

What Happened to the "Perfect Teaching"? Another Look at Hua-yen Buddhist Hermeneutics

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The major hermeneutical framework that Chinese Buddhists devised to harmonize the diffuse and often divergent body of scripture that they revered as the sacred word of the Buddha is frequently referred to by its Chinese appellation, *p'an-chiao*, a term that simply means "doctrinal classification"¹ The underlying rubric around which the various systems of doctrinal classification were articulated within the different sectarian traditions of Chinese Buddhism was the cardinal Mahāyāna teaching of upāya (*fang-pien*) Simply put, this hermeneutical principle meant that the Buddha's teachings were context bound Hence, in order to understand them properly, it was first necessary to know the context in which they were preached, and that context was determined by the intellectual presuppositions and spiritual capacity of the audience to which any particular teaching was delivered Some teachings were intended for the most simple, while others, for the more perspicacious The teachings could thus be classified according to their different degrees of profundity Of course, any such arrangement was in some sense quite arbitrary, as the principle of upāya itself offered no basis upon which such judgments could be determined The criterion according to which any such hierarchically structured classification was made depended upon the scripture or scriptural corpus that any given thinker or tradition deemed as expressing the most exalted vision of the Buddha And the basis upon which such a judgment was made involved a complex mix of doctrinal, historical, psychological, and other factors In any event, whatever the underlying factors, the structure of *p'an-chiao* defined the rules within which the different sectarian traditions of Chinese Buddhism asserted their individual claims to represent the true, orthodox, ultimate, or most relevant interpretation of the meaning of the Buddha's enlightenment Even the claim of Ch'an Buddhists to be recipients of a direct, mind-to-mind transmission of the Buddha's

enlightenment outside the scriptures is only intelligible historically as a reaction against the pervasive acceptance of *p'an-chiao* as the principal means by which the already established traditions had legitimated their authority

This chapter will discuss a problem in the doctrinal classification system of one of the most important of the scholastic traditions in Chinese Buddhism, Hua-yen. That tradition took its name from the *Hua-yen (Avatamsaka) Sūtra*, upon which it staked its authority. Chih-yen (602–668), whom the subsequent tradition recognized as its second “patriarch,” followed Hui-kuang (468–537) in classifying the *Hua-yen Sūtra* as the perfect, or complete, teaching (*yuan-chiao*), a designation that implied that its superiority lay in the harmonious manner in which all opposites were comprehensively sublated within it. This classification was taken over by Fa-tsang (643–712), whose elaboration of his *p'an-chiao* in the *Treatise on the Five Teachings (Wu-chiao chang)* is often accepted as expressing the orthodox Hua-yen interpretation in such matters.

The specific hermeneutical issue I wish to address concerns the classification system of Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (780–841),² a figure posthumously honored as the fifth Hua-yen patriarch. Despite the stamp of orthodoxy that such recognition by the subsequent tradition implies, when the *p'an-chiao* system that Tsung-mi articulates in his *Inquiry into the Origin of Man (Yuan-jen lun)* is compared with that of Fa-tsang (see the diagram on the following page), one of the most striking differences is that Tsung-mi does not include the perfect teaching as a classificatory category, an omission all the more remarkable considering the identification of the perfect teaching with the *Hua-yen Sūtra*, the very scripture upon which the tradition asserted its identity. How could Tsung-mi, a Hua-yen patriarch no less, not have included the perfect teaching, the teaching taken by the tradition as embodying the most profound insight of the Buddha, in his classification system?³ I will seek to answer this question by examining some of the hermeneutical issues in Hua-yen thought in the historical context of the time in which Tsung-mi wrote.

The Perfect Teaching and the *Hua-yen Sūtra*

The Hua-yen tradition's claim that the teaching of the *Hua-yen Sūtra* represents the ultimate teaching of the Buddha is based on the wholly unique circumstances in which it was believed to have been preached. According to Fa-tsang's statement in his *Treatise on the Five Teachings* (T 45 482b, Cook, 188ff), the infinite dharma-gate (*shih-shih fa-men*) of the *Hua-yen Sūtra* was taught by the Buddha under the bodhi tree during the second week after he had attained enlightenment while he was in the *samādhi* of oceanic reflection (*hai-in ting*).³ It is therefore superior to all

Comparison of the *P'an-chiao* Systems in Fa-tsang's *Treatise on the Five Teachings* and Tsung-mi's *Inquiry into the Origin of Man*

Fa-tsang	Tsung-mi
(1) Hīnayāna	(1) Men and gods
(2) Elementary Mahāyāna	(2) Hīnayāna
(a) Fa-hsiang/Yogācāra	(3) Analysis of phenomenal appearances
(b) Mādhyamika	(4) Negation of phenomenal appearances
(3) Advanced Mahāyāna	(5) Reveals the nature
(4) Sudden	
(5) Perfect	

other teachings because it directly expresses the content of the Buddha's enlightenment. It is, as Fa-tsang says, the prime teaching in accordance with the truth (*ch'eng-fa pen-chiao*), as opposed to the derivative teaching adapted to the capacity of beings (*chu-chi mo-chiao*). In other words, the preaching of the *Hua-yen Sūtra* revealed the truth as the Buddha experienced it under the bodhi tree, making no concession whatsoever to the limited capacity of beings to comprehend it. Borrowing a metaphor from the sūtra itself (*T* 9 616b14-16, cf. *T* 10 266b3-6), Fa-tsang compares it to the first rays of the rising sun which only illumine the peaks of the highest mountains. It is thus qualitatively different from all other teachings of the Buddha, a fact that Fa-tsang indicates by referring to it as the one vehicle of the special teaching (*pieh-chiao i-sheng*)⁴

Although the samādhi of oceanic reflection (*hai-in san-mei*, Skt *sāgara-mudrā samādhi*) does not play a consequential role within the sūtra itself, it was taken up by its Hua-yen exegetes as one of the principal symbols in terms of which the central meaning of the scripture was interpreted. As the samādhi in which the Buddha preached the sūtra, it represented the state of mind in which the Buddha was immersed immediately after his experience of enlightenment. The *Hua-yen Sūtra*, then, is nothing but the unfolding of the vision of reality that the Buddha realized while in the state of oceanic reflection. Its centrality as the hermeneutical key to the sūtra for the tradition is indicated in the opening words of the *Treatise on the Five Teachings*, where Fa-tsang identifies it with the meaning of the teaching of the one vehicle.

As a metaphor of the Buddha's enlightened awareness, the samādhi of oceanic reflection expresses the totalistic vision in which the harmonious interrelation of all phenomena is simultaneously perceived, just as if the entire universe were reflected upon the surface of the ocean. As Fa-tsang writes in his *Reflections on the Dharmadhātu* (*Hua-yen yu-hsin fa-chieh chi*)

It is like the reflection of the four divisions [of a great army] on a vast ocean. Although the reflected images differ in kind, they appear simultaneously on [the surface of] the ocean in their proper order. Even though the appearance of the images is manifold, the water [that reflects them] remains undisturbed. The images are indistinguishable from the water, and yet [the water] is calm and clear, the water is indistinguishable from the images, and yet [the images] are multifarious. It is also described as "oceanic" (*hai*) because its various reflections multiply endlessly and their limit is impossible to fathom. To investigate one of them thoroughly is to pursue the infinite, for, in any one of them, all the rest vividly appear at the same time. For this reason, it is said to be "oceanic." It is called "reflection" (*in*) because all the images appear simultaneously within it without distinction of past and present. The myriad diverse kinds [of images] penetrate each other without obstruction. The one and the many are reflected in one another without opposing each other. [It is called] "samādhi" because, although [the images within it] are many and diverse, it remains one and does not change. Even though myriads of images arise in profusion, it remains empty and unperturbed (*T* 45 646b-c) ⁵

The vision of reality seen in the samādhi of oceanic reflection is that which the subsequent tradition, following Ch'eng-kuan's (737-838) theory of the fourfold dharmadhātu,⁶ characterized as the dharmadhātu of *shih-shih wu-ai*, that is, the realm of the unobstructed interrelation of each and every phenomenon. And it is this vision that is unique to the perfect teaching.

