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TSUNG-MI'S PERFECT ENLIGHTENMENT RETREAT: CH'AN RITUAL DURING THE T'ANG DYNASTY

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Le présent travail traite du *Yüan-chüeh ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng i* [Manuel pour la culture et réalisation de la retraite du *Sūtra de l'éveil parfait*]. Cet ouvrage, compilé vers 828 par Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (780-841), décrit une retraite de quarante à cent vingt jours centrée sur la récitation liturgique du *Yüan-chüeh ching*.

1. Signification historique

L'étude de ce manuel devrait contribuer à combler une lacune dans les études bouddhiques en ce qui concerne le rituel et la liturgie. Ce texte, compilé durant la période formative du Ch'an, est en effet l'un des rares documents qui éclairent la pratique rituelle au sein d'une école en théorie anti-ritualiste. Il permet donc de remettre en question une des idées reçues sur le Ch'an, et de situer cette école dans le contexte du bouddhisme chinois.

Jusqu'à présent, les révisions importantes de l'histoire du Ch'an ont laissé intactes un certain nombre de présuppositions de l'historiographie traditionnelle—et en particulier la prétention qu'avait cette école de représenter une forme unique de pratique bouddhique. L'image qui domine est encore celle, établie sous les Sung, d'un Ch'an radicalement iconoclaste. Certes, un certain nombre de documents datant des T'ang semblent confirmer cet iconoclasme; mais il en existe également beaucoup d'autres, dont le présent texte, qui démontrent le contraire—et qui, peut-être pour cette raison, n'ont pas été retenus par les historiens. Le témoignage de Tsung-mi est d'autant plus important qu'il nous décrit l'accomplissement d'un rituel basé sur une Écriture canonique (quoiqu'apocryphe)—au sein d'un Ch'an censément anti-ritualiste et anti-scriptural.

2. Le *Sūtra de l'éveil parfait*

Le *Sūtra de l'éveil parfait* joua un rôle important dans la vie et l'œuvre de Tsung-mi. C'est tout d'abord la découverte de ce texte en 804, alors que Tsung-mi était encore un novice auprès de Tao-yüan, qui lui procura son premier aperçu de l'éveil. Cette expérience motiva son étude subséquente du texte, dont il rédigea une vingtaine d'années plus tard plusieurs commentaires. Malgré sa conversion à la doctrine de l'*Avatamsaka-sūtra*, et sa position éminente dans l'école Hua-yen qui se réclamait de ce texte, Tsung-mi jugeait le *Sūtra de l'éveil parfait* supérieur à celui de l'*Avatamsaka*. On sait maintenant qu'il s'agit en fait d'un apocryphe composé au tournant du huitième siècle, et répandu dans les milieux Ch'an de Lo-yang sous le règne de l'impératrice Wu (690-705). La première mention apparaît dans le *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, chronique du Ch'an des débuts compilée par un adepte de l'école dite du Nord. Le *Sūtra de l'éveil parfait* s'inscrit donc dans le mouvement des apocryphes Ch'an destinés à légitimer la nouvelle école—parmi lesquels on peut citer le *Śūramgama-sūtra* chinois (à ne pas confondre avec le texte d'origine sanskrite du même titre) et le *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*.

Nombre de ces textes, et en particulier le *sūtra* en question, s'inspiraient sur le plan doctrinal d'un autre apocryphe célèbre, le *Traité de l'éveil de la foi selon le Mahāyāna* (*Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun*), mais éclipsaient ce dernier par leur revendication du titre prestigieux de *sūtra*.

Le *Sūtra de l'éveil parfait* fournissait également à Tsung-mi une autorité scripturaire pour sa théorie de l'éveil subit suivi d'une culture graduelle. Le chapitre onze de ce *sūtra*, en particulier, qui expose la pratique rituelle appropriée aux adeptes de facultés inférieures pour éliminer les obstacles karmiques, est celui sur lequel se fonde Tsung-mi pour définir sa Retraite de l'Éveil parfait.

3. Le manuel de Tsung-mi et la Retraite

Le *Manuel* de Tsung-mi se compose de trois parties : la première (fascicule 1) discute des conditions préalables à la pratique; la seconde, de loin la plus longue (fascicules 2 à 16), de la dévotion rituelle centrée sur le *Sūtra*; la troisième (fascicules 17-18), de la pratique de la méditation assise. Les érudits japonais comme Sekiguchi Shindai et Kamata Shigeo se sont concentrés sur le début et la fin du texte, et y ont discerné l'influence du *Hsiao chih-kuan* de Chih-i (538-587), le fondateur de l'école T'ien-t'ai. Plus récemment, on s'est aperçu que la section rituelle s'inspirait également du *Fa-hua san-mei ching* de Chih-i. Toutefois, le manuel de Tsung-mi diffère nettement de ces deux manuels du T'ien-t'ai par l'accent qu'il place sur le *Sūtra de l'éveil parfait*. La section rituelle est elle-même divisée en deux parties, la première décrivant une période préliminaire de trois semaines consacrée à la vénération de personnages tels que Vairocana, Mañjuśrī et Samantabhadra, et au repentir; la seconde décrivant la Retraite proprement dite—qui peut durer, selon les capacités des pratiquants, cent vingt, cent ou quatre-vingts jours.

4. Conditions préliminaires

Les conditions préliminaires au rituel sont au nombre de sept : après avoir exposé les bénéfices du rituel, Tsung-mi énumère les trois types d'individus qui peuvent en bénéficier, chacun à leur niveau de réalisation. La retraite est ouverte aux pratiquants laïques, hommes et femmes, s'ils remplissent ces conditions.

5. Structure de la retraite

Le rituel est divisé en vingt-cinq séquences, et les liturgies spécifiques varient en fonction de la section du *Sūtra de l'éveil parfait* qui se trouve à l'ordre du jour. Ikeda Rosan a relevé les analogies entre la structure de cette retraite et celle du *Samādhi du Lotus*, telle que Chih-i la décrit dans son *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i* : dans les deux cas, il s'agit d'un rituel centré sur la récitation liturgique d'un texte. Toutefois, Tsung-mi semble simplement faire appel à une syntaxe rituelle commune aux diverses traditions bouddhiques, et sans doute ne faut-il pas surestimer l'influence du T'ien-t'ai, comme les érudits Tendai ont parfois tendance à le faire.

Le rituel est décomposé par Tsung-mi en huit rubriques, qui recouvrent effectivement celles du *Samādhi du Lotus* : invocation, offrandes, exaltation, vénération, repentir, litanies diverses, circumambulation et méditation. Cependant, la séquence rituelle, effectuée six fois par jour, est assez différente : offrandes, exaltation, vénération, repentir, sollicitation, réjouissance altruiste, dédication, et vœux (les quatre dernières

rubriques relevant des litanies diverses). En outre, si la structure est à peu près la même, le contenu (les objets du culte) diffère considérablement : les vœux, en particulier, s'inspirent des dix vœux de Samantabhadra, tels qu'ils apparaissent dans la littérature Hua-yen. Chacun de ces rites est censé éliminer certains obstacles karmiques spécifiques (avarice, calomnie, fierté, etc.), et apporter aux pratiquants de facultés inférieures certains gains tels que fortune, éloquence, honneur, etc. Mais surtout, ils leur permettent d'accéder à la sphère de la sagesse.

La retraite commence par une invocation des Buddha, Bodhisattva et divinités protectrices diverses (comme le dieu du Mont Kuei-feng, où résidait Tsung-mi). Le cycle rituel quotidien comprend : (1) une offrande d'encens et de fleurs; (2) un éloge des Trois Joyaux; (3) la vénération rituelle de chacune des entités spirituelles invoquées; (4) le repentir des fautes passées; (5) la récitation d'un couplet priant le Buddha de rester en ce monde; (6) la récitation d'un second couplet exprimant la joie devant les accomplissements spirituels de tous les êtres; (7) le transfert des mérites obtenus en vue de l'éveil de tous les êtres; (8) des vœux divers. La phase suivante du rituel consiste en une circumambulation de l'autel, au cours de laquelle a lieu la récitation liturgique du *Sūtra de l'éveil parfait*.

6. En guise de conclusion

Ce résumé ne peut évidemment pas rendre compte du caractère émotionnel et esthétique, ni de la ferveur dévotionnelle de la retraite. La répétition, six fois par jour, de la séquence rituelle de base—dont la durée devait être d'environ deux heures—suffit peut-être à donner une faible idée de l'énergie nécessaire pour tenir ce rythme durant une période de quatre-vingt à cent vingt jours. L'intérêt de la distinction entre forme et contenu est de montrer que, en dépit de ressemblances structurelles avec les ouvrages de Chih-i, le texte en question n'a pratiquement pas été influencé par la pensée T'ien-t'ai. La forme constitue une sorte de syntaxe rituelle commune à l'ensemble du bouddhisme chinois, tandis que le contenu, qui donne un sens dévotionnel et cognitif à cette forme, est spécifique à chaque école. Certes, du point de vue phénoménologique, cette distinction est sans doute moins pertinente, dans la mesure où le rituel est perçu comme un tout par les participants; mais elle n'en conserve pas moins une valeur heuristique, en permettant de dialectiser l'unité et la diversité de la (ou des) religion(s) chinoise(s). Alors que le bouddhisme chinois, considéré jusqu'à présent dans son aspect doctrinal, a été perçu dans sa diversité sectaire, l'accent sur les structures rituelles révèle l'unité sous-jacente aux diverses pratiques monastiques. De ce point de vue, et malgré sa rhétorique élitiste, le Ch'an n'est pas si unique qu'on le prétend d'ordinaire.

L'article comporte quatre annexes : l'annexe 1 est une table des matières du *Sūtra de l'éveil parfait*; les annexes 2 à 4 établissent une comparaison de diverses sections du manuel de Tsung-mi et du *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i* de Chih-i, et illustrent la façon dont une même structure textuelle (et rituelle) peut être utilisée pour exprimer des contenus différents.

I would like to take this opportunity to introduce a text that I have recently begun to work on. Although my research is still only in its preliminary stages, I think the text, and the issues it raises, are sufficiently important to merit attention. The text in question is the *Yüan-chüeh ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng i* 圓覺經道場修證儀, a title that can be freely translated as “A Manual for the Cultivation and Realization of the Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment Retreat.”¹ It was composed by the noted T'ang Dynasty (618-907) Hua-yen 華嚴 and Ch'an scholar Kuei-feng Tsung-mi 圭峯宗密 (780-841) sometime around the year 828 at the Ts'ao-t'ang ssu 草堂寺 on Mt. Chung-nan 終南山 (situated some fifty miles southwest of the imperial capital of Ch'ang-an 長安).² The text is long (eighteen fascicles) and details the prescriptions for an 80- to 120-day retreat centered around the liturgical recitation of the *Scripture of Perfect*

A preliminary draft of this paper was presented at the Tenth Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies in Paris in July, 1991. Subsequent versions were presented at the Workshop on Buddhist Intellectual Practice at the University of Chicago, February 28, 1992, and as a seminar for the Buddhist Studies Program at the University of Michigan, March 11, 1992. I am grateful to all of the participants of the workshop and seminar for their interest, helpful questions, criticisms, and suggestions. I would especially like to thank Dan Stevenson, Griff Foulk, and Bhikṣu Hui-min for taking time to read through some of the more difficult and problematic parts of the text with me. I would also like to take this occasion to express my deep gratitude to the Center for Advanced Study at the University of Illinois for its support in the form of an appointment as an associate for the academic year of 1991-92, which granted me leave to pursue research on this project.

