

# Wŏnhyo's View of the Huayan Doctrine

*Pokan Chou*

In Kosŏnsa Sŏdanghasang t'appi(高仙寺誓幢和上塔碑, *Stupa* inscription to the *Upādhyāya* Sŏdang of Kosŏnsa), the earliest and most reliable record on Wŏnhyo's life, there are two of his works specifically pointed out. One of them is the *Hwaŏm-Chongyo*(華嚴宗要), the *Doctrinal Essentials of the Huayan*.<sup>1</sup> The specification of this particular work in the inscription, which was made ninety years after his death, evidently attests Wŏnhyo's successful proselytization of Korean commoners to Buddhism with the Huayan Scripture documented in the *Samguk yusa* (三國遺事, *Memorabilia and Mirabilis of the Three Kingdoms*). It is said in this thirteen century book that Wŏnhyo took a passage, “All unhindered men leave birth and death along a single path,” from the sixth chapter, “A Bodhisattva Asks for Clarification,” of the *Scripture* to make a song called “Being Unhindered.” Then he sang it while

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Pokan Chou is a Professor of History of Buddhism at Taiwan University.

*International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture* February 2003, Vol. 2, pp. 109~122.  
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1 *Chŏsen Kinseki sŏran*(朝鮮金石總覽, *Collection of Korean Mental and Lithic Inscriptions*), vol. I, ed. Chŏsen Sŏtokufu, Seoul: Asia Ch'ulp'ansa, 1976, pp. 41-43. The other text listed in the Inscription is the *Simmun hwaajaeng ron* (十門和諍論, the *Essay on the Harmonization of the Ten Approaches*), which now exists only in fragments.

dancing with a musical instrument made by a colorful but strangely shaped gourd, throughout a great number of villages and hamlets, so that people in the countryside could recognize the name of the Buddha and recite the invocation, Homage.” (T.49, 1006b.) As compared to the other Huayan Buddhist monks of his time, Wŏnhyo’s employment of the *Scripture* to spread Buddhism in such a way is unusual. Huayan Buddhism in Wŏnhyo’s time was in its nascent period. Its arising was not oriented to converting people in low social rungs. Rather, it was entrenched in scholastic study carried out exclusively in Buddhist monasteries.<sup>2</sup> Famous scholars were mostly elite monks, who were patronized by emperors or kings and barely mingled with commoners. The incipient Huayan Buddhism was one representative of officially supported Buddhist thoughts. The association of Buddhist monks with the aristocratic class was even more distinctive in the Korea of Wŏnhyo’s time. Not only Huayan Buddhist monks, but also almost all other Buddhist monks targeted aristocratic and royal families as their mission objects. We cannot help asking, why is Wŏnhyo’s perception of the Huayan doctrine so particular as to make him take such an eccentric way of spreading Buddhism to Korean commoners that he was reputed to have been the first to do so in the history of Korean Buddhism? Restrained by the great loss of Wŏnhyo’s works on the Huayan,<sup>3</sup> this paper will preliminarily investigate this question by (1) looking into the intellectual background against which the study of Huayan Buddhism came to the fore in Chinese Buddhism, (2) comparing Wŏnhyo’s commentary on the fifth chapter, “Awakening by the Light of the *Tathagata*,” of the *Scripture*, with the other two earliest commentaries by Chinese exegetes, Ling-bian(靈辨, 467-522) and Hui-guang(慧光, 468-537),<sup>4</sup> and (3) pointing out the particularity of his

2 See Taitetsu Unno, “The Dimensions of Practice in Hua-yen Thought,” in *Bukkyō Shisōshi Ronshū*, ed. by Yuki Kyōju Kenkōkai, Tokyo: Daizō Shuppansha, 1964, pp. 51-78.

