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Introduction to the "T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i"

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THE *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i* (天台四教儀, Jp. *Tendai sbikyōgi*, T 46.774c-780c) was written in China by a Korean monk named Chegwan,¹ 諦觀, in the late tenth century, and has dominated the study of T'ien-t'ai doctrine for the last three hundred years. Because it has been considered the most concise and reliable summary of T'ien-t'ai thought, it continues to enjoy great popularity in Chinese and Japanese studies as an introductory textbook. One indication of its importance is the fact that over two hundred commentaries and sub-commentaries have been written on it.² Today its reliability as an accurate guide to the ideas of Chih-i (538-597), the *de facto* founder of T'ien-t'ai, is being questioned by Sekiguchi Shindai³ and others. Nevertheless, through

* The author owes a debt of gratitude to Ichishima Masao, Shim Jae-ryong, and Stanley Weinstein for their assistance in the writing and revision of this "Introduction."

¹ The correct pronunciation of 諦觀 as a monk's name is uncertain. A Korean Buddhist dictionary, Unhō, ed., *Pulgyo saebon* 佛教辭典 (Seoul: Popbowōn, 1961), p. 855b, gives the reading of "Ch'egwan" 체관. However, the pronunciation adopted here is the one advocated by Shim Jae-ryong based on: (1) *Hankuk inmyōng taesabon* 韓國人名大事典 [Great Dictionary of Korean Personal Names] (Seoul: Skinku munhwasa, 1972), p. 864a, which draws on Kwon Sang-ro's article on Chegwan in *Hankuk ūi inkansang* [Human Portraits in Korea], Vol. 3; (2) *Hankuk ūi myōngchō* 韓國의名著 [Famous Writings of Korea] (Seoul: Hyōnamsa, 1970), pp. 61-71, which is the contribution of the important T'ien-t'ai scholar Cho Myōng-ki; and (3) Kim Tong-hwa 金東華, *Hankuk ūi sasang chōnchip* 韓國의思想全集 [Complete Collection of Korean Thought] (Seoul: Tonghwa ch'ulp'ansa, 1972), I: 553-555.

² See Sekiguchi Shindai 關口真大, *Sbōwa kōtei Tendai sbikyōgi* 昭和校訂天台四教儀 (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1935: 1971), Appendix I: 4-7.

³ For the best summary of Sekiguchi's bold and persuasive views, see his recent article, "'Goji hakkyō" kyōhan no kigen' 五時八教教判の起元 *Taisbō daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 61 (1975), pp. 1-66, which also includes a bibliography of his numerous writings on the subject.

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its long use, the text has had enormous influence on the self-image of East Asian Buddhism in terms of understanding its own nature and doctrinal foundations.

The circumstances leading to the contemporary importance of the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i* occurred in the late seventeenth century during a period of general re-assessment of Tendai thought. Following the development of hidden transmissions of esoteric Tendai teachings from the time of Ennin 圓仁 (792–862) and the subsequent division of esoteric doctrine into many different interpretations, it became increasingly difficult to ascertain the authentic teaching of early Tendai. Concern to return to the original teachings of Tendai became acute in the Genroku Period (1688–1704), but was further frustrated by the many changes and fragmentations of T'ien-t'ai teaching in China. Accordingly, the outlines of doctrine written by such Sung Dynasty writers as Ssu-ming Chih-li 四明知禮 (960–1028) in his *Sshib-pu-erh men chib-yao ch'ao* 十不二門指要鈔 and Chegwan's *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i* provided concise and clear interpretations already established and honored by tradition. Thus, they became widely used and gradually came to dominate Tendai self-interpretation in contemporary writings and classrooms.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Western scholars have frequently turned to the text as a primary source in studying T'ien-t'ai. Leon Hurvitz is the pioneer in this field and the author of the only major work on Chinese T'ien-t'ai. In doing research for his monograph *Chih-i (538–597)*, he carefully read the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i* and adopted its outline of "Five Periods and Eight Teachings" (*wu-shih pa-chiao*, 五時八教) as the basis for the major portion of his doctrinal analysis of Chih-i.⁴ Accordingly, the introduction of this text to Western students of Buddhism is long overdue, not only for its own worth as a summary of T'ien-t'ai doctrine, but also in order to discern what biases it may have introduced into the interpretation of the original writings of T'ien-t'ai.

⁴ Leon Hurvitz, *Chih-i (538–597)*, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 12 (1960–62), pp. 229–331. Because of the close relationship between this work and the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i*, it is invaluable as a reference work providing further explanation of the doctrines, technical terms and lists of terms to be found in the *Ssu-chiao-i*.