In the *Treatise on the Five Teachings*, Fa-tsang defines the perfect teaching as being represented by what he refers to as *fa-chieh yuan-ch'i*, the conditioned origination of the dharmadhātu, which he regards as the crowning insight of the *Hua-yen Sūtra* (485b7-9, Cook, 223). As elaborated in the final chapter of the *Treatise on the Five Teachings*, *fa-chieh yuan-ch'i* means that, since all phenomena are devoid of self-nature and arise contingent upon one another, each phenomenon is an organic part of the whole defined by the harmonious interrelation of all of its parts. The character of each phenomenon is thus determined by the whole of which it is an integral part, and the character of the whole is determined by each of the phenomena of which it is comprised. Since the whole is nothing but the interrelation of its parts, each phenomenon can therefore be regarded as determining the character of all other phenomena as well as having its own character determined by all other phenomena.

As the culmination of his description of the perfect teaching, Fa-tsang makes use of the so-called ten profundities (*shih-hsuan*), first formulated by his teacher Chih-yen, to elaborate the implications of *fa-chieh yuan-ch'i*.⁷ The infinite interpenetration (*hsiang-ju*) and mutual determination (*hsiang-chi*) of all phenomena described in the ten profundities can be illustrated by the metaphor of Indra's net, the fourth profundity Fa-

tsang discusses in the *Treatise on the Five Teachings*. According to this metaphor, the universe is represented by a vast net which extends infinitely in all directions, and the manifold phenomena of which it is comprised, by resplendent jewels suspended at each point of intersection. Each jewel both reflects and is reflected by every other jewel. Each jewel thus reflects each and every other jewel's reflection of its simultaneous reflecting of and being reflected by every other jewel on the net. In this way the process of mutual reflection multiplies endlessly (*ch'ung-ch'ung wu-chin*), just as all phenomena of the universe interrelate without obstruction (see 506a13–b10, Cook, 509–513) ⁸

Shih-shih Wu-ai Versus *Li-shih Wu-ai*

In addition to defining the perfect teaching in terms of *fa-chieh yuan-ch'i* in his *Treatise on the Five Teachings*, Fa-tsang also includes nature origination (*hsing-ch'i*) under its heading as well (485b10–11, Cook, 223–224). Although this term derives from the title of the thirty-second chapter of Buddhahadra's translation of the *Hua-yen Sūtra*, its meaning in Hua-yen thought owes far more to the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (*Tā-sheng ch'i-hsin lun*), the primary text upon which Fa-tsang bases his account of the advanced teaching of the Mahāyāna. In his commentary on the *Awakening of Faith* (T 44 243b27), Fa-tsang characterizes this teaching in terms of the conditioned origination from the tathāgatagarbha (*ju-lai-tsang yuan-ch'i*), a doctrine that he describes as elucidating the "harmonious interaction of the absolute and phenomenal without obstruction" (*li-shih jung-t'ung wu-ai*) (243c1). This characterization of the tathāgatagarbha echoes throughout his other works as well and, as *li-shih wu-ai*, became standard within the terminology of the tradition, just as *shih-shih wu-ai* did for *fa-chieh yuan-ch'i*.

In both his *Treatise on the Five Teachings* (484c29–b2, Cook, 218–222) and *Reflections on the Dharmadhātu* (644a1–3), Fa-tsang explains the unobstructed interaction of the absolute and phenomenal in terms of the two aspects of the one mind taught in the *Awakening of Faith*. He identifies the absolute (*li*) with the mind as suchness (*hsin chen-ju*) and the phenomenal (*shih*) with the mind subject to birth-and-death (*hsin sheng-mieh*). Their unobstructed interaction is manifested as the ālayavijñāna, which the *Awakening of Faith* defines in terms of "the interfusion of that which is subject to neither birth nor death with that which is subject to birth-and-death in such a way that they are neither one nor different" (T 32 576b8–9). The ālayavijñāna is but another term for the tathāgatagarbha as it responds to conditions (*sui-yuan*) to give rise to all mundane and supramundane dharmas. Just as the ālayavijñāna harbors both the capacity for enlightenment (*chueh*) and nonenlightenment (*pu-*

chueh), so too the tathāgatagarbha is the basis for both samsāra and nirvāna. Even though the tathāgatagarbha as the ālayavijñāna responds to conditions to generate all phenomena, it is, at the same time, identical with the dharmakāya and therefore remains forever untainted. Fa-tsang characterizes this aspect of the tathāgatagarbha as its immutability (*pu-pien*). Moreover, he identifies these two aspects of the tathāgatagarbha—its responding to conditions and its immutability—with the one mind as seen from the point of view of conventional (*su-*) and ultimate truth (*chen-ti*).

For Fa-tsang nature origination, understood in terms of *li-shih wu-ai*, points to the dynamic functioning of the mind (*li*) in the generation of the phenomenal realm (*shih*). All phenomena are thus manifestations of the mind, and, since this mind is intrinsically pure and immutable, the entire realm of phenomena is thereby validated. In this way *li-shih wu-ai* provides the ontological structure in terms of which Fa-tsang articulates his vision of *shih-shih wu-ai*. Nevertheless, the significance of *li-shih wu-ai* becomes eclipsed in his elaboration of the meaning of *shih-shih wu-ai* in the last chapter of the *Treatise on the Five Teachings*.

In his study of Fa-tsang's metaphysics, Liu Ming-Wood has argued that there is a tension between *hsing-ch'i* and *fa-chueh yuan-ch'i*—or *li-shih wu-ai* and *shih-shih wu-ai*—in Fa-tsang's thought, represented by the presence of elements of the advanced teaching within the perfect teaching. Even though Fa-tsang tends to talk as if the advanced teaching had been wholly transcended in the perfect, he cannot do so without also undermining its ontological base—for the perfect teaching (*shih-shih wu-ai*) cannot be established independent of the advanced teaching (*li-shih wu-ai*). Liu thus criticizes Fa-tsang's account of the perfect teaching as inherently unstable. He also points out that the advanced teaching of the Mahāyāna plays a far greater role in Fa-tsang's thought than his classification of it as merely the third teaching within his fivefold scheme would suggest.⁹

Although Ch'eng-kuan follows Fa-tsang in regarding *shih-shih wu-ai* as representing the supreme teaching of the Buddha, he nonetheless emphasizes *li-shih wu-ai* over *shih-shih wu-ai* in his exposition of Hua-yen teachings. Whereas *li-shih wu-ai* tends to vanish into *shih-shih wu-ai* in Fa-tsang's writings, Ch'eng-kuan focuses on the importance of *li-shih wu-ai* in making *shih-shih wu-ai* possible.

The dharmadhātu of the nonobstruction of phenomena and phenomena constitutes the cardinal teaching of the [*Hua-yen*] *Sūtra*. The reason that each phenomenon is different from every other phenomenon and yet is unobstructed by all other phenomena is that the absolute permeates phenomena. Because phenomena are formed on the basis of the absolute, the one and the many arise in dependence upon one another. It

is only as a result of the nonobstruction of the phenomenal and the absolute that the nonobstruction of phenomena and phenomena is made possible. Were phenomena not identical with the absolute, they would not be formed from the absolute and phenomena would then obstruct one another. However, because they are identical with the absolute, they are unobstructed. Since phenomena are formed from the absolute, they are included in one another without obstruction (*T* 36 9a28-b7).

Tsung-mi's supplanting of the perfect teaching (i.e., *shih-shih wu-ai*) with that of the tathāgatagarbha (i.e., *li-shih wu-ai*) in his classification of Buddhist teachings can thus be seen as an extension of a trend already evidenced by his teacher Ch'eng-kuan. Moreover, Tsung-mi's primary exposure to Hua-yen thought was through Ch'eng-kuan. The only work of Fa-tsang's that we can say for sure Tsung-mi read was his commentary on the *Awakening of Faith*, which served as the basis on which Tsung-mi composed his own abridged commentary.¹⁰ Fa-tsang's commentary, however, is concerned with explicating the conditioned origination of the tathāgatagarbha and has nothing to say about *shih-shih wu-ai*.

