

Exegesis-Philosophy Interplay:

Introduction to Fazang's 法藏 (643-712) Commentary on the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (60 *juans*)

[Skt. *Avatamsaka Sūtra*; Flower Garland *Sūtra*] — the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記

[Record of Investigating the Mystery of the *Huayan jing*]

by

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Exegesis-Philosophy Interplay: Introduction to Fazang's 法藏 (643-712) Commentary on the Huayan jing 華嚴經 (60 juans) [Skt. Avatamsaka Sūtra; Flower Garland Sūtra] — the Huayan jing tanxuan ji 華嚴經探玄記 [Record of Investigating the Mystery of the Huayan jing]

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Abstract

Huayan Buddhism represents a pinnacle of Chinese Buddhist metaphysics, and it owed its metaphysical outlook to the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 [Skt. *Avatamsaka sūtra*; Flower Garland *Sūtra*]. In fact, for the most of its history, Huayan Buddhism remained only a loose constellation of Huayan commentators without the self-consciousness as an independent sect. A watershed moment came when Fazang 法藏 (643-712), the third Huayan patriarch, systematized the Huayan exegesis into a full-fledged metaphysical system, which scholars came to call the “Huayan philosophy”. This theoretical feat sent Huayan Buddhism to the cusp of emerging as an independent tradition.

It could thus be said that the formation of Huayan sect and Huayan philosophy had its root in exegesis. However, scholars tend to study Huayan Buddhism without heeding its organic process of emergence; and analyze Huayan philosophy without referencing the exegesis. The result is the incongruous situation in which an exegetical tradition is being ignored of exegesis; and Huayan Buddhism is being studied without the *Huayan jing*.

This thesis represents my effort to return our attention back to exegesis, and to use exegesis as the context to study the formation of Huayan Buddhism and Huayan philosophy. For this purpose, no work is more relevant than Fazang’s *magnum opus*: the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 [Record of Investigating the Mystery of the *Huayan jing*]. I will systematically introduce this notoriously long and obscure work, laying out a rudimentary roadmap for navigating the text, in addition to extracting Fazang’s interpretations on several key issues.

I also wish to demonstrate how Fazang created the “Huayan philosophy” through exegesis. In this process, we will observe not only the coherence, but also the divergence, between the Huayan philosophy and the *Huayan jing*; and come to see that it is through a creative, dynamic exegesis that the textual elements of the *Huayan jing* are extracted and integrated into the Huayan worldview. By investigating this dynamic process, we could appreciate Fazang’s philosophy in a fresh light; and detect the connections between the philosophy and the text that has given rise to it.

Lay Summary

The seventh-century Chinese Buddhist philosopher Fazang 法藏 (643-712) is known for his interpretation of the Buddhist scripture titled the *Flower Garland Sūtra*; and his interpretation of the *sūtra* shaped his philosophy which represents a pinnacle of Chinese metaphysics. In this thesis, I attempt to re-construct how Fazang arrived at his metaphysics through his reading of the *Flower Garland Sūtra*. For this purpose, no work is more relevant than Fazang's commentary on this *sūtra*. I will systematically introduce this commentary, while laying bare his creative and dynamic process of interpreting the *sūtra*. By studying how Fazang reads the *sūtra*, we could come to appreciate his philosophy in a fresh light; and see the connections between the philosophy and the text that has given rise to it.

Preface

This dissertation is original, unpublished, independent work by the author.

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations exclusively used in the bibliography and footnotes are given at the beginning of Bibliography, while those used throughout the book include:

a.k.a.	also known as
Ch.	Chinese
ed.	editor (or edited by)
r.	reigned
Skt.	Sanskrit
Tib.	Tibetan
trans.	translator (or translated by)

Conventions

References to texts in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡邊海旭, Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-1932), are indicated by the number, volume, followed by page, register, and line.

References to texts in *(Wan) xu zangjing* (卍)續藏經, the Xin wenfeng 新文豐 reprint of *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 (compiled by Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧, Kyoto: Zōkyō shoin, 1905-1912), are indicated by number, volume, page, register, and line.

Acknowledgements

It would have been unimaginable just three years ago that I would complete a master thesis on a seventh century Buddhist commentary. Because three years ago, the world of possibilities has not yet collapsed onto any singular path; in front of me dangled the branches of many other fruits of knowledge: French literature? Journalism? East Asian cultures? By then, I had also been in the “working” world for a year, leaping from one unpaid internship to another, while nurturing many side hustles to scrape by. It was a time when I was open to anything. I have the impression that I would walk down any path with the first person who comes along and who would give me a hand. That path turned out to be Buddhist Studies, and the person leading me down the path — Professor Jinhua Chen.

I had no idea whom Professor Jinhua Chen was when I applied to UBC. The advisor of my first choice was apparently uninterested in my profile, which is understandable, as my complete lack of undergraduate training in Classical Chinese did not present me as a promising future researcher of Chinese Studies. At the time of application, I had to choose a second advisor and, as fate would have it, I selected randomly — from a long list of names in the pull-down menu — the name of Jinhua Chen. I sent Professor Chen an email, and a few days later, a response came. Professor Chen set up an interview and, by the end of that interview, a verbal offer had been made. Everything happened so fast, and before I knew it, a whirlwind of coincidences had landed me on a new path. A path that so pleases my disposition that it feels fateful. Frankly, I don’t think I would have chosen a path so well and entered it with such abandonment had I clung a bit more to my deliberation.

Protected by Prof. Chen’s resourceful network, I also came to feel that precious feeling of abundance. I was spared, during these years, the monetary anxiety that has so taxed the energy of young people; and, as the network’s translator, I have had the fortune to work for one great scholar after another. And all this could easily *not* have happened, if it were not for that initial leap of faith taken on me, by my dear advisor, whose generosity, as well as his historian’s precision and entrepreneurial savviness have indelibly influenced me. To Professor Chen, I owe an ocean of gratitude.

It is a tad bit embarrassing for a student of Buddhist Studies to betray that he has sincerely wondered about the karmic working of the world. But when events align, I could not help but marvel; and there is none more marvellous a coincidence than my life’s entanglement with the Tibetan language and culture.

I started to learn Tibetan even before I have called Buddhist Studies my academic home. I was living in San Antonio, Texas and had started to drill on a Tibetan textbook as early as back then. I had no idea what a savvy career choice I happened to have made. As I was accepted into UBC and arrived there, I chanced upon the year when, for the first time in the university’s history, a Tibetan language course was offered. Hence, I met Sonam-la (Sonam Chusang), my teacher, and a friend now, who has kept Tibetan culture real and alive for me day after day. I have moreover found myself in a tight-knit community of Tibetan language learners, with whom I have spent many Saturdays reading the *Guide to the Bodhisattva’s Way of Life* with Geshe Tenzin

Choephak. To all of you, as well as to my teachers and classmates in the Rangjung Yeshe Institute in Nepal, I want to say a heartfelt *thugs rje che*.

By another stroke of fortune, I was assigned as the teaching assistant for Professor Tsering Shakya, with whom I have exchanged countless messages and shared miles of stroll. Professor Shakya is at the head of a solemn cause, and yet he navigated it all with a beaming cheerfulness and conviviality. I feel privileged to have spent so much time at his presence, absorbing his intuitive grasp of contemporary politics and his human warmth. And his barrage of photos of birds, dogs and sea animals have lightened the mood of many of my days.

Neither would I have been able to imagine, three years ago, that I would return to be a student in France again. This is thanks to the bonus funding that Professor Chen has sought for his students, and to Professor Costantino Moretti who brought me under his wing in Paris and has given the best of his attention to my thesis. And I feel honoured to have briefly become part of the great institute of the École pratique des hautes études and the École française d'extrême orient.

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To my friends at Green College in Vancouver: 90 percent of my memories in Vancouver were created with you. Sharing dinner five days a week for a year and half — that was intense and experimentally beautiful. I regard each of you with loyalty and affection.

Lastly, I feel indebted to Fazang, the subject of my study, displaced in time by a thousand and three hundred years, and yet here I am, applying myself to his thoughts, subtle, fluid and galvanizingly inventive. I admire, above all, the coherency of his vision which reverberates through his views on all things. May I be as deliberately coherent as Fazang is, who served as a beacon for me in the ocean of history.

Dedication

To the city of Paris.
May I never be too far from it.

Chapter 1: Why Study the *Tanxuan ji*?

For a Chinese Buddhist scholar whose specialty lies outside Huayan Buddhism, at the mention of the name Fazang 法藏 (643-712), the *de facto* founder of the Huayan tradition, the following of his works may come to mind: 1) the *Jin shizi zhang* 金師子章 [Treatise on Golden Lion]¹; 2) the *Huayan wujiao zhang* 華嚴五教章 [Treatise on Five Teachings]²; 3) the *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記 [Commentary on the *Sūtra of the Awakening of the Faith in Mahāyāna*]³ and 4) the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 [Record of Investigating the Mystery of the *Huayan jing*].

The first work, the *Jin shizi zhang*, is perhaps the most well known in the Western scholarship, which recapitulates the core tenets of Huayan Buddhism in a succinct and elegant language. The second text, the *Huayan wujiao zhang*, contains Fazang's system of *panjiao* 判教 (doctrinal classification), a Chinese Buddhist practice that classifies and ranks various strands of Buddhist thoughts. The third and fourth are Fazang's commentary on the two influential *Mahāyāna sūtras*; both are considered the most authoritative of their kinds. To these four texts, I want to add the *Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門 [Method of Mental Examination on the Realm of *Dharma*]⁴. The text is traditionally attributed to Dushun 杜順 (557-640), the retroactively-named first Huayan patriarch, but its authorship has been a topic of controversy. As early as 1930s, Yūki Reimon 結城令聞 (1902-1992) has pointed out that the mastermind behind the text may have been Fazang after all.⁵

¹ Translation: Chang, *Totality*, 224-230; Chen, *Fazang* 176-177; Zacchetti, *Leone*; Van Norden, *Lion*, 86-91; Chan, *Chinese Philosophy*, 409; Fang, *Jin shizi zhang* (annotation in Chinese). The authorship of this text is not without controversy. See Girard, "The Treatise of the Golden Lion", 307-338.

² Cook translated it in full, see Cook, *Annotated Translation*. David Elstein translated a passage known as the "rafter dialogue" See Elstein, "Rafter Dialogue", 80-85. In addition, Monica McLellan and Mark Unno from the University of Oregon are currently producing a new translation. For an analysis of the text, see Yoshizu, "Kegon gokyō shō", 169-191.

³ It is studied and translated by Dirck Vorenkamp. See Vorenkamp, *Awakening of Faith*. Also see Yoshizu, *Dasheng qixin lun yiji*, 56-62.

⁴ French Translation: Girard, *Ornementation*.

⁵ See Yūki, "Kegon gokyō shikan", 73-93. Latests scholarship, however, while also refuting Dushun's authorship, has further suggested that the text may have originated in Silla and been written by Wonhyo 元曉 (617-686). See Liekfe et al., "Some New Light on an Old Authorship Problem in Huayan Studies", 103-136; Plassen, "Influences from Silla", 35-54.

The five texts above, except for one, have all been translated and systematically analyzed.⁶ The exception is Fazang's commentary on the *Huayan jing* (60 *juans*) — the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* (hereafter *Tanxuan ji*). In the Western scholarship, the only systematic study of the *Tanxuan ji* amounts to no more than one chapter found in Liu Mingwood's 1979 dissertation (out of 19 chapters). Even though the chapter lays an excellent foundation for studying the *Tanxuan ji*, it has been the sole attempt to address our penury of knowledge about this important text.

It is incredible to think that the *Tanxuan ji* is under-studied to such an extent, considering its enormous influence in East Asian Buddhism. It is, after all, the *magnum opus* of the *de facto* founder of a Chinese tradition dedicated to interpreting the *Huayan jing*; and is considered the most definitive commentary on the *Huayan jing*. But this neglect is understandable, because, first of all, the *Tanxuan ji* is infamously long: it runs over 500 pages in the printable version of the Taisho edition; and is four-fifth as long as the *sūtra* that it is commenting on, which is itself notorious for its voluminosity. Not to mention the obscure language, pedantic schematization, and saturated references, all of which thrust our comprehension at every turn. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that Huayan exegetes share among themselves a unique lexicon and an exegetical template. Knowing these jargons and the template makes up a pre-requisite to reading the the *Tanxuan ji*.

Difficulties notwithstanding, I believe it will pay great dividends to study the *Tanxuan ji*. Below I will discuss three kinds of benefits that we could gain by engaging with the *Tanxuan ji*.

1.1. The *Tanxuan ji* is Rich in Encyclopedic, Linguistic and Philological Information

Firstly, the *Tanxuan ji* contains a wealth of information covering a range of topics, including geography, biography, and even facts on foreign tree, bird, and fish. This quasi-encyclopedic character about the *Tanxuan ji* gives it versatile utilities that go much beyond the study of the *Huayan jing*.

⁶ I cited these five texts because they are works that have generated the most scholarship in the West, but they are only among more than 50 works written by Fazang. For an overview of Fazang's works, see Chen, *Fazang*, 47-48; Liu, *Teaching*, 19-33. For a list of the translations of Fazang's works in Western languages (including partial translation), see Appendix I.

Secondly, the *Tanxuan ji* offers rich linguistic information about the Sanskrit language. For instance, in the *Tanxuan ji*, we could find a summary of the eight cases of the Sanskrit grammar, which, according to Gulik, is the clearest explanation of Sanskrit grammar in the Chinese Buddhist texts.⁷ In addition to grammar, Fazang also takes care to identify and explain the Sanskrit antecedents of many Chinese terms. For example, in explaining the term *vyūha*, Fazang evokes his conversation with Divākara (613-687) who, against all modern scholarly interpretations, said *vyūha* refers to an apparatus for making offerings.⁸ Another telling example is the very title of the *Huayan jing*. Fazang famously suggests the Sanskrit antecedent of *huayan* to be *gandavyūha*. This opinion, though debatable, still find proponents among modern scholars.⁹ Elsewhere, in explaining *abhidharma*, Fazang lists eight manners of interpreting *abhi* depending on the perspective of different Sanskrit cases; and has, moreover, evoked several synonyms of *abhidharma* and the Chinese translation for each synonym.¹⁰ This kind of thoroughness in explaining Sanskrit terms is exceedingly rare in Chinese Buddhist texts and is reflective of Fazang's quasi-obsession with the nuances of language. It is as if, for Fazang, the truth hinges on a subtle grasp of semantics and syntax.

At this point, I should briefly comment on Fazang's Sanskrit skill. Even though Fazang never travelled to India like Yijing 義淨 (635-713) or Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664), he somehow acquired a solid knowledge of Sanskrit. This is perhaps indebted to him being a third-generation Sogdian, and certainly to his frequentation with Indian masters. We could even further speculate on Fazang's gift in languages, as he not only knew Sanskrit and Chinese, but also other Central Asian languages.¹¹

Fazang's qualification in Sanskrit was recognized by the court and has been assigned important roles in numerous translation projects. His multilingual skill was so cherished that even when Fazang was exiled in the south in 695, he was called back to Chang'an to join the translation team, at the moment when the Indian master Śikṣānanda (652-710) and the co-translator Fuli 復禮 (fl. 7th c.) ran into problems that they could not solve.¹²

⁷ Fazang's explanation of the Sanskrit grammar is translated in Gulik, *Sanskrit in China*, 19.

⁸ See the section 1.3. in Chapter Three: "Meaning of *Huayan* in Sanskrit".

⁹ See the section 1.3. in Chapter Three: "Meaning of *Huayan* in Chinese".

¹⁰ *Tanxuan ji*. T no. 1733, 35: 109b2-3. See the section 2.3 in the appendix "Translation".

¹¹ Chen, *Fazang*, 129, 217.

¹² This account is given by Kyunyeo 均如 (923- 973). On Fazang's exile, see Chen, *Fazang*, 133-136.

Among Chinese Buddhists, the Chinese-Sanskrit bilingual skill is extremely rare; and Fazang is among this minority.¹³ Fortunately for us, Fazang has been generous with integrating his Sanskrit expertise into his commentary on the *Huayan jing*, which made the *Tanxuan ji* a precious source of information to study how Chinese Buddhists translated and interpreted the Sanskrit terms.

Thirdly, Fazang also comments on the textual variations of the *Huayan jing*, thanks to his acquaintance with eight or nine Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Huayan jing*. These comments are all the more valuable considering that only a small number of Sanskrit fragments of the *Huayan ji* are extant. Fazang's comments could thus facilitate our philological study of the nonextant Sanskrit manuscripts and their textual relationship.¹⁴

In our philological study of the *Huayan jing*, we could also rely on Fazang's shrewd eyes to identify the subtle inter-textual connections that even modern scholars, with all our digital gadgets, could remain blind to. For instance, Fazang is able to identify the references to the *Huayan jing* in other texts even when the *Huayan jing* is referenced by other names.¹⁵

Admittedly, scholars have already tapped into the informational rich of the *Tanxuan ji*. However, because we tend to rely more on digital search than systematic reading, we have left much useful information unexploited. For instance, without knowing Fazang's Chinese transliteration of *vyūha* (*piaohe* 驃訶), one could not search his way to Fazang's explanation of the term, whereas a more systematic approach would be to target the section on the explanation of names. This thesis aspires to make up this shortcoming by creating a rudimentary roadmap that could help the reader navigate the labyrinth of the *Huayan jing* in order to better extract useful information.

1.2. The *Tanxuan ji* Reveals the Exegesis of the *Huayan jing*

While we help ourselves to the *Tanxuan ji* as a treasure trove of information, we should not overlook its innate purpose, that is, as the very title suggests, to “investigate the mystery of the *Huayan jing*”. The *Tanxuan ji* is indispensable to studying how Huayan exegetes interpret

¹³ To have a sense of the rarity of the Chinese-Sanskrit bilingual skill, see van Gulik's 1956 study on the history of Sanskrit learning in China and Japan.

¹⁴ For instance, based on Fazang's comments, Hamar is able to determine that Fazang has read a Sanskrit manuscript that is close to the one used by the Tibetan translator. Hamar, *History*, 164.

¹⁵ See the section 1.4 in Chapter 3: “Alternative Names”.

the *Huayan jing*, regarding such questions as when and where the *sūtra* was composed, its mystical origin, and the structure of the *Huayan jing*. By studying their exegesis, we are not only fulfilling the scholarly task of “knowing for knowledge’s sake”, but are also relying on Fazang’s acute eyes to observe peculiarities about the *Huayan jing* that are genuinely stimulating even for modern scholars with our historical-critical penchant.

For instance, Fazang goes to great length in showing the structural integrity of the *Huayan jing* and the connections between chapters. While such exegetical effort initially challenges our historical-critical paradigm which does not subscribe to the divine unity of a *sūtra*, it nevertheless offers thought-provoking observations. For example, Fazang points out that a chapter, at its beginning, often references the locations mentioned in the previous chapters;¹⁶ or that Bodhisattva Samanthabhadra appears both near the beginning and at the very end of the *sūtra*.¹⁷ Observations such as these make us wonder if such structure integrity is indeed to be found in the *Huayan jing*, which may help us appreciate the deliberation that went into compiling the *sūtra*.

1.3. The *Tanxuan ji* Embodies the Dynamics among Exegesis, Philosophy and Sectarian Identity

The very identity of Huayan Buddhism was incubated in the act of exegesis. In fact, for most history of Huayan Buddhism, its identity as an independent tradition was never clearly articulated. It was not until the fourth patriarch Chengguan 澄觀 (737-838) that the appellation Huayan zong 華嚴宗 or “the tradition of Huayan” appeared for the first time in writing.¹⁸ As for Fazang, it is also clear that he was not consciously maneuvering as a leader of an independent sect. He was, in truth, a voracious religious scholar reading across Daoist, Confucian, and a wide array of Buddhist texts, who then relied on the *Huayan jing* to systematize his wide learning. In other words, the sectarian identity of the Huayan tradition emerged more organically than deliberately; and was catalysed by the way that Huayan exegetes, especially Fazang, interpreted the *Huayan jing*. In this sense, studying exegesis amounts to an investigation of the nature and formation of the sectarian identity of Huayan Buddhism.

¹⁶ See the section 4.1 in Chapter 3: “Seven Locations”.

¹⁷ See the section 3.1 in Chapter 3: “Vairocana”.

¹⁸ *Da fangguang fo Huayan jing shu*, T no. 1735, 35: 529b6.

For instance, in his *panjiao* 判教 (doctrinal classification) system, Fazang consistently argues for the superior status of the *Huayan jing*; or when he analyzes the structure of the *Huayan jing*, Fazang shows how chapters closely interrelate with each other and are inextricable from the organic whole of the *Huayan jing*. Vis-à-vis such exegetical techniques, we could ask to what extent they have contributed to the formation of the Huayan tradition (e.g., comparison may have reinforced the Huayan identity, whereas a perceived structural integrity about the *Huayan jing* prevents it from being overshadowed by the individual chapter).

If this mechanism —about how exegesis gave rise to the sectarian consciousness— could become clear, we could perhaps also transpose this clarity to understanding the identity of other indigenous Chinese schools (e.g., Tiantai Buddhism).

But it is not just the term “Huayan Buddhism” that may elude our scrutiny, but also the term “Huayan philosophy”. What is the relationship between philosophy and exegesis? This question is perennially examined in the study of Christianity; and to what degree could we also benefit from asking such question in our study of Chinese Buddhism? For instance, this comment on the nature of the Christian philosophy made by Antonin Sertillanges may just be relevant to understanding the nature of the “Huayan philosophy”:

The official documents (i.e., Bibles) themselves are never systematized. They do not express a philosophy, even though they contain a philosophy in a virtual state that one can extract from them. The technical expressions used by the documents of faith are only vehicles, and do not present between themselves syllogistic but rather vital connections...¹⁹

In this passage, “extract” and “systematize” are the keywords. The ability to “extract” and to “systematize” the latent philosophy from a sacred text, is a special category of aptitude that is often the hallmark of the greatest theologians or philosophers. In the Western tradition, we could cite Plato and Thomas Aquinas as two salient figures; and in the Chinese Buddhist tradition, Fazang certainly stands out as one of its greatest synthesizers. Through his skillful exegetical engineering, Fazang extracted the “philosophy in a virtual state” from the *Huayan*

¹⁹ Sertillanges, “Christian Philosophy”, 225-233.

jing; and through his synthetic mind, Fazang systematized a theoretical framework which reconciles the Huayan philosophy with other Buddhist strands of thoughts as well as the indigenous Chinese thinking. By doing so, Fazang turned a spineless exegetical tradition — held together loosely by such exegetes as Dushun 杜順 (557-640) and Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668) — to one possessing a “philosophy” at the cusp of emerging as an independent tradition.

When we start to read the *Tanxuan ji*, we could indeed see how much of Fazang’s philosophy is inspired by the *Huayan jing*. For instance, Fazang often uses a decimal framework to present its doctrines, such as the “Ten Mysterious Gates” (*Shixuan men* 十玄門),²⁰ the “Ten Bodies of Vairocana” (*Lushe’na shishen* 廬舍那十身) or the metaphor of “ten coins”. This preference of the decimal framework is a direct inheritance from the *Huayan jing* which often presents practices and *samādhi* in a group of ten.²¹

If the above example seems trivial, then we should consider that even the fundamental doctrines of the Huayan philosophy — regarding the interpenetrating relationship among phenomena, between one and all, and of space and time — are constantly echoed in the *Huayan jing*. For instance, I mentioned earlier that certain chapters, before indicating that Buddha has moved onto a new assembly in a new location, would also mention the locations of the previous assemblies; and Fazang seizes on this textual evidence to argue for the interpenetration of spaces and times.²² Likewise, the *Huayan jing* is famous for its overflowing visionary images, many of which portray “one” and “multitude” as miraculously interconnected (e.g., “infinite buddha-lands are found on a hair-tip”). By studying Fazang’s exegesis of these textual elements, we are tracing the original inspirations that gave rise to Fazang’s philosophy.

But at the same time, the philosophy that Fazang derives from the *Huayan jing* also exerts reverse influences on the way Fazang reads the *Huayan jing*. This is especially evident when elements that are relatively insignificant in the *Huayan jing* are given disproportionate importance in Fazang’s exegesis. For instance, Fazang reads much importance into the Oceanic Reflection Samādhi (*Haiyin sanmei* 海印三昧) and in the Buddha Vairocana, both of which,

²⁰ See the section “Fazang’s Philosophy” in Chen & Lin, “Fazang” (upcoming) and Jones, “Coin-Counting Metaphors”, 1155-1177.

²¹ More on the importance of the “ten”, see the section 3.2 in Chapter 3: “Relationship Between the Ten Bodies and Vairocana”. This obsession with the number of “ten” was also displayed by other Buddhist traditions, like Tiantai. Regarding the use of “ten” in Tiantai Buddhism, see Chen, *Making and Remaking History*.

²² See the section 4.1 “Seven Locations” in Chapter 3.

however, are hardly justified by their meagre mention in the *Huayan jing*. In other words, these textual elements are only *made* important by Fazang when he is re-reading the *Huayan jing* through his now “philosophized” lens.

Philosophical ideas gleaned from other *sūtras* also influenced Fazang’s exegesis, especially the Chinese apocryphon *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 [*Sūtra* on the Awakening of the Faith in Mahāyāna].²³ The central doctrine of this apocrypha is known as the “One Mind and its Two Aspects” (*yixin ermen* 一心二門) whose influence is clearly discernible when, for instance, Fazang interprets the Flower Garland Samādhi (*Huayan sanmei* 華嚴三昧)²⁴ or when he discusses the triadic relationship of Vairocana in relation to Mañjuśrī and Samanthabhadra.²⁵

In short, the Huayan philosophy and the Huayan exegesis are in a constant interplay, with the former deriving from the latter but also influencing the latter. And one aim of my thesis is precisely to demonstrate, through concrete examples, the intricacies of this interplay. Otherwise, if we were to discount the Huayan exegesis from our study of the Huayan philosophy, we would run a number of risks:

The first risk is to disassociate the Huayan philosophy from the *Huayan jing*. Scholars usually approach Fazang’s philosophy through his most famous *Jin shizi zhang* which, however, makes no explicit reference to the *Huayan jing*. As a result, when scholars subsequently exhibit Fazang’s philosophy, they also make minimum mention of the *sūtra*. Such practice immediately produces a sense of incongruity: how comes that the *Huayan jing*, being the *locus classicus* of Huayan Buddhism, occupies no salient position in the Huayan philosophy?

The second risk has to do with the “fuzziness” of the Huayan philosophy. Indeed, the Huayan philosophy appears fuzzy. Scholars could not even seem to agree on the most fundamental doctrines of the Huayan philosophy. Alan Fox highlights *fajie* 法界 (Skt. *dharmadhātu*; realm of *dharma*) as the heart of Huayan,²⁶ while Wei Daoru points to the concept of *yuanrong* 圓融 (perfect interfusion)²⁷ as “a fundamental feature”. For Francis Cook, he considers *sanxing* 三性 (Skt. *tri-svabhāva*; Three Natures) as the “philosophical basis” of the

²³ See Paul Demieville’s 1929 classic study on the *Dasheng qixin lun*. Demieville, *l’authenticité*, 1-78.

²⁴ See the section 5.2 “Flower Garland Samādhi” in Chapter 3.

²⁵ See the section 3.2 “Mañjuśrī and Samanthabhadra” in Chapter 3.

²⁶ Fox, “The Huayan Metaphysics of Totality”, 180-189

²⁷ Wei, “A Fundamental Feature of nyothe Huayan Philosophy”, 189-194.

Huayan worldview,²⁸ whereas Liu Ming-wood focuses on the “Idealist” nature of Fazang’s philosophy and on the concept of *yuanjiao* 圓教 (round teaching).²⁹ Surely, we could say that each scholar is emphasizing only one aspect about the Huayan philosophy, but when each scholar makes only a minimum mention of the doctrines that are deemed fundamental by the others, a reader could sense a problematic disaccord. In comparison, when we speak of Yogācāra Buddhism, it is much less controversial to say that the *alaya*-consciousness lies at the core of its philosophy. This is because Yogācāra and Huayan are fundamentally unlike, the former being an India-originated tradition that has long gained a self-awareness as an independent tradition, whereas the latter is a Chinese tradition that came into existence organically through exegesis.

For the reasons above, I believe it is more sensible to treat the Huayan philosophy as instrumental and accessorial to exegesis, all the while seeing its influences on the latter. Treating philosophy this way, we could grow more tolerant of the “fuzziness” that is so characteristic of the Huayan philosophy.

By prioritizing exegesis, we could also better appreciate the unique contributions made by Fazang. Because as a “synthesizer”, Fazang did not originate many of the ideas in his exegesis. Thus, when discussing Fazang’s contributions, we are often doing no more than presenting the Huayan teaching in general. But to appreciate the contribution of a “synthesizer”, we should focus on the process (i.e., exegesis), rather than the end result (i.e., philosophy). For instance, as I will discuss in Chapter 3, the doctrine of Vairocana’s Ten Bodies was already analysed by earlier exegetes, such as his master Zhiyan, but it is really in Fazang’s exegesis that this doctrine was given a metaphysical importance and thus integrated into the overall framework of the Huayan tradition.³⁰

In this thesis, while my ostensible goal is to present Fazang’s interpretation of the *Huayan jing* — a goal that is informative in nature, I will also demonstrate how Fazang arrives at his interpretation — a goal meant to accentuate the dynamics of exegesis rather than to fixate on the “solidified” philosophy. I believe this demonstration will also carry implications for larger issues such as the sectarian formation of Chinese Buddhist schools, Buddhist sinicization and the relationship between philosophy and exegesis.

²⁸ Cook, *Fa-tsang’s Treatise on the Five Doctrines*, 30-53.

²⁹ Liu, *Teaching*, 231-429.

³⁰ See the sub-section “Ten Bodies” in the section 3.1 “Vairocana” in Chapter 3.

Chapter 2: Historical Background: Fazang, *Huayan jing* and Huayan Exegesis

2.1. The *Huayan jing* and Fazang

On January 14, 690,³¹ Fazang composed a letter to his fellow disciple Uisang 義湘 (625-702) who had returned to his home country Silla (in present-day Korea) 19 years earlier. 19 years' separation and 18 years apart in age have apparently not prevented their friendship nor diluted their commitment to keep in contact with each other. It could only leave to imagination as to the close camaraderie that has been formed when they were both studying under Zhiyan 智儼 (602-688) who would come to be known as the second patriarch of the Huayan tradition. Their close relationship is nevertheless discernible in their philosophy, in their shared Utopian idealism³² and most tangibly, in this affectionate letter that we still have at our disposal, preserved in the Tenri University library in Japan,³³ which must be only one among many other correspondences between the two old friends. Significantly, in this letter, Fazang mentions that he was only two *juans* short of finishing the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 [Investigating the Mystery of the *Huayan jing*] — and this remark became our important clue to dating the *Tanxuan ji* to around 690.

690 was an eventful year. Just eight months after Fazang composed the letter, Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (624-705) would depose the Tang Dynasty and establish her own — the Great Zhou Dynasty (690-705). And leading to this dynastic change has been years of tension, because it was not only the political opponents that Empress Wu had to contend with, but also the cultural norm entrenched in the mind of the populace — that the throne is no place for a female. It required, therefore, of Empress Wu a barrage of propaganda to legitimize her imminent enthronement — and it was Buddhism, with its doctrine of “universal ruler” (Skt. *cakravartin*) and divine reincarnation, that Empress Wu erected as the pillar of her politico-religious propaganda.

³¹ Fazang only mentions the day and month of the letter, but not the year. However, Antonio Forte is able to use two subtle clues to date the letter to January 14, 690. Forte, *Letter*, 45-68.

³² For a comment on their shared aspiration to propagate the teaching of the *Huayan jing*, see *ibid.*, 9-12

³³ For the photograph of the manuscript, see *ibid.*, 197.