The Historical Setting

The *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i* itself had a curious beginning, being a by-product of the amazing predicament of the disappearance within China of almost all of Chih-i's writings less than four centuries after his death. That this was true not in some remote area of China, but in Chekiang Province in the vicinity of Mt. T'ien-t'ai, is even more striking. The reason for the loss of these texts is attributed to the rebellion of An Lu-shan and Shih Ssu-ming (755-761) and the Hui-ch'ang persecution of Buddhism (845-847) in the biographies of the figures mainly responsible for recovering the texts: viz., the Fifteenth Patriarch of T'ien-t'ai, Lo-ch'i Hsi-chi 螺溪義寂 (919-987),⁵

⁵ Although the composition in 987-88 of the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* 宋高僧傳 (hereafter *SKSC*) was contemporaneous with the Fifteenth Patriarch and gives his name as I-chi 義寂, T 50.752b. 5, the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 佛祖統紀 (hereafter *FTTC*) written by the T'ien-t'ai monk Chih-p'an in 1258-69 gives the name as Hsi-chi 義寂, T 49.190c. 11. For various reasons in the initial draft of this article I had chosen to follow the *FTTC*. Since that time, Stanley Weinstein has carefully researched the problem and reports in a letter of Dec. 23, 1974, that "After checking rather thoroughly on the name of the 15th patriarch, I have come to the conclusion that the reading that you give in your Introduction—Hsi-chi, written 義寂—is the correct one. All early T'ien-t'ai sources without exception give this reading." The *Lo-ch'i chen-tsu-chi* (*ZZK* 2.5.5.512a), a collection containing many documents by disciples of the Fifteenth Patriarch relating to him, and the *Sbib-men cheng-t'ung* (*ZZK* 2b.3.5.381a), the earliest extant history of the T'ien-t'ai School, both use Hsi-chi. In addition, Chinese non-sectarian works compiled since the seventeenth century such as the *Fo-tsu kang-mu* (*ZZK* 2b.19.4.316b) and the *Fa-bua-ching ch'ib-yen-chi* (*ZZK* 2b.7.5.468b) "consistently give Hsi-chi, not I-chi. Coming down to our own period, we find the extremely reliable Chinese scholar, Ch'en Yüan 陳垣 giving the name as Hsi-chi (in his authoritative *Sbib-sbib i-nien-lu* 釋氏疑年錄 p. 195), as does Chiang Wei-ch'iao 蔣維喬 (in his *Chung-kuo fo-chiao-shi* 中國佛教史, Vol. 3, p. 20a)." Besides the *SKSC*, the only other Chinese source that Professor Weinstein could find that used the name I-chi was the late Yüan text *Liu-bsüeb-seng-chuan* (*ZZK* 2b.6.3.292b). "The Taishō edition of the *Sbib-sbib chi-ku-lueh* [T 49.855b.28]...likewise has 義寂 (I-chi), but the *ZZK* edition reads in its place 義寂 (Hsi-chi) (*ZZK* 2b.6.1.52a)." It is unfortunate that in spite of this weight of evidence, Japanese sources continually use 義寂 as the name of the Fifteenth Patriarch. Professor Weinstein suggests that this might be because both 義寂 and 義寂 are pronounced "Gijaku" in Japanese, and the latter was the name of the well-known Korean monk of the seventh century.

the National Master Te-chao 德詔國師 (891-972) and a minor Chinese king, Chung-i of Wu-yüeh 吳越忠懿王.⁶ However, added to these acts of destruction was the T'ang demotion of T'ien-t'ai and its selective sponsorship of other traditions because of T'ien-t'ai's close association with the previous rival Sui Dynasty.⁷ As a consequence, any concern to restore the losses of T'ien-t'ai and to revive its tradition had been effectively inhibited.

Thus, it was not until half a century after the fall of the T'ang Dynasty that King Chung-i of Wu-yüeh (which included Chekiang Province) used his position to send to Korea for the texts. Chung-i was a devout Buddhist who had built numerous pagodas, distributed sūtras and established a number of temples. The immediate cause of his concern for the missing texts, however, seems to have been prompted in part by the influence of Lo-ch'i Hsi-chi whom Chung-i respected. We read that the king walked down to the gate of the palace to meet him, and constructed a lecture hall in which to ask him about the doctrine of Chih-i. But when he learned that the T'ien-t'ai texts were not complete, he "felt saddened and sent envoys carrying precious jewels to Korea and Japan to obtain the lost texts. As a result of this [mission], the teachings and texts of the [T'ien-t'ai] school once again enjoyed complete prosperity." Chih-p'an, who wrote this account, is quick to add that "the origin of this revival owes a great deal to the merit of the 'protector of the teaching,' Chung-i."⁸

In spite of King Chung-i's initiative in recovering the texts, it seems clear that the person who was most committed to the task was Hsi-chi. Born in 919 in southern Chekiang, he journeyed north to K'ai-yuan Monastery on Mt. T'ien-t'ai as a young man in order to study the *Lotus Sūtra*. Following this he received the precepts and went to Mt. Kuei-chi 會稽 to study meditation (止觀 *chih-kuan*), apparently under the Fourteenth Patriarch Ching-sung 清暉.⁹ However, because there only remained a few unreliable fragments of

⁶ SKSC 7, T 50.752b.11-12, and FTTC 8, T 49.190c.22-23.

