

Special Feature

Some Remarks on Influences from Silla  
in Some Works Commonly Ascribed to  
Du Shun 杜順, Focusing on  
*Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門

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*The Review of Korean Studies* Volume 23 Number 1 (June 2020): 35-54

doi: 10.25024/review.2020.23.1.35

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## Introduction: National and East Asian Huayan/Hwaecom/Kegon Buddhisms

It would be a gross exaggeration to label the notion of a “Chinese Huayan tradition” a mere product of modern nationalism. Obviously, the beginnings of a Huayan 華嚴 lineage can be traced back to the late eight century (v.i.), and related modern text book taxonomies of the “Great Chinese” and “Japanese” “Schools of Buddhism” are heavily influenced by Meiji reprints of Gyōnen’s 凝然 (1240-1321) *Hasshū kōyō* 八宗綱要, and thus proto-nationalistic notions dating back to 13<sup>th</sup> century Japan. Nevertheless, it was not by coincidence that, of all possible choices, precisely this work was chosen as a text book in the Meiji Buddhism: The clear demarcation of “Chinese” and “Japanese” Buddhist “Schools” not only fitted the necessities of a primer, but also the demand of a “national” history of Buddhism in line with the needs of the modern nation state.

In critical evaluations of Korean counter-narratives from the colonial period and the Park Chung Hee era, leading scholars of Korean Buddhism, n.b., Shim Jae-ryong [Sim Jaeryong 沈在龍] (1943-2004), Robert Buswell, and the late Kim Sang-hyun [Kim Sanghyeon 金相錢] (1947-2013) have voiced the dangers inherent to a nationalist approach, and to varying degrees have emphasized East Asian perspectives.<sup>1</sup> In a similar vein, eminent Japanese Buddhologists like Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄 (1927-2001), Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英 (1943-2014), or Ishii Kōsei 石井公成 have suggested that these authors implicitly shared or are sharing similar convictions. Nevertheless, at least

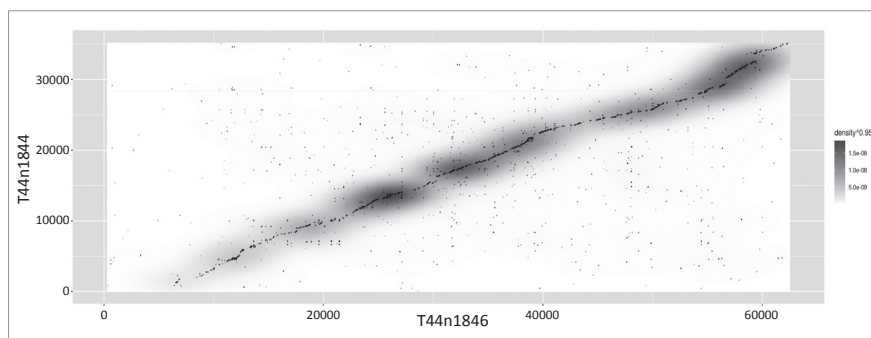
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\* This is a somewhat revised and extended version of an earlier article submitted for publication in Chinese language in a volume to be edited by Prof. Wang Song, Beijing University. I should like to express my thanks to Prof. Wang for his consent, and to one of the anonymous reviewers of this invited contribution for alerting the author to some of the more embarrassing typographic glitches, as well as some helpful remarks that also lead to a revision of the abstract, which now should be somewhat more intelligible and more in line with the actual contents of the article. Also, I should like to express my gratitude to the editors for their meticulous proof-reading.

1. Thus, Shim Jae-ryong (1989) drew attention to politically related nationalist stereotypes forwarded in the colonial period and under the rule of Park Chung Hee, and Robert Buswell (2007, 44) traced the emergence of a Korean Buddhism during the Joseon and in the colonial period (1997), eventually viewing the 20<sup>th</sup> century as the time when “the outlines of a truly ‘Korean’ national tradition of Buddhism begin finally to emerge.” The late Kim Sang-hyeon (2006), as one of the greatest Hwaecom 華嚴 scholars of our times would emphasize “universality” and “particularity” as simultaneously applicable concepts, criticizing the limitations of nationalist scholarship while at the same time retaining the notion of distinct traits of a “Korean” Buddhism.

