

SHEAVES OF
KOREAN BUDDHIST HISTORY
Joseon Bulgyosa-go

Sheaves of Korean Buddhist History: *Joseon Bulgyosa-go*

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The Samboryun (Three-Jewel-Wheeled) symbolizes the ideas of Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism: this symbol involves the faith in Three Jewels of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Samgha and Two Traditions of Seon (Meditation) and Gyo (Doctrine); and means harmonizing all the clergy and laypeople and realizing the Pure Land of Buddha by way of religious propagation.

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Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism

SHEAVES OF
KOREAN BUDDHIST HISTORY
Joseon Bulgyosa-go

by Gim Yeongsu
Translation by Tonino Puggioni
Introduction and Annotations by Kim Yongtae and Kang Hosun

Series Editor
Kim JongWook, *Dongguk University*



Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

Foreword

Culture communicates. Culture flows smoothly just like the wind blows, clouds drift, and the birds fly in the air. So it did, even in the old times when lofty mountains and deep valleys interrupted the course of people's mutual exchanges. Culture flows in like a stranger, but as people share it, their individual gazes, touches, and breaths embody it with different appearances. Furthermore, it brings their gazes, touches, and breaths to their neighbors in a way that is meaningful to them. The culture exchanged is one and yet two; two and yet one.

Such is the case with Korean Buddhism. Buddhism, having originated in India, came to be one of the East Asian religions as Buddhist literature was translated into literary Chinese in China. Korea, a land neighboring China, acquired literary Chinese from the third to fifth centuries of the Common Era, which enriched its cultural vitality. Importing the translated Buddhist scriptures, Koreans established a Buddhist tradition themselves and expressed the essence of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism in their own way. Korea also played a dynamic role as a cultural messenger in transmitting Buddhism to Japan.

In this manner, Korean Buddhism was formed and continually evolved through lively exchange with Chinese Buddhism, and in the process developed the characteristic form of Korean Buddhism.

Buddhist culture flourished in the Unified Silla period (668–935) and this early Korean state established itself as a center of contemporary East Asian Buddhism. The Goryeo dynasty (918–1392) adopted Buddhism as the state religion and employed it as the state ideology. As a result, Korea currently has various forms of Buddhist cultural treasures, such as Bulguksa 佛國寺 Temple, the Dabotap

多寶塔 and Seokgatap 釋迦塔 Pagodas, Seokguram 石窟庵 Grotto, and exquisite statues of Buddhist figures seated in the pensive pose (半跏思惟像), as well as *Essentials of the Buddhas and Patriarchs Pointing Directly to the Essence of Mind* (*Buljo jikji simche yojeol* 佛祖直指心體要節) which is the earliest extant text printed by metal type, the *Goryeo Buddhist Canon in Eighty Thousand Woodblocks* (*Palman daejanggyeong* 八萬大藏經), and paintings of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara which are the acme of religious aesthetics.

In the Joseon dynasty, in which the Korean alphabet (Han'geul) was invented, a foremost state project was to translate the whole corpus of Buddhist scriptures into Han'geul. In the second half of the fifteenth century the Office for Sūtra Publication (Gan'gyeong dogam 刊經都監) was eventually established and published Buddhist canonical texts in the Korean language.

In 2010, the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism published the *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* in thirteen volumes, English translations of *Han'guk jeontong sasang chongseo*, for the purpose of introducing the excellence of Korean Buddhism to the world. This collection was compiled by carefully selecting representative works from the *Complete Works of Korean Buddhism* (*Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書) from the Unified Silla through Joseon periods. These include *Wonhyo*, *Chinul*, *Hyujeong*, *Hwaōm* (I, II), *Doctrinal Treatises*, *Gongan Collections* (I, II), *Seon Dialogues*, *Seon Poems*, *Korean Buddhist Culture*, *Exposition of the Sutra of Brahma's Net*, *Anthology of Stele Inscriptions of Eminent Korean Buddhist Monks*. Although the works in the collection are not enough to reveal the whole picture of Korean Buddhism, I hope that the collection helps people understand main features of premodern Korean Buddhism.

Now we have selected ten works of modern Korean Buddhism and translated them into English to introduce them to an international audience. During the early twentieth century, a turbulent era in East Asia, such Korean Buddhist monks and laymen as Gyeongheo 鏡虛 (1849–1912), Yongseong 龍城 (1864–1940), Seokjeon 石顛 (1870–1948), Manhae 正海 (Han Yongun, 1879–1944),

Choe Namseon 崔南善 (1890–1957), Yi Neunghwa 李能和 (1869–1943), Go Yuseop 高裕燮 (1905–1944), published many works in various fields. This period in East Asia witnessed the influx of Western civilization and the imperial expansion of Japan, which was then ahead in the modernization process, resulting in some countries becoming colonized by Japan. As Korean Buddhism endured along with Korean people and shined its capability at every crisis in history, it developed its own identity accepting the current of the modern times on the one hand and confronting external challenges on the other. The efforts made in the darkest times in Korean history to maintain the Korean tradition will be not only a precious asset of Korean Buddhism but also a significant record of East Asian Buddhist history.

For the current project of English translation focusing on modern Korean Buddhist works, we have selected ten documents that have significance in terms of the modernization process of Korean Buddhism as well as being representative works in their own right. These works include the writings of Buddhist lay thinkers as well as the discourse records or treatises of Buddhist monks, cover various subjects such as comparative religion, editorial writing, criticism on current affairs, literature, history, art, and so forth. A Korean proverb says that “even the easy pace of a cow finally makes a thousand miles” (*ubo cheolli* 牛步千里) or that “a journey of a thousand miles must begin with the first step.” Although it is impossible to express the rich and complicated features of Korean Buddhism through only these ten volumes, I hope that readers will regard the project as a second step taken by the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism toward the globalization of Korean Buddhism.

Most of the writings from the period covered by this series are written in literary Chinese, but some employ Korean vernacular endings along with literary Chinese, and some are written all in the Korean vernacular script. The importance of modern Korean Buddhism lies in the fact that Korean Buddhism was conducted through the Korean language. The full-fledged usage of Korean

language in Buddhist activities was the achievement of modern Korean Buddhism, and Korean culture was thereby enriched. However, it is not easy for non-Koreans to understand such works in their original form. Therefore, the translation of the works into English—the international language—is an unavoidable task in our cultural communications, just as medieval East Asians shared literary Chinese—the common literary language of the time—to communicate and understand each other.

I really appreciate the translators who have sympathized with the aspiration of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism and have completed their translations despite various difficulties. I also would like to express my sincere gratitude to all of the other contributors to each volume for their valuable comments, reviews, and corrections. Lastly, I would like to thank the members of the Editorial Board for spending time and effort at the initial stage of planning the project and selecting the works and to Dongguk University Press for their constant support in the publication of the series. My special thanks go to the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of the Republic of Korea for providing strong support to the Publication Committee of Modern Korean Buddhism.

With the Palms of My Hands Joined in Reverence

Haebong Jaseung 海峰 慈乘

The 34th President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism
President, Publication Committee of Modern Korean Buddhism

Editor's Preface

One thousand seven hundred years have passed since Buddhism, which originated in India, arrived on Korean Peninsula via China. The goal of Buddhism in ancient India was the attainment of enlightenment with respect to the dharma and the realization of Buddhahood, which was based on consistent religious practice in the repetitive cycle of birth and death. When Buddhism was transmitted to China, the goal of Indian Buddhism was accepted in a transformed form. For Chinese people, who also aspired to attain Buddhahood but, unlike Indians, were both temporally and geographically separated from the Buddha, the Buddhist doctrine that all living beings have innate Buddha-nature emerged as one of the most efficient ideas. It is in this context that in Chinese Buddhism “enlightenment” (覺) is mostly interpreted as “original enlightenment” (本覺); “Buddha” is often regarded as “Buddha-nature” (佛性); and the fundamental doctrine of dependent origination (緣起) is sometimes replaced by the “the (unconditioned) arising of the (original) nature” (性起). The unique transformation of Buddhism in China, which is oriented to the idea of original Buddha-nature, led to the emergence of distinctive Chinese Buddhist schools, such as the Tiantai and Huayan schools that focus on doctrines and the Chan and Pure Land schools that emphasize practices.

These Chinese schools, along with the foundational doctrine of original Buddha-nature, were accepted in Korea and Japan, neighboring countries that also used classical Chinese as their literary language. In the case of Korea, the way in which Buddhism was adopted has a distinctive feature, which is an ecumenical tendency to synthesize various teachings or harmonize contrasting doctrines of the schools as much as possible. We see this ecumenical

tendency of Korean Buddhism in several cases. For example, Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686), the pioneer of Buddhist scholasticism in Korean Buddhism, sought to harmonize various schools. Jinul 知訥 (1158–1210), the founder of Korean Seon school, also advocated the unity of Buddhist practice and doctrine (禪教一致). The attempt to unite Hwaeom and Seon teachings in Buddhist educational system during the Joseon period (1392–1910) is another example. If Chinese Buddhism is marked by its establishment of individual schools on the basis of the idea of original nature, Korean Buddhism may be characterized by its consistent attempts to synthesize the schools by embracing their doctrinal distinctions.

The decline of the Joseon dynasty and subsequent colonization by Japan, however, brought contemporary Buddhists a double task: they had to preserve the identity of Korean Buddhism on the one hand and accommodate traditional Buddhism to Western modernity on the other. Until the liberation day arrived, Korean Buddhists endured nationwide hardships together with all Korean people and also steadily carried out the challenging task by inheriting traditional Buddhist culture as well as transforming it into a modern form. In spite of such problems as incessant foreign incursions and disruptions at the end of Joseon period and an identity crisis in Korean Buddhism derived from the forced importation of Japanese Buddhism, prominent Buddhists of those days left remarkable writings. In this way, they contributed to the process of developing the received Korean Buddhist tradition and shaping the ground for modern Korean Buddhism after liberation.

In 2012, the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism published the English Edition of the *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* as a project promoting the globalization of Korean Buddhism with the support of Korean government. This is a collection of representative Buddhist works selected from the *Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書, a compilation of three hundred and twenty three Korean Buddhist writings from the Silla to Joseon periods. To succeed and further develop upon this project, we are translating and publishing

representative Buddhist writings by modern Korean intellectuals in English and introducing them abroad. The fruit of this initiative is the Translation-Publication Project with Representative Works of Modern Korean Buddhism, which the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism has been administering since 2013 with the support of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. The collection contains selected works of modern Buddhist literature written by eminent Buddhist monks and scholars, such as Gyeongheo 鏡虛 (1849–1912), Yongseong 龍城 (1864–1940), Seokjeon 石顛 (1870–1948), Manhae 訾海 (1879–1944).

The Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism established several organizations to facilitate the project: a publication committee chaired by Ven. Jaseung, a management group chaired by Ven. Jin-Gak, and an editorial board chaired by me, Prof. Kim JongWook. In particular, the editorial board, which was entrusted with the work of translation and publication, surveyed more than three hundred and twenty Korean Buddhist writings written between 1900 and 1945 and carefully selected significant works in several genres, compiling them in ten volumes. For instance, *The Gyeongheo Collection, Sun Over the Sea of Enlightenment*, and *An Anthology of East Asian Commentaries on the Nyāyapravēśa* belong to the genre of philosophy or intellectual thought; *Sheaves of Korean Buddhist History* to history; *A Study of Korean Pagoda* to art; *Harmonizing the Hundred Teachings* to comparative; *The Temple of Words: An Anthology of Modern Korean Buddhist Poetry* to literature; *Essential Compendium for Buddhists: A Modern Buddhist Liturgy* to rituals; *Tracts on the Modern Reformation of Korean Buddhism* and *A Collection of Modern Korean Buddhist Discourses* to social criticism. The broad range of materials selected from various genres is intended to exhibit a dynamic picture of modern Korean Buddhism in multiple aspects.

The Gyeongheo Collection, the collected dharma-talks and Seon poetry by Gyeongheo, the figure responsible for reviving modern Korean Seon Buddhism, is a significant text in that it shows us the mode of the transformation of Korean Buddhist thought during the interim period until modern times. Yongseong's *Sun Over the*

Sea of Enlightenment, one of the most representative works of this time, represents the author's earnest intent to reform and modernize Korean Buddhism. This work also elucidates essential points of Seon practice and Buddhist doctrine. Seokjeon's *An Anthology of East Asian Commentaries on the Nyāyapravesa*, a variorum text on Buddhist logic, is an important Buddhist philosophical text that shows the research level of modern Korean Buddhism in Buddhist logic. Gim Yeongsu's *Sheaves of Korean Buddhist History*, a Buddhist historiography, provides chronological accounts of Buddhist history since the first transmission of Buddhism during the Three Kingdoms period. The text also provides a systematic description of the history of Korean Buddhist orders and schools, including the "Five Doctrinal [schools] and Nine Mountains [traditions of Seon]" (Ogyo Gusan 五教九山) and the "Five Doctrinal [schools] and Two [Meditative] Traditions" (Ogyo Yangjong 五教兩宗). Go Yuseop's *A Study of Korean Pagoda*, which contains explanations of Korean stone pagodas from the perspective of their architectural style, is a monumental work in the field of Korean Buddhist art history because it not only established in scholarship the standard style of Korean Buddhist pagodas but also created the basic framework in the periodization and appreciation of Korean pagodas.

Yi Neunghwa's *Harmonizing the Hundred Teachings*, a work that compares Buddhism to other eleven religions, such as Confucianism, Taoism, Christianity, Islamism, Brahmanism, and so on, reveals the level of religious studies during the modern period in Korea. Choe Chwiheo and An Jinho's *Essential Compendium for Buddhists: A Modern Buddhist Liturgy*, the earliest modern text on Buddhist rituals, shows not only how Buddhist rituals changed during the modern times but also how Buddhism was popularized and modernized. *The Temple of Words: An Anthology of Modern Korean Buddhist Poetry*, a compilation of Buddhist verse written by modern Buddhist poets such as Han Yongun, Seo Jeongju, and Jo Jihun, demonstrates that the Buddhist spiritual world served as the foundation of poetic lyricism for the modern intellectuals. *Tracts on the Modern Reformation of*

Korean Buddhism is a collection of essays written by modern Buddhist reformers, such as Gwon Sangro, Han Yongun, Yi Yeongjae. These writings reflect these Buddhists' awareness of the contemporary need to respond the changing times with the appropriate transformation of Buddhism. These texts show us the social and historical situation that Korean Buddhism had to confront in modern times. *A Collection of Modern Korean Buddhist Discourses*, written by such modern Korean thinkers as Choe Namseon, Kang Yumun, Gwon Sangro, Gim Beomin, Gim Yeongsu, Gim Taeheup, and so forth, is a collection of editorials that discuss issues related to the Korean Buddhist tradition and its modernization. These writings may be said one of the most representative Buddhist works of the time because they contain discourses on immediate social and ideological problems of the day.

For each of the ten volumes, the Editorial Committee invited a specialist in each subject and entrusted them with the responsibility of the translation. Both domestic and foreign scholars participated in proofreading and reviewing the translation, by comparing the draft to the original and checking the appropriateness of English expressions. In this way, the Editorial Committee has done its best so that both accuracy in translation and the translators' intention are preserved. The translators of the volumes include David McCann, John Jorgensen, Tonino Puggioni, Seonjoon Young, Pori Park, Suh Junghyung, Kim Sung-uk, Lee Seunghye, Ham Hyoung Seok, and Dan B. Jung. Those who worked as the proofreaders and reviewers are Richard D. McBride II, Mark Nathan, Cho Eun-su, Yun Woncheol, Kim Yongtae, Kang Hosun, Lee Sumi, Koh Seung-hak, Kim Jongjin, Park Inn-Suk, Kim Sooyoun, Hyeon Seo Seunim. Kim Junghee, the coordinator of the current project, has been devoted to her role throughout the process of translation and reviewing. Yi Deokyeol carried out the editing work during the final process of publication. Shim Jongsub worked for binding and printing the volumes. Yoo Hanrim, head of the publication department, supervised the whole process of publication. The project was only possible with the enthusiastic effort and selfless dedication of all of

these people.

I cannot let this opportunity pass without saying about the consistent interest and support from Ven. Jaseung, president of the Jogye Order, and Ven. Hyeoneung, president of Education Bureau of the Jogye Order. Ven. Jaseung, as president of Publication Committee, superintended the entire project in a responsible way. Ven. Hyeoneung particularly spared no pains to offer his helpful advice from the beginning stages of planning through the final publication. I would like to express my gratitude for his insightful assistance and encouragement whenever we were in need. Ven. Jin-Gak, chair of Executive Committee, and Ven. Su-Kyoung, director of Research Institute of Buddhist Studies, served as consultants to facilitate the process of planning, editing, and publication. Lee Seog-sim of Department of General Affairs contributed to maintaining a cooperative relationship with the government during the planning and implementation phases of the project. Park Yong Gyu and Ko Sang-hyun, and Choi Ae-Ri as well, resolved administrative issues and problems in a timely manner.

Without the dedicated participation and concerted effort of all these people, this project would not have been completed successfully. At this moment, we cannot but contemplate the Buddhist truth of dependent origination that everything comes to arise through mutual relationships based on numerous conditions. Lastly, as chair of the Editorial Board, I sincerely hope that the publication of the *Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism* contributes to the rediscovery of the value of Korean Buddhist culture by informing the whole world of the fact that Korean Buddhism absorbed the impact of modernity in its own way and thereby preserved its traditional identity throughout one thousand and seven hundred years of history.

Kim JongWook

Professor, Department of Buddhist Studies, Dongguk University

Series Editor & Chair of the Editorial Board,

Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism

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The translation of this book is the result not only of my efforts, but the work of a very competent and highly specialized group of people. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Professors Kang Hosun and Kim Yongtae for revising the whole text in the original and the translation, and for writing the notes to the original text. Without their help and insightful suggestions this work could never have been completed. My thanks also to Prof. Richard McBride and to my son, Valerio Puggioni, for their painstaking effort in proof-reading the translations. Their contribution has been invaluable. I would also like to express my appreciation to the Editorial Board of the *Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism* of the Jogye Order for undertaking such a noble initiative and for displaying patience and understanding well above the call of duty.

Shanghai, December 9, 2016

Conventions

HBJ: *Hanguk Bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書 (Complete Works of Korean Buddhism). 14 vols. Seoul: Dongguk Daehakgyo Chulpanbu, 1979 (–2004).

T: *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Taishō Edition of the Buddhist Canon). Edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taishō Issikiyō Kankōkai, 1924–1935.

X: *Xuzang jing* 繢藏經 (Hong Kong reprint of the *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 [Kyoto Supplement to the Canon. Kyoto, 1905–1912]). 150 vols. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Buddhist Association, 1967. (Sequential numbers of texts established according to listing in *Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku* 昭和法寶總目錄, vol. 2.)

Ch.: Chinese, Jp.: Japanese, Kor.: Korean, Skt.: Sanskrit

Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism series uses the standard Romanization systems for East Asian Languages for the transcription of them: Pinyin for Chinese, Revised Hepburn for Japanese, and Revised Romanization for Korean, with slight elaboration in some cases.

Proper names of persons, sites, and other cultural practices or institutions are transcribed according to their nationality and the provenance of the text, but translators transcribe and translate them considering specific contexts they are dealt with. (Translators may have their own transcribing conventions specific to their translations in each volume.)

Citations from the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* are listed as follows: title (with Sanskrit title, if relevant, in parentheses) and fascicle number, T[*aishō*] and *Taishō* serial number, *Taishō* volume number, page number, register (a, b, or c), and, if applicable, line number(s)—e.g., *Shoulengyan jing* (*Śūramgama-sūtra*) 2, T 945.19.110a1. In citations from the *Hanguk Bulgyo jeonseo*, the Romanized Korean title will be mentioned first and then volume number, page number, register (a, b, c, d), and if applicable, line number(s) such as the *Seon'ga gwigam*, HBJ 7.637a21–22.

As of the Romanization of Korean terms and names, this series has some exceptions for its application as far as the Revised Romanization system allows. Firstly, in case that persons' names mentioned in any parts of the book have their own English spellings, they are spelled as they are regardless of transcribing them under Revised Romanization System. Secondly, to avoid the phonetic confusions, hyphens and apostrophes are used in some cases: an apostrophe usually lies in between letters not to join and make a phoneme, but a hyphen does specifically in a person's name. Lastly, the given names of Kang, Noh, Shin and Yi are alternatively transcribed as such to avoid supposedly uncomfortable implications or phonetic confusions of their Romanized names.

The original texts used to get translated for this *Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism* series have minor misprints and typos in their early twentieth century printed copies. Most of the translators did researches and studies to correct and revise them in the course of translation, with the Editorial Board's support and consultation. Translators usually never missed noting significant changes in translation from the original texts, but might have left minor revisions and corrections without footnoting them.

SHEAVES OF
KOREAN BUDDHIST HISTORY

Introduction

Kim Yongtae

Korean Buddhism spans a history of 1,700 years, having been introduced during the period of the Three Kingdoms, Goguryeo 高句麗, Baekje 百濟, and Silla 新羅. The cultures of the Three Kingdoms, Unified Silla, and Goryeo flourished considerably due to Buddhism, and the people's sentiment as well as their views on life were grounded on Buddhism. When the Joseon 朝鮮 dynasty upheld Confucianism as its official doctrine, Buddhism retreated to the sidelines, but because of its roots deeply ingrained in traditional and local culture, it was able to preserve its role and pass on the rich traditions of its faith, thought, and culture. This is why if we attempt to understand the Korean historical and cultural ethos, we find Buddhism to be a fundamental component, and it has become, along with Confucianism, a basic feature in the formation of Korean identity as part of the larger Asian community. Although Korean Buddhism has been transmitted through material cultural elements, such as buildings and cultural properties, literary materials, immaterial traditions and rituals, and collective memory, the recovery of its historical aspects can be achieved only through the careful study of historical sources.

Books such as *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) and *Haedong goseung-jeon* 海東高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Korean Monks), written during the Goryeo period; or *Buljo wollyu* 佛祖源流 (Origins of the Buddhist Patriarchs); and *Dongsa yeoljeon* 東師列傳 (Biographies of the Eastern Masters), written during the Joseon period, convey the history of Korean Buddhism as well as the paths of the most eminent monks. In addition to the works

listed, stone inscriptions, doctrinal commentaries, the texts of Seon masters, literary collections, and historical materials are available, which allow us to reconstruct the contours of Korean Buddhist thought, culture, and tradition. Especially in the latter Joseon period, after the seventeenth century, numerous monks' biographies and records of the transmission of the lamp addressing the lives and sectarian affiliations of monks were written, in addition to monastic records concerning the history of temples with newly arranged historical documents, which allowed for the formation of a basic understanding of the historical tradition of Korean Buddhism.

The first basic reconstruction of a comprehensive image of the history, thought, and culture of Korean Buddhism took place only recently, after the turn of the twentieth century. Combined with the gathering of literary texts and a reliance on modern objective research methods, the reconstruction of a history of Korean Buddhism, which warranted a degree of objectivity, began to take place. The meaning of modern study is based on the critical gathering of historical materials, their collection and categorization, and the subsequent application of philological and historical research methods. Although an evidential study approach had also developed in more traditional times with the study of literary records, facts, and people in the atmosphere of the Practical Learning school (Silhak 實學), it differed in character and scope from modern objective research methods, which are based on textual exegesis and the objective study of historical facts. In other words, a rich collection of literary materials and historical research based on independent values has emerged, which belongs to a dimension different from the traditionally monotonous scholarly view of history based chiefly on the study of sects, genealogies, and single temples, or the interpretation of dogma.

The modern exegetical tradition of the West was first introduced to Japan, arising from the interest of Far Eastern modern Buddhist scholars, and it commenced as a result of the exegetical tradition of the West and an interest in Far Eastern studies during the imperialist period. As it was introduced to Japan, Korea also received

its influence, and, beginning in the twentieth century, efforts to interpret the tradition through these novel methods and a new understanding of the chronological development of Korean Buddhist history began to emerge.

A part of this development naturally occurred thanks to advancements in traditional learning, but it should be explained simply as the acceptance and implementation of methods of inquiry concerning modern Buddhist history. During the period of colonization from 1910 to 1945, the biased views of Japanese scholars and their demeaning attitude were also reflected in their understanding of Buddhist history and, due to their influence, the image of Korean tradition was represented in a pejorative manner. Regardless, the study of Korean Buddhist tradition entered a new phase within the framework of modern scholarship.

Research on Korean Buddhism had initially expanded in the fields of bibliographical and genealogical studies. From the beginning of the twentieth century, it commenced with the *Palman daejanggyeong* 八萬大藏經 (Tripitaka in Eighty Thousand Woodblocks) of Haeinsa 海印寺 Temple and the heritage represented by the records of Korean Buddhism through the gathering of Buddhist literature and records by Japanese and Korean scholars. Especially from 1910 onward, the Protectorate of Joseon (Jpn. Chōsen sōtokufu 朝鮮總督府) implemented the policy of surveying literature related to the history, culture, ethnology, and religion of the country, and conducted a census of the historical relics. In other words, the protectorate promoted the collection of Buddhist literary records within the framework of a scholarly survey finalized to its colonialist religious policy. In 1911, the work *Chōsen jisatsu shiryō* 朝鮮寺刹史料 (Historical Materials of Korean Temples) was compiled. At the time, Japanese scholars expressed a keen interest not only in the tripiṭaka but also in Silla's Wonhyo 元曉, in Goryeo's National Preceptor Daegak Uicheon 大覺義天, in Japanese requests for copies of the tripiṭaka at the beginning of the Joseon period, in the figures of Great Master Seosan 西山 Cheongheo Hyujeong 清虛休靜 as well as in the East Asian

development of Buddhist thought, in the circulation of Buddhist literature, in rare books, and in Buddhist relations between Korea and Japan and the personalities concerned, and they concurrently began publishing research on these subjects.

Moreover, during the first half of the 1910s, books describing the contemporary circumstances of Korean Buddhism began to appear, which had been written from the historical perspective of comparative religion. For instance, the *Chōsen shūkyōshi* 朝鮮宗教史 (History of Korean Religion [Chōsen kenkyūkai 朝鮮研究會, 1911]), by Aoyanagi Nanmei 青柳南冥 (1877–1932), detailed the essentials of Korean Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity as well as the proselytism of Japanese Buddhists of that time.

After that, the pioneer of Korean Buddhist studies, Yi Neunghwa 李能和 (1869–1943), wrote the *Baekgyo hoetong* 百教會通 (A Comprehensive Treatment of a Hundred Religions [Boseongsa 普成社, 1912]), in which he introduced Confucianism, Daoism, Shamanism (*mugyo* 巫教), *sinseon* beliefs (*sinseon'gyo* 神仙教),¹ the Cheondo religion (*Cheondogyo* 天道教),² Christianity, Islam, Brahmanism, and others, and presented an explanation of the doctrines as well as a comparison between Korean religions and the eleven religions from the rest of the world, and also answered certain criticisms leveled against Buddhism.

Moreover, Baek Yongseong 白龍城 (1864–1940), as a Seon master, instigated the emergence of a new Buddhist movement and rebuked criticism against Buddhism by Confucians, Christians, and others in his work, *Gwiwon jeongjong* 歸源正宗 (Back to the Source of the Right Religion [Jungang Pogyodang 中央布教堂, 1913]). Furthermore, he advocated the superiority of Buddhism by presenting an exposition of the essentials of Seon doctrine.

On one side, in the 1910s, a few Buddhist magazines were in circulation for the public, such as *Joseon Bulgyo wolbo* (Monthly Review of Joseon Buddhism), in which Indian, Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Buddhist histories were briefly introduced. In addition, while advocating a method of study based on “textual exegesis, criticism, history, comparison,” it recorded a part of the *Bukkyō tōitsuron*

佛教統一論 (Discussion of Buddhist Unity), written by the pioneer of modern Japanese Buddhist historical research Murakami Senshō 村上專精 (1851–1929), translated into Korean by the scholar monk Gwon Sangro 權相老 (1879–1965). As is evident, many literary works were collected, and modern research methods were concurrently adapted. The study of Korean Buddhism thus began in earnest, and sometime later, in the latter half of the decade, the first introductory works on Korean Buddhist history emerged *Joseon Bulgyo yaksa* 朝鮮佛教略史 (A Brief History of Joseon Buddhism) by Gwon Sangro, and *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史 (History of Joseon Buddhism) written by Yi Neunghwa.

Joseon Bulgyo yaksa (Sinmun'gwan 新文館, 1917), as indicated by the title itself, entails the selection of historical records concerning important facts and figures ordered chronologically and accompanied by comments, followed by the author's critical evaluation. Although it is not a systematic treatment of the subject in different areas, it is the first comprehensive treatment of the history of the religion, because it covers the introduction of Buddhism during the Three Kingdoms period until the beginning of the twentieth century, and offers a general account of Korean Buddhist history. Based on the introductory remarks, the purpose for writing the book was evidently for the education of monks in all the temples in the country. The writer explains that, because of the difficulties in finding materials and the education level of the reader, the matter was not treated by subject, but was instead arranged chronologically.

Joseon Bulgyo tongsa (Sinmun'gwan 新文館, 1918), written by Yi Neunghwa, is substantive in character and a major collection of Korean Buddhist historical materials, gathering nearly all of the literary and epigraphic records that could be collected at the time. Yi Neunghwa complained that even monks lacked a precise understanding of Korean Buddhist history, and thus, he advocated the need for a systematical approach to the study of history. Therefore, he began collecting reference materials to provide a basic understanding of Korean Buddhist history, and specified that he was

writing the book in order to spread knowledge of Buddhist history and propagate the religion. *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa* is composed of three sections, separated in two volumes. The first section, “Buddhist Conversion, Time and Places” (Bulhwa sicheo 佛化時處), periodically categorizes the treatment of the introduction to Korean Buddhist history; in the middle section “The Origin of the Three Treasures” (Sambo wollyu 三寶源流), he addresses the Buddha’s biography and the three baskets (*samjang* 三藏) of the Buddhist literary corpus (*sūtra*, *vinaya*, commentaries), the translation of the *sūtras* in Chinese and the writing of the commentaries, the various sects of Silla and Goryeo, the Imje sect (臨濟宗), and the problem of sectarian divisions within the Seon tradition; and in the last section, “Two-Hundred Arguments” (Ibaek pumje 二百品題), he chooses more than two-hundred subjects for discussion, among which are figures of Korean Buddhism, thought, faith, institutions, culture, and so on, where the author arranges the most disparate subjects of Korean history in a systematic manner.

From the second decade of the century, the collection of the heritage of Korean Buddhist records yielded noticeable results, because it materialized into the publication of the collections of records and historical introductions of Korean Buddhism, and this became the premise for the publication of works of critical research toward the end of the 1920s. Among the published works, we first quote Professor Takahashi Tōru’s 高橋亨 (1878–1967) *Richō Bukkyō* 李朝佛教 (Keijō teikoku daigaku 京城帝國大學, Hōbunkan 寶文館, 1929), which, although exclusively addressing Buddhism during the Joseon period, from the organization of the work, the method of description, and the command of primary materials and their interpretation, under many respects, is a work in which modern bibliographical examination and the historical objective interpretation of facts are conducted in accordance with a rigorous research methodology. Moreover, the discovery of new subjects, the presentation of materials, the general framework of Buddhism during the Joseon period, and the doctrine he introduces carry a critical

significance from a historiographical standpoint, making the book a worthwhile read to this day. However, the view that Koreans lack self-determination and the theory of stagnation characterize the work with a pejorative and diminishing assessment of the Korean historical tradition from the introduction to parts of the text itself, and this has been cited as a limitation of this work.

Soon afterward, *Chōsen Zenkyōshi* 朝鮮禪教史 (History of Seon Buddhism in Joseon), by Nukariya Kaiten 忽滑谷快天 (1867–1934), was published in Tokyo (Shunjusha 春秋社, 1930). This book addresses Korean Buddhist history in its entirety, providing an in-depth treatment of both the Doctrinal and Meditation sects as well as aspects of their doctrine and practice. The book was written with the assistance of Korean scholars and monks, and was based on materials and published studies available at the time. The writer, an expert on Chinese Chan history, produced a solid scholarly work that addressed the materials with substantial rigor and criticism, demonstrating an in-depth understanding of the problems pertaining to that period. However, Nukariya viewed Korean Buddhism as a sequential development of Chinese Buddhism, and failed to recognize the peculiarities of Korean Buddhism, thereby showing that his views did not differ substantially from those of other Japanese scholars of that time. Moreover, the author, a monk of the Zen Sōtō sect (曹洞宗) of Japan and a professor at Komazawa University (駒澤大學), which is an institution belonging to the Buddhist establishment, expressed in several parts of the text a critical view of the Korean Buddhist tradition, centered as it is on the Imje sect.

Choe Namseon 崔南善 (1890–1957) was one of the most representative Korean scholars of the time. He attempted to foster the national conscience and inspiration through study, and unwaveringly encouraged people to reconsider and reappraise the values of the Korean Buddhist tradition. Choe founded the Sinmun'gwan publishing house and published numerous classical works, beginning with Buddhist literature, and oversaw the revision of Yi Neunghwa's *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*. In considering the unfailing disparagement

of the Korean Buddhist tradition by Japanese Buddhist scholars, who represented the most important circle of Buddhist studies at the time, he stressed the urgent need to conduct a survey and study of the primary materials in order to promote the prestige of Korean Buddhism abroad. He was convinced that Korean history and Buddhism were inextricably tied, and that Buddhism not only played a role that was substantially more important compared to Confucianism in shaping the daily life of the common people and the spiritual development of society, but that it also represented a crucial social force that exerted great influence on Korean culture. Moreover, he adopted a stance against the direct transmission of Buddhism from India to China and to Japan, stating that Korean Buddhism was a crucial system for the religion's propagation as well as a conclusive theoretical system, in which the study of doctrine (*bak* 學) was assigned greater value than was the religious aspect (*gyo* 教). Therefore, it had a character and values of its own, which set it apart from Chinese Buddhism.

In the 1930s, many seminal texts appeared addressing different subject areas because of materials that had been collected in the past as well as the general works that had been published. Eda Toshio 江田俊雄 (1898–1957), a professor at Central Buddhist Specialization School (*Jungang Bulgyo jeonmun hakgyo* 中央佛教専門學校, present-day Dongguk University), underscored the problem of the propagation of Buddhist literary publications of the Joseon period, and while he participated in the publication of Buddhist literary works and vulgate elucidations of sacred texts, he also edited, in collaboration with Gwon Sangro, *Yijo sillok Bulgyo chojon* 李朝實錄佛教鈔存 (Extant Buddhist Excerpts of the Veritable Records of the Yi Dynasty), which were abstracted from the official annals of the kingdom. His studies were later gathered under the title, *Chōsen Bukkyōshi no kenkyū* 朝鮮佛教史の研究 (Research of the Buddhist History of Joseon), published in Japan, Tokyo, in 1977 (Kokushō kankōkai 國書刊行會). Gwon Sangro also made a wholesale revision of his *Joseon Bulgyo yaksa* and rereleased it as *Joseon Bulgyosa gaeseol* 朝鮮佛教史概說 (Outline of

the History of Joseon Buddhism [Bulgyo sibosa 佛教時報社, 1939]). The present book, *Joseon Bulgyosa-go* 朝鮮佛教史稿 (Sheaves of Korean Buddhism), was published that same year. Along with the collection and reorganization of primary sources, which is an indispensable condition for conducting research on Korean Buddhist history, notable results had also been obtained in the field of bibliographical study. Professor Kuroda Ryō 黒田亮 (1890–1947) of Keijō teikoku daigaku published the work *Chōsen kyūsho kō* 朝鮮舊書考 (A Study of Ancient Books of Korea [Iwanami Shōten 岩波書店, 1940]), and devoted himself to the publication of Buddhist texts during the Joseon period, arranged by subject, place of publication, and with considerations relating to their peculiarities. The PhD thesis by Ōya Tokujō 大屋德城 (1882–1950) of the University of Tokyo, titled *Kōrai zokuzō chōzō kō* 高麗續藏雕造攷 (An Investigation into the Carving of the Supplement of the Goryeo Buddhist Canon, Ōya Tokujō chosaku senshū 大屋德城著作選集 7 [Kokushō kankōkai 國書刊行會, 1988]), addresses the edition of the *Gyojang* 教藏 (Canon of Doctrinal Teachings) by Uicheon during the Goryeo dynasty, in addition to the circulation of Buddhist texts in East Asia at the time.

What is then the value and meaning of the present text within the stream of research on modern Korean Buddhism? I now briefly introduce the author and the contents of this book. The author is Gim Yeongsu 金映遂 (1884–1967), a scholar monk and a historian of Korean Buddhism. His pen name was Pogwang 包光, but on occasion he also used the sobriquet “Mountain Man of Head Stream” (Duryu sanin 頭流山人). He hailed from Hamyang, Gyeongsangnam-do, and as a boy attended the local Confucian school (*seodang* 書堂), or lecture hall, where he studied classical Chinese. He embraced monastic life at Hamyang’s Yeongwonsa 靈源寺 Temple, and graduated from the first modern Buddhist school, Myeongjin 明進 School. In 1919, he promoted the independence of Korea from Japan. After the March First Movement, he was sent as a representative of the Buddhist youth organization to the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, which had been established as a government-

in-exile in Shanghai. In 1927 he became a professor at Central Buddhist Academy (Bulgyo jungang hangnim 佛教中央學林), and retained this position when it was renovated into the Central Buddhist Specialization School. After 1940, he was both a professor at and dean of Hyehwa Specialization School.

In 1945, after the liberation of Korea from colonial rule, Gim Yeongsu became professor in the Department of Buddhist Studies at Dongguk University, which was upgraded from Hyehwa Specialization School, and after the Korean War, in the 1950s, he transferred to Won'gwang University, a religious academic institution of Won Buddhism in Jeollabuk-do, where he continued to teach. In addition to the present text, his other works include *Bulgyo yogyeong* 佛教要經 (Essential Buddhist Sūtras) as well as other works such as the temple records he had edited, for instance, *Haeinsa-ji* 海印寺誌 (Records of Haeinsa Temple) and *Geumsansa-ji* 金山寺誌 (Records of Geumsansa Temple). In his most representative works he established the framework of the concepts of the “Nine Mountains of Seon” (Gusan seonmun 九山禪門) as well as of the “Five Doctrinal Teachings and Two Sects” (Ogyo yangjong 五教兩宗), and paved the way for the current widely accepted view of Goryeo religious history encompassing both the Doctrinal and Meditation sects.

The present book, *Joseon Bulgyosa-go*, was used in 1939 as a course textbook, which was handwritten. Afterward, in 1956, it was circulated in a mimeographed edition. Some content related to Taegosa Temple, which had become the general headquarters of the Jogye sect, and to other religious educational institutions had been added to the text of the 1941 edition. In 2002, it was republished by Minsogwon under the title, *Joseon Bulgyosa*, but this text was merely a photostatic copy of the 1939 publication. *Joseon Bulgyosa-go* is a description of the entirety of Korean Buddhist history, 12 chapters of which are dedicated to the Three Kingdoms period, 23 chapters to the Goryeo period, and 20 chapters to the Joseon period, totaling 35 chapters over three sections. The last two chapters of the third section concern contemporary Korean Buddhism.

The first section presents an introduction to Buddhism and the search for Buddhist dharma by eminent monks from Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla, in addition to the transmission of faith. It then examines the doctrine and thought of the most representative monks of Silla, such as Won'gwang 圓光, Jajang 慈藏, Uisang 義湘, Wonhyo 元曉, Taehyeon 太賢, and Gyeongheung 懶興. Moreover, it distinguishes the sects into *Nirvāṇa* (涅槃), *Vinaya* (律), *Beopseong* 法性, *Hwaeom* 華嚴, *Beopsang* 法相, and others, with an investigation into the flourishing of the Doctrinal sects during the Unified Silla period. Thereafter, he discusses the Buddhist temples run by the royal court and their administration, the religious hierarchy, the system of the Scholastic sects, the introduction of the Seon and the development of the Nine Mountains, the divisions of the *Hwaeom* into Southern and Northern factions, and so on.

The second section details the support for Buddhism by the Goryeo dynasty's founder, Taejo 太祖, and his Ten Injunctions, the geomantic theories of *Doseon* 道詵, national rites and celebrations such as the Lantern Festival and the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions, the monk examination system and certain eminent Goryeo religious figures, the religious views of Choe Seungro 崔承老 and his rejection of Buddhism, the retransmission of sacred texts of the *Cheontae* sect to China and the founding of the *Cheontae* sect in Goryeo by the *Hwaeom* monk National Preceptor Uicheon, the Five Doctrinal Teachings and Two Sects as well as their clergy, the overcoming of foreign aggression and the engraving of the *tripiṭaka*, the thought of Bojo Jinul 普照知訥 and the revival of the Seon, the societal movements of the Seon Cultivation Society (*Suseonsa* 修禪社) of Jinul and the White Lotus Society (*Baengnyeonsa* 白蓮社) of Yose 了世, the activities of the Nine Mountains of the Seon tradition and the revival of the *Ja'eun* sect (慈恩宗), efforts toward the unification of the Seon by Taego Bou 太古普愚 and the transmission of his faith, the activities of Seon masters toward the end of Goryeo, and the existence of the Twelve Doctrinal and Meditation sects.

The third section of the book details the substitution of

Buddhism with Confucianism and the state policy of encouraging Confucianism and oppressing Buddhism, the rejectionist policy of Buddhism promoted by King Taejong 太宗 and King Sejong 世宗 as well as the general reorganization of the sects, King Taejo's faith in Buddhism and Buddhist faith within the royal family, the encouragement of Buddhism by King Sejo 世祖 and its rejection by King Yeonsan'gun 燕山君, and so on. Afterward, the book addresses the preservation and transmission of the Seon tradition, the reestablishment of the two Doctrinal and Meditation sects by Heo'eung Bou 虛應普雨, the activities of Cheongheo Hyujeong 清虛休靜 during the Japanese Invasion of 1592 (Imjin waeran 壬辰倭亂), the resistance of righteous soldiers under the command of Samyeong Yujeong 四溟惟政, the establishment of the line of transmission of Taego Bou, which proclaimed the inheritance of the Imje faith, the flourishing of lectures on doctrine and the sutras, the writing of personal records (*sagi* 私記) and commentaries, the development of Pure Land faith, and the division of labor into practice specialists (*ipan* 理判) and administrative specialists (*sapan* 事判). Next, the author discusses the founding of the Administration Bureau of Temples and Societies (Sasa gwalliseo 寺社管理署), of the Won jong 圓宗 and Imje jong 臨濟宗 and their counterparts, the Temple Ordinance of the colonial administration and modern Buddhist educational institutions, the movement to establish a general administration temple (*chongbongsan* 總本山), and so on.

The significance of this book within the history of research lies in its comparatively rigorous and objective interpretation of the entire history of Korean Buddhism, from the Three Kingdoms period to modern times. The author details the most important facts as well as the people, thought, and culture, covering the widest range of subjects, describing events faithfully, and resting his claims on literary records and on the results of past research. Of special significance is his reconstruction of the transition from the Five Doctrinal Schools and Nine Mountains to the Five Doctrinal Teachings and Two Sects, and then the Two Sects of Seon and Gyo, which characterize

the development of the religion in Goryeo and the beginning of the Joseon dynasty. This system of clerical division has been widely accepted by scholars after its formulation by Gim Yeongsu. This view is also reflected in the present book. Moreover, it bears mention that he had attempted to approach the study of Joseon Buddhism, which until that time had been cast under a negative light, from a novel perspective.

Were we to mention a few points where his study of Joseon Buddhism influenced posterity, we would necessarily quote the following: First, although the Joseon state raised the flag of Buddhist rejection, in actuality, if we were to exclude only the examples of kings Taejong and Yeonsan'gun, most of the other kings granted freedom to the royal family and the common people to participate in pro-Buddhist activities, and kings such as Taejo and Sejo had strong Buddhist leanings.

Second, the transmission line of Taego, uncovered and publicly recognized in the first half of the seventeenth century, in actuality does not bear any relation with Taego as a historical figure, who was active toward the close of Goryeo and in the early years of Joseon. His persona was recreated as an ideal fit that served the needs of that time. The issue with the Imje line of Taego Bou concerns a gap of over one-hundred years between his disciple Gwigok Gagun 龜谷覺雲 and Byeokgye Jeongsim 碧溪正心, indicating that the line had either been interrupted or that it is an error that originated over the course of the connection with a different line of transmission of the faith. In reality, Taego Bou, Naong Hyegeun 懶翁惠勤, and other eminent Seon monks of the end of Goryeo received their sanction from Chinese Linji masters, whose lines of transmission they had received, and the sect that had inherited this tradition in Goryeo was the Jogye 曹溪. Among the dharma transmission lines of the latter Joseon period, which were firmly established, no Jogye sect existed; therefore, the Buddhist circles of that time, more than the Jogye, were aware of their own role as the inheritors of the Linji message, and thus, stressed the importance of Taego Bou and others as transmitters of

the Linji line of Seon.

Third, institutionally, during the Goryeo and former Joseon periods, when Buddhist sects existed, the transmission lines between master and disciple in each sect were formed between the master who assigned the precepts and the disciple who received them, whereas from the mid-Joseon period, when Buddhist sectarian distinctions had all but disappeared, the connection line was formed between the master who issued the sanction and the disciple to whom the faith was transmitted. Fourth, Gim Yeongsu explains that in the late Joseon period, with the approval of the study curriculum for monks, lecturing on sutras flourished through the emergence of a lecture system, and therefore, private records and research of a scholastic nature came *en vogue*. This holds special significance in view of the theories of decadence and stagnation of Joseon Buddhism that had prevailed until that time, attention that drew criticism from Gim Yeongsu. This view of Joseon Buddhist history is widely accepted by scholars today, and carries a special value because it refutes and repudiates the preconceived pejorative opinions and historical understanding by Japanese scholars.

Thanks to the collection of documents and the adoption of modern methods of scientific research based on substantial evidence and objective interpretation, research on Korean Buddhism has made significant strides. Consequently, a complete outline of the 1,700 years spanning Korean Buddhist history has been devised, and we currently have a more accurate understanding of this tradition. Moreover, because of the amount of research that has been conducted and its results as well as the framework of Korean Buddhist history that has been established, this has become part of a shared understanding by the common people. However, that the understanding of Korean Buddhism and its history still partially displays resentment directed toward the influence of pejorative views and misconceptions promoted by others cannot be denied. Moreover, during discussions relating to the stagnation of Korean Buddhism, necessarily incorrect views based on nationalism and

sectarianism persist to this day.

The present work is a comparatively early general introduction to the history of Korean Buddhism, and therefore, the breadth of the materials used, the viewpoint, and the organization reflect the limitations of the period in which it was written. The book reveals a sympathetic attitude and a positive consideration of Korean Buddhist history and a peculiar awareness toward the problems that are addressed; and from the standpoint that it casts new light on controversial issues, we can recognize its value. When reading this book, the reader should bear in mind the adage found in the *Analects* of Confucius, “Learn the old, understand the new” (Kor. *on'go jisin* 温故知新).

Notes

- 1 *Sinseon* are Daoist hermits who are imagined to dwell on isolated mountains, and are believed to have supernatural powers.
- 2 Cheondogyo, or Teaching of the Heavenly Way, is a syncretic religion, inheriting the message of the Donghak, founded by Choe Je-u in 1860. It took its name in 1905 under the guidance of Son Byeonghui. The religion amalgamates the doctrines and thought of Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism, Catholicism, and Korean folk beliefs.

PART I

THREE KINGDOMS PERIOD

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Chapter 1

The Introduction of Buddhism

The Three Kingdoms came into existence in Korean mid-antiquity.¹ The capital of Goguryeo 高句麗 was at Winaamseong 慰那岩城² Fortress, facing the Junggangjin 中江鎮 Garrison.³ Baekje 百濟 founded its capital at Wiryeseong 慰禮城 Fortress in Hanam 河南 (present-day Gwangju),⁴ whereas Silla 新羅 established its capital at Gyerim 鷄林 (present-day Gyeongju), thus establishing a tripartite political formation, called the Three Kingdoms. From a geographical viewpoint, Goguryeo was closest to China, and thus, it was naturally the earliest of the Three Kingdoms to receive the transmission of Buddhism from India through China.

In the sixth month, summer, of the second year (372) of the seventeenth King of Goguryeo, Sosurim (小獸林王), Fu Jian 符堅 (r. 357–385), the king of Former Qin (前秦, 351–394), which was a state that came into existence during the period of the two Jin 晉 dynasties (265–420)⁵ and arrogantly called itself kingdom (thus becoming one of the sixteen barbarian kingdoms [Wuhu shiliuguo 五胡十六國]), sent a messenger with the monk Sundo 順道, Buddhist images and sūtras. This is the earliest extant record concerning the origins of Buddhism in Korea. This occurred in the fourteenth year of his Ganlu 甘露 reign period (359–364), and in the twenty-fourth year he ordered Lu Guang 呂光 (r. 386–399) to fight a war in the West that lasted four years. He conquered the territories in the West and, as a king that was a fervent believer in Buddhism, welcomed Kumārajīva,⁶ thus the transmission of the dharma was just one of his acts of faith.

The king and subjects of Goguryeo welcomed and thanked the Jin delegation at Seongmunsa 省門寺⁷ Temple with the donation of products from their own lands. In the fourth year of King Sosurim

(375), the monk Ado 阿道 came from Jin.⁸ The following year, in the second month, Ibullansa 伊弗蘭寺 Temple was constructed, and Ado was permitted to reside there, while Sundo was assigned to Seongmunsa, which was also newly built. These were the earliest Buddhist temples built in Korea.

From this time forward, the king and subjects of Goguryeo venerated Buddhism with sincerity, felt deeply moved by the religion and propagated it, so that Buddhism expanded smoothly in the country. Therefore, approximately twenty years later, by the third year of King Gwanggaeto (廣開土王, 393), nine Buddhist temples had already been constructed inside the walled city of Pyeongyang.⁹

The introduction of Buddhism to Baekje dates approximately fourteen years later than Goguryeo, and it was in the first year of reign of the fifteenth king Chimnyu (枕流王, 384), when the Serindian monk Marananta 摩羅難陀 (Dongsu 童壽),¹⁰ defying perils and hardships, after traveling widely in China, came to Baekje from the Jin 晉 kingdom. The king ventured out of town to greet him, and invited him to the palace, offering food and treating him with great respect. Moreover, he celebrated grand scale Buddhist functions, and from this the process of civilization began, and the law started to break ground gradually until the following year at Hansan-ju 漢山州 (present-day Gwangju), a temple was inaugurated, and ten people became monks.

Silla was the last of the Three Kingdoms to receive Buddhism. According to the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事, during the reign of the nineteenth king of Silla, Nulji (訥祇王, r. 417–457), the monk Mukhoja 墨胡子, arrived at Ilseon-gun 一善郡 from Goguryeo and was hosted by Morye 毛禮 (Morok 毛祿), who prepared a mud-dwelling to host him. The Liang 梁 sent incense,¹¹ and once the people of the court understood their name and use, when the princess fell ill, they burned incense and made vows. The princess soon recovered and the king, happy, received them with great honour. It is said that during the reign of the twenty-first king Soji (昭知王, r. 479–500) there was a monk who used to practice the Way in the royal palace while burning incense in a geomun'go box.

However, only in the reign of the twenty-third king Beopheung did Buddhism experience great expansion, and these developments took place approximately one hundred and fifty years after the introduction of Buddhism to Goguryeo.

Chapter 2

The Three Saints Who Promoted Buddhism

The monk Ado 阿道, King Beopheung (法興王, r. 514–540), and Bak Yeomchok 朴厭觸 are collectively called the Three Saints who promoted Buddhism in Silla. We have spoken above about Ado. The fifteenth year of reign of King Beopheung (528) was the year that the Indian monk Bodhidharma passed away, and in that same year the Silla king was determined to promote Buddhism substantially, but he met with opposition from all his ministers.

The king lamented, “Alas! I haven’t been good enough and worthy of the honor to receive the throne. Above, the harmony of the yin and yang is broken, below, the people do not rejoice. I wish to dedicate to the Buddhist faith the time I am free from the affairs of state. Who is ever going to instruct the unenlightened on my behalf with the subtle message of the dharma?”

Only his retainer Bak Yeomchok (also called Ichadon 異次頓) understood the mind of the king, and secretly said to him, “If Your Majesty intends to promote Buddhism, I will write a false decree and transmit it to the administration, saying that Your Majesty intends to build a Buddhist temple, the court officials will criticize it. But if Your Majesty, after having issued a decree, later declares that you have not issued it and inquire about it, I will confess my guilt, then Your Majesty should appease the court officials by having me killed.”

The king answered, “Court officials are very arrogant, and even if I have you killed, how could they submit to my will?”

Yeomchok replied, “Buddha’s teachings are the worship of a heavenly spirit. Who would ever oppose them?”

The king said, “My wish is to promote the good and discourage evil, so how can I first cause harm to a loyal subject? Even though you

say that it is an act of merit, it is not as good as avoiding punishment."

Yeomchok replied, "To lose one's life for the country is a subject's display of loyalty, and to offer one's life for the king is a subject's moral obligation. If you punish me with death, all the people will look to you in awe, and will not dare oppose your decree. Of all things that are difficult to renounce, the hardest is life. If your subject is put to death in the evening and your decree executed, the following morning the sun of Buddhism will rise, and Your Majesty will enjoy long-lasting peace."

The king praised him and said, "The sons of birds and phoenix have the instinct to soar to the clouds, the offspring of the wild swan have the innate power to swim briskly. I can say you are endowed with the behavior of a bodhisattva." Thus they swore allegiance to each other.

Afterward, Yeomchok proclaimed, "The king ordered to build a temple¹² at Cheon'gyeongnim 天鏡林 Forrest,¹³ so you officers should follow His Majesty's orders and carry out the task!" As expected, the court officials faced the king, criticizing the move. The king said, "I did not order this," immediately after which Yeomchok replied, "I did this. If the Buddhadharma is professed, the whole country will be in peace and respectful, and it will be a true advantage and a great help to save the people. Although I fabricated an order, what fault is there with it?"

The king therefore gathered all the court officials and consulted them. The court officials in unison stated, "Now we see the monks with shaved heads and barbarian clothes, talking in a strange way, so we should beware. We are afraid that, if we follow them, we will have to regret it later." Only Yeomchok said in a dignified manner, "The court officials' point of view is wrong. Generally, after there are extraordinary people, we can witness extraordinary things, but although the dharma is deep and abstruse, it is not impossible to practice."

The king grew furious and said, "The words of the court are firm and unbreakable. Only you, Yeomchok, speak different words,

and it is not possible to follow the ideas of both." Thus, he ordered the officers to have him beheaded. Therefore, Yeomchok swore to Heaven: "On behalf of the dharma, I now proceed to receive my sentence, and if there is a divine spirit, there should be a miracle."

As he was beheaded and the head discarded on top of Geumgangsan 金剛山 Mountain (Gyeongju),¹⁴ the blood turned into milk, gushing several spans high, the sun and the moon blinked out, from the sky the four kinds of flowers started to rain down, and on the earth the six kinds of tremors [shook the earth] and trees fell, while fountains ran dry.

All the court officials and the people, upon witnessing these events, grew afraid that some disgrace might fall from heaven, and at the same time were saddened by Yeomchok's sacrificing his life for the dharma. Thus, they swore to one another, "From now on we shall revere the Buddha and embrace the sangha, and if anyone breaks his promise, may the heavenly spirits kill him."

So the king and all subjects revered Buddhism, and the country became a Buddhist kingdom. Religious functions were held in every house, and every person followed the Way. This was all due to Yeomchok's merit, and King Beopheung, in order to cherish his memory, had Jachusa 刺楸寺 Temple¹⁵ built on the site where his head had fallen. To encourage his happiness in the other world, the fifth day of the eighth month became the day of his martyrdom, religious functions were [regularly] held at Heungnyunsa 興輪寺 Temple, and its celebration became a yearly custom in Silla. King Beopheung afterward became a monk, adopted the religious name of Beobun 法雲, and resided at Heungnyunsa, while his queen, Lady Pado 巴刀, became a nun, adopting the religious name of Beomnyu 法流, and resided at Yeongheungsa 永興寺 Temple.¹⁶

Chapter 3

Eminent Monks in Search of the Dharma

Buddhism was transmitted to Korea from India through China; therefore, it was regretful for monks of the time if they could not travel to India or China, because they were convinced that it would otherwise be difficult to fully understand the true aspects of the Buddhist religion. At the time, travel was highly inconvenient, and if one wished to travel just once and return from India or China, the insurmountable difficulties one had to face are hard to describe in simple words. However, the adventurous spirit, the inner patience of religious believers, are always great and easy to find.

Monks of the time, with the objective of searching for the dharma, defied the expanses of the Liaodong Peninsula and the turbid waves of the Yellow Sea, thinking of them as if they were merely akin to going back home. They considered the Pamir Plateau or the Taklamakan Desert as a smooth path when they commenced their journey, and when they reached their destinations, they did not only study Buddhist doctrine but learned about politics, literature, the arts, and industry, and extended their knowledge to all possible fields, introducing them directly to their country of origin, and indirectly providing great impulse to the development of Korean culture.

Some even acted as informers concerning the political conditions of the countries they visited; such was the case of the patriarch Uisang 義湘 (625–702), who traveled to Tang 唐 China to study the dharma. When the Tang raised an army to invade Silla, and he learned of their plans,¹⁷ he immediately returned to Silla and informed the court, so that Silla could make all the necessary preparations to face the Tang army, thus avoiding great regret. Here we quote a few instances of

great monks who went abroad in search of the dharma, as quoted in extant records.

In Goguryeo, during the reign of the twenty-fifth king, Pyeongwon (平原王, r. 559–590), the Prime Minister Wang Godeok 王高德 dispatched the monk Uiyeon 義淵¹⁸ to the Former Qi kingdom (前齊, 550–577), where he studied the history of Buddhism and the life of the Buddha from the general overseer of Dingguo Temple (定國寺), the Reverend Fashang 法上,¹⁹ but thereafter we also have the Great Master Nang 朗,²⁰ Dharma Master Sil 實,²¹ Dharma Master In 印,²² Jihwang 智晃,²³ Paya 波若,²⁴ among others.²⁵

During the era of the twenty-fifth king Seong (聖王, r. 523–554), Baekje sent the eminent monk Gyeomik 謙益 to Central China, where he studied Sanskrit and graduated in Vinaya studies at Sangana Vinaya Temple (常伽那律寺). After mastering these subjects, he returned to Baekje with the *Trepiṭaka Vedatta* (Baedalda Samjang 倍達多三藏), carrying a set of the Vinaya in Sanskrit. Upon his return he translated the vinaya in seventy-two books into the local language and propagated it.

In Silla, the pioneer of Buddhist studies abroad was Gakdeok 覺德,²⁶ who traveled to the Liang 梁 kingdom and returned in the thirtieth year of King Jinheung (569) in the entourage of the emissary Chen Hu 沈瑚, carrying a number of *sarīras* (relics). Among the monks that traveled to China to study, we can refer to Myeonggwan 明觀,²⁷ Musang 無相, Won'gwang 圓光, Damyuk 曇育, Jimyeong 智明,²⁸ Anham 安含,²⁹ Jajang 慈藏, Wonseung 圓勝,³⁰ Hyetong 惠通,³¹ Uisang 義湘, and Seungjeon 勝詮,³² among others. Of those who crossed China and voyaged directly to India during the reign of King Jinpyeong (眞平王, r. 579–632), and studied the vinaya at Nalanda Temple were Ariyavalma 阿離耶跋摩, followed by Hye'eop 惠業, Hyeryun 惠輪 (his Sanskrit name was Prajñāvarman 般若跋摩, and his Chinese name was Huitian 惠田), Gubon 求本, Hyeonjo 玄照, Hyeon'gak 玄恪, Hyeonyu 玄遊, Hyeontae 玄泰, Muru 無漏, among others. Unfortunately, all of them either died in India or died prematurely on their way back, and none of them managed to return to their

home country. Only the Dharma Master Hyeontae managed to return to Tang China. Especially worth mentioning is Hyecho 慧超³³ who traveled throughout all of India.

Chapter 4

Propagation of the Faith

While the search of the Buddhadharma was thriving considerably, emissaries and monks were sent to neighboring countries to teach and propagate the Buddhist faith.

In the thirtieth year of the reign of Baekje king Seong (聖王, r. 523–554), an emissary carrying gold and bronze Buddhist statues and sūtras was sent to Japanese emperor Kinmei (欽明天皇, r. 539–571). According to state documents, he said, “This dharma is the most outstanding among the various dharmas. The Duke of Zhou (周公) and Confucius cannot compare. It produces infinite happiness and moral value, and attains peerless realization.”

Silla and Goguryeo competed with each other in propagating the faith in Japan. Now we quote a few examples of monks who traveled to Japan, starting with Wonhye 員惠 (also written 員慧), Dochim 道深 (King Seong in his thirty-second year of reign sent Damhye 疊慧 with sixteen monks), and Prince Shōtoku (聖德太子, 574–622) revered Damhye as a saint, calling him Reverend Nichira 日羅. Damhye introduced astronomy (*cheonmun* 天文), geography (*jiri* 地理), calendrical techniques (*yeoksan* 曆算), and occult sciences (*bangsul* 方術) to Japan. Because of the Japanese monks’ unorthodox behavior, Dharma Master Gwalleuk (Jpn. Kanroku) 觀勒 was appointed rectifier of monks (Jpn. *sōjō* 僧正). We also have the Śramaṇa Pungguk 豊國, who was welcomed by Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子 (d. 626),³⁴ and Hyemi 慧彌, Doheum 道欽, Uigak 義覺, Dojang 道藏,³⁵ Donyeong 道寧, Dasang 多常, Won’gak 願覺, Wonse 圓勢, Bangje 放濟, among others, all of who originated from Baekje.

Great Master Hyepyeon 惠便,³⁶ who received the favor of Soga no Umako, resided at Ishikawa-dera 石川寺 in the Yamato area. Great

Master Hyeja 惠慈,³⁷ who became preceptor of the hereditary prince Toyotomi 豊聰 resided at Hōkōji 法興寺 Temple. The rectifier of monks Hyegwan 慧灌,³⁸ who resided at Gangōji 元興寺³⁹ Temple on orders from Empress Suiko 推古 (r. 593–628), became the patriarch founder of the Japanese Sanron school (三論宗). Damjing 疊徵, who was thoroughly conversant in the *Five Classics* (*wujing* 五經), introduced the art of dyeing, the mill stone, paper and ink.

Then, Beopjeong 法定, Seungnyung 僧隆, Unchong 雲聰, Dodeung 道登,⁴⁰ Dohyeon 道顯, Haengseon 行善, and others traveled there from Goguryeo. Such people as the Reverend Jibong (智鳳上人), who resided at Gangōji Temple in the Yamato area, propagated the Hōssō (Kor. Beopsang) 法相 (Dharma Characteristics) doctrine substantially; the Monk of Great Virtue (*daedeok* 大德) Simsang 審祥,⁴¹ who, following a decree from Emperor Shōmu 聖武 (r. 724–729), first promoted the Hwaeom (Jpn. Kegon) 華嚴 doctrine; as well as Hyeje 慧濟 and Hyegwang 慧光 ventured there from Silla.

Chapter 5

Clarification of Doctrine

Together with the search of the dharma, books were gradually introduced, and anyone who returned after studying Buddhist doctrine arrived carrying texts relating to their respective specialization. In particular, in 565, the twenty-sixth year of Silla king Jinheung (眞興王, r. 540–576), the Monk of Great Virtue Myeonggwan 明觀 returned with the legate Liu Si 劉思, sent to Silla by decree of the Chen 陳 emperor. Myeonggwan carried with him 2,700 texts,⁴² thereby supplying to the lack of books, for he carried with him a satisfactory corpus of sacred texts, and from that time the Buddhist religion in the Three Kingdoms heralded a period of clarification of the doctrine. Like a precious stone taken from the storage room and chiseled at home with patience, as a consequence of the search of the dharma, the study and clarification of the principles of the doctrine was a natural step in the development of Buddhism. During the era of Silla king Jinpyeong (眞平王, r. 579–632), the Monk of Great Virtue Won'gwang 圓光 (ca. 540–640) returned from the Chen state (557–589), and he held a repentance lecture on taking refuge in the three treasures of Buddha, dharma, and saṅgha, and the observance of the five precepts (*ogye* 五戒), on behalf of the king and the court officials. For the two youths Gwisan 歸山 and Chuhang 簡項, he explained “Five Precepts for Lay-People” (*Sesok ogye* 世俗五戒): “The first is to serve the king with loyalty; the second be filial to your parents; the third is to treat your friends with trust; the fourth to not retreat in battle; and the fifth to exercise discretion when killing living beings.”

During the reign of Queen Seondeok (善德女王, r. 632–647), the Monk of Great Virtue Jajang 慈藏 (d. ca. 655) explained the sūtras and śāstras of the Mahāyāna at court, and then lectured on the

bodhisattva precepts, after which the king appointed him great state overseer (*daeguktong* 大國統) with the power to supervise all monks in the country and to admonish and encourage them.

Afterward, the great saint Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686) emerged. He composed around one hundred works,⁴³ among which are his *Hwaeomgyeong-so* 華嚴經疏 (Commentary on the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*), the *Daeseung gisinnon-so* 大乘起信論疏 (Commentary on the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*), *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non* 金剛三昧經論 (Commentary on the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*),⁴⁴ and others that enjoyed immense popularity under the name “Korean commentaries” (*Haedong-so* 海東疏). The leader of the Huayan 華嚴 school in Tang China, National Preceptor Qingliang 清涼 (738–839), severely criticized his master Jingfa Huiyuan 靜法惠苑 (ca. 643–743) saying, “If a poisonous plant grows in the garden, we cannot help but cut it down.” However, he never dared criticize even one word or one sentence of the Korean commentaries, but rather quoted from them many a time, merely following their content in order to support his own views, and this suffices to discern the immense authority enjoyed by Wonhyo.

A contemporary of Wonhyo, and rightly considered with him to form the matchless twin stars of Buddhist writing, was National Preceptor Gyeongheung 懼興,⁴⁵ who wrote approximately forty commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Fahua jing* 法華經), the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (*Niepan jing* 涅槃經), the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* (*Yuga lun* 瑜伽論) and the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (Treatise on the Perfection of Consciousness-Only). In addition to these works, we have several scores of texts written by the monk of Great Virtue Woncheuk 圓測,⁴⁶ and then by Taehyeon 太賢,⁴⁷ who wrote commentaries on the *Medicine Buddha Sūtra* (*Yaoshi jing* 藥師經), the *Sūtra on Brahma's Net* (*Fanwang jing* 梵網經), the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and *Amitābha Sūtra* (*Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經), and then on the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* and the *Treatise on Consciousness-Only* (*Weishi lun* 唯識論), about which he composed over fifty works known as “record on the ancient traces” (*gojeokgi* 古迹記). All of them are outstanding authors, and beside them we can quote

Wonseung 圓勝, Uijeok 義寂,⁴⁸ Dojeung 道澄,⁴⁹ Yeon'gi 緣起,⁵⁰ Uisang 義湘, Seungjang 勝莊,⁵¹ Sun'gyeong 順璟,⁵² Jiin 智仁, Myeongjeong 明晶,⁵³ Pyohun 表訓, Wonbu 元傅, Sinbang 神昉, Uitong 義通, Doseong 道成, Jitong 智通, and the *Trepiṭaka Busaui* 不思議,⁵⁴ among others, all of who wrote several works that enhanced considerably the popularity of the doctrine.

Chapter 6

The Establishment of Buddhist Sects

The Three Kingdoms spanned a lengthy period on the Korean Peninsula, but Silla gradually annexed both Goguryeo (668) and Baekje (664), managing in the end to consolidate them into a unified state. At that time, in China it was the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (386–589), and confusion reigned supreme. When the Tang dynasty was founded, Silla formed an alliance with the Tang emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 650–683), and managed to absorb Goguryeo and Baekje. Consolidation was completed by the son of King Muyeol (武烈王, r. 654–661), Munmu (文武王, r. 661–681), in the eighth year of his reign (668). Thereafter, the center of Korean Buddhism was moved to the capital of Silla, Gyeongju 延州. At the same time, the Buddhist religion, which was followed uniformly, gradually experienced internal divisions, and every sect specialized in and promoted its own doctrine. Thereafter, for approximately one hundred and forty years, until the reign of the forty-first king Heondeok (憲德王, r. 809–826), among the Buddhist saṅgha, the doctrinal sects experienced separation.

What we call a sect must necessarily contain three elements: a temple base, a great figure to be revered as the founding patriarch (*jongjo* 宗祖), and disciples to transmit the religious message. Even if there are sacred books to rely on, or even with the presence of a great monk, we do not necessarily encounter the foundation of a sect, because this occurs only if the mentioned three basic conditions are met. If a central figure and temples are missing, it is not possible to found a sect, but the most critical element of the three is that of the disciples. Thus, although a figure of outstanding knowledge and virtue may exist, and although we may have important temples

that are not second to any others, if there are no disciples capable of preserving and transmitting the religious message, not only is it not possible to transmit the doctrine to later generations, but it is not even possible to establish the denomination of a sect.

For example, Hyeryang 惠亮,⁵⁵ Won'gwang 圓光, Sunji 順之 (Beonji 煩之), and others were men of great virtue in their time, and they were no less revered than Jajang, Wonhyo, and Uisang, but their message was not transmitted to later generations, because no disciples were capable of inheriting their doctrine. Therefore, from this period onward, Buddhist sects started to develop separately thanks to the presence of disciples who had inherited the doctrine and transmitted it to posterity, and therefore, gained public recognition as independent sects. Therefore, we have the *Nirvāṇa* (Yeolban jong 涅槃宗), Vinaya (Yul jong 律宗), Buddha Nature (Beopseong jong 法性宗), Dharma Characteristics or Dharmalakṣaṇa (Beopsang jong 法相宗, or Yusik jong [Consciousness-Only] 唯識宗), and Hwaeom (Hwaeom jong 華嚴宗) sects, all of which are based on specific sūtra teachings, and were called the Five Doctrinal sects (Ogyo 五教)⁵⁶ by later generations. We describe them briefly here.

1. The *Nirvāṇa* Sect

The *Nirvāṇa* sect was established by Reverend Bodeok 普德 during the reign of King Muyeol. This sect, as it is possible to understand from the name, was based on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (涅槃經) in forty rolls.⁵⁷ Before Reverend Bodeok, Dharma Master Won'gwang of Silla studied the sūtra in the Chinese kingdom of Chen 陳 (557–589), and after him great saints such as Wonhyo, Uisang, Gyeongheung 懶興, Uijeok 義寂, Taehyeon 太賢,⁵⁸ and others wrote commentaries and treatises on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, clarifying its religious meaning. All of them, however, merely commented on it as a secondary work, while no one studied it as the main sūtra.

The patriarch Bodeok was originally a man of Yonggang 龍岡,

in Goguryeo. His style name was Jibeop 智法, and was abbot of Ballyongsa 盤龍寺 Temple, in Goguryeo. In the seventh year (624) of the twenty-seventh king of Goguryeo, Yeongnyu (榮留王, r. 618–642), a messenger was sent to the Tang to introduce the Daoist doctrine. The Tang emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 618–626) provided his consent and sent Daoist priests and images of heavenly deities (天尊像). As King Bojang (寶藏王, r. 642–668) ascended the throne, Confucianism and Buddhism were flourishing, but because Daoist religion was still in the early stages of development, a special envoy was sent to the Tang to ask for support concerning Daoism.⁵⁹

Bodeok memorialized the king several times, criticizing him and saying that if he supported a wrong belief, the future of the country would be in peril, but because the king would not listen to him, he voiced his sorrow, and fled south with his hermitage to Wansan-ju 完山州 (present-day Jeonju 全州), Godaesan 孤大山 Mountain (present-day Godalsan 高達山 Mountain). As expected, after sometime Goguryeo fell. The place is called by all “the hermitage that came flying” (Birae bangjang 飛來方丈). It was extant in the near past, but today people say it has disappeared. Bodeok later founded Gyeongboksa 景福寺 Temple,⁶⁰ where he established his base, greatly propagating the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*’s religious message.

Among his most outstanding disciples were eleven who founded eight important monasteries, providing great motivation to expand the sect. In the end, the sect prospered greatly, and the mentioned eight temples are Geumdongsa 金洞寺 (now at Anju 安州), which Musang 無上 founded with his disciple Geumchwi 金趣; Jin’gusa 珍丘寺 (present-day at Imsil 任實), founded together by the two brothers Jeongmyeol 寂滅 and Uiyung 義融; Daeseungsa 大乘寺 (in present-day Nonsan 論山), founded by Jisu 智敷; Daewonsa 大原寺 (present-day Daewonsa 大圓寺, in Jeonju 全州), founded by the two brothers Iljong 一宗 and Simjeong 心正; Yumasa 維摩寺 (in present-day Jeongeup 井邑), founded by Sujeong 水淨; Jungdaesa 中臺寺, founded by the two brothers Sadae 四大 and Gyeyuk 契育; Gaewonsa 開原寺 (in present-day Danyang 丹陽), founded by Gaewon 開原; Yeon’gusa 燕口寺, founded by

Myeongdeok 明德; and Yeongtapsa 灵塔寺 (at present-day Yonggang 龍岡) founded by Bodeok himself before he fled south, but it appears as if the eight temples were all founded after he fled south.

2. The Vinaya Sect

The Vinaya sect is called *Yul jong* 律宗, or *Gyeul jong* 戒律宗, because the basis of its doctrine is contained, among the three baskets, in the monastic codes of conduct (*yuljang* 律藏). During the reign of Tang emperor Taizong 太宗 (626–649) the Vinaya Master Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) who resided on Mountain Zhongnan (終南山) in China, inaugurated the sect. However, before this occurrence, the great monk of Baekje 百濟, Gyeomik 謙益, traveled to India's Sangana Vinaya Temple to study the monastic rules, and returned with the *Trepiṭaka Vedatta* (倍達多三藏), translated the vinaya texts (*yulmun* 律文), and propagated the rules of the dharma. But there is no evidence to support the founding of a sect, and when Baekje fell, both the translations and the tradition were lost.

Later on, the Vinaya Master Jajang 慈藏 was born in Silla, and he propagated anew the rules of the dharma. The Vinaya Master Jajang was a son of the *sopan* 蘇判 (rank 3) Gim Murim 金茂林, a true-bone (*jin'gol* 眞骨) noble. This Silla elite had pronounced the vow, “If a son is born to me, he will embrace the saṅgha and will become a ferry for crossing the sea of the dharma.” As a result of his having made an image of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara (Gwaneum 觀音), the master was born on the same day as the Buddha's birthday, and his name as a boy was Seonjongnang 善宗郎.

Jajang lost his parents early on, and therefore, detested the impermanence of human life, left his wife and children, donated his gardens and his lands, founded Wонnyeongsa 元寧寺 Temple, and lived in solitude in a remote and steep location. He cultivated the visualization of dried up bones (*gogolgwan* 枯骨觀), and surrounded his body with thorn bushes, so that as he moved a little, he would be

stung by the thorns. He sat naked in the center, with his hair and head hanging from the beams in order to avoid falling asleep, and concentrated on hard meditation. At last, when the seat of the prime minister became vacant, the king called on the master several times to grant him an appointment, but the master refused firmly, and did not stand.

The king grew furious and ordered him thus: “If you do not come, I shall have you killed.” When the master heard the order of the king, he retorted, “I would rather die in a day while observing the monastic rules. I do not wish to live a hundred years breaking them.” The king, upon realizing the strength of his will, was deeply moved, and consented to his remaining in the saṅgha. In the third year of Queen Seondeok (641), following her orders, Jajang, with his disciple Seungsil 僧實 and another ten or so people, traveled to Tang China where he received the bone relic of the Buddha’s crown, monastic robes, and *śarīra* (relics) in front of the image of Mañjuśrī. They then ventured to Yunji Temple (雲際寺) on Mountain Zhongnan, where they stayed for some time until their return to Silla on the twelfth year of Queen Seondeok (643).

He became great state overseer, and organized the community of monks and nuns, which had been relatively undisciplined until that time. He then enshrined the bone relic of the Buddha’s crown on Odaesan 五臺山 Mountain, and founded Tongdosa 通度寺 Temple in Yangju 梁州 (present-day Yangsan 梁山), where he placed the the Buddha’s *śarīra* and robe, established the Adamantine Precepts Altar (Geumgang gyedan 金剛戒壇), thereby showing the true essence of the Vinaya sect. He lectured on the Vinaya every fortnight, encouraging the monks of the five sections to observe the precepts and guard against all types of offences. He then presented a proposal to the government to follow the court dress code and ceremonies of the Tang, extending his activities to a wide range of fields. Finally, the Vinaya sect enjoyed great prosperity, and Silla Buddhism managed to showcase its real features. It is the merit of Jajang’s work if Korean monks and nuns today display awareness in the importance of

observing the monastic rules of conduct.

3. The Beopseong Sect

The Beopseong sect (法性宗), as shown in the name itself, had the purpose of clarifying the meaning of the various dharmas, and due to the Three Treatises of the *Mūlamādhyamaka-śāstra* (Ch. *Zhong lun* 中論, Stanzas on the Middle Way), *Śata-śāstra* (Ch. *Bai lun* 百論, Treatise on the Hundred Verses), and the *Dvādaśamukha-śāstra* (Ch. *Shiermen lun* 十二門論, Treatise on the Twelve Approaches) as the basis of the doctrine, it is also called the Three Treatises school (Samnon jong 三論宗). They severely criticized and refuted heresies and the Hīnayāna (Soseung 小乘, Lesser Vehicle) as serving no purpose, and considered the concept of emptiness of the *prajñāpāramitā* (般若真空) as corresponding perfectly to the ultimate end (*gugyeong* 究竟); therefore, they are also called the sect of the Emptiness of Nature (Seonggong jong 性空宗).

In China, during the reign of Emperor Yao Chang 姚萇 of the Later Qin (後秦), in the second year of the Baique 白雀 reign period (385), a monk from Kucha (丘慈), Kumārajīva (Ch. Qiumoluoji 鳩摩羅什), followed Lu Guang 呂光 to Liangzhou 凉州, and reached Chang'an 長安 in the second year of the Hongshi 弘始 era (400), which is approximately seventeen years later, and immediately began translating sūtras. Among the 380 some sūtras that he translated were the *Śata-śāstra*, completed in the sixth year of Hongshi (404), the *Mūlamādhyamaka-śāstra*, and the *Dvādaśamukha-śāstra*, finished in the eleventh year of the Hongshi 弘始 era (410). His purport was so grand and magnificent that the sect began to prosper, and Kumārajīva became the first patriarch of the sect.

However, it is not possible to ascertain the period the sect was founded in Korea, nor is it possible to know who expounded and propagated the doctrine for the first time. Some believe that the three masters who first introduced Buddhism to Goguryeo (i.e., Sundo 順道, Ado 阿道 and Damyeo 暈如) all propagated the core teachings of

the Samnon school; however, Sundo was active fourteen years before Kumārajīva even reached Liangzhou, Ado twelve years before, and Damyeo six years before the Kuchean monk reached Chang'an. This is well before the sect was established even in China, and before the three treatises were translated into Chinese. Therefore, how would it ever be possible that the sect was introduced to Korea even before the main translator became a patriarch? This is no more than mere speculation, and although Great Master Nang 朗, Dharma Master Sil 實, and Dharma Master In 印 were residing in China conducting research and propagating the doctrines of the Sanlun school, no record shows that they ever returned home, established a sect, and propagated its faith.

Therefore, it is impossible to identify the founder of the school in Korea. However, Northern China, which is where the Sanlun was first founded, borders Korea, and because the Sanron school is presumed to have been introduced to Japan from the Three Kingdoms, the school of the Three Treatises was clearly flourishing during the Three Kingdoms period. Currently, although we are unable to ascertain it with precision, we can say that the school was founded no later than the others. Moreover, at the beginning of the Joseon 朝鮮 period, the Sinin sect (神印宗) was unified with the Jungdo sect (中道宗), and became the Jungsin sect (中神宗), which contains the same doctrinal contents of the Three Treatises school. Therefore, there is a view that considers this the reason the sect was called Jungdo jong 中道宗, but this is also not supported by any evidence.

4. The Hwaeom Sect

This sect adopts as its basic text the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經). The first patriarch in China is Dixin Dushun 帝心杜順 (557–640), and the second patriarch is Dharma Master Yunhua Zhiyan 雲華智儼 (602–668), the third patriarch is Dharma Master Xianshou Fazang 賢首法藏 (643–712), who actually systematized

the tenets of the doctrine and made it prosper, therefore it was also called Xianshou zong (Hyeonsu jong 賢首宗). The doctrine that was transmitted to Korea was called Wonyung jong 圓融宗 (Perfect Interfusion School).

Although it was one entity, it became separated into two streams bearing different names; that is, the one founded by Uisang 義湘 (625–702), who traveled to the Tang and studied under Zhiyan, thereby inheriting his religious line, and the other founded independently by Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686), the two streams being collectively referred to as the Hwaeom sect (華嚴宗). In the *Ritual Penance Text* (*Yecham-mun* 禮懺文), the following is written: “The founders of the Hwaeom sect in Korea, the patriarch Wonhyo and the patriarch Uisang,” but in actuality it was not this way, because when the *Tripitaka Koreana* was published, the duty of revising the texts was entrusted to the abbot of Gaetaesa 開泰寺 Temple, Sugi 守其 (fl. 1214–1259), who belonged to the Uisang tradition. When editing the *Goryeo sinjo daejang byeollok* 高麗新雕大藏別錄 (Supplementary Record to the New Carving of the Great Canon of the Goryeo Kingdom), he wrote: “In the *Mahāsamnipāta-sūtra* (*Daji jing* 大集經) I have found sentences containing errors, but this sūtra has been revered for several centuries by the Bunhwang sect (芬皇宗, Wonhyo’s stream) and, worried about the arising of different views, I did not dare revise it.” From this we understand that not only the founding patriarch and the temples were different, but the basic texts of the doctrine differed as well.

In fact, the “Decree to the Monk Overseer of the Haedong Sect” (*Haedong jong seungtong gyoseo* 海東宗僧統敎書), contained in the *Dongmun-seon* 東文選 (Anthology of Korean Literature), states, “The right teaching came from the West, and the swollen waves lapped the shores of Korea (Haedong 海東, Eastern Country). Its origins are vast, and its boundaries cannot be fathomed. For a long time, people have fiercely debated its contradictions. Thereupon we come to Reverend Wonhyo, who was born in the Silla period, engaged in discussions with a hundred scholars, and unified the two traditions that revert

to the same school.”⁶¹ This shows that even the doctrines of the two traditions must have differed.⁶²

As an example we can quote the following interpretation of Wonhyo’s sect: “In the Buddha’s discourses, how can there be superiority and inferiority? Differences can exist between the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and other sūtras, but there cannot be any that are superior or inferior.” Therefore, in addition to the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, they also revered the *Mahāsamnipāta-sūtra*, the *Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra* (*Baoji jing* 寶積經), the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra* (Kor. *Geumgang sammae-gyeong* 金剛三昧經), the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, the *Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha sūtra* (*Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經; Sūtra on the Buddha of Immeasureable Life), and other sūtras, but Uisang’s stream, by contrast, only considered the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, as shown in the following: “The difference between the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and other sūtras not only exists, but is like the light of the sun and the moon compared to that of a candle.”

Therefore, although they all belong to the Hwaeom tradition, the Wonhyo stream was also called Haedong sect, Bunhwang sect, and even Wonhyo sect (元曉宗), whereas the Uisang stream was called the Buseok sect (浮石宗) or the Uiji sect (義持宗), and we now offer a separate treatment of each.⁶³

1) The Haedong Sect

The Haedong sect was founded during the reign of the thirtieth king Munmu by the great saint Wonhyo. Therefore, it is also called Wonhyo sect, and, because it was based at Bunhwangsa 芬皇寺 Temple in Gyeongju, it was also called Bunhwang sect. Wonhyo’s family name was Seol 薛, and his childhood name was Seodang 誓憧. His mother dreamed of a meteor entering her bosom, and in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of King Jinpyeong (617), Amnyang-bu 押梁部 (present-day Jain-gun 慈仁郡 territory, Gyeongsangbuk-do), Nambuljichon 南佛地村 (literally, south Buddha land village), he was born under a sala tree (*sarasu* 紗羅樹; *Shorea robusta*).

After he embraced monastic life, the house was offered to the

saṅgha and became Chogaesa 初開寺 Temple. In the fourth year of Queen Jindeok's 真德女王 reign (650), he decided, with Uisang, to travel to China to study, and when they reached Liaodong 遼東 Peninsula, they passed the night sleeping in a cave. Wonhyo suddenly felt very thirsty, and scoured the place in search of water. At last, in a cave he found a gourd full of water from which he drank. At daybreak, he looked at it and realized that he had drunk from a skull. He was disgusted and felt like vomiting, but then began to meditate and said, “When the mind arises, all sorts of dharma arise; when the mind is calm, it is no different from a skull. The Buddha said that the Three Worlds are just in the mind. How could I be deceived by this?” and finally, he decided to end his trip in search of the dharma and returned home,⁶⁴ where he wrote commentaries on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論), and others, propagating far and wide their religious message.

He then wrote the *Simmun hwajaeng-non* 十門和諍論 (Treatise on Reconciliation of Disputes in Ten Approaches), and attempted to compose the divergences among them. Thereafter, he composed the *Geumgang sammaegyeong-so* 金剛三昧經疏 (Commentary on the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*)⁶⁵ by royal command. He placed the ink stone between the horns of an ox, and wrote it on the road in three days, and he is referred to as the “Horn Rider” (Gakseung 角乘).

One day, Wonhyo was singing a song on the road: “Who is going to make for me an ax without a handle? I will fall down the pillar that props the sky.” When King Muyeol heard the song, he said, “If this master has a noble wife, they will give birth to a sage, and if in our country there is a great sage, the country will benefit greatly.” Thus, he called Wonhyo to Yoseok Palace (瑤石宮) and had him sleep with a widowed princess. She gave birth to a sage, who was to become one of the two greatest sages of Silla, Seol Chong 薛聰 (ca. 660–730). The master from this time on called himself “Humble Householder” (Soseong geosa 小性居士; or Japseong geosa 卡性居士), and after having spent his life willfully as a wanderer, he died on the thirtieth day of the third month, the sixth year of King Sinmun’s 神文 reign (686), at the age of

seventy. Later, in the sixth year of the reign of King Sukjong 肅宗 of Goryeo (1101), he was bestowed with the posthumous title of “Great Saint of the Haedong Sect, National Preceptor Peaceful Quietude” (Haedong jong daeseong hwajeong guksa 海東宗大聖和靜國師).⁶⁶

2) The Buseok Sect

The Buseok sect (浮石宗) was founded in the reign of thirty-first king Sinmun (神文王, r. 681–691) by the patriarch Uisang 義湘 (625–702). He went to China to study under the guidance of Master Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668), and as his observance of decorum was very strict, Master Zhiyan gave him the sobriquet “Uiji” 義持 (Meaning Maintainer) and therefore the sect was also called Uiji sect (義持宗). The main seat of the sect was Buseoksa 浮石寺 Temple, at Sunheung-gun 順興郡 (present-day Yeongju 榮州), Gyeongsangbuk-do, and therefore it is also called Buseok sect.

