

**Ha Dongsan and Colonial Korean Buddhism:
Balancing Sectarianism and Ecumenism**

Chanju Mun

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I wish to dedicate this humble research book to Ha Dongsan (1890-1965), his resident Beomeo-sa Temple, and his followers, who have tremendously helped Korean Buddhists to preserve ecumenical Korean Buddhist tradition and to recover their own long-time tradition of celibate monasticism and vegetarianism from Korean Buddhism Japanized during the Japanese occupation period, 1910 – 1945.

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RECOMMENDATION (1)

Venerable Jeongyeo Seunim
Abbot of Beomeo-sa Buddhist Temple
President of the Association of Master Ha Dongsan's Dharma Descendants

Ha Dongsan (1890-1965) served as the highest patriarch of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, the biggest denomination of Korean Buddhism, from November 3, 1954 to August 12, 1955 for the first time and from August 13, 1958 to April 11, 1962 for the second time and extremely influenced in making the order's current form. Korean Buddhism was seriously Japanized under the influence of Japanese Buddhism during the Japanese occupation period, 1910 – 1945. He led Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954 – 1962 and recovered traditional Korean Buddhism from Japanized Korean Buddhism as a spiritual leader and the highest patriarch. The movement aimed at recovering and successfully recovered celibate monasticism and vegetarianism of traditional Korean Buddhism from married monasticism and non-vegetarianism of Japanized Korean Buddhism.

The order has sincerely inherited the long history of Korean Buddhism and the majority of traditional Korean Buddhist temples and monasteries are affiliated with the order. The order is currently composed of several minor Dharma lineages and two major Dharma lineages, the Deoksung Dharma lineage of Sudeok-sa Temple on Mt. Deoksung in the County of Yesan, South Chungcheong Province and the Beomeo Dharma lineage of Beomeo-sa Temple on Mt. Geumjeong in the City of Busan. The Deoksung Dharma lineage mainly constitutes the Dharma descendants of Song Gyeongheo (1848-1912), a revitalizer of traditional Korean Seon (Chn., Chan; Jpn. Zen) Buddhism and his eminent disciple Song Mangong (1871-1946), a famous Korean Seon master, and the Beomeo Dharma lineage mainly consists of the Dharma descendants of Baek Yongseong (1864-1940), a revitalizer of the traditional vinaya of Korean Buddhism and the traditional Korean Seon Buddhism and Ha Dongsan, a leader of Purification Buddhist Movement and an architect of current Korean Buddhism.

The Beomeo Dharma lineage, along with the Deoksung Dharma lineage, plays a key role in the order. Even though the founders of the two Dharma lineages share a same goal for revitalizing Seon Buddhism from Korean Buddhism degenerated during the Joseon Dynasty, 1392 – 1910, which adopted Neo-Confucianism as its state ideology and persecuted Buddhism, and during its consecutive Japanese occupation period, Baek Yongseong and Ha Dongsan, the founders of the Beomeo Dharma lineage, highly emphasized the preservation of precepts more than the founders of the Deoksung Dharma lineage, Song

Gyeongheo and Song Mangong. In this context, the Beomeo Dharma lineage has a different religious orientation from the Deoksung Dharma lineage.

Ha Dongsan became a monk under the spiritual guidance of Baek Yongseong at Beomeo-sa Temple in 1913. Since then until to his death in 1965, he had loyally inherited and implemented at his resident Beomeo-sa Temple the spirit of his master Baek Yongseong who tried to revitalize degenerate traditional Korean Seon Buddhism and to recover celibate monasticism and vegetarianism. Because Baek Yongseong was active under the Japanese occupation, he also dedicated himself to independence movement from Japanese imperialism. However, because Ha Dongsan was mainly active after his nation of Korea was liberated from Japan, he loyally succeeded in only the spirit of Baek Yongseong who attempted to revitalize traditional Korean Seon Buddhism and degenerate monastic vinaya tradition. While Baek Yongseong centered on reforming both Buddhism and society, Ha Dongsan concentrated on reforming just Buddhism.

The Association of Master Ha Dongsan's Dharma Descendants published the *Collected Works of Grand Master Ha Dongsan* in 1998 more than thirty years after his death in 1965, since which only a few of scholars have been interested in and published some articles on his thought and biography. I sincerely appreciate and congratulate Ven. Seongwon (Chanju Mun) who comprehensively and academically discusses his thought and biography and publishes this independent voluminous book on the topic on behalf of the association. The work is the first academic book that extensively discusses Ha Dongsan's life and thought available to these times. I am certain that we readers can and should through this book access to and comprehend his thought and life thoroughly revealed in the harsh Japanese occupation period and in the dynamic history of his nation after its independence.

This book is the first academic work that extensively discusses the two keywords of Korean Buddhism, seemingly contradictory with each other, ecumenism and Imje (Chn., Imje; Jpn., Rinzai) Seon sectarianism. Ven. Seongwon regards current Korean Buddhism as a crossroad between the ecumenical Dharma lineage of Wonhyo (617-686), Daegak Uicheon (1055-1101), Bojo Jinul (1158-1210), Hamheo Gihwa (1376-1433), Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604) and other ecumenists and the sectarian Dharma lineage of Imje Seon Buddhism established by disciples of Cheongheo Hyujeong. While ecumenists equally classify different Buddhist traditions and texts, Imje Seon sectarians hierarchically classify them and locate their Imje Seon Buddhist tradition and texts over other Buddhist traditions and texts. He logically analyzes how Ha Dongsan understood and solved the seemingly contradictory concepts. I think that readers can open up their eyes to understand Ha Dongsan in particular and Korean Buddhism in general through this book.

I admire how well Ven. Seongwon understands Ha Dongsan and how systematically he organizes this thick book in articulating the biography on and thought of Ha Dongsan. Ven. Seongwon seems to incorporate academic

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knowledge and understanding that he obtained from studying and teaching at the academic and religious institutions of Tongdo-sa Monastery, Dongguk University, Seoul National University, University of Wisconsin – Madison, University of Tokyo, Drepung Loselling University, University of the West, and University of Hawaii - Manoa in the several nations of South Korea, the United States of America, Japan and India. I also hope that this book should be read among reader regardless of Koreans and non-Koreans. If so, readers can pretty well visualize modern Korean Buddhism through Ha Dongsan, a leader of modern Korean Buddhism. Finally I enthusiastically recommend readers to read this book on behalf of the association.

RECOMMENDATION (2)

Venerable Heunggyo Seunim
Vinaya Master of Beomeo-sa Buddhist Temple

Ha Dongsan (1890-1965) was introduced to his master Baek Yongseong (1864-1940), a revitalizer of the traditional vinaya of Korean Buddhism and of the traditional Korean Seon Buddhism and a nationally renowned leader of the anti-Japanese movement, through his uncle Wichang O Sechang (1864-1953). Baek Yongseong and O Sechang were close friends and two of the thirty-three national representatives in the nationwide March 1, 1919 movement for independence from Japanese imperialism. So, in 1913, he became a monk under his master Baek Yongseong's guidance at Beomeo-sa Temple.

Because Baek Yongseong actively participated in the March 1, 1919 Movement as a Buddhist representative along with his junior monk Han Yongun (1879-1944), he was subject to spend six months in a Japanese colonial police station and one and half a year in a Japanese colonial jail. When his master Baek Yongseong was imprisoned for participating as a leader in the movement, Ha Dongsan moved to Seoul to take care of him in a Japanese colonial jail. He stayed at Daegak-sa Temple in Seoul and Mangwol-sa Temple near Seoul and visited the prison and served his master Baek Yongseong.

Since becoming a monk in 1913 until to his death in 1965, he had loyally inherited and implemented at his home Beomeo-sa Temple the spirit of his master Baek Yongseong who attempted to revitalize traditional Korean Seon Buddhism and to recover monastic vinaya tradition of celibate monasticism and vegetarianism degenerated during the Japanese colonial period. So, he guided Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954 – 1962 and completely recovered traditional Korean Buddhism from Japanized Korean Buddhism as a spiritual leader and the highest patriarch.

Modern Korean Buddhism has two major vinaya lineages in which the majority of modern Korean Buddhist monastics have been ordained. One is the vinaya lineage of Guxin Ruxing (1535-1615), who revitalized degenerate vinaya in Chinese Buddhism at Fayuan-si Temple in Beijing and the other is the vinaya lineage of Daeun Nang'o (1780-1841), who revitalized degenerate vinaya in Korean Buddhism at Chilbul-am Hermitage on Mt. Jiri. Ha Dongsan transmitted the orthodox vinaya lineage of Chinese Buddhism from Vinaya Master Yeongmyeong Hyeil (d.u.) of Beomeo-sa Temple and also inherited the authentic vinaya lineage of Korean Buddhism from his master Baek Yongseong.

If we receive and transmit just the vinaya lineage of Chinese Buddhism, we are logically subject to negate the long history of Korean Buddhist vinaya tradition continued since Vinaya Master Jajang (590-658), who founded Korean Buddhist vinaya tradition at the Diamond Precept Platform of Tongdo-sa Monastery, before Manha Seungnim (d.u.) who received the vinaya lineage of

Chinese Buddhism from Vinaya Master Changtao Hanbo (d.u.) at the Diamond Precept Platform of Fayuan-si Temple in Beijing in 1892 and transmitted it at the platform in 1897. Therefore, he synthesized them in his vinaya lineage without negating either of them.

The founders of the Joseon Dynasty, 1392 – 1910, adopted Neo-Confucianism as its state ideology and persecuted Buddhism. So, due to the discontinuation of vinaya lineage in its later period, Daeun Nang'o attempted to recover Korean Buddhism's vinaya tradition at Chilbul-am Hermitage on Mt. Jiri and successfully connected his vinaya lineage to the traditional vinaya lineage of Korean Buddhism continued from Vinaya Masters Jajang, Jinpyo (b. 714), Jigong (d. 1363), Muhak Jacho (1327-1405), and Hwanseong Jian (1664-1729). Baek Yongseong transmitted the vinaya lineage of Vinaya Master Daeun Nang'o to his disciple Ha Dongsan.

Manha Seungnim inherited the vinaya lineage of Vinaya Master Guxin Ruxing from China in 1892 and transmitted it to Vinaya Master Seongwol Iljeon (1866-1943) of Beomeo-sa Temple at the Diamond Precept Platform of Tongdo-sa Monastery in 1897. Seongwol Iljeon established the Diamond Precept Platform at his resident Beomeo-sa Temple in 1904. Ha Dongsan loyally transmitted the vinaya lineage of Vinaya Master Guxin Ruxing from Vinaya Master Yeongmyeong Hyeil and annually presided over as the vinaya master the ordination ceremony between 1943 and 1965 at the Diamond Precept Platform of Beomeo-sa Temple that Vinaya Master Seongwol Iljeon established.

While Baek Yongseong attempted to revitalize degenerate Korean Seon Buddhism from the sectarian perspective of Imje Seon Buddhism and advocated its sectarian and radical soteriology of sudden enlightenment and sudden practice, Ha Dongsan understood Korean Seon Buddhist tradition from the ecumenical perspective and defended the ecumenical and moderate soteriology of sudden enlightenment and gradual practice. He ecumenized the preservation of precepts and practical Buddhist traditions of Seon practice, Pure Land Buddhism and Tantric Buddhism with doctrinal Buddhist tradition of Hwaecom and.

Even though he officially inherited the Dharma lineage of sectarian Imje Seon Buddhism, he virtually advocated and loyally followed the ecumenical Dharma lineage of Sino-Korean Buddhism, succeeding the lineage of representative Korean Buddhist ecumenists such as Wonhyo (617-686), Daegak Uicheon (1055-1101), Bojo Jinul (1158-1210), Hamheo Gihwa (1376-1433), Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604) and other ecumenists and of representative Chinese Buddhist ecumenists such as Qingliang Chengguan (738-839), Guifeng Zongmi (780-841), Yongming Yanshou (904-975), Yunqi Zhuhong (1535-1615) and other ecumenists.

Until to now for more than forty years after my master Ha Dongsan's death in 1965, only a few of scholars have been interested in and published some articles on his thought and life. On behalf of the Association of Master Ha Dongsan's Dharma Descendants, I sincerely appreciate and congratulate Ven.

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Seongwon (Chanju Mun) who extensively and academically discusses his thought and biography and publishes this independent voluminous book on the topic, the first academic book that comprehensively discusses Ha Dongsan's life and thought available to these times both in the Korean and in the other languages.

I am full of admiration of how well Ven. Seongwon understands Ha Dongsan and how systematically he organizes this thick book in articulating the biography on and thought of Ha Dongsan. Because we are difficult to see articles and books on Korean Buddhism published in English unlike on Tibeto-Japanese Buddhism, I strongly believe that readers can very well comprehend modern Korean Buddhism through this book on Ha Dongsan, a leader of modern Korean Buddhism and an architect of Purification Buddhist Movement. Finally I strongly recommend readers to read this book on behalf of the association.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I can trace the origin of this newly published book's main theme on ecumenism and sectarianism back to my doctoral dissertation entitled "The History of Doctrinal Classification in Chinese Buddhism: A Study of the *Panjiao* Systems" submitted to the University of Wisconsin – Madison in 2002 and published under the same title with the University Press of America in 2006. Professor Minoru Kiyota admitted me to the prestigious Buddhist Studies Program of the Department of Languages and Cultures of Asia (formerly Department of South Asian Studies) at the university in 1997 and guided me to conduct the topic of doctrinal classification and after his retirement, Professor Charles Hallisey graciously stepped up as advisor and led me to complete my dissertation in 2002. Without their deep concern and consideration, I could not have finished it. I really appreciate their worthy commentary and perspicacious insight.

I am also indebted to my dissertation committee members Professors Gudrun Gühnemann, John Dunne and Morten Schlütter of the Department of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Professors R. J. Cutter and Mark Csikszentmihalyi of the Department of East Asian Languages and Literature. While in Japan between April 2001 and March 2002 for one year, Professor Masahiro Shimoda of my home University of Tokyo introduced me his methodology for approaching Mahāyāna scriptures, specially the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, and Professors Hiroshi Kanno of Soka University and Yoshihide Yoshizu of Komazawa University very clearly outlined the doctrinal classifications of Chinese Tiantai Buddhism and those of Chinese Huayan Buddhism respectively. I incorporated their teachings to my dissertation.

I extensively discussed the doctrinal classifications of Chinese Buddhism from the beginning through the doctrinal classification systems of Xianshou Fazang (643-712) in the voluminous book of 496 pages. The systems were urgently needed for systemizing massive and comprehensive translations by Kumārajīva (334-412) into Chinese and can generally be considered ended by Fazang since no significant new translations came after his time. It was my intent to present a comprehensive picture of the doctrinal classification systems of Chinese Buddhism. I comprehensively introduced and discussed twenty six doctrinal classifiers and their doctrinal classifications from Kumārajīva to Fazang, covering almost all major doctrinal classifiers and their doctrinal classifications between Kumārajīva and Fazang in Chinese Buddhism.

I categorized these doctrinal classification systems into two groups: ecumenical systems and sectarian systems. However, based on their academic and/or sectarian background, modern scholars in doctrinal classifications have basically conducted research on their own sectarian doctrinal classification systems. However, I discussed the doctrinal classification systems in the

interactive relationships between sectarian and ecumenical doctrinal classification systems. I established the ecumenical lineage of doctrinal classifiers from Kumārajīva via Sengrui (352-436), Bodhiruci (d. 527), Huiyuan (523-592) and Jizang (549-623) to Wonhyo (617-686), heavily resorting to digitized Buddhist texts and by identifying direct and indirect citations from previous doctrinal classification systems to later systems. Wonhyo incorporated previous ecumenical doctrinal classifications and completed his own version of an ecumenical doctrinal classification scheme.

I hoped to expand and am still extending this topic in forthcoming sequential volume(s). I will discuss in a series of volumes the ways in which Huiyuan (673? -743?), Fazang's disciple, included traditional Chinese teachings, Confucianism and Taoism, in his doctrinal classifications. He theoretically syncretized Buddhism with the native Chinese religions. Succeeding his preceding Huayan masters, Huiyuan and his master Fazang, Guifeng Zongmi (780-841) extended doctrinal classifications to include praxis (Chan) classifications. Zongmi hierarchically classified doctrinal traditions and Chan lineages and matched each of doctrinal traditions to each of practical Chan lineages. He attempted to synthesize doctrinal Buddhism and Chan Buddhism. He also syncretized Buddhism and native Chinese religions in his doctrinal classification schemes. I might also treat doctrinal classifications in the Pure Land Buddhism and in the Tantric Buddhism of East Asian and Indo-Tibetan Buddhist traditions in serial volumes.

In this voluminous book, I extended my academic theme of ecumenism and sectarianism originally introduced in my dissertation and investigated the theme in the Sino-Korean Buddhist context developed after the completion of Fazang's doctrinal classifications, including doctrinal Buddhism, Chan Buddhism, and Pure Land Buddhism. I discussed in this book Ha Dongsan (1890-1965), who served two times as the highest patriarch of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, the biggest and dominate order of Korean Buddhism, from November 3, 1954 to August 12, 1955 for the first time and from August 13, 1958 to April 11, 1962 for the second time. I comprehensively applied the theme and academically investigated Ha Dongsan and his Dharma lineage in the Sino-Korean Buddhist context in this book.

Even though Ha Dongsan officially and in the Dharma lineage inherited the sectarian lineage of Imje (Linji) Seon (Chan) Buddhism established after Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604) by his disciples in the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), he actually and loyally followed after the ecumenists of the Sino-Korean Buddhist tradition such as Wonhyo, Qingliang Chengguan (738-839), Guifeng Zongmi, Yongming Yanshou (904-975), Daegak Uicheon (1055-1101), Bojo Jinul (1158-1210), Hamheo Gihwa (1376-1433), Cheongheo Hyujeong, and Yunqi Zhuhong (1535-1615). He also applied his ecumenical philosophy to ecumenize various Buddhist traditions available in his times, such as Seon Buddhism, doctrinal Buddhism, Pure Land Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism, and vinaya Buddhism.

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He was a vinaya master, an eminent Seon master, and a key leader of Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954 – 1962, which aimed at revitalizing traditional Korean Seon Buddhism and recovering celibate monasticism and vegetarianism of traditional Korean Buddhism from Korean Buddhism Japanized seriously during the Japanese occupation period, 1910 – 1945. He strongly disagreed with the radical subitist soteriology of sudden enlightenment and sudden practice that Imje Seon sectarians advocated and developed the moderate Seon soteriology of sudden enlightenment and gradual practice that ecumenists generally supported. He, furthermore, applied the moderate Seon soteriology, emphasized the importance of Mahāyāna Bodhisattva precepts, and popularized the precepts among Korean Buddhists. If we are the radical subitists of Imje Seon sectarianism who extremize the immanent aspect of precepts and enlightenment, we are naturally subject to be antinomians and easily to negate the necessity of enlightenment and of receiving and preserving precepts.

I had taught East Asian Buddhism at the University of the West in Los Angeles from Summer 2004 to Spring 2007 for three years. When I moved from the university to the University of Hawaii – Manoa in Fall 2007 since when I have taught Buddhist philosophy, my sincere colleague Professor Steve Odin has strongly encouraged me to continue the theme of doctrinal classification for my research. He also used to comment on that if I extend the theme, include the doctrinal classifications of Pure Land Buddhism and Tantric Buddhism of Indo-Tibetan and East Asian traditions in, and complete my volume(s) on doctrinal classifications, I can tremendously contribute to the Buddhist Studies in the East as well as in the West. He has continuously provided me with his wide and also deep knowledge in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism and East Asian Buddhism as well as in a variety of the topics of Western Philosophy and inspired me to broaden my view of philosophy and Buddhism.

My another sincere colleague Professor Roy W. Perrett also provided me with the ideas and knowledge on the doctrinal classifications of Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism from his specialty in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism and suggested me to include the doctrinal classifications of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism in my serial volume(s) on the subject. He very analytically and philosophically summarized Indo-Tibetan Buddhism and clarified and improved my understanding of doctrinal classifications in the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist tradition. Even though I still did not discuss the doctrinal classifications of Tantric Buddhism, East Asian and Indo-Tibetan, in this book, I should for now delay his request to and incorporate his comments on the topic in the later volume(s).

If I did not have their academic supports, I might have a difficulty to continue the topic and publish this humble research book. Even though I did not still finish a research project to explore doctrinal classifications in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism and East Asian Buddhism, they have helpfully and continuously missionized me to introduce the tough and wide-ranged topic to the scholars and students who are interested in Buddhist Studies. Other than Professors Steve Odin and Roy W. Perrett, I could not omit my heartfelt regards to my colleagues,

staff, and students in my home Department of Philosophy and co-appointed Department of Religion at the University of Hawaii – Manoa.

In Spring 2009, I taught a graduate class entitled “Seminar in Buddhist Philosophy” in the Department of Philosophy and discussed the doctrinal classification schemes in class for the whole semester. I examined the topic in class with nine graduate students who attended the class, Ling-yu Chang, Jordan R. Cormier, Adam W. Crabtree, Rika Dunlap, Benjamin D. Garza, Mark Kanga, Bryan Lescord, Suni Lee, and Ven. Weiming. I also used manuscripts finally included finally in this current volume and extensively discussed ecumenism and sectarianism in class with them. They provided me with their invaluable comments and ideas on them. Upon receiving the manuscripts through attached files, even though Ven. Zhenguan and Rev. Ellen Takemoto, my former students, did not attend my class, they also gave me a lot of invaluable comments and ideas on them.

I am obliged to express my sincere appreciation to my religious master, the Venerable Jeongwoo, currently serving as the abbot of Tongdo-sa Buddhist Monastery, one of the biggest Korean Buddhist monasteries, who has been guiding me for more than two decades. He has provided me precious opportunities to study Buddhism at various education and monastic institutions in Korea and overseas with his financial support. He educated me not to limit my viewpoint in the narrower scope of Korean Buddhism but to understand Korean Buddhism from the broader context including not only East Asian Buddhism but also Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. So, he introduced me to Grand Master Hsing Yun, the founder of Fo Guang Shan Monastery in Kao-hsiung, one of the biggest Buddhist organizations in Taiwan; Ven. Chimyō Takehara, the spiritual leader of Shōgyō-ji Temple in Fukuoka, affiliated to the Higashi Hongan-ji Faction of Pure Land Shin Buddhism in Japan; and the Ling Rinpoche, the reincarnate lama of the senior tutor of H. H. the current 14th Dalai Lama, and let me deeply look into Chinese, Japanese, and Tibetan Buddhism respectively through their helps and guidance.

I also want to express my sincere thanks to Ven. Daewon and his followers of Jung Bup Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii at which I am currently residing. They enthusiastically supported me to simultaneously do two different roles, religious and academic, without having contradictions. I was actually able to come to the United States to study English and Buddhism through the invitation by Ven. Daewon in 1995 since which he has immeasurably guided me to adjust to the new environment and has financially and spiritually helped me a lot. He also assigned me to publish serial books on Buddhism and peace under his spiritual guidance. I have published five serial books until to now since 2006 and am continuously planning to edit articles by eminent scholars on the subject and to include and publish them in consecutive volumes.

When I was near to complete my manuscripts of this book, I asked my elder brother Ven. Beopjang, currently serving as the Secretary of Education in the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, to access Ha Dongsan’s home temple of

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Beomeo-sa in Busan and the Association of Master Ha Dongsan's Dharma Descendants for raising this book's publication fund. The temple and the association generously agreed with his request and financially helped me to publish this book. Ven. Wonjeong, abbot of Seongju-sa Temple, raised the fund at the working level among Ha Dongsan's disciples and grand disciples under the leadership of Ven. Heunggyo and Ven. Jeongyeo, abbot of Beomeo-sa Temple. Ven. Heunggyo, an eminent disciple of Ha Dongsan and the master of Ven. Wonjeong, is currently making efforts to propagate and transmit his master Ha Dongsan's spirit of vinaya among Buddhists by presently serving as the highest vinaya master in the temple. I appreciate their sincere support for this book's publication.

Finally, I should extend my thanks to Dr. Ronald S. Green, my close friend and co-editor of my established Blue Pine Books. As he has done, he also proofread this book in English, offered invaluable ideas and suggestions on it, created the index, and made the camera-ready preparation necessary for publishing it. Ms. Ling-yu Chang, secretary of Blue Pine Books, also again provided much help with the innumerable miscellaneous items needed for publishing this book. In the management of Blue Pine Books and the publication of books with the publisher, including the handling of miscellaneous editorial and management stuffs for editing, formatting, printing, publishing, marketing, packing, shipping, and distributing our books, Dr. Green and Ms. Chang were always supportive of me and the company.

NOTES

1. The Pinyin system is used for Chinese terms, the Korean Government Romanization System revised in 2000 for Korean ones, and the Hepburn system for Japanese ones.
2. Diacritics are used on most of Sanskrit and Pāli terms.
3. Foreign terms, those not included in the *Webster English Dictionary*, appear in italics.
4. If authors have Romanized their names in ways contrary to East Asian Standard Romanization Systems, I have adapted their spellings.
5. If names have not previously been Romanized, I have done so using East Asian Standard Romanization Systems.
6. This book is edited based on the 15th edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

ABBREVIATIONS

- H *Hanguk bulgyo jeonseo* (The Collected Works of Korean Buddhists),
edited by Dongguk University
- S *Simmun euro bon hanguk bulgyo geunhyeondae-sa* (The History of
Modern Korean Buddhism Seen through Newspaper Articles), edited
by Seonu Doryang
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (The Taishō Canon), edited by Takakusu
Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku
- X *Zoku zōkyō (Xuzang jing)* (The Japanese Sequential Canon), edited by
Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association

Introduction

1. Korean Buddhism: An overview

1.1. Three syncretic paradigm shifts in Korean Buddhism

First, when Koreans accepted Buddhism from mostly Turkish Chinese, active in North China,¹ they did not kick out previous religious traditions, i.e., aboriginal Shamanism and previously imported Confucianism, but they rather incorporated those religions in the newly adopted Buddhism. The most representative figure in the first paradigm shift was Wongwang (d. 640),² active in the Silla Dynasty (traditionally dated, 57 BCE – 936 CE), who interpreted Buddhism from nationalist and Confucian perspectives. Korean Buddhists successfully made their religion as state protectionism or Confucianized Buddhism.

Wongwang made five secular precepts for lay Buddhists as follows: (1) Lay Buddhists should be loyal to their state; (2) they should pay respect to their parents; (3) they should make friends with friendship; (4) they should not withdraw from military battles; and (5) they are allowed to kill other beings in some exceptional situations. When he was active, his state was engaged in uniting three kingdoms and finally annexed the neighboring states Baekje (traditionally dated, 18 BCE – 663 CE) and Goguryeo (traditionally dated, 37 BCE – 668 CE) respectively. He was a very patriotic monk and his secular precepts served for his state ideologically in uniting three kingdoms.

The precepts are not purely Buddhist and basically originated from the moral rules of Confucianism. Buddhist ethics advocates the separation of religion from state and the paramount ethical precept for Buddhists is nonviolence. However, loyally following state protectionism exercised in

¹ Lewis Lancaster, "Introduction," in Lewis Lancaster, Kikun Suh, and Chai-shin Yu, eds., *Buddhism in Koryŏ: A Royal Religion* (Fremont, California: Asian Humanities Press, 2002), ix-xvi.

² I Jeong, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo inmyeong sajeon* (Dictionary of Korean Buddhist Names) (Seoul: Bulgyo sidae-sa, 1991), 202-203.

Chinese Buddhism and Confucianism,³ he subordinated religion to state and authorized the killing of other beings in specific situations. He very successfully Confucianized Buddhism and domesticated it in a new soil. The Buddhism that Wongwang advocated might be Confucianized Buddhism.

Shim Jae-ryong (1943-2004)⁴ explains the precepts in the chapter “Buddhist Responses to the Modern Transformation of Korean Society” (pp. 161-170) of the book entitled *Korean Buddhism: Tradition and Transformation*, Korean Studies Series, no. 8 (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 1999) as follows.⁵

Alongside Taoism and Confucianism, Buddhism became the core element of the state cult. The Shilla Buddhist monk Wŏn'gwang (d. 640) worked out the Five Secular Precepts, combining all the three major religious traditions then available. The first paradigm shift and amalgamation is conspicuous in his syncretic combination for prescribing to Shilla laypersons the secular precepts, even allowing discriminate killing of living beings. This appears to be a distortion of the traditional Buddhist ideal of *ahiṃsā* (non-violence). As a Buddhist monk, how could he instruct laymen such a dictum like, “You may kill (other beings) only with discrimination?” When asked about the meaning of such discrimination, he elaborated: “Not to kill during the months of spring and summer nor during the six vegetarian feast days, is to choose the time. Not to kill domestic animals such as cows, horses, chickens, dogs, and tiny creatures whose meat is less than a mouthful, is to choose the creatures. Though you may have the need, you should not kill them often.” What about non-retreating in a battlefield? One need not wonder why Korean monk-soldiers (*sŏngbyŏng*) during the later Koryŏ period and during the Hideyoshi Invasion fought courageously for their own property against Japanese invaders. Needless to say, loyalty and filial piety are trademarks of the Confucian family-centered world-view. In time, the state cult fused with Buddhism and gradually overshadowed the old tribal Shamanistic cult.

As cited above, Shim Jae-ryong considered Wongwang as the most important figure of the first paradigm shift in three paradigm shifts of Korean Buddhism. He asserted that Wongwang syncretized and amalgamatized all

³ See Ronald S. Green, “Institutionalizing Buddhism for the Legitimation of State Power in East Asia,” in Chanju Mun, ed., *Mediators and Meditators: Buddhism and Peacemaking* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2007), 219-231 and Chanju Mun, “Buddhism and Peace: An Overview,” in Chanju Mun, ed., *Buddhist Roles in Peacemaking: How Buddhism Can Contribute to Sustainable Peace* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2009), 27-49.

⁴ See Hanguk bulgyo chongnam pyeonjip wiwon-hoe, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo chongnam* (The Comprehensive Collection of Source Materials of Contemporary Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Daehan bulgyo jinheung-won, 1993), 660. Hereafter, I will refer this source book as its abbreviation *Chongnam*.

⁵ Shim Jae-ryong, *Korean Buddhism: Tradition and Transformation*, Korea Studies Series, no. 8 (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 1999), 164-165.

current religious traditions, Shamanism, Confucianism, and Buddhism. Buddhism served as a main religious streamer for about a thousand years from Three Kingdoms down to the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) and reached its climax in the Goryeo Dynasty. The Goryeo Dynasty patronized Buddhism along with Daoist geomancy and the aboriginal Shamanistic cults from its founding. Because Buddhism served for the government as state protectionism during the time, Buddhists also practiced Confucianized Buddhism. Buddhism intermingled with Daoism, Shamanism, and Confucianism without contradiction.

Second, when Koreans imported Neo-Confucianism in late Goryeo period, Korean Buddhists wanted to harmonize their religion with the newly adopted Neo-Confucianism. Shim Jae-ryong identified Hamheo Gihwa (1376-1433)⁶ as the most representative figure of its second paradigm shift.⁷ When Neo-Confucians established the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) and replaced the state religion from Buddhism to Confucianism, Gihwa defended Buddhism theoretically from severe criticisms from Neo-Confucians. During the persecution period, Buddhism was popularized among the masses through devotional Pure Land Buddhism. Buddhists popularized the religious cults in Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva and Amitābha Buddha. Even though Neo-Confucianism vehemently persecuted Buddhism during the Joseon Dynasty, it was symbiotically existent with Buddhism. While Neo-Confucianism served as a political and ethical model, Buddhism functioned as a religious one among Koreans.

Third, when Koreans received modern civilizations, technology and knowledge from Japan and other advanced Western nations, Korean Buddhists experienced their third paradigm shift. Shim Jae-ryong located Han Yongun (1879-1944)⁸ as the representative of its third paradigm shift.⁹ In late 19th century, Koreans accepted modern and Western civilizations and technology from foreign nations, most heavily from the neighboring state of Japan. Later, Japan colonized Korea from 1910 to 1945. At the time, the main issue of Korean Buddhism was how Korean Buddhists could modernize and revitalize their religion, and get their nation's independence from Japanese imperialism. Han Yongun, a very radical thinker and activist, proposed new ideas in which he suggested to revolutionize Korean Buddhism to adjust it to the new situation. He crystallized reformatory ideas on Korean Buddhism in his major anthology *Joseon bulgyo yusinnon* (Essays on the Restoration of Korean Buddhism).

As mentioned above, Korean Buddhists experienced three paradigm shifts throughout their Buddhist history. Whenever Koreans received newer religions and civilizations, they did not exclude their previous ones, but included ones in their newer ones. They did not exclude each other, but harmonized with each other. Even Korean Christianity, a very exclusive and sectarian religion,

⁶ I Jeong, ed., 42.

⁷ Shim Jae-ryong, 165.

⁸ I Jeong, ed., 119-121.

⁹ Shim Jae-ryong, 167.

accepted so many elements from previously existent traditional religions, Shamanism, Confucianism, and Buddhism. In Korean Christianity, we can easily find out the multi-layered religious elements originated from previous religious traditions.

Korean Buddhists reacted against and/or for newly arrived Western civilizations and technology. Conservative Korean Buddhists reacted against them and endeavored to preserve their Buddhist tradition strictly without changing it. The conservative group might have two subgroups. One subgroup might be Confucianized Buddhists who emphasized patriotism, the loyalty to state, one of the most important virtues of Confucianism along with filial piety. Another subgroup might be Shamanistic Buddhists who have fervently wished “longevity and ancestor worship guaranteeing and securing secular desires.”¹⁰ They wanted to keep two traditions, Confucianized Buddhism and Shamanistic Buddhism. They negated, ignored and/or were indifferent from new Western religion and civilizations.

Progressive Korean Buddhists reacted for Christianity, Western civilizations and technology and tried to modernize and reform traditional Korean Buddhism and adjust it to a newly changed situation.¹¹ The progressive group also might have two subgroups. One subgroup might be moderate and Christianized Buddhists who imitated Christian mission activities. They established many Buddhist mission schools and even companies for profit and secularized Buddhism among the masses. They considered celibate monasticism as a conservative and outdated one and married monasticism as a modernized and updated one. They modeled after preexistent Japanese Buddhism’s married monasticism that had adopted Protestant Christianity’s married priesthood in advance. They Christianized Korean Buddhism. Another subgroup might be radical and Socialized Buddhists, who tried to reform and revolutionize unjust social structure such as dictatorship and imperialism. They received strong influences from Socialism and Liberation Theology and made their own version of Minjung (Liberation) Buddhism. Minjung Buddhism has three major missions, i.e., the democratization of undemocratic civilian and military dictatorship, the protest against imperialisms and the unification of two Koreas in one.¹²

¹⁰ Ibid, 162.

¹¹ Chanju Mun, “Peacemakers vs. Anti-peacemakers: Imperialisms and Modern Korean Buddhism,” in *Fojiao yu dangdai renwen guanhuai: Foxue yanjiu lunwen-ji* (Buddhism and Contemporary Humanities: The Collection of Papers in Buddhist Studies), edited by Foguang wenjiao jijin-hui (Fo Guang Shan Foundation for Culture and Education) (Kaohsiung, Taiwan: Foguang wenjiao jijin-hu, 2008), 47-70 (in Chinese) and 553-590 (in English).

¹² Chanju Mun, “Historical Introduction to Minjung Buddhism (Korean Liberation Buddhism) in 1980’s,” in *Kankoku bukkyōgaku semina* – (Journal of Korean Buddhist Seminar) 9 (2003): 239-270 and “Minjung bulgyo gyopan-reul seugi wihan siron” (Some Attempts to Establish the Doctrinal Classification of Minjung (Liberation) Buddhism), in

When Koreans accepted Christianity in modern times, Korean Christians domesticated their religion by including traditional Shamanism and Confucianism. They incorporated Shamanism through Buddhism. They fanatically exercised the curing of diseases and the desires of longevity and social worldly successes in their daily belief activities. They also interpreted Christianity from the Confucian context. They prayed for the prosperity and success of their own nation. They organized numerous pro-government activities and institutionalized Christianity. Koreans succeeded to naturalize Christianity through its Confucianization and Shamanization in some degree. Along with Minjung Buddhists, radical Korean Christians also contributed to democratize undemocratic Korean politics.

1.2. Major ecumenical characteristics of Korean Buddhism¹³

Korean Buddhism was formed under the strong influences of two Buddhist traditions, Chinese Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism. Chinese Buddhism mainly influenced Korean Buddhism in terms of philosophy and literature and Tibetan Buddhism in terms of Buddhist arts, music, dances, architecture, and rituals. However, even Korean Buddhists have ignored and have not known the influences of Tibetan Buddhism, the second most important element in the formation of Korean Buddhism after Chinese Buddhism.

The Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368), a Mongolian empire in China, adopted Tibetan Buddhism as its state religion. When the Mongolian empire invaded and colonized the Korean Peninsula, Korean Buddhists obtained the strong influences from Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism. The influences of Tibetan Buddhism to Korean Buddhism made Korean Buddhism very different from Japanese Buddhism, which had not gotten any influence from Tibetan Buddhism. Even though Mongolians occupied both nations, China and Korea, because Korean Buddhism got the stronger influences than Chinese Buddhism from Tibetan Buddhism, Korean Buddhists exercised Tantric Buddhism more heavily than Chinese Buddhists in many aspects. For example, unlike Chinese Buddhism, Korean Buddhism developed the genre of Buddhist *thangkas* (scrolled paintings in silk or paper) available in Tibetan Buddhism. In addition, unlike Chinese Buddhist temples, Korean Buddhist temples are very colorfully decorated and painted due to the heavy influences from Tibetan Buddhism.

The majority of Korean Buddhist scholars approach their subject with the intent of proving how great and unique Korean Buddhism is.¹⁴ However,

Dongguk sasang (Annual Journal of the Buddhist College of Dongguk University) 24 (1991): 609-629.

¹³ Chanju Mun summarized this section from my *The History of Doctrinal Classification in Chinese Buddhism: A Study of the Panjiao Systems* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2006), xi-xxxiii.

without knowing Tibetan and Chinese Buddhism, we cannot understand Korean Buddhism properly, with any acceptable degree of objectivity. Moreover, Korean Buddhism played a major role in the formation of the early phase of Japanese Buddhism.¹⁵ Conversely, Korean Buddhism has religiously and academically received strong influences from Japanese Buddhism in these modern times, particularly during the period of Japanese occupation, 1910-1945.

Generally speaking, all Korean Buddhists, scholars and laypersons, are interested in Wonhyo (617-686)¹⁶ and I am no exception to this. Korean Buddhists regard him the most important systematizer of Korean Buddhism across history. He is generally considered the founder of ecumenical Korean Buddhism. Korean Buddhists believe ecumenism is the unique and most important characteristic in Korean Buddhism. Even though we cannot ignore the ecumenical ideas from Chinese Buddhism, Korean Buddhism has accepted ecumenism more comprehensively than Chinese Buddhism.¹⁷

However, the ecumenical aspect in Korean Buddhism should be understood in the broader East Asian Buddhist context. Korean Buddhism has been formed from interactive relationships with the neighboring Buddhist traditions. The connotation of the term “sect” in Sino-Korean Buddhism is entirely different from its usage in western Christianity and Japanese Buddhism. It is impossible to clearly delimit boundaries among the sects, which are not exclusive. Since the classification of sects is not based upon differences of doctrine and practice, the notion of a “sect” is essentially nominal. For instance, if a monk is living in a monastery founded by a master in the Huayan (Hwaeom) School, he is automatically classified to a monk of the Huayan School, regardless of his mastery or familiarity in some other doctrine or practice. In this context, the sect has a genealogical meaning in Sino-Korean Buddhist monasticism.¹⁸

¹⁴ See “General Characteristics of Korean Buddhism: Is Korean Buddhism Syncretic?” in Shim Jae-ryong, 171-182. See also Chanju Mun, “Wonhyo (617-686): A Critic of Sectarian Doctrinal Classifications,” in *Hsi Lai Journal of Humanistic Buddhism* 6 (2005): 290-306.

¹⁵ Refer to J. H. Kamstra, *Encounter or Syncretism – The Initial Growth of Japanese Buddhism* (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1967).

¹⁶ I Jeong, ed., 208-210.

¹⁷ Chanju Mun, “Wonhyo (617-686): A Critic of Sectarian Doctrinal Classifications,” in *Hsi Lai Journal of Humanistic Buddhism* 6 (2005): 290-306.

¹⁸ See Holmes Welch, “Chapter 10. Sects and Dissension,” in *The Buddhist Revival in China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 194-221; Holmes Welch, “Chapter 12. The Nature of the System: Sects and Schools,” in *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism 1900-1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 395-408; Robert H. Sharf, “Introduction: Prolegomenon to the Study of Medieval Chinese Buddhist Literature,” in *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 1-27; and Bernard Faure, “Chapter 1. The Differential Tradition,” in *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 11-31.

In terms of monastic genealogy, eminent monks are generally supposed to have three lineages, i.e., the tonsure lineage, the ordination lineage and the dharma lineage. Thus, a monk might simultaneously belong to various lineages. Monks living in the same monastery might belong to different traditions based upon three lineages. For example, if a monk was shaved under a master in the Tiantai (Cheontae) sect, he belonged to the Tiantai sect. If the same monk was ordained under a Vinaya master, he belonged to the lineage of the preceptor. And if the same monk was trained under a Linji (Imje) Chan (Seon) master, he belonged to the lineage of the Linji Chan sect. Each monk has multiple interactive relations among various sects. Thus, a monk might belong to one of the Chan sects by lineage, but study Huayan doctrines by his doctrinal preference and recite the name of the Amitāyus Buddha by his practical method.

In a typical monastery, there are different centers, e.g., a Chan center, a Vinaya center, a seminary, a center for the Pure Land practice, and so on. In a Chan center, Chan practitioners focus on meditation. In a seminary, Buddhist scholars conduct research and educate monk students in Buddhist theory. In a Vinaya center, moralists center their practice on their strict observance of various precepts and teach Buddhist ethics to novice monks. And in a center for the Pure Land practice, the practitioners endlessly recite the title of the Amitāyus Buddha as their own practical method. Without having any contradiction, the residents in the monastery can select any center or all of them based upon their own preference for their practice.

Sino-Korean Buddhists generally categorize the sects into three categories. First is the category of doctrinal sects, represented by Tiantai Sect, Huayan Sect and Faxiang (Beopsang) Sect. Second is the category of practical sects, represented by Chan Sect and Pure Land Sect. Third is the Vinaya Sect. Since all monks take precepts in the ordination ceremony, they should always keep them. Historically, we assume that Sino-Korean monks live without having strong rivalry and exclusiveness toward other sects. They do not completely exclude other doctrinal and practical sects. Rather than kicking out other sects, they synthesize various sects or tenets in their own doctrinal and practical systems.

Unlike Sino-Korean Buddhist ecumenical tradition, Japanese Buddhism has developed strong sectarian tradition. There are several major Buddhist sects in Japan. These can be grouped under the Lotus sects, the Pure Land sects, the Zen sects, the Tantric sects, and so on. For instance, if some scholar is affiliated with a school of the Sōtō Zen sect, i.e., Komazawa University, he is basically supposed to see various topics from his Sōtō sectarian position. The scholars eagerly participate in the systemization of the denominational studies, i.e., centering on Dōgen Kigen (1200-1253), the founder of the Japanese Sōtō sect. They basically conduct research on Buddhist Studies to back up and to systemize the Dōgen Studies. Likewise, the Buddhist scholars of other sectarian education institutions are heavily exposed to the sectarian orientation in Buddhist Studies.

1.3. Beginning of modern Korean Buddhism, 1876-1910¹⁹

Modern Korean Buddhism begins with the opening of its country's border to foreign nations in the late 19th century. Korean Buddhism received influences from the serious changes in the basic social, economic and political structure. As Korea became modernized, its society was greatly impacted. Korea was forced to have diplomatic relations with various foreign nations including China, Russia, Japan, England, the United States, Germany, France, and others, through which it was naturally exposed to foreign cultures, religions, advanced technologies, and science. For centuries, Korea's communications with foreign nations essentially extended only to China and Japan. In the modern era, suddenly this was greatly expanded beyond neighboring nations.

Most Korean bureaucrats in the late 19th century still considered Neo-Confucianism to be their state ideology adopted at the foundation of Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). They studied Confucian texts in traditional village schools and public academies and took Confucian-based state examinations to become government officials. If they passed, they could get posts in the government administration. Due to narrowness of such an education, after becoming administrators, they could not manage the government very efficiently. Specifically, they did not have skills and knowledge for modern government administration. They just learned major Confucian texts with Neo-Confucian commentaries and had difficulty dealing with the complexities of modern society and international relations.

Because Korea received advancements in culture from China for such a long time in its pre-modern history, Koreans naturally felt China was a more greatly civilized nation than their own. China had been the fountain of their culture and civilization. Likewise, because Korea historically transmitted Chinese culture and civilization to Japan, Koreans once regarded Japan as an inferior nation to theirs. So, even when Korea opened its border to foreign nations including those of Europe and North America, Koreans generally considered China as a big brother they should follow and Japan as a young brother they should take care of.

In contrast, Chinese people traditionally considered themselves chosen nationals. According to their worldview, China was the center of the world as well as the center of the universe. One can remember that China calls itself the Middle Kingdom to this day. Naturally, the people living in the center of world should consider themselves superior to those in neighboring nations. Historically, they called people of surrounding nations barbarians. In referring to neighbors, they designated the nationals surrounding their center by directional names, for example, Eastern barbarians, Western barbarians, Southern barbarians, and Northern barbarians. They characterized Koreans under the category of Eastern

¹⁹ See Chanju Mun, "Peacemakers vs. Anti-peacemakers," 47-70, 553-590, and Chanju Mun, "Introduction," in Chanju Mun, ed., *Mediators and Meditators: Buddhism and Peacemaking*, xxxv-lit.

barbarians. In their written records, Chinese discussed Korean history under the category of the history of the East barbarian tribes.

Koreans loyally accepted Chinese nationalistic views and hierarchically located themselves beneath China's higher level. Koreans accepted Neo-Confucianism as a state ideology during the Joseon Dynasty along with the classification that China was a greater nation. With this came the notion that Korea was a smaller replica of the greater China and naturally located Japan in a lower position than Korea. Most Koreans placed themselves in the middle between China and Japan except a few Korean nationalists in the pre-modern period who rejected the China-centric worldview. Even though Koreans had their own independent nation in the Joseon Dynasty, they did not have a strong idea to be independent ideologically and spiritually, but relied on the worldview of the larger nation, China. They subordinated themselves to the greater Chinese. Although contemporary Koreans do not like to accept the shameful fact, they had done so.

Even when modernized European and North American countries expanded their influences to China, Chinese considered them to be inferior nations based on their traditional worldviews. The military weapons of foreign imperial nations were much stronger than Chinese traditional armaments and China and other Asian nations were easily defeated and colonized. The Chinese, who regarded themselves as superior to any other nationals, were very seriously shocked by the advantage of scientific technology and modernized weapons of the Western "barbarian" nations compared to their own. They had a sentimental difficulty in admitting the superiority of the Western science and technology. Even so, they should accept the higher technology and civilizations from Western nations and should modernize their nation.

1.4. Colonial Korean Buddhism, 1910-1945²⁰

In 1911, the Japanese Government-General established regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples, effectively colonizing Korean Buddhism. The regulations heavily influenced modern Korean Buddhism during its occupation period, 1910-1945 and continue to do so to the present. In complete acquiescence to these regulations, the Korean government passed the Law of the Management of Buddhist Properties in 1962 to control all of Korean Buddhist Temples under the hands of its dictator Bak Jeonghui (1917-1979). Because progressive Buddhist activists protested against the undemocratic law under the name of Minjung (Liberation) Buddhist movement, the government substituted it with the Law of the Preservation of Traditional Temples in 1987. Even though the scope of the government's control was reduced from all Buddhist temples to

²⁰ I slightly revised and cited this section from my article "Imperialism and Temple Properties: A Case Study of Korean Buddhism during Japan's Occupation Period (1910-45)," in *Hsi Lai Journal of Humanistic Buddhism* 7 (2006): 278-294.

the traditional temples, the current Korean government is still imposing the undemocratic law to manipulate Korean Buddhism by continuously revising it in to appease Korean Buddhist opposition.

Based on the regulations, the Japanese colonial government organized all of Korean Buddhist temples under its bureaucratic hierarchy and established the system of the thirty parish head temples in which the vertical relations between the parish head temple and its respective branch temples are strictly regulated. In order to easily rule Korean Buddhism, the Japanese Government-General approved the abbots, in contrast to the Korean Buddhist tradition in which abbots are appointed in accordance with the unanimous recommendations of monastic members. The articles and bylaws of the thirty parish head temples had to be approved by the government. The regulations also stipulated that all Korean temples must report their temple affairs in detail to the government.

While or after pursuing education in Buddhist Studies at universities in Japan, many Korean monastics got married through the influence from married monasticism of Japanese Buddhism. The Japanese colonial government encouraged the thirty parish head temples to change their articles and bylaws so that married, pro-Japanese monastics could become abbots through whom Japan could smoothly control Korean Buddhism. Because their abbotships were approved by the government, it was economically and politically prudent to be loyal to its will. The married monastics also privatized temple properties to support their families. In short, the Japanese derived system destroyed traditional Korean celibate monasticism and brought about the loss of monastic properties.

In one hand, Korean progressive activists reacted against Japanese control of Korean Buddhist temples and properties and began to demand that the Japan's Government-General should abolish the regulations and the parish system in the early 1920's, this is, just since the massive March 1, 1919 movement for independence from Japan. However, they were unsuccessful in nullifying the regulations because pro-Japanese abbots and Japan's colonial government crushed the movement. On the other hand, Korean Seon (Chan) practitioners initiated the Center for Seon Studies in 1920, just after the March 1 movement, and tried to recover Korean Buddhism's celibate tradition and other conventions of Korean Seon Buddhism. After the liberation from Japan in 1945, activists purged Korean Buddhism of Japanese married monasticism between May 1954 and April 1962. This is known as the Purification Buddhist Movement.

1.5. Korean Buddhism under the US military government, 1945-1948²¹

²¹ I slightly revised and cited this section from my article "Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954-62: The Recovery of Traditional Monasticism from Japanized

Korea was liberated from Japanese occupation on August 15, 1945. On September 7, 1945, the US government established the US military government in South Korea, which was ended with the establishment of the Republic of Korea on August 15, 1948. During the three years between 1945 and 1948, the US military government discriminated against Buddhism and traditional religions in favor of their own religion, Christianity.²² Based upon the US military government's discriminative policies, Korean Buddhists had a difficulty in removing Japanese Buddhist influences.

First, the US military government recognized Buddhism, Protestantism and Catholicism and failed to recognize Korean traditional religions, i.e., Cheondo Religion, Jeungsan Religion and other new religions. This policy violated the separation between state and religion, which is clearly included in the US constitution. The measure, imposed by the US military government, discriminated against Korean traditional religions by recognizing and giving political favors to Christianity, even though the number of Christian believers was only around 3 percent of the South Korean population at that time.

Second, the US military government abolished national holidays that Japan had included during its occupation period, recognizing only Christmas as a national holiday and even excluding the Buddha's birthday. Korean Buddhists strongly protested against the South Korean government and took the discrimination case to the court. The Supreme Court ruled it in favor of them. The government finally declared the Buddha's birthday as a national holiday on January 14, 1975.

Third, the US military government gave favor to Christianity. For example, Christians could propagate their teachings through the Seoul Radio Broadcasting Station beginning in March 1947. The station had actually been the public radio station under Japanese rule. Following the pro-Christianity policy of the US military government, the pro-US and pro-Christianity I Seungman's (1875-1965) regime approved the establishment of the Christian Radio Broadcasting Station in December 1954. The regime also established the military chaplain system for only Christianity, including two major Christian traditions, Protestantism and Catholicism, which was made under the US military's strong influence in 1951 during the Korean War, 1950-1953.

Christian chaplains who got their salaries from the Korean military monopolized the chances to missionize drafted young Korean soldiers and very successfully propagated their teachings to their Christian as well as Buddhist soldiers with the taxes that Koreans, definitely including Buddhists, paid. In some way, Korean Buddhists paid the taxes to Christianize their sons. Even

Buddhism in South Korea," in *Hsi Lai Journal of Humanistic Buddhism* 8 (2007): 262-294.

²² See the Board of Education of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., *Jogye jongsu: Geun-hyeondae pyeon* (The History of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism: Modern and Present Periods) (Seoul: Jogye-jong chulpan-sa, 2001), 172-174.

though the majority of Korean young soldiers were grown up in a Buddhist family atmosphere, when they served for the army, they were exclusively exposed to Christianity, not their cultural religion Buddhism.

The South Korean Government approved Buddhist military chaplains in 1968. We can find out two reasons, domestic and international, for the approval. First, when the Korean government dispatched its soldiers to Vietnam in which the majority of Vietnamese people believed in Buddhism, the Korean Army needed specialists in Buddhism to facilitate their military missions in the Vietnam War, 1954-1973. Second, because Korean Buddhists protested against the government's religious discriminations in many ways, the government should legally settle down the case.

Fourth, the Christians requested the US military government to prohibit official government events and activities on Sundays, i.e., elections, state examinations, and so on. Even the first national election was supposed to be held on a Sunday, May 9. However, due to the intervention of Christianity, the election was held on May 10, a Monday. Even I Seungman, first president of the ROK, took an oath to God at the first presidential inauguration ceremony on August 15, 1948.

Fifth, the South Korean Interim Parliament on August 8, 1947 unanimously passed a resolution that four regulations, including the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples, made by Japan's Occupational Forces to control Korean Buddhism, should be abolished and it passed a substitute regulation, the Law of Provisional Protection of Buddhist Temple Properties which states Japanese Buddhist properties should belong to Korean Buddhists.

However, on October 29, 1947, the US military government rejected the Korean Buddhist demand that Japanese Buddhist properties should belong to Korean Buddhism after independence. It did not abolish the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples, and it also did not approve the Law of Provisional Protection of Buddhist Temple Properties.

Sixth, the US military government gave great favor to the Christians in its administrative posts. Even though the ratio of Christians in the South Korean population was 3 percent, the percentage of Christians among Korean chief ministers of the administration was 54 percent and the percentage of Christians in the first cabinet of I Seungman was 42 percent.

1.6. Post-colonial Korean Buddhism, 1948 – present

There have been two major movements in the Buddhist history of South Korea since the liberation of that country from Japan on August 15, 1945. Chronologically, the first to appear was the "Purification Buddhist Movement" (Jeonghwa Bulgyo Undong), the more recent being the Minjung Buddhist Movement.

The Purification Buddhist Movement²³ began in 1954 and was largely concluded by 1962. This movement focused on cleansing the influence of Japanese Buddhism on that of Korea and purification of the monastic order. The movement was initiated by executive order of the first South Korean president, I Seungman, to expel married Buddhist priests from traditional monasteries. Essentially, the Korean monastic orders had kept the precept of non-marriage until the Japanization of them by the Japanese government. This occurred during the colonial period from 1910 to 1945. During that time, the Japanese Government-General in Korea forcibly caused Korean Buddhist monks to marry in order to facilitate control over the Korean Buddhist orders.

Purification Buddhism had two major missions.²⁴ First, it was to recover the celibate monastic tradition of Korean Buddhism from the marriage priesthood of Japanese Buddhism. The married monks privatized temple properties to support their family financially. To get and keep their higher positions in Buddhism, they were loyal to their appointers, Japanese officials. It was naturally subject to have nationalist sentiments. It easily identified the celibate monasticism as the traditional identity of Korean Buddhism. It ignored the positive aspects of Japanese Buddhism's influences on Korean Buddhism in modern times. Japanese Buddhists tremendously helped Korean Buddhism to adopt various advance models of academic research, social activities and mission works from their Buddhism and to modernize itself. It did not evaluate the influences of Japanese Buddhism on Korean Buddhism under the Japanese occupation period.

Second, it was to revitalize the Seon practice tradition of Korean Buddhism. Seon practitioners lost their temples for practicing Seon Buddhism because married abbots and higher order administrators controlled almost all Korean temples at the time. The movement loyally succeeded the celibate monasticism and Korean Seon tradition of the Center for Seon Studies, established in 1920. The Seon practitioners actively participated in the Purification Buddhist Movement in this context. It basically had the Seon sectarianism even though Korean Buddhism has preserved the ecumenical tradition for a long time. Seon practitioners affiliated to the Center for Seon Studies in Seoul and the Seon centers across the nation participated in the movement. Because Korean Seon practitioners prioritized the Imje Seon lineage, we can safely categorize them as the Imje Seon sectarians.

The characteristics of the Purification Buddhist Movement²⁵ can be summarized as follows. First, the movement heavily relied on the state. The movement was supported by the two rulers, Presidents I Seungman and Bak Jeonghui. President I Seungman issued six times his messages between May 21,

²³ Chanju Mun, *op. cit.*, 262-294.

²⁴ The Board of Education of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., 191-192.

²⁵ See Dongguk daehakgyo seongnim-hoe (Monastic Alumni Association of Dongguk University), ed., *Hanguk bulgyo hyeondae-sa* (The History of Modern Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Sigong-sa, 1997), 33.

1954 and August 5, 1955 and President Bak Jeonghui issued several official statements in support of the Purification Buddhist Movement.

Second, Koreans and Korean Buddhists supported the movement from their strong nationalistic sentiments against Japanese imperialism and their negative experiences under the Japanese occupation, 1910 – 1945. They defined married monasticism and meatism as Japanized Buddhism and regarded Japanized Korean Buddhism as an object that Korean Buddhists should eliminate.

Third, the movement did not neutrally and objectively evaluate the influences of Japanese Buddhism on Korean Buddhism under Japanese occupation period. Even though Korean Buddhists tremendously received positive influences from Japanese Buddhism and improved and modernized their own Buddhism, they emotionally maximized the negative aspects of and intentionally minimized the positive aspects of Japanized Korean Buddhism. The participants to the movement intentionally ignored how Korean Buddhism had modernized itself through influences from Japanese Buddhism.

Fourth, the movement violated the separation policy between religion and state, which is described in the constitution. President I Seungman initiated the Purification Buddhist Movement by issuing his first message on May 21, 1954. Prior to the message, Korean Buddhists tried to purify Korean Buddhism but obtain nearly none of their goals. After the first message by President I Seungman, the government administrative units became actively involved in the religious affairs.

Fifth, both groups, married monks and celibate monks, defined monkhood in the different ways based on their interests. The celibate monks conservatively defined monkhood based on monastic codes that the traditional Buddhist orders had kept. The married monks suggested that monkhood could be a combination of celibate monks, who might concentrate on cultivation and enlightenment without being distracted to the secular lives, and married monks, who might focus on propagating Buddhism among those living mundane lives.

Sixth, the process of Purification Buddhist Movement was heavily dependent on the court and the state's intervention. Two groups took their cases to court and to the state to back up their own behaviors. The court and the state generally favored the celibate monastic side against the married monastics. Korean Buddhism wasted its properties and money in legal fees. Through the process, Korean Buddhism became a pro-Government religion and automatically voiced support for the government. It ignored the social justices under the undemocratic regimes. The government manipulated the conflict between two Buddhist groups for their purposes.

Seventh, the behaviors of both sides were non-Buddhist. They used violence, and some disemboweled themselves and intruded into the court, and broke the harmony of the Buddhist community. They even employed gangsters to attack the opposition and to take the temples. Even though the goals of Purification Buddhism could be justified, the methods that they adopted could not be authorized under the name of Buddhism. Buddhism strictly prohibited Buddhists from using violence.

Eighth, the movement was basically sectarian. It was subject to Seon sectarianism because Seon practitioners participated in the movement and naturally supported Seon sectarianism. Except for a few leaders of the movement, common Seon practitioners were not trained and not well educated in Buddhist doctrine but concentrated on Seon praxis. The participants to the movement basically were Seon sectarians and positioned the Seon praxis over the doctrinal study.

Even so, because married monks had used the order's headquarters Taegosa Temple named after Taego Bou (1301-1382),²⁶ an Imje Seon sectarian, unmarried monks sectarianistically and politically changed their order's founding patriarch from Taego Bou to Bojo Jinul (1158-1210),²⁷ an ecumenist between Huayan doctrine and Seon praxis. Even though their change of the founding patriarch Taego Bou and their Seon sectarianism are contradictory, they changed their order's founders from their practical and political perspective, not from their theoretical and doctrinal one.

Ninth, the movement was contradictory between Seon sectarianism and the change of the order's founder from the Imje Seon sectarian Taego Bou to the ecumenist Bojo Jinul. Although Korean Seon practitioners are traditionally subject to have Seon sectarianism to a certain degree, Korean Buddhists have generally preserved their strong tradition of ecumenism for a long time. While the participants in the movement were Seon sectarians from the practical perspectives, they were ecumenists from the doctrinal and theoretical ones.

Tenth, even though the defenders and sympathizers of the movement maximize its autonomous aspect, the movement was a government-sponsored and institutionalized one to some degree. So, the critics and opponents of the movement defined it as a government-initiated institutional one. Its participants did not make an objection to the undemocratic politics of two dictators I Seungman and Bak Jeonghui, loyal patrons and supporters of their movement, but they rather beautified and justified the dictatorships. They approached even the sublime social issues from their partisan perspectives.

Eleventh, the movement was basically a partisan (sectarian) movement for celibate monks, not including married monks. It tried to negate the identity of married monasticism in the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism established under the Japanese occupation period, 1910-1945, after obtaining independence from Japan in 1945. After married monks divided the order and officially established the Taego Order of Korean Buddhism for themselves in 1970, fundamental conflicts between married monks and unmarried monks in a same order became completely settled down.

Twelfth, the movement was a power struggle and conflict in the religious order. While married monks tried to protect their political and institutional hegemony established under the Japanese rule, unmarried monks tried to take it from married monks. The political interests between two groups clashed against

²⁶ I Jeong, ed., 113.

²⁷ Ibid, 278-279.

each other. So, we can define the movement as a political movement in a religious order.

Because the aim of the Purification Buddhist Movement was to recover this aspect of monastic order from the Japanese influence, the movement was basically for reformation of Korean Buddhism inside the religious arena. In contrast, the Minjung Buddhist Movement is fundamentally an attempt to construct a type of Pure Land in the society by introducing such universal issues as human rights, justice, peace, labor, democracy, reunification, and so on.

I discussed Minjung Buddhist Movement in terms of its history, development and meaning within the larger context of Korean Buddhism and society in an article.²⁸ It indicates when and how the two movements came into conflict with each other. While Minjung Buddhist Movement was a socially engaged one, Purification Buddhist Movement was a religious one. While Minjung Buddhist Movement was active to work for social justice, Purification Buddhist Movement was indifferent to the social issues.

Because Purification Buddhist Movement was successful based on the government's backing, it was automatically institutionalized even under the undemocratic and dictatorial government's control. So, participants sometimes beautified and justified the undemocratic dictators. While Purification Buddhist Movement was the government-sponsored one, Minjung Buddhist Movement was independent of the undemocratic government. While participants of the Purification Buddhist Movement could not raise a social issue of democratization in the undemocratic society, activists of the Minjung Buddhist Movement were very active to democratize the cruel dictatorships in Korean society.

The term "Minjung" means "masses," "people," "populace" and so on, strongly associated with the oppressed class. Minjung Buddhism became a movement in its collective and continuous activities aimed at the accomplishment of particular social, political and religious ends. As the representative movements in contemporary Korean Buddhism, the above-mentioned have greatly affected the formation of current Korean Buddhism. It is Minjung Buddhism that continues to be a vital force in that respect.

Minjung Buddhism experienced its greatest period of influence as a progressive religious movement in the 1980's. There are two major reasons why the Minjung Movement has been declining since the early 1990's. One stems from international conditions, namely, the economical and political collapse of the Eastern European Communist bloc and the Soviet Union. Minjung Buddhism is indebted for its theories and praxis to Marxism and socialism. As the Eastern European Communist bloc collapsed, Minjung Buddhism lost one of its most important models.

²⁸ I slightly revised and cited this section from my article "Historical Introduction to Minjung Buddhism (Korean Liberation Buddhism) in 1980's," in *Kankoku bukkyōgaku semina* – (Journal of Korean Buddhist Seminar) 9 (2003): 239-270.

The second reason for its decline is related to domestic conditions. In 1992, a long time opposition party leader, Gim Yeongsam (b. 1927), was elected president, even though this involved collaboration with the conservative ruling camp. Although many Korean intellectuals considered his victory in the presidential election incomplete in terms of overthrowing the dictatorship, it definitely decreased the need to push for democratization through extra-parliamentary means. After assuming power, Gim Yeongsam recruited some radical and progressive opposition leaders for filling some important positions in his cabinet and ruling party. His measures brought democratization to many areas of administration and served to nullify the power base of the long time ruling conservative group, even though he was elected by the support of that group. His aim was to diminish the influence of conservative politicians and their supporters, including businessmen, bureaucrats, bankers, and so forth, in order to establish a strong democratic hegemony in the ruling circle.

The characteristics of Minjung Buddhism can be outlined as follows. First, it maintains an acutely critical stance towards traditional or established Buddhism. Their criticisms in this respect are led primarily to practice as opposed to theory or doctrine itself. If the oppressed masses are not liberated, Minjung Buddhists assert, the true ideal of Buddhism cannot be realized. They charge the traditional Buddhists with standing in opposition to this by maintaining the status quo.

Second, Minjung Buddhists believe that they can alleviate the real suffering of the masses by the transformation of contradictory structures in politics, economy, and society. In order to do so, they adopted the idea of class struggle as one of their major principles. For this reason, the Minjung Buddhist method of salvation is quite different from that of traditional Buddhism, which tries to destroy the suffering of sentient beings by purely “spiritual” means.

Third, Minjung Buddhist activists do not interpret doctrine with the traditional *panjiao* (doctrinal classification) system but by reference to the modern social sciences. For example, Minjung Buddhism does not see suffering as originating from human internal desire or ignorance but from the external social structure. For this reason, their solution to suffering focuses upon structural contradiction rather than individual ignorance.

Forth, Minjung Buddhist activists exercise a cliquish exclusionism, considering that they are endowed with an advanced consciousness. They believe they are justified, simply based on this assumption, in strongly criticizing those who do not follow their line.

Fifth, traditional Buddhists and other scholars disagree with Minjung Buddhism in terms of its doctrines as well as its practices. They ask whether Minjung Buddhism is Buddhism and consider it instead a new Buddhism or heretic Buddhism. They strongly request Minjung Buddhism not to rely upon non-Buddhist method, violence to propagate its agendas.

2. Ha Dongsan: A critical review

2.1. Main themes: Ecumenist or Imje Seon sectarian

Ha Dongsan,²⁹ coeditors of *Yongseong seonsa eorok* (Seon Master Baek Yongseong's (1864-1940)³⁰ Analects) (Seoul: Samjang yeokhoe, 1941), along with Gim Taeheup (1899-1989),³¹ compiled and edited the book in 1941, one year after his master Baek Yongseong's death in 1940. He fundraised to publish and distributed it to Buddhists. He loyally succeeded and implemented his master Baek Yongseong's thought and activities across his whole monastic life career as follows.

First, following Baek Yongseong's argument which Korean Buddhists should recover traditional celibate monasticism from Japanized Korean Buddhism, he emphasized celibate monasticism and actively participated in and completed Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954-1962, as one of its key leaders along with I Hyobong (1888-1966)³² and I Cheongdam (1902-1971).³³

Second, he inherited the vinaya lineage from his master Baek Yongseong, hosted numberless monastic ordination ceremonies and the countless ceremonies offering Mahayana Bodhisattva precepts to monks and lay Buddhists, and popularized importance of vinaya among Korean Buddhists, including monastics and lay Buddhists. Both of them very highly evaluated the preservation of Buddhist precepts for Buddhists.

²⁹ Im Hyeobong, *Geu nuga keun kkum eul kkueotna* (Who Awakened from a Dream?), *Jongjeong yeoljeon* 1 (The 1st Series of the Biographies of Korean Buddhism's Supreme Patriarchs) (Seoul: Garam gihoek, 1999), 91-130 & 382-384; I Jeong, ed., 348-349; (Gim) Ilta Seunim, et al, *Hyeondae goseung innul pyeongjeon* (Biographies of Modern Korean Buddhist Eminent Monks) (Seoul: Bulgyo yeongsang, 1994), vol. 2, 88-104; Song Baegun, "Hanguk bulgyo jeonghwa bulgyo undong e itteoseo Dongsan seunim gwa Beomeo-sa ui yeokhwal" (Ha Dongsan and his Beomeo-sa Temple's Contributions to Purification Buddhist Movement in Modern Korean Buddhism), in *Daegak sasang* (Thought of Great Enlightenment) 7 (2004): 61-77; and Seon Wonbin, *Hanguk geundae bulgyo ui sanmaek sipchil in: Keun seunim* (Modern Korean Buddhism's 17 Great Monks) (Seoul: Beopbo sinmun-sa, 1992), 117-135. The above books introduce Ha Dongsan and his thought. I mostly referred to Im Hyeobong's work in introducing Ha Dongsan and his monastic career here. I also heavily referred to Dongsan mundo-hoe (Association of Master Ha Dongsan's Dharma Descendants), ed., *Dongsan daejongsa munjip* (Collection of Grand Master Ha Dongsan's Works) (Busan: Beomeo-sa Temple, 1998) as a primary source material when I discussed Ha Dongsan's thought.

³⁰ I Jeong, ed., 288-289. See also Jin-wol Lee, "Master Yongseong's Life and Works: An Engaged Buddhism of Peace and Justice," in Chanju Mun, ed., *Buddhist Exploration of Peace and Justice* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2006), 247-261.

³¹ Ha Dongsan, ed., *Yongseong keun seunim eorok: Pyeongsangsimsi do ra ireuji malla* (Grand Master Baek Yongseong's Analects), translated by Dongbong (Seoul: Bulgwang chulpanbu, 1993), 610-612. To know Gim Taeheup, see I Jeong, ed., 64-65.

³² Ibid, 204-205.

³³ Ibid, 160-161.

Third, as his master Baek Yongseong had done, he practiced Seon Buddhism in innumerable Seon centers under many eminent Seon masters across the nation. After getting trained in Seon, he educated Seon practitioners and became spiritual leaders in various Seon centers. He adopted Seon praxis as his major cultivation method for enlightenment.

Ha Dongsan also is different from his master Baek Yongseong as follows. First, even though Ha Dongsan followed his master Baek Yongseong and dedicated himself to purify Japanized Korean Buddhism and to recover Seon monastic tradition, he was not interested in such social issues as reunification, human rights, peace, labor, democracy, feminism, anti-imperialism, anti-dictatorship, environmentalism, social justice, and others.

Unlike his master Baek Yongseong who dedicated himself to anti-Japanese imperialism and independence movement, he just concentrated on the cleansing of Japanized married monasticism in the order. Baek Yongseong actively participated in removing Japanese occupation from Korea in the Japanese imperial period. He was one of the major figures in the independence movement from Japan among Buddhists along with his junior monk Han Yongun (1879-1944).³⁴

Second, while his master Baek Yongseong actively missionized Buddhism by translating classical Chinese Buddhist texts in vernacular Korean language and by adopting modernized missionary methods, i.e., westernized rituals, songs and musical instruments, Ha Dongsan did not much dedicate himself to translate classical Chinese texts in vernacular Korean language and popularize Buddhism among the masses. Ha Dongsan actively propagated Buddhism by using traditional methods.

Third, while his master Baek Yongseong was an Imje Seon sectarian, Ha Dongsan was an ecumenist. His master Baek Yongseong generally prioritized Seon to such other traditions such as doctrinal tradition, Pure Land Buddhism and Tantric Buddhism and particularly evaluated the Imje Seon Sect over other Seon traditions. Even so, because he did not exclude other traditions and other Seon traditions, he was a moderate Imje Seon sectarian.

Even though Ha Dongsan officially and nominally inherited the sectarian lineage of Sino-Korean Imje Seon Sect through his master Baek Yongseong, he was actually an ecumenist and studied major Buddhist texts important in Korean Buddhism from many eminent monks. He did not hierarchically evaluate such traditions as vinaya, Pure Land Buddhism, Seon Buddhism, doctrinal (mostly Hwaem) Buddhism, and Tantric Buddhism. Even though he was nominally affiliated to the Dharma lineage of the Imje Seon Sect, he did not hierarchically evaluate other Seon families in the Seon tradition. He loyally transmitted ecumenical tradition in Sino-Korean Buddhism. His sectarian Dharma lineage does not reflect his actual ecumenical thoughts.

³⁴ Ibid, 119-121.

From August 13, 1958 to April 11, 1962, Ha Dongsan had been the order's highest patriarch of the celibate monastic side of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. Ha Dongsan's patriarchate ended on April 11, 1962 with the beginning of the new and first patriarch I Hyobong's term of the United (Jogye Order of) Korean Buddhism. Guk Mukdam (1896-1981),³⁵ the highest patriarch of the order's married monastic side, also officially ended his patriarchate on April 11.

With the beginning of Purification Buddhist Movement, the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism had simultaneously had two highest patriarchs. One represented the married monastic side and another the celibate monastic side. The current Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism defined its patriarchate from I Hyobong and stipulated I Hyobong as the 1st patriarch in its order.³⁶ It excluded the previous patriarchs of the celibate monastic side during the Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954-1962.

However, since the beginning of Purification Buddhist Movement initiated with the 1st presidential message of President I Seungman (1875-1965), Ha Dongsan was enshrined as the 1st patriarchate of the order's celibate monastic side from November 3, 1954 and as the 2nd patriarchate from August 2, 1955. Seol Seogu (1875-1958)³⁷ was enshrined as the 3rd patriarchate from August 12, 1955; I Hyobong as the 4th patriarchate from April 1958; and Ha Dongsan as the 5th patriarchate from August 13, 1958.

Because the order prescribed the order's patriarchate from the establishment of the unification between two groups, it negated the long history of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. It even did not include the patriarchs of the celibate monastic side during Purification Buddhist Movement in the order's patriarchate lineage. Of course, the order completely ignored its highest patriarchs during Japanese occupation period. If it did not include the patriarchs after liberation from Japan on August 15, 1945, it could not explain its history from August 15, 1945 to April 11, 1962. It totally negated its tradition. Even though it did not like to include its patriarchs in Japanese imperial period, it should at least include the patriarchs in post-colonial Korean Buddhism in its history.³⁸

The title "Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism" and its modern order originated from the meeting of 31 abbots of the parish headquarters temples held in the Japanese Government-General building on November 28, 1940. The

³⁵ See the front matter in Jongdan-sa ganhaeng wiwon-hoe (Publication Committee for the History of the Taego Order of Korean Buddhism), ed., *Taego jongsu: Hanguk bulgyo jeongtong jongdan ui yeoksa* (The History of the Taego Order of Korean Buddhism: The History of an Orthodox Order in Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Hanguk bulgyo chulpan-bu, 2006).

³⁶ *Chongnam*, 206.

³⁷ I Jeong, ed., 116-117.

³⁸ See Im Hyeobong's "Preface" in *Geu nuga keun kkum eul kkueotna* (Who Awakened from a Dream?), Jongjeong yeoljeon 1 (The 1st Series of the Biographies of Korean Buddhism's Supreme Patriarchs) (Seoul: Garam gihoek, 1999).

association of 31 abbots of the parish headquarter temples revised the “Regulations of Taego-sa Temple, Headquarter Temple of Korean Buddhism” and officially changed the order’s title from “Korean Buddhist Order of Seon and Doctrine” to “the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism.” On December 9, 1940, the association submitted the revised regulations for approval to the Japanese Government-General. On April 23, 1941, after the Japanese Government-General revised the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples and its enforcement ordinances, it approved the Regulations of Taego-sa Temple based on the revised law and enforcement ordinance.

The temple’s official name became “Taego-sa Temple, the Headquarter Temple of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism.” Based on the approved regulation, Korean Buddhists established Korean Buddhist Jogye Order, officially and legally affiliated all temples to the order, and considered the order as the centralized body of Korean Buddhism. Before the establishment of the Jogye Order, there were 31 autonomous parish head temples, each of which appointed the abbots of its branch temples, enforced personnel administration and managed finance in the parish. Prior to the beginning of Korean Buddhist Jogye Order, the Japanese Government-General had controlled Korean Buddhism through each of 31 parish head temples because there was not a centralized order. The order elected Bang Hanam (1876-1951)³⁹ as the highest patriarch in the 1st official meeting of the order’s Central Assembly on June 5, 1941 and received approval from the government on August 4.

Since being enshrined as the 1st patriarch of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism in 1941, Bang Hanam had served as the patriarchate until to 1945 in which Korea was liberated from Japan. On August 17, 1945, two days after liberation, all cabinet members of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, the highest and central administrative unit in Korean Buddhism, including Secretary-General I Jonguk (1884-1969),⁴⁰ resigned from their posts. Korean Buddhists considered them to work for Japanese imperialism.

On August 18, 1945, progressive Korean Buddhists organized the Preparatory Committee for Reforming Korean Buddhism. On August 20, Gim Beomnin (1899-1964),⁴¹ Choe Beomsul (1904-1979),⁴² Yu Yeop (d.u.) and others, members of the Buddhist Youth Party for Founding a Nation, visited Taego-sa Temple at which the headquarter of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism was located, took over the administration, and organized the Preparatory Committee for Hosting National Buddhist Monastic Conference.

On September 22-23, they hosted the national monastic conference and abolished the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples and its enforcement ordinances, the Articles of Taego-sa Temple, the system of 31 parish head temples, and all other rules that Korean Buddhists had made during Japanese

³⁹ I Jeong, ed., 275-276.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 273-274.

⁴¹ Ibid, 46-47.

⁴² Ibid, 306-307.

occupation. The basic objectives of the conference were to decolonize Japanized Korean Buddhism and to establish new Korean Buddhism. They also passed the order's new Constitution, organized Korean Buddhism's new central administration, established the local provincial administration system, and decided to designate 13 parish headquarter temples. Each of 13 parish headquarter temples should be assigned to each of 13 provinces across the nation. They enshrined Bak Hanyeong (1870-1948)⁴³ to the order's 1st highest patriarch after independence.

Even though he was enshrined to the highest patriarch in Korean Buddhism, he had always stayed at Naejang-sa Temple in the County of Jeongeup, North Jeolla Province. After Bak Hanyeong passed away on April 8, 1948, lunar February 29 at Naejang-sa Temple, the order enshrined Bang Hanam as the 2nd highest patriarch on June 30. Until to his death on lunar February 14, corresponding to March 21, 1951, Bang Hanam had served as the order's highest patriarch.

On June 20, 1951, the order enshrined Song Manam (1876-1957)⁴⁴ as the 3rd highest patriarch after Korea's liberation from Japan. On May 20, 1954, with the 1st presidential message of President I Seungman, celibate monks initiated Purification Buddhist Movement. On June 20, the order's central administration held the cabinet meeting and revised the order's constitution based on the proposal by I Daeui (1901-1978)⁴⁵ and the directives by Song Manam. The order mentioned that it should be the combination between the celibate monks and the married monks. Based on the constitution, he became the highest patriarch of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism.⁴⁶

When Song Manam sided with the married monastic group in the Purification Buddhist Movement, the celibate monastic group hosted the order's 2nd assembly meeting at the Center for Seon Studies and enshrined Ha Dongsan as the new highest patriarch on November 3, 1954. Ha Dongsan was the spiritual leader only for the group of celibate monks, not for all of Buddhist monks. Song Manam was the official highest patriarch in the order.

In January 1955, criticizing the celibate monks who changed the order's founder from Taego Bou to Bojo Jinul, Song Manam resigned the highest patriarch post and joined the group of married monks. Even so, married monks did not accept his resignation but still considered Song Manam as their highest patriarch. Since November 3, 1954, on which celibate monks recommended Ha Dongsan as their highest patriarch, there were two highest patriarchs in the order until to the establishment of the united order of two groups on April 11, 1962.

Song Manam had served as the order's highest patriarch in its married monastic side until to his death on January 10, 1957. The order's married monastic group enshrined Guk Mukdam as its highest patriarch on March 17,

⁴³ Ibid, 268-269.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 274-275.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 65-66.

⁴⁶ Im Hyeobong, 78.

1957. Guk Mukdam had served as the order's highest patriarch in its married monastic group until to April 11, 1962.

Current Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism fixed the patriarchal lineage begun from I Hyobong enshrined on April 11, 1962. The setup of the patriarchal lineage system was subject to negate the order's history officially established on April 23, 1941. The order should carefully reexamine and setup the lineage system. The institutionalization of the order's patriarchal lineage by current Jogye Order does not properly reflect the main spirit of Purification Buddhist Movement and the actual history of modern Korean Buddhism.

This book extensively discusses Ha Dongsan from different subjects. It was only one academic research book on Ha Dongsan available until to now. Ha Dongsan was a vinaya master, a Seon master, a sincere Buddhist practitioner, a loyal transmitter of the ecumenical lineage in Sino-Korean Buddhism, an official and nominal successor to the Seon sectarian lineage of Imje (Chn., Linji; Jpn., Rinzai) Seon Sect in Sino-Korean Buddhism, a prominent leader of Purification Buddhist Movement, and the order's highest spiritual leader. It exclusively reviews his whole life in its 1st part, incorporating his different careers and specializing in his various activities for Buddhist Purification. I tried to introduce Ha Dongsan activities in connection with his master Baek Yongseong in its first part because he tremendously directly and indirectly received influence from his master.

As Korean Seon masters have done, he located himself to loyally inherit the sectarian Dharma lineage of the Imje Seon Sect. If we review his Dharma lineage in Dongsan mundo-hoe (Association of Master Ha Dongsan's Dharma Descendants), ed., *Dongsan daejongsa munjip* (Collection of Grand Master Ha Dongsan's Works) (*Munjip* for abbreviation) (Busan: Beomeo-sa Temple, 1998), we can easily recognize in it that he loyally transmitted the sectarian Dharma lamp of Sino-Korean Linji Chan Sect, completely excluding the masters of the ecumenical lineage of Sino-Korean Buddhism. He inherited the sectarian lineage of Imje Seon Sect through his master Baek Yongseong as follows.⁴⁷

(There are seven Buddhas of the past.⁴⁸ Those are) (1) Vipasyin, (2) Śikhin, (3) Viśvabhū, (4) Krakucchanda, (5) Kanakamuni, (6) Kāśyapa, and (7) Śākyamuni. (There are 28 patriarchs in Indian Buddhism.⁴⁹ Those are) the 1st patriarch Mahākāśyapa, the 2nd patriarch Ānanda, the 3rd patriarch Śānavāsin, the 4th patriarch Upagupta, the 5th patriarch Dhīrtika, the 6th patriarch Miśaka, the 7th patriarch Vasumitra, the 8th patriarch Buddhanandi, the 9th patriarch Buddhāmītra, the 10th patriarch Pārśva, the 11th patriarch Punyayaśa, the 12th patriarch Ānabodhi, the 13th patriarch Kapimala, the 14th patriarch Nāgārjuna,

⁴⁷ See Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 415-422; and I Jigwan, *Hanguk bulgyo soi gyeongjeon yeongu* (Researches on Authoritative Scriptures in Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo seongnim-hoe, 1969), 447-472.

⁴⁸ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 415; and I Jigwan, 447-449.

⁴⁹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 415-418; and I Jigwan, 449-454.

the 15th patriarch Kānadeva, the 16th patriarch Rāhulabhadra, the 17th patriarch Samghanandi, the 18th patriarch Samghayathata, the 19th patriarch Kumāralāta, the 20th patriarch Śayata, the 21st patriarch Vasubandhu, the 22nd patriarch Manorata, the 23rd patriarch Haklenayaśa, the 24th patriarch Simhabodhi, the 25th patriarch Baśaśita, the 26th patriarch Punyamitra, the 27th patriarch Prajñādhāra, and the 28th patriarch Bodhidharma. (Chinese Linji Chan patriarchs began from) the 28th patriarch Bodhidharma (who transmitted Indian Chan Buddhism to China).⁵⁰ (Chinese Linji Chan patriarchs⁵¹ are) the 28th patriarch Bodhidharma, the 29th patriarch Huike (487-593), the 30th patriarch Sengcan (d. 606?), the 31st patriarch Daoxin (580-651), the 32nd patriarch Hongren (601-674), the 33rd patriarch Huineng (638-713), the 34th patriarch Nanyue Huairang (677-744), the 35th patriarch Mazu Daoyi (709-788), the 36th patriarch Baizhang Huaihai (720-814), the 37th patriarch Huangbo Xiyuan (d. 850), the 38th patriarch Linji Yixuan (d. 866), the 39th patriarch Xinghua Congjiang (830-888), the 40th patriarch Nanyuan Huiyong (d. 930), the 41st patriarch Fengxue Yanzhao (893-973), the 42nd patriarch Shoushan Shengnian (926-993), the 43rd patriarch Fenyang Shanzhao (947-1024), the 44th patriarch Ciming Chuyuan (986-1039), the 45th patriarch Yangqi Fanghui (992-1049), the 46th patriarch Baiyun Shouduan (1025-1072), the 47th patriarch Wuzu Fayuan (ca. 1024-1104), the 48th patriarch Yuanwu Keqin (1063-1135), the 49th patriarch Huqin Shaolong (1077-1136), the 50th patriarch Ying'an Tanhua (1103-1163), the 51st patriarch Mian Xianjie (d.u.), the 52nd patriarch Poan Zuxian (1136-1211), the 53rd patriarch Wujun Shifan (1177-1249), the 54th patriarch Xueyan Zuqin (d.u.), the 55th patriarch Jian Zongxin (d.u.), and the 56th patriarch Shiwu Qinggong (1272-1352). (Korean Taego Bou (1301-1382) went to China and transmitted the Chinese Linji Chan lineage from the 56th patriarch Shiwu Qinggong and established the Korean Imje Seon lineage. Korean Imje Seon patriarchs⁵² are) the 57th patriarch Taego Bou, the 58th patriarch Hwanam Honsu (1320-1392),⁵³ the 59th patriarch Gugok Gagun (d.u.),⁵⁴ the 60th patriarch Byeokgye Jeongsim (d.u.),⁵⁵ the 61st patriarch Byeoksong Jieom (1464-1534),⁵⁶ the 62nd patriarch Buyong Yeonggwan (1485-1571),⁵⁷ the 63rd patriarch Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604),⁵⁸ the 64th patriarch Pyeonyang Eongi (1581-1644),⁵⁹ the 65th patriarch Pungdam Uisim (1592-1665),⁶⁰ the 66th patriarch Woldam Seolje (1632-1704),⁶¹ the 67th

⁵⁰ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 418; and I Jigwan, 454.

⁵¹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 418-421; and I Jigwan, 454-461.

⁵² Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 421-423; and I Jigwan, 461-472.

⁵³ I Jeong, ed., 354-355.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 11-12.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 263-264.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 281-282.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 183.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 366-367.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 179.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 228.

⁶¹ Ibid, 141.

patriarch Hwanseong Jian (1664-1729),⁶² the 68th patriarch Yongseong Jinjong (1864-1940)⁶³ and the 68th patriarch Dongsan Hyeil (1890-1965).⁶⁴

As above, Ha Dongsan identified himself as the 68th patriarch of Sino-Korean Linji Chan Sect. Ha Dongsan located himself as a loyal successor to his master Baek Yongseong, the founder Taego Bou of Korean Imje Seon Sect, and the founder Linji Yixuan of Chinese Linji Chan Sect. His master Baek Yongseong added the 57th patriarch Pingshan Chulin (d.u.) to the 56th patriarch Shiwu Qinggong and set up the sectarian lineage of Korean Imje Sect. Ha Dongsan abbreviated and made the shorter lineage version of his master Baek Yongseong. The longer lineage version that his master Baek Yongseong set up can be seen in the following:⁶⁵

(The patriarchs of Imje Seon Sect in Korean Buddhism are) the 58th patriarch Taego Bou, the 59th patriarch Naong Hyegeun (1320-1376),⁶⁶ the 60th patriarch Hwanam Honsu, the 61st patriarch Muhak Jacho (1327-1405),⁶⁷ the 62nd patriarch Gugok Gagun, the 63rd patriarch Hamheo Gihwa (1376-1433),⁶⁸ the 64th patriarch Byeokgye Jeongsim, the 65th patriarch Cheonbong Manu (b. 1357),⁶⁹ the 66th Byeoksong Jeom, the 67th patriarch Buyong Yeonggwon, the 68th patriarch Gyeongseong Ilseon (1488-1568),⁷⁰ the 69th patriarch Cheongheo Hyujeong, the 70th patriarch Pyeongyang Eongi, the 71st patriarch Pungdam Uisim, the 72nd patriarch Woldam Seolje, the 73rd patriarch Hwanseong Jian, and the 74th patriarch Yongseong Jinjong.

In the July 7, 1915 issue of *Maeil sinbo*, he published and defined himself as a sincere Imje Seon sectarian in an article entitled “Ojong eun Imje seonjong” (My Sect is Imje Seon Sect).⁷¹ He concluded his Imje Seon sectarianism in it as follows:⁷²

On 1346, (Korean) Seon Master Taego Bou (1301-1382), active in late Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392), went to Yuan China (1206-1368) founded by Mongolians, and practiced and studied Seon Buddhism under Chan Master Shiwu Qinggong

⁶² Ibid, 281.

⁶³ I Jeong, ed., 288-289. See also Jin-wol Lee, “Master Yongseong’s Life and Works: An Engaged Buddhism of Peace and Justice,” in Chanju Mun, ed., *Buddhist Exploration of Peace and Justice* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2006), 247-261.

⁶⁴ Ha Dongsan’s ordination name is Hyeil and Dongsan is his honorific Dharma name. Korean Buddhists generally respect and call him as Dongsan, not Hyeil.

⁶⁵ I Jigwan, 461-470.

⁶⁶ I Jeong, ed., 340-341.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 256-257.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 42.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 81.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 247-248.

⁷¹ See HBGJ 2.1.482.

⁷² Ibid.

(1272-1352) on Mt. Xiawu in the City of Mingzhou, Province of Zhejiang. Shiwu Qinggong, the 18th Dharma Successor of Linji Yixuan (d. 867), transmitted Linji (Kor., Imje) Chan Buddhism. After coming back to Korea from China, he became the first Dharma master of Imje Seon Buddhism. He inherited it to Hwanam Honsu (1320-1392). Hwanam Honsu transmitted it to Gugok Gagun (d.u.). When Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604) inherited the Imje Dharma lineage in the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), the Imje Seon tradition became prosperous. (Of his 1,000 disciples), he has four eminent disciples, Soyo Taeneung (1562-1649),⁷³ Pyeongyang Eongi (1581-1644), Jeonggwan Ilseon (1533-1608),⁷⁴ and Samyeong Yujeong (1544-1610).⁷⁵ (Four disciples transmitted their own lineages to their Dharma successors). I, Baek Yongseong, am the 75th Dharma successor from Śākyamuni Buddha and the 38th Dharma successor from Linji Yixuan. Seon has two kinds. The first one is the secret transmission of Buddhism separate from that of Buddhist texts. Śākyamuni Buddha secretly transmitted the teaching to his eminent disciple Mahākāśyapa from mind to mind at three locations. Linji Yixuan transmitted the authoritative teaching directly inherited from the Buddha from mind to mind. The second one is insight meditation. The teaching has three insights, i.e., calmness, illusion and tranquility and three views, i.e., the view of emptiness, that of provision, and that of middle way. Linji Yixuan realized the essence of all Buddhist teachings without remaining. I should clarify that Korean Buddhism's Dharma transmission is only the Imje Seon tradition.

Han Yongun said in his inscription on Baek Yongseong erected at Haein-sa Monastery⁷⁶ that Baek Yongseong directly transmitted Hwanseong Jian (1664-1729), the 35th Dharma successor from Huineng (638-713) who was active on Mt. Caoxi. Regarding Baek Yongseong's Dharma lineage, there are big differences between Baek Yongseong's own sayings and Han Yongun's descriptions. Han Yongun described Baek Yongseong as the 35th Dharma inheritor from Huineng.

According to the article "Non gyo oe seonjong" (Discussing the Seon Tradition Separately Transmitted from the Doctrinal Tradition) which he himself wrote in 1914, Baek Yongseong declared himself as the 37th Dharma successor from Linji Yixuan.⁷⁷ Han Bogwang (b. 1950),⁷⁸ a specialist in Baek Yongseong, considered Baek Yongseong as the 37th Dharma successor from Linji Yixuan, and did not accept him as the 38th Dharma successor described in the July 7, 1915 issue of *Maeil sinbo*.⁷⁹

⁷³ I Jeong, ed., 316-317.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 248.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 215-216.

⁷⁶ The Inscription on Baek Yongseong by Han Yongun is included in Jeong Gwangho, *Hanguk bulgyo choegeun baengnyeonsa pyeonnyeon* (The History of Korean Buddhism during Recent 100 Years) (Incheon: Inha University Press, 1999), 338-339.

⁷⁷ See Ha Dongsan, ed., 101.

⁷⁸ *Chongnam*, 603-604.

⁷⁹ Han Bogwang, *Yongseong seonsa yeongu* (Research in Seon Master Yongseong) (Seoul: Gamno-dang, 1981), 16-17.

If we accept the long and detailed list of Seon Dharma lineage from India to Korea via China made by I Jigwan (b. 1932),⁸⁰ Hwanseong Jian is the 73rd Dharma successor from Śākyamuni Buddha and Baek Yongseong himself should be the 74th Dharma successor from the Buddha and the 37th Dharma successor from Linji Yixuan.⁸¹ I tentatively conclude that Baek Yongseong is the 74th Dharma successor from the Buddha and the 37th Dharma transmitter from Linji Yixuan. In a letter to Gim Gyeongbong (1892-1982),⁸² dated December 23, 1915, he also declared that he inherited his Dharma lineage from Hwanseong Jian and considered him as his master.⁸³

Baek Yongseong placed himself as a strong sectarian of Linji Chan lineage in a writing written in 1914. He asserted that Linji Chan Sect is the authentic and orthodox Chan lineage and Korean Buddhists should loyally follow the tradition as follows:⁸⁴

I am the 37th Dharma descent from Linji Yixuan. This year is 1914. Linji Yixuan passed away in 867. So, he passed away 1047 years ago. When he was alive, Chan practitioners from all directions respected Linji Yixuan's Chan teachings, and selected and practiced the proper Chan teachings transmitted from all Buddhas. From then on, the lineage teachings became very popular. The Chan master (Linji Yixuan) educated Chan practitioners with three mysteries,⁸⁵ three points,⁸⁶ four interpretations between subject and object,⁸⁷ four relations between masters and disciples,⁸⁸ four shouts,⁸⁹ and so on. Except

⁸⁰ *Chongnam*, 580.

⁸¹ I Jigwan, *Hanguk bulgyo soi gyeongjeon yeongu* (Researches on Authoritative Scriptures in Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo seongnim-hoe, 1969), 447-472.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 262-263.

⁸³ See Seok Myeongjeong, trans. and comm., *Hwajung yeonhwa sosik* (Letters from a Lotus in Fire) (Yangsan, South Korea: Geungnak-am Hermitage Seon Center of Tongdo-sa Monastery, 1984), 111-113.

⁸⁴ Ha Dongsan, ed., 101-103.

⁸⁵ Three mysteries are the mystery of the mysteries, the mystery revealed through language, and the mystery manifested through experience.

⁸⁶ Each mystery has three main points, (1) essence, (2) forms and (3) functions. There are nine points in all.

⁸⁷ Four interpretations are (1) the interpretation that negates subject, not object, (2) the interpretation that negates object, not subject, (3) the interpretation that negates subject and object, and (4) the interpretation that does not negate object and subject.

⁸⁸ Four relations between masters and disciples are (1) the relation that the disciple does not understand the master's teachings, (2) the relation that the disciple understands the master's teaching, (3) the relation that the master cannot educate the disciple, and (4) the relation that the master can educate the disciple.

⁸⁹ Four shouts are (1) the shout that looks like Diamond King's Treasure Sword, (2) the shout that seems like a lion who draws in his legs, (3) the shout that resembles the fishing net, and (4) the shout that does not work. The Chan Kōan case of four shouts is introduced in *Linji lu* (The Record of Linji Yixuan) as follows (T.47.1985.504a26-29): "The Chan Master Linji Yixuan (d. 866) asked a Chan monk, "(1) A shout is sometimes

when the high-quality Chan practitioners took his teachings, how many Chan practitioners could have obtained enlightenment based upon them? We are born more than 1,000 years later after his death. If we do not spread the Linji Chan lineage, I can dare to say that we are extremely disloyal to the lineage (as its descendants).

(Can you remember that) the Chan master (Linji Yixuan) told as follows?: “In order to propagate and promote the Chan lineage, the Chan practitioners should endow three mysteries in a phrase, and three points in a mystery and they should use the techniques sometimes as a provisional means and sometimes as a ultimate reality. Those techniques have illuminations and functions, and could be used as a means and a reality.”⁹⁰ All of you should diligently practice Chan based on those teachings.

As a Linji Chan sectarian, he detailed the meaning of sect in *Byeonjong-non* (Essay on the Meaning of Sect). He prioritized Seon Buddhism to other Buddhist traditions such as doctrinal Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism, and Pure Land Buddhism, and put the superiority of his Linji Chan Sect to other Chan sects.⁹¹

Even though many rivers compete with each other to run into a great ocean, the blue ocean became the head of them. (Here, Baek Yongseong likened the head to mean the sect.) Even though there are so many mountain peaks, Mt. Sumeru is the head of them. Although there are the sun, the moon, and stars in sky, the sun is the head of them. Even though there are numberless citizens, an emperor is the head of them. Although there are innumerable sages like the number of dusts and sands, the Buddha is the head of them. Even though there are numberless teachings across the unlimited number, the special transmission outside the orthodox teaching is the head of them.

The Buddha received the teaching from Patriarch Jingwi⁹² and transmitted his teaching to his disciple Mahākāśyapa at three locations.⁹³ China transmitted

like the Diamond Kingly Treasure Sword. (2) A shout is sometimes like the Golden Haired Lion who Draws his Legs. (3) A shout is sometimes like the Reflected Grass under a Loft Pole. (4) A shout sometimes does not function. How do you think (the four shouts)?” The Chan monk was tardy to answer the question. The Chan master shouted suddenly.”

⁹⁰ T.47.1985.497a20.

⁹¹ Ha Dongsan, ed., 455-461.

⁹² Only Korean Buddhism has the assertion that the Buddha received Dharma transmission from Patriarch Jingwi. The unique assertion appeared in the first in *Seonmun bojang-nok* (Record of the Treasure Storehouse to Seon Gate) in three fascicles by National Master Jinjeong Cheonchaek (d.u.) of the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392). Jinjeong Cheonchaek described in it that Beomil (810-889) stated that the Buddha inherited the Dharma lineage from Patriarch Jingwi. Beomil studied Seon under Yanguan Zhaian (d.u.), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi (707-786), transmitted the Dharma lineage from China, and established his own mountain lineage on Mt. Sagul in Korea. X.64.1276.807c5-6.

⁹³ At the first transmission location, when a host of disciples assembled to hear the teaching from the Buddha, the Buddha lifted a flower to show his teaching without

the teaching from Bodhidharma, the 28th Dharma successor from the Buddha (in the Indian Buddhist lineage. Bodhidharma became the first Dharma holder in China and transmitted the teaching to Huineng (638-713), the 6th Dharma successor (in Chinese Chan Buddhism).

From Huineng, five families and (seven sects) originated. We call them the masters, belonged to the lineages, of Chan Sect who enjoyed to write the literary pieces and were versed in Buddhist scriptures, discipline codes and treatises. However, I have never heard the word “Doctrinal Sect.”

Ignorant Seon practitioners in modern times lost the original spirit of their lineage, and arbitrarily called their tradition as the Korean Buddhist Order of Seon Sect and Doctrinal Sect. The title can be figured metaphorically to a two-headed person. The Dharma descendants of Linji Sect call themselves as the followers of Linji Sect. The Dharma descendants of Caodong Sect call themselves as the followers of Caodong Sect. The Dharma descendants of Yunmen Sect consider themselves to be the followers of Yunmen Sect. The Dharma descendants of Weiyang Sect consider themselves to be the followers of Weiyang Sect. The Dharma descendants of Fayen Sect consider themselves to the followers of Fayen Sect. Even though the eminent monks of Seon Sect knew three baskets of scriptures, discipline codes and treatises very well, they founded their sectarian positions based on their own special interests.

Because Korean Buddhism has only one tradition, Imje Sect that has been inheriting from the beginning of Seon Buddhism, we do not need to explain other sects. If an intellectual person hears the awkward title “Korean Buddhist Order of Seon Sect and Doctrinal Sect,” he will laugh at it.

Some asked me, “Korean Seon Order originated from Taego Bou (1301-1382),⁹⁴ active in late Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392). He inherited to Korea Chinese Linji Chan Sect from his master Chinese Chan Master Shiwu Qinggong (1272-1352) and became the first Dharma master of Imje Seon Buddhism in Korea. Like the title of Linji Sect originated from the name of its sect founder Linji Yixuan (d. 866), I think that it will be okay to call Korean Buddhism as Taego Sect. And because Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604), (generally known as Master Seosan), active in mid Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), popularized Korean Seon Buddhism, I also think that it will be okay to call Korean Buddhism as Cheongheo Sect. How should we call Korean Buddhism only with Imje Sect?”

I answered his question as follows: “I do not think so. Because the Dharma descendants of Chan Master Linji Yixuan did not make discipline codes and praxis methods separate to the ones of Linji Sect and followed the Linji Sect’s discipline codes and praxis methods, they did not need to establish another independent sect. Linji Sect established three mysteries, three points, four interpretations between subject and object, four relations between masters

speaking at Vulture Peak Mountain (Skt., Gṛdhrakūṭa). Only his eminent disciple Mahākāśyapa comprehended the profound meaning and smiled. So, he was considered the first Indian patriarch in the lineage of Dharma transmission in Chan Buddhism. At the second location, the Buddha shared his seat with his disciple Mahākāśyapa in front of Bahuputraka Pagoda in Vaiśālī. At the third location, the Buddha lifted a leg from the coffin under twin Sara trees in Kuśinagara.

⁹⁴ I Jeong, ed., 113.

and disciples, and four shouts and summarized all Seon sects. Caodong Sect established five relations between phenomena and noumenon;⁹⁵ Yunmen Sect three phrases;⁹⁶ and Fayan Sect the mind-only. Because they transmitted Dharma only from mind to mind, they did not need intellectual theories. Even though people use rafters, pillars, bricks, gravels, purline, doorframes, and so on in constructing a building, the main material of and the most important in the building is a crossbeam. Even though there are limitless Buddhist teachings, the most important is only the mind. Therefore, we should directly point to the mind, see the (Buddha) nature, and finally become a Buddha.”

Some asked me, “Cheongheo Hyujeong, generally known as Master Seosan, said, “Seon Sect contains the Buddha’s mind and Doctrinal Sect the Buddha’s teachings.” Even Master Seosan established two sects, Seon Sect and Doctrinal Sect. How can you negate Korean Buddhist Order of Seon Sect and Doctrinal Sect?”

I answered his questions as follows: “As I told you before, because all masters of Seon Buddhism have studied all Buddhist texts, they have been versed in three canons of Buddhism, i.e., scriptures, discipline codes and treatises. Even so, because they prioritize Seon to Buddhist doctrines, we call them the Seon masters. If some prioritize Huayan (Kor., Hwaem; Jpn., Kegon) Buddhism, we call them the masters of Huayan Sect. If some prioritize the Lotus teaching, we call them the masters of Tiantai Sect. Those are sects based on scriptures and do not investigate even in an instant the mind unlike Seon Sect which transmits independently of orthodox teachings.

If some who are mainly interested in Seon Sect have studied all of Buddhist teachings included in three canons, scriptures, discipline codes and treatises, we call them as the people who belong to Seon Sect. If the waters of all rivers go through to the great ocean, the different river waters can finally be same in it. The metaphor can be taken just as we call them as the same water in the great ocean.

Have you ever read the *Seongyo-seok* (Interpretations on Seon Sect and Doctrine Sect) by Master Seosan? We can find out Master Seosan’s fundamental teachings in it. He equally treats and educates three leveled practitioners, the high level, the middle one and the low one, based on their capacities in *Seonga gwigam* (The Standard Teaching of Seon Buddhism). Just as we call in society a student as one of a teacher, we can name Korean Seon Sect as Imje Sect because Koreans have inherited the Dharma lineage from Chinese Chan Master Linji Yixuan. We Koreans should clearly profess that we are the Dharma descendants of Linji Sect.

He wrote another article entitled “Yin chongdok-bu mun Joseon jongpa gubyeon-non” (My Answers on the Japanese Governor-General Office’s

⁹⁵ Five relations are (1) the phenomena in the noumenon, (2) the noumenon in the phenomena, (3) the appearance in the noumenon, (4) the appearance in the phenomena, and (5) the simultaneous appearance of the phenomena and the noumenon.

⁹⁶ The meaning of the Buddha, Dharma and Dao can be summarized in the following three phrases: According to the first phrase, the Buddha is the pure mind; according to the second, Dharma is the bright mind; and according to the third, Dao is the unobstructed light.

Questions Regarding Korean Buddhist Sects),⁹⁷ clearly revealed the unique characteristics of Korean Buddhism and strongly argued against Japanese Government-General's measures as follows:⁹⁸

Seon Sect is the special transmission outside the orthodox doctrinal teachings. Patriarch Jingwi transmitted the teaching to only Śākyamuni Buddha. The Buddha transmitted it to only one master. Only Huineng, the 33rd Patriarch from India and the 6th Patriarch in China, directly inherited the Buddha's teaching from mind to mind. After Huineng, several offshoots emerged. Before him, we cannot find any offshoot.

Five Chan factions originated from Huineng and inherited their original lineages. Those five factions are (1) Linji Sect, (2) Caodong Sect, (3) Yunmen Sect, (4) Weiyang Sect and (5) Fayan Sect. Their teaching standards are different. If I enlist them, they can be summarized as follows:

For example, (1) Linji Sect set up three mysteries, three points, four interpretations between subject and object, four relations between masters and disciples, and four shouts. (3) Yunmen Sect established the fundamental teaching of three phrases. (2) Caodong Sect set up five relations between masters and subjects. (4) Weiyang Sect established two phrases, complete essence and complete function. (5) Fayan Sect set up the great illuminating storehouse of the mind-only. Each Seon practitioner, belonged to each Seon sect, has inherited its own tradition, and it has not established its fundamental teachings additionally. Therefore, in such nations as China, Korea, and Japan, I have never heard other Seon sects except the aforementioned five Seon sects. Of course, there was the great Chan master Huangbo Xiyun (d. 850). Because he was the master of Linji Yixuan, people did not mention him in particular.

Even Korean Seon masters, Taego Bou and Cheongheo Hyujeong, belong to the Linji Dharma lineage. Korean monks have conventionally practiced Pure Land Buddhism, recited mantras, read Buddhist texts and others. They have lived together and learned different teachings (based on their capacities and interests). For example, while some monks recite the title of Amitābha Buddha, others chant mantras and read scriptures. While some monks chant mantras, others recite the title of Amitābha Buddha. However, when Korean Seon practitioners, regardless of any temple and its affiliate Seon centers in Korea, have lived at their Seon center, they have not concurrently practiced multiple praxis forms but have concentrated only on Seon praxis.

Seon practitioners did not share their standard teachings with other practitioners. They inherited their standard teachings from Linji Yixuan from generation to generation. The Seon tradition of Korea is totally different from that of China and Japan. Japanese Government-General has currently prohibited Korean Buddhists from using the title of Imje Sect. However, Korean Seon Buddhists inherit the fundamental teaching of Linji Sect.

Baek Yongseong educated his followers to conduct five practices.⁹⁹ Even though he clearly mentioned that Seon is the best method in taming mind, he did

⁹⁷ Ha Dongsan, ed., 462-464.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

not extremize Seon praxis by excluding other various practical methods popularly available in his contemporary times.¹⁰⁰ The five practices that Baek Yongseong adopted to educate his followers are (1) the Seon meditation practice, (2) the Pure Land practice, (3) the doctrinal and textual practice, (4) the Tantric practice, and (5) the practice of making Buddhism be popular.

So, we can classify him as a moderate Imje Seon sectarian. However, his grand disciple I Seongcheol (1912-1993),¹⁰¹ an eminent disciple of his disciple Ha Dongsan, is an extreme Seon sectarian who exclusively advocated Seon Buddhism and an extreme Imje Seon sectarian who exclusively accepted Imje Seon Buddhism. Because we cannot find any sentences and passages on Seon sectarianism in general and Imje Seon sectarianism in particular in the collection of his *Munjip*, Ha Dongsan is more moderate Seon and Imje Seon sectarian than his master Baek Yongseong. He was nominally an Imje Seon sectarian. Rather, he was actually an ecumenist.

The first praxis is the meditational practice accepted in Seon Buddhism.¹⁰² Baek Yongseong adopted and spread Kōan Seon Buddhism among Buddhists. He defined that Seon is the best method to cultivate mind and he explained that the methods how to practice Seon are detailed in his translation of *Seonmun chwaryo* (Selected Collection of Important Chan Texts) that Song Gyeongheo (1849-1912), the revitalizer of Seon Buddhism in modern Korea edited as well as the *Susim jeongno*, *Gakhae llyun*, and *Susim-non*.¹⁰³ He introduced a famous Kōan “What is this?” and detailed how to cultivate mind as follows:¹⁰⁴

Also, I will introduce just one method. Even though a practitioner perfumed with many defilements was enlightened, he should further praxis with a Kōan “What is this?” He should always concentrate on only the question, “What is this?” should not raise all wisdoms, and should not make any thoughts be arisen. If so, the path of streaming thoughts is (suddenly) stopped, and the great wisdom of perfect enlightenment is clearly illuminated. Just as a moon is (simultaneously) manifested in nine directions, a shadow image reflects ten thousand waters. If so, we can cure our mind diseases.

Also, sentient beings who did not enlighten mind are recommended to take the Kōan “What is this?” Because they do not know who see, listen and enlighten, they should constantly and for a long time raise the question on who they themselves are. If so, just as a millstone’s two parts, upper and lower ones,

⁹⁹ Im Domun, “Yongseong daejongsa ui yuhun sipsamok” (Grand Master Baek Yongseong’s Ten Posthumous Injunctions), in *Mua* (No-self) 168 (lunar October 1992): 77-176.

¹⁰⁰ Baek Yongseong listed three practices in his *Odo ui jilli* (Truth of My Way), included in *Mua* 168: 27-30.

¹⁰¹ *Chongnam*, 576.

¹⁰² Im Domun, 126-134. Baek Yongseong, 27-30. The first is the meditation praxis (pp. 27-28), the second the Pure Land praxis (p. 28), and the third the Tantric praxis (pp. 28-30).

¹⁰³ Baek Yongseong, 27-28.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 27.

naturally match after grinding grain, we should be enlightened after grinding mind.

Even though he suggested Buddhists to practice five practices, he considered Seon praxis as the best and supreme method. Even though he did not exclude four other practices, he prioritized Seon praxis to them. He was a Seon sectarian monk. He hierarchically classified Seon praxis over Pure Land practice. He also located visualization praxis between Pure Land praxis and Seon practice in his praxis classification. He introduced the visualization praxis explained in Huayan philosophy, the *Yuanjue jing* (The Complete Enlightenment Sūtra), Tiantai Buddhism, and Pure Land Buddhism. Seon Praxis is higher than visualization praxis, which is better than Pure Land praxis. Seon Buddhism is higher than Tiantai philosophy, Huayan Buddhism, and the teachings of the *Yuanjue jing*.

In this context, we can easily induce that he classified Seon Buddhism over doctrinal teachings, represented by Tiantai and Huayan texts. Baek Yongseong asserted that the visualization practitioners are not qualified to take the Kōan Seon praxis but can purify and calm down the disturbed minds. If the practitioners continue to practice the visualization praxis, the world of birth and destruction will be emptied and calmed down and the light of mind will be illuminated. They can cultivate one visualization or multiple visualizations and can accomplish great enlightenment. Even so, the visualization praxis cannot be comparable to the Kōan Chan praxis.

Huayan philosophy introduces three visualizations, i.e., (1) the visualization of true emptiness that destructs forms, (2) the visualization of unobstructed limitless relations between the principle and the phenomena, and (3) the visualization of unobstructed limited relations between the phenomena and the phenomena. The *Yuanjue jing* explains three visualizations, i.e., (1) the visualization of the clear mind that destructs forms, (2) the visualization of unobstructed limitless relations between the principle and the phenomena, and (3) the visualization of absolute mysterious mind. Tiantai Buddhism lists three visualizations, i.e., (1) the visualization of the emptiness truth, (2) the visualization of the provisional truth and (3) the visualization of the middle truth.

Pure Land Buddhism enlists sixteen visualizations in *Guan wuliangshou jing* (The Sūtra of Visualizing the Amitāyus Buddha) as follows.¹⁰⁵ (1) When Pure Land practitioners see the sunset, they visualize that Pure Land is located in the western direction. (2) When they see the beauty of water and ice in this world, they should visualize the status of a lotus pond in a Pure Land. (3) They should visualize the earth in a Pure Land. (4) They should visualize the mysterious functions of a tree in a Pure Land. (5) They should visualize the water of a pond in a Pure Land. (6) They should visualize the fifty billion buildings in a Pure Land. (7) They should visualize the seat of lotus-form on which the Amitāyus Buddha sits. (8) When they see the image of a Buddha, they

¹⁰⁵ See T.12.365.341c28ff.

should visualize the appearance of the Amitāyus Buddha. (9) They should visualize the real appearance of the Amitāyus Buddha. If so, they can visualize all Buddhas. (10) They should visualize the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, a retinue of the Amitāyus Buddha. (11) They should visualize the Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva, a retinue of the Amitāyus Buddha. (12) They should visualize the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and their pure lands. (13) When those who cannot visualize the aforementioned true Buddhas and Bodhisattvas see the image of the Amitāyus Buddha, they should visualize the true Buddhas and the transformed Buddhas. (14) They should visualize the higher capable beings born in a Pure Land. (15) They should visualize the intermediate capable beings born in a Pure Land. (16) They should visualize the lower capable beings born in a Pure Land.

When a Pure Land practitioner asked Baek Yongseong from his sectarian perspective of Pure Land Buddhism, Baek Yongseong replied him from his sectarian viewpoints of Chan Buddhism as follows:¹⁰⁶

(Some Pure Land practitioner) asked (Baek Yongseong), “Pure Land practitioners are definitely supposed to be born in a Pure Land based on the Buddha’s grace. However, how will the Chan practitioners be born in a Pure Land? If they do not see their nature and do not attain Buddhahood, how will they be after they die? I think that they will be transmigrated in a new realm.”

(Baek Yongseong) answered, “How pitiful you are! You are tremendously defiled. Do not look down upon the Chan praxis. You told the great absurd remarks. If only you make a mistake, it will be excused. Because your sayings make countless sentient beings be blind, how dangerous your sayings are!

In general, the Seon praxis is the mother of all Buddhas in three times, i.e., the past, the present and the future. All Buddhas and patriarchs in three times awakened this mind based on the Seon praxis. What our great master Śākyamuni Buddha entered the snow mountain and sat down on a place without movement is to practice the Seon meditation. What the patriarch Bodhidharma faced a wall in a cave at Shaolin-si Monastery for nine years is to cultivate the Seon praxis. All other Buddhas and patriarchs practiced the Seon praxis without exception.

.....
Generally speaking, the Chan praxis cannot be comparable to the Pure Land practice and the visualization one. When the Chan practitioners investigate one thought, all views completely disappear. Even the patriarch Bodhidharma and Śākyamuni Buddha cannot negate (the importance of) the Chan praxis. So, the complete twelve-division teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha¹⁰⁷ also cannot refute it. How can we compare the teachings that discuss

¹⁰⁶ Ha Dongsan, ed., 145-150.

¹⁰⁷ The whole Buddhist teachings are classified into twelve divisions according to their content and style. The twelve divisions have the different lists. They are “(1) *Sūtra*, teachings in prose; (2) *geya*, restatements of *sūtra* in verse; (3) *vyākaraṇa*, the Buddha’s predictions of the enlightenment of disciples; (4) *gāthā*, teachings set forth by the Buddha in verse; (5) *udāna*, teachings preached by the Buddha spontaneously without request or query from his disciples; (6) *nidāna*, descriptions of the purpose, cause, and occasion of

paradises and hells and the law of causation in three times with the Chan teaching?

The Pure Land praxis is inferior to the visualization one. The visualization praxis is inferior to the Chan one. Why? Even though the Pure Land practitioners recollect a Buddha's image one thousand times and ten thousand times in their thoughts, the recollection is just a moving thought. It can be figured to rolling water on a stone. If we recollect a Buddha's image once, a thought is rolled. If we recollect a Buddha's image ten thousand times, ten thousand thoughts are rolled. Even though the water rolls, the stone remains as it is. It might be same to the recollection of the Buddha's image. Even though the Pure Land practitioners recollect a Buddha's or a Bodhisattva's image with undivided attention, they cannot transcend the category of the Bodhisattvas and the Buddhas. The practitioners who recollect Amitāyus Buddha cannot transcend Amitāyus Buddha. Ones who recollect Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva cannot transcend Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. When can practitioners remove a final thought? They cannot do it as like the Chan practitioners can do.

The visualization praxis is different from the Pure Land practice. Generally, when the practitioners visualize the Buddha's image, the spirit becomes immediately clear and purified. If they visualize it for a long time, they make their attention concentrated, exhaust the phenomena of appearance and disappearance, reveal the essence, let it be eternal and true, and clearly transcend the limitless times and spaces.

The Kōan Chan praxis is different from the visualization one. The visualization praxis can be exemplified to the following metaphor that when impure waters become pure as the time passes by, the pure water forms appear. Even though the essence of water's purity suddenly appears, it is difficult for us to reveal the water's wetness. When the practitioners visualize (the Buddha's image) with a singular visualization and multiple visualizations, they can accomplish Buddhahood. The visualization praxis cannot be compared to the Kōan Chan practice.

Look at the Kōan Chan praxis. The Kōan Chan praxis is like (for a chopper) to cut the tree roots with a sharp-edged ax and for a general to brandish a sword to strongly display his opinion. When the Chan practitioners investigate the original meanings of Chan Buddhism, they doubt them fiercely like a huge ball of flames without allowing any analytic and calculative thoughts. When they investigate a thought, they transcend the views illustrated in the Three Vehicles and the One Vehicle in an instant. Do not criticize (the Chan praxis), the mysterious gate to the Buddhas and patriarchs, with the

propounding teachings and rules of monastic discipline; (7) *avadāna*, tales of previous lives of persons other than the Buddha; (8) *itivuttaka*, discourses beginning with the words "Thus the World-Honoured One said" (According to another definition, stories that describe previous lives of the Buddha's disciples and bodhisattvas); (9) *jātaka*, stories of the Buddha's previous lives; (10) *vaipulya*, expansion of doctrine; (11) *adbhutadharma*, descriptions of marvelous events that concern the Buddha or his disciples (also applied to descriptions that praise the great merit and power of the Buddha and his disciples); and (12) *upadesha*, discourses on the Buddha's teachings." See the entry "twelve divisions of the scriptures" in The English Buddhist Dictionary Committee, ed., *The Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism* (Tokyo: Soka Gakkai, 2002), 773-774.

thought of ordinary beings. As I told you before, the three realms are only the transformations of consciousness-only. The Kōan Chan praxis is a container that destructs wrong enlightenment and wrong views. If the practitioners practice the Kōan Chan, while awake, they are tranquil and while tranquil, they are awake. If they transcend time, they will immediately obtain supreme enlightenment in an instant without taking limitless eons.

If the practitioners strike both Pure Lands and Defiled Lands in a blow and move their bodies once, they will be free (from defilements and bondages). Why should we worry about transmigration and others?”

Baek Yongseong explained the origin of Chan Buddhism.¹⁰⁸ After the first Buddha called Bhīma-garjita-svara-rāja Buddha, introduced in the twentieth chapter “Sadāparibhūta Bodhisattva” (The Never Disparaging Bodhisattva) of the *Lotus Sūtra*, nobody can get enlightenment without a master. All of past Buddhas had inherited their Dharma lineage from Bhīma-garjita-svara-rāja Buddha for countless eons. Śākyamuni Buddha also loyally transmitted the lineage and expounded the doctrinal teachings and Chan Buddhism. Buddhists can consider Śākyamuni Buddha as the origin of the doctrinal teachings and Chan Buddhism and all patriarchs as the derivative of them.

Baek Yongseong accepted Korean Seon Buddhism’s unique and aboriginal assertion that Patriarch Jingwi guided Śākyamuni Buddha to attain enlightenment and recognized Śākyamuni Buddha’s enlightenment.¹⁰⁹ The Buddha transmitted his mind teachings to his eminent disciple Mahākāśyapa at three locations.

At the first transmission location, when a host of disciples assembled to hear the teaching from the Buddha, the Buddha lifted a flower to show his teaching without speaking at Vulture Peak Mountain (Skt., Gḷdhrakūḷa). Only his eminent disciple Mahākāśyapa comprehended the profound meaning and smiled. So, he was considered the first Indian patriarch in the lineage of Dharma transmission in Chan Buddhism. At the second location, the Buddha shared a seat with his disciple Mahākāśyapa in front of Bahuputraka Pagoda in Vaiśālī. At the third location, when the Buddha passed away, his disciple Mahākāśyapa came and circumambulated the coffin under twin Sara trees in Kuśinagara. The Buddha lifted and showed a leg from the coffin. Baek Yongseong explained and interpreted the Buddha’s three transmissions from the perspective of Seon Buddhism as follows.¹¹⁰

The Buddha mentioned that he had never spoke of any word during his teaching career of forty-nine years. He transmitted (from mind to mind) other than doctrinal teachings. Śākyamuni has never transmitted them and Mahākāśyapa has never received them.

¹⁰⁸ Ha Dongsan, ed., 67-74.

¹⁰⁹ See X.64.1276.807c5-6.

¹¹⁰ Ha Dongsan, ed., 69-72.

Make doubts whether or not the mind transmission at the first location could be a killing sword and whether or not the mind transmission at the second location could be an en-living sword. Who can swallow a diamond fist and a jujube cudgel? If swallowed, look at my swallowed place once.

When the Buddha held up a flower, his eminent disciple Mahākāśyapa smiled sweetly. Did the Buddha lift the flower without special intentions? Did he hold up it intentionally? Did Mahākāśyapa smile without special intentions? Did he smile intentionally? Either what you speak or what you keep in silence is ok. However, in between, you could not help but skip over the essence.

Flowers blooming in each branch are being flied and spread conspicuously all over the ground, the meaning that the Buddha lifts a flower will also be eternal.

The mind transmission at the third location is as follows: When the Buddha passed away, Mahākāśyapa ran into and circumambulated the Buddha's coffin.

Boo!

You hesitated a lot. However, if you know the meaning that Mahākāśyapa circumambulated the coffin three times, where is the Buddha? When the Buddha lifted and showed a leg from the coffin, he allowed Mahākāśyapa to feel, not to understand.

When a water buffalo loiters under the moon light,
A horn comes out from the head of a mosquito.
Because an elephant is frightened with the roll of thunder,
He hides himself between flower pedals.

Do you know the meaning of Chan Buddhism? A magpie's nest falls down from a tree. It is the mind transmission outside of the doctrinal transmission.

Baek Yongseong expounded the early history of Chinese Chan Buddhism.¹¹¹ China transmitted the teaching from Bodhidharma, the 28th Dharma successor from Śākyamuni Buddha in Indian Buddhism. Bodhidharma became the first Dharma holder in China and transmitted the teaching to his eminent disciple Huike (487-593), considered the second patriarch of Chinese Chan Buddhism. Baek Yongseong explained that Bodhidharma had four eminent disciples, Daofu, Nizongzhi, Daoyu, and Huike. Daofu is considered to obtain his master Bodhidharma's skin, Nizongzhi his master's flesh, Daoyu his master's bones and Huike his master's essence.

Huike transmitted the patriarchate to his eminent disciple Sengcan (d. 606?), the third patriarch of Chan Buddhism in China. Sengcan transmitted the patriarchate to his eminent disciple Daoxin (580-651), the fourth patriarch of

¹¹¹ Ibid, 72-74. Baek Yongseong, "Non seonga jejong ihae" (Different Interpretations on Various Traditions of Chinese Chan Buddhism), in *Joseon bulgyo wolbo* (Monthly Magazine Korean Buddhism) 9 (October 1912): 9-10.

Chinese Chan Buddhism. Niutou Farong (594-658) was the disciple of Daoxin and established his own Chan tradition. He concentrated on emptiness in his Chan tradition, considered as the first non-traditional Chan lineage. Daoxin transmitted the patriarchate to his eminent disciple Hongren (601-674), the fifth Chinese Chan Buddhism. Under Hongren had the split of Chan Buddhism and had a Northern and a Southern school divided. His two eminent disciples Datong Shenxiu (605?-706) and Huineng fought each other to secure the patriarchate. It is traditionally told that Huineng represented the Southern Chan school, succeeded his master Hongren's patriarchate, and became the official sixth patriarch of Chan Buddhism. Datong Shenxiu, Huineng's elder Dharma brother, established the Northern Chan school and educated his disciples. Baek Yongseong located the Chan lineage of Heze Shenhui (670-762) as the non-traditional side transmission in Chinese Chan Buddhism. Heze Shenhui established his Chan tradition called Heze School.

Under the Dharma lineage of Southern Chan Buddhism were five families and seven schools originated. Baek Yongseong is a Seon sectarian and hierarchically classified Seon Buddhism over doctrinal Buddhism. He located himself as a Linji Chan lineage monk. He classified the Linji Chan lineage over other Chan lineages. Linji Chan lineage was the most influential Chan school in China. He used many supportive methods such as the unexpected shout and the sudden strike of the stick and was famous as the master of the sudden shout. The lineage developed the Kōan praxis after Linji.

Baek Yongseong explicated five families¹¹² and positioned Linji Chan School in the first order of importance.¹¹³ The five Chan families originated from the Southern Chan lineage are Linji School, Caodong School, Yunmen School, Weiyang School and Fayan School. Linji School originated from Linji Yixuan (d. 867),¹¹⁴ Caodong School from Dongshan Liangjie (807-869)¹¹⁵ and his disciple Caoshan Benji (840-901),¹¹⁶ Yunmen School from Yunmen Wenyan (864-949),¹¹⁷ Weiyang School from Weishan Lingyu (771-853)¹¹⁸ and his

¹¹² Ha Dongsan, ed., 75-90.

¹¹³ Ibid, 75-78 and Baek Yongseong, *op. cit.*, 10-13.

¹¹⁴ Linji Yixuan (d. 867) is a disciple of Huangbo Xiyun (d. 850).

¹¹⁵ Dongshan Liangjie (807-869) is a disciple of Yunyan Tansheng (781?-841) and the master of Caoshan Benji (840-901).

¹¹⁶ Caoshan Benji (840-901) is a student of Dongshan Liangjie. Caodong Chan lineage was named after the first characters of two Chan masters Caoshan Benji and Dongshan Liangjie.

¹¹⁷ Yunmen Wenyan (864-949) is a student of Xuefeng Yicun (822-908) and the master of Xianglin Chengyuan (c. 908-987), Dongshan Shouzhū (910-990), and Baling Haojian (d.u.).

¹¹⁸ Weishan Lingyu (771-853), also known as Gueishan Lingyu, is a disciple of Baizhang Huaihai (720-814) and the master of Yangshan Huiji (815-891).

disciple Yangshan Huiji (815-891),¹¹⁹ and Fayen School from Fayen Wenyi (885-958).¹²⁰

First, he considered Linji Chan School to be the top in his description of five Chan lineages. He explained that the Linji Chan lineage originated from Nanyue Huairang (677-744), a disciple of the sixth patriarch Huineng (638-713). Because Nanyue Huairang lived on Mt. Nanyue, his name originated. He was the master of Mazu Daoyi (709-788), one of the most influential Chan masters in Tang China. Baizhang Huaihai (720-814) inherited the Dharma lamp from Mazu Daoyi. Huangbo Xiyuan (d. 850) passed the Dharma lamp from Baizhang Huaihai to Linji Yixuan. He defined that only Linji Chan School is the authentic transmission from the sixth patriarch Huineng.

Linji Sect established three mysteries, three points, four interpretations between subject and objects, four relations between masters and disciples, and four shouts. Three mysteries are (1) the mystery of the mysteries, (2) the mystery revealed through language, and (3) the mystery manifested through experience. Each mystery has three main points, (1) essence, (2) forms, and (3) functions. There are nine points in all. Four interpretations are (1) the interpretation that negates subject, not object, (2) the interpretation that negates object, not subject, (3) the interpretation that negates subject and object, and (4) the interpretation that does not negate object and subject. Four relations between masters and disciples are (1) the relation that the disciple does not understand the master's teachings, (2) the relation that the disciple understands the master's teaching, (3) the relation that the master cannot educate the disciple, and (4) the relation that the master can educate the disciple. Four shouts are (1) the shout that looks like Diamond King's Treasure Sword, (2) the shout that seems like a lion who draws in his legs, (3) the shout that resembles the fishing net, and (4) the shout that does not work.

He concluded the Linji Chan School, "The outline of Linji School is to reveal the capacity (of practitioners) and the methods on how to educate them to enlightenment based on their capacity. However, people just know how loud the shouts by Linji Yixuan are and do not know how deep the root of his teachings is. How can we know their capacity properly and use the first beginning phrase with which we should educate them and the final phrase with which we should end up in cultivating them? I will not discuss them here."¹²¹

Second, Baek Yongseong explained that Caodong Chan lineage originated from Qingyuan Xingsi (660-740), a disciple of the sixth patriarch Huineng. Shitou Xiqian (700-790) transmitted the lineage from Qingyuan Xingxi to Yueshan Weiyan (c. 745-828). Yunyan Tanshen (780-841) transmitted the Dharma lineage from Yueshan Weiyan to Dongshan Liangjie (807-869).

¹¹⁹ Yangshan Huiji (815-891) is the Dharma successor of Weishan Lingyu (771-853) and the Dharma master of Nanta Guangrun (850-938).

¹²⁰ Fayen Wenyi (885-958) is a disciple of Lohan Gueichen (d. 928) and the master of Tiantai Deshao (891-972).

¹²¹ Ha Dongsan, ed., 78.

Caoshan Benji (840-901) inherited the lineage from Dongshan Liangjie. He asserted that Qingyuan Xingsi did not understand completely Chan inherited from Huineng like Nanyue Huairang from which Linji Chan lineage derived. He defined that Caodong Chan School is the side transmission from Huineng. Baek Yongseong concluded that even though Caodong School is good at educating practitioners based on their capacity, using the later-mentioned various techniques, it is not comparable to Linji School.¹²²

Caodong Sect established three defilements¹²³ and five relations between phenomena and noumenon. Five relations are (1) the phenomena in the noumenon, (2) the noumenon in the phenomena, (3) the appearance in the noumenon, (4) the appearance in the phenomena, and (5) the simultaneous appearance of the phenomena and the noumenon. In the first relation, practitioners should comprehend and enlighten that all beings have innate Buddha nature. In the second relation, they should practice to manifest innate Buddha nature. In the third relation, they should observe innate Buddha nature. In the fourth relation, they should recognize free functions of innate Buddha nature. In the fifth relation, they should transcend even its functions and be free from all beings without bondages. Caodong School matched the relation between a ruler and subjects in the five relations. In the first relation, the ruler takes care of his subjects. In the second relation, the subjects respect their ruler. The third relation is the position of the ruler. The fourth relation is the position of the subjects. The fifth relation is the complete harmonization between the ruler and the subjects.

Third, Baek Yongseong explained Yunmen Chan School derived from Tianhuang Daowu (748-809), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi (709-799). He asserted that because Tianhuang Daowu inherited the side lineage from Mazu Daoyi, Yunmen School is very similar to Linji School's teachings and it is better than Caodong in the teachings. We can guess that he hierarchically classified five Chan lineages in the descending order: (1) Linji Chan School, (2) Yunmen Chan School, (3) Caodong Chan School, (4) Weiyang Chan School, and (5) Fayan Chan School. However, he did not state in his works clear reasons and standards on why he classified the Chan lineages in the descending order except the first three schools.

However, according to "Ch'an / Zen Lineage Chart" appended in *The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen*,¹²⁴ Shitou Xiqian (700-790) transmitted the lineage from Qingyuan Xingsi (660-740), a disciple of the sixth patriarch Huineng. Tianhuang Daowu transmitted the lineage to Longtan Chungxin (d.u.). Deshan Xuanjian (782-865) transmitted the lineage from Longtan Chungxin to Deshan Xuanjian. Xuefeng Yicun (822-908) inherited the

¹²² Ibid, 79-82.

¹²³ Three defilements are view defilement, passion defilement and speech defilement.

¹²⁴ See "Ch'an / Zen Lineage Chart," in Michael H Kohn, trans., Ingrid Fischer-Schreiber, et al, *The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen* (Boston: Shambhala, 1991), 265-270.

lineage from Deshan Xuanjian to Yunmen Wenyan (864-949). His understanding on the Yunmen lineage is not accurate. Yunmen School established three phrases. The meaning of the Buddha, Dharma and Dao can be summarized in the following three phrases: According to the first phrase, the Buddha is the pure mind; according to the second, Dharma is the bright mind, and according to the third, Dao is the unobstructed light.

Fourth, Baek Yongseong explained that Weishan Lingyu (771-853) obtained the side transmission from Baizhang Huaihai (720-814). Its Dharma lineage is from Huineng via Nanyue Huairang, Mazu Daoyi, and Baizhang Huaihai, to its Chan School's cofounders Weishan Lingyu and Yangshan Huiji. He summarized the Weiyang Chan School derived from Weishan Lingyu and his disciple Yangshan Huiji (807-883) in verses as follows:¹²⁵

Chan Master Weishan Lingyu,
a side dharma transmission successor from Baizhang Huaihai,
ignited a flame!
When he conditioned (the flame),
He naturally revealed its principle.
When he trampled a clean bottle,
The roll of thunders and the sound of drums
filled all over the world in four directions.

Because a tree was tumbled down
and a wisteria was seasoned,
he laughed loudly.
A favorite saying
that Chan Master Weishan Lingyu held in his flank
was clearly revealed.¹²⁶
When Chan Master Weishan Lingyu examined a Chan practitioner
in his mansion chamber,
Even a lion laughed loudly.¹²⁷

When (Chan Master Yangshan Huiji) drew three kinds of circle,¹²⁸
he opened up in his hand tips the spectacular means
on how to kill and en-live (Chan practitioners).
Because the master (Weishan Lingyu) and his disciple (Yangshan Huiji)

¹²⁵ See Ha Dongsan, ed., 86-87 and Baek Yongseong, *op. cit.*, 12.

¹²⁶ The following phrases are exactly found in *Rentian yanmu*: "A favorite proverb / that Chan Master Weishan Lingyu held in his flank / was clearly revealed. / When Chan Master Weishan Lingyu examined a Chan practitioner / in his mansion chamber, / Even a lion laughed loudly." (T.48.2006.323c14-15).

¹²⁷ Weishan Lingyu used to make Chan practitioners to laugh and let them obtain enlightenment. See the footnote # 25 in Ha Dongsan, ed., 86.

¹²⁸ Yangshan Huiji so often used the Chan Kōan on circle originated from Nanyang Huizhong. See Huian Zhizhao's *Rentian yanmu*, T. 48.2006.321c9-322a6, for Nanyang Huizhong's Chan Kōan. Refer to the section on Yangshan Huiji's three kinds of circle in *Rentian yanmu*, T.48.2006.321b19-28.

examined each other,
both differentiated essence and its functions.

(Like the master and his disciple who)
unfolded sitting materials,
pushed away pillows,
erected spades on a plow-tail, and
took them away,
(both of them cooperated and established a Chan tradition).

Baek Yongseong concluded the Weiyang Chan School, “The outline of this Chan school is to clarify its functions by introducing their conditions and to realize essence by forgetting its capacities.”¹²⁹

Fifth, Baek Yongseong defined Fayan Chan School¹³⁰ derived from Xuansha Shibei (835-908), who obtained the side lineage transmission from Xuefeng Yicun (822-908). Its Dharma lineage is from Huineng via Qingyuan Xingsi, Shitou Xiqian, Tianhuang Daowu, Longtan Chungxin, Deshan Xuanjian, Xuefeng Yicun, Xuansha Shibei, Luohan Gueichen (867-928) to Fayan Wenyi (885-958), the founder of Fayan Chan School. Asserting that Fayan Chan School concentrated on the mind-only and the consciousness-only of all existences, he summarized it in verses as follows:¹³¹

Xuansha Shibei (835-908),
a side Dharma lineage successor from Xuefeng Yicun (822-908),
climbing up to the ridge of a mountain,
stood up with the tip of a toe.
Turning his head around,
he saw the red great sun shining on the top of the mountain.
The mysterious light rays of ten thousand *ris*¹³² brightly illuminated
behind the top of the mountain.
Mountains were shown up without limit to the far distance.

Xuansha Shibei’s story on the three kinds of sick persons¹³³
penetrated the Kōan case of Yunmen Wenyan (864-949),¹³⁴

¹²⁹ See Ha Dongsan, ed., 87 and Baek Yongseong, *op. cit.*, 12.

¹³⁰ See “Fayan zong” (Fayan School) in *Rentian yanmu*, T.48.2006.323c24-324a2.

¹³¹ Ha Dongsan, ed., 88-90 and Baek Yongseong, *op. cit.*, 12-13.

¹³² One *ri*, a measure of distance, is approximately 1/5 or 1/3 of a mile.

¹³³ Xuansha Shibei’s speech on the three kinds of sick persons is shown as follows: “Eminent Chan masters from all directions told the masses, “I will ask you to investigate objects and benefit sentient beings. How will you treat three sick persons, i.e., a blind person, a deaf one and a mute one? Even though you lift a poise and a flywhisk, they can not see, listen and tell anything. If they encounter Buddhist teachings, the teachings will eternally disappear.”” See *Chuandeng lu* (Record of the Transmission of the Lamp), T.51.2076.346b4-7.

¹³⁴ See the 47th Chan Kōan case in *Biyan lu* (The Blue Cliff Record), T.48.2003.183a17-19.

(in which even six elements, i.e., earth, water, fire, wind, space, and consciousness, could not encompass the Buddha's Dharma body because the body was too big),

Oh, the great Chan master Fayen Wenyi (885-958)
of Qingliang Monastery
who inherited the lineage from Luohan Gueichen (867-928)!
You hanged a pair of mysterious swords in the (blue) sky.

You, Fayen Wenyi, had a wonderful wisdom.
Even though the spring winds blew from a river,
you still did not get up.
Only francolins chirped very loudly
in the middle of densely populated flowers.

A drop of water from Mt. Caoxi¹³⁵
(on which the sixth patriarch Huineng had resided),
cold like an ice,
made the teeth be cold.
On the streaming water of a village
were full of the peach flowers.
One thousand mountain peaks
were as same as before without change,
the color of which became much more blue (than before).

Of the ten thousand forms,
only a body was revealed.
Oh! They spoke very softly!
When we transcended a thought,
we could see the Buddha.
If we destructed defilements,
we could read the (holy) scriptures.

Who established the successful business of a family
in their house yard?
As the sun followed a boat,
the water of a river got clearer.
As the spring followed the grass leaves,
they became bluer at dawn.

Whether you regard or not,
Please carefully listen
what they talk.
After coming back at deep night,
they took a rest at their home.

¹³⁵ See "Fayen zong," in *Rentian yanmu*, T.48.2006.323c29. The Chan case is also recorded in *Biyan lu* (The Blue Cliff Record) as follows: "When a Chan practitioner asked Fayen Wenyi what the drop of water from Mt. Caoxi is, Fayen Wenyi answered, 'This is exactly the drop of water from Mt. Caoxi.'" (T.48.2003.174a13).

The ancient scents of pine trees and chrysanthemum flowers
 fully perfumed their house yard.
 Skeleton bones were always located in this world,
 A nostril was looking for the family business.

A wind, a shrub, the moon, and a sand island
 clearly manifested the true mind, (and)
 smoke, the evening glow, a cloud, and a forest
 illuminated the wonderful truth.¹³⁶

He concluded the Fayan School, “The outline of the school is to clarify the mind-only of three realms, (i.e., desire realm, form realm, and formless realm). If so, what is the mind-only? You should understand the mind-only. You should not interpret it at your convenience.”¹³⁷

Because Baek Yongseong considered Chan praxis as the most important and invaluable one, he strongly suggested all Buddhists as well as all Koreans to practice Chan Buddhism as follows:¹³⁸

All of (my Korean) compatriots, I strongly recommend you to diligently practice the Way and not to fall down into a bad existential realm. You cannot eternally extend a life at all. You cannot constantly hold a time at all. As soon as possible, you should determine to practice Chan hard.

Because our bodies are dull, they do not have passions. Because your minds illuminate very clearly, they are not ignorant. What is this thing (mind)? Like this, if you wholeheartedly investigate that without stops, days and nights, at all times, you will arrive at (a deadlock), which seems like for an old mouse to enter an oxhorn while running away. If so, you should find out a solution on what you should do.

Once upon a time, “The Chan master Ciming Chuyuan (985-1039) (aka, Shishuang Chuyuan) (the 6th Dharma generation successor of Linji Yixuan) intended to reveal the Way. He was not lazy to practice it days and nights. While in meditation even in nights, if he was sleepy, he used to prick his thigh with a gimlet. He deplored, “Ancient Chan practitioners had forgotten eating and sleep in searching for the Way. Who am I for now?”¹³⁹ I wish you all of my compatriots to strongly keep (the sayings) in mind.

Even though Ha Dongsan clearly declared himself that he succeeded his master Baek Yongseong’s Imje Seon Dharma lineage, he practically accepted the moderate Seon soteriological view of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation that Heze Shenhui (670-762), Qingliang Chengguan (738-839), Guifeng Zongmi (780-841), Yongming Yanshou (904-975), Bojo Jinul (1158-1210), Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604), Yunqi Zhuhong (1535-1615), and

¹³⁶ *Rentian yanmu*, T.48.2006.325a14-15.

¹³⁷ Ha Dongsan, ed., 90 and Baek Yongseong, *op. cit.*, 13.

¹³⁸ Ha Dongsan, ed., 104.

¹³⁹ Refer to Jingshan, ed., *Chanlin baoxun* (Treasure Instructions of Chan Monasteries), T.48.2022.1035a16-17.

other moderate Seon masters of Sino-Korean Buddhism advocated and did not follow the radical Seon soteriological view of sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation that radical Imje Seon subitists adopted.

Ha Dongsan also doctrinally and theoretically received strong influences from such preceding ecumenists as Wonhyo (617-686), Li Tongxuan (646-740), Heze Shenhui, Guifeng Zongmi, Daegak Uicheon (1055-1101),¹⁴⁰ Bojo Jinul, Yongming Yanshou, Cheongheo Hyujeong, and Yunqi Zhuhong of Sino-Korean Buddhism and formed his ecumenical thoughts. He did not hierarchically evaluate vinaya, Seon, Huayan, Pure Land and Tantric Buddhism in his doctrinal and practical system. While his master Baek Yongseong was a Seon sectarian in general and an Imje Seon sectarian in particular, Ha Dongsan was an ecumenist.

Ha Dongsan inherited the Seon-oriented spirit of his master Baek Yongseong and of the Center for Seon Studies established in 1920 and became one of key leaders of Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954 – 1962. So, he was supposed to be a Seon sectarian and traditionally an Imje Seon sectarian in Korean Buddhism. However, the movement enshrined Bojo Jinul, an ecumenist, not Taego Bou, an Imje Seon sectarian, as the order's founder. I Seongcheol, an extreme Imje Seon sectarian and a strong defender of the sect's radical subitism, vehemently negated the change of the order's founder from Taego Bou to Bojo Jinul during the movement from his Imje Seon sectarian perspectives.

Just as the participants in the movement accepted contradictions between the Imje Seon sectarianism and the enthronement of the ecumenical master Bojo Jinul as the order's founder, he also had discrepancies and inconsistencies between his official Dharma lineage of Korean Imje Seon Sect and his actual ecumenical thoughts. Because he tried to harmonize the Imje Seon sectarianism and Korean Buddhism's traditional ecumenism, we can safely define him as a moderate Seon practitioner. Even though he was officially and nominally a Seon master of the Imje Seon Sect, he was actually an ecumenist who followed the ecumenical lineage of Sino-Korean Buddhism.

This book discusses in the 2nd part Ha Dongsan's Seon thought and soteriology and introduces how well he harmonized subitism and gradualism in his Seon soteriology and established his moderate soteriological theory of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation. Even though he regarded enlightenment and Buddha nature as being innate in all beings and identified himself as a subitist, because he still suggested Korean Seon practitioners to verify their enlightenment and further their Seon practice even after their sudden enlightenment, he advocated a moderate Seon soteriology.

The book's lengthy second part introduces how well he inherited the moderate Seon soteriology from the previous ecumenists such as Heze

¹⁴⁰ I Jeong, ed., 230-231.

Shenhui, Qingliang Chengguan (738-839), Guifeng Zongmi, Yongming Yanshou, Bojo Jinul, Cheongheo Hyujeong, Yunqi Zhuhong, and others of the Sino-Korean Buddhist tradition. It comprehensively discusses the ecumenist Seon/Chan masters and their moderate Seon soteriology theory. Even though we can rarely see a few articles or chapters on each figure by specialist(s) on him that I introduce in this book's second part, this part is the first comprehensive academic writing that extensively makes and discusses the Dharma lineage of ecumenists and their moderate Chan soteriology in the Sino-Korean Buddhist tradition.

I particularly located Ha Dongsan as a loyal successor to the ecumenical lineage of Sino-Korean Buddhism in its last and 3rd part. He inherited ecumenical thoughts from such previous representative ecumenists as Wonhyo, Li Tongxuan, Heze Shenhui, Qingliang Chengguan, Guifeng Zongmi, Yongming Yanshou, Daegak Uicheon, Bojo Jinul, Cheongheo Hyujeong, and Yunqi Zhuhong of the Sino-Korean Buddhism and ecumenized vinaya, Seon Buddhism, doctrinal (mostly Huayan) Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism, and Pure Land Buddhism without hierarchically evaluating and classifying them.

Even though Ha Dongsan officially inherited through his master Baek Yongseong the Dharma lineage of Linji Chan sectarianism established immediately after Cheongheo Hyujeong by his disciples in the mid-Joseon Dynasty, he did not follow the lineage's radical subitism and strong sectarianism in his philosophy. So, although he officially and nominally transmitted the Linji Chan sectarianism, he actually and loyally followed the lineage of ecumenists in the Sino-Korean tradition that I introduced in this book's lengthy third and last part. We can safely conclude that he had two seemingly contradictory and opposing lineages, the Linji Chan sectarian lineage and the ecumenical lineage, in himself.

Like the majority of modern Korean Seon masters such as Song Gyeongheo, Bang Hanam, Song Mangong (1871-1946),¹⁴¹ Gim Gyeongbong, I Hyobong, and other eminent Korean Seon masters, except the radical Seon sectarian master I Seongcheol and his followers, Ha Dongsan faithfully inherited the ecumenical lineage and its moderate Seon soteriology although he, along with the majority of eminent Korean Seon masters, declared himself that he officially inherited the Dharma lineage of Sino-Korean Buddhism's Linji Chan sectarianism.

2.2. Critical review of previous research

First of all, we should not ignore Dongsan mundo-hoe (Association of Ha Dongsan's Dharma Descendants), ed., *Dongsan daejongsa munjip* (*Munjip* for abbreviation) (Collection of Grand Master Ha Dongsan's Works) (Busan:

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 210-211.

Beomeo-sa Temple, 1998) as a primary source material. Thirty one years after his death in 1965, his disciples organized the Committee for Compiling and Editing the *Collection of Ha Dongsan's Works* on March 18, 1996. Since then, they began to collect their master Ha Dongsan's works scattered here and there and published it in one volume at his resident temple Beomeo-sa Temple on July 15, 1998. Whenever scholars discuss Ha Dongsan, they are heavily required to rely on the book. I also continuously used it as a primary source across this research book.

We can also see only one source book on him before its publication. Im Wondu (b. 1936),¹⁴² a disciple of Ha Dongsan, collected, edited and published its 69 page book entitled *Dongsan daejongsa seogyongcheop* (Collection of Grand Master Ha Dongsan's Photos and Documents) (Busan: Beomeo-sa Temple, 1967) two years after his master's death. Because its contents were comprehensively included in the later *Munjip*, we are not necessary to refer to it except rare cases.

The *Collection of Grand Master Ha Dongsan's Works* includes 444 pages and is composed of three chapters along with front matter and back matter. Its front matter comprises 43 pages and includes photos, calligraphies, a preface by Yun Wolha (1915-2003),¹⁴³ the then highest patriarch of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, a preface by Gang Seokju (1909-2004),¹⁴⁴ a member of the Council of Senior Monks of the Jogye Order and a publication message by Gim Deokmyeong (b. 1926),¹⁴⁵ chair of the Editorial Sub-Committee in the Committee of Compiling and Editing the *Collection of Ha Dongsan's Works*.

Its first chapter (pp. 45-201) consists of his lectures, teachings, essays, commentaries and analects. It is the most important section on his thought in the book. However, because most of them were written just before his death in 1965, we cannot unfortunately trace the development of his thought across his whole monastic career. It includes his teachings on the opening ceremony of spring intensive retreat on lunar April 15, 1964 (pp. 47-64), the closing ceremony of winter intensive retreat on lunar January 15, 1964 (pp. 65-70), the opening ceremony of summer winter retreat on lunar July 15, 1964 (pp. 71-81) and the ceremony of offering Bodhisattva precepts on lunar March 15, 1965 (pp. 82-124). It contains his essay on the principle of religion (pp. 125-127) in 1958, his lecture on the closing ceremony of offering monastic robes on lunar October 15, 1964 (pp. 132-140), his explanation on Seon teaching to his temple's resident monks in his residence on lunar July 1, 1964 (pp. 141-146), his lecture on Seon teaching to his temple's resident monks around 1: 00 – 3:00 pm on an unknown date (pp. 147-157), and the series of his seven short lectures on Buddhist teaching on unknown dates and in 1964 and 1965 (pp. 158-170). It encloses his commentarial lectures on Seon texts. He comments on Bodhidharma's (c. 470 -

¹⁴² *Chongnam*, 586.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, 568-569.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 525.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 531.

543) *Xiemai lun* (Treatise on Chan Dharma Lineage) on lunar December 31, 1964 (pp. 171-180) and *Erru sixing lun* (Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices) (pp. 181-189) on lunar January 1, 1965, and *Boje jonja eorok* (Master Naong Hyeguen's (1320-1376)¹⁴⁶ Analects) and *Mengshan heshang yulu* (Master Mengshan Deyi's (1231-1308) Analects) (pp. 190-196). Ha Dongsan discussed dying characteristics in its last part (pp. 197-201). I heavily relied on this chapter when I discussed his thought in my book.

Its second chapter constitutes his book prefaces, epilogue, prayer, ode, conference reports, temple-building remodeling records, messages, prospectus, diaries, and letters (pp. 203-256). It includes the prefaces to a roster of Seon practitioners of 1956 at Geumeo Seon Center, Beomeo-sa Temple (pp. 205-206), the semi-Korean translated *Blue Cliff Record* in 1964 (p. 207-208),¹⁴⁷ and the Korean *Buddhist Bible*.¹⁴⁸ It contains his postscript to *Yongseong seonsa eorok* (Seon Master Baek Yongseong's Analects) (pp. 211-214). It includes his prayer to accomplish Purification Buddhist Movement on February 27, 1961 (p. 215), his didactic ode to lay Buddhists (p. 216), his WFB conference reports (pp. 217-220, 226-233), his temple-building remodeling records (pp. 221-225), his message to lay Buddhist leaders (pp. 234-235) and Korean Buddhists (pp. 236-237), his prospectus for preserving the historical remains of Beomeo-sa Temple (pp. 238-239), his diaries from November 22 to December 2, 1958 (pp. 240-246), from May 9 to November 18, 1956 (pp. 247-250), and his letters (pp. 251-256).

Its third chapter includes recollections by Buddhist leaders, lay and monastic, on Ha Dongsan (pp. 257-348). I Cheongdam, I Daeui and Son Gyeongsan (1917-1979),¹⁴⁹ monk leaders of Purification Buddhist Movement, recollected their memories on Ha Dongsan in regard to Purification Buddhist Movement (pp. 259-267). I Jongik (1912-1991),¹⁵⁰ Bak Chungsik (d.u.), Han Yeongseok (d.u.) and Seo Giseok (d.u.), lay Buddhists, remembered Ha Dongsan in their papers (pp. 268-277). It also discusses Ha Dongsan and Purification Buddhist Movement (pp. 278-322). It also contains several condolence letters for Ha Dongsan by Buddhist leaders such as Gim Gyeongbong (1892-1982),¹⁵¹ Jeong Jeongang (1898-1975),¹⁵² Choe Hyeam (1885-1985),¹⁵³ Gim Tanheo (1913-1983),¹⁵⁴ I Cheongdam, I Unheo (1892-

¹⁴⁶ I Jeong, ed., 340-341.

¹⁴⁷ According to the *Dongsan daejongsa munjip*, Ha Dongsan wrote a preface to the *Blue Cliff Record* by Eom Seongho. Eom Seongho added Korean suffixes to and published the text (p. 208). However, I could not identify it in the Dongguk University library catalog.

¹⁴⁸ I could not identify who edited and published the Korean *Buddhist Bible*.

¹⁴⁹ I Jeong, ed., 368.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 242.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 262-263.

¹⁵² Ibid, 186-187.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 334-335.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 319.

1980),¹⁵⁵ and others and a funeral oration for Ha Dongsan by an unknown person. It contains an inscription and two memorial speeches for his master Ha Dongsan by his disciple I Seongcheol (1912-1993).¹⁵⁶ It also includes Ha Dongsan's life record (pp. 349-402), his chronological life table (pp. 403-412), his precepts-transmission certificate (pp. 413-414), and the table of his Dharma-lamp-transmission lineage (pp. 415-422). In this book, I very seriously incorporated the sections "Ha Dongsan and Purification Buddhist Movement," "Ha Dongsan's Life Record," and "Ha Dongsan's Chronological Life Table" into my discussion of his biography and Purification Buddhist Movement.

It attaches to the book many photocopies of original documents and calligraphies directly related to Ha Dongsan (pp. 423-440). It also included a postscript by its editorial committee (pp. 441-444).

Below, we can see some un-academic and academic articles on Ha Dongsan's life and thought. I will introduce them chronologically. I Jeong (b. 1956),¹⁵⁷ a famous Buddhist lexicographer, included a short entry for Ha Dongsan in his *Hanguk bulgyo inmyeong sajeon* (Dictionary of Korean Buddhist Names) (Seoul: Bulgyo sidae-sa, 1991), 348-349. It very briefly explains Ha Dongsan and his life. Seon Wonbin (b. 1944),¹⁵⁸ a famous Buddhist journalist, introduced Ha Dongsan's biography for general Buddhist readers in his *Hanguk geundae bulgyo ui sanmaek sipchil in: Keun seunim* (Modern Korean Buddhism's 17 Great Monks) (Seoul: Beopbo sinmun-sa, 1992), 117-135. His monk disciple Song Baegun (b. 1934)¹⁵⁹ un-academically and generally discussed Ha Dongsan's life and thought in *Gim Ilta* (1929-1999)¹⁶⁰ and others, *Hyeondae goseung inmul pyeongjeon* (Critical Biographies of Modern Korean Buddhist Eminent Monks) (Seoul: Bulgyo yeongsang, 1994), vol. 2, 88-104.

