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Toward a New Paradigm of East Asian Yogācāra Buddhism: Taehyŏn (ca. 8th century CE), a Korean Yogācāra monk, and His Predecessors

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Sumi Lee

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Professor Robert E. Buswell, Chair

This dissertation seeks to locate the place of Taehyŏn 大賢 (ca. 8th century CE), a Silla Korean Yogācāra monk, within the broader East Asian Buddhist tradition. My task is not confined solely to a narrow study of Taehyŏn's thought and career, but is principally concerned with understanding the wider contours of the East Asian Yogācāra tradition itself and how these contours are reflected in Taehyŏn's extant oeuvre. There are problems in determining Taehyŏn's doctrinal position within the traditional paradigms of East Asian Yogācāra tradition, that is, the bifurcations of Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra; Old and New Yogācāra; the One Vehicle and Three Vehicles; and the Dharma Nature and Dharma Characteristics schools. Taehyŏn's extant works contain doctrines drawn from across these various divides, and his doctrinal positions therefore do not precisely fit any of these traditional paradigms. In order to address this issue, this dissertation examines how these bifurcations originated and evolved over time, across the geographical expanse of the East Asian Yogācāra tradition. The chapters of the dissertation

discuss in largely chronological order the theoretical problems involved in these bifurcations within Yogācāra and proposes possible resolutions to these problems, by focusing on the works of such major Buddhist exegetes as Paramārtha (499-569), Ji 基 (632-682), Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617-686), Fazang 法藏 (643-712), and, finally, Taehyŏn.

The dissertation of Sumi Lee is approved.

William M. Bodiford

Richard von Glahn

Robert E. Buswell, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2014

This dissertation is dedicated to

my husband, Keehoon, and my sons,

Muchang and Ingyu.

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LIST OF CHARTS

ABBREVIATIONS

HPC	*Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛教全書
T	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經
C	Chinese
J	Japanese
K	Korean
S	Sanskrit
X	*Wanzi xuzang jing* 卍字續藏經

Citations from the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* are listed in the following manner: title; *T[aishō]*; *Taishō* serial number; *Taishō* volume number; page; register (a, b, or c); and line number(s). For example, 大般涅槃經 T374:12.5801b04-16.

Citations from the *Wanzi xuzang jing* are listed in the following manner: title; *X[uzang]*; *Xuzang* serial number; *Xuzang* volume number; page; register (a, b, or c); and line number(s). For example, 梵網經述記 X686.38.394b01-13.

Citations from the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* are listed in the following manner: title; *HPC*; volume nuber of the collection; page number; register (a, b, or c); and line number(s). For example, 梵網經古迹記 HPC3.430a16-17.

Transliteration of Asian languages follows the Hanyu pinyin system for Chinese, the modified Hepburn system for Japanese, and the McCune-Reischauer system for Korean.

Ttranliterations in the main text of the dissertation are followed by alternative language pronunciations with the abberivations “C.” or “K.”

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Taehyŏn 大賢 (ca. eighth century CE), a Yogācāra monk of Silla Korea, was merely one of many eminent Buddhist monks to me until Professor Robert E. Buswell, my academic advisor, suggested that I study Taehyŏn's Yogācāra thought many years ago. Since then, I have been fascinated by East Asian Yogācāra Buddhist tradition, and this dissertation is the result of my long-standing curiosity and reflection on Taehyŏn's scholastic place within the broader context of the East Asian Yogācāra Buddhism.

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Panelist, "Rethinking the 'Synthetic' Feature of the *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*: A Comparative Examination of Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617-686) and Fazang 法藏 (643-712)," presented at 2013 Annual Conference of American Academy of Religion (AAR), Baltimore, US (November 23-26, 2013)

"The Meaning of 'Mind-made Body' (S. *manomaya-kāya*, C. *yisheng shen* 意生身) in Buddhist Cosmological and Soteriological systems," Buddhist Studies Review, vol. 31, no. 1 (June 2014).

INTRODUCTION

1. The Beginning of the Problem: Taehyŏn and the Difficulty of Determining of His Yogācāra Doctrinal Position

My dissertation project started with the purpose of elucidating the doctrinal position of Taehyŏn 大賢 (ca. eighth century CE), a Yogācāra monk of Silla Korea, within the broader East Asian Buddhist tradition. As the author of around fifty separate works,[1] Taehyŏn was an eminent scholar-monk who was highly reputed across East Asia, and his works were widely consulted in both China and Japan during and after his time.[2] His thought and career, however, have not been studied as carefully as his reputation and achievements should warrant. This neglect may partly result from the fact that most of his works and the records of his career have been lost (only five

[1] Taehyŏn is known as one of the three most productive writers in Silla Buddhist tradition, along with Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617-686) and Kyŏnghŭng 憬興 (ca.7th century CE), but the exact number of Taehyŏn's works has not been confirmed. Min Yŏnggyu suggests forty-five works (Min Yŏnggyu 민영규, "Silla changsorok jangp'yŏn" 新羅章疏錄長編, in *Paek Sŏng-uk Paksa songsu kinyŏm Pulgyohak nonmunjip* 白性郁博士頌壽記念佛教學論文集, ed. Paek Sŏng-uk Paksa Songsu Kinyŏm Saŏp Wiwŏnhoe 白性郁博士頌壽記念事業委員會 (Seoul: Tongguk University 東國大學校, 1959), 375-78.) and *Han'guk Pulgyo ch'ansul munhŏn ch'ongnok* 韓國佛教撰述文獻總錄 says there are fifty-two works (Tongguk Taehakkyo Pulgyo Munhwa Yŏn'guso 東國大學校 佛教文化研究所, ed. *Han'guk Pulgyo ch'ansul munhŏn ch'ongnok* 韓國佛教撰述文獻總錄 (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu 東國大學校出版部, 1976), 72-82). Ch'ae Inhwan provides a list of Taehyŏn's forty-three works (Ch'ae Inhwan 채인환, "Silla Taehyŏn pŏpsa yŏn'gu (I): haengjŏk kwa chŏjak" 新羅 大賢法師研究 (I): 行蹟과 著作, *Pulgyo hakpo* 불교학보 20 (1983): 97-99).

[2] The *Zouho shoshū shōshoroku* 增補諸宗章疏錄, Japanese monk Kenjun's 謙順 (1740-1812) catalogue of Buddhist commentaries and treatises of schools, records that the eminent Japanese monk Gyōnen 凝然 (1240-1321) wrote Taehyŏn's hagiography titled *Taigen hosshi gyōjōroku* 太賢法師行狀錄 (*Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書, 100 vols., vol. 1 (Tōkyō 東京: Hatsubai Kōdansha 発売講談社, 1970-1973), 75), which is not extant. Chinese Vinaya monk Daofeng 道峯 (d.u.) of Dajianfu monastery 大薦福寺 wrote the *Taehyŏn pŏpsa ŭigi sŏ* 大賢法師義記序, the preface to Taehyŏn's *Posal kyebon chong'yo* 菩薩戒本宗要. Especially Taehyŏn' s *Posal kyebon chong'yo* and *Pŏmmanggyŏng kojŏkki* 梵網經古迹記, commentaries on the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* (C. *Fanwang jing* 梵網經), were broadly studies in medieval Japan, and many sub-commentaries were composed by Japanese monks. Ch'ae Inhwan lists about thirty sub-commentaries on *Posal kyebon chong'yo* (Ch'ae Inhwan 채인환, "Silla Taehyŏn pŏpsa yŏn'gu (III): Kyeyul sasang" 新羅 大賢法師研究 (III): 戒律思想, *Pulgyo hakpo* 불교학보 22 (1985): 47-48) and about sixty on *Pŏmmanggyŏng kojŏkki* by later monks including such renowned Japanese monks as Eizon 叡尊 (1201-1290), Gyōnen, , Jōsen 定泉(1273–1312), Jōsan 淸算(1288-1362) and Shō'on 照遠 (ca. 14th century) (Ch'ae Inhwan 채인환, "Silla Taehyŏn pŏpsa yŏn'gu (II): Taesŭng kyehak" 新羅 大賢法師研究 (II): 大乘戒學, *Pulgyo hakpo* 불교학보 21 (1984): 80-82).

of his works are extant) and partly because a systemic understanding of his works requires an exhaustive knowledge of complex Yogācāra doctrines.[3] As my research progressed, this task of determining Taehyŏn's place in the Yogācāra tradition turned out much more complex and comprehensive than I expected, because the clarification of Taehyŏn's doctrinal position in East Asia cannot just be confined to the study of his thought and life, but also concerned with understanding the wide picture of the East Asian Yogācāra tradition itself, on which Buddhist scholarship presents diverse perspectives.

A problem first arises with the designation of the Yogācāra school, the school with which Taehyŏn is presumably affiliated, i.e., Pŏpsang chong (C. Faxiang zong, J. Hossōshū 法相宗), or "Dharma Characteristics School." The general scholarly consensus regards Taehyŏn as the founder of Silla Dharma Characteristics School, since the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事, a historical record of the Three Kingdoms (K. Samguk 三國; 57-668) of Korea, describes Taehyŏn as the "patriarch of Yogācāra" (K. *yuga cho* 瑜珈祖)[4] and the Yogācāra school during this period has been considered the Pŏpsang school. The designation of Dharma Characteristics School has traditionally been used to refer to the school associated with the "New Yogācāra" doctrinal system, viz. all East Asian Yogācāra schools, including Chinese, Korean, and Japanese schools, that putatively developed on the basis of the new corpus of Yogācāra literature translated by the

[3] This latter difficulty is certainly the main reason that the *Sŏng yusik non hakki* 成唯識論學記 ("Study notes to the *Cheng weishi lun*") (six rolls), one of Taehyŏn's main extant works, has not been systematically studied yet, even though it is the only extant complete commentary on the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (**Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*) written in Korea. The *Sŏng yusik non hakki* is particularly important among Taehyŏn's other extant works because it contains many of Taehyŏn's quotations and citations of his contemporary Buddhist exegetes, which are expected to disclose ongoing issues and scholarly debates within the seventh- to eighth-century East Asian Yogācāra tradition.

[4] 瑜珈祖大德大賢住南山茸長寺 (三國遺事 T2039:49.1009c25). For more historical records regarding Taehyŏn's career and activities, see Ch'ae, "Silla Taehyŏn pŏpsa yŏn'gu (I): haengjŏk kwa chŏjak" 新羅 大賢法師研究 (I): 行蹟과 著作.

renowned Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664). In distinction from this "New Yogācāra," the "Old Yogācāra" generally refers to the doctrinal system and the schools that had appeared before the transmission of the new Yogācāra literature.[5] Regarded as the most representative Yogācāra school of East Asia, this broad definition of Dharma Characteristics School often leads Buddhist scholars to assume a consistent similarity or commonality, if not an identical correspondence, among the East Asian Yogācāra traditions after Xuanzang. As such, the Dharma Characteristics School, often being identified as the New Yogācāra school, has been established in the modern scholarship as an independent Buddhist doctrinal group, which is not merely chronologically, but also doctrinally distinct from another group designated as the Old Yogācāra school.

Such a broad categorization, however, contains historical and buddhological problems in understanding Taehyŏn's Yogācāra views, since Taehyŏn's extant works show that Taehyŏn accepts not only the Dharma Characteristics School's main tenets, but also defends many doctrinal views that do not seem to belong to, or were even opposed by, the school. While Taehyŏn follows the New Yogācāra school in the main doctrinal aspects, he also criticizes some doctrinal points made by Ji 基 (632-682),[6] one of Xuanzang's disciples as well as the first patriarch of the Chinese Faxiang ("Dharma Characteristics") school, and rather defends the Old

[5] Such terms as "Old Yogācāra"(舊唯識) and "New Yogācāra" (新唯識) were not used in Xuanzang's time. The words that were used to indicate the difference between these two Yogācāra traditions are "old translations [of Yogācāra literature]" (舊譯) and "new translations [of Yogācāra literature]" (新譯). It appears that historical references that report the controversies between these two groups have naturally led the modern interpreters to come up with this distinction between the two groups.

[6] Since problems regarding the traditional naming of "Kuiji" 窺基 have been indicated by scholars, I use "Ji" in my dissertation; for the problems and issues about the name "Kuiji," see Stanley Weinstein, "A Biographical Study of Tz'u-en," *Monumenta Nipponica* 15, no. 1/2 (1959): 129ff. and Fukaura Seibun 深浦正文, *Yuishikigaku kenkyū* 唯識學研究, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Kyōto: Nagata Bunshōdō 永田文昌堂, 1954), 246-57.

Yogācāra position.[7] Since the Old and New schools normally have been regarded as doctrinally antagonistic to each other, Taehyŏn's "dualistic" attitude has been controversial among his contemporary Buddhist exegetes as well as modern scholars.[8]

One of the attempts made by scholars to resolve this problem of interpreting Taehyŏn under the rubric of the Dharma Characteristics School is to interpret Taehyŏn's "dualistic" doctrinal position as a result of his "ecumenical" or "synthetic" understanding of the doctrinal opposition of the Old and New Yogācāra, by reducing his "ecumenical" approach, in turn, into a broad "ecumenical" trend in Korean Buddhism.[9] This interpretation is also supported by research that Taehyŏn's scholastic lineage traces back to a Korean expatriate monk Wŏnch'ŭk 圓測 (613-696), another putative "synthetic" scholar-monk to harmonize the Old and New Yogācāra

[7] For instance, Taehyŏn states in the *Taesŭng kisillon naeŭi yakt'amgi* 大乘起信論內義略探記 and the *Pŏmmanggyŏng kojŏkki* 梵網經古迹記 that there is universal Buddha Nature. I will discuss this in detail in Chapter V.

[8] Ch'ae Inhwan, for instance, introduces several views on Taehyŏn's scholastic position in Japanese Buddhist tradition. Some scholars argued that Taehyŏn's scholasticism is based on the [Dharma] Characteristics School (J. [Hos]sōshū [法]相宗) because although he previously studied Hwaŏm (J. Kegon) teaching, or the [Dharma] Nature School (J. [Hōs]shōshū [法]性宗), he converted to the Dharma Characteristics school; others refute it by claiming that Taehyŏn is an exegete of [Dharma] Nature school because he discusses such doctrines as *tathāgatagarbha*. But such a monk as Jōsan says that Taehyŏn cooperate the two schools although his doctrinal basis is on the Dharma Characteristics school. See Ch'ae, "Silla Taehyŏn pŏpsa yŏn'gu (I): haengjŏk kwa chŏjak" 新羅 大賢法師研究 (I): 行蹟과 著作, 105-06.

[9] The conception of "synthetic" or "syncretic" originates from the discourse of "synthetic" or "ecumenical" Buddhism (*t'ong* Pulgyo 通佛教) in modern Korea. A prominent modern Korean historian Ch'oe Namsŏn's characterization of Korean Buddhism in 1930 as "synthetic" or "ecumenical" Buddhism (*t'ong* Pulgyo 通佛教), which transcends sectarian divisions, and, since then, the general trend of Korean Buddhist scholarship have followed Ch'oe's example. Although Ch'oe's claim emerged in the nationalistic atmosphere of attempting to establish Korean identity during the colonial period, his identification of Korean Buddhism as a "synthetic" Buddhism continued to obtain Korean Buddhist historiographers' sympathy even after the Liberation, and became a main source in this effort to find the identity of Korean Buddhism. Particularly, this discourse of "synthetic" Buddhism was especially formed by noting another Silla monk Wŏnhyo's 元曉 (617-686) thought of reconciliation (K. *hwajaeng* 和諍) as a prototype of Korean *t'ong* Pulgyo. But afterwards, there have been reflections on this archetypal characterization of Korean Buddhism as "synthetic" Buddhism. For instance, indicating that Ch'oe's claim of "synthetic" Buddhism originated from his "emotional appeal" to encourage the depressed Korean spirit under the Japanese colonization regime, Jaeryong Shim argues that if syncretism refers to the open-mindedness of religious people, there would be no reason to confine it as a peculiar feature of Korean Buddhism. See Shim Jaeryong 심재룡, "On the General Characteristics of Korean Buddhism-Is Korean Buddhism Syncretic?," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 2 (1989).

doctrines. Even though Wŏnch'ŭk was one of Xuanzang's two major disciples along with Ji, the founder of the Chinese Dharma Characteristics (Faxiang) school, scholars consider Wŏnch'ŭk as having taken a "synthetic" doctrinal perspective in distinction from Ji, whose Yogācāra view was exclusively oriented to the New Yogācāra doctrines. Taehyŏn is said to have inherited such Wŏnch'ŭk's doctrinal tendency, because Taehyŏn presumably was taught by Tojŭng 道證 (fl. 692), one of Wŏnch'ŭk's disciples on the Chinese mainland.[10] From extant historical materials, we can see that there were intense controversies over differing interpretations of Yogācāra doctrine between Ji's scholastic line, i.e. Ci'en *xuepai* 慈恩學派, and Wŏnch'ŭk's scholastic line, i.e. Ximing *xuepai* 西明學派. Moreover, Ji's inheritors defined Wŏnch'ŭk's theories as "heterodox" in contrast to Ji's "orthodox" strand. In fact, Korean scholarship has been focusing on differentiating Silla Korea Yogācāra strand from Ji's Chinese Faxiang school by emphasizing Wŏnch'ŭk's synthetic doctrinal tendency.[11]

[10] Scholars usually presume that Taehyŏn succeeds Tojŭng based on Japanese Vinaya monk Shō'on's 照遠 (ca. 14th century) record in the *Bonmōkyō gekan koshakki jutsu shakushō* 梵網經下卷古迹記述迹鈔 that Taehyŏn is a disciple of Tojŭng (*Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經, 100 vols., vol. 20 (Tōkyō 東京: Kōdansha 講談社, 1973-1978), 233a). But Kitsukawa Tomoaki indicates a possibility that this lineage is made up later. See Kitsukawa Tomoaki 橘川智昭, "Ilbon ŭi Silla yusik yŏn'gu tonghyang" 일본의 신라유식 연구동향, in *Ilbon ŭi Han'guk pulgyo yŏn'gu tonghyang* 일본의 한국불교 연구 동향, ed. Han'guk yuhaksaeng Indohak Pulgyohak yŏn'guhoe 한국유학생 인도학 불교학 연구회 (Seoul: Changgyŏnggak 장경각, 2001), 145, n.89.

[11] In Japanese Buddhist tradition, Faxiang school has been regarded as the "orthodox" Yogācāra teaching, considering Ji 基, Huizhao 慧沼 (648-714) and Zhizhou 智周 (668-723) as the three successive generations of Faxiang lineage after Xuanzang and their exegetical interpretations as "three patriarchs' adjudgement" (J. *sanso no jōhan* 三祖の定判). For instance, see Fukaura, *Yuishikigaku kenkyū* 唯識學研究, 1: 246-57. In a following section, Fukaura also distinguishes Ji's line from such Silla exegetes as Wŏnch'ŭk, Tojŭng, Sŭngjang 勝莊 (d.u.), Taehyŏn, by defining them respectively as "orthodox strand" (J. *seikei* 正系) and "heterodox faction" (J. *iha* 異派); see ibid., 257-68. Japanese scholar Ui Hakuju 宇井伯寿 (1882-1963) challenged this pervasive view by arguing that the Yogācāra view of Paramārtha (C. Zhendi 眞諦; 499-569), one of the representatives of the "Old" Yogācāra school, conforms better to Asaṅga and Vasubandhu's original teaching, than that of the Faxiang school. Ui analyzes the difference between Xuanzang and Paramārtha in interpreting the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* in his *Shōdaijōron kenkyū* 攝大乘論研究 (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shōten 岩波書店, 1966), attempting to elucidate that Paramārtha's doctrinal affinity to the Indian Yogācāra school of Asaṅga or Vasubandhu. It seems that the efforts to interpret Wŏnch'ŭk in association with the "Old Yogācāra" by the Korean scholars partly reflect this assessment of Paramārtha. My point here does not lie with whether Wŏnch'ŭk's thought is orthodox or heterodox,

A series of recent research, however, have challenged the attempt to define Taehyŏn as a "synthetic" scholar-monk in association with another "synthetic" figure such as Wŏnch'ŭk. The research demonstrates doctrinal similarity between Wŏnch'ŭk's and Ji's Yogācāra view and thus refutes the pre-established perspective that Wŏnch'ŭk's Yogācāra views deviated from, or were even opposed to, Ji's Faxiang theory.[12] Furthermore, a close reading of Taehyŏn's works does not seem to support the previous assessment of Taehyŏn as a successor of Wŏnch'ŭk. The *Sŏng yusik non hakki* 成唯識論學記 ("Study notes to the *Cheng weishi lun*"), one of Taehyŏn's extant major texts, shows that Taehyŏn does not always defend Wŏnch'ŭk or Tojŭng's views, on the one hand, nor always criticize Ji's, on the other. In fact, in the *Sŏng yusik non hakki* Taehyŏn

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but on the scholars' interpretation of Wŏnch'ŭk as the doctrinal opponent to Ji. The problems created through this interpretive tendency will be discussed later in Chapter III.

[12] According to Kitsukawa Tomoaki's research, Wŏnch'ŭk's Yogācāra perspective is based on Xuanzang's doctrines, not on Paramārtha's as previously assumed, and, more strikingly, Wŏnch'ŭk advocated the doctrine of "Five Distinct [Spiritual] Lineages" (C. *wuzhong xing* 五種性; S. *pañcagotra*) just as did Ji (see Kitsukawa Tomoaki 橘川智昭, "Enjiki no yoru goshō kakubetsu no kōtei ni tsuite : Enjiki shisō ni taisuru kaijō teki geshaku no sai kentō" 円測による五性各別の肯定について--円測思想に対する皆成的解釈の再検討, *Bukkyōkaku* 仏教学 (1999)). The doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages is among the major issues of the controversies between the Old and the New schools. It is generally regarded that while the Old school takes the view that every sentient being (*youqing* 有情; S. *sattva*) equally has the Buddha Nature (C. *foxing* 佛性; S. *buddha-gotra* or *tathāgatagarbha*), the New school claims that there are five discriminative spiritual lineages in sentient beings, including the lineage who lacks any kind of Nature in regards to the enlightenment. This new research is diametrically opposed to the previous view of Wŏnch'ŭk as a heterodox Faxiang figure oriented to the Old Yogācāra teaching. Also see Kitsukawa Tomoaki 橘川智昭, "Shintai yaku Genjō yaku *Shōdaijōron* to Enjiki" 真諦訳・玄奘訳『摂大乗論』と円測, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 43, no. 1 (1994).

Kimura Kunikazu argues that unlike the presumed image of Wŏnch'ŭk as an advocator of Paramārtha, among Wŏnch'ŭk's a great number (one hundred and eight times) of citations of Paramārtha in the *Renwangjing shu*, only one third of the citations is in agreement with Paramārtha, but in the other citations Wŏnch'ŭk rather refutes or keeps neutral to Paramārtha; see Kimura Kunikazu 木村邦和, "*Nin'ōgyō sho* kan no gakusetsu no idō 2: Shintai sanzō gakusetsu no keishō jōkyō"「仁王経疏」間の学説の異同-2-真諦三蔵学説の継承状況, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 29, no. 2 (1981). In another article, Kimura also says that even though Wŏnch'ŭk significantly cites Paramārtha in his *Jieshenmijing shu* 海深密經疏, he uses Paramārtha's teachings merely as supplementary source to Xuanzang's theories based on the new translations. In this regard, Kimura argues, Wŏnch'ŭk does not accept any particular doctrines attributed to Paramārtha, such as the doctrines of nine consciousnesses 九識; "*Ālayavijñāna* which has Nature of Realization" (C. *jiexingliye* 解性梨耶); Three Natures (C. *sanxing* 三性)and Three Non-natures (C. *san wuxing* 三無性). See Kimura Kunikazu 木村邦和, "Shintai sanzō no gakusetsu ni taisuru Saimyōji Enjiki no hyōka: *Gejinmikkyō so* no baai" 真諦三蔵の学説に対する西明寺円測の評価--解深密経疏の場合, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 30, no. 1 (1981).

quotes Ji the most (565), Wŏnch'ŭk next (439), and his own teacher Tojŭng third (146).[13] Since the new research has refuted the traditional interpretation of him as an Old Yogācāra-oriented scholar by revealing Wŏnch'ŭk's agreement with some major doctrines of Ji's Faxiang school, the traditional perspective on Taehyŏn as Wŏnch'ŭk's successor also thus appears to deserve reconsideration.

At this point, when the new perspective on Wŏnch'ŭk's scholastic position has yet to be fully investigated, the task of determining Taehyŏn's perspective perforce requires comprehensive research on the East Asian Yogācāra paradigm of the Old versus New Yogācāra. If Wŏnch'ŭk's Yogācāra perspective cannot be explained as a "synthetic" system that combines the Old and New Yogācāra doctrines, the traditional assumption that serves as a conditional basis of the "synthetic" system--viz. the doctrinal antagonism between the Old and New Yogācāra schools--should be reconsidered.

Before moving on to discuss this issue, I would like to first mention a problem regarding the pronunciation of his name, Taehyŏn. The historical sources present two alternatives for his name, i.e., Taehyŏn 大賢 and T'aehyŏn 太賢. Some Korean scholars have noted that most Chinese and Korean texts use Taehyŏn 大賢, while Japanese texts use T'aehyŏn 太賢: *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (1281), *Pulguksa kogŭm yŏktaegi* 佛國寺古今歷代記 (1740), *Chosŏn Pulgyo t'ongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史 (1918) and *Taehyŏn pŏpsa ŭigi sŏ* 大賢法師義記序 by a Chinese Vinaya monk Daofeng 道峯 (d.u.) of Dajianfu monastery 大薦福寺 address him as Taehyŏn, while all the commentaries by the Japanese on his *Pŏmmanggyŏng kojŏkki* 梵網經古迹記 give his name as T'aehyŏn.

[13] Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英, "Taigen no *Jōyuishikiron gakki* o megutte" 太賢の『成唯識論学記』をめぐって, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 41(1992): 118-19.

There are other materials that mention his name. Concerning the extant texts using either Taehyŏn or T'aehyŏn, the *Sŏngyusingnon hakki* compiled in the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛教全書 also uses T'aehyŏn. This appears to be due to the fact that the base text of the *Sŏngyusingnon hakki* is a version from the *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經, which is in turn based on the copied manuscript saved in Kyoto university. The Korean Ch'ŏntae (C. Tiantai 天台) monk Ŭich'ŏn 義天 (1055–1101) also mentions T'aehyŏn in his bibliographical catalogue, *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄. But this text is also not a Korean original; the extant versions of the text are two manuscripts (1176; 1644) and a printed version (1963) kept in Kōzanji 高山寺 in Japan. The combined version of these texts is included in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* and the *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* and is widely used by scholars. The *Taesŭngkisillon tongŭi yakchip* 大乘起信論同異略集, which had been regarded as a work by the Silla monk Kyŏndŭng 見登 (ca.800) until the recent proof by Ch'oe Yŏnsik of the authorship by the Japanese monk Chikei 智憬 (ca.750),[14] also mentions T'aehyŏn.

Viewed from these texual evidence, it appears that all the works compiled by the Japanese or in Japan use T'aehyŏn, not Taehyŏn. Furthermore, the Chinese character 大 appears to have been pronounced as either "tai" or "dai" in Japan in ancient times as well as nowadays (賢 is pronounced both as "ken" or "gen"), and 太 is also pronounced "tai." So it may be surmised that for some reason the Japanese may have preferred the pronunciation "tai" to "dai" and that the character 太 was preferably inferred from the pronunciation.

[14] See Ch'oe Yŏnsik 최연식, "*Daijō kishin ron* dōi ryaku shū no chosha ni tsuite" 『大乘起信論同異略集』の著者について, *Komazawa Tanki Daigaku Bukkyō ronshū* 駒澤短期大學佛教論集 7 (2001).

Then, why did Japanese prefer tai 太 to dai 大? One possibility is that the character 太 is very popular in proper names in Japanese language, such as a pond name (太液), mountain name (太華), river name (太河), city name (太原), and personal name (太賢 Taigen; ?–1867; esoteric Buddhist monk), etc., while 大 is usually used in regular nouns just with the connotation of 'big' or 'large.' In fact, there are some instances in Japanese usage that 太 is mistakenly replaced with 大: Atavaka, an esoteric Buddhist deity, is usually called Taigansotsu Myōō 太元帥明王 in Japan, instead of the Chinese translation of the deity, Daigansotsu Myōō 大元帥明王. Daxianshan 大賢山, which is known as a place where Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597) resided for some time, is very often found as Taikenzan 太賢山 in Japanese web sites. Therefore, it would be reasonable to infer that T'aehyŏn is a Japanese transformation of Taehyŏn due to their traditional preference of a particular pronunciation and character in usage of a personal name.

Now, back to the main issue, I shall first survey the traditional bifurcations of East Asian Buddhism, which have served as one of fundamental frameworks in explaining doctrines and practices of East Asian Buddhist tradition, and also indicate their theoretical limitations as well as historical problems.

2. Traditional Bifurcations of East Asian Yogācāra Buddhism and Their Problems

(1) "Old" Yogācāra Buddhism vs. "New" Yogācāra Buddhism; Paramārtha vs. Xuanzang

East Asian Yogācāra Buddhism, as mentioned before, has been traditionally divided into two groups with distinct systems, i.e. the "Old" and "New" Yogācāra groups. The Old Yogācāra Buddhism refers to the Di lun school 地論宗 and She lun school 攝論宗 that arose based

respectively on exegeses of the *Di lun* (*Shidi jing lun* 十地經論; S. *Daśabhūmivyākhyāna*) and the *She lun* (*She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論; S. *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*). The New Yogācāra Buddhism refers to the Chinese Faxiang school (and Korean Pŏpsang school and Japanese Hossō school as well in a broader sense) that emerged on the basis of the Yogācāra texts that Xuanzang brought from India.

The Buddhist tradition in East Asia has normally considered these two strands as doctrinally antagonistic. The Old Yogācāra tradition, especially the Shelun school, is considered as taking a "One Vehicle" (C. *yisheng* 一乘, S. *eka-yana*) position based on the notion of *tathāgatagarbha* (C. *rulaizang* 如來藏; *foxing* 佛性), that is, the universal spiritual potentiality inherent in every sentient being to become a Buddha, whereas the New Yogācāra tradition is regarded as advocating the theory of "Three Vehicles" (C. *sansheng* 三乘, S. *tri-yana*) in association with the doctrine of "five distinct spiritual lineages" (C. *wozhong xing* 五種性, S. *pañcagotra*), the discriminative spiritual levels of sentient beings.[15] The Old Yogācāra group maintains that there is only one comprehensive vehicle (viz. "teaching"), which carries sentient beings to enlightenment, and this one single teaching encompasses equally all sentient beings because each of them inherently has the Buddha Nature; on the contrary, the New Yogācāra

[15] The *Fodi jing lun* 佛地經論 (**Buddhabhūmi-śāstra*) lists the Five Lineages, i.e., (1) *Śrāvaka* Lineage (S. *śrāvaka-gotra*, C. *shengwen zhongxing* 聲聞種性), for those who will become *arhats* via the *śrāvaka* vehicle, (2) *Pratyekabuddha* Lineage (S. *pratyekabuddha-gotra*, C. *dujue zhongxing* 獨覺種性), for those destined to become solitary buddhas via the *pratyekabuddha* path, (3) *Tathāgata* Lineage (S. *tathāgata-gotra*, C. *rulai zhongxing* 如來種性), for those destined to become Buddhas, (4) Indeterminate Lineage (S. *aniyata-gotra*, C. *buding zhongxing* 不定種性), who may follow any of three vehicles, and (5) Lineage Devoid of Supramundane Merits (S. **agotra*, C. *wuyou chushi gongde zhongxing* 無有出世功德種性), who are ineligible for liberation, or who have lost the potential to become enlightened by being *icchantika*s (無始時來一切有情有五種性。一聲聞種性。二獨覺種性。三如來種性。四不定種性。五無有出世功德種性。如餘經論廣說其相。分別建立前四種性。雖無時限然有畢竟得滅度期。諸佛慈悲巧方便故。第五種性無有出世功德因故。畢竟無有得滅度期。諸佛但可為彼方便示現神通。說離惡趣生善趣法。彼雖依教勤修善因得生人趣。乃至非想非非想處。必還退下墮諸惡趣。諸佛方便復為現通說法教化。彼復修善得生善趣。後還退墮受諸苦惱。諸佛方便復更拔濟。如是展轉窮未來際。不能令其畢竟滅度 (佛地經論 T1530:26.298a12-24)). The last lineage is generally known as the Lineage Devoid of the Nature (C. *wuxing zhongxing* 無性種性).

group argues for a distinction between the Three Vehicles, that is, three different levels of teaching for three different groups of beings with different spiritual capacities, i.e., *śrāvakas* (C. *shengwen* 聲聞), *pratyekabuddhas* (C. *yuanjue* 緣覺) and bodhisattvas (C. *pusa* 菩薩). In this respect, the contrast has been recognized between the Old Yogācāra group who accepts the universally applied spiritual potential of the Buddha Nature and the New Yogācāra group who advocates the five different levels of determined spiritual capacity.[16]

Paramārtha (499-569), one of the representatives of the Old Yogācāra tradition (particularly the Shelun school), is normally situated in opposition to Xuanzang, the putative founder of the New Yogācāra tradition. Scholars generally agree that, while Paramārtha combined Yogācāra theories with the notion of *tathāgatagarbha*, Xuanzang excluded the notion of the universal Buddha Nature in all sentient beings from the newly established Yogācāra system. Among many canonical texts translated by Paramārtha,[17] Asaṅga's 無著 *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (C. *She lun* or *She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論) in three fascicles and Vasubandhu's 世親 *Mahāyānasaṃgraha-bhāṣya* (C. *She dashenglun shi* 攝大乘論釋) in fifteen fascicles became the basic canonical source for the Shelun school--the school that later further

[16] These two traditions are commonly considered by scholars as tracing back to the two Indian Yogācāra origins, viz., Sthiramati (ca. 7th century CE) and Paramārtha's (499-569) lineage for the Old school, and Dharmapāla (ca. 6th century CE) and Śīlabhadra's (529-645) lineage for the New school. Ui Hakuju, for instance, say that Xuanzang succeeded to Dignāga (ca. 480–540), *Asvabhāva (d.u.), and Dharmapāla's strand, and Paramārtha to Sthiramati's (see Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽, *Bukkyō hanron* 佛教汎論, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shōten, 1947), 305). However, there are scholars who suspect this genealogical connection. For instance, Takemura Makio indicates that there is research that shows that Sthiramati is younger than Paramārtha and the Chinese translation of *Asvabhāva's works, which serves as the evidence for his connection with Xuanzang, shows difference from the Tibetan translations in many aspects. See Takemura Makio 竹村牧男, "Jironshū, Shōronshū, Hossōshū 地論宗・摂論宗・法相宗," in *Yuishiki shisō: kōza Daijō Bukkyō* 唯識思想: 講座・大乗仏教, vol. 8, ed. Hirakawa Akira 平川彰, Kajiyama Yūichi 梶山雄一, and Takasaki Jikidō 高崎直道 (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 1982), 270.

[17] According to Paramārtha's biography of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, Paramārtha translated sixty-four works in 278 fascicles since he had arrived at Jiankang 建康 in 548 until he died in 569; 故始梁武之末。至陳宣即位。凡二十三載。所出經論記傳。六十四部。合二百七十八卷 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.430b19-21).

developed *tathāgatagarbha*-oriented Yogācāra doctrines--and Paramārtha is thus generally regarded as the founder of the Shelun school; on the contrary, Xuanzang, as the introducer of the New Yogācāra system, is normally said as the founder of the New Yogācāra tradition or the Chinese Faxiang school, which developed on the basis on the new translations.

The New Yogācāra Buddhism is generally identified with the Faxiang school, since the Faxiang school organized the New Yogācāra system's doctrinal position mostly based on Ji's commentarial works to the new translations, such as *Cheng weishi lun shuji* 成唯識論述記 and the *Weishi ershi lun shuji* 唯識二十論述記. Even if Ji himself does not seem to have intended to establish a school called the Faxiang zong, later his disciples identified him as the first patriarch of the school. In fact, Ji himself never had designated his doctrinal strand as the Faxiang zong; it was the Huayan 華嚴 exegete Fazang 法藏 (643-712) who coined the scholastic name "Faxiang zong," and in his doctrinal taxonomy Fazang placed this school below his own Huayan school with the intention of denigrating it.[18] However, this title has become now broadly used in modern

[18] In the *Shi'ermenlun zongzhi yiji* 十二門論宗致義記, Fazang first uses the term Faxiang. In this text, Fazang contrasts Śīlabhadra (529-645; C. Jiexian 戒賢) with Jñānaprabha (d.u.; C. Zhiguang 智光), Yogācāra and Mahāyāna exegete respectively, saying that Śīlabhadra considers the third and most superior teaching among the Buddha's three-period teachings (C. *sanshi jiao* 三時教) as "Mahāyāna of Dharma Characteristics" (C. *faxiang dasheng* 法相大乘), while Jñānaprabha as "Mahāyāna of No Characteristics" (C. *wuxiang dasheng* 無相大乘); 謂戒賢。則遠承彌勒無著。近踵護法難陀。依深密等經。瑜伽等論。明法相大乘 … 二智光論師。遠承文殊龍樹。近稟青目清辨。依般若等經。中觀等論。顯無相大乘 (十二門論宗致義記 T1826:42.213a11-025). See Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英, "Shōsō yūe ni tsuite" 性相融会について, *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒澤大學佛教學部研究紀要 41(1983): 303. Later in the *Dasheng qixinlun yiji* 大乘起信論義記, Fazang establishes four-level teaching of doctrinal taxonomy, which includes "Faxiang zong" at the third level, i.e., "Teaching of Attachment to Dharmas Following Their Characteristics" (C. Suixiang fazhi zong 隨相法執宗), "Teaching of No Characteristics in True Emptiness" (C. Zhenkong wuxiang zong 真空無相宗), "Teaching of Dharma Characteristics in Consciousness-Only" (C. Weishi faxiang zong 唯識法相宗), and "Teaching of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*" (C. Rulaizang yuanqi zong 如來藏緣起宗); 第二隨教辨宗者。現今東流一切經論。通大小乘。宗途有四。一隨相法執宗。即小乘諸部是也。二真空無相宗。即般若等經。中觀等論所說是也。三唯識法相宗。即解深密等經。瑜伽等論所說是也。四如來藏緣起宗。即楞伽密嚴等經。起信寶性等論所說是也。(大乘起信論義記 T1846:44.243b22-28). In the *Rulengqiexin xuanyi* 入楞伽心玄義, Fazang clearly mentions "Teaching of Dharma Characteristics" (C. Faxiang zong 法相宗) in his doctrinal taxonomy (C. *jiaopan* 教判) as the third level teaching among the four levels of teaching, i.e., "Teaching of Existence of Characteristics" (C. Youxiang zong 有相宗), "No Characteristics" (C.

scholarship to refer to the New Yogācāra system in general, which is regarded as having been systemized by Ji and his disciples.

Recent research, however, has challenged these traditional dichotomies of the Old and New Yogācāra or the Yogācāra views of Paramārtha and Xuanzang. Ching Keng proposes in his dissertation the possibility that Paramārtha and Xuanzang may have largely agreed with each other in their doctrinal viewpoints, by demonstrating that the presumed attribution of the *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith* 大乘起信論 to Paramārtha is false.[19] Keng claims that the preexisting image of Paramārtha as an advocate of *tathāgatagarbha* theory is a mistaken retrospective view that derives from Tanqian 曇遷 (542-607), a later indirect disciple of Paramārtha; Paramārtha himself, Keng claims, was not squarely committed to the so-called One Vehicle theory.[20]

While Keng's approach exposes the ambiguity of the dichotomy between the Old and New schools or the opposing Yogācāra views between Paramārtha and Xuanzang by examining the doctrinal scope of the Old schools, other research shows a possible connection between

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Wuxiang zong 無相宗), "Dharma Characteristics" (C. Faxiang zong 法相宗), and "True Characteristics" (C. Shixiang zong 實相宗); 今且辨四。一有相宗。二無相宗。三法相宗。四實相宗 (入楞伽心玄義 T1790:39.426b29-c01).

[19] See Ching Keng, "Yogācāra Buddhism transmitted or transformed? Paramārtha (499--569) and his Chinese interpreters" (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2009).

[20] Ching Keng suggests that there are at least two different senses of *tathāgatagarbha*, i.e., "weak" and "strong" sense of *tathāgatagarbha*, and that there were two strands of the Shelun school, which are associated respectively with these two senses of *tathāgatagarbha*. Keng explains the differences of these "weak" and "strong" sense of *tathāgatagarbha* from various doctrinal perspectives: whether *jiexing* 解性 should be identified with the Dharma Body; whether Thusness can be permeated; whether *jiexing* becomes the Enjoyment Body of the Buddha, etc.. Generally speaking, the difference of these two doctrinal positions lies on how differently each doctrine understands the relationship between the Unconditioned realm (C. *wuwei* [*fa*] 無爲[法], S. *asaṃskṛta*) and the Conditioned realm (C. *youwei* [*fa*] 有爲[法], S. *saṃskṛta*), or the ultimate realm and the practical realm. The "weak" sense of *tathāgatagarbha* views these two realms as strictly distinct, while the "strong" sense of *tathāgatagarbha* sees them as interfused each other. Keng argues that Paramārtha, like Vasubandhu, endorsed the "weak" sense of *tathāgatagarbha*, while Tanqian accepted a "strong" sense of *tathāgatagarbha* as based on the *Dasheng qixin lun*; ibid., 422-24.

Paramārtha and Xuanzang by investigating the historical records regarding the New schools. Some studies have noted that Dōshō 道昭 (629-700), the putative first transmitter of the Chinese Faxiang school to Japan, brought along not only the New Yogācāra texts, but also many of Paramārtha's works after studying in China under Xuanzang.[21] This fact suggests that Xuanzang himself might not have taken an opposing stance to Paramārtha. Another study demonstrates that there were many Shelun scholar-monks who studied under Xuanzang.[22] This research illuminating the relationship between Xuanzang and the Old Yogācāra Buddhism leads us to reconsider not just Xuanzang's possible connections to Paramārtha, but the fundamental assumption that Xuanzang was the virtual founder of the Faxiang school and in this respect took a position doctrinally opposed to that of Paramārtha.

(2) Tathāgatagarbha Theory vs. Yogācāra Theory; One Vehicle vs. Three Vehicles

Another archetypal pair of antagonistic conceptions in association with the traditional bifurcation of the Old and New Yogācāra is Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra theory, the representative theory of the Old and New schools respectively.[23] In the sixth to seventh century, East Asian Buddhist exegetes generally regarded this distinction of the two systems not just as theoretical diversity,

[21] See Inoue Mitsusada 井上光貞, "Nanto rokushū no seiritsu" 南都六宗の成立, *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 156 (1961): 7. Also see Fukihara Shōshin 富貴原章信, *Nihon yuishiki shisōshi* 日本唯識思想史 (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1989), 44.

[22] See Sueki Fumihiko 末木文美士, "Nihon Hossōshū no keisei" 日本法相宗の形成, *Bukkyogaku* 仏教学 32 (1992): 128.

[23] It is generally presumed that these two systems emerged as separate systems, each of which has distinct theoretical basis and origin and then interconnected to each other. Katsumata Shunkyō, for instance, explains the development of Tathāgatagarbha texts in three stages according to the extent to which the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra doctrines are connected to each other: (1) the texts in the beginning stage, which do not address Yogācāra concepts, such as *ālayavijñāna*, (2) the texts in the middle stage, which discuss the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna* together, but do not describe the interrelationship between them, and (3) the texts on the later stage, which synthesize the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna* (see Katsumata Shunkyō 勝又俊教, *Bukkyō ni okeru shinshikisetsu no kenkyū* 仏教における心識説の研究 (Tōkyō: Sankibō Busshorin, 1961), 601-37).

but rather as doctrinal antagonism.[24] This traditional interpretation has also influenced modern scholarship, which also accepts the historical dichotomy of the Old and New Yogācāra systems as mentioned before.

It was Fazang who first contrasted Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra theories in a systematic doctrinal form. In his taxonomical classification (C. *jiaopan* 教判), Fazang attributes the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra system to two separate levels of teaching, i.e., "Teaching of Dependent Origination from *Tathāgatagarbha*" (C. *Rulaizang yuanqi zong* 如來藏緣起宗) in the fourth and highest level and "Teaching of Dharma Characteristics of Consciousness-only" (C. *Weishi faxiang zong* 唯識法相宗) in the third.[25] In this way, Fazang deals with the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra systems not just as doctrinally contrasting systems, but also hierarchically exclusive independent schools, by placing the former at the superior stage to the latter. Some research suggests that the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra theories are not two antagonistic doctrinal systems, but are associated with each other even since Vasubandhu's time: Pak T'aewŏn, for instance, argues that Jingying Huiyuan 淨影 慧遠 (523-592), a scholar-monk of the Dilun school, conceived the *AMF*, the seminal *tathāgatagarbha* treatise, as sharing a common doctrinal basis with the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (C. *She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論), one of the

[24] There occured controversies between those who defended Tathāgatagarbha theory, viz., "all beings become buddhas" (C. *yiqie jie cheng* 一切皆成), and those who advocated the Yogācāra theory of Five Disinct Lineages (C. *wuxing gebie* 五性各別). This controversy is genearlly known among scholars as "Buddha Nature controversy." I will discuss this in detail in Chapter III.

[25] This taxonomy appears in his *Dasheng qixinlun yiji* 大乘起信論義記, where the teaching of the *AMF* corresponds to the "Teaching of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*," while and the "Teaching of Dharma Characteristics of Consciousness-only " to the New Yogacara school; see n. 18 above. Thereby, the Tathāgatagarbha system is established as an independent teaching by Fazang. For the detailed discussion, see Chapter IV.

representative Yogācāra scriptures.[26] Pak also indicates that there is a notable distinction between the parallels Huiyuan draws between the *AMF* and Yogācāra texts and the Huayan exegete Fazang's discrimination of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra doctrines,[27] which provided the basis for the current pervasive dichotomy of Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra systems. Keng also argues that Vasubandhu accepted the notion of *tathāgatagarbha*, although Vasubandhu's accept of the notion of the *tathāgatagarbha* does not have the same connotation as that of the Tathāgatagarbha theory found in such works as the *AMF*.[28]

The prevalence of Fazang's distinction between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra theory in modern Buddhist scholarship appears to be largely due to the fact that the Japanese Kegon (C. Huayan) tradition and modern scholarship in general have centered on Fazang's Huayan thought. The Kegonshū was one of the major schools in the ancient Japan, and, from its inception, this school developed on the basis of Fazang's commentarial works, such as the *Huayan wujiao zhang* 華嚴五教章. Thus, the traditional Japanese Kegon school and subsequently later modern scholarship accepted Fazang's taxonomy that distinguishes the Tathāgatagarbha and New Yogācāra schools as an orthodox classification.[29] Pak argues that this is the reason why, as Japanese scholars themselves also admit, modern Japanese Buddhist

[26] See Pak T'aewŏn 박태원, "Hyewŏn ŭi *Kisillon* kwan: p'al, kusiksŏl ŭi sasang p'yŏngkajŏk ŭimi rŭl chungsim ŭro" 慧遠의 起信論觀--八, 九識說의 사상평가적 의미를 중심으로, *Ch'ŏrhak yŏn'gu* 철학연구 14 (1990): 78-79. Pak also claims that Huiyuan's perspective on the *AMF* is identical to those of Tanyan 曇延 (516-588) and Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617-686).

[27] Ibid., 85.

[28] Keng, "Yogācāra Buddhism transmitted or transformed? Paramārtha (499--569) and his Chinese interpreters," 401-04. Making a distinction between "strong" and "weak" senses of *tathagatagarbha*, Keng says that Vasubandhu used the notion of *tathagatagarbha* only in the weak sense. For the "strong" and "weak" sense of *tathagaragarbha*, see n. 20.

[29] Yoshizu criticizes in the preface of his *Kegon ichijō shisō no kenkyū* [Research of One Vehicle thought of Huayan] the previous Japanese scholarly tendency to regard only Fazang's views as the orthodox Huayan teaching by reducing all Huayan doctrines to Fazang. See Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英, *Kegon ichijō shisō no kenkyū* 華厳一乗思想の研究 (Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha 大東出版社, 1991), 9-11.

scholarship has made notable achievements in research of the *tathāgatagarbha* theory, which are often based on Fazang's perspectives on the *AMF*.[30]

Modern scholarship generally agrees that Fazang's relegation of the Yogācāra school to the position inferior to the Tathāgatagarbha school is derived from his intention to elevate the Huayan teaching over the Faxiang teaching; for Fazang, who pursued to establish the Huayan school as doctrinally the most superior school, to overcome the Faxiang school was the most urgent task.[31] Despite all these particular intentions of Fazang, his hierarchical taxonomy appears to have gained significant empathy even until today, just to the extent that the traditional framework of the Old and New Buddhism has become pervasively accepted. Although Fazang's classification significantly reflects his Huayan-centered perspective within the particular historical situation, his hierarchical taxonomy indeed deeply resonates with the traditional dichotomies. Moreover, Fazang's *tathāgatagarbha*-oriented taxonomy parallels the deep-rooted inclination in East Asian Buddhism toward the One Vehicle or the Great Vehicle (S. Mahāyāna,

[30] See Pak T'aewŏn 박태원, "*Taesŭng kisillon* sasang e kwanhan Pŏpchang ŭi kwanchŏm"『대승기신론』(大乘起信論) 사상에 관한 법장 (法藏)의 관점," in *Kim Ch'ungyŏl paksa hoegap kinyŏm nonmunjip: chayŏn kwa in'gan kŭrigo sahoe.* 金忠烈博士回甲記念論文集: 자연과 인간 그리고 사회, ed. Kim Ch'ungyŏl Paksa Hoegap Kinyŏm Nonmunjip Kanheang Wiwŏnhoe (Seoul: Hyŏngsŏl, 1992), 141.

[31] Some scholars such as Kamata Shigeo, even argue that this task was important for Fazang not only doctrinally but also politically because the Huayan school was patronized by Empress Wu 則天武后 (624-705), who needed a new intellectual and religious foundation of Buddhist doctrinal system to support her revolution (690; 武周革命), replacing the Faxiang school, the religious ideology of the previous Emperor Taizong 唐太宗 (r. 626-649) (see Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄, *Chūgoku Kegon shisōshi no kenkyū* 中國華嚴思想史の研究 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo 東京大學東洋文化研究所, 1965), 146-49). However, Ishii Kōsei refutes this argument that Fazang's Huayan theory in particular served as the political ideology; he says that, although it is true that Fazang and Empress Wu sought to use each other, Fazang was none other than one of many monks around her, and that this recognition of the Huayan theory as the political ideology was in fact created during the Pacific War by the Japanese Buddhists who wanted to avoid the nationalists' criticism; see Ishii Kōsei 石井公成, "Daitōa kyōeiken no gourika to Kegon tetsugaku: Kihira Masami no yakuwari o chūshin to shite" 大東亜共栄圏の合理化と華厳哲学(1): 紀平正美の役割を中心として, *Bukkyōgaku* 仏教学, no. 42 (2000).

C. *dasheng* 大乘)[32]; in association with the Great/One Vehicle-oriented tendency in East Asian Buddhism, Fazang's intention appears to have been steadily established in the tradition through his systematic doctrinal taxonomy, in which the "Lesser vehicle" (S. *hīnayāna*, C. *xiaosheng* 小乘), or the Three Vehicles, is ranked at a lower level than the Great Vehicle, or the One Vehicle.

(3) Dharma Nature school vs. Dharma Characteristics school

The polemic dichotomy between the Faxing zong 法性宗 and the Faxiang zong, or "Dharma Nature school" and "Dharma Characteristics school," is another type of bifurcation pervasive in East Asian Buddhism. Although Fazang first coined the term Faxiang zong, as mentioned before, it was Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839), Fazang's disciple and the fourth patriarch of the Huayan school, who made the contrast between these two schools, treating the Dharma Nature and Dharma Characteristics as fundamental/major and subsidiary/subordinate respectively. This hierarchical distinction appears in Chengguan's taxonomical classification (教判), which represents the superiority of his Huayan school over the rival Faxiang school; in his five-level taxonomy,[33] the two highest (fourth and fifth) levels, i.e., *tathāgatagarbha* and Huayan school,

[32] Nagao Gagin indicates that the One Vehicle and Three Vehicles doctrinally balanced each other in Indian Buddhist tradition, and those who defended the One Vehicle position also accepted the Three Vehicles doctrine, and vice versa; on the contrary, he says, Chinese Buddhist tradition emphasized the One Vehicle by derogating the Three Vehicles, and the Huayan school, for instance, established such a teachining as "Distinct Teaching of the One Vehicle" (C. *biejiao yisheng* 別教一乘), the teaching that hierarchically discriminates the One Vehicle teaching from the Three Vehicle teaching (see Nagao Gajin 長尾雅人, "Ichijō Sanjō no rongi o megutte" 一乘・三乘の論議をめぐって, in *Bukkyō shigaku ronshū:Tsukamoto hakushi shōju kinen* 塚本博士頌寿記念：仏教史学論集, ed. Tsukamoto Hakushi Shōju Kinenkai 塚本博士頌壽記念會 (Kyōto 京都: Tsukamoto Hakushi Shōju Kinenkai 塚本博士頌壽記念會, 1961), 535-39). For more explantion of the Distinct Teaching of the One Vehicle, see Chapter IV, n.70.

[33] This taxonomical system is identical with Fazang's five-level taxonomy in his *Huayanjing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, except that the third and fourth are reversed each other. Fazang's five-level taxonomy is as

correspond to the Dharma Nature (Faxing) school, and the second level, i.e., the New Yogācāra school, to the Dharma Characteristics (Faxiang) school. Chengguan's taxonomical system represents the Huayan school's superiority over the New Yogācāra school, by its hierarchical placement of the schools (the fifth and highest for the Huayan school; the second for the New Yogācāra) on the one hand, and by reducing them to one of the categories of the Faxing and Faxiang schools on the other.

Although Chengguan created the clear contrast between the Dharma Nature (Faxing) and Dharma Characteristics (Faxiang) schools, the conceptual distinction between *xing* and *xiang* 性相, or "nature" and "characteristics," has been generally assumed to have mutually contrasting denotations throughout East Asian tradition. It is probably due to this inaccurate assumption that the designation of Dharma Nature school finally has come to have various referents, even if the Dharma Characteristics school has typically referred to the New Yogācāra school of Xuanzang and his successor lineage; the Faxing zong sometimes refers to the Madhyamaka school, as Fazang intended when he first used the contrasting frame of *xing* and *xiang*; sometimes to the teaching of *tathāgatagarbha*; or sometimes to the last three teachings of Fazang's five-level taxonomical classification, i.e., "Advanced Teaching of Mahāyāna" (*dasheng zhongjiao* 大乘終教), "Sudden Teaching of Mahāyāna" (*dasheng dunjiao* 大乘頓教) and "Perfect Teaching of Mahāyāna" (*dasheng yuanjiao* 大乘圓教). Generally speaking, the Faxing school refers to the schools associated with the so-called One Vehicle theory, such as the

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follows: (1) "Teaching of The Lesser Vehicle" (C. *xiaosheng jiao* 小乘教), (2) "Elementary Teaching of Mahāyāna" (C. *dasheng shijiao* 大乘始教), (3) "Advanced Teaching of Mahāyāna" (C. *dasheng zhongjiao* 大乘終教), (4) "Sudden Teaching of Mahāyāna" (C. *dasheng dunjiao* 大乘頓教), and (5) "Perfect Teaching of Mahāyāna" (C. *dasheng yuanjiao* 大乘圓教) in the ascending order. In Chengguan's taxonomy, the second through the fifth teaching are equivalent respectively to the New Yogācāra school (C. *sanxing kongyou zong* 三性空有宗), the Madhyamaka school (C. *zhenkong juexiang zong* 眞空絶相宗), the Tathāgatagarbha school (C. *kongyou wuai zong* 空有無礙宗), and the Huayan school (C. *yuanrong jude zong* 圓融具德宗).

tathāgatagarbha tradition, Huayan school, Chan 禪 school or Tiantai 天台 school, while the Faxiang school just to the New Yogācāra tradition. As such, the opposition between the Faxing and Faxiang schools in Chengguan's taxonomy has been unwittingly accepted over time, and the concept of Faxiang school in his usage is now expansively applied to the whole range of the "New Yogācāra Buddhism" over East Asian countries.

When considering, however, the aforementioned series of research that discloses the doctrinal diversity even under the umbrella category of Faxiang school, such as the difference in perspectives between Ji and Wŏnch'ŭk and the difficulty in explaining Taehyŏn's position within the typical frame of the New Yogācāra school, the bifurcation between the Faxing and Faxiang schools is obviously too simplistic. Moreover, the subsequent assumption of the two schools as doctrinally antagonistic has entailed a careless conflation of all Yogācāra traditions after Xuanzang under the singular category of Faxiang school. History of East Asian Yogācāra Buddhism, however, shows that the Faxiang school is not a clear-cut category as suggested in Fazang's doctrinal juxtaposition of *xing* and *xiang*, or as presented in Chengguan's polemical contrast of the Faxing and Faxiang schools.

The pejorative connotation of the Faxiang school represented in Chengguan's taxonomy is very often reflected in modern scholars' perspectives on the Old and New Yogācāra; for instance, modern scholars say that the New Yogācāra school did not thoroughly comply with the Mahāyāna spirit that every being's enlightenment is ultimately guaranteed, and that this is one of the major reasons of the later replacement of Ji's New Yogācāra school by such One Vehicle-oriented schools as the Huayan or Chan school.[34] In this vein, scholars tend to regard the historical prominence of the Dharma Nature schools over the Dharma Characteristics school in

[34] See, for instance, Takemura, "Jironshū, Shōronshū, Hossōshū" 地論宗・摂論宗・法相宗, 380-81.

East Asia as the dominance of the teaching of One Vehicle over Three Vehicles, and, to go further, even as evidence of the superiority of Mahāyāna to *hīnayāna*.[35] Chengguan's dichotomy between the Faxing and Faxiang schools, though inseparable from his sectarian intention, in this way constituted a fundamental doctrinal schema of East Asian Buddhist tradition, along with other binaries such as the One Vehicle and Three Vehicles, the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra traditions, and the Mahāyāna and *hīnayāna*. Probably part of the reason for the relative lack of research on Taehyŏn may derive from this prejudiced assumption of the Faxiang school as inferior to the Faxing school.

Given that the various bifurcations used to describe East Asian Yogācāra Buddhism have not a few doctrinal problems and limitations, it appears that the task of understanding Taehyŏn's Yogācāra thought should parallel the investigation of how the paradigms originated and then evolved over time. Only the clarification of the problems of the traditional bifurcations shall explain the place of Taehyon's Yogācāra thought.

3. Outline of Chapters

The basic source of the theoretical problems in treating East Asian Yogācāra, as examined above, is the chronological division into the Old and New systems. Thus, the analysis in this dissertation of the issues regarding the bifurcations largely will follow historical order.

The dissertation will be divided into five chapters. In the first chapter, I will discuss the initial stage of the Old Yogācāra, when the Northern and Southern Dilun schools were active. I will demonstrate that the Yogācāra scholastic system was not a single entity from the very

[35] This tendency resonates with the traditional emphasis of the One Vehicle doctrine over the Three Vehicles doctrine in East Asia. See n. 32 above.

beginning stage of the Old Yogācāra tradition. The doctrinal position was divided largely into two positions, as the two Dilun schools represents, and these two distinct positions are associated with two different versions of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. I will also propose that the two doctrinal groups do not take the opposite positions, but rather that the Northern Dilun school shows a binary feature.

The second chapter will examine another Old Yogācāra school, the Shelun school, and its representative exegete Paramārtha. In this chapter, I will indicate problems derived from the traditional presumption of Paramārtha as a Tathāgatagarbha-oriented Yogācāra exegete, and then analyze Paramārtha's doctrines that show binary features. Based on this analysis of his doctrines, I will suggest that Paramārtha's synthesis of *tathāgatagarbha* and Yogācāra should be understood in a broader sense, not just being confined to the Tathāgatagarbha system. I also propose that the Shelun school should be divided into two strands, i.e., Paramārtha's and Tanqian's, by investigating scholastic genealogy of the contemporary Shlelun exegetes.

The third chapter deals with the New Yogācāra tradition, focusing on the Faxiang school and its virtual founder Ji. First, I investigate the problems revolving around the general identification of the Faxiang school with the New Yogācāra school, and then move on to discuss how the historical controversies emerged between the Old and New Yogācāra groups after Xuanzang translated the new Yogācāra literature and Ji's response to the controversies by examining his transformation of scholastic position. By doing this, I suggest that the historical polemics between the Old and New Yogācāra should be confined to that between two particular groups, the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes of the Old school and the Faxiang exegetes of the New school, not between the whole traditions of the Old and New Yogācāra.

In the fourth chapter, I will first discuss Wŏnhyo and Fazang' efforts to reconcile the doctrinal conflicts emerged between the Old and New groups as well as between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra positions, and then the distinct implications of the two exegetes' approaches to this reconciliation. I will indicate that, although both Wŏnhyo and Fazang drew on the *Awakening of Faith* to resolve the conflicts, Wŏnhyo's approach to the *AMF* that demonstrates the lack of contradiction between the *tathāgatagarbha* and Yogācāra views is starkly similar to Paramārtha's binary position, whereas Fazang's interpretation of the *AMF* teaching as the Tathāgatagarbha teaching suggests that he is doctrinally connected to Tanqian's position.

In the fifth chapter, I will deal with Taehyŏn's Yogācāra thought on the basis of the new doctrinal paradigm that I can derive from the discussion of the previous chapters. I will discuss that Taehyŏn's acceptance of both the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra views constitutes another doctrinal line of position within the New Yogācāra tradition, by analyzing Taehyŏn's Yogācāra perspective that takes the One Vehicle and Three Vehicles as independent teachings with their own doctrinal significances. In this respect, I also show that Taehyŏn's Yogācāra thought is distinct from Wŏnhyo's, which focuses on the One Vehicle teaching, although they both found no contradiction between the *tathāgatagarbha* and Yogācāra, or between the Madhayamaka and Yogācāra.

CHAPTER I. The Initial Stage of the "Old" Yogācāra Tradition

1. Two Doctrinal Directions in the Initial Stage of the Old Yogācāra Tradition

The traditional division between the Old and New Yogācāra system constitutes one of the major frameworks for the study of the East Asian Yogācāra tradition. Modern scholars generally consider this juxtaposed frame of the Old and New as implying not only a chronological division, but also doctrinal antagonism between the two groups, as discussed in the Introduction. This pervasive, but loose, binary division, however, does not seem to always serve as an effective tool in explaining history of Yogācāra Buddhism in East Asia, because this categorization cannot explain historical evidence to show that all the Old schools are not *tathāgatagarbha*-oriented and that all the New school exegetes did not reject this association between them.

The Old Yogācāra schools initially appeared at the beginning of the sixth century after the transmission of several Yogācāra as well as Tathāgatagarbha texts, such as the *Bodhisattvabhūmisūtra* (C. *Pusa diqi jing* 菩薩地持經), the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (C. *Shidi jing* 十地經), and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. Bodhiruci (fl. 508-35) and Ratnamati (d. ca. 513), the two Indian exegetes who contributed to the initial understanding of Yogācāra doctrines in China, arrived in Northern China in 508 and collaboratively worked in translation of Buddhist texts, such as the *Daśabhūmivyākhyāna* (C. *Shidijing lun* 十地經論; viz., *Dilun*), Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*. It is recorded that their disagreement in interpreting the *Daśabhūmivyākhyāna* resulted in the schism of the Northern and Southern Dilun schools, which have Bodhiruci and Ratnamati as the putative founder of their respective schools.[1]

[1] For more historical information about the schism between the Northern and Southern Dilun schools, see Diana Y. Paul, *Philosophy of Mind in Sixth-Century China : Paramartha's 'Evolution of Consciousness'* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 46-48.

Historical records show that the Northern Dilun school does not entirely subscribe to the notion of the *tathāgatagarbha*, although it is categorized as the Old Yogācāra. The Northern and Southern schools engaged in a controversy over the nature of human fundamental consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*), that is, whether the nature of the consciousness is pure or impure.[2] This matter of determining the nature of *ālayavijñāna* is also associated with the matter of relationship between the *ālayavijñāna* and the *tathāgatagarbha*: the identity of the *ālayavijñāna* and *tathāgatagarbha* implies that the consciousness is of a pure nature, while the separation between them implies that it has an impure nature. Scholars normally agree that Bodhiruci and the Northern line defend the position that the consciousness and *tathāgatagarbha* are separated, thus characterizing the *ālayavijñāna* as impure, while Ratnamati and the Southern line maintain that the consciousness is associated or identified with the *tathāgatagarbha*, thereby considering it as pure.[3]

The Northern Dilun school's separation of the *ālayavijñāna*, human fundamental consciousness, from the *tathāgatagarbha* shows that this school is obviously not inclined to the *tathāgatagarbha* theory--the theory that finds the Buddha (a.k.a., Tathāgata) Nature in sentient beings' fundamental consciousness; rather it appears to argue for the impurity of the *ālayavijñāna*. The reason that the Northern school's deviation from the bifurcated categorization has not drawn much attention by scholars is probably because this school was relatively short-

[2] Although there is no specific evidence, the fact that Chinese Yogācāra tradition have evolved around the issue of the nature of the *ālayavijñāna*, the fundamental human consciousness, appears to reflect the Chinese long-rooted philosophical concern on whether the fundamental human nature is good or evil. We may probably find in this philosophical preference the reason why East Asian thinkers divided the Yogācāra tradition into the *tathāgatagarbha* and Yogācāra, which respectively being regarded as advocating the good or evil human nature.

[3] See, for instance, Katsumata, *Bukkyō ni okeru shinshikisetsu no kenkyū* 仏教における心識説の研究, 714; Fukihara, *Nihon yuishiki shisōshi* 日本唯識思想史, 38. Scholars' general consensus that the Northern school considers the *ālayavijñāna* as impure consciousness is based on Jinying Huiyuan's 淨影 慧遠 (523-592) comment in the *Dasheng yi zhang* 大乘義章, as I will discuss in the second section. But we may consider another possibility that the Northern school in fact took a dual position, regarding the *ālayavijñāna* both as pure and impure, when considering that the school relied on Bodhiruci's recension of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which also shows a binary attitude. I will deal with this issue in the third section of this chapter.

lived and thus takes only a little portion in the entire tradition of the Old Yogācāra school. Compared to its rival, the Southern school, the Northern school was much less influential and disappeared earlier, and exegetes of this school are greatly outnumbered by those of the Southern school.[4]

One might still find validity of the binary categorization of the Old and New Yogācāra by connecting the contrasting positions between the Northern and Southern schools with the antagonistic framework between the *tathāgatagarbha* and Yogācāra theories. In fact, the Northern school's position that views the *ālayavijñāna* as the ground of all phenomena is similar to that of later Faxiang school,[5] and such a later school as Huayan school has its doctrinal origin in the Southern school's *tathāgatagarbha*-oriented perspective. It seems, however, too hasty if we reduce the two schools' different positions into the bifurcation of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra systems without any further consideration, since the Northern and Southern schools' seemingly contrasting positions do not always fit into the binary categorization.

I will proceed to the next two sections to consider this question of whether or not the two schools' doctrinal distinction or lack of distinction is to be interpreted within the framework of the Tathāgatagarbha versus the Yogācāra. I will discuss first the doctrinal difference of the consciousness system between the Northern and Southern Dilun schools by examining their

[4] Yūki Reimon introduces three lineage charts of the two Dilun schools, in which the Northern school lineage stops just with the second-generation disciples of Bodhiruci, whereas the Southern school lineage continues to reach the fifth generation; see Yūki Reimon 結城令聞, "Jironshū hokudōha no yukue" 地論宗北道派の行方, in *Tōhōgaku ronshū: Tōhō gakkai sōritsu yonjisshūnen kinen* 東方學論集: 東方學會創立四十周年記念 , ed. Tōhō Gakkai 東方學會 (Tōkyō: Tōhō Gakkai 東方學會, 1987), 3-5. For more discussion about the early perishment of the Northern school, see SatomichNorio i 里道德雄, "Jironshū hokudōha no seiritsu to shōchō: Dōchū den o chūshin to suru isshōken" 地論宗北道派の成立と消長--道寵伝を中心とする一小見, *Ōkurayama ronshū* 大倉山論集 14 (1979).

[5] See Stanley Weinstein, "The Concept of *Ālaya-vijñāna* in Pre-T'ang Chinese Buddhism," in *Yūki kyōju shōju kinen Bukkyō shisōshi ronshū* 結城教授頌壽記念佛教思想史論集, ed. Yūki Kyōju Shōju Kinen Ronbunshū Kankōkai 結城教授頌壽記念論文集刊行会 (Tōkyō: Daizō Shuppan 大藏出版, 1964), 40.

interpretations of the *ālayavijñāna* and *tathāgatagarbha*, and then investigate the two schools' reliance on different recensions of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.

2. The Northern and Southern Dilun Schools and Their Interpretations of *Ālayavijñāna*

Although the paucity of materials makes it difficult to obtain detailed information of the Northern school's consciousness system, Zhanran 湛然 (711–782), a Tiantai 天台 exegete, provides us with some elucidating passages regarding two schools' different positions on the fundamental ground of phenomena. In the *Fahua xuanyi shiqian* 法華玄義釋籤, Zhanran says that the Northern school regards the *ālayavijñāna* as the fundamental ground of all phenomena, while the Southern school holds that all phenomena rely on "True Suchness" (S. *tathatā*, C. *zhenru* 眞如).[6] The two schools, although both following Vasubandhu's teaching, are incompatible like fire and water, Zhanran describes,[7] and we can see the opposed characterization between the Northern school's concept of the *ālayavijñāna* and the Southern school's notion of the True Suchness. In another passage of the *Fahua wenju ji* 法華文句記, Zhanran says in similar way that the Northern school maintains that the *ālayavijñāna* creates all phenomena, while the Southern school holds that "Dharma Nature" (S. *dharmatā*, C. *faxing* 法性) produces them.[8]

[6] 陳梁已前弘地論師二處不同。相州北道計阿黎耶以為依持。相州南道計於真如以為依持 此二論師俱稟天親而所計各異同於水火 (法華玄義釋籤 T.1717: 33.942c18-21).

[7] See n. 6 above.

[8] 古弘地論相州自分南北二道所計不同。南計法性生一切法。北計黎耶生一切法。宗黨既別釋義不同 (法華文句記 T.1719: 34.285a04-06)

The *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章 by Jingying Huiyuan 淨影 慧遠 (523-592), one of the representatives of the Southern school, allows us to presume that the Northern school characterizes the *ālayavijñāna* as impure by distinguishing it from "True Consciousness" (C. *zhenshi* 眞識) and places it seventh in the consciousness system unlike the typical consciousness system which places it eighth.[9] In one passage, Huiyuan criticizes "some people" (C. *you ren* 有人) who attribute the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*'s simile of "ocean" (viz., the foundation of phenomena) to the "seventh consciousness," not the "True Consciousness."[10] According to Huiyuan's perspective, the True Consciousness should be the foundation of phenomena, but "some people" wrongly take the impure seventh consciousness as the foundation. Since we know that the Northern school views the *ālayavijñāna* as the foundation of phenomena from Zhanran's testimonies mentioned above, we may infer that the impure seventh consciousness that "some people" consider as the foundation of phenomena refers to the *ālayavijñāna*.[11] In fact, there are

[9] For the analytic research on the Northern school's doctrinal position on the basis of Huiyan's *Dasheng yi zhang*, see Atsushi Ibuki 伊吹敦, "Jironshū Hokudō ha no shinshiki setsu ni tsuite" 地論宗北道派の心識説について, *Bukkyōgaku* (1999).

[10] 有人一向說彼海水。喻第七識不喻真識。此言大偏。如彼經中說。如來識以為藏識。第七妄心。名業相識。經自說言。藏識如巨海。業相猶波浪。云何乃言水喻七識。彼文復云。如來之藏。為彼無始虛偽惡習所熏。名為藏識。生無明住地。與七識俱。如海波浪。云何海水不喻真識。良以世人迷覆真心。妄取空義以為真識。故為此論 (大乘義章 T1851: 44.533a10-17). According to Huiyuan's consciousness system, the *ālayavijñāna* corresponds to the eighth consciousness, which is identified as the "True Consciousness" and thus pure. The Southern Dilun school's consciousness system will be discussed soon below by focusing on Huiyuan's position.

[11] Some studies demonstrate that the "some people" in this passage refer to the Northern school and that the seventh consciousness is the *ālayavijñāna*. Katsumata, for instance, shows this by comparing the "some people"'s position in Huiyuan's work and his teacher Fashang's 法上 (495–580) as follows: In another passage of the *Dasheng yi zhang*, Huiyuan again criticizes "some people" who argue that the seventh consciousness has "essential nature"/"essence" (C. *tixing*/*ti* 體性/體) (有人聞說有第七識。便謂七識別有體性。對此邪執。明妄無體 (大乘義章 T1851:44.538c29-539a02)). In contrast, Fashang says that the seventh consciousness lacks this "essence," arguing that the eighth pure consciousness has the "essence" and the seventh *ālayavijñāna*, which relies on the eighth, lacks it (八識位中七識無體依眞而用別。卽用爲體更無別體 (T2799:85.771c11-12)). From Fashang's distinction between the eighth pure consciousness and the seventh *ālayavijñāna*, the seventh consciousness that "some people" address can be presumed as the *ālayavijñāna*, not other consciousness such as *ādānavijñāna* 阿陀那識. Also this contrast of the views between the "some people" and Fashang makes it possible to infer that the "some people" belong to the Northern school, since Fashang is an exegete of the Southern school. See Katsumata,

different views regarding the Northern school's consciousness system according to whether or not the Northern school regards the True Consciousness as a separate eighth consciousness: Some scholars argue that the Northern school established eight-consciousness system by identifying the *ālayavijñāna* as the seventh and the True Consciousness as the eighth,[12] while others hold that the school maintained just a seven-consciousness system, not regarding the True Consciousness as the eighth consciousness.[13] Whether the Northern school established a seven or eight-consciousness system, what we can say regarding this school's consciousness system is that the school considered the *ālayavijñāna*, or the seventh consciousness, as the foundation of phenomena, and distinguished it from the pure True Consciousness.

While the Northern school regards the *ālayavijñāna* as the foundation of the phenomena, the Southern school considers the True Consciousness as the foundation of the phenomena.[14] This perspective of the Southern school, however, is again divided into two positions according to whether or not the True Consciousness is identified with the *ālayavijñāna*. There are two most

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Bukkyō ni okeru shinshiki setsu no kenkyū 仏教における心識説の研究: 678-79. For another discussion to prove the identification of the "some people" with the Northern school, see Ibuki, "Jironshū Hokudō ha no shinshiki setsu ni tsuite" 地論宗北道派の心識説について.