Uisang's family name was Gim 金 and he was the son of Gim Hansin 金韓信, a member of Silla's royal family. He was born in the forty-second year of King Jinpyeong (625) and became a monk at twenty-nine (648) at Heungboksa 興福寺 Temple, in the capital. In the fourth year of Queen Jindeok (650), he went to China with Wonhyo, but without success, and attempted to travel again to China in the eighth year of King Muyeol (661). He studied at Zhixiang Temple (至相寺) on Mountain Zhongnan (終南山), under the guidance of Master Zhiyan, and from him he learned the profound meaning of the Hwaeom 華嚴 doctrine. In the eleventh year of King Munmu (671) he came back to Silla and in the seventeenth year (677), upon royal order he founded Buseoksa on Taebaeksan 太白山 Mountain, establishing there the center of the sect.

He taught the doctrine of the Hwaeom to three thousand disciples and passed away in the third month of the first year of King Seongdok (702) at the age of seventy-eight. In the sixth year of Goryeo king Sukjong 肅宗 (1101) he was bestowed the posthumous title of “Great Saint, National Preceptor of the Perfect Teaching”

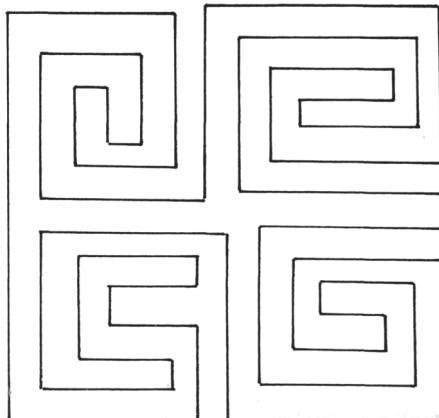
(Daeseong Won'gyo guksa 大聖圓教國師). This sect was the most successful among the Buddhist sects in Korea, and besides the center, which was Buseoksa, there was the Bimarasa 毘摩羅寺 Temple at Wonju 原州, Haeinsa 海印寺 Temple on Gayasan 伽倻山 Mountain, Okcheonsa 玉泉寺 Temple on Biseulsan 毘瑟山 Mountain, Beomeosa 梵魚寺 Temple on Geumjeongsan 金井山 Mountain, Hwaeomsa 華嚴寺 Temple on Namaksan 南岳山 Mountain, and so on, nine temples that, together with Buseoksa, were called the Ten Hwaeom Monastic Complexes (Hwaeom sipchal 華嚴十刹).

Among the three thousand disciples were Ojin 悟眞, Jitong 知通, Pyohun 表訓, Jinjeong 真定, Jinjang 真藏, Doyung 道融, Yangwon 良圓, Sangwon 相願, Neungin 能仁, Uijeok 義寂, that were called the Ten Virtuous Disciples of Uisang (Sangmun sipdeok 湘門十德).⁶⁷

This sect has something peculiar compared to the other sects, and that is the ocean seal (*haein* 海印). The ocean seal, also called ocean seal diagram (*haein-do* 海印圖), diagram of the *dharmadhātu* (*beopgye-do* 法界圖), diagram of the dharma nature (*beopseong-do* 法性圖), diagram in verse of the nature of the dharma (*beopseongge-do* 法性偈圖). This has its origin in the expression “oceal seal samādhi” (*haein sammae* 海印三昧) contained in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.⁶⁸ If one enters this stage of meditation, the three world systems (*samgye* 三界; that is, the world of material things, the world of living beings, and the world of the buddhas) suddenly appear. It is said, as if one were in the midst of a great sea, all the things existing between heaven and earth appear incessantly as if imprinted on a great seal in the middle of the boundless sea. Therefore, it was called ocean seal.

When Uisang was under the tutelage of Zhiyan, Zhiyan drew seventy-two graphs of the Oceal Seal and showed them to his disciples. Uisang studied them carefully and made one of his own. When he showed it to Zhiyan, Zhiyan looked at it and exclaimed: “This one Ocean Seal of yours is equal to my seventy-two seals. Your Ocean Seal is comprehensive, and mine are partial. The great meaning of Huayan does not dwell outside of your seal.” Therefore, Uisang, after coming back to Silla adopted the seal as the graphic model to

propagate the doctrine of the sect.
Here below is the graph.



Simplified graph of the ocean seal

Text omitted. Following the lines of the graph the text contains a hymn to the nature of the dharma arranged in 217 characters.

5. The Beopsang Sect

The basic canonical texts of the Beopsang sect (法相宗) are the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* (*Yugie shidi lun* 瑜伽地論, Treatise on the Stages of the Yoga Masters) and the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* (*Weishi lun* 唯識論, Treatise on Consciousness-Only), and therefore it is called Yuga sect (瑜伽宗), or Consciousness-Only sect (Yusik jong 唯識宗). As the masters of this sect have explained that in Yoga and in the Mind are the manifestations of the various dharmas, it is also called Beopsang (Skt. Dharmalakṣaṇa) sect, and as the founder of the Faxiang sect in China, Dharma Master Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–664), started to teach the doctrine of the school at Ci'en Temple (慈恩寺), it is also called Ci'en sect (慈恩宗).

In Korea the sect is related to the great achievement of the Vinaya Master Jinpyo 眞表,⁶⁹ who was active at the time of the thirty-

fifth king of Silla Gyeongdeok 景德 (r. 742–765). This sect reveres as the most important figure in the pantheon Maitreya (Mireuk 彌勒), and they respect the Chinese masters Xuanzang and Kuiji 窺基 (632–682), together with the six Korean patriarchs (海東六祖) as their patriarchal line, calling them the eight patriarchs (八祖). Concerning the six Korean patriarchs, if we exclude the Vinaya Master Jinpyo, they all seem to have been promoted to the status of patriarchs posthumously.⁷⁰

But then who are the remaining five patriarchs? If we read the “Epigraph of Royal Preceptor Hyedeok at Geumsansa” (Geumsansa Hyedeok wangsa bi 金山寺慧德王師碑), we find the following words: “Master Wonhyo first opened the Way, and Taehyeon followed in his footsteps, the lamp was transmitted ablaze from one generation to the other, it was inherited and flourished,” therefore there is no doubt that both Wonhyo and Taehyeon were part of the five patriarchs. The *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 reports in the biography of Silla monk Sun’gyeong 順璟: “He inherited from Xuanzang 玄奘 the transmission of the true Consciousness-only doctrine of syllogism (*jinyusik nyang* 真唯識量), and therefore elaborated the theory of determining contradictory and non deductive statements.”

And the *Shimen zijing lu* 釋門自鏡錄 states: “When Sun’gyeong was in his home country, he wrote many books, some of which were circulated in China, and the faith they deal with is the teaching of the Faxiang school of the Greater Vehicle.” From this we understand that Sun’gyeong was another of the patriarchs of the sect, but concerning the remaining two there are no records on which to rely. However, we can surmise that the remaining two patriarchs should be found among the three masters Woncheuk 圓測, Gyeongheung 懿興 and Dojeung 道證, as they greatly expounded the Beopsang doctrine. However, even though they have the merit of having expounded the doctrine, there is no direct transmission line. It is said that the five patriarchs have all been promoted posthumously as patriarchs and only when we come down to the generation of Vinaya Master Jinpyo the school grew into a sect with a transmission line going from one

master to the other.

Jinpyo was born in Wansan 完山 (present-day Jeonju 全州) and he was from Man'gyeong-hyeon 萬頃縣 (present-day Gimje 金堤), in the era of Silla Queen Seondeok (r. 632–647). At the age of twelve he became a monk at Geumsansa under the guidance of Dharma Master Sungje 崇濟. At twenty-seven he went to Seon'gye 仙溪 (present-day Byeonsan 邊山, Buan 扶安) to Busaui Hermitage (不思議方丈), and in front of the statue of Maitreya, following the twenty-one days concentration practice, as a result of earnest repentance, had visions of Maitreya appearing to him and preaching the precepts.

He received from Maitreya the *Sūtra on the Divining the Requital of Good and Evil Actions* (*Zhancha shan'e yebao jing* 占察善惡業報經) in two books and 189 bamboo sticks 簡子. In the sixth year of King Gyeongdeok (景德王, r. 742–765) he went back to Geumsansa, where a statue of Maitreya sixteen feet tall was made with metal. The temple became the main seat of the sect, the precepts were observed, and at the same time divination ceremonies (占察法) were held.

His religious message was transmitted to his disciples Yeongsim 永深, Bojong 寶宗, Sinbang 信芳, Chejin 體珍, Jinhae 珍海, Jinseon 眞善, Seokchung 釋忠 and others, who went in different directions to preach the faith. For instance Yeongsim was active on Songnisan 俗離山 Mountain, while his disciple, Royal Preceptor Simji 心地, propagated the faith at Donghwasa 桐華寺 Temple. From that time on the Beopsang sect prospered, and even though people think that Jinpyo was an eminent monk of the Vinaya sect (律宗), actually he did not belong to the Vinaya, but to the Beopsang sect. The *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 quotes the *Sūtra on the Divining the Requital of Good and Evil Actions* saying: “Although it is not Beopseong sect (法性宗) it sufficiently qualifies as the Great Vehicle of the Doctrine of Characteristics” (*Sanggyo Daeseung* 相教大乘). The fact that Jinpyo received the precepts from Maitreya means that those precepts did not belong to the *Four-Part Vinaya* (*Sifen lü* 四分律; vinaya of the Lesser Vehicle) and there is no doubt that we are dealing with precepts of the Greater Vehicle tradition.

6. Other Sects (1)

Besides the five sects introduced above, at that time also the three sects Chongji 捏持, Sinin 神印 and the Lesser Vehicle (Hīnayāna) sects were established. Even though it looks like they did not enjoy great popularity, they all managed to survive until the end of the Goryeo 高麗 period (if we exclude the Lesser Vehicle sects they were eleven) and if we consider that they were part of the twelve sects (*sibijong* 十二宗), this means that at the time they were publicly recognized and therefore they formed independent sects, and this is why they were included in the list. We shall deal with them now.

The Chongji sect is none other than the Jineon sect (眞言宗), and because it holds to the reading of dhāraṇīs it is also called Jinyeom sect (持念宗). This sect was established by the monk Hyetong 惠通 during the reign of King Munmu. Hyetong was moved and became a monk after witnessing the portent of the otter,⁷¹ and later went to Tang China, where he searched for the teaching of Śubhakarasiṁha (Ch. Shanwuwei 善無畏).⁷² Even though Śubhakarasiṁha contemptuously said: “How can a person from Silla become an instrument of the dharma?” After having faithfully served for three years, the master still would not consent, therefore Hyetong became angry, put a burner on his head and stood up in the garden of the temple. In a moment his forehead cracked open with a thundering sound. Śubhakarasiṁha was impressed and cured him with his finger and his wounds healed up and he became as before, were it not for a scar that resembled the Chinese character “king” (*wang* 王), and for this he was called by all “Reverend Wang” (Wang hwasang 王和尚). From that time on Śubhakarasiṁha started to teach him all the secrets of the sect and Hyetong came back to Silla in the fifth year of King Munmu (665).

His successor, King Sinmun (神文王, r. 681–692), was suffering due to a subcutaneous ulcer on his back, and asked Hyetong to cure it. Hyetong pronounced a few mantras and cured the king completely, then he explained to the king the long-standing

reason of Sinchung's 信忠 hatred.⁷³ The king was deeply moved and inaugurated Bongseongsa 奉聖寺 Temple in memory of Sinchung. The sect flourished and Chongjisa 捷持寺 Temple on Cheonmasan 天摩山 Mountain (in Gaeseong), Juseok Cloister (呪錫院) on Moaksan 母岳山 Mountain (in Jeonju 全州), and other sites are all famous temples of this sect.

The name Sinin jong 神印宗 is a translation of the Sanskrit term *mudrā* (*munduru* 文豆婁), and therefore the sect is also called Mudra sect (Munduru jong 文豆婁宗). The sect, which had the study of hand gestures as the essence of its faith, was inaugurated by Dharma Master Myeongnang 明朗 during the reign of Queen Seondeok and its most important center was Geumgwangsa 金光寺 Temple. Myeongnang's sobriquet was Gugyuk 國育 and was son of the *sagan* 沙干 (rank 8) Jaeryang 才良, and nephew of Vinaya Master Jajang 慈藏. All three brothers embraced the sangha. The eldest, the Monk of Great Virtue Gukgyo 國教, the second, the Monk of Great Virtue Uian 義安, and the last was Myeongnang.

Myeongnang went to Tang China in the first year of Queen Seondeok (632) to study the Way, and in the fourth year he came back to Silla. During the reign of King Munmu the Tang emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683) ordered Xue Bang 薛邦 to head an army and attack Silla. The king asked Myeongnang who, through the use of secret arts expelled the enemy and from that time on the Sinin sect (神印宗) flourished in the whole country. Wonwonsa 遠願寺 Temple and Dolbaeksa 捷白寺 Temple in Gyeongju, and Hyeonseongsa 現聖寺 Temple in Gaeseong are all famous temples of this sect. Both the Chongji and the Sinin developed as distinct sects of the esoteric tradition, but at the beginning of the Joseon period the Chongji sect was amalgamated with the Namsan sect (南山宗), and finally was absorbed into the Seon sect, whereas the Sinin sect was amalgamated with the Jungdo sect (中道宗) and together formed the Jungsin sect (中神宗), but it was later absorbed into the Doctrinal sect (教宗).

We do not know who and when founded the Lesser Vehicle sect, but it is a fact that it exerted some power until the Goryeo period,

and we understand this easily also from the fact that in the *Dongmun-seon* we find the composition “Royal Mandate to the Chief Lecturer of the Lesser Vehicle Sect.” The Lesser Vehicle sect was originally divided into two schools, the Emptiness (Seongsil jong 成實宗) and the Existence (Gusa jong 俱舍宗) schools, and even the textual traditions were different between the two, but in the royal mandate it is only referred to as Lesser Vehicle; therefore it is impossible to distinguish whether it was the Emptiness or the Existence school. However, in the opening lines it is said: “All dharmas are ultimately empty, only the Mind exists.” If we consider this we are prone to believe that it was the Seongsil school.

But if we look at Choe Chiwon’s 崔致遠 (b. 857) “Stone Inscription of National Preceptor Jijeung” (Jijeung guksa bi 智證國師碑) we read: “The *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣya* (Kor. *Abidalma daebibasa-ron* 阿毘達磨大毘婆娑論) was the first to be introduced, and the four noble truths were the first to turn the wheel of the dharma. When the doctrine of the Great Vehicle was introduced, the whole country dazzled in the mirror of the one vehicle,” and from this we see that of all the sects in Korea the *Abhidharma* sect (Gusa jong 俱舍宗) seems to have been introduced first. In fact we have Woncheuk’s 圓測 (613–696) *Gusaron Seoksong-cho* 俱舍論釋頌抄 (Excerpts of Verses Explaining the *Abhidharma*) in ten rolls, and in the work *Nihon Kusha shū Gyōnen daitoku dentō enki* 日本俱舍宗凝然大德傳統緣起 (The Origins of the Tradition by the Monk of Great Virtue Gyōnen of the Kusha Sect) it is written: “The doctrine of the Silla monk Jipyeong 智平 was transmitted, and the essence of the dharma and the doctrine of [breaking the chain of] births and deaths was established.”

And if we are to talk about the Seongsil sect, in the biography of Won’gwang 圓光, contained in *Tang xugaoseng zhuan* 唐續高僧傳 (Further Lives of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Tang) says: “After mastering the *Satyasiddhi-śāstra* (*Chengshi lun* 成實論) and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, and memorizing them, he was the first to understand the *Satyasiddhi-śāstra*, and in the end lectured on the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Bore jing* 般若經).” And Wonhyo 元曉 wrote a *Seongsillon-so*

成實論疏 (Commentary to the *Satyasiddhi-sāstra*) in ten rolls, and the *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Japanese Monks) states: “After Dojang 道藏 of Baekje came to the Eastern Country (Japan), he wrote a commentary to the *Satyasiddhi-sāstra*, and as far as lecturing on the *Satyasiddhi-sāstra* was concerned, there was nothing that was not based on the scriptures.” This makes us think that the two sects of the Lesser Vehicle had possibly been established both in Silla and Baekje. However, the Chengshi sect (Kor. Seongsil jong 成實宗) combined with the Three Treatises school (Sanlun zong [Kor. Samnon jong] 三論宗), but after mid-Tang it completely disappeared.

7. Other Sects (2)

The Buddhist sects that were offshoots from China were the Vinaya (Yul 律; Kor. Namsan jong 南山宗), the Abhidharmakośa (Kor. Gusa 俱舍, the Hinayāna Sarvāstivāda school; Kor. Soseung yu jong 小乘有宗), Satyasiddhi (Kor. Seongsil 成實; Hinayāna Emptiness school, Kor. Soseung gong jong 小乘空宗), Three Treatises (Kor. Samnon 三論, school on the Emptiness of Nature), the Cheontae 天台 (Dharma Flower sect; Kor. Beophwa jong 法華宗), the Hwaeom 華嚴 (Hyeonsu jong 賢首宗), the Ja’eun 慈恩 (Beopsang jong 法相宗), the Seon 禪 (Mind sect, Sim jong 心宗), the Esoteric (Kor. Mil 密, True Word sect; Kor. Jineon jong 眞言宗), Pure Land (Jeongto 淨土, Lotus sect; Yeon jong 蓮宗), Seomnon 摄論 (Ch. Shelun), Jiron 地論 (Ch. Dilun), and Yeolban 涅槃 (Nirvāṇa) sects, thirteen sects in all.

If we compare them to the ones we analyzed above, that is the five schools of Nirvāṇa, Vinaya, Three Treatises, Hwaeom (both Haedong and Buseok), Beopsang, and the esoteric sects (Chongji 捏持 and Sinin 神印), the Hinayāna sects (Abhidharmakośa [Gusa 俱舍] and Satyasiddhi [Seongsil 成實]), we just have a total of eight, against the thirteen that developed in China. We shall introduce in order the Seon sects later, now we have to turn our attention to the three sects Cheontae, Seomnon and Jiron.

With respect to the Cheontae sect (天台宗), Dharma Master Hyeon'gwang 玄光⁷⁴ went to China during the Tang 唐 to study the “lotus samādhi” (*beophwa sammae* 法華三昧) under the second patriarch Nanyue Huisi 南岳慧思 (515–577), the teacher of Great Master Zhiyi 智顥 (538–597) and afterwards he came back to Silla. Dharma Master Beobyeung 法融 learned from the ninth patriarch Jingxi Zhanran 莊溪湛然 (711–782) and transmitted the teaching to I'eung 理應, and I'eung transmitted it to Sunyeong 純英. In the Goryeo period, in his opening Buddhist lecture at the newly founded Gukcheongsa 國清寺 Temple, Uicheon 義天 said, “In ancient times the Bodhisattva Wonhyo said that it was worth of praise.” (After Uicheon founded the Cheontae sect, this and along with the Seon 禪 were called the Two Meditation sects,⁷⁵ but we will discuss this later in the section on Goryeo.)

The Seomnon sect. If we open the biography of Won'gwang 圓光 (d. ca. 640), in the *Tang xugaoseng zhuan*, we read, “In the ninth year of the Kaihuang 開皇 era (589), [Wong'wang] came to the capital and celebrated the first Buddhist function and the *She lun* started to flourish. The master appreciated [the treatise] and understood every part of it.” Wonhyo wrote a subcommentary to the *Seop daeseungnonsso* 攝大乘論疏 (Commentary on the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*) in four rolls, and the *Sechin seongnon yakgi* 世親釋論略記 (Brief Notes on Vasubandhu's Interpretation and Discussion), in four rolls.

The Jiron sect did not leave any traces in Buddhist literature. It is indeed strange that even though the Three Kingdoms introduced immediately any new developments that happened in China, digesting, elaborating and further developing them, the above mentioned three sects were not transmitted. Therefore, we have no choice but to wait for further research.

Chapter 7

The Introduction of Seon Buddhism

The sects described above belong all to the doctrinal tradition, and up to that time no one had ever heard of Seon at all. The origin of Seon goes back to the fifth year (814) of the forty-first king of Silla, Heondeok (r. 809–826), when Meditation Master Doui 道義 went to China and studied under the monk Xitang Zhizang 西堂智藏 (738–817) the doctrine of not relying on words and letters, and seeing one's own nature to achieve Buddhahood. When he came back to Silla he tried to propagate the doctrine, but Silla people at the time would not believe that there could be any Buddhist teaching outside of the sūtras and śāstras, and refused the teaching of Doui thinking it was groundless and strange talk. Doui lamented that the time was not yet ripe to introduce the Seon 禪 doctrine and retired to Jinjeonsa 陳田寺 Temple, on Buksan 北山 Mountain (present-day Seoraksan 雪嶽山 Mountain, Inje-gun), where he stayed without ever leaving the temple for forty years until his demise.

Later on Great Master Hongcheok 洪陟 from Namaksan 南岳山 Mountain (today's Jirisan 智異山 Mountain) travelled to the Tang and likewise studied under Master Xitang. He came back to Silla during the reign of the forty-second king Heungdeok (興德王, r. 826–836) and took up residence at Silsangsa 實相寺 Temple, on Namaksan. Both the king, and the Heir Apparent Seon'gang 宣康, who was acting as prime minister, greatly revered Hongcheok's virtue and invited him to the royal palace to preach. Upon a brief remark people who were just ordinary folks in the morning became saints in the evening reaching instantaneous enlightenment, and from then on the king and people of Silla turned towards the message of Seon.

The Seon teaching was received by Beomil 梵日 of the Sagulsan sect (閣嶧山門), by Hyecheol 惠哲 of the Dongnisan sect (桐裏山門), by

Muyeom 無染 of the Seongjusan sect (聖住山門), Doyun 道允 of the Sajasan sect (獅子山門), Doheon 道憲 of the Huiyangsan sect (曦陽山門), Hyeonuk 玄昱 of the Bongnimsan sect (鳳林山門) and Ui'eom 義嚴 of the Sumisan sect (須彌山門). Each one of them founded a school and transmitted the doctrine and these are the so-called Nine Mountains of Seon (Gusan seonmun 九山禪門). The Nine Mountains were collectively called the Seon sect, or Seonjeok jong 禪寂宗 (Meditation and Quietude Sect), and as Bodhidharma (Kor. Dalma 達磨) is the first patriarch it is also called the Dharma sect (Dalma jong 達磨宗). However, as the meditation sects started to greatly flourish only at the time of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng (Liuzu Huineng 六祖慧能, 638–713), who resided at Baolin Temple (寶林寺) on Mountain Caoxi (曹溪山), the sect is also called Jogye sect (曹溪宗).

The division into Nine Mountains of Seon started to take place during the reign of King Heon'gang (憲康王, r. 875–886) and the process was concluded at the time of Goryeo king Taejo 太祖 (r. 918–943). That period lasted about 130 years and it is called the period of division of the meditation sects.⁷⁶ Now we shall describe in order the history of the Nine Mountains sects of Seon.

1. Silsangsan Sect

Silsangsan 實相山 is Silsangsa 實相寺 Temple on Jirisan, in Sannae-myeon 山內面, Namwon-gun 南原郡, in present-day Jeollabuk-do. The founding patriarch was National Preceptor Hongcheok 洪陟 (Hongjik 洪直) in the third year of the forty-second Silla king, Heungdeok (828). Hongcheok's posthumous title is Jeunggak 證覺, and while the title of his stūpa is Eungyo 凝寥 (Eungjeok 凝寂).

He entered Tang China during the reign of King Heondeok and studied the mind-dharma with Xitang Zhizang 西堂智藏 (735–814), of the line of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788). He came back to Silla at the beginning of the reign of King Heungdeok. Hongcheok managed to convert King Heungdeok and the Heir Apparent Seon'gang,

who had the temple renovated by royal decree and adopted as the center of the sect. Therefore, Xitang's religious message became very popular. Among his disciples we can reckon Pyeonun 片雲, Sucheol 秀澈 and a few others, who propagated the creed to the extent that an independent sect was formed with time and its disciples spread all over the country. Therefore, the Silsangsan sect was the first of the Nine Mountains of Seon to be established.

2. Gajisan Sect

Gajisan 遺智山 is Borimsa 寶林寺 Temple, on Gajisan 遺智山 Mountain, in Jangheung-gun 長興郡, Yuchi-myeon 有治面, in Jeollanam-do. The sect was established during the reign of the forty-seventh king Heonan (憲安王, r. 857–861) by National Preceptor Doui 道義. Doui's family name was Wang 王, and was from Bukhan-gun 北漢郡. His father dreamed that a white rainbow entered the sleeping room and his mother dreamed to be sitting together with a saintly monk, and then she became pregnant, and after being pregnant for thirty-nine months she finally delivered the baby.

When he grew up, he became a monk and was called Myeongjeok 明寂. In the fifth year of Silla king Heondeok (814), he travelled to China and received the precepts at Baotan Temple (寶壇寺) in Guangzhou 廣州. Then he went to Mountain Caoxi to pay his respects to the image of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng, when he witnessed an extraordinary event. As he approached, the door of the pagoda suddenly opened by itself, and he genuflected three times. After he finished, he came out of the pagoda and the door closed by itself. Then he went to Jiangxi 江西 and visited Kaiyuan Temple (開元寺), where he met Xitang Zhizang and resolved some doubts he was stuck in. Then Xitang said, "If it is not really this person, who would ever be capable of transmitting the dharma?" and urged him to change his name into Doui.

Afterwards he went to pay his respects to Meditation Master Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814) and he did the same as with

Xitang. Baizhang then said, “The Chan tradition of Jiangxi associates itself at last with a monk from Korea!” When he came back Silla people still did not give credit to the method of meditation and therefore he retired to Jinjeonsa 陳田寺 Temple, where he practiced the Way for forty years and transmitted the dharma to his disciple Yeomgeo 廉居 (d. 844) before passing away. Yeomgeo transmitted it to Bojo Chejing 普照體澄 (804–880), who went to Gajisan and founded there Borimsa. The religious message of Doui gained so much popularity that a sect was formed. Unmunsa 雲門寺 Temple at Cheongdo 清道, Hyogaksa 曉覺寺 Temple at Uiheung 義興 and others all belong to the Gajisan sect.

3. Sagulsan Sect

Sagulsan 閣崛山 was founded by National Preceptor Beomil 梵日 in the era of the forty-sixth king of Silla Munseong (文聖王, r. 839–857) and at that time it was the most prosperous among the Seon sects. (The ancient site of Gulsansa 嶴山寺 Temple seems to be located at Haksan-ri 鶴山里 and Sinbuk-ri 新北里, Gujeong-myeon 邱井面, Gangneung-gun, in Gangwon-do.) The founding patriarch Beomil 梵日 (810–889), also called Pumil 品日, received the posthumous name of Tonghyo 通曉, and the title of his funerary stūpa was Yeonhwı 延徽. His family name was Gim 金 and his mother belonged to the Ji 支 clan, from Gurim 鳩林. He was born on the tenth day of the first month of the second year of King Heondeok’s reign (810) after his mother had been pregnant for thirteen months. He had the semblance of a conch-tuft on top of his head and a pearl on his forehead, like the god Brahmā. At fifteen he embraced the sangha.

In the sixth year of King Heungdeok (831) he went to Tang China and received the mind seal from Chan Master Yanguan Qian 鹽官齊安 (750–842) and then went to Yao Mountain (藥山) in Jiangxi and travelled to other famous sites when he encountered Tang emperor Wuzong’s 武宗 (r. 841–846) persecution of Buddhism. At the time he was in dire straits because he could not find a place to hide, but

thanks to the guidance of He Bo 河伯, the Earl of the Yellow River, and the assistance of the mountain spirit (*sansin* 山神) he managed to hide on Shang Mountain (商山). He gathered fruits to calm his hunger and scooped up water from the river to quench his thirst. Thanks to the dream of supernatural beings and the offerings of mountain beasts he moved forward until he reached Mountain Caoxi, where he intended to pay his respects at the pagoda of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng. There he received the auspicious omen of a perfume cloud hovering around in front of the pagoda and divine cranes crying above the pagoda.

He returned to Silla in the eighth year of King Munseong 文聖 (846) and founded Gulsansa, where he established the base of the sect. He received the devotion of the three kings Gyeongmun 景文 (r. 861–875), Heon'gang 憲康 (r. 875–886) and Jeonggang 定康 (r. 886–887). He dwelt for forty years at the same temple, greatly enhancing the popularity of the sect. He passed away on the first day of the fifth month of the third year of Queen Jinseong (眞聖女王, r. 887–897) at the age of eighty (889). Among his disciples were Nangwon 朗圓 (854–930), Nanggong 朗空 (832–916), and so forth, called the “ten saints” (*sipseong* 十聖), who inherited and propagated the creed and therefore the name of the Sagulsan sect gained great popularity all over the country.

4. Dongnisan Sect

Dongnisan 桐裡山 is present-day Taeansa 泰安寺 Temple, on Dongnisan 桐裡山 Mountain, Jukgok-myeon 竹谷面, Gokseong-gun 谷城郡, in Jeollanam-do. The temple was founded by National Preceptor Hyecheol 慧澈 (785–861, also written Hyecheol 惠哲) during the reign of the forty-sixth king Munseong (文聖王, r. 839–857). Hyecheol's family name was Bak 朴 and was from the capital Gyeongju 慶州. He was born in the seventh year of King Wonseong (元聖王, 785) and embraced monastic life at Buseoksa. In the fifth year of King Heon'gang (814) he traveled to Tang China, where he received the mind dharma

from Xitang Zhizang. He came back to Silla in the first year of King Munseong (839) and started lectures at Dongnisan and, after having long upheld the religious message, he passed away in the first year of King Gyeongmun (861). His posthumous name is Jeogin 寂忍, and the name of his stūpa is Joryun Cheongjeong 照輪清淨. Among his disciples were Doseon 道詵 (827–898), Great Master Yeo 如 and hundreds of other monks who helped to promote the sacred doctrine, and established the Seon of Dongnisan as a sect in its own right.

5. Seongjusan Sect

Seongjusan 聖住山 was located in present-day Misan-myeon 帽山面, Boryeong-gun 保寧郡, in Chungcheongnam-do, on the vestiges of Seongjusa 聖住寺 Temple. The temple was founded by National Preceptor Muyeom 無染 (801–888) during the reign of Silla king Munseong. Muyeom's family name was Gim and he was an eighth generation descendant of Silla king Muyeol. His mother was from the Hwa 華 clan. Muyeom was born in the first year of King Aejang (哀莊王, 800) and became a monk at Osaekseoksa 五色石寺 Temple (present-day Osaek-dong 五色洞, Yangyang-gun 襄陽郡, in Gangwon-do) where he became a monk under Seon Master Beopseong 法性, then he went to Buseoksa and studied Hwaeom doctrine under the Monk of Great Virtue Seokjing 釋澄.

In the thirteenth year of King Heondeok (821), he visited the monk Magu Baoche 麻谷寶澈 (d.u.), who belonged to the dharma line of Mazu Daoyi, and from him he received formal recognition, so that people called him the “Bodhisattva of the Eastern Region” (Dongbang bosal 東方菩薩). In the eighth year of King Munseong (846), he came back to Silla and after a request from Prince Gim Heun 金昕 (803–849). He resided at Ohapsa 烏合寺 Temple, Nampo 南浦 (in the area of today's Boryeong 保寧), and the name of the temple was changed into Seongjusa 聖住寺 by the king.

He served as national preceptor during the reigns of two kings,

Gyeongmun and Heon'gang, inaugurating the teaching of the right transmission of the cultivation of the dharma that does not rely on words, greatly strengthening the propagation of the religious doctrine. He passed away on the twenty-second day, eleventh month, second year of Queen Jinseong (888). His posthumous name was Daenanghye 大朗慧 and the title assigned to his stūpa was Baegwol Bogwang 白月葆光. Among his disciples we reckon Sunye 訥父, Wonjang 圓藏, Yeongwon 靈源, Hyeonyeong 玄影, Seungnyang 僧亮, Bosin 普慎, Simgwang 深光, Jain 慈忍, Yeo'eom 麗嚴, Hyeonhwı 玄暉, Daedo 大道, and so forth, about two thousand people embraced the saṅgha under him and gave a great contribution to the propagation of the faith, establishing the distinct sect of Seongjusan. Yeonggaksa 靈覺寺 Temple at Hamyang 咸陽 (originally Anui 安義), Jeongtosa 淨土寺 Temple, and Wolgwangsa 月光寺 Temple in Chungju 忠州, and Borisa 菩提寺 Temple in Yanggeun 陽根 (today's Yangpyeong 楊平) are all temples that belonged to the Seongjusan sect.

6. Sajasan Sect

Sajasan 獅子山 is the ancient site of present-day Heungnyeongsa 興寧寺 Temple in Suju-myeon 水周面, Yeongwol-gun 寧越郡, in Gangwon-do. The temple was founded by Great Master Doyun 道允 (798–868; also Do'gyun 道均 and Doun 道雲) during the reign of the forty-ninth king Heon'gang of Silla. The posthumous name of Doyun is Cheolgam 撤鑑 (or 哲鑑), and the title of the stūpa is Jingso 澄昭. As he resided a long time at Ssangbongsa 雙峯寺 Temple in Neungju 綾州, he was also called Ssangbong 雙峯; and the expression “Ssangbong Cloud” (雙峰雲) that appears in the stone inscription of National Preceptor Jijeung on Huiyangsan Mountain (“Huiyangsan Jijeung guksa bi” 曜陽山智證國師碑) is a reference to him.

Doyun's 道允 family name was Bak 朴 and he was from Hyuam 鶴岩, in Hanju 漢州. His mother, from the Go 高 clan, dreamt that her sleeping room was full of supernatural light. She then became pregnant and gave birth after sixteen months, in the first year of King

Aejang's reign (800). At eighteen, he left lay society and became a monk, attending lectures on the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* at Gwisinsa 鬼神寺 Temple, in Hwanghae-do.

In the seventeenth year of King Heondeok (825) he went to Tang China and received the dharma from Chan Master Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (749–835). Master Puyuan exclaimed with astonishment: "The dharma seal of our sect goes to Silla." He returned to Silla in the fourth month of the ninth year of reign of King Munseong (847) and resided at Pungaksan 楓嶽山 Mountain, but later on moved to Ssangbongsa and greatly revived the religion. He passed away on the sixteenth day of the fourth month, eighth year of reign of King Gyeongmun (868) at the age of seventy-one. A five colored light came out of his mouth and miraculously enlightened the whole sky. His most important disciple, Jinghyo Jeoljung 澄曉折中 (826–900) founded the Sajasansa 獅子山寺 Temple during the reign of King Heon'gang 憲康 (r. 875–886) and spread the teaching. Among the disciples were Jonghong 宗弘, Jeongji 靖智, etc., several hundreds of them upheld the faith and for the first time the fame of the Sajasan sect resounded in the whole country.

7. Huiyangsan Sect

Huiyangsan 曜陽山 is Bongamsa 鳳巖寺 Temple, on Huiyangsan 曜陽山 Mountain, in Ga'eun-myeon 加恩面, Mun'gyeong-gun 聞慶郡, in Gyeongsangbuk-do. The founder of the sect is National Preceptor Jijeung Doheon 智證道憲⁷⁷ (824–882), who established it in the seventh year of King Heon'gang (881). Doheon's family name was Gim 金, and his mother's maiden name was Yun 尹. He hailed from the capital, Gyeongju. His posthumous name is Jijeung 智證 and the title of the stūpa is Jeokjo 寂照.

Doheon was born in the sixteenth year of King Heondeok (824) and in the eighth year of King Heon'gang (882) passed away at fifty-nine years of age, after having spent forty-three years as a monk. At first he studied Hwaeom doctrine from the Monk of Great Virtue

Beomche 梵體, but in the end he inherited the dharma line of Seon Master Hye'eun 慧隱. One of his lay supporters, Sim Chung 沈忠, asked him to found Bongamsa 鳳巖寺 Temple on Huiyangsan and greatly expanded the sect. Among his disciples were Seonggyeon 性鑑, Minhyu 敏休, Yangbu 楊孚, Gyehwi 繼徽, etc., hundreds of people propagated the faith and made every effort so that the Huiyangsan sect became a sect in its own right.

Here we have to make clear what Buddhist ancestral line was inherited by Jijeung. In the text of the funerary stele of National Preceptor Jijeung (“Jijeung guksa bi” 智證國師碑), written by Choe Chiwon 崔致遠 (b. 857), we find the following words: “Beomnang 法朗 from Silla obtained the dharma from the fourth patriarch of the Tang 唐 Daoxin 道信 (580–651) and this was transmitted to Sinhaeng 信行, Junbeom 遵範, Hyeeun 惠隱, for three generations until it reached Doheon 道憲.”⁷⁸ However, in the stone inscription of National Preceptor Jeongjin (“Jeongjin guksa bi” 靜真國師碑),⁷⁹ composed by Yi Mongyu 李夢游, who was of the same line of Doheon, as he was a disciple of Yangbu 楊孚, it is stated clearly that National Preceptor Jin'gam 眞鑑⁸⁰ (774–850) from Ssanggyesa 雙磯寺 Temple received the transmission of the dharma from the Tang Master Cangzhou Shenjian 滄州神鑑 (d. 844) and that he transmitted it to Doheon. These kinds of cases are to be found once in a while in the Buddhist community. If we are to quote just one or two cases, we have that of Naong 懶翁 (1320–1376), who received the dharma from the two masters Pingshan 平山 and Jigong 指空, and Seoram 雪嵒 (1646–1710; Myeongan 明眼), who served two masters, Muyeong 無影 and Baegam 栢庵.

8. Bongnimsan Sect

Bongnimsan is the ancient site of Bongnimsa 鳳林寺 Temple, in Bongnim-ri 鳳林里, Sangnam-myeon 上南面, Changwon-gun, in present-day Gyeongsangnam-do. The founding patriarch of the sect was Hyeonuk 玄昱 (787–868; also written Hyeonyuk 玄育), and

the temple was established in the reign of the fifty-second Silla king Hyogong (孝恭王, r. 897–912). Hyeonuk resided a long time at Godalssa 高達寺 Temple, on Hyemoksan 慧目山 Mountain (in Yeoju 驪州) and therefore he was also called “Reverend Hyemok” 惠目和尚, who is to be identified with the “Hyemok Yuk” 惠目育 mentioned in the stone inscription of the Jeokjo pagoda at Bongamsa Temple (“Bongamsa Jeokjo tapbi” 凤巖寺寂照塔碑).⁸¹

His family name was Gim 金 and he was from Dongmyeong 東溟. His father was the vice minister of defense Gim Yeomgyun 金廉均, and his mother belonged to the Bak 朴 clan. He was born in the third year of Silla king Wonseong (787), and he used to build sand stūpas since the time he was a boy, so that people used to say that he would become a great Buddhist monk. When he grew up he received the precepts in the ninth year of King Aejang (808) and in the sixteenth year of king Heondeok (824) he went to China where he received formal recognition from Mazu's brilliant disciple Zhangjing Huaixin 章敬懷忻 (756–816).

In obeisance to an order to come back to the home country, he followed the Silla prince Gim Uijong 金義宗, and in the ninth month, second year of King Huigang 僖康 (837) he arrived in Silla and resided at Silsangsa on Namaksan but afterwards moved to a hermitage he built at the foot of Hyeilsan 惠日山 Mountain and was honoured as a master by the four kings Minae 閔哀 (r. 838–839), Sinmu 神武 (r. 839), Munseong 文聖 (r. 839–857) and Heonan 憲安 (r. 857–861), and greatly propagated the core teachings of Seon.

King Gyeongmun 景文 (r. 861–875) ordered him to reside at Godalssa 高達寺 Temple and offered him rare perfumes and wonder drugs, poplin for the hot weather and furs for the cold weather. In the fourteenth day of the tenth month, ninth year of King Gyeongmun (869), suddenly the mountains and valleys trembled in the night, birds and beasts cried and the temple bell, even though stricken, did not release any sound. The following year, in spring, in the fifteenth day of the third month he ordered his attendant to strike the “Impermanence Bell” to announce his passing away. He was eighty-two years of age. His posthumous name was Won'gam

圓鑑. His dharma descendant Jin'gyeong Simhui 真鏡審希 (854–923) was active in the era of King Hyogong (孝恭王, r. 897–912), founded Bongnimsa, and spread the true customs of Seon. Among his disciples we count Yungje 融諦, Gyeongje 景諦, Haenggi 幸期 and others, for a total of over five hundred monks, who educated people in the area, and the Bongnimsan sect became very famous.

9. Sumisan Sect

Sumisan 須彌山 is the ancient site of Gwangjosa 廣照寺 Temple, in Naengjeong-ri 冷井里, Geumsan-myeon 錦山面, Haeju-gun 海州郡, in present-day Hwanghae-do. The temple was established by the founding patriarch, the Venerable I'eom 利嚴 (866–932), in the fifth year of Silla king Gyeongsun (敬順王, 931). I'eom's family name was Gim 金 and was born in the tenth year of King Gyeongmun (870).⁸² At twelve, he became a monk at Gayagapsa 迦耶甲寺 Temple (which refers to the present-day remains of Gayasa Temple on Gayasan Mountain, Seosan-gun 瑞山郡, Chungcheongnam-do) under the care of Deongnyang 德良. He then went to Dogyeon 道堅 and received the precepts under his tutelage.

In the eighth year of Queen Jinseong (894) he went to Tang China and received the dharma from the West from Yunju Daoying 雲居道膺 (830–902), who was the head-disciple of the monk Dongshan Liangjia 洞山良介 (807–869). He came back to Silla in the fifteenth year of King Hyogong (911) and resided at Seunggwangsa 勝光寺 Temple, in Naju 羅州. In the fifth year of King Gyeongsun (931), after a decree from King Taejo 太祖 of Goryeo (r. 918–943), Gwangjosa 廣照寺 Temple was inaugurated on Sumisan 須彌山 Mountain in Haeju 海州, thus increasing the popularity of the sect. He passed away in the nineteenth year of King Taejo (936) after living forty-eight years as a monk. His posthumous name was Jincheol 眞徹. Among his disciples were Cheogwang 處光, Doin 道忍, Jeongneung 貞能, Gyeongsung 慶崇, and so forth, a few hundred monks who gave their contribution to enhancing the faith and established the Sumisan sect.

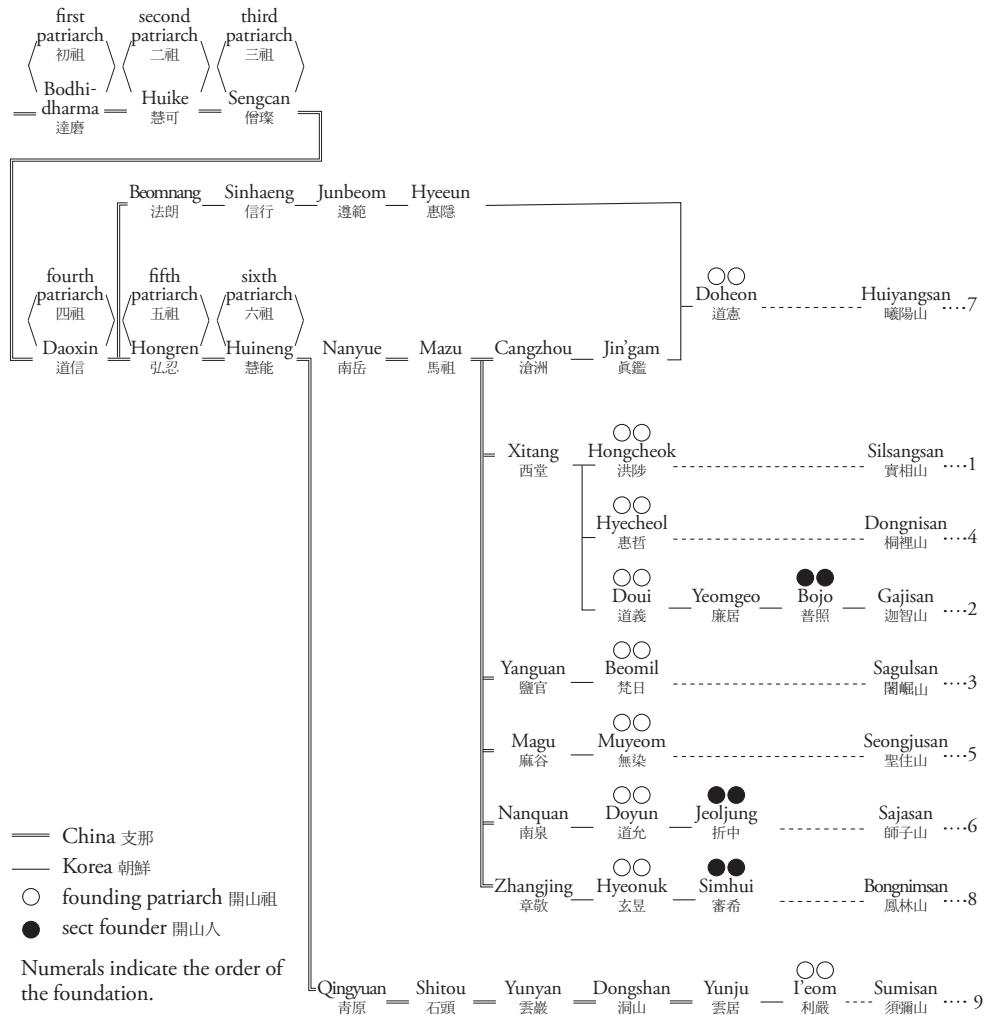


Diagram of the inheritance of the dharma among the Nine Mountains of Seon

Chapter 8

Managerial Offices over Temples and Monastic Administration

There are no records concerning the era when managerial offices over temples (*sajeon* 寺典) were established in Silla, but we know that the biggest temples in Gyeongju, temples such as Sacheonwangsa 四天王寺, Bongseongsa 奉聖寺, Gameunsa 感恩寺, Bongdeoksa 奉德寺, Bongeunsa 奉恩寺, Yeongmyosa 靈妙寺 and Yeongheungsa 永興寺 all had “managerial departments” (*seongjeon* 成典). In the reign of King Gyeongdeok, however, a reform was enacted and the Managerial Department of Sacheonwangsa became the Directorate of Sacheonwangsa (Gam Sacheonwangsa bu 監四天王寺府), and in the other temples an inspection office for renovation and management was established in each temple, like the Inspection Office for the Renovation and Regulation of Bongseongsa (Suyeong Bongseongsa sawon 修營奉聖寺使院), Inspection Office for the Renovation and Regulation of Gameun Temple (Suyeong Gameunsa sawon 修營感恩寺使院), and so on.⁸³

The staff of the office comprised posts such as lotus lapel minister (*geumhasin* 莲荷臣),⁸⁴ senior shriner (*sangdang* 上堂), royal red representative (*jeogwi* 赤位), official blue representative (*cheongwi* 青位), great retainer (*daesa* 大舍), scribe (*sa* 史),⁸⁵ etc., but at the same time offices like the managerial office and *Samghārāma* Office (*seungbangjeon* 僧房典, for management of the monastic residences) continued to exist separately, composed as they were of two great retainers (*daesa* 大舍), two attendant retainers (*jongsaji* 徒舍知) and these, besides the already mentioned, managed and oversaw matters concerning monasteries (*seungsa* 僧寺) and nunneries (*nibang* 尼房).

In Silla, in the eleventh year of King Jinheung (549), one great scribal inspector (*daeseoseong* 大書省) and two juvenile scribal inspectors (*soseoseong* 小書省) were appointed to oversee the administration of the

saṅgha, but the following year it was abolished and instead a state overseer (*guktong* 國統)⁸⁶ was appointed, while nine province overseers (*jutong* 州統) were established at the provincial level and eighteen prefecture overseers (*guntong* 郡統) were appointed at the prefectural level, and these were called collectively monk overseers (*seungtong* 僧統).⁸⁷ Later on, during King Seongdeok's reign (r. 702–737),⁸⁸ on top of the state overseer a great state overseer (*daeguktong* 大國統) was placed and Vinaya Master Jajang 慈藏 was appointed to the post. During King Munseong's reign, the monk overseer (*seungtong* 僧統) was changed to monk registrar (*seungnok* 僧錄) and monk rectifier (*seungjeong* 僧正). There were two monk registrars, one of the left and one of the right, and they oversaw the affairs of all the monks of the country, while the monk rectifiers were divided into provincial monk rectifiers (*juseungjeong* 州僧正), who oversaw the monastic administration of a province, and prefectural monk rectifiers (*gunseungjeong* 郡僧正), who oversaw monastic administration in a prefecture.⁸⁹

It is not known when abbots were appointed first to administer temples, but the *Samguk yusa* states, “Concerning the abbots, the rules (*gwe'ui* 軌儀) concerning their deferential treatment were lacking” and Jajang was appointed great state overseer and entrusted with the administration of the monastic community of the whole country. From this we can surmise that before Seongdeok's reign⁹⁰ the post of abbot was already in place and the heir-prince of King Munseong, Gim Heun 金昕 (803–849), could greet Muyeom 無染 (801–888) saying, “There is a temple in the south corner of the Ungcheon 熊川 area. Wouldn't you stay there even against your wish on behalf of this old fellow? Won't you consider becoming the abbot?” and from that time on the term abbot started to appear more often.

Among the employees of the temple there was a post called the three chief posts (*samgang* 三綱; *samgang* 三剛, or *gangsa* 綱司)⁹¹ but from time to time the name changed,⁹² such as on the stone pillar for temple banners (*danggan seokju* 檻竿石柱) erected at Jungchosa 中初寺 Temple in the second year of the reign of King Heungdeok (827), in which the three chief posts were called dean (*sangjwa* 上座),⁹³ head

cook (*jeongjwa* 貞座)⁹⁴ and chief monk (*doyuna* 都維那),⁹⁵ whereas in the account of the Reverend Boyang 寶壤 in the *Samguk yusa* these posts are mentioned as abbot (*wonju* 院主), head cook (*jeongjwa* 貞座)⁹⁶ and maintenance officer (*jikse* 直歲).⁹⁷ After mid-Goryeo they were called abbot (*wonju* 院主), head cook (*jeonjwa* 典座) and chief monk (*yuna* 維那). Most recently they were called head monk (*suseung* 首僧), secretary (*seogi* 書記), manager of the three jewels (*sampo* 三甫; *sambo* 三寶), while nowadays in every temple we have the three posts of supervisor of affairs (*gammu* 監務), supervisor of work (*gamsa* 監事) and manager of dharma affairs (*beommu* 法務), which are very similar to those of the past.

Chapter 9

The North and South Streams of Hwaeom Thought

As we have mentioned previously, the Five Doctrinal sects (Ogyo 五教) and the Nine Mountain Sects of Seon (Gusan 九山) all established separate schools and promoted their own religious teachings, but later the most popular of them became the three sects of the Hwaeom 華嚴, Beopsang 法相, and Jogye 曹溪. The Hwaeom sect of Uisang 義湘 split into ten temples, and after they started their activities they produced a series of masters of great virtue and fame, and among them the most authoritative were Gyeoreon 決言⁹⁸ from Sungboksa 崇福寺 Temple, Sillim 神琳 from Sedalsa 世達寺 Temple, but also Beobzung 法融, Beomche 梵體, Yungchul 融出, Yungjil 融質, Ullim 雲林, and others were all great masters and famous lecturers.

Toward the end of Silla and the beginning of Goryeo, two great patriarchs came to the fore who promoted the profound doctrine of the Hwaeom and brought about the division of the Hwaeom sect into two factions. In the south, around the monk Gwanhye 觀惠 of Hwaeomsa arose a faction called the Southern Peak (Namakpa 南岳派; at first both Gwanhye 觀惠 and Huirang 希郎 resided at Haeinsa), which became a “field of merit” (*bokjeon* 福田), or object of patronage, for Gyeonhwon 甄萱 (fl. 892–936), the arch-enemy of Goryeo king Taejo 太祖 (r. 918–943).

In the north arose another faction called the Northern Mountain (Bugakpa 北岳派), whose followers gathered around the monk Huirang (fl. 875–927), who had greatly promoted the sect at Haeinsa, and became a “field of merit” for Wang Geon 王建 (877–943), the most prominent of Taebong’s 泰封 generals and the founder of the Goryeo kingdom, who managed at last in the great task of unifying the country. These two factions bickered bitterly about questions

of doctrine for a long time, and their disciples fiercely faced one another, but nowadays it is difficult for us to understand clearly their differences of opinion. We can just surmise their views from the account of conduct of Great Master Gyunyeo (923–973),⁹⁹ a great monk of the Hwaeom sect active during the reign of King Gwangjong 光宗 (r. 949–975), who harmonized the differences between the two schools of thought and brought them back into the same track.

Chapter 10

The Golden Candidate List of the Three Choes

At the end of the Silla period there were two popular expressions, one was “the golden candidate list of the three Choes” (*sam Choe geumbang* 三崔金榜; referring to Confucian scholars [儒者] and great writers [文章家]),¹⁰⁰ and the other was “the four fearless ones” (*samuoe* 四無畏; referring to Buddhist monks of high integrity). Each of the three Choes, Choe Chiwon, Choe Inyeon 崔仁澆 (868–944; a paternal cousin of Goun 孤雲 Choe Chiwon),¹⁰¹ and Choe Seungu 崔承祐 (fl. 890–901)¹⁰² went to China and passed the civil service examinations as optimus, the highest scoring student.

People of the time thought that this was a great triumph, and therefore called them “the golden list of the three Choes.” They were all great writers, and most inscriptions, such as those of Buddhist funerary pagodas and steles of the time came out of their hands. Especially worthy of notice are the epigraphs of the four mountains steles (*sasan bimyeong* 四山碑銘) written by Choe Chiwon (“Stele of Sungboksa Temple on Chowolsan Mountain” [Chowolsan Sungboksa bi 初月山崇福寺碑], “Stele of National Preceptor Jin’gam at Ssanggyesa” [Sanggyesa Jin’gam guksa bi 雙磯寺真鑑國師碑], “Stele of National Preceptor Jijeung on Huiyangsan” [Huiyangsan Jijeung guksa bi 曜陽山智證國師碑], “Stele of National Preceptor Muyeom on Seongjusan” [Seongjusan Muyeom guksa bi 聖住山無染國師碑],¹⁰³ which are especially famous literary works).

Choe Chiwon’s style was Goun, and he hailed from the Saryangbu 沙梁部 of Gyeongju. At twelve he went to China, where he passed the civil exams at eighteen and was appointed district defender (*xianwei* 縣尉) of Lishui 漂水¹⁰⁴ and after some time was promoted supernumerary attendant censor (*shiyushi neigongfeng* 侍御史內供奉) and received the purple robe and gold girded belt (*jageum eodae* 紫金御帶)

from the emperor.

He followed as secretary of the commander-in-chief of the militia Gao Pian 高駢 (d. 887) when he was sent to suppress the Huang Chao 黃巢 rebellion (874–884), and he wrote the declaration of war, where he said, “Not only the people of the world all think you should be punished and repressed with death, but also the spirits of the underworld are secretly discussing you should be put to death.” They say that when Chao was reading the declaration of hostilities and came up to this sentence, unaware he fell from his seat, and from then on Choe Chiwon’s fame ran throughout the empire.

At twenty-eight he went back to Silla and King Heon’gang appointed him reader-in-waiting, academician of the Hallim Academy, vice-director of the ministry of war, and administrator of the [Institute of] Auspicious Calligraphy and Office Attendant (*sidok gyeom Hallim haksa su byeongbu sirang ji seoseo gam* 侍讀兼翰林學士兵部侍郎知瑞書監). In the eighth year of Queen Jinseong (894) he presented a memorial to the throne in ten over articles discussing matters of policy (*simu sibyeojo* 時務十餘條). The queen praised him for this and awarded him the rank of *achan* 阿漁 (rank 6).¹⁰⁵ He witnessed the daily deteriorarion of national politics and lost all interest in a political career retiring in the mountains where he wandered around visiting places¹⁰⁶ such as Namsan 南山 Mountain, Cheongnyangsa 清涼寺 Temple in Hapcheon 陝川, Ssangyesa on Jirisan, Woryeongdae 月影臺 Terrace at Happo 合浦 and so on.

In the last years of his life he retired to Gayasan at the head of his wife and children, and with his brother, the Monk of Great Virtue Hyeonjun 賢俊¹⁰⁷ and Dohyeon 道玄,¹⁰⁸ remaining close until the end of his life.

Goryeo king Hyeonjong 顯宗 (r. 1009–1031) bestowed upon him the posthumous title of royal secretary (*naesaryeong* 內史令) and the posthumous name of Marquis of Literary Prosperity (Munchanghu 文昌侯), and had him revered at the royal tombs. Choe Chiwon, together with Seol Chong 薛聰 (Marquis of Expansive Confucian Learning [Hongyuhu 弘儒侯]) are considered together the two sages of Silla.

Also, Choe Inyeon, cousin of Choe Chiwon, went to China and passed successfully the official state exams. Choe Seungu went to China in the fourth year of Queen Jinseong (890) and in the seventh year (893) passed successfully the exams.

Chapter 11

The Four Fearless Ones

The four fearless ones (*samuoe* 四無畏)¹⁰⁹ are Yeo'eom 麗嚴 (862–930) of the Seongjusan sect (聖住山門), Gyeongyu 慶猷 (871–921) of the Sajasan sect (獅子山門), Hyeongmi 迥微 (864–917) of the Gajisan sect (迦智山門) and the patriarch founder of the Sumisan sect (須彌山門), I'eom 利嚴 (870–936). They went to Tang China at the same time and studied under Yunju Daoying 雲居道膺 (830–902), who inherited the dharma line of Dongshan Liangjia 洞山良介 (807–869). All of them became great monks and, therefore, were called the four fearless ones from Korea (*Haedong samuoe* 海東四無畏). Upon their return they all became preceptors at the court of Taejo Wang Geon 太祖 王建 (r. 918–943).

Yeo'eom's¹¹⁰ family name is Gim 金 and he hailed from Nampo 南浦, in Chungcheongnam-do. His posthumous name is Daegyeong 大鏡, and the title of his funerary stūpa is Hyeon'gi 玄機.¹¹¹ He became a monk under Great Master Sinjong 信宗 of Muryangsa 無量寺 Temple, on Hongsan 鴻山 Mountain, in the seventh year of King Heon'gang (881) and later received the dharma from Great Master Gwangjong 廣宗 (Muyeom 無染) of the Seongjusan sect. Later, he went to China to study the doctrine and came back in the eighth year of King Hyogong (904), received a decree from Goryeo King Taejo and resided as abbot at Borisa 菩提寺 Temple in Jipyeong 砥平 (present-day Yangpyeong 楊平), and passed away in the third year of King Gyeongsun of Silla (929) at the age of sixty-nine.

Gyeongyu's 慶猷 family name was Jang 張 and he was born in the eleventh year of King Gyeongmun (871). At fifteen he became a monk and in the fourth year of King Hyogong (900) came back from Tang China and lived at Hoejin 會津,¹¹² in Muju 武州 (present-

day Gwangju 廣州). At the time Goryeo king Taejo was rivalling for supremacy with Later Baekje king Gyeonhwon 甄萱. Due to the winds and dust of war, Gyeongyu could not find a place to rest and took refuge in a mountain cave. When Goryeo Taejo heard of him he went directly to his meditation place, visited him and asked him to go back with him to the royal palace in Gaeseong 開城. He then appointed him royal preceptor (*wangsa* 王師). He passed away in the fifth year of Silla King Gyeongmun (865)¹¹³ at Oryongsa 五龍寺 Temple in Jangdan 長湍,¹¹⁴ after having been a monk for thirty-three years. We have to come down to the first year of King Hyejong 惠宗 of Goryeo (944) to witness the assignment of a posthumous name, Beopgyeong 法鏡, and a title to his funerary stūpa (Bojo Hyegwang 普照慧光).

Hyeongmi's family name was Choe 崔 and he was from Gwangju 廣州. He was born in the fourth year of King Gyeongmun (864) and in the eighth year of King Heondeok (879) became a monk under Chejing 體澄 of Borimsa 寶林寺 Temple in Jangheung 長興. He then received the precepts at the platform of Hwaeomsa, in Gurye 求禮. Afterwards, in the ninth year of King Hyogong (905) he returned from Tang China, and he passed away in the first year of King Gyeongmyeong (景明王, 917).¹¹⁵ During the first year of reign of Goryeo king Jeongjong 定宗 (946) he was awarded the posthumous name of Seon'gak 先覺 and on his funerary stūpa he received the title of Pyeon'gwang 遍光.¹¹⁶

Chapter 12

The Three Treasures of Silla

The three great treasures of Silla (*Silla sambo* 新羅三寶)¹¹⁷ are the Nine-Storied Pagoda (Gucheungtap 九層塔) of Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 Temple, the Sixteen Feet Tall Statue of the Buddha (Jangyuksang 丈六像), and the Jade Belt Received from Heaven (Cheonsa okdae 天賜玉帶).

The nine-storied pagoda¹¹⁸ was a large structure built in the fourteenth year of reign of Queen Seondeok (645). It had an iron plate (*cheolban* 鐵盤) with forty-two feet on top and one hundred and eighty-eight feet below. The queen was a virtuous woman, but possessed no majesty, and the Nine Han (九韓) tribes made continuous inroads. This pagoda was therefore built to quell the neighboring countries.¹¹⁹ The first floor symbolized the submission of Japan, the second floor symbolized China, the third floor the Wuyue 吳越,¹²⁰ the fourth floor Tangna 毛羅,¹²¹ the fifth floor Eungyu 膽遊,¹²² the sixth floor the Malgal 驎鞨, the seventh floor the Khitan (Georan 契丹), the eighth floor the Jürchen (Yeojoek 女族), and the ninth floor the Yemaek 濟貊.¹²³

The pagoda was again destroyed by an earthquake in the sixth month of the seventh year of King Hyoso (698), and it was rebuilt in the nineteenth year of King Seongdeok (720) and in the eighth year of King Gyeongmun (868) it was damaged again by an earthquake and rebuilt soon afterwards. In the tenth month of the fifth year of Goryeo king Gwangjong 光宗 (954) it experienced another earthquake and was rebuilt for the fourth time in the thirteenth year of King Hyeonjong 顯宗 (1022). In the second year of King Jeongjong 靖宗 (1036) it was again destroyed by an earthquake and rebuilt for the fifth time in the eighteenth year of King Munjong 文宗 (1064). In the first year of King Heonjong 獻宗 met again with destruction (1095) following an

earthquake but was rebuilt for the sixth time in the first year of King Sukjong 肅宗 (1096). Finally in the winter of the twenty-sixth year of King Gojong 高宗 (1238)¹²⁴ both the temple and the pagoda were burnt down by the Mongol army and went back to nothing.

In the second month of the fourteenth year of the twenty-fourth king of Silla, Jinheung (552) planned to build a palace south of Dragon Palace but suddenly a yellow dragon appeared on the spot and it was decided to build a temple instead. The temple was called Temple of the Yellow Dragon (Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺)¹²⁵ and work was completed in the seventeenth year of King Jinheung (555). A huge ship moored at Sapo 絲浦, Hagok-hyeon 河曲縣 (today's Ulsan 蔚山, Gokpo 谷浦) and after an inspection they found it was carrying a letter, saying: “In India the king of Ayodhya gathered 57,000 *geun* of yellow iron and with 30,000 *pun* of gold he intended to fuse a Śākyamuni triad, but could not realize his purpose, so he loaded them onto a ship and put it to sea praying: ‘We hope that it will arrive to a country where it is destined that a statue of the Buddha sixteen feet tall will be built.’” And in the thirty-fifth year (574) a statue of the Buddha sixteen feet tall was fused with a consumption of 12,000 *geun* of iron and 10,136 *pun* of gold.

The Jade Belt Received from Heaven (Cheonsa okdae 天賜玉帶)¹²⁶ was bequeathed by an heavenly messenger that descended to the palace garden in the first year of King Jinpyeong (579) and said, “The heavenly emperor asked me to bestow this jade belt upon you.” The king received it personally by genuflection. From that time on it was preserved at the royal tombs in the outskirts of the capital (*gyomyo* 郊廟) and was worn when important rites (*daesa* 大祀) were celebrated. Its length was ten sections that encircle the waist (*wi* 圃), and it had sixty-two engraved plaques (*jeongwua* 鑄鈕).

The prestige of these three treasures made the neighboring countries tremble in awe and even Taejo, when he was planning to attack Silla said, “Silla has the three treasures, we cannot attack. Therefore, I stopped my plans.” So, it was just as when Zhou 周 possessed the nine ritual vessels (*Jiu Ding* 九鼎), the men of Chu 楚 did not dare to cast furtive glances at them.

PART II

THE GORYEO PERIOD

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Chapter 1

Doseon and Goryeo

In the late Silla period there was an eccentric monk named Doseon 道詵,¹ from Yeongam-gun, Jeollanad-do. He was born in the first year of King Heungdeok (興德王, 826).² His mother's family name was Choe 崔. At age fifteen, he entered Hwaeomsa 華嚴寺 Temple³ on Namaksan Mountain. He later transferred to Ongnyongsa 玉龍寺 Temple⁴ on Baekgyesan 白鶴山 Mountain, Gwangyang-gun 光陽郡, where he stayed for some time; therefore, he also claims the sobriquet "Master Ongnyong" (玉龍子).

Early on in life, Master Doseon established his hermitage at Guryeong 甌嶺 Ridge, on Jirisan Mountain. One day an old man⁵ said to him, "I possess a humble technique and want to pass it to you, eminent master. If you do not look down upon it as ignoble, I will reveal it to you on the shores of the South Sea.⁶ This is also a manner in which bodhisattvas save the peoples of the world."⁷ Having said thus, he disappeared.

Doseon thought this strange and went to have a gander, only to discover that at the location in which the old man had gathered sand, he could discern the geomantic settings of mountains and rivers. From that moment on, at night he would reside at Hwaeom Temple, but he would spend his days examining the configuration of the terrain, and he jotted down a "secret record" (*birok* 秘錄). From this he began to attain a clear understanding of the principles of geomancy. He also furthered the study of the principles of yin-yang and the five elements (*ohaeng* 五行), retaining in his mind a highly detailed image of the most abstruse secrets, and through geomancy he finally made Buddhism flourish once more.

Some say that a Daoist sage appeared before him and taught

him the secrets of astronomy, geography, and yin-yang. Others say he went to the Tang, where he studied under Yixing 一行,⁸ who told him, “In Goryeo, the mountains and rivers rebel against their lords; at times, they converge to form the Nine Han, at others, they become the Three Han (三韓). The enemies at home and abroad follow one another without interruption. This is due to sickness in the flow between Heaven and Earth, and there is no harmony. So, take the brush and divide the land into 3,800 sections, and mark them sequentially. If temples, Buddhist statues, and stūpas are erected at these locations, the land will be protected.” Thus, Doseon is said to have implemented the master’s words promptly.⁹ (However, Yixing passed away in the fifteenth year of the Kaiyuan era of the Tang [727], and therefore, lived eighty-two years before Doseon; hence, they could not have met.)¹⁰

According to one story, a golden figure appeared before the Chinese (Tang 唐) emperor in a dream, after which he dispatched a messenger inviting Doseon to court. Afterward, the emperor determined the placement of the mausoleum for his ancestors, which is how the notion of geomancy was born. Thereafter, stūpas and temples were actively built on all land, and the people experienced civil development through the means of geomancy.¹¹

One day, Doseon arrived at Gongnyeong Ridge¹² and saw the governor of Geumseong Wang Ryung 王隆¹³ building a house, and he said, “Why do you sow hemp in a field where you are meant to sow broomcorn millet?”¹⁴ Upon hearing these words, his wife recounted them to Wang Ryung. When he caught up with the master, it appeared as if they were very familiar to each other. Doseon said, “Divide the house into thirty-six sections, and if we obtain a correspondence with the majority of the signs of Heaven and Earth, next year your wife will give birth to a noble child. Call him ‘Wang Geon’ 王建.” He then gifted him an envelope and sealed it. The cover bore the title, “I respectfully offer this envelope with one-hundred bows to the future lord who will unify the three Han kingdoms.” The following year, Taejo was born. At age seventeen, Wang Geon

received Master Doseon, who had requested an audience, and said, “Your Highness, you are the answer to this time of crisis. All the people who live in this age of decay of the Law wait for you to save them.” He then disclosed the terrain upon which to establish markings and the principles affecting mountains and rivers, revealed to him the proper time, and heaped great merit.

Master Doseon died at 72 years of age in the second year of the reign of Silla king Hyogong (892). His posthumous name is Yogong 了空, and his name on his funerary stūpa is Jeungseong Hyedeung 證聖慧燈. Goryeo king Hyeonjong 顯宗 (r. 1009–1031) bestowed upon him the posthumous title of great Seon master (Dae Seonsa 大禪師); King Sukjong 肅宗 (r. 1095–1105) granted him the title of royal preceptor; and King Injong 仁宗 (r. 1122–1146) imparted on him the title of National Preceptor Seon’gak (Seon’gak guksa).

Chapter 2

King Taejo's Belief in Buddhism

1. The Founding of Temples

In the eighteenth year of the reign of King Taejo 太祖 of Goryeo (935), King Gyeongsun,¹⁵ the fifty-sixth king of Silla, realized that Silla's power was waning by the day, and he grew restless. He gathered his ministers to discuss Silla's surrender to Goryeo, but because the debate grew heated, a consensus could not be reached. The heir apparent said, "The fate of a country depends on Heaven, so we should gather with the ministers of state and trusted officers, stir the hearts of the people, and do our best. How can you, with such lightheartedness, relinquish to others the deities of our country, aged a thousand years?" The king responded, "In a predicament such as this, our strength does not suffice. The best course of action is to save people's lives. I can no longer bear the sacrifice of human lives." Thus came the decision to surrender.

The teary-eyed heir apparent bade farewell to his king father, traveled to Gaegolsan 皆骨山 Mountain,¹⁶ and built a wooden shack wedged against a rock. This was to be his residence until he died, having spent the years donning hemp clothing and living off grass. The king's second son also became a monk, and he excelled in Hwaeom studies, adopting the religious name of "Beomgong" 梵空. The king, having led his courtiers in a procession of carriages loaded with incense and treasures measuring thirty *ri* 里,¹⁷ announced his formal surrender to Goryeo. The following year, Taejo defeated Baekje and achieved unification of the country.

King Taejo, as it were, was convinced that such a considerable task could not have been accomplished without the aid of the

Buddhist dharma. Therefore, he embraced Buddhism and, in order to promote and advance the country's prosperity, he dedicated his life to protecting Buddhism. After ascending the throne, he had new temples constructed, old ones repaired, and stūpas erected. Silla built the nine-story pagoda at Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 Temple and also achieved the country's unification. Following Silla's example, at Gaegyeong 開京¹⁸ King Taejo had a seven-story pagoda built, as well as a nine-story pagoda in Pyeongyang 平壤. He then had temples constructed at Gaegyeong,¹⁹ which are the following: the Beobwangsa 法王寺,²⁰ Ja'eunsa 慈恩寺, Wangnyunsa 王輪寺,²¹ Nae Jeseogwon 內帝釋院,²² Sanasa 舍那寺,²³ Cheonseonwon 天禪院,²⁴ Sinheungsa 新興寺,²⁵ Munsusa 文殊寺, Wontongsa 圓通寺,²⁶ Jijangsa 地藏寺²⁷ and others, totaling sixteen temples.²⁸

In addition to these, he ordered the construction of Daeheungsa 大興寺 Temple on Ogwan Mountain 五冠山. Later on, he would build the Gwangmyeongsa 廣明寺,²⁹ Irwolsa 日月寺, Oe Jeseogwon 外帝釋院,³⁰ Sinjungwon 神衆院,³¹ Heungguksa 興國寺,³² Jimyosa 智妙寺³³ and Anhwawon 安和院³⁴ temples inside the capital, while on Yeonsan 連山 Mountain (Chungcheongnam-do) he commissioned the construction of Gaetaesa 開泰寺 Temple,³⁵ and by his own hand he wrote the vow,

From birth I have encountered countless hardships, and it is not possible to overcome these numerous struggles. People do not have a livelihood to rely on, and the fences of houses are falling apart. I swore to Heaven that I would do away with my great enemies, save the people from distress, and permit them to pursue their farming and weaving activities freely in the villages. I rely above all on the power of the Buddha, as well as on the strength of Heaven. I have conquered the South and the East, and hurling water and fire in battles I have fought far and wide, using spears and arrows as pillows. In the autumn of the year 936, we faced Baekje forces near Sungsinseong 崇信城.³⁶ and, after hurling a shout, the heinous pack dispersed; when we beat our drums, the rebellious lot melted like ice [in the sun], and victorious chants resounded in the skies, our cries of joy moving the earth. To

express our gratitude to the divine Buddha for his assistance, as well as to the mountain spirits for coming to our aid, I have called upon the relevant offices to have a temple constructed. Therefore, I named the mountain Cheonhosan 天護山 (Heavenly Protection Mountain) and the temple Gaetaesa 開泰寺 (Establishing Prosperity Temple). It is my wish to receive the dignified protection of the Buddha and the support of the power of Heaven.³⁷

2. The Ten Injunctions

Although King Taejo was grateful to Buddhism, he was also concerned with the faith of his successors. Therefore, in his twenty-sixth year in power (943), he drafted the “Ten Injunctions” (Hunyo sipjo 訓要十條), so that they could serve as a guide. Here we examine only the injunctions pertaining to Buddhism.³⁸

In the first, he states, “In achieving the great work of unifying our country, we received assistance from the Buddhas. Thus, we built the temples of the Meditation and Doctrinal sects, and installed abbots there to cultivate the dharma and further their respective doctrines. In the future, corrupt officials may seize power and heed the requests of individual monks, which would result in discord among the temples. This is to be forbidden.”

The second injunction states, “All temples have been established in accordance with Doseon’s configuration of mountains and rivers. Doseon said, ‘If [temples] are to be constructed outside of the locations I have indicated, the virtue of the land will fade, and the dynasty will not survive.’ I am gravely concerned that in the future, kings, nobles, queens, and ministers, with the excuse of building family cloisters, will build an ever-increasing number of temples. During the last years of Silla, the people competed with one another to construct Buddhist establishments, thereby weakening the land and meeting with ruin. Is it thus not an issue warranting caution?”

The sixth injunction states, “I earnestly desire that the Lantern

Festival (Yeondeunghoe 燃燈會) and the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions (Palgwanhoe 八關會) [be regularly held]. The Lantern Festival is [meant] to celebrate the Buddha, and the purpose of the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions is to honor the celestial beings and the spirits of the Five Mountain chains, the famous mountains, the great rivers, and the dragons. Any attempt by corrupt officials to enhance or diminish them is to be strictly forbidden. From the beginning, I promised myself not to violate days of national mourning [for these celebrations], and to enjoy them in the company of my subjects. This should be executed according to my wish.”

Chapter 3

Buddhist Celebrations

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Lantern Festival and the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions were the two most important Buddhist celebrations during the five-hundred years spanning Goryeo history. Both are ancient customs inherited from Silla times. Although the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions was celebrated in Silla prior to the introduction of Buddhism, this custom was afterward coopted as a Buddhist celebration.

The Palgwan festival had already been held before the introduction of Buddhism, but thereafter the traditional festival was renamed Palgwan in Buddhist fashion. By contrast, the Lantern Festival has always been a purely Buddhist celebration. It is for this reason that [Taejo] stated, “The purpose of the Lantern Festival is to revere the Buddha, whereas that of the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions is to revere the heavenly spirits.” The Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions was celebrated customarily on the eleventh month of every year,³⁹ but celebrations of the Lantern Festival frequently fell on different days.

Starting from Taejo’s reign, it was held on the fifteenth day of the first month and, beginning with King Hyeonjong’s age 顯宗 (r. 1009–1031), it was celebrated on the fifteenth day of the second month,⁴⁰ so that it would coincide with the day the Buddha attained nirvāṇa. Finally, during King Gongyang’s reign (恭讓王, r. 1389–1392), it was celebrated on the eighth day of the fourth month (i.e., the Buddha’s birthday),⁴¹ which is the present-day⁴² lantern-watching festival. This is none other than a shortened form of the Festival of Observing Lanterns (Gwan yeondeung-hoe 觀燃燈會),⁴³ and even today the Gyeongsang area holds a celebration called the “Lantern Festival in the Second Lunar Month” (incorrectly referred to as the *yeongdeung*

in local dialect). This is clearly a popular linguistic remnant of the Lantern Festival that, prior to King Gongyang's reign, had been held on the fifteenth day of the second month.

Moreover, numerous other Buddhist ceremonies were held as annual recurrences, and although we do not possess much information on celebrations held by commoners, from the references in the annals we understand that those held directly by the royal family amount to several dozens.

During King Taejo's reign, the dharma assemblies for the recitation of the *Avatārasaka-sūtra* (*Hwaeom beophoe* 華嚴法會) and the great equal assembly (*muchā daehoe* 無遮大會) were inaugurated, and during King Seongjong's 成宗 period (r. 981–997), in the first, fifth, and ninth months, days for the observance of the fasting precepts were proclaimed (*samjang yukjaeil* 三長六齋日), during which any killing of animals was forbidden. Further, during King Hyeonjong's 顯宗 reign (1009–1031), at court thirty-thousand monks were offered food. During King Jeongjong's 靖宗 reign (1034–1046), rites for averting calamities (*sojae doryang* 消災道場) and ritual assemblies for propitiating good fortune (*gisang yeongbok doryang* 祈祥迎福道場) were inaugurated in order to invoke peace.

Moreover, during King Munjong's 文宗 reign (1046–1083), the convocation for the recitation of the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* by one hundred eminent monks (Baekjwa Inwang doryang 百座仁王道場), convocations for the recitation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (*Geumgwangmyeong doryang* 金光明道場), the assemblies to commemorate the five-hundred arhats (*obaek nahan doryang* 五百羅漢道場), convocations for the recitation of the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Geumgang doryang* 金剛道場), assemblies for the veneration of indra (*Jeseok doryang* 帝釋道場), assemblies for the veneration of the goddess Marīci (*Marijicheon doryang* 摩利支天道場), assemblies to celebrate completion (*gyeongseonghoe* 慶成會), convocations for the recitation of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Banya doryang* 般若道場), and mudrā ritual ceremonies (*munduru doryang* 文豆婁道場) were held. Over time, Buddhist ceremonies grew in number and complexity.

If we were to compile a list of rites celebrated from King Seongjong's

reign (1084–1094) until the last years of the dynasty, we can quote at minimum the convocation for the recitation of the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* [to ward against calamities] (*Buljeong doryang* 佛頂道場), the convocation for the recitation of the Buddhist canon (*janggyeong doryang* 藏經道場), the ceremony for venerating the dragon king (*yongwang doryang* 龍王道場), one-hundred days' fast (*baegiljae* 百日齋), held one-hundred days after the death of a relative, the commemoration ceremony for an ancestor's death anniversary (*gijin-jae* 忌辰齋),⁴⁴ ritual convocation for invoking mercy and making penance (*jabicham doryang* 慈悲懺道場), assembly for the veneration of the Four Heavenly Kings (*Sacheomwang doryang* 四天王道場), ritual consecration ceremony (*gwanjeong doryang* 灌頂道場), convocation for receiving the bodhisattva precepts (*bosalgye doryang* 菩薩戒道場), convocation for the recitation of the *Ratnaketu-dhāraṇī* (*Boseong doryang* 寶星道場), the Ghost Festival (*uranbunjae* 孟蘭盆齋), assemblies for the recitation of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Beophwahoe* 法華會), *seung beommun doryang* 勝法文道場, convocation for the recitation of the invincible *dhāraṇī* (*muneungseung doryang* 無能勝道場), convocation for the veneration of the divine assembly (*sinjung doryang* 神衆道場), convocations for discussions of the treatises (*damnon doryang* 談論道場), ritual ceremonies for calming the winds (*jipung doryang* 止風道場), ritual assemblies for the veneration of the Goddess Lakṣmī (*Gongdeokcheon doryang* 功德天道場), ritual assemblies for the heavenly military hosts and divine assembly (*cheonbyeong sinjung doryang* 天兵神衆道場), ritual assemblies for the worship of the divine assembly of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Hwaeom sinjung doryang* 華嚴神衆道場), assemblies for the veneration of Bhaisajyaguru (*Yaksa doryang* 藥師道場), convocation for the recitation of the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Geumgyeong doryang* 金經道場), the dharma seat [assembly] of the Five Doctrinal sects (*Ogyo beopseok* 五教法席), ritual invocation of the Great Buddhoṣṇīśa and the five planets (*Daebuljeong oseong doryang* 大佛頂五星道場), ritual ceremony for the veneration of Mahāvairocana (*Daeilwang doryang* 大日王道場), ritual ceremony invoking numinous treasure (*yeongbo doryang* 靈寶道場), dharma assemblies for discussing dhyāna (*damseon beophoe* 談禪法會), dharma lectures on the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (*Geumgwang beopseok* 金光法席), dharma assemblies for propitiating the movements of celestial

bodies (*seongbyeon giyang beophoe* 星變祈禳法會), dragon flower assemblies [in preparation for Maitreya descent] (*yonghwahoe* 龍華會), rites invoking clouds and rain (*unu doryang* 雲雨道場), rites for subduing military forces (*jinbyeong doryang* 鎮兵道場), White Lotus assemblies (*Baengnyeon doryang* 白蓮道場), Mañjuśrī assemblies (*Munsuhoe* 文殊會), Samantabhadra assemblies (*Bolyeon doryang* 普賢道場), and many others.

Moreover, if we were to categorize them, they would fall under ceremonies to pray for good fortune (*gibok* 祈福), keep natural disasters away (*yangjae* 瘘災), quell the armies (*jinbyeong* 鎮兵), cure diseases (*chiyeok* 治疫), lecture on sūtras (*ganggyeong* 講經), feed monks (*banseung* 飯僧), save souls (*cheondo* 薦度), offer penance (*chamhoe* 懺悔), offer food (*sisik* 施食), receive the precepts (*sugye* 受戒), pray for rain (*giu* 祈雨), pray for good weather (*gicheong* 祈晴), and so on.

Chapter 4

Religious Examinations

King Taejo's reign was followed by those of king Hyejong 惠宗 (r. 943–945) and Jeongjong 定宗 (r. 945–949), after which Gwangjong 光宗 (r. 949–975) rose to power. At this time the government enacted the state examination system, encouraging its implementation for the advancement of monks, and this was called *seunggwa* 僧科 (monastic examinations). Although we do not possess detailed records relevant to these exams, we do know that, following the advice of Shuang Ji 雙冀,⁴⁵ the Hanlin academician of Later Zhou 後周 (951–960), the state examination system was implemented in 958 (King Gwangjong 9, fifth month).

Choe Seom 崔暹,⁴⁶ among others, passed the examinations. The monastic examinations were presumably held after the implementation of their civil counterparts. The following evidence suffices to support this point: The “Stone Inscription of Master Won'gong (Jijong) at Geodonsa Temple”⁴⁷ in Wonju (written by Choe Chung 崔沖)⁴⁸ reads, “When Gwangjong ascended the throne,⁴⁹ he revered Buddhism and explained the truth of Snow Mountain (Seollyeong 雪嶺),⁵⁰ displaying supernatural effects in order to seek the Real Buddha of Danxia 丹霞,⁵¹ and implemented the monastic examinations.” Moreover, during King Seonjong's first year in power (1084), monks such as Jeongssang 貞雙 petitioned the throne, claiming, “The monks of the Nine Mountains request that the examinations be held every three years, in line with the civil service examinations.” [Their request] was approved. From this record we can infer that the monk examinations had not always been conducted alongside the civil service examinations, but were instead held irregularly. Only after King Seonjong's 宣宗 reign (1084–1094)

would they be held routinely, in a similar fashion to the civil service examinations.⁵²

The monastic examinations comprised two types: the religious examination (*jongseon* 宗選) and the great examination (*daeseon* 大選).⁵³ The *jongseon* were also called *chongnimseon* 叢林選 (monastery examinations), and were respectively held by each of the Five Doctrinal sects and the Nine Mountains of Seon sects.

The great examinations comprised the great Meditation examination (*Seon jong daeseon* 禪宗大選) and the great examination of the Five Doctrines (*Ogyo daeseon* 五教大選). The great Meditation examination was also called the “Nine Mountains examination” (*Gusan seon* 九山選), and was held at Gwangmyeongsa 廣明寺, in Gaeseong 開城, where the monks of each sect of the Nine Mountains (they would later become two sects: the Cheontae and the Jogye) congregated to hold the examinations.⁵⁴ The great doctrinal examination, also called the “great examination of the Five Doctrines,” was held at Wangnyunsa 王輪寺 Temple in the presence of monks from each of the Five Doctrinal sects.⁵⁵ Successful candidates from each of the Nine Mountains sects sat the Meditation sects’ examinations held at Gwangmyeongsa and received the initial monastic grade of great candidate (*daeseon* 大選).⁵⁶ Afterward, they advanced their careers, becoming great virtuous (*daedeok* 大德), great master (*daesa* 大師), twice-exalted great master (*jungdaesa* 重大師), thrice-exalted great master (*samjung daesa* 三重大師), Seon master (*seonsa* 禪師), and great Seon master (*daeseonsa* 大禪師). Successful candidates from each of the Five Doctrinal sects who could sit the general examinations held at Wangnyunsa also received the initial monastic grade of *daeseon*, and upon advancement were promoted to *daedeok*, *daesa*, *sujwa* 首座 (dean), and *seungtong* 僧統 (monk overseer), based on a fixed ranking system. All monks from either of the Meditation or Doctrinal sects with a rank higher than *samjung daesa* 三重大師 (thrice-exalted great master) held qualifications that rendered them eligible to become royal or national preceptors, and they received an official nomination.⁵⁷

However, special cases also existed, as described in the “Stele

Inscription for Great Seon Master Myo'eung at Gukcheongsa Temple,”⁵⁸ which is where monks who passed the religious examinations were granted the titles of *daedeok* and *daesa*, and were even granted a title greater than *jungdaesa* upon passing the great examinations.

Chapter 5

Choe Seungro's Memorial to the Throne

During the Silla period, temples outnumbered commoners' houses, and monks outnumbered commoners. Every household revered the Buddha, and every individual celebrated the rites. In addition, Goryeo not only inherited this tradition,⁵⁹ but with Doseon's support as well as with King Taejo's Ten Injunctions, all rulers who followed were fervent believers of Buddhism, to the extent that it occasionally drew concern from public officials. In the sixth month of King Seongjong's first year in power (982), following a royal invitation, the Supreme Pillar of State (*sangjuguk* 上柱國) Choe Seungro 崔承老 presented a memorial comprising twenty-eight points,⁶⁰ among which at least nine were related to Buddhism.

To quote, [Article 2]: "I have heard that Your Majesty has organized a food offering for monks (*gongdeokjae* 功德齋), and that You make tea on your own, and You grind millet. Your humble servant is deeply concerned that You may be overstraining Yourself. This evil practice began under King Gwangjong 光宗, when he lent his ear to slanderous talk on massacring scores of innocent people.⁶¹ In order to cleanse bad karma from his past, he squeezed the sweat and blood of the people to hold celebrations of Buddhist rites, at times calling for a dharma assembly for Vairocana penance (*Birojana chambeophoe* 畏盧遮那懺法會), at others offering food to monks in the ball playfield, or celebrating great equality assembly and rite for deliverance of creatures of water and land (*muchasuryukhoe* 無遮水陸會) at Gwibeopsa 歸法寺. On every Buddhist occasion, he offered food to mendicant monks, and provided cakes and fruits from the palace chapel to begging monks. He also set free the fish caught in new ponds at Hyeolgusa 穴口寺 Temple,⁶² Marisan 摩利山 Mountain,⁶³ and other

locations, and four times a year he dispatched messengers to temples throughout the country for them to hold lectures on the sūtras. He forbade the killing of living beings, and had the cooks of the royal kitchen prepare side dishes with meat bought at the market. He had high and low officials and people repent their past deeds and carry cereals, firewood and charcoal, and fodder and grains around the streets as offerings [to the needy]. These initiatives were so many that it is now impossible to relate all of them.