⁷ Stanley Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism," in Arthur Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds., *Perspectives on the T'ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 265-306.

⁸ FTTC 10, T 49.206c.1-11.

⁹ This detail is added in the FTTC account, T 49.190c.16, but is absent in the SKSC version.

the original T'ien-t'ai teaching, Hsi-chi "always was saddened and exerted his energy to collect them. In the beginning he could only obtain one commentary on the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* 淨名一疏 which was in an old sutra collection on Mt. Chin-hua."¹⁰ The SKSC biography adds:

Later, I-chi [=Hsi-chi] asked Ch'an Master Te-chao to send envoys to Japan to bring back some texts. Just enough materials were obtained to allow I-chi to develop a broad and detailed understanding [of T'ien-t'ai]. If it had not been for I-chi's efforts, the scholars of this school would have [mistakenly] taken pride in acquiring half of the precious teaching as their whole heritage.¹¹

A later Yüan Dynasty biography of National Master Te-chao also emphasizes the role of Hsi-chi. It describes Hsi-chi repeatedly speaking to Chao about how the teaching of Chih-i had become lost and scattered, and reports that he urged Chao, saying:

"At present Korea has a complete set of works. Nobody else but you can retrieve these because only you have such compassionate power."

Chao reported this to King Chung-i, who eventually sent envoys [to Korea] carrying Master Chao's letter. The envoys went there and having copied the needed scriptures returned. These scriptures widely circulate south of the Yangtse right up to today.¹²

As the key link between the power of King Chung-i and the concern of Hsi-chi, Te-chao appears as more than a mere intermediary. In the SKSC we read that he built more than ten temples for the T'ien-t'ai School.¹³ He spent much of his life on Mt. T'ien-t'ai, and apparently took pride in having the same surname as Chih-i, viz., Ch'en 陳. Moreover, Chih-p'an claims that "people later called him a latter-day incarnation of Chih-che [=Chih-i]."¹⁴

¹⁰ FTTC 8, T 49.190c.11-25.

¹¹ SKSC 7, T 50.752b.14-16.

¹² Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai 18, T 49.657a.1-5.

¹³ T 50.789b.8-9.

¹⁴ T 49.190c.27-28, and cf. T 49.656c.25-26.

In at least two instances Chih-p'an also reports that the occasion for Hsi-chi and King Chung-i's encounter came about because Te-chao advised the King to ask Hsi-chi how to understand a difficult passage in the *Collected Works of Tung-chia*. The passage is:

[The stage of Buddhahood according to the Tripitaka Teaching] is the same [as the Complete Teaching] in removing the four levels of attachment 四住. In this regard, they are identical. But as for overcoming fundamental ignorance 無明, the Tripitaka [Teaching] is inferior [to that of the Complete Teaching].¹⁵

Hsi-chi identified this passage as being from the *Fa-bua bsüan-i* of Chih-i, but lamented the loss of most of the T'ien-t'ai texts. Accordingly, the King sent ten envoys to Japan for the scriptures, and built a temple at Lo-ch'i in which to store them when they were retrieved.¹⁶

As can be seen from these sources, it is uncertain whether envoys were sent to Korea or to Japan, or to both. The *SKSC* and *FTTC* in their biographies of Hsi-chi say the envoys went to Japan,¹⁷ but the *FTTC* then invokes another tradition in which the King of Wu-yüeh sent envoys to Korea.¹⁸ This is repeated in the *FTTC* biography of Chegwan¹⁹ and is followed by the later *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* in its biography of Te-chao.²⁰

¹⁵ 同除四住此處為齊若伏無明三藏即劣 from *Cb'an-tsung yung-chia-chi*, T 48.392c. 21-23, and quoted in the *FTTC*, T 49.190c.25-27 and 206a.18-19. The source for this is found in Chih-i's *Fa-bua bsüan-i*, T 33.737a.14-16, where it is included in a discussion of the stages leading to enlightenment as seen by different teachings: viz., the Tripitaka, Shared, Special, and Complete Teachings. Chegwan devotes most of his text to explaining these four teachings, and then as if in response to King Chung-i's question he quotes this passage (T 46.779b.25-27) when the reader has been adequately prepared to understand it correctly.

¹⁶ T 49.191a.1-3. Chih-p'an comments in the biography of Chegwan (T 49.206a.21) that some portion of Chih-i's *Fa-bua bsüan-i* must have survived in order for Hsi-chi to have identified this passage as based on it.

¹⁷ T 50.752b.14 and T 49.191a.3.

¹⁸ T 49.191a.5-7.

¹⁹ T 49.206a.22-23.

