Sudden Enlightenment Followed by Gradual Cultivation: Tsung-mi's Analysis of Mind

PETER N. GREGORY

As a Ch'an historian and later exponent of Shen-hui's teaching line, Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (780-841) upheld Shen-hui's claim that the Southern line of Ch'an founded by Hui-neng was the authentic line of Ch'an transmission. According to his account contained in the *Ch'an Chart*: 1

The Southern line is the true line in which the robe and dharma have been uninterruptedly transmitted over successive generations from the time when the great master Hui-neng of Ts'ao-ch'i received the essence of Bodhidharma's teaching. Later, because Shen-hsiu widely spread the gradual teaching in the north, it was called the Southern line to distinguish it [from the Northern line of Shen-hsiu].²

After the priest Hui-neng died, the gradual teaching of the Northern line was greatly practiced and thus became an obstacle to the widespread transmission of the sudden teaching. . . . In the beginning of the T'ienpao era [742-756] Ho-tse [Shen-hui] entered Loyang and, as soon as he proclaimed this teaching, made it known that the descendents of Shenhsiu were collateral and that their teaching was gradual. Since the two lines were being practiced side by side, people of the time wanted to distinguish between them; the use of the names "Northern" and "Southern" thus came about.³

Tsung-mi goes on to report that in 796 an imperial commission determined that the Southern line of Ch'an represented the orthodox transmission and established Shen-hui as the seventh patriarch, placing an inscription to that effect in the Shen-lung temple.⁴

Tsung-mi followed Shen-hui in criticizing the Northern line for its sole emphasis on a graduated meditative regimen to the neglect of sudden enlightenment altogether. 5 Yet, while he maintained that Shen-hui's teaching was "sudden," he held that it contained a gradual component as well. In fact, he described Shen-hui's teaching in regard to practice

and enlightenment as advocating the necessity of a sudden experience of enlightenment to be followed by a gradual process of cultivation, in which the practitioner's initial insight into his true nature is systematically deepened until it becomes integrated into every aspect of his life. In this chapter I examine the context, content, and doctrinal basis of Tsung-mi's theory of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation.

1. Tsung-mi's Explication of "Sudden" and "Gradual"

Shen-hui's attack on the Northern line of Ch'an issued in a period of intense and often bitter sectarian rivalry among the proponents of the different Ch'an lineages. In Tsung-mi's day the words "sudden" (tun) and "gradual" (chien) had become shibboleths of contending factions, whose mutual antagonism he described in martial imagery. Not only were Ch'an Buddhists divided against themselves, but, according to Tsung-mi, the Chinese Buddhist world as a whole was split between those who identified themselves with the scholastic traditions—such as Hua-yen and T'ien-t'ai—and those who identified themselves with the practice-oriented tradition of Ch'an.

Tsung-mi was gravely distressed by the rivalry that divided Chinese Buddhists into contending camps, describing it as a situation in which Buddhist teachings had become a disease that often impaired the progress of the very people they purported to help. He perceived the primary split as lying between the scholastic traditions of Buddhist learning (chiao) and the more practice-oriented tradition of Ch'an, which emphasized the necessity of the actualization of enlightenment in this very life. It was in an effort to resolve this division that Tsung-mi wrote his Ch'an Preface, a work whose overall intent was to unify chiao and ch'an (chiao-ch'an i-chih). As someone who had a foot in both camps—being traditionally reckoned as the fifth patriarch in both the Huayen tradition and the Ho-tse line of Southern Ch'an—he was eminently qualified to undertake such a task.

Tsung-mi viewed the seemingly irreconcilable opposition between subitism and gradualism as one of the major issues dividing Buddhists whose primary focus lay in the study and interpretation of the teachings (chiao) from those whose primary focus lay in the personal realization of those teachings in practice (ch'an), as well as pitting followers of the various Ch'an lineages against one another. As he makes clear at the outset, this is one of the main issues that he seeks to address in the Ch'an Preface.

Although, as a successor in the Ho-tse line of Southern Ch'an, Tsung-mi must be regarded as a partisan on the issue, his ecumenical

approach stands in sharp contrast to the polemical style of Shen-hui. He cites the famous parable of the blind men and the elephant to characterize the situation in which the proponents of the various positions argue with one another, suggesting that the problem is really one of perspecwith one another, suggesting that the problem is really one of perspective.8 He contends that "sudden" (tun) and "gradual" (chien) are complementary rather than mutually exclusive terms. After making the further point that the terms have a broad range of meaning that varies according to context, he goes on to enumerate a number of different contexts in which they are used. Tsung-mi's standpoint in explicating the different meanings of tun and chien is broad and inclusive, seeking to establish a larger context in which the various and seemingly contradictory positions in regard to the meaning of these terms can be validated as integral parts of a manifold whole—in which the trunk, tail, leg, side, and so forth are all seen as belonging to the same elephant. In doing so, he maintains that no one position has an exclusive claim to the truth. but that it is only when all of them are taken together that we can arrive at a true understanding of something as complex as the nature of religious experience. Any one position taken up to the exclusion of the others is, by that very fact, invalid. When that position is understood within a context that includes the others, however, it will be seen to offer its own unique perspective, wherein lies its own particular validity.10

Tsung-mi remarks that he has encountered many Buddhists who use the terms "sudden" and "gradual" in a thoroughly uncritical and indiscriminate way, 11 and his analysis is based on the assumption that much of the emotional intensity that enveloped the controversy could be dispelled by clarifying the different meanings that the terms have in different contexts. Then it would be seen that the various sides in the controversy are, in fact, talking about different things.

Tsung-mi says that we should first differentiate between how these terms are used in doctrinal discussions of the Buddha's teaching and how they are used in discussions of the practice and realization of the Buddha's teaching as it is carried out by Buddhists. ¹² Tsung-mi is here making the point that to claim that the Avatamsaka-sūtra, for example, represents the "sudden teaching" (tun-chiao) is to use the word "sudden" in a way quite different from saying that Shen-hui's teaching emphasized the experience of "sudden enlightenment" (tun-wu).

In contrast to his predecessors in the Hua-yen tradition—Chih-yen, Fa-tsang, and Ch'eng-kuan—Tsung-mi does not establish the sudden teaching as a separate category in his system of doctrinal classification (p'an-chiao). 13 Rather, like the eighth-century reviver of the T'ien-t'ai tradition, Chan-jan (711-782), he maintains that in a doctrinal context the terms "sudden" and "gradual" refer to methods by which the Buddha taught, not to separate teachings. 14 He says that the term "sudden"

teaching" refers to the fact that "whenever [the Buddha] encountered a person of superior capacity and insight, he would directly reveal the true dharma to him," enabling him to become suddenly awakened (tunwu) to the fact that his true nature (chen-hsing) is wholly identical with that of all Buddhas. "Sudden" thus refers to the method by which the Buddha directly revealed the truth to persons of the highest spiritual aptitude. Tsung-mi identifies the sudden teaching with the teaching of those sūtras that expound the tathāgatagarbha doctrine, such as the Avatamsaka, Yūan-chūeh (Perfect Enlightenment), Śūrangama, Ghanavyūha, Śrīmālā, and Tathāgatagarbha. He adds that this teaching is identical with the highest form of Ch'an teaching—that of the Ho-tse line founded by Shen-hui. 15

The gradual teachings, on the other hand, refer to those teachings that the Buddha addressed to persons of average or inferior capacity. The term "gradual" thus refers to the method by which the Buddha made skillful use of expedient means to lead these people through a graduated series of teachings, beginning with the most elementary and culminating in the most profound. 16

Tsung-mi goes on to point out that within the context of Buddhist practice the terms "sudden" and "gradual" are used in a variety of ways. He then enumerates five different ways in which these terms are used in regard to practice and enlightenment.¹⁷

- 1. GRADUAL CULTIVATION FOLLOWED BY SUDDEN EN-LIGHTENMENT (chien-hsiu tun-wu). Tsung-mi illustrates this position by recourse to two analogies: (1) it is like chopping down a tree: one gradually cuts away at it until it suddenly falls; (2) it is like traveling to a distant city: one gradually approaches it with each step until one day one suddenly arrives. As the analogies make clear, "gradual cultivation" refers to the process by which one moves towards the ultimate goal of enlightenment, while "sudden enlightenment" refers to the moment of experience in which that goal is realized.
- 2. SUDDEN CULTIVATION FOLLOWED BY GRADUAL ENLIGHTENMENT (tun-hsiu chien-wu). The analogy that Tsung-mi uses to illustrate this position is that of someone learning archery. He says that "sudden" refers to the act of aiming directly at the bull's eye (which he says is used as a metaphor for resolving to attain supreme enlightenment) while "gradual" refers to the process by which one's aim gradually becomes perfected until one can hit the bull's eye consistently without missing. Tsung-mi further explains that "sudden" here has to do with the intentionality (yünhsin) of one's practice, not with the sudden perfection of meritori-

ous practices. In this context, tun could be better rendered as "direct" or "immediate." The use of the word tun in this case corresponds to its use within the system of T'ien-t'ai meditation, where it was classically defined by Kuan-ting in his preface to the Mo-ho chih-kuan (The Great Calming and Contemplation): "The sudden-perfect [calming and contemplation] from the very beginning takes ultimate reality as its object." 18

3. GRADUAL CULTIVATION AND GRADUAL ENLIGHTEN-MENT (chien-hsiu chien-wu). Here Tsung-mi uses the analogy of climbing a nine-story tower: with each story that one mounts one's gaze extends further. This position emphasizes the fact that not only is the process that leads to enlightenment graduated, but enlightenment itself is also subject to gradation.

Tsung-mi points out that in the first three cases the term "enlightenment" refers to the enlightenment of complete realization (cheng-wu), in contradistinction to the enlightenment of initial insight (chieh-wu). He explains these terms in his subcommentary to the Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment (Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao): "Because one first has an initial experience of enlightenment (ch'u yin chieh-wu), one engages in religious practice based on that experience (i wu hsiu hsing), and, as soon as one's practice is completed and one's task perfected (hsing man kung yüan), one realizes the fulfilment of enlightenment (chi te cheng-wu)." Tsung-mi's explanation of these qualitatively different kinds of enlightenment presupposes a three-staged model of the path: (1) initial insight (chieh-wu), (2) gradual cultivation (chien-hsiu), and (3) final enlightenment (cheng-wu).

- 4. SUDDEN ENLIGHTENMENT FOLLOWED BY GRADUAL CULTIVATION (tun-wu chien-hsiu). This is the position that Tsung-mi identifies with Shen-hui, and it will be treated in detail below. Here "enlightenment" refers to initial experience of insight (chieh-wu).
- 5. SUDDEN ENLIGHTENMENT AND SUDDEN CULTIVA-TION (tun-wu tun-hsiu). This position applies only to those of the highest capacity and aspiration whose initial insight (chieh-wu) is so penetrating and profound as to at once be equal to fully realized enlightenment (cheng-wu), thus making any further cultivation unnecessary. 20 Tsung-mi points out, however, that this is only possible because such persons have already engaged in a long process of spiritual cultivation in past lives—hence there is a gradual component in this position as well. Tsung-mi says that in this case obstructions are "suddenly" cut off just as myriad strands of silk are "suddenly" severed when cutting a piece of silk cloth²¹ and that

virtuous practices are "suddenly" perfected just as myriad strands of silk are "suddenly" dyed with color when a piece of silk cloth is submerged in dye. He then quotes Shen-hui twice: "When one sees the essence that is without thoughts, one will not follow the arising of things." "If, in a single moment of thought, one becomes one with one's intrinsic nature, then the practice of the eighty thousand perfections will all simultaneously come into effect."²²

Tsung-mi's analysis is useful for providing a conceptual framework for making sense out of the confusion that has often marked discussions of the sudden-gradual controversy; it does so by distinguishing the varia ety of ways in which the terms "sudden" and "gradual" can be applied to cultivation and enlightenment, making it clear that tun and chien have entirely different meanings when used in different contexts. In the first three cases—all examples of cheng-wu—"enlightenment" can refer to both the process of its actualization as well as the experience in which it is finally consummated. In the first case, that of gradual cultivation followed by sudden enlightenment, "enlightenment" clearly refers to the final goal that is suddenly attained only after the consummation of a long process of cultivation. However, in the second and third cases sudden cultivation followed by gradual enlightenment, and gradual cultivation and gradual enlightenment—"enlightenment" refers to the process by which enlightenment is consummated and accordingly corresponds to what Tsung-mi refers to as "gradual cultivation" in the first case. The meaning of "cultivation" also varies with context. Whereas in the first and third cases it refers to the process of the actualization of enlightenment, in the second it refers to the intentionality informing that process.