However, he believed in vicious talk and gave no importance to people's lives, killing many, and their corpses piled up as high as a mountain; and he drained the people's sweat and blood, all so that he could celebrate Buddhist rites. If the Buddha were to exhibit a response, would he ever accept such offerings? At the time, sons turned their backs on their fathers, slaves betrayed their masters and disguised themselves mingling with monks, wandering as beggar monks and participating in droves in monastic ceremonies. What is to be gained by all this? I wish that Your Majesty maintains a dignified attitude and does not engage in unprofitable enterprises.”⁶⁴

[Article 4]: “Your Majesty is offering indiscriminately soy sauce and wine, and fermented beans and broth on the streets. I believe that if Your Majesty intends to atone for bad karma by imitating King Gwangjong and offering alms, this is merely a minor type of penance; it is nothing of universal value. If you clearly define rewards and punishments, reprimand evil and encourage good, these acts should suffice for the attainment of happiness. These sorts of trifling acts are not befitting a king. Please cease their practice.”

[Article 6]: “Moneys and cereals of Buddhist funds are managed by individuals dispatched to counties and districts by the monks of various temples, and every year they harass the people with high interest rates, stirring great discontent. I beg your Majesty to forbid such actions.”

[Article 8]: “I've heard that Your Majesty has dispatched a messenger to invite to court the monk Yeocheol 如哲⁶⁵ from Sagulsan.⁶⁶ I am concerned as to whether this monk, in the end, will actually bring any happiness to others. The land that monks inhabit,

even the water they drink, it is all Your Majesty's property. The food they consume from dusk until dawn is also provided by Your Majesty. They should express their gratitude, and hence, hold ceremonies to celebrate you at all times. How could he offer happiness after having been invited through such a painstaking fashion? In the past, a man called Seonhoe 善會 became a monk in order to avoid corvée labor, and he lived on the mountains. King Gwangjong beckoned him with the highest honors. He died a sudden death on the roadside. How could a vile monk who suffered such a disgrace be of any help to anyone? I beg Your Majesty to have Yeocheol return to the mountains, thus avoiding a ridiculous case such as that of Seonhoe."

[Article 10]: "I've heard ... that monks wander about counties and districts, stop and rest at inns and post stations while flogging commoners, and although they scold them for their poor reception and sluggish donations, local officers and the people fear that they might have arrived with royal orders, hence they dare not speak. This is very troublesome. From here on, Your Majesty should forbid monks from passing the night at inns and post stations."

[Article 13]: "In our country, the Lantern Festival is held in the spring, while in the winter we hold the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions. Great scores of people are mobilized and put to work, causing great distress. I hope Your Majesty reduces [its scope], and permits the people to regain their strength."

[Article 16]: "In order to improve their karma, people follow their own will and build Buddhist temples in great numbers. Moreover, monks the world over compete against one another in building new establishments, and coax provincial officials into mobilizing the people to perform the work for them. This, for the people, is a heavier burden than corvée duties, and generates great distress. I beg you to forbid such actions entirely."

[Article 18]: "Copies of the sūtras and sculptures depicting buddhas are intended to disseminate the doctrine, but why are precious materials and treasures employed in order to embellish them, thereby arousing the temptation of thieves? In ancient times,

all sutras were written on yellow paper, and the rollers were composed of sandalwood; the sūtras and images were not composed of gold, silver, copper, or iron, but were of mere stone, mud, and wood, and therefore, no one ever had reason to steal or damage them. However, from the last years of Silla, gold and silver began to be employed for luxurious and immoderate displays, and this brought about ruin, forcing businessmen to steal Buddhist images and destroy them so that they could be sold among themselves for financial gain. This malpractice has not been eradicated even to this day. I beg Your Majesty to forbid [this malpractice], and to do away with this evil.”

[Article 20]: “Belief in Buddhism is not bad in itself, but what are called the merits of the emperor, officials, and the people are not quite one and the same. If commoners exerting their own effort to work hard spend their money, it is of no harm to others, but the emperor uses the people’s efforts and spends their money. In antiquity, Emperor Wu of the Liang (梁武帝, r. 502–549), with his status, wished to cultivate the good way like a commoner. I have heard that people’s good or bad fortune, dignity and lowness, all originate from birth; therefore, one must accept them naturally. Those who revere Buddhism merely sow the seeds of future karma, and it is of little benefit to present life. I feel that this bears no concern to the essential governance of the country. Moreover, all of the three religions possess their own qualities, and the person who follows them should not confuse them and see them as one.⁶⁷ Those who follow Buddhism rest their foundation on cultivating the self, whereas the followers of Confucianism consider governing the country to be of utmost importance. The aim of cultivating the self is to improve the karma of future lives. Governing the country is today’s duty; today is extremely near, and future lives extremely far: Is it not a grave mistake to forsake what is near in order to claim what is far? The king should be of only one mind and [should not] be selfish. He should save everyone, should not force corvée labor upon unwilling people, and should not spend the goods preserved in the reserves in order to seek that which can generate no benefit.”

Chapter 6

Re-exporting the Cheontae

No definite proof exists that the Cheontae (Ch. Tiantai) 天台 was constituted as a sect during the Silla 新羅 period. We addressed it in the chapter on the remaining sects.⁶⁸ Hyeon'gwang 玄光 traveled to China⁶⁹ and studied the “approach of peace and bliss of the wonderful dharma” (*Fahua anle xingmen* 法華安樂行門)⁷⁰ with Huisi 慧思 (515–577),⁷¹ the second patriarch of the Tiantai sect, and obtained the realization of the *samādhi* of the wonderful dharma (*Fahua sanmei* 法華三昧) before returning to Baekje 百濟.⁷² Afterward, Wonhyo 元曉 also extolled the teaching, which was transmitted without interruption to Goryeo.

However, in China, because of the political instability of the Five Dynasties 五代 (907–960), the teaching and books of the sect became increasingly rare, and the Tiantai school was at risk of disappearing. In later times, when it was reintroduced from Goryeo, the school began to flourish once more. When the Wuyue 吳越 king Qian Shu 錢俶⁷³ was reading the *Yongjia ji* 永嘉集,⁷⁴ he came across the words, “uniformly eliminate the four evil passions” (*dongje saju* 同除四柱),⁷⁵ but at the time he failed to comprehend their meaning. He thus inquired National Preceptor Shao 韶,⁷⁶ who responded, “This is a religious expression. You should ask Yiji 義寂 of the Tiantai.” Yiji in turn stated, “This term is from Tiantai Master Zhiyi’s ‘sublimeness of profundity and sublimeness of status’ (*xuanmiao weimiao* 玄妙位妙), but toward the end of the Tang, religious texts were sent abroad, and they are no longer available here.”

The king therefore dispatched a messenger to Goryeo bearing a letter and fifty kinds of precious treasures to request books of the Tiantai doctrine. In the eleventh year of King Gwangjong’s reign (961), Master Jegwan 諦觀⁷⁸ was sent to Wuyue with books of the Cheontae tradition, but he was forbidden from taking the books

Dilun shu 地論疏 (Commentary on the *Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra*), *Renwang shu* 仁王疏 (Commentary on the *Renwang jing*), *Huayan gumu* 華嚴骨目 (Essentials of Hwaeom), and *Wubai men* 五百門 (The Five Hundred Approaches), among others.

The king instructed him, “In China you will pose a few questions; if they cannot provide answers to them, return with the books.” However, after he reached China, Master Luoxi Ji 螺溪寂 (919–987; the fifteenth patriarch of the Tiantai), who had heard of his masterful lecturing skills, sought him out. When they finally met, the master was deeply impressed, honoring him as his own preceptor.

And so, the scriptures of the Tiantai were returned to China. Master Luoxi transmitted the doctrine to Boun 寶雲 (927–988),⁷⁹ who in turn transmitted it to Fazhi 法智. Fazhi expanded it considerably, and at last [we witness] the glory of the “revival of doctrine and meditation of the Tiantai.” Jegwan stayed with Luoxi for ten years, and when he passed away, he did so having assumed a seated posture, and light rays emanated from inside his case. When the monks opened it, they found his book *Cheontae sago-ui* 天台四教儀 (Doctrinal Meaning of the Four Teachings of Cheontae). The text was widely published, and aided significantly in disseminating the new doctrine, in addition to its incorporation into education.

Boun also hailed from Goryeo, and his family name was Yun 尹. His name was Uitong 義通, and his style was Yuwon 惟遠. At home, he dedicated himself to the study of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論). He eventually journeyed to China, where he visited Yunju,⁸⁰ grasping the meaning of Chan. Afterward, he traveled to see Master Luoxi Yiji, and became conversant in Tiantai doctrine, thus becoming the sixteenth patriarch of the sect. He was Jegwan’s elder in the monastery. Two great figures emerged under his tutelage: Fazhi 法智 (960–1028; Zhili 知禮,⁸¹ the seventeenth patriarch) and Ziyun Zunshi 慈雲遵式 (963–1032).⁸² They differentiated the teachings, and the Tiantai flourished substantially, while Boun became renowned as the founder of the revived Tiantai sect.

Chapter 7

The Appearance of Great Monks

1. National Preceptor Beobin

Goryeo absorbed Silla, the fountainhead of Goryeo Buddhism, without having to spill a drop of blood, and thus, the Five Doctrinal sects and the Nine Mountains of Seon did not incur even a slight wound. In fact, following the country's advancements, these sects flourished in an unprecedented fashion, even managing to reintroduce the Cheontae to China. A number of great monks appeared, among whom we quote only the most prominent, including National Preceptor Beobin 法印⁸³, Chief Lecturer Wondo 圓道,⁸⁴ National Preceptor Jeongjin 靜真,⁸⁵ and National Preceptor Daegak 大覺.⁸⁶

National Preceptor Beobin was a great virtuous (*daedeok* 大德) of the Hwaeom sect. His family name was Go 高, his name was Tanmun 坦文, and he was from Gobong 高逢 (Gwangju 廣州, Gyeonggi-do).⁸⁷ He was born on the fourteenth day on the eighth month of the fourth year of Silla king Hyogong (900). At age fifteen, he ventured to Janguisa 藏義寺 Temple⁸⁸ to receive the precepts. The previous night, the preceptor had a dream in which the spirit of a monk appeared before him, and said, “Among the novices who are to receive the precepts, there is one with the character *mun* 文 in his name. He is unique and skilled in the Hwaeom doctrine. How can he bend his body to receive the precepts?” The preceptor thus examined the register and, upon noting the name “Tanmun,” he understood the meaning of the dream. Thus, he called for the novice and, after talking to him, Tanmun received only the “ten precepts of the bodhisattva nature” (*bosal seonggye* 菩薩性戒), but was not ordained

to the full monastic precepts (*gujokgye* 具足戒). From that time on, he would be renowned on the mountains, and his pen name was “Saintly Novice” (Seong sami 聖沙彌), while King Taejo would later refer to him as “Reverend Special” (Byeol hwasang 別和尚).

He resided at Guryongsansa 九龍山寺 Temple (Haemi 海美,⁸⁹ Seosan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do), and when he lectured on the Hwaeom doctrine, miracles would occur (e.g., flocks of birds would revolve in circles, and warrens of rabbits would be seen prostrating on the steps to his room). In the twenty-fifth year of the seventh month of King Taejo’s reign (942), when locust larvae damaged the crops of the Yeom-ju 鹽州⁹⁰ and Bae-ju 白州⁹¹ districts, Tanmun was appointed dharma master (*beopsa* 法師), and he lectured on the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Dabore jing* 大般若經), and celebrated a rite to avert disaster; the pronouncement of a single word sufficed to prevent calamities, and a bountiful year followed. In the tenth month of the fourteenth year of King Gwangjong (963), Prime Minister Gim Juneom 金遵巖 and others proposed that he be bestowed with the honorific title, “Royal Preceptor, Promoter of the Way to Enlightenment, Thrice Exalted Dharma Master” (Wangsa Hongdo samjung daesa 王師弘道三重大師).⁹² The following day, King Gwangjong paid him a personal visit and appointed him royal preceptor.

In the first month of the twenty-sixth year of King Gwangjong’s reign (975), Beobin requested that he be allowed to return to his former temple, Bowonsa 普願寺,⁹³ on Gayasan 遺耶山 Mountain. The king adorned him with a robe composed of purple silk, a monk’s hat and silk boots, tea leaves, incense, and other goods, and ordered the monastic assessors (*seungyu* 僧惟) Hyeyun 惠允, Wonbo 元甫, and Chaehyeon 蔡玄 to accompany him. King Gwangjong, at the head of all court officials, held a farewell celebration for him on the eastern outskirts of the capital.

Master Tanmun died after returning to the temple, on the nineteenth day of the third month. He had been a monk for sixty-one years. His posthumous title is Beobin, and the name of his stūpa is Precious Vehicle (Boseung 寶乘).

2. Dean Wontong⁹⁴

National Preceptor Wontong 圓通 was Beobin's contemporary, and a most prominent monk of the Hwaeom sect (華嚴宗). His family name was Byeon 邊, his dharma name was Gyunyeo 均如, and he hailed from Hwangju.⁹⁵ His mother became pregnant at sixty years of age, and he was born after seven months, on the eighth day of the eighth month of King Taejo's sixth year in power (923). He was so ugly that his parents grew to dislike him and abandoned him on the streets, but two birds came to shelter him with their wings. Filled with regret at having abandoned him, his parents ultimately chose to raise him again, but kept him inside a box. Only a few months later, they showed him to the fellow villagers.

As an orphan, at fifteen he followed his cousin, Reverend Seon'gyun 善均, and studied under the guidance of the monk Sikhyeon 識賢, of Bokheungsa 復興寺 Temple.⁹⁶ At the time, Uisun 義順, while residing at Yeongtongsa 靈通寺 Temple,⁹⁷ received willingly questions from guests, and every evening Gyunyeo would take advantage of Sikhyeon's sleeptime to sneak off to the temple in order to pose more questions, and then returned to the room to offer food to Sikhyeon.⁹⁸ Eventually, Sikhyeon permitted his attendance of Uisun's lectures.

From that time on, he expanded and deepened his knowledge of the sutras and visited Uisun, perfecting his understanding of the principle of emptiness and penetrating with his wisdom the principles of the doctrine. Gyunyeo resided for a long while at Gaetaesa 開泰寺 Temple⁹⁹ in Yeonsan 連山, at Gwibeopsa 歸法寺 Temple¹⁰⁰ in Gaegyeong, as well as at Beopsusa 法水寺 Temple¹⁰¹ in Hapcheon 陜川, and, upon receiving King Gwangjong's recognition, he propagated the Hwaeom doctrine.¹⁰² From Silla times, the Hwaeom school splintered into two streams—the Southern Mountain school of Gwanhye 觀惠¹⁰³ and the Northern Mountain school of Huirang 希郎¹⁰⁴—which were at odds with each other, but Gyunyeo reunified these two streams into a single school, ensuring a genuine revival of the Hwaeom sect, and thus, he can rightfully be

called the patriarch of the revival of the sect.¹⁰⁵

Gyunyeo was highly proficient in writing *sanoe* 詞腦,¹⁰⁶ and as a champion of the Ten Vows of Samantabhadra,¹⁰⁷ he wrote eleven *hyangga* 鄉歌 (country songs),¹⁰⁸ which became widely popular throughout the country, and even today it is of utmost importance to those who study the ancient Korean language. Further, he wrote the *Suhyeon banggwe-gi* 搜玄方軌記¹⁰⁹ in ten chapters, the *Gongmokjang-gi* 孔目章記¹¹⁰ in eight, the *Osip yomundap-gi* 五十要問答記¹¹¹ in four, the *Tamhyeongi-seok* 探玄記釋¹¹² in twenty-eight chapters, the *Gyobun'gi-seok* 教分記釋¹¹³ in seven, the *Jigwijang-gi* 旨歸章記¹¹⁴ in two, the *Sambojang-gi* 三寶章記¹¹⁵ in two as well, the *Beopgyedo-gi* 法界圖記¹¹⁶ in two, and the *Sipgujang-gi* 十句章記¹¹⁷ and the *Ipbeopgyepum cho-gi* 立法界品抄記,¹¹⁸ both as single texts.¹¹⁹

In the twenty-fourth year of King Gwangjong (973), the magistrate of Gimhae 金海 sent the following memorial to the king, “On the seventeenth day of the sixth month, a monk strange in appearance and adorning a hat composed of pine branches came ashore, and when we inquired after his name, he declared that he was Vipaśyin,¹²⁰ and that he had a special relationship with the country because he had been here five-hundred eons ago. He lamented that although the Three Han were unified, Buddhism had yet to flourish. Therefore, in order to restore his age-old connection, he would reside at the foot of Songaksan 松嶽山 Mountain for a time and, calling himself Yeo 如, he would propagate the Law. He voiced his intention to cross over to Japan, and while saying so, disappeared.” The king thought this strange, and after careful consideration of the dates, he realized that the day of his disappearance fell on the same day of Gyunyeo’s passing.¹²¹

3. National Preceptor Wonyung

After Beobin and Gyunyeo, among the most brilliant of the Hwaeom monks is National Preceptor Wonyung 圓融.¹²² His

name was Gyeoreung 決凝, and his family name was Gim 金. He hailed from Myeongju 濟州,¹²³ and he was born in the fifteenth year of King Gwangjong's reign (964). At age twelve, he became a novice at Yongheungsa 龍興寺 Temple under the guidance of Dean Gwanggoeng 廣宏, who had dreamed of encountering a monk of great virtue named Gyeoreon 決言 from Silla, with a pipe (wind instrument) in his possession. After talking to him, he realized that the monk was Gyeoreung 決凝. Thereafter, Wonyung adopted the name "Gyeoreung."

Before embracing the saṅgha, he visited Gusansa 龜山寺 Temple¹²⁴ in a dream, where a strange-looking man said to him, "In your heart, there are two mirrors: one is the sun; the other, the moon." He then laid his chest bare, and a light came shooting forth, illuminating the mountains and fields. He thus was called Hyeil 慧日. At age twenty-eight, he sat the monastic examinations and became a monk of great virtuous (*daedeok* 大德). King Mokjong 穆宗 (r. 997–1009) promoted him to great master (*daesa* 大師), and under King Hyeonjong 顯宗 (r. 1009–1031) he became a dean (*sujwa* 首座), and King Jeongjong 靖宗 (r. 1034–1046) granted him the title of monk overseer (*seungtong* 僧統).

Earlier, he happened to visit the royal palace to lecture on the sūtras and, when he was passing by Sungseonsa 崇善寺 Temple, on the western side of the mountain, a monk of the cloister¹²⁵ said to him, "In a night dream, Maitreya appeared before me, and said, 'Should you spot my friend passing by tomorrow, you should revere and welcome him.' So, today you are the only person who has come by. You are undoubtedly a person with complete attainment." Having set foot in the capital, he stayed at the house of Vice Minister (*sirang* 侍郎) Gang Eon 姜彦. In the evening, Gang Eon was standing in the garden when he caught the clear voice of the master chanting the sutras. However, when he entered the room, he was startled to find the master snoring. He thought it odd and returned to the garden, only to hear the reading of the sutra once more. In his sleep, the master always appeared to be immersed in deep Hwaeom samādhi.

In the seventh year of King Jeongjong's 靖宗 reign (1011), the king

wanted to promote him to royal preceptor, but despite the decree being issued three times, the master refused at every turn. Finally, the king paid him a personal visit at Bongeunsa 奉恩寺 Temple and lifted his robe. That same year, Gyeoreung returned to Buseoksa 浮石寺 and passed away. His posthumous name is Wonyung.

4. National Preceptor Wonjong

National preceptor Wonjong 元宗¹²⁶ was a monk of high virtue of the Bongnimsan sect (鳳林山門), from Godalwon 高達院 Cloister, on Hyemoksan 慧目山 Mountain, Gwangju. His name was Chanyu 璞幽, and his courtesy name was Dogwang 道光. His family name was Gim 金, and he was from Hanam, Gyerim (Gyeongju). He was born in the first year of the reign of King Gyeongmun of Silla (869), on the fourth day of the fourth month. At age thirteen, he became a monk at Samnangsa 三郎寺 Temple, on Gongsan 公山 Mountain,¹²⁷ and intended to become a disciple of the Seon Master Yungje 融諦. Master Yungje told him, “In the future, you will be a dragon. Meditation Master Simhui 審希 of our sect is a buddha in this world. He resides on Hyemoksan. Go there and serve him.”

Chanyu traveled there to see Simhui, and became flawlessly learned in the deepest principles of the doctrine. In the sixth year of Queen Jinseong (892), he boarded a boat and traveled west to Tang China to study under the Reverend Datong 大同,¹²⁸ receiving from him the seal of the Buddha's mind. He returned in the fourth year of King Taejo (921) and resided at Hyemoksan. King Taejo gifted him a monk's ragged robe and sitting cushions, and his successor, King Hyejong 惠宗, offered him tea, perfumes, and a monk's robe. King Jeongjong 靖宗 also provided him with a monk's robe, and conferred him the title of Great Master Jeungjin 證眞, summoned him to court, and bestowed upon him the title of national preceptor, gifting him robes and cushions, a silver bottle, silver incense burners, a gold gong, a ceramic bowl, and a crystal rosary. He passed away in the

eighth month of the ninth year of Gwangjong (958), at age ninety, having served as a monk for sixty-nine years. His posthumous name is Wonjong, and the name of his stūpa is Hyejin 慧眞.

5. National Preceptor Jeongjin

Master Jeongjin 靜眞¹²⁹ is a direct heir of the lineage of the founding patriarch of the Huiyangsan sect (曦陽山門), National Preceptor Doheon 道憲.¹³⁰ His name as a monk was Geungyang 耄讓, and his family name was Wang 王. From Gongju 公州, he was born in the fourth year of Silla king Heon'gang's 憲康 reign (878), and became a monk under the tutelage of master Yeohae 如解 of Namhyeolwon 南穴院 Cloister, in Gongju,¹³¹ inheriting the line of master Yangbu 楊浮 of Seohyeolwon 西穴院 Cloister.

In the second year of King Hyogong 孝恭 (898), he traveled to Tang China and gained recognition from master Gushan Daoyuan 谷山道緣. He returned in the first year of reign of the Silla king Gyeong'ae 景哀 (924) and resided at Baegamsa 白巖寺 Temple (Chogye 草溪),¹³² in Gangju 康州.¹³³ The king dispatched a messenger and granted him the title of Great Master Bongjong 奉宗. In Goryeo, he was greatly revered by the three kings Taejo, Hyejong, and Jeongjong, and when King Gwangjong ascended the throne, he had him moved from Huiyangsan, in Mun'gyeong-gun,¹³⁴ to Sanasa 舍那寺 Temple,¹³⁵ in Yanggeun 陽根 (Yangpyeong 楊平).¹³⁶ The king visited him at the helm of all civil officials, the nobility, and high-ranking monastic authorities (*seunggwan* 僧官) at court, and bestowed upon him the title of Great Master Jin'gong 真空.

In the fall of the fourth year (953), Jeongjin returned to Huiyangsan and passed away on the nineteenth day, in the eighth month of the seventh year of King Gwangjong (956). He had been a monk for sixty years. The announcement of his death moved the king deeply, who dispatched a messenger to express his condolences, bestowing upon Geungyang the posthumous name of Jeongjin, and he called

his stūpa Wono 圓悟. The king also composed a panegyric by hand, written on the portrait of the monk before it was sent to the temple. The popularity of the Huiyangsan sect increased considerably thanks to Master Jeongjin.

6. National Preceptor Won'gong

Master Won'gong 圓空¹³⁷ is another great figure of the Huiyangsan sect. His monk name was Jijong 智宗 and his courtesy name was Sincheuk 神則. His family name was Yi 李 and he was from Jeonju 全州. He was born in the thirteenth year of King Taejo (930). At only eight years of age, he requested an audience with the Indian monk Śri Vajra (Kor. Jillibuilla 喪哩囉日囉, Trepitaka Hongbeom [弘梵三藏])¹³⁸ from Magadha's Mahādharmacakrabodhi Temple (大法輪菩提寺), who had just arrived on his visit to Sanasa, and thus began Won'gong's monastic life. However, the Indian master left within the year to return to Central India. Jijong 智宗 could not follow him, and after studying under the guidance of Gyeongcheol 景哲 at Gwanghwasa 廣化寺 Temple, in the fourth year of King Gwangjong (953) he continued his studies with Seon Master Cho 超¹³⁹ at Huiyangsan. When King Gwangjong enacted the religious examinations,¹⁴⁰ he entered the discussion grounds and gained a permanent upper hand, eventually becoming unmatchable in the study of the principles of reality. Later that same year, he traveled to China.

In a dream, he saw Great Master Jeungjin 證眞 (National Preceptor Wonjong) saying, “If you do not climb the mountain, how can you understand that the country of Lu 魯 is small?¹⁴¹ If you do not see the sea, how can you comprehend that the Yellow River is narrow? Such being the order of things, you had better go.” And so, he traveled to China and studied under Chan Master Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975),¹⁴² receiving from him the mind seal (*simin* 心印). He then ventured to Guoqing Temple (國清寺)¹⁴³ and studied the Tiantai doctrine under Great Master Jingguang 淨光.¹⁴⁴ Afterward,

he would teach the *Dadinghui lun* 大定慧論¹⁴⁵ and the *Lotus Sūtra*¹⁴⁶ at the Chuanjiao yuan 傳教院 Cloister.¹⁴⁷ However, Master Jeungjin appeared again in a dream and told him, “You’ve succeeded in your purpose. Why don’t you go back?” In another dream, he saw a precious stūpa extending toward the sky, and when he tied a rope to it, due to his pull, the stūpa moved accordingly. Afterward, he returned to his home country.

He went back to Goryeo, and King Gwangjong (r. 949–975) requested that he reside at Geumgwang seonwon 金光禪院 Cloister, granting him the title of twice-exalted great master (*jungdaesa* 重大師) and gifting him a monk’s set of robes. Moreover, his successor King Gyeongjong 景宗 (r. 975–981) appointed him thrice-exalted great master (*samjung daesa* 三重大師), presenting him with a crystal rosary. King Seongjong 成宗 (r. 981–997) awarded him the title of “Hyewol” 慧月 (Moon of Wisdom),¹⁴⁸ whereas King Mokjong 穆宗 (r. 997–1009) granted him the title of “Gwangcheon Pyeonjo”¹⁴⁹ Jigak jijeok¹⁵⁰ Wonmuk Seonsa” 光天遍照至覺智積圓默禪師, also presenting him with an embroidered coat.¹⁵¹ King Hyeonjong 顯宗 (r. 1009–1031) appointed him great Seon master (*daeseonsa* 大禪師), and gave him the religious name “Jeogyeon” 寂然 (Quiescence).¹⁵² He later appointed him royal preceptor and gave him the pseudonym “Bohwa” 普化 (Universal Transformation). He passed away in the fourth month of the ninth year of King Hyeonjong (1018) at Geodonsa 居頓寺 Temple, Hyeon’gyesan 賢溪山 Mountain,¹⁵³ Wonju, at eighty-nine years of age. He had been a monk for seventy-two years.¹⁵⁴

7. Great Master Gwangja and Others

Another great monk hailed from the Dongnisan sect (桐裏山門), and this is Great Master Gwangja 廣慈. His name was Yunda 允多, his courtesy name was Beopsin 法信, and his family name was Bak 朴. He was from Gyeongju, where he was born in the fourth month of the fourth year of King Gyeongmun 景文 (r. 861–875). At age eight, he

became a novice at Dongnisan and was a second-generation disciple of Hyecheol 慧徹. His stone inscription is damaged, and it is difficult to ascertain the main features of his life; however, it is certain that he became a patriarch of the sect. He passed away in the second year of King Hyejong 惠宗 (945) at the ripe age of eighty-two years, sixty-six of which he had served as a monk. His posthumous name is Gwangja 廣慈. Aside from him, Great Master Jinjeong 眞定 from Dansoksa 斷俗寺 Temple (Danseong, present-day Jinju), Great Master Tongil 通一 from Gagyeonsa 覺淵寺 Temple (Yeopnung), and Great Master Hongbeop 弘法 from Jeongtosa 淨土寺 Temple (Chungju) are important monks of the Meditation school.

8. National Preceptor Hyeso

National Preceptor Hyeso 慧炤¹⁵⁵ is a central figure of the Beopsang sect (法相宗). His religious name was Jeonghyeon 鼎賢, and his family name was Yi 李. He was born in the twenty-third year of King Gwangjong (972), and studied under Great Master Chunghoe 忠會 of Gwanggyosa 光教寺 Temple. At age thirteen, he said to himself, “The *upāya-kausalya* is of utmost importance, but regarding a combined understanding of ‘nature’ (*seong* 性) and ‘characteristics’ (*sang* 相), nothing compares to the seventeen stages of the Yogācāra¹⁵⁶ school.” Afterward, he began to study under Great Master Yungcheol 融哲¹⁵⁷ of Chiljangsa 七長寺.¹⁵⁸

In the second year of King Seongjong (983), he sat for the general examination of the five doctrines at Mireuksa 彌勒寺 Temple, resulting in his promotion. King Mokjong (r. 997–1008) granted him the title of great master (*daesa* 大師), and King Hyeonjong (r. 1009–1031) gifted him a hemp cloth and bestowed upon him the title of dean (*sujwa* 首座). King Deokjong 德宗 (r. 1031–1034) transferred him to Beopcheonsa 法泉寺 Temple¹⁵⁹ (Wonju). Afterward, King Jeongjong 靖宗 (r. 1034–1046) had him reside at Hyeonhwasa 玄化寺 Temple¹⁶⁰ (Gaegyeong) and offered him an embroidered monk’s robe.

In the second year of King Munjong's reign (1049), he was awarded the title of royal preceptor, and in the eighth year (1054) he was granted the title of national preceptor. He passed away that year at age eighty-three, having served as a monk for seventy-four years. His posthumous name is Hyeso.

9. National Preceptor Jigwang

National preceptor Jigwang 智光,¹⁶¹ from Beopcheonsa, in Wonju 原州, is another great master of the Beopsang sect. His religious name was Haerin 海麟. His courtesy name was Georyong 巨龍, and his family name was Won 元. He was born at Wonju in the third year of King Seongjong (984), and he studied under great virtuous Gwanung 寬雄 at Beopgosa 法臯寺 Temple. When Gwanung moved to Hae'ansa 海安寺 Temple,¹⁶² in Gaegyeong, he followed his master on the long trip to further his studies, and then he embraced monastic life.

He was able to understand one-thousand things upon hearing just a single word. Gwanung found contentment in this, and called him Haerin 海麟. At age sixteen, he received the precepts,¹⁶³ and two years later he was appointed to his first post. He dreamed that he was catching small fish on the beach and was swallowing them. Upon wakening, he analyzed his dream and thought, “The fish have scales (*rin* 鱗),” and thus changed his name to “Haerin 海麟” (Sea Scales). However, as a courtesy name he adopted “Georyong 巨龍” (Great Dragon). At twenty-one years of age, he ventured to Wangnyunsa 王輪寺 Temple to sit the monastic examinations, and he became a great virtuous (*daedeok* 大德), again changing his name to “Haerin 海麟” (Sea Kirin)

At first, King Seongjong granted him the title of Gangjin Hongdo 講真弘道, whereas King Hyeonjong called him “Myeongryo Dono 明了頓悟” (Sudden Awakening of Bright Clarity) before promoting him to twice-exalted great master (*jungdaesa* 重大師), bestowing upon him the title Gyejeong Gomyo Jin'gak 戒正高妙真覺 (Upright of Precepts

High and Subtle Real Awakening). Soon afterward, he appointed him thrice-exalted great master (*samjung daesa* 三重大師), offering him a monk's robe and further bestowing upon him the title of Tamhyeon Dowon 探玄道源 (Searching the Mysteries, Origin of the Way to Enlightenment).

King Hyeonjong then appointed him dean (*sujwa* 首座) and also offered him a case of monk robes, later awarding him the title of Tongje Yeono Beopdong 通濟淵奧法棟. At thirty-eight years of age, he was royally appointed monastic recorder (*seungnok* 僧錄) and received the title Guhaeng Yoseong Dosu 具行了性導首. At age seventy-three, King Jeongjong 靖宗 appointed him royal preceptor, granting him the monastic title of Yungso 融炤. At age seventy-five, he was promoted to national preceptor and received the religious title of Myeongcheol 明徹. In the tenth month of the twenty-first year of King Munjong's reign (1067), he passed away at Beopcheonsa at the advanced age of eighty-seven. He had been a monk for seventy-three years. His posthumous name is Jigwang 智光, and his funerary stūpa is called Hyeonmyo 玄妙.¹⁶⁴ The king made donations of incense, tea, oil, and candles, and opened the granary of Wonju to facilitate the dissemination of the faith.

Chapter 8

Princes Embracing Monkhood and National Preceptor Daegak

Because the country's entire population believed in Buddhism, religious fortunes soared, many great monks emerged, and monks' social standing and prestige increased in general. At the time, not only commoners but also princes and the scions of nobility became monks.¹⁶⁵

Here we mention princes-turned-monks, starting with the fifth son of King Taejo, national preceptor Jeungtong 證通,¹⁶⁶ the fourth son of King Munjong 文宗, Hu 焱, known as Monk Overseer Use 祐世, the abbot of Yeongtongsa 靈通寺 Temple of the Hwaeom sect, posthumously appointed National Preceptor Daegak 大覺; the sixth son of King Munjong, Taeng 窺, who became Monk Overseer Dosaeng 道生 and resided at Hyeonhwasa 玄化寺, of the Beopsang sect; the tenth son, Gyeong 璸, who became Dean Chonghye 聰慧; the third son of King Sukjong, Jingeom 澄儼, also known as National Preceptor Wonmyeong 圓明; ¹⁶⁷ the fourth son of King Injong Chunghui 沖曦 (Hyeonhui 玄曦),¹⁶⁸ who was none other than Monk Overseer Jeungse 振世 of Heungwangsa 興王寺 Temple; National Preceptor Won'gyeong 元景, the fourth son of King Huijong; National Preceptor Gyeongji 鏡智;¹⁶⁹ and the fifth son, National Preceptor Chungmyeong 沖明,¹⁷⁰ who were the most prominent monks of those times. However, among them, the most prominent as well as one of the most exemplary of the entire Goryeo period is National Preceptor Daegak 大覺, whose life and works are introduced as follows.¹⁷¹

The first name of National Preceptor Daegak was Hu 焱, and his courtesy name was Uicheon 義天. Later on, in order to avoid the name of the Song emperor Zhezong 哲宗 (r. 1085–1100), he would rely chiefly on his courtesy name. His mother, Queen Dowager Inye 仁睿

of the Inju Yi family,¹⁷² had dreamed of a dragon entering her bosom, after which she was with child. Uicheon was born on the twenty-eighth day of the ninth month in the ninth year of King Munjong (1055). One day, the king called on the princes and inquired, “Who wishes to embrace the sangha and become a field of merit?” Uicheon rose to speak: “I await only Your Majesty’s command to fulfill my intention of embracing the sangha.”

Afterward, the great virtuous of Hwaeom, Royal Preceptor Gyeongdeok 景德 (Master Nanwon 爛圓)¹⁷³ was summoned to court and, after a haircutting ceremony, Prince Hu followed master Gyeongdeok to Yeongtongsa 靈通寺 Temple. This took place on the fourteenth day of the fifth month in the nineteenth year of King Munjong’s reign (1065), when Uicheon was just eleven years of age. In the eleventh month of that same year, he received the monastic precepts at the altar of Burilsa 佛日寺 Temple. Afterward, he concentrated on the study of the Hwaeom doctrine and meditation, learning widely from the sutras, the monastic rules and commentaries of the Small and Great Vehicles, and spending the remainder of his time researching Confucianism, Daoism, and the histories and doctrines of the hundred schools. Even the eldest of masters would find impressive his discussions on points pertaining to doctrine.

In the seventh month, twenty-second year of King Munjong’s reign, he was granted the title Monk Overseer Use 祐世, and in the first month of the second year of King Seonjong 宣宗 (1085), he submitted a request to travel to Song China. King Seonjong consulted his ministers, who counseled, “A person occupying a high position such as the brother of the ruling king cannot be allowed to cross the sea,” to which Uicheon, addressing the king and the court, responded, “The divine sages of the past did not care after themselves in order to follow the Way. In fact, Xuanzang journeyed to India, and Uisang voyaged to China. How could I ever spend [my time] at rest without striving to seek out a master? This was not the reason I embraced the monastic order.” The sincerity of his own words brought him to tears. King Seonjong, albeit deeply moved

and, despite wishing to grant him permission, could not do so in the face of considerable opposition from his own ministers. In the fourth month of the following year, he left a farewell note to the king and his empress mother. Leading Sugae 壽介 and other disciples, he ventured to Jeongju 貞州¹⁷⁴ donning commoner clothing, where he boarded a merchant ship; a month would pass before he reached Song China.

[As he arrived], he wrote a memorial to the emperor explaining the reason for his trip, and Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067–1085) sent Vice Director of the Bureau of Receptions Su Zhuting 蘇注廷 to accompany him. He was received in the seventh month at Chuigong Hall (垂拱殿), and was granted all the honors befitting a state guest. He posed questions pertaining to doctrine to Dharma Master Youcheng 有誠,¹⁷⁵ who at the time was recommended by the Buddhist registry (*liangjie* 兩街). He then paid his respects as a disciple to Master Jingyuan 淨源¹⁷⁶ of Hangzhou's Dazhongfu Temple (大中祥符寺).

When Jingyuan moved his courses to Huiyin Cloister (慧因院) on South Mountain, Uicheon made a financial donation for the reconstruction of the temple, and this is Gaoli Temple (高麗寺, Goryeo Temple).¹⁷⁷ He later learned the Tiantai doctrine and practice from Master Cibian 慈辯¹⁷⁸ and entered Mountain Tiantai (天台山), where he expressed his vow in front of the stūpa of master Zhiyi 智顥. He then arrived at Zhenru Temple (真如寺) in Xiuzhou 秀州, where he prepared a donation for the restoration of the damaged stūpa of Master Xuan 璞,¹⁷⁹ the commentator of the *Śūramgama-sūtra* (*Lengyan jing* 楠嚴經).

He returned to Goryeo in the fifth month of the fourth year of King Seonjong's reign 宣宗 (r. 1083–1094). He had spent fourteen months in China, having visited famous mountains, vistas, and religious sites throughout the former Wuyue 吳越 kingdom area, and having met over fifty great monks with whom he discussed points of doctrine. Among the monks he met were Foyin Liaoyuan 佛印了元 (1032–1098);¹⁸⁰ Dajue Huailian 大覺懷璉,¹⁸¹ Mingjiao Qisong 明教契嵩 (1007–1072); Zeqi 擇其 and Yuanzhao 元照 (1048–1116) of the Vinaya

school; and Tianjixiang 天吉祥,¹⁸² a specialist in Sanskrit studies,¹⁸³ Shaode 紹德, and others.

Among the most eminent figures was Vice Director of the Bureau of Receptions (*zhuke yuanwailang* 主客員外郎) Yang Jie 楊傑, who dedicated a poem to Uicheon, which reads, “Earlier I heard that Xuanzang 玄藏, master of the three baskets (*sanzang* 三藏, Skt. *tripitaka*), as a son of the king of the Law, transmitted the great Yogācāra teaching, for which he held lectures at Ci'en Temple (慈恩寺). I have also heard of the elder of Buseoksa, who in Silla they call great master, studied Huayan in the Tang before returning to Silla, where he upheld [monastic] discipline. They became learned in both the Huayan and the Yogācāra, but were unable to secure ideal results. Who has ever been able to gauge the profoundest meaning of the five schools akin to the degree achieved by Master Use?” after which he commented, “The court has kindly permitted you, Monk Overseer, to pose questions [of doctrine], so that in the span of a year you have mastered the Huayan doctrine, the tenets of the Yogācāra, the dharma of the Chan, the vinaya of the South Mountain, and the doctrine of the Tiantai; there is nothing for which you have not grasped the profoundest meaning.”¹⁸⁴

Upon returning to Goryeo, he established the Office for Printing the Sūtras (Gyojang dogam 教藏都監), and he published more than four-thousand books he had obtained from China, the Khitan, and Japan.¹⁸⁵ In the eleventh year of King Seonjong (1094), he directed Hongwonsa 洪圓寺 Temple,¹⁸⁶ before retiring in the fifth month to Haeinsa 海印寺 (Hapcheon 陜川).¹⁸⁷ In the fifth month of the second year of King Sukjong 肅宗 (1097), he established Gukcheongsa 國清寺 Temple, which became the base of the Cheontae sect (天台宗). In the fifth month of the sixth year of King Sukjong’s reign (1101), he passed away at forty-seven years of age, having been a monk for thirty-six years. His posthumous title is Daegak 大覺 (Great Awakening).

Chapter 9

Founding of the Cheontae Sect

The Tiantai school was founded by Meditation Master Huiwen 慧文 of Northern Qi 北齊 (550–577). Propagation continued under Meditation Master Nanyue Huisi 南嶽慧思 (515–577), and in turn under Great Master Zhiyi 智者, who resided for a lengthy period on the mountain that, thanks to him, gave its name to the sect, Mountain Tiantai.

When King Taejo founded Goryeo, four great masters, among whom was Neunggeung 能競, followed the army and presented a memorial that read, “We heard that in Tang China they have the *Lotus Sūtra*, which unites the three vehicles into one, and Meditation Master Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顥 engages in the meditational practice of “the threefold contemplation in one thought” (*ilsim samgwan* 一心三觀), akin to the sage king who united the Three Han (三韓) into one country, amalgamating their customs. If this faith gains popular support in our country, your descendants will prosper, the royal line will last longer, and [the country will be] as one family.”¹⁸⁸ From this we infer that the Cheontae had remained in relative obscurity until that time.

The inscription of the founder of Korean Cheontae [Uicheon] (written by Im Jon 林存) at Seonbongsa 儊鳳寺 Temple, Namsungsan Mountain 南嵩山, reads: “In our country, in the beginning, a person called Jegwan 諦觀 obtained the Cheontae teaching, but its transmission was interrupted,¹⁸⁹ and although its beginning is marked with individuals such as Jegwan and Jijong 智宗, it was never founded [as a sect] in our country, and hence, its students have long disappeared.”

This shows that although the Cheontae faith was transmitted,

a sect had never been founded. Moreover, the inaugural discourse of the courses held at Gukcheongsa, written by Uicheon 義天 himself, reads, “In the distant past, in our country, the dharma was transmitted more than seven-hundred years ago, and although the various creeds rivaled one another, and diverse sects coexisted, only the Cheontae never had a chance to prosper. In antiquity, the Bodhisattva Wonhyo 元曉 enhanced its prestige, and Jegwan 諦觀 would promote it further. By coincidence, this tradition did not reach maturity, nor did it ever hold a prominent position in the country’s religious circles. Therefore, it did not gain popularity and had to lie in wait, as it is doing now.”

This quote suggests that soon after its founding, its transmission was interrupted. Moreover, when Uicheon traveled to Song China in search of the dharma, vice director Yang Jie 楊傑 of the Bureau of Receptions said, “As you, monk overseer, arrived in China, in a single moment you received the teachings of the Tiantai and the Huayan, of the Yogācāra, of the Vinaya, of the Chan, and the Sanskrit of India. Of the various doctrines, there is not one that you did not show interest in, and you regarded this as your duty. Concerning the Huayan and the Tiantai, this was your destiny.”¹⁹⁰

Before departing for China, Uicheon met with his queen dowager mother and happened to say: “The meditation of the Cheontae is the highest vehicle. In this land, the sect has not yet been established, and this is lamentable. I have a personal objective.” Both of these facts show that although the Hwaeom was his original creed, Uicheon found it a pity that the Cheontae had not been established in Goryeo as a sect; thus, he thoroughly studied the doctrines of both schools.

After his return, in the fifth month of the second year of King Sukjong 肅宗 (1097), he founded Gukcheongsa in Gaegyeong, and as the first abbot, he inaugurated courses on the Cheontae doctrine, thus setting the stage for the Cheontae to prosper in Goryeo. Twelve years later, on the fifth month of the fourth year of King Yejong 睿宗 (1109), the court inaugurated the general examinations of the

Cheontae, thereby establishing the Cheontae as a sect alongside the other sects and giving it official recognition, which meant that it would enjoy equal footing with the other sects.

Therefore, Uicheon is the founder of the Cheontae sect in Korea, and hundreds of disciples hailed from his school, including Deongnin 德麟, Ikjong 翼宗, Gyeongnan 景爛, and Yeonmyo 連妙, who transmitted the doctrine. They had originally been great monks of the Nine Mountains of Seon (Gusan Seonmun 九山禪門), but when Uicheon started gathering scholars for the Cheontae, they approached him, each overseeing several hundred disciples of their own.¹⁹¹ This sect had its base at Gukcheongsa, but other temples were located on Namsungsan 南嵩山 (Indong 仁同¹⁹² Geumosan 金烏山 Mountain),¹⁹³ on Buksungsan 北嵩山 Mountain (Suyangsan 首陽山 Mountain, Haeju 海州), and others, totaling six mountains, respectively representing the six main streams of the Cheontae sect.

Chapter 10

Five Schools and Two Meditation Sects

As mentioned, Uicheon's considerable influence on Goryeo Buddhism was due to his founding of the Cheontae, in addition to the publication of the *Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 (Comprehensive Catalog of the Newly Published Canon of Doctrinal Teachings of All the Sects). However, its founding caused a great stir in Buddhist circles because prior to its establishment, there were Five schools (Ogyo 五教) and Nine Mountains (Gusan 九山, the Nine Mountains being the Meditation sects; so if we add them up we have a total of six sects). However, after its founding appeared the expression, “Five Doctrinal schools and Two Meditation sects.” (Thus, a tally would result in seven sects.) The Tiantai secured its place in China also as a Meditation sect, while all of its monks held the title of meditation master (*chanshi* 禪師).

Further, in Goryeo, the Cheontae was recognized as a Meditation sect. When Uicheon commenced his lectures on the Cheontae doctrine, he gathered his disciples from the Meditation sects of the Nine Mountains. In fact, the Nine Mountains of Meditation sects, as inheritors of the meditation tradition, had been the only ones to use the “Meditation school” nomenclature, but when the Cheontae secured equal footing, the designation came to encompass the Cheontae as well; therefore, the designation “Nine Mountains” was dropped, and the expression “Two Meditation schools” became standardized instead. In other words, the appellation “Nine Mountains” continued to be employed only within the meditation community, so that they could distinguish between their sectarian affiliations. However, for outside use, when referencing themselves, they could not avoid including the Cheontae among the Meditation

schools, and hence used the term, “Two Meditation sects.”

When the Nine Mountains of Meditation sects were alone in using the Meditation denomination, none presented a challenge to the name, but after the founding of the Cheontae, the Meditation school came to refer to the combined grouping of the Nine Mountains of Meditation sects and the Cheontae, and thus, the Nine Mountains of Meditation sects became relatively constrained in their sphere of influence, and discovered certain limitations in their exerting influence, whereas the Tiantai adopted the name of the mountain on which Meditation Master Zhiyi used to reside. Therefore, the Nine Mountains likewise adopted the name of the mountain on which the sixth patriarch, Huineng 慧能, used to live, thus calling themselves Jogye (Ch. Caoxi) 曹溪; this is the reason the two denominations of the Cheontae and Jogye came to be used to indicate the Meditation schools.

Therefore, these adjustments not only effectuated a change in number, but also implied alterations to the Five Doctrinal sects. In fact, before the founding of the Cheontae, the Five Doctrinal sects were the Wonyung 圓融, Beopsang 法相, Beopseong 法性, Gyeyul 戒律, and Yeolban 涅槃. Afterward, their names changed to Hwaeom 華嚴, Ja'eun 慈恩, Jungdo 中道, Namsan 南山, and Siheung 始興, respectively. In fact, the Hwaeom adopted the name of the sūtra, Jungdo that of its doctrine, Ja'eun the name of the temple, and finally, Namsan and Siheung adopted the names of their respective mountains. This is perhaps an imitation of the selection of names conducted by the Two Meditation sects.

Regardless, Goryeo Buddhism underwent significant changes following the prominence of Uicheon. Moreover, if the Siheung sect 始興宗 is in actuality not a later development of the Nirvāṇa sect (Yeolban-jong 涅槃宗), in contrast to how it has been interpreted by the majority [of scholars], then doubt emerges as to whether the Yeolban vanished without issue, and whether the Cheontae split into two schools and changed their names.

Chapter 11

National Calamities and Buddhism

In Goryeo, as mentioned in chapter 3 on Buddhist rites, all ceremonies, irrespective of their size, when involving warding off calamities and inviting prosperity and wellbeing, especially in the face of great adversity, would warrant large-scale Buddhist ceremonies and critical enterprises. Perhaps the two most important events during the five-hundred years spanning thirty-four kings of the dynasty were held when the country faced great risk, the first emerging in the first year of reign for the eighth king Hyeonjong 顯宗 (1010), when Khitan emperor Shengzong 聖宗 crossed the Amnokgang River at the helm of a massive army, defeating the towns of Uiju 義州 and Seoncheon 宣川 and laying siege to Pyeongyang.

As they invaded with crushing blows, people throughout the country responded in an uproar, some favoring peace, others wishing to discuss the terms of surrender. King Hyeonjong moved to Jeollanam-do to avoid disgrace. Even amid the panic, all elements of the court joined forces to pray day and night to the Buddha in order to receive protection and prevent a countrywide disaster. Nonetheless, the enemy forces did not retreat easily, and the people reached the brink of exhaustion. In the end, as a last-ditch effort, they proceeded with the carving of the Buddhist *tripitaka* to repel the enemy. The invaders realized that it would have been futile to pursue the king to the southernmost tip of the country, and so, they turned back and crossed the northern border once again. The king, after two months of being chased, returned to the royal palace and, following ten years of work, completed the publication of the *tripitaka*, which totaled 5,048 books, to be stored at Buinsa 符仁寺 Temple, in Gaeseong.¹⁹⁴

The second great calamity occurred during the reign of the twenty-third king Gojong 高宗 (r. 1213–1259). The Mongols¹⁹⁵ raided the country, 165 years after the Khitan invasions. In the beginning, Goryeo had requested aid from the Mongols in order to prevent incursions by remnants of the Khitan. As compensation for keeping the Khitan at a distance, the court was forced into offering expensive tributary gifts to the Mongols.

However, because of this heavy burden, the people grew discontent and restless, to the extent that one Mongol emissary¹⁹⁶ was assassinated on his return journey to Mongolia. The Mongols grew furious upon learning of this incident, and in the eighteenth year of King Gojong's reign (1231), they dispatched a messenger to ascertain responsibility for the act, and simultaneously launched an invasion of the country, reaching as far south as Chungcheong-do and laying waste to all land on which they set foot.

Consequently, King Gojong immediately dispatched a messenger to Mongolia with tributary donations and a memorial, in which the Goryeo king referred to himself as a subject of the Mongol Khan and requested a cessation to military operations. However, the Mongols ignored this offering, and for fifty years they launched repeated forays into the country,¹⁹⁷ forcing King Gojong to move his court to Ganghwado. The circumstances were despairing: the Mongol forces leveled the capital, Gaegyeong, and even the *tripitaka* woodblocks, which had been preserved at Buinsa 符仁寺, were burnt until all that remained was ashes. The only viable option left for King Gojong was to join forces with the court and the people, and to pray for assistance from the Buddha in repelling the invaders. Therefore, by looking to the feats of King Hyeonjong as an example, they began to engrave a new edition of the *tripitaka*, which has been preserved to this day at Haeinsa 海印寺 on Gayasan.

Chapter 12

Goryeo Tripitaka

The new edition of the tripitaka was carved from the twenty-fourth (1237) to the thirty-eighth years (1251) of King Gojong's reign, spanning sixteen years of strenuous effort. The completed work totals 6,529 books, containing 81,258 carved wooden blocks.¹⁹⁸ The twenty-fourth year of King Gojong (1237) marked the sixth year of the court's retreat to Ganghwado, and the commencement of the project was inaugurated with an opening ceremony, during which King Gojong read the following dedication prayer:¹⁹⁹

King Cheol 暈, ²⁰⁰ together with the heir prince, the court nobles, and ministers of state, as well as civil and military officials and officers, having performed the cleansing rites, pray²⁰¹ to the innumerable buddhas and bodhisattvas, to Śakra Devanam Indra (Cheon Jeseok 天帝釋), the Thirty-Three Heavenly Gods (Samsipsam cheon 三十三天), and the dharma-protecting spirit authorities (*hobeop yeonggwan* 護法靈官).

How heavy was the tragic blow struck by the Tartars! No words can suffice to describe the atrocities and wantonness, and if we are to pronounce their insanity and ignorance, they would appear even baser than beasts. Thus, how could they ever know what is revered on Earth, and gain awareness of that which is Buddhism? For this reason, wherever they went, they would simply set aflame Buddhist images and sacred texts. They even reduced to ashes the edition of the tripitaka woodblocks preserved at Buinsa.

Alas! The work of so many years has perished in a mere day; a great treasure of our country has been lost. If they are so reckless toward the Buddhas and the Heavenly deities, what act is there that they are not capable of committing?

If we dwell on it, we disciples have been slow-witted and improvident not to prepare a defense against the barbarians, and therefore, our strength has not been on par with the task of protecting the Buddhist vehicle. Hence, we have witnessed the loss of such a great treasure, of which nothing remains but dust. What is the actual purpose of repenting our mistakes?

However, the precious words of the Buddha cannot be neither fulfilled nor expunged, and the means that carry them can be either created or destroyed; this is merely a matter of fortune. And if they are destroyed, they must be repaired or remade, even more so because the entire country reveres Buddhism. Therefore, we cannot now afford to procrastinate or be indulgent. Because this great treasure has disappeared, how can we not passionately consider embarking on such a great task, and fear in its execution?

Now, together with the ministers, and civil and military officials and high officers, we express our desire to begin [this task], and we have already established the offices responsible for its execution. Therefore, we have examined the motives that resulted in the carving of the first edition in antiquity. In the second year of King Hyeonjong's reign, the Khitan king invaded our country by overseeing a massive army. King Hyeonjong took refuge in the south, and the Khitan army seized Gaegyeong, occupying it without withdrawing forces. However, King Hyeonjong, together with the court and high officials, expressed the greatest possible desire to complete the engraving of the *tripitaka*, after which the Khitan forces simply withdrew on their own accord.

As it were, the carving of the *tripitaka* is one and the same; in fact, the current engraving of the *tripitaka* is identical to that of the past. The historical background on which the blocks are being engraved is also the same, and the collective desire expressed by the king and the ministers is also similar. How could it be, then, that the Khitan withdrew their forces, and now the Tartars²⁰² will not? This depends only on the degree of protection we can secure from the Buddhas and the celestial beings.

In truth, we do not lack sincerity compared with the previous

epoch, and so, we hope that the buddhas and the saints and sages of the Trāyastriṃśa consider our fervent prayer and employ their supernatural powers to chase the wicked barbarians far from here, so that they will not trample our sealed borders any longer, will cease all hostilities, and there will be peace everywhere, and the queens and the princes can enjoy a long life, and the fortune of the country will last forever. Thereafter, we disciples should again pursue taxing efforts to protect the Buddhist Law evermore, and respond widely by all means to the grace of the Buddha. Your disciples with utmost sincerity pray to you. We prostrate ourselves and [beseech] your consideration.

Likewise, people throughout the country expressed their support in establishing the Tripitaka Superintendence Office (Daejang dogam 大藏都監) at Ganghwa²⁰³ and a branch (*bunsa* 分司) at Jinju 晉州,²⁰⁴ and the Jinju governor (*Jinju moksa* 晉州牧使) oversaw the direction of the operations, in addition to managing the carving tasks.

The responsibility of overseeing the proofreading of what is considered to be the most critical edition of the Buddhist canons in Chinese—not so much for its bulk as for its precision and accuracy—was entrusted to Great Master Sugi 守其,²⁰⁵ a Hwaeom monk of Gaetaesa 開泰寺, Yeonsan-gun 連山郡, Chungcheongnam-do. Sugi and thirty other monks examined and collated seven editions of the canon with great care, from the beginning to the end.²⁰⁶ Among them were the Song edition (*Songbon* 宋本), the old Song edition (*gu Songbon* 舊宋本), the official edition (*gwanbon* 官本), the former Korean edition (*gukjeonbon* 國前本),²⁰⁷ the latter Korean edition (*gukhubon* 國後本),²⁰⁸ the northern edition (*bukbon* 北本), and the Khitan edition (*Georanbon* 契丹本). Upon completion, a Sūtra Hall (Pandang 板堂) was built outside Ganghwa’s West Gate (Seomun 西門) in order to preserve the tripitaka woodblocks, but the woodblocks were moved to Haeinsa 海印寺 at a later date.²⁰⁹

Chapter 13

Revival of Seon by Bojo Jinul

After its introduction to Silla during the reign of King Heungdeok 興德 (r. 826–836), Seon developed for approximately three-hundred and fifty years, gaining merit in Korean society, but over time it experienced decline as well. During the mid-Goryeo period, the Seon sects underwent a gradual decline as their temples became the ground of fighting for prestige and private interest. At the same time, Seon monks cultivated the Pure Land (Jeongto 淨土) faith, and the Bodhidharma belief regarding nonreliance on the written word (*bullip munja* 不立文字) and seeing one's true nature and attaining Buddhahood (*gyeonseong seongbul* 見性成佛) disappeared without leaving trace.

During this time, a great figure emerged in the Buddhist sangha, and he would found the Jeonghye gyeolsa 定慧結社 (Samādhi and Prajñā Society), reviving the Way of the patriarchs: this figure is Bojo Jinul 普照知訥. National Preceptor Jinul was a dharma descendant of National Preceptor Beomil 梵日 of the Sagulsan sect (閹崛山門). He lamented the decadence of the sect, and took on the task of reviving the tradition of the Jogye order (曹溪宗). He therefore changed the name from “Songgwangsan” 松廣山 to “Jogyesan” 曹溪山. He seems to have regarded Caoxi Huineng 曹溪慧能 as his master and Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 as a friend, but in actuality, Jinul, as a monk of the Jogye sect, advocated for the revival of the Jogye order.

His monk name was Jinul, his sobriquet was Moguja 牧牛子 (Ox-herder's Son), and his family name was Jeong 鄭. He hailed from Seoheung-gun 瑞興郡, Hamgyeong-do. He was born in the thirteenth year of King Uijong 毅宗 (1158), and passed away on the twenty-seventh day of the third month in the sixth year of King Huijong 熙宗

(1210), at fifty-three years of age. He was barely eight when he placed himself under the care of Seon Master Jonghwi 宗暉 of Sagulsan 閣堦山, of the Jogye sect. In the twelfth year of King Myeongjong 明宗 (1182), he traveled to participate in discussions on meditation (*damseon beophoe* 談禪法會) at Geumguk Borisa 金國菩提寺 Temple²¹⁰ and, together with ten other colleagues, he became determined to establish a Buddhist society to cultivate meditation and balanced wisdom.

In the twentieth year of King Myeongjong's reign (1190), in springtime, Jinul wrote the *Jeonghye gyeolsa-mun* 定慧結社文 (Compact for the Samādhi and Prajñā Society) at Geojoam 居祖庵 Hermitage, on Palgongsan 八公山, thus expounding his long-cherished desire. In the third year of King Sinjong 神宗 (1200), he moved the Jeonghye gyeolsa from Geojoam to Gilsangsa on Songgwangsan 松廣山, and concurrently changed the name of the temple to "Jeonghyesa" 定慧寺.

During King Huijong's 熙宗 first year in power (1205), restoration works for the temple were completed, inaugurating a celebratory mass gathering that would last one-hundred twenty days. In compliance with a court decree, the temple's name was changed from "Jeonghyesa" (Songgwangsan) to "Jogyesan 曹溪山 Suseonsa 修禪寺," and was established as the second base of the Sagulsa sect, thus fulfilling the objective of his mission.²¹¹

After Jinul, a series of patriarchs and monks of great virtue emerged such as Jin'gak 眞覺, Cheongjin 清眞, Jinmyeong 眞明, Haedang 海堂, Jajeong 慈精, Won'gam 圓鑑, Damdang 漫堂, Myomyeong 妙明, Jawon 慈圓, Jagak 慈覺, Gag'eom 覺嚴, Jeonghye 淨慧, and Hongjin 弘眞. They preserved the sect's tradition, which secured the revival not only of the Sagul sect, but of Seon Buddhism in general.

Chapter 14

Wonmyo and Cheontae

One of Jinul's contemporaries was a great monk who belonged to the Cheontae sect; he would found a society to establish ritual convocations honoring Samantabhadra (*Bohyeon doryang* 普賢道場) and cultivate lotus samādhi (*beophwa sammae* 法華三昧), maintaining as its objective rebirth in the Pure Land. He was National Preceptor Wonmyo 圓妙, and he propagated the religion substantially. At the time, people used to refer to him as “Seo chamhoe” 徐懺悔 (Seo, the repentant).

His religious name was Yose 了世, and his family name was Seo 徐. He was from Sinbeon 新繁, Uiryeong-gun 宜寧郡, Gyeongsangnam-do. He was born during King Uijong's 穀宗 seventeenth year (1163), and at age fifteen he became a monk under the guidance of Meditation Master Gyunjeong 均定 of Cheollaksa 天樂寺 Temple, at Gangyang 江陽 (present-day Hapcheon 陜川).

Later on, he would have a dream where Jinul accompanied him as they passed Gwijeongsa 歸正寺 Temple at Namwon 南原. The previous night, Hyeon'gak 玄恪, the abbot of temple, had a dream where a person informed him that the next day would mark the arrival of a master who upheld the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Fahua jing* 法華經) in his three previous lives, and he should thus tidy the site for a proper welcome. Hyeon'gak cleaned as instructed, and on the following day, Yose 了世 arrived as a guest.²¹² This record shows that early in life he held the Cheontae in high esteem.

In King Gojong's fourth year (1217), he established the Baengnyonsa 白蓮社 (White Lotus Society) at Dangjin 唐津 on Mandeoksan 萬德山 Mountain, celebrating the ritual convocation honoring Samantabhadra with the participation of three-hundred people. On the seventh day in

the the seventh month of the thirty-second year of king Gojong's reign (1245), he passed away at the age of eighty three, having served as a monk for seventy years.

Among his disciples was National Preceptor Jeongmyeong 靜明 Cheonin 天因, who was renowned for his writing skills. He upheld the teachings, and for twelve generations (until the National Overseer Muoe 無畏), traditions of the Cheontae sect exerted considerable influence from its base at Baengnyeonsa 白蓮寺 Temple. One of his descendants was National Overseer Muoe, and he was uncle of the Trepiṭaka His Eminence Sunam Uiseon 順庵義璇.²¹³ In the twenty-eighth year of King Chungnyeol (忠烈王, 1302), the king ordered that he move from Yongamsa 龍巖寺 Temple at Banseong-hyeon 班城縣, in Jinju, to Myoryeonsa 妙蓮寺 Temple, in Gaegyeong. Myoryeonsa was a branch of Baengnyeonsa, in a similar fashion to Seonwonsa 禪源寺 Temple on Ganghwado, being a branch of Jinul's Songgwangsa 松廣寺.

The king greeted Muoe at the head of all the civil and military officials, and performed the rite of the disciple lifting the robe of his master, after which the king granted him the title of “Baegwol nanggong jeokjo Muae daeseonsa” 白月郎空 寂照無碍大禪師 (White Moon, Gentleman of Emptiness, Quiescent Radiance, Unhindered, Great Seon Master). In the thirty-third year of King Chungnyeol (1307), Jeongmyeong 靜明 was promoted to royal preceptor, great master of the Cheontae, and national controller, with the title of “Buril bojo jeonghye wonmyo jin'gam daeseonsa” 佛日普照定慧圓妙真鑑大禪師. In the first year of King Chungseon (1309), he was appointed Companion of the Way and General Supervisor of Each of the Mountain Sects of Seon and Gyo (Seon-gyo Gakjung Sanmun Doban Chongjejo 禪敎各宗山門道伴摠提調), and in 1314 (the first year of Chungseon's reinstatement on the throne) he was awarded the title of Dae Cheontaejongsa ssanghong jeonghye gwanghyeon wonjong Muoe gugtong 大天台宗師 雙弘定慧 光顯圓宗 無畏國統 (Master of the Great Cheontae Sect, Twin Promoter of Samādhi and Prajñā, Illuminator of the Perfect Teaching, National Overseer Fearless).

Chapter 15

Wonjin and Huiyangsan

When Yose 了世, of the Cheontae, and Jinul 知訥, of the Seon sect, were promoting their respective faiths in the south and north of Jeolla-do, National Preceptor Wonjin 圓眞 was reviving the Doheon 道憲 Seon tradition in Gyeongsangbuk-do. The master's religious name was Seunghyeong 承迴, and his family name was Shin 申, and he hailed from Sanyang 山陽, Sangnak-gun 上洛郡 (Sangju 尚州).

He was born in the first year of King Myeongjong 明宗 (1171). Orphaned at a young age, he was raised by his paternal uncle, Chunghan 充漢, who was an attendant censor (*sieosa* 侍御史). At age seven, he was placed under the care of Seon Master Yeonsil 淵實 of Unmunsa 雲門寺 Temple. His speech and behavior excelled those of other men, and he was duly recognized as a prodigy. At twelve years of age, he became a monk under Seon Master Dongsun 洞純²¹⁴ of Huiyangsan 曜陽山, and was ordained a monk at the precepts platform at Geumsan Temple (Geumsansa gyedan 金山寺 戒壇).

At age twenty-seven, he attained the highest scores (*sangsanggwa* 上上科) for the examinations held at Gwangmyeongsa 廣明寺 Temple, and in the fourth year of King Huijong (1208), he became the abbot of Yujeomsa 榆帖寺 Temple at Goseong 高城. At the time, the retired king²¹⁵ had encouraged his fourth son to embrace the saṅgha, and by royal decree, his monk records (*seungjeok* 僧籍) were later moved from Huiyangsan 曜陽山 to Sagulsan 閣嶧山. This is none other than Royal Preceptor Gyeongji 鏡智, the abbot of Dansoksa 斷俗寺 Temple, from the dharma line of Beomil 梵日.²¹⁶ In the second day of the ninth month in the eighth year of Huijong (1221), he died at age fifty one, having been a monk for twenty-four years.²¹⁷ King Gojong (r. 1213–1259) promoted him posthumously to National Preceptor Wonjin 圓眞.

Chapter 16

Bogak and Gajisan

National Preceptor Bogak 普覺 was active some time after Bojo Jinul 普照知訥. He resided at Ingaksa 麟角寺 Temple on Hwasan 華山 Mountain, Uiheung-gun 義興郡, Gyeongsangbuk-do, and promoted the Doui 道義 tradition. His religious name was Iryeon 一然, his courtesy name was Hoeyeon 晦然, and his family name was Gim 金. He hailed from Jangsan 章山, Gyeongju. His father's name was Eonjeong 彥鼎, and his mother was Lady Yi of Nangnang-gun (樂浪郡夫人 李氏). She once had a dream in which a ray of sunlight beamed into the room where she lay at rest, and it set her bosom aglow for three consecutive days. In the sixth month of the second year of King Huijong 熙宗 (1206), the master was born.

At age fourteen, he sought out Daeung 大雄, the Elder of Jinjeon 陳田, under whom he became a monk and received the precepts. During King Gojong's fourteenth year (1227), he sat for the religious examinations and attained the highest score (*sangsanggwu* 上上科). In the forty-sixth year of King Gojong's reign (1259), he was appointed great Seon master (*daeseonsa* 大禪師). In the second year of King Wonjong 元宗 (1261), by royal decree, he held lectures at Seonwolsa 禪月寺 Temple in the capital,²¹⁸ and upheld the religious message of Bojo Jinul.

In the ninth year (1268), in accordance with another royal decree, he gathered one-hundred famed monks of high virtue from the Meditation and Doctrinal sects, and inaugurated the completion of the carving of the *tripitaka* at Unhaesa 雲海寺 Temple. On that occasion, as national eminence (*gukjon* 國尊), he presided over the assembly of the sects. In the third year of King Chungnyeol (1277), he complied with a royal decree and elucidated the profound and abstruse doctrine at Unmunsa 雲門寺 Temple.

In the spring of the ninth year, the king ordered General Commander-in-Chief (上將軍) Na Yu 羅裕 and others to convey his appointment as national preceptor, and on that occasion, he was also conferred the title of Won'gyeong Chungjo 圓鏡沖照. He was summoned to court in the fourth month, where the king, sitting at the helm of all the civil and military officials and having performed the rite of proclaiming himself as a disciple, changed Bogak's title from national preceptor (*guksa* 國師) to national eminence (*gukjon* 國尊).²¹⁹ This was done because they recognized the Yuan 元 as the superior country.

In the tenth year of King Chungnyeol (1284), the king's attendant, Gim Yonggeom 金龍劍 was ordered by decree to oversee repairs at Ingaksa 麟角寺 Temple and donate one-hundred *gyeong* 境 of land in order to provide Iryeon a permanent residence at the temple.²²⁰ On the eighth day of the seventh month in the fifteenth year of King Chungnyeol (1289), he passed away at the ripe age of eighty-four. He had been a monk for seventy-two years.

Iryeon wrote extremely well and had compiled *Eorok* 語錄 (Discourse Records) in two rolls, written three books of *Gesong japjeo* 偽頌雜著 (Poems and Songs and Miscellaneous Writings), the *Jungpyeon jodong owi* 重編曹洞五位 compiled in two chapters, *Jodo* 祖圖 (Diagrams of the Patriarchs) in two chapters, *Daejangsu jirok* 大藏須知錄 (Necessary Things to Know About the Tripitaka) in three chapters, the *Jeseung beopsu* 諸乘法數 in seven chapters, the *Jojeong sawon* 祖庭事苑 in thirty chapters, the *Seonmun yeomsong sawon* 禪門拈頌事苑 also in thirty chapters, which were widely disseminated in his time. However, what became especially prized as a primary source for historians even today is the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), in five chapters.

Among his disciples were the abbot of Unmunsa 雲門寺 Temple, Great Seon Master Cheongjin 清珍, the abbot of Hyeongwonsa 鑿原寺 Temple on Jassisan 慈氏山 Mountain, National Eminence Bogam Hon'gu 普鑑混丘,²²¹ and roughly ten other monks who upheld his religious message and are credited with reviving the Gajisan sect (迦智山門).

Chapter 17

Ja'eun Sect of Goryeo

The Beopsang sect was founded in Korea by Jinpyo 真表, a vinaya master, and his religious message was inherited by Yeongsim 永心 from Songnisa 俗離寺 Temple and by Simji 心地 from Donghwasa 桐華寺 Temple. After more than two-hundred years, during the reign of King Munjong, National Preceptor Ji'gwang 智光, from Beopcheonsa 法泉寺 Temple, Wonju, reinvigorated the religious tradition, and he oversaw more than 1,100 monks, among them the abbot of Songnisa, Monk Overseer Taeng 端, and the abbot of Geumsansa 金山寺 Temple, Sohyeon 昭顯, who acted as a driving force behind the revival of the sect.

Monk Overseer Dosaeng 道生, Taeng was the sixth son of King Munjong, and Sohyeon is none other than Royal Preceptor Hyedeok 慧德, from Geumsansa. He was born in the fourth year of King Jeongjong 靖宗 (1038), and became a monk at Hae'ansa 海安寺 Temple, receiving the precepts at the platform of Bokheungsa 福興寺 Temple. In the fifteenth year of King Munjong (1061), he received the title of great virtuous (*daedeuk* 大德) after passing the religious examinations at Wangnyunsa 王輪寺 Temple. In the first year of King Seonjong 宣宗 (1084), he became a monk overseer, and he passed away in the first year of King Sukjong 肅宗 (1096). His posthumous title is Royal Preceptor Hyedeok.

The *Fahua xuanzan* 法華玄贊 and the *Weishi shuji* 唯識述記 are only two of the thirty commentaries in 353 rolls that Sohyeon 昭顯 oversaw and republished. Afterward, to the south of Geumsansa, he commissioned the construction of Gwanggyowon 廣教院 Cloister, where he stored these books. He had approximately one-thousand disciples who helped the diffusion of the sacred doctrine.

Approximately one-hundred fifty years after his demise, two great monks who would revitalize the tradition of the sect emerged, one after the other: They were National Eminence Hongjin 弘眞 from Donghwasa, and National Eminence Jajeong 慈靜 from Songnisa.

Hongjin's religious name was Hyeyeong 惠永, and his family name was Kang 康. He hailed from Mun'gyeong 聞慶. He was born in the fifteenth year of King Gojong (1228), became a monk at age eleven, and was placed under the care of Dean Chungyeon 沖淵. At seventeen, he passed the religious examinations at Wangnyunsa 王輪寺, and he consecutively became great master, dean, and finally, monk overseer. In the twenty-eighth year of King Chungnyeol (1302), he was appointed national eminence. Hyeyeong became the abbot of the Songnisa 俗離寺, Bulguksa 佛國寺, Jungheungsa 重興寺, and Yugasa 瑜伽寺, and finally at Donghwasa temples, propagating the faith widely. He passed away in the thirtieth year of King Chungnyeol's reign (1304), receiving the posthumous name of Hongjin 弘眞.²²²

Earlier, in King Chungnyeol's sixteenth year (1290), he had traveled to the capital of the Yuan (Beiping 北平, present-day Beijing),²²³ at the helm of one-hundred copyist monks from Goryeo. Upon his arrival, he was invited to lecture on the *Renwang jing* 仁王經 (Sūtra for Humane Kings) by the abbot of Qingshou Temple (慶壽寺), and because his exposition was met with satisfaction, he became renowned throughout the Yuan empire. Once Hyeyeong completed the task of handwriting the Buddhist canon in golden characters, the Yuan emperor dispatched an ambassador to accompany him on his return journey to Goryeo.

After Hyeyeong appeared Jajeong 慈靜, whose religious name was Misu 彌授, and his family name was Gim 金. He hailed from the Seonsan Gim family (善山金氏). He was born in the twenty-seventh year of King Gojong (1240). At age nineteen, he successfully passed the monastic examinations, and at twenty-nine he became a thrice-exalted great master (*samjung daesa* 三重大師), and did not encounter any difficulties on his path to becoming first dean, and then monk overseer. He was later appointed chief monk overseer of the Five

Doctrinal sects (*Ogyo doseungtong* 五教都僧統) and chief monk overseer of the Buddhist registry (*yangga doseungtong* 兩街都僧統). Misu became the abbot of the Yeongguksa 寧國寺, Ungsinsa 雄神寺, Janguisa 莊義寺, Songnisa 俗離寺, and Jungheungsa 重興寺 temples, in that order, and he eventually secured the abbotship of Donghwasa 桐華寺, thereby greatly enhancing the prestige of the sect.

He passed away in the fourteenth year of King Chungsuk (1327), at eighty-eight years of age.²²⁴ He had been a monk for seventy-five years. His stūpa is called Bomyeong 普明, and his posthumous name is Jajeong 慈靜. He oversaw over three-hundred monks, among them the abbot of Wonheungsa 元興寺 Temple Geohyeon 居玄, the abbot of Girimsa 祇林寺 Temple Haengyeong 行英; and Chungseo 沖瑞, the abbot of Cheonsinsa 天神寺 Temple. They would ensure the transmission of the sect's tradition, upholding its religious message without interruption.

Chapter 18

Unification of the Nine Mountains Sects by Taego

During the reign of King Gongmin, a great monk emerged who would heavily influence the entire course of Korean Buddhism. He was none other than Taego, revered by today's Korean monks as the founding patriarch of Korean Seon Buddhism. His religious name was Bou 普愚 (Boheo 普虛),²²⁵ and his family name was Hong 洪. He hailed from Hongju 洪州,²²⁶ Chungcheongnam-do. He was born on the twenty-first day in the ninth month of the twenty-seventh year of King Chungnyeol (1301).

At age thirteen, he became a monk under the tutelage of Great Seon Master Gwangji 廣智 of the Gajisan sect (迦智山門) at Hoe'amsa 檜巖寺 Temple, in Yangju, after which he meditated without interruption for many years on the saying, “the myriad dharmas return to the one” (*manbeop gwiil* 萬法歸一). During King Chungsuk's second year (in his second term [1334]),²²⁷ Taego resided at Gamnosa 甘露寺 Temple, in Gaegyeong, where one day he experienced the shedding of his doubts, and he composed a hymn in eight verses, the last line of which says “Having no mouth I swallowed the Buddha, the patriarchs, mountains, and rivers.” In the second year marking King Chunghye's 忠惠 reassumption of the throne (1341), Taego built a hermitage on the eastern ridge of Jungheungsa 重興寺 Temple, on Samgaksan 三角山 Mountain, calling it Taegoam 太古庵. He then composed a song entitled “The Song of Taego Hermitage” (Taegoam-ga 太古庵歌). Taego's enlightenment is reflected in this song.

At age forty six (i.e., in the second year of King Chungmok 忠穆 [1346]),²²⁸ he visited Chan Master Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清珙²²⁹ on Mountain Xiawu (霞霧山), in Huzhou 湖州, explaining to him all the conditions of his attainments and offering him a copy of his “The Song of the Taego Hermitage.” Shiwu was deeply impressed

and presented him with a monk's robe and staff, disclosing his conviction that he would propagate the dharma. Upon receiving Shiwu's recognition, he returned to *Yandu* 燕都.²³⁰ Having heard of his exchange with Shiwu, the emperor²³¹ invited Taego to lecture at Yongning Temple (永寧寺), and provided him with a set of religious robes woven with gold threads, and a brush made of aromatic wood. Thereafter, Taego's fame became widespread, and his name would spread by word of mouth throughout Yuan China.²³² He would return in the fourth year of King Chungmok 忠穆 (1348) and take up residence at Yanggeun 陽根,²³³ on Soseolsan 小雪山 Mountain.

In the fifth year of King Gongmin (恭愍王, 1356), the king invited him to Bongeunsa 奉恩寺 Temple to hold lectures, presenting a fully embroidered monk's robe and a crystal rosary. On the twenty-fourth day of the fourth month of that same year, he was appointed royal preceptor. In addition, the Wonyung Bureau (Wonyungbu 圓融府) was founded, and the Nine Mountains of Seon sects came to be amalgamated under a single umbrella name.²³⁴ Later on, he resigned from the post of director of the Wonyung Bureau, and instead became the abbot of Yangsansa 陽山寺 Temple, and then of Gajisa 遺智寺 Temple.

Further, as he promoted his religious program, in the seventeenth year (1368), the king, believing the slander of Shin Don 辛斗, imprisoned Taego 太古 at Songnisa. However, in the third month of the following year, the king repented and called for his return to Soseolsan. In the seventh month of the twentieth year (1371), Taego was appointed national preceptor and the abbot of Yeongwonsa 穎原寺 Temple in Miryang. He resigned from the post of abbot on grounds of illness, but was forced to guide the temple as an absentee for seven years, in compliance with an official decree.

He was reconfirmed national preceptor in the seventh year of King U (禡王, 1381),²³⁵ and was called upon to accept the abbotship at Yangsansa, but chose instead to return to Soseolsan the following year. He passed away on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month. King U ordered his court officials to assign him the posthumous title of Wonjeung 圓證, and his stūpa is called Bowol Seunggong 寶月昇空.

Chapter 19

Taego's Transmission of the Dharma

Taego inherited the faith of Meditation Master Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清珙 of Xiawu Mountain (Huzhou), the seventeenth patriarch of the Linji sect (臨濟宗). Therefore, he is called the founding patriarch of Joseon Imje Buddhism, and certain people believe that the six- to seven-thousand Buddhist monks in Korea today can be called Imje monks, although this is done neglecting Taego's circumstances.²³⁶

Since the end of the Silla period, eminent monks who have traveled to China to study the dharma were not few in number, but no earlier example of crucial changes in sectarian composition took place due to this. Seon Master Daegam 大鑑, who was the abbot of Dansoksa 斷俗寺 Temple and died during King Myeongjong's 明宗 reign (r. 1170–1197), is considered to be the ninth patriarch, and his inscription bears in large characters the title, “Jogye jong Gulsanha Dansoksa Daegam seonsa ji bi” 曹溪宗堦山下斷俗寺大鑑禪師之碑. Regarding the case of National Preceptor Jeongjin 靜真, the abbot of Yangsansa who traveled to Tang China, he inherited the creed of the Linji patriarch Kushan Daoyuan 谷山道緣 and died during the reign of King Gwangjong. In fact, for his inscription, Somok 昭穆 wrote unambiguously regarding his ancestral line, that he was a disciple of the line of Doheon 道憲, the founding patriarch.²³⁷

Moreover, we cannot determine with accuracy the number of those who did not travel to China to study, instead choosing to wander about Korea inheriting the faith of some great monk with whom they studied. No case exists of monks who, during their travels inside the country, participated in lectures held by great masters and changed their sectarian affiliations. For instance, if we consider the author of the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事, National Eminence Bogak

普覺, who visited Jinul while wandering the country,²³⁸ and even inaugurated lectures in a temple that belonged to Jinul's tradition (i.e., Seonwolsa 禪月寺 Temple in Gaegyeong).²³⁹ Notwithstanding all this, the heading of the stone inscription clearly states that his sectarian affiliation [had not changed]: "Stele inscription of National Eminence Bogak of the Gajisan sect of Ingaksa Temple of the Jogye Sect on Hwasan Mountain in Uiheung in the State of Goryeo" (Goryeoguk Uiheung Hwasan Jogye jong Ingaksa Gajisanha Bogak gukjon bi 高麗國 義興華山 曹溪宗 麟角寺 迦智山下 普覺國尊碑).

During the Goryeo period, the official master was the one with whom a novice embraced monastic life. Inheritance of the sectarian line was based on standard rules, and when a monk visited a famous master, he was deemed to be no more than an honorary master, and held no sway on the sectarian affiliation of the monk. Therefore, even if the number of great monks one revered during his search of the dharma could run into the thousands, this had no impact on his sectarian affiliation. Moreover, although one intended to choose a single person from among the masters as his legitimate master, this would not have been possible because of the monks' affiliation records.

According to the religious system of the Goryeo period, after a novice embraced monastic life, he was registered in the monastic records, to be maintained by the head temple, and it was difficult to change the record once it was registered. If someone intended to modify it, this could be achieved only by official decree, as in the unique case of Royal Preceptor Gyeongji 鏡智 during King Gojong's reign (r. 1213–1259); he became a monk under the guidance of National Preceptor Wonjin 圓真, and his records were kept at Bongamsa 凤巖寺 Temple, which was the head temple of Yujeomsa 榆帖寺 Temple. However, his registration was later moved to Sagulsan 閣堦山 by official decree, and he thus became a disciple of the line of National Preceptor Jimyeong 眞明 (i.e., Beomil 梵日).

This shows how challenging it was at the time to have one's own records moved from a temple to another of a different sect. Likewise,

it is difficult to think that Taego changed his original sectarian affiliation simply because he had received formal recognition from Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清拱. He became a monk under the care of the high priest Gwangji 廣智 of the Gajisan sect, and became abbot of temples of the Gajisan sect (迦智山門); therefore, his records must also have been kept at a temple of the same sect. Further, upon returning to Goryeo, he never followed Shiwu's sect, nor did he ever act as if he were a monk of the Linji sect (臨濟宗); in fact, he clearly always remained faithful to the Jogye sect (曹溪宗), and this is why the title of his stone inscription reads plainly, "Patriarch of the Jogye sect." Therefore, Taego was undoubtedly a monk of the Gajisan sect, and he inherited the religious message of National Preceptor Doui 道義.

Chapter 20

The Three Monks

In Korean Buddhist circles, when someone mentions “the three monks” (*sam hwasang* 三和尚), everyone knows that this grouping refers to Jigong 指空, Naong 懶翁, and Muhak 無學.²⁴⁰

Jigong is the translation of the Sanskrit word *Śūnyadiśya* (Kor. Sonajeoksaya 蘇那的沙野), and his religious name was Devananda (Kor. Jenapnanta 提納難陀; trans. Seonhyeon 禪賢). He was the 108th descendant of the dharma line of Mahākāśyapa (迦葉), and he is thus called the 108th-generation patriarch of India. He was originally the third son of Emperor Man of Magadha (Kor. Magalje guk 摩竭提國). He became a monk at eight years of age, but his date of arrival to Goryeo remains unclear.²⁴¹ We know that he held a lecture on the Vinaya at Yeonboksa 延福寺 Temple in the seventh month of the fifteenth year of King Chungsuk (1328), and it thus appears as if he arrived to Goryeo sometime during the reign of King Chungsuk (1314–1330 and 1332–1339). Afterward, by decree of the Yuan emperor, he was transferred to *Yandu*'s 燕都 Fayuan Temple (法源寺).²⁴² He passed away in the twenty-third year of the Zhizheng era (i.e., on the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh month in the twelfth year of King Gongmin's reign [1363]).²⁴³

Naong was an eminent monk of the Jogye Sagulsan sect, and he made significant contributions to its revival after Bojo Jinul. His religious name was Hyegeun 惠勤, and the name of his abode was Gangwolheon 江月軒. His family belonged to the A family (牙氏), and he hailed from Yeonghae 寧海, in Gyeongsangbuk-do. He was born on the fifteenth day of the first month in the seventh year of King Chungsuk (1320), and he became a monk at age twenty under the tutelage of Seon Master Yoyeon 了然 at Myojeogam 妙寂庵 Hermitage,

Daeseungsa 大乘寺 Temple, Gongdeoksan 功德山 Mountain (present-day Sabulsan 四佛山 Mountain, Mun'gyeong 聞慶, Gyeongsangbuk-do).

In the fourth year of King Chungmok's reign (1348), he traveled to Yuan China, where he met Jigong at Fayuan Temple. He then visited Meditation Master Pingshan Chulin 平山處林, from whom he obtained dharma recognition. These are the so-called two dharma recognitions of Master Naong (懶翁和尚).²⁴⁴ Afterward, in the fourth year of King Gongmin's reign (1355), by imperial decree, when he lectured at Yuanning Guangji Temple (元寧廣濟寺), he would burn incense three times, dedicating the incense to the two masters Jigong and Pingshan Chulin, and to the grace of the teachings they had transmitted. In the seventh year of King Gongmin's reign (1358), Naong returned to Korea and took up residence on Odaesan 五臺山 Mountain.²⁴⁵

In the tenth year (1361), the king dispatched the Inner Supervisor of the Household²⁴⁶ Bang Jeol 方節 to summon him to court, where he was to hold lectures. He was later appointed abbot of Singwangsa 神光寺 Temple. In the twentieth year (1371), he was promoted to royal preceptor and granted the title “Dae Jogye jongsa Seon-Gyo dochongseop geunsu bonji jungheung jodo bokguk use boje jonja” 大曹溪宗師 禪教都總攝 勤修本智 重興祖道 福國祐世 普濟尊者 (Master of the Great Jogye Sect, Chief Supervisor of the Meditation and Doctrinal Sects, Fervent Cultivator of Original Wisdom, Revitalizer of the Way of the Patriarchs, Boon to the Country and Helper of the World, Revered Universal Savior). He was then appointed to the abbotship of Songgwangsa 松廣寺 Temple, which was designated the most important temple in the country.²⁴⁷

In the twenty-third year, he was recalled for an abbotship at Hoe'amsa 檜巖寺 Temple. Throngs of men and women would flock [to the temple] in such great numbers—many having abandoned their jobs—that the Censorate memorialized the throne with the following concern: “Hoe'amsa is too close to the capital, and the flow of human traffic to and from the temple is incessant, all day and night, and some people even cease their activities.”²⁴⁸ Therefore,

by royal decree, he was transferred to Yeongwonsa 穎原寺 Temple, in Miryang, which was equivalent to exile. He fell ill when he reached Silleuksa 神勒寺 Temple at Yeoju, and after biding a few days in his deteriorating condition, he finally passed away. It was the fifteenth day of the fifth month in the second year of King U (1376). His posthumous name was Seon'gak 禪覺.