Im Hyeobong, a specialist in both modern Korean Buddhism and Korean Buddhist leaders who directly and indirectly supported Japanese imperialism under Japanese occupation period (1910-1945), pretty comprehensively discussed Ha Dongsan's life in his *Geu nuga keun kkum eul kkueotna* (Who Awakened from a Dream?), *Jongjeong yeoljeon 1* (The 1st Series of the Biographies of Korean Buddhism's Highest Patriarchs) (Seoul: Garam gihoek, 1999), 91-130 & 382-384. I heavily referred to this biography for my discussion of Ha Dongsan's life in this book.

Yun Cheonggwang (b. 1942),¹⁶¹ a famous biographer for eminent modern Korean Buddhist monks, didactically wrote a biographic book on Ha Dongsan entitled *Byeoseuldo jaemuldo pulibe iseul ilse* (Government Posts and Goods are

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 196-197.

¹⁵⁶ *Chongnam*, 576.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 679.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 654.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 560-561.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 538.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 669.

like Dewdrops on a Blade of Grass) (Seoul: Uri chulpan-sa, 2002) and popularized him among the masses. It is a hagiography-styled book. I could not incorporate this book for academic research in Ha Dongsan.

Song Baegun incorporated his vivid personal experience and very briefly discussed Ha Dongsan and Purification Buddhist Movement in his “Hanguk bulgyo jeonghwa bulgyo undong e itteoseo Dongsan seunim gwa Beomeo-sa ui yeokhwal” (Ha Dongsan and his Beomeo-sa Temple’s Contributions to Purification Buddhist Movement in Modern Korean Buddhism), in *Daegak sasang* (Thought of Great Enlightenment) 7 (2004): 61-77. Because he was not trained in Buddhist studies at modern universities but at traditional monastic seminaries, his article does not adopt modern writing methodology and does not use even footnotes to support his arguments.

I Deokjin, a specialist in Bojo Jinul and Seon thought, academically and comprehensively discussed Ha Dongsan’s Seon thought in his “Dongsan Hyeil ui seonbeobe daehan ilgochal” (A Research in Ha Dongsan’s Seon Thought,” *Hanguk bulgyo-hak* (Journal of the Korean Association for Buddhist Studies) 43 (2005): 83-131. Even though the article title seems like that it focuses on Ha Dongsan’s Seon thought, it actually discusses Ha Dongsan’s general thought, of course including his Seon thought. It seems like an introduction to Ha Dongsan’s thought. It consists of introduction, main discourse and conclusions. In its main discourse section, I Deokjin discussed Ha Dongsan’s views of mind, vinaya and Kōan Seon Buddhism.

The Taego Order of Korean Buddhism¹⁶² commissioned an editorial committee for publishing its history and in cooperation with Gim Yeongtae (b. 1933),¹⁶³ a renowned specialist in the history of Korean Buddhism, published a book of 517 pages entitled *Taegojong-sa: Hanguk bulgyo jeongtong jongdan ui yeoksa* (The History of the Taego Order of Korean Buddhism: The History of an Orthodox Order in Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Hanguk bulgyo chulpan-bu, 2006) on January 20, 2006.

The controversial book negatively defines Purification Buddhist Movement as a government-sponsored institutional Buddhist movement and positively defends the Taego Order of Korean Buddhism that married monastics of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism divided the Jogye Order and newly founded in 1970. It defines the Taego Order as the legitimate order and the Jogye Order as the illegitimate one in Korean Buddhism. It is a very sectarian book for the Taego Order and justifies the division of the Jogye Order and the new foundation of the Taego Order.

It, furthermore, considers the movement as a serious persecution from the Korean government and strongly asserts that the movement was not authentic and not independent. It ignited a big issue on Purification Buddhist Movement in the Korean Buddhist community because it directly and vehemently questioned and criticized the identity of the current Jogye Order, the biggest

¹⁶² Ibid, 221-223.

¹⁶³ Ibid, 625-626.

order of Korean Buddhism, asserting that the order originated from the government's sponsorship.

In May 2006, Beomeo-sa Temple and Dongsan mundo-hoe (Association of Master Ha Dongsan's Dharma Descendants) decided to counterattack the order's official theoretical attacks against the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism and Purification Buddhist Movement. They, in cooperation with Gim Gwangsik, a renowned specialist in modern Korean Buddhism, interviewed with 33 persons on Ha Dongsan and Purification Buddhist Movement and published the live interviews in a 621 page book of one volume entitled *Dongsan daejongsa wa bulgyo jeonghwa undong* (Grand Master Ha Dongsan and Purification Buddhist Movement) (Busan: Yeonggwang doseo, 2007). Most of 33 interviewees are his disciples and close junior monks. The supporters and followers of Ha Dongsan and Purification Buddhist Movement defended the movement from their sectarian perspectives.

On May 8, 2007, Beomeo-sa Temple also hosted a conference on the theme of Ha Dongsan and Purification Buddhist Movement in its Lecture Hall. Chae Inhwan (b. 1931)¹⁶⁴ delivered a keynote speech entitled "Dongsan daejongsa wa bulgyo jeonghwa undong eul dasi bomyeo" (Reexamination of Grand Master Ha Dongsan and Purification Buddhist Movement).¹⁶⁵ The temple hosted the conference to theoretically rebut the Taego Order's sectarian and negative arguments on Purification Buddhist Movement and strongly defended the movement from their own sectarian perspectives.

Four scholars presented their own articles and four scholars commented on them respectively. First, I Maseong presented an article entitled "Baek Yongseong ui seungdan jeonghwa inyeom gwa hwaldong" (Baek Yongseong and His Ideas and Activities on Korean Buddhism's Monastic Purification before Purification Buddhist Movement) and discussed Baek Yongseong who heavily influenced his disciple Ha Dongsan's ideas and activities on Purification Buddhist Movement.¹⁶⁶ Gang Hyewon commented on the article.¹⁶⁷ Second, Gim Gwangsik presented an article entitled "Ha Dongsan ui bulgyo jeonghwa" (Ha Dongsan's Purification Buddhist Movement).¹⁶⁸ Choe Beopjin (b. 1952)¹⁶⁹ discussed the article.¹⁷⁰ Third, Sin Gyutak (b. 1959)¹⁷¹ presented an article entitled "Seongcheol seonsa ui bulgyo gaehyeok jeongsin" (Seon Master I Seongcheol's Spirit for Buddhist Reform) and discussed Ha Dongsan's disciple

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 598.

¹⁶⁵ Beomeo-sa Temple, ed., *Haksul semina jaryo-jip: Dongsan daejongsa wa bulgyo jeonghwa undong* (Conference Source Materials: Grand Master Ha Dongsan and Purification Buddhist Movement) (Busan: Beomeo-sa Temple, 2007), 1-5.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 7-31.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 33-37.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 39-72.

¹⁶⁹ *Chongnam*, 599.

¹⁷⁰ Beomeo-sa Temple, ed., 73-77.

¹⁷¹ *Chongnam*, 658.

I Seongcheol's thought on Buddhist reform.¹⁷² Gim Yonghwan (b. 1952)¹⁷³ commented on the article.¹⁷⁴ Im Deoksan, also known as Im Wondu, presented an article entitled "Yongseong mundo wa bulgyo jeonghwa undong: osip (50) nyeondae bulgyo jeonghwa inyeom gwa geu gyeseung munje leul jungsim euro (Baek Yongseong, His Dharma Descendants and Purification Buddhist Movement) and historically discussed the contribution of Baek Yongseong and his Dharma descendants to Purification Buddhist Movement.¹⁷⁵ Gang Donggyun (b. 1947)¹⁷⁶ reviewed the article.¹⁷⁷ Of the four articles, only the article by Gim Gwangsik directly discusses Ha Dongsan.

The Research Institute for the History of Korean Buddhist Orders (Director: Im Deoksan) and Gim Gwangsik continued the further interviews with 18 persons on Ha Dongsan and Purification Buddhist Movement and included those in the first part of *Beomeo-sa wa bulgyo jeonghwa undong* (Beomeo-sa Temple and Purification Buddhist Movement) (Busan: Yeonggwang doseo, 2008), pp. 43-521. 18 interviewees are closely related to Ha Dongsan and most of them are his disciples and close junior monks.

The book's second part included five articles by Chae Inhwan (pp. 533-539), I Maseong (pp. 540-563), Gim Gwangsik (pp. 564-601), Sin Gytak (pp. 602-627) and Im Deoksan (pp. 628-659) originally presented at the conference on May 8, 2007 at Beomeo-sa Temple along with Ha Dongsan's disciple I Neungga's article entitled "Hanguk bulgyo jeonghwa undong ui jemunje" (Problems of Korean Purification Buddhist Movement) (pp. 525-532) originally presented in the seminar on the theme of the Reexamination of Purification Buddhist Movement on January 23, 1989 that the Association of Monk Alumni of Dongguk University, a mission university of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, hosted.

The book includes the article entitled "*Taegojong-sa ui bunseok gwa munje*" (Critical Reviews of *The History of the Taego Order of Korean Buddhism*) by Gim Gwangsik in its appendix (pp. 663-691). The Planning Department of the Jogye Order commissioned Gim Gwangsik to defend Purification Buddhist Movement (p. 663). He analyzed and counterattacked Gim Yeongtae's negative arguments against the movement from the Jogye Order's sectarian perspectives in his article. However, we still need to neutrally and objectively review the arguments of both sides on Purification Buddhist Movement in the future and to locate the movement properly.

In commemoration of the tenure of Abbot Seon Master Daeseong of Beomeo-sa Temple, Yun Seokjin edited and published a book of 509 pages entitled *Beomeo-sa ui eoje wa oneul, geurigo naagal gil* (Beomeo-sa Temple:

¹⁷² Beomeo-sa Temple, ed., 79-102.

¹⁷³ *Chongnam*, 627.

¹⁷⁴ Beomeo-sa Temple, ed., 103-108.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 109-132.

¹⁷⁶ *Chongnam*, 608.

¹⁷⁷ Beomeo-sa Temple, ed., 191-195.

Past, Present and Future) (Busan: Hanguk bulgyo munhwa yeongu hyeophoe, 2008). He became its acting abbot on January 19, 2004 and its abbot on April 8, 2004. The book consists of two parts. Its first part includes commemorative articles dedicated to Abbot Daeseong and its second part contains the source materials during his tenure of office. Because its second part is not topically connected to this book, I am not necessary to review the source materials.

In its first part, some articles are indirectly related to Ha Dongsan and Purification Buddhist Movement. Jo Myeongje wrote an article entitled “Geundae bulgyo ui jhyang gwa guljeol: Beomeo-sa ui gyeong leul jungsim euro” (Orientation and Refraction of Modern Korean Buddhism: Focusing on the Case of Beomeo-sa Temple) (pp. 71-96) and discussed Baek Yongseong, Ha Dongsan’s master (pp. 77-82). Gim Gwangsik composed an article entitled “Yongseong ui geonbaekseo wa daecheo sigyuk ui jaeinsik” (Baek Yongseong’s Petitions to Japanese Government and Reexamination of Married Monasticism and Meat-eating) (pp. 185-210). Baek Yongseong petitioned Japanese Government not to implement married monasticism in Korean Buddhism. It discusses the Japanization of celibate Korean Buddhist monks to married monasticism and its ongoing influences even to this contemporary period. Gim Gwangsik also wrote an article entitled “Gim Jihyo ui kkum, Beomeo-sa chongnim geonseol” (The Dreams of Gim Jihyo: Establishment of the Practice Complex of Beomeo-sa Temple) (pp. 211-237) and discussed Ha Dongsan’s disciple Gim Jihyo’s (1909-1989)¹⁷⁸ plan for establishing the practice complex of Beomeo-sa Temple and continuing the spirit of Purification Buddhist Movement. He actually did not succeed in establishing it. Gim Jihyo was one of two eminent leaders of Ha Dongsan’s disciples along with I Seongcheol. While Gim Jihyo actively engaged himself to the order’s administration and activities, was active in Purification Buddhist Movement and tried to implement its spirit, I Seongcheol concentrated on the Seon practice. While Gim Jihyo inherited the spirit of his master Ha Dongsan’s engaged Buddhism, I Seongcheol transmitted that of his master’s Seon practice as one of the most renowned Korean Seon masters.

As reviewed above, we can see a few of academic articles on Ha Dongsan, mostly related to his Purification Buddhist Movement. We cannot forget to mention only two academic articles written by Gim Gwangsik and I Deokjin respectively. Utilizing his interviews on Ha Dongsan, included in his two interview books, *Dongsan daejongsa wa bulgyo jeonghwa undong* and *Beomeo-sa wa bulgyo jeonghwa undong*, Gim Gwangsik discussed him from the perspectives of his life career and Purification Buddhist Movement. I Deokjin academically and philosophically reviewed Ha Dongsan’s thought in his article.

This current book is only a research book on Ha Dongsan available in Korean for now. It discusses him from various angles. It introduces how much he contributed to Purification Buddhist Movement in its biography section. It

¹⁷⁸ I Jeong, ed., 286.

comprehensively reviews his views of vinaya, Seon thought, soteriology, ecumenism, and other topics in the Sino-Korean Buddhist context. It traces his view of ecumenism back to previous ecumenical masters in Sino-Korean Buddhism. Because only it is a research material on Ha Dongsan written in the non-Korean language, it can also serve as a guidebook for non-Korean readers in understanding him and his thoughts in the Sino-Korean Buddhist tradition.

Part 1

Ha Dongsan (1890-1965): A biography

Of the many disciples of Baek Yongseong (1864-1940),¹ two, Yun Goam (1899-1988)² and Ha Dongsan, became highest patriarchs of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. Yun Goam served as the order's highest patriarch from July 26, 1967 to August 7, 1972 for the first time, from August 27, 1972 to July 18, 1974 for the second time and as its acting highest patriarch from July 18, 1978 to May 13, 1980. Ha Dongsan served two times as its highest patriarch, from November 3, 1954 to August 12, 1955 for the first time and from August 13, 1958 to April 11, 1962 for the second time.

These two disciples of Baek Yongseong contributed to the leadership of Korean Buddhism in the modern period from the beginning of the Purification Buddhist Movement in 1954 until 1980. Later, I Seongcheol (1912-1993),³ his grand-disciple, led the order as its highest patriarch from January 10, 1981 to November 4, 1993. I Seongcheol was the disciple of Ha Dongsan. The three monks of Baek Yongseong's Dharma lineage served as the order's highest patriarchs for close to 27 years, with a 12-year break in their continuity from 1954 to 1993. Baek Yongseong affected the development of modern Korean Buddhism tremendously, both directly and through his Dharma descendants.

Baek Yongseong emphasized the preservation of precepts, the practice of Seon Buddhism, the research of doctrines and the translation of Chinese Buddhist texts. He also promoted the popularization of Buddhism among the

¹ See I Jeong, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo inmyeong sajeon* (Dictionary of Korean Buddhist Names) (Seoul: Bulgyo sidae-sa, 1991), 288-289. See also Jin-wol Lee, "Master Yongseong's Life and Works: An Engaged Buddhism of Peace and Justice," in Chanju Mun, ed., *Buddhist Exploration of Peace and Justice* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2006), 247-261.

² I Jeong, ed., 129.

³ See Hanguk bulgyo chongnam pyeonjip wiwon-hoe, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo chongnam* (The Comprehensive Collection of Source Materials of Contemporary Korean Buddhism) (*Chongnam* for abbreviation) (Seoul: Daehan bulgyo jinheung-won, 1993), 576.

general population, the adoption of Christian missionary methods such as composing Buddhist songs in the Western music styles and the use of these songs with Western musical instruments in Buddhist rituals. He actively participated in the independence movement of his nation from Japanese occupation. He was a Vinaya master, a Chan master, a Buddhist missionary, a famous translator, and a socially engaged Buddhist. He made efforts to preserve traditional Korean celibate monasticism and revitalize what he saw as a degenerate Korean Seon tradition from Japanized Korean married monasticism throughout his monastic career.⁴

Baek Yongseong prioritized the practice of Seon Buddhism above the research of doctrines. He considered doctrinal research as a prerequisite to Seon practice. Because he did not completely reject doctrinal research, he could be categorized as a moderate Seon sectarian. Our categorization would place Yun Goam as an ecumenist,⁵ Ha Dongsan a moderate ecumenist, Baek Yongseong a moderate Seon sectarian, and I Seongcheol a radical Seon sectarian and Seon absolutist.⁶

Although Ha Dongsan appears to succeed his master in being a moderate Seon sectarian, he was more ecumenical than Baek Yongseong. Nor did Yun Goam follow his master's moderate Seon sectarianism, but became an ecumenist. He did not hierarchically arrange Seon Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism at all. In contrast, I Seongcheol evaluated Seon Buddhism over doctrinal Buddhism and even classified his lineage of radical Linji (Kor., Imje; Jpn., Rinzai) Chan Buddhism as superior to any other moderate Chan lineages. Thus, we may call I Seongcheol a Linji Chan sectarian who absolutized his lineage.

Unlike their master and grandmaster Baek Yongseong, the three monks were indifferent toward and did not engage themselves in social issues such as democracy, imperialism, reunification, labor rights, human rights, environmentalism, justice, peace, and others. However, succeeding Baek Yongseong's spirit, Ha Dongsan and Yun Goam strongly emphasized the preservation of precepts, the study of doctrines, and Seon practice. They also inherited the basic spirit of their master characterized in the Purification

⁴ Robert E. Buswell, Jr., "Geumyok eun sidae chago inga: Ilje gangjeomgi bulgyo sesokhwa e daehan hanguk ui nonjaeng" (Is Celibacy Anachronic?: Korea's Controversies on Buddhism's Secularization during Japanese Occupation, 1910-1945), in *Bulgyo pyeongnon* (Buddhist Review) 32 (Autumn, 2007): 110-112.

⁵ Chanju Mun, "Preface: Yun Goam (1899-1988), the First Spiritual Leader of Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple: A Biography of His Peacemaking Activities," in Chanju Mun and Ronald S. Green, eds., *Buddhist Roles in Buddhist Roles in Peacemaking: How Buddhism Can Contribute to Sustainable Peace* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2009), v-lvii.

⁶ Woo-sung Huh, "Beyond Manhae (1869) and Seongcheol (1912-1993)," in Chanju Mun, ed., *Buddhism and Peace: Theory and Practice* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2006), 407-427.

Buddhist Movement, which aimed at revitalizing Seon Buddhism and recovering the celibate monasticism of traditional Korean Buddhism. Unlike the two highest patriarchs, I Seongcheol exclusively concentrated on Seon practice and dedicated himself to obtaining individual enlightenment, not engaging in social issues.

1. Childhood and schooling, 1890 – 1913

In an obscure mountainous area in the middle of South Korea, Ha Dongsan was born at 244 Sangbang Village, Danyang Town, Danyang County, North Chungcheong Province in 1890. His childhood name was Ha Bonggyu. His registered name was Ha Donggyu. Later, when he was ordained as a Buddhist priest, he was given the ordination name Hyeil. He was known by his respectful and honorific Dharma name Dongsan even while he was alive. His father was Ha Seongchang and his was Jeong Gyeong-un.⁷

Danyang was a conservative town and Neo-Confucianism was strong there. At the age of seven in 1896,⁸ Ha Dongsan began his education in the schoolhouse of his small village. For the next seven years, he studied major Confucian texts with the commentaries of Neo-Confucian scholars. It was common at the time for most young Korean students to study Confucian writings. These included four major texts: *The Analects of Confucius*, *The Book of Mencius*, *The Great Learning*, and *The Doctrine of the Mean*. They also became versed in three classics compiled by Confucius: *The Book of Odes*, *The Book of History*, and *The Book of Changes*.⁹ With their hair tied in topknots and wearing traditional Korean clothes, students were guided to interpret these texts through the commentaries by Zhu Xi (1130-1200) and other major Neo-Confucian scholars. Following these teachings, they came to regard China as the Middle Kingdom of the world with all the superiority implied by that title. The felt fortunate to be able to regard it as the elder brother to their own nation.¹⁰

Just before Ha Dongsan was born, China and Japan fought for control of Korea in the First Sino-Japanese War, August 1, 1894 to April 17, 1895. To the shock of the Korean people, Japan defeated China and removed its influence from the Peninsula. This was the symbolic beginning of the rise of Japan as the

⁷ See Dongsan mundo-hoe (Association of the Disciples of Grand Master Ha Dongsan), ed., *Dongsan daejongsa munjip* (The Collected Works of Grand Master Ha Dongsan) (*Munjip* for abbreviation) (Busan: Beomeo-sa Temple, 1998), 349.

⁸ In East Asia, a person is considered age one during the first year of life. By Western standards he was six.

⁹ The readers can find the basic information on the texts that Koreans had learned at village schoolhouses in Wing-tsit Chan, trans. and comp., *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963).

¹⁰ Chanju Mun discussed the roles of China Centralism in modern Korean Buddhism in his edited *Mediators and Meditators: Buddhism and Peacemaking* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2007), xxxv-lit.

major technological and economic power in East Asia and the decline of China, which had been in that role for so long.

A number of religion-based military incidents led up to this surprising development and continued afterwards. On January 10, 1894, Jeon Bongjun (1855-1895), a military leader of farmer soldiers, rebelled against the government with the members of a new religion called Eastern Learning (Donghak). In 1905, the religion changed its name to The Religion of the Heavenly Way (Cheondo). With beliefs rooted in Korean shamanism, Daoism and Korean Buddhism, members organized to rid the country of the Japanese political and military influence. They hoped to abolish the social hierarchy and build an egalitarian and peaceful society in Korea. Executing government officials, the group experienced limited success by occupying some areas and ruling there based on its ideals.

In 1860, Choe Je-u (1824-1864), a Confucian scholar, syncretized the three major traditional religions of East Asia, Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism, establishing a nationalist religion against the encroachment of Catholicism. He argued that every human was God, that God and humans should be considered equal.¹¹ The religion vigorously opposed to feudalism and the social hierarchy. Based on egalitarian principles, it developed strong antagonisms against foreign nations and religions that were based on nationalism. Accordingly, it opposed Japan as an imperialist nation.

Because rebel armies became so strong, the government could not put down their forces. In desperation, they requested the Chinese government to dispatch its military on April 28, 1894. When China complied on May 5 - 7, 1894, Japan also dispatched its military on May 9, leading to the First Sino-Japanese War. Eventually, Japan, which Koreans had regarded as a younger brother, defeated China, which Koreans consider an elder brother. This was an unthinkable transgression in Confucian eyes.

In 1904, one year before the establishment of the Japanese puppet government in Korea, Ha Dongsan left his Confucian schoolhouse and entered Ingmyeong Elementary School in his hometown of Danyang. Complying with the government regulations, he untied his topknot and cut the hair that had never been trimmed since birth in order to receive an education at public school. In February 1904, the year he began to study modern ways, a hard example of those methods came with the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War. The war ended in May of the next year with the defeat of Russia. Russia was considered by the world one of its strongest powers. Its defeat by an Asian country, which also removed Russia's influence from the Korean Peninsula, was astonishing. Some began to hope Japan might be able to save their countries from Western imperialism that was sweeping Asia with uneven trade agreements.

¹¹ This concept of God (Haneullim, "Lord of Heaven") was taken from Korean shamanism.

However, following the Western model, on November 17, 1905, Japan forced Korea into an international treaty. The treaty required Korea to forfeit its rights in foreign affairs to Japan and to become a protectorate state of Japan. Japan created the office of Residency-General Korea and ruled the Peninsula for several decades. On December 20, Itō Hirofumi (1841-1909), who led the signing of the unequal treaty, became the first Resident-General in Korea.

One of Ha Dongsan's teachers at the elementary school was Ju Sigyeong (1876-1914). Ju was a very famous specialist in the Korean language and established modern scholarship in that field. He influenced Ha Dongsan to accept modern culture and learning and impressed upon him the importance of the Korean language. Ju Sigyeong rejected China Centralism that had classified Korean cultures as a part of Chinese civilization. He opposed the tradition of Korean Confucians who considered classical Chinese texts more valuable than vernacular writings of Korea. He taught Ha Dongsan to understand Korean culture and language independently of China. He instructed his students not to downplay but to respect their own language and culture. He was a nationalist who tried to understand the importance of the Korean language and culture in a scholarly manner.

At the time, conservative Koreans were preserving the tradition of wearing topknots and not cutting their hair. On November 15, 1895, King Gojong (r. 1863-1907) cut his topknot and shaved his hair, encouraging the populace to do the same. Korean Confucians traditionally believed that because people inherit their bodies, hair, skin, and other physical parts from their parents, they should not harm them in any way. Koreans did not generally accept the government's insistence that this was a part of modernization, but saw it as an attempt to destroy their Confucian ethics. Regarding this as Japanese cultural encroachment, Koreans resisted, developing anti-Japanese sentiments and leading demonstrations based on nationalism and Neo-Confucianism.

Modern Korean Buddhism begins with the opening of the country's border to foreign nations in the late 19th century. Korean Buddhism was influenced by the severe changes in the social, economic and political structure of the country and the world. Korea was forced into diplomatic relations with various nations including China, Russia, Japan, England, the United States, Germany, France, and others. In the process, it was exposed to foreign cultures, religions, advanced technologies, and sciences popular in these countries. For centuries, Korea's communications with foreign nations was almost exclusively with China and Japan. In the modern era, suddenly this was greatly expanded.

Most Korean bureaucrats in the late 19th century still considered Neo-Confucianism, adopted at the foundation of Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), to be their state ideology. They studied Confucian texts in traditional village schools and public academies and took Confucian-based state examinations to become government officials. If they passed, they qualified for government administrative posts. However, this education was quite limited. Knowing major Confucian texts and Neo-Confucian commentaries was not sufficient

background for dealing with the complexities of modern society and international relations.

Because Korea had received technology from China for so long, Koreans naturally felt China was a more civilized nation than their own. Likewise, because Korea historically transmitted Chinese culture and civilization to Japan, Koreans once regarded Japan as an inferior nation to theirs. So, even when Korea opened its border to foreign nations including those of Europe and North America, Koreans generally considered China as an elder brother they should follow and Japan as a younger brother they should take care of.

In contrast, the Chinese traditionally considered themselves chosen people. According to their worldview, China was the center of the world as well as the center of the universe. One can remember that China calls itself the Middle Kingdom to this day. Historically, they referred to the people of surrounding nations as Eastern barbarians, Western barbarians, Southern barbarians, and Northern barbarians respectively. In their written records, the Chinese discuss Korean history under the category of the Eastern barbarian tribes.

From the time of the Joseon Dynasty, Koreans loyally accepted Chinese nationalistic views including the hierarchal designation as subordinate. They saw Korea as a smaller replica of China, to which Japan was inferior. Koreans generally considered their social status as falling between China and Japan, except for a few nationalists in the pre-modern period who rejected the China-centric worldview. Even though Koreans gained independence as a nation in the Joseon Dynasty, they did not have a strong sense of independence ideologically or spiritually, but continued to rely on the Chinese worldview. This should be acknowledged as an historical condition, regardless of contemporary Koreans' feelings of shame about it.

Even when modern European and North American countries expanded their influences to China, the Chinese considered those nations inferior. Nevertheless, Chinese traditional armaments were no match to those of foreign powers. China and other Asian nations were easily defeated and colonized. The Chinese, who regarded themselves as superior to the rest of the world, received a great shock when confronted with the advantage of the scientific technology and modern weaponry of the "Western barbarians." Regardless of sentimentality, China was forced to admit the need to modernize on the model of those they had thought inferior.

Meanwhile, Japan had eagerly accepted higher technology, science, and culture from the West, successfully modernizing. Even though Japan was a nation less developed than Korea and China during medieval times, the younger brother had defeated the elder and gone on to beat Russia. Afterwards, some Korean intellectuals argued their country should accept the harsh reality of modernity and follow the model of Japan.

Korean nationalists considered those who promoted modernization to be also advocating Japanese imperialism. They disliked the international change around them and maintained anti-Japanese and anti-Western sentiments. While

they appear to be patriots, they can hardly be seen as realists. This was their dilemma. Nationalists emphasized the need for protection of the nation and were considered conservatives. Modernists called for globalization and modernization and so appeared to support the imperialists.

While radical nationalists asked the people to close Korea's doors to stronger foreign powers, radical modernists pushed to open the nation to technological advancement from industrialized nations. Radical nationalists categorized the modernists as unpatriotic. Radical modernists complained that the nationalists were being unrealistic. Modernists called themselves globalists while nationalists saw themselves as patriots.

Moderate nationalists and moderate modernists wanted to balance two opposing issues: globalism and protectionism. While both groups of moderates sought globalization and modernization, they also hoped to preserve their nation's culture and traditions.

Some Buddhist leaders reacted drastically to modernization and preservation due to the perceived intrusion of foreign religious traditions such as Catholicism, Protestantism and various forms of Japanese Buddhism. Theoretically, we can view the radical group as having had two polar antagonistic sub-groups, the radical modernists and the radical nationalists. Some moderately reacted upon the issues while others tried to balance them. Likewise, the moderate group also might be seen as two sub-groups, moderate modernists and moderate nationalists.

Even though it seemed the lives of Buddhists could not remain free of politics, Buddhism could not be a political organization. Some Buddhists, such as Seon and Pure Land practitioners, ignored such social issues as modernization, preservation, independence, imperialism, human rights, environmentalism and peace. Instead, they dedicated themselves to religious objectives such as enlightenment and soteriology, to cultivating the mind and obtaining Buddhahood.

In 1908, after graduating from elementary school, Ha Dongsan entered Jungdong (High) School in Seoul and continued his modern education. This was at the recommendation of Ju Sigyeong.

While in Seoul, he lived at the house of his paternal aunt. His uncle was Wichang O Sechang (1864-1953), a nationally renowned leader of the anti-Japanese movement. Along with Baek Yongseong, he was one of the thirty-three national representatives in the nationwide March 1, 1919 movement for independence from Japanese imperialism. Baek Yongseong represented Buddhism along with his junior monk Han Yongun (1879-1944).¹²

O Sechang was born in Seoul. He was a son of O Gyeongseok (1831-1879), an official government translator of Chinese, a famous calligrapher, a specialist in epigraphy, and a progressive thinker. He began to work for the public weekly

¹² I Jeong, ed., 119-121.

newspaper *Hanseong jubo* as a reporter and became one of leading journalists for top newspapers. He was a member of The Religion of the Heavenly Way (Cheondo), a nationalistic new religion, and dedicated himself to independence from Japan. He became well known as a politician, a leader of the independence movement, and a calligrapher.

In 1910, after graduating from high school, Ha Dongsan entered Seoul Medical Junior College at the preparatory level. This was a college established by the Japanese colonial government and the first medical school in Korea to teach modern western medical science. In 1912, he finished the two-year preparatory coursework and graduated.

On August 28, 1910, Japan officially annexed Korea. On October 1, it established the office of the Japanese Government-General and appointed the military general Terauchi Masatake (1852-1919) as governor-general. Before and after the annexation, Koreans protested against Japanese imperialism. The Japanese colonialists enlisted pro-Japanese Korean intellectuals, politicians, journalists, and others in their cause and came to occupy the Korean Peninsula. Korean intellectuals can be categorized into two groups, those opposed to Japanese imperialism and those supportive of it. These groups fought serious confrontations. Supporters of Japanese imperialism were given good jobs and received others benefits because of their position. Those who protested against Japanese imperialism found that they could no longer live in their own country. Some exiled themselves to foreign nations, particularly Russia and China, to escape oppression.

A Korean civilian militia also fought against the Japanese military for national sovereignty. 16,700 Korean civilian soldiers are said to have died and another 36,770 were wounded between 1907 and 1909.¹³ After Korea became a Japanese colony in 1910, the activities of the Korean civilian militia decreased.

In 1911, while studying at the Medical Junior College, Ha Dongsan also became a member of the Research Society for the Korean Language affiliated with the anti-Japanese and nationalistic Heungsa-dan Organization. The organization was established in Seoul on November 29, 1907 by the nationally renowned anti-Japanese leader An Changho (1878-1938). Through his association with the Heungsa-dan Organization, Ha Dongsan met many intellectuals and leaders for independence. We can conjecture that his membership in the society was directly related to the influence his uncle's anti-Japanese imperialism had on him. Because nationalist Koreans wanted to keep their culture and language, he might have developed strong antagonism against the occupation.

On May 29, 1911, the Japanese Government-General approved the "Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples" drafted by the colonial government.

¹³ I Manyeol, ed., *Hanguk-sa nyeonpyo* (A Chronological Table of Korean History) (Seoul: Yeongmin-sa, 1985), 194.

On June 3, 1911, these went into effect.¹⁴ On July 8, the government announced an enforcement ordinance comprised of eight articles. These went into effect on September 1. The “Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples” are as follows:¹⁵

Article 1: When one merges, moves, and abolishes a temple or temples, one should get permission from the Japanese Governor-General. When one changes the temple’s location and/or name, one should also get permission from the Japanese Governor-General.

Article 2: If one cannot get permission from a local governor, one cannot use the temples for any other purposes except for the transmission of Buddhism, the propagation of Buddhist teaching, the performance of Buddhist rituals and monastic residential quarters.

Article 3: After each parish head temple makes articles on relations between the head temple and the branch temples, the monastic regulations, the ritualistic manuals and other miscellaneous writings, one should get permission to implement them from the Governor-General.

Article 4: The abbot represents a temple. The Abbot should manage temple properties, monastic business and religious affairs.

Article 5: One cannot sell any temple properties such as lands, forests, buildings, Buddha images, stone architects, old manuscripts, old calligraphies, paintings and other precious materials without permission from the Governor-General.

Article 6: The penalty for violating one of the above articles is imprisonment for more than two years or a fine of less than 500 yen.

Article 7: The Governor-General shall make regulations of Korean temples in addition to the above six articles if needed.

A Supplementary Provision: The Governor-General shall name the date to enforce these regulations.

The enforcement ordinance also established the parish system of Korean Buddhism, prescribing relations between the thirty parish head temples¹⁶ and their respective branch temples. The thirty headquarter temples obtained approval of their articles from the Government-General, modeling them after the articles of Haein-sa Temple, which granted the abbots many privileged rights to manage the temple properties.

The Japanese Government-General ruled Korean Buddhism through the parish system. The Governor-General approved the abbot of each headquarter

¹⁴ Chanju Mun, “Imperialism and Temple Properties: A Case Study of Korean Buddhism during Japan’s Occupation Period (1910-45),” in *Hsi Lai Journal of Humanistic Buddhism* 7 (2006): 278-294.

¹⁵ Seo Jeongdae, ed., *Jongdan beopryeong-jip* (The Collection of the Regulations and Rules of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism), revised edition (Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2001), 797-799.

¹⁶ In 1920, the Government-General approved Hwaecom-sa Temple in South Jeolla Province to be an additional parish head temple. The system of the 31 parish headquarter temples was completed.

temple. After the abbot of each parish head temple appointed the abbots of its branch temples, the local governor approved them. In this way, the government bureaucratized Korean Buddhism, consolidating monastic powers in the hands of abbots loyal to them, which alienated ordinary monks. It utilized the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples to control it effectively, making the parish system a part of the government's bureaucratic hierarchy. Abbots voluntarily helped Japan rule the Peninsula. Loyalty to Japan was their ticket to fame and economic prosperity.

On December 30, 1910, the Government-General further drafted and promulgated the Regulations of Korean Corporations. This required corporations to obtain government approval for establishment and dissolution. After the implementation of the regulations, the Government-General controlled the management of corporations. The aim of the regulations was the suppression of the growth of Korean corporations and the subordination of those corporations as suppliers of raw materials to the Japanese corporations.¹⁷

In June 1911, the Japanese colonial government made several regulations, which stipulated the control and management of fishing, travel, forests, overseas study by Korean student, reclamation works, and so on. This expanded government's control of colonial Koreans in many different ways.¹⁸ For example, people were required to report their travel schedules to government offices.

On August 23, 1911, the government promulgated the Regulations of Education, which proscribed how Koreans were to be educated to become loyal subjects to the Japanese colonial government. On November 1, it implemented the regulations. The regulations also stipulated that the Japanese language was to be at education institutions and popularized among Koreans.¹⁹ The regulations were to be applied only to colonial Koreans, not to Japanese living in Korea. It aimed at making colonial Koreans professional workers, not leaders, for the colonial government and Japan's economic purpose. Because government approval was required for the establishment of a school, it could legally suppress private schools founded by Korean nationalists. It also made additional detailed enforcement rules based on the regulations.

In lunar February 1911, Baek Yongseong came to Seoul. He realized that even though other religions had established their churches in Seoul and propagated their teachings to the public, Buddhism had only one propagation center, Gwakhwang-sa Temple in downtown Seoul. Faced with this condition, he hoped to open up a propagation center and to transmit Buddhism in Seoul.²⁰

¹⁷ I Manyeol, ed., 198.

¹⁸ Ibid, 200.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Baek Yongseong, "Jeosul gwa beonyeok e daehan yeongi"(Historical Explanations of My Books and Translations) in his translated *Hangeul Hwaom-gyeong* (The Korean *Huayan Sūtra*), 4 volumes (Seoul: Gyeongin munhwa-sa, 1970), vol. 4, 1633-1634.

On August 29, 1910, Japan officially annexed Korea. On October 6, I Hoegwang (1862-1933),²¹ patriarch of the Won Order of Korean Buddhism, the first modern united Korean Buddhist order, signed in Tōkyō a seven-article agreement between him and Hirotsu Setsusan, the representative of the Japanese Sōtō Zen Sect. The seven articles subordinated all of Korean Buddhism to a Japanese sect, Sōtō Zen Buddhism. The articles are as follows:²²

1. The Won Order (of Korean Buddhism) should completely and eternally unite with the Japanese Sōtō Zen Sect and propagate Buddhism.
2. The central headquarters of Korean Buddhism's Won Order should request the Japanese Sōtō Zen Sect to appoint its supervisor.
3. The Japanese Sōtō Zen Sect should assist the Korean Buddhist Won Order in obtaining official recognition from the government.
4. The Korean Buddhist Won Order should provide its facilities for the Japanese Sōtō Zen Sect to propagate Buddhism.
5. The Korean Buddhist Won Order invites several missionaries from the central administrative office of the Japanese Sōtō Zen Sect, assigns them to each large temple, and causes each of them to propagate Buddhism and educate young Buddhist monks in each temple. When the central administration of the Japanese Sōtō Zen Sect dispatches its missionaries, the Won Order should provide housing at each temple as requested by the Sōtō Sect and should make arrangements for them to propagate Buddhism and to educate young Buddhist monks at each temple.
6. If any party does not agree with the above five agreements, they can nullify or revise them at any time.
7. The agreements will become effective upon receiving approval from each party.

Bak Hanyeong (1870-1948),²³ Han Yongun, O Seongwol (1866-1943),²⁴ Gim Jongrae (d.u.), and other patriotic monks mostly in South Gyeongsang Province and South Jeolla Province protested against the agreements and launched a new independent order called the Imje Order. The Imje Order advocated the Seon meditative tradition of Korean Buddhism. Unlike the sectarian convention of Japanese Buddhism, even though Seon Buddhism loyally transmitted the Dharma lineage of China's Linji Sect, it has remained essentially ecumenical in the tradition of Korean Buddhism.²⁵

A Korean Buddhist monastic complex generally has four major centers: a seminary, a vinaya center, a Pure Land center and a Seon center. Korean

²¹ I Jeong, ed., 123-124.

²² I Neunghwa, I Byeongdo, trans., *Joseon bulgyo tongsa: Geundae pyeon* (The History of Korean Buddhism: The Part of Modern Period) (Seoul: Hyeon, 2003), 82-83.

²³ I Jeong, ed., 268-269.

²⁴ Ibid, 145-146.

²⁵ Chanju Mun, "Introduction," *The History of Doctrinal Classification in Chinese Buddhism: A Study of the Panjiao Systems* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2006), xvii-xxxiii.

Buddhists practice Chan/Seon, Pure Land, vinaya, and academic study based on their own preference in the ecumenical fashion. Even so, they used the title “Imje Seon Sect” because of strong anti-Japanese sentiment, to mark the difference between Japanese Buddhism and traditional Korean Buddhism. They may have considered the fact that Korean Buddhism is the descendent of the Linji Sect and is different from the Sōtō Zen Sect (Chn., Caodong; Kor., Jodong), to which I Hoegwang tried to subordinate Korean Buddhism.

In early 1912, after long preparation, Han Yongun and other patriotic monks, mostly from South Gyeongsang Province and South Jeolla Province, protested against the Won Order and launched the new Imje Order. On May 26, 1912, to spread the spirit of the new order, they established a central propagation center in downtown Seoul.²⁶ In its opening ceremony, Han Yongun explained the purpose of the center, Baek Yongseong delivered a sermon, two lay Buddhist leaders Jeong Unbok (d.u.) and I Neunghwa (1869-1943)²⁷ read congratulatory speeches, young members of the Hodong School’s orchestra performed songs, 800 registered as new members, and more than 1300 observed the ceremonies.

The order appointed Baek Yongseong as director. He served in this capacity for around three years, during which time three thousand lay followers joined. With him arose a new atmosphere for spreading Seon among lay Buddhists. He believed Seon meditation centers should be established in deep mountains and propagation centers of Seon Buddhism were needed in cities to benefit ordinary people. However, it was difficult to secure finances to implement his plans.²⁸

In early June 1912, the Japanese colonial government arrested Han Yongun, the leader of the Imje Order. He was charged with raising funds for constructing a central propagation center without the approval of the government.²⁹ It also decided that both the pro-Japanese Won Order and the nationalist Imje Order should not use the names of their orders. Instead, the government ordered Korean Buddhists to use the name “Korean Buddhist Order of Seon Sect and Doctrinal Sect.”³⁰ The awkward official title was prescribed in the “Regulations

²⁶ See the May 28, 1912 issue of *Maeil sinbo*, S 2.1.315. See Seonu Doryang, *Simmun euro bon hanguk bulgyo geunhyeondae-sa* (The History of Modern Korean Buddhism through the Newspaper Articles), 4 volumes (Seoul: Seonu Doryang Press, 1995 & 1999). It published the first set of two volumes in 1995 and the second set of other two volumes in 1999. Hereafter, the book title will be abbreviated as S. Here, the first numeral 2 in S 2.1.315 means the second set, the second numeral 1 the first volume, and the third numeral 315 the page number.

²⁷ I Jeong, ed., 236.

²⁸ Ha Dongsan, ed., Dongbong, trans., *Yongseong keun seunim eorok: pyeongsang-sim i do ra ireuji malla* (Record of Seon Master Baek Yongseong’s Sayings) (Seoul: Bulgwang chulpan-bu, 1993), 465-466.

²⁹ See the June 5, 1912 issue of *Maeil sinbo*, S 2.1.316.

³⁰ See the June 28, 1912 issue of *Maeil sinbo*, S 2.1.318.

of Korean Buddhist Temples,” proclaimed by the Japanese Governor-General Office on June 3, 1911.

Baek Yongseong harshly criticized the official title. He argued that even though Korean Buddhism had traditionally been transmitting Imje Seon, ignorant Korean Buddhists lost their own spirit by following the strange title. He likened it to a person with two heads³¹ and argued that Korean Buddhism should be Imje Seon Buddhism.³² In short, he protested against the Japanese colonial government’s policies on Buddhism from the perspective of Imje Seon sectarianism.

Because of the Japanese Governor-General Office’s prohibitions, Korean Buddhists could not use the title of the Imje Order. Instead, they used the name Korean Seon Order. They also changed the name of the propagation center to Korean Seon Order’s Central Propagation Center.

2. Renunciation, learning and practice, 1913 – 1927

In 1912, when Ha Dongsan was studying medical science at the junior college, his uncle, O Sechang, would send him as a messenger to Baek Yongseong, director of the Korean Seon Order’s Seoul Propagation Center. O Sechang and Baek Yongseong were close friends and were the same age. This was the first contact Ha Dongsan had with his future master. Sometimes Ha Dongsan would stay to hear religious lectures by Baek Yongseong. When he told the master he was studying medical science, Baek Yongseong asked, “Even though we can cure our physical diseases, how can you cure your mental diseases?”³³ Soon he learned Buddhism is a religion that believes the mind is the source of all existences and the foundation of the universe. Impressed with Baek Yongseong’s ideas, Ha Dongsan began to study Buddhism, considering it as a potential path for treating mental problems.

When he graduated from the junior medical college in October 1912, he followed Baek Yongseong’s directions and became a novice practitioner at Beomeo-sa Temple. In the struggling society of Korea, he did not become an activist for anti-Japanese imperialism and did not solve social issues surrounding him and in his nation. His focus was rather on the solution to individual problems related to the mind.

March 15 of the lunar calendar (April 21), 1913, O Seongwol (1866-1943) presided over the ceremony that ordained him along with other eminent monks at Beomeo-sa Temple. At that time, he received his ordination name Hyeil. His honorific Dharma name was Dongsan and Korean Buddhists would call him as Ha Dongsan. Korean Buddhists do not call him as his ordination name Hyeil but as Dongsan or Ha Dongsan. O Seongwol was the temple abbot at the time. He

³¹ Ha Dongsan, ed., 455-464.

³² Ibid.

³³ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 352.

took care of Ha Dongsan with much care. He assigned to the ordination ceremony three preceptors, the transmission preceptor Seongwol Iljeon, the reciting preceptor Songwol Imsu (d.u.), and the instruction preceptor Dobong Bonyeon (d.u.). An additional seven witnesses, a duty-distributor, a moderator and other major ceremonial masters were assigned.

Ha Dongson's name is mentioned in the list of sixteen participants in the summer intensive retreat of the Geumeo Seon Center of Beomeo-sa Temple in 1913. His position is listed as attendant.³⁴ Sino-Korean Seon practitioners entered intensive retreats two times per year, summer and winter. Each intensive retreat continued for three months. The summer retreat began on lunar April 15 and ended July 15. The winter intensive retreat started on lunar October 15 and finished on January 15 of the next year. Between the retreats, Seon practitioners took a break.

Even though Ha Dongsan also had three months as each intensive term, he took a three-year intensive retreat without break. Even during the breaks between two intensive retreats per year, he continued to practice Seon Buddhism at the center. He, also, while at the Geumeo Seon Center, one month after the beginning day of the summer intensive retreat, he began to study the *Lengyan jing* (Skt., *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*) at a monastic seminary affiliated with Beomeo-sa Temple.

Master Baek Yongseong was the spiritual leader at Unmun Seon Center of Baegyang-sa Temple in the County of Jangseong, South Jeolla Province. For this reason, Ha Dongson went to that temple and for the winter retreat begun on lunar October 15, 1913. Under his master's directions, he began to study the *Jingde* (Period 1004-1007) *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Jingde chuandeng lu*), the *Collection of 1125 Kōans* (*Seonmun Yeomsong*), the *Brahmā Net Sūtra* (*Fanwang jing*), and the *Fourfold Rules of Monastic Discipline* (*Sifen lu*). The *Brahmā Net Sūtra* is a Mahāyāna vinaya text applicable to both lay Buddhists and monastics. and the *Fourfold Rules of Monastic Discipline* is a monastic vinaya text of Dharmaguptaka Sect in India. East Asian Buddhist monastics have adopted it as the most authoritative vinaya text.

On May 10, 1910, Baek Yongseong began to write *Return to the Origin, the Right Tradition* (*Gwiwon jeongjong*) at the Seon Center of the Chilbul-am Hermitage. He completed the book in only two months, on July 10. His aim in this book was to reveal the original ideas of Buddhism by comparing similarities and differences between them and those of other religions, particularly Neo-Confucianism and Christianity. The book also defended Buddhism against what he saw as unreasonable criticisms from other religions. *Return to the Origin, the Right Tradition* is one of his representative works along with *The Ocean of Enlightenment and Wheel of the Sun Wheel* (*Gakhae illyun*) published on March

³⁴ The Board of Education of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., *Geundae seonwon bangham-nok* (Records of Retreat Participants at Modern Korean Buddhist Seon Centers) (Seoul: The Jogye Order Press, 2006), 298.

15, 1930.³⁵ *The Ocean of Enlightenment and Wheel of the Sun Wheel* is composed of four sections (fascicles). The first two comprise the main text.³⁶ The third section is *The Right Ways of Cultivating the Mind (Susim jeongno)*³⁷ and the fourth is a summarized translation of the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng*.³⁸ On June 8, 1913, he published the first edition of *Return to the Origin, the Right Tradition* at the Korean Seon Order's Central Propagation Center. He also published *Record of the Buddha's Biography in Eight Stages (Yeorae palsang-nok)* in vernacular Korean at the center. The book explains the biography of the Buddha in terms easy to understand. On October 24, 1913, he published a booklet entitled *Catechism of Buddhism (Bulmun ipgyo mundap)* at the center and educated novice Buddhists on basic Buddhist doctrines.

In August 1914, Han Yongun, who was also a resident monk and another key figure along with Baek Yongseong at the Propagation Center of Korean Seon Sect (Joseon seonjong pogyo-dang), organized the Society for Korean Buddhism (Joseon bulgyo-hoe). The society was created unaffiliate and independent from Korean Buddhism's major institutional organization, the Association of the Abbots of the thirty parish Headquarter Temples. However, because the abbots of parish headquarter temples and their supporter, the Japanese colonial government, oppressed the society's activities, it could not survive. For this reason, Han Yongun changed the organization's name to the Buddhist League (Bulgyo dongmaeng-hoe), extending its membership to local young Buddhists and monks. The government in cooperation with the abbots again oppressed the progressive society.

Also around 1914, Baek Yongseong opened Daegak-sa Temple at 1 Bongik-dong, Jongno-gu in downtown Seoul.³⁹ The temple was a propagation center concentrating on Seon teaching. However, unlike the Korean Seon Order's Central Propagation Center that received financial support from Beomeo-sa Temple, Haein-sa Temple and others, Daegak-sa Temple could not obtain funding and ran into serious financial difficulties.

According to the May 14, May 16, May 23, May 30, and June 20, 1915 issues of the daily newspaper *Maeil sinbo*,⁴⁰ Baek Yongseong established the Study Center for Imje Seon Buddhism at Jangsa-dong, Junggu, Seoul and educated practitioners in Seon Buddhism with Seon texts at 11:00 am each Sunday.

In 1916, while he was considering how to manage the temple financially, Gang Hongdo (d.u.), ex-mayor of the County of Bukcheong, South Hamgyeong Province, suggested that Baek Yongseong become the manager of a gold mine

³⁵ Baek Yongseong, *Gakhae illyun*, second edition (1930. Seoul: Daeseong-sa Temple, 1979).

³⁶ Ibid, 17-180.

³⁷ Ibid, 181-241.

³⁸ Ibid, 242-324.

³⁹ Gim Gwangsik, *Yongseong* (Seoul: Minjok-sa, 1999), 98.

⁴⁰ See S 2.1.453, 460, 465, 473.

in that county. He agreed, doing so three years but lost much money. The experience, however, was applicable to his later establishment of an orchard on Mt. Baegun in the County of Hamyang, South Gyeongsang Province. There he developed unity between Seon practice and farming.

On February 20, 1919, while Han Yongun was preparing the March 1, 1919 movement, he recommended his senior and close friend Baek Yongseong to Choe Rin (1878-1958), a leader of Cheondo Religion, as one of 33 national representatives. The new religion led the movement. Due to his personal friendship with Choe Rin whom he met while in Japan, Han Yongun became a key figure in organizing the movement. While Han Yongun was actively engaged in the March 1st Movement, he had since 1918 lived at 43 Gye-dong, Jongno-gu in Seoul. There he published the monthly magazine *Mind-only* (*Yusim*) and educated young Buddhists. Baek Yongseong also submitted his article(s) to the magazine.⁴¹

Later, Han Yongun moved to other cities to recruit national representatives of Buddhism in the March 1st Movement. He considered eminent Buddhist monks such as Song Mangong (1871-1946)⁴² of Sudeok-sa Temple on Mt. Deoksung in the County of Yesan, South Chungcheong Province and Baek Chowol (d.u.) of Yeongwon-sa Temple on Mt. Jiri in the County of Hamyang, South Gyeongsang Province. He also considered Jin Jineung (1873-1941)⁴³ of Hwaem-sa Temple on Mt. Jiri in the County of Gurye, South Jeolla Province, Do Jinho (d.u.) of Ssanggye-sa Temple on Mt. Jiri in the County of Hadong, South Gyeongsang Province, O Seongwol of Beomeo-sa Temple on Mt. Geumjeong in Busan, and others. However, because they were widely dispersed, he found recruitment impossible in the short amount of time he had.

Around February 27, Han Yongun visited Baek Yongseong at Daegak-sa Temple and explained the international and domestic politico-social situations, the movement's objectives and its preparatory processes. Han Yongun officially requested Baek Yongseong to join the movement as one of 33 national representatives. Baek Yongseong happily consented and gave his stamp to be used on the Declaration for Independence. On February 28, Han Yongun informed Baek Yongseong of the movement's venue and time.

At 2 o'clock pm on March 1, Baek Yongseong went to Taehwa-gwan Restaurant to meet the majority of the national representatives. There, Han Yongun delivered a welcoming speech, followed by three cheers for Korean independence. Immediately afterwards, Japanese police arrested the representatives and suppressed the movement. Baek Yongseong spent six months in a Japanese colonial police station and one and half a year in a Japanese colonial jail.

⁴¹ Gim Gwangsik, 109.

⁴² Ibid, 210-211.

⁴³ I Jeong, ed., 350.

After the March 1st Movement, Koreans began to see the reality of colonization. On April 10-11, 1919, the exiled Korean government was established in Shanghai, China. It began to unite anti-Japanese Korean independence forces under its leadership. On one side, pro-Japanese Koreans supported imperial Japan and as a result, received benefits. On the other, anti-Japanese Korean activists organized various independence movement activities and began to protest systematically against Japanese colonialism. Conflicts between pro-Japanese and anti-Japanese Koreans increased.

Institutional Korean Buddhists increasingly became pro-Japan and supported the colonial government's control of Korean Buddhism. As a result, they received favor. On the other hand, anti-Japanese Korean Buddhists began to feel Korean Buddhism should try to overturn the undemocratic Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples and gain autonomy. Conflicts between these groups grew.

In 1914, Ha Dongsan visited the prominent Seon Master Bang Hanam (1876-1951)⁴⁴ at Udu-am Hermitage located in Aejeon Town, Maengsan County, North Pyeongan Province. The master had offered an intensive retreat at the hermitage. There, Ha Dongsan studied four important Mahāyāna texts: the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, the *Diamond Sūtra* and the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*. He studied these for two years under the guidance of Bang Hanam. He was particularly impressed with the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*.⁴⁵

In 1916, Ha Dongsan moved back to his home temple of Beomeo-sa. He had studied the *Huayan Sūtra* under scholar monk Yeongmyeong (d.u.) for two years. Korean Buddhists generally consider the scripture the highest teaching. In 1917, after finishing Korean Buddhism's monastic intellectual coursework, he concentrated on meditation at the Seon Center affiliated to Beomeo-sa Temple. However, we could not find his name in the center's 1917 and 1918 records.⁴⁶

In 1919, when his master Baek Yongseong was imprisoned for participating as a leader in the March 1st Independence Movement, Ha Dongsan moved to Seoul to take care of him in a Japanese colonial jail. He stayed at Daegak-sa Temple in Seoul and Mangwol-sa Temple near Seoul. He visited the prison along with I Chunseong (1891-1977),⁴⁷ who visited his master Han Yongun, another national representative.

Over the six months the movement had continued, 1,360,000 Koreans participated. Among them, 6,670 were killed, 14,600 were injured, and 52,730 were imprisoned.⁴⁸ The movement produced the largest national march during the Japanese occupation period, 1910-1945.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 275-276.

⁴⁵ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 356.

⁴⁶ The Board of Education of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., 303-306.

⁴⁷ I Jeong, ed., 310.

⁴⁸ I Manyeol, ed., 216.

While in Seodaemun district prison of Seoul, Baek Yongseong realized that most people who read religious texts, did so in the vernacular Korean language, not in classical Chinese.⁴⁹ As he came to recognize the importance of Korean language in propagating religions widely, he argued that without spending several decades learning classical Chinese, Koreans also had an urgent need to learn about modern philosophy, science, astronomy, politics, mechanics, and others disciplines. He dedicates himself to the translation of classical Chinese Buddhist texts to the Korean language. According to his vision, this would modernize and reform Korean Buddhism because all Koreans would be able to understand Buddhism easily.

In March 1921, he was released from prison and went back to Daegak-sa Temple. However, while he was in jail, one of his disciples sold the temple and ran away with the money. He found temporary lodging at a lay follower's house at 211 Gahoe-dong, Jongno-gu in Seoul and prepared to translate Buddhist texts. Although he asked many temples and monks to support his translation project, the response was not positive. Some even criticized him.

After being released from prison, without the support of his colleagues, he organized the Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka ("Samjang yeokhoe"). This was composed of his monastic disciples and lay followers. His goal was to translate the entire Buddhist canon, the Tripitaka or Three Baskets of Scriptures, which is comprised of scriptures, commentaries and writings about monastic discipline. Even though he translated texts by himself, he needed financial support to publish them. Thus, the society sponsored the project.

The *Donga ilbo*, a major national newspaper, positively evaluated the establishment of the Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka in an August 28, 1921 editorial entitled, "Buddhist Popularization Movement: The Establishment of the Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka."⁵⁰ The newspaper argued that Buddhism should be vivid and alive among its believers who understand its doctrines. Without Korean texts, the paper continued, Buddhism could not be propagated to the public.

In order to make a religion living religion, to let its believers make a purer life, a more holy one, a higher and nobler one and a brighter one, and finally to cause them to be full of energy and life, (1) we should make religious truth live and (2) we should let its believers understand the life of truth and comply with their personality. If the so-called truth is nothing but a false superstition and if the believers do not understand and embody the truth even though the truth is alive, the religion will be a degenerated form and a fruitless one. The most

⁴⁹ See Baek Yongseong, "Jeosul gwa beonyeok e daehan yeongi" (Historical Explanations of My Books and Translations), in his translated *Hangeul Hwaom-gyeong* (The Korean *Huayan Sūtra*), vol. 4, 1634.

⁵⁰ "Bulgyo ui minjung-hwa undong: Samjang yeokhoe ui chulhyeon." The editorial is included in S 1.1. 464-465.

important thing in religion is (1) to vitalize its doctrine and (2) to seek its propagation methods.

.....
Therefore, in order to revitalize Buddhism, let all sentient beings of a Dharma realm destroy foolishness and ignorance and have them cultivate great wisdom in the pure nature of enlightenment, we should reform the methods for propagating Buddhism and let the people completely comprehend its doctrine. If so, we can popularize Buddhism, bring it to life and create the fountain for happiness. If we review the traditional methods for propagating Buddhism, (1) because lay Buddhists can only approach Buddhist texts written in classical Chinese, they generally have serious difficulty in understanding the contents of and learning the meanings of the texts. (2) Because lay Buddhists have access only to commentaries and lectures on scriptures written in classical Chinese, they encounter difficulty and inconvenience in understanding the outline of Buddhist teachings. Finally, because part of the life of Buddhism has been lost, we should regret the lack of Korean translations for not only the Buddhist organizations but also Korean civilization. Reflecting upon this, Baek Yongseong organized the Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. If the Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka renders it to vernacular Korean language, we can lecture on and can write books on the texts and popularize Buddhism among the masses. Because I totally agree with Baek Yongseong's ideas, I wish the organization to be prosperous and successful in the future, so I composed the sentences above. I hope all people will give encouragements to him and his organization and let them remove all difficulties and step forward to the future.⁵¹

In a letter to Gim Gyeongbong dated lunar February 5 of an unidentified year, Baek Yongseong complained that even though he got permission from the government more than ten times, he could not successfully manage the Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka due to serious financial difficulty. Because of this problem, he continued to tell Gim Gyeongbong, he would stay in Seoul that year and return to a mountain in the following (year).⁵²

On lunar April 15, 1921, after his master Baek Yongseong was released from the jail, Ha Dongsan entered the summer intensive retreat at Sangwon-sa Temple on Mt. Odae in Pyeongchang County, Gangwon Province. For the three-month retreat period, he did not lie down but concentrated on meditation. On lunar October 15, 1921, he began a winter intensive retreat at Mahayeon-sa Temple on Mt. Geumgang.

On October 16, 1921, at 7:00 pm, the Yusim Buddhist Student Association (Yusim hagu-hoe),⁵³ composed of more than 250 Buddhist students studying in Seoul, hosted a special general meeting at Gwakhwang-sa Temple in Suseong-

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Seok Myeongjeong, trans. and comm., *Hwajung yeonhwa sosik* (Letters from a Lotus in Fire) (Yongsan, South Korea: Geungnak-am Hermitage Seon Center of Tongdosa Monastery, 1984), 118-119.

⁵³ I cannot find out when the Yusim hagu-hoe was incorporated.

dong, Jongno-gu, downtown Seoul. Song Bongu (d.u.) moderated the meeting, which proceeded to discuss many items on their agenda and passed resolutions. Jeong Ragyeong (d.u.) was elected secretary of general affairs, Jeong Maengil (d.u.) became secretary of accounting and Gim Sanggi (d.u.) secretary of education. Moreover, the association recommended Baek Yongseong as its advisor.⁵⁴ The December 24, 1921 issue of the daily newspaper *Maeil sinbo* reported that on that day at 2:00 pm, the Yusim Buddhist Student Association held the special general meeting at Gwakhwang-sa Temple.⁵⁵

The first scripture translated by Baek Yongseong was the *Diamond Sūtra*,⁵⁶ an important text in Korean Seon Buddhism. On January 12, 1922, he finally published the scripture at the translation society in the vernacular Korean language and on January 28, 1922, in both Korean and classical Chinese.

On July 8, 1921, he published the second edition of *Return to the Origin, the Right Tradition* at the society. He had originally published it in 1913 at the Korean Seon Order's Central Propagation Center. He wanted to propagate Buddhism to the public as well as Buddhists and defend Buddhism from possible criticisms from anti-Buddhist critics. On September 25, 1921, he published the *Treatise on the Mind that Creates All Beings* (*Simjo manyu-ron*) at the society. The book's main themes are based on the doctrine of Yogācāra Buddhism that the mind creates all beings. On March 7, 1921, he also published the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* in two volumes at Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka.

On lunar April 15, 1922, Ha Dongsan entered a summer intensive retreat at Bokcheon-am Hermitage on Mt. Songni. On lunar October 15, 1922, he started a winter intensive retreat at Gakhwa-sa Temple on Mt. Taebaek.

In May 1922, Baek Yongseong bought a house at 2 Bongik-dong, Jongno-gu in Seoul, near the defunct Daegak-sa Temple, located at 1 Bongik-dong. When he moved, he had been staying at the lay follower's house for more than a year. At his new residence, he established a temple called Great Enlightenment's Buddhist Church (Daegak gyodang). It is generally known that used the term Daegak, which is a reference to the Buddha's Birthday celebrated on lunar April 8.⁵⁷ Later he would establish the Daegak Religion for recovering original Buddhism from its degenerative state.

He also moved the office of the Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka to the temple. In June 1922, he finished the final draft of *The Right Ways of Cultivating the Mind*, which discusses approaches to Seon and some

⁵⁴ See the October 21, 1921 issue of the daily newspaper *Maeil sinbo* in S 1.1.992-993.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 1053.

⁵⁶ The *Diamond Sūtra* is also called *Jingang* (*boruo bolomi*) *jing* in Chinese and *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Sanskrit.

⁵⁷ Gim Gwangsik, *Yongseong*, 128.

problems during practice. The book was included in Baek Yongseong's later and most representative book *The Ocean of Enlightenment and Wheel of the Sun Wheel*, published on March 15, 1930.⁵⁸

In September 1922, he published two translations, the *Young Geumbira's Great Virtue Sūtra* (*Geumbira dongja wideok-gyeong*)⁵⁹ and the *Record of Eight Stages in the Buddha's Biography* (*Palsang-nok*).⁶⁰ In December 1922, he translated and published the *Dhāraṇī-sūtra* (*Zongchi jing*). In June 1924, he translated and published the *Sūtra of Complete Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing*) and the *Selected Collection of Important Chan Texts* (*Seonmun chwaryo*) that Song Gyeongheo (1849-1912),⁶¹ the revitalizer of Seon Buddhism in modern Korea, edited. He published the *Sūtra of Complete Enlightenment* in two versions, one in Korean and another in both Korean and classical Chinese. In June 1924, he appended *The Right Ways of Cultivating the Mind* (*Susim jeongno*) that he translated in 1922 to his translated *Selected Collection of Important Chan Texts*.

He was active as a member of the Editorial Committee of *The Buddha's Light* (*Bulil*), a magazine affiliated with the Society for Korean Buddhism, which was organized on March 17, 1920. It published its prospectus on February 17, 1920, according to which 29 Korean Buddhist leaders, monastic and lay, initiated to organize the society.⁶² Even though Baek Yongseong was not one of the 29 initiators, he actively participated in editing and publishing its affiliate magazine *The Buddha's Light*. The general principles of the society are (1) the development of Korean Buddhism, (2) the guidance of social spirit, (3) the removal of conventional falsehood, (4) the promotion of reformatory education, and (5) the elevation of our livelihood.⁶³ Many abbots of parish headquarter temples and other lay and monastic Buddhist leaders such as Gang Daeryeon (1875-1942),⁶⁴ Gim Hongjo (d.u.), O Cheolho (d.u.), I Neunghwa, I Myeongchil (d.u.), Yang Geonsik (d.u.), I Gwangjong (d.u.), Bak Hanyeong, and others contributed to the formation of the society.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Baek Yongseong, *Gakhae illyun*, second edition (1930. Seoul: Daeseong-sa Temple, 1979).

⁵⁹ In the *Geumbira dongja wideok-gyeong*, Young Geumbira is one of Buddha's manifested representatives in his samādhi (concentration) who shows to the public his abilities that he can protect Buddhism from evils.

⁶⁰ Eight stages in the Buddha's biography are (1) descending from heaven and entering his mother's body, (2) emerging from his mother, (3) sightseeing around the four gates of the caste, (4) renouncing the world, (5) conquering devils, (6) attaining enlightenment, (7) turning the wheel of Dharma and (8) entering nirvāṇa.

⁶¹ I Jeong, ed., 144-145.

⁶² *Joseon bulgyo chongbo* (Korean Buddhism's General Magazine) 21 (May 20, 1920): 9-11.

⁶³ Ibid, 12-15.

⁶⁴ I Jeong, ed., 251.

⁶⁵ The July 8, 1920 issue of *Joseon ilbo*, S 1.1.50-51.

The first issue of *The Buddha's Light* published on July 23, 1924 detailed the financial activities occurring between March 17, 1920 and May 30, 1924 (pp. 54-55). The total income was 12,091 Won. Most major temples donated some money to the society. Tongdo-sa Monastery specially donated 2000 Won for assisting the construction of the society's building. Yongju-sa Temple donated 500 Won, Bongeun-sa Temple 250 Won, Jeondeung-sa Temple 80 Won, Bongseon-sa Temple 200 Won. Seogwang-sa Temple gave 200 Won, Woljeong-sa Temple 200 Won, Hwajang-sa Temple 50 Won, Singye-sa Temple 100 Won, Paeyeop-sa Temple 50 Won, Geonbong-sa Temple 150 Won, Eunhae-sa Temple 500 Won, Beomeo-sa Temple 311 Won, Songgwang-sa Temple 200 Won. Pyohun-sa Temple donated 36 Won, Baegyang-sa Temple 110 Won, Beopju-sa Temple 100 Won, Seonam-sa Temple 100 Won, Yujeom-sa Temple 120 Won, Jangan-sa Temple 100 Won, and so forth. Individual donors who donated more than 100 Won to the society are as follows: I Neunghwa donated 1,000 Won, Seo Hanyeong (d.u.) 100 Won, Yang Geonsik 140 Won, I Myeongchil 350 Won, Gim Gyeongryong (d.u.) 150 Won, Choe Changseon (d.u.) 500 Won, O Cheolho 500 Won, Gwon Deokgyu (d.u.) 200 Won, O Munho (d.u.) 200 Won, and O Cheonho (d.u.) 100 Won. From this, we can safely conclude that the society was a nationwide organization.

In June 1920, the society donated 100 Won to Galtop-hoe, an association of self-supporting students who came from the provinces and were studying in Seoul.⁶⁶ On August 30, 1920, it also hosted a farewell party for a young Indian at a restaurant called Dangchun-gwan in downtown Seoul.⁶⁷ On March 7, 1922, it had its second anniversary at Cheongryang-sa Temple in Seoul.⁶⁸

The society published the founding issue of *The Buddha's Light* on July 23, 1924 and the second and last issue in November 1924. Baek Yongseong submitted his article "Translation of the *Heart Sūtra* with Detailed Explanations" ("Maha banya paramilda simgyeong yeokhae")⁶⁹ for the first issue. He was also one of the editors along with other eminent Buddhist leaders, Gim Ikseung, Gim Seyeong, Bak Hanyeong, Baek Yuyong, Yang Geonsik, I Neunghwa, Choe Namseon (1890-1957), Hwang Udon (1890-1964)⁷⁰ and Gwon Sangno (1879-1965).⁷¹ Most of the distribution of the magazine was to subscribers. It welcomed contributions on topics such as the short history of Korean temples, Buddhist hymns, miraculous stories of Korean monks and laypersons, concrete suggestions on how to reform Korean Buddhism, and methods to reform the system of Buddhist propagation centers. The magazine aimed to save troubled society with Buddhist teachings such as equality,

⁶⁶ The June 24, 1920 issue of *Donga ilbo*, S 1.1.459.

⁶⁷ The August 31, 1920 issue of *Donga ilbo*, S 1.1.460-461.

⁶⁸ The March 7, 1922 issue of *Donga ilbo*, S 1.1.467.

⁶⁹ *Bulil* (The Buddha's Light) 1 (July 23, 1924): 36-42.

⁷⁰ I Jeong, ed., 363.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 35-36.

freedom, philanthropy and compassion and to popularize Buddhism to the public.⁷²

Interestingly, the Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, that he organized, advertized his three books, *Treatise on the Mind that Creates All Beings*, *Record of Eight Stages in the Buddha's Biography*, and *Selected Collection of Important Chan Texts* in the first issue of *The Buddha's Light*.⁷³ According to the advertisement for *Treatise on the Mind that Creates All Beings*, "It destroys superstitions about the origin of the universe and reveals the origination of diamond wisdom from the mind. Those who hope to live as true human beings, who wish to reveal truth as religious believers, or who manifest the wisdom-eye as scientists, should definitely read this invaluable book. It costs 1 dollar 50 cents."⁷⁴ The advertisement for *Record of Eight Stages in the Buddha's Biography* is as follows: "It is the biography of the Buddha written in the vernacular Korean language. Any reader who wants to know who always gives a live light in this universe should read this valuable book. It costs one dollar."⁷⁵ The advertisement on *Selected Collection of Important Chan Texts* says, "For readers who want to cultivate their minds and seek supreme enlightenment, (Great Seon Master Baek Yongseong) translated this into Korean and appended his writing *The Right Ways of Cultivating the Mind*. The book is composed of 260 pages. This book is a must-read. It costs 1 dollar 20 cents."⁷⁶ The advertisement concludes, "These three books are the essential ones that Great Seon Master Baek Yongseong wrote and published. If you want to read them, please purchase them as soon as possible before they are sold out so that you do not regret. All of the books are published by the Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka."⁷⁷

He submitted a series of writings called "Disclosure of Seon Stories" ("Seonhwa nuseol") beginning with the first issue of *The Buddha's Light* and ending with the ninth issue of *Buddhism (Bulgyo)*, the official monthly magazine of the Central Administration of Korean Buddhism. From January 1922, the progressive Central Secretariat of the Korean Buddhist Order of Seon Sect and Doctrinal Sect that advocated the independent management of Korean Buddhism free from Japanese control and the conservative Central Administration of the Korean Buddhist Order of the Seon Sect and the Doctrinal Sect that maintained a pro-Japanese stance, fought against each other. In early 1924, these groups were merged into the Central Administration, the central body of Korean Buddhist organizations. Afterwards, in March 1924, the Foundation of the Central Administration of Korean Buddhism held its second general meeting for members. It resolved to concentrate on propagating

⁷² Refer to "Inauguration Message" in *Bulil* 1: 1-2.

⁷³ Ibid, 22.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Buddhism and to issue an official monthly magazine called *Buddhism*. Its founding issue appeared on July 1, 1924. Baek Yongseong wrote two serial articles to propagate Seon Buddhism to the public in hopes of recovering the uniqueness of Korean Buddhism's Seon tradition. His contribution was closely connected to his activities related to the Center for Seon Studies (Kor., Seonhak-won). Baek Yongseong might have anticipated the success of the newly united Central Administration when he decided to submit articles. He also submitted a series called "Views on Causation" ("Inyeon-gwan") for the fifth and sixth issues of *Buddhism*.

On November 30, 1921, Baek Yongseong participated as an incorporator in establishing the Center for Seon Studies. In 1920, just one year after the March 1st Movement, Korean Seon Buddhism's leaders initiated work to found a Seon center in Seoul in order to revive Korean traditional Seon Buddhism and to overcome Japanized Korean Buddhism.⁷⁸ Based on the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples, Japanese legally ruled Korean Buddhism. The Japanese colonial government allowed married monks in Korean Buddhism's traditional celibate monasticism and furthermore approved married monks as leaders and abbots. The married monks followed Japanese Buddhism's non-vegetarianism, contrary to the long tradition in Korean Buddhism.

The leaders for establishing the Center for Seon Studies were eminent Korean Seon practitioners. These included Gim Namjeon (1868-1936)⁷⁹ of Beomeo-sa Temple in Busan; Gang Dobong (d.u.) of Seogwang-sa Temple in the County of Anbyeon, South Hamgyeong Province; Gim Seokdu (d.u.)⁸⁰ of Beomeo-sa Temple; Han Seolje (d.u.) of Gwiju-sa Temple in the County of Hamju, South Hamgyeong Province; Song Mangong of Sudeok-sa Temple in the County of Yesan, South Chungcheong Province; O Seongwol of Beomeo-sa Temple; and others.⁸¹ They began to construct the center on August 10, 1921 and completed the construction on November 30, 1921 at 40 Anguk-dong, Jongno-gu, located in downtown Seoul.

⁷⁸ See '2. Recent Korean Sŏn Masters' (241-257) in Mok Jeong-bae, "Buddhism in Modern Korea," in The Korean Buddhist Research Institute, ed., *The History and Culture of Buddhism in Korea* (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1993), 219-261 and also Mok Jeongbae, "Yeoksa pyeon, Geun-hyeondae" (Korean Buddhist History – Modern and Contemporary Times), in Hanguk bulgyo chongnam pyeonjip wiwon-hoe, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo chongnam* (The Comprehensive Collection of Source Materials of Contemporary Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Daehan bulgyo jinheung-won, 1993), 102-106.

⁷⁹ I Jeong, ed., 30-31.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 134.

⁸¹ I Neunghwa enlisted eminent Seon leaders in Korean Buddhism. Those are I Nampa, Jang Bomyeong, O Seongwol, Yun Yeongbong, Bang Hanam, Baek Yongseong, Gim Jesan, Gang Dobong, Gim Eunghae, Gim Namjeon, Sin Hyewol, Bak Seongwol, Yang Honheo, Song Mangong, Jeon Suwol, and others. See his book, *op. cit.*, 128-132. He also mentioned Baek Yongseong as a Seon leader along with Bang Hanam, Baek Hangmyeong, and others in his article "Joseon bulyo ui samsidae" (Three Periods in Joseon Buddhism), *Bulgyo* 31 (January 1, 1927): 6-11.

The Center for Seon Studies inherited the tradition from the Central Propagation Center of the Imje Seon Order and the Central Propagation Center of Korean Seon Order. Baek Yongseong was the founding director of the Central Propagation Center of the Korean Seon Order, established on May 26, 1912. He led the center with his junior and close colleague Han Yongun. When the buildings of the Central Propagation Center were demolished, the center's materials were used for the construction of the Center for Seon Studies. When the Central Propagation Center had financial difficulties, the Beomeo-sa Temple financially supported the center so that the monks belonging to Beomeo-sa Temple participated in the center's activities.⁸² They also later participated in establishing the Center for Seon Studies.

Center for Seon Studies consisted of two buildings, a main hall furnished with two big rooms and a residential hall. Beomeo-sa Temple and the donors including former court women supported its construction costs. The following article about the ceremony for raising the building framework for the Center for Seon Studies, dated October 4, 1921, explains why the center was established. The incorporators of the center, mostly anti-Japanese leaders, considered Korean Buddhism of the time degenerated and requested Korean Buddhists to recover their institutions such as celibacy and to revitalize Seon Buddhism as follows:⁸³

Essay for Putting up the Ridge Beam of the Center for Seon Studies of Korean Buddhism

Six apocryphal classics matched to six orthodox classics⁸⁴ originated from the Song (960-1279) and Yuan (1271-1358) Dynasties in China. Because they did not originate from ancient times in the Chinese history, we do not need to accept them now. Generally speaking, the proper teaching of Buddhism had lasted for 1,000 years, and the counterfeit teaching of Buddhism for 1,000 years respectively. The degenerate teaching of Buddhism is supposed to continue for 10,000 years. Of the degenerate teaching period of 10,000 years, 948 years passed. Because the worldly affairs and human minds became gradually complicated, the understanding of Buddhist doctrine and the transmission of central tenets were actually difficult. Some Buddhist teachings appeared in the morning and others appeared in the evening. People considered them as being true and explicated them for other people. The root of rightness and wrongness and the origin of a true wild goose are not different from a couple, male and female, of crows. How can we Buddhists escape responsibility for these difficult and degenerate situations?

⁸² Gim Gwangsik, *Yongseong*, 137.

⁸³ See Min Dogwang, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo seungdan jeonghwa-sa* (The History of Purification Buddhist Movement in Korean Buddhist Monastic Order) (Gyeongju: Hanguk bulgyo seungdan jeonghwa-sa pyeonchan wiwon-hoe, 1996), 18-19.

⁸⁴ Six Classics are the *Book of Poetry*, *History*, *Rites*, *Changes*, and the *Zhouli* (Rites of Zhou) and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The ancient Six Classics had the lost *Book of Music* instead of the *Zhouli*.

We, 6-7 Seon practitioners, broke down latent degenerate intentions, generated vows of diamond mind and came to Seoul several years ago. Although we determined to establish the Center for Seon Studies (in Seoul), we could not start its establishment due to the shortage of materials. When we were eager to establish the center, a laywoman Gu Jiwohwa⁸⁵ donated (much money) and Beomeo-sa Temple donated 1,000 Won in cash, the property and buildings of the Central Propagation Center located in Insa-dong, Jongno-gu, downtown Seoul. If we characterize Buddhists who exert themselves to the full, they are like tigers that live in a mountain and dragons that live in an ocean.

We erected a pillar and raised a ridgepole on October 4, 2001 between five and seven o'clock in the morning. After finishing its construction, we will conduct research in Buddhist doctrines, manifest the proper teachings of Buddhism and forever transmit the great ocean of Buddhist teachings to the world of ten directions.

Buddhist Era: October 4, 2948 (1921)

The list of incorporators: Baek Yongseong, O Seongwol, Song Mangong, Gang Dobong, Gim Seokdu, Han Seolje, Gim Namjeon, I Gyeongyeol (d.u.), Bak Boseon (d.u.), Baek Junyeop (d.u.), and Bak Donbeop (d.u.)

The list of donors: I Gwangmyeongan, Bak Gwangmyeongsang, I Gwangmyeonggong, Gim Daegaksim, Jo Yeoraeseong, and Bak Mandeoksinsin

The list of architects: the general construction manager Gim Manje, the chief carpenter Gim Seonggil, and the chief stonecutter Wang Chunsil

In 1924, the center had serious financial problems and temporarily moved its headquarters to the office of the Seon Practitioners' Association, an affiliate to the Center for Seon Studies, which the center founded on March 30 - April 1, 1922, to Jikji-sa Temple in the County of Gimcheon, North Gyeongsang Province. The association transmitted traditional Korean Seon Buddhism and kept the celibate monastic system in the colonial period. The association accepted only unmarried monastics as its members.

In 1926, the center became the Seoul Propagation Center of the Beomeo-sa Temple due to financial problems. On January 21, 1931, Gim Jeogeum (1900-1961) assumed leadership and reopened the Center for Seon Studies. The center revitalized various activities, issued an official annual magazine called *Seon Garden* (*Seonwon*) on October 6, 1931 and endeavored to popularize Seon Buddhism among monastics and the public.

Baek Yongseong was not involved in the center's activities, but mostly dedicated himself to translating Buddhist texts and popularizing Buddhism. He translated many classical Chinese Buddhist texts to the Korean language. Even so, he had relationships with the center to some degree. According to *The Analects of Seon Master Baek Yongseong* (*Yongseong seonsa eorok*), "(I, Baek Yongseong), hope that all of you, the respectable eminent monks (of the Center

⁸⁵ Korean female Buddhists usually have their Buddhist names of three Chinese characters.

for Seon Studies), should always have great fortune. We can generally contend that, if we live with many people, we are necessary to live in a dispute. I do not know even how to propagate Buddhism. I want you to forgive me and let me be free. If someone does not have a head and not a tail, he is not able to speak. I determined not to actively participate in social activities. I will not do anything except translate Buddhist texts. I am firmly set in my decision and will not change it. I strongly request you to consider me as trash and not to ask me to get involved in the center's activities."⁸⁶

However, after it was reopened in 1931, he participated in various activities for the Center for Seon Studies. He was considered one of the major Seon leaders in Korean Buddhism along with Sin Hyewol (1861-1937),⁸⁷ Song Mangong, Bang Hanam, I Damhae (1860-1933),⁸⁸ O Seongwol, Seol Seogu (1875-1958),⁸⁹ Gim Sangwol (d.u.), and others.⁹⁰

He submitted eight articles to the four issues of *Seon Garden*. The center published its first issue on October 6, 1931 and ended up with its fourth issue on October 15, 1935. He submitted an article entitled "Disclosure of Seon Stories," which appeared in its first issue.⁹¹ He published three articles entitled under this title,⁹² as well as "Catechism on One Hundred (Buddhist) Topics"⁹³ and "Treatise on the Differences between Buddhism and Daoism" in its second issue, February 1, 1932.⁹⁴ He also submitted three articles entitled (Commentaries on *Seonmun yeomsong* ("Yeomsong geo bonhwa," p. 12), "Explanatory Translation of the *Heart Sūtra*" ("Maha banya baramilda simgyeong yeokhae," pp. 29-30), and "On the Meanings of Kōans" ("Hwadu beop ira," p. 31) to the third issue, August 16, 1932. He contributed an article entitled "On the *Seonmun Yeomsong*" ("Yeomsong," p. 5)⁹⁵ to the fourth issue, October 15, 1935.

On February 18, 1931, leaders of the Center for Seon Studies, i.e., Han Yongun, I Tan-ong (d.u.), Gim Jeogeum, and so on, visited Baek Yongseong and exchanged (lunar) new year greetings with him at Daegak-sa Temple. Baek Yongseong attended the winter intensive retreat in 1931 as a leader and gave a

⁸⁶ Ha Dongsan, comp., Gim Taeheup, ed., *Yongseong seonsa eorok* (Seon Master Baek Yongseong's Analects) (Seoul: Samjang yeokhoe, 1941), vol. 2, 29a-b. Ha Dongsan, ed., 479.

⁸⁷ I Jeong, ed., 342-343.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 67.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 116-117.

⁹⁰ See Gim Soha (Gim Taeheup), "Namyu gudo yechan (Sok)" (Continuation of the Article "In Search for Dharma in the Southern Area of the Korean Peninsula"), in *Bulgyo* 65 (November 1, 1929): 47.

⁹¹ "Seonhwa nuseol," *Seonwon* 1 (October 6, 1931): 5-7.

⁹² "Seonhwa nuseol," *Seonwon* 2 (February 1, 1932): 10-12.

⁹³ "Ilja baekgwang mundap," *Seonwon* 2: 34-35.

⁹⁴ "Bulseon byeoni-ron," *Seonwon* 2: 79-84.

⁹⁵ Jingak Hyesim (1178-1234), a disciple of Bojo Jinul (1158-1210), the actual founder of modern Korean Buddhism, composed the *Collection of 1125 Kōans* (*Seonmun yeomsong*) in 30 fascicles.

public lecture to more than 70 persons who attended the regular general meeting for the Female Seon Practitioners' Association on lunar November 3 (December 11), 1931 at the center.⁹⁶ When more than 60 practitioners finished one-week intensive meditation retreat, he delivered the closing lecture to them on December 23, 1931.

On lunar October 15 (November 24), 1931, after the one-week intensive prayer period for K^ṛitigarbha Bodhisattva begun from November 18, the center began the winter intensive meditation retreat.⁹⁷ During the seven-day intensive prayer period, Gim Taeheup lectured on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. On the beginning day of the winter intensive meditation, lunar October 15, they hosted a special service and a special lecture by an eminent Chan master at 7 o'clock in the evening. The center appointed Baek Yongseong as spiritual leader. According to the daily schedule, practitioners meditated from 4:00 to 7:00 am, from 9:00 to 11:00 am, from 2:00 to 4:00 pm, and 7:00 to 9:00 pm. During the intensive retreat, participants were advised to remain silent in the main hall, the meditation hall for female Seon practitioners and the meditation hall for male Seon practitioners. If needed, they should meet and talk in the center's office. During the meditation period, nobody could make noises anywhere.

According to the third issue of *Seon Garden* (August 16, 1932), Baek Yongseong served as the director of Daeseung-sa Temple Chan Center to which 25 monks belonged and 11 Seon practitioners participated in the winter intensive meditation retreat (p. 72). On December 23, 1931, Seon practitioners finished the seven-day intensive meditation. Because the day was the winter solstice, they were served red bean gruel. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, more than 60 practitioners attended preaching by Baek Yongseong. On January 10, 1932, he preached to more than 70 members attending the regular general meeting of the Female Seon Practitioners' Association at the center. When the center hosted a one-week special ceremony for Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva on February 14 – 20, 1932, he explained each night why Bodhidharma (c. 470 – ? 543), whom Seon Buddhists traditionally considered as the founder of Chinese Chan Buddhism, came from the West (India) to the East (China). On March 9, he preached Buddhism at the regular general meeting for the Female Seon Practitioners' Association.⁹⁸

He had translated many Buddhist texts, wrote several essays and books. However, he developed a nervous disorder from the hard work and could not continue his translations and writings. Instead of writing books and translating texts, he decided to concentrate on Seon praxis. So, in June 1925, he organized the Society for Practicing Seon during Ten Thousand Days at Mangwol-sa Temple on Mt. Dobong in the County of Yangju, Gyeonggi Province, located in the vicinity of Seoul and trained many monastic Seon practitioners. He initiated

⁹⁶ *Seonwon* 2: 85-86.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ *Seonwon* 3 (August 16, 1932): 73.

the society in order to revitalize Korean Seon Buddhist tradition and return to Korean Buddhism's vinaya tradition from Japanized Korean Buddhism's non-vegetarianism and married priesthood. He equally emphasized vinaya and Seon praxis in organizing the society. He established a temporary office for the society at Daegak Church, located at 2 Bongik-dong, Jongno-gu, downtown Seoul. He advertised the society and encouraged Seon practitioners to apply for membership in the fourteenth issue of *Buddhism*, published on August 1, 1925. He also included the society's eleven articles in the same issue.⁹⁹

In the fifteenth issue of *Buddhism*, published on September 1, 1925, he detailed the society's rules.¹⁰⁰ In its eighteenth issue issued on October 11, 1925, *Joseon bulgyo* (Korean Buddhism), a pro-Japanese Buddhist periodical, translated the society's rules in Japanese and introduced it originally published in the sixteenth issue of *Buddhism*, published on September 1, 1925. A reporter for *Joseon bulgyo* also wrote about the society in Japanese as follows: "Now, a traditional Linji Chan center has appeared in Korea. The center's spiritual leader Baek Yongseong was trained in the orthodox Linji Chan Buddhism. Because he deplored the decline of Chan meditation in Korean Buddhism, he assembled laypersons and taught the Chan analects as well as he invested his personal wealth and published various Buddhist texts for several years. This time he attracted the Chan practitioners to mountain and decided to organize the list of monastic positions in the center."¹⁰¹ Baek Yongseong also announced publicly eighteen matters that demand special attention for the society's future members in the fifteenth issue of *Buddhism*.¹⁰²

Before beginning of the society, Baek Yongseong wanted to make two images, a vinaya platform, and four stamps.¹⁰³ The Layman Han Sangnin (d.u.) helped him to secure precious materials for these purposes. The vinaya platform is two *jas* (Korean feet)¹⁰⁴ wide and three feet long. Four stamps are (1) The Treasure of a Dharma King (*beobwang ji bo*), (2) The Proper Lineage of Korean Vinaya (*cheonhwa jeongmaek*), (3) The Stamp of a Vinaya Preceptor (*gyesa ji in*), and (4) The Stamp to Protect Truth from Falsehood (*bangwi ji in*). The first stamp is two *chis* (Korean inches)¹⁰⁵ on each of its four sides. The second stamp is two inches and five *puns*¹⁰⁶ per side. The third stamp is one inch and five *puns* per side. The fourth stamp is one inch per side. The two images that Baek

⁹⁹ The advertisement for the Society for Practicing Seon during Ten Thousand Days at Mangwol-sa Temple is included in the unpaginated back matter of the 14th issue of *Bulgyo* (August 1, 1925).

¹⁰⁰ The society's rules are included in the unpaginated back matter of the 15th issue of *Bulgyo* (September 1, 1925).

¹⁰¹ *Joseon bulgyo* 18 (October 11, 1925): 30.

¹⁰² It is included in the back matter of the 15th issue of *Bulgyo*.

¹⁰³ Ha Dongsan, comp., Gim Taeheup, ed., *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 25; and Ha Dongsan, ed., Dongbong, trans., 467.

¹⁰⁴ *Ja*, a Korean foot, is 33 cm.

¹⁰⁵ Because *chi*, a Korean inch, is one tenth of a *ja*, it is 3.30 cm.

¹⁰⁶ A *pun* is one tenth of a *chi*.

Yongseong wanted to make are the holy image of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva and that of Kṛitigarbha Bodhisattva. The image of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva is one foot and seven inches high. The image of Kṛitigarbha Bodhisattva is one foot, six inches and five *puns* in height.

On October 15, when he initiated the society's long (ten thousand days) intensive retreat, he established a Bodhisattva Precept Platform for lay Buddhists and had an ordination ceremony, in which lay Buddhists participated. At the inauguration ceremony, he delivered the sermon.¹⁰⁷

On October 22, he had a ceremony to enshrine Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Image. On November 22, he also finished making Kṛitigarbha Bodhisattva's Image and on November 25, he enshrined it. He let one person pray each day in front of each image for ten thousand days. More than 50 people attended the project.¹⁰⁸ Baek Yongseong made and memorized the society's prayer along with his followers.¹⁰⁹

Around April 1926, because the society's members could not live at Mangwol-sa Temple, he had to take them to Naewon-am Hermitage on Mt. Cheonseong, affiliated with Tongdo-sa Monastery in the County of Yangsan, South Gyeongsang Province. The government reclassified the forest of Mt. Dobong as a reserved forest, so the members could not use the forest for firewood without which they could not live for a long period. When he moved the society, he also moved the Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. He also delivered a sermon at Naewon-am Hermitage.¹¹⁰

Abbot Song Seoru (d.u.), Tongdo-sa Monastery, strongly supported Baek Yongseong financially. For example, he made the Seon centers at four additional hermitages, Seonbul-am Hermitage, Beumbong-am Hermitage, Anjeok-am Hermitage, and No-jeon Hall respectively and assigned them under the direction of the spiritual leader Baek Yongseong of Naewon-am Hermitage. Even though Tongdo-sa Monastery supported him, he had financial difficulties in maintaining the society. While at Naewon-am Hermitage, he had attended and presided over many Bodhisattva Precept ceremonies and he had been translating the *Huayan Sūtra* into Korean. In 1926, he translated and published the *Diamond Sūtra*.

In a letter dated January 15, 1928 to Gim Gyeongbong, he criticized the arrogance of the then Seon meditators as follows:

.....
Nowadays, even though Seon practitioners said they realized enlightenment, most of them did not transcend from emptiness in their enlightenment. Even though both emptiness and non-emptiness are empty, the emptiness is empty, and the empty emptiness is empty, they do not see their

¹⁰⁷ Ha Dongsan, ed., 300-303.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 468.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 444-449.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 327-329.

true nature even in their dreams. Likewise, even though emptiness became empty without limit, they cannot transcend from emptiness. Even though they express their enlightenment through a long silence, they are wrong.¹¹¹

On April 17, 1926, at two o'clock pm, he began to translate the voluminous *Huayan Sūtra* and on November 13, 1927, at ten o'clock am, he completed its translation at Naewon-am Hermitage, Tongdo-sa Monastery. He spent 259 days, more than eight months, translating it. On May 30, 1927, he wrote the preface to its first volume. On November 5, he published the first volume and on March 28, the twelfth and last volume at the Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. He raised 20,000 Won to publish the twelve-volume scripture. To popularize the text, he also discounted the set of its twelve volumes from 17.50 yen to 8.00 yen. The purchaser paid a shipping fee.¹¹²

It was the first full translation of the sūtra in Korean history, although some some chapters had previously been translated.¹¹³ Even though Korean Buddhists have considered Huayan (Kor., Hwaeom; Jpn., Kegon) philosophy and its scriptural text the *Huayan Sūtra* to be very important, Korean Buddhists have approached them via classical Chinese, not their language Korean. Baek Yongseong translated and popularized the text among Korean Buddhists.

Even before its complete publication, the 43rd issue of *Buddhism*, published on January 1, 1928, announced the publication and highly evaluated the appearance of its complete translation. It complimented Baek Yongseong, saying even though he was 64 years old, he dedicated himself to the huge translation project and completed it. He was the first translator that completely translated the *Huayan Sūtra* in the Korean language. It anticipated the translation to be the invaluable treasure storehouse for future Korean Buddhism.

In the same 43rd issue of *Buddhism*, Ji Ilsaeng (d.u.) very highly evaluated the Korean *Huayan Sūtra* translated by Baek Yongseong and introduced how importantly the translation of Buddhist texts written in classical Chinese into the Korean language is to propagate and popularize Buddhism among the masses.¹¹⁴ He asserted that wherever Buddhism was introduced, it was naturalized and domesticated. Without the translation of Buddhist texts, Buddhism could not be naturalized. This was of paramount importance.

According to Ji Ilsaeng,¹¹⁵ there are 1,440 sets and 5,586 fascicles of Chinese Buddhist texts in total, translated from late Han Dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE) to the Yuan Dynasty (1280-1368) during more than 1300 years. Before

¹¹¹ Seok Myeongjeong, trans. and comm., 125-126.

¹¹² *Bulgyo* 62 (April 1, 1929): 77.

¹¹³ Ji Ilsaeng, “Joseon geul hwaeom-gyeong eul bogo” (Impressions from Reading the Korean *Huayan Sūtra*), in *Bulgyo* 43 (Jan. 1, 1928): 17.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 16-20.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

King Sejong (1418-1450) of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) invented Korean scripts in 1443 and promulgated them in 1446, Korean Buddhists had no way of reading them except using Chinese. Since then, Korean Buddhists translated many Buddhist texts such as the *Ātīgarbha Sūtra*, the Pure Land texts, and others, and some parts of the *Huayan Sūtra* from Chinese to Korean.

To let Buddhists know the text's outline, Baek Yongseong along with the Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka hosted a series of lectures on the *Huayan Sūtra* on lunar February 20 – March 17, 1928 at Daegak Church in downtown Seoul. Many Buddhists attended the successful lecture series. When Baek Yongseong gave lectures on the scripture, I Geunu (d.u.) and I Chunseong also lectured on it. When they gave the last lecture on it on March 17, the Sunday school students performed festive songs in the evening and entertained the participants.¹¹⁶

I Chunseong was born near Sinheung-sa Temple on Mt. Seorak. In 1903, at his age of 13, he was ordained under Han Yongun and for more than ten years, he served his master. In 1929, he succeeded the Dharma lineage from Song Mangong, one of the most famous modern Seon masters. While in Korean Civil War, 1950-1953, he protected Mangwol-sa Temple. On August 22, 1977, he passed away at Bongguk-sa Temple near Seoul. He was famous as a Seon monk in modern Korean Buddhism.¹¹⁷ I Geunu was a monk of Beomeo-sa Temple in present Busan, participated in the March 1, 1919 Independence Movement, and as a result was imprisoned for a while.¹¹⁸

In the 58th issue of *Buddhism*, published on April 1, 1929, an author introduced with a nickname “Muho Sanbang” (Unnamed Mountain Room) published an article entitled “What is the Necessity for Translating Buddhist Texts into Korean?” (“Yeokgyeong ui pilyo?”). In it he explained the importance and effect of translation in propagating Buddhism to the Korean public.¹¹⁹

While Baek Yongseong led the Society for Practicing Seon during the Ten Thousand Days at Naewon-am Hermitage affiliated to Tongdo-sa Monastery, one of the parish head temples, he began to translate the *Huayan Sūtra*. In a long letter to Gim Gyeongbong, written on July 13, (1927), we can very vividly look into how much seriously he struggled with a financial problem in managing the society and how much diligently he endeavored in translating the scripture.

Nowadays it is tremendously hot. How is your health and fortune? I will begin to print the *Huayan Sūtra* from the 20th day of this July. Because I have taken three years in finishing its publication, I have been so busy and could not have gotten out from the center.

¹¹⁶ *Bulgyo* 48 (May 1, 1928): 96.

¹¹⁷ I Jeong, ed., 310.

¹¹⁸ Gim Gwangsik, *Yongseong*, 175.

¹¹⁹ See Muho Sanbang, “Yeokgyeong ui pilyo?” (Necessity of Translating Buddhist Texts into Korean), *Bulgyo* 58 (April 1, 1929): 19-24.

This year I subsidized 700 Won because the center improperly appropriated 700 Won for other purposes not related to the Seon center and supplemented 400 Won because the center demanded my support. The abbot of the hermitage told me that he would resign the position. I regret that even though I persuaded him not to resign the abbotship, he would not change his decision.

This year I finished my responsibility. However, I cannot continue my responsibility. Even though I took efforts and had difficulty to manage a farm in Manchuria, a gold mine in the County of Bukcheong, South Hamgyeong Province, and a house in Seoul, I began a new project of translating the *Huayan Sūtra*. Sometimes, I became desperate due to my humble ability. Moreover, of the practitioners in the Seon center, nobody is reasonable. Does their irresponsibility originate from temporal or spatial conditions? I am afraid that Buddhism is going degenerated.

According to the abbot, I should immediately pay the temple's allotted charges to the parish headquarter temple and various miscellaneous payments that the temple owed, and I should spend money several times to treat guests more than other temples. So he wanted to resign his abbotship as soon as possible.

So, as I promised, I finished my duties this year. I will continue to manage the center. Whomever the parish temple appoints as abbot, I will cooperate with that person and continue the center with him.

Even though I spent 10,000 Won in establishing facilities in the center, the abbot did not desire to continue his abbotship. I hope that the parish head temple will appoint its branch temple's abbot. Next year, I will provide the meals for Seon practitioners. I will not charge the center anymore. I cannot trust anyone. Even though I made and implemented various provisions in the center, for example, not to go out from the center for the ten thousand days and not to eat meals after noon, the center's members violated them and did not follow my directions so that I also became lazy.

Because I became older, I lost energy and it became difficult to walk. I was fatigued in mind and body. I was born in the period of degeneration of Buddhism owing to my bad Karma.

I am exhausted to propagate Buddhism. Without reflecting on the (abovementioned) difficult situations, all monk guests of Seoul just came to the center and devoured meals here. I encountered serious financial problems for these reasons. Even so, I have received many bills. The one Chinese character "fo" (Buddha) became my great sufferings. Zhaozhou Congshen told, "I do not like to listen to the one Chinese character 'fo'."¹²⁰ I believe that the sayings by Zhaozhou Congshen are exceedingly proper and true.

Dated July 13, (1927)

Baek Sanggyu (Yongseong)

¹²⁰ See X.69.1357.460b3; X.3.220.569a9; X.84.1583.649a7; X.65.1295.583c11; X.83.1578.524a5-6; X.62.1179.252b7; and others.

P.S.: This time I did not send an additional letter to the abbot of (Tongdo-sa Monastery), the parish headquarters temple. Next time I will send the letter to him. Even though I should spend 20,000 Won for publishing the Korean translation version of the *Huayan Sūtra*, nobody from any temple donates and did not provide money for its publication.¹²¹

Unlike his master Baek Yongseong who translated classical Chinese Buddhist texts into Korean, Ha Dongsan dedicated himself exclusively to Seon practice. Ha Dongsan came back to his home temple of Beomeo and attended a massive Buddhist service in lunar March 1923. On lunar April 15, 1923, he began a summer intensive retreat at Baegun-am Hermitage in the County of Hamyang, South Gyeongsang Province.

On lunar April 15, 1924, he entered the three-year intensive retreat at Cheonbul Seon Center affiliated to Jikji-sa Temple on Mt. Hwangak in the County of Gimcheon, North Gyeongsang Province. On lunar January 15, 1927, he completed the long retreat. During the period, he intensively meditated and developed spiritually.

He became quite famous as a serious practitioner of Seon meditation and for daily living a monastic lives.¹²² While a Korean monk lives at a temple, he should participate in its three major activities: daily chanting services, eating services, and labor-sharing activities. Ha Dongsan always attended these three services of all halls at a temple, including the Kitchen God Altar, the Mountain God Hall, the Ursa Major Hall, the Main Hall, the Kṛitigarbha Bodhisattva Hall, the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva Hall, and others.¹²³ He also chanted the words of the service manuals for a deity(s) enshrined in each platform in each hall. Korean monks chant three times per day, morning, before-noon, and evening. Always, wherever he was, he never skipped daily chanting services.

He did not neglect to attend the labor-sharing activities along with other resident monks at a temple.¹²⁴ Even though he was a senior monk, he worked together with the junior resident monks. He swept away dusts in the temple court, worked out in the fields, and harvested crops. He loyally followed Baizhang Huaihai's (720-814)¹²⁵ detailed monastic rules and activities in Seon monasteries, described in his *Chan Monastic Codes (Baizhang qinggui)*, which has been tremendously influential in the East Asian Buddhist monasticism down to modern times. Baizhang Huaihai combined meditation with daily works in the monastic rules.

¹²¹ Seok Myeongjeong, trans. and comm., 120-124.

¹²² Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 361-362.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid, 362.

¹²⁵ Baizhang Huaihai (720-814) was a disciple of Mazu Daoyi and the master of Gueishan Lingyu and Huangbo Xiyun. He established the Chan monastic code and detailed rules in a Chan monastery.

3. Awakening and propagation, 1927 – 1954

On lunar January 15, 1927, at the age of 38, Ha Dongsan went to the closing ceremony of his three-year intensive retreat at Jikji-sa Temple. Afterwards, he returned to his home temple of Beomeo-sa. On lunar April 15, 1927, he began a summer intensive retreat at Geumeo Seon Center affiliated to Beomeo-sa Temple where he became a monk. While practicing meditation at the Seon center, he used to walk in the bamboo forest nearby. While listening to the sound of crashing bamboo leaves, he suddenly obtained enlightenment on July 5. He expressed his awakening poem as follows:¹²⁶

How many years did I draw a picture?
There is a live cat in the place that a painting brush reached.
All day, a cat has slept in front of a window,
When the night comes, it as usual catches an old mouse.

For two years between 1927 and 1929, he maintained his Seon practice after enlightenment and preserved his enlightened status of mind. He named himself Juksun, literally meaning “Bamboo Spout.” He treasured the bamboo forest alone.

On lunar October 15, 1929, when the winter intensive retreat began, he became the director of Geumeo Seon Center affiliated to Beomeo-sa Temple and began to train Seon practitioners. Fourteen Seon monks including Ha Dongsan participated in the winter intensive retreat.¹²⁷

On March 15, 1930, he presided over the ceremony of offering Bodhisattva precepts as a precept instructor for the first time at the prestigious diamond precept platform of Beomeo-sa Temple. He could not become the precept transmitter because he did not officially inherit the vinaya lineage from a vinaya preceptor. On lunar April 15, 1930, he also entered the summer intensive retreat and began to educate practitioners in Seon as the director at Geumeo Seon Center. At the time, he was among 18 Seon monks who attended the retreat.¹²⁸

On March 14, 1931, he attended the first National Conference for Korean Seon Buddhist Practitioners at the Center for Seon Studies. There, he along with other Seon practitioners demanded that the government and the confederation of the abbots of 31 parish-head temples designate some temples as places unmarried Seon practitioners could live and cultivate their minds. He had stayed at Wonhyo-am Hermitage affiliated to Beomeo-sa Temple for two years, 1932 – 1934.

¹²⁶ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 365.

¹²⁷ See the Board of Education of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., *Jogye jongsu: Geun-hyeondae pyeon* (The History of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism: Modern and Present Periods) (Seoul: Jogye-jong chulpan-sa, 2001), 326.

¹²⁸ Ibid, 327.

On March 7 and 8, 1935, Seon practitioners held the national conference at the Korean Buddhist Seon Research Institute, composed articles and bylaws and elected a patriarch, a director, some trustees and some representatives. They tried to establish the independent Seon Sect as the united institution for Seon centers and practitioners. Since then, the Center for Seon Studies has been called the Central Seon Center and considered the representative national Seon center.

Ha Dongsan served as a member of the preparatory committee for the national conference and a member of the drafting committee for its articles and bylaws. The members of both committees¹²⁹ were Gi Seokho (d.u.), Jeong Unbong (d.u.), Hwang Yongeum (d.u.), Bak Daeya (d.u.), Bak Gobong (d.u.), Gim Jeogeum, Ha Dongsan, Gim Il-ong (d.u.), I Tan-ong, Gim Ikgon (d.u.), and others.

At the national conference, Seon practitioners, belonging to the Center for Seon Studies, declared the Constitution of Korean Buddhist Seon Sect and recommended Song Mangong as its representative patriarch and Sin Hyewol, Jeon Suwol (1855-1928)¹³⁰ and Bang Hanam as patriarchs in the Seon Sect. They also recommended O Seongwol as secretary general, Seol Seogu as vice secretary general, I Cheongdam (1902-1971)¹³¹ as secretary of general affairs, Jeong Unbong as secretary of finance and Gim Jeogeum as secretary of propagation.¹³² Ha Dongsan became a member of its Central Assembly and a touring missionary in the sect.

The foundation history of the Center for Seon Studies and the Korean Buddhist Seon Research Institute can briefly introduced as follows. In 1920, just one year after the March 1st Movement, Gim Namjeon, Gang Dobong, Gim Seokdu and others resolved to establish a representative Seon center in Seoul to revive Korean traditional Seon Buddhism.¹³³ Baek Yongseong, Song Mangong, O Seongwol and others concretized the project and began to construct the center on August 10, 1921 at Anguk-dong in the downtown of Seoul. The construction was completed on November 30.

They put the Korean-Chinese character *won* 院 in the title of Seonhak-won (Center for Seon Studies) without putting the Korean-Chinese characters *sa*

¹²⁹ Gim Gwangsik, "Ha Dongsan ui bulgyo jeonghwa" (Ha Dongsan's Purification Buddhist Movement), in the Research Institute for the History of Korean Buddhist Orders (Director: Im Deoksan) and Gim Gwangsik, eds., *Beomeo-sa wa bulgyo jeonghwa undong* (Beomeo-sa Temple and Purification Buddhist Movement) (Busan: Yeonggwang doseo, 2008), 572.

¹³⁰ I Jeong, ed., 221.

¹³¹ Ibid, 160-161.

¹³² Gim Gwangsik, 573.

¹³³ See '2. Recent Korean Son Masters' (241-257) in Mok Jeong-bae, "Buddhism in Modern Korea," in the Korean Buddhist Research Institute, ed., *The History and Culture of Buddhism in Korea* (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1993), 219-261 and also Mok Jeongbae, "Yeoksa pyeon, Geun-hyeondae" (Korean Buddhist History – Modern and Contemporary Times), in *Chongnam*, 102-106.

寺 or *am* 庵, both of which mean temple. If the center had the characters *sa* or *am* in its religious institution's title, it should be controlled by the Japanese Government-General's regulations of Korean Buddhist temples. They established the center to manage it independently of Japanese control in the colonial period.¹³⁴

On two days, March 30 and April 1, 1922, 82 monastics, including O Seongwol, Baek Hakmyeong (1867-1929),¹³⁵ Hwang Yong-eum, and Song Mangong, established the Seon Practitioners' Association as an affiliate organization of the Center for Seon Studies at the center. They transmitted traditional Korean Seon Buddhism and kept the celibate monastic system in the colonial period. The association accepted only unmarried monastics as its members.

On March 14, 1931, Seon practitioners held the National Conference for Korean Seon Buddhist Practitioners at the Center for Seon Studies and demanded that the government and the confederation of the 31 abbots of the parish-headquarter temples should designate some temples where unmarried Seon practitioners could live and cultivate their minds.

In August 1933, the center applied for establishing the foundation "Korean Buddhist Seon Research Institute" to resolve financial problems institutionally and to provide an improved living and practicing environment for the practitioners.

On December 5, 1934, the government approved. Its director was O Seongwol, its advisor Gim Gyeong-un (1862-1936),¹³⁶ its president Song Mangong, its vice president Bang Hanam, its standing trustees Gim Jeogeum, O Seongwol and Gim Namjeon and its inspectors Yun Seoho (d.u.) and I Tan-ong.

At the Korean national conference for Seon practitioners held on March 7, 1935, they issued the following manifesto, dated March 7, 1935. In it, we can understand how seriously they, including Ha Dongsan, considered Korean Buddhism and that they were trying to recover its traditions. They proposed that they preserve proper Seon teachings and not stray from the teachings. They strongly declared they would maintain and revitalize Korean Seon Buddhism from its degenerated state and preserve celibate monasticism of traditional Korean Buddhism as follows.¹³⁷

The Manifesto

We, Korean Seon practitioners, sincerely revere and report you Buddhas and Bodhisattvas as our teachers. Oh, the World-honored Being of Śākyamuni

¹³⁴ See the Board of Education of the Joyge Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., *op. cit.*, 335-336.

¹³⁵ I Jeong, ed., 24-25.

¹³⁶ Ibid, 203-204.

¹³⁷ Gim Gwangsik, 573-574.

Buddha, my main teacher and the Compassionate World-honored Beings of the three treasures in ten directions!

When the Buddha lifted a flower to the masses and showed his proper teaching without speaking at Vulture Peak Mountain (Skt., Gḷdhrakūḷa), only his eminent disciple Mahākāśyapa comprehended the profound meaning and smiled among a host of one million listeners. At the time, the Buddha transmitted his teaching to Mahākāśyapa from mind to mind. It was continuously transmitted to later patriarchs from patriarch to patriarch without stop until now. Inheriting the unbroken transmission of the proper teaching, we solemnly hosted the national conference for Seon practitioners today. If the Buddha did not lift the flower, nobody could lift it. If Mahākāśyapa did not smile, nobody could smile. If there were no the flower-lifting of the Buddha and the smiling of Mahākāśyapa, there were no proper Buddhist teachings. When there are no proper teachings in this world, we can define this age as the degenerate one.

Oh, the World-honored One, the Buddha! When wicked persons came to flourish, the proper teachings were destroyed. When we encountered this degenerate age, how should we not, the disciples of the Buddha, shed tears of indignation and courageously remove the degenerate teachings? We, the humble disciples of the Buddha of great friendliness and great compassion, sincerely request you to look over our humble earnestness in your compassionate mirror. We reverentially modeled ourselves after the great vows of the Buddha. We wish that you should provide your holy and miraculous powers, remake the proper teachings of Seon Buddhism prevailed all over the universe with the flower-lifting of the Buddha and the smiling of his disciple Mahākāśyapa and cause the wise sun of the Buddha to shine on even the four great meditation heavens.¹³⁸ Oh, the World-honored One! A lion is the king of all beasts. Who can fight against him? Even though bugs in the lion's hairs are very minute, they can eat all the flesh of the lion. Even so, the lion cannot do anything about it.

We cannot save this degenerate world by utilizing even the unparalleled power. The proper teachings of the Buddha encountered the crisis of this degenerate age. How can we know who is responsible for the crisis? We reverentially wish that we should remove this crisis. If the proper teachings of the Buddha are figured to a lion, his disciples are likened to the bugs that crept in the lion's hairs. The aforementioned crisis originated from our mistakes that we have not preserved the proper teachings of the Buddha in this world nowadays. However seriously we regret our mistakes, we cannot regret them. We for now host this national conference at which we repent previous faults and promise that we will not make mistakes in the future. From now on, if we see persons who do not follow the great promise, deceive the three treasures,

¹³⁸ See the entry of "four meditation heavens," in English Buddhist Dictionary Committee, ed., *The Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism* (Tōkyō: Soka Gakkai, 2002), 224. The four heavens consist of the world of form. They are subdivided into eighteen heavens. By practicing the four stages of meditation, one frees oneself of the illusions of the world of desire and can be born among these four meditation heavens.

violate the four great debts of gratitude¹³⁹ and fall into the three evil paths of existence,¹⁴⁰ we will destroy their bodies with diamond and iron hammers and break them into pieces. Even so, how can they incur their enmity? Rather, we will dedicate our lives to preserving proper Buddhist teachings and will not withdraw ourselves from them.

Oh, my main master Śākyamuni Buddha of great friendliness and great compassion and the other compassionate World-honored Ones of the three treasures in ten directions! Please watch over and guide us with compassion.

(We will strongly keep four great vows in our minds as follows.) (First), we make a great vow to save numberless sentient beings. (Second), we make a great vow to eliminate limitless defilements. (Third), we make a great vow to learn borderless Buddhist teachings. (Fourth), we make a great vow to accomplish unparalleled Buddhahood. Due to the benefits that we have accumulated throughout our lives, we hope to obtain supreme enlightenment along with all sentient beings in the universe.

If we examine the manifesto, we can easily notice that they, including Ha Dongsan, loyally inherited the spirit of Baek Yongseong against Japanized married monasticism and for the revitalization of traditional Korean Seon Buddhism.

After March 1, 1919 Movement, many Korean temples sent their many young student monks to Japan where they were educated in Buddhist Studies at various Japanese Buddhist missions and public universities. Influenced by this, student monks got married while in Japan and came back to their homeland with wives. They justified their marriage priesthood and received strong direct and indirect support from the Japanese colonial government, through which they popularized married monasticism and non-vegetarianism. The married monks relied on temple funds to support their family. Some married monks privatized temple properties and were eager to get good positions such as an abbotsip to secure good incomes. They argued that their married priesthood modernized Korean Buddhism.

Around 1925, the married group became prevalent. Some married monastics who studied in Japan tried to change the articles and bylaws of each

¹³⁹ See the entry of “four debts of gratitude” in English Buddhist Dictionary Committee, ed., 215. It enlists several sets of the four debts of gratitude, “The debts owed to one’s parents, to all living beings, to one’s sovereign, and to the three treasures of Buddhism. These four are set forth in the *Contemplation on the Mind-Ground Sūtra*. The definition of the four debts of gratitude varies somewhat according to the source. The *Meditation on the Correct Teaching Sūtra* defines them as the debts owed to one’s father, to one’s mother, to one’s mother, to the Thus Come One or Buddha, and to the teacher of the Law. In his work *The Debts of Gratitude*, Nichiren (1222-1282) refers to the four debts of gratitude described in the *Contemplation on the Mind-Ground Sūtra*. In *On Repaying Debts of Gratitude*, he lists the four debts of gratitude as the debts owed to one’s father and mother, to one’s teacher, to the treasures, and to one’s sovereign.”

¹⁴⁰ Three evil paths of existence are the realms of hell, hungry ghosts and animals, the lowest three of the six paths.

parish headquarter temple to which they belonged in order to get abbotships at headquarter temples, represented by Yongju-sa Temple. On October 16, 1925, some abbots of the Association of the Abbots of the Thirty Parish Head Temples requested the Japanese colonial government to approve their revised articles and bylaws in order to allow married monks to become abbots. Some abbots strongly objected to their suggestions so that they could not change them successfully.

Korean Buddhism traditionally followed celibate monasticism and prescribed in the regulations of each temple that married monks should not become the abbots. However, as the number of married monks increased, in 1925, they pushed to revise the regulations. On October 16, 1925, the Association of the Abbots of thirty parish Head Temples held a general meeting and discussed how to revise the temple regulations on the qualification of abbot candidates. Abbots of Beomeo-sa Temple, Haein-sa Temple and Seogwang-sa Temple strongly opposed the revision of the temple regulations and the resolution could not the rules could not pass.

However, in May 1926, the Government-General issued official instructions to provincial governors, stating that they should direct the provincial head temples and their branch temples to change the temple articles and bylaws, making it possible for married monks to become abbots. The office pushed the head temples to revise their regulations. In October, the Government-General granted this. In November, more than ten parish head temples revised their laws and the Government-General approved them.

The Japanese Government-General could control married abbots and Korean Buddhism very easily and effectively because the government could supervise them legally. If they were not loyal to the government, they would lose the jobs on which their families depended. Married monks competed for good positions and privatized temple properties as much as possible. The monastic marriage system made Japanese control of Korean Buddhism be more effective, damaged the independence of Korean Buddhism and led to the loss of numerous temple properties.¹⁴¹

In May 1926, along with 127 monastics, Baek Yongseong submitted a memorandum, requesting the Japanese Governor-General Saitō Minoru (r. 1919-1927 and r. 1929-1931) in Korea and the Secretary of Internal Affairs of Japanese Government in Tōkyō to prohibit Korean monastics from marriage and eating meat. 127 monks, including Korean Buddhist leaders such as Abbot I Daejeon (d.u.) of the Seogwang-sa Temple in the County of Anbyeon, South Hamgyeong Province, Abbot O Hoejin (d.u.) of Haein-sa Temple in the County

¹⁴¹ See “4. Daecheoseung ui bopyeon-hwa wa sachal jaejeong” (The Generalization of Married Monks of Korean Buddhism and the Korean Buddhist Temple Finances) in Gim Gwangsik, *Hanguk geundae bulgyo ui hyeonsil insik* (Understanding of Society in Modern Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Minjok-sa, 1998), 174-182.

of Hapcheon, South Gyeongsang Province, signed the memorandum.¹⁴² In his first memorandum, Baek Yongseong argued that the marriage monastic system was a main reason for Korean Buddhist monasticism's deterioration.¹⁴³

In September 1926, he sent another letter to the Japanese Governor-General Saitō Minoru in Seoul and the Secretary of Internal Affairs of the Japanese Government in Tōkyō. Continuing in the spirit of the first memorandum, expressed his ideas in concrete terms in the second memorandum. For example, he stated that because it was difficult to recover the non-marriage monastic system completely, it would be realistic for monastics to divide into two groups, married priests and unmarried monks. He requested the government to assign at least some parish head temples to unmarried monks¹⁴⁴ in his second memorandum.¹⁴⁵

He criticized Japanese policies on Korean Buddhism in the second memorandum. He concluded in it that Japanese colonial government should prohibit monks from taking non-vegetarianism and married monasticism. He strongly suggested in it that if the government cannot eliminate married monasticism in Korean Buddhism, it should give at least several parish head temples to celibate monks and let them recover Korean Buddhism's traditional celibate monasticism and concentrate on the Seon practice of traditional Korean Buddhism at least in the temples.¹⁴⁶

On lunar April 15, 1935, Ha Dongsan entered a summer intensive retreat at Bongjeong-am Hermitage on Mt. Seorak along with I Hyobong (1888-1966)¹⁴⁷ and I Cheongdam. After he finished the summer retreat on lunar July 15, he

¹⁴² There is a detailed information on Baek Yongseong's first memorandum in the newspaper article "Baegyeo seungnyeong yeonmyeong euro beomgye saenghwal geumji jinjeong" (More Than 100 Monks Submitted a Memorandum (to the Government) and Requested (the Government) to Prohibit Korean Monks from Marriage and Non-vegetarianism), in the May 19, 1926 issue of *Donga Daily Newspaper*, S 1.1.59. In the article, Baek Yongseong was described as the abbot of Beomeo-sa Temple in Busan. I think that it was wrong information on Baek Yongseong.

¹⁴³ I Cheolgyo and Gim Gwangsik, comps., *Hanguk geun hyeondae Bulgyo jaryo jeonjip*, vol. 68: *Bulgyo jeonghwa bunjaeng jaryo* (Source Materials of Modern and Contemporary Buddhism, vol. 68: Source Materials of Purification Buddhist Movement) (Seoul: Minjok-sa, 1996), 262-263 and Ha Dongsan, comp., Gim Taeheup, ed., *Yongseong seonsa eorok* (Seon Master Baek Yongseong's Analects) (Seoul: Samjang yeokhoe, 1941), vol. 2., 26-27. There are some differences between two versions. I used *Seon Master Baek Yongseong's Analects* for translation here.

¹⁴⁴ See Gim Gwangsik, "1926 nyeon bulgyo-gye ui daecheo sigyungnon gwa Baek Yongseong ui geonbaekseo" (Baek Yongseong's Memorandum and the Married and Non-vegetarian Monasticism in 1926), in his *Hanguk geundae bulgyo ui hyeonsil insik*, 177-215.

¹⁴⁵ I Cheolgyo and Gim Gwangsik, comps., 263-265; and Baek Yongseong, 27-28. There are also some differences between two versions. I used *Seon Master Baek Yongseong's Analects* for translation.

¹⁴⁶ Gim Gwangsik, *Yongseong*, 166-167.

¹⁴⁷ I Jeong, ed., 204-205.

moved back to Beomeo-sa Temple and began to train Seon practitioners. He trained Seon students during the winter intensive retreat between lunar October 15, 1935 and lunar January 15, 1936 as the spiritual leader of the Seon Center.¹⁴⁸ Nineteen Seon practitioners including Ha Dongsan attended the retreat. The center recorded his name as Ha Yongbong. He must obtain a Dharma name from some other master, not from Baek Yongseong and apparently inherited a Dharma lineage from that master at the time.

In 1935, he officially inherited the Dharma lineage from Baek Yongseong who transmitted it from Hwanseong Jian (1664-1729).¹⁴⁹ Baek Yongseong provided a Dharma-transmission poem to Ha Dongsan as follows:¹⁵⁰

A Buddha and a patriarch do not know each other,
they provisionally say that they transmitted (Dharma) from mind to mind.
A Chinese stuffed pancake of Yunmen Wenyan (864-949)¹⁵¹ is round,
A radish of the County of Zhenzhou¹⁵² is long.

In 1936, he had a summer intensive retreat with I Hyobong and Choe Hyeam (1885-1985)¹⁵³ at Jeongam-sa Temple in the County of Jeongseon, Gangwon Province. Between 1936 and 1940, for four years, he served as the director of the Seon Center affiliated to Haein-sa Monastery.¹⁵⁴ Because we could not find his name in the records of the Seon Center between 1936 and 1940, we could not prove his tenure as the Seon Center's director at Haein-sa Monastery.¹⁵⁵

His master Baek Yongseong served as the spiritual leader of Geumeo Seon Center of Beomeo-sa Temple during the winter intensive retreat of 1936 between lunar October 15, 1936 and lunar January 15, 1937¹⁵⁶ and the summer intensive retreat of 1937 between lunar April 15, 1937 and lunar July 15,

¹⁴⁸ The Board of Education of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., *Geundae seonwon bangham-nok*, 335-336.

¹⁴⁹ I Jeong, ed., 281.

¹⁵⁰ Im Hyeobong, 102. He did not indicate the primary source for the poem in his book. I also could not identify the poem's source.

¹⁵¹ Yunmen Wenyan used to instruct Chan practitioners with a Chinese stuffed pancake.

¹⁵² See Yuanwu Keqin (1063-1135), comp., *Biyan-lu* (The Blue Cliff Record), T.48.2003.169c4-6. The *Blue Cliff Record* is the very famous collection of one hundred Chan Kōans. T. Clear and J. C. Cleary translated and published in English *The Blue Cliff Record* (Boulder, Colorado: Shambhala, 1978). Its 30th Kōan originated from the following case: "A monk asked Zhaozhou Congshen (778-897), "I heard that you met Nanchuan Puyuan (748-835). Is it true?" Zhaozhou replied, "There is a big radish in the County of Zhenzhou.""

¹⁵³ I Jeong, ed., 334-335.

¹⁵⁴ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 370.

¹⁵⁵ The Board of Education of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., 92-99.

¹⁵⁶ *Bulgyo sibo* 17 (December 1, 1936): 6.

1937.¹⁵⁷ In November 1936, because of suppression from the Japanese Government-General, he converted the Daegak-sa Temple, the head temple of his Daegak Religion, to the Seoul Propagation Center of Beomeo-sa Temple of Busan.

Although Baek Yongseong twice submitted memoranda to Japanese colonial government in Seoul and Japanese government in Tōkyō in May and September 1926, the thirty-one parish head temples were revising the temple articles and bylaws and allowing even married monks to become abbots in late 1926. He was disappointed at Korean Buddhism's reactions that he did not expect a favorable outcome. True to expectations, he did not receive support from the majority of Korean monks in trying to recover celibate monasticism and vegetarianism in Korean Buddhism.

In 1927, he officially established a new religion named Great Enlightenment Religion (Daegak-gyo) and disconnected his affiliation to traditional Korean Buddhism. He abandoned his monk registers registered at two temples Haein-sa Temple and Beomeo-sa Temple. He sent content-certified letters to the two temples from which he wanted to disconnect.

He used the name "Great Enlightenment" (Daegak) from 1922 in such cases as Daegak Religion and Daegak Church.¹⁵⁸ In 1921, he moved the Society for Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka from Gahoe-dong to 2 Bonggik-dong, Jongno-gu, downtown Seoul. In 1922, for the first time he used term "Great Enlightenment Religion" on the Buddha's birthday at the newly moved Daegak-sa Temple and used to call the temple as Daegak Church. He also called the Buddha the Great Enlightenment in the first version of *Record of Eight Stages in the Buddha's Biography* published on September 8, 1922 at Daegak Church.

In 1927, he systematized the doctrine of the Great Enlightenment Religion in *Origin of Great Enlightenment Religion (Daegak-gyo wollyu)* and its religion's rituals and belief systems in *Rituals of Great Enlightenment Religion (Daegak-gyo uisik)*, a handbook for Buddhist ritual services such as worship, offering, prayer, wedding, memorial and funeral services. He included in the ritual manual many modernized songs that he composed for the masses and propagated the new religion to his believers. He incorporated western musical techniques to make the songs. He learned the techniques from a Chinese layperson whom he met while traveling to China. He wanted to perform the rituals completely in Korean.

The *Rituals of Great Enlightenment Religion* also included seven songs,¹⁵⁹ his article on the rebirth to a Pure Land,¹⁶⁰ and his essay on the famous six-syllable mantra "Oṃ maḥīpadme hūṃ" of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva.¹⁶¹ He

¹⁵⁷ The Board of Education of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., 337-338.

¹⁵⁸ Gim Gwangsik, *Yongseong*, 182-184.

¹⁵⁹ Baek Sanggyu (Baek Yongseong), *Daegak-gyo uisik* (Rituals of Great Enlightenment Religion) (Seoul: Daegak-gyo jungang bonbu, 1927), 119-151.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 151-169.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 169-170.

tried to popularize his new religion with songs, mantras, pure land praxis, and others. He composed songs in vernacular Korean language based on western music and lay Buddhists sang them very easily and comfortably. He had also learned how to compose western style songs from a Chinese musician while he traveled to China. He even played piano.

He intended to remove China centralism and completely used vernacular Korean language in his religion's rituals without using rituals written in classical Chinese. However, I think that even though he endeavored to overcome it, he did not remove China centralism in his Linji Chan sectarianism originated from Chinese Chan Buddhism's lineage but he was the loyal follower of the lineage. He also indirectly encouraged Korean Buddhists to develop nationalism under Japanese colonial rule. He appears to have had mixed sentiments on Korean nationalism.

Baek Yongseong introduced twelve general action principles of Great Enlightenment Religion and requested his followers to activate them in *Rituals of Great Enlightenment Religion*.¹⁶² The first general action principle is that even though we rely on religious teachings, we should not become attached to them. The second is that even though we cultivate our mind in this mundane world, we should not be polluted by this world. The third is that even though we illuminate our minds and manifest our nature, we should not be deluded by our minds. The fourth is that even though we are very strong, we should not invade the weak persons. The fifth is that we should not be foolish when we endure misfortune and decide (what we should do). The sixth is that when we sacrifice for public affairs, we should not rely on private matters. The seventh is that when we make endeavors for our livelihood, we should not rely on others. The eighth is that when we observe current situations and improve our studies, we should not respect powers. The ninth is that when we preserve moral precepts, we should have unwholesome thinking. The tenth is that when we benefit sentient beings, we should not benefit ourselves. The eleventh is that all of us should obtain enlightenment without discrimination. The twelfth is that we should make friends based on friendship and should not be jealous of their wisdom and intelligence.

Based on Wongwang's (555-638)¹⁶³ five secular precepts for lay Buddhists in the Silla Dynasty (traditionally dated, 57 BCE – 936 CE),¹⁶⁴ Baek Yongseong made his five precepts for young Korean Buddhists and educated them.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Ibid, 170-173.

¹⁶³ I Jeong, ed., 202-203.

¹⁶⁴ Choe Sanggon, "Silla Wongwang ui yeongu: Sesok ogye leul jungsim euro" (Research in Wongwang's Five Secular Precepts), MA thesis, Graduate School, Dongguk University, 1992.

¹⁶⁵ Im Domun, "Yongseong daesa ui saengae wa Gakhae illyun eul yupo hamyeonseo" (Baek Yongseong's Life and his *Gakhae illyun* (Enlightenment Ocean and Sun Wheel)), in *Gakhae illyun* (1920, second edition, Seoul: Daejung bulgyo janghak-hoe, 1979), 357-361.

Wongwang's five precepts for lay Buddhists are as follows: (1) Lay Buddhists should be loyal to their state; (2) they should pay respect to their parents; (3) they should make friends with friendship; (4) they should not withdraw from military battles; and (5) they are allowed to kill living beings in some exceptional situations. When he was active, his state was engaged in uniting three Korean kingdoms and finally annexed the neighboring states Baekje in 663 and Goguryeo in 668 respectively. He was a very patriotic monk and his secular precepts served his state ideologically in uniting three kingdoms.

The precepts are not purely Buddhist and basically originated from the moral rules of different religious traditions, particularly Confucian ethics. Buddhist ethics advocates separation of church and state, and the paramount ethical precept for Buddhists is nonviolence. However, loyally following state protectionism exercised in Chinese Buddhism,¹⁶⁶ he subordinated religion to state and authorized killing in specific situations. Shim Jae-ryong explains the precepts in the chapter "Buddhist Responses to the Modern Transformation of Korean Society" (pp. 161-170) of the book entitled *Korean Buddhism: Tradition and Transformation*, Korea Studies Series, no. 8 (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 1999) as follows:¹⁶⁷

Alongside Taoism and Confucianism, Buddhism became the core element of the state cult. The Shilla Buddhist monk Wŷn'gwang (d. 640) worked out the Five Secular Precepts, combining all the three major religious traditions then available. The first paradigm shift and amalgamation is conspicuous in his syncretic combination for prescribing to Shilla laymen the secular precepts, even allowing discriminate killing of living beings. This appears to be a distortion of the traditional Buddhist ideal of *ahimsa* (non-violence). As a Buddhist monk, how could he instruct laymen with such a dictum as, "You may kill, only with discrimination"? When asked about the meaning of the discrimination, he elaborated: "Not to kill during the months of spring and summer nor during the six vegetarian feast days, is to choose the time. Not to kill domestic animals such as cows, horses, chickens, dogs, and tiny creatures whose meat is less than a mouthful, is to choose the creatures. Though you may have the need, you should not kill them often." What about non-retreating in a battlefield? One need not wonder why Korean monk-soldiers (*sŏngbyŏng*) during the later Koryŏ period and during the Hideyoshi Invasion fought courageously for their own property against Japanese invaders. Needless to say, loyalty and filial piety are trademarks of the Confucian family-centered world-

¹⁶⁶ Ronald S. Green, "Institutionalizing Buddhism for the Legitimation of State Power in East Asia," in Chanju Mun, ed., *Mediators and Meditators: Buddhism and Peacemaking* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2007), 219-231 and Chanju Mun, "Buddhism and Peace: An Overview," in Chanju Mun and Ronald S. Green, eds., *Buddhist Roles in Peacemaking: How Buddhism Can Contribute to Sustainable Peace* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2009), 27-38.

¹⁶⁷ Shim Jae-ryong, *Korean Buddhism: Tradition and Transformation*, Korea Studies Series, no. 8 (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 1999), 164-165.

view. In time, the state cult fused with Buddhism and gradually overshadowed the old tribal Shamanistic cult.

As cited above, Shim Jae-ryong considered Wongwang as the most important figure of the first paradigm shift in three paradigm shifts of Korean Buddhism. He asserted that Wongwang syncretized and amalgamatized all current religious traditions, Shamanism, Confucianism, and Buddhism. Buddhism served as a main religious streamer for about a thousand years from Three Kingdoms down to the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392).

Shim Jae-ryong identified Hamheo Gihwa (1376-1433)¹⁶⁸ as the most representative figure of its second paradigm shift. When Neo-Confucians established the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) and replaced the state religion from Buddhism to Confucianism, Gihwa defended Buddhism doctrinally from severe criticisms from Neo-Confucians. During the persecution period, Buddhism was popularized among the masses through devotional Pure Land Buddhism. Buddhists popularized the religious cults of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva and Amitābha Buddha.

Shim Jae-ryong also named Han Yongun (1879-1944) as the representative of the third paradigm shift. In late 19th century, Koreans accepted modern and Western civilizations and technology from foreign nations, most heavily from the neighboring state of Japan. Later, Japan colonized Korea from 1910 to 1945. At the time, the main issue of Korean Buddhism was how Korean Buddhists should modernize and revitalize their religion, and to get their nation's independence from Japanese imperialism. Han Yongun, a very radical thinker and activist, proposed new ideas in which he suggested to revolutionize Korean Buddhism to adjust it to the new situation. He crystallized reformatory ideas on Korean Buddhism in his major anthology *Essays on the Restoration of Korean Buddhism* (*Joseon bulgyo yusinnon*).

Baek Yongseong slightly revised Wongwang's five secular precepts and made his own five secular precepts as follows.¹⁶⁹ (1) Young Korean Buddhists should be loyal to their own state; (2) they should pay respect to their parents; (3) they should respect their teachers and seniors; (4) they should make friends with friendship and righteousness; and (5) they should wisely win in the battles.

In the first precept, Baek Yongseong suggested Korean Buddhists should dedicate themselves to their nation's liberation under the Japanese occupation. He thought that the six syllable spell, "*om ma ni ban me hum*," which is the Korean phonetic transliteration of the original Sanskrit mantra "*Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ*," is related to state protectionism. So he distributed it to Buddhists and suggested that they recite it.

In the second precept, he incorporated a basic Confucian ethical precept. Japanese colonial government implemented a policy that all Koreans should

¹⁶⁸ I Jeong, ed., 42.

¹⁶⁹ Im Domun, 357-361.

change their original family names to Japanese family ones. Koreans thought that they inherited their family names from their ancestors. If they change the names, they are disloyal to their parents and ancestors. He published and distributed the *The Sūtra of Filial Piety* (*Fumu enzhong jing*) in order to promote filial piety among Buddhists.

The third precept also originated from Confucian ethics. Confucians should treat and respect kings, teachers, and parents equally. Baek Yongseong interpreted the teacher as the Buddha for Buddhists. He requested Buddhists to consider the Buddha as their teacher. He asked his followers to learn the Buddha's teachings, that is, his early teachings, early Mahāyāna teachings, wisdom teachings, Lotus teachings, Nirvāṇa teachings, and Huayan teachings, and non-canonical Seon teachings, transmitted from mind to mind.

The fourth precept also originated from Confucian ethics. The fifth precept looks anti-Buddhist because it violates the first and most important precept of non-killing in Buddhism. He transmitted and implemented state protectionism, exercised in East Asian Buddhist tradition.¹⁷⁰ He utilized state protectionism and patriotism for his nation's independence from the Buddhist perspective.

In 1927, he also translated and published the *Sūtra on the Six Characters of the Spiritual Great Bright King* (*Yukja yeonggam daemyeong-wang gyeong*), which explicates the six syllabic mantra, “oṃ-ma-ṣi-pad-me-hūṃ.”

He organized a mutual assistance organization at his Daegak Church and on August 23 – 29, 1927, he hosted the sixth release ceremony of captive animals and the ceremony of transferring lower spirits to better lives at the church.¹⁷¹ Baek Yongseong preached a sermon every day and touched each member's heart with it. He held its closing ceremony on August 30 at the Port of Yongsan on the Han River. At 11:00 o'clock in the morning, a myriad of laypersons began to take on board and release captive fishes. When they arrived at the Port of Yanghwa on the Han River, he began the ceremony of transferring lower spirits to better lives at 2:00 pm and finished it at 5:00 pm. After the ceremony, they moved back to the Port of Yongsan on board and began to go back to their home at 7:00 pm. Returning from the Port of Yanghwa to the Port of Yongsan, the attendants happily sang a lengthy song entitled “Wangsaeng-ga” (Song of the Rebirth to a Pure Land).¹⁷²

In 1927, when he officially declared the establishment of a new religion, he extended its organization. He made Daegak-sa Temple as its Central Headquarters and on September 11, established a new branch church in Manchuria.¹⁷³ In early 1927, he tried to found a center in Manchuria and to propagate a new religion to migrated Koreans over there. He casted out traditional and conservative Korean Buddhism and established the new Great Enlightenment Religion as the religion for the people.

¹⁷⁰ Ronald S. Green, 219-231 and Chanju Mun, 27-38.

¹⁷¹ *Bulgyo* 41 (November 1, 1927): 51.

¹⁷² Baek Yongseong, *Daegak-gyo uisik*, 119-126.

¹⁷³ *Bulgyo* 40 (October 1, 1927): 52.

Baek Yongseong in general systematized the new Great Enlightenment Religion and in particular clarified its main ideas in the first section *Original Mind of the Great Enlightenment* (“Daegak ui bonwon-sim”) ¹⁷⁴ of *The Ocean of Enlightenment and Wheel of the Sun Wheel* that he published in 1930. He analyzed Great Enlightenment as having two meanings in the section. The first meaning of Great Enlightenment is its non-expressible, non-relative and prevailing. It can be applicable to all beings equally without discrimination. Its second meaning is non-duality between making their own selves to enlighten and making others to be enlightened and between initial enlightenment and final enlightenment. Even though everyone has Buddha nature, if some person does not obtain enlightenment, he is an ordinary person and if the same person accomplishes enlightenment, he is an enlightened person.

Baek Yongseong explained in its second section ¹⁷⁵ that his Great Enlightenment Religion is not newly founded, but it sincerely inherits the great enlightenment that the Buddha obtained. In it, he defined the founder of his established Great Enlightenment Religion as the historical Śākyamuni Buddha, “born 2,956 years ago in Kapilavastu, India.” ¹⁷⁶ He explicated that the Buddha has two aspects, wisdom and compassion. The Buddha guided and saved sentient beings with compassion and educated and enlightened them with wisdom. He defended that his founded religion is not a new religion, but the Buddhism, originated from Śākyamuni Buddha himself.

He followed the definition of the Buddha from traditional Mahāyāna Buddhism on which Korean Buddhism was based since its inception, and did not offer any innovative and new ideas on it in the book’s third section. ¹⁷⁷ The Buddha attained complete enlightenment long ago and appeared in this mundane world in many different forms to save sentient beings. He can be likened to a moon that shines in one thousand rivers without discriminations. Based on Mahāyāna Buddhism’s theory of three bodies that a Buddha possesses, he figured the moon in sky as the Buddha’s *dharmakāya* (body of great order) and the moons reflected on one thousand rivers as the Buddha’s *nirmāṇakāya* (body of transformation). The Buddha’s three bodies are its aforementioned two bodies *dharmakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* and its other body *sambhogakāya* (body of bliss).

He argued in the book’s fourth section ¹⁷⁸ that even though sentient beings appear to have different forms, they are same in nature. Because all sentient beings have Buddha nature, they are equal. He likened this to the moon in the sky, saying that in essence it is not different from the moons in the rivers. There are there phenomenal differences. The moon is both different and not different

¹⁷⁴ Baek Yongseong, *Gakhae illyun*, 17-20.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 20-21.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 20. The historical Buddha’s birth place is currently the city of Lumbinī in Nepal near its border with India. Baek Yongseong followed the northern Buddhist tradition for the Buddha’s birth year.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 21-23.

¹⁷⁸ Baek Yongseong, 23-25.

from the moons. Sentient beings can be categorized into three realms,¹⁷⁹ six existences,¹⁸⁰ and four lives.¹⁸¹ They equally have the same original nature, Buddha nature and based on their own Karmic differences, they are differentiated.

As discussed above, *The Ocean of Enlightenment and Wheel of the Sun Wheel* is comprised the main text in two fascicles,¹⁸² *The Right Ways of Cultivating the Mind*,¹⁸³ and a summarized translation of the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng*.¹⁸⁴ Baek Yongseong explained why he translated the *Platform Sūtra* and appended it to the *The Ocean of Enlightenment and Wheel of the Sun Wheel* as follows:¹⁸⁵

I, (Baek) Yongseong, became a monk when I was a child, and got the *Platform Sūtra of the Six Patriarch Huineng* on April 8, 1884 at Dosol-am Hermitage, Bogwang-sa Temple, the County of Yangju, Gyeonggi Province. Thereafter, relying on the text, I cultivated mind. I have considered the text as including the essential teachings of Great Enlightenment Religion and aimed at saving sentient beings, so I translate it for now.

In January 1933, he translated and published the *Brahmā Net Sūtra* and encouraged monks and laypersons to keep precepts. In June 1933, he published the *Clear Sky and Round Sun (Cheonggong wonil)*, which discusses the nature of enlightenment, the function of mind, and ways to attain enlightenment.

In a letter dated April 15, 1933 to Gim Gyeongbong, an eminent Seon practitioner of Tongdo-sa Monastery, Baek Yongseong abandons the monk registry because Korean Buddhist monks were married, ate meat and wasted temple wealth.¹⁸⁶ He was shamed by married monkhood and non-vegetarianism as it went against the long held tradition in Korean Buddhism.

In a letter dated July 16, 1933, again to Gim Gyeongbong, he said he would not rejoin the monk registry, explaining that he has not abandoned the precepts but rather taking them seriously. He asserted that because he strongly believed in the Buddha who obtained Great Enlightenment, he was not a heretic but a true Buddhist.¹⁸⁷ To the contrary, he could not get along with the group of corrupt monks and refused to belong to a degenerate order. He said he had never casted away the Buddha's holy teachings and after establishing the new religion, he

¹⁷⁹ Three realms are (1) desire realm, (2) form realm and (3) formless realm.

¹⁸⁰ Six existences are (1) hell, (2) hungry spirits, (3) animals, (4) *asuras*, (5) human beings, and (6) heavenly beings.

¹⁸¹ Four lives are (1) the birth from the womb, (2) birth from eggs, (3) birth from moisture, and (4) transformation birth.

¹⁸² Baek Yongseong, *Gakhae illyun*, 17-180.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 181-241.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 242-324.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 242.

¹⁸⁶ Seok Myeongjeong, trans. and comm., 115.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 116-117.

had many new believers, counting several ten thousands. He contended that because the Buddha declared the Buddhist supreme teachings, Buddhism and the Great Enlightenment Religion are identical and do not hinder each other. He argued that because the Buddha literally is the greatly enlightened one, endowed with all wisdom, the Great Enlightenment Religion is not heretical.

In the mid 1930's, while Japan extended its imperialism to China, it seriously oppressed colonial Korea in general and Korean Buddhism in particular. Japan utilized Korea and Korean Buddhism to colonize China. In early 1930, Japan colonized Manchuria and established a pro-Japanese puppet state there. Ugaki Kazushige (1868-1956), the 6th Japanese Governor-General in Korea (r. June 17, 1931-August 5, 1936), activated the "Movement to Develop the Mind Land" (Kor., Simjeon gaebal undong) and Japanized Koreans.¹⁸⁸ In late 1933, the Japanese colonial government planned to Japanize Koreans and tried to make Koreans loyal to the Japanese Emperor(s) and Japan. In early 1935, it solidified the movement.

On January 30, 1936, the secretary of political affairs of Japanese colonial government also sent a note to provincial governors as follows:¹⁸⁹

Based on current political situations in Korea, we should develop the spirit of Koreans, cultivate their mind land, let them increase their believing minds, foster their respectful thought for gods, establish their solid worldview, and let them arrive in complete confidence in Japan. If so, we can rule Koreans effectively in all areas. Therefore, we should solidify the foundation of their lives and make them be happy eternally.

The Development of the Mind Land should have the following three objectives: (1) (We) should make (Koreans) clarify the concept of nation's body (the Japanese emperor); (2) (we) should cause (them) to cultivate the thought of respecting (Japanese) gods and ancestors; and (3) we should let (them) develop a appreciative spirit (for the Japanese emperor and Japan benefitting colonial Koreans).

It should have the following two enforcements: (1) All religious sects and factions and all education organizations should cooperate with one other and accomplish the three objectives; and (2) all social leaders should guide citizens to accomplish the objectives and make detailed provisions based on their provincial situations.

¹⁸⁸ Im Hyeobong details the Movement to Develop the Mind Land in "2.3 Simjeon gaebal undong" (Movement to Develop the Mind Land), *Chinil bulgyo-ron* (Essays on Pro-Japanese Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Minjok-sa, 1993), vol. 1, 145-166.

¹⁸⁹ Iwashita Denshirō, ed., *Tairiku jinja taikan* (Outline of Japanese Shintō Shrines in East Asia), Reprint (Tōkyō: Yumani shobō, 2005), 156-157. Gim Jeonghae, former abbot of Jeondeung-sa Temple and current director of general affairs of the Central Administration of Korean Buddhism, discussed three principles of the mind-land development movement in his article "Simjeon gaebal ui samdae wonchik e chwhihaya" (On Three Principles of the Mind-land Development Movement), *Bulgyo sibo* 7 (Feb. 1, 1936): 1.

After 1931, when Japan invaded and colonized Manchuria, Japan established Shintō shrines in their colonized areas and tried to Japanize colonial citizens. The Japanese identified their nation with their emperor. If colonial citizens criticized their nation and emperor, they were arrested and imprisoned.

Around these times, the Japanese colonial government wanted to control religious organizations their colonies. Therefore, it reshuffled religious organizations and persecuted pseudo-religions. It considered Daegak Religion as a pseudo-religion related to Buddhism and suppressed it. Properties of religious organizations were considered private, not public. If the government felt a religious organization contributed to public and national interests, it protected that organization. However, because the government did not recognize the Daegak Religion as legitimate, Baek Yongseong had serious problems managing the religion's properties. In order to receive government approval for holding religious property, he would need to register his them under a new foundation approved by the government.

On September 10, 1934, to protect the properties of the Daegak Religion, he registered them with a trust bank controlled by the Japanese colonial government. This resulted in decreased activities for the Daegak Religion.

So, in November 1936, because of suppression from the Japanese Government-General, he converted the Daegak-sa Temple to the Seoul Propagation Center of Beomeo-sa Temple of Busan.¹⁹⁰ In mid-1936, he tried to transfer his religion's temples and properties to Haein-sa Temple and to make the religion's headquarter temple the Seoul Propagation Center of Haein-sa Temple.¹⁹¹ He wanted to make his temples belong to his ordained Haein-sa Temple. The Daegak Religion and Haein-sa Temple agreed that even though Daegak Religion transfers its properties to Haein-sa Temple, Haein-sa Temple should allow Baek Yongseong and his seven disciples to manage them and their temples as they had done. However, conflicts arose between two sides on how to implement the agreements.

After that, Baek Yongseong negotiated to transfer his temples and properties to Beomeo-sa Temple. He presented to Beomeo-sa Temple his religion's temples and properties, for example, the headquarters temple and land in Seoul, the land and buildings of the orchard located in the County of Hamyang, and the temple, land, and forest placed in Manchuria. The current price of all transferred temples and properties was approximately 100,000 yens.¹⁹² Beomeo-sa Temple agreed with Baek Yongseong and his disciples that it should subsidize 100 yen each month to the center's management. In November 1936, the headquarters temple of his Daegak Religion became the Seoul Propagation Center of Beomeo-sa Temple. In December 1936, Song Byeonggi (d.u.), a missionary of the center, organized the Association for

¹⁹⁰ *Bulgyo sibo* 17 (December 1, 1936): 6.

¹⁹¹ *Bulgyo sibo* 13 (August 1, 1936): 7.

¹⁹² *Bulgyo sibo* 17 (December 1, 1936): 6.

Korean Buddhist Arts, performed music, dances, and lectures and hosted a prize contest for Buddhist songs to popularize Buddhist music at the center.

On February 16, 1936, he transmitted his Dharma lineage to four disciples at the central headquarter temple of Daegak Religion in Seoul.¹⁹³ He asserted that he succeeded his Dharma lineage from Hwanseong Jian (1664-1729).¹⁹⁴ The four disciples are I Dongheon (1896-1983), Yu Doam (d.u.), Choe Noemuk (d.u.), and Byeon Bongam (d.u.). Of them, in January 1919, I Dongheon, born in the Village of Pangyo, the Town of Oesan, the County of Buyeo, South Chungcheong Province, came to Seoul and met his master Baek Yongseong. Afterwards, he served his master until the latter's death and continued to transmit his master's teachings for the rest of his life.

In 1936, Baek Yongseong wrote many articles and books such as the *Treatise on Cultivating the Mind* (*Susim-non*), the *Secrets of Facing Death* (*Imjong-gyeol*), the *History of Śākyamuni Buddha* (*Seokka-sa*), and others. The *Treatise on Cultivating the Mind* introduces the way Seon can help in removing mental problems, the *Secrets of Facing Death* discusses the phenomena of death and rebirth and the ways to deal with it. The *History of Śākyamuni Buddha* is biological explanations of the historical founder of Buddhism.

While serving as the spiritual leader of the Geumseo Seon Center of Beomeo-sa Temple during the winter intensive retreat, Baek Yongseong transmitted the vinaya lineage to his disciple Ha Dongsan at Beomeo-sa Temple on November 18, 1936.¹⁹⁵ Baek Yongseong certified this transmission as follows.¹⁹⁶

The vinaya lineage that I transmit now originated from Vinaya Preceptor Daeun Nang'o (1780-1841)¹⁹⁷ of the Seon Center affiliated with Chilbul-am Hermitage on Mt. Jiri. Master Daeun Nang'o received (Bodhisattva) precepts from the Buddha after he sincerely entreated the Buddha for precepts based on the *Brahmā Net Sūtra*. After he beseeched the Buddha for seven days, he received an auspicious light from the crown of his head. After he received the precepts from the Buddha, he transmitted them to Vinaya Master Geumdam (d.u.). It was successively transmitted to Choui Uisun (1786-1860),¹⁹⁸ Beomhae Gagan (1820-1896),¹⁹⁹ and Seongok (d.u.). I succeeded the vinaya lineage from Vinaya Master Seongok (d.u.). I secretly transmit the lineage to Dongsan Hyeil (1890-1965).²⁰⁰ Dongsan Hyeil should keep the properly transmitted Buddhist teachings and the treasure stamp that includes a sentence "unfolding the net of the great teachings, we should save the heavenly and human fishes." Wonhyo

¹⁹³ *Bulgyo sibo* 8 (March 1, 1936): 6.

¹⁹⁴ The court had banished Hwanseong Jian to Jeju Island, where he passed away.

¹⁹⁵ *Bulgyo sibo* 18 (January 1, 1937): 13.

¹⁹⁶ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 370 -371.

¹⁹⁷ I Jeong, ed., 55-56.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 227-228.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 10-11.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 348-349.

(617-686)²⁰¹ of the Silla Dynasty (who wrote a commentary on the *Huayan Sūtra* that was revered even in China and other neighboring nations), transmitted the sentence. He should consider the stamp as his most important material and should make sure the properly transmitted Buddhist teachings are not stopped but continued forever.

In 1932, when Ha Dongsan resided at Wonhyo-am Hermitage affiliated to Beomeo-sa Temple, he learned that an excavated jade stamp had the sentence “unfolding the net of the great teachings, we should save the heavenly and human fishes.” This phrase is found in the *Huayan Sūtra* in 60 fascicles, to which Wonhyo would refer. It is included in the “Chapter of the Entrance to Dharma Realms,” in the 58th fascicle.²⁰² Buddhahadra (359-429)²⁰³ translated the *Huayan Sūtra* in 420. When Ha Dongsan asked his master Baek Yongseong how he should treat the excavated stamp, Baek Yongseong suggested that he keep it as a treasure and cherish it.

In 1936, Ha Dongsan became a member of the preparatory committee for the national conference for Seon practitioners at the Korean Buddhist Seon Research Institute affiliated to the Center for Seon Studies and its representative in the conference. The center appointed him as a touring missionary.

In 1937, he attended the summer intensive retreat at Toeseol Hall Seon Center, affiliated to Haein-sa Monastery and delivered his teaching on Seon Buddhism at its closing ceremony as its spiritual leader.²⁰⁴ He composed and chanted the following poem: “The moon rises up over Mt. Gaya, the water drops down ten thousand *ris*²⁰⁵ in Hongryu-dong Valley.”²⁰⁶

In June 1937, Baek Yongseong wrote and published the *Truth of Our Religion (Odo ui jilli)*. In it, he concentrated on cultivating the mind through Seon practice and on resolving problems. He detailed enlightenment and its theoretical background in the essay as follows:²⁰⁷

Because our nature of great complete enlightenment is formless, there is no form of the Buddha and enlightenment. Even though we try to find out their names and forms, we cannot. Even though we cannot see it, there is enlightenment. We cannot see, hear, and explain enlightenment, which is beyond language and cognition. Even though we try to see, obtain and realize

²⁰¹ Ibid, 208-210.

²⁰² T.9.278.773c8.

²⁰³ See the biography of Buddhahadra in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks), T.50.2059.334b26-335c14; and the *Chu sanzang jiji* (Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Tripitaka), T.55.2145.103b27-104a28.

²⁰⁴ The Board of Education of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., 93-94. However, I could not find his name in the list of participants in the retreat.

²⁰⁵ One *ri*, a measure of distance, is approximately 1/5 or 1/3 of a mile.

²⁰⁶ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 374.