²⁰ T 49.657a.2-5.

At least we know that envoys did go to Korea, and successfully returned with the lost scriptures under the protection of the eminent Master Chegwan who provided a summary of their doctrinal contents by writing the *Ssu-chiao-i*. Chih-p'an draws a fascinating picture of the event²¹:

Dharma Master Chegwan is a Korean. In the beginning, the King of Wu-yüeh was reading the *Collected Works of Tung-chia*. Because he could not understand the phrase "t'ung chu ssu-chu 同除四住," he asked the National Master Chao. Chao said: "This is about doctrine. You can ask Hsi-chi of T'ien-t'ai."

The King summoned him immediately. [Hsi-chi] responded by saying: "This phrase is from the "*Wei-miao Chapter*" of *The Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra* 妙法蓮華經玄義 written by Chih-che.... At the end of the T'ang Dynasty, the doctrinal texts have been scattered abroad. None of them remain at present." Thereupon the King of Wu-yüeh sent an envoy with a letter and fifty kinds of precious jewels to Koryō (Korea) to seek the scriptures.

The King of Koryō [King Kwangjong, 925-975, r. 953-975] ordered Chegwan to go and present the teachings [to the court of Wu-yüeh (961 a.d.)]. But [Kwangjong] prohibited the transmission of the *Chih-lun-sbu* 智論疏 (Commentary on the Great Perfection of Wisdom Sāstra), *Jen-wang-sbu* 仁王疏 (Commentary on the 'Benevolent King' Sūtra), *Hua-yen ku-mu* 華嚴骨目 (Essential Contents of the Hua-yen Sūtra), *Wu-pai-men* 五百門 (Five Hundred Gates), etc. Furthermore, he ordered Chegwan to seek for a teacher in China and to ask him difficult questions. If the teacher could not answer them, then [Chegwan] must take back the scriptures and return home.

When Master Chegwan arrived in China, hearing that Lo-ch'i [Hsi-chi] was good in teaching Buddhism, he went to see him immediately. At first glance he was deeply impressed [by Hsi-chi] and revered him as his master.

²¹ FTTC 10, T 49.206a.18-206b.2. This is a translation by Shim Jae-ryong with some changes.

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[Chegwan] had already written the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i* and hid it in a chest. Nobody knew of it. Master Chegwan stayed in Lo-ch'i for ten years. One day he passed away in a sitting position. Later, people saw a light coming out of the chest and upon opening it only saw this book, nothing else. Since then, it has been widely circulated among various countries and has the reputation of being important as an aid in instructing beginners.

Chih-p'an then offers a few comments, viz.: (1) that King Chung-i sent for the scriptures due to his desire to understand the difficult sentence in the work of Yung-chia; (2) that Chegwan referred to Yung-chia in his *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i* in order to indicate the contemporary relevance that his text had; and (3) that the book is basically a revision of a previous book entitled *An Outline of the Eight Teachings* (八教大意, *Pa-chiao tai-i*), which Chih-p'an attributes to Ching-ch'i Chan-jan (711-782), the Ninth Patriarch of T'ien-t'ai.²²

Five Periods and Eight Teachings

While it seems clear that the sentence of Yung-chia was a major factor in prompting the composition of the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i*, there is some discussion over what Chegwan used as his principal source. If one examines the text it is clear that Chegwan not only read the *Pa-chiao tai-i* but quoted liberally from it.²³ On the other hand, Shioiri Ryōdō argues that there is no proof that Chegwan did not read the *Pa-chiao ssu-i*, but adds that major commentators

²² *FTTC* 10, T 49.206b.3-8. The authorship of the *Pa-chiao tai-i* is controversial for the simple reason that we have no record of it in any of the bibliographical lists of works attributed to Chan-jan. See Hibi Senshō 日比宣正, *Tōdai Tendai-gaku jōsetsu* 唐代天台學序説 (1966), 82-132. Moreover, there is a work by this title 天台八教大意 attributed to Kuan-ting 灌頂 (561-632) and compiled by Ming-k'uang 明曠 (a disciple?) which survives, viz., T 46.769-773, 1930. However, Nakazato Teiryū 中里貞隆 writes in the *Bussbo kaisetsu daijiten*, VIII:139, that he agrees with the criticism of Keiten 繼天 of the Edo Period (1792) when he finds five textual proofs for demonstrating that the author was Chan-jan and the disciple Ming-k'uang. This, of course, agrees with Chih-p'an.