3 Among Wŏnhyo’s tremendous works, there are at least six concerning the Huayan *Scripture*, judging from their titles. However, only two are extant now, the *Commentary on the Huayan Scripture* and the *Preface to the Commentary on the Huayan Scripture*. The former, which is said to have eight or ten chapters, is left only with its third chapter. The latter is a short essay synopsizing his Huayan thought. These two texts are collected in the *Han’guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* (韓國佛敎全書), edited and published by Dongguk University from 1979-92, but not well edited. I leave my criticism of this to a later article.

view of the Huayan doctrine.

The *Huayan Scripture* under the early study is the Chinese translation made by Buddhahadhra in today's Nan-jing sometime between 418 and 421. The *Scripture* drew a little of attention from Chinese Buddhist monks until nearly one hundred years later, when Bodhiruci and Ratnamati in 511 in Lo-yang argued about the newly translated *Dasabhūmika-sūtra Śāstra* (十地經論, the *Exposition of the Sūtra on the Ten Stages*). The focal point of their controversy was whether *Tathāgatagarbha* (the enlightenment essence) is identical with *ālaya-vijñāna* (the eighth consciousness), which has birth and decay, or whether *Tathāgatagarbha*, allegedly dwelling in all human consciousnesses, is separated from *ālaya-vijñāna*.<sup>5</sup> This doctrinal debate uplifted the discussion of the ten stages from the level of differentiating practice to the epistemological-soteriological level concerning the attainment of Buddhahood. When scholar-monks found the *Dasabhūmika-sūtra* textually close to Chapters XXIII-XVII of the *Scripture* that bears the same title, *Dasabhūmika*, the *Scripture* came to the limelight.

In addition, Bodhiruci, based upon the statement of the *Dasabhūmikasūtra Śāstra* that the doctrine of the ten stages was presented in the assembly at the Hall of the *Paranirmitavaśavartin* Heaven in the second week after the *Tathāgata* had been enlightened,<sup>6</sup> asserted that the first twenty-two chapters of the *Scripture* catalogued into the five assemblies were the content of the *Tathāgata*'s enlightenment in the first week.<sup>7</sup>

That caused the arising of fervent discussions as to the divisions of the *Scripture* and thereby the infrastructure of the doctrinal interrelationship. Regardless of the content of debates of Bodhiruci and

4 Lingbian's commentary is preserved in *Xu-Zan-gjing* (續藏經, reprinted in Taipei, 1968) vol. 93, 468a-472b, under the title of *Hua-yan-jing-lun* (華嚴經論). Hui-guang's commentary is preserved in Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 85, no. 2757, 234a-c, under the title of *Hua-yan-jing-Yiji* (華嚴經義記).

5 A useful survey on the debate is Stanley Weinstein, "The Concept of *Ālaya-vijñāna* in Pre-T'ang Chinese Buddhism," in *Bukkyō-Shisōshi-Ronshū*, pp. 33-50.

6 The *Shi-di-jing-lun* (the *Dasabhūmikasūtra Śāstra*), T.26, no. 1522, 123b26~28.

7 Zhi-yan (智嚴), *The Hua-yan-jing-Tang-xuan-ji* (華嚴經探玄記, *Probing into the Metaphysical Realm of the Avatam Sūtra*), T.35, no. 1733, 127 c1~2.

his contemporaries, they all agreed that the *Scripture* contained the *Tathāgata's* freshest, total, and undifferentiated gnosis of enlightenment. Although the *Tathāgata* remains silent throughout the *Scripture* due to his falling into the deepest mental absorption, or *samādhi*, enjoying the great happiness, all beings, especially bodhisattvas, surrounding him in the assemblies, are able to express their understanding of *Tathāgata's* enlightenment in an atmosphere so enlightening that it overwhelms them. Moreover, according to the contemporary theory of the classification of the Buddha's various teachings, scholar-monks believed that, after those assemblies in the *Scripture*, the *Tathāgata* gets up from this *samādhi* state and preaches the dharma by diversifying his enlightenment gnosis into different vehicles, just as shown in various Buddhist scriptures, to comply with listeners in different learning capacities. Therefore, when seeking for the comprehensive vision and knowledge of the Buddhist enlightenment, one must consult with the *Huayan Scripture*. After the translation of the *Dasabhūmikāsūtra Śāstra*, we see two salient religious activities developing hand in hand in the north: the practice of meditation and the study of the *Huayan Scripture*. In the former, yogins, or meditation masters, wanted to use some meditation method to enter the *Tathāgata's* enlightened state as promised in meditation texts.<sup>8</sup> In the latter, scholar-monks explored every story and episode in the *Scripture*, producing commentaries tremendous in quantity to present what the comprehensive knowledge of the *Tathāgata's* enlightenment was like.