[12] Kastumata says that the Northern school established the eight-consciousness system with the seventh *ālayavijñāna* and the eighth true consciousness. See Katsumata, *Bukkyō ni okeru shinshiki setsu no kenkyū* 仏教における心識説の研究: 679.

[13] Ibuki Atsushi, for instance, argues that the school denied the eighth true consciousness. See Ibuki Atsushi 伊吹敦, "Jironshū Nandōha no shinshikisetsu ni tsuite" 地論宗南道派の心識説について, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 47, no. 1 (1998): 89. Yūki Reimon mentions that there are also scholars who argue that the Northern school defended the nine consciousness system, but he says that this view is not sufficiently supported by textual evidence (see Yūki Reimon 結城令聞, "Shina yuishiki gaku shijō ni okeru Ryōgashi no chii" 支那唯識学史上に於ける楞伽師の地位, *Shina bukkyō shigaku* 支那仏教史学 1(1937): 26.).

[14] We saw before that Zhanran 湛然 (711–782)'s explanation of the two schools' different position on the foundation of phenomena, where, for the Southern school, the "true-suchness" (S. *tathatā*, C. *zhenru* 眞如) is the foundation; in another place, Zhanran associates the foundation of Southern school with the Dharma Nature (S. *dharmatā*, C. *faxing* 法性); see n. 8. Also in Huiyuan's criticism of "some people" in his *Dasheng yi zhang* 大乘義章, mentioned above, this foundation of the Southern school is indirectly described as "true consciousness" (C. *zhenshi* 眞識); see n. 10. Thus we see that the foundation of the phenomena in the Southern school is expressed in various terms, which are in some manner related with the "true-suchness" characterized as pure or untainted.

famous Southern school exegetes, i.e., Fashang 法上 (495–580) and his disciple Jingying Huiyuan. After the schism of the Northern and Southern schools, Ratnamati's primary disciple was Huiguang 慧光 (468–537), an influential scholar monk of the time, and Fashang was the most famous one among Huiguang's many disciples. Although Fashang is chronologically prior to Huiyuan, let us examine Huiyuan's doctrinal position at first, since Huiyuan's Yogācāra position is considered by scholars as the archetypal model of the Southern school's doctrine, and Fashang's view, as several scholars has pointed out,[15] deviates from typical Southern school doctrines.

Briefly speaking, the typical position of the Southern school, which Huiyuan takes, is that the *ālayavijñāna* is identified with the True Consciousness, the foundation of all phenomena, and thus it is characterized as pure or true consciousness. Huiyuan's doctrinal system, as Diana Paul points out, appears mostly in his three commentaries, that is, the *Shidijinglun yiji* 十地經論義記, the *Dasheng yi zhang*, and the *Dasheng qixinlun yishu* 大乘起信論義疏.[16] In the earliest work, the *Shidijinglun yiji*, Huiyuan presents the taxonomy of eight consciousnesses, according to which the *ālayavijñāna*, the eighth consciousness, corresponds to the True Consciousness.[17] In the later two commentaries, which reflect the influence from Tanqian 曇遷 (542-607), who

[15] Diana Paul, for instance, indicates that Fashang's deviated doctrine is derived from the chapter on "Buddha Nature" in Bodhiruci's translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which the Southern school normally does not take as authoritative. See Paul, *Philosophy of Mind in Sixth-Century China : Paramartha's 'Evolution of Consciousness'*: 51. Also see Ibuki, "Jironshū Nandō ha no shinshiki setsu ni tsuite" 地論宗南道派の心識説について.

[16] Paul, *Philosophy of Mind in Sixth-Century China : Paramartha's 'Evolution of Consciousness'*: 52-53.

[17] 若依楞伽 別就五識 六識七識 以分三種 如彼經中 第七妄識 集起之本 說名為心 第六意識 遍伺諸塵 說以為意 五識之心 了別現境 說名為識 今此當應 就後言耳 此皆除故 名為離心...既離心等 當知即用 真識為體 真通前七 合有八識 八識之義 廣如別章 此應具論 (十地經論義記 X753: 45.44b21-24; c03-05). Huiyuan also states that the eighth consciousness refers to the *ālayavijñāna* in the *Dasheng yi zhang*; 八名是何。一者眼識。二者耳識。三者鼻識。四者舌識。五者身識。六者意識。七者阿陀那識。八阿梨耶識 (大乘義章 T1851:44.524b29-c02).

established the Shelun school at North China based on Paramārtha's translation of the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*,[18] Huiyuan not only addresses the eight-consciousness system, but also mentions the nine-consciousness system, which consists of the eight consciousnesses and *amalavijñāna*, the ninth immaculate consciousness; he considers the *ālayavijñāna* as pure consciousness along with the ninth immaculate consciousness from the perspective of "Truth-and-Falsity-Distinguished" (C. *zhenwang fenbie* 眞妄分別), but he regards it as "True-and-False-Combined" (C. *zhenwang hehe* 眞妄和合) from the perspective of "Truth-and-Falsity-both Separated-and-Combined"(C. *zhenwang lihe* 眞妄離合).[19] In other words, in Huiyuan's consciousness system the *ālayavijñāna* is fundamentally pure consciousness, whether it is depicted as pure or pure-and-impure-combined, because it is basically identical with the True

[18] Tanqian was originally a Southern Dilun exegete, since Tanqian's teacher, Tanzun 曇遵 (fl. 476, 560), was one of disciples of Huiguang's 慧光 (468–537), a direct disciple of Ratnamati, the founder of the Southern Dilun school. When Tanqian fled to Yangdu 揚都 (i.e., Jinling 金陵; Nanjing in present), the capital of the Chen 陳 dynasty (557-588), to avoid from the Northern Zhou (557-581) persecution of Buddhism from 574 through 577, he was able to obtain a copy of the *She dasheng lun*, Paramārtha's translation of the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*. When Emperor Wendi (r. 581-604) of Sui dynasty (581-618) turned the policy in favor of Buddhism afterwards, Tanqian moved to Pengcheng 彭城 (i.e., Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu 江蘇 province in present day) of North China in 581 and lectured on the *She dasheng lun* as well as other texts such as the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and the *Awakening of Faith*, until he was summoned by the Wendi in 587 to the dynastic monastery Daxingshan si 大興善寺 in the capital Chang'an. When Tanqian lectured in Chang'an on the *She dasheng lun*, which he brought from South China, Huiyuan was one of the thousands of audiences (see Tanqian's biography in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 T.2060:50.571b12-574b06). In this way, the Shelun school, a scholastic tradition centered on the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, flourished at North China.

[19] 亦得說九。故楞伽經總品中云。八九種識。如水中之波。其狀如何。分別有二。一真妄分別。以說九種。妄中分七。謂六事識變與妄識。真中分二。謂阿摩羅及阿梨耶。義如上辨。以此通前故合有九。二真妄離合。以說九種。獨真為一。所謂本淨阿摩羅識。真妄和合。共為八種 (大乘義章 T1851:44.530c08-14): "Again we can say that there are nine consciousnesses. Therefore the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* states in the Sagāthakam section, 'eight or nine kinds of consciousnesses are like waves of ocean.' How are the features? If you analyze it, there are two types. First, [from the perspective of] Truth-and-Falsity-Distinguished the nine consciousnesses may be discussed. The Falsity is divided into seven, that is, six functional consciousnesses and the false consciousness. The Truth is divided into two, that is, *amalavijñāna* and *ālayavijñāna*. Their meanings are as explained above. Since this accords with the previous, there are nine consciousnesses in all. Second, [from the perspective of] Truth-and-Falsity-both Separated-and-Combined the nine consciousnesses may be discussed. [In this perspective] the Truth is only one, that is, the immaculate *amalavijñāna*, and True-and-False-Combined are all the eight consciousnesses." In the second perspective, we see that the Truth and Falsity are separated in that the immaculate *amalavijñāna* is alone pure on the one hand, and the Truth and falsity are combined in that the pure *ālayavijñāna* is combined among the eight consciousnesses on the other. Thus we see that in Huiyuan's consciousness system, the *ālayavijñāna* is basically pure.

Consciousness.[20] Moreover, he confines the defilements that makes the *ālayavijñāna* defiled is merely provisional by asserting that "*ālayavijñāna* […] evolves along with the defilements, but does not change its essence."[21]

Fashang's 法上 (495–580) consciousness system is noteworthy in the current discussion on the consciousness system of the Old Yogācāra, since, even though he belongs to the Southern school, his doctrine deviates from the typical Southern school's position, sometimes following the Northern school's schema.[22] Fashang finds the fundamental ground of all phenomena in the *tathāgatagarbha*[23] in the same vein as Huiyuan finds it in the True Consciousness. However, unlike Huiyuan, he does not identify the *ālayavijñāna* with the *tathāgatagarbha*; rather he separates the *ālayavijñāna* from True Suchness (S. *tathatā*, C. *zhenru* 真如), assigning each of

[20] Kastumata also says that it was in Huiyuan's time that the Southern school established the doctrine of pure *ālayavijñāna* as the eighth consciousness and impure *ādānavijñāna* (阿陀那識) as the seventh consciousness, and also separately established the ninth consciousness, i.e. *amalavijñāna*, by dividing the pure consciousness into two; see Katsumata, *Bukkyō ni okeru shinshiki setsu no kenkyū* 仏教における心識説の研究: 679-80. Also for the ample explanation of Huiyuan's theory of consciousness, see ibid., 665-81.

[21] 真中分二。一阿摩羅識。此云無垢。亦曰本淨。就真論真。真體常淨。故曰無垢。此猶是前心真如門。二阿梨耶識。此云無沒。即前真心。隨妄流轉。體無失壞。故曰無沒。故起信論言。如來之藏。不生滅法。與生滅合。名為阿梨耶 […]心真如門。是其心體。即以為一。心生滅門。是其心相。於中分三。一是本識。真與癡合。二依本識起阿陀那執我之識。三依本識起於六種生起之識 (大乘義章 T.1851:44.530 b07-11; b13-17). Pak also explains that the *amalavijñāna* and the *ālayavijñāna* are alike in that both are the true consciousness, but they are distinct in that the *amalavijñāna* refers to the truth itself corresponding "the aspect of true suchness" (C. *xin zhenru men* 心眞如門), one of the two categories of the *Dasheng qixin lun*'s famous "one mind and its two aspects" (C. *yixin ermen* 一心二門), while the *ālayavijñāna* refers to the true consciousness related with the production and cessation of phenomena corresponding to "the aspect of production-and-cessation" (C. *xin shengmie men* 心生滅門). For the detailed explanation, Pak, "Hyewŏn ŭi *Kisillon* kwan: p'al, kusik sŏl ŭi sasang p'yŏngkajŏk ŭimi rŭl chungsim ŭro" 慧遠의 起信論觀--八, 九識說의 사상평가적 의미를 중심으로, 63-70.

[22] Among several Fashang's work, only the first and the third fascicle of the *Shidilun yishu* 十地論義疏 are extant, through which we can see his doctrinal position.

[23] 諸惑妄想無依不立。妄依真有。是故辯阿梨耶識共生以為萬惑之本。故經云。以如來藏故說生死。是故如來藏是一切法本。…八識位中七識無體依真而用別。即用為體更無別體 (十地論義疏 T.2799: 85.771b28-c02; c11-c12). Here we also see that Fashang establishes the eight consciousness system, in which the seventh consciousness, i.e., *ālayavijñāna*, does not have the essence (C. *ti* 體) but just relies on the True (C. *zhen* 真), and this perspective is apparently distinguished from the Northern school's position that regards the *ālayavijñāna* as the reliance of all phenomena.

them to the seventh and eighth consciousness respectively.[24] Even though Fashang takes the position contrasting to that of the Northern school by regarding the *tathāgatagarbha* as the fundamental ground of phenomena, thereby being classified to the Southern school thinkers, his taxonomy of the eight consciousnesses—in which the seventh consciousness, or *ālayavijñāna*, is distinguished from the eighth, i.e., the True Consciousness[25]—is exactly the same as the Northern school's eight-consciousness system.[26] In other words, while Fashang holds the same perspective as Huiyuan's by maintaining that all phenomena rely on the True Consciousness or *tathāgatagarbha*, he also stays on the same line with the Northern school in viewing the *ālayavijñāna* as distinct from (or, not identical with) the True Consciousness, or the *tathatā*, in his eight consciousness system.

It should be noted, however, that the distinction that Fashang draws between the *ālayavijñāna* and the *tathatā* does not mean a clear-cut separation between them; although he draws a line between the *ālayavijñāna* and the *tathatā* by attributing them to the seventh and eighth consciousness respectively, he somehow connects them by explaining the *tathatā* as the foundation of all phenomena, including the *ālayavijñāna*, on the one hand, and by mentioning their relationship in terms of the concepts of "essence" (C. *ti* 體) and "function" (C. *yong* 用) on

[24] 三種同相智者。一緣起。二妄相。三真如。緣起者第七阿梨耶識。是生死本也。妄想者六識心。妄生分別邪著六塵。真如者佛性真諦。第一義空也 (十地論義疏 T.2799:85.b07-09). Here Fashang divides the consciousnesses into three types, i.e., the seventh consciousness (i.e., the *ālayavijñāna*), six consciousnesses, and the True Suchness (S. *tathatā*, C. *zhenru* 真如), which is different from the typical eight-consciousness system in that it lacks the seventh consciousness, i.e., *manas*. From this division of consciousnesses, we can see that Fashang separates the *ālayavijñāna* and the True Suchness. Although in this passage, Fashang does not name the True Suchness as the eighth consciousness, but we can see that he establishes the eight-consciousness system from another passage, in which "eight consciousnesses system" (八識位) is clearly mentioned; see the quotation in n. 23 above.

[25] See n.23 above.

[26] See Sakamoto Yukio 坂本幸男, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū* 華嚴教學の研究 (Kyōto: Heirakuji Shoten 平楽寺書店, 1956), 387.

the other.[27] Some scholars ascribes Fashang's binary attitude on the *ālayavijñāna* to the influence of the Northern school founder Bodhiruci's translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, since Bodhiruci's recension of the *sūtra* also contains the binary perspective on the relationship between the *ālayavijñāna* and the *tathatā*.[28]

The fact that two branches of the beginning stage of the Old Yogācāra, the Northern and Southern Dilun schools, do not entirely subscribe to the *tathāgatagarbha* theory, but sometimes rather centered on the *ālayavijñāna* in their consciousness systems shows that the Old Yogācāra is not a single tradition that contrasts to another single tradition called the New Yogācāra. Even within the Southern school, such figures as Fashang and Huiyuan take different perspectives on the relationship between the *ālayavijñāna* and the *tathatā*.

One might still say that, although the doctrinal diversity inside the Old Yogācāra tradition is not exactly consistent with the characterization of the Old school as *tathāgatagarbha*-oriented, this does not mean that it completely counters against the later binary model; such an initial diversity is a sort of precursor to the later bifurcation of the Old and New Yogācāra. This issue,

[27] "All afflictions and illusions does not establish without their foundation. The illusions exist relying on the tathatā. … Of the eight consciousness system, the seventh consciousness does not have its own essence; relying on *tathatā*, it functions separately. It refers to functions, because as for the essence there is no particular own essence"; 諸惑妄想無依不立。妄依真有。是故辯阿梨耶識共生以為萬惑之本。故經云。以如來藏故說生死。是故如來藏是一切法本。…八識位中七識無體依真而用別。即用為體更無別體 (十地論義疏 T.2799: 85.771b28-c02; c11-c12). In this regard, the *ālayavijñāna* in Fashang's doctrinal system may be regarded as True-and-False-Combined consciousness (C. *zhenwang heheshi* 眞妄和合識) because the *ālayavijñāna* is related with the *tathatā* on the one hand and separated from it on the other. One thing that should be noted is that although this seems to echo with Huiyuan's characterization of the *ālayavijñāna* as the True-and-False-Combined consciousness, discussed before, their positions are distinguished from each other, because, while Fashang considers the *ālayavijñāna* just as the function of the *tathatā*, thus recognizing the impure aspect of the *ālayavijñāna*, in Huiyuan's system the *ālayavijñāna* refers to the True Consciousness itself, which is merely covered by provisional defilements.

[28] Weinstein relates Fashang's dualistic position with the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*'s ambiguous description, which both affirms and denies the identity of the *ālayavijñāna* and *tathāgatagarbha*; see Weinstein, "The Concept of Ālaya-vijñāna in Pre-T'ang Chinese Buddhism," 41-43. I will discuss more about the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*'s dualistic statement in the next section.

however, is not as simple as it seems, because some evidence discloses that the two schools' doctrinal positions are not antagonistic in such a way as the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra systems presumably are. For instance, not only the Southern school but also the Northern school relied on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*,[29] the text known as one of the representative Tathāgatagarbha scriptures. If the Northern school takes the opposite position to the *tathāgatagarbha*-centered Southern school, then how can we understand its reliance on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, one of the so-called Tathāgatagarbha texts? This suggests that the reasoning that defines the antagonism between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra does not rigidly apply to the two Old Yogācāra schools.

In order to examine this problem of categorizing the two Old Yogācāra schools within the bifurcation of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, the discussion of the next section will focus on how, or in what way, the Northern and Southern Dilun schools' interpretations of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* are distinct (or indistinct). I will compare the two schools' uses of different recensions of the *sūtra*, thereby attempting to answer the same question that I have raised at the beginning of this chapter: Is the two schools' doctrinal distinction or lack of distinction to be interpreted within the framework of the Tathāgatagarbha versus the Yogācāra?

3. Comparison of Tathāgatagarbha Doctrine in the Four and Ten-Fascicle *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*

The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* was one of the main scriptural sources of the consciousness theory for both the Northern and Southern Dilun schools since this *sūtra* had been first transmitted to China

[29] Bodhiruci, the putative founders of the Northern school, translated the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* into ten fascicles, and thus it is presumed that the Northern school used this version.

along with other Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha texts during the fifth to sixth century. Since the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* is regarded one of the most prominent Tathāgatagarbha texts, the fact that the Northern school, not just the Southern school, relied on this *sūtra* might sound misleading for those who attempt to find the same doctrinal antagonism between these two schools as presumed in the bifurcation between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra. But, both of the Dilun schools referred to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* in their understanding the consciousness theories of the *Daśabhūmivyākhyāna*, the scriptural authority for their schools.

Surprisingly, we can find a clue to the doctrinal divergence of the two Dilun schools in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* itself, that is, *within* the scope of the Tathāgatagarbha thought, not from the division of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra; the two Dilun schools rely on different recensions of the *sūtra*. Among several Chinese recensions of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*,[30] the Northern school relies on Bodhiruci's translation in ten fascicles (513), the *Ru lengqie jing* 入楞伽經, while the Southern school mostly refers to Guṇabhadra's (394–468) translation in four fascicles (443), the *Lengqie abatuoluo baojing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經.[31] Although both synthesizing the concept of *ālayavijñāna* and *tathāgatagarbha*, these two recensions of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* show difference in the way of synthesizing the two concepts. While

[30] There are four recensions of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which is known to us. Besides Bodhiruci's *Ru lengqie jing* 入楞伽經 and Guṇabhadra's (394–468) *Lengqie abatuoluo baojing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, mentioned here, the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 lists Dharmakṣema's (d.u.) translation in four fascicles, the *Lengqiejing* 楞伽經, which is composed between 412 and 433 (T 2154.55.629b11), and there is also Śikṣānanda's (fl. ca. 695) *Dasheng rulengqie jing* 大乘入楞伽經 in seven fascicles, translated in 700 (T 672: 16.587-639). Dharmakṣema's *Lengqiejing* is not extant.

[31] Even though there is no specific textual evidence due to the general scarcity of records on the Northern school, it is easily presumable that Bodhiruci's recension would become the main reference for the Northern school line. Huiyuan exclusively uses Guṇabhadra's translation in his works, while his teacher Fashang relies on Bodhiruci's recension. Fashang's exceptional usage will be discussed soon below in this section. Fukaura Seibun and Fukihara Shōshin also mention the association of Bodhiruci's recension with the Northern school and Guṇabhadra's with the Southern school; see Fukaura, *Yuishikigaku kenkyū* 唯識學研究, vol.1: 208, n. 3 and Fukihara, *Nihon yuishiki shisōshi* 日本唯識思想史: 12.

Guṇabhadra's four-fascicle version identifies the *ālayavijñāna* with the *tathāgatagarbha*, thus conceiving the *ālayavijñāna* as the pure consciousness,[32] Bodhiruci's ten-fascicle recension takes a seemingly ambiguous position, sometimes affirming the identity of the *ālayavijñāna* and *tathāgatagarbha* but in other times denying it, and thus characterizing the *ālayavijñāna* sometimes as pure and in other times impure.[33] Moreover, only Guṇabhadra's translation mentions the *ālayavijñāna* as the True Consciousness (C. *zhenshi* 眞識),[34] while the equivalent part of Bodhiruci's does not mention it at all.[35] Although some scholars recognized these distinct

[32] In Guṇabhadra's translation, the eighth consciousness, which is named mind (S. *citta*, C. *xin* 心) or Consciousness-storehouse (C. *shizang* 識藏), is identified with the *tathāgatagarbha*; 大慧！自心現妄想，八種分別，謂識藏・意・意識及五識身相者 [...] 大慧！善不善者，謂八識。何等為八？ 謂如來藏，名識藏。心、意、意識、及五識身，非外道所說 (楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 T670:16.511b07-19; 512b06-08). We also see the combined term "*Tathāgatagarbha* Consciousness-storehouse" (C. *ruraizang shizang* 如來藏識藏) appear several times in this text, and this combined term also strongly suggests the identification of the Tathāgatagarbha and Consciousness-storehouse (a.k.a., *ālayavijñāna*) (楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 T670:16.510b16-17; c01; c08; c10). In addition, this text describes the Consciousness-storehouse as permanently abiding (C. *changzhu* 常住); but this term does not appear in Bodhiruci's translation (see 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 T670:16.484b11 &入楞伽經 T671:16.523b21). For the detailed explanation of the difference in the two recensions, see Fuji Ryūsei 藤隆生, "*Ryōga kyō* ni okeru ichini no mondai: Nyoraizō Yuishiki setsu no kōshō" 『楞伽経』における一・二の問題--如来蔵唯識説の考証, *Ryūkoku Daigaku Bukkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo kiyō* 龍谷大学佛教文化研究所紀要 3 (1964): 154-55.

[33] The passage in which the *ālayavijñāna* and *tathāgatagarbha* are identified with each other reads as follows: "Mahāmati! The *ālayavijñāna* is named the *tathāgatagarbha* and [it] coexists with the seven consciousnesses in delusion"; 大慧！阿梨耶識者，名如來藏，而與無明七識共俱 (入楞伽經 T.671:16.556b29-c01). Soon after this passage, the text says that: "Mahāmati! The *tathāgatagarbha* consciousness does not reside in the *ālayavijñāna*; therefore the seven kinds of consciousness arise and cease and the tathāgatagarbha neither arise nor cease"; 大慧！如來藏識不在阿梨耶識中，是故七種識有生有滅，如來藏識不生不滅 (入楞伽經 T671:16.556c11-13).

[34] "In the consciousnesses, there are three kinds of characteristics, i.e., the characteristics of evolution; karma; truth. Mahāmati! To speak briefly, there are three kinds of consciousness; to speak extensively, there are eight characteristics. What are the three? They are the True Consciousness, the Manifesting Consciousness, and Phenomena-discriminating Consciousness"; 諸識有三種相：謂轉相、業相、真相。大慧！略說有三種識，廣說有八相。何等為三？謂<u>真識</u>、現識，及分別事識 (楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 T670:16.483a14-17).

[35] The equivalent part in the Bodhiruci's translation to the above passage of Guṇabhadra's translation reads: "In the consciousnesses, there are three kinds. What are the three? The first is Consciousness characterized by Evolution; the second is Consciousness characterized by Karma; the third is Consciousness characterized by Awareness. Mahāmati! There are eight kinds of consciousness. To speak briefly, there are two kinds. What are the two? The first is Discerning Consciousness; the second is Phenomena-discriminating Consciousness"; 識有三種。何等三種？一者、轉相識；二者、業相識； 三者、 智相識。大慧！有八種識，略說有二種。何等為二？一者、了別識；二者、分別事識 (入楞伽經 T.671:16.522b29-c03).

descriptions of the *ālayavijñāna* and *tathāgatagarbha* in the two recensions of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*,[36] they did not connect these distinct aspects in the different recensions to such an issue as the two Dilun schools' doctrinal differences.[37]

As I mentioned in the first section of this chapter, scholars generally agree that the Northern school regards the *ālayavijñāna* as impure, while the Southern school views it as pure, and I have mentioned above that this perspective of the Northern school is a presumed view based on Huiyuan's testimony in his *Dasheng yi zhang*. The dualistic attitude of Bodhiruci's recension of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, however, suggests an alternative interpretation to the Northern school's position on the *ālayavijñāna*: Since the Northern school consults Bodhiruci's recension of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, we may also consider a possibility that the school accepts this dualistic position in understanding the *ālayavijñāna*. In fact, to my knowledge, there is no historical or textual evidence to disprove this possibility.[38] Moreover, this alternative view does

[36] See, for instance, Fuji, "*Ryōga kyō* ni okeru ichini no mondai: Nyoraizō Yuishiki setsu no kōshō" 『楞伽経』における一・二の問題--如来蔵唯識説の考証. Here, Fuji analyzes the different aspects in the translations of the two recensions. Noting the difference of description of the *ālayavijñāna* in the two recensions of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, Yoshizu also discusses about how Buddhist exegetes during the sixth to seventh century, such as Huiyuan, Jizang, and Fazang, understand the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*; see Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英, "Shikan *Ryōgakyō* to Jikkan *Ryōgakyō*" 四巻楞伽経と十巻楞伽経, *Shūgaku kenkyū* 宗学研究 (1972).

[37] Fuji says that the dual and seemingly contradictory position of the ten-fascicle version has been interpreted by scholars in two ways: First, despite of the existence of the contrasting positions, some scholars still believe that this version belongs to the *tathāgatagarbha* texts, in which the *ālayavijñāna* is identified with the *tathāgatagarbha*. Second, others assume a critical position about the ten-fascicle version, regarding the doctrines as contradictory and defective; see Fuji, "*Ryōga kyō* ni okeru ichini no mondai: Nyoraizō Yuishiki setsu no kōshō" 『楞伽経』における一・二の問題--如来蔵唯識説の考証, 156.

[38] There is one passage that might seem to negate the Northern school's dual position on the nature of the *ālayavijñāna* in Jizang's 吉藏 (549-623) *Zhongguan lun shou* 中論序疏. Here, Jizang asserts that the Dilun school regarded the seventh consciousness as impure and the eighth as pure (又舊地論師以七識為虛妄八識為真實。攝大乘師以八識為妄九識為真實。又云八識有二義。一妄二真。有解性義是真。有果報識是妄用。起信論生滅無生滅合作梨耶體。楞伽經亦有二文。一云梨耶是如來藏。二云如來藏非阿梨耶。此一品正是破地論人義 (中論序疏 T1824:42.104c07-13)). It is not certain whether the "Dilun school" here refers to the Northern school or Southern school. If it refers to the Northern school, then the "seventh consciousness" would be the *ālayavijñāna*, because, as mentioned before, in Northern school's (and Fashang's) system, the *ālayavijñāna* corresponds to the seventh consciousness. On the contrary, if the "Dilun school" means the Southern school, then the "seventh consciousness" would be the *ādānavijñāna* 阿陀那識, because the Southern school exegetes such as

not even diametrically contradict the preexisting scholarly presumption that the Northern school considers the *ālayavijñāna* as impure, because, in the light of the dualistic position, this may be said to be still partly true. Some scholars suggest that the dualistic position of the ten-fascicle translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* also influenced Fashang's dualistic perspective on the nature of the *ālayavijñāna*,[39] which I discussed before. In view of all the connections between the dualistic position of the ten-fascicle *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, the Northern school's reliance on this *sūtra*, and Fashang's dual attitude on the *ālayavijñāna* along with his relation with the *sūtra*, we may take into account a possibility that the Northern school may have taken this dualistic position on the *ālayavijñāna*. And again, this possibility also has the strong connotation that the schism between the Northern and Southern school is not necessarily reduced to the diametrical antagonism between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra.

Now, the question is: Despite all the counter-evidence and the inner doctrinal diversity, why or how have the Old Yogācāra schools all together been marked as *tathāgatagarbha*-oriented? Probably historical situation, rather than theoretical causes, may explain it better. In history, the Northern school was much less influential and disappeared earlier than the Southern school, and the exegetes belonging to the Northern school are greatly outnumbered by those of the Southern school, as mentioned before.[40] We do not exactly know why the Northern school

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Huiyuan establishes the eight consciousness system, placing the *ālayavijñāna* in the place of the eighth consciousness. But it would be reasonable to assume that it refers to the Huiyuan's seventh consciousness, because the Northern school perished earlier and thus the Southern school predominated.

[39] Weinstein explains that Fashang's dual attitude on the nature of *ālayavijñāna* reflects the two-fold explanation of Bodhiruci's translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* that both affirms and denies the identity of the *ālayavijñāna* and the *tathāgatagarbha* (see n. 28 above). Also Sakamoto Yukio sees that Fashang's attribution of the *ālayavijñāna* to the seventh consciousness, not the eighth as Huiyuan does, resulted from the influence of Bodhiruci's translation, since only Bodhiruci's version contains both the affirmation and denial of the identity of the *ālayavijñāna* and the *tathāgatagarbha*. See Sakamoto, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū* 華嚴教學の研究: 386-87.

[40] See n. 4 above.

was not as influential as the Southern school.[41] What we can say, however, is that the Northern school's failure in the competitive relationship with the Southern school made the school lose its ground as one of the Old Yogācāra schools, and consequently the Southern school came to be recognized as one of the most representative Old Yogācāra school. Moreover, the Shelun school, the later Old Yogācāra school that is also well known for its *tathāgatagarbha* thought, emerged as another prominent group of Old Yogācāra after the Dilun school. In this circumstance, it seems inevitable that the short-lived Northern school's rather discrepant doctrinal position may well go unheeded in the process of mapping the whole tradition of the Old Yogācāra. In this way, the Northern school's doctrinal became less recognized, if not unrecognized, inside the ready-made framework of the Old versus New Yogācāra, or the Tathāgatagarbha versus Yogācāra.

[41] One possible factor we can think of in relation with the matter of early decline of the Northern school is the contemporary environment revolving around particular Buddhist meditation groups. Jinhua Chen indicates that in the sixth through seventh century North China the most prominent and politically influential monks were engaged in six particular meditation groups, which Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) describes in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (see Chen Jinhua, *Monks and monarchs, kinship and kingship : Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and politics* (Kyoto: Scuola Italiana di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 2002), 150). Chen's analysis of the political and scholastic lineage of the contemporary monks proves that Huiguang, the major disciple of Ratnamati, and his disciple Fashang were belonging to one of these groups, and later Tanqian 曇遷 (542-607), the influential Shelun exegete as well as the second-generation disciple of Huiguang, was associated with the same meditation group. In this historical circumstance, the Northern Dilun school does not seem to have belonged to any of the meditation groups.

Besides, the Northern school is presumed to have been absorbed to Paramārtha's Shelun school on the basis of Zhanran's statement that "the She dasheng [school] flourished… and supported the Northern Dilun school" (相州北道計阿黎耶以為依持。相州南道計於真如以為依持。此二論師俱稟天親而所計各異同於水火。加復攝大乘興亦計黎耶以助北道。又攝大乘前後二譯亦如地論二計不同。舊譯即立菴摩羅識。唐三藏譯但立第八 (法華玄義釋籤 T.1717: 33.942c19-22)). But Yūki Reimon suspects this presumption by demonstrating that the most of the Dilun exegetes who moved to the Shelun school were the Southern school exegetes, not the Northern school (Yūki, "Jironshū Hokudō ha no yukue" 地論宗北道派の行方). This seeming discrepancy may be explained by dividing the Shelun school into two strands, i.e., Paramārtha's and Tanqian's, as I will argue in Chapter II. The She dasheng school, which supported the Northern school, seems to be Paramārtha's strand because Zhanran states that they both regarded the *ālayavijñāna* as the foundation of phenomena; on the contrary, the Shelun school to which Southern, not Northern, school exegetes were absorbed appears to be Tanqian's strand, because Tanqian is genealogically and doctrinally associated with the Southern school. I will discuss more about this, in Chapter II.

4. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I briefly examined the initial stage of the Old Yogācāra tradition. Unlike the general scholarly presumption that the Old Yogācāra is oriented to the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine, the textual evidence shows that this is not the case. The Northern Dilun school's doctrinal position does not parallel the typical Tathāgatagarbha doctrine, and in the Southern Dilun school such exegete as Fashang represents a deviated scholastic position from the binary categorization. Further, the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which is normally regarded as one of the most representative Tathāgatagarbha texts, also shows this doctrinal divergence, which in turn explains the distinct views between the Northern and Southern Dilun schools. Based on all this evidence, it seems too simiplistic to interpret the whole tradition of the Old Yogācāra as the Tathāgatagarbha-oriented just as if it is a single entity of scholastic group.

CHAPTER II. "Old Yogācāra": Two Strands of the Shelun School

1. Issues

The controversial issue between the Northern and Southern Dilun schools of defining the nature of the *ālayavijñāna* in association with its relationship with the *tathāgatagarbha* continued to be an issue for the Shelun school. The Shelun school emerged on the basis of the exegetical tradition on the *She dasheng lun*, Paramārtha's translation of Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*.[1] This school, as discussed in the Introduction, is known to have endorsed not only the Yogācāra but also the Tathāgatagarbha thought in contrast to the Yogācāra school, which exclusively focused on the Yogācāra teaching. Paramārtha, the putative founder of the Shelun school, has been considered to have synthesized the *tathāgatagarbha* thought into his understanding of the *ālayavijñāna*, and his Shelun school is said to regard the *ālayavijñāna* as "True-and-False-Combined" (C. *zhenwang hehe* 眞妄和合) by combining the Southern school's view of the *ālayavijñāna* as pure consciousness and the Northern school's perspective on it as impure consciousness.[2]

[1] Although the Shelun school is considered to have emerged on the basis of Paramārtha's interpretation of the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, Paramārtha himself and his direct disciples were not successful in transmitting the Shelun teaching. The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 records that Paramārtha arrived at Jingkang 建康 (Nanjing 南京 now) in 548 by the invitation of Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 502-549) of the Liang 梁 dynasty (502-556), but the rebellious turmoil at the end of the dynasty forced him to move to South China, where he stayed until his died in 569. Paramārtha spent most of time in South China, such as Guangzhou 廣州, away from the main scholastic circle of the capital in North China, and his translations and teachings did not draw much attention during his life time. His disciples tried to spread Paramārtha's teaching after his death, but they were not successful either. It was Tanqian 曇遷 (542-607) that brought the *She dasheng lun* to North China and contributed to the flourishing of the Shelun school until Xuanzang transmitted the new Yogācāra literature in 645. This fact largely explains that, as I will discuss in this chapter, Paramārtha's Shelun thought was largely not delivered in its original meaning. For a detailed explanation of Paramārtha's biography, see Diana Paul, *Philosophy of Mind in Sixth-Century China : Paramartha's 'Evolution of Consciousness'*: 22-37.

[2] See, for instance, Fukihara, *Nihon yuishiki shisōshi* 日本唯識思想史: 38.

It was Ui Hakuju who drew scholars' attention to Paramārtha's Yogācāra thought when most scholars generally had regarded the Faxiang school as the "orthodox" Yogācāra school to succeed the Indian Yogācāra teachers such as Asaṅga and Vasubandhu.[3] By contrasting the Faxiang school's doctrines to Paramārtha's, Ui argues that Paramārtha's Yogācāra thought conforms more to Asaṅga and Vasubandhu's teaching than does the Faxiang school's.[4] According to Ui, the Yogācāra teaching is divided into the lower and higher levels, i.e., the teaching of "there is consciousness but no objects" (C. *shiyou jingkong* 識有境空) and "there is neither consciousness nor objects" (C. *jingshi juin* 境識俱泯), by associating them respectively with Paramārtha's concepts[5] of "Impure Level Yogācāra" (C. *bu jingpin weishi* 不淨品唯識) and "Pure Level Yogācāra" (C. *jingpin weishi* 淨品唯識), or "Expedient Means Yogācāra" (C. *fangbian weishi* 方便唯識) and "Perfect Contemplation Yogācāra" (C. *zhengguan weishi* 正觀唯識).[6] He says that Paramārtha not only discusses the lower level of teaching, but also the higher level teaching, which is represented by his unique theories such as the *amalavijñāna*[7]; on

[3] For the Japanese scholarly tendency to regard the Faxiang school as the "orthodox" Yogācāra teaching, see Introduction, n. 11. Also see Keng, "Yogācāra Buddhism transmitted or transformed? Paramārtha (499--569) and his Chinese interpreters," 31-34.

[4] See Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* 印度哲学研究, 6 vols., vol. 6 (Tōkyō: Kōshisha Shobō 甲子社書房, 1924), 536.

[5] These concepts originally occur in Paramārtha's *Zhuanshi lun* 轉識論 and *Shibakong lun* 十八空論;
何者立唯識義。意本為遣境遣心。今境界既無唯識又泯。即是說唯識義成也。此即淨品煩惱及境界並皆無故。又說唯識義得成者。謂是一切法種子識。如此如此造作迴轉。或於自於他。互相隨逐。起種種分別及所分別。由此義故離識之外諸事不成。此即不淨品。但遣前境未無識故 (轉識論 T. 1587:31.62b22-28);
第三明唯識真實。辨一切諸法唯有淨識。無有能疑。亦無所疑。廣釋如唯識論。但唯識義有兩。一者方便。謂先觀唯有阿梨耶識。無餘境界。現得境智兩空。除妄識已盡。名為方便唯識也。二明正觀唯識。遣蕩生死虛妄識心。及以境界。一皆淨盡。唯有阿摩羅清淨心也 (十八空論 T.1616:31.864a22-28).

[6] Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* 印度哲学研究, 6: 329.

[7] Ibid.

the contrary, the Faxiang school teaches only the former lower level.[8] Further, based on the exegeses of Lingrun 靈潤 (fl. 650)[9] and Fujaku 普寂 (1707-1781),[10] Ui associates Paramārtha's "Pure Level Yogācāra" with the teaching of the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* (C. *rulaizang yuanqi* 如來藏緣起), which the Huayan exegete Fazang established as the level of teaching taught in the *AMF* in his five-level taxonomy. Because Fazang defines in his five-level taxonomy the teaching of the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* as the "Advanced Teaching of Mahāyāna" (C. *dasheng zhongjiao* 大乘終教), whereas placing the Faxiang school's teaching in the level of the "Elementary Teaching of Mahāyāna" (C. *dasheng shijiao* 大乘始教), [11] Ui's interpretation of Paramārtha's and the Faxiang school's Yogācāra teachings has the connotation that Paramārtha's teaching is hierarchically superior to the Faxiang school's.

Ui Hakuju's achievements in the study of Paramārtha is important in that he distinguished Paramārtha's scholastic position from the Faxiang school's, thereby shedding light on Paramārtha's Yogācāra thought as another scholastic line that succeeds Asaṅga and

[8] See ibid., 456-57. Also see Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽, *Shōdaijōron kenkyū* 攝大乘論研究 (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shōten 岩波書店 1966), 71-73.

[9] Lingrun is one of the representative scholar-monks in the early Tang period. It is recorded in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* that he was specialized in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (前後所講涅槃七十餘遍。攝大乘論三十餘遍。并各造義疏一十三卷玄章三卷。自餘維摩勝鬘起信論等。隨緣便講各有疏部 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.546c16-19)). Japanese Tendai monk Saichō 最澄 (767-822) records in the *Hokkeshūku* 法華秀句 that Lingrun indicated fourteen doctrinal differences between the Old and the New Yogācāra translations (For the list of the fourteen differences and more information, see Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* 印度哲学研究, 6: 526-29; 534-35.). Lingrun is also known for having disputes on the nature of Buddha Nature with Shentai 神泰 (fl. 645; 657), one of Xuanzang's disciples. I will discuss more about the dispute between them later in the Chapter III.

[10] Fujaku, a scholar-monk in the Edo period, is known to have studied a broad range of Buddhist doctrines, not just a particular sect or school, but the denomination that he was officially affiliated with was the Jōdo 淨土 sect.

[11] Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* 印度哲学研究, 6: 402-03; 530-34. For Fazang's five-level taxonomy, see Introduction, n. 33. Also see n. 18.

Vasubandhu's Yogācāra school. This was particularly innovative in the contemporary scholarly environment that had mostly focused on the Faxiang school as the "orthodox" Yogācāra school.

Ui Hakuju's argument, however, that Paramārtha's Yogācāra thought is superior to Xuanzang's on the basis of the doctrinal distinction between "Perfect Contemplation Yogācāra" and "Expedient Means Yogācāra" was questioned afterwards. Yūki Reimon, for instance, criticizes the scholarly tendency to bifurcate the Yogācāra thought into "Old Yogācāra" and "Dharmapāla's Yogācāra" in association with the contradiction between "Perfect Contemplation Yogācāra" and "Expedient Means Yogācāra," "Pure Level Yogācāra" and "Impure Level Yogācāra," and the Yogācāra of the position that "there is neither consciousness nor objects" and that of the position that "there is the consciousness but no objects."[12] Yuki says that such a bifurcation of the Yogācāra is none other than the extended view of Fujaku, who succeeded Fazang's Huayan taxonomy that attributes the Faxiang school to the Elementary Teaching of Mahāyāna (C. *dasheng shijiao* 大乘始教) and the *AMF* to the "Advanced Teaching of Mahāyāna" (C. *dasheng zhongjiao* 大乘終教).[13] In other words, he argues that the perspective that Paramārtha's Shelun school is doctrinally superior to the Faxiang school is derived from Fazang's sectarian taxonomy. He also says that in the context of Paramārtha's *Shibakong lun*, this division of Consciousness-Only neither refers to the two opposed positions of Yogācāra doctrine, nor to two different Yogācāra lineages, but merely to the stages of Yogācāra practice that Yogācāra practioners should follow, viz., "Stage of Insight" (S. **prativedha-avasthā*, C. *tongda wei* 通達位) and "Stage of Applied Practice" (S. *prayoga-avasthā*, C. *jiaxing wei* 加行位); or

[12] Yūki Reimon 結城令聞, "Kinsei Yuishiki kenkyū no aru keihu ni tsuiteno hyōron" 近世唯識研究の或る系譜についての評論, in *Bukkyō no rekishi to bunka: Bukkyō shigakukai 30-shūnen kinen ronshū* 仏教の歴史と文化：仏教史学会 30 周年記念論集, ed. Bukkyō Shigakukai 佛教史学会 (Kyōto: Dōhōsha Shuppan 同朋舎出版, 1980), 894.

[13] See ibid., 898-99. For Fazang's taxonomy, see Introduction, n.18 and n. 33.

"Path of Vision" (S. *darśanamārga*, C. *jiandao* 見道) and "Path of Expedient Means" (S. *upāyamārga*, C. *fangbian dao* 方便道) respectively.[14]

Ueda Yoshifumi also questions Fujaku's interpretation of Paramārtha's concept of *ālayavijñāna* in the *She dasheng lun* in light of the notion of "Synthesis of the Truth and Delusion" (C. *zhenwang hehe* 眞妄和合) of the *Awakening of Faith*, and says that Paramārtha's doctrinal position should not be reduced to the "Dependent Origination from *Tathāgatagarbha*" (C. *Rulaizang yuanqi* 如來藏緣起), the theory based on this synthesis; he argues that the *She dasheng lun* strictly takes the position of Dependent Origination from the *ālayavijñāna*, the typical type of Dependent Origination advocated by the Yogācāra tradition.[15]

Moreover, some scholars raise questions about the traditional presumption that Paramārtha is the virtual founder of the Shelun school, that is, the presumption based on the fact that the Shelun school was derived from the exegetical tradition of the *She dashenglun shi*, Paramārtha's translation of Vasubandhu's *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*. Ching Keng, for instance, distinguishes Paramārtha's Yogācāra thought from the later developed Shelun school's by demonstrating that the *She dashenglun shu* 攝大乘論疏 (T2805), an anonymous commentary to Paramārtha's *She dashenglun shi* fragmentarily preserved in Dunhuang 敦煌, takes a distinct

[14] See ibid., 897-98. Taijō Iwata also mentions in his book on Paramārtha's Yogācāra thought the two different scholarly perspectives regarding Paramārtha's doctrinal position; he says that while scholars such as Ui and Ueda takes the view that Paramārtha succeeds the Asaṅga and Vasubandhu's original teaching, others such as Yūki and Nago Gadjin refute it; see Iwata Taijō 岩田諦靜, *Shintai no yuishikisestu no kenkyū* 真諦の唯識說の研究 (Tōkyō: Sankibō Busshorin 山喜房佛書林, 2004), x. Also see Keng, "Yogācāra Buddhism transmitted or transformed? Paramārtha (499--569) and his Chinese interpreters," 30-39.

[15] See Ueda Yoshifumi 上田義文, *Bukkyō shisōshi kenkyū* 佛教思想史研究 (Kyōto: Nagata Bunshodō 永田文昌堂, 1967), 242-55.

doctrinal position from the Shelun school's; he says that while the Shelun school takes the position based on the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine of the *AMF*, the *She dashenglun shu* does not.[16]

This chapter will examine if Paramārtha's Yogācāra thought is related to the notion of the *tathāgatagarbha* of the theory of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* by analyzing Paramārtha's doctrines that have been regarded as representing the *tathāgatagarbha* thought, such as "nine-consciousness theory" (C. *jiushi shuo* 九識說) and "immaculate consciousness" (S. *amalavijñāna*). Based on this examination, I will also discuss the problem of whether the bifurcation of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, or the Old and New Yogācāra is still an effective paradigm.

2. Distinction between Paramārtha and Tanqian's Shelun Lineages

(1) Two Types of Synthesis of Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra

Paramārtha has been considered, as mentioned above, as a synthesizer of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra doctrines. In the bifurcated scheme of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, however, scholars tend to contrast Paramārtha's synthetic thought to the Faxiang school's Yogācāra position, which excludes the Tathāgatagarbha doctrines from their system. This tendency has in turn drawn scholars' attention more upon Paramārtha's *tathāgatagarbha* doctrines than his Yogācāra doctrines. As a result, Paramārtha's Yogācāra doctrines—the Yogācāra doctrines that are regarded as contradictory to the Tathāgatagarbha doctrines from the perspective of the

[16] Keng attempts to demonstrate this by analyzing their different interpretations on Paramārtha's concept of *jiexing* 解性, or "Nature of Realization." By naming their interpretations as "permanence reading" and "impermanence reading" respectively, Keng argues that the Shelun school identifies the *jiexing* with Original Awakening (C. *benjue* 本覺), Thusness, Dharma-body, *tathāgatagarbha*, Dharma-realm, whereas the *She dashenglun shu* interprets it as impermanent, conditioned, and different from the Dharma-body. See Keng, "Yogācāra Buddhism transmitted or transformed? Paramārtha (499--569) and his Chinese interpreters," 62-104.

bifurcation between the two systems—has been generally neglected by scholars. Moreover, as discussed above, scholars such as Ui Hakuju have interpreted Paramārtha's synthesis of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra in association with Fazang's doctrine of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*, which is centered on Tathāgatagarbha, not Yogācāra, thought.[17] Further, since the *AMF* itself is generally regarded as a synthetic text that combines the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra systems,[18] Paramārtha's synthesis of the two systems has been easily related to the *AMF*.

What should be noted, however, is that the synthesis between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra may be divided into two types; first, the synthesis on the level of the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine and, second, the synthesis beyond the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine. The former type of the synthesis is based on Fazang's doctrine of the Dependent Origination from *Tathāgatagarbha*, and this synthesis is distinguished from the broader sense of synthesis in the latter type. The former type refers to the synthesis that is implicit in the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine; the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine itself has the implication of the synthesis between the Tathāgatagarbha and the Yogācāra because, as addressed in the *AMF*, the *tathāgatagarbha* is said to be unified to the *ālayavijñāna*. In Fazang's taxonomy, the *AMF* teaching of the Dependent Origination from the

[17] Fazang's doctrine of the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* is incompatible with the Yogācāra system; Fazang, though heavily relying on Wŏnhyo's commentaries on the *AMF*, excludes all passages related with the Yogācāra doctrines from his *Yiji*. For detailed explanation, see Chapter IV.

[18] In the *AMF*, it is said that the *tathāgatagarbha* is unified to the *ālayavijñāna* in neither-identical-nor-different condition (心生滅者，依如來藏故有生滅心，所謂不生不滅與生滅和合，非一非異，名為阿梨耶識 (大乘起信論 T1666:32.576b07-09)). Based on this doctrinal position, the *AMF* is typically regarded as a synthetic text of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra doctrines. I will discuss about this in Chapter IV.

Tathāgatagarbha is interpreted as the teaching that the Truth (C. *zhen* 眞) and the Delusion (C. *wang* 妄) mutually influence each other in a synthetic way.[19]

The broader sense of the synthesis between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra refers to that between two antagonistic doctrines, that is, the Tathāgatagarbha position that sentient beings are the *tathāgatagarbha*, or the *tathāgatagarbha* is unified to the *ālayavijñāna*, as just mentioned above, and the Yogācāra position that denies this. In other words, in the broader sense of the synthesis, the Tathāgatagarbha, which connotes the narrow sense of the synthesis, and the Yogācāra position that denies the Tathāgatagarbha doctrines, are both synthesized together. Paramārtha's synthesis has been regarded as the first type, that is, the narrow sense of synthesis, along with the scholarly tendency to focus on Paramārtha's Tathāgatagarbha aspects, not the Yogācāra aspects.

Paramārtha's thought, however, appears to represent the second type, or the broader sense of synthesis, because his doctrines indeed contain Yogācāra aspects that are seen as antagonistic to the Tathāgatagarbha position in the bifurcated paradigm. For instance, Paramārtha considers the *ālayavijñāna* as impure on the one hand and as both pure and impure on the other[20]; the former view obviously parallels to the Yogācāra doctrine, whereas the latter to

[19] It should be noted that although the *AMF* doctrine of the Dependent Origination from the Tathāgatagarbha takes the position of the synthesis between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, this does not mean that it compromises with the Yogācāra doctrine. As represented in the bifurcation of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, these two doctrines are typically regarded as antagonistic. I will discuss in the subsequent sections that the synthesis that Paramārtha pursued was not this synthesis within the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine, but the broader sense of synthesis between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, and later in Chapter IV I will explore the antagonistic structure between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra represented in Fazang's interpretation of the *AMF*.

[20] Jizang says in the *Zhongguan lun shou* 中觀論疏, "The Old Dilun exegetes regard the seventh consciousness as deluded and the eighth consciousness as true. The Shedasheng exegetes regard the eighth consciousnss as deluded and the ninth consciousness as true, and they also say that there are two meanings in the eighth consciousness--one is the delusion and the other is the truth. The existence of the Nature of Realization (解性) refers to the truth, and the existence of the Consciousness of Redistribution (果報識) refers to the deluded function"; 舊地論師以七識為虛妄八識為真實。攝大乘師以八識為妄九識為真實。又云八識有二義。一妄二真。有解性義是真。

the typical Tathāgatagarbha doctrine of the *AMF*. In addition, Paramārtha states that it is the *ālayavijñāna* that is the fundamental basis of all phenomena,[21] in a manner that is contrast to the doctrine of the Dependent Origination from the Tathāgatagarbha. Paramārtha's position that the *ālayavijñāna* is the basis of the all phenomena exactly coincides with the Yogācāra position.

The fact that Paramārtha maintains not only the Tathāgatagarbha view but also the Yogācāra view that is seen as antagonistic to the Tathāgatagarbha view recalls the binary or two-fold position of the ten-fascicle translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, that is, the position that the *ālayavijñāna* is identified to the *tathāgatagarbha* on the one hand and separated from it on the other.[22] Among this two-fold view of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, the view that the *ālayavijñāna* is identified with the *tathāgatagarbha* resonates with Fazang' interpretation of the *AMF* as the Tathāgatagarbha teaching, according to which the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna* are unified

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有果報識是妄用 (中觀論疏 T1824:42.104c07-10). Based on the phrase "and they also say" (又云) in this passage, however, Keng argues that Jizang describes two distinct lineages of the Shelun school, i.e., Paramārtha's and Tanqian's lineages respectively. He proposes that "they" refers to another strand (viz., Tanqian's) of the Shelun school by associating it with the line that comes right after the passage above, that is, "the arising-and-ceasing and the neither-arising-nor-ceasing in the *Awakening of Faith* are combined to be the substance (體) of the *ālayavijñāna*"(起信論生滅無生滅合作梨耶體 (中觀論疏 T1824:42.104c10); see Keng, "Yogācāra Buddhism transmitted or transformed? Paramārtha (499--569) and his Chinese interpreters," 298-99.). However, given that the dualistic attitude is a feature of Paramārtha's doctrine, which I will discuss soon below, the second view does not seem to necessarily represent Tanqian's doctrinal position. Further, we can see that in this context Jizang consults the *Awakening of Faith* in order to support the Shelun view as an antidote to the Dilun doctrines, since he also presents two lines of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* along with this line of the *AMF* as the textual evidence to support it; 起信論生滅無生滅合作梨耶體。楞伽經亦有二文。一云梨耶是如來藏。 二云如來藏非阿梨耶。此一品正是破地論人義。不破數論等。 數論等不明有為人法皆是妄謂所有也 (中觀論疏 T1824:42.104c10-14).

[21] Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597) contrasts the Dilun and Shelun school's viewpoints on the basis of the phenomena in the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀: "The Dilun exegetes say, 'all realization and illusion, and truth and delusion rely on the Dharma Nature. The Dharma Nature supports the truth and delusion, the truth and delusion rely on the Dharma Nature.' The Shelun exegetes say, 'the Dharma Nature is not tainted by delusion, neither pured by the truth, and thus the Dharma Nature is not to be relied on. For what to be relied on, it is *ālayavijñāna*. The incessant nescience flourishes to encompass all the seeds' "; 地人云。一切解惑真妄依持法性。法性持真妄真妄依法性也。 攝大乘云。法性不為惑所染。不為真所淨。故法性非依持。言依持者阿黎耶是也。無沒無明盛持一切種子 (T1911:46.54a23-27). In fact, it is not certain whether the "Shelun exegetes" that Zhiyi addresses refer to Paramārtha's or Tanqian's line. But, it can be inferred that they are Paramārtha's since Tanqian, as a successor of the Southern Dilun school, regards the True Thusness or the Dharma Nature as the basis of the phenomena.

[22] See Chapter I.

to each other[23]; the view that the *ālayavijñāna* is distinguished from the *tathāgatagarbha* parallels the Yogācāra view that the *ālayavijñāna* is an impure consciousness. I have also proposed that the Northern Dilun school takes the binary position as well based on the fact that this school relies on the ten-fascicle *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* as its canonical base, and thus the presumed connection between Paramārtha and the Northern school[24] may be again explained.

In fact, we can find this binary feature in Paramārtha's Yogācāra doctrines. The following sections will explore Paramārtha's doctrines that show his dualistic position that considers both the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra views. Based on these doctrines, I will propose an alternative account for Paramārtha's synthetic thought, which contains not only the Tathāgatagarbha but also Yogācāra doctrines. Before turning to Paramārtha's doctrines that show the dualistic feature, I will first discuss Paramārtha's doctrine of *amalavijñāna*, which is generally regarded as the ninth consciousness, since this concept is one of Paramārtha's doctrines that have determined his scholastic image as being *tathāgatagarbha*-oriented.

[23] See n. 18 above. Indeed, the representative commentators of the *AMF*, such as Huiyuan, Wŏnhyo and Fazang, relate the *AMF* to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.

[24] It has been presumed that Paramārtha was doctrinally associated with the Northern school. One of the evidences that support this presumption is Zhanran's statement that the Northern Dilun school was doctrinally supported by the establishment of the Shelun school since the two schools took the same view that the *ālayavijñāna*, not Thusness, is the basis of the phenomena; 初明地論教道多諍。次與別門辨諍輕重。初文云如地論有南北二道者。陳梁已前弘地論師二處不同。相州北道計阿黎耶以為依持。相州南道計於真如以為依持。此二論師俱稟天親而所計各異同於水火。加復攝大乘興亦計黎耶以助北道。又攝大乘前後二譯亦如地論二計不同。舊譯即立菴摩羅識。唐三藏譯但立第八 (法華玄義釋籤 T1717: 33.942c16-24).

(2) Reconsideration of Paramārtha's Doctrine of *Amalavijñāna*

The doctrine of *amalavijñāna* and Nine Consciousnesses (C. *jiushi* 九識) has been traditionally attributed to Paramārtha.[25] Scholars have generally considered the theory of Nine Consciousnesses, which consist of the typical eight types of consciousness of the Yogācāra system and the "Immaculate Consciousness" (S. *amalavijñāna*, C. *amoluo shi*/*wugou shi* 阿摩羅識/無垢識), as one of Paramārtha's doctrines that represent his doctrinal synthesis between the Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha.[26] The *amalavijñāna* is regarded as equivalent to the notion of *tathāgatagarbha* in Paramārtha's doctrinal system, since Paramārtha associates it with several concepts that have *tathāgatagarbha* connotations, such as the "Innately Pure Mind" (S. *prakṛti-prabhāsvara-citta*, C. *zixing quingjing xin* 自性清淨心)[27] that is covered by adventitious defilements (S. *āgantuka-kleśa*, C. *kechen fannao* 客塵煩惱), "Perfected Nature" (S. *pariniṣpanna*, C. *yuancheng shixing* 圓成實性),[28] "True Reality" (viz., "Thusness"; C. *zhenruru*

[25] Michael Radich says that the *amalavijñāna* is identified as the ninth consciousness as early as Zhiyi, Jingying Huiyuan, Huijun/Hyegyun 慧均 (ca. 6th century), Jizang, and he also presents a great number of later materials that mentions the *amalavijñāna* as the ninth consciousness. See Michael Radich, "The Doctrine of **Amalavijñāna* in Paramārtha (499-569), and Later Authors to Approximately 800 C.E," *Zinbun* 41(2008): 104-14.

[26] See Katsumata, *Bukkyō ni okeru shinshiki setsu no kenkyū* 仏教における心識説の研究: 703. Quoting the *Shibakong lun* 十八空論, in which Paramārtha describes *amalavijñāna* and *ālayavijñāna* as representing respectively the Yogācāra of "Perfect Insight/Pure Level" (C. *zhengguan*/*jingpin* 正觀/淨品) and the Yogācāra of "Expedient/Impure Level" (C. *fangbian*/*bujingpin* 方便/不淨品), Katsumata says that Paramārtha unifies *ālayavijñāna* with *amalavijñāna*/Aboriginal Pure Mind/*tathāgatagarbha* in his nine consciousness system. On the contrary, he says, the *Chengweishi lun*, the main canonical base of the Faxiang school, distinguishes these two types of Yogācāra by emphasizing the Impure Level of the consciousness. See ibid., 705-07. Takasaki Jikido also suggests that Paramārtha's nine consciousness theory resulted from traditional inclination in Indian Buddhism to connect the *ālayavijñāna* with the *tathāgatagarbha*. He also says that it is in this context that Paramārtha established the doctrine of *amalavijñāna* by using the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and relying on the authority of Vasubandhu. See Takasaki Jikido 高崎直道, "Shintai yaku *Shōdaijōron* Seshin shaku ni okeru Nyorai zō setsu: Hōshō ron tono kanren" 真諦訳摂大乗論世親釈における如来蔵説—宝性論との関連—," in *Yūki kyōju shōju kinen Bukkyō shisōshi ronshū* 結城教授頌壽記念佛教思想史論集 (Tōkyō: Daizō Shuppan, 1964), 260-61.

[27] See the *Shibakong lun* 十八空論 T.1616:31.863b06-21.

[28] See the *Zhuanshi lun* 轉識論 T.1587:31.62c15-20 and the *San wuxing lun* 三無性論 T.1617:31.871c27-872a07.

眞如如),[29] or "Original Awakening" (C. *benjue* 本覺).[30] Paramārtha's purported synthesis of Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha doctrines also makes a sharp distinction from Xuanzang's position that endorses only the Yogācāra doctrine, and this distinction seems to serve as one of the factors that contributed to the establishment of the bifurcation between the Old and New Yogācāra or the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra traditions.

The traditional attribution of the nine-consciousness system to Paramārtha, however, has been controversial. Even if the concept of the *amalavijñāna* appears in Paramārtha's works, there is no record in his extant works about the nine-consciousness system nor the *amalavijñāna* referred to as the ninth consciousness; only later exegetes' works that mention the nine-consciousness system attribute it to Paramārtha.[31] Moreover, even these later records do not concur in the titles of their references although all the titles contain the term "nine consciousnesses/ninth consciousness" (C. *jiushi* 九識), and in most cases they quote from

[29] See the *San wuxing lun* 三無性論 T.1617:31.872a10-12.

[30] In his *Jieshenmi jing shu* 解深密經疏, Wŏnch'ŭk quotes a passage from the "Ninth Consciousness Chapter" (C. *jiushi pin* 九識品) of the *Jueding zang lun* 決定藏論, Paramārtha's translation of the first half of the *Viniścaya* (攝決擇分) of the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*. According to Wŏnch'ŭk, in this passage the *amalavijñāna* is also named as the "Original Awakening" (C. *benjue* 本覺), which is a concept originated from the *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith* 大乘起信論, the seminal *Tathāgatagarbha* text in East Asia Buddhist tradition. This quotation, however, is problematic because Wŏnch'ŭk says that he quotes this passage by citing another text titled "An essay on the Nine Consciousness" (C. *jiushi zhang* 九識章), the authorship of which is dubious, and, moreover, it turned out that there was no "Ninth Consciousness Chapter" (C. *jiushi pin* 九識品) in the *Jueding zang lun* 決定藏論 when Xuanzang translated the whole text of the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* between 646 and 648. Wŏnch'ŭk also knew this when he wrote the *Jieshenmi jing shū*; 第九阿摩羅識。此云無垢識。真如為體。於一真如。有其二義。一所緣境。名為真如及實際等。二能緣義。名無垢識。亦名本覺。具如九識章引決定藏論九識品中說。… 又決定藏論。即是瑜伽。彼論本無九識品也 (解深密經疏 X369: 21.240c04-241a09).

[31] See Yoshimura Makoto 吉村誠, "Shindai no Amara shiki to Shōron gakuha no kushiki setsu" 真諦の阿摩羅識説と摂論学派の九識説, *Indogaku Bukkyogaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 56, no. 1 (2007): 177; Radich, "The Doctrine of **Amalavijñāna* in Paramārtha (499-569), and Later Authors to Approximately 800 C.E," 104-05.

nonextant texts or sources regarded as spurious.[32] Based on the ambiguous evidence, some scholars propose that it is not Paramārtha that crafted the nine consciousness system, but it is a doctrinal product of the Chinese Shelun school based on Paramārtha's *amalavijñāna* doctrine.[33]

This issue of whether or not Paramārtha establishes the nine-consciousness system is particularly significant for the current discussion regarding Paramārtha's Tathāgatagarbha thought, because the *amalavijñāna* as the ninth consciousness has the implication that all sentient beings innately have the immaculate consciousness, paralleling the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine. In fact, Yogācāra exegetes as well accept the notion of the *amalavijñāna*, but, unlike Paramārtha who presumably views it as the ninth consciousness separate from the eight conciousnesses, they consider it as pure portion of the eighth consciousness, or *ālayavijñāna*, which does not manifest itself until in the stage of the Buddhahood (C. *rulai di* 如來地); they do not establish a separate ninth consciousness.[34]

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[32] See Radich, "The Doctrine of **Amalavijñāna* in Paramārtha (499-569), and Later Authors to Approximately 800 C.E," 105-09.

[33] See, for instance, Yoshimura, "Shindai no Amara shiki to Shōron gakuha no kushiki setsu" 真諦の阿摩羅識説と摂論学派の九識説. Along the same line, Michael Radich notes that Sanlun exegete Huijun/Hyegyun 慧均 (fl. 574-590s) just mentions "nine kinds of mind" (C. *jiupin xin* 九品心), unlike other exegetes who attribute a particular text, such as "Ninth Mind Chapter" (C. *jiuxin pin* 九心品) or "Ninth Consciousness Chapter" (C. *jiushi pin* 九識品), to Paramārtha (問十七地行者。答真諦三藏師如牽十七經。證有九訚義。彼論云。九品心故有第九訚。而此間不出此經。故難信 (X784:46.569b24-c02)). Based on this clue, Radich suspects that the idea that there existed a specific chapter on the "Ninth Consciousness" in Paramārtha's work came up later by reversing the characters, *xin* 心 and *pin* 品. Given that Huijun/Hyegyun belongs to the early period among the exegetes who mention Paramārtha's thought, Radich argues that his testimony is relatively more accurate than those of the later exegetes. Radich also points out that Daoji 道基 (577-637), a Dilun exegete, mentions the "nine kinds of mind" (C. *jiupin xin* 九品心). For detailed explanation, see Radich, "The Doctrine of **Amalavijñāna* in Paramārtha (499-569), and Later Authors to Approximately 800 C.E," 112-13.

[34] For instance, in explaining the "immaculate consciousness" (C. *wuguo shi* 無垢識) in the *Cheng weishi lun*, Ji clearly asserts that the previous teachers wrongly assigned it to the ninth consciousness. He says that it refers to the consciousness that corresponds to the "Great Perfect Mirror Knowledge" (S. *ādarśa-jñāna*, C. *da yuanjing ji* 大圓鏡智), one of the five types of knowledge exclusive to the stage of Buddhahood, and that it is obtained by transforming the essence of the eighth consciousness; 先名阿末羅識。或名阿摩羅識。古師立為第九識者。非

Besides the dubiousness of attributing the nine-consciousness system to Paramārtha, the general scholarly tendency to connect Paramārtha's use of the *amalavijñāna* with his orientation to the Tathāgatagarbha theory has been challenged. Radich argues that Paramārtha's usage of the *amalavijñāna* in his extant works that mention the *amalavijñāna*, i.e., *Juedingzang lun* 決定藏論, *Shibakong lun* 十八空論, *Zhuanshi lun* 轉識論, *Sanwuxing lun* 三無性論, rarely[35] recalls the notion of *tathāgatagarbha*.[36]

In a passage that discusses the "Transformation of the Basis" (S. *āśrayaparāvṛtti*, C. *zhuanyi* 轉依), viz., the fundamental change of the basis of consciousness from the unenlightened to the enlightened, the *Juedingzang lun* makes a clear contrast between the *ālayavijñāna* and the *amalavijñāna*, referring to them respectively as the basis of the defilements (S. *kleśa*, C. *fannao* 煩惱) and the basis of the noble path (S. *āryamārga*, C. *shengdao* 聖道); it states that the *amalavijñāna* is realized when the *ālayavijñāna* is extinguished by transforming (S. **parāvṛtti*, C. *zhuan* 轉) the nature of ordinary beings (S. **pṛthagjanatva*, C. *fanfu xing* 凡夫性) through practice and cultivation.[37] Given that the *amalavijñāna* is described here as the

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也。然楞伽經有九種識。如上下會。此無垢識。是圓鏡智相應識名。轉因第八心體得之 (成唯識論述記 T1830.43.344c10-13).

[35] As mentioned before, the *Shibakong lun* states the *amalavijñāna* as "Innately Pure Mind" (S. *prakṛti-prabhāsvara-citta*, C. *zixing quingjing xin* 自性清淨心) covered by adventitious defilements (S. *āgantuka-kleśa*, C. *kechen fannao* 客塵煩惱) (十八空論 T1616:31.863b06-21).

[36] Radich thoroughly demonstrates this by analyzing all the passages mentioning the *amalavijñāna* in Paramārtha's extant works as well as by comparing them with the Sanskrit and Tibetan equivalents. I am grateful to Prof. Bodiford for drawing my attention to this reference. See Radich, "The Doctrine of **Amalavijñāna* in Paramārtha (499-569), and Later Authors to Approximately 800 C.E," 47-104.

[37] 一切行種煩惱攝者。聚在阿羅耶識中得真如境智。增上行故。修習行故。斷阿羅耶識即轉凡夫性。捨凡夫法阿羅耶識滅。此識滅故一切煩惱滅。阿羅耶識對治故。證阿摩羅識。阿羅耶識是無常。是有漏法。阿摩羅識是常。是無漏法。得真如境道故證阿摩羅識。阿羅耶識為麁惡苦果之所追逐。阿摩羅識無有一切麁惡苦果。阿羅耶識而是一切煩惱根本。不為聖道而作根本。阿摩羅識亦復不為煩惱根本。但為聖道得道得作根本。阿摩羅識作聖道依因。不作生因 (決定藏論 T1584.30b08-19). There are three more passages mentioning the *amalavijñāna* in the *Juedingjing lun*, and these passages also contain the contrast between the

consciousness that is not attained until the *ālayavijñāna* is abandoned, it does not seem to have the connotation of the *tathāgatagarbha*, that is, the *originally pure innate* nature in all sentient beings. In other words, the *Juedingzang lun* does not describe the *amalavijñāna* as what all sentient beings are already endowed with, but as a sort of antidote replacing the *ālayavijñāna*. Moreover, in the Sanskrit equivalent of the *Juedingzang lun*, the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (C. *she jueze fen* 攝決擇分) of the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, we see *āśrayaparāvṛtti* ("Transformation of the Basis"; C. *zhuanyi* 轉依) in this passage instead of *amalavijñāna*.[38] Judging from the connotation of *āśrayaparāvṛtti*, namely, the transformation of one state to another, the *amalavijñāna* does not seem to have doctrinal affinity to the *tathāgatagarbha*, which refers to the originally existing purity in sentient beings.

In a passage to explain the Reality of Consciousness-only (S. **vijñapti*[*matra*]-*tattva*,[39] C. *weishi zhenshi* 唯識真實), the *Shibakong lun* associates the *amalavijñāna* with "Consciousness-only in [the stage of] Perfect Insight" (C. *zhengguan weishi* 正觀唯識), one of the two levels of Consciousness-only, along with "Consciousness-only in [the stage of] Applied Practice" (C.

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amalavijñāna and the *ālayavijñāna*, or describe the *amalavijñāna* as what is attained by abandoning the defilements; 有處說者諸世俗法阿羅耶識悉為根本。一切諸法出世間者無斷道法阿摩羅識以為種本 (決定藏論 T1584.30.1022a15-17) ; 出世法所生相續。依阿摩羅識而能得住。以此相續與阿羅耶識而為對治。自無住處是無漏界。無惡作務離諸煩惱 (決定藏論 T1584.30.1025c23-26); 此諸煩惱對治滅故。欲取色等以為境者即得永滅。以此滅故。諸識有惑於四住處則不復住。諸對治識實清淨故。如是得知住處寂靜。以緣滅故。於未來世當生具足應得相續不復更生。是名有緣住。靜阿摩羅識對治世識甚深清淨說名不住。復次此識不為緣生。空解脫門善修習故不能生業。無願解脫門善修習故則能知足。無相解脫門善修習故住於不動如前四義得正解脫 (決定藏論 T1584:30.1030c27-1031a07). For the detailed information of the passages and the translations, see ibid., 59-72.

[38] See Hakamaya Noriaki 袴谷憲昭, "*Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* ni okeru ārayashiki no kitei" *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* におけるアーラヤ識の規定, *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 79 (1979): 10-12.

[39] Radich has identified the Sanskrit term for 唯識真實 as *vijñapti*[*matra*]-*tattva* in the *Madhyāntavibhāga*, the base text for the *Shibakong lun*; in the *Sanwuxing lun* Paramārtha provides different translation, 識如如, for this term. See Radich, "The Doctrine of **Amalavijñāna* in Paramārtha (499-569), and Later Authors to Approximately 800 C.E." n.118, n.144.

fangbian weishi 方便唯識).[40] I mentioned before that Ui Hakuju regards the *zhengguan weishi* and *fangbian weishi* as two doctrinally hierarchical Yogācāra schools, assigning them respectively to Paramārtha's and Xuanzang's school.[41] But, as Radich points out,[42] *fangbian* is Paramārtha's translation of *prayoga* ("practice") or *prayogamārga* ("path of practice")[43] although the more regular translation occurs as *jiaxing* 加行; in the same vein Paramārtha also uses this term in contrasting between the "Path of Practice" (S. *prayogamārga*, C. *fangbian dao* 方便道) and the "Path of Vision" (S, *darśanamārga*, C. *jiandao* 見道).[44] I have mentioned above that Yūki Remon also indicates that the *zhengguan* and *fangbian weishi* are equivalent to the stage of the "Applied Practice" (S. *prayogamārga*) and the "Path of Vision" (S. *darśanamārga*).[45] Since all this textual evidence shows that the "Consciousness-only in [the stage of] Perfect Insight" (*zhengguan weishi*) corresponds to the stage of Path of Vision, not a particular doctrinal lineage of Yogācāra tradition, we may well say that the *amalavijñāna*, the consciousness in the stage of Perfect Insight, is not attainable until the stage of Path of Vision. This deduction also disproves the previous scholarly connection of the *amalavijñāna* with the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine, by

[40] 第三明唯識真實。辨一切諸法唯有淨識。無有能疑。亦無所疑。廣釋如唯識論。但唯識義有兩。一者方便。謂先觀唯有阿梨耶識。無餘境界。現得境智兩空。除妄識已盡。名為方便唯識也。二明正觀唯識。遣蕩生死虛妄識心。及以境界。一皆淨盡。唯有阿摩羅清淨心也 (十八空論 T1616:31.864a22-28).

[41] See the first section (1. Issues) of this chapter. It appears tht it is in this way of interpretation that Ui translated the *fangbian weishi* as "Expedient [level of] Consciousness-only," not "Consciousness-only in [the stage of] Applied Practice."

[42] See Radich, "The Doctrine of **Amalavijñāna* in Paramārtha (499-569), and Later Authors to Approximately 800 C.E," 77-78. n.122.

[43] 若人欲通達見至性。修無間道唯一。解脫道亦一。於中方便道亦一。是一切無間道解脫道 (阿毘達磨俱舍釋論 T1559:29.282b22-24).

[44] 一切法謂有為無為有流無流。及四界三乘道果等。如此等法實唯有識。何以故。一切法以識為相。真如為體故。若方便道以識為相。若入見道以真如為體 (攝大乘論釋 T1695:200a19-22).

[45] See the first section (1. Issues) of this chapter.

negating the image of the *amalavijñāna* as the pure ground that all sentient beings intrinsically have.