²³ For example, Taishō, 46.778a.24-b.2 is drawn completely from the *Pa-chiao tai-i* (Taishō 46.771a.28-b.7) with a few deletions, but is quite different from the comparable passage in Chih-i's *Ta-pen ssu-chiao-i* (Taishō 46.752a).

since the Sung Dynasty, such as Tsung-i 從義 (1042–1091) and Meng-jun 蒙潤 (1275–1324), felt that Chegwan based himself on the writings of Chih-i, not on Chan-jan as Chih-p'an claims.²⁴

Chegwan certainly advertised the text as a summary of the ideas of Chih-i. In his opening sentence he says that "The Great Master, T'ien-t'ai Chih-che, used the classification of the Five Periods and Eight Teachings to arrange and explain in a complete and exhaustive way, the sacred teachings of the Buddha which were flowing east [from India]."²⁵ The scheme of Five Periods and Eight Teachings (五時八教, *wu-shih pa-chiao*) is the basic structure of the text, and Chegwan not only attributes the scheme to Chih-i, but adds shortly that even though these ideas are scattered throughout many texts, they will be summarized by relying chiefly on Chih-i's *Fa-bua hsuan-i*, which is quoted profusely thereafter.

However, the eminent Tendai scholar Sekiguchi Shindai has challenged this view by directly refuting the claim that the scheme of "Five Periods and Eight Teachings" accurately reflects the thought of Chih-i. Although this is not the place to examine this issue in detail, some of the more important points should be summarized.

In 1965, Sekiguchi made a general critique of the T'ien-t'ai *p'an chiao* system as out-dated. Because no one today could realistically claim that the *Hua-yen Sūtra* was the earliest Buddhist sūtra, Sekiguchi suggested that it might continue to be used, but as a symbol of the Buddha's direct teaching of his enlightenment immediately after that realization rather than as a historical documentation of that experience. Moreover, the Perfection of Wisdom texts came before such *vaipulya* sūtras as the *Vimalakīrti* and *Lankāvatāra*, so that their order should be reversed in the system. However, after further study Sekiguchi was surprised to discover that the Five Period *p'an chiao* system was not central to the thought of Chih-i in any event, and that in fact what Chih-i really emphasized was the doctrine of Five Flavors.²⁶

It is interesting that Chih-i's chief disciple and compiler of many of his

²⁴ Shioiri Ryōdō 瑤入良道, "Tendai Shikyōgi kaidai" 天台四教儀解題, *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經 57:64.

²⁵ T 46.774c.

²⁶ Sekiguchi Shindai 關口真大, "Goji Kyōhanron" 五時教判論 *Tendai gakubō* 8 (1965): 122. For the doctrine of Five Flavors, see note 9 of the forthcoming "Translation."

works, Kuan-ting, does not mention the Five Period idea in his *Nieh-p'an ching hsüan-i*, although he does devote a major section to the Five Flavors, after which he adds: "As for the meaning of the Five Flavors, it is fully discussed in the *Fa-bua hsüan-i* [of Chih-i]." ²⁷ Moreover, it is significant that Dengyō Daishi (767-822), the founder of Japanese Tendai, should have chapters on the "Four Teachings," "Eight Teachings," and "Five Flavors" in his *Shugo-Kokkai-shō*, ²⁸ but none on the "Five Periods." Similarly, Gishin 義眞, a first generation disciple of Dengyō Daishi, uses the idea of Five Flavors, but never of Five Periods. ²⁹

What was even more surprising was the failure to find any mention at all of the phrase "Five Periods and Eight Teachings" in the major works of Chih-i or Dengyō Daishi. ³⁰ Although Chegwan did make the disclaimer that "these ideas are scattered through a wide range of texts," his opening sentence clearly attributes the classification of Five Periods and Eight Teachings to Chih-i as the method he used to arrange and explain all of the Buddha's teachings. Thus, the whole validity of the outline offered by Chegwan as a summary of the ideas of Chih-i is called into question.

More critical evidence came to light as Sekiguchi began to research the "Fourfold Methods of Conversion" 化儀四教, which is the first half of the Eight Teachings. In order to give a clear idea of the relationship of the Fourfold Methods of Conversion to the Five Periods and the Fourfold Doctrines of Conversion 化法四教, a schematic representation of the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i* is given in Diagram I (see p. 86).

First of all, Sekiguchi could not find *four* methods of conversion in Chih-i, but only *three*: viz., the Sudden, Gradual, and Variable. ³¹ Chih-i did not include a special category of teaching method called "secret" (秘密 *pi-mi*) in his works. Rather, this was extrapolated by later writers solely on the basis of a quotation used by Chih-i from the *Ta-chih-tu lun*, which distinguished between a revealed and a secret teaching at the time of Deer Park. The latter signifies that what can be understood depends on the level of one's capacities

²⁷ T 38.142.8-9.

²⁸ 守護國界章, Fasc. 1-3, T 74.135-167a in particular.

²⁹ Sekiguchi, "Goji Kyōhanron," p. 123.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 119f.