²⁰⁷ Baek Yongseong, *Odo ui jilli*, included in *Mua* (Non-self) 168 (lunar October 1992): 23-24.

the form of enlightenment for numberless eons, we cannot know and realize it. Because enlightenment is immanent in us, we should not seek for enlightenment outside. Because everything is enlightenment, we should understand that enlightenment is revealed everywhere. Because this enlightenment is immanent in our eyes, we can see it. Because this enlightenment is immanent in our ears, we can hear it. Because this enlightenment is immanent in our noses, we can smell it. Because this enlightenment is immanent in our mouths, we can taste it. Because this enlightenment is immanent in our bodies, we can move, sit, and walk in it. Because this enlightenment is immanent in our mind, we can understand all meanings. If original inherent nature is not enlightenment, who can see, hear, awaken and know? If someone awakens, we can call him or her as an awakened person.

In 1938, Baek Yongseong changed the title of the Great Enlightenment Religion to the Praxis Complex of Korean Buddhist Seon Order. However, concerning the legal and organizational relations of the properties of his Daegak Religion, we do not know the relationship between Beomeo-sa Temple and the newly established complex. It is also unclear how and why Baek Yongseong changed the name.²⁰⁸ He seems to have adopted the title “Korean Buddhist Seon Order” from the Center for Seon Studies and located his organization as the order’s praxis complex. If he officially or unofficially affiliated his temples with the Center for Korean Studies, we still need to examine how and why he officially or unofficially disconnected the relations of his temples with Beomeo-sa Temple. The Center for Seon Studies tried concurrently to revitalize Korean Buddhism’s celibate monasticism and traditional Korean Buddhism’s Seon praxis.

For instance, in May 1926, due to serious financial problems, the Center for Seon Studies became the Seoul Propagation Center of Beomeo-sa Temple. On January 21, 1931, Gim Jeogeum reopened the Center for Seon Studies. In August 1933, the center applied for establishing the foundation “Korean Buddhist Seon Research Institute.” On December 5, 1934, the Japanese colonial government approved the foundation and, contingent on government approval, the center appointed a director, advisor, president, vice president, standing trustees and inspectors. On January 5, 1935, the Seon practitioners affirmed the Constitution of the Korean Buddhist Seon Order. On March 7 and 8, 1935, they held a national conference, made its articles and bylaws and elected a patriarch, a director, some trustees and some representatives. It tried to establish the independent Seon Order as the united institution for Seon centers and practitioners.

In March 1938, Baek Yongseong wrote and published the *Our Religion’s Central Teaching is Enlightenment (Odo neun gak)*, which discusses the essence and functions of enlightenment in Seon Buddhism. In 1938, he published the *Sūtra of One Thousand Hands (Qianshou jing)* in which he transliterated the

²⁰⁸ Gim Gwangsik, 236.

sūtra for reciting, and added his interpretation and preface to Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's long *dhāra* 呪. Because of suppression from Japan, he had to give up the Great Enlightenment Religion. In 1939, he translated and published the *Sūtra of Kṛitigarbha Bodhisattva's Original Vows (Dizang pusa benye jing)*.

Because Daegak Church served as a spiritual location for Korean immigrants and seemed to support Korean activists for independence in Manchuria, the Japanese colonial government was suspicious of him and the church. The government bought off an employee of the Cheonil-dang Oriental Acupuncture and Herbal Medicine Center that Baek Yongseong had very often visited to get medical treatments. The bribed succeed in securing appointment from Baek Yongseong as a manager of the farm in Manchuria. Reporting that the church supported anti-Japanese independence activists, the farm was burnt and destroyed by the police and military.

In 1939, upon hearing the news, Baek Yongseong became ill from disappointment caused by the betrayal. He suggested that his followers make a big bronze bell and prepare for the prosperity and success of future Korea. In late 1939, they initiated the bell-making project. On the anniversary of the Buddha's death, lunar February 15, 1940, they completed the bell of 173 *geun*.²⁰⁹ His followers at the time enshrined it at Cheonryong-sa Temple on Mt. Namsan in the City of Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province, which was the old capital of Silla and the United Silla Kingdom and was strongly related to state protectionism. He suggested that they construct Buddhist buildings, practice Seon, exercise Pure Land Buddhism, read Buddhist texts, and chant spells (mantras) at the temple with ten thousand practitioners for ten thousand days.²¹⁰

On lunar January 21, (February 24), 1940, he asked his disciple I Dongheon to arrange a death place for him, either Beomeo-sa Temple on Mt. Geumjeong in Busan, Naewon-sa Temple on Mt. Cheonseong in the County of Yangsan, or Haein-sa Temple on Mt. Gaya. Baek Yongseong had close relations with these three temples. However, even though I Dongheon asked the abbots of the temples, they had to consider the Japanese colonial police because he was a leader for the anti-Japanese independence movement. Thus, they did not provide him a place to die under Japanese occupation.

On lunar February 24, 1940, master Baek Yongseong passed away. One year later, on September 15, 1941, collecting his master's works, Ha Dongsan along with Gim Taeheup (1899-1989)²¹¹ (also known as Gim Daeun) published *The Analects of Seon Master Baek Yongseong* at the Society of Buddhist Tripiṭaka Translation in Seoul. They included various source materials by and on Baek Yongseong. Of many disciples of Baek Yongseong, only Ha Dongsan initiated and completed the publication project for his

²⁰⁹ One *geun* corresponds to 601.04 grams. 173 *geun* is about 230 pounds.

²¹⁰ Gim Gwangsik, 240-242.

²¹¹ I Jeong, ed., 64-65.

master, inherited and popularized his master's thought among Korean Buddhists. He also attached his epilogue to the book on March 3, 1941 as follows:²¹²

If there was not the (famous) appreciator Zhong Ziqi (d.u.) who understood music, who could understand the (famous) player Yu Boya's (d.u.) playing zither? The persons who understood music were a few and the persons who did not comprehend its meaning were many.

Therefore, when the Buddha lifted a flower to the masses and showed his teaching without speaking at Vulture Peak Mountain, only his eminent disciple Mahākāśyapa comprehended the profound meaning and smiled among a host of one million listeners. Even though there were more than seven hundred Chan practitioners under the guidance of Master Hongren on Mt. Huangmei, only Huineng inherited the Dharma lineage in the middle of the night.²¹³

How sad it was! The sages went away a long time ago. While the number of devils became larger, the proper teaching lessened. The Buddha's proper teachings deteriorated to the devilish teachings. The Dharma lineage of Linji Chan Sect degraded in a long cry sound. If there was not a Chan master like Baek Yongseong who was high in the understanding of doctrine and the practice of Seon, even though some eminent persons talked about the Buddhist teachings, who could comprehend them?

We, editors, included the Seon Master's (Baek Yongseong's) detailed monastic career and teachings in it. For example, we detailed his renunciation, search for teachers, three enlightenments, explanations on five major Chinese Chan sects, questions and answers on Chan Buddhism, treatments for Chan diseases, differentiation between proper Buddhist teachings and devilish teachings, expositions on the capacities of Chan practitioners, lectures on Chan Buddhism, activities of the translations of Buddhist canons, establishment of a monastic praxis complex, emitting of an auspicious light from his teeth relic, dedication of himself to the society for ten years, compassionate explanations of Chan Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism to Chan practitioners and Buddhists, and others. Because you can find detailed information on him and his teachings, we do not need to reiterate anything here in the epilogue. We strongly recommend you read this book.

Because he came to this mundane world,
We obtained nectar and cooled down the boiling defilements.
Because he went away to the other world,
We lost the eyes of our humans and heavenly beings in this world.

Alas! How sad it was! When he could not propagate Buddhism, he became sick. Birds and animals sob and the forest trees change their clothes for

²¹² Ha Dongsan, ed., 610-612.

²¹³ Hongren was a disciple of Daoxin (580-651) and the master of Huineng (638-713) and Datong Shenxiu (605?-706). Huineng was the sixth patriarch. He had several eminent disciples. From two of them, Nanyue Huairang (677-744) and Chingyuan Xingsi (660?-740), stem all the major Dharma lineages of Chan Buddhism in East Asia.

white ones. How can we, his disciples, not sob, shed tears, and wet our sleeves with tears? Our master Baek Yongseong solemnly scolded:

Mountains and rivers are my various forms,
Flowers and grasses are my intention.
Because those have idly come and idly gone,
A bright moon illuminates (and)
fresh air breezes.

If we understand this meaning,
How is there a phenomenon of going and coming and
a feeling of love and hate?
A feeling is existent and wisdom is separated.
He recommended us
to earnestly practice (Buddhist teachings).

Saying this, our master Baek Yongseong passed away. One year after our master passed away, we had the first memorial anniversary for him (on lunar February 24, 1941). We took his posthumous manuscripts from a chest and circulated them among the participants in the memorial service. At the time, of the laypersons, Choe Chang-un (d.u.) delightedly requested us to publish and distribute his manuscripts to the public. We circulated an announcement for fundraising among the laypersons and raised funds for publishing the book. Therefore, we could edit, publish and distribute it to the people. We hope that his teachings will be preserved eternally.

We hope the holy life span will be eternal and the earth will be everlasting. We wish that his Dharma lineage will not be stopped and the Buddha's light will be illuminating forever. Oh, all sentient beings of the Dharma realms! You should enlighten your minds and obtain Buddhahood.

It was ironic for Gim Taeheup, the representative pro-Japanese Korean Buddhist leader²¹⁴ to compile and publish the records of Seon Master Baek Yongseong, the representative anti-Japanese Korean Buddhist leader. After Baek Yongseong passed away on lunar February 24, 1940, (April 1), Gim Taeheup wrote a memorial article for him in the 59th issue of the monthly *Buddhist Times Magazine* (June 15, 1940). He respected Baek Yongseong as one of four representative Seon masters in his time. The four were Song Mangong, Bang Hanam, Sin Hyewol, and Baek Yongseong.

Gim Taeheup asserted that because Baek Yongseong translated many Buddhist scriptures in Korean and wrote many books, many readers have access to them.²¹⁵ However, even though he also delivered his Seon preaching many times to the Seon practitioners based on their capacity, because he did not publish his Seon teachings, many readers could access them. He contended that if he published Baek Yongseong's Seon analects, he could bring tremendous

²¹⁴ Im Hyeobong detailed Gim Taeheup's pro-Japanese activities in his "5.5 Gim Taeheup," *Chinil bulgyo-ron*, vol. 2, 523-544.

²¹⁵ Ha Dongsan, ed., 608-609.

benefit to the world and Seon practitioners. Being an eminent disciple of Baek Yongseong, Ha Dongsan collected and tried to publish his master's analects. Gim Taeheup collaborated with Ha Dongsan in the publication. He highly admired Ha Dongsan's efforts and recorded them in his epilogue to the book in May 1941 as follows:²¹⁶

Generally speaking, all the contents of one thousand Buddhist scriptures and ten thousand Buddhist commentaries are included in one word "mind." Revealing our mind and observing our nature are the central teachings of Seon Buddhism. If we thoroughly investigate the one word "mind," we can comprehend all affairs throughout all ages. If so, we can transcend the cycle of birth and death, suffering and pleasure and will be unhindered below heaven and above earth. How should not we say that the manifestation of mind is the most important one?

All Buddhas of three periods in this world have explicated their teachings to reveal only this mind and all patriarchs of three ages in Seon Buddhism have delivered their teachings to transmit only this mind. Therefore, Master (Baek) Yongseong became a monk when he was pretty young, passed through and tided over various difficulties, and finally revealed this mind.

Baek Yongseong kindly and compassionately displayed various teachings for all his juniors and disciples. He translated the *Lengyan jing* (Skt., *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*), the *Wisdom Sūtra*, the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, the *Huayan Sūtra*, the *Brahmā Net Sūtra*, and other sūtras and commented on the texts in Korean. He also wrote and published the famous books such as *Return to the Origin*, *the Right Tradition*, *The Ocean of Enlightenment and Wheel of the Sun Wheel*, the *Treatise on Cultivating the Mind* the *Clear Sky and Round Sun*, revealed the central tenets of Seon Buddhism and popularized them among Korean Buddhists.

He also variously and properly delivered his lectures and preaching on Seon Buddhism to Seon practitioners in accordance with their capacities. (I, Gim Taeheup, think that) if his analects are known to other Buddhists in this world, they might benefit them a lot. While learning the doctrines of Buddhism and practicing the praxis of Seon, his sincere disciple Seon Master (Ha) Dongsan wished to collect and publish his master Baek Yongseong's analects scattered here and there. Because I also very much benefitted from Master Baek Yongseong's teachings, I wholeheartedly cooperated with his disciple Ha Dongsan and collected, edited and published them in this volume. Therefore, I recorded the brief history of this book's publication and appended it to here in my epilogue.

In 1919, Gim Taeheup finished the monastic seminary at Beopju-sa Temple in the County of Boeun, North Chungcheong Province and went to Japan. He studied Indian philosophy at Tōyō University, religious studies at Nihon University and history at Tōkyō Imperial University. In 1923, he survived the great earthquake in the Kantō Area of Japan. At that time, Japanese victimized

²¹⁶ Ibid.

and killed several ten thousands of innocent Koreans. He wrote with strong antagonism against Japanese imperialism in the article “Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s Invasion to Korea in 1592 and the Activities of Korean Buddhism’s Monk Soldiers” (“Imjin waeran gwa joseon seungbyeong ui hwalyak”) in *Bulgyo* 35 (May 1, 1927), pp. 2-9. In 1928, after coming back to Korea, he was appointed to the first central missionary for Korean Buddhism’s Central Administration. However, in August 1939, he founded Korean Buddhism’s representative monthly magazine *Buddhist Times Magazine* and until April 1944, he continued to publish it. Through the monthly magazine, he had published many pro-Japanese articles²¹⁷ and had loyally advertised Japanese imperialism.

I Unheo (1892-1980),²¹⁸ also known as Bak Yongha, wrote an article on Baek Yongseong’s view on unity between Seon and farming. Gim Taeheup and Ha Dongsan included the article as an appendix to *The Analects of Seon Master Baek Yongseong*. In it, I Unheo sincerely introduced Baek Yongseong’s idea of unity between Seon praxis and farming.²¹⁹

In 1927, Baek Yongseong bought barren land of more than 30 hectares and transformed it to an orchard on Mt. Baegun in the Village of Baegun, the Town of Baekjeon, the County of Hamyang, South Gyeongsang Province near his hometown, present Town of Beonam in the County of Jangsu, North Jeolla Province. He practiced the unity between Seon and agriculture. He cleared a forest, developed land, and planted fruit trees and vegetables.

He named the orchard with Huaguo-yuan (Kor., Hwagwa-won), a name which originated from the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng*.²²⁰ The Sixth Patriarch Huineng had stayed at the Huaguo-yuan Orchard. As a Seon practitioner, he modeled himself after Huineng and apparently named his land after the name of that orchard. After establishing the orchard, he strongly adopted the unity between Chan and farming as his practice.

In 1884, he got the text of the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng* at Dosol-am Hermitage of Bogwang-sa Temple in the County of Yangju, Gyeonggi Province. He considered the text as his guiding teacher and trained his mind based on the text. On lunar March 15, 1930, he translated and published the text in Korean. He considered it the essence of Daegak Religion and because he intended to save sentient beings extensively, he translated it in Korean.²²¹ He included his translation in the fourth fascicle of his major work *The Ocean of Enlightenment and Wheel of the Sun Wheel*.²²²

²¹⁷ Ibid, 610-611. Im Hyeobong enlisted Gim Taeheup’s 27 pro-Japanese articles.

²¹⁸ I Jeong, ed., 196-197; and Im Hyeobong, *Ilje ha Bulgyo-gye ui hangil undong* (Korean Buddhism’s Anti-Japanese Movement under Japan’s Occupation Period) (Seoul: Minjok-sa, 2001), 26-30.

²¹⁹ Ha Dongsan, ed., 606-607.

²²⁰ T.48.2008.363a6.

²²¹ Baek Yongseong, *Gakhae illyun*, 242.

²²² Ibid, 242-324.

He suggested Buddhists refer to previous Seon masters Huangbo Xiyun (d. 850),²²³ Linji Yixuan (d. 867),²²⁴ Weishan Lingyu (771-853),²²⁵ Yangshan Huiji (815-891),²²⁶ and others who syncretized Seon praxis with farming and who while farming, cultivated their minds.²²⁷ Baizhang Huaihai (720-814)²²⁸ detailed monastic rules and activities in Chan monasteries in his *Baizhang qinggui*, which has been influential in the East Asian Buddhist monasticism down to modern times. Baizhang Huaihai combined meditation with daily work in the monastic rules.

He initiated a very famous Chan saying, “A day without work, a day without food.” Based on his monastic rules, the monks of Chan monasteries, in principle, live through manual labor and as a result, they developed a self-supporting economy system. Baek Yongseong criticized his contemporary colleagues and argued that because they did not work, they became bloodsuckers, defrauders, and parasites and considered Buddhism the opium to the masses.²²⁹

According to Baek Yongseong’s argument, while working in fields, monks should strictly maintain celibacy and vegetarianism as well as cultivate themselves by continuously reciting the name Amitāyus Buddha, chanting various mantras, and reading Buddhist texts.²³⁰

He asserted that Buddhism should be independent and self-providing financially and should not rely only on donations from laypersons. He also wanted to secure funds for the Great Enlightenment Religion via the orchard business. He suggested his followers to work diligently and secure their economy by themselves. He revolutionized Buddhism’s financial structure to the self-serving economical one in the orchard project. Although the orchard was destroyed during the Korean Civil War, 1950-1953, his disciples and the Great Enlightenment Religion Foundation recovered it.

In 1927, he also purchased land of more than 70 hectares in the Village of Mingyue and the Village of Ningfeng in the City of Rongjing, Manchuria. There he established a Great Enlightenment Religion church and organized a religious

²²³ Huangbo Xiyun (d. 850) was the dharma successor of Baizhang Huaihai (720-814) and the master of Linji Yixuan (d. 867).

²²⁴ Linji Yixuan (d. 867) was the dharma successor of Huangbo Xiyun (d. 850).

²²⁵ Weishan Lingyu (771-853), also known as Gueishan Lingyu, was the Dharmic disciple of Baizhang Huaihai (720-814) and the master of Yangshan Huiji (815-891).

²²⁶ Yangshan Huiji (815-891) was the Dharmic successor of Weishan Lingyu (771-853) and the Dharmic master of Nanta Guangrun (850-938).

²²⁷ Baek Yongseong, “Jungang haengjeong e daehan huimang (An Essay for Reforming Korean Buddhism’s Central Administration), in *Bulgyo* 93 (March 1, 1932): 15.

²²⁸ Baizhang Huaihai (720-814) was a disciple of Mazu Daoyi and the master of Gueishan Lingyu and Huangbo Xiyun. He established the Chan monastic code and detailed rules in a Chan monastery.

²²⁹ Gim Gwangsik, *Yongseong*, 200-201.

²³⁰ *Ibid*, 201-202.

community for exiled monastics and lay Buddhists. In a letter to Gim Gyeongbong, dated July 7, he explained that even though he established the Great Enlightenment Religion, began to propagate Buddhism and wanted to make the religion a revolutionary one, he exhausted all of his financial resources and did not have a penny.²³¹

On May 25, 1933, Sim Duseop (d.u.) visited Baek Yongseong at the Great Enlightenment Religion's headquarters in Seoul. He reported his interview with Baek Yongseong in the 89th issue of *Joseon bulgyo* (Korean Buddhism) (June 1, 1933). Baek Yongseong detailed his activities at the orchard in the County of Hamyang: "Six years ago, I went to Mt. Baegun²³² in the County of Hamyang, South Gyeongsang Province in which I purchased the land of 30 hectares including a mountain forest, barren land and others pieces of land. I reclaimed the wasteland, cultivated fruits, vegetables and others items, and worked for a self-sufficient economy. I also assembled poor village kids and educated them. I planned to spend my remaining years in nature. Because modern society became greatly deteriorated, humans became stingy and the (Buddhist) believers did not have strong trust in other people. Whatever the laypersons do, they feel it is difficult and they usually fail. Therefore, I think that we cannot sustain our lives and our religion of Buddhism based on the laypersons. From now on, monks should work and make meals by themselves. I strongly emphasized that they should develop their own sustaining and sufficient spirit."²³³

In the interview, Baek Yongseong explained Great Enlightenment Religion (Daegak). "Daegak Religion is actually no different from the Buddha's teaching. We call Sākyamuni Buddha as Daegak-neung (Great Enlightened Able Being) and Jeokmuk-gak (Tranquil Enlightened Being). 'Buddha' means Great Enlightened Being. Therefore, I named it Daegak Religion. I changed the title of Buddhism to Daegak Religion suitable for ordinary people. I think that we should generally adjust Buddhism to various situations. In terms of rituals, I stopped all Buddhist rituals and caused monks not to wear monastic clothes but to wear ordinary ones. Even though I guided monks and Buddhists to chant scriptures and practice Seon praxis, I did not enshrine the Buddhist image(s). Because lay members affiliated to the Daegak Church in Seoul have traditionally believed in Buddhism, I did not de-enshrine but kept the Buddhist image(s) in the church as it was based on their demand. However, I have never enshrined the Buddhist image(s) at the orchard on Mt. Baegun."²³⁴

Baek Yongseong recommended *Return to the Origin, the Right Tradition* and *The Ocean of Enlightenment and Wheel of the Sun Wheel* for people's understanding Daegak Religion: "When I, Sim Duseop, asked him to

²³¹ Seok Myeongjeong, trans. and comm., 114.

²³² Even though Sim Duseop mentioned the mountain's name as Mt. Baegyang, I corrected Mt. Baegyang to Mt. Baegun.

²³³ Sim Duseop, "Baek Yongseong shi wo tazunete" (A Visit to Master Baek Yongseong), in *Joseon bulgyo* 89 (June 1, 1933): 31.

²³⁴ Ibid.

recommend a book on the Great Enlightenment Religion and show me the book, Master Baek Yongseong immediately stood up and took a book entitled *Return to the Origin, the Right Tradition* from a neighboring room. When I asked him a book title including the word “Daegak,” he said that the book title might be *The Ocean of Enlightenment and Wheel of the Sun Wheel*. When I asked whether he has extra copies, he stood up again and took one copy of the book. Without being reluctant, he wrapped up two books in a newspaper and gave them to me. When I told him that if I have a time, I want to take his lectures on scriptures such as the *Huayan Sūtra*, he told me that whenever I have a time, I can visit him and take some lectures from him.”²³⁵

On February 26, 1941, Ha Dongsan attended a preaching meeting of eminent monastics organized by the Center for Seon Studies.²³⁶ He along with more than forty celibate eminent monastics, including I Unheo, I Cheongdam, Song Mangong, Bak Hanyeong, Chae Seoeung (d.u.), Gim Sangwol, I Hyobong and others, attended the meeting.²³⁷ The series of preaching continued for ten days. During that time, they lectured on the *Brahmā Net Sūtra*, the most important vinaya text in Mahāyāna Buddhism and emphasized the vinaya, and on the *Sūtra of the Deathbed Injunction*. They hosted a preaching series that explained the central tenets of Korean Seon Buddhism. Laypersons donated monastic robes.

After the gathering, they hosted the conference for Seon practitioners at the Center for Korean Studies and discussed various issues.²³⁸ They organized celibate monks and established the Beomhaeng-dan Organization to commemorate the preaching series and stressed the importance of vinaya and Seon practice in Korean Buddhism.²³⁹ After the preaching, they also held the second regular meeting of the Korean Buddhist Seon Sect²⁴⁰ and tried to popularize Seon practice and preserve the celibate tradition of Korean Buddhism.

In 1942, he went to Japan along with representatives of three parish head temples, Beomeo-sa Temple, Haein-sa Monastery and Tongdo-sa Monastery, located in South Gyeongsang Province. He visited various temples in Japan and recognized the differences of Korean Buddhism from Japanese Buddhism.²⁴¹

In 1941, he also inherited from Vinaya Master Yeongmyeong Hyeil (d.u.) another vinaya lineage originally transmitted from Fayuan-si Temple in Beijing, China. In 1943, he became the spiritual leader of the Diamond Precept Platform at Beomeo-sa Temple and began to transmit monastic and Bodhisattva precepts

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Buddhology Institute, ed., *Hanguk geun hyeondae bulgyo-sa yeonpyo* (A Chronological Table for Modern and Present Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: The Board of Education of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2000), 251.

²³⁷ *Bulgyo sibo* 69 (April 15): 7.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid, 6.

²⁴¹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 376-377.

to the newly ordained monks. Korean Buddhism transmitted the vinaya lineage of Fayuan-si Temple as follows.²⁴²

In 1892, Manha Seungnim (d.u.) visited Fayuan-si Temple in Beijing, China and received monastic and Mahāyāna Bodhisattva precepts from Vinaya Master Changtao (d.u.). After coming back to Korea, he established the vinaya platform and transmitted precepts to many people. In 1897, Manha Seungnim transmitted the vinaya lineage to O Seongwol, also known as Ileum, of Beomeo-sa Temple and Seo Haedam (1862-1942), also known as Chiik,²⁴³ of Tongdo-sa Monastery.

O Seongwol could establish the Diamond Precept Platform at Beomeo-sa Temple and could transmit the precepts to monks and lay Buddhists. He transmitted the vinaya lineage to Vinaya Master Ilbong Gyeongnyeom (d.u.), who inherited it to Vinaya Master Unbong Seongsu (1889-1946). Vinaya Preceptor Yeongmyeong Hyeil who succeeded Unbong Seongsu inherited the vinaya lineage to Master Ha Dongsan. The vinaya lineage has continuously been handed over to later vinaya masters until now at Beomeo-sa Temple.

In 1904, O Seongwol presided over the first ordination ceremony at Beomeo-sa Temple's Diamond Precept Platform. In 1943, Ha Dongsan began to preside over the 35th ordination ceremony as a precept-transmitting master. He inherited the vinaya lineage from vinaya master Yeongmyeong. Thus, because Ha Dongsan completed the vinaya transmission from Yeongmyeong, he began to preside over the ordination ceremony as the precepts transmitter. He continued from the 35th ceremony in 1943 to the 57th ceremony in 1965 in which he passed away. Following his master Baek Yongseong's strong antagonism against Japanized married monasticism, he had conducted the ceremony twenty three times in total. So, many monks and lay Buddhists received precepts from him in modern Korean Buddhism. He directly and indirectly contributed to keeping celibate monastic precepts of traditional Korean Buddhism and to recovering its unmarried monasticism from Japanized Korean Buddhism.

On March 13, and in fall, 1943, he respectively presided over the ceremony of providing monastic and Mahāyāna precepts at Beomeo-sa Temple and Haeinsa Monastery. He tried to revitalize traditional unmarried monasticism of Korean Buddhism. After Yeongmyeong handed over the vinaya lineage to Ha Dongsan in 1941 and Ha Dongsan became the spiritual leader of Diamond Precept Platform in 1943, even though Yeongmyeong attended the precept-offering ceremonies, he was not the precept-transmitting master, but one of three major preceptors. Ha Dongsan was the most important figure, the precept-transmitting master in the ceremonies. A precept certificate issued in 1947 proved that he was the precept-transmitting master at Beomeo-sa Temple's Diamond Precept Platform possibly since 1943.²⁴⁴ According to the certificate, Ha Dongsan was the transmission preceptor and Yeongmyeong was the reciting

²⁴² Ibid, 377-378.

²⁴³ I Jeong, ed., 313.

²⁴⁴ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 371-373.

preceptor in the precept-offering ceremony hosted on October 8, 1947. The diamond precept certificate can be translated as follows.²⁴⁵

Diamond Precept Certificate

Diamond Precept Platform of the Central Seon Center (of Beomeo-sa Temple)

If reviewed carefully, Locana Buddha handed over his precepts and vinaya to Śākyamuni Buddha, and Śākyamuni Buddha transmitted them to various Bodhisattvas. Bodhisattvas continuously handed over them to all sentient beings without stop. So, all sentient beings could follow proper paths.

In order to cross the sea of sufferings and arrive in the other shore of paradise, Buddhists should keep the teaching of (purifying) mind ground, ten major precepts and 48 minor precepts and monks and nuns should take their respective precepts, (250 precepts and 348 precepts²⁴⁶). In Korean Buddhism, some vinaya masters such as Vinaya Master Jajang (590-658)²⁴⁷ (who founded Tongdo-sa Monastery and transmitted at the monastery his vinaya lineage that he inherited from China) and Vinaya Master Jinpyo (b. 714)²⁴⁸ (of Geumsan-sa Temple heavily connected to the Maitreya Buddha cult) have sometimes revitalized Buddhist vinaya and precepts. In King Sunjo's reign (1800-1834) of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), Master Daeun Nang'o (1780-1841)²⁴⁹ of the Dongguk Jaeil Seon Center of Chilbul-am Hermitage on Mt. Jiri prayed to the Buddha for getting and finally obtained the vinaya lineage. He inherited the vinaya lineage to Geumdam (d.u.), who handed over it to Choui Uisun (1786-1866).²⁵⁰ Choui Uisun transmitted it to Beomhae Gagan (1820-1896),²⁵¹ who inherited it to Seongok (d.u.). Yongseong Jinjong (1864-1940) (who succeeded the lineage from Seongok) transmitted it to Dongsan Hyeil. Dongsan Hyeil transmits the great (Mahāyāna) Bodhisattva precepts and full monastic precepts to monastics in this precept-offering ceremony hosted at the Diamond Precept Platform of the Central Seon Center (affiliated to Beomeo-sa Temple). Therefore, all of persons should sincerely receive precepts, not violate them, and continuously hand over the Buddha's wisdom to the future.

(Three Major Preceptors)

Vinaya Master Dongsan Hyeil (1890-1965), Transmission Preceptor

Vinaya Master Yeongmyeong Hyeil (d.u.), Reciting Preceptor

Vinaya Master Howol Seongeop (d.u.), Instruction Preceptor

²⁴⁵ Ibid, 372-373.

²⁴⁶ Buddhists conventionally call the number of nun precepts as 500 precepts.

²⁴⁷ I Jeong, ed., 255-256.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, 290.

²⁴⁹ Ibid, 55-56.

²⁵⁰ Ibid, 227-228.

²⁵¹ Ibid, 10-11.

Seven Witness Vinaya Masters: Hanam Jungwon (1876-1951),²⁵² Seoksang Sinsu (1872-1947), Sangwol Inhwon (d.u.), Seogu Bohwa (1875-1958),²⁵³ Hyobong Wonmyeong, Ingok Changsu (1895-1961), Dongheon Wangyu (1896-1983)

Moderator(s): Dogyeong Hongyeol (d.u.), Byeonggil (d.u.)

I, (o o o),²⁵⁴ shall sincerely take and preserve the precepts on October 8, 1947.

Even though Korea obtained independence from Japan on August 15, 1945, Korean Buddhism was still under the influence of Japanized married monasticism. Because married monks controlled their temple's properties and power, celibate monks could not get support from the married monks and their temple's properties. Due to suppression from married priests, they could not stay and practice Buddhism in temples. Feelings of discontent gradually grew.

Seongwol Iljeon presided over the precept offering ceremony fourteen times between 1904 and 1922, Ilbong Gyeongnyeong thirteen times between 1923 and 1935, Unbong Seongsu one time in 1936, Yeongmyeong Hyeil six times between 1937 and 1942 and Dongsan Hyeil twenty three times between 1943 and 1965.

On August 15, 1945, Korea got independence from Japan. On September 2, General McArthur declared that the Soviet Union and the United States would partition the Korean Peninsula at 38 degrees north latitude. The Soviet Army would occupy the north and the United States Army south of the line.

On September 7, 1945, the US government established the US military government in South Korea. It continued until the establishment of the Republic of Korea on August 15, 1948. During the three years between 1945 and 1948, the US military government discriminated against Buddhism and traditional religions in favor of their own religion, Christianity.²⁵⁵

On August 17, 1945, two days after independence from Japan, Secretary-General I Jonguk (1884-1969)²⁵⁶ of the Jogye Order resigned his post with his cabinet members. On August 19, progressive Buddhist leaders visited Taego-sa Temple, the order's headquarter temple, modern Jogye-sa Temple, discussed how to take over its administration. On August 21, the thirty-five monks organized the Preparatory Committee for the Reform of Korean Buddhism. On

²⁵² Ibid, 275-276.

²⁵³ Ibid, 116-117.

²⁵⁴ Koreans generally have one Chinese character for their family name and two Chinese characters for their given names.

²⁵⁵ See the Board of Education of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., *Jogye jongsu: Geun-hyeondae pyeon*, 172-174.

²⁵⁶ I Jeong, ed., 273-274.

August 22, they took over its administration and issued a statement with retiring executives.²⁵⁷

On September 22 – 23, the preparatory committee held the national monastic conference at Taego-sa Temple. They passed a resolution to abolish the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples and its enforcement ordinances. They, furthermore, determined in the conference to remove the parish system prescribing relations between the thirty-one parish head temples and their respective branch temples, and the articles and bylaws of Taego-sa Temple, the central head temple of Korean Buddhism. As a substitute, they made two levels in its order's administration, the central administration and the 12 provincial administrations. Abandoning the old constitution devised during the Japanese occupation period, they also passed the order's new constitution.

When Korea obtained liberation from Japanese occupation in 1945, Korean Buddhism became extremely Japanized. Statistically, the number of married monks in Korean Buddhism was more than 12,000 and that of unmarried monks around 800 in 1945.²⁵⁸ At the time, married monks completely controlled Korean Buddhism and secured almost all key and major positions in the Jogye Order and each of its temple. After liberation, conflicts between Japanized married monks and traditional Korean Buddhism's celibate monks gradually increased.

4. Dedication to the Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954 – 1962

On June 25, 1950, the Korean War (1950-1953) broke out. Many monks fled to Beomeo-sa Temple in Busan located in the most southeastern corner of the Korean Peninsula. Ha Dongsan accepted many displaced monks at his temple and provided them a safe shelter. During the 1952 summer intensive retreat, begun on lunar April 15, more than one hundred monks came to Beomeo-sa Temple and participated in the retreat at Geumeo Seon Center affiliated to Beomeo-sa Temple. Ha Dongsan was the director of the Seon Center. Because they did not have enough food supplies, they could survive with noodles and corn soups distributed through the Dongnae Ward Office of the City of Busan. Married priests who managed the temple headquarters office provided only the provisions of twenty persons to the Seon center from the food supplies that they harvested in the temple's farming lands.

²⁵⁷ Gim Gwangsik extensively discussed the activities of the Preparatory Committee for the Reform of Korean Buddhism in his articles, “8. 15 haebang gwa jeonguk seungnyeo daehoe” (The Liberation from Japan on August 15, 1945 and a National Monastic Conference), in *Hanguk hyeondae bulgyo-sa yeongu*, 15-35; and “8.15 undong gwa bulgyo-gye ui donghyang” (The Liberation from Japan on August 15, 1945 and the Korean Buddhist Reactions), in *Bulgyo-sa yeongu* 1 (Dec. 1996): 131-161.

²⁵⁸ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 381-382.

On August 18, 1950, the government temporarily moved government offices to Busan and October 27, 1950, it moved them back to Seoul. On January 3, 1951, it moved them back to Busan. Immediately after the war on July 27, 1953, it permanently moved them back to Seoul on August 15. During the Korean War, Busan was the political and administrative center. On the Memorial Day, June 6, 1952, the government hosted a memorial service for deceased soldiers of the Korean army, the UN forces, and the Korean police at Beomeo-sa Temple in which the government's major persons, of course including President I Seungman (1875-1965), a sincere Christian, participated. Ha Dongsan presided over the service based on a Buddhist ritual. The government enshrined the relics of deceased soldiers in halls, affiliated to the temple. Ha Dongsan chanted ritual texts and prayed them to be born in a better world in their next lives. At the time, he made a connection with President I Seungman.

On January 10, 1953, President I Seungman visited Beomeo-sa Temple at the second time, accompanying a US military general and his wife. Ha Dongsan asked the president to support unmarried Buddhist monks against married Buddhist priests. He suggested that the president intervene in Buddhism and secure some temples for unmarried monks to practice Seon Buddhism. Because married monks managed and controlled almost all of temples, unmarried monks had a difficulty in finding temples to practice Seon and in securing financial support.²⁵⁹ To solve the problems, Ha Dongsan did not remain independent from the government but heavily relied on it. Even though his arguments that we should purify Korean Buddhism's Japanized married monasticism were proper, his methods, resorting to the external power, could not be justified.

Prior to Ha Dongsan's request to President I Seungman, I Daeui (1901-1978),²⁶⁰ a resident monk at the Center for Seon Studies in Seoul, submitted a proposal to the then highest patriarch Song Manam (1876-1957)²⁶¹ of the Jogye Order in April 1952 in which he explained many problems originated from Japanized married Korean Buddhism's monasticism. He requested that the patriarch arrange several large monasteries for unmarried monks to live in and practice Seon. The center dedicated itself to preserving the celibate and vegetarian traditions and to revitalizing Korean Seon Buddhism.

In May 1953, Ha Dongsan criticized married monks because they did not provide even a single temple for celibate Seon practitioners. He also sent a nationwide written appeal to Seon centers. In it, he suggested Seon practitioners to cooperate with each other to revive Korean Buddhism's traditional celibate monasticism from current Korean Buddhism's married monkhood. He argued

²⁵⁹ Chanju Mun, "Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954-62: The Recovery of Traditional Monasticism from Japanized Buddhism in South Korea," in *Hsi Lai Journal of Humanistic Buddhism* 8 (2007): 262-294.

²⁶⁰ I Jeong, ed., 65-66.

²⁶¹ Ibid, 274-275.

that Korean Buddhism should recover the vinaya lineage of celibate monasticism that Korean Buddhism had preserved since its inception.

Married resident monks of Beomeo-sa Temple, in cooperation with the order's central administration, kicked him out of his home temple of Beomeo-sa and closed its affiliate Seon center. Ha Dongsan and his followers moved to Eunhae-sa Temple in Yeongcheon County, North Gyeongsang Province, where they practiced Seon meditation. Because Gim Beomnin (1899-1964),²⁶² a famous politician and a married monk as well as the current government's secretary of education, and Jeon Jinhan (1901-1972), a married monk and a famous politician as well as the former secretary of social affairs, mediated between Ha Dongsan and married resident monks, Ha Dongsan could take his following of unmarried monks and return to Beomeo-sa Temple after three months.

In February 1953, he transmitted Mahāyāna Bodhisattva precepts to lay Buddhists at a propagation center in the County of Geochang, South Gyeongsang Province and in September, he hosted a special service of reading the *Huayan Sūtra* at Beophwa-sa Temple in Yeongdo Island, Busan and propagated Hwaeom (Chn., Huayan; Jpn., Kegon) thought. Even though he strictly disciplined his monk disciples, he treated lay Buddhists with compassion. When lay Buddhists visited him, he wrote and provided a Buddhist name to each of them in the following sample poem:²⁶³

I kindly request the lay Buddhist named ○○
(consisting of two Chinese characters)²⁶⁴
to understand the following poem:

There are even minute dust particles on earth.
Who will not open his eyes?
In the beginning, people sought perfumed grasses.
(However), when the flowers dropped down,
They returned to (the original place).

Dated on ○○ (a month), ○○ (a day), and ○○○○ (a year)

Ha Dongsan, a monk of Beomeo-sa Temple on Mt. Geumjeong

He had also hosted special services for reading the *Huayan Sūtra* at Beomnyun-sa Temple near Beomeo-sa Temple several times. He strongly requested Buddhists to keep the precepts and propagated Hwaeom thought, most important in Korean Buddhism's doctrinal foundations. His master Baek Yongseong emphasized Hwaeom thought and was the first in the history of

²⁶² Ibid, 46.

²⁶³ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 216.

²⁶⁴ Korean preceptors generally name male Buddhist laypersons with two Chinese characters and female Buddhist laypersons with three Chinese characters.

Korean Buddhism to translate the whole version of the classical Chinese *Huayan Sūtra* into Korean. He vehemently opposed Japanized married monasticism. Ha Dongsan loyally succeeded his master's views on Hwaom thought and celibate monasticism.

The unmarried Seon practitioners were disappointed at the slow process of de-Japanization Korean Buddhism. In May 1954, some resident monks at the Center for Seon Studies requested the order administration to implement immediately the promise made more than one year earlier in April 1953. At the time, the order's Regulations Committee held its general meeting at Bulguk-sa Temple and designated eighteen temples for unmarried monastics by excluding the major Buddhist temples, for instance, three major Korean Buddhist temples, Tongdo-sa Temple, Haein-sa Temple and Songgwang-sa Temple.

In April 9, 1954, the order's central administration held an official cabinet meeting and examined Patriarch Song Manam's directives to revitalize Korean Buddhism at Tongdo-sa Monastery, one of biggest temples in Korea. The administration decided to accept his suggestion. Song Manam, Gim Guha (1872-1965),²⁶⁵ I Hyobong, Gim Gyeongbong, I Unheo, and other representative monks also attended the meeting.²⁶⁶

Around the time, "purification of Japanized Korean Buddhism's monasticism" became a serious social issue. Married and unmarried monks vehemently disputed over the rights of temple management at many temples. Married monks did not want to concede even a portion the properties that had been established as theirs. Celibate monks were eager to reclaim the management of at least some of the temples lost upon when their nation was dominated by Japan.

On May 20, 1954, President I Seungman issued his first presidential message to cleanse Korean Buddhism of the Japanese influence.²⁶⁷ At that time, he demanded that married monks should be removed from the order and its temples and unmarried monks should take over the management of the order and its temples. His message made a very serious impact on both sides of the issue. President I Seungman exclusively supported unmarried monks. He argued that Korean Buddhists should purify Korean Buddhism Japanized during Japanese occupation period, 1910-1945, in the following, his first message.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ I Jeong, ed., 298-299.

²⁶⁶ Dongsan mundo-hoe and Gim Gwangsik, eds., *Dongsan daejongsa wa bulgyo jeonghwa undong* (Great Master Ha Dongsan and Purification Buddhist Movement) (Busan: Beomeo-sa Temple, 2007), 381, 386-388.

²⁶⁷ The full version of the first presidential message by I Seungman can be seen in Jongdan-sa ganhaeng wiwon-hoe (Publication Committee for the History of the Taego Order of Korean Buddhism), ed., *Taego jongsu: Hanguk bulgyo jeongtong jongdan ui yeoksa* (The History of the Taego Order of Korean Buddhism: The History of an Orthodox Order in Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Hanguk bulgyo chulpan-bu, 2006), 248-250.

²⁶⁸ Min Dogwang, ed., 765-766.

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Imperial Japan, for the past forty years of its occupation, 1910-1945, brought its own Shintō religion and legalized emperor worship exercised at Japanese Shintō shrines among Korean citizens on the Korean Peninsula. It required all Korean citizens to visit Shintō shrines and worship its native gods enshrined at the shrines. When some foreign Christian missionaries did not follow Japan's directions but rejected emperor worship at Shintō shrines, Japan deported them from or persecuted them in Korea. When some Korean Christians did not visit and venerate gods in the shrines, Japan threw them into prison and caused some of them to die there. Concurrently, Japan brought its own Buddhism, propagating and popularizing it in Korea. Japanese Buddhists did everything that Korean Buddhists had never done. (For example), they established their temples in cities and farming villages and took wives, got along with lay town residents and villagers and used to transmit Buddhism to them in Japan. Even though Japan, actually, learned and imitated Buddhism from our nation of Korea, it did not accept the celibate monasticism of our Korean Buddhism. On the contrary, Japan took its married monasticism back Korea, implemented it, and finally obliterated sublime celibate monasticism of Korean Buddhism. As a result, we cannot differentiate monastics from monastics in current Korean Buddhism and original Korean Buddhism became nothing but a name.

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Even though the presidential message seriously violated the constitution prescribing the separation between politics and religion, unmarried monks welcomed it. I Seungman, a leader for the independence movement of Korea, considered married monasticism and meat eating as having been formed under Japanese Buddhism's influences, vehemently criticized Japanized Korean Buddhism, and requested Korean Buddhists to recover Korean Buddhism's celibate monasticism and vegetarianism.

Gang Seokju and Bak Gyeonghun outlined the background for I Seungman's presidential message in their *Korean Buddhism during Modern 100 Years* in the following quote.²⁶⁹

When the group of unmarried monks was planning to purify married monasticism and meat eating of Japanized Korean Buddhism, President I Seungman visited Bongguk-sa Temple in the Block of Jeongneung, the Ward of Seongbuk, the City of Seoul on Mt. Samgak.²⁷⁰ At the time, President I Seungman saw married monks who were living with their wives in the temple. He asked his aide how monks married, saying that he had never seen married monks in temples before he went to foreign nations. Even so, at the time, he

²⁶⁹ Gang Seokju and Bak Gyeonghun, *Bulgyo geunse baengnyeong* (Korean Buddhism during Modern 100 Years), 2nd edition (Seoul: Minjok-sa, 2002), 208-209.

²⁷⁰ I Dongsul, ed., *Hanguk sachal bogam* (Dictionary of Korean Buddhist Temples) (Seoul: Uri chulpan-sa, 1997), 171.

thought that he did not clearly differentiate married monks and celibate monks in Korean Buddhism.

However, President I Seungman visited Yeonju-am Hermitage in the Town of Gwacheon, the County of Siheung, Gyeonggi Province, on Mt. Gwanak.²⁷¹ There was a Korean monk who had lived in Japan, returned to Korea, taken a Japanese wife and was living with her in the temple. He saw Japanese clothes hanging up in the temple. He saw a banner that read, "Hurray for the Japanese Emperor!" and a banner, "Good Fortune in Battle for the Japanese Imperial Army!" in the temple's main hall. So, he thought that he would clear away Japanized married monasticism and meat eating in Korean Buddhism.

He also visited Gwanchok-sa Temple in the County of Nonsan, South Chungcheong Province on Mt. Banyu.²⁷² At the time, the temple's abbot, embarrassed with the sudden appearance of President I Seungman, put on a hat to hide long hair on his head and wore a long ritual robe to cover his Western clothing. Upon seeing the temple's strange appearances, President I Seungman strongly determined to purify Japanized Korean Buddhism.

Then, President I Seungman told the abbot, "You seem to have two wives." Because the abbot actually had two wives, the president was extremely surprised.

This being the case, upon seeing the temples and monks Japanized (during Japanese occupation period), on May (20), 1954, President I Seungman issued his first presidential message and backed up the Purification Buddhist Movement. The message aimed at completely cleansing the Japanized married monasticism and meat eating in Korean Buddhism. In addition, the government's Department of Education prohibited people from drinking, singing and dancing in temples in order to protect historical properties.

Immediately after the presidential message, on May 21 - 23, some Seon practitioners utilized the presidential message and began to organize the Purification Buddhist Movement. They were not concerned about the constitution, but were only interested in reclaiming hegemony over married monks in the management of each temple and the order. Legally, the presidential message and the Purification Buddhist Movement initiated from the message were improper.

On June 20, married monastics who actually managed the order's Secretariat Head Office hosted an emergency meeting for its Central Assembly and discussed how to respond to I Seungman's first presidential message. Some Seon practitioners assembled at the Center for Seon Studies. These included Jeong Geumo (1896-1968),²⁷³ So Gusan (1909-1983),²⁷⁴ I Daeui, Gim Jomyeong (d.u.), Song Sanggeun (d.u.), Chae Dongil (d.u.), Min Dogwang (d.u.), Gim Jiyeong (d.u.), and Ha Jiseon (d.u.) and two lay leaders, Gim

²⁷¹ Ibid, 293.

²⁷² Ibid, 37-38.

²⁷³ I Jeong, ed., 318.

²⁷⁴ Ibid, 154.

Hancheon (d.u.) and Hyeon-o (d.u.) went to Taego-sa Temple, the order's head temple, the current Jogye-sa Temple, who observed the meeting.²⁷⁵ Even though they discussed returning three major monasteries, Tongdo-sa Monastery, Haein-sa Monastery and Songgwang-sa Monastery to celibate monks, they did not settle down the issue. On June 21, they resumed the meeting and the group of celibate monks also observed the resumed meeting.²⁷⁶ They resolved that they would not concede the three monasteries but the minor and smaller 48 temples including Donghwa-sa Temple and Jikji-sa Temple to celibate Seon practitioners.

Min Dogwang, a recorder and historian of the events of the Purification Buddhist Movement, vividly explained what happened on June 20 – 21, 1954 at Taego-sa Temple. From the partisan perspectives of celibate monks, he comprehensively collected and published the records of the Purification Buddhist Movement between August 24, 1954 when the first national conference for celibate monks and August 16, 1955. Because unmarried monks held the first government-authorized national monastic conference on August 12, the government intervened in religious affairs and authorized the hegemony of celibate monks in the order. Therefore, across the nation and with the government's support, they could appoint celibate monks to the order's key posts and as abbots.

From the view of unmarried monks, Min Dogwang recorded the events that happened during the most dynamic period of the Purification Buddhist Movement in his book of 832 pages entitled *The History of Purification Buddhist Movement in Korean Buddhist Monastic Order*.²⁷⁷ It can serve as source material for research in the Purification Buddhist Movement. It chronologically describes the events of the Purification Buddhist Movement for almost one year between August 24, 1954 and August 16, 1955 (pp. 1-563) and attaches source materials directly related to the movement (pp. 565-829).

If we read the descriptions on the event on June 20 – 21 by Min Dogwang, we can easily understand how advocates and participants of the Purification Buddhist Movement emotionally and from their partisan perspectives reacted against married monks and how seriously they had antagonism against them as illustrated in the following quote.²⁷⁸

(On June 20), we monks wore monastic robes (and went to Taego-sa Temple from the Center for Seon Studies). Because we were allowed to observe the meeting of the order's Central Assembly, we entered the hall and observed its proceedings. While some members of the assembly were dressed in black-colored monastic long robes (of Japanese styles) and red surplices,

²⁷⁵ Min Dogwang, ed., 39.

²⁷⁶ Ibid, 39-40.

²⁷⁷ Min Dogwang, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo seungdan jeonghwa-sa* (Gyeongju: Hanguk bulgyo seungdan jeonghwa-sa pyeonchan wiwon-hoe), 1996.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

others put on lay clothes and western-styled ones. The meeting seemed like a meeting among laypersons, not among monks. Bak Seongha (b. 1907), chairman of the order's Central Assembly, had on western-styled clothes and wore his hair long, moderated over the meeting. Even though they discussed conceding three major monasteries of Korean Buddhism such as Tongdo-sa Monastery, Haein-sa Monastery and Songgwang-sa Monastery to celibate monks, they decided to continue the discussion of the topic the next day. After observing this, we came back to the Center for Seon Studies.

The next day, on June 21, we monks also went to Taego-sa Temple to observe the meeting. When we arrived at the temple, the meeting already started. All of us who observed the meeting attended it. They proceeded to discuss the concession of three major monasteries to celibate monks. They changed the discussion from three major monasteries to the 48 poor and minor temples such as Donghwa-sa Temple and Jikji-sa Temple. Instead of the big three monasteries, they discussed the concession of the 48 temples to unmarried monks. At the time, layman Hyeon-o of our celibate monastic side stood up from an observers' gallery and shouted, "You put on the western-styled clothes and wear your hair long. Are you monks? How can you discuss and say whether or not you, married ones, can provide temples to celibate Seon practitioners?" It was a bombshell announcement. So Gusan also aligned himself with his thunderbolt-like sayings. Chairman Bak Seongha ordered guards to quiet observers and told them, "If you observers apologize your disturbance for now, you can stay in here. If not, we will turn you out of this meeting." Layman Hyeon-o responded and shouted again, "If I confess my action for now, why should I have shouted?" He walked out of the room. We celibate Seon practitioners also observed the meeting for a little while and left the hall.

On July 2, Ha Dongsan, along with I Hyobong and Gim Jeogeum issued and circulated an official letter and informed the national conference for celibate monastic representatives.

In July 1954, around one year after the Korean War, he organized the "Association for the Preservation of Beomeo-sa Temple and its Historical Remains." He became its president and the temple's abbot Ji Hwalhae (d.u.) its secretary of general affairs. He guided people to preserve and repair Beomeo-sa Temple and its historical remains destroyed in the Korean War. He drew up a prospectus for the establishment of the association as follows:²⁷⁹

Buddhism is the teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha and of making Buddhists to accomplish Buddhahood. The Buddha realized the fundamental principles of the universe and human beings, awakened true lives of pure and illuminative knowledge, comprehended suchness of the universe and nature, removed delusion and self-attachment of human beings and society, and embodied the supreme ideal of human lives.

In (678), the 18th reign year of King Munmu (661-681) of the Silla Kingdom (traditionally dated, 57 BCE – 936), 1,277 years ago, the holy

²⁷⁹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 238-239.

patriarch Uisang (625 - 702),²⁸⁰ national preceptor, founder of Korean Huayan / Hwaom Buddhism, established Beomeo-sa Temple (in Busan). The temple is the famous one all over the nation and is located in one of the most auspicious places of three southern provinces, (i.e., Jeolla, Chungcheong and Gyeongsang provinces).

Because the temple formerly had huge farming lands of more than 9,000 patches, it could protect its historical remains (with the incomes from the lands). However, nowadays, due to (the temple's) propagation businesses and (the government's) farming land reform, the temple lost all of farming lands and had difficulties for preserving its properties and historical remains. In the Korean War, the Korean military stayed at the temple for three years. So, the temple unfortunately could not repair its buildings, but could begin to remodel them only since last winter. Even so, for now, we face many difficulties for the successful remodeling of destroyed temples.

Because Beomeo-sa Temple is the famous tourist place in the Busan area that many foreign tourists should respectfully visit, we organize the Association for the Preservation of Beomeo-sa Temple and its Historical Remains and protect the temple and its remains for its future. We inform eminent monks and lay Buddhists of the establishment of the association. We strongly request you to become its members with your compassionate favors that consider all beings and make your merit fields that cover all periods.

On August 24, sixty-five Seon practitioners hosted the first national conference for celibate monks at the Center for Korean Studies located 40 Anguk-dong, Jongno-gu, Seoul between 9: 30 in the morning and 5: 30 in the evening and on August 25, they continued it at 9:00 in the morning and adjourned it at 5:30 in the evening.²⁸¹ Several tens of Buddhists, three policemen including Ji Seonmyeong, and one reporter of *Donga ilbo*, a major national newspaper, observed the conference. Ha Dongsan actively participated in Purification Buddhist Movement from the start.

They passed a resolution, resolved to establish a praxis complex, decided to revise the order's constitution and elected nine committee members to revise it and fifteen committee members to enforce Purification Buddhist Movement.²⁸² They also discussed how to educate young Buddhist monks. They determined that they should return to the original teaching of Buddhism and remove married monasticism in Korean Buddhism.²⁸³

The nine committee members for revising the order's constitution whom they elected are (1) I Hyobong of Yonghwa-sa Temple in Tongyeong County, South Gyeongsang Province, (2) Ha Dongsan of Beomeo-sa Temple in Busan, (3) Jeong Geumo of Paldal-sa Temple in Suwon City, Gyeonggi Province, (4) I Cheongdam of Musu-am Hermitage in Goseon County, South Gyeongsang Province, (5) Bak Ingok of Haein-sa Monastery in Hapcheon County, South

²⁸⁰ I Jeong, ed., 225-226.

²⁸¹ Min Dogwang, ed., 42-44.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ See the August 26, 1954 issue of *Joseon ilbo*, S 1.1. 185.

Gyeongsang Province, (6) (unattended) I Seongcheol of Anjeong-sa Temple (in Tongyeong County, South Gyeongsang),²⁸⁴ (7) I Seokho (d.u.) of Pagye-sa Temple in Daegu, North Gyeongsang Province, (8) Gim Hyanggok (1912-1978)²⁸⁵ of Seonam-sa Temple in Busan, and (9) Yun Wolha (1915-2003)²⁸⁶ of Tongdo-sa Monastery in Yangsan County, South Gyeongsang Province.²⁸⁷ Ha Dongsan was elected one of the nine committee members and even though his disciple I Seongcheol did not attend the conference, he was elected one of them along with his master Ha Dongsan.

The fifteen committee members for enforcing Purification Buddhist Movement whom they elected are (1) I Hyobong, (2) Ha Dongsan, (3) Jeong Geumo, (4) Bak Geumbong (d.u.) of Jeonghye-sa Temple in Yesan County, South Chungcheong Province, (5) Bak Ingok, (6) Gim Jeogeum of the Center for Seon Studies in Seoul, (7) Gim Jaun (1911-1992) of Gamno-sa Temple in Busan, (8) Gim Bogyong (d.u.) of Gyeongguk-sa Temple in Seoul,²⁸⁸ (9) Gim Hyanggok, (10) Mun Iljo (d.u.) of Seongju-sa Temple in Masan City, South Gyeongsang Province, (11) (unattended) I Seongcheol, (12) Gim Honggyeong (d.u.) of Tongdo-sa Monastery in Yangsan County, South Gyeongsang Province, (13) Sin Bomun (d.u.) of Samseong-am Hermitage in Daegu, (14) I Seokho (d.u.), and (15) I Cheongdam.²⁸⁹ Ha Dongsan and his disciple I Seongcheol also were elected to the committee members.

On August 26, the aforementioned two committees hosted a joint meeting and organized several departments and respectively assigned them to the departments and posts to implement the movement.²⁹⁰ On August 28, two monks Jeong Geumo and I Cheongdam visited the Press Secretary's Office, presented to the secretary a letter of thanks to President I Seungman's 1st presidential message and a memorial to the president and asked him to deliver the two aforementioned documents to the president.²⁹¹

On September 1, celibate monastics sincerely discussed in the officer's meeting how to advertize to and justify the Purification Buddhist Movement in Korean society and determined that they would announce a written oath and a proclamation to the public and justify the movement to all Koreans and Korean Buddhists.²⁹²

²⁸⁴ I Dongsul, ed., 283.

²⁸⁵ I Jeong, ed., 342.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, 568-569.

²⁸⁷ Min Dogwang, ed., 44.

²⁸⁸ I Dongsul, ed., 23.

²⁸⁹ Min Dogwang, ed., 45.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid, 46.

²⁹² Ibid.

Seoul sinmun, a national newspaper, published the following declaration by Secretary-General Hyeon-o of the Korean Lay Buddhist Association in its September 1, 1954 issue and supported the Purification Buddhist Movement.²⁹³

Religion is not the system of knowledge and theory but that of faith and practice, through which religion can be continued. We can obtain knowledge only through practice and reveal our hidden treasure (Buddha nature) through the obtained knowledge. The knowledge can serve as just a supplementary means for solidifying our faith. Now, because people become intellectualized, they highly evaluate intellect and neglect practice. Unnoticed, human beings forgot that our society is a decorated treasure stūpa in which causes and effects interpenetrate. Because our Korean Buddhists also follow the trend of the times, when they interpret Buddhist doctrines, they just justify the violation of celibate precepts. When they investigate Seon Buddhism, they just pretend to examine it and as a result, they caused Buddhism to get stagnant. Rootless trees and plants cannot bear fruit, and the religion that loses essential qualities results in confusions. Therefore, if any religion does not sincerely study its doctrines and does not earnestly exercise practices, the religion is subject to seriously damage human society.

Our (Jogye) Order (of Korean Buddhism) also forgets the teachings of ancient Buddhas and the tenets of past patriarchs and without reserve seeks for only money-making like a business enterprise under the pretext of mission work. It violates the traditional vinaya of Buddhism that describes celibate monasticism and vegetarianism. It also causes our monastic order that should preserve pure deeds and be the ideal model for Buddhists to be corrupted and our society to be deluded. We cannot anticipate how seriously they committed sins and we should consider the leaders of our order shameless heretics.

However, we fortunately have more than several thousands celibate monks in our order. Eminent celibate monks have fortunately preserved our celibate tradition, successfully endured suppression from heretics for a long time, overcome difficult situations, and transmitted the core of doctrines and practices of our order. Therefore, our Korean Buddhists, our Koreans and all of human beings have received benefit from the monks. Furthermore, after our nation obtained independence from Japan, celibate Korean Buddhist monks make actions with concerted efforts to eloquently purify (celibate monasticism of) our order and to revitalize and strengthen our Seon tradition. For now, they hosted the first national conference for monastics and resolved all different agendas at the conference. Because our dharma realms are extremely serious and our nation becomes horrible, on behalf of the members of Korean Lay Buddhist Association, I admire their efforts for the Purification Buddhist Movement and heartily declare this proclamation.

On September 2, two secretaries of General Affairs and Finance of the order's Secretariat Head Office visited the Center for Seon Studies and discussed with the committee members for enforcing Purification Buddhist

²⁹³ Ibid, 49.

Movement how to settle issues between the order's administration and the Center for Seon Studies.²⁹⁴

They advertized in three issues, the September 3, 1954 issue,²⁹⁵ the September 5, 1954 issue,²⁹⁶ and the September 6, 1954 issue,²⁹⁷ of *Joseon ilbo*, a major national newspaper, the "Written Oath of Purification Buddhist Movement to All Korean Buddhists" that sixty-five Seon practitioners unanimously determined on August 25, 1954 in the first national conference for celibate monks as follows.²⁹⁸

The world became extremely chaotic. Therefore, for now, we intend to return to where we should go from and earnestly try to save this chaotic world. This illusive and impermanent world in which all beings continuously come and go is destined to move without stop from the beginning-less beginning. Because the mystery of Great Law, which is originally tranquil and unconditional, completely penetrates all ages, the differences between movement and non-movement do not exist anymore, confusions are not confusions, and the great unhindered harmony does not increase and decrease. Although even a small portion of the Great Law appears, all illusions and discriminations immediately disappear. Sudden disappearance is sudden disappearance and confusions are confusions. So, according to the eternal rules and principal teachings of the Dharma wheel of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the confusion-stricken persons are supposed to strongly desire the sudden disappearance of their confusions. Therefore, while the principle of Buddhist teachings is unchangeable, phenomena are subject to change continually and are not allowed to stop even for an instant. Glory and dilapidation, success and failure are impermanent. We can manifest and hide the meritorious deeds of our lives in this world. Once upon a time, the World-honored One (Buddha) awakened this law, sincerely practiced based on it, suggested his followers to observe it and finally caused Buddhism to prosper. Ordinary beings reveal illusively the form in the formless originated from immemorial antiquity and because they attach themselves to contaminated custom, they are subject to forget this law unconsciously and unknowingly and to accept wrong teachings mistakenly. However, the principal teachings of Buddhism are indestructible, the holy teachings of the Buddha become clear, and the wisdom lamps of sincere Buddhist practice are successfully transmitted. When the wind dispelled the cloud, the extent of disappearance of the cloud and of appearance of the sky is different (based on the strength of the wind and the range of the cloud). Like the above metaphor, we have the Dharma lineage clearly transmitted to this present without stop and the ocean of Dharma realm well decorated. Because we Korean Buddhists lost the holy person (Buddha) a long time ago, we have attached ourselves to a deluded culture. Our enemy externally overran our nation with an iron belt and we internally lost the Korean (Buddhist) tradition of good morals and manners. Even though we

²⁹⁴ Ibid, 47.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid, 48.

²⁹⁷ Ibid, 50.

²⁹⁸ Ibid, 47, 48.

move our original vows and seek truth, some of us are enthralled by a superstition, wander from place to place, are infatuated with a bluff, and do not realize the foolish saying that we can steam sand and make rice. How should not we lament deeply? For now, because our nation Korea already regained its independence from Japan ten years ago and the world has been incorporating the trend of all thoughts transmitted from generation to generation, we are ready to cause the sun to re-shine on our nation, to let the sea of Buddha's teachings be very clear, and to make the teachings to be perfect and mature. We should let our Seon practitioners practice three types of learning (precepts, meditation and wisdom) in high mountains and secluded valleys, obtain the higher quality of spirituality, and implement the original vows to extensively save and benefit sentient beings. Our newspaper solemnly declares our nation of Korea and other foreign nations today that Seon practitioners should engage themselves to this society and make our Purification Buddhist Movement a lamplight to guide our Koreans in our nation of Korea and a wooden gong to lead all human beings in this troubled world.

On September 4, I Cheongdam visited the order's Secretariat Head Office around ten o'clock in the morning, explained what they had discussed in the first national conference for celibate monks hosted on August 24 – 25 and returned to the Center for Seon Studies.²⁹⁹ He reported that married monks serving in the Secretariat Head Office showed their sincerity to settle several issues between celibate monks and married monks.

On September 5, after reading the afore-cited declaration by Hyeon-o, President I Seungman sent his letter to celibate monks through his secretary Cha Ikgyo (d.u.).³⁰⁰ Upon receiving it, on September 6, Jeong Geumo and I

²⁹⁹ Ibid, 48.

³⁰⁰ Min Dogwang, ed., 48 and Geumo seon suhaeng yeongu-won (The Research Institute for Seon Master Jeong Geumo's Seon Praxis), ed., *Geumo seunim gwa bulgyo jeonghwa undong* (Master Jeong Geumo and Purification Buddhist Movement), vol. 1 (Seoul: Geumo seon suhaeng yeongu-won, 2008), 114. Geumo seon suhaeng yeongu-won assigned Beoban Jeong Seonguk to write and published the book in two volumes. The first volume constitutes front matter, pp. 1-42, two parts, "Geumeo seunim gwa bulgyo jeonghwa undong" (Seon Master Jeong Geumo and Purification Buddhist Movement), pp. 43-359 and "Bulgyo jeonghwa undong eul boneun sigak gwa gyeonhae" (Various Perspectives and Views on Purification Buddhist Movement), pp. 361-403, and the unpaginated back matter. The second volume consists of front matter, pp. 1-23, three parts, "Geumo daeseonsa haengjang" (Biography of Grand Master Jeong Geumo), pp. 25-64, "Geumo seunim gwa na" (Memoirs of 19 Monks on Grand Master Jeong Geumo), pp. 65-334, and "Geumo daeseonsa ui sasang gwa jeonghwa undong" (Grand Seon Master Jeong Geumo's Thought and Purification Buddhist Movement), pp. 335-415, and the unpaginated back matter. The book might be the most comprehensive one on one of such 4 major figures as Ha Dongsan, I Hyobong, Jeong Geumo and I Cheongdam of Purification Buddhist Movement. Even though it is difficult that we say the book as an academic research one because it does not follow academic writing styles and does not provide proper notes and a bibliography, we can draw a general picture for Purification Buddhist Movement. However, it describes Jeong Geumo, one of the major leaders of

Cheongdam visited the Press Secretary's Office and discussed with the secretary how to settle the issues related to the Purification Buddhist Movement.³⁰¹

On September 6, they established the Diamond Precept Platform in the main hall of the Center for Seon Studies and began to preside over the ceremony to offer Bodhisattva precepts to more than 200 lay Buddhists from one o'clock in the afternoon and on September 8, they finished the ceremony.³⁰² They aimed at revitalizing the importance of precepts and vinaya monastic codes in degenerate Korean Buddhism and suggesting Korean Buddhists to recover the Korean Buddhist tradition that had strictly preserved the precepts and vinaya monastic codes.

On September 9, the *Donga ilbo*, a major national newspaper, positively evaluated the Purification Buddhist Movement and sincerely requested Korean Buddhists to recover celibate monasticism of traditional Korean Buddhism from the current tradition corrupted and Japanized during Japanese occupation, 1910-1945. Koreans developed strongly anti-Japanese sentiments during Japanese occupation. So, we can easily find in the following editorial that Koreans and Korean Buddhists heavily relied on and expressed strong anti-Japanese sentiments originated from Korean nationalism and vocally supported the Purification Buddhist Movement.³⁰³

.....
 Japan annexed our nation of Korea in 1910. We Koreans do not need to raise questions on whether since then, it definitely used Buddhism to assimilate Koreans and Korean Buddhists to Japanese cultures and religions. Japan definitely used Buddhism as a political means for ruling and controlling them on the Korean Peninsula. Furthermore, even Korean Buddhist monks were eager to manage their temples and secure higher positions with the Japanese colonial government's favors. They flattered Japanese colonial government and neglected the original spirit of Buddhist practitioners for enlightenment. Even though monastics originally constitute monks and nuns in Buddhism, they became laicized under the influence of married monasticism of Japanese Buddhism. Japan caused married monks to manage and control their temples across the nation and created various serious problems in Korean Buddhism. If

Purification Buddhist Movement, in particular and Purification Buddhist Movement in general, apologetically and defensively, not neutrally and objectively. It actually originated from two reasons. First, it aimed at defending Jeong Geumo and Purification Buddhist Movement from the negative theoretical attacks of Taego Order, a newly established order for the married monastics of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism in 1970, and advertizing how sincerely Jeong Geumo dedicated himself to the Purification Buddhist Movement. It might be an academic reaction to the controversial book of 517 pages, Gim Yeongtae, *Taego jongsae: Hanguk bulgyo jeongtong jongdan ui yeoksa* (The History of the Taego Order of Korean Buddhism: The History of an Orthodox Order in Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Hanguk bulgyo chulpan-bu, 2006).

³⁰¹ Min Dogwang, ed., 50 and Geumo seon suhaeng yeongu-won, ed., 114.

³⁰² Min Dogwang, ed., 50-51.

³⁰³ Ibid, 53-54, 762-763, 768-769.

we enlist the sins that Japanese made in their occupation, 1910-1945, they instilled their own Buddhism's sectarianism to and Japanized traditional Korean Buddhism's (ecumenism). Before the liberation of Korea from Japan on August 15, 1945, major temples and monasteries across the nation lost their sovereign rights and were seriously influenced from Japanese colonial government. The qualifications for abbotship in the period were not based upon the noble virtues of candidate abbots. Even though abbots took their wives, if they became pro-Japanized, the Japanese colonial government allowed them to secure the higher positions in Korean Buddhism and manage and control temple properties in their own temples.³⁰⁴

Even though it is not necessary to denounce married monks, we can easily guess that they will not consider a sublime religious goal for their own enlightenment but a secular economic purpose for their own living. They might not endeavor to seek for enlightenment. How can we equally treat monastics and lay Buddhists in this context? How should we not assign celibate monks but married monks to manage temple properties? We can clearly answer the abovementioned questions without hesitation (that celibate monks should be better than married monks in the proper management of temples and temple properties).

Because married monks have many of their family members including their wives and children for financial support, they cannot support them financially by only relying on small incomes from various Buddhist services and some donations from lay Buddhists. Because they sold their temple properties to easily secure money for their family, the temples became hotbeds of social evils. People have always drunk, sung loudly, and danced in secular temples in and near big cities and converted the temples to high-class Korean-style restaurants. So, the temples were extremely placed under lax public morals. It is regrettable for married monks to use solemn Buddha images and sacred temples for their acquisition of wealth. We also question about whether all monks and nuns are free from their sexual desires and worldly desires and are excellent in their monastic lives. As we might be very well aware, while Buddhist monks should preserve 250 precepts, nuns should keep 348 precepts. Monastics should absolutely not cast away the precepts if they do not obtain the stage of Buddhahood. Even so, because celibate monks make unmarried lives unlike married monks and concentrate on seeking for truth, we should provide the higher credits to celibate monks than married monks.³⁰⁵

On September 19, Ha Dongsan and I Cheongdam visited the presidential office to get support from President I Seungman. However, they were unable to see him.

On September 28-29, 146 Seon practitioners, including Patriarch Song Manam, attended the second national conference for celibate monks and passed the order's constitution revised by the nine committee members at the Center for

³⁰⁴ Ibid, 762-763.

³⁰⁵ Ibid, 768-769.

Seon Studies.³⁰⁶ Of 146, 116 monks and 30 nuns attended.³⁰⁷ Based on the revised constitution, they elected fifty representatives for the order's central assembly. The fifty representatives held the order's provisional assembly meeting during which they appointed the order's spiritual leader and cabinet members among the unmarried monks. Ha Dongsan also attended the conference.³⁰⁸

On September 30, fifty representatives of the order's central assembly hosted the first provisional assembly meeting during which they appointed the order's spiritual leader and cabinet members among the unmarried monks.³⁰⁹ Ha Dongsan was appointed as the order's vice supreme patriarch when Song Manam served as its supreme patriarch. Ha Dongsan was also elected as one of fifty representatives of the order's central assembly.

On October 10, five representatives of the married monastic group and the celibate monastic group respectively and discussed some issues such as married monkhood and Purification Buddhist Movement begun with the presidential message in the order's Secretariat Head Office at Taego-sa Temple. The talk broke up.

We can summarize the arguments by married monks as follows: "(1) Because they have grown up from childhood as monks, their identity as monks should be recognized. (2) If possible, celibate monks can be categorized as the monastic group of self-cultivation and married monks as the monastic group of propagation. (3) Because their religious masters were Seon masters or/and vinaya masters, even though they are married, they are still monks. (4) Because Korea is a democratic nation and a law-governed country, the president cannot intervene in religion and the president should comply with laws. If the president persists in maintaining his own stubborn opinion, the case would be brought to court."³¹⁰

We also outline the counterarguments by celibate monks as follows: "(1) If monks marry and have their wives, they should immediately lose monkhood. Married monks should be laypersons, not monks. (2) Only celibate monks can be the group of monastics, and married monks are not monks. We should categorize them in the group of protecting Buddhist teachings. (3) Only celibate monks should be the direct descendants of the Buddha. We should preserve the precepts originated from the Buddha himself, protect the Three Jewels, i.e., the Buddha, the Buddha's teachings and the Buddha's followers, and guide the Buddhist community. (4) The Buddha entrusted rulers to take care of Buddhism during the degenerate ages. If we Buddhists cannot handle our own problems, we can borrow the state power to purify those."³¹¹

³⁰⁶ See the October 28, 1954 issue of *Donga ilbo*, S 1.1.185.

³⁰⁷ Min Dogwang, ed., 65.

³⁰⁸ Ibid, 68-69.

³⁰⁹ Ibid, 71-72.

³¹⁰ Ibid, 78-79.

³¹¹ Ibid, 78.

Both arguments are debatable and are not objective. First, according to Buddhist teaching, we cannot justify married monkhood. The definition of monkhood by married monks is not reasonable based on Buddhist vinaya texts. However, married monkhood historically resulted from Japanese occupation. Realistically speaking, we could not ignore the historical background of married monkhood. Second, Buddhism originally advocates separation between religion and state. The argument by celibate monks that Buddhism can rely on state is wrong. They needed the state and external power to back them up because they could not compete with married monks. The necessity of state power by celibate monks does not base on Buddhist texts, but on political purposes. Reflecting upon the arguments and counterarguments of both sides, they unreasonably concocted and developed their own arguments and counterarguments.

Because the sides disagreed, they could not continue their meeting. Eighty celibate monks who observed the meeting visited the presidential office and could not see President I Seungman. However, they reserved a meeting between the president and some representatives of celibate monks scheduled next day on October 11.³¹² Most of them returned to the Center for Seon Studies. While meditating, Ha Dongsan entered a hunger strike at Taego-sa Temple. Several celibate monks followed him and fasted.³¹³

Jeon Jinhan, a married monk, an ex-congressman and the former secretary of social affairs, who helped Ha Dongsan to return to his home temple of Beomeo-sa when married monks kicked him out of it in 1953, strongly supported the Purification Buddhist Movement and declared that he would return to a lay Buddhist because he was married. The *Joseon ilbo*, a leading national newspaper, reported his declaration in its October 20, 1954 issue.³¹⁴

.....

I no longer tolerate the disgusting behaviors of heretic (married) monks that professionally commercialized Buddhism for their personal interests and greatly damaged and destroyed sacred benefits and order of Korean Buddhism. I also feel a strong sense of responsibility for this corrupt situation and formally declare that I will return my monkhood and go back to a lay Buddhist. I wholeheartedly support the Purification Buddhist Movement that celibate monks of authentic Korean Buddhism positively initiated, guided and developed to recover celibate monasticism of traditional Korean Buddhism (from Japanized married monasticism) and to establish a united Korea between divided two Koreas. I publicly announce for now that I will support and successfully finish the sublime movement as a lay Buddhist.

³¹² Ibid, 82. Five representatives of the celibate monastic side, I Cheongdam, Jeong Geumo, Choe Wonheo, Gim Jeogeum, and Yun Wolha visited the presidential office and discussed with President I Seungman how to purify Japanized Korean Buddhism. I Seungman encouraged them to purify Korean Buddhism from Japanese Buddhist influences in Japanese occupation period.

³¹³ Ibid, 79.

³¹⁴ Ibid, 771.

....

On October 15, Patriarch Song Manam declared a manifesto in that he agreed with the main ideas of the Purification Buddhist Movement and seriously criticized the change of the order's founding patriarch. Two representative lay Buddhist scholars, I Bulhwa (d.u.), also known as I Jaeyeol, and I Jongik (1912-1991), also known as I Beobun³¹⁵ and one representative monastic Buddhist I Cheongdam, theorists of Purification Buddhist Movement, changed the order's founder from Taego Bou (1301-1382)³¹⁶ to Bojo Jinul. It ignited the controversies in Korean Buddhism.

On October 29, Ha Dongsan, I Cheongdam and Jeong Geumo visited the presidential office.³¹⁷ On November 3, because Song Manam was the current patriarch of both sides and disagreed with celibate monks in terms of the order's founder, the unmarried monastic side held the order's second provisional assembly meeting at the Center for Seon Studies and it recommended the new patriarch and elected the order's some new cabinet members. Thirty-one representatives of the order's central assembly attended the meeting. They recommended Ha Dongsan to be the highest patriarch, Jeong Geumo to the vice highest patriarch, Gim Jaun as the vinaya preceptor and I Cheongdam as the general manager of the order's Secretariat Office. Because I Beophong (1915-2003), secretary of finance, sided with the married monastics, Gim Seoun (1903-1995)³¹⁸ substituted for the position. Ha Dongsan became the spiritual leader only for the group of celibate monks, not for all of Buddhist monks.

On November 5, Ha Dongsan, along with I Hyobong and I Cheongdam, guided eighty celibate monks and marched on the street from the Center for Seon Studies to Taego-sa Temple, the headquarter temple of Korean Buddhism.³¹⁹ They occupied the headquarter temple and changed the temple title from Taego-sa Temple related with Taego Bou to Jogye-sa Temple related with Jinul who was active on Mt. Jogye on which his resident Songgwang-sa Temple is located. They changed the order's title board to the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism.

On November 10, the supreme patriarch Ha Dongsan, the vice supreme patriarch Jeong Geumo and the general manager I Cheongdam issued a manifesto in the November 13, 1954 issue of *Seoul sinmun* and propagated the

³¹⁵ I Jeong, ed., 242.

³¹⁶ Ibid, 113.

³¹⁷ Min Dogwang, ed., 103. Min Dogwang mentioned that the three representatives of the celibate monastic side visited the presidential office. However, he did not state in his book whether or not they met President I Seungman and if they met with each other, what they talked.

³¹⁸ *Chongnam*, 535.

³¹⁹ Min Dogwang, ed., 111-115.

justification of Purification Buddhist Movement to the Korean masses as follows.³²⁰

Korean Buddhism became completely deteriorated during forty years of the Japanese occupation period. Since its independence from Japan in 1945, Japanized Korean monastics have even more seriously destroyed Korean Buddhism.

Under the banner of protecting a true teaching, we celibate monks across the nation would act in concert with each other, make a solemn vow to devote ourselves to purify Korean Buddhism (from Japanized married monasticism). Therefore, we declared the newly revised “Constitution of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism.”

We celibate monks solemnly take an oath as follows. We reverentially would take His Excellency President I Seungman’s presidential messages, improve our order, and revive our order’s original tradition. We would internally harmonize with each other and successfully accomplish our order’s self-cultivation and self-enlightenment path based on which we could make ourselves Buddhas and patriarchs. We would externally sacrifice ourselves to propagate Buddhism to and save the masses, to benefit state and bring happiness to citizens. We, furthermore, would take efforts to benefit all human beings all over the world and maintain world peace.

We are supposed to implement our order’s constitution and laws. So, we announce the following fundamental principles of its constitution and laws to the world. We really hope all Koreans support our efforts (to purify Korean Buddhism).

Depending on (Korean Buddhism’s) tradition and Dharma lineage, all of Korean Buddhism should be subsumed to our Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. Therefore, there are no sects except our Jogye Order in Korean Buddhism.

Our order would remove the registers of all married monks who eat meats and drink alcohol and assign them to lay Buddhists called “Dharma Protection Group.”

Our order would take over and manage all Buddhist temples and organizations. When we use their properties, we would use them only for protecting Buddhism, (and we would not privatize them).

Japanized married monks used to criticize the traditional order. They vilify our celibate monks and defend themselves. We should take precautions against their various slanders.

On November 14, 1954, celibate monks hosted a public lecture on the theme of Purification of Buddhism at Jogye-sa Temple in which around 700 Buddhists participated. The supreme patriarch Ha Dongsan attended the lecture and read a written oath for purifying Korean Buddhism.³²¹ I Cheongdam as the keynote speaker explained the objectives of the Purification Buddhist Movement.

³²⁰ Ibid, 128.

³²¹ Ibid, 129-130.

Ha Dongsan published the order's official announcement as its supreme patriarch in the December 8, 1954 issue of *Haengjeong sinmun* (Government Administration Newspaper) and asked married monks to clear their married status and become to celibate monks or to clear their monastic registers and return to lay Buddhists.³²² According to the announcement, if married monks registered themselves as lay priests and returned monastics, the order could appoint them as a temple's acting abbot, its major secretarial position, its manager, its mission workers, and others.

On December 10, just three days before the third national conference for celibate monastics, Ha Dongsan issued his patriarchal message to Korean Buddhists and asked Korean Buddhists to recover Korean Buddhism from Japanized married monasticism as the highest patriarch of the Jogye Order. We can easily recognize his main ideas on Purification Buddhist Movement in his following message:³²³

We monks did not participate in various occupations such as intellectual jobs, farming, manufacturing and business. We left our parents and separated ourselves from our relatives. We became monks and were learning Buddhism. We inherited wisdom of the Buddhas and patriarchs and satisfied ourselves as well as other beings. We should vow to return four debts of gratitude (owed to one's parents, to all living beings, to one's sovereign, and to the three treasures of Buddhism) and save three evil paths of existence, (i.e., the realms of hell, hungry ghosts and animals, the lowest three of the six paths). We can easily prove throughout the history of monks that we benefited others, not benefitted ourselves, securing abbotship and taking temple properties. We endeavored to practice Buddhism, keeping the pure spirit that if the Buddhist truth is prevailed in one affair, only one affair is valuable and if the Buddhist truth is immanent in the universe, the universe is precious. Because our Korean Buddhism was influenced from Japanized married monasticism for almost 40 years in Japanese occupation, 1910-1945, and became a perverted and chaotic situation, we could not properly educate Korean Buddhist monks in celibate monasticism. Because we could not properly educate monastics in Buddhism, we could not reveal Mahāyāna Buddhism so that Korean Buddhists could not make the seeds of becoming Buddhas to be revealed. We always worry about Korean Buddhism. We anticipate having proper ages arrived. We should overcome ten thousand difficulties with the spirit of a martyr who sacrifices himself for saving Buddhism and purify the monastic order of Korean Buddhism. We monks endeavored to purify Korean Buddhism for ten years, twenty years, thirty years or more than forty years and are for now scheduled to host a national monastic conference to revitalize celibate monasticism. We clearly mention here that if we carry out proper Buddhist teachings, our nation might be prosperous and if we do not carry out proper Buddhist teachings, our nation might perish. We sincerely hope that through this Purification Buddhist

³²² Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 307.

³²³ Gim Gwangsik, "Ha Dongsan ui bulgyo jeonghwa," 597, originally included in *Jogye jongbo* (Official Magazine of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism) 127 (2006): 50-51.

Movement, we can cause the Buddha's sun to shine (on our nation Korea) again, make the Dharma wheel to always turn in it, unify thoughts and ideologies among its citizens, let two Koreas united and revitalize the power of our nation. We anticipate eagerly and even without taking sleep that we should successfully accomplish the purification of Korean monasticism through this national conference for monastics. We mention definitely and without question that if we purify (Japanized married) monasticism, we can reveal peaceful radiance in our nation and furthermore in the world. If so, we, seven thousand Korean monks, must have happiness in our monastic lives. I strongly recommend Korean Buddhist monks and even all of our Korean Buddhists not to fear for your future but to become protectors of Korean Buddhism. Korean monks should host the conference orderly, systematically and cooperatively, purify Korean Buddhist tradition from (Japanized) Korean Buddhist monasticism, completely recover the four-group system of the traditional Buddhist community,³²⁴ and finally benefit our nation and its citizens. Therefore, like above, I, Ha Dongsan, the supreme patriarch of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, issue a patriarchal message to all Korean Buddhists of four groups.

On December 13, after the third national conference for celibate monastics at Jogye-sa Temple, around 5 – 6 hundreds of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen marched in downtown Seoul and advertized Purification Buddhist Movement to the public.³²⁵ The highest patriarch Ha Dongsan and other six representatives visited the presidential office and discussed Purification Buddhist Movement with President I Seungman. President I Seungman encouraged them to successfully accomplish their Purification Buddhist Movement.

On January 1, 1955, the New Year, four representatives Ha Dongsan, I Hyobong, I Cheongdam and I Daeui of celibate monks visited the presidential office.³²⁶ They presented the New Year's greetings, nine poems and several cards to I Seungman, their strong guardian and returned to Jogye-sa Temple. Because it also was the Buddha's enlightenment day dated lunar December 8, 1954, they celebrated.

On March 1, Ha Dongsan accompanied around 20 Buddhist representatives and on behalf of Buddhists, he presented a memorial address for the March 1, 1919 Movement and offered an incense for the deceased patriots at Seoul Stadium.³²⁷ He also attended a memorial service at Pagoda Park at which the nationwide massive movement was initiated.

³²⁴ The four groups of traditional Buddhist community are the group of monks, that of nuns, and that of laymen and that of laywomen.

³²⁵ Min Dogwang, ed., 181-182.

³²⁶ Ibid, 235.

³²⁷ Ibid, 311.

On March 9, (lunar February 15), more than 400 Buddhists celebrated the Buddha's Nirvāṇa Day at Jogye-sa Temple.³²⁸ Korean Buddhists used to celebrate the special day on lunar February 15. Patriarch Ha Dongsan, Jeong Jeongang (1898-1975),³²⁹ Sin Socheon (1897-1978) and Gim Tanheo (1913-1983)³³⁰ had a series of lectures for the special date. Celibate monks also had the intensive prayer of 18 days between March 9 and March 26 for a civilian dictator and their own strong patron, President I Seungman's 80th birthday.³³¹

Celibate monks made and established a gigantic lotus lantern in front of the Central Government Building.³³² When they lighted the lantern, the lantern became bright beautifully. Except them, nobody made the congratulatory lanterns. They composed two poems and wrote them on hanging scrolls in commemoration of his 80th birthday. On behalf of celibate monks, Gim Seoun delivered it to the presidential office.

On March 26, celibate monks hosted the special service to celebrate President I Seungman's 80th Birthday at Jogye-sa Temple.³³³ On behalf of the celibate monastic side, three representatives Ha Dongsan, Choe Wonheo (1889-1966) and I Cheongsam attended the special ceremony for the president's 80th birthday at Seoul Stadium. Five representatives Ha Dongsan, I Cheongdam, Bak Ingok, I Yongbong (d.u.) and Choe Wonheo visited the presidential office for celebrating the president's birthday. They discussed Purification Buddhist Movement with President I Seungman as follows:³³⁴

President I Seungman: How is the Purification Buddhist Movement?

Ha Dongsan: Celibate monks of the celibate monastic group and celibate monks of the married monastic group could not arrive at an agreement. We could not process the movement very successfully. (Married monks arranged their supportive celibate monks to represent them).

President I Seungman: I hope that you will reasonably resolve the issues of the movement. I earnestly wish that Korean Buddhists should practice hard and many of them should become eminent monks.

I Cheongdam: If both sides, celibate and married monastics, agree with each other on differing issues and host the (national) conference (for monastics) to confirm the agreements, they can solve all disputes. However, because the married monastic side opposes it, we celibate monks cannot process the next steps. I strongly request you to order (the government and Buddhism) to speed up to organize the conference. On February 4, with the mediations of the government's department of education, (representatives of both sides) determined the definition of monkhood (at the education secretary I Seon-

³²⁸ Ibid, 324.

³²⁹ I Jeong, ed., 186-187.

³³⁰ Ibid, 319.

³³¹ See the March 27, 1955 issue of *Seoul sinmun*, in Min Dogwang, ed., 339.

³³² Ibid, 338.

³³³ Ibid, 338-339.

³³⁴ Ibid.

geun's office) and registered the list of celibate monks (to the government).³³⁵ (Even though five representatives³³⁶ of the married monastic sides) agreed with the definition of monkhood in eight items³³⁷), married monks do not accept the agreements. (So), we can proceed to next steps to purify Buddhism.

President I Seungman: I know very well how hard you continue the Purification Buddhist Movement. I hope all of you will smoothly resolve the issues of the movement.

The abovementioned dialogues between President I Seungman and leaders of celibate monks clearly show the extent to which celibate monks relied on state, particularly President I Seungman to make the Purification Buddhist Movement successful. They did not proceed with the movement independently of the government's interventions. Their reliance on the government made them not speak up for social democratization, but to support the civilian dictatorship. To accomplish their own religious interests, they ignored social issues such as democratization, unification, social justice, and others, and became loyal supporters of the government.

On March 29, celibate monks decided to establish the order's official praxis complex at Jogye-sa Temple. Korean Buddhists generally establish some praxis complexes at their major temples located on mountains. The praxis complex is composed of four centers, i.e., a Seon center, a vinaya center, a Pure Land center and a doctrinal center. They also appointed or enthroned the key posts of the complex as follows.³³⁸

Ha Dongsan, the order's highest patriarch
I Hyobong, the complex's spiritual leader
I Cheongdam, the complex's leader
Yun Wolha, the complex's general manager
Bak Dongam (d.u.), the Seon center's director
Son Gyeongsan (1917-1979),³³⁹ the Seon center's discipliner
Gim Wongwang (d.u.), the Seon center's vice discipliner

³³⁵ See the February 21, 1955 issue of *Seoul sinmun*, in Min Dogwang, ed., 304.

³³⁶ Each of married monastic side and celibate monastic side dispatched five representatives respectively. The five representatives of married monastic side are Gwon Sangno (1879-1965), I Hwaeung, Im Seokjin, Song Jeongam (d.u.) and Gim Sangho and the five representatives of celibate monastic side I Hyobong, Bak Ingok, I Cheongdam, Yun Wolha and Son Gyeongsan.

³³⁷ The eight definitions of monkhood are as follows: First, monks should be unmarried. Second, they should shave their heads and wear gray monastic robes. Third, they should not be handicapped. Fourth, they should practice Buddhism. Fifth, they should live with more than three monks. Sixth, they should not kill sentient beings, not steal belongings from others, not have sexual intercourses, and not lie. Seventh, they should not drink alcohol, not smoke cigarettes and not eat meat. And, eighth, they should be over 20 years old.

³³⁸ Min Dogwang, ed., 345.

³³⁹ I Jeong, ed., 368.

Gim Wolhyeon (d.u.), the manager of the complex's kitchen
 Gim Gyeong-u (b. 1928),³⁴⁰ the chanting master

They also recommended seven to eight monk scholars to be in charge of the doctrinal center affiliated to the complex. They initiated the complex immediately upon their appointing or enthroning the complex's key posts. Celibate monks argued that the complexes disappeared during Japanese occupation period, 1910-1945 and they recovered the Seon oriented tradition upon the establishment of the order's praxis complex at its head temple Jogye-sa Temple.³⁴¹

The next day, on March 30, celibate monks set up a signboard saying, "The Central Praxis Complex of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism" at the main gate of Jogye-sa Temple.³⁴² By doing so, they tried to remove the Japanized married monasticism and recover Seon oriented tradition in Korean Buddhism. Because there were no lecture halls at Jogye-sa Temple, they bought and installed a big tent for several days in front of the temple's kitchen.³⁴³ Buddhists could take lectures from monk scholars inside the tent.

Celibate monks scheduled to host the fourth national conference for monastics³⁴⁴ from May 15 for several days. The government's department of education authorities did not allow the conference and asked celibate monks to delay it.³⁴⁵

119 monks, 179 nuns, and 50 laypersons, 347 Buddhists in total went on silence and hunger strike and protested against the government's measure on May 16 - 18.³⁴⁶ Government officials orally notified celibate monks of the directives from President I Seungman that all married monks should walk out from their resident temples by the end of June, all temple abbots should be celibate monks, and the order should replace married abbots with celibate monks. According to the directives, if the order cannot appoint all temple abbots with celibate monks because of their shortage, it can alternatively and tentatively appoint laypersons as temple abbots.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁰ *Chongnam*, 529.

³⁴¹ Min Dogwang, ed., 568-569.

³⁴² *Ibid*, 345-346.

³⁴³ *Ibid*, 347.

³⁴⁴ Since the beginning of Purification Buddhist Movement, celibate monks hosted three national conferences for monastics and implemented the movement. They elected the members to draft their own order's new constitution at the 1st conference held on August 24 - 26, 1954. They passed the order's new constitution and appointed the order's key post members based on the newly passed constitution at the 2nd conference hosted on September 28, 1954. They appointed the temple abbots across the nation based on the constitution on December 11 - 13, 1954. Refer to the May 15, 1955 issue of *Jayu sinmun*, in Min Dogwang, ed., 373.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 373.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 374-382.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 378.

On May 18, leaders of celibate monks tried their best to resolve the deadlocked situation.³⁴⁸ Five representatives I Cheongdam, Yun Wolha, Jeong Geumo, Gim Daewol (d.u.), and Son Gyeongsan of the celibate monastic side visited the government's Department of Education and discussed Purification Buddhist Movement with three representatives Im Seokjin (1892-1968),³⁴⁹ An Heungdeok (1913-2003)³⁵⁰ and I Hwaeung (d.u.) of the married monastic side. Ha Dongsan, accompanying I Hyobong, Choe Wongwang (d.u.), and Jeong Geumo, visited the presidential office. But, they could not meet with President I Seungman and returned to Jogye-sa Temple.

On May 29, lunar April 8, celibate monks celebrated the Buddha's Birthday at Jogye-sa Temple.³⁵¹ They hanged many lotus lanterns along streets near the temple. They also installed many different kinds of decorations at the temple. Before noon, they had the special service and celebrated the Buddha's Birthday at Jogye-sa Temple. After noon, layman Hwang Uidon (1890-1964)³⁵² delivered a public lecture and the Supreme Patriarch Ha Dongsan preached to lay persons. They marched along the street in downtown Seoul. In the evening, they presented congratulatory songs. The National Classical Music Institute presented a Korean traditional musical performance and a famous female lay choreographer Ha Hyeja (d.u.) a traditional Buddhist dance. They marched along the street near the temple, holding lotus lanterns in their hands. More than 10,000 Buddhists attended the evening events. Ha Dongsan supervised the Buddha's Birthday celebration as the order's supreme patriarch.³⁵³

On June 8, married monks hosted their order's assembly meeting at Gaeun-sa Temple in Seoul.³⁵⁴ More than 300 married monks were assembled at the temple.³⁵⁵ The celibate monastic side organized its action corps of 70 celibate monks guided by I Cheongdam and Yun Wolha.³⁵⁶ It dispatched its advance team of more than 20 celibate monks selected from the action corps to Gaeun-sa Temple in order to block the married monastic side's assembly.

On June 9, more than 200 celibate monks counter-hosted a meeting at Jogye-sa Temple and entered a hunger strike in its Main Hall.³⁵⁷ On June 10 at 4 o'clock in the early morning, more than 300 married monks intruded into the

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ I Jeong, ed., 135.

³⁵⁰ *Chongnam*, 563.

³⁵¹ Min Dogwang, ed., 389. While celibate monks celebrated the Buddha's Birthday at Jogye-sa Temple, the displaced married monks also did it at Changgyeong Palace. Each side celebrated the Buddha's Birthday separately. See the May 29, 1955 issue of *Seoul sinmun*, in Min Dogwang, ed., 393.

³⁵² I Jeong, ed., 363.

³⁵³ Min Dogwang, ed., 390-391.

³⁵⁴ See the June 10, 1955 issue of *Joseon ilbo*, S 1.1.211-212.

³⁵⁵ Min Dogwang, ed., 403.

³⁵⁶ The list of its action corps of 70 celibate monks is seen in Min Dogwang, ed., 404-405.

³⁵⁷ Ibid, 406-407. See the June 10, 1955 issue of *Donga ilbo*, S 1.1.212.

Main Hall at Jogye-sa Temple and beat them who were doing a hunger strike.³⁵⁸ The Jongno district police station and the Seoul municipal police station dispatched more than 200 armed policemen and suppressed the intruded married monks. Gim Jihyo (1909-1989),³⁵⁹ a disciple of Ha Dongsan, disemboweled himself, saying that he would kill himself rather than let them kill him. 21 celibate monks became hospitalized. Ha Dongsan himself was injured and received medical treatment. They changed the temple's title board from Jogye-sa Temple to Taego-sa Temple. The police took 50 married monks of them to a nearby police station and confined more than 300 married monks in Beomnyun-sa Temple, the head temple of the married monastic side. Celibate monks re-changed the temple's title board from Taego-sa Temple to Jogye-sa Temple.³⁶⁰

On July 2, Ha Dongsan and I Cheongdam visited the National Police Headquarters and reported to them that on June 3, lay Buddhists would establish Seoul District Lay Buddhist Association and support the Purification Buddhist Movement.³⁶¹

On August 2 – 5, around 800 celibate monks attended the national conference for monastics at Jogye-sa Temple. On August 2, even though the government officially did not allow the conference, it did not implement its measure.³⁶² They appointed 58 members of the order's central assembly. Because the government did not allow the conference, they petitioned President I Seungman to allow the conference. Especially So Gusan from Mirae-sa Temple in the County of Tongyeong, South Gyeongsang Province wrote a petition in his own blood to President I Seungman. It constituted 425 Korean characters. They discussed the order's revised constitution, the election of its executives and the appointment of its temple abbots. It fired the executives of the order's Secretariat Office that married monks appointed.

On August 3, they listened to the proceedings of Purification Buddhist Movement from I Cheongdam.³⁶³ They passed the order's revised constitution. It consisted of one preamble, 18 chapters, 101 articles, and additional clauses.³⁶⁴ They appointed Ha Dongsan as the highest patriarch, I Cheongdam as the secretary general, Go Gyeongseok (d.u.) as the secretary of general affairs, Gim Sangho (d.u.) as the secretary of education, Bak Gijong (1907-1987)³⁶⁵ as the secretary of finance, Jeong Geumo as the inspector general and Gim Seoun as

³⁵⁸ Min Dogwang, ed., 407-411.

³⁵⁹ I Jeong, ed., 286.

³⁶⁰ See the June 11, 1955 issue of *Gyeonghyang sinmun*, S 1.1.213-214.

³⁶¹ Min Dogwang, ed., 472-475.

³⁶² Ibid, 520-524.

³⁶³ Min Dogwang, ed., 525.

³⁶⁴ See the August 4, 1955 issue of *Donga ilbo*, in Min Dogwang, ed., 531.

³⁶⁵ I Jeong, ed., 251-252.

the vice inspector general.³⁶⁶ Now, Ha Dongsan became the spiritual leader of the group of celibate monks for the 2nd time.

On August 3, Ha Dongsan issued the following manifesto for Purification Buddhist Movement as its spiritual leader of celibate monks.³⁶⁷ He clarified his ideas on the movement in the statements and asked Korean Buddhists to take part in the sublime movement.

Buddhism is a teaching gate to purity. Buddhists sincerely and eagerly vow and endeavor that they should transform delusions to purity and pollutions to purity through Buddhist teachings, finally making the pure universe of happiness and pleasures. All Buddhas did not accidentally aim at revealing pure intentions to Buddhists and all sages did not by chance rely upon pure houses for their residences. Since we Korean Buddhists accepted Buddhism from the west, Buddhism has always illuminated our nation for more than one thousand six hundred years and has continuously transmitted pure lamps (of Buddhist teachings), so our nation Korea received pure Buddhist teachings and became a pure nation. Nowadays, (under Japanese colonial period), polluted (Japanese) Buddhism shook the pure and stable faith of Korean Buddhists and made the waves of all devils and the agitations of all defilements (in Korean Buddhism). We should consider the pollution as the persecutions of Buddhism in general and Korean Buddhism in particular by Japanese Buddhism. The great teachings of our Buddhas became hidden and the great teachings of our Korean Buddhist masters were collapsed. The polluted Buddhism has deceived Korean Buddhists and citizens. Because I seriously worried about the blockade of the transmission of pure Buddhism as a monk, I would take efforts to respect pure Buddhism and destroy polluted Buddhism. Korean Buddhists voluntarily lifted a beacon fire for purifying their celibate and pure monasticism and quickly removed deluded clouds prevailed all over the universe. They cultivated meritorious lands and invited pure wisdom and pure radiance to Korean Buddhism. Even though we cause some disputes and conflicts among Korean Buddhists in the process of Purification Buddhist Movement, we should regard the movement as a necessary skillful means for permanently harmonizing Korean Buddhists. We Korean Buddhists fortunately received miraculous powers from the Buddhas and heavenly beings, removed the disadvantages (from polluted Japanese Buddhism's married monasticism), took back traditional Korean Buddhism's celibate monasticism and popularized pure Korean Buddhism. How glad we Korean Buddhists are and how well our Buddhism becomes! We should wholeheartedly propagate our (pure) Buddhism as our Buddhas and patriarchs have done. If not, how can we make pure Buddhism prevailed and cause all evil to be ceased and all good to be increased? And if not, how can we carry out pure Buddhism in polluted situations? Because our nation encountered a moral crisis, we should settle it, relying upon (the teachings of) our Buddhas. Because the world encountered a cultural crisis, we should solve it, referring to the three types of learning of our

³⁶⁶ See the August 4, 1955 issue of *Joseon ilbo*, S 1.1.241-242 and the August 4, 1955 issue of *Gyeonghyang sinmun*, S 1.1.242.

³⁶⁷ Gim Gwangsik, "Ha Dongsan ui bulgyo jeonghwa," 598-599.

Buddhas.³⁶⁸ We cannot image for now that we Korean Buddhists have more responsibility than nowadays. We can easily guess that the corrupted married monks who are living in their monasteries in flames cannot discern these serious crises. Therefore, we Korean Buddhists seriously try to and take efforts from our worry to purify Korean Buddhism from Japanized and corrupted Korean Buddhism and recover celibate monasticism. When we participate in Purification Buddhist Movement, we do not always dedicate ourselves just to fight against Japanized Korean monks. The movement urgently aims at removing polluted Buddhism and recovering pure Buddhism. I think that the Buddha assigned us Buddhists to display the wisdom and views of the Buddhas, manifest the hopes and desires of them and finally build pure Buddhist world along with all sentient beings. All Korean Buddhists should keep in mind and should not forget that they should make today, (the auspicious day, August 3, 1955), a newly beginning day (for their Buddhism), re-educate all humans and heavenly beings in proper and pure Buddhism and propagate the teaching to them.³⁶⁹

On August 4, they discussed miscellaneous issues such as the definition of monkhood, propagation of Buddhism, election of central administrative executives, and others before noon.³⁷⁰ They also determined that they would make the monastic identification cards by themselves without relying on the government authorities. In the afternoon, Ha Dongsan delivered a public lecture on the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng*, the most authoritative text for Seon Buddhism. He had continued to lecture on the text until August 6. President I Seungman stated in a government's regular press interview that Korean Buddhists should remove married monks from temples.

On August 5, they appointed 628 celibate monks as temple abbots and ended the national conference.³⁷¹ President I Seungman issued the sixth presidential message in which he stated the Pro-Japanese monastics should be removed from Korean Buddhism. They also passed a resolution that they would visit the presidential office and the department of education headquarters and report the proceedings of the national conference to the president and the secretary of education.³⁷² Supreme Patriarch Ha Dongsan accompanied seven representatives of the celibate monastic side such as I Cheongdam, Bak Byeogan (1901-1988),³⁷³ So Gusan, Gim Jihyo, I Inhong (1908-1997),³⁷⁴ Hyeon-o (d.u.), and I Jeongsu (d.u.) and visited the presidential office. Ten representatives such as Gim Tanheo, Yang Cheong-u (d.u.), Song Hakgeun (d.u.), Gim Daewol, Sin

³⁶⁸ Three types of learning are precepts (Skt., *śīla*), meditation (Skt., *dhyāna*) and wisdom (Skt., *prajñā*).

³⁶⁹ Gim Gwangsik, 598-599.

³⁷⁰ Min Dogwang, ed., 531.

³⁷¹ See the August 6, 1955 issue of *Gyeonghyang sinmun*, S 1.1.243-244.

³⁷² Min Dogwang, ed., 534.

³⁷³ I Jeong, ed. 109-110.

³⁷⁴ *Chongnam*, 578.

Socheon, Yun Wolha, Gim Gyeong-u, Baek Hogwang (d.u), I Susan (d.u.), and Jeong Suok (1902-1966),³⁷⁵ visited the government's Department of Education.

On August 6, thirteen celibate monastic representatives and more than ten lay Buddhist representatives rushed to the Education Department building, entreated the government to develop the process of Buddhist Purification with the resolutions passed at the national monastic conference, and protested the recognition of the conference as being illegal.³⁷⁶ They defended the conference's legitimacy at the Education Department office.

On August 7, the secretary of education, its director of the bureau of cultural affairs, its head of the section of cultural preservation, its fourth grade official, the chief of the Jongno District Police Station, and others visited the Jogye-sa Temple at which they discussed how to solve the deadlocked Purification Buddhist Movement with celibate monks.³⁷⁷ The Secretary of Education presented his ideas as follows:³⁷⁸

The government should follow the presidential messages.

Because the executives of the Secretariat Office of the married monastic side are not married monks, the government cannot refuse them.

The government would make the Council of Elder Monks and let it determine all cases of Purification Buddhist Movement.

The celibate monastic side should dispatch its lawyers and messengers to the government's Department of Education and legally elucidate what it needs.

Even though the government might morally accept the conference's determinations, it could not legally admit them based on a law. It should discuss how to legally accept them at a dialogue tomorrow.

On August 11, the government convened an official meeting between the married monastic side and the celibate monastic side at the Central Institute for Education affiliated to the government's Education Department.³⁷⁹ Both sides were 5 representatives respectively. 5 representatives of the celibate monastic side and 4 of the married monastic side attended the meeting with having I Seon-geun (1905-1983), secretary of education, and some officials of the departments of education and internal affairs attended. The government manipulated the meeting and made two representatives of the married monastic side to defect from the married monastic side and vote for the celibate monastic side. The secretary of education kicked out one representative of married monastic side, considering him as having abandoned his voting right. One representative of the same side voted against the convention of the national monastic conference. They passed the resolution with 7 vs. 1 in the meeting so that they could convene the national conference for celibate monks. Seven

³⁷⁵ I Jeong, ed., 156.

³⁷⁶ Min Dogwang, ed., 536.

³⁷⁷ Ibid, 538 – 539.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ See the August 13, 1955 issue of *Donga ilbo*, S 1.1.245.

representatives voted for and authorized the hosting of the national conference for celibate monastics.

On August 12, 813 unmarried monks held a government-authorized national monastic conference during which they fired the order's Patriarch Song Manam, its administrative cabinet members and all of the administrative executives. They reconfirmed the national monastic conference held on August 2-5. Even several relevant key government officials attended and supervised it.³⁸⁰ Because President I Seungman strongly encouraged two secretaries of education and internal affairs to back up the Purification Buddhist Movement at the time, the two secretaries very positively intervened in the movement and gave a favor to the celibate monastic side.³⁸¹

At the conference, Ha Dongsan, the highest patriarch of the celibate monastic group, delivered an opening address. I Cheongdam reported the proceedings of the Purification Buddhist Movement. The conference attendants recited a presidential message written by I Seungman. They had ratified even all of afore-held monastic conferences that they did not get approval from the government but hosted. The government authorized all monastic conferences held only by celibate monks, not by married monks.

They appointed Seol Seogu as the order's supreme patriarch, I Cheongdam as its secretary general, Gim Seoun as its secretary of general affairs, Sin Socheon as its secretary of education, Bak Gijong as its secretary of finance, Jeong Geumo as its inspector general, and Gim Jihyo as the vice inspector general.³⁸² Of the newly appointed executives, Sin Socheon was a disciple of Baek Yongseong and Gim Jihyo was a disciple of Ha Dongsan. It elected the order's 56 central assembly representatives, appointed 623 abbots, and revised the order's constitution. The government's secretary of education delivered even a congratulatory speech. Ha Dongsan was elected to one of the order's 56 central assembly representatives.

Because only the Secretariat Office of the celibate monks got an approval from the government, it could appoint temple abbots across the nation and manage temple properties. With the strong support of the government, the celibate monks officially completed the Purification Buddhist Movement. The conference passed a resolution that the Secretariat Office of the celibate monastic side should take over the order's management from the Secretariat Office of the married monastic side and recommended newly appointed abbots to charge their respective temples immediately.

The order's executives that the celibate monastic side elected at the August 3, 1955 national conference were naturally dismissed. Of course, Ha Dongsan had also served as the order's highest patriarch of the celibate monastic side only for 10 days. They appointed Seol Seogu, 82 years old, the then spiritual leader of

³⁸⁰ See the August 13, 1955 issue of *Joseon ilbo*, S 1.1.245-246 and the August 13, 1955 issue of *Gyeonghyang sinmun*, S 1.1.246.

³⁸¹ See the August 13, 1955 issue of *Donga ilbo*, S 1.1.245.

³⁸² See the August 14, 1955 issue of *Gyeonghyang sinmun*, S 1.1.246.

Haein-sa Monastery, as the order's highest patriarch. Even though Ha Dongsan was just the highest patriarch of the celibate monks, Seol Seogu became the highest patriarch of Korean Buddhism authorized by the government.

On August 17, the celibate monastic group submitted to the Department of Education the list of 19 newly appointed abbots. At the time, it appointed Ha Dongsan as the Abbot of Beomeo-sa Temple. Later they could have secured the management of temples from married abbots by relying on the government's bodies, mostly the departments of education and internal affairs.³⁸³ On September 1, Ha Dongsan successfully took over the abbotship of Beomeo-sa Temple from the married monastic side.

The national monastic conferences held in August 1955 made the Purification Buddhist Movement a great turning point since May 20, 1954, on which President I Seungman issued his first presidential message. The celibate monastic group made their own administration and obtained the management of the major temples and of the provincial offices across the nation. They also secured their order's authorization over the married monastic group from the government. Both sides began to split one major Korean Buddhist order into two separate orders, the married monastic order and the unmarried monastic one.

On November 3, 1954, Ha Dongsan was appointed to the highest patriarch at the order's 2nd assembly meeting at the Center for Seon Studies and became the patriarch only for the celibate monks. On August 3, 1955, he was again enthroned as the supreme patriarch at the order's national monastic conference. He continued to serve as the highest patriarch until August 12, 1955. He was one of key architects of Purification Buddhist Movement along with I Cheongdam and I Hyobong.³⁸⁴

Upon the completion of the Purification Buddhist Movement, he moved back to his home temple of Beomeo-sa in Busan. As he had done, he dedicated himself to train Seon practitioners at Geumeo Seon Center affiliated to Beomeo-sa Temple. He managed the temple and propagated Buddhism to the people as the first abbot after the Purification Buddhist Movement.³⁸⁵

Ha Dongsan along with I Hyobong and I Cheongdam attended as a representative of Korean Buddhism the fourth general conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists (WFB) held on February 15 – 21, 1956 in Kathmandu, Nepal, the birth nation of Śākyamuni Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. Buddhists founded the WFB, the most representative international Buddhist organization on May 25, 1950 in Colombo, Sri Lanka.³⁸⁶ Their attending was the first official international exchange between Korean Buddhism and a foreign Buddhist organization. They advertised Korean Buddhism as recovering its

³⁸³ See the August 18, 1955 issue of *Gyeonghyang sinmun*, S 1.1.248.

³⁸⁴ Im Hyebong, 92.

³⁸⁵ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 389.

³⁸⁶ See WFB Homepage, "Introduction," <http://www.wfb-hq.org/intro1.htm> (accessed April 26, 2008). Ha Dongsan detailed what he had prepared to attend and had done at the WFB's 4th general conference in Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 226-233.

celibate tradition from Japanized married monasticism originated from Japanese occupation period. They had a friendship with other participants from other Buddhist traditions.

On February 12, 1955, they visited the office of the Department of Foreign Affairs, took on an airplane at Yeouido Airport, Seoul at 3:00 pm and arrived at Haneda International Airport in Tōkyō, Japan at 6:00 pm. They stayed in a hotel in Tōkyō for two days. Ha Dongsan felt that Japan had completely recovered from the ravages of war. On February 13, they were scheduled to obtain the visas from the Indian Embassy in Japan and to leave for Hong Kong. However, Korean Department of Foreign Affairs notified them not to visit Sri Lanka through Korean Diplomatic Representative Office in Japan.

On February 14, they took on a flight in Tōkyō at 8:00 am and by way of Hong Kong and Bangkok, they arrived in Calcutta, India at 6:00 pm. They stayed for one night in a hotel in Calcutta. On February 15, they left from Calcutta at 7:00 am and via Patna, India, they arrived in Kathmandu at 1:00 pm. However, the WFB general conference already started at noon.

On February 15, they attended the welcoming ceremony, which ended at 4:00 pm. In the evening, they attended a dinner party hosted by the Nepalese king. They slept with other monks at a temple.

On February 16, they got up at 6:00 am and had breakfast. The conference was resumed at 8:00 am at a royal mansion. They attended and read messages at the conference. In the afternoon, they participated in the subcommittees of education and human friendship and explained the general history of Korean Buddhism in Silla, Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties. They explicated how Korean Buddhism had accepted Japanese married monasticism during Japanese occupation and how they had recovered Korean Buddhism's tradition of celibate monasticism after its liberation in 1945.

The WFB president was newly inaugurated. Each nation's Buddhist delegation reported its Buddhist tradition's activities in the morning. They resolved at the conference that they would establish three standing committees such as the Committee of Revising the WFB Constitution, the Subcommittee of Publication and Propagation and the Subcommittee of Education and Human Friendship. Delegates from Korean Buddhism decided to become the members of the Subcommittee of Education and Human Friendship in charge of world peace and humanitarian service activities. The Council of the City of Kathmandu hosted a welcoming party at 3:00 pm. A message from Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) who did not attend the conference was read. The Nepalese Prime Minister hosted a dinner party for the conference participants in a government building at seven o'clock in the evening.

On February 17, the conference was resumed at the royal palace. Korean Buddhist delegates submitted a proposition that people should not manufacture and use atomic weapons in order to preserve world peace. They also suggested an agenda that the big nations should not invade and intervene in the small ones by referring to the case of Britain and France that illegally invaded Egypt. The

conference adopted and passed in the plenary session two cases that Korean Buddhist delegates suggested and let them reported to the United Nations.

On February 18 – 19, the delegations visited various Nepalese historical sites, i.e., temples, shrines, museums, galleries, libraries, and others. Ha Dongsan was impressed from Nepal and Nepalese Buddhism. On February 20, the Nepalese queen provided a golden Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva image to each nation's delegation respectively and the conference was closed.

On February 21, they flew to Lumbinī where Śākyamuni Buddha was born. Lumbinī was near the capital of the Śākya kingdom, Kapilavastu and belongs currently to the territory of modern Nepal. They visited the holy site and slept in a hotel one night in Lumbinī. On February 22, they visited the historical remains of the capital of Kapilavastu. They were seriously saddened from ruined Lumbinī and Kapilavastu. They also slept one more night in a hotel in Lumbinī. On February 23, they flew back to Kathmandu.

On the way to Korea, they had travelled to various Buddhist holy sites in India for more than 12 days between March 1 and March 12. They had visited Rajgir, Bamboo Grove Monastery, Vulture Peak, Sarnath, Deer Park, Nalanda, Patna, Bodhgaya, Mahabodhi Temple, and so on. On March 15, they returned to Korea.³⁸⁷

On November 24 -27, 1958, he along with I Cheongdam, Seo Gyeongbo (1914-1996),³⁸⁸ Bak Giljin (1915-1986), and Son Gysang (1902-1963)³⁸⁹ represented Korean Buddhism and attended the WFB's fifth general conference in Bangkok, Thailand.³⁹⁰ Seo Gyeongbo, a representative scholar monk in Korean Buddhism, received a PhD in religion from Temple University in the United States and taught Buddhism at Dongguk University. Bak Giljin was a son of Bak Jungbin (1891-1943),³⁹¹ the founder of Won Buddhism, a new religion and was an educator and a religious leader of Won Buddhism. Son Gysang was the founder of Jingak Order, a new Tantric order of Korean Buddhism.

On November 22, he left from Yeoui-do International Airport for Japan. Because of some problems with his visa, he could not depart for Thailand. He complained the air company for not getting the visa. He slept in a hotel in Japan.³⁹²

On November 23, he considered what he should propose at the general conference in behalf of Korean Buddhism.³⁹³ First, he would propose the WFB to establish a training center for all worldwide Buddhists on Mt. Geumgang (Diamond) located in the territory of North Korea, the most beautiful mountain

³⁸⁷ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 226.

³⁸⁸ *Chongnam*, 556.

³⁸⁹ I Jeong, ed., 151-152.

³⁹⁰ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 217-218 & 240-246.

³⁹¹ I Jeong, ed., 98-99.

³⁹² Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 240.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 240-241.

on the Korean Peninsula. Second, because Korea was divided, he would suggest the WFB to ask the United Nations to discuss the unification between two Koreas in its plenary session. Third, the Buddhist community consists of four elements, monks, nuns, and laypersons according to Buddhist teachings. Because some of married Korean Buddhists called themselves as monks, he would propose the WFB to clarify the division between monastics and lay Buddhists and to request all worldwide Buddhists to use the terms “monastics” and “lay Buddhists” properly. Additionally, he would propose the WFB headquarters to send official letters to the air companies and ask them to help their invitees to the WFB’s general conferences. He slept in the same hotel in Japan.

On November 24, he could not leave for Thailand.³⁹⁴ He visited the Korean Embassy in Japan and asked Korean consuls to help him to secure a visa. He was notified that he could depart for Thailand tomorrow. He slept in the airport.

On November 25, he left for Thailand from Japan at 8 o’clock in the morning.³⁹⁵ He stopped by in Hong Kong around 3 o’clock in the afternoon. He departed for Bangkok at 3:30 pm from Hong Kong and stopped by in Vietnam after three hours and twenty minutes. He took a rest for one hour in Vietnam and left for Bangkok from Vietnam around 7 o’clock in the evening. He finally arrived in Bangkok, Thailand around 10 o’clock in the night.

On November 26, around one o’clock in the deep night, he arrived at a temple.³⁹⁶ He got up at 8:10 am according to the Korean standard times. It was 6:30 am in Bangkok. Guides kindly took them to the WFB’s 5th general conference room. He along with other Korean Buddhist representatives attended the general conference and read a message from Korean Buddhists to the conference attendants. An American interpreted his reading in English. They discussed at the conference how to establish a baby Śākyamuni Buddha’s bronze image symbolizing his birth in Lumbinī, Nepal. They wanted to build up the image with donations from children all over the world. He visited a museum, a temple, and others. He had a luncheon. He attended a meeting that only senior representatives of each Buddhist nation attended and discussed resolutions that they would pass in next day’s meeting. In the evening, people installed electric lights between forest trees and made beautiful scenery. It was recommendable for us to take a pleasure boat in a pond.

On November 27, they settled the statement of accounts and closed the conference.³⁹⁷ He was regretful to arrive in Bangkok three days later than an expected schedule and could not completely participate in the conference for several days. Even so, he was happy to attend the general conference.

³⁹⁴ Ibid, 241.

³⁹⁵ Ibid, 241-242.

³⁹⁶ Ibid, 242.

³⁹⁷ Ibid, 243.

On November 28, he visited the supreme patriarch of Thai Buddhism.³⁹⁸ He asked him whether Thai Buddhism had transmitted the vinaya lineage directly originated from Upāli, a specialist in discipline and ritual among the disciples of Śākyamuni Buddha. He also questioned whether Thai Buddhism had inherited Chan Buddhist teachings of the mind-to-mind transmission that Bodhidharma formulated and initiated.

The king invited representatives of all Buddhist nations, greeted them and served lunch meals for them by himself. Other ministers also served the monks. He was struck with wonder by their sincere service. He thought that Thai Buddhists had very well inherited lay Buddhists' service tradition for monks active from the Buddha's times. After having luncheon, he visited a huge hospital for Buddhist monks. He saw many monks fully hospitalized in the hospital. The Buddhist hospital served a dinner for them and showed a Buddhist movie for them.

On November 29, he visited the royal temple. Resident monks chanted several scriptures for a long time.³⁹⁹ The temple served a luncheon for each representative and presented a handbag to him. Thai Government's Department of Foreign Affairs presented a gift to each representative and showed its own traditional songs and dances to the representatives from Buddhist nations. He visited a temple and saw the long chanting in it. The temple conferred a gift to each representative. He wrote a sentence by a writing brush and presented it to the temple.

On November 30, he visited a temple on a beautiful mountain. He thought that the temple was a good place where monks could practice.⁴⁰⁰ He went to a temple and prayed before a big Buddhist image. He also entered a golden museum. He began to tour temples, museums, and other religious and tourist places from 7 o'clock in the morning. He returned to the temple where he was staying at 9:30 in the evening.

On December 1, he looked around a Buddhist shop and bought some Buddhist goods.⁴⁰¹ He along with other colleague monastic representatives received and took away a Buddha's image that Thai Buddhism bestowed.

On December 2, he boarded an airplane at 11 o'clock in the morning. He said goodbyes to Thai monks with whom they made themselves familiar.⁴⁰² He arrived in Hong Kong after 5 o'clock in the afternoon. He stayed one night in Hong Kong. On December 3, he moved back to Seoul.

He could not arrive in Bangkok on time because of some unexpected problems. He did not know Thai Buddhism and did not have a good translator. So, unfortunately, he had many difficulties in the participation in the WFB's fifth general conference in Thailand. Even so, he concluded that world

³⁹⁸ Ibid, 243-244.

³⁹⁹ Ibid, 244.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, 244-245.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid, 245.

⁴⁰² Ibid, 245.

Buddhists harmonized with each other and became gradually closer through the international conference.⁴⁰³ He evaluated the WFB's efforts to Buddhicize the whole world, educate people all over the world, concentrate on cultural and educational projects and finally stop people from using nuclear weapons.

Soon after coming back to Korea from Bangkok, he reported in an article dated December 14, 1958, his participation in the international conference to Korean Buddhists. He referred to Thai Buddhism and defended modern Korean Buddhism's Purification Buddhist Movement as follows:⁴⁰⁴

Thailand accepted Buddhism more than two thousand years ago. It has never experienced the decline of Buddhism in its history. It has preserved splendid Buddhist cultures. Based on the Buddha's fundamental teachings, the Thai king and state ministers respect Buddhist teachings and the Thai citizens are engaged in business and sincerely believe in Buddhism. All people are Buddhists. The group of monastics and the group of lay Buddhists are clearly divided. Nobody calls lay Buddhists married monks. Lay Buddhists faithfully respected the triple gem and protected Buddhism, so they made Thailand as a (sincere) Buddhist nation. However, married monks of Korean Buddhism took the cases on married monasticism to secular courts and tried to extend Japanized married monasticism (even after independence from Japan in 1945). How unreasonable it was! If they are sincere Buddhists, they should follow Buddhist teachings and Buddhist regulations and give up strange married monks. If they want to rejoin in monkhood, they should again receive monastic ordination precepts like in Thailand. If not, they should adopt lay Buddhist lives (prescribed in Buddhist teachings and regulations).

Korean Buddhists should have a historical mission to recover Korean Buddhist (celibate) monasticism. If four Buddhist groups, i.e., monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen, work in union, realize their own fundamental missions, discard their smaller ego and individualism, and practice their larger egoism and altruism, we can surely reunite Korea and build world peace. If we Korean Buddhists should renounce their smaller egoism and individualism, ruinous to our nation and strive for their greater egoism and communalism, we can reconstruct our nation and save our human beings. We should reflect ourselves and confess our sins. We should cooperate with each other and build Buddhism (in this world).

After the WFB's fifth general conference, he exchanged his letter(s) with foreign Buddhists. The Singaporean chapter of the World Fellowship of Buddhists sent a letter and reminded him and Korean Buddhists of the Buddha's Enlightenment Day. He replied to it and appreciated the chapter's kind considerations as follows:⁴⁰⁵

....

⁴⁰³ Ibid, 246.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid, 217-218.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid, 219-220.

Since the Buddha obtained enlightenment (on lunar December 8 more than twenty five hundred years ago), all sentient beings are indebted to the Buddha's compassion, transform three poisons⁴⁰⁶ to three comprehensive pure precepts,⁴⁰⁷ and change a hell to a heavenly world. They owe their religious accomplishments to the Buddha's great enlightenment that all things are the creatures of our own minds.

This mundane world is full of wars and weapons. It seems like a hell filled with boiling waters. We Buddhists cannot endure to see it. The WFB had hosted its general meetings five times and discussed how to settle them at the meetings in order to clear up them with the Buddha's compassionate light. Even so, I am so regretful (for our Buddhists) not to stop wars and disputes.

In this context, we Korean Buddhists admire the compassionate activities of the WFB's Singaporean chapter that develops mind fields of all sentient beings and establishes a Buddhist school(s) and others. Based on the Buddha's compassion, we Korean Buddhists also vow to practice and implement activities that you Singaporean Buddhists have done. We wish your chapter and Singaporean Buddhism to be prosperous and not to desert the generous activities. We wish that you should be healthy!

Since he retired to Beomeo-sa Temple after the Purification Buddhist Movement in August 1955, he had been to Baengnyeong-sa Temple on Mt. Mandeok at 11 Mandeok Village, Doam Town, Gangjin County, South Jeolla Province. Near the temple, there is the historical site in which the worldwide renowned Goryeo celadon (porcelain) was manufactured during the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392). When nearby red camellia flowers blossomed out, the temple became beautiful. Many poets and literary men used to visit the temple and make poems and essays on the beauty of the temple and its surrounding area.

National Preceptor Wonmyo Yose (1163-1245)⁴⁰⁸ of the Goryeo Dynasty reestablished the temple in 1211 and extended the size of it. He founded Baengnyeong Society (White Lotus Society) and became its first patriarch. In 1236, he assigned Jinjeong Cheonchaek (b. 1206)⁴⁰⁹ to write *Baengnyeong gyeolsa-mun* (The Manifesto of Establishing Baengnyeong Society). Prior to the society, Jinul also established Jeonghye (Meditation and Wisdom) Society and wrote its manifesto in 1190. Jinul developed the society at Songwang-sa Monastery on Mt. Jogye in Suncheon County, South Jeolla Province. Two societies represented praxis organizations in the Goryeo Dynasty.

⁴⁰⁶ Three poisons are greed, anger and foolishness.

⁴⁰⁷ Three comprehensive pure precepts are "(1) the precept that encompasses all the rules and standards of behavior set forth by the Buddha for Mahāyāna bodhisattvas, i.e., to observe all those precepts and prevent evil; (2) the precept that encompasses all good deeds, i.e., to strive to perform good deeds; and (3) the precept that encompasses all living beings, i.e., to instruct and benefit all living beings." See the entry of "three comprehensive precepts" in English Buddhist Dictionary Committee, ed., 700-701.

⁴⁰⁸ I Jeong, ed., 193-194.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid, 300-301.

Later eminent monks, the 2nd patriarch Jeongmyeong Cheonin (1205-1248),⁴¹⁰ the 3rd patriarch Wonhwan (d.u.),⁴¹¹ the 4th patriarch Jinjeong Cheonchaek and other patriarchs consecutively succeeded the patriarchate from the 1st patriarch Wonmyo Yose. It was continued to the 11th patriarch Muoe Jigam (d.u.) and was prosperous in its activities. The 1st patriarch and the founder of the society Wonmyo Yose practiced traditional Lotus Concentration (Skt., *samādhi*) and repented his sins at the temple.

The Baengnyeong Society that Wonmyo Yose initiated emphasized three practices, (1) Tiantai (Kor., Cheontae; Jpn., Tendai) Buddhism's *zhi* (Skt., *śamatha*; tranquility) and *guan* (Skt., *vipaśyanā*; insight), (2) Lotus Samādhi Confession Ritual, and (3) Pure Land Buddhism's praxis to be reborn in a pure land. *Zhi* means calming of disturbed mind and *guan* thorough insight to the truths of Buddhism. He had only three sets of clothes and one begging bowl and lived a frugal life. He had never skipped chanting of the *Lotus Sūtra* once, the Goddess Cundī's spell (Skt., *dhāraṇī*) one thousand times, and the title of Amitāyus Buddha ten thousand times each day.

He modeled himself after Chinese Buddhist Master Lushan Huiyuan (336-416)⁴¹² of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-420) who had established the Bailian (White Lotus) Society. In 402, he along with 123 monastic and lay practitioners initiated the society, chanting the title of Amitāyus Buddha and wishing to be born in a Pure Land. He had never moved out from the temple's territory for 20 years. The Chinese characters "Bailian" are pronounced in Korean as "Baengnyeong." He adopted his society's name from the title of Lushan Huiyuan's society. While Lushan Huiyuan advocated only Pure Land Buddhism's praxis at Donglin-si Temple, Wonmyo Yose theoretically syncretized Pure Land Buddhism's praxis in his practices based on Tiantai Buddhist thought.

At the level of ordinary people, he educated his followers and let them adopt their practices. While Jinul considered intellectual practitioners as his society's major members, Wonmyo Yose asserted that even ordinary persons who had committed serious sins could practice and obtain salvation. While Jinul adopted practical Seon meditation and doctrinal Hwaem thought for his society's members, Wonmyo Yose used practical Pure Land Buddhism and theoretical Cheontae Buddhism for his followers. 39 monks got ordination under him, five temples were affiliated to the society, and more than 300 people joined it. Because the consecutive leaders of the Baengnyeong Society were national preceptors, we can easily guess how prosperous the society had been.

As seen above, the later leaders of Baengnyeong Society followed its founder Wonmyo Yose, ecumenized the profound doctrine of Cheontae Sect and the

⁴¹⁰ Ibid, 300.

⁴¹¹ Ibid, 208.

⁴¹² Lushan Huiyuan (336-416), a student of Daoan (312-385), was the founder of the Amitābha cult and the White Lotus Society and argued that monks should be freed from their worldly duties toward the rulers.

easy practice of Pure Land Buddhism and popularized their society among the masses. They were ecumenists between doctrinal Cheontae Buddhism and practical Pure Land Buddhism. Even though we cannot textually prove ecumenical influences from the society and its founder Wonmyo Yose in his works, Ha Dongsan seemed that he indirectly inherited the ecumenism from them.

Ha Dongsan directly and clearly transmitted ecumenical thoughts of the founder Jinul and his followers of Jeonghye Society and ecumenized doctrinal Hwaom Buddhism and practical Seon Buddhism and popularized the ecumenism among Korean Buddhists. He also seemed to succeed ecumenism from Baengnyeong Society indirectly and Jeonghye Society directly. Even though we cannot textually verify his influences from Baengnyeong Society and its founder Wonmyo Yose, we can conjecture that because Ha Dongsan liked the temple at which Wonmyo Yose developed his ecumenical thoughts, he might have visited the temple so often.

In the May 9, 1956 diary,⁴¹³ Ha Dongsan deplored that some lay visitors did not know how holy Baengnyeong-sa Temple was. They had danced and had sung songs in the temple's Mangyeong Pavilion. Citing the following poem that Jinul had given to Wonmyo Yose, he indirectly expressed his sad emotion.

When waves rise,
the shadows of the moon become confused.
Because the room is deep,
a lamp light becomes brighter.
I recommend you to calm down your mind (and)
not to spill the sweet soy sauce.⁴¹⁴

In the May 10 diary, he composed a poem and complimented the temple's beautiful scenery as follows:⁴¹⁵

The clouds clear away,
it stops raining, and
a mountain appears.
The sun shines on an ocean,
a myriad of images emerge from mind.
The mountain is very quiet,
a cuckoo cuckoos.
A crowd of noisy commoners and literary guests
ascend the pavilion.
(I) suddenly listen
a yellow oriole twitters on a twig.
In front of Mangyeong Pavilion,

⁴¹³ English Buddhist Dictionary Committee, ed., 247-248.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid, 248.

a picturesque view is displayed.

On October 22, Ha Dongsan also visited Baengnyeong-sa Temple and had stayed at it for almost one month, October 22 – November 18, 1956. When he arrived at the temple, he could not find out any monk including its abbot except four lay Buddhists. He stayed at it as a resident monk for less than one month. On October 23, one day after his arrival at the temple, he wrote a diary in which he wrote his impression on the temple and its scene.

On October 24, he bought three *mals*⁴¹⁶ of rice in the market and offered some portion of it in Buddhist services. He supplemented eating with the rice. He went shopping to a fair held in Gangjin Town, the business area of Gangjin County and shopped papers for covering temple doors and windows. He also bought candles, incenses, and others for offering to the Buddha images. He tried to serve the Buddha as much as possible even though the temple was stuck in poverty.

On October 27, he composed a poem as follows:

A wild pheasant flies in and out on a mountain.
A boat floats up and down in a sea.
An idle monk sleeps in the daytime,
facing the moon on Mangyeong Pavilion.⁴¹⁷

On November 18, when a young Seon practitioner asked him to stay at the temple and practice Seon meditation, he allowed him to live with him. One day earlier, two Seon monks Gim Deokmyeong (b. 1926)⁴¹⁸ and Seok Simin (d.u.), along with two female lay Buddhists, visited Ha Dongsan at Baengnyeong-sa Temple and asked him to guide Seon practitioners during the winter intensive retreat begun on lunar October 15, (November 17), at Geumeo Seon Center affiliated to his resident temple Beomeo-sa Temple. Because he could not ignore their request, he moved to Beomeo-sa Temple even though the retreat had already begun.

On March 25, 1957, he presided over the ceremony for offering Bodhisattva Precepts at Jeonghye Seon Center in Mokpo, South Jeolla Province.⁴¹⁹ On the way to Mokpo, he visited several temples in the Jeolla area and had stayed at Baengnyeong-sa Temple for several days. He used to say that he wanted to die at the beautiful temple. Since the visit, he had visited and stayed at the temple several times and come back to his home temple of Beomeo-sa in Busan.

Even while in his retirement at his home temple of Beomeo-sa between 1955 and 1958, he sincerely hoped that Purification Buddhist Movement that he along with two other leaders I Hyobong and I Cheongdam initiated in 1954 should be

⁴¹⁶ A *mal* is a measure containing about 18 liters.

⁴¹⁷ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 249.

⁴¹⁸ *Chongnam*, 531.

⁴¹⁹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 389-390.

successfully completed. On May 19, 1956, he issued a message to the members of the Supreme Council of the National Association of the Lay Buddhists of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. On June 1, 1955, lay Buddhists arranged the association's office at Jogye-sa Temple. On November 29, 1955, they hosted the association's general meeting for official foundation and officially established it.⁴²⁰ I Jongik and I Bulhwa, two representative theorists of the Purification Buddhist Movement, drafted its constitution. They elected Gim Hancheon as its 1st president. On September 30, 1963, they registered the association to the government's department of education and on October 20, 1963, they had the inauguration ceremony for its executives at Jogye-sa Temple. In the May 19, 1956 message, Ha Dongsan suggested its supreme council enforce the Buddha's justice as follows:⁴²¹

The triple gem, consisting of the Buddha, his teachings and his followers, is a compassionate ship that takes suffering sentient beings to the enlightened world of the other side, a lighthouse that guides ignorant sentient beings to the proper road to light, and a great medical doctor who treats transmigrating sentient beings with an excellent medicine of nirvāṇa.

....

Our celibate monks are one of three gems. They encompass lay Buddhists with great compassion and lay Buddhists serve them with great confidence. Even so, much unwholesome news appeared in newspapers. We feel that those are extremely regretful and grievous.

The Buddha taught, "You should not hate (even) wicked sentient beings. And you will mistakenly make a wrong mind that you should definitely cast away." Without following the Buddha's words cited just above, what should we do?

For now, where can we find the objectives of the Purification Buddhist Movement? The Buddha intended to clear up previous mistakes and reveal Mahāyāna Buddhism to the world as much as possible. How can we not put into operation the Buddha's sublime intentions?

I cordially wish that the five members of the Supreme Council of the National Association of the Lay Buddhists of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism⁴²² should not regard all imprudent actions and mistakes that indiscreet lay Buddhists and monastics make. I earnestly hope that they should act in concert with others with sincere confidence, consistently implement the association's ideas and finally realize them at the social and national levels.

On August 13, 1958, Ha Dongsan became the order's highest patriarch for the third time in his life. Three years after he resigned his second patriarchate on

⁴²⁰ See the entry "Daehan bulgyo Jogye-jong jeonguk sindo-hoe" (National Association of Lay Buddhists of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism), in *Chongnam*, 243.

⁴²¹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 234-235.

⁴²² Ibid, 235. Of five members, Ha Dongsan listed four, Hyeon-o, I Muae, Gim Hancheon, and Jin Muchakhaeng in the prospectus.

August 12, 1955, he took his third patriarchate. Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism hosted the 13th meeting for the order's Central Assembly and recommended Ha Dongsan to be its highest patriarch. He succeeded the patriarchate from I Hyobong whom the order recommended at its 12th meeting for its Central Assembly in April 1958. I Hyobong served for only four months from April to August, 1958.

On February 5, 1958, (lunar December 17, 1957), celibate monastic side's patriarch Seol Seogu passed away at Donghwa-sa Temple in Daegu. I Hyobong, the order's Secretary General, conducted the funeral service for the late patriarch Seol Seogu and succeeded the patriarchate in April 1958. Just for around four months, I Hyobong served as the order's highest patriarch and Ha Dongsan took over the patriarchate from I Hyobong.

After Ha Dongsan assumed the order's patriarchate on August 13, 1958, he very seriously wondered whether the Purification Buddhist Movement could be successful and published an article entitled "The Order's Emergent and Critical Situations in Fall 1958" ("Wigeup jonmang ji chu").⁴²³ Ha Dongsan thought that even though the government authorized the celibate monastic order and its supreme patriarch Seol Seogu in August 1955, celibate monks still needed to complete the movement successfully. He published an article and suggested Korean Buddhists to endeavor to complete Purification Buddhist Movement as follows:⁴²⁴

Three years ago, (in 1955), I legitimately and satisfactorily finished the national Buddhist conference for monastics (as the order's supreme patriarch). I was so fortunate that I could have retired for three years with kindness that all Buddhists deeply favored. Because the order encountered emergent and critical situations in this fall (1958), I began this position (of its supreme patriarchate). I think that this crisis is misfortunate for me as well as for the order. However, because I am assigned to take the post owing to earnestness of all Buddhists, I present what I think and what we should do.

Roughly speaking, motivated by his ardent patriotic sentiment, His Excellency (President I Seungman), founder of our Republic of Korea, definitely intended to sweep away the Japanized spirit that had destroyed our nation for Japanese occupation period of thirty-six years, 1910 – 1945, established Korean spirit, and founded a new nation. So, His Excellency tried to cleanse Japanized married monks and recover traditional Korean Buddhism at the national level.

It is inevitable for Korean Buddhists to have celibate monks in Korean Buddhism. Regardless of sex and age, all Koreans should serve President I Seungman's directives. If so, we can perfectly establish a nation and unite two Koreas in a Korea. Moreover, our nationwide Korean celibate monks, irrespective of whether they are administrative monks or practicing ones, are loyal citizens who sincerely serve the nation's directions and loyal Buddhists

⁴²³ Ibid, 236-237.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

who follow the order's orientations. They faithfully exercise filial piety and loyalty to their own order and state.

We should make efforts to harmonize all four groups of Korean Buddhists, i.e., nuns, monks, laymen and laywomen. We should practice perseverance in harmony. We should return married monasticism Japanized during thirty-six years, 1910 - 1945 to traditional Korean Buddhism's celibate monasticism. We also should skillfully let Japanized married monks de-Japanize themselves, remove Japanized monasticism and openly return to celibate monasticism. Based on their capacity, the monks can strive for propagating Buddhism, educating Buddhists, translating Buddhist texts in the vernacular Korean language, and popularizing Buddhism among the masses. If so, how can we not protect our nation and save our people and how can we not unite our two nations?

All Korean Buddhists should respectively serve the above-mentioned meanings (of Purification Buddhist Movement) and establish our order of celibate monks. We should re-compensate for even 1/10,000 of President I Seungman's patriotic sentiment, and let the Buddhist fundamental teaching re-shine all over the Korean Peninsula. If so, what should I need more?

Ha Dongsan highly complimented even a fanatic Christian ruler I Seungman. Following the US military government's policies on religions, he favored his religion of Christianity and discriminated against Buddhism.⁴²⁵ He did not question about I Seungman's civilian dictatorship, but just appreciated his support to his sectarian Purification Buddhist Movement. He sacrificed social justice for his sectarian interests.

He proudly defined the Purification Buddhist Movement as a pro-government and institutional movement and referred to nationalism and Confucianism to support his arguments in defense of the movement. He used fundamental Confucian virtues of state loyalty and filial piety and defended his arguments. However, his arguments seem to have pro-governmental and institutional attitudes in modern democratic society. He loyally inherited Confucianized Buddhism, i.e., Buddhism that advocated state protectionism and centered on the Confucian virtues of state loyalty and filial piety.

Even though Buddhism strongly agrees with separation of religion from state, he abandoned the original teaching of Buddhism and tactically accepted Confucian virtues to defend his sectarian arguments for Purification Buddhist Movement. According to the abovementioned long quotes, Buddhism that he considered, defined and kept in his mind is Confucianized Buddhism, not original Buddhism.

On October 6, he presided over a ceremony at which he transmitted the full monk ordination precepts and Bodhisattva precepts to monks and lay Buddhists at Jogye-sa Temple, the order's headquarters temple. Because the ceremony of offering Bodhisattva Precepts to lay Buddhists was successful, many monks

⁴²⁵ The Board of Education of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., *Jogye jongsa: Geun-hyeondae pyeon*, 172-174.

were interested in it and began to host it in their own temples. Three major preceptors were Ha Dongsan, the transmission preceptor; Yu Seogam (1911-1987), the reciting receptor; and Yun Goam, the instruction preceptor.

While at Beomeo-sa Temple, he served as the order's highest patriarch and the temple's spiritual leader. On March 19, 1959, he attended a ceremony to celebrate the completion of the main hall and preached a sermon at Naewon-sa Temple in the County of Yangsan, South Gyeongsang Province, a branch temple of Tongdo-sa Monastery.⁴²⁶

On September 12, 1959, he issued as the order's supreme patriarch the 3rd order ordinance in which he abolished the order's provincial secretariat offices and established the system of 24 parish headquarters.⁴²⁷ He needed to exclude some parish headquarters of 31 ones set up in the Japanese occupation because those were located in the North Korean territory. On April 11, 1962, the order settled down the system of 25 parish headquarters across South Korea and assigned each branch temple to one of parish headquarters. Jogye Order even now follows the system of 25 parish headquarters without change.

On August 15, 1945, Korea was liberated from Japanese occupation. On September 22-23, 1945, Korean Buddhists held the national monastic conference and passed a resolution to abolish the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples and its enforcement ordinances, furthermore the parish system of Korean Buddhism prescribing relations between the 31 parish head temples and their respective branch temples and the articles and bylaws of Taego-sa Temple, the central headquarter temple. The Japanese colonial government made and implemented the abovementioned regulations and controlled Korean Buddhism. As a substitute measure, they made two levels in its order's administration, i.e., the central administration and the 13 provincial administrations. Abandoning the old constitution devised during Japanese occupation period, they passed the order's new constitution.

In November 1945, each province hosted its provincial monastic conference and organized its provincial administration. For instance, I Unheo became the Secretary General of the order's provincial administration in Gyeonggi Province, O Taek-eon (d.u.) in South Gyeongsang Province, I Hyeobong (d.u.) in North Gyeongsang Province, Song Manam in South Jeolla Province, Yu Jaehwan (d.u.) in North Jeolla Province, Gim Byeonghyeon (d.u.) in North Chungcheong Province, I Jonguk in Gangwon Province, and others.⁴²⁸

On January 1, 1960, the order established the monthly newspaper *Great Korea Buddhism (Daehan bulgyo)*, its order's official newspaper. On June 10, it changed the newspaper to the weekly newspaper. On April 1, 1961, it changed its title to *Great Korea Buddhist Newspaper (Daehan bulgyo sinmun)*. On May 1, 1961, it returned its title to *Great Korea Buddhism*. On December 21, 1980, it

⁴²⁶ Ibid, 391-392.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Buddhology Institute, ed., 62.

changed its title to *Bulgyo sinmun* (Buddhist Newspaper), the title of which continues to even now.

On April 24, 1960, Ha Dongsan hosted the special ceremony of offering Bodhisattva Precepts and transmitted the precepts to lay Buddhists at Jogye-sa Temple, the order's headquarter temple.⁴²⁹ Many lay Buddhists attended the ceremony. They celebrated the success of Purification Buddhist Movement.

On March 15, I Seungman was illegally elected as president and I Gibung (1896-1960) as vice president.⁴³⁰ Koreans protested against the corrupted election and demanded that the election should be nullified. Koreans participated in massive demonstrations. On April 19, the police shot and killed 142 demonstrators in front of the presidential office building. Koreans used to call it the April 19 revolution in commemoration of the sacrifice of Koreans for democratization. Koreans nationwide protested against civilian dictatorship and requested for democratization. On April 26, he declared that he would step down from his presidential office. On April 27, he submitted his letter of resignation to the Congress. On May 29, he exiled to Honolulu, Hawaii.

On June 15, the Congress passed a new constitution and changed from the presidential government system to the parliamentary cabinet system.⁴³¹ On July 29, the Korean government hosted a general election for two houses, the upper house and the lower house. On August 8, two houses were opened and the members of houses elected major posts. On August 13, the government hosted the inauguration ceremony for the first president Yun Boseon (1897-1990) of the 2nd Republic of Korea. On August 23, Prime Minister Jang Myeon (1899-1966) initiated his cabinet. Koreans tried to democratize undemocratic South Korean politics, remove imperial influence in South Korea, and unite two Koreas in a nation.

Ha Dongsan and celibate monks lost a strong supporter of Purification Buddhist Movement. Married monks utilized the political situation and counterattacked celibate monks to take back the order's hegemony from celibate monks. They abolished the six presidential messages issued by civilian dictator I Seungman and defined Purification Buddhist Movement as an institutionalized and pro-government movement. They tried to return Korean Buddhism to the status before Purification Buddhist Movement. They tried to take over the order's administration and the management of temples all over the nation, of course including Taego-sa Temple, the order's head temple.

When he served as the order's supreme patriarch, he was the spiritual leader of Beomeo-sa Temple. He often came down to Beomeo-sa Temple in Busan from Seoul. He also had sometimes been to Baengnyeong-sa Temple in Gangjin County, South Jeolla Province. He worried about the future of the nation and Buddhism and gave to his disciples the following handwriting:⁴³²

⁴²⁹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 392.

⁴³⁰ I Manyeol, ed., 314.

⁴³¹ Ibid, 314-316.

⁴³² Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 392-393.

Auspicious grasses make good fortunes,
Forest flowers bring early spring.

Considering that the Purification Buddhist Movement was completed, he desired to dedicate himself to practice Kōan Seon Buddhism and composed the following poem in classical Chinese on lunar January 23, (February 27), 1961.⁴³³

Purification Buddhist Movement was completed.
How can I have a grudge?
I want to dedicate myself to practice undefiled Kōan Seon
In obscure places in which winds blow among pine trees
and the vines creep under the moon.

On May 16, 1961, General Bak Jeonghui (1917-1979) obtained power through the coup and organized a junta.⁴³⁴ On May 20, he reorganized the junta to the Supreme Council for Reconstructing a Nation. The Supreme Council organized the cabinet and appointed provincial governors and major city mayors. On June 10, the council issued the major laws. The military government treated the celibate monastic group and the married monastic group equally in the beginning.

The Supreme Council tried to find methods on how to settle the legal cases between celibate monks and married monks continued since August 1955. Its subcommittee of society and education requested the Supreme Court to suspend the legal cases related to Buddhist disputes. On October 19, 1961, following the request, the Supreme Court ordered its district and higher courts to suspend the legal cases.

On November 9, military ruler Bak Jeonghui issued the first official statement in which he strongly urged the two opposing Buddhist groups to solve the conflicts by themselves. On December 8, the military government forcefully stopped legal cases in the Supreme Court regarding the Purification Buddhist Movement, passed a government ordinance and let government actively intervene in Buddhist disputes and organize the Committee for Reconstructing Buddhism in the cabinet meeting.

In 1961, the year the of the military coup, while serving as the order's supreme patriarch and the spiritual leader of Beomeo-sa Temple, he entered the summer intensive retreat between lunar April 15, (May 29) and lunar July 15, (August 25) at Baengnyeong-sa Temple.⁴³⁵ On May 22, 1961, I Unheo, an eminent scholar monk, wrote and published a historical *Dictionary of Buddhism* in Korean at the Translation Center, affiliated to Dongguk University, a major

⁴³³ Ibid, 215.

⁴³⁴ I Manyeol, ed., 318.

⁴³⁵ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 393.

Korean Buddhist mission university. He wrote the following handwriting calligraphy and praised its publication: “An unchangeable maxim.”⁴³⁶

On January 20, 1962, based on the government’s intervention, Ha Dongsan, the highest patriarch of the unmarried monastic group and Guk Mukdam (1896-1982), the highest patriarch of the married monastics, officially signed a written oath to organize the Committee for Reconstructing Buddhism and establish the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism united between two sides in the Office of the Department of Education. This event paved the road for the united Korean Buddhist order. As shown above, Purification Buddhist Movement was completed, totally depending on the government’s intervention.

On April 1, the order’s emergency assembly elected I Hyobong as its highest patriarch and Im Seokjin as its Secretary-General. The patriarch came from the unmarried monastic group and the secretary-general from the married monastic one.⁴³⁷ It tried to divide the order’s power equally between the celibate monastic side and the married monastic one.

On April 6, the assembly convened the meeting and elected the order’s other six major cabinet members in an office of the government’s department of education as follows:⁴³⁸

Inspector General	Bak Munseong (d.u.) (a celibate monk)
Vice Inspector General	An Heungdeok (a married monk)
Secretary of General Affairs	Yun Wolha (a celibate monk)
Secretary of Social Affairs	I Namchae (d.u.) (a married monk)
Secretary of Education	Mun Jeongyeong (d.u.) (a celibate monk)
Secretary of Finance	Bak Gijong (a celibate monk)

On April 11, the order held an inauguration ceremony for the united order at Jogye-sa Temple. The newly elected patriarch and secretary-general were inaugurated.⁴³⁹ On April 13, both sides conceded their own administrative rights to the united order and on April 14, the united order registered itself to the government’s Department of Education. This registration was the government-authorized official completion of Purification Buddhist Movement.⁴⁴⁰

5. Retirement and death, 1962 – 1965

When the united order was organized in 1962, after serving the order’s supreme patriarchate for three years and seven months, he again retired to his

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ See the April 2, 1962 issue of *Joseon ilbo*, S 1.1.351.

⁴³⁸ See the April 7, 1962 issue of *Joseon ilbo*, S 1.1.353-354.

⁴³⁹ See the April 12, 1962 issue of *Donga ilbo*, S 1.1.356.

⁴⁴⁰ See the April 14, 1962 issue of *Joseon ilbo* and the April 14, 1962 issue of *Donga ilbo*, S 1.1.356.

resident home Beomeo-sa Temple.⁴⁴¹ He remodeled Beomeo-sa Temple's buildings and dedicated himself to training monks.

In 1963, one year after retiring from the order's supreme patriarchate, he presided over the precept-offering ceremony at his resident Beomeo-sa Temple in Busan and at a propagation center in Masan City, South Gyeongsang Province.⁴⁴² He went to Bulguk-sa Temple in Gyeongju City, North Gyeongsang Province and welcomed Thai Buddhism's supreme patriarch and chief executive director. He discussed fundamental Buddhist teachings with the supreme patriarch from the Seon Buddhist context as follows:⁴⁴³

Ha Dongsan pointed a stone lion in front of the Multiple Treasures Stūpa at Bulguk-sa Temple and asked the Thai Buddhism's supreme patriarch, "Do you see the (stone) lion?"

The supreme patriarch answered him, "I see it."

Ha Dongsan asked him, "Do you listen to its roaring voice?"

He did not answer his question.

Ha Dongsan kept saying, "When I went to your nation, I received hospitable reception from your Buddhists. I want to pay you back with this (Seon) teaching."

As above, Ha Dongsan did not evaluate Thai Theravada Buddhism very accurately and properly, but prioritized Seon Buddhism to Theravada Buddhism. His sentences are not objective and neutral. He projected his Seon sectarianism in the above dialogues with the Thai Buddhism's supreme patriarch. Thai Buddhists developed their own tradition, not East Asian Seon / Chan Buddhist tradition. Ha Dongsan guided the dialogues with him in East Asian Chan Buddhist context with which Thai Buddhists were not familiar.

He again visited and stayed at Baengnyeong-sa Temple for a while and came from the temple to his home temple of Beomeo-sa in 1963. He reflected his 50th anniversary monkhood and composed a poem as follows:⁴⁴⁴

I have drawn a cat for fifty years,
Only today, I definitely and finally drew a live cat.
Without relying on a fragrant grass bank,
If the night comes, the cat as usual catches an old mouse.

In August 1963, Ha Dongsan began to remodel the Beomeo-sa Temple complex and in early 1964, he finished its remodeling.

On April 22, 1964, he remodeled Boje Pavilion and hosted its remodeling completion ceremony at Beomeo-sa Temple as its abbot.⁴⁴⁵ He continuously

⁴⁴¹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 393.

⁴⁴² Ibid, 394.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid, 394-395.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid, 395.

repaired One Pillar Gate and Four Heavenly Kings Gate. He put the temple's pilgrim routes in good order. He recorded his fourth remodeling of the Four Heavenly Kings Gate as follows:⁴⁴⁶

One mind creates three realms: the realm of desire, the realm of form and the formless realm. How can one mind have ups and downs? Even though it takes one thousand eons, it is not old. Even though it covers ten thousand years, it is always now. Each year is a good year. Each month is a good month. Each day is a good day. Each time is a good time. How do we distinguish good from bad? We began to repair the Four Heavenly Kings Gate in June 1964 and finished its repair in August 1964. We have a celestial delight each day, and we do not have a disaster at all at any time. What should you seek after others?

On May 22, 1964, he transmitted the Bodhisattva precepts to Buddhists at Anyang-am Hermitage in Seoul.⁴⁴⁷ On June 14, he attended the ceremony of initiating a gigantic Maitreya Buddha's image at Beopju-sa Temple at Sanae Village, Naesongni Town, Boeun County, North Chungcheong Province on Mt. Songni. On the way back to Beomeo-sa Temple, he also visited Jungsaja-am Hermitage and Bokcheon-am Hermitage, affiliates to Beopju-sa Temple. He had stayed at the former hermitage for three days and at the latter hermitage for one day. He also visited other hermitages affiliated to Beopju-sa Temple on Mt. Songni. On July 2, he along with Jeon Gwaneung (1910-2004)⁴⁴⁸ presided over the ceremony for offering Bodhisattva precepts at the Propagation Center of Suwon in Suwon City, Gyeonggi Province. On August 29, he attended as a witness master and preached at the ceremony of initiating an eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva image established in a yard of Daeseon Shipbuilding Company for the safe navigation of ships going in and out the Busan Port.