There is a passage in the *Shibakong lun* that identifies the *amalavijñāna* with "Innately Pure Mind" (S. *prakṛti-prabhāsvara-citta*, C. *zixing quingjing xin* 自性清淨心) tainted by adventitious defilements (S. *āgantuka-kleśa*, C. *kechen fannao* 客塵煩惱),[46] which reminds us of the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine in the *Śrimālasūtra* or the *Ratnagotravibhāga*. However, we cannot say that this identification of the *amalavijñāna* with the Innately Pure Mind confidently proves that Paramārtha is an advocate of the Tathāgatagarbha theory—the Tathāgatagarbha theory that is doctrinally antagonistic to the Yogācāra theory—because medieval East Asian Buddhist exegetes diverge in their interpretation of the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine of such scriptures as the *Śrimālasūtra* or the *Ratnagotravibhāga*. Although the Faxiang school is generally regarded as doctrinally adversarial to the Tathāgatagarbha schools, this school endorsed the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine as well, as mentioned above. Further, unlike the typical type of Tathāgatagarbha doctrine in which all sentient beings universally are said to have the Buddha Nature, the Faxiang school divides the Buddha Nature into two types, i.e., Buddha Nature in abstract level (C. *li foxing* 理佛性) and practical level (C. *xing foxing* 行佛性), and confine the universal Buddha Nature to the abstract level.[47] Viewed from the diverse doctrines of the Buddha Nature, it would be too hasty to reduce this one instance of Paramārtha's identification of the *amalavijñāna* with

[46]此下第四分別空道理有三。一淨不淨。若言空。定是不淨。則一切眾生不得解脫。何以故。以定不淨不可令淨故也。若言定是淨。則修道無用。何以故。未得解脫無漏道時。空體本已自然清淨故。則無煩惱為能障智慧。又能除則不依功力一切眾生自得解脫。現見離功力眾生不得解脫。知此空非是定淨。復由功用而得解脫。故知此空非定不淨。是名淨不淨不淨淨道理也。又釋。若言空理定是不淨。一切功力則無果報。何以故。以空界自性是不淨。雖復生道俗不可除。道則無用。無此義故。故知此空非性不淨。問若爾既無自性不淨。亦應無有自性淨。云何分判法界非淨非不淨。答阿摩羅識是自性清淨心。但為客塵所污故名不淨。為客塵盡故立為淨 (T1616:31.836b06-21)

[47] I will discuss about Faxing school's typical view on Buddha Nature by focusing on Ji's doctrinal position in Chapter III.

the Innately Pure Mind into his inclination to the Tathāgatagarbha theory without more careful observation of his understanding of the concept of Buddha Nature.

In both the *Zhuanshi lun* and the *Sanwuxing lun*, the *amalavijñāna* is associated with a higher level of Consciousness-only by being identified with "Consummate Nature" (S. *pariniṣpanna-svabhāva*, C. *yuancheng shixing* 圓成實性), the third of the "Three Natures" (S. *tri-svabhāva*, C. *sanxing* 三性) of reality, along with "Imaginary Nature" (S. *parikalpita-svabhāva*, C. *bianji suozhi xing* 遍計所執性) and "Dependent Nature" (S. *paratantra-svabhāva*, C. *yita ji xing* 依他起性). In the passage of the *Zhuanshi lun*, the Consciousness-only is divided into two types, i.e., the Consciousness-only in the Impure Level (C. *bu jingpin weishi* 不淨品唯識), in which only the objects are abandoned but the consciousness still remains (C. *qianjing zaishi* 遣境在識), and, though implicitly, the Consciousness-only in Pure Level (C. *jingpin weishi* 淨品唯識), in which both the objects and the consciousness are extinguished (C. *jingshi juin* 境識俱泯); this latter state—the state in which both the objects and the consciousness are extinguished—is referred to as the Consummate Nature, which is in turn identified with the *amalavijñāna*.[48] Given that the concepts of Consciousness-only in the level of the Perfect Insight (C. *zhengguan weishi* 正觀唯識) and the Applied Practice (C. *fangbian*

[48] 離識之外無別境。但唯有識義成。既未明遣識。惑亂未除。故名不淨品也。問遣境在識。乃可稱唯識義。既境識俱遣。何識可成。答立唯識乃一往遣境。留心卒終為論。遣境為欲空心。是其正意。是故境識俱泯。是其義成。此境識俱泯即是實性。實性即是阿摩羅識。亦可卒終為論是摩羅識也 (T1587:62c14-20). One thing that is noteworthy here is that although in the passage the consciousness of the latter state--the state in which the consciousness and the objects both have disappeared--is identified as the *amalavijñāna*, the phrase at the end of this passage (亦可卒終為論是摩羅識也; "also it is possible to consider [the consciousness of] the theory that ends up [with the consciousness remaining after the disappearance of the objects] as the *amalavijñāna*") seems to imply that the consciousness of the former state is also identified as the *amalavijñāna*, because the phrase 卒終為論 is repeated here by referring to the former state. This idea that the *amalavijñāna* refers to not only the Consciousness of the Pure Level but also that of the Impure Level may be seen as an evidence of Paramārtha's dualistic perspective, which I will discuss in detail soon in (3), (4), (5), and (6). For Radich's alternative view that suspects the phrase at the end as a scribal error, see Radich, "The Doctrine of **Amalavijñāna* in Paramārtha (499-569), and Later Authors to Approximately 800 C.E," n.140.

weishi 方便唯識), which parallel the Consciousness-only in Pure and Impure Levels, respectively, correspond to the different stages of Yogācāra practice, the *amalavijñāna* is not attained until the higher stage of Yogācāra practice. In other words, as examined above in the *Shibakong lun*, it seems unlikely that the *amalavijñāna* refers to a universal pure mind that innately resides in all sentient beings all the time.

In a manner that recalls the passage of the *Shibakong lun* and the *Zhuanshi lun* above, the *Sanwuxing lun* divides the Reality of Consciousness-only (S. *vijñapti*[*matra*]-*tattva*, C. *shi ruru* 識如如[49]) into two types, i.e., "Comprehension without Distortion" (攝無倒) and "Immutability" (無變異).[50] In the *Zhuanshi lun*, as mentioned above, the Consciousness-only in the Impure Level is described as the state in which only consciousness remains without its objects, while the Consciousness-only in the Pure Level is the state in which both are extinguished. The *Sanwuxing lun* says in a similar way that the Reality of Comprehension without Distortion refers to the state in which only [deluded] consciousness remains with no external objects (離亂識外無別餘法故; 先以唯一亂識遣於外境), and the Reality of Immutability refers to the state in which not only the external objects but also the [deluded] consciousness are abandoned (次阿摩羅識遣於亂識故).[51] This latter state, again, with a close similarity to the *Zhuanshi lun*,

[49] In the *Shibakong lun*, Paramārtha translates *vijñapti*[*matra*]-*tattva* to 唯識真實. See n. 39 above.

[50] 三識如如者。謂一切諸行但唯是識。此識二義故稱如如。一攝無倒。二無變異。[1] 攝無倒者。謂十二入等一切諸法但唯是識。離亂識外無別餘法故。一切諸法皆為識攝。此義決定故稱攝無倒無倒故如如。無倒如如。未是無相如如也。[2] 無變異者。明此亂識即是分別依他似塵識所顯。由分別性永無故。依他性亦不有。此二無所有。即是阿摩羅識。唯有此識獨無變異故稱如如。

前稱如如。但遣十二入。小乘所辨一切諸法。唯十二入非是顛倒。今大乘義破諸入。並皆是無。唯是亂識所作故。十二入則為顛倒。唯一亂識則非顛倒故稱如如。此識體猶變異。

次以分別依他。遣此亂識。唯阿摩羅識是無顛倒。是無變異。是真如如也。前唯識義中亦應作此識說。先以唯一亂識遣於外境。次阿摩羅識遣於亂識故。究竟唯一淨識也 (T1617:871c27-a15)

[51] Although Paramārtha here divides the Reality of Consciousness-only (*vijñapti*[*matra*]-*tattva*) into the two distinct types, this division does not seem to strict, because he says that "even in the former meaning of the

is identified with the *amalavijñāna*, which manifests immediately with the realization of the non-existence of both the Imaginary and Dependent Nature (由分別性永無故 依他性亦不有 此二無所有 即是阿摩羅識). Thus, we have a similar conclusion to that reached from the above passages of the *Shibakong lun* and the *Zhuanshi lun*: the *amalavijñāna* refers to a consciousness attained in the higher stage of Yogācāra practice, viz., the stage of Path of Vision.

In another passage of the *Sanwuxing lun*, the *amalavijñāna* is once more identified with the Consummate Nature (*pariniṣpanna-svabhāva*). Here, the Consummate Nature is described as the state in which there is no attachment to both characteristics of names and meanings (不執著名義二相), and this state is in turn identified with the *amalavijñāna*, in which there is no distinction between object and wisdom (境智無差別阿摩羅識故).[52] This text again has no definite clue to show the connection between the *amalavijñāna* and the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine.

The ambiguous attribution of the nine-consciousness system to Paramārtha as well as Paramārtha's use of the *amalavijñāna* not as inherent capability, such as the *tathāgatagarbha*, but as what is attained as a result of cultivation, do not seem to support what scholars have thought to date regarding Paramārtha's doctrinal position. Particularly Paramārtha's description

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Consciousness-only [viz., the Reality of Comprehension without Distortion (攝無倒如如)], we also should apply this explanation of consciousness [viz., the Reality of Immutability (無變異如如)] (前唯識義中亦應作此識說)." This "loose" position by Paramārtha here also recalls a phrase in the *Zhuanshi lun*, which possibly implies that the *amalavijñāna* not only applies to the Consciousness-only at the Pure Level (淨品唯識), but also to that at the Impure Level (不淨品唯識); see n.48 above.

[52] 釋曰。[1] 初二相所以通為三相所攝者。初名言相。即是諸法名字及說。此名言是識所作。識似名言相起即是分別性。能分別識即依他性。所分別名言既無所有。能分別識亦無所有。即是真實性。是故初相即三性攝。[2] 第二相亦三性攝者。所言相即是名言所目義。謂一切諸物亦是識所作。但識有似物相起即是分別性。能分別識即是依他性。亦二俱無所有。即是真實性。[3] 第三相但為分別性所攝者。此名義相應相。謂為物立名。令與物相應。因名得顯物。此名義實無所有。無相義故。但是分別性。[4] 第四相但為依他性攝者。此執著名義二相。辨其能執故但是依他性。不明所執故非分別。前但出所分別不出能分別故非依他。[5] 第五相唯為真性所攝者。此不執著名義二相。即是境智無差別阿摩羅識故。第四第三亦不離真實性。但其所立正為偏顯一義耳 (T1617:31.873c09-26).

of the *amalavijñāna* as what is only attained at a particular stage of cultivation coincides with the gradual model of Yogācāra system, not with the Tathāgatagarbha system.

The reasons that modern scholarship has nevertheless centered on Paramārtha's Tathāgatagarbha thought may probably be explained in two ways: (1) The later exegetes who expounded the *amalavijñāna* in association with the Tathāgatagarbha also addressed it as the ninth consciousness,[53] which had been attributed to Paramārtha. In other words, the later exegetes' interpretation of the ninth consciousness in light of the Tathāgatagarbha *and* the purported attribution of the nine consciousnesses/ninth consciousness to Paramārtha collectively have entailed the image of Paramārtha as a Tathāgatagarbha advocate. (2) The later interpretative divergence on the concept of *amalavijñāna* and/or the ninth consciousness appears to be retrospectively projected to Paramārtha's use of the *amalavijñāna*. When the Faxiang school emerged on the basis of Xuanzang's translation of new Yogācāra literature, the interpretation on the concept of *amalavijñāna* and/or the ninth consciousness diverged into two groups: the Shelun school, or the Old Yogācāra, regarded the *amalavijñāna* as the ninth consciousness separately from the eight consciousnesses, while the Faxiang school, or the New Yogācāra, considered it as the pure aspect of the eighth consciousness. Adopting this divergence as an evidence for the bifurcated paradigm of East Asian Yogācāra, modern scholars seem to apply this paradigm back

[53] For instance, an Huayan exegete such as Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839) interprets the *amalavijñāna* in association with the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine and also considers it as the ninth consciousness. Note that this does not mean that all the later exegetes who address the nine consciousnesses/ninth consciousness are adherents of the Tathāgatagarbha theory. Exegetes in Faxiang school accept the concept of the ninth consciousness, but do not regard it as a consciousness separate from the eighth. Ji, for instance, explains the ninth consciousness merely as the pure portion of the eighth consciousness, not as a separate consciousness with its own essence (識體), in referring to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*; 楞迦經說八九種種識如水中諸波。說有九識即是增數。顯依他識略有三種廣唯有八。離於增減故說唯言。楞迦經中兼說識性。或以第八染・淨別開故言九識。非是依他識體有九。亦非體類別有九識 (成唯識論述記 T.1830:239a12-16). But, whether they interpret the nine consciousnesses/ninth consciousness in light of the Tathāgatagarbha or the pure portion of the *ālayavijñāna*, the later exegetes appear to have believed that Paramārtha advocated the doctrine of the nine consciousnesses/the ninth consciousness. For more explanation on Chengguan's interpretation of the *amalavijñāna* in the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine, see Radich, "The Doctrine of **Amalavijñāna* in Paramārtha (499-569), and Later Authors to Approximately 800 C.E," 153-55.

to Paramārtha's use of the *amalavijñāna*. However, as discussed above, the textual sources do not seem to provide enough evidence to support this suggestion.

(3) Two Types of Interpretations of Nature of Realization: Perfect Enlightenment and Potential Enlightenment

The concept of "Nature of Realization" (C. *jiexing* 解性) is another of Paramārtha's doctrines that have been associated with the *tathāgatagarbha* theory, on the basis of Paramārtha's description of it in a way that recalls the notion of the *tathāgatagarbha*. Let us examine the passages in which the concept first appears.

The concept of the Nature of Realization occurs in Paramartha's *She dasheng lun shi* two times. First, in commenting on the passage of the *She dasheng lun*, in which Asaṅga explains the *ālayavijñāna* by quoting a verse from the **Mahāyāna-abhidharmasutra* (C. *Dasheng apidamo jing* 大乘阿毘達磨經), Paramārtha states that the "realm" (C. *jie* 界), which is described in the verse as the basis of all dharmas from time immemorial, refers to the *ālayavijñāna*, and that it has "Realization" (C. *jie* 解) as its "Nature" (C. *xing* 性); Paramārtha further says that this "realm" has five meanings, i.e., "essential kind" (C. *tilei* 體類), "cause" (C. *yin* 因), "birth" (C. *sheng* 生), "truth" (C. *zhenshi* 真實), and "containing" (C. *cang* 藏), [54] which are also addressed

[54] 論曰。此初說應知依止。立名阿黎耶識。世尊於何處說此識。及說此識名阿黎耶。如佛世尊阿毘達磨略本偈中說。此界無始時 一切法依止 若有諸道有 及有得涅槃。 釋曰。今欲引阿含證阿黎耶識體及名阿含。謂大乘阿毘達磨。此中佛世尊說偈。此即此阿黎耶識界。以解為性。此界有五義。一體類義。一切眾生不出此體類。由此體類眾生不異。二因義。一切聖人法四念處等。緣此界生故。三生義。一切聖人所得法身。由信樂此界法門故得成就。四真實義在世間不破。出世間亦不盡。五藏義。若應此法自性善故成內。若外此法雖復相應。則成[穀-禾+卵]故約此界 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.156c9-22).

in such Tathāgatagarbha texts as the *Śrimālasūtra* and the *Ratnagotravibhāga*.[55] Moreover, since these Tathāgatagarbha texts also address the "realm" as the "*tathāgatagarbha*,"[56] the concept of the Nature of Realization, as the nature of the "realm" or the *ālayavijñāna*, has been interpreted as the basic essence of the *tathāgatagarbha* in (or, of) the *ālayavijñāna*.

In the other passage on the Transformation of the Basis (C. *zhuanyi* 轉依, S. *āśrayaparāvṛtti*), the *She dasheng lun shi* says that the Nature of Realization combined with "Permeation of Learning" (C. *wenxunxi* 聞熏習, S. *śruta-vāsanā*) becomes the basis for sanctity (C. *shenren yi* 聖人依) after discarding the basis of ordinary persons (C. *fanfu yi* 凡夫依).[57] In this passage, the Nature of Realization has the connotation of the basis for the advanced stage for the enlightenment. Based on these two passages, scholars generally have interpreted the Nature of Realization as representing the notion of *tathāgatagarbha*, thereby also implying that the *ālayavijñāna* contains a portion of *tathāgatagarbha*,[58] and accordingly considered Paramārtha as a Shelun exegete that synthesizes the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna*.

Traditionally, those who understood Paramārtha in association with Tanqian's Shelun school regarded the Nature of Realization as having the connotation of the *tathāgatagarbha*, the inherent enlightenment. They thus consider it as the same level of the ultimate state of

[55] The *Ratnagotravibhāga* refers to the *Śrimālasūtra* as the source material for the verse, while Paramārtha to the **Mahāyāna-abhidharma sūtra*. Takasaki Jikido says that, although the exact terms corresponding to the five meanings of the realm in the *She dashenglun shi* does not appear in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, the explanation of the *She dashenglun shi* parallels that of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and the *Śrimālasūtra*. For the sentence by sentence comparison of the five meanings in the *She dashenglun shi* with those of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, see Takasaki, "Shintai yaku *Shōdaijōron* Seshin shaku ni okeru nyorai zō setsu: *Hōshō ron* tono kanren" 真諦訳摂大乗論世親釈における如来蔵説—宝性論との関連—, 243-44 , n. 4.

[56] See n. 55 above.

[57] 出世轉依亦爾。由本識功能漸減。聞熏習等次第漸增。捨凡夫依作聖人依。聖人依者。聞熏習與解性和合。以此為依。一切聖道皆依此生 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.175a23-26)

[58] Ueda Yoshifumi discusses problems of this presumption that the Nature of Realization refers to the *tathāgatagarbha* as a part of *ālayavijñāna*. See Ueda, *Bukkyō shisōshi kenkyū* 佛教思想史研究: 244-55.

enlightenment, such as Thusness, Dharma Body, or *amalavijñāna*, although it is still combined with the *ālayavijñāna*. For instance, Tanyan 曇延 (516-588), one of Jingying Huiyuan's contemporaries well known for his mastery of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, says in his commentary to the *AMF*, the *Dasheng qixinlun yishu* 起信論義疏, that the Nature of Realization is equal to Thusness and it is thus named the Dharma Body (C. *fashen* 法身) of the Buddha.[59] It is known that Tanyan had a close relationship with Tanqian, because these two monks both belonged to the influential Taiyuan Wang 太原王 clan, and some of Tanyan's major disciples went to study with Tanqian.[60] Thus we may expect that Tanyan was influenced by or had a common doctrinal position with Tanqian in his understanding of the *AMF*.

Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617-686) also describes those who regard the Nature of Realization as the same level with the ultimate state of enlightenment. Classifying the contemporary views on the essence (C. *ti* 體) of the Buddha Nature into six types in his *Yŏlban chongyo* 涅槃宗要, Wŏnhyo describes the "sixth exegetes" as those who maintain that the *amalavijñāna*, Thusness, and the Nature of Realization are all the essence of Buddha Nature, and not distinguish.[61] Wŏnhyo does not clearly identify who the "sixth exegetes" are, but we can infer that they are Shelun masters from their reliance on such doctrines as the Nature of Realization and *amalavijñāna*. Moreover,

[59] 即此心體解性與真如平等。故名為法身也 (起信論義疏 X755:45.159c20-21)

[60] For the detailed explanation about the close relationship between Tanyan and Tanqian, see Chen, *Monks and monarchs, kinship and kingship : Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and politics*: 34-41.

[61] 第六師云。阿摩羅識真如解性為佛性體。如經言。佛性者名第一義空。第一義空名為智惠 (涅槃宗要 T1769:38.249b08-10)

later on Wŏnhyo distinguishes these exegetes from Paramārtha,[62] and thus it seems very likely that they refer to Tanqian's lineage.

In the *Huayan yisheng jiao fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章, Fazang 法藏 (643-712), a Huayan exegete who was a descendant of the Southern Dilun school, identifies the Nature of Realization from Paramārtha's *She dasheng lun shi* (梁攝論) with the Original Awakening (C. *benjue* 本覺),[63] a concept from the *AMF*, which he equates with Dharma Body[64] or Thusness[65] in his other works. Since the *AMF* is one of the most important canonical references for Tanqian, Fazang's identification of the Nature of Realization with the Original Awakening from the *AMF* seems to suggest that by Fazang's time Paramārtha was regarded as belonging to the same Shelun strand as Tanqian's and thus Fazang interprets the Nature of Realization from Tanqian's viewpoint that sees the Nature of Realization in terms of the ultimate state of enlightenment.

However, besides such an interpretation of the concept as the same level of the ultimate state of enlightenment, or perfect enlightenment, there appears to have been another way of

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[62] 於一心法有二種義。一者不染而染。二者染而不染。染而不染一味寂靜。不染而染流轉六道。如下文言。一味藥隨其流處有種種味。而其真味停留在山。夫人經言。自性清淨心難可了知。彼心為煩惱所染。此亦難可了知。起信論中廣顯是義。此者真諦三藏之義。第六師說。真如佛性得於染而不染門也 (涅槃宗要 T1769:38.249b25-c03).

[63] 問夫論種性必是有為。如何此教約真如為種性耶。答以真如隨緣與染和合成本識時。即彼真中有本覺無漏內熏眾生為返流因。得為有種性。梁攝論說為黎耶中解性。起信論中。說黎耶二義中本覺是也 (華嚴一乘教義分齊章 T1866:45.487b29-c5). Here Fazang interprets the Nature of Realization, the concept from Paramārtha's *She dasheng lun shi* (梁攝論), in connection with the *AMF*, one of the most important canonical references for Tanqian along with the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. This suggests that Fazang does not distinguish Paramārtha from Tanqian's Shelun strand, and his identification of the Nature of Realization with the Original Awakening reflects Tanqian's viewpoint that interprets the Nature of Realization in terms of the ultimate state of enlightenment.

[64] 法身說名本覺。無性攝論云。無垢無罣礙智名為法身。金光明經名大圓鏡智為法身等。皆此義也 (大乘起信論義記 T1846:44.256b27-29).

[65] Fazang uses the combined term "Thusness-Original Awakening" (C. *zhenru benjue* 真如本覺) or "Original Awakening-Thusness" (C. *benjue zhenru* 本覺真如) in his works such as the *Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun shou* 大乘法界無差別論疏 (T1838:44.069a05-06) and the *Yiji* (T1846:44.262b03; T1846:44.270b13).

interpretation of the Nature of Realization—the interpretation of it as a potential form of enlightenment. Wŏnhyo, for instance, argues that at a particular level (K. *pyŏlmon* 別門) the Nature of Realization should be distinguished from the *amalavijñāna* or Thusness. After presenting the "sixth exegetes" who do not distinguish the *amalavijñāna* or Thusness from the Nature of Realization, Wŏnhyo later on clarifies that even if such an interpretation is acceptable in a comprehensive level (K. *ch'ongsŏl* 總說), they are differentiated from each other in a particular level; he associates the *amalavijñāna* and the Nature of Realization respectively with two kinds of effect (K. *kwa* 果), i.e., "Produced Effect" (K. *sosaeng kwa* 所生果) and "Finished Effect" (K. *soryo kwa* 所了果), or "Dharma Body" (K. *pŏpsin* 法身, S. *dharma-kāya*) and "Reward Body" (K. *posin* 報身, S. *saṃbhoga-kāya*).[66] Wŏnhyo then associates these two types of effect respectively with two types of Buddha Nature, i.e., "Buddha Nature of Dharma" (K. *pŏp pulsŏng* 法佛性) and "Buddha Nature of Reward" (K. *bopulsŏng* 報佛性), calling them later the "Naturally Pure Original Awakening" (K. *sŏngjŏng pon'gak* 性淨本覺) and "Nature of Realization that Accords with the Taints" (K. *suyŏm haesŏng* 隨染解性).[67]

[66] 總說雖然於中分別者果有二種。所生所了。所了果謂涅槃果即是法身。所生果者謂菩提果即是報佛(涅槃宗要 T1769:38.249c29-250a02).

[67] 對此二果說二佛性。法佛性者在性淨門。報佛性者在隨染門。… 別門雖然就實通論者。性淨本覺亦為二身之性。隨染解性亦作法身之因 (涅槃宗要 T1769:38.250a03-250a17). As we see in this last sentence, Wŏnhyo again clarifies that although this division may be made at a particular level, [at the comprehensive level] the opposite may be said. Wŏnhyo also identifies the Original Awakening with the *amalavijñāna* in the *Kŭmgang sammaegyŏng non* 金剛三昧經論 (本覺正是唵摩羅識 (金剛三昧經論 T1730:34.978a20)). The "Original Awakening" here appears to refer to the "Naturally Pure Original Awakening" (性淨本覺) since there is another passage in which Wŏnhyo explains the *amalavijñāna* in terms of the Naturally Pure Original Awakening ("The *amalavijñāna* refers to the immaculate [consciousness], because the natural purity of the Original Awakening does not change or transform, just like the nature of the gold coins do not change": 唵摩羅者。此云無垢。本覺本淨性無改轉似彼金錢性無改故 (金剛三昧經論 T1730:34.981a26-27)).

In Wŏnhyo's other works such as the *Taesŭng kisillon so*, the term of "Original Awakening that Accords with Taints" (K. *suyŏm pon'gak* 隨染本覺) appears instead of the Nature of Realization that Accords with the Taints (K. *suyŏm haesŏng* 隨染解性). Thus we see that the two terms have the same connotation in Wŏnhyo's system.

Further, Wŏnhyo addresses two juxtaposed meanings of the "Dharma of One Mind" (K. *ilsim pŏp* 一心法), viz., "tainted while being untainted" (K. *pullyŏm iyŏm* 不染而染) and "untainted while being tainted" (K. *nyŏmi pullyŏm* 染而不染), which he says are Paramārtha's tenets represented extensively in the *AMF*, and then he says that the sixth exegetes' argument covers only the meaning of "untainted while being tainted."[68] If we accept Wŏnhyo's testimony here, the view of the Nature of Realization as the same level of the ultimate enlightenment should be distinguished from Paramārtha's, the position with which conceivably Wŏnhyo aligns. In other words, the sixth exegetes, which presumably refer to Tanqian's Shelun group, interprets the Nature of Realization as the same level of the ultimate state of enlightenment, while Wŏnhyo, who agrees with Paramārtha's view represented in the *AMF*, not only regards it as the same level of the ultimate enlightenment on a comprehensive level, but also distinguishes it from enlightenment on a particular level. This discloses that Paramārtha, although having been regarded as a Shelun exegete along with Tanqian, took a different position from Tanqian's.

The *She dashenglun shu* 攝大乘論疏, one of the anonymous commentaries to the *She dashenglun shi*, which were preserved in Dunhuang 敦煌, criticizes the exegetes who identify the Nature of Realization with the Dharma Body. In commenting on the *She dashenglun shi*'s second passage, mentioned above, on the Nature of Realization, in which Permeation of Learning (C. *wenxunxi* 聞熏習, S. *śruta-vāsanā*) combined with the Nature of Realization is said to become the basis for sanctity,[69] the *She dashenglun shu* says that the exegetes who equate the

[68] 總說雖然於中分別者。於一心法有二種義。一者不染而染。二者染而不染。染而不染一味寂靜。不染而染流轉六道。如下文言。一味藥隨其流處有種種味。而其真味停留在山。夫人經言。自性清淨心難可了知。彼心為煩惱所染。此亦難可了知。起信論中廣顯是義。此者真諦三藏之義。第六師說。真如佛性得於染而不染門也 (涅槃宗要 T1769:38.249b25-c03).

[69] See n. 57 above.

Nature of Realization with the Dharma Body are not correct, because the Nature of Realization, an impermanent dharma (C. *wuchang fa* 無常法), may be permeated by "Wisdom Gained through Learning and Contemplation" (C. *wensi hui* 聞思慧, S. *śruta-cintā-maya-prajñā*), whereas the Dharma Body, a permanent dharma, is never permeated.[70] The passage also makes a distinction between the Nature of Realization and the Dharma Body by saying that while the Nature of Realization exists even in the status of ordinary beings (C. *fanfu* 凡夫), the Dharma Body is attained from "truly pure mind" (C. *zhenjingxin* 真淨心) in the status of saints, in which

[70] 聖人依者聞熏習與解性和合以此為依一切聖道皆依此生者。此第十明得聞思慧熏本識。無常解性時猶是凡夫。熏習增多後更上第六意識成無流道即修慧方是聖人。故言一切聖人道皆依之。問。聞思種子所熏解性。有解言。是真淨法身。云何言是無常法耶。答。□者是自歸識心分別闇心漫語耳。 此解非義也。常住法無無常之義受熏。聞思慧能熏後上第六意識成修慧始為無流道。此聞思種子生唯識□境及觀智。爾時並是諸法因義是依他性。後斷煩惱盡轉依成解脫果。□□身方得轉依。真淨心為法身義並果德。耶[那?]復得聞思種子和合生聖人依□聖道因法身相應時唯果德依法身也。無復種子因義也 (攝大乘論疏 T2805:85.982b22-c7): "[As for the *She dashenglun shi*'s passage that] 'for the Basis for sanctity (C. *shengren yi* 聖人依), the Permeation of Learning (C. *wenxunxi* 聞熏習, S. *śruta-vāsanā*) combined with the Nature of Realization becomes the basis, and all paths of the saints arise based on this,' this is the tenth to elucidate that when the Wisdom Gained through Learning and Contemplation (聞思慧) permeates the impermanent Nature of Realization of the Base Consciousness (本識), one is still an ordinary being (凡夫), and when the permeation increases and later on the sixth consciousness one achieves the Uncontaminated Path (C. *wulou dao* 無漏道, S. *anāsrava-mārga*), which is Wisdom through Cultivation (C. *suihui* 修慧, S. *bhāvanā-mayi-prajñā*), one is now a saint. Therefore it is said that all paths of the saints are based on this."

Question: "Regarding the Nature of Realization that is permeated by the seeds of Learning and Contemplating, someone explains it, saying, 'this is the truly pure Dharma Body.' How can you say that this is impermanent Dharma Body?"

Answer: "[This] is just careless words of dark mind that relies on discrimination of their own consciousness and mind. This explanation is not correct. Permanent dharmas do not have the meaning of permanent dharmas, that is, receiving permeation. Only when Wisdom Gained through Learning and Contemplation (C. *wensi hui* 聞思慧, S. *śruta-cintā-maya-prajñā*) can permeate and then the sixth consciousness (C. *yishi* 意識, S. *mano-vijñāna*) achieves Wisdom through Cultivation (C. *xiuhui* 修慧, S. *bhāvanā-mayi-prajñā*), the Uncontaminated path is established. These seeds [permeated by] Learning and Contemplation originate the [status of] Representation Only Without [Objects] and Wisdom through Contemplation. At this time, these all dharmas have the meaning of cause, which is the Nature of Dependent Arising (C. *yita xing* 依他性, S. *paratantra-svabhāva*). Later on, when the elimination of afflictions is completed, the Basis is transformed (S. *āśrayaparāvṛtti*, C. *zhuanyi* 轉依) and the fruit of liberation is achieved. When [?] body obtains the Transformation of the Basis, the truly pure mind (C. *zhenjingxin* 真淨心) becomes the Dharma Body, whose meaning is the merits of the fruit. [Therefore] how (那) one should attain again the combination the seeds with [the Wisdom of] Learning and Contemplation and create the basis for sanctity? (I follow Keng's correction of 那 instead of 耶 along with the arrangement of the character in this sentence; see Keng, "Yogācāra Buddhism transmitted or transformed? Paramārtha (499--569) and his Chinese interpreters," 92). When the Dharma Body is attained, only the merits of fruit rely on the Dharma Body; there is no meaning of cause of the seeds."

the basis is transformed (C. *zhuanyi* 轉依) by completely eliminating all defilements (C. *fannao* 煩惱).[71]

This passage of the *She dashenglun shu*, in which the Nature of Realization is explained as belonging to the stage before the basis is transformed, reminds us of Paramārtha's treatment of the *amalavijñāna* in terms of a gradual model of cultivation by explaining it as what is attained only when one reaches a particular stage of cultivation. The Nature of Realization in this passage may also been understood in this gradual model because it is described here not as an already perfected form of enlightenment, such as Dharma Body, but as a sort of potential of enlightenment, which may serve as the basis of saints when permeated by the Wisdom Gained through Learning and Contemplation. In addition, in his commentaries of the *AMF*, Wŏnhyo also explicates the concept of *tathāgatagarbha* in a gradual scheme.[72]

Based on Wŏnhyo and the *She dashenglu shu* discussed above, we may say that the interpretation of the Nature of Realization as both indistinguished and distinguished from the ultimate enlightenment has two points: (1) First, the distinction in the particular level between the Nature of Realization and the ultimate enlightenment implies that the Nature of Realization is a sort of a potential of the enlightenment, which is based on a gradual model of cultivation. (2) Second, the lack of distinction between them in the comprehensive level means that the Nature of Realization is inherent in all sentient beings as the universal capacity for the enlightenment.

Now, the interpretive distinction between those who regard the Nature of Realization as equal to the ultimate enlightenment and those who conceivably recognize both the lack of distinction and distinction between them suggests that there were two distinct, if not organized,

[71] See n. 70 above.

[72] I will discuss in detail in Chapter IV.

strands that held different positions in interpreting the Nature of Realization. The former strand, presumably Tanqian's strand, seems to view the Nature of Realization as the originally perfect state of the Buddha Nature which is inherent in all sentient beings but provisionally tainted by adventitious defilements, because they equate it as the ultimate state such as Thusness, Dharma body or *amalavijñāna*; the latter group, conceivably Paramārtha's strand, seems to understand the Nature of Realization just as an initial potentiality that may or may not develop into the ultimate enlightenment in the gradual model of cultivation.

(4) Connection between the Unconditioned and Conditioned I: The Duality of Thusness

The problem of whether or not the Nature of Realization is equatable to Thusness, Dharma Body, or *amalavijñāna* is related to a more fundamental doctrinal issue, that is, whether, or how, the Unconditioned (C. *wuwei* 無爲, S. *asaṃskṛta*) is connected to the Conditioned (C. *youwei* 有爲, S. *saṃskṛta*). The perspective that the Nature of Realization is equated to the Thusness or Dharma Body implies that the Unconditioned and Conditioned are not distinguished from each other, because the Nature of Realization, as the inherent basis for enlightenment in *ālayavijñāna* of all sentient beings, obviously belongs to the Conditioned realm, whereas the Thusness or Dharma Body is categorized as Unconditioned dharmas in Yogācāra system.[73] By contrast, the

[73] In the *Cheng weishi lun*, the six types of Unconditioned dharmas are explicated--i.e., "space" (C. *xukong* 虛空, S. *ākāśa*), two types of *nirvāṇa*, that is, "Analytical Extinction" (C. *zemie* 擇滅, S. *pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha*) and "non-Analytical Extinction" (C. *feizemie* 非擇滅, S. *apratisaṃkyā-nirodha*), "motionlessness" (C. *budong* 不動, S. *āniñjya*), "Cessation of Perception and Feeling" (C. *xiangshou mie* 想受滅, S. *saṃjñā-vedayita-nirodha*), and Thusness (S. *tathatā*); 契經說有虛空等諸無為法。略有二種。一依識變假施設有 … 二依法性假施設有。謂空無我所顯真如。有無俱非。心言路絕。與一切法非一異等。是法真理故名法性。離諸障礙故名虛空。由簡擇力滅諸雜染。究竟證會故名擇滅。不由擇力本性清淨。或緣闕所顯故名非擇滅。苦樂受滅故名不動。想受不行名想受滅。此五皆依真如假立。真如亦是假施設名 (成唯識論 T1585:31.006c05-17). The compound word "Unconditioned Dharma Body" (C. *wuwei fashen* 無爲法身, S. *asaṃskṛta dharmakāya*) is found in Yogācāra texts, such as the *Apidamo da piposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 (*Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra*) or *Xianyang shengjiao lun* 顯揚聖教論 (**Ārya-śāsana-prakaraṇa*) (T1545:27.947c28; T1602:31.581c05).

position that the Nature of Realization is differentiated from the ultimate reality implies that the two obodes are separated from each other.

The tension between these two positions consistently emerges in the East Asian Buddhist tradition as an important issue in relation with the problem of how to explain the transition from Delusion to enlightenment, an ordinary being to a Buddha, or the conditioned phenomena to the ultimate reality. Tanqian's Shelun strand's equation between the Nature of Realization and the ultimate state of enlightenment means that sentient beings' immanent capacity of enlightenment is identical to the ultimate state of enlightenment. In this view, the distinction between the Conditioned realm to which sentient beings belong and the Unconditioned realm of the ultimate reality does not have much significance practically or soteriologically. Since they consider ultimate enlightenment as inherent in all sentient beings, in some sense sentient beings are already enlightened, but are afflicted by adventitious defilements that obscure that enlightenment.[74]

On the contrary, the opposite position that the Nature of Realization is completely different from ultimate enlightenment implies that the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms are separated from each other, and that sentient beings' enlightenment in the Conditioned realm has fundamentally different significance from that of the ultimate enlightenment of the Unconditioned realm. The former refers to the enlightenment in a practical sense, while the latter to that in principle. From this perspective, the sentient beings of the Conditioned realm have to

[74] This perspective leads later to Fazang's doctrinal position in his interpretation of the *AMF*; Fazang does not regard the Unconditioned and Conditioned separated from each other by identifying the essence (C. *ti* 體) of the Thusness Aspect (C. *xin zhenru men* 心眞如門) to the essence of the Production and Cessation Aspect (C. *xin shengmie men* 心生滅門). For detailed explanation, see Chapter IV.

go through a process of practice to attain the enlightenment, since in the practical sense the enlightenment is neither universal nor already inherent.[75]

In distinction from both positions mentioned above, we also have seen that there is another position in between--the position that Paramārtha seems to take. According to this position, the Nature of Realization has both aspects of distinction and lack of distinction from the ultimate enlightenment, and the Unconditioned and Conditioned may be said paradoxically both distinguished and indistinguished from each other. In this respect, I will discuss in the following three sections Paramārtha's binary perspective on the relationship between the two realms. This section, at first, will discuss Paramārtha's understanding of the notion of Thusness to examine how he connects between the universal and discriminative realms by both considering the distinction and lack of distinction between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms.

The Unconditioned and Conditioned realms are generally considered to be strictly separate from each other in the Yogācāra tradition. Thusness, which is typically categorized as one of the six Unconditioned dharmas,[76] is regarded as never interacting with Conditioned dharmas.[77] Yet, Paramārtha asserts in the *She dashenglun shi* that Thusness is neither different

[75] This position later appears in the Faxiang doctrinal system, which was established by Xuanzang's disciple Ji 基 (632-682). In opposition to the *tathāgatagarbha* view that all sentient beings are *tathāgatagarbha* and thus inherently enlightened, Ji strictly separates the Buddha Nature in Practice (C. *xing foxing* 行佛性) and the Buddha Nature in Principle (C. *li foxing* 理佛性), or the Buddha Nature of the Conditioned and Unconditioned realms. I will discuss Ji's Yogācāra doctrines and its significance later in Chapter III.

[76] See n. 73 above.

[77] The inertness of Thusness (C. *zhenru ningran* 眞如凝然) is regarded as the orthodox doctrine in Yogācāra tradition in contrast to the position of the *AMF* that Thusness influences, or permeates (C. *xunxi* 熏習, S. *vāsanā*), phenomena and vice versa. This position of the *AMF* leads to Fazang's famous doctrine of "Dependent Origination from Thusness" (C. *zhenru yuanqi* 眞如緣起) that all phenomena arise from Thusness. The contrast between these two views regarding whether or not Thusness is engaged with Conditioned dharmas is also associated to the traditional bifurcation of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra. I will discuss more about the *AMF*'s view on Thusness in Chapter IV in relation with Wŏnhyo and Fazang's interpretation of the *AMF*.

from nor identical to either the Unconditioned or Conditioned realms.[78] We can find a clue here as to how to resolve the seeming contradiction between the general Yogācāra doctrine and Paramārtha's statement from his division of Thusness into two parts, i.e., the cognized object and cognizing subject, and his explanation of the *amalavijñāna* as the cognizing subject.

According to the passage that Wŏnch'ŭk quotes from the "Ninth Consciousness Chapter" (C. *jiushi pin* 九識品) of the *Jueding zang lun* 決定藏論, Paramārtha's translation of a part of the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, Thusness consists of two aspects, cognized object (C. *suoyuan jing* 所緣境) and cognizing subject (C. *nengyuan yi* 能緣義), that is, Thusness/Absolute Truth (C. *shiji* 實際, S. *bhūtakoṭi*) and *amalavijñāna* repectively.[79] Paramārtha also mentions these two aspects of Thusness in other places as "Thusness" (C. *zhenru* 眞如) itself and "Cognition of Thusness" (C. *zhenzhi* 眞智),[80] or "Thusness" (C. *ruru* 如如) and "Non-discriminating Cognition" (C. *wu fenbie zhi* 無分別智, S. *nirvikalpa-jñāna*), and so on.[81]

[78] Paramārtha says in the *She dashenglun shi*: "Since, for Thusness, the Conditioned and Unconditioned both become its characteristics, it cannot be said they [i.e., Thusness and the Conditioned and Unconditioned] are different; since Thusness is a pure object while the Conditioned and Unconditioned are not pure objects, it cannot be said they are identical"; 由真如是有為無為通相。不可說異。真如是清淨境。有為無為非清淨境。不可說一 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.251b15-17).

[79] 第九阿摩羅識。此云無垢識。真如為體。於一真如。有其二義。一所緣境。名為真如及實際等。二能緣義。名無垢識。亦名本覺。具如九識章引決定藏論九識品中說 (解深密經疏 X369:21.240c04-07). Even though Wŏnch'ŭk quotes this passage from the chapter titled *jiushi pin* 九識品 in the *Jueding zang lun* 決定藏論, he knows that there is no such a chapter by citing the the *Jueding zang lun*; 又決定藏論。即是瑜伽彼。論本無九識品也 (解深密經疏 X369:21.241a08-09). Also see n. 30.

[80]以何自性為法身。一切障滅故。一切白法圓滿故。唯有真如及真智獨存。說名法身 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.249c20-21)

[81] 如如者。謂法空所顯聖智境界。無分別智者。由此智故一切聖人能通達如如 (三無性論 T1617:31.868a05-06). Such a division of Thusness into noesis and noema also appears in the *Jing guangming jing* 金光明經. Here, Thusness is divided into "Thusness of Dharma" (C. *farurui* 法如如) and "Cognition of Thusness" (C. *ruruzhi* 如如智); 善男子。離無分別智更無勝智。離法如如無勝境界。是法如如如如智。是二種如如如如不一不異 (合部金光明經 T664:16.363c13-16). For more passages in Paramārtha's translations that divides Thusness into

It is the concept of the *amalavijñāna*, the cognizing subject, that has both aspects of the Unconditioned and Conditioned in Paramārtha's consciousness system. In his *Sŏng yusingnon hakki* 成唯識論學記, Taehyŏn quotes an excerpt from the *Cheng weishi lun shuyao* 成唯識論樞要, in which Ji cites Paramārtha's *Wuxiang lun* 無相論 that says "the Immaculate Consciousness (*amalavijñāna*) is the mind that has cognition as its nature [on the one hand], and it responds to the Principle of Thusness (C. *ruruli* 如如理) [on the other]. Thus we should know that the Immaculate Consciousness is associated with the two [realms, i.e., the Unconditioned and Conditioned]."[82] The *Shuyao* does not explain what the "two kinds" refer to in the context, but Taehyŏn clearly explains that the Immaculate Consciousness, or *amalavijñāna*, is associated to both the Unconditioned and Conditioned by referring to the *Cheng weishi lun* and the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra* respectively.[83] He says that the *amalavijñāna* belongs to the Conditioned because it is associated with the Great Perfect Mirror Wisdom (C. *da yuanjing zhi* 大圓鏡智, S. *ādarśa-jñāna*), which is a Conditioned dharma on the one hand and it belongs

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the cognizing subject and cognized object, see Keng, "Yogācāra Buddhism transmitted or transformed? Paramārtha (499--569) and his Chinese interpreters," 134-36.

[82] 依無相論同性經。無垢識是自性識心。則真如理。故知無垢通二種也 (成唯識論樞要 T1831:43.634c08-09). Although Ji cites this statement from Paramārtha's *Wuxiang lun*, Ji himself does not seem to agree with Paramārtha. Right after this citation he continues to say, "But the fundamental consciousness (viz., *ālayavijñāna*) has eighteen names," and provides a list of the names, which includes "immaculate [consciousness] (viz. *amalavijñāna*)"; 然本識有十八名　頌曰。無沒・本・宅・藏・種・無垢・持・緣・顯・現・轉・心・依・異・識・本・生・有 (成唯識論樞要 T1831:43.634c10-12) By this, Ji seems to argue that the *amalavijñāna* is just a Conditioned dharma by showing that it is just another name of the *ālayavijñāna*.

[83] "The *Cheng weishi lun shuyao* says that according to the *Wu xiang lun* and the *Dasheng tongxing jing* (*Mahāyānābhisamaya-sūtra*), the Immaculate Consciousness is the cognizing mind in its nature, and the Thusness-Principle. Thus we should know that the Immaculate Consciousness is applicable to the two kinds. Wŏnch'ŭk says that in the *Wu xiang lun*, Paramārtha is wrong (Now I respect [the citation of] the *Shuyao*. Here [the *Cheng weishi lun*] has already said that [Tathāgata's Immaculate Consciousness] corresponds to the Mirror Wisdom, and so we know that it is applied to the Conditioned; the sixth fascicle of the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra* says that in here we should know that 'the Thusness of Mind is named as the mind' means that this mind refers to the Innately Pure Mind, and that this mind is the *amalavijñāna*, and thus we know that it[i.e., the *amalavijñāna*] is applied to the Unconditioned.)"; 樞要云。依無相論同性經。無垢識是自性識心。即真如理。故知無垢通二種也。測云。其無相論真諦謬 (今存樞要。此既云鏡智相應。知通有為。大莊嚴論第六云。此中應知。說心真如名之為心。即說此心為自性清淨。此心是阿摩羅識知通無為) (成唯識論學記 X818:50.064c02-06).

to the Unconditioned on the other because it refers to the "Innately Pure [Mind]" (S. *prakṛti-prabhāsvara-citta*, C. *zixing quingjing xin* 自性清淨心), which is an Unconditioned dharma.[84] Briefly speaking, Paramārtha follows the general Yogācāra scheme of division between the Unconditioned and Conditioned by confining Thusness, the cognized object, to the Unconditioned realm; but he also connects these two realms by regarding the *amalavijñāna* as having the two aspects, each of which is associated to the Unconditioned and Conditioned.

This binary feature of the *amalavijñāna* may be explained in association with Paramārtha's gradual model of *amalavijñāna* discussed before. Paramārtha explains the *amalavijñāna* as what is attained at the end of cultivation in the gradual scheme of practice. This shows the *amalavijñāna*'s aspect that is involved in the Conditioned realm because its origination as well as the whole process of practice until its achievement happens in the Conditioned realm. Once the *amalavijñāna* is achieved, however, it belongs to the Unconditioned realm, because, as Paramārtha says, it is achieved along with the fundamental Transformation of the Basis (C. *zhuanyi* 轉依, S. *āśrayaparāvṛtti*). To sum, in Paramārtha's system the *amalavijñāna* may be said a Conditioned dharma as sentient beings' perfected consciousness on the one hand, and may also be said as an Unconditioned dharma as the cognizing aspect of Thusness on the other. The Thusness is accordingly said to be associated with both the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms, with the binary implication that the two realms are distinguished in one sense, and indistinguished in the other.

[84] See n. 83 above. I will discuss more about Taehyŏn's perspective on this issue in Chapter V.

(5) Connection between the Unconditioned and Conditioned II: Two Types of Attainment of the Dharma Body

Paramārtha's connection between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms, while considering both aspects of the identification and the separation of the two realms, also appears in his treatment of the doctrine of Dharma Body, one of the three types of Buddha bodies (C. *sanshen* 三身, S. *trikāya*). In the Yogācāra tradition, just like Thusness, the Dharma Body is considered an Unconditioned dharma, which is separated from the Conditioned realm,[85] and thus the problem of how to explain the connection between the Unconditioned and Conditioned emerges as an issue in relation with the matter of Buddhist practitioners' attainment of the Dharma Body. If the two realms are completely separated from and not interacting with each other, the practitioners of the Conditioned realm would never attain the Dharma Body of the Unconditioned realm; if the distinction between the two realms are nominal and the realms are mutually interactive, the practitioners do not even have to make effort to attain the Dharma Body. These two positions obviously have practical problems because the former cannot explain the soteriological phenomenon of Buddhist practitioners' attainment of the Dharma Body, and the latter takes a risk of falling into antinomianism.

Paramārtha avoids such problems by considering both the identity and separation between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms. Briefly speaking, on the one hand Paramārtha does not make a distinction between the two realms by admitting that the sentient beings of the Conditioned realm may attain the Unconditioned Dharma Body, and yet he does not regard the Dharma Body attained on this level as the perfect one; on the other hand,

[85] We see the description of the Dharma Body or Thusness as "constantly abiding" in Paramārtha's *She dasheng lun shi* too; 論曰。四常住為相。真如清淨相故。釋曰。此下引三證立法身常住義。真如若出離一切垢。無垢清淨說名佛果。此真如常住。諸佛是清淨真如所顯。故法身常住 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.252a03-06).

Paramārtha confines the complete achievement of the Dharma Body only to the Unconditioned realm, thereby distinguishing the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms from each other. Let me discuss at first Paramārtha's description of bodhisattvas' attainment of Dharma Body.

In the *She dasheng lun shi*, Paramārtha says that the Dharma Body is attained in the "Stage of Vision" (C. *jianwei* 見位), that is, the first stage of the Bodhisattva Path.[86] According to the Yogācāra doctrine, the bodhisattvas on the first stage are not yet liberated from the Conditioned realm since they are still on the Bodhisattva Path and thus have not reached the ultimate enlightenment. It seems then that what Paramārtha means by saying this is that the bodhisattvas attain the Dharma Body, an Unconditioned dharma, in the Conditioned realm. In other words, Paramārtha here does not separate or distinguish the two realms. In another place of the *She dasheng lun shi*, however, Paramārtha says that the bodhisattvas have not yet attained the pure and consummate Dharma Body even in the tenth stage of the Bodhisattva Path.[87] He says that the Dharma Body is realized on reliance of the Transformation of the Basis (C. *zhuanyi* 轉依, S. *āśrayaparāvṛtti*) after the "Diamond Path" (viz. Diamond-like Absorption; C. *jingang yuding* 金剛喻定, S. *vajropama-samādhi*),[88] the meditative absorption which occurs after the tenth stage of the Bodhisattva Path. In a seemingly contradictory way to the previous statement, Paramārtha here describes the attainment of the Dharma Body as an event of the stage of Buddhahood.

[86] 菩薩在見位中。已得如來法身 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.206c05-06). Paramārtha also says that the completion of the "Non-discriminating Cognition" (C. *wu fenbie zhi* 無分別智, S. *nirvikalpa-jñāna*) leads to the Stage of Vision; 論曰。故得無上覺。釋曰。由不分別故。成就無分別智。得入初地。即初地以上為無上覺 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.202b22-24). Also he says that in the first stage bodhisattvas see the Thusness; 若菩薩入初地。見真如即盡。何以故。真如無分數故。若見真如不盡。真如則有分數 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.252b08-09); 初地能見真如故 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.225c19).

[87] 菩薩於十地未有勝能。未得清淨圓滿法身 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.226c25-26). In another passage, Paramārtha says that, and in other place he also says that the Transformation of the Basis is named Dharma Body (何法名法身。轉依名法身 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31. 173c25)).

[88] 由此轉依。 金剛道後證得法身 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.254c19-20).

Although at first glance these two statements appear contradictory to each other, we may explain this contradiction by assigning each of the stages to the initial attainment and the final completion of the Dharma Body. Since the bodhisattvas in the ten stages of the Bodhisattva Path are on a gradual progress of advancement to the Buddhahood, we may expect that the Dharma Body is also attained in a progressive way. By dividing the attainment of the Dharma Body into two types, the first attainment and the complete achievement of it, Paramārtha avoids the problems that are derived from both the lack of distinction and separation between the Unconditioned and Conditioned. Paramārtha can explain the ordinary beings' initial achievement of the Unconditioned Dharma Body by accepting their attainment of the Dharma Body when they are still in the Conditioned realm; he also follows the Yogācāra tenet that the Unconditioned realm is separated from the Conditioned by confining the complete achievement of the Dharma Body only to the level of Buddhahood after the tenth stage of the Bodhisattva Path.

Moreover, Paramārtha also makes a similar, if not identical, division while explaining bodhisattvas' attainment of the "Non-discriminating Cognition" (C. *wu fenbie zhi* 無分別智, S. *nirvikalpa-jñāna*). He divides bodhisattvas' attainment of the Non-discriminating Cognition into two types according to whether it is their initial capture of the Cognition in the first stage or the final achievement of it in the tenth stage.[89] He discriminated the two types of attainments from each other by naming the former as "correspondence to the [initial] capture" (C. *yude xiangying*

[89] "Non-discriminating Cognition has two meanings in [the bodhisattvas'] liberation process. First, it corresponds to [the meaning of initial] capture; second, it corresponds to [the meaning of final] achievement. It should be known that these two types of correspondence are not beyond the ten stages. The first attainment of the Non-discrimination Cognition in the first stage is named the correspondence to the initial capture; after cultivating the Non-discrimination Cognition for the immeasurable period of time from the first stage through until the tenth stage, the bodhisattvas reach the Final Stage (C. *jiujing* 究竟, S. *niṣṭhā*; alt., C. *jiujing wei* 究竟位), and this is named as the correspondence to the [final] achievement. This Non-discrimination relies on the two types of paths"; 無分別智於出離中與二義相應。一與得相應。二與成就相應。此二相應應知不出十地。初地始得無分別智。名得相應。從初地後乃至十地。於無數劫修無分別智。乃至究竟。名成就相應。此無分別智藉二道 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.241b06-10).

與得相應) and the latter as "correspondence to the [final] achievement" (C. *yuchengjiu xiangying* 與成就相應).[90] Just like the two types of attainment of the Dharma Body, Paramārtha attempts the binary way of interpretation in this division of attainment of the Non-discriminating Cognition as well, and here again Paramārtha avoids pitfalls derived from either lack of distinction or separation by *connecting* them in a gradual scheme.

(6) Connection between the Unconditioned and Conditioned III: The Connection between the Nature of Realization and the Buddha Bodies

In the section above on the two interpretations of the Nature of Realization, I have proposed that there was an exegetical strand that regarded the Nature of Realization of the Conditioned realm and ultimate enlightenment of the Unconditioned realm as neither identical nor separated in a gradual model of cultivation and that we can identify this strand with Paramārtha's. Just as the problem of how the bodhisattvas of the Conditioned realm can attain the Unconditioned Dharma Body emerges as an issue, we may ask the same question in regards to the matter of how the Nature of Realization advances into the ultimate state of enlightenment. In relation with this problem, Paramārtha in fact provides some clues as to how the Nature of Realization in the Conditioned realm gradually develops into the Dharma Body of the Unconditioned realm. This section will investigate the process by which the Nature of Realization of the Conditioned realm develops into the Dharma Body of the Unconditioned realm in Paramārtha's doctrinal system.

[90] See n. 89 above.

The connection of the Nature of Realization to the Dharma Body may be traced by examining the relationship between the Nature of Realization and "Innate [Buddha] Gotra"[91] (C. *zhuzixing xing* 住自性性, S. *prakṛtistha-gotra*), one of the two kinds of Buddha Gotra (C. *foxing* 佛性, S. **buddha-gotra*) addressed in the *Foxing lun* 佛性論[92], along with "Derived [Buddha] Gotra" (C. *yinchu xing* 引出性, S. *samudānīta-gotra*). Paramārtha says that these two kinds of Buddha Gotra are the causes of the Buddha's Three Bodies (C. *sanshen* 三身, S. *trikāya*): the Innate Buddha Gotra is the cause of the Dharma Body, while the Derived Buddha Gotra is the cause of the Reward body (C. *baoshen* 報身, S. *saṃbhoga-kāya*) and Transformation Body (C. *huashen* 化身, S. *nirmāṇa-kāya*).[93]

[91] I will use the original Sanskrit term *gotra* here, not translating it, not only because this term has a range of meanings, but also because the term *gotra*, when combined with "Buddha" as in this passage (viz., *foxing* 佛性), may be translated into "Buddha Nature," which often tends to be regarded as the universal spiritual capacity, viz., the *tathāgatagarbha*, as represented in the bifurcated interpretation of East Asian Yogācāra Buddhism. However, as I will discuss below, this concept of *gotra* is well accepted in the New Yogācāra tradition as well; in this tradition it is translated into "Seeds" (C. *zhongzi* 種子) or "Lineage" (C. *zhongxing* 種姓). The *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, one of the most representative New Yogācāra canonical texts, also states that the Lineage (viz., *gotra*; C. *zhongxing* 種姓) is also named "Seeds" (C. *zhongzi* 種子), "Realm" (C. *jie* 界), or "Nature" (C. *xing* 性): 又此種姓 亦名種子 亦名為界 亦名為性 (瑜伽師地論 T1579:30.478c17-18).

[92] The *Foxing lun* is traditionally attributed to Vasubandhu, but the authorship has been controversial since it is extant only in Paramārtha's Chinese translation. Further, there are some passages, which start with "to explain" (C. *shiyue* 釋曰), in the *Foxing lun*, and these passages seem to be Paramārtha's own comments added to the text. Scholars generally agree that the *Foxing lun* heavily reflects Paramārtha's own interpretation of the text, and some scholars even suspect that Paramārtha himself composed it. For more information, see Sallie B. King, *Buddha Nature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 23-26.

[93] 佛性有二種。一者住自性性。二者引出性。諸佛三身。因此二性故得成就。… 為約此兩因故。佛說三身果。一者因住自性佛性故說法身。… 二者因引出佛性故說應身。… 三者因引出佛性。復出化身 (佛性論 T1610:31.808b15-c25). These two kinds of Buddha Nature (**buddha-gotra*), i.e., *prakṛtistha-gotra* and *samudānīta-gotra*, appear in the *Ratnagotravibhāga* (gotraṃ tad dvividhaṃ jñeyaṃ nidhānaphalavṛkṣavat anādiprakṛtisthaṃ ca samudānītam uttaram //149// buddhakāyatrayāvāptir asmād gotradvayān matā / prathamāt prathamaḥ kāyo dvitīyād dvau tu paścimau //150//; E. H. Johnston, ed. *The Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra* (Patna: Bihar Research Society, 1950), 71, 18-72, 2); cited from Kim Sŏngch'ŏl 김성철, "Chinje yŏk *Pulsŏngnon* yŏkchu" 진제역 불성론 역주 (1), *Critical Review for Buddhist Studies* 불교학리뷰 11 (2012). n. 7. In another place, the *Foxing lun* also addresses three types of Buddha Nature, that is, the two Buddha Natures above and "Accomplished [Buddha] Nature" (C. *zhide xing* 至得性, S. *(*phala-*) *prāpta-gotra*): 復次佛性體有三種。三性所攝義應知。三種者。所謂三因三種佛性。三因者。一應得因。二加行因。三圓滿因。…。三種佛性者。應得因中具有三性。一住自性性。二引出性。三至得性。記曰。

The *Chengweishi lun*, one of Xuanzang's translations as well as one of the major canonical bases of the New Yogācāra school, provides very helpful information regarding the relationship between the Nature of Realization and the Innate Buddha Gotra. In the *Cheng weishi lun*, Xuanzang translates these two Buddha Gotras, i.e., *prakṛtistha-gotra* and *samudānīta-gotra*, into slightly different terms from Paramārtha's, that is, "Inherent Gotra" (C. *benxingzhu zhongxing* 本性住種姓) and "Developed Gotra"(C. *xisuocheng zhongxing* 習所成種姓).[94] These Gotras are explained here as "Uncontaminated Seeds" (C. *uwulou zhongzi* 無漏種子), the New Yogācāra equivalent to the concept of the Nature of Realization in Paramārtha's system although they have distinct aspects.[95] In this respect, the two types of Gotras are referred to as two types of the Uncontaminated Seeds, that is, "Innate Uncontaminated Seeds" (C. *benyou wulou zhongzi* 本有無漏種子) and "Newly Permeated Seeds" (C. *xinxun zhongzi* 新熏種子) respectively.[96]

住自性者。謂道前凡夫位。引出性者。從發心以上。窮有學聖位。至得性者。無學聖位 (佛性論 T1610:31.764a11-24). The *She dashenglun shi* also mentions the three kinds of Buddha Natures as the object of faith (C. *xin* 信): 有三處。一信實有。二信可得。三信有無窮功德。信實有者。信實有自性住佛性。信可得者。信引出佛性。信有無窮功德者。信至果佛性 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.200c22-24).

[94]何謂大乘二種種姓。一本性住種姓。謂無始來依附本識法爾所得無漏法因。二習所成種姓。謂聞法界等流法已聞所成等熏習所成 (成唯識論 T1585:31.48b07-10). These two terms also occur in the *Yuqieshidi lun*, Xuanzang's translation of the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*; 云何種姓。謂略有二種。一本性住種姓。二習所成種姓。本性住種姓者。謂諸菩薩六處殊勝有如是相。從無始世展轉傳來法爾所得。是名本性住種姓。習所成種姓者。謂先串習善根所得 是名習所成種姓 (瑜伽師地論 T1579:30.478c12-17).

[95] One of the most salient distinction between them is that while the Nature of Realization is explained as inherent in all sentient beings, the Uncontaminated Seeds are regarded in the New Yogācāra system as inherent only in particular group of sentient beings. The sentient beings are divided into five types according to whether or not they have the Uncontaminated Seeds, or to what kind of Uncontaminated Seeds they have. This is well known as the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages; see Introduction, n. 15.

[96] The *Cheng weishi lun* lists three views on the origin of the Uncontaminated Seeds: (1) the view that all Uncontaminated Seeds are innately existent and not created by permeation, (2) the view that all Uncontaminated Seeds are created by the permeation, and (3) the view that some Uncontaminated Seeds are innately existent and the others are newly created by the permeation: [1] 此中有義一切種子皆本性有不從熏生。由熏習力但可增長。… 又從無始展轉傳來法爾所得本性住性。由此等證無漏種子法爾本有不從熏生。有漏亦應法爾有種。由熏增長不別熏生。如是建立因果不亂。[2] 有義種子皆熏故生。所熏能熏俱無始有。故諸種子無始成就。種子既是習氣異名。習氣必由熏習而有。如麻香氣花熏故生。… [3] 有義種子各有二類。一者本有。謂無始來異熟識中法爾而有生蘊處界功能差別。世尊依此說諸有情無始時來有種種界如惡叉聚法爾而有。餘

In fact, the similarities between Paramārtha's concept of the Nature of Realization and the *Cheng weishi lun*'s concept of the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds have been discussed by Takemura Makio.[97] First, the Nature of Realization and the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds both have the connotation of the basis for enlightenment. The *She dashenglun shi* and *Cheng weishi lun* both quotes the same verse from the **Mahāyāna-abhidharma sutra* (C. *Dasheng apidamo jing* 大乘阿毘達磨經) in each of their passages, in which the Nature of Realization or Innate Uncontaminated Seeds is discussed.[98] More importantly, the *She dashenglun shi*'s description of the Nature of Realization as the basis for sanctity (C. *shenren yi* 聖人依) when combined with Permeation of Learning (C. *wenxunxi* 聞熏習, S. *śruta-vāsanā*)[99] exactly parallels the *Chengweishi lun*'s explanation of the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds as what increases by the Permeation of Learning until it raises the transcendent mind (C. *chushixin* 出世心).[100] If we see the correspondence between Paramārtha's concept of the Nature of Realization and the Innate

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所引證廣說如初。此即名為本性住種。二者始起。謂無始來數數現行熏習而有。世尊依此說有情心染淨諸法所熏習故無量種子之所積集。諸論亦說染淨種子由染淨法熏習故生。此即名為習所成種 (成唯識論 T1585:31.08a21-c03). The *Chengweishi lun* aligns with the third view, in which the Inherent Gotra (C. *benxingzhu zhongxing* 本性住種姓) and Developed Gotra (C. *xisuocheng zhongxing* 習所成種姓) are referred to respectively as the "Innate Uncontaminated Seeds" (C. *benyou wulou zhongzi* 本有無漏種子) and "Newly Permeated Seeds" (C. *xinxun zhongzi* 新熏種子).

[97] See Takemura, "Jironshū, Shōronshū, Hossōshū" 地論宗・攝論宗・法相宗. n. 46; Keng, "Yogācāra Buddhism transmitted or transformed? Paramārtha (499--569) and his Chinese interpreters," 377.

[98] 如佛世尊 阿毘達磨略本偈中說。此界無始時 一切法依止 若有諸道有 及有得涅槃 (攝大乘論釋 T1595:31.156c10-13); 又契經說 無始時來界。一切法等依 (成唯識論 T1585:31.08a24-25).

[99] See n. 57 above.

[100] 聞正法時 亦熏本有無漏種子 令漸增盛展轉 乃至生出世心故 亦說此名聞熏習 (成唯識論 T1585:31.09a15-17). This description of the Nature of Realization corresponds to the the third view among the three different views discussed in the *Cheng weishi lun* on the origins of the Uncontaminated Seeds, that is, the view that accepts both the innately existent seeds and the newly developed Uncontaminated Seeds (For the three views on the origins of the Uncontaminated Seeds, see n. 96 above). In other words, the Nature of Realization has both connotation of the innately existent seeds and the newly developed Uncontaminated Seeds. Takemura also says that the notion of the Nature of Realization corresponds to the third view; see Takemura, "Jironshū, Shōronshū, Hossōshū" 地論宗・攝論宗・法相宗, n. 46.

Uncontaminated Seeds of the *Cheng weishi lun* on the basis of these similarities, then we may connect the Nature of Realization to the Innate [Buddha] Gotra (C. *zhuzixing xing* 住自性性, S. *prakṛtistha-gotra*) because in the *Cheng weishi lun* the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds refers to the Inherent Gotra (C. *benxingzhu zhongxing* 本性住種姓, S. *prakṛtistha-gotra*), namely, the Innate [Buddha] Gotra of the *Foxing lun*. As mentioned above, the *Foxing lun* states that the Innate Buddha Gotra is the cause of the Dharma Body, and thus the Nature of Realization, as the equivalent of the Innate Buddha Gotra, may be said the cause of the Dharma Body.

Now, given that the Nature of Realization has both connotations of the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds and the Newly Permeated Seeds,[101] we may also divide the Nature of Realization into two types, not just identifying it to the Innate Buddha Gotra. As the two types of Gotra are categorized on the basis of whether they are in the original or developed state, the Nature of Realization may be accordingly divided. Categorized in this way, the Nature of Realization in the original state may correspond to the Innate Buddha Gotra, which is innately existent in the *ālayavijñāna*, while the Nature of Realization in the developed state to the Derived Buddha Gotra, which is newly created by the Permeation of Learning. In this regards, the *Foxing lun*'s statement, cited above, that the Reward body and Transformation body are attained from the Derived Buddha Gotra seems to mean that the Nature of Realization in the developed state is the cause of the Reward and Transformation body. In the same vein, the Nature of Realization, which is the cause of the Dharma Body as the equivalent of the Innate Buddha Gotra, refers to the Nature of Realization in the original state. The Nature of Realization serves in this way as the cause of the Buddha Bodies, especially the Nature of Realization in the original state connected to the Dharma Body of the Unconditioned realm, thereby representing

[101] See n. 100 above.

the connection between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realm in Paramārtha's doctrinal system.

The division of the Nature of Realization into the original and developed stage, along with its connection to the Innate Buddha Gotra and the Derived Buddha Gotra, might seem still speculative due to the scarcity of the textual basis. However, since the concept of the Nature of Realization has both connotations of the Innate Seeds and Newly Permeated Seeds, there is a strong possibility that Paramārtha's concept of the Nature of Realization was evolved or interpreted into the New Yogācāra concept of two types of Uncontaminated Seeds in the *Cheng weishi lun*. Paramārtha's view on the Buddha Nature and the Buddha Bodies on the basis on the discussion above may be organized in the following chart:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">Uncontaminated
無漏</td><td>Contaminated
有漏</td></tr>
<tr><td>Unconditioned 無爲</td><td colspan="2">Conditioned 有爲</td><td rowspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"></td><td>Innate Gotra 住自性性
(Nature of Realization
解性
in Original State)</td><td>Derived Gotra 引出性
(Nature of Realization
解性
in Developed State)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Dharma Body 法身</td><td>Reward Body 報身 &
Transformation Body
化身</td></tr>
</table>

Chart 1. Paramārtha's Doctrine of Buddha Gotra and its Connection between the Unconditioned and Conditioned

As seen in the chart, the original state of the Nature of Realization inherent in all sentient beings of the Conditioned realm proceeds to the Dharma Body of the Unconditioned realm; the developed form of the Nature of Realization to the Reward and Transformative Bodies of the Conditioned realm. The explanation of the relationship between the Nature of Realization and

the Dharma Body respectively as the cause and fruit again shows that Paramārtha connects the Conditioned and Unconditioned realms, without undermining the both positions of distinction and lack of distinction between the two realms.

(7) Disappearance of the Distinction between Two Shelun Strands

In light of Paramārtha's binary doctrinal position that does not incline to either of the two allegedly contradictory positions, i.e. the Tathāgatagarbha or Yogācāra, it does not seem proper to regard Paramārtha as a Tathāgatagarbha exegete who stands against the new Yogācāra doctrines. Rather, it seems, as discussed above, that there existed two doctrinally distinct strands i.e., Paramārtha's and Tanqian's strands, within the scope of what has been known to us as the Shelun school.

If the two different Shelun strands existed, why can we not find clear historical records regarding the doctrinal difference or contrast between them? Probably the first reason would be that Tanqian himself did not distinguish his own doctrinal position from Paramārtha's. In the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, Daoxuan depicts Tanqian's pleasure when he obtained Paramārtha's translation of the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* in Jinling 金陵,[102] and he also describes Tanqian as the very figure who promulgated the *She dasheng lun* in North China.[103] Although there is no record left

[102] 因至桂州刺史蔣君之宅。獲攝大乘論。以為全如意珠 (續高僧傳 T.2060:50.572a26-27).

[103] In the biography of Tanqian of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, Daoxuan says that Tanqian is the very person who has disseminated Paramārtha's teaching in the country by quoting Paramārtha as follows: "In Paramārtha's biography, it is said, 'soon, in a big country that is neither far nor close from here, one with a great spirit will be able to spread this treatise [i.e., the *She dasheng lun*].' In looking at the present and reflecting over the past, how is it not this person [i.e., Tanqian]?"; 故真諦傳云。不久有大國不近不遠大根性人。能弘斯論。求今望古豈非斯人乎 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.572c26-28). But note that the quotation is not exact, since there is no mentioning of the "one with a great spirit" in the passage. In the biography of Paramārtha, it is said "Paramārtha points at the direction of northeast and says, 'in this direction there is a big country that is neither close nor far from here. After we die, [this country] will flourish this teaching [of the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*]. I myself cannot see the flourishing and it is a

regarding Tanqian's own perspective on Paramārtha or his scholasticism, Daoxuan's attempt to associate Tanqian with Paramārtha discloses that Tanqian did not acknowledge himself as doctrinally opposed to Paramārtha. Rather, Tanqian seems to have had a close relationship with Caopi, one of Paramārtha's disciples.[104] Second, Tanqian political status also seems to have helped his Shelun exegesis to become predominant in contemporary Buddhist circles.[105] It thus seems highly probable that other Shelun doctrinal positions, if any, were ignored or overlooked in this situation. Third, Paramārtha's disciples themselves, the strongest candidates to belong to Paramārtha's strand, were not so successful in disseminating Paramārtha's teaching, as mentioned before; they were scattered after Paramārtha's death and worked individually to spread the teaching, but with little success.[106] On the contrary, Tanqian, as an influential political and religious figure, attracted numerous students. Thus it is probable that Paramārtha's disciples'

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great pity'": 諦以手指西北曰。此方有大國。非近非遠。吾等沒後當盛弘之。但不覩其興。以為太息耳 (續高僧傳 T.2060:50.430c11-13).

[104] Chen proposes that Tanqian maintained a close relationship with Caopi when he was in Jinling based on the fact that Sengrong 僧榮 (fl. 603), one of Caopi's disciples, was summoned to the monastery Chanding si 禪定寺 at which Tanqian was the abbot at that time. For detailed explanation, see Chen, *Monks and monarchs, kinship and kingship : Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and politics*: 32.

[105] I discussed this at the beginning of this section.

[106] It is recorded the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* that "After Mater Paramārtha died, the dharma-peers [viz., his disciples] withered and were scattered and its lineage was about to die out":至三藏崩後。法侶彫散宗嗣將虧 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.431c13-14). Huikai 慧愷 (alt. Zhikai 智愷; 518-568), Paramārtha's most cherished disciple, died before Paramārtha (see 續高僧傳 T2060:50.431b02-24). Fatai 法泰 (fl. 577) went to Jinling in 571 after Paramārtha's death along with Paramārtha's translations such as the *She dasheng lun* and the *Jushe lun* (S. *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*), but did not meet much success (see 續高僧傳 T2060:50.431a19-25). Sometime after Paramārtha's death, Daoni 道尼 (fl. 590) also went to Jinling (Yangdu 楊都), where he seems to have earned reputation for his study on the *She dasheng lun*, until he was summoned to Chang'an in 590 (see 續高僧傳 T2060:50.527b08-10). He stayed in the monastery Da xingshan si 大興善寺 (see 續高僧傳 T2060:50.671b26-29) and he also lectured on the *She dasheng lun* in Chang'an at the same time when Tanqian did (see 續高僧傳 T2060:50.544b28-29). But it seems that he lost fame after that, since we cannot find any record about his late years. For the more discussion on Daoni's demise, see Keng, "Yogācāra Buddhism transmitted or transformed? Paramārtha (499--569) and his Chinese interpreters," 331-36. Caopi 曹毘 (fl. 571), a niece of Huikai, also later went to Jinling in his late years and lectured on several Buddhist treatises including the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (see 續高僧傳 T2060:50.431b24-c02). For more explanation of Paramārtha's disciples, see Paul, *Philosophy of Mind in Sixth-Century China : Paramartha's 'Evolution of Consciousness'*: 40-44. Also see Chen, *Monks and monarchs, kinship and kingship : Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and politics*: 31.n.

different interpretation on the *She dasheng lun* would be mostly regarded as a doctrinal reverberation of Tanqian's Shelun teaching.[107]

Although historical sources do not clearly address the distinction between Paramārtha's and Tanqian's Shelun strand, the existence of the two Shelun strands can be also inferred by tracing their scholastic genealogy. The next section, in this regards, will discuss some major exegetes who belong to Paramārtha's strand, focusing on their genealogical relation with Paramārtha and their features that are distinguished from those of Tanqian's Shelun line.