Muhak became a monk under Meditation Master Soji 小止, who was an excellent disciple of National Preceptor Hyegam 慧鑑. His religious ancestral line is ambiguous, and hence, we do not hold any knowledge regarding his sectarian affiliation.²⁴⁹ Regardless, it is clear that he was originally a monk of the Jogye order. His religious name was Jacho 自超, his family name Bak 朴. He was from Samgi-hyeon 三岐縣 (present-day Hapcheon-gun 陝川郡, Samga-myeon 三嘉面), and he was born on the twentieth day of the ninth month of the fourteenth year of King Chungsuk (1327).

He traveled to China in the second year of King Gongmin (1354), and at Fayuan Temple (法源寺) he offered his respects to Master Jigong 指空, with whom he discussed Buddhist doctrine. Again, the following year, he met Naong Hyegeun at Beopcheonsa 法泉寺 Temple,²⁵⁰ and inherited his doctrine. In the fifth year of King Gongmin, he returned to Goryeo.

He became royal preceptor during Joseon king Taejo's first year (1392), and received the title of “Jogye jongsa Seon-Gyo dochongseop jeon bulsimin byeonji muae bujong sugyo hongni boje dodaeseonsa myo'eom jonja” 曹溪宗師 禪教都總攝 傳佛心印 辨智無碍 扶宗樹敎 弘利普濟都大禪師 妙嚴尊者 (Master of the Jogye Sect, Chief Supervisor of the Meditation and Doctrinal Sects, Transmitter of the Buddha's Mind Seal, Discerner of Wisdom, Unhindered, Supporter of Core Teaching, Tree of the Doctrine, Widely Benefiting and Saving All, Chief Great Meditation Master, Reverend Subtle and Strict).²⁵¹ He passed away on the eleventh day of the ninth month in the fifth year of King Taejong 太宗 (1405).

Chapter 21

Shin Don: Buddhism as a Pretext

Throughout the Goryeo period, many eminent monks of great virtue appeared who benefited the country and society. However, the country suffered from numerous calamities also because of Buddhism. In fact, under the sandalwood tree bloom many species of poisonous plants, and among the good grains it is natural to find weeds. During the reign of King Gongmin (恭愍王, r. 1351–1374) appeared an evildoer monk called Shin Don 辛聰, included among the rebellious subjects in the historical annals and widely considered malevolent. Employing Buddhism as a pretext, he propped himself up in order to climb the social ladder, and managed to influence national politics, thus providing the Confucians with a unique justification to suppress Buddhism and persecute Buddhist monks. However, although Shin Don can be said to owe his “success” to Buddhism, he cannot be adequately considered a Buddhist monk. He was the son of a female slave called Banya 般若 (Prajñā),²⁵² who belonged to Okcheonsa 玉泉寺 Temple,²⁵³ Yeongsan-gun 靈山郡, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Although he relied on the monastic community of the Meditation sect to hide his humble origins,²⁵⁴ he used faith as a pretext to seek out opportunities that would bring him closer to the royal family. His religious name was Pyeonjo 遍照, and he was handpicked by King Gongmin, who awarded him the posts of “Protector of the Orthodox, Treader of the Pure, Discusor of the Way to Enlightenment, Transformer of Principle, Protector of the World, Meritorious Subject, Wall Supreme of the Three Han, Thrice-exalted Great Rectifier, Concurrent Controller of All Consultations, Superintendent of the Council of Supreme and Grand Generals,

Superintendent of the Censorate, Lord of the Chwiseong, Supervisor of the Buddhist Registry, and Concurrent Supervisor of the Office of Astronomical Observation” (Sujeongnisun nondobyeolli bosegongsin byeoksang Samhan samjung daegwang yeongdo cheomuisasasa pan jungbang gamchalsasa Chwiseong buwongun jejo seungnoksasa gyeom pan seoun’gwansa 守正履順 論道變理 保世功臣 壁上三韓 三重大匡 領都僉議使司事 判重房監察司事 鷺城府院君 提調僧錄司事兼判書雲觀事). His name was also concurrently changed to Don 頤, and he was granted the title of “Cheonghan geosa” 清閑居士 (Householder Clear Repose), thus overcoming the constraints of a monk and becoming a layman. For this reason, he could have been a traitor or an evildoer, but he most certainly was not a Buddhist monk.²⁵⁵

Chapter 22

Twelve Sects of the Final Years of Goryeo

The period when the Five Doctrinal (Ogyo 五教) and Nine Mountains (Gusan 九山) sects, after becoming the Five Doctrinal and Two Meditation sects, came to be known as the Twelve Sects (*sibijong* 十二宗) is not clear. The *Yongjae chonghwa* 傭齋叢話 states, “During Taejong’s reign 太宗 (r. 1400–1418), the Twelve Sects were abolished, and only two were approved.” This shows that during the final years of Goryeo, twelve Buddhist sects were in existence. In the sixth year of King Taejong’s reign, in a memorial to the State Council (Uijeongbu 議政府), the Jogye 曹溪, Chongji 捏持, Cheontae soja 天台疏字, Cheontae beopsa 天台法事, Hwaeom 華嚴, Domun 道門, Ja’eon 慈恩, Jungdo 中道, Sinin 神印, Namsan 南山, and Siheung 始興 sects were mentioned. A comparison of both documents [the *Yongjae chonghwa* and the memorial of the state council of the sixth year of King Taejong] shows that, in the memorial of the state council, one sect is not mentioned: the Soseung 小乘 sect.

In the final years of Goryeo, the Soseung (Small Vehicle) sect (小乘宗) was also granted official recognition, as shown in the “Certificate of Appointment to Dean of the Small Vehicle Sect” (Soseungeop sujwa gwan’go 小乘業首座官誥) contained in the *Dongmun-seon* 東文選, Chapter 12. If the Small Vehicle sect had not been officially recognized, it would have been impossible for a monk of that sect to receive the title of chief lecturer. It is not that the Small Vehicle sect, which had thrived in the last years of Goryeo, vanished in the beginning of the Joseon dynasty; in reality, it had merely fallen victim to an erroneous omission in the memorial of the council. In fact, had it disappeared at the beginning of the Joseon dynasty, the *Yongjae chonghwa* would not have mentioned the Twelve Sects.

The term “Twelve Sects,” however, does not imply that any new denominations had been added to the already-extant Buddhist sects, but that the Five Doctrinal and Two Meditation sects experienced further rifts. Moreover, when the Buddhist sects of the last years of Goryeo and the beginning of Joseon were described, the term “Five Doctrinal and two Meditation sects” (Ogyo yangjong 五教兩宗) was employed in all cases. In other words, Soja jong 跪字宗 and Beopsa jong 法事宗 had split from the Cheontae jong 天台宗, the Domun jong 道門宗 had split from the Hwaeom jong 華嚴宗; the Siheung jong 始興宗 is a later transformation of the Yeolban jong 涅槃宗; and the Chongji jong 摠持宗, Sinin jong 神印宗, and Soseung jong 小乘宗, as explained in a previous chapter on the remaining sects, formed as independent sects only in the final years of Goryeo, and separated perhaps respectively from the Jogye jong 曹溪宗, Jungdo jong 中道宗, and Jaeun jong 慈恩宗 sects. Therefore, although the Twelve Sects are referenced, in actuality, the Five Doctrinal and two Meditation sects continued to exist without interruption since Uicheon’s times.

Chapter 23

Seeds of Buddhist Decay

The Goryeo dynasty's reverence for Buddhism can be discerned beginning with the “Ten Injunctions” of King Taejo. His policy toward Buddhism was continued by every successive king, all of whom provided protection for the religion. During his visit to Seogyeong 西京 (“Western Capital,” present-day Pyeongyang), which occurred in the twenty-third year of his reign (1169), the eighteenth king Uijong 毅宗 (r. 1146–1170) promulgated “Six New Articles on Religion” by stating,

1. Ascribe importance to Buddhist affairs: In these times of decay of the dharma, the faith is retreating by the day. Our ancestors created temples and shrines for protecting the state, and since ancient times, the temples and shrines where we are to hold ceremonies to pray for grace and wealth have been established. If any of these temples are in ruins, relevant offices should see to their reconstruction.
1. Respect monks and take refuge in them: Monks have recently taken interest in commerce, widely searching for profit and gain. We intend to expose corruption and encourage upright behavior, redressing evil practices. The relevant offices should identify virtuous monks, who have masked their presence in the mountains, and encourage them.
1. Protect the three treasures: The Office of Royal Attendants and various commissions have recently engaged in retrieving from temples treasured articles, rice, and several types of products for their own consumption, stirring discontent among monks. From now on, we order the Censorate to provide clear instructions and

forbid such abusive practices.

1. High demeanor should be revered: In Silla, high demeanor was highly valued, and thanks to this, the dragons and the heavenly guardians were content, and the people were at peace. Therefore, our ancestors prized integrity long ago, but recently, in Gaegyeong and Seogyeong, the scope of the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions (Palgwanhoe 八關會) has been reduced ever further, and these ideals are perishing. From now on, we shall choose the richest families from among the nobility of the yangban, call them virtuous families, and pursue the old customs, so that both men and heavenly spirits can be content.

Inside, the behavior of monks is disorderly, and the religious regulations have become lax; outside, instances of political interference corrupting the atmosphere have become frequent, and thus, the feelings of the people and public opinion are growing heated. In the beginning, people were angry—yet they did not dare speak out. Public criticism and resentment have ballooned gradually to such an extent that during the Joseon dynasty, this instigated the rejection of Buddhism and led to its oppression. Like a parasite in a rotten tree, it is not a problem that grows overnight.

As a brief explanation to the problem, we can refer to the memorial to the throne, composed by Choe Seungro 崔承老 during the reign of King Gwangjong 光宗 (r. 949–975). The memorial presented much later by the Office of the Council of the Yin-Yang (Eumyang hoeuiso 陰陽會議所) in the ninth year of King Injong's reign 仁宗 (r. 1122–1146) states,

Monks, the laity, and various types of people have been mingling recently. They gather and form groups, calling themselves, “Manbul hyangdo” 萬佛香徒 (Adherents of the Ten-Thousand Buddhas). Some chant the name of the Buddha, while others read sūtras, some fabricate rumors, still others from temples and societies sell wine and scallions, while some take up arms and commit bad deeds, they create a ruckus

and generate disorder, and this can be duly called a disruption of order and a violation of social customs. We beg that Your Majesty put an end to all this.

In the tenth year of King Munjong's 文宗 reign (1056), the following ordinance was issued:

When the Buddha preached his faith, he placed purity above all, maintained distance from filth, and severed desire. Nowadays, people who avoid corvée duties by hiding behind the excuse of being Buddhist monks engage in trade and reap profits. They are involved in agriculture and cattle rearing, they sell their products, they violate the monastic codes of conduct, and they fail to abide by the rules of purity.

Monastic robes are employed to cover wine jars, and the halls for chanting religious hymns and reading the sūtras have become patches of [land cultivated for] onions and garlic. Because of their commercial activities, they conduct exchanges with guests, they enjoy becoming inebriated and clamor in the houses of courtesans (*gisaeng* 妓生), and they grow malodorous plants in orchid pots, and don normal hats and laypeople's clothes. Under the guise of renovating temples, they seize flags and drums, and in song and with musical accompaniment, they enter commoners' living quarters, and they rudely barge into the marketplace, arguing with people and beating them bloody. I distinguish between good and evil, and intend to establish severe public discipline, so that people who pursue the precepts should be encouraged, while those who violate them will be persecuted according to the law.

These quotes suffice to illustrate the behavior of monks and the atmosphere of temples of that time. To follow poor habits is like the falling of a mountain, it happens all of a sudden. Daily conditions were worsening, and monks disdained to reflect on basically reverting their course. Thus, the reign of King Gongmin is marked by a

myriad of critics. In fact, in the first year of his reign (1351), a student of the Gukjagam 國子監 (state university), Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–1396), memorialized the throne and said,

Since Buddhism was introduced to China, kings, princes, high officials, and the people without distinction of status treated it with great respect and reverence. From the Han dynasty to the present, its progress was constant, daily, monthly. Therefore, our King Taejo transformed the house into a country, and Buddhist temples and the people's houses became intertwined. From the middle [Goryeo] period onward, its followers have prospered evermore, and the Five Doctrinal and Two Meditation sects have become the dens of private interests. There are no rivers or valleys near which we cannot find a Buddhist temple. Monks are not alone in having become debased; even the common people of this country wander around begging for food. The knowledgeable suffer in their hearts. Although the Buddha is a great saint, his likes and dislikes mirror those of other people. How can he, as the spirit of a deceased Buddha, not feel shame at the behavior of his disciples?

Your subject begs Your Majesty to issue a prohibition, whereby those who have already become monks can be issued a monk's certificate, whereas those who have not must be enrolled immediately for the military registers, and you should order the demolishing of newly built temples. Those who do not comply should be prosecuted promptly. Commoners should not be allowed to become monks without any constraints. I've heard that Your Majesty's earnestness in supporting Buddhism is more fervent than that of previous kings, and that Your prayers for the country's good fortune are vigorous and effective.

I think to myself that the Buddha is a great and absolutely just sage who is highly respectable, and even if we treat him lightly, he would not grow upset. We must [note that] the Buddhist sūtras clearly state that the merits of offering alms do not equate to those of holding the sūtras. Thus, when You are freed from the duties of government

and set your mind at rest, nothing prevents you from concentrating on the sūtras and on contemplating sudden awakening. However, as the administrator of the people, you should be a role model for others. Waste leads to an impoverishment of state finances, and we cannot but exercise caution when checking it at the outset. Confucius said, ‘Spirits must be respected but kept at a distance,’ and I believe Your Majesty should act according to this manner with regard to Buddhism.

Minister of the board of personnel Kang Hoebaek 姜淮伯 stated the following in a memorial:

How is it possible that there are people who rely on Buddhism, believe in magical illusions, and arrange for the search of happiness and welfare while also expecting good politics? For Buddhism, the suppression of desires is of utmost importance. If the people’s resources are exhausted in making Buddhist images and erecting stūpas, I fear that this is a sin for the Buddhist religion, and disaster is bound to follow.²⁵⁶

The Censore memorialized the throne by stating,

Originally, Buddhism held purity in high regard, but Buddha’s followers, through the doctrine of punishment and rewards, madly entice widows and orphaned women to cut off their hair and become nuns. They sleep in places shared by both [men and women], and with no constraints, they abandon themselves to desire. They visit the royal families and the residences of officials urging them to offer Buddhist services, and stay overnight in the mountains, oftentimes spreading rumours, and scandals permeate public life.

From now on, they should be forbidden, and transgressors should be prosecuted. Moreover, regarding local officials and the personnel of stations, public and private slaves regularly evade taxes and corvée duties, seeking change as Buddhist monks. Gripping Buddhist images

in their hands, they chant Buddhist hymns with their tongues and rampage the countryside, dissipating people's finances and leaving impoverished villages in their wake. Their harm is not negligible, and we request that they be arrested and returned to their previous occupations.”²⁵⁷

In the first year of King Chang (昌王, 1389), Jo Inok 趙仁沃 (1347–1396) presented a memorial that stated,

The teaching of Buddhism contains purity, the suppression of desires, and detachment from the world and human society as faith [precepts]; therefore, it is inappropriate as an approach for administering the country. Monks of many temples have recently shown that they do not mind the teachings of their masters regarding the suppression of desires, and among the taxes they collect from the fields and the labor of the slaves, they do not offer them to the Buddha, but instead enrich themselves, and they frequent the homes of widows and taint society's customs, and bribe powerful and noble families in order to secure the abbotship of important temples. This is completely at odds with the purity of mind and the teaching to cut off all ties with the world.

Henceforth, those who dedicate themselves to virtuous conduct should be identified and offered the direction of temples, and proceeds from the land and the work of slaves should be collected by the relevant government offices and distributed equally according to the number of monks, forbidding embezzlement by temple abbots. We plead Your Majesty to impeach monks who commit sexual assault when passing the night in private homes, and bar the women of noble and humble families from visiting temples, even if the reason for their visit is due to the loss of their close relatives. With no regard to nobles and poor women should be prevented from going to temples even in cases of loss of relatives and those who violate [this order] should be prosecuted for losing their integrity, those who cut off women's hair should be subject to heavy penalties. Local employees, station workers, and slaves, both public and private, should not be permitted

to become monks and nuns. Moreover, monks who stay in laypeople's quarters should be enrolled in the military registers, and the owners of these houses should likewise be prosecuted.

In the third year of King Gongyang (1391), on the occasion of a royal instruction, the dean of the Seonggyun'gwan 成均館 (National Confucian University), Gim Jasu 金自粹, a professor from the Seonggyu'gwan, Gim Cho 金貂, the director, Heo Eung 許應, Great Minister Jeong Dojeon 鄭道傳, Minister of Personnel Jeong Chong 鄭摠, an official of the Medical Institute, Gim Jeon 金璵, a student of the Seonggyu'gwan, Bak Cho 朴礎, and others criticized malpractices related to Buddhism with such severity, and their memorials appeared with such frequency, that their destructive power knew no bounds.

Jeong Dojeon wrote fifteen works titled *Bulssi japbyeon* 佛氏雜辨 (An Array of Critiques of Buddhism; i.e., "Criticism of the Buddhist Doctrine of Karma," "Criticism of the Doctrine of Causation," "Criticism of the Mind and Nature," "Criticism of the Identity of Function and Nature," "Criticism of the Buddhist Theory That Function Is Nature," "Criticism of the Ignorance of Buddhism Relating to the Way and the Instrument," "Criticism of Buddhist Benevolence," "Criticism of Truth and False in Buddhism," "Criticism of the Buddhist Hells," "Criticism of Calamity and Fortune in Buddhism," "Criticism of Buddhist Begging," "Criticism of Buddhist Meditation and Doctrine," "Criticism of Doctrines Relating to the Identity and Diversity of Confucianism and Buddhism," and "Criticism Concerning the Rejection of Heresy"), in which he strongly refuted Buddhism and defended Confucianism.

Following a comprehensive reform, in the end he warned against following the path taken in the past by the Goryeo dynasty. The zenith of the oppression of Buddhism began with a reduction in the number of Buddhist sects, followed by a cap on the number of monks, the confiscation of land owned by monastic institutions, and the reduction of the number of temple slaves. It concluded with the abolition of the religious examinations, the termination of the

licensing system for monks, the chasing out of monks from cities and banning them from reentry, the vilification of monks and the esteem of the laity, and so on. Therefore, the problematic and divisive voices that existed beneath the surface during the five-hundred years of Goryeo culminated into full-blown persecutive practices during the five-hundred years of the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910).

PART III

THE JOSEON PERIOD

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Chapter 1

King Taejo and Buddhism

If we were to describe the Joseon 朝鮮 dynasty in just a few words, it could be characterized as a period of rejection of Buddhism. However, we cannot say that all the kings repudiated the faith; with the exception of kings Taejong 太宗 (r. 1401–1418), Yeonsan'gun 燕山君 (r. 1494–1506), and Sukjong 肅宗 (r. 1674–1720), the remaining rulers were all adherents of Buddhism. Especially during the reign of King Taejo 太祖 (r. 1392–1398),¹ the dynastic founder, the atmosphere of Goryeo's reverence of Buddhism remained deeply ingrained in people's minds, and Confucian opposition to Buddhism had yet to gain steam. Even King Taejo, Yi Seonggye 李成桂, felt the need to believe in Buddhism and appease the people by employing it as a political tool, much akin to how an earlier King Taejo Wang Geon, the founder of the Goryeo dynasty, had relied on Buddhism to realize his ambitions of founding a new state. Therefore, the locations where King Taejo prayed and read religious texts were many, and Yi Seonggye revered the Meditation style of the Jogye 曹溪 sect in particular. He also respected as his masters virtuous monks such as Taego Bou 太古普愚 (1301–1382),² Naong Hyegeun 懶翁惠勤 (1320–1376),³ and Muhak Jacho 無學自超 (1327–1405),⁴ and did his utmost to safeguard Buddhism.

Yi Seonggye was born in Yeongheung-gun 永興郡, Hamgyeong-do 咸鏡道. From an early age, his sense of morality, courage, and strength surpassed that of other men. He served during the reign of King U 祜王, demonstrating his military valor on several occasions. In 1392 he ascended the throne following King Gongyang's (恭讓王 r. 1389–1392) abdication. He then transferred the capital to Hanyang 漢陽, present-day Seoul, and renamed the country Joseon 朝鮮.

During his second year in power (1393), he repaired the pagodas of the Yeonboksa 演福寺 and Haeinsa 海印寺 temples, and in his sixth year (1397), he had Heungcheonsa 興天寺 Temple constructed in honor of his queen Lady Kang, Queen Sindeok (神德王后). In addition, in order to celebrate the happiness of royal ancestors and the welfare of the people, he inaugurated a convocation for the water and land ritual (*suryuk doryang* 水陸道場) at Jin'gwansa 津寬寺 Temple, participating directly in the opening ceremony and issuing an edict to the eunuch Yi Deukbun⁵ and the monk Joseon 祖禪, which reads as follows:

I have assumed command of the country, thanks only to the good work of my ancestors; therefore, I must exert myself strenuously in order to express gratitude for their virtue. Moreover, whenever I think of the ministers and the people, I know that some have died serving this country, while others have simply met natural deaths; hence, I fear that those who have perished without leaving any descendants behind have no one who can celebrate ceremonies in their memory, and they will be left to wander in the netherworld as hungry ghosts, and succumb to darkness without the possibility of salvation. I am thus establishing a convocation for the water and land ritual in an ancient temple, and it should be celebrated customarily every year in order to pray for the happiness of our ancestors and to benefit the people. So please go and find a suitable location.⁶

Once the renovation at Haeinsa was complete, King Taejo composed the following dedication by hand, relying on Buddhism to pray for the happiness of the country and to be of assistance to the people:

I hear that the *sūtras* (*gyeong* 經), the *vinaya* (*yul* 律), and the *śāstras* (*non* 論) are collectively called the *tripitaka* (*daejanggyeong* 大藏經). Although the teachings of the Buddha comprise ten-thousand separate expedient means, the substance of his teachings is no more than the study of the following three aspects: observance of the precepts,

meditation, and wisdom. The basis of these three fields of study rests on the one mind. Such being the case, the three baskets of the tripiṭaka and the one mind attain harmonious unity. As its profound meaning extends into the past, present, and future and in the ten directions, how would it then be possible to evaluate its merits? I have received the protection of heaven and earth, as well as the favor of the court, and thanks to them, I have been able to ascend the throne. I think that as a man of no virtue, I am unable to bear such a heavy burden, but should I rely on the strength of Buddhism, I can only hope to bring contentment to the forefathers and be of assistance to the people. Therefore, having assumed the throne, I have repaired ancient stupas and made solemn preparations, and together with the ministers, I have printed the tripiṭaka, which is to be preserved inside the pagoda. I hope that we receive hidden protection, and like clouds, spread the teaching of the dharma widely, so that all living things may be born, the country is merry, the people prosper, and we receive the strength to govern the world capably, without wars, for ten-thousand years and eternally. This is my wish.⁷

Chapter 2

King Taejong's Persecution of Buddhism

Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (*seon'gyo* 仙敎) have coexisted since the Three Kingdoms period. In the beginning, any contrasting features or exclusionary attempts among them were absent, and like water and milk, they blended harmoniously. Moreover, in certain ways, both the Confucian and Daoist schools conceded superiority to Buddhism, finding satisfaction in assuming a secondary role. This statement is clearly supported by the “Huiyangsan Mountain Stone Inscription of National Preceptor Jijeung,”⁸ written by Choe Chiwon 崔致遠 (b. 857),⁹ which reads, “Confucius relied on humanity and virtue. Laozi knew what is white, but preserved that which is black. And the believers of the two faiths thought that theirs was the example to follow. However, the Buddha believed that measuring one’s strength against others is problematic.”

During the reign of King Chungnyeol (忠烈王, r. 1274–1308) of Goryeo, An Hyang 安珦 (1243–1306)¹⁰ lamented in a poem that only Buddhism was flourishing, whereas Confucianism was stagnating: “Incense and lanterns occupy every space, and all pray to the Buddha, with flutes and pipes in every home celebrating the rites to revere the spirits. Only the Confucian shrine, being just a few *gan* in size, its garden full of autumn weeds, and no one comes to visit it.”¹¹ Thereafter, he called for the establishment of a funding organization for the encouragement of Confucian studies (*seomhakjeon* 賦學錢),¹² and revived the state university. With the remainder of the funds, he sent students to China to acquire paintings of Confucius and his seventy-two disciples, to whom he began making sacrificial offerings. In this manner, the foundation of Confucianism became firmly rooted, facing Buddhism and starting to oppose it.

After him we have the prose of Baek Ijeong 白頤正,¹³ Gwon Bu 權溥,¹⁴ Yi Jehyeon 李齊賢,¹⁵ Yi Gok 李穀,¹⁶ and Yi Saek 李檮;¹⁷ as well as the study of the Way (Dohak 道學) by Jeong Mongju 鄭夢周¹⁸ and Gil Jae 吉再,¹⁹ which gained increasing popularity, contributing to an unprecedented rise of Confucianism. Finally, anti-Buddhist propaganda spread like fire from all four corners of the kingdom, and this is when, as discussed at the end of the previous chapter, people such as Gim Jasu 金子粹,²⁰ Gim Cho 金貂,²¹ and Jeong Dojeon 鄭道傳,²² among others, presented memorials to the throne and composed books that were critical of Buddhism.

King Taejo himself, while believing in Buddhism, also reprimanded the numerous excesses of the Buddhist establishment that had been exercised during the previous dynasty. He was prone to reducing the number of Buddhist sects and confiscating Buddhist landholdings. However, as the founder of the dynasty, he left this task incomplete. The third successor, King Taejong, went on to promote a suppressive campaign against Buddhism. King Taejong, although the son of a general, since an early age demonstrated a great fondness for literature, passed the state examinations, and joined the Confucian elite, seizing every opportunity to cultivate friendships with Confucian scholars and encouraging the establishment of schools and the upbringing of Confucian scholars. He concurrently exerted himself strenuously in all aspects of political administration, to the extent that much of his father's work achieved success thanks to the efforts of King Taejong, a sovereign especially gifted in the art of governance.

In fact, his customary approach to thinking of and dealing with Buddhism was extremely harsh, as evidenced by the case of the bronze Buddha statue of Jejudo 濟州島. The relevant facts are as follows:

The Ming emperor Taizong 太宗 dispatched Huang Yan 黃儼 to bring a bronze Buddha statue from Jejudo 濟州島, and when the statue reached the grounds of the emissary's lodgings, Yan requested that

King Taejong be the first to pay his respects to the statue before performing the rite of reception of the envoy. King Taejong said to his ministers and high officials, “If a bronze statue of the Buddha were to be brought from the Ming Empire, we would be bound by duty to bow in front of it as a show of respect to the empire. However, because this is not the case, how could there be such a need?” Ha Ryun 河峴²³ and others objected, “The emperor reveres the Buddha, and all are aware of Huang Yan’s arrogance. Thus, we urge Your Majesty to abide and pay your respects.”

King Taejong thus lamented, “Among my subjects, no one is upholding righteousness. If Yan is so fearful, how can we find anyone to assist the king and the people in the face of such difficulties? When Goryeo king Chunghye (忠惠王) was apprehended and hauled to China, none dared rescue him. And if now I would occasion a challenging or perilous predicament, it would be difficult for me to expect any alternate outcome. A king cannot behave lightly. So how can my bowing in front of the Buddha bear any relevance to rituals?” He then addressed Huang Yan, “The disgrace and good fortune of a vassal country do not rest with the bronze statue of the Buddha. Instead, what is of utmost importance is to secure an audience with the emperor’s messenger. How could I, first and foremost, pay my respects to a bronze statue of the Buddha originating from our own land?” Huang Yan raised his eyes to the skies and pondered for some time before acquiescing, and proceeded with the ritual. King Taejong is thus said to have not bowed in front of the Buddha.

He did not consider it shameful to suffer humiliation at the hands of the Ming emissary, but believed only that it would be improper to bow in front of the statue.²⁴ This is a case that clearly depicts the standard policy line of Joseon Confucian politics, which promoted the notion of revering the great (*sadae juyi* 事大主義).

Chapter 3

Amalgamation of the Sects (1)

In 1402, the astrologers of the Seoun'gwan 書雲觀²⁵ presented a memorial that read as follows:

When King Taejo of Goryeo unified the three Han states, first he established Buddhist temples and erected statues, donating to them land and slaves. His successors and their ministers continued this practice and had great temples constructed, calling them votive shrines (*wondang* 願堂) and offering plenty of fields and slaves. For this reason, for five-hundred years, the number of temples in and outside the capital was countless. As a result both the Meditation and Doctrinal sects vie for land and people. They possess fattened horses and light fur coats, and in the worst of cases, they are debauched with wine and sex, and their hedonistic acts know no bounds. Although temples number in the thousands, and monks are no fewer than in the tens of thousands, their behavior being such, although in theory they benefit the country, how could they be of any actual service? Apart from the seventy temples located in the capital and the rest of the country, we urge that the temple-owned fields be taxed forever and that they be assigned to the military board (Gunjagam 軍資監),²⁶ whereas temple slaves are to be allotted to various government agencies.²⁷

In 1405, the state council (Uijeongbu 議政府)²⁸ presented a memorial calling for reforms targeting temples, shrines, and their annexed land and slaves. It reads as follows:

We do not need to believe in the notion that Buddhist temples and stūpas protect the state²⁹ and aid in governance. However, much time

has passed; the believers are many, and it is not possible to eliminate this practice. Of all the protective temples and shrines enlisted in the secret registries of the previous dynasty, and in the records of such places sent to the court by every magistrate in the provinces, only one temple should be left for each of the Five Doctrinal and Two Meditation sects in the new and old capital, and one temple each in the provinces, above the provincial centers *mok* 牧 and *bu* 府. Above the Gammugwan 監務官 level, there should be only one temple for each of the Seon 禪 and Gyo 教 sects, as it was before.³⁰

This [proposal] was followed, and numerous temples throughout the country were shut down as a result.³¹ Only the Yeon'gyeongsa 衍慶寺, Heungcheonsa 興天寺, Hwajangsa 華藏寺, Sin'gwangsa 神光寺, Seogwangsa 釋王寺, Naksansa 洛山寺, Seongdeungsa 聖燈寺, Jin'gwansa 津寬寺, Sangwonsa 上院寺, Gyeonamsa 見庵寺, Gwaneumgul 觀音崛, Hoe'amsa 檜庵寺, Banya jeon 般若殿, Manuisa 萬義寺, and Gamnosa 甘露寺 temples and shrines were left untouched.

In 1406, the state council presented another memorial, this time calling for the amalgamation of sects and the assignment of temples to each sect:

From here on, if we are to discuss once more the temples in the old and new capital, the Seon and Gyo [sects] should possess one [temple] each, the annexed lands should comprise two-hundred *gyeols* 結 (plots), and the temple slaves should number one-hundred, as should the resident monks (*sangyang* 常養). The remaining temples should each be limited to owning one-hundred *gyeols* of land, fifty slaves, and fifty resident monks; the administration centers (*gyesugwan* 界首官) of each province should possess one temple, either Seon or Gyo, with one-hundred *gyeols* of land annexed, fifty slaves, and fifty monks; the supporting temples (*jaboksa* 資福寺)³² of each township should receive twenty *gyeols* of land, ten slaves, and ten monks; and temples outside of the townships should be assigned sixty *gyeols* of land, thirty slaves, and thirty resident monks.

Concerning temples registered in the secret records (*milgi* 密記), they are included as temples in auspicious sites of the old capital and protective temples, so what is there to lose if we were to also leave them in the new capital? Thus, we hope that you will transfer ownership of the annexed temples and people to the Five Doctrinal and Two Meditation sects based in the capital that do not own any. Moreover, the land and people belonging to temples in excess of the established quota should be transferred to the temples that do not reach the quota, with the remainder to be transferred to the state.

The Jogye (曹溪宗)³³ and the Chongji (摠持宗)³⁴ sects are to be merged and left with seventy temples; the Cheontae Soja (天台疏字宗)³⁵ and Beopsa (法事宗)³⁶ sects are to be amalgamated and left with forty-three temples; the Hwaeom (華嚴宗)³⁷ and the Domun (道門宗)³⁸ sects are to be combined and left with forty-three temples; the Ja'eun sect (慈恩宗)³⁹ should be left with thirty-six temples; the Jungdo (中道宗)⁴⁰ and Sinin (神印宗)⁴¹ sects with thirty; and the Namsan (南山宗)⁴² and the Siheung (始興宗)⁴³ sects with ten.⁴⁴

The proposal was accepted, and only 242 temples remained in the entire country, whereas the rest, despite their protestations, were destroyed. Thus, the following year, the state council once again proposed replacing the most renowned temples of the country with supporting temples, stating the following:

Last year, when the temples and shrines were abolished, some great temples from the Three Kingdoms period were included on the demolition list, while abbots were nonetheless assigned to them. So how could these monks not harbor resentment and grief in their hearts? Thus, if great temples occupying ideal locations are chosen as replacements of the abolished temples, then the monks will have a place to stay.⁴⁵

Accordingly, all supporting temples in the districts were replaced with famous temples in each locality. The temples listed at the time (totaling eighty-eight) were the following:

The Jogye sect

Yangju 梁州 Tongdosa 通度寺,⁴⁶ Changnyeong 昌寧 Yeonhwasa 蓮花寺,⁴⁸ Uiseong 義城 Bingsansa 氷山寺,⁵⁰ Eonyang 彦陽 Seongnamsa 石南寺,⁵² Jangheung 長興 Gajisa 過智寺,⁵⁴ Gokseong 谷城 Dongnisa 桐裏寺,⁵⁶ Gunwi 軍威 Beopjusa 法住寺,⁵⁸ Yeongam 靈巖 Dogapsa 道岬寺,⁶⁰ Namyang 南陽 Hongbeopsa 弘法寺,⁶² Saneum 山陰 Jigoksa 智谷寺,⁶⁴ Tamjin 耽津 Mandeoksa 萬德寺,⁶⁶ Jiksan 櫻山 Cheonheungsa 天興寺,⁶⁸
 (totaling twenty-four)

Songsaeng 松生 Ssangamsa 雙巖寺,⁴⁷ Jipyeong 碇平 Borigapsa 菩提岬寺,⁴⁹ Yeongju 永州 Jeonggaksa 鼎覺寺,⁵¹ Uiheung 義興 Ingaksa 鱗角寺,⁵³ Nagan 樂安 Jinggwangsa 澄光寺,⁵⁵ Gameum 減陰 Yeonggaksa 靈覺寺,⁵⁷ Gicheon 基川 Jeongnimsa 淨林寺,⁵⁹ Yeongchun 永春 Deokcheonsa 德泉寺,⁶¹ Indong 仁同 Garimsa 嘉林寺,⁶³ Okcheon 沃川 Jireuksa 智勒寺,⁶⁵ Cheongyang 青陽 Janggoksa 長谷寺,⁶⁷ Anseong 安城 Seongnamsa 石南寺⁶⁹

The Cheontae sect

Chungju 忠州 Eomjeongsa 嚴正寺,⁷⁰ Taesan 泰山 Heungnyongsa 興龍寺,⁷² Yeongpyeong 永平 Baegunsa 白雲寺,⁷⁴ Yeonghae 寧海 Ujangsa 雨長寺,⁷⁶ Dogang 道康 Muwisa 無爲寺,⁷⁸ Daeheung 大興 Songnimsa 松林寺,⁸⁰ Geumsan 金山 Jinheungsa 眞興寺,⁸² Jangsa 長沙 Seonunsa 禪雲寺,⁸⁴ Yonggu 龍駒 Seobongsa 瑞峰寺⁸⁶
 (totaling seventeen temples)

Chogye 草溪 Baegamsa 白巖寺,⁷¹ Jeongsan 定山 Gyebongsa 鷄鳳寺,⁷³ Gwangju 廣州 Cheonggyesa 清溪寺,⁷⁵ Daegu 大邱 Yongcheonsa 龍泉寺,⁷⁷ Unbong 雲峯 Wonsusa 原水寺,⁷⁹ Munhwa 文化 Gu'eopsa 區業寺,⁸¹ Muan 務安 Daegulsa 大嶧寺,⁸³ Jeju 堤州 Jangnaksa 長樂寺,⁸⁵

The Hwaeom sect

Jangheung 長興 Geumjangsa 金藏寺,⁸⁷ Wonju 原州 Beopcheonsa 法泉寺,⁸⁹ Uichang 義昌 Ungsinsa 熊神寺,⁹¹ Yangju 裏州 Seongbulsa 成佛寺,⁹³ Suncheon 順天 Hyangnimsa 香林寺,⁹⁵ Sillyeong 新寧 Gongdeoksa 功德寺⁹⁷
 (totaling eleven temples)

Miryang 密陽 Eomgwangsa 嚴光寺,⁸⁸ Cheongju 清州 Wonheungsa 原興寺,⁹⁰ Ganghwa 江華 Jeonhyangsa 梅香寺,⁹² Anbyeon 安邊 Bisasa 毗沙寺,⁹⁴ Cheongdo 清道 Chiryeopsa 七葉寺,⁹⁶

The Ja'eun sect

Seungnyeong 僧嶺 Gwaneumsa 觀音寺,⁹⁸ Yangju 楊州 Sinhyeolsa 神穴寺,⁹⁹
 Gaeryeong 開寧 Sajasa 獅子寺,¹⁰⁰ Yanggeun 楊根 Baegamsa 白巖寺,¹⁰¹
 Nampo 藍浦 Seongjusa 聖住寺,¹⁰² Imcheon 林川 Bogwangsa 普光寺,¹⁰³
 Uiryeong 宜寧 Unginsa 熊仁寺,¹⁰⁴ Hadong 河東 Yanggyeongsa 陽景寺,¹⁰⁵
 Neungseong 紗城 Gongnimsa 公林寺,¹⁰⁶ Bongju 凤州 Seongbulsa 成佛寺,¹⁰⁷
 Yeoheung 驪興 Sinisa 神異寺,¹⁰⁸ Gimhae 金海 Gamnosa 甘露寺,¹⁰⁹
 Seonju 善州 Wonheungsa 原興寺,¹¹⁰ Hamyang 咸陽 Eomcheonsa 嚴川寺,¹¹¹
 Suwon 水原 Changseongsa 彰聖寺,¹¹² Jinju 晉州 Beomnyunsa 法輪寺,¹¹³
 Gwangju 光州 Jin'guksa 鎮國寺¹¹⁴
 (totaling seventeen temples)

The Jungsin sect

Imsil 任實 Jin'gusa 珍丘寺,¹¹⁵ Hampung 咸豐 Gunnisa 君尼寺,¹¹⁶
 Aju 牙州 Dongnimsa 桐林寺,¹¹⁷ Cheongju 清州 Bogyeongsa 菩慶寺,¹¹⁸
 Bonghwa 奉化 Taejasa 太子寺,¹¹⁹ Goseong 固城 Beopcheonsa 法泉寺,¹²⁰
 Baekju 白州 Gyeonbulsa 見佛寺,¹²¹ Ikju 益州 Mireuksa 彌勒寺¹²²
 (totaling eight temples)

The Chongnam sect

Gangeum 江陰 Cheonsinsa 天神寺,¹²³ Imjin 臨津 Changhwasa 昌和寺,¹²⁴
 Samcheok 三陟 Samhwasa 三和寺,¹²⁵ Hwasun 和順 Manyeonsa 萬淵寺,¹²⁶
 Naju 羅州 Bogwangsa 普光寺,¹²⁷ Changpyeong 昌平 Seobongsa 瑞峰寺,¹²⁸
 Inje 麟蹄 Hyeon'gosa 玄高寺,¹²⁹ Gyerim 鷄林 Cheonwangsa 天王寺¹³⁰
 (totaling eight temples).

The Sihung sect

Yeonju 漣州 Obongsa 五峰寺,¹³¹ Yeonpung 連豐 Hageosa 霞居寺,¹³²
 Goheung 高興 Jeokjosa 寂照寺¹³³
 (totaling three temples)

We do not know the exact date that the amalgamation of the sects took place, but the memorial prepared by the state council the previous year included a list of the following eleven sects: the Jogye, Chongji, Cheontae soja, Cheontae Beopsa, Hwaeom, Domun,

Ja'eun, Jungdo, Sinin, Namsan, and Siheung, but the new memorial lists only seven remaining sects, which are the Jogye, Cheontae (Soja and Beopsa combined), Hwaeom, Ja'eun, Jungsin 中神 (Jungdo and Sinin combined), Chongnam 捏南 (Chongji and Namsan combined), and Siheung. Therefore, the eleven sects had been further reduced to seven, which clearly occurred between the twenty-seventh day of the third month of the sixth year (1406) and before the second day of the twelfth month of the seventh year (1407). However, it is not mentioned in the *Sillok*, and in the *Yongjae chonghwa*, written by Seong Hyeon 成倪,¹³⁴ only the following vague reference can be found: “By the time we reach King Taejong’s reign, the twelve sects have been abolished, and only two sects remain.”

Chapter 4

Amalgamation of the Sects (2)

Seventeen years later (i.e., in the sixth year of King Sejong's reign, 1424), on the fifth day of the fourth month, the Ministry of Rites presented the following memorial:

The Buddhist religion was represented only by the Meditation and Doctrinal sects. Thereafter, both orthodox and unorthodox traditions were transmitted, and finally, they distinguished themselves into seven sects. [The message] was transmitted in an erroneous manner; hence, with greater distancing from its origins, the more splintered they became, which is indeed a shame for the doctrine of the masters. Moreover, both in the center and in the provinces, many temples were constructed and annexed to each sect. Due to their numbers, monks spread in all directions, and temples and shrines fell to ruin to the extent that no one could inhabit them. And because they have not undergone consistent maintenance, they are gradually falling apart.

We request that the three sects of Jogye, Cheontae, and Chongnam be amalgamated into the Meditation sect (Seon), and that the four sects of Hwaeom, Ja'eun, Jungsin, and Siheung be merged into the Doctrinal sect (Gyo). We should choose 36 temples in the capital and the provinces where monks could stay and assign them to those temples. We should provide temples with paddy fields and, upon determining the number of dwelling monks, who share communal living quarters and practice their faith, we should permit them to cultivate their faith earnestly.

Moreover, the superintendence of the monks (Seungnoksa 僧錄司)¹³⁵ should be abolished, and in the capital, Heungcheonsa 興天寺 Temple¹³⁶ should be made the administrative center (*dohoeso* 都會所)¹³⁷

of the Seon sect, as should Heungdeoksa 興德寺 Temple¹³⁸ for the Gyo sect. Monks who demonstrate themselves to be of outstanding character should be selected to head the sects and to scrutinize monk-related matters. Now we divide by item the specific number of monks among the temples and shrines of the center and the periphery, and fix the number of *gyeols* (plots) of land to be allotted to them.¹³⁹

Therefore, eighteen temples are assigned to the Meditation sect, with 4,250 *gyeols* of paddy fields; and eighteen temples to the Doctrinal sect, with 3,700 *gyeols* of land.

The following chart contains a list of the temples, together with the fixed number of monks allotted to them:

Amount of land and number of monks

Province	County	Temple	Land Previously Owned (gyeo)	Land Added (gyeol)	Number of resident monks
Amount of land and number of monks of the eighteen Seon temples					
Gyeonggi	Seoul	Heungcheonsa	160	90	120
	Gaeseong	Sunghyosa ¹⁴⁰	100	100	100
		Yeonboksa ¹⁴¹	100	100	100
	Gaeseong Vicinity	Gwaneumgul ¹⁴²	45	105 (<i>suryuk</i> land) 100	70
		Seunggasa ¹⁴³	60	90	70
	Yangju	Gaegyeongsa ¹⁴⁴	400	-	200
		Hoe'amsa ¹⁴⁵	500	-	250
		Jin'gwansa ¹⁴⁶	60	90 (<i>suryuk</i> land) 100	70
	Goyang	Daejaam ¹⁴⁷	152.96	97.04	120
Chungcheong	Gongju	Gyeryongsa ¹⁴⁸	100	50	70
Gyeongsang	Jinju	Dansoksa ¹⁴⁹	100	100	100
	Gyeongju	Girimsa ¹⁵⁰	100	50	70

Jeolla	Gurye	Hwaeomsa ¹⁵¹	100	50	70
	Taein	Heungnyongsa	80	70	70
Gangwon	Goseong	Yujeomsa ¹⁵²	205	95	150
	Wonju	Gangnimsa ¹⁵³	300	-	150
Hwanghae	Eunyul	Jeonggoksa ¹⁵⁴	60	90	70
Hamgil	Anbyeon	Seog'wangsa ¹⁵⁵	200	50	120
Total (Seon sect)		18	2,822.96	1,427.04	1,970

Amount of land and number of monks of the eighteen Gyo temples

Gyeonggi	Seoul	Heungdeoksa	250	-	120
	Gaeseong	Gwangmyeongsa ¹⁵⁶	100	100	100
		Sinamsa ¹⁵⁷	60	90	70
	Gaeseong Vicinity	Gamnosa ¹⁵⁸	40	160	100
	Haepung	Yeon'gyeongsa ¹⁵⁹	300	100	200
	Songnim	Yeongtongsa ¹⁶⁰	200	-	100
	Yangju	Janguisa ¹⁶¹	200	50	120
		Soyosa ¹⁶²	150	-	70
Chungcheong	Bo'eun	Songnisa ¹⁶³	60	140	100
	Chungju	Boryeonsa ¹⁶⁴	80	70	70
Gyeongsang	Geoje	Gyeonamsa ¹⁶⁵	50	100	70
	Hapcheon	Haeinsa ¹⁶⁶	80	120	100
Jeolla	Changpyeong	Seobongsa	60	90	70
	Jeonju	Gyeongboksa ¹⁶⁷	100	50	70
Gangwon	Hoeyang	Pyohunsa ¹⁶⁸	210	90	150
Hwanghae	Munhwa	Woljeongsa ¹⁶⁹	100	100	100
	Haeju	Sin'gwangsa ¹⁷⁰	200	50	120
Pyeongan	Pyeongyang	Yeongmyeongsa ¹⁷¹	100	50	70
Total (Gyo sect)		18	2,340	1,360	1,750
Grand Total		36	5,162.96	2,787.04	3,720

As shown in the table, both the Seon and Gyo sects were assigned eighteen temples each, totaling thirty-six temples, with a tally of 5,162 *gyeols* and 96 *bus* of land, to which 2,787 *gyeols* and 4 *bus* of land could be added, for a grand total of 7,950 *gyeols*. Further, the number of monks who could reside there was set at 1,970 for the Seon and 1,750 for the Gyo, for a grand total of 3,720 persons. Therefore, through repeated trimmings, Korean Buddhism, at one time so pervasive, was thus reduced to retain only its most basic features, and the light that had once been cast over a radiant and glorious history spanning more than a thousand years finally waned. From that time on, because of these epochal measures, for five-hundred years a new chapter was opened in the history of Korean Buddhism, one characterized by desolation, darkness, poverty, and despondency. Korean Buddhism would never again recover its former glory.

Chapter 5

Inner Aspects of the Amalgamation of the Sects

The monks of those days, who bore the brunt of the abolition and amalgamation of the Buddhist sects, conducted in two rounds, dismissed these incidents as a mere nuisance, as if it were some natural occurrence, tolerating the new status quo without a word of protest. Certain people believe that it was akin to lightning flashing in a cloudless sky in order to illustrate that these monks had no time to prepare any adequate countermeasures. Others think that the monks did not have the means to orchestrate any significant opposition, but this characterizes a lack of understanding of the conditions of those times, because these oppressive policies did not emerge overnight, but were introduced with increasing stringency over time.

In fact, there had been intentions to conduct such reforms within the Buddhist community itself; such is the case of Royal Preceptor Taego Bou 太古普愚 during the reign of King Gongmin, who established the Wonyung Bureau¹⁷² and attempted to merge the Nine Mountains under a single sect. Moreover, a look back to Gwangjong's 光宗 reign, when the religious examinations were first enacted, shows that monks of the Doctrinal sects of the Hwaeom and Ja'eun sat for the examinations at Wangnyunsa,¹⁷³ whereas their counterparts from the Jogye and Cheontae sat them at Gwangmyeongsa,¹⁷⁴ a clear example of the unification of the clergy into the Doctrinal and Meditation sects.

In addition, the distinction of the monastic community into the Meditation and Doctrinal sects can be traced far back in Korean history, and cannot be said to have originated at this point. Accordingly, monks of the time, rather than opposing the amalgamation of the

sects, must have considered it favorably. The situation must have differed only in cases of the suppression of temples. Thereafter, in the sixth year of King Taejong's reign, following all types of unification measures that finally resulted in a total of 242 temples, monks must have considered inappropriate only the selection process of favoring certain temples over others, which may have stirred discontent among them.

However, at the time, the state had intended to unify the sects not because they attributed Buddhism's ill-doings to the existence of numerous sects, but due to the accumulation of riches by Buddhist establishments. Consequently, the government used the infringement of monastic rules by a few monks as a pretext to confiscate the temples' wealth. Ha Yeon 河演, Gwak Jon 郭存, Yu Jeonghyeon 柳廷顯, Shin Cheo 申處, and Yang Bongrae 梁鳳來, among others, presented a series of memorials to the throne, representing an overall effort to curtail temple holdings and confiscate temple slaves.

In other words, the seizure of temple-owned wealth was the chief objective, whereas the reduction in the number of temples and monks was of secondary importance. In fact, leaving untouched the number of sects at twelve¹⁷⁵ would have implied assigning to each of them a corresponding number of temples and land; however, if the number of sects were to be reduced to seven, the number of temples and the amount of land assigned to each sect would have been reduced accordingly, along with the size of the land allotted.

This is evidenced by the reduction in the number of sects to seven in the seventh year of King Taejong's reign, which explains the downsizing to 242 temples, and in the sixth year of King Sejong's reign, they were reduced even further, to 36. In other words, the state's actions were in line with the Buddhist community's own exercise of distinguishing between the two main schools of Gyo and Seon, although the latter did not disturb expectations or generate friction with religious principles. Thus, the number of temples for each sect was capped, but the size of the landholdings and the number of monks who could dwell in the temples was

increased. Therefore, the state, by approving this legislation, could simultaneously gain the favor of monks while completely expropriating the temples of their assets.

Chapter 6

Faith in the Palace and Clashes between the Old and New Streams of Thought

Although King Taejong pushed ahead with the discriminatory policy against Buddhism after the demise of the retired king Taejo, he organized religious repentance assemblies of Jineon 眞言, Beophwa 法華, and Hwaeom 華嚴, among others, in the mortuary chamber (殯殿) and ordering forty-ninth day ceremonies (*sasipgujae* 四十九齋) and propitious rites of all sizes in all the temples in the country. He stated, “When my father, the king, passed away, in my mind there was no space to distinguish between right and wrong.” In addition, King Sejong was a fervent believer of Buddhism, and to cherish the memory of his deceased consort, Queen Soheon 昭憲,¹⁷⁶ he ordered Prince Suyang 首陽 (the future King Sejo) to compose the *Seokbo sangjeol* 釋譜詳節,¹⁷⁷ and he himself composed the song *Worin cheon'gang ji gok* 月印千江之曲,¹⁷⁸ which became popular throughout the country. He also honored as his preceptor Great Master Haengho 行乎,¹⁷⁹ head of the Cheontae sect and a monk of high repute, and donated to him [a set of] silverware and a rosary, which illustrates his reverence of Buddhism.

Moreover, because the state had just been founded, much remained to be done, and with their existence dating back only forty years, the rites, music and material culture had not yet been given a proper arrangement. Being of virtuous character, King Sejong, upon being freed from the fetters of state affairs, bright and of a superior intellect, dedicated himself to reordering all aspects of public life. Among the five rites (*orye* 五禮),¹⁸⁰ he ordered Heo Jo 許稠¹⁸¹ to write the *Gillye* 吉禮 (Propitious Rites), and Jeong Cheok 鄭陟¹⁸² and Byeon Hyomun 卞孝文¹⁸³ to write *Gabin gunhyung* 嘉賓軍凶 on the four rites (*sarye* 四禮) relating to ceremonies of the royal family, foreign affairs,

military ceremonies, and state funerals.

He then instructed Ryu Sanul 柳思訥,¹⁸⁴ Jeong Inji 鄭麟趾,¹⁸⁵ Bak Yeon 朴堧,¹⁸⁶ and Jeong Yang 鄭穰¹⁸⁷ to write the sheets for elegant music (*aak* 雅樂), poetry music (*siak* 詩樂), and new music (*sinak* 新樂). Moreover, he ordered Yun Hoe 尹淮¹⁸⁸ and Sin Saek 申璣,¹⁸⁹ among others, to compose the monograph on geography (*jiriji* 地理志).

In the field of astronomy, he ordered Jeong Heumji 鄭欽之,¹⁹⁰ Jeong Cho 鄭招,¹⁹¹ Jeong Inji 鄭麟趾, and others to elaborate upon the calendrical calculations (*susi yeokbeop* 授時曆法),¹⁹² and to research the alternation of solar and lunar eclipses (*irwol gyosik* 日月交食)¹⁹³ as well as the measurement of the five planets (*oseong bundo* 五星分度)¹⁹⁴ and compiled *Chiljeongsan naepyeon* 七政算內篇 (Inner Chapters on the Calculation of the Seven Heavenly Bodies).¹⁹⁵ He then commanded Yi Sunji 李純之¹⁹⁶ and Gim Dam 金淡¹⁹⁷ to study and produce an abstract drawing of the Moslem calendar and to draft the *Chiljeongsan oepyeon* 七政算外篇 (Addendum to the Main Corpus),¹⁹⁸ which eventually became the basis of calendrical studies. The sundial (*ilgu'ui* 日晷儀),¹⁹⁹ the pluviometer (*cheugugi* 測雨器),²⁰⁰ a time-precision bell (*jeongsi jong* 定時鐘),²⁰¹ and other instruments were invented during this period thanks to the inquisitive spirit of the king.

In his twenty-fourth year in power (1442), he elaborated upon the Han'geul script to include twenty-eight letters, and called it Hunmin jeongeum 訓民正音 (Propes Sounds to Teach the People), based on the ancient seal script and on Sanskrit characters. He then ordered Jeong Inji, Choe Hang 崔恒,²⁰² Bak Paengnyeon 朴彭年,²⁰³ Sin Sukju 申叔舟,²⁰⁴ Seong Sammun 成三問,²⁰⁵ Yi Gae 李豎,²⁰⁶ and Yi Seonro 李善老,²⁰⁷ among others, to conduct further research and produce a book entitled *Haeryebon* 解例本 (Explanatory Examples),²⁰⁸ which was published and declared countrywide on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month (October 29, according to the Western calendar) in his twenty-eighth year in power (1446). Endowed with such a bright intellect, King Sejong was also a fervent believer in Buddhism, yet he could not sway the minds of his Confucian ministers, and hence, was forced to take measures toward reducing the number of Buddhist

sects and confiscate temple land.

An analysis of the political tendencies of that time reveals two main hidden trends, that of the old guard and that composed mainly of younger officials. Whereas the elders, adhering chiefly to conventional norms, remained guarded believers of Buddhism compared to the younger politicians, full of vigor, who followed the radical notions of Confucian propaganda, which were the doctrinal basis of the policy of revering the great (*sadae* 事大).

Accordingly, underground clashes became frequent between these political currents. Around the same time, when King Sejong passed away, King Munjong ascended the throne, only to die after barely two years in power. The young king Danjong followed, being crowned at the age of twelve. The king still lacked the dignity and moral authority to govern the country, while the court officials were mostly young progressive literati. The elders and the military silently disapproved of them, and in the end, King Sejo, as King Munjong's younger brother and King Danjong's uncle, usurped the throne and became king. This was a palpable victory of the old guard over the young and new. Buddhism in fact had faced a predicament during the reigns of King Sejong, King Munjong, and King Danjong, when radical adherents were on the rise. However, with the advent of King Sejo, these political adversaries were forced to hold their breath, and Joseon Buddhism enjoyed a respite. In fact, there is a tale according to which King Sejo would be the reincarnation of one of the five-hundred arhats, born in the world to save Joseon Buddhism during a period of crisis.²⁰⁹

Chapter 7

King Sejo and Buddhism

After the ascent of King Sejo 世祖, Buddhism, which hitherto had barely been afforded space to breathe, felt fresh blood rushing into its veins. Under King Munjong's 文宗 reign an ordinance had imposed constraints on youngsters pursuing monkhood, in addition to the barring of monks from entering cities. However, during King Sejo's seat in power, without drawing attention, these harsh measures were relaxed. Since princehood, King Sejo had kept close company with some of the most eminent monks of that time such as Reverend Hyegak 慧覺 Sinmi 信眉;²¹⁰ the commissioner of the Meditation sect, Sumi 守眉;²¹¹ the commissioner of the Doctrinal sect, Seoljun 雪峻; Hongjun 弘濬, the abbot of Yeon'gyeongsa 衍慶寺 Temple; Hyoun 曉雲, the abbot of Hoe'amsa; Jihae 智海, the abbot of Daejasa 大慈寺 Temple; and Haecho 海超, the abbot of Soyosa 逍遙寺 Temple; in addition to such great meditation masters as Saji 斯智, Hagyeol 學悅,²¹² and Hakjo 學祖,²¹³ whom he revered as preceptors. He possessed an in-depth knowledge of Seon principles, and was well-versed in the canonical religious texts.

After ascending the throne, King Sejo established the Bureau for the Publication of the Sūtras (Gan'gyeong dogam 刊經都監),²¹⁴ and produced and published Han'geul translations of the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (Won'gak-gyeong 圓覺經), the *Lotus Sūtra* (Beophwa-gyeong 法華經), the *Diamond Sūtra* (Geumgang-gyeong 金剛經), the *Śūramgama-sūtra* (Neungeom-gyeong 楞嚴經), *Chanzong Yongjia ji* 禪宗永嘉集 (A Collection of Writings from Yongjia), and other works. Afterward, he had a massive temple constructed upon the foundations of the remains of Heungboksa 興福寺 Temple, and he called it Won'gaksa Temple.²¹⁵ (It is the present-day location of Pagoda Park, Tapdong gongwon

塔洞公園.) He adorned it with an imposing statue of the Buddha cast in metal and had it installed inside the temple hall, which showcased a bell and a pagoda thirteen stories high.²¹⁶

In order to visit the most famous temples of the land, in his ninth year of reign, he traveled to Bokcheonsa 福泉寺 Temple,²¹⁷ on Songnisan 俗離山 Mountain, Boeun-gun 報恩郡, at the helm of the members of the royal family and the Bureau of Meritorious Subjects,²¹⁸ the high officials of the six ministries,²¹⁹ and functionaries and generals of the military.²²⁰ The purpose of his trip was to make offerings to the three treasures (*sambo* 三寶), and he personally wrote down a wish, which reads as follows:

In the eighth year of Tianshun 天順, on the twenty-eighth day of the second month, we conducted a royal tour and visited Bokcheonsa, on Songnisan 俗離山. At the head of my religious and meritorious subjects, of the functionaries of the six ministries, and of the court officials and generals of the military, we entered the Hall of Extreme Bliss (Geungnakjeon 極樂殿), participated in the dharma assembly, and made offerings to the three treasures. We also met the Venerable Hyegak 慧覺, the virtuous Meditation Master Saji 斯智, the great meditation masters Hageol 學悅 and Hakjo 學祖, and others.

We secure an eternal merit field for our country, and hereby express our wish that from now on until the end of time, never again will a regression or downturn occur to disturb the wide propagation of Buddhist dharma, so that all men and the heavens may attain awakening. In pursuance of my superior fate, be it that my ancestors all reach enlightenment, and may the retainers of the past, present, and future, as well as all the spirits of the universe, all attain enlightenment together.

Disciple of the Buddhist teachings of the period of the decline of the dharma (*Bul malbeop yugyo jeja* 佛末法遺教弟子),
 Seungcheon Chedo Yeolmun Yeongmu 承天體道烈文英武,
 King of the state of Joseon (朝鮮國王).²²¹

In the twelfth month of that same year, when the Venerable Hyegak 慧覺 of Sangwonsa 上院寺 Temple,²²² on Odaesan 五臺山 Mountain, heard that the king had fallen ill, he traveled to the capital to do all in his power to comfort him. King Sejo composed a note for him to express his gratitude for his efforts.²²³ It reads as follows:

There are seven types of worldly beings: Three treasures of the Buddhist dharma, parents, the king, and good and wise advisors, who put in practice the dharma after reaching enlightenment. However, the three treasures are best for those who abandon this world; parents are best fit for upbringing, the king is essential for protecting the person, and good and wise advisors are best for guidance to confounded people.

Ever since I was a prince, I met with you, Venerable Hyegak, at an early age. Our paths were in accordance with the Way, and our hearts were at peace. And when I followed a path full of dust, you pulled me back every time, forcing me to think clearly, without allowing me to fall into the ditch. Is it not your merit if I have come to this day? Were it not for the many aeons of accumulated karma, how could we have ever met? Now you have heard that I am unwell, battling this disease. Nay, you haven't remained in bed, instead making haste day and night to cover over one-hundred *ris*. Although it is not meant to revere the king and it is the fulfilment of one's own duty, it is akin to the great mercy of saving all living beings. When I learned of your action I was deeply moved, and shed tears to no end.

I also heard that you, along with masters Hagyeol 學悅 and Hakjo 學祖, sold all of your robes and goods in order to have a temple constructed in my honor. I am so grateful for the thoughtfulness that this master has for me that no human words could describe my gratitude. Therefore, I am most content in my thoughts of helping with the expenses, so that it may translate into eternal good karma, “the firm resolution that is bodhi, the wisdom of enlightenment.” I entrust it to the prince heir so that it may be transmitted to posterity.

The disciple of the Buddha Seungcheon Chedo Yeolmun

Yeongmu 承天體道烈文英武,

King of the state of Joseon (朝鮮國王) Yi Yu 李琢

In the twelfth year (1467), King Sejo again traveled east, this time to Geumgangsan 金剛山 Mountain, to pay his respects to the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata (Kor. Dammugal bosal 曼無揭菩薩)²²⁴ before traveling south as he trailed the seashore. He arrived at Naksansa 洛山寺 Temple,²²⁵ where he bowed in front of the statue of Avalokiteśvara (Kor. Gwaneum 觀音), receiving on that occasion a propitious omen related to the splitting of a *śarīra* (relic). Afterward, he made his way to Sangwonsa, on Odaesan 五臺山, where a vision of Mañjuśrī as a youthful lad (Kor. Munsu dongja 文殊童子) appeared before him, a miracle that further strengthened his faith. The complete shaving off of hair (*baekhoe* 百會) by laymen and the donning of red belts by monks are said to have originated during this period, as well as the cat-feeding fields found in certain temples.

Chapter 8

The Persecutions of King Yeonsan'gun

After King Sejo's demise, King Yejong 睿宗 (r. 1468–1469) ascended the throne, with King Seongjong 成宗 (r. 1469–1494) after him. Although King Seongjong was one of King Sejo's grandsons, his persecution policy targeting Buddhism came full circle. During his first year in power (1470), he ordered the civil and military officials (*yangban* 兩班) as well as students from the Confucian academy to forbid the celebration of Buddhist rites by commoners following the loss of a relative. In the second year, he banned the practice of offering goods to temple halls and abolished places of worship where people would gather to chant the Buddha's name in the capital (*yeombulso* 念佛所).²²⁶

He concurrently dismissed the law regarding monastic ordination²²⁷ and banned the process. People who passed the examinations were publicly acknowledged as holders of the status of monks, but under his rule it became an open violation of national law. Moreover, twenty-two nunneries in the capital were shut down, and even the practice of making offerings to monks on King Sejo's birthday were abolished because they were considered to be of no public interest.

At the time, a memorial presented by a certain group of people read, “Ancestors donated fields to the monasteries. Now the grandsons are extremely poor, and demand restitution.” The king issued a personal response: “Fields are donated to the Buddha to request happiness, but the Buddha gave no miraculous response. And when the descendants are destitute, the land is returned to the owners, as is happiness to the Buddha.”²²⁸

In his final years, Hwanghae-do was engulfed in a virulent epidemic, and a meeting was held to discuss how to address the

crisis. The teacher of Yeongyu, Gwon Gyedong 權季同, proposed the following: “The only solution is to have faith in the Buddha.” Upon hearing this, the king accused him of committing “the crime of refuting Confucianism, flattering the erroneous belief of Buddhism, and confusing the minds of the people.” Gwon was consequently exiled.²²⁹

Queen Dowager Insu 仁粹²³⁰ had a wooden Buddhist statue carved and sent to the Jeongeop Institute (Jeongeobwon 淨業院), but it was discovered on its way to the temple by the Confucian student Yi Byeok 李鼈 and others. The statue was confiscated and burned. The Queen Mother demanded that Byeok be condemned for his crime, but the king replied, “The repudiation of Buddhism by a Confucian student is to be commended, not condemned.”²³¹

After King Seongjong’s death, King Yeonsan’gun 燕山君 rose to the throne. For the first time in Joseon history, he interrupted the religious examinations, which had been held regularly every three years and without any disturbances since the reign of King Gwangjong of Goryeo. King Yeonsan’gun indulged in luxury and was dissolute. He chose three-hundred *gisaeng* 妓生 from every province, and installed them in the royal palace. He saved every breath for wine and women, all the while wholeheartedly neglecting his political duties. Regarding the Seonggyun’gwan 成均館 (National Confucian University),²³² he had it turned into a den of debauchery.

The base of the Meditation sect, at Heungcheonsa, and that of the Doctrinal sect, at Heungdeoksa, were transformed into government offices. Only the temple-name plaques remained hanging, while the religious centers of both sects were moved to Cheonggyesa 清溪寺 Temple, in Gwangju 廣州, Gyeonggi-do. With such drastic measures, the suppression of Buddhism, which commenced under King Seongjong’s reign, was completed under the rule of King Yeonsan’gun. This deluge is referred to as “the persecution suffered by Buddhism in the reign of King Yeonsan’gun.” Moreover, in the ninth chapter of *Jagisan bomun* 仔夔刪補文 (Omissions and Supplements of Buddhist Rites), in the article “Rites of the Patriarch

Byeokgye” (Josa yemun Byeokgye 祖師禮文碧溪), the period is referred to as “the dark age of King Yeonsan’gun and the persecution suffered by the Buddhist religion.”²³³

Chapter 9

Reception of the Dharma of Byeokgye

The repression of Buddhism under King Yeonsan'gun was different from the persecution by the “three wu and one zong” (*sanwu yizong* 三武一宗) in China,²³⁴ which included the destruction of Buddhist images throughout the country, the demolition of Buddhist temples, and the return of monks to lay life. Only during King Seongjong’s reign, people were partially restricted from becoming Buddhist monks, and the policy of shutting down temples and nunneries in the cities had already been in place. Under King Yeonsan’gun’s rule, this repression did not occur systematically, and the debauchery of the sovereign resulted in challenges not only to Confucianism, but to Buddhism as well. Therefore, Buddhism, in addition to struggling during the period of repression under King Seongjong, had to endure the confusion resulting from King Yeonsan’gun’s actions, and suffered a further blow from which it was unable to recover.

Hence, from a traditional perspective, even today a few points regarding Seon Master Byeokgye Jeongsim 碧溪正心²³⁵ as a patriarch of the Joseon saṅgha remain ambiguous. Regarding the transmission of the dharma, Taego Bou 太古普愚 inherited the message from Shiyu Qinggong 石屋清珙,²³⁶ which in turn was transmitted to Seon Master Hwanam Honsu 幻庵混修.²³⁷ Hwanam was born during King Chungsuk’s reign (忠肅王, 1338), and passed the religious examinations during King Gongmin’s nineteenth year in power (1370), gaining widespread acclaim. During the reign of King U (禡王, r. 1374–1388), he became a royal preceptor, and passed away at the age of seventy-three, in the ninth month of King Taejo of Joseon’s first year in power. However, the dharma transmission passed to Seon Master Gugok Gagun 龜谷覺雲,²³⁸ and Seon Master Byeokgye Jeongsim’s

ancestral lineage can be traced back to Gugok.

It is not possible to ascertain the date of Gugok's death with any accuracy, but Yi Saek 李穡 states that, around the twelfth year of King Gongmin's reign, at the age of thirty-six, he composed the *Seungneyonsa-gi* 勝蓮寺記 at Gag'un's request, where he appears as a great meditation master. At the time, this position was the highest in the Seon clerical rankings, and notwithstanding any extraordinary natural talents, it would have been extremely difficult to attain this title before the age of forty. Moreover, considering that he might have been a senior compared with Yi Saek, we can safely surmise that he would have been approximately forty years old at the time. Even if we surmise that he passed away at the ripe age of eighty, it is difficult to extend his life beyond the first years of King Taejong's reign. However, the Great Master Byeoksong Jieom 壁松智儼²³⁹ visited Byeokgye and received the transmission from him, an occurrence that took place after 1491 (King Seongjong 22). Even if Byeokgye had been eighty years of age, Jieom was born around the end of King Taejong's reign. Thus, how is it possible that in his early years (approximately twenty years are unaccounted for) he received transmission from a person who had already passed away? For this reason, the expression, "He received a distant transmission from Gugok" came into use.²⁴⁰

Byeokgye 碧溪 was from Gimsan 金山 (Gimcheon 金泉), and he experienced firsthand the harassment of King Yeonsan'gun's age; therefore, he kept his hair long and cared for his wife and children while in hiding on Hwangaksan 黃嶽山 Mountain.²⁴¹ It is possible that in the beginning Byeokgye had another master who gave him the precepts and made him a monk. However, having lived through this period of persecution, he returned to lay life and lived in hiding for some time. Moreover, were we to consider that he received the transmission from Byeoksong 壁松, we have no means to evaluate this claim, except to retrace the transmission line that had been interrupted somewhere along the line, up to Gugok 龜谷.

The indirect evidence is that Naong Hyegeun 懶翁惠勤 passed it to Muhak Jacho 無學自超, who in turn passed it to Hamheo Gihwa

涵虛己和, and once more to Toe'eun Janghyu 退隱莊休.²⁴² There the line was interrupted after three generations. Perhaps Toe'eun was Byeokgye's contemporary, and even after Taego 太古, a straight line of transmission must have existed, as must have lateral lines of transmission as well. Therefore, it is highly simplistic to think that the line descended from Hwanam Honsu to Gugok Gagun, and that all of the Buddhist masters such as Byeokgye embraced lay life following the discrimination suffered under Yeonsan'gun's rule, and that a single individual (i.e., Byeokgye) had preserved the wisdom of the Buddha, and that this was due to the transmission received, albeit remote in line, from Master Gugok.

Chapter 10

The Martyrdom of Heo'eung

In the end, King Yeonsan'gun was removed from power after twelve years of rule. He was succeeded by King Jungjong 中宗 (r. 1506–1544), who consistently followed the persecution policy against Buddhism. In the second year of King Jungjong's reign (1507), the monk examinations were abolished. Due to King Yeonsan'gun's debauched life, religious examinations were no longer held. King Jungjong simply abolished examinations that had not been held for a long time. Afterward, the centers of both the Meditation and the Doctrinal sects retreated to Cheonggyesa 清溪寺 Temple, because the Heungcheonsa and Heungdeoksa temples had been appropriated and turned into government offices during the reign of King Yeonsan'gun. However, King Jungjong abolished Cheonggyesa as well, and melted the bronze buddhas in Gyeongju, to be remolded into metal weapons. He also dismantled Won'gaksa 圓覺寺 Temple, and with the wood helped rebuild peoples' homes that had suffered damage during his predecessor's reign.

King Jungjong maintained power for thirty-nine years, and following his demise, King Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1545–1567) ascended the throne at the young age of twelve. Thus, the queen mother, Munjeong 文定, would pull the strings as the shadow administrator of state affairs. Queen Dowager Munjeong²⁴³ was originally a fervent believer in Buddhism, and had always been highly critical of King Jungjong's extremist policies against it. She would say, “They are also sons of the people and the subjects of our country. It is best not to harass them, but to allow them to peacefully guide them [the people], so that they fulfill their duties as true monks.”

Once she assumed power, she devised a policy for welcoming

Buddhist monks, in addition to commencing a widespread search for notable and upright monks. The magistrate of Gangwon-do, Jeong Manjong 鄭萬鍾,²⁴⁴ recommended the eminent monk Heo'eung Bou 虛應普雨²⁴⁵ of Sinheungsa 神興寺 Temple in Yangyang 襄陽. She beckoned him to the capital, and, as an initial step in her policy of encouraging Buddhism, she handed Prime Minister Sang Jin 尚震²⁴⁶ what are known as the “Instructions not to be Forgotten” (Bimang-gi 備忘記), stating the following:

Good people are fewer by the day, soldiers are in a difficult position, and matters have never been worse than at present. This is due to none other than the people detesting the hardships associated with military duty. They abscond and become monks; hence, the number of monks is increasing by the day, with a corresponding decrease in the number of soldiers. This is despicable. Generally, there is no commanding power within the sangha, and it is challenging to keep in check profligate monks (*japseung* 雜僧).

The *Gyeongguk daejeon* (National Code)²⁴⁷ of our forefathers has provided for the establishment of the two sects, the Meditation (Seon jong 禪宗) and the Doctrinal (Gyo-jong 教宗). This was not done in order to worship the Buddha, but to keep in check the number of people becoming monks. Because the two sects were recently abolished, it is difficult to curb such a phenomenon. Therefore, let us adopt Bongseonsa 奉先寺²⁴⁸ and Bongeunsa 奉恩寺²⁴⁹ as the centers of the respective Meditation and Doctrinal sects, and carry out the provisions of the *Gyeongguk daejeon* relating to the examinations for the selection of talents and the regulations concerning the issue of licenses to monks. May this public declaration be properly executed.²⁵⁰

The Confucian scholars had been caught unawares. Once this decree was issued, public opinion at the court grew heated, and the startled Confucians questioned it feverishly. However, the queen mother refused to heed their inflamed calls, and adopted Bongeunsa

as the central seat of the Meditation sect, along with Bongseonsa for the Doctrinal sect. She also appointed Bou 普雨 as the abbot of Bongeunsa, and Sujin 守眞²⁵¹ as that of Bongseonsa.

She readopted the licensing system for monks (*doseungbeop* 度僧法), restored monastic examinations (*seunggwa* 僧科), and once more granted promotions to monks. In the sixth year of King Myeongjong's reign, the entrance-level examinations for monks were organized, and the proper examinations were restored in the seventh year (1552). In the history of Joseon Buddhism, this was akin to a ray of moonlight escaping a sky engulfed with black clouds, a respite in the tradition of rejecting Buddhism.

Bou therefore gained absolute trust from Queen Mother Munjeong, and was highly active in his attempts to revive the wavering Buddhist faith, which made him the target of severe criticism and attacks by certain Confucians. Regardless, the queen, unflinching, paid them no mind, and continued her policy as before. Thus, the Confucianists went so far as to organize a strike at the university, which forced even the king to make an attempt to appease them through the recipient of edicts (*seungji* 承旨).

Bou inaugurated a grand dharma assembly at Hoe'amsa 檜巖寺, calling on monks from all eight provinces to participate. When this lofty ceremony was held, Queen Munjong passed away unexpectedly, and hence, in the end, nothing came of her attempts. It was the seventh day of the fourth month in the twentieth year of King Myeongjong's reign, and the revival of Buddhism met its end after barely fifteen years. At the time, the tide turned against Buddhism once more, and the Confucians castigated Bou, calling for his head with heaps of memorials, but the king did not listen to them. Instead, Bou was exiled to Jejudo 濟州島, where he met his end as a martyr by poisoning at the hands of the Jejudo magistrate Byeon Hyeop 邊協.²⁵²

Chapter 11

The Levy for the Imjin War and Cheongheo

King Seonjo 宣祖 was coronated after the death of King Myeongjong, and had ruled for twenty-five years when Japan mobilized an army that landed in Busan on the thirteenth day of the fourth month [of 1592]. Japan invaded on the pretext that Joseon did not allow them passage to Ming China. Admiral Jeong Bal 鄭撥 died in battle against the invaders, and the following day, the Dongnae 東萊 magistrate, Song Sanghyeon 宋象賢, was also killed in combat, and Dongnae fell into enemy hands. The Japanese military split into three expeditionary forces, and pressed forward against the people, who had known only peace for over two-hundred years, while counties and districts fell easily at the thrust of the Japanese aggressors.

For approximately seven years, the tides of war did not cease, and this is known as the Japanese invasion of the *imjin* 壬辰 year (1592). On the thirtieth day of the following month, the royal carriage departed for the north, and upon its arrival at Uiju 義州, Pyeongan-do, King Seonjo gave the order to each province of the country to rise in arms and mobilize “righteous troops” [guerrilla forces], and concurrently dispatched a message of encouragement to Great Master Cheongheo 清虛,²⁵³ the abbot of Bohyeonsa 普賢寺 Temple,²⁵⁴ on Myohyangsan 妙香山 Mountain, asking him to render his services.

Cheongheo had previously been falsely accused by the treacherous monk Mueop 無業 to have colluded with Jeong Yeorip 鄭汝立,²⁵⁵ and was consequently put in jail. Upon investigation, King Seonjo understood that the monk had fallen victim to false accusations, and ordered his release. They would meet shortly after, and King Seonjo gifted him a bamboo set encarved with a poetic composition the king had written by hand,²⁵⁶ to which the master

responded with a poem, thanking him for his grace. Based on this initial encounter, a heartfelt relationship was kindled between the king and Master Cheongheo.

Thus, at the ripe age of seventy-three, the master could not conceal his indignation, and, swearing his loyalty, sent letters to monks throughout the country to raise their righteous flags. Cheongheo himself gathered troops comprising 1,500 monks at Beopheungsa 法興寺 Temple,²⁵⁷ Sunan 順安, and Great Master Samyeong Yujeong 四溟惟政²⁵⁸ raised seven-hundred soldiers at Geonbongsa 乾鳳寺 Temple,²⁵⁹ Ganseong 杆城. Great Master Noemuk Cheoyeong 雷默處英²⁶⁰ organized an army of one-thousand in Jeolla-do, and Great Master Giheo Yeongyu 騎虛靈圭²⁶¹ rallied seven-hundred monk soldiers at Gapsa 甲寺 Temple,²⁶² Gongju 公州. In addition to these numbers, if we consider the monks mustered by Junggwan Hae'an 中觀海眼,²⁶³ Ui'eom 義嚴,²⁶⁴ and others, the number of soldier monks raised are said to have numbered approximately five-thousand. Samyeong and the rest were all disciples of Cheongheo. Thus, these troops were valiant soldiers who did not care much for living or dying, and rose to the challenge with great vigor and valor, reaping impressive results and merit in combating the enemy. Further, although Great Master Giheo, along with his militia of seven-hundred monks, perished at Geumsan 錦山, he remains distinguished in the historical imagination as a great hero who gave his life in battle.

In the ninth month of the twenty-sixth year (1593), the kings' carriages returned to the capital from Uiju, and on the journey back, King Seonjo made a stop at Gaeseong 開城, where Cheongheo 清虛 greeted him on the road, at the head of his retinue. Master Cheongheo spoke: "Your servant is old. With these weakened nerves, I can offer my service no longer. It is my intention to leave the job in the hands of my disciple Yujeong 惟政, and for me to return to my hut on Myohyangsan 妙香山 Mountain and take up residence."²⁶⁵ Upon hearing these words, King Seonjo praised him and designated him prime minister of the state council (*Uijeongbu yeonguijeong*

議政府領議政), granting him the title of Gugildo daesonsa Seon-Gyo dochongseop bujong sugyo boje deunggye jonja 國一都大禪師禪敎都總攝扶宗樹敎普濟登階尊者.

The master passed away on the twenty-third day of the first month in the thirty-seventh year of King Seonjo's reign (1604), at eighty-five years of age. The Shrine for Display Loyalty (Pyochungsa 表忠祠)²⁶⁶ was erected in his honor at Bohyeonsa 普賢寺, on Myohyangsan, and the Shrine for the Rewarding of Loyalty (Suchungsa 酬忠祠)²⁶⁷ was erected at Daedunsa 大菴寺 Temple,²⁶⁸ Haenam 海南, with rites and incense offerings. Later on, King Jeongjo 正祖 (r. 1776–1800) wrote by hand an inscription for the master,²⁶⁹ praising his merits.

Chapter 12

Samyeong, the Envoy to Japan

Pine Tree Cloud (Songun 松雲, the pseudonym of Samyeong 四溟) was from Miryang 密陽, and his family name was Im 任. His monk name was Samyeong, and he received the transmission from Seosan 西山. He was brave and astute, and crossed enemy lines on several occasions, reaping considerable merit as a soldier. He ventured into enemy territory repeatedly upon orders from the king.

With the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉,²⁷⁰ Tokugawa Ieyasu 德川家康,²⁷¹ who was an advisor to Hideyoshi's young son (Hideyori 秀賴, 1593–1615), intended to reopen relations between the two countries and discuss the conditions of peace. He thus ordered Sō Yoshitoshi 宗義智 (1568–1615),²⁷² the daimyō of Tsushima 大馬島, to make contact in order to reestablish diplomatic relations. In order to do so, Yoshitoshi visited Joseon four times within a span of three years (i.e., from the thirty-third year of King Seonjo's reign [1600] to the thirty-fifth [1602]). However, the Joseon court would not concede easily to Japan's request. Therefore, he said, "If Joseon does not consent rapidly to reestablishing diplomatic relations, Japan might grow impatient, and possibly rise up in arms once more." Because of this very real possibility, the willingness for peace began to emerge.

However, the court wanted to ascertain the sincerity of Japan's intentions, and thus, a mission was organized and dispatched to Japan in order to better understand the internal conditions of Japan. At the time, Master Samyeong resided at Haeinsa 海印寺 Temple,²⁷³ on Gayasan 伽倻山 Mountain, where he had retired after the end of the war. One day, upon receiving the announcement of Cheongheo's demise, he rushed to participate in the funeral. However, when he reached the Obin station (Obinyeok 娛賓驛) at Yanggeun 揚根,

Gyeonggi-do, he was summoned by the king to the capital, and thus, he mounted a relay horse and rushed to the capital, missing his master's funeral.

The king issued an order saying, "This war has raged on for six years. Therefore, the people do not feel at ease in their hearts. Use your shrewd eyes continuously, and observe the situation with caution. When everything is clear to you, return here."²⁷⁴ Upon hearing these words, he packed his luggage and left the capital on the fourth day of the third month, and set sail from Busan on the twentieth day. After a few days elapsed, he arrived in Kyōto. The entire country welcomed him as a guest of honor and consented to his every wish.

Under the guise of traveling for pleasure, he would visit here and there around the country, enquiring of the situation and after the people's hearts. After determining that it was time to return home, in the fourth month of the following year, the king and his subjects, high and low, all showered him with lavish presents. However, he refused them all, and started the discussions on reestablishing peace between the two countries, and requested the search and release of all the prisoners of war. He returned to Hanseong 漢城 [Seoul] on the thirtieth day of the seventh month, having secured the release of over 3,500 prisoners of both sexes. Upon his return, after hearing his report, the king rewarded him greatly, appointing him to a first-rank post, and Samyeong had no option but to acquiesce and thank the king for his grace. After spending three days in the capital, he requested permission to leave. Only in the tenth month was he able to write an epitaph, submit himself at the feet of Master Seosan's 西山 stūpa, and shed his tears.²⁷⁵

Chapter 13

The Continuation of the Persecution of Buddhism

After the demise of the Queen Dowager Munjeong 文定, the policy of persecuting Buddhism gained even more steam, but thanks to the merits of Cheongheo Hyujeong 西山休靜 and Samyeong Yujeong 四溟惟政 in the defense of the country, the discrimination against Buddhism had abated to some degree. However, during King Injo's reign, monks were once again barred from entering the cities.²⁷⁶ In the second year of King Injo's rule (1624), Byeogam Gakseong 碧巖覺性²⁷⁷ was appointed general controller of the sangha of the eight provinces.²⁷⁸ He would also oversee the construction of Namhan sanseong 南漢山城 Fortress,²⁷⁹ which took three years to complete.

In the fourteenth year of King Injo's reign (1634), a Qing army comprising 300,000 troops invaded the country,²⁸⁰ and Byeogam again issued a call to arms, amassing a force of three-thousand monks at Hwaeomsa 華嚴寺 Temple,²⁸¹ on Jirisan 智異山 Mountain, and they called themselves the Demon-Quelling Forces (Hangmagun 降魔軍). Heobaek Myeongjo 虛白明照²⁸² also raised such troops at Bohyeonsa 普賢寺 Temple, on Myohyangsan, gathering grains to assist with military provisions. However, these Demon-Quelling Forces, after having started their northward march, dispersed halfway upon receiving a dispatch indicating that the Qing army had retreated.

During the first year of King Hyeonjong's 顯宗 reign (1660), commoners were strictly forbidden from becoming Buddhist monks, and if one were to violate this prohibition, he would be severely punished. In the second year, the nunneries within the capital were dismantled, and the wooden materials were recycled to construct the Seonggyun'gwan.²⁸³ In the thirty-ninth year of King Yeongjo's 英祖 reign (1763), the hanging of plaques on Buddhist halls was

banned,²⁸⁴ and in the forty-sixth year (1770), temple construction beside the royal tombs was also forbidden. In the second year of King Jeongjo's rule 正祖 (1776), further restrictions were imposed on monks regarding their ban from cities, and the king grew determined to eliminate any trace of Buddhism from the land.

However, when he chanced an encounter with Master Bogyeong Sail 寶鏡獅駒,²⁸⁵ who told him of the *Fiumu enzhong jing* (Kor. *Bumo eunjung-gyeong*) 父母恩重經 (*Sūtra on the Recompense of Parental Grace*),²⁸⁶ he reversed his position entirely. He then ordered the construction of Yongjusa 龍珠寺 Temple²⁸⁷ and composed a *gāthā* (Buddhist song) supplicating good fortune (*gibok-ge* 祈福偈),²⁸⁸ published an annotated edition of the *Fiumu enzhong jing*, and had it preserved at the temple as his contribution to the netherworldly happiness of his father, the Crown Prince Sado 思悼.²⁸⁹

As has been shown, the discriminatory measures against Buddhism were thoroughgoing during the five-hundred years spanning the Joseon dynasty, and this was because only Confucianism was revered at the time. Confucianism was born in China, and therefore, China was revered, and nearby countries were despised as barbarian, and the basic notion was of supporting the king and repelling the barbarians (*jonwang yangi* 尊王攘夷).²⁹⁰ Moreover, as a vassal state and as an Eastern barbarian country, as the Joseon Confucians were content to call themselves, they believed that China was Confucius' home country,²⁹¹ that it was the cradle of Chinese culture, and the seat of the empire, and they cast their eyes upon their neighbor with veneration and admiration. They failed to see anything but China, and if such and such possessed positive or negative attributes, they would discuss it within the context of Confucianism.

Therefore, although even negative attributes would be addressed from within the Confucianist framework, outside of the doctrine of Confucius 孔子, Mencius 孟子,²⁹² the Cheng brothers 程子,²⁹³ and Zhu Zi 朱子,²⁹⁴ all that remained was considered heresy and falsities. In fact, all that which did not belong to the Han 漢, Tang 唐, Song 宋, and Ming 明 dynasties was not considered orthodoxy,

and according to their narrow-minded views, all that stood outside of China, in all directions, was land inhabited by barbarians. Their views were distorted to such an extent that they rejected anything that challenged their perspective, and their understanding remained confined to the sphere of their self-imposed narrowmindedness. They could not escape the fetters of their own deafness and blindness, and this is the result of the five-hundred years of persecution against Buddhism and a consequence of their actions.