On March 15, 1965, he began to host the 65th Bodhisattva Precepts Offering Ceremony at the Diamond Precept Platform, Beomeo-sa Temple and continuously preached Buddhist precepts to Buddhists for three days. On March 17, the ceremony's closing day, he transmitted his transmission preceptor's position to Yu Seogam who attended the ceremony as the instructing preceptor, and declared that he would not preside over a bodhisattva precept offering ceremony anymore.

On March 20, he supervised the ceremony of releasing birds and animals that Geumjeong-sa Temple organized and he preached Buddhism to its participants.

On lunar March 23, (April 24), as usual, he along with other resident monks attended the morning service at Beomeo-sa Temple and meditated Seon at its affiliate Geumeo Seon Center. He swept the temple yard clean. After eating

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid, 225 & 395-396.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid, 396.

⁴⁴⁸ *Chongnam*, 589.

lunch, he felt tired, called several disciples, worried about the order's future and requested them to devote themselves to practice Buddhism. He also composed and left a farewell poem behind him as follows:⁴⁴⁹

I have never transformed my body beforehand,
how can I have my second body?
One year consists of 365 days,
one hundred years 36,500 days.
One that repeats everyday is only this body.

On April 24 at 6 o'clock pm, he entered the eternal sleep. The *Great Korea Buddhist Newspaper*, the order's official weekly newspaper, issued the extra issue dated April 24, 1965 and reported his passing away as follows:⁴⁵⁰

The grand master Ha Dongsan was an eminent monk of (modern) Korean Buddhism, the 1st supreme patriarch of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism,⁴⁵¹ and the spiritual leader of Beomeo-sa Temple, the great headquarters temple of Seon Buddhism. On April 24, (1965), at six o'clock in the evening, he peacefully passed away at Beomeo-sa Temple (in Busan). The order decided to host his funeral ceremony as its official funeral on April 30 in Busan. It would organize the committee of the order's official funeral service assigning, appointing renowned Buddhist monastics and lay Buddhists as well as socially distinguished celebrities to the committee members. His Dharma age was 54 years old and his biological age 76 years old. In 1912, after graduating from the (Imperial) Junior Medical College (in Seoul directly affiliated to Japanese Government-General), which was the first junior medical college in Korean history, he made Baek Yongseong his religious master and became a monk at Beomeo-sa Temple. Since then, he promoted Korean Buddhism, developed international exchanges with other foreign Buddhist traditions, prioritized the education of young monastics in his interests, and popularized the importance of precepts in Korean Buddhism as the transmission preceptor of the Diamond Precept Platform affiliated to the Beomeo-sa Temple. He was in the vanguard of the Purification Buddhist Movement. Just before its fruition, he passed away. Our Korean Buddhists along with world Buddhists deeply lamented over his death.

⁴⁴⁹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 397-398.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid, 399.

⁴⁵¹ The calculation of the Korean Buddhist Jogye Order's 1st patriarchate for him came from the inception of Purification Buddhist Movement in 1954. However, there are several calculations of the order's patriarchate other than the afore-mentioned one. For example, if we calculate the order's patriarchate from the independence of Korea, Bang Hanam becomes its 1st patriarch. If we arrange the patriarchate from the government-authorized success of Purification Buddhism in 1955, Seol Seogu was the order's 1st patriarch. If we assign the patriarchate numberings from the establishment of the united Jogye Order in 1962, I Hyobong was its 1st patriarch. The Jogye Order officially considers I Hyobong as its 1st patriarch for now.

The same issue had another article and reported what the order would do for his death as follows: “After having the order’s previous supreme patriarch Ha Dongsan’s death, the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism will enforce the one week intensive prayer period on April 24 – 30 for him. All Korean Buddhist monastics and lay Buddhists at 3,000 temples all over the nation will participate in this prayer and cherish the memory of the late supreme patriarch. They will wish him to be reborn in this mundane world and to save all sentient beings.”⁴⁵²

On April 24, I Cheongdam who guided Purification Buddhist Movement with his senior monk Ha Dongsan presented a Seon-styled farewell poem and lamented his death as follows:⁴⁵³

Alas! Alas! Alas!
 A great Buddha’s main hall collapsed.
 A torch died out in a deep night.
 Leaving little kids behind,
 our mother passed away.
 Dongsan (literally meaning “Eastern Mountain”) floats on water,
 Even the sun and the moon do not have shine.
*Eok!*⁴⁵⁴
 As a spring wind is ripe,
 A flower blooms,
 A bird chirps.

On April 30, 1965, the order hosted his funeral ceremony as an official funeral. Many eminent monastic leaders and lay Buddhists presented their memorial addresses. Among them, I Unheo, a scholar monk and a representative translator of classical Chinese Buddhist texts in the vernacular Korean language, summarized Ha Dongsan as an eminent ecumenical Korean monk who synthesized three major Buddhist elements, i.e., the preservation of precepts, the research of doctrines, and the practice of Seon Buddhism.⁴⁵⁵ It presented its official funeral oration as follows:⁴⁵⁶

Now, we have the order’s official funeral ceremony for late former supreme patriarch Ha Dongsan of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. Bhikṣu Beomnyong (1904-2008), chair of the committee of the order’s official funeral ceremony for late Grand Master Ha Dongsan as well as all other monastics and laity deeply wish that late Grand Master Ha Dongsan should receive the grace of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, come back to this troubled mundane world, completely reveal the Buddhist teachings, let all sentient beings know every truth, and let them benefit. We also cordially hope that late Grand Master Ha Dongsan should not forget his aforementioned original vows. He was an ideal

⁴⁵² Ibid, 400.

⁴⁵³ Ibid, 327.

⁴⁵⁴ *Eok* is a Korean onomatopoeia meaning “sudden and sad shriek.”

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid, 330-331.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid, 334.

leader for all human and heavenly beings in the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism because he inherited the mind teachings of the Buddhas and the patriarchs on Mt. Huangmei. The 5th Chan patriarch Hongren transmitted the mind teachings to the 6th Chan patriarch Huineng on Mt. Huangmei.

I Seongcheol received ordination from Ha Dongsan at Haein-sa Monastery when he was 26 in 1937 and served as the order's supreme patriarch for more than twelve years between January 10, 1981 and November 4, 1993. I Seongcheol wrote an inscription on his master Ha Dongsan's relic stūpa on May 2, 1967 two years after his master's death and cherished his memory of late his master.⁴⁵⁷ He introduced Ha Dongsan's biography in a few pages in the inscription and summarized it in its last portion in a Seon-styled poem as follows.⁴⁵⁸

His mysterious relics are pure and splendid,
 The yellow-headed person, (the Buddha), loses his color,
 The blue-eyed person, (Bodhidharma⁴⁵⁹), makes a bow.
 It frosts in the middle of summer,
 A flower is dazzling in the middle of winter.
 The sun sheds light on the ridge of a mountain,
 The moon overlooks a red cinnamon tree.
 The white clouds hang in the sky,
 The red glow of the setting sun penetrates the sea.
 A blue dragon soars up,
 A spotted leopard fiercely dashes.
 A sharp sword is nectar,
 A dove's feather is a fresh tea.
 A dark night is a treasured jewel,
 A sharp-cut cliff is a rainbow bridge.
 Corpses are piled up,
 make a mountain,
 and let it go up high.
 Bleedings make a waterfall.
 A scented wind sweeps all over the world,
 A flower rain fills the sky.
 A Chinese phoenix drinks a sweet drink and fountain water,
 A kylin, a fabulous and auspicious beast, inhabits a jade forest.
 The holy master, (i.e., Ha Dongsan), dances with the scepter,
 A country old man, (i.e., I Seongcheol), sings the praises of freedom.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid, 335-342.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid, 339-340 & 342.

⁴⁵⁹ Bodhidharma was the 28th patriarch after Śākyamuni Buddha in the Indian Chan lineage and the 1st patriarch in the Chinese Chan lineage.

Part 2

Ha Dongsan and moderate Seon soteriology

Introducing lay Buddhist official Wen Zao's (767-836) question and Guifeng Zongmi's (780-841) response,¹ Ha Dongsan commented on Zongmi and supported his ecumenism between doctrinal Buddhism and practical Chan Buddhism, "Although Zongmi respected the doctrinal tradition (of Huayan Buddhism), he approached it from the nature and principle (of Chan Buddhism), not just from the textual and doctrinal perspectives. Because he reflected on the nature, thoroughly comprehended the Buddhist doctrines, understood the truth, and told the truth to the lay official, his sayings were appropriate. When he explained the Buddhist doctrines, he did not exclude the Chan Buddhist perspectives. (Like him), we should not approach Buddhism only from the textual sides."

Ha Dongsan followed Zongmi's syncretism between Huayan Buddhism and moderate Heze Chan Buddhism and also accepted moderate Zongmi's view of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation. Radical Linji Chan sectarians soteriologically advocated the subitist view of sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation. Because Bojo Jinul² was the loyal follower of Zongmi's moderate view of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation, Ha Dongsan succeeded the spirit of moderate Chan Buddhism from Zongmi through Jinul.

Jae-ryong Shim discussed the heated debate between the radical Linji Chan sectarian view of sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation and the moderate and syncretic Korean Chan Buddhist view of sudden enlightenment and gradual enlightenment in contemporary Korean Buddhism in a chapter entitled "A

¹ Dongsan mundo-hoe (Association of Master Ha Dongsan's Dharma Descendants), ed., *Dongsan daejongsa munjip* (Collection of Grand Master Ha Dongsan's Works) (Busan: Beomeo-sa Temple, 1998), 148-152. Refer to the original version of Wen Zao's question and Guifeng Zongmi's answer in T.47.1969B.242b3-28, T.51.2076.307c29-308b16.

² I Jeong, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo inmyeong sajeon* (Dictionary of Korean Buddhist Names) (Seoul: Bulgyo sidae-sa, 1993), 278-279.

Critical Appraisal of the “Sudden / Gradual” Debate in Korean Buddhism” in his *Korean Buddhism: Tradition and Transformation*.³ I Seongcheol (1912-1993),⁴ an eminent disciple of Ha Dongsan, did not follow his master’s moderate view and vehemently attacked the moderate Chan Buddhist soteriological view of Jinul. Jinul adopted the moderate view from Zongmi of Chinese Buddhism and initiated it in Korean Buddhism. The followers of Jinul’s moderate Chan Buddhist soteriology strongly defended Jinul’s view of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation from I Seongcheol’s attacks. Jae-ryong Shim summarized the debate from the following three perspectives:⁵

Historically, due to the idiosyncratic emphasis on the authentic lineage of transmission of the realization experience from a master to a disciple, the problem of transmission looms large in any *Sŏn* Buddhist tradition. Sŏngch’ŏl (1912-1993), the previous patriarch of the Korean *Sŏn* sect, Chogyojong, disclaimed the traditional position of Chinul (1158-1210) being the founding father of his own sect. Chinul is not, Sŏngch’ŏl claims, worthy of being honored as such, for Chinul did not get the authentic “seal” of transmission from an enlightened master in China.

Philosophically, in addition to the lack of “seal”, Sŏngch’ŏl charges that Chinul is incorrect in his understanding of the authentic Buddha dharma, for Chinul’s understanding of Buddhism is based on the doctrinal teachings of the *Hwaŏm* sect rather than the proper, orthodox *Sŏn* sect.

Soteriologically, therefore, Sŏngch’ŏl claims that Chinul’s guidance of the un-lightened people is all wrong: nobody can be saved or cured of the “disease,” i.e., “ignorance” in Buddhism by Chinul’s prescription.

When I Seongcheol became the spiritual leader of Haein-sa Monastery, presumably the biggest monastery on the Korean Peninsula in 1976, he published a book entitled *The Orthodox Dharma Lineage of Korean Buddhism* (*Hanguk bulgyo ui beommaek*)⁶ and attempted to emphasize the Linji Chan sectarian lineage of subitism in the history of Korean Buddhism. Because Taego Bou (1310-1382)⁷ imported the Linji Chan Buddhism and transmitted the Linji Chan lineage from Chinese Buddhism, I Seongcheol considered him as the

³ Jae-ryong Shim, *Korean Buddhism: Tradition and Transformation* (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 1999), 211-233.

⁴ *Hanguk bulgyo chongnam pyeonjip* wiwon-hoe, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo chongnam* (The Comprehensive Collection of Source Materials of Contemporary Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Daehan bulgyo jinheung-won, 1993), 576. Hereafter, I will refer this source book as its abbreviation *Chongnam*.

⁵ Jae-ryong Shim, 211-212.

⁶ I Seongcheol, *Hanguk bulgyo ui beommaek* (The Orthodox Dharma Lineage of Korean Buddhism) (Hapcheon, South Korea: Janggyeong-gak, 1976).

⁷ I Jeong, ed., 113.

founder of the Korean Linji Chan lineage in particular and of the Korean Chan lineage in general, very seriously lowering Jinul's position in Korean Chan Buddhism.

Taego Bou went to China, studied Chan Buddhism under and transmitted the Dharma lineage from the Chinese Chan master Shiwu Qinggong (1272-1352) of the Chinese Linji Chan lineage. Because Jinul did not go to and study Chan Buddhism in China, he could not transmit the authentic Dharma transmission of Chan Buddhism from China. So, I Seongcheol argued that Jinul did not inherit the direct and orthodox Dharma transmission of Chinese Chan Buddhism. He considered that Taego Bou's direct link with the Chinese Chan master Shiwu Qinggong authenticated the Dharma transmission of Korean Linji Chan Buddhism directly originated from Huineng (638-713), the sixth patriarch of Chinese Chan Buddhist lineage through Bodhidharma (c. 470-543), which is able to be traced all the way back to Śākyamuni Buddha's original enlightenment.

He claimed, "In all published articles and everyday conversations that the *hwadu study* is the only way to achieve Buddhahood, that Chinul's apparent syncretism is misleading, and that, therefore, he cannot be honored as the founding father of the Korean Chogye Sŏn Order."⁸ Because he was an extreme Linji Chan sectarian, he hierarchically evaluated Chan Buddhism over doctrinal Buddhism and attempted to prove the superiority of the Linji Chan Buddhism to other Chan traditions. He negated the syncretic tradition of Korean Buddhism.

In 1981, one year after he became the supreme patriarch of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, he published another argumentative book entitled *Seonmun jeongno* (The Correct Path of Seon Buddhism).⁹ He seriously argued against Jinul's sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation even though most Korean Buddhists agreed that Jinul was the actual founder of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. We can easily notice innumerable pieces of evidence of the enormous influence of Jinul on Korean Buddhism doctrinally and practically.

In 1954, Korean Buddhism initiated the Purification Buddhist Movement in order to recover celibate Korean Buddhism's traditional monasticism from Japanized married monasticism and revitalize Chan Buddhism degenerated during Japanese occupation period, 1910 – 1945. Upon the completion of the movement, the order enacted its current constitution on March 22, 1962 and promulgated it on March 25. The constitution describes Jinul as one of its founding patriarchs in its following first article of the first section:¹⁰

⁸ Jae-ryong Shim, 212.

⁹ I Seongcheol, *Seonmun jeongno* (The Correct Path of Seon Buddhism) (Hapcheon, South Korea: Haein chongnim, 1981).

¹⁰ See "Jongcheon" (The Order's Constitution) in Daehan bulgyo jogye-jong (Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism), ed., *Jongdan beomnyeong-jip* (A Statue Book of the Jogye

This order is called the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. The order originated from National Master Doui (d. 821),¹¹ the founder of the Seon lineage established on Mt. Gaji in the Silla Dynasty (traditionally dated, 57 BCE or 4 CE - 936 CE). National Master Bojo Jinul (1158-1210) of the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) reestablished the order. National Master Taego Bou (1301-1383) united all the sects under this order's official title. Since then, Korean Buddhists have incessantly inherited the Dharma lineage.

I Seongcheol attempted to remove National Master Bojo Jinul in the order's constitution. So, theoretically attacking Jinul's syncretism between practical Chan Buddhism and doctrinal Huayan Buddhism, meditation and wisdom, and subitism and gradualism, he attempted to prove in his two controversial works the validity and authenticity of his sectarian perspective of Linji Chan Buddhism in the history of Korean Chan Buddhism. After the publication of the two books, some monks and scholars supported by Songgwang-sa Monastery where Jinul revived the Korean Seon tradition in the latter half of the Goryeo Dynasty defended Jinul's syncretism and theoretically counterattacked I Seongcheol's arguments. I Seongcheol published several articles in which he defended and developed his arguments from their counter-criticisms. He included the articles in the appendix of his extended version of *Hanguk bulgyo ui beommaek* published in 1990.¹²

However, unlike his disciple I Seongcheol, an advocate of the Linji Chan sectarian, Ha Dongsan loyally inherited the syncretic Buddhist tradition of many Sino-Korean Buddhist masters such as Wonhyo (617-685),¹³ Zongmi, Yongming Yanshou (904-975), Daegak Uicheon (1055-1101),¹⁴ Jinul, Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604),¹⁵ Yunqi Zhuhong (1535-1615), and other ecumenist masters. He syncretized Chan Buddhism with doctrinal Buddhism, particularly Huayan Buddhism. He harmonized Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism. He synthesized the strict observation of precepts with other doctrinal and practical Buddhist traditions. In this ecumenical context, he cited the following lengthy segment and supported his moderate Chan view of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation.¹⁶

Order of Korean Buddhism), revised version (1995. Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2001), 19.

¹¹ I Jeong, ed., 74-75.

¹² See I Seongcheol, *Hanguk bulgyo ui beommaek*, 339-385.

¹³ I Jeong, ed., 208-210.

¹⁴ Ibid, 230-231.

¹⁵ Ibid, 366-367.

¹⁶ See the Korean translation of Ha Dongsan in Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 149-151. See the original sentences in T.51.2076.307c29-a11.

Lay Buddhist official Wen Zao asked Zongmi, “The practitioners who awakened the principle (of Buddha nature / Buddhahood) and remove delusions did not make Karma. If they died one day, where should their mysterious nature rely on?”

Zongmi answered him, “All sentient beings are endowed with the nature of enlightenment. The mind of mysterious illumination is not different from the Buddha. The mind that is mysterious, illuminating, and tranquil is not different from the Buddha. However, they do not know it since the beginning-less eon but attach themselves to consider their bodies as theirs. Therefore, they generate the passions such as love and hatred and other ones. They followed the passions and created Karmas (activities). They followed the activities and received their effects. Having the Karma effects, they repeated living, aging, sickness and dying, and were subject to transmigrate in a myriad of the realms of existence (such as six destinies, i.e., hell, hungry ghosts, animals, *asuras*¹⁷, humans and heavenly beings)¹⁸ for innumerable eons.

However, the nature of enlightenment in their bodies does not have living and dying. Metaphorically speaking, even though someone hunts after and away us in a dream, we are safe and idle in our real lives. Even though water is changed to ice, the nature of (water’s) wetness does not change.

(Our minds are originally safe and are not different from other minds).¹⁹ If we understand this nature, we can realize that the body of the great order does not originate by itself. If so, where can this body of the great order rely on? (How can we become human beings? How can we become heavenly beings? How can we become hell beings, hungry ghosts, and animals?)²⁰ Because we are not living, we are not in a place.

The mind is mysterious and even more mysterious and is not deluded. It is clear and clear and always illuminates (the truth). It does not have the origin and the destination (because it originally does not go and come)²¹.

If we attach ourselves to the delusions that we have accumulated for a myriad of lives, we make the delusive thinking become our habit. So, we have the passions such as joy, anger, sadness, and pleasure flow through (our lives) without stop.

Although we (suddenly) understand the truth, we cannot (suddenly) remove the passions that we have accumulated for a myriad of lives. We should realize and observe the passions and gradually reduce and reduce them. Figuratively speaking, even if the wind suddenly stops, the waves of the ocean

¹⁷ *Asura* are a type of demon in Indian mythology. They continuously fight with the gods.

¹⁸ Ha Dongsan inserted the phrase in parenthesis.

¹⁹ Ha Dongsan added the sentence in parenthesis.

²⁰ Ha Dongsan inserted the sentences in parenthesis.

²¹ Ha Dongsan added the clause in parenthesis.

gradually stop. How can we equalize our cultivation that we have accumulated in this life to the Buddha's free functions?

Ha Dongsan also introduced the subitist view of the Linji Chan Buddhism from lay Buddhist official Han Zonggu's (d.u.) question and Chan Master Huitang Zuxin's (1025-1100)²² response.²³ Chan Master Huitang Zuxin of the Chinese Linji Chan lineage theoretically detailed the subitist view of sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation. He did not side with the Linji Chan sectarianism but attempted to harmonize the sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation theory and the sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation theory.²⁴ Accordingly, he cited the following.²⁵

The government official Han Zonggu asked (Chan master Huitang Zuxin in his letter), "I have heard that you suddenly attained enlightenment and did not have doubts. Even so, you could not suddenly remove the beginning-less defilements. How can you remove them?" Huitang (Zuxin) replied to it as follows:

"I respectively have read your letter. I read the sentences, "I have heard that you suddenly attained enlightenment and did not have doubts. Even so, you could suddenly remove the beginning-less perfumed defilements. How can you remove them?" However, how can you find other teachings (awakenings) outside your mind? How can you remove the beginning-less perfumed defilements (outside your mind)? If you generate this kind of mind, you mistakenly consider the enemy as your son.

(Buddhas and patriarchs) explicated their teachings to the audience in accordance with their necessity since the antique times just as (medical doctors) provided medicines (to sick persons) in accordance with their diseases. Even though they had perfumed defilements, the Buddhas skillfully treated them with his proper knowledge. The skillful means was the teachings of the Buddha who guided the audience (his disciples) to enlightenment.

(The language is the guest of the true reality. A lion bites a human being and a dog of Han China chases a lump of clay. If we really obtain (enlightenment), how should we treat perfumed defilements? We entice perfumed defilements to enlightenment.²⁶)

²² See the entry of "Soshin" in (Komazawa daigaku) Zengaku daijiten hensansho (Center for Publishing *Dictionary of Zen Studies*), ed., *Zengaku daijiten* (Dictionary of Zen Studies), 3 vols (Tokyo: Taishukan shoten, 1978), vol. 2, 771a-b.

²³ Refer to T.51.2077.564c21-565a1, X.86.1607.598c1-11, and X.88.1661.500a24-b6.

²⁴ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 154-155.

²⁵ X.86.1607.598c1-11.

²⁶ Ha Dongsan inserted the paragraph in parenthesis.

If we can remove perfumed defilements, we presume and remove the things outside the mind. (What can we presume outside the mind? If we assume the things outside the mind, we should not say (the truth) that everything is the creation of mind-only. If we have the doubt in our minds, we should exemplify doubts as good models and remove them.²⁷⁾

For example, when a turtle drags his tail and enters the mud, he attempts to wag his tail and remove the traces. The more he attempts to remove the traces with his tail, the more he leaves the traces behind. Even though he attempts to remove the traces, he rather increases them.

(If we consider the above metaphor, it is likened as follows): When we obtain enlightenment, we need to remove the residue of the perfumed defilements. (Paradoxically speaking), we train our minds with our minds.

(Everything is the creation of mind. There is nothing outside the mind. How can we train our minds with our minds? Therefore, the wise persons follow the unconditional teaching and the foolish persons get entangled of themselves.²⁸⁾ The more they get entangled, the less they have freedom and the more the diseases become gradually serious. (Therefore, ancient sages said, “If we do not know our minds but cultivate them, we are subject to add foolishness in them.”²⁹⁾

We should completely know the truth that there is nothing outside the mind. There is no mind outside the objects. The mind and the objects are not existent. How can we teach other Buddhists to remove the mind and the objects suddenly?”

Ha Dongsan contended that we should not hierarchically evaluate Zongmi’s moderate view of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation and Huitang Zuxin’s radical view of sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation.³⁰ The two views have their own uniqueness and advantage. So, Chan practitioners can use either of the two differing views based on their necessity and capacities. He suggested that Korean Buddhists should not absolutize either of the two views.

1. Ha Dongsan

Ha Dongsan argued that because Buddhists could not easily transcend eighteen realms consisting of six sense faculties, six sense objects and six consciousnesses,³¹ they should practice *kōan* Seon meditation and solve their

²⁷ Ha Dongsan added the sentences in parenthesis.

²⁸ Ha Dongsan inserted the sentences in parenthesis.

²⁹ Ha Dongsan added a sentence in parenthesis.

³⁰ See Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 154-155.

³¹ See the entry of “eighteen elements” in the English Buddhist Dictionary Committee, ed., the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism* (Tokyo: Soka Gakkai, 2002),

epistemological and existential limitations.³² While the awakened persons do not discriminate the objects, sentient beings differentiate them. If we do not attach ourselves to objects, we can reveal the nature and realize Buddha nature. If so, in an instant, sentient beings become Buddhas.

He did not follow radical Linji Chan Buddhism and its antinomian view, the view that monastics are not obligated to abide by ethical precepts. He syncretized Seon Buddhism with the preservation of precepts. Linji Chan sectarians absolutize enlightenment and make light of methods such as the preservation of precepts and the gradual mind cultivation, the continuous textual research, and so on. So, because Linji Chan absolutists concentrate on awakening, we call them subitists who advocate sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation. However, Ha Dongsan was a moderate Seon master and synthesized individual soteriology and social ethics, the cultivation of mind and the preservation of precepts as follows:³³

When we practice Seon meditation for ninety days of the summer intensive retreat (begun today on lunar April 15 and ended on lunar July 15, 1964), we should purify our minds and bodies. If we want to purify our minds and bodies, we should keep five precepts, (1) not to kill all beings, (2) not to take other possessions, (3) not to engage in sexual misconduct, (4) not to lie, and (5) not to consume intoxicants. The preservation of precepts means the resuscitation of the universal body. If we keep precepts, we can know the universal body. Precepts do not mean just the (ethical) commandments, but the revival of the deluded universal body. Five cardinal precepts are extended to 250 precepts in full monastic precepts and 10 major and 48 minor precepts in Bodhisattva precepts. Even though those precepts seem different, if Buddhists preserve any of those precepts, they can equally realize our deluded nature and possess ten perfections, (1) almsgiving, (2) the keeping of precepts, (3) endurance, (4) assiduousness, (5) meditation, (6) wisdom, (7) skillful means, (8) the vow, (9) power, and (10) knowledge, and three kinds of learning, (1) precepts, (2) meditation, and (3) wisdom.

Ha Dongsan interpreted precepts from the Seon perspective.³⁴ He thought that delusion and enlightenment are non-dual. Because the nature is immanent in everywhere, we should realize it. Even though the nature is deluded, the delusion is not permanent and substantial. When we realize our nature, delusion

143. The eighteen elements constitutes the comprehensive concept of three interrelated categories, i.e., the six sense organs, (1) eyes, (2) ears, (3) nose, (4) tongue, (5) body, and (6) mind; the six objects, (1) forms, (2) sounds, (3) odors, (4) tastes, (5) textures, and (6) phenomena; and the six consciousnesses, (1) sight, (2) hearing, (3) smell, (4) taste, (5) touch, and (6) thought.

³² See Dongsan mundo-hoe (Association of Master Ha Dongsan's Dharma Descendants), ed., *Dongsan daejongsa munjip* (Collection of Grand Master Ha Dongsan's Works), 47-49.

³³ Ibid, 50-51.

³⁴ Ibid, 51.

immediately disappears. When we take the precepts in the beginning, we are subject to realize our nature that we have forgotten for a little while. He said that Buddhists could remove delusions by relying on 84,000 Buddhist teachings differently applied to the people of different capacities. He metaphorically explained three kinds of learning, “If our mind was pacified, the water of meditation became clarified and the moon of wisdom got illuminated.”³⁵ He also argued that the delusion is not real and not substantial.³⁶

He required the preservation of precepts to the cultivation of mind. He seriously criticized antinomian Seon practitioners most affiliated to radical Linji Chan lineage as follows: “Some (radical Seon practitioners) say that the eating of meats and the drinking of intoxicants do not obstruct wisdom. They make little of the preservation of precepts and do not believe in the words of Buddhas and patriarchs. Buddhas and patriarchs have never done so. When someone clearly possesses both proper understanding and proper praxis, we can name him as a Buddha or a patriarch. If someone does not have both of them but either of them, he is not a Buddha or a patriarch. Both proper understanding and proper praxis are non-dual.”³⁷

He also suggested that Seon Buddhists should equally practice three kinds of learning, (1) precepts, (2) meditation, and (3) wisdom, not hierarchically evaluating them, but considering them as being interconnected.³⁸ If they sincerely practice Seon Buddhism, they can obtain three kinds of learning. Without precepts, there is no meditation. Without meditation, there is no wisdom. After manifesting three kinds of learning, they can become patriarchs and save sentient beings. If they do not reveal three kinds of learning, they cannot become patriarchs and cannot save sentient beings at all. He also said, “Precepts are not special. When we recover our minds from defilements, we can recover precepts. When we obtain wisdom, we can meditate. When we meditate, we can obtain precepts. When we obtain wisdom, we can recover precepts. When we have wisdom, we can simultaneously have precepts. Therefore, meditation, precepts and wisdom are identical.”³⁹

Ha Dongsan mentioned that both doctrinal Buddhism and Seon Buddhism emphasized the precepts.⁴⁰ When we recover our lost minds, we can recover the precepts. When we have the precepts, we can have meditation. When we have meditation, we can have the precepts. When we have wisdom, we can have the precepts. The precepts, meditation, and wisdom are identical. When we recover our nature, we can have the precepts and meditation. So, when the Buddha explicated 10 major precepts and 48 minor precepts in *Brahmā Net Sūtra*, they could not be separated from three kinds of learning.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid, 61.

³⁷ Ibid, 60.

³⁸ Ibid, 60-61.

³⁹ Ibid, 159.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 61.

Ha Dongsan considered the preservation of precepts as the beginning and foundation of ultimate enlightenment.⁴¹ He argued that we can not purify our minds without keeping the precepts. Even though all Buddhist teachings guide Buddhists to adopt different ways to enlightenment based on their different capacities, the final aim of all Buddhist teachings, including the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*, the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, the *Diamond Sūtra*, the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, and the *Huayan Sūtra*, is for to subsume all things and to return them to One Mind. He asserted that if all things were subsumed to One Mind, the One Mind will not have subject and object.

He explained that Seon Buddhism proceeds to one more step and investigates where the One Mind goes after subsuming all things.⁴² He suggested Seon practitioners not to attach themselves to texts and not to fossilize them. He recommended they be comprehended in live circumstances. If so, Seon Buddhists go beyond dichotomous thinking and non-dualistically comprehend beings and nonbeings, sentient beings and insentient beings, the mundane world and the trans-mundane world. He requested Buddhists not to attach themselves to texts but to move straight to the fundamental aim and teaching of Buddhism.

Kōan Seon praxis requires great doubts.⁴³ We make an example of doubts, “If the One Mind subsumes all things, where does the One Mind return?” If we doubt more, we can awaken more. When a monk asked whether a dog has Buddha nature, Zhaozhou Congshen (778-897) answered, “A dog does not have Buddha nature.” According to Buddhism, all beings have the Buddha nature. So, Seon practitioners should continuously doubt and concentrate on the paradoxical *kōan*⁴⁴ and should not allow any other thoughts aroused.⁴⁵ If so, they could suddenly get enlightenment in the moving sound of bamboo and the sight of a falling peach flower and a twig and could realize that everything, such as rivers, mountains, the ground, is the manifestation of the One Mind.⁴⁶

Kōan Seon praxis also requires great confidence.⁴⁷ If Seon students do not trust in Buddhism, they cannot accept Buddhism. If they do not believe in Buddhist teachings, they cannot cultivate our minds based on them.

Other than two requirements, great doubts and great confidence, *kōan* Seon practitioners also need great endeavor.⁴⁸ They should always make efforts as if they urgently extinguish flames on their heads. Even so, they should not unreasonably speed up enlightenment and they should not have a lazy mind. It is extremely rare for Buddhists to encounter Buddhist teachings just as putting of a needle in a particle of dust or a blind turtle encountering a piece of a wood

⁴¹ Ibid, 52.

⁴² Ibid, 52-57.

⁴³ Ibid, 57.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 62.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 67-68.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 68.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 59.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 63.

floating in the ocean. Furthermore, it is extremely difficult for us to be born as humans. Utilizing the rare opportunity to be born as humans and to encounter Buddhism, Buddhists should endeavor to study Buddhism, to cultivate their minds, and finally to realize Buddhahood.

In addition to the three cardinal requirements, he also required *kōan* Seon practitioners to have great courage in the following way:⁴⁹ “When someone questions, “When they have no dreams and no thoughts, where can my protagonist establish my body and life?⁵⁰” they should keep their minds in their control. If they make a mistake on a cliff, they will slip down from it. If they make a wrong thought, they will be in the wrong.... If so, they can go straight to the Buddha lands in an instant. (So, ancient Chan masters used to say (the famous saying): “Chan practitioners should (courageously) move one more step from the top of the bamboo pole of one hundred feet.⁵¹”

Ha Dongsan explained that even though the One Mind does not have an inside, an outside and a middle, it prevails all over the universe.⁵² He said that even though it does not have four sense objects, (1) color, (2) sound, (3) odor, and (4) taste and four elements, (1) ground, (2) water, (3) fire, and (4) wind, it is extremely strong.⁵³ If it is not blocked, it is big and powerful. If it is blocked, it is not big and powerful. Because Buddhas and Bodhisattvas do not block their minds, they are powerful. However, because sentient beings obstruct their minds, they are not powerful.⁵⁴ It is prevailed over all beings without discriminations.

Even though the mind is really extensive and unobstructed, sentient beings differentiate and obstruct it.⁵⁵ If we do not have differentiating and discriminating minds, sentient beings are equal to Buddhas because the minds of sentient beings and Buddhas are the same. If they have obstructed minds, they do not know that the mind is originally unobstructed. Ha Dongsan suggested that Seon practitioners should not attach themselves to the four elements, defilements, delusions, wholesome minds, the teachings of two vehicles,⁵⁶ and unconditioned teachings.⁵⁷ The wisdom of Buddhas and great Bodhisattvas is

⁴⁹ Ibid, 158.

⁵⁰ See T.48.2003.170b3, T.48.2003.162b10, X.62.1208.818c14, X.66.1297.493c14, X.72.1444.783a23, X.72.1439.622c16-17, X.72.1444.805b12-13, X.81.1568.294c14, X.82.1571.565a17, X.82.1571.239c17, X.82.1571.601c17-18, X.85.1587.77a2, X.85.1587.24c20, and other texts.

⁵¹ See T.47.1998A.847a21, X.10.253.323b10, X.10.254.410b21, X.64.1260.283a18, X.64.1260.203c9, X.69.1369.759c8, X.69.1369.765c11, X.71.1416.434c7, X.71.1420.632a5, X.71.1420.634c9, X.71.1420.567a24, X.71.1423.752a7, X.73.1456.589a17, X.73.1456.823b11, and other texts.

⁵² Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 72.

⁵³ Ibid, 73.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 74.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 75.

⁵⁶ Two vehicles are the vehicle of hearers and the vehicle of solitary realizers.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 77.

limitless and borderless. While always practicing Seon, Buddhas and great Bodhisattvas do not attach themselves to it.

He considered our minds pure and unpolluted.⁵⁸ This body of the great order does not originate from and does not rely on other external objects. It is innate. We could not assume there are innate defilements in our minds. If we have defilements even a little, we do not attain complete enlightenment that we should endeavor to realize.

He asserted that all beings have minds equal in value and all beings have different capacities.⁵⁹ The Buddha's teachings are equally delivered to all listeners without discriminating among them. Because the listeners are different in their capacities, they understand the words differently. If a person thoroughly has trust in the Buddha and his teachings, he can attain wisdom. If another person does not believe in the Buddha and his teachings, he might transform his teachings to the poison of defilements and delusions. He pointed out that discriminating thoughts caused people to make poison.

Ha Dongsan metaphorically explained that even though the Buddha delivered the same teachings to his disciples, they understood them differently based on their different capacities as follows: "So, if a snake drinks water, he makes poison. If a cow drinks it, she makes milk. Even if a snake and a cow drink the same water, the snake makes poison and the cow makes milk. Likewise, even though many people listen to the same teachings from the same Buddha at the same time, some attain wisdom and others make the poison of defilements and delusions."⁶⁰

The mind is likened to the moon.⁶¹ When the same moon shines over a myriad of rivers, it manifests innumerable moons in different rivers. Even though the moon reveals numberless moons, those moons are the manifestations of the same moon, not different in value and quality. When the same mind reveals innumerable minds in a myriad of beings, those minds are the manifestations of the same mind, not different in value and quality. The mind is originally pure and unpolluted. The minds innate in beings must be pure and not polluted because those are the manifestations of the pure and unpolluted mind. So, we do not need to remove delusions and defilements and to seek non-delusions and non-defilements in our minds.

1.1. Dahui Zonggao (1089-1163) and Bojo Jinul (1158-1210)

Ha Dongsan recommended Seon students not to attach themselves to ten discriminating thoughts but to completely eliminate them.⁶² He adopted the ten

⁵⁸ Ibid, 160.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 141.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 141.

⁶¹ Ibid, 142.

⁶² Ibid, 78-81 & 142-145.

discriminating thoughts from Jinul's⁶³ *Treatise on the Examination of Kōans and the Elimination of Doubts* (*Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*), generally known as the best introduction to the "Gate of the Direct Shortcut" in Korean Buddhism.⁶⁴ The text suggested that Seon practitioners should practice *kōan* Seon Buddhism, obtain wisdom and remove thoughts, and obtain enlightenment. Ha Dongsan contended that *kōan* Seon Buddhism is the secret gate of the direct shortcut to enlightenment.⁶⁵

In 1198, Jinul attained his final enlightenment at Sangmuju-am Hermitage on Mt. Jiri at reading the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui Zonggao*.⁶⁶ In 1200, he moved to Gilsang-sa Monastery, modern Songgwang-sa Monastery, on Mt. Songgwang, modern Mt. Jogye at which he had taught Buddhism for eleven years, 1200 – 1210, until to his death. In 1215, five years after his death, Jingak Hyesim (1178-1234)⁶⁷ found and published his master Jinul's manuscripts of the *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron* (Treatise to Eliminate Doubts on the Investigation of *kōans*) along with the another posthumous *Wondon seongbullon* (Treatise on Attaining Buddhahood according to the Perfect and Sudden Teaching) in postscripts. While at Gilsang-sa Monastery, Jinul adopted the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui Zonggao* as the basic text and elaborated on its fundamental tenets.

The ten thoughts originated from Zonggao's first reply to the government high officer layperson Fu Zhirou (d.u.).⁶⁸ Zonggao indicated the eight thoughts in the following manner:⁶⁹

However, you should not sincerely preserve the mind and let it destroyed. If you preserve the mind and let it destroyed, you will completely lose a chance to destroy it. However, you should at one time put down the mind overturned with delusions, the discriminating mind, the mind that likes lives and dislikes death, the mind that understands (everything) with knowledge, and the mind that likes tranquil places and dislikes noisy places. At the place at which you put down the minds, you should examine a *kōan*. (For example), a monk asked Zhaozhou Congshen, "Does a dog have the Buddha nature?" Zhaozhou Congshen told, "There is no Buddha nature." This *kōan* is a strong weapon to remove numberless wrong views and knowledge.

⁶³ I Jeong, ed., *Hanguk immyeong sajeon* (Dictionary of Korean Buddhist Names) (Seoul: Bulgyo sidae-sa, 1993), 278-279.

⁶⁴ Jae-ryong Shim, *Korean Buddhism: Tradition and Transformation*, Korean Studies Series No. 8 (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing, 1999), 287-288.

⁶⁵ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 144-145.

⁶⁶ T.47.893c28-894a2. Jae-ryong Shim translated the sentences, "Sōn does not lie in a silent place or in a noisy place, neither in the everyday activities nor in the discriminating thought. However, you must seek it apart from the silent or noisy place, nor in the everyday activities nor in the discriminating thought. If your eyes are opened up suddenly, then you can know that Sōn is no business that happens outside of your home." See Jae-ryong Shim, 279.

⁶⁷ I Jeong, ed., 345-346.

⁶⁸ T.47.1998A.921a17- c19.

⁶⁹ T.47.1998A.921c4-19. I itemized the discriminating thoughts.

(1) You should not discriminate between being and nonbeing. (2) You should not discriminately understand the principle (of Buddha nature / Buddhahood). (3) You should not intellectually calculate (objects) based on the faculty of the mind. (4) You should not attach yourselves to the blinking of eyes and the flapping of eyebrows. (5) You should not live based on languages. (6) You should not recognize truth in un-operated calmness. (7) You should not understand the beginning points of *kōans*. (8) You should not rely on textual evidences. You should always practice a *kōan* from morning to evening while moving, living, sitting, and lying. You should not get away from Zhaozhou Congshen's *kōan* at any time.

An ancient master said, "I have the live meaning of a patriarch in my mind. What or who can bind me?"⁷⁰ If you seek enlightenment in other places, not in everyday activities, it is like seeking water outside waves and gold nuggets outside a container. The more you seek it, the more it will be distant.

Jinul referred to Zonggao's (eight) discriminating thoughts and added two discriminating thoughts to them. He completed his own version of ten discriminating thoughts in his *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron* as follows:⁷¹

However, hereafter, I will introduce Chan *kōans* of the direct shortcut gate to enlightenment that Zonggao, the 17th Dharma holder of the Chinese Chan Buddhism who transmitted the authentic Chinese Chan Dharma lineage originated directly from Chan Master Huineng of Mt. Caoxi, established.⁷² When he investigated *kōans*, his methods were different from other ones. Why! He indicated *kōans* such as Zhaozhou Congshen's *kōan* that "the reason of Bodhidharma's coming from India, located in the west of China, is a nut pine tree in a front yard," Dongshan Shouzu's (910-990) *kōan* that "the Buddha is three pounds of hemp," and Zhaozhou Congshen's *kōan* that a dog does not have the Buddha nature. The *kōans* that he indicated did not have direct indicated meanings. Only after he provided tasteless and non-examinable *kōans*, he taught as follows:

If we do not destroy discriminating consciousnesses, the fire of our minds is subject to flare up. In this case, we should only take and investigate a *kōan*. For example, a monk asked Zhaozhou Congshen, "Does a dog have the Buddha

⁷⁰ I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist canon.

⁷¹ See H.4.734c18-735a18.

⁷² The seventeen authentic Dharma holders of Chan Buddhism from Huineng to Zonggao are (1) Huineng (638-713), (2) Nanyue Huirang (677-744), (3) Mazu Daoyi (709-788), (4) Baizhang Huihai (720-814), (5) Huangbo Xiyun (d. 850), (6) Linji Yixuan (d. 866), (7) Xinghua Cunjiang (830-888), (8) Nanyuan Huiyong (d. 930), (9) Fengxue Yanzhao (893-973), (10) Shoushan Shengnian (926-993), (11) Fenyang Shanzhao (947-1024), (12) Ciming Chuyuan (986-1039), (13) Yangqi Fanghui (992-1049), (14) Baiyun Shouduan (1025-1072), (15) Dongshan Fayan (c. 1024-1104), (16) Yuanwu Keqin (1063-1135), and (17) Zonggao (1089-1163).

nature?” Zhaozhou Congshen answered, “No.” We should hold this *kōan* and attain enlightenment. If we say that (enlightenment) comes from the left direction, it is wrong. If we say that (enlightenment) comes from the right direction, it also is wrong. (We should not have the following ten discriminating thoughts.)⁷³ (1) We should not discriminate between being and nonbeing. (2) We should not discriminate and recognize true nonbeing as being nonexistent. (3) We should not discriminate the understanding of principle. (4) We should not intellectualize and count based on the faculty of the mind. (5) We should not attach ourselves to the argument that there is the truth in the blinking of eyes and the flapping of eyebrows. (6) We should not rely on all theories. (7) We should not recognize truth in un-operated calmness. (8) We should not understand the beginning points of *kōans*. (9) We should not make textual citations. Finally, (10) we should not seek enlightenment in delusion. Here is rather a good place. Immediately when an old mouse suddenly entered a cow horn, we can realize a deadlock.

As mentioned above, we provide the *kōan* after commenting on it. Therefore, while moving, standing, sitting and lying, twenty-four hours per day, scholars only hold the *kōan* and obtain enlightenment. Because they understand the principle of mind nature, they are not subject to (discriminative) thoughts, even concerning transcending names and forms. Nor do they have thoughts of transcending non-causation and non-obstruction. If they have any discriminative thought on the Buddhist teachings even in a thought, they are subject to have the disease of ten discriminating thoughts.

As cited above, Jinul organized ten discriminating thoughts and told Chan practitioners not to attach themselves to them. We can itemize the ten discriminating thoughts as follows: (1) the discrimination of being and nonbeing; (2) the discriminate recognition of neither being nor nonbeing; (3) the discriminate understanding of principle; (4) intellectualizing and counting based on the mind faculty; (5) attachment to the argument that there is truth in the blinking of eyes and the flapping of eyebrows; (6) no transcending of all theories; (7) the recognition of truth in un-operated calmness; (8) the understanding of the beginning points of *kōans*; (9) textual citations; and (10) the seeking for enlightenment in delusion.⁷⁴

Ha Dongsan strongly recommended Seon practitioners to follow the teachings on live *kōan* Seon articulated by Zongmi and Jinul and to remove the ten discriminating thoughts based on the directions of Zonggao and Jinul.⁷⁵ If

⁷³ I itemized ten discriminating thoughts and let the readers easily understand them.

⁷⁴ Refer to Sim Jaeyeol, trans., *Bojo beobeo* (The Collected Works of Bojo Jinul) (Seoul: Boseong munhwa-sa, 1979), 446.

⁷⁵ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 79.

Seon practitioners get rid of the ten discriminating thoughts, they can suddenly and completely attain great enlightenment. They can clearly reveal the Dharma realm of One Mind. He mentioned that because *kōan* Seon Buddhism was better than doctrinal traditions and even other Seon Buddhist traditions, it was the best teaching in Buddhist traditions.⁷⁶ Only *kōan* Seon students can remove the ten discriminating thoughts. If they continuously and truly investigate *kōans*, they can finally attain enlightenment.

As the majority of scholar monks had difficulties in awakening, the majority of Chan practitioners also did not know how to become enlightened.⁷⁷ Chan masters detailed Kōan Chan Buddhism, the secret gate to the direct shortcut and let Chan practitioners investigate their doubts on the original teachings of Buddhism.

He listed the investigation of the meaning and the investigation of the word in Kōan Chan Buddhism and explained the two investigations as follows:⁷⁸ “If we investigate the intention (of *kōans*), we can see, listen, understand, and practice (Buddhist teachings). If we investigate the word (of *kōans*), we cannot see, listen, understand, and practice (Buddhist teachings). Because we cannot taste and seek (the original teachings of Buddhism), we can just proceed to attain original teachings by relying on the practice of Kōan Chan Buddhism.”

He introduced a major *kōan* of Zhaozhou Congshen that a dog does not have Buddha nature and differentiated two investigations in the following manner:⁷⁹ “The *kōan* of Zhaozhou Congshen that a dog does not have the Buddha nature is like the burning flames. We cannot put down the intellectual understanding of Buddhist teachings. Like above, the investigation of the meaning and the investigation of the word are different. Even if Seon practitioners mentioned nowadays that they obtained enlightenment, they were engaged in the diseases called ten discriminating thoughts.” Robert E. Buswell, Jr. concisely and distinctly summarized the two investigations in his *Tracing Back the Radiance: Chinul’s Korean Way of Zen* as follows:⁸⁰

There are two ways to approach investigation of the *hwadu*:⁸¹ either via the meaning (*ch’amŭi*) or through the word itself (*ch’amgu*). In the case of the *hwadu* mentioned above, if the student investigates Chao-chou’s⁸² motive for having “no” itself, he is investigating the word. At the beginning of practice, it

⁷⁶ Ibid, 144.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 80.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ See Robert E. Buswell, Jr., trans., *Tracing Back the Radiance: Chinul’s Korean Way of Zen* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 69.

⁸¹ *Hwadu* is a Korean term for the central phrase of a *kōan*. It is used as an object for meditation.

⁸² Chao-chou is an alternative transliteration of the name Zhaozhou.

is often helpful to investigate the meaning, because this examination, being easier and more interesting, expedites the development of the practice. But because this investigation is concerned with the sense of the word “no” rather than the word itself, this is called investigating the “dead word” (*sagu*). Such investigation leaves the student vulnerable to the same defect which comprises most other meditation approaches, for it still retains conceptual interpretations. To overcome this defect, it becomes necessary to abandon the interpretative approach and investigate only the word itself. This “live word” (*hwalgu*) is the weapon which can destroy all the defects still present in approaches involving conceptualization. Investigation of the word alone allows no understanding through the intellect and is, consequently, more difficult to perform: there is nothing for the discriminative mind to latch onto for support. Because of this quality, it is sometimes called “tasteless” (*mumi*).

Ha Dongsan interpreted the investigation of the meaning and the investigation of the word by using the three mysteries that the Linji Chan lineage established. The three mysteries are (1) the mystery manifested through experience, (2) the mystery revealed through the words (*kōans*), and (3) the mystery of the mysteries. The *Recorded Sayings of Linji Yixuan* introduced three mysteries coupled with three points in a short sentence as follows.⁸³

(After) Linji Yixuan (d. 867) asked (the audience on the preaching platform), “One phrase should have three mysteries. Because each mystery should possess three points, it has the skillful means and the functions. How do you all understand the three mysteries and three points?” he descended from the platform.

Each mystery has three main points, (1) essence, (2) forms and (3) functions. There are nine points in all. The mind has nine points. Jinul referred to Linji Yixuan and discussed the three mysteries in his latest three works, *Treatise on Attaining Buddhahood according to the Perfect and Sudden Teaching*,⁸⁴ *Treatise to Eliminate Doubts on the Investigation of kōans*, and *Summary of Guifeng Zongmi’s Chan Chart with Personal Notes*.⁸⁵ He published the *Summary of Guifeng Zongmi’s Chan Chart with Personal Notes* in 1209, just one year before his death, and his disciple Jingak Hyesim found and published his master’s *Wondon seongbullon* and *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron* in 1215, five years after Jinul’s death. Jinul explained the three mysteries in *Wondon seongbullon* as the following quote demonstrates:⁸⁶

⁸³ T.47.1985.497a19-21.

⁸⁴ H.4.728b16-c3.

⁸⁵ *Beopjip byeolhaeng-nok jeolyo byeongip sagi*, H.4.765c14-766b4.

⁸⁶ H.4.728b16-c3.

Chan Buddhism has three mysteries. The first is the mystery manifested through experience, the second is the mystery revealed through *kōans*, and the third is the mystery of the mysteries. The first mystery utilizes the (Huayan) teaching of the limitless non-obstructions between phenomena and phenomena and guides the practitioners of low capacities to enter enlightenment. According to the (Huayan) teaching, “Subjects are not at all separated from objects in limitless worlds and ten periods, the past and the present, and the beginning and the end are not separated from this thought.”⁸⁷ This (mystery) also does not transcend the understanding in language and teaching. Therefore, (Chan masters) caused Chan practitioners to remove their attachments in the second mystery of the words (*kōans*) and let them suddenly eliminate (ten) discriminating thoughts on the Buddhist teachings. The mystery of the words does not have traces of the words but always have the words with which (Chan practitioners) can use to remove all intellectual thoughts. After (Chan practitioners) completely wipe out all intellectual thoughts and all verbal discriminations (in the mystery of the words), (Chan masters) train (Chan practitioners) with sudden shouts, unexpected blows of the stick, wordless gestures, by keeping long silences, and other *Kōan* Chan techniques of the third mystery of the mysteries. At that time, (Chan practitioners) suddenly eliminate (through the third mystery) the aforementioned second mystery that removes all intellectual thoughts and all verbal discriminations. Therefore, “If they realize the meaning of the words and lose the words themselves, they will be much closer to enlightenment.”⁸⁸ We can say that (Chan practitioners) suddenly realize the Dharma Realm in this (the third mystery). Chan Buddhism indicates the mysterious mind of pure nature in the deluded and tainted (mind) for the sake of the sentient beings of the lowest and inferior capacities and guided them to easily understand and believe in the mind. After trusting in the mind, they should remove (intellectual) understanding. If so, they can finally realize Buddhahood in themselves. If they do not remove (intellectual) understanding, they will be attached to the deep and hollow hole called enlightenment while meditating and unable to use their bodies without obstructions in all behaviors.

⁸⁷ See T.47.1998A.822b6-7, X.24.467.746b8-9, X.67.1308.520c3, X.67.1309.560a19-20, X.69.1351.294c8-9, X.72.1435.299b7, X.80.1565.389b13-14, X.85.1591.258b5, X.86.1600.165c22-23, X.88.1646.212b13-14, and other texts. Ha Dongsan seems like to cite the quote directly from the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui Zonggao*, T.47.1998A.822b6-7.

⁸⁸ See T.48.2006.302b1, X.67.1309.580a20, X.82.1571.568a1, X.83.1578.554a8, X.83.1578.555a14, X.83.1578.557a8, X.83.1578.557b10, X.85.1593.468c11, and other texts.

Jinul indicated the (Huayan) teaching of the limitless non-obstructions between phenomena and phenomena as the first mystery manifested through experience. Jinul considered the Huayan teaching that Li Tongxuan (646-740) soteriologically explicated in his *Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra*. Jinul discovered the lay Buddhist scholar Li Tongxuan's soteriological approach to the Huayan teaching instead of the theoretical formulation of the categorical schemes that the orthodox monastic scholars of Chinese Huayan Buddhism such as Yunhua Zhiyan (602-668), Xianshou Fazang (643-720), and Qingliang Chengguan (738-839) illustrated. He showed the *kōan* exercise in the second mystery revealed through words. In the third mystery of the mysteries, he pointed out the Chan experience that transcends all intellectual thoughts and all languages. The third mystery means the ultimate stage of complete enlightenment and is identical to the cultivated state of the enlightened persons.⁸⁹ He also expounded the three mysteries in his *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron* as follows:⁹⁰

Chan Buddhism shows the unobstructed harmonization between phenomena and phenomena, i.e., the dependent origination of the true nature for the (Chan) practitioners who do not understand the secret transmission of Seon Buddhism. It explains the (Huayan) doctrine and lets them obtain the tenets (of Chan Buddhism). For instance, it reveals the (Huayan) teaching of the first mystery to the practitioners of low capacities. So, the (Huayan) teaching says, "Subjects are not at all separated from objects in limitless worlds and ten periods, the past and the present, and the beginning and the end are not separated from this thought."⁹¹ (The Huayan teaching) also says, "When we brightly illuminate Huayan Buddhist teachings, we can encompass all phenomena."⁹² According to

⁸⁹ Shim Jae-ryong, *Dongyang ui jihye wa seon* (Eastern Wisdom and Seon Buddhism) (Seoul: Segye-sa, 1990), 33.

⁹⁰ H.4.733a9-22.

⁹¹ See T.47.1998A.822b6-7, X.24.467.746b8-9, X.67.1308.520c3, X.67.1309.560a19-20, X.69.1351.294c8-9, X.72.1435.299b7, X.80.1565.389b13-14, X.85.1591.258b5, X.86.1600.165c22-23, X.88.1646.212b13-14, and other texts. Ha Dongsan seemed to cite the quote directly from the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui Zonggao*, T.47.1998A.822b6-7.

⁹² Refer to T.47.1992.597b8, T.47.1992.603b12, T.48.200.35a15, T.48.2006.302b2, T.48.2006.311c1, T.51.2077.667b21, T.51.2077.670b3, T.51.2077.469c12, X.63.1234.168a4, X.64.1260.50c3, X.64.1260.304a14, X.64.1260.304a17, X.64.1260.303b1, X.65.1280.159a15, X.65.1280.159b15, X.65.1280.180c21, X.65.1281.223a8, X.65.1282.257c21, X.65.1281.221b23, X.65.1281.221c6, X.66.1297.416b16, X.67.1303.291b15, X.68.1318.348c12, X.68.1315.59a13, X.68.1315.194a17, X.71.1421.666a16, X.72.1444.779a24, X.72.1435.351b5, X.72.1437.394a7, X.72.1437.478a18, X.72.1437.478a21, X.72.1437.478c7, X.72.1437.480a14, X.72.1437.480a20, X.79.1559.393a8, X.79.1557.104c16, X.80.1565.414c3, X.80.1565.417b24, X.81.1571.614a17, X.81.1568.232b23,

Chan Buddhism, the intellectual teaching of Huayan Buddhism, the number of perfect and sudden teachings is as numerous as grains of sand in the Ganges River. We name the teaching the “dead word” because the teaching causes (Chan) practitioners to understand (Chan) Buddhism intellectually. Because the beginning (Chan) practitioners cannot investigate (Chan Buddhism) with the “live word” of the direct shortcut gate, (Chan masters) deliver the (Huayan) teaching to them, let them trust in and understand the teaching and cause them not to backslide into (the lower cultivation stage). The (Chan) practitioners of the high capacities are able to inherit the secret mind transmission and to remove their limitations. If they listen to the tasteless teaching of the direct shortcut gate even for a little while, they are not caught in the disease of discriminating thought but know where they should go. If they listen to one principle, they can comprehend one thousand principles. Therefore, they are able to obtain the outline of (Chan Buddhism).

When Jinul interpreted the three mysteries, he explained the Huayan teaching as the “dead word” and Kōan Chan Buddhism as the “live word.” Huayan Buddhism of the “dead word” is the first mystery and Kōan Chan Buddhism of the “live word” is the second mystery. He interpreted intellectual Huayan Buddhism as the perfect and sudden teaching. He considered Kōan Chan Buddhism as the direct shortcut gate. He evaluated Kōan Chan Buddhism as superior to Huayan Buddhism. Jinul also expounded the three mysteries in the same *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron* as the following paragraph demonstrates.⁹³

Chan Buddhism displays different ways for practitioners of different capacities. (Chan masters) teach the principles of mind-only and consciousness-only (to Chan practitioners) and guide them to the first mystery revealed through experience. The (Chan practitioners) show the first mystery in the (Huayan) teaching of the limitless non-obstruction between phenomena and phenomena, (also known as) the perfect teaching. However, even though (Chan practitioners) can understand the Buddhist teaching, they cannot transcend it. When they control discriminating knowledge and remove the intellectual teaching, they can enter the second mystery revealed through words (kōans) and get rid of the intellectual Huayan teaching of the first mystery. They manifest the (second) mystery in *kōans* of the direct shortcut gate such as Zhaozhou Congshen’s *kōan* that “the reason of Bodhidharma’s coming from

X.82.1571.109a3, X.82.1571.291b20, X.82.1571.291b23, X.82.1571.305b12, X.83.1578.554a8, X.83.1578.555a15, X.83.1578.557a9, X.83.1578.557b5, X.82.1571.568a1-2, X.84.1579.16b20, X.84.1583.422b15, X.85.1593.468c11, X.86.1600.203a15, X.87.1624.263b19, X.87.1624.263c14, X.87.1618.165b8, and other texts.

⁹³ H.4.734b15-c6.

India, located in the west of China, is a nut pine tree in a front yard,” Dongshan Shouzhū’s *kōan* that “the Buddha is three pounds of hemp,” and other *kōans*. Therefore, ancient Chan masters established the three mysteries. They made the second mystery and removed intellectual diseases with *kōan* practice. Because they did not remove in the second mystery even the thought that they eliminated the intellectual diseases, they were not free from transmigration in the world of life and death. Therefore, they established the third mystery. In the third mystery of the mysteries, they completely removed even the thought that they eliminated all intellectual thoughts with sudden shouts, unexpected blows of a stick, wordless gestures, keeping long silences, and other *Kōan* Chan techniques. Therefore, “(The masters of the Linji Chan lineage) provisionally established three mysteries and intended to remove (intellectual) diseases completely.”⁹⁴ If we refer to the first expositions of the three mysteries by ancient Chan masters, the establishment of the three mysteries should not be considered (as the ultimate teaching). Therefore, the masters said, “The Chan practitioners currently consider the following two *kōans* as the ultimate and final teachings. (The *kōans*) are the *kōan* that “the outline of Buddhism is the highest Huading Peak on Mt. Tiantai” and Zhaozhou Congshen’s *kōan* on his stone bridge. The *kōan* (technique) is just the provisional device that Chan practitioners should adopt for obtaining enlightenment, not the ultimate one for which they should seek.”⁹⁵

Ha Dongsan also matched the experience obtained through *kōan* practice to the second mystery of the Linji Chan lineage. He quoted the following cliché from the afore-cited work of Jinul and explicated the third mystery:⁹⁶ “When we brightly illuminated Huayan Buddhist teachings, we could encompass all phenomena.”⁹⁷ He argued that if we comprehended the third mystery, we could

⁹⁴ X.83.1578.557b8.

⁹⁵ I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist texts.

⁹⁶ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 80.

⁹⁷ Refer to T.47.1992.597b8, T.47.1992.603b12, T.48.200.35a15, T.48.2006.302b2, T.48.2006.311c1, T.51.2077.667b21, T.51.2077.670b3, T.51.2077.469c12, X.63.1234.168a4, X.64.1260.50c3, X.64.1260.304a14, X.64.1260.304a17, X.64.1260.303b1, X.65.1280.159a15, X.65.1280.159b15, X.65.1280.180c21, X.65.1281.223a8, X.65.1282.257c21, X.65.1281.221b23, X.65.1281.221c6, X.66.1297.416b16, X.67.1303.291b15, X.68.1318.348c12, X.68.1315.59a13, X.68.1315.194a17, X.71.1421.666a16, X.72.1444.779a24, X.72.1435.351b5, X.72.1437.394a7, X.72.1437.478a18, X.72.1437.478a21, X.72.1437.478c7, X.72.1437.480a14, X.72.1437.480a20, X.79.1559.393a8, X.79.1557.104c16, X.80.1565.414c3, X.80.1565.417b24, X.81.1571.614a17, X.81.1568.232b23, X.82.1571.109a3, X.82.1571.291b20, X.82.1571.291b23, X.82.1571.305b12, X.83.1578.554a8, X.83.1578.555a15, X.83.1578.557a9, X.83.1578.557b5, X.82.1571.568a1-2, X.84.1579.16b20, X.84.1583.422b15, X.85.1593.468c11,

understand limitless nonobstructed relations between phenomena and phenomena articulated in Huayan Buddhism.

Ha Dongsan seemed not to completely remove the Linji Chan sectarianism popular in Korean Seon Buddhism. So, he argued that while Huayan Buddhism has only the first mystery, Seon Buddhism has all of the three mysteries.⁹⁸ If we knew the first mystery, we could know that everything was the creation of mind-only detailed in Huayan Buddhism.⁹⁹ After comprehending the first mystery, we can proceed to practice the second mystery, i.e., *kōans*.¹⁰⁰

Even so, Jinul and his loyal follower Ha Dongsan were not strong Linji Chan sectarians because they did not absolutize the three mysteries that supported the superiority of Kōan Chan Buddhism of the Linji Chan lineage to the doctrinal teaching of Huayan Buddhism. Ha Dongsan might be a moderate Linji Chan sectarian. While he was an ecumenist between Chan Buddhism and Huayan Buddhism from the theoretical perspective, he was a moderate Linji Chan sectarian from the soteriological one. If we want to realize enlightenment, the more soteriological emphasis on the Kōan Chan practice than the intellectual approach to Buddhism is definitely necessary.

He suggested that Seon practitioners should examine the *kōans* such as Zhaozhou Congshen's *kōan* that "A dog does not have the Buddha nature," Yunmen Wenyan's (864-949) *kōan* that "The Eastern Mountain moves on the water," Mazu Daoyi's (707-786) *kōan* that "A person drinks all the water of the Western River at a single draft," and other *kōans*.¹⁰¹ If Seon students practice with *kōans* and suddenly realize the truths, just as a muscular man stretches out his hands without depending on the power of other persons and a lion roams without needing his mates, they can destroy or establish the objects by themselves without relying on the external forces and the other persons.¹⁰²

He also cited the following cliché available in many Seon texts and indicated the principle of the first mystery:¹⁰³ "Mountains, rivers and the ground all reveal the body of the Dharma king."¹⁰⁴ He asserted that if we believe in the

X.86.1600.203a15, X.87.1624.263b19, X.87.1624.263c14, X.87.1618.165b8, and other texts.

⁹⁸ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 144.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 81.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 144.

¹⁰² Ibid, 78 & 144.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 81.

¹⁰⁴ See T.45.1885.701c19-20, T.47.2000.1005c23, T.48.2001.62b8-9, X.10.253.270b20, X.10.252.185b20, X.15.299.61a14, X.22.427.706c18, X.24.467.748b22, X.24.467.748c2, X.24.467.750a2-3, X.24.470.853b9, X.24.467.667c17, X.24.470.853b20, X.25.499.628b17, X.25.499.628b22, X.25.499.632c12-13, X.31.609.496c6-7, X.61.1156.462b2, X.63.1248.591c5-6, X.65.1295.517c3, X.66.1297.508b19, X.67.1303.306a21, X.67.1303.309b16,

principle of the first mystery, we could not backslide in Buddhism. He also suggested that we should practice Kōan Chan Buddhism articulated in the second mystery.

He thought that Chan practitioners should practice Kōan Chan Buddhism as follows:¹⁰⁵ “As above, this mind is not obstructed. It is not obstructed in four elements, (1) ground, (2) water, (3) fire, and (4) wind. It is not hindered in defilements and delusions. It is not blocked in wholesome minds. It is also not hindered in the teachings of two vehicles, the vehicle of hearers and the vehicle of solitary realizers, and the undefiled teachings. Only Buddhas and great Bodhisattvas have unlimited and un-bordered wisdom. So, whenever they meditate (Kōan Chan), they always practice unhindered activities.”

He concluded that the (discriminating) diseases originated from no practice of *kōan* Seon Buddhism. If we practice Seon Buddhism and know the principle of the diseases, we can completely remove the diseases as follows:¹⁰⁶

When we tame our minds, we should not manipulate them. When we make them work and function, we cannot let them be gradually cultivated. If we know the principle of diseases, how can we make our minds attached to them? If we listen to the sounds, how can we let our minds attached to them? Even if someone says that he or she has diseases, (his or her physical body consisting of) the four elements is originally empty and his or her mind is originally unobstructed. So, how can he or she have diseases? If the four elements (of our bodies) are unhindered, how can we have diseases and how can we postulate ourselves as the things unchanged and permanent? If we know the abovementioned facts, we can clear up all of our diseases.

We can easily understand our minds. How can we not know the wholesome mind? All sentient beings, including even wriggling ants and minute insects, possess these minds. That is, they possess the wisdom and virtues of the Buddhas. Our monks should keep in mind these truths. Have you ever listened

X.67.1303.315a1, X.67.1299.119a2, X.68.1315.191a14, X.68.1315.290c19, X.69.1367.703a13, X.70.1403.769b16, X.70.1403.810a20, X.70.1403.770b17, X.71.1412.213a4, X.71.1412.248c19, X.71.1414.300b5-6, X.72.1441.679a6, X.72.1435.327a14, X.72.1435.245a11-12, X.73.1454.440a3-4, X.74.1494.650b1, X.74.1494.659a10, X.77.1524.517a15, X.78.1553.559a21-22, X.79.1559.440c19, X.79.1562.619b14, X.79.1562.619b18, X.80.1566.504b2, X.81.1568.266b5, X.81.1571.593b5-6, X.82.1571.162a9, X.82.1571.311c21, X.82.1571.404a4, X.83.1574.319a12, X.84.1583.536c4, X.84.1583.593c3, X.84.1583.533b17-18, X.84.1579.138a22, X.84.1585.715a14, X.85.1593.459b11, X.86.1600.87c11, X.86.1600.98a11, X.86.1600.299c24, X.86.1609.658a7, X.86.1605.530a20, X.86.1606.570b19, X.87.1613.28b12, X.87.1628.437a6, X.87.1624.245b15-16, X.87.1614.56c3, and other texts.

¹⁰⁵ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 77.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 77-78.

to these sayings? Even though we always have these minds, we do not know them prevalent in us due to no meditative power derived from the Seon practice.

Ha Dongsan recommended Seon practitioners to begin the practice of *kōan* Seon Buddhism with Jinul's *Treatise on the Examination of Kōans and the Elimination of Doubts* and proceed with Zhuhong's (1535-1615) *Outline of Chan Buddhism (Changuan cejin)*.¹⁰⁷ Under his guidance, his disciples planned to publish the series of the Chan texts and educate Chan students at the Seon Center affiliated to Beomeo-sa Temple in fall 1959.¹⁰⁸ They continuously published the major Sino-Korean Chan texts such as *Blue Cliff Record*, *Essentials of Seon Buddhism (Seonmun chwaryo)*, *Collection of 1125 kōans (Seonmun yeomsong)*, and *Outline of Chan Buddhism*, and other Chan ones.

Regarding the *Outline of Chan Buddhism*, after they punctuated the text and added the Korean postpositional particles to it in order to make it easily accessible to Korean Chan practitioners, they published it in 1960.¹⁰⁹ His eminent disciple Go Gwangdeok (1927-1999) translated and published the text with the extensive annotations in 1967, two years after his master Ha Dongsan's death.¹¹⁰ He assumed that the publication of the text at Beomeo-sa Temple in 1960 might be the first one in the history of Korean Buddhism.¹¹¹ Continuously revising and publishing his translation, he popularized the text among Korean Buddhists.¹¹²

Ha Dongsan urged that after finishing the course works on the doctrinal teachings at monastic seminaries, affiliated to big monasteries,¹¹³ Korean Buddhist monks should concentrate on the *kōan* exercise and remove the intellectual diseases as the following quote demonstrates:¹¹⁴

In the beginning, Seon practitioners should remove the intellectual approaches to Buddhism and enter to the *kōan* practice. After completing all the course works in Buddhist Studies such as four collections, four teachings, and the

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 144-145.

¹⁰⁸ See (Go) Gwangdeok, trans., Yunqi Zhuhong, ed., *Seongwan chaekjin* (Outline of Chan Buddhism) (Seoul: Bulgwang chulpan-bu, 1981), 11.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 17. Refer to Beomeo-sa Temple, ed., Yunqi Zhuhong, ed., *Seongwan chaekjin* (Seoul: Daehan bulgyo-sa, 1960).

¹¹⁰ (Go) Gwangdeok, trans., Yunqi Zhuhong, ed., *Seongwan chaekjin* (Busan: Beomeo-sa Temple, 1967).

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² He revised and published his translated *Changuan cejin* in 1967, 1981, 1989, and others.

¹¹³ I Jigwan comprehensively discussed the textbooks used in Korean Buddhist monastic seminaries in his *Hanguk bulgyo soui gyeongjeon yeongu* (Studies in Korean Buddhist Monastic Seminary Textbooks), 2nd edition (1969, Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo seongnim-hoe, 1983).

¹¹⁴ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 145-146.

great teaching that we take at monastic seminaries, they should concentrate on Kōan Chan exercise. After getting rid of the intellectual approaches (to Buddhism), they began to practice the *kōan* Seon techniques. As they investigate *kōans*, they suddenly and clearly attain the great awakening. Seon Buddhism is as exact as the aforementioned. Therefore, Seon Buddhism does not allow Seon students to read Buddhist texts but requests them to exercise only the *kōan* techniques. Seon practitioners should not read Buddhist texts and learn Buddhism from other teachers, but practice only the live Kōan Chan meditation. I hope that they suddenly attain awakening in their practice of the live Kōan Chan Buddhism. Because they did not practice Kōan Chan Buddhism, they did not obtain awakening. If they practice Kōan Chan, they are definitely able to attain enlightenment. If you cannot obtain enlightenment, how can I encourage you to practice Kōan Chan? I strongly wish for you to practice Kōan Chan and obtain great enlightenment (in the near future).

Korean monks take classes in the Buddhist studies for four years at monastic seminaries and comprehend Buddhism even in these contemporary times. They take the classes on basic texts in the first year. The basic texts are *Admonition for the Beginners* (*Gye chosim hagin-mun*) by Jinul, the *Treatise on Awakening Faith and Practice* (*Balsim suhaeng-jang*) by Wonhyo,¹¹⁵ the *Treatise on Self-Admonition* (*Jagyeong-mun*) by Yaun Gagu (d.u.),¹¹⁶ a disciple of Naong Hyegeun (1320-1376),¹¹⁷ and *Admonitions for Novice Monks* (*Zimen jingxun*) which Taego Bou (1301-1382)¹¹⁸ took from China to Korea.

They study four collections in the second year. The four collections are *Letters* (*Shuzhuang*) by Zonggao (1088-1163), the *Chan Preface* by Zongmi, the *Essentials of Chan Buddhism* (*Chanyao*) by Gaofeng Yuanmiao (1238-1295) and *Excerpts from the Dharma Collection and Special Practice Record with Personal Notes* (*Beopjip byeolhaeng-nok jeoryo byeongip sagi*) by Jinul.

They learn four teachings in the third year. The four teachings are the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, the *Diamond Sūtra*, and the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*. They take class on the text of the great teaching, i.e., the *Huayan Sūtra* in the fourth year. Korean Buddhists consider the Huayan teaching to be the highest doctrine in Buddhism.

1.2. Yunqi Zhuhong's (1535-1615) Pure Land Chan

Ha Dongsan thought that the *Treatise on the Examination of Kōans and the Elimination of Doubts* was the very effective guidebook for Seon practitioners to doubt and practice *kōans* and the *Outline of Chan Buddhism* was the very useful

¹¹⁵ I Jeong, ed., 208-210.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 11.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 340-341.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 113.

textbook for Seon students to eliminate doubts and realize enlightenment.¹¹⁹ He differentiated Seon Buddhism from doctrinal Buddhism. However, if we compare the Chan texts, we can find some differences between them. While Jinul did not discuss Pure Land Buddhism in his *Treatise on the Examination of Kōans and the Elimination of Doubts*, Zhuhong dealt with Pure Land Buddhism in his *Outline of Chan Buddhism*. Of course, both texts mainly intend to discuss Kōan Chan Buddhism.

Zhuhong edited and published *Outline of Chan Buddhism* in 1600. He introduced the lectures of 39 Chan masters and the episodes of 24 Chan masters in its first half and the quotes from 47 Buddhist texts essential to the Kōan Chan practice in its second half. The text constitutes 110 segments. He often added his comments on the main texts. In the section of the lectures of 39 Chan masters, 8 segments include some explanations of Pure Land Buddhism. In the section of the quotes from 47 Buddhist texts, 11 segments contain some statements on Pure Land Buddhism. Of 110 segments, the *Outline of Chan Buddhism* discusses Chan Buddhism in relation to Pure Land Buddhism in 19 segments. The text does not appear to discuss Pure Land Buddhism much in terms of volume. However, Fujiyoshi Jikai, a famous Japanese specialist in Chan / Pure Land syncretism, asserted that if we consider that Zhuhong mainly edited and published the text for the Kōan Chan practitioners, not for the topic of Chan / Pure Land synthesis, it discusses Pure Land Buddhism very extensively.¹²⁰

Zhuhong was an ecumenist between Pure Land Buddhism and Chan Buddhism and an advocate of Pure Land Chan, generally known as *Nianfo* Chan.¹²¹ Pure Land Chan practitioners used to examine who the Pure Land practitioners are, namely who chants the name of Amitābha Buddha. The Pure Land Chan students consider the question that “Who is the person who repetitiously chants the name of Amitābha Buddha?” as a *kōan*. Even though he edited the book for encouraging Kōan Chan practitioners to practice *kōan* techniques, he sometimes mentioned Pure Land / Kōan Chan syncretism in it.¹²²

He introduced Tianru Weize’s (d. 1354) view of the joint practice of Kōan Chan and Pure Land Buddhism in his *Outline of Chan Buddhism* to support his ecumenism between Kōan Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism as the following segment attests:¹²³

¹¹⁹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 145.

¹²⁰ Fujiyoshi Jikai extensively discussed the Chan / Pure Land Syncretism in Zhuhong’s *Changuan cejin* (Outline of Chan Buddhism) in his book’s ninth chapter. See Han Bogwang, trans., Fujiyoshi Jikai, *Seonjeong ssangsu ui jeongae* (The Development of the Chan / Pure Land Syncretism) (Seoul: Minjok-sa, 1991), 235-253.

¹²¹ *Nianfo* (Jpn.: *nembutsu*), literally meaning “mindfulness of the Buddha,” is the repetition of the name of a Buddha.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ T.48.2024.1102a23-b17.

....

If we discuss the Karmic root of transmigration, the one thought chases after sounds and forms and generates the delusions for now. Therefore, the Buddha procreates his great compassion, taught you either to practice (Kōan) Chan or to invoke the Buddha's name. Either of these two practices enables you to remove your delusive thoughts and recognize your original face. Getting rid of the delusions, it, (either of these two practices), finally causes you to become a great free man.

....

Someone consider that the invocation of the Buddha's name and the practice of Kōan Chan are different. They do not understand that Chan Buddhism intends to recognize the mind and to realize the nature and Pure Land Buddhism aims to realize the truth that their own nature is Amitāyus Buddha and the mind-only is a Pure Land. How can we say that both practices are different? The (*Śūraṅgama*) *Sūtra* says, "If we recollect and visualize a Buddha, we are subject to see the Buddha in this life or in the next life."¹²⁴ If we see the Buddha in this life, how can we differentiate Pure Land Buddhism's invocation of the Buddha's name from the Chan practice that investigates a *kōan* and attains enlightenment?

There is one answer to a question as follows: Treat the four characters *A-mi-tuo-fo* (Amitāyus Buddha) as a *huatou* (critical phrase, or the core of a *kōan*). Concentrate on the *kōan* without a break in twenty-four hours a day. When you reach the stage where no thought arises, you can all of sudden obtain Buddhahood without taking the lower (Bodhisattva) stages.

He also introduced Duanyun Zhiche's (1309-1386) Pure Land Chan Buddhism and asked Chan practitioners to syncretize Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism for their practices in his *Outline of Chan Buddhism* as follows:¹²⁵

Invoke the Buddha's name once, three times, five times or seven times. Whenever you invoke the Buddha's name, ask yourself silently where this sound of invocation comes from. Also, ask yourself who the person who invokes the Buddha's name is. If you have some doubts, you should go ahead and doubt. If you do not have serious doubts, you cannot seriously investigate. Once again, you should investigate who the person who invokes the Buddha's name is. Regarding the question, if you do not have a serious question, you do not need to examine it seriously. You should carefully investigate and thoroughly ask who the person who invokes the Buddha's name is.

¹²⁴ T.19.945.128b1-2.

¹²⁵ T.48.2024.1102b18-24.

Zhuhong also arranged the section for Chan Master Chushan Shaoqi (1404-1473)¹²⁶ and discussed his view of Chan Buddhism in relation to Pure Land Buddhism in his *Outline of Chan Buddhism* as the following segment demonstrates:¹²⁷

....

If the Chan practitioners do not understand the aforementioned ultimate meaning (of a *huatou*), they should keep in mind and investigate the phrase “Amitāyus Buddha.” They always should endeavor to generate the doubt, “Who is this person who invokes the Buddha’s name?” (They should have) the continuity between a (former) thought and a (later) thought and no gap between this mind and that mind. For instance, when a person moves on and arrives at the ultimate place at which he cannot find the waters and the mountains, he has the principle to which he can go back. If so, he should suddenly exclaim a sound and should let himself adaptable to the essence of mind.

(Zhuhong) commented on Chan Master Chusan Shaoqi’s (afore-quoted) sentences, “If the Chan practitioners take *kōans*, they are subject to enter the intensive retreat. (East Asian Chan students attend two intensive retreats per year. They participate in the summer intensive retreat, lunar April 15 – lunar July 15 and the winter intensive retreat, lunar October 15th – lunar January 15th.) If they obtain the ultimate meaning of enlightenment, they are supposed to complete the retreat. Therefore, they all should keep in mind the sentences.”

Zhuhong included the section for Tianzhen Dufeng (d. 1482), also known as Dufeng Jishan, and discussed his view of Pure Land Buddhism in relation to Kōan Chan Buddhism in his *Outline of Chan Buddhism*. Tianzhen Dufeng explained the *nianfo huatou*¹²⁸ or *gongan* along with other *kōans* as follows:¹²⁹

If the Chan practitioners truly desire to be liberated from the cycle of transmigration, they should generate the great trust (in Buddhism) and establish the following great vow: “If we do not investigate *kōans*, thoroughly realize the original meaning of Chan Buddhism and remove even the subtle delusions, we should not release *kōans*, keep away from eminent Chan masters and seek after riches and honor.” If they violate this vow, they are subject to be born to evil destinies. If they arouse this great vow and protect their minds, they are able to keep and investigate *kōans*. If some Chan practitioners investigate (Zhaozhou

¹²⁶ T.48.2024.1104a26-b12.

¹²⁷ T.48.2024.1104b6-12.

¹²⁸ *Nianfo huatou* adopts the recitation of the name of a Buddha as a method of the Chan practice.

¹²⁹ T.48.2024.1104b13-25.

Congshen's) *kōan* that "a dog does not have Buddha nature," they should dedicate themselves to investigate why a dog does not have Buddha nature. If some Chan students investigate (Zhaozhou Congshen)'s *kōan* that "all things are subsumed to one thing," they should continuously question of where the one thing should return to. If some Chan students investigate the *nianfo huatou*, they should concentrate on investigating who the person who invokes the Buddha's name is. They also should reflect on the *kōan* by themselves and deeply develop the doubts on it. If they cannot take the *kōan*, they should again take it from its beginning phrase to its ending one without intervals and should make it concentrated throughout meditation. If so, they can consistently develop doubts on the *kōan*. If they continuously preserve doubts and earnestly practice the *kōan* technique, they lift up their feet, turn around their body, and finally fall headlong down a flight of ground. Even then, they should again receive unexpected blows of a stick.

Zhuhong included the section of Konggu Jinglong's (b. 1393) sayings of Kōan Chan Buddhism in relation to Pure Land Buddhism in his *Outline of Chan Buddhism*.¹³⁰ Kongmu Jinglong discussed Pure Land Chan as follows:¹³¹ ".... (Chan) Master Youtan (Pudu) (d. 1330) requested (Chan practitioners) to ask who the person who invokes the Buddha name is. It is not necessary now for you to use this Pure Land Chan technique. When you constantly recite the Buddha's name as you have usually done and do not forget it, you might encounter (external) objects all of sudden and meet the right opportunity accidentally. You might understand (the true meaning of) one phrase that spins around your minds. You might then comprehend that the Pure Land of tranquil light is not different from this (mundane) land and Amitāyus Buddha is not separate from your own mind." He commented on Konggu Jinglong's sayings, "Extremely mysterious are (Konggu Jinglong's) sayings that they should always think of revealing this (*nianfo huatou*) technique. How perfectly he manifested the *kōan* techniques!"¹³²

Zhuhong arranged the section of Master Tianji (d.u.) in his *Outline of Chan Buddhism*.¹³³ Master Tianji encouraged Buddhists to practice the *nianfo huatou* wholeheartedly as follows:¹³⁴ "Even though they recite the Buddha's name for a whole day, they do not know at all what they do. If they do not know (how to recollect the Buddha), they should examine who the person who recites the Buddha's name is. They all should dedicate themselves to face (the *nianfo huatou*) wholeheartedly with their eyes and with their minds."

¹³⁰ T.48.2024.1104b25-c7.

¹³¹ T.48.2024.1104c2-5.

¹³² T.48.2024.1104c6-7.

¹³³ T.48.2024.1104c8-21.

¹³⁴ T.48.2024.1104c16-18.

He commented on Master Tianji's sayings, "(Tianzhen) Dufeng and Tianji all taught (Buddhists) how to investigate the *nianfo huatou*. However, how could Konggu (Jinglong) say that it was not necessary now for you to use this *nianfo huatou* technique? The masters told (Chan practitioners) differently based on their capacities. (Chan practitioners) could freely take the *huatou* technique as their cultivation method."¹³⁵

He included the aforementioned comments in the article "Canjiu nianfo" (Exploration of the *Nianfo Huatou*)¹³⁶ of *Zhuchuang erbi* (Further Jottings under a Bamboo Window)¹³⁷ and detailed his arguments as follows:¹³⁸

Konggu (Jinglong) said that it would be okay for Buddhist practitioners to practice just the invocation of the Buddha's name in Pure Land Buddhism, but he did not say that Chan Buddhism was wrong. Even though I, (Zhuhong), generally explained his views in my (*Amituo-jing*) *shuchao* (Commentary on the *Smaller Sukhāvativyūha Sūtra*),¹³⁹ some Buddhists still criticize his arguments.

The critics say, "While Chan Buddhists mainly aim at realizing the (Buddha's) nature, Pure Land Buddhists primarily aspire to be born in the Pure Land. Pure Land Buddhists abandon the Kōan Chan practice and only concentrate on the Pure Land exercise. The Buddha just introduces the repetitious invocation of the Buddha's name in the sūtras, not the Kōan Chan practice."

I think that their criticisms are reasonable. If (Buddhists) rely on the sūtras, they can obtain the rebirth in the Pure Land. However, if they accept one of the two traditions and reject the other one of them, their argument is not proper. If the Pure Land practitioners realize nature, they would be born in the highest and ninth stage of the Pure Land. They have never worried about not being born in the Pure Land.

Therefore, I equally evaluated the two traditions in my (*Amituo-jing*) *shuchao* and let Buddhists choose either of them (based on their capacities). You should not doubt of (Konggu's and my) arguments. Even if we suggest Buddhists to practice the *nianfo huatou*, we have never excluded the Pure Land Buddhist practice. If we exclude either of them, we might obtain limitless sins.

¹³⁵ T.48.2024.1104c19-21.

¹³⁶ X.62.1170.16a09-19.

¹³⁷ X.62.1170.16a10-12.

¹³⁸ X.62.1170.16a13-19.

¹³⁹ Zhuhong (1532-1612) theoretically synthesized Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism with Huayan philosophy in *Amituo-jing shuchao*. See the entry of "*Amidakyo shoshō*" in Ono Gemmyō, ed., *Bussho kaisetsu dai-jiten* (Dictionary of Buddhist Texts), 13 vols (Tokyo: Daitō shuppan-sha, 1933-1936), vol. 1, 47-48.

Zhuhong contained the section of Guyin Jingqin (d.u.)¹⁴⁰ in his *Outline of Chan Buddhism*. He abridged Guyin Jingqin's poem entitled "Nianfo jingce" (Instructive Encouragement for Practitioners to Practice the *Nianfo Chan* Exercise)¹⁴¹ and summarized the power of Pure Land Chan in the section's last part as follows:¹⁴² "In walking, standing, sitting, or lying, you should not remove the thought of Amitāyus Buddha at all. You should believe that if causes are deep, effects are deep. You should educate yourself not to recollect your own (discriminating) thoughts. If you do not empty (your own) thoughts, you are subject to attach yourself to a thought and make it your own thought. If you realize the person who recites the Buddha's name, Amitāyus Buddha, you can simultaneously manifest him."

2. Qingliang Chengguan (738-839)

The two terms, "sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation" and "sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation," very important in Chan soteriology, originated from Chengguan, the master of Zongmi.¹⁴³ Chengguan was the first scholar who extensively systematized the soteriology of Chan Buddhism in the history of Chinese Buddhism.¹⁴⁴ He treated soteriology from the syncretic perspective between wisdom and meditation in his *Commentary on the "Chapter of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva's Great Vows" of the Huayan Sūtra* (Chn., *Huayan-jing xingyuan-pin shu*) in ten fascicles.¹⁴⁵ Zongmi referred to the text by his master Chengguan and loyally incorporated his master's explanations of Chan soteriology in his *Great Commentary on the Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*.¹⁴⁶

Chengguan advocated ecumenism between Chan Buddhism and doctrinal traditions, particularly his Huayan Buddhism. When Chan Buddhists developed anti-textual traditions and attacked textual Buddhist traditions, he needed to counterattack their criticisms from or to harmonize their radical anti-textual Chan traditions with his textual Huayan Buddhism. Chan Buddhists contended

¹⁴⁰ T.48.2024.1104c22-1105a2.

¹⁴¹ X.62.1181.317a1-9.

¹⁴² T.48.2024.1104c29-1105a2.

¹⁴³ Yoshizu Yoshihide discussed Chengguan's view of Chan Buddhism in his *Kegon-zen no shisōshi-teki kenkyū* (Research in Chinese Huayan Chan Buddhism) (Tokyo: Daitō shuppan-sha, 1985), 249-266. He also textually proved how much his disciple Guifeng Zongmi incorporated his master Chengguan's main ideas in his view of Chan soteriology.

¹⁴⁴ X.5.227.64a20-65a15.

¹⁴⁵ X.5.227.48b3- 198c24.

¹⁴⁶ X.9.243.335a1. See Yoshizu Yoshihide, 249-253.

that they had inherited the special transmission outside the orthodox teaching. Chengguan introduced Buddhist soteriology as follows:¹⁴⁷

(Hereafter, I will discuss) the fifth meaning (of the ten meanings of this text)¹⁴⁸ and cover Buddhist soteriology, i.e., cultivation and realization. However, across each text and through all traditions, we can see (various explanations of) cultivation and realization. Because of too many mentions in various texts, I am afraid of being able to cite them in this commentary. I just summarized the essentials in this book. The great master (i.e., Śākyamuni Buddha) passed away under twin *śāla* trees. Since then, all sages transmitted the bright Dharma lamp without interruption. They considered the holy teaching as a good exemplar and the mind seal as a mysterious amulet. Therefore, “The mind-to-mind Dharma transmission does not rely on the texts.”¹⁴⁹ If we understand the meaning of the complicated sentence, how should we be tied down with it? How can we consider a fish trap as a fish? How can we throw away a mirror and seek an image in it? The one current of one taste was divided into two different currents, the northern and southern.¹⁵⁰ The one learning of one taste was unfolded to two kinds of learning, meditation and wisdom. We can categorize the Buddhists who learn wisdom in two subgroups, i.e., the Buddhists who learn nature and the Buddhists who learn phenomena. We can also classify the Buddhists who practice meditation in two subgroups, i.e., subitists and gradualists. Earlier in this book, I explained and harmonized the Buddhists who learn nature and the Buddhists who learn phenomena.¹⁵¹ (The Buddhists who learn nature belong to the Faxing Sect (Dharma Nature Sect) that advocates the teaching of one vehicle. The Buddhists who learn phenomena belong to the Faxiang Sect (Chinese Yogācāra Sect) which advocates the teaching of three vehicles.)

He ecumenized two different traditions, for instance, meditation and wisdom, three vehicles and one vehicle, subitist and gradualist traditions, and other sets. The differing sides competed with each other and attempted to prove the superiority of their traditions to others. He furthered his discussion on

¹⁴⁷ X.5.227.64a20-b2. When I translate the section of “Chengguan’s view of soteriology” in English, I refer to Yoshizu Yoshihide’s annotated Japanese translation, 253-259.

¹⁴⁸ See ten meanings of the “Chapter of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva’s Great Vows” of the *Huayan Sūtra* in X.5.227.49a1-4.

¹⁴⁹ It is a cliché in Chan Buddhism. See some examples in X.63.1218.2a24, X.65.1292.453a9, and T.48.2009.373b13-14.

¹⁵⁰ Yoshizu Yoshihide questions whether Chengguan directly indicated the two currents, northern and southern as the split of Chan Buddhism in two, the Northern and Southern Chan sects. See footnote # 1 in Yoshizu Yoshihide, 264.

¹⁵¹ X.5.227.54a4-56b19.

Buddhist soteriology and narrowed down its scope to the Chan soteriology. He outlined Chan soteriology as follows:¹⁵²

Hereafter, I will briefly explain the differences of subitism and gradualism. The Chan Buddhists who advocate gradualism observe their minds, purify them, and skillfully read Buddhist texts. Some Chan Buddhists advocate sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation. Some Chan Buddhists advocate gradual cultivation and gradual enlightenment. The Chan Buddhists who advocate subitism directly indicate the essence of their minds. Some Chan Buddhists suddenly transcend verbal languages and literary texts. Some Chan Buddhists advocate sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation. Some Chan Buddhists negate both cultivation and enlightenment. As above, they have different views and practice in their soteriology. If they want to recognize their minds, they should reveal the principle (of their minds). If we understand the unique and different meanings in their soteriological views, we should respect all of them. Even though they take different roads, they are supposed to go toward the same destination. If we do not understand their own main themes, we will lose the advantages of their views. If so, we are subject to consider their views as not being different from a dead sheep. Here, I relied on language and explained the principle to Buddhists. I also depended on the pointing finger and let Buddhists see the moon.

Chengguan generalized Chan soteriology in two, subitism and gradualism. He enlisted two representative views in the camp of Chan gradualists, the view of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation and the view of gradual cultivation and gradual enlightenment. He also enlisted three representative views in the camp of Chan subitists, the view that advocates the transcending of verbal languages and literary texts, the view of sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation, the view of negating both cultivation and enlightenment. He harmonized the two main groups, subitists and gradualists and furthermore syncretized the sub-groups. He introduced the meanings of enlightenment and the methods on how to obtain enlightenment as follows:¹⁵³

Hereafter, I will discuss the meanings of enlightenment. Some Chan Buddhists mention that the essence of their minds transcends thoughts, original nature is pure, and it does not increase and does not decrease. The mention explained above indicates the gradual gate. Some say that enlightenment means the empty and tranquil aspect of non-abiding and the transcendental aspect of suchness. Some mention that the impure aspect is empty and the pure aspect is

¹⁵² X.5.227.64b3-7.

¹⁵³ X.5.227.64b7-22.

existent. Someone argue that the impure aspect is existent and the pure aspect is empty. Some assert that if we have our minds, we can obtain Buddhahood and if we do not have our minds, we cannot accomplish Buddhahood. (All sentient beings) originally have the Buddhist teachings immanent in their minds. The explanations introduced above indicate the sudden gate. However, if we do not remove the nature and characteristics of our minds, we can utilize two gates (for our enlightenment).

If we are able to manifest the ways to get enlightenment, we can introduce one thousand ways. However, the ways should not go beyond two gates, i.e., meditation and wisdom. We can liken the two gates of meditation and wisdom to the sun and the moon in the sky and the trigram of heaven and the trigram of earth in the *Book of Changes*. Why? The mind is likened to water and fire. If the mind is purified and collected, its functions are complete. If the mind is confused and dissolved, its functions are diluted. Therefore, if waves move, a shadow becomes crushed. If waters become muddy, a shadow becomes dark. If the mind is clear and pure, it becomes calm and tranquil. If there is no meditation, there is no wisdom. If there is madness, there is foolishness. If we cultivate one side, we can accomplish one gate. If we gradually cultivate our minds, we can gradually accomplish Buddhahood. If we equally utilize two gates, we can consider the joint utilization of two gates as the proper way (to enlightenment). Even though we become the Buddha, even the Buddha cannot invalidate the two gates. If we utilize the un-generated mind and cultivate our minds, meditation becomes a gate (to enlightenment). If we see, observe, experience, realize, discover and harmonize our minds, wisdom becomes a gate (to enlightenment). If we have no-thought and no-cultivation, meditation becomes a gate (to enlightenment). If we know the emptiness of mind, understand no-thought and comprehend illuminative tranquility, wisdom becomes a gate (to enlightenment). If we know tranquil illumination and comprehend no-thought, the joint illumination of meditation and wisdom is a gate (to enlightenment). If (all of our actions such as) the raising of our eyebrows and the wide opening of the eyes are called the Dao, we can call Dao as cultivation. It has two meanings. First, we let Chan practitioners know that the wide opening of the eyes is the Dao. It is the wisdom gate. Second, we let our minds be unattached. It is the meditation gate. So, we can easily analogize and know other cases. All the other cases are definitely included in the two gates of meditation and wisdom.

He expounded two gates, the gradual gate and the sudden gate. He also stated that the two gates could not separate themselves from the nature and characteristics of the mind. He argued that Chan practitioners should equally have two methods such as wisdom and meditation to attain enlightenment. As the gradual gate is not antagonistic to the sudden gate, the meditation method

also is not exclusive to the wisdom method. He harmonized two differing enlightenment gates and two seemingly opposite enlightenment methods. He concretely discussed the Chan soteriology of gradualism and subitism as follows:¹⁵⁴

If we reveal the characteristics of enlightenment, enlightenment has two kinds of characteristics. The first is intellectual enlightenment. It reveals nature and characteristics. The second is intuitive enlightenment. It indicates that the mind creates the mysterious objective (of enlightenment). If we illuminate (Chan soteriology such as) gradualism and subitism, there are many different views.¹⁵⁵

(The first) is the view of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation. It is intellectual enlightenment. After comprehending the nature of mind, we should gradually learn (Buddhism) and let ourselves be suitable to (the nature of mind). As we can liken enlightenment to the illumination of the moon, we suddenly reveal all things. Since then, we can gradually cultivate our minds deluded over the lifetimes. Just as we gradually clean a mirror, we gradually illuminate our images in it.

(The second) is the view of gradual cultivation and sudden enlightenment. First, we should subsume the object of knowledge to mind-only. Second, we should understand the original purity of mind. Last, we should simultaneously transcend the subject of knowledge and the object of knowledge. All of sudden, the dichotomizing subject and object of mind disappear, the thinking sequence of mind stops, the clean status of mind is like the water of the still ocean, and the broadness of mind is like the sky. This realization is intuitive enlightenment. Cultivation is likened to the cleaning of a mirror. Enlightenment is likened to the illumination of a mirror.

(The third) is the view of gradual cultivation and gradual enlightenment. It is intuitive enlightenment. Our simultaneous cultivation and enlightenment of the mind are figured to our simultaneous climbing of a mountain. The more we climb up, the more we see.

(The fourth) is the view of sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation. It has three aspects. (The first aspect) is to obtain enlightenment in the first and cultivate (our minds) in the later. If we clearly and suddenly realize (our minds), we can say that we obtain enlightenment. Even though we do not see, realize, subsume and contain (our minds), we make ourselves suitable to the Dao. It is

¹⁵⁴ X.5.227.64b22-c22.

¹⁵⁵ Chengguan also expounded four views of Chan soteriology, i.e., sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation, gradual cultivation and sudden enlightenment, gradual cultivation and gradual enlightenment, and sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation in his other work *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, T.36.1736.164c8-19.

named the cultivation of mind. It is intellectual enlightenment. Here, medication becomes a gate (to enlightenment). Even though we do not clean the mirror, the mirror illuminates of itself. (The second aspect) is to cultivate (our minds) in the beginning and obtain enlightenment in the later. We cultivate (our minds) based on previous practice. If we abruptly see the nature of mind, it is named enlightenment. It is intuitive enlightenment. The cultivation of our minds is figured to the taking of medicines. The attaining of enlightenment is likened to the removing of diseases. (The third aspect) is the simultaneous practice of cultivation and enlightenment. We lose even the illumination without minds. If we jointly practice calming and knowledge, we are equally subject to practice meditation and wisdom. An illuminating mirror suddenly reveals all things without minds. This view of enlightenment is applicable to both intellectual enlightenment and intuitive enlightenment.

If we originally possess all the Buddhist teachings, it is named subitism. If we possess one thought endowed with ten perfections and ten thousand perfections, it is considered as cultivation. The cultivation is likened to the drinking of the waters of a great ocean. The enlightenment is figured to the obtaining of the tastes of one hundred rivers. This view is equally applicable to both intellectual enlightenment and intuitive enlightenment.

If we negate our minds and Buddhas, it is named subitism. If we negate thought and cultivation, it is named cultivation. If we remove the traces and reveal the principle, it is named subitism. If we cultivate (our minds) with the meditation gate, it is considered as enlightenment. This view is equally applicable to both intellectual enlightenment and intuitive enlightenment.

If we negate gradualism and subitism, it is named subitism. If we negate enlightenment and non-enlightenment, it is called enlightenment. If we remove the traces and reveal the principle, it is named subitism. We should cultivate (our minds) with the meditation gate. This view is equally applicable to both intellectual enlightenment and intuitive enlightenment. If we indeed obtain the meaning, we can (simultaneously) accomplish both meditation and wisdom. If we lose the meaning, we will make meditation-less wisdom and wisdom-less meditation.

When we describe subitism, we cannot divide the principle (of enlightenment). When we completely obtain enlightenment and extremely reveal the principle of enlightenment, we can suddenly manifest enlightenment. The meaning of enlightenment does not allow (the principle of) duality. Non-dual enlightenment is coincident with the undivided principle. This view covers the joint interpretation of principle and wisdom. It is called sudden enlightenment. Here, enlightenment means intuitive enlightenment. Belief and understanding are considered as cultivation.

If we establish cultivation stages, it is named gradualism. If we do not establish cultivation stages, it is named subitism. The views are equally

applicable to both intellectual enlightenment and intuitive enlightenment. If we need to know the meanings of the sudden teaching, we should refer to the abovementioned meanings of subitism.

Above, Chengguan detailed subitism and gradualism in many categories. First, he generalized enlightenment in two, intellectual enlightenment and intuitive enlightenment. Second, he sequentially detailed four major views of Chan soteriology, i.e., (1) sudden enlightenment and gradual enlightenment, (2) gradual cultivation and sudden enlightenment, (3) gradual cultivation and gradual enlightenment and (4) sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation. Particularly, when he introduced the fourth view of sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation, he adopted the concept of “time” and discussed the relations between enlightenment and cultivation. He explained the meanings of subitism and gradualism in detail. In the last portion of his discussion on Chan soteriology, he introduced its doctrinal and textual backgrounds from *Lāṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and Huayan Buddhism and concluded his discussion. He discussed subitism and gradualism from doctrinal perspectives as follows:¹⁵⁶

The *Lāṅkāvatāra Sūtra* expounds four kinds of gradualism and four kinds of subitism.¹⁵⁷ The four kinds of gradualism are as follows. (1) The gradualism is figured to an Āmra fruit that gradually becomes ripe, not suddenly. (2) The gradualism is likened to a ceramic artist who gradually makes the works of pottery, not suddenly. (3) The gradualism is compared to the ground that gradually generates (plants), not suddenly. Lastly, (4) the gradualism is likened to an artist who learns art, not suddenly. These four kinds of gradualism can be applicable to ten stages of faith¹⁵⁸ and three stages of worthiness¹⁵⁹ before ten stages of development.¹⁶⁰ The four kinds of subitism are as follows. (1) Subitism is figured to a clean mirror that suddenly reveals all objects. (2) Subitism is compared to the moon and the sun that all of sudden illuminate all objects. (3) Subitism is likened to storehouse consciousness that abruptly knows all objects of knowledge. Lastly, (4) subitism is figured to the Buddha’s light that unexpectedly is able to illuminate and shine (over all objects). These

¹⁵⁶ X.5.227.64c22-65a15.

¹⁵⁷ See the *Lāṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, T.16.670.485c26-486a20. Chengguan also explained four kinds of gradualism and four kinds of subitism in his other work *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, T.36.1736.164b11f.

¹⁵⁸ The English Buddhist Dictionary Committee, ed., *The Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism* (Tokyo: Soka Gakkai, 2002), 681. The *Huayan Sūtra* introduced ten stages of faith as the first ten of the fifty-two stages of Bodhisattva practice.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 726. The three stages of worthiness are the stages of practice in Hīnayāna.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 680. The *Huayan Sūtra* assigned ten stages of development from the 41st stage to the 50th stage in the 52 stages.

four kinds of subitism are applicable to the non-discriminative knowledge obtainable in the stages after the first stage of development. The four stages are (1) the first stage of development, (2) the eighth stage of development, (3) *sa^bhogakāya* (the body of delight), and (4) *dharmakāya* (body of the great order). If we practice cultivation, it is considered as gradualism. If we realize principle, it is named subitism.

People generally indicate Huayan Buddhism as the perfect and sudden teaching and the other teachings as the gradual teachings with regard to the meanings and principle of the teachings. If we suddenly possess the initialized mind, we can name it subitism. If we possess and decorate virtues, we can call them the perfect teaching. If we obtain enlightenment, we can deepen our views. Above I explained the meanings (of Huayan Buddhism).¹⁶¹ (The Buddha) delivered the Huayan teaching in the beginning. We can name it the sudden teaching. He taught both the small vehicle and the great vehicle in the later. We can name them as the gradual teaching. He taught them with regard to instruction methods and instruction contents. He suddenly taught one vehicle in the beginning. He gradually expounded three vehicles later. He taught impermanence in the beginning. He explicated permanence later. We can name it the gradual teaching. If he simultaneously taught both impermanence and permanence, we can name it sudden teaching. He explained the sudden teaching and gradual teaching with regard to instructional methods. However, with regard to instructional contents, we could not differentiate the sudden teaching and the gradual teaching. If he guided his disciples from the small vehicle to the great vehicle, we can call it the gradual teaching. If he directly pointed out the great vehicle, we can call it the sudden teaching. If he explained Buddhism based on the capacities of his disciples, he should differentiate the sudden teaching and the gradual teaching. All his teachings are included in three vehicles. The abovementioned three meanings are not the category of subitism and gradualism and of the practice of cultivation and the practice of insight.

(If we conclude the Buddhist soteriology of) subitism and gradualism, we can summarize it under several categories. How can we attach ourselves to one word and summarize the Buddhist teachings? Some Buddhists consider their views as their models. Some destruct the true methods (teachings). I strongly recommend to Buddhists, “You should not endeavor to obtain discriminative knowledge. You should not attach yourselves to ignorance. You should not disregard sages. You should not attach yourselves to language. You should not deceive yourselves. You should compete with others to advocate silence.” We can extensively find textual evidences (for Buddhist soteriology).

¹⁶¹ Refer to X.5.227.58b4f and X.5.227.61c24f.

3. Guifeng Zongmi (780-841)

Loyally following his master Chengguan, Zongmi developed Buddhist soteriology. Like his master, he also was syncretic between subitism and gradualism. He did not exclude either of them and did not hierarchically evaluate two different views. He also systemized two views from the Chan and doctrinal perspectives. He was not a Chan sectarian. He was also not a doctrinal sectarian. He harmonized Chan Buddhism with doctrinal Buddhism. He comprehensively discussed subitism and gradualism in *Chanyuan zhuchuan-ji duxu* (The Preface to the *Collected Writings on the Source of Chan*), generally called *Duxu* (Chan Preface).¹⁶² When he began to discuss Buddhist soteriology, he generally defined subitism and gradualism as follows:¹⁶³

Q: As I discussed before, the Buddha (doctrinally) explained two teachings, i.e., the sudden teaching and the gradual teaching, and Chan Buddhism practically divided the sudden gate and the gradual gate.¹⁶⁴ Even though I explained three kinds of teachings (earlier in this text),¹⁶⁵ I did not yet examine which one is the sudden teaching and which one is the gradual teaching.

A: We can explain the deepness and narrowness of the meaning of Buddhist teachings in the (following) three (teachings). When the Buddha taught Buddhism, his instructive contents and instructive methods were different. When he relied on principle, he taught the sudden teaching. When he depended on the capacities of the audience, he taught the gradual teaching. Therefore, we can name the two teachings as the sudden teaching and gradual teaching. There are no sudden teachings and gradual teachings outside the Buddha's three teachings. When (the Buddha taught) the gradual teaching to his disciple of lower and middle capacities, they could not trust in and realize the mysterious principle of perfect enlightenment. He taught the first teaching such as the teaching of human and heavenly beings, the small vehicle and Yogācāra Buddhism in the beginning and the second teaching such as Mādhyamika Buddhism in the middle. And, after he waited for his disciples to become ripe in their capacities, he taught them the third and ultimate teaching such as the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. (The third teaching corresponds to the sudden teaching that we classified based on the audience's capacities. The sudden teaching that we classified based on the Buddha's instructive methods contains three kinds of wisdom, (1) the true nature (the principle of

¹⁶² T.48.2015.407b13-408a17.

¹⁶³ T.48.2015.407b13-21.

¹⁶⁴ T.48.2015.399c2-22.

¹⁶⁵ T.48.2015.403a16-406a1.

wisdom), (2) the (absolute) wisdom that visualizes and illuminates the true principle, and (3) the (relative) wisdom that discriminates all things. Past and present eminent scholars of India and this China classified the Buddhist doctrines in three periods and five periods. They included the texts of the gradual teaching in their doctrinal classifications, not the *Huayan Sūtra* and other texts (of the sudden teaching).

Zongmi classified the Buddhist teachings in three categories in the *Chan Preface*. If we literally translate the three teachings of Chinese term in English, those are (1) “the Teachings of Hidden Intent that Set Forth the Phenomenal Appearances that are Based on the Nature (*miyi yixing shuoxiang jiao*), (2) “the Teaching of Hidden Intent that Refutes Phenomenal Appearances in Order to Reveal Nature” (*miyi poxiang xianxing jiao*), and (3) “the Teaching that Directly Reveals that the True Mind is the Nature” (*xianshi zhenxin jixing jiao*).¹⁶⁶ He included the teaching of human and heavenly beings, the teaching of the small vehicle and the teaching of Yogācāra Buddhism in the first category of teaching. The second teaching is the teaching of Mādhyamika Buddhism. The third is the teaching of Tathāgatagarbha texts, the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, the *Huayan Sūtra* and other texts.

He applied two concepts, gradualism and subitism, of Buddhist soteriology and interpreted the Buddhist teachings. He mentioned the doctrinal classifiers of three period teachings and five period teachings and classified them as advocates of the gradual teaching. They classified the whole Buddhist teaching with the standard of “the gradual progress and development of the Buddha’s teaching” proceeding from the lowest and first teaching toward the highest and final teaching. For example, Yogācāra Buddhists classified the Buddhist teaching in three, (1) the teaching of the small vehicle that advocates the existence of all beings, (2) the teaching of Mādhyamika Buddhism that expounds the emptiness of all beings, and (3) the teaching of middle way in which Yogācāra Buddhists explain the middle way of consciousness-only.¹⁶⁷

Several Buddhist scholars of the Southern and Northern Dynasties (386-589) divided the gradual teaching in five period teachings. For example, Huiguan (d. 453), one of earliest doctrinal classifiers in Chinese Buddhism,

¹⁶⁶ This author referred to the English translation and explanation of the three teachings from Peter N. Gregory, trans., *Inquiry into the Origin of Humanity: An Annotated Translation of Tsung-mi’s Yüan jen lun with a Modern Commentary* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), 105-109.

¹⁶⁷ Chanju Mun extensively discussed several doctrinal classifications of Yogācāra Buddhism in his *The History of Doctrinal Classification in Chinese Buddhism: A Study of the Panjiao Systems* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2006). For example, he discussed the major Yogācāra doctrinal classifications such as Paramārtha’s (499-569) *panjiao* systems (pp. 83-88), Xuanzang’s (602-664) *panjiao* systems (pp. 239-245), and Kuiji’s (632-682) *panjiao* systems (pp. 301-314).

subdivided the gradual teaching into the following five¹⁶⁸: (1) The first period teaching, the existential teaching, the Hīnayāna teaching, included in the *āgama* scriptures, etc.; (2) the second period teaching, the formless teaching, included in the wisdom scriptures; (3) the third period teaching, the restraining and praising teaching, included in the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, etc.; (4) the fourth period teaching, the common objective teaching, included in the *Lotus Sūtra*, etc.; and (5) the fifth period teaching, the eternally abiding teaching, included in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, etc. Tiantai Zhiyi (538-597) organized the comprehensive systematic doctrinal classification of Tiantai Buddhism and incorporated the five teachings in his doctrinal classifications.¹⁶⁹

Zongmi generally defined the two concepts of subitism and gradualism as above. He divided and discussed the gradual teaching in two kinds, the gradual teaching classified based on the capacities of the audience and the gradual teaching classified based on the Buddha's instructive methods. Hereafter he divided the sudden teaching in two kinds discussed them as follows:¹⁷⁰

The sudden teaching is subdivided into two. The first sudden teaching is the sudden teaching classified based on the capacities of the audience. The second sudden teaching is the sudden teaching classified based on the Buddha's instructive methods. The first sudden teaching directly reveals the true teaching to the ordinary persons of high capacity and sharp wisdom. If they listen to the first sudden teaching, they are subject to obtain sudden enlightenment equal completely to the effects of the Buddha. For example, the *Huayan Sūtra* says, "Immediately when we generate a mind to get enlightenment, we can obtain supreme enlightenment."¹⁷¹ The *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* says, "Immediately when we practice insight meditation, we can accomplish Buddhahood."¹⁷² However, even though we can suddenly practice and realize Buddhism based on the two texts in the beginning, we should gradually remove all conventional habits of ordinary people and reveal all virtues of holy beings. When the wind violently shakes an ocean, we cannot see the images in the ocean. When the wind suddenly stops, the waves gradually cease and images show up in the ocean. (Here, the wind stands for deluded passions, the ocean means the nature of mind, the waves signify defilements and the images imply functions. The *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* explicates (the four) one by one.¹⁷³) (This first sudden teaching includes) more than twenty sets of

¹⁶⁸ See Jizang's *Sanlun xuanyi* (Mysterious Meanings of Three Mādhyamika Treatises), T.45.1852.5b3-14, and Zhiyi's *Fahua xuanyi* (Mysterious Meanings of the *Lotus Sūtra*), T.33.1716.801b4-8.

¹⁶⁹ See "Chapter 16 Zhiyi's (538-597) *panjiao* systems," in Chanju Mun, 123-168.

¹⁷⁰ T.48.2015.407b21-c12.

¹⁷¹ The sentence originates from the *Huayan Sūtra*, T.9.278.447a27, T.9.278.449c14, and T.9.278.783b9.

¹⁷² I cannot identify the same sentence in the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*. I think that Guifeng Zongmi summarized the main theme of the text.

¹⁷³ See the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, T.32.1666.578a7-13, "The destruction denotes the destruction of the phenomena of mind, not the destruction of the essence of

(Mahāyāna Buddhist texts) such as the *Huayan Sūtra*'s some parts,¹⁷⁴ the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*, the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, the *Śrīmālādevi-siṃhanāda-sūtra*, the *Tathāgatagarbha Sūtra*, and other texts. When the Buddha taught his disciples based on their capacities, he did not determine the sequence. This kind of the sudden teaching is completely identical to the third and highest Chan gate named "Chan Sect that Directly Reveals the Nature of Mind." (The Chan sect has two sub-sects, Hongzhou Sect and Heze Sect. The sect theoretically relies on the Tathāgatagarbha thought).

The second sudden teaching is the sudden teaching classified based on the Buddha's instructive methods. When the Buddha attained Buddhahood in the beginning, he taught the second sudden teaching to the group of the people of high capacity who had developed throughout many lifetimes. He simultaneously and suddenly instructed (non-obstructive inter-relations between) nature and phenomena and (limitless inter-relations between) principle and phenomena, all defilements of sentient beings, all actions of Bodhisattvas, the stages of sages, all virtues of all Buddhas, and other subjects. Because a cause possesses the ocean of effects, even though we generate the first mind, we can immediately obtain supreme enlightenment. Because an effect is the origin of causes, even though their stage of development becomes completed, we can call them Bodhisattvas, (not Buddhas). The Buddha named only the *Huayan Sūtra* and Vasubandhu's *Commentary on the Daśabhūmika Sūtra*¹⁷⁵ as the perfect and sudden teaching, excluding all the other texts. (Formerly, some heretics criticized that the accomplishment of Buddhahood through sudden enlightenment was contradictory to the teaching of these texts. Here, I completely solved their criticisms.)

All the Buddhist teachings completely are the manifested teachings of One Mind. The One Mind exactly is the One Mind of all the teachings. Nature and phenomena are completely harmonious and identity and difference are unhindered. Therefore, all Buddhas and all sentient beings are interchangeable. Pure lands and impure lands are inter-harmonizing. This object and that object inter-include. This particle and that particle inter-include in all the worlds. This world and that world interpenetrate and inter-identify, inter-harmonize without

mind. For example, when the wind depends on the water, it has the phenomena of (the water's) movement. If the water disappears, the phenomena of the wind cease to exist and lose the object that it should rely on. When the water does not destruct, the phenomena of the wind continuously exist. Only when the wind disappears, the phenomena of the water's movement cease to exist. Even so, it is not the destruction of the water itself. We can explain ignorance in this way. It depends on the essence of mind and begins to exist. If the essence of mind disappears, sentient beings do not have the object that they should rely on. If the essence does not disappear, the mind continuously exists. If the foolishness disappears, the phenomena of mind continuously disappear. Even so, the wisdom of mind does not disappear."

¹⁷⁴ Guifeng Zongmi thinks that some part of the *Huayan Sūtra* explains the first sudden teaching and its other part the second sudden teaching.

¹⁷⁵ The *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* was an independent part of the *Huayan Sūtra*. It discusses the course of development of a Bodhisattva. A famous Indian Yogācāra Buddhist master Vasubandhu commented on the text. Based on the commentary, Chinese Buddhists established the Dilun tradition, later incorporated into the Huayan tradition.

obstructions, and possess ten mysterious and unobstructed aspects. We call these phenomena the unobstructed Dharma realms.

Zongmi discussed the sudden teaching. He divided the sudden teaching in two kinds. He positioned Huayan Buddhism as the highest doctrinal teaching in Buddhism. He also introduced the ten mysterious aspects. Yunhua Zhiyan (602-668) explicated ten mysterious aspects as containing the *Dharma* gate to the perfect teaching and the sudden teaching in one vehicle in the *Huayan jing souxuan ji* (Record of Searching for the Mysterious Meanings of the *Huayan Sūtra*).¹⁷⁶ He asserted that the teachings that did not correspond to ten mysterious aspects were included in the gradual teaching of three vehicles.

Fazang (643-712) slightly revised his master Zhiyan's¹⁷⁷ and his earlier versions of ten mysterious aspects¹⁷⁸ and completed his own newer version in *Record of Inquiring into the Mysterious Meanings of the Huayan Sūtra* (*Huayan jing tanxuan ji*).¹⁷⁹ The newer ten mysterious aspects that Fazang established consist of (1) the aspect that each existence simultaneously correlates with all the other existences, (2) the aspect that all existences are not obstructed either widely or narrowly, (3) the aspect that even though one and many are included, they are remained in a different entity, (4) the aspect that all existences are free in regards of mutual identification, (5) the aspect that all existences are hidden and manifested at the same time, (6) the aspect that no matter how subtle and minute it may be, each existence contains all the other existences, (7) the aspect that all existences are illustrated like in the Indra net, (8) the aspect that procreates right understanding of various phenomena and existences, (9) the aspect that ten periods supplement and include each other, and (10) the aspect that the central things and the surrounding things are completely illuminated with various virtues.¹⁸⁰ Chengguan and Zongmi adopted the newer ten mysterious aspects.

After discussing the soteriology of doctrinal Buddhism and detailing the gradual and sudden teachings as above, Zongmi proceeded to discuss the soteriology of Chan Buddhism and detailed the sudden and gradual gates. Loyally incorporating his master Chengguan's soteriology,¹⁸¹ he categorized six types of Chan soteriology, i.e., (1) gradual cultivation and sudden enlightenment, (2) sudden cultivation and gradual enlightenment, (3) gradual cultivation and gradual enlightenment, (4) sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation, (5) sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation, and (6) no-gradualism and no-subitism. The fifth sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation has two kinds,

¹⁷⁶ T.35.1732.15a29-b24.

¹⁷⁷ T.35.1732.15a29-b20, and T.45.515b17-518c15.

¹⁷⁸ T.35.1734.501b17-23, T.45.1866.505a10-507a26, and T.45.1881.669b15-670b6.

¹⁷⁹ T.35.1733.123a27-b5.

¹⁸⁰ Chanju Mun detailed why Xianshou Fazang established the newer version of the ten mysterious aspects in his book, 365-369.

¹⁸¹ X.5.227.64a20-65a15.

intellectual enlightenment and intuitive enlightenment. He added just one type “(2) sudden cultivation and gradual enlightenment” to his master Chengguan’s five types of Chan soteriology and completed his categorization. He emphasized his own view of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation over the other five views of Chan soteriology. Zongmi detailed the six types of Chan soteriology and concluded the section of Buddhist soteriology as follows:¹⁸²

Above, I discussed Buddhist soteriology of subitism and gradualism with regard to the Buddha’s teachings. If we discuss Chan soteriology of enlightenment and cultivation with regard to the capacities of (Chan practitioners), we should discuss the topic from the perspectives very different from doctrinal Buddhist traditions and doctrinal Buddhist scholars.

(First), some (Chan Buddhists) say, “If we gradually cultivate (our minds) and obtain some success in our cultivation, we can suddenly attain enlightenment.” (For example, when we cut down a standing tree, we should gradually cut it piece by piece. If so, we are suddenly subject to cut it down. When we leave for a castle far away from here, we should make our way there step by step. If so, we are suddenly subject to arrive in it in one day.)

(Second), some (Chan Buddhists) contend, “If we suddenly cultivate (our minds), we can gradually obtain enlightenment. (For example, when we learn an archery practice, we should suddenly concentrate on an arrow in order to hit its target. If we practice archery for a while, we gradually become familiar with it. This metaphor indicates the sudden cultivation of the mind’s activities (attentiveness), not the sudden enlightenment of the mind’s functions.)

(Third), some (Chan Buddhists) argue, “If we gradually cultivate (our minds), we can gradually obtain enlightenment.” (For example, when we climb up a nine-story pavilion, the higher we move up, the farther we can see. Therefore, a poet says in his poem, “If we want to see all objects in the distance of one thousand *li*,¹⁸³ we should climb up one more story in the pavilion.”¹⁸⁴) The above metaphors that I introduced indicated intuitive enlightenment.

(Fourth), some (Chan Buddhists) mention, “If we suddenly obtain enlightenment, we can gradually cultivate (our minds). It indicates intellectual enlightenment.” (We can liken this view to the elimination of defilements. For example, when the sun suddenly arises, frosts and dewdrops gradually disappear. We can metaphorically compare it to the accomplishment of virtues. For example, when a mother delivers a baby, the baby suddenly possesses four

¹⁸² T.48.2015.407c12-408a17.

¹⁸³ One *li*, a Chinese unit of length, is approximately 1/5 or 1/3 of a mile.

¹⁸⁴ The author of *Guoxiu ji* attributed the authorship of this poem to Zhu Bin, the authors of *Moke huixi* and *Mengxi bitan* to Wang Wenhuan, and the author of *Tangshi xuan* to Wang Zhihuan. Refer to Kamata Shigeo, trans., *Zengen shosenshū tojo* (The Preface to the *Collected Writings on the Source of Chan*), Zen no goroku, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Chukuma shobō, 1971), 195.

limbs and six sense faculties. If he becomes an adult, he gradually accomplishes his intentions and activities.) Therefore, the *Huayan Sūtra* says, “Immediately when we generate a mind to get enlightenment, we can obtain supreme enlightenment.”¹⁸⁵ Thereafter, Bodhisattvas practicing in three (ten) stages of worthiness, (1) ten stages of security, (2) ten stages of practice, and (3) ten stages of devotion, (corresponding to the stages 21-40 of 52 stages enlisted in the *Huayan Sūtra*), and Bodhisattvas practicing in ten stages of development (corresponding to the stages 41-50 of 52 stages) gradually cultivate their minds and obtain enlightenment. If we do not attain enlightenment but cultivate (our minds), we cannot properly cultivate (our minds). (If we exercise the untrue practice, we cannot consider it as the true practice. If we do not depend on truth, how should they cultivate true practice? Therefore, a Sūtra mentions, “If we do not listen to this teaching, even though we practice six perfections for many eons, we could not realize truth.”¹⁸⁶)

(Fifth), some (Chan Buddhists) assert, “If we suddenly obtain sudden enlightenment, we suddenly practice sudden cultivation. We explicate this view for the practitioners of highest capacity. (Because we have the higher capacities, we can obtain enlightenment). We expound this view for the practitioners of higher desires. (Because we have the stronger desires, we can cultivate our minds). If we listen to one thing, we can realize one thousand things. Therefore, we can summarize (Buddhist teachings). We do not generate even one (delusive) thought and the temporal sequence such as past and future. (We can liken the elimination of defilements to the following case: Immediately when one thread is cut, ten thousand threads are suddenly cut. We also can liken the cultivation of virtues to the following case: If we dye a thread, ten thousand threads suddenly become colorful. Heze Shenhui says, “If we see the essence of non-thought, we cannot chase the production of an object.”¹⁸⁷) He also continues to say, “If one thought corresponds to the original nature, we simultaneously possess virtues as many as the sands of the Ganges River and eighty four thousand perfections.”¹⁸⁸) If our three categories of action such as physical, verbal and mental actions become manifest of themselves, other practitioners cannot see them. (The *Diamond Samādhi Sūtra* says, “Even though we have the unmoved mind of emptiness, we can possess six perfections.”¹⁸⁹) The *Lotus Sūtra* mentions, “We, through eyes and ears that we obtained from our parents, completely see three thousand realms.”¹⁹⁰) If we explain this case with regard to phenomenal traces, we can match it to the

¹⁸⁵ See T.9.278.447a27, T.9.278.449c14, and T.9.278.783b9.

¹⁸⁶ I could not identify this sentence in the Buddhist canon.

¹⁸⁷ T.51.2076.439c1.

¹⁸⁸ I could not identify this sentence in the Buddhist canon.

¹⁸⁹ T.9.273.367a14-15.

¹⁹⁰ T.9.262.47c8-9, and T.9.264.181c20-21.

group of Niutou Farong (594-657) and his followers. This group has two meanings. (First), if we cultivate (our minds) based on enlightenment, we can call it intellectual enlightenment. (Second), if we obtain enlightenment based on the cultivation of our minds, we can call this as intuitive enlightenment. However, this case can be applicable only to this lifetime. If we trace back to previous lifetimes, we can find only gradual process, not sudden process. If we now see some Chan practitioners who attained sudden enlightenment in this lifetime, because they have cultivated their minds for many lifetimes, they can finally obtain sudden enlightenment in this lifetime.

(Sixth), some (Chan Buddhists) argue, “Buddhism does not have subitism and gradualism. It discussed gradualism and subitism in terms of the capacities of the audience. Indeed, it cannot verbally take this principle. When it discusses (Buddhist) soteriology, it discusses it with regard to the capacities of the audience, but it does not introduce the essence of Buddhist teachings.”

(Above, I have discussed Buddhist soteriology in six aspects. In conclusion), we can categorize Buddhist soteriology in several groups. Each group has its own unique meaning. We cannot force each group to have its own unique meaning. Therefore, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* explicates four kinds of subitism and four kinds of gradualism.¹⁹¹ (The text’s meaning is very similar to the view of gradual cultivation and sudden enlightenment.) I will not complicate this topic anymore. For example, contemporary Chan theorists use only the terms gradualism and subitism but do not analyze them at all. The Buddhist teaching has two kinds of subitism and gradualism. (First), we can classify the sudden and gradual teachings based on the Buddha’s instructive methods. (Second), we can classify the sudden and gradual teachings based on the audience’s capacities. We have also the sudden and gradual practices in Chan Buddhism. With regard to (Chan) practitioners, we can divide the sudden and gradual practices (1) based on their master’s skillful instructions, (2) depending on their capacities, and (3) relying on their determination to attain enlightenment. Of six cases, the view of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation seems self-contradictory. We should remove the doubts. When the sun’s light suddenly shines, the frost and dewdrops gradually disappear. When a mother delivers a baby, the baby suddenly possesses (four limbs and six sense faculties). (If he becomes an adult), he gradually accomplishes his intentions and activities. (He gradually forms his physical body and step by step learns various skills and disciplines). When a violent gale suddenly stops, the waves of the ocean gradually cease. When we suddenly obtain the illumination of our true minds, we gradually learn social ethics and social harmony. (For example, even though a son was born in a noble family, because he behaved indecently

¹⁹¹ T.16.670.485c26-486a20. His master Chengguan also explained four kinds of gradualism and four kinds of subitism in his *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, T.36.1736.164b11f.

as a young boy, he would become a slave. He did not know that he was a noble son. At the time, because his parents visited and recognized him, he suddenly became a noble person. Even his behaviors could not suddenly change his status. Therefore, we should gradually learn Buddhism or cultivate our minds.) (As explained above), we should know how important the meanings of subitism and gradualism are.

Zongmi analyzed major Chan sects available at his current times from his soteriological perspective of sudden enlightenment and gradual enlightenment in his *Chart of the Master-Disciple Succession of the Chan Gate that Transmits the Mind Ground in China* (*Zhonghua chuanxindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu*), generally referred to as *Chan Chart* in English. Korean Buddhists used to call the same book by a different title, *Dharma Collection and Special Practice Record* (*Beopjip byeolhaengnok*). Zongmi wrote the *Chan Chart* in one fascicle between 830 and 833 in reply to Pei Xiu's questions on the teachings and lineage connections of the four major Chan traditions, i.e., the Heze, Hongzhou, Niutou (Ox-herd), and Northern Chan sects.¹⁹² Zongmi summarized and evaluated the four traditions in descending order of importance: the Heze, Hongzhou, Niutou, and Northern Chan sects. He classified the four Chan sects into three groups in it. The lowest Chan sect was the Northern Chan Sect. The intermediate-leveled Chan sect was the Niutou Chan Sect. The highest Chan sects were the Heze Sect and the Hongzhou Sect. He emphasized his affiliated Heze Sect over the Hongzhou Sect. According to him, Yogācāra Buddhism becomes the theoretical foundation of the Northern Chan Sect; Mādhyamika Buddhism the doctrinal background of the Niutou Chan Sect; and Tathāgatagarbha thought the ideological basis of the highest two sects Hongzhou and Heze Chan Sects. He analyzed the four major Chan sects from his own soteriological standard of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation in the last portion of and concluded his *Chan Chart* as follows:¹⁹³

Hereafter, I will discuss two gates, i.e., sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation. However, if the principle of suchness indeed negates the Buddhas and negates sentient beings, how can we have the Dharma transmission from masters to disciples? We transmitted the Dharma lineage from patriarchs to patriarchs since the Buddha himself. We already knew how Chan practitioners

¹⁹² Peter N. Gregory briefly introduced the *Chan Chart* in his *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 318. See the whole text of *Chan Chart*, X.63.1225.31a2-36a4.

¹⁹³ X.63.1225.35b8-c18. Here, I adopted the critically edited edition by Kamata Shigeo for my translation. Kamata Shigeo has supplied missing passages from Jinul's *Beopjip byeolhaengnok jeolyo byeongip sagi* (Summary of Guifeng Zongmi's *Chan Chart* with Personal Notes) in the text. Refer to Kamata Shigeo, trans., 340-341.

cultivated their minds and attained enlightenment. We also knew how they had two opposite terms such as enlightenment and delusions, the beginning and the end, the ordinary and the holy, and others. If we attain enlightenment from delusions and suddenly transform the ordinary to the holy, we can call it sudden enlightenment. Sudden enlightenment indicates, “Because we have delusions from the beginning-less time, we recognize these four elements as our bodies, consider delusions as our minds, and perceive them as ourselves. If we encounter a good friend, we can teach him the aspects of conditionality and non-changeability, nature and phenomena, essence and functions. If so, he suddenly realizes that the mysterious and mysterious knowledge is his true mind. Because the mind is originally empty and tranquil, borderless and formless, we can call it the body of the great order. Because the body and the mind are non-dual, we can call them the true self. Because this mind is not different from all the Buddhas at all, we can call this as the sudden (enlightenment).”

(Hereafter, I will take a metaphor, literally comment on the (following) text and match the Buddhist teachings to the comments.) For example, if we have the great state minister (of Buddha nature), we are subject to have the dream (of delusions) in our prison (of three realms). If we have the flail and chain (of the greed) in our bodies (of original consciousness), we are subject to have various worries (of all Karma effects). If we search for all means, (we are subject to learn the Buddhist teachings and to endeavor to cultivate our minds). If we encounter a person who causes us to raise our minds, (he is my guide to enlightenment). If we suddenly realize enlightenment, (we are subject to listen to the Buddhist teachings and to open up our minds). If we see ourselves, (the body of the great order shall be the true self). Because we stay in our houses from the beginning, (the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra* says, “All existences are supposed to be the empty and tranquil house.”¹⁹⁴) Comfort and happiness, riches and honors cannot be discriminated inside the Buddhist teachings just as the highest state minister and the lowest government official are not different in terms of serving for the government officialdom. (We can consider tranquility as happiness. If we observe the virtues from the perspective of essence, we have the innumerable virtues as many as the sands of the Ganges River). (We should match the above sentences to the true nature of all Buddhas. As I commented on them above, please refer to them). If we refer to the above metaphor, we can clearly understand the meaning. Even though we are able to differentiate our dreams from our enlightenments and our bodies from our minds, those opposite concepts are identical in this origin. Even so, if we discuss the phenomena and functions of them, genuineness and in-genuineness are extremely different. We should not differentiate enlightenment and dream.

¹⁹⁴ T.14.475.549c5.

Metaphorically speaking, even though the source of mind is identical, delusions and enlightenment are different. Even though we see a higher government minister in a dream, when we wake up, we see a lower prison official. (Even though we are deluded, we can cultivate our minds and obtain the stage of the great heavenly king Brahmā. After we obtain enlightenment, we are able to enter the stage of ten faiths, the 1st to 10th stages of the 52 stages. If we see seven treasures in a dream, when we wake up, we see one hundred cents. (Even though we are deluded, we can cultivate innumerable merits. After we obtain enlightenment, we can preserve five precepts and ten wholesome precepts). We cannot analogically examine all delusions and all truths. (All the Buddhist teachings say, “We are better to hear one verse of Buddhist teaching than to donate three thousand kinds of seven treasures.” Above, I indicated this meaning.)

Above, I already explicated the Dharma transmission from masters to disciples and differentiated falsehood from truth. Next, if we discuss gradual cultivation, even though we suddenly awaken the body of the great order and we abruptly realize that the true mind is identical to all Buddhas, we delusively attach ourselves to four elements and consider them as ourselves, we accomplish our habits and nature, and finally we find it difficult to suddenly remove them. Therefore, we should gradually cultivate (our minds) based on the obtaining of enlightenment. If we gradually reduce them, we will not have them anymore to reduce.¹⁹⁵ If so, we call this status as the accomplishment of Buddhahood. Therefore, we can say that there are no Buddhas outside these our minds. However, even though we gradually cultivate (our minds), we already realized that defilements are originally empty and the nature of mind is originally pure. Therefore, when we remove evils, even though we remove them, we cannot remove them at all. When we cultivate goods, even though we cultivate them, we cannot cultivate them at all. At the time, we can truly remove evils and really cultivate goods.

Q: When we need to cultivate (our minds) after attaining (enlightenment), we can take the metaphor of a dream that I introduced before. It seems like a case that even though we obtain enlightenment, we should release ourselves from a jail and take a frail off.”

A: The aforementioned metaphor indicates the meaning of sudden enlightenment, not of gradual cultivation. Even though Buddhism has innumerable aspects, mundane affairs have only one aspect. Even though the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* discusses Buddha nature, it explains it with eight hundred metaphors. Even so, it harmoniously uses the metaphors without mixing them up. Hereafter, I will reveal the metaphor of gradual cultivation. For example,

¹⁹⁵ Refer to the 48th chapter of *Laozi Daode jing*. Guifeng Zongmi transformed the meaning of the sentence for the Buddhist ultimate objective, accomplishment of Buddhahood, from the Daoist ultimate one, completion of un-conditionality.

when the wind shakes the water, it makes many waves. Because it causes a disaster of drowning, cold atmosphere, and a block of ice, it prohibits us from using the water for irrigation and washing. However, whenever the water moves, stops, freezes and flows, the wetness of the water does not change at all. The water indicates the true mind, the wind means ignorance, the waves stand for defilements, the disaster of drowning symbolizes six destinies of transmigration, cold atmosphere signifies the habits of greed, and a block of ice means the strong attachment to four elements and the mutual obstructions. In the metaphor that we are prohibited from using water for irrigation and washing, because irrigation means the watering of great Dharma rains, it benefits all beings and lets a sprout of Dao grow up in them. Washing stands for the complete cleansing of defilements. Because delusions cannot be active, the metaphor says that it prohibits us from using the water. Above, I also introduced a metaphor that whenever the water moves, stops, freezes and flows on, the wetness of the water does not change at all. When we are greedy and angry, we are aware of (something). When we are compassionate, we are aware of (something). When we are sad, joyous, unhappy, and happy, we are always aware of (something). Therefore, we say that (the wetness of the water) does not change at all. Hereafter, if we suddenly enlighten our original mind, we can always know (something) like the un-changeability of the wetness (of the water). We do not have delusions in our minds. We also do not have ignorance (in our minds) just as the wind suddenly stops. We naturally and gradually stop (our delusions) based on conditions after obtaining enlightenment just as the waves of the water gradually stop. If we nurture our minds and bodies with wisdom and meditation, we are able to be free from (delusions). We have a miraculous power without obstructions and universally save all beings just as when the spring comes, the ice naturally melts down. If we irrigate the lands and water plants, we can benefit all beings very well.

The followers of Hongzhou Chan Sect always state that greed, anger, compassion and goodness all are the functions of the Buddha nature. How can we have differences? For example, if the human beings just observe that the wetness of the water is always not different, they do not know differences between merits and demerits. Therefore, this sect is close to the gate of sudden enlightenment but is completely wrong for the gate of gradual cultivation. The practitioners of Niutou Chan Sect are well versed in emptiness. Therefore, they master the half of the gate of sudden enlightenment. Because they remove passions, they do not have any problems in the gate of gradual cultivation. The advocates of Northern Chan Sect practice only gradual cultivation but do not have sudden enlightenment at all. Because they do not obtain sudden enlightenment, even though they cultivate their minds, they cannot realize the truth. The adherents of Heze Chan, after obtaining sudden enlightenment, cultivate (their minds) based on enlightenment. Therefore, the *Complete*

Enlightenment Sūtra says, “If all the Bodhisattvas realize the pure and complete enlightenment and practice tranquility with the pure enlightened mind, they are able to purify all thoughts and recognize all activities of defilements.”¹⁹⁶ All Mahāyāna texts well preserve and explicate the meaning of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation. The Mahāyāna texts such as the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* and the *Huayan Sūtra* have the tenet in them. The Buddha skillfully expounded various teachings for various groups of the audience based on their capacities. After he extensively opened various gates, he guided each person to each gate (based on his/her capacity). Each person has his/her own habits inherited from previous lifetimes. He explicated each tenet for each Buddhist of different capacity. So, all Buddhist teachings that each sect explicated originated from the teachings of all Buddhas. All Buddhist scriptures and commentaries contain this sentence.

As above, Zongmi systemized the soteriology of Chan Buddhism from his own sectarian standpoint of Heze Chan Sect. He attempted to prove why the Heze Chan Sect is authentic and is superior to other three Chan sects, Northern Chan Sect, Niutou Chan Sect, and Hongzhou Chan Sect available in his contemporary times. He also considered his own sectarian soteriology of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation as the most orthodox and authentic one. However, he comprehensively syncretized Chan sayings with doctrinal texts by enlisting ten reasons in *Chan Preface*.¹⁹⁷

While advocating his sectarian perspective, he needed to harmonize his sectarian position with other sectarian positions. Because he did not completely negate other sects from the perspective of his sectarianism, he was not a strong sectarian but a moderate one. He attempted to harmonize his sectarianism with his ecumenism in his system of philosophy. He had the strong tension between sectarianism and ecumenism in his philosophical system. If we carefully review the above quote that I cited and translated from Zongmi’s *Chan Chart*, we can easily recognize that Zongmi approached Chan soteriology from his sectarian perspective. However, he attempted to harmonize subitism and gradualism from his ecumenist perspective in the following sections of the 9th and 10th reasons in his *Chan Preface*.¹⁹⁸

Ninth, even though subitism and gradualism seem contradictory in Chan soteriology, they are not contradictory to each other at all. According to all Buddhist texts and all Chan gates, there are several different groups of practitioners. (First), some say, “After they gradually and successfully cultivate (their minds), they can suddenly attain enlightenment.” (Second), some assert,

¹⁹⁶ T.17.842.917c15-16.

¹⁹⁷ T.48.2015.400b2-402b8.

¹⁹⁸ T.48.2015.402a11-b8.

“After they suddenly obtain enlightenment, they can gradually cultivate (their minds).” (Third), some argue, “After they suddenly cultivate (their minds), we can gradually attain enlightenment.” (Fourth), some state, “Enlightenment and cultivation all are gradual.” (Fifth), some mention, “Enlightenment and cultivation all are sudden.” (Sixth and lastly), some mention, “The Buddhist teaching does not differentiate subitism and gradualism. It explicates subitism and gradualism only based on the capacity of the audience.” Each of the above-introduced six views has its own meaning. I mentioned (at the outset of this section) that (subitism and gradualism) seem contradictory. The mention means as follows: If we obtain enlightenment and accomplish Buddhahood, we should not have defilements. If we name it subitism, we do not need to cultivate (our minds) and remove (our defilements). Why should we say again gradual cultivation? If we gradually cultivate (our minds), we presuppose that we have defilements to be removed. If we do not complete the practices of causes, we cannot complete the virtues of effects. Therefore, even though I mentioned that subitism and gradualism seem contradictory, if we harmonize both of them, they two are not contradictory but are mutually supportive.

Tenth, when masters transmit their teachings to their disciples, they should know diseases and medicines for their disciples. When they skillfully transmit their teachings to their disciples, they should reveal the original nature to them and later let them practice Chan Buddhism based on the nature. We cannot easily transform the nature to enlightenment because we extremely attach ourselves to external phenomena. Therefore, if we want to manifest the nature, we should remove attachments in advance. If we skillfully remove attachments, we should simultaneously remove the dichotomous sets of thinking such as the ordinary and the holy, merits and demerits, and other sets. Therefore, precepts do not have both violation and preservation and Chan does not have both meditation (calmness) and confusion. The Buddha’s 32 major remarkable physical characteristics¹⁹⁹ all are illusive flowers. The 37 practices conducive to enlightenment²⁰⁰ all are dreams and phantasms. After we intend not to make attachments in our minds, we can practice Chan. Because later practitioners do not have profound knowledge, they attach themselves to these sayings and consider them as the ultimate truth. Because many Chan practitioners are lazy in cultivating (their minds), (Chan masters) extensively explain to their disciples their likes and dislikes, criticize their greed and anger, praise their diligence, control their bodies and their breathing, and arrange coarseness and minuteness in order. Even though later practitioners listen to these sayings, they are deluded to the functions of original enlightenment and attach themselves to external phenomena. Only the practitioners of high capacities and strong

¹⁹⁹ See the entry of “thirty-two features” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 694.

²⁰⁰ See the entry of “thirty-seven aids to the way” in *ibid.*, 692-693.

intentions can follow their masters and obtain the meaning of enlightenment and cultivation. When the practitioners of shallow and superficial nature listen to one meaning for a while, they consider the saying as being good enough. They also rely on the masters of shallow and superficial wisdom and consider them as their masters. Because they do not completely investigate the fundamental and the derivative, they generally stick to their prejudices. Therefore, gradualists and subitists consider their counterparts just as their own enemies. The Southern and Northern Chan Sects oppose each other just as the Chu and Han states fight against each other. The simile that (Datong Shenxiu) washed his previous customs and opened his new ones under his master Hongren²⁰¹ and the metaphor that even though a blind man watched the part of an elephant, he misunderstood that he saw all parts of the elephant²⁰² very well prove these (sectarian views). I intended not to arrange other sectarian views in this section but to harmonize the three Chan sects. If each of three Chan sects argues against others, it cannot harmonize itself with other sects. If three Chan sects disagree with each other, how can they attain Buddhahood? Therefore, if we want to know why the Buddha provided proper medicines (teachings) based on the necessity of his patients (disciples), we should observe that the three Chan sects are not contradictory to each other and the three doctrinal traditions do not negate each other. (As I mentioned above, some criticized, “How can Chan masters lecture Buddhist teachings?” Now I summarized the unity between doctrinal texts and Chan texts in these ten reasons. Therefore, in the outset of the ten reasons, I introduced that Indian patriarchs all propagated only doctrinal texts such as scriptures and commentaries.

I itemized six groups of Chan practitioners in the above quote. Zongmi did not hierarchically evaluate those groups. Even though we could not completely negate his sectarian view of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation in his system of philosophy, he attempted to harmonize major Chan sects such as the Northern Chan Sect, Niutou Chan Sect, and Hongzhou Chan Sect with his Heze Chan Sect. He also tried to ecumenize major doctrinal traditions such as Yogācāra Buddhism, Mādhyamika Buddhism, and Tathāgatagarbha Buddhism with his Huayan Buddhism. He particularly harmonized gradualism represented by the Northern Chan Sect and subitism represented by the Southern Chan Sect. Of the four major Chan sects that Zongmi enlisted, except the Northern Chan Sect, all the three major Chan sects belong to the Southern Chan Sect.

²⁰¹ The simile originated from *Jingzhou Yuquan-si Datong chanshi beiming* (An Inscription of Chan Master Datong Shenxiu of Yuquan-si Temple in the County of Jingzhou in China). Refer to Kamata Shigeo, trans., 84.

²⁰² T.12.375.802a11-27.

4. Yongming Yanshou (904-975)

Because Yanshou inherited the ecumenical lineage of Sino-Korean Buddhism,²⁰³ he was a very important figure in the development of ecumenical tradition. He received strong influences from earlier Chan / Pure Land syncretists,²⁰⁴ ecumenists who harmonized opposing doctrinal traditions, ecumenists who synthesized Chan and doctrinal traditions, and harmonizers between the Buddhist teachings and aboriginal Chinese religions such as Confucianism and Daoism.²⁰⁵ He finally established his own syncretism.²⁰⁶ Later Sino-Korean ecumenists inherited and incorporated his ecumenism in and established their own ecumenical philosophy.²⁰⁷

He also loyally inherited the moderate Chan of Qingliang Chengguan and his disciple Zongmi. Moreover, in the beginning, he selected four types from nine of Zongmi's soteriology and summarized them in the 75th Question and Answer section of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?* (*Wanshan tonggui ji*).²⁰⁸ He asserted that even though Chan soteriology is applicable to the practitioners of the highest capacity, even they should practice myriads of good deeds, and cultivate and purify their perfumed minds. He introduced Zongmi's four types of soteriology in the following quote:²⁰⁹

(I think that) Chan Master Guifeng (Zongmi) summarized (Chan soteriology) in four phrases.²¹⁰ The first phrase is gradual cultivation and sudden enlightenment. Figuratively speaking, when we cut down a standing tree, we should gradually cut it piece by piece. If so, we are suddenly subject to cut it down. The second phrase is sudden cultivation and gradual enlightenment.

²⁰³ Heng-ching Shih and Albert Welter extensively discussed Yanshou and the syncretism of Chan and Pure Land Buddhism in her *The Syncretism of Ch'an and Pure Land Buddhism*, Asian Thought and Culture Series, No. 9 (New York: Peter Lang, 1992) and in his *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: A Study of Yung-ming Yen-shou and the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi*, Asian Thought and Culture Series, No. 13 (New York: Peter Lang, 1993) respectively.

²⁰⁴ See "Chapter 2 Interaction between Ch'an and Pure Land Prior to Yung-ming," in Heng-Ching Shih, 19-71.

²⁰⁵ See "Chapter 3 The Socio-Political Background," in Heng-Ching Shih, 73-90.

²⁰⁶ See "Chapter 5 Yung-ming's Syncretic Thought," in Heng-Ching Shih, 119-174 and "Part Two The Life of Yung-ming Yen-shou: The Making of a Ch'an and Pure Land Patriarch" and "Part Three The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds," in Albert Welter, 37-189.

²⁰⁷ See "Chapter 6 The Influence of Yung-ming's Syncretic Thought and an Evaluation of the Ch'an – Pure Land Syncretism," in Heng-ching Shih, 175-192.

²⁰⁸ T.48.2017.987b25-c21.

²⁰⁹ T.48.2017.987b26-c1.

²¹⁰ T.48.2015.407c12-408a17.

Figuratively speaking, when we learn an archery practice, we should suddenly concentrate on an arrow in order to hit its target. If we exercise the archery shooting for a while, we are gradually subject to be familiar with it. The third phrase is gradual cultivation and gradual enlightenment. Figuratively speaking, when we climb up a nine-story pavilion, the higher we move up, the farther we can see. The fourth phrase is sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation. Metaphorically speaking, immediately when one thread is dyed, ten thousand threads are suddenly dyed.

Yanshou argued that the four types of the above-mentioned Zongmi's Chan soteriology all are related to intuitive enlightenment. He introduced Zongmi's fifth type of soteriology, "sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation," considered the type as the best one that Chan practitioners should follow, and categorized only the soteriological type as intellectual enlightenment as the following quote demonstrates:²¹¹

The above-mentioned four types of soteriology all are related to intuitive enlightenment. Only the soteriological type of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation is related to intellectual enlightenment. For example, when the sun suddenly arises, frosts and dewdrops gradually disappear. Therefore, the *Huayan Sūtra* says, "Immediately when we generate a mind to get enlightenment, we can obtain supreme enlightenment."²¹² Thereafter, the practitioners practicing in the higher stages of development gradually cultivate their minds and obtain enlightenment. If they do not attain enlightenment but cultivate their minds, they cannot properly cultivate (their minds). Only this soteriological type of sudden enlightenment and gradual practice corresponds to the highest vehicle of the Buddha's teachings and is not contradictory to the fundamental meanings of the perfect teaching. For example, the soteriological type of sudden enlightenment and sudden practice means that practitioners suddenly mature their cultivation in this life period after they have gradually cultivated their minds throughout previous multiple lives. If the practitioners attain enlightenment, they can naturally examine the above-mentioned fact by themselves.

If we consider the object of languages as the object of actions, the object of actions is identical to the object of languages. If we make ourselves completely penetrate the Dharma Realm, we can have our minds totally match to the principle of the empty sky. If so, we should make ourselves unmoved

²¹¹ T.48.2017.987c2-21.

²¹² See T.9.278.447a27, T.9.278.449c14, and T.9.278.783b9.

from eight conditions²¹³ and cause ourselves not to be affected from three experiences of karma.²¹⁴ We should let both the seeds, (the cause of karma), and the manifestation of seeds, (the result of karma) dissolved, and should cause fundamental defilements²¹⁵ and derivative ones²¹⁶ to be completely removed. If we just want to benefit ourselves, why should we practice one thousand wholesome deeds and remove the perfumed unwholesome effects? If we are not sick, why should we take medicines? If we want to benefit others, we should remove (the one thousand wholesome deeds). If we do not make (the one thousand wholesome deeds), how can we encourage other practitioners to practice them? Therefore, the scripture (*Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra-śāstra* (Wisdom Śāstra) written by Nāgārjuna in one hundred fascicles) says, “If we preserve precepts, we can encourage others to preserve precepts. If we take seated meditation, we can encourage others to take seated meditation.”²¹⁷ The *Wisdom Śāstra* says, “What a man of one hundred years old dances is to educate his grandson.”²¹⁸ He (the old man) is likened to (a master) who draws (a disciple) with a hook in the beginning and later guides him to obtain the Buddha’s wisdom. If the manifestation of seeds is not removed, the perfumed defilements become thick. Whatever we see, we can generate passions. Whatever we touch, we can obtain obstructions. Although we completely understand the meanings of no-production, if we cannot have enough power, we cannot keep saying, “We already completely realized that the nature of

²¹³ See the entry of “eight winds” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 151. Eight winds constitute (1) prosperity, (2) decline, (3) disgrace, (4) honor, (5) praise, (6) censure, (7) suffering and (8) pleasure.

²¹⁴ See the entry of “three experiences of karma” in *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, [http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?4e.xml+id\('b4e09-53d7-696d'\)](http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?4e.xml+id('b4e09-53d7-696d')) (accessed March 4, 2009). Those three are the results arising from the pursuit of courses that produce pain, pleasure and equanimity.

²¹⁵ See the entry of “earthly desires” and “five false views” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 139 and 183. Ten fundamental defilements consist of the five delusive inclinations of greed, anger, foolishness, arrogance and doubt and the five false views. The five false views are explained as follows: “Though the mind and body are no more than a temporary union of the five component, one regards them as possessing a self that is absolute: and though nothing in the universe can belong to an individual, one views one’s mind body as one’s own possession; (2) the belief in one of two extremes concerning existence: that life ends with death, or that life persists after death in some eternal and unchanging form; (3) denial of the law of cause and effect; (4) adhering to misconceptions and viewing them as truth, while regarding inferior views as superior; and (5) viewing erroneous practices or precepts as the correct way to enlightenment.”

²¹⁶ Ibid. There are twenty derivative defilements originated from and accompanying the fundamental defilements.

²¹⁷ T.25.1509.690a28-29.

²¹⁸ I could not identify the citation in the *Wisdom Śāstra*.

defilements is empty.” If we generate our minds in that way, the cultivation of our minds might be overturned.

Therefore, even though the nature of defilements is empty, it is influenced from karma. Even though the effect of karma is without nature, it also makes the cause of suffering. Even though suffering is empty, it is difficult for us to endure it. Metaphorically speaking, when we are attacked by a serious illness, the illness is completely empty. How should we seek medical doctors and take various medicines? Therefore, we should know that if our sayings and actions are contradictory to each other, we can easily ascertain the truth of them. If we properly consider our capacities, we should not admire ourselves too much but reasonably examine our thinking and protect our wrongs. We should earnestly examine what we should do.

As introduced above, Yanshou considered the moderate soteriological type of “sudden enlightenment and gradual practice” as the ideal model for Chan practitioners. He also advocated the gradual perfection of sudden enlightenment in the 50th Question and Answer section of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers*.²¹⁹ He explained the gradual perfection of sudden enlightenment and strongly supported the moderate Chan soteriology of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation but did not follow the radical subitist soteriology of sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation in the following quote:²²⁰

Q: Why not perfect the myriad practices naturally through sudden enlightenment to (the nature of) individual elements of existence, instead of proceeding circuitously on a gradual path, striving exhaustively after (merit from) trivial good deeds? The Chan Sect says, “When a single thought does not arise, a particle of dust does not appear.” If you vie to snatch flowers from the sky while scurrying about in a river of flames, cultivating an illusion while (situated) in an illusion, you will never realize *li* (principle).

A: All Buddhas, by completely understanding (the nature) of illusion, are able to save sentient beings situated in illusion. Bodhisattvas illuminate (the nature of) emptiness, and based on this illumination, formulate (myriad deeds) out of emptiness. The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* says, “The Buddha said, “All elements of existence, without exception, are likened to illusory forms. Even though the Buddha exists in the middle of them, he does not attach himself to them due to his skillful means. Why is it so? All Buddhas exist as all elements of existence

²¹⁹ T.48.2017.975b18-976b13. See its English translation in Albert Welter, 220-227.

²²⁰ T.48.2017.957b18-c6. I referred to and slightly revised Albert Welter’s translation, 220-221.

exist.²²¹” The *Mūla-madhyamaka-śāstra* (by Nāgārjuna) also says, “All elements of existence are completed because of the aspect of emptiness.”²²²

As a result, “sudden (enlightenment)” is comparable to what a seed contains inherently, while “gradual (cultivation / perfection)” is similar to the bud that subsequently sprouts. Moreover, (the difference between the two) is comparable to when one sees a nine-storied tower, one is able to see (it) “suddenly,” but can reach (the top of the tower) only after climbing the stairs. When one suddenly understands the nature of the mind, the mind itself is the Buddha. There is no nature that is not endowed with (the Buddha nature), yet one must accumulate merit and cultivate the myriad practices at every opportunity (in order to realize nature). Also, it is comparable to when one polishes a mirror, one polishes it everywhere all at once, but its luminous purity is obtained (only) gradually. (Likewise), when the myriad practices are cultivated suddenly, enlightenment is gradually realized. This is known as “perfection gradual (realization)” not as “gradual perfection.” It also (refers to) “rankings (conceived) in the midst of no-rank,” and “practices (conceived) in the midst of no-practice.” The reason for this is that when one understands effects (in terms of) a combination of causes, from the subtle to the obvious, everything (i.e., all elements of existence) is able to benefit both oneself and others by virtue of the goodness stemming from one’s compassion and the power of one’s natural endowments.

