>604</sup> Following Chengguan, he also emphasized the origin of all phenomena in order to lay the ground for Buddhist practice. In his interpretation of the ten

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<sup>602</sup> Jin1989b.

<sup>603</sup> Sometimes Faxingzong is regarded as the Chinese Yogācāra, while Faxiangzong as Xuanzang's school. In fact the meaning of Faxingzong is more complicated. See Hamar 2007.

<sup>604</sup> Gregory 1991: 165.

levels of one-mind he also underlines the source of all phenomena, the pure, absolute, one-mind.

Instead of dividing the one-mind into ten aspects, he first divides it into five aspects according to five teachings. Following Chengguan, he includes Hīnayāna as the first level, and does not use the terms elementary and final, but, instead, applies the terms provisional and actual. It is interesting to note that here Zongmi uses the term Perfect teaching. The five categories are as follows:<sup>605</sup>

1. the *śrāvakas*, who are ignorant about [the emptiness of] *dharmas*, teach non-real one-mind (*yufa shengwen jiao jiashuo yixin* 愚法聲聞教假說一心),
2. the provisional teaching of Mahāyāna clarifies that the differential maturing (*vipāka*) *ālayavijñāna* is called one-mind (*dasheng quanjiao ming yishu laiye ming wei yixin* 大乘權教明異熟賴耶名為一心),
3. the actual teaching of Mahāyāna clarifies that *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna* are the only one-mind (*dasheng shijiao ming rulaizang zangshi wei shi yixin* 大乘實教明如來藏藏識唯是一心),
4. the sudden teaching of Mahāyāna teaches one-mind because it transcends purity and impurity (*dasheng dunjiao minjue ranjing gu shuo yixin* 大乘頓教泯絕染淨故說一心),
5. the perfect teaching teaches that all existent things are one mind (*zonggai wanyou ji shi yixin* 一乘圓教總該萬有即是一心).

The provisional teaching includes the second, third and fourth levels of Chengguan, the actual teaching corresponds to the fifth and sixth levels of Chengguan. However, the seventh level, the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine, which is the highest teaching of the actual teaching in Chengguan's classification, is called the sudden teaching by Zongmi. It is important to note that Chengguan and Zongmi identified the sudden teaching with Chan Buddhism, while earlier Huayan masters, Zhiyan and Fazang described it as the silence of

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<sup>605</sup> Zongmi explains the ten levels of one-mind in two works of his: 1. his subcommentary to Chengguan's commentary to the fourth fascicle *Huayan jing*, *Huayan jing xingyuanpin shuchao* 華嚴經行願品疏鈔, X05, no. 229, p. 245, b18-p. 246, b21 // Z 1:7, p. 422, b16-p. 423, c1 // R7, p. 843, b16-p. 846, a1. his *Great commentary to the Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, *Yuanjue jing dashu* 圓覺經大疏, X09, no. 243, p. 353, c2-p. 354, b12 // Z 1:14, p. 138, c2-p. 139, b6 // R14, p. 276, a2-p. 277, b6.

Vimalakīrti, the right attitude in front of the ineffable truth.<sup>606</sup> As a patriarch of Chan Buddhism, Zongmi secured a high position for Chan Buddhism in his scheme. In addition, he was much more concerned with the dichotomy of purity and impurity, which plays important role from the perspective of Buddhist practice. At the second level of actual teaching is showed that purity and impurity return to the *tathāgatagarbha* (*zongshe ranjing gui rulaizang* 總攝染淨歸如來藏), which is to say that the *tathāgatagarbha* is the source for all pure and impure deeds, while at the level of sudden teaching this dichotomy is transcended. Zongmi says:

The sudden teaching of Mahāyāna teaches one-mind because it transcends purity and impurity. It means that the pure root-mind originally does not have the dichotomy of purity and impurity. Due to the defilement of deluded conceptualization it is provisionally explained as purity. If the delusion is originally empty, purity as a characteristic ceases, and only the purity of originally enlightened mind becomes manifested.<sup>607</sup>

第四大乘頓教泯絕染淨故說一心。謂清淨本心。元無染淨對。妄想垢假說名淨。妄既本空。淨亦相盡。唯本覺心清淨顯現。

In this passage, the Chan teaching is very obvious, the mind is originally pure, only due to delusion its purity is not seen. As soon as the delusion comes to an end, the enlightened nature of mind becomes manifested. Next, the perfect teaching advocates that all existing things are mind-only. At this level, the practitioner realizes enlightenment, and consequently, sees that mind is beyond characteristics, and eventually all phenomena are mind-only, they all can be traced back to the final source, the absolute mind. Due to their dependence on the absolute mind, the three aspects of Huayan insight, the mutual inclusion, the mutual identity, and the limitless interpenetration are revealed. Zongmi says:

The fifth is the Perfect teaching [according to which] all existent things are one mind. This means that he/she does not know that mind transcends all characteristics, but after enlightenment characteristics disappear, and this way mind-only becomes manifested. All phenomena perceived are mind. This is the apprehension of the ultimate mind-nature. As the *Avatamsaka*[-*sūtra*] says for

<sup>606</sup> Gregory 1991: 137-141, 144-153.

<sup>607</sup> *Yuanjue jing dashu* 圓覺經大疏, X09, no. 243, p. 354, a2-5 // Z 1:14, p. 138, d8-11 // R14, p. 276, b8-11.

exactly this reason everything is absolute mind. This is the reason why the three aspects [below] can be established.<sup>608</sup>

第五一乘圓教總該萬有即是一心。謂未知心絕諸相。令悟相盡。唯心然見。觸事皆心。方了究竟心性。如華嚴說。良由皆即真心。故成三義。

In his description of the three aspects of Huayan insight, he keeps on underlying the dependence of phenomena on the absolute mind. He continues:

The first aspect is the mutual inclusion [of phenomena]. It means that all phenomena and *dharmas* are the absolute mind, and become manifested. One phenomena of the whole mind can pervade all [phenomena] in accord with mind. All [phenomena] of the whole mind can penetrate into one phenomena in accord with mind. In accord with mind, the mutual inclusion of phenomena is unobstructed. The second aspect is the mutual identity [of phenomena]. It means that one phenomenon is completely identical with the absolute mind, and as mind is identical with all [phenomena], this one phenomenon is identical with all [phenomena], and, this way, all [phenomena] are identical with one [phenomenon]. The third aspect is the limitless interdependence [of phenomena]. It means that given that all [phenomena] are completely mind, [one phenomenon] includes what the all [phenomena] include, as all [phenomena] are mind-only. Again [the other phenomena] include all phenomena, it is limitless and limitless. Every [phenomenon] is endowed with the absolute mind, and in accord with mind [phenomena] are unobstructed.<sup>609</sup>

一融事相入義。謂一切事法既全是真心而現故。全心之一事隨心徧一切中。全心之一切隨心入一事中。隨心迴轉相入無礙。二融事相即義。謂以一事即真心故。心即一切時。此一事隨心亦一即一切。一切即一亦然。三重重無盡義。謂一切全是心故。能含一切所含。一切亦唯心故。復含一切。無盡無盡也。皆由一一全具真心。隨心無礙故。

From this passage above, it is very clear that Zongmi gave priority to the absolute mind, as even in his explanation of the central Huayan tenets he keeps on emphasizing the absolute mind as a clue for understanding the ultimate truth of Huayan Buddhism, the interrelated existence of all phenomena.

<sup>608</sup> *Yuanjue jing dashu* 圓覺經大疏, X09, no. 243, p. 354, a7-9 // Z 1:14, p. 138, d13-15 // R14, p. 276, b13-15. The other version is slightly different, see *Huayan jing xingyuanpin shuchao* 華嚴經行願品疏鈔, X05, no. 229, p. 246, b1-4 // Z 1:7, p. 423, a17-b2 // R7, p. 845, a17-b2.

<sup>609</sup> *Yuanjue jing dashu* 圓覺經大疏, X09, no. 243, p. 354, a9-16 // Z 1:14, p. 138, d15-p. 139, a4 // R14, p. 276, b15-p. 277, a4; *Huayan jing xingyuanpin shuchao* 華嚴經行願品疏鈔, X05, no. 229, p. 246, b4-12 // Z 1:7, p. 423, b2-10 // R7, p. 845, b2-10.

## iv. Conclusion

As we saw above, the scheme of the ten levels of consciousness-only was formulated by the third patriarch of the Huayan school, Fazang. His innovation was a kind of response to the levels of consciousness-only put forward by Kuiji, the master of the rival Faxiang school. Kuiji cited 'the three realms are mind-only' from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* in his elaboration of this topic, which might have been the reason why Fazang connected his discussion of the ten levels of consciousness-only to the exegetical explanation of this famous slogan in his commentary to the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.

First, we attempted to reconstruct the original meaning of the 'three realms are mind-only' in the light of the context of the sūtra. It was shown that this phrase, which is often cited in the Buddhist literature as the proof of Yogācāra philosophy, appears in connection with the tenet of the dependent arising. The sūtra says that our lack of understanding the Absolute truth leads to the existence and suffering. Although it is very obvious that the sūtra describes the deluded mind, Chinese masters of this scripture, Huiyuan and Zhiyan, under the influence of the Tathāgatagarbha teachings and the *Awakening of Faith*, interpreted this mind as both tainted and pure.

When Fazang explained this section of the scripture, he must have born in mind how his predecessors commented on it. The first three levels of consciousness-only, which are the views of Faxiang school, confirm that mind is tainted, while the next four levels, which reflect the opinion of old Yogācāra school, maintain that mind is ultimately pure. In fact, the fourth level can be regarded as a transitional stage, since the *ālayavijñāna* as the final reality is stated, but its nature is not determined. What Fazang added to the explanation of the 'three realms are mind-only' is the last three levels of consciousness-only, which describe the stance of the perfect teaching, Fazang's own school. For him, the famous slogan is not only a proof of Yogācāra philosophy, or the Tathāgatagarbha teaching, but also a central concept which lays the foundation for the truth revealed in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, that is the interrelated existence of all phenomena.

Fazang's scheme of the ten levels of consciousness-only was significantly refashioned in the hands of his successors, Chengguan and Zongmi. Chengguan was in the favor of including all teachings, thus he did not exclude even the Hīnayāna from this classification of teachings. In addition, at the seventh level, he emphasized the interfusion of nature and characteristics, which is in fact a harmonization of various conflicting views. For Zongmi,

being also the patriarch of Chan Buddhism, it was essential to show the clear and prestigious position of Chan Buddhism in the context of mind-only. Thus he rearranged the previous chart, and located the sudden teaching before the perfect teaching. Being concerned with Buddhist practice, he underlined the importance of the absolute mind as a prerequisite for the interrelatedness of phenomena.

FAZANG 《華嚴經探玄記》	CHENGGUAN 《大方廣佛華嚴經疏》	ZONGMI 《華嚴經行願品疏鈔》 《圓覺經大疏》
<p>1. the proposition of consciousness-only with respect to existence of both object and subject of perception 一相見俱存故說唯識</p> <p>→ elementary</p>	<p>1. the proposition of nonreal one-mind 一門假說一心</p> <p>→ Hīnayāna</p>	<p>1. the <i>śrāvakas</i>, who are ignorant about [the emptiness of] dharmas, teach non-real one-mind 第一愚法聲聞教假說一心</p>
<p>2. the proposition of consciousness-only with respect to return of the object of perception to the subject of perception 二攝相歸見故說唯識</p> <p>→ elementary</p>	<p>2. the proposition of one-mind with respect to existence of both object and subject of perception 二相見俱存故說一心</p> <p>→ provisional</p>	<p>2. the provisional teaching of Mahāyāna clarifies that the differential maturing ālayavijñāna is called one-mind 第二大乘權教明異熟賴耶名為一心</p> <p>2.a. the proposition of one-mind with respect to existence of both object and subject of perception 一相見俱存故說一心</p>
<p>3. the proposition of consciousness-only with respect to return of the mind associates to the mind 三攝數歸王故說唯識</p> <p>→ elementary</p>	<p>3. the proposition of one-mind with respect to return of the object of perception to the subject of perception 三攝相歸見故說一心</p> <p>→ provisional</p>	<p>2.b. the proposition of one-mind with respect to return of the object of perception to the subject of perception 二攝相歸見故說一心</p>
<p>4. the proposition of consciousness-only with respect to return of the branches to the root 四以末歸本故說唯識</p> <p>→ advanced, sudden</p>	<p>4. the proposition of one-mind with respect to return of the mind associates to the mind 四攝數歸王故說一心</p> <p>→ provisional</p>	<p>2.c. the proposition of one-mind with respect to return of the mind associates to the mind 三攝所歸王說一心</p>



<p>5. the proposition of consciousness-only with respect to return of the characteristics to [Buddha-]nature 五攝相歸性故說唯識</p> <p>→ advanced, sudden</p>	<p>5. the proposition of one-mind with respect to return of the branches to the root 五以末歸本故說一心</p> <p>→ actual</p>	<p>3.the actual teaching of Mahāyāna clarifies that <i>tathāgatagarbha</i> and ālayavijñāna are the only one-mind 第三大乘實教明如來藏藏識唯是一心</p> <p>3.a the proposition of one-mind with respect to the return of seven consciousness to the ālayavijñāna 一攝前七識歸於藏故說一心</p>
<p>6. the proposition of consciousness-only with respect to establishment of phenomena through transformation of Absolute 六轉真成事故說唯識</p> <p>→ advanced, sudden</p>	<p>6. the proposition of one-mind with respect to return of the characteristics to [Buddha-]nature 六攝相歸性故說一心</p> <p>→ actual</p>	<p>3.b. the proposition of one-mind with respect to return of purity and impurity to the <i>tathāgatagarbha</i> 二總攝染淨歸如來藏故說一心</p>
<p>7. the proposition of consciousness-only with respect to perfect interfusion of principle and phenomena 七理事俱融故說唯識</p> <p>→ advanced, sudden</p>	<p>7. the proposition of one-mind with respect to interfusion of nature and characteristics 七性相俱融故說一心</p> <p>→ actual</p>	<p>4. the sudden teaching of Mahāyāna teaches one-mind because it transcends the pure and impure 第四大乘頓教泯絕染淨故說一心</p>
<p>8. the proposition of consciousness-only with respect to mutual inclusion of phenomena 八融事相入故說唯識</p>	<p>8. the proposition of one-mind with respect to mutual inclusion of phenomena 八融事相入故說一心</p>	<p>5. the perfect teaching of one-vehicle teaches that all existent things are one-mind 第五一乘圓教總該萬有即是一心</p>

→ perfect	→ perfect	5.a. the proposition of one-mind with respect to mutual inclusion of phenomena 一融事相入故說一心
9. the proposition of consciousness-only with respect to mutual identity of all phenomem 九全事相即故說唯識 → perfect	9. the proposition of one-mind with respect to mutual identity of all phenomena 九令事相即故說一心 → perfect	5.b. the proposition of one-mind with respect to mutual identity of all phenomena 二融事相即故說一心
10. the proposition of consciousness-only with respect to non-obstruction of Indra's net 十帝網無礙故說唯識 → perfect	10. the proposition of one-mind with respect to non-obstruction of Indra's net 十帝網無礙故說一心 → perfect	5.c. the proposition of one-mind with respect to non-obstruction of Indra's net 三帝網無盡故說一心

## b. Nature Origination: the manifestation of Absolute in the phenomenal world

## i. Nature origination in Huayan studies

Nature origination is undoubtedly a central feature of Huayan Buddhism; one which cannot be ignored in any discussion of the special Huayan tenets, i.e. *dharmadhātu* dependent arising (*fajie yuanqi* 法界緣起), phenomena and principle (*shili* 事理) ten profound gates (*shi xuan men* 十玄門), six marks (*liu xiang* 六相), four *dharmadhātus* (*si fajie* 四法界), and so on. It is widely known that this term derives from the title of the thirty-second chapter of the 60-fascicle *Huayan jing* 華嚴經, *Baowang rulai xingqi pin* 寶王如來性起品. This can be translated as *Nature Origination of the Jewel King Tathāgata* (we will refer to it as *Manifestation of the Tathāgata*) translated by Buddhahadra in 420. However, its meaning is thought to be primarily influenced by the *Treatise on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論),<sup>610</sup> which describes mind in two aspects: mind as suchness (*xin zhenru* 心真如) and mind subject to birth-and-death (*xin shengmie* 心生滅). Fazang identifies the former aspect with the Absolute (*li* 理) and the latter with the phenomenal (*shi* 事), and regards the manifestation of their unobstructed interaction as *ālayavijñāna*. Next, the *ālayavijñāna*, which is identical with *tathāgatagarbha*, is said to give rise to all *dharma*s.<sup>611</sup>

In Japanese Huayan studies nature origination is discussed from several points of view. Takasaki Jikidō extensively studied the formation and evolution of *Tathāgatagarbha* thought.<sup>612</sup> He meticulously compared the various versions of the *Sūtra Manifestation of the Tathāgata* in order to find the possible original Sanskrit equivalent of the term ‘nature origination’ which appears not only in the title of the *sūtra*, but also in the text itself. In some versions, the compound ‘nature origination’ appears only in the name of the bodhisattva-interlocutor called *Rulai zuxing chengshou* 如來族姓成首 in Dharmarakṣa’s version, *Rulai xingqi miaode* 如來性起妙德 in Buddhahadra’s and Śikṣānanda’s version, and *De-bzhin gshegs-pa’i rigs-su byung-ba’i dpal* in the Tibetan translation. According to the Tibetan and Śikṣānanda’s versions, here this compound means “born into the lineage of Tathāgata.”

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<sup>610</sup> T32, no. 1666, no. 1667.

<sup>611</sup> Gregory 1991: 157-158.

<sup>612</sup> Takasaki 1966, 1974.

Takasaki reconstructed the original Sanskrit term as *gotra* (or *kula*) *saṃbhūta*. On the basis of the Tibetan title, *De-bzhin gshegs-pa skye-ba 'byung ba* and the *Mahāvīyutpatti*, he reconstructed the original title as *Tathāgata-utpatti-saṃbhava-nirdeśa-sūtra*.<sup>613</sup> He translated the Tibetan version into Japanese.<sup>614</sup> He showed that this *sūtra*, which was translated first by Dharmarakṣa as an independent *sūtra*, is a precursor of *tathāgatagarbha* thinking. The term *tathāgatagarbha* (*rulaizang* 如來藏) appears only once in Buddhahadra's translation, but the other versions do not confirm the existence of this term in the original text, thus it must be Buddhahadra's interpolation.<sup>615</sup> However, the text explicitly claims the presence of Buddha's wisdom in all living beings, or at least, as we will see later, in almost all living beings.

Although there are several other studies of this very important early Mahāyāna *sūtra*, we will now turn our attention to the study of the Chinese exegetical tradition of this scripture.<sup>616</sup> Even if nature origination is regarded as one of the most important Huayan innovations, anybody attempting to reconstruct the development of this concept must have recourse to a few passages scattered among the works of Huayan masters. In addition, these passages often seem to be rather terse and cryptic, thus demanding considerable hermeneutical effort on the part of the reader to decipher their meanings. In analysing these passages of Huayan commentaries the context of the *sūtra* is often neglected, so it is hardly surprising that the term “nature origination” and its meaning easily become detached from the *sūtra*.

We find several studies on the theory of nature origination as it was propounded by the second patriarch of the Huayan tradition, Zhiyan 智嚴 (602-668), who first used this term. It has been shown that the southern Dilun 地論 master, Huiyuan 慧遠 (523-592), strongly influenced his formulation of the concept. In Huiyuan's work we find the term ‘dependent origination of absolute nature’ (*zhenxing yuanqi* 真性緣起).<sup>617</sup> However, Zhiyan lays more emphasis on the tainted aspect of the mind than Huiyuan did in his philosophy.<sup>618</sup> Other scholars study the change in the meaning of nature origination as taught by Fazang 法藏 (643-712), who elaborated Zhiyan's Huayan tenets and is regarded as the founder of the orthodox Huayan philosophy.<sup>619</sup> As we might expect, Fazang actually discussed in greater detail certain

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<sup>613</sup> Takasaki 1958.

<sup>614</sup> Takasaki 1981.

<sup>615</sup> Takasaki 1960: 281.

<sup>616</sup> Kagawa 1967, Itō 1967, Kaginushi 1972, 1973, 1974, Kawanabe 1976, Kawano 1995, Kimura 1999.

<sup>617</sup> 真者所謂如來藏性。恒沙佛法。同體緣集。不離不脫不斷不異。此之真性緣起。集成生死涅槃。真所集故。無不真實。 See *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章, T44, no. 1851, p. 483, a26-29; Kamata 1957, 1965: 566.

<sup>618</sup> Ishii 1979

<sup>619</sup> Nakajō 1988, Liu 1995.

aspects of nature origination that were rather obscure in Zhiyan's works. Even if we cannot find a thorough treatment of this term in the writings of Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635-730), the lay hermit of Wutaishan, Kojima Taizan, argues that it played a crucial role in his philosophy; however, his understanding of nature origination was based on the *Book of Change*, and was thus at variance with Fazang's.<sup>620</sup> Kojima argued that actually there were two branches of Huayan tradition connected with two of the sacred mountains of Chinese Buddhism: the Zhongnanshan 終南山, near Chang'an and Wutaishan 五台山, the alleged abode of Mañjuśrī.<sup>621</sup> The special emphasis on nature origination and the nonobstruction of principle and phenomenal was characteristic of the Wutaishan branch, while the nonobstruction of phenomena was the hallmark of the Zhongnan branch represented by Zhiyan and Fazang. Finally, Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839), the fourth patriarch of Huayan tradition, who spent time on both mountains, united the two branches. His theory of four *dharma-dhātus* included both the nonobstruction of principle and phenomenal and the nonobstruction of phenomena.<sup>622</sup> Chengguan definitely represents a new phase in the history of Huayan Buddhism, and his innovations in Huayan philosophy became fully-fledged in the writings of his disciple, Zongmi 宗密 (780-841). They were influenced by the Tiantai doctrine of nature inclusion (*xingju* 性具) in formulating their doctrines of nature origination.<sup>623</sup> We find several studies investigating the interaction between nature origination and nature inclusion. Finally, Zongmi defines very clearly the role of nature origination and its relationship with dependent arising of *dharma-dhātu* and Buddhist practice.<sup>624</sup>

As we saw above, studies of nature origination from different points of view have contributed to our modern understanding of this important Huayan concept. However, in most cases these studies either try to take this term out of the context of the *Sūtra Manifestation of the Tathāgata* and the whole *Huayan jing* in order to establish a kind of philosophical system in Huayan Buddhism, or surmise that this kind of system is consciously or unconsciously inherent in it. In the Huayan classification of teachings (*panjiao* 判教), the *Huayan jing* is ranked as the highest teaching of the Buddha, being the scripture which directly reveals the experience of enlightenment, the absolute truth without any mediation as the Buddha recognised it in his complete enlightenment. Huayan masters (Zhiyan, Fazang, Huiyuan, Li Tongxuan, Chengguan) devoted themselves writing extensive commentaries to this scripture,

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<sup>620</sup> Kojima 1991a.

<sup>621</sup> Kojima 1991b.

<sup>622</sup> Hamar 1998b.

<sup>623</sup> Kamata 1957.

<sup>624</sup> Gregory 1991: 187-192

which is one of the most voluminous Mahāyāna *sūtras*. In the process of composing these works they tried to understand *buddhavacana* as faithfully as possible. All the Huayan tenets are in one way or another closely related to the vision of truth which the scripture offers, and the Huayan exegetes endeavour to explore this realm relying on their knowledge of other Buddhist scriptures and praxis. Consequently, nature origination should be understood in the context of the *Huayan jing*, and not as a term for which the scripture serves only as a pretext and which developed outside the framework of the *sūtra*.

ii. The meaning of nature origination in the *sūtra*

What is the *Sūtra Manifestation of the Tathāgata* about? What is its connection with the whole *Huayan jing*? At the beginning of the *sūtra*, the Buddha appears as emitting light that illuminates all the worlds and extinguishes the sufferings of all beings. Finally, the light enters the head of the bodhisattva Wondrous Quality of the Origination of Tathāgata-nature. Inspired by the light of the Buddha the bodhisattva asks who is able to reveal the Buddha's teaching. Then the Buddha emits light from his mouth, which again arrives at the mouth of bodhisattva Samantabhadra. In reply to the question of bodhisattva Wondrous Quality of the Origination of Tathāgata-nature, he relates that the Buddha shows this kind of transformation before declaring the teaching of the manifestation of Tathāgata. Next, bodhisattva Wondrous Quality of the Origination of Tathāgata-nature poses ten questions, to which Samantabhadra replies in the remaining part of the *sūtra*. The ten topics are as follows: 1. the characteristics of the manifestation of Tathāgata; 2. the body of Tathāgata; 3. the voice of Tathāgata; 4. the mind of Tathāgata; 5. the realm of Tathāgata; 6. the deeds of Tathāgata; 7. the perfect enlightenment of Tathāgata; 8. the turning of the *Dharma* wheel by Tathāgata; 9. the *parinirvāṇa* of Tathāgata; 10. the merits that stem from seeing, hearing and being associated with Tathāgata. Each of the first four topics is described from ten aspects, and is discussed for twice as long than the remaining six topics. This might suggest that the first four topics are closely related, and that they might indicate a possible *urtext* of the *sūtra*. Although the term *trikāya* does not appear in the text, this *sūtra* exhibits clear signs of Mahāyāna Buddhology. According to this scripture the Buddha does not in fact appear in the world and does not enter *parinirvāṇa*, but remains in the pure *dharma-dhātu* (*qingjing fajie* 清淨法界) forever. However, he manifests

(*shixian* 示現) his *nirvāṇa* and performs other actions for the benefit of all living beings.<sup>625</sup> Nonetheless, his appearance in the world is not real: it is described as illusion or vision. He acts spontaneously without effort or discrimination, responding to the needs of beings. He is present everywhere in the universe where living beings are in need; he is like the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, rain and space. To put it simply, the *sūtra* relates how the Absolute appears in the world of phenomena. This content is very much in accordance with the theme of *Huayan jing*, as the whole *sūtra* describes how the Buddha manifests himself and his teaching after attaining enlightenment.

Explaining the features of the mind of the Buddha, the *Sūtra Manifestation of the Tathāgata* states that all living beings are endowed with the wisdom of Tathāgata. In the text this is the tenth aspect of the mind of Tathāgata, claiming that his wisdom is omnipresent in living beings. As we saw above this statement can be interpreted as an early appearance of *tathāgatagarbha* thought. The wisdom of Tathāgata is inherent in all living beings, but due to false discrimination it cannot manifest. As soon as discrimination is eliminated all living beings can realize that their minds are no different from the enlightened mind of the Tathāgata, and then the non-discriminating mind of Tathāgata will appear in them. Once this mind is created in the course of enlightenment, the awakened person is detached from ordinary mental activities, and his mind comes to be described as wisdom.<sup>626</sup> This wisdom is depicted in terms of three aspects here: it is omniscient, self-existent and nonobstructed. This passage seems to prove that the *sūtra* teaches the universal potential of Buddhahood as all living beings are said to possess Tathāgatajñāna and to be able to make it appear.

However, the seventh aspect of the mind of Tathāgata seems to contradict this assumption.

Son of Buddha, the Tathāgata's wisdom, the great king of medicine called non-accomplished root<sup>627</sup> does not come into being in two places. What are those two? It does not come into being in the *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas* who have fallen in the abyss of non conditioned and in those vessels who have deteriorated faculty and motivation and who are filled with the water of craving. Son of Buddha, the Tathāgata's wisdom, the great king of medicine has the character of not coming into being [in those two places], thus it does not come into being, [but] it does not have the character that it does not come into being completely. In bodhisattvas with highest intention and equal mind it comes into being. In accordance with the devotion and highest

<sup>625</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 276, b16-19.

<sup>626</sup> See Griffith 1994: 153-158. In Chengguan's exegesis of this *sūtra* the question of whether Buddha has a mind is extensively discussed from the viewpoint of *faxiangzong* and *faxingzong*. See Hamar 2003.

<sup>627</sup> As the *sūtra* explains, it is called nonaccomplished because this root never ceases to grow.

intention of living beings, Tathāgata's wisdom, the great king of medicine has the character of coming into being. Son of Buddha, consider this! Although the wisdom of Tathāgata neither increases nor decreases and its root never becomes accomplished, it always appears incessantly.<sup>628</sup>

kye rgyal ba'i sras de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes sman gyi rgyal po chen po rtsa ba ma grub pa de ni gnas gnyis nas mi skye ste / gnyis gang zhe na / 'di lta ste / 'dus ma byas kyi g-yang du ltung ba nyan thos dang / rang sangs rgyas rnams dang / dbang po dang bsam pa nyams pa'i snod lta ba dang sred pa'i chus gang ba las mi skye ste / kye rgyal ba'i sras de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes sman gyi rgyal po chen po de mi skye ba'i chos can la mi skye zhes yongs su mi skye ba'i chos can yang ma yin te / byang chub sems dpa' lhag pa'i bsam pa chen po can / mnyam pa'i sems dang ldan pa rnams la skye ste / ji tsam du sems can rnams kyi mos pa dang / lhag pa'i bsam pa yod pa de tsam du de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes sman gyi rgyal po chen po de rnam par skye ba'i chos can du 'gyur ro // kye rgyal ba'i sras ltos dang / de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes la 'phel zhing 'grib pa med la rtsa ba grub pa med kyang gtan tu rgyun mi chad par snang ba yin te / <sup>629</sup>

(Dharmarakṣa) 以是之故，如來之慧不由二事而有所生也。何等為二？謂無為及與有為之大曠谷，若墮於谿澗，而遊無極無為之事，於諸聲聞緣覺之乘。又其志性，不與俱合，亦無所畏，遊於三愛三流之原。於如來慧，亦無所生，亦不退還。若有所生，已達聖性，修平等心。於諸菩薩，無有彼此，且觀正覺，大道暉赫，巍巍無底，而為真諦，慧不增減。其根堅住，令諸眾生，究竟通達，了無篤信。<sup>630</sup>

(Buddhabhadra) 佛子，如來智慧大藥王樹唯除二處不得生長，所謂聲聞、緣覺、涅槃、地獄深阬及諸犯戒、邪見、貪著非法器等。而如來樹非不生長，其餘一切應受化者，皆悉生長，而如來智慧大藥王樹不增不減。<sup>631</sup>

(Śikṣānanda) 佛子，如來智慧大藥王樹，唯於二處不能為作生長利益，所謂二乘墮於無為廣大深阬 及壞善根非器眾生溺大邪見貪愛之水。然亦於彼曾無厭捨。佛子，如來智慧無有增減，以根善安住，生無休息故。<sup>632</sup>

<sup>628</sup>Takasaki's Japanese translation: ジナの子よ、この「根がまだ完成していない」と名づける如來の知恵の大藥王（樹）は、二箇所からは生じない。二箇所とはどこであるか。すなわち、生滅を離れた絶対の世界の楽しみにふける（他の衆生の救済を顧みない）仏弟子の道にあるものたちや、独力でさとりをひらいたものたちと、その能力と志が低劣で、（その）器が、根元的執着の水で満たされたものたちとからは生じない。ジナの子よ、この如來の知恵の大藥王（樹）は、（以上の二箇所においては）生じない性質のものであるから不生というが、（しかし）まったく生じない性質のものではない。偉大なる深い宗教心をもつ菩薩たち、（すべての衆生に対し）平等心をもつ（菩薩たち）に生ずる（のはもちろん）、衆生たちに（如來に対する）信頼と深い宗教心のあるかぎり、（そのすべての衆生において、）この如來の知恵の大藥王（樹）は生ずる性質があるものとなる。ジナの子よ、ごらん、如來の知恵には増減はなく、根が完成することもないけれども、常に不斷にあらわれるのである。 See Takasaki 1981: 220-221.