³¹ T 33.806a.16-19.

since bodhisattvas perceived more than monks and devas. Therefore, the *Ta-chib-tu lun* calls it "secret teaching." However, Chih-i says that while its contents 部 are not variable, yet how it appears 相 is undetermined or variable 不定 since some understand it and others do not.³²

This does not mean that Chih-i never used the concept of "mysterious" or "secret" in terms of certain teachings. In fact, at one point he even characterized the *Lotus Sūtra* as "secret" (秘密 *pi-mi*) in contrast to the Wisdom tradition which argued that bodhisattvahood is the cause of Buddhahood, which was obvious, while the *Lotus Sūtra* claimed that the other two vehicles also produced Buddhahood, which was a less obvious or "secret" teaching.³³ Contrary to Sekiguchi, there are instances where *pi-mi* is also used as another category of teaching method. In one of Chih-i's most important works, the *Mo-bo chib-kuan*, he clearly lists what Chan-jan later called the four methods of conversion.³⁴ Moreover, Chan-jan directly borrows his list from this source.³⁵

In spite of this criticism of Sekiguchi's argument, he undoubtedly is correct in asserting that the three forms of conversion were actually representative of the thought of Chih-i. In a recent publication, he has acknowledged the above list, and also noted a comparable list in Chih-i's *Fa-hua wen-chü*.³⁶ However, Sekiguchi suggests that it is difficult to build a theory of four methods of conversion just because the list appears twice. Much more common is the idea of "three forms of teaching" 三種教相 which parallels the system of "three forms of meditation" 三種止觀 adopted by Chih-i from his teacher, Hui-ssu. Chih-i listed these in his *Mo-bo chib-kuan* as gradual 漸次, variable 不定, and complete and sudden 円頓.³⁷ Each of these methods of meditation is then elaborated separately in various texts.³⁸

³² T 33.806b.7-24. See Sekiguchi Shindai, "Kegi shikyōron" 化儀四教論, *Tendai gakubō* 10 (Oct, 1967): 19-21.

³³ T 33.811c.2-19.

³⁴ T 46.97c.21.

³⁵ T 46.459a.27-28.

³⁶ T 34.3b.3-4. See Sekiguchi, "'Goji Hakkyō" kyōhan no kigen' (1975) pp. 7-9.

³⁷ T 46.1c.2.

³⁸ "Gradual meditation" is detailed in *Ch'an-men hsiu-cheng* 10, "variable meditation" in *Liu-miao-fa-men* 1, and "complete and sudden meditation" in *Mo-bo chib-kuan* 10. See Sekiguchi Shindai, *Tendai-shikan no kenkyū* 天台止觀の研究 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1969), pp. 3-31 and 65-67.

INTRODUCTION TO THE T' IEN-T' AI SSU-CHIAO-I

Because the doctrine of Five Flavors emphasizes the level of maturity of man's capacities rather than discriminating between the contents of various sūtras, all Five Flavors—the Hua-yen, Deer Park, Universal, Wisdom, and Lotus-Nirvāna—can be either sudden or gradual. It all depends on one's spiritual insight.³⁹ Kiyota Minoru supports this view and argues that, according to Chih-i in his *Fa-bua hsüan-i*, the teachings of the Buddha “cannot be differentiated between the shallow and the profound as they are designed to meet the need of men whose capacity differentiates them as matured and immatured.”⁴⁰ Because Chih-i's emphasis was on practice, his basic teaching “of the three methods are not identified in relation to the five time periods, but are doctrinal or theoretical expressions of the three shi-kans” or forms of meditation.⁴¹

Unfortunately, instead of emphasizing the development of practical realization as symbolized by the Five Flavors, Chegwan entered into the polemical debates of his time and used the Five Period scheme as a device to rank sūtras based on their contents and ultimately to defend the superiority of the *Lotus Sūtra* and the T'ien-t'ai School. This is a regression back to the approach used before the time of Chih-i. As a consequence, the Hua-yen Period alone is categorized as “sudden,” whereas the *Lotus Sūtra* and *Nirvāna Sūtra* are lifted out of the debate entirely and called “neither sudden nor gradual, neither secret nor variable.” Both of these classifications are innovations not to be found in the works of Chih-i, who clearly called the *Lotus Sūtra* “complete and sudden” 圓頓法華.⁴²

Based on his reading of the works of Chih-i, Sekiguchi devised his own scheme to represent the main ideas of Chih-i in relation to each other.⁴³ Not only is the idea of “three methods” central to this outline, but so is the equal emphasis given to doctrine 教 and to practice 觀. As can be seen from a glance at the Table of Contents of the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i*, Chegwan devotes

³⁹ T 33.806a.22–b.4. See Sekiguchi Shindai, “Kegi Shikyōron,” pp. 21–22.

⁴⁰ Kiyota Minoru, “The Structure and the Meaning of Tendai Thought,” *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan V* (1960): p. 79, based on the *Fa-bua Hsüan-i*, T 33.800. Kiyota also discusses the research of Sekiguchi.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁴² T 33.808a.12.