In such political climate, Fazang thus found himself being more than a Buddhist priest, but also a court politician instrumental to Empress Wu's political agenda. For instance, just a year earlier, in 689, Fazang convened a Huayan *dharma*-assembly at the behest of Empress Wu. This assembly, though religious in appearance, if considered in conjunction with a series of recent events, would reveal a clear political intent and Fazang's role as propagandist.³⁴

In Empress Wu's political agenda, few *sūtras* have been lavished with more attention than the *Huayan jing*. This is due not only to the Empress' genuine fondness of this *sūtra*, but perhaps also to the grand vision presented in the *Huayan jing* that spoke to her imperial ambition.³⁵ Or perhaps the reason is more mundane: the *Huayan jing* has close ties with Central Asia — and Central Asia is paramount in Empress Wu's imperial stratagem. In this sense, the promotion of the *Huayan jing* amounts to a diplomatic move meant to amplify the cultural influence of the Great Tang-Zhou Empire in the “barbarian” lands.³⁶

No matter the motive, it is true that the *Huayan jing* came to be pampered with resources and attentions under Empress Wu's reign — and this has not been the case up to this point in the Chinese Buddhist history. Before the Tang, the *Huayan jing* was considered only secondary in importance to such *sūtras* as the *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 [Skt. *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra*; Lotus *Sūtra*], the *Niepan jing* 涅槃經 [Skt. *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*] or the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經 [Skt. *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra*; Instruction of Vimalakīrti].³⁷ Only one chapter in the *Huayan jing* had been an exception: the “Chapter on Ten Stages” [“Shidi pin” 十地品; Skt. *Daśabhūmika Parivarta*]. Its importance soared after the translation of Vasabandhu's commentary *Shidi jing lun* 十地經論 [Skt. *Daśabhūmika śāstra*; Commentary on the *Ten Stages Sūtra*], so much so that an entire tradition developed around the

³⁴ For the 689 assembly and other propaganda operations, see Chen, *Fazang*, 244-252; and Forte, *Political propaganda*, 144, 148 (1st edition) / 212, 217 (2nd edition).

³⁵ In fact, it would not be the only time in history that rulers or reformers saw the *Huayan jing* as an ideological resource for justifying political actions. For instance, modern Chinese intellectuals such as Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927) and Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 (1866-1898) have used the Huayan philosophy to support their activist cause. See Ishii, “Nationalism”, 326. In Japan, the doctrines of the *Huayan jing* served as the controversial justification of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Frédéric Girard even speculated that the hierarchy system in the Nara period may have stemmed from the “three-tiers” system presented in Fazang's *Tanxuan ji*. See Girard, “Kegon”, 310.

³⁶ Chen, *Fazang*, 330.

³⁷ Liu, *Teaching*, 74. For a history of the Huayan Studies in China, see the chapter “Early Huayan Studies and the Birth of Huayan School” in Liu's dissertation.

“Shidi pin” and its Indian commentary. However, the prestige cumulated around the “Shidi pin” did not lend itself to the *Huayan jing* proper, for the latter was not translated until 420 or 421 by Buddhahadra (359-452), whereas by this time, the “Shidi pin” had already enjoyed almost two centuries-long circulation as an independent *sūtra* under the name of the *Shidi jing* 十地經.³⁸ This situation is mirrored in Tibetan Buddhism, in which the influential *Ten Stages Sūtra* [Tib. *Phags pa sa bcu pa'i mdo*] also did not share its prestige with the larger *Phal po che* (i.e., the *Avatamsaka sūtra*). Instead, Tibetan Buddhists regard the *Phal po che* more as a collection of *sūtras*, than a *sūtra* that should be respected for its internal coherency and be studied in its own right.

Unlike Tibetan Buddhism, however, there came a time in Chinese Buddhist history when the *Huayan jing* surmounted this fate, which is not only indebted to the royal patronage of Empress Wu, but also, in my opinion, to the way that the *Huayan jing* was interpreted. For instance, exegetes sought to recognize the structural integrity of the *Huayan jing*, demonstrating the holistic relationship between chapters in the matrix of the *Huayan jing*. Further contributing to the prestige of the *Huayan jing* is the system of *panjiao* 判教 (doctrinal classification) that extols the *Huayan jing* as the highest Buddhist teaching. These exegetical manoeuvres all helped construct an communal identity, among the Buddhist elites, surrounding the *Huayan jing*. Meanwhile, among lay Buddhists, the *Huayan jing* was also gaining popularity, thanks to an increasing number of myths that exalt the miraculous powers obtainable from reciting and copying the *Huayan jing*.

All in all, at the time when Fazang started his Buddhist learning, the *Huayan jing* was gaining influences in the Chinese Buddhist scene. And it was perhaps in Mount Zhongnan 終南山 that Fazang first encountered the *sūtra*, where a number of experts on the *Huayan jing* were living.³⁹ Fazang eventually left Mount Zhongnan to serve his ailing parents. His fate with the *Huayan jing* became sealed when he met his master Zhiyan in the Yunhua Monastery 雲華寺 near Mount Zhongnan. Fazang studied under Zhiyan, who would later be recognized as the second patriarch of the Huayan tradition, until the latter passed away, and was subsequently enrolled in the Taiyuan Monastery 太原寺, a major monastery newly rebuilt/renovated in

³⁸ For a list of other chapters that had been translated prior to Buddhahadra’s translation, see Liu, *Teaching*, 38.

³⁹ Mount Zhongnan is also occupied by Daoist practitioners. Fazang may have derived his lifelong interest in Daoist practices from his time in Mount Zhongnan. Chen, *Fazang*, 121.

Chang'an. During his stay there, he succeeded in attracting the attention of Empress Wu and gradually emerged as a Huayan master.⁴⁰

During the subsequent years, Fazang was frequently summoned to preach the *Huayan jing*, a scripture on which he had, by now, gained the reputation as one of the most prominent experts. But his rapport with the *Huayan jing* would still deepen when Divākara (Dipoheluo 地婆訶羅 or Rizhao 日照; 613-688)⁴¹ came to Chang'an in 680 and brought with him the *Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra*, or the “Ru fajie pin” 入法界品 in Chinese [Chapter on Entering the Realm of *Dharma*] — the last chapter of the *Huayan jing*. This chapter had already been translated by Buddhahadra, but after comparing it with this new manuscript (as well as eight or nine other manuscripts at their disposal), Fazang and Divākara discovered that a substantial portion of the *Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra* had not been translated by Buddhahadra in his *Huayan jing* (60 *juans*); and they filled this vacuum by re-translating the “Ru fajie pin” based on Divākara’s Sanskrit manuscript. This new translation would circulate independently as the *Dafangguang fo huayan jing rufajie pin* 大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品.⁴² In fact, the *Huayan jing* (60 *juans*) at our disposal today uses precisely Divākara and Fazang’s translation of the last chapter which was added during a revision in the Song Dynasty (960-1279).⁴³

Their new translation would prove useful again when Fazang was working in Śikṣānanda’s translation team from 695 to 699, because the manuscript that Śikṣānanda had brought to China for producing the *Huayan jing* (of 80 *juans*) also had parts missing. Thus, just like the *Huayan jing* of 60 *juans*, the one of 80 *juans* also had its missing component compensated with the translation made by Divākara and Fazang.⁴⁴

Following the translation of the “Ru fajie pin”, Fazang worked as Divākara’s assistant for at least six other projects, until the latter left for Luoyang in 685 or 686. During the five or six

⁴⁰ Regarding Fazang’s discipleship under Zhiyan and his entry into the Taiyuan Monastery, see Chen, *Fazang*, 121-126.

⁴¹ For an overview of Divākara, see Forte, “Divākara” 1974 (in Italian) and “Divākara”, 2004. In addition, at the time of writing this thesis, in Octobre 2020, Research Institute of Longmen Grotto announced the discovery of Divākara’s tomb. If this discovery is verified, this is bound to expand our scant knowledge of Divākara.

⁴² For instance, in the catalogue *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 [Record of Śākyamuni’s Teachings Compiled during the Kaiyuan Period], we could already find this title, meaning that by 730, the translation had already been circulating independently under this title. See *T* no. 2154, 55: 700b26.

⁴³ Parts that are incorporated into the *Huayan jing* (60 *juans*) are: *T* no. 278, 9: 765a3–767b28; 783b28–c15. Hamar, “History”, 160-161.

⁴⁴ Hamar, “History”, 161.

years working closely with Divākara, Fazang has apparently inquired much about the Sanskrit language and the Buddhist tradition in India, attested by the five records of their conversations.⁴⁵

Later, in 688, Devendraprajña (Tiyunbore 提雲般若)⁴⁶ would bring to China two more chapters of the *Huayan jing* and produce, with Fazang's assistance, two free-standing translations: the *Da fangguang fo huayanjing xiuci fen* 大方廣佛華嚴經修慈分 and the *Da fangguang fo huayan jing busiyi fo jingjie fen* 大方廣佛華嚴經不思議佛境界分,⁴⁷ both of which do not correspond to any chapter in either the *Huayan jing* of 60 *juans* or that of 80 *juans*. Fazang worked with Devendraprajña until the latter passed away in 690.

2.2. Huayan Commentaries

Hence, by this point — January 14, 690, Fazang had amassed more than two decades' experience preaching on the *Huayan jing*, and a decade-long experience as a translator,⁴⁸ and has consulted several Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Huayan jing*. However, while we retrace his scholastic activities, we shall not forget that it was Fazang's religious zeal that drove him to relentlessly studying the *sūtra*. For one thing, we know Fazang has apparently taken great inspirations from the story of Lingbian 靈辨 (477-522) who is famous for walking on his knees with the *Huayan jing* on his head for three years. The legend goes that Mañjuśrī, moved by Lingbian's perseverance, endowed him with the insight to the *Huayan jing* and enabled him to write a 100-*juan* commentary. Fazang was so inspired by Lingbian's devotion to the *Huayan jing* that he even altered Lingbian's biography in accordance with his own.⁴⁹ Thus, for Fazang, studying the *Huayan jing* is as much a devotional act as a scholastic task. In this context,

⁴⁵ Chen listed four such encounters: Chen, *Fazang*, 219. For the fifth conversation, see Chapter 3:1.3 “Meaning of Huayan in Sanskrit”.

⁴⁶ Forte, “Devendraprajña”, 289-298 (French).

⁴⁷ Scholars have discovered the Khotanese counterparts to both texts. The former corresponds to the *Book of Zambasta* (See Huiming, “Book of Zambasta”, 77-113) and the latter to three Khotanese fragments in the British Library (Chen, “British Library”, 265-279). It is worth recalling here that the *Tibetan Avatamsaka sūtra* contains three chapters not found in the Chinese *Huayan jing*. Could any of these three Tibetan chapters correspond to any Chinese free-standing translation or even Khotanese text?

⁴⁸ Fazang has translated at least 14 *sūtras* in his life. For a list of Fazang's translations, see Liu, *Teaching*, 28-29.

⁴⁹ Fazang's biography of Lingbian includes details not found anywhere else. In his version, Lingbian was invited to the court in Luoyang and started his career as a preach of the *Huayan jing*. According to Zhang Wenliang, however, this is likely to be a deliberate fabrication on the part of Fazang, because Lingbian may have never been to Luoyang. Zhang suggests that Fazang is projecting himself onto Lingbian, as his biography of Lingbian shared a staggering similarity with his own life. See Zhang, “Lingbian”, 79-104 (Chinese).

composing commentaries is tantamount to a ritual which Fazang assiduously performed, perhaps in the hope that he would repeat the fortune of Lingbian, and be let into the secret of the *Huayan jing* by the grace of Mañjuśrī.

Lingbian's 100-juan *Huayan jing lun* 華嚴經論 (only 10 juans extant) is in fact one of the very few commentaries that comment on the *Huayan jing* in its entirety, among which we could also count the two-juan *Huayan zhigui* 華嚴指歸 [Meaning of the *Huayan jing*] by Faye 法業 (369+-468+)⁵⁰ and the 600-juan *Huayan lun* 華嚴論 [Commentary on the *Huayan jing*] by Liu Qianzhi 劉謙之 (628+-549+) which is more legendary than historical.⁵¹ Most commentaries on the *Huayan jing*, however, focus on the *Shidi jing* or the *Shizhu jing* 十住經 [Ten Abodes *Sūtra*] which had been circulating as independent *sūtras* before Buddhahadra's translation. Sengwei 僧衛 (fl. late 4th century), for instance, wrote his commentary on the *Shizhu jing*⁵² and Daorong 道融 (fl. late 4th century and early 5th century) on the *Shidi jing* (non-extant).⁵³

But it is unclear whether Fazang has actually read any of the above commentaries. As for influences that could actually be discerned in the *Tanxuan ji*, we could cite such masters as Wonhyo 元曉 (617-686), Jizang 吉藏 (549-623), Nāgārjuna (150-250) (specifically his *Shizhu piposha lun* 十住毘婆沙論 [Skt. *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā*]⁵⁴ translated by Kumārajīva [Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什; 344-413]) and Vasubandhu (400-480) (specifically his *Shidi jing lun* 十地經論 [Skt. *Daśabhūmika-śāstra*] translated separately by Ratnamati [Lenamoti 勒那摩提; ? -513?]) and Bodhiruci [Putiliuzhi 菩提流支? -535]).⁵⁵ The reader could read Fazang's summary of the history of *panjiao* to further trace the influences on Fazang.⁵⁶

But no commentary bequeathed more direct influences on the *Tanxuan ji* than the one penned by his master Zhiyan — the *Huayan jing souxuan ji* 華嚴經搜玄記 [Searching for the

⁵⁰ I previously believed the *Huayan zhigui* is non-extant, but Prof. Costantino Moretti pointed out to me that the *Huayan zhigui* indeed appears in the Dunhuang manuscripts preserved in Peking. According to the catalogue, it appears in the versos of Peking 2, no. 62.

⁵¹ The story of Liu Qianzi is perhaps inspired by a story in the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 [The Continued Biography of Eminent Monks]. See Chi, “*Xu Gaoseng zhuan*”, 264-329.

⁵² *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏集記 preserved the preface of a *Shizhu jing han zhu* 十住經含注 attributed to Sengwei. See *T* no. 2145, 55: 61a09-62c21.

⁵³ *Gaoseng zhuan* *T* no. 2059, 50: 363c.

⁵⁴ Despite the title, it is actually a commentary on the “*Shidi pin*” rather than the “*Shizhu pin*”.

⁵⁵ In the *Tanxuan ji*, the chapter on the “*Shidi pin*” starts with and heavily relies on Vasubandhu's *Shidi jing lun*, showcasing the importance that Fazang attached to it.

⁵⁶ *Tanxuan ji*, *T* no. 1733, 35: 110c20-111b23.

Mystery of the *Huayan jing*] (*Souxuan ji*, hereafter). Many resemblances could be observed between the *Tanxuan ji* and the *Souxuan ji*: their exegetical template, doctrinal classification, and exegetical methods (e.g., the “Ten Mysterious Gates” [*Shixuan men* 十玄門]), etc.

But in many ways the *Tanxuan ji* excelled the work of his master. It outstrips the *Souxuan ji* in length by more than threefold and adds meticulous information about the Sanskrit grammar and vocabulary that Zhiyan almost completely ignored.⁵⁷ Fazang is apparently also a more voracious reader and has introduced into his commentary a large store of miscellaneous information, such as biographical information or notes on textual variations, whereas the *Souxuan ji* is almost exclusively concerned with exegesis. Moreover, regarding exegesis itself, Fazang applies a much broader range of exegetical methods to reading the *Huayan jing*, making the *Tanxuan ji* a hodgepodge of exegetical paradigms. The resulted work is almost encyclopedic, covering as many grounds as it penetrates deep the doctrines. In regard to Zhiyan’s commentaries, or all the extant Chinese *Huayan* commentaries for that matter, the *Tanxuan ji* outshines them all in length and in scope.

But before Fazang synthesized his thoughts through his *Tanxuan ji*, he had first scattered them in his sundries of writing, each of which has a bearing on a specific aspect of the *Huayan jing*. For instance, the *Huayan jing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記 [A Record of the Transmission of the *Huayan jing*] traces the history of the transmission, translation and commentaries; his *Wenyi gangmu* 文義綱目 [Outlines of the Meaning of the *Huayan jing*]⁵⁸ recapitulates Fazang’s exegesis on the *Huayan jing*; whereas his famous *Jin shizi zhang* aims to popularize the core teaching of the *Huayan jing* through the metaphor of the golden lion. In his life, Fazang would have written 35 works related to the *Huayan jing* (out of his almost 50 works in total), even though only 15 of these works would survive. Among the lost texts is his commentary on the new *Huayan jing* translated in 699, which Fazang was only able to complete two chapters before death interrupted him in 712. In this sense, the *Tanxuan ji* remains Fazang’s only systematic commentary on the *Huayan jing*; and thus, any study of Fazang’s exegesis should be anchored in this text.

⁵⁷ But Zhiyan may have known more Sanskrit than we tend to think, because he mentions a Sanskrit manuscript of the *Tanxuan ji* preserved in the Da Ci’en Monastery 大慈恩寺 and provided a relatively detailed description about this Sanskrit manuscript. See *Huayan jing neizhang men deng kongmu zhang*, T no. 1870, 45: 588a14-20.

⁵⁸ We could observe a parallel between the *Wenyi gangmu* and the first five *juans* of the *Tanxuan ji*. Yui Sakurai analyzed the parallel between the two texts. See Yui, “Hō Zōsen”, 1-61.

In any case, by 690 — the time when Fazang nearly completed the *Tanxuan ji*, Fazang had also completed near half of these 35 Huayan works.⁵⁹ Fazang sent seven of them, including the *Tanxuan ji*, to Uisang through the latter's envoy, with a list of these works attached. According to the Choe Chiwon 崔致遠 (857-?)⁶⁰, after Uisang received the works, he locked himself in his chamber, pored over Fazang's commentaries and did not emerge from his room until twenty or thirty days later. And when he did, he acknowledged that Fazang had brought him deeper insights to the *Huayan jing*. He even commanded four of his disciples to preach the *Tanxuan ji*.⁶¹ The significance of the *Tanxuan ji* would be recognized time and again in history by East Asian Buddhists, and be copied numerous times before passing to our hands.

⁵⁹ Fazang mentions ten of his own works in the *Huayan jing zhuanji* which was completed around the same time as the *Tanxuan ji*. Hence, we know that by 690, Fazang had completed a dozen of works on the *Huayan jing*. For a foundational study on dating Fazang's works, see Yoshizu, "senjutsu nendai", 163-179.

⁶⁰ Choe Chiwon was a Korean author and wrote an unparalleled biography of Fazang. Jinhua Chen has provided a critical edition of the biography. See Chen, *Fazang*, 345-392 (Appendix 1).

⁶¹ Chen, *Fazang*, 131-132.

Chapter 3: Introduction to the *Tanxuan ji*

In the 20 *juans* that make up the *Tanxuan ji*, Fazang comments on all 34 chapters of the *Huayan jing* (60 *juans*), with the first *juan* (and part of the second *juan*) being the general analysis of the entire *sūtra*. This general analysis is presented in ten points:

Juan 1:

1. 教起所由 Causes for the Rising of the *Huayan jing*
2. 藏部所攝 Canonical Divisions Encompassed by the *Huayan jing*
3. 立教差別 Differences among the Established Traditions
4. 教所被機 Capacities of the Audience
5. 能詮教體 Essence of Buddha's Teaching
6. 所詮宗趣 Core Tenets Held by the Past Exegetes
7. 釋經題目 Explanation of the Title of the *Sūtra*
8. 部類傳譯 Versions, Transmission and Translation
9. 文義分齊 Classification of the Doctrines of the *Huayan jing* (i.e., Ten Mysteries

Gate).

Juan 2:

10. 隨文解釋 Commentary on the *Huayan jing*

From *juan 2* onward, Fazang commences the systematic commentary on the *Huayan jing*, starting with Chapter 1 — the “Pure Eyes of the World” [“Shijian jingyan pin” 世間淨眼品]. In the *Huayan* exegesis, the first chapter has a special significance. It is the “section that explains the causes and conditions that gave rise to the teaching” (“Jiaoqi yinyuan fen” 教起因緣分). Therefore, in commenting on this chapter, Fazang focuses on discussing the circumstances in which (e.g., when and where) the *Huayan jing* was taught. For this reason, both *juan 1* and *juan 2* could be considered Fazang's general analysis on the *Huayan jing*.

For a reader wishing to read the first two *juans* systematically, they could prioritize certain points over the others, because much of the first *juan* is not directly pertinent to the *Huayan jing*, but bears on general Buddhist matters, such as Buddhist canons (Point 2), the history of *panjiao* in China and India (Point 3), the doctrine of the Ten Mysterious Gates (Point

9). It is mostly (though not exclusively) in Point 1, 6, 7, 8 and 10 that Fazang bears his analysis directly on the *Huayan jing*. A reader could begin with the points just mentioned, as well as the beginning of *juan 2*.

In *juan 3*, Fazang comments on the second chapter of the *Huayan jing*, but from this *juan* onward, Fazang bases his exegesis on a template used in Zhiyan's *Souxuan ji*. The template has four components:

1. "Name" (*bianming* 辨名): This section explains the meaning of the chapter title.
2. "Logical connection" (*laiyi* 來意): Fazang discusses the logical relation between chapters (*pinlai* 品來), assemblies (*huilai* 會來)⁶², and "sections" (*fenlai* 分來)⁶³. Specifically, this section summarises the essence of one chapter/assembly/section in relation to the previous one. The Chinese word *lai* literally means "come", but here it means how the previous chapter/assembly/section "comes" (i.e., leads) to the next one, hence my translation "logical connection".

For instance, in commenting on the last chapter, which also makes up the last of the five "sections" (*fen* 分), Fazang says, "The previous (section) reveals the progressive practices by relying on the *dharma*; the present (section) reveals the entry into the realization by relying on people. Their meanings are sequential; thus, (the present section) comes (after the previous section) " 謂前顯託法進修，今辨依人入證。義次第故，是故來也。⁶⁴

- 3) "Thesis" (*zongqu* 宗趣): This section summarizes the thesis of the chapter.
- 4) "Exegesis of the text" (*shiwen* 釋文): This is the section where Fazang lays out his elaborate commentary on the chapter.

Fazang follows this template rather faithfully for each chapter, even though, depending on the chapter, he may elaborate on one section more than the others, and occasionally skips some sections altogether.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will present Fazang's overall interpretation of the *Huayan jing*, doing so by relying chiefly on the first two *juans* — but also the rest — of the *Tanxuan ji* as well as Fazang's other works. While the ostensible goal of this chapter is to summarise Fazang's interpretation on several key points, I will also take care to lay bare how

⁶² Huayan exegetes divide the *Huayan jing* (60 *juans*) into eight "assemblies". See Chapter 4:2 "Eight Assemblies"

⁶³ Huayan exegetes divide the *Huayan jing* (60 *juans*) into five "sections". See Chapter 4:3 "Fivefold Classification"

⁶⁴ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 440b20-22.

Fazang arrived at his interpretation; in this process, I will engage in the theoretical issues that I laid out in the introduction, regarding the dynamic interplay between exegesis and philosophy.

3.1. Title

3.1.1. *Huayan* in Chinese

The full Chinese title of the *sūtra* is *Dafangguang fo Huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 [Skt. *Buddhavataṃsaka mahāvaipulya sūtra*], which could be roughly translated as the “Great and Broad Enlightenment Flower Garland Sūtra”. Fazang, however, reads doctrinal significances into each Chinese character that composes the title:

Da 大 (great) takes on the meaning of “incorporation”; *fang* 方 (squared) implies the merits of “regulating standard”; *guang* 廣 (vast), the ultimacy of the Essence and the pervasiveness of its functions; *fo* 佛 (Buddha), the perfection of the fruit and the completion of the Enlightenment; *hua* 華 (flower) is the metaphor for the flourish of myriad practices; *yan* 嚴 (well-arranged or adornment) symbolizes the ornament of the original essence; *jing* 經 (*sūtra*) means “penetrating” and “weaving”; it refers to the writing of the teaching of Buddha (*nengquan* 能詮).⁶⁵ (The *sūtra*) is titled as such by being faithful to the *dharma*, adapting to individuals and resorting to metaphors. 然，即「大」，以「包含」為義；「方」，以「軌範」為功；「廣」，即體極用周；「佛」，乃果圓覺滿；「華」，譬開敷萬行；「嚴」，喻飾茲本體；「經」，即貫穿縫綴，能詮之教著焉，從法就人寄喻為目。⁶⁶

In other words, *dafangguang fo* refers to the Buddhahood (*fo*) that is great (*da*), regulated (*fang*) and vast (*guang*). Whereas *hua* and *yan* are respectively the cause and the effect of the Buddhahood (*fo*), with the cause being the myriad practices (*hua*) that lead to the effects which adorn (*yan*) the Buddhahood, — and this teaching is “weaved” into the *sūtra* (*jing*).

⁶⁵ *Nengquan* 能詮, literally meaning “that which could explain”, is usually used to describe the efficacy of a commentary to explain a *sūtra*. But this usual meaning does not apply in this context. So I dispense with this usual translation in favour of “Buddha”.

⁶⁶ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 107b12-16107b12-16

In this passage, Fazang interprets most characters in ways that are close to their literal meaning, but *hua* and *yan* are so heavily interpreted that they are no longer self-evident. To elucidate what Fazang means here, I will cite from his *Youxin fajie ji* 遊心法界記 [Record of Roaming in the Realm of the *Dharma*]⁶⁷:

Hua (“flower”) is the myriad practices undertaken by Bodhisattvas. How so? Flower has the function of producing fruits; practice has the ability to induce karmic effects. Even though they are different in that one is an external phenomenon and the other an internal one, they are alike in their (respective) ability to flourish and to induce (karmic effects). Now, using phenomena to illustrate the truth, (the practices are) named *hua*. 華者，菩薩萬行也，何者？以華有生實之用，行有感果之能。雖複內外兩殊，生感力有相似，今即以法托事，故名「華」也。⁶⁸

In other words, Fazang draws upon the “generative” power of the flower to symbolize the function of practices to “generate” Enlightenment. As for *yan*:⁶⁹

Yan means the perfection of the practices and the ripening of the fruit; and that (the practices and the fruit) match and mutually correspond. Defilements and hindrances are eternally effaced; the Principle and the realization of the Principle achieve harmonious perfection. Thus, in order to aptly praise the qualities of (the fruit), it is named *yan*. 嚴者，行成果滿，契合相應。垢障永消，證理圓滿。隨用讚德，故稱曰嚴也。⁷⁰

⁶⁷ *Youxin fajie ji* contains Fazang’s view on meditation and *panjiao*. It is also presumed by Yūki Reimon 結城令聞 to be the final draft of the *Huayan jing zhiguan*, a text that is traditionally attributed to Dushun. More on the authorship controversy surrounding the *Youxin fajie ji*, see Liekfe et al., “Some New Light on an Old Authorship Problem in Huayan Studies”, 103-136; as well as footnote 5 in this thesis.

⁶⁸ *Youxin fajie ji*, T no. 1866, 45: 646b8-11.

⁶⁹ According to the 2nd century Chinese dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, the etymological meaning of *yan* 嚴 is “urgent command” 教命急也, which coheres with its modern sense of being “strict” or “commanding”. It also has derivative meanings of “tight”, which may have given rise to its appropriation by Buddhist translators: for instance, it is used by Bodhiruci and Yijing to translate the Sanskrit term *vyūha*, meaning “array” or “arrangement” (it may help to think that when things are arranged, they are tightly ordered and packed). *Yan* is also commonly taken to mean “decoration” or “adornment”, such as in *zhangyan* 莊嚴.

⁷⁰ *Youxin fajie ji*, T no. 1866, 45: 646b11-12.

That is to say, *yan* amounts to a description of the state that comes about when one completes the practices and achieves the Buddhahood. In this state, obstacles are removed and the realization is perfect. In this sense, *yan* is the “effects” of the Buddhahood.

But *yan* is not only descriptive, but also relational. In the above passages, *yan* is explained in relation to both *hua* — the practices (i.e., *yan* is the “perfection” of *hua*), and *guo* — the fruit (i.e., *yan* is the “ripening” of *guo*), which makes *yan* an intermediary link between the two: it is through *yan* — specifically, its function to “adorn” — that *hua* could “match and mutually correspond with” *guo*. One line in the *Tanxuan ji* crystallizes the relationship between *fo*, *hua* and *yan*: “The flowers (*hua*) of the causal practices could adorn (*yan*) the fruit of Buddhahood (*fo*)” 因行之華能嚴佛果.⁷¹

Fazang puts forth the above interpretation on the first page of the *Tanxuan ji*, but interestingly, just a few pages later, Fazang would critique that this interpretation is only partially true. I will cite Fazang’s critique shortly below, when he is discussing The Flower Garland *Samādhi*.

3.1.2. *Huayan* as the Name of a *Samādhi*: The Flower Garland *Samādhi* (*Huayan Sanmei* 華嚴三昧)

Whenever the term *huayan* appears in the *Huayan jing*, it invariably appears as the name of a *samādhi*: the “Flower Garland *Samādhi*” (*Huayan sanmei* 華嚴三昧) or the “Flower Garland of Buddhahood *Samādhi*” (*Fohuayan sanmei* 佛華嚴三昧).⁷² It is the *samādhi* in which the Bodhisattva of “Chief in Goodness” (Xianshou 賢首; Skt. Bhadrāsī) enters when preaching the 33rd chapter. Even in other *sūtras*, we could also observe this inextricable association between *huayan* and *samādhi*.⁷³

Given the importance of the Flower Garland *Samādhi* in the *Huayan jing*, one should therefore expect an accordant degree of importance given to this *samādhi* in the *Huayan*

⁷¹ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 120a11-12.

⁷² Sakurabe Hajime 桜部建 says it is important not to dismiss *fo* in the compound *Fo huayan* (Skt. *Buddhāvataṃsaka*), because the earliest appearances of *huayan* (Skt. *avatamsaka*) (that is, in the Sarvastivada tradition) usually comes in this compound. See Sakurabe, “Kegon to iu go ni tsuite”, 26-34. (Cited from Ōtake, “Origin”, 89). But *Huayan* exegetes simply says *Huayan sanmei* rather than *Fo huayan sanmei*.

⁷³ E.g., The *Guangzan jing* 光贊經 [Praise of Light *Sūtra*] contains the first occurrence of the term *huayan* in the Chinese Buddhist translation. As a side note, Stefano Zacchetti has written the most thorough study of the *Guangzan jing*. See Zacchetti, *In Praise of the Light*.

exegesis. But as I will show in the fifth section below (“*Samādhi*”), it is not the Flower Garland *Samādhi* but the Oceanic Reflection *Samādhi* that is regarded as the most important *samādhi*, while the Flower Garland *Samādhi* is said to be an incomplete doctrine. In criticizing Master Dayuan 大遠 (523+ - 592+), Fazang says,

Master Dayuan based its tradition on the Flower Garland *Samādhi*, believing that the flowers of the causal practices could adorn the fruit of Buddhahood. This is true only insofar as it considers the practices and merits that one accomplishes, but (Master Dayuan) overlooks the realm of *dharma* (Skt. *dharmadhatu*) on which (*hua* and *yan*) rely. 大遠法師以華嚴三昧為宗，謂因行之華能嚴佛果。但得所成行德，遺其所依法界。⁷⁴

In addition to critiquing Flower Garland *Samādhi*, Fazang also re-interprets it in accordance with the Huayan worldview. This new interpretation emphasizes the mutual identity of the “practice” (i.e., *hua*) and the “fruit” (i.e., *yan*), thus complexifying their cause-and-effect relationship. I will delve further into Fazang’s new interpretation in the section 5.2 “Flower Garland *Samādhi*”. But hopefully, by now, we could already glimpse the sophistication of Fazang’s exegesis, as he is able to discuss many subtle doctrinal points just through the explanation of the title.

3.1.3. Meaning of *Huayan* in Sanskrit

Modern scholars came to designate *avatamsaka* as the Sanskrit term for *huayan*, based on the Tibetan title of the *sūtra*,⁷⁵ as well as on the clues in the Sanskrit fragments. However, even though this designation has become the scholarly convention, the case is not closed. There are still evidence in favour of another designation: *gandavyūha*⁷⁶ which is also the Sanskrit title of

⁷⁴ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 120a11-13

⁷⁵ Takasaki Jikidō 高崎直道 reconstructed the Sanskrit title on the basis of the Tibetan title. See Takasaki, *Avatamsaka*, 348.