Interestingly, those scholar-monks, particularly Hui-guang, were not ordinary monks. Most of them served in the Sangha Bureau of the government. In the Northern Qi Dynasty (534-577), whose political territory was bordered on Korea, this phenomenon was even more distinctive. Huayan scholar-monks such as Lin-gyu(靈裕), Dao-ping(道憑), Hui-yuan(慧遠), and Tan-qian(曇遷) were superintendents of the Bureau that supervised and regulated all the Buddhist monks in the empire under the Dharmagupta Vinaya. In other words, those official

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8 Tang Yong-tong, *Han-Wei-Lian-gjin-Nan-bei-Chao-Fo-jiao-shi*(漢魏兩晉南北朝佛敎史, *A History of Chinese Buddhism from the First to the Seventh Centuries*), Taipei: Dingwen, reprinted, 1976, pp. 776-794.

scholar-monks must use the *Huayan Scripture* as one (very likely, the major one) of the teaching materials not only to assess monks' spiritual progress, but also to discuss doctrines in relation to Buddhist epistemology and soteriology. It is under such circumstances that Wŏnhyo and other Korean Buddhist monks came to study the *Huayan Scripture* and the practice of mediation. They circulated and shared the fruits of their research with their Chinese Buddhist colleagues of the time.

Moreover, two of the most important Buddhist scriptures that constructed Wŏnhyo's Buddhism, the *Vajrasamādhī Sūtra*(金剛三昧經) and the *Da-sheng-Qi-xin-Lun*(大乘起信論, *The Awakening of Faith*), did not appear in Chinese Buddhism when Chinese Buddhists came to pay attention to the *Huayan Scripture*. The former is believed to be a fabrication by Korean Buddhists in the late seventh century,<sup>9</sup> and the latter, allegedly a work of Aśvaghōṣa and translated by Paramārtha in 553, is actually an apocryphal writing made up by certain Chinese Buddhists around that time.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the two earliest extant Huayan commentaries by Hui-guang and Ling-bian on Chapter V of the *Scripture* represent explanations unpolluted by these two Buddhist apocrypha.

In addition, we see in these two commentaries a focal point on the emission of light from the body of the *Tathāgata*. It is evident that, from the very beginning of Huayan study, this scenario was believed to be meaningful in relation to the Buddha's demonstration of attaining complete enlightenment. In the *Scripture*, this scenario starts in Chapter V, in which the *Tathāgata* emits light from underneath the wheel mark on the feet. Therefore, the explanation of the scenario in this chapter becomes paramount, since the principle of its explanation will go down to the latter chapters, where the *Tathāgata* emits light from his knees, chest, mouth, and *ūrṇakoṣa* of his brow. I think that is why only the parts on Chapter V of the three earliest commentaries (Ling-bian's,

9 See Robert E. Buswell Jr., *The Formation of Ch'an Ideology in China and Korea*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

10 Yoshito S. Hakeda, "Introduction," in his translation of *The Awakening of Faith*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1967, pp. 3-19.

Hui-guang's and Wōnhyo's) are preserved today and the rest are lost.