The legacy of Hua-yen teachings to which Tsung-mi was heir thus did not accord the prominence to the teaching of *shih-shih wu-ai* that it had enjoyed in Fa-tsang's writings. But Tsung-mi also went much further than his teacher Ch'eng-kuan in subordinating *shih-shih wu-ai* to *li-shih wu-ai*, as witnessed most dramatically in his exclusion of the perfect teaching as a category within his *p'an-chiao* scheme. The difference between Ch'eng-kuan and Tsung-mi in this regard can also be seen by comparing their comments on the last section of T'u-shun's *Meditation on the Dharmadhātu* (*Fa-chieh kuan-men*), that of the "Meditation on Total Pervasion and Accommodation" (*chou-pien han-jung kuan*). Ch'eng-kuan interprets the ten meditations enumerated in this section in terms of the ten profundities, which he characterizes as the paradigmatic expression of *shih-shih wu-ai* (*T* 45 683a3-11). Tsung-mi, by contrast, merely observes that the ten meditations correspond to the ten profundities, which he does not even bother to list (*T* 45 692b4-5). Again, in his sub-commentary to Ch'eng-kuan's commentary to the chapter on the practice and vows of Samantabhadra from the new translation of the *Gandavyūha* done by Prajñā in 798 (*Hua-yen ching hsing yuan p'in shu ch'ao*, ZZ 1/7/5 399c), Tsung-mi only mentions, but does not discuss, the ten profundities which Ch'eng-kuan had subjected to a detailed analysis in his commentary (*Hua-yen ching hsing yuan p'in shu*, ZZ 1/7/3 246a-d).

Not only does Tsung-mi give scant attention to the ten profundities in precisely those places where we would expect him to devote sustained discussion to them, he eschews the whole vocabulary of *li* and *shih* which Ch'eng-kuan had used to formulate his theory of the fourfold dharmā-

dhātu Where he does make reference to the fourfold dharmadhātu,¹¹ he refers to a passage from Ch'eng-kuan's *Hua-yen ching hsing yuan p'in shu* (ZZ 1/7/3 249c11-d2) that emphasizes the one true dharmadhātu (*i-chen fa-chieh*) as the essential reality from which the fourfold dharmadhātu derives.¹² Most significantly for Tsung-mi, that passage identifies the one true dharmadhātu with the one mind (*i-hsin*) that wholly embraces manifold existence (*tsung-kai wan-yu*). Tsung-mi identifies the one true dharmadhātu with the tathāgatagarbha, the central doctrine of the teaching that he ranks highest in his classification system. It is also in terms of the one true dharmadhātu that he elaborates his discussion of nature origination in his *Hsing yuan p'in shu ch'ao*.

The Teaching That Reveals the Nature

Within the doctrinal classification scheme that he outlines in his *Inquiry into the Origin of Man*, Tsung-mi accords pride of place to the teaching of the tathāgatagarbha, which he refers to as "the teaching that reveals the nature" (*hsien-hsing chiao*)

The teaching of the one vehicle that reveals the nature holds that all sentient beings without exception have the intrinsically enlightened true mind. From [time] without beginning it is permanently abiding and immaculate. It is shining, unobscured, clear and bright ever-present awareness. It is also called Buddha-nature and it is also called tathāgatagarbha. From time without beginning deluded thoughts cover it, and [sentient beings] by themselves are not aware of it. Because they only recognize their inferior qualities, they become indulgently attached, enmeshed in karma, and experience the suffering of birth-and-death. The great Enlightened One took pity upon them and taught that everything without exception is empty. He further revealed that the purity of the numinous enlightened true mind is wholly identical with that of all Buddhas (*T* 45 710a11-16).

Like Fa-tsang, Tsung-mi turns to the *Hua-yen Sūtra* to support his interpretation of the meaning of the Buddha's enlightenment, but in so doing, he chooses a passage with a thrust quite different from Fa-tsang's vision of the unobstructed harmonious interaction of all phenomena. He quotes the following passage from the *Hua-yen Sūtra*, one that was especially valued in the Ch'an tradition as it was believed to have contained the first words uttered by the Buddha after his enlightenment:

○ Sons of Buddha, there is no place where the wisdom of the Tathāgata does not reach. Why? Because there is not a single sentient being that is not fully endowed with the wisdom of the Tathāgata. It is only on account of their deluded thinking, erroneous views, and attachments that they do not succeed in realizing it. When they become free from deluded thinking,

the all-comprehending wisdom, the spontaneous wisdom, and the unobstructed wisdom will then be manifest before them. At that time the Tathāgata with his unobstructed pure eye of wisdom universally beheld all sentient beings throughout the dharmadhātu and said, "How amazing! How amazing! How can it be that these sentient beings are fully endowed with the wisdom of the Tathāgata and yet, being ignorant and confused, do not know it and do not see it? I must teach them the noble path, enabling them to be forever free from deluded thinking and to achieve for themselves the seeing of the broad and vast wisdom of the Tathāgata within themselves and so be no different from the Buddhas" (T 10 272c4-7 and 272c25-273a2) ¹³

The significance of this passage for Tsung-mi lay in the fact that it established that the Buddha's enlightenment consisted in his realization that all sentient beings already fully possess the enlightened wisdom of the Buddha and are therefore fundamentally identical with all Buddhas. The defilements which appear to obscure this wisdom are merely adventitious. Buddhist practice should thus be directed toward uncovering the original enlightenment that is the fundamental nature of all beings. Enlightenment is a matter of becoming aware of that which has always been present from the very beginning.

Tsung-mi's account of the teaching that reveals the nature in his *Ch'an Preface* (*Ch'an-yuan chu-ch'uan-chi tu-hsu*) adds that this teaching is exemplified in those sūtras that expound the tathāgatagarbha, such as the *Hua-yen*, *Ghanavyūha*, *Yuan-chueh*, *Śūrangama*, *Śrīmālā*, *Tathāgatagarbha*, *Lotus*, and *Nirvāna*, as well as in śāstras such as the *Awakening of Faith*, *Buddha Nature (Fo-hsing)*, and *Ratnagotravibhāga* (T 48 405a24-26, K, 132).

As both his quotation of the *Hua-yen Sūtra* as canonical authority for the teaching that reveals the nature and his inclusion of it within his enumeration of scriptures which exemplify that teaching make clear, Tsung-mi regards the principal teaching of this scripture as the tathāgatagarbha, not its vision of the unobstructed interrelation of all phenomena. He does, however, include the latter within the teaching that reveals the nature in the *Ch'an Preface* (see T 48 407c7-12, K, 185), suggesting that he would have seen the perfect teaching as contained within the teaching that reveals the nature.

The Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment

One of the scriptures that Tsung-mi lists among those exemplifying the teaching that reveals the nature is the *Yuan-chueh ching* or *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*. Despite his appropriation within the fold of Hua-yen patriarchs, Tsung-mi's primary exegetical activity was devoted to this

text, and not the *Hua-yen Sūtra*. Although it purports to have been translated into Chinese by Buddhatrāta in 793, modern scholars agree that it was in all likelihood authored in China sometime around the beginning of the eighth century and that its teaching is based on the *Śūrangama Sūtra* and *Awakening of Faith*.¹⁴

Tsung-mi's esteem for this work was a direct result of his personal experience—it was his encounter with this text that precipitated his first enlightenment experience. As he describes the event in his subcommentary to his preface to his commentary on the scripture, sometime after he had become a novice monk under the Ch'an master Tao-yuan in Suichou in 804, he participated in a maigre feast at the home of a local official and lay patron, Jen Kuan. There, when the scripture chanting was over, he came across a copy of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* for the first time. After reading only two or three pages, he had an awakening, an experience whose intensity so suddenly overwhelmed him that he found himself uncontrollably dancing for joy (ZZ 1/14/3 223a). His disciple and biographer P'ei Hsiu adds that when he later reported what had happened to Tao-yuan, the master confirmed his experience, remarking, "You will greatly spread the perfect and sudden teaching. The Buddhas preached this scripture just for you" (Preface to Tsung-mi's *Yuan-chueh ching lueh-shu*, T 39 523c7).