<sup>629</sup> Derge: Phal chen, volume ga 115a5-115b2.

<sup>630</sup> *Fo shuo rulai xingxian jing* 佛說如來興顯經, T10, no. 291, p. 606, c25-p. 607, a4.

<sup>631</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T9, no. 278, p. 623, b25-c1.



The wording of the Tibetan text is quite different from all the Chinese versions, though we can find elements of it in Dharmarakṣa's translation. This quite clearly proves that the Tibetan translation was made from the Sanskrit, and not from the Chinese, in spite of claims to the contrary in the comparative catalogue of Buddhist scriptures compiled under the Yuan dynasty.<sup>633</sup> However, both Dharmarakṣa's and Buddhahadra's texts, like the Tibetan version, state very clearly that the wisdom of the Buddha cannot grow in followers of Hīnayāna and in those beings who do not have the requisite capacity. In contrast to these versions, Śikṣānanda adds that the wisdom of Tathāgata does not detest or reject even those beings. 然亦於彼曾無厭捨。 Śikṣānanda or his Chinese associates might have found the explicit statement that some beings are denied access to the wisdom of Tathāgata untenable in the Tang period, when the tenet of universal Buddhahood was prevalent. Nonetheless, as we do not have the Sanskrit text that Śikṣānanda used, we cannot completely exclude the possibility that the original text included this sentence. As we will see later, Chinese exegetes were to solve this contradiction, proving the universal presence of Buddha-nature.

Finally, let us examine the occurrences of the term “nature origination” in Buddhahadra's translation and its corresponding expressions in the other three versions of the *Sūtra Manifestation of the Tathāgata*:

Buddhabhadra	Dharmarakṣa	Śikṣānanda	Tibetan
1. 如來性起妙德菩薩	如來族姓成首菩薩	如來性起妙德菩薩	byang chub sems dpa' de bzhin gshegs pa'i rigs su byung ba'i dpal
2. 如來性起正法	如來興顯經典	如來出現法門	de bzhin gshegs pa 'byung ba bstan pa'i chos kyi rnam grangs
3. 如來、應供、等正覺性起正法	如來至真等正覺興顯成	佛如來、應正、等覺出現之法	de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyi skye ba 'byung ba bstan pa
4. 如來性起正法	如來興顯現身	如來、應正、等覺出現之法	de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyi skye

<sup>632</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 272, b6-11.

<sup>633</sup> Qing Jixiang 慶吉祥 composed the catalogue titled *Zhiyuan fabao kantong zonglu* 至元法寶勘同總錄 in 1285-1287. For this claim, see T 99, 190b.

			ba 'byung ba bstan pa
5. 如來、應供、 等正覺性起 正 法	諸如來處	此處	de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas skye ba 'byung ba bstan pa
6. 如來性起正法	興顯示現懷來講法	如來出現	de bzhin gshegs pa skye ba 'byung ba bstan pa
7. 如來性起正法	如來興出現	如來出現之法	de bzhin gshegs pa 'byung ba
8. 如來性起正法	興顯示現懷來講法	如來出現	de bzhin gshegs pa skye ba 'byung ba bstan pa
9. 性起法		如來出現	skye bar 'gyur ba'i
10. 如來性起法		如來出現法	'byung ba
11. 不斷如來性 起	不斷絕如來種性	不斷如來種	de bzhin gshegs pa'i rigs rgyun mi 'chad pa
12. 如來性起法	如來之族姓	如來出現廣大法	de bzhin gshegs pa rnam kyi rigs
13. 如來性起法	如來不斷佛種	如來出現	de bzhin gshegs pa'i rigs tha mi dad pa
14. 演說如來性 起法雨		興大法雲，雨大法雨	sangs rgyas rnam 'byung ba'i tshe / chos kyi sprin chen po char mngon par 'bab pa yang
15. 說如來性起 甘露法雨	如來法澤	興大法雲，雨大法雨	de bzhin gshegs pa'i chos kyi sprin gyi char mngon par 'bab pa yang

The first example is the name of the bodhisattva addressed by Samantabhadra, who actually expounds the teaching of the *sūtra*. This is the only example of the compound ‘nature origination’ in the other three versions. Most often (2-8) we find the expression the “correct *dharma* of nature origination of Tathāgata” (*rulai xingqi zhengfa* 如來性起正法) in Buddhahadra’s text when the first of the ten topics, the characteristics of the manifestation of the Tathāgata, is being described. The corresponding Tibetan phrase is “the teaching of the origination and appearance of the Tathāgata” (*de bzhin gshegs pa skye ba 'byung ba bstan pa*). As we saw earlier these two terms *skye ba* and *'byung ba* can be identified as the Sanskrit *utpatti* and *sambhava*, respectively. Śikṣānanda translates it as appearance or manifestation (*chuxian* 出現), while Dharmarakṣa most often uses the term *xingxian* 興顯, but sometimes adds *shixian* 示現 or *xianshen* 現身 reflecting the original presence of two terms. In two

cases (9-10) we find only *skye ba* or *'byung ba* in the Tibetan. In other contexts (11-13), we find “nature origination of the Tathāgata” (*rulai xingqi* 如來性起) or “the teaching of nature origination of the Tathāgata” (*rulai xingqi fa* 如來性起法) which are the lineage/family/class of Tathāgata (*de bzhin gshegs pa'i rigs*) in the Tibetan. Here *rigs* is the Sanskrit *gotra* or *kula*, which corresponds to the Chinese term *xing* 性 in Buddhahadra’s text, *zhong* 種 in Śikṣānanda’s version and *zhong* 種, *zhongxing* 種性 or *zuxing* 族姓 in Dharamarakṣa’s rendition. In the last two examples (14-15) Buddhadharmā’s translation seems to be very arbitrary as there is no corresponding expression in the other versions.

### iii. The nature origination in early Huayan exegesis: Zhiyan

Let us now discuss how the term ‘nature origination’ was explained in Huayan exegesis. We will trace its development by selecting three eminent masters, Zhiyan, Fazang and Chengguan, each of whom represents a different stage in the evolution of Huayan ideas. The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is a collection of formerly independently circulated *sūtras*, so establishing its coherence required great hermeneutical efforts by commentators. A narrative framework served as a convenient means for establishing closer links between the isolated chapters, thus commentators emphasised the “seven places and eight or nine assemblies” in and during which this *sūtra* was preached. To prove that the sequence of chapters is definitely not accidental but is arranged with a hidden meaning, Huayan commentators introduced the term *laiyi* 來意, the purport of coming, at the beginning of their commentaries to every chapter where they explain why the chapter they are about to comment on appears at that point in the *sūtra*. The *Sūtra Manifestation of the Tathāgata* is said to be closely connected with the preceding chapter, entitled *The Practice of Samantabhadra*. In this chapter Samantabhadra enumerates the hundred hindrances arising from anger, then introduces the sixty practices that a bodhisattva should always perform. The Huayan exegetes agree that this chapter is the cause and the *Manifestation of Tathāgata* is the result. As Zhiyan says:

The previous [chapter the Practice of] Samantabhadra clarifies the cause which can raise, and the next [chapter] discusses that which arose.

前普賢明能起之緣，次辨所起也。<sup>634</sup>

At the beginning of his commentary on the chapter *Manifestation of the Tathāgata* in his commentary on the *Huayan jing*, *Da fangguang fo Huayan jing shouxuanfenqi tongzhi fanggui* 大方廣佛華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌 Zhiyan gives a very terse definition of nature origination.

In the term ‘*xingqi*’ ‘*xing*’ means substance; ‘*qi*’ means the appearance [of substance] on the ground of the mind.<sup>635</sup>

性者體，起者現在心地耳。<sup>636</sup>

Zhiyi further elaborated this definition in his last work, *Huayan jing neizhangmen deng za kongmu zhang* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章.

Nature-origination clarifies the limit/boundary of the *dharmadhātu* dependent arising of one vehicle. It is originally the ultimate and detached from cultivation and production. Why? Because it is detached from marks. It originates from the great understanding and great practice. It is in the bodhi mind which is detached from discrimination. Thus it is called origination. As this is the nature of dependent-origination, this is spoken of as origination. Origination is non-origination, and non-origination is nature origination.<sup>637</sup>

性起者，明一乘法界緣起之際。本來究竟，離於修造。何以故？以離相故。起在大解、大行。離分別菩提心中，名為起也。由是緣起性故，說為起。起即不起，不起者是性起。

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<sup>634</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shouxuan fenqi tongzhi fanggui* 大方廣佛華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌, T35, no. 1732, p. 79, c2-3.

<sup>635</sup> Kamata suspects that the use of the term ‘ground of mind’ shows the early impact of Chan Buddhism on Huayan. See Kamata 1957. Ming-Wood Liu relates this term to Dilun tradition, citing Vasubandhu’s commentary to the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* 心地者：隨心所受三界中報。又隨心所行一切境界亦名心地。See *Shidi jing lun* 十地經論, T26, no. 1522, p. 129, a6-8; Liu 1995, Gimello 1976: 443.

<sup>636</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shouxuan fenqi tongzhi fanggui* 大方廣佛華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌, T35, no. 1732, p.79, b29-c2.

<sup>637</sup> Robert Gimello’s translation: “The doctrine of nature-origination illustrates that the limits of the dharma-element dependent origination of the One Vehicle, its origin and its ultimate, are divorced from cultivation. How so? Because they are free of marks. Origination in the ‘great understanding’ and the ‘great practice,’ in the bodhi-mind divorced from discrimination, this is called “ch’i”. Because it is the [very] nature of the dependent origination, it is spoken of as “origination.” [But this] origination is precisely a non-origination, [and so] it is really a non-origination which is “nature-origination.” See Gimello 1976:443.

<sup>638</sup> *Huayan jing neizhangmen deng za kongmu zhang* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章, T 45, no. 1870, p. 580, c4-8.

Nature origination is depicted as a process of the autonomic manifestation of inherently pure nature, and this spontaneous evolution does not depend on external conditions.<sup>639</sup> It happens through understanding and practice while realizing the nondiscriminating nature of the mind. As soon as discrimination is eliminated, omniscient, self-existent and nonobstructed wisdom appears, as the *sūtra* says. Even though Zhiyan does not say so explicitly, it is quite evident that he discusses the realization of Buddha-nature or *tathāgatagarbha* or, as the *sūtra* puts it, the wisdom of Tathāgata.

Nature origination is different from the practice conditioned by external factors such as teaching, master, etc. If the conditions are not present it is impossible to carry out in practice, while the absence of conditions cannot exert any influence on nature-origination: the wisdom of Tathāgata remains inherent in living beings. This wisdom or Buddha-nature is not static or isolated, but can manifest itself without any phenomenal feature in accordance with the teaching. It is the way in which causality works on the level of nature origination. The *sūtra* itself also serves as an example for causation of nature origination. As we saw above, the *sūtra* discusses the result or fruit (*guo* 果) aspect of nature origination while describing the Tathāgata in ten topics. However, the causal (*yin* 因) aspect is also treated while relating the wisdom of Tathāgata in all living beings.

Question: If nature-origination transcends speech and is divorced from features, how can it have cause and result? [Answer:] It has two meanings. First, in the *sūtra* nature-origination is discussed as cause, and is clarified as result. Thus it has two [aspects]. Second, as nature does not abide, it originates. When it originates, it divorces features, and is in accordance with *Dharma*. Therefore, it has [the aspects of] cause and result.

Question: When it originates and divorces from features, what is the difference from cultivation based on conditions? Answer: If cultivation based on conditions is divorced from conditions, then it cannot be established, while nature-origination is not damaged even if there are no conditions. Thus they are different.

問：性起絕言離相，云何有因果？有二意：一為經內因中辨性起，果中明性起故二也。二性由不住故起。起時離相順法故，有因果也。問：起時離與緣修何別？答：緣修離緣，則不成；性起無緣，即不損；故別也。

As we have seen Buddhabhadra's version, which Zhiyan commented on, was quite clear in stating that *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas* and those beings who do not have the right

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<sup>639</sup> Gimello 1976: 444-445.

capacity cannot have the roots of the wisdom of Tathāgata. This was definitely unacceptable for Zhiyan, thus he argued that the text means that the sprouts of *bodhicitta* have not grown in these beings, but it does not say that they do not have fruit or leaves of the wisdom of Tathāgata. He points out that for these beings to be excluded would be in contrast with the passage saying that every mote of dust includes a *sūtra*, referring to the wisdom of Tathāgata being inherent in all beings. Zhiyan states that *śrāvakas* and infernal beings both have the essence of the wisdom of Tathāgata, however the infernal beings do not have any fruits or leaves of this wisdom, while *śrāvakas* are endowed with these results.

Question: If the *śrāvakas* and others have nature-origination, why does the text say that there are two places where the roots do not grow?

Answer: when it says ‘do not grow’ it means that the sprouts of the nature-origination of bodhi mind do not grow, it does not say that there are no fruits and leaves. If there were not, then there would be no *sūtra* in a mote of dust. It can be known on the basis of the simile. If it is explained in details then there are no fruits or leaves in hell but there is essence; the *śrāvakas* have essence and fruit and leaves.

問：若聲聞等有性起者，何故文云於二處不生根？答：言不生者，不生菩提心性起芽，不言無果葉。若無者，微塵中不應有經卷。准喻可知。若細分別，地獄無果葉有體，聲聞有體及果葉也。<sup>640</sup>

He stresses that all living beings can realize the great bodhi tree: there is no difference here between ordinary beings and great bodhisattvas. Only the process of attaining enlightenment is different: those who are more advanced on the path can reach this state sooner than others. The reason is that all beings originally have (*benyou* 本有) the wisdom of Tathāgata. This originally-possessed capacity is depicted as the root and actuality of dependent origination. This is beyond language and verbal concepts, since it reveals the *dharma-dhātu*, the realm of reality through which an awakened person perceives the world. This is the state in which the ordinary concept of time ceases.

The ‘originally possessed’ means that it is the root and actuality of dependent origination. It is divorced from verbal expressions and affections, as the *dharma-dhātu* is manifested and the three periods (past, present, future) do not move. The [chapter on] nature origination says that the minds of living beings have a tiny *sūtra* and the great bodhi tree. The [ordinary] living beings

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<sup>640</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shouxuan fenqi tongzhi fanggui* 大方廣佛華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌, T 35, 1732, p. 79, c11-15.

and the saints both realize it, some people realize it sooner and some later, [but] the trees are not different. Thus it is known that they originally have it.

言本有者，緣起本實體離調情，法界顯然三世不動故。性起云眾生心中有微塵經卷，有菩提大樹。眾聖共證，人證前後不同。其樹不分別異，故知本有。<sup>641</sup>

#### iv. The nature origination in classical Huayan exegesis: Fazang

The work *Questions and Answers about the Huayan jing* 華嚴經問答, attributed to Fazang, very clearly elaborates the two terms 'originally possessed' (*benyou* 本有) and 'produced from cultivation' (*xiusheng* 修生), introduced by Zhiyan. The text states that there is no difference between these two teachings in importance, but Buddha teaches them according to the capacity of the audience. The sequence of the two teachings is not fixed, it depends on the people which teaching is taught first.<sup>642</sup> However the authenticity of this work was called into question both by the Japanese Kegon monk Gyōnen (?-1321) and by modern scholars.<sup>643</sup> Thus we turn our attention to Fazang's commentary to the *Huayan jing*, *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, which gives a detailed account of the meaning of nature origination.

First he gives a definition of nature origination based on the chapter *tathāgatagarbha* of the *Buddha-nature Treatise*:

The chapter *tathāgatagarbha* of the *Buddha-nature Treatise* says that it comes from abiding self-nature. Having come, it arrives. Having arrived, it attains. Thus it is called Thus Came. The changeless is called nature, the manifestation of function is called origination. This is the nature origination of Tathāgata. Moreover, the absolute principle is called suchness and it is also called

<sup>641</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shouxuan fenqi tongzhi fanggui* 大方廣佛華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌, T 35, 1732, p. 62, c29-p. 63, a3.

<sup>642</sup> "If it is favourable for living beings that the natural seed is the first and seminal permeation is the second, then [Buddha] teaches that originally existent is the first and production from cultivation is the second. If it is favourable for living beings that production from cultivation is the first and originally existent is the second, then [Buddha] teaches that the natural seed is the second and seminal permeation is the first. However, it is taught in accordance with the capacity of [the audience], and in fact originally there is no ranking in teachings. As there is no ranking in teachings, [Buddha's] excellence lies in [deciding] the sequence of [his teachings]. Therefore the sequence of the doctrines of the sacred teaching is not fixed."

若有機緣，眾生以性種為前，習種為後利益，即說本有前有，修生後有。若有眾生以修生為前，本有為後利益，即說性種為後，習種為前。但隨機處中說耳。勿見法定本有前後。以其法無前後故。即善當於先後耳。是故諸聖教之說前後不定。See *Huayan jing wenda* 華嚴經問答, T45, no. 1873, p. 610, a17-23.

<sup>643</sup> See Endō 1965.

nature; the manifestation of function is called origination and also called coming. Thus the Thus Came is nature origination.<sup>644</sup>

佛性論如來藏品云：從自性住。來，至。來至，得果，故名如來。不改名性，顯用稱起，即如來之性起。又真理名如名性，顯用名起名來，即如來為性起。<sup>645</sup>

The *Treatise* propounds that *tathāgatagarbha* does not change when it becomes realized. When it comes, it arrives and naturally attains the result. There is no difference between *tathāgatagarbha* as a cause and *tathāgatagarbha* as a result.<sup>646</sup> Here, Fazang goes one step further than Zhiyan by explicitly identifying the nature of nature origination with *tathāgatagarbha*.<sup>647</sup> He goes on to explain that the manifestation of function is called origination. This function is the manifested aspect of *tathāgatagarbha* in the phenomenal world. It is similar to Zhiyan's statement that the essence appears on the ground of the mind, i.e. in mental functions. As the absolute principle can denote both suchness and nature, just as the manifestation of function can be designated both origination and coming, Fazang identifies the two terms, nature-origination and Tathāgata. The appearance of the Absolute in the phenomenal world is what both terms mean, and finally it is what the *sūtra* teaches. This is the appearance of Tathāgata in the world as a teacher for benefit of living beings and the appearance of the wisdom of Tathāgata in living beings.

Next, Fazang explains the purport (*zongqu* 宗趣) of nature origination in ten aspects. First, he distinguishes three kinds of nature and origination on the basis of the *Buddha-nature Treatise*.<sup>648</sup> The three kinds of nature are principle, practice and fruit (*li xing guo* 理行果).<sup>649</sup> Although he uses different terms, their meanings are identical with those of the *Treatise*. Principle-nature is the Buddha-nature inherent in all beings before they begin to practice Buddhism. Practice-nature is the Buddha-nature in those beings who practice Buddhism.

<sup>644</sup>The original text is slightly different: "This Thusness nature comes from the [Buddha] nature that dwells in itself. Having come it arrives, and having arrived it attains. The essence of Thusness never changes; in this sense it is eternal." See King 1991: 52.

此如性從住自性。性來，至。至，得。如體不變異故是常義。See *Foxing lun* 佛性論, T31, no. 1610, p. 796, a22-23.

<sup>645</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 405, a10-13.

<sup>646</sup> King 1991: 47-48.

<sup>647</sup> Nakajō 1988.

<sup>648</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 405, a21-26.

<sup>649</sup> "The *Treatise* says: Within the cause of attainability are three kinds of [Buddha] nature: the nature which dwells in itself, the emergent nature, and the attaining nature. The record says, the nature which dwells in itself is [Buddha nature] in the stage of ordinary person who has not yet begun Buddhist practice; the emergent nature is [Buddha nature] in the stage of Buddhist practitioner from the first awakening of mind up to the completion of the Path; the attaining nature is [Buddha nature] in the stage of the person who has completed the Buddhist path." See King 1991: 41.

應得因中具有三性：一住自性性，二引出性，三至得性。記曰：住自性者，謂道前凡夫位。引出性者，從發心以上，窮有學聖位。至得性者，無學聖位。See *Foxing lun* 佛性論, T31, no. 1610, p. 794, a21-24.



Fruit-nature is the Buddha-nature of those practitioners who have attained enlightenment. These three aspects of nature substantiate the definition given above by saying that Buddha nature is always present in beings: before cultivation, during cultivation, and after the result of cultivation is attained.

He explains nature origination on three levels of the Buddhist path.<sup>650</sup> First, on the level of bodhisattva who has started to practice the Buddhist teaching, principle-nature is the nature and the accomplishment of practice-nature (*xingcheng* 行成) is the origination. This is different from the level of ordinary beings where although nature is present, there is no origination (*youxing er wuqi* 有性而無起). Here, Fazang separates the two elements of the compound 'nature origination', and states that ordinary beings have only nature, while Zhiyan preserved the unity of the compound, as we saw above, and taught that all beings have nature origination. On the level of Buddha principle-nature and practice-nature are nature and fruit-nature is the origination. This is to say that due to the inherent Buddha-nature and practice the fruit of enlightenment is attained. On the third level, the fruit attained through the perfect completion of principle-nature and practice-nature is nature and the function that is Buddha's appearance in accordance with the capacities of beings and his teaching of various *upāya* are the origination. Fazang stresses that this final level is explained in the *Sūtra Manifestation of Tathāgata*. As we saw above, although the scripture definitely revolves around the manifestation of the Tathāgata in the world as a teacher, the wisdom of Tathāgata inherently existent in beings is also advocated.

However, Fazang emphasizes the priority of principle-nature, as practice-nature can be manifested only relying on principle-nature. In addition the function of fruit-nature is also subordinated to principle-nature, as the function of fruit-nature is the function of absolute nature. Moreover, practice-nature is identical with principle nature, as finally principle-nature is what appears.<sup>651</sup>

Nature origination is not designated as dependent origination because in the case of dependent origination that which is originated appears as the [impure] conditions, while in the case of nature origination that which is originated is pure function (*jingyong* 淨用), and is in accordance with the realization of absolute nature (*zheng zhenxing* 證真性). Fazang goes on to discuss whether on the one hand impure *dharmas* are not included in nature origination as they belong to ignorance, or on the other hand nature origination includes all impure *dharmas*

<sup>650</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 405, a27-b3.

<sup>651</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 405, b4-18.

as Buddha saves living beings from these impure *dharmas*.<sup>652</sup> This is a new aspect of the discussion of nature origination, but it is also closely connected with the meaning of *Manifestation of Tathāgata*. It sheds light on an important feature of Buddha's appearance in the world. Even if Buddha's enlightenment is completely pure, the only reason why he manifests himself in the world is to save beings from suffering. Thus the tainted world cannot be separated from his manifestation, as he would not come to the world if there were no suffering and impure *dharmas*.

Fazang provides the special Huayan reading of this *sūtra*. Generally, Mahāyāna Buddhism propounds that beings can have the causal aspect of Buddha-nature, implying that sooner or later they will attain enlightenment as the result of this inherent potential. As Huayan Buddhism teaches the mutual inclusion of beings and Buddha, Vairocana representing the completely enlightened Buddha, the aim of all Buddhist practices contains all living beings, and consequently the result aspect is present in all living beings before they attain enlightenment. Moreover, according to Mahāyāna, absolute nature pervades only animate beings and inanimate beings are excluded, thus only animate beings can attain enlightenment. Huayan Buddhism claims the mutual inclusion of all beings, animate or inanimate, so nature origination is extended to the whole universe including all animate and inanimate beings. Thus nature origination is the way in which the world is perceived by an enlightened person: it depicts the *dharma-dhātu* from the viewpoint of a Buddha. Finally, this is the vision revealed by Buddha immediately after his enlightenment in the *Huayan jing*. Here, nature origination is not only a term related to one chapter of the *Huayan jing*, but also a crucial principle that underlies the whole *Huayan jing*, depicting the experience of enlightenment.

If the teaching of three vehicles is concerned, there is only the causal aspect of [Buddha] nature in the minds of living beings; there is no feature of resulting function. According to the perfect [Huayan] teaching the resulting *dharma* of Vairocana includes the realm of living beings. Therefore there are also resulting features in the bodies of living beings.... If the teaching of three vehicles is concerned, the absolute nature pervades animate beings and does not pervade inanimate beings, since the enlightened Buddha-nature is limited only to animate beings...According to the perfect [Huayan] teaching Buddha-nature and nature origination pervade animate and inanimate beings.

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<sup>652</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 405, b27-c11.

若三乘教，眾生心中但有因性，無果用相。此圓教中盧舍那果法該眾生界。是故眾生身中亦有果相。…若三乘教，真如之性通情、非情，開覺佛性唯局有情故。…若圓教中佛性及性起皆通依正。<sup>653</sup>

Finally, this insight into the *dharma-dhātu* is described with well-known Huayan terminology. Absolute nature pervades the whole universe, and as one is all and all is one, every *dharma* completely includes this nature. It is like Indra's net, the symbol of Huayan Buddhism.

This absolute nature includes and pervades everything. That which was originated [by this nature] also contains everything. The part and the whole are unlimited, all partial places are complete. There is not one which does not include the infinite *dharma-dhātu*. Therefore [absolute nature] pervades all times, all places, all *dharmas*, etc. It is like Indra's net: there is nothing which is not included.

既此真性融遍一切故，彼所起亦具一切。分圓無際，是故分處皆悉圓滿。無不皆具無盡法界。是故遍一切時一切處一切法等。如因陀羅網無不具足。<sup>654</sup>

Fazang commenced writing his commentary on the 80-fascicle *Huayan jing* translated by Śikṣānanda in 699, but he could not finish it, so his disciple Huiyuan took over this work, entitled *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴經略疏刊定記. In Śikṣānanda's version, the *Manifestation of Tathāgata* is the thirty-seventh chapter, and the title is *Rulai chuxian pin* 如來出現品. The compound 'nature origination' is not found here; it is replaced by the word *chuxian*, which means 'appear', 'manifest'. Huiyuan compares this with the title of this chapter in the 60-fascicle version, *Baowang rulai xingqi pin* 寶王如來性起品 and concludes that the word *rulai* 如來 can be found in the original Sanskrit, the *xing* 性 is missing, and the word *qi* 起 is equivalent with *chuxian* 出現.<sup>655</sup>

<sup>653</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 405, c26-406a1.

<sup>654</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 406, a1-5.

<sup>655</sup> *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴經略疏刊定記, X03, no. 221, p. 828, b5-8 // Z 1:5, p. 260, b16-c1 // R5, p. 519, b16-p. 520, a1.

## v. The Huayan exegesis of nature origination under Chan influence: Chengguan

In his commentary, entitled *Da fangguang Huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, Chengguan writes in the introduction to his discussion of this chapter that although the word ‘nature’ was added, it is not a mistake, as it is reasonable 性字雖是義加未爽通理.<sup>656</sup> He explains the title, *Rulai chuxian* 如來出現 in terms of three bodies of Buddha.<sup>657</sup> He cites passages from the *sūtra* showing that these three aspects can be found there. By the aspect of *dharmakāya* (*fashen* 法身) Tathāgata means that all *dharmas* are suchness (*zhufa ruyi* 諸法如義), and manifestation means that the principle of suchness eternally appears (*ruli changxian* 如理常現). By the aspect of *sambhogakāya*, Tathāgata means to become enlightened on the path of suchness and actuality (*cheng rushi dao* 乘如實道), and manifestation is the sudden appearance of the merit of original nature (*benxing gongde* 本性功德). By the aspect of *nirmāṇakāya* Tathāgata means that the omniscient Buddha comes to teach living beings, and manifestation is the appearance of this great function in accordance with their capacities (*yingji dayong* 應機大用). He stresses that this function is not separated from the essence. Buddha always appears in response to the needs of living beings, thus he always responds in his absolute form (*jizhen er ying* 即真而應); and, on the other hand, his response follows his nature origination, thus he is absolute in his response (*jiying er zhen* 即應而真). The three bodies are completely interfused (*sanfo yuanrong* 三佛圓融), therefore the Buddha’s appearance in the phenomenal world to teach living beings is the manifestation of his absolute form.

When the following sentences in the commentary are explained by the subcommentary (*Da fangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔), the relationship between nature origination and dependent origination is discussed.

Although response is dependent on conditions, it does not contradict nature [origination]. There is nothing which is not originated from *dharmadhātu*. As pure [features] transcend the impure [features], nature is identical with origination. Without conditions nature cannot be discussed. Below the [Tathāgata] blesses Nature Origination Bodhisattva, he propounds the teaching. Although the false is identical with the Absolute, it is not in accordance with nature.

<sup>656</sup> *Da fangguang fo huyan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 872, a12.

<sup>657</sup> *Da fangguang fo huyan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 871, c27-p. 872, a11.

以應雖從緣，不違性故。無不從此法界流故。以淨奪染，性即起故。若離於緣，性叵說故。下加性起菩薩，表所說故。妄雖即真不順性故。<sup>658</sup>

Here is the subcommentary to this passage:

The text from ‘Although response is dependent on conditions’ explains that the meaning of nature origination is in accordance with the meaning of the responsive appearance. Altogether there are six aspects which establish nature origination.