Comparing these three commentaries, we see the interpretive principles they used as distinctly different. Ling-bian carried his exposition in the doctrinal thought of the *Prajñāparamitā*. It is said in the *Prajñāparamitā* that the *Tathāgata*, sitting and meditating under the tree, reaches the final stage of *dharmameghā*, the ultimate in the ten stages, precisely as described in the *Dasabhumikasūtra*, and comprehends the corpus of wisdom and its multifarious demonstrations in expediency.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the *Tathāgata*'s emission of light symbolizes such a great accomplishment that the *Tathāgata* has embodied *prajñā* and expediency, which are as indispensable for a bodhisattva as are two wings for a bird which flies. With the doctrines of the dharma body and skill-in-means, Ling-bian said,

[The meaning] of 'awakening by the light' is this: at the *bodhi-maṇḍa*, the sage, Chief-in-Goodness, with Buddha's knowledge and radiant power, has previously illustrated the dharma body that the *Tathāgata*, the Lord under the tree, has realized. In terms of the result, it is pure, all-inclusive, infinite and unhindered. This dharma body is the source of responsive incarnations. It is like the great ocean from which hundreds of rivers are derived. It is given to sentient beings in accordance with their [receptive] vessels. It is like the moon that everybody can see. The sage, Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, further discloses his names, the four truths, dharma gates, and expedient ways.

光明開覺者，上道場會聖者普賢，以佛智明力用，示如來樹王所證法身，依果清淨，具足自在無礙，為應化根本。猶如大海，出百川流，隨眾生器水，示月輪身，無不對見。聖者文殊菩薩，復開示名號 四諦 法門 權道。(The *Xu-Zhang-jing*, vol. 93, 468a.)

Hui-guang's explanation associated the *Tathāgata*'s emission of light with the different levels of the knowledge and practice that the *Tathāgata* intended to demonstrate to practitioners. Hui-guang said,

<sup>11</sup> See the exposition in the *Da-zhi-du-Lun* (大智度論, The *Mahāprajñāparamitopadeśa*) to the Buddha's attainment of the tenth stage in the *Mo-he-ban-ruo-po-luo-mi-jing* (摩訶般若波羅蜜經, The *Pañcavimsatisāhśrika-mahāprajñāparamitā-Sūtra*), T. 25, no. 1509, 419, b24. The exposition is said to be made by the support of the *Dasabhumika Sūtra*, T. 25, 411b.

The chapter, "Awakening by the Light of the *Tathāgata*," is to illustrate that the *Tathāgata's* intention, teachings, wisdom, and practice are unhindered. They are like light that illuminates in conditions. For this reason, it is called "awakening." The chapters from this where the light is emitted from underneath the wheel mark to [that] concerning the tenth stage where the light is emitted from between the eyebrows, illustrate the differences of the stages in appellations in which the demonstration of the *Tathāgata's* own body, knowledge, and practice differs from one practitioner to another. That bodhisattvas have different names explains their differences in terms of virtues and level of cultivation. In regard to the text concerning where the light illuminates, first demonstrated are the real characteristics of the worlds; then Buddhas, because the true reality radiates within; and then bodhisattvas, because their enlightenment of the reality arises in conditions.

如來光明覺品者，明如來意業教化智行無礙。猶如光明也，開曉於緣，故名爲覺。就此品中放相輪光者，乃至十地放眉間光，就如來自體智行，隨修人不同，彰位殊之異也。菩薩名別者，彰行業德位差別也。就此光所照中，初明世界，實際相顯也。次明佛者，實相內明故次明佛也。實覺緣起，故明菩薩。(T 85, 234a.)

In contrast to Hui-guang and Ling-bian, Wōnhyo based his explanation on two principles. (1) In order to arouse faith, the *Tathāgata* emits the light from underneath the wheel mark, the base on which he stands. In other words, the *Tathāgata's* emission of the light from underneath the wheel mark symbolizes a very basic and primary stage, i.e. *yuan-wei* (元位), of attaining Buddhahood. That is faith. (2) The ubiquity of the *Tathāgata's* body in the ten directions and in the present, the past, and the future is a reward for his bodily karma (身業之報) in his past lives. (HPC, I-495c.) In other words, Wōnhyo's explanation here is made with the doctrine of the reward body, rather than the dharma body and the responsive body. Wōnhyo must render the *Tathāgata's* incessant inner cultivation and altruist deeds in past lives into the causes of his attainment of full enlightenment.<sup>12</sup>

12 One of the questions Wōnhyo wanted to answer is that *Tathāgata's* body is co-extensive with the dharma he has preached, due to his bodily and oral karmas cultivated from the immeasurable period of his past lives. *Ibid.*, p. 495c.