Not only did this text play a crucial role in Tsung-mi's own spiritual development, he also regarded its straightforwardness as better suited to the needs of the times than the grandiose scale of the *Hua-yen Sūtra*.

If you want to propagate the truth, single out its quintessence, and thoroughly penetrate the ultimate meaning, don't revere the *Hua-yen Sūtra* above all others. Ancient and modern worthies and masters of the Tripi-taka in both the western regions and this land have all classified it as supreme, as fully related in [Ch'eng-kuan's] introduction to his commentary. Yet its principles become so confused within its voluminous size that beginners become distraught and have difficulty entering into it. It is not as good as this scripture, whose single volume can be entered immediately (*Yuan-chueh ching ta-shu ch'ao*, ZZ 1/14/3 226a10–14).

Given the fact that Tsung-mi revered this scripture above the *Hua-yen Sūtra* and that he classified it under the teaching that reveals the nature, it should hardly be surprising that he would have been reluctant to posit the perfect teaching, identified exclusively with the *Hua-yen Sūtra*, as a still higher category within his *p'an-chiao*.

In a passage from his introduction to his commentary on the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuan-chueh ching ta-shu*) discussing how that scripture, within its brief compass, includes a wide variety of ideas, Tsung-mi comments that, within its single fascicle of only twenty-eight pages,

the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* fully embodies the ideas expressed in the advanced and sudden teachings and the teaching traditions of emptiness and the analysis of phenomenal appearances (*k'ung-tsung* and *hsiang-tsung*, i.e., Fa-tsang's elementary Mahāyāna), as well as containing those of the Hīnayāna and perfect special teachings (110c8-11). In his subcommentary to this passage, he explains that, even though it contains the ideas of the Hīnayāna and perfect teachings, they are still not its cardinal principle (*tsung*) (234d16-16). This passage indicates that Tsung-mi regarded the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* as fully expressing the content of the advanced and sudden teachings and only partially that of the perfect teaching. Again, at the end of the section discussing the classification systems of previous scholars (*ch'uan-shih tui-pien*) in his introduction to his commentary (116b5-12), Tsung-mi indicates how that scripture would be classified according to Fa-tsang's five categories of teaching:

- 1 It is wholly included within, but only partially includes, the perfect teaching. Tsung-mi goes on to explain that the *Perfect Enlightenment Scripture* cannot be said to include the entirety of the perfect teaching because it does not teach the unobstructed interpenetration and mutual determination of all things. It does, however, "directly reveal the essence of the one true dharmadhātu" (*i-chen fa-chueh*), which is included within the perfect teaching of the *Hua-yen Sūtra*.
- 2 It includes, but is not included within, the first two teachings within Fa-tsang's *p'an-chiao*, those of the Hīnayāna and elementary Mahāyāna, because it includes the two *nairātmya* whereas they do not include the tathāgatagarbha.
- 3 It both includes and is included within the advanced teaching of the Mahāyāna "because this scripture is also based on the tathāgatagarbha." Tsung-mi adds that it is also referred to as "the Mahāyāna of the sudden teaching."

This passage is especially significant because it reveals precisely that aspect of the perfect teaching that the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* contains as well as that which it lacks: it contains the *Hua-yen Sūtra's* teaching of the one true dharmadhātu but not its teaching of interpenetration and mutual determination. To put it in terms that Tsung-mi does not use, it contains the Hua-yen teaching of *li-shih wu-ai* but not that of *shih-shih wu-ai*.

In addition to identifying the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* with the advanced teaching, Tsung-mi also identified it with the sudden teaching, and his discussion of how it fits within that latter rubric further reveals the way in which he saw it as differing from the *Hua-yen Sūtra*.¹⁵

In his subcommentary to the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* (ZZ 1/14/3 218b7-15), Tsung-mi distinguishes between two different types of sudden teaching: the first he terms *hua-i-tun* (the sudden teaching as a method of exposition) and the second, *chu-chi-tun* (the sudden teaching that was expounded in response to beings of superior capacity). The first refers solely to the *Hua-yen Sūtra*, which was taught immediately after the Buddha had attained enlightenment, whereas the second refers to those scriptures—such as the *Śrīmālā*, *Ghanavyūha*, *Chin-kang san-mei*, *Tathāgatagarbha*, and *Yuan-chueh*—which, preached to beings of superior capacity, “reveal the one true enlightened nature.”

Tsung-mi’s discussion of the sudden teaching shows that its content is identical to that of the advanced teaching. His teaching that reveals the nature thus also includes that which Fa-*tsang* had listed, under a separate category, as the sudden teaching. His claim that the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* contains part of what was taught in the *Hua-yen Sūtra*, moreover, indicates that the teaching that reveals the nature also partially includes the perfect teaching. Finally, Tsung-mi regarded that aspect of the perfect teaching—*shih-shih wu-ai*—that was not included within the teaching that reveals the nature as of so little significance as not to merit the status of a separate category in his classification system. Since this was the aspect that the previous tradition had claimed epitomized the most profound teaching of the Buddha, Tsung-mi’s revalorization of Hua-yen teachings marks a radical shift in Hua-yen hermeneutics, a point that belies the claim of one authority on the dharmadhātu theory in the Hua-yen tradition that “it is difficult to find any new development” in Tsung-mi’s idea of the dharmadhātu.¹⁶

The One True Dharmadhātu

As has already been noted, Tsung-mi regarded the one true dharmadhātu as being that aspect of the teaching of the *Hua-yen Sūtra* contained within the teaching that reveals the nature. He discusses the one true dharmadhātu in the fourth section of his introduction to both his commentary and abridged commentary to the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, “Analyzing the Mysterious and Profound” (*fen-ch’i yu-shen*), in which he outlines his understanding of the central content of the scripture in terms of five stages of phenomenal evolution—a “cosmogony” based on the *Awakening of Faith*. Not only does Tsung-mi consider this cosmogonic process as fundamental to the message of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, it is also one of the primary elements within the overall structure of his thought. He discusses it again in the second part of the third section of his introduction to his commentary to the *Awakening of Faith*—a context that emphasizes the crucial role that it played within his understanding of Buddhism, as it is one of the two places wherein

his commentary diverges in substance from that of Fa-tsang, on which it is based.¹⁷ This five-stage theory of phenomenal evolution is the subject of the concluding section of his *Inquiry into the Origin of Man*. It also figures prominently in the final section of the *Ch'an Preface*. Its importance in these two works again underlines its centrality within Tsung-mi's thought as a whole. Both works are later than his commentaries and reflect a more mature intellectual position. Moreover, in neither case is their form dictated by the conventions of a commentary format, the set categories and fragmentary nature of which discourage the innovative expression of systematically developed thought.

Tsung-mi's five-stage theory explains how the world of delusion and defilement, the world in terms of which beings experience themselves, evolves out of a unitary ontological principle that is both intrinsically enlightened and pure. It is, in effect, Tsung-mi's theodicy.

In both his discussion of this theory of phenomenal evolution in his commentary and subcommentary to the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, as well as in his commentary to the *Awakening of Faith*, Tsung-mi elucidates the fundamental basis of this process by linking it to Ch'eng-kuan's description of the one true dharmadhātu. This is a particularly significant hermeneutical move that indicates a marked shift in the fundamental valence of Hua-yen thought. The fourfold dharmadhātu theory was the primary framework within which Ch'eng-kuan interpreted Hua-yen thought and represented his principal contribution to the development of Hua-yen hermeneutics. Tsung-mi's recasting of the significance of the dharmadhātu in terms of the *Awakening of Faith* not only pushes Hua-yen thought toward a much more explicitly ontological metaphysical position, but also makes room for traditional Chinese cosmological preoccupations within the field of Buddhist discourse.