⁷⁶ A summary of this debate is presented in Liu, *Teaching*, 34-36. Liu presents the arguments on either side. More publications have joined the debate since Liu’s 1971 thesis. For instance, Ōtake, in his 2007 article, argues that the Sanskrit equivalent to *huayan* should still be *avatamsaka*. See Ōtake, “Origin”, 87-108. For the meaning of the *gandavyūha* in the Indian context, see Osto, “Title”, 273-290. .

the last chapter, the “Ru fajie pin” 入法界品 [Chapter on Entering the Realm of the *Dharma*].⁷⁷ It was Fazang who first suggested this designation and made it the orthodox opinion in Chinese Buddhism. The fact that this designation originated with Fazang already gives it a strong credibility. After all, Fazang had more than a passing acquaintance with Sanskrit and had access to eight or nine Sanskrit manuscripts.⁷⁸ Besides, Fazang worked closely with Indian masters, so one would hope he had consulted with them on a matter as elementary as the title of the *sūtra* that they were translating! Certainly, there are convincing arguments favouring the term *avatamsaka*, but considering Fazang’s authority, it nevertheless remains inconvenient to explain how Fazang could have mistaken on such an elementary matter.

While Fazang is known as the first person to suggest *gandavyūha* as the Sanskrit antecedent of *huayan*, his explanation of *gandavyūha* seems to have completely eluded scholars. According to Fazang, *ganda* means “miscellaneous flower” and *vyūha* is an offering-making apparatus used in a western kingdom:

The title (of the *Huayan jing*) in terms of (the resemblance to) things: The name *huayan*, in Sanskrit, is *gandavyūha* (*jian’napiaohe* 健拏驃訶). *Ganda* means “miscellaneous flowers”; *vyūha* means “adornment”. *Tripitaka* Divākara said, “In a kingdom in the Western Regions, there is an apparatus for making offerings, called *vyūha*. It has six layers with the ones below wider and the ones above narrower, which are (all) decorated with flowers and jewels; and on each layer is placed a statue of Buddha”. Indeed, the *sūtra* (i.e., the *Avatamsaka sūtra*) superimposes “six stages”, on each of which one could attain Buddhahood, which is precisely analogous to that thing (i.e., the apparatus). For this reason, (the *sūtra*) is titled as such. The eight assemblies of humans and celestial beings are all like that (apparatus). This shall be understood. 事名者：「華嚴」之稱，梵語名為「健拏驃訶」。「健拏」名雜華；「驃訶」名嚴飾。日照三藏說云：「西國別有一供養具，名為『驃訶』。其狀六重，下闊上狹，飾以華寶。一一重內，皆安佛

⁷⁷ It may appear strange that a *sūtra* shares the same title as a chapter that it contains, but there are precedents in other *sūtras*. Besides, Huayan exegetes see a structural mirroring between the *Huayan jing* and the last chapter, so the fact that both share the same title only favours their interpretation. I will touch on this point again in Chapter 4.

⁷⁸ Regarding Fazang’s working relationship with foreign translators and his Sanskrit training, see Chapter 2.

像」. 良以此經, 六位重疊, 位位成佛. 正類彼事, 故立此名. 人天八會, 亦似彼, 應知.⁷⁹

As far as I am aware of, this explanation of *gandavyūha* has not been exploited in the scholarship.⁸⁰ But since we know that Fazang has spent almost five or six years working and living with Divākara, this record is highly credible and should be taken into account for understanding the term *gandavyūha*.

3.1.4. Alternative Titles

Fazang lists various names by which the *Huayan jing* is called in other *sūtras* and in the *Huayan jing* itself.⁸¹ It would be helpful to take note of these alternative names, especially if we wish to establish the inter-textual relationship involving the *Huayan jing*.

1. The *Sūtra of One Hundred Thousand Ślokas* [*Baiqian jing* 百千經]: mentioned in Vasabandhu's *She Dashenglun shi* 攝大乘論釋 [Skt. *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-bhāṣya*; Commentary on the Mahāyāna Compendium] translated by Paramārtha (499-569).

2. The *Sūtra of Inconceivable Liberation* [*Busiyi jietuo jing* 不思議解脫經]: mentioned in the *Da Zhidu lun* 大智度論 [Skt. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā śāstra*; Commentary on the Great Perfection of Wisdom].⁸²

3. The *Sūtra of Miscellaneous Flowers* [*Zahua jing* 雜華經]: mentioned in the *Niepan jing* 涅槃經 [Skt. *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*] and the *Guanfo sanmei jing* 觀佛三昧經 [Skt. *Buddha Dhyāna Samādhisāgara Sūtra*; *Sūtra of the Samādhi of Visualizing Buddha*].

4. The (*Sūtra of the*) *Flower of the Profound and Wonderful Meaning of the Merits of the Practices of all Enlightening Beings* [*Chusheng yiqie pusa zhuxing gongde shenmiao yihua* 出生

⁷⁹ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 121a9-15

⁸⁰ Even Osto's article, dedicated to interpreting *gandavyūha*, also does not take into account this important passage. Osto, "Title", 273-290.

⁸¹ For Fazang's discussion of the title of the *Huayan jing*, see *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 120c25-121a15.

⁸² The *Da zhidu lun* says that the *Busiyi jietuo jing* has 100,000 *ślokas*. (T no. 1509, 25: 756b7). It also cites the *Huayan jing* numerous times without evoking the name "Huayan jing", but the cited content resembles, in plot, the last chapter of the *Huayan jing*.

一切菩薩諸行功德深妙義華]⁸³: mentioned in the “Chapter on Detachment from the World” [“Li shijian pin” 離世間品] of the *Huayan jing*.

3.2. When

3.2.1. Fazang believes the *Huayan jing* was taught during the second week after Buddha’s Enlightenment, because the “Ten Stages Chapter”, at its beginning, indicates “the second seven-days” 第二七日. But from this phrase alone, one could not determine whether it is the entire *Huayan jing* or only the “Ten Stages Chapter” that was taught in the second week. For Bodhiruci (Putiliuzhi 菩提流支; 459+-538+), he favours the latter opinion, that is, only the “Ten Stages Chapter” was taught in the second week. Fazang summarizes Bodhiruci’s opinion:

Bodhiruci says, “The first five assemblies were convened during the first week after Buddha attained the Enlightenment; the ones after the sixth assembly were convened on the second week,⁸⁴ because the *Ten Stages Sūtra*, at its beginning, says “the second week” 菩提流支云：「華嚴八會中，前之五會是佛成道初七日說，第六會後是第二七日說，以《十地經》初云『第二七日』故」.⁸⁵

But Fazang refutes Bodhiruci by evoking the authority of Vasubandhu’s (400-480)⁸⁶ *Shidi jing lun* 十地經論 [Skt. *Daśabhūmika-śāstra*; Commentary on the *Ten Stages Sūtra*]:

⁸³ In the *Huayan jing* (80 juans), the name is given as *Yiqie pusa gongde xingchu jueding yihua* 一切菩薩功德行處決定義華 [The Flower of Definitive Meaning of the Points of Virtuous Practices of all Enlightening beings].

⁸⁴ The Ten Stages Chapter is the one that starts the sixth assembly.

⁸⁵ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 127b25

⁸⁶ Bodhiruci is the translator of Vasubandhu’s *Shidi jing lun*. As a translator, his authority is naturally not on a par with the Indian master Vasubandhu. Additionally, this passage may suggest Fazang’s distrust towards Bodhiruci and his translation in general. It is worth recalling that Bodhiruci and Ratnamati each produced a translation of the *Shidi jing lun*, but their translation differed and each gave rise to a school: the Northern Ten Stages Śāstra School (Bei Dilun 北地論) and the Southern Ten-Stages Śāstra School (Nan Dilun 南地論). It is often said that Ratnamati’s Southern School was later absorbed in the Huayan tradition, both sharing the belief in an eternal existence, the *tathagata-garbha*. In the context, the criticism in this passage towards Bodhiruci may affirm that Fazang, representing Huayan Buddhism, is indeed suspicious of Bodhiruci and is instead closer to Ratnamati’s Southern School.

The *Shidi lun* says, “Why didn’t (Buddha) teach during the first week? Because (Buddha only) contemplated on causes and conditions.⁸⁷ Since (the commentary) says ‘contemplation’, it could be clearly known that Buddha did not teach the *dharmā*”. 《十地論》云：「何故不初七日說？思惟行因緣行故」。既言思惟，明知非說法。⁸⁸

3.2.2. After refuting Bodhiruci, Fazang proceeds to repudiate another opinion:

Furthermore, some say that the eighth assembly was convened at a later time, because in the *sūtra*, there are Śāriputra and other five hundred *śrāvakas* who were all instructed (by Buddha) at a later time. 又有人說：「第八會是後時說。以彼文中，有鶩子等五百聲聞，竝後時度故。⁸⁹

This is a convincing argument, because it is true that Śāriputra and other disciples did not receive the teaching from Buddha until much later in the Jetavana Monastery. But Fazang insists on his opinion and offers his counterargument:

How comes that for the “One-Tome *Sūtra*” (i.e., *Huayan jing*),⁹⁰ its first half could be taught at an earlier time but its remainder be taught at an intermediate time, which could still be continued at a later time? Does this not make Buddha lack the power of *dhāraṇī* and unable to speak all teachings at one thought-moment? The Jetavana Monastery and Śāriputra are both integral to the interpenetration of Nine Times. The *sūtra* says, “All the past *kalpas* are securely placed within the present that has not come; all the future *kalpas* revert to be placed within all the eras of the past”. 何得於一部經，前已說半，中說餘

⁸⁷ According to Chengguan’s commentary, Buddha was contemplating on how to adapt his realization (i.e., the cause) to various sentient beings (i.e., the conditions). *T* no. 1736, 36: 24a28-b1.

⁸⁸ *Tanxuan ji*, *T* no. 1733, 35: 127b29-c01.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*: 127b27

⁹⁰ Fazang often refers to the *Huayan jing* as “One-Tome *Sūtra*” (*Yibu jing* 一部經) to emphasize the internal coherency of the *Huayan jing*.

經，後方更續？豈令佛無陀羅尼力，不能一念說一切法？祇園鷲子，竝是九世相入。下文云：「過去一切劫安置未來今，未來一切劫迴置過去世」。⁹¹

This argument contains three suppositions: 1) the *Huayan jing*, being inherently unified, must be taught at once; 2) Buddha, being omnipotent, is capable of teaching the entire *sūtra* in one thought-moment; and 3) the nature of time, being interpenetrating in nature, nullifies the argument about Jetavana Monastery and Śāriputra, for this argument is based on a linear timeline.

This last point, regarding the nature of time, needs elaboration. Like everything else in the Huayan universe, time is considered to be an interwoven matrix of past, present and future, as encapsulated in the doctrine of *jiushi* 九世 (Nine Times) which delineates nine possible relationship between past, present and future. In this conception of time, one could speak of such temporal relationship as the “future of present” or the “past of future”. Given this interpenetrated nature of time, Fazang suggests it is meaningless to pose an argument relying on the chronological order of events (i.e., Buddha met Śāriputra at a later time). But this argument may appear to us as somewhat evasive, as Fazang is essentially using a grandiloquent theory of time to tackle a textual problem.

3.2.3. Fazang does not overlook a contradiction apparent in his own statement: on the one hand, Fazang believes the *Huayan jing* was taught in the second week, unfolding over eight assemblies, but on the other hand, Fazang says the *Huayan jing* was taught in one “thought-moment”. Fazang uses an analogy to resolve this contradiction:

... all eight assemblies were convened simultaneously in the second week. (Question:) But if this is the case, then how comes there is a sequence? Answer: “Just as with a piece of printed text (or a text produced from a wax mould), there is a sequential order when it

⁹¹ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 127c5-9.

is read, while simultaneously its different parts are produced.... 於此二七之時，即攝八會，同時而說。若爾，何故會有前後？答：如印文，讀時前後，印紙同時。⁹²

This is a telling example of Fazang's rhetorical ingenuity, for printing is a perfect analogy that explains the apparent discord between simultaneity and temporal sequence. This answer also reflects Fazang's technological savviness, and his resourceful mind that channels the "scientific" knowledge to serving the "religious" preaching.⁹³

3.2.4. The other contradiction to be settled is the one among the *sūtras* themselves, regarding when Buddha gave his first teaching:

According to the *Fahua (jing)* 法華（經） [Skt. *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra*; Lotus *Sūtra*], (Buddha first taught in the) third week; the *Sifen lü* 四分律 [Skt. *Dharmagupta vinaya*; *Vinaya in Four Categories*]: the sixth week; the *Xingqi xing jing* 興起行經 [*Sūtra of Instigating Practices*]: the seventh week; the *Wufe lü* 五分律 [Skt. *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya*; *Vinaya in Five Categories*]: the eighth week; the *Zhilun* 智論 [Skt. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā śāstra*; *Commentary on the Great Perfection of Wisdom*]: 57 days; the *Shi'er you jing* 十二遊經 [Skt. *Dvādaśaviharaṇa sūtra*; *Twelve-Years Travel Sūtra*]: not until a year (after the Enlightenment). These *sūtras* are the branch teachings for (those with) different abilities, for whom different (teachings) would be more suitable, so (Buddha) responded differently, whereas the root teaching is for a determined ability (of the great assembly of *bodhisattvas*), so rightly it says the second week. 依《法華》三七日。《四分律》六七日。《興起行經》七七日。依《五分律》八七日。《智論》五十七日。《十二遊經》一年方說。此竝末教機異，宜聞各別，故致不同；本教機定，故唯二七。⁹⁴

⁹² *Tanxuan ji*, no. 1733, 35: 127c13-15. The translation of the "answer" part is cited from Chen, *Fazang*, 212.

⁹³ Jinhua Chen devoted an entire chapter to demonstrating Fazang's knowledge of various technologies and even suggests that Fazang may be the mastermind behind some printing projects. See Chen, *Fazang*, 199-217.

⁹⁴ *Tanxuan ji* T no. 1733, 35: 127c20-128a1.

In other words, various *sūtras* disagree on when Buddha imparted his first teaching; and Fazang resolves this discrepancy with a typical Huayan sleight-of-hand, that is, Fazang elevates the *Huayan jing* as the “root teaching” destined for a superior audience, hence more authoritative than the other “branch teaching”. By doing so, Fazang gives the supremacy to the opinion given in the *Huayan jing*, that is, Buddha gave his first teaching in the second week after Buddha’s Enlightenment. This kind of rhetoric is integral to the Huayan system of *panjiao*,⁹⁵ which Fazang invariably evokes whenever *sūtras* contradict each other.

3.3. Who

3.3.1. Vairocana and Ten Bodies

According to the Huayan exegesis, the *Huayan jing* was taught by Vairocana. Fazang’s *Tanxuan ji* opens with a homage to Vairocana and, in the prologue, explicitly affirms Vairocana’s creatorship: “Thus, Vairocana created the teaching in the (*Samādhi* of the) Oceanic Reflection” 是故舍那創陶甄於海印.⁹⁶ However, such elevated importance given to Vairocana is hardly justified by the *Huayan jing* itself, where Vairocana is mentioned mostly in the second chapter and scarcely elsewhere in the *Huayan jing*.⁹⁷ Neither has the *sūtra* explicitly stated that the *Huayan jing* was taught by Vairocana. So, how came that Vairocana rose to such prominence in the Huayan exegesis? Moreover, a *sūtra* is, by default, assumed to be taught by Buddha Śākyamuni, so why is the *Huayan jing* an exception?

In fact, Huayan exegetes have debated on this issue for centuries. According to Jizang 吉藏 (549-623), it was his master Fazang 法朗 (325+-409+) who first posed the question “Was (the *Huayan jing*) taught by Śākyamuni or by Vairocana?” 是釋迦所說耶，為是舍那所說耶?⁹⁸ Regarding this question, two camps emerged. As Jizang summarizes, those in the South insist on Buddha Śākyamuni, whereas those in the North believe Vairocana to be the preacher. Jizang himself, however, refutes both opinions. He does so by scrutinizing a premise that was

⁹⁵ For Fazang’s *panjiao* system, see the 1979 doctoral dissertation by Liu Ming-wood; the 1970 doctoral dissertation by Francis Cook and Mun, *panjiao*, 416-536.

⁹⁶ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 107b11.

⁹⁷ For some examples of the appearance of Vairocana in the *Huayan jing*, see Zhou, “*Kegon kyō ni okeru Vairōchana*”, 262-267.

⁹⁸ *Huayan youyi*, T no. 1731, 35: 1b11.

unexamined in the previous debate — Jizang asks “Are Śākyamuni and Vairocana identical or different?” 舍那釋迦為一為異耶。⁹⁹ He proceeds to answer his own question by resorting to the Indian formula of “tetralemma” (*siju* 四句; Skt. *catuskoṭi*) and arrives at a response that is deliberately ambiguous — Śākyamuni and Vairocana are neither identical nor different.

Later on, this debate became incorporated into the *panjiao* system developed by Master Famin 法敏 (579-645)¹⁰⁰ and Master Yin 印 (?-?). Their *panjiao* system not only states Vairocana as the creator of the *Huayan jing*, but also uses it to argue for the ascendancy of the *Huayan jing* over the other *sūtras*. Specifically, their *panjiao* system divides all *sūtras* into two kinds: the *Śākyāṃuni Sūtra* (*Shijia jing* 釋迦經) and the *Vairocana Sūtra* (*Lushe 'na jing* 盧舍那經). While all the other *sūtras* fall under the first category, representing the Uneven Teaching (*Ququ jiao* 屈曲教), the *Huayan jing* alone is the *Vairocana Sūtra*, representing the Even Teaching (*Pingdeng jiao* 平等教). Famin and Yin's works are no longer extant, but the gist of their *panjiao* system is summarized in the *Tanxuan ji*.¹⁰¹

But is there any specific clue in the *Huayan Jing* that prompted Huayan exegetes to identify the creator as Vairocana in the first place? There may be several clues. For instance, the *sūtra* mentions several times the “World of the Lotus Womb” (*Lianhua zang shijie* 蓮華藏世界) which is associated with Buddha Vairocana.¹⁰²

A more important clue lies in the ambiguous reference of the name “Buddha” in the *Huayan jing*. In the *sūtra*, Buddha Śākyamuni is sometimes referred to as Buddha Vairocana, exemplified by such phrases as “When Buddha Vairocana became enlightened under the Bodhi-tree” 謂此盧舍那佛於菩提樹下成菩提時。¹⁰³ Such ambiguity may have been even more pronounced in the original Sanskrit manuscripts, and was attenuated by the Chinese translations in the translation process.¹⁰⁴ Fazang, however, being cognisant of the ambiguity existing in the Sanskrit manuscripts, must have pondered on its significance.

⁹⁹ Ibid.: 2c11-12.

¹⁰⁰ Fazang wrote a biography of Famin in his *Huayan jing zhuanji*, T no. 2073, 51: 162a12-27. *Gaoseng zhuan* also contains his biography. T no. 2059, 50: 538b27-5539a7.

¹⁰¹ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 111b13-23. See the passage 3.1.10. in my translation.

¹⁰² See the section 5.2 “The World of Lotus-Womb”.

¹⁰³ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 414a29-b1.

¹⁰⁴ For instance, in Douglas Osto's 2004 dissertation, he summarizes the storyline of the last chapter “Ru faji pin”. In summarizing the opening scene, Osto uses the name Vairocana, whereas all the corresponding Chinese translations only say “Buddha”.

But the chief reason explaining Vairocana's prominence may lie in another concept associated with Vairocana: The Ten Bodies. In effect, Master Famin and Master Yin, in arguing why the *Huayan jing* is the Vairocana *Sūtra*, say the primary reason is that other *sūtras* were “taught by the Transformation Body” (Skt. *nirmānakāya*) of Buddha Śākyamuni” 釋迦化身所說, whereas the *Huayan jing* was “taught by the Ten Bodies of Buddha Vairocana” 舍那十身所說. In the remainder of this section, I will delve into the doctrine of the Ten Bodies by retracing its evolution in the Huayan exegesis, and by discussing several key issues about this doctrine.

Multiple theories exist in Chinese Buddhism surrounding the “Buddha bodies” (Skt. *Buddhakāya*), including the One Body, Two Bodies and Three Bodies theory. The most orthodox, however, is the Three Bodies theory (see 3.1.4 below). It is the framework under which early Huayan exegetes interpreted the *Huayan jing*. Gradually, however, the Three Bodies became replaced by the Ten Bodies theory as the main “body theory” of the Huayan exegesis. This change is understandable, for the *Huayan jing* contains a great many lists of the Ten Bodies. These lists have spawned many discussions among Huayan exegetes. Together, they contributed to a unique Huayan doctrine of Ten Bodies. Below I will discuss this doctrine in terms of four issues.

Hierarchy of the Lists of the Ten Bodies

The *Huayan jing* contains eight lists of the Ten Bodies, including one of the Ten Bodies of the *Tathāgata* and seven of the Ten Bodies of Bodhisattvas, each associated with a Bodhisattva on a certain stage of spiritual attainment. Among them, one list stands out, which is mentioned in the “Ten Stages Chapter”: the Ten Bodies of the Bodhisattva on the Immovable Stage (*Budong di pusa* 不動地菩薩; Skt. *acalābhūmiḥ bodhisattva*) which is the eighth of the Ten Stages. The list:

All-Beings Body 衆生身

Lands Body 國土身

Karma Body 業報身

Śrāvakas Body 聲聞身

Pratyekabuddha Body 辟支佛身

Bodhisattvas Body 菩薩身

Tathāgatas Body 如來身

Jñānakāya Body 智身

Dharmakāya Body 法身

Space Body 虛空身¹⁰⁵

It begs us to ask why this list is taken to be the most important of all lists, especially considering that it is attributed to a bodhisattva rather than *Tathāgata*. It is Zhiyan who first singles out this list and calls it the “Ten Buddhas of the Realm of Understanding” (*Jiejing shifo* 解境十佛).¹⁰⁶ As Zhiyan’s disciple, Fazang continues emphasizing this particular list and has, in addition, attributed these Ten Bodies to Vairocana.¹⁰⁷ The fourth patriarch Chengguan would later inherit Fazang’s interpretation, and further analyze the relationship between the Ten Bodies of this list and the Three Worlds (*Sanzhong shijian* 三種世間).¹⁰⁸ Thanks to Chengguan, this list also came to be known as the “Ten Bodies Interfusing all Three Worlds” (*Rong sanshijian shishen* 融三世間十身).

As for the list of the “Ten Bodies of *Tathāgata*”,¹⁰⁹ Fazang regards them as derivative of the “Tathāgatas Body” mentioned in the first list. Fazang points out, “The Tathāgatas Body (in this list) contains within itself Ten Bodies” 如來身中自有十身 before listing the Ten Bodies of

¹⁰⁵ *Huayan jing* (60 juans): T no. 278, 9: 565b16-19

¹⁰⁶ *Kongmu zhang*, T no. 1870, 45: 560a1-3. *Jiejing shifo* is paired with *xingjing shifo* 行境十佛 (Ten Buddhas of the Realm of Practices) and is originated with Zhiyan, even though Zhiyan does not explain either term. The *Foguang da cidian* explains *Jiejing shifo* as the enlightened perspective through which all existences are discriminated as the Ten Bodies; and *Xingjing shifo* as the buddhahood that one experiences viscerally after completing all Bodhisattva practices. But I could not identify the sources that informed the *Foguang da cidian* for this definition.

¹⁰⁷ *Xiu Huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan*, T no. 1876, 45: 640b13-16.

¹⁰⁸ Three Worlds are: the “non-sentient world” (*qi shijian* 器世間), the “sentient world” (*youqing shijian* 有情世間) and the “world of true enlightenment” (*zhengjue shijian* 正覺世間). Together, they represent all existences. Even though it is Chengguan who formalized this doctrine, it is still Fazang who first correlated the Ten Bodies with the Three Worlds.

¹⁰⁹ Enlightenment Body (*puti shen* 菩提身), Vow Body (*yuanshen* 願身), Transformation Body (*huashen* 化身), Retention Body (*zhuchi shen* 住持身), Body Adorned with Excellent Characteristics (*xianghao zhuangyan shen* 相好莊嚴身), Power Body (*shili shen* 勢力身), Body of Manifestation at Will (*ruyi shen* 如意身), Body of Merit and Virtue (*fude shen* 福德身), Wisdom Body (*zhi shen* 智身), Dharma Body (*fa shen* 法身). *Huayan jing* (60 juans): T no. 278, 9: 565c2-4.

Tathāgata.¹¹⁰ By this comment, Fazang subsumes the authority of the “*Tathāgata* Bodies” under the “Ten Bodies of the Immovable Stage Bodhisattva”.

Fazang also comments on the other lists of the Ten Bodies and makes comparisons among them, but Fazang does not seem interested in explaining their relationship, and only points out, occasionally, that a certain list has similarities and differences in relation to another list¹¹¹ or that a body could be attributed to a specific Buddha¹¹². But Fazang’s reticence on this point may simply reflect his nonchalant attitude towards the differences among the lists, because whenever Fazang speaks of the Ten Bodies, he does not seem to bear in mind a specific list. It is the *framework* of the Ten Bodies, rather than their specific names, that truly matters to Fazang.

Relationship between the Ten Bodies and Vairocana: The Doctrine of “the Origination from the Essential Nature”

What is significant about the doctrine of the Ten Bodies is, first of all, the numerical value of “ten”. In the Chinese cultural context, “ten” denotes perfection, a number that strikes a direct chord with the name Round Teaching or Perfect Teaching (*Yuanjiao* 圓教) which is the self-designation of the Huayan teaching in the Huayan *panjiao* system. It is also a number that is repeatedly found in the *Huayan jing*, such as the Ten Faiths (*shixin* 十信), the Ten Grounds (*shidi* 十地) and the Ten Practices (*shixing* 十行). Thus, the Huayan exegesis, in emulating the *Huayan jing*, also presents its doctrines in a decimal structure whenever possible.

Most importantly, the number “ten” represents infinitude, as Fazang says, “The Ten (Bodies of the) Buddha are established to reveal the infinitude” 立十佛以顯無盡.¹¹³ Relatedly, Fazang also says the Ten Bodies encompass the “Three Worlds”. This interpretation equates the Ten Bodies to all phenomena, thus giving the Ten Bodies a metaphysical significance that no exegete has done previously.

In Fazang’s exegetical scheme, it is a very significant step to establish the Ten Bodies as the infinite phenomena, for this paves the way to discussing the relationship between the Ten Bodies and Vairocana, the possessor of the Ten Bodies. In other words, by arguing the Ten

¹¹⁰ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 363c7

¹¹¹ E.g., *idem.*: 431b28-29 or 388c1.

¹¹² E.g., *idem.*: 363c23

¹¹³ *Wujiao zhang*, T no. 1866, 45: 499a1.

Bodies as all phenomena, Fazang establishes Vairocana as that which lies outside phenomena (i.e., Vairocana represents the noumenon or the *Tathāgata-garbha*). And their relationship, in turn, came to represent the causality by which phenomena arise from the noumenon. This causality is expressed in a key Huayan doctrine — “the origination from the essential nature” (*xingqi* 性起).¹¹⁴

The Relationship among the Ten Bodies: the “Dependent Origination from Dharmadhatū”

In the Huayan exegesis, the above doctrine of the “the origination from essential nature” is associated with another doctrine — the “dependent origination from *dharmadhatū*” (*fajie yuanqi* 法界緣起). While the former is concerned with a transcendental kind of causality — that between the phenomenon and the noumenon, the latter is with the causality among phenomena. And this last kind of causality is embodied in the relationship among the Ten Bodies, which Fazang explains in his doctrine of the “Gate of the Mirroring of One Body in Multiple Bodies” (*Duoshen ru yi jingxiang guan* 多身入一鏡像觀). According to Fazang, this gate is about the “realm of the non-obstruction among phenomena” 事事無礙法界; and “whatever body in the Ten Bodies is brought up, all the other nine bodies would also be included” 十身隨舉一身攝餘九身.¹¹⁵ In other words, each body simultaneously includes all the others and is, in turn, included in all of them. Their relationship is “interpenetrating” (*xiangru* 相入) and “mutually inclusive” (*xiangshe* 相攝).

Our discussion above has thus led us to seeing the dual significance embedded in the doctrine of Vairocana’s Ten Bodies. On the one hand, the rapport between Vairocana and his bodily manifestations embodies the transcendent causality between the phenomenon and the noumenon, while on the other hand, the relationship among the Ten Bodies bespeaks the

¹¹⁴ I explain this doctrine, as well as another related doctrine “independent origination from *dharma*-realm” (Ch. *fajie yuanqi* 法界緣起) in my co-authored article. See the section “Causality” in Chen and Lin, “Fazang”; and Hamar, “Origination”, 229-250.

¹¹⁵ Here I am drawing on one of Fazang’s philosophical treatises *Xiu Huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan* 修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀 [Cultivation of Contemplation of the Inner Meaning of the Hua-yen: The Ending of Delusion and Return to the Source]. T no. 1876, 45: 640b12-17. For a translation of this entire text, see Cleary, *Inconceivable*, 147-170.

“mundane” causality connecting phenomena. In this sense, Vairocana’s Ten Bodies is a perfect embodiment of the heart of the Huayan philosophy, and it is through Fazang’s ingenuity that the two elements (i.e., Vairocana and Ten Bodies) that were insignificant in the *Huayan jing*, came to occupy a central place in the Huayan exegesis.

The Relationship between the Three Bodies¹¹⁶ and the Ten Bodies

The creatorship of the *Huayan jing*, or any *sūtra* for that matter, is usually discussed in relation to the “body” of the Buddha. For instance, in the “northern” versus “southern” debate cited at the beginning of this section, the “northern” opinion associates the creator with the Transformation Body (Skt. *nirmāṇa-kāya*; *huashen* 化身) which is Buddha Śākyamuni, whereas the “southern” opinion identifies the preacher as the Reward Body (Skt. *saṃbhoga-kāya*; *baoshen* 報身) which is Buddha Vairocana; and both opinions hold that the Dharma Body (Skt. *dharmakāya*; *fashen* 法身) could not be the preacher since the Dharma Body is beyond words. But by this point in the exegetical history, the debate still operated under the framework of the Three Bodies.

But as the Ten Bodies theory came to the foreground of the Huayan exegesis, exegetes started to attribute the creatorship to the Ten Bodies. Master Famin and Yin are perhaps the first exegetes to specify the creator to be the “Ten Bodies of Vairocana”. With this new theory in the limelight, however, exegetes still have to reconcile it with the pre-existing theory of the Three Bodies. Chengguan does so by matching the Ten Bodies to those of the Three Bodies, and by emphasizing their essential sameness: “Three Bodies are Ten Bodies; and Ten Bodies are Three Bodies”.¹¹⁷ Fazang also makes similar comments as Chengguan (“Three Bodies are Ten Bodies”), but in his actual exegesis, he does not hesitate to relinquish the old paradigm:

This “Buddha” (in the *Huayan jing*), according to the *Huayan jing* itself, is the Ten Bodies of Buddha that encompass the Three Times (i.e., past, present, future). (This “Buddha”) teaches the views prior to the Ten Stages, such as the Ten Faiths and the Three Worthies, because it is not the Reward Body. (This “Buddha”) resides in the

¹¹⁶ A summary of the Three Bodies doctrines could be found in Sharf, *Terms*, 100-114, in which he also points out the difficulty of identifying their precise Sanskrit equivalents.

¹¹⁷ *Yanyi chao*, T no. 1736, 36: 31a17-25.

(World of) Lotus Womb, because it is not the Transformation Body. (This “Buddha”) (includes also) the Body of Lands and other bodies, because it is neither of the two above. (This “Buddha”) also encompasses the two bodies above, because (the bodies) are interfused in nature; the principal (i.e., Vairocana) and the secondary (i.e., the Ten Bodies) are both valid, because this (“Buddha”) is like Indra’s Net. For these reasons, (this “Buddha”) could only be the Ten Bodies of Buddha encompassing omnipresently the realm of the *dharma*. 此佛，准下文中，是十佛之身，通三世間。以說十信及三賢等地前所見，非實報故；然居華藏，非局化故；國土身等，非前二故；具攝前二，性融通故；具足主伴，如帝網故。是故唯是周遍法界十佛之身。¹¹⁸

In other words, according to Fazang, the Reward Body — traditionally considered as a body enjoyed by the superior practitioners — is not supposed to be concerned with the level of practices prior to the Ten Stages. Since the *Huayan jing* covers these lower practices, Fazang concludes that it could not have been taught by the Reward Body.