Therefore, the completion of a nine-storied tower begins with the first bamboo basket (load of earth). A journey of a thousand *li*²²³ commences with the first step. A vast flowing stream starts from its spring. The trees of a great forest are the products of minute seeds. (In the completion of) the Way, one does not dismiss trivial practices, just as darkness does not oppose the first light (of the break of day). Therefore, when a single phrase (revealing the Truth) pervades one’s divine essence, (its effect) will endure endlessly through time without fading. When (the merit of) a single good deed enters the mind, (its effect) will not be forgotten through the myriad ages of time.

Yanshou further introduced textual evidence from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*,²²⁴ the *Ri mani bao jing*,²²⁵ the *Wisdom Śāstra*,²²⁶ the *Lotus Sūtra*,²²⁷ the *Great Compassion Sūtra*,²²⁸ and the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*,²²⁹ and so on and the

²²¹ T.12.374.375b8-9.

²²² T.30.1564.33a22.

²²³ One *li* corresponds to 0.4 kilometer.

²²⁴ T.48.2017.976c6-8,

²²⁵ T.48.2017.975c9-11.

²²⁶ T.48.2017.975c11-16.

²²⁷ T.48.2017.976a8-10.

²²⁸ T.48.2017.976a10-14.

sayings of previous scholars to back up his soteriology of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation. He concluded the 50th Question and Answer section by explaining his moderate Chan soteriology using the categorical sets of essence and functions and of principle and phenomena, as the following quote demonstrates.²³⁰

Consequently, when the Buddha tailored his teaching to the capacities of sentient beings, he responded to them with great care. Neither those of greater (capacities) nor those of lesser ones were forgotten. He welcomed experienced practitioners and spurred the beginners on. How could he reject either those who completed their practice or those who had not? On some occasions, he praised those with lesser capacities in order to lead them toward the profound and ultimate (truth). On other occasions, he scolded those who had not completed their practice out of fear that they would stop at the beginner's gate.

But you do not mistake the yellow leaves for gold, or shallow fists for the real thing. In each case, these were only kindnesses that (the Buddha) skillfully displayed to lure practitioners to salvation, with the idea of promoting or censoring (their activities). But those who do not get the point of the Buddha's teaching latch on to words which were only (intended as) skillful means. They either affirm or deny them as the case may be, appropriating or renouncing them with absolute certainty. Some obstruct (practices of) the great vehicle by latching on to (practices of) the small vehicle, and (in so doing), violate the original, fundamental principle (of the great vehicle). Other hinder (practices of) the small vehicle by depending (exclusively) on (practices of) the great vehicle, and (by doing so), fail to recognize the wisdom of using the skillful methods (of the small vehicle). Moreover, even though it is true that fundamental principle pertains (solely) to the teaching of the great vehicle, the point (that fundamental principle bears for the meaning) of the great vehicle is clarified only through practicing the skillful methods of the small vehicle. They (i.e., the latter group above) may recklessly insist on rejecting the small vehicle, that the practices of the small vehicle are useless and ineffective. But when they apply this notion, they end up accepting what is unreal and entrusting themselves to what exists only provisionally. When they speak, they readily go to extremes. They destroy the wheel of the True Law, and slander the true wisdom of the great vehicle. Of serious errors and extreme transgressions, none are greater than this. (This effect of this transgression) will not be exhausted even after eons of time, and they will be eternally relegated to the lowest hell.

The *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* says, "Without skillful means, wisdom restricts; and with skillful means, wisdom liberates. Without wisdom, skillful

²²⁹ T.48.2017.976a23-24.

²³⁰ T.48.2017.976a14-b13. I referred to and slightly revised Albert Welter's translation, 225-227.

means restricts; and with wisdom, skillful means liberate.²³¹” Why don’t you criticize real (and effective practices) by latching on to (what was intended as) a skillful teaching, accepting what does not exist by doing harm to something that does? If they would only propagate (the teaching of) the great vehicle and the small vehicle together, implementing both (the teaching of) emptiness and existence, the (practice of the) threefold contemplation in a single mind (extensively explicated in Tiantai Buddhism)²³² will then be carried without error.

As a result, when one (docilely) submits to the essence of the elements of existence, not even the slightest thing is established, but when one (actively) complies with the functions of wisdom, great deeds are always performed. Because the essence is not separate from the functions, it is tranquil and yet constantly luminous. Because the functions are not separate from the essence, they are luminous and yet constantly tranquil. This is why the permanent essence and the permanent functions are always luminous and always tranquil.

If, (however), one combines the message (contained in the teachings of the great and small vehicles) and reduces them to (some notion of) fundamental principle, (this fundamental principle) is divorced from both the essence (of all elements of existence) and the functions (of wisdom). (When this is the case), neither (the essence nor the functions) will be luminous and tranquil. It is absurd, then, to hinder the functions by clinging to the essence, or to destroy conditions by latching on to nature, (rendering) principle and phenomena as strangers to each other. When the sacred and the profane are divorced from each other, then one’s sympathy for sentient beings is essentially the same as oneself is cut off, and one’s compassion for saving sentient beings regardless of circumstances does not develop. When good and evil are (also divorced from each other and) are no longer considered equally, how will one rescue anyone anywhere, be they friend or foe? This is the worst of transgressions! Of errors,

²³¹ T.14.475.545b7-8.

²³² See the entry of “Threefold Contemplation in a Single Mind” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 704-705. Tiantai Zhiyi formulated the threefold contemplation in a single mind in his *Great Concentration and Insight* and enabled people to understand the synthesis of the three truths of non-substantiality, provisional existence and the Middle Way. While the concept of synthesis of the three truths is the core of Tiantai teachings, the threefold contemplation in a single mind is the core of Tiantai practice. “T’ien-t’ai doctrine regards each phenomenon as a perfect unity of the three truths and sets forth the threefold contemplation in a single mind as the practice by which one attains insight into this perfect unity. This contemplation involves perceiving the three truths as simultaneously and perfectly integrated and interfused in each phenomenon. By doing so, one is said to rid oneself of the three categories of illusion and acquire at once the three kinds of wisdom – the wisdom of the two vehicles, the wisdom of bodhisattvas, and the Buddha wisdom. T’ien-t’ai also describes a single mind as comprising the three thousand realms within it. At the same time, one perceives that all phenomena consist of the three thousand realms.” (pp. 704-705)

none is greater than this. Furthermore, an earlier master said, “These good friends, even though they clearly realize that (by virtue of their) Buddha nature they are the same as the Buddhas, in terms of their merit, theirs is not yet equal to that of the Buddhas. From now on, they must (allow themselves to) be assisted by the permeating influences (of merit producing good deeds) every step of the way.”²³³ And an old master said, “When monk Tanzi repaid his accumulated debt, even though he did not realize principle, he still maintained the aspects of practice. At the present time, numerous are the students that neglect both of the matters (that constitute Buddhism, i.e., realization of principle and maintaining of practices).”²³⁴

Thus, one knows that the realization of one’s (Buddha nature) is not the final truth (to be attained), but is merely (a pretext used by many) to express their supernatural power through words. When it comes time to provide regular procedures (for fostering the realization of one’s Buddha nature), all the methods for doing so, both primary and secondary, have been forsaken (by these people). This is why the former Buddhas never disparaged practice in stages, and could never simply pity (sentient beings) and lament (their circumstances). As a result, the “six stages on the way to complete enlightenment”²³⁵ and the “ten stages of bodhisattva practice”²³⁶ are alternatively for indicating practitioner’s abuses and for discriminating

²³³ The same quote is seen in another text, T.47.1976.413a6-8. I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist texts.

²³⁴ I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist texts.

²³⁵ See the entry of “six stages of practice” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 614-615. The “six stages on the way to complete enlightenment” that Tiantai Zhiyi formulated in his *Great Concentration and Insight* are (1) the stage of being a Buddha in theory, (2) the stage of hearing the name and words of the truth, (3) the stage of perception and action, (4) the stage of resemblance to enlightenment, (5) the stage of partial realization, and (6) the stage of ultimate realization.

²³⁶ See the entry of “ten stages of development” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 680. The “ten stages of Bodhisattva practice” described in the “Chapter of Ten Stages” of the *Huayan Sūtra* constitute the forty-first to fiftieth stages of the system of the fifty-two stages of Bodhisattva practice. The ten stages are “(1) the stage of joy, in which one rejoices at realizing a partial aspect of the truth; (2) the stage of freedom from defilement, (3) the stage of the emission of light, in which one radiates the light of wisdom; (4) the stage of glowing wisdom, in which the flame of wisdom burns away earthly desires; (5) the stage of overcoming final illusions, in which one surmounts the illusions of darkness, or ignorance of the Middle Way; (6) the stage of the sign of supreme wisdom, in which the supreme wisdom begins to appear; (7) the stage of progression, in which one rises above the paths of the two vehicles; (8) the stage of immobility, in which one dwells firmly in the truth of the Middle Way and cannot be perturbed by anything; (9) the stage of the all-penetrating wisdom, in which one preaches the Law freely and without restriction; and (10) the stage of the Dharma cloud, in which one benefits all sentient beings with the Dharma or Law, just as a cloud sends down rain impartially upon all things.”

practitioner's respective achievements. If the six stages are considered from the perspective of the enlightened nature, nothing distinguishes the common people and the Buddhas, but if they are considered in terms of the six stages, the common people and Buddhas are worlds apart. Moreover, if the ten stages of Bodhisattva practice are considered in terms of principle, the practitioner commands all the stages from the beginning stage, but if they are considered in terms of practices (themselves), the practitioner succeeds to the advanced stages only by going through the earlier stages one at a time. (It is true that) the numerous eons of time spent in the lower sages (of the ten stages of Bodhisattva practice) in no way compares to the benefit produced in a single instant it takes to realize the eighth stage, (the state when practice is fully realized).

Yanshou attempted to harmonize suddenness and gradualness in the stages of practice in the 43rd Question and Answer section of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers*, "If the mind is completely in tune with the nature and the Buddha and the principle encompasses true source, how should we respect the negation of self by relying upon other conditions? (However), if we divide (the stage of practice) based on wisdom, we can establish gradualism in no stages. Even though we seem to have ups and downs (in the stages of practice), we cannot make the original and fundamental stage moved. Generally speaking, the great treasure of the Holy One is called the (original and fundamental) stage. If we do not have the stage of practice, we should be considered as heretics and heavenly demons. If we consider (the stage) from the aspect of perfect harmonization, it should be in accordance with the nature of Dharma realm and should be pure in its origin. If we consider (the stage) from the aspect of prevailing practice, it should be in accordance with the aspect of the characteristics of provisional truth and should have the sequence of beginning and end and the depth of the deep and the shallow. For now, if the aspect of perfect harmonization does not obstruct the aspect of prevailing practice, because it suddenly accomplishes all actions, one stage is identical to all stages. If the aspect of prevailing practice does not obstruct the aspect of perfect harmonization, because it universally accomplishes all actions, it promotes the merits of all stages. If we understand the stages of practice based on emptiness, we could always abide in the Middle Path. Even though the stages seem to be non-existent, because they are actually existent, we can clearly see their ups and downs. Even though the stages seem to be existent, because they are not actually existent, they are completely void and tranquil."²³⁷

He introduced the two fundamental forms of Buddhist meditation, i.e., *śamatha* (concentration) and *vipaśyanā* (insight) discussed in Tiantai Buddhism

²³⁷ T.48.2017.973c27-a7.

generally and Zhiyi's *Great Concentration and Insight* particularly and attempted to harmonize concentration and insight in the 45th Question and Answer section of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers*.²³⁸ Even though Tiantai Buddhism discussed the two forms of meditation, we can easily see the notion of them in Indian Buddhist texts prior to its appearance in Tiantai Buddhism. The literal definition of *śamatha* is “dwelling in tranquility” and that of *vipāśyanā* is “insight” and “clear seeing.”

Śamatha (dwelling in tranquility) “calms the mind, while special insight, through analytical examination, leads to vision of genuine reality, which is emptiness. *Śamatha* is first developed in preliminary practice and later further refined in connection with *vipāśyanā*. Dwelling in tranquility is compared to a still, clear lake in which the “fish of special insight” plays. The various obstacles that counter the development of *śamatha* are overcome through nine stages of mind, six powers, and four mental activities. (1) The stages of mind is (a) directedness of mind toward the object of meditation, (b) stabilization of the mind, (c) continuous renewal of attention, (d) confinement to the object, (e) taming of the mind, (f) calming the mind, (g) refined calm, (h) the mind collected into oneness, and (i) *samādhi*; (2) the powers are (a) hearing the teaching (corresponds to (1a)), (b) reflection (1b), (c) power of attention (1c-d), (d) clear comprehension (1e-f), (e) concentrated energy (1g-h), and (f) natural confidence (1i); and (3) the mental activities are (a) connecting the mind to the object (corresponds to 1a-b), (b) reestablishment of attention (1c-g), (c) uninterrupted attention (1h), and (d) dwelling effortlessly (1i).”²³⁹

Vipāśyanā can be defined as “intuitive cognition of the three marks of existence, namely, the impermanence, suffering and egolessness of all physical and mental phenomena. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, *vipāśyanā* is seen as analytical examination of the nature of things that leads to insight into the true nature of the world – emptiness. Such insight prevents the arising of new passions. *Vipāśyanā* is one of the two factors essential for the attainment of enlightenment; the other is *śamatha* (calming the mind).”²⁴⁰

Yanshou discussed why practitioners should practice *śamatha* and *vipāśyanā* in the 45th Question and Answer session of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers* and tried to harmonize the two meditation types without negating either of them as the following quote demonstrates:²⁴¹

²³⁸ T.48.2017. 974b8-20.

²³⁹ See the entry of “*Shamatha*” in Michael H Kohn, trans., Ingrid Fischer-Schreiber, et al, *The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen* (Boston: Shambhala, 1991), 192-193.

²⁴⁰ See the entry of “*Vipashyanā*,” *ibid*, 245.

²⁴¹ T.48.2017. 974b8-20.

Q: Although all sentient beings always concentrate on meditation, why should they calculate the number of breathing and enter into intuitive insight, binding their minds with a piece of string?

A: If we discuss (intuitive insight from the perspective of) the nature of all elements of existence, everybody is subject to have (intuitive insight). If we discuss it from the aspect of ultimate meditation, only the Buddha is subject to have (intuitive insight). Because even the virtually enlightened Bodhisattva does not know it, how can ordinary beings endowed with confused minds anticipate (intuitive insight)? Therefore, Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva says, “Metaphorically speaking, when people practice archery, they should learn it from the easiest to the advanced level. Thereafter, they can always hit the target with arrows. Like the metaphor, when I also learn how to concentrate on my mind in the beginning, I should equally make truth and conditions as one object. Thereafter, I can enter into the concentration of no-mind and can always endow meditation with me.”²⁴² Therefore, the intuitive insight of provisional impurity and the mysterious gate of calculating the number of breathing are the ferry points to enter into the ocean of sweet nectar and the shortcuts to cross over the ocean of life and death.

Therefore, Patriarch Nāgārjuna says, “Of the ten powers contemplating the Buddha,”²⁴³ two powers, the power of knowing karmic causality at work in the lives of all beings throughout past, present, and future and the power of knowing all stages of concentration, emancipation, and meditation, are the most important. Due to the power of knowing karmic causality at work in the lives of all beings throughout past, present, and future, practitioners should enter into the cycle of lives and deaths. Due to the power of knowing all stages of concentration, emancipation, and meditation, practitioners should transcend the cycle of lives and deaths.”²⁴⁴ The *Sūtra of the Remembrance of Correct Buddhist Teachings* (*Zhengfa nian jing*) says, “Rather than universally saving all beings in the world, we would be better to rectify our intentions for a little

²⁴² See T.8.232.729c2-5, T.8.233.736c21-23, T.11.310.653c21-23, T.18.917.945a27-28, T.47.1967.142a17-20, X.14.288.95a6, X.61.1155.417c16, and others

²⁴³ See the entry of “ten powers” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 678. The ten powers are “(1) the power of knowing what is true and what is not; (2) the power of knowing karmic causality at work in the lives of all beings throughout past, present, and future; (3) the power of knowing all stages of concentration, emancipation, and meditation; (4) the power of knowing the conditions of life of all people; (5) the power of judging all people’s levels of understanding; (6) the power of discerning the superiority or inferiority of all people’s capacity; (7) the power of knowing the effects of all people’s actions; (8) the power of remembering past lifetimes; (9) the power of knowing when each person will be born and will die, and in what realm that person will be reborn; and (10) the power of eradicating all illusions.”

²⁴⁴ I could identify the similar sentence in the *Wisdom Śāstra*, T.25.1509.347a28-b3.

while in a decent manner.”²⁴⁵ Therefore, while suchness that encompasses bondage is endowed with turbidity and confusion, we can finally illuminate suchness that transcends bondage in meditation and wisdom. (Like mentioned above), generality and particularity are clearly manifested and beginning and end are well balanced. How can we monopolize principle as being true and completely negate phenomena as being false?

He referred to the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* and several other texts and explained the theoretical background for his moderate soteriology. He introduced several sets toward this end, with opposing categories such as truth and delusions, principle and phenomena, the original and the derivative, practice and wisdom, the internal and the external, the real and the provisional, and others. However, he considered these assumed oppositions to be non-contradictory and to supplement to each other. Referring to several textual sources, he detailed the theoretical background for practice and enlightenment, rejected radical subitist soteriology and advocated moderate subitist soteriology in the 44th Question and Answer section of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers*.²⁴⁶ He questioned practice from the radical subitist perspective and answered from a moderate subitist perspective as follows.²⁴⁷

Q: The true source of our own nature is originally the self-perfect completion. If so, why should we extensively make our deeds relying on practice? The scripture (*Mūla-madhyamaka-śāstra*) says, “If we examine suffering, we can eliminate attachment, a cause of suffering. If we realize the cessation of suffering, we can practice the path by which this eradication can be achieved. If so, we can call it verbal fabrication.”²⁴⁸ If we generate delusive thoughts and cultivate our minds, how can we make them be suitable to the (true) origin?

A: The *Awakening of Faith* says, “(It is told that) because we have delusive minds, we are able to discriminate names and meanings. Therefore, we need to explicate true enlightenment. (If we remove unenlightened delusive minds, we do not need to explicate self-nature of true enlightenment.)”²⁴⁹ (....) Also, due to internalizing perfume of suchness, we make this ignorance to have pure functions.”²⁵⁰ Furthermore, due to the power of teachings and languages of all Buddhas, the internal and the external are supplementary to each other. Therefore, we make our delusive minds to believe that we have the nature of

²⁴⁵ I could not identify the sentence in the Buddhist texts.

²⁴⁶ T.48.2017.974a14-b7.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ T.30.1564.32b29.

²⁴⁹ T.32.1666.577a5.

²⁵⁰ T.32.1666.578a21.

suchness in our physical bodies, to generate various skillful means, to cultivate (the delusive minds) and to cause them to be purified. If we are able to practice (Buddhism) in this manner, we are subject to believe in suchness. Because we do not realize suchness, we cannot name it non-defilement. If delusive thoughts are purified, the true nature naturally becomes manifested. Again, although we cultivate naturelessness, we do not obstruct true cultivation. We can illuminate truth from the standpoint of delusions and transform (delusive) consciousness to wisdom. We are able to liken (the above descriptions) to the images which are clearly reflected in mirrors. If we do not have defilements, we do not need to obtain Buddhahood. (If there are no defilements to be removed, there is no Buddhahood to be accomplished.)

The ancient master (Chengguan) says, “Two existences, true existence and delusive existence, all are equally originated from One Mind. We can transform the delusive existence to the true existence because there is no particular delusive existence. We can manifest the delusive existence based on the true existence because there is no particular true existence.”²⁵¹ He also says, “If we have the delusive existence outside of the true existence, we cannot make principle prevail. If we have true existence outside of delusive existence, we cannot make phenomena to be reliable.”²⁵² He also says, “If we attach ourselves to the original purity, we can call ourselves as ones who do not know our own nature. If we just rely on external cultivation, we can call ourselves as ones who do not know the other nature. If we cause both the internal and the external to be supplementary to each other, we can call ourselves as ones who do not know both our own nature and the other nature. If we make both the fundamental and the derivative to be removed, we can call ourselves as ones who do not know the causes of an action.”²⁵³ Layman (Li Tongxuan)²⁵⁴ says in his *Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra*, “If we are equalized in one (principle), we are able to cultivate our minds without attaching ourselves to our minds. Therefore, we should cultivate our minds and arrive in the stage of no-cultivation and we are finally able to comprehend all existences without cultivation.”²⁵⁵ The *The Sūtra of Collected Treasures (Baoji jing)* says, “If we do not have anything else to cultivate in our minds, (we should say that) wild and domestic animals already obtained Buddhahood because they did not need to practice their minds (anymore).”²⁵⁶

(Therefore), Tiantai Buddhism says, “Because practice is able to cause wisdom to be accomplished, when practice is completed, wisdom naturally

²⁵¹ X.5.232.697a17.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist texts.

²⁵⁴ I identified the layman as Li Tongxuan from X.63.1231.126b7-8.

²⁵⁵ I could not identify the quote in the works by Li Tongxuan.

²⁵⁶ T.11.310.5c26-27.

becomes perfect. Because wisdom is able to cause principle to be manifested, when principle is completely examined, wisdom naturally becomes tranquil.²⁵⁷ Therefore, the Way that we pursue is subject to have ups and downs. Even though the real is manifested through the provisional, when the real is established, the provisional (immediately) disappears. Even though we illuminate truth through delusions, when truth is accomplished, delusions (immediately) disappear. If the provisional and the deluded already are tranquil, the truth and the real are also empty. How can we say what the truth is and what the real is? Master Niutou Farong says, “If we persist in saying that we originate from cultivation, we should be manipulated and not be true. So, if we persist in saying that we are originally existent, all deeds should be in vain.”²⁵⁸

5. Bojo Jinul (1158-1210)

Jinul outlined basic Seon practices in the *Key to Cultivation of the Mind* (*Susim-gyeol*) in one fascicle. He wrote this book between 1203 and 1205 as a practical guide for the Seon practice with which he educated those who thronged to the Suseon Society. It was lost in Korea during the Mongol invasion, 1231 – 1270, but included in the Northern Ming edition of Buddhist canon, 1410 – 1440. Koreans translated it in their vernacular language in 1467 immediately after inventing the Korean alphabet in 1443-4. Korean Seon practitioners used the text as a cultivation guide.²⁵⁹ Referring to the *Lotus Sūtra*, Danxia Zichun (1064-1117), Wonhyo, the *Huayan Sūtra*, the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* and Baizhang Huaihai (720-814), he introduced in the beginning of the text how Seon practitioners should cultivate the mind:²⁶⁰

The triple world is blazing in defilement as if it were a house on fire.²⁶¹ How can you bear to tarry here and complacently undergo such long suffering? If you wish to avoid wandering in the cycle of birth and death, there is no better way than to seek Buddhahood. If you want to become a Buddha, you should understand that the Buddha is the mind. How can you search for the mind in the far distance? It is not outside the body. The physical body is a phantom, for it is subject to birth and death. The true mind is like space, for it neither ends nor

²⁵⁷ X.21.383.643b3-4.

²⁵⁸ I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist texts.

²⁵⁹ See Jae-ryong Shim, 284-285 and Robert E. Buswell, Jr., trans., *Tracing Back the Radiance: Chinul's Korean Way of Zen* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 98.

²⁶⁰ H.4.708b5-c2. Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell's English translation, 98-99.

²⁶¹ We can see the famous Parable of the Burning House in the *Lotus Sūtra*, T.9.262.12c4f. Wonhyo also used the parable in his *Balsim suhaeng-jang* (Treatise on Awakening Faith and Practice), H.1.841a8.

changes. Therefore, (Danxia Zichun) said in the *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp Written in the Jingde Period* (1004-1007, *Jingde chuandeng lu*)²⁶² “These hundred bones will crumble and return to fire and wind. But One Thing is eternally illuminating and covers heaven and earth.”²⁶³

It is tragic. People have been deluded for so long. They do not recognize that their own minds are the true Buddhas. They do not recognize that their own natures are the true dharma. They want to search for the dharma, yet they still look far away for holy ones. They want to search for the Buddha, yet they will not observe their own minds. If they aspire to the path of Buddhahood while obstinately holding to their feeling that the Buddha is outside the mind or the dharma is outside nature, then, even though they pass through eons as numerous as particles, burning their bodies, charring their arms, crushing their bones and exposing their marrow, or else even though they write scriptures with their own blood, never lying down to sleep, eating only one offering a day at the hour of the Hare (5 to 7 am), or even studying through the entire canon and cultivating all sorts of ascetic practices, it is like trying to make rice by boiling sand²⁶⁴ – it will only add to their tribulation. If they would only understand their own minds, then without searching, approaches to dharma as numerous as the sands of the Ganges and uncountable sublime meanings would all be understood.

As the Buddha said (in the *Huayan Sūtra*), “I see that all sentient beings everywhere are endowed with a Buddha’s wisdom and virtue.”²⁶⁵ He also said (in the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*), “All the illusionary guises in which sentient beings appear take shape in the mysterious mind of the Buddha’s complete enlightenment.”²⁶⁶ Consequently, you should know that outside this mind there is no Buddhahood that can be attained. All the Buddhas of the past were merely persons who understood their minds. All the sages and saints of the present are likewise merely persons who have cultivated their minds. All future meditators should rely on this dharma as well. I hope that you who cultivate the path will never search outside. If the nature of the mind is unstained, it is originally whole and complete in itself.²⁶⁷ If you will only leave behind false conditioning, you will be “such” like the Buddha.²⁶⁸

²⁶² Chinese Chan Master Daoxuan (d.u) compiled *The Transmission of the Lamp*, the earliest historical record of Chan Buddhism in 1004. It introduces the lineage of Chan Buddhism from the seven Buddhas of the past through Chinese Chan masters to Fayuan Wenyi (885-958), founder of the Fayuan School. It comprises thirty fascicles and mentions 1701 Chan masters.

²⁶³ We can see the cited verse in Danxia Zichun’s (1064-1117) poem entitled *Wanzhu-yin* (Savoring of Jewels), included in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T.51.2076.463b28-c11.

²⁶⁴ Wonhyo also used the metaphor in his *Balsim suhaeng-jang*, H.1.841b5.

²⁶⁵ T.10.279.272c26-273a1.

²⁶⁶ T.17.842.914a10-11.

²⁶⁷ We can easily find the saying in Buddhist texts, mostly having relation with Baizhang Huaihai (720-814). I identified it in countless texts, T.51.2076.268a22, X.10.259.531a4, X.16.318.885b7, X.65.1293.461a12, X.68.1315.5b9, X.68.1315.212b14-15, X.68.1319.651c8, X.68.1319.660c18, X.69.1322.6b3, X.71.1414.385c16, X.71.1420.594b6, X.72.1435.261c14, X.72.1435.261c18,

As above, Jinul introduced the *Huayan Sūtra* and argued that all sentient beings have the Buddha's wisdom and virtue.²⁶⁹ The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* explains the universal potentiality of obtaining Buddhahood in Buddhism, "All sentient beings have the Buddha nature."²⁷⁰ He also quoted the mysterious mind of the Buddha's complete enlightenment from the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*²⁷¹ and considered the mind as the soteriological basis.

If we examine the various usages for the mind only in the *Key to Cultivation of the Mind*, the terms that Jinul used for the mind are the true mind,²⁷² the self mind,²⁷³ the true Buddha,²⁷⁴ the true dharma,²⁷⁵ the mysterious mind of the Buddha's complete enlightenment,²⁷⁶ the Buddha nature,²⁷⁷ the self nature,²⁷⁸ the original nature,²⁷⁹ the original face,²⁸⁰ One Thing,²⁸¹ the original mind,²⁸² the formless being,²⁸³ the pure and tranquil mind,²⁸⁴ the extremely pure

X.75.1512.226c23, X.79.1557.70a16-17, X.79.1559.440b13, X.79.1563.694c19, X.80.1568.643c1, X.80.1568.643c1, X.81.1571.467c18, X.85.1593.521c3, X.85.1594.626b14, X.85.1594.643b5, X.86.1600.157b7, X.87.1618.163c2, and others.

²⁶⁸ We can easily see the saying in Buddhist texts, mostly having relation with Baizhang Huaihai. I identified it in numerous texts, T.39.1791.480b9, T.47.1993.632b19, T.47.1993.634c8-9, T.51.2076.268a23, X.10.259.531a4, X.11.270.793b10, X.16.318.885b7, X.20.364.845a22, X.25.505.857c20, X.26.552.866a15, X.26.573.949c18, X.31.609.497b14, X.31.609.505b21, X.35.651.246a20, X.65.1293.461a13, X.68.1315.5b9, X.69.1322.6b3, X.71.1414.385c16, X.71.1420.594b7, X.72.1435.261c14-15, X.75.1512.226c24, X.78.1556.720a14, X.79.1557.70a17, X.79.1559.440b13, X.79.1563.694c19, X.81.1571.467c18-19, X.85.1593.521c3, X.85.1594.626b14, X.86.1600.157b7, X.87.1618.163c2-3, and others.

²⁶⁹ T.10.279.272c26-273a1.

²⁷⁰ T.12.374.462b3, and T.12.374.540a17.

²⁷¹ T.17.842.914a10-11.

²⁷² T.48.2020.1005c24.

²⁷³ T.48.2020.1005c26, T.48.2020.1005c27, T.48.2020.1006a3, T.48.2020.1006c21, and T.48.2020.1006c25.

²⁷⁴ T.48.2020.1005c26.

²⁷⁵ T.48.2020.1005c26.

²⁷⁶ T.48.2020.1006a5.

²⁷⁷ T.48.2020.1005c28, T.48.2020.1006a10, T.48.2020.1006a11, T.48.2020.1006a15, T.48.2020.1006a19, T.48.2020.1006a22, T.48.2020.1006b2, and T.48.2020.1008b8.

²⁷⁸ T.48.2020.1005c26, T.48.2020.1006c12, T.48.2020.1006c21, T.48.2020.1007b28, T.48.2020.1008a5, T.48.2020.1008a9, T.48.2020.1008b10, T.48.2020.1008b13, T.48.2020.1008b17, T.48.2020.1008b18, T.48.2020.1008b19, T.48.2020.1008b22, T.48.2020.1008b25, T.48.2020.1008c1, T.48.2020.1008c3, T.48.2020.1008c11, and T.48.2020.1008c27.

²⁷⁹ T.48.2020.1006c14, and T.48.2020.1006c16.

²⁸⁰ T.48.2020.1007a2.

²⁸¹ T.48.2020.1005c25, and T.48.2020.1008c20.

²⁸² T.48.2020.1006a18, T.48.2020.1007a10, and T.48.2020.1007a17.

²⁸³ T.48.2020.1006a17.

²⁸⁴ T.48.2020.1007b10.

and illuminating mind of all Buddhas,²⁸⁵ the enlightenment nature of original source,²⁸⁶ the natural and mysterious nature,²⁸⁷ the tranquil and illuminating mind,²⁸⁸ One Mind,²⁸⁹ and other ones. He indicated the mind with various terms across the text. Referring to Linji Yixuan (d. 866/867), he located the Buddha nature, one of the usages of the mind, as the soteriological foundation for the accomplishment of enlightenment and Buddhahood in the following quote:²⁹⁰

Even though there is the Buddha nature in your body, you do not see it. Ultimately, what is that thing which all day long knows hunger and thirst, cold and heat, anger and joy? This physical body is a synthesis of four conditions: earth, water, fire, and wind. Since the body is passive and insentient, how can it see, hear, sense, and know? That which is able to see, hear, sense, and know is perforce your Buddha nature.

For this reason, Linji (Yixuan) said, “The four great elements do not know how to expound dharma or listen to dharma. Empty space does not know how to expound dharma or listen to dharma. It is only that formless thing before your eyes, clear and bright of itself, which knows how to expound dharma or listen to dharma.”²⁹¹ This “formless thing” is the dharma-sea of all the Buddhas and it is your original mind. Since there is this Buddha nature in your body right now, why do you vainly search for it outside?²⁹²

Below Jinul explained how practitioners should awaken to self-nature and attain enlightenment. If we do not achieve awakening, we are accustomed to differentiate the Buddha with sentient beings, enlightenment with defilements, the unconditioned with the conditioned, and brightness with darkness. If we attain awakening, we are subject to realize that the Buddha is identical to sentient beings, enlightenment to defilements, the unconditioned to the conditioned, and brightness to darkness. He explained enlightenment from the non-dualistic perspective in the following quote.²⁹³

Q: Through what skillful means can we transform the radiance of one’s sense-faculties in one thought and awaken to self-nature?

A: Self-nature is just your own mind. What other skillful means do you need? If you ask for skillful means to seek understanding, you are like a person who, because he does not see his own eyes, assumes that he has no eyes and

²⁸⁵ T.48.2020.1007b10.

²⁸⁶ T.48.2020.1007b11.

²⁸⁷ T.48.2020.1008c25.

²⁸⁸ T.48.2020.1007a2, T.48.2020.1007a8, T.48.2020.1007a9, and T.48.2020.1007b09.

²⁸⁹ T.48.2020.1007b13, and T.48.2020.1007b14.

²⁹⁰ H.4.708c6-14.

²⁹¹ T.47.1985.497b27-29.

²⁹² Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell’s English translation, 99.

²⁹³ H.4.710a6-13.

decides to find some way to see. But since he does have eyes, how else is he supposed to see? If he realizes that in fact he has never lost his eyes, this is the same as seeing his eyes, and no longer would he waste his time trying to find a way to see. How then could he have any thoughts that he could not see? Your own illuminating awareness is exactly the same. Since this awareness is your own mind, how else are you going to understand? If you seek some other way to understand, you will never understand. Simply by knowing that there is no other way to understand, you are seeing the nature.²⁹⁴

In his writings, Zongmi separately used two terms, “tranquility”²⁹⁵ and “illumination,”²⁹⁶ and sometimes used them together.²⁹⁷ He used either of the two terms combined with the character “mind.”²⁹⁸ However, he did not combine the two terms simultaneously with the character “mind.” Jinul combined the two terms with the character “mind” and made his own term as “the tranquil and illuminating mind”²⁹⁹ in the *Key to Cultivation of the Mind*. He considered that the tranquil aspect of mind is identical to the essence of the true mind and the illuminating aspect of mind the function of the true mind.³⁰⁰ He also asserted that the mind’s essence and its function are not dual, its nature and its phenomena are identical, and its tranquil aspect and its illuminating aspect are inseparable.³⁰¹ He did not separate essence from function, nature from phenomena. He explained the tranquil and illuminating mind in detail and considered it as the soteriological foundation for cultivation and enlightenment in his *Key to Cultivation of the Mind*. He introduced the tranquil and illuminating mind with regard to enlightenment as follows.³⁰²

²⁹⁴ Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell’s English translation, 103.

²⁹⁵ I identified the term “tranquility” in Guifeng Zongmi’s *Chan Chart*, X.63.1225.34a3, X.63.1225.34b21, X.63.1225.34b24, X.63.1225.35a7, and X.63.1225.35b18.

²⁹⁶ I identified the term “illumination” in Guifeng Zongmi’s *Chan Chart*, X.63.1225.33c21, X.63.1225.34c1, X.63.1225.34c16, X.63.1225.35a13, and X.63.1225.35b13.

²⁹⁷ I identified the combined version of the two terms “tranquility” and “illumination” in Guifeng Zongmi’s *Chan Chart*, X.63.1225.33c22, X.63.1225.34a3, X.63.1225.34a17, X.63.1225.34b24, X.63.1225.34c7, and X.63.1225.34c22.

²⁹⁸ I found either of two terms “tranquility” and “illumination” combined with the character “mind” in Guifeng Zongmi’s *Chan Chart*, X.63.1225.33c21, X.63.1225.33c22, X.63.1225.35b14, and X.63.1225.34a24.

²⁹⁹ I identified the two terms “tranquility” and “illumination” combined with the character “mind” in Jinul’s *Susim-gyeol*, T.48.2020.1007a2, T.48.2020.1007a8, T.48.2020.1007a9, and T.48.2020.1007b9.

³⁰⁰ Gang Geon-gi, *Moguja Jinul yeongu* (Research in Bojo Jinul) (Seoul: Bucheonim sesang, 2001), 164–165.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² H.4.710a16-b2.

The path is not related to knowing or not knowing.³⁰³ After removing the mind that clings to delusions and looks forward to enlightenment, please listen to me. Since all existences are like dreams or phantoms, deluded thoughts are originally tranquil and the sense-spheres are originally empty. At the point where all existences are empty, the illuminating awareness is not obscured. That is to say, this tranquil and illuminating mind is your original face.³⁰⁴ It is also the dharma-seal transmitted without a break by all the Buddhas of the three time-periods, the successive generations of patriarchs, and the wise advisors of this world. If you awaken to this mind, you do not need to take the rungs of a ladder step by step but you can climb straight to the stage of Buddhahood. At the time, each step you can transcend the triple world. Returning to home, you will instantly resolve your doubts and become the teacher of men and gods. Endowed with compassion and wisdom and complete in the twofold benefit,³⁰⁵ you will be worthy of receiving the offerings of men and gods. Day after day, you can use ten thousand taels of gold without incurring debt. If you can do this, you will be a truly heroic man who has indeed finished the tasks of this life.³⁰⁶

Jinul synthesized essence with functions, annihilation with eternity, large with small, inside with outside, far with near, here with there, birth with death, past with present, an ordinary man with a sage, purity with impurity, right with wrong, subject with object, delusions with enlightenment, nature with phenomena, meditation with wisdom, tranquility with illumination, and practice with theory. If we one-sidedly emphasize and cultivate the tranquil aspect of the mind, we will be foolish Seon practitioners. If we one-sidedly concentrate and cultivate the illuminating aspect of the mind, we will be blind intellectuals. He self-questioned and self-answered the tranquil and illuminating mind in the *Key to Cultivation of the Mind*³⁰⁷ in which he defined the mind as the following quote demonstrates.³⁰⁸

Q: In our case, what is this tranquil and illuminating mind?

A: The one that has just asked me this question is precisely your tranquil and illuminating mind. Why do not you trace back its radiance rather than search for it outside? For our benefit, I will now point straight to your original mind so that you can awaken to it. Clear your minds and listen to my words.

From morning to evening, throughout (all day), the twelve periods of the day, during all your actions and activities – whether seeing, hearing, laughing, or talking, whether angry or happy, whether doing good or evil – ultimately who is it that is able to perform all these actions? Speak! If you say that it is the

³⁰³ It is the instruction that Nanchuan Puyan (748-835) caused Zhaozhou Congshen (778-897) to obtain enlightenment. See the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T.51.2076.276c17.

³⁰⁴ The original face is a Chan metaphor for the original mind. The term is seen in the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng*, T.48.2008.349b25.

³⁰⁵ Two benefits are the benefiting of ourselves and the benefiting of other beings.

³⁰⁶ Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell's English translation, 103.

³⁰⁷ H.4.710b3-711a11. See also Robert E. Buswell, Jr., trans., 104-106.

³⁰⁸ H.4.710b3-c17. See also Robert E. Buswell, Jr., trans., 104-105.

physical body which is acting, when a man's life comes to an end, even though the body has not yet decayed, how cannot the eyes see, cannot the ears hear, cannot the nose smell, cannot the tongue talk, cannot the body move, cannot the hand grasp, and cannot the feet run? You should know that what is capable of seeing, hearing, moving, and acting has to be your original mind and it is not your physical body. Furthermore, the four elements³⁰⁹ that make up the physical body are by nature empty and they are like images in a mirror or the moon's reflection in water. How can they be clear and constantly aware, always bright and never obscured and upon activation, be able to put into operation mysterious functions as numerous as the sands of the Ganges? For this reason, (Pang Yun (740-808), a lay disciple of Mazu Daoyi (709-788)) said (in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*), "Drawing water and carrying firewood are miraculous powers and mysterious functions."³¹⁰

.....
 Since (the tranquil and illuminating mind) does not have shape, how can it be large or small? Since it cannot be large or small, how can it have limitations? Since it has no limitations, it cannot have inside or outside. Since there is no inside or outside, there is no far or near. As there is no far or near, there is no here or there. As there is no here or there, there is no coming or going. As there is no coming or going, there is no birth or death. As there is no birth or death, there is no past or present. As there is no past or present, there are no delusions or awakening. As there are no delusions or awakening, there is no ordinary man or sage. As there is no ordinary man or sage, there is no purity or impurity. Since there is no impurity or purity, there is no right or wrong.

Since there is no right or wrong, we cannot apply names and words to it. Since none of these concepts apply, all sense-organs and sense-objects, all deluded thoughts, various forms and shapes, and countless names and words are all inapplicable. Hence, how can it be anything but originally tranquil and originally no-thing? Nevertheless, at that point where all existences are empty, the illuminating awareness is not obscured. It is not the same as insentience, for its nature is spiritually deft. This is your pure mind-essence of tranquility and illumination. This pure tranquil mind is the extremely pure and illuminating mind of all the Buddhas of the three time-periods. The mind also is the enlightened nature that is the original source of all sentient beings.³¹¹

Zongmi introduced six types of soteriology in Chan Buddhism and adopted the view of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation as his ideal soteriology. Loyally following Zongmi, Jinul also highly evaluated sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation as the ideal soteriology for Seon

³⁰⁹ The four elements are earth, water, fire and wind.

³¹⁰ T.51.2076.263b12. I also could identify the verse in other Chan texts, T.47.1998A.923c14-15, T.47.1998A.911b5, T.48.2003.179c2-3, T.49.2036.617a14-15, X.67.1309.590b3, X.69.1336.139a16, X.71.1417.454b11, X.79.1563.690c14, and X.85.1594.627a20. H.4.710b3-17. See also Robert E. Buswell, Jr., trans., 104.

³¹¹ H.4.710c3-17. See also Robert E. Buswell, Jr., trans., 104-105.

practitioners. He self-questioned and self-answered the topic and defined it in the *Key to Cultivation of the Mind* as follows:³¹²

Q: You said that this twofold approach of sudden enlightenment / gradual cultivation is the track that thousands of sages have taken. But if awakening is sudden enlightenment, why do we need gradual cultivation? And if cultivation means gradual cultivation, how should we talk about sudden enlightenment? We hope that you will expound further on these two ideas of subitism and gradualism and resolve our remaining doubts.

A: (First), I will discuss sudden enlightenment. When the ordinary man is deluded, he assumes that the four great elements (of earth, water, fire and wind) are his body and delusive thoughts are his mind. He does not know that his own nature is the true dharma-body and he does not know that his own numinous awareness is the true Buddha. He looks for the Buddha outside his mind. While he is thus wandering aimlessly, he might meet a wise advisor who guides him to the right. If he returns the light of (his mind to its source) and sees his own original nature in one thought, he will discover that the ground of this nature is innately free of defilement, and that he himself originally possesses the undefiled wisdom-nature not different from that of all the Buddhas. Hence, we can call it sudden enlightenment.

(Next), I will discuss gradual cultivation. Even though we realize the fact that our original nature is no different from that of the Buddhas, we find it extremely difficult to remove the beginning-less habit-energies suddenly. So, we should continue to cultivate while relying on this enlightenment. Through this gradual permeation, we can reach completion. If we nurture the sacred embryo for a long time, we can become a sage. Hence, we can call it gradual cultivation. This process can be compared to the maturation of a child. From the day of its birth, a baby is endowed with all the sense organs just like everyone else, but its strength is not yet fully developed. It is only after many months and years that it will finally become an adult.³¹³

Jinul argued that we could summarize many gates to enlightenment in two gates, i.e., sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation. He also interpreted the soteriological view of “sudden enlightenment and sudden cultivation” of the Linji Chan lineage (radical subitist Chan lineage) from the moderate Chan perspective of “sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation.” Citing Zongmi, he strongly argued the validity of his soteriology in the *Key to Cultivation of the Mind*.³¹⁴

Now, there are many gates to enlightenment. However, we can summarize them in the twofold gate of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation. Although sudden enlightenment / sudden cultivation has been advocated, this is the entrance for people of the highest capacities. If we probe their pasts, we

³¹² H.4.709c10-710a5.

³¹³ Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell, Jr.’s English translation. See his translation, 102-103.

³¹⁴ H.4.709b6-22.

would see that their (sudden) cultivation has been based for many lives on the insights gained in a previous enlightenment. Now, in this life, after permeation, these people attain enlightenment: in one instant, their practice is brought to a sudden conclusion. But if we try to explain this according to the facts, then sudden awakening / sudden cultivation is also the result of an initial awakening and its subsequent cultivation. Consequently, this twofold approach of sudden awakening and gradual cultivation is the track that thousands of sages have taken. Hence, all the past sages first have an initial awakening, subsequently cultivate it, and finally, because of their cultivation, gain (a final) realization.

The so-called magic and miracles you mentioned manifest because of the gradual permeation of cultivation based on an initial awakening; it should not be said that they appear simultaneous with that awakening. The *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* says, “In principle, simultaneously as we obtain sudden enlightenment, we can remove defilements and delusions. In fact, we cannot eliminate them all of sudden but step by step.”³¹⁵ For this reason, Zongmi profoundly explained the meaning of initial awakening / subsequent cultivation, “Although we know that a frozen pond is entirely water, the sun’s heat is necessary to melt it. Although we awaken to the fact that an ordinary man is the Buddha, the power of dharma is necessary to make it permeate our cultivation. When that pond has melted, the water flows freely and can be used for irrigation and cleaning. When falsity is extinguished, the mind will be numinous and dynamic and then its function of penetrating brightness will manifest.”³¹⁶ Therefore, we should know that the ability to perform magic and miracles in the phenomenal sphere cannot be perfected in a day: it will manifest only after gradual permeation.³¹⁷

Jinul discussed why Seon practitioners should need subsequent cultivation, gradual permeation and gradual perfection after sudden enlightenment. He argued that although they attained enlightenment, they could not immediately remove their egocentric habitual customs perfumed since the beginning-less time over a long period. So, they need to get rid of them step by step. He likened sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation to the wind and the waves. Although the wind stops, we should wait for a while for the waves to stop. Therefore, they should make endeavors to remove delusions and defilements with wisdom that we obtained in advance. The practice after enlightenment is completely different from the practice before enlightenment. Referring to Zonggao one time and Zongmi three times, he suggested that Seon practitioners should diligently cultivate their minds even after enlightenment as the following quote demonstrates:³¹⁸

Earlier, I fully explained the meaning of gradual cultivation subsequent to awakening. But, since you still have doubts on it, I will have to explain it again.

³¹⁵ T.39.1799.966b16.

³¹⁶ T.51.2076.307b16-19.

³¹⁷ Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell, Jr.’s English translation, 101.

³¹⁸ H.4.711a14-b17.

Clear your minds and listen carefully! For numberless eons without beginning, up to the present time, ordinary men have passed between the five destinies, and coming and going between birth and death. They obstinately cling to “self” and, over a long time, they have thoroughly permeated their natures through false thoughts, inverted views, ignorance, and the perfumed habits. Although, coming into this life, they might suddenly awaken to the fact that their self-nature is originally empty and calm and no different from that of the Buddhas, they find it difficult to eliminate these old habits. Consequently, when they have either favorable or adverse objects, they can have anger and happiness, propriety and impropriety blaze forth: their adventitious defilements are no different from before. If they do not increase their efforts and apply their power through the help of wisdom, how will they ever be able to counteract ignorance and reach the place of great rest and repose?

So, (Zongmi) said, “Although the persons who have suddenly awakened are the same as the Buddhas, the perfumed habits which have built up over many lives are deep-rooted. The wind ceases, but the waves still surge; the principle manifests, but thoughts still invade.”³¹⁹ Chan Master Zonggao said, “Often gifted people can break through this affair and achieve sudden awakening without expending a lot of strength. Then they relax and do not try to counteract perfumed habits and deluded thoughts. Finally, after the passage of many days and months, they simply wander on as before and are unable to avoid the cycle of birth and death.”³²⁰ So, how could you neglect subsequent cultivation simply because of one moment of awakening? After awakening, you must be constantly on your guard. If deluded thoughts suddenly appear, do not look after them – reduce them again until you reach the unconditioned.³²¹ Then and only will your practice reach completion. This is the practice of herding the ox that all wise advisors in the world practiced after awakening.³²²

Nevertheless, although you must cultivate further, you have already awakened suddenly to the fact that deluded thoughts are originally void and the mind-nature is originally pure. Thus you eliminate evil, but you eliminate without actually eliminating anything; you cultivate the wholesome, but you cultivate it without really cultivating anything either. This is true cultivation and true elimination. For this reason, (Zongmi) said, “Although one prepares to cultivate the manifold supplementary practices, thoughtlessness is the origin of them all.”³²³

Zongmi also summed up the distinction between the ideas of initial awakening and subsequent cultivation, “He has the sudden awakening to the fact that his nature is originally free of defilement and he is originally in full possession of the undefiled wisdom-nature which is no different from that of the Buddhas. If we cultivate our minds while relying on this awakening, we can call this practice as the supreme vehicle of Seon or the pure Seon of the

³¹⁹ X.74.1475.388b12-13.

³²⁰ T.47.1998A.920a7f.

³²¹ It seemed that Jinul indirectly referred to the 48th chapter of *Laozi*.

³²² Jinul discussed the practice of herding the ox in the section of “Testing the True Mind’s Operation” of *Jinsim jikseol* (Direct Exposition of the True Mind), H.4.721b24-c17. See also Robert E. Buswell, Jr.’s translation, 137-138.

³²³ T.48.2015.403a6.

Buddhas. If thought-moment after thought-moment he continues to develop his training, then naturally he will gradually attain hundreds of thousands of *samādhis*. This is the Seon which has been transmitted successively in the school of Bodhidharma.”³²⁴ Hence, sudden awakening and gradual cultivation are like the two wheels of a cart: neither of ones can be missing.³²⁵

Jinul asserted that after sudden enlightenment Seon practitioners should equally develop meditation and wisdom, and gradually cultivate their minds.³²⁶ He explained how to cultivate their minds after enlightenment based on the abilities and capacities of Seon practitioners. He listed the two kinds of meditation and wisdom that Seon practitioners should equally cultivate after enlightenment, (1) the absolute meditation and wisdom of self-nature, and (2) the relative meditation and wisdom of the phenomena.³²⁷

The two kinds of meditation (Skt., *samādhi*) and wisdom (Skt., *prajñā*) originally are two of three trainings. The three trainings are the preservation of precepts (Skt., *śīla*), the training of mind, and the training of wisdom. If we preserve the precepts, we can avoid physical, verbal and mental wrongdoings. If we practice meditation, we can concentrate ourselves on our minds and let our minds not distracted and confused. If we develop wisdom, we can see the objects as they are.

Datong Shenxiu (d. 706), a Chan gradualist, used a famous verse available in various texts, “No-making of all evils, respectful practice of all goods, and self-purification of the meanings are Buddhist teachings,”³²⁸ and defined the three trainings, “Precepts indicate non-making of all evils, wisdom means respectful practice of all goods, and self-purification of the meanings is meditation.”³²⁹ He stated that Chan practitioners could gradually develop three trainings. Because he emphasized cultivation, he advocated gradualism.

Unlike Datong Shenxiu, Huineng (638-713), a Chan subitist, arguably the sixth patriarch of Chinese Chan Buddhism, argued that the three trainings were originally innate in the minds of all beings, “If we do not have wrongs in our mind ground, we can call it the precept of our own nature. If we do not have foolishness in our mind ground, we can call it the wisdom of our own nature. If we do not have disturbance in our mind ground, we can call it the meditation of our own nature.”³³⁰ He mentioned that because three trainings were innate in our

³²⁴ T.48.2015.399b17-22.

³²⁵ Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell, Jr.’s English translation, 106-107.

³²⁶ H.4.711c10-712b9. See Robert E. Buswell, Jr.’s English translation, 108-109.

³²⁷ H.4.712b9-713b2. See Robert E. Buswell, Jr.’s English translation, 110-112.

³²⁸ T.2.125.787b1-2, T.4.213.792a17-18, T.12.374.451c11-12, T.22.1428.639a9-10, T.22.1428.817b7, T.22.1430.1030b1-2, T.25.1507.34c14, T.26.1521.92a25, T.32.1646.243c10, and T.40.1804.37b1-2.

³²⁹ T.48.2007.342b20-21, and T.48.2008.358c2.

³³⁰ T.48.2007.342b26-27, and T.48.2008.358c12-13.

minds, we could instantly manifest the three trainings in ourselves. Because he stressed sudden enlightenment in his soteriology, he advocated subitism.

Following Huineng, Jinul also thought that meditation would not be separate from wisdom. Meditation and wisdom based themselves on the tranquil and illuminating mind. Meditation is the tranquil essence of the mind and wisdom is the illuminating functions of the mind. We can liken meditation and wisdom to the tranquil aspect of essence and the illuminating aspect of functions in our minds. Wisdom and meditation are not dual just as the tranquil essence and the illuminating functions are not separable from each other.

We can refer to the metaphor of the ocean water and its waves in the *Awakening of Faith* and explain the relationships between essence and functions, wisdom and meditation, illuminating aspect and tranquil aspect. “For example, the ocean water and its waves are neither identical nor different. Although the exterior winds generate the waves in the ocean, the water cannot change the nature of water. When the winds stop, the waves naturally stop. Even so, the nature of water is not changed. We can liken the case to sentient beings. For example, the wind of ignorance generates the waves of consciousness in the pure mind of the self nature.”³³¹

Just as the waves are not separate from the water, tranquil essence and illuminating functions, meditation and wisdom are not dual. If we have essence that does not have functions, we are quietists. If we have functions that do not have essence, we are subject to be confused. Wisdom that does not accompany meditation is identical to defilement and meditation that does not possess wisdom is the same as insensibility. Buddhism bases sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation on essence and functions of the mind. If we see the tranquil and illuminating nature, we are subject to obtain enlightenment. We should simultaneously cultivate the tranquil aspect (meditation) and the illuminating aspect (wisdom) but should not separately practice both aspects.

If meditation and wisdom are simultaneously cultivated, the practice belongs to the sudden gate for practitioners of higher capacities and abilities. If meditation and wisdom are in sequence cultivated, the practice belongs to the gradual gate for practitioners of lower capacities and abilities. When the practitioners have confused minds, they should calm their minds and then cultivate their wisdom. Referring to the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, he explained the gradual gate and the sudden gate in the *Key to Cultivation of the Mind*:³³²

If we discuss these two teachings of meditation and wisdom and their attributes, there are thousands of approaches that include meditation and wisdom. If we outline them, they are characterized as essence and function from the standpoint of self-nature. I have called the two the tranquil essence and illuminating function. Meditation is the essence and wisdom is the function.

³³¹ T.32.1667.585b6-8.

³³² H.4.711c13-712a19.

Since wisdom is the functioning of the essence, it is not separate from meditation. Since meditation is the essence of the function, it is not separate from wisdom. Since there is wisdom in meditation, meditation is calm yet constantly aware. Since there is meditation in wisdom, meditation is calm yet constantly aware. As Caoxi (the sixth patriarch Huineng) said, “The mind-ground which is without disturbance is the meditation of self-nature. The mind-ground which is without delusions is the wisdom of self-nature.”³³³ If you have this sort of understanding, you can be calm and aware naturally in all situations. If enveloping and reflecting – on the characteristics of meditation and wisdom respectively – are not two, this is the sudden gate’s cultivation of meditation and wisdom as a pair.

The practice of meditation and wisdom intended for those of inferior faculties in the gradual school initially controls the thinking processes with calmness and subsequently controls dullness with alertness; finally, these initial and subsequent counteracting techniques subdue both the dull and the agitated mind in order to enter into stillness. Although this approach also holds that alertness and calmness should be maintained equally, its practice cannot avoid clinging to stillness. Hence, how will it allow those who would understand the matter of birth and death never to leave fundamental calmness and fundamental awareness and cultivate meditation and wisdom as a pair naturally in all situations? As Caoxi said, “The practice of self-awakening has nothing to do with arguing. If you argue about first and last, you are deluded.”³³⁴

For an accomplished man, equal maintenance of meditation and wisdom does not involve effort, for he is always spontaneous and unconcerned about time or place. When he sees forms or hears sounds, he is “just so.” When he wears clothes or eats food, he is “just so.” When he defecates or urinates, he is “just so.” When talking with people, he is “just so.” At all times, whether speaking or keeping silent, whether joyful or angry, he is “just so.” Like an empty boat riding on the waves that follow the crests and troughs, or like a torrent flowing through the mountains that follows the bends and straights, he is without intellection in his mind. Today, he is at peace naturally in all conditions without destruction or hindrance. Tomorrow, in all situations, he is naturally at peace. He follows all conditions without destruction and hindrance. He neither eliminates the unwholesome nor cultivates the wholesome. His character is straightforward and without deception. His seeing and hearing return to normal and there are no sense-objects to come in contact with (which could cause new defilements to arise). Why should he have to bother with efforts at effacement? Since he has not a single thought that creates passion, he needs not to make an effort to forget all conditioning.³³⁵

If some practitioners practice meditation and wisdom in sequence, their practice is the conditional cultivation. If they have their agitated minds, they should calm the minds. If they have their dull minds, they should alert the minds. Because they cultivate meditation and wisdom in sequence, not simultaneously,

³³³ T.48.2007.342b26-27, and T.48.2008.358c12-13.

³³⁴ T.48.2008.352c20.

³³⁵ Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell, Jr.’s English translation, 108-109.

we call the gradual and conditional cultivation. If some practitioners practice meditation and wisdom simultaneously, not sequentially, their practice is the sudden and unconditional cultivation.

While the absolute meditation and wisdom of self-nature is the sudden and unconditional cultivation, the relative meditation and wisdom of the phenomena is the gradual and conditional cultivation. If some practitioners practice the absolute meditation and wisdom of self-nature, they naturally reveal the essence and functions of their minds. Always and everywhere, they can cultivate their minds without obstruction. Their practice is unconditioned and unhindered at any place and time. While the supreme and advanced practitioners are able to practice the meditation and wisdom of self-nature, practitioners of lower capacity are able to cultivate the relative meditation and wisdom of phenomena. While Huineng considered only the practitioners of higher capacity who can practice the sudden gate, Jinul considered in his mind even the practitioners of lower capacity who can practice the gradual gate along with the practitioners of higher capacity. While Huineng explicated only the absolute meditation and wisdom of self-nature for practitioners, Jinul expounded both the absolute meditation and wisdom of self-nature and the relative meditation and wisdom of the phenomena.

As the Buddha educated his disciples based on their capacities, Jinul also trained his disciples based on their capacities and abilities. If they had higher capacities and abilities, Jinul taught them with the sudden gate and trained them with the absolute meditation and wisdom of self-nature. If they had their lower capacities and abilities, he educated them with the gradual gate and taught them with the relative meditation and wisdom of the phenomena. Jinul expounded the two kinds of meditation and wisdom that Seon practitioners should equally take after enlightenment as follows:³³⁶

.....
I want to assess the cultivation of these two kinds (of meditation and wisdom that Seon practitioners should equally practice after enlightenment). If we cultivate the absolute meditation and wisdom of self-nature, we are subject to practice the sudden gate. If we use effortless effort, simultaneously practice both meditation and wisdom, and cultivate our self-nature, we are able to attain Buddhahood. If some cultivate the relative meditation and wisdom of phenomena, they are subject to use the counteractive measures cultivated prior to awakening by those of lower capacities in the graduate gate. Thought-moment after thought-moment, they can eliminate defilements and they attach themselves to and practice quietism. Because these two types are different, they should not combine two types. One is subitism and the other is gradualism.

However, if we discuss the counteractive measures of the relative approach of the phenomena in the approach involving cultivation after awakening, we do not employ the practices of those of lower capacities in the graduate gate in their entirety but provisionally use them as skillful means. And why is this? In the

³³⁶ H.4.712c11-713a8.

sudden gate too there are those whose capacities are higher and those whose capacities are lower. We cannot weigh their baggage according to the same standard (because they have different backgrounds and abilities).

If a person's defilements are weak and insipid, and his body and mind are light and at ease; if he leaves the good in the good and he leaves the bad in the bad; if he is unmoving in the eight winds;³³⁷ if the three types of sensation are calmed – then he can rely on the meditation and wisdom of self-nature and cultivate them concurrently in all situations naturally. He is impeccable and passive and whether in action or at rest, he is always absorbed in Seon and perfects the principle of naturalness. What need is there for him to borrow the relative approach's counteractive measures? If one is not sick, there is no need to look for medicine.

On the other hand, even though a person might initially have had a sudden awakening, if the defilements are engrossing and the perfumed habits are deeply engrained; if the mind becomes passionate whenever it is in contact with sense-objects; if he is always involved in confrontations with the situations he meets; if he is always beset by dullness and agitation; or if he loses the constancy of calmness and awareness – then he should borrow the relative meditation and wisdom of the phenomena and not forget the counteractive measures which control both dullness and agitation. Thereby, he can properly enter the unconditioned.³³⁸

Above, I discussed how Seon practitioners should equally cultivate meditation and wisdom after enlightenment. Jinul introduced two kinds of the meditation and wisdom in a pair that Seon practitioners should practice after enlightenment. The subitists practice the absolute meditation and wisdom of self-nature and the gradualists cultivate the relative meditation and wisdom of the phenomena. The cultivation before enlightenment belongs to the gradual gate for the practitioners of the much lower capacities than the practitioners of the relative meditation and wisdom of the phenomena. The graduate gate after enlightenment is completely different from the gradual gate before enlightenment.

Jinul argued that while the graduate gate after enlightenment was not polluted, the graduate gate before enlightenment was polluted. The gradualist practice before enlightenment is not true cultivation. If we cultivate our minds without enlightenment, the practice is the polluted cultivation. Because we do not attain enlightenment, we are supposed to have doubts and are not free of them. If we thoroughly awaken to the fundamental ground of our minds, our doubts would immediately disappear. If we do not obtain enlightenment, we are subject to have doubts. Even though he did not exclude the cultivation prior to

³³⁷ The eight winds prohibit practitioners from advancing along the proper way to enlightenment. Those are (1) prosperity, (2) decline, (3) disgrace, (4) honor, (5) praise, (6) censure, (7) suffering, and (8) pleasure. See the entry of "eight winds" in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 151.

³³⁸ Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell, Jr.'s English translation, 111-112.

enlightenment, he preferred the cultivation after enlightenment. Referring to Zongmi and Yanshou, he considered the cultivation after enlightenment as the true cultivation in the following paragraphs:³³⁹

Even though he borrows the countermeasures in order to bring the perfumed habits under temporary control, he has achieved sudden awakening to the fact that the mind-nature is fundamentally pure and the defilements are fundamentally empty. Hence, he does not fall into the polluted practice of those of lower capacities in the gradual gate. And why is this? Although a person following the gradual gate does not forget to be diligent and thought-moment after thought-moment permeates his cultivation during cultivation prior to awakening, he still gives rise to doubts everywhere and cannot free himself from obstacles. As if he had something stuck in his chest, he is always uncomfortable. After many days and months, as the work of counteraction matures, the adventitious defilements of body and mind might then appear to weaken. Although they seem lighter, the root of doubt is not yet severed. He is like a rock that is crushing grass. He still cannot be self-reliant in the realm of birth and death. Therefore, (Zongmi's *Chan Preface*) says, "Cultivation prior to awakening is not true cultivation."³⁴⁰

In the case of a man who has awakened, although he employs skillful means, moment to moment he is free of doubts and does not become polluted. After many days and months, he naturally conforms to the impeccable, sublime nature. Naturally he is calm and aware in all situations. Moment by moment, he becomes involved in sensory experience in all the sense-realms. Thought after thought, he always severs defilements. Even so, he never leaves self-nature. By maintaining meditation and wisdom equally, he perfects supreme enlightenment and is no longer different from those of higher capacities mentioned previously. Thus, although the relative meditation and wisdom is a practice for those of lower capacities in the gradual gate, it can be said from the perspective of the man who has obtained awakening (in Yanshou's *Zongjing lu* (Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects)) that "iron has been transmuted into gold."³⁴¹ If you understand this, how can you have such doubts – doubts like the discriminative view that a sequence or progression is involved in the practice of these two kinds of meditation and wisdom? I hope that you, all cultivators of the path, will study these words carefully, extinguish your doubts and end up backsliding.³⁴²

Jinul recommended practitioners to cultivate their minds and to seek after supreme truth. He suggested them not to attach themselves to texts but to take the texts as a means to obtain enlightenment. The Buddha never requested his

³³⁹ H.4.713a8-b2.

³⁴⁰ T.48.2015.407c22.

³⁴¹ T.48.2016.419c24 and T.48.2016.771a17. I could also identify the saying in numberless texts, for example, T.39.1786.87c18, T.46.1937.883a24, T.47.1997.759c26, T.47.1997.802b23, T.48.2003.210b15, T.49.2037.871b25, T.51.2076.352b8, and others.

³⁴² Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell, Jr.'s English translation, 112.

followers to search for him outside themselves but in their own minds. If they cultivate their minds in themselves, they can have master-less and natural knowledge. Indirectly referring to the *Huayan Sūtra*,³⁴³ Jinul argued that practitioners could obtain enlightenment in themselves, not from others.³⁴⁴

Because all beings have the mind ground in themselves, they are able to attain enlightenment. Jinul emphasized the importance of diligent working and extensive studying for enlightenment, citing Yanshou's *Weixin jue* (Secret on Mind-only), "Even though some hears (the Buddha's teaching), but does not believe in it, he would make a cause of becoming the Buddha. And even though some learns Buddhism but does not comprehend it, he might make the happiness of humans and heavenly beings."³⁴⁵ So, practitioners should sincerely listen to the Buddha's teachings, believe in them, train ourselves with them, and complete our trainings.

Jinul considered that we were extremely difficult to be born as human beings and to encounter Buddhism.³⁴⁶ To explain how difficult we were born as human beings of six destinies and encountered and studied Buddhism, he introduced two metaphors, "a blind turtle putting its head through a hole in a piece of wood floating on the ocean"³⁴⁷ and "a mustard seed falling onto the point of a needle."³⁴⁸ When we encounter Buddhism, we should make endeavors to obtain enlightenment and cut off the chain of transmigration with it. He strongly urged practitioners to make efforts to obtain enlightenment as the following quote attests.³⁴⁹

If we consider our actions in our past wanderings in transmigration, we have no way of knowing for how many thousands of eons we have fallen into the darkness or entered the Interminable Hell and endured all kinds of suffering. Nor can we know how many times we have inspired to the path to Buddhahood but, because we did not meet with wise advisors, remained submerged in the sea of birth and death for long eons, dark and unenlightened, performing all sorts of evil actions. Though we may reflect on this once in a while, we cannot imagine the duration of our misery. How can we relax and suffer again the same calamities as before? Furthermore, what allowed us to be born this time as human beings – the guiding spirits of all the ten thousand things – who are

³⁴³ T.9.278.760c25.

³⁴⁴ H.4.713b6.

³⁴⁵ T.48.2018.996c22.

³⁴⁶ H.4.713b20-23.

³⁴⁷ T.2.99.108c10f, T.3.159.295a27, T.4.201.268c22f, T.4.201.291c5f, T.12.375.742b14, T.12.376.858b29f, T.12.384.1047b16f, T.16.674.653b3f, T.17.721.56c2, T.17.721.102c20, T.32.1671.721c29f, T.38.1767.60a6f, T.47.1988.548c6, T.48.2016.562a20, T.48.2016.665c11, T.48.2017.986a23f, T.48.2023.1051c9, T.53.2122.455b29f, and others.

³⁴⁸ H.4.713b22. I could not identify the metaphor of "a mustard seed falling onto the point of a needle" in Indian Buddhist scriptures but in Chinese Buddhist sources, T.48.2001.40a29, X.80.1568.691c22, X.72.1435.265b05, and others.

³⁴⁹ H.4.713b15-c7.

clear about the right road of cultivation? Truly, a human birth is as difficult to ensure as “a blind turtle putting its head through a hole in a piece of wood floating on the ocean”³⁵⁰ or “a mustard seed falling onto the point of a needle.”³⁵¹ How can we possibly express how fortunate we are?

Whenever we become discouraged or indolent, we should always look to the future. In one instant, we might happen to lose our lives and fall back into the evil burns where we would have to undergo unspeakable suffering and pain. At that time, although we might want to hear one phrase of the Buddha-dharma, and would be willing to receive and keep it with faithful devotion to ease our misfortune, how would we ever encounter it there? On the point of death, remorse is of no use whatsoever. I hope that all of you who are cultivating the path will not be heedless and will not indulge in greed and lust. Do not forget to reflect upon this as if you were trying to save your head from burning.³⁵² Death is fast closing in. The body is like the morning dew.³⁵³ Life is the twilight in the west. Although we are alive today, there is no assurance about tomorrow. Bear this in mind! You must bear this in mind.³⁵⁴

Jinul emphasized cultivation after enlightenment. He suggested to Buddhists that when they practice gradual cultivation after sudden enlightenment, they should cultivate their minds for themselves as well as practice altruistic actions for other persons. When he discussed his ideal soteriology, he harmonized the cultivation of their minds with the practice of

³⁵⁰ See the *Za Ahan-jing*, T.2.99.108c10f; and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, T.12.376.858b29f.

³⁵¹ I could not find the metaphor in Indian Buddhist scriptures but in Chinese Buddhist sources.

³⁵² T.2.100.381b10, T.3.159.313a23, T.3.190.820a11, T.3.154.94c12, T.4.212.733a2, T.4.201.270b17, T.7.220.1037c25, T.7.220.924a14, T.7.220.748b4, T.7.220.931b15, T.8.231.695c10, T.9.278.772b6, T.10.293.824c9, T.10.294.869c9, T.10.293.837a26, T.11.310.342c17, T.11.310.631c29, T.11.310.535c20, T.11.310.644c20, T.11.310.477b10, T.11.310.378b7, T.11.320.954c7, T.12.351.194b8, T.13.397.302c22, T.13.410.708b2, T.13.403.611a26, T.13.411.757a15, T.13.397.206b18, T.14.461.459c23, T.14.489.713c20, T.14.456.433c12, T.14.481.636a14, T.14.426.68a6, T.14.482.660a8, T.15.613.263a19, T.15.653.800a8, T.15.643.694c25, T.15.653.795c1, T.15.642.639a20, T.15.643.682c3, T.15.620.335c9, T.16.658.236a8, T.16.659.248a6, T.16.658.216b13, T.17.847.949a5, T.17.847.943b20, T.19.1012.683c27, T.19.1018.705b29, T.20.1161.663a12, T.20.1043.36c3, T.21.1336.633a13, T.21.1320.482c10, T.23.1442.898c26, T.25.1509.204c6, T.26.1521.112a25, T.26.1521.112a24, T.30.1581.921a20, T.32.1636.113a26, T.32.1659.513b23, T.32.1636.86a2, T.32.1648.403b12, T.39.1797.793c18, T.43.1829.148c9, T.45.1862.380a1, T.46.1911.94a4, T.47.1998A.924a12, T.47.2000.1017b11, T.47.1964.108c8, T.47.1998A.929a8, T.48.2024.1108b5, T.48.2023.1069b12, T.51.2071.119a28, T.53.2122.464a12, T.54.2123.186b19, T.85.2817.1183c8, and others.

³⁵³ T.4.193.72c21, T.4.201.283c11, T.12.374.589c10, T.12.322.16c3, T.13.404.633a19, T.53.2122.455c29, and others.

³⁵⁴ Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell, Jr.’s English translation, 113.

altruism in the *Excerpts from the Dharma Collection and Special Practice Record with Personal Notes* (*Beopjip byeolhaeng-nok jeoryo byeongip sagi*).³⁵⁵

This gate of the gradual cultivation after sudden enlightenment is not only to cultivate polluted minds but also to practice all altruistic actions. It aims to save ourselves and other persons without excluding either of them. However, nowadays, the Seon practitioners all are accustomed to say, “If we completely reveal the Buddha nature, we are able to naturally accomplish our great vows of the altruistic actions.”³⁵⁶

However, I, Jinul, strongly oppose them. If we definitely manifest the Buddha nature, we are able to realize that sentient beings are equal to the Buddhas in value and subjects are not different from objects in essence. However, if we do not generate compassion to other beings, we will be stuck in quietism. Therefore, Li Tongxuan (646-740) said in his *Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra*, “Because the nature of wisdom is tranquil, (the Chan practitioners who seek wisdom are subject to attach themselves to quietism). So, if we generate altruistic vows, we can protect wisdom from quietism.”³⁵⁷ Therefore, before we achieve enlightenment, even though we have altruistic vows, we cannot complete the vows because we are deluded. However, after we obtain enlightenment, we can observe the suffering of sentient beings with our discriminative knowledge, generate our compassion and vows, practice the paths of a Bodhisattva based on our abilities and capacities, and gradually complete the practice of enlightenment. If so, why are not we happy and joyful?

After sudden enlightenment, we have the two functions of equality and discrimination. We should know that the aspect of equality is suddenly manifest and the aspect of discrimination becomes gradually complete. However, when we read a Seon text, we are subject to get information on many Seon masters who attained enlightenment and had auspicious and mysterious actions. So, we naturally anticipate that if we obtain enlightenment, we are subject to have the supernatural wisdom and the unhindered oratorical talent at any time and at any place. If we see the practitioner who does not have the unimaginable supernatural wisdom and the (four) unhindered kinds of knowledge (oratorical talent),³⁵⁸ we consider him a person who has an empty head and do not put confidence in him. If so, we cannot meet a good friend and cultivate our minds very well. We should know that we could gradually complete the delusion-discriminating wisdom and the compassionate actions even after sudden enlightenment.

³⁵⁵ H.4.755b23-c17.

³⁵⁶ I could not identify the sentence in the Buddhist canon.

³⁵⁷ I could not find the sentence in Li Tongxuan's *Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra*.

³⁵⁸ Four unhindered kinds of knowledge are “(1) complete understanding of the Law, or teachings, (2) complete mastery of the meanings deriving from the Law, (3) complete freedom in expressing the teachings in various languages and dialects, and (4) the ability to preach to all people at will by employing the first three powers.” See the entry of “four unhindered kinds of knowledge” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 237.

Jinul considered the direct shortcut gate of Kōan Chan Buddhism to be included in his soteriology of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation.³⁵⁹ He thought that even though almost all of the Buddhist practitioners should follow the ideal soteriology of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation, only a few exceptional practitioners of high abilities and capacities could practice the direct shortcut gate of Kōan Chan Buddhism. He included and discussed even a few of the exceptionally qualified Chan practitioners in his soteriology. He harmonized doctrinal Huayan Buddhism with practical Seon Buddhism. He also syncretized wisdom with meditation, awakening with tranquility, and sudden enlightenment with gradual practice. Citing the lengthy sentences from the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, he expounded the direct shortcut gate for the practitioners of higher capacities and abilities and asked them to practice the gate and to obtain enlightenment in the *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*.³⁶⁰

Textual scholars have doubts on and criticize the Seon teachings because they cannot remove doubts. Even though some practitioners practice Seon Buddhism, if they do not comprehend its original meanings, they attach themselves to *kōans* and assert that they can completely remove all the doubts with the *kōans*. If they argue whether they have the *kōans* inside phrases or outside phrases, they might transform the *kōans* to dead phrases and develop their thoughts based on the dead phrases. They also might attach themselves to (Linji Yixuan's (d. 867) three phrases (mysteries)³⁶¹ and generate (Linji Yixuan's) ten discriminating thoughts.³⁶² If so, how can we call them the Seon

³⁵⁹ Gang Geon-gi, 85-87.

³⁶⁰ H.4.734a7-20.

³⁶¹ Linji Yixuan introduced three mysteries, (1) the mystery manifested through experience, (2) the mystery revealed through the words (Kōans), and (3) the mystery of the mysteries and included three points, (1) essence, (2) forms, and (3) functions in each mystery in his *Recorded Sayings of Linji Yixuan*, T.47.1985.497a19-21. Jinul referred to Linji Yixuan and discussed the three mysteries in his latest three works, *Wondon seongbullon* (H.4.728b16-c3), *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron* (H.4.733a9-22 and H.4.734b15-c6) and *Beopjip byeolhaengnok jeolyo byeongip sagi* (Summary of Guifeng Zongmi's *Chan Chart* with Personal Notes) (H.4.765c14-766b4).

³⁶² Jinul referred to Zonggao's (eight) discriminating thoughts introduced in the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui Zonggao*, T.47.1998A.921a17- c19, and added two discriminating thoughts to Zonggao's ones. And, he completed his own version of ten discriminating thoughts in his *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H.4.734c18-735a18, in which he urged his contemporary Seon practitioners not to make the ten thoughts as follows: "(1) We should not discriminate being and nonbeing. (2) We should not discriminate and recognize true nonbeing as be nonexistent. (3) We should not discriminate the understanding of principle. (4) We should not intellectualize and count based on the mind faculty. (5) We should not attach ourselves to the argument that there is the truth in the blinking of eyes and the flapping of eyebrows. (6) We should not transcend all theories. (7) We should not recognize truth in un-operated calmness. (8) We should not understand the beginning points of *kōans*. (9) We should not make textual citations. Finally, (10) we should not seek enlightenment in delusion."

practitioners who investigate the live phrases? Even professional Seon masters have the abovementioned problems. How much more cannot textual scholars have doubts!

The teaching explicated in the sudden teaching includes the meaning of transcending languages and thoughts, the principle and nature of suchness, for the group of the persons of higher capacities and abilities who transcend thoughts. Therefore, the *Awakening of Faith* expounds the absolute aspect (suchness) of the mind, “The suchness aspect of the mind is the One Dharma Realm and the essence of all aspects of existence in their totality. “The original nature of the mind” is unborn and is imperishable. It is only through delusions that all things are differentiated. If we remove delusions, we will not have the phenomena of objects differentiated. Therefore, all things from the beginning transcend all forms of verbalization, conceptualization, and psychologization and are in the final analysis undifferentiated, free from alternation, and indestructible. They are only of the One Mind, hence they are named suchness.”³⁶³

Jinul discussed the ten mysteries of the perfect teaching of the Huayan philosophy in which all beings, being unhindered without limit, inter-identify and interpenetrate one another.³⁶⁴ There are two versions of ten mysteries. He adopted the older version of the mysteries.³⁶⁵ The older version of the ten mysterious aspects that Fazang established in his earlier work entitled *Treatise on Five Doctrines* (*Huayan wujiao zhang*) is as follows.³⁶⁶ The ten mysterious aspects are (1) The aspect that each existence correlates with all other existences simultaneously, (2) the aspect that even though one and many are included, they remain in a different entity, (3) the aspect that all existences are free in regards of mutual identification, (4) the aspect that all existences are illustrated like in the Indra’s net, (5) the aspect that no matter how subtle and minute it may be, each existence contains all other existences, (6) the aspect that all existences are hidden and manifested at the same time, (7) the aspect that an existence is at once pure and mixed, (8) the aspect that ten periods supplement and include each other, (9) the aspect that all existences are well transformed from the absolute mind, and (10) the aspect that procreates right understanding of various phenomena and existences.

Huayan Buddhism explicates the spiritual level of an enlightened person who comprehends the mysterious aspects. When the Seon practitioners want to understand the aspects and to attain enlightenment, they attach themselves to the Huayan doctrines and texts that explain the limitless interpenetration and inter-identification among objects. Even though they have the higher capacities and

³⁶³ T.32.1667.584c7-12. See also Yoshito S. Hakeda, trans., *The Awakening of Faith* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 32-33.

³⁶⁴ Jinul discussed the ten mysteries of the perfect teaching of Huayan philosophy in *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H.4.735a24-b11 and H.4.736b5-19, and *Hwaekomnon jeoryo*, H.4.820a16-24, H.4.825c8-826a6, H.4.857c10-14.

³⁶⁵ H.4.820a16-24.

³⁶⁶ T.45.1866.503a16-507c3.

abilities and understand the original meaning of the perfect teaching, because they are stuck in logical thinking and intellectual knowledge, they cannot attain the indiscriminative wisdom and the mysterious aspects.

The doctrinal and textual traditions of Buddhism guide their followers to comprehend Buddhist doctrines and texts, to realize the indiscriminative wisdom and to obtain enlightenment. The Seon practitioners of lower capacities and abilities also find it difficult to understand Buddhist doctrines and texts and to attain Buddhahood. However, Jinul urged the Seon practitioners of higher capacities and abilities not to attach themselves to the intellectual and textual understanding of Huayan Buddhism, but to take the direct shortcut gate of *kōan* Seon Buddhism and achieve enlightenment in *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*.³⁶⁷

The non-obstructed Dharma gate of ten mysteries discussed in the perfect teaching (of Huayan Buddhism) originates from the development stage of the universal eyes that a mysterious Bodhisattva obtained. Nowadays, when ordinary practitioners (of the doctrinal tradition, Huayan Buddhism) practice visualization, because they follow intellectual and verbal methods, they do not obtain indiscriminative wisdom. After they observe, hear, understand, and practice (the gate), they obtain enlightenment. When they attain enlightenment, their attainment corresponds to the realization of no-thought in the Seon gate.

Therefore, (Yanshou said in his *Zongjing lu* (Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects)), “After we listen to, understand, put confidence in, and enter (Buddhist teaching), we can obtain Buddhahood through non-thought.”³⁶⁸ The practitioners who follow the direct shortcut gate of Seon Buddhism do not listen to and understand Buddhist doctrines and their meanings, but just straightforwardly investigate tasteless *kōans* and obtain enlightenment. Therefore, they intellectually, verbally and conceptually cannot examine (Buddhism) and they do not have a temporal course based on which they can observe, listen to, and understand them. If they suddenly awaken to the *kōans*, they can completely manifest the Dharma realm of One Mind.

Therefore, if we compare the visualization practitioners of the perfect teaching with the practitioners of the Seon gate, we should know that the doctrinal tradition and the Seon tradition are different from each other in the speed of enlightenment. The special Seon transmission outside the orthodox doctrinal traditions exceeds the doctrinal vehicle. The ignorant persons of the doctrinal gate cannot cope with the special transmission of the Seon gate.

6. Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604)

Ha Dongsan sincerely followed the moderate Korean Seon soteriology and the ecumenical Korean Buddhist tradition that Hyujeong inherited from his previous masters such as Chengguan, Zongmi, Yanshou and Jinul of Sino-

³⁶⁷ H.4.736b5-19.

³⁶⁸ T.48.2016.423b27.

Korean Buddhism and established on the Korean Peninsula. Ha Dongsan accepted the moderate soteriological type of “sudden enlightenment and gradual practice” from the abovementioned moderate soteriologists. So, he seemed like a loyal transmitter of moderate Korean Seon Buddhism and ecumenical Korean Buddhism through Hyujeong to previous ecumenical masters of Sino-Korean Buddhism.

Hyujeong loyally followed the soteriological type of “sudden enlightenment and gradual practice” that the previous moderate Chan theorists adopted as their ideal Seon soteriology. They did not accept the radical subitist soteriology of “sudden enlightenment and sudden practice.” Because the abovementioned moderate subitists contended the necessity of sudden enlightenment in the beginning, they were basically subitists. However, because they did not exclude the necessity of gradual practice after attaining sudden enlightenment, they were moderate subitists.

By faithfully transmitting the ecumenical lineage from the preceding representative ecumenists Wonhyo, Chengguan, Zongmi, Yanshou, Uicheon and Jinul of Sino-Korean Buddhism, he also became the ecumenist between Chan Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism, Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism, the observation of precepts and Chan Buddhism, and furthermore Buddhism and other religious traditions such as Daoism and Confucianism. Even current Korean Buddhists are tremendously indebted to Hyujeong’s ecumenical thoughts.

We also easily can trace the Dharma lineage of the majority of Korean Buddhist monks affiliated to the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism back to Hyujeong.³⁶⁹ Except the priests of some Korean Buddhist sects newly established in modern times, almost all of Korean Buddhist monks assert that they succeeded the Dharma lineage from Hyujeong. His disciples standardized the founder of Korean Seon Buddhism as Taego Bou and established the Dharma lineage of Korean Seon Buddhism.³⁷⁰ They also standardized the curricular texts of monastic education system and included Seon and doctrinal texts, equally treating them without hierarchically evaluating them.³⁷¹

He was in principle the ecumenist between Seon Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism. He also syncretized Seon Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism. However, he prioritized in practice Seon Buddhism to doctrinal Buddhism and emphasized the necessity of enlightenment. While Korean Buddhists consider themselves as ecumenists from the theoretical perspective, they also regard themselves as moderate Seon sectarians from the practical standpoint. Since the

³⁶⁹ See I Jigwan, *Hanguk bulgyo soi gyeongjeon yeongu* (Researches on Authoritative Scriptures in Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo seongnim-hoe, 1969), 461-472.

³⁷⁰ See the Board of Education of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., *Jogye jongsu: Gojungse pyeon* (The History of Korean Buddhist Jogye Order: Ancient and Medieval Periods) (Seoul: Jogye-jong chulpan-sa, 2004), 358-364.

³⁷¹ Ibid, 366-367.

standardization of monastic education curricular texts in Korean Buddhism, they have learned the texts and have accepted the seemingly contradictory views at their monastic doctrinal education centers.

Samyeong Yujeong (1544-1610),³⁷² an eminent disciple of Hyujeong, clearly illustrated his master Hyujeong's ecumenism between Seon Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism and moderate Seon soteriology in his epilogue³⁷³ to his master's masterpiece *The Guiding Source of Seon Community* (*Seonga gwigam*). If we read his epilogue, we can visualize the text's main themes as the following quote demonstrates.³⁷⁴

Master Toeun, (also know as Seosan and Hyujeong), an eminent master of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, wrote the above edited text. Alas! Because our Korean Buddhism became deteriorated for the last two hundred years, the group of Seon practitioners and the other band of Buddhist scholars each raised up their own views. The group of Buddhist Scholars who emphasized textual study over Seon meditation attached themselves to the lower taste and in vain calculated (the Buddhist teaching to) as many as the number of sands (in the Ganges River). Therefore, they did not comprehend the Seon Buddhist tenets in which Seon masters straightforwardly pointed to their original minds. They did not understand Seon Buddhism, considered as being higher than the five doctrinal teachings. Meanwhile, the group of Seon practitioners exclusively emphasized the Seon meditation relied on spontaneity and attempted not to attain enlightenment. So, they did not understand that even after attaining sudden enlightenment, they should arouse their minds to enlightenment and learn and cultivate the intention of doing all wholesome deeds. For this reason, they did not know the distinctions between Seon Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism just as they were difficult to separate gold from sand. So, the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* says, "If someone listens that everyone is originally enlightened, he is subject to consider that enlightenment is not different from delusions. If he removes the doctrine of causation, he is subject to have wrong views."³⁷⁵ It goes on to say, "If he removes ignorance through long cultivation (of his mind), the true is able to generate the deluded. If he loses the true and permanent nature, he is subject to generate wrong views."³⁷⁶

How dangerous it can be! How can we not transmit this Way properly (to Buddhists)? Just as a single strand of hair holds one thousand *geuns*,³⁷⁷ suspended in space, our tradition is being deteriorated. My master (Cheongheo Hyujeong) used any spare time except his cultivation period on Western Mountain (Mt. Myohyang) for ten years and wrote the text (*The Guiding Source of Seon Community*), reading fifty scriptures, treatises, and recorded sayings and recording only the most essential words in them for his daily life.

³⁷² I Jeong, ed., 215-216.

³⁷³ H.7.646a16-c3.

³⁷⁴ H.7.646a16-b14.

³⁷⁵ T.17.842.915b15-16.

³⁷⁶ T.17.842.915b17-18.

³⁷⁷ One *geun* is 600 grams.

He trained his disciples with the texts just as a shepherd tamed a flock of sheep. He controlled the exceeded disciples and encouraged the tardy ones and finally guided both of them to the gate of great enlightenment. He seriously considered them with his kindness. However, his dull disciples could not understand but criticized his lofty talks as being too difficult. He felt pity for their dullness, self-commented on each passage, provided his supplementary and additional comments on each passage and his self-comments on it, and compiled the text in a proper order. Just as he made the knots threaded in a single string and the blood circulated in a body, he completely included the essence of the eighty thousand scriptures and the origin of five Seon sects in the text. He manifested truth in every word and central tenets in each phrase. He guided the exceeded disciples to moderate themselves and the hindered ones to penetrate themselves. Therefore, this text became the guiding mirror of Seon and doctrinal Buddhism. It was also the good medicine of theory and practice.

When Hyujeong discussed his Seon soteriology in a passage of *The Guiding Source of Seon Community*, he encouraged Seon practitioners to place firm trust in their minds. He also suggested to them not to render excessive meanness and not to provide excessive pride in the cultivation of their minds.³⁷⁸ He was a moderate soteriologist. He self-commented on the passage and articulated subitism (suddenness) and gradualism (gradualness) from his moderate soteriological views and ecumenist perspectives and harmonized Seon and doctrinal Buddhism and subitism and gradualism as follows.³⁷⁹

Because everyone has (in principle) the same and equal mind, we cannot have the mind differentiated between ordinary beings and sages. Even so, all human beings have (in actuality) the distinctions between delusions and enlightenment, ordinary beings and sages. If someone is suddenly awakened to his true self and becomes identical to the Buddha's stage based on the instruction of his master, we can define the awakening as sudden (enlightenment). Therefore, I told (in the above passage) that (Seon practitioners) should not render excessive meanness (in their practice).³⁸⁰ If someone accepts the original nonexistence of one absolute and permanent substance, (seen in the third verse of the sixth Chinese Chan patriarch Huineng's famous competition poem with his rival Datong Shenxiu (d. 706)),³⁸¹ attains enlightenment in the beginning and removes perfumed customs transmitted from their previous lives, and finally transforms the stage of ordinary beings to the stage of sages, we can define the practice as gradual (practice). Therefore, I told (in the above passage) that (Seon practitioners) should not render excessive pride (in their practice).³⁸² We can find the gradualism in the corresponding third verse of Datong Shenxiu's poem,³⁸³ "We always should strive to polish the clear mind from moment to

³⁷⁸ H.7.638a13.

³⁷⁹ H.7.638a14-c2.

³⁸⁰ H.7.638a13.

³⁸¹ T.48.2008.349a7-8.

³⁸² H.7.638a13.

³⁸³ T.48.2008.348b24-25.

moment.” Excessive meanness is the disease of Buddhist scholars and excessive pride the disease of Seon practitioners. Buddhist scholars do not trust in the Seon gate in which the secrets to enlightenment are expounded but seriously addict themselves to the provisional doctrinal teaching and separate the true from the deluded. Because they do not cultivate themselves in the contemplative meditation but calculate the number of treasures of other persons, they generate the excessive meanness. Meanwhile, the Seon practitioners do not trust in the doctrinal gate in which the proper road to cultivate their own minds and to remove defilements in them is existent. Even though they have customs perfumed throughout their lives, they do not feel their shame. Even though their spiritual stage is lower, because they are seriously arrogant, they take excessive pride in their speech. Therefore, if they intend to properly cultivate their minds, they should not put excessive meanness and excessive pride (in their practice).

Philip B. Yampolsky, specialist in the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng*, translated the poem by Datong Shenxiu, “The body is the Bodhi (enlightenment) tree, the mind is like a clear mirror, at all times we must strive to polish it, and must not let the dust collect.”³⁸⁴ He also translated the poem by Huineng included in its Dunhuang manuscript, discovered in modern times, “Bodhi originally has no tree, the mirror also has not stand. Buddha nature is always clean and pure; where is there room for dust?”³⁸⁵ He also introduced and translated another similar poem by him also included in its Dunhuang version, “The mind is the Bodhi tree, the body is the mirror stand. The mirror is originally clean pure; where can it be stained by dust?”³⁸⁶

However, most of the traditional editions of the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng* include the third verse of Huineng’s poems different from its Dunhuang version, the verse of which is “From the beginning not a thing is.”³⁸⁷ Except its third verse, three verses are identical between the Dunhuang version and other versions. Hyujeong adopted the poems by Datong Shenxiu and Huineng available in his contemporary times and compared both poems and summarized subitism and gradualism. He was not an extreme gradualist sectarian and also not an extreme subitist. He was a moderate soteriologist and an ecumenist between Seon Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism. He attempted to harmonize gradualism and subitism and to syncretize Seon Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism.

He equally considered cultivation and enlightenment in importance and did not prioritize the one to the other. He argued in his *The Guiding Source of Seon Community* that if Seon practitioners practice the Way with deluded minds, they

³⁸⁴ Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 130.

³⁸⁵ Ibid, 132.

³⁸⁶ Ibid, 132.

³⁸⁷ Ibid, 132, footnote # 38.

are just subject to augment their ignorance.³⁸⁸ He self-commented on the passage, “If we do not completely attain enlightenment, how can we contend that we properly cultivate (our minds)? Enlightenment and practice should be harmonious to and guide each other just as oil and fire are supportive to each other and eyes and feet rely on each other.”³⁸⁹

He adopted two key concepts, *li* (principle) and *shi* (phenomena), in Chinese Buddhism in particular and East Asian Buddhism in general and clarified his moderate soteriology in his *The Guiding Source of Seon Community*, “Even though we suddenly attain enlightenment in terms of principle, we cannot suddenly eliminate our defilements (mind-habits) in terms of phenomena.”³⁹⁰ He also commented on his passage, “Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva completely realized the naturalness and spontaneity and Samantabhadra Bodhisattva revealed dependent origination. (Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva’s) understanding is likened to (a sudden flash of) a bolt of lightening and (Samantabhadra Bodhisattva’s) actions are figured (to the kind caring for) a newborn baby. The following discusses (Buddhist soteriology of) cultivation and realization.”³⁹¹ Referring to two major Bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, each of whom symbolizes clear wisdom and compassionate vows, he equally emphasized wisdom and actions.

Even though he was principally a subitist, he did not exclude the necessity of gradually removing delusions. He, a moderate subitist, emphasized sudden enlightenment accompanied by gradual practice. He loyally succeeded the moderate subitist lineage from his preceding masters such as Jinul, Yanshou, Zongmi and Chengguan. Later moderate Seon soteriologist Ha Dongsan sincerely inherited his moderate subitist soteriology.

Hyujeong cited the following passage from the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*³⁹² and defined sudden enlightenment as the sudden removal of illusive delusions in *The Guiding Source of Seon Community*, “If you understand illusive delusions, you can remove them. If so, you do not need to make additional skillful means. If you transcend illusive delusions, you can attain (sudden) enlightenment. If so, you do not practice gradual steps to cultivate your minds.”³⁹³ He self-commented on the above passage as follows.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁸ H.7.638c6.

³⁸⁹ H.7.638c7-8.

³⁹⁰ H.7.639a23.

³⁹¹ H.7.639a24-b1.

³⁹² T.17.842.914a20-21.

³⁹³ H.7.639a2-3. This passage from the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* has widely been cited in various texts, T.47.1997.740c23, T.48.2004.234b20, T.48.2016.924c23, T.51.2076.415c14-15, X.10.259.515c4, X.10.250.48a15, X.14.297.691a6, X.14.289.386a23, X.14.297.706c1-2, X.19.348.640b5-6, X.62.1181.320a2-3, X.62.1185.398c15, X.67.1309.559c3-4, X.72.1435.339b16, X.74.1475.404a19, X.78.1549.271c9-10, X.79.1559.340b7-8, X.79.1557.123b5, X.81.1571.583a9, X.83.1574.340c14, X.85.1593.455b3-4, and other texts.

³⁹⁴ H.7.639a4-9.

Our minds are likened to magicians; our physical bodies to conjured castles; our world to a set of conjured clothes; and the generation of minds and thoughts and the distinctions between true and false to conjured illusive delusions. The beginning-less illusive ignorance all originates from our fundamentally enlightened mind ground. The illusive delusions are like the non-substantial flowers seen in an empty sky. If we remove illusive delusions, we can regard ourselves as obtaining the unmovable spiritual stage. Although some catches a disease and seeks a doctor in his dream, immediately when he wakes up, he will be freed from the sickness. Likewise, if we know illusive delusions, we can realize that the delusions are not real and can immediately remove them.

He also described in *The Guiding Source of Seon Community* that Seon practitioners should transcend the cycle of birth and death and attain sudden enlightenment, “If you want to transcend the cycle of birth and death, you should completely destroy the “one thought” in a flash. If so, you can finally and completely transcend the transmigrating cycle of birth and death.”³⁹⁵ He self-commented on the above passage, “When we smash a lacquered bucket, we are subject to hear a very loud sound. After breaking the bucket (symbolizing our own serious delusions) to pieces, we can transcend the cycle of birth and death. As described above, all Buddhas cultivated their minds and searched for complete enlightenment.”³⁹⁶ He emphasized sudden enlightenment. He also required the cultivation of Seon practitioners before their complete enlightenment. According to his soteriology, Seon practitioners should cultivate their minds in the beginning, attain sudden enlightenment in the middle, and visit Seon masters to verify it in the last.

He stressed the importance of masters and the further guides of them necessary even after he attained sudden enlightenment in the Seon practice in *The Guiding Source of Seon Community*, “However, even after you completely cleared your defilements and delusions in a thought, you should visit a wise master and check whether you attained a proper enlightenment.”³⁹⁷ He self-commented on the above passage, “You are extremely difficult to attain enlightenment. Even though you attain it, you should be more careful and humbler than before. Because enlightenment is as big as a great ocean, the farther you dive, the deeper you are. You should not satisfy yourselves with some small attainment. If you do not visit and meet a master to make your enlightenment to be verified even after attaining enlightenment, even the highest taste of $ma\frac{1}{2}\frown a$, (considered the best dairy product),³⁹⁸ might be turned into a poison.”³⁹⁹

³⁹⁵ H.7.638a21-22.

³⁹⁶ H.7.638a23-b1.

³⁹⁷ H.7.638b2-3.

³⁹⁸ Tiantai Zhiyi (538-597) adopted the concept of five tastes from the *Lotus Sūtra*, matched each taste to his five period teachings and devised his doctrinal classification system of five period teachings. Chanju Mun discussed the relations between five period

Hyujeong was a moderate Seon subitist who did not exclude the further practice after sudden enlightenment. Because he accepted sudden enlightenment, he should be categorized as a Seon subitist. Because he strongly contended that even though the Seon practitioners attain sudden enlightenment, they should do the further practice and visit Seon masters to verify his enlightenment, he should be a moderate Seon subitist.

He introduced a textual evidence to support his soteriological theory of sudden enlightenment and gradual practice in *The Guiding Source of Seon Community*, “Once upon a time, an ancient master (Weishan Lingyu, 771-853)⁴⁰⁰ told (his disciple Yangshan Huiji, 815-891),⁴⁰¹ “I highly evaluate your proper views, but I do not respect your (improper) actions.”^{402,403} The above sentence originates from the following dialogues between Weishan Lingyu and his disciple Yangshan Huiji:⁴⁰⁴

Once upon a time, Master (Weishan Lingyu) asked (his disciple) Yangshan (Huiji), “How much of the Buddha’s teachings can you find in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* in 40 fascicles? How much can you also find devilish teachings in it?”

Yangshan (Huiji) answered, “All of its teachings are devilish teachings.”

The master (Weishan Lingyu) asked, “If there is no person, what will you do?”

Yangshan (Huiji) answered, “My sayings can be applied only to my whole life span. Where should my actions go?”

The master (Weishan Lingyu) replied, “I just highly evaluated your proper views, but I have never told your (proper) actions.”

As seen above, Hyujeong slightly revised and quoted the original sentence. He slightly changed “I just highly evaluated your proper views, but I have never told your (proper) actions.” to “I just highly evaluate your proper views, but I do not respect your (improper) actions.”

Hyujeong commented on the above dialogues, “Once upon a time, Yangshan (Huiji) answered, “All of the teachings included in the forty fascicles of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* are devilish teachings.” The saying reveals Yangshan (Huiji’s) proper views. When Yangshan (Huiji) continued to ask his master (Weishan Lingyu) about his actions, his master Weishan (Lingyu) answered, “I

teachings and five tastes in ‘5 Five periods and five teachings’ (148-151) of “Chapter 16 Zhiyi’s (538-597) *panjiao* systems” (123-168) in his aforementioned book.

³⁹⁹ H.7.638b4-6.

⁴⁰⁰ Weishan Lingyu (771-853), also known as Gueishan Lingyu, was a disciple of Baizhang Huaihai (720-814) and the master of Yangshan Huiji (815-891).

⁴⁰¹ Yangshan Huiji (815-891) was the Dharma successor of Weishan Lingyu (771-853) and the Dharma master of Nanta Guangrun (850-938).

⁴⁰² T.48.2004.255a4 and X.80.1565.186a15.

⁴⁰³ H.7.638b7.

⁴⁰⁴ X.80.1565.186a12-15.

just highly respected your proper views....” This saying reveals how much (Seon practitioners) should emphasize (proper) actions even after they open up their proper views. Therefore, he mentioned that if Seon practitioners want to cultivate their minds, they should in the beginning suddenly attain enlightenment (and later gradually remove all defilements and delusions perfumed throughout their past lives).⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁵ H.7.638b8-12.

Part 3

Ha Dongsan and ecumenism

When Ha Dongsan was at Wonhyo-am Hermitage for two years, 1932 – 1934, he obtained and read two works by ecumenist Bojo Jinul,¹ *Treatise on the Examination of Kōans and the Elimination of Doubts* and *Treatise on Attaining Buddhahood according to the Perfect and Sudden Teaching*.² He particularly loved and memorized the *Treatise on the Examination of Kōans and the Elimination of Doubts*. He also referred to the text when he taught Seon (Chan) Buddhism to Seon students. He inherited ecumenical tradition between Seon / Chan praxis and Hwaeom / Huayan doctrine from Bojo Jinul through modern Korean Seon master Song Gyeongheo (1849-1912).³ Jae-ryong Shim evaluated Jinul's integration of Seon and Hwaeom Buddhism in the following manner:⁴

Chinul's integration of *Sōn* and *Hwaōm-kyo* is not a simple extension of the lettered Ch'an of Sung China, nor is a simple adaptation of Tsung-mi's idea of identifying and coordinating *Ch'an* and doctrine in T'ang China. Chinul's is but a unique combination of Li T'ung-hsüan's reinterpretation of the *Hwaōm Sūtra*, Huineng's basic insight and Ta-hui's *hwadu* investigation based upon Chinul's own personal experiences of realization. Truly a melting pot phenomenon in the East Asian Buddhist tradition is to be observed in the case of Chinul and Korea. The complete interfusion of various East Asian Buddhist doctrines and practices was achieved by Chinul and his followers later in Korea.

¹ I Jeong, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo inmyeong sajeon* (Dictionary of Korean Buddhist Names) (Seoul: Bulgyo sidae-sa, 1993), 278-279.

² Dongsan mundo-hoe (Association of Master Ha Dongsan's Dharma Descendants), ed., *Dongsan daejongsa munjip* (Collection of Grand Master Ha Dongsan's Works) (Busan: Beomeo-sa Temple, 1998), 369.

³ I Jeong, ed., 144-145. See Jae-ryong Shim, *Korean Buddhism: Tradition and Transformation*, Korean Studies Series No. 8 (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing, 1999), 28, 155 & 275.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 155.

Jinul developed ecumenism between doctrinal teachings and Seon Buddhism “based on his conviction that the message of the *sūtras* and the special transmission of Sōn were essentially identical. To demonstrate this basic similarity Chinul relied on the description of Ch’an practice given in the Ho-tse school as outlined in the works of Tsung-mi; to bring the scholastic schools into focus, he used the approach to practice detailed in the *Avataṣaka Sūtra*, especially in the explication of Hua-yen teachings appearing the *Exposition of the Avataṣaka Sūtra* by Li T’ung-hsüan (635-730).”⁵

Song Gyeongheo revitalized and popularized Seon Buddhism for modern Korean Buddhism. He had some eminent disciples such as Song Mangong (1871-1946),⁶ Bang Hanam, (1876-1951),⁷ Sin Hyewol (1861-1937),⁸ and Jeon Suwol (1855-1928),⁹ who heavily contributed to Korean Buddhism and recovered its strong Seon tradition. In 1907, he edited and published the first fascicle of *Essentials of Seon Buddhism* (*Seonmun chwaryo*) and the second fascicle the following year. This included Jinul’s four works, *Key to Cultivation of Mind* (*Susim-gyeol*), *Direct Exposition on the True Mind* (*Jinsim jikseol*), *Exhortation to Join the Society for the Practice of Meditation and Wisdom* (*Gwonsu jeonghye gyeolsa-mun*), and *Treatise on the Examination of Kōans and the Elimination of Doubts*.¹⁰ Because the *Essentials of Seon Buddhism* was popular among Korean monastics, Ha Dongsan naturally accessed to and read the text.¹¹ Because the text contained Jinul’s four texts, we can assure that the text made Jinul’s ecumenical tradition play an important role among Korean Buddhists in modern Korean Buddhism.

Ha Dongsan also transmitted Korean Buddhism’s ecumenism that Wonhyo¹² formulated and systematized. He emphasized ecumenical Korean Buddhist tradition between Seon Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism, heavily derived from Wonhyo and Jinul. Even though he was trained in Seon Buddhism and was a Seon master who educated Seon students in Seon Buddhism, he did not absolutize Seon Buddhism as a radical Seon sectarian, but harmonized Seon Buddhism with doctrinal Buddhism.

The celibate monks changed the order’s founder from Taego Bou¹³ to Jinul upon the beginning of Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954 – 1962. Their change of the order’s founder was a very political decision. Taego Bou’s Seon tradition transmitted the sectarian Dharma lineage of Linji Yixuan (d. 867) and

⁵ Robert E. Buswell, Jr., trans., *Tracing Back the Radiance: Chinul’s Korean Way of Zen* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 50-51.

⁶ I Jeong, ed., 210-211.

⁷ Ibid, 275-276.

⁸ Ibid, 342-343.

⁹ Ibid, 221.

¹⁰ Jae-ryong Shim, 275.

¹¹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 144.

¹² Wonhyo lived in 617-686 CE. See I Jeong, ed., 208-210.

¹³ Ibid, 113. Taego Bou lived 1301-1382 CE.

his Linji (Kor., Imje; Jpn., Rinzai) Chan Sect from China, generally considered the orthodox Seon Buddhism among Sino-Korean Buddhists. The Linji Chan lineage followed radical Chan sectarianism and exclusively advocated Kōan Chan Buddhism.

Unlike the Linji Chan sectarian masters, Jinul was an ecumenicist between Seon and doctrinal traditions and did not absolutize Seon Buddhism over other Buddhist doctrinal and praxis traditions. Even though the activists of Purification Buddhist Movements aimed at revitalizing traditional Korean Seon Buddhism, they ironically tried to remove their Linji Chan lineage, the most authoritative Seon tradition in Sino-Korean Buddhism. So, the decision ignited controversies among Buddhist scholars and Seon masters. Celibate monks only ideologically and politically needed to establish the order's new founder Jinul and differentiated it from the established founder Taego Bou of the order of married monastic side.

In 1964, one year before his death, Ha Dongsan recorded the remodeling of the Beomeo-sa Temple complex. In it, he explained his view on the history of Korean Buddhism, particularly including the history of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. His monastic colleagues, particularly I Cheongdam,¹⁴ of Purification Buddhist Movement and its lay ideologues, I Jongik (1912-1991), also known as I Beobun, and I Bulhwa (d.u.), also known as I Jaeyeol, changed the order's founder from Taego Bou, an extreme Linji Chan sectarian to Jinul, a Seon / Gyo (doctrine) ecumenist.

He also considered Jinul the order's founder and never mentioned Taego Bou in the record. He was an ecumenist and equally evaluated Seon praxis and doctrinal study. He did not hierarchically classify the five major Chan lineages but evaluated them as being equals. Even though he was an ardent Seon practitioner, he was not a part of the sectarianism that Taego Bou inherited from the Dharma lineage of Chinese Linji Chan Buddhism.

As his master Baek Yongseong¹⁵ had done,¹⁶ he also considered that he inherited the sectarian Dharma lineage of Hwanseong Jian (1664-1729),¹⁷ a patriarch of the Korean Imje Seon tradition. He officially inherited the sectarian Dharma lineage of Hwanseong Jian of the Korean Imje Seon tradition through his master Baek Yongseong. Even though his master Baek Yongseong was an Imje Seon sectarian, Ha Dongsan did not loyally follow his master's Imje Seon sectarianism. To the contrary, Ha Dongsan was an ecumenist.

¹⁴ Ibid, 160-161. I Cheongdam lived 1902-1971 CE.

¹⁵ Ibid, 288-289. Baek Yongseong lived 1864-1940. See also Jin-wol Lee, "Master Yongseong's Life and Works: An Engaged Buddhism of Peace and Justice," in Chanju Mun, ed., *Buddhist Exploration of Peace and Justice* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2006), 247-261.

¹⁶ Ha Dongsan, comp., Dongbong, trans., *Yongseong keun seunim eorok: pyeongsang-sim i do ra ireuji malla* (Collection of Seon Master Baek Yongseong's Analects) (Seoul: Bulgwang chulpan-bu, 1993), 101.

¹⁷ I Jeong, ed., 281.

Along with doctrinal study and Seon praxis, Ha Dongsan emphasized the precepts that all Buddhists, both monastics and laypersons, should preserve. He harmonized vinaya, doctrinal study, and Seon praxis. We can see some of this in the record on the remodeling of the Beomeo-sa Temple complex by Ha Dongsan as follows:¹⁸

Seon Buddhism originated from the Buddha's mind and doctrinal Buddhism resulted from the Buddha's teachings. Language is a medium or a means for delivering a truth and a fact. Therefore, outside his doctrinal teachings, the Buddha transmitted his mind to his disciple Mahākāśyapa at three locations.¹⁹ Mahākāśyapa transmitted the teaching on mind to Ānanda. The mind teaching was continuously transmitted to Bodhidharma (c. 470-543), the 28th Dharma successor from the Buddha.

Bodhidharma became the first patriarch in Chinese Chan Buddhism and inherited the mind teaching to Huike (487-493), (the second patriarch of Chinese Chan Buddhism). Sengcan (d. 606 ?), (the 3rd patriarch), succeeded the mind teaching from Huike. Daoxin (580-651), (the 4th patriarch), inherited it from Sengcan. Hongren (601-674), (the 5th patriarch), received it from Daoxin. Huineng (638-713), (the 6th patriarch), transmitted it from Hongren. Five Chan lineages resulted directly from Huineng in Chinese Buddhism. Huineng's Chan Buddhism is likened to one flower and five Chan lineages to the five leaves that come from one flower.

In the reign of King Uijong (1146-1170) of the Goryeo Dynasty (918 - 1392), National Master Bojo Jinul read the *Platform Sūtra of the 6th Patriarch Huineng*, found the mind teaching in it, and considered it as his teacher. His adoption of the text as his teacher marked the beginning of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism.

National Master Bojo Jinul, founder of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, transmitted his mind teaching to his disciple Jingak Hyesim (1178-1234),²⁰ and Gugok Gagun (d.u.)²¹ of late Goryeo Dynasty later inherited the mind-teaching lineage. Byeoksong Jieom (1464-1534)²² continuously inherited the lineage. Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604),²³ generally known as Master Seosan, active in the middle of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), transmitted

¹⁸ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 221-222.

¹⁹ It has generally been known that the Buddha transmitted his mind to his eminent disciple Mahākāśyapa at three venues. At the first transmission location, when a host of disciples assembled to hear the teaching from the Buddha, the Buddha lifted a flower to show his teaching without speaking at Vulture Peak Mountain (Skt., Gḍhrakūṭa). Only his eminent disciple Mahākāśyapa comprehended the profound meaning and smiled. So, he was considered the first Indian patriarch in the Dharma lineage of Chan Buddhism. At the second location, the Buddha shared his seat with his disciple Mahākāśyapa in front of Bahuputraka Pagoda in Vaiśālī. At the third location, the Buddha lifted a leg from the coffin under twin Sara trees in Kuśinagara.

²⁰ I Jeong, ed., 345-346.

²¹ Ibid, 11-12.

²² Ibid, 281-282.

²³ Ibid, 366-167.

the Seon lineage. Pyeongyang Eongi (1581-1644)²⁴ received the lineage from his master Hyujeong. The Korean Seon lineage was succeeded to Hwanseong Jian. The majority of current Korean Buddhist monastics belong to the Dharma lineage of Hwanseong Jian.

How admirable and cheerful the Beomeo-sa Temple was! Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism suffered from Japan and Japanese Buddhism for thirty-six years in the Japanese occupation period, 1910 – 1945. Several years after liberation from Japan in 1945, Korean Buddhists reconstructed the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism and let the Buddha's sun shine over Korean Buddhism splendidly. The recovery of Korean Buddhism from Japanized Buddhism resulted from the power of celibate monks all over the nation. Beomeo-sa, generally known as the great head temple of Seon Buddhism in Korea, totally originated from (Song Gyeongheo, revitalizer of Korean Seon Buddhism in modern times) and O Seongwol (1866-1943).²⁵ (Because of the two masters), Seon centers were established across the nation and many eminent Seon masters appeared.

Beomeo-sa Temple hosted the precept offering ceremonies sixty three times in modern times, taught the Mahāyāna Precepts detailed in the *Brahmā Net Sūtra* to Buddhists, and saved innumerable Buddhists. Wonhyo already predicted the abovementioned, "Because Buddhist teachings would become the sun and the moon in the world and the bright light in the dark night, those could guide Koreans and let them enjoy happiness and fortune."²⁶

Uisang (625-702),²⁷ the holy patriarch, national preceptor, founder of Korean Huayan / Hwaom Buddhism, established Beomeo-sa Temple in (678), the 18th reign year of King Munmu (661-681) of the Silla Kingdom (traditionally dated, 57 BCE – 936 CE). Beomeo-sa Temple became devastated during the Japanese general Toyotomi Hideyoshi's (1536-1598) invasions to Korea in 1592 – 1598. (In 1613)²⁸, Master Myojeon (d.u.) reconstructed the temple complex. Since then, as times passed by for a long time, the gilt of the Buddhist images was off and became miserable. Donors provided some money and coated the gilt of them. The buildings, halls and pavilions of the Beomeo-sa Temple complex were worn away in winds and rains. With our eyes wide open, we could not see the devastated ones. Gim Hyeonok, current mayor of the City of Busan, abbot and secretaries of Beomeo-sa Temple as well as many donors vowed to repair them and presented two millions won. So, we began the repair in August 1963 and finished it in early spring 1964.

When I see the remodeled halls and buildings now, I find even the mountains and rivers shined more splendidly than beforehand. The beautiful

²⁴ Ibid, 179.

²⁵ Ibid, 145-146.

²⁶ Ha Dongsan found a jade stamp from excavated ground at Wonhyo-am Hermitage affiliated to Beomeo-sa Temple. We can identify the sentences included in the jade stamp in the *Huayan Sūtra* in 60 fascicles to which Wonhyo used to refer. Refer to T.9.278.773c8.

²⁷ I Jeong, ed., 225-226.

²⁸ See the entry of "Beomeo-sa" (Beomeo-sa Temple) in I Dongsul, ed., *Hanguk sachal bogam* (Dictionary of Korean Buddhist Temples) (Seoul: Uri chulpan-sa, 1997), 145-146.

remodel resulted from excellent abilities of construction specialists and temple artists. I wish that this repair should cause the Buddha's sun to shine over the Seon praxis and the doctrinal teachings in the world. Who knows the news that the sun that the Buddha showed (two thousand five hundred years ago) in Rājagṛha forever and continuously shines on the world? I hope we can unite two Koreas to a Korea and revitalize our nation. I wish that we should make guns and swords to be disappeared and the world to be peaceful.

As mentioned above, he was an ecumenist between doctrinal Buddhist tradition and Seon Buddhist tradition. He also synthesized the vinaya with two major East Asian praxis traditions, Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism. He thought that the vinaya preservation is prerequisite to the two praxis traditions.²⁹ While keeping the vinaya and acting ethically, some Buddhists should meditate in Seon practice and others should chant the name of one of Buddhist deities based on their capacities and interests. He did not hierarchically classify but equally treated the two traditions but equally treated them.

He introduced the method Seon Buddhists should use in practicing Seon as follows: "(For example), Seon practitioners should investigate a (famous) *kōan* (of Zhaozhou Congshen), "All things are subsumed to one thing. Where should the one thing return?"³⁰ If they keep asking the paradoxical question, they should make doubt increase. They could finally attain enlightenment in the enlarged doubt."³¹ He theoretically interpreted Pure Land Buddhist praxis from the Seon Buddhist perspectives³² and ecumenicized the two major praxis traditions of East Asian Buddhism in the basis of the vinaya preservation as follows.³³

The practitioners of Pure Land Buddhism should refer to the following sayings by Master Lianchi (1535-1615), (generally known as Yunqi Zhuhong), "Whichever deity title, either Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva or Amitābha Buddha, the Pure Land Buddhist practitioners chant, they should (continuously) question who chants the title.³⁴ If they keep questioning, they can finally transcend

²⁹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 122-123.

³⁰ We can easily find the explanations of the Kōan in Chan texts. See T.47.1998A.868b13, T.48.2024.1104a4, X.66.1297.395a6, X.66.1297.395a11, X.66.1297.395a16, X.82.1571.504c6, X.67.299.27a21, X.67.1299.27b1, X.67.1299.27c9, X.82.1571.506c3, X.82.1571.507a14, X.82.1571.558c12-13, X.82.1571.561c5, X.82.1571.564a23, X.84.1579.95a2, X.84.1579.96a14, X.84.1579.99b7, X.84.1579.102b16-17, X.84.1579.112a1, X.84.1579.114b11-12, X.84.1579.115c8, X.84.1579.118a11, X.88.1646.288b17, X.84.1583.535c1, X.84.1583.535c6, X.84.1583.536a18-19, and others.

³¹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 123.

³² X.1.5.77c23.

³³ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 123.

³⁴ X.66.1297.400b1.

languages and thoughts and illuminate purple golden lights.³⁵ Because the practitioners question about who chants, Buddhists generally consider Pure Land Buddhism as an easier praxis than Seon Buddhism. As I, (Ha Dongsan), explained today, if they keep the precepts while chanting, they are definitely subject to get enlightenment.

He incorporated in his ecumenical philosophy Jinul's ecumenism between Seon Buddhism and Hwaem Buddhism, one of the most representative doctrinal traditions in East Asian Buddhism. Jinul succeeded Guifeng Zongmi's (780-841) Chan / Huayan integration. Ha Dongsan loyally inherited Zongmi's ecumenism through Korean ecumenist Jinul. Both of them, along with their earlier ecumenist Wonhyo of Sino-Korean Buddhism, tremendously influenced the formation of traditional Korean ecumenism between doctrinal (mostly Huayan) tradition and Chan Buddhism. Therefore, Korean Buddhism is generally categorized as ecumenical Buddhism.

1. Guifeng Zongmi (780-841)

Zongmi³⁶ synthesized the Chan and doctrinal traditions.³⁷ He studied Chan Buddhism under the Heze Chan Sect at first and studied Huayan Buddhism later. Because he was personally affiliated with both the Heze Sect of practical Chan Buddhism and the doctrinal tradition of Huayan Buddhism, he felt a strong need to harmonize Chan and doctrinal Buddhism in his classification system. Based on earlier sectarian doctrinal classifications of Huayan Buddhism in which the Huayan doctrinal classifiers placed the Huayan teaching in the highest position,³⁸ he hierarchically correlated each Chan sect to each doctrinal tradition. He was a synthesizer of practical Chan sects and doctrinal Buddhist traditions. Even so, because he was basically a sectarian classifier, he hierarchically classified doctrinal traditions and Chan sects and located Heze Chan as the highest Chan tradition over other Chan lineages and Huayan Buddhism as the highest doctrinal teaching over other doctrinal traditions.

³⁵ This author roughly identified the very similar sentences in Lianchi Zhuhong's edited major text for his Chan / Pure Land Synthesis, *Changuan cejin* (Outline of Chan Buddhism), T.48.2024.1102b18-24, T.48.2024.1104b6-12, T.48.2024.1104b20-24, T.48.2024.1104c2-7, and T.48.2024.1104c16-21.

³⁶ Peter N. Gregory comprehensively discussed Guifeng Zongmi in his *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

³⁷ *Chan Preface*, T.48.2015.399c2-22.

³⁸ See Huayan Buddhist sectarian doctrinal classifications, i.e., "Chapter 22 Zhiyan's *panjiao* systems" (247-269), "Chapter 24 Uisang's (625-702) *panjiao* systems" (297-299), and "Part 4 Fazang's (643-712) *panjiao* systems" (315-403), in Chanju Mun, *The History of Doctrinal Classification in Chinese Buddhism: A Study of the Panjiao Systems* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2006).

Zongmi and Jinul³⁹ were tremendously influential in the history of Korean Buddhism. Jinul was generally considered to be the actual founder of even the current Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, the largest sect in Korean Buddhism. We can trace the doctrinal and praxis foundation of Korean Buddhism back to Jinul and Zongmi. Because Jinul highly evaluated Zongmi and accepted his ecumenism correlating doctrinal traditions and Chan lineages, Korean Buddhists have heavily relied on Zongmi's views. The traditional monastic seminaries of Korean Buddhism have adopted the majority of their textbooks from the works related to both of them.⁴⁰ Korean Buddhists have transmitted a strong heritage of ecumenism from both masters.

When Zongmi was active, Chan Buddhists criticized the doctrinal traditions and scholars opposed the Chan sects. Zongmi contended that while the Buddha taught the sudden teaching and the gradual teaching, Chan Buddhism established the gradual gate and the sudden gate, so we can match the two different teachings of the doctrinal tradition and the two different gates of the Chan Buddhism. Even so, it was generally believed that Buddhist scholars simply explicated the gradual teaching and Chan masters only concentrated on the sudden gate. So, both sides remained at odds with the other and denigrated the other's views.

He followed the doctrinal classification system of the two teachings, i.e., the sudden teaching and the gradual teaching that even early doctrinal classifiers of the Southern and Northern Dynasties (386-589) adopted.⁴¹ For example, Huiguan (d. 453) divided the Buddha's teachings into two groups, i.e., the sudden teaching and the gradual teaching, and he furthermore classified the gradual teaching into five periods of teachings.⁴² The sudden teaching is the teaching of the *Huayan Sūtra* and the gradual teaching is the five periods of teachings, namely, (1) the Hīnayāna teaching, (2) the Mādhyamika teaching, (3) the teaching of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, (4) the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*, and (5) the teaching of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. Huiguan's doctrinal classification was tremendously influential in later doctrinal classifications. Before Huiguan, Dharmakīrti (385-433) also devised the *panjiao* (doctrinal classification) system of these same two teachings.⁴³ Most of those who formulated doctrinal

³⁹ Hee-sung Keel, *Chinul: The Founder of the Korean Sŏn Tradition*, Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, No. 6 (Berkeley, California: University of California, 1984).

⁴⁰ Refer to I Jigwan's (b. 1932) book entitled *Hanguk bulgyo soi gyeongjeon yeongu* (Researches on Authoritative Scriptures in Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo seongnim-hoe, 1969).

⁴¹ Chanju Mun comprehensively discussed doctrinal classifications in the Southern and Northern Dynasties in his book, 1-101.

⁴² See "Chapter 5 Huiguan's (d. 453) *panjiao* systems," in Chanju Mun, 29-35.

⁴³ See "Chapter 4 Dharmakīrti's (385-433) *panjiao* systems," in Chanju Mun, 25-28.

classification systems differed in their discussion of the gradual and sudden teachings depending upon the context.⁴⁴

Chan Buddhists divided their own tradition into two gates, i.e., the sudden gate and the gradual gate and assigned the sudden gate to the Southern Chan Sect and the gradual gate to the Northern Chan Sect. The Southern tradition advocated sudden enlightenment and the Northern tradition gradual enlightenment. Both traditions were quite sectarian and were antagonistic toward one another. Zongmi suggested to Buddhists that they harmonize the three types of learning such as vinaya, meditation and wisdom and to synthesize gradual enlightenment and sudden enlightenment.⁴⁵

Zongmi asserted, “If Chan masters do not have the doctrinal or scriptural support, they will practice Chan meditation in a foolish way. If scholars do not practice meditation and do not cultivate their minds, they will have crazy wisdom. However, because we can discern (the true meaning of) all Buddhist teachings through completely comprehending our own minds, we can sincerely desire to search for the tradition that reveals the Buddha’s mind, i.e., the Chan tradition. Because we comprehend the meaning of cultivating the mind through thoroughly understanding all Buddhist teachings, we should earnestly study the doctrinal meanings. The Buddhist teachings constitute scriptures and commentaries that Buddhas and Bodhisattvas left behind. The Chan texts are composed of phrases written by a myriad of Chan masters. Because the Buddhist scriptures are extensive and comprehensive, they cover all beings throughout the whole world, of course, including the eight groups of protectors, i.e., heavenly beings (*divaukas*), dragons (*nāga*), *yak*as, *gandharavas*, angry or jealous gods (*asura*), mythical birds (*garu*a), dancing gods (*ki*nara), and snake gods (*mahoraga*). Because the Chan texts are concise and outlined, they cover a few special practitioners who seek enlightenment. If we deliver (teachings on) various topics to them, they seem to be disorganized. Chan texts simplify the topics for the readers.”⁴⁶

Zongmi’s historical examination revealed that the Chan traditions and the doctrinal traditions are not contradictory, need not to be confrontational, but are instead supplementary and should be supportive one another as the following quote attests:⁴⁷

The founder of all Buddhist sects is Śākyamuni Buddha. The scriptures originate from the Buddha’s sayings and the Chan texts from the Buddha’s intentions. The Buddha’s sayings and intentions should be identical, not contradictory. All patriarchs directly transmitted (the Buddha’s sayings and intentions). When Bodhisattvas composed the commentaries on the scriptures, from the beginning to the end, they simply extended the Buddha’s scriptures.

⁴⁴ Refer to Chanju Mun’s book.

⁴⁵ T.48.2015.399c8.

⁴⁶ T.48.2015.399c16-22.

⁴⁷ T.48.2015.400b10-28.

The patriarchs from (the first patriarch) Mahākāśyapa to (the fourth patriarch) Upagupta transmitted all three collections in the Buddhist canon, i.e., scriptures, vinaya, and commentaries, without exclusion. Because monks began to dispute each other, the vinaya and scriptures became separated since the time of (the fifth patriarch) Dhīrtika of Indian Chan Buddhism. When Buddhism was transmitted to Kashmir, a king persecuted Buddhism. At the time, scriptures and commentaries became divided. During the interval, two patriarchs Āśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna wrote commentaries and interpreted scriptures in ten million verses, observed customs and educated sentient beings. Even though they did not have fixed rules, scholars did not criticize meditators and meditators did not oppose scholars. Bodhidharma received (Buddhist) teachings in India and arrived in China. Because he knew that Chinese Buddhists did not understand the teachings, he taught them with rules (names and numbers) and cultivated them with phenomena. Because he wanted to let them know the moon, not the pointing finger, and to understand that the Buddha's teachings are identical to their own minds, (Chan patriarchs) transmitted (Buddhism) from mind to mind but did not rely on languages.⁴⁸ Because they (wanted) to reveal Chan's main tenets and to remove attachment, they told this phrase. We cannot explicate liberation without relying on languages. Those who understood their intentions often praised the *Diamond Sūtra* and the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* and taught that the two scriptures clearly outlined the essence of their own minds (in the early history of Chinese Chan Buddhism). Because nowadays Buddhist monks did not know the origin of all existence, while Chan practitioners considered scriptures and commentaries as having unorthodox doctrinal tenets, monk-scholars regarded Chan Buddhism as being an unauthentic praxis. When they heard that someone discuss causes and effects, or cultivation and enlightenment, they categorized the discussion into (one or another) doctrinal tradition but did not know that cultivation and enlightenment are the central issues of Chan Buddhism. When they heard that this mind is exactly identical to the Buddha as it is, they categorized this view into the Chan tradition but did not know that (the cultivation of) mind and (the achievement of) Buddhahood are exactly the central intentions of (all) Buddhist scriptures and commentaries. ... If we cannot relate conventional Buddhist texts and absolute Buddhist ones to shallow Chan tenets and deep Chan ones respectively, how can we illuminate the mind with doctrine and interpret doctrine with the mind?

In the mid-Tang period, Chan Buddhism experienced its first major split into the Southern Sect and the Northern Sect and was divided into a myriad of

⁴⁸ The statement that "(Chan patriarchs) transmitted (Buddhism) from mind to mind but did not rely on languages" became the central Chan tenet. The tenet has been accepted generally among Chan Buddhists. The statement is a stereotyped cliché in Chan Buddhist texts. Kamata Shigeo contended that the stereotyped Chan phrase was formed between late 8th century and early 9th century. See Kamata Shigeo, trans., *Zengen shosenshū tojo* (Chn., *Chanyuan zhuchuan-ji duxu*) (The Preface to the *Collected Writings on the Source of Chan*), Zen no goroku (Chan Analects), vol. 9 (Tokyo: Chukuma shobō, 1971), 47.

sub-divisions.⁴⁹ Zongmi categorized various Chan sub-families in ten major Chan families. Those are (1) Mazu Daoyi's (709-788) Hongzhou Sect,⁵⁰ (2) Heze Shenhui's (670-762) Heze Sect,⁵¹ (3) Datong Shenxiu's (? 605-706) Northern Chan Sect,⁵² (4) Zhixian's (609-702) Jingzhong Sect,⁵³ (5) Niutou Farong's (594-657) Niutou Sect,⁵⁴ (6) Shitou Xiqian's (700-790) lineage,⁵⁵ (7) Baotang Wuzhu's (714-774) Baotang Sect,⁵⁶ (8) Guogen Xuanshi's (d.u.) Southern Mountain Pure Land Chan Sect,⁵⁷ (9) the lineage of Huitiao (d.u.)⁵⁸ and Gu $\frac{1}{2}$ abhadra (d.u.),⁵⁹ and (10) the Tiantai Sect.⁶⁰

Zongmi slightly revised and adopted the doctrinal classification of four tenets that Xianshou Fazang (643-712), the actual systematizer of Huayan philosophy, devised in his commentaries and works on Tathāgatagarbha thought later.⁶¹ According to Fazang's four tenets, (1) the first tenet is the Hīnayāna teaching in the Āgamas and the Abhidharma texts, (2) the second is the teaching in the wisdom scriptures, three Mādhyamika treatises, and other texts, (3) the third is the teaching in the *Saḍdhinirmocana Sūtra*, the Yogācāra treatises, and other texts, and (4) the fourth is the teaching in the scriptures such as the *Lāḥkāvatāra Sūtra*, the *Ghanavyūha Sūtra*, and the treatises such as the

⁴⁹ T.48.2015.400b29.

⁵⁰ Mazu Daoyi (709-788) was a disciple of Nanyue Huairang (677-744), the direct disciple of the 6th Chinese Chan patriarch Huineng (638-713). Zongmi described him as a disciple of Jingzhong-si Temple Wuxiang (Kor., Musang, 680-756), a Korean Chan master and the founder of Jingzhong Sect. Before learning Chan from Nanyue Huairang, he studied Chan from Jingzhong Sect's Wuxiang.

⁵¹ Heze Shenhui (670-762) was a disciple of the 6th Chan patriarch Huineng and a serious critic to Datong Shenxiu (? 605-706), the founder of Northern Chan Sect.

⁵² Datong Shenxiu was a disciple of the 5th Chan patriarch Hongren (601-674). He was influential in two capitals Chang'an and Luoyang of the Tang Dynasty.

⁵³ Zhixian (609-702) in the first studied Buddhism from Yogācāra Master Xuanzang (609-703) and later became the disciple of the 5th Chan patriarch Hongren.

⁵⁴ Niutou Farong (594-657) became a monk under a Chinese Mādhyamika master and meditated on Mt. Niutou. His Chan is a practical development of Chinese Mādhyamika Buddhism.

⁵⁵ Shitou Xiqian (700-790) was a disciple of Qingyuan Xingsi (660-740), the direct disciple of the 6th Chan patriarch Huineng. Caodong Sect (Jpn., Sōtō Zen) originated from Shitou Xiqian.

⁵⁶ Baotang Wuzhu (714-774) was a disciple of Musang. He established Baodang Sect against his master's Jingzhong Sect.

⁵⁷ Guogen Xuanshi (d.u.) was a disciple of the 5th Chan patriarch Hongren.

⁵⁸ Huitiao, also known as Sengtiao, was a disciple of Buddhahadra active in the Northern Wei Dynasty (386-534).

⁵⁹ Gu $\frac{1}{2}$ abhadra translated the *Lāḥkāvatāra Sūtra* in four fascicles into Chinese. He also was a disciple of Buddhahadra.

⁶⁰ Zongmi considered the Tiantai Sect as a Chan sect.

⁶¹ For the doctrinal classification of four tenets that Xianshou Fazang devised in his later period, see "Chapter 30 Four tenets" in Chanju Mun, 395-403.

Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna, the Ratnagotravibhāga-mahāyānottaratantra-śāstra.

(1) The first tenet is the teaching that is stuck into the phenomenal characteristics in accordance with the phenomena; (2) the second tenet is the teaching that reveals the principle by subsuming the phenomena; (3) the third tenet is the teaching that produces the differences of the phenomena based upon the principle; and (4) the fourth tenet is the teaching that the principle and the phenomena are in complete harmony without obstructions. In the fourth tenet, when the *tathāgatagarbha* is conditioned, it forms the storehouse consciousness (Skt., *ālaya-vijñāna*). In this case, the principle penetrates the phenomena. Because the phenomena have dependent nature, dependent origination and non-substance are identical with suchness and they penetrate the principle.

Slightly revising Fazang's doctrinal classification of four tenets, Zongmi switched the second tenet with the third tenet in his *panjiao* system and hierarchically arranged four teachings, (1) the Hīnayāna teaching, (2) the Yogācāra teaching, (3) the Mādhyamika teaching, and (4) the Tathāgatagarbha teaching.⁶² Of the ten Chan families, he pointed out four major Chan sects, specifically the Northern, Niutou, Hongzhou and Heze sects.⁶³ Because the Hīnayāna teaching did not have any corresponding Chan sect, he in the beginning assigned the Northern Chan Sect to the 2nd Yogācāra teaching.⁶⁴ He matched the Niutou Chan Sect to the 3rd Mādhyamika teaching⁶⁵ and correlated the Hongzhou Chan Sect and the Heze Chan Sect to the 4th Tathāgatagarbha teaching.⁶⁶ In discussing the Hongzhou and Heze sects, he argued that both sects found their doctrinal support in the Tathāgatagarbha teaching, and classified the Heze Sect over the Hongzhou Sect.⁶⁷ The contemporary Southern Chan Sect's sectarian antagonism toward the Northern Chan Sect might have caused Zongmi to switch the second and third tenets of Fazang's four tenets in his doctrinal classification system.

Even though Zongmi hierarchically classified these four Chan sects and four doctrinal teachings, he accepted that all doctrinal teachings and Chan sects originated from the Buddha himself. He believed that those teachings and Chan sects were actually different developments of the Buddha's (non-discriminated) one taste (based on the capacity of the audience and Chan practitioners).⁶⁸ He accepted the metaphor of one taste from Tiantai Zhiyi's (538-597) doctrinal classification system and explained the four teachings and four Chan sects in his doctrinal / Chan classifications in the same light.⁶⁹

⁶² T.48.2015.402b15-21.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ T.48.2015.403c14-404a7.

⁶⁵ T.48.2015.404a24-b26.

⁶⁶ T.48.2015.404b26-405a26.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ T.48.2015.402b16-21.

⁶⁹ T.48.2015.398c2, T.48.2015.402b16-21, and T.48.2015.407a28-b12.

Zhiyi adopted the theory of one taste from a metaphor of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*⁷⁰ and explained the Buddha's five teachings in the form of five tastes.⁷¹ According to this metaphor, the taste of raw milk moves from the coarsest up to the finest and makes five different tastes based upon the manufacturing process of the raw milk. Zhiyi assigned (1) the taste of raw milk to the *Huayan Sūtra*, (2) the taste of whey to the *āgama* scriptures, (3) the taste of the premature dairy product to the *vaipulya* scriptures, (4) the taste of the mature dairy product to the wisdom scriptures, and (5) the final taste of *ma^{1/2} cream* to the *Lotus* and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtras*. Being influenced from Zhiyi's "one taste" theory, Zongmi explained the unity of three Chan sects and three doctrinal teachings as follows:⁷²

Even though the Buddha divided and taught his teachings, he did not confuse the audience. Three doctrinal teachings, (first, the Yogācāra teaching, second, the Mādhyamika teaching and third, the Tathāgatagarbha teaching), and three Chan tenets, (first, the Northern Chan Sect, second, the Niutou Chan Sect and the third comprising the Hongzhou Chan Sect and the Heze Chan Sect), are different developments of (the Buddha's) one taste. Therefore, after correlating three Chan tenets with three Buddhist teachings in the beginning, we should completely forget the differences between the Chan traditions and the doctrinal teachings and should not be confused by the disparities between the Buddha's mind and (the Buddha's) sayings. If we do not attach ourselves to the disparities, we all are the Buddha in each thought. If we do not have each thought, we cannot have the Buddha's mind. If we forget the differences, we all find the Chan tenets in each phrase. If we do not have each phrase, we cannot have the Chan teachings. If so, even though we accidentally listen to the 2nd Mādhyamika teaching, we know how to remove the ego-centric thoughts and attachments (in the 2nd Niutou Chan Sect). Even though we accidentally hear the 1st Yogācāra teaching, we know how to dispel our perfumed defilements (in the 1st Northern Chan Sect). If we remove ego-centric attachments and reveal our true nature, the 2nd Niutou Chan Sect becomes the 3rd Nature-revealing Chan Sect. If the perfumed defilements are eliminated and Buddhahood is accomplished, the cultivation of mind is the practice of obtaining Buddhahood. Sudden enlightenment and gradual enlightenment, emptiness and existence are not contradictory at all. Heze (Shenhui) and Mazu Daoyi, Huineng and Shenzhi are not in conflict at all. If we synthesize both sides as above, whenever we explain any teaching, the teaching is always the most accurate prescription and whenever we let other people explicate any teaching, the teaching is always the most adequate medicine. If someone is sick, a doctor provides medicine. Likewise, if someone is attached, a (Buddhist) teacher removes attachment. So, a previous eminent master stated, "If we are attached, each character would be

⁷⁰ T.12.375.691a1-10.

⁷¹ Chanju Mun concretely discussed the correlation between five teachings and five tastes in "5 Five Periods and Five Tastes" (pp. 148-151) of "Chapter 16 Zhiyi's (538-597) *panjiao* systems" (pp. 123-168), in his aforementioned book.

⁷² T.48.2015.407a28-b12.

problematic in the Buddhist teachings. If we understand (the Buddhist teachings), each sentence would be the best medicine.⁷³ (In the above quote, the ancient master) emphasized that we should comprehend that these three Chan tenets are not contradictory.

2. Wonhyo (617-686) and Yongming Yanshou (904-975)

Ha Dongsan was indebted to the two Chinese Buddhist ecumenists Yanshou (904-975) and Zhuhong for his vinaya thought and Chan / Pure Land ecumenism. He referred to their ecumenical thoughts and ecumenized two major practical traditions of Sino-Korean Buddhism, Chan and Pure Land Buddhism. He also incorporated their thoughts on vinaya in his system of thoughts as a representative vinaya master of modern Korean Buddhism. He also loyally inherited ecumenical thoughts from his preceding Wonhyo, Heze Shenhui, Qingliang Chengguan (738-839), Zongmi, Daegak Uicheon (1055-1101),⁷⁴ Jinul, and Hyujeong (1520-1604) in the Sino-Korean Buddhist context.

Yanshou was generally considered as the sixth patriarch of Pure Land Buddhism and the third patriarch of the Fayan Sect of Chan Buddhism.⁷⁵ He was a disciple and Dharma successor of Tiantai Deshao (891-972), a Dharma successor of Fayan Wenyi (885-958). He and his grand master Fayan Wenyi as well as Chengguan and Zongmi harmonized Chan Buddhism with doctrinal Buddhist traditions. Yanshou respected and commented on the famous Korean Buddhist ecumenist Wonhyo (617-686) as follows:⁷⁶

His (Wonhyo's) profound wisdom brightly shines
like the illuminating sun and moon,
his enlightenment prevailed all over the world.
He realized the Buddha's correct doctrines,
He understood the mystery of suchness

⁷³ I could not identify the sentence in the Buddhist texts. Yanshou also did not identify the previous eminent master and cited the sentence in his *Zongjing lu*, T.48.2016.617a18. Yanshou tremendously referred to Zongmi and his ecumenism between Chan and doctrinal Buddhism and loyally succeeded his syncreticism between Buddhism and other Chinese native religions such as Daoism and Confucianism and ecumenism between Buddhist traditions.

⁷⁴ I Jeong, ed., 230-231.

⁷⁵ See the entry of "Yongming Yanshou" in *Foguang dacidian* (Foguang Dictionary of Buddhism), supervised by Master Xingyun and edited by Ven. Ciyi, 5th edition (Kaohsiung, Taiwan: Foguang chupan-she, 1989), 5473. You can also use the digital version at <http://sql.fgs.org.tw/webfbd/index.htm>.

⁷⁶ See Jo Myeonggi, *Silla bulgyo ui inyeom gwa yeoksa* (The Ideologies and History of Korean Buddhism in Silla) (Seoul: Sintaeyang-sa, 1962), 238. Unfortunately I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist texts.

(the ultimate reality).
Therefore, Wonhyo attained great enlightenment.

Wonhyo was the most comprehensive ecumenist between doctrinal traditions in the history of Sino-Korean Buddhism and harmonized all Buddhist doctrines available in his time. When he was active, practical Chan Buddhism was not popular. He inherited the ecumenical doctrinal classifications of previous doctrinal classifiers such as Kumārajīva (344-412), Sengrui (352-436), Bodhiruci (d. 527), Huiyuan (523-597), and Jizang (549-623) and completed his own ecumenical doctrinal classification.⁷⁷

Yanshou also introduced and positively evaluated Wonhyo along with another Korean Buddhist master Uisang, considered the founder of Korean Huayan Buddhism, in the 11th fascicle of his *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects (Zongjing lu)*⁷⁸ as follows:⁷⁹

In ancient times, there were (two famous) Buddhist masters Wonhyo and Uisang in Korea. Both of them tried to visit and seek a master in Tang China. (On the way to China from their home nation of Silla and just before arriving at the port from which they were supposed to leave for China), because they should accidentally sleep in the open air, they moved and slept in a grave. Because master Wonhyo was thirsty, he searched for water. He finally found out a lot of water near his left side. He drank them very deliciously. However, when he got up in the next morning, he realized that the water was the decayed water coming from a corpse. At the time, he was disgusted and felt to vomit out. (However), he suddenly obtained great enlightenment and said, “I heard the Buddha’s teaching, “The threefold world⁸⁰ is (formulated from) mind-only and all elements of existence are (originated from) consciousness-only.⁸¹”

⁷⁷ Refer to the chapters such as “Ch. 1 Kumārajīva’s *panjiao* systems” (pp. 9-16), “Ch. 2 Sengrui’s *panjiao* systems” (pp. 17-20), “Ch. 6 Bodhiruci’s *panjiao* systems” (pp. 49-61), “Ch. 15 Huiyuan’s *panjiao* systems” (pp. 115-122), “Ch. 18 Jizang’s *panjiao* systems” (pp. 173-219), and “Ch. 23 Wonhyo’s *panjiao* systems” (pp. 271-296) in Chanju Mun’s book.

⁷⁸ See the entry of “*Zongjing lu*” in the *Foguang Dictionary of Buddhism*, 3169.

⁷⁹ T.48.2016.477a22-28.

⁸⁰ The threefold world constitutes (1) the world of desire, (2) the world of form, and (3) the world of formlessness.

⁸¹ The statement indicates the central tenet for Wonhyo. It was also seen in many texts, T.37.1762.374c13, T.47.1988.546a26, T.47.1991.588b9, T.47.1991.591a11, T.48.2004.269b19, T.48.2016.426b7, T.50.2061.729a15, T.52.2113.601a12, X.18.334.114a9, X.25.505.855b19, X.26.573.950a14, X.30.603.409c18, X.35.652.305c22-23, X.44.740.296b20, X.51.823.145a5, X.55.896.439a5, X.63.1239.228c20, X.63.1256.753c24, X.64.1260.240c23, X.64.1263.515b22, X.72.1432.199a23, X.73.1456.486a13, X.73.1456.640a18, X.73.1456.766c3, X.73.1456.767b19, X.73.1456.769b23-24, X.78.1553.471a18, X.79.1559.292a22, X.79.1560.511b16-17, X.79.1560.516b8-9, X.81.1571.642b4-5, X.84.1580.314a15, X.84.1583.415b5, X.85.1593.451b1, X.85.1593.452a18, X.85.1593.469b16, X.85.1593.478a13, X.87.1626.343a14, and other texts.

Therefore, (I could) realize that the sets of opposing terms such as good and evil, (right and wrong, virtue and vice, and goodness and badness) originate from myself, (not from external objects) and the water is substantially not existent.” He finally returned to and extensively propagated the higher teaching in his home nation.

Yanshou inherited the ecumenical lineage in Sino-Korean Buddhism, of course, including Wonhyo.⁸² While Wonhyo harmonized only the doctrinal traditions, Yanshou extended the harmonization between the doctrinal traditions, ecumenized the doctrinal traditions and the practical traditions such as Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism, and syncretized Buddhism and native Chinese religions. Yanshou synthesized the two major practical traditions, Pure Land Buddhism and Chan Buddhism of the Sino-Korean Buddhist tradition. He harmonized the two practical traditions and such major doctrinal traditions as Tiantai Buddhism and Huayan Buddhism.

He ecumenically convened the specialists in three sects of Chinese Buddhism such as Faxiang Sect (Chinese Yogācāra Buddhism), Huayan Sect and Tiantai Sect and edited and published his huge *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects* in 100 fascicles in 961. He included in the text the 60 Mahāyāna Buddhist texts and the 300 works by Indian and Chinese Buddhist masters affiliated to different traditions. He intended to harmonize opposing sects available in his contemporary times in the text. King Gwangjong (r. 949-975) was impressed from the text, sent 36 Korean monks to China and let them study Buddhism under him.⁸³ They imported and popularized his ecumenical Fayan Sect in Korean Buddhism.⁸⁴ The main theme of the text was to ecumenize Chan Buddhism with doctrinal Buddhist traditions.

He authored more than 60 books including *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?* (*Wanshan tonggui ji*) in three fascicles⁸⁵ and *Secrets on Mind-only* (*Weixin jue*) in one fascicle.⁸⁶ He theoretically generalized the fundamental principles for ecumenizing different tenets in the opening statements⁸⁷ just before the main discourse of the Question and Answer sections in the *Collection of 114*

⁸² Young-bong Oh, *Wonhyo's Theory of Harmonization* (Seoul; Hongbeop-won, 1989), 401-404.

⁸³ T.51.2076.422a13-17.

⁸⁴ See the entry of “Enjū” (Chn., Yanshou) in (Komazawa daigaku) Zengaku daijiten hensansho (Center for Publishing *Dictionary of Zen Studies*), ed., *Zengaku daijiten* (*Dictionary of Zen Studies*), 3 vols (Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 1978), vol. 1, 111d-112a.

⁸⁵ T.48.2017.957b19- 993c8. See the entry of “*Wanshan tonggui ji*” in *Foguang Dictionary of Buddhism*, 5544.

⁸⁶ T.48.2018.993c11-998a14. See the entry of “*Weixin jue*” (*Secrets on Mind-only*) in *Foguang Dictionary of Buddhism*, 2013.

⁸⁷ T.48.2017.958a23-c3.

Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?. He outlined the tenets at the outset of the text as the following attests.⁸⁸

Generally, the subsumption of all goods to one source is the real characteristics (such as suchness, nature, essence, Nirvāṇa and others) of this teaching. Figuratively speaking, empty space includes all phenomena and the ground generates (all things).

Therefore, if this principle is applicable, the rest of all virtues possess the principle. The real nature of (One Mind) does not cause the ultimate truth to move but always generates all behaviors. It does not destroy conditioned origination but always causes the Dharma realm to manifest.

(The real nature of One Mind) causes the calm (truth) to function without obstruction and makes the secular truth not to obstruct the true one. Because it makes being and nonbeing equally be observable and completely be equal, we can say that only the mind creates all things.

Therefore, (Buddhists) should extensively practice six perfections and all actions. They should not preserve foolishness and while idly sitting, they should not obstruct true practice.

Just as Wonhyo harmonized all doctrines in his writings depending on the teaching of One Mind explicated in the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*, Yanshou harmonized all doctrines and furthermore all practices based on the teaching of One Mind in his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*. Wonhyo commented and authored on the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* and many Tathāgatagarbha texts most extensively than other textual and subject categories such as the wisdom texts, the Huayan texts, the Lotus texts, and other textual categories,⁸⁹ and published 23 works on them from his ecumenical perspectives.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ T.48.2017.958a23-27.

⁸⁹ Young-bong Oh discussed Wonhyo's 119 missed and extant works in his book, 250-272. He classified those 119 works in the 16 textual and subject categories. The sixteen textual and subject categories on which Wonhyo worked are the categories of (1) the wisdom texts, (2) the Lotus texts, (3) the Huayan texts, (4) the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, (5) the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra*, (6) the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*, (7) the *Pratyutpanna-samādhi Sūtra*, (8) the *Satyasiddhi Śāstra*, (9) the *Mādhyamika* texts, (10) the *Yogācāra* texts, (11) the Buddhist logical texts, (12) the Tathāgatagarbha texts, (13) the Pure Land texts, (14) the Vinaya texts, (15) the Abhidharma Buddhist texts, and (16) the topic of harmonization.

⁹⁰ Young-bong Oh enlisted Wonhyo's 23 works on the Tathāgatagarbha texts and thought in his book, 263-265. The 23 works are (1) the missed *Bujeung bulgam gyeongso* (Commentary on the *Sūtra of No Increase and No Decrease*) in one fascicle, (2) the missed *Seungman gyeongso* (Commentary on the *Queen Śrīmālādevi-siṃhanāda Sūtra*) in four fascicles, (3) the missed *Boseong-non yogan* (Explanation of the *Ratnagotravibhāga-mahāyānottarātmata-śāstra*) in one fascicle, (4) the missed *Boseong-non jongyo* (Essentials of the *Ratnagotravibhāga-mahāyānottarātmata-śāstra*) in one fascicle, (5) the missed *Boseong-non gwamun* (Lessons from the *Ratnagotravibhāga-*

Yanshou adopted the Huayan philosophy and theoretically harmonized all Buddhist traditions, doctrinal and practical. Huayan philosophy indicates limitless non-obstructive relations between many sets of two opposing concepts.⁹¹ Those are principle and phenomena, essence and functions, identity and difference, generality and particularity, nature and characteristics, equality and inequality, causes and effects, the conventional truth and the ultimate truth, the final teachings and the provisional teachings, individuality and generality, the one and the many, formation and destruction, the hidden and the manifest, going and coming, activity and tranquility, matter and emptiness, the big and the small, the far and the near, the true and the false, the original and the derivative, the secular and the holy, the pure and the mixed, the instant and the permanent, the unrestricted and the restricted, expansion and contraction, and other sets.

He adopted the Huayan philosophy of the limitless relations between principle and phenomena and considered it as the theoretical foundation of the ecumenism between all Buddhist traditions,⁹² appending the lengthy textual evidences from the *Huayan Sūtra* and the commentary on the cited text by Chengguan.⁹³ He explained his own theory of ecumenism as follows:⁹⁴

mahāyānottaratnatra-śāstra) in one fascicle, (6) the missed *Neungga gyeongso* (Commentary on the *La-kāvatāra Sūtra*) in eight fascicles, (7) the missed *Ip neungga gyeongso* (Commentary on the *Entering of the La-kāvatāra Sūtra*) in eight fascicles, (8) the missed *Neungga gyeong jongyo* (Essentials of the *La-kāvatāra Sūtra*) in one fascicle, (9) the missed *Neungga gyeong yogan* (Explanation of the *La-kāvatāra Sūtra*) in one fascicle, (10) the missed *Neungga gyeong yoron* (Treatises on the *Essentials of the La-kāvatāra Sūtra*) in one fascicle, (11) the extant *Gisin nonso* (Commentary on the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*) in two fascicles, (12) the missed *Gisinnon jongyo* (Essentials of the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*) in one fascicle, (13) the extant *Gisinnon byeolgi* (Expository Notes on the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*) in one fascicle, (14) the missed *Gisinnon daegi* (General Notes on the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*) in one fascicle, (15) the missed *Gisinnon yogan* (Explanation on the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*) in one fascicle, (16) the missed *Gisinnon sagi* (Personal Notes on the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*) in one fascicle, (17) the missed *Gisinnon ildo-jang* (Essay on the Path of the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*) in one fascicle, (18) the missed *Gisinnon ijang-jang* (Essay on the Two Hindrances of the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*) in one fascicle, (19) the extant *Ijang-yi* (Meaning of the Two Hindrances) in one fascicle, (20) the extant *Geumgang sammae gyeong seo* (Preface to the *Vajrasamādhi Sūtra*), (21) the extant *Geumgang sammae gyeongnon* (Commentary on the *Vajrasamādhi Sūtra*) in three fascicles, (22) the missed *Geumgang sammae gyeongnon so* (Commentary on the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra-śāstra*), and (23) the missed *Geumgang sammae gyeong sagi* (Personal Notes of the *Vajrasamādhi Sūtra*).

⁹¹ Refer to “Ch. 25 The One-and-All Philosophy: Fa-tsang of the Hua-yen School” in Wing-tsit Chan, trans. and comp., *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), 406-424 and “The Flower Garland School,” William Theodore de Bary, ed., *The Buddhist Tradition in India, China and Japan* (New York: A Vintage Book, 1972), 166-196.

⁹² T.48.2017.958a28-c3.

⁹³ T.48.2017.958b18-c3.

If we equally treat all actions and (doctrines), we should finally rely on principle and phenomena. If principle and phenomena are not obstructed, the Dao (enlightenment) is placed in unobstructed relations between principle and phenomena. When subject and object are mutually beneficial, we can generate the compassion of considering other beings exactly as ourselves, apply it from the beginning to the end, and finally make the limitless kinds of action.

If we discuss principle and phenomena, we cannot easily comprehend the profound meanings of them. If we reason them in detail, those principle and phenomena are neither identical nor different. Therefore, the principle of the real nature and the phenomena of the untrue emptiness mutually function and penetrate, simultaneously unfold and fold. Even though essence prevails over all things without discrimination, if we discuss subject and object, those seem to be different.