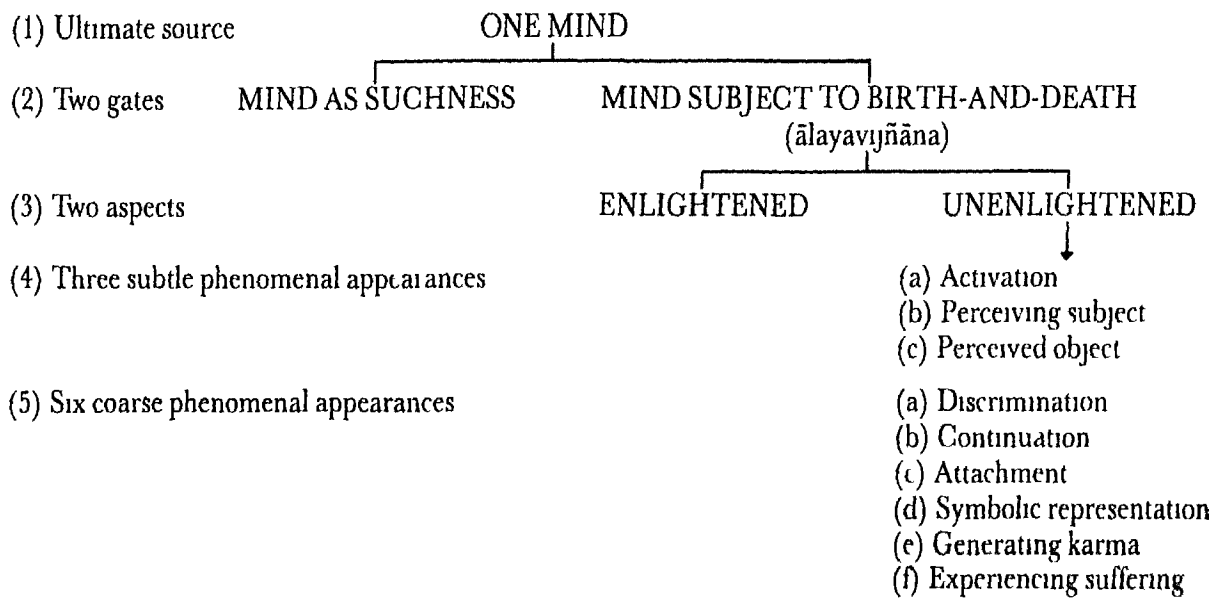
The following composite summary of Tsung-mi's theory of phenomenal evolution is based on his commentary and subcommentary to the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* (see ZZ 1/14/2 116c16–117c4 and 1/14/3 264a16–267b5) and his commentary to the *Awakening of Faith* (14v).

- 1 The one mind alone constitutes the ultimate source. Tsung-mi identifies the ultimate source (*pen-yuan*) with the one mind of the *Awakening of Faith*, the wondrous mind of perfect enlightenment of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, and the one true dharmadhātu of the *Hua-yen Sūtra*—all of which are thus synonymous with one another, as well as serving as different expressions for the tathāgata-garbha. Tsung-mi writes, "Even though there are four types of dharmadhātu within Hua-yen, the commentary on that scripture [by Ch'eng-kuan] says, 'In all there is just one true dharmadhātu. It wholly embraces manifold existence and is identical with the one mind.'" Tsung-mi uses this passage from Ch'eng-kuan to

- equate the one true dharmadhātu with the mind of sentient beings in the *Awakening of Faith*, quoting the passage from that text that states “ ‘Dharma’ means the mind of sentient beings That mind embraces all mundane and supramundane dharmas” (575c21–22)
- 2 Based on the one mind, two gates open up this stage corresponds to the two aspects of the one mind described in the *Awakening of Faith* The first is the mind as suchness (*hsin chen-ju men*), which refers to that which is neither born nor dies The second is the mind that is subject to birth-and-death (*hsin sheng-mieh men*), which refers to the ālayavijñāna, in which the tathāgatagarbha and that which is subject to birth-and-death are interfused Tsung-mi quotes Ch’eng-kuan’s statement in regard to the dharmadhātu to characterize the former aspect “Its essence transcends being and nonbeing, its defining characteristic is that it neither arises nor perishes Since none can probe its beginning or end, how could its center or periphery be perceived?” (249c13–14) Ch’eng-kuan’s statement—“If one understands it, he is greatly enlightened, if one is deluded about it, he transmigrates without cease” (249c15)—is then quoted to characterize the latter aspect
 - 3 Based on this consciousness (1 e , the ālayavijñāna), its two meanings are explained the first is enlightenment (*chueh*), which refers to the essence of the mind’s transcending of thoughts, etc The second is unenlightenment (*pu-chueh*), which refers to the fact that, because beings do not truly recognize the oneness of the dharma of suchness, mental activity unconsciously arises, etc
 - 4 Based on the latter aspect (1 e , unenlightenment) the three subtle phenomenal appearances are born—viz , activation, perceiving subject, and perceived object Tsung-mi explains these three terms derived from the *Awakening of Faith* (see 577a8–12) in terms of the *Ch’eng wei-shih lun*’s explanation of the bifurcation of the ālayavijñāna into subjective and objective modes (*chien-fen, darśanabhāga* and *hsiang-fen, nimittabhāga*)
 - 5 Based on the last subtle phenomenal appearance, the six coarse phenomenal appearances are born—viz , discrimination, continuation, attachment, symbolic representation, generating karma, and experiencing suffering This final stage in the process of phenomenal evolution describes how the epistemological dualism that emerged in the last leads to attachment to objects (*fa-chih, dharmagrāha*) and self (*wo-chih, ātmagrāha*), whose inevitable consequence “entails the ensuance of existentiality”¹⁸

This process can be represented diagrammatically as follows

The Process of Phenomenal Evolution



Nature Origination

Tsung-mi's adoption of the one true dharmadhātu as the first principle in a five-stage cosmogonic scheme was already suggested by Ch'eng-kuan's opening words in his preface to his *Hsing yuan p'in shu* "How great the true dhātu (*ta-tsai chen-chieh*)! The myriad dharmas owe their inception to it (*wan-fa tzu-shih*)" This proclamation, as Tsung-mi points out in his subcommentary, derives from the comments on the first hexagram, *sh'ien* ("the Creative" in the Wilhelm/Baynes translation), in the *Classic of Change (I ching)* ("*Ta-tsai ch'ien-yuan Wan-wu tzu-shih*")¹⁹ Whatever the underlying intent behind Ch'eng-kuan's use of this allusion,²⁰ Tsung-mi took its implications seriously, and it is in his discussion of these words that he provides us with his fullest account of nature origination

After elucidating the allusion, Tsung-mi defines the "true dhātu" as the "dharmadhātu of suchness (*chen-ju fa-chieh*)" He goes on to say, "Although the varieties of dharmadhātu are of many types, when its overall character is disclosed, there is just the one true dharmadhātu, the pure mind which is the source of Buddhas and sentient beings" (399b5-6) The true dhātu refers to the nature of the essence (*t'i-hsing*) of the mind of the one dharmadhātu (*i fa-chieh hsin*), whereas the myriad dharmas which owe their inception to it refer to the phenomenal appearance of its essence (*t'i-hsiang*) (399b15-17) Tsung-mi continues, "There is not a single dharma that is not a manifestation of the original mind Nor is there a single dharma that does not conditionally arise from the true dhātu" (399c1-2)

Tsung-mi then distinguishes between two modes of causality according to which "the mind of the one dharmadhātu brings all dharmas to completion" The first of these is nature origination (*hsing-ch'i*), the second, conditioned origination (*yuan-ch'i*) In regard to the first, "nature" corresponds to the true dhātu and "origination," to the myriad dharmas Tsung-mi says that nature origination thus means that "the entire essence of the dharmadhātu as the nature arises (*ch'i*) to form all dharmas" (399c6) "Since all mundane and supramundane dharmas originate wholly from the nature, there is no other dharma outside of the nature That is why Buddhas and sentient beings are inextricably interconnected and the pure and defiled lands harmoniously interpenetrate" (399c11-12)