Chapter 14

The Origins of the Cult of the Patriarchs and the Transmission of the Lamp

Under such political conditions, the saṅgha barely managed to survive, and monks upheld the motto, “If possible, we also benefit the world; if not possible, we benefit only ourselves.”²⁹⁵ Therefore, they abandoned the notion of maintaining a relationship with society and the people. In addition, whenever possible, they hid far off into the mountains and valleys, dedicating themselves to the study of doctrine and concentrating on the cultivation of the mind, and held with utmost importance the preservation of the transmission of the Buddhist dharma, without interruption.

However, the general rules concerning the transmission of the dharma changed around the time of King Yeongjo’s 英祖 reign (1724–1776). Until Cheongheo’s time, the four Doctrinal sects (i.e., Hwaeom, Ja’eon, Jungsin, and Siheung) and the three Meditation sects (i.e., Jogye, Cheontae, and Chongnam) barely managed to transmit their traditions. However, after Cheongheo, they all disappeared, and only the Jogye tradition of Taego survived, which thus became the mainstream of Joseon Buddhism.

As mentioned, during King Yeonsan’gun’s time, only Byeokgye preserved the orthodox transmission of the dharma. At the age of twenty-eight, Byeokgye Jeom 璧松智儼²⁹⁶ relinquished the post of vice commissar and entered the mountains, inheriting the line of the dharma, which was hanging like a silk thread, from Meditation Master Byeokgye Jeongsim 碧溪正心, and in turn transmitted it to Meditation Master Buyong Yeonggwan 芙蓉靈觀.²⁹⁷ Under him flourished the two meditation masters Cheongheo Hyujeong 清虛休靜 and Buhyu Seonsu 浮休善修,²⁹⁸ who preserved the tradition and

revived the saṅgha.

But could that be the reason only the two lines of Cheongheo and Buhyu survived in the tradition line of Taego, managing to retain the features of Joseon Buddhism? This is because, before Cheongheo Hyujeong, the law regulating entrance into the saṅgha was still in place, and thus, when one became a monk, as a rule he was registered without fail in the records of the main temple to which he belonged, and to the patriarchal line of the master from whom he received the dharma.

After Cheongho, however, the law regulating entrance into the saṅgha was abolished, and thus, the monastic registers also disappeared. Moreover, other than the master with whom one embraced monkhood, the inheritance of the master who transmitted the dharma gained widespread popularity, and became a traditional practice. Thus, the distinction between the vocation master (*eunsa* 恩師, *deukdosa* 得度師), who was the master through whom one embraced monkhood, and the dharma master (*beopsa* 法師), the master from whom one received the dharma, came to be.

Therefore, when the *Buljo wollyu* 佛祖源流 (The Origin of the Buddhas and Patriarchs)²⁹⁹ was published, succession in the dharma lineage through the dharma master was formally recognized. The *Buljo wollyu* was published around the fortieth year of King Yeongjo's reign (1764) by Master Saam Chaeyeong 獅巖菜永. Previously, at the start of the dynasty, the *Jeonbal ji wollyu chaje* 傳鉢之源流次第 (The Origins and Sequence of the Transmission of the Bowl), a book by Great Master Muhak 無學, was in circulation, and was later expanded and republished by Woljeo Doan 月渚道安.³⁰⁰ However, this was centered chiefly on the transmission of the lines of monks of the highest order.³⁰¹

The “Monastic Lineage of Samyeongdang” (*Samyeongdang seungbo* 四溟堂僧譜)³⁰² had been published approximately ten years prior, and it had been written with the recognition of Great Master Sinmuk 信默 as the first patriarch, for he was the master with whom Samyeong had embraced the saṅgha. Therefore, until that time, the

line of transmission centered on the vocation master who guided the disciple into the saṅgha was indubitably prevalent. If present-day monks had registered their ancestral lines in accordance with this practice, it may have been possible to retrace the lines of transmission until the origins of the four Doctrinal sects and the three Meditation sects.

Chapter 15

Specializing in Scriptural Studies

As mentioned, the disciples from the lines of both masters Buhyu 浮休 and Cheongheo were not few, and the lines remained uninterrupted. Among Buhyu's disciples was Great Master Byeogam Gakseong 碧巖覺性, whose disciples upheld the dharma in temples in Jeollanam-do (e.g., the Songgwangsa 松廣寺 and Hwaeomsa 華嚴寺 temples; at Geumsansa 金山寺 Temple³⁰³ in Jeollabuk-do; Beopjusa 法住寺 Temple in Chungcheongnam-do; and Haeinsa 海印寺 Temple in Gyeongsangnam-do). Among Cheongheo's disciples were Samyeong 四溟, Pyeonyang 鞭羊, Soyo 逍遙, Jeonggwan 靜觀, and others who split into four branches, which occupied approximately two-thirds of the temples in the country, and greatly promoted the propagation of the sect.

However, until then, Byeogam Gakseong 碧巖覺性, Samyeong Jujeong, and others felt the need to stress the character of their own brand of Seon in order to distinguish themselves clearly from the Doctrinal sects. However, when we come down to the heirs of Pyeonyang Eon'gi 鞭羊彦機³⁰⁴ such as Woldam Seolje 月潭雪霽³⁰⁵ and Woljeo Doan, and to the descendants of Gakseong 覺性, Baegam Seongchong 柏庵性聰³⁰⁶ all of the Doctrinal sects had already disappeared without a trace, and there was no longer any need to confront them. Hence, it was even unnecessary to raise the sect's banners because it was the only one that remained.

Therefore, although in the past Seon monks had despised the study of doctrine, as demonstrated by their religious slogan, “not relying on words and letters” (*bullip munja* 不立文字), later on they held lectures on the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經) and the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Fahua jing* 法華經), and when students came around, they would welcome them and teach them. In fact, a great assembly of a

thousand monks held by Great Master Woljeo was a lecture on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.

Woljeo Doan 月渚道安 was active during King Sukjong's 肅宗 reign and used to teach the *Avataṃsaka*, and thus, his contemporaries referred to him as a “master of the core teaching of the Hwaeom” (Hwaeom jongju 華嚴宗主). Such masters of great virtue as Woldam 月潭, Seolje 雪霽, Sangbong Jeongwon 霜峰靜源,³⁰⁷ Chimgoeng Hyeonbyeon 枕肱懸辯,³⁰⁸ Baekgok Cheoneung 白谷處能,³⁰⁹ and Moun Jineon 慕雲震言,³¹⁰ who were his contemporaries, dedicated their lives to the study and teaching of the sūtras.

In fact, the compulsory subjects (*iryeok gwamok* 履歷科目) studied even to date actually appear to have assumed shape at this time.³¹¹ Moreover, the *Chimun* 緇門 (Instructions for Monks),³¹² *Shuzhuang* 書狀 (Letters of Dahui),³¹³ and *Chanyao* 禪要 (Essentials of Chan)³¹⁴ were works related originally to Seon, and thus, they indubitably warranted inclusion in the Seon study curriculum. However, Chan monks in China also studied the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Jingang jing* 金剛經) and the *Śūramgama-sūtra* (*Lengyan jing* 楞嚴經), whereas in Korea, after Bojo Jinul's era, *Chosim* 初心 (Admonitions to Neophytes),³¹⁵ the *Duxu* 都序 (Chan Prolegomenon),³¹⁶ *Jeoryo* 節要 (Excerpts from the Dharma Collection),³¹⁷ and the *Yeomsong* 拈頌 (Analyses and Verses on [Ancient Precedents] of the Seon Sect)³¹⁸ were gradually added to form a ninefold course, which became ten when *Jagyeong* 自警 (Watch Yourself!)³¹⁹ by Yaun 野雲,³²⁰ written around the end of Goryeo and the beginning of Joseon, was added.

Later, during Woljeo's time, the favored texts of the Haedong 海東³²¹ and Hwaeom 華嚴 sects, *Balsim suhaeng-jang* 發心修行章 (Arouse the Mind and Practice), the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經), and the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, and the text of the Cheontae tradition, the *Lotus Sūtra*, were also added, totaling fourteen courses of study. Moreover, upon entering the *śramaṇera* course (*sami gwa* 沙彌科) novices had to study the *Chosim* 初心, *Balsim* 發心,³²² *Jagyeong* 自警, and *Chimun* 緇門, and learn self-discipline through the vinaya.

Then, after they had formally become monks, they would attend

the course on the fourfold collection³²³ of the *Duxu* 都序, *Jeoryo* 節要, and the *Chanyao* 禪要. Afterward, having prepared for the study of the sūtras, they would read the *Śūramgama-sūtra*, the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Diamond Sūtra*, and the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* as the fourfold doctrinal teaching.³²⁴ To progress further, they would read in sequence the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* in the great teaching [course]³²⁵ and the *Yeomsong* 拄頌, as an additional capping work. Later on, when the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra* among the course of the fourfold teaching (*sagyogwa* 四教科) was deemed too easy as a text, it was replaced by the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論).

Chapter 16

The Religious Examinations and Private Records

After the great Hwaeom assembly held by Great Master Woljeo Doan, monks vied each other in intellectual prowess and concentrated on the study and teaching of the sūtras, enabling the master lecturers to become standardized in the transmission of the Lamp, as had occurred after Bodhidharma,³²⁶ when the monastic robe had been transmitted over six generations. Lecturers vacated their teaching posts (*ganggyeong-seok* 講經席) for only the best of students, and this tradition was called “the transmission of the post of lecturer” (*jeon'gang* 傳講). In the first lecture by a disciple upon receiving this post, the act of establishing contact with other scholars was called “opening the lecture” (*gaegang* 開講).

After Woljeo, Hwanseong Jian 喚醒志安,³²⁷ as Woldam's best student, inherited the post, and during the first year of King Yeongjo's reign (1725), he established a great assembly to lecture on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* at Geumsansa, Jeollabuk-do, where a crowd of 1,400 listeners congregated. This remains an extraordinary case in traditional and recent Korean Buddhist history. Some time later, Seoram Chubung 雪巖秋鵬,³²⁸ Baegam Seongchong 柏庵性聰, Muyong Suyeon 無用秀演,³²⁹ Hoam Chejeong 虎巖體淨,³³⁰ Mugam Choenul 默庵最訥,³³¹ Hoe'am Jeonghye 晦庵定慧,³³² Hamwol Haewon 涵月海源,³³³ Yeonghae Yaktan 影海若坦,³³⁴ Nagam Uinul 洛庵義訥,³³⁵ Byeokheo Wonjo 壁虛圓照,³³⁶ and other such great monks came to the fore, each of them at the helm of hundreds of scholar monks, presiding over the revival of the Doctrinal tradition. This period can be aptly called the “renaissance of Doctrinal Buddhism.”

In the final years of King Yeongjo's reign, in the middle of the second half of the eighteenth century, Great Master Seolpa Sangeon

雪坡尙彦³³⁷ appeared, a man believed to be the reincarnation of the Bodhisattva Forsaker of the Defiled Lands (Iguji bosal 離垢地菩薩).³³⁸ His profound understanding of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* was flawless. He was a disciple from the line of Master Hoam 虎巖, and received the lecturer post from Master Yeonbong 蓮峰. He commenced lecturing at Yongchusa 龍湫寺 Temple,³³⁹ Hamyang 咸陽, and during his life lectured on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* more than twenty-five times, clearing doubts regarding passages in the *Huayan shu chao* 華嚴疏鈔 (Commentarial Excerpts on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*), by Qingliang Chengguan 清涼澄觀.³⁴⁰

When he published curricular texts (*gwamun* 科文), he explicated obscure passages that had troubled scholars for some time. The master identified them sequentially, and offered graphic explanations for each, which is his so-called *Hwaeom eun'gwa* 華嚴隱科 (Hidden Taxonomy of the *Avataṃsaka*).

Later on, Great Master Yeondam YUIL 蓮潭有一³⁴¹ and Great Master Inak Uicheom 仁岳義沾³⁴² of Palgongsan 八公山 Mountain occupied the spotlight. Based on the *Hwaeom eun'gwa* 華嚴隱科, written by Seolpa, they gathered the stories behind the best lecturers of both past and present, and provided an addendum containing their own related reflections, simultaneously determining and writing down explanatory notes on the points of the Commentarial Excerpts on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* that were deemed difficult to understand. The same task was concurrently conducted also for the *Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra* as well as the *Diamond Sūtra* and the other texts of the course on the fourfold doctrinal teaching or the course of the fourfold collection, offering scholars of posterity issues of study and discussion.

They are the so-called private records, such as *Yeondam-gi* 蓮潭記 (The Record of Yeondam) and *Inak-gi* 仁岳記 (The Record of Inak), which enjoyed immense popularity at the time; and after which the old ways of sectarian belonging for scholars were changed forever. In the lecture halls of Jeolla-do, they considered authoritative *Yeondam-gi* 蓮潭記, whereas in Gyeongsang-do such was the sentiment regarding *Inak-gi* 仁岳記.

Thus, a wide schism opened between the Buddhist schools.

Congregating among scholars of the different schools became a rarity. However, when this did occur, having finished listening to a lecture held by the other side, once back to their original places, monks would state that it was impossible to apply such notions to their own ideology. Therefore, all monks again studied in their original place the records they deemed authoritative, and had to relisten to the lectures. Thus, provincialism was strong. Sometime later, because *Yeondam-gi*, which concerned the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, was extremely detailed, whereas *Inak-gi* presented a more adequate understanding of the texts of the course on the fourfold doctrinal teaching, the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*, *Śūramgama-sūtra*, *Diamond Sūtra*, and the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, the best points of both works were recognized and adopted.

However, although Yuil and Uicheom both picked up the brush and wrote on the *Seonmun yeomsong* 禪門拈頌, they did not write personal records. During King Heonjong's 憲宗 reign, toward the first half of the nineteenth century, Reverend Baekpa Geungseon 白坡亘璇³⁴³ from Guamsa 龜巖寺 Temple,³⁴⁴ Sunchang 淳昌, wrote a *Yeomsong-gi* 拿頌記 (Record on Analyses and Verses on [Ancient Precedents] of the Seon Sect), wherein he offered explanations to the points that had not been elucidated by past masters. He concurrently wrote the *Seonmun sugyeong* 禪文手鏡 (Hand Mirror of the Seon Literature),³⁴⁵ which was intended as a guide to the study of Seon doctrine.

Thereafter, Grand Master Choui Uisun 草衣意恂,³⁴⁶ of Daeheungsa 大興寺 Temple, Haenam 海南, wrote *Seonmun sabyeon maneo* 禪門四辨漫語 (Criticism and Idle Talk on the Four Differences in the Seon Sect);³⁴⁷ Great Master Udam Honggi 優曇洪基,³⁴⁸ of Songgwangsa, Suncheon 順天, wrote the *Soswae seonjeong-nok* 掃灑先庭錄 (Records of Sweeping and Sprinkling the Seon Garden),³⁴⁹ where he indicated errors in the *Seonmun sugyeong* 禪文手鏡; and Great Master Soldu Bonggi 雪竇奉琪 composed the work *Seonwon soryu* 禪源溯流 (Tracing the Current Back to the Source of Seon)³⁵⁰ to defend the arguments made by Baekpa. Thus, the exegesis of Seon doctrine can be said to have prospered considerably at this time.

Chapter 17

Pure Land Belief

In this manner, the Seon monks, who had adopted the faith of non-reliance on the written word of Bodhidharma, then gave rise to a custom focusing on the textual study of sūtras such as the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and *Lotus Sūtras*. In the end, even from Seon circles, commentaries on records and verbal disputations arose, providing the impression that Seon was becoming scholastic as well.

Accordingly, people felt the need to again search for the liberation of living beings in the Pure Land (Jeongto 淨土), and therefore, the habit of loudly chanting the name of the Buddha gained popularity. No records are available from Silla and Goryeo times attesting to the existence of an independent Pure Land sect (Jeongto jong 淨土宗). However, the literature of all the sects contain sparse references related to chanting the Buddha's name and seeking salvation in the Pure Land. In actuality, the Hwaeom sect venerated the figure of Amitābha, and the Cheontae sect practiced meditation visualizing the paradise of Amitābha.

The main sūtra of the Hwaeom sect, the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, includes a “Practices and Vows of Samantabhadra” chapter (Puxian xingyuan pin 普賢行願品), the last lines of which are an invocation to be reborn in the Pure Land and to share bliss in the presence of bodhisattvas such as Avalokiteśvara (Gwaneum 觀音) and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Daeseji 大勢至). Of relevance is Great Master Uisang 義湘, the patriarch of the Hwaeom sect in Korea, who composed the *Baekhwa doryang barwon-mun* 白花道場發願文 (Vow Made at White Flower Enlightenment Site)³⁵¹ to the statue of Avalokiteśvara at Naksansa 洛山寺 Temple, Yangyang 襄陽, in which he expressed the vow that Avalokiteśvara would become his master. In fact, “Infinite Life” (Muryangsu 無量壽)³⁵²

is “Amitābha” (Amita 阿彌陀) in Sanskrit, which is precisely Vairocana (Birojana 毘盧遮那), but as the Buddha of Infinite Life (Muryangsubul 無量壽佛), he becomes the main Buddha of the Pure Land, and the main hall in which he is venerated is called “The Hall of Infinite Life” (Muryangsu jeon 無量壽殿). Thus, the main hall of Buseoksa, which belongs to the Hwaeom sect, is the Hall of Infinite Life, and the main Buddha is Amitābha (Amitabul 阿彌陀佛). Wonhyo 元曉 also spoke of the technique of determined visualization of the Pure Land (*jaenggwanbeop* 錚觀法).³⁵³

During the reign of King Gojong 高宗 of Goryeo, on Mandeoksan 萬德山 Mountain, at Gangjin 康津, the great figure Yose 了世³⁵⁴ of the Cheontae sect 天台宗, after founding a Baengnyeonsa 白蓮社 (White Lotus Society)³⁵⁵ with the aid of three-hundred followers, celebrated a rite to Samantabhadra, injecting color into the religious thought of his age. He also wrote a prayer regarding the search for Western Paradise and propagated it. The name of the society itself shows that the Pure Land connotations were strong. However, even Bojo Jinul 普照知訥 of Songgwangsa 松廣寺 Temple, in Suncheon 順天, who was a contemporary of Yose 了世, wrote in the *Jeonghye gyeolsamun* 定慧結社文 (Compact of the Samādhi and Prajñā Society), “In this period of decay of the dharma, the right Way is hidden ... and there is no better way than to chant the name of Amitābha and cultivate faith in the Pure Land.”³⁵⁶ His words show that the people of his time prioritized engagement in the faith of the Pure Land, and he lamented that the faith of the Jogye sect was waning, hence his reason for establishing the Jeonghyesa 定慧社 (Samādhi and Prajñā Society).

An overall glance at what has been mentioned shows that all the sects among the Five Doctrinal and the Two Meditation sects (Ogyo yangjong 五教兩宗), irrespective of their beliefs, ascribed great importance to the practice of Pure Land beliefs. When examining the Joseon period, Pure-Land beliefs gain even further popularity. After Cheongheo’s time, the figure of Amitābha, which was venerated by each sect, in the end became part of the pantheon of Seon temples and an object of great veneration. During the reign of King Gojong

(r. 1864–1907), nearly every temple celebrated assemblies for chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha for ten-thousand days,³⁵⁷ loudly chanting his name and expressing the wish to be reborn in the Pure Land. Most renowned among them were Geonbongsa 乾鳳寺 Temple³⁵⁸ in Gangwon-do and Mangwolsa 望月寺 Temple³⁵⁹ in Gyeonggi-do.

Chapter 18

The Division of Clerical Duties and the Cultivation of Faith

From the perspective of the transmission of the Lamp (*jeondeung* 傳燈), of the monks who inherited transmission in the Jogye sect, which claimed the Seon truth of “not relying on texts and words,” those who dedicated part of their religious practice (*eop* 業) to meditation (*chamseon* 參禪), lectured on the sūtras (*ganggyeong* 講經), and chanted the Buddha Amitābha’s name (*yeombul* 念佛) were called “chief monks” or “deans” (*sujwa* 首座). By contrast, monks of the same sect who dedicated themselves only to lecturing on the sūtras were called “lecture masters” (*gangsa* 講師).

Both types of monks, whenever possible, avoided venturing into towns, and even distanced themselves from temples surrounded by fields, choosing instead a furtive life in mountain hermitages, refusing social contact, and even considering clerical or social duties at the temple to be demeaning, regarding their exclusive duty to be the promotion of doctrine. However, temple abbots and employees, who were chiefly engaged in clerical work or held office responsibilities, in most cases had nothing to do with meditation or lecturing on the sūtras. Therefore, those committed to the promotion of faith, lecture masters and chief monks alike, were called “practice specialist monks” (*ipanseung* 理判僧) whereas those dedicated to clerical work were called “administrative specialist monks” (*sapanseung* 事判僧).³⁶⁰

During the former Joseon period, when relations between the Meditation and Doctrinal sects were characterized by opposition, the monks of the Doctrinal sects who lectured on the sūtras were called “doctrinal specialists” (*gyopan* 教判), whereas their counterparts of the Meditation sects were called “meditation specialists” (*seonpan* 禪判); thus, the terms “doctrinal specialist” and “meditation specialist” had

already been in use, and were inherited at this time as the forerunners to “practice specialist” (*ipan* 理判) and “administrative specialist” (*sapan* 事判), respectively, which became common usage.

As mentioned, monks engaged in office work could not devote much time to meditation or to scriptural studies, and thus, most of them fell victim to mediocrity, and the standing of abbots degenerated by the day, until the name of the post and its duties fell into confusion. Until Cheongheo’s time, the representative of a temple was the abbot, the individual who administered the monks in a province was called monk overseer (*seungtong* 僧統), and the person responsible for the affairs of monks throughout the country was called the general controller (*chongseop* 捏攝).³⁶¹ The provincial office of the monk overseer was called the provincial office for the rectification of errors (*donae gyujeongso* 道內糾正所), whereas the office that controlled the monks in the entire country was called national office for the rectification of errors (*gungnae gyujeongso* 國內糾正所).³⁶²

After the reign of King Jeongjo (r. 1776–1800), all temples without a special status declared that they had the capacity to become provincial or national offices for the rectification of errors (*gyujeongso* 糾正所), and therefore, placed a monk overseer above the abbot of each temple. Sometime later, general controllers were also raised in rank to occupy the highest status of monk overseers, contributing to an atmosphere of confusion and abuse. If monk overseers were appointed, they ended up representing the temples, and the standing of abbots suffered as a consequence, because they were reduced to simply being heads of monks. Wherever a general controller was appointed, the monk overseer who represented the temple in which the appointment took place accordingly suffered something akin to a demotion, becoming all but in namesake a head of monks, and the abbot descended to the level of a keeper of the temple as head of the “three chief posts.”³⁶³

In this manner, the titles became exceedingly pretentious, as abbots became monk overseers, monk overseers became general controllers, and so on, with bombastic titles such as “provincial monk

overseer" and "national general controller." However, these posts were occupied simply by people who hung about, who possessed nothing more than perhaps the personality of an abbot, and most of them were merely ignorant office monks. Therefore, the general population eventually came into contact with these sorts of clerical-staff monks, and opportunities to meet the practice specialist (*ipan* 理判) type became a rarity. Moreover, even on these few chance occasions, they encountered itinerant monks (*unsuseung* 雲水僧) who practiced the austerity of begging for food. Thus, commoners would never be able to meet figures who deserved respect and admiration, and hence, the people found themselves disheartened and in disbelief, and would respect the religion no longer.

Chapter 19

The Administration Bureau and Gakhwangsa

From a Confucianist perspective, all that stood outside of Confucianism was considered heresy and rejected, and Buddhism was forced to retreat into the mountains, and their monks were reduced to practicing the doctrine underground. However, with the passing of time, Christianity was introduced from the West at the beginning of King Heonjong's 憲宗 reign (r. 1835–1849), while from the East all sorts of Japanese monks visited Joseon during Gojong's reign, propagating their faith and vying for consent. Even for the Confucian-oriented society of Joseon, no option remained but to act in accordance with the changes of the times and adopt new policies.

In the thirty-second year of King Gojong's reign (1895), Prime Minister Gim Hongjip 金弘集 granted a request by the Nichiren 日蓮 monk Sano Zenrei 佐野前厲 by presenting a memorial to the throne with the objective of lifting the ban on monks from entering the cities. However, the ban was lifted only for foreign monks, and Joseon monks were still refused entry. Thus, foreign monks resubmitted the request, this time for the Joseon monks, and finally, the ban was lifted for them as well. However, no more than three years later, in the second year of the Gwangmu 光武 era (1898), the security agency commissioner reenacted the ban. Shortly thereafter, however, the security commission's ordinance was again lifted, and the government realized its own unfair bias concerning its unconditional and discriminative policy against Buddhism, and thus, it established a special office to oversee the administration of Buddhist affairs.

In the sixth year of the Gwangmu era (1902), the Administration Bureau for Temples and Shrines (Sasa gwalliseo 寺社管理署)³⁶⁴ was

established to manage temples and monastic affairs, and Wonheungsa 元興寺 Temple³⁶⁵ was constructed around that time outside Seoul's East Gate (東大門), so that it could assume the role of the Main Administrative Temple Complex for the Entire Country (Daebeopsan 大法山 *susachal* 首寺刹). Thereafter, in every province a main temple (*jungbeopsan* 中法山, or “provincial head temple complex” [*donae susachal* 道內首寺刹]) was established.

The Main Administrative Temple Complex in Seoul administered the affairs of the clergy throughout the country, whereas the provincial head temple complex oversaw the affairs of the clergy at the provincial level.³⁶⁶ The main temple in Seoul had a senior doctrinal rectifier (*jwa gyojeong* 左教正) and a junior doctrinal rectifier (*u gyojeong* 右教正), one great meditation councilor (*daeseonui* 大禪議) and one great lecture councilor (*daegangui* 大講議), five administrators (*imu* 理務), one general controller (*doseomni* 都攝理), an inspectorate (*gamwon* 監院), the secretary's office, and a reception office for guests. The central office oversaw the administration of monks, whereas the provincial head temple complexes had a provincial doctrinal rectifier (*do gyojeong* 道教正), a vice doctrinal rectifier (*bu gyojeong* 副教正), a meditation councilor, a lecture councilor, an administrative controller (*seomni* 攝理), and so on, who assumed responsibility over the administration of monks at the provincial level.

The offices of the abbot, inspectorates, and so on were established in each temple for administrative purposes. At the time, the Bongseonsa 奉先寺, Bongeunsa 奉恩寺, Yongjusa 龍珠寺, Beopjusa 法住寺, Magoksa 麻谷寺,³⁶⁷ Geumsansa 金山寺, Songgwangsa 松廣寺, Donghwasa 桐華寺,³⁶⁸ Haeinsa 海印寺, Tongdosa 通度寺, Weoljeongsa 月精寺,³⁶⁹ Yujeomsa 榆帖寺, Seogwangsa 釋王寺, Gwijusa 歸州寺,³⁷⁰ Sin'gwangsa 神光寺, and Bohyeonsa 普賢寺 temples (sixteen in all) were designated the provincial centers.

In the eighth year of the Gwangmu era (1904), the Administrationsa Bureau for Temples and Shrines was abolished, and only Wonheungsa remained untouched. Therefore, its monks continued to administer religious affairs on their own accord until the second year of the

Yunghui 隆熙 era (1908), when an assembly comprising only Seon monks decided to establish the Won jong³⁷¹ General Administration Office (Won jong jongmuwon 圓宗宗務院) to manage the sangha.

This lasted until 1910, when, north of Seoul, at Jeon-dong 磚洞 (present-day Susong-dong 壽松洞), Gakhwangsa 覺皇寺 Temple³⁷² was built, to which the General Administration Office (Jongmuwon 宗務院) was relocated. As mentioned, the sects, composed of the Five Doctrinal and two Meditation sects (Ogyo yangjong 五教兩宗), experienced a gradual reduction until only the Meditation sect remained, with only the Jogye order (曹溪宗) left standing in the end. As such, Joseon Buddhism, without any rivals in the religious field, through negligence, even forgot its own name, and when monks from all sects began migrating from Japan, and Korean monks once again came into contact with all strata of society, a name for the sect had to be established.

The daily services and rites did not lean either toward meditation or doctrinal scholasticism, and in order to perform proper cultivation, meditation, lecturing, chanting the name of the Buddha, and even esoteric Buddhism were adopted as part of Buddhist practice. Therefore, the name Won jong was collectively agreed upon, resulting in the establishment of the Won jong General Administration Office. Master Yi Hoegwang 李晦光³⁷³ was chosen to be the first administrator general of the sect, but in the year that Gakhwangsa was built, he made a clandestine visit to Japan without consulting any of his peers in advance, and stipulated a unification and alliance agreement in seven articles with Hirotsu Setsuzō 弘津說三, the head of the Japanese Sōtō sect 曹洞宗. This act consequently met with opposition and, as he actually replaced the founder of the sect, in the spring of the following year, Bak Hanyeong 朴漢永,³⁷⁴ Jin Jineung 陳震應,³⁷⁵ Han Yongun 韓龍雲,³⁷⁶ and other monks rose in protest, and in every monastery in the south, monks assembled and determined that Joseon Buddhism would simply be called Imje jong 臨濟宗 (Ch. Linji sect).³⁷⁷ A temporary General Administration Office was established at Songgwangsa 松廣寺 Temple, in Suncheon 順天,

and Master Gim Gyeongun 金警雲³⁷⁸ from Seonamsa 仙巖寺 Temple³⁷⁹ assumed the post of director. However, in the fall of that same year, the temporary General Administration Office was relocated to Beomeosa 梵魚寺 Temple³⁸⁰ in Dongnae 東萊, and adopted a position that contrasted with that of the Won jong. Thus, the Joseon Buddhist world of that time experienced a temporary schism between the northern and southern monasteries.

Chapter 20

After the Temple Ordinance

As Joseon Buddhism split into northern and southern strands, the country was politically subjugated by Japan the following year, and Buddhism was also constrained by the bounds set forth by the political directives of the Japanese protectorate.

On the third day of the sixth month in the forty-fourth year of the Meiji era (June 3, 1911), the Temple Ordinance (Sachallyeong 寺刹令)³⁸¹ in seven articles was proclaimed, and on the eighth day of the seventh month, eight Implementary Provisions (Sihaeng sechik 施行細則) were issued, which established thirty head temples,³⁸² among which were the Bongeunsa 奉恩寺, Bongseonsa 奉先寺, Yongjusa 龍珠寺, Jeondeungsa 傳燈寺,³⁸³ Beopjusa 法住寺, Magoksa 麻谷寺, Wibongsa 威鳳寺,³⁸⁴ Boseoksa 寶石寺,³⁸⁵ Baegyangsa 白羊寺,³⁸⁶ Songgwangsa 松廣寺, Seonamsa 仙巖寺, Daeheungsa 大興寺 (formerly Daedunsa 大菴寺), Gimyongsa 金龍寺,³⁸⁷ Gounsa 孤雲寺,³⁸⁸ Donghwasa 桐華寺, Eunhaesa 銀海寺,³⁸⁹ Girimsa 祇林寺, Haeinsa 海印寺, Paeyeopsa 貝葉寺,³⁹⁰ Seongbulsa 成佛寺, Yeongmyeongsa 永明寺, Beopheungsa 法興寺, and Bohyeonsa 普賢寺 temples (the Hwaeomsa 華嚴寺 was later promoted, and became the thirty-first), in addition to over nine-hundred subordinate temples throughout the country.

Regarding both the head and subordinate temples, if they were independent, an abbot was always appointed to administer the temple, and the abbot of the main temple held general inspection powers, while the heads of the subordinate temples had provincial-head administrative powers. Moreover, without approval from the general inspector, abbots could not dispose at will the land, forests, edifices, and precious articles that were considered temple property.

After the issuance of the Temple Ordinance, the Won jong General

Administration Office and the Imje jong General Administration Office (Imje jong jongmuwon 臨濟宗宗務院), which had been mired in confrontations with each other, both naturally became part of the new organization. Joseon Buddhism was subsequently divided into thirty districts, hence with a tally of thirty clergy members and thirty abbots who, in accordance with the third article, held the power to draft monastic rules that, upon approval by the abbot of the head temple, were binding for the head temple as well as the subordinate temples.

In the spring of the fourth year of the Taishō 大正 era (1915), with the dual objectives of cooperative management over the propagation of the faith and collective education administration, the abbots of the thirty head temples established an office at Gakhwangsa 覺皇寺 Temple to coordinate their activities. The president of the council was selected among the abbots of the head temples for managing the coordination tasks, but differed in duty from those of Daebeopsan 大法山 Wonheungsa 元興寺 Temple or the Won jong General Administration Office (Won jong jongmuwon 圓宗宗務院) of the recent past. In fact, the coordination office did not hold any power over the temples or the monks throughout the country, and it existed only in name, and their actions culminated into nothing more than trivial coordination tasks.

In the spring of the tenth year of the Taishō era (1921), the Reform Association of Korean Buddhism (Joseon Bulgyo yusinhoe 朝鮮佛教維新會)³⁹¹ was established, and many believed that “hallowed Joseon Buddhism would be unable to secure the authorization required.” Therefore, a general assembly of the monks throughout the country was held, who collectively called for the establishment of the General Central Administration Bureau of Joseon Buddhism (Joseon Bulgyo jungang chongmuwon 朝鮮佛教中央總務院) at Gakhwangsa, which was to be designated as the organization that would oversee the affairs of all the temples in the country.

However, the abbots of the thirty head temples held different ideas and had different objectives in this regard, and the opposition

decided once more to open the Central Administration Office of Joseon Buddhism (Joseon Bulgyo jungang gyomuwon 朝鮮佛教中央教務院), which was also established at Gakhwangsa. Thus, the coexistence of these two institutions, which upheld such different principles within the confines of the same compound became a bizarre feature of those times.

That same year (1922), the two institutions reached a merger agreement. Consequently, Boseong Normal High School (Boseong godeung botong hakgyo 普成高等普通學校), run by the General Central Administration Bureau, and Donggwang School (Donggwang hakgyo 東光學校), run by the Central Administration Office of Joseon Buddhism, merged into a single Buddhist Specialization School (Bulgyo jeonmun hakgyo 佛教專門學校). It required a sum of 600,000 won to run, and was established under the legal entity of the Central Administration Office of Joseon Buddhism, which was the amalgam of the two previous organizations.

Thereafter, the seat of Boseong Normal High School was transferred from Susong-dong 壽松洞 to Hyehwa-dong 惠化洞 after the construction of new premises, and Buddhist Specialization School occupied a new building in place of the remains of the old Central Buddhist Academy (Bulgyo jungang hangnim 佛教中央學林). Due to certain conditions, however, the school was officially recognized as the Buddhist Special Training School (Jungang Bulgyo jeonsu hakgyo 佛教專修學校), and on the thirtieth day of the fourth month in the third year of the Shōwa 昭和 era (1928), the school was inaugurated.

On the seventh day of the fourth month in the fifth year (1930), its status was upgraded to become Central Buddhist Specialization School (Jungang Bulgyo jeonmun hakgyo 中央佛教專門學校). On the thirtieth day of the fifth month in the seventh year (May 30, 1932), the high school courses and preliminary university courses received corresponding approval from the Ministry of Education. In the fifteenth year of the Shōwa era (昭和, 1940), the school's name was again changed, this time to Hyehwa Specialization School (Hyehwa jeonmun hakgyo 惠化專門學校), and two courses, Buddhism (Bulgyo gwa

佛教科) and Revive Asia (Heungagwa 興亞科), were established.

In the past, in the eighth year of the Gwangmu era (1904), when Myeongjin School (Myeongjin hakgyo 明進學敎)³⁹² was established on the premises of Wonheungsa 元興寺 (the main seat of Joseon Buddhism), in the initial stages, new subjects were taught to young monks. Thereafter, it was changed to Buddhist Teachers' School (Bulgyo sabeom hakgyo 佛教師範學校), but it was abolished some time later. A High-Level Buddhist Lecture [school] (Godeung Bulgyo gangsuk 高等佛教講塾) was founded in time, to be abolished not long after. In the fifth year of the Taishō era (1916), near the site of the Guan Yu Shrine (Gwanwangmyo 關王廟),³⁹³ Central Buddhist Academy (Bulgyo jungang hangnim 佛教中央學林) was founded, only to be abolished in the spring of the eighth year (1919), and Donggwang School (Donggwang hakgyo 東光學校) was established on its premises. Finally, in the eleventh year (1922), it was merged with Boseong Normal High School. In its place, Hyehwa Specialization School was established, which remains to this day.

Joseon Buddhism has always held steadfast, and stubbornly so, to following the beaten path. As a remedy, a single organization was established, with the hope and public claim of administering the saṅgha through a solid and unified [system].

On the thirtieth day of the eleventh month in the third year of the Shōwa era (November 30, 1928), a great assembly for the promotion of Joseon Buddhist Monks was held, and the discussions resulted in the drafting of a religious constitution (*jongheon* 宗憲), and on the third day in the first month of the following year, the Joseon Buddhist Monks Assembly was called, and the guiding principles (*wonchik* 院則) for the Central Administration of the Joseon Buddhist Meditation and Doctrinal Sects (Joseon Bulgyo Seon Gyo yangjong jungang gyomuwon 朝鮮佛教禪敎 兩宗 中央敎務院) were drafted in thirty-one articles and proclaimed. This could be called the only remaining prop for Joseon Buddhism, but while some intended to enact the articles, others were contrarian.

Hence, in the end, it culminated in an impasse, and the next

step forward marked the beginning of the General Administrative Temple³⁹⁴ movement, after which Taegosa 太古寺 Temple³⁹⁵ was moved to a new building, in Susong-dong 壽松洞, Seoul, which became the headquarters, and the name of the sect was also changed to Jogye jong 曹溪宗.³⁹⁶ On the twenty-third day of the fourth month in the sixteenth year of the Shōwa era (April 23, 1941), the Temple Law of Taegosa, General Administrative Temple of the Jogye Order of Joseon Buddhism (Joseon Bulgyo Jogye jong chongbongsan Taegosa sabeop 朝鮮佛教 曹溪宗 總本山 太古寺 寺法) secured official approval, and the Seon master Bang Hanam 方漢巖³⁹⁷ was elected as its first president (*jongjeong* 宗正), and a religious assembly (*jonghoe* 宗會) and the monastic legislation (*seunggyu* 僧規) was drafted and proclaimed, inaugurating a new chapter in the history of Korean Buddhism.

Notes

Part I Three Kingdoms Period

1 The expression “mid-antiquity” (*junggo* 中古) appears in the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 of Iryeon 一然 (1206–1289), and is based on his historical periodization. Differing from the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記, written by Gim Busik 金富軾 (1075–1151) upon royal decree, the *Samguk yusa* reports many cases of miracles and strange facts, which were left out by the *Samguk sagi*, and it is therefore used as an important historical source no less than the *Samguk sagi*. Besides, as the *Samguk yusa* was written by a monk, this affects the book, and it is especially evident from the periodization he adopted. In fact, he drew a line from the date of official recognition of Buddhism in Silla, calling the previous period “antiquity,” whereas he called mid-antiquity the period of the official recognition of Buddhism and the unification of the country. The period of mid-antiquity, which corresponds to the reigns of King Beopheung (r. 514–540) to Queen Jindeok (r. 647–654), was a time when Buddhism embellished the kingdom and, while strengthening the ancient state system, the relationship between the state and Buddhism appears very clearly.

2 Winaamseong Fortress is a fortification that King Yuri built in his twenty-second year (3 CE) on a mountain near Gungnaeseong, when he moved the capital from Jolbon 卒本, in order to better defend the new capital. The Goguryeo capital was a combination of these two fortresses, as people lived in Gungnaeseong, which was located on the plains, during peacetime, but, in case of a war breakout, took refuge in the Winaamseong mountain fortress. At the beginning, it was called Winaamseong Fortress, Sanseongjasan Fortress, and so on, but at present, it is referred to as Hwandasanseong Fortress.

3 Wolbyeon 越邊, in the original text means “facing,” or “across.” Junggangjin Garrison is present-day Junggang-eup, Jagang-do, North Korea, and is located on the bank of the Amnokgang River (Yalu River).

4 When Gim Yeongsu wrote the book in the colonial period, scholarly

consensus identified Wiryešeong Fortress in Hanam, Gwangju-gun, Gyeonggi-do. Today it corresponds to the areas of Pungnap-dong and Seokchon-dong, Songpa-gu, Seoul.

5 The period of the two Jin dynasties mentioned here is the Western Jin (Xi Jin 西晉, 265–316) and the Eastern Jin (Dong Jin 東晉, 317–420).

6 Kumārajīva was a typical translator monk from the Western Regions. We do not know with precision his dates of birth and death, but it is surmised he lived from approximately 340 to 410. Kumārajīva hailed from Kucha (龜茲), in present-day Aksu District (阿克蘇縣) in the Xinjiang Autonomous Province. His fame spanned the entire Silk Road region and reached China. Fu Jian, the king of Former Qin, conquered the Hexi 河西 area and wished to put the areas of the Western Regions under the control of his administration. His general Lu Guang 呂光, at the head of Fu Jian's army, conquered Kucha in 384, and Kumārajīva was among the prisoners. On the way back to the capital, Lu Guang learned of the assassination of Fu Jian; therefore, he interrupted the trip and founded the Later Liang dynasty (後涼, 386–403). As a consequence, Kumārajīva had to live in Liangzhou 凉州 for seventeen years. After the demise of Fu Jian, one of his ministers, Yao Zhang 姚萇 became emperor of Later Qin (後秦, 384–417). His successor Yao Xing 姚興 (r. 394–416) conquered the nearby territories strengthening his power, to subjugate in the end also Latter Liang in 401. That year, Yao Xing invited Kumārajīva to reside at the capital, and appointed him national preceptor, and from that time, Kumārajīva could concentrate on the translation of Buddhist sūtras. According to this, Fu Jian actually never met Kumārajīva, and the relationship between Fu Jian, Lu Guang, and Kumārajīva served as the background to concoct the story that Fu Jian organized the expedition to the Western Regions in order to bring Kumārajīva to his court. Gim Yeongsu also borrows the story at face value, because it was part of a longstanding popular Buddhist tradition.

7 In the *Samguk sagi*, it appears as Seongmunsa 省門寺, whereas in the *Samguk yusa* it is written as Chomunsa 肖門寺.

8 The *Samguk yusa* states that Ado 阿道 came from the Kingdom of Jin 晉, but Iryeon 一然 used as a source also the *Goseung-jeon* 高僧傳, which states that both Sundo and Ado came from Qin 秦. As it appears later, the year in which the Goguryeo state officially built the temple and welcomed Ado and Sundo was 375. It is incorrect to think, as the author does, that the information relating to the arrival and stay of Sundo at Seongmunsa, is based on extant documents.

9 The official recognition of Buddhism in Goguryeo is reported in the "Annals

of Goguryeo” in the *Samguk sagi*, and in the *Samguk yusa*, roll 3, “Promoters of the Dharma” (Heungbeop 興法), in the article “Sundo Brings Buddhism to Goguryeo,” but Gim Yeongsu based his arrangement on the *Samguk sagi*.

- 10 The *Samguk yusa* relates that the translation of the name Marananta means “disciple of the East” (see *Samguk yusa*, roll 3, “Marananta Introduces Buddhism to Baekje”).
- 11 The description is based on the *Samguk yusa*. However, at the time of King Nulji, the Liang 梁 dynasty (502–577) not only had not yet been established, but Silla also started to have relations with the Southern Chinese Dynasties after the sixth century. In reporting the transmission of Buddhism by Ado during the reign of King Nulji, the Liang are mentioned in connection with the introduction of Buddhism in the fifth century from Goguryeo, although the official transmission from the Liang would have taken place in the sixth century. The confusion between the two transmissions is due to the lack of distinction by the author of the *Samguk yusa*. Concerning this, Iryeon explains that it is mistaken to understand that Buddhism was transmitted to Goguryeo together with official envoys from the Liang during the reign of King Nulji, but Gim Yeongsu does not mention it.
- 12 This refers to the official recognition of Buddhism during the reign of King Beopheung. The *Samguk sagi* states that the official recognition of Buddhism in Silla took place in the fifteenth year of King Beopheung (528); however, the *Samguk yusa* quotes a somewhat earlier date, the fourteenth year of King Beopheung (527). This is the year Bodhidharma came to the Liang in China to transmit the Chan faith, so Iryeon places in the same year the sacrifice of Ichadon and the transmission of Chan, implying thus that the far-off transmission of the teaching influenced events in Silla, and this way, Iryeon intended to stress the eventfulness of the official recognition of Buddhism by King Beopheung. However, while the *Samguk yusa* reports the two events of Bodhidharma coming to China and the recognition of Buddhism by King Beopheung as happening in the same year, Gim Yeongsu states that this was the year Bodhidharma died. It looks like he made this mistake when consulting the *Samguk yusa*.
- 13 According to the *Samguk yusa*, Cheon'gyeongnim Forest (Heavenly Mirror Forest) was located east of the Golden Bridge on the Seocheon 西川 (West River), in Gyeongju. The temple King Beopheung intended to build in the Cheon'gyeongnim is Heungnyunsa 興輪寺 Temple. The construction of the temple was begun during the reign of King Beopheung, but finished

during the reign of King Jinheung (眞興王). It is believed that the temple site was at the location of the present Gyeongju Industrial High School (Gyeongju gonggo 慶州工高), once a tile bearing the characters *heungnyun* 興輪 was found there.

- 14 It corresponds to today's Sogeumgangsan 小金剛山 Mountain in Dongcheondong, Gyeongju.
- 15 It is Baengnyulsa 柏栗寺 Temple, located on Sogeumgangsan, in Gyeongju. In 819 (King Heondeok [憲德王] 9) the banner pole with the stone inscription of Baengnyulsa was erected. The banner pole is now preserved at the Gyeongju National Museum.
- 16 According to the *Samguk yusa*, King Beopheung's queen established Yeongheungsa.
- 17 It was a generally accepted view that Uisang came back to Silla in 670 in order to inform the Silla court about the Tang's plans to invade the country, but nowadays many believe that the cause was his master Zhiyan's 智儼 demise, which took place in 668.
- 18 Under the guidance of Fashang, Uiyeon studied the history of Buddhism, the *Shidi lun* 十地論 [Treatise on the Ten Stages], the *Zhidu lun* 智度論 [Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom], the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* [Dichi lun 地持論], the *Jingang bore lun* 金剛般若論 [Treatise on the Diamond Sūtra], and others, asking very specific questions and then returning to his country.
- 19 Fashang (495–580) was a disciple of Huiguang 慧光 and lectured on the *Dichi jing* 地持經 [Ten Stages], the *Laṅkāvatāra* (*Lengqie jing* 樞伽經), the *Nirvāṇa* (*Niepan jing* 涅槃經), and other sūtras. He was greatly revered by Northern Qi (北齊) emperor Wenxuan 文宣 (r. 500–559) and was appointed great monk overseer (Zhaoxuan datong 昭玄大統), thus supervising the administration of the monks of the empire.
- 20 Master Seungnang (d.u.) was a Goguryeo monk. He went to China, south of the Yangtze, to the country of the Liu Song 劉宋 (420–479), giving a great contribution to laying the foundations of the Sanlun (Kor. Samnon) school (三論學). Seungnang never went back to Goguryeo, but his theories spread to the Three Kingdoms and Japan, and his influence marked the development of the Sanlun school in East Asia.
- 21 According to the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, the Chinese monk Huichi 慧持 (575–642) studied Sanlun theory from the Goguryeo monk Sil Beopsa.
- 22 According to the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, during the Kaihuang 開皇 era of the Sui 隋 (581–600) the Goguryeo monk In 印 went to Sichuan

and taught Sanlun (Three Treatises) doctrine, and afterward, went also to the capital of the Sui, Chang'an 長安. He is known for having traveled to China to teach the doctrine of the Three Treatises school and having gathered around him a host of disciples, but we do not know anything more of him.

- 23 It is said that Jihwang was an expert in the thought of the Sarvāstivāda school (Seol ilcheyu bu 說一切有部).
- 24 It is recorded that he went to Mountain Tiantai (天台山) in China, where he spent sixteen years in meditation on Huading Peak (華頂峰), thereafter passing away.
- 25 From the fact that so many Goguryeo monks went to China to practice the Three Treatises doctrine, and that most of the monks who crossed to Japan from Goguryeo belonged to this school, we infer that the Samnon was the most important of the Buddhist schools in Goguryeo.
- 26 The *Samguk sagi* and the *Samguk yusa* report that Gakdeok went back to Silla in 549 (King Jinheung 10). This book states that he returned in the thirtieth year, but it is evidently a mistake.
- 27 Myeonggwan came back in 565 (King Jinheung 26) from the Chen 陳 kingdom (557–589), bringing with him 1,700 books of sūtras and śāstras.
- 28 According to the *Haedong goseung-jeon* 海東高僧傳, the Silla monk Jimyeong 智明 went to the Chen kingdom in China in 585 (King Jinpyeong [眞平王] 7), and in 602 (Jinpyeong 24), he returned with his country's envoy. The king held in high esteem the righteous behavior of the monk, and deeply respected him.
- 29 Anham 安含 wrote the *Dongdo seongnip-gi* 東都成立記 [Record on the Establishment of the Eastern Capital] and, according to the *Haedong goseung-jeon* 海東高僧傳, he went to study in Sui China, and returned in the twenty-seventh year of King Jinpyeong (605), together with the monks Bimo Zhendi 毗摩真諦, Nongjiatuo 農加陀, and others from Khotan (Yutian'guo 于闐國). The *Samguk sagi* reports instead that Anhong 安弘 returned to Silla in the thirty-sixth year of King Jinheung (眞興王, 575) after a period of study in Sui China, together with Vimara and other monks from the Western Regions, bringing the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (*Lengqie jing* 樞伽經), the *Śrīmālādevīśiṃhanāda-sūtra* (*Shengman jing* 勝鬘經), and Buddhist relics. Some share the view that the monk named Anham quoted in the *Haedong goseung-jeon* and the Anhong quoted in the *Samguk sagi* are the same person.
- 30 Wonseung went to Tang China before Jajang 慈藏 but returned to Silla together with him and is credited, together with Jajang, for having

established the Vinaya doctrine in Silla and, in fact, from the title of the works attributed to him, the *Sabunyul galma-gi* 四分律羯磨記 [Records on the Karma of the *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya*] and the *Sabunyul mokcha-gi* 四分律木叉記 [Records on the Prātimokṣa of the *Dharmaguptaka-Vinaya*], we surmise he was a specialist in the Vinaya.

31 Hyetong was an esoteric monk who was active during the reigns of kings Mummu (文武王, r. 661–681) and Hyoso (孝昭王, r. 692–702). He went to Tang China to study esoteric Buddhism, and is credited with the establishment of the Chongji sect (摶持宗). For more information on this monk, please refer to chapter 6 of this book, “The Establishments of Buddhist Sects.”

32 Seungjeon was a Hwaeom 華嚴 monk of Silla. He went to Tang China and studied under Fazang. He returned to Silla in the 690s carrying a letter from Fazang to Uisang 義湘 and, among others, a copy of the *Tanxuan ji* 探玄記, in which Fazang 法藏 (643–712) explained his understanding of Huayan doctrine.

33 Hyecho was a monk from Silla who went to Tang China, the Western Regions, and India. When he returned from India, he continued to reside in China, where he passed away. He left the travelogue *Wang o Cheonchukguk-jeon* 往五天竺國傳 [Memoirs of a Travel to the Five Kingdoms of India], which is the only travel diary of the first half of the eighth century left by a pilgrim going to India. The *Wang o Cheonchukguk-jeon* was forgotten for approximately 1,200 years, and only the title of the book was known until the work was found in Dunhuang at the Mogao caves by the French scholar Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) in the form of a hand-copied roll consisting of the last 277 lines of the book. The book discovered by Pelliot is the only extant copy, and is kept at the French National Library (Document No. P. 3532). However, because several monks called Hyecho were active in the course of the eighth century, there is still some debate concerning the nationality of the monk, but the dominant view is that he was from Silla.

34 It is surmised that he was born circa 550 and held the reins of government administration spanning the reigns of Emperor Bidatsu 敏達 (r. 572–585) to the Empress Suiko 推古 (r. 593–628). He promoted the diffusion of Buddhism, and together with his nephew, Prince Shōtoku Taishi, constructed the Hōkōji 法興寺 Temple.

35 It is said that in 688 Dojang performed a miracle by praying for rain, and that he lived in Japan to be over 80 years of age, receiving high respect in the country. His *Seong sillon-so* 成實論疏 [Commentary on the *Satyasiddhi*]

in 16 books, and held lectures on this commentary at Tōdaiji 東大寺 Temple. His commentary became so authoritative that no discussion on it could be done without taking his commentary into account.

36 It is said that the three nuns Zenshin-ni 善信尼, Zenzō 禪藏, and Eisen 惠善, who were consecrated in Japan by the Goguryeo monk Hyepyeon, crossed to Baekje in 588, where they studied the Vinaya for three years before returning to Japan.

37 Also called Hyeja 慧慈, he crossed the sea to Japan in the sixth year of Goguryeo king Yeongyang 嬰陽 (595) and, together with Hyechong 慧聰, a monk from Baekje, became preceptor of Prince Shōtoku (聖德太子), heading the Hōkōji 法興寺 Temple before returning to Goguryeo in the twenty-seventh year of King Yeongyang (616). They are thought to be masters of the doctrines of the Three Treatises school and experts of the *Satyasiddhi* (*Chengshi lun* 成實論).

38 The Goguryeo monk Hyegwan studied Sanlun doctrine directly from Jizang 吉藏 (549–623). He moved to Japan in the eighth year of King Yeongnyu (榮留王, 625) and became rectifier of the monks (*sōjō*) one year after the Baekje monk Gwalleuk, who held the same post. In the second year of Emperor Kōtoku (孝德天皇, 646), upon the request of Empress Suiko, he held lectures on Sanron doctrine at Gangōji 源光寺 Temple. This was considered the beginning of the Sanron school in Japan, and therefore, he is revered as the first patriarch of the sect.

39 This temple is located in Nara and is one of the seven great temples of the southern capital. Hōkōji Temple, which was the first Buddhist temple in Japan, is actually the predecessor of the Gangōji 源光寺 Temple. When the capital was transferred to Heijō 平城, the temple was moved from Asuka and rebuilt in Heijō under the name of Gangōji Temple, whereas the old Hōkōji 法興寺 Temple at Asuka was preserved in the same place, but was called Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 Temple. The temple became the center of Sanron doctrine during the Nara 奈良 (710–794) and Heian 平安 (794–1185) periods.

40 He is identified with Dojeung 道證 (d.u.). Dojeung was a Goguryeo monk who went to China to study Sanlun doctrine under the guidance of Jizang, and went to Japan somewhat later than Hyegwan and taught the doctrine of emptiness, that is, Salunn 三論, at the Gangōji Temple.

41 Simsang was a monk from Silla (d. 742) who went to Tang China to study Huayan under Fazang 法藏 (643–712), and afterward, moved to Japan where he became the first patriarch of the Kegon sect (華嚴宗).

42 According to the *Samguk sagi*, he came back to Silla with 1,700 books. The

figure of 2,700 books is mistakenly recorded in this book.

43 Wonhyo accepted the new Mind-only doctrine introduced by Xuanzang through his translations, and arranged Buddhist doctrine around the principles of the Mind-only doctrine, but based on the doctrinal research made until that time in Silla. In addition, he greatly strove to popularize Buddhism through the promotion of the faith in Amitābha. He devised the theoretical framework to harmonize the thought of the Mādhyamaka and Yogācāra traditions, which emerged as the dominant theme within Buddhist circles at the time, capturing the theories expounded in the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, and developed a theory that would be the basis for overcoming the divisions among the various schools. Among the works that have exerted great influence on later generations, we can quote the *Daeseung gisinnon-so* 大乘起信論疏 [Commentary on the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*] and the *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non* 金剛三昧經論, and through these he reached an active harmonization of the Mādhyamaka and the Yogācāra. The theory of “one mind two gates,” which appears in the commentary of the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, and the concept of the “practice of meditaion on one taste” are the gist of his theory and the principles of his practice. Moreover, in the eleventh year of King Munmu (671), he wrote the *Panbiryang-non* 判比量論, in which he explained from a logical viewpoint that the logic systems of the Mādhyamaka and the Yogācāra are the same, giving an authoritative basis for the composition of the disputes around the concepts of emptiness and existence. The theoretical system elaborated by Wonhyo has the purpose of harmonizing the points of difference among various sūtras and commentaries, and took shape in the writing of the *Simmun hwajaeng-non* 十門和諍論 [Treatise on Reconciliation of Disputes in Ten Approaches], which became the theoretical solution to overcoming differences of view among the schools. These works of Wonhyo were greatly appreciated not only at home, but also abroad. His *Daeseung gisinnon-so* exerted a great influence on the development of the Huayan school in China, starting with Fazang, while the *Panbiryang-non* became the guiding principle for overcoming the disputes concerning emptiness and existence in eighth-century Japan, and his *Simmun hwajaeng-non* was transmitted to India and translated into Sanskrit.

44 The *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non*, written by Wonhyo, is an annotated commentary on the apocryphal sūtra *Geumgang sammae-gyeong* 金剛三昧經, which is thought to have been compiled around the middle of the seventh century in Silla. The original title was *Geumgang sammaegyeong*.

so 金剛三昧經疏 [Commentary on the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*] but after it was transmitted to China as an abridged version in three books, it was exalted to the status of a treatise.

45 Gyeongheung, a monk of Baekje 百濟 origin, was appointed national elder during the reign of King Sinmun (神文王, r. 681–692), upon the recommendation of his predecessor, King Munmu (r. 661–681). Gyeongheung left over forty commentaries, and is therefore considered, together with Wonhyo and Taehyeon, one of the three great Buddhist writers of Silla, and among his writings those related to Yogācāra doctrine amount to seventeen titles.

46 Woncheuk (613–696) is said to have been born as a Silla prince. He went to Tang China at age fifteen, and studied Buddhism under Fachang 法常 (567–645) and Sengbian 僧辯 (568–642). Later, upon order of the emperor, he became a monk in Chang'an, under the guidance of Master Yuan 元. Woncheuk studied all the Buddhist doctrines that were popular at the time in the Chinese capital, and it is said that he mastered all ancient and contemporary books of Buddhist doctrine, but at the same time being proficient in six foreign languages, starting with Sanskrit. Before Xuanzang's return to China, he studied deeply the old Weishi (*jiu Weishi* 舊唯識) thought of Paramārtha (Ch. Zhendi 眞諦, 499–569), and after the return of Xuanzang from India in 645, he participated, by order of Emperor Taizong, in the translation work presided by Xuanzang. As the fame of Woncheuk spread, Emperor Taizong ordered him to reside at the newly built Ximing Temple (西明寺), in Chang'an. At Ximing Temple, he taught the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 and wrote several commentaries related to the thought of the Yogācāra school. The thought of Woncheuk follows that of the Weishi introduced to China by Xuanzang, but was still based on the old Weishi thought of Paramārtha, and he formed a separate current of thought called the Ximing school (西明學派), different from that centered on the figure of Kuiji 窺基 (632–682) a disciple of the last years of Xuanzang's life.

47 Taehyeon was a great scholar of the Yusik (Ch. Weishi) 唯識 school, and was later revered as a patriarch of the Beopsang 法相 (Dharma Characteristics) sect, and was therefore called a “Yogācāra patriarch” (*Yuga josa* 瑜伽祖師). His faith was centered on the figures of Maitreya (Mireuk 彌勒) and Amitābha (Amitabul 阿彌陀佛), but he wrote books on all fields of the Buddhist religion, starting with Hwaeom, the Prajñāpāramitā literature, Tathāgatagarbha thought, Pure Land, and so on, leaving over fifty works. Worth noting are his twenty-some books on Consciousness-

only doctrine, which embrace the thought of the school from the old Weishi school of Paramārtha to the new Weishi introduced by Xuanzang. His thought is represented by the arrangement of the Buddhist thought of that time, the synthesis of the development of Buddhist thought in Silla and the new Weishi thought, on the basis of the activities of Weishi monks of the early middle Silla period. In the process of the formation of the Beopsang sect during the reign of King Gyeongdeok (景德王, r. 742–765), the sect had Maitreya at the center of its faith, and Taehyeon became one of its patriarchs. Because of his faith and thought, which developed during the age of King Gyeongdeok, Taehyeon became a patriarch of the Beopsang sect, and practiced the faith in Maitreya.

48 Uijeok went to the Tang and studied under the care of Xuanzang 玄奘 going back to Silla after some time. Other than four books on Yusik thought, he also wrote on Pure Land, the Prajñāpāramitās, Beophwa, the Vinaya, and other kinds of doctrine, totaling up to twenty-five works. He met with Uisang and discussed with him on points of faith, entertaining relations with Hwaeom monks. It is known that Uijeok, who was active at Geumsansa 金山寺 Temple, later influenced the faith and activities of Jinpyo (Jinpyo *yulsa* 眞表律師).

49 Dojeung is the right way to write the name of this monk. Dojeung studied Weishi doctrine in Tang China and returned to Silla in the first year of King Hyoso (孝昭王, 692), offering to the king an astronomical map as a gift. His thought is expounded briefly in the *Seong yusingnon yojip* 成唯識論要集, and was transmitted to Taehyeon 太賢, thus becoming the basis of the development of the thought of the Beopsang school.

50 Yeon'gi was a Hwaeom monk who was active during the eighth century. It is thought that Hwaeomsa 華嚴寺 Temple (in Gurye-gun 求禮郡) developed as a great center because of his activities. He headed the work of hand-copying the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經) in the thirteenth year of King Gyeongdeok (景德王, 754), and some parts of it, including parts of the cover decorations, are still extant.

51 Seungjang followed in the footsteps of Woncheuk 圓測, and is one of the most representative monks among those who promoted Yusik thought. He was an expert in Sanskrit and participated in the translation works of Yijing 義淨 (635–713) and Bodhiruci (Ch. Putiliuzhi 菩提流志, fl. 693–727). After Woncheuk's demise, he erected a stūpa with the master's *śarīra* at Fengde Temple (豐德寺) on Mountain Zhongnan (終南山) to cherish his memory. He wrote the *Geumgwangmyeong chōeseungwanggyeong-so* 金光明最勝王經疏 and several other works.

52 Sun'gyeong was strong in Buddhist logic (*inmyeonghak* 因明學). He studied the new Weishi doctrine under Xuanzang, and was especially brilliant in the Weishi demonstration method. He learned the logic theories of Xuanzang, and he wrote down his personal views on the subject in a letter he sent to the Chinese master through a Silla envoy to China. They say that Xuanzang's disciple Kuiji marveled at reading it.

53 Myeongjeong is a wrong transcription of Myeonghyo's 明畧 name. Myeonghyo synthesized the essentials of Hwaeom thought in 196 characters and put them down in a symbolic diagram, somewhat like Uisang's *Hwaeom Ilseung beopgye-do* 華嚴一乘法界圖, calling it *Haein sammae-ron* 海印三昧論 [Treatise on Ocean Seal Samādhi], but his interpretation of Hwaeom thought bears many similarities with that of the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*. Therefore, rather than inheriting the doctrine of Uisang, he seems to have been influenced by the thought of Wonhyo.

54 In this book, Gim Yeongsu considers Busaui, and Samjang as two distinct persons. This mistake has been corrected in the text of the translation.

55 Hyeryang was a monk from Goguryeo. He went to Silla in 551, following Geochilbu 居柒夫. King Jinheung welcomed him and appointed him monk overseer. He presided over the opening of the first assembly of one-hundred seats (*baekgojwahoe* 百高座會) [for the recitation of the *Renwang jing* (*Humane Kings Sūtra*)], and is also credited with celebrating the abstinence ceremony of the Eight Prohibitions (Palgwanjae 八關齋).

56 Gim Yeongsu distinguished the doctrinal sects into five (Ogyo 五敎), and the meditation sects into nine mountains (Gusan 九山). He identified the development of the Five Doctrinal sects and Nine Mountains of Seon into the Five Doctrinal sects and Two Meditation sects (Ogyo yangjong 五敎兩宗) as the proper way of interpreting Korean Buddhist history, and this has become the basic framework for understanding Korean Buddhist history. Some criticism has been raised against his theory of Buddhist sects, but even today scholars generally follow the pattern proposed by Gim Yeongsu of the five schools and nine mountains, Five Doctrinal and Two Meditation sects.

57 The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* deals with the enlightenment of the Buddha. There were two versions, one popular during the period of sectarian (Nikāya) Buddhism, and the other popular with Mahāyāna Buddhists. We have two versions also in Mahāyāna, because there is a northern edition and a southern edition. The northern version (Beiben [Kor. Bukbon] 北本) was translated during the Northern Liang (北涼) by Dharmakṣema (Ch. Tanwuchan 暈無讖, 385–433), called the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* in forty rolls,

whereas the southern version (Nanben [Kor. Nambon] 南本) was arranged on the basis of previous versions, collated and edited by Huiyan 慧嚴, Huiguan 慧觀, and others in 36 rolls. In monastic hagiography, that is, the *Haedong goseung-jeon* 海東高僧傳, there was a story related to the Goguryeo monk Bodeok, who is said to have taught the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* in forty rolls to an old monk on the mountain when he lived in Pyeongyang. Therefore, Gim Yeongsu explains that the Nirvāṇa school's basic text was the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* in forty rolls. Iryeon relates the story in the *Samguk yusa*. The text of the *Haedong goseung-jeon* has been only partially preserved, and Bodeok's biography is no longer extant.

58 In Gim Yeongsu's text, it is quoted as Dachyeon 大賢. We have revised it as Taehyeon 太賢.

59 During the reign of King Bojang, Daoism flourished thanks to the encouragement of Yeon Gaesomun 淵蓋蘇文, the most powerful politician of that time. It is believed that he promoted Daoism as a means of improving relations with Tang China.

60 Gyeongboksa Temple was extant also during the Goryeo period, because it appears in the writings of Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101) and Yi Gyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241), and during the early Joseon period, it was designated as one of the supporting temples (*jaboksa* 資福寺). It appears as if the Birae Hermitage (Birae bangjang) existed down to the Goryeo period at Gyeongboksa, but this does not necessarily mean that Bodeok established Gyeongboksa.

61 *Dongmun-seon*, chapter 27, Royal Mandates (Gwan'go 官誥). The “Decree to the Monk Overseer of the Haedong Sect” is actually the content of the text that follows the royal mandate. A *gwan'go* was an official nomination given to court officials. During the Goryeo period, monks who graduated at the religious examinations received promotions and posts in the clergy, and appointments were made, like civil officials, through royal instruction and royal mandate. The text of the royal mandate was written by Ha Cheondan 河千旦 (d. 1259) upon royal order. Ha Cheondan graduated at the state examinations in 1212 (King Gangjong 康宗 1) and was so talented in writing that all official communication notes and letters came out of his hand. Judging from the period Ha Cheondan was active, the text of the mandate must have been written during the military period.

62 The contents of the royal mandate correspond to the thought of Wonhyo, which was the doctrinal basis of the Haedong sect. The text extolls the pacification of the many theories and disputes rife at the time. However, the two gates (*imun* 二門) do not refer to, as Gim Yeongsu understands, the

different doctrinal interpretations of the schools of Wonhyo and Uisang.

63 Wonhyo saw the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* as the highest teaching, but it is difficult to state that he established the Hwaom school. In actuality, the veneration of Wonhyo as patriarch by different sects is a phenomenon that developed after the establishment of the Goryeo dynasty, and at the time he was regarded as a patriarch by over four sects, and was compared to Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna. This is because he tried to harmonize the thought of the Yusik and Hwaeom, as well as the doctrines of other schools. Moreover, it appears as if the relationship between Wonhyo and Bunhwangsa was established with the erection of the “Stone Inscription of National Preceptor Mediator of Disputes” at Bunhwangsa after Uicheon’s proposal. Consequently, we can consider that the Haedong sect (or Bunhwang sect) actually arose after the erection of the stone inscription at Bunhwangsa, that is, after the exaltation of Wonhyo by Uicheon, which was not simply confined to the Hwaeom sect, but is to be understood as a sect that adopted Wonhyo’s doctrine as the basis of its own faith. After the final years of Goryeo, there is no record concerning the Bunhwang sect, and when the sects were amalgamated in the sixth year of Joseon King Taejong 太宗 (1406), the name of the Bunhwang (Haedong/Wonhyo) sect does not appear. Therefore, it seems to have disappeared before the founding of the Joseon state.

64 The travel of Wonhyo and Uisang to Tang China in search of the law took place only once, in 650. At the time, Wonhyo and Uisang took the land route and traveled up to the Liadong area but, as they were mistaken for spies at the Goguryeo border, they did not manage to cross it and returned to Silla. The famous story of Wonhyo drinking from a skull took place on the way back, in the area bordering Dangju 唐州 (present-day Jiksan area, Chungcheongnam-do). When Wonhyo was sleeping in a tomb, he drank water from a skull, reaching enlightenment, therefore gave up the idea of studying abroad, and went back to Gyeongju. The story is reported as such also by Gim Yeongsu in this book, but it is somewhat different from the accounts given in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, in the *Samguk yusa*, in the “Stele of Reverend Seodang at Goseon Temple” (Goseonsa Seodang hwasang bi 高仙寺瑞幢和尚碑), and other sources. The story of the skull appears in the “Biography of Uisang,” in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, and in a few words is as follows: “When Wonhyo and Uisang reached the border of Dangju, they entered a cave to avoid a rainstorm, but at dawn they realized that it was the interior of a tomb and skeletons were beside them. The following night they entered the tomb and slept there, but in the night,

spirits appeared, and Wonhyo was deeply impressed, therefore he realized that 'all manifestations are constructed in the mind, all dharmas are only mind, as from the mind all kinds of dharmas arise, as the mind stills, there is no difference between a shrine and a tomb' (一切唯心造, 萬法唯識, 心生故種種法生 心滅故龕墳不二). Therefore, he gave up studying abroad and returned to Silla." In the earliest transmission, there is no mention of Wonhyo drinking water from the skull and reaching enlightenment. Therefore, it appears as if the story was concocted by later generations to enhance the moment Wonhyo reached enlightenment.

65 This was transmitted to China, and afterward was upgraded to treatise, and was called the *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non* 金剛三昧經論.

66 Uicheon highly valued Wonhyo and had him attribute the posthumous title of National Preceptor Mediator of Disputes, and memorialized his elder brother, King Sukjong, to erect a stone inscription in honor of Wonhyo. However, because of Uicheon's early demise, this did not materialize, and only during King Myeongjong's 明宗 reign (r. 1171–1197) was a dedication written and a stone inscription erected. This was the "Bunhwangsa Stone Inscription of National Preceptor Mediator of Disputes" (Bunhwangsa hwajaeng guksa bi 芬皇寺和諍國師碑), which is believed to have been destroyed during the Japanese invasions of the *imjin* 壬辰 year (1592). Now only part of the rubbing is extant.

67 In the late Silla period, the Hwaeom sect became the mainstream of Silla Buddhism. The ten temples of the Hwaeom and the group of his ten most important disciples came into being at this time. More than reflecting the circumstances of the time, the meaning of this lies in the participation of the Hwaeom clergy to the central circles of Silla Buddhism and a manifestation of its increased influence.

68 This is also called the *Ilseung beopgye-do* 一乘法界圖 [Diagram of the Dharma Realm of the One Vehicle], or the *Hwaeom ilseung beopgye-do* 華嚴一乘法界圖 [Diagram of the Dharma Realm of the One Vehicle of the Avatamsaka]. Uisang went to China and studied Huayan doctrine under the tutelage of Zhiyan, and in 668 he composed the *Hwaeom ilseung beopgye-do*, which is a systematization of his understanding of the essence of Hwaeom doctrine. It is a graphic representation of the dharmadhātu in verses amounting to 210 Chinese characters of the gist of the doctrine of dependent origination of the one vehicle of Hwaeom. This is represented as the seal-diagram of the dharma realm and the characters of the verses wind up on a plate, until the last character meets the first. The contents were printed using an engraved wooden block, which was a new technique

at the time. Uisang went back to Silla in 670 and taught Hwaeom doctrine to his disciples by using the *Hwaeom ilseung beopgye-do* as a teaching tool.

69 Jinpyo was from Wonsan (present-day Jeonju, Jeollabuk-do) and entered the monastic community at Geumsansa Temple. The Beopsang stream of Jinpyo developed later than that of Taehyeon, and it is clearly distinct from it. The Beopsang doctrine of Jinpyo more than the study of the Mind-only doctrine concentrated on divination and repentance as means of practicing faith, appealing to the common people through the promotion of the faith of Maitreya and Kṣitigarbha. Thus, the stream of Taehyeon developed in the capital Gyeongju as a school that advocated and systematized the faith in Maitreya (彌勒) and Amitābha (阿彌陀佛), while Jinpyo's stream promoted a practical way of cultivation and was based in the provinces, mainly in places such as Songnisan 俗離山 Mountain, Gangneung 江陵, Geumgangsan 金剛山 Mountain, and so on. The unification of the two streams into one sect, the Beopsang, is a phenomenon that took place after the founding of the Goryeo state.

70 According to the "Stone Inscription of Royal Preceptor Hyedeok of Geumsan Temple" (Geumsansa Hyedeok wangsa bi 金山寺慧德王師碑), Royal Preceptor Sohyeon 韶顯, who was active during the age of King Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–1083) as a Beopsang monk, when he was abbot of Geumsansa, built on the south of its premises the Gwanggyowon 廣敎院 Cloister, gathering and arranging the sacred texts of the Mind-only school and then publishing them in thirty-two titles and 353 books. Moreover, he built a hall inside the institute, and placed in it images of Vairocana, of the first patriarch of the Chinese Faxiang sect, Xuanzang and his disciple Kuiji. While he was abbot of Hyeonhwasa 玄化寺 Temple, Sohyeon installed in the main hall paintings of Śākyamuni, Xuanzang, Kuiji and the six Korean patriarchs of the sect, that became the object of veneration by all monks. In former Goryeo, the period when both Soheyon and Uicheon were active, the mainstream of Buddhism was formed by the Beopsang and Hwaeom sects. At this time, we witness the realignment of scholastic sects and a need on their part to research actively the doctrinal foundations of their faith and reappraise their cultural tradition also through the collection of books, their rearrangement, and publication. The publication of the texts of the Mind-only school and the installation of the images of Xuanzang and Kuiji by Sohyeon at Gwanggyowon, and the painting of the images of the six Korean patriarchs besides those of Xuanzang and Kuiji at Hyeonhwasa should be understood in this background. These activities of Sohyeon brought about the unification of the two streams of Jinpyo

and Taehyeon, which had developed separately since the age of King Gyeongdeok (景德王) of Silla, and this carries great meaning because he established the doctrinal basis and the faith tradition of the Beopsang sect in Goryeo. In this book, Gim Yeongsu attempts to identify the six Korean patriarchs of the Beopsang sect by quoting the stone inscription of Royal Preceptor Hyedeok of Geumsansa, including the figure of Jinpyo among them. It appears as if Gim Yeongsu had the view that the Beopsang sect was founded during Jinpyo's time. However, although the stone inscription of Royal Preceptor Hyedeok states that Soheyon at Hyeonhwasa placed the images of the six Korean patriarchs and Śākyamuni, Gim Yeongsu states that Soheyon venerated Maitreya as the most important Buddha in the main hall of the temple. It is true that the main religious figure in the Beopsang sect is that of Maitreya, but Soheyon at Hyeonhwasa, according to the inscription, painted the figure of Śākyamuni together with those of the Korean patriarchs, and Gim Yeongsu in this book, while interpreting the date of the inscription, seems to have left the door open to misinterpretation. This is due to the fact that in the inscription it is written that Soheyon painted the image of Maitreya and that he for twenty-two years, every fourteenth day of the seventh month (according to the lunar calendar) celebrated a grand ceremony, but the description of the paintings of Śākyamuni, Xuanzang, Kuiji, and the six patriarchs of Korean Beopsang are mentioned separately.

71 The consecration of Hyetong as a monk is reported in the *Samguk yusa*, chapter 5, “Hyetong Vanquishes the Dragon” (Hyetong hangnyong 惠通降龍). Before becoming a monk, Hyetong happened to play by a river, where he caught an otter and killed it before tossing the bones in the garden. The following day, he realized that the bones had disappeared, so he followed the traces of the blood and arrived at a cave, where he saw the otter curled up embracing her five cubs. Upon witnessing the scene, Hyetong decided to leave the mundane world and become a monk.

72 Shanwuwei Sanzang 善無畏三藏 (637–735) is Śubhakarasiṁha, a monk of Indian origin who was active in the eighth century in China as an esoteric monk. He came to Tang China in 716, and translated several works of the esoteric canon, but the translation carried out in 724 together with his disciple Yixing 一行 (683–727) of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (*Darī jīng* 大日經) is of special significance in the history of esoteric Buddhism. Hyetong went to China during the reign of Silla King Munmu and was already back during the reign of King Sinmun 神文 (r. 681–692). Therefore, it is not possible that he studied under Śubhakarasiṁha given

the chronological discrepancy. It is true that he went to China to study, and that he came back to Silla. However, the story that he studied under Śubhakarasiṁha for three years was later concocted by the esoteric monks of Silla during the formation process of the sect.

73 *Samguk yusa*, chapter 5. According to the account “Hyetong Vanquishes the Dragon,” Hyetong explained to King Sinmun that the reason for the abscess on his back was due to a misjudgment the king had made in a previous life as prime minister, condemning to slavery a commoner called Sinchung 信忠. Sinchung harbored hatred toward the king, and therefore, the king, at every rebirth, would bear the consequences of Sinchung’s vengeance.

74 The biography of Hyeon’gwang is reported by the *Song gaoseng zhuan* as “Biography of Silla’s Xuanguang,” but Hyeon’gwang was a monk of Baekje. After studying under Nanyue Huisi 南岳慧思 (515–577) came back to Baekje in 570 and established himself at Ungju 熊州 (present-day Gongju, Chungcheongnam-do), where he founded a temple and converted the people.

75 Gim Yeongsu systematized Goryeo’s Buddhism in the pattern of the Five Doctrinal and Two Meditation sects (*Ogyo yangjong* 五教兩宗).

76 Gim Yeongsu distinguished the Seon into Nine Mountains and understood the Buddhism of the end of Silla and the beginning of Goryeo as a pattern of Five Doctrinal sects and Nine Mountains of Seon (*Ogyo gusan* 五教九山).

77 National Preceptor Jijeung Doheon is a wrong way to call him. Doheon is his sobriquet, and Jijeung is his posthumous name.

78 Beomnang studied under the fourth Chan patriarch Daoxin 道信 (580–651) and transmitted the faith to Sinhaeng after returning to Silla, whereas Sinhaeng went to Tang China and studied the Chan of the Northern school, and this is reflected also in the text of this book as it quotes the stone inscription of Master Jijeung, at Bongamsa 鳳巖寺 Temple, written around 893 by Choe Chiwon. Likewise, Gim Yeongsu followed the pattern of transmission from Daoxin to Beomnang and to Sinhaeng, according to the stone inscription of master Jijeung at Bongamsa. However, if we consult the stone inscription of Seon master Sinhaeng at Dansoksa 斷俗寺 Temple, which was written earlier in 813, we see that Sinhaeng went to China to learn Northern Chan after studying with Beomnang, but there is no mention that Beomnang studied in China or that he had any relations with Daoxin. In summary, there has been much discussion in later studies on whether the first monk to transmit the Northern Chan

to Silla was Beomnang or Sinhaeng. Moreover, Daoxin passed away in 651, while Sinhaeng was born in 704, and it is therefore difficult to think that a master–disciple line could have been established from Daoxin to Beomnang and to Sinhaeng. The divergent views concerning the introduction of Northern Seon, as reflected in the stone inscription of Seon Master Sinhaeng and the stone inscription of Great Master Jijeung separated as they are by eighty years, which must have witnessed the formation of sectarian consciousness, and the differences between the two inscriptions reflect a situation where every sect, in order to enhance its image and its legitimacy must have created genealogical lines of transmission. Unlike the stone inscription of Seon Master Sinhaeng, which was written at a time when sectarian consciousness had not yet developed fully, and the stone inscription of Master Jijeung, written about eighty years later, when the disciples were busy constructing a transmission line to Doheon they underlined that they introduced earlier the Northern line of Seon while actually, it had been introduced earlier by Sinhaeng, but they constructed a transmission line that traced back to Beomnang, who would have received the religious message from Daoxin. Therefore, if we consider Doui's 814 transmission of the Southern line of Chan from the viewpoint of the Nine Mountains of Seon, their version of the history of Seon in Korea suggests that Silla Buddhism developed around the Southern line of transmission. However, even though the mainstream of Seon Buddhism was of the southern type, the two inscriptions of Seon Master Sinhaeng and Great Master Jijeung, which relate the transmission of the northern type of Seon, are very important as they let us understand that, in the early period, various streams of Chan thought were introduced in the country.

79 The title of the stone inscription of National Master Jeongjin is mistaken. The original title was “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of Great Master Jeongjin Wono” (Jeongjin daesa Wono tapbi 靜真大師 圓悟塔碑), and therefore, it should be referred to as the stone inscription of Great Master Jeongjin. The stone inscription is preserved today at Bongamsa, Mun'gyeong, in Gyeongsangbuk-do.

80 This refers to Hyeso 慧昭, or Seon Master Jin'gam 眞鑑.

81 The “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of Jeokjo at Bongamsa” (Bongamsa Jeokjo tapbi 鳳巖寺寂照塔碑) refers to the previously-mentioned stone inscription of Great Master Jijeung. Its original name is “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of Great Master Jijeung Jeokjo at Bong'am Temple” (Bongamsa Jijeung daesa Jeokjo tapbi 鳳巖寺智證大師寂照塔碑).

82 Gim Yeongsu's reported date of I'eom's birth is incorrect. The inscription

on I'eom's stele says that he became a monk at twelve, in the third year of Silla king Heon'gang (877), which would place his birth in approximately the sixth year of King Gyeongmun (866).

83 The managerial department (*seongjeon* 成典) was an institution placed in temples that were directly controlled by the state or in merit cloisters of the royal family. Therefore, the temples with this institution were called managerial departments over monasteries (*seongjeon sawon* 成典寺院). References relating to this institution are found in the “Monograph on Goverment Offices” (*Jikgwan ji* 職官志) in the *Samguk sagi* and many inscriptions dating to the middle and late Silla periods. Concerning its functions, many views have been expressed, but generally, it is interpreted as an office in charge of engineering and construction activities at the temple, and it was in charge also of the relative expenses and ceremonies. The institution seems to have been established in the reign of King Sinmun (681–692), but from the ninth century onward, it began to disappear. In mid-Silla period (654–780), the managerial department was a permanent institution in temples controlled by the state. It was established only according to the needs of the state in late Silla and its character as a government institution started to fade away. Thus, the term came into use also in private temples, where also other terms recalling it came into use. Moreover, while in the middle Silla period government officials did the work, but after the founding of the Metropolitan Supervisory Office (*Dogamjeon* 都監典), gradually artisan monks started to do the work together with government officials. At the beginning of the late Silla period, more than the managerial departments, the job of overseeing works at temples came gradually under the supervision of the Metropolitan Supervisory Office. While undergoing this kind of changes, the biggest temples began to introduce an autonomous clergy system that they directly administered. Especially in the case of Seon temples, the the office of the three chief posts (*samgangjeon* 三綱典) was introduced, and temples were administered independently.

84 This corresponds to the head of the managerial department.

85 According to the “Monograph on Government Offices” in the *Samguk sagi*, the nomenclature of the managerial departments underwent changes during the reigns of kings Gyeongdeok (景德王, r. 742–765), Hyegong (惠恭王, r. 765–780), and Aejang (哀莊王, r. 800–809). There were differences from one managerial office to another, and during the reign of King Gyeongdeok, titles were changed, but the original titles were reinstated during the reign of King Hyegong, to be changed once more

during the reign of King Aejang. The names of the offices quoted in this book by Gim Yeongsu, to start with lotus lepel minister (*geumhasin* 莲荷臣) and those that follow, are those prevailing before the changes of King Gyeongdeok's reign.

86 The state overseer (*guktong* 國統) was the general administrator of the monks of the whole country and the highest post of the religious hierarchy. In the beginning, as in the case of Jajang, it seems to have overseen the administration affairs of all the saṅgha, but as we come down to late Silla, it is not very clear whether the power of the state overseer reached the provinces.

87 Gim Yeongsu thought that the positions of great scribal inspector (*daeseoseong* 大書省) and juvenile scribal inspector (*soseoseong* 小書省) were later abolished after they had been established during the reign of King Jinheung (眞興王, r. 540–576). However, if we look at the extant stone inscriptions, we can see that at Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 Temple, in late Silla the Office for the Administration of the Dharma (Jeongbeopjeon 政法典) was established. This institution was headed by the state overseer, and below him were the great overseer (*daetong* 大統), administrator of dharma affairs (*panjeong beopsa* 判政法事; dharma-administering reverends [*jeongbeop hwasang* 政法和尚]), the great scribal inspector, the juvenile scribal inspector, the great retainer (*daesa* 大舍), scribe (*sa* 吏), and so on.

88 This is an anachronism. Gim Yeongsu probably means the reign of Silla queen Seondeok (632–647), because Jajang was active during her reign.

89 The provincial overseer (*jutong* 州統) and prefectural overseer (*guntong* 郡統) administered religious affairs at the local level.

90 This is an anachronism. Gim Yeongsu probably means the reign of Silla queen Seondeok (632–647), because Jajang was active during her reign.

91 It was commonly called office of the three chief posts. It is possible to trace the origin of the three chief posts' system to Master Jajang, who was active in the mid-Silla period. In fact, according to the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 繢高僧傳 [Further Lives of Eminent Monks], Jajang 慈藏 appointed in each temple a dean (*sangjwa* 上座) or a temple head to oversee the behavior of the monks, and in order to carry out the *poṣadha* (observance of the vinaya and repentance) that were scheduled for spring and autumn. At the beginning of the mid-Silla period, it is possible to verify from epigraphic sources that the posts of abbot or monastery authority (*saju* 寺主), dean (*sangjwa* 上座), chief monk (*yuna* 維那), and so on, were established in order to guarantee discipline. The office of the three chief posts, which was established originally to preserve the discipline and administer the monks, developed

into an autonomous institution limited to single temples, especially in Seon temples as we come down to the late Silla period. However, according to the documents discovered at the Śākyamuni Pagoda (Seokgatap 釋迦塔) at Bulguksa Temple, we learn that during early Goryeo the office of the three chief posts was present also in doctrinal temples, but the names of the posts and their responsibilities differed from those of the Seon sects.

92 The three chief posts system (*samgangje* 三綱制) made its first appearance in China, and even there, there is a difference in composition between the system before the Tang dynasty and that following the late Tang period. Originally, the three chief posts system (*sangangzhi* 三綱制) consisted of the dean (*shangzuo* 上座), the abbot or monastery authority (*sizhu* 寺主), and the chief monk (*duweina* 都維那). However, this was just the basic pattern, which presented differences according to the sources and the time, where even the order of precedence changed. Especially during the Tang, with the establishment of Chan temples and the appearance and development of the “pure rules” (*qinggui* 清規), which were the set of rules for administering the temples, so the posts of the three chief posts system differentiated greatly in Chan temples. During the final years of Silla and the beginning of Goryeo, the three chief posts system developed in various forms, and the system was smoothly operating in provincial temples at the time, according to each temple’s needs, but during the Goryeo period, following the process of power concentration into the hands of the central government to keep in check provincial lords, in the religious sphere the central institution of the controller of monks was devised in order to keep in check the clergy of temples in the provinces.