3. Development of Paramārtha's Shelun Lineage

Although after Paramārtha's death his disciples' attempt to spread his teaching met with little success, as discussed before, historical sources report that there were direct or indirect students of Paramārtha's disciples who show a distinct doctrinal disposition from Tanqian's. Since previous scholarship has already discussed much of Paramārtha's disciples' achievements,[108] this

[107] In the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, Daoxuan mentions those who interpreted the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* differently from Tanqian, calling them as "heresy": "Although all in the country delve deeply into the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, sometimes there are heresies. [However, Tanqian] traces the basis, in which the elucidation arises; there is nothing [in his interpretation], which is deviated from ancestors' teachings": 雖則寰宇穿鑿時有異端。原其解起莫非祖習 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.572c25-26). Daoxuan also denounces Huijing 慧景 (c. 6-7th century) and Baoxian 寶暹 (d.u.), saying that despite their high refutation for the broad knowledge of the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, Huijing and Baoxian descended into prejudiced disputes and ended up losing their great achievements in the late years: 慧景寶暹者。並明攝論譽騰京國。… 末年耽滯偏駮遂掩徽猷 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.532c22-26). Since Huijing and Baoxian's biographies are appended to that of Daoji 道基 (577-637), a disciple of Jingsong 靖嵩 (537-614), who is in turn a disciple of Fatai, one of Paramārtha's disciples, they are presumably Daoji's fellow-disciples of Jingsong or Daoji's disciples. Thus it seems likely that Huijing and Baoxian inherited Paramārtha's Shelun teaching (I will discuss more about Jingsong soon below). Furthermore, Huijing is presumed to be Master Jing 景師, one of the eminent Yogācāra exegetes addressed in Tunnyun's 遁倫 (alt. Toryun 道倫; d.u.) *Yugaron ki* 瑜伽論記 and, later, Ji's *Yuqieshidilun lüezuan* 瑜伽師地論略纂. From the fact that Huijing is consulted by Ji, the virtual founder of the so-called new Yogācāra school, we may consider the possibility that Huijing's viewpoint is connected to the new Yogācāra doctrines, and, further, the doctrinal connection between Paramārtha and the new Yogācāra.

[108] See n. 106 above. In relation with the current issue on the existence of the two Shelun strands, Keng also recognizes Daoni as the major figure of the so-called "*Shelun-T2805* Lineage," that is, Paramārtha's lineage that makes distinct interpretation of the Nature of Realization (C. *jiexing* 解性) from that of Tanqian's "*Shelun-*

section will focus mostly on their students, namely, the second-generation disciples of Paramārtha.

One thing that should be noted in the current concern of distinguishing Paramārtha's and Tanqian's Shelun lineages is that a Shelun exegete's previous affiliation, if any, with the Dilun school may be reflected to his later affiliation with the Shelun lineage. I discussed before that Paramārtha's doctrinal perspective has much in common with the Northern Dilun school and Tanqian's lineage traces back to the Southern Dilun school. This respective connection of Paramārtha and Tanqian with the Northern and Southern schools in fact also quite well explains Paramārtha's two-fold position and Tanqian's Tathāgatagarbha position, because, as previously examined, the Northern school relies on the ten-fascicle version of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* that also takes the two-fold position and the Southern school's doctrine of the pure-natured *ālayavijñāna* have a *tathāgatagarbha* connotation. However, the situation is more complicated than it seems, because this correlation does not always turn out true: many Shelun exegetes' genealogical origin is untraceable due to lack of materials; in addition, some Southern exegetes converted to Paramārtha's, not Tanqian's, Shelun line[109] and such a Southern exegete as Fashang, as examined before, shows partly the Northern school's viewpoints. It should be thus noted that although the link between the Northern school and Paramārtha or between the Southern school and Tanqian is a useful theoretical tool, this distinction does not mean there was a clear-cut separation between the two.

Awakening of Faith Lineage"; see Keng, "Yogācāra Buddhism transmitted or transformed? Paramārtha (499--569) and his Chinese interpreters," 317-39.

[109] By tracing records in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* and comparing it with the genealogical lineages of the Dilun and Shelun school, Yūki Reimon has found that at least two exegetes among Paramārtha's line, i.e., Jingsong 靖嵩 (537-614) and Fakan 法侃 (551-623), had been affiliated with the Southern Dilun strand before they joined the Shelun line; see Yūki, "Jironshū hokudōha no yukue" 地論宗北道派の行方, 12-18. I will discuss more about his soon below.

Jingsong 靖嵩 (537-614), the former Southern Dilun exegete, is one of the figures worthy of consideration in this regard. Jingsong's teacher Rongzhi 融智 (d.u.) is a disciple of Fashang,[110] a second-generation disciple of Ratnamati, the putative founder of the Southern Dilun school; later when he fled to Jinling from the Northern Zhou persecution of Buddhism (574-577), he met Fatai, one of Paramārtha's disciples, and consult him often about the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* and the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*.[111] Afterwards, when the Sui dynasty was established, he returned north to Pengcheng (present day Xuzhou 徐州) in 590, where he achieves prominence for his lectures on the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*.[112] Some scholars view Jingsong as belong to the same line as Tanqian since they have similarities in several aspects of their career. Both have a Southern school origin; fled to Jinling from the anti-Buddhist policy of the Northern Zhou dynasty; came across the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* teaching through Paramārtha's translation of the text; later lectured on those teachings in North China.[113] But the fact that Jingsong consistently contacted Fatai asking his advice about the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* and the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* suggests that his understanding of the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* was inheriting Paramārtha's.[114] One more thing that is noteworthy is that, although he was a Southern

[110] 有大學寺融智法師。大齊國統法上之神足也。解貫眾師道光二藏。學徒五百負衷摩肩。常講涅槃及地論。嵩聞之乃投誠焉。北面從範。攻研數載。隨聞覆述。每擊奇致。於即學徒舉目相與推師 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.501b16-21).

[111] See Jingsong's biography at 續高僧傳 T2060:50.501c04-20.

[112] See Jingsong's biography at 續高僧傳 T2060:50.501c20-a03.

[113] For instance, Yoshimura treats Tanqian and Jingsong as a same group, discussing their similar career all together; see Yoshimura Makoto 吉村誠, "Genjō saiyūi: Genjō wa naniyue indo e itta no ka" 玄奘西遊意--玄奘は何故インドへ行ったのか, *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 仏教史学研究 46, no. 1 (2003): 34-35.

[114] Keng also indicates this point, mentioning the difficulty to associate Jingsong with Tanqian's lineage despite the similarity of career between Jingsong and Tanqian; see Keng, "Yogācāra Buddhism transmitted or transformed? Paramārtha (499--569) and his Chinese interpreters," 324. n. 70. One thing in Jingsong's career that is distinct from Tanqian's is that he remained in Pencheng and never went to Chang'an. The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* also reports that he refused even two times the summon by Emperor Yang 煬帝 (r. 604-617) of Sui dynasty to an imperial

Dilun school exegete, his scholastic lineage traces back to Fashang, who, as discussed before, shows not just the typical Southern school's doctrinal disposition, but also the Northern school's. Viewed in this way, Jingsong's scholastic position seems to resonate with the Northern school's and, further, with Paramārtha's.

Jingsong's disciples also have some features that deviated from Tanqian's Shelun line. The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* records that Fahu 法護 (576-642), who had learned the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* from Jingsong, edited Paramārtha's translation of *Mahāyānasaṃgraha-bhāṣya* by comparing it with Dharmagupta's (C. Damojiduo/Damojueduo 達摩笈多/達摩崛多) new translation, which was composed in the Daye 大業 reign period (605-616) of the Sui 隋 dynasty (581-618), after Taizong 太宗 (r. 626-649) of the new Tang 唐 dynasty (618-907) invited him to the capital as one of the five eminent monks; even though most other people thought that the new translation had shortcomings, he alone appreciated it, and afterwards when Xuanzang translated the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha-bhāṣya*, Fahu's interpretation turned out to coincide with Xuanzang's.[115] If we accept this information about Fahu as correct, the fact that Fahu's revised translation accorded with Xuanzang's translation seems to suggest that the reason why Fahu had felt the need to revise Paramārtha's *She dasheng lun shi* was probably because the contemporary interpretation of the *She dasheng lun shi* was overly weighted toward a position that was the opposite of, or at least very different from, Xuanzang's position. It seems obvious that the position opposed to Xuanzang's was Tanqian's Shelun position, that is, Tathāgatagarbha

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monastery (see Jingsong's biography at 續高僧傳 T2060:50.502a06-08). It is probable that his estrangement from the mainstream scholastic strand in the Capital is also part of the reason that Paramārtha's scholasticism did not achieve much prominence; or, in the other way around, that Jingsong might have recognized the doctrinal distinction between Tanqian's and his and wanted to escape from the expected polemic disputes.

[115] 偽鄭既降太宗初入。別請名德五人。護居其列。自此校角攝論。去取兩端。或者多以新本确削未足依任。而護獨得於心。及唐論新出。奄然符會。以為默識之有人焉 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.530c07-11).

way of interpretation, and in this respect it seems likely that Fahu belonged to a different doctrinal line from Tanqian's.

Daoji 道基 (577-637), Jingsong's another student,[116] is known for his critical understanding of Paramārtha's doctrines. Daoji claimed in the *Shelun zhang* 攝論章 that the *Wuxiang lun,* one of Paramārtha's translations, and the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (C. *Dasheng zhuangyanjing lun* 大乘莊嚴經論) should be taken as textual evidence for the doctrine of the nine consciousnesses, while criticizing Paramārtha's reliance on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and the *Shiqidi lun* 十七地論[117] for evidence; although he accepted by himself the doctrine of nine consciousnesses, he raised a question on the validity of the texts by saying that the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* did not mention the specific name of the consciousness and the *Shiqidi lun*

[116] Daoxuan records that Daoji went to Pengcheng in 590 (at the age of fourteen) and attended lectures led by several monks, and then he moved around in 605 to Luoyang, where he lectured on the **Saṃyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra* (C. *Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論), until he joined to the national monastery Huiri si 慧日寺 in 609. Around in 617, when the Sui dynasty went to the ground, Daoji again moved to Bashu 巴蜀 (around Sichuan province in present day), where he promulgated the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* until he died at the monastery Fucheng si 福成寺 in 637(see Daoji's biography at the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 T2060:50.532b14-c21). In Jingsong's biography, Daoxuan reports that Daoji studied with Jingsong and he even wrote Jingsong's biography after his death; 益州道基昔預末筵。飡風飲德。悼流魂之安放。悲墳隧之荒侵。為之行狀廣於世矣 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.502a23-25). Since Jingsong stayed in Pengcheng from 590 until he died in 614 (see Jingsong's biography at T2060:50.501c20-a03), it can be inferred that Daoji studied with Jingsong during his stay in Pengcheng before he moved to Luoyang.

Some scholars regard Daoji as a disciple of Daoxun 道愻 (556-630), who was one of Tanyan's 曇延 (516-588) disciples, based on the biography of Daoxun, in which it is recorded that Daoxun held the funeral of his younger brother along with his "disciple Daoji" and others in 627 (以貞觀元年。 卒于山舍。 春秋六十七。愻撫之洒淚。與弟子道基等闍毘遺陰 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.533c06-08)). But there is no other record that Daoji left Bashu area at this time on the one hand and Daoji appears too old (at the age of fifty two) to be a disciple of Daoxuan in this year on the other, and thus it does not seem likely that the "disciple Daoji" refers to Daoji here. In addition, Tanyan is one of the exegetes who were influenced by Tanqian's Shelun teaching, as discussed before, and thus Tanyan's scholastic disposition also seems quite distinct from Daoji's.

[117] Buddhist catalogues, the oldest of which is Fei Changfang's 費長房 (d.u.) notoriously unreliable *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀, list this lost text as one of Paramārtha's works. Radich suggests that the *Shiqidi lun* contains a wide range of excepts from the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, and the *Jueding zang lun* 決定藏論 is a remaining fragment of the *Shiqidi lun*. For the detailed explanation regarding the *Shiqidi lun*, see Radich, "The Doctrine of **Amalavijñāna* in Paramārtha (499-569), and Later Authors to Approximately 800 C.E," 92. n. 168.

was not transmitted in China.[118] This statement allows us to see that in Daoji's time it had been generally considered that Paramārtha took the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and the *Shiqidi lun* as his canonical references, and Daoji also seems to have believed it. But, in fact there are problems in this connection, and Daoji's criticism appears to reflect the problems, even if Daoji himself does not acknowledge that he was doing it. First, we cannot find any passage in Paramārtha's extant works, which discuss the ninth consciousness or the nine-consciousness system in relation to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.[119] Actually it was Tanqian's line that used this text broadly as one of the canonical references.[120] Second, Paramārtha's textual evidence that Daoji presents here, viz.,

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[118] Several passages of Daoji's lost *Shelun zhang* are quoted by Gyōnen 凝然 (1240–1321), Japanese Kegon 華厳 monk, in his *Kegon kōmokushō hatsugo ki* 華厳孔目章発悟記. One of the passages contains his criticism of Paramārtha's reliance on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and the *Shiqidi lun*; 問: 真諦三藏并道基法師，依何經論建九識義? 答: 攝論章第一云 或有法師，具說九識 如真諦三藏，引楞伽經八九種種心，又引十七地論決定說九品心，以為證驗，自後諍論于今不息，終令後代取決莫由。… 或復說云 無相義具通陳其九，無相論中轉識品云 能緣有三，一果報識卽黎耶，二者執識卽阿陀那，三者塵識卽是六識。如是說已，復說阿摩羅識。 故彼論云 境識俱泯，即是實性，其實性者，即阿摩羅也。彼論復云 阿黎耶識，有八種異， 如九識品說。 論旣說八識之外， 別說淨識名阿摩羅，復云如九識品中說， 明知， 今者所說九識， 其理勝焉。復次大莊嚴論云 轉八識得鏡智，轉第七識得平等智， 轉五識得觀智， 轉意識得作事智。 蓋八識文也。彼論復云 心真如名之為心，即說此心為自性清淨，此心即是阿摩羅識，前八及此心，豈無九乎。真諦三藏雖引楞伽經八九種種心，復引十七地論決定說九品心，其楞伽經 雖云八九，不引列名，十七地論攝傳天竺，此國未行，故此二說亦難為證，今取無相論文并大莊嚴論說有九識，用為可依 (*Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書 122, 370). For English translation of this passage, see ibid., 131-33. For other passages quoted by Gyōnen, see Katsumata, *Bukkyō ni okeru shinshikisetsu no kenkyū* 仏教における心識説の研究: 790-98. Also see Yoshimura Makoto 吉村誠, "*Shōron* gakuha no shinshiki setsu ni tsuite" 摂論学派の心識説について, *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu ronshū* 駒沢大学仏教学部論集 34 (2003): 237-39.

[119] In this regard, Katsumata indicates that it is Jingying Huiyuan that attributes the nine-consciousness system to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*; see Katsumata Shunkyō 勝又俊教, "Shōronshū kyōgaku no ichi danmen" 摂論宗教学の一断面, *Nihon Bukkyōgakkai nenpō* 日本仏教学会年報 26 (1961): 77. For the passage in which Huiyuan discusses the nine consciousnesses on the basis of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, see Chapter I, n. 19.

[120] Tanqian's biography of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* repeatedly records that the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* is one of Tanqian's major canonical references along with the *AMF* (see 續高僧傳 T2060:50.571b12-574b06). But we should still open the possibility that Paramārtha also used the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* because, as discussed before, he is doctrinally connected to the ten-fascicle *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. Nevertheless, Daoji's criticism here seems to be targeted at Tanqian's strand, because, first, as mentioned above, Tanqian significantly relied upon this text, and second, Tanqian's strand was the mainstream Shelun line, which Daoji intends to criticize here, and third, we can expect that Daoji, as a disciple of Jingsong, may have had an opposed viewpoint against Tanqian's interpretation of *amalavijñāna* in light of the *tathāgatagarbha*. Indeed, Tanqian seems to have used the four-fascicle version, the version that is more inclined to Tathāgatagarbha doctrine than the ten-fascicle version, as discussed before, since the list of *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* specialists presented in Fachong's 法沖 (589–665) biography of the *Xu gaoseng*

"the definite explanation of the nine kinds of mind" (決定說九品心) from the *Shiqidi lun*, is very reminiscent of the "Ninth Consciousness Chapter (C. *jiushi pin* 九識品) of the *Jueding zang lun* 決定藏論 (S. *Vinirṇīta piṭaka śāstra*)," the problematic reference for Paramārtha's doctrine of *amalavijñāna*.[121] Additionally, since the *Jueding zang lun* is presumably a fragment of the *Shiqidi lun*,[122] we may say that just as the "Ninth Consciousness Chapter of the *Jueding zang lun*" is problematic as a source for Paramārtha's doctrinal position, the "definite explanation of the nine kinds of mind from the *Shiqidi lun*" is also not so trustful. It seems that Daoji did not just accept the given doctrines which lacked concrete evidence, and thus he had to question the mainstream Shelun group's claims that were not based on Paramārtha's works.[123]

Sengbian 僧辯 (568-642) learned from Zhining 智凝 (562-609), one of Jingsong's students, and was also invited to the state monastery Dachangding daochang 大禪定道場 in Chang'an in 605.[124] Besides the fact that he lectured on the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* also reports that he was versed in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*.[125] Although Paramārtha is

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zhuan suggests that, except Vinaya Master Shangde 尚德律師 (d.u.), who Daoxuan explicitly indicates wrote a commentary to ten-fascicle version, all the others, including Tanqian, specialized on the four-fascicle version (續高僧傳 T2060:50.666b13-21); see Chen, *Monks and monarchs, kinship and kingship : Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and politics*: 208-09.

[121] See n. 30 and n. 79 above.

[122] See n. 117 above.

[123] Such Daoji's attitude is also supported by their the fact that whereas Jingying Huiyuan presenting the alternative names of *ālayavijñāna* by drawing from such Tathāgatagarbha texts as *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*, and the *AMF*, Daoji all from Paramārtha's translations; see Katsumata, "Shōronshū kyōgaku no ichi danmen" 摂論宗教学の一断面, 82-83.

[124] See Sengbian's biography at the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 T2060:50.540b05-10.

[125] 俱舍一論振古未開[=聞] (續高僧傳 T2060:50.540b23-24). Daoxuan continues to say that, when Daoyue, another *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* expert who also appears to inherit Paramārtha's teaching (see below), lectures on the text, Sengbian stops his own lecture and listen to Daoyue's; 道岳法師命章搆釋。辯正講論廢而聽之。隨聞出鈔三百餘紙 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.540b24-25).

typically known as the Shelun school founder, he wanted the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* to be widely promulgated along with the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*.[126] In this respect, it seems noteworthy that Sengbian was specialized in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*.

Daoyue 道岳 (579-636), who is known as an expert of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, also studied with Daoni. After becoming as a monk under Sengcan 僧粲 (?-606)[127] at the age of fifteen, Daoyue learned the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* from Daoni in Chang'an, and then he wanted to study the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*,[128] one of the two texts most cherished by Paramārtha along with the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*. After spending five years studying the text by himself, he managed to obtain Paramārtha's commentary, which is recorded by Huikai, and dedicated several more years to studying it until he was summoned to the monastery Dachanding si 大禪定寺 in 612.[129] Daoxuan reports that in Chang'an Daoyue interpreted the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* in association with Paramārtha's *She dasheng lun shi* (C. *sanzang benshu* 三藏本疏), but his interpretation raised controversies among the exegetes.[130] This fact also suggests that his

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According to Xuanzang's biography, Senbian is one of the exegetes whom Xuanzang consulted when he went to Chang'an (see 續高僧傳 T2060:50.447b08-12). Given that most of Xuanzang's teachers before his travel to India were related with Paramārtha's lineage or the Northern Dilun line, as I will discuss soon below, his contact with Xuanzang may be understood in this context.

[126] 及愷之云亡。諦撫膺哀慟。遂來法准房中。率尼響敷等十有二人。共傳香火。令弘攝舍兩論誓無斷絕。皆共奉旨仰無墜失 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.431c10-13).

[127] The Sengcan Daoxuan mentions here appears to refer to Sengcan 僧璨, who was later esteemed as the third Chan patriarch, since Daoxuan uniformly use 僧粲, not 僧璨, in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, and he reports that 粲禪師 as the disciple of Huike 慧可 (487–593), the second Chan patriarch; 可禪師後。粲禪師 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.666b15).

[128] See Daoyue's biography at the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 T2060:50.527b03-22.

[129] See Daoyue's biography at the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 T2060:50.527b22-c15.

[130] 遂以三藏本疏判通俱舍。先學後進潛心異論。皆曰。斯文詞旨宏密學爽師資。縱達一朝誠自誣耳。當伺其談敘得喪斯及矣。岳自顧請主虛宗初無怯憚。舉綱頓網大義斯通。雖諍論鋒臨而響應隨遣。眾咸不識其戶牖。故無理頓聯辭 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.527c24-29).

scholasticism based on Paramārtha's teaching was distinguished from the contemporary mainstream strand.

Fakan 法侃 (551-623) and Sengrong 僧榮 (fl. 603) are identified as Caopi's students by Daoxuan in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan.*[131] Fakan had been a Southern Dilun exegete, just like Jingsong discussed above, before he learned the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* from Caopi in Jinling; he was a disciple of Jingyuan 靜淵 (alt. "Master Yuan"; Yuan fashi 淵法師; 544-671), whose scholastic lineage traces back to Lingyu 靈裕 (518-605), Daoping 道憑 (488-559), Huiguang 慧光 (468-537), and Ratnamati.[132] In other words, Fakan was the fifth-generation disciple of Ratnamati, the putative founder of the Southern Dilun school. He appears to have been an influential monk in the capital since he was summoned by Yang Guang 楊廣, the future Emperor Yangdi 煬帝 of Sui dynasty, to the monastery Riyan si 日嚴寺 in Chang'an; for the national relic-distribution project during Renshou era (601-604), Emperor Wendi 文帝 (r.581-604) of Sui dynasty dispatched him to enshrine relics at the prefecture of Xuanzhou 宣州 in 602 during the national relic-distribution project during Renshou 仁壽 era (601-604).[133] Later, Emperor Gaozu

[131] In Caopi's biography of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, Fakan and Sengrong are described as Caopi's disciples; 禪定僧榮日嚴法侃等皆資其學 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.431c01-02). Also see n. 104 above.

[132] See Fakan, Daopin, and Linyu's biographies at the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 T2060:50.513a19-c06; 484b24-c19; 495b05-498a22.

[133] 仁壽二年。文帝感瑞。廣召名僧用增像化。勅侃往宣州安置舍利。既奉往至統敘國風陶引道俗。革化歸法者數亦殷矣 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.513b09-11). The relic-distribution project during Renshou era was a significant politico-religious project to connect the capital with local cities. Tanqian was also involved as a central figure in this project (續高僧傳 T.2060:50.573c12-14). For the detailed information and discussion regarding this project, see Chen, *Monks and monarchs, kinship and kingship : Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and politics*: 51-87.

高祖 (r. 618-626) of the Tang dynasty (618-907) invited him as one of the ten Great Virtuous Ones (C. *shi dade* 十大德) in 619 (620).[134]

It is noteworthy that Fakan appears not to have seen any doctrinal contradiction between his earlier study of Southern Dilun teaching and Shelun teaching with Caopi. Daoxuan records that, on arriving at Chang'an after studying with Caopi in Jinling, Fakan realized that, as his Southern school teacher Jingyuan mentioned, a monk named Fayan 法彥 (548?-607)[135] is the only one who is worth discussing the profound Principle (C. *li* 理) with.[136] The fact that Fakan was still sympathetic to his Southern school teacher's view ever after studying with Caopi may be understood in two ways: (1) First, Fakan's teacher Caopi might have interpreted Paramārtha's teaching in light of the typical Southern school perspective, and thus Fakan as well may have understood the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* in a way that was not very different from his earlier study of Southern Dilun doctrine. (2) Second, though both are classified as the Southern school, Fakan's Southern school lineage might have taken a distinct doctrinal position from that of Tanqian's, probably sharing some doctrinal points with Paramārtha's Shelun lineage. I am inclined to align with the second approach, because we can find another Southern Dilun exegete, Huixiu 慧休

[134]大唐受禪情存護法。置十大德用清朝寄。時大集僧眾標名序位。侃儀止肅然挺超莫擬。既德充僧望遂之斯任。恂恂善誘弘悟繁焉 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.513b28-c02). The ten Great Virtuous Ones known to us include Juelang 覺朗 (fl. ca. 617), Baogong 保恭 (542-621), Jizang 吉藏 (549-623), Fakan 法侃 (551-623), Huiyin 慧因 (539-627), 海藏 (d.u.), and Zhizang 智藏 (458-522).

[135] Daoxuan reports that Fayan was versed in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (C. *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論) (雖三藏並通。偏以大論馳美 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.505b02-03)), and also participated in enshrining the relics for the relic-distribution project (仁壽造塔。復召送舍利于汝州。四年。又勅送于沂州善應寺 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.505b16-17)).

[136] This passage appears in Fayan's biography of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*; 有法侃法師。本住江表。被召入關。彼方大德淵法師者。正法高粲義學所推。語侃曰。天地雖廣識達者希。晚學之秀。法彥一人。可與論理。餘則云云從他取悟耳。及侃至京。相見方知淵之遠鑒也 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.505b10-14).

(548-?; fl.645), as I will discuss soon below, who appears to be connected with Paramārtha's lineage.

If we accept that Fakan's Southern school lineage takes a different position from Tanqian's, this does not mean that these two lineages were adversarial to each other; rather they seem to have been in quite a close relationship. Zhizheng 智正 (559-639), one of Tanqian's disciples,[137] for instance, moved in his late years to the temple Zhixiang si 至相寺 at Mt. Zhongnan 終南, which "Master Yuan" had built, and stayed there for twenty eight years until his death.[138] Moreover, Fakan's remarkable career in the capital seems likely to have been related with his genealogical closeness to Tanqian's mainstream lineage.

Although we have discussed some exegetes who were previously Southern Dilun exegetes in Paramārtha's lineage, one may easily expect that there are some others connected to the Northern school lineage, given the doctrinal propinquity between Paramārtha and the Northern school. Fahu and Daoyue are indeed known as having studied with Zhinian 志念 (535-608), a disciple of Daochong 道寵 (fl. 520s), who is in turn a disciple of Bodhiruci, the founder of the Northern Dilun school.[139] Fahu had attended to Zhinian's lectures on Abhidharma before

[137] Chen identifies Zhizheng as a disciple of Tanqian based on the record in Tanqian and Zhizheng's biographies of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*; see Chen, *Monks and monarchs, kinship and kingship : Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and politics*: 44. n. 95.

[138] See Zhizheng's biography (正乃深惟苦本。將捐此務歸靜幽林。承終南至相有淵法師者。解行相高京城推仰。遂往從焉。道味江湖不期而會。因留同住二十八年: 續高僧傳 T2060:50.536b15-18) and Jingyuan's biography (後整操關壤屏迹終南。置寺結徒分時程業。三輔令達歸者充焉。今之至相寺是也 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.511c13-15)).

[139] According to Zhinian's biography of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, Zhinian learned the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (C. *Dazhi du lun* 大智度論) from Daochang 道長 (d.u.) in Yedu 鄴都 (i.e., Ye 鄴, Yexia 鄴下, Yecheng 鄴城; Anyang 安陽, Henan 河南 province in present day), and then studied the *Daśabhūmivyākhyāna* (C. *Shidi jinglun* 十地經論) from Daochong. He then studied Abhidharma under Huisong 慧崇 (d. ca. 555) in Khotan (C. Gaochang 高昌), who was an expert of Abhidharma. Daoxuan describes Zhinian as an expert of Abhidharma; see 續高僧傳 T2060:50.508b29-509b18.

he went to Jingsong to study the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*,[140] and Daoyue also had studied with Zhinian before he studied the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* under Daoni.[141] Though not having directly learned from Zhinian, Daoji also wrote Zhinian's biography on his death.[142]

Huixiu, a former disciple of Lingyu in the Southern school line, also studied with Zhinian.[143] It is noteworthy that Huixiu is affiliated with both the Southern and Northern school lineages, which are typically regarded as doctrinally opposed strands. After this extraordinary conversion, Huixiu studied the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* by attending Tanqian and Daoni's lectures in Chang'an.[144] Even though there is no records regarding whether Huixiu took Tanqian's or Daoni's Shelun position, the fact that some other exegetes in Paramārtha's line, such as Fahu and Daoyue, were also former students of Zhiyuan suggests the possibility that Huixiu was more sympathetic to Daoni's than Tanqian's Shelun position.

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[140] 遂往志念所聽毘曇 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.530b29-c01).

[141] In Daoyue's biography of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, it is recorded that Daoyue studied the **Tattvasiddhi-śāstra* (C. *Chengshi lun* 成實論) and the **Saṃyuktâbhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra* (C. *Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論) from the two teachers of Zhinian and Zhitong 智通 (553-649); 後習成論雜心於志念智通二師。備窮根葉辭義斯盡 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.527b07-08).

[142] See Zhinian's biography of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*; 益州福成寺道基法師。慧解通徵祖習有所。乃為之行狀。援引今古。文質存焉 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.509b16-18). Daoxuan also records that Daoji lectured on the **Saṃyuktâbhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra* (C. *Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論) around from 605 until he was summoned to the monastery Huiri si 慧日寺 in 609 (see n. 116). It is noteworthy that he also lectured on the same text as Daoyue learned from Zhinian (see n.141 above).

[143] Daoxuan reports that Huixiu learned Abhidarma texts, such as the **Saṃyuktâbhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra* and the *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* (C. *Apidamo da piposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論), from Zhinian, and afterwards Huixiu himself wrote the *Zaxin xuanzhang chaoshu* 雜心玄章抄疏, a commentary to the **Saṃyuktâbhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra*; see Huixiu's biography of *Xu gaoseng zhuan* at 續高僧傳 T2060:50.544b01-26.

[144] See Huixiu's biography at the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 T.2060:50.544b28-c03. In Lingyu's biography of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, it is recorded that Lingyu went to Chan'an in 590 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.496b06-18), the year when Daoni arrived in Chang'an from Jinling, as Chen also mentioned; see Chen, *Monks and monarchs, kinship and kingship : Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and politics*: 42. n. 87.

There is another clue to suggest that Huixiu's doctrinal disposition was on the side of Paramārtha's. According to Daoxuan, when Huixiu was staying in Ye 鄴 (i.e., Yedu 鄴都; Anyang 安陽, Henan 河南 province in present day), or Xiang Prefecture (C. Xiangzhou 相州), he taught the **Saṃyuktâbhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra* and the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* only for Xuanzang, who was in twenties then, and they were like old acquaintances to each other although they had never met before.[145] Before he met Huixiu, it is reported that Xuanzang fled from the turmoil at the end of Sui dynasty (around in 617) to Shudu 蜀都 (Chengdu 成都 in Sichuan 四川 Province in present day), where he studied Abhidharma and the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* under Daoji and a monk named Jing 景, until he left Shudu in 622 to travel around several cities in the country.[146] As discussed before, Daoji, as a disciple of Jingsong, inherited Paramārtha's lineage, and the monk Jing, presumable Huijing 慧景 (c. 6-7th century), is Daoji's fellow-disciple of Jingsong or Daoji himself's disciple.[147] Xuanzang's study with Daoji and Master Jing thus seems to represent his connection with Paramārtha's lineage, and in this respect we may interpret the mutual congeniality between Huixiu and Xuanzang as derived from their common genealogical background.

It should be also noted that in fact, among Xuanzang's teachers that he met after he left Chengdu, all except Fachang 法常 (566-645), i.e., Daoshen 道深 (d.u.), Huixiu, Daoyue,

[145] See Xuanzang's biography of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*; 沙門慧休。道聲高邈。行解相富。夸罩古今。獨據鄴中昌言傳授。詞鋒所指海內高尚。又往從焉。不面生來。相逢若舊。去師資禮事等法朋。偏為獨講雜心攝論。指摘纖隱曲示綱猷。相續八月領酬無厭。休又驚異絕歎撫掌而嗟曰。希世若人。爾其是也 (續高僧傳 T2060:50.447a26-b03).

[146] See Xuanzang's biography of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 at T2060:50.446c25-447a14.

[147] Huijing's biography is appended to Daoji's biography in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan.* It is also presumed that Huijing is Master Jing 景師, who are described as an eminent Yogācāra exegete well versed in the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* in Tunnyun's 遁倫 (alt. Toryun 道倫; d.u.) *Yugaron ki* 瑜伽論記 and Ji's *Yuqieshidilun lüezuan* 瑜伽師地論略纂; see also n.107 above.

Sengbian, and Xuanhui 玄會 (582–640), are genealogically connected to either Zhinian, a disciple of Daochong of the Northern Dilun school, or/and Paramārtha's disciples. Daoshen and Huixiu are listed among Zhinian's many disciples in Zhinian's biography[148]; Huixiu's biography records that Huixu learned Abhidharma texts from Zhinian[149]; Daoyue also studied with Zhinian before he studied the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* under Daoni[150]; Sengbian is a disciple of Zhining 智凝 (562-609), one of Jingsong's students[151]; Xuanhui, an exegete known as a diligent student of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, also learned the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* from Daoyue.[152] Although Xuanzang has been regarded as taking a doctrinal position opposite of Paramārtha in the bifurcation of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, his genealogical connection to the Northern school and/or Paramārtha's disciples, along with the probable existence of Paramārtha's Shelun strand as distinct from Tanqian's, requires us to reconsider this bifurcation. Furthermore, as I will discuss in the next chapter, it appears that Xuanzang's doctrinal position should be distinguished from that of the Dharma Characteristics school, the school that normally represents the Yogācāra school in the bifurcation of Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, and this also supports a possible doctrinal connection between Paramārtha and Xuanzang.

Based on the discussion above, Paramārtha's lineage in association with the Dilun schools may be organized in a chart as follows:

[148] See T2060:50.509a08.

[149] See n. 143 above.

[150] See n. 141 above.

[151] See n. 124 above.

[152] See T2060:50.542c24-25. For Xuanzang's discipleship before his travel to India, see also Yoshimura, "Genjō saiyūi: Genjō wa naniyue indo e itta no ka" 玄奘西遊意--玄奘は何故インドへ行ったのか.

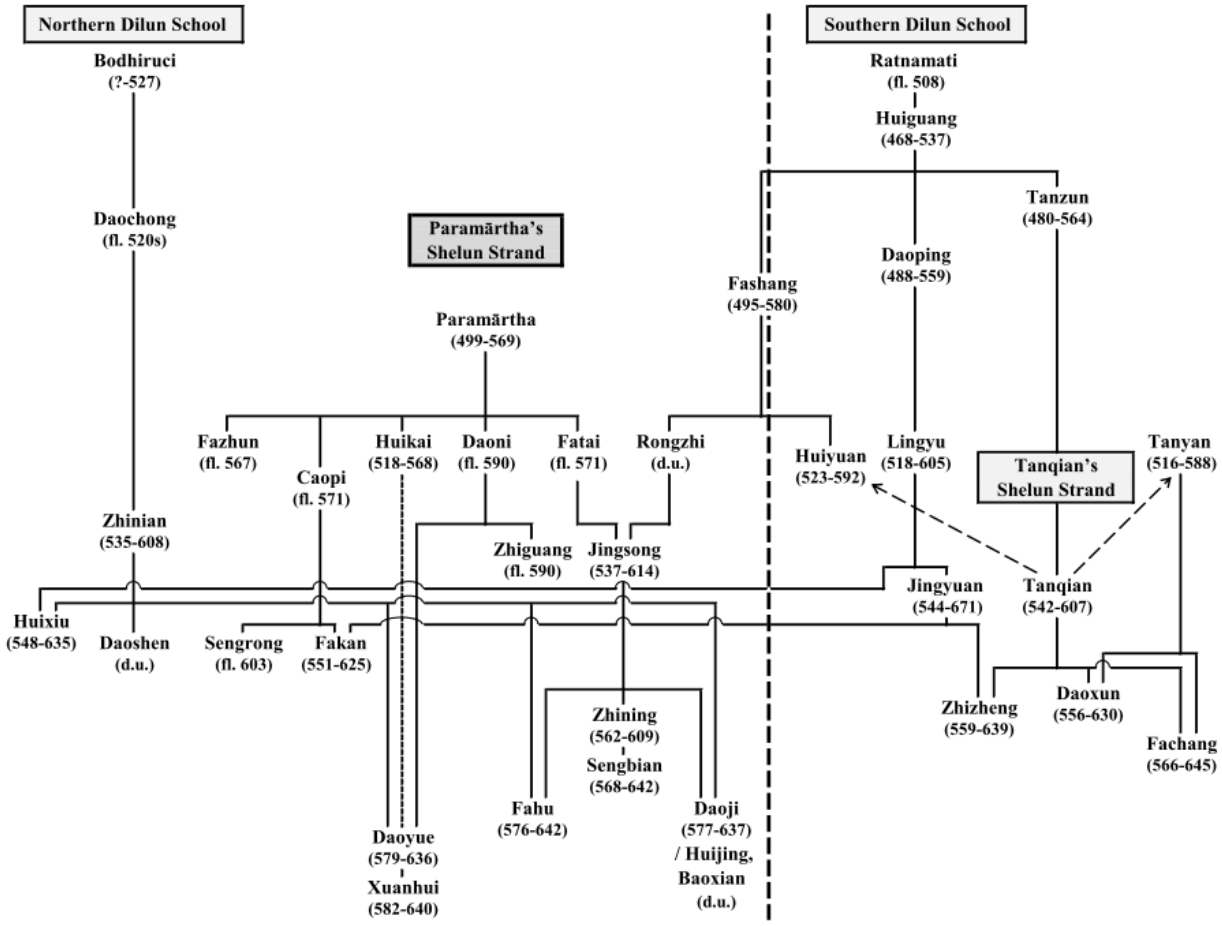

Chart 2. Paramārtha's Shelun Lineage

4. Concluding Remarks

Paramārtha has been regarded as a Shelun exegete who synthesizes the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra systems mostly in association with Fazang's interpretation of the *AMF* as the Dependent Origination from *Tathāgatagarbha*, which is more focused on Tathāgatagarbha than Yogācāra. This way of interpreting Paramārtha has led to a scholarly tendency to neglect the Yogācāra aspects in Paramārtha's thought. However, several of Paramārtha doctrines, such as Thusness, Dharma Body, and Buddha Nature, show that he takes positions that involve both Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra perspectives. In this respect, it seems that Paramārtha's Shelun

thought should be distinguished from that of Tanqian's Shelun strand; furthermore, we must reconsider the connection between Paramārtha and the Tathāgatagarbha system or the Old Yogācāra in the bifurcated paradigm of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, or the Old and New Yogācāra. This putative connection does not hold up.

CHAPTER III. Emergence of Antagonism between the "Old" and "New" Yogācāra

1. Transmission of the "New" Buddhist Literature and Doctrinal Diversities

Xuanzang returned to China from his pilgrimage to India in 645 and the new collections of Buddhist literature that he brought from India were translated by Xuanzang and his team with the support by Emperor Taizong. Xuanzang's return worked as a turning point in the medieval Yogācāra tradition since the translation of the newly imported Yogācāra texts not only disclosed deficiencies in the Old Yogācāra doctrines,[1] but also contain such innovative theories as "Distinction of Five Lineages" (C. *wuxing gebie* 五性各別) that offered a sharp contrast to the Old Yogācāra doctrine of "all beings become buddhas" (C. *yiqie jie cheng* 一切皆成). The doctrinal contradiction and conflict between the preexisting mainstream Buddhist view and the perspective based on the newly imported literature led to controversies between exegetes of each group,[2] and this polemical situation during the early Tang period is generally regarded as an evidence of a bifurcation between the Old and New Yogācāra.

The historical fact that there were the doctrinal contrasts between the Old and New Yogācāra exegetes, however, does not mean that the whole tradition of New Yogācāra was entirely opposed to Old Yogācāra. We cannot reduce the whole tradition of the New Yogācāra

[1] In the *Yugaron ki* 瑜伽論記, for instance, Tunnyun 遁倫 (alt. Toryun 道倫; d.u.) indicates that the canonical references that the Old Yogācāra exegetes relied on for the doctrine of *amalavijñāna* turned out not to exist in Xuanzang's translations of the newly imported canonical texts; 景擬真諦師引決定藏論九識品立九識義。然彼決定藏即此論第二分曾無九識品。備師又云。昔傳引無相論阿摩羅識證有九識。彼無相論即是顯揚論無性品。然彼品文無阿摩羅名。今依楞伽經等有九識義。第九名阿摩羅。此云無垢。基師云。依無相論同性經中。彼取真如為第九識。真一俗八二合說故。今取淨位第八識本以為第九。染淨本識各別說故 (瑜伽論記 T1828:42.318a11-19). Also see Yoshimura Makoto 吉村誠, "Shōron gakuha no shinshiki setsu ni tsuite" 摂論学派の心識説について, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 51, no. 1 (2002): 65.

[2] There was a controversy between Lingrun 靈潤 (fl. 650) and Shentai 神泰 (fl. 645, 657) around between 648 and 650, and another between Fabao 法寶 (ca. 627-705) and Huizhao 慧沼 (648-714) around at the beginning of eighth century; see Yoshimura Makoto 吉村誠, "Tō shoki no Yuishiki gakuha to busshō ronshō" 唐初期の唯識学派と仏性論争, *Komazawa daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒沢大学仏教学部研究紀要, no. 67 (2009). I will discuss more about these controversies in the next section.

into a single entity, which is doctrinally antagonistic to the Old Yogācāra, just as we cannot consider all strands of the Old Yogācāra as advocates of the Tathāgatagarbha position. Although Ji, one of Xuanzang's major disciples, systemized the Yogācāra teachings of the newly introduced Buddhist literature, there were also other doctrinal lines than Ji's in the New Yogācāra tradition. For instance, Wŏnch'ŭk, another major disciple of Xuanzang, and his disciple Tojŭng 道證 (fl. 692), apparently belong to the New Yogācāra group, but they took doctrinal positions distinct from Ji's.[3] Modern scholars generally agree that Ji and Wŏnch'ŭk belong to different scholastic lines, known respectively as the Ci'en 慈恩 and Ximing 西明 scholastic lines. Moreover, some scholars have raised questions about the "orthodoxy" of Ji's Yogācāra position in the New Yogācāra tradition,[4] and there is also research that suggests doctrinal distinctions between Xuanzang and Ji.[5]

[3] One thing that proves the doctrinal distinction between Ji's and Wŏnch'ŭk's line is that Huizhao 慧沼 (648-714), a disciple of Ji, takes a very critical attitude to Wŏnch'ŭk and Tojŭng's perspective on the *Chengweishi lun* in his *Cheng weishi lun liaoyideng* 成唯識論了義燈. For Huizhao's criticism and the problems, see Chŏng Yŏnggŭn 정영근, "*Sŏng yusignon yoŭi tŭng* ŭi Wŏnch'ŭk sŏl pip'an"『成唯識論了義燈』의 圓測說 비판, *Pulgyohak yŏn'gu* 불교학연구 3 (2001).

[4] Japanese Buddhist tradition has regarded Ji's Faxiang lineage as "orthodox" teaching (see Introduction, n. 9). Furthermore, among extant sources on Wŏnch'ŭk's biographical information, Zanning's 贊寧 (920-1001) *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 records that Wŏnch'ŭk eavesdropped on Xuanzang's lectures on the *Chengweishi lun* and the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, which were exclusively intended for Ji (宋高僧傳 T2061:50.725c24-726a04), and it seems that it is based on this record that the recognition of Wŏnch'ŭk's scholasticism as "heterodoxy" emerged. But scholars generally agree that this record of the *Song gaoseng zhuan* is a later fabrication. Hayashi Kana questions the previous assumption that Xuanzang passed on the essential Yogācāra teaching only to Ji; Hayashi presents several pieces of evidence that suggest that Ji's relationship with Xuanzang is not as special as scholars have thought (see Hayashi Kana 林香奈, "Jion daishi Ki no denki no saikentō" 慈恩大師基の伝記の再検討, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 59, no. 1 (2010)). Yoshimura also argues that Wŏnch'ŭk's position consistently accords with the New Yogācāra doctrine of "Distinction in Five Lineages" and even contains initiative doctrinal elements for Ji's scholastic position, and thus, Yoshimura argues, Wŏnch'ŭk is not a "heterodox" Yogācāra exegete, but rather one of the successor of Xuanzang as well as Ji's senior colleague (see Yoshimura Makoto 吉村誠, "Yuishiki gakuha no goshō kakubetsu setsu ni tsuite" 唯識学派の五姓各別説について, *Komazawa daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒沢大学仏教学部研究紀要, no. 62 (2004): 236). For more discussion on the problems of the *Song gaoseng zhuan*'s records on Wŏnch'ŭk, see Cho Eun-su 조은수, "Wŏnch'ŭk's Place in the East Asian Buddhist Tradition," in *Currents and Countercurrents: Korean Influences on the East Asian Buddhist Traditions*, ed. Robert E. Buswell (Honolulu: University of Hawaii

When considering these pieces of evidence to suggest doctrinal diversity of the New Yogācāra tradition, we have to question why Ji's Yogācāra position came to be considered the "orthodox" successor to Xuanzang's Yogācāra teaching and, further, why it has been regarded as representing the whole tradition of the New Yogācāra. If Ji's doctrinal position does not entirely accord with Xuanzang's, and if there were other disciples Xuanzang's who doctrinally disagreed with Ji, then why has Ji's Yogācāra perspective been regarded as the most authoritative teaching of the New Yogācāra tradition? I shall investigate this issue by examining the historical and doctrinal problems that revolve around the designation of Faxiang school in East Asia, and then I move on to discuss Ji's scholastic views which contrast with Tanqian's Old Yogācāra thought.

Press, 2005); Nam Muhŭi 남무희, *Silla Wŏnch'ŭk ŭi Yusik sasang yŏn'gu* 신라 원측 의 유식 사상 연구 (Seoul: Minjoksa, 2009), 87-101.

[5] Yūki Reimon mentions that it was after Ji's Yogācāra strand became dominant over other strands that Xuanzang was affiliated to Ji's strand, not vice versa (see Yūki Reimon結城令聞, "Genjō to sono gakuha no seiritsu" 玄奘とその学派の成立, *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 11(1956): 372). Scholars also point out that Xuanzang and Ji took different attitudes toward Madhyamaka school. Mitsukawa Hogei says that although Xuanzang translated Madhyamaka exegete Bhāvaviveka's (C. Qingbian 清辨 or 清辯; ca. 500-570) *Karatala-ratna* (C. *Dasheng zhangzhen lun* 大乘掌珍論), Ji criticizes Bhāvaviveka in his commentaries on the *Cheng weishi lun*, such as *Chengweishilun shuji* 成唯識論述記 (see Mitsukawa Hogei 光川豊芸, "*Daijō shōchin ron* kanken: Chūgan Yuishiki kōshō no okeru ichi shiten to shite"「大乘掌珍論」管見--中観・瑜伽交渉における一視点として, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 13, no. 2 (1965): 615) Furthermore, Ejima Yasunori says that the conditional phrase "at the level of Truth (真故)" that Xuanzang uses in his verse (真故極成色 不離於眼識宗。自許初三攝眼所不攝故因。猶如眼識喻 (因明入正理論疏 T1840:44.115b26-27)) is equivalent to Bhāvaviveka's conditional phrase "at the level of True Nature (眞性)" at the beginning of his famous verse of the *Dasheng zhangzhen lun* 大乘掌珍論 (真性有為空 如幻緣生故 無為無有實 不起似空華 (大乘掌珍論 T1578:30.268b21-22)); see Ejima Yasunori 江島惠教, *Chūgan shisō no tenkai: Bhāvaviveka kenkyū* 中観思想の展開 : Bhāvaviveka 研究 (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 1980), 205. In the article on East Asian reception of Bhāvaviveka's inference (S. *anumāna*, C. *biliang* 比量), Moro Shigeki also says that Xuanzang does not show any evident criticism of Bhāvaviveka, but Ji harshly criticizes him (see Moro Shigeki 師茂樹, "Shōben hiryō no Higashi Ajia ni okeru juyū" 清辨比量の東アジアにおける受容, *Pulgyohak yŏn'gu* 불교학연구 8 (2004): 300-11).

2. Problems in Interpreting New Yogācāra as the Dharma Characteristics School

The Faxiang school, or "Dharma Characteristics school," along with Faxing school, or "Dharma Nature school," has been considered as one of the designations for a fundamental bifurcation in East Asian Buddhism, and I have discussed the categorical and historical problems related to this dichotomy in the Introduction.[6] These problems of a dichotomy of the Faxing and Faxiang schools are associated not just with the theoretical issue of the bifurcation of East Asian Buddhism, but also with the historical predominance of the Faxiang school, that is, Ji and his scholastic line's Yogācāra position, as the most representative and authoritative school in East Asian Yogācāra tradition. Given the existence of other Yogācāra lines after Xuanzang, this phenomenon seems to need more consideration. Let us see how the designation Faxiang school came to be accepted in East Asia.

The term Faxiang zong was first used by Fazang in his doctrinal taxonomy,[7] and later Fazang's disciple Chengguan used it in juxtaposition with Faxing zong to denigrate Ji's Yogācāra strand.[8] In other words, although this denominational name is widely used among modern scholars to refer to Ji's Yogācāra line or sometimes even to the entire tradition of the New Yogācāra of East Asia, it was never used inside Ji's circle.[9] In China, it was during the

[6] See Introduction. 2. (3).

[7] See Introduction. n. 18.

[8] See Introduction. 2. (3).

[9] Yoshizu Yoshihide says that Xuanzang's disciples call their doctrinal position "Great Vehicle" (C. Dasheng 大乘); for instance, he says, Ji uses this term in one of his major works, *Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章. See Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英, "Hossōshū to iu shūmei no saikentō" 法相宗という宗名の再検討, in *Bukkyō shisō bunkashi ronsō: Watanabe Takao kyōju kanreki kinen ronshū* 佛教思想文化史論叢: 渡邊隆生教授還暦記念論集, ed. Watanabe Takao Kyōju Kanreki Kinen Ronshū Kankōkai 渡邊隆生教授還暦記念論集刊行会 (Kyōto: Nagata Bunshōdō 永田文昌堂, 1997), 474. Yoshimura also indicates that Xuanzang's disciples used "Dasheng" in front of their names, as in, for example, Dasheng Ji 大乘基;

Song dynasty (960-1279) that a denominational name for Ji's Yogācāra strand emerged, but the denominational name for this group was not Faxiang school, but Ci'en 慈恩 school, named after Ji's toponym. The *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統, a Tiantai chronicle compiled by Zongjian 宗鑑 (d.u.) in 1237, contains a list of schools including the Ci'en school,[10] and the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, an encyclopedic historical record written by Zhipan 志磐 (1220–1275) in 1269, also mentions "Teaching of the Ci'en school" (C. Ci'en zongjiao 慈恩宗教).[11]

In Korean Yogācāra tradition the Yogācāra scholastic tradition was mostly referred to as "Yogācāra school" (K. Yuga chong/Yuga ŏp 瑜伽宗/瑜伽業) or sometimes "Chaŭn school" (K. Chaŭn chong, C. Ci'en zong 慈恩宗) until the beginning of Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392),[12] and it is in the epitaph of Ŭich'ŏn 義天 (1055–1101), one of the major scholar-monks in Korea, that we first see the designation Pŏpsang chong.[13] But scholars agree that this designation just refers to a doctrinal teaching, not an institutional school with proper lineage. Later at the end of the Koryŏ

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see Yoshimura Makoto 吉村誠, "Chūgoku Yuishiki shogakuha no shōko ni tsuite" 中国唯識諸学派の称呼について, *Higashi Ajia bukkyō kenkyū* 東アジア仏教研究 2 (2004): 41.

[10] The *Shimen zhengtong* mentions five schools of Chan (禪), Xianshou (賢首), Vinaya (C. Lü 律), Mi (密), along with Ci'en school; 禪宗相涉載記 菩提達磨 慧可 慧能 懷海 玄覺 賢首相涉載記 法順 法藏 澄觀 宗密 子璿 淨源 義和 慈恩相涉載記 玄奘 基 律宗相關載記 道宣 元照 密宗思復載記 金剛智 不空 無畏 一行 (釋門正統 X1513:75.255b22-c08).

[11] In the *Fozu tongji*, Ci'en school's patriarchs are also listed; the first patriarch as Śīlabhadra, the second as Xuanzang, the third as Ji; 慈恩宗教 初祖西天戒賢法師 二祖三藏玄奘法師 三祖慈恩窺基法師 (佛祖統紀 T2035:49.294a29-b02).

[12] See Kim Yŏngt'ae 김영태, *Han'guk pulgyosa* 한국불교사 (Seoul: Kŏngsŏwŏn 경서원, 1997), 412-15; Hŏ Hŭngsik 허흥식, *Koryŏ pulgyosa yŏn'gu* 高麗佛教史研究 (Seoul: Ilchogak 일조각, 1986), 209-15.

[13] See Kim 김영태, *Han'guk pulgyosa* 한국불교사: 398-404.

dynasty through early Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) "Chaŭn school" is the name found most often in historical materials for Ji's Yogācāra school.[14]

It was in Japan that the designation Faxiang school was accepted and later established as the official denominational name for the Yogācāra school. When Fazang's Huayan school was imported to Japan at the end of eighth century, Faxiang zong (J. Hossōshū 法相宗), the term that Fazang used in his doctrinal taxonomy to refer to Ji's Yogācāra strand, was also transmitted; at first, the name Hossōshū was used by those outside the school to refer to the school, but gradually it was also accepted by insiders in the school.[15] Afterwards, this designation become the official name for the Yogācāra school in Japan, and modern Japanese scholars also have come to widely use this name to refer to Ji's Yogācāra strand in China and sometimes in Korea as well. Furthermore, since in Japan Ji's Yogācāra line has been regarded as the "orthodox" Yogācāra school to succeed Xuanzang, the name Faxiang school was often used to refer generally to the New Yogācāra Buddhism after Xuanzang. It seems that the Japanese concept of the Hossō school was established in modern scholarship as the school name for the whole tradition of the New Yogācāra Buddhism through this process. In this respect, the pervasive use of "Dharma Characteristics school" among modern scholars, appears to be an improper

[14] For detailed explanation, Hŏ, *Koryŏ pulgyosa yŏn'gu* 高麗佛教史研究: 209-23.

[15] In his article on the school name Hossōshū, Yoshizu divides the evolution of the name into five stages: the period when (1) Yuishiki shū 唯識衆 and Shōronshū 攝論衆 were used (around 747); (2) Hōsshōshū 法性宗 was used (around 752); (3) Hossō daijō 法相大乘 was used (around 776); (4) Hossōshū 法相宗 was used by those outside of the school (around 798); (5) Hossōshū 法相宗 was used also by the school members (around 830). Particularly, Yoshizu says, when the term Hossō daijō appears, the school equivalent to Sanron school appears in the name of "Musō daijō shū" 無相大乘宗; these two contrasting school names exactly appear in Fazang's *Shi'ermenlun zongzhi yiji* 十二門論宗致義記, representing Fazang's recognition of the contemporary conflict between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra school, and thus we can see that the term Hossō school was originated from Fazang's usage of it (see Yoshizu, "Hossōshū to iu shūmei no saikentō" 法相宗という宗名の再檢討, 468-76.). Yoshizu's explanation is also supported by Inoue's study that indicates that the first appearance of the school name of Kegon shū is around 751 (see Inoue, "Nanto rokushū no seiritsu" 南都六宗の成立, 12-14.). This implies that the term Hossōshū or Hossō daijō had not appeared until Kegon school was transmitted.

retrospective application of Hossōshū. In other words, a specific concept for the Japanese Yogācāra school, which is grounded on Fazang's perspective on Ji's Yogācāra strand, expanded to take in all of the New Yogācāra strands throughout East Asia.

The reason that Faxiang school cannot be identified with the whole East Asian tradition of New Yogācāra is not just confined to the fact that the geographical area in which this title was used does not cover all East Asia; in terms of its scholastic position, the Hossō school specifically refers to Ji's Yogācāra school, as we can see from the fact that this term was transmitted to Japan through Fazang's Huayan system. In other words, when accepting the concept of Hossōshū through Fazang's doctrines, Japanese Buddhist thinkers also accepted Fazang's viewpoint on Yogācāra teaching, viz., the doctrinal system that is antagonistic to the Madhyamaka position. Such Fazang's viewpoint on Yogācāra Buddhism reflects the contemporary doctrinal conflict between the Madhyamaka and the New Yogācāra. As Xuanzang translated the new canonical texts that he brought from India, such a work as *Dasheng zhangzhen lun* 大乘掌珍論, Xuanzang's translation of Madhyamaka exegete Bhāvaviveka's (C. Qingbian 清辯; ca. 500-570) *Karatala-ratna*, entailed a controversy revolving around the doctrinal differences between the Madhyamaka and New Yogācāra. This controversy is now known as "Emptiness-Existence 空有 controversy,"[16] and Fazang was well aware of this conflict between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra positions.[17]

[16] For instance, Ji criticizes Bhāvaviveka's position as "Wrongly Attached Emptiness" (C. *equ kong* 惡取空) in the *Chengweishilun shuji* 成唯識論述記; 論。若如是知至一切唯識。述曰。若知存・遣名備資糧。善資糧者。即福・智二嚴。非清辨等惡取空者。能成是事得菩提也 (成唯識論述記 T1830:43.494b24-26). I will discuss more about this controversy in the next section of this chapter.

[17] In *Shi'ermenlun zongzhi yiji* 十二門論宗致義記, Fazang contrasts the Madhyamaka to the Yogācāra, referring to them respectively as "Mahāyāna of No Characteristics" (C. *wuxiang dasheng* 無相大乘) and "Mahāyāna of Dharma Characteristics" (C. *faxiang dasheng* 法相大乘) (see n.15 above and Introduction. n.18). His *Qixinlun*

The polemics that emerged in Japan between the Sanron school 三論宗 and the Hossō school during the Nara 奈良 (710-794)[18] through Heian 平安 periods (794-1185) also confirms that the Hossō school reflects Fazang's view of Yogācāra school. Revolving around the issue of authenticity of the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* (J. *Dai butchō kyō* 大佛頂經; i.e., C. *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經), which contains a verse[19] that is very similar to Bhāvaviveka's famous verse in the *Karatala-ratna*,[20] the Sanron exegetes who defended Bhāvaviveka's position argued that the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* was authentic, whereas Hossō exegetes who criticized Bhāvaviveka dismissed the sūtra as an apocrypha.[21] This conflict between the Sanron and Hossō schools, Japanese counterparts of the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra schools, exactly parallels the Emptiness-Existence controversy in China, and thus we can see that Hossō school is the Japanese equivalent of Ji's Yogācāra strand. Along with the problems in considering Ji's Yogācāra school as the only school to represent the New Yogācāra tradition, as discussed above, this leads us to a conclusion

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yiji 起信論義記 is also well known for Fazang's interpretation of the "Awakening of Faith" as a work that synthesizes between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra through the doctrine of the Tathāgatagarbha.

[18] Matsumoto confirms that the controversy between Sanron and Hossō school began at the early Nara period, not during the Heian period as previously suggested; Matsumoto Nobumichi 松本信道, "Sanron Hossō tairitsu no shigen to sono haikei: Shōben no *Shōchin ron* zyuyō o megutte" 三論・法相対立の始原とその背景--清弁の『掌珍論』受用をめぐって, in *Sanron kyōgaku no kenkyū* 三論教学の研究, ed. Shun'ei Hirai 平井俊榮 (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 1990). This means that the controversy arose around at the same time as Fazang's Huayan teaching was imported, given that Huayan teaching arrived around 751 (see n. 15), thus representing that Hossō school reflected Fazang's perspective on Yogācāra.

[19] 真性有為空　緣生故如幻　無為無起滅　不實如空花 (大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經 T945:19.124c12-13).

[20] Bhāvaviveka's verse reads as follows: "At the level of True Nature (C. *zhenxing* 眞性, S. *tattva*), the Conditioned [dharmas] are empty; since they dependently arise like an illusion; the Unconditioned [dharmas] do not have Reality (C. *shi* 實, S. *bhūta*); they do not arise like illusory flowers in the sky" (真性有為空 如幻緣生故 無為無有實 不起似空華 (大乘掌珍論 T1578:30.268b21-22)).

[21] For detailed information on the disputes between Sanron and Hossō school on this issue, see Hirai Shun'ei 平井俊榮, "Heian shokki ni okeru Sanron Hossō kakuchiku o meguru shō mondai" 平安初期における三論・法相角逐をめぐる諸問題, *Komazawa daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒沢大学仏教学部研究紀要 37(1979); Matsumoto, "Sanron Hossō tairitsu no shigen to sono haikei: Shōben no *Shōchin ron* zyuyō o megutte" 三論・法相対立の始原とその背景--清弁の『掌珍論』受用をめぐって.

that the Hossōshū, as an equivalent of Ji's Yogācāra school, cannot be the sole representative of the New Yogācāra either.

In relation to the matter of transmission of Hossōshū to Japan, one might say that Hossō teaching had arrived at Japan before Fazang's Huayan teaching was imported, on the basis of Kegon monk Gyōnen's 凝然 (1240-1321) *Sangoku buppō denzū engi* 三國佛法傳通緣起 ("Circumstances of the Transmission of Buddhism through Three Countries"), a historiography of Buddhism dated in 1311. In this work, Gyōnen describes the widely accepted four-time transmissions of the Hossō school. According to this transmission story, the first transmission of Hossō teaching occurred in the seventh century by a monk named Dōshō 道昭 (629-700), who had learned from Xuanzang; the second transmission was conducted by Chitsū 智通 (fl. 658-672) and Chidatsu 智達 (fl. 658), who studied under both Xuanzang and Ji; the third by Chihō 智鳳 (fl. 706), Chiran 智鸞 (d.u.) and Chiyū 智雄 (d.u.), who studied under Zhizhou 智周 (668-723); the fourth by Genbō 玄昉 (fl. 746), who learned from Zhizhou.[22] The pervasive view in Japanese Buddhist tradition that Ji, Huizhao, and Zhizhou are the three "orthodox" Faxiang patriarchs who succeed Xuanzang's Yogācāra teachings appears to be based on these four separate transmission stories.[23] Gyōnen's description afterwards was received as the standard explanation on the transmission of the Hossō school in the Japanese Buddhist tradition.

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[22] *Dai Nihon Bukkyo zensho* 大日本仏教全書 (Ed. Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木学術財団), vol. 62, 14a-b. The pervasive view of Ji, Huizhao, and Zhizhou as the three patriarchs of Faxiang school appears based on this Gyōnen's explanation on the four separate transmissions of the Hossōshū. See Introduction. n. 11.

[23] Although these three exegetes are regarded as the three successive Faxiang patriarchs in Japanese Buddhist tradition (see Introduction. n. 11), there is no record, as Hasegawa indicates, regarding the "three patriarchs" in Chinese materials. Hasegawa suggests that this theory of three patriarchs was originated from Gyōnen's four time transmission story, according to which Genbō of the fourth transmission learned from Zhizhou; but he also notes that there is no available record to identify Huizhao as the second and Zhizhou as the third patriarch (see Hasegawa Takeshi 長谷川岳史, "Eshō *Konkōmyō saishōō kyō sho* ni kansuru mondai kō" 慧沼『金光明最勝王経疏』に関する問題考," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 50, no. 2

However, research discloses many problems with this transmission story. First, Gyōnen himself provides different explanations in his other works, such as the *Hasshū kōyō* 八宗綱要 and the *Tōdaijigusho* 東大寺具書, by changing the order of the transmissions or deleting a transmission from the list.[24] Particularly in the case of the first transmission by Dōshō, scholars indicate that Ji's works that serve as doctrinal basis for Faxiang school, such as the *Cheng weishilun shuji* 成唯識論述記, the *Chengweishilun zhangzhong shuyao* 成唯識論掌中樞要, and the *Weishi ershi lun shuji* 唯識二十論述記, did not appear yet during the time when Dōshō resided in China.[25] Moreover, it has been noted that before the appearance of the term Hossōshū, "Hōsshōshū" 法性宗 ("Dharma Nature school") was used to refer to Yogācāra teachings in Japan.[26] It is thus expected that what Dōshō learned from Xuanzang was not Ji's Faxiang

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(2002): 666). For the problem of the Faxiang lineage, also see Moro Shigeki 師茂樹, "Bakuyō Chishū den ni tsuite no nisan no mondai: shishō kankei o chūsin ni" 撲揚智周伝についての二、三の問題 -- 師承関係を中心に, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 48, no. 1 (1999).

[24] In the *Hasshū kōyō*, Gyōnen attributed Chitsū and Chidatsu to the first transmission; Chihō to the second; and Genbō to the third, deleting Dōshō's transmission, but in the *Tōdaijigusho*, Chitsū and Chidatsu is described as the first transmission; Dōshō as the second, with no mention of Genbō. See Sueki, "Nihon Hossōshū no keisei" 日本法相宗の形成, 127. And see Kitsukawa Tomoaki 橘川智昭, "Nihon Asuka, Nara jidai ni okeru Hossōshū no tokushitsu ni tsuite"日本飛鳥, 奈良時代 における法相宗の特質について, *Pulgyohak yŏn'gu* 佛教學研究 5(2002): 182-83.

[25] Dōshō resided in China from 653 through 661, and the *Chengweishilun shuji* and the *Chengweishilun zhangzhong shuyao* were composed sometime between 659 and Ji's death in 682, and the *Weishi ershi lun shuji* between 661 and 682. In addition, the *Weishi ershi lun shuji* is cited in the *Chengweishilun shuji*, and the *Yibuzong lun lun shuji* 異部宗輪論述記, which is composed after 662, is cited in the *Zhangzhong shuyao*. See Sueki, "Nihon Hossōshū no keisei" 日本法相宗の形成, 128. And see Kitsukawa , "Nihon Asuka, Nara jidai ni okeru Hossōshū no tokushitsu ni tsuite"日本飛鳥, 奈良時代 における法相宗の特質について, 183-84. Also there is a study that the *Cheng weishilun shuji* and the *Zhangzhong shuyao* were consistently revised by Ji through his life and the *Weishi ershi lun shuji* was written after Xuanzang's death in 664; see Hayashi Kana 林香奈, "Ki sen to sareru ronsho oyobi *Daijō hōen girin shō* no seiritsu katei ni tsuite" 基撰とされる論疏および『大乘法苑義林章』の成立過程について, *Pulgyo hakpo* 불교학보 61(2012): 193-96; 199-201.

[26] Quite a few scholars point this out. See, for instance, Fujino Michio 藤野道生, "Zeninji kō" 禅院寺考, *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌 66, no. 9 (1957); Shikazono Daiji 鹿苑大慈, "Nihon Hossōshū no keifu: *Nihon ryōiki* no shisō teki tachiba" 日本法相家の系譜:「日本靈異記」の思想的立場, *Ryūkoku Daigaku ronshū* 龍谷大學論集 357 (1957); Ienaga Saburō 家永三郎, "Hossōshū no meigi ni tsuite" 法相宗の名義につにて, in *Jōdai Bukkyō*

doctrine, and some scholars suggest that Silla Yogācāra Buddhism was involved in the process of the transmission.[27] From the perspective of the bifurcation of East Asian Yogācāra, according to which "Dharma Nature school" is doctrinally opposed to "Dharma Characteristics school," the transition of the school name from "Dharma Nature school" to "Dharma Characteristics school" may sound odd.[28] Although we do not have answers to all questions surrounding this issue for now, what is certain at this point is that the Yogācāra teaching prior to the import of the designation Hossōshū was not identical to the Yogācāra teaching in what is now known as the Hossō school.

Now, the question would be: if there were more than one Yogācāra school transmitted to Japan, why did Gyōnen attempt to explain the transmissions of Yogācāra teaching only within the frame of the Hossō school? The fact that Gyōnen himself was not consistent in describing the transmission story in all his works discloses that he did not have definite information of the transmissions, if he did not intentionally manipulate some parts of the transmissions. Nevertheless, Gyōnen construed the transmission of Yogācāra teaching as the transmission of the Hossō school. Why, then, did Gyōnen explain the Yogācāra transmission to Japan solely in the context of the Hossō school?

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shisōshi kenkyū 上代仏教思想史研究 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1996); Yoshizu, "Hossōshū to iu shūmei no saikentō" 法相宗という宗名の再檢討.

[27] Shikazono suggests that there is a connection between the Hōsshōshū and the Yogācāra scholastic line of Silla exegetes, such as Wŏnch'ŭk and Tojŭng (see Shikazono, "Nihon Hossōshū no keifu: *Nihon ryōiki* no shisō teki tachiba" 日本法相家の系譜:「日本霊異記」の思想的立場, 82-88). Also see Sueki, "Nihon Hossōshū no keisei" 日本法相宗の形成, 129-32; Kitsukawa, "Nihon Asuka, Nara jidai ni okeru Hossōshū no tokushitsu ni tsuite"日本飛鳥, 奈良時代 における法相宗の特質について.

[28] In relation with this issue, Shikazono indicates that although Gyōnen defines Hōsshōshū as referring to such schools as Kegon or Tendai school in opposition to Hossōshū, or Sanron school later, as the bifurcated model of the Dharma Nature vs. Dharma Characteristics school represents, previously in the Shōsō-in 正倉院 materials the Hōsshōshū is clearly described as one of the eight schools of Nara, along with the Sanronshū and the Kegon shū. See Shikazono, "Nihon Hossōshū no keifu: *Nihon ryōiki* no shisō teki tachiba" 日本法相家の系譜:「日本霊異記」の思想的立場, 76-77.

An answer to this question may be found in Gyōnen's historical worldview, that is, "transmission across three countries" (J. *sankoku denzū* 三國傳通), the transmission of Buddhism from India to China and to Japan. In Gyōnen's time, this "three countries" structure in the transmission of Buddhism served as a conceptual basis to provide Japanese Buddhism with pride and authority by linking it to an Indian and Chinese origin.[29] This historical view first appeared in the ninth century to elevate Japanese people's confidence in their Buddhist tradition, and later in thirteenth century this notion became settled in Buddhist literature in Japan as an established historical paradigm.[30] It was during this time that Gyōnen compiled the *Sankoku buppō denzū engi*, the widely accepted reference for the "three countries" model thereafter. In his already entrenched historical outlook centered on the three countries, Gyōnen conceivably could not find any room for other countries' Buddhist history in his historical narrations.

Besides the "three countries" paradigm, another framework that Gyōnen followed in his historical descriptions is "sect" or "school" (J. *shū* 宗). The scheme of "the eight schools" (J. *hasshū* 八宗) seen in the title of the *Hasshū kōyō* ("Outline of the Eight Schools"), one of Gyōnen's major works, dated in 1286, had been already established through official recognition in the early Heian period,[31] but there still remained tension between "the six schools of Nara" (J. Nanto *rokushū* 南都六宗), the previous religious authorities, and the newly approved Tendai

[29] For the development of the "transmission across three countries" paradigm, see Mark L. Blum, *The Origins and Development of Pure Land Buddhism : A Study and Translation of Gyōnen's Jōdo Hōmon Genrushō* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 87-93.

[30] See ibid.

[31] For the formation of eight schools system in Japan, see Yoshida Kazuhiko 吉田一彦, "Revisioning Religion in Ancient Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 30, no. 1/2 (2003): 18-19.

天台 and Shingon 眞言 schools.[32] In Gyōnen's time, which witnessed relative political and social stability, the eight schools were received as the established religious orders and such new schools as Zen 禪 and Jōdo 淨土 school started to emerge. In this milieu, a task given to Gyōnen, as a Buddhist historian who belonged to one of the six schools of Nara, was probably to confirm the legitimacy of the established schools, including Tendai and Shingon schools, by providing them with a definite historical explanation of their origins and lineages. In other words, in order to legitimize the already set "schools," Gyōnen sought to find the authoritative origin of each school within the well-established paradigm of "three countries." Thus, Gyōnen recognized only the eight "meaningful" schools in his historical structure, while dismissing any other schools or strands,[33] and this explains Gyōnen's silence on such school as the Hōsshōshū, the Yogācāra strand transmitted to Japan prior to the Hossō school. To sum up, Gyōnen constructed his historical narrations within the ready-made notions of "transmission across the three countries" and "sects/schools," and therefore he simply disregarded historical facts outside these categories.

[32] One example of this tension may be found in the *Sangoku dentō ki* 三國傳燈記 ["Record on Transmission across Three Countries"] composed by Hossō monk Kakuken 覚憲 (1131-1213) at the end of Heian period (1173). Just like Gyōnen, Kakuken also employed the frame of "three countries," but scholars indicate the difference in the usage of this paradigm between Kakuken and Gyōnen. Whereas Gyōnen used it to reestablish the sectarian orders of the time in a relatively stable atmosphere, Kakuken adopted it to elevate his own school's political and social status from the sense of sectarian crisis due to the rise of the new sects such as Tendai. For more discussion along with its political and social background, see Ichikawa Hirofumi 市川浩史, "Kakuken *Sangoku dentō ki* to sangoku: chūsei shoki ni okeru taigaikan no ichi sokumen" 覚憲『三国伝灯記』と三国 — 中世初期における対外観の一側面, *Kikan Nihon shisōshi* 季刊日本思想史 44(1994).

[33] Gyōnen not only disregarded the schools that did not fit into his historical model of "transmission across the three countries" and "sects/schools," but also created schools that in fact did not exist at least in the sense that Gyōnen meant; Gyōnen presents a list of thirteen Chinese schools, i.e. the school of Pitan 毗曇宗; Chengshi 成實宗; Lü 律宗; Sanlun 三論; Niepan 涅槃宗; Dilun 地論宗; Jingtu 淨土宗; Chan 禪宗; Shelun 攝論宗; Tiantai 天台宗; Huayan 華嚴宗; Faxiang 法相宗; Zhenyan 眞言宗 in the same sense as he used for the eight schools in the *Sangoku buppō denzū engi*, but scholars generally agree that such schools as Pitan, Chengshi, Niepan, Dilun, Dulun, and Shelun were just scholastic strands or exegetical groups, not the independent institution, which Gyōnen meant. For more discussion on the sects/schools in Chinese Buddhism, see Stanley Weinstein, "Schools of Chinese Buddhism," in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 482-84.