On the other hand, according to Fazang, it is neither the Transformation Body that taught the *Huayan jing*, because in the *Huayan jing*, Buddha is said to reside in the World of Lotus-Womb, but the Transformation Body, that is, Buddha Śakyamuni, resides in the human world; thus, Fazang also rules out the Transformation Body as the creator.

Then, Fazang evokes a more obvious argument: the lists of the Ten Bodies in the *Huayan jing* mention other bodies than the Transformation Body and the Reward Body, such as the Lands Body. On this basis, Fazang says the Transformation Body and the Reward Body alone do not suffice to account for the creation of the *Huayan Jing*.

Lastly, Fazang complexifies this last argument by reminding us that all bodies mutually include each other; thus, the Three Bodies, though different from the Ten Bodies, are included in the Ten Bodies. Via the four arguments above, Fazang thereby concludes that the *Huayan jing* is preached by Vairocana’s Ten Bodies.

It is also worth noting that in the Three Bodies theory, Vairocana is traditionally identified as one of the Three Bodies (either Reward Body or Dharma Body), but in the Ten Bodies theory, Vairocana is not identified as any of the bodies, but is considered the “possessor”

¹¹⁸ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 130b9-11

of the bodies. This exegetical manoeuvre positions Vairocana on a different ontological plan than the Ten Bodies. By doing so, Fazang is adapting the “body theory” to suit his overall philosophical outlook. That is, by the means of disassociating Vairocana from the Ten Bodies, Fazang is accentuating the transcendency of the noumenon in regard to the phenomenal world.

Conclusion

In this section, I briefly recounted how the Ten Bodies evolved to becoming an important doctrine in the Huayan exegesis. First of all, its ascension in importance is justified by its numerous appearances in the *Huayan jing*, though this ascension has been gradual: in the early Huayan exegesis, commentators such as Jizang do not seem to have paid much attention to the Ten Bodies; and it is only in the *panjiao* system created by Master Famin and Yin that the Ten Bodies first came to be treated as an important element, serving an argument for the superiority of the *Huayan Jing* over the other *sūtras*. Subsequently, Zhiyan foregrounds one particular list which he calls the “Ten Buddhas of the Realm of Understanding”, but Zhiyan’s comment on the Ten Bodies is brief and never developed into an elaborate theory. So, it is truly in Fazang’s exegesis that the Ten Bodies evolved to be a full-fledged metaphysical theory and became definitively associated with Vairocana. Furthermore, Fazang interprets Vairocana and the Ten Bodies in such a way that they perfectly illustrate the dual core of the Huayan metaphysics: the “origination from the essential nature” and the “independent origination”.

By retracing this doctrinal history, we could see how Fazang inherits ideas that are not properly his, but which he systematizes in accordance with the overall Huayan philosophy. This discussion allows us to appreciate, concretely, Fazang’s reputation as a “great synthesizer”.

As for the doctrine of the Ten Bodies, it has hardly been studied (almost at all). Certain encyclopedic sources even erred in citing the correct list of the Ten Bodies.¹¹⁹ But this doctrine warrants more attention, not only because it is central to the Huayan philosophy, but also because it represents an element that originated in Indian Buddhist *sūtras* but whose

¹¹⁹ The *Foguang da cidian* has incorrectly cited Zhiyan’s list of the *Xingjing shifo* 行境十佛. It cites a list starting with *Puti shen* 菩提身 (Bodhisattva Body) (see the entry “Shishen” 十身 in the *Foguang dacidian*), whereas Zhiyan states clearly that the list starts with *Wuzhu fo* 無著佛 (Non-Attachment Buddha). Digital Dictionary of Buddhism makes the same mistake, probably by coping from the *Foguang dacidian*. This error committed by two authoritative dictionaries accentuates how understudied the doctrine of Ten Bodies is.

interpretation only became pronounced in the Chinese Buddhist context (unlike the Three Bodies theory that has its root in the Indian Buddhist exegesis).

Further study could investigate its interpretation by later Huayan exegetes, notably Chengguan, as well as the Ten Bodies that appear in other *sūtras*.¹²⁰ Moreover, considering that Vairocana is the central deity of Esoteric Buddhism, and that Vairocana came to its prominence through the Huayan exegesis, I believe this topic could be an angle to studying the connections between the Huayan tradition and Esoteric Buddhism.¹²¹

3.3.2. Mañjuśrī and Samanthabhadra

In various scenes in the *Huayan jing*, Mañjuśrī¹²² and Samanthabhadra flank Buddha as the “assistants”. This dual “assistantship” to Buddha echoes the doctrine of One Mind and its Two Aspects that is featured in the Chinese apocryphon *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 [Treatise on the Awakening of the Faith in Mahāyana] which is a major source of inspiration for Fazang. The importance of Mañjuśrī and Samanthabhadra are evident both in the *Huayan jing* as a whole, and in the last chapter in particular.

In the *Huayan jing* as a Whole

It is noted earlier that in the *Huayan jing*, each chapter (except the second chapter) is presided by a “host”: Buddha takes this role twice, whereas various Bodhisattvas preside over the rest. Among the host Bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī and Samanthabha reappear with the highest

¹²⁰ For instance, Fazang mentions that the Ten Bodies also appear in the *Faji jing* 法集經 [Skt. *Dharmasaṃgīti sūtra*; Compendium of Doctrine *Sūtra*] and the *Shengtianwang jing* 勝天王經 [Skt. *Pravara-deva-rāja-pariprcchā*; *Sūtra* of Supreme Heavenly King]. *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 229a27-28.

¹²¹ Regarding the Huayan influences on esoteric Buddhism, see Sørensen, “Esoteric Buddhism under the Liao”, 456-464 (especially 460-461); idem., “Esoteric Buddhism under the Jin”, 478-486; Dunne, “Esoteric Buddhism under the Xixia (1038-1227)”, 465-477. For a comparison between the Vairocana in Huayan Buddhism and Mahāvairocana in Shingon Buddhism, see Kwangsoo, “Comparative Study”, 305-331. In addition, in 1997, a Japanese project titled “Studies on the *Avatamsaka-Sutra*: The Transition from Mahayana Buddhism to Esoteric Buddhism” aimed precisely to investigate the esoteric elements in the Huayan tradition, resulting in several publications.

¹²² For Fazang’s commentary on Mañjuśrī, see *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 35: 169c7-23. Fazang comments on Mañjuśrī in four aspects: alternative names, places of dwelling, past lives in which he served as Buddha’s teacher, and his “virtues and functions” (*deyong* 德用). But I will not discuss this in my thesis, since Fazang’s interpretation of Mañjuśrī is not directly pertinent to the *Huayan jing*.

frequency: Mañjuśrī is the preacher in seven chapters in three assemblies,¹²³ whereas Samanthabhadra appears in eight chapters in three assemblies.¹²⁴

Huayan exegetes read significances into the order of appearances of Mañjuśrī and Samanthabhadra in the *Huayan jing*. For instance, Samanthabhadra has an important role both near the very beginning and at the very end of the *Huayan jing*. He also appears in the second chapter and gives a magnificent description of the World of the Lotus-Womb, the location where the *Huayan jing* is said to be taught.¹²⁵ This description is the forecast of what a practitioner will achieve at the end of his spiritual search; and indeed, at the very end of the *sūtra*, Samanthabhadra re-appears, receiving Sudhana who has reached the end of his pilgrimage. Samanthabhadra thus plays a strategic role in the *sūtra*: as the one who previews the “fruit” of the practices so as to “encourage delights in practices and to generate faith”¹²⁶ and as the one who reveals the “fruit” when one has completed the practices and is now deserving of the “fruit”.

In the Eighth Assembly “Entering the Realm of the Dharma”

Mañjuśrī and Samanthabhadra’s roles are also prominent in the last chapter. In the beginning scene, they both accompany Buddha while the latter demonstrates his spiritual power. Then the plot unfolds along the pilgrimage of Sudhana, as he meets 52 “spiritual friends” (*shanyou* 善友) in 55 meetings across 110 cities. Fazang divides the pilgrimage into two stages, precisely by the name of the two bodhisattvas: the Mañjuśrī Stage and the Samantabhadra Stage. Fazang comments:

The fifty-five meetings are dominated by two chief figures. (The fifty-four meetings between Sudhana’s first and second encounter with) Mañjuśrī is the “Mañjuśrī stage” which comes under the aspect of *prajñā*. The last (meeting with Samantabhadra) is the “Samantabhadra Stage” which comes under the aspect of the *Dharma* Realm. Since without *prajñā*, one can never enter the *Dharma* Realm, Sudhana begins (his trip) by

¹²³ Including the entire second assembly (Chapter 3-8) and the seventh assembly (Chapter 33).

¹²⁴ Including the first assembly (Chapter 1-2), five chapters in the sixth assembly (Chapter 23, 24, 29, 31-32) and the seventh assembly (Chapter 33).

¹²⁵ See the next section 5.2 below (“World of the Lotus-Womb”).

¹²⁶ According to the Fourfold Classification, the second chapter is considered the “Section for Demonstrating the Result so as to Encourage Delights (in Practices) and to Generate Faith” (“Juguo quanle shengxin fen” 舉果勸樂生信分).

encountering Mañjuśrī. Since without entering the *Dharma* realm, (the importance of) *prajña* will not become apparent, Sudhana concludes (his pilgrimage) by seeing Samantabhadra. Thus, these two figures represent two stages, (and are used) to show (the process of) entering into the *Dharma* Realm. Also, Mañjuśrī, (who appears) at the beginning, symbolizes the great profundity of the Dharma Realm, while Samantabhadra, (who appears) at the end, indicates the immensity of the Dharma Realm 此五十五會，二主統收。初文殊至後文殊，是文殊位，屬般若門；後普賢一位，屬法界門。非般若無以入法界，是故善財創見於文殊。非入法界無以顯般若，是故善財終見於普賢。是故二人寄二位以明入法界。又前文殊，即法界甚深義；後普賢，顯法界廣大義。¹²⁷

In this passage, Fazang explains the respective way that Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra assist Sudhana in his spiritual search and emphasizes that both ways are indispensable. It is Mañjuśrī who, as the Bodhisattva of Wisdom (Skt. *prajña*), encourages Sudhana to embark on the pilgrimage. He sets into motion Sudhana's spiritual journey which would take the latter to encounter numerous spiritual friends. Together, Mañjuśrī and 52 spiritual friends represent the “Mañjuśrī Stage” (*Wenshu wei* 文殊位), in which Sudhana is led gradually to descend the “great profundity of the Dharma Realm”. Without Mañjuśrī, Sudhana would not have started his pilgrimage and thus would not have been able to meet Samantabhadra and enter the Realm of *Dharma*.

Samantabhadra, on the other hand, represents the direct realization of the *Dharma* Realm. He touches the head of Sudhana and thus causes him to attain *sāmadhis* as numerous as the buddha-fields, and grants him visions in which it is possible to witness the omnipresence of Samantabhadra, and with it, the “immensity of the *Dharma* Realm”.¹²⁸ Without Sudhana experiencing this, he would not have pierced the importance of *prajña*. Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī are thus the pre-requisite to each other, for each other's sake, so that the expanse and the depth of the *Dharma* Realm could both be revealed to the seeker Sudhana.

¹²⁷ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 451a9-15 Translation cited from Liu, *Teaching*, 117.

¹²⁸ Osto has summarized the revelations that Sudhana receives from Samantabhadra. See Osto, *Narrative*, 239-243. Note that his summary is based on a Sanskrit text, which may or may not differ significantly from the Chinese *Huayan jing*.

3.4. Where

3.4.1. Seven Locations

The *Huayan jing* consists of eight assemblies. Each assembly takes place at a different location, with the exception of the second and seventh assembly, both of which take place in the Dharma-Hall of Universal Light (Puguang Fatang 普光法堂).

The *Huayan jing* opens with Buddha sitting under the Bodhi-tree. From there, Buddha moves to the Dharma-Hall of Universal Light before gradually ascending to various palaces in the heavens, and returns to earth only in the last assembly. The seven locations are:

1. The First Assembly: The Place of Enlightenment of the Extinction (of Afflictions) (Jimie daochang 寂滅道場) under the Bodhi-tree in Magadha;
2. The Second and Seventh Assembly: The Dharma-Hall of Universal Light. According to Fazang, it is located three *li* south-east of the Bodhi tree, built by the nāgas when they saw Buddha sitting unsheltered after his enlightenment;¹²⁹
3. The Third Assembly: The Palace of Indra (Dishi dian 帝釋殿) at the top of Mount Meru;
4. The Fourth Assembly: The Jewelled Adornment Palace (Baozhuangyan dian 寶莊嚴殿) on the Deva Yāma Heaven (Yemo tian 夜魔天);
5. The Fifth Assembly: The Hall of Adornments of All Jewels (Yiqie baozhuangyan dian 一切寶莊嚴殿) on the Tuṣita Heaven (Doushuai tian 兜率天);
6. The Sixth Assembly: The Muni Palace (Moni baodian 摩尼寶殿) on the Paranirmita-vaśavartin Heaven (Huazizai tian 化自在天);
7. The Eighth Assembly: The Great Tower in Jetavana Monastery (Qihuan chongge 祇洹重閣) in Śrāvastī.

¹²⁹ *Huayan jing wenyi gangmu*, T no. 1734, 35: 496b10.

Fazang makes two interesting observations about these locations. First, Fazang explains why two assemblies take place at the same location:

Why is it that this assembly (i.e., the Seventh Assembly) takes place again here (i.e., the Dharma-Hall of Universal Light)? The first (Dharma-Hall of) Universal Light (in the Second Assembly) heralds the beginning of the understanding; this (Dharma-Hall of Universal Light) relies on the understanding (in order to) spur the practices. For this reason, the assembly takes place again (here). 今何故於此而重會者，以前普光是生解之初，今明依解起行，故重會之。¹³⁰

Secondly, at the beginning of each assembly, we often find these curious preambles saying that before Buddha moves to a new location, he does not leave the Bodhi-tree as well as the location of the previous assemblies. For instance,

Without leaving the Bodhi-tree and the Palace of Indra, (Buddha goes) towards the Hall of Jewelled Adornments on the Deva Yāma Heaven 不離道樹及帝釋宮，向夜摩天寶莊嚴殿。¹³¹

Sometimes the previous two locations are mentioned, such as:

Without leaving the seat of the Bodhi-tree, the Wondrous Hall of Jewelled Adornments at the top of Mount Meru, and the Hall of Jewelled Adornments on the Deva Yāma Heaven, (Buddha) goes to the Hall of Adornments of All Jewels on the Tuṣita heaven 不離菩提樹座，及須彌頂妙勝殿上夜摩天空寶莊嚴殿，趣兜率天宮一切寶莊嚴殿。¹³²

These preambles reveal that Buddha's itinerary is not a linear one, but a superimposition of locations. According to Fazang, such superimposition of locations has several implications: it elucidates perfectly the Huayan conception of space and time: "From the perspective of place,

¹³⁰ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 418b14-20.

¹³¹ *Huayan jing* (60 juans), T no. 278, 9: 463a2-3

¹³² *Ibid.*, 478c24-26

that is, the gate of entering, one point of space embraces all points of space” 約處，即入門。謂以一處中有一切處故；“From the perspective of time, under this tree and above the seat, the body of Buddha pervades the past and future time, as well as all the time in the Nine Times and the Ten Times¹³³” 約時，謂由此樹下座上佛身，即遍前後際等九世十世一切時。It also reflects the omnipresence of the bodies of Buddha: “From the perspective of the Buddha, the Buddha under the Bodhi-tree is simultaneously present at all places” 約佛，謂此坐樹王下之佛身，即遍法界一切處故。It further reveals the integral structure of the *Huayan jing*: “From the perspective of the context of the (*sūtra*), it shows that what has been achieved in the previous assembly remains intact in all subsequent assemblies” 約所表，謂表前位行成，究竟堅固不壞；“From the perspective of the formation of the assemblies, each subsequent assembly contains the previous assembly. That is why the (Buddha) does not leave the previous assemblies in forming the subsequent assembly” 約成會，謂後會必具前，故不捨前而成後。¹³⁴

3.4.2. The World of Lotus-Womb (Lianhua zangjie 蓮華藏界)

While Buddha changes the location according to the assembly, Fazang believes there is one location that remains constant: The World of Lotus-Womb which, Fazang believes, is the site where the *Huayan jing* was ultimately taught. The *sūtra* never explicitly says it was taught in the World of Lotus-Womb, but the *Huayan jing* makes a clear association between the World of Lotus-Womb and Vairocana, saying that the World of Lotus-Womb came into existence when Vairocana made his great vow as a bodhisattva countless eons ago.¹³⁵ Since Vairocana is considered the creator of the *Huayan jing*, as we have already discussed at length, it is possible that the World of Lotus-Womb became the site for the creation of the *Huayan jing*, thanks to its association with Vairocana.¹³⁶

But it is not only its association with Vairocana that gave the World of Lotus-Womb its importance, but also its architectural features. In the second chapter, Samantabhadra enters the

¹³³ “Ten Times” is the “Nine Times” plus the one thought-moment that encompasses the Nine Times. Regarding Nine Times, see section 2.2.

¹³⁴ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 193a12-b11. Liu summarizes all eight points; see Liu, *Teaching*, 114.

¹³⁵ *Huayan jing* (60 juans), T no. 278, 9: 412a21-23.

¹³⁶ According to Liu Mingwood, Ishii Kyōdō has studied the World of the Lotus Womb, specifically its origin in the early Buddhist and non-Buddhist sources. See Ishii, *Kegon*, 194-220. Cited from Liu, *Teaching*, 135.

World of Lotus-Womb in his meditative trance and, upon emerging from the trance, gives an elaborate description of the world in sumptuous details.¹³⁷ It is a world upheld by numberless ties of wheels of wind and atop these wheels is a gigantic lotus called the “Adornment of Flagrant Banner and Bright Light” (Xiangchuang guangming zhuangyan 香幢光明莊嚴), whose ground is covered with diamonds that illuminate the entire universe. Based on Samantabhadra’s description, Fazang makes numerous connections between the World of the Lotus-Womb and Indra’s Net.¹³⁸ And like Indra’s net, the World of the Lotus-Womb amounts to an architectural representation of the Huayan universe.

3.4.3. The Great Tower of the Treasury of the Brilliant Pure Ornaments (or the Tower of Maitreya) (Mingjing zhuangyan zang dalou 明淨莊嚴藏大樓)

It is here where Sudhana reunites with Maitreya at the end of his pilgrimage. It situates in the park named “Great Array” (Skt. *Mahavyūha*) in the country of Samudrakaccha where Maitreya would remain until he passes onto the Tuṣita Heaven. Both Osto and Liu identify the Tower of Maitreya, along with the World of Lotus Womb, as the two most prominent locations in the *Huayan jing*.¹³⁹ But Fazang does not seem to have paid it any particular attention, other than pointing out (correctly) that the Sanskrit name for this tower is the “Womb of the Ornaments of Vairocana” (Skt. Vairocanavyūhālaṃkāragarbha; Biluzhe’na zhuangyan zang 毘盧遮那莊嚴藏), corresponding exactly to the name in the extant Sanskrit manuscript.

3.5. Samādhi

3.5.1. The Oceanic Reflection Samadhi (*Haiyin sanmei* 海印三昧; Skt. *Sāgaramudrā samādhi*)

According to the Huayan exegesis, Buddha Vairocana taught the *Huayan jing* from the meditative state of the Oceanic Reflection Samādhi. In the *Huayan jing* itself, however, just like Vairocana, the Oceanic Reflection Samādhi is hardly an important element. It appears only four times in the *sūtra*, once in a verse, once as one of the ten characteristics of the true wisdom of

¹³⁷ Liu provided a detailed description of this world. See Liu, *Teaching*, 123-125.

¹³⁸ Fazang likens the World of Lotus-Womb to Indra’s Net in several occasions. E.g., *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 128b9-11.

¹³⁹ Osto, *Narrative*, 234-238; Liu, *Teaching*, 125-168.

Tathāgata and twice blending in a list of *samādhis*. And nowhere is mentioned that the *Huayan jing* is taught in the Oceanic Reflection Samādhi.

Despite its obscurity in the *Huayan jing*, the Oceanic Reflection Sāmādhi became a prominent doctrine in both China and Korea. In Korea, the Oceanic Reflection Samādhi owed its fame to Uisang's diagram: the *Haein do* 海印圖 (Oceanic Reflection Diagram), which condenses the heart of the Huayan teaching in 210 characters arranged in a co-centrical pattern. This diagram became so influential in Korea that it was rewarded as a diploma to Korean monks at the end of their course of study. Even nowadays, it is still regularly chanted.¹⁴⁰

In China, Fazang was the first to have lavished attention on the Oceanic Reflection Sāmādhi. Recalling that Fazang and Uisang were fellow disciples, it is thus possible that Fazang was inspired by his senior co-disciple Uisang in this aspect, who had created the Oceanic Reflection Diagram as early as 668.

But what is it about the Oceanic Reflection Samādhi that has drawn such attention from Uisang and Fazang? In the *Huayan jing*, the Oceanic Reflection Samādhi is praised for its power to reveal all:

隨諸眾生若干身 All beings, their various forms,
無量行業諸音聲 Their innumerable actions and sounds
一切示現無有餘 Are all revealed with no exception.
海印三昧勢力故 Because this is the power of the Oceanic Reflection *Samādhi*.¹⁴¹

Therefore, it is perhaps in this all-revealing power about the Oceanic Reflection Samādhi that Fazang sees the resemblance with the enlightened state of mind: Fazang explicates:

The "oceanic reflection" means the fundamental awareness of true thusness. When delusion ends, the mind is clear and myriad forms equally appear; it is like the ocean, where waves are created by the wind. When the wind stops, the water of the ocean grows still and clear, reflecting all images. The *Dasheng qixin lun* calls it "the repository of

¹⁴⁰ Steve Odin dedicated an entire book to the study of this diagram (by comparing it with Whitehead's Process Metaphysics). Odin, *Process Metaphysics*.

¹⁴¹ *Huayan jing* (60 juans), T no. 278, 9: 434c5-6.

infinite qualities; and the ocean of the true thusness of the nature of things”. That is why it is called the Oceanic Reflection *Samādhi*. 言海印者，真如本覺也。妄盡心澄，萬象齊現。猶如大海因風起浪，若風止息，海水澄清，無象不現。《起信論》雲：「無量功德藏，法性真如海」。所以名為海印三昧也。¹⁴²

In other words, the Oceanic Reflection *Samādhi* symbolizes a kind of holistic awareness: just like a tranquil ocean capable of reflecting all phenomena, the “fundamental awareness of true thusness”, when devoid of delusion, can reflect all phenomena.

3.5.2. The Flower Garland *Samādhi* (*Huayan sanmei* 華嚴三昧)

Fazang also offers another perspective to regard the Oceanic Reflection *Samādhi* — from the “perspective of cause” (*yinwei* 因位), meaning the perspective that observes how the cause leads to the effect. From this perspective, the Oceanic Reflection *Samādhi* comes to be known as the Flower Garland *Samādhi* (*Huayan sanmei* 華嚴三昧). It is different from the Oceanic Reflection *Samādhi* that exists beyond the linear cause-and-effect. Instead, it is the perspective that emphasizes the power of the practices to cause effects. In *Huayan jing*, the Flower Garland *Samādhi* is precisely praised for its association with various practices:

施戒忍辱精進禪 Generosity, self-control, tolerance, diligence and meditation
方便智慧諸功德 Skill-in-means, wisdom and various merits,
一切自在難思議 And all the free inconceivable doctrines,
華嚴三昧勢力故 Are all due to the power of the Flower Garland *Samādhi*.¹⁴³

Thus, we have two *samādhis* that are deemed paramount in the *Huayan jing* which represent two perspectives of viewing the cause and effect: The Oceanic Reflection *Samādhi* represents the holistic awareness that perceives all phenomena simultaneously; it is the

¹⁴² Xiu *Huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan*, T no. 1876, 45: 637b21-25. Translation cited from Liu, *Teaching*, 122.

¹⁴³ *Huayan jing* (60 juans), T no. 278, 9: 434c10-11.

enlightened perspective that sees no succession, no linearity between cause and effect. Whereas the Flower Garland Samādhi is a perspective that is not yet enlightened and promotes practices as the power that leads to the Buddhahood.

Regarding this meaning of the Flower Garland *Samādhi*, I have already discussed earlier in the “Title” section. I also pointed out that this meaning, espoused by Master Dayuan, is judged by Fazang to be an incomplete truth. However, it is possible to re-interpret the Flower Garland Samādhi from an enlightened perspective and Fazang indeed gives this term a different spin. He starts his re-interpretation by dissecting the term *sāmadhi*:

Samadhi (is the state in which) duality is no more between the principle and the cognition of the principle, as they interpenetrate and fuse with each other. “This” and “that” vanish, while subject and object cease. This is what it is meant by *samādhi*. 三昧者，理智無二，交徹鎔融；彼此俱亡，能所斯絕。故云三昧也。¹⁴⁴

When *samādhi*, with all its non-dual significance, is applied to *huayan*, the barrier between *hua* and *yan* also breaks down:

We could also say that *hua* is *yan*, because between the principle and the cognition (of the principle), there is no obstruction; (also) because the Flower Garland Samādhi is a practice that could melt the view of separation. *Hua* could also be equaled to *yan*, because through one practice, all practices are instantaneously cultivated. We can (even) say that *huayan* is *sāmadhi* because one practice is the myriad (practices), as there is no obstruction between one and myriad. *Huayan* is *samādhi* (also) because concentration and distraction are mutually integral to each other. Or rather, *samādhi* is *huayan* because principle and the cognition of the principle is like the thusness. 亦可華即嚴，以理智無礙故，華嚴三昧以行融離見故；亦可華即嚴，以一行頓修一切行故，華嚴即三昧，一行即多而不礙一多故；亦可華嚴即三昧，以定亂雙融故；亦可三昧即華嚴，以理智如如故。¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ *Youxin fajie ji*, T no. 1866, 45: 646b12-14.

¹⁴⁵ *Youxin fajie ji*, T no. 1866, 45: 646b12-18.

This passage exemplifies a deep-seated impulse of Fazang, that is, to break down the dualistic barrier whenever he encounters one. Even *samādhi* and *huayan* are removed of their dualistic separation. By thus re-interpreting the relationship between *hua and yan*, and between *huayan and samādhi*, Fazang integrates them to the Huayan metaphysics in which the cause no longer precedes the effect but contains the latter; and in which the Oceanic Reflection *Samādhi* becomes one with the Flower Garland *Samādhi*.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ For a further reading about the Flower Garland *Samādhi*, see Kobayashi, “Kegon sanmai”, 341-344.

Chapter 4: Structure of the *Huayan jing*

It is clear to modern scholars that the *Huayan jing* is an assemblage of *sūtras* that were previously separate but came to be compiled either in Central Asia or, as new evidence suggests, in India.¹⁴⁷ Each *sūtra* could stand on its own content-wise, and some *sūtras* had indeed been circulating independently in China for centuries before the entirety of the *Huayan jing* was translated in 420 or 421 by Buddhahadra. So, a question arises: why did these *sūtras* that used to stand alone, came to form one set of *sūtra*?

Susumu offers a piece of the puzzle by identifying four Sanskrit *sūtra*-groups pre-dating the large *Avatamsaka sūtra* (i.e., *Huayan jing*). Susumu believes that the four groups, which share the term *buddhāvataṃsaka* in their alternative titles, were circulating independently before being compiled to form the large *Avatamsaka sūtra*. But while Susumu sheds light on *how* the *sūtras* came to be compiled, he did not explain *why* they came to be associated in the first place? In other words, is there anything in the content of the *Huayan jing* that may suggest the connections between chapters? For this, we could rely on Huayan exegetes who went to great length to demonstrate the connections between chapters and the structural integrity of the *Huayan jing*.

For instance, exegetes commented at length on some curious passages at the start of certain assemblies. These passages say that Buddha, in departing for a new location, does not leave the Bodhi-tree and the locations of the previous assemblies. In addition, the locations of the first six assemblies correspond exactly to the hierarchy of Buddhist cosmology.¹⁴⁸ These are powerful evidence suggesting that there may be a logic to the structure of the *Huayan jing*. Even though we, moderns, would not see these evidence as revealing the “divine design” of the *Huayan jing*, we could nevertheless attribute them to the deliberation of the compilers who selected and ordered the *Huayan* chapters.

In this chapter, I will show the various ways by which Huayan exegetes interpret the inter-chapter and inter-assembly relationship. While Huayan exegetes necessarily see

¹⁴⁷ Ōtake, “Early Development”, 87-108.

¹⁴⁸ Locations from the first to seventh assembly: The Earthly Realm (i.e., Bodhi-tree and the Dharma-Hall), Mount Meru, the Deva Yāma Heaven, the Tuṣita Heaven, and the Paranirmita-vaśavartin Heaven.

connections that are not there, some of their remarks may indeed help us acknowledge that the *Huayan jing* has a stronger structural logic than the other *sutras*.

Furthermore, I will also demonstrate how certain Huayan doctrines are derived from the interpretation of the structure, especially the famous Huayan doctrine of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages. Understanding the exegetical origin of Huayan doctrines is a consistent goal throughout this thesis.

Lastly, I believe that Huayan exegetes, by arguing for the structural integrity of the *Huayan jing*, may have catalyzed the emergence of the Huayan tradition. Because by arguing that the *Huayan jing* is an internally coherent *sūtra*, exegetes discourage the commentarial effort that focuses only on one chapter at the expense of the *Huayan jing* at large. Indeed, in the early history of the Huayan exegesis, most exegetes paid attention exclusively to the *Shidi jing* rather than the *Huayan jing* as a whole, which remained to be the case even a century after Budhabhadra translated the entire *Huayan jing* in 420 and 421. Perhaps, had the exegetes not emphasized the structural integrity of the *sūtra*, this tendency would have continued, thus mirroring the fate of the *Huayan jing* in Tibetan Buddhism, in which the influential *Ten Stages Sūtra* overshadows its mother text.

In Chinese Buddhism itself, we could also ask why only a very few *sūtras* have given rise to specialized traditions. For example, why did the *Daji jing* 大集經 [Skt. *Mahāvaiṣṭhī mahāsamghatā sūtra*; the Great Assembly *Sūtra*]—more influential than the *Huayan jing* in the early Chinese Buddhist history—never went beyond a loose network of commentaries to forming its own tradition? For the reasons above, I believe it is vital to study the Huayan interpretation of the structural of the *Huayan jing*, because therein may lie the key to the formation of the Huayan tradition.