as far as the Sinological perspective is concerned, East Asian Buddhism for the most part is still studied along the conceptual lines of “Chinese” Buddhism. While scholars in Korean and Japanese Studies would habitually look out for “Chinese” precedents, most specialists in Chinese Buddhism show some interest in parallel developments that allow informed guesses, but rarely would consult “Korean” (i.e., Silla, Baekje, or Goguryeo) sources in any serious fact-oriented attempt to resolve their China related historical issues, simply because these texts are not part of the conceived “Chinese tradition.” Regardless whether brought about by the traditional compartmentalization of Asian Studies into national philologies, resulting from an appropriated disdain for “barbarians,” or due to outdated political views related to the nation state, this reification of “national” spaces of research is deplorable methodologically because the ensuing neglect of relevant source materials almost inevitably leads to “blind spots.”

Thus, it should come to no surprise that even an eminent scholar like Peter N. Gregory in his seminal study on *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* ([1991] 2002) expresses his perplexion due to a “paradigmatic shift” in Huayan Buddhism in the early 8th century towards the “noetic ground” of “enlightenment”—a development that actually can be explained if taking into account the influence exerted by Wonhyo’s 元曉 “one mind” philosophy and related sources (Plassen 2011, 76-83).



**Figure 1.** Chart of Overlapping Segments between T.1844 and T.1846, produced by the MNGRAM program, using R/Shiny and ggplot2

Not only in this respect, the Koreanists’ expertise should prove valuable to further any attempt to solve these Sinological riddles: As widely known, Fazang’s

法藏 *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記 (T.1846) borrows heavily from Wonhyo's *Daeseung gisillon so* 大乘起信論疏 (T.1844). How slavishly Fazang follows Wonhyo's commentary can be gauged from a chart of overlapping segments.

Quite obviously, only small portions of the commentary are not indebted to the precedent from Silla. Given that already the so-called “systematizer” of Huayan thought is that heavily influenced by the Silla scholar, it should be evident that also for explaining subsequent developments one cannot neglect to take Silla influence into the equation. A history of Huayan in China cannot be written solely relying on Chinese sources.

### **The Issue under Investigation: The Problematic Origins of the *Fajie guan men* 法界觀門**

Following the lead of Philip Yampolsky's (1920-1996) well-received *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (1967), for decades Western scholars have been threading on the footsteps of eminent East Asian scholars like Hu Shih 胡適 (1891-1962) or Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山 (1922-2006), spilling much ink on deconstructing the Chan Buddhist lineages. Somewhat surprisingly, with some exceptions—n.b., Linda Penkower's (1951-2018) seminal dissertation (1993) on the Tiantai patriarch Zhanjan (711-783)—this rather long-lasting fashion seems to be more or less confined to Chan, and has rarely found its way into Huayan studies.

Even though Robert Gimello has brought the discussions among Japanese scholars about the problems surrounding the works ascribed to the purported “First patriarch” Du Shun (557-640) to the attention of a Western academic audience as early as in his PhD dissertation (1976), related doubts, if phrased at all, are usually relegated to footnotes. The traditional scheme of Huayan patriarchs thus still persists in historical surveys of Chinese Huayan thought, even though the textual basis should be described as tentative at best: As the late Kim Sang-hyun's (1996a) and Ishii Kōsei's (1996) research on the provenance of the *Hwaeomgyeong mundap* 華嚴經問答 (thitherto wrongly attributed to Fazang), or Frederic Girard's (2012) bold, and yet of course not unfounded, assumption that the *Golden Lion* might be wrongly attributed, in fact even the most self-evident traditional accretions are basically open to revision.<sup>2</sup>

The dearth of textual studies is aggravated by a somewhat crude take on authorship that unfortunately is still rather widespread. Given the fact that commentary literature evolves in close conjunction with lecturing, it should be obvious that multiple authorship should be the standard case rather than an exception. Thus, in some cases it can be shown that a given text has been written by the exegete it is commonly attributed to, but more often it is the disciples that take notes during the lecture and edit a commentary. Due to the neglect of the possibility of multiple authorship, problems of authorship accretion are all too often reduced to an either-or decision, while reality often is much more complex.<sup>3</sup>

This said, it is anything but a secret that both the *Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門 and the *Huayan wujiao zhibiguan famen* 華嚴五教止觀法門 (T.1867) are spurious texts. As several authors have mentioned, Du Shun's 杜順 biography is that of a thaumaturge, not that of an exegete. Even worse, references to Du Shun's purported works appear rather late. Thus we have no open quotations from any work by Du Shun in the texts ascribed to Fazang (643-712). The first open references occur as late as in Chengguan's 澄觀 (738-839) works.