後以應雖從緣下釋性起義順應現義。於中總有六義，證成性起。<sup>659</sup>

First is to establish the identity of principle, [dependent origination and nature origination] are not contradictory. Therefore the meaning of manifestation can be both dependent origination and nature origination. If the features are discussed, they manifest relying on conditions, thus it is called dependent origination. Due to the influence of karma of living beings Tathāgata manifests with his great compassion. The eight aspects of Buddha’s life<sup>660</sup> are born from *dharma*-nature, thus it is called nature origination. Now, as it is dependent on conditions, it is dependent origination without [self-]nature, so it is called nature origination. In addition, pure dependent origination is eternally in accordance with nature [origination], thus it is also called nature origination. Therefore the [commentary] says ‘Although response is dependent on conditions, it does not contradict nature [origination].’

今初，立理即不相違門。然出現義亦名緣起，亦名性起。若取相說，覽緣出現，故名緣起。謂由眾生業感，如來大悲而出現故。八相成道從法性生故名性起。今以從緣，無性緣起，即名性起。又淨緣起常順於性，亦名性起。故云：應雖從緣不違性故。<sup>661</sup>

In the subcommentary, Chengguan brilliantly elaborates all those ideas that were formerly advocated by Zhiyan and Fazang, establishing a theological system of the manifestation of the Absolute in the phenomenal world. He shows this process from two points of view, one being dependent origination, the other being nature origination. Like the *Sūtra Manifestation of Tathāgata* he explains manifestation on two levels: the manifestation of Tathāgata in the world as a teacher to save all living beings and the manifestation of the

<sup>658</sup> *Da fangguang fo huyan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 872, a12-15.

<sup>659</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing sui shu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 615, a7-9.

<sup>660</sup> The eight aspects of Buddha’s life: (1) descent into and abode in the Tuṣita heaven; (2) entry into his mother’s womb; (3) abode there visibly preaching to the devas; (4) birth from his mother’s side in Lumbinī; (5) leaving home at 19 (or 25) to be a hermit; (6) attaining enlightenment after six years’ suffering; (7) rolling the Law-wheel, or preaching; (8) entering *nirvāna* at the age of 80. See Soothill 1937: 38.

<sup>661</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing sui shu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 615, a9-15.

wisdom of Tathāgata in living beings. First, he shows that these two kinds of manifestation are not contradictory, because the dependently originated phenomena lack any kind of self-nature: they are empty. From this point of view dependent origination is nature origination. Just like Buddha's career in the world, all of his deeds are intimately connected with *dharmature*, thus it is also called nature origination.

The commentary says: 'There is nothing which is not originated from *dharmadhatu*.' The second is the citation from the Liang Treatise<sup>662</sup> as evidence. This is the aspect that [dependent origination and nature origination] mutually become completed, and it makes it clear that nature becomes completed by conditions. This nature origination has two meanings: first, as the dependent origination is without [self-]nature, this is nature origination; second, as *dharmature* follows conditions, this is called nature origination. The former statement is the first aspect, and the latter one is the second aspect. It also must be said that 'there is nothing which does not return to and realize the *dharmakāya*.'<sup>663</sup> Therefore conditions and the wisdom [of Tathāgata] mutually become completed. This is to say that conditions establish nature, this is the former aspect. However, above we emphasized that they are not contradictory, now we emphasize that they become mutually completed. Thus this is the aspect of mutual completion.

疏：無不從此法界流故者。第二引梁論證成。即相成門，明性成於緣故。此性起自有二義：一從緣無性而為性起，二法性隨緣，故名性起。前段即初義。今段即後義。亦應云無不還證此法身故。此乃緣智相成。即緣成性，即是前義。但前取無違，今取相成。是故此為相成門也。<sup>664</sup>

The close relationship between them is shown by the citation from the *Commentary to the Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*, which says that everything was born from *dharmakāya* and returns there. Chengguan changes the term '*dharmadhatu*' to *dharmakāya*. From the aspect of enlightenment all beings are related to the Absolute. We saw above that dependent origination is nature origination; they are not contradictory. Now, he argues that they mutually become completed. According to Huayan Buddhism, the Absolute is not fixed, is not detached from the phenomenal world, as Yogācāra claims, but is very active. This is called the dependent origination of *tathāgatagarbha*.<sup>665</sup> To appear in the phenomenal world, the Absolute needs

<sup>662</sup> This refers to the *She dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋, *Commentary on the Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* translated by Paramārtha, who first went to the Liang dynasty to offer his services to emperor Wu. Unfortunately Wu soon died, so the Indian master did not get the support that he expected for his activity. (For his biography, see Paul 1984: 11-37.) Here Chengguan refers to the following passage: 無不從此法身生，無不還證此法身。See *She dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋, T31, no. 1595, p. 254, a26.

<sup>663</sup> This too is a quotation from the *Liang Treatise*, see footnote above.

<sup>664</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing sui shu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 615, a15-21.

<sup>665</sup> Lai 1977, 1986.

conditions. Buddha's appearance in the world is conditioned by the living beings who need instruction in order to get rid of suffering.

The commentary says: 'As pure [features] transcend the impure [features], nature is identical with origination.' The third [aspect] clarifies that [dependent origination and nature origination] mutually transcend.<sup>666</sup> This is also to clear away obstacles. Someone might ask: Nature origination is pure and dependent origination includes impure [*dharmas*]. How can dependent origination be identical with nature origination? We will clear up this question. There are two kinds of dependent origination: one is impure, the other is pure. The pure one refers to the compassion of Tathāgata and all practices of bodhisattvas, etc. The impure one refers to the karmic influence of living beings, etc. If the impure [*dharmas*] transcend the pure ones, they belong to the [ordinary] living beings, and this is only dependent origination. Now, pure [*dharmas*] transcend the impure [ones], and this belongs only to Buddha, thus it is called nature origination.

疏：以淨奪染，性即起者。第三明相奪門。亦是通妨。謂有問言：性起唯淨，緣起通染。云何緣起即是性起？故為此通。謂緣起有二：一染、二淨。淨謂如來大悲、菩薩萬行等。染者謂眾生惑業等。若以染奪淨，則屬眾生，故唯緣起。今以淨奪染，唯屬諸佛，故名性起。<sup>667</sup>

Although they are identical, in certain respects they differ. Nature origination is undoubtedly pure, but dependent origination includes also impure *dharmas*, as the negative deeds of living beings are also dependently originated. On the level of ordinary beings who have not attained enlightenment the impure aspect transcends the pure aspect. On the level of Buddha, only pure *dharmas* are found, thus this dependent origination is called nature origination.

The commentary says: 'Without conditions nature cannot be discussed.' This is the fourth aspect, the mutual identity of [dependent origination and nature origination]. This is also to clear away obstacles. Someone might ask: Dependent origination is from the aspect of phenomena, and nature origination is from the aspect of principle. How can they be identical? We will clear up this question. Only if relying on conditions is without [self-] nature, can nature origination appear. Moreover, if conditions are seen, we can conclude that there is nature origination. If there are no conditions, which nature could be discussed? If there were nature without conditions, that would be the nihilism of emptiness.

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<sup>666</sup> Robert Gimello translates *duo* 奪 as sublate, as it includes the meanings of 'to preserve' and 'to abolish' just as the Chinese *duo* does. See Gimello 1976: 494.

<sup>667</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing sui shu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 615, a21-27.

疏：若離於緣，性叵說故者。即第四是相即門。亦是通妨。謂有問言：緣起約事，性起約理。如何相即？故為此通。從緣無性，方顯性起。又由見緣，推知性起。若離於緣，復論何性？離緣有性，是斷空故。<sup>668</sup>

Dependent origination is related to the world of phenomena which is designated as ‘*shi*’ 事 in Huayan Buddhism, while nature origination is the realm of Absolute called ‘*li*’ 理. These terms were introduced by the first patriarch of Huayan Buddhism, Dushun, in his famous treatise *Discernment of Dharma-dhātu* (*Fajie guanmen* 法界觀門). Dushun 杜順 (557-640) substituted the words ‘form’ (*se* 色) and ‘emptiness’ (*kong* 空) for ‘phenomena’ and ‘principle’, respectively. The relation between them is expressed by the well known Huayan phrase, ‘unobstruction of principle and phenomena’ (*lishi wuai* 理事無礙). If nature could exist alone without conditions that would lead to the extreme of nihilism, the overemphasizing of emptiness.

The commentary says: ‘Below the [Tathāgata] blesses Nature Origination’. This fifth section cites this *sūtra* [Manifestation of Tathāgata] as evidence. The teaching is expressed by a person.

疏：下加性起者。即第五段引當經證。即以人表法門。<sup>669</sup>

Here, Chengguan refers to the Bodhisattva Wondrous Quality of the Origination of Tathāgata-nature, the interlocutor of the *sūtra*, who has the compound ‘nature origination’ in his name.

The commentary says: ‘Although the false is identical with the Absolute’. The sixth aspect is that the false conceals the Absolute. Here, we are also clearing away obstacles. The obstacle could be the following. If dependent [origination] is identical with nature [origination], the false originally is empty of self-[nature], its essence is identical with nature [origination]. Why can the impure [*dharmas*] not transcend the pure [ones]? We will clear up this question. The pure dependent [origination] is in accordance with nature [origination], but the impure dependent [origination] is in contrast with it.

疏：妄雖即真下，第六以妄隱真門。亦是解妨。妨云：若緣即性，妄本自空，當體即性。何以不得染奪淨耶？故為此通。淨緣順性，染緣違故。<sup>670</sup>

<sup>668</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing sui shu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 615, a27-b3.

<sup>669</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing sui shu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 615, b3-4.



Finally, the text stresses that even if the false is identical with the Absolute from one aspect, impure dependent origination is in contrast with nature origination. This final statement is very important in terms of Buddhist praxis. If everything were completely pure, there would be no any need for Buddhist cultivation. For a scholar monk, like Chengguan, it was essential to underline the theoretical grounds for Buddhist practice, especially in an age when Chan iconoclasm appeared. Chengguan's disciple, Zongmi 宗密 (780-841), who was also the patriarch of Chan Buddhism, continued his teacher's work: he further elaborated the relationship between dependent origination and nature origination, and emphasized Buddhist cultivation.

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<sup>670</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing sui shu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 615, b4-7.

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V. Faith and Practice in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and Huayan school

## 1. “Faith” in Buddhism

In the West it is quite common to think that Buddhism is different from other world religions in that it does not require its followers to have solid faith in a transcendental being. This faith is a prerequisite for Christians, who first have to accept the existence of God and of his will. Westerners who favour the rational aspect of Buddhism tend to regard Buddhism as a kind of philosophy or attitude towards life, and emphasise that Buddhism can be practiced without faith in an external God, as Buddha himself never relied on these forces.

As Luis O. Gómez says: “The most common English theological meanings are the ones that have the most questionable similarity to historical Buddhist belief and practice: acceptance of and secure belief in the existence of a personal creator deity (“belief in”), acceptance of such deity as a unique person with a distinctive name, the unquestioned acceptance of this deity’s will, and the adoption of the articles of dogma believed to express the deity’s will.”<sup>671</sup>

In terms of a creative God who can influence the lives of living beings, it must be true that Buddha and his early followers did not proclaim the necessity of this kind of faith. However, it is not true that Buddhism can be practiced without faith, even if the Buddhist faith is not related to a transcendental being. First of all, it is impossible to practice Buddhism without accepting the law of karma and rebirth. If someone does not believe that his/her deeds have a consequence for this life or even subsequent lives why follow the noble eightfold path of Buddha, why should one meditate, or bother about Buddhist ethics? Of course the law of karma and rebirth can be experienced at an advanced level of meditation, but unfortunately this level cannot be reached by the ordinary practitioner; thus they have to suppose or have faith that Buddhist practice is beneficial for their future. An early Buddhist text is aware of this risk, which the Buddha’s followers must take, but it recommends that followers pursue a moral life because even if karma and rebirth do not exist and they will not enjoy a better life in the future, at least they will be praised by wise people for their meritorious deeds.<sup>672</sup>

In early Buddhism the historical Buddha was not regarded a transcendental being, and in this sense he was different from Jesus, who being the son of God was said to have a transcendental nature. Yet, Buddha’s followers must have had faith in Buddha as an authentic religious teacher and in Buddha’s teaching, which is supposed to help people eliminate

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<sup>671</sup> Gómez 2004: 277.

<sup>672</sup> Harvey 1990: 44.

sufferings and bring happiness. As we saw, even in the early period of Buddhism faith played a crucial role in the process of proselytizing, and with the rise of Mahāyāna faith became an increasingly integral part of Buddhism.

After the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha, he gradually became deified and was endowed with transcendental characteristics. Hirakawa Aikra was probably wrong to exaggerate the role of the laity in the *stūpa* cult, but he rightly pointed out that the service built up around this cult could have been essential in the process of Buddha's elevation to the transcendental level.<sup>673</sup> The Buddhology evolving out of the newly emerging genre of Buddhist literature of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Mahāyāna *sūtras*, provided rich and complex details of Buddha's transcendency. The *Lotus sūtra* introduced a paradigmatic change in the concept of the Buddha by claiming that Buddha's *nirvāṇa* was only an *upāya* and that he, in fact, did not go to *nirvāṇa*; consequently Buddha is ever-abiding, always present, and people can have permanent contact with him. With the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha, it seemed that the authentic teachings were no longer accessible, and that their transmission had ended forever. With the appearance of this new teaching, however, transmission could start again, and all the later scriptures attributed to Buddha could become authentic sources of Buddha's word, the *buddhavacana*.

All these transcendental qualities - being ever-abiding, eternal, omnipresent, compassionate and so on, - paved the way for Buddha to become an object of faith, in the same way as God becomes the centre of worship in other world religions. It is hard to deny that this concept is in contradiction with the original aim of the founder, who spread the ascetic teaching of curbing desire in order to reach liberation. The art of Gandhāra served the ideal physical objects for the worship of Buddha, who is depicted as an idealised god with perfect harmony and transcendental wisdom.

## 2. Faith and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*

The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, or *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, is said to be the most perfect teaching of the Buddha as it directly reveals the experience of enlightenment that Buddha went through under the bodhi tree. It shows the *dharma-dhātu*, the realm of reality which is the world of all phenomena but viewed from a spiritual level, that of Buddha. Of

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<sup>673</sup> Hirakawa 1963.

course this world-view is not easy to access, as it presupposes the experience of enlightenment that ordinary people have not realised.

It is not easy to imagine and accept that the whole world can be contained in a single particle of dust as taught in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. However this world-view resulted from Buddha's enlightenment, the teaching of the *sūtra* is *Buddhavacana* and thus it must be true. In this case the reader must have faith to acknowledge the statement of the *sūtra* as a valid teaching. The *sūtra* explicitly stresses the importance of this faith:

“Faith is the basis of the path, the mother of virtues,  
Nourishing and growing all good ways,  
Cutting away the net of doubt,  
freeing from the torrent of passion,  
Revealing the unsurpassed road of ultimate peace.

信為道元功德母，    長養一切諸善法，  
斷除疑網出愛流，    開示涅槃無上道。<sup>674</sup>

...

Faith can go beyond the pathways of demons,  
And reveal the unsurpassed road of liberation.  
Faith is the unspoiled seed of virtue,  
Faith can grow the seed of enlightenment.”<sup>675</sup>

信能超出眾魔路，    示現無上解脫道。  
信為功德不壞種，    信能生長菩提樹<sup>676</sup>

As the text says, faith is the “basis of the path” as the practitioner is convinced by faith about the meaningful purpose of the practice that is enlightenment or liberation from all sufferings. On the one hand, faith in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is required to accept the teachings about the Buddha's realm described in the scripture; on the other hand it is necessary for religious practice. Faith is mentioned as a prerequisite to proceed on the religious path in several chapters of the *sūtra*: it brings about positive results such as eliminating difficulties, or understanding the *Dharma*. Thus faith has a “causative” role.<sup>677</sup>

<sup>674</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 72, b18-19.

<sup>675</sup> Cleary: 1993: 331-332.

<sup>676</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 72, b27-28.

<sup>677</sup> Dirck Vorenkamp made a detailed study on the meaning of faith in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and Fazang's understanding of faith in *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. He concludes that the *sūtra* represents the traditional Buddhist view on faith, maintaining that

The Bodhisattva Diamond Treasury hesitates to teach about the ten grounds, suspecting that the disciples gathered together do not have the necessary faith to listen to profound teaching. He starts teaching only after he has been assured of the presence of faith in the listeners.<sup>678</sup>

### 3. Fifty-two stages

In a detailed study Itō Zuiei showed that the central concept of the *sūtra* is the cause of enlightenment, the bodhisattva's activity, the bodhisattva-*caryā* and the result of the practice, enlightenment. The cause aspect is depicted in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, and the result aspect is the *Tathāgatotpatti-saṃbhava-nirdeśa-sūtra*.<sup>679</sup> The two *sūtras* once circulated independently, but became incorporated into the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.<sup>680</sup>

These two chapters might have served as a model for establishing the fifty-two stages which became the stages through which a bodhisattva must pass on the way from initial faith up to final enlightenment. The fifty-two stages include ten stages of faith (*shixin* 十信), ten abodes (*shizhu* 十住), ten practices (*shixing* 十行), ten dedications of merit (*shihuixiang* 十迴向), ten grounds (*shidi* 十地), virtual enlightenment (*dengjue* 等覺, also known as *wugou di* 無垢地), and marvellous enlightenment (*miaojue* 妙覺).<sup>681</sup>

However the category of ten faiths does not originate from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, but can be found in the *Sūtra of Benevolent King* (*Renwang hu guo bore luomiduo jing* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經)<sup>682</sup> and the Bodhisattvas' *Diadem Primary Activities Sūtra* (*Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經).<sup>683</sup> The ten faiths are: 1. the stage of faith (*xinxin* 信心), 2. the stage of mindfulness (*nianxin* 念心), 3. the stage of endeavour (*jingjin xin* 精進心), 4. the stage of mental stability (*dingxin* 定心), 5. the stage of the wisdom of understanding emptiness (*huixin* 慧心), 6. the stage of pure self-restraint (*jiexin* 戒心), 7. the stage of the returning of merit (*huixiang xin* 迴向心), 8. the stage of maintaining the *dharma* within

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faith brings about wisdom. However, Fazang due to the Huayan doctrine of intercontainment, claims that faith must rely on prior understanding. See Vorenkamp 1997: 65-135.

<sup>678</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 543, a24-b6.

<sup>679</sup> Itō 1988.

<sup>680</sup> Hamar 2007a.

<sup>681</sup> Charles Muller: Digital dictionary of Buddhism [http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?4e.xml+id\('b4e94-5341-4e8c-4f4d'\)](http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?4e.xml+id('b4e94-5341-4e8c-4f4d'))

<sup>682</sup> *Renwang hu guo bore luomiduo jing* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經, T08, no. 246, p. 836, b17-22.

<sup>683</sup> *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經, T24, no. 1485, p. 1017, a18-22.

oneself (*hufa xin* 護法心), 9. the stage of detachment (*shexin* 捨心), 10. the stage of aspiration (*yuanxin* 願心).

The founder of the Tiantai school, Zhiyi 智顛 (538-597), when introducing the stages of the bodhisattva in terms of the distinct teaching (*biejiao* 別教), mentions the fifty-two stages of the Bodhisattvas' *Diadem Primary Activities Sūtra*.<sup>684</sup> Although he also mentions that Huayan includes forty one stages, as Huayan is regarded as distinct teaching, the fifty-two stages became associated with Huayan in Tiantai Buddhism, and Huayan scholars also adopted this view.<sup>685</sup> The concept of ten faiths might have been a Chinese innovation as the two sūtras where this occurs are regarded as apocryphal, which means that they were probably authored in China.<sup>686</sup>

It is called “ten faiths”, but in fact all ten members are related to mind or mental state (*xin* 心) and not to faith (*xin* 信). It is only the first member, the state of mind of faith, which has a connection with faith; the other members all represent various aspects of religious practice. These ten faiths are not elaborated in the sūtra, but the 12th chapter, *Chief in Goodness* contains many passages about the importance of faith so this chapter, which precedes the chapters *Ten Abodes* (15), *Ten Practices* (21), *Ten Dedications* (25) and *Ten Grounds* (26) can be regarded the source for ten faiths. When Chengguan arranges the chapters into assemblies, he states that the ten faiths are taught in the Hall of Universal Light at the second assembly where the chapter *Chief in Goodness* is preached.<sup>687</sup>

#### 4. Faith is complete enlightenment

The bodhisattva path is divided into stages which require various capacities, and the path involves the practitioner's spiritual evolution as he/she goes through the stages until finally complete enlightenment is reached. By elaborating fifty-two stages the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* seems to teach a gradual path, starting from initial faith up to enlightenment. However, this is not so obvious as there is one sentence in the sūtra which seems to imply a different meaning. This sentence with its context runs thus:

<sup>684</sup> *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi* 妙法蓮華經玄義, T33, no. 1716: p. 732, a7-14.

<sup>685</sup> Yoshizu 1992. For the later incorporation of ten faith in Tiantai Buddhism, see Chappell 1983: 131.

<sup>686</sup> Another proof for the Chinese origins could be that only Paramārtha's translation of Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* (*She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論) includes references to ten faiths. See Yoshizu 1992: 274.

<sup>687</sup> 第二會普光法堂說十信法門, See *Da Huayan jing celie* 大華嚴經略策, T36, no. 1737, p. 702, b6.

“Ten things should also be cultivated: knowledge of what is so and what is not; knowledge of past, present, and future consequences of actions; knowledge of all meditations, liberations, and concentrations; knowledge of superiority and inferiority of faculties; knowledge of all kinds of understandings; knowledge of all kinds of realms; knowledge of where all paths lead; unhindered clairvoyance; unhindered knowledge of past lives, knowledge of the eternal cancellation of habit energy. Contemplating on all these ten powers of the enlightened, in each power are innumerable meanings; one should ask about them, and after having heard about them should arouse a mind of great kindness and compassion and observe sentient beings without abandoning them, reflect on the teaching unceasingly, carry out superlative deeds without seeking rewards, comprehend that objects are like dreams, like illusions, like reflections, like echoes, and like magical productions. If enlightening beings can unite with such contemplations, they will not entertain a dualistic understanding of things; and all enlightening teachings will become evident to them: at the time of their first determination they will immediately attain complete perfect enlightenment, will know all things are the mind’s own nature, and will perfect the body of wisdom and understand without relying on another.”<sup>688</sup>

復應修習十種法。何者為十？所謂：處非處智、過現未來業報智、諸禪解脫三昧智、諸根勝劣智、種種解智、種種界智、一切至處道智、天眼無礙智、宿命無礙智、永斷習氣智。於如來十力，一一觀察；一一力中，有無量義，悉應諮問。聞已，應起大慈悲心，觀察眾生而不捨離；思惟諸法，無有休息；行無上業，不求果報；了知境界如幻如夢，如影如響，亦如變化。若諸菩薩能與如是觀行相應，於諸法中不生二解，一切佛法疾得現前，初發心時即得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提，知一切法即心自性，成就慧身，不由他悟。

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The passage says that a bodhisattva should contemplate on the Buddha’s ten powers, arouse a compassionate mind toward living beings, and understand the non-reality of all things. Having attained this non-dual mind, all Buddha’s teachings become clear, and at this initial stage he can have a perfect enlightenment which makes him realise that all things or teachings are none other than the self nature of the mind. The last statement seems to refer to Yogācāra teachings, but Buddhābhadra’s translation is different:

“At the time of their first determination they will immediately attain Buddhahood, and understand the real nature of all things.”

<sup>688</sup> Cleary 402-403.

<sup>689</sup> See *Chapter Religious Practice (Fanxing pin 梵行品)*, *Da fangguang fo huayan jing 大方廣佛華嚴經*, T10, no. 279, p. 88, c21-p. 89, a3.



初發心時便成正覺。知一切法真實之性。<sup>690</sup>

If we compare these two versions with the Tibetan text, we find that the Tibetan version supports the former Chinese version. It also says that the bodhisattva realises that all *dharmas* have the nature of mind, and thus can accomplish the wisdom that is not dependent on others.

“He understands the non-dual nature of all *dharmas*, and by the first determination he will achieve the state of full enlightenment. As he knows all *dharmas* as the nature of mind, not dependent on any others, he becomes endowed with the embodiment of wisdom.”

des chos de dag gnyis-su med-par rtogs-pas sems dang-po bskyed-pa nyid-kyis / blana-med-pa yang-dag-par rdzogs-pa'i byang-chub-tu mngon par 'tshang-rgya-ba'i gnas yod-do / chos thams-cad sems-kyi rang-bzhin-du shes-pas gzhan gyi dring mi 'jog-par shes-rab-kyi phung-po dang yang ldan-par 'gyur-ro /<sup>691</sup>

## 5. Enlightenment at the stage of faith in Huayan Buddhism

The second Huayan patriarch, Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668), who inherited the teaching of the Dilun 地論 and Shelun 攝論 schools, realised the importance of the enlightenment at the stage of faith, but laid more emphasis on the gradual path of the ten grounds in Bodhisattva career. It was the third patriarch, Fazang 法藏 (643-712), who claimed that the enlightenment at the stage of faith (*xinman cheng fo* 信滿成佛) is a unique doctrine of the distinct teaching of one vehicle (*biejiao yisheng* 別教一乘).<sup>692</sup> He underlined the importance of faith:

“Now, those wishing to enter the *dharmadhātu* of non-hindrance must awaken penetrating, resolute faith. The reason is that resolute faith is made the basic foundation and the ground for a multitude of practice. All practices are born from resolute faith. Thus resolute faith is listed first and it is made the point of departure.”<sup>693</sup>

<sup>690</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 449, c14-15.

<sup>691</sup> Chapter 21 *Tshangs-par spyod-pa*, p. 11. Tog Palace manuscript of Tibetan Kanjur.

<sup>692</sup> Yoshizu 1992: 282-287.

<sup>693</sup> Unno 1964: 69.

今欲入法界無礙者要先發得徹到信心。何者以信為初基。眾行之本。一切諸行皆藉信生。是故最初舉信為始也。<sup>694</sup>

Fazang's fellow disciple under Zhiyan, the Korean Ūisang 義湘 (625-702), might have influenced his views on the importance of enlightenment at the stage of faith.<sup>695</sup> Ūisang emphasises that in terms of the perfect teaching of one vehicle a bodhisattva at the initial stage of faith is identical with a Buddha.

“Question: A first stage bodhisattva means a bodhisattva of the [nascent] faith stage. If so, this is the position of the disciple. However, one who has achieved right enlightenment is in the stage of Buddha. This is a great teacher. Superior and inferior are not equal. Positions and stages are also different. Why then are head and feet placed in the same position?

Answer: The *dharma* and function of the three vehicle law of expedient means and the one vehicle law in the round teaching are different. Both of them should be distinguished without confusion. What is meant by this? In the three vehicle law, head and feet are different. The years and months of an old man and a baby are not the same. Why so? Because it is based on marks. Because of producing the heart of [nascent] faith in the one vehicle round teaching, head and feet are comprehensively one. [Now] the years and months of an old man and a baby are the same. How? Because they are [both] established by causal conditions and based upon universal-principle.”<sup>696</sup>

問。初發心菩薩者。信地菩薩。即是弟子位。成正覺者佛地。即是大師位。高下不同。位地今一別。何以故。同處並頭腳耶。  
答。三乘方便法。與圓教一乘法。法用逗留。各別不得雜用。其其義云何。三乘法頭腳各別何耶。兒子年月不同。何故如是。約相說故。生信心故。圓教一乘法者。頭腳總一。阿耶兒子年月皆同總。何以故。由緣成故。約道理說故。<sup>697</sup>

Fazang regarded the *dharma-dhātu* dependent arising (*fajie yuanqi* 法界緣起) as the central concept of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. One of the most important Chinese Huayan innovations is the tenet of the ten mysterious gates, which is said to describe the interrelated existence of the *dharma-dhātu*. The third gate reveals that all *dharmas* are mutually identified freely (*zhufa xiangji zizai* 諸法相即自在). Here, Fazang refers to the enlightenment at the stage of faith, saying that after the arousal of the *bodhicitta* the bodhisattva has limitless merit.

<sup>694</sup> *Huayan you xin fajie ji* 華嚴遊心法界記, T45, no. 1877, p. 645, b22-25.

<sup>695</sup> Fazang's friendship with the Korean monk is well attested by his letter to him. See Forte 2000.

<sup>696</sup> Odin 1982: 210.

<sup>697</sup> *Hwaōm ilsūng pōkyedo* 華嚴一乘法界圖, T 45, no. 1887A, p. 715, b3-10.

This implies that at the beginning of his spiritual path a bodhisattva already accomplishes all the merits of the subsequent stages.

“All *dharma*s are mutually identified freely. All these above meanings [i.e., the *dharma*s of dependent origination] are [such that] one is identical with all and all are identical with the one, and they are perfectly free and unhindered in their interfusion. With reference to common essence, [one] of itself possesses and includes all *dharma*s. However, the all of these [*dharma* “A”] also in themselves are mutually inclusive, because they are repeatedly inexhaustible [in their interrelations]. However, this inexhaustibility is within the first category. Therefore this [*Avatamsaka*] *sūtra* says, ‘The qualities of a single thought of a bodhisattva who has aroused the first thought of enlightenment are deep and extensive, without boundaries. The Tathāgata [himself] could not finish describing them if he took an eon.’<sup>698</sup> How much more so if [the bodhisattva] were to possess and cultivate the meritorious practices of the ten perfections [pāramitā] and ten stages [bhūmi] for boundless, innumerable, immeasurable eons!”<sup>699</sup>

三者諸法相即自在門。此上諸義一即一切。一切即一。圓融自在無礙成耳。若約同體門中。即自具足攝一切法也。然此自一切復自相入。重重無盡故也。然此無盡皆悉在初門中也。故此經云。初發心菩薩。一念之切德。深廣無邊際。如來分別說。窮劫不能盡。何況於無邊無數無量劫。具足修諸度諸地功德行。<sup>700</sup>

Zhiyan emphasised the gradual path of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* while Fazang advocated enlightenment by accomplishing faith. The fourth patriarch, Chengguan was aware of this contradiction in the scriptures, and made efforts to interpret the text in such a way that the obvious contradiction, which is unacceptable in a sacred scripture, becomes resolved. Fazang, explaining the stages of spiritual path, established two categories: the gradual (*cidi xingbu* 次第行布) and mutual interfusion (*yuanrong* 圓融相攝).<sup>701</sup> Chengguan elaborated further:

“The sixth is elucidating the stages. It shows the bodhisattvas the practice as the cause of Buddhahood. To reach the end of a road it must have stages. ‘The great treasure of a sage is his rank.’<sup>702</sup> If there is no stage, practice cannot be completed. There are two aspects. The first is the gradual way, as different stages are established. The second is a way of interfusion, as one stage includes the other stages. If any of the stages is completed, it leads to Buddhahood. The

<sup>698</sup> *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 433, a2-6.