Chart 1: Structure of the *Huayan jing* according to Fazang

三分科經 Threefold Classificatio n	序分 Preface		正宗分 Theme Proper																																							
					序分 General Setting		正宗分 Theme Proper				序分		正宗分		序分		正宗分																									
52 位 52 Bodhisattva stages					1-10. 十信 Ten Faiths				11-21. 十住 Ten Abodes (梵行 Pure Living for Fulfilling Ten Abodes)				(11 practices)				21-30. 十行 Ten Practices		(十无尽藏 Ten Inexhaustible Treasures)				31-40. 十迴向 Ten Dedications		41-50. 十地 Ten Stages		(十明 Ten Knowledges)		(十忍 Ten Constancies)						51 等覺 Virtual Enlightenment (普賢行 Samanthabhad ra in Practice)		52 妙覺 Wonderous Enlightenme nt					
五分 Fivefold Classificatio ns	1. 教起因緣分 Causes and Conditions that Gave rise to the Teaching		2. 緣果勸樂生 信分 Demonstratio n the Fruits so as to Engender the Longing and a Faith in the Teaching of the Buddha		3. 修因契果生解分 Generation of the Understanding and Attainment of the Fruit through Cultivating Causes (I.e. 52 bodhisattva stages)																																4. 託法進修成行 分 Actualizing the Practices by Relying on the Understanding (of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages)		5. 依人入證成德分 Enter the Realization and Perfect Virtues by Relying on Spiritual Friends			
五周 (因果) Five Rounds (of Cause and Effect)			1. 所信因果 Cause and Effect Pertaining to Faith		2. 差別因果 Cause and Effect Which are Different (aka. 緣修因果 Cause and Effect from the Perspective of Practice)																																3. 平等因果 Cause and effect that are equal 性起因果 Cause and Effect Pertaining to the Perspective of Essential Nature		4. 成行因果 Cause and Effect Pertaining to Deeds		5. 證入因果 Cause and Effect Pertaining to the Realization	
			信果 Fruit of faith (身 deeds + 語 words + 意 thoughts)		信因 Causes of faith (解 understanding, 行 action + 證 spiritual attainment)		因 cause														果 effect														因 cause		果 fruit					
八會 Eight Assemblies	1. 寂滅道場會 The Assembly at the Place of Enlightenment of the Extinction (of Afflictions)		2. 普光法堂會 The Assembly at the Dharma-Hall of Universal Light				3. 須彌山頂會 The Assembly on the Top of Mount Sumeru								4. 夜摩天宮會 The Assembly at the Palace in the Deva Yama Heaven				5. 兜率天宮會 The Assembly at the Palace in the Tusita Heaven				6. 化自在天宮會 The Assembly at the Palace fo Parīrmita-vaśavartin												7. 普光法堂重會 The Second Assembly at the Dharma-Hall of Universal Light		8. 祇洹重閣會 The Assembly at the Great Towering Palace in Jetavana					
七處 Seven Locations	1. 寂滅道場 The Place of Enlightenment of the Extinction (of Afflictions) (i.e., Bodhi-tree in Magadha)		2. 普光法堂 The Dharma-Hall of Universal Light				3. 帝釋殿 The Palace of Indra on the top of Mount Meru								4. 寶莊嚴殿 The Jewelled Adornment Palace on the Deva Yāma Heaven 夜摩天				5. 一切寶莊嚴殿 The Hall of Adornments of All Jewels on the Tuṣita Heaven 兜率天				6. 摩尼寶殿 The Muni Palace on the Parānirmita-vaśavartin Heaven 化自在天												7. 普光法堂 The Dharma-Hall of Universal Light		8. 祇洹重閣 The Great Towering Palace of Jetavana in Śrīvaṣṭī					
品名 Chapter	世界淨 眼品	處舍 那品	如來 名號 品	四 諦 品	如來 光 明 覺 品	菩 薩 明 難 品	淨 行 品	賢 首 菩 薩 品	佛 昇 須 彌 頂 品	菩 薩 寶 集 妙 勝 嚴 上 說 偈 品	菩 薩 十 住 品	梵 行 品	初 發 心 菩 薩 功 德 品	明 法 品	佛 昇 樂 摩 天 宮 自 在 品	夜 摩 天 宮 菩 薩 說 偈 品	功 德 華 聚 十 行 品	菩 薩 十 無 盡 藏 品	如 來 昇 兜 率 天 宮 一 切 寶 莊 嚴 殿 品	兜 率 天 宮 菩 薩 雲 集 讚 佛 品	金 剛 幢 菩 薩 十 迴 向 品	十 地 品	十 明 品	十 忍 品	阿 僧 祇 品	壽 命 品	菩 薩 住 處 品	佛 不 思 議 品	如 來 相 海 品	佛 小 相 光 明 功 德 品	普 賢 菩 薩 行 品	寶 王 如 來 性 起 品	離 世 間 品	入 法 界 品								
Chapter Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34								
會主 Assembly host	1. 普賢 Samanrabhadra		2. 文殊 Mañjuśrī						3. 法慧 Dharmamati								4. 功德林 Guṇavāna				5. 金剛幢 vajradhvaja				金剛幢 Vajragarbhā	普賢 Samanrabhadra		如來 Tathagartha		心王 Citirāja		普賢 Samanthabhadra	如來 Tathagartha	普賢 Samanrabhadra		8. 文殊 Mañjuśrī + 普賢 Samanthabhadra + 彌 勒 and 53 勝友 spiritual friends						
入定別 Samādhi	1. 一切如來淨藏三昧 The Samādhi of the Pure-Womb of All Tathāgatas		不入定 No Samādhi						3. 無量方便三昧 The Infinite-Skill Samādhi								4. 喜伏三昧 The Adroit-Mastery Samādhi				5. 明覺三昧 The Wisdom-Light Samādhi				6. 大智慧光明三昧 The Great-Wisdom-Light Samādhi												7. 佛花嚴三昧 The Flower Garland Samādhi		8. 獅子奮迅三昧 The Lion-Vigour Samādhi			

4.1. Origin Myth

The belief in the divine unity of the *Huayan jing* may have been inspired by its origin legend. According to the legend, the present *Huayan jing*, consisting of 36,000 *gāthās*, is the Abridged Version (*lüeben* 略本) of the so-called Lower Version (*xiaben* 下本) which contains 100,000 *gāthās* and was discovered by Nāgārjuna in the Nāga Palace (Longgong 龍宮). In addition to the Lower Version, there is also the Middle Version (*zhongben* 中本) which “could not be received and upheld by the force of people in Jambudvīpa” 非閻浮提人力所受持 as well as the Upper Version (*shangben* 上本) which contains *gāthās* “as numerous as dusts in ten billion worlds” 十三大千世界微塵數頌. These three versions together make up the Great Version (Daben 大本) which “could only be upheld with the aegis of the force of *dharani* and could not be written on palm leaves” 此是，亦非貝葉所能書記. But even this inexpressible text is only the manifestation of the Constant Version (*hengben* 恒本) which is constantly being preached by Buddha “in each interstice and in each thought-moment without pause” 各毛端處，念念常說.¹⁴⁹ The Constant Version is the metaphysical true face of the *Huayan jing*.

This myth was first recorded by Jizang who claims to have read about it in the biography of Nāgārjuna.¹⁵⁰ The myth gives Huayan exegetes not only the confidence that the *Huayan jing* has a divine integrity, but also a context in which to view the *Huayan jing*. In other words, the *Huayan jing* is viewed not as a self-contained text, but a part of a much larger work — and this belief has real consequences for the exegesis. For instance, when Fazang observes an element in the *sūtra* that has not been fully explained, he would speculate that a more satisfying explanation may be found in the Lower Version that is not available in China. Even the expedition that Empress Wu sent to Khotan in search of the *Huayan jing*’s Sanskrit manuscript, may have been catalysed by this myth.

¹⁴⁹ Passages in this paragraph are taken from *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 122b2-25. See my translation in the appendix 4 (*juan* 1: 8.1-6).

¹⁵⁰ Jizang records this myth in the *Weimo jing yishu* 維摩經義疏 [Commentary on the *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa*]. But has he really read about this myth in Nāgārjuna’s biography? The only surviving portion of the biography is the one translated by Kumārajīva, which does not mention this legend. There is also the theory that this myth was inspired by a line in the *Da zhidu lun*. See Hamar, *History*, 152. In addition, Fazang’s *Huayan jing zhuanji* attributes at least part of this legend to Paramārtha. T no. 2073, 51: 153a.

4.2. Four Classification Schemes

Fazang adopts four schemes in structuring the *Huayan jing*: Eight Assemblies, Threefold Classification, Fivefold Classification and the Five Rounds of Cause and Effect.

4.2.1. Eight Assemblies (*bahui* 八會)

As discussed in the section 4.1 (“Locations”) in the last chapter, the *Huayan jing* is preached in seven locations. Each location marks one assembly and, given that two assemblies take place in the same location, the *Huayan jing* comprises totally eight assemblies. See the chart for the names of the assemblies.¹⁵¹

4.2.2. Threefold Classification (*sanfen ke jing* 三分科經)

The Threefold Classification was first used by Dao'an 道安 (312-385)¹⁵² and subsequently became a standard scheme for structuring a *sūtra*. According to this scheme, a *sūtra* comprises General Setting (*Xufen* 序分), Theme Proper (*Zhengzong fen* 正宗分) and Dissemination (*Liutong fen* 流通分).

The General Setting presents the general circumstances in which the teaching takes place, such as the time, place, characters, or the causes of the teaching. In the *Huayan jing*, the first assembly (Chapter 1 and 2) is assigned as the General Setting.

Following the General Setting is the Theme Proper where the main doctrines of the *sūtra* are taught. The rest of the *Huayan jing*, excluding the Dissemination section, all falls under the Theme Proper section.

As for the Dissemination, it is the section that encourages the *sūtra* to be disseminated for the benefits of posterity. Fazang summarizes several opinions as to where to draw the line between the Theme Proper and Circulation.¹⁵³ Interestingly, Fazang suggests that the *Huayan jing* may not contain a Dissemination section, either because “the source of the *sūtra* is not

¹⁵¹ See Liu Mingwood's dissertation for the summary of each assembly and its constituent chapters. Liu, *Teaching*, 105.

¹⁵² This same scheme is also used in Xuanzang's translation of the *Fodi jing lun* 佛地經論 [Skt. *Buddhabhūmi-sūtra-śāstra*; Commentary on the *Buddhabhūmi sūtra*], suggesting the Indian origin of this scheme.

¹⁵³ Liu summarises these opinions. See Liu, *Teaching*, 106-107.

complete” 經來不盡 or because “what (the *sūtra*) enters into has no limit, so there is no Dissemination section at the end. It is like the cultivation of the fruit of Buddhahood which has a beginning but has no end” 以所入無極，故無終流通。如修生佛果，有始無終。Fazang even compares with other *sūtras* to argue that the fact that the *Huayan jing* does not have a Dissemination at its end, nor at the end of any assembly, may be a sign that “the *sūtra* (conceives) a special intention that means something” 故知別意，有所表也。¹⁵⁴

But the Threefold Classification is not only applicable to a *sūtra* as a whole, but also to individual assembly. For instance, in the third assembly, its first two chapters are classed as the General Setting and the chapters from the third chapter onward is the Theme Proper (see the chart). Here, the third chapter is marked as the beginning of the Theme Proper, because it preaches the practices of the Ten Abodes (*Shizhu* 十住) which are part of the the 52 Bodhisattva Stages. In fact, as the chart shows, the Theme Proper in every assembly always starts at the chapter that teaches the 52 Bodhisattva Stages. (I will delve into the topic of 52 Bodhisattva Stages shortly.)

4.2.3. Fivefold Classification (*wufen* 五分)

While the Threefold Classification is commonly used for dividing a *sūtra*, the Fourfold Classification, created by Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416), is specific to the *Huayan jing*. This scheme divides the *Huayan jing* by the intention or the gist of each division. Based on Huiyuan’s scheme, Fazang developed his Fivefold Classification:

1. “Causes and Conditions that Gave Rise to the Teaching” (*jiaoqi yinyuan fen* 教起因緣分) (Chapter 1): this division establishes the general setting of the *sūtra*.
2. “Demonstrate the Fruits so as to Engender the Longing and a Faith (in the Teaching of the Buddha)” (*juguo quanle shengxin fen* 舉果勸樂生信分) (Chapter 2): this division features a description of the World of Lotus-Womb, which is interpreted by Fazang as the demonstration of the “fruit” that is meant to motivate the practitioner to practice.
3. “Generation of the Understanding and Attainment of the Fruit Through Cultivating Causes” (*xiuyin qiguo shengjie fen* 修因契果生解分) (Chapter 3-32): This division aims to

¹⁵⁴ *Tanxuan ji*, T no. 1733, 35: 125a21-b1.

generate a correct understanding of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages, the completion of which will lead to the “attainment of the fruit”.

4. “Actualizing the Practices by Relying on the Understanding [of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages]” (*tuofa jinxiu chengxing fen* 託法進修成行分) (Chapter 33): This division shows 2000 deeds and how these deeds could be put into practice based on the understanding of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages;

5. “Enter the Realization and Perfect Virtues by Relying on Spiritual Friends” (*yiren ruzheng chengde fen* 依人入證成德分) (Chapter 34): This division recounts Sudhana’s pilgrimage and how he approaches the Buddhahood with the assistance of the 53 spiritual friends. This division shows the 52 Bodhisattva Stages as embodied in the personal experience of Sudhana.

4.2.4. The Five Rounds of Cause and Effect (*wuzhou yinguo* 五週因果)

This classification, evolving around the cause-and-effect, is likely to have originated with Fazang. The relationship between cause and effect is central to Fazang’s exegesis, as he points out plainly that “As for the central principle of the *Huayan jing*, there are various theories. If we look deeply into (the matter, we shall see that) the final view is that it expounds in general the two aspects of “cause” and “effect” 華嚴宗旨，其義不一。究其了說，總明因果二門。¹⁵⁵ Indeed, beneath Fazang’s exegesis always lurks a concern with the cause and effect, as we have already seen in Fazang’s interpretation of the *sūtra* title, the *samādhi* and the relationship between Mañjuśrī and Samanthabhadra. Now, in discussing the organization of the *sūtra*, Fazang again resorts to this perspective. In this perspective, Fazang divides the *sūtra* into five rounds of cause and effect:

1. “Cause and Effect Pertaining to Faith” (*suoxin yinguo* 所信因果) (Chapter 2).
2. “Cause and Effect which are Different” (*chabie yinguo* 差別因果), also known as “Cause and effect from the Perspective of Practice” (*yuanxiu yinguo* 緣修因果) (Chapter 3-30).
3. “Cause and Effect that are Equal” (*pingdeng yinguo* 平等因果), also known as “Cause and Effect from the Perspective of Essential Nature” (*xingqi yinguo* 性起因果) (Chapter 31-32).

¹⁵⁵ Translation cited from Liu, *Teaching*, 109. *Huayan celin*, T no. 1872, 45: 0597a06.

4. “Cause and Effect Pertaining to Deeds” (*chengxing yinguo* 成行因果) (Chapter 33).
5. “Cause and Effect Pertaining to the Realization” (*zhengru yinguo* 證入因果) (Chapter 34).

By and large, “cause” is the passages or chapters that contain practices, whereas the “effect” is those demonstrating miracles, virtues or powers. For instance, in the first round, the description of the World of Lotus-Womb is regarded as the “effect”, whereas the pious deeds performed by the boy Puzhuangyan 普莊嚴 is the “cause”. Liu has explained each round in great details,¹⁵⁶ so I will focus on explicating the rationale behind the classification, especially the second and the third round. (I will discuss the fourth and fifth round in the section 3.3 and 3.4 below, as they are related to the 52 Bodhisattva Stages).

The second and the third round represents two perspectives to see the cause-and-effect relationship. The first perspective is to see the relationship as linear, with the cause leading to the effect. I already touched on this perspective in the last chapter when I discussed Master Dayuan’s interpretation of the *sūtra* title (i.e., the character *hua* leads to *yan* linearly). And this interpretation is exemplified by the second round — “Cause and Effect that are Different”. The first 26 chapters in this round teach the 50 Bodhisattva Stages which are the “cause”, whereas the last two chapters pertain to the “effects” — and the relationship between them is linear, with the 50 Bodhisattva stages leading to the effects. Since this round emphasizes the effects that are produced by the practices, this round is also known as “Cause and Effect from the Perspective of Practice”.

The second perspective is to see the cause and effect from the perspective of the “*dharma*-realm”. In this perspective, both “cause” and “effect” are phenomena that arise spontaneously from the *dharma*-realm, neither of which has intrinsic existence. Lacking intrinsic existence, the “cause” and “effect” thus become equal to each other via the intermediacy of the un-manifest *dharma*-realm. This point joins our previous discussion on Vairocana’s Ten Bodies (e.g., the Ten Bodies are identical to each other, in the sense that they are all the changing manifestations of the eternal Vairocana). This point also recalls Fazang’s re-interpretation of the title *huayan* (e.g., *hua* is *yan*; *yan* is *hua*). This non-dual relationship falls under the third round — the “Round of Cause and Effect that are Equal”. In this round, the Samanthabhadra Practices

¹⁵⁶ Liu, *Teaching*, 109-111.

(*Puxian xing* 普賢行) in the chapter 31 is the “cause”, while the manifestation of the nature of the *Tathāgarta* in the Chapter 32 is the “effect”. But unlike the “cause” and “effect” in the previous round which bears on the 50 Bodhisattva Stages and their effects, the Samanthabhadra Practices and the manifestation of the nature of the *Tathāgarta* are not represented as “stages”, for the discourse of “stages”, according to Fazang, is meant for the audience with inferior capacities. Instead, they represent the “cause” and “effect” as they really are. That is, they are the “cause” and “effect” that come into being by relying on the *dharma*-realm, devoid of intrinsic existence and mutual disparity. Hence, this round is also known as the “Cause and Effect from the Perspective of Essential Nature”.

The above discussion again accentuates Fazang’s perennial concern with causality; and shows how this philosophical concern shapes the way he reads the *sūtra* (i.e., Fazang seeks to structure the *sūtra* by looking for different kinds of cause-and-effect relationship). By studying this point, we could thus observe the degree of liberty that Fazang has taken in interpreting the *Huayan jing*, which is heavily influenced by his philosophical outlook; meanwhile, we could also gain a new layer of understanding about Fazang’s philosophy on causality as he applies it to this specific exegetical topic (i.e., the structure of the *Huayan jing*).

4.3. Fifty-Two Bodhisattva Stages (*Wushi'er wei* 五十二位)

On the path to Buddhahood, it is believed that a bodhisattva undergoes a series of stages. As for the exact number and names of the stages, Buddhist traditions differ in their opinions, but the Huayan doctrine on the 52 Bodhisattva Stages remains one of the most influential.

According to Fazang, the 52 Bodhisattva Stages are: the Ten Faiths (*shixin* 十信), the Ten Abodes (*shizhu* 十住), Ten Practices (*shixing* 十行), the Ten Dedications (*shi huixiang* 十迴向) and the Ten Grounds (*shidi* 十地), in addition to the last two stages of the Virtual Enlightenment (*dengjue* 等覺) and the Marvellous Enlightenment (*miaojue* 妙覺).

4.3.1. Influence of the *Pusa yingluo jing* 菩薩瓔珞經 [*Skt. *Bodhisattva keyūra mūla karmasūtra*; *Sūtra of the Diadem of the Primary Activities of the Bodhisattvas*]

A few discrepancies could be observed between the Huayan interpretation of the Bodhisattva Stages and the Huayan jing. First, the *Huayan jing* does not mention the Ten Faiths and the Virtual Enlightenment. In fact, early exegetes only recognized 41, not 52 stages. So, why did later Huayan exegetes, including Fazang, incorporate these absent elements into their exegesis?

Secondly, in the *Huayan jing*, we could find many other sets of ten practices such as the Ten Knowledges (*shiming* 十明) and the Ten Constancies (*shiren* 十忍). So, why are certain practices selected to form the 52 Bodhisattva Stages, whereas others are excluded?

Regarding both questions, I believe the answer lies in the Chinese apocryphon *Pusa yingluo jing*. This apocryphon is famous for its teaching on the 52 Bodhisattva Stages which has made the 52 Bodhisattva Stages an orthodox doctrine when it comes to the Bodhisattva Stages. Huayan exegetes such as Zhiyan and Fazang must have been influenced by the *Pusa yingluo jing*, as attested by Fazang's numerous references to it.

While consulting the *Pusa yingluo jing*, Huayan exegetes must have also noticed a staggering similarity between the lists of bodhisattva practices in the *Pusa yingluo jing* and those in the *Huayan jing* — another reason motivating Huayan exegetes to read the two texts in juxtaposition. With hindsight, we know that their similarity is not coincidental, but due to the apocryphal nature of the *Pusa yingluo jing* which draws on a variety of sources, notably including the *Huayan jing*. It is thus not surprising to see the sequence and names of many stages being identical in the *Pusa yingluo jing* and the *Huayan jing*. But Huayan exegetes certainly did not know that the *Pusa yingluo jing* is an apocryphon, and consequently, they attempted to see a reflection of the *Pusa yingluo jing* in their reading of the *Huayan jing*.

Specifically, by imitating the *Pusa yingluo jing*, Huayan exegetes incorporated the Ten Faiths¹⁵⁷ and the Virtual Enlightenment¹⁵⁸ to the Huayan doctrine of the Bodhisattva Stages,¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Regarding the Ten Faiths, I need to clarify that the *Pusa yingluo jing* also does not use the term “Ten Faiths”, but the Ten Hearts (*shixin* 十心). It is exegetes who dubbed the Ten Hearts as the Ten Faiths. Nevertheless, by the time of Zhiyan and Fazang, the Ten Faiths has become an orthodox term for the discussion of the Bodhisattva Stages.

¹⁵⁸ The *Pusa yingluo jing* does not use the term “virtual enlightenment” 等覺 but “the stainless ground” 無垢地. But it does mention the “virtual enlightenment” elsewhere in the text. It is in the exegesis of the *Pusa yingluo jing* that the term “virtual enlightenment” replaced the “stainless ground” as the 51st Bodhisattva Stage.

¹⁵⁹ In the Huayan exegesis, Ten Faiths is identified to be the second assembly. Zhiyan is the first one to have done so. (*Souxuan ji*, T no. 1732, 35: 41b4). Fazang further identifies it as the “Chapter on the Chief-in-Goodness” [“Xianshou pusa pin” 賢首菩薩品]. Fazang also identifies the Virtual Enlightenment to be the “Chapter on Samantabhadra Practices” [“Puxian pusa xing pin” 普賢菩薩行品] and the Wonderful Enlightenment to be the “Chapter on the Arising of the Buddha-nature of the Jewel King” [“Baowang Rulai xingqi pin” 寶王如來性起品].

even if the *Huayan jing* does not mention either of them. Likewise, the practices that are not included in the *Pusa yingluo jing* are also excluded from the Huayan doctrine of the Bodhisattva Stages¹⁶⁰, such as the Ten Inexhaustible Treasures (*Shi wujin zang* 十無盡藏).

Since the *Pusa yingluo jing* is an apocryphon, we could thus deem its influence as an instance of Buddhist Sinicization, as it is the case for the *Dasheng qixin lun*, another Chinese apocryphon that has had major influences on Fazang. In some ways, the *Pusa yingluo jing* is even a more interesting case than the *Dasheng qixin lun*, for it could be considered itself as an exegetical text on the *Huayan jing*. It has shown a kind of analytical insight about the *Huayan jing* that could be qualified as an exegetical approach.¹⁶¹ In other words, the ultimate source which influenced the Huayan formulation of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages still lies in the Huayan exegesis itself. It shows to what extent the Huayan exegetes have formed an internal dialogue among themselves, even though they believed they were “dialoguing” with Indian thoughts.¹⁶²

4.3.2. The 51st and 52nd Stage: the “Cause and Effect that are Equal” (*pingdeng yinguo* 平等因果)

Among the 52 stages, the last two stages are considered qualitatively different from the preceding 50 stages. These first 50 stages (Chapter 3-30), according to the “Five Rounds of Cause and Effect” scheme, represent the “cause and effect that are different” (*chabie yinguo* 差別因果), which essentially describes a linear kind of causality, with the 50 stages being the causes (Chapter 3-27) which lead progressively to the effect (Chapter 28-30). Such linear causality, as I have discussed, is seen as an incomplete truth by Fazang. Besides, this linear

¹⁶⁰ *Pusa yingluo benye jing* says “Primary practices of Buddhahood: The Ten Adobes, the Ten Practices, the Ten Dedications, the Ten Grounds, the Stainless Ground and the Wondrous Ground” 佛本業瓔珞十住十行十向十地無垢地妙覺地. *T* no. 1485, 24: 10b26.

¹⁶¹ For instance, the *Pusa yingluo jing* shows a heightened awareness about the structure of the *Huayan jing*, which betrays its exegetical nature. Specifically, the *Pusa yingluo jing* seems aware that the *Huayan jing* could be divided into eight assembles, and selects only one set of practices from each of the eight assembly to form its 52 Bodhisattva Stages. E.g., the Ten Abode is selected from the third assembly, the Ten Practices from the fourth assembly, the Ten Dedications from the fifth assembly. Such analytical insight into the *Huayan jing* should qualify the *Pusa yingluo jing* as part and parcel of the Huayan exegesis.

¹⁶² My discussion seems to feed into Robert Sharf’s counterarguments against the meta-narrative regarding the Sinicization of Indian thoughts. Sharf argues that Chinese Buddhists have never assimilated Indian Buddhist thoughts before transforming them; and that in fact, it has been a monologue among Chinese Buddhists all along. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, 1-27.

presentation of bodhisattva stages also appears in other *sūtras*— another argument used by Fazang that the first 50 stages are not the unique property of the *Huayan jing*.¹⁶³

On the other hand, Fazang believes what makes the *Huayan jing* special is its last two stages — the Virtual Enlightenment (Chapter 31) and the Marvellous Enlightenment (32). The Virtual Enlightenment is the enlightenment that one arrives at the end of the bodhisattva practices, whereas the Marvellous Enlightenment is the enlightenment that could not be accessed in time through practices. We could conceive the Virtual Enlightenment as the gradualist enlightenment, versus the Marvellous Enlightenment as the suddenist one. But neither approach represents the enlightenment of the One Vehicle teaching of *Huayan jing*. Rather, the “Huayan enlightenment” resides in the dialectic relationship between the two — a relationship that perfectly interfuses the seemingly opposing conceptions of the Enlightenment. Hence, the last two stages as said to represent the “cause and effect that are equal” (*pingdeng yinguo* 平等因果).

4.3.3. 52 Bodhisattva Stages in the Seventh Assembly: the “Cause and Effect Pertaining to the Deeds” (*chengxing yinguo* 成行因果)

As we have seen, the doctrine of 52 Bodhisattva Stages is taught from the second to sixth assembly, but Fazang believes that the 52 Stages are also taught, albeit in a distinct manner, in the seventh assembly (Chapter 33) and the eighth assembly (Chapter 34). In the seventh assembly, the Bodhisattva Samantamati (Puhui 普慧) asks 200 questions, and Fazang attempts to map the 52 Bodhisattva Stages onto these questions:

1-20: Ten Faiths

21-40: Ten Abodes

41-70: Ten Actions

71-99: Ten Dedications

100-149: Ten Stages

150-200: Virtual Enlightenment and Wondrous Enlightenment

¹⁶³ In addition to the *Yingluo jing* mentioned earlier, similar lists of practices also appear in the *Renwang huguo bore boluomiduo jing* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經 [Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra for Humane Kings Protecting Their Countries], and the *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 [Skt. *Śūraṅgama sūtra*; Sūtra of Heroic March].

As a response, Samanthabhadra teaches 2000 deeds, with every 200 deeds corresponding to each of the ten questions. According to Fazang, the purpose of this assembly is to teach how to put into practices the 52 Bodhisattva Stages of the previous assemblies; hence, in the Fivefold Classification, this assembly is called the “Actualizing the Practices by Relying on the Understanding (of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages)”; and in the Five Rounds of Causes and Effects, is known as the “Cause and Effect Pertaining to the Deeds”.

4.3.4. 52 Bodhisattva Stages in the Eighth Assembly: the “Cause and Effect Pertaining to the Realization” (*zhengru yinguo* 證入因果)

In the last assembly, before Sudhana reunites with Mañjuśrī near the end of his pilgrimage, he has had 53 meetings with spiritual friends. Fazang matched (some of) these meetings onto the Bodhisattva Stages:

1st meeting with Mañjuśrī: Ten Faiths

2nd to 11th: Ten Abodes

12th to 21st: Ten Actions

22nd to 31st: Ten Dedications

32nd to 41st: Ten Stages.¹⁶⁴

In other words, Fazang sees in Sudhana the personification of the realization of the bodhisattva stages. Hence, in the Five Rounds of Cause and Effect, the last assembly is called the “Cause and Effect Pertaining to the Realization” (*zhengru yinguo* 證入因果).

In summary, Fazang believes that the 52 Bodhisattva Stages are treated three times in the *Huayan jing*: the first round aims to bring about the correct understanding of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages; the second round specifics how the stages could be implemented in deeds; and the last round presents Sudhana as the personification of the journey of bodhisattva practices. In this manner of interpretation, the doctrine of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages becomes a thematic thread weaving together various parts of the *Huayan jing*.

¹⁶⁴ Liu, *Fazang*, 103-104.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1. Exegesis-Philosophy Interplay

As a religious tradition develops a complex theological construct, it becomes more difficult to see past its veneer of abstraction and discern its connections with the foundational texts. In the case of Huayan Buddhism, while scholars have written much on its metaphysics, little attention has been paid to how its metaphysics is constructed on the basis of the *Huayan jing*, the *locus classicus* of Huayan Buddhism.

This tendency also results from the way that philosophers tend to approach the Huayan philosophy: They rely on Fazang's *Jin shizi zhang* to access the Huayan philosophy and prioritizes it over Fazang's other texts. This approach is understandable, as the *Jin shizi zhang* is a short and elegant summary of the heart of the Huayan doctrines. However, the *Jin shizi zhang* is meant to popularize the arcane Huayan doctrines among lay Buddhists (and perhaps to Empress Wu, in particular) and is therefore not the most unreserved exposition of Fazang's thoughts. Besides, the *Jin shizi zhang* makes no mention of the *Huayan jing*; consequently, when scholars expound on the Huayan philosophy based on the *Jin shizi zhang*, they also failed to accord any importance to the *Huayan jing*, resulting in the incongruous situation that the Huayan philosophy is being studied without referecing the text that has given rise to it in the first place. This is analogous to studying the Christian philosophy without mentioning the *Bible*. It is thus evident that this text-doctrine disconnect needs to be addressed; and we could address it by turning our attention to Fazang's *magnum opus* — the *Tanxuan ji*, in which we could reverse-engineer how Fazang arrived at his doctrines via reading the *Huayan jing*.

Some text-doctrine connections are immediately discernible. For instance, we could hear an immediate echo to the Huayan doctrine of interpenetration by reading about such hallucinogenic visions as “infinite buddha-fields on a hair-tip”, which abound in the *Huayan jing*. Some connections, while possible to discern, prove to be problematic once we subject them to a closer investigation. For instance, it is usually assumed that the doctrine of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages derives from the *Huayan jing*, but when we scrutinize it in the *sūtra*, we would come to see that the Ten Faiths of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages do not appear in the *Huayan jing*, whereas many other sets of practices that *do* appear in the *Huayan jing* never make it to the list of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages.

Then there are instances in which the exegesis seems outright far-fetched in relation to the *Huayan jing*. For instance, Vairocana, lauded as the creator of the *Huayan jing*, is not featured prominently in the *sūtra*; and the Oceanic-Reflection Samādhi, elevated to be the meditation that gave rise to the *Huayan jing*, is only one of many *samādhis* that are mentioned in the *sūtra*. Therefore, it was only through a convoluted process of exegesis that these textual elements, which are barely important in the *Huayan jing*, came to the fore of the Huayan doctrines.

The wider the space between the text and the philosophy, the more liberty is taken by the exegetes. And this doctrine-text discrepancy, I believe, is a fertile space for understanding how *hors-textual* factors shape the reading of the text.¹⁶⁵ In the case of Fazang, we could observe several factors feeding into the alienation between the *Huayan jing* and its exegesis. Among them is the inclination, which is evident throughout Fazang's exegesis, to demonstrate the superiority of the *Huayan jing*. By studying how Fazang manifested this inclination on specific exegetical points, we could come to see that Fazang's effort at promoting the *Huayan jing* is not limited to his formalized system of *panjiao* but is omnipresent in his exegesis.

The indigenous Chinese thoughts represent another force contributing to the gap yawning between text and philosophy. For instance, the Chinese apocryphon *Dasheng qixin lun*'s influence (specifically its "One Mind and Its Two Functions" doctrine) permeates Fazang's exegesis, such as when he interprets the relationship of the three deities (i.e., Mañjuśrī and Samanthabhadra in relation to Buddha) or when he explains the title (i.e., *hua* and *Yan* in regard to the *samādhi*). And we came across the indigenous influence again when we discussed the *Pusa yingtuoluo jing* and its influence on the Huayan formulation of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages.