Yūki Reimon 結城令聞 (1903-1992) noticed already in 1930 that the text of the *Huayan wujiao zhibiguan famen* has a verbatim textual parallel in parts of the *Huayan you xinfajie ji* 華嚴遊心法界記 (T.1877), considering the latter text, traditionally ascribed to Fazang (643-712), to be the derivative source. In 1934, Suzuki Munetada 鈴木宗忠 (1881-1963) highlighted comparable parallels between *Huayan fa putixin zhang* 華嚴發菩提心章 (T.1878) and the *Huayan fajie guanmen*, arguing that the latter text is a derivative of the former one (Gimello 1976, 62). This stance, however, soon again was challenged by Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定 (1870-1945) and Yūki Reimon. Decades later, Kimura Kiyotaka 木村清孝 (1968) once more tried to reverse the tide: among other observations highlighting that the three discernments attributed to Du Shun cannot be found in his disciple Zhiyan's 智儼 (602-668) works, Kimura again considered Fazang the actual author of the passages, and the *Fajie guanmen* an excerpt from

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2. The latest major contribution being Wang Song (2016). I should express my gratitude to Prof. Kim Cheonhak 金天鶴 for originally alerting me of the publication of this volume, which among a wealth of research materials contains most helpful juxtapositions of the textual parallels.

3. For a more extensive discussion of these matters, see Liefke and Plassen 2016.

the *Huayan fu putixin zhang*—an assumption soon afterwards again contested by Yūki and eventually also discarded by Robert Gimello (Gimello 1976, 57-64; 74-93).<sup>4</sup>

The picture becomes even more complicated if we take into account the observation that what appears to be the original version of the *Huayan sanmei zhang* 華嚴三昧章 (i.e., the *Hwaeom sammae jang* 華嚴三昧章) contains exactly the three discernments, but lacks the actual textual contents (cf. Gimello 1976, 82). In light of the well-established pervasive influence of Korean Hwaeom 華嚴, and Wonhyo (617-686) in particular, on Fazang and the emerging tradition, the circumstance that the *Hwaeom sammae jang* first circulated on the Korean peninsula might raise further suspicions. Thus, when Choe Namseon 崔南善 (1890-1957) (1918, 34) goes well beyond praising Wonhyo for his influence on Chinese Huayan and highlights Wonhyo's congeniality with Du Shun, writing that "...Wonhyo's commentarial expositions are [identical with] Du Shun's *Wujiao zhiguan* 五教止觀 and *Fajie guanmen*...", one might be tempted to raise the somewhat subversive question whether this impression of congeniality, much to the contrary, rather might mirror an influence of Wonhyo's works on the Pseudo Du Shun texts.

### Three, but Actually Four: A Glitch in Zongmi's Commentary on the *Fajie guanmen*

A glance into Zongmi's 宗密 (780-841) commentary on the *Fajie guanmen* reveals that right from the beginning Zongmi introduces the concepts of the "one true *dharma* sphere" (*yi zhen fajie* 一真法界) and at the same time "four kinds of *dharma* spheres" (*sizhong fajie* 四種法界), which soon is to result in a numerical problem:

法界 清涼新經疏云 統唯一真法界  
謂總該萬有 即是一心 然心融萬有  
便成四種法界 一事法界 界是分義 一一差別

4. We cannot do even partial justice to the rather complicated discussion among the Japanese scholars on the *Fajie guan men* 法界觀門 in this article, and thus should encourage the reader interested in the details to read Robert Gimello's detailed survey.

有分齊故 二理法界 界是性義 無盡事法  
同一性故 三理事無礙法界具性分義 性分無礙故  
四事事無礙法界 一切分齊事法  
一一如性融通 重重無盡故

*Dharma* sphere: Qingliangs (i.e., Chengguan's, J. P.) commentary on the New *sūtra* [translation] says: In general it is only **the One true *dharmā* sphere**; i.e., completely connecting the ten thousand beings is immediately the one mind. However, the mind, fusing the ten thousand beings, then brings about the **four kinds of *dharmā* spheres**. First, the *dharmā* sphere of affairs. “Sphere” is of the meaning of “allotted share”—because one by one separately they have their allotted equal share. Second, the *dharmā* sphere of the structure. Sphere [here] is of the meaning of “nature”—because the inexhaustible affairs and *dharmas*—conform in the one nature. Third, the *dharmā* sphere of lack of obstruction [between] structure and affairs. [It] is fully endowed with the meanings of “nature” and “allotted share”—because nature and allotted share lack [any] obstruction. Fourth, the *dharmā* sphere of lack of obstruction [between] affair and affair. All *dharmas* of the affairs [with their] allotted share one by one like the nature fuse and pervade—because layer by layer they are inexhaustible.