If the Hossō school that Gyōnen attempted to establish through four separate transmissions was the Faxiang school that was imported together with Fazang's Huayan teaching, and if Gyōnen's establishment of the Hossō school was based on the confined worldview of "three countries" and sectarian consciousness, then it will be obvious that this concept of Hossō school cannot represent the whole tradition of the New Yogācāra Buddhism of East Asia. Although Gyōnen's four-fold transmission story led scholars to associate not only Ji's line but also Xuanzang's scholastic position with the Faxiang school, Xuanzang in fact appears to have been unwittingly placed into Ji's line due to the emphasis given to Ji's Faxiang strand as "orthodox" in the Japanese Buddhist tradition. It should be noted that in this process of identification between Ji's line and Xuanzang's scholastic position, two independent facts have been conflated: the fact that the major Yogācāra school based on Xuanzang's new translations was Ji's Faxiang school and the fact that New Yogācāra Buddhism refers to the Buddhist teachings based on Xuanzang's new translations. Even though Ji's Faxiang school emerged on the basis of Xuanzang's new translations, this fact does not mean that Xuanzang, in turn, belonged to Ji's Faxiang lineage; neither can Ji's Faxiang school be identified with the entirety of "New" Yogācāra Buddhism that was derived from Xuanzang. Although Gyōnen attempted to establish Japanese Hossōshū by seeking the consistent identity through the three countries by including not only Ji's line but also Xuanzang in the transmission story, it appears that Faxiang/Hossō school should be confined just to Ji's lineage.

Furthermore, it is difficult to apply the concept of "sect/school," the basic frame in Gyōnen's historical narration, to the Buddhist tradition of the early Tang period, in which the notion of a sect or a school as an independent institutional group had not emerged yet. As previous studies demonstrated, it was not until the latter half of the eighth century that sectarian

consciousness appeared in Chinese Buddhist tradition.[34] For instance, it was Chengguan, Fazang's disciple, who first recognized the Huayan school as an independent school with a unique sectarian identity[35] and used the designation "Huayan school" (C. Huayan zong 華嚴宗); Chengguan's disciple Zongmi 宗密 (780-841) presented the orthodox list of successive Huayan patriarchs and thereby established the lineage of the Huayan school.[36] Chengguan's contemporary Zhanran 湛然 (711–782), the figure later identified as the fifth (or sixth) patriarch of the Tiantai school, first used the designation "Tiantai school" (C. Tiantai zong 天台宗) in the *Fahua dayi* 法華大意,[37] and he attempted to prove his own school's superiority to the rival Chan school. However, even in this period the independent schools do not seem to have been fully established, because Enchin 圓珍 (814–891), a Japanese Tendai monk who traveled to China from 853 through 858, stated that there was no such school in the Tang dynasty at that period. [38] Judged from these aspects, it seems very unlikely that the Faxiang school existed as an independent school during the early Tang period.

[34] See ibid., 485-87. Also see Hirai Shun'ei 平井俊栄, "Chūgoku Sanronshū no rekishi teki seikaku (I): tokuni Chūgoku bukkyō ni okeru shūha no seiritsu o megutte" 中国三論宗の歴史的性格(上) : 特に中国仏教における宗派の成立をめぐって, *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒澤大學佛教學部研究紀要 24 (1966): 112-13.

[35] See Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegon shisōshi no kenkyū* 中國華嚴思想史の研究: 51.

[36] See Weinstein, "Schools of Chinese Buddhism," 485.

[37] See Hirai, "Chūgoku Sanronshū no rekishi teki seikaku (I): tokuni Chūgoku bukkyō ni okeru shūha no seiritsu o megutte" 中国三論宗の歴史的性格(上) : 特に中国仏教における宗派の成立をめぐって, 113.

[38] See Yoshimura, "Chūgoku Yuishiki sho gakuha no shōko ni tsuite" 中国唯識諸学派の 称呼について, 44. Yoshimura also notes that there is a phrase that "In Tang dynasty there is no school, and [they] eliminate the discussion of unwholesome attachment" (唐無諸宗 絶惡執論) in the *Bussetsu Kannon Fugen Bosatsu gyōhō kyō mongu gōki* 佛說觀音普賢菩薩行法經文句合記 (*Chishō daishi zenshū* 智證大師全集, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Ōtsu: Onjōji Jimusho 遠城寺事務所, 1918), 480).

Despite all the historical and doctrinal discrepancies, Gyōnen's historical perspective through the framework of the three countries and sects significantly influenced subsequent Buddhist historians and scholars even until modern times. In this process his outlook has been established as a standard model to understand not only Japanese Buddhist history but also the entirety of the Buddhist tradition across East Asia. The above discussion on defective aspects of Gyōnen's historical views and their influence on the understanding of East Asian Yogācāra Buddhism may be summarized as follows: (1) First, Gyōnen attempted to explain Japanese Yogācāra Buddhism only within the category of the Hossō school, while disregarding other Yogācāra strands transmitted to Japan, such as the Hōsshō school. (2) On the basis of the historical framework of "transmission across three countries", Gyōnen ignored other countries' histories in his narration, such as the role of Silla Yogācāra schools in the formation of Japanese Yogācāra Buddhism. (3) Gyōnen connected the Japanese Hossō school to Chinese Yogācāra tradition through the four-fold transmission, and this entailed the careless assumption that there existed a school named "Faxiang school" in China. (4) In relation to (3), Gyōnen included Xuanzang in his stories of the four separate transmissions of the Hossō school, and as a result Xuanzang inadvertently has been regarded as the original figure to provide the doctrinal basis of the "Faxiang school", although he has no direct relation with "Faxiang school", or Ji's Yogācāra line. (5) As a result of (4), "Faxiang school" has been interpreted as the orthodox Yogācāra to succeed Xuanzang's Yogācāra teaching and subsequently the entire New Yogācāra tradition of East Asia, which is based on the translations of the new canonical texts, tends to be interpreted under the frame of the "Faxiang school." In short, the concept of a Faxiang school may be seen as a retrospective Japanese Buddhist concept that influenced modern scholarship on Buddhism.

To return to our original subject, if we cannot say that Faxiang school, or Ji's Yogācāra strand, only constitutes the New Yogācāra tradition, the bifurcation of Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, or the Old and New Yogācāra, appears to lose its theoretical basis, because this bifurcation derives from the presumption that the entirety of the whole New Yogācāra is represented by Ji's "Faxiang school," which took an antagonistic position to the Tathāgatagarbha theory of the Old Yogācāra. This suggests that the contrasting framework of the Old Yogācāra vs. the New Yogācāra is associated with the careless application of Ji's "Faxiang school" to the entire New Yogācāra tradition. (In the same vein, Tanqian's Shelun line has been overly emphasized as representing the Old Yogācāra Buddhism, while Paramārtha's Shelun line largely has been dismissed, thereby contributing to the bifurcation of Old and New Yogācāra.) In this respect, the traditional bifurcation of Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra should be confined to the doctrinal contrast between Tanqian's Tathāgatagarbha position and Ji's New Yogācāra position, without being expanded to describe an antagonism between the entire tradition of the Old and New Yogācāra. If we consider other New Yogācāra scholastic strands, such as the Yogācāra schools of Wŏnch'ŭk or Taehyŏn in Silla or the Hōsshō strand in Nara, which were excluded from Gyōnen's historical worldview of the Hossōshū, we would be able to find more doctrinal aspects of the New Yogācāra Buddhism than have thus far been known to us.

Then, what is Ji's Yogācāra doctrinal perspective on which he reputed Tathāgatagarbha theory? On what theoretical basis was Ji opposed to Tanqian's Old Yogācāra position? In the following sections, I will discuss Ji's Yogācāra positions by dividing his career into two stages on the basis of his distinct attitudes toward other theoretical positions: an early stage in which Ji took a critical position towards other doctrinal positions; and a latter stage in which he took a rather moderate, or even embracing, stance.

3. Ji's Yogācāra Position I: Antagonism towards the One Vehicle and Bhāvaviveka

Ji's Yogācāra position has been regarded as the standard model for the New Yogācāra in the traditional bifurcation between the Tathāgatagarbha and the Yogācāra, and thus his scholastic position is generally seen as antagonistic to the Tathāgatagarbha position. The most salient doctrinal distinction between the Tathāgatagarbha position and Ji's Yogācāra position lies in their different perspectives on sentient beings' capability for enlightenment. While the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes defend the universal ability of sentient beings for enlightenment, Ji argues for sentient beings' differing capacities for enlightenment by advocating the doctrine of the Five Distinct Lineages. Ji's such an emphasis on the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages began to appear in the *Cheng weishi lun shouji* 成唯識論述記 and the *Chengweishi lun shuyao* 成唯識論樞要, his commentaries on the *Cheng weishi lun*, for which Ji first served as Xuanzang's amanuensis (C. *bishou* 筆受) while in his late twenties. It is presumed that these commentaries were composed almost simultaneously with the translation of the *Cheng weishi lun*[39] and in these commentaries Ji describes the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages in detail.[40]

[39] The *Cheng weishi lun* was translated in 659 and it seems that Ji's *Chengweishi lun shouji* and *shuyao*, presumably Ji's first commentaries to a treatise, were composed together almost simultaneously with the translation of the *Cheng weishi lun*. However, since these works cite Ji's later works such as the *Fahua xuanzan* 法華玄贊, and the *Weishi ershi lun shuji* 唯識二十論述記, it also appears that these texts were consistently revised by Ji thereafter. For more explanation, see Hayashi, "Ki sen to sareru ronsho oyobi *Daijō hōen girin shō* no seiritsu katei ni tsuite" 基撰とされる論疏および『大乘法苑義林章』の 成立過程について, 193-96.

[40] In the *Chengweishilun shuji*, Ji mentions the Five Distinct Lineages by referring to several canonical sources, such as the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*; 辨教所被機者。依瑜伽等有五種姓。一菩薩。二獨覺。三聲聞。四不定。五無姓。此論第三云。入見菩薩皆名勝者。證阿賴耶故正為說 (成唯識論述記 T1830:43.230a14-15); 論。又諸有情至不由熏生。　述曰。此第二引經論通證。即是十卷入楞伽第二卷。無上依經上卷。善勇猛般若第一卷。大般若經第五百九十三卷。說前種姓。大莊嚴論第一卷末種姓品。及此瑜伽第二十一聲聞地。皆說有五種姓別。故應定有法爾無漏種子。不由熏生 (成唯識論述記 T1830:43.304c13-14-15). In the *Shuyao*, Ji demonstrates the existence of "sentient beings devoid of spiritual lineage" (S. *agotra*, C. *wu zhongxing* 無種性); 楞伽所說二種闡提。初是斷善根具邪見者。後是菩薩具大悲者。初者有入涅槃之時。後必不爾。以眾生界無盡時故。無性有情不成佛故。大慈菩薩無成佛期。然第五性合有三種。一名一闡底迦。二名阿闡底迦。三名阿顛底迦。一闡底迦是樂欲義。樂生死故。阿闡底迦是不樂欲義。不樂涅槃故。此二通

Why, then, did Ji begin to take a critical position at that time to the Tathāgatagarbha view? What was the circumstantial factor or reason that made Ji start to articulate the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages through the commentaries on the *Cheng weishi lun*? These questions may be at least partly answered by examining the polemic environment in the Buddhist circles over the past ten years since Ji had became a monk in 649 at the age of seventeen.[41] As Xuanzang began to translate the new Buddhist literature brought from India, distinct doctrinal positions between the Old and New Yogācāra, and the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra, entailed two important controversies, which are known respectively as "Buddha Nature controversy" and "Emptiness-Existence controversy." During the time when Ji was training under Xuanzang, Ji must have witnessed the whole process of these two doctrinal conflicts, and probably the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes' refutation against the New Yogācāra views during these controversies made Ji, a young novice monk at that time, resolve to work to prove the doctrinal validity of the New Yogācāra, by disclosing the deficiencies in the other theories and by defining the doctrinal superiority of the New Yogācāra theories. In fact, Ji's early career is characterized by his criticisms of the rival doctrines as well as his emphasis on the New Yogācāra doctrines. Before I move on to discuss Ji's doctrinal position, let me at first examine the two controversies that led him to participate in the contemporary polemics and Ji's doctrinal perspectives regarding them.

不斷善根人。不信・愚癡所覆蔽故。亦通大悲菩薩。大智大悲所熏習故。阿顛底迦名為畢竟。畢竟無涅槃性故。此無性人亦得前二名也。前二久久當會成佛。後必不成 (成唯識論樞要 T1831:43.610c19-611a01).

[41] After becoming a monk in 649, Ji started to work in the translation project at the age of twenty five; 至年十七遂預緇林。及乎入法。奉勅為奘師弟子。始住廣福寺…年二十五應詔譯經。講通大小乘教三十餘本。創意留心勤勤著述。蓋切問而近思。其則不遠矣 (宋高僧傳 T2061:50.725c09-16). For more biographical information of Ji, see Weinstein, "A Biographical Study of Tz'u-en." and see Alan W. Sponberg, "Vijñaptimātratā Buddhism of The Chinese Monk K'uei-chi (A.D. 632-682)" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of British Columbia, 1979), 2-20.

(1) Background: Outbreak of the Buddha Nature Controversy and the Emptiness-Existence Controversy

Among Xuanzang's new translations, the *Yuqieshidi lun* 瑜伽師地論 (*Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*) and the *Fodi jing lun* 佛地經論 (**Buddhabhūmi-śāstra*), which were translated respectively in 646 through 648 and in 649, address the doctrine of "Five [Distinct Spiritual] Lineages" (C. *wozhong xing* 五種性, S. *pañcagotra*),[42] which takes a diametrically opposed position to the Tathāgatagarbha theory, the theory that Tanqian's Shelun strand advocated. Further, this doctrine of discriminative lineages, which is based on the doctrine of Three Vehicles, was regarded as contradictory to the One Vehicle teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*.[43] Since the Five Lineages includes "sentient beings devoid of spiritual lineage" (S. *agotra*, C. *wu zhongxing* 無種性), it also conflicted with the doctrine of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* that all sentient beings, including the "sentient beings devoid of spiritual lineage," become buddhas.[44] The task given to both the Tathāgatagarbha and New Yogācāra exegetes in this milieu probably was to explain the seeming contradiction between the two doctrinal positions.

[42] The *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* mentions this doctrine in a scattered way, while the **Buddhabhūmisūtra śāstra* list the Five Lineages in a passage. For the list of the Five Lineages, see Introduction, n. 15. Also see Yoshimura, "Yuishiki gakuha no goshō kakubetsu setsu ni tsuite" 唯識学派の五姓各別説について, 237-40.

[43] There is a famous line in the *Lotus Sūtra* that "only the One Vehicle teaching exists; there is neither the second (alt., Two) [Vehicle(s)], nor the third (alt., Three) [Vehicle(s)]"; 唯有一乘法，無二亦無三 (妙法蓮華經 T262:09.08a17-18). For the controversy regarding the problem of whether the numbers here should be read as cardinal or ordinal, see n. 117 below.

[44] Yoshimura Makoto notes that the Buddhist scholarship in North China around when Xuanzang returned from India had focused on the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. Xuanzang's biography of the *Xu gaoseng zhun* records that "the Huiri monastery in the Eastern Capital (viz., Luoyang 洛陽) very often provided dharma talks, in which the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* were discussed in turn in association with each other"(時東都慧日盛弘法席。涅槃攝論輪馳相係 (續高僧傳 T.2060:50.446c21-22)), and thus Yoshimura says that the situation of the Huiri monastery, one of the major monasteries of the time, may be viewed as the general situation of the contemporary Buddhist scholarship. See Yoshimura, "Genjō saiyūi: Genjō wa naniyue indo e itta no ka" 玄奘西遊意--玄奘は何故インドへ行ったのか, 30-31.

However, the efforts to resolve the doctrinal contradiction, as easily expected, were not always peaceful. The exegetes of each group tended to understand the other group's position from their own doctrinal perspectives, and accordingly the doctrinal conflicts seem to have proceeded to broader controversies between the two groups. The Japanese Tendai monk Saichō 最澄 (767-822) describes in the *Hokkeshūku* 法華秀句, a work dated around 650, a controversy between Lingrun 靈潤 (fl. 650) and Shentai 神泰 (fl. 645, 657)[45] occurred at some time around between 648 and 650.[46] Lingrun argues that the doctrine of "sentient beings devoid of spiritual lineage" is an incomplete teaching for ordinary beings or the Inferior Vehicle (S. *hīnayāna*, C. *xiaosheng* 小乘) and argues that the realm of sentient beings is equal to that of *tathāgatagarbhas* based on the canonical authority of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and other Tathāgatagarbha texts such as the *Ratnagotravibhāga*; he also criticizes the Yogācāra exegetes' division of Buddha Nature into two types, i.e., "Buddha Nature in Principle" (C. *li foxing* 理佛性), that is, the Buddha Nature inherent in all sentient beings, and "Buddha Nature in Practice" (C. *xing foxing* 行佛性), that is, the discriminative Buddha Nature in sentient beings, and says that these two cannot be divided.[47] On the contrary, Shentai argues that not all sentient beings can become Buddhas by referring to

[45] *Dengyō daishi zenshū* 傳教大師全集, 5 vols., vol. 3 (Tōkyō: Tendaishū Shūten Kankōkai 天台宗宗典刊行會, 1912), 193-94; 172-187.

[46] Yoshimura presumes that this controversy happened around between 648 and 650 based on the fact that the translation of the works that contain the doctrine of "Five Distinct Lineages," such as the *Yogācārabhūmi* and the *Bodijing lun*, was completed in 648 and 649 respectively and the *Hokkeshūku* was composed around 650; see Yoshimura, "Tō shoki no Yuishiki gakuha to busshō ronshō" 唐初期の唯識学派と仏性論争. In this article, Yoshimura addresses another controversy between Fabao 法寶 (ca. 627-705) and Huizhao 慧沼 (648-714) around at the late seventh and early eighth century; while Fabao, who is known to have participated in Xuanzang's translation project, argues in the *Yisheng foxing juijing lun* 一乘佛性究竟論, dated between 695 and 699, that all sentient beings are equally have Buddha Nature in both Principle and Practice, Huizaho, Ji's disciple, asserts in the *Nengxian zhongbian huiri lun* 能顯中邊慧日論, dated about 714, that there are the discriminated spiritual levels of sentient beings, which are derived from the "Original Seeds" (C. *faer zhongzi* 法爾種子) in them.

[47] *Dengyō Daishi zenshū* 傳教大師全集, 3: 193-94. Also see Yoshimura, "Tō shoki no Yuishiki gakuha to busshō ronshō" 唐初期の唯識学派と仏性論争, 307-06.

New Yogācāra texts, such as the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*; he divides the Buddha Nature into three types, i.e., "Buddha Nature in Principle," "Buddha Nature in Practice," and "Buddha Nature of Ordinary Beings" (C. *fanfu foxing* 凡夫佛性), and says that while the first Buddha Nature, that is, the True Suchness (S. *tathatā*, C. *zhenru* 眞如), is inherent in all sentient beings, the second, that is, "Seeds of the Great Vehicle" (C. *dasheng zhongzi* 大乘種子) relying on the *ālayavijñāna*, is not intrinsic in all sentient beings.[48] The controversy between Lingrun and Shentai may be said to be a typical example of the Buddha Nature controversy, since it represents the doctrinal conflict between the One Vehicle and Three Vehicles, or universal Buddha Nature and discriminative Buddha Nature.

While the Buddha Nature controversy was ongoing, Xuanzang translated in 649 Madhyamaka exegete Bhāvaviveka's (C. Qingbian 淸辯; ca. 500-570) *Karatala-ratna* into the *Dasheng zhangzhen lun* 大乘掌珍論, the major work that instigated arguments, which later led to the Emptiness-Existence controversy, viz., the controversies between the Madhyamaka and the New Yogācāra. The initial arguments seem to have begun in the next year when Xuanzang translated the *Dasheng guangbailun shilun* 大乘廣百論釋論, Yogācāra exegete Dharmapāla's (ca. 6th century; C. Hufa 護法) commentary on Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka-śāstra-kārikā* (C. *Guangbai lun* 廣百論), since this work contains a verse that is quite similar to Bhāvaviveka's verse in the *Dasheng zhangzhen lun*. Bhāvaviveka's verse at the beginning of the *Dasheng zhangzhen lun* reads: "In the level of True Nature (C. *zhenxing* 眞性, S. *tattva*), the Conditioned [dharmas] are empty, since they dependently arise like an illusion. The Unconditioned [dharmas]

[48] *Dengyō daishi zenshū* 傳教大師全集, 3: 172-87. Also see Yoshimura, "Tō shoki no Yuishiki gakuha to busshō ronshō" 唐初期の唯識学派と仏性論争, 306-05.

do not have Reality (C. *shi* 實, S. *bhūta*); they do not arise, like illusory flowers in the sky"[49]; Dharmapāla's verse in the *Dasheng guangbailun shilun* reads as follows: "Since all Conditioned dharmas arise dependent on conditions, they are like illusions, which are not real substance. All Unconditioned dharmas also are not truly existent, since they do not arise, just like the hair on a tortoise."[50] Although the controversy on different perspectives between Bhāvaviveka and Dharmapāla became pervasive and intensified later, the doctrinal conflict does not seem so polemic at this beginning stage, since, as Japanese Hossō monk Zenju's 善珠 (727-797) *Yuishiki bunryō ketsu* 唯識分量決 reports, the issue regarding these two works was whether or not the two verses conform or agree to each other in their contents by noting the similarity between them.[51]

However, the perspective that Bhāvaviveka's doctrinal position is fundamentally antagonistic to Dharmapāla's seems to have become dominant after the translation of the *Cheng*

[49] 真性有為空 如幻緣生故 無為無有實 不起似空華 (大乘掌珍論 T1578:30.268b21-22). Bhāvaviveka explains later in the passage the True Nature as Ultimate Level of Reality (C. *shengyi di* 勝義諦, S. *paramārtha-satya*); 真義自體說名真性。即勝義諦 (大乘掌珍論 T1578:30.268c12).

[50] 又所執境略有二種。一者有為。二者無為。諸有無法從緣生故。猶如幻事非實有體。諸無為法亦非實有。以無生故。譬似龜毛 (大乘廣百論釋論 T1571:30.225a05-08)

[51] Moro Shigeki notes that Zenju cites several views of Silla monks such as Wŏnhyo, Tojŭng (fl. 692), Sinbang (fl. 645-651) 神昉, and Kyŏnghŭng 憬興 (ca. 7th century). Among them, Wŏnhyo and Sinbang say that they describe the same content, while Tojŭng and Kyŏnghŭng hold that they have different meanings and objects; 問。廣百論中。立比量云。諸有爲法非實有體。從緣生故。猶如幻事。諸無爲法亦非實有。以無生故。猶如龜毛。此二比量與掌珍量有何差別耶。答。新羅元曉法師判比量論云。掌珍比量同廣百量等云云道證師解此判非理。量意別故。掌珍論云。若他遍計所執有爲就勝義諦。實有自性。今立爲空。廣百第七云。欲破外道餘乘遍計所執境相立此二量。雖彼二論皆破所執而所對異。廣百唯破小乘外道。掌珍通對大小及外。昉法師說。珍百二論所對無異。掌珍他言。攝外道及餘乘。故設對大乘皆破所執。顯法非實。量意同故。是以證評亦非盡理興法師說云。二論量別。而不同集意。所以然者。掌珍云空。廣百非實。義極異故。護法既言有爲無爲體非實有。當知非謂體相皆空。如何得言成空似量同立非實。若言清辨空表非實故無過者。即違此論釋成邪見云外道但執非實故。廣如 [illegible]量第十卷 (唯識分量決 T2321:71.449c05-23). See Moro Shigeki 師茂樹, "Hyŏnjang ŭi Yusik piryang kwa Silla Pulgyo: Ilbon ŭi munhŏn ŭl chungsim ŭro" 현장(玄奘)의 유식비량(唯識比量)과 신라불교 - 일본의 문헌을 중심으로" (paper presented at the Kŭmgang University International Conference on Buddhist Studies 금강대학교 국제불교학술회의, Kŭmgang University, Korea, 2004).

weishi lun in 659. The *Cheng weishi lun* was translated as a compilation of ten Indian exegeses centered on Dharmapāla's. Accordingly it worked as a source material for Dharmapāla's scholastic position, and this in turn made possible a systematic comparison of the two exegetes' doctrinal views. In this context, the view of "Associated Exegetes" (C. *xiangying lunshi* 相應論師), whom Bhāvaviveka criticizes in the *Zhangzhen lun*,[52] was regarded as Dharmapāla's scholastic position represented in the *Cheng weishi lun*. Ji also expresses harsh criticism on Bhāvaviveka in his *Chengweishilun shuji*,[53] which he composed almost simultaneously with the translation of the *Cheng weishi lun*, as mentioned above, and his perspective appears to have been accepted and become pervasive among contemporary Buddhist thinkers, as Ji's doctrines came to be organized and his strand subsequently established. Moreover, the *Bodi jing lun* mentions a controversy between Emptiness (C. *kong* 空, viz., Madhyamaka) and Existence (C. *you* 有, viz., Yogācāra), which occurs a thousand years after the Buddha taught the dharma,[54] and based on this statement there must already have been a growing

[52] The *Zhangzhen lun* criticizes the Associated Exegetes, who argues that among the Three Natures (S. *tri-svabhāva*, C. *san xing* 三性), only the "Imaginary Nature" (S. *parikalpita-svabhāva* , C. *bianji suozhi xing* 遍計所執性) is empty and thus if the "Dependent Nature" (S. *paratantra-svabhāva*, C. *yita qi xing* 依他起性) is also negated, then it would be "Wrongly Attached"[View] (C. *equ* 惡取); 相應論師有作是說。汝就真性立有為空緣生故者。若此義言。諸有為法從眾緣生非自然有。就生無性立彼為空。是則述成相應師義符會正理。又如是說。由彼故空彼實是無。依此故空此實是有 … 依此故空。即緣生事此自性有。此若無者則為斷滅 … 如是成立遍計所執。自性為空。及依他起自性為有。契當正理 (大乘掌珍論 T1578:271c22-272a08).

[53] See n. 16 above.

[54] 說佛正法但經千載。非佛教法但住千歲。又聲聞藏雖佛去世百年已後。即分多部。 而菩薩藏千載已前。清淨一味無有乖諍。千載已後乃興空有二種異論。是故說言。如來正法但經千載 (佛地經論 T1530:26.307a05-09). Wŏnch'ŭk also cites in the *Bore boluomi duoxin jingzan* 般若波羅蜜多心經贊 this dispute mentioned by Bandhuprabha's (C. Qinquang 親光), the author of the *Fodi jing lun*; he provides a rather detailed explanation by saying that the dispute happened between Bhāvaviveka and Dharmapāla in South India; 親光釋曰千年已前佛法一味過千年後空有乖諍。佛滅沒已一千年後南印度界健至國中有二菩薩一時出世。一者清辨二者護法。為令有情悟入佛法立空有宗共成佛意。清辨菩薩執空撥有令除有執。護法菩薩立有撥空令除空執。然則空不違有即空之理非無不違空即色之說自成。亦空亦有順成二諦非空非有契會中道 。佛法大宗豈不斯矣 (佛說般若波羅蜜多心經贊 T1711:33.544a16-24). Fukaura Seibun, however, argues that there was not a virtual dispute between the two exegetes, by referring to Xunzang's record in the *Da Tang xiyuji* that Bhāvaviveka visited Dharmapāla in order to discuss with him, but Dharmapāla refused it for the reason that

acknowledgement of the doctrinal conflict between the two exegeses even before the *Cheng weishi lun* was translated.

It was in this polemic milieu that Ji started his career as a New Yogācāra exegete. The challenge by Tathāgatagarbha theory or Bhāvaviveka's Madhyamaka position toward the Yogācāra doctrines must have been an urgent issue for Ji to solve. In this context, Ji's endeavor to validate the Yogācāra system came to appear as his criticism toward the opponents on the one hand and as his strict adherence to Yogācāra doctrines on the other. The following section will deal with several doctrinal points that disclose Ji's efforts to advocate the New Yogācāra position. At first, I will investigate the general doctrinal positions of the New Yogācāra, which are derived from their eight-consciousness system in comparison with those of the Tathāgatagarbha system, and then move on to the discussion on how Ji responds to each of the two controversies.

(2) The New Yogācāra Doctrinal Positions Derived from the Eight-Consciousness System in Comparison with the Tathāgatagarbha Position

The eight consciousness theory is one of distinctive doctrinal features of the New Yogācāra system; while the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes of the Old Yogācāra group, or Tanqian's strand in particular, endorse the nine consciousness system, the New Yogācāra group typically advocates the eight consciousness system. The different positions between the two groups on the

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he was fully occupied with practice (城南不遠有大山巖，婆毘吠伽(唐言清辯)論師住阿素洛宮待見慈氏菩薩成佛之處。論師雅量弘遠，至德深邃，外示僧佉之服，內弘龍猛之學。聞摩揭陀國護法菩薩宣揚法教，學徒數千，有懷談議，杖錫而往。至波吒釐城，知護法菩薩在菩提樹，論師乃命門人曰：「汝行詣菩提樹護法菩薩所，如我辭曰：『菩薩宣揚遺教，導誘迷徒，仰德虛心，為日已久。然以宿願未果，遂乖禮謁。菩提樹者，誓不空見，見當有證，稱天人師。』」護法菩薩謂其使曰：「人世如幻，身命若浮，渴日勤誠，未遑談議。」人信往復，竟不會見。論師既還本土 (大唐西域記 T2087: 51.930c25-931a08)) (see Fukaura, *Yuishikigaku kenkyū* 唯識學研究, 1: 147-48). Fukaura also claims that the dispute between Śīlabhadra and Jñānaprabha reported by Fazang based on Divākara's testimony is also suspected, or at least exaggerated (see ibid., 149-73. Also see Introduction, n. 18). Although the dispute itself is not a historical fact, the doctrinal contradiction between Bhāvaviveka and Dharmapāla was repeatedly discussed in East Asian Buddhist tradition.

consciousness system are derived from their deviating interpretations of the concept of *amalavijñāna,* the immaculate consciousness. The Tathāgatagarbha exegetes consider *amalavijñāna* to be the ninth consciousness, a consciousness separate from the eight consciousnesses, whereas the New Yogācāra exegetes regard it as the purified form or pure potion of the eighth consciousness, which is obtained when all hindrances (S. *āvaraṇa*, C. *zhang* 障) are eliminated.[55]

This difference in their perspectives on *amalavijñāna* and the consciousness system is also associated with their view on the issue of the Buddha Nature controversy, that is, the issue of whether the Buddha Nature is universal or discriminative in sentient beings. The Tathāgatagarbha exegetes' view of *amalavijñāna* as the ninth consciousness, which is innate in all sentient beings, implies that every sentient being has the *amalavijñāna* as the basis of Buddhahood, viz., *tathāgatagarbha*. According to this view, sentient begins are considered to be originally enlightened; their current illusion is just temporary because the original purity, the *amalavijñāna,* is merely covered or tainted by adventitious defilements. On the contrary, in the New Yogācāra system, it is not until the eighth consciousness becomes purified at the end of cultivation that one obtains the *amalavijñāna*, and thus this consciousness does not constitute the inherent basis of all sentient beings for Buddhahood. They do not see any universal basis for Buddhahood inherent in all sentient beings.

[55] The *Cheng weishi lun* describes that, along with *ālayavijñāna*, "Retributive Consciousness" (S. *vipāka-vijñāna*, C. *yishou shi* 異熟識), Immaculate Consciousness (i.e., *amalavijñāna*) is one of the names of the eighth consciousness, and this name applies only in the stage of Tathāgatagarbha and this consciousness is associated with the Great Perfect Mirror Wisdom (S. *ādarśa-jñāna*, C. *da yuanjing zhi* 大圓鏡智), one of the four Wisdoms obtained by transforming the defile consciousnesses; 然第八識雖諸有情皆悉成就。而隨義別 立種種名 … 或名無垢識。最極清淨 諸無漏法 所依止故 此名唯在 如來地有。菩薩二乘 及異生位 持有漏種 可受熏習。未得善淨 第八識故 如契經說。如來無垢識 是淨無漏界 解脫一切障 圓鏡智相應 (成唯識論 T1585:31.13c07-24). Commenting on this part, Ji says that this Immaculate Consciousness was previously referred to as *amalavijñāna* but it is mistaken that they called it as the ninth consciousness; 述曰。唯無漏依。體性無垢。先名阿末羅識。或名阿摩羅識。古師立為第九識者。非也。然楞伽經有九種識。如上下會。此無垢識。是圓鏡智相應識名。轉因第八心體得之 (成唯識論述記 T1830:43.344c09-13).

The doctrinal viewpoint on the *amalavijñāna* is also connected to their interpretations of process of spiritual cultivation. The New Yogācāra point of view that the *amalavijñāna* is obtained at the end of the cultivation implies that the initial stage of cultivation is distinct from the final stage in terms of their level of spiritual development. In other words, the Uncontaminated Seeds, the initial basis of enlightenment inherent in sentient beings,[56] is distinguished from *amalavijñāna*, the final fruit of the cultivation. Further, according to the typical explanation of this system, the Uncontaminated Seeds are not inherent in all sentient beings; whether one has the Uncontaminated Seeds or what kind of the Seeds one has determines which lineage among the Five Distinct Spiritual Lineages one belongs to.[57] There is accordingly no such initial basis for Buddhahood that is inherent in all sentient beings, as the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes maintain. By contrast, for the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes the cultivation is not a gradual achievement which proceeds from the initial to final stage, because the *amalavijñāna*, viz., the completion of enlightenment, is already innate in sentient beings; the *amalavijñāna* thus is what is discovered, not attained. This perspective of Tathāgatagarbha exegetes exactly corresponds to the "sixth exegetes" Wŏnhyo mentions in the *Yŏlban chongyo*, and I have suggested that these exegetes belongs to Tanqian's Shelun lineage, who do not distinguish Nature of Realization (C. *jiexing* 解性), the basis for enlightenment in sentient beings, from *amalavijñāna* or Thusness.[58]

[56] For the explanation of Uncontaminated Seeds, see Chapter II, 2, (6).

[57] The relation between the Uncontaminated Seeds and the Five Distinct Lineages are explained along with a discussion on "Innate Uncontaminated Seeds" (C. *benyou wulou zhongzi* 本有無漏種子) and "Newly Permeated Seeds" (C. *xinxun zhongzi* 新熏種子) in the *Cheng weishi lun* (成唯識論 T1585:31.08a20-09b07). On the basis of Ji's interpretation of this part, it is generally considered that the Five Distinct Lineages are determined by whether or not one has a specific kind of Uncontaminated Seeds. Also see Chapter II. n. 96.

[58] See Chapter II. 2. (3).

Another New Yogācāra doctrinal position that is distinct from the Tathāgatagarbha viewpoint is that the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms are distinguished from each other. As discussed before, the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes' position that do not distinguish Nature of Realization from Thusness, Dharma Body, or *amalavijñāna* has the implication that the Unconditioned and Conditioned realm are connected to or integrated with each other.[59] On the contrary, in the New Yogācāra system the Unconditioned and Conditioned are two separate realms,[60] because, unlike the Conditioned dharmas, the Unconditioned dharmas are considered as "constant" (C. *chang* 常),[61] "firm" (C. *jianmi* 堅密),[62] and "untransformable."[63] In this respect, in the New Yogācāra the Uncontaminated Seeds inherent in sentient beings, which belongs to the Conditioned realm, is separate from the Unconditioned dharmas, such as Thusness or Dharma Body. In particular, Ji strictly adheres to this position that the Unconditioned and Conditioned are separate, and this is one of the distinctive features of Ji's doctrinal system.[64]

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[59] See Chapter II. 2. (4).

[60] Also see Chapter II. n. 77.

[61] The *Cheng weishi lun* describes that among Six Characteristics of Seeds (C. *zhongzhi liuyi* 種子六義), the first characteristics of momentariness (S. *kṣaṇa-bhaṅga*, C. *chana mie* 剎那滅) does not apply to the constant dharmas (然種子義略有六種。一剎那滅。謂體纔生無間必滅有勝功力方成種子。此遮常法常無轉變不可說有能生用故 (成唯識論 T1585:31.9b07-10)), and Ji explains the constant dharmas as the Unconditioned dharmas (論。此遮常法至能生用故。述曰。此簡略也。無為不然。無轉變故。無取・與用非能生也 (成唯識論述記 T1830:43.309c01-03)). The Six Characteristics of Seeds are also stated in the *She dashenglun shi* (攝大乘論釋 T1597:31.327b28-c10).

[62] The *Cheng weishi lun* states that the Unconditioned dharmas do not have the third characteristic of permeability (C. *kexun xing* 可熏性) among "Four Characteristics of Permeating Subject" (C. *suoxun* 所熏四義); 三可熏性。若法自在性非堅密能受習氣乃是所熏。此遮心所及無為法依他堅密故非所熏 (成唯識論 T1585:31.9c13-15).

[63] The *Cheng weishi lun* also says that the Unconditioned dharmas do not have the first characteristic of production-and-cessation (C. *you shengmie* 有生滅) among "Four Characteristics of Permeating Subject: (C. *nengxun xiyi* 能熏四義)"; 何等名為能熏四義。一有生滅。若法非常能有作用生長習氣。乃是能熏。此遮無為前後不變無生長用故非能熏 (成唯識論 T1585:31.9c19-21).

[64] I will discuss more about Ji's strict separation between the Unconditioned and Conditioned in relation with his view on two types of Buddha Nature later in this chapter.

In relation to the several contrasting doctrines between the Tathāgatagarbha and New Yogācāra group discussed above, I would like to note Paramārtha's "synthetic" position, which I mentioned in Chapter II. I have discussed that although Paramārtha's scholastic position has been interpreted in relation with the nine-consciousness system, unlike the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes' view, his concept of *amalavijñāna* does not refer to such an innate consciousness in all sentient beings, but rather to a consciousness attained as a fruit at the end of cultivation. In this respect, we see that Paramārtha's concept of *amalavijñāna* is rather closer to the gradual model of *amalavijñāna* of the New Yogācāra than the Tathāgatagarbha position. However, while Ji connects the *amalavijñāna* to the Conditioned realm as a pure portion of the *ālayavijñāna*,[65] Paramārtha associates it to both the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms, as discussed before.[66] In other words, Paramārtha aligns with Ji's position on the *amalavijñāna* in its gradual achievement, but does not accord with his position that the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms are completely separated from each other, but rather resonates with the Tathāgatagarbha perspective by connecting the two realms. Viewed in this way, it may be said that Paramārtha takes a synthetic position in the interpretation of the *amalavijñāna*.

On the basis of the New Yogācāra doctrinal positions examined above, I will discuss in the next section how Ji, as a New Yogācāra exegete, responds to the Buddha Nature controversy and the Emptiness-Existence controversy.

[65] See n. 55 above.

[66] Chapter II, 2, (4).

(3) The Doctrine of Uncontaminated Seeds and Criticism of Bhāvaviveka: Ji's Response to the Two Controversies

Ji's response to the doctrinal challenge of the Tathāgatagarbha and Madhyamaka system toward the New Yogācāra system clearly appears in his commentaries to the *Cheng weishi lun*, i.e., the *Chengweishilun shuji* and *Cheng weishi lun shouyao*. Since Ji worked as Xuanzang's amanuensis during the translation of the *Cheng weishi lun*, it appears that Ji was able to play a critical role in the translation,[67] and thus it may be said that Ji started his full-fledged career as a New Yogācāra exegete while involved in this translation of the *Cheng weishi lun*. Indeed, Xuanzang's translation of the *Cheng weishi lun* as a compilation of ten Indian exegeses centering on Dharmapāla's interpretation appears to reflect Ji's own view that Dharmapāla's exegesis, which Ji considered the orthodox, would be most appropriate for the ongoing controversies.[68] In this respect, it seems very likely that Ji sought to react to the controversies through the compiled translation of the *Cheng weishi lun* and his interpretation of it, while advocating the New Yogācāra doctrinal position on the one hand and disproving the rival exegetes' interpretations on the other.

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[67] According to the *Chengweishilun shuyao*, Xuanzang attempted to translate all the commentaries by the ten great exegetes, but he changed his mind and chose to compile the commentaries centered on Dharmapāla's on Ji's advice that the exegetic divergence would entail later controversies; then Xuanzang completed the translation only with Ji after discharging Singbang 神昉 (fl. 645-651, 659), Jiashang 嘉尙 (fl. 659), and Puguang 普光 (645?-664), the three other monks who had been supposed to participate in the translation; 初功之際十釋別翻。昉・尚・光・基四人同受。潤飾・執筆・撿文・纂義。既為令範務各有司。數朝之後基求退迹。大師固問。基慇請曰。自夕夢金容晨趨白馬。英髦間出。靈智肩隨。聞五分以心祈。攬八蘊而遐望。雖得法門之糟粕。然失玄源之淳粹。今東出策賽。並目擊玄宗。幸復獨秀萬方穎超千古。不立功於參糅。可謂失時者也。況群聖製作。各馳譽於五天。雖文具傳於貝葉。而義不備於一本。情見各異稟者無依。況時漸人澆。命促惠舛。討支離而頗究。攬初旨而難宣。請錯綜群言以為一本。揩定真謬權衡盛則。久而遂許。故得此論行焉。大師理遣三賢獨授庸拙　此論也 (成唯識論掌中樞要 T1831:43.608b29-c14).

[68] The record about the translation of the *Cheng weishi lun* says that the reason why Ji suggested Xuanzang to compile the commentaries centered on Dharmapāla's is because he worried about later controversies that the introduction of divergent translations might cause (see n. 67 above). This fact highly suggests that Ji had been mindful of the current emergence of doctrinal conflicts among the various exegeses when he suggests Xuanzang to compile the commentaries.

The *Cheng weishi lun* in fact contains two significant doctrinal points which Ji appears to have adopted to respond to the rival views in the controversies; first, it contains the doctrine of the discriminative Uncontaminated Seeds, which provides a theoretical basis for the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages, and second, it also contains criticism on "those who take the Mahāyāna teaching of emptiness of no characteristics as ultimate" (有執大乘遣相空理為究竟者),[69] whom Ji explains in the *Chengweishilun shuji* as referring to those who take Bhāvaviveka's "Madhyamaka of No Characteristics" (C. *wuxiang dasheng* 無相大乘).[70] I have discussed in Chapter II, the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds, the basis of enlightenment inherent in sentient beings, corresponds to Paramārtha's concept of the Nature of Realization.[71] However, Paramārtha considers the Nature of Realization to be a universal feature in all sentient beings by explaining it as the nature of *ālayavijñāna*, the basis of all dharmas from time immemorial,[72] whereas the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds in the *Cheng weishi lun* are divided into five types, thereby serving as the basis for the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages of sentient beings.[73] The *Cheng weishi lun*'s description of the Uncontaminated Seeds as the discriminative basis for the enlightenment in sentient beings served for Ji as a canonical authority for the New Yogācāra

[69] 有執大乘遣相空理為究竟者。依似比量撥無此識及一切法 (成唯識論 T1585:31.16a06-08).

[70] 論。有執大乘至及一切法。述曰。第五清辨無相大乘。於俗諦中亦說依他・圓成有故。真諦皆空故。今言空者遣遍計所執。彼執此文為正解故。彼依掌珍真性有為空等似比量。撥無此識及一切法皆言無體。(成唯識論述記 T1830:43.359a01-05).

[71] See Chapter II, 2, (6).

[72] See Chapter II. 2. (3).

[73] 依障建立種姓別者 意顯無漏種子有無。謂若全無無漏種者彼二障種永不可害即立彼為非涅槃法。若唯有二乘無漏種者彼所知障種永不可害。一分立為聲聞種姓一分立為獨覺種姓。若亦有佛無漏種者彼二障種俱可永害。即立彼為如來種姓。故由無漏種子有無障有可斷不可斷義 (成唯識論 T1585:31.09a21-28). Also see n. 57 above, and see Chapter II. n. 96.

In fact, the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, which the *Cheng weishi lun* cites for canonical basis, takes a difference position from the *Cheng weishi lun*; it just says that they are determined by whether or not one has hindrances (S. *kleśa*, C. *zhang* 障). I will discuss more about this in Chapter V.

doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages on the one hand, and as counter-evidence to the Tathāgatagarbha position that all sentient beings have innate Buddha Nature on the other.

In addition, Ji explicates the existence of "sentient beings devoid of spiritual lineage" (S. *agotra*, C. *wu zhongxing* 無種性) or "Incorrigibles" (S. *icchantika*, C. *yichanti* 一闡提) in the *Cheng weishi lun shouyao*: Among the Five Distinct Lineages, the fifth type of sentient beings, who have no lineage for the enlightenment, are divided into three types, i.e., "*icchantika*" (C. *yichandijia* 一闡底迦), "*ācchantika*" or "*anicchantika*" (C. *achandijia* 阿闡底迦), and "*ātyantika*" (C. *adiandijia* 阿顛底迦).[74] The first sentient beings refer to those who enjoy *saṃsāra* and thus cut off all wholesome roots (C. *duanshan chati* 斷善闡提); the second to the bodhisattvas who choose not to enter *nirvāṇa* to save sentient beings, and are also known as "greatly compassionate *icchantika*" (C. *dabei chanti* 大悲闡提); the third to those who do not have any lineage and never become a buddha (C. *bijingwuxing chanti* 畢竟無性闡提). Here, we see that Ji attempt to demonstrate the existence of a class of beings who never attain Buddhahood by asserting that the third type of *icchantica* never becomes a buddha although the first and second eventually achieve Buddhahood in the distant future.[75] Ji's exposition of the *icchantika* doctrine disproves the universal Buddha Nature in sentient beings, along with the theory of Five Distinct Lineages of the *Cheng weishi lun*, and it was through these doctrines that Ji responded to the Buddha Nature controversy.

[74] 有五種性證法。一聲聞乘性。二辟支佛乘性。三如來乘性。四不定乘性。五者無性謂一闡提。… 然第五性合有三種。一名一闡底迦。二名阿闡底迦。三名阿顛底迦。一闡底迦是樂欲義。樂生死故。阿闡底迦是不樂欲義。不樂涅槃故。此二通不斷善根人。不信・愚癡所覆蔽故。亦通大悲菩薩。大智大悲所熏習故。阿顛底迦名為畢竟。畢竟無涅槃性故。此無性人亦得前二名也。前二久久當會成佛。後必不成 (成唯識論樞要 T1831:43.610b29-611a01).

[75] See n. 74 above.

Ji also countered Bhāvaviveka's view by drawing upon the *Cheng weishi lun*. Although in the *Cheng weishi lun* there is no direct criticism on Bhāvaviveka, Ji interprets some passages of the *Cheng weishi lun* that criticize particular position or exegetes as aimed at Bhāvaviveka. Ji not only identifies with Bhāvaviveka "those who take the Mahāyāna teaching of emptiness of no characteristics as ultimate" (有執大乘遣相空理為究竟者), whom the *Cheng weishi lun* criticizes for their "negating the [fundamental] consciousness and all dharmas on reliance of False Inference (S. *anumānābhāsa*, C. *si biliang* 似比量)."[76] Ji also corresponds the view of "decreasing" among the "exetreme views of increasing and decreasing" (C. *zengjian erbian* 增減二邊) to Bhāvaviveka's doctrinal view of emptiness.[77] In commenting on the *Cheng weishi lun*'s passage, in which the "Wrongly Attached Emptiness" (C. *equ kong* 惡取空) is described as a position of negating both the "Ultimate Truth" (S. *paramārtha-satya*, C. *zhendi* 眞諦) and the "Conventional Truth" (S. *saṃvṛti-satya*, C. *sudi* 俗諦),[78] Ji addresses Bhāvaviveka's view as the "Wrongly Attached Emptiness" that prevents one from attaining the Middle Way (C. *zhongdao* 中道) of the Yogācāra teaching.[79]

The Middle Way of the Yogācāra teaching, which Ji argues is the orthodox teaching of the *Cheng weishi lun* in contrast to Bhāvaviveka's "extreme view of Wrongly Attached

[76] See n. 69 above. For Ji's interpretation of this position as Bhāvaviveka, see n. 70 above.

[77] 由斯遠離增減二邊。唯識義成契會中道 (成唯識論 T1585:31.39a03-04); 論。由斯遠離至契會中道。述曰。總結。由此二文三師理故遠離二邊。無心外法故除增益邊。有虛妄心等故離損減邊。離損減邊故。除撥無如空花清辨等說。離增益邊故。除心外有法諸小乘執。唯識義成契會中道。無偏執故。言中道者正智也。理順正智名契會中道 (成唯識論述記 T1830:43.488a08-14).

[78] 此識若無便無俗諦。俗諦無故真諦亦無。真俗相依而建立故。撥無二諦是惡取空。諸佛說為不可治者 (成唯識論 T1585:31.39b17-19).

[79] 由此二文三師理故遠離二邊。無心外法故除增益邊。有虛妄心等故離損減邊。離損減邊故。除撥無如空花清辨等說。離增益邊故。除心外有法諸小乘執。唯識義成契會中道。無偏執故。言中道者正智也。理順正智名契會中道 (成唯識論述記 T1830:43.488a08-14).

Emptiness," is explicated in the *Cheng weishi lun* through Maitreya's two consecutive verses of the *Madhyānta-vibhāga*,[80] which read: "The mind that falsely discriminates exists; the duality (Atman and dharmas) which manifests itself in it is absolutely non-existent; in this false discrimination is Emptiness only; in Emptiness, too, there is this false discrimination. I therefore say that all dharmas are neither empty nor non-empty. There is existence of false discrimination, non-existence of the duality of Atman and dharmas, existence of Emptiness in false discrimination, and existence of false discrimination in Emptiness. That is the Middle Way."[81] In explaining the Middle Way of these verses, Ji associates in the *Chengweishilun shuji* the Emptiness with the Ultimate Truth, and the False Discrimination with the Conventional Truth, and says that the Ultimate Truth exists in the Conventional Truth and vice versa.[82] Then, Ji distinguishes the Middle Way from the one-sided positions of Bhāvaviveka and those who advocate the *hīnayāna* view, criticizing the former as only adhering to emptiness and the latter as

[80] The *Madhyānta-vibhāga* had not been translated yet by Xuanzang at the time of translation of the *Cheng weishi lun*, but the *Zhongbian fenbie lun* 中邊分別論, Paramārtha's translation in 558, conceivably was available to Ji. Xuanzang translated this text to the *Bian zhongbian lun* 辨中邊論 later in 661.

[81] I have used here Wei Tat's translation (Wei Tat 韋達, trans. *Ch'eng Wei-shih Lun: The Doctrine of Mere-Consciousness* (Hong Kong: Ch'eng Wei-shih Lun Publication Committee, 1973), 511); 虛妄分別有　於此二都無　此中唯有空　於彼亦有此; 故說一切法　非空非不空　有無及有故　是則契中道 (成唯識論 T1585:31.39b04-07; 辨中邊論 T1600:31.464b16-17; b25-26). In a similar way, Ji makes a contrast in the *Zajilun shuji* 雜集論述記 between Nāgārjuna and Bhāvaviveka's position and Maitreya and Vasubandhu's position by quoting Bhāvaviveka's verse of the *Dasheng zhangzhen lun* and Maitreya's verses quoted here. (see 大乘阿毗達磨雜集論述記 T796:48.4c04-22). These two verses are also often quoted in contrast to Bhāvaviveka's verse by later exegetes, such as Huizhao, as well.

[82] 論。慈尊依此至是則契中道。　述曰。辨中邊論初卷所說彌勒本頌。虛妄分別有。即有三界虛妄心也。… 於此二都無者。謂能取・所取二。或我・法二。於此妄心之上都無。…　此中唯有空者。 謂此妄心中唯有真如。真如是空性。依空所顯故。前長行言空・識是有。亦惟此知。…　於彼亦有此者。 彼者彼空性中。亦有此者。謂有妄分別。即虛妄分別是俗諦。妄分別有空者。即俗諦中有真諦空。即真諦空中亦有妄分別。即真中亦有俗諦。二諦必相有無。一無時亦無二故相形有也 … 有無及有故者。有謂妄分別有故。無謂二取我法無故。及有者謂於妄分別中有真空故。於真空中亦有妄分別故 (成唯識論述記 T1830:43.490a04-b11).

only to existence.[83] In commenting on the *Cheng weishi lun*'s statement later in the passage that those who negate both the Ultimate and Conventional Truths are advocates of the Wrongly Attached Emptiness and they are incurable,[84] Ji identifies this position as Bhāvaviveka's. Then he criticizes Bhāvaviveka for taking the position that three Natures all are empty; Ji argues that in the Middle Way position of the Yogācāra, only Imaginary Nature is empty by saying "Imaginary Nature (S. *parikalpita-svabhāva*) does not exist and thus Emptiness exists; Dependent Nature (S. *paratantra-svabhāva*) and Perfected Nature (S. *pariniṣpanna-svabhāva*) exist and thus Non-emptiness exists."[85] Ji's criticism of Bhāvaviveka also appears in the *Bian zhongbianlun shuji* 辨中邊論述記[86] and the *Weishi ershi lun shuji* 唯識二十論述記,[87] respective commentaries on the *Madhyānta-vibhāga* and the *Viṃśatikā-vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*, for both of which Ji

[83] 此中應言三故字。謂有故即妄分別。無故即能・所取。及有故即俗・空互有。… 是則契中道者。謂非一向空如清辨。非一向有如小乘故。名處中道。謂二諦有不同清辨。二取無不同小部。故處中道 (成唯識論述記 T1830:43.490b11-18).

[84] See n. 78 above.

[85] 佛說為不可治者。沈淪生死病根深故。即清辨等。應知諸法遍計所執無故有空。依他・圓成有故有不空也。故彌勒說前二頌。即前中邊頌。二十唯識義與此同 (成唯識論述記 T1830:43.492b26-c01).

[86] Ji criticizes Bhāvaviveka by identifying him as a heretic with "[wrong] view emptiness," who adheres to the view that dharmas have no reality; 執法有實種類甚多。執法無實如空見外道清辯等計。然如所執法即無實。如依他性法即有實。故不可言。彼亦撥無假法性故。依他性中實我則無。故不同法。須置假似我之言 (辨中邊論述記 T1835:44.40a28-b03). Hayashi presumes that the *Bian zhongbianlun shuji* is composed right after Xuanzang's translation of the *Madhyānta-vibhāga*, since this work cites the *Chengweishilun shuji* and the *Dasheng abitama ji lun shuji* 大乘阿毘達磨集論 (the commentary of the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*) but does not cite his late works. See Hayashi, "Ki sen to sareru ronsho oyobi *Daijō hōen girin shō* no seiritsu katei ni tsuite" 基撰とされる論疏および『大乘法苑義林章』の 成立過程について, 199.

[87] In this work, Ji criticizes Bhāvaviveka's verse in the *Zhangzhen lun* by describing it as "False Reference" (C. *si biliang* 似比量); 依清辨等。破有為空。真性有為空。緣生故。如幻。彼似比量。非真比量。若我真性。離心言故。有為非空。若汝真性。非極成有。唯是空故 (唯識二十論述記 T1834:43.983c02-05). Hayashi demonstrates that this work was written after Xuanzang's death in 664 on the basis of Ji's testimony; see ibid., 119-200.

helped Xuanzang's translation as the amanuensis, two years after the translation of the *Cheng weishi lun*.[88]

Ji's criticism towards the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes and Bhāvaviveka, however, diminishes remarkably in his works that are presumably composed in his later years. Ji shows a moderate, if not completely sympathetic, attitude to the opponents in his late works. The following section will discuss why and in what way Ji changed his attitude to his doctrinal rivals.

4. Ji's Yogācāra Position II: Embracing of One Vehicle Thought and Bhāvaviveka's Madhyamaka

Ji's works composed in his later period, such as the *Shuo Wugoucheng jing shu* 說無垢稱經疏 and the *Miaofa lianhuajing xuanzan* 妙法蓮華經玄贊,[89] do not contain such adversarial criticism toward the Tathāgatagarbha or Bhāvaviveka's Madhyamaka views as he expressed in his commentaries on the *Cheng weishi lun*; rather, Ji explains the Tathāgatagarbha and Bhāvaviveka's views within the doctrinal scope of the New Yogācāra. Based on such a remarkable shift in his attitude, I propose that Ji's scholastic career should be divided into an earlier and later period. This section in this respect will discuss Ji's doctrinal position in his later period. Let me first discuss the circumstance that led Ji to change his attitude.

[88] 辯中邊論三卷(見內典錄世親菩薩造第二出與中邊分別論同本龍朔元年五月十日於玉華寺嘉壽殿譯至三十日畢沙門大乘基筆受) … 唯識二十論一卷(見翻經圖世親菩薩造第三出與元魏智希陳真諦出者同本龍朔元年六月一日於玉華寺慶福殿譯沙門大乘基筆受) (開元釋教錄 T2154:55.556c06-15).

[89] In the studies on the formation of Ji's works, Hayashi concludes that Ji composed most of his commentaries on treatises in the earlier period (around 660's), while most of those on scriptures in the later (around 670's) (Hayashi, "Ki sen to sareru ronsho oyobi *Daijō hōen girin shō* no seiritsu katei ni tsuite" 基撰とされる論疏および『大乘法苑義林章』の 成立過程について, 208.). Also see Hayashi Kana 林香奈, "Ki sen to sareru sho kyōsho no seiritsu katei no tsuite" 基撰とされる諸経疏の成立過程について, *Tōyō daigaku daigakuin kiyō* 東洋大学大学院紀要 44 (2007). I suggest that the "later" period should be defined roughly as the period after Xuanzang's translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*. I will discuss more about this soon below.

(1) Background: Translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* and its Influence on the Two Controversies

In 663, Xuanzang completed his last translation, the translation of the extensive *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (C. the *Dabore boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經). Among the six hundred fascicles of this *sūtra*, the five-hundred-seventy-eighth fascicle, titled *Section on Maxim of Prajñā* (C. *Bore liqufen* 般若理趣分; hereafter *Liqufen*), contains important passages in regards to the contemporary Buddha Nature controversy. It is clearly stated in this section that "the nature of all sentient beings is equal"[90] and "all sentient beings are Tathāgatagarbha,"[91] which seem to represent the Tathāgatagarbha view. Until this time, the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes had found their canonical authority in One Vehicle scriptures, such as the *Lotus Sūtra* or the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, and the Tathāgatagarbha works like the *Ratnagotravibhāga* or the *Śrimālasūtra*. None of these texts, however, were included in the new corpus imported by Xuanzang, which was regarded at that time as the "authentic" Buddhist texts from India. Since Xuanzang translated the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* in this milieu and this text turned out to contain the passages that appear to support the Tathāgatagarbha view, the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes must have accepted this as a new authoritative canonical evidence to support their position and eventually turn the Buddha Nature controversy to their advantage. On the contrary, the New Yogācāra exegetes, such as Ji, probably received it as another issue that should be solved or explained without generating any doctrinal contradiction between these seeming Tathāgatagarbha passages and the

[90] 爾時，世尊復依一切能善建立性平等法如來之相，為諸菩薩宣說般若波羅蜜多一切法性甚深理趣最勝法門，謂：一切有情性平等故，… 一切有情即真如故 (大般若波羅蜜多經 T220:07.989c10-19).

[91] 爾時，世尊復依一切住持藏法如來之相，為諸菩薩宣說般若波羅蜜多一切有情住持遍滿甚深理趣勝藏法門，謂：一切有情皆如來藏，普賢菩薩自體遍故；一切有情皆金剛藏，以金剛藏所灌灑故；一切有情皆正法藏，一切皆隨正語轉故；一切有情皆妙業藏，一切事業加行依故 (大般若波羅蜜多經 T220:07.990b01-07).

New Yogācāra position. In other words, since the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* was one of the "authentic" texts that Xuanzang had brought from India, the *sūtra's* affirmation of the universal Buddha Nature had to be accepted as well as explained by both the Tathāgatagarbha and New Yogācāra exegetes.

It appears that it was not just in the scope of the Buddha Nature controversy that the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*'s passages describing the universal Buddha Nature made an impact; after the translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, there appeared a tendency to connect the Madhyamaka doctrine to the One Vehicle or Tathāgatagarbha views, and vice versa. For instance, Daoshi 道世 (d. 683) says in the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, which is dated 668, that "all sentient beings have the Buddha Nature and universal Original Awakening" and "if one can reflect the Original Awakening, then Liberation will be promised" and he takes the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, a Mahāyāna scripture, as canonical evidence for these statements.[92] In explaining Bhāvaviveka and Dharmapāla's distinct perspectives on the Three Natures (S. *tri-svabhāva*) in the *Renwangjing shu* 仁王經疏, a work dated between 695 and 696,[93] Wŏnch'ŭk associates Paramārtha with Bhāvaviveka by saying that Paramārtha established the Three Non-Natures (C. *san wuxing*

[92] 第六正觀修誠禮者。此明自體自身佛。不緣他境他身佛。何以故。一切眾生自有佛性平等本覺。隨順法界緣起熾然。但為迷故唯敬他身。己身佛性妄認為惡。縱修此行常為偏倒。若知己身極惡無佛性者。縱敬他身終成無益。眾生迷惑雖發微善。唯將法界供具供養他身。無始已來未曾將一燈一香一禮一喰供養己身佛性。若能反照本覺則解脫有期。故維摩經云。如自觀身實相觀佛亦然。又云。不觀佛不觀法不觀僧。以見自身他身平等正法性故。己心清淨即是自性住佛性。隨力修明是引出佛性三祇果圓。即是至得果佛性。若據妙達唯局大聖。若論下凡雖未頓修不得不解。如涉遠道要藉自身。欲見佛性要觀己佛。法僧亦爾體同無二。是名正觀禮也 (法苑珠林 T2122:53.435c09-435c24). Daoxuan, the author of *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, also writes a quite similar passage in the *Shimen guijingyi* 釋門歸敬儀, quoting the same line of the *sūtra*. It is known that Daoshi stayed with Daoxuan at at Ximing temple 西明寺; 何以故一切眾生自有佛性平等滿足。隨順法界緣起熾然。但為迷解有外可觀。所以妄倒常淪生死。若能返照解脫有期。若向他境謂有可觀邪人邪行。經教不許。故云。不觀佛不觀法不觀僧。以見自己正法性故 (釋門歸敬儀 T1896:45.865b17-22).

[93] According to Nam Muhŭi, Wŏnch'ŭk completed the *Renwangjing shu* at the very end of his life, i.e., between 695 and his death in 696. For more detailed explanation, see Nam Muhŭi 남무희, *Silla Wŏnch'ŭk ŭi Yusik sasang yŏn'gu* 신라 원측의 유식사상 연구 (Seoul: Minjoksa 민족사, 2009), 115-24.

三無性, S. *tri-vidhāniḥsvabhāva*) in agreement with Bhāvaviveka, who denied all Three Natures, while Xuanzang concurred with Dharmapāla, who denied only the Imaginary Nature.[94] While explaining Jñānaprabha's taxonomy of the Buddha's Three-period Teachings (C. *sanshi jiao* 三時教) in the *Huayanjing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, a work between 695 and 700,[95] Fazang identifies the Madhyamaka teaching as the One Vehicle teaching by referring to the three levels of teaching of "Small Vehicle" (C. *xiaosheng jiao* 小乘教), "Great Vehicle of Dharma Characteristics" (C. *faxiang dasheng* 法相大乘), "Great Vehicle of No Characteristics" (C. *wuxiang dasheng* 無相大乘) respectively as "Small Vehicle," "Three Vehicles," and "One Vehicle."[96] There was also a dispute between Xuanzang's disciple Shentai and the Paekche

[94] 問此無相輪。三性中遣何等。此三無性中。依何無性。解云。西方諸師。分成兩釋。一者清辨其遣三性。以立為空。即說空理。以為無相。具如掌珍。二者護法但遣所執。以為無相。如深密等。三無性中。清辨護法。皆依三種無自性。亦以為無相。由斯真諦慈恩三藏各依一宗。真諦三藏。如其次第。具遣三性。立三無性。一遣分別性。立分別無相性。二遣依他。立依他無生性。三遣真實性。立真實無性性。於一真如。遣三性故。立三無性。具如三無性論。是故真諦大同清辨。而差別者。清辨菩薩立而無當。真諦師意存三無性。非安立諦。二慈恩三藏。但遣所執。不遣二性。情有理無。理有情無。二義別故。又三無性如其次第。即說三性。為三無性。故三十唯識言。即依此三性。立彼三無性。具如成唯識深密經等 (仁王經疏 T1708:33.360b05-20).

[95] For the dating of this text, Kyehwan 戒環, "Pŏpchang kyohak kwa *Kisillon*" 법장 (法藏) 교학과 기신론, *Pulgyo yŏn'gu* 불교연구 16 (1999): 171-72.

[96] 第二智光論師遠承文殊龍樹。近稟提婆清辯。依般若等經中觀等論亦立三教。謂佛初鹿園為諸小根說小乘法。明心境俱有。第二時中為彼中根說法相大乘。明境空心有唯識道理。以根猶劣未能令入平等真空故作是說。於第三時為上根說無相大乘。辯心境俱空平等一味。為真了義。又此三位亦三義釋。… 二約教者。初唯說小乘。次通三乘。後唯一乘 (華嚴經探玄記 T1733:35.112a02-13). Also see Moro, "Shōben hiryō no Higashi Ajia ni okeru juyū" 清辨比量の東アジアにおける受容, 315-18. Yoshizu also indicates that Fazang contrasts the Great Vehicle of Dharma Characteristics with the Great Vehicle of No Characteristics by calling them respectively as the "Great Vehicle of Three Vehicles" (C. *sansheng dasheng* 三乘大乘) and the "Great Vehicle of One Vehicle" (C. *yisheng dasheng* 一乘大乘), or the "Provisional Teaching of the Great Vehicle" (C. *dasheng quanjiao* 大乘權教) and the "Real Teaching of the Great Vehicle" (C. *dasheng shijiao* 大乘實教); but he also says that the latter three, i.e., the Great Vehicle of No Characteristics, the Great Vehicle of One Vehicle, and the Real Teaching of the Great Vehicle, are not always equated in Fazang's system, while the former three are equated with each other (Yoshizu, "Shōsō yūe ni tsuite" 性相融会について, 303-04.). This appears to happen due to the coercive identification of the two originally distinct systems, the Madhyamaka and the One Vehicle.

monk Ŭiyŏng 義榮 (ca. late 7th century)[97] on the issue of whether Kumārajīva (344-413), the renowned Madhyamaka exegete and translator, accepted the Tathāgatagarbha theory; the Japanese Tendai monk Genshin 源信 (942-1017) records in the *Ichijō yōketsu* 一乘要決 that Shentai argued that Kumārajīva did not accept the universal Buddha Nature, and Ŭiyŏng refuted it.[98] The fact that Madhyamaka exegete Kumārajīva's perspective on Buddha Nature was emerging as one of the issues also seems to reflect the tendency to relate Madhyamaka to Tathāgatagarbha doctrine.

Besides the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, which Xuanzang translated into the *Shuo Wugoucheng jing* 說無垢稱經 in 650, also contains a line that seems to imply Tathāgatagarbha view, that is, "all sentient beings' minds are originally pure."[99] This phrase also may have contributed the tendency to find a relationship between the Madhyamaka and the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine before the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* was translated. Yet, the explicit and straightforward statement of the universal Buddha Nature in the

[97] As Yi Man indicates, some materials such as Saichō's *Shugo kokkaishō* 守護國界章 records that Ŭiyŏng is a Silla, not Paekche, monk (大唐諸師。潤。賓等。新羅曉榮等 (守護國界章 T2362:74.224a13-14)), but this appears just because Silla unified the three kingdoms including Paekche during Ŭiyŏng's lifetime. For more information about Ŭiyŏng, see Yi Man 이만, "Paekche Ŭiyŏng ŭi Yuski sasang" 백제 의영의 유식사상, in *Han'guk Yusik sasang* 한국유식사상 (Seoul: Changgyŏnggak 장경각, 2000). Also see Moro, "Shōben hiryō no higashi ajia ni okeru juyū" 清辨比量の東アジアにおける受容, 316-17.

[98] According to the *Ichijō yōketsu*, Kumārajīva's disciple Daosheng 道生 (355-434), who claimed the universal Buddha Nature, was dismissed from the group by Kumārajīva, and Ŭiyŏng refutes this fact by presenting other textual evidence; 泰法師云。羅什法師。親從西國歷事聽受。知佛性義不遍有情。道生既羅什學徒。公違什師。立諸衆生皆有佛性。故什法師。集衆羯磨。擯出道生。道生去後。什師尚在云云義榮法師。彈泰師云。按隋朝費長房年録云。羅什爲秦姚興弘始十一年。東晋安帝義熙四年戊申死。然竺道生被擯。宋文帝時也。如此羅什死後十六年。方至文帝。如何得言羅什未死道生見擯。又如君言。道生見擯。謂當道理。道生傳云。見擯之時。法師誓言。我所説不合理者。願於現身。得癩病等。若不乖理。願執麈尾而終。後經文來至。如願而死云云 (一乘要決 T2370:74.361b05-18).

[99] 一切有情心性本淨曾無有染亦復如是。唯優波離。若有分別有異分別即有煩惱。若無分別無異分別即性清淨。若有顛倒即有煩惱。若無顛倒即性清淨。若有取我即成雜染。若不取我即性清淨 (說無垢稱經 T476:14.563c03-08).

Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra must have been received as a definite expression of the Tathāgatagarbha teaching among the contemporary Buddhist exegetes. It is probably for this reason that those who defended the Tathāgatagarbha view attempted to interpret the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* as the most significant text among the translations by Xuanzang by emphasizing the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* more than other Xuanzang's translations.[100] In this way, it seems that the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes considered the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* as a new canonical base on reliance of Xuanzang's authority and, accordingly, the focus of the controversies gradually moved from the Buddha Nature controversy to the Emptiness-Existence controversy.

(2) Embracing One Vehicle Thought and Bhāvaviveka's Madhyamaka

Ji's criticism on the Tathāgatagarbha view and Bhāvaviveka's position does not occur in his works that were presumably composed after the translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*,[101]

[100] For instance, Yoshimura demonstrates that in compiling the *Da Ciensi Sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, a biography of Xuanzang (688), Yancong 彦悰 (fl. mid. 7th century) not only attempted to confirm that Xuanzang's most important task was the translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* by changing the chronological order of Xuanzang's comments on the translation of the *sūtra*, and but also delete the event of Xuanzang's translation of the *Cheng weishi lun* from the text, even though he knew that it was addressed in both the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* and the *Datang gu sanzang fashi xingzhuang* 大唐故三藏法師行狀 (Yoshimura Makoto 吉村誠, "Daitō Daijionji Sanzō hosshi de no seiritsu ni tsuite" 『大唐大慈恩寺三蔵法師伝』の成立について, *Bukkyōgaku* 仏教学 37 (1995): 101-04). Like Ji, Yancong was a student of Xuanzang, but there is a passage in Ji's biography of the *Song gaoseng zhuan* that allows us to conjecture that Yancong (and Huili) was generally against Ji; it says that "That [the *Da Ciensi Sanzang fashi zhuan*] says "Great Vehicle Ji." [This is because] Huili and Yancong did *not entirely* ostracize him, thus they called him Great Vehicle Ji" (彼曰大乘基。 蓋慧立彦悰。不全斥故云大乘基 (宋高僧傳 T2061:50.726b23-24)). This also proves that under Xuanzang there were distinct scholastic groups who had different doctrinal viewpoints.

[101] Besides the works that I address here, there may be still other works that were composed after the translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. For instance, although we cannot confirm when the *Yuqieshidilun lüezuan* 瑜伽師地論略纂, the commentary on the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, was composed, such a scholar as Watanabe Takao argues that this work was composed at the end of Ji's life since it is not finished (see Watanabe Takao 渡辺隆生, "Jion Daishi no denki shiryō to kyōgakushi teki gaiyou" 慈恩大師の伝記資料と教学史的概要, in *Jion Daishi gyoei shūei* 慈恩大師御影聚英, ed. Kōfukuji 興福寺 and Yakushiji 藥師寺 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1982)), and this work does not show such severe criticism as seen in the *Shuji* or the *Shuyao*. In this section, however, I

and this also proves that the change of Ji's attitude toward the doctrinal opponents is related with Xuanzang's translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* and its subsequent influence on the two controversies. Ji rather expresses moderate reconciliation between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, or Bhāvaviveka's and the Yogācāra view, not only in the *Dabore boluomiduojing bore liqufen shuzan* (hereafter, *Liqufen shuzan*) 大般若波羅蜜多經般若理趣分述讚, a commentary on the *Section on Maxim of Prajñā* (*Liqufen*) of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*,[102] but also in his other works that cite the the *Section*, such as the *Bore boluomi duoxin jing youzan* (hereafter, *Youzan*) 般若波羅蜜多心經幽贊, the *Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang* (hereafter, *Yilin zhang*) 大乘法苑義林章, the *Shuo Wugoucheng jing shu* 說無垢稱經疏, and the *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanzan* (hereafter, *Xuanzan*) 妙法蓮華經玄贊.[103]

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discuss only the works that clearly cite the passage of the *Section on Maxim of Prajñā* and thus were composed after the translation of the *sūtra*.

[102] Although it is now known exactly when Ji composed the *Liqufen shuzan*, Hayashi presumes that it was written after Ji wrote the *Youzan*, and that both of the works were composed after the completion of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in 663. For the detailed explanation, see Hayashi, "Ki sen to sareru sho kyōsho no seiritsu katei no tsuite" 基撰とされる諸経疏の成立過程について, 219. Since Ji's criticism of Bhāvaviveka still appears in the *Weishi ershi lun shuji* 唯識二十論述記, which he presumably wrote after Xuanzang's death in 664 (see n. 87 above), it seems likely that it was written after the *Weishi ershi lun shuji*.

[103] The *Youzan* is a commentary on the *Heart sūtra*. Since this text cites the *Liqufen* (理趣分說。信學此經速能滿足諸菩薩行。疾證無上正等菩提。故三菩提皆由此得 (般若波羅蜜多心經幽贊 T1710:33.542a10-12)), it appears that Ji wrote at least this version of the text after the translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*.

The *Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang* also cites the *Liqufen*; 凡論出體總有四重。一攝相歸性體。即一切法皆性真如。故大波若經理趣分說。一切有情皆如來藏 (大乘法苑義林章 T1861:45.252c09-11). The *Shuowugouchengjing shu* was written in 672 through 674; at the end of the text it says that Ji started to write it in 672 (咸享三年) and finished in 674 (五年); 基以咸享三年十二月二十七日。曾不披讀古德章疏。遂被并州大原縣平等寺諸德迫講舊經。乃同講次。制作此文。以贊玄旨。夜制朝講。隨時遂怠。曾未覆問。又以五年七月。遊至幽明蘇地。更講舊經。方得重覽。文雖疏而義蜜。詞雖淺而理深。但以時序忽迫。不果周委言。今經文不同之處。略并敘之。諸德幸留心而覽也 (說無垢稱經疏 T1782:38.1114a20-27).