Besides, in studying philosophy in the context of exegesis, we are deepening our understanding of the Huayan philosophy. Indeed, as we delve into the *Tanxuan ji*, we could see that Fazang wears the same "philosophical" lens to interpret every element of the *Huayan jing*, from the title, to the structure, to the deities. In each case, Fazang skillfully engineers his arguments to make the *Huayan jing* cohere with the Huayan worldview. In other words, a consistent worldview reverberates throughout the commentary, while assuming different

¹⁶⁵ In the study of the Christian exegesis, this is already an established approach, that is, to study the development of the Christian philosophy by observing the alienation of the philosophy in relation to the Bibles. One salient example is the doctrine of Trinity which, important though it is in theology, is never explicitly mentioned in the Bible. See Barton, *A History of the Bible*, 1-20.

arguments depending on the specific issue at hand. And for us, by investigating these concrete exegetical points, we would surely be rewarded with new angles to appreciate the Huayan philosophy.

5.2. Contribution of Fazang

It is difficult to quantify the contribution of a synthesizer such as Fazang, for his does not lie in originating new concepts to cram the already crowded exegetical lexicon, nor in instigating a new movement of thoughts that further splinters the interpretation of the teaching of Buddha (though ironically, Fazang became, retrospectively, the *de facto* founder of a new tradition). Rather, his contribution lies in his ability to imbue new meanings into concepts that are already existent, doing so in such a way that they are brought together to form a coherent system. We have witnessed this ability of Fazang numerous times in this thesis. For instance, it was not Fazang who first attributed Vaircana and his Ten Bodies as the creator of the *Huayan jing*. However, it *was* Fazang who weaved past theories into a metaphysical paradigm so that these concepts no longer fly about in their separate spaces but come together to represent the Huayan worldview.

In studying Fazang's exegesis, we also came to appreciate his erudition. Fazang's efforts at explaining Sanskrit, textual variations, and a gamut of foreign objects, animals, and places, are unprecedented in Chinese exegesis. Moreover, Fazang has demonstrated his breadth of reading which includes a staggering number of *sūtras* and commentaries, evidenced by the abundant inter-textual references in the *Tanxuan ji*, or a long list of scriptures in his *Huayan jing zhuanji*. Even his scientific learning finds its way to serving his exegesis. Jinhua Chen, in his 2007 biography of Fazang, has made it abundantly clear as to Fazang's polymathy. And now, by studying his exegesis, we could deepen our appreciation of Fazang's polymathy not only on the level of his life events, but also in regard to the diversity of knowledge present in his commentary.

In short, it is by studying Fazang's exegesis that his true contribution could become apparent. Because otherwise, if we were to approach Fazang only via his philosophy, we would find it hard to pinpoint any invention on his part, or to articulate Fazang's philosophy in a way that is not discussing the Huayan philosophy in general. Hence, to study a synthesizer such as Fazang, we should go down to the process, the dynamics by which he arrives at his philosophy.

5.3. Structural Integrity of the *Huayan jing* as a Condition for the Formation of the Huayan Tradition

Fazang is fastidiously concerned with showing the connections between chapters and assemblies. He uses a great number of arguments and schemes to show the intricate “ecology” of the *Huayan jing*, so much so that he makes it seem impossible to interpret one chapter without relating to all the rest. I believe this kind of exegetical effort, just like the *panjiao*, may have contributed to the emergence of the Huayan tradition. I want to highlight this point by re-iterating three comparisons:

1. After Buddhahadra translated the *Huayan jing* in its entirety in 420 or 421, even a century later, the commentators continued pampering their attention on the *Ten Stages Sūtra*, while the commentaries on the entirety of the *Huayan jing* remained scarce.

2. In Tibetan Buddhism, the *Ten Stages Sūtra* was enormously influential whereas the *sūtra* that comprises it, that is, the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (i.e., *Huayan jing*) never shares its prestige.

3. In early Chinese Buddhist history, even the *sūtras* that were more important than the *Huayan jing* rarely gave rise to an independent tradition (for instance, there is no a “Daji” tradition that was formed around the *Daji jing*).

Thus, one naturally wonders what the Huayan exegetes did differently so that the *Huayan jing* could gain the prestige in its own right and form around it an independent tradition. This question certainly has many answers (e.g, the *panjiao* system, the royal patronage), but I believe an important reason lies in the persistent efforts of the exegetes to accentuate the structural integrity of the *Huayan jing*. In other words, Huayan exegetes make each chapter inextricable from the rest of the *sūtra*, lest any chapter overshadows its mother-text. This exegetical effort may have incubated the formation of an independent tradition. Even for modern scholars who do not share the faith in the divine unity of the *Huayan jing*, we are nevertheless led to appreciate the compact structure of the *Huayan jing* that is often lacking in other *sūtras*, and, by ricochet, the shaping hands of its compiler(s).

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Appendix 1: List of Translations of Fazang in the Western Languages

1. The *Jin shizi zhang* 金師子章 [Treatise on the Golden Lion]

Chang, *Totality*, 224-230; Chen, *Fazang* 176-177; Zacchetti, *Leone*; Van Norden, *Lion*, 86-91; Chan, *Chinese Philosophy*, 409; Fang, *Jin shizi zhang* (annotation in Chinese).

2. The *Huayan wujiao zhang* 華嚴五教章 [Treatise on Five Teachings]

Cook, *Annotated Translation* (doctoral dissertation); David Elstein translated a passage known as the “rafter dialogue”. See Elstein, *Rafter Dialogue*, 80-85. In addition, Monica McLellan and Mark Unno from the University of Portland are currently producing a new translation.

3. The *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義紀 [Commentary on the *Sūtra of Awakening of the Faith in Mahayana*]

Vorenkamp, *Awakening of Faith*.

4. The *Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門 [Method of Mental Examination on the Realm of *Dharma*]

Girard 2019 (French).

5. The *Huayanjing yihai baimen* 華嚴經義海百門 [Hundred Gates to the Sea of Ideas of the Flowery Splendor Scripture]

Chan, *Source Book*, 409-420 (partial translation).

6. The *Xiu Huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan* 修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀 [Cultivation of Contemplation of the Inner Meaning of the Hua-yen: The Ending of Delusion and Return to the Source]

Cleary, *Inconceivable*, 147-170.

7. The *Boreboluomiduo Xinjing lue shu* 般若波羅蜜多心經略疏 [A Commentary on the *Heart Sūtra*]

Chang C.C., *Totality*, 197-206

Appendix 2: Structure of the *Huayan jing* according to Fazang

三分科級 Threefold Classificatio n	序分 Preface		正宗分 Theme Proper																															
					序分 General Setting		正宗分 Theme Proper				序分		正宗分		序分		正宗分																	
52 位 52 Bodhisattva stages					1-10. 十信 Ten Faiths			11-21. 十住 Ten Abodes	{梵行 Pure Living; for Fulfilling Ten Abodes}		{11 practices}			21-30. 十行 Ten Practices	{十无尽藏 Ten Inexhaustible Treasures}			31-40. 十迴向 Ten Dedications	41-50. 十地 Ten Stages	{十明 Ten Knowledges }	{十忍 Ten Constancies }					51 等覺 Virtual Enlightenment (普賢行 Samanthabhad ra Practice)	52 妙覺 Wonderous Enlightenme nt							
五分 Fivefold Classificatio ns	1. 教起因緣分 Causes and Conditions that Gave rise to the Teaching	2. 緣果勸樂生 信分 Demonstratio n the Fruits so as to Engender the Longing and a Faith in the Teaching of the Buddha	3. 修因契果生解分 Generation of the Understanding and Attainment of the Fruit through Cultivating Causes (I.e. 52 bodhisattva stages)																									4. 託法進修成行 分 Actualizing the Practices by Relying on the Understanding (of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages)	5. 依人入道成德分 Enter the Realization and Perfect Virtues by Relying on Spiritual Friends					
五周 (因果) Five Rounds (of Cause and Effect)		1. 所信因果 Cause and Effect Pertaining to Faith	2. 差別因果 Cause and Effect Which are Different (aka. 緣修因果 Cause and Effect from the Perspective of Practice)																									3. 平等因果 Cause and effect that are equal /性起因果 Cause and Effect from the Perspective of Essential Nature	4. 成行因果 Cause and Effect Pertaining to Deeds	5. 證入因果 Cause and Effect Pertaining to the Realization				
			信果 Fruit of faith (身 deeds + 語 words + 意 thoughts)				信因 Causes of faith (解 understanding, 行 action + 證 spiritual attainment)				因 cause										果 effect					因 cause	果 fruit							
八會 Eight Assemblies	1. 寂滅道場會 The Assembly at the Place of Enlightenment of the Extinction (of Afflictions)		2. 普光法堂會 The Assembly at the Dharma-Hall of Universal Light				3. 須彌山頂會 The Assembly on the Top of Mount Sumeru				4. 夜摩天宮會 The Assembly at the Palace in the Deva Yama Heaven				5. 兜率天宮會 The Assembly at the Palace in the Tusita Heaven				6. 化自在天宮會 The Assembly at the Palace fo Parāmirita-vaśavartin								7. 普光法堂重會 The Second Assembly at the Dharma-Hall of Universal Light	8. 祇洹耨蘭會 The Assembly at the Great Towering Palace in Jetavana						
七處 Seven Locations	1. 寂滅道場 The Place of Enlightenment of the Extinction (of Afflictions) (i.e., Bodhi-tree in Magadha)		2. 普光法堂 The Dharma-Hall of Universal Light				3. 帝釋殿 The Palace of Indra on the top of Mount Meru				4. 寶莊嚴殿 The Jewelled Adornment Palace on the Deva Yāma Heaven 夜摩天				5. 一切寶莊嚴殿 The Hall of Adornments of All Jewels on the Tusita Heaven 兜率天				6. 摩尼寶殿 The Muni Palace on the Parāmirita-vaśavartin Heaven 化自在天								7. 普光法堂 The Great Towering Palace of Jetavana in Srāvastī	8. 祇洹耨蘭 The Great Towering Palace of Jetavana in Srāvastī						
品名 Chapter	世界 淨 眼 品	盧 舍 那 品	如 來 名 號 品	四 諦 品	如 來 光 明 燄 難 品	普 薩 明 難 品	淨 行 品	賢 首 普 薩 品	佛 界 須 彌 頂 品	普 薩 雲 集 妙 師 殿 上 說 偈 品	普 薩 十 住 品	梵 行 品	初 發 心 普 薩 功 德 品	明 法 品	佛 界 寶 摩 天 宮 自 在 品	夜 摩 天 宮 普 薩 說 偈 品	功 德 著 聚 薩 十 行 品	普 薩 十 無 盡 藏 品	如 來 昇 兜 率 天 宮 一 切 寶 嚴 殿 品	兜 率 天 宮 普 薩 雲 集 讚 佛 品	金 剛 幢 普 薩 十 迴 向 品	地 品	十 明 品	十 忍 品	阿 僧 祇 品	壽 命 品	普 薩 住 處 品	佛 不 思 議 品	如 來 相 海 品	佛 小 相 光 明 功 德 品	普 賢 普 薩 行 品	寶 王 如 來 性 起 品	離 世 間 品	入 法 界 品
Chapter Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
會主 Assembly host	1. 普賢 Samanṭhabhadra		2. 文殊 Mañjuśrī				3. 法華 Dharmamati				4. 功德林 Guṇavāna				5. 金剛幢 vajradhvaja				金剛藏 Vajragarbhā	普賢 Samanṭhabhadra		如來 Tathagartha		心王 Citārāja		青蓮華 Upala	普賢 Samanṭhabh adra	如來 Tathagarbha	普賢 Samanṭhabhadra		7. 普賢 Samanṭhabhadra	8. 文殊 Mañjuśrī · 普賢 Samanṭhabhadra · 彌 勒 and 51 善友 spiritual friends		
入定別 Samādhi	1. 一切如來淨藏三昧 The Samādhi of the Pure-Womb of All Tathāgatas		不入定 No Samādhi				3. 無量方便三昧 The Infinite-Skill Samādhi				4. 善伏三昧 The Adroit-Mastery Samādhi				5. 明覺三昧 The Wisdom-Light Samādhi				6. 大智慧光明三昧 The Great-Wisdom-Light Samādhi												7. 佛花嚴三昧 The Flower Garland Samādhi	8. 獅子奮迅三昧 The Lion-Vigour Samādhi		

Appendix 3: Outline of *juan 1*

Note: I highlighted and hyperlinked all the sections that I have translated (see Appendix 4 for the translation). I also indicated, in the parenthesis, the part of the thesis where I have discussed a particular section.

Juan 1:

0. Prologue

- 0.1. (Homage to the Three Deities in verses)
- 0.2. (Homage to the ultimate reality)
- 0.3. (Homage to the *Huayan jing*)
- 0.4. (Meaning of the title of the *huayan jing*) (C.3: 1.1.)
- 0.5. (Meaning of the title of the first chapter)

1. 教起所由 Causes for the Teaching

1.1. 總辨 General Remark

1.2. 別顯 Specific Demonstrations

- 1.2.1. 法爾故 For the true nature of the *dharma*
- 1.2.2. 願力故 For the power of vow
- 1.2.3. 機感故 For responding to (differing) abilities
- 1.2.4. 為本故 For the Root (Teaching)
- 1.2.5. 顯德故 For revealing the power (of Buddhahood)
- 1.2.6. 顯位故 For revealing the stages (of Bodhisattva)
- 1.2.7. 開發故 For activating (the Buddha-Nature)
- 1.2.8. 見聞故 For (the lower beings) seeing and hearing (the sphere of great Bodhisattvas)
- 1.2.9. 成行故 For accomplishing the deeds (of Samanthabhadra)
- 1.2.10. 得果故 For obtaining the Buddhahood

2. 藏部所攝 Canonical Divisions Encompassed by the *Huayan jing*

2.1. 明三藏 To define the Three Baskets (Skt. *tripitaka*)

2.1.1. *sūtra*; 2.1.2. *vināya*; 2.1.3. *abhidharma*.

2.2. 顯所攝 To reveal the (baskets) that (the *Huayan jing*) encompasses

- 2.3. 辨二藏 To distinguish the Two Canons (of Śrāvaka and Bodhisattva)
- 2.4. 釋相違 To explain the discrepancies (between the Two Canons and the Three Canons [i.e., Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas and Bodhisattva Canon])
- 2.5. 開種類 Subdivisions (of the Śrāvaka and the Bodhisattva Canon)
- 2.6. 定所攝 To define the Two Canons encompassed (by the *Huayan jing*)
- 2.7. 一部收 (The *Huayan jing*) encompassing (all 12 Divisions 十二部) in one division
- 2.8. 三部攝 (The *Huayan jing*) encompassing three divisions (of the 12 Divisions)

- 2.9. 九部攝 (The *Huayan jing*) encompassing nine divisions (of the 12 Divisions)
 2.10. 具十二 (The *Huayan jing*) encompassing all 12 Divisions.

3. 立教差別 Differences among the Established Traditions

3.1. 敘古說 Summarize the Theories of the Past¹

- 3.1.1. 菩提留支 Bodhiruci: 一音教 One-Voice Teaching
 3.1.2. 真諦三藏 *Tripiṭaka*-Master Paramārtha: 漸頓二教 Two Teachings of gradual-ism and sudden-ism.
 3.1.3. 光統律師 Vinaya Master Guangtong: 三種教 Three Teachings
 3.1.4. 大衍法師 Dharma Master Dayan: 四宗教 Four Teachings
 3.1.5. 護身法師 Dharma Master Hushen: 五宗教 Five Teachings
 3.1.6. 思禪師 Dyāna Master Si: 四教 Four Teachings
 3.1.7. 元曉法師 Dharma Master Wonhyo: 四教 Four Teachings
 3.1.8. 吉藏法師 Dharma Master Jizang: 三種教 Three Teachings
 3.1.9. 雲法師 Dharma Master Yun: 四乘教 Four-Vehicles Teaching
 3.1.10. [印法師 Dharma Master Yin 敏法師 Dharma Master Famin: 二教 Two Teachings \(C3: 3.1\)](#)
 3.1.11. [Conclusion](#)

3.2. 辨是非 Discriminate Right and Wrong²

3.3. 述西域說 Summarize the Theories from the Western Regions

- 3.3.1. [\(Fazang's conversation with Divākara 地婆訶羅\)³](#)
 3.3.1. [戒賢 Śīlabhadra](#)
 3.3.2. 智光 Jnanaprabha

3.4. 會相違 Understand the contradiction (between the teaching of Śīlabhadra and Jnanaprabha)

- 3.5. 明現傳 Clarify the Contemporary Theories
 3.6. 定權實 Discuss (Three Vehicles or One Vehicle) being Expedient or True
 3.7. 顯開合 Reveal the Subdivisions of the Three Vehicles and the One Vehicle
 3.8. 教前後 Chronological Order of the Teachings
 3.9. 以義分教 Categorize Teachings by Their Doctrines (i.e. *panjiao*)⁴

4. 教所被機 Capacities of the Audience

5. 能詮教體 Essence of Buddha's Teachings (in Ten Gates)⁵

¹ Both Liu and Mun have explained each of the following traditions in detail. See Liu, *Teaching*, 140-158; and Mun, *Panjiao*.

² Even though Fazang previews this section, he ends up skipping it, perhaps because this section is incorporated in the previous section.

³ See Liu, *Teaching*, 146-148.

⁴ Panjiao has received a decent amount of study. See the 1979 doctoral dissertation by Ming-wood Liu, or his article "The P'an-Chiao System of the Huayan School in Chinese Buddhism", 10-47; as well as the 1970 doctoral dissertation by Francis Cook and Mun, *panjiao*.

⁵ Note that this is not Fazang's famous Ten Mysterious Gates.

6. 所詮宗趣 Core Tenets Held by the Past Exegetes

- 6.1. 印師 Master Yin 敏師 Master Min: 因果: Cause and effect
- 6.2. 大遠法師 Dharma Master Dayuan: Flower Garland *Samādhi* 華嚴三昧 (C.3: 1.2)
- 6.3. 衍法師 Master Yan: 無礙法界 Obstruction-less *dharma*-realm
- 6.4. 裕法師 Dharma Master Yu: 甚深法界心境 The (one) mind of the profound *dharma*-realm
- 6.5. 光統師 Master Guangtong: 因果理實 Cause-effect & principle-truth
- 6.6. 唯一無礙自在法門 The free *dharma*-gate (in which the cause-effect and principle-truth are) one and obstruction-less
- 6.7. 因果 (Five kinds of relationship between) cause and effect (C.4: 2.3)
- 6.8. 法界 Dharma-realm
- 6.9. 法界因果分相顯示 Dualistic exposition of the *dharma*-realm & cause-and-effect
- 6.10. 法界因果雙融俱離 non-dualistic exposition of the *dharma*-realm & cause-and-effect

7. 釋經題目 Explanation of the Title of the Sūtra

- 7.1. 數名 The name in terms of the number (of the ślokas) (C.3: 1.4)
- 7.2. 法名 The title in terms of dharma (C.3: 1.4)
- 7.3. 喻名 The metaphorical name (C.3: 1.4)
- 7.4. 義名 The name in terms of benefits (C.3: 1.4)
- 7.5. 德名 The name in terms of virtues
- 7.6. 事名 The title in terms of (the resemblance to) things (C.3: 1.3)
- 7.7. 開名 The title in terms of its subdivision (into five dialectic pairs)
- 7.8. 具名 (Tenfold meanings of each character of the title)
- 7.9. 合名 The title in terms of unification
- 7.10. 品名 The chapter title

8. 部類傳譯 Versions, Transmission and Translation

- 8.1-6. (Versions) (C.4:1)
 - 8.1. 恒本 Constant Version
 - 8.2. 大本 Great Version
 - 8.3. 上本 Upper Version
 - 8.4. 中本 Middle Version
 - 8.5. 下本 Lower Version
 - 8.6. 略本 Abridged Version
- 8.7. 論釋 Commentaries (C.2)
- 8.8. 翻譯 Translations (C.2)
- 8.9. 支流 Independent (translations)
- 8.10. 感應 Sympathetic resonance (i.e., miraculous events)

9. 文義分齊 Distinctions among the meanings of the text (in terms of the Ten Mysteries Gates and the Ten Categories of the *Dharma*, etc.)⁶

Juan 2:

10. 隨文解釋 Commentary on the Text (C4: 4.2-4.5)
- 10.1.-3. (Subdivision of the *Huayan jing*)
 - 10.1. [Threefold Classification](#)
 - 10.2. [Fivefold Classification](#)
 - 10.3. [Preface](#)

⁶ This section is confusing for me. It discusses many doctrines (e.g., the Ten Mysteries Gates, the Ten Categories of Dharma and the metaphor of the “lotus leaf”), but I am not sure what is the unifying theme for this section. As for the explanation on the Ten Mysteries Gate and the Ten Categories of *Dharma*, see Liu, *Teaching*, 432-455.

Appendix 4: Selected Translation of *juan 1 and 2*

0. Prologue

0.1 (Homage to Three Deities in Verses)

歸依大智海 (I vow) to take refuge in the Great Ocean of Wisdom,
十身盧舍那 And in the Ten Bodies of Vairocana¹⁷²,
充滿諸法界 (Which) permeate all realms of *dharma* (Skt. *dharmadhatu*),
無上大慈尊 (And who is) the unexcelled Honoured One with Great Compassion,
方廣離垢法 (Whose) *dharma* that pervasively transcends impurity,
圓滿解脫輪 Is the wheel of perfect liberation.¹⁷³
普賢文殊等 (I vow to take refuge in) Samanthabhadra and Manjushri,
海會大菩薩 And other great bodhisattvas in the Ocean Assembly.
我在具縛地 I, in the afflicted realm,
惔心大法門 Aspire to the great *dharma* gate,
唯願見加哀 Only hoping that a pity could be taken (in me by Vairocana, Samantabhadra
and Manjushri),
令增念智力 In order that my cognitive power be increased,
開此祕奧藏 (And that I could) open the profound treasure (of the *dharma*),
廣益於自他 Greatly benefit myself and others,
願令法久住 Enable the *dharma* to last,
傳燈報佛恩. (And) repay the benediction of Buddha.

0.2. (Homage to the Ultimate Reality)

The space of reality is endlessly expansive that surpasses sight and hearing; the ocean of wisdom is infinitely deep that defies conceptualization. The profound mysterious Way — its limit is hardly traceable by language; the boundless pure conducts — its source is inscrutable by sight. However, because the receptivity and the responses (to the receptivity) (*jigan* 機感)¹⁷⁴ are infinitely varied, appearances and language are thus aroused, permeating the realm of *dharma*; because mind and its objects are of one taste, the (duality of) subject and object could be obliterated, returning to emptiness. 夫以法性虛空，廓無涯而超視聽；智慧大海，深無極而抗思議。眇眇玄猷，名言罕尋其際；茫茫素範，相見靡究其源。但以機感萬差，奮形言而充法界；心境一味，泯能所而歸寂寥。

¹⁷² On the Ten Bodies of Vairocana, see Chapter 3: 3.

¹⁷³ Stephen F. Teiser's 2007 book remains perhaps the most lucid scholarship on the topic of the Wheel of Life.

¹⁷⁴ Robert Sharf dedicated an entire chapter to discussing the term *ganying* 感應. See Sharf, *Coming to Terms*, 77-133.

Essence and its functions are unlimited, and their perfect interfusion is unfathomable. Therefore, what has no form now manifests form, such as the sun rising from the horizon; and what has no words now utters words, like the (calm) waves that could sweep across great canyons. Hence, (Vairocana) created (the *Huayan jing*) in then Lotus-Treasury World¹⁷⁵ and rolled out an infinite net (of Indra). 體用無方，圓融叵測。於是無像現像，猶陽谷之昇太陽；無言示言，若滄波之傾巨壑。是故創於蓮華藏界，演無盡之玄綱。

(So that) the “caged” (beings) as well as the ascending ones (i.e., bodhisattvas who have not embarked on the Ten Grounds) could be guided to arrive at the realm of Buddha. Then, (Vairocana) transformed and edified this “tolerable” (Skt. *sahā*) world and gradually distributed clouds of compassion. (He) sprinkled fine dew to moisten “three roots” (i.e., people of three levels of capacity), nurturing their (various) “teeth of Dharma” (i.e. merits) while unifying them onto one essence. Thus, we can know that the Venerable One, who sensed the disparity of potentials and conditions, accommodated them by varying (his responses). Though the responses of the Venerable One are various, they are identical in that they are all inconceivable. 牢籠上達之流，控引令階佛境。然後化霑忍土，漸布慈雲。灑微澤以潤三根，滋道牙（芽）而歸一揆。是知，機緣感異，聖應所以殊分；聖應雖殊，不思議，一也。

0.3. (Homage to the *Huayan jing*)

The *Huayan jing*, it is the splendid speech that gathered great assemblies and the ultimate teaching that illuminated Mount Meru. Its wisdom, vast and far-reaching, permeates the realm of *dharma* and penetrates the source of reality; its words, immense but subtle, is the void space, but could envelop all worldly kingdoms. Thus, without diminishing in size, it can pass from an enormous world to entering the tip of a hair; without gaining in magnitude, it can fuse with the infinitely subtle, so as to permeate the realm of *dharma*. On the Indra’s Net, (jewels) cross-reflect each other, creating infinite layers of reflections, while each bright jewel reflects all directions of the world and yet remain veiled themselves. 華嚴經者，斯乃集海會之盛談，照山王之極說。理智宏遠，盡法界而亘真源；浩汗微言，等虛空而被塵國。於是無虧大小，潛巨剎以入毫端；未易鴻纖，融極微以周法界。故以因陀羅網，參互影而重重；錠光玻黎，照塵方而隱隱。

One is the Multitude (when the latter) experiences no obstacle; Multitude is the One (when the latter) penetrates all. (Buddha) encompasses the Nine Times¹⁷⁶ only to enter one instance; it lasts one thought-moment but spans all *kalpas*. (Through) three lives (i.e., past, present and future), (one) plants the seed through supremely the firm (practices), (thus planting) the cause; (and through) Ten Faiths,¹⁷⁷ (one) is revealed the perfect way and the universal goodness, thus accomplishing the fruit. But there is no fruit that is different from the cause, as

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter 3: 4.2. “Lotus-Treasury World”.

¹⁷⁶ A unique Huayan ninefold conception of times. See Chapter 3: 2 (“When”).

¹⁷⁷ The first ten stages in the fifty-two stages (*wushi'er wei* 五十二位) of the bodhisattva. They are called the Ten Stages of Faith, since faith is the entry of Buddhist practice. See Chapter 4: 3 (“52 Bodhisattva Stages”).

five stages are only divided for the sake of division; there is no cause that is not different from fruit, as the Ten Bodies (of Vairocana) are a unity that could be arrived at simultaneously. 一，即多而無礙；多，即一而圓通。攝九世以入剎那，舒一念而該永劫。三生，究竟堅固種，而為因；十信，道圓普德顯，而成果。果無異因之果，派五位以分鑣；因無異果之因，總十身以齊致。

Therefore, in the Eastern City, Mañjuśrī adapted to the faculties of the six thousand (newly initiated monks)¹⁷⁸ and opened his Ten Eyes; in the South India, Sudhana consulted spiritual friends in 110 (cities) and accomplished (Enlightenment) using only one lifetime. Thereby, without moving from the Bodhi-tree, (Buddha) reached all six heavens;¹⁷⁹ and without leaving the Lotus-Treasury World,¹⁸⁰ Ten Realms are all fused with emptiness. 是故覺母就機，於東城六千疏其十眼；童子詢友，於南國百十（圓）¹⁸¹成以一生。遂使不越樹王，六天斯屆；詎移華藏，十剎虛融。

(Buddha) revealed the precious *ślokas* in the world to simultaneously illuminate eight assemblies; and made (Dragon) king's jewels rain down according to the innate qualities (of beings), to perfectly edify all the seven locations.¹⁸² Profusely and expansively, (the teaching of the *Huayan jing*) burst forth, untouched by conceptualization; towering and brilliant, it transcends hearing and seeing, reaching even the deaf and the blind. Vairocana created, in the Oceanic Reflection (*Samādhi*),¹⁸³ the teaching which arose at the dawn of the second week (after the Enlightenment); Nagarjuna humbly examined, in the Dragon Palace, (the *Huayan jing*) which was finally revealed six hundred years after (it had been taught) 示寶偈於塵中，齊輝八會；啟王珠於性德，七處圓彰。浩浩鏗鏘，隔思議而迥出。巍巍煥爛，超視聽於聾盲。是故舍那創陶甄於海印，二七日旦爰興；龍樹終俯察於虬宮，六百年後方顯。

0.4. (Meaning of the Title of the *Huayan jing*)

Da 大 (“great”) takes on the meaning of “incorporation”; *fang* 方 (“squared”) implies the merits of “regulating standard”; *guang* 廣 (“vast”), the ultimacy of the Essence and the pervasiveness of its functions; *fo* 佛 (“Buddha”), the perfection of the fruit and the completion of the Enlightenment; *hua* 華 (“flower”) is the metaphor for the flourish of myriad practices; *yan* 嚴

¹⁷⁸ This may refer to the episode near the beginning of the last chapter “Ru fajie pin”, in which Mañjuśrī taught Śāriputra and 6000 newly initiated monks. However, in the *Huayan jing*, it is to the south that Mañjuśrī went, not in the “Eastern City”. So, Fazang is perhaps bearing in mind Mount Wutai when he wrote the “Eastern City”.

¹⁷⁹ In the *Huayan jing*, Buddha is said to have ascended the heavens without leaving the Bodhi-tree. See Chapter 3: 4.1 (“Seven Locations”).

¹⁸⁰ See Chapter 3: 2 (“Lotus-Treasury World”).

¹⁸¹ In Fazang's *Huayan jing wenyi gangmu* 花嚴經文義綱目 [Outline of the Meaning of the *Huayan jing*], the word *yuan* did not appear (T no. 1734, 35: 493a8). Besides, without *yuan*, this line rhythms better with the previous line. Regarding the parallelism between the *Tanxuan ji* and the *Huayan jing wenyi gangmu*, see footnote 58.

¹⁸² For the Eight Assemblies, see Chapter 4: 2.1 “Eight Assemblies”. For the Seven Locations, see Chapter 3: 4.1 “Seven Locations”.

¹⁸³ See Chapter 3: 5.1 “Oceanic Reflection Samādhi”.

(“well-arranged” or “adornment”) symbolizes the ornament of the original essence; *jing* 經 (“*sūtra*”) means “penetrating” and “weaving”; it refers to the writing of the teaching of Buddha 能詮.¹⁸⁴ (The *sūtra*) is titled as such by being faithful to the *dharma*, adapting to individuals and resorting to metaphors. Thus, it is called the *Dafangguangfo huayan jing*. 然，即「大」，以「包含」為義；「方」，以「軌範」為功；「廣」，即體極用周；「佛」，乃果圓覺滿；「華」，譬開敷萬行；「嚴」，喻飾茲本體；「經」，即貫穿縫綴，能詮之教著焉，從法就人寄喻為目。故云《大方廣佛華嚴經》。

0.5. (Meaning of the Title of the First Chapter)

(The chapter name) “Pure Eyes of the World”: Even when those with three (inferior) capacities shine (their potentials), (the light could be) clear and illuminating, which could only be all the more so for (those with) pure eyes. (This title) conveys both reality and metaphor, so it is called “The Pure Eyes of the World”. “Words” explain the unity of the principle while “sections” categorize those that are related — such is the meaning of *pin* 品 (“chapter”).¹⁸⁵ This scripture has 34 chapters. This chapter sets the beginning, so it is called “the first”. Thus, (this chapter) is called “The First Chapter: The Pure Eyes of the World of the Flower Garland Sūtra of the Inclusive and Regulating Enlightenment”. I will explain the rest of the meaning (of the chapter) below.¹⁸⁶ 《世間淨眼品》者，器等三種顯曜，於時，光潔照明，況於淨眼，法喻合舉，故云「世間淨眼」。語言理一，格類相從，故稱為「品」。此經有三十四品；此品建初，故稱第一。故言《大方廣佛華嚴經世間淨眼品第一》。餘義如下說。

¹⁸⁴ *Nengquan* 能詮, literally meaning “that which could explain”, is usually used to describe the efficacy of a commentary to explain a *sūtra*. But this meaning does not apply in this context, while “Buddha” may be a more appropriate translation.