When phenomena originate, they depend on principle but do not hide it. When principle is produced, it depends on phenomena but does not destroy them. Even though (principle and phenomena) are mutually supportive, they do not lose their identities at all. Even though they are mutually inclusive, they are not substantially existent. The manifested and the hidden are mutually generated, and equally appear without obstruction.

Even though principle and phenomena mutually negate and deprive, they are neither existent nor non-existent. Even though they mutually affirm and form, they are neither permanent nor non-permanent. Therefore, if we remove the aspect of phenomena and seek the aspect of principle, we will make the mistakes of hearers. If we remove the aspect of principle and seek the aspect of phenomena, we will make the attachments of ordinary beings.

Phenomena cannot be existent without principle just as the whole water cannot be existent without the waves. Principle cannot be existent without phenomena just as the whole waves cannot be existent without the water. Principle is not identical to phenomena just as the movement and the wetness are not identical. Phenomena are not identical to principle just as subject and object are different. When both principle and phenomena are not existent, both the true and the secular also are not existent. When both principle and phenomena are existent, two truths such as the provisional truth and the ultimate truth are always existent.

If they mutually shine, they are provisionally existent. If they mutually obstruct, they suddenly disappear like in a dream. If there is no emptiness, there is no provisional existence. The Middle Path is always illuminating. The principle of the Middle Path does not operate with causes and conditions. How can it hurt the essence of the principle?

Therefore, because Bodhisattvas consider the unobtainable teachings as skillful means, even though they take the aspect of existence, they do not destroy the aspect of emptiness. Based on the ultimate teachings, they propagate Buddhism. Even though they take the true teachings, they do not obstruct the secular teachings. Even though they comprehend the true teachings, they do not obstruct the secular teachings. If we always turn on the lamp of (our) wisdoms, we cannot remove the light of (our) minds. When we uncover

⁹⁴ T.48.2017.958a28-b17.

the clouds of compassion, we can remove the waves of the sufferings (of other beings) in an ocean. Even though we live in the dusts of the secular world, we do not obstruct them, living freely based on conditions. Whatever donations we do, we are subject to do (wholesome) Buddhist actions.

In the 2nd Question and Answer section of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*,⁹⁵ Yanshou classified and summarized all the Buddhist teachings in three, (1) the tenet of characteristics, (2) the tenet of emptiness, and (3) the tenet of nature.⁹⁶ The 1st tenet of characteristics that affirms all phenomena is the teaching of Yogācāra Buddhism, the 2nd tenet of emptiness that negates all phenomena is the teaching of Mādhyamika Buddhism, and the final and 3rd tenet of nature that directly indicates the nature is the teaching of Chan Buddhism. As a Chan master, he argued that Chan Buddhism does neither negate nor affirm all phenomena unlike the 1st and 2nd tenets. He matched his Chan Buddhism to the highest teaching of Dharma nature, that is, the teaching of Buddha nature or the Tathāgatagarbha teaching. He explains his doctrinal classification scheme as the following quote attests:⁹⁷

Q: The purported aim of the Buddhas and patriarchs and of the essential path of the sages is to eliminate attachment so that both wisdom and phenomena become empty. If we discuss activity, the mind and phenomena become discriminated. So, on the basis of what teaching can you extensively advocate the myriad goods?

A: From ancient times until the present, the teaching of all Buddhas given in the course of their lifetimes has been divided into various schools. Generally summarized, they do not go beyond the three schools, (1) the School of (Dharma) Characteristics, (2) the School of Emptiness, and (3) the School of (Dharma) Nature. The School of Characteristics articulates affirmation (of the forms of things). The School of Emptiness advocates negation (of the existence of things). The School of Nature discusses direct pointing (at one's own nature), that is, the Caixi's teaching of "seeing into one's own nature and becoming a Buddha." Nowadays, people do not direct (their efforts) toward seeing into their own nature and do not comprehend the correct teaching. They attach themselves to affirmation and negation and thereupon cause disputes and confusion. They do not understand the profound teaching of the Buddhas and patriarchs but follow only their words and letters.

The teaching articulating affirmation analyzes the characteristics based on the perspective of their nature. The teaching advocating negation breaks through characteristics and manifests their nature. Only the School of Nature points directly (to the nature) but does not discuss either affirmation or negation. Now, many people put much emphasis on phrases such as "neither mind nor Buddha," "neither principle nor phenomena," considering them to be profound.

⁹⁵ T.48.2017.959a13-27.

⁹⁶ T.48.2017.959a15-27.

⁹⁷ T.48.2017.959a13-27.

They do not know that these are merely negating and affirming words to cure the disease of bias. Clinging to skillful means and regarding it as the goal, they do not believe in the teaching that directly points to One Mind. Consequently, they quickly lose the ground (for true enlightenment) and obscure the true mind. It is similar to the foolish man of the State of Chu who misunderstands a chicken for a phoenix, or the small child at a spring pool who mis-considers a pebble for a pearl. They follow their superficial feelings but do not probe into the profound meaning. Confused with emptiness and skillful means, how can they recognize the true meaning?⁹⁸

If we add one more teaching of the small vehicle to his doctrinal classification system, Yanshou's system is exactly identical to Zongmi's. Therefore, we can easily realize that he loyally succeeded his doctrinal classification system from his previous Zongmi's one, which hierarchically classifies four Buddhist teachings, (1) the teaching of the small vehicle, (2) the Yogācāra teaching, (3) the Mādhyamika teaching, and (4) the Tathāgatagarbha teaching. He also introduced his doctrinal classification in a Question and Answer section in the fifth fascicle of his other work *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects*. As Zongmi had done,⁹⁹ he detailed the three teachings except the first teaching of the small vehicle, classified the fourth Tathāgatagarbha teaching over the other three teachings and categorized himself as the advocate of the Tathāgatagarbha teaching as follows:¹⁰⁰

Q: If one states that there are both the true aspect and the defiled aspect, one is the advocate of the School of Dharma Characteristics (Yogācāra Buddhism). If one argues that there is neither the true aspect nor the defiled aspect, one is the proponent of the school that negates Dharma characteristics (Mādhyamika Buddhism). If one discusses the Dharma Nature School (Tathāgatagarbha Buddhism) now, how can one establish the true aspect and also establish the defiled aspect? How can one explain that there is neither the true aspect nor the defiled aspect?

A: The teaching (of Dharma Nature School) that the *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects* advocates is not the teaching of existence that Yogācāra Buddhism expounds and also not the teaching (of Mādhyamika Buddhism) that negates characteristics and returns to emptiness. This text is to reveal the orthodox principle based on the perfect teaching of the Dharma Nature School. When the un-changeability of suchness does not hinder the conditionality (of phenomena), the meaning of the perfect teaching reveals.

Yogācāra Buddhism always argues that there are both the true aspect and the defiled aspect. Mādhyamika Buddhism continuously states that there is neither the true aspect nor the defiled aspect. Because the advocates of each

⁹⁸ I referred to and slightly revised Heng-ching Shih's translation. See her *The Syncretism of Ch'an and Pure Land Buddhism*, Asian Thought and Culture Series, No. 9 (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), 200-201.

⁹⁹ He explained the three doctrinal sects in detail in his *Chan Chart* and *Chan Preface*.

¹⁰⁰ T.48.2016.440a23-b6.

school attach themselves to either of two extreme views, (complete affirmation and complete negation), we can consider and discuss both schools. However, because this perfect teaching has both the aspect of emptiness and the aspect of existence unobstructed, we cannot consider and discuss it.

If we definitely arrange two gates of existence and emptiness, we can discuss and consider them. If we mention contamination without contamination, we define un-changeability with conditionality. If we state non-contamination with contamination, we can define conditionality with un-changeability. We should not be captivated by existence and non-existence and should not be deluded with the deluded aspect and the true aspect. We cannot understand the main tenets of this (Dharma Nature) School through thought and discussion and the school through passion and consciousness.

(I, Yanshou), now provisionally arranged the letters and their meanings for the purification (of our minds) in order to remove our erroneous attachments. If passion and consciousness are emptied, wisdom is removed. If the diseases are cured, the medicines are not needed. If we are carefully able to examine the origin of the beginning and the end, we can completely illuminate the main meaning of the perfection and eternity.

Citing Zongmi,¹⁰¹ Yanshou arranged one teaching for the small vehicle and the abovementioned three teachings for the great vehicle. He criticized the Yogācāra and the Mādhyamika teaching from the perspective of the Tathāgatagarbha teaching. He argued that emptiness and existence, the provisional truth and the ultimate truth, the true aspect and the deluded aspect, un-changeability and conditionality are supplementary each other and are interconnected and interpenetrated. He continued to explain the three teachings as follows:¹⁰²

Zongmi interpreted, “All the texts of the great vehicle are completely categorized to three teachings.”¹⁰³ (The three teachings of the great vehicle) are (1) the Dharma Characteristics teaching, (2) the Dharma Negation teaching, and (3) the Dharma Nature teaching. This question discussed a joint that bites an arrowhead explained in the Dharma Characteristics teaching but did not introduce the other two teachings. All existences that the Dharma Characteristics teaching explicates consist of the defiled aspect of the conditioned existences and the true aspect of the unconditioned existences. Those existences all have their own beginning-less seeds, are latent in the storehouse consciousness, are permeated based on conditions, originate from their own nature and are not directly related to suchness. If so, who can say that the deluded originates from the true? The suchness is always unconditional and tranquil and has no origination and no stop. So, we should not criticize that the deluded originates from the true. The Dharma Negation teaching always expounds that all things, including the ordinary and the holy, the defiled and the purified, are empty and do not have anything else. Even though one element

¹⁰¹ T.48.2015.400a29.

¹⁰² T.48.2016.440b13-c1.

¹⁰³ T.48.2015.400a29.

of existence appears to be superior to the nirvāṇa, it seems like a phantom in a dream. The teaching does not originally establish even the true. How can it establish the defiled? Therefore, it does not criticize (the saying) that the defiled originates from the true.

People are subject to suspect the Dharma Nature teaching. If they say that the deluded originates from the true according to the scriptures and commentaries belonged to this teaching, the saying is likened to the body of the great order (Skt., *dharmakāya*) which transmigrates in the five existential realms and the *tathāgatagarbha* that possesses sufferings and pleasure. If they state that the realization of the deluded is identical to the true, the statement is likened to the initial determination to enlightenment that is subject to the accomplishment of supreme enlightenment. The understanding of the deluded is subject to the revelation of the true. If they see the Buddha, they will be purified. If they say that the ordinary and the holy are perfectly harmonized, the saying is likened to all sentient beings who originally attain supreme enlightenment and obtain nirvāṇa and the body of the great order that completely possesses the sentient beings of six existential realms. Because the true is mutually identical to the deluded, there is no sequence between defilements and awakening. They also state that immediately when defilements are removed, the mysterious enlightenment is attained.

Zongmi also introduced three Chan sects, the Northern Chan Sect, the Ox-head Chan Sect, and the Southern Chan Sect and matched each Chan sect to each doctrinal teaching.¹⁰⁴ He matched the Northern Chan Sect to the Yogācāra teaching, the Ox-head Chan Sect to the Mādhyamika teaching and the Southern Chan Sect to the Tathāgatagarbha teaching. He syncretized Chan Buddhism with doctrinal Buddhism. Even though he hierarchically evaluated and classified Chan sects and doctrinal teachings available in his contemporary times, he also attempted to harmonize two opposing traditions, Chan Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism.

Zongmi also inherited his classification scheme of four teachings from his previous Huayan master Fazang's classification system of four tenets, which hierarchically arranges four Buddhist tenets, (1) the teaching of the small vehicle, (2) the Mādhyamika tenet, (3) the Yogācāra tenet, and (4) the Tathāgatagarbha tenet.¹⁰⁵ However, as explained above, he just switched the order of the second and third tenets of Fazang's scheme and established his own scheme. Yanshou followed Zongmi's doctrinal classification.

Yanshou also introduced Huayan Buddhism's sectarian doctrinal classification scheme of five teachings originated from Yunhua Zhiyan (602-668)¹⁰⁶ and completed by his disciple Fazang.¹⁰⁷ However, he ecumenically interpreted and harmonized it in the 66th Question and Answer section of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand*

¹⁰⁴ T.48.2015.400b1.

¹⁰⁵ Chanju Mun, 395-403.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 257-260.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 337-383.

*Goods to One Origin?*¹⁰⁸ While Fazang succeeded his master Zhiyan and systematized the doctrinal classification scheme of five teachings in his earlier life period,¹⁰⁹ he tried to solve some contradictions and problems in his earlier scheme¹¹⁰ and devised another scheme of four tenets and solved them later in his life.¹¹¹ While Zhiyan and his disciple Fazang hierarchically classified five teachings, Yanshou introduced and ecumenically interpreted five teachings, considered each of them as being needed for the different audience and particularly attempted to harmonize Chan and Huayan Buddhism as the following quote demonstrates:¹¹²

Q: The Buddhist teaching clearly manifests that if we forget conditions, we are suddenly able to enter (enlightenment).¹¹³ Why should we negate the saying and follow the teaching of causes and conditions now?

A: (The practitioners of) higher capacity can accept the one gate of the sudden teaching. If we forget conditions and purify our intentions, we can truly consider them as true cultivation. What I want to discuss here is that because some practitioners attach themselves to (external) existences and generate biased views, they always destroy the external phenomena but do not comprehend the perfect tenet (of Huayan Buddhism). So, I just aim at removing delusive passions. How should I remove proper Buddhist teachings? The One Teaching of Buddhism is subject to have five different leveled Buddhists based on their understanding level.

The first (ones) are the followers of the small vehicle. When they see the Buddha's physical body, they consider it as only the physical body originated from his parents. Because (they regards that) the mind is conditioned from external objects, they consider that (the Buddha) has his phenomenal physical body. Even though they recognize (external) objects based on the perfuming of their intention and consciousness, they do not still comprehend the meaning of consciousness-only (explicated in Yogācāra Buddhism) because they consider (their) views as being originated from external (objects).

The second (ones) are the followers of the elementary teaching of the great vehicle. They consider the Buddha as the transformation body and as not having the physical body. However, the Buddha is empty and does not have its own nature. Therefore, (the *Diamond Sūtra*) says, "If we contemplate on the Buddha with his remarkable thirty two physical characteristics,"¹¹⁴ the monarch

¹⁰⁸ T.48.2017.984a21-c2.

¹⁰⁹ Chanju Mun, 337-383.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 385-394.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 395-403.

¹¹² T.48.2017.984a21-b15.

¹¹³ I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist texts.

¹¹⁴ See the entry of "thirty-two features" in The English Buddhist Dictionary Committee, ed., *The Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism* (Tokyo: Soka Gakkai, 2002), 694. They are "remarkable physical characteristics attributed to Buddhas, bodhisattvas, Brahmā, Shakra, and wheel-turning kings, symbolizing their superiority over ordinary people."

of turning the wheel of the Buddhist teaching wheel is identical to the Buddha.”¹¹⁵

The third (ones) are the followers of the final teaching of the great vehicle. When they see the Buddha's physical body that illuminates lights, they consider that each light has the true nature. Therefore, body is no-body, no-body is body, and relations between principle and phenomena are not obstructed.

The fourth (ones) are the followers of the sudden teaching of the great vehicle, (Chan Buddhism). When they see the Buddha as not having differences between beginning and end, how can he have differences in his appearances? He does not have a physical body that he is able to establish because all discriminations are not true. If they have the truth of transcending (discriminative) thoughts, they are able to see the Buddha.

The fifth (ones) are the followers of the perfect teaching of the one vehicle, (Huayan Buddhism). If they see the Buddha, they have the truth of transcending (discriminative) thoughts. They do not generate the principle of relativizing objects and do not obstruct all things that flourish to appear. They possess (the two forms of karma from their past) and completely contain principle and phenomena. Because subject and object are complete, if we illuminate it and make it prevail over ten directions and all the worlds, we can simultaneously reveal it (in all directions) like in the Indra net.

Regarding the one gate of dependent origination, sudden teaching does not discuss dependent origination but causes phenomenal characteristics to be revealed and true principle to be not manifested. If the characteristics are exhausted, true nature naturally appears. If we discuss dependent origination (from the perspective of the sudden teaching), it is likened to sick eyes which see flowers in the skies.

If we discuss (the gate of dependent origination) from the Dharma realm of the perfect teaching, the one and the many are contained in each other, action and no-action are finally accomplished. If the one and the many do not obstruct each other, containment and penetration are simultaneously existent. Therefore, we can name it the great dependent origination.

The above five teachings all have their own ways. We should not criticize even the small vehicle. We also should not destroy the provisional gate. How can we criticize the perfect teaching and block the true virtues?

As Wonhyo harmonized Yogācāra Buddhism and Mādhyamika Buddhism from the standard of Huayan Buddhism, Yanshou also harmonized the two traditions in the 11th Question and Answer section of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*¹¹⁶ While Yogācāra Buddhism affirms existential characteristics in its doctrine, Mādhyamika Buddhism negates characteristics from the standpoint of emptiness. These traditions seem to oppose each other. Like the earlier ecumenist Wonhyo, Yanshou harmonized sets of two seemingly opposing aspects such as being and nonbeing, emptiness and characteristics, nature and

¹¹⁵ T.8.235.752a14.

¹¹⁶ T.48.2017.961b27-c11.

characteristics, essence and functions in the following eleventh Question and Answer section:¹¹⁷

Q: The *Diamond Sūtra* says, “If one sees me through form and seeks me through sound, this person is practicing heretical ways and cannot see the Tathāgata.”¹¹⁸ (Therefore), how can one uphold the forms and call them Buddhist activities?

A: The “school which negates the phenomena of all things” (the Mādhyamika teaching) articulates the cessation of conditions and activities. The “elementary teaching of the great vehicle” teaches direct manifestation of principle, but does not articulate the complete fusion of being and nonbeing, the interpenetration of essence and functions. In the perfect (teaching) gate, everything is non-obstructive. Noumenon and phenomena interpenetrate harmoniously. One particle of dust encompasses the whole Dharma realm.

The *Huayan Sūtra* states, “The pure and compassionate teachings, which are as numerous as particles of dust, all emerge from one remarkable mark of the Tathāgata. There are none of his marks that lack (this trait). Therefore, one never wearies of seeing (the Tathāgata).”¹¹⁹ The *Lotus Sūtra* says, “You (i.e., the Buddha) have realized the Buddha’s teachings, all wisdoms, ten powers,¹²⁰ and so forth, have perfected the thirty-two marks and have reached true cessation.”¹²¹ It is said in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, “The liberation of a hearer and a solitary realizer has no form. The liberation of all Buddhas and Tathāgatas has form.”¹²² How can this form be like the attachment of ordinary people who take obstructive phenomena to be real form? The two vehicles realize the extinction of form and take it to be real form. Actually, one can see the Tathāgata in whatever the six senses contact. One can simultaneously see the myriad of forms of the perfectly luminous Dharma realm. Why does one have to wait for the extinction of form to realize the profound teaching?¹²³

Yanshou attempted to ecumenize all Buddhist teachings and all different actions from the standpoint of the highest Tathāgatagarbha teaching by referring

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ T.8.235.752a17-18.

¹¹⁹ T.10.279.16b17-18.

¹²⁰ See the entry of “ten powers” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 678-679. Ten powers that a Buddha possesses are “(1) the power of knowing what is true and what is not; (2) the power of knowing karmic causality at work in the lives of beings throughout past, present, and future; (3) the power of knowing all stages of concentration, emancipation, and meditation; (4) the power of knowing the conditions of lives of all people; (5) the power of judging all people’s levels of understanding; (6) the power of discerning the superiority or inferiority of all people’s capacity; (7) the power of knowing the effects of all people’s actions; (8) the power of remembering past lifetimes; (9) the power of knowing when each person will be born and will die, and in what realm that person will be reborn; and (10) the power of eradicating all illusions.”

¹²¹ T.9.262.27b5-6.

¹²² T.12.375.632a16-17.

¹²³ I referred to and slightly revised Heng-ching Shih’s translation, 217.

to the *Huayan Sūtra*. He theoretically introduced the origin of all Buddhist teachings and the myriad deeds in the third Question and Answer section of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?* as follows:¹²⁴

Q: In the teaching of the three vehicles of all Buddhas and Tathāgatas, there is only the “one taste” Dharma gate to liberation. Why do you extensively explain the dependent origination of production and cessation in the world? When the (conceptual) mind distorts (reality), one misses the point, because (the conceptual mind is) not in accord with true suchness. Once thought begins, then immediately contradictions arise, because (the conceptual mind) runs counter to the essential nature of existences.

A: When one discusses “one form” and “one taste,” this is nothing but the provisional teaching of the three vehicles. From the perspective of principle, all phenomenal causes and conditions are regarded as erroneous. What has been compiled here reveals the perfect tenet. All things arise interdependently and (manifest) the true virtue of the Dharma realm. They are neither established nor destroyed, and are neither temporary nor permanent. Even the work of miraculous transformation follows this principle, for it is not temporarily achieved through spiritual power. There is not even one single conditional existence that does not arise from the meritorious virtue of the primordial nature.

So, the *Huayan Sūtra* says, “In the sea of this lotus treasure world, there is nothing, neither the mountain, nor the river, nor the grove, nor the dust, nor other objects that are not in harmony with the true suchness of the Dharma realm, and that do not possess borderless virtues.”¹²⁵

East Asian doctrinal classifiers used the metaphor of “One Taste.” Because “One Taste” is divided to five tastes, each taste originates from the same source. The metaphor of five tastes,¹²⁶ which originates from the third portion of the nineteenth chapter, “Holy Deeds”, in the “*Nirvāṇa Sūtra*,”¹²⁷ became the scriptural basis for Huiguan’s (d. 453) five period teachings.¹²⁸ Even though Zhiyi was basically a strong Tiantai Buddhist sectarian, he also attempted to assume the same theoretical background for different Buddhist teachings by adopting the (One) Taste. The Buddha’s whole teaching career from the enlightenment to death is likened to five flavors, i.e., (1) the raw milk flavor, (2) the whey flavor, (3) the premature dairy product flavor, (4) the mature dairy product flavor and (5) the (finest) *ma½* cream flavor, those of which are classified according to a manufacturing process of dairy products.

¹²⁴ T.48.2017.959a28-b8. I referred to and slightly revised Heng-ching Shih’s translation, 201-202.

¹²⁵ T.10.279.36a21-25.

¹²⁶ The details of the metaphor of five tastes are in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, T.12.375.691a1-10.

¹²⁷ T.12.375.673b21-693b6.

¹²⁸ Chanju Mun, 29-35.

Because the five tastes mean the process of the gradual teaching, in the case of Huiguan's *panjiao* system, the metaphor of five tastes cannot include the sudden teaching, the *Huayan Sūtra*. While the previous scholars comprehended, based upon the necessity of the sudden teaching for the first time and of the gradual teaching for the later times, the sudden teaching of the *Huayan Sūtra*, as being first delivered by the Buddha in the five temporal orders, Zhiyi held all of the Buddha's teachings, including the *Huayan Sūtra*, in the mutual relations of the five flavors.

Zhiyi generally followed the preaching order in the Buddha's life from the previous doctrinal classifiers. He arranged the preaching order with five periods. (1) The first period is the *Huayan Sūtra*, (2) the second period the *āgama* scriptures, (3) the third period the *vaipulya* scriptures, (4) the fourth period the wisdom scriptures and (5) the fifth period the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. Compared with Huiguan's *panjiao* system of five period teachings, the function of Zhiyi's *panjiao* system is to abolish the classification of the sudden teaching and the gradual teaching in the *panjiao* system of five period teachings and to promote the *Lotus Sūtra* to the level of the final fifth period of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* of Huiguan's *panjiao* system. Compared with previous scholars, he emphasized the *Lotus Sūtra* in all of his works. He admitted that the five preaching order is necessary for the dull sentient beings who can proceed gradually from the easy-to-understand teaching to the difficult-to-understand teaching and the sudden teaching of the *Huayan Sūtra* is needed for the sharp sentient beings.

Because Yanshou did not classify Huayan Buddhism, Tiantai Buddhism, Pure Land Buddhism, other Buddhist traditions, and other non-Buddhist religious traditions in his doctrinal classification, his doctrinal classification was not complete. Even so, because he did not hierarchically evaluate Chan Buddhism and Huayan Buddhism, he was an ecumenist between Chan Buddhism and Huayan Buddhism. He argued that both traditions approach Buddhism from differing attitudes but do not evaluate which tradition is superior to other traditions in the first Question and Answer section¹²⁹ of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*¹³⁰

The meanings of (Chan Buddhism's) patriarchs depend on the fundamental tenets. The texts of doctrinal traditions destroy attachments. If we discuss the sudden teaching of Chan Buddhism, it annihilates characteristics and eliminates conditions. It lets both emptiness and existence disappeared and makes both essence and functions tranquillized. (However), if we discuss the perfect tenets of Huayan Buddhism, it simultaneously contains virtues. It mutually manifests principle and practices and lets compassion and wisdom be interchangeable with each other.

¹²⁹ T.48.2017.958c6-959a12.

¹³⁰ T.48.2017.958c6-18.

Therefore, because Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva demonstrates practices with principle, he does not destroy the aspects of difference. Because Samantabhadra Bodhisattva reveals principle with practices, he does not remove the fundamental aspects (of principle). (The Bodhisattvas manifest that) the original and the derivative are identical, and the ordinary people and the holy beings originate from the same origin. They indicate the true aspects without destroying the secular ones. They establish the secular aspects without removing the true ones.

Because they possess the eyes of wisdom, they are not stuck in the (ocean of) lives and deaths. Even though they generate the compassionate mind, they are not stuck in nirvāṇa. They consider three realms, (i.e., desire realm, form realm and formless realm) as the (differing) functions of enlightenment. Even though they live in the ocean of defilements, they are (always) open to the ways to nirvāṇa.

Therefore, all goods are the provisions with which Bodhisattvas can get into the holy stages. All actions are the stairs to (Buddhahood) which all Buddhas gradually guide Buddhists to attain. If we have (two) eyes but do not have (two) legs, how can we arrive at a cool pond? If we have the true teaching but do not have the provisional teaching, how can we obtain the stage free (from fetters)?

Therefore, skillful means and wisdom support each other just as two wings of a bird do. True emptiness and mysterious existence always establish and sustain each other. Just as the *Lotus Sūtra* says that Buddhists should subsume three vehicles to one vehicle, we should subsume all goods to enlightenment. Just as the *Larger Wisdom Sūtra* says that all things are none dual, we should return all actions to all kinds of wisdom.

Depending on the Huayan philosophy of non-obstructive and interactive relations between principle and phenomena, he outlined the subsumption of ten thousand goods to one origin in the 112th Question and Answer section of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?* as follows:¹³¹

Q: When you describe this collection, how can you itemize its main themes?

A: If you ask me the question by using the ancient sayings, I can answer it in innumerable ways, as many as the grains of sand of the Ganges River. If I generalize (its main themes), it is the subsuming of ten thousand goods in one origin. If I itemize them, I can explicate them in the following ten items, (1) non-obstruction between principle and phenomena, (2) joint practice between the provisional teachings and the ultimate teachings, (3) joint display between the provisional truth and the ultimate truth, (4) complete harmonization between nature and characteristics, (5) harmonization between essence and functions, (6) mutual formation between emptiness and beings, (7) joint practice between the primary teachings and the supplementary teachings, (8)

¹³¹ T.48.2017.992a11-16.

complete unity between identity and difference, (9) non-duality between cultivation and nature, and (10) no differences between causes and effects.

Just as he harmonized ten sets of opposing aspects in the above quote, his ecumenist forerunner Wonhyo also harmonized the different ten sets of opposing aspects in his major work entitled *Treatise on the Harmonization of All Disputes in Ten Aspects* (*Simmun hwajaeng-non*).¹³² The ten sets of two opposing aspects that Wonhyo harmonized in his book are (1) harmonization between being and nonbeing, (2) harmonization between the existence and nonexistence of Buddha nature, (3) harmonization between subject and object, (4) harmonization of disputes on Nirvāṇa, (5) harmonization of disputes on *buddhakāya* (Body of Truth), (6) harmonization of disputes on Buddha nature, (7) harmonization of disputes on the three natures,¹³³ (8) harmonization of disputes on the two hindrances,¹³⁴ (9) harmonization of disputes on the supreme truth and the secular one, and (10) harmonization of disputes between three vehicles¹³⁵ and one vehicle.¹³⁶

In a similar style of writing¹³⁷ as Wonhyo demonstrated in his *Treatise on the Harmonization of All Disputes in Ten Aspects*, Yanshou furthered the list of the ten sets of opposing aspects introduced in the 112th Question and Answer section.¹³⁸ He detailed the ten sets of opposing aspects in the 113th Question and Answer section of the *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*¹³⁹ After he questioned the ten sets, he answered and explained in the 113th Question and Answer section in the following quote:¹⁴⁰

The first (set) is non-obstructions between principle and phenomena. The principle is unconditional and the phenomena are conditional. Even though we have done actions all day, we have never done any action at all. Even though we have never done any action, we have never done no-action at all. Conditionality and un-conditionality are neither identical nor different. The two originate from the same source of Dharma nature and the size of them is equal to that of space. If we argue that both (the conditional and the unconditional) are identical, how can we counter-argue against the saying of the *Wisdom Sūtra*

¹³² Youngbong Oh, 283-366.

¹³³ Three natures of reality in Yogācāra Buddhism are (1) the discriminated nature, (2) the interdependent nature, and (3) the final and perfect nature.

¹³⁴ Two hindrances are (1) the hindrance of defilements, and (2) the hindrance of the object of knowledge.

¹³⁵ Three vehicles are (1) the vehicle of hearers, (2) the vehicle of solitary realizers, and (3) the vehicle of Bodhisattvas.

¹³⁶ One vehicle is the teaching of Mahāyāna and the final teaching of the Buddha.

¹³⁷ T.48.2017.992a17-c9.

¹³⁸ T.48.2017.992a11-16.

¹³⁹ H.1.838a1-840c4.

¹⁴⁰ T.48.2017.992a18-c9.

on *How Benevolent Rulers can Protect Their Own Nations*,¹⁴¹ “All Bodhisattvas are subject to accomplish all two merits, unconditional and conditional?”¹⁴² If the two are identical, we should not mention the two kinds of merit. If both are different, how can we counter-argue against the saying of the *Wisdom Sūtra*, “We can not say unconditional by excluding the conditional and conditional by excluding the unconditional?”¹⁴³ Therefore, both principle and phenomena mutually identify with each other, are mutually neither destroyed nor eternal, simultaneously cause themselves to arise and destruct, and do not obstruct but reveal each other.

The second (set) is the joint practice of the provisional and the real. The real is the ultimate truth and the provisional is the skillful means. Because we can generate the skillful means based on the ultimate truth, we cannot have the provisional outside of the real. Because we can obtain the fundamental based on the traces of phenomena, we cannot have the real outside of the provisional. Because we always have one same meaning in the two opposing aspects, we should jointly practice them without obstruction, simultaneously block and illuminate them, and equally reveal the principle and the quantitative.

The third (set) is the equal exposition of two truths, the provisional and the ultimate. All Buddhas always explicate Buddhist teachings based on two truths. Why? The mundane (truth) is the exposition of the super-mundane. Therefore, (*Mūla-madhyamaka-śāstra* says), “If we do not obtain the mundane truth, we cannot obtain the ultimate truth.”¹⁴⁴ Therefore, the ultimate (truth) always manifests without making establishment and the mundane is empty without making destruction. The two truths are co-existent just as the water and its waves are co-existent. When the water disappears, its waves also immediately disappear. The water and its waves simultaneously appear and disappear. Because the waves completely penetrate the water’s origin, they totally share the movement and wetness of the water.

The fourth (set) is the complete harmonization between nature and characteristics. The *Wuliang-yi jing* (Sūtra of Immeasurable Meanings) says, “Immeasurable meanings originate from One Dharma.”¹⁴⁵ The One Dharma is identical to the True Mind. The One True Mind endows two aspects, un-changeability and conditionality. The un-changeability is the nature and the conditionality is the characteristics. The nature is the essence of characteristics and the characteristics is the functions of nature. If we do not comprehend their origin and source, we might delusively generate disputes. If we negate characteristics, we do not know the functions of mind. If we negate nature, we do not know the essence of mind. If we are able to completely harmonize (nature and characteristics), we can totally eliminate discriminate (knowledge and mind).

The fifth (set) is the unrestricted harmonization between essence and functions. Essence is the principle of Dharma nature. Functions are the reactions of wisdom to the essence. Even though essence is completely

¹⁴¹ *Renwang huguo banruo jing. Foguang Dictionary of Buddhism*, 1217.

¹⁴² T.8.246.834c13-14.

¹⁴³ T.8.223.232b23, T.25.1509.360a4-5, and T.25.1509.720c26.

¹⁴⁴ T.30.1564.33a2.

¹⁴⁵ T.9.276.385c24.

identical to functions, the functions are not identical (to themselves). Even though functions are completely identical to essence, the essence is not different (from itself). The functions of essence do not hinder the functions themselves and the essence of functions does not lose the essence itself. Therefore, one taste is divided to two, (essence and functions), which freely do not hinder each other.

The sixth (set) is the mutual production of emptiness and existences. Generally speaking, all existences do not originally have the fixed characteristics and they produce or destroy, contain or supplement each other without fixing particular characteristics. Emptiness is established based on existences. Because all existences are conditionally generated, the nature (of them) is empty. Existences originate based on emptiness. Because the nature (of existences) is not existent, (all existences) are conditionally originated. We discriminate (all existences) based on our definitions and differentiate them based on our views. If we are deluded to all existences, they are not identical. If we awaken to them, three vehicles are not different. Why? (I will instantiate and expound the relations between emptiness and existences by referring to the five teachings of Huayan Buddhism's doctrinal classification system).¹⁴⁶ The small vehicle considers one teaching of existences as being really existent and the elementary teaching (of the great vehicle) regards it as being provisionally existent. The final teaching (of the great vehicle) argues that existences and emptiness do not hinder each other because emptiness does not preserve its own nature and all existences are conditionally generated. The sudden teaching (of the great vehicle) considers all existences as having true nature. The perfect teaching (of the great vehicle) explicates the limitless Dharma realm. If we are able to completely harmonize emptiness and existences, we can procreate true emptiness and mysterious existences. If we are able to reveal all virtues, emptiness can accomplish all existences.

The seventh (set) is the joint cultivation of the primary and the supplementary. The primary is the essential and the supplementary is the secondary. The primary is accomplished based on the secondary. We cannot complete the primary without the secondary. The secondary is generated based on the primary. We cannot procreate the secondary without the primary. Therefore, if the primary and the secondary create each other, the essential and the supplementary possess each other. If we are able to jointly cultivate calming concentration and intuitive insight, we are subject to mutually generate the hidden and the manifested, to mutually supplement the inside and the outside, and to jointly speed up (the learning of) the vehicle teachings and the (preservation of) precepts.

The eighth (set) is the equalization between identification and differentiation. Identification is the un-changeability based on principle and differentiation is the conditional origination based on phenomena. Because of un-changeability, (all existences) are subject to have conditional origination. Because of conditional origination, (all existences) are subject to have un-changeability. Because of non-differentiation, we are subject to generate different phenomena. Because of not being identical, we are subject to establish identical gate. If we are always different, we are subject to destroy

¹⁴⁶ Chanju Mun, 337-383.

differentiation because we negate essence. If we are always identical, we are not subject to establish identification because we do not have functions. Therefore, even though we say that we are identical, because we are not identical, we are different. Even though we say that we are different, because we are not different, we are identical. If we attach ourselves to each side, (differentiation or identification), we are subject to take either annihilationism or eternalism. If we completely harmonize differentiation and identification, we are able to obtain Buddhahood. Therefore, the scripture says, “Wonderful! The World-honored One! How wonderfully you explicated the differentiation of all existences in the non-differentiated existences!”¹⁴⁷

The ninth (set) is non-duality between cultivation and nature. The fundamental existences are nature because we cannot cause them to be originated based on visualization. The current realization is cultivation because we are able to reveal it based on wisdom. We can reveal the nature of fundamental existences based on cultivation. We can generate the current cultivation based on the nature. The completion of nature is the completion of cultivation, and the completion of cultivation is the completion of nature. Cultivation and nature are not dual but seem to be differentiated based on causes and conditions.

The tenth (set) is the non-differentiation between causes and effects. Causes originate from effects. If effects are complete, we are able to generate causes. Effects generate from causes. If causes are complete, we are able to establish effects. Even though we can divide phenomena into the preceding and the following, we cannot divide principle because it appears simultaneously (without sequence). So, because we help each other and exchange words each other, we are not subject to lose the functions of activity.

In the final Question and Answer section, the 114th, he enlisted and synthesized the following two sets of opposing terms: the cultivation (benefit) of self and the benefit (altruism) of others, sudden practice and gradual progress.¹⁴⁸

We should benefit ourselves as well as others. We should simultaneously practice both sudden and gradual teachings. The benefit of selves indicates the guiding gate to the complete enlightenment and the mysterious mirror to practices. The benefit of others is likened to the bright sun that unblocks the blocked true teachings. It is also likened to the good doctors who treat Buddhists who attach themselves to two views, (i.e., eternalism and annihilationism).

The sudden practice is not different from the gate to nature origination. It is able to form the practice of the Dharma realms. The gradual progress does not close the teachings of skillful means but lets Buddhist practitioners finally return to the ultimate teaching. If we believe in the Buddhist teachings, we are able to take them in a proper way. If we do not believe in the Buddhist teachings, we are subject to criticize them.

¹⁴⁷ I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist scriptures.

¹⁴⁸ T.48.2017.992c10-16.

Yanshou ecumenically discussed various major Buddhist texts and contended that each text of them had its own main theme in *Secrets on Mind-only*.¹⁴⁹ Accordingly, all the Buddhist teachings originate from the common origin called “One Mind”. He did not hierarchically evaluate but equally considered and harmonized all the texts. Each text is a different evolution of the same “One Mind” for the readers who have their own different capacities and interests as follows:¹⁵⁰

Oh, how mysterious the mind is!
 How can we describe it with opposing concepts
 such as purity and delusion, being and nonbeing?
 How can we mention it
 with the meanings of texts, languages and phrases?
 However, all sages clearly sang of it,
 All philosophers evidently explicated it.
 Even though they explained it
 in one thousand different ways
 Depending upon the capacities of readers and listeners,
 All teachings are subject to be subsumed
 to the One Teaching (also described as
 the One Mind, the One Taste, the One Source,
 and in other terms).

Therefore, the wisdom texts explicate non-duality,
 The lotus texts reveal only one vehicle,
 The *Viśeṣaśāstra* (Chn., *acintabrahmaparipṛccha-sūtra*)¹⁵¹
 explicates the suchness of equality,
 The Huayan texts state the completely true Dharma realms,
 The *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* establishes all things,
 The *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* includes ten directions,
 The *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (Chn., *Dafangdeng daji jing*) harmonizes purity and impurity,
 The *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra* (Chn., *Baoji jing*) mentions the disappearance
 of defilements originated from six sense organs,
 The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* completely includes the hidden treasures, (and)
 The *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra* explains
 the prevalence of the truth all over the universe.

Like above, the Buddha contains and includes
 all phenomena and all teachings without limit.
 He also completely uncovers principle,
 He lets all teachings

¹⁴⁹ Weixin jue. See *Foguang Dictionary of Buddhism*, 2013.

¹⁵⁰ T.48.2018.993c14-23.

¹⁵¹ See the entry of “*Shiyaku bonten shomongyō*” (Chn., *Siyi fantian suowen jing*) in Ono Gemmyō, ed., *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* (Dictionary of Buddhist Texts), 13 vols (Tokyo: Daitō shuppan-sha, 1933-1936), vol. 4, 252b-d.

and all phenomena returned to the principle.
 Therefore, one source has one thousand names.
 Based on differing conditions,
 one source has differing names.
 We should not attach ourselves to the doctrine of skillful means
 And we should not be deluded from the differing names of phenomena.
 We should not say en bloc
 that sentient beings are not true and all Buddhas are true.

He emphasized in his *Secrets on Mind-only* that all Buddhists should return all Buddhist teachings to the One Mind. All the Buddhist teachings that evolve from the One Mind are equal in value even though they have their own unique tenets. He enlisted and criticized 120 mistaken views.¹⁵² He thought that Buddhists could correct them if we properly and clearly understand the ecumenical aspects of all Buddhist teachings.¹⁵³ He thought that the 120 mistaken views originated from the dichotomizing thinking. So, he harmonized in his *Secrets on Mind-only* all sets of the opposing and dichotomizing terms such as principle and phenomena, meditation and wisdom, doctrines and practices, the conditional and the unconditional, causes and effects, the hindrance of defilements and the hindrance of the object of knowledge, Chan Buddhism and doctrinal traditions, and so on.

If we review the second paragraph of the above-cited long portion, we can easily recognize that Yanshou loyally inherited the ecumenical lineage of Sino-Korean Buddhism. Even though he did not directly indicate his reference in his *Secrets on Mind-only*, we can assume that he might indirectly refer to the ecumenist Huiyuan's (523-592) passage.¹⁵⁴ Wonhyo sincerely incorporated the ecumenical views of two representative ecumenists Huiyuan¹⁵⁵ and Jizang (549-623)¹⁵⁶ of the Sui Dynasty (581-618) and comprehensively established his own ecumenism.¹⁵⁷ So, we can safely conjecture that Yanshou transmitted the ecumenical lineage of Sino-Korean Buddhism. Huiyuan did not hierarchically evaluate various scriptures and he advocated that the scriptures are basically equal in value. From the ecumenical perspective, he suggested in the *Dasheng yi zhang* (Treatise on the Meanings of the Great Vehicle) that various scriptures should not be understood as lesser than other scriptures because those have their own unique valuable tenet respectively as follows:¹⁵⁸

As for the definition of the tenet, when various scriptures are delivered,
 the tenet intention is also differentiated. Even though the tenet intentions are

¹⁵² T.48.2018.995c5-996b11.

¹⁵³ Refer to *Foguang Dictionary of Buddhism*, 2013.

¹⁵⁴ T.44.1851.466c23-467a6.

¹⁵⁵ Chanju Mun, 115-122.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 173-219.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 271-296.

¹⁵⁸ T.44.1851.466c23-467a6.

various, it is summarized into two. (1) The first is the spoken. (2) The second is the manifested. (1) As for the spoken, it is the practices of virtues. (2) As for the manifested, it manifests the teaching. However, when the teaching is hard to manifest, it is revealed through the virtues. The aspects of virtues in manifesting the teachings are measureless. Therefore, those let various scriptures be different in the individual tenet intention.

For example, the *Sūtra on the Generation of the Awakening Mind* (*Fo bodi xin jing*) and others have the tenet of the awakening of mind. The *Sūtra on a Hot House* (*Wenshi jing*) and others have the tenet of donation. These texts such as the pure discipline works (Skt., *vinaya-pi aka*) and the *Upāsakaśīla-sūtra* have the tenet of precepts. The *Huayan Sūtra*, the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Ananta-nirdeśa-sūtra*, and other texts have the tenet of concentration (Skt., *samādhi*). The wisdom scriptures have the tenet of wisdom. The *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* and others have the tenet of liberation (Skt., *vimukti*). The *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa Sūtra* and others have the tenet of the body of the great order (Skt., *dharmakāya*). These various scriptures, including the *vaipulya* teachings, have the tenet of spells (Skt., *dhāraṇī*). The *Śrīmālādevī-siṃhanāda-sūtra* and others have the tenet of one vehicle (Skt., *ekayāna*). The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and others have the tenet of the mysterious effect of the ultimate death of the Buddha.

Even though the above scriptures manifest (the Buddhist teaching) in different ways, all the scriptures reveal the final ultimate teaching on the practices of the virtues in the dependent origination of the Mahāyāna. (The assignment of the Mahāyāna scriptures into the seven stage teachings¹⁵⁹ and the gradual teaching should be discarded. The meanings on the content of the teachings are summarized as above.

Huiyuan advocated the ecumenical perspective on all of the Mahāyāna scriptures. He believed that all the scriptures have their own unique tenet. He did not evaluate all of the Mahāyāna scriptures. The ecumenical *panjiao* predecessors are Kumārajīva (343-413),¹⁶⁰ his disciple Sengrui (352-436),¹⁶¹ and Bodhiruci (d. 527).¹⁶² Jizang¹⁶³ and Wonhyo¹⁶⁴ loyally adopted Huiyuan's ecumenical view on the Mahāyāna scriptures.

¹⁵⁹ The seven stage teachings are the doctrinal classification system of Liu Qiu (436-495), who also elaborates the five period teachings of the gradual teaching. Huiyuan's (523-592) introductions and critical discussions on the seven stage teachings and the gradual teaching are in the *Dasheng yizhang* (Treatise on the Meanings of the Great Vehicle), T.44.1851.465a12-26 and T.44.1851.465b2-466c2 respectively.

¹⁶⁰ Chanju Mun, 9-16.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 17-20.

¹⁶² Ibid, 49-61.

¹⁶³ Ibid, 173-219. I discussed how much Jizang was strongly influenced from Kumārajīva, Sengrui, Bodhiruci and Huiyuan in his ecumenical view on the various Mahāyāna scriptures.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 271-296. I discussed how much Wonhyo gets strong influence from his ecumenical *panjiao* predecessors, especially Huiyuan and Jizang.

Even though Wonhyo did not clearly mention Huiyuan, he loyally adopted the ecumenical perspective from Huiyuan's *Dasheng yi zhang*¹⁶⁵ in the *Yeolban jong'yo* (Essentials of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*) as follows:¹⁶⁶ "The *Wisdom Sūtra* and other texts have the tenet of wisdom. The *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* and other texts have the tenet of liberation (Skt., *vimukti*). The *Lotus Sūtra* has the tenet of one vehicle. The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* has the tenet of mysterious effect. All of the above scriptures are the ultimate teaching of the final Mahāyāna that promotes practical virtues with the great understanding."

As Wonhyo did,¹⁶⁷ later ecumenist Yanshou also theoretically regarded the One Mind as the same origin of all different Buddhist teachings and all different Buddhist deeds. Both of them adopted the concept of One Mind and its two aspects from the *Awakening of Faith* and shared the same theoretical background for their ecumenical philosophy. Yanshou expounded the One Mind as the origin of myriad good deeds in the 98th Question and Answer section¹⁶⁸ of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*¹⁶⁹

Q: What do you regard as the original source from which the cultivation of myriad good deeds (derives)?

A: All *li* (principle) and *shi* (phenomena) take mind as the origin. Stated in terms of principle, the (*Huayan*) *Sūtra* says,¹⁷⁰ "One realizes the body of wisdom by contemplating all elements of existence as (manifestations of) the mind's own self nature. One does not awaken by attributing them to other (external) causes."¹⁷¹ In this sense, the contemplation of (the nature of all elements of existence in terms of) true suchness and the mind (regarding all elements of existence in terms of) true nature is the origin (from which the cultivation of myriad good deeds derive).

Stated in terms of phenomena, the (*Huayan Sūtra*) says, "Mind, like a master skilled in drawing, is able to depict all worlds. The five aggregates¹⁷² are all produced from it. If there are no elements of existence, there is no

¹⁶⁵ T.44.1851.466c23-467a6.

¹⁶⁶ T.38.1769.255a29-b3.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ T.48.2017.991a13-b21.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. I referred to and slightly revised Albert Welter's translation in his *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: A Study of Yung-ming Yen-shou and the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi*, Asian Thought and Culture Series, No. 13 (New York: Peter Lang, 1993, 234-237).

¹⁷⁰ I identified the text title from T.36.1742.1054a27-28, T.45.1871.595c19, T.48.2015.405c16-17, X.58.1024.676c7, X.71.1414.390c17, and other texts.

¹⁷¹ T.36.1736.21b21, T.36.1742.1054a27-28, T.45.1871.595c19, T.48.2015.405c16, X.10.259.529b21-22, X.23.439.536c13, X.31.611.543a7-8, X.58.1024.676c7, X.59.1081.288c09-10, X.64.1260.310c11, X.71.1414.390c17, and other texts.

¹⁷² The five aggregates are (1) form, (2) sensation, (3) perception, (4) volition, and (5) consciousness.

production.¹⁷³ In this sense, the contemplation of (different states of) mental consciousness and the rational cogitating mind (which discerns the realm of objects) is the origin (from which the cultivation of myriad good deeds derives).

The mind (regarding all elements of existence in terms) of true reality is its essence and the rational cogitating mind (which discerns the realm of objects) is its functions. Its functions are the aspect of the mind (that contemplates the different states of mental consciousness) as “birth and death.” Its essence is the aspect of the mind (that contemplates them) as true suchness. In terms of the essence and the functions (of the mind), they are divided into two, (but) there is really only one mind. Its functions, which are really the functions of its essence, are not separate from the essence. Its essence, which is really the essence of its functions, is not separate from the functions. Whether (conceived as) separate or joined, the true nature (of the mind) is undisturbed even when (considered in terms of its) unique features.

The mind is able to create a Buddha, and the mind creates sentient beings. The mind creates heaven, and the mind creates hell. When the mind differentiates, a thousand differences arise in competition; when the mind is at peace, the Dharma realm is in a state of calmness. When the mind is ordinary, the three poisons¹⁷⁴ entangle one; when the mind is sacred, the six supernatural powers¹⁷⁵ operate with spontaneous freedom. When the mind is empty, the Way to the truth is clear and pure; when the mind exists (conditionally), the myriad objects teem in competition. It is comparable to the sound of echoes in a valley: When one speaks loudly, there is a great echo. It is similar to reflected images in a mirror: when the shapes are distorted, the images are disproportionate.

Since the myriad practices depend on the mind, they completely depend on the individual’s (cases). When (the mind) is empty internally, external (objects) are never real. When (the mind) is fine internally, external (objects) are never coarse. With good roots, one will eventually generate good conditions (for spiritual progress in a future incarnation). With evil practices, it is difficult to avoid evil circumstances (in the future). (The state where one) treads upon clouds and drinks sweet dew is not something allocated by others. (The state where one) lies down in smoke and flames and sucks pus and blood is something that one is completely responsible for oneself. There are things neither produced by heaven, nor caused by hell. They consist entirely in the very first instances of one’s individual thoughts; these determine whether one will ascend (to heaven) or descend (into hell).

Those who want external peace and harmony must be internally tranquil and quiet. When (internally) the mind is empty, (external) objects are tranquil; when thoughts arise, objects are generated. When water is muddy, waves are

¹⁷³ T.9.278.465c26, T.10.279.102a21-22, T.36.1742.1055a14-15, T.39.1791.501b17-18, T.46.1921.597a15, T.48.2016.754c12, X.5.229.224c11, X.5.232.779a12, X.7.234.626c24-25, X.17.331.804a8, and other texts.

¹⁷⁴ The three poisons are (1) greed, (2) anger and (3) foolishness.

¹⁷⁵ The six supernatural powers that the Buddha obtained through meditation and wisdom are (1) freedom in one’s activity, (2) eyes capable of seeing everything, (3) ears capable of hearing everything, (4) insight into other’s thinking, (5) remembrance of former states of existence, and (6) perfect freedom. See Albert Welter, 254.

dark; when deep water is clear, the moon (reflected in it) is bright. The essentials for cultivating and practicing (myriad good deeds) are not different from what has been described here. They can be referred to as gateways where miracles gather, hallways where spirits flock, the basis for ascending (to heaven) or descending (into hell), or the source for evils or blessings. If one only rectifies their mind, nothing in the realm of external objects deludes them.¹⁷⁶

....
Based on what is said here, how could (mind) only be (regarded as) the origin of myriad good deeds? Mind is the origin of all the myriad phenomena, (for example), sentient beings or insentient beings, common people or sacred ones, the realm of objects or emptiness. Also, the statement, “having nowhere to stand is the origin,¹⁷⁷” means that when the origin is established, the Way flourishes.¹⁷⁸

3. Yongming Yanshou (904-975)

Wonhyo harmonized seemingly opposing and contradictory Buddhist doctrines without including Chan, which was not popular in his time. Yanshou extensively ecumenized doctrinal traditions and practical traditions; Pure Land Buddhism and the preservation of precepts; doctrinal traditions such as Yogācāra Buddhism, Tiantai Buddhism and Huayan Buddhism; Mādhyamika Buddhism and Yogācāra Buddhism; gradualism and subitism; the doctrinal and practical traditions and the preservation of precepts; the power of the other and the power of one’s own self; Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism; the easy practice gate and the difficult practice gate; Buddhism and native Chinese religious traditions; and so forth.

Yanshou adopted two important sets of philosophical terms, (1) principle and phenomena and (2) essence and functions, and tried to explain the theoretical and doctrinal foundation of his ecumenism. Huayan Buddhism interpreted principle and phenomena as being interdependent and interpenetrated without obstruction and also considered essence and functions as being interfused and interconnected without limit. By philosophically and theoretically adopting Huayan Buddhism’s doctrine of the non-obstructive relations between principle and phenomena, he harmonized different and seemingly contradictory Buddhist traditions and furthermore different Chinese religious traditions including Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism. He

¹⁷⁶ T.48.2017.991a13-b4.

¹⁷⁷ T.14.475.547c21, T.14.476.573b18, T.38.1778.676c4, T.38.1778.676c10, T.38.1778.676c12, T.39.1784.19b10, T.45.1853.17a1, T.46.1921.611b3, T.48.2004.273c15, T.48.2004.274a6, X.9.248.855a17, X.9.248.863a22, X.24.468.788c23, X.35.651.230b3, X.64.1260.13b23, X.67.1309.577a13, X.85.1593.393a20, X.88.1646.222c10, X.88.1646.222c13, and other texts.

¹⁷⁸ T.48.2017.991b19-21.

introduced non-obstruction between principle and phenomena, essence and functions, the fundamental and the derivative, mutual identification and mutual penetration, nature and characteristics, contraction and expansion, and other opposite terms in the 38th Question and Answer section¹⁷⁹ of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*:¹⁸⁰

Q: Phenomena are differentiated (based on) different stages. Principle is not differentiated based on one taste. If nature and characteristics are not identical, how can they not obstruct each other?

A: The depending phenomena originate from the principle. The depended principle is originated from the phenomena. (The relation between principle and phenomena) can be figured to one thousand waves (phenomena) which do not hinder same wetness (principle) and to all containers that originate from same gold-ness without obstruction. Essence and functions mutually contain and contraction and expansion are not different.

Likewise, seen from the perspective of the perfect teaching, principle and phenomena are not only mutually identified, but principle and principle are also mutually identified. Even so, principle and phenomena might not be mutually identified. (The perfect teaching interpenetrates and inter-identifies principle and phenomena). Therefore, one can call this abovementioned truth as the teaching of non-obstruction freely displayed based on conditionality and changeability.

He introduced the *Awakening of Faith*, explained the perfect teaching of one vehicle and interpreted the different sets of two opposing aspects such as principle and phenomena, essence and functions, emptiness and existences, the purified and the deluded, the fundamental and the derivative, generality and particularity, suchness and the cycle of birth and death as being originated from and being interconnected and interrelated in the One Mind in the 37th Question and Answer section of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*:¹⁸¹

Q: The essence of the teachings of all Buddhas and patriarchs is only established upon the one vehicle. (The *Shou lengyan jing*) says, “The Buddhas of ten directions follow the one way and arrive in the gate to enlightenment.”¹⁸² (The *Huayan Sūtra*) states, “All persons of non-obstruction adopt one path and transcend the cycle of birth and death.”¹⁸³ How does one extensively discriminate the teachings and establish two different gates in them? If so, one is subject to disturb the orthodox tenet of them and to generate all wrong views.

¹⁷⁹ T.48.2017.970b26-971a12.

¹⁸⁰ T.48.2017.970b26-c2.

¹⁸¹ T.48.2017.970b15-25.

¹⁸² T.19.945.124c29.

¹⁸³ T.9.278.429b19 and T.10.279.68c13.

A: Even though the Dharma gate of all Buddhas becomes one kind, its functions are divided into two and its essence is always identical. It is likened to (the *Awakening of Faith*'s) teaching of one mind that establishes two aspects, the aspect of suchness and the aspect of the cycle of birth and death. It is the teaching of one vehicle containing two truths, (the ultimate truth and the provisional one). It is covered through all ages. It does not always have increase and decrease. Therefore, generality and particularity inter-manifest and the fundamental and the derivative mutually supplement. One cannot reveal particularity without generality and generality without particularity. One cannot manifest the derivative without the fundamental and the fundamental without the derivative.

Therefore, one should know that a bird cannot fly about in the air with only one wing and we cannot drive a cart of one wheel. One cannot establish the elements of existence only with the purified (aspect) or only with the deluded (aspect). Seen from essence, (the elements of existence) seem to be discriminated but are actually non-discriminated. Seen from functions, they appear to be differentiated but are actually undifferentiated. Because singularity and duality are not obstructed, we can enter the gate of non-duality. Because emptiness and existences are not contradictory, we can finally get into the stage of the true emptiness.

As above, Yanshou adopted the theoretical foundation of the *Awakening of Faith* and attempted to harmonize the various sets of two opposing and antagonistic views. Keeping the logic of *Awakening of Faith* harmonizing opposite views in mind, he, furthermore, suggested that Buddhists should not become attached to their own doctrines and practices. Instead, they should harmonize such different Buddhist traditions as Chan and doctrinal Buddhism, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra, doctrinal Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism, Chan and Pure Land Buddhism. In the 16th Question and Answer section,¹⁸⁴ he addresses this as follows.¹⁸⁵

Q: If one wants to truly follow the teaching of the scriptures, one should reflect on the true characteristics. If subject and object are both forgotten, who is the chanter? You can say that even though the mind and the mouth do the chanting, the true characteristics are unobtainable. If we analyze the chanting more closely, what is the rationale of chanting?

A: Although one contemplates that both the chanted and the chanter are empty, emptiness is not nihilistic and does not hinder the existence of the chanted and the chanter. Still this existence is not true existence. Non-emptiness and non-existence are reflected clearly in the Middle Way.

If one attaches to the notion of non-existence, one falls into the emptiness of heretics. If one sinks into the notion of existence, one is caught in the unreality of illusion. Therefore, one mind consists of three contemplations¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ T.48.2017.963b21-964a9.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. See Heng-ching Shih's translation, 229-232.

¹⁸⁶ The three contemplations are contemplations on the three aspects of all existences, (1) non-substantiality, (2) provisional existence, and (3) the Middle Way.

and three contemplations consist in one mind. One mind itself is the three (contemplations), yet the form of the three contemplations is different (from the mind). Although the three (contemplations) themselves are the one (mind), their essence is non-differentiated. They are neither united nor separate, and neither “vertical” nor “horizontal.” They are not restricted by either existence or destruction, nor are they confined by either existence or destruction, nor by affirmation or negation, but always comply with the three truths and are united with the one vehicle. All practices return to the true characteristics.

(Your) reasoning challenges the practice of chanting, considering it to be a hindrance to meditation. It is true that the practice of meditation is the foundation of the four eloquences¹⁸⁷ and of the six supernatural powers.¹⁸⁸ It is the basis for us to progress from an ordinary being to a sage. To be able to bring one’s thoughts under control even for just an instant is regarded as very good. However, one should watch for the onset of sluggishness or distraction. Therefore, the *Sūtra of Knowing the Times* (*Zhishi jing*) warns, “When one is in a lethargic state during meditation, one should get up, circumambulate the Buddha’s image, recite the Buddha’s name, and sincerely make repentance in order to eradicate this obstacle and to restore the body and mind.”¹⁸⁹ Therefore, one must not cling tenaciously to a certain method and consider it the best.

The Tripiṭaka Master Cimin Huiri (680-748) said in his *Collection of the Sayings on Pure Land Buddhism*,¹⁹⁰ “Proper meditation that the Buddha explicated in his teachings means to concentrate the mind on one object continuously in one’s thought. One must not become lethargic or mentally agitated. The mind must be in perfect equilibrium. If the practitioner becomes drowsy, he must diligently utter the Buddha’s name, chant scriptures, make prostrations, circumambulate the image of the Buddha, preach the (Buddha’s) teaching, and educate sentient beings. One must not discard any of the myriad practices. One must dedicate all activities of one’s practices toward birth in the Western Pure Land. If a practitioner of meditation can practice like this, one’s meditation becomes harmonious with the holy teachings. One becomes an eye for sentient beings, and all Buddhas will approve of one. All the Buddhist teachings are equal, comply with perfect suchness, and lead to perfect enlightenment. They all teach that the invocation of the Buddha (Chn., *nianfo*) is the cause of awakening. How can you hold heretical views?”¹⁹¹ Tiantai

¹⁸⁷ The four eloquences are (1) eloquence in preaching the Buddhist teaching, (2) no obstacle in understanding the teaching, (3) no obstacle in communicating in various dialects, and (4) no obstacle in preaching suitable sermons to people. See Heng-ching Shih, p. 230, note # 92.

¹⁸⁸ See the entry of “six transcendental powers” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 617. The six supernatural powers are “(1) the power to be anywhere at will, (2) the power to see anything anywhere, (3) the power to hear any sound anywhere, (4) the power to know the thoughts of all other minds, (5) the power to know past lives, and (6) the power to eradicate illusions and earthly desires.”

¹⁸⁹ I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist texts.

¹⁹⁰ *Wangsheng jingtu ji*, also known as *Jingtu cibei ji*: T.85.2826.1236a3-1242b27.

¹⁹¹ Because large portions of *Wangsheng jingtu ji* are missing, I could not locate the quote in the extant material.

Buddhism introduces four forms of concentration (Skt., *samādhi*),¹⁹² the small vehicle has five methods of contemplation¹⁹³ to counteract (weaknesses), and there are other concentrations such as constant-walking and half-walking concentrations. Therefore, one should not restrict oneself to the method of sitting meditation.¹⁹⁴

Therefore, some people realize concentration by recollecting the Buddha's name, some attain wisdom by meditation, some perceive the *dharmakāya* (body of the great order)¹⁹⁵ exclusively through reciting scriptures and some enter the path of sagehood exclusively through worship. The important thing is to attain the Way, not to stick to one particular method. One should rely on sincerity and determination, not on the misleading words.¹⁹⁶

Cimin Huiji was one of the most important figures in Pure Land Buddhism of the Tang Dynasty. When he was young, he wanted to go to India, by emulating the example of the famous Chinese pilgrim Yijing (635-713). Yijing had travelled to India between 671 and 695. He recorded his travels in the *Record of Southern Nations* and translated fifty-six Buddhist texts in two hundred thirty fascicles in all.¹⁹⁷ He arrived in India by sea in 704 and departed from India to China in 716. After coming back to his home nation, he did not decide to translate Buddhist scriptures but to popularize Pure Land Buddhism among the masses.

When Cimin Huiji was active, Chan Buddhism began to attract wider audience among the populace.¹⁹⁸ Because Chan Buddhism attacked Pure Land Buddhism, Cimin Huiji attempted to overcome the criticisms and prejudices of

¹⁹² See the entry of "four forms of meditation" in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 218-219. Tiantai Zhiyi, actual systematizer of Tiantai Buddhism, introduced the four forms of meditation in his *Great Concentration and Insight*. He classified the various types of meditation into four comprehensive categories, (1) constant sitting meditation for ninety days, (2) constant active meditation for ninety days, (3) half-active and half-sitting meditation for seven days or for twenty one days, and (4) meditation in an unspecified posture for an unspecified period.

¹⁹³ See the entry of "five meditations" in the abovementioned dictionary, 193-194. The five meditations are the quieting of the mind and the eliminating of delusions. The five meditative practices are "(1) meditation on the vileness of the body, (2) meditation on compassion, (3) meditation on dependent origination, (4) meditation on the correct discernment of the phenomenal world, and (5) breath-counting meditation."

¹⁹⁴ T.48.2017.963b21-c14. I referred to and slightly revised Heng-ching Shih's translation, 229-231.

¹⁹⁵ The *dharmakāya* is one of three bodies that a Buddha possesses. The three bodies are (1) *dharmakāya* (body of the great order), (2) *saṃbhogakāya* (body of delight), and (3) *nirmāṇakāya* (body of transformation).

¹⁹⁶ T.48.2017.964a6-9. I referred to and slightly revised Heng-ching Shih's translation, 232.

¹⁹⁷ See the entry of "I-ching" in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 300.

¹⁹⁸ Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), 347-348.

the Chan Buddhism. He thought that Chan Buddhists did not practice the moral precepts but taught that the world was unreal and that there was no evil to be avoided and no good or pious deeds to be performed. He argued that Buddhists should equally consider three types of learning, i.e., moral precepts, meditation and wisdom without hierarchically evaluating them. He was critical of Chan Buddhism's anti-textualism and antinomianism and tried to counter-argue them "by emphasizing his three principal tenets: (a) harmonious practice of meditation and scholarship, (b) sympathetic practice of *nien-fo* and meditation, and (c) practice of *nien-fo* accompanied by morality."¹⁹⁹

And, "because he (Tz'u-min) advocated the sympathetic practice of *nien-fo* and Ch'an meditation, he is considered by some to be the first individual who sought to harmonize the Pure Land and Ch'an teachings. Some of the monks in later years who looked to him as their spiritual master, such as the Ch'an monk Yen-shou (904-975), were to become active proponents of this movement."²⁰⁰

We can see his ecumenism through his two extant works, the *Collection on Compassion of the Pure Land*²⁰¹ and the *Praise on the Pure Land (Xifang zan)* and his another work *Praise of the Pratyutpanna Samādhi (Banzhou sanmei zan)* which is extant in the form of quotations²⁰² in the work of his grand disciple Nanyue Fazhao's (d.u.)²⁰³ *Jingtu wuhui nianfo fashi zan*.²⁰⁴ Fazhao was the disciple of Chengyuan (712-802), a disciple of Cimin Huiri. He faithfully inherited his grand master Cimin Huiri's ecumenism.²⁰⁵ The *Collection on Compassion of the Pure Land* is the most important for use to understand his ecumenism. He refuted opposing views in its first chapter, defended the Pure Land doctrine and practice by referring to scriptures in its the second chapter, and comparatively understood and harmonized various schools in its third chapter. Even though the third chapter seems like the most important part in the text, we unfortunately have only the first of the three chapters extant. Heng-ching Shih summarized the extant portion of the text as follows:²⁰⁶

The object of the refutation in the first volume is the Ch'an school. Tz'u-min directed his criticism toward the biased views of some Ch'an followers who denigrated all other Buddhist disciplines. These Ch'an masters regarded all elements of existence "as illusory as the hair of a tortoise and the horn of a rabbit." Since originally all elements of existence are devoid of substance, who is there to undergo birth and death? To them there is no virtue one can cultivate, no evil one can eliminate. One should keep one's mind aloof from all forms,

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 348. *Nien-fo* here is an alternative transliteration for *nianfo*, faithful repetition of the name of a Buddha.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ *Jingtu cibeij*: T.85.2826.1236a3-1242b27.

²⁰² Heng-ching Shih, 47.

²⁰³ Nanyue Fazhao was also known as Wuhui Fashi.

²⁰⁴ T.85.2827.1242c3-1266a10.

²⁰⁵ Kenneth Ch'en, 348-350.

²⁰⁶ Heng-ching Shih, 48-49.

sūtras, and Buddhas. The only thing one should do is (to) allow the mind to dwell in emptiness and understand that the world is illusory and all elements of existence are empty. Even an ordinary person, if he can understand thus, is the Buddha himself. One will realize concentration and eradicate the process of birth and death. So what is the need for diligent practice? The Ch'an practitioners further argued that the Śākyamuni Buddha did not become enlightened by chanting Buddha's name or reciting *sūtras*. To them the Ch'an meditation, which is the "unconditioned dharma" is the quickest way to enlightenment and the only means for transcending *saṃsāra*. All practices except meditation are false, including the practices of giving, morality, patience, copying and reciting *sūtras*, building images and temples, Buddha-recitation, etc., which they considered the cause of *saṃsāra* instead of liberation. The reason is that when one sees that there are virtues to be cultivated and evils to be severed, or when one longs for *Nirvāṇa* and detests *saṃsāra*, one's mind is entangled with attachment. Cultivation with the thought of attachment is a "conditioned dharma" and is tied to *saṃsāra*; thus no matter how much one cultivates, one cannot become liberated.

Albert Welter explained the relationship between Chan meditation and the practice of the invocation of the Buddha before Cimin Huiji (680-748). "Long-standing antagonism existed between Pure Land adherents and those of the Ch'an school. In the Ch'an tradition, appropriations of *nien-fo* practice can be seen in the teaching of Tao-hsin (580-651) and Hung-jen (601-674), the founders of the so-called East Mountain (t'ung-shan) style of Ch'an, as well as certain students of Hung-jen. However, these are usually views as little more than reluctant concessions to rising interests by students toward Pure Land teaching, as a result of the popularity of Pure Land masters Tao-ch'ao (562-645) and Shan-tao (613-681) who flourished around the same time. But as the Southern School gained wider acceptance within Ch'an circles, such concessions were denied. This denial is especially evident in the *Platform Sūtra* (*T'an-ching*), the classic text establishing the teachings of the Southern School and the legitimacy of Hui-neng as heir to Hung-ren in the Ch'an lineage."²⁰⁷ Albert Welter categorized in three branches the students of Hongren²⁰⁸ who incorporated faithful repetition of the name of a Buddha (*nianfo*) in the Chan Buddhism,²⁰⁹ (1) the Nanshan branch by Xuanshi,²¹⁰ (2) the Jingzhong branch by Zhixian,²¹¹ and (3) the Niutou (Oxhead) branch by Fachu (635-702).²¹²

The important Chan masters during Cimin Huiji's current time are Puji (651-739), Yifu (658-736), Nanyue Huairang (677-744), Baotang Wuzhu (714-774), Mazu Daoyi (709-788), Qingyuan Xingsi (660-740), Heze Shenhui (686-

²⁰⁷ Albert Welter, 149.

²⁰⁸ Heng-ching Shih, 63-65.

²⁰⁹ Albert Welter, 169, note # 10.

²¹⁰ Heng-ching Shih, 69-71.

²¹¹ Ibid, 66-69.

²¹² Ibid, 65-66. T.51.2076.228c15-24.

760), and other masters. Of them, Puji and Yifu are affiliated to the Northern Chan lineage. They developed the stronger Chan sectarianism than the previous times. Wuzhu of the Baotang Chan lineage and Mazu Daoyi of the Hongzhou Chan lineage especially advocated radical Chan sectarianism and seriously developed anti-intellectualism, anti-ritualism, anti-textualism and antinomianism.²¹³ Therefore, they exclusively negated the invocation of the Buddha from their serious sectarian perspective. Zongmi, for example, critically described the Baotang Chan lineage of Wuzhu, “It did not accept precepts and condemned all forms of Buddhist religious practices such as worship, repentance, the recitation of scriptures, the painting of the images of the Buddha, and the copying of scriptures. It considered all of them as being false.”²¹⁴

Yanshou loyally followed Cimin Huiri’s ecumenism that does not favor anyone of the Buddhist schools but equally advocates three types of learning, (1) morality, (2) meditation, and (3) wisdom. He also referred to Cimin Huiri²¹⁵ and attempted to harmonize the mind for awakening and the bodhisattvic deeds, the ultimate truth and the conventional truth, the true and the secular, unconditional elements of existence and conditional elements of existence, being and nonbeing, delusions and enlightenment in the 42nd Question and Answer section of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*²¹⁶ Yanshou also cited Cimin Huiri’s sayings in the 42nd Question and Answer section as follows:²¹⁷

The Tripiṭaka Master Cimin (Huiri) recorded, “Because the Buddha said that all conditional existences were not real and are like flowers in the air, we could say that there was nothing unreal. Because everything is not real, it does not have its own form. Therefore, it cannot be a cause for liberation. How can the Buddha educate his disciples by saying that if we cultivate the mysterious causes of the six perfections and the myriad deeds (for liberation), we can obtain the (mysterious) effects of awakening and nirvāṇa? How can wise persons praise the castle of *gandharvas*²¹⁸ as being solid, highly qualifying and mysterious? How can they again tell people to make a ladder with the hare horns and to climb up it? Because of this reason, even though they are ordinary beings, they should realize the awakening mind and practice the Bodhisattva deeds. Although they cultivate the conditional (teaching), they consider it as being true and right. The untrue and groundless (characteristics) of substance is likened to the hairs of a turtle. Because there is nothing in the air, we should

²¹³ Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 18-20, 236-244, and 244-252.

²¹⁴ X.9.245.534a11-12.

²¹⁵ T.48.2017.973c3-15.

²¹⁶ T.48.2017.972c24-973c23.

²¹⁷ T.48.2017.973c3-15.

²¹⁸ See the entry of “gandharva” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 244. *Gandharva* is heavenly musician or a music god. “*Gandharvas* are one of the eight kinds of nonhuman beings who protect Buddhism.”

consider (flowers in the sky) as being untrue and groundless. Everything is dependent on other (objects). Because everything is conditionally originated, (we should consider) it as an illusive existence. We should not discriminatively consider nonexistence as being existent. If we correctly understand it in this way, even though we always practice based on characteristics, we cannot hinder ourselves from the characteristics but quickly obtain liberation. If we cling to delusions and passions, we are not able to understand the (Buddhist) teaching. Even though we seek transcending characteristics, because we are attached to the characteristics, you are not able to (obtain) liberation.”²¹⁹ Also, he recorded, “If all Buddhas of three periods attach themselves to delusions, how can they cultivate (their minds) and learn (Buddhism) and obtain liberation? If some do not rely on the Buddha’s practices and (instead) establish their own sects, they all are heretics and conduct heretic deeds.”²²⁰

Yanshou attempted to ecumenize easy practice gate and difficult practice gate, the power of the other (Jpn., *tariki*)²²¹ and the power of one’s own self (Jpn., *jiriki*),²²² and individuality and generality. The power of the other indicates the power of a Buddha or a Bodhisattva, whom one relies upon for salvation. Pure Land Buddhists generally designate the power of the other as the power of Amitāyus Buddha, who is said to bring the believers in him to rebirth in his pure land after death. Pure Land Buddhism suggests its followers should trust in the power of the other, particularly the salvic power of Amitāyus Buddha. The power of the self to seek enlightenment is contrasted with the power of the other, i.e., the absolute power of a Buddha or a Bodhisattva to save sentient beings. The power of the self indicates the power of one’s own meritorious deeds and efforts in Buddhist practice to produce benefit and enable one to attain enlightenment. The easy practice consists of Pure Land Buddhism and the difficult practice constitutes the preservation of precepts, Chan Buddhist practice and doctrinal study. He harmonized the easy practice gate and the difficult practice gate in the following 12th Question and Answer section of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*²²³

Q: The mind is itself identical to the Buddha. Why must we seek the Buddha beyond the mind? If we recognize (delusions of) external phenomena, our own elements of existence become obscured.

A: The various teachings of the Buddha are not of one kind. They contain teachings on the power of their own self and the power of the other, the characteristics of their own individuality and the characteristics of their

²¹⁹ T.85.2826.1241a20-b5.

²²⁰ I could not identify the quote in the remaining part of his *Wangsheng jingtu ji*.

²²¹ See the entry of “power of another” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 510.

²²² *Ibid.*, 511.

²²³ T.48.2017.961c12-962a2.

generality. The “ten mysterious aspects”²²⁴ indicate the interdependence of (all things), and the “six characteristics”²²⁵ display complete harmonization. All things appear to be separate in terms of external conditions and to be united in terms of their true nature. Because objects (the phenomenal) are manifested by the mind, they are identical to the mind. If the cognized is one with the cognizer, then others become identical to the self. An ancient virtuous one said, “To those who hold to the dualism of the mind (as subject) and the object (of its cognition), one refutes with the principle of non-duality, because no defilements (the phenomenal) exist outside the mind. To those who hold monistic view, one refutes with the principle of duality, because nothing exists without conditions.”²²⁶ The *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* says, “Everything is established through the miraculous power of the Buddha.”²²⁷ The great master Zhiyi said (in his *Commentary on the Lotus Sūtra*), “Those who contemplated non-arising only believed in the benefit of one’s own mind, and did not believe in the benefit of the Buddha, the external being.”²²⁸ A scripture says, “It is neither inside nor outside, yet it is within and without. Because it is inside, one

²²⁴ Xianshou Fazang (643-712) slightly revised his master Zhiyan’s (T.35.1732.15a29-b20, and T.45.515b17-518c15) and his earlier versions of ten mysterious aspects (T.35.1734.501b17-23, T.45.1866.505a10-507a26, and T.45.1881.669b15-670b6) and completed his own newer version in *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* (Record of Inquiring into the Mysterious Meanings of the *Huayan Sūtra*) (T.35.1733.123a27-b5). The newer ten mysterious aspects that Xianshou Fazang established consist of (1) the aspect that each existence simultaneously correlates with all the other existences, (2) the aspect that all existences are not obstructed either widely or narrowly, (3) the aspect that even though one and many are included, they are remained in a different entity, (4) the aspect that all existences are free in regards of mutual identification, (5) the aspect that all existences are hidden and manifested at the same time, (6) the aspect that no matter how subtle and minute it may be, each existence contains all the other existences, (7) the aspect that all existences are illustrated like in the Indra net, (8) the aspect that procreates right understanding of various phenomena and existences, (9) the aspect that ten periods supplement and include each other, and (10) the aspect that the central things and the surrounding things are completely illuminated with various virtues. Chengguan and Zongmi adopted the newer ten mysterious aspects. Chanju Mun detailed why Xianshou Fazang established the newer version of the ten mysterious aspects in his book, 365-369.

²²⁵ T.45.1866.507c3-509a3. Fazang introduced six characteristics in his *Huayan wujiao zhang* (Fazang’s Treatise on the Five Doctrines) and analyzed the phenomenal world from the standpoints of both difference and identity. See the entry of “six forms” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 608. The six characteristics are “six inseparable aspects inherent in all things: (1) universality – the whole that is composed of parts; (2) particularity – each part that composes the whole; (3) similarity – the parts are all related to the whole; (4) diversity – though similar in that they are all related to the whole, each part’s relation to the whole is unique; (5) formation – the harmonization of unique parts forms the whole; and (6) differentiation – while harmonizing to form the whole, each part still retains its particular characteristics.” (608)

²²⁶ I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist texts.

²²⁷ T.14.475.537a9.

²²⁸ T.33.1716.763b24-25.

seeks the liberation of the Buddha within one's own mind, and because it is outside, one receives the help and protection of the Buddha. Why do you not believe in external help?"²²⁹

The way of causes and conditions (that interacts with each other) and the way of cultivation are brought about by various conditions. None of them are independent. If one's own power is sufficient, one does not have to depend on other conditions. For example, if people who face official persecution do not have power to acquit themselves, they must rely on powerful people to aid them. Another example is that when pulling a heavy load, if one's strength is inadequate, one needs the help of others. However, one should judge one's own actual merit and should not bother others unnecessarily.

When one speaks of internal power, that is the self nature. When one speaks of external power, that is the other nature. When one speaks of integrating these two, that is integral nature. If one speaks of neither cause nor condition, that is causeless nature. All of these are hindrances and attachments, preventing perfect realization. Understanding the true nature, one clings to none of them.²³⁰

Yanshou also interpreted Pure Land Buddhism from the Chan perspective and tried to harmonize the easy practice with the difficult practice. He also referred to several scriptures and synthesized the seemingly opposing sets of the Buddhist teachings and/or practices such as wisdom and meditation (concentration), doctrinal Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism, the power of one's own self and the power of the other, the gate of wisdom and the gate of skillful means, the ultimate truth and the provisional truth, the supra-mundane and the mundane, the true and the secular, the teaching of no-form and the teaching of form in the 28th Question and Answer section of the *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*²³¹

Q: The Pure Land of Mind-only pervades the ten directions. Why should one entrust oneself to the lotus flower (from which people are born) and seek birth in the Pure Land? How can this discriminative thought lead one to the birth-less gate? When one manifests inclination toward likes and dislikes, how can one reach equanimity?

A: When one realizes the mind, one is finally subject to be born in the Buddha Land of Mind-only. The *Sūtra of the Inconceivable State of the Tathāgata* (*Rulai fusi yi jingjie jing*) says, "All Buddhas of the three periods of time do not exist; they only exist in one's mind. If a Bodhisattva understands that all Buddhas and elements of existence are created from the mind-only, one is able to attain "patience of compliance" (which enables oneself to comply with the wishes of sentient beings) or to enter the first stage of a Bodhisattva.

²²⁹ I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist texts.

²³⁰ I referred to and slightly revised Heng-ching Shih's translation, 218-219.

²³¹ T.48.2017.966b26-967a10.

After death, one is immediately born in the Eastern Pure Land of Akṣobhya Buddha or the Pure Land of Ultimate Bliss.”²³²

It is only when one comprehends the mind that one can reach the Pure Land of Mind-only. If attached to objects, one will be caught by conditioned objects. When one comprehends that cause and effect are not different, one knows that nothing exists outside the mind. One may believe in the teaching of equality and no-birth, but if one's power is insufficient, if one's insight is shallow and one's mind is distracted, or if one still has strong habitual attachment to the phenomena, one should seek birth in the Buddha Land where, supported by that superior environment, one can easily achieve the power of patience and quickly practice the Bodhisattva way.

The *Awakening of Faith* says, “When sentient beings study the (Buddhist) teaching for the first time, they wish to seek true faith. However, they are afraid that, because they are living in his mundane world, they cannot always meet the Buddhas and personally make offerings to them. They are also afraid that it is difficult to perfect faith. Those who are inclined to back out should know that the Tathāgatas have supreme skillful means to protect their faith, that is, through the wholehearted mindfulness of the Buddha, beings can be born in the Buddha Lands as they wish and thereby constantly see the Buddha, eternally free from evil paths. As a scripture says “If anyone single-mindedly thinks of Amitāyus Buddha in the Western Pure Land of Ultimate Bliss, and transfers the good root that one has cultivated for birth in that world, one will be born there. Because one will see the Buddha all the time, one will never regress.”²³³ If one contemplates the true suchness of the body of the great order (Skt., *dharmakāya*) of the Buddha, and practice diligently, eventually one will be born in that place and abide in complete concentration.”²³⁴

The *Treatise on Birth in the Pure Land* (*Wangsheng lun*) says, “Those who are able to roam in hell with ease are those who have obtained “patient acceptance based on awareness of the non-arising of phenomena” after birth in the Pure Land and have then returned to the realm of *saṃsāra* in order to teach those in hell. For the sake of saving suffering sentient beings, one must seek birth in the Pure Land.”²³⁵ (Zhiyi) explained in his (*Jingtu*) *shiyi lun* (Treatise on the Ten Doubts on the Pure Land), “The wise people zealously seek birth in the Pure Land. They understand that the substance of birth is unobtainable and this is in truth no-birth. This is what is meant by “when the mind is pure, the Buddha Land is pure.”²³⁶ Fools are bound by the notion of birth. When they

²³² T.10.301.911c21-24.

²³³ I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist scriptures but in the following texts, T.47.1963.95a10-11, T.47.1965.110c19-20, T.47.1969A.199a9, X.74.1467.88b3-4, X.78.1549.226a10-11, and other texts.

²³⁴ T.32.1666.583a12-21.

²³⁵ I could not identify the quote in the *Wangsheng lun*.

²³⁶ I found the original quote in the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, T.14.475.538c4-5. I could also easily identify this as a cliché appearing in various Buddhist texts, T.13.400.510b5, T.24.1494.1096a7, T.33.1717.823a21, T.33.1702.208c14, T.37.1751.211c19, T.37.1761.362a7, T.38.1775.337b4, T.38.1775.337b11, T.38.1775.338b9, T.38.1778.565a13, T.38.1778.565a14, T.38.1778.571a3, T.38.1781.930a5, T.45.1893.819c15, T.45.1893.826b13, T.45.1893.826b14,

hear of birth, they hold to the notion of no-birth. They do not understand that birth itself is no-birth and that no-birth itself is birth. Since they do not understand this principle, they arbitrarily judge what is right and what is wrong. Such people slander the (Buddhist) teaching and hold heretic views.”²³⁷

The *Treatise on Doubts (Qunyi lun)* says, “Q: Because all Buddha Lands are empty, (one should consider) sentient beings as being the fifth element (element of emptiness). Why must one grasp characteristics and abandon this (world) in order to seek the other (world)? A: What the Buddhas teach is not separate from the two truths. When the ultimate truth governs the provisional truth, there is nothing that is not true and, when the provisional truth is mingled with the ultimate truth, all things become apparent as they really are. A scripture (*Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*) says, “Although one perfects all elements of existence, one transcends the characteristics of all elements of existence.”²³⁸ The perfection of all elements of existence means to perfect all elements of existence from the perspective of provisional truth. The transcendence of all elements of existence means that ultimate truth is without characteristics. Again, the same scripture says, “Although one realizes that Buddha Lands and sentient beings are all empty, still one constantly cultivates the practice of the Pure Land and teaches all sentient beings.”²³⁹ You only know the perfect nature of the teaching of no-characteristics and ultimate emptiness of negating the conceptualized nature. However, if you do not believe in the teaching of the dependent nature and the teaching of cause and effect, you are subject to be a non-believer in cause and effect and to follow that all elements of existence destroys characteristics.”²⁴⁰

T.47.1960.43b26, T.47.1960.66a15, T.47.1960.66a16, T.47.1969A.200a9, T.47.1969A.199a14, T.47.1969B.241a18, T.47.1973.328a1, T.47.1973.338b26, T.47.1973.338b29, T.47.1976.390b17, T.48.2016.948b26-27, T.48.2016.940b26, T.51.2072.139c7, T.85.2773.425c8, T.85.2833.1271b13, X.4.223.54a14, X.4.225.851c24, X.5.226.8a11, X.18.338.515c16, X.18.338.516b15, X.18.338.516c1, X.18.338.516c4, X.18.338.516c21, X.22.400.119c8, X.22.424.665b15, X.22.424.665c21, X.22.433.910b24, X.24.461.546b3, X.24.461.546c7, X.24.470.863c4, X.25.483.172a4-5, X.25.483.173a3, X.30.603.383c1, X.56.929.360c17, X.59.1081.277a12, X.59.1096.521c6, X.59.1096.536a7, X.59.1096.549a13, X.59.1104.643b23, X.59.1104.645c14, X.61.1155.412b20, X.61.1155.415c15, X.61.1155.419c20, X.61.1155.420b19, X.61.1162.615c10, X.61.1164.676a19, X.61.1164.676b16, X.61.1165.796a14, X.61.1164.676a19, X.61.1164.676b16, X.62.1185.368a14, X.62.1186.413a1, X.62.1189.459c15, X.63.1220.9c13, X.63.1220.9c14, X.63.1223.18a14, X.71.1421.690b22, X.72.1435.332a13, X.72.1435.346b2, X.72.1440.662b16, X.73.1452.321a18, X.73.1456.474a21, X.73.1456.483a15, X.73.1456.488a14, X.73.1456.490c8, X.73.1456.492a1, X.73.1456.525b3, X.73.1456.526b4, X.73.1456.526b13, X.73.1456.563a5, X.73.1456.569c19, X.73.1456.642c2, X.73.1456.784c12, X.74.1495.673b7, X.74.1496.740b3, X.78.1549.216b4, X.88.1646.222a1, X.88.1646.225b13, X.88.1646.225b14, and other texts.

²³⁷ T.47.1961.78a26-b2.

²³⁸ T.14.476.562b13.

²³⁹ T.14.475.550a1-2.

²⁴⁰ T.47.1960.35b10-36a26.

The (*Wisdom Śāstra*)²⁴¹ says, “A Bodhisattva who was never separated from the Buddha said, “At the initial stage of my cultivation, I met evil friends, slandered the Wisdom teachings, and thus fell into evil paths. For immeasurable eons I was not able to get free. At one point, I met a good friend who taught me to practice *nianfo* (faithful repetition of the name of a Buddha) *samādhi*. Then I was able to eliminate all obstacles and gain liberation. Because such great benefits accrue, I never want to be separate from the Buddha again.”²⁴² Therefore, a verse in the *Huayan Sūtra* says, “It is better to undergo all kinds of sufferings for countless eons than to be separated from the Tathāgata, unable to see his power of self-mastery.”²⁴³

Yanshou asserted that if we purify our mind, we can purify our Buddha land. He identified the land as the Pure Land of Mind-only. He interpreted the Pure Land from the perspective of the power of one’s self, not from the perspective of the power of the other. He interpreted both the Pure Land and the Buddha as the manifestation of One Mind and attempted to harmonize Pure Land Buddhism of the power of the other and the Mind-only doctrine of the power of the one’s self. He explained the Buddha and the Mind as being interdependent in the following Question and Answer section²⁴⁴ of his *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects*:

Q: If the Buddha is created from our mind, why should we need to establish other Buddhas (beside the Mind-Buddha)? If we determine not to establish (the Buddhas), we cannot have what all Buddhas establish with their miraculous powers and protect their thoughts with their helps. If so, our (extreme) thinking is subject to become the view of annihilationism.

A: Self-nature pervades everywhere. Because one perceives other Buddhas to be none other than the self-Buddha, there is no border between subject and object. Both are (manifestations of) One Mind. Sentient beings are like the molds that shape images. When the mold is removed, one can see the self-Buddha and other Buddhas. Why is it that other Buddhas are none other than self-Buddha? (Other Buddhas) are molded from One Mind. Nevertheless, one should not negate other Buddhas. Although one transforms one’s mind to the images of other Buddhas from (the perspective of) the original essence, the images originate from the self-Buddha. Changeability and un-changeability all originate from One Mind. Because sentient beings have two minds of delusions and enlightenment, they are subject to have (the opposing) views such as view and non-view, subject and object. If one considers (the opposing views) from (the perspective of) the true nature, how can one have (two different entities), enlightenment and delusions? If so, the differences between subject and object

²⁴¹ I could identify the quoted text in T.47.1958.15a26-b8.

²⁴² I could identify the quote from T.47.1958.15b4-8. However, I could not identify the quote in the *Wisdom Śāstra*.

²⁴³ T.9.278.487c26-27. I referred to and slightly revised Heng-ching Shih’s translation, 248-251.

²⁴⁴ T.48.2016.505a16-c16.

disappear, the body of the great order (Skt., *dharmakāya*) does not have form, and the characteristics opposing between subject and object are not existent.

As mentioned above, Yanshou introduced the body of the great order, one of three kinds of body of a Buddha and explained that all Buddhas originated from One Mind. By devising the theory of the Buddha's three bodies, Mahāyāna Buddhists organized different views of the Buddha in different scriptures. They thought that the absolute Buddha manifested himself in the relative worlds in order to work for all sentient beings. The *Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen* explains the three bodies that a Buddha possesses as follows:²⁴⁵

The *dharmakāya* (body of the great order) was initially identified with the teaching expounded by the historical Śākyamuni Buddha. Only later was it brought together with the other two bodies to form a series. It is timeless, permanent, devoid of characteristics, free from all duality; it is the spiritual body of the Buddhas, their true nature, which all Buddhas have in common.

The *saṃbhogakāya* (body of delight) is the result of previous good actions and is realized, as a result of a Bodhisattva's accumulated merit, in enlightenment. It exhibits the thirty-two major marks and the eighty minor marks of a Buddha and can be perceived only by Bodhisattvas who have attained the last stage of a Bodhisattva's development. This "body of delight" represents the Buddha as an object of devotion. The descriptions of the Buddhas introduced in the Mahāyāna scriptures refer to this aspect. The Buddhas in their *saṃbhogakāya* manifestations populate the Buddha-fields (Skt., *sukhāvatī*); to be reborn in these Buddha-fields is the hope of many Buddhists.

The *nirmāṇakāya* (body of transformation) is embodied in the earthly Buddhas and Bodhisattvas as projected into the world through the meditation of the *saṃbhogakāya* Buddhas as a result of their compassion. The task of the *nirmāṇakāya* manifestations is to expound the teaching. They are guides on the way to liberation from suffering, but cannot bring beings to this liberation directly. Like all human beings, they are subject to the misery of illness, old age, and death, but possess the divine eye and divine hearing. The individuality of *nirmāṇakāya* Buddhas dissolves after their deaths.

The teaching of the three bodies of a Buddha seems to have first reached full development with Asaṅga, lived in the fourth century CE, but derives originally from the views of the Mahāsaṅghikas, who did much to shape Mahāyāna Buddhology. For them the emphasis was on the super-mundane, absolute nature of a Buddha; the figure of the historical Buddha faded increasingly into the background. The Buddha is physically and spiritually pure, possesses eternal life and limitless power. Buddha as experienced by human beings are, according to this view, only magical projections of mind, which appear among men in order to liberate them.

²⁴⁵ See the entry of "Trikāya" in Michael H Kohn, trans., Ingrid Fischer-Schreiber, et al, *The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen* (Boston: Shambhala, 1991), 229-230. I referred to and slightly revised the quote.

The notion of endless space filled with countless worlds plays a major role in the development of this doctrine. In order for all the beings in all the worlds to be liberated, the number of liberators must be greatly increased. This explains the great number of Bodhisattvas.

Yanshou adopted the *Awakening of Faith* and interpreted the three bodies of a Buddha as being originated from the Mind-only (Suchness) and each of the three bodies as being interconnected and interdependent. He also harmonized the three bodies from the theory of mind-only or suchness in a Question and Answer section in his *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects*.²⁴⁶

Q: If there is no Buddha outside the Mind and the Buddha seen is nothing but the Mind, why does (the Pure Land Buddhism) teach that the Buddha's body of transformation appears to greet beings as they enter the Pure Land?

A: The Buddha's body of great order originally does not possess production and extinction. (The Buddha's body of) transformation originates from the true body of the Buddha's (great order) and appears to greet the deluded beings. Because (the Buddha's body of) transformation is identical to (the Buddha's) true body that completely corresponds to Suchness, it is neither coming nor going, and yet it responds according to the minds of sentient beings. Again, because (the Buddha's) body of transformation is identical to (the Buddha's) true body, we say it has no coming and going. On the other hand, because (the Buddha's) body of transformation is transformed from his true body, it has no coming and going. In other words, it is not coming yet coming, and invisible yet visible. The saying that it is not coming yet coming is similar to the reflection of the moon on the water, and the statement that it is invisible yet visible is similar to the sudden appearance of the moving clouds.

Q: As mentioned above, even though the Buddha's true body is clearly immutable, it manifests its mutability in his body of transformation. If we mention and sincerely greet other Buddhas who are actually existent outside our minds, how can we verify that our minds are identical to Buddhas?

A: The merit of the original vow of the compassionate Tathāgata, which serves as a powerful helping seed, causes sentient beings who hold affinity with the Buddha to recite the Buddha's name, practice contemplation, and accumulate blessings, wisdom and myriad virtues.

Because of the power of these merits that serves as a condition, one's Mind draws the response of the Buddha's greeting. All Buddhas cannot come to and greet (sentient beings) without depending on their bodies of transformation. Because of the seed of the merit of the original vow, they can educate sentient beings. When we have proper conditions such as suitable times and adequate capacities, we can cause our minds to see and greet the Buddhas. The body of the Buddha is eternally tranquil without coming or going. It is the cognizing minds of sentient beings, depending on the supreme power of the merit of the Buddha's original vow, that manifest the coming and going.

This is similar to the images reflected in the mirror and the activities in a dream. The images in the mirror are neither inside nor outside; the activities in

²⁴⁶ T.48.2016.505c16-506a10.

the dream are neither existing nor non-existing. However, (the images in the mirror and the activities in the dream) originate from our own minds but are not related to the Buddha's (body of) transformation. Therefore, they have neither coming nor going. If we mention them from the perspective of the merits of all Buddhas, they have coming and going. If we explain them from the characteristics of the mind of sentient beings, we can comprehend the full maturation of purified actions and observe the Buddha's body. If evil effects are accomplished, hells are manifested in our minds.

For example, if the virtuous and meritorious persons have pebbles, the pebbles are subject to be transformed to gold. If the persons who accumulated bad previous deeds have even gold, the gold is subject to be transformed to pebbles. Even though pebbles are not gold, they appear as gold. Even though gold is not pebbles, they appear as pebbles. The formation of gold is originated from our minds. The formation of pebbles is also originated from our minds. Transformation and formation completely depend on our minds. Where are gold and pebbles from? The group of the people should not doubt but realize the abovementioned meanings.²⁴⁷

As above, Yanshou considered three bodies of a Buddha as the three different manifestations of One Mind and attempted to harmonize the Buddha's transformation body and his true body, deluded beings and enlightened beings, suchness and non-suchness, no-coming and no-going and coming and going, sentient beings and Buddhas, gold and pebbles, the Buddha's body and the minds of a sentient beings, the virtuous and meritorious persons and the wicked persons who accumulated bad previous deeds, and other sets. He also employed the two key terms such as principle (*li*) and phenomena (*shi*) of Huayan Buddhism and interpreted the appearance of Buddhas from the manifestation of the One Mind. He also paradoxically explained the relations between the Buddha and the mind from the Chan Buddhist perspective in the following Question and Answer section²⁴⁸ of the *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects*:

Q: As I analyzed the facts in the above, I clarified principle and phenomena. There is no mind outside the Buddha. There is no Buddha outside the Mind. Why then should Pure Land Buddhism once again explain the practice of recollecting the Buddha (*nianfo*)?

A: The faithful repetition of the name of a Buddha (*nianfo*) practice is taught for those who do not believe that one's mind is the Buddha but who seek the Buddha outside (of the mind). Those of medium and inferior capacities are skillfully taught to concentrate their scattered thoughts on the physical features of the Buddha. Depending on the external in order to manifest the internal, one will be able to gradually awaken to one's own Mind. But those of superior

²⁴⁷ I referred to and slightly revised Heng-ching Shih's translation, 148-149.

²⁴⁸ T.48.2016.506a10-c13.

capacities are taught to contemplate the true form of the body of the Buddha. They are also taught to contemplate the Buddha.²⁴⁹

....
According to the explanation of calming (*zhi*) and insight (*guan*), when we exercise the practice of *nianfo* concentration, we should ask ourselves if it is the mind or the body that attains the (vision of the) Buddha. We cannot attain the Buddha from the mind or from the body. We cannot attain the physical form of the Buddha through the mind and we cannot attain the mind of the Buddha through form. Why is that? (When talking about) the mind, we do not have the Buddha's mind (to be attained), and when (talking about from), we do not have the Buddha's form (to be attained).

We cannot attain supreme and complete enlightenment through form and mind. When the Buddha's physical form is exhausted, his consciousnesses are extinguished. When the Buddha explains the exhaustion of them, the foolish persons do not understand them but the wise ones comprehend them. We cannot attain the Buddha through our physical bodies and mouths. We cannot attain the Buddha through our wisdoms. Why do you think so? We do not have wisdom to be searched. Even though we search it by ourselves, we cannot attain and see it. Because all elements of existence are originally non-existent, their foundation is removed and eliminated.

For example, even though we see and delightedly consider seven treasures as mine in our dreams, when we wake up, we do not know where those are. Likewise, we do (unfortunately and mistakenly) exercise the *nianfo* practice.²⁵⁰

Yanshou theoretically discussed how the practitioners of Pure Land Buddhism should cultivate their minds in the 6th Question and Answer section²⁵¹ of the *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*. He explained the Buddha's body of great order (Skt., *dharmakāya*) from the Chan Buddhist perspective and argued that we could realize the Buddha's body of great order in our minds, not outside our minds. So, he strongly suggested the practitioners to jointly practice the internal cultivation for realizing one's Buddha nature and the external adornment for the accumulation of their blessings and merits. Referring to the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* three times, he also harmonized the conditional realm of phenomena and the unconditional realm of enlightenment, waters (principle) and the waves (phenomena), wisdom and compassion, the benefit of the self and the benefit of the others, defilements and awakening, wisdom and merits, and other different sets in the following 6th Question and Answer section:²⁵²

²⁴⁹ T.48.2016.506a10-15. I referred to and slightly revised Heng-ching Shih's translation, 150.

²⁵⁰ T.48.2016.506b26-c6. I referred to and slightly revised Heng-ching Shih's translation, 149-150.

²⁵¹ T.48.2017.960b26-c13.

²⁵² Ibid.

Q: The Buddha's body of great order is serene and pure. Since all sentient beings are obscured by external dusts (particles), (the Buddha's body of great order) cannot manifest itself. The still waters of meditation would become pure, if people would only presently stop becoming entangled in (the waves of) vexing circumstances.²⁵³ Of what use are assorted good deeds? Dashing about confronting external (circumstances) and turning one's back on true cultivation only cause exhaustion and worry.

A: The tranquil manifestation of "no-mind" – this is the criterion for realizing (one's Buddha nature). Solemn, adorning practices for the accumulation of fortunes and virtues are necessary on account of (the nature of) dependent origination. Equipped with the two criteria together as a pair, the essence of Buddhahood is complete. None of the scriptures of the great vehicle fails to record this in detail. The *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* says, "The body of the Buddha is none other than the (Buddha's) body of great order. It is the product of boundless merit and wisdom. It is the product of (four immeasurable virtues such as) friendliness, compassion, joy and equanimity, and the product of the perfections such as generosity, discipline, patience, exertion, meditation, liberation, concentration, wisdom arising from hearing (of the teaching), wisdom, and so on. (...) One can obtain the body of the Buddha by removing all unwholesome elements of existence and by accumulating all wholesome elements of existence."²⁵⁴

Again, the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* says, "Because one has fortunes and virtues, one does not dwell in non-action. Because one has wisdom, one does not negate conditional phenomena. Because one has friendliness and compassion, one does not abide in non-action. Because one fulfills the original vow, one does not get rid of the conditional phenomena."²⁵⁵ When one turns one's back on the scriptures of the true perfect teaching but does not follow the words of the Buddha, one behaves as if one is chained to nirvāṇa and wants to drown in the pit of liberation. When one desire to seek the fruit of awakening, if one plants the lotus flower on a high plateau and grows sugar cane in the sky, what can one attain? Therefore, it is said in *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, "Those who enter the true state of the non-conditional (phenomena) cannot generate the Buddha's teaching. (...) Just as one who does not enter the great sea cannot attain priceless jewel, one who does not enter the great sea of defilements cannot attain the jewels of all wisdom."²⁵⁶

²⁵³ We can see the metaphor of water and its waves in the *Awakening of Faith*.

²⁵⁴ T.14.475.539c1-7.

²⁵⁵ T.14.475.554c15-17.

²⁵⁶ T.14.475.549b10-15. See Albert Welter and Heng-ching Shih's translations, 211-213 and 210-211 respectively.

Yanshou considered textual study to be complementary to the chanting practice. He asserted that if we simultaneously use the practice of the self-power and the practice of the other's power, we could attain awakening more easily and quickly than the exclusive adoption of either of them. He also explained how effectively the chanting of Buddhist scriptures generates the merits for the practitioners to attain enlightenment and attempted to harmonize the chanting of Buddhist scriptures and the awakening of your minds, the easy practice and the difficult practice, the intellectual gate and the intuitive (awakening) gate in the 15th Question and Answer section of the *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*.²⁵⁷

Q: The scriptures only praise those who practice according to the teachings, that is, those who understand the profound meaning, and diligently seek no-thought in order to harmonize with the profound essence of the teachings. Now why do you encourage people to engage in chanting the scriptures?

A: If those with the most perfect and supreme capacities are endowed with the purity and maturity of their great capacity and their freedom from any obstacles, they can suddenly understand (Buddhist doctrines) and suddenly cultivate (Buddhist practices). If we do not generate deluded thoughts, how should we need auxiliary practices? One can remove all minute deluded thoughts only when one attains the stage of the Buddha. Therefore, the preface of the *Anban shouyi jing* (Skt., *Ānāpāna Sūtra*) says, "During the snap of a finger, the mind changes nine hundred and sixty times. In one day and one night, the mind generates one billion three hundred million thoughts. Even though our body is full of the thoughts, our mind is not aware of them just as famers (who do not know how much they will reap from the seeds they have planted)." ²⁵⁸ Because the obstruction of desire is great, one has extremely difficulty in purifying it completely. If one does not initiate assistance through the myriad good deeds, one has a danger that one might remain stagnant, depending solely on one's own power. Moreover, if one discusses the deeds for creating fortunes through good conduct, one manifests great awakening through (the perfect and sudden gate, i.e.,) universal engagement in the myriad practices whenever the mind is active, and through always being able to assist the Way (to enlightenment) without neglecting any (of the practices). When one fulfills the ten ways of receiving and upholding (Buddhist teaching), ²⁵⁹ one might have nothing that can obstruct oneself.

Therefore, the *Lotus Sūtra* says, "At that time, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas as numerous as dust particles of a thousand worlds appear from the earth. In the presence of the Buddha, they single-mindedly put their palms

²⁵⁷ T.48.2017.963a29-b20.

²⁵⁸ See T.15.602.163a17-18. It is also included in the *Chu sanzang ji*, T.55.2145.43a12-13.

²⁵⁹ See the *Madhyāntavibhāṅgabhāṅga* by Vasubandhu and translated by Xuanzang, T.31.1600.474b18-c2, and cited by Zongmi, X.5.229.291b9, X.5.229.301a7, and X.5.229.302c12.

together, looked up toward the face of the Buddha and said to him, “Oh, the World-honored One! After the Buddha’s final death, both in the place where the Buddha passed away and in the lands wherein the emanations of the World-honored One are displayed, we shall extensively expound this (*Lotus*) *Sūtra*. Why? Since all of us also attain the truly pure great teaching (of the *Lotus Sūtra*) for ourselves, we should (1) receive and uphold it, (2) read and recite it, (3) explain it, (4) copy and record it, and (5) make offerings to it.”²⁶⁰ As a result, we know that Bodhisattvas, who have advanced through the stages of a Bodhisattva, not only explicate (the scripture) for the sake of others, but they also issue vows to recite it and uphold it for themselves. How cannot the beginning practitioners follow (the same practices)? At first, they should practice as taught (in Buddhist scriptures) only after first seeking entrance to (the path of) enlightenment by faith. They should assist in initiating true wisdom by engaging their mouths verbally and their minds mentally. If one has not yet mastered the Buddhist teaching of fundamental principle, one will still be permeated with roots of goodness, even though one does not personally understand the teaching, by following the words and letters (of Buddhist scriptures). The miraculous power of wisdom esoterically assists the beginners and advanced practitioners. Each and every thought, no matter how minute, occurring to one situated in the true teaching (the orthodox teaching of Buddhism), constitutes the initial cause (of one’s enlightenment). In the final analysis, none is rejected.²⁶¹

As mentioned above, Yanshou introduced ten kinds of practice from the *Madhyāntavibhāṅgabhāṣya* by Vasubandhu and translated by Xuanzang (609-703) in 661.²⁶² Zongmi cited them in his sub-commentary²⁶³ on his master Qingliang Chengguan’s *Commentary*²⁶⁴ on the Chapter of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva’s Vows of the *Huayan Sūtra*.²⁶⁵ The ten practices that the practitioners of the great vehicle should preserve and implement are (1) to popularize Buddhist texts by copying them, (2) to respect them just as the Buddhists respect the shrines in which the Buddha’s relics are enshrined, (3) to benefit other beings by teaching to them the texts that he learned, (4) to carefully listen the texts that other people teach to me, (5) to always review and read the texts that the Buddha expounded, (6) to receive and uphold the texts, (7) to expound and display the texts and let sentient beings understand the proper teaching of them, (8) to recite and chant the texts and let sentient beings very happily listen to them, (9) to think of the meanings of the texts that the Buddha expounded and let sentient beings not to forget them, and (10) to cultivate their minds and attain enlightenment based on the texts. He also

²⁶⁰ T.9.262.51c9-14. I itemized the quote by myself.

²⁶¹ See Heng-ching Shih’s translation, 227-229 and Albert Welter’s translation, 216-218.

²⁶² T.31.1600.474b18-c2.

²⁶³ X.5.229.220b1-329b24.

²⁶⁴ X.5.227.48b3-198c24.

²⁶⁵ X.5.229.291b9, X.5.229.301a7, and X.5.229.302c12.

introduced the five kinds of practice continuously repeated in the *Lotus Sūtra* that the practitioners of the great vehicle should adopt, preserve and exercise.²⁶⁶ The five kinds of practice are (1) the reception and upholding of the Buddhist texts, especially the *Lotus Sūtra*, (2) the reading and recitation of them, (3) the explanation of them, (4) the copying and recording of them, and (5) the providing of offerings to them. He introduced two sets of practice from the abovementioned two major Buddhist texts and highly emphasized the textual study.

As explained above, even though Yanshou emphasized the chanting practice, he did not exclude textual study at all. Rather, if we jointly use both practices to cultivate our minds, we can have the much better effects than the exclusive employment of either of them. Likewise, the faithful repetition of a Buddha's name and the recitation of a Buddhist text guide us to have better meditation. Yanshou equally considered different practices without hierarchically classifying them. As the chanting of the title of a Buddha leads us to enlightenment, the recitation of a Buddhist text also guides us to enlightenment. As the meditation is one of soteriological methods, the practice of the invocation of a Buddha also is one of soteriological practices. He equally considered meditation and wisdom. He also extensively detailed the benefits of chanting of the titles of Buddhas and/or Bodhisattvas and of reciting the Buddhist texts. By referring to various texts, he attempted to textually synthesize the chanting of Pure Land Buddhism with the meditation of Chan Buddhism in the following 13th Question and Answer section²⁶⁷ of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*²⁶⁸

Q: (The *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra*) says, "When one contemplates the body, one contemplates its true characteristics. In the same manner, one should contemplate the Buddha."²⁶⁹ When no thought arises, true reality is suddenly manifested. Why should one transmigrate in and move around the cycle of birth and death, invoking the Buddha's names and extensively chanting scriptures? If so, one already prohibited oneself from meditation and just followed only the sounds (of chanting). If the (still) waters move, pearls are (simultaneously) obscured. How can (chanting and meditation) be harmonious?

A: Generally speaking, sound is the treasury of all meanings, and words are the gate to liberation. Everything is subject to be sound, and sound itself is

²⁶⁶ I identified at least eighteen times the five kinds of practice in the *Lotus Sūtra* translated by Kumārajīva in 405 or in 406, T.9.262.30c10, T.9.262.30c18-19, T.9.262.36b17, T.9.262.47c4-5, T.9.262.47c23-24, T.9.262.48b16-17, T.9.262.49b15-16, T.9.262.49c22-23, T.9.262.50a19, T.9.262.51b8-9, T.9.262.51c13-14, T.9.262.52a20-21, T.9.262.52a21-22, T.9.262.58b16, T.9.262.61c2, T.9.262.61c7-8, T.9.262.61c14, and T.9.262.61c22-23.

²⁶⁷ T.48.2017.962a3-c3.

²⁶⁸ T.48.2017.962a3-b7.

²⁶⁹ T.14.475.554c29-555a1.

supposed to be the Dharma realm. (The *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*) says, “each and every element of existence encompasses all elements of existence.”²⁷⁰ Therefore, one should know that each sound and word encompasses the ten realms²⁷¹ without obstruction and the principle of the three truths²⁷² is perfectly harmonious. Why should one refute this one and accept the other one? If one seeks truth apart from characteristics without tracing the source of movement and purity, one might not understand the significance of sound (chanting) and silence (meditation). Therefore, (the *Awakening of Faith*) says, “When a thought arises without initial characteristics, this is true thought.”²⁷³ One does not need to remove characteristics, thought and sound in order to be in harmony with truth. So within the realm of enlightenment, none of the myriad practices is wanting and within the sea of true suchness, not even one hair is forsaken. Furthermore, the teachings clearly specify the recitation of the Buddha’s name. One utterance of chanting can eliminate offenses as numerous as dust particles. If one is endowed with the ten repetitions (of an invocation, for example, Amitābha Buddha), one is born and dwells in the Pure Land. If so, one is saved from danger and can overcome obstacles. Not only are present sufferings eradicated, but due to (this practice), one eventually enters the sea of enlightenment.

(The *Lotus Sūtra*) says, “If one enters a stūpa or temple even with distracted mind and just says “Refuge to the Buddha” just once, one can immediately obtain Buddhahood.”²⁷⁴ Again, the (*Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*) says, “If someone uphold the Buddha’s name, all Buddhas protect them.”²⁷⁵ The *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra* says, “When one utters the Buddha’s name loudly, the army of demons disperses.”²⁷⁶ The *Saptaśatikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* states, “Foolish sentient beings cannot realize (enlightenment) through meditation. If they should be taught to recite the Buddha’s name continuously, they will certainly be born in the land of the Buddha.”²⁷⁷ The *Wisdom Śāstra* mentions, “(The effect of the recitation of the Buddha’s name is like a new born baby immediately walking one thousand miles a day. The merit that one accrues through making offerings of the seven jewels to the Buddhas even for one thousand years is not equal to the merit that one obtains from the practice of invoking the Buddha’s name just once in this degenerated world.”²⁷⁸

The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* states, “If a person recites the Buddha’s name even with a distracted mind, his blessings will not be exhausted until their

²⁷⁰ T.16.663.346c2.

²⁷¹ The ten realms are (1) the hell realm, (2) the realm of hungry ghosts, (3) that of animals, (4) that of *asuras*, (5) that of human beings, (6) that of heavenly beings, (7) that of voice-hearers, (8) that of solitary realizers, (9) that of bodhisattvas, and (10) that of Buddhas.

²⁷² The three truths are (1) the truth of emptiness, (2) the provisional truth, and (3) the truth of middle path.

²⁷³ T.32.1666.576b25.

²⁷⁴ T.9.262.9a24-25.

²⁷⁵ T.12.366.348a9-10.

²⁷⁶ I could not identify the quote in the *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra*.

²⁷⁷ I could not identify the quote in the *Saptaśatikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*.

²⁷⁸ I could not trace the quote in the *Wisdom Śāstra*.

sufferings come to an end.”²⁷⁹ The *Ekottarāgama* mentions, “If one offers four things ²⁸⁰ to all sentient beings in the Jambudvīpa, ²⁸¹ one’s merit is immeasurable. But if a person calls the Buddha’s name with a consistently wholesome mind for the time it takes to milk a cow, the immeasurable, inconceivable merit obtained surpasses the former.”²⁸²

The *Huayan Sūtra* states, “If one dwells on one’s mind of self-mastery on the invocation of the Buddha’s name and knows that this is all that one desires, then all Buddhas manifest themselves before one.”²⁸³ Therefore, the venerable Feixi (d.u.) (of the mid-Tang Dynasty) loudly practiced the invocation of the Buddha. His *Nianfo sanmei baowang lun* (Jewel-king Nianfo (faithful repetition of the name of a Buddha) Samādhi Treatise) states, “A person who can swim in the great sea must have practiced in hundreds of rivers. One who utters the Buddha’s name will certainly accomplish concentration (Skt., *samādhi*). Just as when a pure pearl is placed in impure waters, the water inevitably becomes clean, so when recitation is implanted in a disturbed mind, the mind inevitably concentrates on the Buddha. Once the mind and the Buddha become fused, both the mind and the Buddha cease. The cessation of these two is concentration, and the mutual illumination of both is wisdom. When both concentration and wisdom are equally manifested, which mind is not the Buddha and which Buddha is not the mind? If the mind and the Buddha are integrated in this way, all phenomena and all conditions are nothing but concentration.”²⁸⁴ Who needs to worry that the invocation of the Buddha’s name will disturb the mind?²⁸⁵

As above, Yanshou harmonized the invocation of the Buddha and concentration, wisdom and meditation, the mind and the Buddha. He also cited the *Sūtra on the Variation of Karmic Retribution* (*Yebao chabie jing*) in the same 13th Question and Answer section²⁸⁶ and introduced ten kinds of merit of the loud recitation of the Buddha’s name and the loud reading of the Buddhist scriptures from the scripture, “(1) the removal of drowsiness; (2) the tremble of gods and demons with fear; (3) the pervasion of its sound in the ten directions; (4) the elimination of the sufferings of beings in the three paths; (5) the prevention of other sounds from distracting the mind; (6) the prevention of disturbance of the mind; (7) the courageous endeavors; (8) the pleasing of all Buddhas; (9) the manifestation of concentration; and (10) the birth in the Pure Land.”

²⁷⁹ I found out the similar, not exact, sentence in *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, T.8.223.375a12-13.

²⁸⁰ The four offerings are (1) clothing, (2) food, (3) bedding, and (4) medicine.

²⁸¹ The Jambudvīpa (the southern continent) is one of the four continents in the four directions around Mt. Sumeru according to the ancient Indian worldview.

²⁸² T.2.125.740a17-24.

²⁸³ T.10.279.334c18-19.

²⁸⁴ T.47.1967.134a25-b2.

²⁸⁵ I referred to and slightly revised Heng-ching Shih’s translation, 219-221.

²⁸⁶ T.48.2017.962b7-11.

Yanshou concisely classified the relation between Chinese Buddhism's two practical traditions, Chan and Pure Land Buddhism, in his famous poem of four stanzas and strongly defended his ecumenism between Chan and Pure Land Buddhism as follows:²⁸⁷

If they practice only Chan, not Pure Land Buddhism,
Nine of ten practitioners might tumble down.
When their afterlives appear,
They would be swept away in an eye-blinking instant.

If they do not practice Chan, but Pure Land Buddhism,
If ten thousand Buddhists practice Pure Land Buddhism,
They all are subject to be born in (Amitāyus Buddha's land).
If they only see him there,
Why should they worry about their not obtaining enlightenment?

If they practice both Chan and Pure Land Buddhism,
Like horned tigers,
They are supposed to be the teachers of all beings in this world,
They are subject to be patriarchs or Buddhas in the future.

If they do not practice Chan and Pure Land Buddhism,
They seem like they hold copper pillars on the iron beds.
Even though they pass through ten thousand eons and one thousand lives,
They do not have anyone else to rely on.

As above, even though Yanshou was a famous Chan master, he prioritized Pure Land Buddhism to Chan Buddhism and advocated the joint practice of Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism. His poem became the model for the Chan / Pure Land ecumenists in the Sino-Korean Buddhist tradition. Zhuhong (1535-1615) and other later joint practitioners of Chan and Pure Land Buddhism loyally inherited Yanshou's ecumenism. Ha Dongsan of modern Korean Buddhism, furthermore, faithfully transmitted Yanshou and Zhuhong's ecumenism.

Yanshou comprehensively harmonized Chan meditation and doctrinal thought in his voluminous *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects* in one hundred fascicles. He explained in the concluding part of its preface why he wrote the text, "The *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects* elucidates comprehensively the main teachings of the Buddhas and patriarchs and the essence of their scriptures and commentaries. It omits their complicated contents, retains only their essence, employs the form of a catechism and quotes extensively from texts as scriptural proofs. The purport of this work is to enunciate the One Mind as the "central tenet" (*zong*) which illuminates all elements of existences like a "mirror" (*jing*). Because this work is composed of

²⁸⁷ X.61.1163.632a19-24.

the profound meaning of the teachings of ancient worthies and the perfect teachings of Buddhist scriptures, it is called “records” (*lu*). It consists of one hundred fascicles in three sections. The first section indicates the theme to be followed. The second section is the Question and Answer section to eliminate doubts. The last section is the citations and quotations from texts as scriptural proofs in order to induce faith. Therefore, I want to extensively educate all sentient beings with these mysterious good deeds.”²⁸⁸

The first half of the first fascicle is the first section²⁸⁹ and indicates the theme of the whole work, that is, the doctrine of One Mind derived from the *Awakening of the Faith*. The second section, presented in the Question and Answer form, consists of the second half of the first fascicle to the 93rd fascicle.²⁹⁰ The last section constitutes the fascicles from the 94th fascicle to the last and 100th fascicle, including numberless quotations from various texts to prove the preceding discussions.²⁹¹ Yanshou detailed the main themes and the structure of his *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects* in the following first section:²⁹²

Carefully reviewed, while the patriarchs indicated the central principle of Chan Buddhism and transmitted the orthodox tenets of Chan Buddhism from mind to mind in silence, the Buddhas displayed the gate of Buddhist doctrines and explicated the great meaning of all scriptures expressed in languages. So, ancient wise Chan masters returned to the tenets and later scholars are subject to follow the teachings.

Therefore, first, I arranged the first section for the main themes of the whole work. Because many people have a lot of doubts, they are subject to ask questions and to receive answers and solve questions. I caused them to express their doubts through questions and let them comprehend mysterious understandings through answers. Because people find it difficult to trust in and understand this perfect teaching, the teaching is the highest teaching and is delivered to the persons of the highest capacities. If one establishes (the main themes) without depending on the languages and scriptures, one cannot remove the attachment to one’s own passions. Because one can point out the moon through one’s own pointing finger, one is able to have skillful means. If one forgets a net after catching a rabbit, one is naturally subject to be the followers of the true teaching of Buddhism.

Next, I arranged the second section presented in Question and Answer form. Because we are living in the degenerated times, we find it difficult to encounter the practitioners of the higher capacities. Their contemplation is shallow, their minds are dull, their capacities are not sharp, and their wisdom is inferior. Therefore, even though they know the central tenets to which they

²⁸⁸ T.48.2016.417a19-25. I referred to and slightly revised Heng-ching Shih’s translation, 120.

²⁸⁹ T.48.2016.417b5-418a12.

²⁹⁰ T.48.2016.418a13-924a7.

²⁹¹ T.48.2016.924a14-957b15.

²⁹² T.48.2016b5-16.

return, they should gradually dissolve defilements and obstructions by solving doubts through questions and answers.

(Finally), if we want to solidify the power of belief, we should (textually) prove it. So, extensively citing various statements of Buddhas and patriarchs, we esoterically match ourselves to the followers of the great teaching of the perfect teaching. I comprehensively adopted the central meanings of the various scriptures and commentaries and harmoniously perfected the determined true mind. I arranged the last and third section to provide the citations and quotations from texts as scriptural proofs.

Yanshou cited Zongmi's sayings on and strongly backed up ecumenism between doctrinal and Chan Buddhism in his *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects*.²⁹³ The original sayings by Zongmi are as follows: "The founder of all Buddhist sects is Śākyamuni Buddha. The scriptures originate from the Buddha's sayings and the Chan texts from the Buddha's intentions. The Buddha's sayings and intentions should be identical, not contradictory. All patriarchs directly transmitted (the Buddha's sayings and intentions). When Bodhisattvas composed the commentaries on the scriptures, from the beginning to the end, they simply extended the Buddha's scriptures. The patriarchs from (the 1st patriarch) Mahākāśyapa to (the 4th patriarch) Upagupta transmitted all three collections in the Buddhist canon, i.e., scriptures, vinaya, and commentaries, without exclusion. Because monks began to dispute each other, the vinaya and scriptures became separated since the time of (the 5th patriarch) Dhīrtika of Indian Chan Buddhism. When Buddhism was transmitted to Kashmir, a king persecuted Buddhism. At the time, scriptures and commentaries became divided. During the interval, two patriarchs Āśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna wrote commentaries and interpreted scriptures in ten million verses, observed customs and educated sentient beings. Even though they did not have fixed rules, scholars did not criticize meditators and meditators did not oppose scholars."²⁹⁴

Loyally following the previous ecumenist Zongmi, he strongly supported and explained ecumenism between doctrinal Buddhism and Chan Buddhism. He, furthermore, interpreted even radical Chan sectarians including Mazu Daoyi from his ecumenical perspective. He harmonized Chan Buddhism with doctrinal Buddhism in the 3rd Question and Answer section²⁹⁵ of his *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects* as follows:²⁹⁶

Q: If you desire to manifest the central tenets (of Buddhism), you are enough to comprehend the intentions of (Chan) patriarchs. (However), why should you cite the sayings of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and guide (Chan) practitioners to (enlightenment)? Therefore, a Chan master said, "We should

²⁹³ T.48.2016.418b5-10.

²⁹⁴ T.48.2015.400b10-17.

²⁹⁵ T.48.2016.418a13-419c26.

²⁹⁶ T.48.2016.418a13-b5.

not consider the eyes of a shrimp as those of a human. If so, we can become intellectual sages but cannot obtain the patriarchate."²⁹⁷

A: (The early Chan patriarchs) did not prohibit textual studies. What they were concerned with was that people might literally interpret the words of the Buddha without true understanding of them and miss the Buddha's original intent. If one can attain insight and directly realize the Buddha's mind by means of textual exposition, what is wrong with scriptural studies?

For example, (Chan) Master Yaoshan always studied the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* without letting the scripture free from his hands throughout his whole life. One day, a disciple asked him, "You always did not allow your students to read scriptures. Why do you read the scripture by yourself?" The master responded, "(I see the scripture) only to block my eyes." (The disciple) asked, "Can I, this student, read it?" The master said, "If you read it, you can penetrate even the cow's skin." Just as the first patriarch (of Chan Buddhism) (i.e., Mahākāśyapa) in India did, (Master Yaoshan of Chinese Chan Buddhism did).

Because Śākyamuni Buddha, the founder of our Buddhism, directly inherited his teaching to his disciple Mahākāśyapa, Mahākāśyapa became the first patriarch (of Indian Chan Buddhism). The lineage of (the twenty-eight patriarchs of Indian Chan Buddhism) was continuously and without interruption transmitted to the six patriarchs of our Chinese Chan Buddhism. The twenty-eight Indian Chan patriarchs and six Chinese Chan patriarchs all are originally the disciples of the Buddha. Now, we cite the sayings of the Buddha, the founder of our Buddhism, and educate his disciples. We guide them to enlightenment through his sayings. We educate them to understand the central tenets through his textual teachings and let them not to seek after the external conditions.

If we completely comprehend the intention of the Buddha and obtain the patriarchate, why should we need to discuss the Chan soteriology such as subitism and gradualism? If we realize our nature and reveal our complete perfection, why should we need to indicate the sequential stage? If so, how can we have contradictions between (Chan Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism)?

For example, twenty eight patriarchs of Indian Chan Buddhism and six patriarchs of our Chinese Chan Buddhism as well as great master Mazu Daoyi (709-788), national master Nanyang Huizhong (675?-775?), Chan Master Ehu Dayi (735-818), Chan Master Sikong Benjing (667-761), and so forth, were versed in scriptures and commentaries, from which they awakened to their self-nature and based on which they taught their disciples. Without sincerely referring to texts, they did not indicate their own thoughts and did not express their own delusions.

Therefore, the true lineage of Chan Buddhism continued without break. Because (Chan Buddhism) considered the holy textual sayings (of the Buddha) as its checking standard, it prohibited wicked and wrong views. Because it regarded the highest Buddhist teaching as a guiding standard, it reasonably relied upon it.

He argued that textual investigation helps the Chan practitioners to obtain enlightenment and that Chan Buddhists needs textual investigation to verify

²⁹⁷ I could not identify the quote in the Chan texts.

their enlightenment. He criticized both Chan absolutists and doctrine absolutists. Loyal following his preceding ecumenist Zongmi,²⁹⁸ he asserted that if Chan Buddhists practice meditation without wisdom, their Chan might be foolish Chan²⁹⁹ and that if Buddhist scholars conduct research in Buddhist texts without concentration (meditation), their research guides them to crazy wisdom.³⁰⁰ He contended that Chan masters should understand the teachings of the Buddha, referring to two cases, as the following quote attests:³⁰¹

Anyone regarded as a Chan master should understand the words of the Buddha with which he verifies his realization. If his realization does not accord with the perfect teaching of the one vehicle that reveals the ultimate truth, not the provisional truth, even though he might attain holy fruition, it is not ultimate. I will textually verify my argument by recording two cases and verifying the aforementioned (ecumenism between Chan Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism).

Mazu Daoyi said, “Master Bodhidharma came to China from South India in order to transmit the teaching of the One Mind of the great vehicle. He revealed the minds of sentient beings by relying on the (doctrinal teaching of) the *La-kāvatāra-sūtra* because he was afraid that (Chan Buddhists) might not believe in the teaching of the One Mind.”³⁰²

The *La-kāvatāra-sūtra* states, “The Buddha said that the mind is the central tenet (of Chan Buddhism) and the gateless (of Chan Buddhism) becomes the gate to Buddhist teachings.”³⁰³ Why does the Buddha state that the mind is the central tenet? The mind that the Buddha mentions means that the mind is the Buddha. When we talk, the mind speaks. Therefore, it says, “The Buddha states that the mind is the central tenet and the gateless is the gate to Buddhist teachings.”³⁰⁴

As above, Yanshou introduced two cases to support his argument. He referred to Chan Master Mazu Daoyi, one of the most representative Chan masters to verify the *La-kāvatāra-sūtra*, the key teaching of doctrinal Buddhism and one of the most famous Buddhist scriptures to prove the central tenet of Chan Buddhism. He also cited National Master Nanyang Huizhong who said as follows:³⁰⁵

²⁹⁸ T.48.2015.399c16-17.

²⁹⁹ T.48.2017.958a27.

³⁰⁰ T.47.1976.388a29, and T.47.1976.389c10.

³⁰¹ T.48.2016.418b10-18.

³⁰² X.67.1309.572c3-6 and X.85.1593.373b23.

³⁰³ I could not identify the quote in the *La-kāvatāra-sūtra* (T.16.670.479a2-514b26).

However, the quote is cited in various Chan texts, T.47.1997.784a5, T.48.2003.153c25-26, T.48.2005.292b12, T.48.2016.417b29, T.48.2016.742c25-26, T.48.2016.953a7-8, T.49.2036.608c15-16, T.51.2076.246a9, T.81.2563.82c5, T.81.2574.558c6-7, T.81.2576.608c26-27, T.82.2591.460b19-20, T.82.2600.619b02, and other texts.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ T.48.2016.418c10-17.

Because the teaching of Chan Buddhism relies on the ultimate meaning of the one vehicle of the Buddha's teachings, it matches to the mind ground of the fundamental origin. Because it is transmitted continuously from patriarch to patriarch, it matches to the Buddha's teachings. One should not arbitrarily make one's own personal (improper) views and understandings, depending on delusive thoughts and incomplete teachings and causing the later students who learn Buddhism not to have benefits. Even though one should rely on one's master and accept the main meaning of Chan Buddhism, if the main meaning of Chan Buddhism matches to the complete teaching, one is allowed to practice it. However, if it is the incomplete teaching, one is not allowed to practice it. It is figured to a vermin who eats the flesh of a lion and finally destroys him. Only the heavenly satanic beings and heretics are notable to destroy the Buddhist teachings.³⁰⁶

If Chan practitioners do not have a proper understanding of doctrinal Buddhism, they cannot attain enlightenment. They should utilize the intellectual understanding of Buddhism to guide themselves to enlightenment. If Buddhist scholars do not have a proper meditation, they cannot attain a proper understanding. They should incorporate meditation to obtain proper wisdom. Just as meditation without wisdom is dangerous, textual study without meditation also is detrimental. Yanshou continuously argued that Chan Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism should be supplementary to and should not negate each other as follows:³⁰⁷

Therefore, the first patriarch (Bodhidharma of Chinese Chan Buddhism) came to China from India and established Chan Buddhism. He desired to transmit "mind-seal" (in China) by depending on Buddhist scriptures. He used the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* to certify the origin of the doctrinal teachings. He made the heretics stop their criticisms of Buddhism and caused Buddhists to learn Buddhism and transmit it to later Buddhists. His Dharma descendants became prosperous and the Buddhist teachings were popular.

Therefore, if beginners, before they obtain self-realization, do not depend on the orthodox tenet of the holy teachings, what else can they base their cultivation and progress on? Even though they do not generate erroneous views, they might follow the heretic masters.

It is said that my knowledge is originally correct, but because of heretic masters, it becomes deviant.³⁰⁸ Followers of the ninety-six heretic doctrines in India³⁰⁹ belonged to such people. Hence, we know that wood cannot be cut

³⁰⁶ The quote is also seen in X.63.1240.241b24-c4, and X.65.1281.254b19-24.

³⁰⁷ T.48.2016.419a21-b10.

³⁰⁸ The statement is often mentioned in the Chan texts, T.51.2076.327a21, X.10.253.301b01, X.10.259.526c7, X.68.1315.214c3, X.68.1315.214c4, X.70.1398.648a11, X.70.1403.757c3-4, X.79.1560.517a23, X.81.1571.521b18, X.83.1578.556a15, and other texts.

³⁰⁹ Yanshou described one hundred and twenty heretical views in his *Weixin jue*, T.48.2018.995c5-996b11.

straight without the help of the (carpenter's) marking line, and the principle (of Chan Buddhism) cannot be perfected without the help of (Buddhist) teachings.

Like above, I cited two or three textual cases. Those should be considered as the great guiding masters, the masters of Chan Buddhism, a kylin and a dragon of a Chan garden, and an exemplar of Chan Buddhism.³¹⁰

....
Again, those who desire to learn the Buddha vehicle and to search the treasure storehouse (of the scriptures) should return (what they learned) to themselves and let each and every word of it tallied with the true mind. They should not attach themselves to the superficial meaning of words, not generate (erroneous) views from letters. They should directly search the meaning of what is said (in the scriptures) and let it matched to the fundament tenet (of Chan Buddhism). If so, the master-less wisdom (of intellectual Buddhism) will be revealed and the true principle (of Chan Buddhism) will not be obscured.³¹¹

Yanshou also suggested that Buddhist scholars should not become attached to Buddhist texts but comprehend the meanings behind the texts. He also encouraged Chan practitioners to rely on Buddhist texts and to reveal the central tenet of Chan Buddhism. He suggested that Buddhists should jointly practice Chan meditation and textual study. He asserted that if we learn Buddhist texts, we are able to improve the power of meditation and if we practice Chan meditation, we are able to comprehend the central teaching of Buddhist texts. By referring to some Buddhist texts, he highly recommended that Buddhists accept the joint practice of wisdom and meditation in the following 47th Question and Answer section³¹² of his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*³¹³

Q: If (Chan practitioners) extensively listen to Buddhist texts, comprehensively read them, exclusively learn them, totally memorize and preserve them, and completely investigate and comprehend the meaning of them, can they realize nature and attain enlightenment?

A: If one forms one's views based on languages; creates one's understanding based on texts; attaches oneself to words and forgets their meanings; clings to scriptures and deludes one's mind; and does not differentiate the moon (objective) with the pointing finger (means), one finds it difficult to realize one's (Buddha) nature. If one attains enlightenment based on languages; manifest the tenet (Chan Buddhism) based on the (Buddha's) teachings; completely understand the perfect explication (of the Buddha's teachings); and perfectly investigate the real intention of the Buddha, one can accomplish the treasure storehouse by accumulating wide information and the ocean of wisdom by depending on extensive learning. The entrance to the sagehood of an ordinary man is based on the power of profound learning. Even though one gets in danger, one is able to be safe from it based on the advantage

³¹⁰ T.48.2016.419a21-b1.

³¹¹ T.48.2016.419b6-10.

³¹² T.48.2017.974b26-c20.

³¹³ Ibid.

of the mysterious wisdom. The language is the steps through which one can enter enlightenment. The teaching is likened to the carpenter's inking string that standardizes right and wrong, good and evil.³¹⁴

Therefore, two chapters of the perfect teaching of one vehicle³¹⁵ encourage Buddhists to jointly practice (the meditation of Chan Buddhism and the reading and recitation (of Buddhist scriptures). If they do not retreat from their stages, when they learn the Buddhist teachings, they will not be bored with them at all. If they learn them, they can also attain the power of supporting (Chan) contemplation. If they study them, they can also accomplish the various advantages of wisdom. How can they make their eyes as the eyes of cows and sheep and differentiate directions? How can they differentiate (a stupid person), i.e., beans and barley with their foolish and stubborn mind?³¹⁶

4. Daegak Uicheon (1055-1101)

4.1. Biography

In the middle of the Goryeo Dynasty, Jinul, the actual founder of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism continued today, loyally transmitted Zongmi's harmonization of the practice of Chan Buddhism and doctrinal Huayan Buddhism from Chinese Buddhism. He also inherited previous ecumenists Wonhyo and Uicheon's³¹⁷ ecumenism of Korean Buddhism, popularizing the ecumenical trend in the world of Korean Buddhism. Wonhyo harmonized all the different doctrinal traditions available at his time. Uicheon, a prince who became a monk, harmonized such doctrinal traditions as Huayan (Kor., Hwaem) Buddhism and Tiantai (Kor., Cheontae) Buddhism with Seon (Chn., Chan; Jpn., Zen) traditions. He tried to ecumenize Seon traditions from the perspective of doctrinal traditions, particularly Huayan and Tiantai Buddhism.

Uicheon³¹⁸ was the fourth son of King Munjong (r. 1047-1082) and Queen Inye. He was born on September 28, 1055. He became a novice monk under National Master Gyeongdeok Nanwon (999-1066),³¹⁹ a specialist in Hwaem Buddhism, at the age of 11 on May 14, 1065, at Yeongtong-sa Temple in the capital Gaeseong. In October of the same year, he received full ordination in the

³¹⁴ T.48.2017.974b26-c3.

³¹⁵ I could not identify the two chapters of the perfect teaching of one vehicle.

³¹⁶ T.48.2017.974c17-20.

³¹⁷ I Jeong, ed., 230-231.

³¹⁸ I heavily referred to the biography section of Daegak Uicheon in Jo Myeonggi, *Goryeo Daegak guksa wa cheontae sasang* (National Master Daegak Uicheon and his Cheontae Thought) (1962, Seoul: Gyeongseo-won, 1982), 7-28 and introduced his biography in this section.

³¹⁹ I Jeong, ed., 55.

Diamond Precept Platform at Bulil-sa Temple and since then, he ecumenically and syncretically studied various subjects such as scriptures, vinaya and commentaries in Buddhism, Confucian texts, history and Chinese philosophies. His father King Munjong provided the honorific name “Use” and the highest clerical position of Korean Buddhism “*seungton*” (Supervisor of Korean Buddhism) to his son Daegak Uicheon in 1067.

We can find many examples of princes who become monks in the Goryeo Dynasty.³²⁰ King Gwangjong established the state examination system for monks and the government system of national and royal masters and elevated the position of monks during his reign. King Jeongjong (r. 945-949) made a law that the fourth son should become a monk in a family. His father Munjong (r. 1046-1083) of Uicheon enacted a law that the third son should become a monk in a family. So, because many people, both commoners and nobles, became monks, the number of monks rapidly increased. Many princes also became monks in the pro-Buddhism atmosphere of the Goryeo Dynasty.

Jingtong (d.u.), the 5th son of King Taejo (r. 918-943), the founding king of the Goryeo Dynasty, became a monk. King Hyeonjong (r. 1009-1031), the father of King Munjong, was a monk when he was a child. His younger brothers Jeong and Hwan became monks. Jingeom (1090-1141),³²¹ the fifth son of his elder brother King Sukjong (r. 1095-1105), became Uicheon’s disciple. Chunghui (d. 1183),³²² the fourth son of King Injong (r. 1122-1146); Gyeongji (d.u.),³²³ the fourth son of King Huijong (r. 1204-1211); and Chungmyeong (d.u.),³²⁴ the fifth son of the same king became monks.

As the kingdom became consolidated, King Munjong built Heungwang-sa Temple in Gaeseong during 12 years from 1056 to 1068. Uicheon published Buddhist tripitaka in the temple. The king established a golden stūpa and enshrined the *Huayan Sūtra* written in gold at the temple. His mother Queen Inye, the wife of King Munjong, also established Gukcheong-sa Temple in Gaeseong and enshrined two major Yogācāra texts, the *Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra* in one hundred fascicles and the *Xianyang shengjiao lun* (Acclamation of the Holy Teaching) in twenty fascicles, written in silver at the temple. Xuanzang translated the *Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra* between July 3, 646 and June 11, 648 and the *Xianyang shengjiao lun* between October 26 or November 5, 645 and February 5, 646.

He very often corresponded with Jinshui Jingyuan (1011-1088) of Song China (960-1279) and obtained advanced Buddhist studies from him.³²⁵ He also obtained Jingyuan’s portrait and writings. He petitioned his father King

³²⁰ Jo Myeonggi, 9-10.

³²¹ I Jeong, ed., 292.

³²² Ibid, 312.

³²³ Ibid, 21.

³²⁴ Ibid, 12.

³²⁵ We can see many correspondences between Uicheon and Jinshui Jingyuan in H.4.543b3-545c18, H.4.569a7-570c22, H.4.571c14-573a5, and others.

Munjong to visit Song China and to learn advanced Buddhist studies.³²⁶ Even though he agreed with his son's necessity to further study advanced Buddhist studies in Song China, he rejected his son's sincere petition. He also petitioned his brothers King Sunjong (r. 1083) and King Seonjong (r. 1083-1094) to allow him to visit Song China. They also dismissed his petitions.

Leaving letters to his elder brother King Seonjong and his mother Queen Inye, he, being accompanied by his two disciples including Sugae (d.u.),³²⁷ changed his high-ranked monastic robes to common monastic robes, hid his identity and took a ship of Chinese trader Lin Ning's (d.u.) at modern Gimpo to Song China in April, 1085. Later, realizing that Uicheon left for China, King Seonjong assigned government officials including Wi Gyeyeon (d.u.) and Uicheon's disciples such as Akjin (d.u.), Hyeseon (d.u.) and Dorin (d.u.) to find him. They were unsuccessful. King Seonjong sent the diplomat Jeong Geun (d.u.) to China to inquire whether his son had arrived safely in China.

He arrived at Banqiao Garrison Post in May, 1085 after a seven-day voyage. He submitted a memorial and reported to Emperor Zhezong (r. 1085-1100) why he came to Song China. Emperor Zhezong assigned a government official Su Zhu (d.u.) to accompany Uicheon to the capital Kaifeng. He entered Kaifeng and stayed at Qisheng-si Temple in July. A government official Fan Bailu (d.u.) took care of and guided him to court. Uicheon requested Emperor Zhezong to introduce eminent monks. The emperor introduced to him Youcheng (d.u.), a renowned specialist in Huayan Buddhism, and let him educate the Korean prince monk. Uicheon asked him about differences and similarities between Huayan and Tiantai Buddhism, focusing on the subject of doctrinal classification at Qisheng-si Temple.³²⁸ He learned Huayan and Tiantai Buddhism from him. He visited and asked on Buddhism Yuanzhao Zongben (d. 1116) of Yunmen Chan Sect at Xiangguo-si Temple. He visited an Indian master Tianjixiang (d.u.) at Xingguo-si Temple, asked him about current situations of Buddhism in India and learned the Sanskrit Studies from him.

After spending a little more than one month in Kaifeng, he, being accompanied by a government official Yang Jie (d.u.), visited Jinshui Jingyuan of Dazhong Xiangfu-si Temple in Hangzhou. They extensively discussed such texts as the *Huayan Sūtra*, the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* and the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* and such doctrinal traditions as Huayan and Tiantai Buddhism. He met Cibian Congjian (d.u.), a specialist in Tiantai Buddhism, and discussed doctrines and visualizations of Tiantai Buddhism with him. He visited Vinaya Master Yuanzhao and discussed vinaya and the doctrines of Pure Land Buddhism with him at his Lingzhi-si Temple.

While in Hangzhou in particular and in China in general, he met various monks specializing in various doctrinal and practical traditions. So, he

³²⁶ H.4.533c23-534b13.

³²⁷ I Jeong, ed., 153.

³²⁸ Chanju Mun discusses doctrinal classifications in detail in his book *The History of Doctrinal Classification in Chinese Buddhism: A Study of the Panjiao Systems*.

ecumenically extended his knowledge in such Buddhist subjects as Pure Land Buddhism, vinaya, Tiantai Buddhism, Huayan Buddhism and Chan Buddhism, without excluding any of the traditions.

At the time, Chinese Buddhism was still strongly influenced by the famous persecution against Buddhism in 845 by Emperor Wuzong (r. 840-846) of the Tang Dynasty (618-907), called Huichang Suppression.³²⁹ The persecution can be explained in the following way. First, ideologically, Daoists developed long-time antagonisms against Buddhists. Second, Confucian officials, one of two major political groups, sided with the emperor's persecution measure and the eunuchs, another of two, allied with Buddhism to defend it. Third, economically, the emperor wanted to appropriate huge tax-free temple lands and wealth and to tax numerous tax-free monastics.

Emperor Wuzong ordered the government administration to investigate the number of monastics and temples in the fourth month of 845. According to the census, the number of temples was around 4,600, the number of monastics more than 265,000. He issued an edict in the fifth month of the same year that except four temples in each of the two capitals and only one temple in each county and prefecture, all temples should be destructed. Only 30 monks were able to live in each capital temple and of the county and prefecture temples, 20 monks were allowed to live in large temples, 10 monks in the middle-sized temples, and 5 monks in the small-sized temples. Except the above-allowed monks and nuns, all should be defrocked. He also ordered in the edict that the bronze images and bells be made into coins, iron images be changed into agricultural tools, golden, silver and jade images be turned over to the government. He issued an edict in the eighth month of 845 and revealed his determined intention for persecution against Buddhism.

Emperor Wuzong passed away with sickness in the third month of 846. Two months later, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 846-859) arrested and executed 12 Daoist priests, including three key figures, i.e., Zhao Gueizhen, Liu Xuanjing, and Deng Yuanchao, who cooperated to persecute Buddhism. He cancelled the suppressive measures against Buddhism that previous Emperor Wuzong implemented and issued favorable measures on Buddhism. In the third month of 847, he issued an edit to revitalize Buddhism from the serious 845 persecution.

The persecution was tremendously influential in the history of Buddhism in China. It was the most extensive suppression in China. The previous suppressions by the Northern Wei Dynasty in 446 and by the Northern Zhou Dynasty between 574 and 577 were limited to the northern part of China, not across the whole of China. After the persecution, the connection between Buddhism and the state became weaker throughout its history in China. The intellectual and academic atmosphere on Buddhism drastically decreased and

³²⁹ Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), 226-233; and the *Foguang Dictionary of Buddhism*, 5473.

only two practical forms of Buddhism, Chan and Pure Land Buddhism, continued to be preserved and to be prosperous to modern times.

When Uicheon visited Song China, Chinese Buddhism suffered from the serious Huichang Suppression in 845 by Emperor Wuzong (r. 840-846) of the Tang Dynasty (618-907) and from the unstable and chaotic political situations of the Five Dynasties (907-960) and the Ten States (902-979) before the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127). Chinese Buddhists lost Buddhist texts due to endless wars during the Five Dynasties and the Ten States periods. Because he took with him from Korea many Huayan Buddhist works by Chinese Huayan masters lost in China and preserved, numerous Chinese Buddhist intellectuals and scholars gathered around him and discussed with him the newly available texts. He also collected some texts in China, not available in Korea, and later took them to Korea.

For example, he took the works by Yunhua Zhiyan (602-668) of Chinese Huayan Buddhism such as the *Essays on Sundry Topics in the Huayan Sūtra* (*Huayan kongmu zhang*), the *Record on the Profound Meanings of the Huayan Sūtra* (*Huayan jing souxuan ji*), the *Commentary on the Shelun wuxing shi* (Skt., *Mahāyāna-saṅgrahopani-bandhana*) by Asvabhāva in 10 fascicles, the *Commentary on the Mahāyāna-saṅgraha-ṭīkā*, and the *Commentary on the Awakening of Faith*. He also took the writings by the most comprehensive systematizer Xianshou Fazang (643-712) of Chinese Huayan Buddhism such as the *Commentarial Record on the Awakening of Faith* (*Dasheng qixin lun yiji*), the *Record for Seeking for the Profound Meanings of the Huayan Sūtra* (*Huayan jing tanxuan ji*), the *Commentary on the Dasheng fajie wuchabie lun* (*Fajie wuchabie lun shu*), the *Commentary on the Dvādaśadvāra Pāstra* (*Shiermen lun shu*), the *Huayan jing mingfa pin nei li sanbao zhang*, and other texts. The works by other Chinese Huayan masters that Uicheon took with him from Korea to China were the *Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra* (*Huayan jingshu*) by Chengguan and *Penetrating of Huayan Philosophy* (*Huayan lunguan*) by Zongmi.

Because his mother, Queen Inye, sincerely wanted him to return home, his elder brother King Seonjong requested the court of Song China to help him come back to Korea. So, he moved back to Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song Dynasty, from Hangzhou by ship. Jinshui Jingyuan accompanied him to Kaifeng from Hangzhou and expounded various Buddhist doctrines to him onboard. On February 13, 1086, they arrived in Kaifeng. He stayed in the capital for a while. Later he visited Zhenru-si Temple in Xiuzhou, Zhejiang Province. He worshipped at and made repairs on the relic stūpa of Changshui Zixuan (b. 1038), master of Jinshui Jingyuan with his donation.³³⁰

In April 1086, he revisited and met Jinshui Jingyuan again at Huiyin-yuan Temple in Hangzhou.³³¹ Jinshui Jingyuan presented him with Buddhist texts, a

³³⁰ H.4.583c8-584b11.

³³¹ H.4.584b13-585a7.

blue censer and a black flywhisk. He also wrote a poem, enclosed it in a letter and thanked Uicheon for the great kindness of visiting him and his temple. And then, he visited a stūpa of Zhiyi, the actual founder and the most comprehensive systemizer of Chinese Tiantai Buddhism on Mt. Tiantai, wrote and presented a prayer in which he vowed that he would transmit the Tiantai Buddhist tradition to his nation of Korea that absolutely needed it and would popularize it in his nation.³³² He also visited Yuwang Guangli-si Temple in Mingzhou and met Chan Master Dajue Huailian (1007-1090) of Yunmen Chan Sect and discussed with him on Chan Buddhism.

He vowed to transmit Chinese Tiantai Buddhism and to establish Korean Tiantai (Cheontae) Buddhism in front of the relic stūpa of Zhiyi on Mt. Tiantai. He was a sincere Huayan Buddhism and considered Tiantai Buddhism as being identical to his Huayan Buddhism. When he made a vow to transmit Chinese Tiantai Buddhism and establish Korean Cheontae Buddhism, he had never mentioned that he would prioritize Cheontae Buddhism to his Hwaeom Buddhism. He wanted to incorporate Chinese Tiantai Buddhism to his Korean Hwaeom Buddhism and as well, transmit Chinese Tiantai Buddhism and establish Korean Cheontae Buddhism as the following quote attests:³³³

Now, I prostrate myself (in front of the relic stūpa of Zhiyi on Mt. Tiantai). And if needed, I am prepared to sacrifice myself for Buddhism. So, I declare now in front of the stūpa of Zhiyi, the founder of Tiantai Buddhism, “I already heard that Master (Zhiyi) completely without the remainder classified all the Buddhist teachings translated from Sanskrit to Chinese in five period teachings, ((1) the *Huayan Sūtra*, (2) the *āgama* scriptures, (3) the *vaipulya* scriptures, (4) the wisdom scriptures, and (5) the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*), and eight teachings, (constituting two kinds of four teachings. Based upon the Buddha’s instructive modes, he devised one set of four teachings, (1) the sudden teaching, (2) the gradual teaching, (3) the indeterminate teaching and (4) the esoteric teaching. Based upon the teaching content, he made another set of four teachings, (1) the teaching of three canons, (2) the teaching common in the small vehicle and the great vehicle, (3) the differentiated teaching of the great vehicle, and (4) the perfect teaching.)³³⁴ Later Buddhists have learned Buddhism through his doctrinal classifications. Therefore, our patriarch (Chenggwan) of Hwaeom (Huayan) Buddhism, the great commentator who commented on the *Huayan Sūtra* said, “The five teachings in which Fazang classified all the Buddhist teachings are generally identical to the five period teachings and eight teachings that Zhiyi devised.” If we consider our nation of Korea, we had the great master named Che’gwan (d. 970) who lectured on Tiantai Buddhism’s doctrine and contemplation and propagated and transmitted them abroad in China. However, our nation did not transmit and learn Tiantai Buddhism and still does not have the tradition of Tiantai Buddhism. I will sacrifice myself and endeavor to look after masters of Tiantai Buddhism and to

³³² H.4.551c22-552a8.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ See “Chapter 16 Zhiyi’s (538-597) *panjiao* systems,” in Chanju Mun, 123-168.

learn the Buddhism. I recently received the teaching on Tiantai Buddhism's doctrine and contemplation from Cibian Congjian, a specialist in Tiantai Buddhism, in Hangzhou and briefly comprehended its outline. If I go back to my nation, I will endeavor to transmit and propagate Tiantai Buddhism. I will teach about Zhiyi and his Tiantai Buddhism to Korean Buddhists from the bottom of my heart." Therefore, as above mentioned, I make a vow.

On May 20, 1086, he accompanied a Korean government official returning to his nation of Goryeo Korea and departed for Korea from China. In June, he arrived in Korea and submitted a memorial to the throne in which he requested his brother King Seonjong to punish him for his offense that he went to a foreign nation without permission from the government.³³⁵ Rather, King Seonjong, accompanying his mother Queen Inye, went to Bongeun-sa Temple and welcomed him there. The king also hosted a welcoming party for him on a large scale.

While he had stayed in Song China for fourteen months, he visited innumerable holy mountains and historical sites and more than fifty eminent monks.³³⁶ Of the eminent monks whom he visited and met, he discussed Huayan Buddhism with Youcheng, Jinshui Jingyuan, and Shancong; Tiantai Buddhism with Cibian Congjian (d.u.); vinaya and Pure Land Buddhism with Yuanzhao Zongben and Zeqi (d.u.); Chan Buddhism with Yuanzhao Zongben, Foyin Liaoyuan (1032-1098) and Dajue Huailian; and Sanskritology with the Indian master Tianjixiang. He ecumenically discussed various Buddhist traditions with eminent Chinese scholars and improved his understanding on them. He also bought Buddhist texts and commentaries in more than 3,000 fascicles in China and took them to his nation.

He became the abbot of gigantic Heungwang-sa Temple in Gaeseong that his father King Munjong initiated in February 1056 and completed January 1067. Serving as the abbot, he systematized Tiantai Buddhism and educated his disciples on it. He also kept up correspondence with eminent monks whom he met in China. He especially presented three versions of the *Huayan Sūtra* written on blue papers in gold to Jinshui Jingyuan. He also provided fund for establishing a hall in which they could enshrine the text. So, the Huiyin-yuan Temple in which Jinshui Jingyuan resided was later named Gaoli (Korea) Temple. He also helped the temple to repair its buildings and extend its scope and size.

He requested permission and patronage from his brother King Seonjong and then established the Center for Buddhist Texts at Heungwang-sa Temple in which he began to print the texts in more than 4,000 fascicles that he obtained from the Liao Dynasty (907-1125) which non-Chinese Khitanese established in North China, the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127), and Japan. He also wrote and published the comprehensive catalogue of Buddhist texts entitled *Newly*

³³⁵ H.4.540c10-541a1.

³³⁶ Jo Myeonggi, 15.

Edited Comprehensive Catalogue of All the Buddhist Texts (Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok) in three fascicles.

He included the titles of books on Huayan Buddhism and of commentaries on the *Huayan Sūtra* in the catalogue.³³⁷ The books and commentaries constitute 177 sets and 1242 fascicles. The titles of books on Tiantai Buddhism and of commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* included in the catalogue consist of 61 sets and 231 fascicles.³³⁸ The titles of books and commentaries on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, the second important scripture to Tiantai Buddhism after the *Lotus Sūtra*, are composed of 30 sets and 202 fascicles.³³⁹

He obtained texts not available in his nation from the Northern Song Dynasty, the non-Chinese state of Liao, Japan and even from the city-state of Gaochang in Central Asia. He exchanged presents, letters and texts with eminent monks and government officials in different nations. He included the texts obtained from the nations in his collection of lost and rare Buddhist texts attached to the main tripiṭaka canon. Even many text titles by Khitanese monks are seen in his catalogue. He obtained the texts consisting of 39 sets and 190 fascicles by 12 eminent Khitanese monks from the state of Liao.³⁴⁰ He also received the Liao edition of the whole set of all Buddhist texts in more than 6,900 fascicles from its emperor.³⁴¹ He also included some books in his catalogue by Japanese scholars, including the *Commentary on the Renwang huguo banruo jing (Wisdom Sūtra on How Benevolent Rulers can Protect Their Own Nations)*³⁴² by a Japanese scholar.³⁴³

He collected Buddhist texts of 1,010 sets in more than 4,740 fascicles from many nations by August, 1090, the seventh reign of his elder brother King Seonjong.³⁴⁴ He continuously appended later acquired texts to his collection of Buddhist texts. He obtained texts lost and unavailable in his nation from his neighboring nations. He also sent texts lost and unavailable in his neighboring nations to those nations. He developed cultural and religious exchanges between his nation and his neighboring nations.