<sup>699</sup> Cook 1970: 498-499.

<sup>700</sup> *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章, T45, no. 1866, p. 505, a26-b4.

<sup>701</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T35, no. 1733, p. 108, c3-8.

<sup>702</sup> Reference to *Zhouyi xici xia chuan* 周易繫辭下傳, Chapter 1.

first ground says: ‘One ground includes the merits of all grounds’<sup>703</sup> Faith comprises the ocean of result. ‘At the time of their first determination they will immediately attain Buddhahood.’ However, these two ways are unobstructed. The gradual way is from the perspective of teaching, and the way of interfusion is from the perspective of the function of absolute nature. The phenomena are the phenomena that are identical with nature, thus the gradual way does not obstruct the way of interfusion. The nature is the nature that is identical with the phenomena, thus the way of interfusion does not obstruct the gradual way. The way of interfusion does not obstruct the gradual way, thus one is immeasurable. The gradual way does not obstruct the way of interfusion, thus the immeasurable is one. The immeasurable is one thus the phenomena are interfused in a hidden way. One is immeasurable, thus phenomena are interconnected in innumerable ways.”

六彰地位者。為顯菩薩修行佛因。一道至果有階差故。夫聖人之大寶曰位。若無此位行無成故。此亦二種。一行布門。立位差別故。二圓融門。一位即攝一切位故。一一位滿即至佛故。初地云。一地之中。具攝一切諸地功德。信該果海。初發心時便成正覺等。然此二無礙。以行布是教相施設。圓融是理性德用。相是即性之相。故行布不礙圓融。性是即相之性。故圓融不礙行布。圓融不礙行布。故一為無量。行布不礙圓融。故無量為一。無量為一。故融通隱隱。一為無量故涉入重重。<sup>704</sup>

Chengguan explains that the stages on the religious path can be viewed from the perspectives of teaching and of the absolute truth. In terms of teaching various stages can be established, thus the fifty-two stages discussed above are depicted as the way of a bodhisattva to enlightenment. However, in terms of the final truth, on the level of *tathatā* or thusness which is realised by the Buddha in his enlightenment, these stages are interfused. This is the reason why the *sūtra* also teaches that at the first stage the practitioner is completely enlightened. In addition, these two perspectives do not obstruct each other, thus they can be true at the same time. This is how the vision of endless interconnection is revealed.

## 6. The four models of cultivation and enlightenment

As we have seen above, on the basis of the *Buddhāvataṃśaka-sūtra* the Huayan monks attempted to combine initial enlightenment at the level of faith with the final enlightenment at the end of bodhisattva path. However, the new Chinese paradigm of enlightenment, sudden

<sup>703</sup>The original text of the *sūtra* says: 住於一地。普攝一切諸地功德, *Shijian jingyan pin* 世間淨眼品. See *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T09, no. 278, p. 395, b25-26.

<sup>704</sup>*Da fangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T35, no. 1735, p. 504, b16-28.

enlightenment, had become widespread in Chinese religious thinking due to the growing influence of Chan Buddhism. The sudden enlightenment of Chan is not linked to the initial enlightenment at the stage of faith, but occurs due to the realisation of Buddha-nature. The practitioner becomes aware of his/her possession of Buddha nature, and at that moment experiences enlightenment. In this case the question naturally arises: why should one bother about any kind of religious practice once one is enlightened? Chan monks certainly challenged the Indian way of gradual cultivation, but Huayan monks tried to show that cultivation is still necessary even if one experiences sudden enlightenment. The fourth patriarch, Chengguan showed the theoretical context in which gradual practice can be substantiated while the fifth patriarch, Zongmi, who was Chengguan's disciple and greatly indebted to his master's works, and at the same time the patriarch of the Heze lineage of Chan Buddhism, argued for the importance of gradual cultivation after sudden enlightenment.

In his commentary on the first chapter of the *Huayan jing*, Chengguan refers to the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* where Mahāmati asks how Buddha purges living beings from the manifestations of their minds (*zixin xianliu* 自心現流).<sup>705</sup> Buddha provides four similes for gradual purification and four similes for sudden purification.<sup>706</sup> This process of purification is gradual like the ripening of mango fruit, or making pottery, the origination of the world or mastering various skills techniques. However, it is also described as sudden like objects being reflected by a bright mirror, objects being illuminated by the Sun and Moon, the creation of the environment by *ālayavijñāna*, or the illumination of Buddha's light. Next, Chengguan further elaborates upon the term "sudden" by setting up four alternatives.

1. Sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation (*dunwu jianxiu* 頓悟漸修): it is as if one can suddenly see a nine-layered platform, but one must go through the different levels before getting on the top of it. One suddenly understands the nature of the mind, realizing that his mind is identical with Buddha, and it includes all *dharmas*. Then one must collect merits by cultivating various practices. This is from the aspect of initial enlightenment (*jiewu* 解悟).

2. Sudden cultivation followed by gradual enlightenment (*dunxiu jianwu* 頓修漸悟): this is like rubbing a mirror: the mirror is rubbed everywhere at the same time, yet its brightness appears gradually. All practices are cultivated suddenly, but enlightenment is reached gradually. This is from the aspect of final enlightenment (*zhengwu* 證悟).

<sup>705</sup>*Da fanguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 164, b10-p. 165, a2.

<sup>706</sup>*Lengqie abaduoluo baojing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, T16, no. 670, p. 485c27-p. 486, a10.

3. Sudden cultivation followed by sudden enlightenment (*dunxiu dunwu* 頓修頓悟): this is like when silk is cut with a sharp sword and all the fibres are cut simultaneously, or when silk is dyed and the whole piece of silk becomes dyed simultaneously, receiving a colour. All practices are cultivated together and simultaneously enlightenment is bright.

4. Gradual cultivation followed by gradual enlightenment (*jianxiu jianwu* 漸修漸悟): this is like cutting bamboo gnarl by gnarl.

On first looking at this scheme of the dichotomy of gradual and sudden enlightenment and cultivation we are inclined to conclude that here Chengguan emphasizes the possibility of gradual or sudden enlightenment. However, what he wants to underline is rather the importance of cultivation, be it gradual or sudden. Elsewhere he criticizes those Chan monks who neglect cultivation claiming that “the mirror is originally bright”.<sup>707</sup> Chengguan argues that from the aspect of principle we can speak about inherent wisdom, and from the aspect of phenomena we can speak about the wisdom of Buddha. Even if the mirror of mind is originally clear, it is buried by infinite afflictions, and ordinary people have not realized what Buddha has. As principle and phenomena are unobstructed, the pursuit of cultivation is identical with its non-pursuit. This kind of cultivation is non-cultivation (*wuxiu* 無修), and non-cultivation is the real cultivation (*zhenxiu* 真修).<sup>708</sup>

After the translation of the forty-fascicle *Huayan jing* was completed in 798, by imperial command Chengguan made a commentary on it. By this time, as a leader of the Buddhist community he must have experienced the growing influence of Chan Buddhism. In his New Commentary he responded to the challenges of Chan by including a chapter in his introduction to the commentary. The title of this chapter, which is not found in his earlier commentary, is *the discussion of various levels of cultivation and realization (bian xiuzheng qianshen* 辨修證淺深).<sup>709</sup> He adopts the famous Chan slogan saying that the teaching of *Huayan jing* was transmitted from Buddha and then from mind to mind, not relying on writing.

He divides the learning of wisdom (*huixue* 慧學) into nature and characteristics, and the learning of meditation (*dingxue* 定學) into gradual and sudden. As in a previous chapter he discussed the ten differences between nature and characteristics,<sup>710</sup> he goes on to expound the meaning of gradual and sudden. Under the rubric of gradual he refers to the Northern school

<sup>707</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 164, c20-22.

<sup>708</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736: p. 9, a26-27.

<sup>709</sup> *Huayan jing xingyuan pin shu* 華嚴經行願品疏, X05, no. 227, p. 64, a20-p. 65, a15 // Z 1:7, p. 251, d8-p. 252, d3 // R7, p. 502, b8-p. 504, b3.

<sup>710</sup> For a detailed explanation on the ten differences, see Hamar 2007b.

of Chan, and defines it as observing the mind and cultivating purification (*kanxin xiujing* 看心修淨). He takes up two models under the term gradual: sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation (*dunwu jianxiu* 頓悟漸修) and gradual cultivation followed by gradual enlightenment (*jianxiu jianwu* 漸修漸悟). He describes sudden as direct pointing at the essence of mind or the sudden elimination of verbal expressions. Two models for the sudden way are mentioned: sudden cultivation followed by sudden enlightenment (*dunxiu dunwu* 頓修頓悟) and non-cultivation followed by non-enlightenment (*wuxiu wuwu* 無修無悟). Chengguan claims that though these sudden and gradual methods seem to be different, in fact they are only different paths that lead to the same goal. What is really a crucial question is whether one can obtain meaning (*deyi* 得意) or not. If one understands the meaning of the teaching then both methods are supreme, but if one loses it then both of them deteriorate.

Next, he explains the object of enlightenment (*suowu* 所悟), the method of enlightenment (*neng wuru fa* 能悟入法) and the characteristics of enlightenment (*wuxiang* 悟相). He describes the object of enlightenment in the following way:

“The object of enlightenment is the following. Some say that the essence of mind is separated from thought, the original nature is pure, and is neither born nor perishes. It is mostly from the aspect of gradual [way]. Some say that the non-abiding, empty and quiescent Tathatā transcends characteristics; or the false is empty and the absolute is existent; or the false is existent and the absolute is empty; or mind is identical with Buddha, and the teaching of Buddha inherently exists [in all living beings]. These [statements] mostly belong to the sudden way. However, as neither of [the sudden and gradual ways] go beyond the nature and characteristics of mind, they can be applied together.”

然其所悟：或言心體離念，本性清淨，不生不滅，多約漸也。或云無住空寂真如絕相，或妄空真有，或妄有真空，或即心即佛，非心非佛，本具佛法，多屬頓門。然皆不離心之性相，並可通用。<sup>711</sup>

Despite of the discrepancies between the Northern and Southern schools he underlines that these two stances are not contradictory but rather complementary.<sup>712</sup>

<sup>711</sup>*Huayan jing xingyuan pin shu* 華嚴經行願品疏, X05, no. 227, p. 64, b7-11 // Z 1:7, p. 252, a1-5 // R7, p. 503, a1-5.

<sup>712</sup>*Da fanguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36, no. 1736, p. 261, c7-13.

Concerning the methods of enlightenment, Chengguan takes up meditation and wisdom. He emphasizes that these two methods should be practiced together, as it is the only correct way.

The last section, the characteristics of enlightenment is the lengthiest section, occupying half of this chapter. At the beginning he states that there are two kinds of characteristics: initial enlightenment (*jiewu* 解悟) and final enlightenment (*zhengwu* 證悟). Initial enlightenment is the clear understanding of nature and characteristics [of the mind] (*mingliao xingxiang* 明了性相), while final enlightenment is the arrival of mind at the enigmatic supreme (*xin zao xuanji* 心造玄極). Initial enlightenment must refer to the realization of the inherently pure nature, final enlightenment to complete enlightenment after cultivation. This pair of terms resemble the terms *benjue* 本覺 and *shijue* 始覺 from the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*.<sup>713</sup>

Next, a discussion of four models of enlightenment and cultivation is found.

1. Sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation. This is from the aspect of initial enlightenment. After an abrupt understanding of the nature of mind, gradual cultivation leads to unification with it. Enlightenment is like the shining of the moon, as it suddenly makes everything bright. Cultivation is like rubbing the mirror: it becomes clear gradually.

2. Gradual cultivation followed by sudden enlightenment. This is from the aspect of final enlightenment. First it is realized that all objects are only consciousness, then the original purity of mind is seen. Both mind and object become quiescent.

3. Gradual cultivation followed by gradual enlightenment. This also represents final enlightenment. Both cultivation and enlightenment are like climbing a tower: the feet are getting higher and higher and more and more distant vistas come into sight.

4. Sudden cultivation and sudden enlightenment. In our discussion of the previous three models we surmised that the sequence of characters implies a temporal sequence of enlightenment and cultivation. However, in the case of the fourth model Chengguan further specifies the temporal sequence of enlightenment and cultivation, explaining three alternatives. The first is when enlightenment is followed by cultivation (*xianwu houxiu* 先悟後修), which is initial enlightenment. The second is when practice is followed by

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<sup>713</sup>*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論, T32, no. 1666, p. 576, b14-16.



enlightenment, which is final enlightenment. The third is when practice and enlightenment are simultaneous. This includes both initial and final enlightenment.

In the following table I summarize the four models of enlightenment and practice in Chengguan's Subcommentary and New Commentary.

<i>Subcommentary</i>	<i>New Commentary 1.</i>	<i>New Commentary 2.</i>
1. 頓悟漸修 解悟	1. 頓悟漸修 漸	1. 頓悟漸修 解悟
2. 頓修漸悟 證悟	4. 無修無悟 頓	2. 漸修頓悟 證悟
3. 頓修頓悟	3. 頓修頓悟 頓	4. 頓修頓悟 先悟後修 解悟 先修後悟 證悟 修悟一時 悟道解證
4. 漸修漸悟	2. 漸修漸悟 漸	3. 漸修漸悟 證悟

Three of the four models are identical, but the second row in the table contains different names. As for the terms initial enlightenment and final enlightenment, we can conclude that Chengguan designates as initial enlightenment those cases where enlightenment is not the result of a practice but appears before it, while final enlightenment is preceded by cultivation. Using these terms Chengguan transplanted the terms *benjue* and *shijue* of Awakening of Faith into the context of Chan Buddhism. Thus he could retain the meaning and importance of Buddhist cultivation. His disciple Zongmi 宗密 (780-841), who was not only the patriarch of the Huayan lineage but also a patriarch of the Chan lineage, adopted his master's scheme and elaborated further on the significance of initial and final enlightenment. He chose the model of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation as the ideal way for Buddhist practitioners.

#### 7. Li Tongxuan: faith in the identity of sentient beings and buddhas

Fazang and Chengguan represented the scholar monk lineage of Huayan Buddhism that emphasised the scholastic interpretation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, and religious practice seems to be only secondary. However, the famous Huayan hermit Li Tongxuan 李通

玄 (635-730), who was worshipped as a saint by the populace even though he was not an ordained monk, was less scholastic in his writings on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.<sup>714</sup> Kojima Taizan tried to prove that Li Tongxuan represented the Wutaishan lineage of the Huayan school, which stressed religious practice.<sup>715</sup> Although Seunghak Koh disproves Kojima's claims, as Li Tongxuan had no close relation with Wutaishan, his Huayan philosophy has been described as practice-oriented.<sup>716</sup>

The practice that Li Tongxuan suggests is no practice as all sentient beings are originally enlightened and there is no difference between sacred and ordinary. The absolute and the ordinary are both real (*zhen su ju zhen* 真俗俱真) in the one true *dharma-dhātu* (*yi zhen fajie* 一真法界).<sup>717</sup> He does not accept the temporal sequence of cause and result, which would imply an assiduous religious cultivation before attaining buddhahood, but proposes the simultaneity of cause and effect (*yinguo tongshi* 因果同時).<sup>718</sup> While Fazang and Chengguan stated that due to the mutual unobstruction one level of the bodhisattva path can include all the other levels, Li Tongxuan claims that the fifty-two stages are only expedient means, and in reality each level is identical with Buddha, and Buddha is identical with all levels (*zhuwei ze fo fo ze zhuwei* 諸位則佛佛則諸位).<sup>719</sup> He says that Mañjuśrī represents the cause, while the Buddha of immovable wisdom is the result. However, the cause and result are not different in terms of the essence (*yinguo tongti wu er* 因果同體無二).<sup>720</sup>

On the level of ordinary beings the identity of Buddhas' realm and sentient beings' realm is difficult to realize, thus only faith can bridge the gap between the two realms. Sentient beings must believe that their minds are not different from Buddhas' minds. As Li says:

“If they do not believe that their body and the Buddha's body are non-dual in terms of cause and effect in the stage of the ten faiths, they cannot establish [firm] faith and understanding. Therefore it is said in the chapter *The Tathāgata's Manifestation* (*Rulai chuxian pin* 如來出現品), “Bodhisattvas should know that a moment of their own mind contains all buddhas from the ten directions who attain right enlightenment and turn the wheel of correct *dharma*. Why is it so?”

<sup>714</sup> For a summary of Li Tongxuan's teaching, see Gimello 1983; For his ideas on faith and practice, see Shim 1987.

<sup>715</sup> Kojima 1996, 1997.

<sup>716</sup> Koh 2011: 275-280.

<sup>717</sup> *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論, T36, no. 1739, p. 739, c21-24.

<sup>718</sup> *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論, T36, no. 1739, p. 740, b29-c4.

<sup>719</sup> *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論, T36, no. 1739, p. 741, a7.

<sup>720</sup> *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論, T36, no. 1739, p. 752, a7. Shibasaki 1987.

The Buddha's mind and their minds are non-dual." Only when you have such faith can it be called faith."<sup>721</sup>

十信之中若不信自身與佛身因果無二者。不成信解。是故如來出現品云。菩薩摩訶薩應知自心之內一念中有十方諸佛成等正覺轉正法輪。何以故。佛心與自心無二故。如是信心方名信故。<sup>722</sup>

At the stage of the ten faiths, which as we saw comes at the beginning of the fifty-two stages, the practitioner must believe that his mind is not different from the buddhas' who gathered from the ten directions. Li Tongxuan says that after this faith is born in the practitioner, he will have a vision of the way at the first level of the ten abidings.<sup>723</sup> Traditionally, this vision is produced at the first ground when the mind of enlightenment is created. However, Li stresses that ordinary people can attain buddhahood by seeing their true nature at the first stage of the ten abidings just after they have passed through the levels of ten faiths, and later they only intensify this wisdom.<sup>724</sup>

As we saw above, the traditional list of ten faiths is not actually related to faith very closely, and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* does not include them, but the ten faiths were adopted from other scriptures. Li Tongxuan seems to have been aware of this problem, and he devised a new scheme of ten faiths that underlines the belief in the identity of living beings and buddhas from various aspects. First of all, as the first of ten faiths, ordinary beings regard faith as the most important and decide to attain all the results of buddhahood. Thus ordinary beings at this very initial stage must believe that:

1. the immovable wisdom of the minds of all buddhas of ten directions is not different from their own mind,
2. the fundamental wisdom of the bodies of all buddhas of ten directions and their body are not different,
3. they can execute the Tathāgata's ten abodes, ten practices, ten dedications and ten grounds,
4. they too can attain the *samādhi* of which all buddhas of ten directions were born,
5. they can attain all supernatural power (*shentong* 神通) of all buddhas of the ten directions,
6. they will receive the buddhas' wisdom,

<sup>721</sup> Koh 2011: 40.

<sup>722</sup> *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論, T36, no. 1739, p. 744, b5-9.

<sup>723</sup> *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論, T36, no. 1739, p. 787, a20-23.

<sup>724</sup> Koh 2011: 42-44.

7. they will receive the buddhas' compassion, which covers everything,
8. they will receive the buddhas' freedom,
9. they will go through endless eons of cultivation and reach all levels equal with all buddhas, but they do not move for a moment.

Li Tongxuan explains the reasons why ordinary beings can have these results of buddhahood in the following way:

“In the chapter Chief in Goodness from the stage of ordinary people the faith is regarded as the chief. This is the decision that they will receive the result of Buddha's great bodhi. Thus from the stage of ordinary people, they believe ‘the immovable wisdom of the minds of all buddhas of ten directions are not different from our own minds. Only due to ignorance are they deluded. Ignorance and the mind of buddhas of ten directions originally are not different.’” From the stage of ordinary people, they believe “the fundamental wisdom of the bodies of all buddhas of ten directions and our bodies are not different. Why? Because they originate from the same fundamental wisdom of the same *dharma*-nature body (*yi faxing shen yi genben zhi* 一法性身—根本智). It is similar to the branch of a tree. One root can grow many branches and leaves. Depending on conditions a tree can grow different branches and leaves with different quality.” From the stage of ordinary people, they believe “we can execute the Tathāgata's ten abodes, ten practices, ten dedications and ten grounds. Why? We remember the ocean of worldly suffering. We had carried out activities that did not benefit anybody. Now, we can carry out activities that benefit others, and the various practices of bodhisattvas can save sentient beings. How could we not perform these?” From the stage of ordinary people, they believe “the *samādhi* of which all buddhas of ten directions were born they also can attain. Why? The *samādhis* of all buddhas were born from the *upāya* of the Tathāgata's self-nature. We are all endowed with the Tathāgata's nature with pure self-essence and are equal with buddhas'.” From the stage of ordinary people, they believe “we can attain all supernatural power (*shentong* 神通) of all buddhas of the ten directions. Why? All supernatural power of buddhas can be received on the base of absolute wisdom (*zhenzhi* 真智). Due to its absolute nature wisdom has no mental disturbances (*fannao* 煩惱), and our ignorance can become wisdom. All karmas are destroyed, only wisdom and compassion exist, and the supernatural powers are freely manifested to liberate [living beings]. From the stage of ordinary people, they believe “we will receive buddhas' wisdom. Why? Because all buddhas originate from ordinary beings.” From the stage of ordinary people, they believe “we will receive the buddhas' compassion that covers everything. Why? Because all buddhas' compassion originates from the great vow. Like all buddhas we also take the great vow.” From the stage of ordinary people, they believe “we will receive the buddhas' freedom. Why? Because all buddhas' wisdom is manifested in the *dharms* of nature-origination. The wisdom-body and the *dharma*-body enter the realms of the living beings. The untainted visible material objects and sense organs function freely. We are also not detached from Tathāgata's wisdom that manifests its

nature in the world.” From the stage of ordinary people, they believe “we will go through endless eons of cultivation and reach all levels equal with all buddhas, but do not move for a moment. Why? Because the three periods of time [past, present, future] have no time.

故從凡夫地。信十方諸佛心不動智與自心無異故。只為無明所迷故。無明與十方諸佛心。本來無二故。從凡夫地信十方諸佛身根本智與自身不異故。何以故皆是一法性身一根本智。猶如樹枝一根生多枝葉等。以因緣故。一樹枝上成壞不同故。從凡夫地信如來十住十行十迴向十地我悉盡能行之。何以故。自憶無始時來波流苦海。無益之事尚以行之。何況如今有益之事。菩薩萬行濟眾生事。豈不能為。從凡夫地。信十方諸佛皆從三昧生我亦當得。何以故。諸佛三昧皆從如來自性方便生。我亦具有如來自體清淨之性與佛平等。從凡夫地信十方諸佛一切神通我亦當得。何以故。諸佛神通依真智而得。我但依真性智中無有煩惱無明成智。一切業亡唯有智慈。通化自在。從凡夫地信佛智慧我亦當得。何以故。一切諸佛悉從凡夫來故。從凡夫地信佛大悲普覆一切我亦當得。何以故。諸佛大悲從大願起。我亦如諸佛發大願故。從凡夫地信佛自在我亦當得。何以故。諸佛自在於性起法門。智身法身入眾生界。不染色塵諸根自在。我亦不離性起如來智故。從凡夫地信自發心經無盡劫修功行滿位齊諸佛。不移一念。何以故。為三世無時故。<sup>725</sup>

According to Li Tongxuan, faith is not related to any external objects; even buddhas or bodhisattvas cannot be relied on. The aspiration of enlightenment must rely on Buddha's omniscience (*yiqie zhi* 一切智), which is the wisdom of no reliance (*wusuoyi* 無所依).<sup>726</sup> Li stresses the importance of immovable wisdom (*bu dong zhi* 不動智) that is inherent in all living beings. This wisdom is described in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* as a wisdom which is created by faith:

They have removed the webs of doubts of all time  
And aroused faith in those who have realized thusness.  
By faith they've attained immovable wisdom,<sup>727</sup>  
And because their knowledge is pure their understanding is true.<sup>728</sup>

三世疑網悉已除， 於如來所起淨信，  
以信得成不動智， 智清淨故解真實。<sup>729</sup>

<sup>725</sup> *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論, T36, no.1739, p. 745, c17-p. 746, a12.

<sup>726</sup> *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論, T36, no. 1739, p. 825, c16-18.

<sup>727</sup> Cleary originally reads immutable knowledge.

<sup>728</sup> Cleary 1993: 415-416.

<sup>729</sup> *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T10, no. 279, p. 92, c22-24.

However, this wisdom can lead living beings to follow delusion but also can cause them to awaken. If this wisdom functions as illusion than this discriminatory aspect is called consciousness, while the awakening aspect is called wisdom. The Yogācāra model of transforming consciousness into wisdom (*zhuan shi de zhi* 轉識得智) might have inspired Li Tongxuan to propose this tenet.<sup>730</sup> This fundamental wisdom is realised suddenly (*dun zheng ben zhi* 頓證本智) at the stage of generating *bodhicitta*.<sup>731</sup>

## 8. Conclusion

In this chapter we showed the relationship between faith, practice and enlightenment in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, and the way in which this problem was addressed in the Huayan school of Chinese Buddhism. The importance of faith in Buddha, bodhisattvas and Buddha's teaching was emphasised in several chapters of this *sūtra* as a prerequisite for Buddhist practice. Even though the concept of ten faiths does not originate from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, it became an integral part of the Bodhisattva path described in this scripture according to the Chinese understanding. The practice of bodhisattva and the subsequent enlightenment have been described in great detail by the bodhisattvas in the *sūtra*. Although the majority of this scripture elucidates the traditional gradual cultivation, there is a passage which says that the bodhisattva experiences enlightenment at the beginning of his spiritual path when *bodhicitta* is generated.

This reference to initial enlightenment had a great impact on the development of East Asian Buddhism. The second patriarch of the Huayan school, Zhiyan, already acknowledged the importance of faith, but it was the third patriarch, Fazang, who ranked the teaching of becoming enlightened by the accomplishment of faith (*xinman chengfo* 信滿成佛) as the unique tenet of the distinct teaching of one vehicle, which refers exclusively to the Huayan teaching. Chengguan, who had a broad erudition in Buddhist and non-Buddhist literature, attempted to harmonise all the various Buddhist tenets by including them in his commentary and subcommentary on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. He proclaimed the nonobstruction of the gradual (*cidi xingbu* 次第行布) and mutual interfusion (*yuanrong* 圓融相攝). In terms of teaching a gradual path can be established, but in terms of absolute nature the first stage includes all the other stages.

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<sup>730</sup> Kimura 1972.

<sup>731</sup> *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論, T36, no. 1739, p. 752, a27.

As we have seen, the problem of faith, practice and enlightenment was discussed in Huayan Buddhism in the context of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. However, the challenge of Chan Buddhism had to be met by the patriarchs of the late Tang period when the sudden enlightenment of Chan Buddhism gained wide currency. Chengguan established the four models of enlightenment and practice. He underlined that after the Buddha-nature is seen a sudden enlightenment can occur, but this does not mean that practice should be abandoned. On the contrary, gradual cultivation should follow the sudden awakening. This model can actually be traced back to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, where the bodhisattva experiences awakening at the stage of faith but then goes through all the subsequent stages until he reaches the supreme awakening. Sudden awakening followed by gradual cultivation was advocated by Zongmi, who was much indebted to his master, Chengguan. Even though he was also a patriarch of Chan Buddhism, he retained his belief in the importance of religious practice.

Li Tongxuan's Huayan teaching is quite different from the lineage known as the "five Huayan patriarchs". He was a brave innovator who was ready to devise new ideas, and was not held back by previous teachings. He emphasized that initial enlightenment occurs when the practitioner has faith that he is identical with Buddha. He devised a new set of ten faiths which is related to the belief that a sentient being is not different from a Buddha. He explicitly states that belief should not be directed to outside buddhas or bodhisattvas but to the internal identity with buddhas. Li Tongxuan's idea of faith in the identity with buddhas was discovered by Chan Buddhism in East Asia.<sup>732</sup> His teachings had a great impact on Chinul 知訥 (1158–1210), the famous Sōn (Chan) master who described initial faith in the identity of living beings with buddha as patriarchal faith.<sup>733</sup>

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<sup>732</sup> Buswell 1986: 210-213.

<sup>733</sup> Park 1983: 19-24.

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VI. Appendixes



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2. Critical edition of the Tibetan version of the chapter Tathāgata's mind of the  
*Sūtra Manifestation of the Tathāgata*

SANG RGYAS PHAL PO CHE

(43) DE BZHIN GSHEGS PA SKYE BA 'BYUNG BA BSTAN PA'I LE'U

rgyal ba'i sras byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos ji lta bur de bzhin gshegs pa dgra  
bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyi thugs skye ba khong du chud par bya

L: LONDON, B: Berlin, D: Derge, K: Kawaguchi, Lh: Lhasa, N: Narthang, Ny: Nyingma, P: Peking, Ph: Phug brag, S:  
Stog

The beginning and the end of this text: L112b4–121b7, B119a6–128b7, D110b1–119a7, K141a6–152b4, Lh152b1–165a5, N157a7–  
170a3, Ny110b1–119a7, P111a3–119b7, Ph210b2–221b5, S147a4–158a3.