The *Shuo Wugoucheng jing shu* also quotes the phrase of "all sentient beings are Tathāgatagarbha" of the *Liqufen*; 故大般若言。一切有情。皆如來藏 (說無垢稱經疏 T1782:38.1001a14-15). Although this passage does not mention *Liqufen* or *Liqu*, the only place of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* in which this passage appears is in the *Liqufen*.

The *Xuanzan* also contains a quotation of the *Liqufen* (般若理趣云。一切有情皆如來藏。普賢菩薩遍自體故。由證普遍賢善之理能證之道名為普賢 (妙法蓮華經玄贊 T1723:34.852a27-29)), and thus was written after the translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*. Hayashi presumes that this text was composed in late 670's,

Among these four works that cite the *Section on Maxim of Prajñā*, the *Youzan* and the *Shuo Wugoucheng jing shu* are the respective commentaries on the Heart Sūtra (C. *Bore boluomiduo xinjing* 般若波羅蜜多心經) and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (C. *Shuo Wugoucheng jing* 說無垢稱經), and these two scriptures were both translated by Xuanzang when Ji was still a novice monk (in 649 and 650). The fact that Ji decided to write the commentaries on these scriptures, which were translated over ten years previously, strongly suggests that Ji had a specific idea or intention in composing the commentaries, and the fact that all these works cite the *Section on Maxim of Prajñā* also suggests that this idea or intention was related with the *Section*. The fact that the *Xuanzan* is a commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*, which is a One Vehicle scripture, also seems to have a connection with the passages of the *Section on Maxim of Prajñā*, and, further, the *Lotus Sūtra* was *not* one of Xuanzang's translations.[104]

Ji's statements in the *Liqufen shuzan* clearly represent his embracing the Tathāgatagarbha view; Ji asserts that all sentient beings are Tathāgatagarbha since the essence of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra, whose nature is Tathāgatagarbha, is pervasive in the essence of sentient

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and relates this with doctrinal similarity between this work and the *Shuo Wugoucheng jing shu*, which was written in 672 through 674; see ibid., 194.

Beside the works mentioned here, the *Zaji lun shuji* 雜集論述記, Ji's commentary on Sthiramati's *Commentary* on Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, also mentions *the Liqufen* (理趣等經說一淨觀地二種姓地三第八地四具見地五薄地六離欲地七已辦地八獨覺地九菩薩地十如來地此說三乘共行十地攝法 (雜集論述記 X796:48.67c09-11).), but the explanation of the ten stages, which Ji says is described in the *Section*, in fact appears in other fascicles such as fascicle 56; 416; 417 and so on, not in the *Liqufen*. Therefore, it seems that Ji has not read the *Section* yet, even though he is award of the existence of the *Section*. Thus I do not include this work in the later period of Ji's career here.

[104] Beside these works, there is also another work by Ji that was composed in 670's, that is, the *Shengmanjing shuji* 勝鬘經述記, the commentary on the *Śrīmālādevīsūtra*. At the beginning of this work, it is recorded that Ji's disciple Yiling 義令 (d.u.) wrote down Ji's words(大乘慈恩 基法師說 門人 義令 記 (勝鬘經述記 X352:19.898b08-09)). Although the authorship of this work has been suspected, there is still strong possibility that Ji himself lectured on the *Śrīmālādevīsūtra* in the later period of his life on the basis on Yiling's testimony at the end of the work; 如有人寫者。好用心力。仰於感享歲。影從法師。首尾中間。曾無蹔捨。謹於界部寶國伽藍。令自春初。聽勝鬘經及二十論。隨所採撮。諮聽未聞。既受指麾。編為述記。但文約義廣。披閱稍難又於儀鳳二年夏洛都東太原寺。重更普搆。舒文展義。疎缺更[甦-生+益]。廣引文證。庶後學者。願莫嗤焉。義令記也 (勝鬘經述記 X352:19.924b19-c01).

beings.[105] In another place of the *Liqufen shuzan*, Ji also says that the nature of all empty dharmas is equal because the essence of emptiness is Thusness, and that the emptiness that is equal in all sentient beings and dharmas is "Absolute Emptiness" (C. *bijing kong* 畢竟空).[106] Ji then even says that the exegeses of Bhāvaviveka and Dharmapāla accord with each other in terms of the superior purity (C. *zuisheng qingjing* 最勝清淨) of Wisdom (S. *prajñā*).[107] Judging from these statements by Ji, we may say that Ji affirms in these works the equality of all sentient beings through the emptiness and the Tathāgatagarbha addressed in the *Liqufen*, thereby reconciling Bhāvaviveka and Dharmapāla.

Paralleling with the *Liqufen shuzan* in the doctrinal attitude, Ji's other works that quote the *Liqufen* also accept this position that all sentient beings have/are the *tathāgatagarbha*, and accordingly do not show any exclusively antagonistic criticism of Bhāvaviveka. In the *Youzan*, Ji addresses Bhāvaviveka and Dharmapāla side by side without evident criticism toward Bhāvaviveka. For instance, referring to Nāgārjuna as "saint Nāgārjuna" (C. *sheng* Longmeng 聖龍猛), Ji says that Nāgārjuna established the teaching of Emptiness in order to eliminate attachments to existence, while Asaṅga and Maitreya taught the teaching of the Middle Way to

[105] 然今菩薩普賢本性即如來藏。故說普賢菩薩自體遍有情體故。有情者皆如來藏。廢用顯體名普賢遍 (般若理趣分述讚 T1695:33.58a24-26).

[106]第五句云一切如來畢竟空寂平等性印者。…今離妄想計執永除。所執既無所證亦滿。諸妄永棄名為清淨。此諸妄想畢竟體空。世出世間染淨等法無不空寂。空寂之體性即真如。即一切法平等之性。此理決定遍諸法中名之為印。佛得此如一切圓滿故名善證。然中邊論解二十空中畢竟空云。為於有情常作饒益而觀空故名畢竟空。此意說言。為有情故別觀於空或觀所為有情為空。此觀有情等畢竟不可得畢竟即空名畢竟空。此畢竟空寂一切有情一切法中皆悉平等。是諸人法平等之性印定諸法定畢竟空。若計所執若二空理皆畢竟空故 (般若理趣分述讚 T1695:33.31c06-23).

[107] 經曰。由遠離故 自性寂靜 由寂靜故 自性清淨由清淨故 甚深般若波羅蜜多 最勝甚深。　讚曰。生死囂煩真如寂靜故由遠離。自性亦靜煩惱有染空性清淨故由寂靜顯體清淨。此意總顯。由一切法自性空故空寂句義即是菩薩所有句義。諸法既空故離虛妄離虛妄故體無囂動故性寂靜。既無囂動自性空寂故非染污自性清淨。自性清淨者顯般若最勝清淨。觀照悟此本性清淨真相自體本來清淨。故文字等甚深般若最勝清淨。清辨護法二釋隨應 (般若理趣分述讚 T1695:33.48c22-a03).

eliminate the attachment to existence and non-existence; he also juxtaposes Bhāvaviveka's verse in the *Zhangzhen lun* and Maitreya's verses in the *Bian zhongbian lun* without any criticism of the former.[108] In the *Yilin zhang*, Ji describes the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra as "[Teachings of] Own Master" (C. *zishu* 自主), while defining the non-Buddhists (C. *waidao* 外道) and the Small Vehicle adherents (S. *hīnayāna*) as the "different [viz., non-Buddhist] teachings" (C. *yizong* 異宗), and he describes Bhāvaviveka and Dharmapāla respectively as "master of the extreme" (C. *bianzhu* 邊主) and the "master of the middle" (C. *zhongzhu* 中主) in that Bhāvaviveka views all dharmas as empty, while Dharmapāla finds the Middle Way that is neither existence nor emptiness, without showing any apparent criticism of Bhāvaviveka.[109]

Such a shift of Ji's attitude to Bhāvaviveka's scholastic position, however, does not mean that he accepted the Madhyamaka position as being at the same level of Yogācāra; Ji's doctrinal taxonomy shows that he still regards Madhyamaka as a lower level teaching than Yogācāra. In both the *Shuo Wugoucheng jing shu* and the *Xuanzan*, Ji locates the Madhyamaka at the stage of

[108] 聖龍猛等為除有執採集真教究暢空宗。如別頌曰。真性有為空　如幻緣生故無為無有實　不起似空華彼言。世俗可說法有。依勝義諦一切皆空。雖此真空性非空有。寄詮勝義理皆性空。有情由是次生空見。無著菩薩復請慈尊說中道教。雙除二執。而說頌言。虛妄分別有　於此二都無　此中唯有空　於彼亦有此　故說一切法　非空非不空　有無及有故　是則契中道彼言。世俗說我法有依勝義諦唯此二空。雖佛為破執空執有總相宣說諸法有空。或說諸法非空非有。名字性離空有雙非。勝義寄詮有空有有 (般若波羅蜜多心經幽贊 T1710:33.523c13-28).

[109] This description of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra as the "master of the extreme" (C. *bianzhu* 邊主) and the "master of the middle" seems to represent that Ji still considers the Madhyamaka as the lower level than the Yogācāra. 然古大德。總立四宗。一立性宗。雜心等是。二破性宗。成實等是。三破相宗。中百等是。四顯實宗。涅槃等是。今即不爾。於中分二。初陳異宗。後列自主。陳異宗中。復分為二。初陳外道。後陳小乘 … 列自主中復分為二。初列邊主後列中主。列邊主者。謂清辨等朋輔龍猛。般若經意說諸法空。… 此由所說勝義諦中皆唯空故。名為邊主。列中主者。謂天親等輔從慈氏。深密等經。依真俗諦說一切法有空不空。… 非空非有中道義立。即以所明說一切法非空非有中道之義。以為宗也 (大乘法苑義林章 T1861:45.249c04-251a14). In another passage, Ji also says in a way that echoes with the passage above that there are two ways to manifest the Great Vehicle; one is the manifestation of the "essence of extreme" (C. *bianti* 邊體) and the other is the manifestation of the "Middle Way" (C. *zhongdao* 中道); 顯大乘中。復分為二。初顯邊體。後顯中道。顯邊體者。龍猛・清辨咸作是言。勝義諦中一切無相諸法皆空。何教何為體。世俗諦中可亦說有。… 顯中道者。瑜伽論攝決擇分八十一卷說 (大乘法苑義林章 T1861:45.251c21-252a07).

"teaching that everything is empty in the level of Ultimate Truth" (勝義皆空), that is, the seventh among the eight levels of teaching.[110] Further, in the *Yilin zhang* Ji identifies the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra respectively as "Implicit Meaning" (C. *buliao yi* 不了義, S. *neyārtha*) and "Definitive Meaning" (C. *liaoyi* 了義, S. *nītārtha*), placing the former on the second and the latter on the third and highest level of the Three-period Teachings.[111] Thus what should be noted here is that Ji's adoption of the concept of equality of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* and his embracing attitude toward Bhāvaviveka does not mean his abandonment or replacement of the New Yogācāra position to take the other position, but rather he finds an alternative doctrinal basis to explain both positions together in a comprehensive Buddhist system, which consists of various levels or teaching.

The following section will discuss the theoretical basis which enables Ji to embrace the Tathāgatagarbha and Madhyamaka positions as well as his own New Yogācāra position by examining his works written after the *Liqufen shuzan*.

[110] 七勝義皆空宗。謂清辨等。明說空經。以為了義。說一切法。世俗可有。勝義皆空。八應理圓實宗。謂護法等。弘暢花嚴深密等經。雖說二諦。隨其所應。具有空理。圓妙無闕。實殊勝故。今此經非前六宗。後二唯是大乘所說。故知通是二宗所攝 (說無垢稱經疏 T1782:38.999b04-09); 宗有八者。一我法俱有。犢子部等。二有法無我。薩婆多等。三法無去來。大眾部等。四現通假實。說假部等。五俗妄真實。說出世部等。六諸法但名。說一部等。七勝義皆空。般若等經。龍樹等說中百論等。八應理圓實。此法華等・無著等說中道教也 (妙法蓮華經玄贊 T1723:34.657a29-b06).

[111] 世尊初於一時。在婆羅泥斯仙人墮處施鹿林中。唯為發趣聲聞乘者。以四諦相轉正法輪。雖是甚奇甚為希有。一切世間諸天人等。先無有能如法轉者。而於彼時所轉法輪。有上有容是未了義。是諸諍論安足處所。世尊在昔第二時中。唯為發趣修大乘者。依一切法皆無自性無生無滅本來寂靜自性涅槃。以隱密相轉正法輪。雖更甚奇甚為希有。而於彼時所轉法輪。亦是有上有所容受。猶未了義。是諸諍論安足處所。世尊於今第三時中。普為發趣一切乘者。依一切法皆無自性。無生無滅。本來寂靜自性涅槃。無自性性。以顯了相轉正法輪。第一甚奇最為希有。于今。世尊所轉法輪。無上無容是真了義。非諸諍論安足處所 (大乘法苑義林章 T1861:45.251c21-252a07).

(3) Two Types of Buddha Nature: Ji's Theoretical Basis for Embracing Universal Buddha Nature

The theoretical basis on which Ji changed his attitude toward the Tathāgatagarbha and Madhyamaka opponents and embraced the view of the universal Buddha Nature may be found in the doctrine of two types of Buddha Nature, i.e., "Buddha Nature in Principle" (C. *li foxing* 理佛性) and "Buddha Nature in Practice" (C. *xing foxing* 行佛性). In the *Xuanzan*, Ji attempts to explain both doctrines of the universal Buddha Nature and the Distinct Lineages of sentient beings with no contradiction between them, by relating the former to the Buddha Nature in Principle, which is inherent in all sentient beings, and the latter to Buddha Nature in Practice, which some sentient beings do not have.[112] Ji goes on to say that although *tathāgatagarbha* is said to exist, there is no such teaching that all sentient beings become buddhas, and that the discrimination of the lineages is based on the discrimination of the Buddha Nature in Practice.[113] In other words, Ji justifies both the Tathāgatagarbha and New Yogācāra positions by arguing that the universal Buddha Nature may be said to exist at the level of principle, but in the practical level, discrimination exists.

The division of the Buddha Nature into two types, i.e., the Buddha Nature in Principle and the Buddha Nature in Practice, is not Ji's creation;[114] we know that Lingrun and Shentai

[112]然性有二。一理性勝鬘所說如來藏是。二行性楞伽所說如來藏是。前皆有之後性或無 (妙法蓮華經玄贊 T1723:34.656a25-27).

[113] 談有藏無說皆作佛。依善戒經地持論中唯說有二。一有種姓二無種姓。彼經論云性種姓者無始法爾六處殊勝展轉相續。此依行性有種姓也。無種姓人無種性故。雖復發心懃行精進終不能得無上菩提。但以人天善根而成就之。即無性也 (妙法蓮華經玄贊 T1723:34.656a27-b04).

[114] According to Sanlun exegete Jizang 吉藏 (549-623), the distinction between the Buddha Nature in Principle and in Practice was originated by the Dilun exegetes; 若執本有則非始有。若執始有則非本有。各執一文不得會通經意。是非諍競。作滅佛法輪。不可具陳。但地論師云。佛性有二種。一是理性二是行性。理非物造故言本有。行藉修成故言始有 (大乘玄論 T1853:45.b13-17). For more discussion on the Dilun exegetes' use of this doctrine, see TokiwaDaijō 常盤大定, *Busshō no kenkyū* 佛性の研究 (Tōkyō: Meiji Shoin 明治書院, 1944),

argued over this doctrine in their controversy on Buddha Nature around in 650.[115] However, the notion does not seem to have drawn Ji's attention until the later period of his career; the *Xuanzan*, in which Ji explicates this notion, is presumed as one of the latest works of Ji's life.[116] It seems likely that although Ji must have been aware of this notion of two types of Buddha Nature during his earlier period, it was not until he feels a need to explain the contradiction between the Tathāgatagarbha (and Madhyamaka) and the New Yogācāra view that he adopted it as one of his major scholastic doctrines. The need, as mentioned before, appears to have emerged along with the translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, especially the *Section on Maxim of Prajñā*. Ji's scholastic career in this respect may be divided into two periods, i.e., an earlier stage marked by Ji's criticism toward the rival doctrines and his emphasis on the New Yogācāra views; and a later stage when Ji rather shows a moderate or even embracing attitude toward the rival doctrines.

However, scholars have tended to regard Ji's earlier view as his typical scholastic position probably on the basis of the bifurcation of the Old and New Yogācāra, according to which Ji is one the most representative exegetes of the New Yogācāra. Ji has been typically regarded as not only an advocate of the Three Vehicles but also an opponent to the One Vehicle, for instance, on the basis of his interpretation of the famous line of of the *Lotus Sūtra*, which reads: "Only the One Vehicle teaching exists; there is neither the second (alt., Two) [Vehicle(s)], nor the third (alt., Three) [Vehicle(s)]."[117] Ji explains that in this line the second and third refer

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187-89. and see Yoshimura Makoto 吉村誠, "Yuishiki gakuha no rigyō ni busshō setsu ni tsuite: sono yurai o chūshin ni" 唯識學派の理行二佛性説について--その由來を中心に, *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教, no. 19 (2002): 27-30.

[115] See 3, (1) of this chapter.

[116] See n. 103 above.

[117] 唯有一乘法，無二亦無三 (妙法蓮華經 T0262:09.08a17-18). Stanley Weinstein points out that although here in the Chinese version the numbers (二 and 三) are written in cardinal numbers, Ji rightly indicates that they are

respectively to the Pratyekabuddha and Śrāvaka Vehicles and this *sūtra* denies their existence just for a provisional reason (S. *upāya*, C. *fangbian* 方便), that is, for the reason of leading the sentient beings of Indeterminate Lineage (S. *aniyata-gotra*, C. *buding zhongxing* 不定種性) to enlightenment.[118] This explanation has been interpreted by scholars to mean that Ji considers the teaching of the One Vehicle merely as a provisional means and the teaching that he advocated as real is that of the Three Vehicles.

The typical image of Ji as a Three Vehicle exegete, however, recently has been challenged. Some scholars argued that it is not because Ji adheres only to the Three Vehicles that Ji defines the One Vehicle as a provisional means in his explanation of the line of the *Lotus Sūtra*, but because he regards the *Lotus Sūtra* as a specific teaching aimed at particular group of listeners, that is, the Indeterminate Lineage; according to Ji, they argue, the *sūtra* takes the

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ordinal numbers in the Sanskrit original (此經亦云唯此一事實。餘二則非真。密遣二人息處說二。羊鹿非真不說三言。從勝至劣數。佛乘第一・獨覺第二・聲聞第三。無第二獨覺無第三聲聞。非無三乘之中大乘體極。勘梵本云無第二第三。今翻之略故云無二亦無三也 (妙法蓮華經玄贊 T1723:34.715b03-09)). The Sanskrit original reads: "*Ekaṃ hi yānaṃ dvitiyaṃ na vidyate tṛtiyaṃ hi naivāsti kadā-ci loke*." See Weinstein, "A Biographical Study of Tz'u-en," 143-44.

But in fact it appears that there was a controversy between those regarded them as cardinal numbers and those as ordinal numbers. Yoshimura Makoto mentions about a polemic confrontation in interpreting the One Vehicle of the *Lotus Sūtra* between those who argue for Four Vehicles (四車家) and Three Vehicles (三車家); the former group viewed the One Vehicle as a separate Vehicle from the Three Vehicles and the latter group, such as the Faxiang exegetes, viewed the One Vehicle as inseparate from the Three Vehicles (see Yoshimura Makoto 吉村誠, "Chūgoku Yuishiki sho gakuha no tenkai" 中国唯識諸学派の展開, in *Tōhōgaku no shinshiten* 東方学の新視点, ed. Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅 (Tōkyō: Goyō Shobō 五曜書房, 2003), 219 and 228, n. 22). When the numbers are seen as cardinal, the passage exactly represents the former group's position, since it reads that there is only One Vehicle, but neither Two Vehicles (viz., Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna) nor the Three Vehicles. On the contrary, when the numbers are read as ordinal, as Ji does here, the doctrine of the Three Vehicles as such are not denied. In other words, the former group views the One Vehicle as a separate level of teaching from the Three Vehicles, whereas the latter sees it in association with the Three Vehicles in that the One Vehicle has particular meaning for each group of the Three Vehicles. For more explanation of the two positions, see ibid.

[118] 問經自說言十方佛土中。唯有一乘法。無二亦無三。除佛方便說。即是破二破三而明一乘。何故乃言三五乘別。答依梵本說經頌應言無第二第三。數三乘中獨覺為第二。聲聞為第三。為引不定任持所餘故。方便言無第二第三。非真破也 (大乘法苑義林章 T1861:45.267c05-20). Also see n. 117 above.

provisional position of the One Vehicle with the purpose of saving the Indeterminate Lineage.[119] In other words, Ji did not deny the One Vehicle as a whole, but he just pointed out that the One Vehicle teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra* was a provisional means just because it was intended for the particular group of listeners of the *sūtra*. It appears then that the typical image of Ji as an opponent to the One Vehicle teaching should be reconsidered and Ji's view of the One Vehicle as a provisional means should be confined just to his interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

It should be noted, however, that although Ji was able to embrace the One Vehicle, or the universal Buddha Nature, along with the Three Vehicles on the doctrinal basis of the two types of Buddha Nature, this doctrine of two types of Buddha Nature contains conditional restriction in itself. The conceptual division of the Buddha Nature into the Principle and Practical levels enables Ji to accept both the universal and discriminative Buddha Nature; however, the very separation of the Buddha Nature into the two categories in turn confines each account of Buddha Nature into its own category. The universal Buddha Nature, once categorized as the Buddha Nature in Principle, comes to be restricted as such, and, in the same vein, the discriminative Buddha Nature, as the Buddha Nature in Practice, can be no more than this. In other words, each Buddha Nature cannot interact or affect each other, and in this respect the concept of the universal Buddha Nature in Ji's system is a very distinct concept from that of the Tathāgatagarbha system, although they appear similar; while Ji's concept of the universal Buddha Nature is meaningful only at the Principle level, the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes neither

[119] See Moro Shigeki 師茂樹, "Hossōshū no ichijō hōben setsu saikō: Shojōgirin o chūshin ni" 法相宗の「一乗方便」説再考 : 諸乗義林を中心に, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 47, no. 1 (1998); Kitsukawa Tomoaki 橘川智昭, "Chūgoku Yuishiki ni miru nishu ichijōgi no kū no tsuite" 中国唯識にみる二種一乗義の倶有について, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 53, no. 2 (2005): 688-89. Also see Yoshimura, "Chūgoku Yuishiki sho gakuha no tenkai" 中国唯識諸学派の展開, 218-19 ; 228, n. 22.

divide the Buddha Nature into Principle and Practice,[120] nor impose any restriction on the universal Buddha Nature, such as "in Principle." Such a restrictive definition of the One Vehicle or the universal Buddha Nature by Ji contains its own doctrinal limitations, which I will discuss in the following section.

(4) Separation between the Unconditioned and Conditioned Realms: Ji's Doctrinal Limitation

The concepts of Principle (C. *li* 理) and Practice (C. *xing* 行) represented in the doctrine of the two types of Buddha Nature are associated with another doctrinal category in Ji's doctrinal system, that is, the Unconditioned (S. *asaṃskṛta*) and Conditioned (S. *saṃskṛta*) realms. There is several textual evidence to show that the Principle is associated with the Unconditioned and the Practice with the Conditioned. Ji regards the *Śrīmālādevī* and *Nirvāṇa Sūtras* as the base scriptures for the concepts of the Buddha Nature in Principle and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* as that of the Buddha Nature in Practice,[121] and in the *Śrimāla* and *Nirvāṇa Sūtras*, the Buddha Nature is described as an Unconditioned dharma.[122] In addition, Ji also divides the Lineage (S. *gotra*, C. *zhongxing* 種性), or the Nature (S. *gotra*),[123] into "Unconditioned Lineage" (C. *wuwei xing*

[120] This recalls that Lingrun reputed the New Yogācāra exegetes' division of the Buddha Nature into the two types during the controversy with Shentai; see 3. (1) of this chapter.

[121] 性有二。一理性勝鬘所說如來藏是。二行性楞伽所說如來藏是。前皆有之後性或無 (妙法蓮華經玄贊 T1723:34.656a25-27); 涅槃勝鬘等中多以法身真理佛性名為一乘。故勝鬘云一乘者即大乘 … 涅槃經言一乘者即是佛性 (妙法蓮華經玄贊 T1723:34.713a29-b06)).

[122] 如來藏者離有為相。如來藏常住不變 (勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經 T353:12.222b11); 善男子。一切有為皆是無常。虛空無為是故為常。佛性無為是故為常。虛空者即是佛性。佛性者即是如來。如來者即是無為。無為者即是常。常者即是法。法者即是僧。僧即無為。無為者即是常 (大般涅槃經 T374:12.445c12-16)).

[123] Sanskrit term *gotra* is translated into "Nature," "Lineage," or "Seeds," etc.; see Chapter II. n. 91.

無爲性) and "Lineage that has Causes and Conditions" (C. *you yinyuan xing* 有因緣性), or the "Conditioned Lineage," by drawing respectively on the *Śrimāla* and *Nirvāṇa Sūtras* and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.[124]

As discussed before, the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms are regarded as separated from each other in the New Yogācāra system.[125] If the concepts of the Principle and Practice are associated with the Unconditioned and Conditioned in Ji's system, then we may say that the Buddha Nature in Principle and the Buddha Nature in Practice are accordingly separated from each other. On the contrary, as discussed before, the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes do not distinguish these two realms[126] and in the same vein they also refuse to divide the Buddha Nature into two types.[127] Given that the doctrinal contrast between the Tathāgatagarbha and New Yogācāra groups, it seems that Ji may well argue for the separation between the two types of the Buddha Nature as well as the separation between the Unconditioned and Conditioned in distinction from the Tathāgatagarbha views that do not separate them.

There is a more fundamental reason, however, that Ji had to separate the two types of the Buddha Nature, and the Unconditioned and Conditioned; Ji was able to explain both One Vehicle and Three Vehicles positions with no contradiction only through separating them.

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[124] 種性有二。一無漏。二有漏。無漏有二。一無為性。勝鬘經云。在纏名如來藏。出纏為法身。涅槃云。師子吼者。是決定說。一切眾生。悉有佛性。二有因緣性。在纏名多聞熏習法爾種子。出纏名報身。楞伽經云。 阿梨耶識名空如來藏。 具足無漏熏習法故。名不空如來藏。勝鬘依無為義。煩惱為能覆藏。真理為所覆藏。楞伽依有為義。阿賴耶識為能攝藏。種子名所攝藏。二種能藏。二種所藏。皆名如來藏 (說無垢稱經疏 T1782:38.1088a02-11).

[125] See n. 61; 62; 63 above. Also see Chapter II. n. 77.

[126] See 3, (2) of this chapter.

[127] For instance, we saw that Lingrun criticizes the New Yogācāra exegetes, who divide the Buddha Nature into Buddha Nature in Principle and Practice; see 3, (1) of this chapter.

Without a strict separation, the Tathāgatagarbha and New Yogācāra positions would be incompatible or even contradictory due to the mutual inconsistency between their doctrines. Ji was a New Yogācāra exegete who upheld the New Yogācāra position to the end,[128] and although Ji may have accepted the One Vehicle theory in his later period, this acceptance was not a synthesis between the One Vehicle and Three Vehicles, but a mere coexistence of both positions without any conflation. In this regard, the strict separation of the two realms of the Unconditioned and Conditioned, to which the two types of the Buddha Nature are respectively assigned, was an indispensible condition for Ji's doctrinal position. In Ji's system, the One Vehicle is compatible with the Three Vehicles only to the extent that Principle (C. *li* 理) is separated from Practice (C. *xing* 行).

Ji's strict separation between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms are also reflected on his view on the relationship between the Lineage (S. *gotra*, C. *zhongxing* 種性) and the Buddha Body in the passage of the *Shuo Wugoucheng jing*, which I have cited above.[129] In

[128] We can see that Ji was a strenuous upholder of the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages until his later period from the fact that he defines the "Two Vehicles with Fixed Nature" (C. *dingxing ersheng* 定性二乘), i.e., Pratyekabuddha and Śrāvakas, and the "sentient beings devoid of spiritual lineage" (S. *agotra*, C. *wu zhongxing* 無種性) as "[those whose] spiritual ability never matures" (C.*gen bushou* 根不熟), while he defines those with Indeterminate Lineage (S. *aniyata-gotra*, C. *buding zhongxing* 不定種性) as "[those whose] spiritual ability has not yet matured" (C. *gen weishou* 根未熟) in the *Yuqieshidilun lüezuan* 瑜伽師地論略纂 (此中聞有二人。聲聞之中有二人。一根不熟。二根未熟。初決定性。二不定性。故不為開演。若不定性根熟。何不為演之。凡夫亦爾。一根不熟。無種姓人二根未熟。故不為說 (瑜伽師地論略纂 T1829:43.169c09-13)). Ji's description of the sentient beings devoid of spiritual lineage as such also appears in the *Xuanzan*, one of his latest works; in this text, Ji describes them as such although he is aware that in the *Fahua lun* 法華論 Vasubandhu describes the Two Vehicles with the Fixed Nature as "[those whose] spiritual ability has not yet matured" (妙法蓮華經玄贊 T1723:34.652c10-653a18). We thus see that Ji held on to the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages by insisting the existence of those who never become a buddha. For detailed discussion on Ji's doctrinal position represented in the *Xuanzan*, see Suguro Shinjō 勝呂信静, "Kiki no Hokegensan ni okeru Hokekyō kaishaku" 窺基の法華玄賛における法華経解釈, in *Hokekyō no Chūgoku-teki tenkai: Hokekyō kenkyū* 法華経の中国的展開：法華経研究, ed. Sakamoto Yukio 坂本幸男 (Kyōto: Heirakuji Shoten 平楽寺書店, 1972), 352-55.

[129] See n. 124 above.

this passage, Ji divides the Lineage into the Uncontaminated (S. *anāsrava*, C. *wulou* 無漏) and Contaminated (S. *āsrava*, C. *youlou* 有漏), and again divides the Uncontaminated into the Unconditioned and Conditioned Lineage. Since the Lineage is equivalent to the "[Buddha] Nature,"[130] we may say that this Unconditioned Lineage corresponds to the Buddha Nature in Principle and the Conditioned Lineage to the Buddha Nature in Practice, thereby implying the separation between the Buddha Nature in Principle and Practice. Ji then divides each of Unconditioned and Conditioned Lineage into fettered state (C. *zaichan* 在纏) and unfettered state (C. *chuchan* 出纏), that is, the unenlightened and enlightened state; when fettered, the Unconditioned Lineage is named Tathāgatagarbha and, when unfettered, it is named the Dharma Body; when fettered, the Conditioned Lineage is named as "Original Seeds Permeated by Learning" (C. *wenxunxi faerzhongzi* 聞熏習法爾種子)[131] and, when unfettered, as the Reward Body (S. *saṃbhoga-kāya*, C. *baoshen* 報身).[132] In this way, Ji takes the position that, whether

[130] See n. 123 above.

[131] The "Original Seeds Permeated by Learning" refers to the Uncontaminated Seeds that is permeated by Learning. In *Cheng weishi lun*, the Uncontaminated Seeds that are inherent in sentient beings is also referred to as "Original Seeds" (C. *faer zhongzi* 法爾種子), "Inherent Gotra originally obtained" (C. *faer suode benxing zhuxing* 法爾所得本性住性); 又諸有情既說本有五種性別故。應定有法爾種子不由熏生。又瑜伽說地獄成就三無漏根是種非現。又從無始展轉傳來法爾所得本性住性。由此等證無漏種子法爾本有不從熏生 (成唯識論 T1585:31.8a29-b05). Since the Uncontaminated Seeds are divided into two types, i.e., "Inherent Gotra" (C. *benxingzhu zhongxing* 本性住種姓) and "Developed Gotra"(C. *xisuocheng zhongxing* 習所成種姓), or "Innate Uncontaminated Seeds" (C. *benyou wulou zhongzi* 本有無漏種子) and "Newly Permeated Seeds" (C. *xinxun zhongzi* 新熏種子) (see Chapter II, 2, (6)), it seems that here Ji discuss these two types of Uncontaminated Seeds without distinction. For the equivalent relationship between the Uncontaminated Seeds and the Nature of Realization, see Chapter II, 2, (6).

[132] 種性有二。一無漏。二有漏。無漏有二。一無為性。勝鬘經云。在纏名如來藏。出纏為法身。涅槃云。師子吼者。是決定說。一切眾生。悉有佛性。二有因緣性。在纏名多聞熏習法爾種子。出纏名報身。楞伽經云。 阿梨耶識名空如來藏。 具足無漏熏習法故。名不空如來藏。勝鬘依無為義。煩惱為能覆藏。真理為所覆藏。楞伽依有為義。阿賴耶識為能攝藏。種子名所攝藏。二種能藏。二種所藏。皆名如來藏 (說無垢稱經疏 T1782:38.1088a02-11). There is also another instance that shows that in Ji's system the Conditioned Gotra culminates just in the Reward Body, not the Dharma Body. It appears that Ji assigns *amalavijñāna*, the purified form of the *ālayavijñāna*, to the "Personal Enjoyment Body" (C. *zi shouyong shen* 自受用身), one of the two kinds of Reward Body (S. *saṃbhogakāya*), on the basis of the *Cheng weishi lun*. The *Cheng weishi lun*

fettered or not, the Buddha Nature of the Unconditioned realm remains separated from the Buddha Nature of the Conditioned realm. Ji's description of the Lineages discussed above may be summarized as the following chart:

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">Uncontaminated Gotra 無漏種性</td><td>Contaminated Gotra
有漏種性</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Unconditioned Gotra 無爲性
Buddha Nature in Principle 理佛性</td><td colspan="2">Conditioned Gotra 有爲性
Buddha Nature in Practice 行佛性</td><td rowspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Fettered
在纏</td><td rowspan="2">Tathāgatagarbha 如來藏</td><td colspan="2">Original Seeds Permeated by Learning
聞熏習法爾種子</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inherent Gotra
本性住種姓</td><td>Developed Gotra
習所成種姓</td></tr>
<tr><td>Unfettered
出纏</td><td>Dharma Body 法身</td><td colspan="2">Reward Body 報身</td></tr>
</table>

Chart 3. Ji's Doctrine of Buddha Nature and its Separation of the Unconditioned and Conditioned

Ji's view of the separation between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms makes a clear contrast to Paramārtha's perspective on the relationship between the Nature of Realization and the Buddha Bodies. In Chapter II, I discussed that Paramārtha's attempts to connect the Conditioned with the Unconditioned by regarding the Nature of Realization of the Conditioned realm as the cause of the Dharma Body, that is, the Buddha Body of the Unconditioned realm.[133] In Paramārtha's system, the Nature of Realization, as the basis of enlightenment in sentient

describes two doctrinal positions on the issue of the relationship between the Five Dharmas (C. *wufa* 五法), i.e., Thusness and the Four Wisdoms (C. *sizhi* 四智), and Buddha Bodies (成唯識論 T1585:31.58a06-b16). According to the first position, the Great Perfect Mirror Wisdom, which is the Wisdom associated with *amalavijñāna*, is connected to "Self-Nature Body" (C. *zixing shen* 自性身), which is a Unconditioned Buddha Body; on the contrary, the second position, which represents the *Cheng weishi lun*'s position, maintains that the Great Perfect Mirror Wisdom, along with other three Wisdoms, is associated with the Personal Enjoyment Body, which is a Conditioned Buddha Body. Ji's association of *amalavijñāna* with the Conditioned realm is noteworthy, especially when we recall Paramārtha's binary position in which the *amalavijñāna* is associated with both the Unconditioned and Conditioned (see Chapter II, 2, (4)). For different views on the relationship between Buddha Bodies and Four Wisdoms and comparison between them, see Hasegawa, "Eshō *Konkōmyō saishōō kyō sho* ni kansuru mondai kō" 慧沼『金光明最勝王経疏』に関する問題考.

[133] See Chapter II, 2, (6).

beings, belongs to the Conditioned realm, but it develops into the Dharma Body of the Unconditioned realm. By contrast, Ji associate the Original Seeds Permeated by Learning, which is equivalent to the Nature of Realization of Paramārtha's, only to the Reward Body, the Buddha Body of the Conditioned realm; in other words, the basis of enlightenment of the Conditioned realm is never connected to the Buddha Body of the Unconditioned. This separation is directly associated with the the separation between the Buddha Nature in Practice and the Buddha Nature in Principle.

There is also a notable difference in the interpretation of the notion of the universal Buddha Nature between Ji and Paramārtha. The universal Buddha Nature in Paramārtha's system corresponds to the Nature of Realization, the basis of enlightenment universally inherent in sentient beings, and this is also equivalent to the Innate [Buddha] Gotra in Paramārtha's system.[134] Since the Nature of Realization is a Conditioned dharma, the universal Buddha Nature in Paramārtha's system belongs to the Conditioned realm. For Ji, the universal Buddha Nature, or the Buddha Nature in Principle, which is named the Tathāgatagarbha in fettered condition, is confined to the Unconditioned realm. While Paramārtha's concept of the Nature of Realization is the universal Buddha Nature, its equivalent in Ji's system, that is, the Uncontaminated Seeds, is not universal, but defined as discriminative ability in sentient beings, which determines the Five Distinct Lineages. For the sake of comparison, let me attach again the chart on Paramārtha's Doctrine of Buddha Gotra and His Connection between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms, which I have presented in Chapter II.

[134] See Chapter II, 2, (6).

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">Uncontaminated
無漏</td><td>Contaminated
有漏</td></tr>
<tr><td>Unconditioned 無爲</td><td colspan="2">Conditioned 有爲</td><td rowspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"></td><td>Innate Gotra 住自性性
(Nature of Realization
解性
in Original State)</td><td>Derived Gotra 引出性
(Nature of Realization
解性
in Developed State)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Dharma Body 法身</td><td>Reward Body 報身 &
Transformation Body
化身</td></tr>
</table>

Chart 1. Paramārtha's Doctrine of Buddha Gotra and its Connection between the Unconditioned and Conditioned

5. Concluding Remarks

Xuanzang's transmission of the new Yogācāra literature from India instigated the doctrinal confrontation between the Tathāgatagarbha or Mahayamaka position and the New Yogācāra position such as Ji's. This doctrinal contrast emerged as two doctrinal controversies, that is, the Buddha Nature controversy and the Emptiness-Existence controversy, and this doctrinal confrontation between the Old and New Yogaraca groups often leads to the presumption of the antagonistic bifurcation between the Old and New Yogācāra, or the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra. However, when considering the doctrinal diversity in the Old and New Yogācāra traditions, the controversy between the Old and New Yogācāra groups should be confined to two particular groups, that is, the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes who succeeded Tanqian's thought and the New Yogācāra exegetes who succeeded Ji's scholastic position. In this respect, Ji's New Yogācāra position, which has been considered as the standard doctrinal model to represent the whole New Yogācāra, should be reexamined as one of the several scholastic positions in the New Yogācāra tradition.

CHAPTER IV. Synthesis of the Old and New Yogācāra Systems: Wŏnhyo and Fazang's Interpretations of the *Awakening of Faith*

1. Social Background and the Emergence of the *Awakening of Faith*

During the late seventh through early eighth century, the Emptiness-Existence controversy became prominent. After Xuanzang's translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, the *Section on Maxim of Prajñā*'s statements on the universal *tathāgatagarbha* present in all sentient beings were accepted as the authoritative position of the Madhyamaka, while Ji's Yogācāra group claimed that the universal *tathāgatagarbha* just refers to the Buddha Nature in Principle and sentient beings have a differing capability for enlightenment. Huizhao, for instance, one of Ji's disciples, alludes to the Emptiness-Existence controversy between Dharmapāla and Bhāvaviveka,[1] and in his *Nengxian zhongbian huiri lun* 能顯中邊慧日論 criticizes Fabao 法寶 (ca. 627-705), who claims that all sentient beings equally have the Buddha Nature in both levels of Principle and Practice.[2] Wŏnch'ŭk also addresses the Emptiness-Existence controversy in the *Bore boluomi duoxin jingzan* 般若波羅蜜多心經贊 by citing *Bandhuprabha (alt. *Prabhāmitra; ca. seventh century; C. Qinguang 親光), the putative author of the *Buddhabhūmi-śāstra* (佛地經論) as well as a disciple of Dharmapāla.[3] Fazang, a contemporary of Huizhao, records in the *Huayanjing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 that he heard from Divākara (fl. 676-688; C. Rizhao

[1] 護法菩薩千一百年後方始出世。造此論釋及廣百論釋。清辨菩薩亦同時出造掌珍論。此時大乘方諍空有 (成唯識論了義燈 T1832:43.660a13-15).

[2] See Chapter III, n. 46.

[3] 親光釋曰千年已前佛法一味過千年後空有乖諍。佛滅沒已一千年後南印度界健至國中有二菩薩一時出世。一者清辨二者護法。為令有情悟入佛法立空有宗共成佛意。清辨菩薩執空撥有令除有執。護法菩薩立有撥空令除空執 (佛說般若波羅蜜多心經贊 T1711:33.544a16-21).

日照) in 684 (文明元年) about the controversy between Śīlabhadra (529-645; C. Jiexian 戒賢) of Dharmapāla's line and Jñānaprabha (d.u.; C. Zhiguang 智光) of Bhāvaviveka's line[4]; in the *Shi'ermenlun zongshiyiji* 十二門論宗致義記, written around when Fazang met Divākara, Fazang also argues that the two positions of Emptiness and Existence should not be in opposition but in cooperation with each other.[5] It was in this circumstance that such exegetes as Wŏnhyo and Fazang began to seek a way to reconcile the discord between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra.

It was the *AMF* that Wŏnhyo and Fazang paid attention to in order to resolve the conflicts between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra. The *AMF* is well known for its synthesis of the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra systems. The *AMF*'s statement that the *tathāgatagarbha* and the *ālayavijñāna* are unified in a manner that is 'neither identical nor different' (C. *feiyi feiyi* 非一非異)[6] was regarded as a clue to the solution of the doctrinal contradiction between Madhyamaka and Yogācāra exegetes; Madhyamaka exegetes were considered to take the position that all sentient beings were *tathāgatagarbha* on the basis of the *Section on Maxim of Prajñā*, whereas the Yogācāra exegetes regarded *ālayavijñāna*, the fundamental consciousness of

[4] 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。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 (華嚴經探玄記 T1733:35.111c08-16). Also see Introduction, n. 16 and n. 18.

[5] For example, Fazang says that Bhāvaviveka and Dharmapāla are not mutually refuting, but cooperating with each other; 何故清辯護法。後代論師。互相破耶。答。此乃相成。非是相破。何者。為末代有情。根器漸鈍。聞說幻有。謂為定有。故清辯等破有令盡。至畢竟空。方乃得彼緣起幻有。若不至此畢竟性空。則不成彼緣起幻有。是故為成有故破於有也。又彼聞說緣生性空。謂為斷無。故護法等破空存有。幻有存故。方乃得彼不異有之空。以若不全體至此幻有。則不是彼真性之空。是故為成空故。破於空也 (成唯識論了義燈 T1832:43.660a13-15).

[6] 心生滅者，依如來藏故有生滅心，所謂不生不滅與生滅和合，非一非異，名為阿梨耶識 (大乘起信論 T1666:32.576b07-09). Wŏnhyo and Fazang explains that the 'neither arising nor ceasing' (不生不滅) here refers to the *tathāgatagarbha* in their commentaries (不生不滅者。是上如來藏 (起信論疏 T1844:44.208b12); 不生滅者。是上如來藏清淨心 (大乘起信論義記 T1846:44.254bc08-09)).

the sentient beings, as impure by denying the Madhyamaka view. In other words, the *AMF*'s perspective that the *tathāgatagarbha* and the *ālayavijñāna* are unified to each other provided a solution to the doctrinal tension between the Madhyamaka view focused on the aspect of Truth (C. *zhen* 眞) and the Yogācāra position oriented to the aspect of Delusion (C. *wang* 妄).[7]

Whether the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna* was identical to or separate from each other was a long-standing problem that had emerged at the incipiency of the East Asian Yogācāra tradition. I have discussed in Chapter I that the Northern and Southern Dilun schools adopted distinct doctrinal positions in regards to the issue of the relationship between the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna*. The Northern school, which found the basis of all phenomena in impure *ālayavijñāna*, is doctrinally connected to the ten-fascicle *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, according to which the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna* are identical on the one hand and are separate on the other; the Southern school, which viewed the *tathāgatagarbha* as the basis of phenomena, maintained that the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna* are identical, by drawing upon the four-fascicle *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. This issue of the relationship between the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna* continued to the Shelun school in the late sixth century. I have proposed in Chapter II that Paramārtha and Tanqian's Shelun thought, which have traditionally regarded as one scholastic school, should be distinguished from each other, and that Paramārtha's position may be connected to the Northern school's and Tanqian's to the Southern school's. In this light, we may say that the problem of the relationship between the

[7] The fact that many commentarial works of the *AMF* were compiled subsequently after Wŏnhyo and Fazang wrote their commentaries suggests that the *AMF* drew attention from contemporary Buddhist thinkers as a text to solve the Emptiness-Existence controversy. For instance, in Korea the *AMF* was studied mostly during the Silla period by such exegetes as Wŏnhyo, Kyŏnghŭng (ca. 7th century), Taeyŏn 大衍 (d.u.), Sŭngjang 勝莊 (ca. 7-8th century), and Taehyŏn, totaling more than ten works; after this period until the Chosŏn period, only two more works by Yuil 有一 (1720-1799) and Ŭiso 義沼 (1746-1796) are found; see Pak T'aewŏn 박태원, "Silla Pulgyo ŭi *Taesŭng kisillon* yŏn'gu" 新羅佛敎의 大乘起信論 硏究, *Silla munhwaje haksul palp'yohoe nonmun chip* 신라문화제학술발표회논문집 14 (1992): 49.

tathāgatagarbha and *ālayavijñāna* was a sustained issue throughout the East Asian Yogācāra tradition, and the Emptiness-Existence controversy may also be seen as a phenomenon derived from the disagreement between those who advocated the identity or the lack of distinction and those who defended the distinction between the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna*.

The emergence of the *AMF* during this time as well may be seen in this respect as a part of the enduring efforts in the East Asian Buddhist tradition to explain the relationship between the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna*. In fact, Wŏnhyo and Fazang were not the first exegetes to note the *AMF*'s potential for resolving the tension between the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna*. The *AMF* is also known as the Shelun school's canonical base; Tanqian and other exegetes influenced by Tanqian's Shelun thought, such as Tanyan and Huiyan, left commentaries to the *AMF*,[8] and Paramārtha and his chief disciple Huikai also wrote commentaries, although they are not extant.[9] Moreover, the Chinese translation of the *AMF* is traditionally attributed to Paramārtha, though this attribution has been one of the most controversial issues revolving around the *AMF*,[10] and there has been scholarly tendency to relate Paramārtha's synthetic Yogācāra thought to the *AMF*'s synthesis between the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna*.[11]

[8] The *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 records that Tanqian composed the *Dasheng qixinlu shu* in three rolls (大乘起信論 … 疏三卷 曇遷述 (新編諸宗教藏總錄 T2184:55.1174c28-1175a03)), but it is not extant. It is known that Tanyan wrote the *Qixinlun yishu* 起信論義疏 (X755), and Huiyuan wrote the *Dasheng qixinlun yishu* 大乘起信論義疏 (T1843).

[9] The *Tōiki dentō mokuroku* 東域傳燈目錄 records that Paramārtha composed the *Dasheng qixinlun xuanwen* 大乘起信論玄文 in twenty rolls (T2183:55.1158c14), and the *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* records that Zhikai (a.k.a. Huikai) wrote the *Dasheng qixinlun yishu* 大乘起信論義疏 in one roll (新編諸宗教藏總錄 T2184:55.1174a01). Besides, the *Dasheng qixinlun yixin ermen dayi* 大乘起信論 一心二門大意 is also recorded as Zhikai's work, but its authorship is suspected (see Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙 and Maruyama Takao 丸山孝雄, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 佛書解說大辭典, 15 vols., vol. 7 (Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha 大東出版社, 1974-1988), 285-86).

[10] It was Fazang that first mentioned Paramārtha as the translator of the *AMF* (大乘起信論義記 T1846:44.246a15-b08). For the detailed information about the issues and distinct views regarding the provenance of the *AMF*, see Kashiwagi Hiroo 柏木弘雄, *Daijō kishin ron no kenkyū: Daijō kishin ron no seiritsu ni kansuru shiryōron teki*

There are problems, however, in the connection of Paramārtha's thought to the *AMF* in association with fact that the *AMF* was one of the doctrinal bases of the Shelun school. One of the problems is that, as discussed in Chapter II, unlike the scholarly view to date, Paramārtha describes such a doctrine of *amalavijñāna* in terms of a gradual scheme of cultivation; the perspective that *amalavijñāna* is achieved at the end of the gradual process of cultivation does not parallel the notion of the *tathāgatagarbha,* and in this respect the connection of Paramārtha's perspective to the *tathāgatagarbha* thought of the *AMF* is questionable.

On the other hand, there are also problems in understanding the *AMF* as a Tathāgatagarbha text on the basis of the synthetic model as defined by Fazang in his commentary. Fazang interpreted the *AMF* as a Tathāgatagarbha text that synthesizes Truth (C. *zhen* 眞; C. *zhenru* 眞如) and Delusion (C. *wang* 妄; C. *wuming* 無明) by classifying the *AMF* as the "Teaching of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*" (C. *rulaizang yuanqi zong* 如來藏緣起宗) in his doctrinal taxonomy described in the *Dasheng qixinlun yiji* 大乘起信論義記 (hereafter *Yiji*).[12] Although scholars have indicated interpretative differences between Fazang and other major commentators such as Wŏnhyo, Fazang's longer commentary, the *Yiji*, which also includes significant part of Wŏnhyo's *Kisillon so* 起信論疏 and *Taesŭng kisillon pyŏlgi* 大乘起信論別記 (hereafter *Pyŏlgi*),[13] seems to have been regarded

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kenkyū 大乘起信論の研究 : 大乘起信論の成立に関する資料論的研究 (Tōkyō 東京: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 1981). Also see Keng, "Yogācāra Buddhism transmitted or transformed? Paramārtha (499--569) and his Chinese interpreters," 105-29.

[11] See Chapter II, 1.

[12] See Introduction, n. 18.

[13] For Fazang's reliance on Wŏnhyo's commentaries, see Hirakawa Akira 平川彰, *Daijō kishin ron* 大乘起信論, Butten kōza 佛典講座 22 (Tōkyō: Daizō Shuppan 大蔵出版, 1973), 399; Kashiwagi, *Daijō kishin ron no kenkyū: Daijō kishin ron no seiritsu ni kansuru shiryōron teki kenkyū* 大乘起信論の研究 :

as the definitive commentary on the *AMF*. However, considering that Paramārtha's and Tanqian's doctrinal positions constitute distinct Shelun lines, as discussed in Chapter II, Wŏnhyo's understanding of the *AMF* shows a striking similarity to Paramārtha's thought. By analyzing the two exegetes' commentaries of the *AMF*, this chapter will suggest in this regard that the difference between Wŏnhyo and Fazang in understanding the *AMF* reflects ongoing speculation in East Asian Yogācāra history on the fundamental issue of the relationship between *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna*.

2. Wŏnhyo and Fazang's Reconciliation between Madhyamaka and Yogācāra and the Differences in their Perspectives

(1) Wŏnhyo's Binary Perspective

The bottom line of the Emptiness-Existence controversy between the Madhyamaka's view that all sentient beings are *Tathāgatagarbha* and the Yogācāra perspective that all sentient beings do not have the universal Buddha Nature at a practical level is that while the former does not distinguish the Buddha Nature in Principle and Practice, the latter does. In other words, the Madhyamaka emphasizes the aspect of the Truth (C. *zhen* 眞) by indistinguishing the two types of Buddha Nature from each other, while the Yogācāra focuses on the aspect of the Delusion (C. *wang* 妄) by separating one from the other. This matter of distinction or lack of distinction

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大乘起信論の成立に関する資料論的研究: 32; Yi P'yŏngnae 이평래, *Silla Pulgyo Yŏraejang sasang yŏn'gu* 신라불교여래장사상연구 (Seoul: Minjoksa 민족사, 1996), 131-36.

between the two types of Buddha Nature is also associated with the issue of distinction or lack of distinction between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms.[14]

The rubric of "the One Mind and its two aspects" (C. *yixin ermen* 一心二門) of the *AMF* in this regard contains a possible solution to the doctrinal contradiction between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra, since the two aspects of the One Mind, "the Thusness Aspect" (C. *xin zhenru men* 心眞如門) and "the Production and Cessation Aspect" (C. *xin shengmie men* 心生滅門), correspond respectively to the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms.[15] Although Wŏnhyo and Fazang both noted this rubric of the *AMF*, however, Wŏnhyo's and Fazang's perspectives on the relationship between the two aspects in their commentaries on the *AMF* are very distinct from each other.

Wŏnhyo considers the Conditioned realm as not separate from the Unconditioned on the basis of the assertion in the *AMF* that the *tathāgatagarbha*, the 'neither-arising-nor-ceasing' (C. *busheng bumie* 不生不滅), is unified with the *ālayavijñāna* in a neither identical nor different

[14] See Chapter III, 4, (4).

[15] In case of Wŏnhyo, there have been several views on what the two aspects exactly refer to, and scholars have mostly regarded them respectively as the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra. However, as Pak T'aewŏn points out, the two aspects do not directly refer to the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra, although Wŏnhyo apparently attempts to compromise the dispute between them through the *AMF* (see Pak T'aewŏn 박태원, "Wŏnhyo ŭi *Kisillon* kwan ihae rŭl tullŏssan munjechŏm sogo: *Pyŏlgi* taeŭimun kujŏl ŭi ihae rŭl chungsim ŭro" 원효의 起信論觀 이해를 둘러싼 문제점 小考: 「別記」大意文구절의 이해를 중심으로, *Tongyang ch'ŏlhak* 동양철학 1(1990): 1-6). Pak also mentions some scholars, such as Ch'oe Yujin, who suspect this attribution by indicating that Wŏnhyo attributes the Buddha Nature or the Original Awakening, the principle (K. *i* 理) of the aspect of Production and Cessation, to such scriptures as the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and the *Avataṃsakasūtra*, which is not directly associated with the Yogācāra teaching ("For the principle in the aspect of True Suchness, […] we provisionally establish such names as Suchness (真如) or Truthful Reality (實際), as all the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*, such as the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, teach; for the principle in the aspect of Production and Cessation, […] we provisionally establish such names as Buddha Nature or Original Awakening, as the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and the *Avataṃsakasūtra* teach": 真如門中所說理者。雖曰真如亦不可得。而亦非無。 有佛無佛。性相常住。無有反異。不可破壞。於此門中。假立真如實際等名。如大品等諸般若經所說。生滅門內。所攝理者。雖復理體離生滅相。而亦不守常住之性。隨無明緣。流轉生死。雖實為所染。而自性清淨。於此門中。假立佛性本覺等名。如涅槃華嚴經等所說 (大乘起信論別記 T.1845:44.227c22-29)). See Ch'oeYujin 최유진, "Wŏnhyo ŭi hwajaeng sasang yon'gu" 元曉의 和諍思想 硏究 (Ph.D. Dissertation, Seoul National Universtiy, 1988), 16.

condition.[16] The *AMF* describes the *tathāgatagarbha* as the unchanging substratum of all phenomena by comparing it to the ocean from which numerous waves arise,[17] and also addresses it as the dharma of Thusness (C. *zhenru fa* 眞如法), which is inherent in all sentient beings and prompts them to pursue *nirvāṇa* when permeation (C. *xunxi* 熏習, S. *vāsanā*) occurs.[18] Wŏnhyo also defines the *tathāgatagarbha* as the 'Innately Pure Mind' (S. *prakṛti-prabhāsvara-citta*, C. *zixing quingjing xin* 自性清淨心),[19] which is tainted by Delusion.[20] In this way, the *tathāgatagarbha*, though being permanent itself, is engaged with impermanent dharmas, and thus has the connotation that the Unconditioned and Conditioned are connected to each other. Wŏnhyo also clearly says that it is in order to remove the attachment to the view of separation between the [Absolute] Truth (K. *chin* 眞) and Convention (K. *sok* 俗) that the *AMF* states that the 'neither-arising-nor-ceasing' is unified with the 'arising and ceasing' (C. *shengmie* 生滅).[21] In this way, Wŏnhyo agrees with the Madhyamaka position that all sentient beings are *tathāgatagarbha* by connecting the Unconditioned with the Conditioned.

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[16] See n. 6 above.

[17] 以一切心識之相皆是無明，無明之相不離覺性，非可壞非不可壞。如大海水因風波動，水相風相不相捨離，而水非動性，若風止滅動相則滅，濕性不壞故 (大乘起信論 T1666:32.576c09-13).

[18] 真如熏習義有二種。云何為二？一者、自體相熏習，二者、用熏習。自體相熏習者，從無始世來，具無漏法備，有不思議業，作境界之性。依此二義恒常熏習，以有力故，能令眾生厭生死苦、樂求涅槃，自信己身有真如法，發心修行 (大乘起信論 T1666:32.578b19-24).
Wŏnhyo states that Thusness that becomes permeated refers to the "Naturally Pure Original Awakening" (K. *sŏngjŏng pongak* 性淨本覺). Since the Original Awakening is another name for the *tathāgatagarbha* (see n. 26 below), we see that Wŏnhyo connects the *tathāgatagarbha* to the notion of Thusness.

[19] 初中言依如來藏故有生滅心者。自性清淨心。名為如來藏 (起信論疏 T1844:44.208b07-08).

[20] 從本已來自性清淨而無明所染有其染心者。是明淨而恒染。雖有染心而常恒不變者。是明動而常靜由是道理。甚深難測。如夫人經言。自性清淨心。難可了知。彼心為煩惱所染。亦難可了知。楞伽經言。以如來藏是清淨相。客塵煩惱垢染不淨。我依此義。為勝鬘夫人及餘菩薩等。說如來藏阿梨耶識共七識生。名轉滅相 (起信論疏 T1844:44.214c07-14).

[21] 今此論者。依楞伽經。為治真俗別體執。就其無明所動義門故。說不生滅與生滅和合不異 (大乘起信論別記 T1845:44.229a19-21).

While Wŏnhyo accepts the *AMF*'s unification of the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna* as the connection between the Unconditioned and Conditioned on the one hand, he also distinguishes the *tathāgatagarbha* of the Production and Cessation Aspect from the Thusness of the Thusness Aspect, on the other. Wŏnhyo's distinction between them represents in his understanding of the *AMF*'s attribution of the three "Greatnesses" (C. *sanda* 三大) of the Mahāyāna, i.e., "Greatness of Essence" (C. *tida* 體大), "Characteristics" (C. *xiangda* 相大), "Functions" (C. *yongda* 用大),[22] to the two aspects of the One Mind. The *AMF* says that the Thusness aspect contains the Essence of the Mahāyāna, while the Production and Cessation aspect has the "Self-Essence" (C. *ziti* 自體), Characteristics, and Functions.[23] In commenting on this passage, Wŏnhyo distinguishes the "Essence" of the Thusness aspect from the "Self-essence" of the Production and Cessation aspect by saying that there is a "profound reason" why the *AMF* names the Essence of the aspect of Thusness the "Essence," while it names the Production and Cessation aspect the "Self-Essence."[24] Since Wŏnhyo says that the Essence of the Mahāyāna in the Production and Cessation aspect refers to the mind of the Original Awakening (C. *benjue xin* 本覺心),[25] which is another name for the *tathāgatagarbha*,[26] we see that he distinguishes the

[22] The Greatness of Essence refers to the Thusness itself, which is universal in all phenomena and neither-increasing-nor-decreasing; the Greatness of Characteristics to the myriad virtues that the *tathāgatagarbha* contains; the Greatness of Functions to wholesome causes and effects in the mundane and supramundane world. 所言義者，則有三種。云何為三？一者、體大，謂一切法真如平等不增減故。二者、相大，謂如來藏具足無量性功德故。三者、用大，能生一切世間、出世間善因果故 (大乘起信論 T1666:32.575c25-28).

[23] 是心真如相，即示摩訶衍體故；是心生滅因緣相，能示摩訶衍自體相用故 (大乘起信論 T1666:32.575c23-25).

[24] 然真如門中直言大乘體。生滅門中乃云自體者。有深所以。至下釋中。其義自顯也 (起信論疏 T1844:44.206b14-16).

[25] 言能示摩訶衍自體者。即是生滅門內之本覺心 (起信論疏 T1844:44.206b12-13).

tathāgatagarbha of the Production and Cessation aspect from the Thusness of the Thusness aspect. In other words, Wŏnhyo not only accepts the Madhyamaka view that they are not distinguished, as mentioned above, but also endorses the Yogācāra position that the Unconditioned and Conditioned are distinguished from each other.

Wŏnhyo's binary position that the Thusness and *tathāgatagarbha* are paradoxically both distinguished and not distinguished from each other is based on his understanding of the notion of *tathāgatagarbha*. In Wŏnhyo's system, the *tathāgatagarbha* is explained as potential enlightenment, which manifests itself through a gradual process of cultivation, in distinction from achieved or completed enlightenment; yet, upon the achievement of the perfect enlightenment, one realizes that the potential enlightenment is not different from the perfect enlightenment. Wŏnhyo's binary understanding of the *tathāgatagarbha* is reflected on his explanation of the concepts of "Unawakening" (C. *bujue* 不覺),"Acquired Awakening" (C *shijue* 始覺), and "Original Awakening" (C. *benjue* 本覺). The mind, when unrealized by Delusion in the state of Unawakening (K. *mumyŏng pulgak* 無明不覺), transmigrates within the Six Destinies (K. *yukch'wi* 六趣); but when permeated (K. *hunsŭp* 熏習, S. *vāsanā*) by Original Awakening, the mind starts to pursue *nirvāṇa* through the process of the Acquired Awakening until it retrieves the Original Awakening and realizes that the mind has never changed or been deluded.[27]

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[26] Wŏnhyo says that the Original Awakening, the nature of Tathāgata hidden in the Production and cessation aspect, is named the *tathāgatagarbha*; 又此一心體有本覺。而隨無明動作生滅。故於此門如來之性隱而不顯。名如來藏 (起信論疏 T1844:44.206c18-20).

[27] 總此四相名為一念。約此一念四相。以明四位階降。欲明本依無明不覺之力。起生相等種種夢念。動其心源。轉至滅相。長眠三界。流轉六趣。今因本覺不思議熏。起厭樂心。漸向本源。始息滅相乃至生相。朗然大悟。覺了自心本無所動 (起信論疏 T1844:44.209c18-23). This passage appears right after Wŏnhyo

Wŏnhyo's explanation of the four stages of the Acquired Awakening also shows his binary understanding of the *tathāgatagarbha*. Wŏnhyo divides the level of the Acquired Awakening into four stages in association with "four Marks" (C. *sixiang* 四相), i.e., arising (C. *sheng* 生), abiding (C. *zhu* 住), changing (C. *yi* 異) and ceasing (C. *mie* 滅), that is, modes of consciousness of four groups of sentient beings at particular soteriological stages.[28] Each of the four Marks is said to be eliminated by attaining a particular level of the Acquired Awakening in a corresponding soteriological stage.[29] To the question of whether the four Marks occur simultaneously or successively, Wŏnhyo answers that these four Marks are both simultaneous and successive in somewhat paradoxical way; Wŏnhyo says that they are simultaneous in terms of the Essence (K. *ch'e* 體) of the mind, but successive in terms of the Functions (K. *yong* 用); or simultaneous when enlightened, but successive before enlightened.[30] Then Wŏnhyo connects this

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comments on the Acquired Awakening through the concept of the "four Marks" (C. *sixiang* 四相), i.e., arising (C. *sheng* 生), abiding (C. *zhu* 住), changing (C. *yi* 異) and ceasing (C. *mie* 滅).

[28] Based on the *AMF*, Wŏnhyo explains the arising, abiding, changing and ceasing is overcome respectively by bodhisattvas in the stage of Perfect Enlightenment (K. *muguji* 無垢地; a.k.a., K. *tŭnggak* 等覺), bodhisattvas on the ten stages, bodhisattvas in the stage of ten understandings (K. *siphae* 十解; a.k.a., K. *sipchu* 十住) and above, and ordinary beings in the stage of ten faiths (K. *sipsin* 十信); see 起信論疏 T1844:44.209c25-210c08.

[29] Wŏnhyo explains that the four Marks of arising, abiding, changing and ceasing are eliminated by attaining respectively the four levels of the Acquired Awakening, i.e., "Ultimate Awakening" (C. *jiujing jue* 究竟覺), "Approximate Awakening" (C. *suifen jue* 隨分覺), "Semblance Awakening" (C. *xiangsi jue* 相似覺), and "Unawakening" (C. *bujue* 不覺); see 起信論疏 T1844:44.209c25-210c08.

[30] 問。此中四相。為當同時。為是前後。此何所疑。若同時那。論說四相覺時差別。若前後那。下言四相俱時而有。或有說者。此依薩婆多宗四相。四體同時。四用前後。用前後故。覺時差別。體同時故。名俱時而有。或有說者。是依成實前後四相。而言俱時而有者。以本覺望四相。則無四相前後差別。故言俱時而有。皆無自立。或有說者。此是大乘祕密四相。覺四相時。前後淺深。所覺四相。俱時而有 (起信論疏 T1844:44.209a23-b02).

dualistic feature of the four Marks to the *AMF*'s statement that the [neither-arising-nor-ceasing] Innately Pure Mind is moved by the wind of Delusion.[31]

Wŏnhyo's division of the Original Awakening into two types, "Original Awakening that Accords with the Taints" (K. *suyŏm pon'gak* 隨染本覺) and "Naturally Pure Original Awakening" (K. *sŏngjŏng pon'gak* 性淨本覺) may be also understood from this binary perspective. These two types of Original Awakening first appear in his *Kisillon so*, and later Fazang follows Wŏnhyo's terminology. According to Wŏnhyo, the Original Awakening that Accords with the Taints refers to the Original Awakening while it accords with the defilements of phenomenal world[32]; the Naturally Pure Original Awakening refers to the essence of the Original Awakening.[33] Since the former Original Awakening is related to the phenomenal world, it may be said that it corresponds to the changing aspect of the *tathāgatagarbha* that is unified with the *ālayavijñāna*; since the latter refers to the basic quality itself of the enlightenment; it seems to correspond to the unchanging aspect of the *tathāgatagarbha*. In this respect, Wŏnhyo connects these two types of Original Awakening respectively to the Acquired and Original

[31] 是義云何。夫心性本來離生滅相。而有無明迷自心性。由違心性離於寂靜。故能生起動念四相。… 如經言。即此法身。為諸煩惱之所漂動。往來生死。名為眾生。此論下文云自性清淨心因無明風動。正謂此也 (起信論疏 T1844:44.209b02-10).

[32] The *AMF* says that when analyzed in its relation with the defilements of phenomenal world, the Original Awakening has two attributes (C. *xiang* 相), i.e., the attribute of "Purity of Wisdom" (C. *zhijing xiang* 智淨相) and "Inconceivable activities" (C. *busiyi yexiang* 不思議業相); 復次，本覺隨染，分別生二種相，與彼本覺不相捨離。云何為二？一者、智淨相，二者、不思議業相 (大乘起信論 T1666:32.576c05-07). Thus we know that what is discussed here is the Original Awakening which is related with the defilements of the phenomenal world.

[33] At this part, the *AMF* discusses the characteristics of the essence of the Awakening (C. *juetixiang* 覺體相) have four meanings, i.e., truly empty mirror (C. *rushi kong jing* 如實空鏡), mirror of causal permeation (C.*yin xunxi jing* 因熏習鏡), mirror free from contaminated phenomena (C. *fa chuli jing* 法出離鏡), and mirror of conditional permeation (C. *yuan xunxi jing* 緣熏習鏡). In commenting on the part, Wŏnhyo says that this passage is about the characteristics of the Natually Pure Original Awakening (復次以下次明性淨本覺之相; 起信論疏 T1844:44.211c01-02), and thus we know that Wŏnhyo considers the essence of the Awakening as the Natually Pure Original Awakening.

Awakening, and he also relates these two Awakenings to the Reward Body and the Dharma Body.[34] Viewed in this light, we may say that the Original Awakening that Accords with Taints is another name of the Acquired Awakening. Wŏnhyo's paradoxical division of the Original Awakening into these two kinds, one changing and the other unchanging, again shows his binary doctrinal feature.

It is through the concept of "Permeation by Thusness" (C. *zhenru xunxi* 眞如熏習) that Wŏnhyo explains the process by which the *tathāgatagarbha* develops into a fully manifested enlightenment. While explaining the *AMF*'s passage on the Original Awakening that Accords with Taints, Wŏnhyo says that on the reliance of the power of Thusness that internally permeates (K. *naehun* 內熏), one can practice at the "Stage of Accumulation [of Good Roots]" (K. *charyang wi* 資糧位, S. *saṃbhārāvasthā*), then cultivate in the Bodhisattva Stages, until the practitioner reaches the stage of Perfect Enlightenment (K. *muguji* 無垢地; a.k.a., K. *tŭnggak* 等覺), hence revealing the neither-arising-nor-ceasing nature[35]; on the contrary, in case of the "Permeation by Delusion" (C. *wuming xunxi* 無明熏習), in which Delusion permeates the Thusness, the deluded mind arises and all levels of sentient beings are bound to saṃsāric revolution.[36] What should be noted in Wŏnhyo's explanation of the Permeation by Thusness or Delusion is that occurrence of these permeations are explained separately, unlike Fazang's explanation of them as occurring simultaneously, as I will discuss soon below in the next section.

[34] 第四中言依法出離故遍照眾生心者。即彼本覺顯現之時。等照物機。示現萬化。以之故言隨念示現。此與前說不思議業有何異者。彼明應身始覺之業。此顯本覺法身之用 (起信論疏 T1844:44.211c21-25).

[35] 初中言法力熏習者。謂真如法內熏之力。依此熏力修習資糧。得發地上如實修行。至無垢地滿足方便。由是能破和合識內生滅之相。顯其不生不滅之性。故言破和合識相顯現法身 (起信論疏 T1844:44.211a14-18).

[36] See Wŏnhyo's explanation of the permeation by the defiled dharmas (C. *ranfa* 染法) in 起信論疏 T1844:44.217b10-c02.

In other words, for Wŏnhyo these permeations have the aspect of a gradual *process* toward either enlightenment or *saṃsāra*, Fazang explains them as a consistent *state* of the interaction between the two permeations.

The *AMF*'s doctrine of the Permeation by Thusness is generally seen as deviating from mainstream Buddhist theory, because Thusness is typically categorized as an Unconditioned dharma, which is considered as not interacting with Conditioned dharmas.[37] Wŏnhyo, however, presents a clear explanation about this seeming doctrinal discrepancy. He says that the concept of Thusness, which the *AMF* says permeates or is permeated by Delusion, refers just to the Naturally Pure Original Awakening of the Production and Cessation aspect, not the Thusness of the Thusness aspect because the latter cannot produce phenomena.[38] In other words, he follows the standard theory by confining the phenomenon of permeation to the Production and Cessation aspect, viz., the Conditioned realm. It appears that the pervasive view that the *AMF* doctrine of the Permeation by Thusness diverges from the standard theory is based on Fazang's interpretation of the *AMF*, because although Fazang also says that the permeation of Thusness only happens in the Production and Cessation aspect, in Fazang's system, as I will discuss in the next section, the Thusness between the two aspects are not distinguished. For Fazang, the Thusness of the Conditioned realm does not have any different quality, or the Essence, from that of the Thusness of the Unconditioned realm, while Wŏnhyo distinguishes the Essence of the Production and Cessation aspect from that of the Thusness aspect as examined above.

[37] See Chapter II, n.73 and n. 77.

[38] 問。攝大乘說。要具四義。方得受熏。故言常法不能受熏。何故此中說熏真如。解云。熏習之義有其二種。彼論且約可思議熏。故說常法不受熏也。此論明其不可思議熏。故說無明熏真如。真如熏無明。顯意不同。故不相違。然此文中生滅門內性淨本覺說名真如。故有熏義。非謂真如門中真如。以其真如門中不說能生義 (起信論疏 T1844:44.211c21-25).

Wŏnhyo's connection of the Unconditioned and Conditioned realm on the basis of the gradual model of the *tathāgatagarbha* culminates in his understanding of the One Mind, the central doctrine of the *AMF*. Wŏnhyo says that when one reaches the "Final stage" (K. *kugyŏng wi* 究竟位, S. **niṣṭhāvasthā*) after eliminating all the four Marks, the Acquired Awakening is not distinguished from the Original Awakening and the mind returns to the base, that is, the One Mind.[39] In other words, it is not until the *tathāgatagarbha*, the potential enlightenment, becomes manifested as the complete form of enlightenment after a process of practice that the mind goes back to the base.[40] On the other hand, the One Mind is described as always existing along with all dharmas; the *AMF* says that it encompasses all supramundane (C. *chu shijian fa* 出世間法) and mundane dharmas (C. *shijian fa* 世間法)[41] and Wŏnhyo also says that the One Mind is the single dharma realm (K. *il pŏpkye* 一法界).[42] The One Mind cannot be attained until after a process of practice in one sense, but it has been always existing, or permanent, in the other sense; the One Mind also thus has the dualistic meaning of changing and unchanging.

[39] 今究竟位。動念都盡。唯一心在。故言心無初相也。… 今至此位。無明永盡。歸一心源。更無起動。故言得見心性。心即常住。更無所進。名究竟覺。… 今無靜息。常自一心。住一如床故言得見心性。心即常住。如是始覺不異本覺。由是道理名究竟覺 (起信論疏 T1844:44.211c21-25).

[40] In fact, beside "One Mind and Two Aspects," Wŏnhyo also uses a phrase of "Two Aspects and One Mind" (K. *imun ilsim* 二門一心) (此論之意。既其如是。開則無量無邊之義為宗。合則二門一心之法為要 (起信論疏 T1844:44.202b18-19)), and it seems likely that this latter expression represents the gradual process from the stage of the Two Aspects to the stage of the One Mind.

[41] 摩訶衍者，總說有二種。云何為二？一者、法，二者、義。所言法者，謂眾生心，是心則攝一切世間法、出世間法。依於此心顯示摩訶衍義。何以故？是心真如相，即示摩訶衍體故；是心生滅因緣相，能示摩訶衍自體相用故 (大乘起信論 T1666:32.575c20-25).