93 The dean (*sangjwa*) was the director of the three chief posts system, and was assisted by the abbot (*saju*) and the chief monk (*yuna*). Therefore, the dean (*sangjwa*) represented the monastery.

94 In the *Samguk yusa*, it appears as head cook (*jeonjwa* 典座). *Jeongjwa* 貞座 is a wrong transcription. *Jeonjwa* 典座 is correct. The head cook oversaw the preparation of meals.

95 The chief monk (*doyuna*) oversaw the observation of monastic rules by the monks.

96 *Jeonjwa* 典座 is the right word. *Jeongjwa* 貞座 is wrong.

97 The maintenance officer (*jikse* 直歲) oversaw reparation works and the upkeep of the temple’s utensils.

98 Gyeoreon 決言 in 861 held a lecture at Goksa 鵠寺 Temple upon invitation from King Gyeongmun (景文王, r. 861–875) to commemorate the death of King Wonseong (元聖王, r. 785–798). On that occasion, he held a lecture

on Fazang's 法藏 *Jiaofenji* 教分記. Moreover, in 884, together with Hyeonjun 賢俊, organized a society to cherish the memory of the Chinese Master Zhiyan 智儼, who had reorganized the Huayan sect.

99 The main events of Gyunyeo's life were arranged by Hyeongnyeon Jeong 赫連挺 (fl. 1075–1105) in the biographical work *Dae Hwaeom sujwa Wontong Yangjung daesa Gyunyeo-jeon* 大華嚴首座圓通兩重大師均如傳. The biography of Gyunyeo relates the events of his life and his work to lay the basis of Hwaeom doctrine in the early Goryeo period, before the appearance of Uicheon. The biography describes the life of Gyunyeo, and besides the doctrine of Hwaeom, it contains the text of the “Songs on the Practices and Vows of Samantabhadra” (*Bohyeon haengwon-ga* 普賢行願歌), which is a critical text for the study not only of Buddhist history and philosophy, but also for research on the evolution of the Korean language. Moreover, thanks to this biography, it is possible to learn of the disputes that arose within Haeinsa 海印寺, as it was the center where the Southern and Northern factions of the sect arose.

100 The expression “golden candidate list announcement of the three Choes” (*sam Choe geumbang* 三崔金榜) appears on the obverse of the “Stone Inscription of the Stūpa of Great Master Nanggong Baegwol Seoun at Taejasa Temple” (Taejasa Nanggong Daesa Baegwol Seoun tapbi 太子寺朗空大師白月棲雲塔碑), which was erected in 954 (King Gwangjong, fifth year). The stele was erected in honor of the Great Seon Master Nanggong Haengjeok 朗空行寂 (832–916), who was active in the last years of Silla and early Goryeo, and was originally located at the Taejasa site (Dosan-myeon, Andong-si, Gyeongsangbuk-do), but is now preserved in the National Museum of Korea. The writing is that of the famous calligrapher of the end of Silla, Gim Saeng 金生. The text of the inscription was composed the year following Haengjeok's demise, but the stele was actually erected thirty-eight years later, during the reign of King Gwangjong 光宗 (r. 949–975). The text on the obverse of the stele was drafted at the time of the erection and relates at length about the disciples of the master, Yanggyeong 讓景 and Yunjeong 允正, giving also an account of Choe Inyeon 崔仁澐 (Choe Eonwi 崔彥撝), who wrote the text. The expression “golden candidate list of the three Choes” is used in connection with the account on Choe Eonwi. The “Stone Inscription of the Stūpa of Great Master Nanggong Baegwol Seoun at Taejasa Temple” states the following: “In the same age, the three Choes went to Tang China, and successfully passed the state examinations for foreigners.” Gim Yeongsu adopted the expression “golden candidate list of the three Choes” as the

title of this section.

101 Choe Inyeon is an alternate name of Choe Eonwi (868–944), one of the most talented literary men of the end of Silla and the beginning of Goryeo. He was the cousin of Choe Chiwon, went to China in 897, and graduated at the state examination for foreigners in 906. After serving in China for some years, he returned to Silla in 909. He took up duty as a drafter of documents at the Silla court, but later served Taejo Wang Geon 太祖王建, occupying posts of literary relevance. He passed away at age seventy-seven, receiving a posthumous name and the title of Jeonggwang 政匡.

102 Choe Seungu 崔承祐 (d.u.) was born into a Silla sixth bone-rank family. He went to China in the fourth year of Queen Jinseong (眞聖女王, 890), graduated at the state examinations in the seventh year of Queen Jinseong and served in the Chinese public administration. He returned to Later Baekje sometime in 901, and served in Gyeonhwon's administration as a drafter of documents and as a diplomatic official.

103 Choe Chiwon wrote all four of the mountain inscriptions by royal decree. Beside the “Great Sungboksa Temple Inscription,” they are all dedicated to Seon masters, whereas the Sungboksa inscription relates the history of the temple, which was a royal family cloister.

104 *Samguk sagi*, chapter 46. According to the biography of Choe Chiwon, after Choe Chiwon graduated from the Tang state examinations, he became vice magistrate of Lishui District, an area close to present-day Nanjing. Gim Yeongsu wrote mistakenly the character *li* 漂 as *piao* 漂. This has been corrected in the translation.

105 *Achan* 阿漁 is the highest capital rank a person of head-rank six status could achieve in Silla.

106 Choe Chiwon wrote a memorial with reform proposals in more than ten articles (*simu sibyeo jo* 時務十餘條) to Queen Jinseong, which she accepted and gave to Choe Chiwon the rank of *achan*, the highest capital rank a head-rank-six elite could achieve. However, his reform proposals could not be implemented because of opposition from the true-bone nobles and others. Therefore, he lost hope in politics, and thus, became the cause of his retirement to a secluded life.

107 Hyeonjun 賢俊, together with Gyeoreon 決言, in 884 organized the society to cherish the memory of the reorganizer of the Chinese Huayan sect, Zhiyan 智儼.

108 In the Biography of Choe Chiwon (*Samguk sagi*, chapter 46), this name is given as Jeonghyeon 定玄.

109 There are four monks that studied under the Tang Chan monk Yunju

Daoying who, after returning to Silla, were active in Silla and Goryeo, and they are called “the four great fearless masters” (*samuoe daesa* 四無畏大師). They were, as explained also in the text, Yeo'eom 麗嚴, Gyeong'yu 慶猷, Hyeongmi 遷微, and I'eom 利嚴. The fact that they were called “the four great fearless masters” appears on the “Stele of Great Master Beopgyeong at Oryongsa Temple” (Oryongsa Beopgyeong daesa bi 五龍寺法鏡大寺碑), erected in the first year of Goryeo king Hyejong 惠宗 (944).

110 The stūpa and stone inscription of Yeo'eom were erected by royal decree in the twenty-second year of King Taejo 太祖 (939), nine years after his death at Borisa. Now only the temple site remains at Yeonsu-ri 延壽里, Yangpyeong-gun, Gyeonggi-do, while the stūpa and the stele are preserved at the National Museum of Korea.

111 According to the “Stele of the Funerary Pagoda of Great Master Daegyeong at Borisa” (Borisa Daegyeong daesa tapbi 菩提寺大鏡大師塔碑), Yeo'eom started to feel uncomfortable on the twenty-eighth day of the eleventh lunar month of 929, and passed away while sitting in the main hall of the temple the following year on the seventeenth day of the second lunar month (930). It is right to state that Yeo'eom passed away in the thirteenth year of King Taejo (930). The date of 929 quoted in the text is incorrect.

112 According to the “Stele of Great Master Beopgyeong at Oryongsa Temple,” he returned to Silla in 908 (King Hyogong 20), and went to Hoejin 會津 (present-day Naju). The date 908 is correct, as recorded in the inscription.

113 It is not the fifth year of King Gyeongmun (景文王), but 921, the fifth year of King Gyeongmyeong (景明王).

114 The present-day Paju-Munsan area, in Gyeonggi-do, in South Korea, is part of the demilitarized zone and part of the present-day Gaeseong area. Oryongsa was located at Yongheung-ri, Gaeseong-si, North Korea. On the temple site, only the funerary stūpa and the stele dedicated to Gyeongyu remain. Through the stele inscription at Oryongsa, we learn that Gyeongyu passed away at Irwolsa 日月寺 Temple, and that his stūpa and stone inscription were erected approximately 300 feet on a peak to the east of Yongamsan Mountain, and this is Oryongsa. Therefore, the statement by Gim Yeongsu that he passed away at Oryongsa is incorrect.

115 After Hyeongmi returned from Tang China, he went to Muju 武州 (present-day Gwangju Metropolitan City), where he received the patronage of Wang Jibon 王池本, the lord of the area, and resided in the Gangjin 康津 area, at Wolchulsan 月出山 Mountain, Muwisa 無爲寺 Temple, where he became abbot. However, when Wang Geon 王建 came at the head

of the Taebong 泰封 army, he followed Wang Geon to Cheorwon 鐵原. Taebong's ruler, Gungye 弓裔, impressed by the fame of Hyeongmi, greatly welcomed him, but when he suspected that Hyeongmi preferred Wang Geon to him, he had Hyeongmi killed. After Gungye lost his power and Wang Geon founded Goryeo, one of the first things he did after ascending the throne was to confer a posthumous title upon Hyeongmi and erected a funerary stūpa and a stone inscription in his memory. Through this story concerning Hyeongmi, we understand the cruelty of Gungye's politics and the policy of support of Buddhism adopted by Wang Geon. There is no difference in opinion concerning Hyeongmi following the Taebong army and going to Cheorwon, where he received a great welcome from Gungye, being later killed for suspicion by the Taebong ruler, nowadays there are scholars who think that Hyeongmi did not follow Wang Geon to Cheorwon, but Gungye, and that Wang Geon met him actually only in Cheorwon.

116 He received the posthumous name of Seon'gak 先覺 (Early Awakened), although his funerary stūpa was named Pyeon'gwangtap 遍光塔 in the year 919 (King Taejo 2). At this time, Wang Geon so highly praised the virtue of Hyeongmi that he had a temple built on Ogwansan Mountain at Gaeju (present-day Gaeseong), calling the temple Taeansa 太安寺 by royal decree. The “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of Pyeon'gwang, Great Master Seon'gak” (Seon'gak daesa Pyeon'gwang tapbi 先覺大師遍光塔碑), quoted in the text, refers to the one erected at Muwisa Temple, Gangjin, in the first year of King Jeongjong 定宗 (946). The attribution of the posthumous name and erection of the stūpa and stone inscription during the reigns of Taejo and Jeongjong are two completely different things that appear entangled in the text. Therefore, we have attempted to clarify it in this note.

117 The three treasures of Silla were established by the monk Jajang during the reign of Queen Seondeok (善德女王, r. 632–647). When Jajang returned from China, the country, under the rule of Queen Seondeok, had been frequently suffering incursions from Baekje and losing territory to its neighbor, the true-bone nobility were nervous, and there were rumors that the Tang emperor Taizong (r. 626–649) was asking her to vacate the throne. Therefore, the queen did not enjoy much prestige. Thus, Jajang chose King Jinheung's sixteen feet tall statue of the Buddha, the Jade Belt Received from Heaven by King Jinpyeong (r. 579–632) and the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa as the “three treasures of Silla” (Silla *sambo* 新羅三寶). The three treasures of Silla were created by borrowing the concept of the three treasures of Buddhism symbolizing that the Silla royal

family was of kṣatriya origin, and therefore, like the Buddha, was sacred. Through the consecration of the royal family, Jajang tried to recover the dignity and power of the queen.

118 The present book quotes the article on the Nine-Story Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa (皇龍寺九層塔), reported in the *Samguk yusa*, but does not describe the construction process of the pagoda, only underlining its aspect of protection of the country. According to the *Samguk yusa*, the Nine-Story pagoda was built upon the recommendation of Jajang, and this is due to the fact that, when Jajang was in China, he visited Mountain Wutai (五臺山), where he received the teaching of a spirit at Taihe Lake (太和池). Therefore, when he went back to his home country, he proposed the queen to build the Nine-Story Pagoda, to build which artisans and technicians from Baekje were invited.

119 From Japan to the Yemaek, these correspond to the Nine Han. However, among the Nine Han, countries that existed during the final years of the Tang and the five dynasties period are included, and as the name of Baekje, that heavily menaced the existence of Silla at the time was not included, some scholars think that the story of the Nine Han was concocted much later, but still others think that the names might have been changed in later ages.

120 Wuyue was a kingdom located in present-day Zhejiang Province (浙江省) during the period of the last years of the Tang dynasty and the Five Dynasties (Wudai 五代).

121 The term indicates the Jejudo (濟州島).

122 Some think it is referred to an island northeast of Jiangsu Province (江蘇省), while others are of the opinion that it is a different name for Baekje 百濟.

123 Some think that it is a different name for Goguryeo 高句麗.

124 In the *Samguk yusa*, the sixteenth year of King Gojong is registered as the *musul* year, which is actually the twenty-fifth year of Gojong. Gim Yeongsu, following the *Samguk yusa*, wrote down that it was the sixteenth year of Gojong, but this is a mistake of the *Samguk yusa*. Therefore, in the translation, we amend it to the twenty-sixth year of Gojong, which was 1238, the year when the pagoda was burned down by the Mongols.

125 The place where the king intended to build the royal palace, but later, due to the appearance of a yellow dragon, Hwangnyongsa was built, was a low-lying marshland. After the sixth century, the uncultivated areas of Gyeongju were reclaimed, among which were marshes and barren lands. In the reclaimed lands, temples were built first, and then people's housing and cultivable lands. The story of the construction of Hwangnyongsa shows

well the process of reclamation of land that was going on in Gyeongju around the sixth century. Between the area where the Hwangnyongsa site is located and Bunhwangsa 芬皇寺, there was a marsh, and the dragon palace quoted in the book refers to this marsh.

126 The “Jade Belt Received from Heaven” by King Jinpyeong is seen as a ploy to strengthen royal power, and is related to the Buddhist cult of Indra and to the traditional belief that the Silla rulers were the descendants of Heaven.

Part II The Goryeo Period

1 Doseon's 道訛 (827–898) posthumous name was Yeon'gi 烟起, his adult names were Ongnyongja 玉龍子 and Ongnyong 玉龍, and his family name was Gim 金. He hailed from Yeongam, Jeollanam-do. He embraced monastic life at fifteen and became a monk at Hwaeomsa 華嚴寺. He traveled to many temples in search of the dharma until, in the eighth year of King Munseong 文聖 of Silla (826), he visited Master Hyecheol 惠哲 (785–861) on Dongnisan 桐裏山, Jeollanam-do, listened to his words, and obtained enlightenment. Afterward, he continued wandering around all the temples in the country, furthering his cultivation path until he built Ongnyongsa on Baekgyesan Mountain, Gwangyang-si, Jeollanam-do, and taught many disciples. He wrote a comprehensive work on geomancy, and is famous for having elaborated the theory of supporting temples and stūpas (*bibo satap seol* 補補寺塔說). The expression *bibo* 補補 is defined as helping or replenishing what is lacking, and refers to efforts made by humans to supply what is missing in the environment. As part of these efforts, we can quote stūpas, or for blocking the flow of yin energy, the construction of artificial mountains. According to tradition, Doseon foresaw the founding of Goryeo by Taejo Wang Geon 太祖王建, and therefore, his figure was held in high esteem throughout the Goryeo period.

2 King Heungdeok (興德王) was the forty-second king of Silla (r. 826–836).

3 Namak Hwaeomsa 南嶽 華嚴寺 refers to Hwaeomsa, on Jirisan Mountain. Namak, or Southern Peak, is one of the many appellations of Jirisan.

4 Ongnyongsa 玉龍寺 is a temple located on Baekgyesan, Ongnyong-myeon, Gwangyang-si, Jeollanam-do. According to tradition, it was founded by Doseon.

5 *Dongmun-seon* 東文選, chapter 117, “Inscription on the Funerary Stele of the Posthumously Titled National Preceptor Seon'gak at Ongnyongsa Temple on Baekgyesan Mountain” (Baekgyesan Ongnyongsa jeungsi Seon'gak guksa bimyeong 白鶴山玉龍寺贈謚先覺國師碑銘). The inscription states that an eccentric fellow came and spoke to him.

6 “Inscription on the Funerary Stele of the Posthumously Titled National Preceptor Seon'gak at Ongnyongsa Temple on Baekgyesan Mountain.” From the inscription, it is possible to ascertain that the South Sea that Doseon voyaged to was in the Gurye 求禮 area, which was known as Sadochon 沙圖村 during the Goryeo period. It presently corresponds to

Gurye-gun, and is near Jirisan.

7 Ibid. The sentence is quoted in the inscription, the text of which was composed by Choe Yucheong 崔惟清 (1095–1174) in the fourth year of King Uijong 毅宗 (1149), and the stele was erected in the fifth month of the following year. This inscription contains comparably reliable and detailed information on Doseon, and therefore, it is of high historical value. According to this inscription, when Doseon died in the second year of Silla king Hyogong (孝恭王, 898), Bak Inbeom 朴仁範 (d.u.) composed the text of an inscription upon royal order, but it was never engraved. An examination of the obverse of the stone inscription erected during the reign of Uijong 毅宗 (r. 1146–1170) reveals that many later-generation disciples of Doseon were participants, and it is also possible to understand that they became abbots of this and other temples from one generation to the next. Moreover, Doseon's tradition appears to have survived independently from the Nine Mountains of Seon (Gusan Seonmun 九山禪門) until the mid-Goryeo period. Among the extant materials on Doseon, many have been fabricated in later ages, and it is therefore difficult to utilize them as reliable historical materials. Among them, typical is the description of the encounter of Doseon with Yixing, which is discussed later. Gim Yeongsu describes several stories relating to Doseon, without discussing their historical value, but he denies that the encounter with Yixing 一行 could possibly have taken place.

8 Yixing 一行 (683–727) was a monk who lived during the Tang 唐 dynasty (618–907). He was conversant in astronomy and geography. He became a monk under the guidance of Chan Master Puji 普寂 on Mountain Song (崇山), with whom he studied meditation. He furthered his studies with the master of esoteric Buddhism Vajrabodhi (Ch. Jingangzhi 金剛智, 671–741). He also studied the Tiantai doctrine on Mountain Tiantai. In 717 he traveled to Chang'an 長安 following a call from Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756). Together with Śubhakarasiṃha (Ch. Shanwuwei 善無畏, 637–735), he is credited with the translation of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (*Dari jing* 大日經).

9 According to the *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史 by Yi Neunghwa 李能和, the contents are included in the “Biography of Doseon” (*Doseon-jeon* 道訖傳) composed by Goengyeon 宏演 (“Ongnyongja gwonnong gamyeosul” 玉龍子權弄堪輿術).

10 Yi Neunghwa also emphasized the impossibility of Doseon's meeting with Yixing in his *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*, chapter 2, “Master Ongnyong Properly Obtains the Art of Geomancy” (*Ongnyongja gwonnong gamyeosul*).

The *Pyeonnyeon tongnok* 編年通錄 [Records of Yearly Chronicles], written by Gim Gwanui 金寬毅 (d.u.), a contemporary of Choe Yucheong 崔惟清, the author of the “Inscription on the Funerary Stele of the Posthumously Titled National Preceptor Seon'gak at Ongnyongsa Temple on Baekgyesan Mountain,” indicates that Doseon traveled to Tang China and learned geomancy from Yixing. The story of Doseon traveling to study in Tang China is recorded accordingly also in later sources, such as the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 東國輿地勝覽, and others. However, Doseon lived toward the end of the ninth century, while Yixing lived in the first half of the eighth century in Tang China. Therefore, it is impossible that a direct master–disciple relationship could have existed. Doseon never went to China, and the story stems from a misunderstanding in the transmission to later generations, because it is Master Hyecheol 惠哲 (785–861) who traveled to China to study.

11 According to the “Inscription on the Funerary Stele of the Posthumously Titled National Preceptor Seon'gak at Ongnyongsa Temple on Baekgyesan Mountain,” Doseon hit every site in the country and practiced meditation there, and over the course of his travels, he applied his geomantic theories to the factual observation of the territory. Therefore, he systematically understood the conformation of the territory of the entire country, and accordingly proposed his theory of the decadence and flourishing of the earth's vital energy and the theory of supporting temples and stūpas. Doseon therefore had a comprehensive understanding of the vital energy of the land in the entire country and systematically organized the theory of geomancy, enabling it to become one of the ideological mainstays of the founding of the Goryeo state. Moreover, geomantic theory played an important role in Goryeo thought and in the administration of the state along with Confucianism and Buddhism.

12 Gongnyeong 鵠嶺 Ridge is an alternative appellation of Songaksan 松嶽山 Mountain, in Gaeseong 開城. Gaeseong (i.e., Gaegyeong 開京) was the capital of Goryeo, and today it is located in North Korea. It is presently called Gaeseong-si 開城市, and is in Hwanghaebuk-do.

13 Wang Yung 王融 (d. 897) was the father of Wang Geon 王建, the first king of Goryeo. His wife was posthumously titled Queen Dowager Wisuk 威肅, of the Han family (韓氏). In the tenth year of Silla queen Jinseong (896), he donated his county to Gungye 弓裔 becoming commander of Geumseong 金城, where he died the following year. He was posthumously titled Great King Sejo Wimu (Sejo Wimu Daewang 世祖威武大王) by King Taejo upon his ascent to the throne.

14 The encounter and conversation between Doseon and Wang Yung are quoted in the *Goryeo* 高麗史, chapter 1, “Chronicles” (Sega 世家).

15 King Gyeongsun (敬順王, r. 927–935) was the last king of Silla. His family name was Gim 金, and his name Bu 傅. After surrendering to Goryeo, he married one of King Taejo’s daughters and received Gyeongju as a fief.

16 Gaegolsan 皆骨山 is an alternate name for Geumgangsan 金剛山 Mountain.

17 Thirty *ris* correspond to about 11.8 km.

18 In the original text, it appears as Songgyeong 松京. This was an alternate name for Gaegyeong 開京, present-day Gaeseong.

19 In the original text, it appears as Gaeseong 開城. After the fall of Goryeo, the town’s name was changed to Gaeseong. Throughout this text, it is called Gaegyeong, which is the name that was used during the Goryeo period.

20 Beobwangsa 法王寺 was a temple in Gaegyeong. It was constructed in 919 (King Taejo 2) when Gaegyeong was adopted as the capital of the new kingdom, along with the town walls and government offices. The palgwan festival was held there, and therefore, the Goryeo kings visited regularly the temple throughout the duration of the dynasty. Moreover, “assemblies of one-hundred seats” and food-offering ceremonies were also held for the monks at the temple. The temple fell quickly to ruin during the Joseon period, and it is no longer extant.

21 Wangnyunsa was a temple located on Songaksan 松巖山 Mountain, Gaegyeong. It was constructed together with the capital by the Goryeo king Taejo in 919 (King Taejo 2). It is common knowledge that Goryeo kings visited Bongeunsa 奉恩寺 Temple to celebrate the Lantern Festival (Sangwon yeondeunghoe 上元燃燈會), but in actuality, from the establishment of the dynasty until 949 (King Jeongjong 4), after celebrating the Lantern Festival, they used to visit Wangnyunsa regularly. Even later, Wangnyunsa continued to occupy a crucial position as a state temple, as attested by the rites in remembrance of the Queen Mother of King Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–1083) having been held there, kings Seongjong 成宗 (r. 981–997) and Uijong 穀宗 (r. 1146–1170) having opened arhat purification festivals (arhat vegetarian festival, *nahanjae* 羅漢齋) there, and it is also where King Yejong 肅宗 celebrated a rite to ward against calamities. Moreover, as a representative temple of the Doctrinal sect, the examinations for monks of the Doctrinal sects were held there. It was burnt down during the Mongol invasions and rebuilt in the first year of King Chungnyeol (1275), and a six-foot-tall Buddha statue was installed at the temple. In 1293 a stone pagoda was erected there. In 1365 (King

Gongmin 14) the king built a massive commemoration hall to cherish the spirit of his deceased wife, the Mongol princess Noguk Daejang 魯國大長. The temple fell into decay some time during the Joseon period.

22 Nae Jeseogwon was a temple in Gaegyeong. It was built together with governmental offices when Gaegyeong was renovated as the new capital, in 919 (King Taejo 2). It was the most important temple for the celebration of ceremonies to Indra, literally Šakra (Jeseok 帝釋), and was the center of Indra's cult. It was located within the premises of the royal palace and it was called the Indra Cloister, but as a new Indra Cloister was built outside of the palace grounds in 924 (King Taejo 7), in order to distinguish between them, people began to call it the Nae Jeseogwon 內帝釋院 (Inner Indra Cloister) in the palace. After the founding of the Joseon dynasty, the temple was shut down in 1394 (Joseon king Taejo 3).

23 This temple was located in Gaegyeong. It was likewise constructed in the second year of King Taejo (919), when the capital was being built. It appears to be a Meditation sect temple because Seon monks, such as Ieom 利嚴, Geungyang 譴讓, Chanyu 環幽, and others became abbots of Sanasa 舍那寺 Temple.

24 Some say this temple was the same as Bojesa 菩濟寺, but others read it as Dae Seonwon 大禪院. Bojesa was located in Gaegyeong, and was called also Gwangtong Bojesa 廣通普濟寺, Daesa 大寺, and Dangsa 唐寺. The name was changed to Yeonboksa 演福寺 around the time of the reign of King Chungsuk 忠肅 (r. 1313–1330, 1332–1339). In 1123 (King Injong 1), according to the Song envoy Xu Jing 徐兢, who wrote the *Gaoli tujing* 高麗圖經, it was located at the crossroads exactly in the town center. The main hall was the Arhat Hall (Nahan bojeon 羅漢寶殿), and it was more gorgeous than the royal palace, housing the statues of the Buddha as well as the two Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī (Munsu Bosal 文殊菩薩) and Samantabhadra (Bohyeon Bosal 普賢菩薩), surrounded by the five-hundred arhats. Moreover, to the right of the Arhat Hall sat a five-story stone pagoda standing taller than 150 m to further exalt the majestic quality of the temple. It was one of the three most important temples of the Meditation sect in Goryeo, and Seon discussion assemblies (*damseon beophoe* 談禪法會) were held there regularly every three years. In the second year of King Chungmok (忠穆王, 1346), artisans from Yuan China conducted a visit and produced a bell (Yeonboksa jong 演福寺鐘), which now hangs on Gaeseong's Great South Gate.

25 Sinheungsa. According to the *Goryeoosa*, the images of the merit subjects who helped unify the Later Three Kingdoms and establish the Goryeo

state were kept at this temple, and therefore, the great equality assemblies (*muchā daehoe* 無遮大會) were held at this temple every year to cherish their memory.

- 26 Some consider this temple to be Yeongtongsa 靈通寺 Temple.
- 27 The ten temples from Beobwangsa to Jijangsa were built by King Taejo when he moved the capital from Cheorwon 鐵原 to Gaegyeong in 919 (King Taejo 2). They are also called the Ten Temples of Taejo, and their names appear in the *Samguk yusa*, chapter 1, “*Dynastic Chronology*” (*Wangnyeok* 王歷), while the *Goryeosa*, chapter 1, “*Chronicles*” (*Sega* 世家), indicates that the ten temples were built in the third month of the second year of King Taejo’s reign (919).
- 28 Sixteen is the number of temples built by King Taejo until he unified the Later Three Kingdoms.
- 29 Gwangmyeongsa was built in the fifth year of King Taejo (922) in Gaegyeong, the capital. It was none other than the old mansion of King Taejo Wang Geon, located in Manwol-dong 滿月洞, donated by King Taejo to the monastic community. This was a typical Meditation sect temple, and during the military period (1170–1270), Meditation discussion assemblies (*damseon beophoe* 談禪法會) were held at this temple.
- 30 Oe Jeseogwon 外帝釋院 (Outer Indra Cloister) was located in Gaegyeong. It was constructed in 924 (Taejo 7). Many kings visited it throughout the Goryeo period, and it was, with the Nae Jeseogwon in the palace, the center of the cult of Indra in Goryeo. *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* rituals (*Buljeong doryang* 佛頂道場), rituals to pray for rain (*giujae* 祈雨齋), arhat purification feasts (*nahanjae* 羅漢齋), and masses to ward off calamities (*sojae doryang* 消災道場) were held at this temple. Along with the Sinjungwon 神衆院 (Sinjung Cloister), it was a center to pray for the bliss of the royal family and peace for the country, and it was a critical center of prayer for warding off calamities and natural disasters.
- 31 Sinjungwon was a temple where rituals were held to venerate the divine assembly, the deities featured in the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*.
- 32 Heungguksa was founded by King Taejo in Gaegyeong, the capital, in 924. In this temple is a flight of stairs where monks once received the precepts. The founding of such a temple in the capital at the start of the new kingdom attests to the desire by the state to control the monastic community by participating in the consecration of monks.
- 33 In the *Samguk yusa*, “*Dynastic Chronology*,” it is registered as Myosa 妙寺 Temple. Gim Yeongsu understood it as Jimyosa 智妙寺. However, Jimyosa is a temple King Taejo had constructed on Gongsan 公山 Mountain,

Daegu (Palgongsan Mountain), to commemorate the souls of Gim Nak 金樂 and Sin Sunggyeom 申崇謙, who had died in battle on the mountain fighting the forces of Gyeonhwon 甄萱. It is difficult to regard this temple as Jimyosa, because all temples built by King Taejo, apart from this one and Gaetaesa 開泰寺 Temple, which was built to celebrate the unification of the Later Three Kingdoms, were situated in Gaegyeong. Stone inscriptions dating to the former Goryeo period mention a temple called Myojisa, located east of the royal palace. It is possible that the reference in the *Samguk yusa* pertains to this last temple.

34 Anhwawon 安和院 (Anhwa Cloister) is a temple founded by King Taejo in 930 on Songaksan, Gaegyeong. It was called also Jeongguk (Pacification of the Country) Anhwasa 靖國安和寺 Temple and Anhwa Seonwon 安和禪院 (Anhwa Meditation Temple), among others. It was built as a merit cloister for King Taejo's cousin, Wang Sin 王信 (d. 926), at the beginning of the reign. Wang Sin had died unjustly after having been sent to Baekje as a hostage. The temple was renovated several times. The images of kings Sukjong, Yejong, and Yejong's queen were kept there, and thus, the temple was a typical royal family merit cloister of the middle Goryeo period. This temple is important for understanding the structure of Goryeo temples of the time, as detailed by the Song envoy Xu Jing 徐兢 in his *Gaoli tujing* 高麗圖經 regarding the temple and its magnificent view. In fact, the temple is said to have been, in terms of size and beauty, one of the most magnificent of that time. The plaque of the temple, bearing the title "Country Pacification Anhwa Temple" (Jeongguk Anhwa ji sa 靖國安和之寺), personally written by the Song emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1101–1125), hung over the gate. The main hall was the Amitābha Hall (Muryangsu jeon 無量壽殿), and other important buildings were Sakhyamuni Hall (Neungin jeon 能仁殿), the Hall of the Good Dharma (Seonbeop dang 善法堂), and Maitreya Hall (Mireuk jeon 彌勒殿), among others. The temple fell into disrepair some time after the fall of Goryeo, and only the foundations of the temple remained. It was rebuilt in 1930 and renovated again in 1989.

35 Gaetaesa is located on Cheonhosan 天護山 Mountain, Cheonho-ri, Yeonsan-myeon, Nonsan-si, Chungcheongnam-do. The temple was constructed in 936 (King Taejo 19) to celebrate the victory over Sin'geom 神劍 of Later Baekje and the unification of the Later Three Kingdoms. The name of the mountain was also changed from Hwangsan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain) to Cheonhosan (Protecting Heaven Mountain). A stone sculpture of a Buddhist Trinity exists that is deemed to have been produced

at the beginning of the Goryeo period, and a massive iron pot also exists, reaching 298 cm in diameter. Recent excavations have given a glimpse of the temple's scale at the beginning of the Goryeo period.

36 In the *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽 and the *Dongin ji mun sayuk* 東人之文四六, it appears as Sungseon seong 崇善城. Sungsin seong 崇信城 is a misspelling of Sungseon seong. The battle against Later Baekje forces, which took place at Sungseon seong Fortress in the nineteenth year of King Taejo (936), is called “the war for the unification of the Three Kingdoms” or “battle of Illicheon” (*Illicheon jeontu* 一利川戰鬪). The old name of the location of Sungseon seong was Illi-gun 一利郡, present-day Gumi-si 龜尾市, Gyeongsangbuk-do. The Illicheon 一利川 River is a tributary of the Nakdonggang River. At the time, both Silla king Gyeongsun (敬順王) and Gyeonhwon 甄萱 of Later Baekje had already surrendered to Goryeo, and only Gyeonhwon's son, Sin'geom 神劍, upon seizing power, continued waging war against Wang Geon. Wang Geon is known to have started this battle upon Gyeonhwon's request, and in the ninth month, Wang Geon directly commanded the army at Ilseon-gun (present-day Seonsan-gun, Gyeongsangbuk-do). The two armies faced each other on opposing sides of Illicheon. Judging from the thirty-eight names of generals that appear in the *Goryeosa*, it is possible to understand that this was a decisive battle for the unification of the Later Three Kingdoms. Consequently, the Later Baekje army was heavily routed, and Sin'geom gathered what remained of his army and retreated to the present-day Nonsan area, recomposing his army with the intention to fight Goryeo. However, due to the inferiority of his forces and the low morale of his troops, he was unable to fight further, and surrendered to Goryeo. With the victory at Illicheon, Wang Geon became the de facto ruler over the entire peninsula, achieving unification of the Later Three Kingdoms.

37 The text is quoted in the *Dongin ji mun sayuk*, and its text is quoted briefly in the *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*. Gim Yeongsu summarized the text of the *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam* and quoted it here.

38 The entire text of the Ten Injunctions is quoted in the *Goryeosa*, chapter 2, “Chronicles” 2, Taejo 26, fourth month. King Taejo passed away the following month. A month before dying, King Taejo is said to have called Bak Sulhui 朴述希 and to have passed him the injunctions, so that the kings of later generations would provide them due consideration when administering the country. Every injunction ends with the sentence, “Keep it well in mind,” thereby requesting earnestly that they be put in practice. The injunctions thus became a sort of political compass that was secretly

transmitted to later kings as the teaching of the royal house or a testament to later generations. The importance of the Ten Injunctions lies not only as a reflection of King Taejo's political philosophy, but also because they succinctly reflect the political character of the Goryeo dynasty. This is also due to their reflecting King Taejo's experience of the division of the Later Three Kingdoms and his policy to overcome these divisions. In the injunctions, King Taejo draws attention to Buddhism, ascribes great importance to geomancy, to the protection of traditional culture, and to the adoption of Chinese culture, all the while considering the theories of Chinese and Korean culture and their differences, as well as the search for a royal policy based on Confucian principles. The injunctions were adopted as a type of guide in national affairs, and not only the royal family but also statesmen came to refer to them from time to time to gain authority when they wanted their proposals to be adopted.

39 Jungdong palgwanhoe 仲冬八關會 is the formal name of the festival.

40 The official name of the festival in Goryeo was Sangwon yeondeunghoe 上元燃燈會 (i.e., lantern festival).

41 In the Goryeo period, even before the reign of King Gongyang (r. 1389–1392), beside the Sangwon yeondeunghoe, which was held regularly on the fifteenth of the second month, other lantern festivals were held frequently, mostly on the eighth day of the fourth month as part of the celebrations of the Buddha's birthday. However, after the military takeover and the war against the Mongols, the capital was transferred to Ganghwado Island, and during this period, the lantern festival was held regularly, separately, and differently from that of the Sangwon yeondeunghoe on the eighth day of the fourth month. This ceremony was held on the anniversary of the Buddha's birthday, and was a purely Buddhist festival. It was different in character from the Sangwon yeondeunghoe, and despite its Buddhist character, it was centered on the faith of King Taejo, the founder of the dynasty. Moreover, during the period of Mongol control, Goryeo's autonomy was limited, and therefore, the scope of the Sangwon yeondeunghoe was gradually reduced and even its celebration interrupted. By contrast, the celebration of the Buddhist lantern festival prospered and became ever more grandiose. Toward the end of Goryeo, in addition to the Sangwon yeondeunghoe, many lantern festivals were celebrated, and the one that took place on the Buddha's birthday became a folk custom to the extent that around the end of the dynasty, among the people, the lantern festival on the Buddha's birthday became even more important than the Sangwon yeondeunghoe. With the inauguration of the Joseon dynasty,

the Sangwon yeondeunghoe was abolished, but the lantern festival on the Buddha's birthday continues to be celebrated among the people today.

42 "Presently" indicates the 1930s (i.e., when Gim Yeongsu wrote the book).

43 This is the origin of the lantern festival celebrated at present on the Buddha's birthday.

44 In the *Goryeosa* and other sources, it appears as *gijiniae* 忌辰齋 (i.e., the ceremony for remembering the death of an ancestor).

45 Shuang Ji 雙冀 (d.u.) was a man of Later Zhou (後周). He arrived to Goryeo in 956 (King Gwangjong 7) and became naturalized. King Gwangjong employed him and appointed him as a Hallim scholar (*Hallim haksa* 翰林學士), entrusting him with the administration of cultural affairs. In fact, in 958, following Shuang Ji's advice, King Gwangjong started the state examinations for the first time in the country, and Shuang Ji acted as chief commissioner of the examinations. During the first half of his reign, King Gwangjong, as a step toward strengthening royal authority, invited numerous scholars from abroad, entrusting them with administrative duties, but this policy met with opposition from the traditional court nobility and the high echelons of the bureaucracy.

46 Choe Seom 崔暹 passed the state examinations of 958 (King Gwangjong 9), coming in first. In later years, he became commissioner of the state examinations on several occasions. He is a typical scholar of the early Goryeo period.

47 Geodonsa 居頓寺 is a temple in Buron-myeon 富論面, Wonju-si, Gangwon-do. What remain today are the foundations of the temple and a stone inscription dedicated to National Preceptor Won'gong 圓空, whose text was written by Choe Chung 崔沖 upon royal order. From the scanty remains, however, it is possible to have some notion regarding the importance of the temple during the Goryeo period. The stūpa that once stood with the stone inscription at the temple is now housed at the National Museum. National Preceptor Won'gong is none other than Jijong 智宗 (930–1018), one of the most representative Meditation sect masters of the beginning of Goryeo. Jijong is his monk name, not his personal name as a layman.

48 Choe Chung 崔沖 (984–1068) belonged to the Haeju Choe family (海州崔氏). He was a typical Confucian scholar of the early Goryeo period. In 1005 (King Mokjong 8) he passed the state examinations, coming in first, and he became minister under the reigns of kings Hyeonjong 顯宗, Deokjong 德宗, Jeongjong 靖宗, and Munjong 文宗. He especially strove to improve the administrative system during King Munjong's reign, and retired at seventy, opening a private school to instruct younger elites. The

school was called Gujae hakdang (九齋學堂, Nine Course Academy), and the study course included such Confucian books as the *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi* 周易), the *Book of History* (*Shujing* 書經), and the *Rites of the Zhou* (*Zhouli* 周禮), as well as history books such as the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記) and the *History of the Han* (*Hanshu* 漢書). The focus of the courses was on the state examinations. Many of his disciples passed the state examinations, thereby gaining more importance for his school than the Gukjagam 國子監 (state university), and other private schools flourished by following its example. His school became so famous that his students were called “the disciples of Lord Munheon” (*Munheongong do* 文憲公徒), referring to his pen name, while he himself was called the Confucius of the East (*Haedong Gongja* 海東孔子) for his efforts in the field of education.

49 During the Goryeo period, people thought of their own country as an empire. For instance, King Gwangjong called Gaegyeong the capital of the empire and employed an autoctonous calendar, while promoting a state system that had the qualities of an empire. Before the period of Mongol control, the Goryeo sovereigns were addressed as emperors in all documents and in private collections of writings.

50 This refers to the meditation practiced by the Buddha on Mount Himalaya.

51 The Real Buddha of Danxia 丹霞 refers to Master Danxia 丹霞, who is said to have found the *śarīra* of the real Buddha in the ashes of a wooden Buddha statue he had burned. Danxia Tianran 丹霞天然 (737–824) was a disciple of Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷. During his travels, he stopped one day at Huilin Temple (慧林寺). It was terribly cold, but there was no wood to burn. Unable to bear it any longer, he entered the prayer hall, took the wooden statue of the Buddha, and burned it to heat his room. The abbot of the monastery scolded him, saying, “How is it possible that a monk burns a statue of the Buddha?” Without offering a reply, Danxia went to the fireplace and, holding a stick, searched the ashes, only to discover the *śarīra*. The monk reprimanded him, asking how it could ever be possible to find a *śarīra* out of a wooden statue. Danxia replied that if no *śarīra* could be found, then he could take the other statues out in the hall as well and use them as firewood. This story is reported in the *Jingde chuangeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 [Record of the Transmission of the Lamp in the Jingde Period].

52 These examinations were held every three years.

53 It appears that the name of the religious examinations changed on occasion.

54 The examinations for the monks of the Meditation sects were mainly held

at Gwangmyeongsa 廣明寺 Temple, but after the founding of the Cheontae sect by Uicheon, those of the Cheontae sect were held at Gukcheongsa 國淸寺 Temple, which was the main temple of the Cheontae sect.

55 The examinations of the Doctrinal sects were held at Wangnyunsa 王輪寺 Temple, but they were also occasionally held at the Bongeunsa 奉恩寺 and Mireuksa 眇勒寺 temples.

56 Gim Yeongsu believed that the successful candidates of both the Meditation and Doctrinal sects were assigned the title of *daeseon* 大選, and then progressed in their career to become *daedeok* 大德, *daesa* 大師, and so on. Current scholars generally share the view that religious hierarchy commenced with the rank of *daedeok*.

57 Gwan'go was a nominative—or demotive—decree affecting public officials of the fourth rank and above. When high-degree nominations or the titles of royal preceptor were given, they had to pass the scrutiny of the censors, and this shows that the nomination of high-degree religious posts was performed in accordance with the same procedure of civil officials, and was in fact a part of it. This is a further demonstration that religious hierarchy in Goryeo followed the same rules of the civilian hierarchy.

58 “Myo'eung Dae Seonsa bi” 妙應大禪師碑. His religious name was Gyoung 教雄. When Uicheon founded the Cheontae sect, he converted Master Ikjong 翼宗, who became a disciple of Uicheon, from the Seon sect to the Cheontae. He was the first monk of the Cheontae sect to pass the religious examinations of the Cheontae, and became the leading figure of the sect after Uicheon's demise.

59 Choe Seungro 崔承老 (927–989) was the scion of a Silla family of head-rank-six status. He made a fundamental contribution to the establishment of a state system grounded on a government according to Confucian ideals during the reign of King Seongjong. His political thought is represented by the proposal in twenty-eight articles presented to King Seongjong, where he proposed the implementation of policies based on Confucian principles, which became the basis for the development of the aristocratic form of government that was typical of the former Goryeo period, which arose during the reign of King Seongjong 成宗 (r. 981–997).

60 When King Seongjong issued his proclamation in nine sentences, Choe Seungro presented his memorial on state policy in twenty-eight articles as well as an evaluation of the strong points and shortcomings of the policies of the previous five kings of Goryeo. The texts of these two memorials appear in Choe Seungro's biography (*Goryeosa*, chapter 93).

61 King Gwangjong 光宗 (r. 949–975) laid the foundations for a centralized

government by issuing a law that regulated the slavery system and the court dress protocol. However, he is criticized for his ruthlessness in purging the group of merit subjects in a government where the king and the aristocracy formed the backbone of the administration during the second half of his reign. In his memorial in twenty-eight points, Choe Seungro criticized King Gwangjong for having killed numerous innocent people when carrying out the purge of merit subjects, as well as of listening to false representations. When his successor, King Gyeongjong 景宗, ascended the throne, almost no merit subjects are said to have remained, and this offers us an idea of the extent of the purge.

62 Hyeolgu 穴口 is a name of a location on Ganghwado.

63 *Goryeoosa*, chapter 93. In the biography of Choe Seungro it appears as Marisan 摩利山 Mountain.

64 Gim Yeongsu chose the sentences he needed from the *Goryeoosa* (chapter 93, Biography of Choe Seungro) and arranged them in this text (see *Joseon Bulgysosa-go*, 68).

65 Yeocheol 如哲 was a monk who lived at the end of Silla and the beginning of the Goryeo dynasties.

66 The Sagulsan sect (閭巒山門) was one of the Nine Mountains of Seon sects.

67 The three religions are Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism.

68 See the first part of this book: The Three Kingdoms Period, chapter 6, “The Establishment of Buddhist Sects.”

69 Hyeon'gwang 玄光 (d.u.). His biography is included in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, in the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, the *Beophwa yeongheom-jeon* 法華靈驗傳, and others. According to Chinese sources, he was from Silla, his birthplace is cited as Ungju 熊州 (present-day Gongju-si, in Chungcheongnam-do), and therefore, according to some, he was from Baekje. He received the Lotus Flower Samādhi (*Fabua sanmei* 法華三昧) from Master Nanyue Huisi 南嶽慧思 before returning to Baekje, but he is said to have already enjoyed widespread fame in the Chen 陳 state. In China he had Huimin 慧旻 among his disciples, and his image was included in the twenty-eight images of the Commemoration Hall of Huisi (慧思影堂) as well as in the Hall of the Patriarchs of Guoqing Temple (國清寺祖堂), on Mountain Tiantai.

70 This is chapter 14, “Peaceful Practices” (*Anle xing pin* 安樂行品), of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Fabua jing* 法華經).

71 Nanyue Huisi (514–577) was the master of Zhiyi 智顥 (538–597), and was revered as the second patriarch of the Tiantai sect. He hailed from Henan 河南 and embraced monastic life at age fifteen, studying under the care

of Huiwen 慧文, from whom he learned the Lotus Flower Samādhi. He transmitted the faith to Zhiyi, and in 568 he moved to Nanyue 南嶽, on Hengshan 衡山, in Hunan Province (湖南省). He had many disciples besides Zhiyi, and left works such as the *Dacheng Zhiguan famen* 大乘止觀法門, the *Nanyue Sida chanshi lishi yuanwen* 南嶽思大禪師立誓願文, and others.

72 Hyeon'gwang returned to Baekje during the reign of King Wideok (r. 554–598) and gathered many disciples, who played an important role in spreading the doctrine in Baekje.

73 Qian Shu 錢俶 (r. 947–978), the last king of the Wuyue 吳越 kingdom, which had its capital in Hangzhou 杭州. His name was Qian Hongshu 錢弘淑, and he changed his name to avoid any association with the name of the founder of the Northern Song dynasty, who ascended the throne in 960. All the kings of Wuyue were strong adherents of Buddhism, and their kingdom played an important role in the spread and revival of Buddhism south of the Yangzi (Yangtze) River after the tenth century. Likewise, Qian Hongshu encouraged Buddhism starting early in life. Before becoming king, he entertained relations with Tiantai Master Dezhao 德昭. After ascending the throne, he appointed Dezhao as national preceptor and supported Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽, and thus, thanks to his encouragement, the Tiantai 天台 and Fayan 法眼 sects flourished. He strove to import the books of the Tiantai doctrine from Goryeo. Influenced by the example of Aśoka's stūpa-building, he built 84,000 gilt bronze and iron stūpas over 10 years, enshrining in them printed copies of the *Baoqieyin tuoluoni jing* 寶篋印陀羅尼經 and distributing them in the Zhejiang area. We know nothing regarding his support of Buddhism after his surrender to the Song in 978. However, when he traveled to the Song, he brought with him the monk Zanning 賛寧, who played a major role in the Buddhist community at the beginning of the Song period. Moreover, if we consider that the Chan, Tiantai, and Pure Land faiths that developed in the Wuyue territory became the mainstream of Song-dynasty Buddhism, we can understand that the influence of his work has been truly great.

74 *Yongjia ji* 永嘉集 was written by Huineng's disciple Yongjia Xuanjue 永嘉玄覺 to guide disciples in Chan practice. He meticulously explained attainment or realization through Chan practice based on the cultivation of the vinaya, meditation, and prajñā. The book is famous as an essential guide for entering the right path. Yongjia Xuanjue was a Tang dynasty monk from Yongjia, Wenzhou 溫州, Zhejiang. He reached realization after engaging in a discussion with Huineng one night, and afterward, he greatly propounded the Chan faith. In addition to the *Yongjia ji*, he composed the

Zhengdao ge 證道歌.

75 The meaning of this passage seems to be properly explained in the *Cheontae sagyo-ui* 天台四教儀 [Doctrinal Meaning of the Four Teachings of Cheontae], written by Jegwan.

76 Tiantai Dezhao 天台德昭 (891–972) was the second patriarch of the Fayan sect (法眼宗). He was a disciple of Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 and received the devotion of the Wuyue king Qian Hongshu, who bestowed upon him the title of national preceptor. He had in-depth knowledge also of the Tiantai doctrine, and was deeply influenced by the thought of Zhiyi 智顥, adopting and developing his practice of calling the name of the Buddha. Among his disciples were Yongming Yanshou and more than one-hundred other people.

77 Yiji 義寂 (919–987). He was also called the Reverend Luoxi 螺溪, or Luoxi Yiji 螺溪義寂. He learned the Tiantai doctrine at Guoqing Temple (國清寺), on Mountain Tiantai. After the persecution of the Huichang 會昌 era, nearly all of the Tiantai canon disappeared from China, and therefore, he requested that King Qian Hongshu search for the books abroad, and the king sent envoys to Goryeo and Japan for this purpose. Many books were thus brought to China, and this became the base for the renaissance of the Tiantai sect in China. He left the work *Zhiguan yili* 止觀義例.

78 Master Jegwan 蹄觀 (d. 970) was active during the reign of King Gwangjong 光宗. We do not know much regarding his activities in Goryeo, but when the Wuyue king Qian Hongshu asked for the books of the Tiantai canon, Jegwan, obeying the order of King Gwangjong, traveled to China, bringing the books with him. He later studied the Tiantai doctrine with Luoxi Yiji 螺溪義寂. His *Cheontae sagyo-ui* became a basic text of Tiantai doctrine, and was widely studied as an introductory course in China, Korea, and Japan.

79 Uitong 義通 (927–988; Boun 寶雲) was from Goryeo. He became the thirteenth patriarch of the Tiantai sect in China. Under his guidance emerged figures such as Siming Zhili 四明知禮 and Tianzhu Ziyun 天竺慈雲, who are highly credited with providing a great impulse to the revival of the Tiantai in China. In Goryeo he went under the care of Seokjong 釋宗 of Gusanwon 龜山院 Cloister and studied the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經) and the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論). Afterward, he traveled to China, where he visited Tiantai Dezhao 天台德昭 at Yunju Temple (雲居寺), on Mountain Tiantai, and learned the Tiantai doctrine from him. He then visited Yiji 義寂, who helped him understand the meaning of the “three meditative visualizations

of the one mind” (*yixin sanguan* 一心三觀). He had intended to return to Goryeo, but the county magistrate of Siming 四明, Qian Weizhi 錢惟治, insisted that he remain in China to teach the Tiantai doctrine. He received the support of Song emperor Taizong 太宗, and when he passed away in 988, his disciples gathered his *sarira* and erected a stūpa on the west side of Ayuwang Temple (阿育王寺). Among his works, we can quote the *Guanjing shuji* 觀經疏記, the *Guangming xuanzan shi* 光明玄贊釋, and others, but none remain. That a foreigner became a patriarch of a Chinese Buddhist sect is a rare case, and his revival of the Tiantai sect in China carries an important historical meaning.

80 Yunju means that he visited the Tiantai Master Dezhao, who lived at Yunju Temple.

81 Siming Zhili 四明知禮 (960–1028) was the seventeenth patriarch of the Tiantai sect in China. He was from Siming 四明 (present-day Ningbo 寧波), Zhejiang Province. He embraced the saṅgha under the guidance of Master Hongxuan 洪選, of Taiping Xingguo Temple (太平興國寺), and at twenty he learned the Tiantai doctrine and practice from the Goryeo monk Uitong 義通. He started the discussion of the most important debate in Northern Song Tiantai, which is the debate between the Home Mountain (Shanjia pai 山家派) and Off Mountain (Shanwai pai 山外派) factions, standing for the former. He left many works, among which are the *Jinguangming wenju ji* 金光明文句記 and the *Shi buermen zhiyao chao* 十不二門指要鈔.

82 Ziyun Zunshi 慈雲遵式 (964–1032) was a Song dynasty monk. He studied the Tiantai doctrine under Uitong 義通 with Siming Zhili, and is one of the most important figures in the revival of the Tiantai sect during the Song dynasty. He stressed repentance, centering his activities at Tianzhu Temple (天竺寺), in Hangzhou. Among his works are the *Wangsheng jingtu chanyi* 往生淨土懺儀 (Rites of Repentance for Rebirth in the Pure Land) and many others on the Pure Land faith, in addition to the *Jinyuan ji* 金園集.

83 Beobin National Preceptor Tanmun (法印國師 坦文, 900–975). Details on his life are found in the “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of National Preceptor Beobin Boseung at Bowonsa Temple” (Bowonsa Beobin guksa Boseung tapbi 普願寺法印國師寶乘塔碑). Gim Yeongsu also based his reconstruction of the monk’s life on this stone inscription.

84 In the text, it appears as Dean Wondo 圓道. This seems to be a misspelling of “Dean Wontong,” which refers to Gyunyeo 均如 (923–973), a famous monk of the Hwaeom sect who was active during King Gwangjong’s reign (r. 949–975).

85 National Preceptor Jeongjin 靜眞 is Geungyang 競讓, a typical representative

of the Meditation sects during the end of Silla and the beginning of the Goryeo dynasties.

86 National Preceptor Daegak 大覺 was the title of Uicheon 義天, the fourth son of King Munjong. He was a Hwaeom monk and founder of the Cheontae sect in Goryeo.

87 Gobong 高逢, in Gwangju, is today's Goyang-si 高陽市 area. Records indicate that Tanmun's father was the local magistrate, and the family name Go 高 is one of the most representative in the Goyang-si area. It appears that Tanmun's family inherited the position of magistrate of the town from one generation to the next because it was a family of the local gentry.

88 Also called Janguisa 莊義寺 Temple, it is located on Samgaksan 三角山 Mountain.

89 Haemi 海美 corresponds to the present-day Seosan 瑞山 area in Chungcheongnam-do.

90 Yeomju 鹽州 is the old name of the Yeonbaek area in Hwanghae-do, located today in North Korea.

91 Baeju 白州 is located in the Yeonbaek area, in Hwanghae-do, North Korea.

92 After Tanmun 坦文 was chosen by Taejo, until his death in 975, he served four Goryeo kings, having remained active in Buddhist circles in the capital. He was a central figure of the Buddhist merit cult of the state and the royal family. During King Taejo's reign, he prayed for the extermination of noxious insects, and when the queen, Lady Yu (劉氏夫人), became pregnant, King Taejo called on Tanmun to assist her. Tanmun expressed a few special prayers, and when the baby was born, King Taejo bestowed upon the monk the title of Special Great Worthy (Byeol daedeok 別大德). Tanmun copied three volumes of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (Kor. *Hwaeom gyeong* 華嚴經) during the reign of King Hyejong 惠宗, and even during the early years of King Gwangjong's reign, he continued to be active in Buddhist circles relating to the court. Soon after King Gwangjong's ascension to the throne, he made a gold Buddhist triad for the king. He is credited with obtaining *śarīras* through prayer in the third year of King Gwangjong (952), thereby prolonging the king's life. When King Gwangjong ascended the throne, he gradually shifted his support to Gyunyeo 均如, and Tanmun seems to have fallen out of favor. However, when the relationship between the king and Gyunyeo worsened due to false accusations, King Gwangjong again called Tanmun to court, giving him the title of royal preceptor and the leadership of the Hwaeom sect.

93 Bowonsa 普願寺 Temple was located on Gayasan 伽倻山 Mountain,

Yonghyeon Village, Unsan County, Seosan City, Chungcheongnam-do. No records are available regarding the temple's founding, but from the remains unearthed on its premises, it is possible to discern that the temple was active around the middle of the sixth century. Through the records written by Choe Chiwon, it is possible to know that toward the last years of the Silla period, it was a representative temple of the Hwaeom sect, and it appears that the temple was flourishing during the reign of King Gwangjong, because Tanmun chose it as his retirement temple (*hasanso* 下山所). The temple seems to have been destroyed during the Japanese invasion of 1592. On its premises, a gilded bronze standing statue of the Buddha thought to be produced in the sixth century and a sitting iron statue of the Buddha dating back to the beginning of the Goryeo period or the end of Silla have been unearthed. On the temple site today we can find a stone trough, banner poles, a five-story stone pagoda, and the stone stūpa of National Preceptor Beobin. The stūpa and stone inscription of National Preceptor Beobin and the location of the temple have been identified, and we also have a fair understanding of the temple's layout.

94 Dean Wontong (Wontong *sujwa* 圓通首座), Gyunyeo 均如. The records of his life were arranged by Gim Yeongsu by referring to the content of the *Dae Hwaeom sujwa Wontong Gyunyeo-jeon* 大華嚴首座圓通均如傳 [Biography of Great Hwaeom Dean Wontong Gyunyeo], written in 1075 (King Munjong 29) by Hyeongnyeon Jeong 赫連挺 (d.u.), and is the only extant record of his life. It is now available in the fourth volume of the *Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書 [Complete Collection of Korean Buddhist Works]. In the fifth year of King Sukjong 肅宗 (1100), the author of Gyunyeo's biography, Hyeongnyeon Jeong, traveled as ambassador to the Liao 遼, and in 1105 (the year King Yejong was crowned), he became an academician of the Hall of Lasting Joy (*Jangnak-jeon haksa* 長樂殿 學士) and director of the study institutes (*pan jehagwon-sa* 判諸學院事). Therefore, he was a scholar and an influential administrator of the time. Before his biography of Gyunyeo, Kang Yuhyeon 康惟顯 also arranged the events of Gyunyeo's life, but because many events were missing from his biography, Hwaeom monks of the time found it to be inadequate. Hyeongnyeon Jeong received a request from the monk Changun 祺雲, and based his biography of Gyunyeo on old records. The extant biography chiefly presents a description of the role played by Gyunyeo in Buddhist circles of the day and the events surrounding his life.

Gim Yeongsu based his reconstruction of Gyunyeo's life on the biography, reporting the events of his birth, the renaissance of the Hwaeom sect

thanks to Gyunyeo's activities as well as their meaning, also underscoring the composition of the chant "Bohyeon sibwon ga" 普賢十願歌 (Songs on the Ten Vows of Samantabhadra). In actuality, he centered his description on the figure of Gyunyeo as a monk. Moreover, while providing a simplistic arrangement of Gyunyeo's biography, he cursorily describes the contents of the *sanoe norae* (詞腦歌, native songs composed and sung in the vernacular since Silla times) and its meaning as explained by Hyeongnyeon Jeong, without properly presenting a description of the contents of Gyunyeo's Hwaeom thought and its characteristics. Therefore, the description of Gim Yeongsu is more concise compared with the biography of Gyunyeo. Gyunyeo's biography describes events of Gyunyeo's life such as the special relationship between him and King Gwangjong as well as the groundless accusations of the monk of Gwibeopsa 歸法寺 Temple Jeongsu 正秀 whereby Gyunyeo fell from the position of supreme head of the Hwaeom sect to barely saving his own life after receiving a death sentence. However, Gim Yeongsu—and this is a limitation of his work—neglected such facts, even ignoring the political circumstances surrounding King Gwangjong's reign and the trends in the Buddhist community. Therefore, his description of Gyunyeo and the Buddhist *saṅgha* of King Gwangjong's reign can be said to be rather sketchy, and this is his limitation.

95 Hwangju 黃州 is located in present-day Hwangju-gun, Hwanghaebuk-do, North Korea. According to the biography of Gyunyeo, Gyunyeo was born in Dundaeyeop-chon 遁臺葉村, north of Hwangju-gun.

96 Bokheungsa 復興寺 Temple was located in Ubong-hyeon 牛峯縣, south of Geumcheon-gun 金川郡, Hwanghae-do.

97 Yeongtongsa 瞞通寺 Temple was located on Ogwansan 五冠山 Mountain, in Gaegyeong. It corresponds to present-day Gaepong Special City, Yongheung-dong. It was destroyed in the sixteenth century and reconstructed in 2005. The temple was founded by Goryeo king Taejo, and had close ties to the royal family. It was one of the most representative Hwaeom temples of early Goryeo. Uicheon embraced monkhood at this temple, and after Uicheon's demise, a tomb was prepared there, along with a stone inscription erected upon royal order in his honor.

98 The biography of Gyunyeo states that he was disappointed at Sikhyeon's 識賢 teaching and went to listen to the lectures of Uisun 義順, whose fame was increasing at the time.

99 Gaetaesa 開泰寺 is located on Cheonhosan 天護山 Mountain, Cheonho-ri, Yeonsan-myeon, Nonsan-si, Chungcheongnam-do. This area was the stage of fierce battles between the army of Goryeo and that of Later Baekje,

and the outcome of this battle was the unification of the Later Three Kingdoms. After unifying the Later Three Kingdoms, Wang Geon built a temple in the area and sent the two monks Yuneon 輪言 and Seungdam 承淡 there to hold ceremonies and lectures on the Hwaeom doctrine. Moreover, the text of the comment on the Hwaeom dharma assembly (*Hwaeom beophoe* 華嚴法會) to celebrate the inauguration of the temple was written by Wang Geon himself. (The content of the “Comments on the Hwaeom Dharma Assembly of Gaetae Temple” [Gaetaesa Hwaeom beophoe so 開泰寺華嚴法會疏] are briefly quoted in chapter 2 of the second part of this book, “King Taejo’s Belief in Buddhism.” The Founding of Temples.) That the temple was built after the completion of the unification process of the Later Three Kingdoms to celebrate the event, and that Wang Geon composed the text of the comment himself help us discern the importance of this temple in the early Goryeo period. Therefore, the choice of Gyunyeo as abbot of this temple by King Gwangjong enables us to understand the importance of Gyunyeo in the Hwaeom community of his time. Since its inception, Gaetaesa was managed as a Hwaeom temple, and it is worth indicating that Sugi 守其, the monk in charge of overseeing the reprint of the *tripitaka* in the Late Goryeo period, was abbot of this temple. At present, only the temple site remains, with some massive foundations and stone pillars, which provide us with a glimpse into the dimensions of the temple, while the temple that exists today was one that was rebuilt nearby.

100 Gwibeopsa was founded by King Gwangjong in the fourteenth year of his reign (963) as Hwaeomsa, in Gaegyeong. The founding of Gwibeopsa, the appointment of Gyunyeo and the favor shown to him, along with the appointment of Tanmun first to royal and then to national preceptor show the importance King Gwangjong ascribed to the Hwaeom clergy, and this corresponds also to the resumption of the policy of political reforms that had been temporarily interrupted due to opposition from the traditional nobility. This event is therefore an important turning point in the reform policies of King Gwangjong. In fact, after its founding, Gwibeopsa played an important role in the religious policy of King Gwangjong. Important events such as the great equal assembly (*much'a daehoe* 無遮大會) and water and land festivals were held there. Moreover, Gyunyeo was appointed the first abbot of the temple, and the fact that Tanmun, prior to his appointment as royal preceptor, resided at this temple, shows that Gwibeopsa played a central role in the Hwaeom religious community at this time.

101 Beopsusa 法水寺 Temple was located on Gayasan, Baegun-ri, Suryun-myeon, Seongju-gun, Gyeongsangbuk-do. It was built in the third year of King Aejang of Silla (802), and its original name is said to be Geumdangsa 金塘寺 Temple. The name was changed to Beopsusa during the Goryeo period. During the reign of King Gwangjong, Gyunyeo became abbot of this temple, and in the ninth year of King Yejong 睿宗 (1114), Royal Preceptor Nakjin 樂眞 (1045–1114) became abbot of the temple. Nakjin was a disciple of Uicheon and followed him on his trip to Song China. This shows that Beopsusa was a typical Hwaeom establishment during the Goryeo period. In its greatest period of development, the buildings of the temple are said to have reached an area above one-thousand *gan* 間. However, after it was ravaged during the Japanese invasion of 1592, it was never rebuilt. On the temple site is a stone stūpa, the banner poles, foundation stones, and so on. The statue of Vairocana is now housed in Daejeokgwang jeon 大寂光殿 at Haeinsa because the main Buddha is said to have been brought from Beopsusa.

102 According to the biography of Gyunyeo, since the beginning of King Gwangjong's reign, the monk had a close relationship with the king. In 953 (King Gwangjong 4) an envoy of Later Zhou (後周, 951–960) arrived to Goryeo to crown the new king, but the ceremony could not be carried out due to continuous rain. National Preceptor Gyeomsin 謙信 recommended that Gyunyeo hold prayers to stop the rain. Following this event, the weather improved and the investiture ceremony was held. The king was pleased and appointed Gyunyeo to the rank of great virtuous (*daedeok* 大德). In 958 (Gwangjong 9) as lightning struck Burilsa 佛日寺, a temple built by King Gwangjong to commemorate his defunct mother, Gyunyeo was called to hold prayers to stop the rain, after which he was invited to the temple at court, the king thus displaying relatively early on his personal favor and support.

103 Gwanhye 觀惠 was a monk of the end of the Silla period who lived at Haeinsa. We do not know anything regarding his dates of birth and death nor the events surrounding his life. However, from the biography of Gyunyeo, we learn that while Huirang, who was, like him, one of the most representative monks of the Hwaeom sect, supported Taejo Wang Geon, Gwanhye instead supported the king of Later Baekje, Gyeonhwon. His disciples formed what was called the Southern Mountain school (Namakpa 南岳派), standing opposite Huirang's Northern Mountain school (Bugakpa 北岳派) from a doctrinal standpoint.

104 Huirang 希郎 was a Hwaeom monk in the last years of Silla who resided

at Haeinsa. We do not have any detailed information on his life, but from the records on Gyunyeo, Tanmun, and other monks of the tenth century, it is possible to understand that he was a greatly influential figure of the Hwaeom sect during the last years of Silla and the beginning of Goryeo. In particular, King Taejo supported him during the last years of the Later Three Kingdoms period, and had Tanmun visit him on Seobaeksan 西伯山 Mountain (location unknown), which makes us surmise that he was one of the most important monastic figures of that time. His dry-lacquered image is preserved at Haeinsa, Hapcheon 陝川, Gyeongsangnam-do.

105 The biography of Gyunyeo is the only record that informs us of the rivalry between the Southern and the Northern schools of the Hwaeom sect. According to this text, Gwanhye became a merit field of the Later Baekje king Gyeonhwon, while Huirang became a merit field of Taejo Wang Geon, the king of Goryeo. Thus, the monks of Haeinsa split into two groups, respectively called the Southern and Northern Mountain Chain schools, and this division was extant also at the time of Gyunyeo. This division, which arose following political attrition, actually concerned Hwaeom monks throughout the country, and did not merely regard political choices, but extended to the doctrinal field. The biography of Gyunyeo bestows high praise upon him for having orchestrated this longstanding division. However, later on, Gyunyeo was called a late-generation disciple of Huirang, meaning that although he was credited with the composition of the differing views of the two schools, in reality, he inherited the views of the Northern Mountain Chain school of Huirang.

106 *Sanoe*, or *hyangchal* 鄉札, are ways that people used to call a type of country or native song of the Silla period.

107 This refers to the “Songs on the Ten Vows of Samantabhadra” (Bohyeon sibwon-ga 普賢十願歌), written by Gyunyeo. The hymn is based on the last part of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* in forty rolls, the chapter “Ten Vows of Samantabhadra” (Puxian xingyuan pin [Kor. Bohyeon haengwon pum] 普賢行願品). The vows are to pay homage to all the buddhas, to praise all the buddhas, to make offerings to all the buddhas, to repent one’s misdeeds, to rejoice in the merits of others, to request the buddhas to preach, to request the buddhas to remain in this world, to follow the teaching of the buddhas at all times, to always benefit all beings, and to transfer merit universally to all others. According to doctrine, if sentient beings practice this way, not only do they reach Buddhahood, but they will also be able to have others attain enlightenment, and if people chant the ten vows and learn it by

heart, they will be reborn in paradise, where they will enjoy the company of Amitābha and a retinue of great bodhisattvas. Gyunyeo composed the eleven verses of the “Ten Vows of Samantabhadra” in the *sanoe* style, which was popular among the masses, to aid their religious faith. At the time, the hymn was so popular that it was scrawled on walls, and people used to say that chanting this hymn fervidly healed even diseases deemed incurable by medicine. The Hanlin academician Choe Haenggwī 崔行歸 translated them into classical Chinese. Choe Haenggwī was the son of Choe Eonwi 崔彦撝, and traveled to the kindom of Wuyue 吳越 (in southern China) to study. He was employed there as a Hanlin academician (*Hanlin xueshi* 翰林學士) before returning to Goryeo. He thought it a pity that while Goryeo literati could understand Chinese poetry, their Chinese counterparts could not understand Korean songs, and therefore, he translated Gyunyeo’s *sanoe* song into Chinese. According to the biography of Gyunyeo, the *sanoe* hymn became so popular in China that even the Chinese ambassador who arrived to Goryeo asked expressly to meet Gyunyeo.

108 *Hyangga* 鄉歌 is a kind of song composed in the *hyangchal* 鄉札 writing system. *Hyangchal* is a type of writing system that was in use to transliterate Korean before the creation of Han’geul, and it utilized Chinese characters. Although there were exceptions, substantives, declinable words, and word stems were generally used with semantic value, whereas for postpositions, word endings, and grammatical expressions, Chinese characters were used only with a phonetic value.

109 Gim Yeongsu writes the title of this book as *Suhyeon bangbeom-gi* 搜玄方輒記, but it is an erroneous transcription of the title *Suhyeon banggwe-gi* 搜玄方輒記, which is a commentary on a book by Zhiyan 智儼. The work no longer exists.

110 *Gongmokjang-gi* 孔目章記 is a commentary written by Gyunyeo on the *Huayan jing neizhangmen dengza kongmu* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目 by Zhiyan, but it is no longer extant.

111 *Osip yomundap-gi* 五十要問答記 is a commentary written by Gyunyeo on Zhiyan’s *Huayan wushiyao wenda* 華嚴五十要問答. The work no longer exists.

112 *Tamhyeongi-seok* 探玄記釋 is an explanation written by Gyunyeo on Fazang’s 法藏 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 [Record of Delving into the Mysteries of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*] in sixty rolls. It is no longer extant.

113 The original title of the *Gyobun’gi-seok* 教分記釋 is *Seok Hwaeom gyobun’gi Wontong-cho* 釋華嚴教分記圓通鈔, and it is an explanation of the *Jiaofen ji* 教分記, or *Wujiao zhang* 五教章, written by Fazang. It is an arrangement composed in the eighth month of 959 (King Gwangjong 10) of the

lectures held by Gyunyeo on the *Wujiao zhang*. During the military period, the Hwaeom monk Sugi 守其 and his disciples translated the text into Chinese and published it at the Office for Printing the Sūtras (Gyojang dogam 教藏都監).

114 *Jigwijang-gi* 旨歸章記 is the abridged title of the *Seok Hwaeom jigwijang Wontong-cho* 釋華嚴旨歸章圓通鈔, which is an explanation of the *Zhigui zhang* 旨歸章 by Fazang 法藏. During the military period, Sugi and his disciples rearranged and published it at the Office for Printing the Sūtras. The *Zhigui zhang* is a book on the peculiarities of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (Kor. *Hwaeom gyeong* 華嚴經), which Fazang classified into ten gates (*simmun* 十門), stressing the superiority of the doctrine of this sūtra.

115 *Sambojang-gi* 三寶章記. Its original title is *Hwaeomgyeong sambojang Wontong-gi* 華嚴經三寶章圓通記, and it is an explanation of the *Sanbao zhang* 三寶章 written by Fazang. The *Sanbao zhang* is an interpretation of the “Mingfa” chapter (明法品) of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and the “ten kinds of quotes on the three treasures” (*shizhong sanbao wen* 十種三寶文). The *Sanbao zhang* is also called *Huayan zazhang men* 華嚴雜章門 and *Huayan xuanyi zhang* 華嚴玄義章.

116 *Beopgyedo-gi* 法界圖記 is the shortened form of *Beopgyedo Wontong-gi* 法界圖圓通記. It is a collection of annotations taken by students who attended the lectures held by Gyunyeo in the seventh month of 958 to explain the *Hwaeom ilseung beopgye-do* 華嚴一乘法界圖 written by Uisang 義湘. Therefore, the book mostly consists of questions asked by students and Gyunyeo’s response. The *Beopgye-do* 法界圖 [Seal-Diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm] was arranged by Uisang in a poem composed of thirty lines with seven words each, when he was studying in China under the tutelage of Zhiyan 智儼. Almost nothing else written by Uisang is extant, so the *Beopgyedo-gi* is the most important work for helping us understand his Hwaeom thought.

117 The *Sipgujang-gi* 十句章記, the original title of which is *Sipgujang Wontong-gi* 十句章圓通記, is an explanation of the *Shiju zhang* 十句章, written by Zhiyan 智儼. Zhiyan wrote the book as an explanation to the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, to which some Silla monk would later add ten explanatory clauses. Therefore, the *Sipgujang-gi* by Gyunyeo is an evaluation of the way Silla monks interpreted Zhiyan’s work, and is thus concurrently an evaluation of the Silla Hwaeom doctrine. The book is said to have been written down by Damnim 曼林, a disciple of Gyunyeo, and it is one of the five books left by Gyunyeo.

118 *Ipbeopgyepum cho-gi* 立法界品抄記 is a commentary by Gyunyeo on the

Rufajie pin chao 立法界品抄 by Zhiyan . None of the works, either that written by Zhiyan or the one by Gyunyeo, have survived.

119 Hyeongnyeon Jeong 赫連挺 states that Gyunyeo's interpretation was adopted as the orthodox position in the monastic examinations. It is possible to have an understanding of Gyunyeo's Hwaeom doctrine, and it generally appears in his commentaries on Zhiyan, Fazang, and Uisang's works. He wrote five commentaries on the works by Zhiyan, and these are the *Sipgujang-gi*, *Suhyeonbanggwe-gi* 搜玄方軌記, *Gongmokjang-gi* 孔目章記, *Osip yomundap-gi* 五十要問答記, and *Ipbeopgyepum cho-gi*, while the commentaries written on Fazang's works number four, which are the *Tamhyeon'gi-seok*, the *Gyobungi-seok*, the *Jigwijang-gi*, and the *Sambojang-gi*, while only one commentary exists on Uisang's works, which is the *Beopgyedo-gi* . Among them, the only ones remaining today are the *Sipgujang-gi*, *Gyobungi-seok*, *Jigwijang-gi*, *Sambojang-gi*, and *Beopgyedo-gi*, five in all. This kind of work by Gyunyeo on the early thinkers of the Hwaeom school is seen as an attempt by Gyunyeo to provide a doctrinal basis for the composition of the divisions inside the Hwaeom sect, and therefore, as an effort to lay the foundations for a new framework of doctrinal understanding. Therefore, the Hwaeom policy promoted by King Gwangjong, which set Gyunyeo at the forefront, can be understood not only as an attempt to compose different points of view among monks but also as an effort to unite the divergent points of doctrine, and Gwibeopsa was the center where this initiative would be carried out. On one side, Gyunyeo's works, rather than been written by him, were most probably annotations taken when he gave lectures to throngs of people. The lectures annotated by his disciples were written in the language of the early Goryeo period, and they were translated into Chinese during the military period by the Hwaeom monk Sugi 守其 and his disciples, and were published at the Tripitaka Superintendence Office. Gyunyeo's writings were not ascribed much importance by Uicheon and his disciples over the course of the twelfth century, but they were rediscovered by Hwaeom monks during the military period, which allowed for their transmission to this day.

120 Vipaśyin is one of the seven buddhas of the past.

121 Gyunyeo passed away at Gwibeopsa in 973, on the seventeenth day of the sixth month.

122 The life of Gyeoreung 決凝 (964–1011) can be learned from the “Buseoksa Temple Stone Inscription of National Preceptor Wonyung” (Buseoksa Wonyung guksa bi 浮石寺圓融國師碑), located in Buseok-myeon, Yeongju-si, Gyeongsangbuk-do. The inscription is extant, and although some

parts have sustained damage, overall the text is relatively clear and can be read with ease. The inscription of National Preceptor Wonyung at Buseoksa was erected one year after Gyeoreung's demise; that is, in 1054 (King Munjong 8). The text was written by Go Cheong 高聽 upon royal order, and the calligraphy belongs to Im Ho 林顯, who followed the standard script of Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢. This stone inscription is important because it recounts the life of Gyeoreung and it also helps us understand the arrangement of the statues of the Hall of the Buddha of Infinite Life (Muryangsu jeon 無量壽殿), which reflects the doctrine of the time in which Buseoksa was built (in Uisang's lifetime). Differing from other inscriptions, which report the names of disciples on the rear of the stone, the names of Gyeoreung's disciples are quoted toward the end of the text, at the front. No other list of his disciples is available, and the text on the obverse side is not recorded elsewhere.

123 Myeongju corresponds to present-day Gangneung, Gangwon-do, South Korea.

124 This temple is located in Gaeseong.

125 Wonyung's inscription indicates that he dropped by Deokchalwon 德刹院 Cloister, and thus, the cloistered monk (*wonseung* 院僧) quoted here is a monk of Deokchalwon.

126 The life and career of Master Wonjong Chanyu 元宗璨幽 (869–958) have been arranged as described in the “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of Hyejin, Great Master Wonjong” (Wonjong daesa Hyejin tapbi 元宗大師慧眞塔碑). It was located at the Godalsaji 高達寺 Temple site, Bungnae-myeon, Yeojugun, Gyeonggi-do, but it is currently preserved in fragmented form at the National Museum, and only the part of the cap and the base of the inscription are preserved there. The inscription was written upon royal decree by Gim Jeongeon 金廷彦, the calligraphy in the standard style, belong to Jang Danyeol 張端說, whereas the engraving on stone was performed by Yi Jeongsun 李貞順. The stone inscription was erected seventeen years after the demise of Chanyu 璞幽 in 975 (Gwangjong 26), with the stūpa to follow two years later, in 977 (Gyeongjong 2). Godal Temple is mentioned on the obverse of the inscription, together with the Huiyang 曜陽院 and Dobong 道峯院 cloisters as one of the three temples whose abbots could not be transferred to another monastic post (*budong sawon* 不動寺院). It also mentions that his disciples numbered five hundred. Moreover, the people who helped erect the stone inscription and the stūpa are mentioned, along with their posts.

127 This is an alternate name of Palgongsan 八公山 Mountain, in the present-

day Daegu Metropolitan City area.

128 Touzi Datong 投子大同 (819–914) was a Tang Chan monk. He was a disciple of Cuiwei Wuxue 翠微無學 (739–824), who belonged to the line of Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700–790). His questions and answers with Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從謐 (778–897) have become a *gongan* classic.

129 The life of National Preceptor Jeongjin Geungyang 競讓 (878–956) is described in “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of Great Master Jeongjin Wono at Bongamsa Temple” (Bongamsa Jeongjin Daesa Wono tapbi 鳳巖寺靜真大師圓悟塔碑), located at Bongamsa Temple, on Huiyongsan 曜陽山 Mountain, Mun’gyeong-si, Gyeongsangbuk-do. The stone inscription was erected nine years after his passing, in 965 (King Gwangjong 16), upon royal command. Both the inscription and the stūpa are preserved at Bongamsa. The inscription faithfully relates Geungyang’s life. He went to China to study, and after his return to Korea he resided at Baegamsa 白巖寺 and Bongamsa. When King Taejo united the Later Three Kingdoms, he paid a spontaneous visit to Gaegyeong to meet the new king. This fact meant the acceptance of the new monarch by the Buddhist community, and paved the way for other monks who intended to do likewise. In the following years, until the reign of King Gwangjong (r. 949–975), Geungyang received the devotion of the Goryeo kings. It is interesting to note that the end of the text presents a factual description of the process of the bestowal of the monk’s image, stūpa, and stone inscription from the state following the demise of Geungyang.

130 This refers to Jijeung Doheon 智證道憲.

131 It is present-day Gongju, Chungcheongnam-do.

132 It is present-day Hapcheon-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do. It shares a border with Jinju-si.

133 The location is in the present-day Jinju area, Gyeongsangnam-do.

134 This corresponds to today’s Mun’gyeong-si, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

135 Sanasa 舍那寺 Temple was located on Yongmunsan 龍門山 Mountain, Yangpyeong-gun 楊平郡, Gyeonggi-do. According to tradition, it was founded by the Goryeo king Taejo. That Jijong 智宗, National Preceptor Won’gong, 圓空 (930–1018), studied at this temple under the tutelage of the Indian monk Hongbeom 弘梵, and that during the reign of King Gwangjong, Geungyang, National Preceptor Jeongjin 靜真, was abbot of this temple, we understand that it was a Seon temple since the beginning of Goryeo. In 1367 (King Gongmin 16) Taego Bou 太古普愚 renovated it on an area of 140 *gan* 間 (pillar spaces), but the temple was burned to ashes during the Japanese invasions of 1592. In 1698 Deokjo 德照 rebuilt it, but

in 1907 it became the theater of heavy fighting among government troops and righteous soldiers, and the temple was again reduced to ashes. It was rebuilt once more but was burned down yet again during the Korean War. The building we see today was reconstructed in 1993. After Bou's death, his stūpa and stone inscription were erected in three separate places, and thus, a stone inscription and a bell-shaped stone stūpa were also built at Sanasa in 1386 (King U 12). The inscription was written by Jeong Dojeon 鄭道傳.

136 This is present-day Yangpyeong-gun, Gyeonggi-do.

137 The life of Jijong, National Preceptor Won'gong, is detailed in the “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of National Preceptor Won'gong Seungmyo” (Won'gong guksa Seungmyo tapbi 圓空國師勝妙塔碑). Gim Yeongsu also arranged the life of Jijong according to the text of the stele. The text was written by one of the most influential men of letters of the time, Choe Chung 崔沖, while the calligraphy was from the brush of Gim Geoung 金居雄. The stone inscription is preserved at the site of Geodonsa 居頓寺 Temple, with a massive base and cap, and the inscription is in relatively good condition. The stone inscription was erected in 1025 (King Hyeonjong 16). The stūpa (Hyejin tap 慧眞塔), built the same year as the stone inscription, was stolen by a Japanese person during the period of Japanese occupation and brought to his home garden in Seoul. After independence, it was brought to Gyeongbokgung 景福宮 Palace. When the new National Museum was built the stūpa was moved to the National Museum in Yongsan 龍山, where it stands today.

138 The Indian monk Hongbeom 弘梵 was from Magadha and arrived in Goryeo in the eighth month of 938 (King Taejo 21). According to the *Goryeosa*, Taejo exited the palace at the head of several monks to greet him (*Goryeosa*, chapter 2, Hereditary House, Taejo 21, 8th month).

139 Seon Master Cho 超 is none other than Hyeongcho 運超, quoted in Great Master Jeongjin's stone inscription at Bongamsa, Mung'yeong.

140 We do not know with complete certainty when the monastic examinations were first enacted during King Gwangjong's reign. However, we know that the civil service examinations were enacted following Shuang Ji's 雙冀 proposal, and that the holding of religious examinations and the treatment reserved for successful candidates followed the same criteria for the civil service examinations. Likewise, because the civil service examinations were related to an overhaul of the civilian bureaucracy, the religious examinations were enacted in connection with the reorganization of the clergy. Therefore, if we consider that a series of reforms were conducted in

the first half of King Gwangjong's reign and that civil service examinations were held in 958, religious examinations must also have been held around that time (King Gwangjong 9).

141 This saying is from the story of Confucius ascending East Mountain and, looking at the Lu Duchy, he said that it appeared extremely small.

142 Chan Master Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (903–975) lived in the kingdom of Wuyue 吳越 during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (五代十國) period (907–960). He was a monk of the Fayan sect (法眼宗). His pen name was Yongming 永明, his religious name was Yanshou 延壽, and his posthumous name was Zhijue Chanshi 智覺禪師. As a monk of one of the Chan schools, the Fayan 法眼, he wrote the *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 in 100 chapters, where he interpreted the doctrines of the Huayan, Faxiang, and Tiantai from a Chan perspective. In addition, in the book *Wanshan Tongkui ji* 萬善同歸集, he attempted to amalgamate Chan ideals with the practice of chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha (*nianfo* 念佛), and attempted a synthesis of the different traditions of thought in order to establish a new religious system that could overcome the friction among the sects. Thanks to his efforts, the Fayan sect became incredibly popular in the Wuyue kingdom. King Gwangjong developed a liking for Yanshou's thought, and sent a messenger to the monk with a monk's robe, an amethyst rosary, and other articles as gifts, and he considered himself as a disciple of the monk. Moreover, he chose a few monks among the successful candidates of the religious examinations and sent them to the Wuyue kingdom to study under his guidance. Among the thirty-six monks who left for China to study under Yanshou, at present we know only the names of Jijong 智宗 and Yeongjun 英俊. Through the influence of the monks who returned after a period of study in China, King Gwangjong intended to unify under their guidance the fractious Seon schools of the peninsula, but as soon as they returned, King Gwangjong passed away, leaving unaccomplished the task of unifying the Seon schools. However, the groups that inherited their religious doctrine later became the mainstream of the Cheontae sect founded by Uicheon at the end of the eleventh century.

143 Guoqing Temple (國清寺) was located at the foot of Folong Peak (佛隴峰), on Tiantai Mountain, north of Tiantai County (天台縣), Taizhou 台州, Zhejiang Province (浙江省), in China. In 598 (Kaihuang 開皇 18), Sui emperor Yang (隋煬帝) built the temple in honor of Zhiyi 智顥. His disciples Guanding 灌頂 and Zhanran 湛然 became abbots of the temple, and Guoqing Temple became the religious center of the sect.

144 Great Master Jingguang 淨光 refers to Yiji 義寂, who resided at the Luoxi Chuanjiao Cloister (螺溪傳教院), on Tiantai Mountain. His courtesy name was Changzhao 章照, his family name was Hu 胡, and he hailed from Yongjia 永嘉, Wenzhou 溫州. He passed away in 866 (Xiantong 7), on the fourth day of the eleventh month.

145 The text is quoted as *Dadinghui lun* 大定慧論 and refers to the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀. This book, one of the three most critical works of the Tiantai school, was written by a disciple of Zhiyi 智顥, Guanding Zhangan 灌頂章安 (561–632), who recorded the master's lectures.

146 According to the “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of National Preceptor Won'gong Seungmyo,” in 970 (Kaibao 1), the monk overseer and commissioner of merits and virtue of the Inner Cloister, Zanning 贊寧 (918–999), together with the district magistrate (*xianling* 縣令) Ren Zhi 任埴 and others, asked Jijong to lecture on the *Dadinghui lun* and the *Lotus Sūtra*, which he did for ninety days.

147 Chuanjiao yuan 傳教院, or Cloister for the Propagation of the Doctrine, was the name of the lecture hall of Guoqing Temple. In 968 (Kaibao 1) the fiscal commissioner (*caoshi* 潛使) Gu Chengwei 顧承微 received the teaching of the thirteenth patriarch of the sect, Uitong 義通, after which he donated his house to the saṅgha, calling it Chuanjiao yuan and having Uitong reside in it.

148 According to the “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of National Preceptor Won'gong Seungmyo,” during King Seongjong's reign, Jijong was abbot of Jeokseoksa 積石寺 Temple, and he was called by the king to lecture at court, receiving a monk's robe for obliging.

149 In the stone inscription it appears as *so* 煙.

150 In the stone inscription it appears as *man* 滿.

151 According to the “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of National Preceptor Won'gong Seungmyo,” King Mokjong 穆宗 appointed Jijong to be abbot of Bureunsa 佛恩寺 Temple and concurrently gave him the abbotship of the Outer Indra Cloister (Oe Jeseogwon 外帝釋院).