(D110b, Ny110b)<sup>1</sup> de skad ces (N157b) smras pa dang / byang<sup>2</sup> chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po  
de bzhin gshegs pa'i<sup>3</sup> rigs su<sup>4</sup> byung ba'i dpal gyis<sup>5</sup> byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po kun tu  
bzang po la 'di skad ces smras so // kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>6</sup> byang<sup>7</sup> chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos<sup>8</sup>  
ji lta bur de bzhin<sup>9</sup> gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyi thugs  
skye ba khong du chud par bya /<sup>10</sup> de skad ces smras pa dang /<sup>11</sup> byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa'  
chen po kun tu bzang pos /<sup>12</sup> (K141b) byang chub sems (B119b) dpa' sems dpa' chen po de bzhin gshegs  
pa'i rigs su<sup>13</sup> byung ba'i dpal la 'di skad ces smras so<sup>14</sup> // kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>15</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa  
rnams ni sems kyi<sup>16</sup> rnam par dgod<sup>17</sup> pa ma yin /<sup>18</sup> yid kyi rnam par dgod<sup>19</sup> pa ma yin / (S147b) rnam  
par shes pas rnam<sup>a</sup> dgod<sup>20</sup> pa ma yin<sup>b</sup> /<sup>21</sup> kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>22</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i thugs skye ba ni<sup>23</sup>  
de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes tshad med pas khong du chud par bya'o // kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>24</sup> 'di lta  
ste<sup>25</sup> dper na /<sup>26</sup> namkha<sup>27</sup> la brten<sup>c</sup> cing bya ba thams cad rnam par (L113a) dgod<sup>28</sup> par 'gyur te /  
namkha<sup>29</sup> ni mi gnas pa'o // kye rgyal ba'i sras dag<sup>30,d</sup> de bzhin gshegs<sup>31</sup> pa'i ye (Lh153a) shes (Ph211a)  
la brten<sup>c</sup> cing /<sup>32</sup> 'jig rten pa (P111b) dang /<sup>33</sup> 'jig rten las 'das pa'i shes pa thams cad rnam par dgod<sup>34</sup>  
pa yin (N158a) te / de bzhin gshegs<sup>35</sup> pa'i ye shes ni mi<sup>36</sup> gnas pa'o // kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>37</sup> khong du  
chud par bya ba'i sgo dang po 'dis<sup>38</sup> /<sup>39</sup> byang chub sems<sup>40</sup> dpa' sems dpa' chen pos<sup>41</sup> de bzhin  
gshegs<sup>42</sup> pa rnams kyi thugs skye ba<sup>43</sup> khong du chud par bya'o //

<sup>a</sup> DLhNyP insert par

<sup>b</sup> BDLhNyPPh insert te

<sup>c</sup> BKPPH: rten

<sup>d</sup> BDNyPPhS omit dag, DNYPPH insert de bzhin du

<sup>e</sup> BPPH: rten



kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>44</sup> gzhan<sup>45</sup> yang 'di lta ste<sup>46</sup> dper na<sup>47</sup> chos kyi dbyings<sup>48</sup> su ni nyan thos thams cad kyang rnam par grol bar 'gyur ro<sup>49</sup> // rang sangs rgyas thams cad kyang rnam par grol<sup>a</sup> te / byang chub sems dpa' thams cad kyang yang dag par 'byung mod (D111a, Ny111a) kyi /<sup>50</sup> chos kyi<sup>51</sup> dbyings<sup>52</sup> la 'phel zhing 'grib pa med do // kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>53</sup> de bzhin du<sup>54,b</sup> de bzhin gshegs<sup>55</sup> pa'i ye shes la rten<sup>56,c</sup> cing<sup>57</sup> 'jig rten<sup>58</sup> dang /<sup>59</sup> 'jig rten las 'das pa'i shes pa 'grangs<sup>60,d</sup> (K142a) pa thams cad kyang<sup>61</sup> rnam par<sup>62,e</sup> dgod<sup>63</sup> cing /<sup>64</sup> las dang bzo'i<sup>65</sup> gnas thams cad rnam par dgod<sup>66</sup> kyang<sup>67</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes (B120a) la 'phel zhing 'grib pa med do // kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>68</sup> khong du chud par bya ba'i sgo gnyis pa<sup>f</sup> 'dis kyang<sup>69</sup> byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos de bzhin gshegs pa (S148a) dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyi thugs skye<sup>70</sup> ba<sup>71</sup> khong du chud par bya'o //

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>72</sup> (Lh153b) gzhan<sup>73</sup> yang 'di lta ste<sup>74</sup> dper<sup>75</sup> na /<sup>76</sup> gling chen po bzhi<sup>77</sup> dang / gling phran bye ba brgya (N158b) phrag brgyad<sup>g</sup> cu<sup>h</sup> dag ni /<sup>78</sup> rgya mtsho chen pos mngon par spangs<sup>79</sup> pa'i phyir /<sup>80</sup> (Ph211b) gang dang gang du sa'i kham bshongs<sup>81,i</sup> pa de dang<sup>82</sup> de nas chu 'byung ste / rgya<sup>83</sup> mtsho chen poj rnam par rtog pa med do /<sup>84</sup> kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>85</sup> de bzhin du<sup>86</sup> sems can thams cad kyi sems dang<sup>87</sup> bsam pa yang<sup>88</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes kyi<sup>89</sup> mngon par brlan<sup>90,k</sup> pas<sup>91</sup> de dag dmigs (L113b) pa<sup>92</sup> gang dang<sup>93</sup> gang la rnam par dpyod cing /<sup>94</sup> chos kyi<sup>95</sup> sgo gang dang gang la brtson<sup>96</sup> par<sup>97</sup> byed pa /<sup>98</sup> de dang de nas ye<sup>99</sup> shes kyi snang ba 'byung ste / de (P112a) bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes<sup>100</sup> rgya mtsho chen po de ni snyoms<sup>101</sup> shing<sup>102</sup> rnam par mi<sup>103</sup> rtog la<sup>104</sup> rim par 'byed pa mi<sup>105</sup> mdzad kyang<sup>106</sup> bsam pa dang sbyor ba'i<sup>107</sup> khyad par gyis<sup>108</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes snang ba'i khyad par du 'gyur pa'ang<sup>109</sup> yod do // kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>110</sup> khong du chud par bya ba'i sgo gsum pa 'dis kyang / byang chub sems<sup>111</sup> dpa' sems dpa' chen pos de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par<sup>112</sup> rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyi thugs skye ba khong du chud par bya'o //

kye rgyal ba'i (K142b) sras<sup>113</sup> gzhan<sup>114</sup> yang 'di lta ste<sup>115</sup> dper<sup>116</sup> na /<sup>117</sup> rgya (D111b, Ny111b) mtsho chen po'i<sup>118</sup> nang na /<sup>119</sup> nor bu rin po che chen po<sup>120</sup> yon tan tshad med<sup>121</sup> pa phun<sup>122</sup> sum tshogs pa bzhi yod de<sup>123</sup> / nor bu rin po che de dag gi<sup>124</sup> (Lh154a) gzi brjid<sup>125</sup> dang /<sup>126</sup> mthus<sup>127</sup> rgya mtsho chen (B120b) por rin po che thams<sup>128</sup> cad 'byung (S148b) ste / kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>129</sup> gal te<sup>130</sup> rgya mtsho chen po'i<sup>131</sup> nang na /<sup>132</sup> nor bu rin po che de bzhi<sup>133</sup> med du zin na ni /<sup>134</sup> (N159a) rgya mtsho chen po'i<sup>135</sup> nang na /<sup>136</sup> nor bu rin po che<sup>137</sup> gcig kyang yod par mi 'gyur ro // bzhi po de dag kyang gang zhe na<sup>138</sup> 'di lta ste<sup>139</sup> rin po che †thams cad yang dag par sdud<sup>140</sup> pa<sup>141</sup> zhes bya ba'i nor bu rin

<sup>a</sup> DNyP: 'grol

<sup>b</sup> PhS omit de bzhin du

<sup>c</sup> KLhNS: brten

<sup>d</sup> DNyPS: bgrangs

<sup>e</sup> BP: pa

<sup>f</sup> BPPH omit gnyis pa

<sup>g</sup> BPh: brgya

<sup>h</sup> BPh: bcu

<sup>i</sup> BDLh: bshong

<sup>j</sup> BDKLhNNyPPHs insert la

<sup>k</sup> BP: bsan

po che chen po dang / mi zad pa'i mdzod ces bya ba'i nor bu rin po che chen po dang / snying blas<sup>142</sup>  
 med pa zhes bya ba'i nor bu rin po che chen po dang / rgyan thams cad<sup>143</sup> yang dag par<sup>144</sup> sdud pa  
 zhes bya ba'i nor bu rin po che chen po ste / nor bu rin po che tshad med pa'i yon tan phun sum  
 tshogs pa dang ldan pa de<sup>145</sup> bzhi<sup>146</sup> yod do //<sup>147</sup> kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>148</sup> nor bu rin po che<sup>149</sup> chen<sup>150</sup>  
 po bzhi po<sup>a</sup> de dag ni bsod nams<sup>151</sup> ngan don<sup>152</sup> dang ldan pa'i lha ma yin nam /<sup>153</sup> (Ph212a)  
 namkha'<sup>154</sup> lding ngam<sup>155</sup> klu 'am<sup>156</sup> /<sup>157</sup> de ma yin pa'i sems can chu la gnas pa'i mig gis mthong  
 bar mi 'gyur ro<sup>158</sup> // de ci'i<sup>159</sup> phyir zhe na / nor bu rin po che chen po de bzhi<sup>160</sup> ni /<sup>161</sup> (L114a) klu'i  
 rgyal po gang<sup>162,b</sup> chen mtsho'i<sup>163</sup> mdzod na 'khod pa'i phyiro<sup>164</sup> //<sup>165</sup> kye rgyal ba'i sras dag<sup>166</sup> rin  
 po che chen<sup>c</sup> po<sup>d</sup> de dag ni gru bzhir 'dug pa ste /<sup>167</sup> klu'i rgyal po gang<sup>168</sup> chen mtsho'i gnas kyi  
 phyogs bzhir bkod (P112b) pa dag go / kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>169</sup> de bzhin du<sup>170</sup> de bzhin gshegs<sup>171</sup> pa dgra  
 (Lh154b) bcom (K143a) pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnam kyis ye shes rgya mtsho chen  
 po'i<sup>172</sup> nang na /<sup>173</sup> ye shes kyi rin po che chen po bsod nams dang /<sup>174</sup> ye shes dang /<sup>175</sup> yon (N159b)  
 tan phun sum tshogs<sup>176</sup> pa bzhi yod do<sup>e</sup> //<sup>177</sup> ye shes rin po che chen po de dag gi gzi<sup>178</sup> brjid dang<sup>179</sup>  
 mthus de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes rgya<sup>180</sup> mtsho chen po'i<sup>181</sup> nang nas /<sup>182</sup> slob pa dang<sup>183</sup> mi slob  
 pa thams (S149a) cad dang /<sup>184</sup> rang sangs rgyas thams<sup>185</sup> cad dang /<sup>186</sup> byang chub (B121a) sems dpa'  
 thams<sup>187</sup> cad kyi ye shes (D112a, Ny112a) rin po che 'byung ste /<sup>188</sup> kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>189</sup> gal te<sup>190</sup> /<sup>191</sup> de  
 bzhin gshegs<sup>192</sup> pa'i ye shes rgya mtsho chen po'i nang nas<sup>f</sup> /<sup>193</sup> ye shes rin po che chen po de<sup>194</sup> bzhi  
 med du zin na ni /<sup>195</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i<sup>196</sup> ye<sup>197</sup> shes rgya mtsho chen po'i<sup>198</sup> nang na<sup>g</sup> /<sup>199</sup> chung  
 ngu na<sup>200</sup> byang chub sems dpa'<sup>201</sup> gcig gi ye shes rin po che yang<sup>202</sup> 'byung bar mi 'gyur ro // bzhi  
 po de dag kyang gang zhe na<sup>203</sup> 'di lta ste /<sup>204</sup> thabs mkhas pa chags pa med pa'i ye shes rin po che  
 chen po dang / 'dus byas dang /<sup>205</sup> 'dus ma byas su mnyam pa'i chos rab tu rtog<sup>h</sup> pa'i ye shes<sup>206</sup>  
 (Ph212b) rin po che chen po dang / chos kyi dbyings tha mi dad kyang rnam pa tha dad du shin tu ston  
 pa'i ye shes rin po che chen po dang /<sup>207</sup> dus dang dus ma yin pa las mi<sup>208</sup> 'da' zhing /<sup>209</sup> dus la<sup>210</sup>  
 phebs<sup>211</sup> par byed pa'i ye shes rin po che chen po ste /<sup>212</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes rin po che  
 chen po de bzhi yod do //<sup>213</sup> kye rgyal ba'i sras dag<sup>214,i</sup> ye shes<sup>215</sup> rin po che (Lh155a) chen po<sup>j</sup> de dag  
 ni / sems<sup>216</sup> can bsod nams<sup>217</sup> ngan don<sup>218</sup> dang ldan pa rnam kyis mig gis mthong bar mi 'gyur te /  
 de ci'i phyir zhe na /<sup>k</sup> ye shes rin po (N160a) che chen<sup>219</sup> po de bzhi ni /<sup>220</sup> (K143b, L114b) de bzhin  
 gshegs pa'i chos kyi mdzod na 'khod pa'i phyir te<sup>221</sup> /<sup>222</sup> kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>223</sup> ye shes rin po che  
 chen po<sup>l</sup> de dag ni rnam pa kun tu bzang pa<sup>224,a</sup> ste / phyogs bzhir rnam par bkod cing /<sup>225</sup> byang

<sup>a</sup> BP omit bzhi po

<sup>b</sup> BLhP: gangs

<sup>c</sup> BDNyP: bzhi for chen

<sup>d</sup> LhPh insert bzhi po

<sup>e</sup> BDkLhNNyPPhS: de

<sup>f</sup> BDNyPPhS: na

<sup>g</sup> BDNyP: nas

<sup>h</sup> BDPh: rtogs

<sup>i</sup> DNyPS omit dag

<sup>j</sup> BDLhNyPPhS insert bzhi po

<sup>k</sup> BP omit de ci'i phyir zhe na /

<sup>l</sup> BDLhNyPPh insert bzhi po

chub sems dpa' nye bar 'tsho ba dang / byang chub sems dpa'i ye shes snang bas 'thob<sup>226</sup> pa dag ste / phyogs bzhir byang chub sems<sup>227</sup> dpa' (P113a) yang dag par bsgrub<sup>228,b</sup> pa'i phyir rnam par (S149b) bkod<sup>229</sup> pa dag go /<sup>230</sup> kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>231</sup> khong du chud par bya ba'i sgo bzhi pa 'dis kyang<sup>232</sup> byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos<sup>233</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa<sup>234</sup> dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs<sup>235</sup> pa'i (B121b) sangs rgyas rnams kyi thugs skye ba khong du chud par bya'o //

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>236</sup> gzhan yang 'di lta ste<sup>237</sup> dper na /<sup>238</sup> rgya mtsho<sup>c</sup> de nyid kyi 'og na /<sup>239</sup> nor bu rin po che chen po drag shul gyi gzi<sup>240</sup> brjid dang (D112b, Ny112b) ldan<sup>241</sup> pa mthu shin tu che ba bzhi yod de<sup>242</sup> /<sup>243</sup> nor bu rin po che chen po de dag gi<sup>244</sup> gzi<sup>245</sup> brjid dang (Ph213a) mthus<sup>246</sup> rgya mtsho chen por<sup>247</sup> blugs<sup>248,d</sup> pa'i chu'i phung po thams cad yongs su<sup>249</sup> 'grib par 'gyur ro<sup>e</sup> //<sup>250</sup> de yod pas rgya mtsho chen<sup>251</sup> po yang<sup>252</sup> 'phel ba dang /<sup>253</sup> 'grib par mi 'gyur ro<sup>254,f</sup> //<sup>255</sup> nor bu (Lh155b) rin<sup>256</sup> po<sup>257</sup> che chen po<sup>258</sup> de bzhi ni<sup>259</sup> rgya mtsho chen po'i<sup>260</sup> 'og gi mtshams<sup>261</sup> na gnas pa ste<sup>262,g</sup> bzhi gang zhe na /<sup>263</sup> 'di lta ste /<sup>264</sup> nyi ma'i snying po zhes bya ba'i nor bu rin po che dang / rlan<sup>h</sup> med pa (N160b) zhes bya ba'i nor bu rin po che dang / me'i 'od ces bya ba'i nor bu rin po che dang /<sup>265</sup> ma lus pa'i mthar thugs<sup>i</sup> pa<sup>266</sup> zhes bya ba'i nor bu rin po<sup>267</sup> che dag ste / nor bu rin po che chen po<sup>268</sup> de bzhi yod do //

kye rgyal ba'i<sup>269</sup> sras<sup>270</sup> gal te /<sup>271</sup> rgya mtsho chen po la nor bu rin po che (K144a) chen po<sup>272</sup> de bzhi med<sup>273</sup> du zin na ni /<sup>274</sup> gling chen po<sup>275</sup> bzhi pa'i 'jig rten gyi khams thams cad kyang /<sup>276</sup> gcig tu chus yongs su<sup>277</sup> rgyas par 'gyur te /<sup>278</sup> khor yug dang<sup>279</sup> khor yug chen po'i ri las kyang 'das shing / chu'i phung pos srid pa'i rtse mo man chad du'ang gang bar 'gyur ro //

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>280</sup> rgya mtsho chen por 'dus pa'i chu'i (L115a) phung po de dag kyang nor bu rin po che<sup>281</sup> nyi ma'i snying po'i<sup>282</sup> 'od (S150a) kyis<sup>283</sup> phog na<sup>284</sup> /<sup>285</sup> chu'i rang bzhin spangs nas<sup>286</sup> 'o ma dang<sup>287</sup> zhor gyur te<sup>288</sup> 'dug go //<sup>289</sup> nor bu rin po<sup>290</sup> che chen po rlan<sup>j</sup> med pa'i 'od kyis phog na /<sup>291</sup> 'o ma dang zho'i<sup>292</sup> rang bzhin spangs<sup>293</sup> nas /<sup>294</sup> mar gyi<sup>295</sup> snying<sup>k</sup> khu<sup>296</sup> lta bur 'gyuro<sup>297</sup> //<sup>298</sup> me'i<sup>299</sup> 'od kyi nor bu rin po che chen po'i<sup>300</sup> 'od kyis<sup>301</sup> phog na /<sup>302</sup> mar gyi<sup>303</sup> (P113b) snying khu<sup>304</sup> lta bu'i rang bzhin spangs te<sup>305</sup> /<sup>306</sup> me lta<sup>307</sup> (B122a) bur 'bar bar 'gyuro<sup>308</sup> // nor bu rin po che chen po ma lus pa'i mthar (Ph213b) thugs<sup>l</sup> pa'i 'od kyis<sup>309</sup> phog na / thams<sup>310</sup> cad lhag ma<sup>m</sup> med cing ma (Lh156a) lus pa<sup>n</sup> mi snang bar 'gyur ro<sup>311</sup> //

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a BP omit pa  
b DNY: bsgrubs, s is under b  
c BDNyP insert chen po  
d DKNyPh: rlogs  
e BKLhNPPhS: te  
f DNY: te  
g BDLhNyP: te for pa ste  
h BPPh: bla na for rlan  
i BDLhNyPPhS: thug  
j NP bla na for rlan  
k BDNyP: nying  
l BDKLhNNyPPhS: thug  
m BP omit ma  
n BDNyPPh: par

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>312</sup> de bzhin du de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas (N161a) rnams kyi ye shes kyi rgya mtsho chen po la /<sup>313</sup> ye shes<sup>314</sup> rin po<sup>315</sup> che chen po mthu dang 'od shin tu che ba bzhi yod de<sup>316</sup> /<sup>317</sup> ye shes rin po che chen po de<sup>a</sup> bzhi'i mthu dang 'od (D113a, Ny113a) kyi<sup>b</sup> ma<sup>c</sup> phog na /<sup>318</sup> byang chub sems dpa'i smon lam gyi<sup>319</sup> bsam pas byung ba'i bsod nams<sup>320</sup> kyi chu'i phung po yongs su<sup>321</sup> 'grib par 'gyur te / de dag yod pas<sup>322</sup> de bzhin<sup>323</sup> gshegs pa'i ye shes kyi rgya mtsho chen po gang ba dang<sup>324</sup> 'grib par mi mngon no // bzhi po de dag kyang gang zhe na /<sup>325</sup> 'di lta ste /<sup>326</sup> dpa'<sup>327.d</sup> rlabs (K144b) thams cad zhi bar byed pa'i ye shes<sup>328</sup> rin po che chen po dang /<sup>329</sup> chos kyi rjes su 'brang zhing sred pa yongs su<sup>330</sup> dag<sup>e</sup> par byed pa'i ye shes rin po che chen po dang / shes<sup>331</sup> rab kyi 'od chen pos shin tu<sup>332</sup> snang ba'i ye shes rin po che chen po dang / mun pa med cing snang<sup>333</sup> ba<sup>334.f</sup> med<sup>g</sup> pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i mnyam pa nyid kyi ye shes rin po che chen po ste / de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes rin po che (S150b) mthu dang /<sup>335</sup> gzi<sup>336</sup> brjid shin tu che ba 'di bzhi yod do //

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>337</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa<sup>h</sup> ye shes rin po che chen po<sup>338</sup> 'di bzhi'i<sup>339.i</sup> gzi<sup>340</sup> brjid dang mthus byang chub sems dpa' thams cad kyang /<sup>341</sup> (L115b) de bzhin gshegs<sup>342</sup> (Lh156b) pa'i ye shes mnyam pa nyid 'thob par 'gyur ro // kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>343</sup> de ltar de bzhin gshegs pa'i (Ph214a) ye shes gyi<sup>344</sup> rgya mtsho chen po de la<sup>345</sup> /<sup>346</sup> byang chub sems dpa'<sup>347</sup> bsod nams (N161b) dang /<sup>348</sup> byang chub kyi tshogs<sup>349</sup> chen po bsags<sup>350.j</sup> pa rnams kyi dge ba'i rtsa ba'i dpa'<sup>351.k</sup> rlabs (B122b) kyi shugs drag<sup>352</sup> po<sup>353</sup> lha dang<sup>354</sup> mi dang<sup>355</sup> lha ma yin gyi<sup>356</sup> 'jig rten du bcas pas /<sup>357</sup> mi zlogs<sup>358</sup> shing<sup>359</sup> bsam gyis mi khyab pa ldang ste /<sup>360</sup> byang chub sems<sup>361</sup> (P114a) dpa'i dge ba'i rtsa ba'i dba'<sup>362</sup> rlabs<sup>363</sup> kyi shugs<sup>364</sup> bsam gyis<sup>365</sup> mi<sup>366</sup> khyab pa de dag la de bzhin gshegs<sup>367</sup> pa'i ye shes rin po che chen po<sup>l</sup> dba'<sup>368.m</sup> rlabs thams<sup>369</sup> cad zhi bar byed pa'i 'od kyi<sup>n</sup> phog na / dge ba'i rtsa ba'i dba'<sup>o</sup> rlabs kyi shugs drag po spangs nas<sup>370</sup> tinge<sup>371</sup> 'dzin la rtse gcig tu gnas par 'gyur<sup>372</sup> ro<sup>373</sup> // chos kyi rjesu<sup>374</sup> 'brang zhing sred pa zad par byed pa'i ye shes rin<sup>375</sup> po che chen<sup>376</sup> (K145a) po'i<sup>377</sup> 'od kyis phog na /<sup>378</sup> tinge<sup>379</sup> 'dzin gyi<sup>380</sup> ro dang /<sup>381</sup> gnas rnam par spangs<sup>382</sup> te<sup>383</sup> / (D113b, Ny113b) mngon par shes pa rgya chen po mngon par bsgrubs<sup>p</sup> pa'i<sup>384</sup> tshul la gnas par 'gyur ro // shes rab kyi 'od chen pos<sup>385</sup> shin tu snang ba'i ye shes rin po che chen po'i<sup>386</sup> od kyis<sup>387</sup> phog<sup>388</sup> na /<sup>389</sup> mngon

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a BPS omit de  
b DKLhNyPPhS: kyis  
c BDNyPPh omit ma  
d LhS: dba'  
e BDNyPPh: zad for dag  
f BP: bar  
g DNY: myed, BP: byed  
h KLhPPhS: pa'i  
i BP: bzhi ni for bzhi'i  
j DNYp: bstasgs  
k LhS: dba'  
l BDNy: po'i  
m DNYp: dpa'  
n DLhNyPPhS: kyis  
o DP: dpa'  
p BDLhNNyP: bsgrub, KPh: sgrub

par shes pa rgya chen po mngon par bsgrub pa'i tshul rnam par spangs<sup>390</sup> te<sup>391</sup> /<sup>392</sup> rig<sup>393,a</sup> pa'i<sup>394</sup>  
 snang ba chen po mngon par bsgrub<sup>395</sup> pa'i tshul la gnas par 'gyur ro // mun pa med<sup>396</sup> cing snang ba  
 med (S151a) pa de bzhin gshegs<sup>397</sup> (Lh157a) pa'i mnyam ba<sup>398,b</sup> nyid kyi ye shes rin po che chen po'i<sup>399</sup>  
 'od kyis<sup>400</sup> phog na / rig<sup>c</sup> pa'i<sup>401</sup> snang ba<sup>402</sup> chen po mngon par bsgrub<sup>403</sup> pa'i tshul rnam par  
 spangs<sup>404</sup> te<sup>405</sup> / de bzhin (N162a) gshegs<sup>406</sup> pa'i sa mnyam pa nyid ched du bya ba yongsu<sup>407</sup> zhi ba<sup>408</sup>  
 phrin<sup>d</sup> las lhun gyis<sup>409</sup> grub par 'byung<sup>e</sup> ba<sup>410</sup> rab tu thob<sup>f</sup> bo<sup>411</sup> // (Ph214b)

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>412</sup> ye shes rin po che chen po 'di bzhi'i<sup>413</sup> 'od snang bas phog pa'i byang  
 chub<sup>414</sup> sems<sup>415</sup> dpa' rnam ni<sup>416</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i<sup>417</sup> mnyam pa nyid bzhi po de dag 'thob par  
 'gyur ro // (L116a) kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>418</sup> gal te de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes<sup>419</sup> kyi rgya mtsho chen  
 po'i<sup>420</sup> nang na<sup>421</sup> ye shes rin po che chen po 'di bzhi med du zin na<sup>g</sup> / (B123a) chung ngu na byang  
 chub sems dpa' gcig<sup>422</sup> gis<sup>423,h</sup> kyang<sup>424</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i sa mnyam pa nyid 'thob par 'gyur  
 ba'i<sup>425</sup> gnas med<sup>426</sup> skabs med de / de ni gnas<sup>427</sup> ma yin no // kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>428</sup> /<sup>429</sup> khong du chud  
 par bya ba'i sgo lnga pa 'dis kyang<sup>430</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa<sup>431</sup> yang dag par rdzogs pa'i  
 sangs rgyas rnam<sup>432</sup> kyi thugs skye ba khong du chud par bya'o //<sup>433</sup>

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>434</sup> gzhan<sup>435</sup> yang (P114b) 'di lta (K145b) ste<sup>436</sup> dper na<sup>437</sup> 'og gi chu'i phung  
 po nye bar gzung<sup>i</sup> ba yan chad<sup>j</sup> /<sup>438</sup> 'du shes med<sup>439</sup> 'du shes med min gyi skye mched kyi srid pa'i  
 rtse mo'i bar gyi<sup>440</sup> stong gsum<sup>k</sup> gyi stong chen po'i<sup>441</sup> 'jig rten gyi khams<sup>442</sup> thams cad namkha<sup>443</sup>  
 la gnas<sup>444</sup> (Lh157b) pa ste<sup>445</sup> gzugs<sup>446</sup> med pa la spyod pa'i<sup>447</sup> sems can gyi gnas dang /<sup>448</sup> gzugs<sup>449</sup> la  
 spyod pa'i sems can gyi gnas dang<sup>450</sup> 'dod pa la spyod pa'i sems<sup>451</sup> can gyi gnas ji snyed pa de  
 (D114a, Ny114a) dag thams<sup>452</sup> cad namkha<sup>453</sup> la gnas<sup>454</sup> shing<sup>455</sup> (N162b, S151b) namkha'i<sup>456</sup> dbyings las  
 byung ba'o // de ci'i phyir zhe na / namkha'i<sup>457</sup> dbyings kyis<sup>458</sup> thams cad du khyab pa'i phyir te /  
 namkha<sup>459</sup> la gnas<sup>l</sup> pa 'am<sup>460</sup> /<sup>461</sup> mi<sup>462</sup> bde bar 'gyur ba med kyang<sup>463</sup> khams gsum du<sup>464</sup> 'grub<sup>m</sup>  
 pa'i grangs su'ang<sup>465</sup> 'gro'o //<sup>466</sup>

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>467</sup> de bzhin du phyogs bcu'i jig<sup>468</sup> rten gyi khams<sup>469</sup> (Ph215a) grangs med pa  
 ma lus pa dag na<sup>470</sup> nyan thos kyi ye shes sam / rang sangs rgyas kyi ye shes sam / byang chub sems  
 dpa'i ye<sup>471</sup> shes<sup>472</sup> sam / 'dus byas<sup>473</sup> la spyod pa'i ye shes sam / 'dus ma byas la<sup>474</sup> spyod pa'i ye  
 shes<sup>n</sup> gang<sup>475</sup> ji snyed<sup>o</sup> pa<sup>476</sup> de dag thams cad de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes kyi namkha<sup>477</sup> la<sup>478</sup> gnas

<sup>a</sup> BDNyPh: rigs

<sup>b</sup> LhPS: pa

<sup>c</sup> BDNyPh: rigs

<sup>d</sup> LhPhS: 'phrin

<sup>e</sup> BP: 'gyur for 'byung

<sup>f</sup> DNY: 'thob

<sup>g</sup> BDNy insert ni

<sup>h</sup> BPh: gi

<sup>i</sup> BDLhNyP: bzung

<sup>j</sup> BDNyP: cad

<sup>k</sup> KP: sum

<sup>l</sup> BDKLhNNyPPhS: gnod for gnas

<sup>m</sup> BP: 'bab for 'grub

<sup>n</sup> BP insert sam /

<sup>o</sup> BDNyPPh insert yod

shing / de bzhin gshegs<sup>479</sup> pa'i<sup>480</sup> ye shes kyi<sup>481</sup> namkha<sup>482</sup> las byung ba'o<sup>483</sup> //<sup>484</sup> (B123b) de ci'i phyir zhe na /<sup>485</sup> de bzhin gshegs<sup>486</sup> (L116b) pa'i ye shes kyi<sup>487</sup> namkha'i<sup>488</sup> dbyings kyis<sup>a</sup> kun tu khyab pa'i phyir te<sup>489</sup> / de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes la gnod pa 'am<sup>490</sup> /<sup>491</sup> mi bde bar 'gyur ba med kyang /<sup>492</sup> ye shes yang dag par 'grub pa'i<sup>493,b</sup> nam pa (K146a) tha dad par 'gyur ba'ang<sup>494</sup> medo<sup>495,c</sup> // kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>496</sup> khong du chud par bya ba'i sgo drug<sup>d</sup> pa 'dis kyang / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos /<sup>497</sup> (Lh158a) de bzhin gshegs<sup>498</sup> pa dgra<sup>499</sup> bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas<sup>500</sup> rnams kyi thugs skye ba khong du chud par bya'o //<sup>501</sup>