Moreover, as Tsung-mi points out, the enlightenment in question in the first three cases is what he calls cheng-wu, the enlightenment of complete realization. This term is contrasted with chieh-wu, the enlightenment of initial insight, the kind of enlightenment that is instanced in the fourth and fifth cases, those of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation and sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation. Whereas chieh-wu is always a sudden experience of insight, cheng-wu can be either gradual or sudden depending on whether it is regarded from the standpoint of the process of the actualization of final enlightenment or the actual experience of that enlightenment. In the cases in which cheng-wu is regarded as gradual, it is synonymous with gradual cultivation (chien-hsiu). Tsung-mi's distinction between these two types of enlightenment posits three stages in the course of religious practice: (1) initial awakening, (2) gradual cultivation, and (3) fully realized enlight-

enment. In the fifth case, that of sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation, the first and third stage are collapsed together, obviating the necessity of stage two as a discrete stage of practice.

Although he makes no reference to classical Buddhist divisions of the path, the distinctions Tsung-mi introduces correspond (in structure if not in content) to the traditional threefold division of the path into dar-sana-, bhāvanā-, and asaikṣa-mārga. For all his emphasis on the importance of the experience of sudden enlightenment, Tsung-mi here articulates a position that has more in common with that of Kamalasīla than with that of Mo-ho-yen, that is, with the gradualist rather than the subitist camp in the Tibetan controversy.

It is also worth noting that Tsung-mi does not mention a stage of prepatory practice (prayoga-mārga) prior to the initial insight (chieh-wu). Although he does not discuss his reasons, it is clear that he felt that such practices were not necessary for the experience of sudden enlightenment to occur—which, of course, is not to say that he advocated that they should therefore be discarded. There were ample examples in Ch'an literature of persons who had been suddenly enlightened without first having engaged in prepatory practices, the most notable being that of Hui-neng, the archetype for Ch'an religious experience, at least within the Southern line. Tsung-mi cautioned to add, however, that such cases were only possible because such people had cultivated good roots in past lives.

More important, the fact that Tsung-mi does not mention prepatory practices in his analysis of the stages of the path emphasizes the radical transformation that he believes takes place upon the experience of sudden enlightenment. For Tsung-mi it is only after such an experience that true Buddhist practice can begin. There is thus a fundamental difference between practices engaged in prior to this experience and those engaged in after it. And it is based on the transformative power of the initial insight of *chieh-wu* and the qualitative difference that it effects in one's practice that Tsung-mi criticizes the practice followed in the Northern line of Ch'an as inauthentic.

Finally, although Tsung-mi is careful to distinguish between the uses of the term tun in its scholastic and practical contexts, there is still a connection between the two usages that needs to be brought out. That is, the sudden teaching for Tsung-mi is the teaching that does not rely upon any expedients but directly reveals the true nature, which is the content of the Buddha's enlightenment as well as that into which the Buddhist practitioner has insight when he experiences chieh-wu. The sudden teaching is thus the teaching that enables one to experience sudden enlightenment.²³

2. Sudden Enlightenment Followed by Gradual Cultivation

For Tsung-mi sudden enlightenment did not obviate the need for the cultivation of a graduated series of stages of religious practice. In fact, according to him, the experience of sudden enlightenment is the indispensable foundation upon which such practice has to be carried out. As he says in the Ch'an Preface, "If one engages in spiritual cultivation without having first experienced enlightenment, then it is not authentic practice." In other words, it is the experience of sudden enlightenment (i.e., chieh-wu) that authenticates Buddhist practice. But this experience is identified by Tsung-mi as being only the first stage in a ten-stage process culminating in the attainment of Buddhahood.

Tsung-mi uses three analogies in the Ch'an Chart to illustrate what he means by "sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation." The first, adapted from the Awakening of Faith, 25 is that even though the wind that has stirred the originally tranquil surface of the ocean into movement ceases suddenly, the motion of its waves only subsides gradually. The second is that even though the sun appears suddenly, the morning frost only melts gradually. The last, which Tsung-mi borrows from Shen-hui, 18 is that even though an infant possesses all of its limbs and faculties intact the moment it is born, it only learns to master their use gradually. Doctrinally, Tsung-mi claims that the teaching of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation is based on the Awakening of Faith, Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment, and Avatamsaka-sūtra. The

Tsung-mi's fullest description of sudden enlightenment occurs in the Ch'an Chart, where he says:

While awakening from delusion is sudden, the transformation of an unenlightened person (fan) into an enlightened person (sheng) is gradual. Sudden enlightenment means that although [beings] have been deluded from [time] without beginning, recognizing the four elements as their body and deluded thoughts as their mind and taking them both together as constituting their self, when they meet a good friend (kalyānamitra) who explains to them the meaning of the absolute and conditioned [aspects of suchness], the nature and its phenomenal appearance, the essence and its functioning . . . , then they at once realize that [their own] marvelous knowing and seeing is the true mind, that the mind—which is from the beginning empty and tranquil, boundless and formless—is the dharmakāya, that the nonduality of body and mind is the true self, and that they are no different from all Buddhas by even a hair. 32

Thus, for Tsung-mi, sudden enlightenment is the experience in which one sees that one's true nature is, and always has been, wholly identical with that of all Buddhas. The paradigm for this experience is, of course, the Buddha's own enlightenment. The passage that Tsung-

mi cites in both the Ch'an Preface and the Inquiry into the Origin of Man (Yüan-jen lun) as canonical authority for his description of the highest teaching of the Buddha comes from the Avatamsaka and was especially valued in the Ch'an tradition,³³ as it was believed to contain the first words uttered by the Buddha after his enlightenment:

O Sons of Buddha, there is no place where the wisdom of the Tathāgata does not reach. Why? Because there is not a single sentient being that is not fully endowed with the wisdom of the Tathāgata. It is only on account of their deluded thinking, erroneous views, and attachments that they do not succeed in realizing it. When they become free from deluded thinking, the all-comprehending wisdom, the spontaneous wisdom, and the unobstructed wisdom will then be manifest before them. . . . At that time the Tathāgata with his unobstructed pure eye of wisdom universally beheld all sentient beings throughout the universe and said, "How amazing! How amazing! How can it be that these sentient beings are fully endowed with the wisdom of the Tathāgata and yet, being ignorant and confused, do not know it and do not see it? I must teach them the noble path, enabling them to be forever free from deluded thinking and to achieve for themselves the seeing of the broad and vast wisdom of the Tathāgata within themselves, and so to be no different from the Buddhas.³⁴

The significance of this passage for Tsung-mi lay in the fact that it establishes that the content of the Buddha's enlightenment consisted in his realization that all sentient beings already fully possess the enlightened wisdom of the Buddha within themselves and are therefore fundamentally identical with all Buddhas. Sentient beings' enlightenment thus lies in their awakening of this intrinsic Buddha-wisdom within themselves.

Although the Buddha's enlightenment is the paradigm for sentient beings' experience of enlightenment, it must also be pointed out that what Tsung-mi means by sudden enlightenment differs significantly from the enlightenment experienced by the Buddha, which all Buddhist traditions have characterized as supreme, perfect enlightenment (anutta-rāsamyaksambodhi). As we have noted, "sudden enlightenment" in the context of Tsung-mi's theory of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation refers to chieh-wu, initial awakening, only the first stage in Tsung-mi's ten-stage process of spiritual cultivation. The Buddha's enlightenment, on the other hand, corresponds to cheng-wu, the final culmination of enlightenment.

For Tsung-mi the necessity of commencing a process of gradual cultivation following the initial experience of enlightenment (chieh-wu) is based on the sheer tenacity of the karmic residue of past actions, the vāsanā or hsūn-hsi which have thoroughly permeated the ālayavijāāna or store-consciousness over the course of innumerable lifetimes. Thus,

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although the initial experience of enlightenment is sudden, one must still engage in a long process of cultivation in order to extirpate the deeply rooted seeds of the false view of a substantial self that have become ingrained in our mentality. As Tsung-mi says in the Ch'an Chart:

Even though one suddenly realizes that the dharmakāya, the true mind, is wholly identical with Buddha, still, since for numerous kalpas one has deludedly clung to the four elements as constituting one's self [so that this view] has become second nature and is difficult to do away with all at once, one must cultivate oneself on the basis of [this experience of] enlightenment. When one has reduced it and further reduced it until there is nothing left to reduce, then it is called attaining Buddhahood.³⁵

Even though the practitioner has gained an insight into his own true nature, realizing his identity with all Buddhas, he is still not fully liberated, for he has yet to root out the seeds of his misperception of himself as a separate and self-existing entity. Although he has seen that this view is illusory, his behavior and entire mode of being in the world are still predicated on this false view of the self, to which he has become habituated by a long process of conditioning. It is therefore necessary to embark upon a program of gradual cultivation that will eliminate the seeds of this misconception so that his original insight into his true nature can be fully and freely manifested in his every action. Gradual cultivation is thus the process by which one's initial insight is integrated into one's personality.

3. The Doctrinal Basis of Tsung-mi's Theory

Doctrinally, Tsung-mi's explanation of sudden enlightenment is based on the tathāgatagarbha whereas his explanation of gradual cultivation is based on the ālayavijñāna. Although these two cardinal Mahāyāna doctrines seem to have originated independently and their relationship can be described as being diametrical, they were nevertheless combined together into a unified doctrinal framework in the Awakening of Faith, the text that forms the basis for Tsung-mi's theory of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation. In order to understand why this text was of such importance for Tsung-mi, we must first consider these two different conceptions of the mind separately.³⁶

As is generally acknowledged by modern Buddhologists, the tathāgatagarbha doctrine can ultimately be traced back to the early pre-Mahāyāna teaching of an innately pure luminous mind (prabhāsvara citta) which is only adventitiously covered over by defilements (āgantukakleśa). The term tathāgatagarbha means both the embryo and the

womb of the Tathāgata—the first sense of the term emphasizing the potentiality for Buddhahood, which exists embryonically within all sentient beings, while the second emphasizes the fact that the pure dharma-kāya lies hidden within the defiled condition. The implication of this doctrine as it was elaborated in tathāgatagarbha texts such as the Tathāgatagarbha and Śrīmālā scriptures and the Ratnagotravibhāga is that enlightenment is the natural and true state of the mind. The basis for enlightenment thus exists within the mind of all sentient beings. This means that enlightenment does not represent an overcoming of, or triumph over, the mind so much as a realization of its own inherent potential.

Whereas the tathāgatagarbha doctrine provides an answer to the question of how enlightenment is possible, it does so by side-stepping the equally vexing problem of the origin of ignorance. That is, if the fundamental nature of the mind is intrinsically pure (i.e., enlightened), how, or from where, do the impurities that obscure it (i.e., ignorance) arise? If they arise from the mind itself, how can the nature of the mind be considered intrinsically pure? If, on the other hand, they arise from somewhere outside the mind, then how can the mind be considered the fundamental ground of both samsāra and nirvāṇa? Moreover, if we posit a separate origin for ignorance (or the impurities), that would lead to the untoward consequence of a dualism in which enlightenment and ignorance function together as ontological principles in the soteriological drama of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa.

The particular weakness of tathāgatagarbha thought—its shunting of the problem of the origin of ignorance—is systematically dealt with in the Yogācāra analysis of the mind and mental processes. Here the ālayavijñāna is posited as the repository or seedbed out of which impurities arise, and the impure seeds from which they originate are said to exist innately within the ālayavijñāna ab aeterno. Futhermore, the impurities that are manifested from out of the ālayavijñāna in turn condition the ālayavijñāna, forming new seeds from which further impurities are generated. Thus, according to the Yogācāra analysis, the ālayavijñāna is the source and support of all impure dharmas. Whence, then, do pure dharmas, those which have the power to reverse the self-perpetuating process of conditioning by which impure dharmas are produced, arise?