152 According to the “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of National Preceptor Won'gong Seungmyo,” King Hyeonjong 顯宗 also appointed him abbot of Gwangmyeong 廣明寺 Temple.

153 It appears as *hyeon* 玄 in the *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽.

154 According to the “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of National Preceptor Won'gong Seungmyo,” King Hyeonjong felt deep sorrow after Jijong's demise, and sent Choe Chung 崔沖 to the temple to express his condolences to the monks, bestowing upon Jijong the posthumous name

of Won'gong and the title of “Stūpa of Supreme Sublimity” (Seungmyo ji tap 勝妙之塔) to his funerary pagoda.

155 On the premises of Chiljangsa 七長寺 Temple, Anseong 安城, Gyeonggi-do, we can still find the stone inscription of National Preceptor Hyeso 慧炤 (972–1054), which was erected by royal decree after his demise. In this section, Gim Yeongsu reconstructs the life of Jeonghyeon 鼎賢 based on the stone inscription of National Preceptor Hyeso. This epigraph is important not only for recounting the life of Jeonghyeon, but also because it contains important source materials for understanding the conditions and trends of the Beopsang 法相 clergy during the former Goryeo period. Although Gim Yeongsu did not highlight this fact, the inscription shows that Jeonghyeon first entered a Hwaom monastery, but later changed sectarian affiliations, instead becoming a Beopsang monk. Moreover, more than the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* (*Yugie shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論), he ascribed importance to the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (*Jinguangming jing* 金光明經), to rites for releasing living creatures, to food-offerings made to starving people in front of Gwangjesa 廣濟寺 Temple, and to the founding of a temple at the feet of Samgaksan 三角山 Mountain at a traffic junction, so that he could offer a rest stop and other facilities for travelers. The inscription stresses the importance of Jeonghyeon's involvement in society especially in the last years of his life. Such religious activities of Jeonghyeon are related to the charitable behavior of the bodhisattva, and simultaneously show us the importance of the degree of involvement of Buddhist monks in society during the Goryeo period.

156 The “seventeen stages of the Yogācāra school” refer to the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, which is composed of 100 rolls.

157 Certain parts have fallen off of the front of the inscription. However, thirteen years of age seems too early for him to have developed an interest in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, and the following lines explain that he took his vows and passed the religious examinations at age twenty-five. Therefore, many read the passage as if he were twenty-three years of age, instead of thirteen. In particular, that he first embraced monkhood at Gwanggyosa 光敎寺 Temple, only to move afterward to Chiljangsa under the tutelage of Great Master Yungcheol 融哲, changing affiliation from the Hwaeom (華嚴宗) to the Beopsang (法相宗), is underlined by scholars as an important turning point in the development of Jeonghyeon's doctrinal formation.

158 The temple is located on Juksan 竹山 Mountain, present-day Anseong 安城.

159 Beopcheonsa 法泉寺 Temple was located on Myeongbongsan 鳴鳳山 Mountain, Beopcheon-ri, Buron-myeon, Wonju-si, Gangwon-do.

According to tradition, it was founded in the twenty-fourth year of the Silla king Seongdeok (725), and during the reign of King Munjong, Haerin 海麟, having been appointed national preceptor, retired to this temple, where he passed away. Thus, the temple, while being used as the place of retirement of a national preceptor, must have also been greatly enlarged and renovated. Records show that literati such as Han Myeonghoe 韓明渾 and Seo Geojeong 徐居正, among others, visited this temple, and it appears that it had been preserved until the period of the Japanese invasion of 1592, during which it was destroyed. Only the temple site remains today. On the site are the “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of National Preceptor Jigwang Hyeonmyo at Beopcheonsa Temple” (Beopcheonsa Jigwang guksa Hyeonmyo tapbi 法泉寺智光國師玄妙塔碑), and the stone flagpoles installations, as a hint of a once-glorious past. The stūpa, which used to stand with the stone inscription, was taken to Japan during the colonization period, but was returned after the end of the war and is now preserved at Gyeongbokgung Palace.

160 Hyeonhwasa 玄化寺 Temple was founded during the Goryeo period at Gaegyeong. The temple site is in today's Wolgo-ri, Jangpung-gun, Gaeseong-si, North Korea. It was founded in 1018 by King Hyeonjong as a merit cloister to cherish the souls of his dead parents. Hyeonhwasa was a typical merit cloister (*jinjeon sawon* 眞殿寺院, a temple featuring a hall enshrined with a portrait of a deceased member of the royal family), and concurrently an important temple of the royal family. After founding the temple, King Hyeonjong called the Beopsang monk Beopgyeong 法境 to assume duty as the abbot, and from this we know that it was a temple of the Beopsang sect (法相宗). The temple was presided in succession by such Beopsang monks as National Preceptor Haerin, Royal Preceptor Sohyeon 韶顯, the son of the powerful minister Yi Jayeon 李資淵, and other representative monks of the sect. Monks especially of the Inju Yi family (仁州李氏) resided at this temple, some of whom, including the son of Yi Jagyeom 李資謙, Uijang 義莊, a monk of this temple, became involved in the political uprising of his father Yi Jagyeom at the head of mobs of armed monks. It appears that Hyeonhwasa was preserved, but today only the temple site remains. We know nothing of the period in which the temple was destroyed or the reason for its destruction. Today what remains are a seven-story stone pagoda, an inscription that commemorates the founding of the temple, the stone flagpole installations, and so on, while the stone lantern, which was moved to Deoksugung 德壽宮 Palace in Seoul during the Japanese occupation period, is now preserved at the National Museum.

161 National Preceptor Ji'gwang Haerin (984–1070) was a Beopsang monk of the early Goryeo period. His life is detailed in the “Funerary Pagoda and Stele of National Preceptor Jigwang Hyeonmyo at Beopcheonsa Temple.” Gim Yeongsu described in simple terms the contents of the inscription. Beside what is recounted by Gim Yeongsu, the inscription mentions the lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra* held by Haerin at the royal palace, and that Sohyeon (1038–1096), the son of Yi Jayeon, became his disciple. Moreover, Haerin became abbot of Hyeonhwasa, in Gaegyeong. In addition, the inscription details the process of his appointment as royal preceptor as well as his successive promotions, which entailed the donation of monk robes and honorific titles, while the obverse of the stone inscription indicates his disciples, numbering over 1,400, divided into four groups: the direct disciples of the master (*sugyo gy'eopja* 受教繼業者), clerical staff (*sujik gagyeja* 隨職加階者), people who converted following the virtue of the master (*modeok gwihwaja* 慕德歸化者), and people who died before or after the demise of the master (*seonhusa yi molseja* 先後師而沒世者) but before the erection of the stone inscription. Each of them is ordered according to his title: monk overseer (*seungtong* 僧統), dean (*sujwa* 首座), thrice-exalted great master (*samjung daesa* 三重大師), twice-exalted great master (*jung daesa* 重大師), great master (*daesa* 大師), and great virtuous (*daedeok* 大德). The order followed in this inscription is crucial for the study of the clerical bureaucracy and the organization of the ranks of the disciples as well as the structure of the monastic community during the former Goryeo period.

162 Hae'ansa 海安寺 Temple was located in Gaegyeong. The temple site is in present-day Hae'an-dong, Gongnyeong-ri, Gaeseong-si, Hwanghaebuk-do, North Korea. The temple existed since early Goryeo, and after Uijong's death it was used as his merit cloister. The deceased king's image was preserved there, and therefore, it continued to enjoy the support of the royal family. Nothing of the temple remains today, but we do not know anything regarding the time of or the reason for its destruction.

163 Haerin received his precepts at an official precepts platform (*gwandan* 官壇) prepared for this occasion at Yongheungsa 龍興寺 Temple.

164 Although Haerin's stone inscription is at the Beopcheonsa site, the annexed stūpa was taken during the period of Japanese occupation and brought back after gaining independence. It currently stands at Gyeongbokgung.

165 As high-class individuals, starting with the royal family, the members became monks, and the social position of Buddhists improved. Until the mid-Goryeo period, it was common for the royal family and the families of the nobility that had more sons to send at least one to the monastic

community to become a monk, and generally, high-ranking monks such as national and royal preceptors originated from such families. However, this began to change when the military assumed power. In fact, with the military coup, the traditional nobility decayed, and not only do we witness the diminishment of the role of the royal family, but new changes started to take place within the Buddhist community at the provincial level, such as society movements, which were headed by the educated provincial elites, who received the posthumous titles of national and royal preceptor. Moreover, if we observe the Buddhist sects before the military coup, we notice that the sects where scions of powerful families who flocked closely together to follow changes in the power and influence of the single sects. This was due to the deep involvement of the Buddhist community in the interests of the royal family and the political centers of power, even from a political standpoint. Moreover, the sons and brothers of kings customarily became monks mostly starting with the reign of King Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–1083) until that of King Gojong 高宗 (r. 1213–1259), and we can reckon eight of them. Six of them became national preceptors posthumously, while five of them were monks of the Hwaeom sect. However, from the reign of King Wonjong 元宗 (r. 1259–1274) onward, the number of princes who became monks shrank markedly.

166 In the text, it appears as National Preceptor Jingtong 澄通, but the title of National Preceptor Jeungtong 證通, as it appears in the *Goryeosa*, is correct. Therefore, we have revised it in the translation. It appears as if the character *jeung* 證 of Jeungtong was misread as *jing* 澄. National Preceptor Jeungtong was the son of King Taejo and the Queen Dowager Sinmyeong of the Yu family (神明劉氏), and was brother of kings Jeongjong 定宗 and Gwangjong 光宗.

167 National Preceptor Wonmyeong Jingeom 圓明澄儼 (1090–1141) was the fourth son of King Sukjong. At age eight, he followed the royal order of his father and became monk at Heungwangsa under the care of Uicheon. The following year, he received the formal tonsure from Uicheon at Myeonggyeonggung 明慶宮 Palace, and then received the precepts at the altar of Burilsa 佛日寺 Temple. The year following his elder brother's ascent to the throne (King Yejong 1105), he was appointed to the highest post in the Buddhist hierarchy; that is, monk overseer (*seungtong*), at the early age of sixteen, received the title of Bokse 福世 (bringer of fortune to the world). In 1118, at the age of twenty-nine, by the order of King Yejong 睿宗, he became abbot of Heungwangsa. After his death, he received the title of national preceptor.

168 National Preceptor Won'gyeong Chunghui 元景沖曦 (Hyeonhui 玄曦, d. 1182) was the younger brother of King Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1170–1197) and the elder brother of King Sinjong 神宗 (r. 1197–1204). By royal decree he became a monk under the care of his paternal uncle, National Preceptor Hyeono Jongnin 玄悟宗璘 (1127–1179). He stayed for a long time at Heungwangsa and entertained relations with members of the royal family. Because of this, he became involved in politics and plots, and he was criticized because of rumors damaging his name. He became national preceptor after his death.

169 National Preceptor Gyeongji 鏡智 (d.u.). Gyeongji was his Buddhist name, while his title was National Preceptor Wonjeong 圓靜. It appears that he received the title after his demise. He was the fourth son of King Huijong熙宗 and was a monk of the Seon sect. He became a monk in 1220 under the guidance of National Preceptor Wonjin 圓眞, Seunghyeong 承迥 (1187–1221), of the Gajisan sect (迦智山門). Therefore, he belonged to the Gajisan sect, but some time later, with consent from the court, he came under the guidance of National Preceptor Jinmyeong Honwon 真明混元 (1191–1271), who was the fourth abbot of the Suseonsa 修禪社 (Seon-Cultivation Society), which belonged to the Sagulsan sect (闍崛山門). He participated upon royal decree in the Ritual Convocation for the Recitation of the *Śūraṅgama-sūtra* (*Neungeom doryang* 楞嚴道場), and at the time he resided at Dansoksa 斷俗寺 Temple, holding the rank of great Seon master (*daeseonsa* 大禪師).

170 National Preceptor Chungmyeong Gageung 沖明覺膺 (d.u.) was the fifth son of King Huijong熙宗 and a monk of the Hwaeom sect. References to him are scant. In the thirty-seventh year of King Gojong (1250), he resided at Buseoksa, and at the time he was a monk overseer, and we know that he had arranged the printing blocks of the *Amitābha-sūtra* (*Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經). It appears that the reason for such a paucity of materials is that his father, King Huijong, having failed in his plot to get rid of the strongman of the time, General Choe Chungheon 崔忠獻, was removed from the throne and killed in exile under suspicion of attempting to recover it.

171 Two extant stone inscriptions inform us of the life of Uicheon. One is at the Yeongtongsa 靈通寺 Temple site, in Gaeseong. It was erected in 1133 (King Injong 11), and the inscription was composed by Gim Busik 金富軾. The other is at the Seonbongsa 僊鳳寺 Temple site, in Chilgok 漆谷, Gyeongsangbuk-do, and it was erected in 1137 (King Injong 15). The description of the life of Uicheon offered here by Gim Yeongsu is drawn

from the text of the two inscriptions, and it appears that he based his reconstruction of Uicheon's life on the inscription at Yeongtongsa, while he mostly consulted the inscription of Seonbongsa for the problem regarding the establishment of the Cheontae sect.

172 Queen Dowager Inye (仁睿太后, d. 1092) belonged to the Inju Yi family, and was the daughter of the powerful minister Yi Jayeon 李子淵 and sister of the Beopsang monk Sohyeon. She was queen to King Munjong and she gave birth to kings Sunjong 順宗, Seonjong 宣宗, Sukjong 肅宗, the National Preceptor Daegak Uicheon 大覺 義天, and the Monk Overseer Dosaeng Taeng 導生窺.

173 Royal Preceptor Gyeongdeok Nanwon 景德爛圓 (999–1066) was a Hwaeom monk. He was a son of Gim Eunbu 金殷博, the father-in-law of King Hyeonjong 顯宗. Three of his sisters became consorts to the king, namely Queen Wonseong 元成, Queen Wonhye 元惠, and Queen Wonpyeong 元平, and they gave birth to kings Deokjong 德宗, Jeongjong 靖宗, and Munjong 文宗. Thus, he is maternal uncle to King Munjong. During King Munjong's reign, he was abbot of Yeongtongsa.

174 Jeongju 貞州 was known at the time as Seungcheon-bu 昇天府. The area is currently included in the Directly Governed City of Gaeseong, North Korea.

175 Uicheon met Youcheng 有誠, and it seems that they discussed the Hwaeom and Chontae doctrines as well as the categorization of the teachings of the Buddha.

176 Jinshui Jingyuan 晉水淨源 (1011–1088) was highly revered for having brought about the revival of the Huayan sect, which had experienced a period of decadence from the final years of the Tang and the Five Dynasties period. Among the people who had relations with Uicheon in China, he was the most important figure, and he is also the person who exerted the greatest influence on Uicheon. Jingyuan's writings were already widely known in Goryeo before Uicheon's visit to China, and the two used to exchange letters and Buddhist books by means of merchant ships. Jingyuan was searching for books of the sect that had disappeared in China, which he could obtain from Uicheon. The books he received from Uicheon played an important role in Jingyuan's revival of the Huayan School in the Hangzhou area. Jingyuan encouraged Uicheon to visit Song China, and Jingyuan's stimulus is believed to have been a determining factor in Uicheon's decision to travel to China. The relationship between the two developed around Huiyin Cloister in Hangzhou, and even after Uicheon's return to Goryeo, his relationship with Jingyuan continued, and

the two exchanged letters and books. When Uicheon heard of Jingyuan's passing in 1088, the following year Uicheon sent five of his disciples on a merchant ship to China to hold a ceremony for Jingyuan at Huiyin Cloister (慧因院).

177 The formal name was Huiyin Gaoli Huayan jiao si 慧因高麗華嚴敎寺. The temple was originally a Chan cloister, but following the donation of books of the canon and other substantial support from Uicheon, the temple became a Huayan cloister and changed its name to Gaoli Temple (高麗寺). Later on, the temple continued to be called Gaoli Temple. In the twenty-second year of the Qing emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (1757), the name of the temple was changed to Fayun Temple (法雲寺). When Uicheon was studying the Huayan doctrine with Jingyuan 淨源 at Dazhong Xiangfu Temple (大中祥符寺), in Hangzhou, Jingyuan transferred his residence with the support of the governor of Hangzhou Pu Zongmeng 蒲宗孟, and became abbot of that temple. Pu Zongmeng sent a memorial to the court requesting that the temple be allowed to change from the Chan to the Doctrinal affiliations, and thus, the temple became a cloister of the Huayan Sect. At the time, Uicheon moved to Huiyin Cloister with Jingyuan and continued to study the Huayan doctrine. Uicheon had 7,500 texts printed among the sūtras and śāstras, and donated them to the cloister. His support of the cloister continued after his return to Goryeo, and Uicheon's mother, Queen Dowager Inye, and his elder brother, King Seonjong 宣宗, also supported Huiyin Cloister directly.

178 Cibian Congjian 慈辯從諫. Uicheon managed to see him thanks to the good offices of the magistrate of Hangzhou, Pu Zongmeng. Congjian was the disciple of Nanping Fanzhen 南屏梵臻 and the direct-line descendant of the Home Mountain Tiantai tradition of Siming Zhili 四明知禮.

179 Changshui Zixuan 長水子璿 (965–1038) taught Jinshui Jingyuan the *Śūraṅgamasūtra* (*Lengyan jing* 樑嚴經), the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經), and the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論). He had a profound knowledge of the *Śūraṅgama-sūtra*, and while he was at Changshui Temple (長水寺), he held lectures on Huayan thought and the *Śūraṅgama*. His students numbered over a thousand. He was one of the main personalities in the revival of the Huayan school in Song China.

180 On his way to meet Jinshui Jingyuan in Hangzhou, Uicheon visited Jinshan Temple (金山寺), in Runzhou 潤州, to see Foyin Liaoyuan 佛印了元. At the time, Liaoyuan was one of the most representative monks of the Yunmen school (雲門宗).

181 When Uicheon arrived to Mingzhou 明州 (present-day Jinxian 莆縣, Zhejiang Province), he went to see Dajue Huailian 大覺懷璉 at Guangli Temple (廣利寺), Mountain Ayuwang (阿育王山). Guangli Temple, also called Ayuwang Temple (阿育王寺), was one of the most representative centers of the Chan sect during the Song–Yuan dynasties, and was one of the five famous mountain temples. At the time, Huailian was one of the most revered masters of the Yunmen sect.

182 A monk from Nālandā Temple, Central India, Magadha. He was already in China in 1051, and he stayed at Taiping Xingguo Temple (太平興國寺), where he was active in the translation of the Buddhist sūtras. Thus, when he met Uicheon, he had already been in China for more than thirty-five years (*Can Tiantai Wutaishan ji* 參天台五台山記, chapter 4). Through him, Uicheon came to understand the conditions of India in those days.

183 The relations between Uicheon and Song monks are detailed in the *Daegak guksa munjip* 大覺國師文集.

184 Uicheon spent approximately fourteen months in China, where he studied the most important Buddhist doctrines including those of the Tiantai, Weishi (Consciousness-Only), and Chan, and the high degree of his doctrinal understanding also received high praise in Song China. After his return from China, Uicheon stressed a kind of cultivation based on the combined practice of doctrinal study and meditation (*gyogwan gyeomsu* 教觀兼修), which differed from the Hwaeom doctrine he had advocated in the past; from this viewpoint, he bitterly criticized the Hwaeom trends of his time, which were centered on the thought of Gyunyeo 均如. His new understanding of the Hwaeom doctrine, the founding of the Cheontae sect, and the publication of the corpus of commentaries resulted from his travels to Song China.

185 Uicheon not only gathered books published during the periods of the Three Kingdoms and Goryeo, but also in China, in the Liao Empire, and in Japan, but he also published them in an edition called the *Gyojang* 教藏 [*Canon of Doctrinal Teachings*]. The wooden blocks of the *Gyojang* are no longer extant, and we do not have a copy of the complete set, as printed at the time by Uicheon. We only have the catalogue of the corpus, entitled the *Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 [Comprehensive Catalog of the Newly Published Canon of Doctrinal Teachings of All the Sects], which enables us to understand the general structure and character of the corpus. The publication of the *Gyojang* by Uicheon does not concern the three baskets but only the commentaries, or śāstras, and this is the most important characteristic of this work; it also bears great relevance to

the history of Buddhism. In fact, while the three baskets, or the *tripiṭaka*, contain the doctrine as it developed in India, the commentaries that composed the *Gyojang* are composed of the commentaries and theories developed in the East Asia, specifically in the Sinitic cultural sphere, which used literary Chinese as its intellectual language. Therefore, it reflected the quality and level of Buddhist understanding in East Asia. This was the first case in East Asia in which the corpus of the Buddhist literary tradition of all these countries was gathered, ordered systematically, and published.

186 When Uicheon held the abbotship of Hongwonsa 洪圓寺 Temple, he built the Hall of Nine Patriarchs (Gujodang 九祖堂), where he installed the images of the traditional patriarchs of the Hwaeom sect. The choice of the nine patriarchs by Uicheon is based on the past traditions of patriarchs, but exhibits some peculiarities, because it reflects Uicheon's views of the Hwaeom doctrine. In actuality, Jinshui Jingyuan, who inspired and influenced Uicheon even before his travels to China, advocated a set of seven patriarchs. However, Uicheon did not adopt such a solution at face value, but instead chose a group of nine patriarchs, thus showing a different way of observing Hwaeom tradition. In fact, he added the figure of Vasubandhu to those of Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna, as well as the two masters of the Dilun school (地論宗), Fotuo 佛陀 and Guangtong 光統, and excluding the figure of Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841), which was traditionally included among the Huayan patriarchs.

187 The withdrawal to Haeinsa was not an autonomous decision by Uicheon, but it was due to the political instability following the demise of King Seonjong 宣宗 (r. 1083–1094) and the ascent of King Heonjong 獻宗 (r. 1094–1095). Uicheon's elder brother was dead, and his son, King Heonjong, ascended the throne, and in this process, Uicheon was forced into the sidelines for political reasons. Uicheon took refuge at Haeinsa, and after two years, King Heonjong abdicated the throne to his uncle and Uicheon's elder brother, King Sukjong 肅宗 (r. 1095–1105), after which Uicheon was able to return to the capital. It was at this time that he founded the Chontae sect.

188 These words by Neunggeung 凌競 are written in the “Record of the Miracles of the Golden Main Buddha Śākyāmuni at Gukcheongsa Temple” (Gukcheongsa Geumdang jubul Seokga Yeorae sari yeong'i-gi 國清寺金堂主佛釋迦如來舍利靈異記), written by Min Ji 閔漬 (see *Dongmun-seon*, chapter 68).

189 This is part of the oath Uicheon pronounced in front of the funerary stūpa of Zhiyi 智顓.

190 This sentence is quoted from the inscription of Seonbongsa, but the quotation was made improperly. Moreover, Yang Jie 楊傑 did not exactly speak this way.

191 Uicheon had originally attempted to win over to the newly founded Cheontae sect monks from the Seon sects. We can distinguish into two groups the Seon monks who flocked to the Cheontae sect: The first composed of those who did so voluntarily and also brought with them their own disciples. They remained in the ranks of the Chontae even after Uicheon's death, and they were responsible for the erection of Uicheon's stone inscription at Seonbongsa. Among them, the most representative were Deongnin 德麟 and his disciples, Ikjong 翼宗 and his disciples, Sunseon 順善 and Gyoung 敦雄, Gyeongnan 景爛 and his disciple Yucheong 流清, among others. A group formed by royal decree, it was mainly composed of monks who adopted the Beoban (Ch. Fayan) 法眼 creed, and they preserved the tradition since the age of King Gwangjong. According to the stone inscription at Seonbongsa, most of them returned to their temples of origin, again becoming Seon monks. The inscription at Seonbongsa is an important document relating to the problem of the establishment of the Cheontae sect by Uicheon, but it is also critical as a basis for understanding the changes in the clergy after Uicheon's demise.

192 Present-day Gumi 龜尾, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

193 This refers to Seonbongsa.

194 Buinsa 符仁寺 Temple is not in Gaeseong, but in Daegu. The woodblocks printed during King Hyeonjong's reign were preserved at Hyeonhwasa, in Gaegyeong, but the editions printed after the reign of King Munjong 文宗 were deposited at Heungwangsa. The first edition of the tripiṭaka was finished in the reign of King Seonjong 宣宗, and it was preserved at Heungwangsa. However, woodblocks that were previously preserved at the Tripitaka Hall (Daejanggyeong jeon 大藏殿) of Heungwangsa were burned down at Buinsa, on Palgongsan 八公山 Mountain, in the Daegu area. It is not possible to ascertain the exact date, but they must have been transferred sometime before the war against the Mongols, from Heungwangsa to Buinsa, on Palgongsan, a remote place that was supposedly difficult to reach.

195 In the original text, “Monggo” 蒙古 is written, but we have revised it as “Monggol” in the translation. Gim Yeongsu's explanation regarding the Mongols is as if it were the Liao 遼 empire, but this was a completely different people, because the Liao had been established by the Khitan. Therefore, we have amended it in the translation.

196 The Mongol envoy Zhu Guyu 著古與 (d. 1255) was assassinated on the road back to Mongolia. Some say that he was assassinated by Jürchen people wearing Goryeo clothes, but at any rate, the Mongols took his assassination as a pretext for invading Goryeo.

197 The war lasted nearly thirty years, from 1231 until 1259, when peace with the Mongols was finally reached.

198 In a span of seventeen years, they carved over eighty-thousand wooden plates on both sides, totaling 1,500 titles, 6,800 rolls (*gwon*), and 50 million characters. There are differing views among scholars today concerning the exact figures of the enterprise.

199 The text must have been read by the king. It was written by Yi Gyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241), and it is included in the *Dongguk Yi sangguk-jip* 東國李相國集 (chapter 25), an unabridged collection of the author's works.

200 Cheol 瞽 was the given name of the Goryeo King Gojong 高宗 (r. 1213–1259). The king's name does not appear in the text. It has been added by Gim Yeongsu.

201 This prayer was composed upon royal order by Yi Gyubo, one of the foremost literati of that time, and in his composition, the character of what has been labeled the main feature of Korean Buddhism, that of protecting the state, is clearly evident. Buddhist faith is believed to protect the country, and this is the premise contained in the prayer. Thus, if the king were to protect Buddhism first, the Buddhist deities would intervene in defense of the country by repelling the enemy, and it appears that the Goryeo people really believed this.

202 The term refers to the Mongols.

203 It refers to present-day Ganghwado, Ganghwagun, Incheon Metropolitan area.

204 The “Jinju” quoted here is not today's Jinju-si, but refers to present-day Namhae-gun 南海郡, which was at the time under the jurisdiction of the Jinju magistrate. A great part of the second edition of the *tripitaka* was crafted in Namhae, where a branch of the Office for Printing the *Sūtras* (*Bunsa dogam* 分司都監) was established. In fact, the court, in addition to the main bureau at Ganghwado, established another office in Namhae, Gyeongsangnam-do, presumably for security reasons, given its geographical characteristics. Namhae, as an island, was relatively safe from Mongol attack; moreover, it was also rich with trees that could be used to carve the blocks. It was also possible to come and go by boat to Ganghwado and transport the wooden blocks by sea. The office at Namhae was also related to the power base of the military rulers, and therefore, it would be much

easier for them to finance the enterprise. The highest-ranking military ruler at the time was Choe I 崔怡, and the Jinju 晉州 area had been, since the rule of his father, Choe Chungheon 崔忠獻, their family's fiefdom. Further, the brother-in-law of Choe I, Jeong An 鄭晏, from the time of his father and grandfather, led powerful local families in Hadong 河東, an area close to Jinju. In 1241, Jeong An retired from active service and traveled to Namhae, where he concentrated on the engraving of the *tripitaka*.

205 The new edition of the *tripitaka*, like the old one, followed the organization of the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 [Catalog of Śākyamuni's Teachings Compiled in the Kaiyuan Reign Period], but with respect to the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, it added a few items, and this is also a point of difference with the first edition of the *Goryeo daejanggyeong* [Goryeo Buddhist Canon]. The carving of the *tripitaka* was conducted under the supervision of Sugi 守其, a monk of the Hwaeom sect, but also the Suseonsa 修禪社 (Seon-Cultivation Society), which was highly active at the time especially in the south, and other Seon temples participated in the project. The sacred books that belonged to the participants' creeds were included both in the *tripitaka* and in its *Bo yupan* 補遺板 [Supplementary Edition]. Therefore, the books written by Hwaeom Master Gyunyeo and the texts of the Seon sects were included. It is worth noting that while Sugi 守其, as a Hwaeom monk, included the works of Gyunyeo, he also excluded the books written by Uicheon 義天, who had harsh words for Gyunyeo's theories.

206 Sugi conducted the carving of the blocks, comparing and collating the Goryeo edition with those of the Song and Liao, thereby amending any errors and, upon having reorganized it in its entirety, he wrote the *Goryeoguk sinjo daejanggyojeong byeollok* 高麗國新雕大藏校正別錄 [Special Record on the Proofreading of the New Edition of the Goryeo *Tripiṭaka*]. The Goryeo *Tripiṭaka* or *Tripiṭaka Koreana* has a unique historical value, because it allows scholars to have a glimpse at the official Northern Song and the Liao editions, almost all of which has been lost. Moreover, texts such as the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 [A Grove of Pearls in the Garden of the Dharma] and the *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 [Pronunciation and Meaning of All the Sūtras], have been transmitted to us thanks to the *Tripiṭaka Koreana*, because they are not included in any other corpus, and if they had not been included, they would have been irremediably lost. The *Tripiṭaka Koreana* became the basis for subsequent editions. In fact, the Goryeo edition has mostly been used as the correct version for the modern edition in Japan, and it has also been used as the foundation for the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, which has played such an important role in Buddhist

studies over the course of the twentieth century. In East Asian Buddhist countries, the Buddhist *tripitaka* has been, at each historical period, the criterion for evaluating the level of development of societies and cultures. The *Tripitaka Koreana* is one of the highest cultural products of East Asian Buddhism, and among the sets of the *tripitaka* that have been completely preserved, it is not only the oldest, but also highly refined and accurate. The *Tripitaka Koreana* occupies an important place in cultural history, and has been highly valued internationally, having been registered among the World Cultural Treasures list by UNESCO.

207 The former Goryeo edition refers to the carving of the sets that were completed during King Hyeonjong's reign, which was based completely on the Song Kaibao edition.

208 The latter Goryeo edition refers to the books that were added later to the former Goryeo edition, such as sacred texts of the esoteric tradition and texts that were translated in Song China after the publication of the Kaibao edition, those that were part of the Liao edition, and so on, which were printed during the reign of King Munjong.

209 The blocks that were kept at the *Tripiṭaka* Hall after peace with the Mongols and the return of the court to Gaegyeong were first moved to Seonweonsa 禪源寺 Temple, on Ganghwado, and after the founding of the Joseon state, they were transferred to Haeinsa, in 1398 (King Taejo 7).

210 This is Gwangtong Bojesa 廣通 普濟寺 Temple in Gaegyeong.

211 That the Suseonsa on Jogyesan Mountain, in present-day Songgwangsa 松廣寺 Temple, was designated the second main seat of the Sagulsan sect is Gim Yeongsu's affirmation. From available sources, it is not possible to verify that Songgwangsa was designated the second main temple of the Sagulsan sect. Although the founder of the movement, Jinul, was a monk of the Sagulsan sect, Jinul's society appealed to and left the gates open for everyone, including monks and lay people without any distinction of sect; therefore, to say that Songgwangsa had become the second temple of the Sagulsan sect is to diminish the significance of Jinul's religious message. Jinul had enlightenment experiences three times. The *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經 [Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch], which centers on the story of Huineng 慧能, Dahui Zonggao's 大慧宗杲 *Dahui yulu* 大慧語錄 [Dahui Zonggao's Discourse Record], and the *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論 [New Commentary on the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*] by Li Tongxuan 李通玄 were instrumental to this end. Further, based on his enlightenment experiences, he advocated a religious practice centered on three approaches: "the approach of the equanimous maintenance

of tranquility and quiescence" (*seongjeok deungji mun* 惺寂等持門), "the approach of faith and understanding in the perfect and sudden [practice]" (*wondon sinhae mun* 圓頓信解門), and "the short-cut approach through observing the critical phrase" (*ganhwa gyeongjeol mun* 看話徑截門). The most important aspect, which is also what distinguishes his method or practice, is his theory of amalgamation of meditation and doctrine based on the thought of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and the simultaneous cultivation of *samādhi* and *prajñā*. Moreover, Jinul's society movement started from a reflection and critique of the existing Buddhist clerical world, but moved away from centralized power, and simultaneously welcomed the support of intellectuals and single court nobles while developing as a movement in the province. Many intellectuals participated in Jinul's movement, and due to the fervent support it received in the provinces, the military government itself could not help but pay it a great degree of attention. Moreover, the movement expanded without precedent when Jinul's disciple and second abbot of Suseonsa after Jinul, National Preceptor Jin'gak Hyesim 貞覺慧謙, took control of the movement, but he expanded and underscored *ganhwa* Seon meditation to be of utmost importance, and received active support from the military government and the Choe family. Accordingly, the image of Suseonsa was greatly enhanced, and at about this time, the Meditation sects took charge of Goryeo Buddhism.

212 Wonmyo Yose's 圓妙了世 Baengnyeonsa 白蓮社 (White Lotus Society) and Jinul's Suseonsa were the two most representative religious societies of the late Goryeo period. After passing the monk examinations in Gaegyeong, Yose participated in a religious rite in the capital, but he was disheartened at witnessing the behavior of monks there. Therefore, the criticisms levied against Buddhist circles of the time became the main reason for founding his new movement. This reminds us of the reasons that led Jinul to found the Suseonsa far from the capital. Later on, Yose also participated in Jinul's society movement but, because of divergent views with Jinul on people's capacities (*geun'gi* 根機), he left the Jeonghyesa 定慧社 (*Samādhi* and *Prajñā* Society) and started a different one centered on religious practices inspired by the *Lotus Sūtra*, establishing the center of the movement at Baengnyeonsa 白蓮社 Temple, on Mandeoksan 萬德山 Mountain, Gangjin. The Baengnyeonsa movement of Yose stressed especially the importance of repentance and Pure Land (淨土) practices, and inherited the Song Tiantai tradition. Also in the case of Yose's movement, provincial elites were the main supporters, and Confucian scholars such as Cheonin 天因 and Cheonchaek 天頤, among others, became his disciples, giving a great

impulse to the development of the movement. Also in the case of the Baengnyeonsa movement, when Cheonin and Cheonchaek assumed control, the movement grew to such an extent that it gradually drew the attention of the military rulers, and therefore, both the Choe family and central elites became its mainstay supporters. The society movements of Jinul and Yose adequately represent the changes that occurred within the Buddhist community during the period of military rule.

213 The indication that National Overseer Muoe Jeongo 無畏丁午 was the uncle of Sunam Uiseon 順菴義旋 originates from an erroneous reading of the sources. Sunam Uiseon was a son of Jo In-gyu 趙仁規, and only after Jo Ingyu's brother Hon'gi 混其 became a Cheontae monk did the Jo family produce a series of Cheontae monks one generation after another, so much so that the monks of this family throughout the period of Yuan control and until the end of Goryeo were active mainly at the Myoryeonsa 妙蓮寺, Manuisa 萬義寺, Cheonggyesa 淸溪寺 and other temples of the capital and in Gyeonggi-do. National Overseer Muoe Jeongo does not have any blood relation with Jo In-gyu, and the misunderstanding that Uiseon was Jeongo's nephew stems from a statement by Yi Jehyeon 李齊賢, who wrote that Uiseon was "like a son to National Preceptor Muoe," thereby confusing National Overseer Muoe Jeong'o with Hon'gi.

214 In the Gim Yeongsu's manuscript text it appears as Dongsunseonsa 洞純禪寺 Temple. If we look at the inscription of National Preceptor Wonjin, in Pohang-si, Gyeongsangbuk-do, it appears as Seon Master Dongsun (洞純禪師), therefore it is correct. When writing the text Gim Yeongsu misspelled *seonsa* 禪師 (Seon master) writing *seonsa* 禪寺 (Seon temple) instead. It has been therefore revised in the translation.

215 The term "retired king" (*taesangwang* 太上王) here refers to a living king (King Huijong 熙宗) who ruled two generations before. In historiography, the term is usually used only in cases where the king abdicates voluntarily, not when he is forced to leave the throne. King Huijong was forced to leave the throne in 1211 and died in 1237. Choe U, who was the holder of political power during the military rule of the Choe family, dethroned King Huijong and placed King Gangjong on the throne. Besides, when King Gangjong died in 1213, King Gojong ascended the throne. In 1224 (King Gojong 11), when the "Inscription of National Preceptor Wonjin" was composed and the funerary pagoda was erected, King Huijong was still alive, and was called "retired king" (*taesangwang*) out of respect in the inscription.

216 The person Gim Yeongsu is referring to is Royal Preceptor Gyeongji

鏡智, the fourth son of King Huijong 熙宗. Gyeongji was his name as a monk, and is not part of the title of royal preceptor. Upon being forced to abdicate the throne, Huijong is said to have placed him under the care of Seunghyeong 承迥 in 1220 (King Gojong 7). Gyeongji remained a disciple of Seunghyeong until the master's death in 1221, but later on changed registers and became a disciple of the fourth abbot of Suseonsa Temple, National Preceptor Jinmyeong Honwon 眞明混元. It is unclear whether he became a royal preceptor, but after his demise, he was awarded the posthumous title of National Preceptor Wonjeong 圓靜. It is the first case in which a monk of royal descent transferred his registration from one sect, the Huiyangsan sect (曦陽山門), to Suseonsa, which belonged to the Sagulsan sect, and this sheds light on the close relationship between Suseonsa and the military government.

217 His inscription gives the figure “24” (*beopnap yisip yusa* 法臘二十有四, he lived twenty-four years as a monk), but Seunghyeong had been a monk for thirty-seven years (see also Yi Jigwan's 李智冠 *Gyogam yeokju yeokdae goseung bimun* 校勘譯註歷代高僧碑文 [Gasan Bulgyo munhwa yeon'guwon, 1996], 4:115), because he embraced the sangha at age thirteen.

218 During the second year of King Wonjong 元宗, the capital of Goryeo was still on Ganghwado, and Seonwolsa 禪月寺 Temple seems to refer to Seonwonsa 禪源寺 Temple, on Ganghwado. At the time, Seonwonsa functioned as a branch of Suseonsa 修禪社 Temple. As he guided Seonwonsa, he is believed to have inherited Jinul's religious message.

219 The Yuan had the institution of national preceptor. At the time, Goryeo was downgraded from the rank of empire to that of a vassal kingdom. Therefore, the title of national preceptor was avoided, and that of national eminence was used instead. However, it appears that this was not strictly enforced throughout the period of Mongol control, because we find that the title of national preceptor was also retained in use on occasion. Especially in cases of posthumous assignment, the old Goryeo custom was followed, where the title of national preceptor was awarded.

220 Iryeon 一然 retired to Ingaksa 麟角寺 Temple, where he twice held assemblies for monks of the Nine Mountains (Gusan mundohoe 九山門徒會). During the war against the Mongols, Suseonsa Temple, which belonged to the Sagulsan sect, assumed control among the Seon sects, but during the period of Mongol control, the Gajisan sect (迦智山門) came to the fore and shared the spotlight of Goryeo Buddhism together with Suseonsa, of the Sagulsan sect. Iryeon received the support of both kings Wonjong and Chungnyeol (忠烈王), and thus, he was active mainly in the area around the

capital. However, the fact that he received the title of national eminence (*gukjon* 國尊) and held two assemblies for monks of the Nine Mountains of Seon at Ingaksa shows that the balance of power of the Seon monastic communities was tipping toward the Gajisan sect.

221 Gim Yeongsu treats the abbot of Unmunsa 雲門寺 Temple, Great Seon Master Cheongjin 清珍, and the abbot of Hyeongwonsa 鑾原寺 Temple on Jassisan 慈氏山 Mountain, National Eminence Bogam Hon'gu 普鑑混丘, as two separate figures. However, Cheongjin is a misreading of Cheongbun 清玢 (or Cheongbun 清玢). The abbot of Unmunsa, Great Seon Master Cheongbun Mugeuk 清玢無極, who was also called Mugeuk 無極, or Hon'gu 混丘. On the stone inscription of Iryeon at Ingaksa ("Stele of National Eminence Bogak" [Bogak gukjon bi 普覺國尊碑]), he appears as Great Seon Master Jinjeong 眞靜. Therefore, Cheongjin (or Cheongbun) and Hon'gu are one and the same person. He became a disciple of Iryeon in the last years of the master's life, but he polished the *Samguk yusa*, erected the stone inscription of Iryeon, and assumed command over the Gajisan sect, becoming royal preceptor during the reign of King Chungsuk 忠肅. He also received the posthumous title of National Preceptor Bogam after his death. In sources from those times, he appears under the appellation of National Preceptor Bogam, and, as mentioned, he was not awarded the posthumous title of national eminence, but the traditional title of national preceptor. Therefore, he should be referred to as National Preceptor Bogam.

222 The "Donghwasa Hongjin Gukjon Jineung tapbi" 桐華寺弘真國尊真應塔碑 still stands today at Donghwa Temple 桐華寺.

223 Beiping is present-day Beijing. It was called Beiping from 1928 to 1937, and then again from 1945 to 1949. When Gim Yeongsu wrote the book Beijing was therefore known as Beiping.

224 In the last years of his life, he returned to Beopju Temple 法住寺, where he passed away. The stūpa and stele inscription were erected by royal decree, but today only the stone inscription remains.

225 His original name as a monk was Boheo 普虛, but it was later changed to Bou 普愚. He is said to have started using the name Bou after his return from Yuan China.

226 Hongju 洪州 was Bou's place of origin, but his place of birth was Daewon-ri 大元里, Yanggeun-gun (present-day Yangpyeong-gun, Gyeonggi-do), and it seems that his family was based there for several generations.

227 This is the second year of the reinstatement of King Chungsuk to the throne, and thus, the year 1333 is correct. The year quoted in the text, namely the second year of King Chungsuk (1334), is incorrect. At the

time, Goryeo suffered interference from the Yuan court regarding its internal affairs; therefore, Goryeo kings were repeatedly forced to abdicate, and would then be reinstated to the throne. In King Chungsuk's case, he was forced to abdicate in his seventeenth year (1330), in favor of his son King Chunghye (忠惠王), and then two years later, in 1332, he was reinstated to the throne.

228 In 1339 (King Chungsuk restoration to the throne, year 2), Bou visited Baegunam 白雲庵 Hermitage, on Soyasan 逍遙山 Mountain, and he was urged by the Chinese monk Wuji 無極 to travel to China and meet monks of the Linji sect, at which point he decided to study in China. At first, he intended to meet Chan Master Zhuyuan Yongsheng 竹源永盛, but the Chinese master died prior to Bou's arrival. Therefore, he decided to visit Shiwu Qinggong.

229 Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清珙 (1272–1353) is a typical Linji master who was active toward the end of the Yuan dynasty. He retired at an old age to Mountain Xiawu (霞霧山), Huzhou 湖州, where he directly cultivated his vegetables and cut wood for his fireplace, putting into practice the “*puging*” 諱請; that is, the practice of the faith through menial work required in the temple, which was a part of the “pure rules” (清規) of Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814). Bou met Shiwu when he had already retired to Mountain Xiawu.

230 *Yandu* means the capital of the Yuan empire, Dadu, present-day Beijing.

231 The Yuan emperor at this time was Emperor Shun (Toghon Temür, r. 1333–1368).

232 According to “Taego's Record of Conduct” (Taego haengjang 太古行狀), when the Goryeo prince who was in Dadu as a hostage, Wang Gi 王祺 (King Gongmin), witnessed the scene, he said in admiration that in the future, if he became king, he would take Bou as his master.

233 It is present-day Seorak-myeon, Gapyeong-gun, Gyeonggi-do.

234 King Gongmin first appointed Bou as royal preceptor, and then established the Wonyung Bureau (Wonyungbu 圓融府) at Gwangmyeongsa 廣明寺 Temple, conferring to him the power to directly administer the entire monastic community. He had the power to appoint abbots to all the monasteries, thus exercising *de facto* rule over the *saṅgha*.

235 In the original text, King U (禡王) appears as King Shin U (辛禡王), but in actuality, there is no such appellation. Therefore, we have revised it in the translation. Yi Seonggye 李成桂, Jeong Dojeon 鄭道傳, and others, in the process of overthrowing the old dynasty, later chased King U and his son, King Chang (昌王), from the throne, and appointed King Gongyang

(恭讓王) instead, defending their move with the assertion that King U was not the son of King Gongmin, but of Shin Don 辛旊. Consequently, they claimed to have chased away a false king who was not of the Wang royal family, but was a Shin 辛, and therefore, they installed King Gongyang to the throne, a man who belonged to the Wang family. The compilers of the *Goryeoosa*, written after the founding of the Joseon state, took sides with the view of the founders of the new dynasty. Therefore, they excluded kings U and Chang from the “Chronicles” of the dynasty, but enlisted them in the “Biographies of Rebellious Subjects” (Banyeok jeon 反逆傳), calling them Shin U 辛禡 and Shin Chang 辛昌, respectively. However, the view that Kings U and Chang were the offspring of Shin Don is shared by Yi Seonggye and the supporters of the new dynasty in order to legitimize their positions. Current scholars do not commonly accept this view as historical fact. Therefore, Gim Yeongsu’s appellation of King U as King Shin U is untenable.

236 At present, the official view of the Jogye Buddhist Order (曹溪宗) of Korea is that Taego is the patriarch of the revival of Seon, that Taego reached enlightenment for the first time in Korea through the practice of *ganhwaseon* (Seon of observing the critical phrase), that his teaching line was continued through masters Seosan Hyujeong 西山休靜 (1520–1604) and Samyeong Yujeong 四溟惟政 (1544–1610) to reach today’s Jogye sect. They emphasize the reception of the official recognition from Shiwu Qinggong by Bou and his inheritance of the orthodox line of the Linji sect, after which he became the eighteenth patriarch of the sect. This is known as the theory of Taego’s orthodox dharma lineage (*Taego beoptong* 太古法統), however it is not grounded on historical fact of the end of Goryeo and early Joseon, but it was promoted by the disciples of Seosan Hyujeong and was formally adopted as a view of the clergy in the late Joseon period.

237 Founder of the Huiyangsan sect (曦陽山門) of Seon.

238 The notion that Iryeon met Moguja 牧牛子, that is, Bojo Jinul 普照知訥, and received his teaching is a misunderstanding by Gim Yeongsu.

239 It is not Seonwolsa in Gaegyeong, but Seonwonsa on Ganghwado.

240 The line of transmission from Jigong 指空 to Naong 懶翁 and in turn to Muhak 無學 was valued among the disciples of Naong and especially by the line of Muhak. The disciples of Jigong, Naong and Muhak had Hoe’amsa 檜巖寺 Temple as their base. Their reasoning lies in the fact that both Naong and Muhak traveled to Yuan China and studied under Jigong. After Jigong’s demise, his remains were brought to Goryeo. King Gongmin had them preserved at Hoe’amsa, and Naong Hyegeun 懶翁惠勤

participated in the operation. When Hyegeun also passed away, his stūpa and stone inscription were erected at Hoe'amsa, whereas Muhak had his stūpa prepared at Hoe'amsa prior to his death, following an order from Taejo Yi Seonggye 太祖 李成桂.

241 Jigong was sent to Goryeo as an official envoy (*eohyangsa* 御香使) by the Yuan emperor Taiding (泰定帝, Essen Temür), and arrived in Goryeo in 1325 (King Chungsuk 13).

242 Jigong returned to Dadu 大都 by order of Emperor Wenzong 文宗 (Jayatu Khan Tugh Temür) in 1328.

243 Gim Yeongsu arranged Jigong's treatment, drawing mainly from the "Inscription on the funerary pagoda of Jigong at Hoe'am Temple" (Hoe'amsa budo myeong 檜巖寺浮屠銘).

244 Hyegeun 惠勤 stayed in China to study for more than ten years. From the third month of 1350 to that of 1353, he traveled around the Jiangnan 江南 area and met several monks of the Linji sect, among whom the most representative was Pingshan Chulin 平山處林 (1279–1361) of Jingci Temple (淨慈寺) in Hangzhou.

245 Hyegeun returned to Goryeo in the seventh year of King Gongmin (1358) following the land route. He first traveled through Myohyangsan 妙香山 Mountain before venturing to Odaesan 五臺山 Mountain, meeting numerous monks during the journey and taking on many disciples, among whom was Hwanam Honsu 幻庵混脩.

246 The inner supervisor of the household (*naecheomsa* 內詹事) was an official of the Office of Court Eunuchs.

247 After Jinul's passing, the leadership of Suseonsa Temple was transmitted from one disciple to another. However, in 1371, Hyegeun became royal preceptor, becoming abbot of Suseonsa soon after, thus interrupting the chain of abbots of Jinul's lineage. Here we can see King Gongmin's will to unify not only Suseonsa, but all of the Sagulsa 謩敎 sect under a unitary lead.

248 After Hyegeun was appointed abbot of Hoe'amsa, he began the wholesale reconstruction of the temple. The reconstruction work was more or less finished by the second year of King U (1376), and a ceremony was held at successfully, but this became a pretext for the Censorate to criticize him, the content of which appears in the text. The reconstruction of the temple was actually completed by his disciples after his death. Yi Saek wrote the *Hoe'amsa sujo-gi* 檜巖寺修造記 [Record of the Renovation of Hoe'amsa], with the temple dimensions, structure, and layout meticulously described, and the description corresponds almost exactly to the layout of Hoe'amsa, which is being brought to light once more by archeologists.

249 National Preceptor Hyegam 慧鑑 is believed to be the tenth abbot of Suseonsa, Manhang 萬恒 (1249–1319).

250 The statement that Jacho 自超 followed the line of Naong Hyegeun at Beopcheonsa is a misreading of Fayuan Temple (法源寺). Jacho met Hyegeun for the first time at Fayuan Temple, in Dadu, in 1345, when Hyegeun was under the guidance of Jigong 指空. He then traveled to China, to Mount Wutai and other places, again meeting Hyegeun at Lingyan Temple (靈巖寺), on the Xishan 西山, near Dadu. On that occasion, Jacho received official recognition from Hyegeun and became his disciple.

251 Jacho was an active participant in the foundation of the new Joseon state by Yi Seonggye, and he received the title of royal preceptor as a token of recognition. After Jacho's nomination, Yi Seonggye supported him continuously, and Jacho followed Yi Seonggye when he chose the new capital, and assisted in the construction works. Their profound relationship is also attested by the fact that, when the second succession dispute arose, the disheartened king took refuge at Hoe'amsa, where he stayed for nearly half a year. Thanks to this close relationship, Jacho's stream became, among the disciples of Hyegeun, the most influential, and took the reins of the Buddhist community during the early Joseon period.

252 Gim Yeongsu states that Shin Don's mother was Banya 般若, from Okcheonsa 玉泉寺 Temple. It is true that Shin Don's mother was a slave from Okcheonsa, but her name is unknown. Banya is a woman Shin Don introduced to King Gongmin, and she is known as the mother of King U, but the *Goryeosa* refers to King U as the son of Shin Don to denigrate him, and it refers the name of Banya as a concubine of Shin Don.

253 The information on Shin Don is found in the *Goryeosa*, Biographies, and it is the most detailed. According to this source, Shin Don hailed from Yeongsan 靈山 (present-day Yeongsan-myeon, Changnyeong-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do). His mother was from Gyeseong-hyeon 桂城縣 (present-day Gyeseong-myeon 桂城面, Changnyeong-gun 昌寧郡, Gyeongsangnam-do), and was a female slave at Okcheonsa. Gim Yeongsu states that Okcheonsa is located in Yeongsan-gun, Gyeongsangbuk-do, but this is due to an erroneous reading of the *Goryeosa*.

254 Shin Don is not involved to a considerable extent with the Seon sects, but rather, he was close to the Hwaeom sect when he was young.

255 Shin Don, being the son of a temple slave, even after having become a monk, could not establish smooth relationships with his fellow monks, and until he met King Gongmin he is said to have spent his time as a vagrant monk. He held the status of a monk when he met King Gongmin,

but the king first had him return to lay life before appointing him prime minister and entrusting him with political responsibilities. Even today numerous studies regard Shin Don as a monk who participated in King Gongmin's reform project, but the stance of Gim Yeongsu regarding Shin Don as a politically engaged monk-turned-layman warrants attention.

256 The memorandum of Kang Hoebaek 姜淮伯 was presented to criticize King Gongmin's decision to renovate Yeonboksa 演福寺 Temple.

257 This memorandum was presented by the Censorate to King Gongmin in the fifth month of 1361 (King Gongmin 10).

Part III The Joseon Period

¹ King Taejo's 太祖 (r. 1392–1398) personal name was Yi Seonggye 李成桂. He was of the Jeonju Yi descent group (全州李氏), and after ascending the throne, as mentioned in the text, he changed his given name to Tan 旦, and his adult name was changed from Junggyeol 仲潔 to Gunjin 君晉. He also adopted the sobriquet, Songheon 松軒. He belonged to a family of landlords from Hamgyeong-do 咸鏡道, who also served as Yuan officials at the time. He accumulated great merit in fighting against the Red Turbans (紅巾族) in the north as well as the Japanese pirates (*wakō* 倭寇) in the south. When Goryeo planned the invasion of Liaodong 遼東 Peninsula, he withdrew his troops from Wihwado 威化島, and seized political and military power in the capital. After installing King Gongyang on the throne, he reformed the landholding system. In 1392, he ascended the throne himself, founding the Joseon 朝鮮 dynasty (1392–1910). After his son Yi Bangwon 李芳遠 (the third Joseon king, Taejong) staged a revolt, he abdicated the throne to King Jeongjong 定宗, retiring as a senior king (*sangwang* 上王) and dedicating his last few years to Buddhism.

² Taego Bou was a meditation monk who traveled to Yuan China in the last years of the Goryeo dynasty, renowned for having received the tradition of the Linji sect, which he transmitted to Goryeo. He was granted the titles of royal and national preceptor, and devoted himself to the unification of the Buddhist sects.

³ During the final years of the Goryeo dynasty, to study as a Seon monk, Hyegeun traveled to Yuan China, where he inherited the line of the Linji sect. He concurrently became a disciple of the Indian monk Jigong (Ch. Zhikong) 指空. He received the title of royal preceptor during the reign of King Gongmin (恭愍王), and his disciples, starting with Muhak Jacho, became the most important figures of Seon Buddhism during the first years of the Joseon dynasty.

⁴ Muhak Jacho, a famous Seon master between the end of Goryeo and the beginning of the Joseon period, became royal preceptor during the reign of Joseon king Taejo. He was a disciple of Naong Hyegeun and, together with his disciple Hamheo Gihwa 涵虛已和 and others, he formed the mainstream of Seon Buddhism during the first years of the new dynasty. His disciples played a leading role in the publication of Buddhist scriptures and in the work of publishing vernacular Korean translations (*eonhae* 譬解, lit. vulgate elucidations) of Buddhist works during the reign of King Sejo 世祖.

5 Yi Deukbun 李得芬 was a eunuch who lived near the end of the Goryeo dynasty and at the beginning of Joseon. In 1396, he became supervisor of the Eunuchs' Bureau (*pan naesibu sa* 判內侍府事) and served King Taejo closely.

6 *Dongmun-seon* 東文選, chapter 78, "Records" (Gi 記), "Record of the Institution of the Society for the Celebration of the Water and Land Festival at Jin'gwansa Temple" (*Jin'gwansa suryuksa joseong-gi* 津寬寺水陸社造成記). This record was composed in the first month of 1397 by the Confucian scholar Gwon Geun 權近.

7 "Vow to Complete the Tripitaka, Written Personally by the King" (*Wonseong daejang ejemun* 願成大藏御製文. Yi Neunghwa 李能和, *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史 [History of Joseon Buddhism] [Seoul: Simmun'gwan, 1918], 1:348). The text of the wish was composed in the seventh month of 1393.

8 Choe Chiwon, "Huiyangsan Mountain Stone Inscription of National Preceptor Jijeung" (*Huiyangsan Jijeung guksa bimyeong* 曜陽山智證國師碑銘).

9 Choe Chiwon was a typical Confucian scholar of the Unified Silla period as well as a renowned writer. His pen names were Goun 孤雲 and Hae'un 海雲. At age twelve, he traveled to Tang 唐 China to study, and successfully sat the Chinese state examinations, becoming a provincial magistrate in China. In 879, during the rebellion of Huang Chao 黃巢, he gained widespread acclaim when he wrote "Composition for the Pacification of Huang Chao" (*Tao Huang Chao xiwen* 討黃巢檄文) as an official of the military government. He returned to Silla in 885, serving in several government posts. However, he could not accept reality and its obstacles and retired at the age of forty, after which he traveled to every corner of the country living in isolation. His knowledge encompassed not only Confucianism and literature but also Daoism, geomancy, and Buddhism. He wrote the *Gyewon pilgyeong* 桂苑筆耕, in addition to several poems and stone inscriptions.

10 An Hyang 安珦 was a Confucian scholar who was active during the latter Goryeo period. He introduced Neo-Confucianism (nature and principle learning; *seongnihak* 性理學) to Goryeo. His posthumous name was Duke Munseong (文成公). In 1289, he copied the books of Zhu Xi 朱熹, painted portraits of Confucius 孔子 and Zhu Xi, and brought them back to Goryeo. In 1303, he obtained portraits of Confucius and his seventy-two disciples, in addition to utensils to officiate ceremonies at the Confucian temple, which he stored in its main hall. He organized a fundraiser to encourage scholarship (*seomhakjeon* 贈學錢), resulting in the establishment

of a strong financial institution for the Gukjagam 國子監 (state university), and also promoted the emergence of new talents.

11 Yi Neunghwa, *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*, 2: 432.

12 *Seomhakjeon* 賞學錢 was a funding organization established to provide financial support for Gukjagam 國子監 (state university) students. Court officials provided direct contributions, made according to their respective rank.

13 Baek Ijeong was a Confucian scholar of the Goryeo dynasty. His pen name was Ijae 舜齋, and his posthumous name is Munheon 文憲. As a disciple of An Hyang, he traveled to Yuan China in 1298 and studied Neo-Confucianism for ten years, returning to Goryeo with books of Neo-Confucianism and *Zhuzi jiali* 朱子家禮 [*Zhu Xi's Family Rites*]. Among his disciples were Yi Jehyeon and Yi Gok.

14 Gwon Bu was a Confucian scholar of late Goryeo. His pen name was Gukjae 菊齋, and his posthumous name is Munjeong 文正. He was a disciple of An Hyang, and he promoted the publication of Zhu Xi's edition of the *Four Books* (*saseo* [Ch. *sishu*] 四書; i.e., *Analects of Confucius* [*Lunyu* 論語], *Great Learning* [*Daxue* 大學], *Mencius* [*Mengzi* 孟子], and the *Doctrine of the Mean* [*Zhongyong* 中庸]), contributing greatly to the dissemination of Neo-Confucianism.

15 Yi Jehyeon best typifies the Confucian scholars of the late Goryeo period. His pen name was Ikjae 益齋, and his posthumous name is Munchung 文忠. He was a disciple of Baek Ijeong and the son-in-law of Gwon Bu. He came in first for the Goryeo state examinations, and was employed as a court official. In 1314, he participated in library meetings at the Man'gwondang 萬卷堂, organized by King Chungseon in the Yuan capital of Dadu. He engaged frequently in cultural exchanges with the most outstanding Chinese scholars of the time, committing himself to the study of Neo-Confucianism. He deepened his knowledge of China, traveling widely throughout the country. Upon returning to Goryeo, he assumed the post of prime minister several times. Among his disciples were Yi Gok and Yi Saek. His works include *Yeogong paeseol* 櫟翁稗說 and others.

16 Yi Gok was a scholar of the latter Goryeo period. His pen name was Gajeong 穀亭, and his posthumous name is Munhyo 文孝. He was a disciple of Yi Jehyeon and father to Yi Saek. He came in first for the provincial examinations held at the Bureau for Conquering the East, and accepted the post of provincial magistrate in Yuan China. He possessed an in-depth knowledge of Neo-Confucianism. Among his works, the prose composition (*gasa* 歌詞) “Jukbuin-jeon” 竹夫人傳, in which he personified a

bamboo stick, is especially well known.

17 Yi Saek typifies Confucian scholars in the last years of Goryeo. His pen name was Mogeun 牧隱, and his posthumous name is Munjeong 文靖. He was a son of Yi Gok and a disciple of Yi Jehyeon. He studied at the university (Guozijian 國子監) in Yuan China, came in first for both the provincial examinations enacted by the Bureau for Conquering the East and the metropolitan examinations, and ranked second for the imperial palace examinations, thus becoming a Hanlin academician (翰林學士) of the Yuan government. After returning to Goryeo, he was appointed to several important posts and promoted political reforms, implementing the three-year mourning period, reorganizing the Seonggyun'gwan 成均館, and contributing greatly to the propagation and development of Neo-Confucianist thought. Moreover, until the end, he opposed the founding of the new Yi dynasty. Among his disciples were Jeong Mongju, Gil Jae, and Yi Sungin, famous for their uncompromising stance in defending the Goryeo state, as well as some of the most outspoken supporters of dynastic change such as Jeong Dojeon, Ha Ryun, and Gwon Geun, all of who were among the most representative literati of that time.

18 Jeong Mongju was a Confucian scholar in the last years of Goryeo and the beginning of Joseon. His pen name was Po'eun 圉隱, and his posthumous name is Munchung 文忠. He came in first for the state examinations, and subsequently served as a public administrator. He participated in expeditions against the Jürchen and Japanese pirates, and traveled to Japan as well as the Ming as a member of various embassies, earning diplomatic merit. He staunchly opposed the founding of the Joseon state, and was assassinated by Yi Bangwon, the son of Yi Seonggye. He promoted the adoption of Confucian funeral rites and the establishment of provincial schools in order to further the diffusion of Confucian doctrine. He would be revered posthumously as the transmitter of the orthodox Confucian tradition.

19 Gil Jae was a scholar in the last years of the Goryeo period. His pseudonym was Ya'eun 治隱, and his posthumous name is Chungjeol 忠節. He studied with Yi Saek and Jeong Mongju, among others. After passing the civil service examinations, he held a teaching post at the Seonggyun'gwan, but later retired to private life, unwilling to serve under the new dynasty. He was revered by later generations for having inherited the doctrine after Jeong Mongju.

20 Gim Jasu was a Confucian scholar and administrator at the end of the Goryeo dynasty. His pseudonym was Sangchon 桑村. He called for the

prohibition of superstitious rites and presented several memorials in which he criticized the Buddhist faith and the celebration of official Buddhist ceremonies. He became minister of punishments, but when political circumstances grew unstable, he returned to his hometown, refused to serve under the new dynasty, and committed suicide, thereby preserving his loyalty to the Goryeo crown.

- 21 Gim Cho was a scholar at the end of the Goryeo period. He presented several memorials to the throne, in which he called for the repudiation of Buddhism, and was thus condemned to capital punishment. His life was spared, thanks to Jeong Mongju and others who came to his aid.
- 22 Jeong Dojeon was a scholar between the end of Goryeo and the beginning of Joseon, and was a first-rank merit subject of the Joseon dynasty. His pen name was Sambong 三峯, and his posthumous name is Munheon 文憲. He was a disciple of Yi Saek, and continued his Neo-Confucian studies even after becoming a court official. He was exiled because of his opposition to the pro-Yuan policy of Yi Inim 李仁任 and his faction. He later tried his political fortunes with Yi Seonggye, and after the withdrawal from Wihwado 威化島, he promoted land reforms while in command of the military. As a merit subject who actively promoted the establishment of the Joseon state, he assumed in succession the most important posts in political, military, and financial institutions, overseeing the transfer of the capital to Seoul. In addition, as his contribution to the administration of state affairs, he wrote the two works *Joseon gyeongguk-jeon* 朝鮮經國典 and the *Gyeongje mun'gam* 經濟文鑑. After clashing with the Ming, he planned for the invasion of Liaodong 遼東 Peninsula, but was killed by Yi Bangwon before he could execute his plan. He is also renowned for having composed the *Bulsi japbyeon* 佛氏雜辯 [Miscellaneous Criticism of Buddhism].
- 23 Ha Ryun was a Confucian scholar between the end of Goryeo and the beginning of Joseon. His pen name was Hojeong 浩亭, and his posthumous name is Munchung 文忠. He was demoted for having criticized irregularities in Shin Don's 辛甿 administration during the reign of King Gongmin, and went into exile for opposing the expedition of Choe Yeong 崔瑩 to Liaodong 遼東 Peninsula during the reign of King U (禡王). After the establishment of the Joseon dynasty, he assumed control over tax system reforms, and achieved significant results also as an ambassador for providing feasible solutions to diplomatic conflicts. He became a merit subject following the coronation of King Taejong, and called for reforms to the public administration system. He eventually became prime minister of the left.

24 *Joseon wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄, Taejong 12, Taejong 6/7/18. This occurred during the visit of the Ming ambassador Huang Yan in 1406.

25 Seoun'gwan was an office that oversaw matters related to astronomy, good and bad omens, the calendar, and the selection of propitious days. The name was later changed to Gwansanggam 觀象監.

26 Gunjagam 軍資監 was an office responsible for the storage and distribution of military provisions to the army.

27 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, Taejong 3, Taejong 2/4/22.

28 Uijeongbu 議政府. Also known as the state council, it was the highest institutional body, holding superintendence over all state affairs. It was presided by the president of the council (*yeongquijeong* 領議政).

29 *Bibo satap* 牡補寺塔 (supporting temples and stūpas). According to geomantic theory, in locations where the land is weak, the construction of temples and stūpas would assist in rebalancing and supporting the energy of the land. This theory was advocated by Doseon 道訫. King Taejo, the founder of Goryeo, adopted it as official policy.

30 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, Taejong 10, Taejong 10/11/21.

31 However, not all temples in the country were abolished at this time. In fact, the following year, land and slaves were allotted to 242 officially recognized temples, and the number of monks who could dwell in them became fixed. The land and slaves exceeding the set cap were returned to the state and became public property. Therefore, this does not mean that all temples were shut down.

32 *Jaboksa* is another name for the *bibosa* 牡補寺. In these temples, prayers were held to invoke the well-being of the country.

33 Jogye sect is the most representative Meditation sect in Korea. After the mid-Goryeo period, the term was used to designate the Nine Mountains of Seon sects. With the founding of Suseonsa 修禪社 (Seon-Cultivation Society) by Jinul 知訥, it became the most important sect in Goryeo.

34 The Chongji sect belonged to the esoteric tradition, and its origin can be traced back to the Silla monk Hyetong 惠通. During the Goryeo period, it was called Jinyeomeop 持念業.

35 Cheontae soja sect. This sect's origins can be traced to the founding of the Cheontae by Uicheon 義天. It split toward the end of Goryeo, and is believed to have remained faithful to its original tradition.

36 The Cheontae beopsa sect emerged as a result of a schism within the Cheontae, and should be identified with the Cheontae baengnyeonsa 天台白蓮社 tradition of Yose 了世. Some say it upheld the penitence rites of the lotus flower (*beophwa yecham* 法華禮懺).

37 The Hwaeom sect can be traced back to the Silla patriarch Uisang 義湘, and during the former Goryeo period, it formed with the Beopsang sect (法相宗) a kind of diarchy. From this sect hailed monks such as Gyunyeo 均如 and Uicheon 義天.

38 The Domun sect is thought to have belonged to the Doctrinal tradition, but in actuality, its name appears on this occasion for the first time, and its characteristics and doctrine remain obscure.

39 The Ja'eun sect is an alternate appellation of the Beopsang sect, based on the Consciousness-only doctrine (唯識學). It inherited the Consciousness-only tradition of the Silla kingdom, becoming, along with the Hwaeom, the mainstream of Goryeo Buddhism. (The term "Ja'eun" appears for the first time at the turn of the fourteenth-century.)

40 The Jungdo sect is believed to have belonged to the Mādhyamika (中觀) stream and the tradition of Dharma-nature (法性宗). This is the earliest record where the name appears.

41 The Sinin sect is thought to have originated with the Silla monk Myeongnang 明朗. However, there is no evidence that it became a sect during the Goryeo period, and appears for the first time in this instance.

42 The Namsan sect belonged to the Vinaya tradition (律宗), which seems to have been transmitted during the seventh century by the monk Jajang 慈藏. It was one of the Five Doctrinal sects of the Goryeo period, and appears with the appellation "Namsan jong" 南山宗 in the beginning of the Joseon period.

43 The Siheung sect is thought to belong to the Nirvāṇa tradition, and it dates back to the monk Bodeok 普德 of Goguryeo. It is not possible to verify its formation as a sect, but it is known to have been one of the Five Doctrinal sects of the Goryeo period. In the beginning of Joseon, it was called Siheung jong 始興宗.

44 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, Taejong 11, Taejong 6/3/27.

45 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, Taejong 14, Taejong 7/12/2.

46 Tongdosa, a temple in Yangsan 梁山, Gyeongsangnam-do. It was built by the Vinaya Master Jajang 慈藏 in 646, during the Silla period. In the Geumgang Vinaya altar (金剛戒壇), a real *śarīra* of the Buddha was preserved, and for this reason it was considered one of the three Buddhist treasure (*sambo* 三寶) temples.

47 Ssangamsa Temple was located in Cheongsong 青松, Gyeongsangbuk-do. The monks of this temple are famous for having opposed the military government by organizing a rebellion in 1203.

48 Yeonhwasa Temple was located in Changnyeong 昌寧, Gyeongsangnam-do.

49 Borigapsa Temple was located in Yangpyeong 楊平, Gyeonggi-do. On the premises, a stūpa and a stone inscription dedicated to Yeo'eom 麗嚴, a great monk of the Meditation tradition between the end of Silla and the beginning of Goryeo, can be found.

50 Bingsansa Temple. This temple was located in Uiseong 義城, Gyeongsangbuk-do. It was originally founded as a nunnery, and was called Yeongnisa 盈尼寺.

51 Jeonggaksa Temple was located in Yeongcheon 永川, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

52 Seongnamsa Temple was located in Ulsan 蔚山, Gyeongsangnam-do. It was the first Seon temple in Silla, founded in 824 by Doui 道義, a monk who belonged to the Southern Seon (Namjong Seon 南宗禪) tradition. It is now a nunnery.

53 In'gaksa Temple, located in Gunwi 君威, was founded in 643, during the Silla period, by Wonhyo. In the latter Goryeo period, it was renovated by Iryeon 一然, who composed the *Samguk yusa* when he resided there.

54 Gajisa Temple. This temple was located in Jangheung 長興, Jeollanam-do. This was another name for Borimsa 寶林寺 Temple, established in 860 by the founder of one of the Nine Mountains of Seon (九山禪門), the Gajisan sect, Chejing 體澄.

55 Jinggwangsa Temple was located in Suncheon 順天, Jeollanam-do. It is famous because numerous Buddhist works were published on its premises during the latter Joseon period.

56 Dongnisa Temple is an alternate appellation for Taeansa 泰安寺 Temple, located in Gokseong 谷城, Jeollanam-do. It became the base of the Dongnisan sect after its founding in 742.

57 Yeonggaksa Temple was located in Hamyang 咸陽, Gyeongsangnam-do. It was founded by Simgwang 深光 in 876. In 1770, Seolpa Sangeon 雪坡尙彦 composed a revised version of Chengguan's 澄觀 *Huayan jing shu chao* 華嚴經疏抄, which was printed and has been preserved in this temple.

58 Beopjusa Temple is situated in Gunwi 軍威, Gyeongsangbuk-do. The time of its founding remains unclear, but we know that it managed to retain some influence until the latter Joseon period.

59 Jeongnimsa Temple was located in Punggi 豐基, Yeongju 榮州, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

60 Dogapsa Temple. This temple, located in Yeongam 靈岩, Jeollanam-do, was founded at the end of Silla by the monk Doseon 道洗. It was renovated in the beginning of Joseon by the monk Sumi 守眉.

61 Deokcheonsa Temple was located in Danyang 丹陽, Chungcheongbuk-do.

62 Hongbeopsa Temple was located in Hwaseong 華城, Gyeonggi-do.

63 Garimsa Temple was located in Chilgok 漆谷, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

64 Jigoksa Temple was located in Sancheong 山淸, Gyeongsangnam-do. It was constructed during the Unified Silla period, and managed to preserve its influence until the nineteenth century.

65 Jireuksa Temple was located in Okcheon 沃川, Chungcheongbuk-do.

66 Mandeoksa Temple was located in Gangjin 康津, Jeollanam-do. It is an alternate name for Baengnyeonsa 自蓮社 Temple. It was founded in 839 by Muyeom 無染, and during the Goryeo period, Yose 了世 became abbot of the temple. It was renovated during the Joseon period by Haengho 行乎 and Prince Hyoryeong 孝寧大君.

67 Janggoksa Temple was located in Cheongyang 青陽, Chungcheongnam-do, and was constructed by Chejing 體澄 in 850. A peculiar characteristic of this temple is that it contains two Great Hero halls (Daeungjeon 大雄殿), the Upper and Lower halls.

68 Cheonheungsa Temple. Located in Cheonan 天安, Chungcheongnam-do, it was an important temple during the Goryeo period, but was shut down in the fourteenth century.

69 Seongnamsa Temple was located in Anseong 安城, Gyeonggi-do. Founded in 680, it was renovated in the beginning of the Goryeo period by the monk Hyegeo 慧炬.

70 Eomjeongsa Temple was located in Chungju 忠州, Chungcheongbuk-do.

71 Baegamsa Temple was located in Hapcheon 陜川, Gyeongsangnam-do, and is another name for Baegeomsa 伯嚴寺. During the tenth century, it was presided over by Geungyang 耶讓 of the Huiyangsan sect (曦陽山門).

72 Heungnyongsa Temple is situated in Jeongeup 井邑, Taein 泰仁, in Jeollabuk-do. It was officially recognized as one of the eighteen Seon temples in the sixth year of King Sejong's reign (1424), but was replaced by another temple the following year.

73 Gyeongsasa Temple is located in Cheongyang 青陽, Chungcheongnam-do. Some say it was founded during the Baekje kingdom, whereas others believe Chejing 體澄 to have established it during the Silla period.

74 Baegunsa Temple is located in Pocheon 抱川, Gyeonggi-do, and is an alternate name for Heungnyongsa 興龍寺. It was founded in the ninth century by Doseon 道訫, and was renovated in the beginning of Joseon by Muhak Jacho 無學自超.

75 Cheonggyesa Temple was located in Uiwang 儀旺, Gyeonggi-do. It was the family cloister of the clan of the powerful minister Jo In'gyu 趙仁規. During the reign of King Yeonsan'gun 燕山君, when the headquarters of the Seon and Gyo were closed down in Seoul, they were temporarily moved to this temple.

76 Ujangsa Temple is located in Yeongdeok 盈德, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

77 Yongcheonsa Temple is located in Daegu 大邱.

78 Muwisa Temple is located in Gangjin 康津, Jeollanam-do. It was constructed by Wonhyo in the seventh century, and was renovated by Doseon in the ninth. It was also called Garoksa 葛屋寺 Temple.

79 Wonsusa Temple was located in Namwon 南原, Jeollabuk-do.

80 Songnimsa Temple. Located in Yesan 禮山, Chungcheongnam-do, it seems to have been established during the Goryeo period.

81 Gu'eopsa Temple. Located at Anak 安岳, Guwolsan 九月山 Mountain, Hwanghae-do, is an alternate name of Paeyeopsa 貝葉寺. It was the family temple of the clan of Goryeo's king Taejo Wang Geon 王建, and during the Japanese occupation, it was one of the thirty-one main temples in the country.

82 Jinheungsa Temple was located in Geumsan 金山, Chungcheongnam-do.

83 Daegulsa Temple. Located in Muan 務安, Jeollanam-do, this temple survived until the first half of the Joseon period.

84 Seonunsa Temple. This temple is located in Gochang 高敞, Jeollabuk-do. It is said to have been built by Geomdan 黵丹 in 577, and retained its influence well into the Joseon period. In the nineteenth century, the monk Baekpa Geungseon 白坡亘璇, renowned for his Seon debates, resided there for some time.

85 Jangnaksa Temple was located in Jecheon 堤川, Chungcheongbuk-do. A seven-storied brick pagoda remains at this temple.

86 Seobongsa Temple. Located in Yongin 龍仁, Gyeonggi-do, it was the seat of National Preceptor Hyeono Jongnин 玄悟宗璘 of the Hwaeom sect in the twelfth century. It was burned to the ground during the Japanese invasion of the sixteenth century.

87 Geumjangsa Temple was situated at Jangheung 長興, Jeollanam-do. Records show that the Golden Hall was built during the Goryeo dynasty, and a statue of Maitreya was installed in the temple. In 1307, National Preceptor Jin'gam 眞鑑 of Myoryeonsa 妙蓮寺 Temple, retired to this temple.

88 Eomgwangsa Temple was located in Miryang 密陽, Gyeongsangnam-do.

89 Beopcheonsa Temple, located in Wonju 原州, Gangwon-do, was founded in 725. During the reign of King Munjong, National Preceptor Jigwang 智光 resided at the temple, and a stūpa was erected there in his honor.

90 Wonheungsa Temple was located in Cheongju 清州, Chungcheongbuk-do.

91 Ungsinsa Temple is an alternate name for Seongjusa 聖住寺. Located in Changwon 昌原, Gyeongsangnam-do, it was founded by Muyeom 無染 in 835. During the Japanese invasion of the sixteenth century, it was burned

to ashes. During the temple's reconstruction, they say the materials used were brought there by a bear, and therefore, the temple was renamed "Temple of the Bear Spirit" (Ungsinsa).

92 Jeonhyangsa Temple. This temple was located on Ganghwado 江華島, Incheon.

93 Seongbulsa Temple was located in Yangyang 襄陽, Gangwon-do.

94 Bisasa Temple was located in Anbyeon, Pyeonganbuk-do.

95 Hyangnimsa Temple was located in Suncheon 順天, Jeollanam-do. According to tradition, the temple is believed to have been renovated by Doseon 道詵 in 861.

96 Chiryeopsa Temple was located in Cheongdo 清道, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

97 Gongdeoksa Temple was located in Yeongcheon 永川, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

98 Gwaneumsa Temple, located in Yeoncheon 漣川, Gyeonggi-do, was used as a temple until the eighteenth century.

99 Sinhyeolsa Temple. This temple was located in Jin'gwan-dong 津寬洞, Seoul, at the feet of Bukhansan 北漢山 Mountain. It was founded in the beginning of the Goryeo period by Yeocheol 如哲, and is famous for having granted refuge to King Hyeonjong 顯宗 when he was a child.

100 Sajasa Temple was located in Gimcheon 金泉, Gyeongsangbuk-do. It was closed down, and its premises were used by a local school (*hyanggyo* 鄉校).

101 Baegamsa Temple was located in Yangpyeong 楊平, Gyeonggi-do.

102 Seongjusa Temple was located in Boryeong 保寧, Chungcheongnam-do. It was founded on the grounds of an ancient Baekje temple, Ohapsa 烏合寺, which was originally founded in 599. It was the base of the Seongjusan sect (聖住山門), one of the Nine Mountains of Seon sects, and was established by Muyeom 無染.

103 Bogwangsa Temple. Located in Buyeo 扶餘, Chungcheongnam-do, it was founded in the beginning of Goryeo. This temple was renovated in 1334 by National Preceptor Seolbong Chunggam 雪峯忠鑑, who later passed away there.

104 Unginsa Temple was located in Uiryeong 宜寧, Gyeongsangnam-do.

105 Yanggyeongsa Temple was located in Hadong 河東, Gyeongsangnam-do.

106 Gongnimsa Temple was located in Hwasun 和順, Jeollanam-do.

107 Seongbulsa Temple is located in Sariwon 沙里院, Hwanghae-do. It was founded in the last years of the Silla dynasty by Doseon 道詵, and was renovated in 1374 by Naong Hyegeun 懶翁惠勤. It was one of the thirty-one main temples of the country during the period of Japanese colonization.

108 Sinisa Temple was located in Yeoju 驪州, Gyeonggi-do. This was an alternate name for Silleuksa 神勒寺. When Naong Hyegeun passed away

at this temple in 1376, several miracles occurred. The temple was used to offer protection to the tomb of King Sejong of Joseon, and was called Boeunsa 報恩寺 (Temple of Gratitude).

109 Gamnosa Temple was located in Gimhae 金海, Gyeongsangnam-do. It was founded by Hae'an 海安 in 1237, and National Preceptor Won'gam Chungji 圓鑑忠止 would later become abbot of this temple.

110 Wonheungsa Temple was located in Gumi 龜尾, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

111 Eomcheonsa Temple was located in Hamyang 咸陽, Gyeongsangnam-do. It was established by the Silla king Heon'gang (憲康王) in 883, and was also called Amcheonsa 巖川寺.

112 Changseongsa Temple was situated in Suwon 水原, Gyeonggi-do. Hwaeom National Preceptor Cheonhui 千熙 passed away in this temple in 1382.

113 Beomnyunsa Temple was a temple located in Jinju 晉州, Gyeongsangnam-do.

114 Jin'guksa Temple was a temple located in Gwangju 廣州, Jeollanam-do.

115 Jin'gusa Temple was located in Imsil 任實, Jeollabuk-do. It was founded in 650 by disciples of Master Bodeok 普德, who was learned in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and who had fled to Baekje from Goguryeo that same year.

116 Gunnisa Temple was located in Hampyeong 咸平, Jeollanam-do.

117 Dongnimsa Temple was located in Asan 牙山, Chungcheongnam-do. It was founded during the Unified Silla period and survived until the fifteenth century.

118 Bogyeongsa Temple was located in Cheongju 清州, Chungcheongbuk-do.

119 Taejasa Temple was located in Bonghwa 奉化, Gyeongsangbuk-do. It was established during the Unified Silla period and survived until the fifteenth century.

120 Beopcheonsa Temple was located in Goseong 固城, Gyeongsangnam-do. A stūpa that dates back to the eighth century can be found there.

121 Gyeonbulsa Temple is an alternate appellation of Gangseosa 江西寺 Temple, and is located in Yeonbaek 延白, Hwanghae-do. The temple was established by Doseon toward the end of the Silla period, and Hyeso 惠素, the disciple of Uicheon, became abbot of this temple during the Goryeo period. At the time, many Goryeo court officials made frequent visits there, starting with Gim Busik 金富軾.

122 Mireuksa Temple was located on Iksan 益山, Jeollabuk-do. It was established in the first half of the seventh century by King Mu (武王) of Baekje, so that he could listen to the preaching of Maitreya descending from heaven. It is famous for the remains of its stone pagoda.

123 Cheonsinsa Temple was located in Geumcheon 金川, Hwanghae-do.

124 Changhwasa Temple was located in Jangdan 長湍, Gyeonggi-do. Its former name was Unamsa 雲岩寺, and it belonged to the Doctrinal tradition. The name was changed during the reign of King Gongmin (恭愍王), when it became a temple of the Meditation sect.

125 Samhwasa Temple was located in Donghae 東海, Gangwon-do. It was established by Beomil 梵日, an acclaimed monk of the Sagulsan sect (閭堦山門), one of the Nine Mountains of Seon sects, during the second half of the ninth century. Its original name was Samgongsa 三公寺, but was changed to Samhwasa during the reign of King Taejo of Joseon.

126 Manyeonsa Temple was located in Hwasun 和順, Jeollanam-do. It was established by Manyeon 萬淵 in 1208, and the *śarīra* of Bojo Jinul 普照知訥 was enshrined in this temple.

127 Bogwangsa Temple was located in Naju 羅州, Jeollanam-do.

128 Seobongsa Temple was located in Damyang 潭陽, Jeollanam-do. We know nothing of its establishment, nor of the temple's history. It was included among the eighteen temples of the Doctrinal sect, when, during King Sejong's reign, the number of publicly recognized temples of both the Doctrinal and Meditation sects was reduced to thirty six, but a few years later, it was replaced by Jeongyangsa 正陽寺 Temple on Geumgangsan 金剛山 Mountain.

129 Hyeon'gosa Temple was located in Inje 麟蹄, Gangwon-do. The complete set of the book *Dizang pusa benyuan jing* (Kor. *Jijang bosal bonwon-gyeong* 地藏菩薩本願經 [Original Vows of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha], handwritten in 1440 by Haeyeon 海淵, the abbot of the temple, has been preserved in its entirety at this temple.

130 Cheonwangsa Temple was located in Gyeongju 慶州, Gyeongsangbuk-do. It is an abbreviation of the name Sacheonwangsa 四天王寺, or the Temple of the Four Heavenly Kings. It was founded by the esoteric monk Myeongnang 明朗 in 679. It was also renowned for its secret mudra ceremonies, *munduru doryang* 文豆婁道場, which were performed there to repel the Tang forces.

131 Obongsa Temple was located in Yeoncheon 漣川, Gyeonggi-do.

132 Hageosa Temple was located in Pungcheon 豐川, Hwanghae-do.

133 Jeokjosa Temple. This temple is thought to have been located in Goheung 高興, Jeollanam-do. Another temple with the same name was located in Gaeseong 開城, Gyeonggi-do, and is famous for a metal statue of the Buddha that had been made during the early Goryeo period.

134 Seong Hyeon 成僕 is a scholar official who was active from the times of kings Sejo to Yeonsan'gun. His pen name was Yongjae 僥齋, and his

posthumous name is Munjae 文載. He became royal lecturer at twenty-nine years of age, before being promoted to minister of rites, followed by director, and so on. He participated in the composition of the *Akhak gwebeom* 樂學軌範, and in 1504 wrote the *Yongjae chonghwa* 傭齋叢話. The *Yongjae chonghwa* was composed by Seong Hyeon and published in 1525. The book describes the administrative system of Goryeo times until the first years of the Joseon dynasty, detailing the culture and history of the country, its costumes and religion, the music, paintings, literature, and so on, covering numerous fields of interest.

135 Seungnoksa, the central Buddhist registry, was the central administration bureau overseeing Buddhist affairs during the Goryeo period. It existed since King Taejo's time and maintained the monastic records, in addition to administering the monk examinations (*seunggwa* 僧科), the clerical hierarchy system (*seunggye* 僧階), and the bestowal of the titles royal preceptor (*wangsa* 王師) and national preceptor (*guksa* 國師). When the Joseon dynasty was founded, it was absorbed into the ministry of rites until it was abolished in 1424, when all the sects were amalgamated into the two main divisions of the Doctrinal and Meditation sects.

136 Heungcheonsa was a temple in Seoul. It was constructed by King Taejo as a merit cloister for his family near the tomb of Queen Dowager Sindeok (神德王后) in order to pray for her well-being. *Sarīnas* of the Buddha and a copy of the *tripitaka* were enshrined at this temple, and in King Sejong's time it was chosen as the main seat of the Meditation sect (Seon jong dohoeso 禪宗都會所).

137 *Dohoeso*. This sort of administration overseeing general religious affairs was established following the abolition of the Seungnoksa 僧錄司 in 1424, when all the sects were merged into two, the Meditation and the Doctrinal. The general administration for the Meditation was established at Heungcheonsa, whereas that of the Doctrinal sect was opened at Heungdeoksa. The general administration was in charge of issuing licenses to monks, conducting religious examinations, appointing abbots to officially recognized temples, and so on. It was transferred out of the capital during King Yeonsan'gun's reign and abolished afterward, along with the two sects of Seon and Gyo, during the reign of King Jungjong 中宗, at the turn of the sixteenth century.