1) The text can be found in vol. 128 of the *Hsü tsang ching* (the Hong Kong reprint of the *Dainippon zokuzōkyō*), pp. 361a-498c. The text is both less and more than a manual—that is, it does not always include the kind of detailed stage directions necessary for the performance of the ritual sequences; at the same time, it also includes commentary and annotation that elucidate the significance of various parts of the ritual and liturgy, what Paul Griffiths felicitously suggested might be called “liturgical theology.” The term *tao-ch'ang* 道場, here freely translated as “retreat,” is, of course, a Chinese translation of the Sanskrit *bodhimāṇḍa*, “the place where the way is attained,” according to Tsung-mi's gloss (*HTC* 14. 194d6-7). It is used here, however, in a sense far broader than the actual sanctuary where the retreat is conducted; it also connotes the practice of the retreat, the community of practitioners who take part in the retreat, and the spiritual event of the retreat. The *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Ta-fang-kuang yüan-chüeh hsiu-to-lo liao-i ching* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經), *T.* vol. 39, n° 1795, has been translated, together with the commentary of Han-shan Te-ching 慇山德清 (1546-1623), by Charles Luk (Lu K'uan Yü) in his *Ch'an and Zen Teachings, Third Series* (Berkeley: Shambala, 1973), pp. 149-278.

2) The text must have been written after 827 as Tsung-mi mentions that he practiced the particular repentance, solicitation, expression of sympathetic joy, dedication of merit, and declaration of vows found in the eighth fascicle of the text during the winter of that year (*HTC* 128.417a16). Tsung-mi was summoned to the court during the fall of 828 and stayed in the capital for a period of “two years,” which means that he must have returned to Mt. Chung-nan in 829 or early 830, where he remained until 832 or 833. His imperial recognition brought Tsung-mi into contact with some of the leading intellectual and political figures of the day, and the character of his writing seems to have shifted as a result. After 828 Tsung-mi's work abandons the primarily scholastic focus of his earlier commentaries to address the broader intellectual concerns of his new literati audience. My best guess is therefore that his *Yüan-chüeh ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng i* was composed during 828 before his summons to the capital, although the possibility that it was written after his return to Mt. Chung-nan in 829 or 830 cannot be ruled out. For a study of Tsung-mi's life and thought, see my *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Enlightenment (*Yüan-chüeh ching* 圓覺經, T. vol. 17, n° 842). I hope that my discussion of the text and the issues it raises will also draw attention to the importance of the work of two colleagues, Griffith Foulk³ and Daniel Stevenson,⁴ who in different ways did much to spark my interest in Tsung-mi's manual.

In what follows I would first like to hypothesize about the significance of this text for our understanding of Chinese Buddhism. I will then say a few words about the *Yüan-chüeh ching*, the scripture on which Tsung-mi's manual centers, before going on to outline the structure and content of the retreat detailed in the manual. The various appendices document some of the points touched on in the main body of the paper.

Historical Significance

I have become interested in Tsung-mi's manual because I believe that its study has repercussions that promise to further alter the way we understand the nature and development of the Ch'an tradition. Its study should also help to redress a persistent imbalance that continues to nag the study of Buddhism in general: the almost total neglect of the ritual and liturgical side of the religion. The late T'ang, when this text was composed, is particularly important in the history of Ch'an because it is the period that the later tradition looked back to as its "golden age." Modern scholars have been drawn to it as the formative period when a distinctively "Ch'an" tradition emerged, a tradition supposedly characterized by its radical rejection of the ritual and devotional practices that were at the heart of Chinese Buddhist monastic life. Tsung-mi's manual is especially interesting because it is one of the few T'ang Dynasty documents that may actually reflect ritual practice and its place within Ch'an monastic life during this crucial period in the development of the tradition. I suspect that one of the reasons this text has not yet received the scholarly attention it deserves is that it does not fit the generally accepted picture of Ch'an's radical rejection of standard Buddhist practices. Of course there is an abundant literature of detailed ritual prescriptions in later Sung-dynasty (960-1279) Ch'an monastic regulations, but this material is often viewed as symptomatic of the decline of the creative genius and iconoclastic spirit that had animated the supposedly "pure" Ch'an of the late T'ang, an institutional compromise with wealth and power occasioned by Ch'an's emergence as the dominant form of establishment Buddhism. I would contend, however, that Tsung-mi's ritual manual is especially worthy of study precisely because it directly calls into question one of the most commonly asserted characteristics about the early

3) See his 1987 University of Michigan Ph.D. dissertation, "The 'Ch'an School' and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition," as well as his "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism" in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society in Tang and Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), pp. 147-208.

4) See his 1987 Columbia University Ph.D. dissertation, "The T'ien-t'ai Four Forms of Samādhi and Late North-South Dynasties, Sui, and Early T'ang Buddhist Devotionalism," as well as his "The Four Kinds of Samādhi in Early T'ien-t'ai Buddhism," in Peter N. Gregory, ed., *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), pp. 45-97.

tradition. In fact, I believe that the study of this text will help relocate Ch'an within the mainstream of Chinese Buddhist monastic practice, which is the proper context in which to evaluate its radical rhetoric.

Although modern scholars have completely rewritten the early history of Ch'an, the picture that has developed is one that differs from the orthodox version of the tradition largely in matters of historical detail. Scholars have had more difficulty recognizing, much less critically assessing, some of the underlying assumptions of traditional Ch'an historiography that inform their interpretation of the tradition—especially the tradition's claim to represent a unique approach to Buddhist practice. Our picture of T'ang Dynasty Ch'an still reflects the vision of the tradition that only assumed its standard form in the genealogical histories and discourse records composed during the subsequent Sung dynasty. As Foulk has shown in his penetrating critique of Ch'an historiography, much of the best critical scholarship is still, in large part, conducted through the lens of Ch'an mythology—a situation obscured by the fact that the mode adopted in Ch'an mythologizing was historical. Ch'an's foundational myth held that the tradition represented a “mind-to-mind” transmission of the Buddha's enlightenment tracing all the way back through an unbroken succession of patriarchs to the historical Buddha in India. Moreover, as the “sudden” teaching, Ch'an offered direct access to the ultimate source of all authority in Buddhism, the Buddha's enlightenment, by enabling its followers to see their own Buddha-nature and thereby realize their inherent Buddhahood. While modern scholarship has succeeded in placing this myth within the polemical context of the emergence of Ch'an as a self-conscious tradition within the sectarian arena of Chinese Buddhism during the T'ang, it has not challenged its basic corollary: that such claims of un-mediated access obviated the reliance on traditional forms of Buddhist practice. While support for this picture of the iconoclastic spirit of T'ang-dynasty Ch'an can be found within the rhetoric of T'ang Dynasty sources, these sources only reinforce the picture of the tradition projected by Sung-dynasty Ch'an historiographers. Other sources that do not conform to this picture are largely ignored or dismissed as not “true” Ch'an (according, anachronistically, to the criteria of Sung Ch'an historiography). If we do not so prejudge the issue and let T'ang sources speak for themselves, quite a different picture comes into focus. It is in this context that Tsung-mi's œuvre is particularly valuable. Tsung-mi's Ch'an writings document the teaching and practices of various late T'ang Ch'an traditions. Unlike the T'ang Dynasty Tun-huang Ch'an texts, each of which seeks to promote the partisan interests of a single sub-tradition within Ch'an, Tsung-mi's work is the only T'ang source that tries to delineate the tradition as a whole.

Ch'an's claim to offer direct access to enlightenment without relying on the usual Buddhist moral, ritual, and meditational practices was accompanied by the further corollary that the tradition, as the heir of the Buddha's enlightenment, did not depend on canonical authority. Ch'an is thus typically portrayed as rejecting any need for scriptural study. Tsung-mi's ritual manual is particularly interesting in this regard because it places a scripture at the center of a complex regimen of ritual veneration and liturgical recitation. Tsung-mi especially valued the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* because he believed that it embodied the principles on which Ch'an

practice was based. Not only does his manual make this text the focus of a devotional cult, it also offers the means by which these principles could be appropriated through their re-enactment in liturgical practice.

The Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment

Indeed, it would be difficult to over-emphasize the importance that the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* had for Tsung-mi.⁵ It was, to begin with, the catalyst for his first enlightenment experience. Shortly after having become a novice monk under Tao-yüan 道圓 in Sui-chou 遂州 (Szechwan) in 804, he came across a copy of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* for the first time at a maigre gathering (*chai 齋*) at the home of a local official.⁶ After only reading two or three pages, he had an awakening, an experience whose intensity so overwhelmed him that he found himself spontaneously dancing for joy. (It is worth noting that Tsung-mi's initial enlightenment did not occur while he was absorbed in meditation. Nor, as in the case of so many well-known Ch'an enlightenment stories, did it occur as a sudden burst of insight at the turning words or dramatic action of a master. Rather, it came about as a result of reading several lines of scripture.) The text that precipitated this experience was to dominate Tsung-mi's life for the next two decades. He subsequently launched into an intensive study of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, searching out and pouring through the available commentaries, reading extensively in the Buddhist canon in the various monastic libraries on Mt. Chung-nan and in the capital of Ch'ang-an—an enterprise that culminated in his definitive series of commentaries and subcommentaries to the text written during 823 and 824. Despite his later appropriation into the fold of Hua-yen patriarchs, Tsung-mi saw the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* as superior to even the *Hua-yen [Avatamsaka] Sūtra*, claiming that its straightforwardness was better suited to the needs of the times than the daunting scale of the *Hua-yen Sūtra*. In fact, Tsung-mi went so far as to revise traditional Hua-yen classification categories in order to establish the supremacy of this text over the *Hua-yen Sūtra*.

Although it purports to have been translated into Chinese by Buddhatrāta in 793, modern scholarship has shown that the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* was an “apocryphal” text composed in China sometime around the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century and that its teaching was related to two other apocryphal works, the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* (*Shou-leng-yen ching* 首楞嚴經) and *Awakening of Faith* (*Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun* 大乘起信論). Although we cannot determine precisely either where or when the text was first composed, circumstantial evidence suggests that the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* was current in Ch'an circles in or around Lo-yang 洛陽 during the reign of Empress Wu (690-705). This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the first text to mention the *Scripture of Perfect*

5) I have explored this theme more fully in my *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, see esp. chap. 2.

6) Such events typically involved the liturgical recitation of a sacred text. Could the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* have been the text that was so recited on the occasion when Tsung-mi first encountered it?

Enlightenment is the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* 傳法寶紀, an early Ch'an record of the transmission of the dharma down through Shen-hsiu 神秀 (606-706). Indeed, the fabrication of apocryphal texts like the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, as Robert Buswell has shown in his study of the *Vajrasamādhi Sūtra*,⁷ played a crucial role in legitimating the teachings of the nascent Ch'an movement.⁸

Such apocryphal texts gave scriptural legitimacy to the growing body of doctrines in terms of which Chinese Buddhists of the T'ang were forging their own uniquely "sinitic" approach to Buddhism. The *Awakening of Faith* played a crucial role in shaping these new doctrines by developing the Indian Buddhist teaching of tathāgatarāgā into a monistic ontology based on the one mind as the ultimate ground of all experience. The *Awakening of Faith* was also the central text on which Tsung-mi articulated his theory of Buddhist practice and in terms of which he interpreted the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*. Being a sūtra, and hence claiming to represent the word of the Buddha, the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* bore an authority beyond that of the *Awakening of Faith*, which was only a śāstra (*lun* 論), and thereby provided a solid scriptural foundation for legitimating the teaching of the latter.