As a result, Ling-bian did not explain in his commentary why Buddhas and bodhisattvas in the ten directions can praise the presence of the *Tathāgata* in the assembly in terms of their Buddha nature responding to *Tathāgata's* enlightenment.<sup>13</sup> Hui-guang must, inferring from this chapter, explain how the *Tathāgata's* intention, teachings, knowledge, and practice are reflected in each of the scenarios of the *Tathāgata's* emission of light and to what degrees as the *Scripture* goes further and deeper into this subject. Both Ling-bian and Hui-guang did not build their explanations on the doctrine of faith, and thereby failed to distinguish Chapter V as a cornerstone of the magnificent doctrinal edifice of the *Huayan Scripture*. Wōnhyo's commentary is different. Because he explained that faith is very basic and primary for later progressive cultivation and that the *Tathāgata* is present here and now, this chapter becomes primary for understanding the attainment of Buddhahood in the further advanced stages described in the *Scripture*. Wōnhyo must be inspired by verses characterizing the place of faith in attaining Buddhahood in the *Scripture's* Chapter VIII, 'Chief-in-Goodness' the last chapter in the section on faith, to which Chapter V also belongs.<sup>14</sup>

Faith is the basis of the Path, the mother of virtues,  
Nourishing and growing all good ways,  
Cutting away the net of doubt,  
freeing from the torrent of passion,  
Revealing the unsurpassed road of ultimate peace.

...

Faith can go beyond the pathways of demons,  
And reveal the unsurpassed road of liberation.  
Faith is the unspoiled seed of virtue,  
Faith can grow the seed of enlightenment.<sup>15</sup>

13 The eulogies made by bodhisattvas in Ling-bian's commentary are in one-way to present the dharma body of *Tathāgata*; his commentary does not show why bodhisattvas can respond to it.

14 Wōnhyo recognized that the practice in faith will lead one to the position of Chief-in-Goodness. See his Commentary, *Han'guk Pulgyo chōnsō*, vol .I, 496a.

15 T. 9, no. 278, 433a26-27, and b6-8. I cite the English translation made by Thomas Cleary in the *Flower Ornament Scripture* (Boulder : Shambhala Publications, 1984), 331 and 332.



Wŏnhyo not only used the idea of faith to explain Chapter V, but also cited the above verses in his exposition of the *Awakening of Faith* to disclose the primacy of faith for religious practice.<sup>16</sup>

Wŏnhyo, emphasizing the primacy of faith for practice, clearly wants to overcome a long-lasting doctrinal problem in Buddhist soteriology. On the one hand, Buddhism promises salvation to everybody, even an *icchantika*, a person whose seed for enlightenment is burned and apparently dead. On the other hand, Buddhism maintains that since people have different learning capacities, the degree level of and the time consumption for attaining the Buddhist sainthood will differ from person to person. The factual description in the latter actually nullifies for ordinary people, especially those in the lower social rung, the hope for salvation as promised in the former. This is because salvation requires the removal of *kleśa*, and the removal of *kleśa* requires a long and intensive mental training that enables a practitioner to retrospect and then cut off past inherited karmas that continue to function in the present. As a result, the acquirement of salvation becomes a business almost exclusively professed by Buddhist clergies free of material needs. To earn daily necessities for survival, ordinary people barely have any chance to engage in emancipatory activities with as much intensity and depth as do the Buddhist monks. It is here that we see that Wŏnhyo adopted a method not only textually approved,<sup>17</sup> but also already then popular in northern China — chanting the name(s) of the Buddha(s) — to solve this soteriological dilemma.