According to the Mahāyānasamgraha (She ta-sheng lun), one of the principal texts regarded as authoritative for the Yogācāra tradition, the supramundane pure mind is born from seeds sown by the correct hearing of the dharma. 38 In other words, the process by which the mind becomes purified has its inception outside the mind. The mind does not contain the seeds of its own transformation; these, rather, are extrinsic to it. Enlightenment is thus characterized as a revolution of the support (chuan-i, āśrayaparāvītii): the nature of the mind must undergo a funda-

mental and radical transformation before enlightenment can take place, and the mind of one who has undergone such a transformation can no longer be spoken of as the ālayavijñāna—it must be referred to as the amalavijñāna (a-mo-lo-shih) or "undefiled consciousness" instead. Hence, although the Yogācāra tradition can be seen as giving a successful and cogent account of the origin of ignorance in its doctrine of the ālayavijñāna and the process of mental conditioning (vāsanā), it does so by making the basis of enlightenment extraneous to the mind, thus implying that enlightenment is fortuitous.

The fact that the tathagatagarbha and alayavijnana doctrines can be seen as complementing one another in such a way that each compensates for the shortcoming of the other made some kind of synthesis of the two inevitable, as seems to have happened for the first time with the Lankāvatāra-sūtra. This synthesis was carried further, and pursued more systematically, in the Awakening of Faith. This work, whose provenance is still controversial, seems to have been composed in China sometime during the third quarter of the sixth century. It defines the tathagatagarbha as the absolute mind of suchness (chen-ju i-hsin), which it analyzes as having two aspects: the absolute (pu-pien), which it refers to as the "mind as suchness" (hsin chen-ju), and the conditioned (sui-yūan), which it refers to as the "mind that is subject to birth-and-death" (hsin sheng-mieh). The first aspect corresponds to the tathagatagarbha as it truly is—that is, the dharmakava—while the second aspect corresponds to the tathagatagarbha as the dharmakaya covered over by defilements. Moreover, the conditioned aspect of the tathagatagarbha, the mind that is subject to birth-and-death, is identified with the alayavijnana, which is defined as the "interfusion of that which is not subject to birth-anddeath with that which is subject to birth-and-death in such a way that they are neither one nor different."39 Because the alayavijnana is defined as the point where these two aspects of the mind interact, it thus functions as the dynamic factor in the equation of mind by containing within itself the potential for both enlightenment (chueh) and nonenlightenment (pu-chüeh).

4. Tsung-mi's Analysis of Mind

As graphically illustrated in the diagram that occurs at the end of the Ch'an Preface, both the process of delusion and that of enlightenment are based on the dynamic ambivalence of the alayavijnana, which contains both an enlightened and an unenlightened aspect. Tsung-mi, furthermore, breaks down both of these processes into ten symmetrical stages, which can best be represented by reproducing the relevant portion of his diagram.

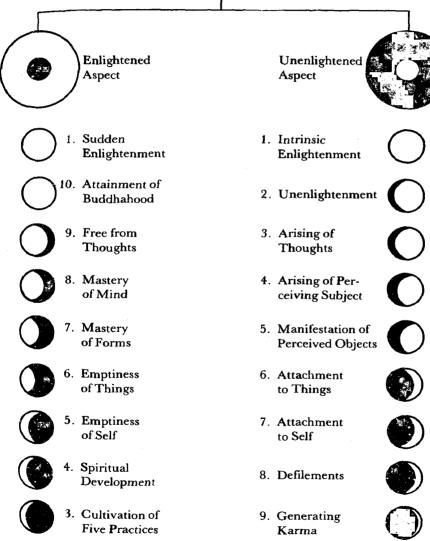
Tsung-mi's Diagram of the Process of Enlightenment and Delusion



Ālayavijñāna

10. Experiencing the

Consequences



2. Resolving to At-

tain Enlightenment

The ten stages in the genesis and development of delusion answer the question of how sentient beings come to assume a human form. Basing his theory on the Awakening of Faith, Tsung-mi gives an account of how this process begins in his Inquiry into the Origin of Man:

At first there is only the one true numinous nature (i-chen-ling-hsing), which is neither born nor destroyed, neither increases nor decreases, and neither changes nor alters. [Nevertheless,] sentient beings are from [time] without beginning asleep in delusion and are not themselves aware of it. Because it is covered over, it is called the tathāgatagarbha, and the phenomenal appearance of the mind that is subject to birth-and-death comes into existence based on the tathāgatagarbha. The interfusion of the true mind that is not subject to birth-and-death and deluded thoughts that are subject to birth-and-death in such a way that they are neither one nor different is referred to as the ālayavijāāna. This consciousness has the two modes of enlightenment and unenlightenment.⁴⁰

The aetiology of delusion, as it is schematically laid out in the Ch'an Preface, 41 can be outlined as follows:

- 1. INTRINSIC ENLIGHTENMENT (pen-chüeh). This is the ontological ground from which the process evolves. The Awakening of Faith defines intrinsic enlightenment as follows: "Enlightenment' means that the essence of the mind is free from thoughts. The characteristic of being free from thoughts is like the realm of empty space that pervades everywhere. As the single characteristic of the dharmadhātu, it is the undifferentiated dharmakāya of the Tathāgata. Since it is based on the dharmakāya, when it is spoken of it is referred to as 'intrinsic enlightenment.' "42 Tsung-mi compares intrinsic enlightenment to a wealthy and respected man, upright and wise, living in his own home.
- 2. UNENLIGHTENMENT (pu-chüch). This refers to the unenlightened aspect of the ālayavijñāna. Tsung-mi compares it to the
 wealthy and respected man falling asleep and forgetting who he is.
 The metaphor of delusion as a state of being asleep is naturally
 suggested by the term for enlightenment, chüch, which literally
 means "to awaken." This stage is what in other contexts Tsung-mi
 refers to as primordial ignorance (ken-pen wu-ming) or autonomous
 ignorance (tu-t'ou wu-ming). It is the "root" (pen) of the remaining
 stages in the process of the evolution of delusion, which, accordingly, are its "branches" (mo).
- 3. ARISING OF THOUGHT (nien-ch'i). This is the first subtle movement of thought, which initiates the process of phenomenal evolution by giving rise to the bifurcation of consciousness into subject and object. It corresponds to the first of the three subtle

phenomenal appearances (san hsi-hsiang) enumerated in the Awak-ening of Faith, that of activity (yeh) or, more fully, the activity of ignorance (wu-ming yeh). 43 Tsung-mi compares it to the dreams that naturally arise in the mind of the sleeping man.

4. ARISING OF THE PERCEIVING SUBJECT (chien-ch'i). This corresponds to the second subtle phenomenal appearance of the Awakening of Faith, that of perceiving subject (neng-chien). 44 Tsung-

mi compares it to the dreaming consciousness.

- 5. MANIFESTATION OF PERCEIVED OBJECTS (ching-ch'i). This refers to the manifestation of the body of the senses and the receptacle world. It corresponds to the third subtle phenomenal appearance of the Awakening of Faith, that of objects of perception (ching-chiai). ⁴⁵ Tsung-mi compares it to the wealthy and respected man who, within his dream, sees himself dwelling in squalor and misery and perceives things that he likes and dislikes.
- 6. ATTACHMENT TO THINGS (fa-chih). This corrsponds to the first and second of the six coarse phenomenal appearances (liu ts'u-hsiang) enumerated in the Awakening of Faith, those of discrimination (chih) and continuation (hsiang-hsū). 46 Tsung-mi compares this stage to the man clinging to the things that he sees in his dream as real.
- 7. ATTACHMENT TO SELF (wo-chih). This corresponds to the third and fourth coarse phenomenal appearances in the Awakening of Faith, that of attachment (chih-ch'ü)²⁷ and symbolic representation (chi-ming-tzu). 48 Tsung-mi compares it to the man identifying himself with the person in the dream.
- 8. DEFILEMENTS (fan-nao). This refers to the three poisons of greed, anger, and folly. Tsung-mi compares it to the man hankering after those things in the dream that accord with his feelings and forming an aversion to those things in the dream that go against his feelings.
- 9. GENERATING KARMA (tsao-yeh). This corresponds to the fifth coarse phenomenal appearance in the Awakening of Faith, that of giving rise to karma (ch'i-yeh). 49 The dreaming man commits various good and bad deeds on the basis of his likes and dislikes.
- 10. EXPERIENCING THE CONSEQUENCES (shou-pao). This corresponds to the sixth coarse phenomenal appearance in the Awakening of Faith, that of the suffering connected with karma (yeh-hsi-ku). The dreaming man thus experiences various good and bad consequences.

The ten stages in the process of phenomenal evolution function in the same way as the classical twelve-linked chain of conditioned origination

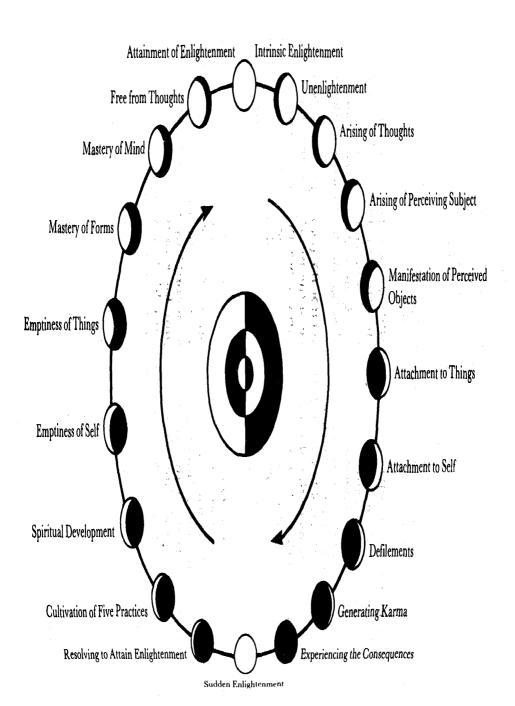
(pratītyasamutpāda). According to Aśvaghoṣa's account of the Buddha's enlightenment in the Buddhacarita, for example, it was by understanding the chain of conditions upon which the whole mass of suffering attendant upon the cycle of birth-and-death depended that the Buddha was thereby able to reverse the process by successively eliminating each stage. The ten stages of phenomenal evolution that Tsung-mi enumerates in the Ch'an Preface likewise serve as a map for liberation. Accordingly, each stage in the process of enlightenment counteracts (fan) the corresponding stage in the process of delusion.

- 1. SUDDEN ENLIGHTENMENT (tun-wu). In this stage one meets a good friend (kalyāṇamitra) whose guidance enables him to gain an insight into the intrinsically enlightened true nature of the mind. This stage counteracts the second stage in the process of delusion, that of unenlightenment.
- 2. RESOLVING TO ATTAIN ENLIGHTENMENT (fa-hsin). In this stage one generates compassion, wisdom, and vows, resolving to attain supreme enlightenment. This stage counteracts the tenth stage in the process of delusion, that of experiencing the consequences of one's actions, according to which one is born in one of the six destinies.
- 3. CULTIVATING THE FIVE PRACTICES (hsiu wu-hsing). In this stage one cultivates giving (dāna), morality (sīla), patience (kṣānti), striving (vīrya), and meditative insight (śamatha-vipaśyanā). These are the five practices enumerated in the Awakening of Faith, 52 according to which the fifth and sixth perfections (pāramitā)—those of dhyāna and prajñā—in the standard scheme of six perfections have been collapsed into one, that of meditative insight. The fifth practice, however, consists of two elements, corresponding to dhyāna and prajñā, which are subsequently treated separately in the Awakening of Faith. 53 This stage counteracts the ninth stage in the process of delusion, that of generating karma.
- 4. SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT (k'ai-fa). This stage entails the development of the compassion, wisdom, and vows previously generated in the second stage and counteracts the eighth stage in the process of delusion, that of defilements.
- 5. EMPTINESS OF SELF (wo-k'ung). In this stage one realizes that there is no substantially existing autonomous self. This stage counteracts the ninth stage in the process of delusion, that of attachment to self.
- 6. EMPTINESS OF THINGS (fa-k'ung). In this stage one realizes that all things are devoid of a self-nature. This stage counteracts the sixth stage in the process of delusion, that of attachment to things.