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>502</sup> gzhan<sup>503</sup> yang 'di lta ste<sup>504</sup> dper na /<sup>505</sup> ri'i rgyal po kha ba<sup>506</sup> dang ldan pa'i rtse mo la<sup>507</sup> sman gyi rgyal po rtsa ba ma grubs<sup>508,e</sup> pa zhes bya ba yod do<sup>f</sup> //<sup>509</sup> de ni sa<sup>510</sup> (N163a) chen po'i (P115a) 'og<sup>511,g</sup> rdo rje'i dbyings kyi<sup>512</sup> chu'i phung po'i gzhi'i<sup>513</sup> gtan<sup>514,h</sup> nas /<sup>515</sup> dpag tshad<sup>516</sup> brgya<sup>517</sup> stong phrag drug cu'i rtsa brgyad mngon (S152a) par brtol<sup>518</sup> te / gyen du byung bas rtsa ba shin tu brtan pa'o //<sup>519</sup> sman gyi rgyal po<sup>520</sup> chen poi de'i rtsa ba'i 'od las<sup>521</sup> 'dzam bu'i gling na yod pa'i shing thams cad kyi rtsa ba chags par 'gyur te / sdong po'i<sup>522</sup> 'od kyis sdong po<sup>523</sup> (Ph215b) chags<sup>524</sup> (D114b, Ny114b) par 'gyur ro<sup>525</sup> //<sup>526</sup> yal ga'i 'od kyik yal ga chags par<sup>527</sup> 'gyur ro // lo ma'i 'od kyis lo ma chags par 'gyur ro //<sup>528</sup> me tog gi 'od kyil me tog chags par 'gyur ro<sup>529</sup> //<sup>530</sup> 'bras bu'i 'od kyis 'bras bu chags par 'gyur ro // sman gyi rgyal po chen po<sup>531</sup> de'i rtsa ba<sup>532</sup> las<sup>m</sup> snying po<sup>n</sup> 'grub bo<sup>533</sup> //<sup>534</sup> snying po las rtsa ba 'grub bo //<sup>o</sup> de'i phyir na<sup>p</sup> rtsa ba ma grugs<sup>q</sup> pa zhes bya ste / sman gyi<sup>535</sup> rgyal po chen po<sup>536</sup> de ni gnas<sup>537</sup> rnam pa gnyis su<sup>538</sup> mi<sup>539</sup> skye<sup>540</sup> ste<sup>541</sup> / gnyis gang zhe na<sup>542</sup> 'di lta ste /<sup>543</sup> sems can dmyal<sup>544</sup> (B124a) ba'i nang na<sup>r</sup> dang<sup>545</sup> chu'i phung po las mi skye'o<sup>546</sup> //<sup>547</sup> de gnyis<sup>548</sup> las mi skye zhes<sup>549</sup> yongsu<sup>550</sup> mi skye ba'i chos can yang ma yin te / 'di ltar sa'i dkyil 'khor (Lh158b) ji (K146b) tsam<sup>551</sup> du mnyam zhing<sup>552</sup> skabs<sup>553</sup> yod pa de tsam du sman gyi rgyal po<sup>554</sup> chen po skye ba'i skabs<sup>s</sup> yod do<sup>555</sup> //<sup>556</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> BPh: kyi

<sup>b</sup> DLhNyPPh: pa

<sup>c</sup> BDLhNyPS: yod do for medo

<sup>d</sup> DNy: jug for drug

<sup>e</sup> BDNyPPh: grub, KNS: grugs

<sup>f</sup> BDLhNyPPhS: de

<sup>g</sup> BP insert na /

<sup>h</sup> DNy: gtir, BP: steng

<sup>i</sup> BPh: bcu

<sup>j</sup> BDNy omit chen po

<sup>k</sup> BDLhNyP: kyis

<sup>l</sup> DNyPPhS: kyis

<sup>m</sup> BP omit las

<sup>n</sup> BP insert las rtsa ba

<sup>o</sup> BPPH omit snying po las rtsa ba 'grub bo //

<sup>p</sup> DNy: de ci'i phyir zhe na / for de'i phyir na

<sup>q</sup> BDNyPPh: grub

<sup>r</sup> DLhNyPhS omit na

<sup>s</sup> DNyPh chos for skabs, BP omit chen po skye ba'i skabs

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>557</sup> de bzhin du<sup>558</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i<sup>559,a</sup> ye (L117a) ye<sup>b</sup> shes sman gyi rgyal<sup>560</sup> po<sup>561</sup> chen po rtsa ba ma grugs<sup>c</sup> pa<sup>562</sup> yang<sup>563</sup> sngon gyi lhag †pa'i dgongs pa dang /<sup>564</sup> thugs rje<sup>565</sup> chen pos rtsa ba brtan par byung zhing / rtsa ba gnas (N163b) pa med pa<sup>566</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa<sup>567</sup> thams cad kyi rigs su<sup>568</sup> byung ba<sup>569</sup> / dus gsum gyi<sup>570</sup> dge ba'i rtsa ba thams<sup>571</sup> cad kyi<sup>572</sup> /<sup>573</sup> †<sup>574</sup> ye shes kyi shing yang dag par 'grub<sup>d</sup> pa<sup>575</sup> 'jig rten gyi khams ma lus pa thams cad du dge ba'i rtsa ba<sup>576</sup> kun tu khyab pa / ngan song thams cad rnam par zlog pa /<sup>577</sup> dge ba'i rtsa ba<sup>e</sup> rnam par<sup>578,f</sup> byung bas<sup>g</sup> /<sup>579</sup> thabs<sup>580</sup> mkhas<sup>581</sup> pa<sup>582</sup> brtan<sup>583,h</sup> zhing<sup>584</sup> sra (S152b) la mi g-yo ba'i sdong po can / pha rol tu phyin pas chos kyi dbyings rgyas par 'gengs<sup>585</sup> pa'i yal ga can<sup>586</sup> bsam gtan<sup>587</sup> dang /<sup>588</sup> rnam par thar pa dang / tinge<sup>589</sup> 'dzin dang<sup>590</sup> snyoms par 'jug pa'i lo ma kun tu 'gebs<sup>591</sup> pa can<sup>592</sup> gzungs<sup>593</sup> dang<sup>594</sup> (P115b) spobs pa dang /<sup>595</sup> byang chub kyi<sup>596</sup> yan<sup>597</sup> lag gi<sup>598</sup> me tog shin tu<sup>599</sup> (Ph216a) rgyas pa can<sup>600</sup> thams cad mkhyen pa'i rnam par grol<sup>601</sup> ba rto<sup>602</sup> pa<sup>603</sup> dang /<sup>604</sup> bral ba'i 'bras bu can te /<sup>605</sup> kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>606</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i<sup>607</sup> ye shes<sup>608</sup> sman gyi rgyal po chen po rtsa ba ma grugs<sup>i</sup> pa zhes bya ba<sup>609</sup> de<sup>610</sup> la /<sup>611</sup> ci'i phyir rtsa ba ma grugs<sup>612,j</sup> (D115a, Ny115a) pa<sup>613</sup> zhes bya zhe na / shin tu rgyun chad pa med pa dang / byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa'i dkyil 'khor (Lh159a) rgyun mi 'chad cing /<sup>614</sup> byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa las kyang<sup>615</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa nyid du 'gyur la / de bzhin gshegs pa nyid (K147a) las (B124b) kyang<sup>616</sup> byang chub sems<sup>617</sup> dpa'i spyod pa 'byung bas<sup>618</sup> de'i phyir rtsa ba ma grugs<sup>k</sup> pa zhes bya'o<sup>619</sup> //

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>620</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye<sup>621</sup> shes sman gyi rgyal po chen po rtsa ba ma grugs<sup>l</sup> pa<sup>622</sup> de'i rtsa (N164a) ba'i 'od las / byang chub sems dpa' thams cad 'gro ba thams cad yongsu<sup>623</sup> mi gtong ba'i snying rje chen po'i<sup>624</sup> rtsa ba 'dzin to // sdong<sup>625</sup> po'i 'od las brtson 'grus dang /<sup>626</sup> lhag pa'i bsam<sup>627</sup> pa dang /<sup>628</sup> thabs mkhas pa'i sdong<sup>629</sup> po 'dzin to // yal ga'i 'od las pha rol tu phyin pa'i yal (L117b) ga 'dzin to /<sup>630</sup> lo ma'i 'od las tshul khriims dang<sup>631</sup> bsalab<sup>632</sup> pa dang /<sup>633</sup> sbyangs<sup>634</sup> pa'i<sup>635</sup> yon tan dang / sdom<sup>636</sup> pa thams cad<sup>637</sup> kyi<sup>638</sup> lo ma 'dzin to // me tog gi 'od las mtshan dang dpe byad bzang po<sup>639</sup> dge ba'i rtsa ba sna tshogs kyi grub pa'i me tog 'dzin to // 'bras bu'i 'od (S153a) las ma skyes ma byung pa'i<sup>640</sup> bzod pa nas / sangs rgyas su dbang bskur ba'i sa'i bar<sup>641</sup> gyi 'bras bu 'dzin to //

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>642</sup> de bzhin gshegs (Ph216b) pa'i ye shes sman gyi rgyal po chen po rtsa ba ma grugs<sup>m</sup> pa de ni gnas<sup>a</sup> gnyis nas mi skye ste /<sup>643</sup> gnyis gang zhe na /<sup>644</sup> 'di lta ste<sup>645</sup> 'dus ma<sup>646</sup>

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a BP: pa  
b BDKLhNNyPPhS omit ye  
c BDNyPPh: grub  
d BDKNyPPhS: grub  
e DNy omit rtsa ba  
f BDNyP: pas  
g BDLhNyP: ba  
h BP: bstan  
i BDKNyPPh: grub  
j BDNyPPh: grub  
k BDNyPPh: grub  
l BDNyPPh: grub  
m BDNyPPh: grub

byas kyi g-yang du lhung<sup>b</sup> ba<sup>647</sup> nyan thos dang /<sup>648</sup> rang sangs rgyas (Lh159b) rnams dang / dbang po dang bsam pa nyams pa'i snod lta bu<sup>c</sup> dang /<sup>649</sup> sred pa'i chus gang ba las<sup>650</sup> mi skye ste / kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>651</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye<sup>652</sup> shes sman gyi rgyal po chen po de mi skye ba'i chos can la mi skye<sup>653</sup> zhes<sup>654</sup> yongs su<sup>655</sup> mi skye ba'i chos<sup>656</sup> (P116a) can yang ma yin te / byang chub sems dpa'<sup>657</sup> lhag pa'i bsam (K147b) ba<sup>658</sup> chen po can /<sup>659</sup> mnyam ba'i<sup>660</sup> sems dang ldan pa rnams<sup>661</sup> la<sup>662</sup> skye ste / (B125a) ji tsam du sems (N164b) can rnams kyi mos pa dang<sup>663</sup> lhag (D115b, Ny115b) pa'i<sup>664</sup> bsam<sup>665</sup> ba<sup>666</sup> yod pa<sup>667,d</sup> de<sup>668</sup> tsam du<sup>669</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes sman<sup>e</sup> gyi<sup>670</sup> rgyal po chen po<sup>f</sup> de rnam par skye ba'i chos can du 'gyur ro // kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>671</sup> ltos dang / de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes la<sup>672</sup> 'phel zhing 'grib pa<sup>673</sup> med la<sup>674</sup> rtsa ba grub<sup>675</sup> pa med kyang gtan<sup>676</sup> du<sup>677</sup> rgyun mi 'chad<sup>g</sup> par snang ba yin te<sup>678</sup> kye<sup>679</sup> rgyal ba'i sras<sup>680</sup> khong du chud par bya ba'i sgo bdun<sup>681</sup> pa 'dis<sup>682</sup> kyang /<sup>683</sup> byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyi thugs<sup>684</sup> skye<sup>685</sup> ba khong du chud par bya'o //<sup>686</sup>

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>687</sup> gzhan<sup>688</sup> yang<sup>689,h</sup> 'di lta ste<sup>690</sup> dper na /<sup>691</sup> mes<sup>692</sup> 'jig pa'i bskal<sup>693</sup> ba<sup>694</sup> 'byung<sup>i</sup> ba'i tshe / stong gsum gyi stong chen po<sup>695</sup> 'jig rten gyi khams (S153b) nyi ma bdun shar cing<sup>696</sup> /<sup>697</sup> tshig pa dang<sup>698</sup> 'bar ba (L118a) dang /<sup>699</sup> rab tu 'bar ba dang /<sup>700</sup> me'i (Ph217a) phung po chen por gyur te / gcig tu 'bar bar gyur nas<sup>701</sup> / rtswa<sup>702</sup> dang<sup>703</sup> gel (Lh160a) ba dang<sup>704</sup> sman dang<sup>705</sup> nags<sup>706</sup> tshal yan chad<sup>k</sup> /<sup>707</sup> khor yug dang<sup>708</sup> khor yug chen po<sup>709</sup> bar du 'tshig<sup>710</sup> cing<sup>711</sup> thal ba 'ang<sup>712</sup> mi mngon par 'gyur<sup>713</sup> ba<sup>714</sup> de'i tshe /<sup>715</sup> mi la la zhig gis<sup>716</sup> rtsa<sup>717</sup> skam po drung<sup>l</sup> ba rlan gyi<sup>718,m</sup> bag med pa<sup>719</sup> khur chen po<sup>720</sup> gcig cig<sup>721</sup> bkur bkur<sup>722</sup> te<sup>723</sup> bcug na / kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>724</sup> de la ji snyam du sems<sup>725</sup> / rtswa<sup>726</sup> khur cig<sup>727,n</sup> po de las chung ngu na /<sup>728</sup> rtswa<sup>729</sup> zegs<sup>730</sup> pa<sup>o</sup> gcig<sup>731</sup> kyang ma tshig<sup>732</sup> pa yod dam / smras pa /<sup>733</sup> (K148a) kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>734</sup> ma yin te / ma tshig pa (N165a) yod par 'gyur ba ni gnas med<sup>735</sup> skabs med do //<sup>736</sup> smras pa<sup>737</sup> kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>738</sup> me'i phung po chen po<sup>p</sup> de<sup>739</sup> nang gi rtse<sup>740</sup> zegs<sup>741</sup> ma 'ga<sup>742</sup> zhig<sup>743</sup> ma tshig pa ni yod<sup>744</sup> kyang<sup>745</sup> srid kyi / de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes kyi ni<sup>746</sup> dus gsum<sup>747</sup> na yod pa'i sems<sup>748</sup> can 'grangs<sup>749,q</sup> pa dang<sup>750</sup> zhing 'grangs<sup>r</sup> pa dang /<sup>751</sup> bskal pa 'grangs<sup>a</sup> pa dang /<sup>752</sup> chos (P116b) 'grangs<sup>b</sup> pa gang yang

<sup>a</sup> BP omit gnas

<sup>b</sup> DNyP: ltung

<sup>c</sup> DNy: ba

<sup>d</sup> BP: pa'i

<sup>e</sup> BP: sems for sman

<sup>f</sup> BP omit chen po

<sup>g</sup> BDNyPh: chad

<sup>h</sup> DNyP omit gzhan yang

<sup>i</sup> KLhPPhS: byung

<sup>j</sup> LhPS: 'tshig

<sup>k</sup> DNyP: cad

<sup>l</sup> DLhPh: dud, BP: dun

<sup>m</sup> DNy: gyis

<sup>n</sup> DLhS: gcig

<sup>o</sup> BPPH: ma

<sup>p</sup> BP omit chen po

<sup>q</sup> PPhS: bgrangs

<sup>r</sup> PS: bgrangs



thugsu<sup>753</sup> ma chud (B125b) pa<sup>754</sup> snyed<sup>c</sup> par mi rung ste / de ni<sup>755</sup> gnas ma yin no // kye rgyal ba'i<sup>756</sup>  
 sras<sup>757</sup> de ci'i phyir zhe na / de bzhin gshegs<sup>758</sup> pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs<sup>759</sup> pa'i sangs  
 rgyas rnams kyi<sup>760,d</sup> tha mi<sup>761</sup> dad pa'i ye shes thugs<sup>762</sup> chud pa'i phyir ro // <sup>763</sup> kye rgyal ba'i  
 sras<sup>764</sup> (D116a, Ny116a) khong du chud par<sup>765</sup> bya ba'i sgo<sup>766</sup> brgyad pa 'dis<sup>767</sup> kyang / <sup>768</sup> byang chub  
 sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos de bzhin gshegs<sup>769</sup> pa'i thugs skye<sup>770,e</sup> ba<sup>771</sup> khong du chud par  
 bya'o // <sup>772</sup>

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>773</sup> (Lh160b) gzhan<sup>774</sup> yang 'di lta ste<sup>775</sup> dper na<sup>776</sup> rlung<sup>777</sup> gis<sup>778</sup> 'jig<sup>779</sup> pa'i  
 bskal<sup>780</sup> pa byung ba'i<sup>781</sup> tshe / rnam par 'thor ba<sup>782</sup> zhes bya ba'i (S154a) rlung<sup>783</sup> dmar<sup>f</sup> chen<sup>784</sup> po  
 'byung ste / de (Ph217b) dag ni<sup>785</sup> khor<sup>g</sup> yug dang / <sup>786</sup> khor<sup>787</sup> yug chen po'i rdo rje'i<sup>788</sup> ri<sup>789</sup> yan  
 chad<sup>790</sup> stong gsum<sup>791</sup> gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams thams cad bshig<sup>792</sup> bcom<sup>793</sup> rnam par  
 gtor te / <sup>794</sup> cha shas kyang med par byed de<sup>795</sup> / <sup>796</sup> de la phyir<sup>797</sup> zlog<sup>798</sup> pa zhes bya ba'i rlung dmar<sup>h</sup>  
 chen po gzhan<sup>799</sup> (L118b) ldang ba'ang<sup>800,i</sup> (N165b) yod de / <sup>801</sup> de dag ni stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i  
 'jig rten gyi khams kyi<sup>802</sup> 'khor<sup>803</sup> kun nas ldang ste / rnam par 'thor ba'i rlung dmar<sup>j</sup> chen po<sup>804</sup> 'jig  
 rten gyi khams (K148b) gzhan<sup>805</sup> du mi 'gro bar phyir zlog go<sup>806</sup> /

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>807</sup> ci<sup>808</sup> ste / <sup>809</sup> phyir zlog pa'i rlung dmar<sup>k</sup> chen po de dag gis<sup>810</sup> rnam par  
 'thor ba'i rlung dmar<sup>l</sup> chen po de phyir ma bcil<sup>m</sup> du zin na / phyogs bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams<sup>811</sup> tshad  
 med<sup>812</sup> grangs<sup>813</sup> med pa dag kyang bshigs<sup>n</sup> par 'gyur ro // bcom par 'gyur ro // <sup>814</sup> gtor bar 'gyur  
 ro // <sup>815</sup> cha shas kyang mi bzhag<sup>816</sup> par 'gyur ro<sup>817</sup> // kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>818</sup> de bzhin du<sup>o</sup> de bzhin  
 gshegs<sup>819</sup> pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyi<sup>820</sup> ye shes kyi rlung  
 dmar<sup>p</sup> chen po nyon mongs pa thams cad rnam par 'thor ba yod do<sup>821,q</sup> // <sup>822</sup> ye shes kyi<sup>823</sup> rlung  
 dmar<sup>r</sup> chen po des<sup>824</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa byang<sup>825</sup> chub sems dpa' thams cad kyi / <sup>826</sup> nyon<sup>827</sup>  
 mongs<sup>828</sup> pa'i bag chags<sup>829</sup> rnam (Lh161a) par 'thor zhing<sup>830</sup> / <sup>831,s</sup> rnam par 'jom<sup>t</sup> pa<sup>u</sup> mdzad de<sup>832</sup> / <sup>833</sup>

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- a BPS: bgrangs  
 b BPPHS: bgrangs  
 c BKLhPS: rnyed  
 d BDNyPh: kyi  
 e BP: skyed  
 f BDNyPPH: mar  
 g BP: 'khor  
 h BDNyP: mar  
 i BLhP: ba for ba'ang  
 j DNyP: mar  
 k BDNyP: mar  
 l BDNyP: mar  
 m BPh: cil  
 n BDKLhNyPPHS: bshig  
 o BP omit de bzhin du  
 p BDNyP: mar  
 q BDLh: de  
 r BDNyP: mar  
 s BP omit rnam par 'thor zhing /  
 t DLhNy: 'joms  
 u DNyPh: par

de la'ang de bzhin gshegs<sup>834</sup> pa<sup>835</sup> rnams kyi ye shes kyi rlung dmar<sup>a</sup> chen po<sup>836</sup> (B126a, P117a) thabs mkhas pas<sup>837</sup> yang dag par 'dzin pa zhes bya ba rab tu ldang ba yod do<sup>b</sup> //<sup>838</sup> nyon mongs pa'i<sup>839</sup> bag chags rnam par 'thor ba'i ye shes<sup>840</sup> kyi (Ph218a) rlung dmar<sup>c</sup> chen po de dag gis<sup>841,d</sup> byang chub sems (S154b) dpa' dbang po yongs su<sup>842</sup> ma smin<sup>843</sup> pa rnams las phyir zlog go / (D116b, Ny116b)

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>844</sup> de la ci<sup>845</sup> ste /<sup>846</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes kyi rlung<sup>847</sup> (N166a) dmar<sup>e</sup> chen po<sup>f</sup> thabs mkhas pa'i<sup>g</sup> dkyil 'khor de med du zin na / de'i phyir<sup>h</sup> byang chub sems dpa' tshad med<sup>848</sup> grangs med pa zhis<sup>849</sup> nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas kyi sar ltung bar 'gyur ro // ye shes kyi rlung<sup>850</sup> dmar<sup>i</sup> chen po thabs mkhas pas /<sup>851</sup> yang dag par 'dzin pa<sup>852</sup> de'i mthus<sup>853</sup> byang chub sems dpa'i<sup>j</sup> rnams nyan thos (K149a) dang<sup>854</sup> rang sangs rgyas kyi sa las 'das te / rang byung<sup>k</sup> ba'i<sup>l</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa nyid la rab tu 'khod<sup>855</sup> do // kye rgyal ba'i (L119a) sras<sup>856</sup> khong du chud par bya ba'i sgo dgu pa 'dis kyang /<sup>857</sup> byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos<sup>858</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams<sup>859</sup> kyi thugs<sup>860</sup> sbye ba khong du chud par bya'o //<sup>861</sup>

kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>862</sup> gzhan<sup>863</sup> yang de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes ni thams cad du khyab pa ste / de ci'i phyir zhe na / kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>864</sup> sems can gyi<sup>865</sup> ris (Lh161b) na<sup>866</sup> / de bzhin gshegs<sup>867</sup> pa'i ye shes kyis thams cadu<sup>868</sup> ma<sup>869</sup> khyab pa de lta bu gang yang med de / de'ang<sup>870</sup> ci'i phyir zhe na / de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes ni 'du shes su 'dzin pas rnam par dgod<sup>871</sup> pa ma yin te<sup>872</sup> / thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes<sup>873</sup> rang byung<sup>m</sup> gi ye shes<sup>874</sup> chags pa med pa'i ye shes ni 'du shes dang<sup>875</sup> rnam par bral bas rab tu 'byungo<sup>876</sup> //<sup>877</sup> kye rgyal ba'i (Ph218b) sras<sup>878</sup> 'di lta ste<sup>879</sup> dper na /<sup>880</sup> ri mo'i gzhi<sup>881</sup> chen po stong<sup>882</sup> (N166b) gsum gyi stong chen po'i<sup>883</sup> 'jig rten gyi khams tsam zhig (S155a) yod par gyur la<sup>884</sup> ri mo'i gzhi<sup>885</sup> chen po de la stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i<sup>886</sup> 'jig rten<sup>887</sup> gyi khams ril<sup>888</sup> gyis<sup>889</sup> rdzogs par bris te / 'di ltar<sup>890</sup> khor<sup>891</sup> yug chen po'i tshad du ni khor yug chen po bris / sa chen po'i tshad<sup>892</sup> du ni sa chen po bris /<sup>893</sup> stong gnyis (B126b) pa'i<sup>894</sup> (P117b) 'jig rten gyi khams kyi tshad du ni /<sup>895</sup> stong gnyis pa'i 'jig rten gyi khams bris / stong gi 'jig rten gyi khams kyi tshad du ni /<sup>896</sup> stong<sup>897</sup> gi<sup>898</sup> 'jig rten gyi khams (K149b) bris / gling bzhi pa'i 'jig rten gyi khams kyi<sup>899</sup> tshad du ni /<sup>900</sup> gling bzhi<sup>901</sup> pa'i (D117a, Ny117a) 'jig rten gyi khams bris / rgya mtsho chen po'i tshad du ni rgya mtsho chen po bris /<sup>902</sup> 'dzam bu'i<sup>903</sup> gling gi tshadu<sup>904</sup> ni 'dzam bu'i<sup>905</sup> gling bris /<sup>906</sup> shar

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a DNyP: mar  
 b BDLhNyP: de  
 c BDNyP: mar  
 d BPh: gi  
 e BDNyP: mar  
 f DNyPPh: po'i (P: inverted gi gu)  
 g BDNyP omit thabs mkhas pa'i  
 h BDNyP omit phyir  
 i BDNyP: mar  
 j BDLhNyPPh: dpa'  
 k DNy: 'byung  
 l DNyP omit ba'i  
 m DNy: 'byung, BP: gang dang gang for rang byung

kyi<sup>907</sup> lus 'phags kyi gling gi tshadu<sup>908</sup> ni shar gyi<sup>909</sup> lus 'phags kyi gling bris / nub kyi<sup>910</sup> ba<sup>911.a</sup>  
 glang<sup>b</sup> spyod<sup>912</sup> kyi<sup>913</sup> gling gi tshad du ni nub kyi ba<sup>914.c</sup> glang<sup>915.d</sup> spyod kyi<sup>916</sup> gling bris / byang gi  
 sgra<sup>917</sup> mi snyan gyi gling gi tshad du<sup>918</sup> ni byang gi sgra mi snyan gyi gling (Lh162a) bris / ri rab kyi  
 tshad du ni<sup>919</sup> ri rab bris / sa bla (L119b) na spyod pa'i lha'i<sup>920</sup> gzhal<sup>921</sup> med khang gi tshadu<sup>922</sup> ni sa  
 bla na spyod pa'i lha'i gzhal med khang rnams bris / 'dod pa la spyod pa'i lha'i gzhal<sup>923</sup> med khang  
 gi tshad du ni<sup>924</sup> 'dod pa la spyod pa'i lha'i gzhal<sup>925</sup> med khang rnams bris / gzugs la<sup>926</sup> spyod pa'i  
 lha'i gzhal<sup>927</sup> med khang gi tshad du ni<sup>928</sup> gzugs la<sup>929</sup> spyod pa'i lha'i gzhal<sup>930</sup> med khang rnams<sup>931</sup>  
 bris / gzugs med pa la spyod pa'i lha'i gzhal<sup>932</sup> med khang gi tshad du ni<sup>933</sup> (N167a) gzugs med pa la  
 spyod pa'i lha'i<sup>934</sup> gzhal<sup>935</sup> med med<sup>e</sup> khang rnams bris par (Ph219a) gyur<sup>936</sup> la<sup>937</sup> ri mo'i gzhi<sup>938</sup> chu  
 zheng du stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams<sup>939</sup> tsam yod pa de / rdul (S155b) shin tu  
 phra ba gcig gi nang du<sup>940</sup> bcug par gyur la<sup>941</sup> rdul gcig<sup>942</sup> la ji lta ba de<sup>943.f</sup> bzhin du<sup>944</sup> rdul shin tu  
 phra ba<sup>945</sup> ma lus pa thams cad re re la yang<sup>946</sup> /<sup>947</sup> de tsam gyi<sup>948</sup> ri mo'i<sup>949</sup> gzhi<sup>950</sup> chen po re re yod  
 par gyur te / de nas skyes bu mkhas<sup>951</sup> pa<sup>952</sup> yid gzhungs<sup>953</sup> pa<sup>954</sup> khong bzo ba<sup>955</sup> stsal<sup>g</sup> pa<sup>956</sup> de  
 bzhin nyid khong du chud pa'i rtogs<sup>h</sup> pa dang<sup>957</sup> ldan pa zhig skyes par (K150a) gyur te / de la 'phrul  
 gyi mig<sup>958</sup> kun tu dag pa shin tu 'od gsal ba yang<sup>959</sup> bdog<sup>960</sup> par gyur la<sup>961</sup> des 'phrul<sup>962</sup> gyi mig  
 gis<sup>963</sup> bltas<sup>964</sup> na<sup>965</sup> mthong bar gyur nas<sup>966</sup> ri mo'i gzhi<sup>967</sup> chen po de lta bu<sup>i</sup> de ltar shin tu phra  
 mo'i rdul de dag la<sup>968</sup> 'khod<sup>j</sup> kyang sems can su<sup>969</sup> la yang<sup>970</sup> phan par ma gyur bas<sup>971</sup> /<sup>972</sup> de 'di  
 snyam du sems te / kye<sup>973</sup> ma (Lh162b) bdag gis<sup>974</sup> brtson 'grus kyi<sup>975</sup> mthu dang<sup>976</sup> stobs (P118a) shig<sup>k</sup>  
 gis<sup>977</sup> /<sup>978</sup> (B127a) rdul phra mo 'di dag<sup>l</sup> kha phye ste<sup>979</sup> ri mo'i<sup>980</sup> gzhi chen po 'di dag 'gro ba thams  
 cad nye bar 'tsho<sup>981</sup> bar bya'o<sup>982</sup> snyam nas<sup>983</sup> des brtson (D117b, Ny117b) 'grus kyi stobs dang<sup>984</sup>  
 mthu chen po bskyed<sup>985</sup> de<sup>986</sup> ri mo'i<sup>987</sup> gzhi<sup>988</sup> chen po de dag 'gro ba thams<sup>989</sup> cad kyi bsam pa ji  
 lta ba bzhin du nye bar 'tsho<sup>990</sup> bar byed pa zhig yod na<sup>991</sup> kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>992</sup> de bzhin du de  
 bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes<sup>993</sup> tshad (N167b) med pa'i ye shes<sup>994</sup> chags pa med pa'i ye shes<sup>995</sup> sems can  
 thams cad<sup>996</sup> nye bar 'tsho<sup>997</sup> ba'i ye shes kyang<sup>998</sup> (L120a) sems can thams cad kyi sems la ril<sup>m</sup> gyis<sup>999</sup>  
 chud par gnas te / sems can gyi sems<sup>1000</sup> de dag thams cad<sup>1001</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes (Ph219b)  
 kyi<sup>1002</sup> tshad dang mnyam yang<sup>1003</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes de ni byis pa 'du shes su 'dzin  
 pas<sup>1004</sup> rnam par glags<sup>1005</sup> pa rnams mi shes shing<sup>1006</sup> khong du mi<sup>1007</sup> chud la<sup>1008</sup> mngon du<sup>1009</sup> mi  
 byed<sup>1010</sup> nyams<sup>1011</sup> (S156a) su<sup>1012</sup> myong bar mi byed de / de nas de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes chags