The method assumes that the Buddha, as the salvific embodiment of enlightenment and compassion, must be present here and now, responding to people's calling his name at any place and in any time. The Buddha cannot be represented as in the legend that he held assemblies as presented in the *Huayan Scripture* at the very beginning of his enlightenment, and later entered *nirvāṇa* at the end of his life. Instead, the Buddha must be “really” present in co-extension with the realm of dharma he has preached. Wŏnhyo argued for this by

16 See his *Taesŭng Kisillonso*(大乘起信論疏), T.44, 203, a28-b2.

17 See the *Da-cheng-Qixin-Lun*, T. 32,583a. Wŏnhyo's exposition is seen in the *Tae-sung-kisillon-so*, *ibid.*, 221b.

explaining the *Tathāgata* is rewarded for his physical body being ubiquitously present, and able to be sensed by bodhisattvas, in the ten directions. It is a locus standi of Wōnhyo's commentary on Chapter V that turns the Buddha from being historically present to mystically omnipresent. Both Hui-guang and Ling-bian said nothing on this point.

Moreover, Wōnhyo's advocacy of the importance of faith did not stop at the level of intellectual comprehension. By commenting on passages in the *Vajrasamādhi Sūtra*: "Access through the principle' (*li-ru*, 理入) alludes to deep faith that [the nature of] sentient beings does not differ from the true nature [of the Buddha.] They are neither identical nor different. They are all covered by external dusts." Wōnhyo said, "Access through the principle' refers to this: one follows principle to have faith, which has not been attested and realized in practice. Therefore, we call this 'access through the principle,' whose place is prior to the stages [of practice]." <sup>18</sup> Therefore, he proposed to turn intellectual belief to devout practice to realize that the enlightenment essence, *Tathāgatagarbha*, is innate in everyone. The first stage of such a practice is called that of faith (containing the ten beliefs) that is primary and foremost to the further stages, the ten abodes, the ten practices, and the ten transferences. He associated this stage with the *Tathāgata*'s emission of light in chapter V being explicated, assuring people that they are not essentially different from the Buddha. With the explanations of Mañjuśrī's praising the characteristics of the knowledge of the Buddhas, and of the dharma gates of bodhisattvas, in the ten directions, he concluded, at the end of the *Commentary*, that there is no differentiation between bodhisattvas and Buddhas in terms of the manifestation of Buddhahood.

The verses, which praise the meritorious virtues of the Buddha, make clear that the Buddha's inner virtues are all-comprehensive. Therein, the virtues of bodhisattvas are also demonstrated as well. It is clear that bodhisattvas are following

18 *Kūmgang sammae gyōngron*(金剛三昧經論), T. 34, 985a. I do not follow Robert Buswell's translation of this passage made in his *The Formation of Ch'an Ideology in China and Korea*, p. 136.

the Buddha and able to apply for Buddhahood. (HPC, 1-497c.)

Conversely, Hui-guang said that there are differences between the Buddha(s) and bodhisattvas in degrees of knowledge and practice.

To Wōnhyo, mind is the common source of acquiring enlightenment or staying ignorant, depending upon whether its innate enlightenment essence is realized. Dharmas can be causative for reaching the state of *nirvāṇa* or hell, depending upon how they are recognized and utilized along with conditions. Therefore, this world as presented in the interaction of mind and dharmas can be the very field for suffering or for enlightenment. Yet, once dusts covering up the enlightenment essence are cleared away, and the mind therefore becomes transparently clean, this world turns out to be a blissful field where every dharma is seen as a manifestation of the Buddhahood in the enlightened mind. Wōnhyo thought that this is what the *Huayan Scripture* presents about the content of the very beginning of the *Tathāgata's* enlightenment. At the end of Wōnhyo's *Preface* explaining the title of the *Scripture*, he conceived such a manifestation as the Buddha's flower spreading over the vast expanse of the world.