Conditioned origination, on the other hand, refers to the process by which both delusion and enlightenment unfold and, accordingly, is discussed in terms of its impure and pure aspects (see 399d3-400d17) While Tsung-mi's analysis of the various dimensions of conditioned origination becomes more complex, what is worth noting here is that

the two directions in which it can move derive from the two aspects of the *ālayavijñāna*. Delusion is derived from its unenlightened aspect and unfolds according to the three subtle and six coarse phenomenal appearances. Tsung-mi appropriates from the *Awakening of Faith*. Its ultimate basis consists in being deluded about the fundamental ground of phenomenal reality, the one true *dharmadhātu*. Enlightenment corresponds to the process by which beings become aware of that fundamental ground and extirpate the deeply rooted unconscious attitudes and habitual behavior patterns sown by their delusion. Tsung-mi interprets this process as that which the *Awakening of Faith* refers to as "experiential enlightenment" (*shih chueh*) and outlines it in terms of ten stages in his *Ch'an Preface*.²¹ His casting of conditioned origination in terms of the processes of delusion and enlightenment—rather than in terms of a realm in which phenomena interpenetrate without obstruction—makes clear the soteriological thrust animating his ontology. It is only by gaining an insight into nature origination, which reveals the ultimate basis of phenomenal appearances, that one can begin to extricate oneself from the meshes of residual impure conditioning and finally actualize the full potential of the enlightenment that is the birthright of all beings.

Nature origination for Tsung-mi thus explains how the *tathāgata-garbha* can serve as the ontological ground for Buddhist practice. Expressed in traditional Hua-yen categories, *li-shih wu-ai* offered Tsung-mi a far more effective soteriological prospect than did *shih-shih wu-ai*.

Tsung-mi's Ch'an Background

The most obvious reason that can be given for Tsung-mi's excision of the perfect teaching from his *p'an-chiao* scheme in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man* is that it was simply irrelevant to his investigation, whose ontological theme is indicated in its title. The progression of teachings that Tsung-mi outlines in that work is arranged according to the degree to which each succeeds in probing the ultimate origin of man. Since enlightenment consists in the realization of this fundamental source, the order of the teachings can thus be taken as describing the process of soteriological progress. Tsung-mi's avowed objective in writing this essay was, after all, soteriological. His omission of the perfect teaching is thus related to his understanding of enlightenment.

The soteriological thrust in Tsung-mi's ontology reveals his intimate involvement with Ch'an. Clearly one of the most significant developments within Chinese Buddhism in the period of almost a century and a half that separated Tsung-mi from Fa-tsang was the rise of Ch'an. In addition to his association with the Hua-yen tradition, Tsung-mi was

also deeply involved with the Ch'an of his day, being reckoned as the fifth "patriarch" in the Ho-tse lineage of Southern Ch'an founded by Shen-hui. The perspective from which he appropriated Hua-yen teachings was informed by his prior Ch'an training. It was only in 810, after six years of Ch'an discipline, that he discovered Hua-yen through the writings of Ch'eng-kuan. One of the reasons Tsung-mi seems to have been drawn to Hua-yen was that its teachings provided a solid ontological rationale for Ch'an practice. His reevaluation of traditional Hua-yen teachings accordingly has to be understood in terms of his Ch'an background—particularly his reaction against some of the more radical Ch'an movements of the eighth and ninth centuries.

Of the different Ch'an lines that he discusses in his *Ch'an Chart* (*Chung-hua ch'uan-hsin-ti Ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u*), Tsung-mi's most sustained criticism is directed against that of Hung-chou, represented by the teachings of Ma-tsu Tao-i (709–788). As I have argued elsewhere,²² his criticism of that line of Southern Ch'an focuses on its apparent failure to penetrate to the ultimate source of phenomenal appearances—and for Tsung-mi such failure meant that its practice of "simply allowing the mind to act spontaneously" (*tan jen-hsin wei hsiu*) could be interpreted in an antinomian fashion. In other words, Tsung-mi's uneasiness with this brand of Ch'an lay in his perception that, since it lacked solid ontological bearings, its behavioral import was apt to veer in ethically dangerous directions. Tsung-mi's ethical critique of the Hung-chou teaching thus focuses on its ontology. He charges that it merely recognized the nature's functioning-inaccord-with-conditions (*sui-yuan yung*), which it proclaimed as the "total functioning of the Buddha-nature," without also acknowledging the functioning of the self-nature (*tzu-hsing yung*), upon which such conditioned functioning was based. Tsung-mi compares this position to merely recognizing the changing images reflected on the surface of a mirror without also acknowledging the luminous reflectivity (*ming*) of the mirror that makes such reflections possible.

Ma-tsu, like Tsung-mi, hailed from Szechwan. As Yanagida Seizan has suggested in his perceptive study of the background of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*,²³ just as Ma-tsu's teaching can be seen as a development out of trends within the Szechwanese Buddhist milieu from which he came, so Tsung-mi's can be seen as a reaction against them. In either case, it was the Ch'an movements in Szechwan that formed the context out of which, or against which, each later articulated his own teaching. The most radical of these movements was that of Pao-t'ang, whose fabrication of its own history is preserved in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. As Yanagida has shown, this school of Ch'an extended Shen-hui's teaching of no-thought (*wu-nien*) to its logical conclusion by discarding all forms of traditional Buddhist ethical practice and ritual observance. Wu-chu (714–

774), the founder of this school, often held large public meetings in which he preached his radical message to the masses. Tsung-mi, as we would expect, was highly critical of Pao-t'ang Ch'an, derogatorily referring to its practice as one of "extinguishing consciousness" (*mieh-shih*). In any case, it is likely that it was Tsung-mi's acquaintance with this school that shaped his perception of the Hung-chou line of Ch'an taught by Ma-tsu and his successors, and that sensitized him to the anti-nomian dangers inherent in some of the more radical Mahāyāna doctrines espoused in Ch'an.

Although Tsung-mi does not make the connection, it is tempting to speculate that he may have felt a similarity in the ethical import of the teachings of the Hung-chou line of Ch'an and the Hua-yen teaching of *shih-shih wu-ai*. Behind Tsung-mi's discussion and evaluation of various teachings, whether Buddhist or non-Buddhist, there is a keen sensitivity to their ethical implications that is always evident. One of the reasons Tsung-mi valued the tathāgatagarbha so highly was that it provided a firm ontological ground for Buddhist practice. As expressed in his interpretation of nature origination (*hsing-ch'i*), this doctrine meant that all phenomenal appearances (*hsiang*) only had reality insofar as they were seen to be manifestations (*ch'i*) of the nature (*hsing*). When taken as real in and of themselves, however, phenomenal appearances are the basis of deluded attachment. Only when they are seen to be empty can their true reality be grasped. The doctrine of nature origination can be seen as an elaboration of the meaning of *li-shih wu-ai*. Tsung-mi equates *shih* (phenomena) with *hsiang* (phenomenal appearances). The Hua-yen teaching of *shih-shih wu-ai* thus refers to the intricate web of interconnections that obtain among phenomenal appearances. They are that which—in the context of his criticism of the Hung-chou line of Ch'an—he refers to as the functioning-inaccord-with-conditions, merely the ever-changing images reflected on the surface of the mind.

If the criticism that Tsung-mi levels against the Hung-chou teaching can thus be applied against *shih-shih wu-ai*, it further clarifies why, to employ the traditional Hua-yen categories used throughout this chapter, he valued *li-shih wu-ai* over *shih-shih wu-ai* and therefore also why he omitted the perfect teaching from his doctrinal classification system in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man*, ceding its place to that of the tathāgatagarbha.