138 Heungdeoksa was located in Seoul's Yeonhui-dong 延禧洞. The temple was founded in 1401 by King Taejo, who offered his own residence to the monastic community, to pray for peace in the country and for the prosperity of the royal house. The *Taejo sillok* 太祖實錄 [Veritable Records

of King Taejo] was written in this temple. During the reign of King Sejong 世宗, it became the seat of the general administration office of the Doctrinal sect.

139 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, Sejong 24, Sejong 6/4/5.

140 Sunghyosa 崇孝寺 Temple was located in Gaeseong, Gyeonggi-do. It was built south of Mokcheong Hall (穆清殿), and it exemplifies the typical royal family merit cloister of the first half of the Joseon period. Mokcheong Hall was constructed in the house Yi Seonggye used to live in before his ascension to the throne, and thus, his image was enshrined there, and regular incense offering rites were held at the temple.

141 Yeonboksa 演福寺 Temple was located in Gaeseong, Gyeonggi-do. It was one of the ten temples built by King Taejo, the founder of the Goryeo dynasty, when Gaeseong was chosen as the kingdom's capital. This was a typical temple of the Meditation sect, and its name was later changed to Bojesa 普濟寺. King Taejo, of the Joseon dynasty, renovated the five-story pagoda and celebrated rites to Mañjuśrī at this temple.

142 Gwaneumgul 觀音窟 (Avalokiteśvara Grotto) was located near Gaeseong, Gyeonggi-do. Before ascending the throne, Yi Seonggye chose it as a merit cloister for his family and had it renovated. After the founding of the new dynasty, the water and land ritual (*suryukjae* 水陸齋) in honor of the Goryeo royal family was held regularly at this temple, but after King Sejong's reign, the temple fell into a state of disrepair.

143 Seunggasa 僧伽寺 Temple is located on Bukhansan 北漢山 Mountain, in Seoul. It was built during the Silla period. Thanks to the numerous miracles that took place there, state-sponsored purification masses were held regularly at this temple. It was held in high regard by both the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties, and during the reign of King Jeongjo 正祖, a jade buddha sent by the Qing court was enshrined there.

144 Gaegyeongsa 開慶寺 Temple was located in Guri 九里, Gyeonggi-do. It was built by King Taejong beside the tomb of his father, King Taejo (Geonwolleung 健元陵, tomb of the founder). During King Sejong's reign, it held the important status of a merit cloister for the royal family. It was moved to a nearby location when the tomb of King Munjong 文宗 (Hyeolleung 顯陵) was built. From the historical records, it is possible to ascertain that it was in use until the first half of the sixteenth century.

145 Hoe'amsa 檜巖寺 Temple. This temple was located in Yangju 楊州, in Gyeonggi-do. It is not possible to verify the period in which the temple was built, but Naong Hyegeun is known to have renovated it on a grand scale in the fourteenth century. Stūpas and stone inscriptions dedicated

to the great masters of this temple, from the Indian monk Jigong 指空 to Naong Hyegeun and Muhak Jacho, were erected on its premises, and it was used by the Joseon king Taejo as an alternate royal palace, receiving great consideration and active royal support as one of the most important temples in the first half of the Joseon period.

146 Jin'gwansa 津寬寺 Temple is located in Seoul, on Bukhansan. In the beginning of the Joseon dynasty, King Taejo established a shrine for official celebrations of the water and land ritual, and during the first half of the Joseon period, it was the standard religious location for the royal family for holding appeasement rites for the souls of the deceased (*cheondo doryang 薦度道場*).

147 Daejaam 大慈庵 Temple was located in Goyang 高陽, Gyeonggi-do. A merit cloister founded by King Taejong, it was located beside the tomb of his son, Prince Seongnyeong (誠寧大君), to cherish his memory. It preserved its function as a merit cloister throughout the reigns of kings Taejong, Sejong, and Munjong 文宗, and religious functions were held there regularly.

148 Gyeryongsa 鶴龍寺 Temple is located in Gongju 公州, Chungcheongnam-do. It was one of the ten Hwaeom temples of the Silla dynasty. It is not possible to ascertain its history with any certainty during the Goryeo period, but we know that, at that time, it was officially considered one of the eighteen temples of the Meditation sect, and has been preserved thanks to several reconstruction efforts undertaken during the Joseon period.

149 Dansoksa 斷俗寺 was a temple located in Sancheong 山淸, Gyeongsangnam-do. According to tradition, it was established during the Unified Silla period, in the eighth century. In the first half of the twelfth century, a stone inscription commemorating Royal Preceptor Tanyeon 坦然 was erected. Later, along with Suseonsa 修禪社, it received active support from the Choe 崔 clan during the period of military rule. It exemplifies the temples of the Meditation sect during the Goryeo and early Joseon periods.

150 Girimsa 祇林寺 Temple. This temple was located on Tohamsan 吐含山 Mountain, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. It was established in 643 by an Indian monk, and was called Imjeongsa 林井寺 Temple. Wonhyo 元曉 later renovated the temple and called it Girimsa. During the Goryeo period, it became a Seon temple. Many historical relics have been preserved there.

151 Hwaeomsa 華嚴寺 Temple is on Jirisan 智異山 Mountain, Gurye 求禮 Jeollanam-do. It was one of the most important temples of the Hwaeom sect since its inception in the Silla period. However, at the time, it was officially included in the number of Seon temples, and in the latter Joseon period, it became a base of Buhyu's line. The temple underwent a series of

renovations, among which was the construction of Gakhwang Hall (覺皇殿).

152 Yujeomsa 榆帖寺 is a temple on Geumgangsan, Goseong 高城, Gangwon-do. According to legend, fifty-three buddha statues made in India were enshrined at this temple. It was renovated several times during the Goryeo period because of the considerable attention it received from the court. It would remain one of the most important Buddhist temples of the country for the royal family during the Joseon period as well. During the Japanese occupation, it was included among the thirty-one main temples of the country.

153 Gangnimsa 覺林寺 Temple was located in Hoengseong 橫城, Gangwon-do. It belonged to the Cheontae sect at the end of the Goryeo period, but was burned down during the Japanese invasion of 1592. As a child, King Taejong studied at this temple, and it was consequently renovated several times, receiving continuous support from the royal family. A stone called Taejongdae 太宗臺 can be found in the temple.

154 Jeonggoksa 停穀寺 Temple is on Guwolsan 九月山 Mountain, Eunyul 殷栗, Hwanghae-do. Although we know nothing of the temple's founding and history, we are aware of its reputation as a tourist spot.

155 Seogwangsa 釋王寺 Temple was located in Anbyeon 安邊, Hamgyeongnam-do. The temple was renovated by Yi Seonggye, who designated it as his merit cloister. It is famous because it is where the high priest Muhak Jacho met Yi Seonggye and explained to him the meaning of a dream that he had, whereby the general would become king. For this reason, the temple received continuous support from the royal family during the Joseon dynasty.

156 Gwangmyeongsa 廣明寺 Temple was located in Gaeseong, Gyeonggi-do. It was originally the private residence of the founder of Goryeo, King Taejo Wang Geon 王建, who donated it to the sangha in 922. Seon discussion assemblies were often held at this temple, which retained its importance throughout the Goryeo period.

157 Sinamsa 神巖寺 Temple was situated near Gaeseong, Gyeonggi-do. At present, it is located in the Paju 坡州 area, on Gam'aksan 紺岳山 Mountain. Not much is known of the temple's history. It was renovated by King Taejo in the beginning of the Joseon period, and was preserved until the nineteenth century.

158 Gamnosa 甘露寺 Temple. This temple was located in Gaepung-gun 開豐郡, Gyeonggi-do. It was a powerful temple near the Goryeo capital Gaeseong. The temple received lavish support from the Min 閔 clan, from which hailed King Taejong's queen, and it preserved its ties to the royal family

throughout the Joseon period.

159 Yeon'gyeongsa 衍慶寺 Temple was located in Gaepung-gun, Gyeonggi-do. According to tradition, it was founded by the Goguryeo monk Hyeryang 惠亮 in 624. It was renovated early on in the Joseon period, when it became the cloister of the deceased queen mother of King Taejong, Queen Sinui 神懿. Therefore, it retained its importance in the eyes of the royal family during the Joseon period.

160 Yeongtongsa 瞞通寺 Temple was located on the outskirts of Gaeseong, Gyeonggi-do. It was established in 1027 as a seat of the Hwaeom sect. National Preceptor Daegak Uicheon 大覺義天 embraced the monastic community at this temple, where the stone inscription in his name is preserved. During the reign of Joseon king Seongjong, it was selected as the site for celebrating the water and land ritual (*suryuksa* 水陸社).

161 Janguisa 藏義寺 is a temple on Bukhansan, Seoul. According to tradition, it was constructed by the Silla king Muyeol (武烈王) in 659 to soothe the souls of soldiers who had perished in battle. During the Goryeo period, several kings visited the temple. Ceremonies for cherishing the memory of Queen Sinui 神懿 (King Taejo's queen) were held at this temple, which thus received support from the royal family. It was destroyed during King Yeonsan'gun's reign, and the temple standing today was constructed at a more recent date.

162 Soyosa 逍遙寺 Temple was located in Dongducheon 東豆川, Gyeonggi-do. According to tradition, it was founded during the Three Kingdoms period. It was one of the merit cloisters of the royal Yi clan during the Joseon period.

163 Songnisa 俗離寺 Temple is a different name for Beopjusa 法住寺, and is located in Bo'eun 報恩, on Songnisan 俗離山 Mountain, Chungcheongbuk-do. According to tradition, it was founded by the monk Uisin 義信 of Baekje kingdom, and retained its importance during the Joseon period as one of the most important merit cloisters of the royal family.

164 Boryeonsa 寶蓮寺 Temple was located in Chungju 忠州, Chungcheongbuk-do. Early on in the Joseon period, it was an important temple in the area, but after its land was transferred to Silleuksa 神勒寺 Temple during King Seongjong's reign, the temple began to deteriorate.

165 Gyeonamsa 見巖寺 is a temple located in Geochang 居昌, Gyeongsangnam-do, and was founded in the ninth century, during the Unified Silla period. It was famous during the Joseon dynasty for its celebrations of the water and land ritual. The name was changed to Gogyeonsa in the seventeenth century.

166 Haeinsa 海印寺 is located in Hapcheon 陝川, Gyeongsangnam-do. It is considered a national treasure because the *tripitaka* is preserved there. It was founded early in the ninth century by Suneung 順應 and Ijeong 利貞, and it was renowned as one of the ten Hwaeom temples of Silla. The famous writer Choe Chiwon 崔致遠 used to reside at this temple.

167 Gyeongboksa 景福寺 Temple was located in Wanju 完州, Jeollabuk-do. It is said to have been founded in 650 in Baekje territory by the Goguryeo monk Bodeok 普德. In the early Joseon period, it became one of the eighteen temples of the Doctrinal sect, but was soon removed from the list to create space for Sangwonsa 上院寺 Temple on Odaesan 五臺山 Mountain, Gangwon-do.

168 Pyohunsa 表訓寺 is a temple on Geumgangsan, Gangwon-do. It was built in 598 by Gwalleuk 觀勒, and was renovated in 675 by Pyohun 表訓 and others. In the latter Goryeo period, Geumgangsan became famous as the permanent abode of Beopgi Bosal 法起菩薩 (Dammugal, or Dharmodgata Bodhisattva), and was thus chosen as a merit cloister by the Yuan imperial family, receiving lavish donations from the Yuan court. It was one of the largest temples in the country in the early Joseon period, and remained a favorite tourist destination for emissaries visiting from China.

169 Woljeongsa 月精寺 Temple is located on Guwolsan 九月山 Mountain, Munhwa 文化, Hwanghae-do. It is said to have been founded in 846 during the Unified Silla period. Records from the Goryeo period pertaining to this temple are unavailable. It was renovated several times during the Joseon dynasty.

170 Sin'gwangsa 神光寺 Temple was located in Haeju 海州, Hwanghae-do. During the Goryeo period, it was renowned for its arhat statues (*nahansang* 羅漢像) and for holding religious services to honor the Arhats (*nahanjae* 羅漢齋). It was chosen as a merit cloister for the imperial family by the Yuan emperor Shun (順帝), and was the subject of a wide-scale renovation project.

171 Yeongmyeongsa 永明寺 Temple was located in Pyeongyang 平壤. It typified the temples of Pyeongyang, and according to tradition, it was founded toward the end of the fourth century, when Buddhism gained official recognition in Goguryeo. It was preserved throughout the Joseon period, but was reduced to ashes during the Korean War.

172 The Wonyung Bureau (Wonyungbu) was established by royal decree in the fifth year of King Gongmin (1356), and was designed to unify the Nine Mountains of Seon sects under the supervision of Taego Bou 太古普愚.

173 Wangnyunsa 王輪寺 Temple was founded by Goryeo king Taejo in 919 in

Gaegyeong 開京 (present-day Gaeseong). Rites in honor of the Goryeo kings and vegetarian festivals were held at this temple, together with food-offering ceremonies to the monks (*banseung* 飯僧). State examinations for monks of the Doctrinal sects were held at this temple, and a portrait of the queen of King Gongmin, Princess Noguk 魯國, was also kept in one of its halls.

174 Gwangmyeongsa 廣明寺 Temple was built in 922 in Gaegyeong by King Taejo of Goryeo, with the use of personal funds. The temple was famous because official state examinations for monks of the Meditation sects were held there, as well as Seon discussion assemblies (*damseon beophoe* 談禪法會) and master's examination (*gongbu* Seon 功夫選, testing comprehensive mastery of practice and religious realization). During the Joseon period, it became one of the eighteen Seon temples among those of the two Meditation and Doctrinal sects.

175 In the *Joseon wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 [Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty], we can only find the expression “eleven sects” (*sibil jong* 十一宗). According to chapter 8 of the *Yongjae chonghwa* 傭齋叢話, there were twelve sects (*sibi jong* 十二宗) originally, and in the *Dongmun-seon* (chapter 27), we find the “Letter of Appointment of the Chief Lecturer of the Small Vehicle” (*Soseungeop sujwa gwan'go* 小乘業首座官誥), and thus, certain scholars hold the view that there were twelve sects, including the Hinayāna Buddhism, the Small Vehicle sect (*Soseung jong* 小乘宗).

176 Queen Soheon (1395–1446) belonged to the Sim clan, and was queen to King Sejong and mother to kings Munjong and Sejo.

177 *Seokbo sangjeol* 釋譜詳節 [Episodes from the Life of the Buddha] is a hagiography of the Buddha written by Prince Suyang, who gathered sentences from several Buddhist sūtras and śāstras, such as the *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 [Life of the Buddha], the *Lotus Sūtra*, and others, translating them in Han'geul (*eonhae* 譯解, or vulgate elucidations) and publishing them in 1449. It is indispensable material for those who conduct research on the language in use of that period.

178 *Worin cheon'gang ji gok* 月印千江之曲 [Songs of the Moon's Reflection on a Thousand Rivers]. When King Sejong saw the *Seokbo sangjeol*, he praised the enlightenment and virtue of the Buddha and composed five-hundred verses of *gasa* (prose poetry), which are included in the book.

179 Haengho (d.u.) was a Cheontae master in the beginning of Joseon. He became prelate of the Cheontae sect and, with the support of Prince Hyoryeong, renovated Baengnyeonsa Temple in Gangjin.

180 *Orye*, or five rites, comprised the court rites. They were the auspicious rites

(*gillye*), unauspicious rites (*hyungnye*), military rites (*gullye*), entertaining guests (*billye*), and wedding rites (*garye*), and were gathered into the book *Gukjo orye'ui* 國朝五禮儀 [Five State Rites].

- 181 Heo Jo (1369–1439) was a disciple of Gwon Geun and participated in the drafting of the rites and legal codes of the country.
- 182 Jeong Cheok (1390–1475) wrote about the rites, and drew all kinds of geographical maps.
- 183 Byeon Hyomun (b. 1396) traveled to Japan as ambassador, and moreover, participated in the writing of the *Orye'ui ju* 五禮儀注 [Notes to the Five Rites] and the *Sinju muwon-nok* 新註無冤錄 [Newly Annotated Records on the Elimination of Injustice].
- 184 Ryu Sanul (1375–1440) wrote, together with Bak Yeon, the *Aak bo* 雅樂譜 [Ceremonial Music Notations], and made a significant contribution to the arrangement of traditional music and the study of music in general.
- 185 Jeong Inji (1396–1478) was a scholar of the Hall of Worthies and passed the state examinations, ranking first. He oversaw the drafting of the calendrical work *Chiljeongsan naepyeon* 七政算內篇 [Inner Chapters on the Calculation of the Seven Heavenly Bodies], the compilation of the *Goryeoosa* 高麗史 [History of Goryeo], and of the *Chipyeong yoram* 治平要覽 [Essentials for Efficient Government], and participated in the composition of the song in praise of the founding of the dynasty, the *Yongbi eocheon-ga* 龍飛御天歌 [Song of Flying Dragons].
- 186 Bak Yeon (1378–1458) was well-versed in poetry and rhythms, and oversaw the finetuning of musical instruments and the writing of musical notes, rearranging the notes of court music.
- 187 Jeong Yang (d.u.) was proficient in music and verse, and inherited the teachings of Bak Yeon, wrote all types of musical annotations, and created new musical instruments.
- 188 Yun Hoe (1380–1436) collated the *Goryeoosa* and revised it. He also wrote the *Paldo jiri-ji* 八道地理志 [Geographical Description of the Eight Provinces] in 1432.
- 189 Sin Saek (d.u.), wrote the *Paldo jiri-ji* together with Yun Hoe.
- 190 Jeong Heumji (1378–1439) was well-versed in military tactics and astronomy. He did research on the calendar upon instruction of King Sejong.
- 191 Jeong Cho (d. 1434) wrote the *Nongsa jikseol* 農事直說 [Straight Talk on Farming] upon the order of King Sejong, and participated in the revision of the calendar and the creation of the armillary sphere.
- 192 The official calendar system was the Yuan dynasty calendar, *susi yeokbeop*

授時曆法, introduced to Goryeo in 1281.

193 *Iruol gyosik* 日月交食 refers to the alternation of solar and lunar eclipses and the relative method of calculation.

194 The measurement of the five planets refers to the five planets Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Saturn, located in the five directions of the East, West, South, North, and Center of the firmament, respectively, and the method of calculating their position in the sky.

195 *Chiljeongsan naepyeon* 七政算內篇 is a calendrical work in three books, and is a commentary on the mentioned official calendrical system of the Yuan. The seven heavenly bodies, lit. “seven celestial determinants” (*chiljeong* 七政) are the Sun, Moon, Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus, and Mercury. The work describes with precision their motion and the calculations of the calendar. With the base in Seoul, the winter solstice and the summer equinox, the rising and setting of the sun and the length of night and day were described in a map contained in the book, which was used until 1653, when the Qing dynasty calendar was adopted.

196 Yi Sunji (1406–1465) had an in-depth knowledge of calendrical studies. Therefore, he oversaw the construction of measurement and observation instruments. Other than producing research on arithmetics, he completed the works *Chiljeongsan naepyeon* and the *Chiljeongsan oepyeon* 七政算外篇 [Advanced Calculation of the Motions of the Seven Celestial Determinants], and participated in the creation of the sundial and the water clock.

197 Gim Dam (1416–1464) was a literatus and astronomer. He completed, together with Yi Sunji, the *Chiljeongsan oepyeon*.

198 The *Chiljeongsan oepyeon* was completed in five chapters, and is an elucidation of the Muslim calendar, introduced to Goryeo during the Yuan dynasty. It has a reputation for being more precise than the Basics regarding the calculation of eclipses and of the angles of the cylinder. Differing from East Asian countries, it places the start of the year in the vernal equinox (*chunbun* 春分), rather than in the winter solstice (*dongji* 冬至).

199 *Ilgu'ui* 日晷儀 is another name for the sundial.

200 The pluviometer (*cheugugi* 測雨器) was used to measure the amount of rainfall. Pluviometers were placed in Seoul and in every county and district outside of the capital.

201 The expression “time-precision bell” refers to the water clock (*jagyeongnu* 自擊漏), which indicated automatically the time.

202 Choe Hang (1409–1474) was a member of the Hall of Worthies and

participated in the elaboration of the Han'geul alphabet. During King Sejo's reign, he took part in the preparation work of the *Gyeongguk daejeon* 經國大典 [National Code], making a valuable contribution to the civilization of the country.

203 Bak Paengnyeon (1417–1456) was a member of the Hall of Worthies and participated in a series of publications. He is one of the six martyred ministers (*sayuksin* 死六臣) who were put to death for their attempt to reinstate the demoted king Danjong.

204 Sin Sukju (1417–1475) was a member of the Hall of Worthies. He acquired books and advisories from Ming China, and made an important contribution to the elaboration of the Han'geul alphabet. He secured King Sejo's favor and was therefore appointed in succession to the three posts of prime minister. He traveled both to China and Japan as a royal envoy, attacked the Jürchen, and demonstrated his superior qualities in diplomacy and military strategy. He presided over the compilation of works such as the *Dongguk tonggam* 東國通鑑 [Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom] and the *Gukjo orye'ui* 國朝五禮儀, and wrote the book *Haedong jeguk-gi* 海東諸國記 [Records of the Various Kingdoms of Korea].

205 Seong Sammun (1418–1456) was a member of the Hall of Worthies. He specialized in research on the phonetics of the Korean alphabet when Han'geul was created. He is one of the six martyred ministers put to death for having dreamed of reinstating the deposed king Danjong.

206 Yi Gae (1417–1456) was also a member of the Hall of Worthies and one of the six martyred ministers.

207 Yi Seonro (d. 1453) was a member of the Hall of Worthies and participated in the invention of Han'geul and the writing of the *Dongguk jeongeum* 東國正音 [Dictionary of Proper Korean Pronunciation].

208 *Hunmin jeongeum haerye bon* 訓民正音解例本 [Text of Explanatory Examples of the Proper Sounds to Teach to the People]. The work *Hunmin jeongeum* 訓民正音 is composed of two parts: the first, written by King Sejong, is the “Ye'ui” 例儀, whereas the “Haerye” 解例 [Explanatory Examples], were written by academicians of the Hall of Worthies. The “Ye'ui” is an explanation of the reasons that led to the creation of Han'geul and its usage, whereas the “Haerye” contains explanations of the sounds of vowels and consonants and the principles behind their elaboration, combined with detailed explanations on their usage.

209 *Nahan* is an abbreviation of the word *arahan* 阿羅漢, arhat, or a saint who has cut off all passions and attained enlightenment. It is said that their origin dates back to the gathering of the five-hundred disciples of the

Buddha, held after his parinirvāna, to give a proper arrangement to his teachings.

210 Sinmi 信眉 was a monk of the kings Sejong–Sejo periods. He was an elder brother of the scholar Gim Suon 金守溫 and inherited the line of Naong Hyegeun. He became general overseer of the Seon and Gyo sects (*Seon-Gyo dochongseop* 禪敎都懶攝) and, together with Sumi 守眉, was the leading figure of the Buddhist clergy of the time. He oversaw the vulgate elucidations and the publication of the sūtras published by the Bureau for the Publication of the Sūtras (Gan'gyeong dogam 刊經都監), and proposed the reconstruction of Sangwonsa 上院寺 Temple, which was financed by King Sejo.

211 Sumi was a great monk during the reigns of kings Sejong and Sejo. He became a monk at Dogapsa 道岬寺 Temple and studied at Beopjusa Temple with Sinmi. He became involved in the printing of the tripiṭaka at Haeinsa and the activities of the Bureau for the Publication of the Sūtras. King Sejo appointed him royal preceptor and bestowed him with the title of Myogak 妙覺.

212 Hagyeol 學悅 was a great monk of the reigns of kings Sejo and Seongjong. He participated in the vulgate elucidation and publication of the Buddhist sūtras and oversaw the reconstruction of Sangwonsa on Odaesan Mountain.

213 Hakjo 學祖 was a great monk of the reigns of kings Sejo and Jungjong. He participated in the vernacular translation of the Buddhist sūtras of the Bureau for the Publication of the Sūtras, and led the renovation projects of temples such as Bokcheonsa Temple on Songnisan Mountain, Yujeomsa Temple on Geumgangsan, Haeinsa, and others.

214 The Bureau for the Publication of the Sūtras, was a government agency founded by King Sejo in 1461 (King Sejo 7) entrusted with the translation and publication of Buddhist sutras. It continued to operate until 1471 (King Seongjong 2). The publication of Buddhist sūtras and the vulgate elucidations of religious books show the degree to which Buddhism was widespread among the people, and are also an important material for the study of the language used during that period.

215 Won'gaksa was a massive temple built in 1464 (King Sejo 10) by the king in the center of Seoul, but was destroyed during the reign of King Yeonsan'gun in 1504. It was located in present-day Pagoda Park.

216 The pagoda of Won'gaksa is a ten-storied pagoda, but the top portion with the wheel is missing.

217 Bokcheonsa was a hermitage of Beopjusa, and was famous as a prayer spot for having healed King Sejo.

218 The Administration of Royal Relatives (Jongchinbu 宗親府), was an agency that oversaw the affairs of the relatives of the royal clan. In the original text, it is erroneously quoted as Jonghunbu 宗勳府.

219 Six ministries (*yukjo* 六曹) is a term indicating the central government organs of the ministries of personnel, finance, rites, defense, punishments, and public works.

220 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, Sejo 32, Sejo 10/2/28. At this time, King Sejo donated rice, slaves, and land to the temple.

221 Yi Neunghwa, *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*, 2:700.

222 Sangwonsa is located on Odaesan, Gangwon-do. According to tradition, it was built by a Silla prince in 705, and it houses the oldest bronze bell in the country. It was designed as a merit cloister of King Sejo.

223 Sinmi, “Exhortation Inscription for the Renovation of Sangwonsa Temple on Odaesan Mountain” (Odaesan Sangwonsa jungchang gwonseon-mun 五臺山上院寺重創勸善文), in Yi Neunghwa, *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*, 1:422–423.

224 The Bodhisattva Dharmodgata appears in the eighty-roll edition of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* as a bodhisattva who dwelled on Geumgangsan. He is also called the Bodhisattva Dharma-Arouser, Beopgi Bosal 法起菩薩, because he is thought to propagate Buddhist dharma.

225 Naksansa Temple is situated on Naksan Mountain, and Avalokiteśvara is thought to abide in this location. It was built in 671 by Uisang 義湘, and a story recounts his close encounter with Avalokiteśvara.

226 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, Seongjong 10, Sejong 2/6/18.

227 *Doseungbeop* 度僧法, the law regulating the entrance into the saṅgha. It was a system whereby the state officially recognized someone’s status of monk, as quoted in the *Gyeongguk daejeon*. At this time, it was temporarily suspended, but was reinstated during King Myeongjong’s reign following the re-establishment of the two Meditation and Doctrinal sects.

228 Yi Neunghwa, *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*, 1:440.

229 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, Seongjong 224, Seongjong 20/1/26; 225, Seongjong 20/2/19.

230 The Queen Dowager Insu 仁粹 (1437–1504) was the wife of King Deokjong 德宗 (posthumously crowned king), who died while King Seongjong was still heir apparent. She was the mother of King Seongjong and daughter of the powerful minister Han Hwak 韓確 (1403–1456). She was a fervent Buddhist and left the work *Yeohun* 女訓 [Admonitions for Women], where she explained women’s rules of decorum. In the text, she is erroneously referred to as Queen Jangsun 章順, King Yejong’s consort, but in actuality, she was Queen Mother Insu.

231 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, Seongjong 228, Seongjong 20/5/11.

232 The Seonggyun'gwan was the highest academic institution in the country, having succeeded to the role played by the Gukjagam (state university) of Goryeo. It also housed the Confucian shrine.

233 Concerning the oppression of Buddhism during the former Joseon period, see Yi Neunghwa, *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*, 2:716–717.

234 “*Sanwu yizong*” is an expression used to indicate four emperors who oppressed Buddhism. The three *wu* are Taiwu of the Northern Wei dynasty, Wu of the Northern Zhou, and Wuzong of the Tang dynasty. *zong* refers to Emperor Shizong 世宗 of the Later Zhou dynasty.

235 Byeokgye Jeongsim (d.u.) was a great monk of the former Joseon period. He was abbot of Jikjisa Temple at Gimcheon, and managed to overcome the difficult circumstances surrounding King Yeonsan'gun's age, and inherited the Seon doctrine of Gugok Gagun 龜谷覺雲. It is said to have been transmitted later to Byeoksong Jieom 碧松智儼. His doctrinal line was inherited by Jeongnyeon Beopjun 淨蓮法俊.

236 Shiyu Qinggong (1272–1352) was a Chinese Linji monk of the Yuan dynasty. He passed on the dharma to Taego Bou, who transmitted the orthodox Linji doctrine to Goryeo.

237 Hwanam Honsu (1320–1392) was a monk at the end of Goryeo and a disciple of Naong Hyegeun. He became abbot of Songgwangsa 松廣寺 Temple and was appointed national preceptor in 1383, during the reign of King U.

238 Gugok Gagun (d.u.) was a monk at the end of Goryeo. He belonged to the stream of the Suseonsa (Seon-Cultivation Society) and wrote the book *Yeomsong seolhwa* 拄頌說話 [Laudatory Stories].

239 Byeoksong Jieom (1464–1534) was a great monk of the former Joseon period. He had an in-depth knowledge of both meditation and doctrine, and through the courses of the fourfold collection (*sajip gwa* 四集科), he taught many disciples, transmitting the dharma to Buyong Yeonggwan 芙蓉靈觀.

240 *Haedong buljo wollyu* 海東佛祖源流 [Origins and Development of the Korean Patriarchs], HBJ 10.104.

241 Hwangaksan Mountain is located in Gimcheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do. Jikjisa is located on this mountain, and Byeokgye Jeongsim is said to have retired near Hwangaksan, Mulhan-ri 物罕里, Goja-dong 古紫洞.

242 Toe'eun Janghyu. We know this name because he appears as a disciple of Muhak Jacho 無學子超 in the *Haedong buljo wollyu* (see HBJ 10.101), but we know nothing of his career.

243 Queen Dowager Munjeong 文定 was the queen of the eleventh Joseon king Jungjong and mother of King Myeongjong. She was a fervent Buddhist and reestablished the Meditation and Doctrinal schools. She moved the tomb of King Jungjong to the vicinity of Bongeunsa Temple and converted it into a merit cloister for the deceased king.

244 Jeong Manjong (fl. first half of the sixteenth century) was a scholar of the early Joseon period. He assumed various posts as drafter of official documents, and advocated the development of education at the local level.

245 Heo'eung Bou (1509–1565) was an eminent monk of the early Joseon period. When the two Meditation and Doctrinal sects were re-established during the reign of King Myeongjong, he became supervisor of the Seon sect and abbot of Bongeunsa. His pseudonym was Naam 懶菴 and he studied on Geumgangsan, also becoming abbot of Cheonggyeongsa Temple at Chuncheon. Among his works are the *Heo'eungdang-jip* 虛應堂集 [Collected Writings of Heo'eungdang], and *Naam japjeo* 懶菴雜著 [Miscellaneous Writings of Naam].

246 Sang Jin (1493–1564) was a literatus of the former Joseon period. He became in succession prime minister of the right, prime minister of the left, and head prime minister, counseling King Myeongjong for fifteen years.

247 The *Gyeongguk daejeon* 經國大典 followed the compilation of the *Gyeongje yukjeon* 經濟六典 [Six Codes of Governance], the *Joseon gyeongguk jeon* 朝鮮經國典 [Administrative Codes of Joseon], and the *Sok yukjeon* 繢六典 [Supplement to the Six Codes], and was the complete formal set of administrative codes of the Joseon state. The drafting started during the reign of King Sejo and was completed during the reign of King Seongjong. It was enforced starting in 1485.

248 Bongseonsa is located in Namyangju-si, and was founded in 969 by Tanmun 坦文 as Unaksa 雲岳寺. In 1469 it was renovated as the temple of King Sejo's mausoleum, Gwangneung 光陵, and called Bongseonsa. When the two sects of Seon and Gyo were re-established during the reign of King Myeongjong, it became the center of the Doctrinal sect.

249 Bongeunsa is located in Seoul's Gangnam-gu. It was built as Gyeonseongsa 見性寺 Temple in 794, and was renovated in 1498. In 1562 its name was changed to Bongeunsa by Queen Dowager Munjeong, becoming the center of the Meditation sect.

250 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, Myeongjong 10, Myeongjong 5/12/15.

251 Sujin (d.u.). When the two sects of Seon and Gyo were re-established during the reign of King Myeongjong, he became supervisor of the

Doctrinal sect. We do not know much about him. He is quoted in the text as Iljin 一眞, but his correct name was Sujin.

252 Byeon Hyeop (1528–1590) was a military official of the former Joseon period, and suppressed the Japanese uprising of 1555 (*eulmyo waebyeon* 乙卯倭變). When Heo'eung Bou was exiled to Jejudo, he had him executed. Afterward, he became minister of public works and major general apprehender of bandits.

253 Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520–1604) is one of the most eminent monks of the Joseon period, and is widely known as Great Master Seosan. He graduated at the monk examinations held during King Myeongjong's reign, and concurrently held the posts of prelate (*pansa*) of the Meditation and Doctrinal sects, and headed the righteous soldiers during the Japanese invasion of 1592 as general controller of the monks of the sixteen sects of the eight provinces. He had many disciples and left many works, among which are the *Seon'ga gwigam* and the *Cheongheodang-jip*, which is his collected works, laying the groundwork for the development of the Meditation and Doctrinal sects of the late Joseon period.

254 Bohyeonsa Temple is the most representative temple of Pyeonganbuk-do. It was founded in the early Goryeo period, in 968. Cheongheo Hyujeong retired to this temple in the last years of his life, and he also passed away there. Suchungsa 酬忠祠 (Suchungsa Shrine) was established there in the eighteenth century by King Jeongjo to celebrate the memory of Hyujeong and his righteous soldiers.

255 Jeong Yeorip (1546–1589) was a disciple of Yi I (Yulgok), but changed political factions, migrating from the Westerners to the Easterners. He renounced public service and returned to Jeolla-do, where he founded the Daedonggye as a base of personal power, but was suspected of plotting a rebellion and prosecuted, and thus, he chose to take his own life.

256 *Cheongheodang-jip* 清虛堂集, Boyu 補遺 (Supplement), “Seonjo Daewang sa Seosan Daesa Mukjuk si” 宣祖大王賜西山大師墨竹詩 and “Cheongheodang haengjang” 清虛堂行狀 [Cheongheodang's Account of Conduct], HBJ 7.733–735.

257 Beopheungsa Temple is located in Pyeongwon, Pyeongannam-do. It was established during the Goguryeo period. In the temple, there is a hall called Sam Hwasanggak, where images of Jigong, Naong, and Muhak, monks who were active toward the end of Goryeo and the beginning of Joseon, are kept. The temple is famous because Hyujeong raised the army of righteous soldiers there.

258 Samyeong Yujeong (1544–1610) was a famous general monk of the

righteous soldiers. The Pyochungsa 表忠祠 (Pyochungsa Shrine) was erected to celebrate his merits in Miryang, Gyeongsang-do. He graduated from the religious examinations and inherited the religious message of Cheonheo Hyujeong.

269 Geonbongsa Temple. The first ten-thousand days assembly to pray to Amitābha was held at this temple in 758. The temple was renovated toward the end of the Goryeo by Naong Hyegeun, and later became King Sejo's merit cloister.

260 Noemuk Cheoyeong was a disciple of Hyujeong. He led the righteous army of Jeolla-do during the Japanese invasion, reaping great merit at the battles of Pyeongyang and Haengju sanseong near Seoul, and he renovated the Gyoryong sanseong in Namwon, Jellabuk-do.

261 Giheo Yeonggyu, as a disciple of Hyujeong during the Japanese invasion of 1592, restored Cheongju with the general Jo Heon, but perished in battle at Geumsan.

262 Gapsa Temple is located on Gyeryongsan Mountain. It was founded during the Baekje kingdom, and it is known as one of Uisang's ten Hwaeom temples.

263 Junggwan Hae'an was a disciple of Hyujeong, active as a righteous army general. He wrote down the records of the vestiges of the Geumsansa, Daedunsa, and Hwaeomsa temples.

264 Ui'eom received the leading power of the righteous armies from his master Hyujeong, reaping great merit. He later returned to lay life, and his name was Gwak Eonsu.

265 “Cheongheodang haengjang,” HBJ 7.735.

266 Pyochungsa is a shrine, officially recognized in 1794, erected to remember the achievements of Master Hyujeong, who died at Myohyangsan Mountain.

267 Suchungsa was erected in 1794 to commemorate Master Hyujeong.

268 Daedunsa Temple is now called Daeheungsa Temple, and is the seat of the Pyochungsa, erected to commemorate the deeds of Cheongheo Hyujeong and his righteous army. Hyujeong's banner has been preserved, along with his dying wish that the line of transmission (of the Korean Seon tradition) would be re-established. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, King Jeongjo bestowed official recognition to the shrine. In this temple, thirteen generations of religious masters and lecturers had been active. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, monks of the temple received the teachings of Dasan Jeong Yakyong in the field of bibliography, and they gathered the historical documents of the temple in the *Daedunsa-ji* 大菟寺志

[Daedunsa Temple Records].

269 *Cheongheodang-jip*, Boyu, “Jeongjong daewang eoje Seosan daesa hwasang dangmyeong byeongseo” 正宗大王御製西山大師畫像堂銘并序, HBJ 7.735.

270 Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) reunited Japan, bringing the period of internecine warfare to an end. He assumed political power after the demise of Oda Nobunaga, and invaded Joseon in 1592.

271 Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) was the daimyō of the Kantō area after the demise of Hideyoshi, and thanks to his economic background and political influence, he established the Edo Shogunate.

272 Sō Yoshitoshi (1568–1615) was the lord of Tsushima. He participated in the invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi’s army, and after the end of the war, acted as an intermediary of the Japanese government in the re-establishment of diplomatic relations.

273 Haeinsa is located on Gayasan Mountain, Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do. It was founded in 802, and is famous for safekeeping the wooden blocks of the *Tripiṭaka Koreana* [Goryeo Buddhist Canon], which have been registered on the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage list.

274 *Bunchung seonan-nok* 奮忠紳難錄, “Odaesanseung Chwihye sojang mun’go Junggi Songun sajeok” 五臺山僧就惠所藏文藁中記松雲事蹟, HBJ 8.102–103.

275 *Samyeongdang daesa-jip* 四溟堂大師集 7, “Samyeongdang haengjeok” 四溟堂行蹟 and “Samyeong daesa seokjang bimyeong byeongseo” 四溟大師石藏碑銘并序, HBJ 8.73–77.

276 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, Injo 2, Injo 1/5/7.

277 Byeogam Gakseong (1575–1660), he was a direct-line descendent of Buhyu Seonsu, a righteous army general and general controller of the Buddhist saṅgha of the eight provinces at Namhan sanseong. After the war, he rebuilt some temples, among which were the Hwaeomsa and the Ssanggyesa.

278 “General controller of the Buddhist saṅgha of the eight provinces” (*paldo dochongseop* 八道都摠攝) was an honorific title assigned to a monk general who controlled the Namhan sanseong and Bukhan sanseong fortresses during the latter Joseon period, and had the power to control the righteous army throughout the country.

279 Namhan sanseong is located in Gwangju, Gyeonggi-do. It is a most important point of defense because it defends the south of Seoul beyond the Han’gang River. It was first built during the Silla period, and during the Manchu invasion, King Injo took refuge there, confronting the Qing army. It has been recorded as a World Cultural Heritage site.

280 Manchu invasions. In 1636, the Latter Jin of Manchuria called themselves

Qing and proclaimed a new empire, requesting Joseon to establish a lord–subject relationship. However, Joseon refused, and a Qing army invaded the country. The army was led directly by the second emperor, Taizong. The Joseon king Injo started a war of resistance, but later acknowledged the “serve-the-great” (*sadae*) relationship and surrendered.

281 Hwaeomsa was founded in the sixth century by Yeon’gi, and is included on the list of ten Hwaeom temples of Uisang. In this temple, a copy of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* was carved in stone. During the Japanese invasion, the stone tablets were heavily damaged, but subsequently renovated. It is famous for its Gakhwang Hall, which features Vairocana as the main Buddha.

282 Heobaek Myeongjo (1593–1661) was a disciple of Samyeong Yujeong, and used Bohyeonsa Temple on Myohyangsan Mountain as the base of his activities. During the Manchu invasions, he helped the regular army enlist righteous soldiers in Pyeongan-do.

283 The Buddhist policy during the reign of King Hyeonjong. When King Hyeonjong ascended the throne in 1660, he promoted an unprecedented campaign against Buddhism in the latter Joseon period. This included the confiscation of land and slaves in the temples that had enjoyed tax-exemption privileges as well as the abolition of some royal merit cloisters. This was due to the grip on political power exercised by the literati, who advocated Neo-Confucian legitimacy.

284 *Jeonpae* 殿牌, also called *wonpae* 願牌, were tablets that were typically placed on the altar in front of the statue of the Buddha, on which wishes for the wellbeing and long life of the king, queen, and heir apparent were written.

285 Bogyeong Sail (d.u.) led the fundraising activities as general fundraiser of the eight provinces (*paldo dohwaju* 八道都化主) for the construction of Yongjusa Temple and became its abbot. The temple was one of the five redressing offices of the entire country, and he concurrently became general controller of the Buddhist saṅgha of the eight provinces and general controller of the Namhan sanseong and Bukhan sanseong fortresses.

286 The *Fumu enzhong jing* is an apocryphal text compiled in China. Its complete title is *Foshuo dabao fumu enzhong jing* 佛說大報父母恩重經, in which the ten great favors parents bestow on their children are described and the appropriate Buddhist ways to repay them.

287 Yongjusa Temple is a mausoleum temple built by King Jeongjo to cherish the memory of his father, Prince Sado. It was built in a new town, in a quiet location, in the vicinity of Hwaseong, where the prince’s tomb had been moved. King Jeongjo built the temple to soothe the spirit of his

father, who had been killed by his grandfather, King Yeongjo, and to pray for peace in his afterlife, displaying his filial piety by leaning on Buddhism to strengthen his own position on the throne.

288 “Eoje Hwasan Yongjusa bongbul gibok-ge” 御製花山龍珠寺奉佛祈福偈, HBJ 12.231.

289 Prince Sado (1735–1762) was King Yeongjo’s heir apparent. He became entangled in factional strife and was despised by his father, who had him suffocated inside a rice box to die. His posthumous name is Sado/Jangheon, and was later upgraded to King Jangjo.

290 The expression *jonwang yangi* 尊王攘夷 appears on the *Analects of Confucius* (*Lunyu* 論語) and means “respect the king and show contempt for barbarians.”

291 Confucius (551–479 BCE) was a Chinese thinker of the Spring and Autumn period, the founder of Confucianism. He stressed the importance of humanity and rites, social order, and moral values. The *Analects of Confucius*, which preserve his views on many topics, were compiled by his disciples.

292 Mencius (372–289 BCE) was a Chinese Confucian thinker of the Warring States period. He inherited the thought of Confucius and advocated the exercise of royal politics based on morality, and upheld the view that human nature was originally good. His thoughts are preserved in the *Mencius* (*Mengzi* 孟子).

293 The expression Chengzi (Kor. Jeongja) refers to the Cheng brothers Cheng Mingdao 程明道 (1032–1085) and Cheng Yichuan 程伊川 (1033–1107), who were active in China during the Song dynasty. They upheld the importance of *li* 理, the principle of heaven, and systematized the “learning of the Way” (*Daoxue* 道學), laying the foundation for Neo-Confucian doctrine of Nature and Principle Learning (*xinglixue* 性理學).

294 Zhuzi 朱子 refers to Zhu Xi (1130–1200), the synthesizer of Neo-Confucian thought. He explained the workings of all phenomena between heaven and earth as well as human nature as the result of the interaction between *li*, the heavenly principle, and *qi*, material force. He published his views in an annotated version of the Four Books, *Analects of Confucius*, *Mencius*, the *Great Learning*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean*, interpreting them from a Neo-Confucianist viewpoint and, thereby, ensuring the completion of Neo-Confucian doctrine.

295 This is a statement that appears in the *Mencius*, and is used as a simile, meaning that the monks of the Joseon period cut themselves off from society, concentrating only on the study of the self and religious practice.

296 Byeoksong Jieom (1464–1534) inherited the religious doctrine of Byeokgye Jeongsim, and was well versed both in meditation and doctrine. He gained many disciples in the Jirisan area, thus managing to preserve the tradition of the former Joseon period.

297 Buyong Yeonggwan (1485–1571) inherited the message of Byeoksong Jieom and had an in-depth knowledge not only of meditation and doctrine, but also of Confucianism and the Thought of the Hundred Schools, exercising great influence in the Jeolla and Gyeongsang provinces.

298 Buhyu Seonsu (1543–1615) is the patriarch of the Buhyu line of latter Joseon. He was imprisoned under false accusations, but was later released, having been found innocent. The king thus called him and asked about Buddhist law, and then had him hold a mass at Bonginsa Temple. He renovated Songgwangsa Temple and transmitted the message to Byeogam Gakseong.

299 *Buljo wollyu*. The precise title is *Seoyeok Junghwa Haedong buljo wollyu* 西域中華海東佛祖源流 [Origin of the Buddhas and Patriarchs in the Western Regions, China, and Korea]. The work was published in 1764, and describes the succession line of the patriarchs of Seon starting from India, China, and Korea, the introduction of the Imje religious message by Taego Bou toward the end of Goryeo and its line of transmission, and the separate lines of transmission of Cheongheo and Buhyu that went down to the eighteenth century.

300 Woljeo Doan (1638–1715) was a disciple of Pungdam Uisim of the Pyeonyang line. He was so well versed in the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* to be called a master of the Hwaeom core teaching (*Hwaeomjong ju* 華嚴宗主). He wrote the musical annotations to his master's prayer on the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*. He mostly occupied the post of abbot at Bohyeonsa, on Myohyangsan, but after presiding over a lecture on the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* at Daedunsa, he became the third-generation master of the sect and gained great popularity also in the south.

301 The *Buljo jongpa ji do* 佛祖宗派之圖 ascribes much relevance to the transmission of the Imje line from India to China and from Taego Bou of the end of Goryeo to Cheongheo Hyujeong. This is a different transmission from that of Muhak, who was a disciple of Naong Hyegeun, and reflects the view of Buddhist history of the Seon monks of the latter Joseon period.

302 “Samyeongdang seungbo.” The precise title is “Samyeongdang seungson segye-do” 四溟堂僧世系圖, and is a diagram of the monastic line of dharma transmission compiled by monks of the school of Samyeong in the eighteenth century. The characteristic of the genealogy is that the master of

Samyeong is not indicated as Cheongheo Hyujeong, but as Sinmuk, that is, the monk under whom he left the householder way of life (i.e. became a monk) at Jikjisa.

303 Geumsansa is a temple located in Gimje. The temple was renovated in the eighth century by Jinpyo, a monk famous for his use of divination sticks to practice the faith, and later, during the Goryeo period, Royal Preceptor Hyedeok became abbot of this temple. It was heavily damaged during the Japanese invasion of 1592, but during the first half of the seventeenth century, the Maitreya Hall and other buildings were renovated.

304 Pyeongyang Eon'gi (1581–1644) was one of the later disciples of Cheongheo Hyujeong, and is the first patriarch of the most important transmission line of latter Joseon Seon Buddhism, known as the Pyeongyang line. He inherited the thought of Hyujeong and devised a system of cultivation based on the three gates of meditation, doctrine, and calling the name of the Buddha, advocating the descent of the line from Chinese Linji and Taego Bou down to the latter Joseon period (Imje Taego beoptong), and this became a widely accepted theory.

305 Woldam Seolje (1632–1704) was a disciple of Pungdam Uisim, a direct-line descendant of Pyeongyang Eon'gi. He was greatly knowledgeable both in Seon and Gyo, and had an extensive understanding of both the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and the *Seonmun yeomsong* 禪門拈頌. Late in life, he moved to Songgwangsa in Jeolla-do, and dedicated himself to the education of his pupils.

306 Baegam Seongchong (1631–1700) was the disciple of Chwimi Sucho, a direct-line descendant of Buhyu, and lectured all his life at Jinggwang and other temples. He exerted himself at the publication of the Jiaxing Buddhist Canon (嘉興大藏經), Chengguan's *Huayangjing shu chao* 華嚴經疏鈔 and other books carried to Imjado by a castaway boat, making a notable contribution to the flourishing of doctrinal studies in the latter Joseon period and the writing of commentaries.

307 Sangbong Jeongwon (1627–1709) was a disciple of Pungdam Uisim, of the Pyeongyang line of descent, and had in-depth knowledge of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, and other sūtras, and wrote lecture notes on Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhu quanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 [Prolegomenon to the *Chanyuan zhu quanji*] and Jinul's *Beopjip byeolhaeng-nok jeoryo byeongip sagi* 法集別行錄節要并入私記 [Excerpts from the *Faji biexing lu* (Dharma Collection and Special Practice Record) with Personal Notes].

308 Chimgoeng Hyeonbyeon (1616–1684) was a disciple of Soyo Taeneung,

who was a follower of Cheongheo Hyujeong. He was proficient not only in meditation and doctrinal thought but also in Confucian studies, literature, and calligraphy, and was active in temples of the Honam area such as Seonamsa and Geumhwasa temples. In his final years, he concentrated on *yeombul* (calling the name of the Buddha).

309 Baekgok Cheoneung (1617– 1680) was a disciple of Byeogam Gakseong, who belonged to the Buhyu line, and temporarily took control over the general controller of the Buddhist sangha of the eight provinces. He opposed the anti-Buddhist policy of King Hyeonjong's reign, and presented the "Memorial to Criticize the Abolition of Buddhism," where he issued a point-by-point response to all the criticisms leveled against Buddhism. He was famous both as a writer and a poet.

310 Moun Jineon (1622–1703) was a disciple of Byeogam Gakseong of the Buhyu line, who was active mainly in the Yeongnam and Honam areas, and in the last years of his life he became fascinated with the Avatamsaka. He became famous for his Hwaeom mass at Eunhaesa Temple on Palgongsan, Daegu, in 1686, and is the author of the *Hwaeomgyeong chilcheo guhoe pummok ji do* 華嚴經七處九會品目之圖.

311 The compulsory educational curriculum, in effect until modern times, actually formed gradually from the sixteenth century, and was consolidated in the first half of the seventeenth century. The compositional structure of the compulsory educational curriculum comprised the *sajip gwa* 四集科, the *sagyo gwa* 四教科, and *daegyo gwa* 大教科 as well as the doctrine of Bojo Jinul coupled with the *ganhwa* Seon of the Imje tradition.

312 *Chimun* is a shortened form of *Chimun gyeonghun* [Instructions for Monks], or *Zhimen jingxun jishuo* 緇門警訓集說, and is a collection of sayings from famous Chinese monks. We have an edition brought to Goryeo by Taego Bou at the end of Goryeo. An annotated edition published in 1695 by Baegam Seongchong of the *Zhimen jingxun* contained in the supplement to Jiaxing Buddhist Canon, which is titled *Zhimen jingxun zhu* 緇門警訓註. The work was extremely popular, and was included in the preparatory course for novice monks (Skt. *śrāmanera*), the *sami gwa* 沙彌科.

313 *Shuzhuang*, the shortened form of *Dahui shuzhuang* 大慧書狀 [The Letters of Dahui], is a collection of sayings of Dahui Zonggao (1089–1163), a Song dynasty Chinese monk who upheld *kanhua* Chan (Kor. *ganhwa* Seon) 看話禪. Because of his importance as a meditation theoretician and to foster the practice of *kanhua* Chan, the book was included in the *sajip gwa*.

314 *Chanyao* refers to the *Gaofeng chanyao* 高峯禪要 [Chan Essentials of Gaofeng (Yuanmiao)], a Yuan-period Linji monk (1238–1295). Beside Mengshan Deyi, he exerted a great influence on Korean Buddhism during the latter Joseon period, and also the master of Hyujeong, Byeoksong Jieom, is included with Dahui Zonggao and Gaofeng Yuanmiao for having inherited the *ganhwa* Seon tradition.

315 *Chosim* is a book written by Bojo Jinul, the founder of the Suseonsa (Seon-Cultivation Society) in the late Goryeo period, and it is a guide for beginners and practicing monks for daily life, the observation of the vinaya, and religious practice. A translation into the Korean vernacular (*eonhae*, lit. vulgate elucidations) was published during the Joseon period, and the book was included in the *sami gwa*.

316 *Duxu* is a shortened form for *Chanyuan zhu quanji duxu*, written by Zongmi, who distinguished the Chan sects into Northern Chan, the Niutou, the Hongzhou, and Heze. He placed on top the Heze, which upheld the view “illumination first, cultivation afterward,” and the Hongzhou was assigned second place. This is due to the use of the concepts of sudden awakening and gradual cultivation, and knowledge as the essence of the mind, as the standard of judgment. The book was included in the *sajip gwa*, which was part of the compulsory curriculum of study of the monks.

317 *Jeoryo*. The complete title is *Beopjip byeolhaeng-nok jeoryo byeongip sagi*, where Jinul synthesized the contents of the book *Faji Biexing lu* 法集別行錄 [Dharma Collection and Special Practice Record] of Zongmi and appended notes to it. This meant the acceptance of Zongmi's views on sudden awakening and gradual cultivation, and the choice of the study of doctrine together with the practice of meditation to awaken the mind. The book was included in the *sajip gwa*.

318 *Yeomsong* is a shortened form of *Seonmun yeomsong* 禪門拈頌 [Analyses and Verses on (Ancient Precedents) of the Seon Sect], a book written by the disciple of Jinul, Jin'gak Hyesim (1178–1234), who gathered and edited the *gongan* 公案 and sayings of famous monks and eulogies. Hyesim studied a way of meditating on the *hwadu* of *ganhwa* Seon and attempted to devise a theoretical system for it, also in order to stimulate the rise of an atmosphere of *ganhwa* Seon cultivation. The work became a basic textbook together with the *Chuandeng lu* for the preparation of the religious state examinations in the former Joseon period and was a text of the *daegyo gwa*, which was part of the compulsory study curriculum.

319 *Jagyeong* refers to the short work *Jagyeong-mun* 自警文 [Watch Yourself!],

written by Yaun. In the book, the author presents a few points of caution regarding the exercise of the proper way of cultivation, and indicates concretely what types of behavior are to be avoided. The book was part of the *Sami gwa* study curriculum during the latter Joseon period.

320 Yaun was a monk at the end of the Goryeo period. His religious name was Gagu 覺玆, and he was an attendant disciple of Naong Hyegeun. He wrote the *Jagyeong-mun*.

321 Haedong jong. This sect, which flourished during the Goryeo period, inherited the thought of Wonhyo and advocated the practice of the “adamantine absorption” (*geumgang sammae* 金剛三昧). It appears in the *Dongmun-seon*, which was compiled toward the end of the fifteenth century, but other than this, we know nothing about it.

322 *Balsim* is a shortened form of *Balsim suhaeng-jang* [Arouse the Mind and Practice], a work attributed—seemingly inappropriately—to Wonhyo. The main contents concern the mind, the cultivation of faith, and the observation of monastic rules, and it was intended as an introduction for new monks. The book was also published together with the *Gye chosim hagin-mun* 誠初心學人文 [Admonitions to Neophytes], written by Jinul, the *Jagyeong-mun* of Yaun and the *Cho balsim jagyeong-mun* 初發心自警文, which were basic textbooks of the *śrāmaṇera* course (*sami gwa*).

323 The fourfold collection (*sajip* 四集). The course on the fourfold collection (*sajip gwa*) required the study of the *Chanyao* of Gaofeng Yuanmiao, the *Shuzhuang* of Dahui Zonggao, the *Duxu* of Zongmi, and the *Jeoryo* of Jinul, which was an abridged commentary of Zongmi's *Fa ji biebing lu*. The course on the fourfold collection's main contents were the propagation of *ganhwa* Seon and the contemporaneous cultivation of meditation and study.

324 The fourfold doctrinal teaching (*sagyo* 四教) refers to the course of the fourfold doctrinal teaching (*sagyo gwa*), a study curriculum that prescribed the reading of the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (Kor. *Wongak-gyeong*), *Diamond Sūtra* (Kor. *Geumgang-gyeong*), *Sūramgama-sūtra* (Kor. *Neungeom-gyeong*), and *Lotus Sūtra* (*Beophwa-gyeong*) in the first half of the seventeenth century. However, before the eighteenth century, the *Lotus Sūtra* was excluded, and the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (Kor. *Daeseung gisinnon*) was included instead.

325 The great teaching (*daegyo* 大教) refers to the course on the great teaching (*daegyo gwa*). This highest course of study included the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and the Seon works *Seonmun yeomsong* and the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 [Record of the Transmission of the Lamp in the Jingde Era].

These books were the teaching materials for the monastic examinations of the early Joseon period, and each book was important to the Gyo and Seon sects. The *Jingde chuandeng lu*, being the genealogical text of the Seon sect that first appeared in the eleventh century, was a comprehensive “record of the transmission of the lamp” from the Kāśyapa’s (Ch. Jiashe [Kor. Gaseop] 遺葉) receiving the “mind-seal” (*sim’ın* 心印) from the Buddha Śākyamuni, the Indian patriarchs, to Bodhidharma (Ch. Damo [Kor. Dalma] 達磨) and afterward, through the Chinese Chan sects up to Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 (855–958).

- 326 Dharma, or Bodhidharma, is credited with the founding of the Chan sect, in China. He came to China circa 520 CE and meditated uninterruptedly in front of a wall for nine years at Shaolin Temple, transmitting the dharma to the second patriarch Huike. He realized the principle that the mind is originally pure and advocated the cultivation of the “two entrances and four practices.”
- 327 Hwanseong Jian (1664–1729) inherited the dharma from Woldam Seolje, who belonged to the Pyeongyang tradition. His understanding of meditation and doctrine was matchless, and he became the sixth-generation religious master (宗師) of Daedunsa, in Haenam, and wrote the *Seonmun ojong gangyo* 禪門五宗綱要 [Summary of the Five Sects of Seon], where he advocated the superiority of the Imje sect. He presided over the Hwaeom mass, held at Geumsansa in 1725, for which 1,400 people participated, but was falsely accused because of this and exiled to Jejudo, where he passed away after only seven days.
- 328 Seoram Chubong (1651–1706) was a direct-line descendant of the Hwaeom lecturer Woljeo Doan of the Pyeongyang tradition and fifth religious master of Daedunsa. He wrote commentaries of the Avatamsaka, the *Hwaeom ganghoe-rok*, and of books included in the course on the fourfold collection such as the *Chanyuan zhu quanji duxu*, the *Beopjip byeoilhaeng-nok jeoryo byeongip sagi*, and so on.
- 329 Muyong Suyeon (1651–1719) inherited the transmission from Baegam Seongchong, who was a direct-line descendant of the Buhyu line. He was proficient both in meditation and doctrinal lore, and was an expert on the *Seonmun yeomsong* and in Hwaeom studies. He participated in the publication of the *Huayan shu chao* 華嚴疏鈔 [Commentarial Excerpts of the Avatamsaka] and other texts of the Jiaxing Buddhist Canon under the guidance of Seongchong, and in his final years, he became engrossed in the practice of recitation of the name of the Buddha Amitābha (*yeombul*).
- 330 Hoam Chejeong (1687–1748) was a disciple of Hwanseong Jian of the

Pyeongyang tradition and, after his master, became the tenth religious master of Daedunsa, and oversaw lectures on the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*. He was for a long time abbot of the Tongdosa and Haeinsa temples in the Yeongnam area, and devoted himself entirely to Seon meditation in the last years of his life.

331 Mugam Choenul (1717–1790) inherited the dharma from Pungam Sechal, who was a direct-line descendant of Buhyu. He promoted the thought of Jinul and the tradition of thought of Buhyu. He was extremely active in supporting exchanges between Buddhism and Confucianism, and presented a memorial against taxation abuses exercised through quantities of paper exacted by the government from Buddhist temples. He wrote the *Hwaeom pummok* 華嚴品目, the *Jegyeong hoeyo* 諸經會要, and other works, and is famous for having participated in the diatribe concerning the nature of the mind with Yeondam YUIL of the Pyeongyang school.

332 Hoe'am Jeonghye (1685–1741) received the transmission from Bogwang Wonmin as religious head (*jongjang* 宗長) of doctrinal studies of the Buhyu line, and held lectures at Seogwangsa and other temples. He was an expert in the Avatamsaka and wrote the *Hwaeom-gyeong so eungwa* 華嚴經疏隱科 and private records on the *Duxu*, the *Jeoryo*, and other works.

333 Hamwol Haewon (1691–1770) was a disciple of Hwanseong Jian of the Pyeongyang school and was proficient in the tripiṭaka, but especially in the texts of the course on the great teaching (*daegyo gwa*), that is, the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and the *Seonmun yeomsong*. He was active as a lecturer and became the eleventh religious master at Daedunsa.

334 Yeonghae Yaktan (1668–1754) was a direct-line disciple of Muyong Suyeon, of the Buhyu line. He had extensive knowledge of religious texts and non-religious disciplines. He understood the meditational meaning of the “mind-only” doctrinal system, and concentrated on religious practice.

335 Nagam Uinul (1666–1737) was a disciple of Sangbong Jeongwon of the Pyeongyang school. He was an expert in the Avatamsaka and held lectures at Haeinsa. His message, through Ho'eun Yugi, was transmitted to the great master Inak Uicheom of the Yeongnam area.

336 Byeokheo Wonjo. According to the *Buljo Wollyu*, he was a disciple of Seoram Chubong, who was the fourth-generation disciple of Cheongheo, of the Pyeongyang school. His stūpa is at Yeongwonsa Temple, Hamyang. The abbotship of Yeongwonsa was at one time held by Seolpa Sangeon, the foremost expert in the Avatamsaka in the late Joseon period.

337 Seolpa Sangeon (1707–1791) was the foremost expert in the Avatamsaka and disciple of Hoam Chejeong of the Pyeongyang school, which belonged

to the Buhyu line. He also studied under Hoe'am Jeonghye. He studied the *Huayan shu chao* of Chengguan, of which he wrote a definitive edition, also preparing lecture notes and commentarial annotations, concentrating on lecturing his disciples. In 1770 the woodblocks of the Jiaxing Buddhist Canon that were kept at Jinggwangsa Temple caught fire, and the blocks of the *Huayan shu chao* were damaged. Therefore, he revised the text and published it, keeping a copy at Yeonggaksa Temple. Monks such as Yeondam Yuil, Inak Uicheom, Baekpa Geungseon, and others studied Hwaeom doctrine under him.

338 Forsaking defiled lands (*iguji* 離垢地) is the second of the ten stages of the bodhisattva, as described in the “Ten Stages” chapter (Shidi pin 十地品) of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, and indicates the condition under which a bodhisattva has extricated himself from all passions and suffering.

339 Yongchusa Temple, according to tradition, was founded by Gagyeon during the Silla period, and was renovated toward the end of Goryeo by Muhak Jacho.

340 Qingliang Chengguan (738–839) is the fourth patriarch of the Huayan school. He synthesized the doctrine of the school, the theories of which had been systematized by Fazang. Through his *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏 [Commentary on the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*] and the detailed further annotations to it in the *Yanyi chao* 演義鈔 and other works, he set the mainstream direction for the interpretation of the doctrine of the Avatamsaka. He advocated the concomitant cultivation of study and meditation based on Huayan doctrine.

341 Yeondam Yuil (1720–1799) inherited the message of Hoam Chejeong of the Pyeonyang school, and became the twelfth religious master of Hwaeom at Daedunsa. In his monastic career, he studied extensively with the help of several master lecturers, and after learning Hwaeom doctrine from Seolpa Sangeon, he dedicated his entire life to lecturing. He wrote a few private records concerning Hwaeom doctrine and the compulsory study curriculum, which became guide books in the Honam area. He opened a diatribe with Mugam Choenul of the Buhyu line concerning the nature of the mind, and especially the mind of the Buddha and that of ordinary living beings.

342 Inak Uicheom (1746–1796) was a disciple of Sangbong Jeongwon of the Pyeonyang school, and continued his studies of the compulsory curriculum, studying Hwaeom doctrine and the *Seonmun yeomsong* from Seolpa Sangeon. He left many private records, but especially those on the *Śūramgama-sūtra*, *Diamond Sūtra*, and *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*.

The textbooks of the course on the fourfold doctrinal teaching (*sagyo gwa*) are his masterpieces and became the standard for doctrinal study in the Yeongnam area.

343 Baekpa Geungseon (1767–1852) belonged to the Pyeongyang stream and held the abbotship of Seonunsa, Guamsa, and Baegyangsa temples in the Honam area. He learned Hwaeom doctrine from Seolpa Sangeon, but later organized a Suseonsa (Seon Cultivation Society) and wrote the *Seonmun sugyeong* 禪文手鏡, where he ranked the Imje (Ch. Linji) above all the Seon sects, and showed disregard for doctrinal study. He left several commentaries on Seon works, and suffered the criticism of Choui Uisun, who attacked his Seon theories.

344 Guamsa had as abbots the religious master of the Hwaeom Seolpa Sangeon in the eighteenth century, and Baekpa Geungseon, who started the great diatribe against Seon during the first half of the nineteenth century. The temple is said to have preserved a hanging board written by Chusa Gim Jeonghui and some of the letters he exchanged with Geungseon.

345 *Seonmun sugyeong* is a work written by Baekpa Geungseon, in which he distinguished the Seon tradition into five sects, explaining the essentials of each sect and their famous sayings, such as “the three places where Śākyamuni transmitted his mind” (*samcheo jeonsim* 三處傳心), the three statements of Imje (*Imje samgu* [Ch. Linji sanju] 臨濟三句), placing the Linji on top of above all the Seon schools, and claimed that the “Seon of the doctrine” (*uiri Seon* 義理禪), which includes the “Seon of the patriarchs” (*josa Seon* 祖師禪) and the “Seon of the Buddha” (*yeonae Seon* 如來禪) was superior to doctrine.

346 Choui Uisun (1786–1866) was a disciple of the line of Yeondam Yul of the Pyeongyang stream, and was a scholar monk who inherited the tradition of Daedunsa. He is also famous for having inaugurated the tea ceremony. He studied with Jeong Yakyong, and was an intimate of Gim Jeonghui. He wrote the *Seonmun sabyeon maneo* 禪門四辨漫語, starting a diatribe with Baekpa Geungseon concerning his views of the Seon. He participated in the compilation of the *Daedunsa-ji* 大菴寺志 [Records of Daedun Temple] and was well versed in Seon doctrine, general studies, and the arts.

347 *Seonmun sabyeon maneo* was written by Choui Uisun. The author criticized the notion of the three types of Seon, *samjong* Seon, of Baekpa Geungseon as expressed in the *Seonmun sugyeong*, igniting a heated discussion between the two. Uisun claimed that the Seon of the patriarchs and the Seon of the Buddha were both “special types of Seon” (*gyeogoe Seon* 格外禪), and were both Seon of the Doctrine, but this in his opinion was merely a skillful

means (Skt. *upāya*), and that it would be inappropriate to consider one superior to the other, as Baekpa did. With this he stressed that there was basically no difference between doctrine and meditation.

348 Udam Honggi (1822–1881) inherited the line of Buhyu and held the abbotship of the Songgwangsa and Seonamsa temples. He was proficient in the Avatamsaka and in the *Seonmun yeomsong*, and received public recognition for his profound understanding of both meditation and doctrine. He participated in the Seon diatribe of the nineteenth century, and wrote the *Seonmun jeungjeong-nok* 禪門證正錄.

349 The *Soswae Seonjeong-nok* is another name for the *Seonmun jeungjeong-nok* written by Honggi in 1874. The book supports the view of Choui Uiseon that equates the Seon of the patriarchs (*josa* Seon) with a special type of Seon (*gyeogoe* Seon), and Seon of the Buddha (*yeorae* Seon) with Seon of the doctrine (*uiri* Seon). In addition, it criticizes the views of Baekpa Geungseon, saying that they differed from the tradition of the *Seonmun gangyo* 禪門綱要 and the *Yeomsong seolhwa* 拈頌說話 from the end of the Goryeo period, and that Baekpa Geungseon's differentiation of Seon of the patriarchs, Seon of the Buddha, and Seon of the doctrine was incorrect and criticized it.

350 *Seonwon soryu* was written by Seoldu Bonggi, a monk of the tradition of Baekpa Geungseon, and in this book he defended the position of Baekpa that distinguished the Seon sects hierarchically. He established correspondence between the “non-impededness of phenomena and phenomena” (*sasa muae* [Ch. *shishi wuai*] 事事無碍) and “non-impededness of principle and phenomena” (*isa muae* [Ch. *lishi wuai*] 理事無碍) that is, the Hwaeom view of the dharma realm (*beopgye* [Ch. *fajie*] 法界; Skt. *dharmadhātu*) on one side, and the Seon of the patriarchs, Seon of the Buddha, Seon of the doctrine, the three types of Seon, on the other, defending the superiority of Seon of the patriarchs over the others.

351 The *Baekhwa doryang barwon-mun* is attributed to Uisang, the founder of the Hwaeom school in Silla. After his return to Silla, Uisang directly saw Avalokiteśvara (Gwaneum), and in 671 he built Naksansa Temple as a sign of the importance he attributed to the cult of Gwaneum. The contents of the *Baekhwa doryang barwon-mun* are devotion to Gwaneum, the prayer for protection (*gaho* 加護) and taking refuge in the bodhisattva, to have the bodhisattva as one's original master (*bonsa* 本師), to achieve the samādhi of complete comprehension (*wontong sammae* 圓通三昧) and the desire, after death, to be reborn in Avalokiteśvara's White Flower Enlightenment Site.

352 Editor's note: In Sanskrit, the name “Amitābha” means “infinite light”

(*muryanggwang* [Ch. *wuliangguang*] 無量光), not “infinite life” as the author says in the text. In Sanskrit, “infinite life” (*muryangsu* [Ch. *wuliangshou*] 無量壽) is “Amitāyus,” which is another name/title of this Buddha. Although this is a mistake, we have left it as is to maintain fidelity to the original text of the *Joseon Bulgyosa-go*, 165.

353 The technique of determined visualization (*jaenggwan beop* 錚觀法) of the Pure Land. According to the story of Gwangdeok and Eomjang, in the *Samguk yusa*, Eomjang learned this meditation technique from Wonhyo. Eomjang is said to have put it into practice by cleansing his body and repenting his sins, and finally ascended to the Western Paradise of Amitābha. In other sources, it appears as “the technique of spade-like visualization” (*sapgwan beop* 鍤觀法).

354 Wonmyo Yose (1163–1245) was a monk of the latter Goryeo period who practiced Cheontae faith. After participating in the Jeonghyesa (Samādhi and Prajñā Society) movement of Jinul, he left to establish the Baengnyeonsa 白蓮社 (White Lotus Society), reviving the Cheontae sect. His religious message and practice of cultivation were inherited by Cheonin and Cheonchaek.

355 Baengnyeonsa Temple was established by Muyeom in 839, and during the Joseon period, it was called Mandeoksa Temple. During the Goryeo period, it became famous because Wonmyo Yose promoted the Baengnyeonsa here, and during the Joseon period, it became the base of the Soyo stream of Cheongheo’s line.

356 *Gwonsu jeonghye gyeolsa-mun* 勸修定慧結社文, HBJ 4.698.

357 Ten-thousand days assembly (*manilhoe* 萬日會), also called “assemblies for chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha for ten-thousand days” (*Mita manilhoe* 彌陀萬日會), is a common gathering where people, for ten-thousand days, or twenty-seven years, prayed daily to the Buddha Amitābha to be reborn in Western Paradise. In order to achieve this aim, they normally built a votive shrine and instituted a fund to fulfill financial needs.

358 Geonbongsa Temple is located in Goseong, Geumgangsan, Gangwon-do. It is famous for having been the location of the first ten-thousand assembly for chanting the name of the Buddha in Korean history. King Sejo of Joseon visited the temple and adopted it as his merit cloister, and so it remained, receiving the care of the royal family. During the Japanese invasion of 1592, Samyeong Yujeong raised his army of righteous soldiers here, and in 1799 a stone inscription was erected to commemorate his deeds. In the nineteenth century, three ten-thousand days assemblies for

chanting the name of the Buddha were held at this temple.

359 Mangwolsa Temple is located on Dobongsan Mountain, north of Seoul. According to tradition, it was founded in 639, and during the Goryeo period, in 1066, National Preceptor Hyegeo had it renovated. A stone inscription stands on the temple premises.

360 Regarding *ipan* and *sapan*, Yi Neunghwa's *Joseon Bulgyo tongs'a* explained that in the late Joseon period, practice specialists (*ipan*) were meditation monks (*Seon seung*), monks specializing in doctrinal learning monks (*dohak seung*), and proselytizing monks (*pogyo seung*), and monks dedicated to study (*gongbu seung*), whereas administrative monks (*sapan*) were monks who performed menial tasks at the monastery or those who took charge of administrative duties, and were commonly referred to as mountain forest monks (*sallim seung* 山林僧) who inherited the Buddhist dharma, and were in this manner complementary to one another.

361 During the Japanese invasion, the “metropolitan general controller” (*dochongseop* 都摠攝) was referred to simply as “general controller” (*chongseop* 摠攝), and the positions “monk overseer” (*seungtong*) and provincial monk overseer (*doseuntong*) appeared only later. At first, it was intended to bestow the monk generals (*seungjang* 僧將) [of righteous armies] the title of “head of the Meditation or Doctrinal sect” (*Seon-Gyo pansa* 禪敎判事) but as concerns arose that the two orders of Seon and Gyo might rise again, in the end, the title “general controller” was used. In other words, the general controller of the Buddhist *sangha* of the eight provinces was one person, whereas in each of the eight provinces there was one Seon general controller and a Gyo general controller. The titles of general controller, monk overseer, and so on, were used due to the influence of Yuan China toward the end of Goryeo, and this was readopted in the late Joseon period.

362 Toward the end of the eighteenth century, during the reign of King Jeongjo, the king built Hwaseong fortress and Yongjusa Temple in Suwon, south of Seoul. He appointed the abbot to the post of general controller of the Buddhist *sangha* of the eight provinces, and he established five offices for the rectification of errors (Yongjusa, Bongeunsa, Bongseonsa, Gaewonsa at the Namhan sanseong Fortress, and Jungheungsa at the Bukhan sanseong Fortress). Moreover, also in the provinces, as in the case of Jeolla, provincial offices for the rectification of errors were occasionally established.

363 The “three chief posts” (*samgang* 三綱) is a term that indicates in general the offices of temple administration, and changed from one period to another.

There were several such posts in a temple, starting with the abbot (*juji* 住持), who was in charge of the temple's administration, the dean (*sangjuwa* 上座), who was in charge of the monks, the chief monk (*doyuna* 都羅那), who oversaw the observation of monastic rules of discipline, and the head cook (*jeonjuwa* 典座), who was responsible for running the kitchen.

364 Administration Bureau for Temples and Shrines (*Sasa gwalliseo*) was established in 1902 as an office annexed to the Palace Office of Internal Affairs (*Gungnaebu* 宮內府), and was in charge of the implementation of the operation rules for all temples and shrines in the country.

365 Wonheungsa Temple was established in 1899, and in 1902 it became the Main Administrative Temple Complex of the Entire Country (*Daebeopsan susachal*). In 1906 it also became the seat of the first modern Buddhist school, the Myeongjin School (*Myeongjin Hakgyo* 明進學校). In 1908 the Won jong was inaugurated here to represent all monks of the country, and a corresponding general administration office was established, but in 1911 the temple was abandoned following the Government General's Temple Ordinance of 1911.

366 In the Main Administrative Temple Complex, the offices of the senior doctrinal rectifier, junior doctrinal rectifier, great meditation councilor, great lecture councilor, for one person each, were established, along with five administrators, one general controller, one inspectorate office, one secretarial office, and a reception office. Provincial head temple complexes had the posts of provincial doctrinal rectifier, vice doctrinal rectifier, a lecture councilor, an administration controller, and so on.

367 Magoksa Temple is located in Chungcheongnam-do. According to tradition, it was built by the Seon monk Muyeom in remembrance of his Chinese master Mogu Puche 麻谷普徹.

368 Donghwasa Temple is located on Palgongsan Mountain, near Daegu, and was established in 832 by Prince Simji. The foundation story is related to the cult of the divination sticks. During the mid-Goryeo period, the temple was renovated by Bojo Jinul.

369 Woljeongsa is located on Odaesan, Gangwon-do, and was founded in 643 by Master Jajang. The temple became the center of the cult of Avalokiteśvara from the Unified Silla period onward. During the latter Joseon period, one of the four historical archives of the country was established at this temple, and the *Joseon wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 [Veritable Records of the Joseon] was kept in it.

370 Gwijusa Temple is located on Seolbongsan Mountain, Hamheung, Hamgyeong-do, and it was established by Bunghyeon during the reign of

the Goryeo king Munjong. The temple name was Jeongsusa, but it was changed to Gwijusa during the reign of the founder of the Joseon dynasty, Yi Seonggye.

371 Won jong 圓宗 (Perfect Order) was founded in 1908 to represent Korean Buddhism, with Yi Hoegwang at its head. In the beginning, the Administration Bureau for Temples and Shrines was established at Wonheungsa, but in 1910, with the construction of Gakhwangsa, it was moved there. However, it was abolished after the enactment of the Temple Ordinance in 1911.

372 Gakhwangsa was founded in 1910 after gathering funds from all the monks in the country, and was the first temple built in downtown Seoul after several centuries.

373 Yi Hoegwang (1862–1933) was a monk from Geonbongsa Temple, in Gangwon-do. He became president of Myeongjin School, and later, general administrator of the Won jong. In 1910 he concluded a secret agreement with the Sōtō Zen sect of Japan, and came under attack for having changed the patriarchs of the sect. In 1912, as the system of the thirty main temples was enacted, he became abbot of Haeinsa and continued his activities there.

374 Bak Hanyeong (1870–1948) was a scholar monk of the modern period, who inherited the line of Baekpa Geungseon, and after completing the compulsory curriculum, he dedicated himself to lecturing. He participated in the foundation movement of the Imje sect, and later published the journals *Haedong Bulgyo* 海東佛教 and the monthly *Joseon Bulgyo Wolbo* 朝鮮佛教月報. After 1929 he repeatedly became a rectifier, and after 1931, he assumed the post of director of Central Buddhist Specialization School.

375 Jin Jineung (1873–1941) was a scholar monk of the modern period who was active at Hwaeomsa his entire life. In a similar manner to Yi Hoegwang, he stipulated a secret agreement with Japan's Sōtō sect, and headed the movement for the establishment of the Imje sect.

376 Han Yongun (1879–1944) was a famous patriot and reformer. His pen name was Manhae, and he wrote the text *Joseon Bulgyo yusinnon* 朝鮮佛教維新論 [Essay on the Reformation of Joseon Buddhism], a collection of poems entitled *Nim ui chimmuk* 님의 沈默 [The Silence of Love], and others. He participated in the founding of Won jong and Imje jong, and was one of the representatives of the March First Movement of 1919 for Buddhism alongside Baek Yongseong. He also participated in the anti-Japanese organization of the Sin'ganhoe 新幹會, promoting the reformation of Buddhism and its propagation among the people.

377 Imje jong was founded in 1911 as a reaction to the unification agreement of Won jong with the Japanese Sōtō sect. A temporary office was established at Songgwangsa, but it was later moved to Beomosa in Busan, bringing about a division of the country's clergy between the newly founded Imje jong and the Won jong, which had its seat in Seoul. However, as the Temple Ordinance was proclaimed, it came to an end. Bak Hanyeong, Jin Jineung, Han Yongun, and others participated, and stressed how the basis of Korean Buddhist tradition rested on the Imje jong.

378 Gim Gyeongun (1852–1936) led the lectures at Seonamsa Temple, and was interested in the diffusion of faith. He was also renowned as a copist monk. In 1911 he was appointed temporary director when the new Imje jong was founded, and in 1917 he became doctrinal rectifier (*gyojeong* 教正) of both the Meditation and Doctrinal sects of Korean Buddhism (Joseon Bulgyo Seon-Gyo yangjong 朝鮮佛教禪教兩宗).

379 Seonamsa is located on Jogyesan Mountain, Suncheon, Jeolla-do, and was founded in 875 by Doseon. According to tradition, it was renovated by Uicheon during the Goryeo period. In 1754, when the great Hwaeom assembly was held by Sangwol Saebong (1687–1767), a crowd of over 1,200 people gathered, and monks such as Chimgoeng Hyeonbyeon directed the temple.

380 Beomeosa is located on Geumjeongsan Mountain, in Busan, and is one of the ten Hwaeom temples founded by Uisang. After the nineteenth century, it became one of the richest temples in Korea, and sent many of its monks to Japan to study.

381 The Temple Ordinance was issued in the sixth month of 1911 by the Japanese governor general. According to the ordinance, the governor had the power to appoint abbots to the thirty main temples of the country, as well as administrative powers over the clergy and finances. Moreover, in line with Japanese nationalist principles, Korean temples were supposed to thank the emperor for his gratitude, to cherish and praise his figure.

382 In 1924, with the upgrading of Hwaeomsa to a main temple, they became thirty-one.

383 Jeondeungsa Temple is located within Jeongjok sanseong fortress on Ganghwado. One of the four historical archives of the country was located in this temple.

384 Wibongsa Temple is located in Wanju, Jeollabuk-do. The circumstances concerning its establishment are unclear, but it was renovated in 1359 by Naong Hyegeun.

385 Boseoksa Temple is located at Geumsan Mountain, Chungcheongnam-

do. It was founded by Jogyo in 885 and renovated during the King Gojong reign by Queen Min, who adopted it as her merit cloister. There is an image hall and a stone inscription that commemorate the deeds of the famous generals Hyujeong, Yujeong, and Yeonggyu, who distinguished themselves during the Japanese invasion of 1592.

386 Baegyangsa Temple is located in Jangseong, Jeollanam-do. It was founded in 632, and was also known as Jeongtosa Temple. In the sixteenth century, it was renovated by Hwanyang, and in the seventeenth century, Soyo Taeneung became the abbot. In modern times, Song Manam (1876–1957), who was a lecturer, the director of Central Buddhist Specialization School, and rectifier of the Jogye sect, was also the abbot of this temple, which he renovated, founding the School of Ancient Buddhas (Gobul chongnim 古佛叢林).

387 Gimnyongsa Temple is located in Mun'gyeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do. According to tradition, it was founded in 588. In modern times, the famous scholar monk Gwon Sangro (1879–1965) became a monk and attended his lectures at this temple.

388 Gounsa 孤雲寺 Temple is located in Uiseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do, and was founded by Uisang in 681 as Gounsa 高雲寺, but according to tradition, it changed its name to Goun 孤雲 because Choe Chiwon, whose pen name was Goun 孤雲, resided there for a time.

389 Eunhaesa Temple is on Palgongsan, Yeongcheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do. It was inaugurated in 809 by National Preceptor Hyecheol as Hae'ansa, but it became famous when Bojo Jinul started his Jeonghyesa (Samādhi and Prajñā Society) movement at Geojoam Hermitage in 1188 in this temple. In 1270 it was renovated by National Preceptor Hongjin, and in 1545 the location was moved, and the temple changed its name to Eunhae.

390 Paeyeopsa Temple is on Guwolsan Mountain, Sincheon, Hwanghae-do, and it was also called Gueopsa, from the name of its founder. The name originates from a monk who returned from the Western Regions toward the end of the Unified Silla period, bringing with him sūtras written on patta palm leaves. Within the premises of the temple, there is a Hall of Three Saints, where ceremonies in honor of the founder of Old Joseon, Dan-gun, are celebrated.

391 Reform Association of Korean Buddhism. Young Korean monks who had opened their eyes concerning national identity and political autonomy after the March First Movement formed the Association of Korean Buddhist Youths (Joseon Bulgyo cheongnyeonhoe 朝鮮佛教青年會) in 1920, and in 1921 they founded the Reform Association of Korean Buddhism.

They advocated the abolition of the Temple Ordinance and the reform of Buddhism in the country, and although they established a general administration as the central institution in 1924, it was centralized as Religious Affairs Institute (Gyomuwon), after receiving the approval of the Japanese governor general. However, in 1929, a general assembly of Joseon Monks, and in 1931, through the formation of the General League of Korean Buddhist Youths, the movement continued to promote a religious constitution and the reform of temple law. In 1933 the Mandang, a secret society directed by Han Yongun, was disbanded, and the Buddhist reform movement shrank. Moreover, from the second half of the 1930s, the country entered a state of war preparation that left little space to operate.

392 Myeongjin School was the first modern specialist Buddhist educational institution, and started out of the East Gate of Seoul, at Wonheungsas, in 1906. Buddhist Teachers' School was founded in 1910 as Buddhist High-Level Lecture School in 1914, which changed name to the Central Buddhist Academy in 1915. In 1922 it was abolished and re-established in 1928 as Buddhist Special Training School, and was upgraded in 1930 to become Buddhist Specialization School. In 1940 its name was changed to Hyehwa Specialization School, but in 1944 it was abolished again. Soon after liberation, in September 1945, it opened its doors once more and was transformed into Dongguk Special University, to be upgraded in 1953 to a regular university where all subjects were taught, as Dongguk University.

393 Gwanwang myo is a shrine where Guan Yu 關羽, one of the historical figures that appears in the novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguozhi yanyi* 三國演義) was venerated. The cult was introduced to Joseon by the Ming generals during the war of 1592 against the Japanese invaders. Guan Yu is worshipped as a war god in China, and especially during the Ming dynasty, the imperial court encouraged the cult to establish shrines all over the country.

394 General Administrative Temple (Chongbongsan 總本山). In the latter half of the 1930s, a movement for the establishment of the Chongbongsan arose. Therefore, in 1941, the name of the order changed to Jogye, and its main seat was called Taegosa, thus starting the Chongbongsan system. In this manner, according to the wishes of Buddhist circles, a representative institution was established at the central level to administer the clergy's general affairs, but in actuality, it reflected the aims of the Japanese government to exploit the situation of promoting the policy of transforming Koreans into subjects of the Japanese emperor and of mobilizing all the people to serve the war effort more effectively.

395 Taegosa Temple derives its name from that of the Seon Master Taego Bou at the end of Goryeo, who is considered the patriarch of Joseon Seon Buddhism.

396 Jogye jong (Jogye Order) is the name that represents the Seon sect from the late Goryeo period onward, and symbolizes the historical development of Buddhist orthodoxy in Korea. In modern times, Won jong and Imje jong arose, and in the Temple Ordinances, the expression “the two sects of Gyo and Seon of Joseon Buddhism” was used. From the 1920s on, a discussion arose concerning the name of the sect, Jogye, and the symbolic figure of Bojo Jinul. At last, in 1941, with the adoption of the Chongbongsan system, the name Jogye jong was adopted, and Taego Bou was chosen as the patriarch following the Imje tradition of the late Joseon period. In the end, Taegosa was adopted as the name of the main temple. After liberation, it was called Joseon Buddhism for some time, but in 1954 the name Jogye sect was again used, and after the “purification” of Korean Buddhism of 1962, the name Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism (Daehan Bulgyo Jogye jong 大韓佛教 曹溪宗) was approved, which remains in use to this day.

397 Bang Hanam (1876–1951) is one of the most representative monks of the modern period. He became the first president (*jongjeong*) of the Jogye Order. He obtained realization thanks to Jinul’s *Susim gyeol* 修心訣 [Secrets of Cultivating the Mind] and to the teachings of Gyeongheo Seongu 鏡虛惺牛 (1846–1912), who invigorated Seon Buddhism. The story of his saving from flames the temple he directed, Sangwonsa, located on Odaesan, Gangwon-do, is widely known.

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