The *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* spoke to Ch'an concerns as well. Tsung-mi, in fact, saw it as authenticating his theory of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation.⁹ According to his commentaries, the first chapter thus deals with "sudden faith and understanding" (*tun-hsin-chieh* 頓信解) as the basis for the "gradual cultivation" (*chien-hsiu* 漸修) elaborated in the subsequent chapters. Tsung-mi's explanation of the structure of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* (see appendix 1 for a schematic outline) also throws light on his understanding of the status of the retreat detailed in his manual. Tsung-mi saw the first chapter as elucidating what the *Awakening of Faith* termed "intrinsic enlightenment" (*pen-chüeh* 本覺), the fundamental ground of enlightenment, insight into which provided the basis for further practice. The second chapter sets forth the proper mental disposition with which one should engage in practice. The next four chapters comprehensively explain the practice of contemplation appropriate for those of superior faculties. The following four chapters specifically explain the practice of contemplation appropriate for those of average faculties. The eleventh chapter (Perfect Enlightenment Bodhisattva) elaborates the ritual practice appropriate for those of inferior faculties.

7) See his *The Formation of Ch'an Ideology in China and Korea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

8) For a more fully developed discussion of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, see my *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, pp. 54-58.

9) Indeed, the scripture refers to itself as the "sudden teaching" (*tun-chiao* 頓教) and specifically enumerates various "gradual" (*chien-tz'u* 漸次) practices to be undertaken. As the concluding chapter states: "This scripture just reveals the realm of the Tathāgata, and only a Buddha Tathāgata can fully expound it. If bodhisattvas and beings living in a future age practice in accordance with it, they will steadily (*chien-tz'u*) progress until they reach the stage of Buddhahood. . . . This scripture is called the great vehicle of the sudden teaching. Beings of sudden capacity (*tun-chi* 頓機) will attain realization from it, and it encompasses a full range of gradual practices as well" (*T.* 17.921c21-24; cf. Luk, p. 274).

Tsong-mi derives the authority for the Perfect Enlightenment Retreat from this chapter and lays out its essential structure in his commentary and subcommentary. The point that bears emphasis here, however, is that the Perfect Enlightenment Retreat falls not only within the domain of gradual cultivation but also within the type of practice appropriate for those of inferior faculties—that is, it is at the bottom of Tsung-mi's scale of hierarchically graded levels of practice. Nevertheless, it still has an important, and in many cases necessary, role to play in helping the practitioner to overcome his most deeply entrenched karmic obstructions. “Even though one may have faith in and understanding of the previous teaching [of the intrinsically enlightened mind], yet, because one's obstructions are heavy and one's mind is agitated, one must engage in [this] ritual practice.”¹⁰

Tsung-mi's Manual and Retreat

Tsung-mi's *Yüan-chüeh ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng i* is divided into three main parts: the first (fascicle 1) discusses the conditions for practice; the second, and by far the longest (fascicles 2-16), details the ritual devotion centered on the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*; and the third (fascicles 17-18) elucidates the practice of seated meditation. Previous scholarship has concentrated on the beginning and end of the text and has been concerned to show its indebtedness to earlier T'ien-t'ai manuals. Sekiguchi Shindai 関口真大 and Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄 have shown that Tsung-mi's discussion of mental preparation and seated meditation found in the first and last two fascicles consists almost entirely of excerpts from Chih-i's 智顓 (538-597) *Hsiao chih-kuan* 小止觀 (*T. n° 1915*) reassembled in a different order.¹¹ Shiina Kōyū 椎名宏雄 and, more recently, Ikeda Rosan 池田魯參 have further pointed out that Tsung-mi's discussion of preparatory practices (in the first fascicle) and ritual procedures (in the second fascicle) draws heavily from Chih-i's *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i* 法華三昧懺儀 (*T. n° 1941*), which offers detailed prescriptions for the

10) *Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu* 圓覺經大疏, HTC 14.

11) See the chart in Sekiguchi's *Tendai shō-shikan no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin, 1954), pp. 285-302, which collates the *cheng-hsiu* 正修 section of the *Hsiao chih-kuan* with, among other texts, Tsung-mi's *Yüan-chüeh ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng i* and *Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu-ch'ao* 圓覺經大疏鈔; see also the chart in Kamata's *Shūmitsu kyōgaku no shisōshi-teki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1975), pp. 524-608, which collates Tsung-mi's *Yüan-chüeh ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng i* with his *Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu-ch'ao* and Chih-i's *Hsiao chih-kuan*. For a discussion of the influence of the *Hsiao chih-kuan* on Tsung-mi's *Yüan-chüeh ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng i* and later meditation manuals, see Carl Bielefeldt, “Ch'ang-lu Tsung-tse's *Tso-ch'an i* and the ‘Secret’ of Zen Meditation,” in Gregory, ed., *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 129-161; Bielefeldt has extended his coverage of this theme in his *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). Chih-i's *Hsiao chih-kuan* (*T. n° 1915*) is available in two English translations: one by Wai-tao in Dwight Goddard, ed., *A Buddhist Bible* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), pp. 437-496, and the other by Charles Luk (Lu K'uan Yü) in his *Secrets of Chinese Meditation* (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1969), pp. 111-156.

performance of the three-week Lotus Samādhi Repentance studied by Stevenson.¹² These two T'ien-t'ai manuals provide the underlying syntax for the ritual and meditative procedures laid out in Tsung-mi's text; the content, however, is wholly unique in its focus on the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*. We should thus not be too quick to emphasize the extent of T'ien-t'ai influence in Tsung-mi's manual—a point to which we shall later return.

While the manual is divided into three sections, the actual ritual practice consists of two parts. The first is a preliminary three-week period of veneration and repentance in preparation for the much longer Perfect Enlightenment Retreat that is the central focus of the text. Tsung-mi gives few details on this preliminary three-week practice, presumably because it followed standard procedures and there was little that was specific to the Perfect Enlightenment Retreat per se. He does specify, however, that images of Vairocana, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra are to be placed on an altar and that one should engage in their ritual veneration, confess and repent of one's sins before them, and solemnly vow to eliminate the obstructions caused by one's sins so as to gain the merits of the practice.¹³ This preliminary three-week period is also echoed in the Perfect Enlightenment Bodhisattva Chapter of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*:

When the Buddha is present in the world, one may truly behold [his form]. After the Buddha has passed on, [however,] one must install images [of him]; when [his form] is made present in the mind and pictured by the eye, true recollection is produced, and it will thereby be the same as if the Tathāgata were always alive. One should adorn [the sanctuary] with banners and flowers and, for three weeks, prostrate oneself before the Buddhas of the ten directions and call upon their names, beseech [the grace of their presence] and confess and repent one's sins [before them]. If one [thereby] encounters an auspicious sign, one's mind will be unburdened and put at ease. Even after the three weeks have passed, one should continue to maintain single-minded concentration.¹⁴

Such preliminary practice purifies one ritually and prepares one mentally for the arduous ritual cycle ahead.

The central practice that takes up the bulk of Tsung-mi's manual is, of course, the Perfect Enlightenment Retreat itself. Basing himself on a passage from the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, Tsung-mi specifies that this rite may be undertaken for a period of 120 days, 100 days, or 80 days, as appropriate for those of superior, average, or inferior capacity, respectively.¹⁵

12) See Shiina's "Tōdai Zenshū no raizan ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 20:2 (1972), pp. 764-769, and Ikeda's "Engakukyō dōjō shūshōgi no raizanhō," in: *Chūgoku no bukkyō to bunka* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 1988), pp. 389-416; see also Ikeda's much briefer "Shūmitsu Engakukyō dōjō shūshōgi no raizanhō," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 35:1 (1986), pp. 118-121. For an excellent annotated translation of Chih-i's *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i* (T. n° 1941), see Stevenson's dissertation, pp. 468-537, to which I am greatly indebted; see also the section on the Lotus Samādhi in his "The Four Kinds of Samādhi in Early T'ien-t'ai Buddhism," pp. 67-72.

13) See *HTC* 128.362a11-14.

14) *T.* 17.921a15-19 (cf. *Luk*, p. 266).

15) See *HTC* 128.469b18-c7.

If, during the final age of the dharma, there are beings who are endowed with the potentiality for [realizing the fruit of] Mahāyāna, who have faith in the mind of great perfect enlightenment, the profound arcanum of the Buddha, and who wish to cultivate its practice, then, . . . if they are free of other involvements, they should set up a ritual site (*tao-ch'ang*) and set a time limit for abiding in peace and dwelling in purity: 120 days for a long period; 100 days for a middle-length period; and 80 days for a short period.¹⁶

Seated meditation, which is the subject of the last two fascicles of Tsung-mi's manual, is not a special practice to be undertaken apart from the Perfect Enlightenment Retreat but is rather the last phase in the ritual cycle, to be carried out six times a day in the performance of the Perfect Enlightenment Retreat itself.

Let us now turn to the structure of the rite as outlined in the first two fascicles of the manual.

Preparatory Conditions

The first part of Tsung-mi's manual is divided into seven sections, which explain the various preparatory conditions that must be met in order to undertake the ritual practice detailed in the remainder of the text. Tsung-mi begins with an Exhortation (*ch'üan-hsiu* 勸修), which sets forth the benefits of the practice. This section closely follows the corresponding section at the beginning of Chih-i's manual on the Lotus Samādhi¹⁷ (see appendix 2 for a side-by-side translation), the main difference being that wherever the results promised in Chih-i's manual have specific reference to the *Lotus Sūtra*, Tsung-mi has replaced them with references more appropriate to the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* and Hua-yen devotional practice. Thus, for example, where Chih-i exhorts the practitioner to engage in the Lotus Samādhi in order to see Samantabhadra, Śākyamuni, Prabhūtaratna, and the myriad emanations of Śākyamuni described in the dramatic climax of the *Lotus*,¹⁸ Tsung-mi exhorts the practitioner to engage in the Perfect Enlightenment Retreat in order to see Vairocana, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra, the “three holy ones” according to Hua-yen tradition.

The second section, Determining the Vessel (*chien-ch'i* 簡器), discusses who is capable of sustaining the practice of the retreat. (There is no corresponding section in Chih-i's *Fa-hua san-meī ch'an-i*.) Here Tsung-mi enumerates three groups of people: those who may experience realization through the practice of the retreat (*ch'i-hsing ju-cheng* 起行入證), those who may succeed in perfecting their faith by extinguishing their bad karma (*mieh-yeh ch'eng-hsin* 滅業成信), and those who may establish a karmic connection with the practice through their exposure to the contents of the scripture during the retreat (*hsün-chung chieh-yüan* 熏種結緣). The first

16) T. 17.921a10-15 (cf. Luk, p. 266).

17) See *Fa-hua san-meī ch'an-i*, T. 46.949b13-c10 (Stevenson, pp. 468-471); as Stevenson has pointed out (pp. 679-681, nn. 1-8), the benefits of the practice enumerated by Chih-i are taken almost verbatim from the *Kuan P'u-hsien p'u-sa hsing-fa ching* (T. n° 276).