- 7. MASTERY OF FORM (se-tzu-tsai). Having realized that the objects of perception are nothing but manifestations of one's own mind, one gains mastery over them in this stage. This stage counteracts the fifth stage in the process of delusion, that of the manifestation of perceived objects.
- 8. MASTERY OF MIND (hsin-tzu-tsai). In this stage one gains mastery over the perceiving subject. This stage counteracts the fourth stage in the process of delusion, that of the arising of the perceiving subject.
- 9. FREEDOM FROM THOUGHT (li-nien). In this stage one becomes fully aware of the ultimate origin of deluded thoughts and sees that the true nature of the mind is eternal. This is the stage of ultimate awakening (chiu-ching chüeh) described in the Awakening of Faith⁵⁴ and counteracts the third stage in the process of delusion, that of the arising of thoughts.
- 10. ATTAINMENT OF BUDDHAHOOD (ch'eng-fo). In this stage one returns to the ultimate source of the mind, realizing that, since the mind is of its very essence free from thoughts, there is ultimately no distinction between the various stages in the process of the realization of enlightenment, all of which were from the very beginning undifferentiated and identical with intrinsic enlightenment, which is one and indivisible.

When this process of the realization of enlightenment is completed and one has attained Buddhahood, it is seen that the genesis and unfolding of delusion and the realization of enlightenment are not two separate, parallel, linear processes moving in opposite directions. Rather, one realizes that the two form a continuum. The final stage in the process of enlightenment brings one back to the fundamental basis from which the process of delusion unfolded. The process taken as a whole thus forms a circle in which intrinsic enlightenment would be represented by zero degrees and attainment of Buddhahood, by three hundred sixty degrees. The circularity of the process is symbolized by the circles that correspond to each stage, the relative degree of enlightenment and delusion of which is represented by the relative degree of white and black, suggesting that the phases of delusion and enlightenment evolve and change like the waxing and waning of the moon. The points between zero and one hundred eighty degrees—that is, the nine stages in the process of the unfolding of delusion beginning with unenlightenment and ending with experiencing the consequences—all involve a movement away from enlightenment, what Tsung-mi refers to as the process of conforming to the flow of birth-and-death (shun, anuloma). It is during this phase of the process that one gains a human body and, because of

Rearrangement of Tsung-mi's Diagram in the Form of a Circle



good karma generated in previous existences, finally comes to the turning point in the process, located at one hundred eighty degrees, when one meets a good friend whose guidance enables one to gain a sudden insight into one's true nature. This is what Tsung-mi refers to as sudden enlightenment (i.e., chieh-wu), an experience that reverses the direction of one's karma—what Tsung-mi refers to as the process of going against the flow of birth-and-death (ni, pratiloma)—and begins one's return back to one's original enlightened nature. The eight stages in the process of the realization of enlightenment—that is, those beginning with resolving to attain enlightenment and ending with freedom from thoughts—describe the process of gradual cultivation (or what the Awakening of Faith refers to as shih-chüeh). With the attainment of Buddhahood (i.e., cheng-wu), one returns to the ultimate point of origin, beginning and end are one, the circle is completed, and the process is brought to its natural conclusion. Tsung-mi's diagram can thus be rearranged in the form of a circle.

Moreover, when one has attained Buddhahood, one realizes that all the stages in the process are equally nothing but a manifestation of the absolute mind (i-hsin), whose fundamental nature is eternally pure and enlightened and can never be tainted by the defilements that appear to obscure it. The defilements are accidental, being only the result of sentient beings' delusion. But the true nature of reality is unaffected by the failure of sentient beings to see it as it really is. Thus, even though the tathāgatagarbha appears to be defiled, it is forever immaculate and inviolate. When one attains enlightenment, one realizes that intrinsic enlightenment is more than a stage in the process of delusion and enlightenment, it is also the fundamental ground upon which the entire process is based. The pen in the term pen-chüch thus indicates that intrinsic enlightenment is not only ontologically prior to the other phases of the process, which are only epiphenomena (mo or hsiang), but that it is also the ontological ground (pen or hsing) that underlies all of them equally.

The relationship between intrinsic enlightenment and the other phases of the process of delusion and enlightenment can best be illustrated by making use of Tsung-mi's adaptation of the famous metaphor of water and waves from the Awakening of Faith. The originally tranquil surface of the water in which all things are reflected clearly (intrinsic enlightenment) becomes stirred up by the action of the wind of ignorance (unenlightenment) to form waves (i.e., the process of delusion). Even though the wind ceases suddenly (sudden enlightenment, chieh-wu), the motion of the waves only subsides gradually (i.e, the process of the realization of enlightenment, gradual cultivation, shih-chüeh) until all movement has stopped and the surface of the water is once again tranquil (attainment of Buddhahood, cheng-wu). Nevertheless, whether the surface of the water is tranquil or agitated, whether its waves are large or small, it is all equally

water (i.e., the absolute mind). Moreover, the changing condition of the surface of the water does not affect its fundamental nature of being able to reflect all things (intrinsic enlightenment).

5. Tsung-mi's Criticism of the Northern and Hung-chou Lines

In order to assess Tsung-mi's position with respect to the larger historical context of the sudden-gradual polarity, it is first necessary to analyze his criticisms of some of the other Ch'an approaches to religious cultivation. As his criticisms of these other approaches turn on his understanding of the fundamental nature of mind, the analysis will further clarify the deep structure of his thought as well as highlight what was at stake for him in his characterization of the Ho-tse teaching as sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation. The two Ch'an traditions whose critiques are most pertinent in this regard are the Northern and Hung-chou lineages.

A. Tsung-mi's Critique of the Northern Line

Within his scheme of the various permutations of the terms "sudden" and "gradual" as they apply to enlightenment and cultivation, Tsungmi identifies the teaching and practice of the Northern line as falling under the category of gradual cultivation followed by sudden enlightenment. In both his subcommentary to his commentary and his abridged commentary to the Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment (Yuan-chueh ching ta-shu ch'ao and Lüeh-shu ch'ao), he points out that this case can be interpreted in two ways. 55 The first presumes a prior sudden insight (i.e., chieh-wu), thus conforming to his threefold model of religious practice and so differing only in emphasis, but not substance, from the case of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation, which presumes a subsequent realization of enlightenment (cheng-wu) as its unstated third term. The second interpretation of gradual cultivation followed by sudden enlightenment does not presume a prior experience of insight, and it is within this framework that Tsung-mi places, and criticizes, Northern Ch'an.

Tsung-mi's clearest criticism of Northern Ch'an occurs in his Ch'an Chart, where he gives the following characterization of its major tenets:

Sentient beings originally have an enlightened nature just as a mirror has a luminous nature, but defilements cover it from view just as a mirror is darkened by dust. If we rely on the teachings of a master and extinguish our deluded thoughts, then, when those thoughts are eliminated, the nature of the mind will be enlightened and there will be nothing that is not known. It is like wiping away dust: when the dust is eliminated, the

essence of the mirror is luminous and clear and there is nothing that is not reflected in it. Therefore, the founder of this lineage, Shen-hsiu, presented the following verse to the fifth patriarch:

The body is the bodhi tree, The mind is like a luminous mirror. We must always wipe it clean And never let dust collect.⁵⁶

Tsung-mi then goes on to give the following critique:

This [teaching] merely consists in the method of going against the flow [of birth-and-death] and opposing residual conditioning (hsi, vāsanā) [based on] the phenomenal appearances of impure and pure conditioned origination (jan ching yūan-ch'i chih hsiang) and has not yet awakened to the fact that deluded thoughts are intrinsically empty and that the nature of the mind is intrinsically pure. When enlightenment is not yet deeply penetrating, how can cultivation be in conformity with the true?⁵⁷

Tsung-mi's characterization of Northern Ch'an emphasizes the importance of the tathagatagarbha, the intrisically enlightened nature possessed by all sentient beings. His criticism also shows that he sees its understanding of the tathagatagarbha as being different from his own in a profoundly significant way. In order to see precisely wherein this difference lies, and what it means for Tsung-mi, it is necessary to place Tsung-mi's critique of Northern Ch'an into the larger doctrinal context that he articulates in his Ch'an Preface, where he identifies its teaching with that of the Fa-hsiang brand of Yogācāra. Tsung-mi's major critique of Fa-hsiang is that there is an unbridgeable gap between the alayavijñāna and suchness (chen-ju, tathatā). He charges that in the Fahsiang teaching "dharmas subject to birth-and-death are not connected with suchness" (sheng-mieh teng fa pu-kuan chen-ju). 58 In terms of the two aspects of the mind outlined in the Awakening of Faith, this means that there is no connection between the mind as suchness (hsin chen-ju) and the mind that is subject to birth-and-death (hsin sheng-mieh); in other words, there is no connection between the tathagatagarbha and alayavijñana. Suchness is seen to be static (ning-jan 'inert' and pu-pien 'unchanging')—that is, it is not involved in the production of pure and impure phenomenal appearances (hsiang). Where the Fa-hsiang teaching falls short is in its recognition of only one aspect of the absolute mind (i-hsin): while it acknowledges its "unchanging" (pu-pien) character, it wholly ignores its "conditioned" (sui-yuan) character. In other words, it does not realize that the phenomenal appearances it purports to analyze are the functioning (yung) of the mind as suchness as it accords with conditions (sui-yūan). But it is precisely the conditioned aspect of suchness that is of vital importance for Tsung-mi, because it

links the tathāgatagarbha with the ālayavijñāna and thereby accounts for how suchness accords with conditions to form all pure and impure states. It is this conditioned aspect of suchness that Tsung-mi refers to as nature origination (hsing-ch'i), a term that emphasizes the dynamic quality of his understanding of the fundamental nature of the mind.

In Tsung-mi's view, it is because the Fa-hsiang teaching lacks the principle of nature origination that there is nothing to mediate between the alayavijaana and suchness, the realm of defiled activity and that of unconditioned purity. It is thus guilty of a fundamental dualism. Nature origination, on the other hand, bridges this gap by affirming that all phenomenal appearances (hsiang) are nothing but a manifestation (yung) of the nature (hsing) that is their very essence (t'i). Nature origination overcomes this dualism by making use of the paradigm of essence and function (t'i-yung). This conceptual paradigm, which had played a dominant role in Chinese metaphysical vocabulary since at least the "Neo-Taoist" speculations of the third century, provides the basic conceptual framework in terms of which Tsung-mi structures his thought. The various polarities that Tsung-mi employs—such as nature and phenomenal appearances, or root (pen) and branch (mo)—all conform to this paradigm. Essence, nature, and root, on the one hand, and function, phenomenal appearance(s), and branch, on the other, are all interchangeable. The equation of the essence and function paradigm with that of root and branch also reveals toward which side the polarity is weighted in value.

Tsung-mi's criticism of Fa-hsiang applies to Northern Ch'an as well, whose practice is directed toward removing the impurities that obscure the intrinsic purity of the mind. Such a practice is based on a fundamental misconception because it does not realize that the impurities themselves are empty (k'ung, śūnya)—and by "empty" Tsung-mi means that they lack any independent reality of their own, because they are nothing but a manifestation of the intrinsically pure mind as it accords with conditions. The "impurities" are thus not impure in themselves. Rather, their impurity lies in the dualistic misapprehension of them as impure—in other words, the failure to see through them to the intrinsically pure nature that is their essence and of which they are an expression.

This dualism, or fundamental misconception, which Tsung-mi sees as informing Northern Ch'an teaching is based on the absence of chiehwu, the initial, sudden experience of insight. Such an insight consists in recognizing the fundamental identity of sentient beings and Buddhas, samsāra and nirvāṇa, hence it also entails the recognition that deluded thoughts (i.e., dust) lack any reality of their own (wang-nien pen wu) because they are merely the functioning of the essence of the mind as it

accords with conditions. In other words, chieh-wu is an insight into nature origination as the fundamental unifying principle behind the apparent multiplicity of phenomenal appearances. This insight validates the mundane world of phenomenal appearances as the manifestation of our nature. Phenomenal appearances are therefore "empty" and so are not really impure.