⁴³ Sekiguchi Shindai, “Kegi shikyōron,” p. 22.

only a very small section to practice. The demotion of meditative practice to only an afterthought is perhaps the most obvious example of the preoccupation with doctrinal controversy in the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i*. Such key concepts of Chih-i as the "three kinds of meditation" 三種止觀, "sudden and complete practice" 圓頓止觀, and the "four kinds of samādhi" 四種三昧 are not even mentioned by Chegwan.⁴⁴ This is also a major deviation from the *Pa-chiao ta-i* of Chan-jan. Whereas the "ten modes of contemplation" 十乘觀法 are related in turn to each of the Four Doctrines of Conversion (the Tripiṭaka, Shared, Special and Complete) by Chan-jan, Chegwan deals with them separately and only once at the end of his work.

If Chih-i did not emphasize the Five Periods but the Five Flavors, and if he did not teach Four Methods of Conversion but only Three, then the question is raised as to who did devise the "Five Periods and Eight Teachings" classification. We do not find it in any of Kuan-ting's works, providing we dismiss him as the author of the *Pa-chiao ta-i* as has been suggested above. However, there are at least four occurrences of this scheme in the writings of Chan-jan.⁴⁵ As far as we know, this is the first appearance of the phrase "Five Periods and Eight Teachings," and points to Chan-jan as the key figure in popularizing the idea, if not in fact the creator of it. It also supports the contention of Chih-p'an that the *Pa-chiao ta-i* was written by Chan-jan, since the Eight Teachings are directly co-ordinated with the Five Flavors in an identical manner.⁴⁶

Thus, until further investigation is done, it seems reasonable to suggest that the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i* does not accurately reflect the thought of Chih-i, but is influenced in its overall emphasis and outline by doctrinal developments since Chih-i, in particular by the formulations of Chan-jan of the eighth century.

⁴⁴ Sekiguchi Shindai, "Goji hakkyō ron" 五時八教論, *Tendai gakubō* 14 (1972): 12-20.

⁴⁵ T 33.816c.23-24; T 34.171c.23-25; T 34.212c.21; and T 46.292a.20. The last example was kindly supplied by Stanley Weinstein. Cf. Kotera Bon'ei, "Hōjibō Shōshin ni mirareru Kyōhan ni tsuite" 宝地房証真にみられる教判について, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 38 (March, 1971): p. 178.

⁴⁶ T 46.769a.9ff.

Conclusions

Because of these points, Leon Hurvitz's work *Cbib-i* (538–597) should be used with caution in spite of its great usefulness and importance. For example, the core one hundred pages of doctrinal analysis are based on the systematization of thought devised by Chan-jan since they begin by saying that "Chih-i spoke in terms of the Five Periods and the Eight Teachings (五時八教),"⁴⁷ and then the analysis proceeds to be structured around this classification. Based on the research of Sekiguchi Shindai, we have seen that Chih-i never used this scheme. Thus, the outline of Chih-i's thought according to Hurvitz may not be justified, although the issue is still open for debate.

In addition, Hurvitz's emphasis on *p'an-chiao* and the T'ien-t'ai division into Five Periods of a precise number of years each, is not to be seen as representing the thrust of Chih-i's thought.⁴⁸ Also, the "Secret Indeterminate Teaching" 秘密不定 apparently was never raised into a separate category by Chih-i.⁴⁹ Moreover, Hurvitz singled out the *Hua-yen* method as the prime example of the "Sudden Teaching" but did not mention that it refers to all five flavors and periods.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, Hurvitz's work is invaluable as a pioneering effort, and serves as an excellent companion to the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i* as a good starting point in any attempt to understand the doctrines which later Tendai accepted as orthodox.

In assessing the value of the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i*, it is important to remember the context of doctrinal controversy within which it was written. Since it scarcely deals with meditative practice which Chih-i considered the foundation of his doctrines, it should not be considered a comprehensive outline of Chih-i's teaching. Nevertheless, some of Chih-i's own works dealt almost exclusively with doctrine, and these works clearly provide the major inspiration for Chegwan's writing. This is especially true of Chih-i's *Ta-pen ssu-*

⁴⁷ Hurvitz, *Cbib-i*, p. 229.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 214–244, and particularly pp. 229–244.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 247. It is unfortunate that Hurvitz relied so heavily on Sasaki Kentoku's works because they so strongly reflect the *Tendai shikyōgi* tradition of interpretation. For example, when Sasaki seeks documentation for the "Secret Indeterminate Teaching," he quotes not Chih-i but the *Fa-bua bsüan-i sbib-ch'ien* 法華玄義釋籤, of Chan-jan (Taishō No. 1717). See Sasaki Kentoku, *Tendai kyōgaku* 天台教學 (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1951), p. 97.