觀 情盡見除 冥於三法界也  
門 此八九紙文約此成觀故  
**略有三重 除事法界也** 事不獨立故  
法界宗中無孤單法故 若獨觀之  
即事情計之境 非觀智之境故 若分析義門 即有其四。  
今以對能觀之智 故唯三重  
此三但是一道豎窮 展轉玄妙 非初法界外別有第二第三  
既不旁橫 故云三重 不云三段。

Contemplation: [If] the feelings are exhausted, the views have been discarded. They have become obscured by the three *dharmā* spheres.

Gate: Because this text of eight or nine pages in regard to this brings about a contemplation. **That In abbreviation there are three layers is [because] one discards the *dharmā* sphere of affairs**—because the affairs are not established independently—because [according to] the point of departure of the *dharmā* sphere there are no solitary *dharmas*; because if one contemplates them independently then the schemed objects of affairs and matters are not the objects of contemplation and wisdom. If one divides gates of meanings, then there are four of them. Now, because one

sets [them] against the contemplating wisdom there are only three layers. These three are only the vertical exhaustion of the One Way, revolving into the dark and subtle. [It] is not such that outside of the first *dharmā* sphere there separately is a second or third one. Since they are not sideways or horizontal, therefore one says “three layers” and does not say “three segments.” (T.1884.45.648b24-c09)<sup>5</sup>

Quite obviously, Zongmi in the above passages struggles to unify the idea of four *dharmadhātus* with the three contemplations attributed to Du Shun, which indicates either that Zongmi intends an extremely sophisticated forgery (introducing an unnecessary problem in order to appear more credible) or, more likely, that the tri-partite formula had been current at that time.

Somewhat later on, after having introduced Du Shun as the first of the three Huayan patriarchs Du Shun, Zhiyan, and Fazang and thus the founder of a Huayan tradition, Zongmi resumes his somewhat awkward attempts at explaining away the difficulties:

...此是創製  
 理應云作 今云集者 以祖師約自智  
 見華嚴中一切諸佛 一切眾生 若身心 若國土  
 一一是此法界體用 如是義境 無量無邊  
 遂於此無量境界 集其義類 束為三重 直書於紙  
 生人觀智 不同製述文字 故但云集 此則集義  
 非集文也

This is the inventive [act], and one should say “create.” That one now says “collected”: [This is] due to [the fact that] the patriarchal teacher in agreement with his own wisdom saw all the Buddhas and all living beings in the *Huayan*[*jing*]. Whether body and mind, or whether lands and territories, [they] one by one are the function of the [inner] body of this *dharmā* sphere. Such meaning spheres are without measure and without borders.

In compliance with these immeasurable spheres, **he collected the classes of meanings, bound them together into three levels, and wrote [these] straight onto the paper. The contemplation wisdom of the living man**

5. References to the Taishō canon usually refer to the CBETA on-line edition. Only in the case of T.2337 (cf. below), we refer to the SAT edition.



**is not identical with putting forth characters. Therefore [if] one merely says “collected,” this then means collecting meanings, not collecting a text.** (T.1884.45.684c13-19)

While the culminating juxtaposition of “collecting meanings” and “collecting texts” (or, “refined written [passages]”) at first glance might be read as referring to the unpolished state of a given text, something different seems to be at stake: The initial reference to the overwhelming Huayan vision and the subsequent references to “binding together [classes of meanings] into three levels” as well as the contrast made up between the “contemplative knowledge of the living person” and “putting forth characters” seem to suggest that what actually was put down to paper by Du Shun was merely a highly condensed expression of his vision in a three level formula, which remained to be extrapolated into a full-fledged text. In other words, our glance at Zongmi’s commentary seems to indicate that at the time of its writing only a short tri-partite formula ascribed to Du Shun had been in existence—much as the extant shape of the *Hwaeom sammae jang* suggests.