With [the title], *Da-fang-guan Fo-hua-yan*, the vastness of the dharma realm is [explained in terms of] *Da-fang-guan* (the Great Square being extended), and the immeasurableness of practices and virtues [in terms of] *Fo-hua-yan* (to be adorned with the Buddha's flowers). Without the Great Square (*Da-fang*), the Buddha's flowers cannot be spread. Without the flowers of the Buddha, the Great Square cannot be adorned. Thus, marking up matters about flower ornaments (*Huayan*) in this two-fold way, [the title] expresses the doctrinal meaning of the *Scripture* with [the words] “extending” and “adorning.” (HPC, 1-495b.)

With the close comparison to the title of the *Scripture* in its Sanskrit original, Wōnhyo's explanation is not right. The Sanskrit title of the *Scripture* is *Buddha-avatamsaka nāma mahāvaiṣṭya-sūtra*. The Chinese translation is quite precise, *mahā* as *da* (great), *vaiṣṭya* as *fang-guang* (extent, vast), *Buddha* as *fo*, and *avatamsaka* as *hua-yan* (flower

ornament, garland). There is no way to take *da-fang* and *fo-hua* as compound words (the Great Square and Buddha's flowers), and *guang* and *yan* as verbs (to extend and to adorn.) Wōnhyo evidently took the term *da-fang* from a Chinese Daoist classic, the *Zhuang-zi*(莊子), originally meaning the universe,<sup>19</sup> to refer to this Huayan world demonstrated by enlightened beings in assemblies through verses that they chanted. From those verses, Wōnhyo saw the Buddha nature glittering all over the world. Episodes and scenarios in relation to the *Tathāgata's* emission of light from his body are seen as manifestations of this Buddha nature, the essence for enlightenment; they are all like Buddha's flowers, ubiquitous in the vast universe. Wōnhyo's explanation of the title of the *Scripture*, though unfaithful to its Sanskrit original, is creative indeed.

Wōnhyo's adoption of the Daoist phraseology cannot mean that he used the Huayan doctrine in the Daoist essence-manifestation intellectual framework. In the Daoist emanation theory, the Dao as the ultimate reality in the latent state is immanent in things whose existences are derived from the Dao's correspondence to the external conditions. Essentially there is no difference between the Dao and its derived things. From this evolves an essence-function, or *ti-yong*(體用), metaphysical system first developed by Chinese Neo-Daoist philosophers like Wang-Bi (王弼, 226-249). However, Wōnhyo's view is nothing like that. His conception of dharmas is docetic, which is unmistakably Buddhist. In the practical world, dharmas come and go like phantasms. Such is the way the actual world is presented. He also did not use Daoist concepts like Root, Progenitor, or Nonbeing, which refer to the existential substratum underlying dharmas and mind. He borrowed the Daoist phraseology, in my view, just to describe the world demonstrated in the *Tathāgata's* original enlightenment. Truly indeed, Wōnhyo is an idealist advocating that the actual utility of dharmas can be changed

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19 See the Chapter of Qio-shui (Autumn Floods). The allusion of the Great Square to the universe was extensively used by Chinese Buddhist monks from the fourth to the seventh centuries. The most famous one was made by Huiyuan in his essay, "Śramanas Do Not Pay Homage to the King." It is also worth noting that the phraseology in Chapter Qio-shui is often cited by Wōnhyo in his "Preface of the *Huayan-Sutra*."

along with the shifting of the cognitive angle; therefore, enlightenment is eventually grounded in the realization of our innate Buddha nature. In this view he did not reduce the transience and versatility of dharmas to the mind; otherwise, he could not maintain the doctrine of the true nature of mind as pure. Instead, he tried to subsume dharmas in the knowledge associated with the enlightenment essence. Thereby, he kept his Buddhism from falling into the fallacy of realism.