Tsung-mi's most comprehensive discussion of nature origination occurs in a passage in his subcommentary to Ch'eng-kuan's commentary to the chapter on the practice and vows of Samantabhadra from Praiña's translation of the Gandavyūha. There he connects it to conditioned origination (yüan-ch'i, pratītyasamutpāda) and shows how it is related to the processes of delusion and enlightenment. Nature origination and conditioned origination present two different causal models offering different levels of explanation. Conditioned origination explains how different phenomenal appearances condition one another, while nature origination explains how all phenomenal appearances are ultimately based upon the nature. In his discussion of conditioned origination. Tsung-mi first distinguishes between two modes: what he calls "defiled conditioned origination" (jan-yüan-ch'i) and "pure conditioned origination" (ching-yüan-ch'i). 59 These two modes correspond to the parallel processes of delusion and enlightenment discussed above. He then goes on to make the further crucial distinction between two different levels of defiled conditioning, which he refers to as (1) its "beginningless root" (wu-shih ken-pen) and (2) its "evolved branches" (chan-chuan chihmo). The first refers to autonomous ignorance (tu-t'ou wu-ming; var. tuhsing wu-ming, pu-kung wu-ming; avidyā-avenikī)60 or what he later refers to as primordial ignorance (ken-pen wu-ming). 61 This is an ignorance that exists prior to (at least logically if not also temporally) and independently of the defilements (kleśa). It is the root (pen) of the later "evolved branches" (i.e., the last eight stages in the process of delusion). Sudden enlightenment (chieh-wu) counteracts this primordial ignorance. 62 Once the process of delusion has been set in motion, however, it becomes selfperpetuating. Gradual cultivation is therefore necessary to counteract its "evolved branches."

Since, according to Tsung-mi's analysis, the Northern line lacks sudden enlightenment (chieh-wu), its "gradual cultivation" is qualitatively different from the gradual cultivation that follows chieh-wu. Nature is not only the basis of phenomenal appearances, but also the ground of practice. This failure to recognize the essential nature of all phenomenal appearances is implicit in Tsung-mi's charge that the practice taught by Northern Ch'an is "inauthentic" (fei-chen). As Tsung-mi adds in his account of this teaching in his subcommentary to the Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment, "If cultivation is not in conformity with the true, how can

one attain realization even after many kalpas?"⁶³ Thus when Tsung-mi says that Northern Ch'an "merely consists in the method of going against the flow and opposing residual conditioning [based on] the phenomenal appearances of impure and pure conditioned origination," he is implicitly criticizing it for not understanding nature origination.

B. Tsung-mi's Critique of the Hung-chou Line

Tsung-mi characterizes the teaching of the Hung-chou line as being diametrically opposed to that of the Northern line. He contrasts the two by remarking that the Northern line regards "everything as altogether false" (wang) whereas the Hung-chou line regards "everything as altogether true" (chen). Their approaches to cultivation are accordingly opposite: the Northern line advocates "subjugating the mind so as to extinguish the false" (fu-hsin mieh-wang) whereas the Hung-chou line advocates "entrusting oneself to act freely according to the nature of one's feelings" (hsin-jen ch'ing-hsing). 64 Where the Northern line falls into dualism, the position of the Hung-chou line leads to a radical non-dualism by collapsing essence (t'i) into function (yung). Tsung-mi characterizes its stance in the Ch'an Chart:

The arising of mental activity, the movement of thought, even snapping the fingers or moving the eyes—all actions and activities are the functioning of the entire essence of the Buddha-nature. Since there is no other kind of functioning, greed, anger, and folly, the performance of good and bad actions and the experiencing of their pleasurable and painful consequences are all, in their entirety, Buddha-nature.⁶⁵

Because all activities—whether good or bad, enlightened or deluded—are "the functioning of the entire essence of the Buddha-nature," there is no essence outside of its functioning.

If one examines the nature of its essence thoroughly, one will see that ultimately it can neither be perceived nor be realized, just as the eye cannot see itself, and so on. If one considers its responsive functioning, one will see that everything that one does is the Buddha-nature and that there is nothing else that can either realize it or be realized.⁶⁶

The ethically dangerous implication of this teaching for Tsung-mi is that, if the essence can only be perceived through its functioning and, moreover, everything is equally the functioning of the essence in its entirety, then the essence becomes totally eclipsed by its functioning. Tsung-mi, however, insists that while the essence and its functioning are different aspects of the same reality, they are nevertheless still different and that their difference is important because the essence, as what is most fundamental (pen), is the source of value. His assimilation of the essence-function (t'i-yung) paradigm into that of root and branch (pen-

mo) entails a notion of religious practice as a return to a more basic state, the primordial condition of the mind before its bifurcation into subject and object, attendant upon the first subtle movement of thought. It is only through a direct experience of the essence that its functioning can be validated as true.

It is because the Hung-chou line collapses essence into function that Tsung-mi regards its attitude towards cultivation as antinomian. He holds that its proponents maintain that

one should neither rouse the mind to cut off evil nor cultivate the way. Since the way itself is the mind, one cannot use the mind to cultivate the mind. Since evil is also the mind, one cannot use the mind to cut off the mind. One who neither cuts off [evil] nor does [good] but freely accepts things as they are is called a liberated person. There is no dharma that can be clung to or any Buddhahood that can be attained. . . . Simply allowing the mind to act spontaneously is cultivation. 67

Although on one level Tsung-mi would not gainsay the Hung-chou assertion that ultimately there is no Buddhahood to attain, he would also insist that that realization is precisely what Buddhahood consists in and that such a statement can only be meaningfully made from the standpoint of one who has attained Buddhahood. It would be a grave error for one who has not yet realized that state to conclude facilely that there is therefore no reason to cultivate Buddhahood. Tsung-mi insists that while ultimately the nature transcends all dualistic categories, yet there is still a difference between enlightenment and delusion as far as sentient beings are concerned. And it is the tension created by the difference between enlightenment and delusion that vivifies practice.

Hung-chou constantly says: "Since greed, anger, compassion, and good deeds are all the Buddha-nature, how can there be any difference between them?" This is like someone who sees that there is never any difference in the wetness [of the water] not realizing that there is an enormous difference between the success of a boat that crosses over it and the failure of a boat that capsizes in it. Therefore, as far as this line's approach toward sudden enlightenment is concerned, even though it comes close, it still does not hit the mark, and, as far as its approach toward gradual cultivation is concerned, it is mistaken and completely backwards. 68

Tsung-mi's criticism of the Hung-chou line reveals that his use of the essence-function paradigm is more complex than might at first be apparent. While he emphasizes the inseparability of essence and function as different aspects of the same reality, he also stresses their difference: they are neither one nor different (pu-i pu-i), just as the true mind that is not subject to birth-and-death interfuses with deluded thoughts in such a way that they are neither one nor different. Their inseparabil-

ity is what makes religious cultivation possible and their difference is what makes religious cultivation necessary. Tsung-mi thus uses the essence-function paradigm to preserve an ethically critical duality within a larger ontological unity. While this paradigm overcomes the dualism of Northern Ch'an on the one hand, it also serves to avoid the radical nondualism of Hung-chou on the other.

As part of his criticism of the Hung-chou line, Tsung-mi uses the analogy of a bronze mirror to illustrate the difference between its teaching and that of his own Ho-tse line. He does so by introducing a critical distinction between two levels of functioning: what he calls the "intrinsic functioning of the self-nature" (tzu-hsing pen-yung) and its "responsive functioning in accord with conditions" (sui-yūan ying-yung).

The material substance of the bronze [mirror] is the essence of self-nature; the luminous reflectivity (ming) of the bronze is the functioning of the self-nature; and the images reflected by its luminous reflectivity are its functioning in accord with conditions. The images are reflected in direct response to conditions. While the reflections may have thousands of variations, the luminous reflectivity is the ever-present luminous reflectivity of the self-nature.⁶⁹

The functioning of self-nature is synonymous with intrinsic enlightenment. The functioning in accord with conditions refers to the psychophysical functions of "speech, discrimination, bodily movement, and the like."70 The relationship between these two orders of functioning can be characterized in terms of the essence and function, or root and branch, paradigm: the functioning of the self-nature is the essence or root of the functioning in accord with conditions. Tsung-mi uses this distinction to point out that the Hung-chou line, in overemphasizing the "responsive functioning" of the Buddha-nature, altogether misses the functioning of its self-nature. Its practice therefore lacks ontological grounding and is apt to veer off in ethically dangerous directions. By making this distinction crucial for differentiating between the Hungchou and Ho-tse teachings, Tsung-mi reaffirms his emphasis on essence in contradistinction to function. By calling attention to the importance of the intrinsic functioning of the self-nature, Tsung-mi effectively drives a wedge between essence and function to insure that they cannot be collapsed in the way he understands the Hung-chou teaching to have done.

6. Tsung-mi's Theory and Shen-hui

Tsung-mi's characteristic tendency to find the most comprehensive framework into which all other perspectives can be subsumed must be

taken into consideration when evaluating his accounts of the various Ch'an traditions. That is to say, his characterizations are schematic rather than descriptive: locating a tradition within a larger conceptual scheme often seems to be more important than giving a textured description of it. And that larger conceptual scheme is the particular vision of Hua-yen teaching that Tsung-mi espoused and identified with the teaching of Ho-tse Shen-hui. It could be objected that his identification of the teaching of the Northern line of Ch'an with that of Fahsiang, for example, is reductive and forces the complexity of its teaching into a prefabricated mold (equipped with its own built-in doctrinal critique). All the same, Tsung-mi was thoroughly acquainted with much of the Ch'an literature of his time, having devoted himself to collecting the extant writings of the various Ch'an traditions into a separate "basket" (pitaka) to which his Ch'an Preface was to serve as a general introduction. His opinions on the various traditions were thus based on a broad knowledge of their teachings and therefore merit our careful attention. Nevertheless, we must also bear in mind that his understanding and portrayal of them were framed by his own doctrinal orientation, which, in turn, was shaped by his reaction to the more radical interpretations of Ch'an practice that he encountered during his formative period of Ch'an training in Szechwan. As Yanagida Seizan has shown, the most extreme of these, the Pao-t'ang, had extended Shen-hui's teaching of no-thought (wu-nien) to entail a rejection of all forms of traditional Buddhist ethical practice and ritual observance.71

Tsung-mi's reaction against radical forms of Ch'an, seen in his critique of the Hung-chou line, calls into question the degree to which his teachings authentically represent those of Shen-hui. Evidence can be found in the extant fragments of Shen-hui's teachings to support Tsung-mi's claim that his position can be characterized as advocating sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation. As we have seen, one of the analogies that Tsung-mi uses to illustrate this position is that of an infant who possesses all of its limbs and faculties intact the moment it is born but only learns to master their use gradually. This analogy was very likely drawn from Shen-hui, as the following passage from his *Recorded Sayings* suggests.

Each one of the great masters of my [lineage] for the [last] six generations spoke of piercing through [the heart of the matter] with a single thrust of the sword (tan-tao chih-ju) and directly seeing the nature (chih-liao chien-hsing); they didn't say anything about a gradual progression (chiai-chien). Followers of the way, you should suddenly see your Buddha-nature (tun-chien fo-hsing) and then gradually cultivate causal conditions (chien-hsiu yin-yūan). . . . It is like a mother suddenly giving birth to a child, giving him her breast, and gradually nurturing and rearing him. . . Suddenly

awakening and seeing one's Buddha-nature (tun-wu chien-fo-hsing) is also like this—wisdom naturally increases gradually (chih-hui tzu-jan chien-chien tseng-chang). 72

Yet Tsung-mi also uses an analogy from Shen-hui to illustrate sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation—the position in which obstructions are suddenly cut off just as myriad strands of silk are severed with a single stroke when cutting a piece of silk cloth. Compare Tsung-mi's use of this analogy with the following passage from Shen-hui's Recorded Sayings.

[Wu-hsing] further asked: "If the defilements are so innumerable and limitless that Buddhas and bodhisattvas pass through eons and still have not been able to succeed [in eliminating them], how could the dragon girl [in the story from the Lotus Sūtra] have been able to give rise to her aspiration for enlightenment in an instant (ch'a-na fa-hsin) and immediately have attained true enlightenment (pien ch'eng cheng-chüeh)?"