Judging from the numbers, he was mainly interested in collecting the texts related to Huayan and Tiantai Buddhism. Of the two, he included the texts of Huayan Buddhism more than those of Tiantai Buddhism in his collection of Buddhist texts. Even though he officially established a new sect named Cheontae Sect late in his life, we could not disconnect his strong relations to Hwaeom Sect throughout his whole life. He needed to establish the new

³³⁷ H.4.680a6-682c17.

³³⁸ H.4.683b15-684b12.

³³⁹ H.4.462c18-683b9.

³⁴⁰ Jo Myeonggi, 72-74.

³⁴¹ Ibid, 74, 77.

³⁴² *Foguang Dictionary of Buddhism*, 1217.

³⁴³ Jo Myeonggi, 74. H.4.552a10-22.

³⁴⁴ Ibid, 74.

Cheontae Sect in order to incorporate and consider established Beopsang (Yogācāra) Sect and Seon (Chan) Sect, two major rival sects of Hwaecom Sect.

For example, he became a monk under Gyeongdeok Nanwon at and began to study Hwaecom Buddhism from the age of 11 on 1065 at Yeongtong-sa Temple affiliated to Hwaecom Sect in the capital Gaeseong. When he passed away in 1101, based on his dying wish, his disciples enshrined his relics on the temple's eastern hill. In 1124, the 3rd year of King Injong's reign (r. 1122-1146), his disciples set up a stone monument to the memory of his master Uicheon at the temple. He studied the *Huayan Sūtra* in eighty fascicles translated by Śikānanda between 695 and 699. In 1077, at the age of 23, he began to lecture on the scripture and the commentary on it by Chengguan.

After returning from Song China in 1086, he served as abbot of Heungwang-sa Temple, the headquarters temple of Hwaecom Sect. Before his retirement to Haein-sa Temple in 1094, he also served as the abbot of Hongwon-sa Temple, a temple of Hwaecom Sect in which he enshrined the nine patriarchs of Sino-Korean Hwaecom Buddhism including Fazang and Chengguan. After staying at Heungwang-sa Temple as its abbot, he moved to Hongwon-sa Temple as its abbot in early February 1094 and was forced to retire to Haein-sa Temple in May 1094.

Upon the establishment of Gukcheong-sa Temple, the headquarters temple of Cheontae Sect, in 1097, the 2nd year of King Sukjong (r. 1096-1105), he became its founding abbot. Even though he became the abbot of Gukcheong-sa Temple, he did not resign the abbotship of Heungwang-sa Temple but also served as its abbot. Choe Byeongheon, a renowned specialist in the history of Korean Buddhism, argued that Uicheon's main position was the abbot of Heungwang-sa Temple and his additional position was the abbot of Gukcheong-sa Temple.³⁴⁵

When he was in Song China, he discussed Buddhism with and/or learned Buddhism from more than fifty Buddhist masters. Of them, the master who most strongly influenced Uicheon was doubtlessly Jinshui Jingyuan. Before they met, they exchanged letters. When Uicheon visited his Huiyin-yuan Temple in Hangzhou, Jinshui Jingyuan personally taught Huayan Buddhism and transmitted the lineage of Huayan Buddhism by offering a blue censor and a black flywhisk. Therefore, Jinshui Jingyuan used to call Uicheon as the Huayan *seungton*.³⁴⁶

Uicheon declared himself as a Hwaecom monk. When he edited and compiled the *Newly Edited Comprehensive Catalogue of All the Buddhist*

³⁴⁵ See Choe Byeongheon, "Hanguk Hwaecom sasang-sa e itteoseo ui Uicheon ui wichwi" (The Position of Daegak Uicheon in the History of Korean Hwaecom Buddhism), in Bulgyo munhwa yeongu-so (Korean Buddhist Culture Research Institute), ed., *Hanguk Hwaecom sasang yeongu* (The Studies of Korean Hua-yen Thoughts) (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1982), 183-184.

³⁴⁶ Ibid, 184.

Texts,³⁴⁷ he located the book titles related to the *Huayan Sūtra* in its beginning.³⁴⁸ In its preface,³⁴⁹ he defined himself as a Korean Hwaeom monk who transmitted the great teaching of Huayan Buddhism.³⁵⁰ He also edited the book entitled *Collection of the Important Sections of Huayan Texts* (*Wonjong munnyu*) in twenty-three fascicles.³⁵¹ In its preface,³⁵² he criticized what he saw as the misunderstanding of Buddhism by the majority of Hwaeom monks, selected important sections from various Huayan texts, compiled them in a handbook, and intended to guide them to understand the essence of Huayan Buddhism. He published the book in order to classify and correct the various views of Huayan Buddhism and to standardize Huayan Buddhism. He might indirectly indicate Gyunyeo (923-973),³⁵³ a strong Hwaeom sectarian, as a representative Hwaeom master who misunderstood Hwaeom Buddhism.

In May 1094, Uicheon tried to recover his health by retiring to Haein-sa Monastery in Hapcheon County, South Gyeongsang Province. Immediately after his brother King Sukjong ascended the throne in 1096, he asked Uicheon to return to and educate monks at Heungwang-sa Temple. Upon the king's request, he returned and taught Buddhism to monks at the temple. In May 1097, he became the abbot of Gukcheong-sa Temple in Gaeseong and officially established Korean Tiantai (Kor., Cheontae; Jpn., Tendai) Sect with the strong support of the court at the temple. When he began to be sick in August 1101, King Sukjong visited the temple and comforted him. On October 15, 1101, Uicheon passed away. The king declared a national funeral ceremony. He posthumously appointed him as a national master and provided him an honorific Dharma name "Daegak" (Great Enlightenment). After cremating his dead body, they enshrined his relics at Yeongtong-sa Temple on Mt. Ogwan on November 4.

Yang Jie, a government official of the Song Chinese government, who had accompanied and served Uicheon while in China, commented on him. He stated that Uicheon ecumenically and extensively learned the five major traditions of Song Chinese Buddhism. These included the Huayan Buddhism of Fazang, the founder of the Chinese Huayan Sect; Chinese Yogācāra (Faxiang) Buddhism of Cien Kuiji (632-682), the founder of Chinese Yogācāra Sect; Chan Buddhism of the Indian master Bodhidharma, considered the founder of Chinese Chan Sect; Chinese Vinaya Buddhism of Nanshan Daoxuan (596-667), the founder of the Chinese Southern Vinaya Sect; and Tiantai Buddhism of Zhiyi, the founder of Chinese Tiantai Sect.³⁵⁴

³⁴⁷ H.4.680a-697b.

³⁴⁸ H.4.680a6-682c17.

³⁴⁹ H.4.679b2-c3.

³⁵⁰ H.4.679b23-24.

³⁵¹ We can see some fragments of the collection, H.4.597b2-647c24.

³⁵² H.4.528a11-b23.

³⁵³ I Jeong, ed., 36-37.

³⁵⁴ H.4.588c17-589a22.

Throughout his teaching career, he taught Korean Buddhists about various texts such as the *Huayan Sūtra*, the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, and other texts from an ecumenical perspective. He also ecumenically studied Huayan, Yogācāra, Chan, Tiantai, and vinaya. He was not a Huayan sectarian, a Yogācāra sectarian, a Chan sectarian, and a Tiantai sectarian, but an ecumenist. He used Huayan and/or Tiantai Buddhist philosophy to harmonize different Buddhist teachings and traditions.

I extensively demonstrated the interactive relationships between ecumenical doctrinal classifications and sectarian doctrinal classifications in Chinese Buddhism in my book entitled *The History of Doctrinal Classification: A Study of the Panjiao Systems* in which I verified that Korean Buddhism has also developed its own tradition of an interactive relationship between its ecumenical and sectarian traditions. For instance, in the Silla Dynasty, Wonhyo was the foremost ecumenist among the various doctrinal traditions throughout the history of Korean Buddhism.³⁵⁵ Uisang (625-702), however, was a Korean Huayan sectarian³⁵⁶ while Woncheuk (613-696) was a Korean Yogācāra sectarian.³⁵⁷ Compared to the extreme Yogācāra sectarian Cien Kuiji, Woncheuk was a moderate Yogācāra sectarian. Both of the Korean masters were active in China. Only Uisang of them came back to and established the Hwaeom lineage in Korea.

Uicheon included four works in four fascicles by the extreme Hwaeom sectarian Uisang in his catalogue. The work titles by Uisang are the *Hwaeom-gyeong simmun gwanbeop gwan* (View of the *Huayan Sūtra* in Ten Aspects), the *Hwaeom-gyeong beopgye-do* (Diagram of the Dharma Realm in the *Huayan Sūtra*), the *Hwaeom-gyeong ipbeopgye-pum cho* (Selected Commentary of the “Chapter of the Entrance to Dharma Realm” in the *Huayan Sūtra*) and the *So Amita-gyeong igi* (Record of the *Smaller Amitāyus Sūtra*).³⁵⁸ He included six book titles by the moderate Yogācāra sectarian Woncheuk in 35 fascicles in his catalogue. The six texts by Woncheuk are the *Inwang-gyeong so* (Commentary on the *Wisdom Sūtra on How Benevolent Rulers can Protect Their Own*

³⁵⁵ See “Chapter 23 Wonhyo’s (617-686) *panjiao* systems,” in Chanju Mun, 271-296. We can also refer to other major Chinese ecumenical doctrinal classifications, “Chapter 1 Kumārajīva’s (pp. 344-412) *panjiao* systems” (pp. 9-16), “Chapter 2 Sengrui’s (352-436) *panjiao* systems” (pp. 17-20), “Chapter 7 Bodhiruci’s (d. 527) *panjiao* systems” (pp. 49-61), “Chapter 15 Huiyuan’s (523-592) *panjiao* systems” (pp. 115-122) and “Chapter 18 Jizang’s (549-623) *panjiao* systems” (pp. 173-219) in the aforementioned book.

³⁵⁶ Refer to “Chapter 24 Uisang’s (625-702) *panjiao* systems,” *op. cit.*, 297-299. You can also read other major Chinese Huayan sectarian doctrinal classifications, “Chapter 22 Zhiyan’s (602-668) *panjiao* systems” (pp. 247-269) and “Part 4 Fazang’s (643-712) *panjiao* systems” (pp. 315-403) in the afore-cited book.

³⁵⁷ Refer to major Chinese Yogācāra sectarian doctrinal classifications, “Chapter 10 Paramārtha’s (499-569) *panjiao* systems” (pp. 83-88) and “Chapter 21 Xuanzang’s (602-664) *panjiao* systems” (pp. 239-245) in the afore-said book.

³⁵⁸ Jo Myeonggi, 59.

Nations), the *Banya simgyeong so* (Commentary on the *Heart Sūtra*), the *Haesimmil-gyeong so* (Commentary on the *Sandhīnirmocana-sūtra*), the *Seong yusing-non so* (Commentary on the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*), the *Seong yusing-non byeoljang* (Separate Essay of the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*), and the *Baekbeom-non so* (Commentary on the *Mahāyāna-śata-dharma-prakāśa-mukha-śāstra*).³⁵⁹

4.2. Historical background

In the late Silla and early Goryeo Dynasties, most of the Korean Chan Buddhist leaders, including Doui (d. 821),³⁶⁰ the founder of the Seon lineage established on Mt. Gaji; Muyeom (800-888), the founder of the Seon lineage on Mt. Seongju; and Beomil (810-894), the founder of the Seon lineage on Mt. Sagul, among others, were Chan sectarians. They who introduced Southern Chan Buddhism and respectively established their own Chan traditions were Chan sectarians.³⁶¹

However, Sunji (d.u.) was an ecumenist between Chan Buddhism and the doctrinal tradition of Huayan Buddhism. He went to Tang China in 858 and practiced Buddhism under Chan Master Yangshan Huiji (807-883), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi. He came back to Korea in 874 and he spread his ecumenical view between these two seemingly opposing traditions.³⁶²

In late Silla, the doctrinal traditions and the Seon traditions competed with each other.³⁶³ Because King Taejo, the founding ruler of the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392), personally favored Seon Buddhism and politically sponsored it, Seon Buddhism increased its popularity in the dynasty. Seon Buddhism and Hwaom Buddhism competed with each other.

Because the doctrinal traditions such as Huayan and Yogācāra Buddhism gained influence from King Hyeonjong (r. 1009-1031) on, they became antagonistic to the Seon traditions. Huayan and Yogācāra Buddhism became the two major traditions and Chan Buddhism demoted to the third major tradition. The two doctrinal traditions, Huayan and Yogācāra Buddhism, competed with each other, developed their sectarian positions and opposed each other.

Rediscovering and incorporating Wonhyo's ecumenism, Uicheon tried to harmonize two doctrinal traditions, Huayan and Yogācāra Buddhism, and the doctrinal traditions and Seon tradition. And he imported Tiantai Buddhism from China and officially established Tiantai Sect with the support of the court in Korea. He originally belonged to and was trained in the Huayan tradition. He

³⁵⁹ Ibid, 63.

³⁶⁰ I Jeong, ed., 74-75.

³⁶¹ Ho-ryeon Jeon, "Interaction and Harmonization between Hwa-eom and Seon in Korea during the late Silla and Early Goryeo Period," in *International Journal of Buddhist Thought and Culture* 4 (February 2004): 61-90.

³⁶² Ibid, 78-81.

³⁶³ Jo Myeonggi, 105-107.

established the Tiantai Sect based on his own Huayan Sect. He tried to ecumenize the two established doctrinal traditions of Huayan and Yogācāra Buddhism and the established practical tradition of Seon Buddhism with his newly-established Tiantai Sect.

Before his establishment of the Cheontae Sect in Korea, there were five doctrinal traditions: Wonyung (Huayan) Sect, Beopsang (Yogācāra) Sect, Beopseong (Dharma Nature) Sect, Gyeyul (Vinaya) Sect and Yeolban (Nirvāṇa) Sect and each of nine Chan (Seon) traditions was respectively established on each mountain of nine mountains such as Mt. Gaji, Mt. Sagul, Mt. Saja, Mt. Seongju, Mt. Bongnim, Mt. Dongni, Mt. Huiyang, Mt. Sumi and Mt. Silsang.³⁶⁴ After his establishment of the Cheontae Sect, the titles of the five doctrinal sects were changed to Hwaeom Sect, Jaeun Sect, Jungdo Sect, Namsan Sect and Siheung Sect.

Jo Myeonggi (1905-1988),³⁶⁵ specialist in Korean Cheontae Buddhism, asserted that the title of the Wonyung Sect might be changed to the Hwaeom Sect based on its authoritative scripture, i.e., the *Huayan Sūtra*; the title of the Beopsang Sect to the Jaeun (Chn., Cien) Sect based on the name of Cien-si Temple on which Kuiji (632-682) established Chinese Yogācāra Buddhist Sect; the title of the Beopseong Sect to the Jungdo (Skt., Mādhyamika; Chn., Zhongdao) Sect based on its doctrine; the title of the Gyeyul (Vinaya) Sect to the Namsan (Southern Mountain) Sect based on the name of a mountain on which Daoxuan (596-667) established Chinese Vinaya Sect; and the title of the Yeolban Sect to the Siheung (Chn., Shixing) Sect based on the name of Mt. Shixing on which a monk founded Chinese Nirvāṇa Sect.³⁶⁶

Nine Seon traditions were established on nine mountains.³⁶⁷ Doui (d. 821)³⁶⁸ of the Silla Dynasty first introduced the Southern tradition of Chinese Chan Buddhism from China. He learned and inherited Chan Buddhism from Xitang Zhizang (734-814), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi (709-788). He also studied Chan Buddhism under Baizhang Huaihai (720-814), another disciple of Mazu Daoyi. He studied Chan Buddhism in China between 784 and 821. Even though he tried to spread his Seon Buddhism in Silla, nobody accepted it. He established and practiced Seon Buddhism for forty years at Jijeon-sa Temple on Mt. Seorak in Yangyang County, Gangwon Province.³⁶⁹ He inherited his teaching to his disciple Yeomgeo (d. 844)³⁷⁰ who was mostly active and propagated Seon Buddhism at Eokseong-sa Temple on Mt. Seorak. His grand disciple Bojo Chejing (804-880)³⁷¹ established Borim-sa Temple on Mt. Gaji in

³⁶⁴ Ibid, 138-141.

³⁶⁵ I Jeong, ed. 270.

³⁶⁶ Jo Myeonggi, 138.

³⁶⁷ Ho-ryeon Jeon, 64-67.

³⁶⁸ I Jeong, ed., 74-75.

³⁶⁹ I Dongsul, ed., 403.

³⁷⁰ I Jeong, ed., 182.

³⁷¹ Ibid, 304-305.

Jangheung County, South Jeolla Province and founded a Seon lineage. Chejing received full ordination at Bowon-sa Temple on Mt. Garyanghyeop and learned Seon Buddhism under his master Yeomgeo at Eokseong-sa Temple. He visited various Chan masters between 837 and 840 in China and realized that the Seon teaching of Doui was the most valuable. After coming back to Korea from China, he established a Seon lineage at Borim-sa Temple.

Second, Hongcheok (d.u.)³⁷² also studied Chan Buddhism under Xitang Zhizang and inherited the Mazu Daoyi's Chan lineage from China. He extensively remodeled Silsang-sa Temple (on Mt. Jiri) in Namwon County, North Jeolla Province with the support of King Heungdeok (r. 826-836) and Crown Prince Seongwang and established a Seon lineage. He inherited his Chan lineage to his disciples Pyeonun (d.u.) and Sucheol (817-893).³⁷³

Third, Hyecheol (791-861)³⁷⁴ also studied Chan Buddhism under Xitang Zhizang in China. He learned Chan Buddhism between 814 and 839. He established his own lineage at Taeon-sa Temple on Mt. Dongni in Gokseong County, South Jeolla Province. His eminent disciples, including Doseon (827-898),³⁷⁵ Yeo (d.u.), Gyeongbo (868-948)³⁷⁶ and Yunda (d.u.), popularized the lineage.

Fourth, Hyeonuk (787-868)³⁷⁷ studied Chan Buddhism under Zhangjing Huaihui (756-815), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi. He learned Chan Buddhism between 824 and 837 in China. After he came back to Silla in 837, he had an intensive retreat at Silsang-sa Temple. Upon the request of King Gyeongmun (r. 861-875), he moved to and propagated Buddhism at Godal-sa Temple on Mt. Hyemok in Yeosu County, Gyeonggi Province.³⁷⁸ He continuously received support from several kings such as King Minae (r. 838-839), King Sinmu (r. 839), King Munseong (r. 839-857), King Heonan (r. 857-861) and King Gyeongmun and popularized Seon Buddhism in Silla Korea. His disciple Simhui (854-923)³⁷⁹ established Bongnim-sa Temple on Mt. Bongnim in Changwon County, South Gyeongsang Province in 901 at which he founded a Seon lineage.

Fifth, Doyun (798-868)³⁸⁰ became a monk at the age of 18 in 815 and learned Seon and Hwaem Buddhism at Gwisin-sa Temple in Hwanghae Province. He learned Chan Buddhism between 825 and 847 in Tang China. He inherited the Chan teaching of Nanquan Puyuan (748-835), a disciple and dharma successor of Mazu Daoyi. After returning to Korea, he stayed on Mt.

³⁷² Ibid, 359-360.

³⁷³ Ibid, 157.

³⁷⁴ Ibid, 350-351.

³⁷⁵ Ibid, 71.

³⁷⁶ Ibid, 17.

³⁷⁷ Ibid, 335-336.

³⁷⁸ I Dongsul, ed., 27.

³⁷⁹ I Jeong, ed., 172.

³⁸⁰ Ibid, 74.

Geumgang and attracted many monks across the nation. He received respect from King Gyeongmun (r. 861-875). Because he moved to Ssangbong-sa Temple on Mt. Jungjo in Hwasun County, South Jeolla Province,³⁸¹ he was also generally called Ssangbong Doyun. His disciple Jinghyo Jeoljung (826-900)³⁸² was active at Beopheung-sa Temple on Mt. Saja in Yeongwol County, Gangwon Province and established a Seon lineage.

Sixth, Muyeom (801-888)³⁸³ became a monk at Osaekseok-sa Temple on Mt. Seorak at the age of 13 in 813 and learned Buddhism under Beopseong. He studied the *Huayan Sūtra* from Seokjing at Buseok-sa Temple on Mt. Bonghwang in Yeongju County, North Gyeongsang Province, considered as a representative Hwaem temple of Korean Buddhism.³⁸⁴ He learned Hwaem and Seon Buddhism from various masters between 821 and 845 in China. He visited and inherited the Chan teaching of Magu Baoche (d.u.),³⁸⁵ a disciple of Mazu Daoyi. Prince Gim Yang, a son of King Munseong (r. 839-857), requested him to preside over Ohap-sa Temple on Mt. Seongju in Boryeong County, South Chungcheong. As he taught Buddhism, many monks visited him. King Munseong officially changed the title of the temple to Seongju-sa Temple at which Muyeom established a Seon lineage. He became a national master for two kings, King Gyeongmun (r. 861-875) and King Heongang (r. 875-886).

Seventh, Beomil (810-889)³⁸⁶ became a monk at the age of 15 in 824 and received full ordination at the age of 20 in 829. He entered China in 831 and studied Chan Buddhism under and inherited the lineage of Yanguan Zhai'an (d. 842), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi, for six years. He also visited and learned Chan Buddhism from Yueshan Weiyan (c. 745-828), a disciple and dharma successor of Shitou Xiqian (700-790) and the master of Daowu Yuanzhi (c. 769-835) and Yunyan Tanshen (780-841). Upon having the severe Huichang persecution in 844, he hid himself and visited a memorial pagoda for the Sixth Patriarch Huineng at Shangshan. In 847, he returned from China to Korea. In 850, upon the request of the governor of Myeongju County, he established Sagul-sa Temple (or Gusan-sa Temple) on Mt. Sagul in Myeongju County, Gangwon Province and founded a Seon lineage. His disciples including Nangwon Gaecheong (854-930)³⁸⁷ and Nanggong Haengjeok (832-916)³⁸⁸ inherited and popularized the Seon lineage.

Eighth, Jeom (866-932)³⁸⁹ became a monk at Gayagap-sa Temple under Deongnyang (d.u.) at the age of 12 in 877 and received the full ordination from

³⁸¹ I Dongsul, ed., 213.

³⁸² I Jeong, ed., 260.

³⁸³ Ibid, 91-92.

³⁸⁴ I Dongsul, ed., 182-183.

³⁸⁵ See *Foguang Dictionary of Buddhism*, 4852.

³⁸⁶ I Jeong, ed., 104-105.

³⁸⁷ Ibid, 14.

³⁸⁸ Ibid, 331-332.

³⁸⁹ Ibid, 238-239.

Vinaya Master Dogyeon (d.u.) in 886. In 896, he entered Tang China and since then, he studied Chan Buddhism for six years under Chan Master Yunju Daoying (d. 902), a disciple of Dongshan Liangjie (807-869). Except him, no Korean Seon master of nine Seon traditions inherited the Chan lineage of Caodong (Jpn., Sōtō) Sect from Tang China. Yunju Daoying continued the Chan lineage of Caodong Sect established by Dongshan Liangjie and his disciple Caoshan Benji (840-901). Zen Master Dōgen Kigen (1200-1253) was a later Dharma successor of this Chan lineage and Sōtō Zen in Japan continued its lineage even today. After learning Chan Buddhism under Yunju Daoying, he also visited various eminent Chan masters and in 911, he returned to his home nation Silla. He taught Seon Buddhism at Seungwang-sa Temple in Naju County, South Jeolla Province for four years. In 932, King Taejo, founder of the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392), established Gwangjo-sa Temple on Mt. Sumi in Haeju County, Hwanghae Province and appointed him to be its abbot. Since then, many Seon practitioners came to learn Seon Buddhism under him and formed a Seon lineage.

Ninth, Doheon (824-882)³⁹⁰, also known as Jiseon, established Bongam-sa Temple on Mt. Huiyang in Mungyeong County, North Gyeongsang Province in 879³⁹¹ with the financial support of a layperson named Sim Chung (d.u.), and founded a Seon lineage in Korea. King Heongang (r. 875-886) assigned the highest government official monk Hugong (d.u.), also known as Jungong and the higher government official Bae Yulmun (d.u.) to decide the temple's boundary and named the temple to be Bongam-sa Temple. He became a monk under Beomche at Buseok-sa Temple at the age of 9 in 832 and received the full ordination from Gyeong-ui at the age of 17 in 840. He studied Seon Buddhism under Hyeun (d.u.) who inherited the Seon lineage that Doyun established on Mt. Saja. He also stayed on Suseok-sa Temple on Mt. Gyelam. Even though King Gyeongmun (r. 861-875) respected and invited him to court, he did not respond to his invitation. He moved to and stayed at Allak-sa Temple on Mt. Hyeongye and he later established Bongam-sa Temple. He moved back to and lived at Allak-sa Temple. Even though King Heongang invited him to court and appointed him to be a royal master, he declined the king's offer. Yangbu (d. 917)³⁹² inherited his master Doheon's lineage and his disciple Geungyang (878-956) popularized the Seon lineage that Doheon established at Bongam-sa Temple on Mt. Huiyang.

Geungyang was active in the late Silla and early Goryeo Dynasties and developed the Seon lineage that his grand master Doheon founded. He became a monk under Yeohae (d.u.) at Namhyeorwon Temple in Gongju County, South Chungcheong Province. He later studied Seon Buddhism under Yangbu, a disciple of Doheon, at Seohyeorwon Temple in Gongju County. Between 899 and 924, he studied Chan Buddhism under Yushan Daoyuan (d.u.), a disciple of

³⁹⁰ Ibid, 280.

³⁹¹ I Dongsul, ed., 176-177.

³⁹² I Jeong, ed., 178.

Shishuang Qingzhu (d.u.), and other eminent Chan masters in Tang China. He became the abbot and taught Buddhism at Baegeom-sa Temple in Hapcheon County, South Gyeongsang Province and settled down at ruined Bongam-sa Temple in Mungyeong County. He reestablished the temple and opened Seon centers in it. He attracted Seon practitioners and propagated Seon Buddhism in Korea. He received respect and confidence from King Taejo (r. 918-943), King Hyejong (r. 943-945), King Jeongjong and King Gwangjong, the first four kings of Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) and taught Buddhism to two kings such as King Taejo and King Gwangjong. King Gwangjong particularly invited him to Gaeseong, let them stay at Sana Seon Center in it and offered an honorific title entitled Jeunggong to him. Later he came back to and passed away at Bongam-sa Temple. He along with disciples actually established and popularized the Seon lineage of Mt. Huiyang.

Before the establishment of the Cheontae (Chn., Tiantai) Sect by Uicheon, Korean Buddhists used to categorize Korean Buddhism as five doctrinal sects and nine Seon lineages. After his establishment of the Cheontae Sect, Korean Buddhists categorized the nine Seon lineages to the Jogye Sect, a Seon sect and also defined the Cheontae Sect as a Seon sect.³⁹³ Because the nine Seon lineages originated from Huineng, arguably the sixth patriarch of Chinese Chan Buddhism, Korean Buddhists named the Seon sect as the Jogye (Chn., Caixi) Sect adopting the name of Mt. Caixi on which Huineng lived and taught Chan Buddhism. They also named the Cheontae Sect that Uicheon established in Korea, following the name of Mt. Tiantai on which Zhiyi (538-597), the founder of Tiantai Sect in Chinese Buddhism, stayed and taught Buddhism. Since then, Korean Buddhism formed the system of five doctrinal sects and two Seon sects and assigned the Jogye Sect and the Cheontae Sect to the category of two Seon sects.

Uicheon retired from Hongwon-sa Temple affiliated to Hwaom Sect to Haein-sa Temple on Mt. Gaya in Hapcheon County, South Gyeongsang Province and dedicated himself to writing books on Buddhism in 1094.³⁹⁴ Upon the establishment of Gukcheong-sa Temple, the headquarters temple of the Cheontae Sect in Korea, he became its founding abbot in 1097. The government officially recognized the Cheontae Sect and arranged the first state examination for the sect in April 1099.

The state examination system for monks in the Goryeo Dynasty, established by King Gwangjong (r. 949-975), allowed each government-authorized sect authority to take its examinations for its monks and let them take the government-operating examinations in the dynasty's capital Gaeseong. The government officials and eminent monks presided over state examinations per three years, modeling after state examinations for civil servants. Government

³⁹³ Jo Myeonggi, 138-140.

³⁹⁴ Ibid, 103-105.

dispatched its officials to the government-operating examinations and supervised them along with eminent monks.

When monks passed state examinations, they would receive hierarchically-classified titles from the government, could wear the hierarchically-arranged robes and could have the qualifications for abbots and other higher positions in their own sects and the government's clerical ranks. The state examinations had two kinds, i.e., those for doctrinal sects and those for Seon sects. The monks who passed either of the two kinds of the examinations could promote themselves from the first and lowest level to the seventh and highest level in its respective kind. Because the Cheontae Sect was assigned to a Seon sect, its monks should take the examination for Seon sects and should follow the seven-leveled clerical system of the Seon sects.

Gukcheong-sa Temple, the headquarters temple of Korean Cheontae Sect, received strong support from his elder brother King Sukjong (r. 1096-1105). When he began to teach Cheontae doctrines at the temple, many monks changed their sectarian affiliations from their sects to the newly-established Cheontae Sect. Through six great parish headquarters temples and three administrative headquarters temples across the nation, the sect systematically managed its affiliated temples. The sect assigned three administrative headquarters temples, Gukcheong-sa Temple of Gaepung County, Gyeonggi Province³⁹⁵ in the nation's central region, Seonbong-sa Temple of Chilgok County, North Gyeongsang Province³⁹⁶ in its southern region and Singwang-sa Temple of Byeokseong County, Hwanghae Province³⁹⁷ in its northern region and let each of the three temples manage and control temples and monks in its respective area.

Prior to the official establishment of Cheontae Sect in the Goryeo Dynasty, Neunggeung (d.u.) and other monks presented a memorial to the founding king Taejo in which they suggested him to sponsor the establishment of the Cheontae Sect in the Goryeo Kingdom based on the synthesis of the skillful means of three vehicles³⁹⁸ to the ultimate truth of one vehicle and the doctrine of the threefold contemplation in a single mind.³⁹⁹ They also argued in it that if they

³⁹⁵ I Dongsul, ed., 42-43.

³⁹⁶ Ibid, 227.

³⁹⁷ Ibid, 262.

³⁹⁸ Three vehicles are the vehicle of *śrāvaka*, the vehicle of *pratyekabuddha*, and the vehicle of *bodhisattva*.

³⁹⁹ See the entry of "Threefold Contemplation in a Single Mind" in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 704-705. Tiantai Zhiyi formulated the threefold contemplation in a single mind in his *Great Concentration and Insight* and enabled people to understand the synthesis of the three truths of non-substantiality, provisional existence and the Middle Way. While the concept of synthesis of the three truths is the core of Tiantai teachings, the threefold contemplation in a single mind is the core of Tiantai practice. "T'ien-t'ai doctrine regards each phenomenon as a perfect unity of the three truths and sets forth the threefold contemplation in a single mind as the practice by which one attains insight into this perfect unity. This contemplation involves perceiving the three

could establish the sect, the kingdom could unite three fighting kingdoms of Silla, Later Baekje and Goryeo to one nation under the umbrella of his nation Goryeo based on the benefits originating from the sect's foundation.⁴⁰⁰ However, we cannot textually prove now whether or not the king approved the sect's foundation.

Min Ji (d.u.) composed "Record of the Miraculous Effects of Śākyamuni Buddha's Relics Enshrined in the Main Hall of Gukcheong-sa Temple" ("Gukcheong-sa geumdang jubul seokga yeorae sari yeong-i gi") included in the 68th fascicle of *Selection of Korean Literary Writings (Dongmun seon)* compiled by Seo Geojeong (1420-1488) and others and first published in 1478. It constitutes one hundred thirty fascicles. Referring to the establishment of Guoqing-si (Kor., Gukcheong-sa) Temple, the headquarters temple of Chinese Tiantai Buddhism, on Mt. Tiantai,⁴⁰¹ he introduced the memorial by Neungeung and other monks to King Taejo and related the foundation story of the Gukcheong-sa Temple to state protectionism as follows:⁴⁰²

Therefore, in ancient times, when the Sui Dynasty (581-618) that Emperor Wendi (r. 581-604) succeeded Emperor Jingdi (r. 579-581) of the Northern Zhou (556-581) and newly established began to arise, two states of Chen (557-589) and Northern Qi (550-577), along with the new state of Sui, divided the whole Chinese territory into three, and each of three states ruled over each portion of three lands. The wise minister Zhou Hongzheng suggested to Emperor Wendi, "I heard the *Lotus Sūtra*, the teaching of which subsumes three vehicles to one vehicle. If we propagate the teaching (of Tiantai Buddhism) at Guoqing-si Temple on Mt. Tiantai, we can subsume the divided nation to the united one." The emperor followed his suggestion and united the divided nation. For now, our Korea was also divided to three kingdoms (of Later Baekje, Silla and Goryeo). Therefore, when our founding ruler King Taejo established our Goryeo Dynasty, four great Buddhist masters including

truths as simultaneously and perfectly being integrated and interfused in each phenomenon. By doing so, one is said to rid oneself of the three categories of illusion and acquire at once the three kinds of wisdom – the wisdom of the two vehicles, the wisdom of bodhisattvas, and the Buddha wisdom. T'ien-t'ai also describes a single mind as comprising the three thousand realms within it. At the same time, one perceives that all phenomena consist of the three thousand realms." (pp. 704-705)

⁴⁰⁰ Jo Myeonggi, 104-105.

⁴⁰¹ See the *Sui Tiantai Zhizhe dashi biezhuàn* (A Separate Biography of Master Tiantai Zhiyi of the Sui Dynasty), T.50.2050.191a20-198a1. We can see a passage directly related to the unification of three divided Chinese kingdoms in one united nation of Sui through the establishment of Guoqing-si Temple on Mt. Tiantai in it, T.50.2050.193a11-21.

⁴⁰² I cited the quote from I Jaechang, "Daegak guksa Uicheon ui Cheontae-jong gaerip" (Establishment of Korean Cheontae Sect by Uicheon), in Bulgyo munhwa yeongu-so (Korean Buddhist Culture Research Institute), ed., *Hanguk Cheontae sasang yeongu* (The Studies of Korean Tiantai Thoughts) (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1983), p. 188, footnote # 35.

Neunggeung, chaplains who meritoriously benefitted its military, submitted a memorial to the crown, “I heard that the Great Tang Dynasty utilized the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*, which subsumes three vehicles to one vehicle, and the Chan teaching of the threefold contemplation in a single mind expounded by Zhiyi and made its nation be extremely prosperous. If we unite the three Korean kingdoms to one nation on the Korean Peninsula, we can have our nation and its customs harmonized. If we seek and popularize this teaching (of Tiantai Buddhism), we can extend the life span of our nation’s later kings and the rule of our nation by them will be continued without stop under one royal family lineage.

He learned Tiantai Buddhism from Cibian Congjian in Song China and vowed in front of the stūpa of Zhiyi on Mt. Tiantai that he would establish and dedicate himself to popularize the Cheontae Sect for his whole life if he moved back to his nation of Korea. He received a hand incense burner and a flywhisk from Cibian Congjian, transmitted the Tiantai Dharma lineage of Chinese Buddhism from him and established a new Dharma lineage of Korean Cheontae Buddhism by himself.

He thought that even though his previous scholars Wonhyo and Che’gwan of Cheontae Buddhism conducted sophisticated research and published excellent books on Tiantai Buddhism, they could not establish Korean Cheontae Sect. Of the two previous scholars, even though he highly evaluated Che’gwan, a representative Tiantai sectarian scholar of East Asian Buddhism, he modeled after the ecumenical research of Wonhyo on the *Lotus Sūtra* and Tiantai Buddhism.

Five doctrinal sects and nine mountain Seon lineages originated from previous Silla Dynasty. He established his own Cheontae Sect in newly established Goryeo Dynasty. Even though he learned Buddhism from various Buddhist traditions, he classified Hwaeom and Cheontae Buddhism as the highest teachings. Of two highest teachings, he seemed to value Chinese Tiantai Buddhism over Hwaeom Buddhism and attempted to establish Korean Cheontae Sect and unite sectarian Korean Buddhism under Tiantai Buddhism. Before he went to China, he wished to establish the Cheontae Sect. While in China between 1085 and 1086 for fourteen months, he focused on learning Hwaeom and Cheontae Buddhism. He studied Tiantai Buddhism from Cibian Congjian (d.u.) in Hangzhou. He also visited Mt. Tiantai and worshipped the memorial stūpa for Zhiyi, actual founder of Chinese Tiantai Sect, in front of which he made a solemn vow that he would dedicate himself to propagate Cheontae Buddhism after going back to Korea.⁴⁰³

Before him, doctrinal Buddhism and practical Seon Buddhism competed and criticized each other. He argued that by incorporating Hwaeom and Cheontae Buddhism, he could harmonize doctrine with meditation. He thought that because Cheontae Buddhism was more practical than doctrinal Hwaeom

⁴⁰³ H.4.551c20-552a8.

Buddhism, Cheontae Buddhism was much more suitable to harmonize practical Seon Buddhism than Hwaem Buddhism.⁴⁰⁴ He unified sectarian traditions under his Cheontae Buddhism, indirectly referring to the Cheontae Buddhism's main doctrine of subsuming three vehicles to one vehicle.

While Uicheon tried to harmonize Seon Buddhism from the doctrinal perspective of Cheontae Buddhism, later Jinul attempted to harmonize doctrinal Huayan Buddhism from the practical perspective of Seon Buddhism. However, both Uicheon and Jinul vehemently criticized its respective sectarian position and highly valued Zongmi's ecumenism.⁴⁰⁵

Even though we cannot describe the dharma in languages and phenomena, we can separate the dharma from languages and phenomena. If we separate it from languages and phenomena, we attach ourselves to delusions. If we attach ourselves to its languages and phenomena, we are deluded to the truth. Because the majority of people do not possess abilities and capacities in this world, they find it difficult to have beauty.

Therefore, many of the scholar-monks abandon the internal conditions but seek the external ones. The Seon practitioners like to forget (external) conditions and to reveal internal conditions. Both the scholar-monks and the Seon practitioners attach themselves to their own views respectively. They argue against each other just as they debate on the length of an (unreal) hare's horn and the depth of shading of an unreal flower.

If we do not discriminate subjects from objects and the present from the past, and if we equally practice meditation and wisdom and simultaneously benefit ourselves and other beings, we can comprehend emptiness and make all the Bodhisattva activities practiced. Whatever we do, we clearly manifest the One Dao. Whenever speaking or keeping silent, we do not lose the mysterious status. Whenever moving or standing, we do not separate ourselves from the Dharma realms. Only our patriarch Zongmi completely adopted ecumenism and revealed truth.

Uicheon harmonized two major doctrinal traditions of East Asian Buddhism, i.e., Huayan Buddhism and Tiantai Buddhism. He was trained under the influence of the Huayan Buddhist tradition since the beginning of his monkhood in Korea. Later he transmitted Tiantai Buddhism from China and officially established the Tiantai tradition in Korea. He harmonized his originally affiliated Huayan Buddhism with Tiantai Buddhism that he transmitted from China, established under his leadership and popularized in Korea. He also thought that we should equally learn the doctrinal traditions and practice Seon Buddhism.

4.3. Ecumenism: Wonhyo and Daegak Uicheon

⁴⁰⁴ Jo Myeonggi, 106.

⁴⁰⁵ H.4.531b23-c7.

In the Goryeo Dynasty, around 100 years earlier than Jinul, Uicheon, a prince monk, was born. Even though Uicheon and Jinul are ecumenicists, they are slightly different in their emphasis on ecumenism. For example, while Uicheon syncretized doctrinal research and meditation praxis, Jinul synthesized meditation practice with wisdom learning. While Uicheon ecumenized meditation praxis from the standpoint of doctrinal learning, Jinul synthesized wisdom learning from the standpoint of meditation practice.⁴⁰⁶

Uicheon was the foremost representative of the ecumenical tradition in his day.⁴⁰⁷ Charles Muller well summarized Uicheon's ecumenism.⁴⁰⁸

The first of the Goryeo's two most famous advocates of Seon/Gyo Unity was Uicheon. Uicheon was the fourth son of a devout Buddhist king, and entered the saṅgha at a young age. Like most other early Goryeo monks, he began his studies in Buddhism with Hwaeom (Huayan). He later traveled (to) China, where he studied under a number of leading masters from a variety of lineages, including Chan, Huayan, Vinaya, Pure Land and Tiantai. Returning to Korea, Uicheon very actively promulgated the Cheontae (Tiantai) teaching, believing that it, as a balanced system, provided a viable solution to the heated Seon / Gyo debate that surrounded him at the time. Ultimately, however, his negative attitude towards Seon undermined his efforts to accommodate Seon adherents,⁴⁰⁹ and he died fairly young without accomplishing his mission. Among his most important works are his histories and catalogues of Buddhist texts, which have been an invaluable source for later scholars.

Uicheon was told to ecumenically learn Huayan, (Yogācāra), Tiantai, vinaya, and logic.⁴¹⁰ He considered Wonhyo as "Bodhisattva Wonhyo, the architect of Korean Buddhism"⁴¹¹ and mentioned him as "the ecumenist who harmonized one hundred disputes."⁴¹² He recommended the throne to confer Wonhyo a posthumous national title, so Wonhyo received from the court the title "National Master Hwajaeng" (Harmonizer of All Disputes). He placed himself as a loyal successor to the ecumenist Wonhyo. He called him a Bodhisattva.⁴¹³ He wrote a funeral oration for Wonhyo and highly evaluated

⁴⁰⁶ Jo Myeonggi, 107.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, 29-52.

⁴⁰⁸ Charles Muller, "Korean Buddhism: A Short Overview," first published in July 1996 and updated on August 14, 2003, <http://www.hm.tyg.jp/~acmuller/kor-bud/korbud-overview.html> (accessed January 3, 2008).

⁴⁰⁹ Charles Muller cited Adrian Buzo and Tony Prince, trans., *Kyūnyō-jōn: The Life, Times and Songs of a Tenth-Century Korean Monk* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 17.

⁴¹⁰ H.4.689b1-8.

⁴¹¹ H.4.555a12.

⁴¹² H.4.555a19.

⁴¹³ H.4.530b10 and H.4.555a11.

Wonhyo's ecumenical thought. If we see the whole funeral oration by Uicheon, we can easily recognize how much he highly respected Wonhyo as follows:⁴¹⁴

Funeral Oration for the Holy (Master) Wonhyo

On a certain (undated) date, this humble monk Uicheon who seeks after the Buddhist teaching reverently prepares and presents things needed in the memorial service such as tea, fruit, cake, food and drink to Bodhisattva Wonhyo, the founder of Korean Buddhism. I humbly think that we can reveal doctrine through principle and propagate the Buddhist teaching through human beings. Because manners and customs degenerated, people departed from Buddhism and the Buddhist teaching was forgotten (by us). The masters limited themselves to learning their sectarian tenets and their disciples attached themselves to their masters and learned the tenets from their masters.

Because Cien Kuiji, (actual founder of Chinese Faxiang Sect) commented on many scriptures and commentaries, he was called the commentator of one hundred Buddhist texts. Even so, he attached himself to only names and characters. Even though Zhiyi had also taught his Tiantai Buddhism for ninety days on Mt. Tiantai, he attached himself to contemplate (elements of existence) in principle. Even though the teachings of (the two traditions) are acceptable, those should not be considered as universal teachings applicable to all different cases.

Only (Wonhyo), the Bodhisattva of our Korean Buddhism, ecumenically harmonized nature (explicated in the Huayan teaching) and phenomena (expounded in the Yogācāra teaching), extensively covered the theories of his previous and contemporary masters, harmonized one hundred disputes and achieved his established completely ecumenical and unbiased theory. We cannot measure him even with the supernatural power and cannot think him even with mysterious functions. Even though he was in this muddy world, he did not pollute his true nature. Even though we have his light harmoniously permeated to us, we cannot steal his essence. He made his fame widespread in China and India and universally transmitted his compassionate propagation in this world and the other world. He widely praised and transmitted Buddhism (among many people). We cannot compare him with other persons.

Uicheon, this humble monk, had good fortune accumulated in previous lives and could from my early age long for the vehicle of the Buddha. When I reviewed preceding masters, I could not find anyone whom I could compare with our holy master (Wonhyo).

Because I extremely felt sad to have his profound teaching not transmitted to us and to cause his ultimate teaching not prevailed among us, I looked for his missed texts here and there across splendid mountains and rivers. Today I was fortunately able to see an image of him who seemed that he was alive at the old temple (Bunhwang-sa Temple) in Gyeongju, (the old capital of the Silla Dynasty). I considered this encounter with him as the first encounter of disciples with their holy master Śākyamuni Buddha at Mt. Vulture Peak at which the Buddha taught. Today I was able to serve these humble offerings with my utmost sincerity (to the holy master Wonhyo). I entreat you to accept

⁴¹⁴ H.4.555a9-b4.

these humble offerings, to provide your affectionate compassion for us and to universally consider our humble beings.

He extremely respected Wonhyo and considered him as an ecumenist who harmonized all the Buddhist disputes including a dispute between Huayan Buddhism and Yogācāra Buddhism, “Only the Bodhisattva of our Korean Buddhism, (Wonhyo), ecumenically manifested nature (explicated in the Huayan teaching) and phenomena (expounded in the Yogācāra teaching), extensively covered the theories of his previous and contemporary masters, harmonized one hundred disputes and achieved his established completely ecumenical and unbiased theory.”⁴¹⁵

Uicheon visited and prayed before the image of the holy master Bodeok (d.u.),⁴¹⁶ traditionally considered as the founder of the Korean *Nirvāṇa* Sect, at Gyeongbok-sa Temple⁴¹⁷ on Mt. Godae, modern Mt. Godal, in the City of Jeonju, South Jeolla Province. Bodeok was considered as a master who taught the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* to Wonhyo and his colleague Uisang. He was an exiled monk from the Goguryeo Kingdom (traditionally dated, 37 BCE – 668 CE). He established Yeongtap-sa Temple on Mt. Daebo in the western part of Pyongyang.⁴¹⁸ When he resided at Yeonbok-sa Temple⁴¹⁹ on Mt. Bannyong, after King Bojang (r. 642-668) accepted Daoism from China and popularized it in his nation, he persecuted Buddhism. He requested the king several times not to oppress Buddhism and he told him that if he persecutes Buddhism, his nation would be dangerous. However, because the king did not accept his advice, he exiled from Yeongbok-sa Temple to the Baekje Kingdom (traditionally dated, 18 BCE – 663 CE) and established and began to teach the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* at the Gyeongbok-sa Temple. Uicheon respected Bodeok as the master of his spiritual master Wonhyo and respectfully composed a poem as follows:⁴²⁰

(We have) the teaching of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and
the teaching of the *vaipulya* (early Mahāyāna) scriptures,
which are transmitted from our master (Wonhyo).
When two holy masters Wonhyo and Uisang learned them from Bodeok,
he, an eminent monk, was unrivaled.
Even though he manifested himself
both in the south part of Korea and in the north part of Korea,
He had never differentiated anyone else,
depending on the Buddhist teachings.
How pitiful it was!
When he moved his living quarter

⁴¹⁵ H.4.555a17-18.

⁴¹⁶ I Jeong, ed., 111.

⁴¹⁷ I Dongsul, ed., 24.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid, 304.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid, 292.

⁴²⁰ H.4.559a10-18.

From Goguryeo to Baekje,
Goguryeo,
the nation that King Dongmyeong-wang (r. 37 BCE – 19 BCE) founded,
became dangerous.

Uicheon visited the holy master Bodeok's devastated living quarter at Yeonbok-sa Temple on Mt. Bannyong in South Pyeongan Province. He was really glad to visit the historical site for the master of his master Wonhyo and composed a short poem as follows:⁴²¹

It seems Bodeok is facing the southern direction
from the ruined site of his living quarter.
I reverentially see the historical site in which he hid himself.
I was told that Uisang and Wonhyo learned Buddhism from him.
Because I was so delighted for a long time,
I forgot to leave the site behind.

Uicheon highly evaluated Wonhyo's writings. He considered them as being higher than even the writings by the highest Indian Mahāyāna scholars such as Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna. He evaluated Wonhyo's *Commentary on the Diamond Sūtra* as the best commentary on the scripture.⁴²² He also regarded that Wonhyo had completely revealed the fundamental Buddhist teachings by writing books and analyzing the tenets of Buddhist scriptures.⁴²³

In his reply to Vinaya Master Yuanzhao Zongben (d. 1116), a syncretist between Pure Land Buddhism and Tiantai Buddhism, Uicheon highly valued Wonhyo, "Wonhyo was born in late Sui Dynasty (581-618) and propagated Buddhism in early Tang Dynasty (618-907). He revealed himself in one hundred places and manifested his death in six directions. He wrote commentaries on all the Buddhist scriptures. All of his writings always made sense."⁴²⁴

Daegak Uicheon also located Wonhyo as the founder of Korean Cheontae (Chn., Tiantai) Buddhism and Che'gwan as the transmitter of that type of Buddhism.⁴²⁵ He was proud of Che'gwan who actively propagated Tiantai Buddhism in China.⁴²⁶ He transmitted Tiantai Buddhism from China to Korea in which he actually established and propagated the tradition.⁴²⁷ He based his theoretical background for ecumenism on Cheontae philosophy and ecumenized all the differing doctrinal and practical traditions in his ecumenical philosophy.

Wonhyo wrote several books on the *Lotus Sūtra*, an authoritative text for Cheontae Buddhism. Wonhyo's writings on the scripture that we can identify

⁴²¹ H.4.56316-19.

⁴²² H.4.565b13-15.

⁴²³ H.4.565b16-18.

⁴²⁴ H.4.546c11-12.

⁴²⁵ H.4.530b11-12.

⁴²⁶ H.4.552a2-4, and H.4.569c18.

⁴²⁷ H.4.596a4-5.

are the extant *Essentials of the Lotus Sūtra* (*Beophwa jong'yo*) in one fascicle, the missed *Summary of the Lotus Sūtra* (*Beophwa yoyak*) in one fascicle, the missed *Explanation of the "Chapter of the Skillful Means" of the Lotus Sūtra* (*Beophwa-gyeong bangpyeon-pum yogan*) in one fascicle, and the lost *Introduction to the Lotus Sūtra* (*Beophwa yaksul*) in one fascicle.⁴²⁸ He harmonized all manner of diverse thoughts in the *Essentials of the Lotus Sūtra* by adopting the key concept of the *Lotus Sūtra* that subsumes three vehicles to one vehicle.⁴²⁹

Wonhyo also published some books on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, the second important text after the *Lotus Sūtra* in Cheontae Buddhism. Wonhyo's writings on the scripture that we can identify are the extant *Essentials of the Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (*Yeolban jong'yo*) in one fascicle and the missed *Commentary on the Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (*Yeolban gyeongso*) in five fascicles.⁴³⁰ He harmonized all the differing thoughts in the *Essentials of the Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.⁴³¹

When Uicheon made the *Newly Edited Comprehensive Catalogue of All the Buddhist Texts*, he extensively included the titles of Wonhyo's 44 books in 87 fascicles.⁴³² When he reviewed the books on tenets and scriptures by Wonhyo, he evaluated Wonhyo's works higher than even the writings by the two highest Indian Mahāyāna Buddhist masters Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna. He lamented that because his contemporary Buddhists were lazy to learn Wonhyo's writings, they became ignorant in Buddhism. He also considered Wonhyo as Confucius, the founder of Confucianism, of Korea.⁴³³

After he gave a lecture on the *Diamond Sūtra* with Wonhyo's commentary, he highly valued Wonhyo and his writings as follows: "We could not understand literally the writings of Wonhyo, a Bunhwang-sa Temple resident monk. Only his works deserved to be conducted research. Even though we were at a loss in dark night for many lives, nowadays we fortunately encountered his writings. We can introduce a metaphor of "a mustard seed falling onto the point of a needle"⁴³⁴ to describe how difficult it is for us to encounter his teachings."⁴³⁵

He dedicated himself to popularize Wonhyo's writings and his thought domestically and internationally.⁴³⁶ He tried to harmonize sectarian conflicts in his lifetime through Wonhyo's thought. When he made the catalogue of

⁴²⁸ See O Beoban, *Wonhyo ui hwajaeng sasang yeongu* (Wonhyo's Theory of Harmonization) (Seoul: Hongbeop-won, 1989), 256-257.

⁴²⁹ Chanju Mun, 277-279.

⁴³⁰ O Beoban, 258.

⁴³¹ Chanju Mun, 271-275.

⁴³² Jo Myeonggi, 43.

⁴³³ H.4.565b16-18.

⁴³⁴ I could not identify the metaphor of "a mustard seed which is falling onto the point of a needle" in Buddhist scriptures but in Chinese Buddhist sources, T.48.2001.40a29, X.80.1568.691c22, X.72.1435.265b05, and others.

⁴³⁵ H.4.565b13-15.

⁴³⁶ Choe Byeongheon, 208.

Buddhist texts, he earnestly searched for Wonhyo's writings and included the titles of the writings in his catalogue. He sent the books by Korean Buddhists of course including Wonhyo to neighboring nations, (Northern) Song (960-1127) of Han Chinese, Liao (907-1125) of Khitanese, a Tungusic tribe in Manchuria, and Japan.

For example, he sent to Huayan Master Jinshui Jingyuan (1011-1088) of Song China the works by Sillan masters such as Wonhyo, Gyeongheung (d.u.)⁴³⁷ and Taehyeon (d.u.).⁴³⁸ He also sent to Yuanzhao Zongben of Song China Wonhyo's *Commentary on the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* in eight fascicles. He sent his *Yusik gwamun* and other works to Shancong (d.u.), an eminent disciple of Jinshui Jingyuan. He consigned his compiled catalogue of Buddhist texts and *Yusik gwamun* to Bianzhen (d.u.). He also sent Wonhyo's writings to Emperor Tianyou-di (r. 1101-1125) of Liao. He also seemed to dispatch some books including his own catalogue to Japan.

In China, Buddhism suffered from severe persecutions by Emperor Wuzong (r. 841-846) of the late Tang Dynasty (618-907) and Emperor Shizong (r. 954-950) of the Later Zhou Dynasty (951-960) and political chaos and endless wars in the Five Dynasties (907-960), through which a lot of Buddhist texts were destroyed. A sincere Buddhist king Zhongyi-wang (r. 908-932) of the Wuyue Dynasty (908-932) in the Ten Dynasties (908-979) dispatched foreign representatives to Korea and Japan to regain lost Buddhist texts.⁴³⁹

Upon the request by King Zongyi-wang, the Korean government assigned Che'gwan to take many Buddhist texts to China. He did not go back to his home nation. He did research in Tiantai Buddhism and delivered lectures for more than ten years under the direction of the 12th Chinese Tiantai patriarch Yiji (919-987). While in China, he wrote the famous masterpiece in one fascicle entitled *Cheontae sagyo-ui* (Introduction to Tiantai Buddhism's Four Teachings), generally considered as the best introduction text to Tiantai Buddhism.

Che'gwan systematized Tiantai Buddhism's *panjiao* (doctrinal classification) schemes. He clearly arranged Tiantai Buddhism's *panjiao* systems with five period teachings and eight teachings in his book in which he very clearly established Lotus thoughts and a doctrinal basis for Tiantai Buddhism. Tiantai scholars in East Asia generally consider Che'gwan's doctrinal classifications very well systemized specifically Zhiyi's and generally Tiantai Buddhism's doctrinal classifications.⁴⁴⁰

The *Cheontae sagyo-ui* faithfully follows Zhiyi's fundamental line and focuses on both sides of doctrine and practice like two wings of a bird and two

⁴³⁷ The 11 works by Gyeongheung (d.u.) in 85 fascicles are enlisted in Jo Myeonggi, 62-63.

⁴³⁸ The 41 works by Taehyeon (d.u.) in 84 fascicles are enlisted in Jo Myeonggi, 59-62.

⁴³⁹ I Yeongja, trans., Che'gwan, *Cheontae sagyo-ui* (Introduction to Tiantai Buddhism's Four Teachings) (Seoul: Gyeongseo-won, 1988), 21.

⁴⁴⁰ Chanju Mun, 124-130.

wheels of a chariot. Even so, it invests a lot of explanations of the doctrinal part much more than the practical part.⁴⁴¹ It consists of two parts, a doctrine part and a practice part. The doctrine part covers doctrinal classifications, such as the *panjiao* system of five period teachings and eight teachings.

However, Sekiguchi Shindai (b. 1907), a Japanese specialist in Tiantai Buddhism, initiated his criticisms against Che'gwan in 1966, arguing that Che'gwan's doctrinal classifications are lacking in the practical parts. Satō Tetsuei (1902-1984), a Japanese expert in Chinese Tiantai Buddhism, began to attack Sekiguchi's arguments and to defend Ch'egwan's doctrinal classifications in 1974. Since then, many Japanese scholars participated in the dispute and Satō Tetsuei represented the opponent group against Sekiguchi, his followers and sympathizers. Both groups continued a three-year full dispute between 1974 and 1977.⁴⁴²

Even during and after the full dispute, almost all Japanese Tiantai scholars, including Satō, argue that Che'gwan's doctrinal classifications systematized in the famous *Cheontae sagyo-ui* is very useful and effective in understanding specifically Zhiyi's and generally Tiantai Buddhism's doctrinal classifications.⁴⁴³ Compared to Che'gwan's doctrinal classifications, Zhiyi's ones are ambiguous in many cases. We can safely say that Che'gwan clarified the ambiguity and un-systematization of Tiantai's doctrinal classifications. To the contrary, because Che'gwan generalized Tiantai doctrinal classifications, we can raise questions on whether Che'gwan's schematization is proper or not even though his *panjiao* schemes are very easy and clear for readers to understand.

Zhiyi arranged the five period teachings based on the Buddha's preaching order by following the previous doctrinal classifiers. The five period teachings constitute the 1st period teaching of the *Huayan Sūtra*, the 2nd period teaching of the *āgama* scriptures, the 3rd period teaching of the *vaipulya* scriptures, the 4th period teaching of the wisdom scriptures and the 5th period teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. He also made two sets of four teachings. Based on the Buddha's instructive mode, he made one set of four teachings, i.e., (1) the sudden teaching, (2) the gradual teaching, (3) the indeterminate teaching, and (4) the esoteric teaching. Based on the teaching content, he devised another set of four teachings, (1) the teaching of three canons, (2) the teaching common in the small vehicle and the great vehicle, (3) the differentiated teaching of the great vehicle, and (4) the perfect teaching.

Che'gwan followed Zhiyi's Tiantai sectarianism and located the *Lotus Sūtra* as the superlative scripture in his book. Tiantai scholars devised their doctrinal classification schemes to prove the superiority of the *Lotus Sūtra* and their Tiantai Buddhism over other scriptures and traditions. Tiantai Buddhism systematized by Zhiyi strongly advocated its sectarianism.

⁴⁴¹ Che'gwan puts the larger portion for the doctrine (T.46.1931.774c10-780a21) and the smaller portion for the practice (T.46.1931.780a22-c29) in the *Cheontae sagyo-ui*.

⁴⁴² Chanju Mun, 130-138.

⁴⁴³ Ibid, 124-125.

However, even though Uicheon proudly declared that he succeeded Tiantai Buddhism from the Chinese Tiantai founder Zhiyi and the Korean representative Tiantai master Che'gwan and established the Korean Cheontae tradition, he did not accept their Tiantai sectarianism but rather adopted the Korean master Wonhyo's ecumenism. According to my identification, in his whole writings (H.4.528a2-697b6) included in *Hanguk bulgyo jeonseo* (The Comprehensive Collection of Korean Buddhist Texts), Uicheon referred to Wonhyo fifty five times⁴⁴⁴ more than any other figures except Fazang and defended his ecumenism.

Even though he officially established and belonged to the Korean Cheontae Sect, he just cited the sectarian representative Che'gwan of Korean Cheontae Buddhism at least six times⁴⁴⁵ and the sectarian founder Zhiyi of Chinese Tiantai Buddhism at least thirty six times in his whole writings.⁴⁴⁶ Even though he established Korean Cheontae Sect, he highly respected and cited at least seventeen times the sectarian Uisang of Korean Hwaem Sect.⁴⁴⁷ He also cited Fazang at least eighty six times.⁴⁴⁸ He also additionally used at least one

⁴⁴⁴ H.4.530b10, H.4.540a10, H.4.541a2, H.4.545c1, H.4.546c10, H.4.546c18, H.4.554b10, H.4.555a9, H.4.555a11, H.4.555a17, H.4.560a20, H.4.563c19, H.4.564c7, H.4.565b13, H.4.565b14, H.4.565c16, H.4.567c5, H.4.572a9, H.4.593a15, H.4.594a20, H.4.680b9, H.4.681b19, H.4.683b1, H.4.684a13, H.4.684a17, H.4.684b17, H.4.685b22, H.4.685c9, H.4.686a23, H.4.686c15, H.4.687a17, H.4.687a21, H.4.687a23, H.4.687b1, H.4.687b4, H.4.687c11, H.4.687c20, H.4.688a24, H.4.688b21, H.4.689c10, H.4.690a10, H.4.692c15, H.4.692b11, H.4.692b12, H.4.692b13, H.4.692c10, H.4.693b8, H.4.694a7, H.4.694b15, H.4.694c4, H.4.694c11, H.4.695a1, H.4.695a4, H.4.696a11, and H.4.696c12.

⁴⁴⁵ H.4.530b11, H.4.552ac, H.4.569c18, H.4.595c9, H.4.596a4, and H.4.696b13.

⁴⁴⁶ H.4.551b9, H.4.551c18, H.4.551c19, H.4.553b21, H.4.567c9, H.4.569.a9, H.4.569c19, H.4.572a6, H.4.590a6, H.4.591c9, H.4.592a10, H.4.595c7, H.4.646a23, H.4.650b13, H.4.650c9, H.4.650c10, H.4.651a5, H.4.655c9, H.4.659a13, H.4.683b17, H.4.683c11, H.4.684a8, H.4.684a19, H.4.684b7, H.4.685c5, H.4.685c17, H.4.685a7, H.4.685b11, H.4.686b17, H.4.687c14, H.4.687b23, H.4.689c5, H.695c19, H.4.696b10, H.4.696a23, and H.4.696a13.

⁴⁴⁷ H.4.534a18, H.4.543b14, H.4.567c5, H.4.569a4, H.4.576c18, H.4.582c12, H.4.591b3, H.4.591c3, H.4.593a15, H.4.594a20, H.4.596c3, H.4.632a15, H.4.681a12, H.4.681a23, H.4.681c10, H.4.682a11, and H.4.687c21.

⁴⁴⁸ H.4.528a19, H.4.529c8, H.4.529b5, H.4.536b12, H.4.540c2, H.4.545b5, H.4.545c17, H.4.547a4, H.4.552a2, H.4.553b22, H.4.555b13, H.4.562c13, H.4.567c9, H.4.569c5, H.4.570b4, H.4.571a15, H.4.572b13, H.4.572b21, H.4.576c18, H.4.577a7, H.4.580a15, H.4.580b8, H.4.582c12, H.4.582c22, H.4.584a9, H.4.584b12, H.4.584b16, H.4.584c14, H.4.584c14, H.4.584a9, H.4.585a3, H.4.586c8, H.4.589a12, H.4.589c19, H.4.590a11, H.4.591a13, H.4.591c16, H.4.592c19, H.4.595a4, H.4.595b4, H.4.595c21, H.4.596a21, H.4.596a24, H.4.602b18, H.4.603b8, H.4.604c1, H.4.604b23, H.4.631b13, H.4.635c24, H.4.635c4, H.4.635b15, H.4.635b14, H.4.635b13, H.4.635b7, H.4.635b3, H.4.635c15, H.4.635c5, H.4.636a4, H.4.636c25, H.4.639c23, H.4.639b15, H.4.645a11, H.4.646a19, H.4.679a11, H.4.679a8, H.4.680a12, H.4.681b13, H.4.681b6, H.4.681a10, H.4.681a7, H.4.681a1, H.4.681c15, H.4.682b4, H.4.682c16, H.4.682c12, H.4.682c11, H.4.682c6, H.4.682b7, H.4.585c17, H.4.689a1, H.4.689b3, H.4.689c7, H.692c11, H.4.692c16, H.4.695a3, and H.4.694c13.

hundred forty four times the term “Huayan.”⁴⁴⁹ He referred to the *Huayan Sūtra* and Huayan masters and philosophy to organize his ecumenical philosophy more tremendously than his affiliated *Lotus Sūtra*, Tiantai masters and philosophy. He also used at least eighty times in total the terms “Lotus” and “Tiantai,” constituting at least twenty five times⁴⁵⁰ and fifty five times⁴⁵¹ respectively, much less than the Huayan counterparts.

According to statistics, Uicheon referred to the actual founder Fazang of Chinese Huayan Buddhism much more extensively than the founder of Zhiyi of Chinese Tiantai Buddhism. He ecumenically cited Hwaeom Buddhism and Cheontae Buddhism in his works. His official and institutional affiliation to the Korean Cheontae Sect does not guarantee that he was a sectarian master of the Cheontae Sect. He, rather, was an ecumenicist in his system of philosophy.

⁴⁴⁹ H.4.529a6, H.4.529b7, H.4.529b11, H.4.529c3, H.4.533a7, H.4.533a10, H.4.534a21, H.4.538c22, H.4.540c6, H.4.543b21, H.4.545c17, H.4.545b15, H.4.545a20, H.4.546a18, H.4.552a19, H.4.552a1, H.4.555c17, H.4.556a3, H.4.558b23, H.4.558b3, H.4.558a10, H.4.559b6, H.4.559b10, H.4.560b6, H.4.560a19, H.4.563b24, H.4.561c18, H.4.563a22, H.4.564a13, H.4.566b15, H.4.566b13, H.4.568b6, H.4.569c1, H.4.570c1, H.4.570a9, H.4.570a4, H.4.571a17, H.4.571c3, H.4.571b21, H.4.571b20, H.4.571b8, H.4.572a2, H.4.572b13, H.4.572a2, H.4.573c1, H.4.574c12, H.4.575a10, H.4.575a13, H.4.576c16, H.4.577b13, H.4.577b18, H.4.578a11, H.4.584c6, H.4.584c11, H.4.585b20, H.4.585c2, H.4.586a6, H.4.588b2, H.4.589a8, H.4.589a9, H.4.591b15, H.4.595c5, H.4.595b11, H.4.595a23, H.4.605c14, H.4.615a20, H.4.618a9, H.4.618a7, H.4.618a6, H.4.618a5, H.4.618a2, H.4.618a1, H.624b18, H.4.625a3, H.4.628c16, H.4.631c7, H.4.631b13, H.4.631b2, H.4.631c7, H.4.632a10, H.4.632b13, H.4.632c6, H.4.633b13, H.4.633c10, H.4.634c17, H.4.634c12, H.4.634c15, H.4.634a20, H.4.634a15, H.4.635c11, H.4.635c6, H.4.635b13, H.4.635b4, H.4.636b22, H.4.636b20, H.4.636a19, H.4.636a16, H.4.636a14, H.4.636a7, H.4.636b22, H.4.637a14, H.4.637a16, H.4.637b8, H.4.637b9, H.4.637b11, H.4.637b14, H.4.637b20, H.4.637c16, H.4.637c23, H.4.638a22, H.4.638a16, H.4.638a11, H.4.638b17, H.4.639a15, H.4.639b23, H.4.639c2, H.4.639c3, H.4.640b19, H.4.641a12, H.4.641a21, H.4.642a23, H.4.643c21, H.4.643c4, H.4.643b14, H.4.643b9, H.4.643b8, H.4.643b4, H.4.643a15, H.4.644a3, H.4.645b16, H.4.646c16, H.4.646b21, H.4.646b17, H.4.646a11, H.4.647b18, H.4.647b16, H.4.647b15, H.4.647a12, H.4.670a11, H.4.679b21, H.4.680a5, H.4.681b11, H.4.682c16, H.4.689a21, and H.4.697a18.

⁴⁵⁰ H.4.545b3, H.4.545b23, H.4.566b10, H.4.570c12, H.4.572c4, H.4.572b22, H.4.572a7, H.4.574c3, H.4.574b7, H.4.584c20, H.4.596a15, H.4.596a5, H.4.637b7, H.4.651a18, H.4.651a8, H.4.651a1, H.4.659a11, H.4.661a14, H.4.663c5, H.4.664a19, H.4.664a5, H.664a3, H.4.666c18, H.4.683b15, and H.4.684c22.

⁴⁵¹ H.4.530b10, H.4.537a20, H.4.551b9, H.4.551c18, H.4.551c19, H.552a2, H.4.553b21, H.4.569a18, H.4.562a18, H.4.562a15, H.4.566b11, H.4.569c18, H.4.569a9, H.4.570b4, H.4.574b5, H.4.578c19, H.4.579b11, H.4.585c19, H.4.586b13, H.4.589a13, H.4.592a10, H.4.592c6, H.4.594b26, H.4.595c21, H.4.595c21, H.4.595c6, H.4.595c1, H.4.595b4, H.4.595a15, H.4.596a21, H.4.596a4, H.4.648a7, H.4.650c8, H.4.650c5, H.4.651b11, H.4.651a5, H.4.659a13, H.4.663c4, H.4.679a9, H.4.685c17, H.4.685c5, H.686b17, H.4.686a7, H.4.687c14, H.4.687b23, H.4.687b18, H.4.689c5, H.4.689b6, H.4.689a8, H.4.695c19, H.4.696a13, H.4.696a23, H.4.696b10, H.4.696a23, and H.4.696a13.

If needed, he also referred to such the major Yogācāra Buddhist scholars as Xuanzang,⁴⁵² Kuiji,⁴⁵³ and Woncheuk⁴⁵⁴ and such the key terms of Yogācāra Buddhism as *faxiang* (Dharma Characteristics),⁴⁵⁵ *weishi* (Consciousness-only)⁴⁵⁶ and *yujia* (Yoga)⁴⁵⁷ to the much lesser degree than the Huayan and Tiantai counterparts. Even so, he did not discriminate but incorporated Yogācāra Buddhism in his ecumenical philosophy.

Even though he referred to the *Lotus Sūtra* as an important scripture, he did not consider it as the ultimate and absolute scripture. He did not evaluate other scriptures below the scripture. As possible as he could, he wanted to value all the Buddhist scriptures and traditions equally. So, he faithfully inherited the ecumenical lineage of Sino-Korean Buddhism via the Korean ecumenist Wonhyo who established his ecumenism by heavily relying on Chinese Buddhism's representative ecumenists Huiyuan (523-597) and Jizang (549-623).⁴⁵⁸

Jo Myeonggi reasonably explained why Uicheon needed to establish another Cheontae Sect in addition to Hwaeom Sect in Korea even though Uicheon extensively adopted the Hwaeom philosophy more than his own Cheontae philosophy in his ecumenical system of philosophy in the following quote:⁴⁵⁹

National Master (Daegak Uicheon) established his ecumenical views through two schools of Cheontae and Hwaeom and asserted that Buddhists should simultaneously learn doctrine and practice meditation without excluding either of them. If some Buddhists learn doctrine but do not practice meditation, they are subject to have one-sided views just as if others practice meditation but do not learn doctrine, they are also supposed to have other one-sided opinions.

⁴⁵² I identified Xuanzang at least two times in Uicheon's works. Refer to H.4.591b2 and H.t.666c8.

⁴⁵³ I identified Kuiji at least thirteen times in Uicheon's works. See H.4.529b10, H.4.540c2, H.4.553b22, H.4.555b22, H.4.570b3, H.4.572b6, H.4.574b11, H.4.589a12, H.4.595c22, H.4.596a24, H.4.666a19, H.4.666b4, and H.4.666a10.

⁴⁵⁴ I identified Woncheuk at least eight times in Uicheon's works. See H.4.529b13, H.4.646c22, H.4.686c16, H.4.686a9, H.4.687b5, H.4.693b23, H.4.693b9, and H.4.693a18.

⁴⁵⁵ I identified the term *faxiang* at least nine times in Uicheon's works. Refer to H.4.529b12, H.4.531c21, H.4.570b3, H.4.613b18, H.4.623c7, H.4.633a18, H.4.633a13, H.4.680c17, and H.4.685b16.

⁴⁵⁶ I identified the term *weishi* at least fourteen times in Uicheon's works. See H.4.529a7, H.4.529b18, H.4.529b5, H.4.529b4, H.4.529a22, H.4.529a20, H.4.529a7, H.4.540a11, H.4.571b19, H.4.574a19, H.4.577c2, H.4.666c18, H.4.693a3, and H.4.694c7.

⁴⁵⁷ I identified the term *yujia* at least sixteen times in Uicheon's works. See H.4.529b6, H.4.555b15, H.4.589a6, H.4.598c10, H.4.598c8, H.4.598b7, H.4.598a4, H.4.598a3, H.4.606b24, H.4.608a10, H.4.611b22, H.4.612c15, H.4.613a12, H.4.666a12, H.4.666c18, H.4.693c20, and H.4.694a14.

⁴⁵⁸ Chanju Mun, 271-296.

⁴⁵⁹ Jo Myeonggi, 106-107.

Therefore, one-sided overemphasis is easily guided to the narrow-minded viewpoints. We should remove one-sided overemphasis to fundamentally settle down sectarian conflicts seriously latent in the then Goryeo Buddhism. However, it might be harder to harmonize practical Seon Buddhism with doctrinal Hwaom Buddhism and to educate and propagate the ecumenism between the two traditions at the national level. Because Cheontae Buddhism originated from Chinese Mādhyamika Buddhism and it was much more practical than Hwaom Buddhism, it focused on contemplation meditation and seating Seon meditation. Therefore, Seon Buddhists traditionally evaluated

Cheontae Buddhism highly, considered the highest tradition among the doctrinal traditions and located Cheontae Buddhism as a bridge between doctrinal traditions and practical Seon ones. National Master (Daegak Uicheon) realized the importance of Cheontae Buddhism and had studied the Cheontae doctrine from the earlier time in Korea. He specialized in similarities and differences in doctrinal classification between Cheontae and Hwaom Buddhism. When he went to Song China, he furthered his specialization under the academic guidance of Cibian Congjian. He increased his confidence in Cheontae Buddhism. He aimed at harmonizing conflicts among differing sects and reforming problematic Goryeo Buddhism with the Buddhism. He determined Cheontae Buddhism as a guiding ideology for uniting all conflicting Buddhists and citizens in his nation. At the time, Seon practitioners and doctrinal scholars competed with each other and sincerely tried to prove the superiority of their tradition to other one. He vehemently refuted one-sided traditions that argued the superiority of their traditions to other traditions and theoretically established his own ecumenical tradition through which he suggested Buddhists to be united, not to be divided. He advocated the synthesis between doctrine and meditation and between theory and practice and established a new sect called Cheontae Sect. Many eminent Seon practitioners agreed with his ecumenism, assembled under his new banner of Cheontae Buddhism, played a key role in establishing the new sect and loyally manifested the true ecumenical intention of its sect. He recruited many eminent Seon masters originally belonged to nine mountain Seon lineages, made them to be the key figures of his newly established sect and educated them in the synthesis of meditation and doctrine. He positively extended the power of his sect, gradually recruited them and gave preferential treatment to them. After all, because six to seven of ten Seon practitioners changed their affiliations from their Seon lineages to the newly established Cheontae Sect, the praxis complexes of nine mountain Seon lineages became declined. He seemed to merge all of nine mountain Seon lineages into his Cheontae Sect. He named his sect's clerical posts based on the titles of Seon sects. For example, when the great Seon master changed his affiliation from his Seon lineage to the newly organized Cheontae Sect, he continued his same post title as a great Seon master. He could keep his identity as a Seon master even though he changed his affiliation. So, the sect became extremely prosperous. In the later times, the Cheontae Sect is divided to two sub-sects of Cheontae Soja Sect and Cheontae Beopsa Sect.

Uicheon was critical of the sectarian research and urged Buddhists to study various Buddhist subjects ecumenically as the quote demonstrates:⁴⁶⁰

If we do not study the *Abhidharmakośa-śāstra*, we are not able to know the teaching of the small vehicle. If we do not learn Yogācāra Buddhism, how can we understand the tenet of the element teaching (of the great vehicle)? If we do not study the *Awakening of Faith*, how can we reveal the meaning of the final and sudden teachings (of the great vehicle)? If we do not learn (the perfect teaching of) Huayan philosophy, we find it difficult to understand the teaching of perfect harmonization....

Therefore, (the *Shilun jing* (Ten Wheels Sūtra)) says, “If we do not make efforts to drink the water of lakes and rivers, how can we consume the water of a great ocean? If we do not learn the teaching of two vehicles, how can we learn the teaching of the great vehicle?”⁴⁶¹

We should rely on the above-cited quote. Even the followers of the two vehicles study Buddhism. How cannot the followers of the great vehicle learn Buddhism? Because some modern Buddhist practitioners describe themselves that they obtained sudden enlightenment, look down upon the followers of the provisional teaching and the small vehicle and discuss nature and phenomena, we make a fool of them. I, Uicheon, think that because they do not study Buddhism ecumenically and comprehensively, they are ridiculed.

Uicheon advocated the unity between Chan practice and doctrinal study. He tried to ecumenize different doctrinal traditions between Tiantai Buddhism and Huayan Buddhism. He criticized Chan sectarians and doctrinal sectarians. Even though he conducted research in Huayan philosophy in depth, he vehemently criticized earlier Huayan sectarians such as Gyunyeo, Beomun (d.u.), Jinpa (d.u.), and Yeongyun (d.u.)⁴⁶² and highly respected earlier Huayan ecumenists Wonhyo⁴⁶³ and Yeongi (d.u.)⁴⁶⁴ and earlier Huayan master Uisang (625-702).⁴⁶⁵

Uicheon listed Yeongi's four books on two topics Huayan Buddhism and the *Awakening of Faith* in 44 fascicles and considered that Yeongi ecumenically discussed them.⁴⁶⁶ The four books in 44 fascicles by Yeongi are the *Hwaeom-gyeong gaejeong yeorui* (Questions on the Philosophical System of the *Huayan Sūtra*) in thirty fascicles, the *Hwaeom-gyeong yogyeol* (Key Concepts of the *Huayan Sūtra*) in twelve fascicles, the *Hwaeom-gyeong jinryu hwanwon rakdo* (Diagram of Subsuming Mundane Affairs to Super-mundane Truth in the *Huayan Sūtra*) in one fascicle and the *Daeseung gisin-ron sabeon chwimyo* (Outline of the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*) in one fascicle.

⁴⁶⁰ H.4.529b17-c2.

⁴⁶¹ T.47.1960.57a8 -9, X.44.744.704a15, and X.60.1121.440a24.

⁴⁶² H.4.556b9f.

⁴⁶³ H.4.555a10-b4.

⁴⁶⁴ H.4.559b9-12.

⁴⁶⁵ Jo Myeonggi, 46.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid, 63.

Even though he highly respected the Huayan sectarian master Uisang,⁴⁶⁷ he preferred the Huayan ecumenist Wonhyo to the Huayan sectarian master Uisang. While Uisang used the Huayan teaching to prove the superiority of Huayan Buddhism over other traditions and teachings,⁴⁶⁸ Wonhyo utilized the Huayan philosophy to support his ecumenism.⁴⁶⁹ Uicheon enlisted Uisang's four books on Huayan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism in four fascicles.⁴⁷⁰ He also introduced Wonhyo's 44 books on various subjects, including Huayan Buddhism, Tiantai Buddhism, Pure Land Buddhism, Yogācāra Buddhism and Mādhyamika Buddhism, in 76 fascicles.⁴⁷¹ Because Wonhyo and Uisang were generally considered the founding patriarchs of Hwaeom Sect in Korean Buddhism, he could not ignore the important position of Uisang but highly valued him.

Before Uicheon, Uisang was generally considered the only founding patriarch of Korean Hwaeom Sect. However, Uicheon elevated his position of Wonhyo to the equal position to Uisang and regarded him as founding patriarchs of Hwaeom Sect along with Uisang.⁴⁷² The Hwaeom lineage of Uisang and his followers became dominate and was considered as the authentic and orthodox Korean Hwaeom Buddhism.

Choe Chiwon (b. 857) also wrote in 904, the 8th year of King Hyogong (r. 897-912) of the United Silla Dynasty, the *Beopjang hwasang jeon* (Biography of Master Fazang),⁴⁷³ regarded only Uisang as the authentic Huayan master of Korean Buddhism⁴⁷⁴ and very positively valued him.⁴⁷⁵ He also wrote the missed *Buseok josa jeon* (Biography of Patriarch Uisang of the Buseok-sa Temple) and equally treated Uisang with his younger Dharma brother Fazang.⁴⁷⁶ Both of them studied Huayan Buddhism under the same master Zhiyan of Huayan Buddhism.

Choe Chiwon also enlisted ten major Korean Hwaeom temples in the *Beopjang hwasang jeon* and explained how much Hwaeom Buddhism became popular.⁴⁷⁷ The ten temples that Uisang himself and his disciples including Ojin (d.u.),⁴⁷⁸ Jitong (b. 655),⁴⁷⁹ Neung-in (d.u.),⁴⁸⁰ Pyohun (d.u.),⁴⁸¹ and Jinjeong

⁴⁶⁷ Uicheon positively referred to Uisang seventeen times in his works.

⁴⁶⁸ Chanju Mun, 297-299.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid, 281, 285-287.

⁴⁷⁰ Jo Myeonggi, 59.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid, 57-59.

⁴⁷² Choe Byeongheon, 200-208.

⁴⁷³ H.3.769c8-777c8.

⁴⁷⁴ H.3.765c5-766a3.

⁴⁷⁵ H.3.780b16-19.

⁴⁷⁶ H.4.682c13 and H.3.782a9.

⁴⁷⁷ H.3.775c20-22.

⁴⁷⁸ I Jeong, ed., 193.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid, 285.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid, 57.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, 322.

(d.u.)⁴⁸² established are Miri-sa Temple in the County of Dalseong, North Gyeongsang Province, on Mt. Palgong;⁴⁸³ Hwaom-sa Temple in the County of Gurye, South Jeolla Province on Mt. Jiri;⁴⁸⁴ Buseok-sa Temple in the County of Yeongju, North Gyeongsang Province on Mt. Bonghwang;⁴⁸⁵ Haein-sa Temple⁴⁸⁶ and Bogwang-sa Temple⁴⁸⁷ in the County of Hapcheon, South Gyeongsang Province on Mt. Gaya; Bowon-sa Temple in the County of Seosan, South Chungcheong Province on Mt. Sangwang;⁴⁸⁸ Gap-sa Temple in the County of Gongju, South Chungcheong Province on Mt. Gyeryong;⁴⁸⁹ Beomeo-sa Temple in Busan on Mt. Geumjeong;⁴⁹⁰ Okcheon-sa Temple in the County of Dalseong, North Gyeongsang Province on Mt. Biseul;⁴⁹¹ Guksin-sa Temple in the County of Gimje, North Jeolla Province on Mt. Moak;⁴⁹² and Cheongdam-sa Temple in Seoul on Mt. Bukhan.⁴⁹³ Even though he mentioned ten major temples on ten mountains, because he introduced two temples on Mt. Gaya, he actually enlisted eleven temples in his book.

Hyeok Yeonjeong (d.u.)⁴⁹⁴ wrote the *Gyunyeo jeon* (Biography of Gyunyeo) in 1075, the 29th year of King Munjong's reign and defined Uisang as the founder of Korean Hwaom Sect and Gyunyeo as the authentic successor to Uisang. Chang-un (d.u.), a disciple of National Master Gyeongdeok Nanwon, requested Hyeok Yeonjeong to write a biography for Hwaom Master Gyunyeo. Based upon his request, Hyeok Yeonjeong wrote the *Biography of Gyunyeo*. He defined Nāgārjuna as the founding patriarch of Indian Huayan Buddhism, Uisang as the founding patriarch of Korean Buddhism and Gyunyeo as the loyal successor to Uisang and the Huayan patriarch of the Goryeo Dynasty. After his master's death, Chang-un became the disciple of Uicheon. Likewise, prior to Uicheon, Korean Hwaom Buddhists did not highly evaluate Wonhyo.

Even when Uicheon was active, Hwaom Buddhists used to consider only Uisang as their tradition's founding patriarch. He also stated, "The venerable master Uisang of the Buseok-sa Temple sought the truth in China and took the perfect and sudden teaching (Huayan Buddhism) to our nation of Korea. From

⁴⁸² Ibid, 288.

⁴⁸³ I Dongsul, ed., 127.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid, 458-459.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid, 182-183.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid, 446-447.

⁴⁸⁷ I could not identify the temple's location.

⁴⁸⁸ I Dongsul, ed., 164.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid, 12.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid, 145-146.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid, 310.

⁴⁹² Ibid, 45.

⁴⁹³ The location of Cheongdam-sa Temple was recently in 2008 identified as the area near and in 429-3 Jingwannae-dong, Eunpyeong-gu, Seoul. When people excavated the area to construct the buildings, they found out five roofing tiles in which the title of Cheongdam-sa Temple was included.

⁴⁹⁴ I Jeong, ed., 333.

then on to now, Huayan Buddhism has served as the head of all Buddhist teachings for more than four hundred years in our nation.⁴⁹⁵

Even though Chinese and Japanese Buddhists very highly evaluated Wonhyo, Korean Buddhists did not evaluate Wonhyo very highly but some scholars such as Taehyeon and Gyunyeo sometimes referred to him.⁴⁹⁶ Gyunyeo also comprehensively commented on the works by major Huayan masters such as Zhiyan, Uisang and Fazang but did not comment on any single work by Wonhyo. He just referred to Wonhyo and his ecumenical views at least twenty nine times in his entire works (H.4.1a2-510c9)⁴⁹⁷ in order to criticize him from the sectarian standpoints of Fazang's Huayan Buddhism.⁴⁹⁸ To elevate Wonhyo and his ecumenism, Uicheon needed to strongly criticize the extreme Hwaeom sectarian master Gyunyeo. He placed the practical Hwaeom Buddhism of Chengguan and Zongmi over the intellectual and theoretical Hwaeom Buddhism of his earlier master Gyunyeo and vehemently criticized him.

While Fazang was very theoretical and intellectual, Chengguan accepted the practical interpretations on the *Huayan Sūtra* by Li Tongxuan (646-740) and incorporated them to the mainstream lineage of Chinese Huayan Buddhism initiated from the intellectual masters Zhiyan and Fazang to which he officially belonged. He along with his disciple Zongmi tried to synthesize the two streams of Chinese Huayan Buddhism, the practical stream and the intellectual one, in his Huayan philosophical system. Daegak loyally succeeded the syncretical approach from the two earlier Huayan masters, Chengguan and Zongmi.

He referred to the *Huayan Sūtra* in eighty fascicles and the Chengguan's self sub-commentary on his *Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra* in eighty fascicles. Chengguan commented on the *Huayan Sūtra* in eight fascicles later translated by Śikānanda between 695 and 699, not on the *Huayan Sūtra* in sixty fascicles earlier translated by Buddhahadra between 418 and 422. Prajñā also translated the *Huayan Sūtra* (*Ga¹/₂avyūha sūtra*) in forty fascicles in 798. It corresponds to the "Chapter Entrance to Dharma Realms" included as one of chapters in the *Huayan Sūtra* in sixty fascicles and eighty fascicles.

Fazang aimed at hierarchically classifying Buddhist doctrines from his Huayan sectarianism and considering especially Faxiang Sect as a much lower teaching than his Huayan teaching. He developed his Huayan philosophy under his strong sectarian antagonisms against the Faxiang Sect that Cien Kuiji established based on massive Indian Yogācāra texts that his master Xuanzang newly introduced and translated. Because of strong theoretical and analytic

⁴⁹⁵ H.4.528a24-b2.

⁴⁹⁶ Choe Byeongheon, 203-204.

⁴⁹⁷ H.4.8a20, H.4.25a17, H.4.143a15, H.4.233c20, H.4.304a7, H.4.304a21, H.4.304b13, H.4.311c9, H.4.315c20, H.4.315a24, H.4.324a24, H.4.324b24, H.4.324c2, H.4.324c25, H.4.326c17, H.4.326c15, H.4.339a17, H.4.379b2, H.4.382c5, H.4.410b18, H.4.425c15, H.4.425b10, H.4.427b13, H.4.428c21, H.4.428a19, H.4.429b9, H.4.429b4, H.4.430a11, and H.4.448c15.

⁴⁹⁸ Choe Byeongheon, 204.

characteristics of Indian Yogācāra Buddhism, he needed to intellectually and doctrinally criticize Faxiang Sect. He developed strong confrontation arguments against the Faxiang (Yogācāra) Sect and its sectarian teachings and established his own Huayan Sect and its sectarian teachings.

However, Chengguan intended to harmonize, not to negate newly emerging practical Chan Buddhism from the intellectual perspectives of his own Huayan Buddhism. He accepted the practical interpretations on the *Huayan Sūtra* by Li Tongxuan and considered the “Chapter Entrance to Dharma Realms” (Skt., *Ga^{1/2}avyūha*) as the central part of the scripture. The chapter was more practical than any other chapters in the scripture. Chengguan strongly emphasized the necessity and potentiality of enlightenment for common practitioners.

The chapter was an independent part of the *Huayan Sūtra*.⁴⁹⁹ It accounts for the pilgrimage of young sincere practitioner Sudhana whom Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva guides to enlightenment on his way and who receives the various advices about his religious practice from fifty-three teachers and attains enlightenment through their advices. Finally, Sudhana meets Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, through whose teaching he attains enlightenment. It discusses the vows of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva that serve the basis of a Bodhisattva’s life.

Even though Chengguan tried to harmonize intellectual Huayan Buddhism and practical Seon Buddhism, he did not equally treat the two traditions. Because he tried to harmonize Chan Buddhism from the position of Huayan Buddhism, he put Huayan Buddhism over Chan Buddhism and attempted to subsume Chan Buddhism to Huayan Buddhism. He assigned Chan Buddhism along with the doctrine of non-duality explicated in the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* and the suchness of transcending intellect and language explained in the *Awakening of Faith* to the sudden teaching of the great vehicle in his doctrinal classification.

Chengguan basically accepted Fazang’s representative doctrinal classification of five teachings. Fazang’s classification constitutes (1) the teaching of the small vehicle, (2) the elementary teaching of the great vehicle, consisting Yogācāra and Mādhyamika teachings, (3) the final teaching of the great vehicle, namely, the Tathāgatagarbha teaching, (4) the sudden teaching of the great vehicle, i.e., the teaching of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra*, and (5) the perfect teaching of the great vehicle, i.e., the teaching of the *Huayan Sūtra*. Chengguan extended the scope of the 4th teaching and included the newly emerging Chan Buddhism in it.

Chengguan had a connection with such Chan sects as Heze Sect, Niutou Sect and Northern Sect, of which he had a strong influence from Niutou Sect closely related to Huayan Buddhism.⁵⁰⁰ However, Zongmi had a strong

⁴⁹⁹ See the entry of “*Ga^{1/2}avyūha*” in the *Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen*, 75.

⁵⁰⁰ Choe Byeongheon, 191.

connection to Heze Sect. He strongly emphasized the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* and the Tathāgatarbha teaching over any other teachings and equally ecumenized Huayan Buddhism and Heze Chan Buddhism.

Unlike Chengguan's unequal harmonization between doctrinal Huayan Buddhism and practical Chan Buddhism, Zongmi equally treated doctrinal Huayan Buddhism and practical Heze Chan Buddhism, matching doctrinal Buddhist traditions to practical Chan traditions. He hierarchically classified four doctrinal teachings, (1) the teaching of the small vehicle, (2) the Yogācāra teaching, (3) the Mādhyamika teaching, and (4) the Tathāgatarbha teaching.

Because the teaching of the small vehicle did not have any corresponding Chan sect, he assigned the Northern Chan Sect to the 2nd Yogācāra teaching.⁵⁰¹ He matched the Niutou Chan Sect to the 3rd Mādhyamika teaching⁵⁰² and correlated the Hongzhou Chan Sect and the Heze Chan Sect to the 4th Tathāgatarbha teaching.⁵⁰³ In discussing the Hongzhou and Heze sects, he argued that both sects found their doctrinal support in the Tathāgatarbha teaching and he classified the Heze Sect over the Hongzhou Sect.⁵⁰⁴

Chengguan received an influence from Jingqi Zhanran (711-782), twenty seven years earlier than him, the revitalizer of Chinese Tiantai Buddhism. He also tried to harmonize his Huayan tradition with the newly reviving Tiantai Buddhism. He harmonized Chan Buddhism and Tiantai Buddhism from his sectarian perspective of Huayan Buddhism. Responding to the strong Tiantai sectarianism of Jingqi Zhanran who first used the sectarian term "Tiantai Sect" (Tiantai zong), Chengguan first used the sectarian term "Huayan Sect" (Huayan zong).⁵⁰⁵ So, he urgently needed to respond and harmonize the newly emerging sectarian Tiantai Buddhism.

When Jingqi Zhanran was active, Chan, Huayan, and Faxiang Sects were flourishing and Tiantai Sect was in a slight decline. He asserted the superiority of the *Lotus Sūtra*, wrote commentaries on three major works on Tiantai Buddhism by Zhiyi, actual founder of Chinese Tiantai Buddhism,⁵⁰⁶ and tried to prove the superiority of Tiantai Buddhism to Faxiang, Chan and Huayan Buddhism. He heavily referred to and tried to incorporate the *Awakening of Faith* in his Tiantai Buddhism. By internalizing Huayan philosophy, he tried to systematize Tiantai Buddhism and developed his sectarian antagonism against Chan and Huayan Buddhism.

⁵⁰¹ T.48.2015.403c14-404a7.

⁵⁰² T.48.2015.404a24-b26.

⁵⁰³ T.48.2015.404b26-405a26.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁵ T.36.1736.51c1.

⁵⁰⁶ The three major works on Tiantai Buddhism by Tiantai Zhiyi are the *Fahua wenju* (The Words and Phrases of the *Lotus Sūtra*), the *Fahua xuanyi* (The Profound Meaning of the *Lotus Sūtra*), and the *Mohe zhiguan* (The Great Concentration and Insight).

Uicheon modeled after the ecumenical spirit of Chengguan who tried to harmonize his Huayan Buddhism with opposing Faxiang (Yogācāra) Buddhism, Chan Buddhism and Tiantai Buddhism. He tried to subsume doctrinal Beopsang Sect in his doctrinal Hwaeom (Huayan) Sect. He newly established Cheontae (Tiantai) Sect and tried to subsume practical Seon (Chan) Sect in his newly established Cheontae Sect. He guided and harmonized Korean Buddhism with his two sects, his original Hwaeom Sect and his newly established Cheontae Sect. He established a new practical sect to harmonize practical Seon sects.

Uicheon followed two Chinese ecumenists Chengguan and Jinshui Jingyuan who equally considered Huayan Buddhism with Tiantai Buddhism. He argued that “his patriarch Chengguan of Huayan Buddhism, a commentator on the *Huayan Sūtra* in eighty fascicles, told that the doctrinal classification of the five teachings devised by Fazang, actual founder of Huayan Buddhism was generally identical to the doctrinal classification of the four teachings devised by Zhiyi, actual founder of Tiantai Buddhism.”⁵⁰⁷ He seemed to read a saying by Chengguan in his commentary on the *Huayan Sūtra* that Fazang’s doctrinal classification was identical to Zhiyi’s one except Fazang’s inclusion of the sudden teaching of the great vehicle in his doctrinal classification.⁵⁰⁸ Chengguan introduced and highly evaluated Wonhyo’s doctrinal classification of the four teachings⁵⁰⁹ and argued that Wonhyo’s was generally identical to Zhiyi’s counterpart.⁵¹⁰ So, Uicheon modeled after his earlier ecumenists Wonhyo, Chengguan and Jinshui Jingyuan and ecumenized Huayan Buddhism and Tiantai Buddhism.

He made the *Newly Edited Comprehensive Catalogue of All the Buddhist Texts*. It seems that even though Gyunyeo, loyally succeeding the Huayan sectarianism from Uisang, wrote eleven books in 67 fascicles in total, Uicheon intentionally did not include even a single work by Gyunyeo in his catalogue.⁵¹¹ He criticized the Huayan sectarian Gyunyeo’s writings as being unsystematic, meaningless, misleading and seriously detrimental to later Buddhists.⁵¹² He critically referred to Gyunyeo just two times across his works.⁵¹³ He seemed to ignore him intentionally. As he preferred Wonhyo’s ecumenism to Uisang’s Huayan sectarianism, he disliked Gyunyeo’s Huayan sectarianism. While he used Huayan philosophy to harmonize different Buddhist traditions, Gyunyeo evaluated Huayan Buddhism over other Buddhist traditions.

Gyunyeo’s writings that we can identify constitute the missing *Commentary on the Huayan jing souxuan ji* by Zhiyan (*Suhyeon banggwe-gi*) in ten fascicles, the missing *Record on the Huayan jing kongmu zhang* by Zhiyan (*Gongmok-*

⁵⁰⁷ H.4.552a1-2.

⁵⁰⁸ X.7.234.624c12-13 & X.5.232.763c11.

⁵⁰⁹ X.7.234.622b12-19.

⁵¹⁰ X.7.234.622b18-19.

⁵¹¹ Jo Myeonggi, 71.

⁵¹² H.4.556b9-11.

⁵¹³ H.4.543b15, H.4.556b9.

jang gi) in eight fascicles, the missing *Record on the Huayan wushiyao wenda* by Zhiyan (*Osip mundap-gi*) in four fascicles, the missed *Tamhyeongi-seok* (Commentary on the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* by Fazang) in twenty-eight fascicles, the extant *Commentary on the Huayan wujiao zhang* by Fazang (*Seok gyobun-gi wontong-seok*) in seven fascicles, the extant *Commentary on the Huayan zhigui* by Fazang (*Seok hwaom jigwi-jang wontong-cho*) in two fascicles, the extant *Record on the “Three Treasures” of the Huayan Sūtra* (*Hwaom-gyeong sambo-jang wontong-gi*) in two fascicles, the extant *Commentary on the Ilseung beopgyeo-do* by Uisang (*Ilseung beopgye-do wontong-gi*) in three fascicles, the extant *Commentary on the “Ten Phrases” of the Huayan Sūtra* (*Sipgu-jang wontong-gi*) in one fascicle, the missed *Selected Record of the “Chapter of the Entrance to the Dharma Realm” in the Huayan Sūtra* (*Ipbeopgye-pum chogi*) in one fascicle, and the missed *Song of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva’s Ten Vows to be Born in Pure Land* (*Bohyeon sipjong wonwang-ga*) in one fascicle.⁵¹⁴

As seen above, Gyunyeo comprehensively commented on the writings by earlier representative Huayan masters such as Zhiyan, Fazang and Uisang and theoretically systemized Huayan Buddhism in early Goryeo Dynasty. When Koreans imported Chan Buddhism in late Unified Silla Dynasty, Chan Buddhism became popular. The founding ruler of the Goryeo Dynasty, King Taejo patronized Chan Buddhism. When Chan Buddhists attacked Huayan Buddhism, Gyunyeo defended his own Huayan Buddhism and theoretically systematized Huayan Buddhism. Because he so much theorized and philosophized Huayan Buddhism, he did not reveal the practical aspect of Huayan Buddhism well in his writings.⁵¹⁵

Gyunyeo was the most comprehensive commentator on major Huayan texts by three major sectarian Huayan scholars, Zhiyan, Fazang and Uisang of Sino-Korean Buddhism and the most renowned scholar on Huayan philosophy after Uisang in Korean Buddhism. Even so, Uicheon completely excluded the works by Gyunyeo in his catalogue. Furthermore, Uicheon harshly criticized Gyunyeo’s Huayan sectarianism and intellectual Huayan Buddhism.⁵¹⁶

I, Uicheon, always lament that the writings left behind by all the previous masters of our Korean Buddhism are not academically accurate and broad but include many wrong assumptions. When we educate foolish sentient beings, there is not even one book to which we may refer. Because we cannot see our minds as being bright and clean as a stainless mirror by referring to the holy teachings, we idly calculate other treasures, (not our minds), for all our lives. The writings by many (Huayan sectarian) masters such as Gyunyeo, Beomun, Jinpa, and Yeongyun are mistaken, ungrammatical, and meaningless. The earlier writings very seriously confuse the holy Buddhist teachings and delude later Buddhists.

⁵¹⁴ Jo Myeonggi, 71.

⁵¹⁵ Choe Byeongheon, 185-192.

⁵¹⁶ H.4.556b5-11.

Uicheon referred to two famous Chinese Huayan ecumenists Jinshui Jingyuan of the Song Dynasty and Chengguan of the Tang Dynasty. Jinshui Jingyuan (1011-1088) and his master Wutai Chengqian (d.u.) revitalized Huayan Buddhism in the Song Dynasty and were influenced strongly by practical Huayan masters such as Chengguan and Zongmi, not theoretical Huayan masters such as Zhiyan and Fazang. He was active mostly in Hangzhou. He was generally called the revitalizer of Huayan Buddhism declined since Zongmi.

Before becoming a monk, Jinshui Jingyuan⁵¹⁷ studied Confucian texts. After becoming a monk, he studied the *Huayan Sūtra* from Wutai Chengqian, Li Tongxuan's *Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra* from Henghai Mingtan (d.u.), the *Awakening of Faith*, the *Sūtra-gama Sūtra*, and the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* from Changshui Zixuan.⁵¹⁸ He also conducted research on the *Lotus Sūtra* and commented on it in twelve fascicles in his last years. In his letter to Uicheon, Jinshui Jingyuan mentioned, "Two scriptures, the *Huayan Sūtra* and the *Lotus Sūtra*, are two sides, inside and outside, of Buddhism and beginning and end of an excellent poem."⁵¹⁹

Uicheon inherited Jingyuan and Wutai Chengqian's Huayan Buddhism and emphasized practical Huayan Buddhism.⁵²⁰ He discovered the importance of Chengguan who equally considered theory and meditation in the history of Huayan Buddhism in East Asia through Jingyuan. He highly valued him in his works and incorporated him in his ecumenical philosophy.

He referred to the Huayan synthesizer Chengguan of doctrine and meditation at least forty nine times in his works.⁵²¹ He also mentioned at least thirty five times Zongmi who also synthesized Huayan Buddhism and Chan Buddhism.⁵²² While Chengguan approached to harmonize meditation from the

⁵¹⁷ We can see the short biographies of Jinshui Jingyuan in T.49.2035.294a5-22 and T.49.2036.672b17-c4.

⁵¹⁸ Choe Byeongheon, 184.

⁵¹⁹ H.4.572b23-24.

⁵²⁰ Choe Byeongheon, 189.

⁵²¹ H.4.528a22, H.4.528a20, H.4.529c9, H.4.529b15, H.4.531c10, H.4.555c16, H.4.556c5, H.4.556a8, H.4.561c9, H.4.563c2, H.4.563b24, H.4.564b12, H.4.569c10, H.4.570a17, H.4.570c3, H.4.591a18, H.4.576c13, H.4.582c22, H.4.583a2, H.4.583a7, H.4.583b9, H.4.584c16, H.4.587c20, H.4.591a18, H.4.631a18, H.4.631c9, H.4.631c12, H.4.631c9, H.4.632c6, H.4.634a9, H.4.639b19, H.4.640a5, H.4.649c1, H.4.667a24, H.4.680b12, H.4.680b23, H.4.680b6, H.4.680b2, H.4.680a20, H.4.680b11, H.4.681c17, H.4.681c12, H.4.681b21, H.4.681a19, H.4.682a3, H.4.682c7, H.4.682c14, H.4.682c15, and H.4.682c17.

⁵²² H.4.444b10, H.4.448b5, H.4.514b16, H.4.531c7, H.4.557a13, H.4.559b13, H.4.562b22, H.4.570a12, H.4.571b17, H.4.580b9, H.4.588b8, H.4.633c12, H.4.633a6, H.4.635b15, H.4.635b14, H.4.635b12, H.4.635b9, H.4.635b5, H.4.638b18, H.4.638a18, H.4.639b19, H.4.680c1, H.4.680c20, H.4.680b8, H.4.681c20, H.4.682c17, H.4.682c20,

doctrinal perspective, Zongmi tried to equally synthesize Huayan Buddhism and Chan Buddhism. Uicheon made much importance of practical Huayan masters such as Chengguan and his disciple Zongmi and tried to doctrinally internalize practical Chan Buddhism in his ecumenical philosophy. Jinul and Uicheon synthesized Huayan Buddhism and Chan Buddhism. However, while Jinul emphasized Zongmi over Chengguan, Uicheon stressed Chengguan over Zongmi.

Because Uicheon mentioned the actual founder Fazang of Chinese Huayan Buddhism at least eighty six times, he referred to Chengguan more than any other figures except Fazang and Wonhyo. Because he highly evaluated Korean ecumenist Wonhyo more than other figures of Sino-Korean Buddhism and established his version of ecumenism, he mentioned him at least fifty five times. Because he mentioned Zhiyi at least thirty six times, he referred to Chengguan more than the actual founder Zhiyi of Tiantai Buddhism to which he belonged and based on which he officially established the Korean Tiantai Sect.

De-evaluating sectarian and theoretical Gyunyeo's Huayan Buddhism, Uicheon strongly suggested Huayan Buddhists to equally emphasize Huayan Buddhism's doctrinal and its practical aspect.⁵²³

I think that when the sage taught his disciples, he also urged them to emphasize practice. So, we should not speak his teachings just within our mouths, but embody them within our bodies. Why should we learn just (Huayan Buddhism's) doctrinal aspect without exercising its other important practical aspect? It is meaningless just as a gourd hanging down from one side.

Without considering my physical body, I intended to search after true Huayan teachings. Fortunately, due to the conditions that I have accumulated in my previous lives, I was supposed to visit eminent masters. At the time, I was able to generally study (Huayan Buddhism's) doctrine and meditation under eminent Huayan scholar Jinshui Jingyuan (of Song China).

When he was free from his lecture, he personally instructed me, "If we do not practice meditation but learn doctrine, although we listen to the five sets of cause and effect, ((1) belief, (2) discrimination, (3) equality, (4) practice, and (5) realization), we cannot comprehend the three sets of nature and virtue, ((1) teaching, (2) practice, and (3) realization). If we do not learn doctrine but just practice meditation, even though we can understand the three sets of nature and virtue, we cannot the five sets of cause and effect."⁵²⁴ I was really impressed with his equal emphasis of doctrine and meditation.

Therefore, Chengguan also said, "If we do not mirror our minds, we cannot reveal our natures and spirits."⁵²⁵ So, we should know that if someone transmits the *Huayan Sūtra* but does not learn the meditation aspect of Huayan

H.4.682a1, H.4.685a18, H.4.686b4, H.4.686b4, H.4.688c5, H.4.692c17, H.4.692b18, and H.4.696c5.

⁵²³ H.4.556b20-c12.

⁵²⁴ I could not identify his sayings in the Buddhist texts.

⁵²⁵ T.48.2016.613c9-10.

Buddhism, although he is the famous director of a monastic seminary, I will not trust him.

Nowadays, I visited numerous cities, exchanged my previous understandings with innumerable monks, and carefully read numberless texts. When I review now the monks currently studying Buddhism here and there, even though they study Buddhism all day, they do not know Buddhism. Although there are many scholar monks, some of them hold a biased view of Buddhism; some of them seek reputation; some of them take pride in themselves; and some of them are lazy. So, even though they seek enlightenment until their death, they cannot obtain it.

Huayan Buddhism's central teaching is the doctrine of dependent origination of Dharma realms in which all existences are interdependent and interpenetrating without obstructions and without limits. Introducing the passage in the *Huayan Sūtra*, Uicheon summarized the doctrine of dependent origination of Dharma realms as follows:⁵²⁶

The (*Huayan*) *Sūtra* says, "If we have the highest mind, we are decisively subject to enjoy the great matter, to reveal the Buddha's body, and to explicate limitless Buddhist teaching."⁵²⁷

What is the limitless Buddhist teaching? It is the Dharma gate of Dharma realms. This teaching indeed becomes ten thousand defilements in sentient beings, ten thousand activities in bodhisattvas, and ten thousand virtues in Buddhas. If Vairocana Buddha, (the main Buddha in the *Huayan Sūtra*), attains ten thousand virtues, we can call the attainment as the fruition aspect of practice. If Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, (the main Bodhisattva in the *Huayan Sūtra*), obtains ten thousand activities, we can name the obtainment as the causal aspect of practice. Even though sentient beings daily use those activities and virtues, they do not know them. Therefore, they rarely obtain the teaching of Dharma realms. If we forcefully explain them, we can outline them in three. If we attain enlightenment and remove the three, we cannot originally have even the one. We do not have waxing and waning, object and subject conditioned in ourselves. That is, if the emotionally defiled views are removed and the Dharma realms are clearly manifested, all sentient beings are subject to obtain Buddhahood. How real the saying is! This saying should not be vain at all.

He also criticized his contemporary Seon sectarians and suggested that they incorporate the doctrinal traditions into their Seon traditions as follows:⁵²⁸

The earlier Seon Buddhism is far away from the current Seon Buddhism in name and reality. The earlier Seon Buddhists based itself on the doctrines and practiced Seon. The current Seon Buddhists do not depend upon the texts but

⁵²⁶ H.4.555c7-16.

⁵²⁷ I could not identify the sentence in the *Huayan Sūtra* but in Sillan Huayan Master Pyowon's (d.u.) *Hwaeom munui yogyeol mundap*, X.8.237.434c4-5.

⁵²⁸ X.75.1513.354a13-16.

explicate Seon Buddhism. The teachers on Seon Buddhism attach themselves to its name and cast away its reality. The Seon practitioners should rely on the texts and obtain their meanings. I want to save Buddhists from the cheating actions of current Seon Buddhists and let them return to the proper and true teaching of ancient sages.

Uicheon also wanted to harmonize all different doctrinal sects from the Hwaecom Buddhist perspective. When he was active, two doctrinal Hwaecom and Beopsang (Yogācāra) Sects were the biggest groups and competed with each other, making the practical Seon Buddhism the third position.⁵²⁹ He studied the *Twenty-Stanza Treatise on the Consciousness-Only Doctrine* (*Viśvāśatikāvṛtti*) by the actual founder Vasubandhu (d.u.) of Indian Yogācāra Buddhism under U-ik (d.u.), a disciple of National Master Haerin (984-1064), a famous specialist of Yogācāra Buddhism,⁵³⁰ at Hyeonhwa-sa Temple, the headquarters temple of Beopsang Sect.⁵³¹ When he also visited Song China, he discussed the *Twenty-Stanza Treatise on the Consciousness-Only Doctrine* with Huilin of Xiansheng-si Temple⁵³² and met Shanyuan, a specialist in Yogācāra Buddhism and furthered his knowledge in it. After coming back to Korea from China, he stayed at Heungwang-sa Temple, taught the *Huayan Sūtra* ten times,⁵³³ and tried to reform Korean Buddhism from the standpoint of his Hwaecom Sect.

In 1094, the eleventh of the reign of his brother, King Seonjong, he was attacked by the Beopsang Sect and was forced to retire to Haein-sa Monastery in the County of Hapcheon, South Gyeongsang Province. At the time, he again began to be interested in Yogācāra Buddhism. When he was active, the Beopsang Sect was politically supported by I Jaui (d.u.), a cousin of another powerful politician I Jagyeom (d.1126), and his family faction originated from the County of Inju, modern Incheon, and was confronted with the Hwaecom Sect of Uicheon. Upon the death of King Seonjong and the enthronement of young King Heonjong (r. 1094-1095), the family monopolized the politics and strongly supported Beopsang Sect.

It seemed that he needed to carefully review Beopsang Sect's Yogācāra Buddhism. So, he published a book on Yogācāra Buddhism entitled *Ganjeong seong yusing-non dangwa* (Simplified Categorization of the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra* by the Indian Yogācāra Master Dharmapāla (530-561)) in three fascicles. The *The Treatise of the Establishment of the Consciousness-Only Doctrine* (*Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*) in ten fascicles was a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Thirty-Stanza Treatise on the Consciousness-Only Doctrine* (*Triśikā-kārikā*) in one fascicle. Xuanzang translated the *Thirty-Stanza Treatise on the Consciousness-Only Doctrine* in 648

⁵²⁹ Choe Byeongheon, 205-208.

⁵³⁰ I Jeong, ed., 328-329

⁵³¹ H.4.529a16-17.

⁵³² H.4.529a18-19.

⁵³³ H.4.529a19-20.

and its commentary on the *Treatise of the Establishment of the Consciousness-Only Doctrine* in 659 and popularized Yogācāra Buddhism in China. Unfortunately, Uicheon's work was not available except some fragments of its preface.⁵³⁴ He explained in his fragmentary preface why he wrote the book as follows:⁵³⁵

When I retired to the obscure Haein-sa Monastery on Mt. Gaya, I enjoyed the pleasure of forests and springs on the mountain. When I thought of writing some books, I extensively reviewed all different Buddhist schools available to me and tried to benefit and enrich their contents. The *Awakening of Faith* and the *Thirty-Stanza Treatise on the Consciousness-Only Doctrine* each are called the most important authoritative text for Beopseong (Dharma Nature) Sect, Chinese Huayan Sect and the Beopsang (Dharma Characteristics) Sect, Chinese Yogācāra Sect respectively. Therefore, you students should keep the two texts in your minds. Even though I slightly studied the *Awakening of Faith*, I never learned the *Thirty-Stanza Treatise on the Consciousness-Only Doctrine*. Therefore, I worried that the treatise's difficult and complicated sentences might guide you students to misunderstand the essential meanings of Yogācāra Buddhism. So, I carefully investigated the original thirty stanzas and extensively referred to the previous commentaries (mostly included in the comprehensive *The Treatise of the Establishment of the Consciousness-Only Doctrine*). I summarized them in three fascicles. Please take my book and carefully read the stanzas. If you make yourself familiar with the stanzas in the beginning and examine its commentaries and sub-commentaries, you can easily understand the central meanings of Yogācāra Buddhism.

Uicheon referred to major scholars of the Huayan and Faxiang Sects such as Fazang, Cien Kuiji, Woncheuk and Chengguan and tried to harmonize Faxiang Sect from the standpoint of the Huayan Sect.⁵³⁶ Even so, as a matter of fact, Fazang, the representative sectarian doctrinal classifier of Huayan Buddhism, made strong sectarian doctrinal classifications of his own Huayan Buddhism, located Yogācāra Buddhism as a much lower teaching than his Huayan Buddhism and very seriously criticized the teaching. On the contrary, Cien Kuiji, the representative sectarian doctrinal classifier of Faxiang Buddhism, located his Yogācāra Buddhism over any other teachings including Huayan Buddhism and sectarianistically proved how great his teaching was. Uicheon intentionally changed the original sectarian meanings in their doctrinal classifications and harmoniously interpreted the sectarian doctrinal classifications of Huayan and Faxiang Sects. So, he concluded the harmonious relationships between Huayan and Faxiang Sects, referring to Chengguan as follows.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁴ H.4.529a8-c4.

⁵³⁵ H.4.529a20-b5.

⁵³⁶ H.4.529b5-17.

⁵³⁷ H.4.529b15-17.

According to Chengguan,⁵³⁸ (we can separate Dharma) nature, (i.e., Huayan Buddhism) from (Dharma) characteristics, (i.e., Yogācāra Buddhism) at all. The undivided relationship between two can be figured to the un-separated relationship between the sun and the moon in the sky and between the trigram of heaven and the trigram of earth in the *Book of Changes*. The relationship also can be likened to the two wheels of a same cart. Therefore, we should study both Huayan Buddhism and Yogācāra Buddhism without excluding either of them.

Considering Wonhyo as an ideal model for ecumenizing all differing sects, Uicheon tried to harmonize Huayan Buddhism and Yogācāra Buddhism. Just as the Huayan Sect and Cheontae Sect of the Goryeo Dynasty regarded Wonhyo as one of its respective sect's founding patriarchs, the Faxiang Sect also considered him as one of its sect's founding patriarchs. Huayan Sect considered Uisang and Wonhyo as its founding patriarchs; Tiantai Sect Wonhyo and Che'gwan; and Faxiang Sect Wonhyo and Taehyeon (d.u.).⁵³⁹ He clearly mentioned that Wonhyo harmonized Huayan Buddhism and Yogācāra Buddhism.⁵⁴⁰ He strongly referred to Wonhyo's ecumenism of the United Silla Dynasty and tried to harmonize Faxiang Sect from Huayan Sect and to solve serious conflicts happened between two sects during the Goryeo Dynasty.

4.4. Nine Hwaecom patriarchs

Uicheon established his version of the lineage of nine patriarchs in Huayan Buddhism. In February 1101, the 6th year of King Sukjong, just before his death on October 15, 1101, he established the Hall of Nine Huayan Patriarchs at Hongwon-sa Temple, affiliated to Hwaecom Sect and standardized the patriarchal lineage of Huayan Buddhism in Sino-Korean Buddhism. He attempted to establish the patriarchal lineage system of Korean Huayan Buddhism and to strengthen Huayan Buddhism.

He became the founding abbot of Gukcheong-sa Temple, the headquarters temple of Korean Cheontae Sect in 1097 and the government issued the first state examination for the newly established Cheontae Sect in 1099. As mentioned above, even after he officially established Cheontae Sect and received its official approval from the government, he did not disconnect his affiliation from and rather strengthened his relationship to his original Hwaecom Sect. We can safely assume that he did not disconnect his association from his original Hwaecom Sect but belonged to both his original sect and his newly-established Cheontae Sect.

⁵³⁸ Unfortunately, I could not identify the same and similar sentences by Chengguan in the Buddhist texts.

⁵³⁹ I Jeong, ed., 66-67.

⁵⁴⁰ H.4.555a18-19.

The nine patriarchs whom he enshrined in the hall are the 1st patriarch Aśvaghōṣa, the 2nd patriarch Nāgārjuna, the 3rd patriarch Vasubandhu, the 4th patriarch Fotuo (Buddha), the 5th patriarch Guangtong Huiguang (468-537), the 6th patriarch Dixin Dushun (557-640), the 7th patriarch Yunhua Zhiyan, the 8th patriarch Fazang, and the final and 9th patriarch Chengguan.

Prior to his establishment of the lineage of Huayan patriarchs, there were several versions of the lineage of Huayan patriarchs in Sino-Korean Buddhism. Zongmi, a disciple of Chengguan, established the first lineage system of three Huayan patriarchs in his *Zongmi's Commentary to the Fajie Guanmen attributed to Dushun*.⁵⁴¹ He defined the first Huayan patriarch as Dixin Dushun, the second Huayan patriarch as Zhiyan, and the third Huayan patriarch as Fazang.⁵⁴²

Later Huayan Buddhists added Chengguan to the three Huayan patriarchs and founded the lineage system of four Huayan patriarchs and again added Zongmi and established the lineage system of five Huayan patriarchs. We can see the complete lineage system of five Huayan patriarchs in *Complete Chronicle of Buddhas and Patriarchs*⁵⁴³ in the fifty-four fascicles completed between 1258 and 1269 by Zhipan (1220-1275) of Song China.⁵⁴⁴ The text constitutes “an extensive historical record of Buddhism from a Tiantai perspective, written in the style of secular historical records, along with various historical, doctrinal, cosmological, and other expositions.”⁵⁴⁵ The lineage system of five Huayan patriarchs includes only Chinese Huayan patriarchs directly related to the foundation of Huayan Buddhism.

Upon a royal decree, Jinshui Jingyuan established the lineage of seven Huayan patriarchs, adding two Indian Huayan patriarchs Aśvaghōṣa and Nāgārjuna to five Chinese Huayan ones. He enshrined the images of seven Indo-Chinese Huayan patriarchs and regularly hosted memorial services for them at his Huiyin-yuan Temple in Hangzhou. Since then, the lineage of system of seven Huayan patriarchs became popular among Huayan Buddhists.

Uicheon visited the Huiyin-yuan Temple and learned Huayan Buddhism from Jinshui Jingyuan. He also provided Buddhist texts in more than 7,500 fascicles to the temple and helped the temple to change from a Chan center to a doctrinal one. Based on his support, the temple was later generally called Gaoli-si Temple that means Goryeo (Korea) Temple. He also asked him and learned the lineage system of seven patriarchs from him.⁵⁴⁶ Even so, he did not follow Jinshui Jingyuan's lineage system but established his own lineage of nine Huayan patriarchs. He added one Indian Huayan patriarch Vasubandhu and two

⁵⁴¹ *Zhu huayan fajie guanmen*, T.45.1884.683b1-692b8.

⁵⁴² T.45.1884.684c12-13.

⁵⁴³ *Fozu tongji*, T.49.2035.129a2-475c4.

⁵⁴⁴ T.49.2035.292c4-6.

⁵⁴⁵ See the entry of “*Fozu tongji*” in *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, [http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?4f.xml+id\('b4f5b-7956-7d71-7d00'\)](http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?4f.xml+id('b4f5b-7956-7d71-7d00')) (accessed February 23, 2009).

⁵⁴⁶ H.4.545c8-18.

Chinese Huayan patriarchs Fotuo and Guangtong Huiguang to Jinshui Jingyuan's lineage, removed one Chinese Huayan patriarch Zongmi from Jinshui Jingyuan's lineage, and completed his lineage system.⁵⁴⁷

First, he added one Indian Huayan patriarch Vasubandhu to the two Indian Huayan patriarchs Āśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna of Jinshui Jingyuan's lineage. Vasubandhu commented on the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* in twelve fascicles, incorporated into a chapter of the *Huayan Sūtra*, from his perspective of Yogācāra Buddhism. They attributed the authorship of *Awakening of Faith* to Āśvaghoṣa. The text was very important to the theoretical formation of Huayan Buddhism. Nāgārjuna also commented on the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, "Chapter of Ten Stages" of the *Huayan Sūtra*. He could naturally include three patriarchs in his lineage system. He extended the scope of the lineage system and included Vasubandhu, the representative Yogācāra master of Indian Buddhism, in it. He seemed to harmonize Yogācāra Buddhism from his perspective of Huayan Buddhism. Loyal succeeding the ecumenical spirit of Wonhyo who synthesized Mādhyamika and Yogācāra Buddhism,⁵⁴⁸ he might need to harmonize and incorporate his competitive and rival doctrinal tradition of Beopsang Sect in his own doctrinal Hwaeom Sect.

Second, he added two Chinese Huayan patriarchs Fotuo and Guangtong Huiguang to Jinshui Jingyuan's lineage system of Huayan patriarchs. Fotuo participated in the translation project of the *Dilun* (Commentary of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*). Guangtong Huiguang synthesized various theories on the *Dilun* and wrote a commentary on the text. Both of them were very important to the formation and development of Dilun Sect considered as the forerunner of Huayan Sect. Zhiyan synthesized two traditions, doctrinal and exegetical lineage of Dilun Sect and practical and religious lineage of Dixin Dushun, and formed a new Huayan tradition. Succeeding his master Zhiyan, Fazang systematized Huayan philosophy from both aspects, doctrinal and practical. Uicheon's lineage system of Huayan patriarchs seemed to be more comprehensive than Jinshui Jingyuan's because he included the previous Dilun scholars who tremendously influenced the theoretical and doctrinal aspects of the later formed Huayan Buddhism in his lineage system.⁵⁴⁹ He needed to harmonize opposing aspects, doctrinal aspects and practical ones, and synthesize opposing views on the *Huayan Sūtra* in his Huayan Buddhism.

Third, he removed one Chinese Huayan patriarch Zongmi from Jinshui Jingyuan's lineage system and established his own lineage system of nine Huayan patriarchs. Even though Huayan Buddhists traditionally included Zongmi, a disciple of Chengguan, he intentionally excluded him in his lineage system. He highly evaluated and respected Chengguan. Even though he did not

⁵⁴⁷ Choe Byeongheon, 192-200.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid, 194-195.

⁵⁴⁹ Chanju Mun extensively discussed how much Zhiyan incorporated the Dilun Sect's doctrinal classifications in his doctrinal classifications. See the "Chapter 22 Zhiyan's (602-668) *panjiao* systems" in Chanju Mun, 247-269.

respect Zongmi so much like his master Chengguan, he also highly evaluated him.

When Uicheon lectured on the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* by referring to Zongmi's *Yuanjue jing lueshu* (Abridged Commentary to the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*) (T.39.1795.523b4-578a7), he set a high value on Zongmi as a specialist in the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*.⁵⁵⁰ He also argued that Zongmi ideally syncretized Seon and doctrine without excluding either of them at all as the following quote attests:⁵⁵¹

Generally speaking, phenomena are beyond languages and forms but do not separate themselves from languages and forms. If we transcend languages and forms, we are subject to have delusions. If we attach ourselves to languages and forms, we are subject to misunderstand the truth. People do not have complete abilities in this world and all people find it difficult to be beautiful. Therefore, most of the specialists in doctrinal Buddhism do not seek the inner subject of mind but the outer object of knowledge. Chan practitioners do not like to investigate the outer object of knowledge but the inner subject of mind. Therefore, both doctrinal specialists and Chan practitioners are easily supposed to have their own prejudices and extreme views. They seem to argue against each other over the length of a rabbit horn and over the depth of color of a flower in the air, both of which are actually nonexistent. This mind impartially encompasses subject and object, holds a unique position for all ages, equally practices wisdom and meditation, and benefits ourselves and others. While the mind observes emptiness, it activates all activities. While the mind associates itself to existence, it does not lose the calmness of principle (Chn., Dao). While speaking or keeping silent, the mind does not lose mystery. While moving or non-moving, it does not separate itself from Dharma realms. Only our patriarch Zongmi (of Huayan Buddhism) keeps the mind properly.

He composed a farewell poem of three stanzas and twelve phrases to Great Chan Master Ilgong (d.u.) of Gwangmyeong-sa Temple retiring to Unbong.⁵⁵² Each stanza has four phrases. King Taejo, the founding king of the Goryeo Dynasty, converted an old house and established Gwangmyeong-sa Temple in Gaeseong.⁵⁵³ Uicheon highly praised the ecumenical master Ilgong who inherited Zongmi, studied for a long time the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* that Zongmi strongly emphasized and extensively commented on, and harmonized nine mountain Seon lineages competing with and opposing one during his time. An English translation of the farewell poem follows:⁵⁵⁴

(1)

⁵⁵⁰ H.4.531a18-532a14.

⁵⁵¹ H.4.531b23-c7.

⁵⁵² H.4.562b17-c1.

⁵⁵³ I Dongsul, ed., 39.

⁵⁵⁴ H.4.4.562b17-c1.

You have resided at Gwangmyeong-sa Temple for a long time,
 You might find it difficult not to have retiring thoughts,
 If someone knows when he should retire, he should be a high scholar,
 You can easily find a comfortable seat in an obscure blue mountain.

(2)

Because you quickly move away, using a wooden staff,
 we cannot catch up with you.
 You might retire to the deep cloudy mountains.
 A long time ago, you inherited the (ecumenical) spirit of Zongmi,
 You can idly loiter in the middle of the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*.

(3)

Because the gate of donation was widely opened,
 we do not need to live in poverty.
 The mind to enlightenment runs counter to the worldly paths.
 Don't you know the useless and foolish
 doctrinal scholars and Seon practitioners?
 They argue against one another
 among nine divisions of the scriptures⁵⁵⁵
 and nine mountain Seon lineages.

Although Uicheon highly respected Zongmi, he did not agree with Zongmi who equally harmonized Huayan Buddhism and Chan Buddhism. Zongmi was originally a monk affiliated to Heze Chan Sect and after reading Chengguan's *Huayan jingshu* (Commentary on the *Huayan Sūtra*), he converted himself from Chan Buddhism to Huayan Buddhism. After becoming a Huayan monk, he still

⁵⁵⁵ See the entry of "nine divisions of the scriptures" in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 454-455. "(It is) also nine divisions of the sūtras or nine divisions of the teachings. A classification of Shakyamuni Buddha's teachings according to style and content, of which there are four different traditions. According to one tradition, the nine divisions of the teachings are (1) *sūtra*, or teachings in prose style; (2) *geya*, restatements of *sūtra* in verse; (3) *vyākaraṇa*, the Buddha's predictions of the future enlightenment of his disciples; (4) *gāthā*, teachings set forth by the Buddha in verse; (5) *udāna*, teachings that the Buddha preaches spontaneously without request for query from his disciples; (6) *itivṛttaka*, discourses beginning with the words "This is what the World-Honored One said"; (7) *jātaka*, stories of the Buddha's previous lives; (8) *vaipulya*, expansion of doctrine; and (9) *adbhutadharma*, descriptions of marvelous events that concern the Buddha or his disciples. According to another tradition, *nidāna* replaces *jātaka*; in a third tradition, *nidāna* replaces *udāna*; and in a fourth tradition, *nidāna*, *avadāna*, and *upadesha* replace *vyākaraṇa*, *udāna*, and *vaipulya*. *Nidāna* means descriptions of the purpose, cause, and occasion on which teachings and rules of monastic discipline are propounded. *Avadāna* refers to tales of the previous lives of persons other than the Buddha, and *upadesha* to discourses on the Buddha's teachings. It is generally believed that the nine divisions of the teachings developed into the concept of twelve divisions of the teachings."

tried to harmonize opposing Chan Buddhists and Sects and to synthesize Chan Buddhism with Huayan Buddhism. While his master Chengguan put doctrinal Huayan Buddhism over practical Chan Buddhism and attempted to subsume Chan Buddhism to Huayan Buddhism, Zongmi did not hierarchically classify Huayan and Chan Buddhism but equally evaluated and harmonized the two opposing traditions.

Uicheon basically accepted the ecumenical position of Chengguan rather than that of Zongmi. He placed Huayan Buddhism in a higher position than Chan Buddhism and attempted to harmonize practical Chan Buddhism from the standpoint of doctrinal Huayan Buddhism. He tried to subsume Chan Buddhism to Huayan Buddhism. While later ecumenist Jinul of Korean Buddhism followed the ecumenical model of Zongmi, Uicheon modeled after the ecumenism of Chengguan. Uicheon and Jinul were two representative ecumenical Buddhists in the Goryeo Dynasty.

He vehemently criticized Chan Buddhists who ignored doctrinal study and disliked learning Buddhist texts. Feishan Jiezhu (985-1077) of Song China composed *Bie chuanxin fayi*⁵⁵⁶ in order to theoretically criticize and negate the special transmission of Chan Buddhism outside the orthodox teaching. Uicheon read the text, wrote a postscript to it and included it in the 21st fascicle of his *Wonjong munnyu*.⁵⁵⁷ If we read his postscript, we can understand how much he seriously criticized extreme Chan sectarians in it:⁵⁵⁸

Alas! Ancient Chan Buddhism and current Chan Buddhism are nominally and virtually different from each other. While previous Chan practitioners learned practical Chan Buddhism based on doctrinal teachings, current Chan students explicate Chan Buddhism without relying on doctrinal Buddhism. Ones who explain Chan Buddhism attach themselves to its superficial forms but do not understand its real contents. Ones who learn Chan Buddhism attach themselves to its various expressions but do not understand its real meanings. Therefore, we can guide current Chan practitioners to correct their heretic traditions of Chinese Chan Buddhism and to recover the proper teaching of the ancient holy person. Feishan Jiezhu's criticisms against Chan Buddhism's extreme and anti-intellectual trend of his times were proper and accurate.

Recently, Emperor Daozong (r. 1055-1101) of the Khitanese Liao Dynasty issued a royal edict and assigned the scholar monk Quanxiao, also known as Quanming, and other scholar monks to re-compile the catalogue of Buddhist scriptures and records, to burn all the major Chan texts such as the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng* and Zhijū's *Biographies of a Precious Chan Forest* (*Baolin zhuan*) (in ten fascicles completed in 801, the 17th year of

⁵⁵⁶ T.48.2004.270b8. See the entry of “*Betsu denshim bōgi*” in Ono Gemmyō, ed., vol. 8, 367a. *Bie chuanxin fayi* is found in X.57.953.52b5-53b21.

⁵⁵⁷ Choe Byeongheon, 198. I cannot see the postscript to *Bie chuanxin fayi* in *Wonjong munnyu* because its 21st fascicle was unfortunately not included in it. However, its postscript is seen in X.57.953.53b23-c10.

⁵⁵⁸ X.57.953.53b23-c10.

the Zhenyuan reign (r. 785-804),⁵⁵⁹ (the first historical text dealing with the transmission of the Dharma lamp in Chan Buddhism which became the precursor of the famous *Jingde chuandeng lu* (Record of the Transmission of the Lamp Written in the Jingde Period (1004-1007) written in 1004 by Daoyuan),⁵⁶⁰ and to completely remove a falsehood.

Quanxiao reedited and recompiled the three-fascicle *Zhenyuan Xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (A Sequel to the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*) (compiled by Yuanzhao in 794, the 10th year of the Zhenyuan reign (r. 785-804) of the Tang Dynasty), and included the titles of Buddhist scriptures and records in detail in the new catalogue. (Zhisheng (669-740) compiled the *Record of Śākyamuni's Teachings Compiled During the Kaiyuan Period* (*Kaiyuan shijiao lu*) in twenty fascicles and completed in 730, the 18th year of the Kaiyuan reign (r. 713-741) of the Tang Dynasty.) We can easily see in the catalogue the holy mind that our Buddha left behind and the sublime intention that our king wanted to propagate and protect Buddhism.

Many Chan Buddhist texts and passages currently available and prevailing in China include heretical thoughts. Therefore, Korean Buddhists strongly doubt the authenticity of current Chinese Chan Buddhism. When we see Feishan Jiezhu's argument against current Chinese Chan Buddhism, we can easily realize that he is a Bodhisattva protecting our proper teachings. ... Alas! If we live in this degenerate period for one hundred generations, how can we not rely on Feishan Jiezhu's contributions to Buddhism?

Uicheon included seven letters from Shancong, an eminent disciple of Jinshui Jingyuan,⁵⁶¹ in the 6th fascicle of his *Daegak guksa woejip*. In the 6th letter of seven,⁵⁶² Shancong critically discussed his current Chan Buddhism. He deplored, "Nowadays, because Chan Buddhists affiliated to several dozens of the Chan lineages increased errors and decreased proper teachings, we really have difficulties in finding Buddhists who propagate our Huayan Buddhism. Therefore, Huiqing wrote a poem entitled "Negation of Chan Buddhism and Propagation of Huayan Buddhism." I copied and enclosed it in my letter. I think that if you read this poem, you would be glad at it.... We already communicated our thinking with him through mind to mind. If so, our Huayan Buddhism might be more prosperous than before. So, I report his poem to you through this letter."⁵⁶³ According to Shancong's explanations, Huiqing studied Huayan Buddhism along with himself under his master Jinshui Jingyuan, later discarded Huayan Buddhism and dedicated himself to practice Chan Buddhism, and

⁵⁵⁹ See the *Dictionary of Zen Studies*, vol. 2, 1146c-d.

⁵⁶⁰ Chinese Chan Master Daoxuan (d.u) compiled *The Transmission of the Lamp*, the earliest historical record of Chan Buddhism in 1004. It introduces the lineage of Chan Buddhism from the seven Buddhas of the past through Chinese Chan masters to Fayuan Wenyi (885-958), founder of the Fayuan School. It comprises thirty fascicles and mentions 1701 Chan masters.

⁵⁶¹ H.4.576b15-577c10.

⁵⁶² H.4.577b12-23.

⁵⁶³ H.4.577b19-23

finally returned to Huayan Buddhism from Chan Buddhism.⁵⁶⁴ Even so, upon receiving from Shancong and reading the poem, he directly sent a poem of four phrases to Huiqing and moderately suggested him not to neglect Chan Buddhism too seriously from his ecumenical perspective.⁵⁶⁵

He did not include the vast majority of the titles of Chan Buddhist texts available in his times and obtained from neighboring nations in his comprehensive catalogue of Buddhist texts entitled *Newly Edited Comprehensive Catalogue of All the Buddhist Texts* in three fascicles. He only included in it a mere three Chan text titles, i.e., a commentary on the *La-kāvatāra Sūtra* by a Chan master,⁵⁶⁶ a verse outline of the *Diamond Sūtra* by a Chan master,⁵⁶⁷ and an apologetic text for Chan Buddhism by Jisong (1007-1071).⁵⁶⁸ He even excluded the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng*, possibly the most important text of Chan Buddhism.

He also excluded the *Collected Writings on the Source of Chan (Chanyuan zhuquan-ji)* by Zongmi in the catalogue. Even though Uicheon highly evaluated Zongmi's understanding of the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*, he did not agree with his understanding of Chan Buddhism and his ecumenism between doctrinal Buddhist traditions and practical Chan Buddhist traditions. While Zongmi equally treated Heze Chan Buddhism and Huayan Buddhism, Uicheon evaluated Huayan Buddhism over Chan Buddhism and attempted to harmonize Chan Buddhism from the standpoint of Huayan Buddhism. So, he excluded Zongmi in his patriarchal lineage system of Huayan Buddhism.

5. Bojo Jinul (1158-1210)

Jinul loyally carried on the ecumenical position of Zongmi, harmonizing doctrinal teachings with Chan tenets.⁵⁶⁹ He developed a Korean version of ecumenism with his own characteristics. Even though he was indebted to Zongmi for his ecumenical views, a new version of Zongmi ecumenism between Chan and doctrinal traditions was necessary for the Korean context in which Jinul lived.

First, he negated the strict division between doctrinal teachings and Chan tenets inherited from previous Chan sectarian advocates and opposed Chan

⁵⁶⁴ H.4.577b13-19.

⁵⁶⁵ H.4.558b24-c1.

⁵⁶⁶ H.4.684b21.

⁵⁶⁷ H.4.686b14.

⁵⁶⁸ H.4.697a11. See the entry of "Kaisuu" in *Dictionary of Zen Studies*, vol. 1, 141b-c.

⁵⁶⁹ Jae-ryong Shim extensively discussed Korean Buddhism's ecumenism between Chan tenets and doctrinal teachings first comprehensively systematized by Bojo Jinul in the "Tradition" part (pp. 1-158) of his *Korean Buddhism: Tradition and Transformation* (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 1999).

sectarianism. During the late United Silla Dynasty and the early Goryeo Dynasty, the new Chinese Chan Buddhism was imported from China to the Korean peninsula. Korean monks went to China, studied this new tradition mostly affiliated to Mazu Daoyi's Chan lineage and returned home to teach. They invested all their efforts to prove the superiority of the new Chan Buddhism, particularly Mazu Daoyi's radical Chan lineage, over the doctrinal teachings, especially the Huayan tradition firmly established in the Korean monasteries before the introduction of Chan Buddhism. He cited many passages from Chinese Huayan exegetes, Zongmi, his master Chengguan (738-840), and the lay Buddhist scholar Li Tongxuan (646-740) and used them as the theoretical foundation for his Chan Buddhism.

Jinul denied their Chan and Huayan sectarian arguments. He dedicated himself to an ecumenical approach involving both traditions. In this context, he is totally different from Zongmi's main purpose in the doctrinal and Chan ecumenism. While Zongmi synthesized several Chan sects and some doctrinal teachings active in his times, Jinul took an ecumenical approach to the radical Chinese Buddhism and doctrinal Huayan Buddhism available in his age. When Jinul commented on Zongmi's *Chan Chart*, he closely followed Zongmi's sectarian criticism of other doctrinal and Chan sects except his Heze Chan Sect and doctrinal Huayan Sect to which he belonged.⁵⁷⁰ Even so, he was not much concerned with the Chan and doctrinal teachings that Zongmi considered so seriously because the teachings were not existent in his times.

Second, Jinul deemphasized the direct transmission from master to disciple that Chan and doctrinal masters, particularly Huayan masters, monopolized at the time. To the contrary, he emphasized the relationship between Chan practitioners and textual evidence. Jinul felt that while Chan practitioners should verify the authenticity of their enlightenment through textual evidence, doctrinal scholars should prove the accuracy of their textual interpretations through Chan practice. Moreover, unlike the majority of Chan practitioners, he did not himself have a regular and fixed master. Without having prejudice toward any text, he referred to texts at any time and place as needed. Even though he was originally a Chan Buddhist and passed the Chan examination run by the government, he completely dropped Chan Buddhism's strong sectarianism against the doctrinal Huayan tradition. Objecting to the strict distinction between doctrine and Chan, he harmonized both traditions.

Third, Jinul was the first to discover the lay Chinese Buddhist scholar Li Tongxuan's (646-740) *Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra* in Korean Buddhism and considered it as the ideal text to philosophically and soteriologically explain the marriage of doctrine and Chan.⁵⁷¹ While such Chinese Huayan exegetes as Chengguan, Fazang, and Zhiyan, considered the orthodox Chinese Huayan masters, stressed an intellectual and scholastic approach to Buddhism, Li

⁵⁷⁰ For the annotated English translation of Bojo Jinul's *Commentary on the Chan Chart*, see Robert E. Buswell, Jr., trans., 150-203.

⁵⁷¹ Jae-ryong Shim, 50-97.

Tongxuan used the *Huayan Sūtra* to support his soteriological and practical interests. While Li Tongxuan emphasized faith and considered it as being very important for enlightenment or obtaining Buddhahood from the perspective of practitioners, Fazang intellectually and metaphysically explained Huayan Buddhist philosophy from the perspective of enlightened persons.

Shim Jae-ryong, a renowned specialist on Jinul, succinctly explained the differences between the lay Huayan Buddhist scholar Li Tongxuan and orthodox Huayan monastic scholars thusly: “We must give credit to Li T’ung-hsüan for his discussion of the ‘unmovable wisdom’ which accompanies this faith. Fa-tsang and his predecessor Chih-yen never discussed ‘unmovable wisdom’ to be an essential nature of sentient beings, while Ch’eng-kuan mentioned ‘unmovable wisdom’ only in terms of the *śūnyatā* doctrine.”⁵⁷² The orthodox patriarchs of the Hua-yen lineage emphasized Vairocana Buddha, the eternal *dharmakāya*, to be principal figure of the *Hua-yen Sūtra*, but Li T’ung-hsüan stressed ‘unmovable wisdom’ or ‘wisdom of universal illumination’ as the single underlying common ground of both ignorant sentient beings and enlightened Buddhas.”⁵⁷³

Jingak Hyesim, an heir to Jinul, presided over the Suseon-sa Society that his master Jinul established at Songwang-sa Monastery and clearly pointed out the problems that Jinul tried to solve in his postscript to the combined version of his master Jinul’s two posthumous works, *Treatise on Attaining Buddhahood according to the Perfect and Sudden Teaching* (*Wondon seonbul-lon*) and *Treatise on the Examination of Kōans and the Elimination of Doubts* (*Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*).⁵⁷⁴

Alas! How degenerate and corrupt the contemporary Buddhist teachings are! While some respect Chan Buddhism, others reject doctrinal Buddhism. While some respect doctrinal Buddhism, others reject Chan Buddhism. They do not know that Chan Buddhism originates from the mind of the Buddha and doctrinal Buddhism from the sayings of the Buddha. They also do not know that doctrinal Buddhism becomes the net of Chan Buddhism and Chan Buddhism the guide ropes of doctrinal Buddhism. The two different groups, Chan Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism, see the opposite counterpart as an enemy. The two traditions, (Chan Buddhism dealing with) the intentions (of the Buddha’s teachings) and (doctrinal Buddhism treating) Buddhist teachings, are contradictory to each other. Because they cannot enter the gate of non-dispute, they cannot track a consistent path. Therefore, my late master Jinul pitied them, wrote two treatises, *Treatise on Attaining Buddhahood according to the Perfect and Sudden Teaching* and *Treatise on the Examination of Kōans and the Elimination of Doubts* and left the manuscripts in a case.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷² Refer to T.35.1735.591b1-6, originally cited in Jae-ryong Shim, 65.

⁵⁷³ Jae-ryong Shim, 65.

⁵⁷⁴ H.4.737b13-25.

⁵⁷⁵ H.4.737b13-19.

6. Yunqi Zhuhong (1535-1615)

Ha Dongsan also followed and accepted Zhuhong's ecumenism between Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism. Zhuhong argued that the Pure Land Buddhist practice was really identical to the Chan meditation. Zhuhong introduced in his works twelve masters who jointly practiced Pure Land Buddhism and Chan Buddhism.⁵⁷⁶ Zhuhong directly indicated the joint practice of Kōan Chan meditation and the Pure Land Buddhism practice of *nianfo* (Jpn., *nembutsu*; Kor., *yeombul*), which is devotional recitation of the name Amitāyus Buddha.

Chün-fang Yü, a specialist in Zhuhong, summarized Zhuhong's views of the Chan / Pure Land synthesis as follows:⁵⁷⁷ "They regarded *nien-fo* as simply another form of meditation. Since the end result of *nien-fo* was to terminate discursive thought, it had the same effect as *kung-an* meditation in Ch'an. It is in this sense that practically all these people referred to the invocation of *A-mi-t'o-fo* as *nien-fo kung-an*. When one used *nien-fo* in this fashion, *nien-fo* was clearly no longer an expression of one's piety and faith, but became a means to produce the "feeling of doubt" (*i-ch'ing*), the critical mental tension that drove one to reach awakening. This kind of *nien-fo* was therefore also called *ts'an-chiu nien-fo*, the *nien-fo* of concentration and penetration."

Michael S. Diener outlined Zhuhong as follows: "He, (Chu-hung), entered the monastic order at the age of thirty-two and became a student of noted masters of various schools. He spent most of his life in the neighborhood of Hang-chou, where he built the Yün-ch'i Temple. In this monastery, particular emphasis was laid on strict observance of the rules of the Vinaya. Through this Chu-hung wished to purify the saṃgha. His effort to link the practice of the Pure Land school with that of Zen was based on his conviction that, although externally the followers of each school travel different paths, their inner attitude is the same. The recitation of Buddha's name (*nembutsu*), which banishes everything from the mind but the name of Amitābha, invokes the same state of mind as meditating on a *kōan* in Zen. Under Chu-hung's influence, many lay followers began intensively to practice the recitation of Buddha's name and

⁵⁷⁶ Chün-fang Yü assigned a chapter to explain the joint practice of Pure Land Buddhism and Chan Buddhism. Refer to "Ch. 3 Chu-hung and the Joint Practice of Pure Land and Ch'an," in her book entitled *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 29-63. The twelve masters whom Zhuhong enlisted in his writings are Yanshou (904-975), Yuanzhao Songben (1020-1099), Zhenxie Qingliao (d.u.), Cishou Huaishen (d.u.), Zhongfeng Mingben (1262-1323), Tianru Weize (d. 1354), Duanyun Zhiche (1309-1386), Chushi Fanqi (1296-1370), Konggu Jinglong (b. 1393), Dufeng Jishan (d. 1482), Guyin Jingqin (d.u.), and finally his master Xiaoyan Debao (1512-1581).

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid, 53.

strictly to observe the rules of discipline without formally entering the monastic order.”⁵⁷⁸

Zhuhong followed and developed the ecumenical tradition between Pure Land Buddhism and Chan Buddhism that previous Buddhist masters had exercised. He might integrate Chan Buddhism in Pure Land Buddhism. Chün-fang Yü summarized Zhuhong’s ecumenism in three items: (1) Pure Land Buddhism was not inferior to Kōan Chan Buddhism; (2) Pure Land Buddhism could attain the same objective as Chan Buddhism – the realization of one’s self nature or original mind; and (3) Pure Land Buddhism was more effective than Chan Buddhism on account of its suitability to contemporary needs.⁵⁷⁹

Zhuhong cited a sentence of Zhongfeng Mingben (1262-1323) and defended his ecumenism between Kōan Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism, “(Zhongfeng Mingben) mentioned, “Chan Buddhism is the Chan Buddhism of Pure Land Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism is the Pure Land Buddhism of Chan Buddhism.”⁵⁸⁰ He wrote 100 poems entitled “Longing for the Pure Land.”⁵⁸¹ and urged Buddhists to practice the constant invocation of the Amitāyus Buddha’s name.”⁵⁸²

Zhuhong argued the ecumenism between Pure Land Buddhism and Chan Buddhism in the article “Nianfo wuai Canchan” (Pure Land Buddhism Does Not Obstruct Chan Buddhism) included in *Further Jottings under a Bamboo Window* (*Zhuchuang erbi*) as follows:⁵⁸³

Some ancient masters say, “Chan Buddhism does not obstruct Pure Land Buddhism. Pure Land Buddhism also does not obstruct Chan Buddhism.”⁵⁸⁴ Other ancient masters say, “Buddhists should not practice both traditions together. (Chan Buddhism obstructs Pure Land Buddhism. Pure Land Buddhism also obstructs Chan Buddhism.)”⁵⁸⁵

However, many masters practiced the two traditions together. For example, Yuanzhao Songben (1020-1099), Zhenxie Chingliao (d.u.), Yanshou, Huanglong Wuxin (1044-1115), Cishou Huaishen (d.u.), and other masters all

⁵⁷⁸ See the entry of “Chu-hung” in the *Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen*, 48.

⁵⁷⁹ Chün-fang Yü, 62.

⁵⁸⁰ See Zhongfeng Mingben’s saying in T.47.1977.420a16, X.61.1162.554c11-12, X.61.1163.636a24, X.61.1163.624c24, X.62.1171.22c19, X.62.1172.72b4, X.62.1173.110c18-19, X.62.1182.343b1-2, X.62.1184.357c9, X.62.1196.562c11, X.70.1402.745a6, X.78.1549.259c1-2, and other texts.

⁵⁸¹ Zhongfeng Mingben (1262-1323) wrote 108 poems entitled “Huai jingtu shi” (Longing for the Pure Land). See them in X.70.1402.744c3-747c17.

⁵⁸² X.62.1170.11a11-13.

⁵⁸³ X.62.1170.16b17-c2.

⁵⁸⁴ See T.47.1973.318b24-25, X.24.467.724a22-23, X.24.467.724b22, X.61.1156.430b22, X.61.1155.418c12, X.61.1157.494c12, X.62.1184.357b18, X.62.1172.72b13, X.74.1494.656a2-3, and many similar sentences in numberless texts.

⁵⁸⁵ See X.22.426.701b12, X.62.1184.357b19, X.70.1403.767b15, and many similar sentences in other texts.

are great Chan masters. Even so, they practice Pure Land Buddhism without obstructing Chan Buddhism.

Therefore, even though Chan practitioners examined their own original minds in their thoughts, they wanted to be born in a Pure Land at their last moment of life. How can they practice (the two traditions without contradicting each other)?

Even though Chan Buddhists practice Chan and realize some enlightenment, they are not able to arrive at their stage of the eternally illuminating Pure Land in which all Buddhas reside. If they do not obtain the higher effects just as Arhats are not born anymore in their next life forms, they should be born in their next lives.

(I think that) it is better (for us Buddhists) to be born and see Amitābha Buddha in a Pure Land than to be born in the human world and see our teachers. Therefore, Pure Land Buddhism does not obstruct Chan Buddhism, but it rather benefits Chan Buddhism.

Zhuhong urged Buddhists not to become attached to only their own specializations such as Huayan Buddhism, Tiantai Buddhism, Pure Land Buddhism, Chan Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism, or other traditions but to open up their eyes and equally consider other specializations with theirs. He thought that Buddhists generally prioritize their own tradition to other traditions and even their sub-tradition to others even inside their own tradition.

He ecumenized Huayan Buddhism and Tiantai Buddhism,⁵⁸⁶ all Buddhist traditions,⁵⁸⁷ Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism,⁵⁸⁸ Tiantai Buddhism and Chan Buddhism,⁵⁸⁹ the vinaya preservation and the Chan meditation and Pure Land invocation practices,⁵⁹⁰ doctrinal traditions and Chan traditions,⁵⁹¹ the

⁵⁸⁶ See (Seok) Yeongwan, trans., Yunqi Zhuhong, *Jukchang supil* (Jottings under a Bamboo Window) (Seoul: Bulgwang chulpan-bu, 1991), 156-157. It is very complicated to refer to Korean Buddhist monk names. Their ordained Buddhist names are usually used without their own original family names but sometimes with them or the surname Seok 釋 (Chn., Shi; Jpn., Shaku), meaning monkhood. Hereafter, if I cannot recognize their family names, I will consistently put the surname Seok for modern Korean Buddhist monks. Before the completion of Purification Buddhism that recovered traditional Korean celibate monasticism in 1954-1962, it is rather hard for us to clearly distinguish Buddhist monastics from lay Buddhists because Korean Buddhism accepted married monastics into its celibate monastic order during Japan's occupation period, 1910-1945. I mostly referred to I Jeong, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo inmyeong sajeon* (Dictionary of Korean Buddhist Names) (Seoul: Bulgyo sidae-sa, 1993) to recognize the surnames for modern Korean Buddhist monastics.

⁵⁸⁷ (Seok) Yeongwan, trans., 121-122, 289, and 390.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid, 115-116, 125-126, 129, 158-159, 162-163, 194-195, 203, 209-210, 254, 258, 259, 260-261, 316, 317-318, 323, 330, 356-357, 378, 390, 344, 441-442, 443, 479, 480, 516-522, 555-558, and many other pages.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid, 286, and 509-510.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid, 50, 78, 80, 82, 84, 85-86, 91, 92, 93, 95, 102, 103, 104, 108, 110-111, 112, 113, 114, 118, 119, 120, 123, 124, 127-128, 131, 132, 134-135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 151, 152, 153-154, 155, 155, 160, 161, 170, 171-

Huayan traditions,⁵⁹² the doctrinal traditions,⁵⁹³ Pure Land Buddhism and other traditions,⁵⁹⁴ Pure Land Buddhism and doctrinal traditions,⁵⁹⁵ Tantric Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism,⁵⁹⁶ Huayan Buddhism and Chan Buddhism,⁵⁹⁷ the Chan traditions,⁵⁹⁸ lay Buddhism and monastic Buddhism,⁵⁹⁹ and even Buddhism and mostly Confucianism (or sometimes other Chinese traditions)⁶⁰⁰ in *Jottings under a Bamboo Window* (*Zhuchuang suibi*) in three fascicles. The text includes more than 450 jottings. He was an ecumenist and equally evaluated all Buddhist traditions in *Further Jottings under a Bamboo Window* as follows:⁶⁰¹

If we analyze the Buddhist principles, we should strictly examine them. If we begin to study Buddhism, we should arduously specialize in it. If they attach themselves to their own specializations and consider theirs as being true and others as being wrong, we should not accept their sectarian attitudes as all. Even though previous masters had developed their sectarian perspectives,

172, 174, 175, 176, 177-178, 185, 186, 188-189, 190, 196-197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 205-208, 216, 217-218, 219, 220, 221, 231-232, 233-234, 235, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243-244, 245, 246-247, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 257, 258, 262-263, 267, 270-271, 272, 273, 274, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 291, 292, 293-294, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300-301, 305-306, 309-310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 319, 320-321, 324, 325-326, 327, 328, 329, 331, 332-333, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339-340, 341, 342, 343, 345-346, 347, 348, 351, 354, 361, 364, 367, 368-369, 370, 371-372, 373-374, 375-376, 377, 379, 380, 381-382, 383-384, 385-386, 389, 391-392, 393, 399-400, 401, 402, 407-408, 411, 412, 422, 423, 424-425, 426, 429, 434-435, 448, 449, 450-451, 452, 453, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 467, 468-469, 470, 472, 473-474, 475-476, 478, 479, 483, 484, 488, 489-490, 493, 495, 496, 497, 498-500, 504, 505, 511-512, 513, 514-515, 523, 524-526, 540-541, 544, 545-547, 548-549, 551-553, 554, 559-561, 566, 567-568, 575-576, 579-581, 586-587, 588-589, 590, 591, and many other pages.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid, 76, 100, 106, 115-116, 117, 129, 133, 168, 222, 224, 256, 363, 413, 414-417, 438, 491-492, 509-510, 524-526, 527, and many other pages.