[42] 一心即是一法界故。此一法界通攝二門。而今不取別相之門。於中但取總相法門 (起信論疏 T1844:44.207a24-26).

Further, as regards to the One Mind itself, Wŏnhyo describes the One Mind as embracing myriads of distinct meanings without any confusion or contradiction,[43] hence implying that the One Mind encompasses not only binary meanings but also all kinds of possible distinctions in harmony. The One Mind is in this light the ultimate reality, which contains all dharma harmoniously in itself. Yet, the One Mind also accepts impermanence or change precisely because it encompasses all dharmas, and Wŏnhyo also says that the aspect of arising-and-ceasing (K. *saengmyŏl* 生滅) and the aspect of permanence (K. *sangju* 常住) do not impede each other.[44] This ultimate state of harmony of the One Mind is attributed by Wŏnhyo to the teaching of the *Avataṃsakasūtra*.[45]

It is through the binary approach that Wŏnhyo resolves the doctrinal conflict between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra. The distinction between the *tathāgatagarbha*, the potential enlightenment, of the Production and Cessation aspect and the Thusness of the Thusness aspect reflects the Yogācāra position that separates the Unconditioned and Conditioned; his understanding of the *tathāgatagarbha* as the universal capacity for enlightenment inherent in

[43] 此論之意。既其如是。開則無量無邊之義為宗。合則二門一心之法為要。二門之內。容萬義而不亂。無邊之義。同一心而混融。是以開合自在。立破無礙。開而不繁。合而不狹。立而無得。破而無失。是為馬鳴之妙術。起信之宗體也 (起信論疏 T1844:44.202b18-23).

[44] In the *Taesŭng kisillon pyŏlgi*, Wŏnhyo attributes the aspect of arising-and-ceasing and the aspect of permanence respectively to the positions of the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* and the *AMF*; the former aspect corresponds to the position of the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* in that the phenomena (K. *mal* 末) exist depending on the basis (K. *pon* 本), while the latter aspect to that of the *AMF* in that the Acquired Awakening is free from the arising-and-ceasing by becoming identical to the Original Awakening. Although only the aspect of permanence is attributed to the *AMF*, it seems that this is because Wŏnhyo just confine this interpretation to this part of the *AMF*; 問若言始覺同於本覺離生滅者。此說云何通。如攝論云。本既常住。未依於本。相續恒在。乃至廣說。答二意異故。理不相違。何者此論主意。欲顯本由不覺。動於靜心。今息不覺。還歸本靜故成常住。彼攝論意。欲明法身。本來常住不動。依彼法身。起福惠二行。能感萬德報果。既為因緣所起。是故不離生滅故。說相續具義。而說始成萬德。要具二義。依前義故常住。依後義故生滅。生滅常住不相妨礙。以一一念迷遍。三世不過一念故 (大乘起信論別記 T1845:44.232b02-11).

[45] This passage comes right after the above passage; 如似一一毛孔。皆遍十方。雖遍十方。不增毛孔。佛佛如是。無障無礙。豈容偏執於其門哉。如花嚴經偈云。牟尼離三世。相好悉具足。住於無所住。法界悉清淨。因緣故法生。因緣故法滅。如是觀如來。究竟離癡惑。今二論主。各述一義。有何相妨耶 (大乘起信論別記 T1845:44.232b11-17).

sentient beings parallels the Mahāyāna view of the lack of distinction between the two realms. In other words, unlike the Madhyamaka, which makes no separation between the Unconditioned and Conditioned by defending the doctrine of the universal Buddha Nature of all sentient beings, Wŏnhyo states that the un-manifested, or un-activated, Buddha Nature at the Conditioned level is distinct from the perfected Buddha-Nature or the Thusness of the Unconditioned level. Conversely, Wŏnhyo's perspective is not exactly identical with the Yogācāra because he accepts the notion of universal Buddha Nature that, though initially just potential, can be developed into full-fledged enlightenment and thus connects the Conditioned to the Unconditioned realm, while the Yogācāra denies the universal Buddha Nature and makes the exclusive separation between the two realms. Eventually, when the *tathāgatagarbha* manifests itself as the complete form of enlightenment through a process of practice, the One Mind, the ultimate harmony of all kinds of distinctions, is retrieved. In this way, Wŏnhyo endorses both positions of the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra without any contradiction in the *AMF*'s rubric of the One Mind and its two aspects.

In this binary view on the *AMF*, Wŏnhyo considers the unification between the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna* in the neither-identical-nor-different condition not as an ontological state of synthesis between enlightenment and delusion, but rather as a soteriological process in which a potential enlightenment advances to the perfect form through practice. Such a binary understanding also appears in the **Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*, one of the scriptures on which Wŏnhyo left his major commentaries.[46] In this *sūtra*, as Robert Buswell indicates, the *ālayavijñāna* is relegated to the same level of other delusory consciousnesses, which is bound up

[46] In fact, the **Vajrasamādhi sūtra* is presumed to have been originally composed in Korea. Robert Buswell suggests that a Silla legendary monk Pŏmnang 法朗 (ca. 7th century) as the putative composer of the **Vajrasamādhi sūtra*, who is said to have studied under Daoxin 道信 (580–651), Chinese Chan master of the East Mountain school; see Robert E. Buswell, *The Formation of Ch'an ideology in China and Korea: The Vajrasamādhi-Sūtra, a Buddhist Apocryphon*, Princeton library of Asian translations (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), 164-77.

with the mundane world of the senses, but it is also described in almost identical terms with the *amalavijñāna,* both becoming "limpid" and "pure" once the mind is freed from its dichotomizing tendencies (K. *punbyŏl* 分別, S. *vikalpa*).[47] This explanation exactly represents the *ālayavijñāna*'s binary feature in the *AMF* that it is said impure on the one hand and pure on the other, in turn resonating with the distinction and lack of distinction between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms.

(2) Fazang's Hierarchical Synthesis

Fazang takes an entirely different approach from Wŏnhyo's, even if in the *Yiji* Fazang heavily relies on Wŏnhyo's *Kisillon so* and *Pyŏlgi* by repeatedly citing them.[48] As Wŏnhyo does, Fazang considers the Conditioned as not separate from the Conditioned by noting the *AMF*'s statement that the *tathāgatagarbha* is unified to the *ālayavijñāna* in a 'neither identical nor different' condition.[49] However, while Wŏnhyo not only accepts the indistinct aspect but also the distinct aspect between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms, Fazang accepts only the indistinct

[47] Robert E. Buswell, trans. *Cultivating Original Enlightenment: Wŏnhyo's Exposition of the Vajrasamādhi-Sūtra (Kŭmgang Sammaegyŏng Non)* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2007), 11.

[48] See n. 13 above.

[49] In this passage of the *Yiji*, Fazang repeats Wŏnhyo's comments with slight difference; just as Wŏnhyo does, Fazang addresses the simile of the ocean and waves and he refers to the *tathāgatagarbha* as the Innately Pure Mind (自性清淨心); 心生滅者依如來藏故有生滅心　前中言依如來藏有生滅心者。謂不生滅心。因無明風動作生滅。故說生滅心依不生滅心。然此二心竟無二體。但約二義以說相依也。如不動之水。為風所吹而作動水。動靜雖殊。而水體是一。亦得說言依靜水故有其動水。當知此中理趣亦爾。準可思之。謂自性清淨心名如來藏。因無明風動作生滅。故云依如來藏有生滅心也。楞伽勝鬘俱同此說 (大乘起信論義記 T1846:44.254b24-c04).

aspect, dismissing the other; for Fazang, the Thusness aspect and the Production and Cessation aspect are ultimately not distinguished from each other.[50]

We can see that Fazang only considers the indistinct aspect between the Unconditioned and Conditioned by comparing his view on the three Greatnesses of the Mahāyāna to Wŏnhyo's. Unlike Wŏnhyo, who alludes to the "profound reason" in the distinction between the "Essence" of the Thusness aspect and the "Self-essence" of the Production and Cessation aspect,[51] Fazang simply says that the Self-essence, not the Essence, is said for the Production and Cessation because the three Greatnesses consist in the aspect, not being separated from it,[52] and says nothing more regarding the difference between the Essence and the Self-essence. Moreover, Fazang directly connect the *tathāgatagarbha* to the One Mind, the highest level of reality in the *AMF*, by referring to the One Mind as "One Tathāgatagarbha Mind" (C. *yi rulaizang*

[50] I will explain this soon below. One thing that should be noted is that Fazang's view of the lack of distinction between the two realms is distinct from the Madhyamaka's, though both defend the lack of distinction between them. The Madhyamaka holds the view from the perspective of the Thusness aspect, thereby emphasizing the aspect of Truth; conversely, Fazang maintains it from the perspective of the Production and Cessation aspect, since Fazang's view is based on the *AMF*'s position that the *tathāgatagarbha* is unified to the *ālayavijñāna*, which is described as belonging to the Production and Cessation aspect. In this respect, Fazang says in the *Yiji* that in the four-level taxonomy the Teaching of No Characteristics in True Emptiness (C. *zhenkong wuxiang zong* 眞空無相宗), viz., the Madhyamaka school corresponds to the "teaching that manifests the Principle by integrating the Phenomena" (C. *huishi xianli shuo* 會事顯理說) while *AMF* teaching of the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* is the "teaching of Interpenetration and No-obstruction between Principle and Phenomena" (C. *lishi rongtong wuai shuo* 理事融通無礙說); 宗途有四。一隨相法執宗。即小乘諸部是也。二真空無相宗。即般若等經。中觀等論所說是也。三唯識法相宗。即解深密等經。瑜伽等論所說是也。四如來藏緣起宗。即楞伽密嚴等經。起信寶性等論所說是也。此四之中。初則隨事執相說。二則會事顯理說。三則依理起事差別說。四則理事融通無礙說。以此宗中許如來藏隨緣成阿賴耶識。此則理徹於事也。亦許依他緣起無性同如。此則事徹於理也(大乘起信論義記 T1846:44.243b23-c04). Although Fazang's perspective is distinguished from the Madhyamaka in this way, it is apparent that his position still is much closer to the Madhyamaka's than to the Faxiang school's that the two realms are completely separated from each other. This is also proved by the fact that, although Fazang significantly relys on Wŏnhyo's commentaries to the *AMF* in his *Yiji*, he strictly excludes all Wŏnhyo's comments that support the Yogācāra views.

[51] See n. 24 above.

[52] 何故真如門中直云體。生滅門中乃云自體等者。以所示三大義還在能示生滅門中。顯非別外。故云自也(大乘起信論義記 T1846:44.250c29-251a03).

xin 一如來藏心).[53] This strongly suggests that Fazang does not differentiate the *tathāgatagarbha* from the ultimate level of reality, such as the One Mind, let alone Thusness. This again implies that Fazang does not regard the *tathāgatagarbha* and Thusness as two different levels of reality, and that he does not distinguish between the Unconditioned and Conditioned at its ultimate level.

I have said that Wŏnhyo's binary position is based on his understanding of the *tathāgatagarbha* as potential enlightenment, which advances to perfect enlightenment through a gradual process of practice but is still not different from perfect enlightenment. For Fazang, however, the *tathāgatagarbha* unified with the *ālayavijñāna* is the perfect enlightenment inherent in sentient beings, not a potential enlightenment.[54] Fazang's view appears in his explanation of the four Marks, the four modes of consciousness in four soteriological stages of the Acquired Awakening, as simultaneously existing, thereby equating the Acquired Awakening to the Original Awakening. Certainly Wŏnhyo also accepts that the Acquired Awakening is not different from the Original Awakening, but he not only accepts the lack of distinction but also the distinction between them. Unlike Wŏnhyo, Fazang's emphasis is on the lack of distinction between them; while Wŏnhyo explains the four Marks as both successive and simultaneous, as discussed before, Fazang put more emphasis on the indistinct aspect, by dismissing the differentiation between the four Marks as a dream and by making a contrast between one in the dream of the four Marks and a greatly enlightened one, who knows that the dream of the four

[53] 顯示正義者依一心法有二種門云何為二一者心真如門二者心生滅門　初中言一心者。謂一如來藏心含於二義。一約體絕相義。即真如門也 (大乘起信論義記 T1846:44.251b24-27).

[54] This also resonates with Fazang's lack of distinction of the Essence between the Production and Cessation aspect and the Thusness aspect, as discussed above.

Marks is just one pure mind.[55] Although Fazang, in a similar way that Wŏnhyo does, explains the Unawakening, the Acquired Awakening, and the Original Awakening in sequence[56] and then asserts that the Original Awakening is not different from the Acquired Awakening,[57] this way of lack of distinction-centered description clearly shows Fazang's view that the *tathāgatagarbha* is not differentiated from perfect enlightenment.

In Fazang's system, in which the *tathāgatagarbha* is not differentiated from perfect enlightenment, the *tathāgatagarbha* is explained as a non-temporal state, unlike Wŏnhyo who explains it in terms of a temporal process. In Wŏnhyo's system, the *tathāgatagarbha* advances into perfect enlightenment though a gradual process of Permeation of Thusness, and, conversely, a process of Permeation of Delusion explains the origination of deluded minds. However, since Fazang explains the *tathāgatagarbha* as non-temporal state of enlightenment, which is unified to the *ālayavijñāna* in the neither-identical-nor-different condition, such a way of explanation of the Permeation as a gradual process does not work. Indeed, Fazang presents a Permeation model that fits the non-temporal state of *tathāgatagarbha*; he claims that the Permeation by Thusness and the Permeation by Delusion occur simultaneously, that is, mutual permeation between Thusness and Delusion (C. *zhenwang huxun* 眞妄互熏).

Fazang's doctrine of the mutual permeation between Thusness and Delusion is well known in relation with his famous theory of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*

[55] 問四相云何而得俱時。既其俱時。何故上文覺有前後。答上已辨竟。謂唯一夢心四相流轉。處夢之士謂為前後。各各隨其智力淺深。分分而覺。然大覺之者知夢四相唯一淨心無有體性可辨前後。故云俱時無有自立等也 (大乘起信論義記 T1846:44.259b16-21).

[56] See 大乘起信論義記 T1846:44.257c26-259a05.

[57] 雖始得無念之覺。然其所覺四相本來無起。待何不覺而有始覺之異。以四相俱時下釋成上義。以彼四相一心所成。鉤鎖連注無有前後。離淨心外無別自體。無自體故本來平等同一本覺 (大乘起信論義記 T1846:44.259b08-13).

(C. *rulaizang yuanqi* 如來藏緣起) or Dependent Origination from Thusness (C. *zhenru yuanqi* 眞如緣起), the theory that all phenomena are originated from the *tathāgatagarbha*, or the Thusness, through the mutual permeation. In commenting on the *AMF* passage on the two meanings of the *ālayavijñāna*, i.e., the Original Awakening and Unawakening, Fazang first explicates how each of the Thusness aspect and the Production and Cessation aspect consists of the synthesis of Thusness and Delusion, and then goes on to elaborate how the Thusness and Delusion mutually permeate in the Production and Cessation aspect; this scheme eventually shows that the mutual permeation between the Thusness and Delusion is reduced to the Unawakening (C. *bujue* 不覺) and Awakening (C. *jue* 覺), which finally lead to the *ālayavijñāna*.[58] Since in Fazang's system the *tathāgatagarbha* is ultimately not differentiated from perfect enlightenment or Thusness, the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* is equivalent to Dependent Origination from Thusness.

However, one thing that should be noted is that nowhere in the *AMF* do we see the discussion on the simultaneous occurrence of the Permeation by Thusness and the Permeation by Delusion. Although the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* has been typically regarded as a doctrine of the *AMF* based on Fazang's perspective, it is highly probable that it is

[58] 前中言此識有二義等者。此義稍難。今總括上下文略敘其意。餘可至文當知。何者。謂真如有二義。一不變義。二隨緣義。無明亦二義。一無體即空義。二有用成事義。此真妄中。各由初義故成上真如門也。各由後義故成此生滅門也。此隨緣真如及成事無明亦各有二義。一違自順他義。二違他順自義。無明中初違自順他亦有二義。一能反對詮示性功德。二能知名義成淨用。違他順自亦有二義。一覆真理。二成妄心。真如中違他順自亦有二義。一翻對妄染顯自德。二內熏無明起淨用。違自順他亦有二義。一隱自真體義。二顯現妄法義。此上真妄各四義中由無明中反對詮示義。及真如中翻妄顯德義。從此二義得有本覺。又由無明中能知名義。及真如中內熏義。從此二義得有始覺。又由無明中覆真義。真如中隱體義。從此二義得有根本不覺。又由無明中成妄義。及真如中現妄義。從此二義得有枝末不覺。此生滅門中。真妄略開四義。廣即有八門。若約兩兩相對和合成緣起。即有四門。謂二覺二不覺。若約本末不相離。唯有二門。謂覺與不覺。若鎔融總攝。唯有一門。謂一心生滅門也(大乘起信論義記 T1846:44.255c18-256a13).

Fazang's arbitrary interpretation of the *AMF*.[59] Besides, there have been critical voices that the teaching of the *AMF* represents substantialism on the basis of such a notion as the Original Awakening.[60] Particularly, the doctrine of *tathāgatagarbha* of the *AMF*, that is, the enlightenment inherent in sentient beings as well as the underlying basis from which all phenomena arise, has been questioned as a substantial "locus" that is antithetical to the Buddhist teaching of Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) or No-self (*anātman*).[61] In fact, scholars have indicated that Fazang's doctrines are related to ontological metaphysics of classical Chinese philosophy. For instance, Whalen Lai demonstrates that Fazang's scheme of the mutual permeation of the Thusness and Delusion in the Production and Cessation aspect was influenced by the *Yijing* 易經.[62] Ishii Kōsei also indicates that a commentary on the *Yijing* during the early

[59] Yoshizu Yoshihide also argues that there is nowhere in the *AMF* such a doctrine as the mutual permeation of Thusness and Delusion; the Permeation of Thusness and the Permeation of Delusion are said as separate processes. He even suggests a possibility that the *AMF* probably takes the same perspective as the Yogācāra's that Thusness is inert (C. *zhenru ningran* 眞如凝然), not being influenced by or influence other dharmas (see Chapter II, n. 77), instead of the position that Thusness follows conditions (C. *zhenru suiyuan* 眞如隨緣) as scholars has typically considered to date; see Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英, "*Kishinron* to *Kishinron* shisō: Jōyōji Eon no jirei o chūshin ni shite" 起信論と起信論思想--淨影寺慧遠の事例を中心にして, *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒沢大学仏教学部研究紀要, no. 63 (2005): 14, n. 16.

[60] An intellectual criticism, called Critical Buddhism, started in the 80's largely by Japanese Buddhist scholars on such notions of *tathāgatagarbha*, the Original Awakening, or Buddha Nature; they criticized that these notions represent ontological substantialism; see Jamie Hubbard and Paul L. Swanson, eds., *Pruning the Bodhi Tree : The Storm Over Critical Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1997), especially Part One. Also see Hakamaya Noriaki 袴谷憲昭, "*Daijō kishin ron* ni kansuru hihan teki oboegaki" 『大乗起信論』に関する批判的覚え書, in *Nyoraizō to Daijō kishin ron* 如来蔵と大乗起信論, ed. Hirakaya Akira 平川彰 (Tōkyō 東京: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 1990).

[61] See Matsumoto Shirō 松本史朗, "The Doctrine of Tathāgata-garbha Is Not Buddhist," in *Pruning the bodhi tree : the storm over critical Buddhism*, ed. Jamie Hubbard and Paul L. Swanson (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1997). Matsumoto also asserts in this respect that the doctrine of Dependent Origination does not include such Huayan doctrine of the "co-arising of the *dharmadhātu*" or the "mutually dependent, simultaneous and spatial (i.e., non-temporal) *pratītyasamutpāda*" (ibid., 165.), which is based on Fazang's doctrine of Dependent Origination from *Tathāgatagarbha*.

[62] Whalen Lai finds out the similarity between Fazang's scheme of the mutual permeation of Thusness and Delusion in the Production and Cessation aspect and *Yijing*'s "One-Two-Four-Eight" structure that demonstrates the evolution of phenomena from one supreme principle (see Whalen Lai, "The I-ching and the Formation of the Hua-yen Philosophy," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 7 (1980)). Also see Nagao Gajin 長尾雅人, *Chūgan to Yuishiki* 中観と唯識 (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shōten 岩波書店, 1978), 506-07.

Tang period includes a phrase "Interfusion and Non-obstruction between Principle and Phenomena" (C. *lishi rongtong wuai* 理事融通無礙), the phrase that Fazang uses to refer to the *AMF* teaching of the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*.[63]

The synthesis between Thusness and Delusion by the mutual permeation in the Production and Cessation aspect provides a basis for Fazang to resolve the contradiction between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra. Unlike the Madhyamaka school, which holds the lack of distinction between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms by focusing on the Thusness aspect, Fazang emphasizes the Production and Cessation aspect by noting that the mutual permeation happens in the Production and Cessation aspect, not the Thusness aspect. While the Yogācāra school argues for distinction between the two realms, thereby focusing on the Production and Cessation aspect, Fazang claims that the Thusness that is unified to the Delusion in the Production and Cessation aspect is not different from the Thusness of the Thusness aspect. In other words, while Wŏnhyo attempts to resolve the contradiction between the two schools by finding out both of the two schools' views, Fazang seeks to solve it by presenting a completely new level of theory, the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*, while subsuming the two schools' views inside this theory.

On the basis of the doctrine of Dependent Origination from *Tathāgatagarbha*, Fazang equates the *ālayavijñāna* to the One Mind, the supreme concept of the *AMF*. For Fazang, since

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[63] See Ishii Kōsei 石井公成, "Zuien no shisō" 随縁の思想, in *Hokuchō Zui Tō Chūgoku Bukkyō shisōshi* 北朝隋唐中国仏教思想史, ed. Aramaki Noritoshi 荒牧典俊 (Kyōto-shi 京都市: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 2000), 162-63. Fazang uses this term when he describes the four-level taxonomy in the *Yiji*; see n. 50 above. Also see Nagao, *Chūgan to Yuishiki* 中観と唯識: 506-07.

In Fazang's usage, the terms Principle and Phenomena (C. *lishi* 理事), Truth and Delusion (C. *zhenwang* 眞妄), and Nature and Characteristics (C. *xingxiang* 性相) all have the same connotation, as in the phrases of "no obstruction between Principle and Phenomena (C. *lishi wuai* 理事無礙)," "interpenetration of Truth and Delusion" (C. *zhenwang jiache* 眞妄交徹), " "perfect interfusion between ," (C. *xingxiang yuanrong* 性相圓融), etc. ; see Yoshizu, "Shōsō yūe ni tsuite" 性相融会について, 300-08.

the *ālayavijñāna* is divided into two meanings, Unawakening and Awakening, which are in turn connected to all phenomena evolved from the mutual permeation between Thusness and Delusion,[64] the *ālayavijñāna* corresponds to the One Mind, the underlying basis of all the phenomena. In Fazang's system that Thusness and Delusion are synthesized with each other, the *ālayavijñāna*, even if it belongs to the Production and Cessation aspect, is directly equated to the supreme concept of the One Mind. This makes a stark contrast to Wŏnhyo's view on the One Mind; Wŏnhyo views the One Mind as the universal supreme reality that is the basis of the mind, but he also says that only when one reaches the "Final stage" (K. *kugyŏng wi* 究竟位) will the mind return to the One Mind. In other words, Wŏnhyo considers the On Mind as the ultimate state of enlightenment in which the Thusness aspect and the Production and Cessation aspect are completely unified on the basis of the binary perspective, whereas Fazang identifies the One Mind with the *ālayavijñāna* in his non-temporal schemata of mutual permeation, or the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*.

The difference between Wŏnhyo and Fazang's perspectives on the One Mind also is reflected on their distinct identification of the *AMF*'s doctrinal level. As discussed above, Wŏnhyo views the *AMF* teaching of the One Mind as the ultimate reality and attributes it to such Mahāyāna scriptures as the *Avataṃsakasūtra*. On the contrary, Fazang interprets the One Mind, the central notion of the *AMF*, as corresponding to the *ālayavijñāna* of the Production and Cessation aspect, and he places the *AMF* teaching below the *Avataṃsakasūtra* teaching in his five-level doctrinal taxonomy.[65] Even if Fazang regards the *AMF* teaching of the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* as superior to the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra since it

[64] See n. 58 above.

[65] For Fazang's five-level taxonomy, see Introduction, n. 33.

resolves the doctrinal contradiction between the two schools, thereby describing the *AMF* teaching as "Interpenetration and No-obstruction between Principle and Phenomena" (C. *lishi wuai* 理事融通無礙), he still makes a discrimination between the *AMF* synthesis of Principle and Phenomena and that of the *Avataṃsakasūtra*. Fazang says in the *Huayanjing wenda* 華嚴經問答 that the Principle and Phenomena at the level of the Three Vehicles (viz., the Tathāgatagarbha Teaching)[66] are not different from nor obstructed by each other, but the Phenomena is not equivalent to the Principle; yet, at the level of the Universal Teaching (C. *pufa* 普法, viz., Huayan teaching), the Principle is the Phenomena and vice versa (C. *lijishi shijili* 理卽事事卽理).[67] In Fazang's system, the *AMF* is confined to the teaching at the level of the Production and Cessation aspect (viz., the Conditioned realm), and thus remains as a lower level than the Huayan teaching beyond the distinction between the Unconditioned and Conditioned.

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[66] It is presumed that Fazang wrote the *Huayanjing wenda* before his age of thirty-eight, and the *Huayan wujiao zhang* (a.k.a., *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenzhai zhang*), a work written right after the composition of the *Huayanjing wenda* (around between thirty-eight and forty) (Kyehwan 戒環, *Chungguk Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu* 中國華嚴思想史研究 (Seoul: Pulgwang Ch'ulp'anbu 불광출판부, 1996), 205.) classifies the Tathāgatagarbha teaching ("Advanced Teaching of Mahāyāna" (C. *dasheng zhongjiao* 大乘終教)) as "Teaching of the Three Vehicles," along with the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra teachings (C. *sansheng jiao* 三乘教) (聖教萬差要唯有五。一小乘教。二大乘始教。三終教。四頓教。五圓教。初一即愚法二乘教。後一即別教一乘。… 中間三者有其三義。一或總為一。謂一三乘教也 (華嚴一乘教義分齋章 T1866:45.b07-12)). Thus we may conjecture that Fazang refers to [the Teaching of] the Three Vehicles as the Tathāgatagarbha Teaching in this passage.

[67] 問。三乘事理。普法事理云何別。答。三乘中事者心緣色礙等。理者平等真如。雖理事不同而相即相融不相妨礙。亦不相妨而事義非理義也。普法中事理者。理即事事即理。理中事事中理。即中中恣。雖事理不參而冥。無二隨言全盡。全盡而全不盡。如理事事理亦爾。以心言一切法而無非心。以色言一切法而無非色。餘一切人法教義等差別法門皆爾。所以者何。緣起陀羅尼無障礙法。隨舉一法盡攝一切。無礙自在故。一無一切無故。三乘即不爾。廢理但事言一向不雜事。事中不自在故。一相教門隨情安立不盡理故 (華嚴經問答 T1873:45.598b22-c04); see Sŏk Kiram 석길암, "Chinyŏ saengmyŏl imun ŭi kwan'gye rŭl t'onghae pon Wonhyŏ ŭi *Kisillon* kwan" 眞如·生滅 二門의 關係를 통해 본 元曉의 起信論觀, *Pulgyohak yŏn'gu* 불교학연구 5(2002): 148-49. Yoshizu also says that Fazang discriminates the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* from the Dependent Origination from the Dharma Realm (C. *fajie yuanqi* 法界緣起), although both Dependent Originations are identical in their contents; Fazang identifies the former as the Dependent Origination of the Three Vehicles and the latter as that of the "Perfect Teaching" (C. *yuanjiao* 圓教), the fifth and highest level of teaching in his five-level taxonomy, which Fazang defines as "Distinct Teaching of the One Vehicle" (C. *biejiao yisheng* 別教一乘)"; see Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英, *Kegon-Zen no shisōshiteki kenkyū* 華厳禅の思想史的研究 (Tōkyō 東京: Daitō Shuppansha 大東出版社, 1985), 60. Also see n. 70 below.

Fazang's reading of the *AMF* as the teaching based on the doctrine of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* fundamentally has an antagonistic connotation between the *AMF* and the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra schools, despite his attempt to resolve the contradiction between them. All doctrinal contradictions between the *AMF* and the two schools may be extinguished in Fazang's synthetic scheme of the *AMF*, but this synthesis based on the doctrine of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* does not have the implication of embracing, or harmonizing, the two schools; this synthetic state of Thusness and Delusion is, a completely separate level of teaching from those of the two schools, and, as discussed above, this level is attainable only by overcoming or negating the two schools' respective focuses on Thusness and Delusion. Thus, for Fazang, the ultimate synthesis of the superior synthetic level of the *AMF* teaching is incompatible with the inferior level of the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra teachings.

Fazang's hierarchical interpretation of the *AMF* teaching and the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra school is also reflected in his taxonomical classification. In the *Yiji*, Fazang places the *AMF* teaching, "Teaching of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*" (C. *rulaizang yuanqi zong* 如來藏緣起宗), at the fourth level, and the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra teachings, which respectively identified as "Teaching of No Characteristics in True Emptiness" (C. *zhenkong wuxiang zong* 眞空無相宗) and "Teaching of Dharma Characteristics in Consciousness Only" (C. *weishi faxiang zong* 唯識法相宗), at the second and third level respectively.[68] In other versions of his doctrinal taxonomy, Fazang consistently locates the teaching of the *AMF* in a higher place than the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra teaching.[69] In other

[68] For Fazang's four-level taxonomy in the *Yiji*, see Introduction, n.18.

[69] See Introduction, n.18 and n. 33.

words, Fazang not only strictly separates the *AMF* teaching from the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra teachings, but also regard it as a superior teaching to the other two schools'.[70]

(3) Concluding Remarks

Wŏnhyo and Fazang both attempt to resolve the doctrinal contradiction between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra schools by noting the *AMF* rubric of the One Mind and its two aspects. The direction they take to solve the problem, however, is different from each other. Wŏnhyo considers both the distinction and lack of distinction between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms on the basis of his understanding of the *tathāgatagarbha* in a gradual mode, while Fazang regards the two realms as ultimately not discriminative by viewing the *tathāgatagarbha* unified to the *ālayavijñāna* in the Conditioned realm is identical to the

[70] In regards to Fazang's hierarchical perspective in his taxonomy, there is an interesting dialogue between Saichō 最澄 (767-822), the founder of Japanese Tendai school, and his Chinese master Daosui 道邃 (fl.796). The dialogue concerns the difference in understanding the number of Vehicles between the Tiantai and Huayan school: "Saichō asks, 'If the number of the Vehicles that Tiantai school hold is four, is this the same as or different from the four Vehicles that Fazang of Huayan school establishes?' The master [i.e., Daosui] replies, 'they are significantly different, and rarely common. As for the four Vehicles that Fazang establishes, he establishes the One Vehicle in contrast to the Three Vehicles, and thus there are simultaneously four Vehicles. This is because the One Vehicle does not comprehend the Three Vehicles. As for the four Vehicles of Tiantai school, the Three Vehicles can collectively build as the One Vehicle. The previous three and the later one become the four Vehicles. Therefore, at the time when the previous three exist, the One Vehicle hides in the Three Vehicles and then there is no One Vehicle; at the time when the later one exists, the Three Vehicles disappear in the One Vehicle and then there are no Three Vehicles. As such, this [viz., the four Vehicles of Tiantai school] is not the same as the four Vehicles established by Master Fazang' "; 最澄問曰 若天台所傳 車數有四者 與華嚴宗法藏師 所立四車同異如何。座主答曰 大異少同也 藏公所立四車者 相對三乘 別立一車 即於同時有四車也 未會三乘故 天台所傳四車 以所開三車 合能開一車 為先三後一 以為四車 是故先三之時 一車隱三 更無一車 後一之時 三車泯一 更無三車 是以不同彼藏公所立四車也 (天台宗未決 X942:56.672b10-16). Since Fazang assigns in his various versions of taxonomy the teaching of the *AMF* to the One Vehicle and the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra teachings to the Three Vehicles with the exception of the *Hayan wujiao zhang* (see n. 66 above) we see that he clearly hierarchically discriminates the *AMF* teaching from the two schools'. Such an attitude also resonates with Fazang's distinction in the *Huayan wujiao zhang* between the "Distinct Teaching of the One Vehicle" (C. *biejiao yisheng* 別教一乘)" and "Identical Teaching of the One Vehicle" (C. *tongjiao yisheng* 同教一乘), assigning each of which to the *Avataṃsakasūtra* and the *Lotus S ū tra*; 者如露地牛車自有教義。謂十十無盡主伴具足。如華嚴說。此當別教一乘。二者如臨門三車自有教義。謂界內示為教得出為義。仍教義即無分。此當三乘教。如餘經及瑜伽等說。三者以臨門三車為開方便教。界外別授大白牛車。方為示真實義。此當同教一乘。如法華經說 (華嚴一乘教義分齊章 T1866:45.480a07-14).

Thusness in the Unconditioned realm. Wŏnhyo's binary perspective represents in his embracing both schools' positions in the *AMF* doctrinal system, which eventually leads to the retrieval of the One Mind, the ultimate harmony of the Unconditioned and Conditioned; on the contrary, Fazang presents the synthesis of Thusness and Delusion as a new and superior level of teaching that surpasses the two schools, and thereby interprets the One Mind as the *ālayavijñāna*, the supreme state of synthesis of the Conditioned realm. Fazang's interpretation of the *AMF* as the Teaching of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*, has significantly influenced not only the establishment of the *AMF* as the most representative *tathāgatagarbha* text in East Asian Buddhism, but also in defining standards of *tathāgatagarbha* doctrines. However, given that Wŏnhyo's position of the *AMF* is not one of the typical interpretations of the *AMF* as a Tathāgatagarbha teaching, but presents a new perspective on *tathāgatagarbha*, it seems that the tendency to regard Fazang's typical view as the most representative interpretation of the *AMF* should be reconsidered. In this regard, the next two sections will discuss the distinct significances of Wŏnhyo and Fazang's interpretations of the *AMF* in the broader context of East Asian Yogācāra tradition.

3. Significance of Wŏnhyo and Fazang's distinct interpretations of the *AMF* in the East Asian Yogācāra Tradition

(1) Wŏnhyo as a Successor of Paramārtha

Wŏnhyo and Fazang's interpretations of the *AMF* are important not only in that they present solutions to the doctrinal contradiction between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra schools, but also in that they are associated with the long-standing issue in East Asian Yogācāra tradition about the relationship between the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna*. As I have mentioned in the

previous chapters, Paramārtha has been considered to have maintained the *tathāgatagarbha* thought as the founder of the Shelun school, the most representative school of the Old Yogācāra, and in this respect there has been a scholarly tendency to connect Paramārtha's Shelun thought to the *AMF* doctrine of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*.

I have proposed, however, that the Shelun school should be divided into Paramārtha's strand that has doctrinal similarity to the Northern Dilun school and Tanqian's strand that inherits the Southern Dilun school, while noting that these two schools rely respectively on the ten-fascicle and four-fascicle versions of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. I have also discussed that these two groups take distinct positions on the matter of the relationship between the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna*. In relation to this division of the Shelun school, the fact that Wŏnhyo and Fazang take distinct interpretations of the *AMF* and, more importantly, Wŏnhyo's perspective has doctrinal similarity to Paramārtha's thought suggests that there would be another way of approaching the concept of *tathāgatagarbha* in East Asian Buddhist tradition. Let me first discuss the doctrinal commonalities between Wŏnhyo and Paramārtha.

Wŏnhyo and Paramārtha both consider the temporal factor in their explanation of enlightenment. Wŏnhyo views the *tathāgatagarbha* unified with *ālayavijñāna* as what may be manifested in the full enlightenment through a gradual course of practice, not as perfect enlightenment as such, and he explains the whole process to enlightenment as a process of retrieving perfect enlightenment. In this regard, he not only distinguishes the *tathāgatagarbha* of the Production and Cessation aspect from the Thusness of the Thusness aspect, but also connects one with the other. Paramārtha also explains the *amalavijñāna*, the pure consciousness, as the consciousness attained upon the completion of practice, not as what is inherent in sentient beings

regardless of whether they are enlightened or not.[71] Besides, I have proposed that Paramārtha's Shelun strand considers the Nature of Realization, the basis of the enlightenment in the *ālayavijñāna*, as potential enlightenment, not as perfect enlightenment, in relation with a gradual model of practice.[72] In the gradual model of cultivation, just like Wŏnhyo who considers the *tathāgatagarbha* as potential enlightenment inherent in all sentient beings, Paramārtha also regards the Nature of Realization as a potential form of enlightenment in all sentient beings.

Wŏnhyo's (and Paramārtha's) understanding of the *tathāgatagarbha* (and the Nature of Realization) as potential enlightenment should be distinguished from the typical view of the *tathāgatagarbha* as the enlightenment inherent in all sentient beings. The typical view of the *tathāgatagarbha*, which focuses on its universal aspect, is easily interpreted to mean that the sentient beings are already enlightened, thereby entailing the negligence or even dismissal of a process of practice that is necessary for the enlightenment. On the contrary, Wŏnhyo's notion of *tathāgatagarbha*, which considers both the universal and particular aspects of the *tathāgatagarbha*, does not disregard the part of practice in achievement of enlightenment. The typical view of the *tathāgatagarbha* in East Asian Buddhist tradition as the universal enlightenment inherent in sentient beings appears to be largely based on the *AMF* doctrines, which in turn has been understood through Fazang's interpretation of it.

It should be also noted, however, that, although the gradual model of cultivation that Wŏnhyo and Paramārtha draw upon recalls that of Ji's Yogācāra, the model takes distinct significance in the two positions; while Wŏnhyo's concept of *tathāgatagarbha* and Paramārtha's notion of the Nature of Realization are both described as universal ability that is inherent in all

[71] See Chapter II, 2, (2).

[72] See Chapter II, 2, (3).

sentient beings, Ji regards the Buddha Nature in Practice (C. *xing foxing* 行佛性), the Buddha Nature in effect in his system, as inherent in only some, but not all, sentient beings.[73] Thus, Wŏnhyo and Paramārtha's perspective of the *tathāgatagarbha* should be distinguished not only from Fazang's interpretation of *tathāgatagarbha* or Tanqian's Shelun view on the Nature of Realization, but also from Ji's position on the Buddha Nature in Practice. It may be said then that Wŏnhyo and Paramārtha's notion of the *tathāgatagarbha* or the Nature of Realization does not fit into the traditional bifurcation of Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra.

Another doctrinal commonality between Wŏnhyo and Paramārtha is that they consider both the distinction and lack of distinction between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms on the basis of the gradual model of enlightenment. Wŏnhyo distinguishes the two realms from each other by discriminating the *tathāgatagarbha*, the potential enlightenment, of the Conditioned realm from the Thusness of the Unconditioned realm; but he does not distinguish one from the other since the *tathāgatagarbha*, though potential, is the universal Buddha Nature that can manifest itself as perfect enlightenment. In this way, Wŏnhyo connects the two realms. In Chapter II, I have discussed the connections that Paramārtha draws between the Unconditioned and Conditioned through several doctrines.[74] Among them, one that is similar to Wŏnhyo's doctrine of the *tathāgatagarbha*'s manifestation into the perfect enlightenment is the doctrine of the Nature of Realization which develops into the Dharma-body. Just like Wŏnhyo explains that the *tathāgatagarbha* of the Conditioned realm is manifested into the enlightenment and eventually leads to the complete unification of the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms upon returning to the One Mind, Paramārtha also describes the process in which the Nature of

[73] Ji's notion of the Buddha Nature in Practice is associated with the doctrine of five distinct lingeages (C. *wuzhong xing* 五種性; S. *pañcagotra*). See Chapter III, 4, (3). Also see Chapter III, n. 57.

[74] See Chapter II, 2, (4), (5), and (6).

Realization of the Conditioned realm develops into the Dharma-body of the Unconditioned realm and thereby reaches the lack of distinction between the two realms.

Above all, Wŏnhyo associates the *AMF* concept of the Original Awakening with Paramārtha's notion of Buddha Gotra[75] (C. *foxing* 佛性, S. **buddha-gotra*). In the *Yŏlban chong'yo* 涅槃宗要, Wŏnhyo connects the Naturally Pure Original Awakening (K. *sŏngjŏng pon'gak* 性淨本覺) and the Original Awakening that Accords with Taints (K. *suyŏm pon'gak* 隨染本覺) respectively to Paramārtha's concepts of the Innate Buddha Gotra (C. *zhuzixing foxing* 住自性佛性, S. *prakṛtistha-gotra*) and the Derived Buddha Gotra (C. *yinchu foxing* 引出佛性, S. *samudānīta-gotra*)[76]; Wŏnhyo also cites the *Foxing lun* that describes the former Buddha Gotra as the cause of the Dharma Body and the latter as the cause of the Reward Body (C. *baoshen* 報身, S. *saṃbhoga-kāya*) and Transformation Body (C. *huashen* 化身, S. *nirmāṇa-kāya*).[77]

In fact, the way in which Wŏnhyo explains the two types of Original Awakening is very similar to that in which Paramārtha describes the two types of Buddha Gotra. In Wŏnhyo's system, the Naturally Pure Original Awakening, which at first remains as potential enlightenment, may retrieve its fully manifested form through the process of the Acquired Awakening; I have discussed that Paramārtha's concept of the Innate Buddha Gotra corresponds

[75] For the concept of Gotra, see Chapter II, n.91.

[76] For the explanation of these two Buddha Gotras in Paramārtha's *Foxing lun*, see Chapter II, 2, (6).

[77] 別門雖然就實通論者。性淨本覺亦為二身之性隨染解性亦作法身之因。何以知其然者。如實性論言。依二種佛性得出三種身。佛性論中顯是意言。佛性有二種。一者住自性性。二者引出佛性。為顯住自性性故說地中寶藏為譬。為顯引出佛性故說掩羅樹芽為譬。約此兩因故佛說三身果。一者因住自性佛性故說法身。法身有四種功德。是故說毀敗布裹真金譬。二者因引佛性故說應身。是故說貧女如壞輪王譬。三者因引出佛性故復出化身。故說羅漢中佛像為譬乃至廣說。此論意者。應得因中具三佛性。彼應得因如理為體故。如性淨門中真如佛性通為三身而作正因 (涅槃宗要 T1769:38.250a15-29).

to the Nature of Realization, the potential enlightenment in the *ālayavijñāna*, and it develops into the Derived Buddha Gotra.[78] Further, just like the Naturally Pure Original Awakening eventually leads to the result of the Dharma Body, the Innate Buddha Gotra is also said as the cause of the Dharma Body; just like the Original Awakening that Accords with Taints leads to the Reward Body and Transformation Body, the Derived Buddha Gotra is also said the cause of these two Buddha Bodies.[79]

Wŏnhyo identifies the *AMF* notion of the Original Awakening with Paramārtha's concept of *amalavijñāna*.[80] Since Wŏnhyo also states that the *amalavijñāna* is the ninth consciousness,[81] we see that Wŏnhyo believes that Paramārtha defined the *amalavijñāna* as the ninth consciousness. Regardless of whether or not Paramārtha established the doctrine of the ninth consciousness,[82] the fact that Wŏnhyo regards the *amalavijñāna* as the ninth consciousness implies that Wŏnhyo adopts a consciousness theory distinct from the typical eight-consciousness theory of Yogācāra school; Wŏnhyo views the *amalavijñāna* as the ninth consciousness, a separate consciousness from the eighth consciousness, while the Yogācāra school regards it just as pure portion of the *ālayavijñāna*, which is attained when one reaches the stage of Buddhahood (C. *rulai di* 如來地).[83] This means that Wŏnhyo considers the perfect enlightenment (viz., the *amalavijñāna*) as beyond the realm of the Yogācāra teaching. Indeed, as I have discussed above, Wŏnhyo connects the One Mind, the ultimate synthetic state of reality, to the *Avataṃsakasūtra*.

[78] See Chapter II, 2, (6).

[79] See n.77 above.

[80] 令彼眾生皆得本覺者。是釋所化轉入之句。本覺正是唵摩羅識 (金剛三昧經論 T1730:34.978a19-20).

[81] 一切情識即是八識。唵摩羅者。是第九識。真諦三藏九識之義依是文起。如彼章說 (金剛三昧經論 T1730:34.978a06-08).

[82] I have discusses this issue in Chapter II, 2, (2).

[83] See Chapter II, n. 34. For instance, in explaining

It seems then that Wŏnhyo posits a separate state of ultimate reality, viz., the state of One Mind, beyond the harmonious state of the Unconditioned and Conditioned, viz., the two aspects of the One Mind, just as he posits the *amalavijñāna* as the ninth consciousness beyond the *ālayavijñāna*, the eighth consciousness.

The discussion so far on Wŏnhyo's doctrine of the *tathāgatagarbha* in relation with the *AMF* structure of the One Mind and its two aspects may be summarized in the following chart:

<table>
<tr><td>Thusness Aspect 眞如門,
Unconditioned 無爲</td><td colspan="3">Production and Cessation Aspect 生滅門,
Conditioned 有爲, Ālayavijñāna</td></tr>
<tr><td>Essence 體</td><td>Self-essence/Characteristics
自體/相,
Original Awakening 本覺</td><td>Functions
用,
Acquired Awakening 始覺</td><td>Unawakening
不覺</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Thusness 眞如</td><td>Naturally Pure Original Awakening 性淨本覺,
Tathāgatagarbha 如來藏
as Potential Enlightenment,
Nature of Realization 解性
as Potential Enlightenment[84]</td><td>Original Awakening that Accords with Taints
隨染本覺/隨染解性[85]</td><td rowspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Dharma Body 法身</td><td>Reward Body 報身 &
Transformative Body 化身</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">One Mind 一心</td></tr>
</table>

Chart 4. Wŏnhyo's Doctrine of Tathāgatagarbha and its Connection between the Unconditioned and Conditioned

[84] Although Wŏnhyo does not directly refer to the Nature of Realization as the *tathāgatagarbha*, we may say that they have the same connotation in Wŏnhyo's system; Wŏnhyo uses in the *Yŏlban chongyo* the Nature of Realization Conforming to Defilements (K. *suyŏm haesŏng* 隨染解性) along with the Naturally Pure Original Awakening, and thus we know that this term is equivalent to the Original Awakening that Accords with Taints (K. *suyŏm pon'gak* 隨染本覺); 別門雖然就實通論者。性淨本覺亦為二身之性隨染解性亦作法身之因。… 既說性淨本覺雖非生滅而得與二身作正因。當知隨染解性雖非常住而與法身作正因性 (涅槃宗要 T1769:38.250a15-b02). See also Chapter II, n. 67). Then, just like the Original Awakening that Accords with Taints is the activated Original Awakening, the Nature of Realization Conforming to Defilements would be also the activated form of the Nature of Realization. This in turn implies that the original or inactivated form of the Nature of Realization is equivalent to the [Naturally Pure] Original Awakening. This division between the original and activated form of the Nature of Realization resonates with Paramārtha's system of two types of Gotra, which are connected respectively to the two types of Nature of Realization, which I have proposed in the Chart 1 of Chapter II.

[85] See n. 84 above.

(2) Fazang: Origin of the Teaching of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*

Fazang's interpretation of the *AMF* has been considered not only as a theoretical solution to the doctrinal contradiction between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra, but also as a significant influence on the establishment of the *tathāgatagarbha* thought in the East Asia Buddhist tradition. Fazang interpreted the *AMF* as the Teaching of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* on the doctrinal basis of the mutual synthesis of Truth and Delusion (C. *zhenwang hehe* 眞妄和合). Fazang's explanation of the Truth and Delusion as nondual or unified with no contradiction has, in turn, entailed the pervasive idea that every sentient being is a Buddha, who possesses the *tathāgatagarbha* that is inherent enlightenment in each of them. This idea of the *tathāgatagarbha* has been regarded as a distinctive feature of East Asian thought of the Buddha Nature in relation with the Mahāyāna notion of nonduality of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*.

However, the idea of the *tathāgatagarbha*, which is based on Fazang's interpretation of the *AMF*, as discussed above, has sometimes been suspected to have a substantial significance, which contradicts such Buddhist doctrines as Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) or No-self (*anātman*). In relation with this problem, some scholars have accepted the theoretical validity of the *tathāgatagarbha*, but others have not.[86] Although along with this controversy, there will remain the question of whether or not Fazang's interpretation of the *AMF* is really substantialistic, what is still clear to us is that when compared to Wŏnhyo's binary interpretation of the *AMF*, Fazang focuses on one side of the binary feature, that is, the state of enlightenment, not the process of the enlightenment; the lack of distinction between the Unconditioned and

[86] This problem of whether or not Fazang's doctrinal view is substantialistic is a part of the controversy of the Critical Buddhism (see n. 60 and 61 above.). Largely speaking, the Critical Buddhists, such as Matsumoto Shirō and Hakamaya Noriaki, criticizes Fazang's position along with the *tathāgatagarbha* thought, while some other scholars, such as Sallie B. King, Takasaki Jikidō, criticize the Critical Buddhism; see Hubbard and Swanson, *Pruning the Bodhi Tree : The Storm Over Critical Buddhism*.

Conditioned realms, not the distinction between them; the metaphysical aspect of the *tathāgatagarbha*, not the soteriological aspect of it.

Further, along with the controversy, there is also another group of scholars who have noted that the concept of *tathāgatagarbha* has a range of signification. Peter Gregory, for instance, indicates that the concept of Original Awakening (viz., the *tathāgatagarbha* in the *AMF*) in Chinese Huayan exegete Zongmi's 宗密 (780-841) usage has a different meaning than the substantial meaning that the concept of *hongaku* 本覚 had in Japanese context.[87] He also says that Zongmi's understanding of the *AMF* differs from Fazang's, since Zongmi's interest was more "practical," while Fazang's was primarily metaphysical.[88] In pointing out the need to divide the range of meaning of the "original enlightenment [viz., Original Awakening] thought," Jacqueline Stone argues that the *AMF*'s denotation of "original enlightenment" as "the potential for enlightenment" should be distinguished from the medieval Tendai school's as "the true status of all phenomena just as they are."[89] These series of studies also suggest that the meaning of the *tathāgatagarbha* may be divided according to whether it is more focused on the nontemporal status or temporal process.

Besides, Fazang's interpretation of the *AMF*, although aiming at resolving the Emptiness-Existence controversy between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra, as discussed above, fundamentally contains the antagonistic hierarchy between the *AMF* teaching and the teachings of the two schools, which later entails the bifurcation between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra.

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[87] See Peter N. Gregory, "Is Critical Buddhism Really Critical?" in *Pruning the Bodhi Tree: The Storm Over Critical Buddhism*, ed. Jamie Hubbard and Paul L. Swanson (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1997), 289.

[88] Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the sinification of Buddhism*, Studies in East Asian Buddhism 16 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 187.

[89] Jacqueline Stone, "Review: Some Reflections on Critical Buddhism," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 26, no. 1/2 (1999): 173.

Fazang's doctrine of the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* holds the lack of distinction between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms on the basis of the synthesis between Truth and Delusion in the Conditioned realm, and thus its focus is on the Conditioned realm. Although the Madhyamaka exegetes, just like Fazang, argue for the lack of distinction between the two realms, they do this with the focus on the Unconditioned realm; the Yogācāra exegetes take the position that the two realms are distinct from each other, focusing on the Conditioned realm. With these differences, Fazang's thought of lack of distinction between the two realms necessarily runs counter to the two school's, particularly Yogācāra school's, positions. Thus, it was not by embracing the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra teachings in the *AMF* system, but by transcending them through another level of teaching that Fazang attempts to resolve the Emptiness-Existence controversy. In this respect, Fazang's hierarchical synthesis that overcomes the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra schools should be distinguished from Wŏnhyo's balanced synthesis that embraces them into a synthesis.

The hierarchical antagonism between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra schools contained in the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* became prominent and stabilized by Fazang's disciple Chengguan, as mentioned in the Introduction.[90] Chengguan makes polemic contradiction between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra schools by designating respectively as the Dharma Characteristics (Faxiang) school and Dharma Nature (Faxing) school with the implication that the former is superior to the latter. Through this process, the inherent antagonism between the two doctrinal positions in Fazang's doctrine of the Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha* emerged to the surface, and thus exerted a significant influence on the traditional bifurcation between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra schools.

[90] See Introduction, 2, (3).

This bifurcation between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra schools, in turn, entailed another bifurcation between Paramārtha and Xuanzang, or the Shelun school and Faxiang school, when such a scholar as Ui Hakuju interpreted Paramārtha's Shelun thought from Fazang's perspective of the *AMF*. In other words, the doctrinal antagonism between the *tathāgatagarbha* and Yogācāra teaching represented in Fazang's interpretation of the *AMF* has now turned to an antagonistic bifurcation between Paramārtha's Shelun school and Xuanzang's Faxiang school. Further, such a bifurcation also was fortified by the scholarly presumption that Paramārtha belongs to the same Shelun school as Tanqian's and that Xuanzang is associated with the Faxiang school. In this light, it seems very likely that the bifurcation between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra schools, or the Old and New Yogācāra, originated from Fazang's hierarchical interpretation of the *AMF* and subsequently solidified into an antagonistic interpretation between the respective schools.

When we divide the Shelun school into the two strands, we see that there are similarities between Fazang and those who presumably belong to Tanqian's strand. Like Tanqian, Fazang's scholastic genealogy traces back to the Southern Dilun school.[91] As discussed before,[92] the putative Tanqian's Shelun exegetes ("the sixth exegetes") and Fazang both equates the Nature of Realization with the ultimate reality, such as Thusness, whereas Wŏnhyo and the *She dashenglun shu* distinguish it from the *amalavijñāna* or Dharma Body. Further, Fazang equates the Nature of

[91] Fazang's teacher Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668) studied under several teachers, such as Dushun 杜順 (557-640), Fachang 法常 (566-645), Sengbian 僧辯 (568-642), Jinglin 靜琳 (565-640), Zhizheng 智正 (559-639). Among these five, Fachang, Zhizheng belongs to the Southern Dilun school; Jinglin also studied under 道憑 (556-630), a disciple of Tanyan 曇延 (516-588); Sengbian is a grand-disciple of Jingsong 靖嵩 (537-614), who originally belongs to the Southern Dilun school. Besides it is said that Zhiyan resolved questions on Huayan doctrines through the Southern Dilun school founder Huiguang's 慧光 (alt. the Vinaya Master Guangtong 光統律師; 468-537) commentary on the *Avataṃsakasūtra*. For detailed explanation on Zhiyan's teachers, see Robert Michael Gimello, "Chih-yen (智儼, 602-668) and the Foundations of Hua-yen (華嚴) Buddhism" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1976), 171-206; 57-133. Also see Chapter II, Chart 2.

[92] See Chapter II, 2, (3).

Realization with the *AMF* notion of the Original Awakening, and connects it to Xuanzang's concept of "Inherent Gotra" (C. *benxingzhu zhongxing*/*xing zhongxing* 本性住種姓/性種性[93]; a.k.a., the "Innate Buddha Gotra" (C. *zhuzixing foxing* 住自性佛性) in Paramārtha's terminology).[94] Such a position by Fazang also resonates with his perspective on the *tathāgatagarbha* as the perfect form of enlightenment in sentient beings, which focuses more on the state of enlightenment rather than the process of enlightenment.

Like Wŏnhyo, Fazang also divides the Original Awakening into two types, i.e., the Naturally Pure Original Awakening and the Original Awakening that Accords with Taints, and explains that they result respectively in the Dharma Body and the Reward and Transformation Bodies.[95] For Fazang, however, the advancements of the Original Awakening to the Buddha Body are none other than phases of the non-temporal mutual permeation of Thusness and Delusion (C. *zhenwang huxun* 眞妄互熏), not temporal processes of the two separate permeations, i.e., Permeation by Thusness (C. *zhenru xunxi* 眞如熏習) and Permeation by Delusion (C. *wuming xunxi* 無明熏習). Further, Fazang also posits another upper level of teaching separately from the *AMF* Teaching of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*, in just the same way he posits the *AMF* teaching separately from the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra teaching; while the *AMF* corresponds to the teaching of synthesis of

[93] See Chapter II. n. 94.

[94] 其有種性者。瑜伽論云。種性略有二種。一本性住。二習所成。本性住者。謂諸菩薩六處殊勝有如是相。從無始世。展轉傳來法爾所得。習所成者。謂先串習善根所得。此中本性。即內六處中意處為殊勝。即攝賴耶識中本覺解性為性種性。故梁攝論云。聞熏習與阿賴耶識中解性和合。一切聖人以此為因 (華嚴一乘教義分齊章 T1866:45.485c14-21).

[95] 不思議業相者… 如此則是報化二身真如大用無始無終相續不絕故(大乘起信論義記 T1846:44:260b29-c11); 三者法出離鏡謂不空法出煩惱礙智礙離和合相淳淨明故　第三中。初標次釋。言法出離者。謂真如之法。出於二障離於和合故。云出離。前明在纏性淨不空如來藏。今明不空出纏離垢法身 (大乘起信論義記 T1846:44:260c11-18).

Truth and Delusion in the Conditioned realm, the Huayan teaching, the utmost level of teaching in Fazang's taxonomy, does not distinguish between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms.

Fazang's non-temporal doctrines of the *tathāgatagarbha* and his explanation of the relationship between the Unconditioned and Conditioned realms in the structure of the *AMF* may be presented as the following chart:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">Huayan</td></tr>
<tr><td>Thusness Aspect 心眞如門,
Unconditioned 無爲</td><td colspan="3">Production and Cessation Aspect 心生滅門,
Conditioned 有爲; Ālayavijñāna</td></tr>
<tr><td>Essence 體</td><td>Essence 體,
Characteristics 相,
Original Awakening 本覺</td><td>Functions 用,
Acquired Awakening 始覺</td><td>Unawakening
不覺</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Unchanging Thusness
眞如不變</td><td>Naturally Pure Original Awakening 性淨本覺,
Thusness that Accords with Conditions 眞如隨緣,
Tathāgatagarbha 如來藏
as Enlightenment,
Nature of Realization 解性
as Enlightenment</td><td>Original Awakening that Accords with Taints
隨染本覺</td><td rowspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Dharma Body 法身</td><td>Reward Body 報身 &
Transformation Body 化身</td></tr>
</table>

Chart 5. Fazang's Doctrine of Tathāgatagarbha and its Lack of Distinction between the Unconditioned and Conditioned

4. Concluding Remarks

The *AMF* has been generally regarded as a Tathāgatagarbha text on the basis of Fazang's taxonomy that identifies the text as the Teaching of Dependent Origination from the *Tathāgatagarbha*. This Teaching, which is based on the doctrine of the mutual synthesis of Truth

and Delusion, has been considered to reconcile the Madhyamaka that focuses on the aspect of Truth and the Yogācāra that emphasizes the aspect of Delusion. Fazang's concept of the synthesis, however, which transcends, not embraces, the two schools' positions, contains a fundamental contradiction between the *AMF*'s and the two schools', and particularly Yogācāra school's, position. The contradiction immanent in Fazang's metaphysical interpretation of the *AMF* has in turn served as a theoretical basis for the traditional bifurcation of Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra. Wŏnhyo's approach, however, which has not drawn as much attention as does Fazang's, shows another way of understating of the *tathāgatagarbha*, that is, a soteriologically focused understanding of the *tathāgatagarbha*. These two ways of understanding the *tathāgatagarbha* are also connected to the long-standing issue in East Asia Yogācāra tradition of how to define the relationship between the *tathāgatagarbha* and the *ālayavijñāna*. While Fazang's view has commonalities with that of Tanqian's Shelun strand, Wŏnhyo's position accords with Paramārtha's Shelun strand. Given that the understanding of the *tathāgatagarbha* is divided into two ways, the paradigm of the bifurcation between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, or the Old and New Yogācāra, also should be reconsidered.

CHAPTER V. Synthesis of the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles: Taehyŏn's Interpretation of the *AMF*, the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*, and the *Cheng weishi lun*

1. Taehyŏn's Yogācāra Thought from A New Perspective

After the extended discussion above on problematic bifurcations of the East Asian Yogācāra tradition, I discuss in this chapter Taehyŏn's Yogācāra thought. Although Taehyŏn is generally known as the founder of the Silla Pŏpsang (C. Faxiang) school, as I mentioned in the Introduction, his doctrinal views that contain both Dharma Characteristics and Dharma Nature positions have raised controversies among both traditional Buddhist thinkers and modern scholars as to whether Taehyŏn is scholastically affiliated to the Dharma Characteristics school or the Dharma Nature school, or both.[1]

The attempts, however, to explain Taehyŏn's doctrinal position under the rubric of the bifurcation of the Dharma Nature and Dharma Characteristics schools, or the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, are fundamentally problematic because these dichotomies cannot explain how or in what way Taehyŏn managed to accept both positions with virtually no doctrinal contradiction. Some scholars attempted to connect Taehyŏn to the scholastic line of Wŏnch'ŭk, who was

[1] Ko Ikchin, for instance, points out that while Koryŏ monk Sohyŏn 韶顯 (1038-1096) describes Silla Yogācāra as "led by Wŏnhyo formerly and succeeded by Taehyŏn later" (曉法師導之於前 賢大師踵之於後; 金山寺慧德王師眞應塔碑), implying that both were regarded as Yogācāra exegetes, the *Kegonshū shoryū gokyō jūshū daii ryakushō* 華嚴宗所立五教十宗大意略抄 classifies Taehyŏn as a Kegon (K. Hwaŏm) exegete (T2336:72.200b16). But Ko himself identifies Taehyŏn as a Yogācāra exegete (see Ko Ikchin 고익진, *Han'guk kodae pulgyo sasangsa* 韓國古代佛教思想史 (Seoul: Tongguk University Press, 1989), 351.). Ko's view was refuted by Pak T'aewŏn later (see Pak T'aewŏn 박태원, "Kyŏndŭng ŭi *Kisillon* kwan" 見登의 起信論觀, *Kasan hakpo* 가산학보 1 (1991): 251-54). The Japanese Vinaya monk Shō'on 照遠 (ca. 14th century) states in his *Bonmōkyō gekan koshakki jutsu shakushō* 梵網經下卷古迹記述迹鈔 that Taehyŏn was originally a Hwaŏm exegete but later converted to the Pŏpsang school (*Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經, 20: 4-5). However, in the *Bonmōkyō koshaku kōgi* 梵網經古迹記綱義 Shōsan 淸算 (1288-1362) did not confine Taehyŏn's scholastic position into a single school, by saying that his ecumenical tendency is similar to Wŏnhyo's (ibid., 2). For more information, see Pang In 방인, "T'aehyŏn ŭi Yusik ch'ŏrhak yŏn'gu" 太賢의 唯識哲學硏究" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Seoul National University, 1995), 27-35.

typically regarded as a synthesizer of Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra doctrines, in distinction to Ji, who advocated a purely Yogācāra position; this approach, however, has been challenged by research that proves the scholastic similarities between Wŏnch'ŭk and Ji.[2] More significantly, the fact that Taehyŏn's Yogācāra thought belongs to the New Yogācāra tradition, which is typically identified with or reduced to the Dharma Characteristics school,[3] has raised recurrent scholarly questions of how Taehyŏn, the putative founder of the Dharma Characteristics school in Silla, advocates both Dharma Nature and Dharma Characteristics positions.[4]

Considering the difficulties in understanding Taehyŏn's Yogācāra position within these bifurcated paradigms, I have examined in the previous chapters the problems of the traditional paradigm, while seeking another way to explain them. I have argued that contrary to what is presumed by the bifurcation, the Shelun school, the representative Old Yogācāra school, is divided into two groups, that is, Paramārtha's and Tanqian's lineages, because Paramārtha's doctrinal position represents binary features by accepting both the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra views unlike the typical Shelun image of the school as being Tathāgatagarbha-oriented. Later such an exegete as Wŏnhyo also shows the doctrinal tendency to embrace both the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra. In regards to the New Yogācāra, I have suggested that there

[2] See Introduction, 1.

[3] See Chapter III, 2.

[4] There are several different views, for instance, on the *Taesŭng kisillon naeŭi yakt'amgi* 大乘起信論內義略探記, Taehyŏn's commentary on the *AMF*. Ko Ikchin argues that Taehyŏn, an exegete of the Dharma Characteristics school, used the *AMF*, a work belonging to the Dharma Nature school to prove the doctrinal identity between the *AMF* and the Yogācāra teaching with the purpose of elevating the status of the Yogācāra against the rival Hwaŏm school (see Ko, *Han'guk kodae pulgyo sasangsa* 韓國古代佛教思想史.). Pak T'aewŏn says that Taehyŏn's own thought cannot be read in the *Yakt'amgi* since it is a compilation of Wŏnhyo and Fazang's commentaries on the *AMF*, and thus, he says, Taehyŏn shares Wŏnhyo's perspective (see Pak, "Kyŏndŭng ŭi *Kisillon* kwan" 見登의 起信論觀, 251-54), but he also says that Taehyŏn takes a neutral position between Wŏnhyo's and Fazang's (see Pak, "Silla Pulgyo ŭi *Taesŭng kisillon* yŏn'gu" 新羅佛教의 大乘起信論 研究, 56-57). Pang In suggests that Taehyŏn was a Hwaŏm exegete at least when he was composing the *Yakt'amgi* (see Pang In 방인, "Silla Pulgyo sasangsa esŏŭi T'aehyŏn Yusikhak ŭi ŭiŭi" 新羅 佛教思想史에서의 太賢 唯識學의 意義, *Pangnyŏn Pulgyo Nonjip* 白蓮佛教論集 2(1992)).

were New Yogācāra schools that sympathized with the Tathāgatagarbha position and that in this respect Ji's Faxiang school cannot therefore represent the entirety of the New Yogācāra tradition.

I will discuss in this chapter Taehyŏn's Yogācāra thought, which contains both the Dharma Nature and Dharma Characteristics views, as another piece of doctrinal evidence to prove that the bifurcation is a misleading paradigm for describing the East Asian Yogācāra tradition. In doing this, I will examine the way in which Taehyŏn combines or synthesize the two seemingly contrasting doctrines in his scholastic system and in what aspects Taehyŏn's approach is distinct from that of other exegetes, such as Wŏnhyo, by analyzing the *Taesŭng kisillon naeŭi yakt'amgi* 大乘起信論內義略探記 (hereafter, *Yakt'amgi*), the *Pŏmmanggyŏng kojŏkki*[5] 梵網經古迹記 (hereafter, *Pŏmmanggi*), and the *Sŏngyusingnon hakki* 成唯識論學記 (hereafter, *Hakki*) among his extant works.[6]

2. Taehyŏn's Yogācāra Thought in the *Taesŭng kisillon naeŭi yakt'amgi*

(1) Balanced Perspective toward the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles

The *Yamt'amgi*, Taehyŏn's commentary on the *AMF*, consists mostly of selective or parallel combinations of citations from Wŏnhyo's and Fazang's commentaries. Based on such a combined

[5] The term "*Kojŏkki*" 古迹記, "*Record of old traces*," is used in the title of most of Taehyŏn's works (Among about fifty some works, forty works contain the phrase "*Record of old traces*."). Taehyŏn's scholastic style is marked by selectively organizing and comparing his predecessors' exegetical interpretations, as implied in this phrase.

[6] Besides these three works, there are two more extant works by Taehyŏn, i.e., the *Posal kyebon chong'yo* 菩薩戒本宗要 and the *Yaksa ponwŏn'gyŏng kojŏkki* 藥師本願經古迹記. The *Posal kyebon chong'yo*, also known as *Pŏmmanggyŏng posal kyebon chong'yo* 梵網經菩薩戒本宗要, is a brief commentary on the second (and last) fascicle of the *Sutra of Brahmā's Net* (C. *Fanwang jing*, K. *Pŏmmang kyŏng* 梵網經). Since this work is frequently cited in the *Pŏmmanggyŏng kojŏkki*, Taehyŏn's larger commentary on the *Sutra of Brahmā's Net*, I confine the discussion on Taehyŏn's views on the *sūtra* to the latter larger work. The *Yaksa ponwŏn'gyŏng kojŏkki* is a commentary on the the *Yaoshi liuliguang rulai benyuan gongde jing* 藥師瑠璃光如來本願功德經, a scripture from the Pure Land tradition, and I did not include it in my current discussion that focuses on Taehyŏn's Yogācāra thought.

way of description in the *Yakt'amgi*, scholars have suggested that Taehyŏn takes a synthetic or neutral position between Wŏnhyo and Fazang.[7] In the last chapter, I argued that Wŏnhyo's interpretation of the *AMF* should be distinguished from Fazang's: while Wŏnhyo interprets One Vehicle teaching of the *AMF* as embracing both the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra views within its system, Fazang views the *AMF* as a superior teaching that transcends the two schools' positions on the basis of a hierarchical understanding of the relationship. Given that Wŏnhyo's and Fazang's interpretations of the *AMF* are significantly distinct from each other, the question would be how or in what way Taehyŏn combines or synthesizes the two exegetes' views in his own commentary on the *AMF*.

One thing that draws our attention at first in the *Yakt'amgi* is that in regard to the matter of the *AMF*'s doctrinal status, Taehyŏn follows Fazang's perspective, not Wŏnhyo's; just like Fazang, Taehyŏn describes the *AMF* teaching as the Advanced Teaching of Mahāyāna, the fourth level of teaching of the five-level taxonomy.[8] In other words, Taehyŏn does not follow Wŏnhyo, who considers the *AMF* teaching of the One Mind to be the One Vehicle teaching,[9] but regards it as the fourth of the five-level taxonomy of the teachings.

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[7] Yoshizu Yoshihide, for instance, argues that there existed a scholastic trend of synthesis between Wŏnhyo and Fazang (元曉法藏融合形態) in medieval Korea and Japan and he includes Taehyŏn's scholasticism in this tread (see Yoshizu, *Kegon ichijō shisō no kenkyū* 華厳一乗思想の研究: 531-53). Pak T'aewŏn says that Taehyŏn takes a neutral position between Wŏnhyo and Fazang since he introduces both exegetes' views without any clear evaluations or criticism in the *Yakt'amgi* (see n. 4 above)

[8] Taehyŏn's acceptance of the five-level taxonomy is well represented in the section on "Buddha Bodies" (K. *pulsin* 佛身) (see HPC3.758b09-762b12), the last of the eight main subsections of the *Yakt'amgi*, i.e., (1) "Reverence to Three Treasures" (K. *kwigyŏng sambo* 歸敬三寶), (2) "Combining Consciousness" (K. *hwahap sik* 和合識), (3) "Four Marks" (K. *sasang* 四相), (4) "Original Awakening" (K. *pon'gak* 本覺), (5) "Delusion" (K. *mumyŏng* 無明), (6) "Dependent Origination of Arising and Cessation" (K. *saengmyŏl inyŏn* 生滅因緣), (7) "Six Defilements" (K. *yuk yŏm* 六染), and (8) "Buddha Bodies" (K. *pulsin* 佛身). In this last section, Taehyŏn discusses distinct features of the Buddha Bodies at each level of teaching. Besides the five-levels of teaching, Taehyŏn also mentions the Distinct Teaching (K. *pyŏlgyo* 別敎). For the list of Fazang's five-level taxonomy, see Introduction, n. 33.

[9] In the *Kŭmgang sammaegyŏng non* Wŏnhyo relates the One Mind directly to the One Vehicle; he says that one gains access to the One Vehicle within the One Mind (一心中一念動。順一實。修一行。入一乘。住一道。

What should be noted is that although Taehyŏn employs Fazang's frame of the five-level taxonomy, Taehyŏn's perspective on each level of the taxonomy is different from Fazang's. Fazang, as discussed in the last chapter, regards the five levels of teaching as hierarchically ordered; the teaching of a higher level is superior to those of a lower level. In the *Yakt'amgi*, however, we do not see any hierarchical order described in the relationship of the five levels of teaching; Taehyŏn describes them merely as divisions of distinct teachings, while being quite flexible in attributing scriptures to each level. Taehyŏn places, for instance, the *Avataṃsakasūtra* on the level of the Perfect Teaching (i.e., the fifth level), as in Fazang's taxonomy,[10] but also on the level of the Elementary Teaching (i.e., the second level)[11] or the Sudden Teaching (i.e., the fourth level).[12] In addition, while Taehyŏn mentions the One Vehicle and Three Vehicles in the *Yakt'amgi*, but no implication is made that the One Vehicle is superior to the Three Vehicles.[13]

用一覺。覺一味 (金剛三昧經論 T1730:34.961b10-11); "Within the one mind, one thought stirs, and, by conforming to the one reality, one cultivates the one practice, gains access to the one vehicle, abides in the one path, makes use of the one enlightenment, and awakens to the one taste" (Buswell, trans. *Cultivating Original Enlightenment: Wŏnhyo's Exposition of the Vajrasamādhi-Sūtra (Kŭmgang Sammaegyŏng Non)*: 49)) and in another place says that one returns to the origin of the One Mind through the *tathāgatas'* teaching of One Taste, which is the One Vehicle (皆說一味者。如來所說一切教法無不令入一覺味故。欲明一切眾生本來一覺。但由無明隨夢流轉。皆從如來一味之說無不終歸一心之源。歸心源時皆無所得。故言一味。即是一乘 (金剛三昧經論 T1730:34.964c04-08); " "All explain the single taste" means that there are none of the doctrinal teachings spoken by the tathāgatas that are not intended to prompt access to the taste of the one enlightenment. [This passage] seeks to clarify that the original one enlightenment of all sentient beings just flows forth from out of their ignorance and in accordance with their fantasies. None of those beings will fail to return to the fountainhead of the one mind through the tathāgatas' clarifications concerning the single taste; and when they return to the fountainhead of the mind, they will all be unascertainable. Hence it is said that the single taste is in fact the one vehicle." (ibid., 68)).

[10] 若依圓教 周遍法界 十佛之身 一一相如 亦遍法界 …如[華嚴經]舍那品云 佛通諸法界 普現一切衆生前 應受記機悉充滿 佛故處此菩提樹 一切佛剎微塵等 爾所佛坐一毛孔 皆有無量菩薩衆 各爲佛說普賢行 (大乘起信論內義略探記 HPC3.759a18-b02).

[11] 若依始教 說八萬四千相爲實 如[華嚴經]離世間品說 此通始終 (大乘起信論內義略探記 HPC3.761a06-08). Here, Taehyŏn even says that this teaching is attributed both to the Elementary and Advanced Teachings.

[12] 若依頓教 於佛身起言說皆妄念 絶言念故 又觸境卽佛 不論時處 如華嚴云 十方諸佛世界 一切衆生 普見天人尊淸淨妙法身 (大乘起信論內義略探記 HPC3.759a14-17).