¹⁸⁵ Fazang is explaining the meaning of *pin* 品 by dissecting its logographical features, which is written by combining three “mouths” 口. First, the fact that the character *pin* is made of “mouths” — and by extension, “words” — emphasizes its verbal nature and its function to express truth; secondly, the fact that *pin* stacks three “mouths” foregrounds the nature of *pin* to group related content, which corresponds to the English translation of *pin*: “chapter”.

¹⁸⁶ The first chapter is believed to foreshadow the entire *sūtra*, so even though Fazang says he is only explaining the first chapter, he is, in fact, analyzing the entire *sūtra*.

1. Causes for the Teaching

First, the cause for the rising of the teaching: 1) general remark; 2) specific demonstrations
初，教起所由者。先總辨，後別顯。

1.1 General Remark 總辨：

The Great Teaching (i.e., Mahāyāna) arose from immeasurable causes and conditions. For this reason, the *Da zhidun lun* 大智度論 [*Skt. *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*; Commentary on the *Great Perfection of Wisdom*], at its beginning, explains extensively the reasons for the rising of the teaching of the *Da zhidu lun*: like Mount Meru that would not budge for no reason or for derisory causes and conditions, Buddha spoke only for great causes and conditions. The so-called *prajñā-pāramitā* (“the perfection of wisdom”) means (the teaching) is meant for being circulated in the world, benefiting widely all kinds of sentient beings. 總者，夫大教之興，因緣無量。故《智論》之初，廣辨般若教起因緣。如須彌山，不以無事及小因緣而能令動。佛亦如是，大因緣故，而有所說。所謂「般若波羅蜜」，流行世間，廣益群品故也。

The *Fahua jing* 法華(經) [Skt. *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra*; Lotus *Sūtra*] also says, “Tathagāta appears in the world for the most important cause”. That is, to uncover the Buddha-knowledge, to reveal its meaning, to cause men to apprehend it, and to lead them to realize it.¹⁸⁷
《法華》亦云：「如來為一大事因緣，故出現于世」。所謂開、示、悟、入佛知見等。

The *Huayan jing* says, “From the Matrix of the Tathagāta arises the true teaching that is unfathomable. Why (did the teaching arise)? It was not for a derisory cause that Buddha appeared in the world. It was for ten kinds of immeasurable causes of incalculable eons that Buddha appeared in the world”. What are the ten kinds? The first kind is to arouse the immeasurable *bodhicitta* (which vows not to) leave behind any sentient being. As for other kinds (of causes), they are explicated in detail (in the *Huayan jing*) and should be understood. 此經下云：「如來應供等正覺性，起正法，不可思議。所以者何？非少因緣，成等正覺，出興于世。以十種無量無數百千阿僧祇因緣。成等正覺，出興于世。何等為十？一者發無量菩提之心，不捨一切眾生」。如是等，乃至廣說，應知。

¹⁸⁷ This formula which explains the four reasons for a Buddha’s appearance in the world are explicated in *Jin’gang ding yujia zhong fa anuduoluo sanmiaosan putixin lun* 金剛頂瑜伽中發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心論 [Treatise on Stirring the Anuttarasamyak-sambodhicitta in the Vajraśekhara Yoga].

2. Canonical Categories Encompassed by the *Huayan jing* 藏部所攝

2.1 *Sūtra* 修多羅

First, (in Sanskrit), the so-called *xiuduoluo* 修多羅, *xiutuolu* 修妬路, or *sudalan* 素怛𑖀 (i.e., *sūtra*) is called here (in China) as *qi jing* 契經 (“tallying threads”) 一、名「修多羅」, 或云「修妬路」, 或云「素怛𑖀」. 此云「契經」.

Qi 契 (“tallying”) has two meanings 1) tally with the Principle and with 2) the faculties (of sentient beings) 「契」有二義：謂契理故；合機故.

Jing 經 (“[vertical] threads”) also has two meanings: 1) penetrate the appearance of phenomena and 2) collect and maintain what has been taught 「經」亦二義：謂貫穿法相故；攝持所化故.

As for the so-called “penetration” (*guanchuan* 貫穿), Vasubandhu explains it in his (*Jushe*) *lun* (俱舍) 论 [Skt. *Abhidharmakośakārikā*; Verses on the Treasury of Abhidharma]: “Because it is capable of piercing through ‘reliance’ (*yi* 依), ‘characteristics’ (*xiang* 相), ‘phenomenon’ (*fa* 法) and ‘meaning’ (*yi* 義), it is called *sūtra*. The teaching arises from and for the place (of reality); this is called ‘reliance’; characteristics of the ultimate and conventional truth is the “characteristics”; the teaching of ten skillful approaches (for contemplating reality) is named ‘teaching’; enunciating various teachings equally all in accordance with the profound meaning is named ‘meaning’. 貫穿者，世親《釋》云：「謂能貫穿依故、相故、法故，義故，名『素怛𑖀』」。謂於是處，由此為此，而有所說，名之為「依」；真俗諦相名之為相；十善巧法等，名之為法；隨密意等以說諸法，名之為「義」.

(Question:) (Why does) Asvabhāva (450-530) explain (*sūtra*) as “penetration” and “weaving”? 又無性，釋為貫穿縫綴？

Answer: “Penetrating” means “perfect entering” (*qiru* 契入); “weaving” (*fengzhui* 縫綴) means “perfect integration” (*qihe* 契合). That is, Buddha’s words penetrate the doctrines, preventing it from being scattered and being concealed; (Buddha’s words also) weave and connect, allowing full expressions to be formed and to remain for long. 解云：貫穿是契入義；縫綴是契合義。謂，以聖言貫穿義理，令不散失，令不隱沒；縫綴連合，令成詮表，令得久住.

The *Fodi lun* 佛地論 [Skt. *Buddhabhūmy-upadeśa*; Treatise on the *Sūtra* of the Buddha-Stages] says, “(Because it is) capable of penetrating and of holding, it is called *jing* 經. Because the sacred teaching of Buddha can penetrate the meaning and hold together what it has given rise

to, it is called *qijing* 契經. 《佛地論》云：「能貫能攝，故名為『經』」。以佛聖教，貫穿攝持所應說義及所化生，名為「契經」。

(If one interprets *qijing*) according to the Sanskrit rule of “dependent compound” (*zhu shi* 主釋; Skt. *tat-puruṣa*)¹⁸⁸, it means the *sūtra* that “penetrates” (i.e., *qi* 契 as in *qiru* 契入) the Principle; (while according to the Sanskrit rule of) the “adverbial compound” (*chiye shi* 持業釋; Skt. *karma-dhāraya*)¹⁸⁹, *qijing* means the same as the “canon” 藏 (i.e., *qi* 契 as in *qihe* 契合 “integration”) ¹⁹⁰契理之經，依主釋也；契經即藏，持業釋也。

Furthermore, the *Za apitanxin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論 [Skt. *Samyuktābhidharma-hrdaya śāstra*; Heart of Scholasticism with Miscellaneous Additions] speaks of five meanings (of *qiejing*) .又雜心五義：

1. The springing fountain 一涌泉
2. Production 二出主
3. Revelation 三顯示
4. Rules 四繩墨
5. Laced garland. 五結鬘

Sūtra, translated literally, is *xian* 线 (“thread”), so why is it translated as *jing*? *Xian* can weave through flowers while *jing* (“the vertical thread”) can keep in place “the horizontal thread” 緯; their meanings are similar. But in China, *jing* is valued, while *xian* is not esteemed (as a word). Therefore, the translator chose what is valued, abolishing *xian* in favour of *jing*, and created the term (i.e., *jing*) by drawing on its metaphorical sense. 正翻名線，何故稱「經」？謂線能貫華，經能持緯。義用相似，但以此方重於經名，不貴線稱。是故翻譯逐其所重，廢線存經，從譬立名。

2.2 Vinaya 毘奈耶

Second, *pinaye* 毘奈耶 (Skt. *vinaya*). Here (in China) it is called *tiaofu* 調伏. *Tiao* means “to harmonize” and “to steer”; *fu* means “to subdue” and “to annihilate”. That is, to harmonize and steer the *karma* produced by body, speech, etc.; and to subdue and annihilate all unwholesome actions. (Therefore, *vinaya*) is the explanation about actions. It also refers to the “basket” (*zang* 藏) that harmonizes and subdues (the actions). 「毘奈耶」。此云「調伏」。

「調」者，和、御；「伏」者，制、滅。調和控御身語等業；制伏除滅諸惡行故。此是所詮行。謂調伏之藏也。

¹⁸⁸ *Zhushi* 主釋 is one of the six kinds of interpretations of Sanskrit compound words, in which the first noun modifies the second noun.

¹⁸⁹ It is a compound in which the first element is an adjective or adverb, and the second element a noun or adjective. E.g., *ulūka-yātu* (owl + demon) indicates 'a demon in the shape of an owl.'

¹⁹⁰ It may help to think of canon as an integrated form of Buddhist teaching.

It could alternatively be translated as “annihilation”. Annihilation has three meanings: 1) to annihilate undesired karmas; 2) to annihilate afflictions; 3) to obtain the result of annihilations (i.e., *nirvana*) 或翻名「滅」。滅有三義：一滅業非；二滅煩惱；三得滅果。

(*Vinaya*) could also be called *sīla*. Here it is translated as *qingliang* 清涼 (pure and cool). Three negative forms of karma (produced by body, mind, speech) is like the burning fire, which could be extinguished by precepts; thus, it is called “pure and cool” 或云「尸羅」。此名「清涼」。三業過非，猶如火燃，戒能息滅，故云清涼。

In the *Shisong lü* [Skt. *Daśa-bhāṇavāra vinaya*; Ten Recitations *Vinaya*], it is named *xingshan* 性善 (wholesome nature) or *shouxin* 守信 (faithfulness), meaning that one should veritably preserve (the precepts) received in the past. 十誦律中名為「性善」，或云「守信」。如昔所受，實能持故。

(*Vinaya*) could also be called *pratimokṣa*. Here it is translated as *suishun jietuo* 隨順解脫 (spontaneous liberation). It means to arrive spontaneously at liberation by preserving the precepts. It is also translated as *biejietuo* 別解脫 (exceptional liberation). 或云「波羅提木叉」。此云「隨順解脫」。由持戒故，順至解脫。亦名「別解脫」。

2.3. *Abhidharma* 阿毘達摩

Three, the so-called *abhidharma*. *Dharma* is *fa* 法 (e.g. “teaching”, “phenomenon”, “reality”); *abhi* has seven meanings (, so *abhidharma* means): 三、名阿毘達摩藏。「達摩」名法。「阿毘」有七義：

1. First, “To regard the teaching” 一名「對法」。

(“Regard”) has two meanings: 此有二義：

1.1. “To tend towards”, because the “wisdom of cause” (*yinzhi* 因智) tends towards the fruition of nirvana 一對向，謂因智趣向涅槃果故；

1.2. “To inspect”, because the “wisdom of fruit” (*guozhi* 果智) inspects and realizes the annihilation of nirvana 二對觀，謂果智觀證涅槃滅故。

The wisdom of cause also contains the inspection (of *nirvāṇa*), but because it emphasizes the practices, it is called “tend towards” 雖因智，亦有對觀，然以仰進修故，但名對向。

Vasabandhu’s *She Dasheng shun* 攝大乘論 [Skt. *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-sāstra*; Mahāyāna Compendium] says, “This teaching (*fa* 法) tends toward the non-abiding nirvana and can speak truths and factors of enlightenment 菩提分 and other inconceivable teaching”. But (this teaching) is in regard to the wisdom of cause, so (the *fa*) here means that which is explained, i.e., the teaching. 世親《攝論》云：「此法，對向無住涅槃，能說諸諦、菩提分等諸妙門故」。此約因智說。此唯所詮。

2. “The numerousness of phenomena” 數法。

The *She Dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋 [Skt. *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-bhāṣya*; Commentary on the Mahāyāna Compendium] (translated) during the Liang Dynasty says, “All phenomena follow one truth (*fa* 法). (The phenomena) reveal this truth by assuming names and forms (*mingxiang* 名相), distinctions (*biexiang* 別相) and similarities (*tongxiang* 通相)”. Thus, it is called the numerousness of phenomena 二、名「數法」。梁《攝論釋》云：「諸法中隨一法。或以名相，或以別相，或以通相等數數，顯此一法」。故名數法。

3. “The teaching (capable of) refuting (other teachings)” 伏法。

The *She Dasheng lun shi* says, “This teaching can refute all teachings; it can both establish and demolish. It can use the skillful means such as direct exposition (*zhengshuo* 正說) or reliance (on other teachings) (*yizhi* 依止), so it is called “refutation” 三、名「伏法」者。彼論云：「此法能伏諸說，立、破二能。由正說依止等方便故，故名伏」。

4. “The penetrating teaching” (*tongfa* 通法). Because it can penetratingly explain the meaning of *sūtra*. *Sūtra* is the “teaching”, whereas this teaching (i.e., *abhidharma*) could penetrate the other teaching (i.e., *sūtra*). It is that which penetrates the *sūtra*. 四、名「通法」。此能通釋契經義故。契經稱「法」，此法能通彼。即法之通。

The *She Dasheng lun* names it “the teaching (that could) decipher” (*jiefa* 解法), because through *abhidharma*, the meaning of *sūtra* becomes easier to decipher 梁《攝論》名「解法」。由阿毘達摩修多羅義易解故也。

5. “The incomparable teaching” 五、名「無比法」。

6. “The great teaching” 六、名「大法」。

7. “The investigation of the teaching” 七、名「擇法」。

These last three are named to modify what is explained (i.e., *sutra*). 此三唯約所詮。

Furthermore, the *Apidamo shunzhengli lun* 阿毘達磨順正理論 [Skt. *Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra*; Commentary on the Corresponding Principles of *Abhidharma*] says, “The *sūtra* is called *dharma* which could be determined by the commentary (i.e., *abhidharma*), so (*abhidharma*) is called ‘to regard the teaching’”. That is, to regard the teaching (i.e., *sūtra*) with the teaching (i.e., *abhidharma*). This meaning is similar to the *abidharma* being the “penetrating teaching” above. 又《順正理》云：「或契經名為『達摩』，論能決了，名為對法」。此即以教對教。同上通法。

(*Abidharma*) is also called *mātrkā*. In China it is called *benmu* 本母 (the original mother). (That is,) to see the teaching and its meaning as the origin and as the mother. It is also called “separate liberation”. 或云摩得勒伽。此云「本母」。以教與義，為本為母。亦名分別解脫。

(*Abidharma*) is also called *upadeśa*. Here it is called *lunyi* 論義 (discussion of doctrines). In the *Dasheng apidamo zaji lun* 大乘阿毘達摩雜集論 [Skt. *Mahāyānābhidharma-*

samuccaya-vyākhyā; Miscellaneous Commentaries on the Mahāyāna *Abhidharma*], it is called *jiashi* 解釋 (explanation). 或云優波提舍。此云「論義」。雜集中名解釋也。

The *sūtra* and the other two kinds (of texts) above encompass (Buddha's) teaching and produce doctrines. They are all called “basket” 此契經等上三種，皆含攝所詮，出生義理，俱名為「藏」。

The fourth chapter of the *Zhuangyan lun* 莊嚴論 [Skt. *Abhisamaya-alāṅkāra*; Ornament for Realization] says, “Those three (i.e., *sūtra*, *vinaya* and *abhidharma*) and these two (i.e., Śrāvaka and Bodhisattva Canon), why are they called ‘basket/canon’ (*zang* 藏)?” 《莊嚴論》第四云：「彼三及此二，云何名藏？」

Answer: Because of their all-encompassing (nature). That is, it encompasses all the doctrines that should be known. (The names of) the former (three) baskets are the “adverbial compound” (*chiye* 持業; Skt. *karma-dhāraya*) and the “dependent compound” 依主 (Skt. *atpuruṣa*), (but the name of) the latter two canons are only the “dependent compounds”, because their names derive from the subject which they modify (i.e., bodhisattva and śrāvaka). Otherwise, as for their (respective) explicative nature and their differences, I have explained them in detail elsewhere. 答：由攝故。謂攝一切所應知義也。初藏通持業依主。後二藏唯依主，以從所詮為名故。餘出體性及諸門分別。廣如別說。

2.2. To reveal the (canonical category) that (the *Huayan jing*) encompasses 第二，顯所攝者。

(Question:) Which basket does this *sūtra* encompass? 此經何藏攝者？

(Answer:) It encompasses only the *sūtra*, for it is (apparently) not the other two baskets. 或唯契經攝，以非餘二故。

Or it could be said that it encompasses two baskets (i.e., *sūtra* and *abhidharma*), because it investigates the doctrines and regards the *sūtra*. 或二攝，以有決擇義理，對法收故。

Or that it encompasses three baskets (i.e., *sūtra*, *abhidharma* and *vinaya*), because it also reveals various precepts. 或三攝。下文亦顯諸戒行故。

Such is (the way of categorizing according to) the “shared teaching” (*tongjiao* 同教) (of Three Vehicles). 此約同教辨。

Or that it encompasses the “Ten Canons” that are mentioned in the *sūtra*,¹⁹¹ because the principal and the secondary are both complete and infinite. Such is the distinct teaching (that

¹⁹¹ The “Ten Treasures” is mentioned in the Chapter 18 of the *Huayan jing* (60 *juans*), or the Chapter 22 of the *Huayan jing* (80 *juans*) — the “Chapter on Ten Inexhaustible Treasures” [“Shi wujin zang pin” 十無盡藏品]. In this chapter, Bodhisattva Forest of Virtues (Gongdelin Pusa 功德林菩薩) defines the Ten Treasures: treasury of faith (*xinzang* 信藏), treasury of ethics (*ziejang* 戒藏), treasury of repentance (*canzang* 懺藏), treasury of conscience (*kuizang* 愧藏), treasury of learning (*wenzang* 聞藏), treasury of giving (*shizang* 施藏), treasury of wisdom (*huizang* 慧藏), treasury of recollection (*zhengnianzang* 正念藏), treasury of preservation (*chizang* 持藏), and treasury of elocution (*bianzang* 辯藏).

separates One Vehicle from Three Vehicles). 或是下文十藏所攝。以主伴具足，顯無盡故。此約別教。

Question: The Three Canons (are categorized) by the form of teaching (*jiao* 教), whereas the Ten Canons (are categorized) by meaning (*yi* 義). How comes that one could talk about the categorization of the form of a teaching based on the meaning? 問：三藏據教，十藏約義。如何以義而云攝教？

Answer: If we say that for the Small Vehicle, both the form and the meaning could not be unified, and that for the Three Vehicles, the form could be unified but the meaning could not (be unified with the form), then for the One Vehicle, both the form and the meaning could be unified. Therefore, the categorization could be based on (the meaning). In the Three Vehicles, there is already such categorizing principle as the non-distinction between meaning and language (preached in the *She Dasheng lun*), so the One Vehicle must also have it. (I) just want to make this point clear: (The meaning) is (a principle for) categorizing a teaching. Contemplate on it and it would be known. 答：若小乘教義俱不融，三乘義融教不融。一乘教義俱融，是故得攝。如意言無分別觀入教攝等，三乘中已有，況一乘耶。但標召表示即屬教攝。思之可見。

3. Differences among the Established Traditions 立教差別

3.1. Summarizing the Theories of the Past 敘古說

3.1.10. (Master Famin and Master Yin)

Tenth, the Tang-Dynasty Master (Fa)min (法敏 (579-645) and Yin 印 (?-?) et al. from the South of the Yangtze River established the (*panjiao* system of) the Two Teachings. 十、唐江南印法師、敏法師等，立二教。

1. The Śākyamuni *Sūtra*. It is known as the “Uneven Teaching” (*Ququ jiao* 屈曲教), because it follows the individual ability, so as to adapt the strategies to break the attachment. Such as the *Niepan jing* [Skt. *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*]. 一、釋迦經。名「屈曲教」，以逐機性隨計破著故。如《涅槃》等。

2. The Vairocana *Sūtra*. It is called the “Even Teaching” (*Pingdao jiao* 平道教), because it follows the nature of *dharma* and speaks with freedom. Such as the *Huayan jing*. 二、盧舍那經。名「平道教」。以逐法性，自在說故。如《華嚴》等。

The masters explain four differences between the two teachings. 彼師釋此二教，略有四別。

1. The differences of the preaching agents. Namely, (the first teaching) is delivered by the Transformation Body (Skt. *nirmānakāya*) of Buddha Śākyamuni and (the second teaching) by the Ten Bodies of Buddha Vairocana. 一、主異。謂彼釋迦化身所說，此是舍那十身所說。

2. The difference of the preaching locations: Buddha Śākyamuni teaches by sitting on the grass under a tree in this mundane world; whereas Buddha Vairocana on a golden seat under a precious tree in the World of the Lotus Womb (Skt. *padmagarbha-lokadhātu*). 二、處異。謂彼說在娑婆世界木樹草座，此說在於蓮華藏世界寶樹金座。

3. The difference of audience: Buddha Śākyamuni teaches the śrāvakas and the bodhisattvas, whereas Buddha Vairocana only to Bodhisattvas on the highest stage. 三、眾異。彼與聲聞及菩薩說，此唯菩薩極位同說。

4. The difference of the (direction) of the teaching: Buddha Śākyamuni speaks to one direction and Buddha Vairocana speaks to ten directions simultaneously. (These four differences) are extensively discussed in (Famin and Yin's) commentary on the *Huayan jing*. 四、說異。謂彼但是一方所說，此要該於十方同說。廣釋如彼華嚴疏中。

3.11 Conclusion

The various worthies who established the above-mentioned ten families of doctrinal classification were the Dharma-generals of their time. Their realization was unsurpassed and (served as) the illustrious models for the later generations who could never fathom their level (of

attainment). Such masters as Huisi 慧思 (515-577) and Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597), responded to the miraculous events and (thus) set their pursuit towards the practice of Ten Grounds (of Bodhisattva).¹⁹² (In the previous life), they together listened to the *dharma* in the Vulture Peak, the karmic fruit of which manifested now in their present lifetime. These miraculous events are abundantly recorded in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks]. 此上十家立教諸德，並是當時法將。英悟絕倫，歷代明模，階位叵測。祇如思禪師，及智者禪師，神異感通，迹參登位；靈山聽法，憶在於今。諸餘神應，廣如《僧傳》。

Likewise, Master Fayun 法雲 (467-529) also classified doctrines inspired (by miraculous events). When he preached the *Fahua jing*, he experienced (miraculous events such as) the heavenly rains of flowers,¹⁹³ as recorded in the *Gaoseng zhuan*. The *Gaoseng zhuan* also records the unsurpassable (attainment) of all other masters in their practice and in their knowledge. 又如雲法師，依此開宗。講《法華經》，感天雨花等神迹，如《僧傳》。其餘諸法師，行解超倫，亦如《僧傳》。

How come that these worthies are so keen on the differences? It is only because they have thoroughly studied *tripitaka* before discerning the separation of vehicles. They had no choice but to divide (the teaching). Therefore, (even though) each (master) classified the teaching based on the division of various schools, (their classification) necessarily contains commonality. (By perceiving the commonality), the stubborn doubt and the colossal obstacle could be cleared (like) the melting ice; (and one would realize that) Buddha imparted different speeches to suit different audience. 此等諸德，豈夫好異？但以備窮三藏，覲斯異軫。不得已而分之。遂各依教開宗，務存通會。使堅疑碩滯，氷釋朗然。聖說差異，其宜各契耳。

3.3. Summarize the Theories from the Western Regions 述西域說

3.3.1. (Fazang's conversation with Divākara)

Thirdly, the Western Regions. Paramārtha (499-569)¹⁹⁴ (divided Buddha's teaching into) three vehicles; Dharmagupta (?-619)¹⁹⁵ divided four doctrines; Prabhākaramitra (564-633)¹⁹⁶,

¹⁹² "Ten Grounds" (*shidi* 十地) refers to Bodhisattva practice taught in the *shidi jing* 十地經 [Skt. *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*] in the *Huayan jing*.

¹⁹³ In Nanjing, a site known as Yuhua tai 雨花台, is allegedly the place where a so-called "Master Yunguang" 雲光法師 preached *Lotus Sutra* and where he induced the rainfall of flowers. The Master Yunguang in this legend should be the same as Master Fayun in this passage. This conflation between Fayun and Yunguang, I suspect, may be the result that Fayun is from the Guangzhai Monastery 光宅寺 and that the monastery name is somehow conflated with the master's name (i.e., Fayun + Guangzhai = Yunguang). For Fayun's biography, see *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 464c26-28.

¹⁹⁴ Paramārtha was an Indian monk from Ujjain in Central India, best known for his prolific Chinese translations including Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*.

¹⁹⁵ Dharmagupta (?-619). A southern Indian Buddhist monk who came to China during the Sui Dynasty.

¹⁹⁶ Prabhākaramitra (564-633). A monk originally from Magadha and was a student of Śīlabhadra at the Nālandā monastery. He came to Chang-an in 627 and became a tutor for the imperial family. Xuanzang may have learned about Nālandā through him.

five teachings, all of which I have discussed elsewhere. In the first year of the Wenming 文明 reign (684), I had the fortune to meet the Indian *tripitaka* master Divākara, or “Rizhao” 日照 in the language of Tang (i.e., Chinese). (Divākara) translated *sūtras* and *śāstras* in the Xi Taiyuan Monastery 西太原寺 in the capital. 第三，述西域說者。真諦，三輪；笈多，四教；波頗，五說；竝如別說。又法藏於文明元年中，幸遇中天竺三藏法師地婆訶羅，唐言「日照」。於京西太原寺翻譯經論。

During this time, I asked him in person: “In the Western Regions, are there some differentiations between *quan* 權 (conditional) and *shi* 實 (absolute) regarding Buddha’s teaching? The master said, “In recent time, there are contemporaneously two great masters at the Nālandā Monastery. One is called Śīlabhadra (529-645)¹⁹⁷; the other Jnanaprabha (fl. 6th c.)¹⁹⁸. The wisdom of both is unsurpassable; their reputation reaches five Indias. All astray (beings) pay homage (to them), and non-Buddhist sects respect (them). Students of the Great Vehicle look up to them as Sun and Moon. They are unmatched in India with the sole exception of each other. Because they inherited different traditions, they classify teachings differently”. 余親于時乃問：「西域諸德，於一代聖教，頗有分判權實以不？」三藏說云：「近代天竺那爛陀寺，同時有二大德論師：一名戒賢，二稱智光。並神解超倫，聲高五印；群邪稽顙，異部歸誠。大乘學人仰之如日月，獨步天竺各一人而已。以所承宗別。立教不同」。

3.3.2. Śīlabhadra 戒賢 (529-645):

Śīlabhadra inherited remotely from Asaṅga (fl. 4th c.)¹⁹⁹; and followed, more recently Dharmapāla (530-561)²⁰⁰ and Nanda (fl. 6th c.)²⁰¹. Based on such *sūtras* as the *Jie shenmi jing* 解深密經 [Skt. *saṃdhi-nirmocana-sūtra*; Noble *Sūtra* of the Explanation of the Profound Secrets] and such commentaries as the *Yujia shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論 [Skt. *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*; Treatise on the Foundation for Yoga Practitioners], Śīlabhadra established three teachings.²⁰² According

¹⁹⁷ Śīlabhadra is a Buddhist monk and philosopher. He is best known as an abbot of the Nālandā monastery, an expert on the Yogācāra teaching, and the personal tutor of the Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang.

¹⁹⁸ Jnanaprabha is a leading disciple of Śīlabhadra and studied Buddhism at the Nālandā monastery. He is said to have later followed Nagarjuna's doctrine of the Middle Way and debated with his former teacher Śīlabhadra who belonged to the Yogācāra tradition.

¹⁹⁹ Asaṅga was one of the most important spiritual figures of Mahayana Buddhism and the founder of the Yogācāra school.

²⁰⁰ Dharmapāla was one of the main teachers of the Yogācāra school in India. He was a contemporary of Bhavaviveka (490-570), whom he has debated with. According to Xuanzang, he studied at the Nālandā Monastery as a student of Dignāga and he succeeded him as the abbot of the monastery. His disciple Śīlabhadra, in turn, transmitted his teaching to Xuanzang, leading to the popularity of Dharmapāla's teaching in China. Notably, Dharmapāla wrote a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Weishi sanshi lun song* 唯識三十論頌 [Skt. *Triṃśikā-vijñaptimātratā*; Thirty Verses on Consciousness-Only]; the commentary was translated into Chinese by Xuanzang.

²⁰¹ Nanda: dates unknown. A Yogācāra master who lived in the sixth century in Northern India, thus a contemporary of Sthiramati (Chinese name: Anhui 安慧). Considered to be one of the “ten great masters” of the school of Yogācāra.

²⁰² Śīlabhadra divided the Buddhist teachings into three turnings of the Dharma Wheel, following the divisions given in the *Samdhinirmocana Sūtra*.

to Śīlabhadra, Buddha first imparted the teaching of Small Vehicle in the Deer Park; even though (in this first teaching), the emptiness of self was taught, the truth of the emptiness of Dharma had not yet been taught. For this reason, this is not the absolute teaching. (This first teaching correspond to) such scriptures as *Four Āgamas*. 謂戒賢，即遠承彌勒、無著；近踵護法，難陀。依《深密》等經，《瑜伽》等論，立三種教。謂佛初鹿園，說小乘法。雖說生空，然猶未說法空真理，故非了義。即四《阿含》等經。

During the second period, even though the emptiness of the *dharma* was explained according to *parikalpita-svabhava*²⁰³, the doctrine of *paratantra-svabhava*²⁰⁴ and *parinishpanna-svabhava*²⁰⁵ had not yet been taught. For this reason, this is also not an explicit teaching. (This teaching can be found in) such scriptures as the *Da Banruo jing* 大般若經 [Skt.

Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra; Large Perfection of Wisdom *Sūtra*]. It was not until the third period that the right principles of the Great Vehicle were established; and the Two Truths of Yogācāra, such as “Three Natures” and “Three Non-Natures” were all explained. Such is finally the explicit teaching. (This teaching corresponds to) scriptures such as the *Jie shenmi jing*. 第二時中，雖依遍計所執自性，說諸法空，然猶未說依他圓成唯識道理，故亦非了義。即諸部《般若》等教。第三時中，方就大乘正理，具說三性三無性等唯識二諦，方為了義。即《解深密》等經。

The three above could (also) be explained in terms of three functions. The first (function) is for including people of various faculties; the second for expounding Dharma; the third for manifesting principle. The first is preached to only *śrāvakas* and expounds only the Small Vehicle and reveals only the emptiness of self. The second is preached to bodhisattvas and expounds only the Great Vehicle and reveals only two kinds of emptiness (i.e., that of self and of all phenomena). The third is preached to people of all faculties and explains all vehicles coherently and reveals fully both emptiness and existence. Therefore, the previous two doctrines have their shortcoming in terms of the faculties that they could appeal to, and their teachings and principles. Consequently, they are not explicit teaching. With the last teaching, (however,) no faculty is not appealed to; no teaching is not fully explained; no principle is not completed. Such is the explicit teaching. 又此三位，各以三義釋：一攝機、二說教、三顯理。且初唯攝聲聞，唯說小乘，唯顯生空。二唯攝菩薩，唯說大乘，唯顯二空。三普攝諸機，通說諸乘，

²⁰³ *Parikalpita-svabhava*: the form produced from conceptual construction. The Chinese translation, *bianji suozhi xing* 遍計所執性, literally reads as “nature of existence produced from attachment to all-pervasive discrimination”. It is the first nature of the “Three Natures” (Sk. *tri-svabhāva*).

²⁰⁴ *Paratantra-svabhava*: “the form arising under certain conditions”, the real form of phenomenal existence free from verbal expression; the world of dependent origination. It is the second of the “Three Natures”.

²⁰⁵ *Parinishpanna-svabhava*: “the form perfectly attained”. It is the ultimate truth of transcendental emptiness. It makes up the last of the “Three Nature”.