The Ho-shang [Shen-hui] replied: "Raising the aspiration for enlightenment can be either sudden or gradual (fa-hsin yu tun chien) and delusion and enlightenment can be either slow or quick (mi wu yu ch'ih chi). Delusion lasts for repeated eons (mi chi lei-chieh), but enlightenment takes place instantaneously (wu chi hsū-yū). . . . For example, even though the number of strands in a roll of silk is incalculable, if one gathers them together into a rope, puts them on a board, and severs them with a sharp sword, then at once they will all be cut in two. Although the strands are numerous, they do not take more then a single stroke of a sword. A person who gives rise to the aspiration for enlightenment is also like this. If he meets a true good friend who skillfully uses expedients to reveal suchness directly, then with his diamondlike wisdom he will cut through the defilements belonging to the various stages [of the bodhisattva], be immediately enlightened (huo-jan hsiao-wu), and see for himself that the nature of reality (fa-hsing) is originally empty and tranquil. His wisdom will then be sharp, bright, and clear and will penetrate [everywhere] without obstruction. When he realizes this, his myriad [karmic] conditions will be simultaneously severed and his deluded thoughts, which are more numerous than the sands of the Ganges, will be suddenly done away with all at once. The limitless excellent virtues [of a Buddha] will be fully ready to be used according to circumstances.73

As already noted, Tsung-mi also quotes twice from Shen-hui in his explanation of the case of sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation in the Ch'an Preface. The fact that Tsung-mi can draw from Shen-hui to illustrate two contrasting positions suggests, at the very least, that there are divergent tendencies intermixed within Shen-hui's thought. However we assess Shen-hui as a personality, he was certainly not a systematic thinker. Whatever his motivation, he seems to have put forward different positions in response to different questions and never seems to

have felt a need to integrate them into a comprehensive doctrinal framework.

The position that Tsung-mi upholds as the orthodox one, that of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation, could be characterized as conservative in contrast to that of sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation, which could accordingly be characterized as radical. While we can find evidence for both positions within the Shen-hui fragments, that of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation generally seems to be a fallback position to which Shen-hui retreats under the brunt of a certain line of questioning—it does not seem to be the position that he puts forward as his own when he is on the offensive.74 In any case, Tsung-mi, in his characterization of Shen-hui's teaching, seems to have identified the more conservative strand of his thought as orthodox and suppressed the more radical one. That is, he plays down the strong prajñā-pāramitā thrust in Shen-hui's teaching while emphasizing a Yogācāra understanding of the obduracy of the defilements. This emphasis no doubt reflects Tsung-mi's reaction to the radical way Shen-hui's teaching had been adapted by some of the Szechwan Ch'an traditions.

7. Conclusion

Tsung-mi's analysis of the different contexts in which the terms "sudden" (tun) and "gradual" (chien) operate does much to make sense out of what often seems to be a hopelessly confused and confusing issue. For this reason alone it is worth our attention. Yet, ironically, it is just its ability to render the tangle of controversy intelligible that, in the final analysis, betrays Tsung-mi as a gradualist. His approach to the suddengradual issue is fully congruent with his approach to Buddhist doctrine -that is, he tries to reconcile conflicting interpretations by uncovering a more comprehensive framework in which they can all be harmoniously sublated. His theory of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation integrates the experience of sudden enlightenment into a comprehensive vision of a progressive path of spiritual cultivation, one that emphasizes the importance of a sudden "leap" of insight within a larger philosophy of progress.75 By so doing, Tsung-mi, in effect, domesticates the experience of enlightenment. But this is precisely what the subitist claims can never be done, for there is a profound sense in which enlightenment can never be accounted for, because to do so is to place it, as Tsung-mi does, within a conceptual structure with its own strictures of rationality. The subitist insists that enlightenment is an experience of breaking through all such structures—and for that reason it is ultimately ineffable. To say anything at all about enlightenment is to

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impose structure upon it, no matter how deftly or obliquely done. A necessary corollary to any thoroughgoing and consistent attempt to apply the subitist stance would thus be an apophatic approach to language. In the end, the subitist relies on silence—but even this must be regarded as symbolic, for silence can only be interpreted within some context of discourse. When taken seriously, subitism is a position that by its very nature transcends articulation, for to articulate it coherently is to resort to the expedience of linguistic convention, in which both explicit and implicit conceptual structures are inextricably embedded.

Subitism, then, for all the appeal of its uncompromising stance, leads to a set of curious and intractable problems when it is applied to practice. ⁷⁶ The apophatic rhetorical posture makes it impossible to say anything concrete about the actual experience of the practice of meditation. Taken by itself, it is easy to see how it might be possible for such a posture to be interpreted in a way that undermines religious and ethical practice. Tsung-mi seems to have been well aware of this possibility, since he came from a part of China where a number of extreme applications of Ch'an doctrine had gained currency by his day.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to characterize Tsung-mi simply as a gradualist. The doctrine of suddenness is essential to his own sense of identity as a successor in Shen-hui's teaching line, and the experience of sudden enlightenment serves as his criterion for gauging the authenticity of Ch'an teachings on practice. Tsung-mi's own position is too complex and subtle to be categorized as simply that of a subitist or a gradualist—just as his use of the essence-function paradigm makes it impossible to characterize his thought as conforming to either a dualistic or a nondualistic model.

Tsung-mi's position on the sudden-gradual issue seems in many respects to be unique. For example, in his explanation of the nature and function of religious language, Tsung-mi claims that the sudden teaching is precisely that which is able to reveal the essence with a single word. He defines the ultimate 'eaching, which he identifies with the Ho-tse line, as that which reveals the nature immediately; because it reveals the nature without resorting to expedients, it is also sudden. And it does so by using the single word "awareness" (chih). Tsung-mi interprets the famous phrase, "the single word 'awareness' is the gate of all mysteries," which he attributes to Shen-hui, to mean that Shen-hui used the single word directly to reveal the truth. The sudden teaching is therefore the teaching that enables one to experience sudden enlightenment.⁷⁷ He thus defines suddenness in terms of its ability to use language positively to reveal the truth.

In a very broad sense, we can see the sudden-gradual polarity as part of a larger dialectic in Buddhism. On the one hand, there is a need to create structures to give meaning and direction to practice. As a sote-

riological system deeply concerned with the practical task of motivating and guiding its followers, Buddhism requires a coherent vision of the nature and structure of the path. Such conceptual maps orient the pracritioner, locating him in relation to his ultimate goal and thereby clarifying his task. Since such maps may also ground their pictures of the course of practice within a broader understanding of the ontological structure of reality—as Tsung-mi's threefold theory of insight, cultivation, and realization does within his understanding of the fundamental nature of the mind as the ultimate source of all appearances—they may also serve to motivate and sustain practice by giving the practitioner confidence in his ability to realize the goal, because the path he is following is part of the very nature of things. On the other hand, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that conceptual maps are only expedient devices that must be cast aside after they have served their purpose. If the practitioner becomes attached to any map as being a true picture of reality, it becomes an obstacle thwarting the very realization of that to which it is intended to lead. Buddhism thus has the equally important need continually to deconstruct those very structures it is called upon to create. From the "hard" edge of the subitist position, all means (upāya) must be rejected as conceptual traps. Given these seemingly discordant attitudes (often represented in Buddhist discourse by the distinction between conventional and ultimate truth), one could say that both stances are needed for balance, that a one-sided subitism can subvert practice just as a one-sided gradualism can stifle realization, and that what is crucial is the vitality of the tension generated between thembut to say this is to take a tack not unsimilar to that of Tsung-mi and, of course, to side with the gradualists...

Appendix 1 Ch'eng-kuan's Scheme of Sudden-Gradual Combinations

Tsung-mi's analysis of the five permutations of sudden and gradual as applied to enlightenment and cultivation is derived from Ch'eng-kuan. In his Hua-yen ching yen-i ch'ao (T 36.164c8-16) and Hua-yen ching hsing yūan p'in shu (ZZ 1/7/3.252a17-b11), Ch'eng-kuan gives two slightly different, but overlapping schemes, which, when combined, result in the five permutations outlined by Tsung-mi. Most importantly, Tsung-mi adopted Ch'eng-kuan's distinction between chieh-wu and cheng-wu. Nevertheless, even though Tsung-mi takes over the five permutations enumerated by Ch'eng-kuan, his description of their content is often quite different. He also uses them for a different purpose. Whereas Ch'eng-kuan's account claims to be purely descriptive and makes no value judgments as to the relative merits of the various positions, Tsung-mi's analysis serves to demonstrate the superiority of

Shen-hui's teaching. The differences between Ch'eng-kuan's and Tsung-mi's analyses is also discussed by Chinul in his Popchip pyōrhaeng nok chōryo pyōngip sagi. For bibliographical references see note 17 below. In order to provide a basis for comparison, a translation of the relevant sections from Ch'eng-kuan's two works follows.

1. Sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation from Hsing yūan p'in shu (252a17-b1):

The case of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation involves enlightenment of insight (chieh-wu). That is to say, in the case in which one clearly intuits the nature of the mind and then engages in the training of gradual cultivation so as to make oneself come into full accord with it, enlightenment is like the shining of the sun [following Chinul; ZZ has "moon"], which suddenly illuminates all things, and cultivation is like the wiping of a mirror, which becomes gradually more lustrous and bright.

from Yen-i ch'ao (164c8-12):

Sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation is like seeing a ninestory tower: although it is seen suddenly, it is only after one has ascended the stairs that one reaches the top.

 Gradual cultivation and sudden enlightenment from Hsing yuan p'in shu (252b1-4):

The case of gradual cultivation and sudden enlightenment means that only after having first assimilated objects so that there is only mind and then observing the intrinsic purity of the mind are mind and its objects both tranquil. There is then not even the slightest stirring of thought and the succession of past and future [thought] is sundered: [the mind] is as limpid as a calm ocean and as vast as empty space. Since this case involves enlightenment of realization (cheng-wu), cultivation is like polishing a mirror and enlightenment is like the mirror's luminous reflectivity.

3. Sudden cultivation and gradual enlightenment from Yen-i ch'ao (164c12-3):

Sudden cultivation and gradual enlightenment is like burnishing a [bronze] mirror: although one burnishes the entire surface at a time, its becoming bright and clear is gradual. Although the myriad practices are suddenly cultivated, enlightenment is only gradually perfected. This case involves enlightenment of realization (cheng-wu).

4. Gradual cultivation and gradual enlightenment from Hsing yüan p'in shu (252b4-5):

The case of gradual cultivation and gradual enlightenment also involves enlightenment of realization (cheng-wu). Here cultivation and enlightenment are both like ascending a tower: as one gradually climbs higher, one's gaze gradually extends further.

from Yen-i ch'ao (164a16-17):

Gradual cultivation and gradual enlightenment is like cutting sections of bamboo: the sections are not the same.

5. Sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation from Hsing yuan p'in shu (252b6-11):

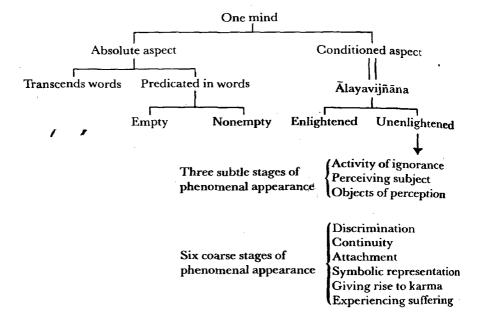
The case of sudden enlighenment and sudden cultivation includes three meanings.

- (a) In the case of being suddenly enlightened and subsequently engaging in cultivation, a broad and sudden intuition is called enlightenment and fully merging with the way without either observing or purifying [following Chinul, ch'eng; ZZ has cheng], controlling (shou) or assimilating (she), is called cultivation. This is a case of enlightenment of insight (chieh-wu) and it takes samādhi as its means of access. Again, it is like a mirror which is of itself luminously reflective without having to be wiped or polished.
- (b) In the case of intially engaging in cultivation and subsequently being enlightened, abruptly seeing the nature of the mind as a result of having previously engaged in cultivation is called enlightenment. This is a case of enlightenment of realization (cheng-wu) in which cultivation is like taking medicine and enlightenment is like curing the ailment.
- (c) In the case where cultivation and enlightenment are simultaneous, when no-mind is shining in forgetfulness, it is naturally tranquil and aware. This is a case of samādhi and prajñā operating concurrently. No-mind, like a luminous mirror, suddenly reflects all things. Here enlightenment encompasses [following Chinul, t'ung; ZZ has tao] both insight (chieh) and realization (cheng).

from Yen-i ch'ao (164c13-16):

Sudden cultivation and sudden enlightenment is like a sharp sword cutting silk: when a thousand strands are cut, they are all simultaneously severed. Or again it is like dying a thousand strands of silk: when they are all simultaneously [immersed in] the dye, they at once become colored. Thus when the myriad practices are all cultivated, they are simultaneously brightly enlightened.