18) See chap. 11, *Miao-fa lien-hua ching*, T. 9.32b-34b; Leon Hurvitz, trans., *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 183-194.

group refers to those who, under the guidance of an enlightened master (“such as someone who has received the true understanding passed down from generation to generation within the lineage of the mind-ground of Bodhidharma or someone who has thoroughly penetrated the three contemplations and three views within the T'ien-t'ai lineage”), have already gained an insight into the nature of their mind so that, when they hear the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, they are able to grasp its meaning. It also includes those who have maintained the purity of the precepts so that, when they engage in the ritual practice, they are able to persevere in their resolve and realize their goal. The second group refers to monks and lay persons who have not yet seen into their own minds and understood the meaning of the scripture but are motivated by their belief that the retreat offers a means for rising above their present ordinary (*fān* 凡; *prthagjana*) status to that of a noble one (*sheng* 聖; *ārya*). Even if such people have faltered in upholding the precepts, if they persevere with diligence, they may achieve consummation of the root of faith, extinguish their bad karma, and never backslide, thereby creating a firm basis for continued practice in future lives. The third group refers to monks and laypersons who have not yet raised the aspiration for enlightenment and are motivated by a simple faith in the three treasures. Even if such people are unable to complete the full retreat, they should vow that they will determine to practice it at another time or in a future life and that they will for the time being listen attentively to the words of the liturgy so that they will be permeated by the seeds of wisdom and will be able to establish good conditions for its practice in the future.

At the beginning and end of this section, Tsung-mi discusses how the retreat applies to monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen. He first notes that “monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen may not participate together” during “seated meditation for the three designated time periods” of the retreat, but that “monks and laymen may be together, and nuns and laywomen may be together.” He adds that all four groups may take part in the three-week veneration and repentance, “with the only qualification that nuns and lay persons must remain outside of the ritual area (*t'an* 壇).”¹⁹ At the end of the section he goes on to say: “After the three weeks [of the preparatory practice] are over, neither nuns nor laywomen may participate [in the retreat together with monks and laymen]. In the case of the retreat (*tao-ch'ang*) for nuns, regardless of whether it involves veneration and repentance or seated meditation, monks may never participate in it. Since nuns are inferior to monks, [monks] may not engage in the [nuns'] veneration and repentance (*li-ch'an* 禮懺) that follows the text [of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*]. . . . Anyone other than the three groups of people [enumerated above] who [tries to] engage in this ritual practice does so in vain.”²⁰ The retreat is thus open to the entire fourfold saṃgha, the only stricture being that—given that the participants must live, practice, and (presumably) sleep in the same space for 80 to 120 days—men and women (whether cleric or lay) must practice the retreat in separate quarters.

19) 362b6-7.

20) 362d1-4; Ikeda clearly misconstrues this passage when he claims that it establishes that the practice of the retreat was solely reserved for monks (see “*Engakukyō dōjō shūshōgi*

The third through fifth sections slightly abridge and rearrange the order of three sections from Chih-i's *Hsiao chih-kuan* dealing with the conditions for attaining the proper mental attitude necessary for meditative practice. The third section of Tsung-mi's manual thus treats repudiating the desires associated with the five senses (*ho-yü* 呵欲);²¹ the fourth section, forsaking the five hindrances (*pañca-nīvaraṇa*) that obstruct practice (*ch'i-kai* 棄蓋)—i.e., covetousness, malice, drowsiness, restlessness/remorse, and doubt;²² and the fifth section, fulfilling the five preconditions (*chü-yüan* 具緣)—i.e., maintaining the purity of the precepts, ensuring adequate provisions of food and clothing, securing a secluded and tranquil place, putting aside all external involvements, and associating with good friends.²³

The sixth section, adorning the environs (*yen-ch'u* 嚴處), draws from four sections of Chih-i's *Fa-hua san-meī ch'an-i* (on preliminary preparations, purifying the ritual site, purifying one's body, and when to begin)²⁴ to explain the preparation and purification of the practice site, one's clothing, and one's person (see appendix 3 for a side-by-side translation). The only detail we need note here is that Tsung-mi specifies that an image of Vairocana, flanked by Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, should be installed on the altar in the sanctuary (*tao-ch'ang*).

The seventh section (*li-chih* 立志) is concerned with making a firm resolution to keep the mind concentrated on realizing the ultimate goal of enlightenment and to carry the practice through to completion regardless of whatever obstacles may arise in one's way. This section parallels the corresponding section on single-minded perseverance in Chih-i's *Fa-hua san-meī ch'an-i*,²⁵ and the difference between the two texts is interesting for revealing the way in which Tsung-mi adapts Chih-i's model (see appendix 4 for a side-by-side translation). Chih-i distinguishes between two different levels on which the Lotus Samādhi may be practiced. Whereas in the case of carrying out the practice in accord with phenomenal activities (*shih* 事) one perseveres in performing the details of the rite correctly with undivided attention, in the case of carrying out the practice in accord with discerning principle (*li* 理) one

no raizanhō," p. 401). In Tsung-mi's enumeration of the three groups of people who are capable of sustaining the practice, he clearly specifies "whether monk or layman" in the case of the second and third group (362c1 and c9). He also mentions "monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen" in his discussion of the first group (362b12). His opening exhortation to engage in the retreat, moreover, is addressed to "bhikṣus, bhikṣunīs, upāsakas, and upāsikas" (361d25-26). We should further recall that the three-month retreat discussed in the Perfect Enlightenment Bodhisattva chapter of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, which provides canonical inspiration for Tsung-mi's retreat, is open to bhikṣus, bhikṣunīs, upāsakas, and upāsikas (see *T.* 17.921a21-22). Hence, when Tsung-mi says "whether monk or layman" (*huo seng huo su* 或僧或俗) in regard to the second and third groups of people capable of sustaining the practice, he is probably using "monk" and "layman" generically to include nuns and laywomen. Elsewhere, in the section on purifying one's clothing, Tsung-mi clearly specifies both monks and nuns (365a15) as well as the two classes of laity (365a18-d1).

21) See *T.* 46 n° 1915 463b26-464a13 (Luk, pp. 116-118).

22) See *T.* 46.464a14-465b3 (Luk, pp. 118-123).

23) See *T.* 46.462c10-463b25 (Luk, pp. 112-116).

24) See *T.* 46 n° 1941 949c13-20, 950a25-b13, and 949c23-24 (Stevenson, pp. 475-478).

25) See *T.* 46.949c21-950a15 (Stevenson, pp. 472-475).

maintains the awareness that all of one's various activities are nothing but an expression of the one mind. Tsung-mi correlates practice in accord with phenomenal activities (*shih*) with the preliminary three-week veneration and confession ritual procedures, which serve as antidotes to the various afflictions that impede one's practice, and he correlates practice in accord with principle (*li*) with the discernment of the emptiness of all dharmas (which are thus seen to be a manifestation of one's enlightened nature) that is more appropriate to the later Perfect Enlightenment Retreat proper.

Structure of the Retreat

The second part of the text details the lengthy Perfect Enlightenment Retreat. Tsung-mi lays out the structure of the rite in the second fascicle of the text; the next fifteen fascicles set forth the 120-day practice in which the recitation of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* is liturgically incorporated within the ritual framework explained in the second fascicle. Tsung-mi divides the rite into twenty-five parts, and the specific liturgies to be used for the various components of the ritual cycle vary according to the part of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* that is to be recited. Ikeda has pointed out the parallels between the components and structure of Tsung-mi's retreat and Chih-i's Lotus Samādhi, and it is thus to the second fascicle that we should turn to assess the extent of Tsung-mi's reliance on Chih-i's *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i* as providing the basic structural model that he adapts to the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*.

Like the Lotus Samādhi, Tsung-mi's retreat centers around the liturgical recitation of a sacred text, and Chih-i's *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i* must therefore have presented itself to Tsung-mi as an obvious model. However, unlike the first part of his ritual manual, in which Tsung-mi incorporated entire chunks of the *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i* and *Hsiao chih-kuan*, this section does not incorporate passages from Chih-i's manuals. Moreover, as Stevenson has shown in his comprehensive study of medieval Chinese Buddhist liturgical and devotional rites,²⁶ the particular ritual structure that Chih-i employs in his *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i* shares many features with other sixth-century liturgical texts and is in no way unique. That is, there is nothing distinctively "T'ien-t'ai" in its ritual format. Rather, Chih-i's manual merely codified what emerged as the standard ritual syntax used by Chinese Buddhists of various sectarian affiliations. The particularly T'ien-t'ai content of the rite lies in its focus on the *Lotus Sūtra* and the various props, prayers, doctrinal explanations, and so forth (i.e., images enshrined, deities invoked, scriptural passages recited, etc.) that are used to enhance its association with the *Lotus* and to exemplify T'ien-t'ai teachings. But it is precisely such content that is replaced in Tsung-mi's manual with a corresponding set of props, prayers, doctrinal explanations, and so forth that are more appropriate to the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* and a Hua-yen-oriented cultus. As we shall see, Tsung-mi's explanation of the various ritual components draws from a body of texts different from that drawn on by Chih-i. Thus, although the basic components and structure

26) In the third chapter of his dissertation, referred to in note 4 above.

of Tsung-mi's retreat parallel Chih-i's Lotus Samādhi, those components and their structure are not unique to T'ien-t'ai but are rather part of what by Tsung-mi's time had long become the standard fare for Chinese Buddhist ritual practice as a whole. Hence, once again, we should be wary of making too much of the influence of Chih-i's ritual and meditation manuals on Tsung-mi's Perfect Enlightenment Retreat, as Tendai 天台 scholars (such as Sekiguchi and Ikeda) who have studied Tsung-mi's text are wont to do.

Tsung-mi discusses the rite under eight headings: Invocation (*ch'i-ch'ing* 啓請), Offering (*kung-yang* 供養), Exaltation (*tsan-t'an* 讚歎), Veneration (*li-ching* 禮敬), Repentance (*ch'an-hui* 懺悔), Miscellaneous Litanies (*tsa-fa-shih* 雜法事), Circumambulation (*hsüan-jao* 旋遶), and Meditation (*cheng-ssu* 正思). These headings somewhat obscure the core structure of the rite as well as its parallels to Chih-i's Lotus Samādhi. Under Miscellaneous Litanies Tsung-mi includes five items: Solicitation (*ch'üan-ch'ing* 勸請), Sympathetic Joy (*sui-hsi* 隨喜), Dedication (*hui-hsiang* 廻向), Vows (*fa-yüan* 發願), and Verses on Impermanence (*wu-ch'ang-chi* 無常偈)—all except for the last of which are included under the Fivefold Repentance by Chih-i. The core ritual structure, as Tsung-mi makes clear in several places,²⁷ thus consists of the following eight-part cycle to be carried out six times a day: Offering, Exaltation, Veneration, Repentance, Solicitation, Sympathetic Joy, Dedication, and Vows. When the five components within Tsung-mi's Miscellaneous Litanies are included as separate items within the ritual cycle for the Perfect Enlightenment Retreat, the parallels with Chih-i's Lotus Samādhi are immediately apparent.