具顯空、有。是故前二,攝機、教、理各互有闕,故非了義。後一,機無不攝,教無不具,理無不圓,故為了義。

7. Explanation of the title of the *sūtra* 第七釋經題目者。

(I will) briefly explain ten (kinds of) names: 1. The name in terms of the number (of the *ślokas*); 2. The name in terms of the *dharma*; 3. The metaphorical name; 4. The name in terms of benefits; 5. The name of virtues; 6. The name in terms of (the resemblance to) things; 7. The elaborated name; 8. The compete name; 9. The united name; 10. The chapter name. 略釋十名。一數名；二法名；三喻名；四義名；五德名；六事名；七開名；八具名；九合名；十品名。

1. The name in terms of the number (of the *ślokas*). According to the tenth chapter the “Excellent Appearance”²⁰⁶ of the *She Dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋 [Skt. *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-bhāṣya*] (translated in) the Liang Dynasty (502-557), the *Huayan jing* has one hundred thousand *ślokas*, (so) it is called the “hundred thousand *sūtra*” (*Baiqian jing* 百千經). That is to say, this name is established based on the number of *ślokas*. 初、數名者。依梁《攝論》第十《勝相》云：「百千經者，是華嚴經有十萬頌，名百千經」。此即從本數，以立其名。

2. The name in terms of the *dharma*. The “Chapter on Entrustment” [“Shulei pin” 屬累品] in the *Da Zhidu lun* [Skt. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā śāstra*; Commentary on the *Great Perfection of Wisdom*] says that the *Sūtra of Inconceivable Liberation* has one hundred thousand *ślokas*. The (chapter) points out itself that it is referring to the *Huayan jing*. So, this name (i.e., the *Sūtra of Inconceivable Liberation*) means that the *dharma* of this *sūtra* encompasses all; and everything about it (brings about) inconceivable liberation. For this reason, the *sūtra* is named as such. 二、法名者。依《智度論 - 屬累品》云：「名《不思議解脫經》有十萬偈」。又彼中自指是《華嚴》，故良為此經所說之法，皆一攝一切，無不悉是不思議解脫。故以為名。

3. The metaphorical name. According to the *Niepan jing* 涅槃經 [Skt. *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*] and the *Guanfo sanmei jing* 觀佛三昧經 [Skt. *Buddha Dhyāna Samādhisāgara Sūtra*; *Sūtra of the Samādhi of Visualizing Buddha*], this *sūtra* is named the *Sūtra of Miscellaneous Flowers* (*Zahua jing* 雜華經). It is named by following the metaphor of the miscellaneous flowers which are like the 10,000 interweaving practices that dependently lead to the accomplishment. 三喻名者。依《涅槃經》及《觀佛三昧經》名此經為《雜華經》。以萬行交飾，緣起集成，從喻標名，猶雜華耳。

4. The name in terms of benefits. It is named in accordance with the Ten Benefits (*shiyi* 十義) mentioned in the “Chapter on Leaving the World” [“Li shijian pin” 離世間品], including the “transmundane (principles of) the flower of the definitive meaning (of points of virtuous

²⁰⁶ The full title of the chapter: “Explain the Excellent Appearance of the Differences of the Practices for Penetrating the Cause and Effect” [“Shi ru yinguo xiu chabie shengxiang” 釋入因果修差別勝相].

practices) of enlightening beings”.²⁰⁷ One could know this by referring to that (chapter).²⁰⁸ 四義名者。如下《離世間品》出生菩薩深妙義華等十義立名。至彼當辯。

5. The name in terms of the virtues. It is named according to the Ten Virtues mentioned at the end of the “Chapter on the Arising of the Nature” [“Xingqi pin” 性起品]. One could explain this by referring to that (chapter).²⁰⁹ 五、德名者如《性起品》末就十勝德以立其名。亦至彼當釋。

6. The title (of the *Huayan jing*) in terms of (the resemblance to) things: The name *huayan*, in Sanskrit, is *gandavyūha* (*jian’na piaohē* 健拏驪訶). *Ganda* means “miscellaneous flowers”; *vyūha* means “adornment”. *Tripiṭaka* Divākara said, “In a kingdom in the Western Regions, there is an apparatus for making offerings, called *vyūha*. It has six layers with the ones below wider and the ones above narrower, which are (all) decorated with flowers and jewels; and on each layer is placed a statue of Buddha”. Indeed, the *sūtra* (i.e., the *Avatamsaka sūtra*) superimposes “six stages”, on each of which one could attain Buddhahood, which is precisely analogous to that thing (i.e., the apparatus). For this reason, (the *sūtra*) is titled as such. The eight assemblies of humans and celestial beings are all like that (apparatus). This shall be understood. 事名者：「華嚴」之稱，梵語名為「健拏驪訶」。「健拏」名雜華；「驪訶」名嚴飾。日照三藏說云：「西國別有一供養具，名為『驪訶』。其狀六重，下闊上狹，飾以華寶。一一重內，皆安佛像」。良以此經，六位重疊，位位成佛。正類彼事，故立此名。人天八會，亦似彼，應知。

²⁰⁷ *Huayan jing* (60 juans), T no. 278, 9: 669b20-21. Translation taken from Cleary, *Flower Garland*, 1025.

²⁰⁹ It is the 33rd chapter of the *Huayan jing*. The full title is: “Chapter on the Arising of the Nature of the Jewel King Tathāgatha” [“Baowang Rulai xingqi pin” 寶王如來性起品].

8. Versions, Transmission, and Translation 第八部類傳譯者²¹⁰

There are also ten points to make: 1. Constant Version; 2. Great Version; 3. Upper Version; 4. Middle Version; 5. Lower Version; 6. Abridged Version; 7. Commentaries; 8. Translations; 9. Branch (Translations); 10. Sympathetic Resonance (i.e., Miraculous Events)²¹¹ 亦有十義。一恒本；二大本；三上本；四中本；五下本；六略本；七論釋；八翻譯；九支流；十感應。

8.1-6: (Versions)

8.1. The Constant Version. The “Chapter on the Inconceivable (Qualities of Buddha)” says, “All realms of reality, all realms of emptiness and other realms could be measured thoroughly by one hair (of Buddha). On each hair-tip, and in each thought-moment, inconceivable and uncountable bodies (of Buddha appear) in all future eons, constantly turning the wheel of *dharma*”. 初、恒本者。下《不思議品》云：「一切法界、虛空界等世界，悉以一毛周遍度量。一一毛端處，於念念中，不可說微塵等身，盡未來際劫，常轉法輪」。

Explanation: (Buddha) preaches constantly in the tree-shaped world ²¹²and other uniquely shaped worlds in each interstice and in each thought-moment without pause. [What is being preached] could not be compiled. The number of its chapters and *śloka*s is unlimited. It is not what the lower beings could receive and uphold. 解云：此通樹形等異類世界，各毛端處，念念常說，無有休息。此非可結集。不可限其品頌多少，亦非下位所能受持。

8.2. The Great Version. It is similar to the *Puyan jing* 普眼經 [Universal Eyes *Sūtra*] that Sāgarmega received.²¹³ (Even) with brushes piled (as high as) the Mount Meru, and inks (as abundant as) the water of four oceans, (they suffice only to) write one chapter, but not to finish the *sūtra*. (Besides,) there are other chapters like this, which outnumber all dusts. This *sūtra* could only be received and upheld with the force of *dhāraṇī* of great bodhisattvas and could not be written on palm leaves. 二、大本者。如下海雲比丘所受持《普眼經》。以須彌山聚筆，四大海水墨，書一品，修多羅不可窮盡。如是等品，復過塵數。此是諸大菩薩陀羅尼力之所受持。亦非貝葉所能書記。

8.3. The Upper Version. This is the upper version of the version compiled (in the Buddhist councils). So, the *Xiyu (zhuan ji)* 西域(傳記) [The Journey to the West]²¹⁴ says:

²¹⁰ I summarized this origin myth in Chapter 4: 1 (Origin Myth).

²¹¹ Robert Sharf has dedicated an entire chapter to discussing *ganying* 感應. See Sharf, *Term*, 82-135.

²¹² This is a reference to the discourse given by Samanthabhadra describing various forms of worlds, including the worlds in the shape of tree, mountain, whirlpool and flower. *Huayan jing* (60 *juans*), T no. 278, 9: 414b3-5

²¹³ Sāgarmega is the second of the fifty-three spiritual friends who teach Sudhana in the “Chapter on Entering the Realm of Reality” [“Ru fajie pin” 入法界品] in the *Huayan jing*.

²¹⁴ It is worth pointing out that the *Xiyu ji* could refer to any travelogue to India and does not necessarily refer to Xuanzang’s *Da Tang xiyu ji*. In this case, we know it is not Xuanzang’s travelogue, for Fazang’s citation is not found in it. Here Fazang may be citing another *Xiyu ji* which appears in Fazang’s quotation of Paramārtha: “It is as Tripiṭaka Paramārtha said, ‘the Xiyu zhuanji said ...’ 又如真諦三藏云：《西域傳記》說 ... See T no. 2073, 51: 153a27-28. However, I am not able to identify the exact *Xiyu zhuan ji* that Fazang is referring to, but perhaps Fazang

Bodhisattva Nagarjuna went to the Dragon Palace and saw the *Great Inconceivable Liberation Sūtra* which consists of three versions: Its Upper Version contains *ślokas* as numerous as dusts in ten billion worlds and chapters as many as those in the four continents. 三、上本者。此是結集文中之上本也。故《西域》相傳：“龍樹菩薩往龍宮，見《大不思議解脫經》有三本。上本有十三千大千世界微塵數頌，四天下微塵數品。

8.4. The Middle Version. It contains 498,800 *ślokas* and 1200 chapters. The two versions above were both hidden in the Dragon Palace and could not be received and upheld by the force of people in Jambudvīpa. For this reason, they are not transmitted. 四、中本者。有四十九萬八千八百偈、一千二百品。此上二本，竝祕在龍宮。非閻浮提人力所受持，故此不傳。

8.5. The Lower Version: It consists of 100, 000 *ślokas* and thirty-eight chapters. Nāgarjuna brought this version out (of the Dragon palace) and it is currently transmitted in India. This is the *sūtra* mentioned in *She Dasheng lun shi* that has “one hundred thousand (*ślokas*)”, which amounts to the 10, 000 *ślokas*. The *Xiyu ji* 西域記 [The Journey of the West]²¹⁵ says, “On a mountain in the Kingdom of Zhejupan²¹⁶ to the south of Khotan, this version is preserved”. 五下本者。有十萬頌、三十八品。龍樹將此本出，現傳天竺。即《攝論》「百千」，為十萬也。《西域記》說：「在于闐國南，遮俱槃國山中，具有此本」。

8.6. The Abridged Version. This is the sixty *juans* that are circulating in this land (i.e., China). It is the distilled essence consisting of thirty-six thousand *ślokas*, which make up the first part of the ten thousand *ślokas*. I recently saw in the pagoda of the Da Ci'en Monastery²¹⁷ three versions of the Sanskrit *Huayan jing*. I briefly compared all of them with the Chinese version and they were largely identical; the numbers of *ślokas* were also similar.²¹⁸ 六、略本者。即此土所傳六十卷本。是彼十萬頌中前分三萬六千頌要略所出也。近於大慈恩寺塔上見梵本華嚴有三部。略勘竝與此漢本大同。頌數亦相似。

8.7. Commentators. Nagarjuna, having revealed the Lower Version, made the commentary *Da busiyi lun* 大不思議論 [Commentary on the Great Inconceivable (*Sūtra*)]. He comments on this *sūtra* also in 10, 000 *ślokas*. The present *Shizhu piposha lun* is one part of the (*Da busiyi lun*). It was recited by the *Tripitaka* Buddhayaśas (fl. 3-4th c.) of the Qin Dynasty and translated by Kumārajīva (344-413). In its 16 *juans*, the (*Shizhu piposha lun*) only explains until the Second Ground; the remaining (grounds) are missing. 七、論釋者。龍樹既將下本出，因

himself is only quoting Paramārtha without knowing which *Xiyu ji* it is.

²¹⁵ Is this *Xiyu ji* the same as the *Xiyu zhuan ji* cited by Paramārtha, which I discussed in the previous footnote? The subtle difference in the way Fazang cited their names may suggest that they are different texts, though I may be over-interpreting. In any case, it is certainly not Xuanzang's *Da Tang xiyu ji*. Jinhua Chen speculated it may be the *Xiyu zhuan (ji)* by Yancong 彥宗 (?-688+). See Chen, *Fazang*, 110 (footnote 65).

²¹⁶ Tansen Sen assisted Jinhua Chen in identifying this place as Karghalik, present-day Yecheng 葉城 in Xinjiang. Chen, *Fazang*, 108 (footnote 60).

²¹⁷ On the lost Sanskrit manuscript in the Da Ci'en Monastery, see Hino, “Dai Jion-ji”, 254-261.

²¹⁸ The last two sentences are the English translation made by Imre Hamar. See Hamar, “History”, 152.

造《大不思議論》。亦十萬頌以釋此經。今時《十住毘婆沙論》是彼一分。秦朝耶舍三藏，頌出譯之。十六卷文纔至第二地，餘皆不足。

Furthermore, Vasubandhu (fl. 4-5th c.) wrote the *Shidi lun* 十地論 [Skt. *Daśabhūmikasūtra śāstra*; Commentary on (the “Chapter on) Ten Grounds”] and focused on commenting on one chapter — that on the Ten Grounds. 又世親菩薩造《十地論》，偏釋十地一品。

In the Northern Wei, the *tripitaka* master Ratnamati (?-513?)²¹⁹ and Bodhiruci (fl. 6th c.)²²⁰ each produced a translation of the *Shidi* in Luoyang.²²¹ The *Vinaya* Master Huiguang 慧光 (487-536), by his own efforts, deciphered Sanskrit and had two *vinaya* masters gather in front of the Emperor (Xuanwu) (483-515) and combine (the two versions) into one.²²² See *Huayan jing zhuanji*.²²³ 魏朝勒那三藏及菩提留支於洛陽各翻一本。光統律師自解梵文，令二三藏，對御和會，合成一本。見傳者是。

Vajrasena (?-?) and Sthiramati (fl. 6th c.)²²⁴ have respectively composed a commentary on the *Shidi jing*; both commentaries have not been transmitted to our land. 金剛軍菩薩及堅慧菩薩各造《十地釋》。並未傳此土。

²¹⁹ Ratnamati (Lenamoti 勒那摩提 [?-513?]; Chinese name: Baoyi 寶意) was a Central North Indian monk who came to Luoyang in 508. He is said to have a prodigious memory, having memorized many texts and upon arriving in China, translated many *śāstras*, including the *Daśabhūmikasūtra śāstra* that he collaborated with Bodhiruci. According to one archaeological source, Ratnamati is believed to have brought the *Daśabhūmikasūtra śāstra* to China. Hamar, “History”, 185.

²²⁰ Bodhiruci (fl. sixth c.) is a North Indian monk who arrived in Luoyang in 508. He is said to have translated over thirty Mahāyāna sūtras and treatises, most of which are in line with the orthodox Yogacara thoughts. This Bodhiruci should not be confused with the Bodhiruci of the Tang Dynasty.

²²¹ According to *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, Ratnamati and Bodhiruci were ordered by Emperor Xuanwu to translate the *Shidi jing lun* at the same time but in two separate halls, each guarded so that they could not communicate with each other. According to Fazang’s *Huayan jing zhuanji*, each produced one translation respectively in the southern and northern bank of Luoyang. Their translation, however, diverged on one key point, due to Vasubandhu’s ambiguous description of the moral nature of *ālayavijñāna* (Storehouse consciousness), which qualifies it sometimes as impure and sometimes as pure. Bodhiruci followed a more orthodox Yogacara interpretation, believing that *ālayavijñāna* is only previsionary and therefore impure; whereas Ratnamati followed a nascent trend of *tathāgatagarbha* (“Matrix of Buddha-nature”) thoughts that posits an innate and pure Buddha-nature. Their divergent translations divided the Dilun school to a North Dilun School that followed Bodhiruci’s translation, and a South Dilun School adhering to that of Ratnamati. There are many versions of this story. In some versions, Fotuoshanduo 佛陀扇多 (fl. 6th c.) also participated in the translation.

²²² Huiguang 慧光 (468–537), also known as the Vinaya Master Guangtong 光統律師, combined and edited the two Chinese translations of the *Shidi lun* made respectively by Ratnamati and Bodhiruci.

²²³ *Huayan jing zhuanji*, T no. 2073, 51:156c2-7.

²²⁴ Sthiramati (fl. sixth century) is an Indian monk primarily based in Valabhī. His Chinese name is alternatively rendered as Anhui 安慧. He is the author of the *Jiujing yisheng baoxing lun* 究竟一乘寶性論 [Skt. *Ratnagotravibhāga-uttaratantra śāstra*; Treatise on the Jewel Nature of the Ultimate One Vehicle] (attribution contested) and the *Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun* 大乘法界無差別論 [Skt. *Dharmadhātu-aviśeṣa śāstra*; Treatise on the Non-Distinction of the Dharmadhātu of Mahāyana]. On this last *śāstra*, Fazang has composed a commentary. According to the *Huayan jing zhuanji*, both Vajrasena and Sthiramati’s commentary on the *Shidi lun* have not been transmitted to China but the *Huayan jing zhuanji* also records that Fazang heard Sthiramati’s commentary had been seen in Khotan and that he asked Śikṣānanda to look for it when the latter returned to his homeland Khotan. T no. 2073, 51:156c12-14.

Furthermore, in the Wei Dynasty (386-534), on Mount Wutai, the Venerable Lingbian 靈辯 (477-522) carried the *Huayan jing* on his head and walked on his knee with devotion, his feet ruined and blood flowing. Persisting for three years, Lingbian was at last blessed by (Mañjuśrī) with liberation and enlightenment. In Mount Xuanweng, Lingbian created this commentary containing more than 100 *juans*.²²⁵ They are currently being transmitted in the world. Later, the imperial decree invited him to enter the interior court and, in the imperial palace, preached on this great *sūtra*.²²⁶ 又魏朝此土高僧靈辯法師，於五臺山頂，戴華嚴，膝步慙懃足破血流，遂經三載，冥加解悟。於懸瓮山中造此經論一百餘卷，現傳於世。後勅請法師入內，於式乾殿，講此大經。

8.8. Translators. In the Eastern Jin (317-420), the *śramaṇa* Zhi Faling 支法領 (b. 348+-409+)²²⁷ obtained this *sūtra* of thirty-six thousand *ślokas* in the kingdom of Khotan. He also succeeded in inviting²²⁸ an arhat²²⁹-Bodhisattva-meditation master named Buddhahadra (359-429)²³⁰ from North India. He was known (in China) as Juexian 覺賢. His secular family name is Shakya, i.e., the descent of The Nectar Rice King (Ganlu fawang 甘露飯王; Skt. *Amṛtōdana*).²³¹ He has visited the Tuṣita Heaven (in meditation)²³² and posed his queries to Maitreya. 八翻譯

²²⁵ Traditionally, only the 10th *juan* survived, which is included in the *Xu Zangjing* 續藏經 [Extended Canon]. In the 1950s, however, ten more *juans* were discovered in Japan and Korea.

²²⁶ A more detailed biography of Lingbian is recorded in Fazang's *Huayan jing zhuanji*, T no. 2073, 51: 157b9-14. Fazang's biography of Lingbian includes details that are not found anywhere else. In his version, Lingbian was invited to the court in Luoyang and started his career as a preach of the *Huayan jing*. According to Zhang Wenliang, Fazang intentionally re-shaped the biography of Lingbian, in order to to sanctify Mount Wutai. Fazang may also be projecting his own career to Lingbian by inventing details of Lingbian's activities in the court in Luoyang, whereas in truth, Lingbian may have never been to Luoyang. See Zhang, "Lingbian", 79-104 (Chinese).

²²⁷ In 392, Zhi Faling travelled with Fajing 法淨 (343+-393+), Zhiyan 智嚴 (602-668) and others to the Western Regions. In Khotan, they knew of the *Huayan jing* preserved there. The king, however, refused to share it with them until Zhi Faling convinced him otherwise. Eventually Zhi Faling obtained 36, 000 *ślokas*, the first part of the total 100, 000 *ślokas*. See Zhi Faling's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 335c3.

²²⁸ According to *Gaoseng zhuan*, it was not Zhi Faling but Zhiyan who invited Buddhahadra (T no. 50, 2059: 334c13). While Zhi Faling returned to China from the Kingdom of Khotan, Zhiyan continued his journey to Kashmir (Jibin 罽賓) where he met Buddhahadra.

²²⁹ I translated *Dasheng sanguo* 大乘三果 (literally, "three-fruits of Mahāyāna") as "arhat", because according to Kyunyeo 均如 (923-973), this phrase is another way of saying Hinayana: "Three fruits of Mahayana refer to the Four Fruits, which are common to both Hinayana and Mahāyāna. Nowadays it is simply (a way of saying) Hinayana" 大乘三果者四果，通於大小，今簡小乘. See *Junru dashi Huayan xue quanshu*, B no. 1. 1: 317a13. It is worth recalling that Buddhahadra was initially a follower of Hinayana. At young age, he was known for abiding by Vinaya rules and for his attainment in meditation. The biographies of his students, including Baoyun 寶雲 (397-401), Zhiyan 智嚴, also showcase his Hinayana-flavoured style of teaching. His tension with Kumārajīva also had to do with the latter's loose adherence to strict monastic codes.

²³⁰ Buddhahadra is a North Indian monk, known for his meditative skill and his learning and practicing of *vinaya*. He was invited by Zhiyan to China and from 406 to 408, he stayed in the capital Chang 'an. For a biography of Buddhahadra, see *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 334b26-335c14.

²³¹ Amrtodana, the younger brother of the father of Buddha Shakyamuni, Śuddhodana Gautama.

²³² The biography of Buddhahadra in neither *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* nor *Chu sangzang ji* has mentioned that he visited the Tuṣita Heaven. Instead, it is in the biography of Zhiyan 智嚴 that the related passage can be found. See *Gaoseng zhuan*. T no. 2059, 50: 339c10. Fazang is well aware that this passage is originally ascribed to Zhiyan, as he mentions this episode in his biography of Zhiyan (T no. 73, 51: 164a7-8). So, it is shocking that Fazang knowingly

者。有東晉沙門支法領，從于闐國得此三萬六千偈經。并請得北天竺大乘三果菩薩禪師名「佛馱跋陀羅」，此云「覺賢」。俗姓「釋迦氏」。即甘露飯王之苗裔。曾往兜率天，就彌勒問疑。

On the tenth day of the third month of the fourteen year of the Yixi 義熙 reign of the Eastern Jin (April 30, 418), Hujing Dharma hall was created in the Xiesikong Monastery 謝司空寺 in Yangzhou, where Buddhahadra completed his translation of the *sūtra*. At the time, in front of the hall was a pond of lotuses. Each day, two green-clad boys would emerge from the pond and clean and serve Buddhahadra. At the dusk, they returned to the lake. It is said that because this *sūtra* has long been preserved in the Palace of Dragon,²³³ the Dragon King celebrated its transmission by serving Buddhahadra in person (as the two young boys). Later the monastery was renamed *Xingyan* 興嚴 Monastery. 以晉義熙十四年歲次鶉火三月十日 (April 30, 418), 於揚州謝司空寺別造護淨法堂，於中譯出此經。時堂前有一蓮華池，每日有二青衣童子。自池之出堂灑掃供養。暮還歸池。相傳釋云，以此經久在龍宮，龍王慶此傳通，躬自給侍。後因改此寺名為「興嚴寺」。

The *śramaṇa* Faye 法業 (fl. 4 and 5th c.), Huiyan 慧嚴 (363-443), Huiguan 慧觀 (fl. 4 and 5th c.) and others served as the scribes 筆受.²³⁴ At the time, Mengyi 孟顗, the governor 內史 of Wu prefecture and Zhe Shudu 褚叔度, the general in charge of the garrison on the right flank 右衛將軍, and others were the chief sponsors. On the tenth day of the sixth month of the Yuanxi 元熙 reign (July 6, 420), the translation was completed. On the twentieth day of the twentieth month of the second year of the Yongchu 永初 reign of the Great Song (January 28, 422), having compared again (Buddhabudra's translation) with a Sanskrit copy, the conclusion was that eight or nine folios were missing in the chapter on "Entering into the Realm of Dharma" ["Ru fajie" 入法界; Skt. *Gaṇḍavyūha*], from "Queen Māyā" (*Moye furen* 摩耶夫人) to "Bodhisattva Maitreya" (*Mile pusa* 彌勒菩薩).²³⁵ Now in the interior court we have the Indian *tripiṭaka* Divākara (613-687),²³⁶ or Rizhao 日照 in Chinese. He has this chapter in Sanskrit. Divākara and I together collated the portion that had been missing thus far. Following the imperial decree, we, along with *śramaṇa* Daocheng 道成 (427-482), Fuli 復禮 (fl. 7th c.) and others, translated this portion and added it (to Buddhahadra's translation). 沙門法業及慧嚴、

transplanted the biographical fact of one to another, again showing his nonchalance towards historical accuracy. (Another example is his biography of Lingbian).

²³³ Here it connects to the fact that *Huayan jing* is preserved in the Dragon Palace where Nagarjuna has first seen the *sūtra*. See Chapter 4: 1 (Origin Myth).

²³⁴ The scribe here is not merely a copyist but refers to the personnel in a translation team who is tasked with writing down the oral translation.

²³⁵ Imre Hamar comments on the missing parts. See Hamar, *History*, 160-161.

²³⁶ For an overview of Divākara, see Forte, "Divākara" 1974 (in Italian) and "Divākara", 2004. In addition, at the time of writing this thesis, in October 2020, Research Institute of Longmen Grotto announced the discovery of Divākara's tomb. If this discovery is verified, this is bound to expand our scant knowledge of Divākara.

慧觀等親從筆受。時有吳郡內史孟顗右衛將軍褚叔度等為檀越主。至元熙二年六月十日出訖。至大宋永初二年十二月二十日，與梵本再校勘畢，於《法界品》內從「摩耶夫人」後至「彌勒菩薩」前所闕八九紙經文。今大唐永隆元年三月內有天竺三藏地婆訶羅，唐言「日照」。有此一品梵本。法藏親共校勘至此闕文。奉勅與，沙門道成、復禮等譯出補之。

10. Exegesis of the Sūtra 隨文解釋者

10.1. (Threefold Classification)

In the present *sūtra* of 36,00 *ślokas*, there are seven locations and eight assemblies: seven assemblies (took place) in three locations in the human world and four locations in the heavenly realms. (Plus) the repeated assembly in the (Hall of) Universal Light, there are (in total) eight assemblies. There are thirty-four chapters. 第十、隨文解釋者。今此三萬六千偈經有七處八會。謂人中三處天上四處為七，重會普光為八會。於中有三十四品。

The first chapter is the introduction 序分. After the “Chapter of Vairocana” is the main teaching 正宗. As for whether there is a dissemination (section) (*liutong* 流通), there are four interpretations.²³⁷ 初一品是序分，盧舍那品下明正宗，流通有無以四義釋。

First, the two verses after “the atoms of the mind of all beings” 眾生心微塵 is the dissemination section, because it is the concluding praise that encourages faith.

一、以「眾生心微塵」下二頌為流通，以結歎勸信故。

Secondly, the source of the *sūtra* is not complete, so it lacks a dissemination section.

二、為經來不盡，闕無流通。

Third, because this teaching accords with the teaching of the Realm of *Dharma* and the Gate of *Dharma*, it has no dissemination section. 三、為此經是稱法界法門說，故總無流通。

Question: If it is like this, how comes that there is an introduction? 問：若爾，何得便有序分？

Answer: The *sūtra* has witness (i.e., “Thus have I heard”) (which is) a common theme for (a *sūtra*) to enter, so there is an introduction at the beginning. (However,) what (the *sūtra*) enters into has no limit, so there is no dissemination section at the end. It is like the cultivation of the fruit of Buddhahood which has a beginning but has no end. If it is not like this, how comes that all eight assemblies have no dissemination section at the end? The 16 assemblies in the *Da Banruo jing* 大般若經 [Skt. *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*; Great Wisdom *Sūtra*] all have a separate dissemination section at the end of each assembly; all the assemblies in the *Daji jing* 大集經 [Skt. *Mahāvaiṣṭhī mahāsamghatā sūtra*; Great Assembly *Sūtra*] also have (the dissemination section) at the end. So, from the fact that this *sūtra* does not have it, we could know that the *sūtra* (conceives) a special intention and has some (meanings) to convey. 答：以有見聞，通趣入，故有始為序；以所入無極，故無終流通。如修生佛果，有始無終。若不爾者，何故八會一一會末皆無流通？《大般若經》十六會中，彼會會後，皆別有流通。《大集經》中諸會，末皆亦有。之此經不爾，故知別意，有所表也。

²³⁷ The Threefold Classification was first used by Dao'an 道安 (312-385) and subsequently became a standard scheme for structuring a *sūtra*. According to this scheme, a *sūtra* comprises the “General Setting” (“Xufen” 序分), the “Theme Proper” (“Zhengzong fen” 正宗分) and “Dissemination” (“Liutong fen” 流通分). See Chapter 4: 2.2 (Threefold Classification).

Fourth, (the *sūtra* uses) the secondary teaching of the Three Vehicles and others to benefits all beings in accord with the differences in their potentials — this (in itself) is the beneficial attribute of a dissemination section. 四、以餘三乘等法，逐機差別，利益眾生，為流通益相。

10.2. (Fivefold Classification)

Now furthermore, in light of the subsequent text (of the *sūtra*), its entire length could be divided into five: 今更尋下文，總長分為五。

The first chapter is the “Section on Causes and Conditions that Gave Rise to the Teaching” 初品是「教起因緣分」。

Second, in the “Chapter on Vairocana”, the cycle of dialogue is named the “Section that Demonstrate the Fruits so as to Engender the Longing and a Faith”. 二、《舍那品》中一周問答，名「舉果勸樂生信分」。

Third, from the second to the sixth assembly, the cycle of dialogues is named the “Section on the Generation of the Understanding and Attainment of the Fruit Through Cultivating Causes”. 三、從第二會至第六會來一周問答，名「修因契果生解分」。

Four, in the seventh assembly, the cycle of dialogues is named the “Section on the Actualization of the Practices by Relying on the Understanding (of the 52 Bodhisattva Stages)”. 四、第七會中一周問答，名「託法進修成行分」。

Five, in the eighth assembly, the cycle of dialogues is named the “Section on the Entry into the Realization and Perfect Virtues by Relying on Spiritual Friends”. As for whether there is a Dissemination Section, it is as the discussion above. 五、第八會中一周問答，名「依人入證成德分」。流通有無，以如上辯。

These five sections all rise from the previous section and initiate the following one. Their sequence is successive, and their teaching is fully sufficient, so no (section) could be added and subtracted (i.e., all sections are interdependent). 此五分皆依前起後文次相生義理周足，是故不增減也。

10.3 (Preface)

Regarding the preface, it could be divided into two: The first is the preface that clarifies this land. The second is the preface that clarifies the infinite worlds in ten directions. 就初序分之中，分為二：初明此土中序分；二明十方無盡世界中序分。

Regarding the first, there are three points: 1) The first four words (“thus I have heard”) is the (general preface for) strengthening faith; 2) After the (word) “once” (is the section that) connects the two prefaces (i.e., the general and the special preface); 3) After Buddha shakes the earth (and reveals himself) is (the special preface for explaining) the rising (of the teaching). 初中有三：初、有四字唯是證信；二、「一時」下通二序；三、「動地下」唯是發起。

If considering the subsequent text (i.e., the main teaching), we could arrive at a tetralemma: either the (general preface for) straightening the faith comes at the beginning, or the (special preface for explaining) the rising (of the teaching) comes later, or both are the median (i.e., the main teaching), or neither are the main teaching that comes later. 若通後說得有四句。或唯證信是初。或唯發起是後。或俱是中間。或俱非是下正宗。

Furthermore, the first four words (i.e., “Thus have I heard”), its meaning is applicable broadly 通 but words themselves are applicable limitedly 局, because the words appear at the beginning and yet their meaning can be applied broadly to the eight assemblies. After “once” 一時, words are applicable broadly but the meaning is applicable limitedly: words are applicable broadly because all assemblies below all have such (phrases) such as “at the time” 爾時; meaning is applicable limitedly because they are all limited by (the meaning of) the first (four words). 又初四字，義通而文局。以文在初首，義通八會故。「一時」下，文通而義局。以下諸會，皆有「爾時」等，故文通也；今此局初，故義局也。