Notes

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1 Both the general nature of *p'an-chiao* as well as its specific character within the Hua-yen tradition have already been well documented in English-language scholarship. A good general discussion of *p'an-chiao* can still be found in Leon Hurvitz's *Chih-i (538-597) An Introduction to the Life and Ideas of a Chinese Buddhist Monk, Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 12 (1960-1962), although much of what he has to say about Chih-i's system has been corrected by Sekiguchi Shindai's more recent researches. For a revised and more accurate discussion of T'ien-t'ai doctrinal classification in light of Sekiguchi's findings, see David W. Chappell's "Introduction to the T'ien-t'ai *ssu-chiao-i*," *The Eastern Buddhist*, n s 9, no 1 (1976) 72-86, reprinted in Chappell et al., *T'ien-t'ai Buddhism: An Outline of the Fourfold Teachings* (Tokyo: Daichi shobō, 1983). For a discussion of the early Chinese Buddhist classificatory schemes, see Ōchō Einichi, "The Beginnings of Tenet Classification in China," *The Eastern Buddhist*, n s 14, no 2 (1981) 71-94. Liu Ming-Wood's "The *P'an-chiao* System of the Hua-yen School in Chinese Buddhism," *T'oung Pao* 67 (1981) 10-47, provides a generally excellent overview of the "classical" system articulated by Fa-tsang. For a translation of Fa-tsang's *Wu-chiao chang*, see Francis Cook's "Fa-tsang's *Treatise on the Five Doctrines, An Annotated Translation*" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1970). See also my "Chinese Buddhist Hermeneutics: The Case of Hua-yen," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 51, no 2 (1983) 231-249.

2 This chapter forms the third in a series discussing the differences between Fa-tsang's and Tsung-mi's classificatory systems. See also "The Teaching of Men and Gods: The Doctrinal and Social Basis of Lay Buddhist Practice in the Hua-yen Tradition," in Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, *Studies in East Asian Buddhism*, no 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 253-319, and "The Place of the Sudden Teaching within the Hua-yen Tradition: An Investigation of the Process of Doctrinal Change," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 6, no 1 (1983) 31-60.

3 The translation of *hai-in* as "oceanic reflection" is that of Thomas Cleary, see his *Entry Into the Inconceivable: An Introduction to Hua-yen Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983). For a discussion of this term, see Kamata Shigeo's "Kaun zammai no seikai" in his *Chūgoku bukkyō shisōshi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1967), 403-425.

4 Of course this metaphor could be interpreted otherwise. In the T'ien-t'ai tradition it is cited to "prove" that the teaching of the *Hua-yen Sūtra* is actually inferior to that of the *Lotus Sūtra*, precisely because it only illumined the highest peaks—that is, was accessible only to the most advanced bodhisattvas. Its "special" (*pieh*) character thus indicated its exclusivity. The *Lotus*, on the other hand, was truly universal, and hence superior, because it employed a panoply of expedient devices geared to reach the varying spiritual capacities of *all* the Buddha's followers.

5 I have adapted the translation of Liu Ming-Wood, "The Teaching of Fa-tsang: An Examination of Buddhist Metaphysics" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1979), 122-123.

6 Sakamoto Yukio has pointed out that Ch'eng-kuan adopted the terminology for the fourfold dharmadhātu theory from Hui-yuan (ca. 673-743), although Ch'eng-kuan's explanation of its meaning differed from that of Hui-yuan, see his "Hokkai engi no rekishi teki keisei," in Miyamoto Shōson, ed., *Bukkyō no konpon shinri* (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1957), 902-903.

The term "dharmadhātu" has a wide range of meanings throughout Buddhist thought, a good survey of which can be found in Kang Nam Oh, "A

Study of Chinese Hua-yen Buddhism with Special Reference to the *Dharmadhātu* (*fa-chieh*) Doctrine" (Ph D diss., McMaster University, 1976), 11–35. Fa-tsang indicates some of the ways in which it could be interpreted in his discussion at the beginning of his commentary on the "Entering the Dharmadhātu Chapter" (*Ju fa-chieh p'in, Gandavyūha*) of the *Hua-yen Sūtra* in his *T'an-hsuan chi* (T 35 440b11ff — cf. T 44 63b18–21). He points out that in the compound "dharmadhātu" (*fa-chieh*), "dharma" (*fa*) can have three meanings: (1) that which upholds (*ch'ih*), (2) that which serves as a norm (*kuei-tse*), and (3) mental object (*tui-i*). "Dhātu" (*chieh*) likewise has three meanings: (1) the cause (*yin*) (upon which the noble path is realized), (2) the nature (*hsing*) (upon which all dharmas are based), and (3) the differentiated (*fen-ch'i*) (since all conditionally originated phenomena are distinct from one another). According to the first and second senses of "dhātu" (*chieh*), dharmadhātu refers to either the cause for the realization of the noble path or the underlying nature of phenomenal reality. In either case, its meaning is closely related to that of "tathāgatagarbha," and, indeed, in tathāgatagarbha texts such as the *Ratnagotravibhāga* (*Pao-hsing lun*) the two terms are used synonymously. When dharmadhātu is thus interpreted in line with tathāgatagarbha theory, *fa-chieh yuan-ch'i* can be understood in terms of nature origination (*hsing-ch'i*). In the third sense of "dhātu" (*chieh*), however, Fa-tsang points out that "dharma" (*fa*) is equivalent to "dhātu" (*chieh*), dharmadhātu can thus also be understood to refer to differentiated phenomena. In this case *fa-chieh yuan-ch'i* refers to the unobstructed interrelation of phenomena (*shih-shih wu-ai*)—and it is in this sense, Liu Ming-Wood concludes, that Fa-tsang uses the term in his *Treatise on the Five Teachings* (see "The Teaching of Fa-tsang," 391–396). Tsung-mi, in his emphasis on nature origination, interprets "dharmadhātu" strictly in terms of the tathāgatagarbha doctrine.

7 The ten profundities (*shih-hsuan*) were first elaborated by Chih-yen in his *Ten Profound Gates of the Hua-yen* [*Sūtra*] (*Hua-yen shih-hsuan men*, see the translation by Cleary in *Entry Into the Inconceivable*, 126–146). These were adopted by Fa-tsang in his *Treatise on the Five Teachings* without modification, other than in their order (see T 45 505a12ff, Cook, "Fa-tsang's *Treatise on the Five Doctrines*," 496ff). Fa-tsang's enumeration of the ten profundities in his *T'an-hsuan chi*, however, replaces two of Chih-yen's categories with two new ones (see T 35 123a28–b4). Significantly, one of those deleted by Fa-tsang in this version is "creation through the transformation of the mind alone." Kamata has suggested that this change marked a shift in Fa-tsang's thought away from the tathāgatagarbha doctrine of the *Awakening of Faith* toward a greater emphasis on *shih-shih wu-ai* (see *Chūgoku kegon shisōshi no kenkyū* [Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku, 1965], 553).

8 Fa-tsang's most detailed explanation of this metaphor can be found in his *Yu-hsin fa-chieh chi* (T 45 647a17ff), translated in Liu, "The Teaching of Fa-tsang," 190.

9 See "The Teaching of Fa-tsang," especially the concluding chapter.

10 Tsung-mi does quote from the *Wang-chin huan-yuan kuan* in his *Hsing yuan p'in shu ch'ao* (399c15–17). Although this work is often attributed to Fa-tsang, Kojima Taizan has argued convincingly against the likelihood of Fa-tsang's authorship. See his "Mōjin gengen kan no senja o meguru shomondai," *Nanto bukkyō* 49 (1982): 13–31.

11 See *Chu Hua-yen fa-chieh kuan-men*, T 45 684b24–c1, *Yuan chueh ching ta-shu*, ZZ 1/14/2 106d3–6, and *Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun shu*, 14v2–3.