TSUNG-MI	CHIH-I
Invocation	Offering
Offering	Invocation
Exaltation	Exaltation
Veneration	Veneration
Repentance	Repentance
Miscellaneous Litanies	Repentance
Solicitation	Solicitation
Sympathetic Joy	Sympathetic Joy
Dedication	Dedication
Vows	Vows
Verses on Impermanence	
Circumambulation	Circumambulation
Meditation	Meditation

27) See, for example, *HTC 128.376c13*, *Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu*, *HTC 14.195d7-14*, and *Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu-ch'ao*, *HTC 15.22a16ff*; see also Ching-yüan's Sung-dynasty, single-fascicle abridgement, *HTC 129.1a-5a*. Tsung-mi is here following Ch'eng-kuan, whose discussions of this eight-part ritual cycle, it is important to note, occur within the context of his commentaries on the ten practice vows of Samantabhadra—see references in following note.

The content with which Tsung-mi fills this structure, however, has nothing to do with T'ien-t'ai theory or practice but is rather derived from Hua-yen materials. Following his Hua-yen mentor, Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀 (738-839), Tsung-mi finds justification for this eight-part ritual cycle in the *Li-kuo-hui p'u-sa so-wen li-fo-fa ching* 離垢慧菩薩所問禮佛法經 (T. n° 487), a brief devotional text translated by Nadi in 663,²⁸ and links it with the ten practice vows of Samantabhadra at the end of the *Hua-yen Sūtra*²⁹ (see appendix 5). The ten practice vows of Samantabhadra, only fully elaborated in the forty-fascicle translation of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* completed by Prajña in 798, came to play an important role in Hua-yen devotional liturgy, and both Ch'eng-kuan and Tsung-mi use their commentary and subcommentary to discuss the components of ritual devotion. Sometime in the late T'ang, moreover, a certain I-hsing Hui-chüeh 一行慧覺 (d.u.) compiled a lengthy liturgical text, the *Hua-yen hai-in tao-ch'ang ch'an-i* 華嚴海印道場懺儀, using the ten practice vows as the framework for organizing Hua-yen devotional practice.³⁰ Although Tsung-mi does not refer to Hui-chüeh's text, and it is impossible to establish its chronological relationship to Tsung-mi's manual, the two texts bear striking parallels, and it is Samantabhadra's ten practice vows that give a particularly Hua-yen flavor to Tsung-mi's Perfect Enlightenment Retreat. In his annotation to the Offering, Exaltation, and Veneration segments of the ritual cycle, Tsung-mi quotes the corresponding practice vow from the *Hua-yen Sūtra*.

Within the overall framework of Tsung-mi's interpretation of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, it should be recalled, the Perfect Enlightenment Retreat was specifically said to be efficacious for beings of inferior capacities as a means for overcoming their karmic obstructions. Tsung-mi notes that although the eight ritual components as a whole enable one to enter the realm of sagehood, each component has its specific merit in terms of the obstacle it removes and the benefit that it brings, as schematically represented by the following chart:³¹

28) T. 14.698c-700b. Tsung-mi's reference derives from Ch'eng-kuan, see *Hua-yen ching shu*, T. 35 n° 1735 706a25-27, *Yen-i ch'ao*, T. 36 n° 1736 374c5, and *Hsing-yüan p'in shu* 行願品疏, HTC 7.380b16-18 (see HTC 7.443a14-b3 for Tsung-mi's subcommentary).

29) See T. 10 n° 293 844b20ff, and translation in Garma C. C. Chang, *The Buddhist Teaching of Totality: The Philosophy of Hwa Yen Buddhism* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1971), pp. 188ff.

30) The present 42-fascicle text in HTC 128.138c-360c was annotated by P'u-shui in the Sung and redacted in the Ming (1641). I have been unable to find any further information on I-hsing Hui-chüeh.

31) Tsung-mi spells out the correspondences represented in the chart in a number of places: *Hsing-yüan p'in-shu-ch'ao* 行願品疏鈔, HTC 7.443a16-b3; *Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu*, HTC 14.195d11-14 (see *Ta-shu-ch'ao*, HTC 15.22b7-c7); and *Yüan-chüeh ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng i*, HTC 128.367c17-d7.

RITUAL COMPONENT	OBSTACLE REMOVED	BENEFIT GAINED
1. Offering	Avarice	Great Wealth
2. Exaltation	Calumny	Unimpeded Eloquence
3. Veneration	Pride	Honored in One's Person
4. Repentance	Three Obstacles [of Afflictions, Deeds, and Retribution]	Fulfillment of One's Future Existence and its Conditions
5. Solicitation	Blasphemy	Wisdom that comes from Hearing [the Dharma] Often
6. Sympathetic Joy	Envy	Belonging to Great Family
7. Dedication	Meanness	Contributing Great Good
8. Vows	Lassitude	Maintaining all Practices Together; Quickly Attaining the Marvelous Result

The Perfect Enlightenment Retreat begins with an invocation, in which the practitioner invites a host of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and deities to be present during the rite. The Invocation starts with Vairocana, followed by various other Buddhas and groups of Buddhas. The central group of bodhisattvas comprises the dozen after whom the chapters of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* are named. The presence of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* and the *Hua-yen Sūtra* are also invoked. It is worth noting that among the various deities summoned to protect the retreat Tsung-mi includes the mountain god king of Kuei-feng at the end of the host (suggesting that the manual was composed at Ts'ao-t'ang ssu near Kuei Peak on Mt. Chung-nan). The Invocation is to be performed only once at the beginning of the rite and thus does not form part of the ritual cycle to be repeated six times a day over the full course of the rite, on the presumption that once the various spiritual beings have been summoned they will remain throughout the duration of the rite. In his comments on this section, Tsung-mi explains that he has diverged from the format of established custom (as reflected in the *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i*, for example), which places the Invocation after the Offering, because the various spiritual beings must first be present before an offering can be made to them.

The daily ritual cycle begins with (1) an offering of incense and flowers to the various assembled spiritual beings made in the foreign kneeling position (*hu-kuei* 胡跪) with the right knee touching the ground and palms joined together, imagining that “this cloud of incense and flowers will become a radiant tower of light spreading throughout worlds without limit and performing the work of the Buddha

without restriction.”³² The (2) exaltation that follows consists of two parts: singing verses of praise in a melodic “Indian” style (*fan-tsan* 梵讚), such as those from the *Śrīmālā Sūtra* extolling the Tathāgata's appearance,³³ and reciting various prose passages extolling the merits of the three treasures,³⁴ after which one makes a five-point prostration.³⁵ Next comes (3) the ritual veneration, in which each of the spiritual beings whose presence has been invoked is addressed and venerated with a full prostration.³⁶

Just as in the case of the Lotus Samādhi, Tsung-mi's (4) repentance ritual is based on the *Scripture on the Visualization of Samantabhadra* (*Kuan P'u-hsien ching* 觀普賢經).³⁷ Tsung-mi does not, however, follow Chih-i in elaborating the procedures for the repentance of the six sense faculties (which, of course, does not mean that they were not meant to be performed—perhaps Tsung-mi felt there was no need to elaborate them because they would have been understood to be a standard part of the repentance procedure; then again, he may have simply wanted to abbreviate this phase of the rite). The practitioner assumes the foreign kneeling position before the altar, burns incense, scatters flowers, and fixes his mind on the three treasures. As if Samantabhadra were present before him, the practitioner, with a deep sense of shame, confesses and repents all of the evil karma he has ever committed, resolving never to commit such sins again. At the completion of the repentance, the practitioner bows to Vairocana.

The practitioner then (5) recites a short verse soliciting the Buddha to remain in the world to help sentient beings, bows to the three treasures, (6) recites another short verse sympathetically rejoicing in the spiritual accomplishments of others, makes another bow to the three treasures, (7) dedicates the merit gained from the repentance ritual to the enlightenment of all sentient beings, bows again to the three

32) I would like to thank Dan Stevenson for pointing out that the visualization accompanying the offering of incense and flowers is quoted from the *Kuan-fo san-mei hai ching* 觀佛三昧海經, T. 15 n° 643 695a15-16. Tsung-mi's annotation to this section quotes Samantabhadra's vow to make offerings to countless Buddhas from the *Hua-yen Sūtra* (see T. 10.844c24-845a3).

33) T. 12.217a24-27; see the translation by Diana Mary Paul, *The Buddhist Feminine Ideal* (American Academy of Religion, 1980), p. 142; cf. Alex and Hideko Wayman, *The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 61.

34) Stevenson notes that such a division of the exaltation into two segments—such as Tsung-mi's *fan-tsan* 梵讚 and *chih-tsan* 直讚—is quite common in medieval Chinese Buddhist liturgical texts (p. 369). Unlike Tsung-mi's manual, Chih-i's *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i*, it is worth noting, does not divide the exaltation into two parts, omitting the “brahma” verses of praise.

35) Tsung-mi's annotation to this section quotes Samantabhadra's vow to praise countless Buddhas from the *Hua-yen Sūtra* (see T. 10.844c15-17).

36) Tsung-mi's annotation to this section quotes Samantabhadra's vow to venerate countless Buddhas from the *Hua-yen Sūtra* (see T. 10 n° 279 844c1-11). It also refers to the *Li-fo kuan-men* 禮佛觀門, a no longer extant text allegedly translated by Ratnamati, which elaborates seven degrees with which the ritual of venerating the Buddha may be performed. Tsung-mi follows Ch'eng-kuan (see T. 35 n° 1735 706b11-22 and HTC 7.380c11ff) in adding three further degrees, thus making a total of ten. For a discussion of the *Li-fo kuan-men*, see Ishii Kōsei 石井公成, “Den Rokunamatei *Shichishu raihō* ni tsuite,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 25:2 (1987), pp. 629-632, and Stevenson, pp. 386-389.

37) See *Kuan P'u-hsien p'u-sa ching*, T. 9.391c3-393b13; cf. Kojiro Miyasaka's translation in *The Threefold Lotus Sutra* (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 357-366.

treasures, (8) proclaims various vows, and bows to Vairocana. These Miscellaneous Litanies of Solicitation, Sympathetic Joy, Dedication, and Vows are all part of the Fivefold Repentance ritual elaborated in the *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i*. Tsung-mi then goes on to enumerate various Verses on Impermanence to be recited as part of the daily ritual cycle—something not found in Chih-i's manual but which has clear precedents in other devotional texts.³⁸

It is during the next phase of the rite that the liturgical recitation of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* takes place. This is preceded by the circumambulation of the altar, during which one offers incense, scatters flowers, and recites verses exalting the excellences of the three treasures. One then begins the recitation of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, all the while continuing to circumambulate the altar at a stately pace. The number of circumambulations is not fixed and varies according to variations in one's pace and the length of the passage recited during any given ritual cycle. This phase of the rite is concluded by expressing homage to Amitābha (*nan-wu A-mi-t'o-fō* 南無阿彌陀佛) and taking refuge in the three treasures.