Appendix 2 The Structure of the Awakening of Faith



Appendix 3 A Comparison of Tsung-mi's Stages of Phenomenal Evolution and the Awakening of Faith

Awakening of Faith Tsung-mi One mind **Alaya**vijñāna Enlightened mode 1. Intrinsic enlightenment 2. Unenlightenment Unenlightened mode 3. Arising of thoughts Activity of ignorance 4. Arising of the perceiving subject Perceiving subject 5. Manifestation of perceived objects Perceived objects Discrimination) Attachment to things Continuity Attachment 7. Attachment to self Symbolic representation 8. Defilements 9. Generating karma Generating karma 10. Experiencing the consequences Suffering of karmic bondage

Notes

- 1. This chapter is based primarily on two texts by Tsung-mi: the Chung-hua ch'uan-hsin-ti Ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u (Chart of the Master-Disciple Succession of the Ch'an Gate That Has Transmitted the Mind Ground in China) and Ch'an-yuan chu-ch'uan-chi tu-hsu (Preface to the Collected Writings on the Source of Ch'an), referred to throughout this chapter as Ch'an Chart and Ch'an Preface, respectively. The Ch'an Preface appears in vol. 48 of the Taisho shinshu daizokyo and the Ch'an Chart appears in series 2, case 15, vol. 5 of the Dainippon zokuzōkyō. Both texts have been edited, annotated, and translated into modern Japanese by Kamata Shigeo in vol. 9 of the Zen no goroku series under the general editorship of Iriya Yoshitaka (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1971); Kamata's edition will be cited as "K" throughout. Jeffrey Broughton has included a complete translation of the Ch'an Preface in his "Kuei-feng Tsung-mi: The Convergence of Ch'an and the Teachings" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1975); this translation will be cited as "B" throughout. The Ch'an Chart is quoted extensively by Chinul in his Popchip pyorhaeng nok choryo pyongip sagi; I have used the edition published by Yanagida Seizan in Korai hon: Zemmon satsuyo; Zengen shosenshū tojo; Hōjū betsugyō roku setsuyō (Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1974). The Ch'an Chart is also included in P'ei Hsiu shih-i wen, published by Ishii Shūdō in Zengaku kenkyū, vol. 60 (1981), 69-104.
 - 2. See Ch'an Chart, 433d11-13; K, 277.
 - 3. Ibid., 434a16-17, d1-3; K, 282.
 - 4. Ibid., 434b11-14; K, 282.
 - 5. Ibid., 438b5, K, 341.
 - 6. See Ch'an Preface, 402b2-3; K, 81; cf. B, 142.
 - 7. Ibid., 399c7; K, 30; cf. B, 99.
 - 8. Ibid., 402b4; K, 81; cf. B, 143.
 - 9. See, for example, Ch'an Preface, 402a10-19; K, 78. Cf. B, 139-140.
- 10. For an example of Tsung-mi's ecumenical approach, see Ch'an Preface, 400c10-22; K, 49. Cf. B, 118-119.
 - 11. Ch'an Preface, 408a9-12; K, 191. Cf. B, 249.
 - 12. See Ch'an Preface, 407c12-13; K, 191. Cf. B, 244.
- 13. See my article "The Place of the Sudden Teaching within the Hua-yen Tradition: An Investigation of the Process of Doctrinal Change," Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies 6, no. 1 (1983): 31-60.
 - 14. See Ch'an Preface, 407b15-17; K, 184. Cf. B, 238.
- 15. See Ch'an Preface, 407b21-c2; K, 185. Cf. B, 240-241. This corresponds to what Tsung-mi refers to as the sudden teaching that was expounded in response to beings of superior capacity (chu-chi tun-chiao), which, in the Ch'an Preface, he distinguishes from the sudden teaching as a method of exposition (hua-i tun-chiao), which applies exclusively to the Avatamsaka-sūtra.
 - 16. See Ch'an Preface, 407b17-20; K, 184. Cf. B, 238.
- 17. The following summary is based on the account found in the Ch'an Preface (407c12-408a7; K, 191; cf. B, 244-249) but also makes use of the more detailed account found in Tsung-mi's subcommentary to both his commentary and abridged commentary to the Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment (Yüan-chüeh ching ta-

chu ch'ao, ZZ 1/14/3.280b-281a, and Lüch-shu ch'ao, ZZ 1/15/2.132a-c), which will be referred to as TSC and LSC hereafter. The five major positions enumerated by Tsung-mi derive from both Ch'eng-kuan's subcommentary to the Avatamsaka-sūtra (Ta-fang-kuang fo-hua-yen ching sui-shu yen-i ch'ao, T 36.164c) and his commentary on Prajña's translation of the chapter on the practice and vows of Samantabhadra from the Gandavyūha (Hua-yen ching hsing yūan p'in shu, ZZ 1/ 7/3.251d-252b). Ch'eng-kuan outlines four different major positions in each work; when both are combined, there are a total of five. Whereas Ch'eng-kuan merely outlines the different positions without evaluating them, Tsung-mi, of course, argues for the orthodoxy of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation. See Ishii Shūdō, "Tongo zenshū ni tsuite," IBK 29, no. 2 (1981): 586-591. For an analysis of Ch'eng-kuan's position, see Yoshizu Yoshihide Kevonzen no shisoshi-teki kenkyū (Tokyo: Daito shuppansha, 1985), 249-266. See Appendix 1 for a translation of the relevant passages from Ch'eng-kuan. The differences between Tsung-mi's explanation of sudden enlightenment and gradual practice in the Ch'an Chart and Ch'eng-kuan's discussion of these terms in his Hua-yen ching hsing yuan p'in shu are discussed extensively by Chinul in his Popchip pyorhaeng nok choryo pyongip sagi (158b ff.); cf. the excellent translation by Robert Buswell in his Korean Approach to Zen: The Collected Works of Chinul (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 278ff. Tsung-mi's enumeration of the five possible permutations of sudden and gradual as they apply to enlightenment and cultivation is adopted by Yen-shou in his Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi, T 48.987b-c.

Actually, Tsung-mi seems to give a sixth position in the Ch'an Preface: that the terms "sudden" and "gradual" apply only to human capacities, not to the dharma (see 402a14; K, 78; cf. B, 139 and 408a5-6; K, 191; cf. B, 248). This position would seem to be that of the Platform Sūtra (see Philip B. Yampolsky, The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch: The Text of the Tun-huang Manuscript [New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1967], 137), although Tsung-mi does not so identify it. In fact, it is significant to note that, as far as I can discover, Tsung-mi never refers to the Platform Sūtra. Since this position is not enumerated in the corresponding sections of either the TSC or LSC and since it does not involve a permutation of the terms "sudden" and "gradual" as they apply to enlightenment and cultivation, it has been ignored for the purposes of this chapter.

18. T 46.1c23, as translated by Neal Donner in "The Great Calming and Contemplation of Chih-i. Chapter One: The Synopsis" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1976), 45. See the passage from Chih-i's Fa-hua hsüan-i (T 33.806b24-25) as translated in the chapter by Donner in this volume: "In the perfect and sudden meditation one takes ultimate reality as the object of contemplation even from the time that the thought of enlightenment makes its first appearance."

19. TSC, 280b9-10. Tsung-mi borrows the distinction between chieh-wu and cheng-wu from Ch'eng-kuan; see Hsing yūan p'in shu, 252a16-17.

20. Tsung-mi links this position with that of the Ox-head line of Ch'an.

21. A similar statement can be found in Shen-hui's Yū-lu; see Hu Shih, ed., Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi (Taipei: Hu Shih chi-nien kuan, 1966; repr. 1970), 121.

22. The first quotation can be found in *Ho-tse Shen-hui ta-shih yū* as quoted in Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, T 51.439c1; I have been unable to locate the second.

Tsung-mi gives three different interpretations of this case in TSC (280d8-281a6) and LSC (132c1-16). In the first, enlightenment precedes cultivation and is therefore that of insight (chieh). In the second, enlightenment succeeds cultivation and is therefore that of realization (cheng). In the third, enlightenment and cultivation are simultaneous, and enlightenment encompasses both insight (chieh) and realization (cheng). Tsung-mi's explanations basically amplify Ch'eng-kuan's treatment in his Hsing yüan p'in shu (see Appendix 1).

23. See my "Tsung-mi and the Single Word 'Awareness' (chih)," Philosophy

East and West 35, no. 3 (1985): 249-269.

24. 407c21-22; K, 191. Cf. B, 246.

25. Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun. See T 32.576c11-14; cf. Yoshito Hakeda, trans., The Awakening of Faith (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 41.

26. 407b26-27; K, 185. Cf. B, 240-241.

- 27. 407c19; K, 191. Cf. B, 245.
- 28. See Ting shih-fei lun, Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, 287 (quoted in sec. 6 below).
- 29. 407c19-20.
- 30. See Ch'an Chart, 438b8-9; K, 341.
- 31. Both the Zokuzōkyō and Kamata versions of the text read: chuan-fan ch'eng-sheng chi tun-wu yeh. I have emended this passage to read: chuan-fan ch'eng-sheng chi chien yeh in light of P'ei Hsiu shih-i wen, 95, and Chinul's Pōpchip pyōrhaeng nok chōryo pyōngip sagi, 158b. According to traditional mārga theory, the transformation from prthagjana (fan) to ārya (sheng) takes place at the stage of darśana-mārga. If Tsung-mi's theory of the three stages of religious cultivation can be correlated with traditional mārga theory, then he has the transformation from prthagjana to ārya taking place not at the stage of darśana-mārga (i.e., chieh-wu), but at the completion of bhāvanā-mārga (i.e., chien-hsiu).
 - 32. 437d17-438a3; K, 340.
- 33. See Isshū Miura and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, Zen Dust (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), 254.
- 34. T 10.272c4-7 and 272c25-273a2. The chapter of the Avatamsaka from which this passage is quoted seems to have originally circulated as an independent scripture, the *Tathāgatatotpattisambhava-nirdeśa, which was translated into Chinese as the Ju-lai hsing-hsien ching (T #291) by Dharmarakṣa in the late third century. According to Takasaki Jikidō's reconstruction of the development of the tathāgatagarbha doctrine, this passage served as the basis for a similar passage in the Tathāgatagarbha-sūtra (Ju-lai-tsang ching; see T 16.457b28-c10), the first scripture to expound the tathāgatagarbha doctrine explicitly (see A Study of the Ratnagotravibhāga, Serie Orientale Roma 33 [1966], 35-36).
- 35. K, 340. This passage is missing from the Zokuzōkyō text. Kamata has supplied it from the Pōpchip pyŏrhaeng nok chŏryo pyŏngip sagi. It can also be found in P'ei Hsiu shih-i wen, 96-97. "Reducing it and further reducing it" (sun chih yu sun) is an allusion to Lao Tzu 48.
- ³⁶. The following characterization is indebted to the discussion of these terms by Robert Gimello, "Chih-yen and the Foundations of Hua-yen Buddhism" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1976), 212–337.