### **A Passage from the *Dafangguang Fo Huayanjing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, and a Hidden Quotation**

Immediately afterwards, Zongmi enumerates the three contemplations, equating them with three of the four *fajies* 法界:

真空第一 理法界也 原其實體 但是本心

今以簡非虛妄念慮 故云真 簡非形礙色相

故云空也

理事無礙第二 即此名之法界

周遍含容第三 事事無礙法界

**True emptiness, number one:** [this] is the *dharmā* sphere of the **Structure**. [If] one traces back its real inner body, it is only the fundamental mind. Now, because one wants to glean that it is not empty thought, one says “true,” because one gleans that it is not a characteristic of color with form and obstruction, therefore, one says “empty.”

**Structure and affairs lacking obstruction, number two:** [this] is immediately the *dharmā* sphere under that name.

**Encompassing on all sides, number three: The *dharma* sphere of affair and affair lacking obstruction.** (T.1884.45.684c20-24)

A passage that may well be considered a prototype of this correlation of the two sets appears already in Chengguan's *Huayanjing* 華嚴經 commentary:

今顯別教一乘 略顯四門 一明所依體事 二攝歸真實 三彰其無礙 四周遍含容  
各有十門 以顯無盡

[If] we now illumine the One vehicle of the Separate teaching, we by abbreviation illumine four access gates: first, clarifying the **affairs** as entities (literally, “bodies”) one relies on; second, encompassingly returning to **true reality**; third, manifesting their **lack of [mutual] obstruction**; fourth, **being encompassing on all sides**. Each [again] has ten access gates to illumine [their] inexhaustibleness. (T.1735.35.514a16-18.)

It will not come to any surprise that the definitions of the last three stages conform to those in Zongmi's text:

第二攝歸真實者。即真空

Second, encompassing and returning [them] to the true reality: [this] immediately is **true** emptiness. (T.1735.35.514a25)

第三彰其無礙 然上十對皆悉無礙 今且約事理以顯無礙

Third, manifesting their lack of obstruction. Well, the above ten opposites all lack obstruction. Now moreover, one ties [it] to **affairs and structure** in order to illumine [their] **lack of obstruction**. (T.1735.35.514a27-28)

第四周遍含容 即事事無礙

Fourth, encompassing on all sides: [this] is immediately the **lack of obstruction of affair and affair**. (T.1735.35.515a17-18)

Noteworthy enough, in the context of the discussion we only find one quote from the *Fajie guan men*, however in the rather unspecific form *ru Fajie guan* 如法界觀. Otherwise, we find no reference to Du Shun, but only to Fazang. Apparently, the role of Du Shun was of lesser concern in this context—somewhat inexplicably, if one assumes that Chengguan and Zongmi derived their inspiration to promote this fourfold formula from Du Shun's text.

Interestingly, in the vicinity of this passage we also find conspicuous

hidden quotes suggesting that the new emphasis on the relation of *li* 理 and *shi* 事 had something to do with the Silla exegete Wonhyo (617-686). Thus, already some years ago, I came across a conspicuous textual parallel in Chengguan's commentary (Plassen 2011, 73-75):

如天帝殿珠網覆上一明珠內 萬像俱現 珠珠皆爾 此珠 明徹 互相現影 影復現影  
而無窮盡

[Just] as [in] Lord Indra's palace a net of precious pearls covers [the ceiling] above, and **in one bright pearl the ten thousand images are altogether visible**, and pearl upon pearl all [behave] the same. These pearls in bright and clear [fashion] **mutually** display **reflections** [of each other]. The reflections in return display reflections, and have no exhaustion.

(T.1735.35.515c01-03)

This, of course, is a silent quotation from the only partially preserved *Hwaeomgyeong so* 華嚴經疏, as witnessed by an open quotation from the *Kegon gōkyōshō shiji* 華嚴五教章指事, written by the monk Juryō 壽靈 (fl. 757-791) from Tōdaiji 東大寺:

...故元曉師云

如帝釋宮覆寶珠網 一明珠內 萬像俱現 如一明珠 諸珠皆爾

斯則 萬珠影像 皆入一珠 一珠影像 遍入萬珠 一切相入 不相障礙

普法亦爾 互為鏡影 如微塵有明鏡義

合明了性 一心成故 十方世界 皆是影像 分別所依 現似有故 所以咸入 一塵明鏡  
一切相望 皆如是

斯則 一切諸法 或鏡或影 一心成故 分別作故

由是道理 相入無礙

Therefore, Master Wonhyo says:

[Just] as Lord Indra's palace is covered by a net of precious pearls, **and in one bright pearl the ten thousand images are altogether visible**, and like the one bright pearl, all the **pearls all [behave] the same**.