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a BDKNy: ban  
 b BDNyP: lang  
 c BDNy: ban  
 d BDNyP: lang  
 e BDLhNNyPPh omit med  
 f PhS omit de  
 g BDKLhNyPPh: gsal  
 h BP: rtog  
 i BP omit de lta bu  
 j BPPH: 'khor  
 k DNy: zhig  
 l BDNyP omit dag  
 m BP: rim

pa med pas /<sup>1013</sup> sems can gyi khams thams cad la<sup>1014</sup> rnam (K150b) par gzigs nas<sup>1015</sup> ngo mtshar<sup>1016</sup>  
gyi<sup>1017</sup> dgongs pa<sup>a</sup> skye bar 'gyur te / kye ma<sup>1018</sup> sems can 'di dag de ltar de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye  
shes yang dag par<sup>b</sup> ji lta ba bzhin du 'ang<sup>1019</sup> mi shes la / de bzhin gshegs<sup>1020</sup> pa'i ye shes kyang  
khong<sup>1021</sup> na yod pa ngo mtshar ches<sup>1022</sup> /<sup>1023</sup> bdag gis<sup>c</sup> sems<sup>1024</sup> can 'di dag ci nas kyang rang rang  
gi<sup>1025</sup> 'du shes<sup>1026</sup> kyi mdud<sup>1027</sup> pa chen po 'phags<sup>1028</sup> (Lh163a) pa'i lam gyi<sup>1029,d</sup> stobs dang shugs kyi<sup>e</sup>  
bkrol<sup>1030</sup> te /<sup>1031</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes khong du chud cing /<sup>1032</sup> de bzhin<sup>1033</sup> gshegs pa'i  
mnyam pa nyid kyang thob par 'gyur<sup>1034</sup> ba'i<sup>1035,f</sup> 'phags pa'i lam bstan te / 'du shes kyi rnam pas  
rnam par glags<sup>1036,g</sup> pa thams cad bstsal<sup>1037,h</sup> bar bya'o<sup>1038</sup> zhes nas /<sup>1039</sup> de bzhin gshegs<sup>1040</sup> pa'i lam  
bstan<sup>1041</sup> pas de dag gi 'du shes kyi rnam pa thams cad yongs su bstsal<sup>1042,i</sup> ba<sup>1043</sup> mdzad do // de ltar  
'du shes kyi<sup>1044</sup> (N168a) rnam pa thams cad yongsu<sup>1045</sup> sel ba'i phyir /<sup>1046</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes  
tshad med pas 'gro ba thams<sup>1047</sup> (P118b) cad yongsu<sup>1048</sup> 'tsho'o<sup>1049</sup> // (B127b) kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>1050</sup>  
khong du chud par bya ba'i<sup>1051</sup> sgo bcu pa 'dis kyang /<sup>1052</sup> byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' (D118a,  
Ny118a) chen pos /<sup>1053</sup> de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par<sup>1054</sup> rdzogs<sup>1055</sup> (Ph220a) pa'i sangs  
rgyas<sup>1056</sup> rnams<sup>1057</sup> kyi thugs<sup>1058</sup> skye ba khong du chud paj bya ste<sup>1059</sup> /<sup>1060</sup> kye rgyal ba'i sras<sup>1061</sup> de  
dag la sogs<sup>1062</sup> pa mngon par bsgrub<sup>1063</sup> pa brgya<sup>1064</sup> stong tshad<sup>1065</sup> med grangs<sup>1066</sup> med<sup>k</sup> pa'i  
sgos /<sup>1067</sup> (L120b) byang chub sems dpa'<sup>1068</sup> sems dpa' chen pos de bzhin (S156b) gshegs pa'i<sup>l</sup> thugs  
skye ba khong du chud par bya'o //<sup>1069</sup> (K151a)

de nas byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po kun tu bzang pos /<sup>1070</sup> don 'di nyid yang<sup>1071</sup>  
brtag<sup>1072</sup> par bya ba'i phyir /<sup>1073</sup> de'i tshe tshigsu<sup>1074</sup> bcad pa 'di<sup>m</sup> smraso<sup>1075</sup> //  
stobs bcu mnga' ba'i thugs ni<sup>1076</sup> ye shes mchog las byung<sup>1077</sup> //<sup>1078</sup>  
rgyal ba'i ye shes de yang ji ltar brtag<sup>1079</sup> (Lh163b) ce<sup>1080</sup> na //<sup>1081</sup>  
phyogs bcu kun gyi sems<sup>1082</sup> can khams ni<sup>1083,n</sup> ji snyed pa //<sup>1084</sup>  
thams cad lus med rang bzhin med pa'i mkha'<sup>1085</sup> las<sup>1086</sup> 'byung<sup>o</sup> //<sup>1087</sup>  
chos dbyings kun gyi<sup>1088</sup> sems can khams rnams ji snyed pa //  
bzo<sup>1089</sup> dang mkhas pa'i ye shes<sup>p</sup> sna tshogs bde myong ba //  
de dag thams cad bde gshegs<sup>1090</sup> mkhyen<sup>1091,a</sup> las thabs<sup>1092</sup> kyis<sup>1093</sup> 'byung<sup>1094</sup> //

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a KLhNPhS: thugs for dgongs pa  
b DNyPPh: pa  
c DNyPh: gi  
d BP: gyis  
e DKLhNyPPhS: kyis  
f BDNyPPh: bar  
g KPh: klags  
h BDLhNyPS: bsal  
i BDLhNyPS: bsal  
j DNyPPhS: par  
k BP omit grangs med  
l BPPH: pa  
m DLhNyPS insert dag  
n BDNyPPh: rnams for ni  
o BPh: byung  
p BDNyPPh: shes pa for ye shes

bde gshegs ye shes de ni sngon nas<sup>1095</sup> rang bzhin med //<sup>1096</sup> (N168b)  
 chos<sup>b</sup> dbyings las<sup>c</sup> gnas te<sup>1097</sup> dbang<sup>1098</sup> can<sup>d</sup> tshogs<sup>1099</sup> rnams grol<sup>1100</sup> //  
 phyogs bcu'i rang rgyal theg<sup>e</sup> la gnas pa kun kyang ste //<sup>1101</sup>  
 sangs<sup>1102</sup> rgyas ma lus pa yang chos kyi dbyings<sup>1103</sup> su 'byung //  
 chos dbyings<sup>1104</sup> de<sup>1105</sup> la rnam par 'phel zhing 'grib pa med //  
 de bzhin sangs rgyas<sup>1106</sup> mkhyen la shes pa kun 'byung ste //  
 slob dang mi slob 'dus byas 'dus ma byas pa 'byung //  
 bde gshegs<sup>1107</sup> (Ph220b) dam pa'i ye shes 'phel zhing 'grib pha<sup>1108,f</sup> med<sup>1109,g</sup> //  
 sangs rgyas ye shes<sup>1110</sup> de la skye zhing 'jig pa'ang med //<sup>1111</sup>  
 ji ltar gling rnams<sup>1112</sup> chu'i<sup>1113</sup> rgyal pos mngon<sup>1114</sup> brlan<sup>1115</sup> pas //  
 sa stengs<sup>1116,h</sup> gang<sup>1117</sup> 'dod brkos<sup>1118</sup> par<sup>i</sup> nges par chu 'byung 'thob //  
 sa la rnam rtog med de chu la mu med pas //  
 brtson 'grus stobs dang ldan na phyogs kun chu yang 'byung //  
 phyogs bcu ma (K151b) lus (P119a) sems can<sup>1119</sup> khams rnams<sup>1120</sup> ji snyed (D118b, Ny118b) pa //  
 de (S157a) dag sems ni bde (B128a) gshegs mkhyen pas mngon brlan pas //<sup>1121</sup>  
 gang dang gang du las byas brtson 'grus mthus<sup>j</sup> bskyed<sup>1122,k</sup> pa //  
 de dang de nas ye shes chu 'byung 'thob<sup>1123</sup> (Lh164a) par 'gyur //<sup>1124</sup>  
 rin chen mchog bzhi<sup>1125</sup> gang<sup>1126,l</sup> chen mtsho'i<sup>1127</sup> mdzod gnas pa //<sup>1128</sup>  
 de dag mthus ni chu<sup>1129</sup> 'dzin chen (L121a) por rin chen 'byung //  
 nor bu rin chen de dag phal gyis<sup>1130</sup> mi mthong ste<sup>1131</sup> //  
 de dag phyogs bzhir rnam<sup>1132</sup> phye gang<sup>1133,m</sup> chen mtsho na gnas //<sup>1134</sup>  
 bde gshegs ye shes bzhi po tshad med de bzhin te //  
 'gro ba'i ye shes nges 'byung<sup>n</sup> 'jig par mi 'gyur ro //  
 ye shes chen po de dag (N169a) gzhan<sup>1135</sup> rnams sus mi mthong //  
 stobs bcu rnams dang dbang bskur<sup>1136</sup> thob pa ma gtogso<sup>1137</sup> //  
 chu 'dzin chen po'i<sup>1138</sup> mtha' na<sup>1139</sup> rin chen bzhi<sup>1140</sup> yod de //  
 stobs chen<sup>1141</sup> gzi brjid che bas de dag chu 'grib byed<sup>1142</sup> //  
 de dag med du zin na gling bzhi rgyas par<sup>1143</sup> 'gyur //

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<sup>a</sup> BP: med for mkhyen  
<sup>b</sup> BDKNyPPh insert kyi  
<sup>c</sup> BDKNyPPh: la  
<sup>d</sup> DNy: chen for can  
<sup>e</sup> KPh: thegs  
<sup>f</sup> DKNyPhS omit pha  
<sup>g</sup> DKNyPhS insert de  
<sup>h</sup> BDLhNyPPh: steng  
<sup>i</sup> LhN: pa'i  
<sup>j</sup> BDNyP: mthu  
<sup>k</sup> BPPH: skyed  
<sup>l</sup> LhPS: gangs  
<sup>m</sup> BLhPS: gangs  
<sup>n</sup> BP: byung

de dag yod pas rgya<sup>1144</sup> mtsho 'phel zhing<sup>1145</sup> 'grib pa med //  
 de bzhin bde gshegs ye shes rgyal sras don brtson<sup>1146</sup> pa //  
 chos kyi shugs gcod<sup>1147</sup> dba<sup>1148</sup> rlabs shin tu rnam par sel //<sup>1149</sup>  
 shes rab<sup>1150</sup> yangs<sup>1151</sup> pa'i ye shes mtha<sup>1152</sup> dang<sup>1153</sup> dbung<sup>a</sup> med snang // (Ph221a)  
 de med gyur na rgyal<sup>1154</sup> sras gang yang 'tshang mi rgya<sup>1155</sup> //  
 'og gi gzhi<sup>1156</sup> nas bzung ste<sup>1157</sup> srid pa'i rtse mo'i bar //  
 'dod dang gzugs<sup>1158</sup> dang<sup>1159</sup> gzugs med khams gsum<sup>1160</sup> thams cad kyang //  
 bdag med dbyings la legs par<sup>1161</sup> gnas pas gnas pa ste //  
 namkha<sup>1162</sup> mtho zhing<sup>1163</sup> dma' bar 'gyur ba gang yang med //  
 de bzhin bde gshegs ye shes shes<sup>1164</sup> (Lh164b) pa kun gyi<sup>1165</sup> (K152a) rgyu //  
 slob dang mi slob rnams dang de (S157b) bzhin rang rgyal dang //  
 byang chub sems dpa' bde bar byed pa'i<sup>1166</sup> ye shes kyang //  
 sangs rgyas ye shes mchog la bde bar rab tu gnas //  
 gangs<sup>1167</sup> ri<sup>1168</sup> spo la gzi brjid che<sup>1169</sup> ba'i<sup>1170</sup> sman gyi mchog //<sup>1171</sup>  
 rtsa<sup>1172</sup> ba grugs<sup>1173,b</sup> med yod de de'i<sup>1174</sup> gzi brjid mthus //  
 'dzam bu'ic gling gi shing mchog thams cad rnam par skye //<sup>1175</sup> (D119a, Ny119a)  
 snying po<sup>d</sup> rtsa ba skyed<sup>1176</sup> byed rtsa (P119b) ba<sup>e</sup> snying po skyed //<sup>1177</sup>  
 de bzhin bde gshegs (B128b, N169b) rigs las sangs rgyas ye shes 'byung //  
 de'i<sup>1178</sup> yon tan mthus ni rnal<sup>f</sup> 'byor ye shes 'byung //  
 spyod pa'i<sup>g</sup> byang chub 'byung ste<sup>h</sup> byang chub<sup>1179</sup> spyod pa<sup>1180</sup> 'byin //  
 sems<sup>1181</sup> yid mnyam dang (L121b) ldan la<sup>1182</sup> sangs rgyas ye shes skye //  
 bskal pa'i<sup>1183,i</sup> 'jig dus mi bzad<sup>1184</sup> bskal<sup>1185</sup> ba'i<sup>1186</sup> me byung<sup>1187</sup> par<sup>1188</sup> //  
 la las spur<sup>1189</sup> rtsa'i<sup>1190,j</sup> khur bor mi tshig<sup>k</sup> gnas med de //<sup>1191</sup>  
 rgyal ba'i sras rnams de ni mi srid<sup>l</sup> skabs med do //<sup>1192</sup>  
 rdo rje 'tshig<sup>1193</sup> par byed na rtsa<sup>1194</sup> skam ci zhig smos //<sup>1195</sup>  
 rtsa<sup>1196</sup> la mi 'tshig<sup>m</sup> ji<sup>1197</sup> ste gnas yod srid 'gyur gyi //<sup>1198</sup>  
 bde gshegs ye shes kyis ni ma<sup>n</sup> mkhyen<sup>1199</sup> gang yang med //  
 sems can dus dang bskal<sup>1200</sup> pa zhing rnams rab<sup>1201</sup> tu mkhyen //

<sup>a</sup> BDLhNyPPhS: dbus

<sup>b</sup> DNyPh: grub

<sup>c</sup> PPh: bu

<sup>d</sup> DNy: pos

<sup>e</sup> DNy: bas

<sup>f</sup> BP: rgyal for rnal

<sup>g</sup> BDNyPPh: pas

<sup>h</sup> BP: te

<sup>i</sup> BP: pa

<sup>j</sup> DKNyPS: rtsi'i

<sup>k</sup> KPS: 'tshig, BPh: tshigs

<sup>l</sup> DLh: tshig for srid

<sup>m</sup> BPh: tshig

<sup>n</sup> KPh: mi

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de ltar sangs<sup>1202</sup> rgyas ye shes tshad med mtha' yang yas //<sup>1203</sup>  
bskal pa<sup>1204</sup> 'jig pa'i tshe na rnam 'thor rlung ldang ste // (Ph221b)  
de ni<sup>1205</sup> khor<sup>1206</sup> yug ri rab kun kyang rnam par 'thor ba<sup>a</sup> byed //  
rnam 'thor phyir ldog byed pa'i rlung dmar<sup>b</sup> gzhan med na //  
tshad med zhing rnam<sup>1207</sup> kun kyang (Lh165a) rnam par 'jig<sup>1208</sup> par<sup>1209</sup> 'gyur //<sup>1210</sup>  
de bzhin<sup>1211</sup> stobs<sup>1212</sup> bcu mnga' ba'i ye shes rlung (K152b) ldang<sup>c</sup> pa<sup>1213</sup> //  
de dag byang chub<sup>1214</sup> sems dpa'i<sup>1215</sup> nyon mongs<sup>1216</sup> rnam par 'thor //  
de la thabs dang ldan pa'i rlung dmar<sup>d</sup> gzhan<sup>1217,e</sup> yod de //  
des ni yongsu<sup>1218</sup> (S158a) bzung pas<sup>1219</sup> nyan<sup>1220</sup> thos mi 'gyur<sup>1221</sup> ro<sup>1222</sup> //  
stong gsum tshad kyi ri mo'i<sup>1223</sup> gzhi<sup>1224</sup> zhig<sup>f</sup> yod<sup>1225</sup> gyur la // (N170a)  
rdul phran ma lus kun gyi sbubs<sup>1226</sup> na'ang de 'dra ste //  
skyes bu mkhas pa'i<sup>g</sup> mig<sup>1227</sup> ldan la las nam<sup>h</sup> phye nas<sup>1228</sup> //  
ri mo'i<sup>1229</sup> gzhi<sup>1230</sup> de 'gro kun nye bar 'tsho byas na<sup>i</sup> //<sup>1231</sup>  
bcom ldan 'das<sup>j</sup> de yang de bzhin sems can kun gyi sems //  
ril gyis<sup>1232</sup> bde gshegs mkhyen yin<sup>1233</sup> 'du shes bsgribs<sup>1234</sup> 'gyur<sup>k</sup> ces //  
rgyal ba'i thugs tje bskyed<sup>1235</sup> cing 'du shes spong<sup>1236</sup> bar<sup>1237</sup> ston //  
'du shes yongs su<sup>1238</sup> shes nas rgyal sras nye bar 'tsho<sup>1239</sup> //

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<sup>a</sup> BLhPh: bar

<sup>b</sup> BDNyP: mar

<sup>c</sup> BP: ldan

<sup>d</sup> BDNyP: mar

<sup>e</sup> BP: bzhi

<sup>f</sup> BP: gzhi for zhig

<sup>g</sup> BP: pa

<sup>h</sup> BDLhNy: rnam

<sup>i</sup> BPh: nas

<sup>j</sup> BDkLhNNyPPhS omit 'das

<sup>k</sup> BDkLhNNyPPhS: gyur

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## Notes

1 B inserts bam po bcu gcig pa ///, KLhN insert bam po bdun cu gsum pa /, P inserts  
sangs rgyas rmad gcad ces bya ba shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo /// bam po bcu gcig pa ///, Ph inserts  
bam po bdun bcu don gsum pa ///, S inserts bam po bdun cu gsum pa ///

2 L: hole after byang  
3 L: hole after pa'i  
4 Ph: rigsu for rigs su  
5 BLhDNyPh insert /, Ph: s is under gy, S inserts //  
6 Lh inserts /  
7 L: hole after byang  
8 BDPPh insert /, K: po sa for pos  
9 L: hole after bzhin  
10 B: //  
11 L: hole after dang /  
12 S: //  
13 N: rigsu for rigs su  
14 NPh: smraso for smras so  
15 Lh inserts /  
16 B: kyi  
17 B: bkod  
18 S inserts //  
19 B: bkod  
20 B: bkod  
21 P: //  
22 Lh inserts /  
23 BDNyP insert /  
24 Lh inserts /  
25 Lh inserts /  
26 S omits /  
27 BDKLhNyPS: nam mkha' for namkha'  
28 Ph: bkod  
29 BDKLhNyPS: nam mkha' for namkha'  
30 Lh inserts /  
31 P: s is under g  
32 PhS omit /  
33 BDNyP omit /  
34 Ph: bkod  
35 Ph: s is under g  
36 B: myi  
37 Lh inserts /  
38 Ph inserts kyang  
39 S: //  
40 S: final s is under m  
41 Ph inserts /  
42 PhS: s is under g  
43 Ph omits skye ba  
44 Lh inserts /, N inserts two-letter-size space  
45 Ph: bzhan  
46 LhS insert /  
47 S omits /  
48 S: s is under ng  
49 Ph: 'gyuro for 'gyur ro  
50 S: //  
51 K inserts two-letter-size space, Ph omits chos kyi  
52 L: hole between dbying and s, S: s is under ng  
53 LhPh insert /  
54 P: hole after du



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55 S: s is under g  
 56 K inserts la brten  
 57 B inserts //, DNyP insert /  
 58 S inserts pa  
 59 BDNyP omit /  
 60 Ph: bgrang, S: s is under ng  
 61 BDNyP insert /, Ph omits kyang  
 62 L: hole after par, DNy: r is under p  
 63 Ph: bkod  
 64 BDNyP omit /  
 65 P: inverted gi gu, Ph: gzo'i  
 66 L: hole after dgod, Ph: bkod  
 67 PPhS insert /  
 68 Lh inserts /  
 69 BDNyPPhS insert /  
 70 B: skyes  
 71 B: ba is inserted under the line as correction  
 72 Lh inserts /  
 73 Ph: bzhan  
 74 LhPhS insert /  
 75 Ph: r is under p  
 76 PhS omit /  
 77 P: gi gu is hardly visible  
 78 DNyPS omit /  
 79 B: spags  
 80 BDNyP omit /  
 81 Ph: gshong, S: gshongs  
 82 L: inserts one more tsheg  
 83 S omits rgya  
 84 S: /  
 85 Lh inserts /  
 86 Ph inserts /  
 87 Ph omits sems dang  
 88 Ph inserts /, S: pa'ang for pa yang  
 89 Ph: kyi, Ph inserts /  
 90 Ph: rlan  
 91 BDLhNyP insert /  
 92 Ph: pas  
 93 BDNyP insert /  
 94 BDNyPPh omit /  
 95 K: kyi is inserted under the line as correction  
 96 Ph: rtson  
 97 Ph: pa'i  
 98 LhPhS omit /  
 99 P inserts one-letter-size space  
 100 Ph omits ye shes  
 101 Ph: snyom  
 102 Ph inserts /  
 103 B: myi, Ph omits mi  
 104 Lh inserts /  
 105 B: myi  
 106 BDNyPPh insert /  
 107 Lh pa'i  
 108 Ph: gyi, S inserts /  
 109 BDNyP: pa yang for pa'ang, Ph omits 'ang  
 110 Lh inserts /  
 111 S: final s is under m  
 112 K inserts three-letter-size space  
 113 Lh inserts /, Ph inserts dag  
 114 Ph: bzhan

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115 LhS insert /  
 116 Ph: r is under p  
 117 S omits /  
 118 P: inverted gi gu  
 119 BDNyPPhS omit /  
 120 Lh: pho, Ph omits chen po  
 121 B: myed  
 122 L: hole after phun, K inserts one-letter-size space  
 123 S: do  
 124 Ph: gis  
 125 L: hole between b and rjid  
 126 BDLhNyPPh omit /  
 127 BDNyP insert /  
 128 S: s is under m  
 129 Lh inserts /  
 130 L: gal te is written as one syllable, with t under l  
 131 P: inverted gi gu  
 132 BDNyPPhS omit /  
 133 L: hole after bzhi, P: bzhin  
 134 P: //  
 135 P: inverted gi gu  
 136 BDNyPPhS omit /  
 137 L: hole after che  
 138 DLhNyS insert /  
 139 BDLhNyPS insert /  
 140 N: bsdud  
 141 N: par  
 142 L inserts space between bla and s, P: blos  
 143 L: thams cad is contracted as tha<sup>o</sup>d  
 144 K omits par  
 145 B omits de  
 146 KP insert one-letter-size space  
 147 B: /  
 148 Lh inserts /  
 149 Ph: omits text from sign † to sign ‡  
 150 N inserts one-letter-size space  
 151 DNY: s is under m, K: nams  
 152 Ph: song  
 153 Ph: //  
 154 BDKLhPS nam mkha' for namkha', Ph: namkha'i  
 155 BDLhNyPPhS insert /  
 156 LhP: klu'am for klu 'am  
 157 BDNyPPh omit /  
 158 K: to, B: gyuro for gyur ro  
 159 P: the second gi gu is inverted, Ph: ci is inserted under the line as correction  
 160 Lh inserts one more tsheg  
 161 BDNyPPh omit /  
 162 DNY insert one-letter-size space  
 163 P: inverted gi gu  
 164 BDKLhNNyPS: phyir ro for phyiro, Ph: phyir  
 165 Ph: /  
 166 D omits dag, Lh inserts /  
 167 P: //  
 168 DNY inserts one-letter-size space filled with tshegs, BLhP: gangs  
 169 Lh inserts /  
 170 KN insert /  
 171 N: s is under g  
 172 P: inverted gi gu  
 173 BDNyP omit /  
 174 L: ng of dang and / are inserted as correction, Ph omits /

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175 BDNyP omit /  
176 Lh: s is under g  
177 BDKLhNNyPPhS: /  
178 K: bzi  
179 BDNyPh insert /  
180 K: brgya  
181 P: inverted gi gu  
182 BDNyP omit /  
183 BDLhNyP insert /  
184 L inserts extra tshegs after /  
185 P: s is under m  
186 K omits rang sangs rgyas thams cad dang /  
187 L: hole after thams  
188 P: //  
189 Lh inserts /  
190 L: hole after te  
191 BDLhNyPPhS omit /  
192 P inserts one-letter-size space  
193 KLhNPhS omit /  
194 Ph omits de  
195 B omits /  
196 L: hole after pa'i  
197 K omits ye  
198 P: inverted gi gu  
199 BDNyP omit /  
200 BDNy insert /  
201 L: hole between dp and `a chung  
202 S: che`ang for che yang  
203 BDLhNyPhS insert /  
204 Ph omits /  
205 BDNyPS omit /  
206 Ph: ye shes is contracted as yese  
207 Ph inserts chos kyi dbyings tha mi dad kyang rnam pa tha dad du shin tu  
208 Ph omits mi  
209 BDNyPPhS omit /  
210 L inserts one-letter-size space, Lh omits la  
211 Ph: pheb  
212 P: //  
213 B: /  
214 Lh inserts /  
215 Ph: ye shes is contracted as yese  
216 DNy: final s is under m  
217 DNy: s is under m  
218 Ph: song  
219 B inserts three-letter-size space  
220 BDNyP omit /  
221 P: to  
222 P: //  
223 Lh inserts /  
224 Lh: po, S: ba  
225 BDNyPS omit /  
226 Ph: thob  
227 Lh: final s is under m  
228 Ph: sgrub  
229 B: dkod, P: bgod  
230 B omits /  
231 Lh inserts /  
232 BDNyPPhS insert /  
233 S: po  
234 N inserts one-letter-size space

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235 K inserts one-letter-size space  
236 Lh inserts /  
237 LhPhS insert /  
238 S omits /  
239 BDLhNyPS omit /  
240 K: bzi  
241 L: hole after ldan  
242 Ph: do  
243 Ph: //  
244 L: hole after gi  
245 K: bzi  
246 BDNyP insert /  
247 P: po  
248 P: brlugs  
249 Ph: yongsu for yongs su  
250 BKLhNPhS: /  
251 L: hole after chen  
252 S: pa'ang for po yang  
253 BDNyPPhS omit /  
254 N: 'gyuro for 'gyur ro  
255 BDNy: /  
256 Ph: r is under n  
257 L: hole after po  
258 P inserts one-letter-size space  
259 Ph inserts /  
260 P: inverted gi gu  
261 Ph: 'tshams  
262 BDLhNyPS insert /  
263 BDNyP omit /  
264 Ph omits /  
265 K omits /  
266 DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
267 S inserts one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
268 Ph inserts chan pa  
269 Ph inserts two-letter-size space  
270 BLhPh insert /  
271 DLhNyPS omit /  
272 Ph omits la nor bu rin po che chen po  
273 B: myed  
274 P omits /  
275 S inserts one-letter-size space  
276 BDLhNyPPhS omit /  
277 N: yongsu for yongs su  
278 P: //  
279 Ph inserts /  
280 Lh inserts /  
281 P: che'i  
282 P: inverted gi gu  
283 Lh: gyis  
284 B: nas  
285 BDNyP omit /, DNy insert one-letter-size space  
286 BDNyPPh insert /  
287 K inserts /, Ph omits dang  
288 Ph inserts /  
289 BK omit //, DLhNyPPhS: /  
290 Lh: pho  
291 BDNyP omit /  
292 P: gi gu is hardly visible  
293 S: final s is under ng  
294 BDNyPPhS omit /

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295 P: kyi  
296 P: ku  
297 BDKLhNNyPS: 'gyur ro for 'gyuro, Ph: 'dugo  
298 Ph: /  
299 K: 'a chung has both gi gu and zhabs kyu  
300 Ph omits chen po  
301 Ph: kyi  
302 BDNyPPh omit /  
303 BP: kyi  
304 P inserts one-letter-size space  
305 B: ste  
306 BDNyPS omit /  
307 N inserts one-letter-size space  
308 BDLhNNyPPhS: 'gyur ro for 'gyuro  
309 Ph: s is under ky  
310 DNy: s is under m  
311 N: 'gyuro for 'gyur ro  
312 Lh inserts /  
313 BDNyPS omit /, Ph omits la /  
314 L: hole between she and s  
315 K omits rin po  
316 Ph: do  
317 L: hole after de /, Ph: /  
318 Ph omits /  
319 Ph: gyis  
320 L: hole after nams  
321 NPh: yongsu for yongs su  
322 L: hole between pa and s, Ph inserts /  
323 K inserts du  
324 Lh inserts /  
325 BDNyP omit /  
326 Ph omits /  
327 Ph: rba  
328 K: yas  
329 Ph inserts de bzhin gshegs pa'i  
330 NPPh: yongsu for yongs su  
331 Ph: s is under sh  
332 P: du  
333 Ph: snang is inserted under the line as correction and directed to its place with tshegs  
334 DNy insert one-letter-size space  
335 PhS omit /  
336 K: bzi  
337 Lh inserts /  
338 Ph omits chen po  
339 Ph: bzhis  
340 K: bzi  
341 BDNyPPh omit /  
342 LhN: s is under g  
343 Lh inserts /  
344 KLnS: kyi  
345 Ph: rin po che chen po 'di bzhis gzi brjid for gyi rgya mtsho chen po de la  
346 BDNyPS omit /  
347 S: dpa'i  
348 P omits /  
349 S: s is under g  
350 Ph: gsags  
351 Ph: rba  
352 Ph: drug  
353 B inserts /, DNyP insert //  
354 S inserts /