- 37. The locus classicus for the doctrine of an innately pure luminous mind can be found in Anguttara-nikāya 1.10, which F. L. Woodward renders as follows (The Book of Gradual Sayings [London: Pali Text Society, 1970], 1:8): "This mind, monks, is luminous, but it is defiled by taints that come from without; that mind, monks, is luminous, but it is cleansed of taints that come from without."
 - 38. T 31.117a8-9; see Gimello, 262-266.
- 39. T 32.576b8-9. For further discussion of this text see my "The Problem of Theodicy in the Awakening of Faith," Religious Studies 22 (1986): 63-78.
- 40. T 45.710b8-13. For a diagram of the structure of the Awakening of Faith see Appendix 2; for a comparison of how Tsung-mi's stages of phenomenal evolution correspond to those in the Awakening of Faith see Appendix 3.
- 41. See Tsung-mi's narrative explanation of the processes of enlightenment and delusion at the end of the Ch'an Preface (407b6-408a3; K, 217-218 and 222-223; cf. B, 269-278) as well as the relevant portion of the diagram itself (410-411). See also Yūan-jen lun, T 45.710b. A more primitive version of the stages of phenomenal evolution can also be found in Tsung-mi's commentary and subcommentary to the Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment (116c16-117c4 and 264a16-267b5) and his commentary to the Awakening of Faith (Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun shu), Dai Nippon kōtei daizōkyō, case 31, vol. 8, div. 5, pt. 2, p. 14v. See my "What Happened to the Perfect Teaching?—Another Look at Hua-yen Buddhist Hermeneutics," in Donald S. Lopez, Jr., ed., Buddhist Hermeneutics, Studies in East Asian Buddhism, no. 6 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988).
 - 42. T 32.577b11-14; cf. Hakeda, 37.
- 43. See ibid., 577a8-10; cf. Hakeda, 44. Tsung-mi identifies this and the following stages of phenomenal evolution with the stages in the evolution of consciousness as described in the *Ch'eng wei-shih lun*. This stage corresponds to the essence (tzu-t'i) of the ālayavijñāna, which then divides into subjective and objective modes.
- 44. See ibid., 577a10-11; cf. Hakeda, 44. This stage corresponds to the subjective mode (chien-fen, darśanabhāga) of the ālayavijñāna as described in the Ch'eng wei-shih lun.
- 45. See ibid., 577a11-12; cf. Hakeda, 44. This stage corresponds to the objective mode (hsiang-fen, nimittabhāga) of the ālayavijñāna as described in the Ch'eng wei-shih lun. According to that text, the ālayavijñāna transforms itself internally into the body of the senses (ken-shen, sendriyakakāya) and externally into the receptacle world (ch'i-shih-chien, bhājanaloka). It defines the body of the senses as "the sense organs and the body that serves as their support" and the receptacle world—i.e., the environment—as "the place which serves as the support for all sentient beings" (see T31.10a13-16).
- 46. See ibid., 577a13-15; cf. Hakeda, 44-45. This stage corresponds to what the Ch'eng wei-shih lun refers to as dharmagrāha.
- 47. See ibid., 577a16-17; cf. Hakeda, 45. This stage corresponds to what the Ch'eng wei-shih lun refers to as ātmagrāha.
 - 48. See ibid., 577a17-18; cf. Hakeda, 45.
 - 49. See ibid., 577a18-19; cf. Hakeda, 45.
 - 50. See ibid., 577a19-20; cf. Hakeda, 45.

- 51. See E. B. Cowell, ed., Buddhist Mahayana Texts (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 152-155.
 - 52. See T 32.581c14 ff.; cf. Hakeda, 93-95.
 - 53. See ibid., 582a16 ff. and 582c15 ff.; cf. Hakeda, 96-102.
- 54. The Awakening of Faith defines ultimate awakening as "awakening to the source of the mind" (chüch hsin-yūan) (576b16-17; cf. Hakeda, 38). It then goes on to say: "When the bodhisattva stages have been completed and one has fulfilled the expedient [practices], one becomes unified in a single moment of thought (i-nien hsiang-ying). Having become aware of the first stirrings of the mind, one's mind is without the first phenomenal appearance [of the arising of thoughts]. Because one is far removed from the subtlest thought, one sees the nature of the mind—that the mind is eternal—and that is what is called ultimate awakening" (576b23-26; cf. Hakeda, 39).
 - 55. TSC, 280b17-c8 and LSC, 132a10-b1.
- 56. 435c13-18; K, 298. The verse by Shen-hsiu that Tsung-mi here quotes is that made famous by the *Platform Sūtra*'s story of the exchange of "mind-verses" that decided the issue of who the sixth patriarch was to be. It is especially curious that Tsung-mi, who identified so strongly with Shen-hui's lineage, never cites or refers to Hui-neng's matching verse. As already noted, to the best of my knowledge Tsung-mi never refers to the *Platform Sūtra*. Ch'eng-kuan quotes half of Shen-hsiu's verse, but also fails to refer to Hui-neng's, in his *Yen-i ch'ao* (see T 36.164c5).
 - 57. 435d1-2; K, 298.
 - 58. 403b26-27; K, 104.
 - 59. ZZ 1/7/4.399d3 ff.
 - 60. Ibid., 399d6-7.
 - 61. Ibid., 400c5.
 - 62. Ibid.
 - 63. TSC, 277c14.
 - 64. Ch'an Chart, 436b3-5; K, 315.
 - 65. 435d4-6; K, 307.
- 66. 435d17-18; K, 307. Neither the Zokuzōkyō nor Kamata version of the text has "Buddha-nature" (fo-hsing). This has been supplied from P'ei Hsiu shih-i wen, 85, and Pōpchip pyōrhaeng nok chŏryo pyŏngip sagi, 152d.
 - 67. 436a4-9; K, 308.
 - 68. 438a18-b4; K, 341.
 - 69. 437d5-7; K, 336.
 - 70. 437d8; K, 336.
- 71. See "The Li-tai fa-pao chi and the Ch'an Doctrine of Sudden Awakening," in Whalen Lai and Lewis R. Lancaster, eds., Early Ch'an in China and Tibet (Berkeley: Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, 1983), 13-49. I have also dealt with the importance of Tsung-mi's reaction against these radical Ch'an movements in Szechwan in my essays "Tsung-mi and the Single Word 'Awareness' (chih)" and "What Happened to the Perfect Teaching?" For Tsung-mi's characterization of the Pao-t'ang teachings see ZZ 1/14/3.278d.
 - 72. Hu Shih, Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, 287; cf. 175.
 - 73. Ibid., 120-121.

74. See the chapter by Luis Gómez earlier in this volume.

75. To borrow Karl Potter's terminology; see Presuppositions of India's Philosophies (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

76. For a sensitive and insightful discussion of this problem, see Carl Bielefeldt, "Ch'ang-lu Tsung-tse's Tso-ch'an i and the 'Secret'-of Zen Meditation," in Peter N. Gregory, ed., Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism, Studies in East Asian Buddhism, no. 4 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986).

77. See Gregory, "Tsung-mi and the Single Word 'Awareness."

Glossary

a-mo-lo-shih 阿末羅識 ch'a-na fa-hsin 刹那發心 Ch'an 禪 chan-chuan chih-mo 展轉枝末 Chan-jan 湛然 Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü 禪源諸 詮集都序 chen 🔳 chen-hsing 眞性 chen-ju 眞如 chen-ju i-hsin 賃加一心 cheng 證 ch'eng 澄 ch'eng-fo 成佛 Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀 Ch'eng wei-shih lun 成唯識論 cheng-wu 證悟 chi-ming-tzu 計名字 ch'i-shih-chien 器世間 chi te cheng-wu 即得證悟 ch'i-yeh 起業 chiai-chien 階漸 chiao # chiao-ch'an i-chih 教禪一致 chieh 解 chieh-wu 解悟 chien 漸 chien-ch'i 見起 chien-fen 見分 chien-hsiu 漸修 chien-hsiu chien-wu 漸修漸悟 chien-hsiu tun-wu 漸修頓悟

chien-hsiu yin-yüan 漸修因緣 chih (awareness) 知 chih (discrimination) 智 chih-ch'ü 執取 chih-hui tzu-jan chien-chien tsengchang 智慧自然漸漸增長 chih-liao chien-hsing 直了見性 Chih-yen 智儼 ching-chiai 境界 ching-ch'i 境起 ching-yüan-ch'i 淨緣起 Chinul 知訥 chiu-ching chüeh 究竟覺 ch'u yin chieh-wu 初因解悟 chu-chi tun-chiao 逐機頓教 chuan-fan ch'eng-sheng chi chien yeh 轉凡成聖即漸也 chuan-fan ch'eng-sheng chi tun-wu yeh 轉凡成聖即頓悟也 chuan-i 轉依 Chung-hua ch'uan-hsin-ti ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u 中華傳心地禪門師資 承襲圖 chüeh 👺 chüeh hsin-yüan 覺心源 fa-chih 法執 Fa-hsiang 法相 fa-hsin 發心 fa-hsin yu tun chien 發心有頓漸 fa-hsing 法性 fa-k'ung 法空 Fa-tsang 法藏

fan (counteract) 翻 fan (ordinary) 凡 fan-nao 煩惱 fei-chen 非眞 fo-hsing 佛性 fu-hsin mich-wang 伏心藏妄 Ho-tse 荷澤 hsi 習 hsiang 相 hsiang-fen 相分 hsiang-hsü 相續 hsin chen-ju 心眞如 hsin-jen ch'ing-hsing 信任情性 hsin sheng-mieh 心生滅 hsin-tzu-tsai 心自在 hsing 性 hsing-ch'i 性起 hsing man kung yūan 行滿功圓 hsiu wu-hsing 修五行 hsün-hsi 熏習 hua-i tun-chiao 化饒頓教 Hua-yen 華嚴 Hua-yen ching 華嚴經 Hua-yen ching hsing yüan p'in shu 華嚴經 行願品疏 Hua-yen ching hsing yuan p'in shu ch'ao 華嚴經行願品疏鈔 Hua-yen ching yen-i ch'ao 華嚴經演義鈔 Hui-neng 慧能 Hung-chou 洪州 huo-jan hsaio-wu 豁然曉悟 i-chen-ling-hsing 一眞靈性 i-hsin 一心 i-nien hsiang-ying 一念相應 i wu hsiu hsing 依悟修行 jan ching yüan-ch'i chih hsiang 染淨 緣起之相 jan-yüan-ch'i 染緣起 Ju-lai hsing-hsien ching 如來興顯經 Ju-lai-tsang ching 如來藏經 k'ai-fa 開發 ken-pen wu-ming 根本無明 ken-shen 根身

Kuan-ting 灌頂 Kuci-feng Tsung-mi 圭峯宗密 k'ung 空 li-nien 離念 liu ts'u-hsiang 六篇相 Lüeh-shu ch'ao 略硫鈔 mi chi lei-chieh 迷即思劫 mi wu yu ch'ih chi 迷悟有遲疾 ming 明 mo 末 Mo-ho chih-kuan 摩訶止觀 neng-chien 能見 ni 逆 nien-ch'i 念起 ning-jan 凝然 Pao-t'ang 保唐 p'an-chiao 判数 pen 本 pen-chüeh 本覺 pen-mo 本末 P'ei Hsiu shih-i wen 裴休拾遺門 pien ch'eng cheng-chüeh 便成正覺 Popchip pyorhaeng nok choryo pyongip sagi 法集别行錄節要並入私記 pu-chüch 不覺 pu-i pu-i 不一不異 pu-kung wu-ming 不共無明 pu-pien 不變 san hsi-hsiang 三細相 se-tzu-tsai 色自在 she 攝 She ta-sheng lun 攝大乘論 Shen-hsiu 神秀 Shen-hui 神會 sheng 聖 sheng-mieh teng fa pu-kuan chen-ju 牛滅等法不關眞如 shih-chüeh 始覺 shou 收 shou-pao 受報 shun 順 sui-yüan 隨緣 sui-yüan ying-yung 隨緣應用

sun chih yu sun 捐之又損 Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun 大乘起信論 tan-tao chih-ju 單刀直入 tao 道 t'i 體 t'i-yung 體用 T'ien-t'ai 天臺 tsao-yeh 浩業 tu-hsing wu-ming 獨行無明 tu-t'ou wu-ming 獨頭無明 tun 頓 tun-chiao 頓教 tun-chien fo-hsing 頓見佛性 tun-hsiu chien-wu 頓修漸悟 tun-wu 頓悟 tun-wu chien fo-hsing 頓悟見佛性 tun-wu chien-hsiu 頓悟漸修 tun-wu tun-hsiu 頓悟頓修 t'ung 涌 tzu-hsing pen-yung 自性本用

Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi 萬善同歸集 wang 妄 wang-nien pen wu 妄念本無 wo-chih 我執 wo-k'ung 我空 wu chi hsü-yü 悟即須臾 wu-ming yeh 無明業 wu-nien 無念 wu-shih ken-pen 無始根本 yeh 業 yeh-hsi-ku 業繋苦 Yen-shou 延壽 yung 用 Yüan-chüeh ching 圓覺經 Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao 圓覺經大 疏鈔 yüan-ch'i 緣起 Yuan-jen lun 原人論 yün-hsin 運心