However, there is an intellectual tension in applying Wŏnhyo's dialectical view of the connection of mind and dharmas to soteriological practice. Given that enlightenment must begin with the realization of the Buddha nature, how can we possibly know the Buddha nature's innate existence in our mind, since the Buddha nature is embedded in the eighth consciousness, which is too deep to sense? The answer, unsurprisingly, is that it will be found in meditation. Yet, in relation to this answer, a serious soteriological problem arises. The practice of meditation only benefits the practitioner himself, not other sentient beings, which contradicts the Mahāyāna Buddhist soteriological plan of universal salvation. It is here, I think, that the *Huayan Scripture* comes to be of paramount importance in resolving this problem. First, as sentient beings surrounding the *Tathāgata* in *samādhi* become enlightened as described in the *Scripture*, so do people surrounding a yogi in the physical world. Second, faith as primacy for attaining Buddhahood is applicable to people without discrimination of status or profession, as demonstrated in the *Scripture*. Third, the ultimate emancipative world is like what the *Tathāgata* demonstrates in his original enlightenment, where Buddhahood, like the Buddha's flower, is ubiquitous throughout the universe. In other words, the *Scripture* simultaneously provides Buddhist yogis with a map for Mahāyāna Buddhist epistemology and soteriology. As a result, yogis deeply believe that, as long as they keep their minds in *samādhi*, whatever emancipative work they do to people must be sooner or later able to be done, because their common innate Buddha nature will respond. Although people are confused in this apparitional world, they are eventually awakened and therefore led to attain Buddhahood. The *Scripture* furnishes Buddhist yogis with the

decisive force that turns the practice of meditation into the ideology of Buddhist epistemology and soteriology.<sup>20</sup> In this ideological world, the trifling and the sage, samsara and *nirvāna*, and the secular and the sacred, are undifferentiated. This is precisely what Wŏnhyo perceived in the Great Square.

Such a view of the *Huayan Scripture*, as reflected in Wŏnhyo's *Huayan* works, I think, accounts for his evangelization of Buddhism with the *Huayan* in a strange missionary style, as laid out in the beginning of this paper. Any conceptual dichotomy in this view is to be abolished; therefore, he crossed the conventional Buddhist regulation about priesthood. He married and had a child; but in the meantime, he remained a monk engaged in scriptural study. Instead of evangelizing Buddhism to the upper noble class, as other Korean Buddhist missionaries of his time did, he went to small and remote villages to have uncultivated people pay homage to the Buddha. When they recited the invocation, "Homage," Wŏnhyo accomplished the first and the primary step, evocation of faith among those socially negligible people, in the Buddhist soteriological plan of universal salvation. Wŏnhyo's explanation and, above all, his folk-oriented application, of the *Huayan*, certainly, are talented and creative, distinguishing him as one of the greatest *Huayan* exegetes who later deeply influenced Fa-zang (法藏, 643-712), the founder of Huayan Buddhism. Yet Wŏnhyo's failure to observe celibacy, which is mandatory for a yogi to attain the highest mental state, removes him from the mainstream of Chinese Huayan Buddhism.<sup>21</sup>

20 R. Buswell touched this subject in his *The Formation*, pp. 104-114, and 123-163, but his investigation is limited to the Ch'an school, ignoring that it was a trend of turning the practice of meditation into an ideology in association with practitioner's sectarian Buddhism.

21 That does not eliminate the importance of Wŏnhyo's influence upon Chinese Ch'an Buddhism and Japanese Kegon/Huayan Buddhism by his Huayan's thought. In the *Kegon Soshi Eden* (華嚴祖師繪傳, *Paintings and Biographies of the Huayan Patriarchs*), by Kōben(高辨, 1173-1232), a Japanese Kegon monk, Wŏnhyo is honored as one of the founding patriarchs of the Japanese Kegon/Huayan School. In a Chinese Ch'an work, the *Zhiyue Lu* (指月錄, *Records on Fingering to the Moon*, completed in 1602), Wŏnhyo is recognized as one of the greatest master in an unknown lineage.