12 The phrase "t'ung [Mathews no. 6641] *wei i-chen fa-chieh*," which Tsung-mi claims to be quoting from Ch'eng-kuan, does not occur in Ch'eng-kuan's

Hsing yuan p'in shu Ch'eng-kuan does, however, use the phrase "tsung [Mathews no 6912] wei i-chen wu-ai fa-chieh" in the beginning of his commentary on the "Entering the Dharmadhātu Chapter" in his commentary on the *Hua-yen Sūtra* (see *T* 35 908a16)

13 The chapter of the *Hua-yen Sūtra* from which this passage is quoted seems to have originally circulated as an independent scripture, the **Tathāgatatoṭṭattisambhavanirdeśa*, which was translated into Chinese as the *Ju-lai hsing-hsien ching* (*T* no 291) by Dharmarakṣa in the late third century. Significantly in the present context, it seems to have played a seminal role in the development of the tathāgatarbha doctrine. According to Takasaki Jikidō's reconstruction of the development of the tathāgatarbha doctrine, this passage served as the model for a similar passage in the *Tathāgatarbha-sūtra* (*Ju-lai-tsang ching*) (see *T* 16 457b28-c10), the first scripture to expound the tathāgatarbha doctrine explicitly (see *A Study of the Ratnagoṭravibhāga*, *Serie Orientale Roma* 33 [1966], 35-36). The importance of this passage from the *Hua-yen Sūtra* for the tathāgatarbha doctrine is further indicated by its quotation in full in the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* (see *T* 31 827a29-c1, Takasaki, 189-192)

14 See Kamata, *Chūgoku kegon shisōshi no kenkyū*, 579-580

15 See my essay "The Place of the Sudden Teaching" for a more detailed discussion

16 See Oh, "A Study of Chinese Hua-yen Buddhism," 199. The same opinion is repeated in his "Dharmadhātu: An Introduction to Hua-yen Buddhism," *The Eastern Buddhist*, n s 12, no 2 (1979) 86

17 See Yoshizu Yoshihide, "Shūmitsu no *Dayōkishinronshū* ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 30, no 2 (1982) 796-800. Tsung-mi's commentary can be found in case 31, vol 8, division 5, and part 2 of the *Daizōkyō*

18 To borrow the concluding catena of James Joyce's parody of the twelve-linked chain of conditioned origination: "In the ignorance that implies impression that knits knowledge that finds the nameform that whets the wits that convey contacts that sweeten sensation that drives desire that adheres to attachment that dogs death that bitches birth that entails the ensuance of existentiality." See *Finnegans Wake* (New York: Viking Press, 1967), 18

19 See Z. D. Sung, *The Text of the Yi King*, reprint ed. (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Co., 1971), 3

20 Ch'eng-kuan often claimed to borrow the words from the Chinese religious classics without thereby also adopting their meaning, see *T* 36 2b9, for example

21 See my essay "Sudden Enlightenment Followed by Gradual Cultivation: Tsung-mi's Analysis of Mind," in Peter N. Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, *Studies in East Asian Buddhism*, no 5 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 290-298

22 "Tsung-mi and the Single Word 'Awareness' (*Chih*)," *Philosophy East and West* 35, no 3 (1985) 249-269

23 See Yanagida Seizan, "The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the Ch'an Doctrine of Sudden Awakening," trans. Carl W. Bielefeldt, in Lewis Lancaster and Whalen Lai, eds., *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet* (Berkeley: Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, 1983), 13-49

Glossary

- Ch'an 禪
Ch'an-yuan chu-ch'uan-chi tu-hsu 禪源諸詮
 集都序
 chen-ju fa-chieh 眞如法界
 chen-ti 眞諦
 ch'eng-fa pen-chiao 稱法本教
 Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀
Ch'eng wei-shih lun 成唯識論
 chien-fen 見分
 Chih-yen 智儼
Chun-kang san-mei chung 金剛三昧經
 chou-pien han-jung kuan 周遍含容觀
 chu-chi mo-chiao 逐機末教
 chu-chi tun 逐機頓
Chu Hua-yen fa-chieh kuan-men 註華嚴法
 界觀門
 ch'uan-shih tui-pien 權實對辨
 chueh 覺
 ch'ung-ch'ung wu-chin 重重無盡
Chung-hua ch'uan-hsin-ti Ch'an-men shih-tzu
ch'eng-hsi t'u 中華傳心地禪門師資承
 襲圖
 fa-chieh 法界
Fa-chieh kuan-men 法界觀門
 fa-chieh yuan-ch'i 法界緣起
 fa-chih 法執
 Fa-tsang 法藏
 fang-pien 方便
 fen-ch'i yu-shen 分齊幽深
Fo-hsing lun 佛性論
 hai-in san-mei 海印三昧
 hai-in ting 海印定
 Ho-tse 荷澤
 hsiang 相
 hsiang-chi 相即
 hsiang-fen 相分
 hsiang-ju 相入
 hsiang-tsung 相宗
 hsien-hsing chiao 顯性教
 hsin chen-ju 心眞如
 hsin chen-ju men 心眞如門
 hsin sheng-mieh 心生滅
 hsin sheng-mieh men 心生滅門
 hsing 性
 hsing-ch'i 性起
Hsing yuan p'in shu 行願品疏
Hsing yuan p'in shu ch'ao 行願品疏鈔
 hua-i-tun 化儀頓
 Hua-yen 華嚴
Hua-yen chung 華嚴經
Hua-yen chung hsing yuan p'in shu 華嚴經
 行願品疏
Hua-yen chung hsing yuan p'in shu ch'ao
 華嚴經行願品疏鈔
Hua-yen yu-hsin fa-chieh chu 華嚴遊心法
 界記
 Hui-kuang 慧光
 Hung-chou 洪州
 i-chen fa-chieh 一眞法界
 i fa-chieh hsin 一法界心
 i-hsin 一心
 Jen Kuan 任權
 ju-lai-tsang 如來藏
 ju-lai-tsang yuan-ch'i 如來藏緣起
 Kuei-feng Tsung-mi 圭峯宗密
 k'ung-tsung 空宗
 li 理
Li-tai fa-pao chu 歷代法寶記
 li-shih jung-t'ung wu-ai 理事融通無礙
 li-shih wu-ai 理事無礙
 Ma-tsu Tao-i 馬祖道一
 mieh-shih 滅識
 ming 明
 p'an-chiao 判教
 Pao-t'ang 保唐
 P'ei Hsiu 裴休
 pen-chueh 本覺
 pen-yuan 本源
 pieh-chiao i-sheng 別教一乘
 pu-chueh 不覺
 pu-pien 丕變
 Shen-hui 神會
 shih 事
 shih-chueh 始覺
 shih-hsuan 十玄
 shih-shih fa-men 十十法門
 shih-shih wu-ai 事事無礙
 su-ti 俗諦
 sui-yuan 隨緣
 sui-yuan yung 隨緣用

Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun 大乘起信論
Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun shu 大乘起信論疏
 ta-sheng chung-chiao 大乘終教
 ta-tsai chen-chieh 大哉真界
 ta-tsai ch'ien-yuan 大哉乾元
 tan jen-hsin wei hsiu 但任心爲修
 Tao-yuan 道圓
 t'i-hsiang 體相
 t'i-hsing 體性
 tsung 宗
 tsung-kai wan-yu 總該萬有
 Tsung-mi 宗密
 tsung wei i-chen wu-ai fa-chieh 總唯一
 真無礙法界
 Tu-shun 杜順
 t'ung wei i-chen fa-chieh 統唯一真法界
 tzu-hsing yung 自性用

wan-fa tzu-shih 萬法資始
 wan-wu tzu-shih 萬物資始
 wo-chih 我執
Wu-chiao chang 五教章
 Wu-chu 無住
 wu-nien 無念
 yuan-ch'i 緣起
 yuan-chiao 圓教
Yuan-chueh ching 圓覺經
Yuan-chueh ching ta-shu 圓覺經大疏
Yuan-chueh ching ta-shu ch'ao 圓覺經大
 疏鈔
Yuan-chueh ching lueh-shu 圓覺經略疏
Yuan-chueh ching lueh-shu ch'ao 圓覺經略
 疏鈔
Yuan-jen lun 原人論