Such being the case, then the mirror images of the ten thousand pearls all enter the one pearl, and the reflected image of the one pearl enters everywhere into the ten thousand pearls: all enter each other, and do not screen or obstruct each other.

The universal *dharmas* are also like this: mutually [the *dharmas*/pearls] act as mirror and reflection. [Just] as the subtle [st particle of] dirt has the meaning of a bright mirror.

As one understands [by the approach of] “closing” that they are brought about by the **One Mind**, the world spheres of the ten directions are all reflected images. Because of [the characteristic of] seemingly “having” [features] on which differentiation [may] rest upon, they manifest that what seemingly has [characteristics], therefore they altogether enter into the bright mirror of the one [particle of] dirt.

All [instances of things] facing each other are like this.

Such being the case, all *dharmas* at times [are] mirrors and at times [are] reflections—because they are brought about by the **One Mind**, and because they are created by differentiation.

Due to this logic (Skt. *yukti*), they enter each other without obstruction. (T.2337.72.226c22-a02; T. print edition quoted in Kim 1994, 222, no. 14.)

Interestingly enough, Chengguan resorts to Wonhyo rather than Fazang even while dealing with Indra’s net, one of the core metaphors of the emerging Huayan tradition. As we shall see briefly, however, the role of Wonhyo’s Hwaeom commentary in the emerging tradition seems to go far beyond this.

The late Kim Sang-hyeon and Fukushi Jinen 福士慈念 have meticulously traced the echoes of Wonhyo’s writings in East Asian Buddhist literature in the form of open quotations, identifying further passages from the *Hwaeomgyeong so* and the accompanying *Hwaeomgyeong jongyo* 華嚴經宗要, and from another text interestingly labeled *Hwaeom guanmaek ui* 華嚴關脈義.<sup>6</sup> Most of these quotations, however, have been culled from Silla and Goryeo texts, or from Japanese sources. There are only a few open citations from Wonhyo’s Hwaeom related works in Chinese literature, and only limited evidence of an impact of these works on the Chinese Huayan tradition has been revealed so far. If Wonhyo’s influence on Chinese Huayan is dealt with, this is normally done through the lens of the *Qixinlun* 起信論 commentaries, focusing on Fazang’s extensive textual borrowings.

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6. See Kim 1994, 1996, as well as Fukushi 2005. Choe Yeonshik [Choe Yeonsik] (2011) tends to consider the latter text to be a work written by Wenzhao 文超 (n.d.), following previous research that considers the ascription of the text containing the reference to Wonhyo, i.e., the *Xinyi Huayanjing qichu jiuhui songshi zhang* 新譯華嚴經七處九會頌釋章, to Chengguan 澄觀 as an erroneous ascription of what actually is a Japanese work. It remains somewhat uncertain, however, whether the slight deviations between the pertaining quote and the extant version of the *Huayanjing guanmai yiji* 華嚴關脈義記 contained in the Taishō edition (T.1879.45.656-663) are really merely the result of paraphrase or in fact might hint to a related, yet ultimately different textual basis. Again, the author would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for reminding of Choe’s fine study.

Notable exceptions are Choe Yeonshik [Choe Yeonsik] (2011) on Wonhyo's influence on Wenzhao 文超 (n.d.), and in our context of even more direct relevance, Seok Gil-am's [Seok Gilam] 石吉岩 (2003) highly informative study on *bobeop* 普法: Concentrating on carving out the specialties of Wonhyo's thought between his predecessor Jizang 吉藏 (547-623) and his immediate successor Fazang, Seok Gil-am demonstrates, based on a passage to be quoted in the next subsection, that Fazang resorts to Wonhyo's four *dharmadhātus* (*sa beopgye* 四法界) and supplants it with his own scheme of five *dharmadhātus* (*wu fajie* 五法界).

### An Unmentioned Predecessor for the *si fajie* 四法界 Formula...

The inspiration for the fourfold formula used in Chengguan's commentary and then further developed in Zongmi's commentary on the *Fajie guanmen* thus is not quite in line with Fazang, but rather has to be sought elsewhere. This eventually leads to a well-known passage in Pyowon's 表員 (n.d.) *Hwaeomgyeong munui yogyeol mundap* 華嚴經文義要訣問答<sup>7</sup>:

慧苑師云

Master Huiyuan says:

權小二教中

事法(?)