The ritual cycle is finally brought to an end with a period of seated meditation, the prescriptions for which are detailed in the last two fascicles of Tsung-mi's manual, which incorporate in slightly abridged and rearranged form the last seven sections of Chih-i's *Hsiao chih-kuan*. Here again we should be wary of unduly reading in T'ien-t'ai influence. The *Hsiao chih-kuan*, as Carl Bielefeldt has pointed out,

probably represents the first practical manual of meditation available to the Chinese. Although it draws on material from several Indian and Chinese sources, it differs from earlier works in being expressly intended to introduce the practice of seated meditation to the beginning student. Except for a final brief section [not included in Tsung-mi's manual], therefore, it omits discussion of the kind of technical T'ien-t'ai doctrine characteristic of most of Chih-i's writings and emphasizes instead the concrete description of the actual techniques of mental and physical discipline. For this reason, the work . . . could serve as a handy, nonsectarian guide to the basics of Buddhist mental discipline; in fact, not only Tsung-mi but also many other Buddhist writers,

38) Such as, for example, the Teaching of the Three Stages (*San-chieh chiao* 三階教) text, *Ch'i-chieh fo-ming* 七階佛名 (Stein 59); Shan-tao's Pure Land text, *Wang-sheng li-tsan chieh* 往生禮讚偈 (Pelliot 2722; Stein 2659); or the *Wen-shu shih-wu-hsiang li* 文殊十無相禮 (T. n° 2844)—see the table in Stevenson's dissertation, pp. 333a-333g. Many of the verses on impermanence are drawn from the *Wu-ch'ang ching* 無常經, for which see Okabe Kazuo 岡部和雄, *Mujōkyō to Rinjū hōketsu, Bukkyō shisō no shomondai* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1985), pp. 695-709. Ikeda suggests Tsung-mi might have found a Hua-yen precedent in the *Hua-yen ching hai-in tao-ch'ang ch'an-i* ("Engakukyō dōjō shūshōgi no raizanhō," p. 407). Although this text was originally compiled by I-hsing Hui-chüeh in the T'ang, since our present version in vol. 128 of the *Hsü tsang ching* was redacted in the Ming, it is impossible to determine whether its verses on impermanence predate Tsung-mi's manual or whether they were added later. Moreover, since Tsung-mi never mentions the text, it is most likely that the influence flowed from Tsung-mi to the *Hua-yen ching hai-in tao-ch'ang ch'an-i* rather than the other way around. The *Hua-yen ching hai-in tao-ch'ang ch'an-i* is not listed in Üich'ōn's *Sinp'yōn chejong kyōjang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄, T. n° 2184, nor could I find any listing for it in the index for vol. 55 of the Taishō Tripitaka.

from Tao-hsüan 道宣 (596-667), Shan-tao 善導 (613-681), and Fa-tsang 法藏 (643-712) on, referred to this chapter in their own presentations of seated meditation.³⁹

Concluding Thoughts

Such, in barest outline, is the structure and content of the Perfect Enlightenment Retreat elaborated in Tsung-mi's *Yüan-chüeh ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng i*. Such an account is necessarily dry and does little to suggest the affective coloration and aesthetic tone that would have been an integral aspect of any performance of the retreat. Nor does it do more than hint at its devotional intensity. Although the text does not specify how long the various components of the ritual cycle should take to perform, and there seems to be a certain natural degree of latitude allowed for expanding or contracting different components of the cycle depending on one's religious objectives, we can easily imagine that each cycle of veneration, repentance, circumambulation/recitation, and seated meditation could well have taken two hours to complete. When we consider that this cycle was to be carried out six times a day (i.e., at sunset, early night, midnight, late night, dawn, and midday),⁴⁰ we at least begin to get some inkling of the devotional fervor, not to mention sheer physical stamina, that the retreat would have demanded over the course of 80 to 120 days.

Japanese scholars have studied the first two and last two fascicles of the text, but no one has yet examined the fourteen fascicles in between that comprise the bulk of the text and the heart of the retreat—the sections, that is, that reveal the distinctive character of Tsung-mi's manual. While the content of Tsung-mi's text is unique in its focus on the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, the syntax of its ritual prescriptions are based on earlier T'ien-t'ai manuals written in the sixth century. Similar manuals were in use in Ch'an monasteries during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries and were transmitted to Japan, where they are still in use. This fact suggests that Tsung-mi's text may be a “missing link,” testifying to the underlying structural continuity of medieval Chinese Buddhist monastic practice. While I have as yet not uncovered any information on the performance of Tsung-mi's Perfect Enlightenment Retreat,⁴¹ we know that his text circulated in the Sung and influenced the composition of other ritual manuals.

39) “Ch'ang-lu Tsung-tse's *Tso-ch'an I* and the ‘Secret’ of Zen Meditation,” p. 133.

40) For a somewhat uneven discussion of these six times of day, see Julian F. Pas, “Six Daily Periods of Worship: Symbolic Meaning in Buddhist Liturgy and Eschatology,” *Monumenta Serica*, vol. 37 (1986-87), pp. 49-82.

41) One of the participants in the seminar when I presented an earlier version of this paper to the Buddhist Studies Program at the University of Michigan in March of 1992 (a Ch'an monk who had recently completed a Ph.D. in Buddhist Studies at Tokyo University) later informed me that he had actually performed Tsung-mi's Perfect Enlightenment Retreat in a much abbreviated form in Taiwan—going into retreat, he recited and performed the entire text in a week's period beginning early each morning and going on until midnight each night.

One clue to the currency of the *Yüan-chüeh ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng i* in the Sung is the existence of what appears to have been a four-fascicle abridgement of the veneration and repentance section (presumably fascicles 2-16), which is listed, under the title of *Yüan-chüeh li-ch'an wen* 圓覺禮懺文, in an appendix to a mid-tenth century fragment of Tsung-mi's *Ch'an Preface* (*Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü* 禪源諸詮集都序) recovered from Tun-huang;⁴² this text must be the same as that listed in Üich'ön's 義天 (1055-1101) catalogue as *Li-ch'an lüeh-pen* 禮懺略本, also in four fascicles.⁴³ It is most likely that Tsung-mi's manual was the model for Hui-chüeh's *Hua-yen hai-in tao-ch'ang ch'an-i*, and even in the far less likely event that the influence was the other way around, P'u-jui's 普瑞 Sung-dynasty annotation incorporates entire passages from Tsung-mi's text. The Sung-dynasty Hua-yen monk, Ching-yüan 淨源 (1011-1088), not only wrote a one-fascicle summary of the ritual format of Tsung-mi's text, but he also used it as the explicit model for composing a devotional manual focused on the ten practice vows of Samantabhadra, the *Hua-yen P'u-hsien hsing-yüan hsiu-cheng i* 華嚴普賢行願修證儀.⁴⁴ Ch'ang-lu Tsung-tse's 長蘆宗頤 manual on seated meditation, the *Tso-ch'an i* 坐禪儀, not only refers to Tsung-mi's *Hsiu-cheng i* along with Chih-i's [*Hsiao chih-kuan*] but was also modeled in part after both texts.⁴⁵ The last two fascicles of Tsung-mi's text, based on Chih-i's discussion of seated meditation in his *Hsiao chih-kuan*, may also have circulated as an independent text, as we find reference to a *Ming tso-ch'an hsiu-cheng i-shih* 明坐禪修證儀式 appended to a copy of Tsung-mi's *Ch'an Preface*.⁴⁶

In discussing Tsung-mi's text, I have found it expedient to distinguish between its form and content. Such a distinction is necessary to clarify how it is possible to claim that, despite the obvious structural parallels, Tsung-mi's text bears little if any influence of T'ien-t'ai thought. While the form constituted, as it were, the syntax of Chinese Buddhist ritual, the content, which imbued that form with its particular devotional feeling and cognitive meaning, was not determined by the form and could be filled by a vocabulary appropriate to T'ien-t'ai, Hua-yen, Pure Land, or another cultic tradition. Of course, when ritual is regarded from a phenomenological viewpoint, form and content so utterly infuse one another that they cannot be separated in the experience of someone engaged in its practice. In analyzing ritual texts, however, it is useful to distinguish between them because content relates to the doctrinal ideology by which different sectarian traditions differentiated themselves

42) See Tanaka Ryoshō 田中良昭, "Tonkōbon Zengen shosenshū tojo zankan kō," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 37 (1979), p. 68—this article was later included in Tanaka's *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1983).

43) See *Sinp'yōn chejong kyojang ch'onngok*, T. 55 n° 2184 1169c22.

44) See *HTC* 95.533d-537b.

45) See Bielefeldt, "Ch'ang-lu Tsung-tse's *Tso-ch'an i* and the 'Secret' of Zen Meditation," p. 132.

46) See Tanaka Ryoshō, "Tonkōbon Zengen shosenshū tojo zankan kō," p. 68.

and form relates to the underlying uniformity within their institutional structure.⁴⁷ The distinction is thus vital for grasping the way in which unity and diversity coexist within Chinese religion(s).⁴⁸ Whereas the focus on doctrinal ideology emphasized in earlier studies of Chinese Buddhism necessarily stressed the differences among the various traditions and sub-traditions, looking at the ritual structures of practice puts such differences in their proper context by clarifying the underlying institutional continuity within Chinese Buddhist monastic practice as a whole. That is, while the various traditions may have given very different and sometimes mutually exclusive interpretations of the meaning of Buddhist practice, what they actually did more often than not was not that much different. The same point applies to various traditions of Ch'an as well.

In a different context, Foulk has forcibly argued that there is no evidence that there was an independent Ch'an institution in the T'ang. Monasteries during the T'ang were not designated as "Ch'an," "T'ien-t'ai," or "Vinaya" as they later were in the Sung. Rather, "Ch'an" monks lived in regular Buddhist monasteries with monks of other persuasions, and there is no indication that they did not take part in the full regimen of practice current at the time. I believe that Tsung-mi's text offers another piece of evidence to help rectify our skewed understanding of the early Ch'an tradition by showing that there was a rich ritual tradition within the "Ch'an" practice of the T'ang.⁴⁹ It should also demonstrate that, once we peel away the rhetoric, Ch'an practice was continuous with mainstream Chinese Buddhist monastic practice. Ch'an's real innovation thus seems to have lain in its articulating a new mode of talking about practice and not in altering the practices that were actually done by Chinese Buddhist monks. Ch'an emphasized that it was the attitude of mind with which one practiced that was important; one could thus continue to practice the various standard ritual forms as long as one did so in a non-attached way. Rejection of such forms is, of course, just as much a form of attachment as adherence to them. It is the *how*, and not the *what*, that really matters. Put in these terms, Ch'an does not really sound so unique after all.

47) The same distinction is central to James L. Watson's chapter, "Standardizing the Gods: The Promotion of T'ien Hou ('Empress of Heaven') Along the South China Coast, 960-1960," in: David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn Rawski, eds., *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), where Watson argues that the state succeeded in standardizing the forms of popular religion by controlling its symbols and not its beliefs: as long as the proper ritual forms were observed, the beliefs of the participants were of no concern (p. 323).

48) As is also suggested in a very different context by Robert P. Weller's *Unities and Diversities in Chinese Religion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987).

49) Tsung-mi's account of the Ching-chung Ch'an tradition in Szechwan also makes this clear; see my *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, pp. 37-52, and Jeffrey Broughton's "Early Ch'an Schools in Tibet," in: Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), pp. 1-68. Nor should we forget that Shen-hui's *Platform Sermon* is delivered in the context of a precepts-conferral ceremony, as the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* is also represented to have been.