⁵⁰ Hurvitz, *Cbib-i*, p. 245.

cbiao-i which is the original model for the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-cbiao-i*. Sekiguchi's fondness for the remark by Chih-hsü 智旭 (1599-1655) that the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-cbiao-i* of Chegwan would only obscure rather than clarify one's study of T'ien-t'ai,⁵¹ is perhaps too harsh. For in spite of the limitations mentioned earlier, the text provides an admirably clear and concise presentation of the principal technical terms used by Chih-i. Without such a guide, as King Chung-i discovered, some of the writings of Chih-i are just not intelligible. Then again, at the urging of both Hurvitz and Sekiguchi, we must remember that without a keen awareness of *śūnyatā* and a solid basis in practice, technical terms alone are inadequate either to represent Chih-i's thought or to realize the Buddhist path.

⁵¹ Sekiguchi Shindai, "Goji kyōhanron," p. 117; "Kegi shikyōron," p. 14; and "Goji hakkyōron," pp. 20-21, 23, 24.

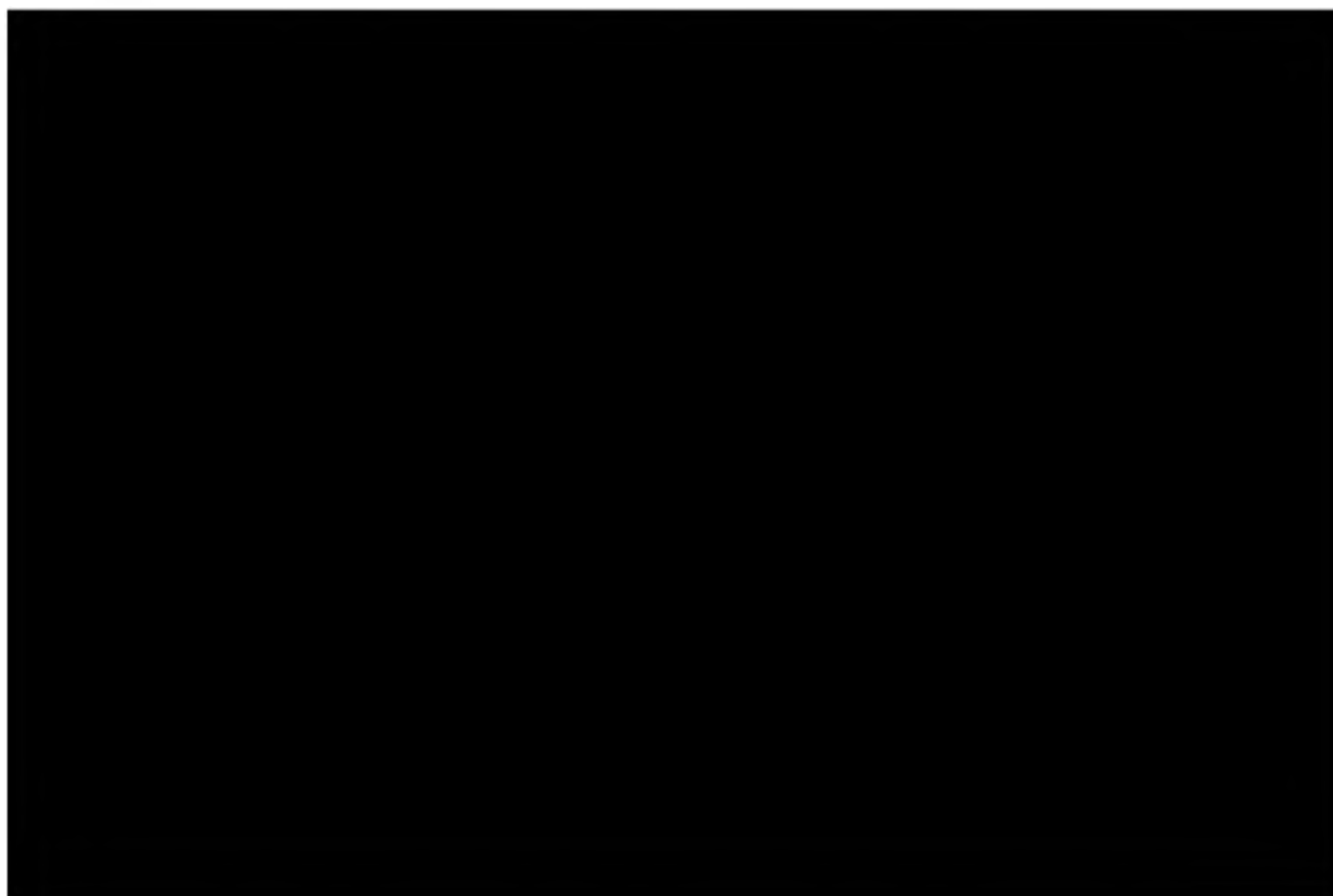


Diagram 1: *T'ien-t'ai Five Periods and Eight Teachings*—based on Chegwan's *T'ien-t'ai ssu-cbiao-i*