以心法及心 并不相應 能所造色 以為其性

In the adaptive small two teachings, the *dharmas* of the affairs take, the *dharmas* in mind and mind both not corresponding to each other, the colour that subject and object produce as the nature.

小乘教

理法界

以生空所顯無 為性

In the teaching of the Small vehicle, the *dharmasphere of structure* takes the lacking that "emptiness at birth" illumines as the nature.

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7. For an authoritative edition and annotated translation of this work, see Pyowon 1998.

權教大乘

理法界

以二空所顯不變真如 而為其性

In the Large Vehicle of the adaptive teaching, the *dharmā sphere of structure* takes the unmovable true thusness that “twofold emptiness” illustrates as its nature.

實教大乘

理事無礙法界

以為無為無二 鎔融法界 而為其性

In the Large vehicle of the real teaching, the *dharmā sphere of structure and affairs lacking [any] obstruction* takes the fused *dharmā* sphere in which action and lack of action lack [any] duality as its nature.

事事無礙法界

以為無為無二 常蘊 為性

[And] the the *dharmā sphere of affair and affair lacking [any] obstruction* takes the constant amassments (the skandhas of the mind) in which action and lack [any] duality as its nature.

若 兼顯辨用所依 則 通有漏五蘊為性

If one additionally illustrates that upon which the distinction of functions relies then throughout the five amassments having outflows are the nature.

(HPC 2.372b11-b19; quoted in Pyowon 1998, 229-30)

Despite the repeated mention of *li fajie* 理法界, it should be clear that the wordings of Huiyuan’s scheme provide an immediate blueprint for those of the fourfold *dharmā* sphere.

## And Yet Another Unwarranted Predecessor

Immediately adjacent to the above quotation, Pyowon presents the following ones:

元曉師云

通論法界 不出四句

一有為法界 二者無為法界 三者有為無為法界

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四者非有為非無為法界

Master Wonhyo says:

**[If] one discusses the *dharmā* sphere [in a] thoroughgoing [manner], it does not exceed four sentences:** first, the *dharmā* sphere that **has action**; second, the *dharmā* sphere that **lacks action**; third, the *dharmā* sphere that **has action and lacks action**; fourth, the *dharmā* sphere that **neither is such that it has action nor is such that it lacks action**.

法藏師云

法界有二

先所入法界義有五門

初四法界 同曉所列 釋義不同有耳 五無障礙法界

Master Fazang says:

The *dharmā* sphere has two kinds: first, the *dharmā* sphere that one enters has five [access] gates: The first four *dharmā* sphere match those lined up by [Won]hyo. The explanations of meaning only do not match [with respect to] “being.” The fifth [is] the *dharmā* sphere that lacks [any] obstruction.

二明能入

亦有五門

一淨信 二正解 三修行 四證得 五圓滿 云云

Second, I clarify that [the *dharmā* sphere] that enters also has five [access] gates: first, clean faith; second, correct understanding; third, practice; fourth, bearing witness of and obtaining [*nirvāna*]; fifth, round completion, and so on. (HPC 2.372b19-c2; quoted in Pyowon 1998, 229-30)

Interestingly, Huiyan’s four *dharmā* spheres seem to follow Wonhyo’s fourfold *dharmadhātu* scheme rather than Fazang’s five ones, even echoing Wonhyo’s *yu wi* 有為 versus *mu wi* 無為 distinctions. Remarkable is also the quotation from Fazang: Rather than tracing the first list back to Du Shun, as Chengguan and Zongmi later would do, Fazang still appears to ascribe the basic fourfold scheme building the basis of his own fivefold scheme to Wonhyo, the second list being clearly unrelated.

And yet even more interesting is another aspect: While both Fazang’s and Huiyuan’s fourfold *dharmā* spheres are most obviously related to *panjiao* 判教 (“classification of doctrines”) schemata, the basis of Wonhyo’s scheme is a tetralemma: Rather than presenting a hierarchical scheme of increasingly sophisticated teachings related to this or that denomination, he analyzes the one

*dharma* sphere by four alternatives.