Appendix 1

Tsung-mi's Outline of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* (cf. *supra*, p. 122)

- I. Prologue (*hsü* 序)
- II. Central Teaching (*cheng-tsung* 正宗)
 - A. Sudden Faith and Understanding (*tun-hsin-chieh* 頓信解) 1. Mañjuśrī
 - B. Gradual Cultivation and Realization (*chien-hsiu-cheng* 漸修證)
 1. Mental Disposition (*yung-hsin* 用心) 2. Samantabhadra
 2. Modes of Practice (*hsing-hsiang* 行相)
 - a) Comprehensive Elucidation of the Cultivation and Realization of Contemplative Practice for those of Superior Faculties (*t'ung-ming kuan-hsing shang-ken hsiu-cheng* 通明觀行上根修證)
 - (1) Revelation that Contemplation is Equal to Buddhahood (*k'ai-shih kuan-men t'ung fo* 開示觀門同佛) 3. Universal Eyes
 - (2) Complete Explanation of the Beginning and End of Delusion and Enlightenment (*cheng-shih mi-wu shih-chung* 徵釋迷悟始終) 4. Vajragarbha
 - (3) Profound Probing of the Root of Samsāra (*shen-chiu lun-hui chih ken* 深究輪迴之根) 5. Maitreya
 - (4) Summary Distinguishing of the Stages of Cultivation and Realization (*lüeh-fen hsiu-cheng chih wei* 略分修證之位) 6. Pure Wisdom
 - b) Specific Elucidation of the Cultivation and Realization of Contemplative Practice for those of Average Faculties (*pieh-ming kuan-hsing chung-ken hsiu-cheng* 別明觀行中根修證)
 - (1) Practice of the Three Contemplations (*san-kuan hsiu-hsing* 三觀修行)
 - (a) Modes of the Practice of the Three Contemplations (*san-kuan hsing hsiang* 三觀行相) 7. Respect-Inspiring Sovereign
 - (b) Single and Combined Practice (*tan-fu hsiu-hsi* 單複修習) 8. Discerning Sound
 - (2) Twofold Elimination of Obstacles (*liang-chung ch'u-chang* 兩重除障)
 - (a) Entering Enlightenment by Eliminating the Self (*ch'u-wo ju-chüeh* 除我入覺) 9. Karmic Obstacles Purified
 - (b) Removing Sickness by Relying on a Teacher (*i-shih li-ping* 依師離病) 10. Universal Enlightenment
 - c) Cultivation and Realization of Ritual Practice for those of Inferior Faculties (*tao-ch'ang chia-hsing hsia-ken hsiu-cheng* 道場加行下根修證) 11. Perfect Enlightenment
- III. Dissemination (*liu-t'ung* 流通) 12. Sage Leader

Appendix 2

A Comparison of the Exhortation Section of Tsung-mi's *Yüan-chüeh ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng i* with Chih-i's *Fa-hua san-meï ch'an-i* (cf. *supra*, p. 125)

Yüan-chüeh ching hsiu-cheng i
(HTC vol. 128, p. 469)

If, in the turbulent and evil age during the last five hundred years after the Tathāgata's decease, there is a bhikṣu, bhikṣunī, upāsaka, or upāsika who recites and meditates on the sudden teaching within the scriptures of the ultimate meaning of the great vehicle;

who wishes to cultivate the inconceivable wisdom that perfectly penetrates the truth;

who wishes to see the phenomenal body and nature of the three holy ones, Vairocana, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra;

who wishes to obtain the purification of the six senses, enter the sphere of Buddhahood, and realize the wisdom that penetrates everywhere without obstruction;

who wishes to be able to hear the teaching preached by the Buddhas of the ten directions and, in a single moment of thought, retain it, thoroughly understand it, not forget it, and expound it without hindrance;

who wishes to join the company of the companions of Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, and [the other of] the twelve [bodhisattvas] after whom the chapters [of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*] are named, the hundred thousand [bodhisattvas of] the great earth, as well as the bodhisattvas who dwell together with the Tathāgata in the assembly of equality;

who wishes to be able in a single moment of thought to appear in [all of] the Buddha lands throughout the ten directions without arising from the samādhi of cessation to present offerings to the Buddhas there and

Fa-hua san-meï ch'an-i (T. 46 n° 1941)
(adapted from Stevenson's translation, pp. 468-471)

If, in the turbulent and evil age during the last five hundred years after the Tathāgata's decease, there is a bhikṣu, bhikṣunī, upāsaka, or upāsika who recites scriptures of the great vehicle;

who wishes to cultivate the practice of the great vehicle and who resolves [to follow] the great vehicle;

who wishes to see the physical form of Samantabhadra, who wishes to see Śākyamuni Buddha, the stūpa of Prabhūtaratna, the Buddhas produced as emanations [of Śākyamuni], and the Buddhas of the ten directions;

who wishes to obtain the purification of the six senses, enter the sphere of Buddhahood, and realize the wisdom that penetrates everywhere without obstruction;

who wishes to be able to hear the preaching of the Buddhas of the ten directions and, in a single moment of thought, retain it, thoroughly understand it, not forget it, interpret it, and expound it without hindrance;

who wishes to join the companions of all the great bodhisattvas such as Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra;

who wishes to be able in a single moment of thought to manifest physical forms throughout the universe so as to appear in all of the Buddha lands throughout the ten directions without arising from the samādhi of cessation to present offerings to the Buddhas there;

[to venerate?/to behold?] the bodies manifested by the Buddhas, **displaying various supernatural powers, emitting great rays of light, and preaching the dharma to liberate living beings everywhere and enable them to enter the inconceivable one vehicle;**

who wishes to defeat the four māras, purify the defilements, smash the four inverted views and three poisons of fundamental ignorance, eliminate the obstructions of views, deeds, and recompense, as well as extinguish all evils obstructing the way, to manifest oneself within the true rank of bodhisattvahood, and to become endowed with the sovereignty and merits of all Buddhas;

then he or she should single-mindedly persevere in cultivating the contemplation of Samantabhadra as well as the three contemplations of samāpatti, etc. in a secluded and untrammelled place for 120 days, 100 days, or 80 days.

Beforehand, one should install images of Vairocana, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra for the eye to see and the mind to imagine and, for three weeks, venerate them with utmost sincerity, repent with utter earnestness, and generate a profound resolve, vowing to extinguish the evil obstructions described above and vowing to gain the merits described above.

Having finished the three weeks, if one completes the designated time period [of 120 days, etc.] with thoroughly concentrated attention, one will certainly gain these benefits.

Why? Because this *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* is the sudden teaching within the great vehicle, the ultimate meaning among the scriptures, the arcane king samādhi, the determinate stage of the Tathāgata, that which is preached together by hundreds, thousands, ten-thousands, and hundred-thousands of Buddhas [as innumerable as] the grains of

who wishes to be able in a single moment of thought to arrive at all the Buddha fields throughout the ten directions, manifest a variety of physical forms, **display various supernatural powers, emit great rays of light, preach the dharma to liberate living beings and enable them to enter the inconceivable one vehicle;**

who wishes to defeat the four māras, purify the defilements, eliminate the obstructions of views, deeds, and recompense, as well as extinguish all evils obstructing the way, to manifest oneself within the true rank of bodhisattvahood, and to become endowed with the sovereignty and merits of all Buddhas;

then he or she should first single-mindedly persevere in entering into the Lotus Samādhi in a secluded and untrammelled place for three weeks.

If there is anyone who, in the present life, has committed the five heinous sins or the four grave sins and has thus fallen from the status of bhikṣu and who wishes to be purified and reinstated to the discipline of a śrāmaṇa and [wishes to] acquire the wondrous and exalted merits described above, he should also practice the lotus samādhi with single-minded perseverance for a period of three weeks.

Why? Because "the *Lotus Sūtra* is the arcane treasury of the Tathāgatas; among the various scriptures it stands supreme above all others" (T. 9 n° 262 39a17-19), for [through this teaching] one "travels the wide and straight path without languishing in difficulties" (*ibid.* 10a19). [The revealing of the *Lotus*] is like the cakravartin who does not wantonly give the splendid

sand in the Ganges, that which is protected by the Tathāgatas in the three worlds, and the pure eye of the twelvefold division of scriptures (see *T. 17 n°842 921c16-24*).

Therefore anyone undertaking this practice should dedicate himself to practicing this dharma without regard to life or limb until the very end of time—how much more should he do so without flagging for the designated time periods.

Question: The Buddha's way is long and far; what benefits could there be in practicing for a mere 100 days?

Answer: Since the teaching is the sudden teaching, if one is able to make use of this sudden cultivation, then, within one's practice of contemplation, one will attain the nonduality of beginning and end, being of one essence with the Buddhas, the perfect and sudden great benefits, as well as the benefits of the fulfillment of the three kinds of contemplation, as will be explained below.

gem in his crown to others. Should anyone obtain it he can have at will whatever precious gem he needs. The Lotus Samādhi is also like this. It can give any being the precious gem of the Buddha's teaching.

Therefore, any bodhisattva undertaking this practice should dedicate himself to practicing this scripture without regard to his life or limb until the very end of time—how much more should he do so for three weeks.

Question: The Buddha's way is long and far; what benefits could there be in practicing for three weeks?

Answer: There are three kinds of benefits, as will be explained below.

Appendix 3

A Comparison of the Adorning the Environs Section of Tsung-mi's *Yüan-chüeh ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng i* with Chih-i's *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i* (cf. *supra* p. 127)*Yüan-chüeh ching hsiu-cheng i* (HTC vol. 128)

The sanctuary (*tao-ch'ang*), clothing, and body are all that on which the mind of the practitioner depends. Now if one wants to engage in the perfect and sudden great practice, one must first [practice] veneration and repentance. The rite of veneration and repentance will surely purify one's mind, for the mind does not arise independently but must depend on conditions. When these are pure, the mind will then be pure. Therefore one must adorn and purify these three things. How much the more when one wants to invoke the worthy and holy ones should one adorn the sanctuary.

If the sanctuary is not adorned and purified, then the [proper] mentality for seeking the way will not emerge, and one will be unable to effect any [flow of divine] responses. Therefore one should adorn the ritual area (*t'an*) and purify his body. If one wants the body to desist from all external involvements, then, during the three weeks [of preparatory practice], one tames his body and mind, makes offerings to the three treasures, and with single-minded concentration calls to mind all evil karma ever committed or to be committed by one during this lifetime as well as in past lives, thus keenly fostering a sense of shame. One venerates the Buddhas and confesses, recites the scripture and circumambulates, and with utter determination resolves to persevere, so that when the time comes to cultivate the practice of contemplation, his mind and body will be pure and free of obstructions and he may fulfil whatever [goal] he pledges to seek.

Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i (T. 1941)

(adapted from Stevenson's translation, pp. 475-478)

In the performance of any repentance practice one must always resort to preliminary expedients. Why?

If one rushes into the sanctuary without disciplining and purifying body and mind beforehand, then the [proper] mentality for seeking the way will not emerge, one's practice will not accord with the dharma, and one will be unable to effect any [flow of divine] responses. Therefore for a full seven days prior to the actual repentance one should first tame his mind and desist from all worldly involvements. One makes offerings to the three treasures, splendidly adorns and prepares the sanctuary, and purifies his clothing. With single-minded concentration one calls to mind all evil karma ever committed or to be committed by one during this lifetime as well as in past lives, thus fostering a keen sense of shame. One venerates the Buddhas and confesses, recites the scripture and circumambulates, engages in seated meditation and the practice of contemplation, and makes the resolution to persevere with utter determination, so that when the time comes to cultivate samādhi, his mind and body will be pure and free of obstructions and he may realize whatever [goal] he pledges to seek (949c13-20).