[13] Each of the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles is only once mentioned in the *Yakt'amgi*. The Perfect Teaching is referred to as the One Vehicle at one place (若諸菩薩 安住此法 則常得見 無上如來 此四種中 後二約一乘圓教 爲顯無盡 說十佛等也 (大乘起信論內義略探記 HPC3.761c21-762a04)); in another place it

Judging from all this evidence, it appears that although Taehyŏn adopts the framework of Fazang's five-level taxonomy, he does not agree with Fazang's hierarchical ordering of its content. In other words, Taehyŏn equally treats each of the levels as an independent teaching that has its own doctrinal and soteriological significance.

If Taehyŏn considers the five-level taxonomy as equal individual teachings with their own doctrinal and soteriological meanings, we may explain why Taehyŏn adopts Fazang's view of the *AMF* as the Advanced Teaching, not Wŏnhyo's interpretation of it as the One Vehicle teaching. From Taehyŏn's perspective that there are individual teachings for particular audiences, Fazang's division of the teaching into the five separate levels and attributing the *AMF* to one of the levels would be more acceptable than Wŏnhyo's interpretation of the *AMF* as the ultimate One Vehicle teaching that embraces all other teachings within it. In other words, for Taehyŏn, who considers the equality of various levels of teaching, the One Vehicle, along with the Three Vehicles, constitutes one of the several levels of teaching, each of which has its own audiences. It would be in this respect that Taehyŏn accepts Fazang's five-level taxonomy that provides ech level of teaching its own independency.

It seems to be only the framework, however, of the five-level taxonomy that Taehyŏn adopts from Fazang, because while Taehyŏn takes the position that all levels of teaching are equally coexisting independent teachings, Fazang's hierarchical interpretation represents a One Vehicle-centered perspective. Wŏnhyo and Fazang are indeed identified as One Vehicle exegetes since their interpretations of the *AMF* both reflect the One Vehicle-centered perspective. Wŏnhyo's interpretation of the *AMF*, as discussed in the last chapter, is based on the coexisting

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is said that the locus of Buddhas at the level of Three Vehicles is very different (全異) from that at the level of Distinct Teaching (若依別教 … 三位並是盧舍那十身攝化之處 又本末圓融 相收無礙 隨一世界 卽約麤有此三故 是故與三乘全異也 (大乘起信論內義略探記 HPC3.762a20-b12)).

or harmonious relationship between the One Mind and its Two Aspects, or the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles; but Wŏnhyo's focus is apparently on the One Vehicle teaching, i.e., the One Mind, which is the ultimate state of reality that subsumes all forms of distinction or variation without contradiction. Fazang's One Vehicle-centered perspective is reflected in his hierarchical interpretation of the five-level taxonomy. On the contrary, Taehyŏn, who regards the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles as equal independent teachings with their own significance, excludes the One Vehicle-centered views in his interpretation of the *AMF*.

Although Taehyŏn does not accept Wŏnhyo's One Vehicle-centered framework that the One Vehicle teaching embraces all the Three Vehicles, he agrees with Wŏnhyo's perspective that the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles coexist without contradiction. In other words, Taehyŏn takes Fazang's five-level taxonomy instead of Wŏnhyo's One Vehicle framework since he regards the *AMF* as an independent level of teaching among several levels; but he refuses to accept Fazang's view that the levels of teaching are hierarchically separated and thus cannot coexist. In fact, Taehyŏn cites many of Wŏnhyo's quotations of such a Yogācāra text as the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, which Fazang completely excludes from his *Yiji*. For instance, in the sections of "Dependent Origination of Arising and Cessation" (K. *saengmyŏl inyŏn* 生滅因緣) and "Six Defilements" (K. *yuk yŏm* 六染),[14] Taehyŏn cites several sets of questions and the answers about the topics from Wŏnhyo's *Kisillon so*, *Pyŏlgi*, or *Yijang ŭi* 二障義 ("Essay on the Two Hindrances"), in which Wŏnhyo draws upon Yogācāra texts, such as the *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra*.[15]

[14] For the eight subsections, see n. 8 above.

[15] Taehyŏn's citations that contain Wŏnhyo's quotations of the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* in the two sections are as follows: 大乘起信論內義略探記 HPC3.755a18-b06, which is cited from the *Pyŏlgi* (T1845.T44:229a12-23); HPC3. 755b22-c16, cited from the *Pyŏlgi* (T1845.T44:235c02-20); HPC3.755c16-756a03, cited from the *Pyŏlgi*

To sum up, in the *Yakt'amgi* Taehyŏn combines Wŏnhyo and Fazang's views on the *AMF* on the basis of his balanced perspective of the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles, or the *AMF* teaching and the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra teachings.

(2) Binary Perspective on the Buddha Nature I: The Distinction between the Original Awakening and the Nature of Realization

Although the *Yakt'amgi* mostly consists of the combination of Wŏnhyo's and Fazang's commentaries, a subsection on "Five Mentations," or "Five Modes" (C. *wu yi* 五意) of consciousness, in the section on the "Meaning of Dependent Origination of Arising and Cessation" (K. *saengmyŏl inyŏn ŭi* 生滅因緣義) appears to be a description of Taehyŏn's own views, since an explanation equivalent to Taehyŏn's account in this section does not appear in Wŏnhyo's or Fazang's commentaries. In accordance with the *AMF*, Wŏnhyo and Fazang divides the consciousness into five modes, "Karmic Consciousness" (C. *yeshi* 業識), "Transforming Consciousness" (C. *zhuanshi* 轉識), "Manifesting Consciousness" (C. *xianshi* 現識), "Discriminating Consciousness" (C. *zhishi* 智識), and "Continuing Consciousness" (C. *xiangxu shi* 相續識), and they attribute the first three to "Foundational Consciousness" (C. *benshi* 本識), that is, *ālayavijñāna*, and the last two to "Activity Consciousness" (事識).[16] Taehyŏn says that

(T1845.T44:235c20-28); HPC3.756a03-24, cited from the *Pyŏlgi* (T1845.T44:238c18-239a11); HPC3.757b22-c05, cited from the *Kisillon so* (T1844.T44:215b27-c03); HPC3.757c12-15, cited from the *Kisillon so* (T1844.T44:215c07-12).

[16] 次釋意轉。於中有三。一者略明意轉。二者廣顯轉相。三者結成依心之義。初中即明五種識相。不覺而起者。所依心體。由無明熏。舉體起動。即是業識也。言能見者。即彼心體轉成能見。是為轉識。言能現者。即彼心體復成能現。即是現識。能取境界者。能取現識所現境界。是為智識。起念相續者。於所取境起諸麁念。是相續識。依此五義次第轉成。能對諸境而生意識。故說此五以為意也 (起信論疏 T1844.T44:213c16-c24); 不覺而起者。所依心體由無明熏舉體而動。即是業識也。前依梨耶有無明。即依

on a detailed level the Foundational Consciousness is divided into four types, instead of three that Fazang and Wŏnhyo describe, by adding "True Consciousness" (K. *chinsik* 眞識) as the most fundamental mode of consciousness, and says that this consciousness is also named "Self Marks" (K. *chasang* 自相) or "[Consciousness of] Awareness Marks" (K. *chisang* [*sik*] 智相[識]),[17] which are concepts drawn from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.[18]

The concept of True Consciousness here has the connotation of the *tathāgatagarbha* or the Buddha Nature, because Taehyŏn refers to the "Essence" (K. *ch'ae* 體) of the Self Marks (a.k.a., True Consciousness) as the Original Awakening or the Dharma Body.[19] I have discussed in the last chapter that the Original Awakening is another description of the *tathāgatagarbha* found in the *AMF*, and that Wŏnhyo also identifies the Original Awakening to the Dharma

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似起迷。今熏淨心成梨耶。即依迷起似。此二義一時。說有前後耳。言能見者。即彼心體轉成能見。是轉識也。能現者。即彼心體復成能現。即是現識。能取境界者。能取現識所現境界。是為智識。起念相續者。於所取境起諸麁念。是相續識 (大乘起信論義記 T1846.T44:264c21-28).

These concepts appear in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, with variations between the four- and ten-fascicle versions; 諸識有三種相：謂轉相、業相、真相。大慧！略說有三種識，廣說有八相。何等為三？謂真識、現識，及分別事識 (楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 T670.T16:483a14-17); 大慧！識有三種。何等三種？一者、轉相識；二者、業相識；三者、智相識。大慧！有八種識，略說有二種。何等為二？一者、了別識；二者、分別事識 (入楞伽經 T671.T16:522c29-a03).

[17] 五種意中 初三在本識位 後二在事識細分位 體本識中 若子細論 有四種識 一眞識 亦名自相 亦名智相 二業識 亦名業相 亦業相識 三轉識 亦名轉相 亦名轉相識 四現識 亦名現相 亦名現相識 (大乘起信論內義略探記 HPC3.753c06-12). It is said that the True Consciousness does not rely on other [consciousnesses] (初眞識者 不藉他成(大乘起信論內義略探記 HPC3.753c13)) and that it is accordingly named as the Self Marks (不藉他成故名自相(大乘起信論內義略探記 HPC3.754b07)).

[18] The concept of True Consciousness appears in the four fascicle version of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (see Chapter I, n. 34); the concepts of "Self Marks" (K. *chasang* 自相) and "[Consciousness of] Awareness Marks" (K. *chisang* [*sik*] 智相[識]) occur in the ten-fascicle version of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (大慧 ！如是轉識阿梨耶識，若異相者，不從阿梨耶識生 ；若不異者， 轉識滅阿梨耶識亦應滅， 而自相阿梨耶識不滅。是故大慧！諸識自相滅，自相滅者業相滅，若自相滅者阿梨耶識應滅 (入楞伽經 T671.T16:522a16-20) and see n. 16 above).We thus see that Taehyŏn's classification of the Foundational Consciousness into the four types is based on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.

[19] 第二出體者 通以一心爲體 若別論者 自相之體 卽是本覺 非動轉相 是覺照性 故論云 覺義謂心體離念 離念相者等虛空界 無所不遍 法界一相 卽是如來平等法身 依此法身說名本覺 (大乘起信論內義略探記 HPC3.754a09-14).

Body.[20] By identifying the Essence of the True Consciousness, the most fundamental mode of consciousness, with the Original Awakening, Taehyŏn implies that there is a basis for enlightenment in *ālayavijñāna*. Taehyŏn's description of the True Consciousness as the most fundamental mode of the consciousness and his identification of the Essence of the Self Marks (a.k.a. the True Consciousness) with the Original Awakening implies that he considers the *tathāgatagarbha* as a universal capacity that is inherent in all sentient beings.

One might in this light say that Taehyŏn accepts the concept of universal Buddha Nature just as the Tathāgatagarbha exegetes advocate it. We should note, however, that Taehyŏn distinguishes the Original Awakening from the Nature of Realization, in a way that recalls Wŏnhyo's distinction between the *amalavijñāna* or Thusness and the Nature of Realization.[21] Soon after saying that the Essence of the Self Marks is the Original Awakening, Taehyŏn states that the Nature of Realization is named the Self Marks (自相) in distinction to the Essence of the Self Marks (自相之體).[22] Indeed, Taehyŏn distinguishes the Self Marks from its Essence; he explains each of the four modes of Foundational Consciousness in terms of two aspects, i.e., their "Essence" and then their "Comprehensive Mark" (K. *t'ongsang* 通相), and these two aspects are associated respectively to the Original Awakening and the Nature of Realization.[23] In

[20] See n. 19 above.

[21] For Wŏnhyo's distinction between the *amalavijñāna* or Thusness and the Nature of Realization, see Chapter II, 2, (3).

[22] 若通相論者 轉中有業 以是轉相 亦非轉寂故 業內有智 以本覺心擧體而動故 是智亦通轉識 以動轉中解性不壞 是卽智識亦名自相 以業等相 非心本相 因無明起 可名他相 不自性動 隨他動故 於中解性 是心本性 不藉他成 故名自相 (大乘起信論內義略探記 HPC3.754b01-07). Here Taehyŏn also describes that Wisdom (K. *chi* 智) in the Karmic Consciousness comes from the movement of the Essence of the Original Awakening, implying that he distinguishes the Essence from the others.

[23] Taehyŏn divides the category into two; 出體者…若通相論者…. See n. 19 and n. 22 above.

other words, Taehyŏn explains the Original Awakening or the Dharma Body as corresponding to the Essence of the Self Marks, whereas the Nature of Realization as corresponding to its Comprehensive Mark, thereby distinguishing them from each other.

I have discussed in the Chapter IV that Wŏnhyo regards the *tathāgatagarbha*, which is united with the *ālayavijñāna*, as potential enlightenment and that he maintains that the *tathāgatagarbha* is eventually manifested after a process of practice as the Naturally Pure Original Awakening. I have also suggested that Wŏnhyo's notion of the Buddha Nature as potential enlightenment shows doctrinal similarities with Paramārtha's concept of Nature of Realization. Here, Taehyŏn's distinction between the Original Awakening and the Nature of Realization appears to exactly parallel Wŏnhyo's binary perspective on the Naturally Pure Original Awakening both as the universal Buddha Nature and as the *tathāgatagarbha*, the potential enlightenment. In this regard, if we agree that Wŏnhyo is not classified as a Tathāgatagarbha exegete in the sense that is defined in the bifurcation between the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, then Taehyŏn cannot be classified as a Tathāgatagarbha exegete either, because he shares Wŏnhyo's perspective.[24]

[24] Taehyŏn's acceptance of binary feature of Buddha Nature has the implication that Taehyŏn succeeds to Paramārtha along with Wŏnhyo. There seems to be a distinction, however, between Wŏnhyo's and Taehyŏn's perspectives on the Buddha Nature. Wŏnhyo identifies the *amalavijñāna*, the ultimate enlightenment attained at the end of practice, as the ninth consciousness (see Chapter IV, n. 81), thereby explaining the ultimate state, which he associates with the One Mind (or the One Vehicle), separately from the regular eight consciousnesses; but Taehyŏn explains the ultimate enlightenment in the scope of the eight consciousnesses since he regards the *amalavijñāna* not as the ninth consciousness, but as a pure portion of the *ālayavijñāna* (基疏云。無垢先名阿末羅識。或阿摩羅識。古而立為第九識者。非也。樞要云。依無相論同性經。無垢識是自性識心。即真如理。故知無垢通二種也。測云。其無相論真諦謬 (今存樞要…) (成唯識論學記 X818:50.64c01-04)). We cannot determine, as discussed in Chapter II, whether or not Paramārtha regarded the *amalavijñāna* as the ninth consciousness, and accordingly we cannot tell whose position is closer to Paramārtha's. But insofar as both exegetes take the binary perspective on the Buddha Nature, it may be said that they succeed Paramārtha's position.

3. Taehyŏn's View on Buddhist Precepts Represented in the *Pŏmmanggyŏng kojŏkki*

(1) Balanced View toward the Śrāvaka Precepts and the Bodhisattva Precepts

The *Pŏmmanggyŏng kojŏkki* (hereafter, *Pŏmmanggi*), Taehyŏn's commentary to the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* (C. *Fanwang jing* 梵網經), is one of his works that were particularly influential in medieval East Asia.[25] The precepts of Mahāyāna in East Asia are traditionally divided into two types, i.e., Yogācāra precepts (C. Yuqie jie 瑜伽戒) and Brahmā's Net precepts (C. Fanwang jie 梵網戒); the former is the precepts described in such Yogācāra texts as the *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經, the *Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經, and the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, and the latter in the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net.* It appears that when the Yogācāra precepts were introduced in a more systematic form than before along with Xuanzang's translation of the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, the matter of how to define the relation between the Brahmā's Net precepts and the Yogācāra precepts raised as an issue, because the Yogācāra precepts consists of both śrāvaka precepts (C. *shengwen jie* 聲聞戒; i.e., the Small Vehicle precepts) and bodhisattva precepts, while the Brahmā's Net precepts consists only of bodhisattva precepts.[26] The commentaries on the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* composed up until Taehyŏn's time address this issue implicitly and explicitly,[27]

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[25] See Introduction, n. 2. Previous exegetes' commentaries on the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* include Zhiyi's *Pusajie yishu* 菩薩戒義疏, Wŏnhyo's *Pŏmmanggyŏng posal kyebon sagi* 梵網經菩薩戒本私記, Ŭijŏk's (ca. 7th to 8th century) *Posal kyebon so* 菩薩戒本疏, Sŭngjang's 勝莊(ca. 6th to 7th century) *Pŏmmanggyŏng sulgi* 梵網經述記, Fazang' *Fanwangjing pusa jieben shu* 梵網經菩薩戒本疏. All of them wrote the commentary only on the first of the two fascicles of the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*, but Taehyŏn composed a full commentary on both fascicles. Probably this is a part of the reason why Taehyŏn's *Pŏmmanggi* was extensively circulated in medieval East Asia, especially Japan.

[26] Ch'oe Wŏnsik 최원식, *Silla Posalgye sasangsa yŏn'gu* 新羅菩薩戒思想史研究 (Seoul: Minjoksa 민족사, 1999). 116-17.

[27] The extant commentaries to the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* show difference in their usage of the references; they show variations in the matter of which references they rely on or how many times they quote, etc. For instance, Sŭngjang cites the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* in explaning almost every each case of the disciplines, while Wŏnhyo cites it only two times. I will discuss about this more soon below.

and Taehyŏn was one of them. The *Pŏmmanggi* may be seen in this respect as Taehyŏn's understanding of the relationship between the Yogācāra precepts and the Brahmā's Net precepts, namely, the relationship between the Three Vehicles and the One Vehicle in terms of Buddhist disciplines.[28]

As in the *Yakt'amgi*, Taehyŏn refers to previous exegetes' commentaries in the *Pŏmmanggi*. It appears thus that Taehyŏn's position in the *Pŏmmanggi* may be interpreted by analyzing which exegete's commentary he chooses to cite and how he describes their views. Since Taehyŏn cites Fazang (9) and Ŭijŏk (5) most in the *Pŏmmanggi* besides his extensive citation of Buddhist scriptures and treatises, such as the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* (69), the *Dazhi du lun* 大智度論 (18), the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (16),[29] I will discuss Taehyŏn's view mostly in comparison to these two exegetes' perspectives.

The commentators on the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* show distinct positions in the matter of how to relate the Yogācāra precepts of the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* to the Mahāyāna precepts of the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*. Taehyŏn not only broadly cites the Yogācāra precepts in explaining the Brahmā's Net precepts, but also describes the śrāvaka precepts and the bodhisattva precepts as independent disciplines respectively aimed for *śrāvakas* and bodhisattvas. In the section of

[28] It is recorded that Taehyŏn also wrote the *Yuga kyebon chongyo* 瑜伽戒本宗要, a work on the Yogācāra precepts, but it is not extant; see Tongguk Taehakkyo Pulgyo Munhwa Yŏn'guso, ed. *Han'guk Pulgyo ch'ansul munhŏn ch'ongnok* 韓國佛教撰述文獻總錄: 76.

[29] For the list of Taehyŏn's citation and its numbers, see Ch'oe Wŏnsik 최원식, "T'aehyŏn ŭi posalgye ihae wa hyŏnsil munje insik" 太賢의 菩薩戒 이해와 現實問題 인식, *Kasan hakpo* 가산학보 2 (1993): 107-09. Ch'oe Wŏnsik says that Taehyŏn also cites some exegetes without mentioning their name and many of them come from Fazang's and Ŭijŏk's commentaries (ibid., 115.) Besides, Taehyŏn cites Wŏnhyo only once, and also cites "Master" (K. *hwasang* 和上) three times. Scholars have generally presumed the "Master" as Tojŭng, in accordance with the scholarly trend so far to connect Taehyŏn to Wŏnch'ŭk's Yogācāra line; but Moro Shigeki suggests a possibility that the "Master" refers to Kyŏnghŭng based on the similarity between the "Master's" statement cited by Taehyŏn, which is in turn quoted in Zōshun's 藏俊 (1104-1180) *Inmyō daishoshō* 因明大疏抄, and Kyŏnghŭng's statement quoted in Zenju's *Inmyō ronsho myōtōshō* 因明論疏明燈鈔 (Moro, "Hyŏnjang ŭi Yusik piryang kwa Silla Pulgyo: Ilbon ŭi munhŏn ŭl chungsim ŭro" 현장(玄奘)의 유식비량(唯識比量)과 신라불교 – 일본의 문헌을 중심으로, 266.).

"Encouragement of Faith" (K. *kwŏnsin* 勸信), for instance, Taehyŏn explains distinct aspects between the śrāvaka and bodhisattva precepts side by side in terms of three categories, i.e., "Receipt [of Precepts]" (K. *sudŭkmun* 受得門), "Upholding [of Precepts]" (K. *hojimun* 護持門), "Violation [of Precepts]" (K. *pŏmsilmun* 犯失門).[30] The way in which Taehyŏn describes the distinction between the two precepts does not show any emphasis on or reduction to either of them; it seems that he just provides both precepts with equal soteriological significance as independent systems of disciplines.

Taehyŏn's balanced perspective on the śrāvaka and bodhisattva precepts is also reflected in the fact that Taehyŏn relies on Ŭijŏk, not Sŭngjang 勝莊 (ca. 6th to 7th century).[31] Ŭijŏk and Sŭngjang, just like Taehyŏn, are both New Yogācāra exegetes and significantly quote the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* in their commentaries on the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*,[32] but their viewpoints on the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* are distinct from each other. Ŭijŏk's view in his *Posal kyebon so* 菩薩戒本疏 appears to have a similarity to Taehyŏn's in that Ŭijŏk also describes the bodhisattva and śrāvaka precepts as two independent systems of disciplines, not reducing or subordinating one to the other. In one passage Ŭijŏk explains whether or not each of the

[30] 梵網經古迹記 HPC3.443c16-445b09. A similar description to this part also appears in Taehyŏn's *Posal kyebon chong'yo* (菩薩戒本宗要 HPC3.479c03-480c05) and Taehyŏn himself refers to the *Posal kyebon chong'yo* at the end of this part (廣引教理 如宗要釋 且止傍論 (梵網經古迹記 HPC3.445b08-09)). Given that *Posal kyebon chong'yo* (" Doctrinal Essentials of the Bodhisattva's Code of Morality") had been composed by Taehyŏn as a brief summary of the essential doctrines of the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* before he wrote the *Pŏmmanggi*, we may say that such a paralleling relationship between the śrāvaka and bodhisattva precepts was one of the major points that Taehyŏn read from the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*. For the *Posal kyebon chong'yo*, see n. 6 above.

[31] Ch'oe Wŏnsik indicates that although Taehyŏn and Sŭngjang also both cites the *Dazhi du lun* many times (18 and 29 respectively) in their commentaries on the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*, there is no instance that they cite it on the same case of disciplines (see Ch'oe, "T'aehyŏn ŭi posalgye ihae wa hyŏnsil munje insik" 太賢의 菩薩戒 이해와 現實問題 인식, 110.).

[32] Ŭijŏk cites the *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra* fifty-eight times; Sŭngjang cites it in almost every case of the disciplines, amounting to over ninety times in total (see Ch'oe, *Silla Posalgye sasangsa yŏn'gu* 新羅菩薩戒思想史研究: 108; 164

Brahmā's Net Precepts applies to both the Mahāyāna and hīnayāna, or bodhisattvas and śrāvakas, and, furthe, he goes on to say that the Buddha had to present more than one way for the benefit of sentient beings with various spiritual abilities.[33]

On the contrary, Sŭngjang seeks to prove in the *Pŏmmanggyŏng sulgi* 梵網經述記 that the Brahmā's Net precepts is encompassed by the Yogācāra precepts; he repeatedly says that each case of the Brahmā's Net precepts is the same as or subsumed in an equivalent Yogācāra precept.[34] Sŭngjang's emphasis on the Yogācāra precepts may be also explained by his scholastic position that strictly relies on the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages; he confines the audience of the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* to the Bodhisattva Lineage (S. *bodhisattva-gotra*, C. *pusa zhongxing* 菩薩種性) and the Indeterminate Lineage (S. *aniyata-gotra*, C. *buding zhongxing* 不定種性) on the basis of the doctrine of the Five Distinct Lineages.[35] This implies that Sŭngjang regards the Brahmā's Net precepts, that is, the One Vehicle position, as targeted at particular audiences, just like Ji considered the One Vehicle position of the *Lotus Sūtra* as a provisional means aimed at particular audiences, the Intermediate Lineage. It seems then that the reason why Taehyŏn does not cite Sŭngjang is probably because of the doctrinal gap between Sŭngjang's Yogācāra position, which is more likely inclined to Ji's strict line of Yogācāra school,

[33] 問此經中既說十重。何故善生唯辨前六。菩薩地中唯說後四。答此經中通就七眾共所持。故具說十重。善生別約在家二眾。故唯前六判為重戒。酤酒說過於在家眾罪偏重故。故性重上增二為六。後四於俗過微輕。故於在家眾不制為重。准此後四於出家眾其過遍重。五六於道其過還輕。是故地持遍說後四。又十中前四大小俱重。第五第六道俗俱重。後之四事唯菩薩重。於聲聞中不制重。故唯出家重。於在家或不說重。故有二不共義。故地論遍說。又可佛鑒物機教非一途。當隨器學。不當須會。方等二十四戒當更勘之。體相粗爾 (菩薩戒本疏 T1814.40.660b21-c04).

[34] For the detailed explanation, see Ch'oe, *Silla Posalgye sasangsa yŏn'gu* 新羅菩薩戒思想史研究: 113-14.

[35] 第四 明教所被機 汎論教所被 有其五種 謂三乘定性及不定性 并第五無般涅槃性 此經但為菩薩及不定性 是故說此經 不為餘三 (梵網經述記 X686.38.394b01-13).

and his own perspective that views the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles as two independent teachings in a balanced way.[36]

What should be noted is that although Taehyŏn cites Fazang the most (9) in the *Pŏmmanggi*, Fazang, unlike Taehyŏn, rarely refers to the Yogācāra precepts in his *Fanwangjing pusa jieben shu* 梵網經菩薩戒本疏.[37] How can we then explain that Taehyŏn cites Fazang the most? One possible answer to this question may be found in Taehyŏn's balanced perspective on the Yogācāra precepts and the Brahmā's Net precepts. I have discussed that in the *Yakt'amgi* Taehyŏn adopts Fazang's five-level taxonomy based on the separation between the levels of teaching because this taxonomy fits Taehyŏn's balanced perspective. The same way of interpretation appears to be applicable in the *Pŏmmanggi*. As mentioned above, Taehyŏn considers the Yogācāra precepts and the Brahmā's Net precepts as two independent precepts for their own audiences. Indeed, Fazang strictly separates the Yogācāra precepts from the Brahmā's Net precepts, while attributing them respectively to "Provisional Teaching" (C. *quanjiao* 權教) and "Real Teaching" (C. *shijiao* 實教).[38] These two levels of teaching are described as

[36] Sŭngjang's view here resonates with Ji's perspective on the *Lotus Sūtra* as a scripture aimed at particular group of audience, that is, the Intermediate Lineage (see Chapter III, n. 118).Yoshizu Yoshihide also mentions that Sengjang's attitude in the *Pŏmmanggyŏng sulgi* is centered on the Yogācāra precepts (Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英, "Hōzō no Bonmōkyō bosatsu kaihon sho ni tsuite" 法蔵の『梵網経菩薩戒本疏』について, in *Chūgoku no Bukkyō to bunka: Kamata Shigeo Hakushi kanreki kinen ronshū* 中国の仏教と文化：鎌田茂雄博士還暦記念論集, ed. Kamata Shigeo Hakushi Kanreki Kinen Ronshū Kankōkai 鎌田茂雄博士還暦記念論集刊行会 (Tōkyō: Daizō Shuppan 大蔵出版, 1988)).

[37] Fazang cites the *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra* only five times in his *Fanwangjing pusa jieben shu*; the Brahmā's Net precepts consists of the "Ten Major Precepts" (C. *shi zhongjie* 十重戒) and the "Forty-Eight Minor Precepts" (C. *sishiba qingjie* 四十八輕戒) and Fazang cites it once in each of the first to fourth cases of the Major Precepts and once in the fifth case of the Minor Precepts (ibid., 277). In comparison to Taehyŏn or Ŭijŏk's citation numbers, Fazang's citation is obviously very few.

[38] See ibid., 278. Fazang describes the classification of the Provisional Teaching and the Real Teaching in the *Yiji*; 第四教所被機。說有二重。一約權教。即五種姓中。菩薩種姓及不定性。是此所為。餘三非此。以無分故。如瑜伽等說。二約實教。一切眾生皆此所為。以無不皆當得菩提故 (大乘起信論義記 T1846.44.243c09-13).

fundamentally distinct from each other in Fazang's hierarchical taxonomy. It seems that Taehyŏn and Fazang's shared position that the two types of precepts are independent teachings for particular groups or objects enables Taehyŏn to rely on Fazang in the *Pŏmmanggi*, just as does he in the *Yakt'amgi*.

However, there is a fundamental distinction between Taehyŏn's and Fazang's perspectives on the relationship between the Yogācāra and Brahmā's Net precepts. Just as in their interpretations of the levels of teaching in the commentaries of the *AMF*, Taehyŏn regards these two independent types of precepts as coexisting or harmonious, whereas Fazang considers them in hierarchical order and thus exclusive to each other. I have discussed in the last chapter that because of this difference perspective on the relationship between the teachings, Taehyŏn adopted Wŏnhyo's harmonious interpretation of the relationship between the *AMF* and the Yogācāra, instead of Fazang's exclusive interpretation focusing only on the *AMF*; in the similar way, in the *Pŏmmanggi* Taehyŏn explains the Yogācāra and Brahmā's Net precepts as independently coexisting in accordance with Ŭijŏk's view, not following Fazang who rarely relies on the Yogācāra precepts.[39]

I would like to add here a comment on Taehyŏn's position toward Wŏnhyo, because, although Taehyŏn quotes him only once in the *Pŏmmanggi*, I believe that the reason why Taehyŏn does not quote Wŏnhyo's commentary much is worth considering. The main reason

[39] The same way of Taehyŏn's and Fazang's distinct perspectives appears in their interpretations of the relationship between the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* and the *Avataṃsakasūtra*. Fazang separates the teaching of the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* from that of the *Avataṃsakasūtra*, and he rarely cites the *Avataṃsakasūtra* (2) from his hierarchical view on the two *sūtras* (see ibid., 272). Although Taehyŏn presumably regards the two *sūtra*s as independent teachings just like Fazang, he uses the *Avataṃsakasūtra* quite many times (8) in commenting on the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*, implying that Taehyŏn regards the two sutras as coexisting. The reason why Taehyŏn does not cite the *Avataṃsakasūtra* as many times as the *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra* would be that Taehyŏn's main goal through the *Pŏmmanggi* probably lies in the clarification of the relationship between the Yogācāra precepts and the Brahmā's Net precepts, not between the *Avataṃsakasūtra* and the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*.

why Taehyŏn hardly consults Wŏnhyo in the *Pŏmmanggi* appears to lie on their difference in perspective on the relationship between the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles.[40] Wŏnhyo represents his One Vehicle-centered view in the *Pŏmmanggyŏng posal kyebon sagi* by citing a whole range of scriptures and treatises, not focusing on (a) particular text(s).[41] I have discussed that Wŏnhyo considers the One Mind, that is, the One Vehicle teaching,[42] as the ultimate harmonious state of reality that encompasses all dharmas.[43] Indeed Wŏnhyo identifies the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* as the One Vehicle teaching in his taxonomy, along with the *Avataṃsakasūtra*.[44] Wŏnhyo's wide inclusion of the scriptures and treatises in his *Pŏmmanggyŏng posal kyebon sagi*

[40] Taehyŏn even refutes Wŏnhyo's One Vehicle-centered view in the *Pŏmmanggi*. To a question of why the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經 states that the Bodhisattva precepts are only received, not discarded (故知菩薩戒有受法而無捨法。有犯不失盡未來際 (菩薩瓔珞本業經 T1485:24.1021b07-08)), Taehyŏn introduces several exegetes' views, including Wŏnhyo's. According to Taehyŏn, Wŏnhyo says, "it is because in the Three Vehicles one may violate [the precepts] even after raising the mind [to aspire to attain the enlightenment]; if one listen to the One Vehicle teaching, s/he never falls back," but Taehyŏn refutes it by saying that "it is not acceptable when depending on the "New Teaching" (新敎宗) (問犯重失戒 何故本業經云 菩薩戒有受法而無捨法 乃至廣明 答此有多釋 元曉師云 若於三乘敎發心卽有失 若聞一乘敎 永無退失故 然新敎宗 難可依定 (梵網經古迹記 HPC3.458a01-06)). It is not clear here what the New Teaching exactly refers to, but if it means the New Yogācāra teaching newly brought by Xuanzang, then we may say that Taehyŏn at least does not dismiss the Three Vehicle teaching.

[41] Since only the first among two fascicles of the *Pŏmmanggyŏng posal kyebon sagi* is extant, this is not definite. But even only the first fascicle is probably enough for determining Wŏnhyo's tendency of citation. Wŏnhyo cites the *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra* only two times, and cites the *Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經, a partial translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra*, six times; the *Avataṃsakasūtra* five times; etc.. For a detailed list of the works cited by Wŏnhyo and the number of the citation, see Ch'oe Wŏnsik 최원식, "Wŏnhyo ŭi posalgye insik kyŏnghyang kwa kŭ t'ŭksŏng" 원효의 보살계 (菩薩戒) 인식경향과 그 특성, *Tongguk sahak* 동국사학 28 (1994): 7-8.

[42] See n. 9 above.

[43] See Chapter IV, n. 45.

[44] Wŏnhyo's doctrinal taxonomy is cited by Fazang in the *Huayanjing tanxianji*. According to this passage, Wŏnhyo presents four types of teachings: (1) "Specific Teaching of Three Vehicles" (K. *samsŭng pyŏlgyo* 三乘別教), which includes the teaching of the Four Truths (S. *catur-ārya-satya*, K. *saje* 四諦) and Dependent Origination (S. *pratītya-samutpāda*, K. *yŏn'gi* 緣起), (2)"Common Teaching of Three Vehicles" (K. *samsŭng t'onggyo* 三乘通教), such as the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and the *Saṃdhinirmocana sūtra*, (3) "Partial Teaching of One Vehicle" (K. *ilsŭng pun'gyo* 一乘分教), such as the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* and the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*, (4) "Complete Teaching of One Vehicle" (K. *ilsŭng man'gyo* 一乘滿教), such as the *Avataṃsakasūtra*. For extensive discussion on Wŏnhyo's doctrinal taxonomy, see Nam Tongsin 남동신, "Wŏnhyo ŭi kyop'allon kwa kŭ Pulgyosa chŏk wich'i" 원효의 교판론과 그 불교사적 위치, *Han'guk saron* 한국사론 20 (1988).

is probably explained by his view of the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*, as the One Vehicle teaching, which encompasses various levels of teaching. Although Wŏnhyo explains the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* as coexisting with all other levels of teachings as represented in his extensive citing of references, his One Vehicle-centered perspective does not seem to gain a sympathy from Taehyŏn, who regards the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles as equal independent teachings for sentient beings with various capacities.

(2) Binary Perspective on the Buddha Nature II: Universal Buddha Nature as the Cause

I have discussed above that Taehyŏn's notion of the *tathāgatagarbha* in the *Yakt'amgi* shows binary features on the basis of Taehyŏn's distinction of the Original Awakening from the Nature of Realization in much the same way as Wŏnhyo does. In this section, I will discuss that Taehyŏn's perspective on the Buddha Nature represented in the *Pŏmmanggi* also shows the binary feature.

The *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* is generally classified as a scripture of the One Vehicle teaching,[45] and in many places of the *Pŏmmanggi* Taehyŏn also makes comments in accordance with the One Vehicle stance. For instance, Taehyŏn says that since all sentient beings have the "Tathāgata nature " (K. *Yŏrae sŏng* 如來性), they have no fear even when hearing that their recurrent suffering is endless while they are flowing along in illusion.[46] In the same passage,

[45] Since the first fascicle of the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* contains the bodhisattva stages (forty stages) in a similar way to those of the *Avataṃsakasūtra*, the relationship between the two scriptures has been traditionally recognized. The *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, another scripture that teaches only the Bodhisattva Precepts, also explicates the bodhisattva stages (fifty-two stages) in a similar way. Both the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* and the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* are largely presumed by scholars as apocrypha composed around in the fifth to sixth century in China.

[46] 如是內有如來性故 聞諸有情同如來藏 妄念所飄苦輪無際 生死大海 誓爲舟楫 不畏其中所受大苦 (梵網經古迹記 HPC3.419b20-23).

Taehyŏn goes on to say that even though one is cut off from enlightenment for three great incalculable eons, whoever makes a promise and takes vows can reach the enlightenment without fail.[47] These statements apparently show that Taehyŏn accepts the notion of the universal *tathāgatagarbha* that is innate in all sentient beings.

However, there is a sentence that does not seem to accord entirely with Taehyŏn's statements cited above. In explaining the phrase "to denigrate the Three Jewels" (C. *sanbao* 三寶, S. *triratna*), Taehyŏn cites a sentence from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*: "if one say that all sentient beings definitely have the Buddha Nature, or definitely do not have the Buddha Nature, these are both denigrations of the Three Jewels of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṃgha."[48] Here, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* clearly says that the definite affirmation of the universal Buddha Nature is the denigration of the Three Jewels and thus this seems to contradict Taehyŏn's statement above that all sentient beings have the Tathāgata nature. How can we explain the coexistence of the two seemingly contradictory stances within the *Pŏmmanggi*?

There is a passage in the *Pŏmmanggi* that suggests Taehyŏn's perspective on the notion of Buddha Nature. Let us look first at the statement in the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*. The *sūtra* says that "Adamantine Jeweled Precepts" (C. *jingang baojie* 金剛寶戒) is the seed of the Buddha Nature, and that all sentient beings have the Buddha Nature [since] their consciousnesses and minds enter the precepts of the Buddha Nature and thereby they should constantly have the cause

[47] 發不可壞無礙意樂 謂大菩提 若可得法 我亦丈夫 三大阿僧企耶 雖絶 期之者 要可出之 無上正等菩提 雖遠 誓之者定有至也 (梵網經古迹記 HPC3.419b23-c03).

[48] 謗三寶說者 如涅槃經 若說衆生 定有佛性 定無佛性 皆爲謗佛法僧寶也(梵網經古迹記 HPC3.464a08-10); 善男子。若有說言一切眾生定有佛性定無佛性。是人亦名謗佛法僧 (大般涅槃經 T374:12.5801b04-16). This passage of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* is also cited by Ŭijŏk in the *Posal kyebon so*; 謗三寶說者。隨聲取義成五過等。如涅槃說也。若說眾生定有佛性定無佛性。皆謗佛法僧也 (菩薩戒本疏 T1814.40.676a01-03).

(C. *yin* 因) and therefore the constant Dharma Body.[49] In commenting on this passage, Taehyŏn says that the seed of the Buddha Nature refers to the real nature (K. *silsŏng* 實性) of the precepts,[50] and that it is on the basis of this real nature of the precepts (a.k.a., the seed of the Buddha Nature) that the *sūtra* discloses that all sentient beings have the Buddha Nature and can attain Buddhahood.[51] Taehyŏn states here that the *sūtra* states the all sentient beings have the Buddha Nature in terms of the universal seed of the Buddha Nature, or the cause of the enlightenment, not the Buddha Nature that exists in a definite form in all sentient beings. In the passage of the *sūtra*, as seen above, the universal Buddha Nature is indeed described in association with the universal seed of the Buddha Nature, that is, the precepts that any sentient beings can receive, and with the universal cause, which is also described as the universal Dharma Body. Taehyŏn also mentions the fruit of the Buddha Nature (K. *pulsŏng kwa* 佛性果) in distinction from the cause, by associating the cause with the Dharma Body and the fruit with the Reward Body and the Transformation Body.[52] All this evidence suggests that Taehyŏn considers the universal Buddha Nature in terms of the cause.

Taehyŏn's understanding of the universal Buddha Nature as the universal cause of the enlightenment now explains the seeming contradiction, mentioned above, between Taehyŏn's statement on the universal Tathāgata nature in all sentient beings and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra's* denial of the definite existence of the Buddha Nature. Since what Taehyŏn means by the universal

[49] 金剛寶戒是一切佛本源。一切菩薩本源。佛性種子。一切眾生皆有佛性。一切意識色心 是情是心 皆入佛性戒中。當當常有因故。有當當常住法身 (梵網經 T1484.24.1003c22-25).

[50] 佛性種子者 戒實性也 (梵網經古迹記 HPC3.443c03-04).

[51] 擧戒實性 表諸衆生皆有佛性 故得成佛也 (梵網經古迹記 HPC3.443c13-15).

[52] 意謂末那 識卽六識 心謂第八 色卽五根 凡有如是情及心者 皆入佛性 當得作佛 所以者何 當當常有因故 有當當常住法身 三菩提因 重言當當 其當果因 法爾有故 有當當報化 及常住法身 (梵網經古迹記 HPC3.443c04-09).

Buddha Nature is not the definitely existing Buddha Nature, but the universal cause that should produce the result, the two positions may be said not contradictory.

In addition, Taehyŏn asserts in another place that the Buddha Nature refers to the Dharma Body since it has the nature of the Essence (以體性故).[53] This recalls the fact that in the *Yakt'amgi* Taehyŏn distinguishes the Dharma Body or the Original Awakening from the Nature of Realization, which attributing them respectively to the Essence of the Self Marks and the Self Marks. I have discussed before that Taehyŏn's distinction between the Essence of the Self Marks and the Self Marks exactly parallels Wŏnhyo's binary perspective on the Naturally Pure Original Awakening both as the universal Buddha Nature and as the *tathāgatagarbha* as a potential enlightenment. Since here in the passage Taehyŏn associates the Dharma Body to the Essence, we may say that Taehyŏn's concept of the Dharma Body, or the universal Buddha Nature, corresponds to one of the two aspects in the binary feature of the Buddha Nature. In other words, Taehyŏn's notion of the universal Buddha Nature in the *Pŏmmanggi* implies that, just like Wŏnhyo, he has a binary perspective on the Buddha Nature.

4. Taehyŏn's Response to the Emptiness-Existence Controversy Represented in the *Sŏng yusik non hakki*

(1) Taehyŏn's Position on the Emptiness-Existence Controversy and Its Significance

In the *Yakt'amgi* and the *Pŏmmanggi* Taehyŏn's focus largely lies on the balanced relationship between the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles. In the *Hakki*, however, Taehyŏn emphasizes the relationship between two Three Vehicle schools, that is, the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra

[53] 言佛性者 謂法身也 以體性故 (梵網經古迹記 HPC3.458a12-13).

schools. He starts the first section of the *Hakki*, the section of "Disclosing Tenets" (K. *hyŏnjong* 顯宗), in describing his position on the Emptiness-Existence controversy. In this section Taehyŏn describes contemporary exegetes' three different views on whether or not the controversy virtually occurred, while aligning himself with the third view that, although the words are disputed between Dharmapāla's and Bhāvaviveka's schools, their intents are the same.[54] In contrast to Ji, who attempts to criticize Bhāvaviveka through the *Cheng weishi lun*,[55] Taehyŏn attempts to reconcile the positions of Dharmapāla and Bhāvaviveka through the very same text.

Before discussing what doctrines and reasoning Taehyŏn adopts for his argument that Dharmapāla and Bhāvaviveka have the same tenets, it would be worth considering why Taehyŏn, unlike Wŏnhyo and Fazang, uses the *Cheng weishi lun* in resolve the Emptiness-Existence controversy. Wŏnhyo and Fazang, as discussed in Chapter IV, note the *AMF* in their attempt to solve the controversy. Although there is a distinction between their perspectives, they both, as One Vehicle exegetes, present the One Vehicle teaching of the *AMF* as a solution to the controversy between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra. Wŏnhyo explains the One Vehicle teaching of the *AMF* as embracing the Three Vehicle teachings of the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra, while Fazang attempts to resolve the conflict between the two schools by interpreting the *AMF* as a superior level of teaching that transcends the controversy. Taehyŏn's purpose in composing the *Yakt'amgi*, however, appears to be to clarify the balanced relationship between the Advanced Teaching, the *AMF*, and the Elementary Teaching, especially the Yogācāra, not to

[54] The first view is that there was a debate between Dharmapāla's and Bhāvaviveka's schools by regarding their positions are contradictory to each other; the second that there was never a debate between them, by not seeing any discrepancy between their doctrinal views; [1] 有說此二實有諍論 如佛地論 … [2] 有說 二師都無諍論 … [3] 有說 此二語諍意同 (成唯識論學記 HPC3.483b14-484a06). After describing the third view, Taehyŏn says "because of this right principle" (由此正理), and thus we see that Taehyŏn agrees with the third view.

[55] See Chapter III, 3, (3).

compromise the controversy between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra. In Taehyŏn's system, since the Elementary and the Advanced Teachings are independent, equal levels of the Teaching, the conflict between the Elementary Teachings cannot be resolved by subsuming them into the Advanced Teaching, as Wŏnhyo had done. Since the Elementary and the Advanced Teachings coexist in harmonic way, the tension between the Elementary Teachings cannot be settled by interpreting the Advanced Teaching as a superior teaching that transcends the Elementary teachings, as Fazang had done. In other words, for Taehyŏn, the *AMF*, a One Vehicle text, was not an appropriate text to reconcile the conflict between the Three Vehicle schools.

The reason why the *AMF* is not an appropriate text for Taehyŏn's purpose of reconciling the disputes between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra, as discussed above, also explains why he adopts the *Cheng weishi lun* for this. In order to deal with the tension between the Elementary Teachings, Taehyŏn had to use a text belonging to the Elementary Teaching, such as the *Cheng weishi lun*, not a text of the Advanced Teaching or else. Further, in Taehyŏn's time, the *Cheng weishi lun* had been regarded as containing criticism directed at Bhāvaviveka presumably on the basis of Ji's interpretation in the *Cheng weishi lun shuji* and accordingly recognized as a work to represent the Emptiness-Existence controversy.[56] In this respect, it is conceivable that Taehyŏn, who regards the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra as Elementary Teachings independent from the Advanced Teaching, decided to reinterpret the *Cheng weishi lun* to solve the controversy. It is probably for this reason that Taehyŏn rarely cites Wŏnhyo and Fazang in the *Hakki*,[57] although they all have the same purpose of compromising the dispute between the Madhyamaka and

[56] Ibid.

[57] In the *Hakki*, Wŏnhyo is cited five times (成唯識論學記 HPC3.484a17; 535a22; 551a23; 626c09; 679c09), and three of them are cited from the *P'an piryang non* 判比量論, an essay on Buddhist formal logic. In two of the cases, Taehyŏn criticizes Wŏnhyo's view. There is no citation of Fazang in the *Hakki*.

Yogācāra. For Taehyŏn, who seeks to resolve the controversy at the independent level of the Three Vehicles, Wŏnhyo and Fazang's perspective, which is centered on the One Vehicle, probably was not agreeable.

Now let me discuss Taehyŏn's view that Dharmapāla and Bhāvaviveka have the same tenets although the words they use are in dispute. I have discussed that the controversy between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra is based on the idea that while Bhāvaviveka takes the position that all Three Natures (C. *sanxing* 三性, S. *tri-svabhāva*) are rejected from the perspective of the Emptiness, Dharmapāla maintains that only the Imaginary Nature (C. *bianji suozhi xing* 遍計所執性, S. *parikalpita-svabhāva*) is rejected from the perspective of the Middle Way.[58] According to Taehyŏn, these two seemingly contradictory claims in fact describe different aspects of the same teaching, and each of the claims is based on the other.[59] Dharmapāla negates, Taehyŏn says, Emptiness and Existence as Imaginary objects, but he teaches the "Sublime Existence" (K. *myoyu* 妙有) of the Dependent Nature (C. *yita ji xing* 依他起性, S. *paratantra-svabhāva*,) and the Consummate Nature (C. *yuancheng shixing* 圓成實性, S. *pariniṣpanna-svabhāva*,) because Emptiness doe not mean complete non-existence; on the contrary, Bhāvaviveka dismisses all non-existence from the standpoint of conventional existence (K. *sesok yu* 世俗有), but distinguishes all true non-existence from them because the conventional is also non-existence, thereby teaching the "Sublime Non-existence" (K. *myomu* 妙無) of the Dependent

[58] See Chapter III, 3, (3).

[59] 有說 此二語諍意同 如諍 浮圖下麤上細 必由許他 自始成故 (成唯識論學記 HPC3.484a06-07); Taehyŏn here takes a simile of those who are involved in a dispute over a *stūpa*; some claims that the *stūpa* is coarse by seeing only its lower part, whereas the others argue that it is delicate by seeing only its upper part. However, Taehyŏn says, it is only by depending on the opponent's view that each group establish its own position.

Nature and the Consummate Nature.[60] For Taehyŏn, Dharmapāla and Bhāvaviveka, although using the two concepts with opposite senses, that is, Existence and Emptiness, deliver a single teaching with identical significance.

In this context, Taehyŏn also argues that Bhāvaviveka's concept of Emptiness refers to Emptiness on the level of Ultimate Level of Reality (C. *shengyi di* 勝義諦, S. *paramārtha-satya*), not the non-existence on the conventional level that Dharmapāla dismisses as an Imaginary object. I have mentioned that the *Cheng weishi lun* criticizes those who take the Mahāyāna teaching of emptiness of no characteristics as being the ultimate (有執大乘遣相空理為究竟者) and that Ji identifies such a position as Bhāvaviveka's.[61] In commenting on this passage, Taehyŏn argues that Bhāvaviveka's verse in the *Zhangzhen lun*, one of the polemic issues of the Emptiness-Existence controversy,[62] is based on the standpoint of Ultimate Level, by refuting Wŏnch'ŭk's view that Bhāvaviveka's verse has a logical fallacy.[63] In other words, Taehyŏn takes the position that Dharmapāla's criticism of those who take the Mahāyāna teaching of emptiness

[60] 護法宗 必擧所執 無表離四句 空有等性 皆所執故 二性妙有 不全無故 由此說言 二空非眞 空謂一邊 亦不空有 路絶 名眞如故 淸辨菩薩擧世俗有 離諸無 簡諸眞無 俗亦無故 二性妙無 無所得故 若唯遣有 便可得無 亦遣無故 言無所得 無所得者 (成唯識論學記 HPC3.484a08-15).

[61] See Chapter III, n. 69.

[62] See Chapter II, 3, (1). For Bhāvaviveka's verse, see Chapter III, n. 49.

[63] According to Taehyŏn's quotation, Wŏnch'ŭk says that (1) if Bhāvaviveka's concept of Emptiness is said at the level of Ultimate Reality, it has the "fallacy derived from the full agreement in both sides" (K. *sangbu kŭksŏng kwa* 相符極成過, S. *prasiddha-saṃbandha*); (2) if it is said at the Conventional level, then it is contradictory against the noble teachings by Buddhas. Taehyŏn's refutation of Wŏnch'ŭk's view may be paraphrased as follows: (1) If the verse has the fallacy derived from the full agreement in both sides, it implies that both sides accept that it is true at the Ultimate level. Then the *Cheng weishi lun*'s criticism of the nihilistic negation (撥無) of all dharmas would not be targeted at Bhāvaviveka's concept of Emptiness, and, in turn, it turns out that the fallacy cannot be applicable to the verse. (2) What Dharmapāla says does not accord with the noble teachings of Buddhas in the passage of the *Cheng weishi lun* does not refer to Bhāvaviveka's concept of Emptiness, but some other doctrinal point; 又言撥無一切法者 如掌珍頌 眞性有爲空 如幻緣生故 無爲無有實 不起似空華 測云 若勝義空有相符過 若世俗空 聖敎相違 故論總與 聖敎相違 言持違害 前所引經 第三時敎 皆有第八 依他等故 (此同前過 若言相符 汝已撥無 旣非撥無 非立已成 然今護法總與聖敎相違過者 由經所染淨因果非但俗有眞 亦非無 彼若眞無 俗亦必無 如兎角故 持違經也) (成唯識論學記 HPC3.557c15-22).

of no characteristics as the ultimate is not applicable to Bhāvaviveka, because Bhāvaviveka describes the concept of Emptiness from the standpoint of Ultimate Level of Reality.

Taehyŏn's view that Dharmapāla and Bhāvaviveka have the same tenet although they describe it in different words resonates with his position in the *Yakt'amgi* and the *Pŏmmanggi*. As discussed before, Taehyŏn provides independent significance to different levels of teaching; in the *Yakt'amgi* he interprets the Advanced Teaching and the Elementary Teachings as independent levels of teaching for particular audiences of their own, and in the *Pŏmmanggi* he explains the Yogācāra precepts and Brahmā's Net precepts as having independent significance for their own audiences, i.e., śrāvakas and bodhisattvas. In the same vein, Taehyŏn's view in the *Hakki* that the two exegetes describes the different aspects of the same teaching with their own words shows his balanced perspective that provides the different levels teaching with independent significance.

(2) Binary Perspective on the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds: Coexistence of the Doctrines of Five Distinct Lineages and the Universal Gotra

In the above sections, I have examined Taehyŏn's perspective on the concept of Buddha Nature, or *tathāgatagarbha*, represented in his commentaries on such One Vehicle texts as the *AMF* and the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*. In this section, I will discuss Taehyŏn's distinctive Yogācāra position by analyzing how he understands the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages through the *Hakki*, his commentary on the Three Vehicle text, that is, the *Cheng weishi lun*. In the traditional bifurcation of the Yogācāra and the Tathāgatagarbha, the *tathāgatagarbha* theory and the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages are regarded as antagonistic to each other. It thus appears

critical in the task of understanding Taehyŏn's thought to analyze how or in what way Taehyŏn treats the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages along with the Buddha Nature theory.

In the *Hakki*, Taehyŏn accepts the teaching of Five Distinct Lineages without opposition in accordance with the *Cheng weishi lun* and several other canonical texts that discuss the doctrine. For instance, along with the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, which the *Cheng weishi lun* quotes as canonical evidence for the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages, Taehyŏn additionally cites the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, the *Fo shuo wushangyi jing* 佛說無上依經 (**Anuttarâśraya-sūtra*), the *Sūtrālaṃkāraśāstra*, *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*[64] in support of this teaching. Additionally, Taehyŏn mentions other concepts related to the doctrine, such as "Sentient Beings who are Devoid of the Nature" (K. *musŏng in*/*musŏng yujŏng* 無性人/無性有情),[65] Bodhisattva Lineage (K. *posal chongsŏng* 菩薩種性),[66] or "[Those] Proceeding to Quiescence" (K. *ch'wijŏk* 趣寂), viz., the *Śrāvaka* and *Pratyakabuddha* Lineages.[67] We thus see that Taehyŏn's discussion in the *Hakki* is based on the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages.

The doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages is explained in the *Cheng weishi lun* as based on whether or not one has the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds (C. *benyou wulou zhongzi* 本有無漏種子), a concept that is also said to correspond to the Inherent Gotra (C. *benxingzhu*

[64] 瑜伽論等立五種姓 (楞伽第二 無上依經上卷 大莊嚴論第一 大般若五 百九十三 雜有五性亦爾) (成唯識論學記 HPC3.526c24-527a02).

[65] 成唯識論學記 HPC3.530a24-b01; 532b21-c02; 532c18.

[66] 成唯識論學記 HPC3.673a06.

[67] 成唯識論學記 HPC3.552a07.

zhongxing 本性住種姓)[68]; the *Cheng weishi lun* states that whether or not these seeds exist in sentient beings determines whether or not they can eliminate the hindrances (C. *zhang* 障, S. *āvaraṇa*), and this in turn determines the kind of the Lineages to which they belong.[69] The Innate Uncontaminated Seeds may be said to correspond to the notion of Buddha Nature or Paramārtha's concept of Nature of Realization,[70] in that they all have the connotation of sentient beings' capability for enlightenment. However, as I have mentioned before,[71] while the concepts of Buddha Nature or Nature of Realization means a universal capability for enlightenment in all sentient beings, the Yogācāra concept of the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds is explained as a discriminative ability that only some of them possess.

In the *Hakki*, an assertion of Taehyŏn appears to be contradictory to the *Cheng weishi lun*'s discriminative feature of the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds, or the Inherent Gotra. Taehyŏn says that as for [Those] Proceeding to Quiescence, i.e., the *Śrāvaka*s and *Pratyekabuddha*s, and Ordinary People (K. *pŏm* 凡) [who are devoid of the Nature], some do not listen [to the Dharma], while others do; although they equally have the Gotra (K. *sŏng* 性), they do not listen if [their capacity (K. *kŭn* 根)] has not yet ripened (K. *misuk* 未熟); when their capacity has ripened, they can intently listen.[72] Taehyŏn implies here that what determines the Lineages are not whether or

[68] I have discussed that in the *Cheng weishi lun* the two types of Gotra, the Inherent Gotra and the Developed Gotra, are explained as equivalent respectively to the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds and the Newly Permeated Seeds. See Chapter II, 2, (6).

[69] See Chapter III, n. 73.

[70] I have discussed the similarity between the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds and the Nature of Realization in Chapter II, 2, (6).

[71] See Chapter II, 2, (3) and Chapter III, 3, (3).

[72] 若趣寂凡有聞不聞 即同有性 未熟不聞 如根熟己 亦可宜聞 彼亦練根應有聞故 (成唯識論學記 HPC3.552a17-18).

not the Gotra exists, but whether or not the capacity of those in that Gotra has ripened. The existence of the Gotra is not the factor that determines the kind of the Lineages, because according to Taehyŏn it is possessed equally by the *Śrāvaka*s and *Pratyekabuddha*s and Ordinary People. This Gotra must refer to the Inherent Gotra, or the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds, in the context of the *Cheng weishi lun*, and thus it seems that Taehyŏn's statement conflicts the typical Yogācāra view that the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds are originally divided into five types, thereby determining the different types of Lineage.

Ji, in his commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Fahua xuanzan*, makes an assertion that recalls this statement of Taehyŏn.[73] In discussing the *Śrāvaka*s' attainment of Buddhahood, Ji says that the determined Lineage of *Śrāvaka*s do not receive prediction [of the future enlightenment] (C. *shouji* 授記) from the Buddha because their spiritual capacity never ripens (C. *gen bushou* 根不熟) due to their lack of the Mahāyāna Nature (C. *Dasheng xing* 大乘姓).[74] Ji's denial of the possibility that the *Śrāvaka*s' capacity becomes ripe in the future makes a stark contrast to Taehyŏn's view. Furthermore, although Ji quotes Vasubandhu's **Saddharmapuṇḍarīkōpadeśa* (C. *Miaofa lianhua jing youbotishe* 妙法蓮華經憂波提舍) that says that the determined Lineage of the *Śrāvaka*s does not receive the Buddha's assurance because their capacity has not ripened (根未熟),[75] later he asserts that the capacity of the

[73] For the detailed discussion of Ji's interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra* in his *Xuanzan*, see Suguro, "Kiki no Hokegensan ni okeru Hokekyō kaishaku" 窺基の法華玄賛における法華経解釈.

[74] 其趣寂者。既無大乘姓。何得論其熟與不熟。應言趣寂由無大姓。根不熟故佛不與記 (法蓮華經玄贊 T1723:34.653a04-06).

[75] 法華論云 此中唯為二聲聞記。謂退心・應化。其趣寂者 及增上慢。佛不與記 根未熟故。菩薩與記 (法蓮華經玄贊 T1723:34.652c24-27)

*Śrāvaka*s never ripens (C. *bijing bushou* 畢竟不熟) by interpreting the Chinese character *wei* 未 (lit. "have not yet") of the **Saddharmapuṇḍarīkōpadeśa* as *bu* 不 (lit. "not" or "never").[76] Ji's definite statement that the determined Lineage of the *Śrāvaka* will never have their capacity ripen may also be associated with his strict adherence to the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages.[77] Confining the possibility for the capacity of the determined Lineage of the *Śrāvaka* to become ripe solidifies the discriminative feature of the Five Distinct Lineages. In this respect, Ji's perspective that views the Five Distinct Lineages as a fundamental feature of sentient beings makes a strong contrast with Taehyŏn's view that the Lineages are just a matter of the manifestation of the spiritual capacity.

Taehyŏn's acceptance of both the doctrine of Five Distinct Lineages and the universal Gotra also shows doctrinal similarities to the binary position that he takes in the *Yakt'amgi* and the *Pŏmmanggi*. Taehyŏn regards the basis for enlightenment as being universal by alluding to the identical Gotra that the determined Lineages and the Ordinary Beings [devoid of the Nature] have, and explains the difference of their Lineages as a matter of whether or not their capacity becomes ripe. This binary perspective resonates with his position in the *Yakt'amgi* and the *Pŏmmanggi*; In the *Yakt'amgi*, Taehyŏn distinguishes the Self Marks from its Essence from a perspective of a binary perspective, and in the *Pŏmmanggi*, he considers the universal Buddha Nature as the cause of the enlightenment, not the definite existence of the enlightenment.

; 聲聞有四種。一者決定聲聞。二者增上慢聲聞。三者退菩提心聲聞。四者應化聲聞。二種聲聞如來授記。謂應化者。退已還發菩提心者。若決定者增上慢者二種聲聞。根未熟故不與授記。菩薩與授記者。方便令發菩提心故 (妙法蓮華經憂波提舍 T1519:26.09a15-20).

[76] 論云聲聞有四。一決定。二增上慢。三退菩提心。四應化。如來與二授記。謂應化・退菩提心者。除決定・增上慢者根未熟故。如來不與記。菩薩與記。菩薩與記者方便令發心故。常不輕記是。此言未熟者增上慢者可爾。趣寂畢竟不熟云何言未熟。未者不也 (法蓮華經玄贊 T1723:34.742b02-08). Here the "treatise" refers to the *Fahua lun* 法華論, viz. the **Saddharmapuṇḍarīkōpadeśa*. For the original script, see n. 75 above.

[77] See Chapter III, 3, (3).

Taehyŏn's perspective that the difference in the Lineages is associated with the matter of the ripening of their capacity appears to parallel the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*'s stance. I have mentioned that the *Cheng weishi lun* states that the Five Distinct Lineages are determined by the five types of Uncontaminated Seeds.[78] One thing that should be noted is that the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, which the *Cheng weishi lun* cites in the passage as the canonical authority for this position, in fact does not state that the difference in spiritual lineages of sentient beings is determined by whether or not one has the Uncontaminated Seeds; it just states that they are determined by whether or not one has hindrances (S. *kleśa*, C. *zhang* 障).[79] The *Cheng weishi lun* says that the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* makes this statement because the Uncontaminated Seeds are subtle, hidden and thus incomprehensible.[80] More importantly, in this passage the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* mentions "Seeds that Take Thusness as their Object" (C. *zhenru suoyuanyuan zhongzi* 眞如所緣緣種子), the basis of the supramundane dharmas (C. *chu sijian fa* 出世間法), which is possessed by all sentient beings.[81] Since the Seeds that Take Thusness as

[78] See Chapter III, n. 73.

[79] In the passage, to the question of from which seeds the supramundane dharmas (C. *chu sijian fa* 出世間法) derive, it is answered that they are from the Seeds that Take Thusness as their Object, and to a subsequent question of how then the discrimination of the Lineages is established if all sentient beings have the Seeds that Take Thusness as their Object, it is answered that it is due to whether or not the hindrances (S. *kleśa*, C. *zhang* 障) exist (問若此習氣攝一切種子。復名遍行麁重者。諸出世間法從何種子生。若言麁重自性種子為種子生。不應道理。答諸出世間法從真如所緣緣種子生。非彼習氣積集種子所生。問若非習氣積集種子所生者。何因緣故建立三種般涅槃法種性差別補特伽羅。及建立不般涅槃法種性補特伽羅。所以者何。一切皆有真如所緣緣故。答由有障無障差別故 (瑜伽師地論 T1579:30.589a13-22)). This passage implies that the Seeds that Take Thusness as their Object are inherent in all sentient beings. Yoshimura also notes the different viewpoints on the Distinct Lineages between the two texts. See Yoshimura Makoto 吉村誠, "Yuishiki gakuha ni okeru shuji setsu no kaisetsu ni tsuite: shinnyo shoennen shuji kara muro shuji e" 唯識学派における種子説の解釈について : 真如所緣緣種子から無漏種子へ, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 55, no. 1 (2006): 87.

[80] 依障建立種姓別者 意顯無漏種子有無。謂若全無無漏種者彼二障種永不可害即立彼為非涅槃法。若唯有二乘無漏種者彼所知障種永不可害。一分立為聲聞種姓一分立為獨覺種姓。若亦有佛無漏種者彼二障種俱可永害。即立彼為如來種姓。故由無漏種子有無障有可斷不可斷義。然無漏種微隱難知故約彼障顯性差別。不爾彼障有何別因而有可害不可害者 (成唯識論 T1585:31.09a21-b01).

[81] See n. 79 above.

their Object appears to be generally regarded as equivalent to the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds in the New Yogācāra tradition,[82] the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*'s mention of the Seeds that Take Thusness as their Object as being universally inherent in all sentient beings works as a doctrinal basis to interpret the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds of the *Cheng weishi lun* as a universal ability innate in all sentient beings.[83]

Viewed from all these perspectives, just as Taehyŏn discusses the Buddha Nature in a binary way in dealing with such One Vehicle texts as the *AMF* and the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*, he also takes a binary view when he discusses the Gotra, or the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds, in treating such a Three Vehicle text as the *Cheng weishi lun*. In the binary view, Taehyŏn regards the Gotra, the basis for the enlightenment, as the universal nature of sentient beings, and he connects the state of ripeness to the difference of the Lineages from a gradual standpoint. In this way, in the *Hakki*, Taehyŏn sees the universal Gotra not as complete enlightenment, but as potential enlightenment, and thus he can explain the basis for the enlightenment in the sentient beings as being not only as universal but also particular.

5. Concluding Remarks

Taehyŏn's doctrinal position within the traditional bifurcation between the Dharma Nature school and the Dharma Characteristics school has been an controversial issue among scholars. The

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[82] For instance, Huizhao identifies the Seeds that Take Thusness as their Object as the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds. But Huizhao explains the doctrinal conflict between the universality of the Seeds that Take Thusness as their Object and the particularity of the Innate Uncontaminated Seeds by introducing the concept of "Seeds of Absolute Hindrances" (C. *bijingzhang zhongzi* 畢竟障種子). See Minowa Kenryō 蓑輪顯量, "Shinnyo shoennen shuji to hōni muro shuji" 真如所緣緣種子と法爾無漏種子, *Bukkyōgaku* 仏教学 (1991): 60-64.

[83] In the *Pŏmmanggi* Taehyŏn also refers to the Seeds that Take Thusness as their Object as "Seeds of Buddhist Way" (K. *Pulto chongja* 佛道種子) in a way that recalls the Seed of the Buddha Nature; 空理名爲佛道種子 如瑜伽云 眞如所緣緣種子故 (梵網經古迹記 HPC3.430a16-17).

incompatible structure of the bifurcation, however, has not provided a proper framework for understanding Taehyŏn's comprehensive thought, which contains both Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra doctrines. Given that Taehyŏn's binary perspective shows features parallel to those of Wŏnhyo, a Korean exegete who succeeds Paramārtha doctrinally, Taehyŏn's Yogācāra thought, along with Wŏnhyo and Paramārtha, should be regarded as belonging to another scholastic line of the Yogācāra tradition, which values both Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra. However, even within this middle-way Yogācāra scholastic line, Wŏnhyo and Taehyŏn represent two distinct variations. While Wŏnhyo's binary position is described through the One Vehicle teaching, which encompasses all other teachings, Taehyŏn's binary view is expressed from his balanced perspective on both the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles. Although Taehyŏn's extant works may not be sufficient to fully understand his thought, Taehyŏn's balanced perspective on the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles, as represented in the *Yakt'amgi*, the *Pŏmmanggi*, and the *Hakki*, is worthy of further research.

CONCLUSION

I began my dissertation as an attempt to explain Silla Yogācāra monk Taehyŏn's doctrinal position within the East Asian Buddhist tradition. This work led me to explore broader and fundamental issues associated with the traditional paradigm of the East Asian Yogācāra tradition, which is represented in the antagonistic bifurcations, such as Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, the Old and New Yogācāra, One Vehicle and Three Vehicles, the Dharma Nature and Dharma Characteristics schools.

These bifurcations are related with a significant philosophical issue of how to define the relationship, or make a connection, between the absolute and conditional, the ultimate and phenomenal, or continuity and discontinuity. Each of the bifurcations represents two typical positions in Buddhist context on the relationship between enlightenment and delusion, the Buddha and sentient beings, or *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*. The former position defends that enlightenment and delusion, or *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*, are fundamentally non-dual by considering ultimate enlightenment as universally inherent in all sentient beings while phenomenal delusion as merely provisional; the latter advocates that *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*, or the Buddha and sentient beings, are two separate entity by claiming that enlightenment is not something inherent in sentient beings, but is attainable only through a long arduous process of practice. The two contrasting positions, along with the doctrinal tension between them, have been interpreted as representing the two doctrinal perspectives in East Asian Yogācāra tradition.

Each of the two positions on the relationship between the absolute and conditional, however, contains its own philosophical problems. The former position that views the absolute and conditional as non-dual cannot explain imperfection or limitation of conditional realm, or

saṃsāra; the latter perspective that regards the two realms separate from each other cannot explain virtual connection between them. These philosophical problems also entail soteriological and moral problems in Buddhist context. The position to claim non-duality between *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra* cannot justify need of moral disciplines or religious practice, because *saṃsāra is nirvāṇa* and delusion is enlightenment. This position thus takes a risk of antinomianism. The position that advocates the separateness between *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra* cannot account for the transition from deluded sentient beings to an enlightened Buddha. In this system the religious practice also loses its significance and validity. The traditional bifurcation of the East Asian Yogācāra contains these intrinsic doctrinal limitations and risks in their own religious context.

In this dissertation we have seen that such exegetes as Paramārtha, Wŏnhyo, and Taehyŏn accept both of these two contrasting positions, that is, Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra, without contradiction. In Chapter II, I discussed that the Old Yogācāra exegete Paramārtha's Shelun thought contains both elements of Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra; in Chapter V a New Yogācāra exegete Taehyŏn advocates both teachings of the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles from a balanced standpoint on them; in Chapter IV, I have discussed that Wŏnhyo also considers the One Vehicle and the Three Vehicles as harmonically coexisting from the One Vehicle perspective. All these exegetes take binary position, which does not fit the paradigm of antagonistic bifurcations.

The fact that there existed exegetes who advocated both of the two seemingly contradictory positions has a significant implication in terms of the philosophical issues mentioned above. The way in which these exegetes resolve the contradiction between the two positions suggests possible solutions to the problems of explaining the relationship between the absolute and conditional. These exegetes adopt a "middle-way" position by not only embracing

both of the two positions and but also excluding the contradictory aspects between them. By considering a basis of enlightenment as universally inherent in all sentient beings, they just regard the basis as potential of enlightenment, not as complete enlightenment. In other words, from the "middle-way" perspective, the ultimate reality or enlightenment is inherent in all sentient beings, but full manifestation or realization of the enlightenment is only attained by each individual's efforts.

The "middle-way" perspective also presents a solution to the soteriological and moral problems that were derived from the bifurcations of the perspectives. The basis of enlightenment universally inherent in sentient beings serves as a sort of promise or guaranteed capacity for their enlightenment. This promise, however, does not entail a risk of falling into antinomianism, because this basis of enlightenment never can be developed into full-fledged enlightenment without each individual's efforts and practice. Conversely, enlightenment and delusion, or *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*, is regarded as separate from each other. This separation between them, however, does not mean complete segregation, because all sentient beings are endowed with the potential enlightenment, which may evolve into perfect enlightenment with their efforts.

Given the "middle-way" position, which cannot be explained within the traditional bifurcations, it seems that we need an alternative paradigm to understand the East Asian Yogācāra Buddhism, or, at least, should not interpret the East Asia Yogācāra tradition as consisting of two antagonistic doctrinal positions. In this respect, let me address several points that may be considered in further research through this new perspective.

First, given that Xuanzang's Yogācāra thought is distinguished from Ji's Faxiang school, as I discussed in Chapter III, future research on scholastic positions of Xuanzang's disciples should be conducted from a broader perspective, not just confined to the Faxiang position.

Research to date on Wŏnch'ŭk, for instance, seems to have led to two reciprocally conflicting views on the basis of the bifurcated paradigm: one focusing on Wŏnch'ŭk's orientation toward the Old Yogācāra and the other on his doctrinal similarity with Kuiji's New Yogācāra thought, as I briefly mentioned in the Introduction. We may attempt to explain the coexistence of the seemingly incompatible elements in Wŏnch'ŭk's Yogācāra thought as representing the "middle-way" position.

Second, beyond Xuanzang's disciples and the Yogācāra scholasticism, we may consider possible existence of exegetes who take the "middle-way" doctrinal position. Besides Wŏnhyo and Taehyŏn that I examined in the dissertation, Zongmi, as mentioned in Chapter IV, takes a postion that is distinct from Fazang, although they both are typically classified as One Vehicle thinkers based on their affiliation with the Huayan school. Given that some exegetes took the doctrinal positions are beyond the dichotomy of One Vehicle and Three Vehicles, the category of "school" or "sect" does not seem to a concept that corresponds or is reduced to either One Vehicle or Three Vehicles.

Third, in a broader viewpoint, we may think how the bifurcations, along with "middle-way" position, evolved throughout later tradition of East Asia Buddhism. Although this remains still as a hypothesis, for instance, we may relate differentiation of Chan (K. Sŏn, J. Zen 禪) lineages to the distinct doctrinal positions of the Yogācāra tradition. Although the Chan/Sŏn/Zen school is regarded as one tradition based on the doctrine of Buddha Nature, that is, the key tenet of the One Vehicle teaching, soteriological position of this school is largely divided into two, viz., "Sudden" (C. *dun* 頓) and "Gradual" (C. *jian* 漸) approaches. These two, at least, seemingly contrasting perspectives surprisingly contain respective elements that recall the Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra positions. Furthermore, such a Sŏn exegete as Chinul 知訥 (1158-1210), who was

doctrinally influenced by Zongmi, is known to have taken a binary position by synthesizing the two positions into "Sudden Awakening and Gradual Cultivation" (K. *tono chŏmsu* 頓悟漸修).

On the basis of the long discussion of this dissertation, I propose that vaioius doctrinal strands and positions of East Asia Yogācāra Buddhism should not be approached in such simplistic dichotomies. Future research should be conducted in consideration of existence of the "middle-way" scholastic perspective, and this is exactly the promise that may be gleaned by a careful consideration of Taehyŏn's position.

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