Much the same approach can be observed with Chengguan and Zongmi. Thus, even though abiding by Huiyuan's precise wordings of the four *dharma* spheres, Zongmi at the beginning of the initially quoted passage programmatically refers to a passage from Chengguan's *Huayanjing* commentary that privileges the "One true *dharma* sphere" (*yi zhen fajie* 一真法界) of the "one mind" (*yixin* 一心) over the "four *dharma* spheres" (*si fajie* 四法界), which here discernibly are only its secondary manifestations. Thus Chengguan and Zongmi not only emphasize the one mind, but eventually also forward an understanding of the four *dharma* spheres that in its thought structure is more indebted to Wonhyo's tetralemma-based analysis of the (one) *dharma* sphere, which of course mirrors the latter's "one mind" thought.

It should have become clear by now that what is presented to us as the ideas of Du Shun actually is heavily infested with Wonhyo's thought. In fact, it seems that Du Shun's rudimentary formulae apparently were extrapolated into the *Fajie guanmen* (auto-)commentaries to provide a justification for doctrinal innovations that to a considerable extent actually derive from Wonhyo's *Hwaeomgyeong so*.

## Conclusions

Given the conspicuous absence of quotes from the *Huayan fajie guan men* before Chengguan and even in the latter's *Huayan* commentary (containing, as we have seen, only a casual reference), it is unlikely that the full text had been available before or at the time Chengguan wrote his commentary on the *Huayanjing*. On the other hand, Zongmi's awkwardly clumsy attempts at negotiating the fourfold structure of the *si fajie* with the threefold structure of the *Huayan fajie guanmen* seems to indicate that the threefold structure as such was well-known and could not be ignored.

In the light of Zongmi's somewhat cryptic explanations about "binding together" and "collecting meanings" rather than "collecting a text," as well as at first glance somewhat peculiar existence of a *Hwaeom sammae jang* containing only the threefold formula, it seems not unreasonable to assume that the *Fajie guan men* derives from a brief formula by Du Shun, which subsequently was extrapolated into a full-fledged text (given the still rather rudimentary sprouts of



this developments in the *Huayanjing shu* 華嚴經疏, presumably by Chengguan).

Regardless of whether this still tentative assumption be correct or not, both the editions of the full-fledged text together with the commentaries and the construction of a Huayan lineage going back to Du Shun are clearly related to the need to justify the doctrinal innovation of the four *dharma* spheres of the one mind. The list of these four meditative discernments of the *dharma* sphere (*si fajie guan men* 四法界觀門) commonly still ascribed to Du Shun in the last resort is an amalgam of two lists that can be traced to Wonhyo and Huiyuan. While the wording is modeled upon Huiyuan's scheme, the basic structure of the [one] *dharma* sphere to be analyzed in terms of four different spheres is clearly indebted to Wonhyo's analysis.

Obviously, more research on 8<sup>th</sup> century Huayan/Hwaeom/Kegon thought and the Tang construction of a Huayan tradition is necessary. However, at this point it already seems safe to insinuate, that somewhat ironically, the intellectual innovations underlying and necessitating the construction of a Tang “Chinese” Huayan lineage to a large extent can be traced back to the Korean peninsula.

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## Abstract

Despite previous efforts to provide an East Asian counter-narrative to nationalistic perspectives, notions of “national lineages” continue to exert a detrimental effect on our understanding of the Buddhist traditions of East Asia. As Korean and Japanese scholars have previously shown, sources from Silla greatly impacted Fazang 法藏 (643-712) and his disciples. Thus, the history of Huayan 華嚴 in Tang China should be seen on the backdrop of overarching developments that perhaps should more accurately be termed “East Asian Huayan/Hwaeom/Kegon.” The present article attempts to demonstrate that this influence extends even to the elaboration of a core concept of Huayan thought, the fourfold *dharmā* sphere, and ultimately also to the genesis of the very notion of a Chinese “Huayan lineage” beginning with Du Shun 杜順. As to be argued, these related developments have to be interpreted not merely with regard to a doctrinal innovation by Fazang’s disgraced disciple Huiyuan 慧苑 (673–743), but last but not least on the backdrop of the Silla monk Wonhyo’s 元曉 (617–686) influence.

**Keywords:** *Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門, *si fajie* 四法界, *ilsim* 一心, Du Shun 杜順, Huiyuan 慧苑, Wonhyo 元曉, Chengguan 澄觀, Zongmi 宗密