As for the method of [adorning] the sanctuary, one must first select a place that is removed from clamor, commotion, filth, and evil as well as various obstructions and difficulties as explained previously [in the section on] fulfilling the [five] preconditions. If you locate [a place in] a remote gorge or [by] a secluded forest spring, that is the most sublime. If it is [a place where] people have lived, clear away one or two feet of the old ground. **Smear** the ground with **fragrant paste** and decorate [the place] with various **banners** and **flowers**. In the middle install an image of Vairocana flanked by images of Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī as the three holy ones, **light** lotus **lamps** and **burn incense** of a hundred fragrances. As for the ritual implements, it is only important that they be clean and pure, it is not necessary that they be precious and valuable. Only each person's exerting his effort to the maximum is what is really valuable. Basically, presenting offerings to the worthy and holy ones is just a matter of expressing one's own devotion and sincerity—how could the worthy and holy ones have likes or dislikes? The method for arranging [the altar] should accord with what is convenient; moreover, there is no fixed ritual procedure.

Next is the purification of one's clothing. Although the two classes of monks and nuns are fundamentally dedicated to maintaining purity, when we look into what is customary, [we recognize that] its maintenance is not always scrupulous. Thus, when one is about to enter the sanctuary, the upper and lower and inner and outer [garments] must be entirely washed. One must next bathe one's body. If one's body is dirty to touch, how could one be fit to approach the worthy and holy ones? Although the Buddhas are without mind, the gods of heaven and earth will not protect one, and if the gods of heaven and earth do not protect one, wicked demons will afflict one, and obstacles will arise. As for the two classes of laity, new robes are best. If one does not have [new robes], then it is permissible for washed monastic [robes] to be borrowed by a layperson.

In a quiet and untrammelled spot the practitioner should splendidly accoutre a single chamber to use as the sanctuary. Apart from it he should set up a place for himself to sit [in meditation], taking care that it is partitioned off from the sanctuary [proper]. A fine altar piece should be installed and on it placed a single copy of the *Lotus Sūtra*. There is no need to enshrine any additional images, relics, or scriptures. The practitioner sets out only the *Lotus Sūtra*, and around it he places **banners**, canopies, and the various other usual implements of offering.

At dawn on the day when he is to enter the sanctuary, the practitioner should sweep and cleanse the ground. The sprinkling with fragrant water, **smearing** of the surface with **fragrant paste**, **lighting** various **lamps** containing fragrant oils, scattering of all kinds of **flowers** and powdered fragrances, **burning** of famous **incense**, and making offerings to the three jewels, all such [preparations] he should see to through his own efforts and strive to make as splendid as possible (950a26-b4).

When [the practitioner] enters the sanctuary for the first time, he should bathe himself with fragrant water and put on clean robes—a large [outer] robe and a set of newly-dyed [inner?] robes. If [new robes] are not available, he should select the best among his own old clothing to use as the robe for entering the sanctuary. Thereafter, whenever he leaves the sanctuary to go to unclean areas, he should remove the pure robe and change to impure ones. When his business is finished, he should wash again, don the original pure robe, enter the sanctuary, and go on with the practice (950b9-13).

Not only must one purify one's body, but, even more importantly, one must also purify one's mind, as set forth below in the section on resolution, [which explains how one should] resolve in one's mind utterly to cut off all conditioned thoughts and not relent [in one's determination to practice] no matter what difficulties one encounters, and so on.

[The movement] from purifying the ritual site (*t'an-ch'ang*) to purifying one's mind progresses from the external to the internal. There are four degrees by which one evolves toward the most intimate. That is, the ritual site is the most external, clothes are next; the body marks a turn to the internal, and the mind is the most internal. Since the Buddha exists within the mind, when the mind is pure, it stimulates the Buddha [to respond]. Therefore one must begin with what is most coarse and advance to what is most subtle, purifying them in turn.

When the three activities (*yeh*) have been purified in this way, one is then ready to enter the sanctuary [to begin the practice]. One should use [one of] the six [*uposatha*] fast days. On these days the legates of the Four Heavenly Kings as well as various gods and benevolent spirits descend among humankind to take note of [people's] good and evil [deeds]. When they find someone engaged in practice, they bring ease to him, watch over him, and display auspicious portents to gladden his heart and encourage him to increase his stock of wholesome properties.

When the practitioner is actually ready to enter the sanctuary [to begin the practice], he should use [one of] the six [*uposatha*] fast days. On these days the legates of the [Heavenly] Princes and Four Heavenly Kings as well as various gods and benevolent spirits descend among humankind to take note of [people's] good and evil [deeds]. When they find someone engaged in good, they make note of it in the section on good [deeds]. They bring ease to him, watch over him, and display auspicious portents to gladden his heart and encourage him to increase his stock of wholesome properties (949c23-24).

Appendix 4

A Comparison of the Resolution Section of Tsung-mi's *Yüan-chüeh ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng i* with Chih-i's *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i* (cf. *supra*, p. 127)

Yüan-chüeh ching hsiu-cheng i

When the practitioner first enters the sanctuary he should thus resolve in his own mind: "From this moment until the one hundred days [are over], I will [carry out this rite] with single-minded attention." During the initial three weeks, he should focus his will on the holy object (*sheng-ching*) as well as his own body and mind, reflecting on the sufferings of karmic involvements stemming from his own delusions and inverted views. After the three weeks [are over], he should concentrate his attention on true reality (*shih-hsiang*) and the way of enlightenment (*bodhi*).

Why [is such a resolution necessary]?

When the mind is preoccupied with other thoughts, it naturally becomes adulterated by defilements—that is what is meant by its being impure. How can it then be unified with *samādhi*? For this reason he should resolve in his own mind to persevere with utter concentration until he has completed the one hundred twenty days without giving any thought to life or limb. Even if he should reach the brink of death, he should not give up. Once the causes and conditions of the threat of death are removed, he should still determine not to relent. Even if his body should be afflicted by sickness, once the cause of his being confined to bed is removed, he should not leave the ritual area (*t'an*).

Question: The mental states of ordinary people (*pṛthagjana*) constantly vacillate from morning to evening, how can they hold firm [to such a resolution] for one hundred days without swerving?

Answer: When one's body experiences suffering, one should think of sentient beings in the woeful paths [of existence]—how much more should one be inspired to cultivate transcending the causes and conditions of suffering. How could one not

Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i

(adapted from Stevenson's translation, pp. 472-475)

At the time when the practitioner first intends to enter the sanctuary, he should thus make up his mind: "From this moment until the three weeks have been completed, I will persevere with single-mindedness in accord with the Buddha's instructions."

For what reason [is such a resolution necessary]?

When the mind is preoccupied with other thoughts, it becomes adulterated by defilements—that is what is meant by its being impure. When the mind is not pure, how can it then be unified with *samādhi* and the right path? For this reason he should determine in his own mind to persevere single-mindedly without giving any thought to life or limb.

be willing to forfeit one's life? Su Wu held fast to his integrity: even though his body suffered, his mind remained steadfast. How much more [steadfast] should [the mind of] a great hero of the way of enlightenment be compared to [that of] a layman.

Question: Since the mental complexion of sentient beings on its own changes character according to different conditions, how can someone persevere one-pointedly?

Answer: There are two methods for achieving one-pointedness. The first involves cultivating it in terms of phenomenal activities (*shih*),

such as the procedure for the three-week veneration and repentance or the procedure for the five kinds of antidotes for stopping the mind in accord with [their corresponding] diseases.

As for the second method of cultivating in terms of principle (*li*), as explained before, after the three weeks [of preparatory practice are over], with thorough concentration one contemplates that all dharmas are empty and illusory and are nothing but [a manifestation of] the numinous and enlightened nature.

When one contemplates in this way, one abides in the stage where ordinary person and holy one are equal. Whatever the mind has recourse to, if it remains without other thoughts, then whatever method one employs,

Question: Since the mental complexion of sentient beings changes character according to what they are engaged in, how is it possible for someone to persevere single-mindedly?

Answer: There are two ways of cultivating single-mindedness. The first involves cultivating single-mindedness in terms of phenomenal activities (*shih*), and the second involves cultivating single-mindedness in terms of principle (*li*).

As for the way of cultivating single-mindedness in terms of phenomenal activities, when the practitioner first enters the sanctuary, he reflects as follows: "During these three weeks, when I venerate the Buddha, I will single-mindedly venerate the Buddha without letting my mind entertain any other object. Likewise, whatever activity I am engaged in—whether confessing, circumambulating, reciting the scripture, or sitting in meditation—I will always act single-mindedly without letting my attention scatter." Passing the three weeks in this fashion is what is meant by single-minded perseverance in terms of phenomenal activities.

As for the second approach of cultivating single-minded perseverance in terms of principle, when the practitioner first enters the sanctuary, he should reflect as follows: "No matter what I do during this period, from now until the completion of the three weeks, I will maintain full awareness that whatever mental activities I produce are none other than the essential nature of the mind." Why is this so? When one venerates the Buddha, the mind in its essential nature neither arises nor ceases. Thus one should realize that no matter what activity is performed, the mind in its essential nature never arises or ceases.

When one contemplates in this way, one sees that all mental states are one mind because the mind in its essential nature has from the very beginning always had only one mark. If the practitioner can turn back

one will be able to keep the mind from being distracted. This will be explained [more fully] in [the section on] seated meditation later on.

and discern the well-spring of the mind in this way and continuously, in thought after instant of thought, avoid apprehending any mental feature whatsoever throughout the entire three weeks, then that is what is meant by the procedure for cultivating single-minded perseverance in terms of principle.

Appendix 5

**A Comparison of Tsung-mi's Eight Ritual Components
with the Ten Practice Vows from the *Hua-yen Sūtra* (cf. *supra*, p. 130)**

Tsung-mi	Hua-yen Sūtra
1. Offering (<i>kung-yang</i> 供養)	3. Widely Making Offerings (<i>kuang-hsiu kung-yang</i> 廣衆供養)
2. Exaltation (<i>tsan-t'an</i> 讚歎)	2. Exaltation (<i>tsan-t'an</i>)
3. Veneration (<i>li-ching</i> 禮敬)	1. Venerating All Buddhas (<i>li-ching chu-fo</i> 禮敬諸佛)
4. Repentance (<i>ch'an-hui</i> 懺悔)	4. Repenting Karmic Obstacles (<i>ch'an-hui yeh-chang</i> 懺悔業障)
5. Solicitation (<i>ch'üan-ch'ing</i> 勸請)	6. Imploring [the Buddha] to Turn the Dharma Wheel (<i>ch'ing chuan fa-lun</i> 請轉法輪)
	7. Imploring the Buddha to Remain in the World (<i>ch'ing fo chu-shih</i> 請佛住世)
6. Sympathetic Joy (<i>sui-hsi</i> 隨喜)	5. Sympathetic Joy in the Merits [of others] (<i>sui-hsi kung-te</i> 隨喜功德)
7. Dedication (<i>hui-hsiang</i> 迴向) ¹	10. Dedication to All Everywhere (<i>p'u chieh hui-hsiang</i> 普皆迴向)
8. Making Vows (<i>fa-yüan</i> 發願)	8. Always Following the Study of Buddhism (<i>ch'ang sui fo-hsüeh</i> 常隨佛學)
	9. Always Accommodating Sentient Beings (<i>heng shun chung-sheng</i> 恆順衆生)

1) In its discussion of the correspondence of the eight ritual components with the ten practice vows, the text of Tsung-mi's manual is presumably in error when it says that the dedication includes "always following the study of Buddhism" and "always accommodating sentient beings," since these two activities are, more properly speaking, vows and the dedication must obviously correspond with "dedication to all everywhere" (see *HTC* 128.367c17).