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355 S inserts /  
356 K: ji  
357 PhS omit /  
358 Lh: zlog, S: s is under g  
359 Lh: cing  
360 Lh: dpa', S inserts byang chub sems dpa'  
361 P: final s is under m  
362 D: dpa', P: rba, P inserts one-letter-size space  
363 B: brlabs for dba' rlabs, K inserts thams cad zhi bar byed pa'i 'od kyi phog na / dge ba'i  
rtsa ba'i  
364 DNy: s is under g, Ph: shug  
365 Ph: gyi  
366 B: myi  
367 S: s is under g  
368 Ph: rba  
369 S: s is under m  
370 BDKNyP insert /  
371 BDKLhNyPPhS: ting nge for tinge  
372 L: hole after 'gyur  
373 Ph: to  
374 BDKLhNyPS: rjes su for rjesu  
375 L: hole after rin  
376 S: po che chen is inserted as correction  
377 P: inverted gi gu  
378 P: //  
379 BDKLhNyPPhS: ting nge for tinge  
380 P: kyi  
381 BDNyPPhS omit /  
382 Ph: spang  
383 Ph: ste  
384 L: hole between p and 'i  
385 L: hole after pos, Ph: po  
386 Ph omits chen po  
387 K: bris, Ph: s is under ky  
388 K: pos  
389 BDNyPPh omit /  
390 Ph: spang  
391 Ph: ste  
392 L: hole after te /  
393 DNy: s is under g  
394 B: pa  
395 K: bsgrubs, Ph: sgrubs  
396 B: myed  
397 Lh: s is under g  
398 N inserts one-letter-size space  
399 P: inverted gi gu  
400 Ph: kyi  
401 Lh: gi gu is hardly visible  
402 N inserts one-letter-size space  
403 Ph: sgrub  
404 Ph: spang  
405 P: ste  
406 Lh: s is under g  
407 BDKLhNNyPS: yongs su for yongsu  
408 Ph inserts /  
409 Ph: gyi  
410 B: bar  
411 P: po  
412 Lh inserts /  
413 Ph omits 'di bzhi'i

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414 Ph omits byang chub  
415 S: final s is under m  
416 Lh inserts /  
417 K inserts ye shes kyi rgya, N inserts one-letter-size space  
418 Lh inserts /  
419 K: yod sa for ye shes  
420 P: inverted gi gu, P inserts two-letter-size space  
421 BDNyPPh omit /  
422 Ph: cig  
423 DNy: s is under g  
424 Ph omits kyang  
425 B inserts one-letter-size space  
426 Lh inserts /  
427 Ph omits med skabs med de / de ni gnas  
428 L: ba'i sras is inserted as correction  
429 BDKNNyPPh omit /  
430 Ph omits /  
431 K inserts dgra bcom pa  
432 S: s is under m  
433 S inserts approximately nine-letter-size space between the two shads  
434 Lh inserts /  
435 Ph: bzhan  
436 LhS insert /  
437 PhS omit /  
438 Ph omits /  
439 DNyPh insert /  
440 Ph inserts bar  
441 L: hole after po'i, P: inverted gi gu  
442 N: khams is contracted as kha°s  
443 BDKLhNyPPhS: nam mkha' for namkha'  
444 S: s is under n  
445 L: hole after ste /  
446 P: s is under g  
447 P: pa la for pa'i  
448 Ph omits /  
449 L: s is under g  
450 N omits /  
451 L: hole after sems, K: sems is contracted as se°s  
452 S: s is under m  
453 DLhKNyPS: nam mkha' for namkha'  
454 L: hole after gnas  
455 K inserts /  
456 BDKLhNyPS: nam mkha' for namkha'  
457 BDKLhNyPS: nam mkha'i for namkha'i  
458 B: kyi  
459 BDKLhNyPS: nam mkha' for namkha'  
460 LhP: pa'am for pa'am, Ph: par' for pa'am /  
461 P omits /  
462 B: myi  
463 BDNyP omit /  
464 Ph: pa'i  
465 BDNyP: su yang for su'ang, Ph omits 'ang  
466 B: /  
467 Lh inserts /  
468 N: 'jig  
469 Ph: s is under m  
470 BDNyPPh insert /  
471 DNy insert one-letter-size space up to the end of the line, filled with tshegs  
472 Ph: yese for ye shes  
473 Ph: bya is inserted above the line as correction

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474 S omits la  
475 DNy insert /  
476 DNy insert /  
477 BDLhNyPS: nam mkha' for namkha'  
478 S omits la  
479 S: s is under g  
480 K inserts one-letter-size space  
481 Lh omits kyi  
482 BDkLhNyPS: nam mkha' for namkha'  
483 Ph: ngo for ba'o  
484 B omits //  
485 Ph omits de ci'i phyir zhe na /  
486 L: s is under g  
487 K inserts three-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
488 BDkLhNyPS: nam mkha'i for namkha'i  
489 K: zhe for te  
490 LhP: pa'am for pa'am  
491 BDNyPPh omit /  
492 BDNy omit /  
493 DNy insert two-letter-size space up to the end of the line filled with tshegs  
494 BDNyP: ba yang for ba'ang  
495 KN: med do for medo  
496 Lh inserts /  
497 BDLhNyPS omit /, B inserts three-letter-size space  
498 L: s is under g  
499 L: pa dgra is inserted as correction  
500 P inserts three-letter-size space  
501 B: /, S inserts approximately nine-letter-size space between the two shads  
502 Lh inserts /  
503 Ph: bzhan  
504 LhS insert /  
505 S omits /  
506 P: khab for kha ba  
507 BDNyPh insert /, P inserts //  
508 Lh: grags for grubs  
509 BDLhNyPhS: /  
510 N: inserts three-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
511 DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
512 Ph: kysis  
513 P: second gi gu is inverted, Ph: bzhi'i  
514 Lh: gting  
515 BDNyPPh omit /  
516 Lh: chad  
517 Ph omits brgya  
518 L: hole between brto and l, Ph: rtol  
519 B: /  
520 L: hole after po  
521 BDNyP insert /  
522 P: inverted gi gu  
523 L: hole after po  
524 DNy insert one-letter-size space up to the end of the line filled with tshegs  
525 Ph: 'gyuro for 'gyur ro  
526 B: /  
527 L: hole after par  
528 BP: /  
529 Ph: 'gyuro for 'gyur ro  
530 B: /  
531 P: po'i, inverted gi gu  
532 P inserts three-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
533 P: po



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534 B: /  
535 Ph: gyis  
536 S omits chen po  
537 B inserts one-letter-size space  
538 Ph: gnyisu for gnyis su  
539 DNy: myi  
540 P: skyed  
541 Ph: te  
542 BDLhNyS insert /  
543 P omits /  
544 B inserts five-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
545 PPhS insert /  
546 DNy: skye lo (sic!) for skye'o, DNy insert three-letter-size space  
547 DNy: /  
548 Ph: nyid  
549 Ph inserts kyang  
550 BDkLhNyPS: yongs su for yongsu  
551 Ph: rtsa ma for ji tsam  
552 Ph: shing  
553 DNy: final s is under b  
554 B inserts 'i chos, P inserts chos  
555 Ph: de  
556 Ph: /  
557 Lh inserts /  
558 KNS insert /  
559 DNy: 'i is under pa  
560 DNy insert one-letter-size space up to the end of the line filled with tshegs  
561 B: pho  
562 Ph: par  
563 S: pa'ang for pa yang  
564 P: //  
565 L inserts one-letter-size space  
566 BDNyP insert /  
567 P inserts one-letter-size space  
568 N: rigs su for rigs su  
569 L: ba is inserted as correction  
570 P inserts two-letter-size space  
571 DNy: s is under m  
572 B: kyi  
573 BDLhNyPS omit /  
574 Ph: omits text from sign † to sign ‡  
575 BDLhNyPS insert /, K: pa'i, Ph: po //  
576 N: s is under b  
577 B omits /, B inserts two-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
578 Ph omits par  
579 S omits /  
580 S: s is under b  
581 K inserts one-letter-size space between m and kh  
582 Lh: pas, S inserts /  
583 Ph: rten  
584 N: zhi  
585 Ph: 'gyengs  
586 LhPhS insert /  
587 K inserts one-letter-size space between g and t  
588 Ph omits /  
589 BDkLhNyPPhS: ting nge for tinge  
590 BDNyPPhS insert /  
591 P: 'grengs, Ph: 'gebs  
592 BDNyPS insert /  
593 L: hole between g and zungs

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594 BDLhNyPPhS insert /  
595 Ph omits /  
596 Ph: gi  
597 DNy insert one-letter-size space up to the end of the line filled with tshegs  
598 K: lagi for lag gi  
599 L: hole after tu  
600 BDNyPPhS insert /, S omits can  
601 K inserts two-letter-size space  
602 B: rtogs  
603 DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
604 BDkLhNyPPhS omit /  
605 P: //  
606 Lh inserts /  
607 L: hole after pa'i  
608 Ph inserts kyi  
609 P: pa  
610 L: hole after de  
611 Ph omits /  
612 B inserts one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
613 Ph omits pa  
614 PPh omit /  
615 BDNy insert /  
616 BDNyP insert /  
617 Lh: final s is under m  
618 LhNS insert /  
619 Lh: bya ba'o for bya'o, K: bya ba'i for bya'o  
620 Lh inserts /  
621 K omits ye  
622 Ph omits pa  
623 BDkLhNNyPS: yongs su for yongsu  
624 P: inverted gi gu  
625 Ph: snying  
626 NPh omit /  
627 Ph: bsam is contracted as ba°s  
628 BDNyP omit /  
629 Ph: bsdong  
630 DNy omit //  
631 BDLhNyPPhS insert /  
632 K: bslabs, Ph: slab  
633 BDNyP omit /  
634 Lh: final s is under ng  
635 N: 'a chung is under p  
636 N: sdoms  
637 L: d seems to be inserted as correction  
638 L: cad kyi is inserted as correction  
639 BDNy insert /  
640 KLhPPhS: ba'i  
641 S: par  
642 Lh inserts /  
643 B: //  
644 PPh omit /  
645 BDLhNyPPhS insert /  
646 Ph omits ma  
647 Ph inserts /  
648 Ph omits /  
649 BDNyP omit /  
650 P: la  
651 Lh inserts /  
652 L: hole after ye  
653 Ph inserts ba

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654 L: hole after zhes  
655 N: yongsu for yongs su  
656 P repeats chos at the beginning of page  
657 Ph: dpa'i for dpa'  
658 P: ba  
659 PPh omit /  
660 LhPS: pa'i  
661 L: hole after rnam  
662 B inserts four-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
663 BDLhNyPPh insert /  
664 L: hole after pa'i  
665 P inserts one-letter-size space between b and sam  
666 B: ba'i for ba, DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs, PS: pa  
667 DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
668 B: ji  
669 Ph omits du  
670 B: kyi  
671 Lh inserts /  
672 Ph omits la  
673 B inserts one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
674 LhPh insert /  
675 B: grug, Lh: grug, S: grugs  
676 Ph: rtag  
677 PPh: tu  
678 BDKLhNNyPPhS insert /  
679 L: kye is inserted as correction  
680 Lh inserts /  
681 Ph: drug  
682 B: 'di  
683 BDNyPPh omit /  
684 K inserts four-letter-size space  
685 B: skyed, DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
686 B: /S inserts approximately nine-letter-size space between the two shads  
687 Lh inserts /  
688 Ph: bzhan  
689 K inserts /  
690 LhPhS insert /  
691 PhS omit /  
692 B. mi  
693 Ph: skal  
694 LhPS: pa  
695 P: inverted gi gu  
696 B: shing, P: zhing  
697 BDKNyPPh omit /  
698 LhPhS insert /  
699 L: inserts extra tshegs after /, DNy omit /  
700 B omits /  
701 K: na  
702 BKS: rtsa, Ph: tsa  
703 LhS insert /  
704 BDLhNyPS insert /  
705 LhPhS insert /  
706 K: nams for smas dang nags  
707 BDLhNyPPh omit /  
708 Ph inserts /  
709 P: inverted gi gu  
710 Lh chig, P: tshig  
711 B inserts ma  
712 B: ma, LhPhS: ba yang for ba'ang, P: 'di  
713 Ph: gyur

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714 B inserts one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
715 Lh: //  
716 B: gi  
717 BDKLhNNyPS: rtswa  
718 P: kyi  
719 BDNyP insert /, S: par  
720 DNy insert one-letter-size space up to the end of the line filled with tshegs  
721 B: gcig  
722 B: khur for bkur bkur, K omits bkur, Ph: gis kur kur for cig bkur bkur  
723 P: sti  
724 Lh inserts /  
725 L: final s is under m  
726 BKLhPh: rtsa  
727 Ph omits cig  
728 BDLhNyPPh omit /  
729 BPh: rtsa'i  
730 B. zigs  
731 Ph: cig  
732 Ph: tshigs  
733 P: //, Ph omits /  
734 Lh inserts /  
735 Lh inserts /  
736 BDNy: /  
737 DLhNyPS insert /  
738 Lh inserts /  
739 Ph omits de  
740 BDKLhNyPS: rtswa'i, Ph: rtsa'i  
741 DNy: s is under g  
742 Ph: mga'  
743 P: zhing  
744 L: hole after yod  
745 Lh: kyab  
746 K: mi  
747 L: hole after gsum  
748 DNy: final s is under m  
749 S: s is under ng  
750 BDKLhNyPPhS insert /  
751 B omits zhing 'grangs pa dang /  
752 Ph omits bskal pa 'grangs pa dang /  
753 DKLhNyPS: thugs su for thugsu  
754 L: hole after pa  
755 P: de'i for de ni  
756 L: hole after ba'i  
757 Lh inserts /  
758 DNy: s is under g  
759 DNy: s is under g  
760 P inserts ni  
761 Ph omits mi  
762 DKLhNyPS: thugs su for thugsu  
763 B: /  
764 Lh inserts /  
765 K inserts three-letter-size  
766 P: sa  
767 B: gigu is hardly visible  
768 P: //  
769 L: s is under g  
770 DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
771 P omits ba  
772 B omits //, S inserts approximately nine-letter-size space between the two shads  
773 Lh inserts /

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774 Ph: bzhan  
 775 LhS insert /  
 776 Ph omits dper na /, S omits /  
 777 Ph: rlungs  
 778 Ph: gi  
 779 N inserts rten  
 780 Ph: skal  
 781 Lh: pa'i  
 782 DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs, Lh: pa  
 783 Ph: rlungs  
 784 Ph omits chen  
 785 DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
 786 DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs, BDKLhNNyS omit /  
 787 P: 'khor  
 788 Ph: rje  
 789 Ph omits ri  
 790 D: cad  
 791 B: gsum is contracted as gsu°  
 792 Lh inserts /  
 793 Lh inserts /  
 794 BDLhNy omit /  
 795 K: do  
 796 K: //  
 797 DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
 798 B: bzlog  
 799 Ph: bzhan  
 800 Ph: ba yang for ba'ang  
 801 P: //  
 802 Ph: gyi  
 803 Ph: 'a chung is inserted under the loine as correction  
 804 Ph inserts //  
 805 Ph: bzhan  
 806 Ph omits go  
 807 Lh inserts /  
 808 Ph: ji  
 809 BDLhNyP omit /  
 810 B: gi, DNy: s is under g, Ph inserts /  
 811 N: s is under m  
 812 Lh inserts /  
 813 Ph: grang  
 814 P: /  
 815 P: /  
 816 B: bzhags, S: gzhag  
 817 K: 'gyuro for 'gyur ro  
 818 Lh inserts /  
 819 DNy: s is under g  
 820 Lh: gyi, Ph inserts /  
 821 L: hole after do  
 822 BLh: /  
 823 Ph: kyi is inserted above the line as correction  
 824 Ph inserts /  
 825 L: hole after byang  
 826 BDLhNyPPhS omit /  
 827 P inserts one-letter-size space  
 828 DNy: s is under ng  
 829 DNy: s is under g  
 830 Ph: shing  
 831 DNy omit /  
 832 K: mdzade for mdzad de  
 833 K: //

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834 L: hole between gshg and s, s is inserted as correction  
835 L: final s and pa are inserted as correction  
836 Ph inserts de dag gis  
837 L: hole after pas  
838 BDLhNyP: /  
839 K inserts three-letter-size space  
840 Ph: yese for ye shes  
841 N inserts one-letter-size space  
842 Ph: yongsu for yongs su  
843 B: smyin  
844 Lh inserts /  
845 Ph: ji  
846 BDLhNyP omit /  
847 K inserts one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
848 Lh inserts /  
849 BDNyPPh insert /  
850 Ph: rlungs  
851 BDNyPPhS omit /  
852 Ph inserts /  
853 BDNyP insert /  
854 DNyP insert /  
855 P 'god  
856 Lh inserts /  
857 BDNyPPh omit /  
858 Ph inserts 'dis /  
859 P: s is under m  
860 Lh: s is under g  
861 S inserts approximately nine-letter-size space between the two shads  
862 Lh inserts /  
863 Ph: bzhan  
864 Lh inserts /  
865 S: kyi  
866 Ph: nas  
867 Ph s is under g  
868 BDkLhNyPPhS: cad du for cadu  
869 P: mi  
870 BDNyPPh: de yang for de'ang  
871 Ph: bkod  
872 S inserts one-letter-size space  
873 Lh inserts /  
874 Lh inserts /  
875 BP insert /, Ph: su 'dzin pas for dang  
876 BDkLhNNyPPhS: 'byung ngo for 'byungo  
877 L: hole between the two shads, S inserts approximately nine-letter-size space between  
the two shads  
878 Lh inserts /  
879 LhS insert /  
880 BDNyS omit /  
881 Ph: bzhi  
882 L: hole after stong  
883 P inverted gi gu  
884 BDLhNyPPhS insert /  
885 Ph: bzhi  
886 L: hole after po'i  
887 Ph omits rten  
888 BP: rim  
889 B: gi  
890 L: hole between lta and r  
891 Ph: 'khor  
892 P: chad

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893 P: //  
894 P: ba'i  
895 BDNyPPh omit /  
896 BDNyPPh omit /  
897 P: steng  
898 Ph omits stong gi  
899 P: gyi  
900 BDNyP omit /  
901 Lh inserts two more tshegs  
902 N omits /  
903 Ph: bu  
904 BDKLhNNyPPhS: tshad du for tshadu  
905 Ph: bu  
906 Ph: //  
907 LhS: gyi  
908 BDKLhNNyPPhS: tshad du for tshadu  
909 BP: kyi  
910 N: gyi  
911 P inserts one-letter-size space  
912 L inserts one-letter-size space  
913 N: gyi  
914 P inserts one-letter-size space  
915 K: la for glang  
916 P: gyi  
917 Ph: sgra is inserted under the line as correction  
918 N: tshadu for tshad du  
919 L: ni is inserted as correction  
920 L inserts one-letter-size space between lha and 'i  
921 Ph: bzhal  
922 BDLhNyPPhS: tshad du for tshadu  
923 Ph: bzhal  
924 BDNyP omit /  
925 Ph: bzhal  
926 Ph: na  
927 Ph: bzhal  
928 DNyP omits /  
929 B: las, DNy insert one-letter-size space, Ph: na  
930 Ph: bzhal  
931 Ph omits rnam  
932 Ph: bzhal  
933 BDNyP omit /  
934 K omits lha'i  
935 Ph: bzhal  
936 Ph inserts /  
937 BP omit /  
938 Ph: bzhi  
939 P: s is under m  
940 K: na  
941 BDNyP omit /  
942 Ph: cig  
943 L ba de is inserted as correction  
944 BDLhNyPS omit /  
945 Ph inserts /  
946 S: la'ang for la yang  
947 BDNyP omit /  
948 L: hole after gyi  
949 P: inverted gi gu  
950 Ph: bzhi  
951 L: hole after mkhas  
952 S inserts /

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953 Ph: bzhungs  
 954 BDLhNyPPhS insert /  
 955 LhPh insert /  
 956 LhPhS insert /, DNyPS: ba  
 957 DNy insert /, Ph omits dang  
 958 L: hole after mig  
 959 S: ba'ang for ba yang  
 960 Ph: 'odg(?) for 'od gsal ba yang bdog  
 961 L: hole after la /, B omits /  
 962 Ph: l is inserted under the line as correction  
 963 DNy: s is under g, Ph: gi  
 964 Ph: ltas  
 965 BDLhNyPS omit /, Ph: par for na /  
 966 BDNyP omit /  
 967 Ph: bzhi  
 968 Ph: las  
 969 DNy insert one-letter-size space, P inserts dag  
 970 S: la'ang for la yang  
 971 LhS: pas  
 972 BDNyPh omit /  
 973 Ph: skye  
 974 Ph: ni  
 975 Ph: kyis  
 976 LhPhS omit /  
 977 B: s is under g  
 978 BDNyPPhS omit /  
 979 L: / is hardly visible, Ph omits /  
 980 P: inverted gi gu  
 981 Ph: mtsho  
 982 BDNy insert //  
 983 BDNPhy omit /  
 984 BDNyP omit /  
 985 Ph: skyed  
 986 P omits /  
 987 P: inverted gi gu  
 988 Ph: bzhi  
 989 Ph: s is under m  
 990 Ph: mtsho  
 991 P: //  
 992 Lh inserts /  
 993 P inserts /  
 994 S inserts /  
 995 BDNy omit /, Ph omits chags pa med pa'i ye shes /  
 996 Ph: thams cad is contracted as tha<sup>o</sup>d  
 997 Ph: mtsho  
 998 KLhNPh insert /  
 999 B: gi  
 1000 Ph: khams  
 1001 S inserts kyi  
 1002 Lh omits kyi  
 1003 BDNyP omit /  
 1004 BDNyP insert /  
 1005 K: glangs  
 1006 Ph inserts /  
 1007 Ph omits mi  
 1008 BDNyPPh omit /  
 1009 DNyP: tu  
 1010 BDNyPPh omit /, K inserts mngon du mi byed /  
 1011 S: s is under m  
 1012 Ph: nyamsu for nyams su



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1013 BDNyPPh omit /  
 1014 P inserts /  
 1015 BDNyP insert /, Ph omits nas  
 1016 Ph: 'tshar  
 1017 BP: kyi  
 1018 Ph omits ma  
 1019 BDLhNyP: du yang for du 'ang, S: du'ang for du 'ang  
 1020 P: s is under g  
 1021 Ph inserts du  
 1022 Lh: che'i for ches  
 1023 L: hole after ches /  
 1024 S: final s is under m  
 1025 P inserts one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
 1026 L: hole after shes  
 1027 Ph: 'dud  
 1028 B: s is under g  
 1029 DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
 1030 B inserts one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
 1031 L inserts extra tshegs after /, Lh omits /  
 1032 Ph omits /  
 1033 L: hole between b and zhin  
 1034 DNy insert one-letter-size space up to the end of the line filled with tshegs  
 1035 L: hole after ba'i  
 1036 L: s is under g  
 1037 K: bsam, Ph: gsal  
 1038 BDNy insert //, P inserts one-letter-size  
 1039 BDNy omit /  
 1040 P: s is under g  
 1041 Ph: stan  
 1042 K: bsam, Ph: gsal  
 1043 DLh: bar  
 1044 Ph: su  
 1045 BDKLhNNyPS: yongs su for yongsu  
 1046 L inserts extra tshegs after / (diszes!!)  
 1047 P: s is under m  
 1048 BDKLhNNyPS: yongs su for yongsu, K inserts two-letter-size space  
 1049 P: 'tsho, Ph: mtsho  
 1050 Lh inserts /  
 1051 K: b is inserted under the line as correction  
 1052 Ph omits /  
 1053 BDLhNyPPhS omit /  
 1054 Lh: pa  
 1055 Ph: s is under g  
 1056 P inserts one-letter-size space  
 1057 L: s is under m  
 1058 L: kyi thugs is inserted as correction, N: s is under g  
 1059 Ph: bya'o for bya ste  
 1060 Ph: //  
 1061 Lh inserts /  
 1062 P: stsogs  
 1063 Ph: sgrub  
 1064 Ph: rgya  
 1065 K inserts four-letter-size space  
 1066 Ph: grang  
 1067 Ph omits /  
 1068 D inserts sems dpa'  
 1069 S inserts approximately nine-letter-size space between the two shads  
 1070 DNyPS omit /  
 1071 P inserts three-letter-size space  
 1072 Ph: dag

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1073 BP omit /  
1074 BDkLhNyPS: tshigs su for tshigsu  
1075 BDkLhNNyPS: smras so for smraso  
1076 Ph omits thugs ni  
1077 Ph: 'byung  
1078 Lh: /  
1079 B: brtags, Ph: rtag  
1080 P inserts one-letter-size space  
1081 K: /  
1082 Ph: s is under m  
1083 K: na  
1084 Lh: /  
1085 P: khams for mkha'  
1086 DNy: s is under la  
1087 DNyPh: /  
1088 KP: kyi  
1089 Ph: gzod  
1090 DNy s is under g  
1091 K inserts pa, P inserts one-letter-size space  
1092 N inserts one-letter-size space between b and s  
1093 B: kyi  
1094 Ph: byung  
1095 L: hole after nas  
1096 Lh: /  
1097 P inserts one-letter-size space  
1098 Lh: dpang  
1099 L: hole after tshogs, P: chos  
1100 P: grong, Ph: sgröl  
1101 BDkLhKNyPPhS: //  
1102 L: final s is under ng  
1103 P inserts one-letter-size space between dbying and s  
1104 B: inserts one-letter-size space, Ph: s is under g  
1105 L: hole after de  
1106 L: hole after rgyas  
1107 Ph: s is under g  
1108 L: b of 'grib and pha are inserted as correction, Lh: pa'ang, P: pa  
1109 DNy: myed  
1110 Ph inserts de dag  
1111 Ph: /  
1112 Ph: rnam  
1113 BDLhNyKS: chu yi for chu'i  
1114 Ph: sngon  
1115 Ph: rlan  
1116 L: final s is under ng, P inserts one-letter-size space  
1117 L: gang is inserted as correction  
1118 P: brgos, Ph: rkos  
1119 Ph omits sems can  
1120 Ph inserts sems can  
1121 S: /  
1122 N inserts one-letter-size space between b and s  
1123 Ph: thob  
1124 P: /  
1125 DNy insert one-letter-size space, B: bzhin  
1126 DNy insert one-letter-size space  
1127 BKlHDS: mtsho yi for mtsho'i  
1128 P: /  
1129 P: tshul  
1130 P: kyis, Ph: gyi  
1131 Ph: te  
1132 P inserts one-letter-size space

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1133 DNy insert one-letter-size space  
1134 P omits //  
1135 Ph: bzhan  
1136 B: bkur, Ph: skur  
1137 DKLhNNyPS: gtogs so for gtogso, P: s is under g, Ph: rtogso for gtogso  
1138 P: inverted gi gu  
1139 N: ni  
1140 S: chen bzhi is inserted as correction  
1141 P: che  
1142 P: med  
1143 N inserts one-letter-size space  
1144 N inserts one-letter-size space  
1145 P inserts two-letter-size space  
1146 Ph: mdzod 'dzin for don brtson  
1147 Ph: spyod  
1148 P: dpa', Ph: rba  
1149 DNy: /  
1150 L: hole after rab  
1151 Ph: yang  
1152 L: 'a chung is inserted under th  
1153 L: dang is inserted as correction  
1154 L: hole after rgyal  
1155 B: brgya  
1156 Ph: bzhi  
1157 Ph omits bzung ste  
1158 P inserts three-letter-size space  
1159 Ph omits gzugs dang  
1160 L: hole between g and sum, P inserts three-letter-size space  
1161 L: hole after par  
1162 BDKLhNyPS: nam mkha' for namkha'  
1163 P: nyid for zhing  
1164 K omits shes  
1165 P: kyi  
1166 D: pa yi for pa'i  
1167 Ph: gang  
1168 N inserts one-letter-size space, Ph: ri'i  
1169 DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
1170 P: chen po'i for che ba'I, P: inverted gi gu  
1171 DLhNyPS: /  
1172 Ph: tsa  
1173 P: sgrub, S: s is under g  
1174 DKLhNyPS: de yi for de'i  
1175 DNy: /  
1176 Ph: bskyed  
1177 P: /  
1178 BDKLhNyS: de yi for de'i  
1179 Ph omits byang chub  
1180 Ph: pas  
1181 Ph: s is under m  
1182 Ph: pa  
1183 P inserts one-letter-size space  
1184 Ph: zad  
1185 Ph: skal  
1186 BLhPPh: pa'i  
1187 P: 'byung  
1188 DKLhNyPPh: bar  
1189 P: sbur  
1190 Lh: rtswa'i  
1191 N: /  
1192 DNy: /

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1193 B: tshig  
1194 BDLhS: rtswa, P: tswa  
1195 DNyP: /  
1196 DLhS: rtswa  
1197 D: ci  
1198 N: /  
1199 K: khyen  
1200 Ph: skal  
1201 N inserts one-letter-size space  
1202 L: final s is under ng  
1203 PPh: /  
1204 P: ba  
1205 DNy insert one-letter-size space filled with tshegs  
1206 P: 'khor  
1207 S: s is under m  
1208 N inserts one-letter-size space  
1209 N inserts one-letter-size space, P: bar  
1210 P: /  
1211 L: hole between b and zhin  
1212 S inserts space between sto and bs  
1213 K: nga  
1214 L: hole after chub  
1215 N inserts one-letter-size space  
1216 P: mong  
1217 Ph: bzhan  
1218 BDKLhNNyPPhS: yongs su for yongsu  
1219 KLhPPh: bas  
1220 L: hole after nyan  
1221 P: 'kyur  
1222 Ph: 'gyuro for 'gyur ro  
1223 P: inverted gi gu  
1224 Ph: bzhi  
1225 L: hole between yo and d  
1226 B: bsbubs, P: sgrubs  
1227 Ph: mi  
1228 Ph: s is under n  
1229 P: inverted gi gu  
1230 Ph: bzhi  
1231 N: /  
1232 Ph: gyi  
1233 Ph: yid  
1234 L: final s is under b, Ph: sgribs  
1235 K: bsnyed, Ph: skyed  
1236 Ph: spongs  
1237 Ph: ba  
1238 Ph: yongsu for yongs su  
1239 Ph: mtsho

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