⁵⁹² Ibid, 390, and 418-419.

⁵⁹³ Ibid, 164-165, 169, 179, 225, 226, 420-421, 445-446, and 569-570.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid, 516-522, and 577-578.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid, 117, 162-163, 203, and 223.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid, 213.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid, 33-34, 229, 363, and 415-417.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid, 571-573, and 574.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid, 540-541.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid, 22, 29, 41, 81, 87, 88, 89-90, 107, 109, 115-116, 130, 148, 166-167, 173, 180-181, 182, 183, 184, 187, 191, 192, 193, 204, 214-215, 227-228, 230, 236, 237, 238, 248-249, 264, 265-266, 268-269, 275, 276-277, 278-279, 280, 281, 290, 295, 296, 297, 302-303, 304, 307, 308, 315, 322, 335, 352-353, 360, 362, 365-366, 367, 378, 387-388, 397-398, 403, 404, 405-406, 409, 410, 427-428, 430, 431, 432, 433, 436-437, 439-440, 444, 447, 454-456, 457, 458-459, 465-466, 471, 477, 481, 482, 485, 486, 487, 494, 501-502, 503, 506-507, 508, 528-529, 530-531, 532, 533-534, 535-536, 537, 538-539, 542-543, 550, 562-563, 564-565, 582-584, 585, 588-589, 592-593, and many other pages.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid, 390.

modern masters become more seriously addicted to their own specializations than they had.

For example, some specialists in Tiantai Buddhism (who advocate scholastic Buddhism) do not evaluate any specialists in other traditions properly and do not consider that the specialists in other traditions accurately know Buddhism. Some advocates (in Pure Land Buddhism) who adopt easy Buddhist teachings criticize (doctrinal) Tiantai Buddhism and consider that because Tiantai Buddhism is too sophisticated and too dry, it is not the original teaching of the Buddha.

Buddhist theoreticians who cling to the dictates of reason criticize the Pure Land Buddhist practitioners as those who adhere to only the names and forms (of the Buddhist deities). Buddhist moralists who emphasize the pure activities condemn the practitioners who do not exercise the invocation of the Buddha's name as heretics. The Huayan scholars who prefer the commentary on the *Huayan Sūtra* by Li Tongxuan is critical of the (speculative) commentary on the same text by Chengguan and comment on Chengguan's writing as being too analytical, not synthetic. Practitioners who practice just the *mantras* of esoteric Buddhism criticize exoteric Buddhism, doubting as to whether later Buddhists created exoteric Buddhism by themselves without relying on the Buddha himself.

(Because there are many cases of Buddhists who criticize other Buddhists affiliated to other traditions), I cannot enlist them one by one. They are contradictory to each other like water and oil and they undauntedly hold their tradition respectively. Because they do not intend to change their stubborn attitude, I deeply deplore (their sectarianism).

I humbly encourage all Buddhist practitioners and scholars to abandon their stubbornness and to empty their minds. I hope that they will investigate the ultimate principles (of Buddhism) and regard enlightenment as their final objective. I think that it is not late for them to attain great enlightenment in the beginning and to discuss the differences of each tradition slowly later.

He referred to (Chinese) medicinal herbs and figuratively explained the ecumenism among Buddhist traditions, for example, the ecumenism between the textual study and Pure Land Buddhism, Pure Land Buddhism and Chan Buddhism, textual study and Chan Buddhism, and other issues in *Third and Final Jottings under a Bamboo Window (Zhuchuang suibi)* as follows:⁶⁰²

When we read the Buddhist texts, we should extensively read them. Namely, we should read various Buddhist texts without sticking to only one particular text in which we are interested.

When the Buddha delivered his teaching in this text, he explained it in a certain circumstance. The circumstance that the Buddha explicated in this text could not be applicable to other circumstances that the Buddha delivered in other texts. The Buddha differently delivered his teachings based on different situations. One standard could not be applicable in all the Buddhist texts.

⁶⁰² Ibid, 121-122.

For instance, (the Buddha) mentioned in the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* that Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva did not attain the perfect and final stage that the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas should obtain.⁶⁰³ If we do not read the texts in Pure Land Buddhism, we might (naturally) think that we could not respect and read the Pure Land Buddhist texts.

(Bodhidharma encountered Emperor Wudi (r. 502-549) of the Liang Dynasty (502-557). Emperor Wudi was a sincere follower and protector of Buddhism and had built several Buddhist monasteries in his territory. He asked Bodhidharma from India what merit he had accumulated. He shortly answered, “No merit.”) If we just know Bodhidharma’s answer to Emperor Wudi without reading many texts that detail all altruistic Bodhisattva actions, we might easily think that we do not need to accumulate merits in this conditional world.

On the contrary, if we addict ourselves to Pure Land Buddhism and criticize Chan Buddhism (based on our sectarian background), we might (naturally) have some problems. And, if we attach ourselves to this conditional world and criticize the unconditional world (depending on our different perspective), we might have similar problems.

For example, someone ignorant of medical texts and medicinal herbs read a segment from a medical book, “When we treat cold, we should use the *guifu* (osmanthus), not the *qinlian* (salt marsh plant). When we treat fatigue, we should use the *shenqi*, not the *zhipu* (trifoliate orange).” They do not know that they should sometimes use the *qinlian* and the *zhipu* but should not sometimes use the *guifu* and the *shenqi*.

Therefore, if we adhere to only one prescription of a medical text, we might destroy our bodies. If we stick to only one meaning of a Buddhist text, we would lose wisdom. I told people that we should not let unwise Buddhists adhere to the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng*, worrying about that they attach themselves to the text but do not consider other texts.

He did not absolutize the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng* as the Chan sectarians had always done. He neutrally discussed the text and urged Buddhists not to interpret the text literally but to harmonize Chan Buddhism with Pure Land Buddhism in *Third and Final Jottings under a Bamboo Window* as follows:⁶⁰⁴

Huineng, the sixth patriarch (of Chinese Chan Buddhism), was not close to the reading of Buddhist texts and the writing of his works for his whole career. Therefore, later scholar(s) recorded and published the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng*. It seems natural to have some errors and mistakes in the text. I defensively discussed Huineng’s sayings of Pure Land Buddhism long ago. For example, (if we literally examine the text), Huineng critically discussed Pure Land Buddhism as follows:⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰³ Refer to the “Chapter of Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva’s Perfect and Final Stage” in the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, X.16.311.373b10-X.16.311.374c24.

⁶⁰⁴ (Seok) Yeongwan, trans., 443.

⁶⁰⁵ T.48.2008.352a21-b3.

Prefect, if people of the East (China) just make their minds pure, they will not have any crimes. If people of the West (the Pure Land of the West) make their minds impure, they will be guilty of crimes. The deluded person wished to be born in the East or West, (for the enlightened person) any land is just the same. If only the mind has no impurity, the Western Land is not far. If the mind generates impurities, even though you invoke the Buddha and seek to be reborn in the West, it will be difficult to reach. If you eliminate the ten evils,⁶⁰⁶ you will proceed to one hundred thousand *lis*.⁶⁰⁷ If you do away with the eight improper practices,⁶⁰⁸ you will pass across eight thousand *lis*. But if you practice straightforward mind, you will arrive there in an instant.

Prefect, practice only the ten virtues.⁶⁰⁹ Why should you seek rebirth (in the Western Land)? If you do not cut off the ten evils, what Buddha can you ask to come and welcome you? If you awaken to the sudden Dharma of birthlessness, you will see the Western Land in an instant. If you do not awaken to the Sudden Teaching of Mahāyāna, even if you concentrate on the Buddha and seek to be reborn, the road will be long. How can you hope to reach there?⁶¹⁰

As above, Huineng mentioned, “Prefect, practice only the ten virtues. Why should you seek rebirth in the Western Land?” Because the ten virtues caused us to be born in the Pure Land, monarchs who turned the Dharma wheel educated and saved sentient beings even before the appearance of the Buddha. How could the sixth patriarch teach Buddhists not to see the Buddha but to be born in the Pure Land? I do not believe that the sixth patriarch taught the above-cited paragraphs. Therefore, if someone attached themselves to the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* and criticized Pure Land Buddhism, they must have committed serious mistakes.

⁶⁰⁶ The ten evils are (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) sexual misconduct, (4) lying, (5) duplicity, (6) coarse language, (7) vulgar language, (8) greed, (9) anger, and (10) foolishness.

⁶⁰⁷ One *li* is matched to 0.4 km.

⁶⁰⁸ The eight impurities are generally the exact opposite of those defined as the eightfold path. Those are (1) wrong view, (2) wrong thinking, (3) wrong speech, (4) wrong action, (5) wrong way of life, (6) wrong endeavor, (7) wrong mindfulness, and (8) wrong meditation. See the entry of “eight impurities” in the *Foguang Dictionary of Buddhism*, 283. However, Philip B. Yampolsky differently defined the eight impurities as “the eight delusions and attachments that arise in opposition to the true form of the various dharmas: birth, destruction, oneness, differentiation, past, future, permanence, and cessation.” See his translated the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), page # 157, note # 178.

⁶⁰⁹ The ten virtues are the opposite actions of the abovementioned ten evils.

⁶¹⁰ I cited here all original sentences that Zhuhong indicated. I slightly revised and cited the translation by Philip B. Yampolsky. See his translation, 157-158.

He strongly advocated harmony between doctrinal Buddhism and Chan Buddhism and metaphorically explained his ecumenical view of the two opposing traditions in *Further Jottings under a Bamboo Window* as follows:⁶¹¹

Confucian scholar and state official Zeng Zongyuan (952-1033) collated (two Confucian texts such as) the *Doctrine of the Mean* and the *Great Learning* with (the Buddhist) *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* and tried to harmonize the Confucian phrases with the Chan ones. He asked Chan Master Xuetou Zhongxian (982-1052) on how and what he should do.

(Chan Master Xuetou Zhongxian paradoxically answered the question), “(Buddhists) cannot harmonize doctrinal Buddhism with Chan Buddhism. How can you harmonize (Confucianism) with (Chan Buddhism) with the *Doctrine of the Mean*? You should definitely understand that you could not harmonize two opposing traditions at all.” Snapping his fingers, (he continued his answer), “Please take all (in an instant) just as (I snap my fingers).”

All the teachings that the Buddha had delivered for his whole teaching career are the standards that all Buddhists should adopt. If a doctrine does not match to the teachings taught by the Buddha, we can state that those are nothing but the devilish teachings. If we cannot match it to the teachings, it indicates the Chan Buddhism of the special transmission outside the orthodox teaching.

If we have the special transmission outside the orthodox teaching, what does the orthodox teaching mean? Because (the Chan Buddhists) directly observe the moon without relying on the pointing finger, they obtain the special meaning outside the languages and texts.

He ecumenized two major practical traditions of Chinese Buddhism, that is, Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism. He, furthermore, harmonized doctrinal Buddhism with the two practical traditions. He contended that all practical traditions should have textual evidences in the following quote from the *Third and Final Jottings under a Bamboo Window*:⁶¹²

A Chan practitioner was proud of himself, “Bodhidharma, (arguably, the founder of Chan Buddhism), did not rely on the texts. If I obtain enlightenment, I am ok. Why should I need the (extra) texts?” A Pure Land practitioner also thought highly of himself, “The most important thing that I should consider was to meet Amitāyus Buddha. Why should I need the (extra) texts?”

If they obtained enlightenment or met Amitāyus Buddha and told as above, we could make an excuse for them. If they told as above without attaining any cultivation effects, they must have hid their ignorance about the Buddhist doctrines.

However, even though I ordinarily practice Pure Land Buddhism, I always encourage Buddhists to read Buddhist texts. How should I urge them to study the texts? How can the teaching of Pure Land Buddhism appear of itself? If the Buddha did not teach Pure Land Buddhism, how can we, the sentient beings,

⁶¹¹ (Seok) Yeongwan, trans., 256.

⁶¹² Ibid, 115-116.

know that Amitāyus Buddha lives in a Pure Land beyond the lands of ten thousand billions?

Chan practitioners used to contend that Chan Buddhism would be the special transmission outside the orthodox teaching. However, if they examined Chan Buddhism without referring to the Buddhist texts, they must have generated erroneous causes. If they said that they abandoned the Buddhist texts and attained enlightenment, they must have produced erroneous views.

Even though Chan practitioners investigated Kōan Chan and attained awakening, they should prove their awakening with textual evidences. If we could not match their enlightenment to the texts, we should consider their enlightenment as being erroneous.

Therefore, just as Confucians standardize six classics (such as the *Book of Odes*, the *Book of History*, the *Book of Change*, the *Book of Rites*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and the *Book of Music*) and four texts (such as the *Analects of Confucius*, the *Book of Mencius*, the *Great Learning* and the *Doctrine of the Mean*) as their orthodox texts, Buddhists should consider three baskets and twelve divisions of the scriptures as their standard texts.

(The Buddhist canon consists of three parts, i.e., (1) the basket of the *vinaya* (rules of monastic discipline), (2) the basket of the *Sūtras*, and (3) the basket of the *abhidharma* (commentaries on the *Sūtras* and *vinaya*). The twelve divisions of the Buddhist canon are (1) *sūtra* (teaching in prose), (2) *geya* (restatement of *Sūtra* in verse), (3) *gāthā* (teachings delivered by the Buddha in verse), (4) *nidāna* (descriptions of why the Buddha propounds his teachings and rules of monastic discipline), (5) *itivṛttaka* (stories that describe previous lives of the Buddha's disciples and Bodhisattvas), (6) *jātaka* (stories of the Buddha's previous lives), (7) *adbhuta-dharma* (descriptions of marvelous events that concern the Buddha or his disciples), (8) *avadāna* (tales of previous lives of persons other than the Buddha), (9) *upadeśa* (discourses on the Buddha's teachings), (10) *udāna* (spontaneous teachings that the Buddha taught without request from his disciples), (11) *vaipulya* (expansion of doctrine), and (12) *vyākaraṇa* (the Buddha's predictions of the enlightenment of his disciples.⁶¹³)

Zhuhong referred to Yanshou's famous poem of four stanzas in relation to Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism and defended his ecumenism between Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism, the two major practical traditions available in his contemporary Chinese Buddhism in his *Further Jottings under a Bamboo Window*.⁶¹⁴ Yanshou concisely classified the relation between two practical traditions in the poem as follows.⁶¹⁵

If they practice only Chan, not Pure Land Buddhism,
Nine of ten practitioners might tumble down.
When their afterlives appear,

⁶¹³ See the entry of "twelve divisions of the scriptures" in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 773-774.

⁶¹⁴ (Seok) Yeongwan, trans., 316.

⁶¹⁵ X.61.1163.632a19-24.

They would be swept away in an eye-blinking instant.

If they do not practice Chan, but Pure Land Buddhism,
 If ten thousand Buddhists practice Pure Land Buddhism,
 They all are subject to be born in (Amitāyus Buddha's land).
 If they only see him there,
 How should they worry about their not obtaining enlightenment?

If they practice both Chan and Pure Land Buddhism,
 Like horned tigers,
 They are supposed to be the teachers of all beings in this world,
 They are subject to be patriarchs or Buddhas in the future.

If they do not practice Chan and Pure Land Buddhism,
 They seem like they hold copper pillars on iron beds.
 Even though they pass through ten thousand eons and one thousand lives,
 They do not have anyone else to rely on.

As above, even though Yanshou was a famous Chan master, he prioritized Pure Land Buddhism to Chan Buddhism and advocated the joint practice of Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism. His poem became the model for the Chan / Pure Land syncretists. Zhuhong loyally succeeded Yanshou's synthesis as the following article demonstrates in *Further Jottings under a Bamboo Window*:⁶¹⁶

Two monks Daojing and Shandao (of the Tang Dynasty)⁶¹⁷ co-authored a book entitled *Nianfo-jing* (A Mirror of the Invocation of the Buddha's Name)⁶¹⁸ in which they compared Pure Land Buddhism's invocation of the Buddha's name with other Buddhist traditions as follows: "The merits of other Buddhist traditions are inferior innumerable times to those of the Pure Land Buddhist practice."

They evaluated Chan Buddhism (from the Pure Land Buddhist perspective), "(The benefits) of the Chan practice that observes the mind and the birthlessness are inferior innumerable times to those of the Pure Land Buddhist practice." However, Buddhist students did not believe in their (sectarian) evaluation." I consider that they indicated the group of the practitioners who practice Chan Buddhism not Pure Land Buddhism, included in the four groups of practitioners that Yanshou categorized.

For example, (Chan practitioners) who attached themselves to the mind observation did not believe in paradises and pure lands. (Chan practitioners) who attached themselves to birthlessness did not believe in their being born in pure lands. If so, they have a biased view towards emptiness and do not have the Chan of perfectness and suddenness.

⁶¹⁶ (Seok) Yeongwan, trans., 316. See also T.47.1966.120b22-c5.

⁶¹⁷ See the entry of "*Nianfo-jing*" (A Mirror of the Invocation of the Buddha's Name) in *Foguang Dictionary of Buddhism*, 3213.

⁶¹⁸ T.47.1966.120a2- T.47.1966.126b13.

Even though we do not illuminate great enlightenment with our reasoning, we can accomplish concentration with the invocation of the Buddha. The rational practice for great enlightenment is inferior to the invocation of the Buddha. How do you abnormally think of the relations (between Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism)?

If some (Chan) practitioners observe and realize their minds and they observe and obtain the stage of birthlessness, the level of them is identical to that of the Pure Land practitioners who obtain the highest and ninth stage. How can we hierarchically evaluate them?

Zhuhong discussed in *Zhuchuang sanbi* which tradition between Pure Land Buddhism and Chan Buddhism would be more effective in the praxis. While Chan Buddhist sectarians argue that Chan Buddhism is more soteriologically effective than Pure Land Buddhism, Pure Land Buddhist sectarians contend that Pure Land Buddhism is more practically effective than Chan Buddhism. He concluded that we could not apply the standard of soteriological effectiveness in and hierarchically evaluate the two traditions as follows.⁶¹⁹

A practitioner who was proud of Chan Buddhism told a Pure Land Buddhist, “If you practice the invocation of the Buddha, you should be born in the Western Land in the beginning and attain enlightenment in the next. However, when we, Chan Buddhists, practice Chan Buddhism, we can accomplish Buddhahood in this life. The practice of Chan Buddhism definitely should be faster and more effective than that of Pure Land Buddhism. Why don’t you stop to practice the invocation of the Buddha and exercise Chan Buddhism?”

The Pure Land Buddhist did not decide which tradition he should practice. He came to and asked me what he should do. I answered him, “We have the two groups of people based on two kinds of capacity, i.e., sharp and dull (capacities). Some are diligent and some are lazy. Each person has his or her own capacity and personality. We cannot say that this is good and the other is wrong.

I want to metaphorically explain the issue. Two persons departed for a treasure hunt. One person rode on horseback and the other took a ship. Even though two left for the destination on the same day, we could not determine who could arrive at the destination earlier and later. Each person has the different capacity such as sharp and dull capacities and the different personality such as diligent and lazy personalities.

Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism should be as same as the abovementioned. We can instantiate the dull cases. Even though Pure Land Buddhists have practiced the invocation of the Buddha for several eons, they have not been born in the Pure Land except in this life. Even though Chan Buddhists have practiced Chan meditation, they have never realized enlightenment for many lives.

We can exemplify the fast cases. Chan Buddhists attained enlightenment and realized the body of the great order in an instant here and now without

⁶¹⁹ (Seok) Yeongwan, trans., 441-442.

passing through numberless eons. When Pure Land Buddhists thoroughly practiced the invocation of the Buddha in this life, they were immediately born in the highest and ninth leveled land at their last moments of lives.

Therefore, ancient masters say, “When we departed for our distant destination, we should think of only the destination. We should not think of the easiness and difficulties appearing on their way to the destination.”

7. Yongming Yanshou and Bojo Jinul

Jinul was strongly influenced by several previous masters including Huineng, Li Tongxuan, Zongmi, Yanshou, and Dahui Zonggao (1089-1163).⁶²⁰ Of them, Zongmi and Yanshou advocated ecumenism. Zongmi mainly synthesized doctrinal Buddhist traditions and Chan Buddhist sects. Yanshou attempted to ecumenize all doctrinal traditions, Chan Buddhist sects and doctrinal Buddhist traditions, Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism, and Buddhism and native Chinese religious traditions such as Daoism and Confucianism. He also ecuminized his doctrinal learning and Chan practice with his strict preservation of precepts.

Throughout his works, Jinul extensively referred to Yanshou and his three major works: *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects* in 100 fascicles, *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?* in three fascicles and *Secrets on Mind-only* in one fascicle. For example, he cited in his works *Secrets on Mind-only* at least five times,⁶²¹ *Record of Mirroring Different Tenets and Sects* at least two times,⁶²² and *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?* at least three times.⁶²³ He also referred to Yanshou at least two times⁶²⁴ and Yanshou at least eight times.⁶²⁵ He loyally incorporated Yanshou’s ecumenism in his philosophy by referring to Yanshou Yanshou and his works at least twenty times.

As Yanshou did, Jinul also ecumenized his doctrinal study and Chan practice with his strict preservation of precepts. Jinul mainly intended to

⁶²⁰ See the entry of “Ta-hui Tsung-kao” in the *Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen*, 214. Zonggao (1089-1163) was a Chinese Chan master. He was a disciple of Yuanwu Keqin (1063-1135) and burned the *Blue Cliff Record* which his master compiled, so that his disciples would not cling to the words of the text but directly concentrate on their immediate enlightenment. He was very famous for adopting and using the *kōan* to guide his disciples to enlightenment.

⁶²¹ H.4.699a4, H.4.708c19, H.4.708c20, H.4.716b18, and H.4.718a13.

⁶²² H.4.748c2 and H.4.761a21.

⁶²³ H.4.705c9, H.4.706c6 and H.4.754b23.

⁶²⁴ H.4.716a12 and H.4.737b23.

⁶²⁵ H.4.706a16, H.4.716b17, H.4.752c15, H.4.755b21, H.4.755a10, H.4.755a5, H.4.760a3, and H.4.761a5.

ecumenize Chan Buddhism with doctrinal Buddhism, particularly Huayan Buddhism. He harmonized gradualism and subitism in his Chan soteriology. He inherited the ecumenical lineage from Wonhyo, Zongmi, Uicheon, and Yanshou and systemized his own version of ecumenism.

Jinul ecumenized both doctrinal study and Chan practice with Pure Land Buddhism. Buddhists generally consider that there are two practice gates to enlightenment in Buddhism, i.e., easy practice gate and difficult practice gate. The easy practice gate is composed of Pure Land Buddhism and the difficult practice gate consists of strict preservation of precepts, serious study of doctrinal Buddhism and earnest practice of Chan techniques. Advocates of the easy practice gate argue that their gate is much more effective and pragmatic for Buddhists, particularly ordinary persons than the difficult practice gate. Adherents of the difficult practice gate counter-argue against those of the easy practice gate, saying that the difficult practice gate is more fundamental and straightforward to enlightenment than the easy practice gate.

The advocates of the easy practice gate criticize the difficult practice gate and argue that Pure Land Buddhism is more effective than the difficult practice gate at their current difficult time. Jinul cited Huineng's *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* on which Zongmi heavily relied, Li Tongxuan's *Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra* and Yanshou's *Secrets on Mind-only* and tried to harmonize both Buddhist groups. He referred to Zongmi, Li Tongxuan, and Yanshou to harmonize between meditation (Seon Buddhism) and wisdom (doctrinal Buddhism) in his *Exhortation to Join the Society for the Practice of Meditation and Wisdom* (*Jeonghye gyeolsa-mun*) in one fascicle.

Jinul referred to Zongmi, Li Tongxuan and Yanshou and harmonized the advocates of the easy practice gate with those of the difficult practice gate in the *Exhortation to Join the Society for the Practice of Meditation and Wisdom* as follows:⁶²⁶

Because we monks are born in this degenerated age, we are subject to be stubborn and foolish. Even so, if we step back (from hardworking cultivation of our minds), attach ourselves to exterior forms and just seek enlightenment, how can we practice the mysterious gate of meditation and wisdom (the difficult practice gate) that past Buddhist practitioners learned and practiced?

If we consider the cultivation of our minds to be difficult and do not cultivate our minds, the more eons we spend, the more difficulty we might have. If we diligently cultivate our minds, even though we have difficulty in cultivating our minds, we can gradually make the practice be easier depending on the power of the cultivation of our minds. (We should definitely know that all) the past Buddhist practitioners had begun the cultivation from the level of ordinary and unenlightened beings.

Also, have you guys ever seen a saying in a scripture or a commentary that sentient beings of the degenerate age cannot achieve the undefiled truth? The

⁶²⁶ H.4.698c11-699a10.

Complete Enlightenment Sūtra says, “The Buddha considers even a sentient being of the degenerated age as a Bodhisattva of this present age if he does not generate delusional thought in his mind.”⁶²⁷ The *Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra* (by Li Tongxuan) mentions, “If (somebody) says that this (Sūtra’s) teaching does not result from ordinary beings at all, but only from Bodhisattvas, his assertion might destroy the Buddha’s proper teaching.”⁶²⁸

All the wise Buddhists should not be lazy in cultivating their minds. Even though they practice Buddhism, they cannot attain Buddhahood easily and immediately. Even so, they should not make their wholesome seeds lost, but accumulate meritorious deeds for their future lives. Therefore, the *Secrets on Mind-only* (by Yanshou) explains, “Even though some hears (the Buddha’s teaching) but does not believe in it, he would make a cause of becoming the Buddha. And even though some learns Buddhism but does not comprehend it, he might make the happiness of humans and heavenly beings.”⁶²⁹

Like the abovementioned, we should not discuss the differences between the degenerate teaching age and the true teaching age and should not worry about (the differences between) defilement and enlightenment in our minds. However, if we generate the deeply believing mind and practice Buddhism based on our capacities, we can make a correct cause (to obtain Buddhahood) and completely remove our frightened and feeble mind.

Jinul also referred to such Buddhist scholars as Tiantai Zhiyi (538-597), Huineng, Yanshou, Gushan Zhiyuan (976-1022)⁶³⁰ and Siming Zhili (960-1028)⁶³¹ and ecumenized Pure Land Buddhism and Seon Buddhism. He particularly referred to Yanshou’s ecumenism between Pure Land Buddhism and Seon Buddhism. Gang Geon-gi (b. 1940),⁶³² a specialist in Jinul, proved in his *Lectures on the Exhortation to Join the Society for the Practice of Meditation and Wisdom* that Jinul directly and indirectly cited seven times from Yanshou’s works only in his *Exhortation to Join the Society for the Practice of Meditation and Wisdom*.⁶³³ Jinul cited Yanshou’s *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?* two times along with many other sources and adopted the ecumenical view of Pure Land Buddhism and Seon Buddhism as the following demonstrates:⁶³⁴

When Zhiyi, (systematizer of Chinese Tiantai Buddhism), neared his end, he told his disciples, “Even though the form of a burning wagon appears, if we repent our wrong thoughts and transform them to our true ones, we are subject to be born in better lives. Furthermore, if we preserve precepts, practice

⁶²⁷ T.17.842.917a23-24.

⁶²⁸ T.36.1739.800b29-c1.

⁶²⁹ T.48.2018.996c22.

⁶³⁰ Gushan Zhiyuan was a Tiantai monk in the Song Dynasty.

⁶³¹ Siming Zhili restored Tiantai Buddhism in the Song Dynasty.

⁶³² *Chongnam*, 608.

⁶³³ Gang Geon-gi, *Jeonghye gyeolsa-mun gang-ui* (Lectures on the *Jeonghye gyeolsa-mun*) (Seoul: Bulil chulpan-sa, 2006), 62, 143, 225, 242, 278, 279, and 309.

⁶³⁴ H.4.705a10-c14.

meditation and cultivate wisdom, we would definitely have the better consequences.⁶³⁵ The *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra* also says, “If we want to purify the Buddha’s land, we should purify our minds. In accordance with the purification of our minds, the land would be purified.”⁶³⁶ The *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng* mentions, “If we do not have pollution in our mind ground, we can cause the Western Paradise to be near to us.”⁶³⁷ If we generate a polluted mind, how can a Buddha come to here and greet us?⁶³⁸ Yanshou asserted (in his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*), “If we comprehend our minds, we will be born in the Pure Land of the Mind-only. If we attach ourselves to the exterior object, we will fall into the conditioned object.”⁶³⁹

As Buddhas and patriarchs mentioned like above, when we seek to be born in a Pure Land, we should separate ourselves from our minds. (I, Jinul), carefully argue how we can get in a Pure Land if we separate ourselves from our minds. The *Rulai fusi yi jingjie jing* (Sūtra of the Buddha’s Unthinkable Cultivation Level) proves the proposition, “Because all the Buddhas of three periods (of the past, present and future) have nothing, they rely on only their own minds. If a Bodhisattva comprehends that all the Buddhas and all the Buddhist teachings result from the functions of their own minds and achieve the stage of naturally following Dharma nature, he can obtain the 1st stage of development⁶⁴⁰ in which he transcends his own physical body and he will be born in the (Eastern) Pure Land of Akṣobhya Buddha or in the (Western) Paradise of Amitābha Buddha.”⁶⁴¹ If we refer to these cited sayings, we are definitely subject to be born in Pure Lands without questions if we carefully examine our minds even though we do not recite the names of Buddhas and seek being reborn in Pure Lands.

However, nowadays, many monks learning the Buddhist meaning and principle abandon the names (of Buddhas) and seek enlightenment. Even though all of them attach themselves to exterior forms, face the western direction and loudly call (Amitāyus) Buddha, they consider their actions as the ways to attain enlightenment. They wrongly consider the secret of Buddhas and patriarchs, i.e., mind ground that all the Buddhas and patriarchs have learned and revealed as the learning of fame and wealth. Regarding the secret as the cultivation level that they cannot obtain with their capacity, they do not keep it in mind but give up it. Because they abandon the secret of cultivating their mind, they do not recognize the retrospective functions. They in vain use with bright intelligence their powers that they have accumulated throughout their lives. Even though they also stand against their minds and attach themselves to

⁶³⁵ T.50.2050.196a28-29.

⁶³⁶ T.14.475.538c5.

⁶³⁷ T.48.2008.352a26.

⁶³⁸ T.48.2007.341b14-15.

⁶³⁹ T.48.2017.996c4.

⁶⁴⁰ The 1st stage of development is called the stage of joy, in which one rejoices at realizing a partial aspect of the truth. The 1st stage of development is the 41st stage in the system of the 52 stages of Bodhisattva practice set forth in the *Huayan Sūtra*.

⁶⁴¹ T.10.301.911c21-24.

exterior forms, they consider their actions as relying on the holy teachings. How cannot all of the wise Buddhists lament their misunderstandings?

Gushan Zhiyuan said in a preface to the *Amituo jingshu* (Commentary on the *Smaller Sukhāvāṭīvyūha*), “The essence of the mind nature is one which is illuminating and static. It does not have difference between ordinary beings and sages, the indirect (circumstantial) reward and the direct reward, shortness and long-ness, cleanness and dirtiness. When we act in accordance with exterior objects and changes based on conditions, we are able to become six ordinary beings (of hell, hungry ghosts, animals, *asuras*, human beings, and heavenly beings) or three holy beings (of hearers, solitary realizers and bodhisattvas). We are subject to have the indirect reward or the direct reward. Because we make the direct reward or the indirect reward, we can have long-ness and shortness in our span of life and we can have dirtiness and cleanness in our land.

The Buddha, our great holy being, obtained the illuminating and static oneness. He relied on friendliness and compassion and guided delusional sentient beings to return to the origin. He revealed his body without body and manifested his land without land. He sometimes extended their lifespan, purified their lands, and let them be happy. He also sometimes shortened their lifespan, contaminated their lands, and let them not be happy. Because they had likes and dislikes, he used a stratagem in saving them.

Even though a treasure pavilion and a golden pond make people’s eyes be attractive, those are not seducible colors. So, we should understand that only mind exists without object. Even though the forest’s windy sound and the bird song make people’s ears be happy, those do not make dissonance. So, we should pay homage to three treasures (of the Buddha, his teaching and his followers) and return to the origin. Therefore, the return to the illuminating and static essence is as easy as the turning of a hand.⁶⁴² I, (Jinul), consider that Gushan Zhiyuan extensively comprehended the original and the derivative of the Buddha’s skillful means. I cited the long sayings by him and encouraged the current Pure Land Buddhist practitioners to understand what the Buddha originally intended and not to waste their efforts.

The practitioners who know the Buddha’s original intention, even though they recollect the names of Buddhas and sincerely wish to be reborn in Pure Lands, completely understand that the adornment of the Buddhist lands does not come and does not go. Even though they can manifest the adornment only through the functions of their minds, they cannot separate the adornment from suchness. If they remove impurity and confusion in their thoughts, equate meditation to wisdom, and are not contradictory to the illuminating and static nature, they do not have even the slightest gap but harmoniously communicate with one another. Metaphorically speaking, if the water is clean and calm, the moon manifests itself in it and if the mirror is clean, the image clearly reveals itself in it.

Therefore, (Yanshou) asserts in the *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*, “The Buddha originally does not come. The mind also does not go. When they harmoniously communicate with one another, they can reveal themselves only

⁶⁴² T.37.1760.350c17-351c5.

through the functions of their minds.⁶⁴³” (Siming Zhili also states in his *Qianshouyan dabeixinzhouxingfa* (How Should We Chant a Compassionate Spell of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva of One Thousand Hands and Eyes?), “All Buddhists, including both the worshippers and the worshipped, have their illuminating and static nature. Therefore, we cannot explicate and imagine how they harmoniously communicate with each other.⁶⁴⁴” These practitioners should not attach themselves to the objects outside their minds, should not make wrong conceptualization and attachment, should not invite all devilish activities and should not violate the Buddha’s intention. All practitioners sincerely should keep the aforementioned facts in their minds.

The *Guan wuliangshou jing* (Skt., *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra*), considered as a Central Asian origin, classifies the Pure Land in three classes and nine subclasses, i.e., (1) the higher of the higher, (2) the intermediate of the higher, and (3) the lower of the higher; (4) the higher of the intermediate, (5) the intermediate of the intermediate, and (6) the lower of the intermediate; (7) the higher of the lower, (8) the intermediate of the lower, and (9) the lower of the lower. Pure Land Buddhists classify three classes and assign three subclasses to each class, making nine classes. Pure Land Buddhist practitioners are subject to be reborn in one of nine classes depending on their capacities and abilities.

Referring to the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (T.12.365.340b22-346b21) and Yanshou’s *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*, Jinul ecumenically expounded the easy practice gate of Pure Land Buddhism and the difficult practice gate of meditation and wisdom. He also suggested Pure Land Buddhists to seek Pure Lands not outside their minds but inside their minds. He interpreted the easy practice gate from the perspective of the difficult practice gate as follows:⁶⁴⁵

Nowadays, the practitioners generally say, “If we recite the names of Buddhas and are reborn in Pure Lands, what do we have something more?” They say so because they do not know that the nine classes of a Pure Land completely depend on the size and brightness of the faith and understanding of their own minds. A scripture (*Guan wuliangshou jing*) says, “If a practitioner understands the ultimate and final truth and practices Pure Land Buddhism, he would be a highest practitioner. How can the smart practitioner just recite the name of a Buddha, receiving the dull capacity and not understanding the ultimate and final truth?”⁶⁴⁶

(Yanshou explains) in his *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*, “A Pure Land practitioner is subject to born in one of the nine classes of a Pure Land (based on his cultivation level). While living in the land of the “body of

⁶⁴³ T.48.2017.967b4.

⁶⁴⁴ T.46.1950.974b21.

⁶⁴⁵ H.4.706c1-17.

⁶⁴⁶ I could not identify the exact quote in the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (Skt., *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra*). He seemed to summarize and cite the scripture.

transformation,” a practitioner sees the Buddha’s body of transformation. While living in the land of “body of delight,” a practitioner sees the Buddha’s body of delight. A practitioner obtains the higher stage of development in a night. A practitioner achieves the cultivation level of Hīnayāna after practicing Buddhism for one eon. Each practitioner obtains a different cultivation level based on his own capacity, dull or sharp, and depending on his own status of mind, confused or stable.”⁶⁴⁷ So, even though the Pure Land practitioners, thoroughly acquainted with all ages, present and past, seek Pure Lands, they should have trust in suchness and center themselves on the practice of meditation and wisdom.

Therefore, the color, form and adornment of a Pure Land (in which Pure Land practitioners are subject to be born) do not have coming and going, transcend the boundaries, manifest through the activities of their minds, and are not separated from suchness. However, because ordinary beings and the practitioners of two vehicles, that is the hearers and the solitary realizers, do not know that all objects are manifested through the transformation of the consciousnesses, they attach themselves to exterior objects and their color and boundaries. Therefore, even though foolish persons and wise persons are born in a Pure Land, their differences between foolish persons and wise persons are tremendously big like a gap between heaven and earth. So, because the practitioners who learn the Mahāyāna teaching of mind-only concentrate on meditation and wisdom, they do not make errors like ordinary beings and Hīnayānists who attach themselves to the color of exterior objects outside their minds and make their limited view.

Jinul highly valued an enormous number of scriptures recording words the Buddha delivered throughout his teaching career. However, he did not consider those scriptures as absolute. The teachings are supposed to guide us to enlightenment that the Buddha himself achieved. He adopted a famous and widely used metaphor and likened the Buddha’s scriptures to a finger pointing to the moon that symbolizes enlightenment. Even though we absolutely need a pointing finger, we should not attach ourselves to it. If we adhere to it, we cannot see the moon.

Just as we see the moon through the pointing finger, we can obtain enlightenment through the scriptures that the Buddha delivered throughout his lifetime. Jinul also mentioned that we Buddhists could obtain enlightenment through the Buddha’s teachings and the Buddha revealed main Buddhist tenets through a huge number of scriptures. Buddhists are subject to attain enlightenment through intellectual study and scriptural readings. The moon stands for original mind. Jinul considered that intellectual and textual studies are definitely necessary for Buddhists to obtain enlightenment.

Jinul criticized Buddhist scholars who regarded intellectual and textual guidance as being ultimate. He argued that if some Buddhists just considered intellectual and textual studies as being absolute, they could not obtain enlightenment. He also criticized Seon practitioners who negated intellectual

⁶⁴⁷ T.48.2017.968b13-15.

and textual guidance. He defined the practitioners as foolish Seon meditators. He synthesized Seon Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism. He was critical of both the overemphasis of doctrinal study and the overestimation of Seon meditation.

He equally emphasized mind cultivation and altruistic activities. The practice of meditation and the obtaining of wisdom are pre-required for Buddhists to save other beings in need. If we want to save other beings, we should practice meditation and cultivate our minds in advance. He asserted that Buddhists could cultivate their minds through their compassion. He suggested Buddhists not to separate their mind cultivation from their altruistic activities. He argued that if some Buddhists practiced meditation without altruistic actions, they were the Seon practitioners who were addicted to quietism. He also stated that if some Buddhists pretended to be pedantic without mind cultivation, they were the Buddhist scholars clung to intellectualism.

Quoting Li Tongxuan's *Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra*, Jinning Baozhi's (418-514) 24 versed *A Eulogy of Mahāyāna (Dasheng-zan)*, the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* and Yanshou's *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*, Jinul self-questioned and self-answered the ecumenism between Seon Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism, wisdom and meditation, mind cultivation and altruistic activities, intellectual and textual study and Seon meditation practice as follows:⁶⁴⁸

A: Depending on each practitioner's (different capacity and situation), I should answer the question. If we obtain enlightenment based on languages and reveal main Buddhist tenets relying on the Buddha's teachings, we are able to possess our Dharma eyes. If so, even though we listen to sounds from exterior objects, we do not generate attachment to the names and forms of the objects. Also, even though we benefit others and remove the dichotomous view of subject and object, hatred and love, we can gradually perfect compassion and wisdom. If we match ourselves to the Dharma realm, we would be sincere Buddhist practitioners.

If we wish to instruct using Buddhist teachings and save sentient beings by generating our views relying on languages, producing our understanding based on texts, deluding our minds depending upon doctrines, not distinguishing a pointing finger from the moon, and not forgetting their fame and interests, we are beings like dirty snails which soil themselves and other beings. If so, we might be Buddhist scholars who were addicted to intellectualism. How can we say that they concentrate on meditation and wisdom and seek fame? (Li Tongxuan expounded) in his *Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra*, "If we are tied, how can we untie other beings?"⁶⁴⁹

Jinning Baozhi said in the *A Eulogy of Mahāyāna*, "How can many foolish Buddhists of this mundane world seek enlightenment? Even though they extensively look for all meanings of enlightenment, they cannot save themselves. Looking for confused languages of other beings, saying to

⁶⁴⁸ H.4.703c20-704b4.

⁶⁴⁹ T.36.1739.733b7.

themselves that principle is mysterious, and living in idleness for their lifetime, they are subject to be born and grow old for everlasting eons. Because an impure sexual desire binds their minds, they cannot abandon it. So, their pure and wise minds become spontaneously defiled. A forest of the Dharma realm of suchness turns to a thorny bush and the grass. However, because they misunderstand a yellow leaf as gold, they do not know that they should understand a yellow leaf as it is and look for real gold. Even though they recite Buddhist scriptures and commentaries in their mouths, they always have harsh minds. If they attain enlightenment in a night, they can suddenly have suchness.”⁶⁵⁰

According to the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, Ānanda said, “If we just listen to the Buddha’s teachings, we cannot accomplish enlightenment.”⁶⁵¹ The intention of ancient sages is much brighter than the sun and the moon. Extensively examining all meanings of the Buddha’s teachings, we should save ourselves and transcend this eternal suffering of life and death.

When we have a break time in meditation, we carefully review the holy Buddhist teachings and how ancient sages obtained enlightenment, determine what is wrong and what is right, and benefit ourselves and other beings. (Therefore), just as someone who calculates the number of sands in an ocean, we should not seek exterior objects and differentiate their names and forms in vain.

Therefore, we can prove (in Yanshou’s *Collection of 114 Questions and Answers: How can We Subsume Ten Thousand Goods to One Origin?*) as follows: “Bodhisattvas originally intend to save other beings. Therefore, they should cultivate meditation and wisdom in advance. They can easily practice meditation and visualization in tranquil locations. If they practice ascetic practices of reducing desires, they can enter the holy gate.”⁶⁵²

If we vow to save other beings, we should cultivate meditation and wisdom in advance. If we have the power of our cultivation, we cause the compassion gate to be uncovered from a cloud, make the ocean of practices undulated, and have all suffering sentient beings saved across the end of the future time. We also let them respect three treasures of the Buddha and his teachings and his followers and cause them to inherit the Buddha’s business. How can we consider ourselves as the practitioners who only addict themselves to quietism?

Jinul criticized both Seon Buddhist sectarians and doctrinal Buddhist sectarians and earnestly tried to ecumenize Seon Buddhist traditions and doctrinal Buddhist traditions. While the followers of doctrinal Buddhist traditions are easily subject to overemphasize wisdom (the intellectual and textual studies) over meditation (Seon practice), the advocates of Seon Buddhist traditions are accustomed to overestimate the importance of meditation over wisdom. Citing the *Huayan Sūtra* and Yanshou’s *Secrets on Mind-only*, he ecumenized meditation and wisdom, Seon Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism in

⁶⁵⁰ T.51.2076.449c23-450a1.

⁶⁵¹ T.19.945.106c17.

⁶⁵² T.48.2017.974b23-24.

the *Exhortation to Join the Society for the Practice of Meditation and Wisdom* in the following quote.⁶⁵³

Nowadays, even though ones who just concentrate on intellectual and textual study extensively discuss Hwaeom (Chn., Huayan; Jpn., Kegon) Buddhism's non-obstructive causation of dharma realms, they do not reflect upon the virtues and functions of their true minds. Because they do not reflect upon that the nature and phenomena of Dharma realms are the essence and functions of their own minds, when can they open the passions and particles of their own minds and issue the countless functions of the minds?

Therefore, the *Huayan Sūtra* says, "If we know that all things are identical to the nature of our own minds, we can achieve the body of wisdom but we cannot obtain enlightenment through other persons."⁶⁵⁴ The scripture also mentions, "If we preach Buddhism through language, the teaching might be the delusive differentiation of little wisdom. Therefore, because we have obstructions to wisdom, we cannot understand our own minds. If we do not comprehend our own minds, how can we know the right ways? If so, we can increase all wicked evils owing to corrupt wisdom."⁶⁵⁵

We have the honor to inform you that the advanced practitioners should depend upon their earnest sayings; place in advance deep confidence in their own minds, the origin of all the Buddhas; generate (deep confidence) through the power of meditation and wisdom observing and illuminating; decently sit down and tolerate foolishness; model themselves after nondiscrimination; and consider it as great ways.

Therefore, suchness of binding defilements and delusions possesses disorder and confusion. Suchness of transcending defilements and delusions illuminates meditation and wisdom, arranges the whole and the parts in good order, and balances the fore and the back. We should not consider that because we cannot purify the contaminated suchness now, we can achieve the purification in the future. Because we do not directly observe our original mysterious minds, we might easily consider the purification of the contaminated suchness to be difficult and to be gradually practiced.

(Yanshou) said in the *Secrets on Mind-only*, "Some (practitioners) consider that they should concede their stages of development to the higher stages. Thinking that they should accumulate their virtues for three *asa~khyas* ⁶⁵⁶ to obtain enlightenment, they do not know immediate manifestation of the whole but expect to attain mysterious enlightenment. If so, how can they (suddenly) obtain enlightenment? Rather, they just wait for the obtaining of enlightenment. They do not enter the complete and eternal but the cycle of transmigration. Because they delude themselves to the virtues of nature, they do not know the true tenets (of Buddhism). Because they give up

⁶⁵³ H.4.703b4-24.

⁶⁵⁴ T.10.279.89a3.

⁶⁵⁵ T.10.279.82a24-27.

⁶⁵⁶ *Asa~khyas* is a numerical unit of ancient India used to indicate an exceedingly large number.

enlightenment and follow the particles, they abandon the original and go after the derivative.”⁶⁵⁷

Jinul did not negate languages and letters, the texts and their teachings but requested Buddhists not to attach themselves to the texts. Rather, he positively urged them to understand the meanings of the texts and discover our nature in ourselves not in exterior objects. He interpreted texts and doctrines from the perspective of Seon Buddhism. We should utilize the texts and doctrines to discover our minds. If we learn Buddhism and place deep confidence in Buddhism, we can attain enlightenment. If we do not learn Buddhism and have no trust in it, we cannot obtain Buddhahood. Referring to Yanshou’s *Secrets on Mind-only*, he emphasized the learning and faith in Buddhism in the *Key to Cultivation of Mind* as follows:⁶⁵⁸

If we have the intention of a heroic man and seek complete enlightenment, we should not abandon (texts and doctrines). How can we search for enlightenment without them? We should not attach ourselves to languages and letters but we should straightforwardly understand the meanings of them. If we each return to ourselves and accord ourselves with their fundamental tenets, we can spontaneously manifest non-mastered wisdom, naturally reveal principles, completely understand non-foolishness, and accomplish the body of wisdom. The accomplishments that we obtained originate from ourselves, not from others.

Even though we use this mysterious tenet for all practitioners, because we did not plant the seed of wisdom in earlier time, we do not have the capacity for understanding Mahāyāna Buddhism. Because we do not have the capacity, we cannot generate right faith in one thought. We do not only have trust in Buddhism, but we also criticize it. If so, many of us will be born in the *avīci* hell.⁶⁵⁹ Even though we do not have deep confidence in Buddhism, if we accidentally listen to a Buddhist saying, we can tremendously accumulate the merits.

Therefore, (Yanshou) said in the *Secrets on Mind-only*, “Even though some hears (the Buddha’s teachings) but does not believe in it, he might form grounds for becoming a Buddha. And even though some learns Buddhism but does not comprehend it, he might make the happiness of humans and heavenly beings.”⁶⁶⁰ If so, we will not lose the right cause of obtaining Buddhahood. If we listen to and have trust in Buddha’s teachings, if we learn and comprehend them, and if we keep them in mind and do not forget them, our merits will be countless.

⁶⁵⁷ T.48.2018.995b28-c1.

⁶⁵⁸ H.4.713b2-15.

⁶⁵⁹ The *avīci* hell means the hell of endless pain.

⁶⁶⁰ T.48.2018.996c22. Bojo Jinul also cited the same quote in the *Jeonghye gyeolsa-mun*, H.4.699a4-5.

Jinul ecumenically evaluated Buddhist teachings and scriptures without hierarchically classifying them. He argued that the common, fundamental mind developed into a myriad of teachings based on various circumstances. So, there is no value difference between a number of teachings. Each text has its own tenet respectively. However, we should not position any text over other texts, but equally evaluate them. Citing Yanshou's *Secrets on Mind-only*, Jinul explored in the *Direct Exposition on the True Mind* how each text specializes in each main theme as follows:⁶⁶¹

The names given to true mind in the teachings of the Buddha and in the teachings of the patriarchs are not the same. First, let us explore the teachings of the Buddha. The *Bodhisattva Precepts Sūtra* calls the true mind as the "mind-ground" because the true mind produces a myriad of goods. The *Wisdom Sūtra* refers to the true mind as "enlightenment" because enlightenment is its essence. The *Huayan Sūtra* names the true mind as "Dharma realm" because the true mind interpenetrates and inter-cludes all things. The *Diamond Sūtra* calls the true mind as "*tathāgata*" because the true mind does not come from anywhere. The *Wisdom Sūtras* refer to the true mind as "Nirvāṇa" because the true mind is the sanctuary of all the saints. The *Golden Light Sūtra* says to the true mind to be "suchness" because the true mind is true, permanent, and immutable. The *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra* names the true mind as the "dharma-body" because the true mind is the support for the reward and transformation bodies. The *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* terms the true mind as "true suchness" because the true mind neither arises nor ceases. The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* refers to the true mind as "Buddha-nature" because the true mind is the fundamental essence of the three bodies. The *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* calls the true mind as "*dhāraṇī*" because all meritorious qualities flow from it. The *Śrīmālādevī-siṃhanāda Sūtra* names the true mind as "*tathāgatagarbha*" because the true mind conceals and contains all objects. The ultimate scripture (the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*) refers to the true mind as "complete enlightenment" because the true mind destroys darkness and shines solitarily of itself. Therefore, Yanshou said in the *Secrets on Mind-only*, "The one object has a thousand names: its appellations are each given in response to different conditions."⁶⁶² The true mind appears in all the scriptures, but I cannot cite all the references.

In the following quote, Jinul discussed the subject of faith both in doctrinal Buddhist traditions and in Seon Buddhist traditions. Doctrinal traditions originated from the Buddha's teachings and Seon traditions resulted from the Buddha's intentions and the minds of Seon patriarchs. He argued that the Buddha's intentions and teachings should be non-dual and the minds of Seon patriarchs should not be contradictory to the Buddha's intentions. Therefore, Jinul developed non-dualistic ecumenism between Seon and doctrinal traditions.

⁶⁶¹ H.4.716b6-19. Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell, Jr.'s English translation, 121-122.

⁶⁶² T.48.2018.993c22.

He strongly criticized overestimation of Seon Buddhism over doctrinal Buddhism and overemphasis of doctrinal Buddhism over Seon Buddhism. He defined the faith of doctrinal traditions in three and introduced the explanations on the faith of Seon Buddhism by several Seon practitioners. Citing Yanshou's sayings, he suggested that his contemporary Korean Buddhists should ecumenize both traditions in the *Direct Exposition on the True Mind* as the following quote attests:⁶⁶³

Q: What difference is there between faith in the patriarchal gate and the doctrinal gate? (The patriarchal gate means Seon Buddhism and the doctrinal gate refers to doctrinal Buddhism.)

A: There are many differences between two gates. (We can summarize in three how) the doctrinal traditions encourage men and gods to have faith in the law of Karmic cause and effect. (First), those who desire happiness and pleasures must have faith that the ten wholesome actions are the sublime cause and that human or divine rebirth is the pleasurable result. (Second), those who feel drawn to the empty tranquility of nirvāṇa must have faith that its primary cause is the understanding of the cause and conditions of arising and ceasing and that its holy fruition is the understanding of the four noble truths: i.e., suffering, its origin, its extinction, and the path leading to its extinction. (Third), those who would delight in the fruition of Buddhahood should have faith that the practice of the six perfections over three eons is its major cause and enlightenment and nirvāṇa are its right fruition.

Right faith in the patriarchal gate is different. It does not believe in conditioned causes or effects. Rather, it stresses faith that everyone is originally a Buddha, that everyone possesses the impeccable self-nature, and that the sublime essence of nirvāṇa is complete in everyone. There is no need to search elsewhere; since time immemorial, it has been innate in everyone. As the third patriarch (Sengcan (d. 606)) said (in the *Xinxin ming*), "The mind is full like all of space without deficiency or excess. It is due mostly to grasping and rejecting that it is not so now."⁶⁶⁴ Jinning Baozhi (418-514) said (in the *Shier shisong* (Song of Twelve Hours)), "The formless body exists within the body which has forms, the road to the unborn is found along the road of ignorance."⁶⁶⁵ Yongjia Xuanjue (665-713) said in the *Zhengdao-ge* (Song of Enlightenment), "The true nature of ignorance is the Buddha-nature. The illusion, phantom body is the body of the great order."⁶⁶⁶

Hence, we should know that sentient beings are originally Buddhas. Once we have given rise to right faith, we must add understanding to it. Yanshou said in the *Secrets on Mind-only*, "If we have faith without understanding, we are subject to increase ignorance. If we have understanding without faith, we are

⁶⁶³ H.4.715c19-716a14. Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell, Jr.'s English translation, 120-121.

⁶⁶⁴ T.48.2010.376b24-25.

⁶⁶⁵ T.51.2076.450b5.

⁶⁶⁶ T.48.2014.395c10.

subject to increase wrong views.”⁶⁶⁷ Consequently, we know that once faith and understanding are merged, entrance onto the path will be swift.

Jinul expounded the true mind’s sublime essence⁶⁶⁸ and sublime functions,⁶⁶⁹ and the differences and similarities between its sublime essence and sublime functions⁶⁷⁰ in the *Jinsim jikseol* (Direct Exposition of the True Mind). The *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* introduced three great categories of essence, phenomena and functions and expounded the original mind of suchness.⁶⁷¹ The great category of essence means that the essence of suchness has absolute equality in all beings and includes all objects. The great category of phenomena indicates all possible functions of suchness. The great category of functions actualizes the functions of suchness.

Metaphorically explaining, gold is the sublime essence, golden images are the sublime functions, and the possibility that we can make with gold is the phenomena. Even though we can explicate the true mind from three aspects of its essence, phenomena and functions, there are no differences among three in the perspective of its essence. He theoretically explained that the diversity of all the Buddhist scriptures and practices equally originated from the true mind. So, Jinul explained suchness from the perspective of its essence in the *Jinsim jikseol*, referring to the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* as follows.⁶⁷²

The essence of true suchness itself neither increases nor decreases in all ordinary beings, hearers, solitary realizers, bodhisattvas, or Buddhas. It did not arise in an earlier age and will not be annihilated in a later age. Ultimately, it is constant and eternal. Since the beginning, they have possessed all meritorious qualities in their nature.⁶⁷³

He also introduced the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra*⁶⁷⁴ and argued that all Buddhist key concepts such as suchness, enlightenment, nirvāṇa, perfections, and other concepts originated from the true mind (complete enlightenment).⁶⁷⁵ The true mind is always immanent in all objects without discrimination. In the following quote, Jinul introduced Yanshou’s *Secrets on Mind-only* and

⁶⁶⁷ T.48.2018.996a24-25.

⁶⁶⁸ H.4.716c12-717b4.

⁶⁶⁹ H.4.717b5-c2.

⁶⁷⁰ H.4.717c3-15.

⁶⁷¹ T.32.1666.575c19-576a1. See Yoshito S. Hakeda, trans., *The Awakening of Faith* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 28-30.

⁶⁷² H.4.716c15-18. I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell, Jr.’s English translation, 123

⁶⁷³ T.32.1666.579a12-14.

⁶⁷⁴ T.17.842.913b19-20.

⁶⁷⁵ H.4.717a6-9.

ecumenically argued that if all scholar-monks and Seon practitioners were subject to investigate the true mind, they could obtain Buddhahood.⁶⁷⁶

Therefore, Yanshou's *Secrets on Mind-only* says, "As for this mind, it assembles all wonders and all mysteries; it is the king of all elements of existence. It is the hidden refuge of the three vehicles and the five natures."⁶⁷⁷ It is the mother of the thousands of saints. It alone is revered; it alone is honored. It is incomparable, unmatched, and certainly the fountainhead of the great path. It is the essential element of the true dharma."⁶⁷⁸

If we have faith in this, we should realize that all the bodhisattvas of the three time periods are studying the same thing – this mind. All the Buddhas of the three time periods have the same realization – the realization of this mind. All the teachings expounded in all the Buddhist texts elucidate this mind. The delusions of all sentient beings are delusions with regard to the mind. The awakening of all cultivators is the awakening to this mind. The transmission of all the patriarchs is the transmission of this mind. The one that all the humble monks of this world investigate is this mind. If we penetrate this mind, everything is just the way it should be and every material object is fully illuminated. But if we are deluded with regard to this mind, every place is inverted and all thoughts are mad. This essence is not only the Buddha-nature with which all sentient beings are innately endowed but also the basic source of creation of all worlds. When the Buddha was momentarily silent at Vulture Peak, when Subhūti forgot all worlds below the cliff, when Bodhidharma sat in a small cell in wall contemplation, and when Vimalakīrti kept silent in Vaiśālī – all displayed this true mind's sublime essence. Therefore, when we first enter the courtyard of the teachings of Seon patriarchs, we must understand the essence of this mind in advance.⁶⁷⁹

8. Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604)

Ha Dongsan faithfully inherited the ecumenical lineage of Sino-Korean Buddhism from Hyujeong (1520-1604).⁶⁸⁰ Hyujeong, generally called Master Seosan among Korean Buddhists, literally meaning Western Mountain, loyally followed ecumenism from preceding ecumenists Wonhyo (617-686), Zongmi

⁶⁷⁶ H.4.717a12-b4.

⁶⁷⁷ The Faxiang Sect set forth the doctrine of five natures, "dividing human beings into five groups according to their inborn capacity for enlightenment. The five groups are (a) those predestined to be voice-hearers, (b) those predestined to be cause-awakened ones, (c) those predestined to be bodhisattvas, (d) an indeterminate group, and (e) those without the nature of enlightenment." See the entry of "five natures" in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 194-195.

⁶⁷⁸ T.48.2018.994b15-17.

⁶⁷⁹ Here, I referred to and slightly revised Robert E. Buswell, Jr.'s English translation, 123-124.

⁶⁸⁰ I Jeong, ed., 366-367.

(780-841), Yanshou (904-975), Uicheon (1055-1101), Jinul (1158-1210) and Gihwa (1376-1433)⁶⁸¹ of Sino-Korean Buddhism. Because he had lived for a long time on Mt. Myohyang, also called Seosan, he was honorifically titled as Master Seosan. He tremendously played a key role in forming the ecumenical tradition in Korean Buddhism along with his earlier Korean Buddhist ecumenists such as Wonhyo, Uicheon, Jinul, and Gihwa, and successfully transmitted the tradition to later Korean Buddhism that continues to this day. He was generally considered the most influential and important Buddhist monk of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910).

Faithfully inheriting the ecumenical tradition of previous ecumenists in Sino-Korean Buddhism, Hyujeong ecumenized Chan Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism; Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism; the easy practice and the difficult practice; the preservation of precepts and the practice of Chan Buddhism; precepts, meditation and wisdom; wisdom and meditation; precepts and wisdom; and other opposite sets. He also syncretized his own religious tradition of Buddhism with native Chinese religious traditions of Daoism and Confucianism, following the syncretic model of Zongmi, Yanshou, and Gihwa. He extended his ecumenism and discussed other religious traditions in his ecumenical philosophy.

He was an ecumenist, a Seon master, and an engaged Buddhist. He actively participated in the military movement for protecting his nation of Korea from Japanese invasions and became the highest leader of Korean Buddhism appointed by King Seonjo (r. 1567-1608). He massively recruited monk soldiers, organized the monastic military unit and helped his nation protected from Japanese invasions. Even though we should definitely consider his participation to military activities as the serious violation of the cardinal Buddhist precept of non-killing, East Asian Buddhists exercised state protectionism without serious consideration and furthermore glorified and strongly encouraged state protectionism among themselves.⁶⁸² East Asian Buddhism was characterized under the rubric of state protectionism.

Ha Dongsan inherited ecumenism, emphasis of the Seon practice and engagement of Buddhism in social issues from Hyujeong. While Hyujeong engaged himself to anti-Japanese military campaigns to remove the Japanese military on the Korean Peninsula, Ha Dongsan actively participated in

⁶⁸¹ I Jeong, ed., 42.

⁶⁸² Ronald S. Green, "Institutionalizing Buddhism for the Legitimation of State Power in East Asia," in Chanju Mun, ed., *Mediators and Meditators: Buddhism and Peacemaking* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2007), 219-231; and Chanju Mun, '7. State Protectionism: East Asian Buddhist Contexts,' "Buddhism and Peace: An Overview," in Chanju Mun and Ronald S. Green, eds., *Buddhist Roles in Peacemaking: How Buddhism Can Contribute to Sustainable Peace* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2009), 27-38

Purification Buddhist Movement⁶⁸³ to cleanse Japanized Korean Buddhism formulated under Japanese occupation period, 1910 – 1945. If we follow the principle of Buddhist ethics, because both of them adopted violence to achieve their goals, we cannot justify their violent actions. Some Buddhists, of course, including nationalist Korean Buddhists, can counter, employing the *upāya* (skillful means) theory and asserting that their violent actions were inevitable and unavoidable. I can contend that their thoughts were strongly rooted in nationalism even though Buddhism did not support nationalism.

Song Gyeongheo (1849-1912) revitalized and popularized Seon Buddhism in modern Korean Buddhism. He, along with his eminent disciples such as Song Mangong (1871-1946), Bang Hanam (1876-1951), Sin Hyewol (1861-1937), and Jeon Suwol (1855-1928), heavily contributed to recover its strong Seon tradition in Korean Buddhism. In 1907, he edited and published *Essentials of Seon Buddhism*, including Jinul's four works and Hyujeong's one work. The four works by Jinul which he included in his *Essentials of Seon Buddhism* are *Key to Cultivation of Mind*, *Direct Exposition on the True Mind*, *Exhortation to Join the Society for the Practice of Meditation and Wisdom* and *Treatise on the Examination of Kōans and the Elimination of Doubts*. The one work by Hyujeong included in *Essentials of Seon Buddhism* is *Exposition on Seon and Doctrinal Buddhism (Seongyo seok)*. Because the *Essentials of Seon Buddhism* was popular among Korean monastics, Ha Dongsan naturally had access to and read the text.⁶⁸⁴ We can easily anticipate that because Song Gyeongheo, moreover, trained Seon practitioners between 1900 and 1903 and edited and published the second and last fascicle of the *Essentials of Seon Buddhism* in 1907 at Beomeo-sa Temple in Busan, the home temple of Ha Dongsan, Ha Dongsan should have received strong influence from Song Gyeongheo and his edited work.

In 1924, Baek Yongseong, master of Ha Dongsan, also selected, translated and published six Seon texts written in classical Chinese from Song Gyeongheo's edited *Essentials of Seon Buddhism* in which fifteen Seon texts were included. He appended his own text entitled *The Right Ways of Cultivating the Mind (Susim jeongno)* and included seven texts in it in all.⁶⁸⁵ In 1959, Jang Hakmong (1890-1969), also known as Seolbong Hakmong,⁶⁸⁶ added Korean suffixes to and printed and published the *Essentials of Seon Buddhism* of the fifteen Seon texts compiled by Song Gyeongheo in classical Chinese at Beomeo-sa Temple. Ha Dongsan must have known two texts because the first mentioned edition of *Essentials of Seon Buddhism* was translated in the

⁶⁸³ Chanju Mun, "Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954-62: The Recovery of Traditional Monasticism from Japanized Buddhism in South Korea," in *Hsi Lai Journal of Humanistic Buddhism* 8 (2007): 262-297.

⁶⁸⁴ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 144.

⁶⁸⁵ See Baek Yongseong, trans., *Seonmun chwaryo* (Essentials of Seon Buddhism) (1924. Seoul: Bulseo bogeup-sa, 1977).

⁶⁸⁶ I Jeong, ed., 325.

vernacular Korean language by his master Baek Yongseong and the second mentioned edition of the text was published by his colleague monk Jang Hakmong at his home temple.

Under the abovementioned circumstance, Ha Dongsan must have been aware of Hyujeong and his ecumenical thoughts. Indirectly referring to two preceding ecumenists Zongmi and Jinul of Sino-Korean Buddhism, Hyujeong articulated his ecumenical view on Seon and doctrinal Buddhist traditions in his *Guiding Source of the Seon Community* (*Seonga gwigam*), “When the Buddha transmitted his teaching from mind to mind at the three locations in his entire career, he intended to teach Seon Buddhism. When he taught Buddhism (to Buddhists), he intended to teach doctrinal Buddhism (to them). Therefore, we can contend that Seon Buddhism originates from the mind of the Buddha and doctrinal Buddhism from the sayings of the Buddha.”⁶⁸⁷

Earlier than Hyujeong, Zongmi expounded similar sentences in his *Chan Preface*, “The founder of all Buddhist sects is Śākyamuni Buddha. The scriptures originate from the Buddha’s sayings and the Chan texts from the Buddha’s intentions. The Buddha’s sayings and intentions should be identical, not contradictory. All patriarchs directly transmitted (the Buddha’s sayings and intentions).”⁶⁸⁸

We also can find some similar sentences from Jinul’s “Preface” to the *Summary of Li Tongxuan’s Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra* (*Hwaeom-non jeoryo*), “What the Buddha told through his mouth becomes doctrinal Buddhism. What the patriarchs transmitted from mind to mind becomes Seon Buddhism. The Buddha’s mouth is not contradictory to the mind of (Seon) patriarchs.”⁶⁸⁹ As above, Jinul loyally followed Zongmi’s ecumenism between Chan and doctrinal Buddhism.

Faithfully inheriting Zongmi and Jinul’s ecumenism, Hyujeong commented on his above-cited sentences as follows:⁶⁹⁰

The three occasions that the Buddha transmitted (his teaching) from mind to mind were (1) the time when he shared his seat (with his eminent disciple Mahākāśyapa) at the Bahuputraka stūpa; (2) the occasion of holding a flower aloft when he taught Buddhism at Mt. Vulture Peak; and (3) the occasion that he stretched forth his legs from inside the coffin under twin śāla trees. (The three occasions) marks the Buddha’s unique transmission of the Chan lamp to Mahākāśyapa.

(According to tradition), the Buddha taught five teachings to his disciples for the entire forty-nine years of his teaching career. (The five teachings) are (1) the teaching of human and heavenly beings, (2) the teaching of the small vehicle, (3) the teaching of the great vehicle, (4) the sudden teaching, and (5) the perfect teaching. Ānanda popularized the ocean of the Buddha’s teachings.

⁶⁸⁷ H.7.635b9-10.

⁶⁸⁸ T.48.2015.400b10-12.

⁶⁸⁹ H.4.767c6.

⁶⁹⁰ H.7.635b11-22.

Therefore, both Seon and doctrinal Buddhism originate from Śākyamuni Buddha. The Buddha transmitted each of them to Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda respectively.

Chan Buddhism utilizes the ineffable to grasp the ineffable, whereas doctrinal Buddhism incorporates the effable to comprehend the ineffable. So, mind itself is the Chan teaching and sayings are the doctrinal teaching. Even though all the Buddha's teachings possess one taste, the views and understanding between two traditions are different as distantly as that between heaven and earth. This section discussed the distinction between two different traditions, (Chan and doctrinal Buddhism).

Even though from a modern academic standpoint we find it difficult to accept the three occasions of Chan Buddhism as historical facts, Seon Buddhists have traditionally believed in them. Chan practitioners considered the three occasions as the ideal models for inheriting the Chan lamp from master to disciple and from mind to mind. Hyujeong accepted the traditional interpretation of the three occasions of Chan Buddhism without his own interpretations and alterations.

Hyujeong mixed Huayan Buddhism's two doctrinal classifications, Zongmi's doctrinal classification and Fazang's classification of five teachings, and established his own version of doctrinal classification. Fazang had two versions of doctrinal classification (*panjiao*) and established a classification system of the five teachings in his earlier period and the classification system of the four tenets in later period. The five teachings are (1) the teaching of the small vehicle, (2) the elementary teaching of the great vehicle, (3) the final teaching of the great vehicle, (4) the sudden teaching of the great vehicle, and (5) the perfect teaching of the one vehicle. And the four tenets are (1) the teaching of the small vehicle, (2) the Mādhyamika teaching, (3) the Yogācāra teaching, and (4) the Tathāgatagarbha teaching.

Slightly adding and revising Fazang's later *panjiao* scheme of the four tenets, Zongmi established his *panjiao* system constituting (1) the teaching of human and heavenly beings, (2) the teaching of the small vehicle, (3) the Yogācāra teaching, (4) the Mādhyamika teaching, and (5) the Tathāgatagarbha teaching.

As illustrated above, incorporating Zongmi's *panjiao* scheme and Fazang's earlier *panjiao* system, Hyujeong devised his own doctrinal classification system. In essence, he added Zongmi's teaching of human and heavenly beings to Fazang's five teachings, summarized Fazang's five teachings in four teachings and completed his own *panjiao* system of five teachings.

He appears to have adopted Huayan Buddhism as the major doctrinal Buddhist tradition and classified all Buddhist teachings based on Huayan Buddhism's doctrinal classification systems. He also seemed to harmonize two major Huayan *panjiao* systems between Fazang's earlier *panjiao* system and Zongmi's one. He could not negate two important figures of Huayan Buddhism but tried to harmonize their different doctrinal classifications.

Hyujeong might harmonize Seon Buddhism with doctrinal Buddhism represented by Huayan Buddhism. Korean Buddhism was heavily indebted to Huayan Buddhism through Sino-Korean Huayan specialists such as Zhiyan (602-668), Jajang (590-658), Wonhyo (617-686), Uisang (625 - 702), Fazang (643-712), Li Tongxuan (646-740), Chengguan (738-839), Zongmi, Yanshou, Gyunyeo (923-973), Uicheon, Jinul, and other innumerable figures. For this reason, all of them could not exclude Huayan Buddhism. Of these, because Fazang was considered the actual founder of Huayan Buddhism in East Asia, Hyujeong could not exclude him in his discussion. In addition, because Zongmi was the most representative ecumenist between doctrinal (Huayan) Buddhism and Chan Buddhism, he also had to be considered.

Hyujeong sincerely followed the ecumenism between Seon and doctrinal Buddhism from Jinul, Yanshou and Zongmi of Sino-Korean Buddhism. Ha Dongsan, therefore, inherited the ecumenism from Hyujeong, Jinul, Yanshou and Zongmi. They all attempted to harmonize two antagonistic camps and established the ecumenical lineage in Sino-Korean Buddhism. Hyujeong also advocated ecumenism between two seemingly opposing traditions in *Secrets of Seon and Doctrinal Buddhism* (*Seongyo gyeol*). He wrote the work for educating his eminent disciple Samyeong Yujeong (1544-1610).⁶⁹¹ He strongly urged ecumenism as the following quote demonstrates.⁶⁹²

Contemporary Seon practitioners say, “This is our master’s teaching,” whereas contemporary doctrinal scholars state, “This is our master’s teaching.” Proponents of each side argue and interpret the same teaching differently, affirming that their views and interpretation are correct and negating that others are incorrect. Even though proponents of each side indicate the same horse, they see and interpret him totally differently, arguing that their view and interpretation are correct and others are incorrect. Alas! Who can determine who is wrong and who is right?

However, Seon Buddhism originates from the Buddha’s mind and doctrinal Buddhism from the Buddha’s sayings. Doctrinal Buddhism guides its followers from the textual teaching to the wordless truth whereas Seon Buddhism leads its practitioners from the wordless teaching to the wordless truth. Because Seon Buddhism guides them from the wordless teaching to the wordless truth, we are not able to name it but are provisionally subject to name it as mind. However, ordinary persons do not know the reason but consider that they can learn and understand (the mind). How pitiful they are!

Hyujeong argued that if we view two different Buddhist traditions, Seon and doctrinal Buddhism, from the perspective of One Mind, the traditions are identical in principle. So, he said in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, “Therefore, if we lose our minds by relying on the (superficial) sayings of other persons, we are supposed to interpret even the famous Chan occasion of the

⁶⁹¹ I Jeong, ed., 215-216.

⁶⁹² H.7.657b5-12.

Buddha's holding a flower aloft and of his eminent disciple Mahākāśyapa's comprehending the ultimate truth when the Buddha taught Buddhism at Mt. Vulture Peak as the evidences of doctrinal Buddhist tradition. (However), if we realize our minds, we are able to consider all chats and idle talks as having the special meanings of Chan Buddhism (esoterically) transmitted outside textual Buddhist tradition.⁶⁹³ He commented on and supported his sayings as follows:⁶⁹⁴

Because we cannot name the elements of existence, we cannot comprehend them through our words. Because we cannot formulate the elements of existence, we cannot grasp them through our minds. Immediately when we open our mouths to speak them, we have already lost our minds. Immediately when we lose our minds, we cannot explain the story of the Buddha's silent lifting of a flower overhead and Mahākāśyapa's wordless smiling. The story finally becomes dead speech to us.

If we attain the truth within our own minds, we can transform the gossips and chats in the streets and markets to wonderful Dharma speeches and we can understand a bird's chirp as the expression of truth. Therefore, when Chan Master (Banshan) Baoji (651-739) heard the crying of bitter mourning, he awakened to his own mind and danced joyfully. And Chan Master Baoshou Yanzhao (d.u.) suddenly enlightened his true nature upon the sight of a street fight! These teachings reveal the depth and shallowness of Chan and doctrinal Buddhism respectively.

Hyujeong characterized the doctrinal gate as a transmitter of the One Mind teaching and the Chan gate as an inheritor of the nature-revealing teaching⁶⁹⁵ commented on these two gates together with a summarizing verse and additional comments on it in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*.⁶⁹⁶

Comment: Our mind is likened to a mirror's essence while our true nature is figured to the mirror's light. Our true nature is already pure and clean as it is. Immediately when we obtain awakening, we are able to completely realize our original mind. This emphasizes the realization of one moment mind.

Verse: The myriad mountains and streams
Are themselves my pure and bright original home.

Interpretation: Our mind has two aspects. One is the fundamental original mind and the other is the ignorant mind attached to characteristics. Our nature has also two aspects. One is the fundamental nature of elements of existence and the other is the nature that is related to relative characteristics and nature. Therefore, Seon practitioners and doctrinal scholars all may be deluded. They attach themselves to names and generate discriminative knowledge. Some

⁶⁹³ H.7.635b24-c2.

⁶⁹⁴ H.7.635c3-10.

⁶⁹⁵ H.7.636a1.

⁶⁹⁶ H.7.636a2-9.

contend that a shallow thing is deep and others assert that a deep thing is shallow. Because this is a serious disease infecting both views and actions, I comment so comprehensively here.

Above, Hyujeong referred to some sentences in Chengguan and his disciple Zongmi's works, "Without recognizing the Buddha's intention, they consider the deep as the shallow and cause themselves to lose its great advantages and they also regard the shallow as the deep and make its merits be in vain."⁶⁹⁷ While Qingliang Chengguan tried to harmonize practical Chan Buddhism from the perspective of his own doctrinal Huayan Buddhism, his disciple Zongmi equally treated and harmonized both traditions.

Indirectly referring to Zongmi's *Chan Preface*, "All traces transcend the thinking grounds and the principle manifests the origin of mind,"⁶⁹⁸ Hyujeong defined the distinctions between Seon and doctrinal Buddhism in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, "However, in all of the scriptures that all Buddhas expounded, they first distinguished all elements of existence and later explicated the final principle of emptiness. In the phrases that the Seon patriarchs revealed, all traces transcend the thinking grounds and the principle manifests the origin of mind."⁶⁹⁹

Slightly revising and indirectly citing Zongmi's sayings in his *Chan Preface*,⁷⁰⁰ he commented on the above sentences, "Because all Buddhas are the masters for the myriad generations on whom all beings should rely, they very kindly explained the principle. Because all patriarchs also immediately guided other beings to enlightenment, they let them attain the mysterious meaning. The traces are the language traces of all Seon patriarchs and the thinking is the thinking grounds of all scholars."⁷⁰¹

He also clarified the differences between and harmonized two traditions in "Diseases of the Followers of Three Vehicles"⁷⁰² of *The Essential Excerpts on the Mind Teaching* as follows:⁷⁰³

Chan and doctrinal Buddhism originate from one thought, the place of the mind, intention and consciousness. The thinking and calculation belong to the category of doctrinal Buddhism. The thing that we cannot reach with mind, intention and consciousness belongs to the category of Chan Buddhism that investigates phrases.

The Chan patriarchs manifested that the eighty four thousand gates to enlightenment is possessed in this one phrase. Therefore, according to Chan

⁶⁹⁷ Refer to Chengguan's work, X.5.232.736b4, and Zongmi's texts, T.39.1795.525b13-14, X.9.243.331b11, X.9.245.522c19-22, and X.9.248.849a5.

⁶⁹⁸ T.48.2015.400a4-5.

⁶⁹⁹ H.7.636a11-13.

⁷⁰⁰ T.48.2015.400a2-4.

⁷⁰¹ H.7.636a14-16.

⁷⁰² "Samseung hagin byeong," H.7.648b16-649b2.

⁷⁰³ *Simbeop yochō*, H.7.648a1-654a16. This passage is H.7.649a24-c2.

Buddhism, conditionality and un-changeability, nature and characteristics, essence and functions, sudden enlightenment and gradual practice, complete synthesis and complete analysis, complete harmonization and complete universality are free, non-obstructive and originally simultaneous but do not have sequence.

All Buddhas manifested the non-obstructive teaching between phenomena and phenomena, sudden enlightenment and gradual practice, conditionality and un-changeability, nature and characteristics, essence and functions, complete synthesis and complete analysis, complete harmonization and complete universality. According to the doctrinal Buddhism, even though it endows the non-obstructive teaching, it has practice and realization, class and sequence, beginning and end.

Since a Chan lamp was turned on in Mahākāśyapa's mind, all later Chan patriarchs consecutively transmitted its fundamental from mind to mind, indirectly revealed its name, showed its essence, succeeded its orthodox lineage, and straightforwardly inherited its origin to the later patriarchs.

Since Ānanda received the ocean of the Buddha's teaching, all Buddhas consecutively transmitted it, let later beings believe, understand, practice and realize the meaning of the elements of existence and the rule of causation, and caused them to rely upon them for all generations and to directly transmit the orthodox lineage.

If we always comprehend the wisdom in our self-nature and make efforts to investigate the live phrases of previous Chan patriarchs, we are able to suddenly realize great awakening and to get into the gate. If we can see, listen, realize and understand it, we will not be deluded to the mind ground.

If we practice the wisdom of the characteristics gate, we are not able to know that the deluded is originally empty and the mind is originally tranquil. If we attach ourselves to the true and the deluded, control subject and object, enter the gate with practice and skillful means, we are able to generate our discriminative minds in all activities, reflect our own original faces and disrespect the liberation of all sages. We are subject to have the eyes of Chan Buddhism. If we do not expose the mistakes of other persons but always reflect on our own faults, we are subject to have the feet of Chan Buddhism. Therefore, Bodhidharma, the first patriarch of Chinese Chan Buddhism, said, "If someone awaken the central tenets of the Buddha's mind and in-discriminatively match them to their proper understandings and actions, they can be called Chan patriarchs."⁷⁰⁴

Hyujeong also metaphorically explained differences between Chan and doctrinal Buddhism in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, "While all Buddhas spoke like a bow, all patriarchs spoke like its string. The Buddhas expounded the teaching of non-obstruction that subsumes to the one taste."⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰⁴ T.51.2076.220a5, X.68.1315.303b16, and X.85.1594.556c2-3.

⁷⁰⁵ Tiantai Zhiyi adopted the theory of one taste from a metaphor of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and explained the Buddha's five teachings in the form of five tastes. Chanju Mun detailed the correlation between five teachings and five tastes in "5 Five Periods and Five Tastes" (pp. 148-151) of "Chapter 16 Zhiyi's (538-597) *panjiao* systems" (pp. 123-168),

When we remove the traces of his “one taste,” we can naturally reveal the one mind that the patriarchs indicated. Therefore, we cannot find even Zhaozhou Congshen’s (778-897) *kōan* of “the cypress tree in the garden” in the scriptures preserved in the Dragon Palace of the sea.”⁷⁰⁶ He commented on the above sentences as follows:⁷⁰⁷

While the metaphor of a bow means bending, that of its string means straightforwardness. The scriptures of the Dragon Palace of the sea refer to the vast collection of the scriptures. A monk asked Chan Master Zhaozhou Congshen, “What is the meaning of Bodhidharma’s coming from the West?” Zhaozhou Congshen replied, “The pine tree in the courtyard.” This is often called “a Zen teaching beyond any fixed forms.”

He diagnosed diseases of and vehemently criticized sectarian scholars and Chan practitioners in *Summary of the Mind Dharma* (*Simbeop yocho*). He suggested Buddhists not to become sectarian scholars or Seon practitioners but to harmonize doctrinal and Chan Buddhism. Both are not contradictory to each other. He introduced the diseases of sectarian scholars, “(Some sectarian) doctrinal scholars do not investigate the phrases but boast of the world with the learning of the smart wisdom and the wise mouths and ears. They do not tread on the true ground with feet but have discordance between one’s words and actions. If they idly visit here and there, mountains and rivers, waste porridge and boiled rice, personally use scriptures and commentaries for their interest and cheat other persons during their whole lives, they will be the trashes of a hell but will not be boats to save the world.”⁷⁰⁸

He also diagnosed the diseases of sectarian Chan practitioners and suggested that they incorporate doctrinal Buddhism to Chan Buddhism in *Summary of the Mind Dharma*, “(Some sectarian) Chan practitioners are used to learn and listen (Buddhism) by themselves but do not seek their masters from outside. Therefore, they idly sleep in seating meditation in the cave of wild wolves. If they see the elements of existence appearing just in front of themselves, they are not able to understand serious delusions. If so, they will be the spirits attached to grasses or trees and will not be boats to save the world.”⁷⁰⁹

He separately discussed the diseases of sectarian Chan practitioners and those of sectarian Chan masters in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*. First, he diagnosed those of sectarian Chan practitioners, “If the Seon practitioners do not reveal their true nature, how can they completely penetrate the extremely high and mysterious gate? Because they often consider destructive emptiness as the Seon meditation, indefinite emptiness as Dao (enlightenment), and

in his *The History of Doctrinal Classification in Chinese Buddhism: A Study of the Panjiao Systems*.

⁷⁰⁶ H.7.636a18-21.

⁷⁰⁷ H.7.636a22-b1.

⁷⁰⁸ H.7.648b6-11.

⁷⁰⁹ H.7.648b13-17.

nothingness of all beings as the higher views, they are blind to proper emptiness and suffer from serious diseases. Nowadays, even though the majority of Seon practitioners in this world do seating meditation, they suffer from those diseases.⁷¹⁰ He referred to Chan Master Yunmen Wenyan's (864-949)⁷¹¹ saying and commented on the above passage. The Master Yunmen Wenyan's preaching can be introduced as follows:⁷¹²

If you do not penetrate your original nature, you are subject to have two kinds of disease. The first one is that even though you do not clearly reveal it in all places, you misunderstand it as being existent in front of you. The second one is that even though you clearly reveal that all existences are empty, because you still keep the relative concepts such as existence and non-existence in your minds, you do not penetrate your original nature.

Even though you penetrate the body of the great order (Skt., *dharmakāya*), you are subject to have other two kinds of disease. The first one is that because you cannot remove your attached thought to the body of the great order, you consider the body of the great order as being existent. The second one is that even though you penetrate the body of the great order, you should carefully and extensively examine it without freely letting it go.

He cited *Precious Instructions of Chan Buddhism*⁷¹³ and discussed the diseases of sectarian Seon masters in his *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, "Even the Seon masters have a lot of diseases. For example, those, whose ears and eyes are afflicted, might consider the Seon practice as the frowning of their eyebrows, the opening of their eyes with a fierce glare, the bending of their ears to the sayings of other persons, and the nodding of their heads. Those, whose mouths and tongues are suffered, might consider the Seon practice as their garrulous talks and their sudden shouts. Those, whose hands and feet are afflicted, consider the Seon practice as their moving forward and backward and their indicating here and there. Those, whose hearts and stomachs are sick, consider Seon practice as the investigation of their mysterious and profound principle, the transcending of their passions, and the removing of their views. Therefore, based on the above explanations, all such awkward and strange behaviors and actions (of Seon masters) should be considered as the diseases."⁷¹⁴

⁷¹⁰ H.7.643c11-15.

⁷¹¹ Yunmen Wenyan (864-949) was a student of Xuefeng Yicun (822-908) and the master of Xianglin Chengyuan (c. 908-987), Dongshan Shouzhū (910-990), and Baling Haojian (d.u.).

⁷¹² X.80.1565.307a11-16.

⁷¹³ *Chanlin baoxun*, T.48.2022.1036a21-26.

⁷¹⁴ H.7.644a1-6.

He again combined and cited Yunmen Wenyan's saying⁷¹⁵ and Zonggao's (1089-1163) one⁷¹⁶ and reminded sectarian Seon masters of how serious a mistake they committed when they criticized the doctrinal teachings, "If someone kills his parents, he can repent to the Buddha. However, if someone criticizes the wisdom teaching, he does not have any way to repent."⁷¹⁷ He also composed the following poem and criticized the Seon masters who just imitated and obediently followed conventional Seon techniques such as long silences, the lifting of a flywhisk, the striking on a preaching seat with a wooden staff, the blinking of their eyes, sudden shouts and sudden hits, "Even catching shadows in the sky is not marvelous. How can we consider the practitioners seeking external things as those of remarkable capacity?"⁷¹⁸

He considered that because each sentient being has different capacities and each teaching has different levels, the Buddhas and the Chan patriarchs teach him in doctrinal and Chan Buddhism based on his capacity and interest in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, "However, the elements of existence (or the Buddhist teachings) have different levels of meaning and practitioners have different capacities of understanding. We have a necessity to display different kinds of skillful means to them based on their level of capacity and understanding."⁷¹⁹

He commented on the above passages, "The *dharmā* (elements of existence) refers to the one thing, and the practitioners mean sentient beings. The elements of existence have two aspects, un-changeability and conditionality. The practitioners have two capacities, sudden enlightenment and gradual practice. Therefore, we have a need to display different kinds of skillful means employing different languages. Therefore, it is said that we should not officially allow even a needle tip as a bribe but can personally allow horse-drawn carts with bribes. Even though sentient beings are complete and perfect (in nature), because they cannot generate their wisdom eyes, they take the cycle of birth and death. If they do not have a golden sword for a surgical operation that transcends mundane matters, how can they remove the various layers of ignorance? Owing to the Buddha's benefit of great compassion, we are able to cross the sea of suffering

⁷¹⁵ See T.47.1988.547b29, T.48.2006.312c4, X.65.1292.453b21, X.78.1553.498b7, X.78.1553.519c5, X.79.1559.292c6-7, X.80.1565.375c4, X.81.1568.112a8, X.82.1571.176b10, X.83.1578.622b16, X.85.1594.734c5, X.85.1593.498c4, and other texts.

⁷¹⁶ T.47.1998A.932b5-6. See the entry of "Ta-hui Tsung-kao" in the *Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen*, 214.

Zonggao (1089-1163) was a Chinese Chan master. He was a disciple of Yuanwu Keqin (1063-1135) and burned the *Blue Cliff Record* which his master compiled not to let his disciples cling to the words of the text but directly concentrate on their immediate enlightenment. He was very famous of adopting and using the Kōan to guide his disciples to enlightenment.

⁷¹⁷ H.7.644a7-8.

⁷¹⁸ H.7.644a8-9.

⁷¹⁹ H.7.635a14.

and arrive on the other side. Even though we sacrifice our lives as many times as the number of sands in the Ganges River, we cannot repay even the smallest portion of this debt (owed to the Buddha). All of this extensively demonstrates how much we, new practitioners, should truly appreciate the deep benefits of the Buddhas and the Chan patriarchs.”⁷²⁰

He faithfully followed the two representative moderate subitists Zongmi and Jinul’s interpretation on two aspects of the one thing. Based on the *Awakening of Faith*, they three considered the One Mind as having two aspects, the aspect of suchness and the aspect of the cycle of birth and death. Here, the One Mind is matched to the elements of existence and the two aspects to the aspect of un-changeability and the aspect of conditionality. He also loyally inherited their moderate soteriology of sudden enlightenment and gradual practice. He did not accept the radical soteriology of sudden enlightenment and sudden practice. He was a loyal advocate of the moderate subitism, following the previous Chan theorists such as Chengguan, Zongmi, Yanshou and Jinul.

He criticized sectarian scholars also metaphorically explained the three levels of the Buddha’s teaching and gradually guided Buddhists to enlightenment based on their capacities in *Secrets of Seon and Doctrinal Buddhism*, “Some sectarian scholars mention that they can reveal Chan Buddhism in their tradition of doctrinal Buddhism. However, (Chan Buddhism) does not originate from the vehicle of hearers, the vehicle of solitary realizers, the vehicle of bodhisattvas, nor the vehicle of Buddhas. However, the sayings (of the sectarian scholars) might be the beginning phrase to Chan Buddhism, not the central teaching of Chan Buddhism. (Chan Buddhism originates from sources totally different from doctrinal Buddhism). The World-honored One explicated his teaching for his whole teaching career. His teaching is likened to the threefold compassionate net. By displaying the three kinds of net, he saved the different kinds of sentient beings and let them cross the ocean of suffering in the three realms⁷²¹ based on their capacities. (First), he caught frogs and clams with a small net, which is likened to the teaching of human and heavenly beings and the teaching of the small vehicle. (Second), he caught yellowtails and shads with a medium-sized net, which is likened to the teaching of the middle vehicle of solitary realizers. (Third), he caught whales and turtles with a large net, which indicates the perfect teaching and the sudden teaching. He guided them to arrive on the bank of nirvāṇa, following the sequence (of the Buddha’s three teachings).”⁷²²

He also asserted that Chan Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism are methodologically different. He did not evaluate the two different traditions but accepted only the methodological differences between them in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, “If we forced ourselves to name the one thing with

⁷²⁰ H.7.635a15-23.

⁷²¹ The three realms are the world of desire, the world of form, and the world of formlessness.

⁷²² H.7.657b16-20.

various names, we should name it with the mind, the Buddha, or sentient beings. We should not make intellectual distinctions based on the names. We should consider the essence of things as like this. If we generate even one thought, we are contradictory to (elements of existence).”⁷²³ Here, he alluded to the oft-quoted very famous sentence of *Huayan Sūtra*, “The mind, the Buddha and the sentient beings are identical.”⁷²⁴ He also indirectly referred to a saying of Huangbo Xiyun’s (d. 850)⁷²⁵ *Summary of the Teaching of Mind-transmission* (*Chuan xin fayao*), “We should not make intellectual distinctions based on names.”⁷²⁶ He seemed to refer to Zongmi (780-841)’s⁷²⁷ and Huangbo Xiyun’s⁷²⁸ saying, “We should consider the essence of things as being like this.” He also seemed to allude to the oft-cited sentence, “If we generate even one

⁷²³ H. 7.635b1-2.

⁷²⁴ The quote is seen in numberless texts, T.33.1716.693a29, T.34.1726.887b22, T.34.1727.908a15, T.35.1735.894b26, T.37.1762.374c27, T.38.1778.672b9, T.39.1784.30a16, T.39.1795.529b13-14, T.40.1812.582c29, T.40.1812.601b10, T.44.1846.281b18, T.46.1911.9a7, T.46.1953.987a18-19, T.46.1924.648b14, T.46.1937.861c27, T.46.1912.175a13, T.46.1949.970a14, T.46.1924.659b17, T.46.1936.834c26, T.46.1937.893a28, T.47.1967.140c18, T.47.1968.145c17, T.47.1997.773b15, T.48.2016.807b3, T.48.2016.425c8, T.49.2036.658c1, T.49.2035.129a11, T.52.2118.799a13, X.5.229.238c21, X.5.229.242c24, X.7.234.852c15, X.7.234.632c22, X.8.235.8b19-20, X.8.235.74c10, X.9.248.893c15, X.9.248.873b20, X.13.284.215b4, X.13.285.343a9, X.13.285.317a24, X.14.298.840c20, X.15.299.82c14, X.15.299.85b2, X.16.316.541b20, X.17.328.485c11, X.20.359.349a19, X.20.359.356c15, X.21.383.640c8, X.21.370.415b14, X.21.370.409a12, X.21.377.573c6, X.21.377.575b17, X.21.384.653c14, X.21.384.656c22, X.22.413.433b4, X.22.427.760c17, X.22.427.768a24, X.22.413.437a10, X.22.411.384b9, X.24.467.724b7, X.24.467.728b3, X.25.484.181b13, X.25.505.843c24-844a1, X.25.505.845c14-15, X.25.474.67b23-24, X.28.592.611b20, X.28.585.112b19, X.29.599.654a9, X.29.599.661a9, X.31.611.557c12-13, X.32.615.2c11, X.35.651.219c12, X.37.660.83b10, X.37.660.91b18, X.37.662.516a6, X.38.687.464b24, X.38.687.464c7, X.39.700.166a15-16, X.45.759.260a1, X.46.775.131b15, X.51.824.442c10, X.55.905.598a6, X.55.905.598a8, X.55.891.409b8, X.56.942.691c18, X.56.926.309b1, X.56.932.500b2, X.56.935.544b10, X.56.935.546a2, X.57.956.73b2, X.57.969.362c2, X.58.1032.766b5, X.59.1083.318c11, X.59.1081.293b8, X.59.1081.295b7, X.59.1081.297a15-16, X.59.1080.266b9, X.59.1082.302a13, X.59.1082.302a22, X.61.1163.627b13, X.61.1154.373a4, X.61.1168.865c4, X.61.1154.375a7, X.61.1154.376a22, X.61.1155.419c5, X.61.1164.666a8, X.62.1174.130b7, X.70.1384.285c24, X.71.1421.670c18-19, X.72.1428.144c11, X.59.1088.365c14, X.73.1456.702c8, X.74.1464.59b10-11, X.74.1464.59b18, X.74.1475.376b2, X.78.1549.277a18, X.79.1559.413a3, X.82.1571.64a3, X.82.1571.126c10-11, X.84.1583.522c6-7, X.84.1583.483b21, X.84.1579.26c21, X.85.1590.146a14, X.85.1594.772c18, X.86.1607.596a8, and many texts.

⁷²⁵ Huangbo Xiyun (d. 850) was a disciple of Baizhang Huaihai and the master of Linji Yixuan.

⁷²⁶ T.48.2012A.382c12.

⁷²⁷ X.9.248.892b17.

⁷²⁸ T.48.2012A.379c22 and T.51.2076.270b24.

thought, we are contradictory to the essence of the elements of existence,” that Zongmi,⁷²⁹ Huangbo Xiyun,⁷³⁰ Yanshou,⁷³¹ and other masters⁷³² used to mention. Hyujeong might have referred to Zongmi or Huangbo Xiyun’s sayings here.

He commented on the above passages, “According to the doctrinal teaching, we forced ourselves to establish three names for the one thing. According to the Chan tradition, we should not generate intellectual distinctions on the names. Holding it up and putting it down, establishing it and destructing it, the Buddha, the king of truth, freely and without obstruction expressed his teaching (to his followers). The above passages demonstrate how differently the Buddhas and patriarchs employed their skillful means to deliver their own teachings.”⁷³³ He seemed like to allude a sentence in the *Huayan Sūtra*,⁷³⁴ the *Śrīmālādevi-siṃhanāda Sūtra*,⁷³⁵ the *Sūtra of Limitless Meanings*,⁷³⁶ the *Lotus Sūtra*,⁷³⁷ the *Lalitavistara-sūtra*,⁷³⁸ the *Great Wisdom Sūtra*,⁷³⁹ or the *Great Compassion Sūtra*,⁷⁴⁰ “The Buddha, the king of the truth, freely and without obstruction expressed his teaching (to his followers).”

Even though he was a sincere ecumenist between Seon and doctrinal Buddhism, he soteriologically prioritized Seon Buddhism to doctrinal Buddhism. When he emphasized the necessity of enlightenment, he seemed to focus on Seon Buddhism more than doctrinal Buddhism. He also regarded doctrinal Buddhism as stepping stones to the enlightenment of Seon Buddhism in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, “Therefore, students, first of all, with (the Buddha’s) true teaching, should completely comprehend two aspects of unchangeability and conditionality which are the nature and characteristics of their own minds. And then, they should understand two gates of sudden enlightenment and gradual practice that are the beginning and the end of their own practice. Then, if they put aside doctrinal aspects and reveal one thought in their minds, they can investigate and attain the central points of Seon Buddhism.

⁷²⁹ T.45.1884.687a2, X.9.245.592a16, X.9.248.894b24, X.9.243.362a4, X.9.243.367b14, X.9.248.829c15, X.74.1475.474a24, and other texts.

⁷³⁰ T.48.2012A.380a3, T.51.2076.270c6, X.61.1162.614a6, X.61.1162.617a10, X.81.1571.465b2, X.83.1578.511c22, and other texts.

⁷³¹ T.48.2017.959b1, and other texts.

⁷³² T.44.1848.334c22, X.11.270.814c11-12, X.14.295.656c20, X.16.307.3b9, X.17.326.430a11, X.18.334.137c3, X.22.424.669c11, X.22.424.675c22, X.24.468.819b11, X.25.471.29a6, X.26.573.949b21, X.65.1283.294c3, X.71.1421.668c22, X.71.1426.780b22, and other texts.

⁷³³ H.7.635b3-7.

⁷³⁴ T.10.279.142b22.

⁷³⁵ T.12.353.220c4.

⁷³⁶ T.9.276.385b20.

⁷³⁷ T.9.264.143a24.

⁷³⁸ T.3.187.611a15.

⁷³⁹ T.7.220.1107c20-21.

⁷⁴⁰ T.12.380.966c29.

Through the way (of Seon Buddhism), they can save themselves from (the burning house and the ocean of suffering).”⁷⁴¹

As mentioned above, he basically accepted the ecumenism between Chan and doctrinal Buddhism from the previous masters Chengguan, Zongmi, Yanshou, and Jinul of Sino-Korean Buddhism. He also inherited the prioritization of Chan Buddhism to doctrinal Buddhism available in their soteriology. He was theoretically an ecumenist between two different traditions and soteriologically prioritized Seon Buddhism to doctrinal Buddhism. He commented on the above sentences as follows:⁷⁴²

We should not need to apply the doctrinal teaching to wise practitioners of superior capacity, who are not bound by such limitations, but to unwise ones of middling and inferior capacity, who cannot easily proceed to such higher stages.

As for the doctrinal aspects, we should distinguish the sequence between un-changeability and conditionality, sudden enlightenment and gradual practice. As for the Seon teaching, however, un-changeability and conditionality, true nature and characteristics, essence and functions are simultaneously realized and transcend the differences between identification and differentiation, affirmation and negation.

Therefore, the Seon masters transcend the languages based on the teaching, directly point to one thought, reveal their true nature, and attain Buddhahood. This is the complete abandonment of the doctrinal aspects.

He also argued that the Seon masters should transcend all thinking and all conditions available in the doctrinal teaching.⁷⁴³ He metaphorically differentiated Seon Buddhism from doctrinal Buddhism in *Secrets of Seon and Doctrinal Buddhism*: “(The Seon teaching) transcends (the teaching of) three nets (which are likened to (1) the teaching of human and heavenly beings and the teaching of the small vehicle (2) the teaching of solitary realizers and the teaching of the middle vehicle, and (3) the sudden teaching of the great vehicle and the perfect teaching of one vehicle), directly moved up to the top of the blue clouds, poured down sweet rains, and benefitted sentient beings. (This teaching is the gate of the Seon patriarchs that transmitted their special teaching outside the doctrinal teaching). This Seon Buddhism is different from the doctrinal Buddhism. Our Buddha transmitted his special teaching of Seon Buddhism to Patriarch Jingwi so that the special teaching is not the dead teaching that ancient Buddhas transmitted.”⁷⁴⁴

Only Korean Buddhism has traditionally accepted the unique, ahistorical and strange allegation that the Buddha received Dharma transmission from Patriarch Jingwi. We can see what appears to be the first emergence of the assertion in the *Record of the Treasure Storehouse to Seon Gate* (*Seonmun*

⁷⁴¹ H.7.636b2-6.

⁷⁴² H.7.636b7-13.

⁷⁴³ H.7.635c12-20.

⁷⁴⁴ H.7.657b22-c3.

bojang-nok) in three fascicles by National Master Jinjeong Cheonchaek (d.u.) of the Goryeo Dynasty. Jinjeong Cheonchaek says in it that Beomil (810-889) stated that the Buddha inherited the Dharma lineage from Patriarch Jingwi.⁷⁴⁵ Beomil studied Seon Buddhism under Yanguan Zhaian (d.u.), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi (707-786), transmitted the Dharma lineage from China, and established his own mountain lineage on Mt. Sagul in Korea.

Hyujeong continuously differentiated Seon Buddhism and doctrinal Buddhism and defined the proper teaching of Seon Buddhism in *Secrets of Seon and Doctrinal Buddhism*, “Of the persons who wrongly transmitted the central tenets of Seon Buddhism, someone considered the gate of suddenness and gradualness as the orthodox lineage teaching; someone made the sudden teaching and the perfect teaching as the central tenet of their Seon sects; someone expounded the esoteric teachings by referring to the works written by heretics; someone considered the central teachings based on the explanation of the activities of consciousnesses; someone regarded the shadow of light as the real thing and identified it as themselves; and even though some (enlightened persons) thoughtlessly used the unexpected hits of a stick and the sudden shouts, they are not shameful of those. How can they do those mentioned unreasonable things? How can I mention the mistakes that they criticized the Buddhist teachings? I say now that they could not, through learning, know the special transmission of Chan Buddhism outside doctrinal Buddhism and they could not, through thinking, know the Chan Buddhist tradition. After investigating their minds and transcending them, they could finally understand the tradition. After experiencing their affirmations by themselves and accepting them, they were able to attain the tradition.”⁷⁴⁶ He continuously discussed how to handle with and guide someone who emphasized only the importance of the doctrinal teaching and not of the Seon teaching⁷⁴⁷ and suggested them in *Secrets of Seon and Doctrinal Buddhism* as follows:⁷⁴⁸

If you do not point out and show the most important thing to the Seon practitioners of the eight directions, you should educate them with the live phrases of the short-cut gate of our Seon Buddhism and let them realize and attain (Buddhahood). If so, you are subject to the ideal masters for the Seon practitioners. Even though you realize that students do not understand your teachings, if you continue to teach them with ambiguous remarks, you might blind them.

If the Seon masters violate this Buddhist teaching, even though many flowers rain from the heaven when they teach Buddhism to the Seon practitioners, they might be crazy and run at full speed to the external (defilements). If the students have trust in this teaching, even though they do not completely attain enlightenment in this lifetime, when they are near their

⁷⁴⁵ X.64.1276.807c5-6.

⁷⁴⁶ H.7.657c3-11.

⁷⁴⁷ H.7.658a6-10.

⁷⁴⁸ H.7.658a10-17.

death, they are not supposed to receive bad karma but to enter the proper way to enlightenment.

Referring to the Chan cliché, “the removing of all thinking and the forgetting of all conditions,”⁷⁴⁹ Hyujeong expounded the spiritual stage of the Chan masters as the transcendence of all thinking and conditions in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, “I have just one saying in my mind, i.e., the removing of all thinking and the forgetting of all conditions. While sitting here without doing anything else, spring naturally comes and grass grows by itself.”⁷⁵⁰ And he commented on the passage as follows:⁷⁵¹

If we remove all thinking and forget all conditions, we are subject to attain (the truth) in our own minds. If so, we can be considered a true person who completely enlightened the truth.⁷⁵² How wonderful we are! We are originally unconditioned and originally unhindered. When we are hungry, we eat. When we are tired, we sleep. We move around here and there among clean streams and blue mountains. We get together easily and without obstruction in the crowded ports and the tavern roads. We do not consider the unstoppable current of time. Spring comes and the green grass, as usual, grows by itself. The above passage points out and admires that whenever thinking arise, we are subject to reflect on our own true mind’s light.

As described above, Hyujeong was an ecumenist between Seon and doctrinal Buddhism. He, furthermore, harmonized doctrinal Buddhism and practical Buddhism, Seon and Pure Land Buddhism, and three types of learning such as morality, meditation and wisdom. He also attempted to harmonize three major religious traditions of his time: Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism. He articulated his ecumenical view in a poem of his *Collection of Cheongheo Hyujeong’s Literary Works (Cheongheo dang jip)* as follows:⁷⁵³

If you want to see the Buddha nature,
you should know that your mind is the Buddha nature.
If you want to transcend the three lower realms of existence,⁷⁵⁴
you should know that your mind is the three lower realms of existence.

⁷⁴⁹ We can see the cliché in the numberless texts, T.26.1530.303c27, T.33.1702.212a13, T.47.1997.796c19, T.47.1965.112b1, T.48.2023.1055c18, T.48.2016.941c29, T.48.2010.376c1, T.48.2016.761c4, T.51.2077.483b28, T.51.2076.457a26, T.51.2076.459c28, and other texts.

⁷⁵⁰ H.7.635c12-13.

⁷⁵¹ H.7.635c14-19.

⁷⁵² We can see the Chan cliché in the numberless texts, T.48.2012A.382c16, X.65.1291.439b13, X.65.1281.215b19, X.65.1292.449b12, X.65.1293.456b15, X.65.1293.456c8, X.70.1402.741a2, and other texts.

⁷⁵³ H.7.703a7-20.

⁷⁵⁴ The three lower realms of existence are the realm of hell, the realm of hungry ghosts, and the realm of animals.

The perfection of effort is Śākyamuni Buddha,
 the direct point to your mind is Amitābha Buddha.
 The manifestation of your mind is Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva,
 the perfection of your actions is Samantabhadra Bodhisattva.
 The display of your compassion is Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva,
 the perfection of almsgiving is Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva.
 Angry mind is the realm of hell,
 greedy mind is the realm of hungry ghosts.
 Foolish mind is the realm of animals,
 so are sexual desires and the killing of sentient beings.
 If you generate your minds,
 you are subject to generate the heavenly demons.
 If you do not generate your minds,
 you are subject to generate the earthly demons.
 The generation of your minds and
 the non-generation of your minds
 are the demons of defilements.
 Such demons are not originally existent
 in our orthodox Buddhist teaching.
 If you want to know the teaching,
 you should quickly hold up a sword.
 When you reflect on your own true mind's light,
 you can transform all elements of existence to illusions.
 If you make illusions,
 you are subject to make sickness.
 You should put down your thought.
 If you continuously put down it,
 you can recover your own original face.

He discussed the gate of recollecting the Buddha from the Seon Buddhist perspective and considered the single-minded chanting as the ideal chanting in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, "If we chant the Buddha's name just with our lips, the chanting is nothing more than the recitation of the Buddha's name. If we chant it with the single-minded attention, the chanting is true chanting. If we just chant without attention and lose our thought, we will not have any benefit for our practice."⁷⁵⁵ He commented on the above sentences as follows:⁷⁵⁶

The six-character dharma gate of chanting "*namu amita bul*" (Chn., *namu amituo fo*; Jpn., *namu amida butsu*)⁷⁵⁷ should be a shortcut way for cutting through the cycle of birth and death. You should think of the Buddha's realm and not forget it in your minds. You should chant the Buddha's name and clearly articulate it in your mouths. As mentioned above, when your minds

⁷⁵⁵ H.7.640b5-6 & H.7.650a16-17.

⁷⁵⁶ H.7.640b7-10 & H.7.650a17-20.

⁷⁵⁷ The Sino-Korean transliteration for the six characters, *namu amita bul*, literally means the Refuge to Amitāyus Buddha.

completely match to your sounds, you can name it as the true chanting of the Buddha's name.

In his lengthy sub-comments on the above-cited comments,⁷⁵⁸ he referred to his preceding famous masters such as Āśvaghoṣa (c. 100-160), Nāgārjuna (c. 150-250), Lushan Huiyuan (334-416),⁷⁵⁹ the fifth patriarch Hongren (601-674) of Chinese Chan Buddhism,⁷⁶⁰ the sixth patriarch Huineng (638-713) of Chinese Chan Buddhism, Zongmi (780-841), and Ruiyan Shiyao (d.u.)⁷⁶¹ to back up his ecumenism between Seon and Pure Land Buddhism. Of them, he especially strongly agreed with Zongmi's moderate soteriology of sudden enlightenment and gradual practice and used it to support his ecumenism between Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism.

Especially, Hyujeong incorporated to his ecumenism the ecumenical perspective of Zongmi, one of the representative ecumenists of Chinese Buddhism and Jinul, his faithful follower of Korean Buddhism. He vehemently criticized the interpretation of radical subitists on Pure Land Buddhism who argue that because all beings are originally endowed with Amitāyus Buddha in their nature and the Pure Land in their mind, they do not need to become the Buddha and to be born in the land. He, rather, suggested that even though we should theoretically accept the universality of the Buddha nature and the Pure Land in all beings, we should practically make endeavors to attain Buddhahood and to be born in the Pure Land.

Therefore, he loyally inherited the perspective of preceding moderate subitists of Sino-Korean Buddhism such as Chengguan, Zongmi, Yanshou, and Jinul, all of whom advocated the soteriological theory of sudden enlightenment and gradual practice, not the perspective of preceding radical subitists who enthusiastically supported the soteriological theory of sudden enlightenment and sudden practice, and emphasized the importance of practice in his ecumenical viewpoint. We can see his moderate subitist perspective in his lengthy sub-comments introduced in full and without abridgement as follow:⁷⁶²

The fifth patriarch (Hongren) said, "It is better for you to preserve your original true minds than to recollect the Buddhas of the ten directions."⁷⁶³ The sixth patriarch (Huineng) mentioned, "If you just contemplate other Buddhas, you cannot transcend the cycle of birth and death. If you keep your own

⁷⁵⁸ H.7.640b11-641a19.

⁷⁵⁹ Huiyuan (336-416) was the important Chinese master and practiced Amitābha cult at the White Lotus Society.

⁷⁶⁰ Hongren (601-674) was the disciple of Daoxin (580-651) and the master of Datong Shenxiu (605?-706) and Huineng (638-713).

⁷⁶¹ He was active in the ninth century in Chinese Buddhism and was a disciple of Chan Master Yantou Chuanhuo (828-887).

⁷⁶² H.7.640b11-641a19.

⁷⁶³ T.48.2011.377b20. The ten directions consist of the four directions, the four corners, and the zenith and nadir.

original minds, you can arrive on the other shore.”⁷⁶⁴ He also stated, “You should search the Buddha in your own nature but not seek him outside yourselves.”⁷⁶⁵ He, furthermore, mentioned, “The deluded practitioners want to invoke the Buddha and to be born in a Pure Land. However, the enlightened ones just purify their own minds.”⁷⁶⁶ (A scripture) says, “Because sentient beings should enlighten their own minds and save themselves, the Buddha cannot save them....”⁷⁶⁷

The abovementioned eminent masters straightforwardly pointed to their original minds but did not display any other skillful means. If we explain the fact from the perspective of principle, we do not absolutely have any skillful means. However, if we see it from the perspective of phenomena, we have actually the Pure Land, Amitābha Buddha and his forty-eight vows.⁷⁶⁸ All the Buddhas of the three periods, (i.e., the past, present and future), unanimously say that if we recite the Buddha’s name even ten times, we are subject to be born in a lotus flower and transcend the cycle of birth and death based on the power of those vows. All the bodhisattvas of the ten directions also vow to attain such a rebirth. Furthermore, we can see many stories of those who have been born in a lotus flower either in the past or in the present, which have faithfully been transmitted to us. So, we hope that all practitioners should not make wrong views but continuously make endeavors (to be born in the flower).

Amitā(yus) or Amitā(bha) is a Sanskrit word, literally meaning “infinite life” and “infinite light.” It is also used as the first and most important name for the Buddha of the ten directions and the three periods. Dharmākara Bhikṣu made the forty-eight vows in front of Lokeśvarāja Buddha and declared, “When I attain Buddhahood, if any of limitless heavenly and human beings in the ten directions including even the tiniest insects chant my name only ten times, I will cause them to be born in my heavenly realm. I hereby vow not to fully attain Buddhahood until this vow is completed....”⁷⁶⁹

Ancient sages said, “Even though we chant the name of a Buddha just once, we can weaken demonic forces. (When we die), we will not be registered in the list of denizens in a hell. Instead, we will be born as a lotus flower in a golden pond.”⁷⁷⁰ The *Chanfa* (Repentance Manual)⁷⁷¹ says, “While the practice based on the self power is slower, the practice depending on the other power is faster. If someone wants to cross the ocean, he should plant trees and make a boat with the trees. It can be likened to the slower method of self-power. If someone simply borrows the other person’s boat and crosses the ocean immediately, he adopts the faster method of the other power. It can be figured

⁷⁶⁴ T.48.2011.377b18.

⁷⁶⁵ T.48.2007.341b27-28, and T.48.2008.352b9-10.

⁷⁶⁶ T.48.2007.341b11 & T.48.2008.352a20.

⁷⁶⁷ T.48.2011.378c1.

⁷⁶⁸ See the entry of “forty-eight vows” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 212-213. “The vows that Amida Buddha is said to have made while still engaged in bodhisattva practice as Bodhisattva Dharma Treasury. They are listed in the *Buddha Infinite Life Sūtra*.” (p. 212)

⁷⁶⁹ T.12.360.268a24-25.

⁷⁷⁰ I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist texts.

⁷⁷¹ X.74.1467.76a2-126b19.

to the power of the Buddha.”⁷⁷² The *Chanfa* also continues, “If a child terrified with a fire and a flood loudly cries out, his parents might hurry to save him. If a man chants the name of the Buddha even in his dying hour, the Buddha might definitely greet him with his miraculous powers. The great sage (Buddha’s) compassion is superior to the parental love for their child. The cycle of birth and death of sentient beings is more serious than the natural disaster such as fires and floods.”⁷⁷³

Someone said, “Because my mind is the Pure Land, I cannot be born in the land outside my mind. Because my nature is Amitāyus Buddha, I cannot see him outside my nature.”⁷⁷⁴ Even though his above sayings seem to be true, those are not true. (For example), because the Buddha does not have greed and anger, do I also have not greed and anger? The Buddha very easily transforms a hell to a lotus flower just as he might turn his hand over. However, while I always worry about falling down to a hell based on my previous actions, how can I transform a hell to a lotus flower just as the Buddha does? The Buddha sees limitless worlds just as he can see them just in front of his eyes. However, while I cannot see the things just outside the thin walls of this very room, how can I see the worlds of the ten directions just as I can see them in front of my eyes? Even though all people are the Buddha in nature, they are sentient beings in their deeds. If we discuss their characteristics and functions, they are totally different as far apart as heaven and earth. Guifeng (Zongmi) said, “Even though someone actually obtained sudden enlightenment, he should continuously do gradual practice.”⁷⁷⁵ I completely agree with him.

I will ask the person who claims that he is Amitāyus Buddha in his nature, “How can you have Śākyamuni Buddha as a natural manifestation and Amitāyus Buddha as a spontaneous appearance?” If we carefully examine the fact, how cannot we naturally understand it? When we are nearing our end and face the suffering of the cycle of birth and death, how can we be free from (the suffering)? If so, we should not trick ourselves into a lower realm after exercising our foolish arrogance. Patriarchs Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna all revealed the (Pure Land) teaching and encouraged (practitioners) to make efforts to be born in a Pure Land. How can we negate the rebirth in a Pure Land? The Buddha said, “The Western Paradise is far from here. You should pass 10,000 lands (standing for ten evil acts)⁷⁷⁶ and additional 8,000 ones (symbolizing eight wrong actions).”⁷⁷⁷ Thus, he expressed the teaching (of characteristics) for the sake of those of dull capacity. (The Buddha) said, “The

⁷⁷² I could not identify the quote in the *Chanfa*.

⁷⁷³ I could not find out the quote in the *Chanfa*.

⁷⁷⁴ X.74.1467.91b16.

⁷⁷⁵ T.48.2015.411b7.

⁷⁷⁶ See the entry of “ten evil acts” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 666-667. The ten evil acts constitute the three physical evils of killing, stealing, and sexual misconduct; the four verbal evils of lying, flattery, defamation, and duplicity; and the three mental evils of greed, anger and foolishness.

⁷⁷⁷ I found the similar sentence in T.12.360.270a5. See the entry of “eight errors” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 146. Eight wrong actions are wrong views, wrong thinking, wrong speech, wrong action, wrong way of life, wrong efforts, wrong mindfulness, and wrong meditation.

Western Paradise is not far from here. The mind (sentient beings) is identical to the Buddha (Amitāyus Buddha).⁷⁷⁸ He expounded the teaching (of essence) for the sake of those of sharp capacity.

The (Buddhist) teaching has the provisional and the actual and the (Buddha's) expressions have the exoteric (teaching) and the esoteric (teaching). If theory and practice are well matched, the near and the distant are well penetrated. Therefore, among the practitioners who practice Chan Buddhism, some including the Chan patriarch Huiyuan chanted the name of Amitāyus Buddha and some including the Chan patriarch Ruiyan Shiyān directly searched his own nature.

He also interpreted Pure Land Buddhism from the perspective of Seon Buddhism and attempted to harmonize the two major practical traditions of East Asian Buddhism, i.e., Pure Land Buddhism and Chan Buddhism. He also harmonized sudden realization and gradual practice, the provisional truth and the actual truth, the exoteric teaching and esoteric teaching, the easy practice and the difficult practice. He sincerely inherited his previous advocates of the moderate soteriological theory of sudden enlightenment and gradual practice and attempted to harmonize Pure Land Buddhism and Seon Buddhism as follows:⁷⁷⁹

The mind conditions the Buddha's spiritual stage. Because we should always keep it, we should not forget it. When we chant the name of the Buddha, we should make our minds be clear and not be confused. If we harmonize our minds with our mouths, even though we chant the name of the Buddha just once, we can eliminate the sins that we have accumulated for the cycle of birth and death of the eight billion eons and can get the remarkable benefits that we have amassed for the eight billion eons. As mentioned above, we can have the wonderful effects with just the chanting of one sound (of the name of the Buddha). If we chant the name of the Buddha one thousand times or ten thousand times, how much can we get the benefits? If we think the Buddha even one time, we can get the remarkable benefits. If we think the Buddha one thousand times or ten thousand times, how much can we get the benefits? It is told that if we chant the name of the Buddha just ten times, we are subject to be born in a Pure Land.⁷⁸⁰ If we chant the name of the Buddha with our mouths, we can call it as the chanting. If we think the Buddha with our minds, we can name it as the recollection. If we in vain chant the name of the Buddha, we are subject to lose the thought on the Buddha. If so, we cannot get benefits in principle. Therefore, we should continuously reflect on and consider this case.

The Buddha explained to those of higher capacity that the mind is identical to the Buddha; the mind is identical to Pure Land; and the self-nature is identical to Amitāyus Buddha. Therefore, it is told that the Western Paradise is not far from here.⁷⁸¹ He also expounded to those of inferior capacity the

⁷⁷⁸ See T.47.1963.92b26, and T.47.1959.27b29.

⁷⁷⁹ H.7.711a9-b2.

⁷⁸⁰ T.12.364.329c3, and T.12.364.337b4.

⁷⁸¹ See T.47.1963.92b26, and T.47.1959.27b29.

10,000 villages (standing for ten evil acts) and additional 8,000 ones (symbolizing eight wrong actions). Therefore, it is told that the Western Paradise is far away from here.⁷⁸² However, we humans (as subject), not the external object, can measure the distance of the Western Paradise. The sound, not its meaning, possesses the esoteric and exoteric teaching of the Western Paradise.

If anyone does not generate one thought, he cannot have (sequence, that is), the preceding and the following. If so, the Amitābha Buddha of the self-nature and the Pure Land of the self-mind are clearly revealed. Because this case can be expressed in the terms of sudden enlightenment, sudden practice, sudden destruction (of defilements), and sudden realization, it does not have the stage (sequence). Even though we can remove the characteristics of deluded deeds, we cannot remove them in one night or one day. So, we should cultivate our minds and remove deluded thoughts in them for limitless eons. Therefore, it is told that because the Buddha is always existent, we should make efforts to invoke the Buddha and because the unwholesome actions perfumed from previous lives are originally empty, we should endeavor to remove them.⁷⁸³

In *Summary of the Mind Dharma*, Hyujeong categorized the chanting of the Buddha's name in four, (1) the mouth chanting of the Buddha's name, (2) the thinking chanting of the Buddha's image, (3) the visualization chanting of the Buddha's characteristics, and (4) the actualization chanting of the Buddha's true characteristics.⁷⁸⁴ He contended that we should guide practitioners to the world of Pure Land Buddhism based on their capacity.⁷⁸⁵ He introduced a poem on Pure Land⁷⁸⁶ by Naong Hyegeun (1320-1376)⁷⁸⁷ of late Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) as follows:⁷⁸⁸

Where is Amitāyus Buddha?
If we keep him in our mind
and do not forget him even for a moment,
we can attain the thoughtless stage in our thought
and let our body of six sense organs
eternally emit the purple golden light.
Where is the Amitāyus Buddha of the self nature?
We should not forget him even for a moment.
If we do not forget him even for a while,
We can naturally uncover all obliterated things.

⁷⁸² I found the similar sentence in T.12.360.270a5.

⁷⁸³ See X.74.1467.91b15-c1.

⁷⁸⁴ H.7.650b16-17.

⁷⁸⁵ H.7.650b17.

⁷⁸⁶ Sin Beobin, specialist in Cheongheo Hyujeong, identified the poem in his *Seosan daesa ui Seonga gwigam yeongu* (Research in Cheongheo Hyujeong's Guiding Source of the Seon Community) (Seoul: Singiwon-sa, 1983), 137.

⁷⁸⁷ I Jeong, ed., 340-341.

⁷⁸⁸ H.7.650b18-21.

He commented on the poem from the Chan perspective, “The above poem praises the Amitāyus Buddha of the self-nature and can be categorized to the second category of the thinking chanting of the Buddha’s image. Those of sharp capacity and higher wisdom do not chant the Buddha’s name through their mouths but directly practice the thinking chanting while speaking, keeping silent, moving, and unmoving and while in joy, anger, sadness, and pleasure. Therefore, opposite to those of sharp capacity and higher wisdom, those of dull capacity and inferior wisdom cannot do the (thinking) chanting.”⁷⁸⁹ Hyujeong also composed a poem on Pure Land and clearly asserted the unity between the Chan practice and the Pure Land chanting.⁷⁹⁰

One thinks one golden mountain in his mind,
 he fingers the one hundred beads of a rosary.
 Who reflect on and recollect (the Buddha)?
 He is not subject and also not object.
 He holds his two hands together
 and faces the western direction.
 He wholeheartedly chants Amitābha Buddha’s name.
 He always dreams and desires
 to eternally abide in the white lotus flowers.

When he opens his mouth
 and just begins to chant the Buddha’s name,
 he already successfully plants the lotus seeds in a golden pond.
 If he does not withdraw his entrusting mind,
 he is determined to respect the Buddha.

He concentrates on his mind all day
 and appreciates his monkhood.
 He listens to the teaching of Śākyamuni Buddha
 on sixteen visualizations in *Guan wuliangshou jing*
 (Sūtra of the Visualization of Amitāyus Buddha).
 He purifies his eyes and ears
 with limitless colors and sounds
 and realizes that there is only one Buddha
 named Amitāyus Buddha in innumerable worlds.

If he chants the Buddha of the Western Paradise,
 he is determined to transcend the cycle of birth and death.
 If he harmonizes his mind with his mouth,
 he can easily be born in a Pure Land
 just as he easily dislocates his fingers.
 If he steps on the lotus flowers in his thought,
 How can he pass through the eight thousand villages?
 If he attains the benefits

⁷⁸⁹ H.7.650b22-c1.

⁷⁹⁰ H.7.651a13-b3.

and encounters his last moment of life,
the great sage (Amitāyus Buddha) might greet
and welcome him.

The Seon practice is identical to the Pure Land practice.
The Pure Land practice is also identical to the Seon practice.
Regardless of skillful means,
the original nature is always illuminating and tranquil.

In *Summary of the Mind Dharma*, he introduced the three phrases and summarized the whole Buddhist teaching, “The first phrase is Śākyamuni Buddha’s transmission of mind in three special locations; the second phrase is the three kinds of display of skillful means in the *Huayan Sūtra*; and the third phrase is the teaching of his whole career.”⁷⁹¹ He commented on the above passage from the Seon perspective as follows:⁷⁹²

We cannot originally differentiate the two concepts, ordinary beings and sages, in our self-nature. If we transcend the two opposite views, we make one thought independently established and appear in front of ourselves. Our original mind is one element of existences and the mysteriously illuminating mind.⁷⁹³ If we look for the Buddha outside the mind of sentient beings, because we attach ourselves to the (exterior) characteristics and (externally) seek the Buddha, the Buddha is in the western direction and we are in the eastern direction. Thus, the Amitāyus Buddha of the self-nature and the Amitāyus Buddha of the Western Paradise are separately existent. The students should not generate these (dualistic) views.

Hyujeong suggested Buddhists not to accept the dualistic views that dichotomize subject and object, sentient beings and the Buddha, internal essence of the Buddha and external characteristics of the Buddha, the Amitāyus Buddha of the self nature and the Amitāyus Buddha of the Western Paradise, and various other sets of the opposing terms. He also discussed how to overcome dichotomous thinking in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, “When you face your dying moment, if you do not even slightly differentiate ordinary beings and the holy beings, you are not entered in the stomach of donkeys and horses and are not boiled in the soup of hells as well as you will not become ants, mosquitoes, and insects.”⁷⁹⁴

He commented on the above passage in the following: “Baiyun Shouduan (1025-1075)⁷⁹⁵ said, “If you do not slightly differentiate the ordinary beings and

⁷⁹¹ H.7.652b15-16.

⁷⁹² H.7.652b17-22.

⁷⁹³ Zongmi used the term “the mysteriously illuminating mind” in *Chan Preface*, T.48.2015.405a21.

⁷⁹⁴ H.7.643b23-c2.

⁷⁹⁵ Baiyun Shouduan (1025-1075) was a disciple of Yangqi Fanghui (992-1049) and the master of Wuzu Fayen (1024-1104).

the sages, you cannot escape to enter the stomach of donkeys and horses. If you have two (opposing) views, you are able to enter various gates.”⁷⁹⁶

He sub-commented on the above comments, “These two verses especially display the realization of the natural mind of the Chan masters in the real teaching and the gate of their rebirth through the chanting of the name of the Buddha in the provisional teaching. However, people are different from each other in their capacity and vows. Even though each person has his own different capacity and vow, each person does not obstruct other persons. I wish that all practitioners should always endeavor to cultivate their minds based on their capacity and vows lest they should not regret (their lives) in the last minute of their lives.”⁷⁹⁷

In *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, he equally treated practice and theory, sayings and actions, and did not hierarchically evaluate them, “When those who intellectually learn (Buddhism) open their mouths, they may seem to be enlightened. However, when they face concrete situations, they do not know how to handle them. This shows the contradiction between their sayings and their actions.”⁷⁹⁸ He commented on the above passage, “The above passage summarizes the meaning of self arrogance. Because their sayings and actions are contradictory to each other, we can differentiate truth from falsehood.”⁷⁹⁹

In *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, he synthesized three types of learning, precepts, meditation and wisdom. He strongly suggested to Buddhist practitioners that they equally emphasize the three types without hierarchically evaluating them, “If someone does the Seon practice while he is indulged in sexual activities, he is likened to a person who cooks sand for a meal. If someone does the Seon practice while killing beings, he is likened to a person who shouts something while plugging his ears. If someone practices the Seon meditation while stealing something, he is likened to a person who attempts to fill a leaky bowl. If someone does the Seon meditation while telling a falsehood, he is like a person who tries to use excrements for incense. Even though he has much wisdom, he will be led to the way of demons.”⁸⁰⁰ He commented on the above passage as follows:⁸⁰¹

This passage illuminates the three kinds of learning for removing defilements. The small vehicle considers the elements of existence as the precepts and also guides the practitioners to control the derivative (defilements). The great vehicle takes the mind for the precepts and carefully removes the fundamental (defilements).

Therefore, (the small vehicle) uses the precepts of the elements of existence to guide its practitioners not to commit physical actions, whereas (the

⁷⁹⁶ H.7.643c3-5. I could not identify the quote in the Buddhist texts.

⁷⁹⁷ H.7.643c6-10.

⁷⁹⁸ H.7.638a17-18.

⁷⁹⁹ H.7.638a19-20.

⁸⁰⁰ H.7.639b2-5.

⁸⁰¹ H.7.639b6-20.

great vehicle) takes those of mind to lead its practitioners not to commit mental actions. Sexual activities remove the pure nature. The killing of living beings cuts off our compassionate mind. Stealing destructs our good fortune and virtues. Lying destroys the truth. Even though we are able to attain wisdom and six remarkable powers, if we cannot remove killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, and lying, we will fall onto the path of demons and cannot attain the proper way to enlightenment.

Because these four precepts are the root for one hundred precepts, we should clarify and use them not to remove mental actions. The generation of no-thinking is the preservation of precepts, the production of no-recollection is meditation, and the procreation of no-delusion is wisdom.

Again, the precepts capture the thief, meditation ties up the thief, and wisdom kills the thief. When the bowl of precepts is strong and un-cracked, the water of meditation is clear and purified and the moon of wisdom reflects on its surface. Because these kinds of learning are the source of all elements of existence, we particularly illuminate them and cause Buddhist practitioners to remove their defilements.

How can we have the careless Buddha at Mt. Vulture Peak at which the Buddha taught his teaching? How can we have the lying Chan master under the gate of Shaolin-si Temple (at which Bodhidharma initiated the Chan teaching)?

He argued that the three kinds of learning are interconnected by saying in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, “Because (the three kinds of learning), precepts, meditation and wisdom are one unity, they cannot be separated at all. If we take any of the three, the one is subject to have the other two. Anyone is not existent without the other two.”⁸⁰²

He also attempted to harmonize the preservation of precepts and the generation of wisdom in the same text, “If we do not preserve the precepts, we are not able to receive even the body of a contemptible fox (in the next life). If so, how can we attain the fruit of wisdom?”⁸⁰³ He commented on the above passage, “(It seems that) if we highly respect the precepts like the Buddha, we are always living with the Buddha. We should model after the two stories of a monk who were tightened with living grasses and did not cut them with the compassionate mind⁸⁰⁴ and another monk who saw but did not report the goose that swallowed a precious gem.⁸⁰⁵ (If the monk cut the living grasses, he might hurt them. If another monk reports the goose, someone might kill him and take the gem.)”⁸⁰⁶

He also recommended Buddhists to jointly practice meditation and cultivate wisdom in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, “The pure and unobstructed wisdom originates from meditation.”⁸⁰⁷ He commented on the passage, “Based

⁸⁰² H.7.640a1-2.

⁸⁰³ H.7.639c3-4.

⁸⁰⁴ T.4.202.381b6-7.

⁸⁰⁵ T.4.202.381b8.

⁸⁰⁶ H.7.639c5-6.

⁸⁰⁷ H.7.639c12.

on the power of meditation, we can transform ordinary beings and let them to enter the stage of sages and we are able to die while sitting straight or even while standing. Therefore, an ancient master (Zongmi) said, “If we seek the way of sages, there is really no way apart from meditation.”⁸⁰⁸

He faithfully inherited the joint unity between wisdom and meditation from Jinul, Yanshou and Zongmi, three of whom highly emphasized the joint practice between wisdom and meditation. So, Hyujeong continued the equal emphasis between meditation and wisdom, “If we practice meditation in our minds, we are able to clearly know all the phenomena of birth and death in the world.”⁸⁰⁹

He harmonized doctrinal Buddhism and Seon Buddhism and loyally transmitted the ecumenical lineage of Sino-Korean Buddhism. For instance, directly referring to previous representative ecumenists Yanshou and Zongmi, even though he emphasized the Seon meditation as a Seon master, he also highly regarded the textual study in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community* as follows.⁸¹⁰

When we listen to scriptures, we are conditioned to hear them through our ears and we can have a joyful merit. If so, the phantom body is exhausted but the true practice is not disappeared.

The above passage illuminates the wise learning. It is likened to a person who eats a precious diamond. The learning is higher than the donation of seven gems⁸¹¹ in value. Therefore, Master Yanshou said, “Even though we listen to but do not trust in (the Buddhist scriptures), we already plant a seed to become a Buddha. Even though we learn but do not comprehend (them), we can have the benefit of human and heavenly beings.”⁸¹²

When we read scriptures, if we do not reflect on ourselves and cultivate our minds, even though we read numberless scriptures, we cannot get any benefit.

The above passage illustrates foolish learning. Just as a bird chirps on a spring day and an insect buzzes through a fall night, the passage does not have a special meaning. Zongmi mentioned, “If we just understand some characters and read a scripture, we are not supposed to attain enlightenment. If we

⁸⁰⁸ H.7.639c13-14. I could identify the quote in Zongmi’s *Chan Preface*, T.48.2015.399b9-10. It is also seen in other texts, T.51.2076.306a29, X.81.1571.445b9, and others.

⁸⁰⁹ H.7.639c15.

⁸¹⁰ H.7.641a20-b5.

⁸¹¹ See the entry of “seven kinds of treasures” in the *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, 578. For example, according to the *Lotus Sūtra*, the seven gems are (1) gold, (2) silver, (3) lapis lazuli, (4) seashell, (5) agate, (6) pearl, and (7) carnelian.

⁸¹² I could not identify the sentence in the Buddhist texts.

comment on the characters and interpret their meanings, we are subject to increase three poisons of greed, anger and wrong views.”⁸¹³

He did not monopolize and prioritize any practice method to other practices but ecumenically treated them. He equally treated social activities, the Pure Land practice, the Seon meditation, the Tantric technique, the doctrinal study, the preservation of precepts, and other practices as being important for enlightenment. He did not exclude but include even other religious traditions such as Daoism and Confucianism available in his times in his consideration.

He discussed the chanting of the spell and contended the effectiveness of the Tantric practice in *Guiding Source of the Seon Community*, “As for the chanting of a spell (mantra), even though we can easily control and change our actions that we make in our present times, because we find it difficult to remove our past actions, we should rely on the mysterious power of a spell.”⁸¹⁴

He summarized a story of a *māta-gī* (a low caste lady) who used a spell and lured Ānanda whom the Buddha saved by using the more powerful spell from the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*⁸¹⁵ and commented on the above passage, “We should not reject the fact that the low caste lady attained the fruit of a spell. However, if we do not use the mysterious spell, we find it difficult to remove the obstructions of a demon.”⁸¹⁶

9. Bojo Jinul and Ha Dongsan

Ha Dongsan respected Jinul and followed his ecumenism between Chan Buddhist traditions and doctrinal traditions. Jinul inherited Zongmi’s Huayan/Heze Chan ecumenism. Zongmi located Heze Chan and Huayan Buddhism over other Chan teachings and doctrinal teachings. He personally was affiliated with the two traditions. He justified the superiority of his traditions to other ones. He hierarchically evaluated four doctrinal traditions and four Chan ones and correlated each Chan tradition to each doctrinal tradition. The four doctrinal teachings that Zongmi hierarchically arranged are (1) the Hīnayāna teaching, (2) the Yogācāra teaching, (3) the Mādhyamika teaching, and (4) the Tathāgatagarbha teaching.⁸¹⁷ Of the ten Chan families, he pointed out four major Chan sects, specifically the Northern, Niutou, Hongzhou and Heze sects.⁸¹⁸ Because the Hīnayāna teaching did not have any corresponding Chan sect, he in

⁸¹³ T.48.2015.400a15.

⁸¹⁴ H.7.640a22-23.

⁸¹⁵ See I Jongik and Sim Jaeryeol, comm. and trans., *Seonga gwigam* (Guiding Source of the Seon Community) (Seoul: Boseong munhwa-sa, 1999), 163-166.

⁸¹⁶ H.7.640a24-b1.

⁸¹⁷ T.48.2015.402b15-21.

⁸¹⁸ Ibid.

the beginning correlated the Northern Chan Sect to the 2nd Yogācāra teaching.⁸¹⁹ He matched the Niutou Chan Sect to the 3rd Mādhyamika teaching⁸²⁰ and correlated the Hongzhou Chan Sect and the Heze Chan Sect to the 4th Tathāgatagarbha teaching.⁸²¹ Regarding the Hongzhou and Heze sects, he argued that both sects had their doctrinal support from the Tathāgatagarbha teaching, and classified the Heze Sect over the Hongzhou Sect.⁸²²

Even though Jinul followed the basic framework of Zongmi's doctrinal classification, he mitigated Zongmi's Heze Chan / Huayan sectarianism. While Jinul was active, there were no the Chan sects and doctrinal traditions that Zongmi hierarchically classified. He did not need to evaluate them hierarchically. So, Jinul was more ecumenical than Zongmi.

Ha Dongsan strongly criticized Fazang's Huayan sectarianism.⁸²³ Fazang was the actual systemizer of Chinese Huayan Buddhism. Fazang hierarchically classified the entire Buddhist teachings in five in his earlier period.⁸²⁴ Those five teachings constitute (1) the Hīnayāna teaching, (2) the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna Buddhism, consisting Yogācāra and Mādhyamika teachings, (3) the final teaching of Mahāyāna Buddhism, namely, the Tathāgatagarbha teaching, (4) the sudden teaching of Mahāyāna Buddhism, i.e., the teaching of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra*, and (5) the perfect teaching of Mahāyāna Buddhism, i.e., the teaching of the *Huayan Sūtra*. Ha Dongsan understood that Fazang assigned Chan Buddhism to the 4th sudden teaching of Mahāyāna Buddhism lower than the 5th perfect teaching of Mahāyāna Buddhism, i.e., the Huayan teaching. Fazang never clearly mentioned Chan Buddhism as the sudden teaching in his works. Even though he never clearly mentioned that the sudden teaching designates the newly arising Chan Buddhism, because Fazang was naturally aware of the new Chan Buddhism, there was a strong possibility that Fazang assigned the newly arising Chan Buddhism into the sudden teaching in his five teachings.⁸²⁵

Fazang generally explained the sudden teaching in his major work entitled *Huayan wujiao zhang* (Fazang's Treatise on Five Doctrines) as follows.⁸²⁶

⁸¹⁹ T.48.2015.403c14-404a7.

⁸²⁰ T.48.2015.404a24-b26.

⁸²¹ T.48.2015.404b26-405a26.

⁸²² Ibid.

⁸²³ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 79.

⁸²⁴ Chanju Mun extensively discussed Fazang's doctrinal classification in his *The History of Doctrinal Classification in Chinese Buddhism: A Study of the Panjiao Systems*, 315-403. In discussing Fazang's classification of the sudden teaching, I cited from Chanju Mun, 353-360.

⁸²⁵ In fact, the later Huayan master Chengguan (738-839) clearly assigned Chan Buddhism into the sudden teaching in his *Huayan jingshu* (Commentary on the *Huayan Sūtra*), T.35.1735.512c3-5.

⁸²⁶ T.45.1866.481b16-21.

“According to the sudden teaching, languages and discourses are transcended, the nature of the principle, i.e., the *Li*, is suddenly manifested, understanding and practice are suddenly accomplished, and even one thought is not produced. At that time, the accomplishment of Buddhahood is obtained. Therefore, the *La-kāvatāra Sūtra* says, “The suddenness is like an image that is reflected suddenly, not gradually in a mirror.”⁸²⁷ This is the meaning (of the above passage). Because all existences are independent from the beginning, they do not depend on languages and discourses and intuitive cognition and wisdom. It is Vimalakīrti who reveals non-duality with his silence.⁸²⁸ Also, the *pryamah-ratnakṣa-dharmaparyāya-atasahasrika-parivarta-kṛtya-parivarta-kṛt*⁸²⁹ explicates the scripture of the sudden teaching.⁸³⁰ So, the sudden teaching is called based upon the treatise.”

He epistemologically discussed the sudden teaching in the first section of the ninth chapter in the *Huayan wujiao zhang* as follows:⁸³¹ “According to the sudden teaching, all existences are only the absolute mind of suchness. It is the termination of differentiated characteristics, the non-use of languages, the destruction of discourses and the inexplicable. It is explained in the teaching on non-duality that thirty-two Bodhisattvas discuss in the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra*.⁸³² The previous final teaching explains the teaching in which the pure and impure aspects are completely penetrated and harmonized without duality. The teaching of non-duality, manifested by Vimalakīrti without sayings, is this sudden teaching.⁸³³ Because when all characteristics, including pure and impure, are exhausted, there are not two teachings to be harmonized, the inexplicable is the non-dual.”

Fazang soteriologically discussed the sudden teaching in the second section of the ninth chapter in the *Huayan wujiao zhang* as follows:⁸³⁴ “According to the sudden teaching, “The absolute suchness that is beyond languages and characteristics is called the nature of existential types (Skt., *gotra*). However, it is not innate and cultivated because all existences do not have a dual aspect. Therefore, the *Sarvadharmapravṛtti-nirdeśa-sūtra* says, “How can this thing

⁸²⁷ T.16.670.486a8-10.

⁸²⁸ T.14.475.551c22-24.

⁸²⁹ Bodhiruci (572-727) translated the *Da baoji jing* (*Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*) and its commentary in 706-713. The author of the *Da baoji jing lun* (Commentary on the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*) is not dictated in the Chinese translation. But, according to the Tibetan translation, the author of the treatise is known as Sthiramati (Chn., Anhui; Tib., Blo-brtan; fl. the 6th century). See the entry of “*Dai hōshakkyō-ron*” in Ono Gemmyō, ed., vol. 7, 493c-494a.

⁸³⁰ T.26.1523.208c4-6.

⁸³¹ T.45.1866.485b2-7.

⁸³² T.14.475.550b28-551c27.

⁸³³ T.14.475.551c22-24.

⁸³⁴ T.45.1866.487c24-29.

be called the nature of existential types? Oh, Mañju[rī], all sentient beings have this single characteristic. Because it is absolutely unborn, it is beyond all names and characters. Because identity and differentiation cannot be obtained, it is called the nature of existential types.⁸³⁵ In this way, you should understand (the sudden teaching).”

He ontologically discussed the sudden teaching in the *Record of the Dharma Realm of Mind-only* as follows.⁸³⁶ “(As for the sudden teaching), in regards to the aforementioned two (extreme) teachings, i.e., the Hīnayāna on existences and the Mādhyamika teaching on emptiness, it transcends all the realms of the languages, the discourses, the mind and the practices. Only suchness and the wisdom of suchness are manifested (in the teaching). Why? All existences are completely merged into a complete harmony and they are beyond all characteristics. Even each moment of thought is the embodiment of the ultimate suchness. Finally, there is no difference between subject and object and between this and that (in the sudden teaching.) It is not obstructed in even an impure existence. How can we know it? The *Lotus Sūtra* says, “The tranquil form of all existences cannot be explicable with languages.”⁸³⁷ The *Lotus Sūtra* also says, “All existences have always the tranquil form from the original.”⁸³⁸ The *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra* says, “The languages are transcended and the mental practices are destructed.”⁸³⁹

Ha Dongsan argued that Zongmi and Jinul corrected Fazang’s misclassification of Chan Buddhism to the sudden teaching.⁸⁴⁰ He stated that if Seon practitioners transcended the ten discriminating thoughts and suddenly attained great enlightenment, they could immediately arrive in the non-obstructed realms explained in the highest teaching of the Huayan Buddhism. According to Ha Dongsan’s assertion, Fazang should not classify Chan Buddhism below the Huayan teaching. Kōan Seon Buddhism should be considered as the highest doctrinal teaching.

Ha Dongsan also discussed and equally evaluated five major Chinese Chan traditions, (1) the Linji lineage, (2) the Caodong lineage, (3) the Yunmen lineage, (4) the Weiyang lineage, and (5) the Fayen lineage.⁸⁴¹ The five Chan families originated from the Southern Chan School. The Linji lineage originated from Linji Yixuan (d. 867),⁸⁴² the Caodong one from Dongshan Liangjie (807-869)⁸⁴³

⁸³⁵ T.15.650.755a20-23.

⁸³⁶ *Youxin fajie ji*, T.45.1877.644b19-26.

⁸³⁷ T.9.262.10a4.

⁸³⁸ T.9.262.8b25.

⁸³⁹ I could not find the corresponding sentence in the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra*.

However, the exactly corresponding sentence is seen in the *Huashou jing* (Flower Hands Sūtra), T.16.657.168c28.

⁸⁴⁰ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 79.

⁸⁴¹ Ibid, 69-70.

⁸⁴² Linji Yixuan (d. 867) was a disciple of Huangbo Xiyun (d. 850).

and his disciple Caoshan Benji (840-901),⁸⁴⁴ the Yunmen lineage from Yunmen Wenyan (864-949),⁸⁴⁵ the Weiyang lineage from Weishan Lingyu (771-853),⁸⁴⁶ and his disciple Yangshan Huiji (815-891),⁸⁴⁷ and the Fayen lineage from Fayen Wenyi (885-958).⁸⁴⁸

He figuratively mentioned that even though Chan masters explained Chan Buddhism in different ways, they indicated the same meaning and value of Chan Buddhism in their sayings.⁸⁴⁹ Even though Chan masters affiliated to five different lineages explained Chan Buddhism in their own teaching styles, we could not evaluate their styles. Each Chan lineage had its own unique taste as the following quote demonstrates.⁸⁵⁰

If a Chan master affiliated to one lineage of the five Chan lineages attained enlightenment, he must have obtained it (according to his own tradition's particular methods and he must have taught Chan Buddhism based on his own tradition's unique teaching styles). (For example, if a Chan master affiliated to the Fayen Chan lineage) attained enlightenment, he might have explained Chan Buddhism in the teaching ways of his own lineage. (If a Chan master belonged to the Weiyang lineage obtained awakening), he would have taught Chan Buddhism in the instructive methods of his own lineage. Each Chan master affiliated to each Chan lineage has explained Chan Buddhism in his own tradition. When ancient Chan masters listened to some sentences that a Chan master explained, they easily recognized to which Chan lineage he belonged.

(For instance), a Chan student said, "When a gentleman loves and takes treasures, he follows principle." Other Chan monks criticized and ridiculed his sayings. A Chan monk told, "The descendants of the Yunmen Chan lineage are embarrassed in the deep night. They do not know who he is but laugh at him." However, they recognized that he was the Chan Master Cong (d.u.), a famous Chan master of the Yunmen Chan lineage. Like this, we can recognize who a Chan master is and to which lineage he belongs. If we study (Chan Buddhism) hard, we can clearly recognize a Chan master's affiliation to his own Chan

⁸⁴³ Dongshan Liangjie (807-869) was a disciple of Yunyan Tansheng (781?-841) and the master of Caoshan Benji (840-901).

⁸⁴⁴ Caoshan Benji (840-901) was a student of Dongshan Lingjie. The Caodong Chan lineage was named after the first characters of two Chan masters Caoshan Benji and Dongshan Lingjie.

⁸⁴⁵ Yunmen Wenyan (864-949) was a student of Xuefeng Yicun (822-908) and the master of Xianglin Chengyuan (c. 908-987), Dongshan Shouzhong (910-990), and Baling Haojian (d.u.).

⁸⁴⁶ Weishan Lingyu (771-853), also known as Gueishan Lingyu, was a disciple of Baizhang Huaihai (720-814) and the master of Yangshan Huiji (815-891).

⁸⁴⁷ Yangshan Huiji (815-891) was the Dharma successor of Weishan Lingyu (771-853) and the Dharma master of Nanta Guangrun (850-938).

⁸⁴⁸ Fayen Wenyi (885-958) was a disciple of Lohan Gueichen (d. 928) and the master of Tiantai Deshao (891-972).

⁸⁴⁹ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 69.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid.

lineage and we are not blind to Chan Buddhism. The Chan master had appreciative eyes and understood the principles of the Yunmen Chan lineage. Even though their sayings look silly, those make sense. So, we should not ignore them.

Because Ha Dongsan did not hierarchically classify the five major Chinese Chan lineages but equally evaluated them, he was more ecumenical than Zongmi and Jinul. He made the following poem:⁸⁵¹

Zhaozhou Congshen⁸⁵² revealed the blade of a sword,⁸⁵³
 The light brightly shined on cold frosts.
 If someone doubted about the (above) sayings,
 I would cut his body in half.

He explained that the Linji Chan lineage would approach the above poem with three mysteries and three points and the Caodong Chan lineage with the five relations between phenomena and noumenon.⁸⁵⁴ He contended that each lineage had its own uniqueness in soteriology. Each Chan lineage approached enlightenment through its own methods.

For example, the three mysteries that the Linji Chan lineage adopted for enlightenment are (1) the mystery of the mysteries, (2) the mystery revealed through language, and (3) the mystery manifested through experience. Each mystery has three main points, (1) essence, (2) forms and (3) functions. There are nine points in all. The mind has nine points. The Caodong Chan lineage established five relations between phenomena and noumenon. The five relations are (1) the phenomena in the noumenon, (2) the noumenon in the phenomena, (3) the appearance in the noumenon, (4) the appearance in the phenomena, and (5) the simultaneous appearance of the phenomena and the noumenon.

⁸⁵¹ Ibid, 56.

⁸⁵² Zhaozhou Congshen (778-897) was a disciple and Dharma successor of Nanchuan Puyuan.

⁸⁵³ Chan masters likened the sword and explained the unique style of Chan Master Zhaozhou Congshen's Chan style. Chan texts say, "Zhaozhou Congshen had the sword that killed other human beings, not the sword that made other human beings alive." Refer to X.66.1296.168b6, X.84.1579.124c13-18, and other texts.

⁸⁵⁴ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 56.

CONCLUSIONS

Ha Dongsan (1890-1965)¹ was ordained under the direction of his master Baek Yongseong (1864-1940)² at Beomeo-sa Temple in Busan in 1913. He served as the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism's highest patriarch two times, from November 3, 1954 to August 12, 1955 for the first time and from August 13, 1958 to April 11, 1962 for the second time and led Korean Buddhists to purify Korean Buddhism tremendously Japanized under the Japanese occupation period, 1910 – 1945. He was one of three leaders of Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954 – 1962, along with I Hyobong (1888-1966)³ and I Cheongdam (1902-1971),⁴ and dedicated himself to the movement as the order's highest patriarch. He actively participated in the movement and successfully recovered the Korean Buddhist tradition of vegetarianism and celibate monasticism and removed non-vegetarianism and married monasticism in the order.

¹ Im Hyeobong, *Geu nuga keun kkum eul kkueotna* (Who Awakened from a Dream?), *Jongjeong yeoljeon* 1 (The 1st Series of the Biographies of Korean Buddhism's Supreme Patriarchs) (Seoul: Garam gihoe, 1999), 91-130 & 382-384; I Jeong, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo inmyeong sajeon* (Dictionary of Korean Buddhist Names) (Seoul: Bulgyo sidae-sa, 1991), 348-349; (Gim) Ilta Seunim, et al, *Hyeondae goseung inmul pyeongjeon* (Biographies of Modern Korean Buddhist Eminent Monks) (Seoul: Bulgyo yeongsang, 1994), vol. 2, 88-104; Song Baegun, "Hanguk bulgyo jeonghwa bulgyo undong e itteoseo Dongsan seunim gwa Beomeo-sa ui yeokhwal" (Ha Dongsan and his Beomeo-sa Temple's Contributions to Purification Buddhist Movement in Modern Korean Buddhism), in *Daegak sasang* (Thought of Great Enlightenment) 7 (2004): 61-77; and Seon Wonbin, *Hanguk geundae bulgyo ui sanmaek sipchil in: Keun seunim* (Modern Korean Buddhism's 17 Great Monks) (Seoul: Beopbo sinmun-sa, 1992), 117-135. The above books introduce Ha Dongsan and his thought. I mostly referred to Im Hyeobong's work in introducing Ha Dongsan and his monastic career here. I also heavily referred to Dongsan mundo-hoe (Association of Master Ha Dongsan's Dharma Descendants), ed., *Dongsan daejongs munjip* (Collection of Grand Master Ha Dongsan's Works) (Busan: Beomeo-sa Temple, 1998) as a primary source material when I discussed Ha Dongsan's thought.

² I Jeong, ed., 288-289. See also Jin-wol Lee, "Master Yongseong's Life and Works: An Engaged Buddhism of Peace and Justice," in Chanju Mun, ed., *Buddhist Exploration of Peace and Justice* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2006), 247-261.

³ I Jeong, ed., 204-205.

⁴ Ibid, 160-161.

The movement was initiated in 1954 by executive orders of the first South Korean president I Seungman (1875-1965) to expel married Buddhist priests from traditional monasteries. Participants to the movement utilized the government's strong support from the civilian dictator I Seungman and another military dictator Bak Jeonghui (1917-1979) and made the movement successful. For example, celibate monks obtained the leadership in the order after the government-sponsored national monastic conference on August 12 – 13, 1955. The married monks, who lost the leadership, strongly reacted against the unmarried monks' leadership. The confrontations between two groups continued until to the establishment of the united order between them in April 1962 upon the government's interventions. So, it has generally been told that the movement began in 1954 and was largely concluded by April 1962.

The married monastic group broke away from the united order because of discrimination from the unmarried monastic group in September 1962. The Supreme Court finished the long and tedious legal procedure between the married monastic group and the unmarried monastic group and authorized Purification Buddhism over married Japanized Buddhism in 1969. The married monks established the independent new order entitled Taego Order of Korean Buddhism and the government approved the registration of the new order based on the Law of the Management of Buddhist Properties in May 1970. We are very difficult to negate and to defend the movement from the allegations of married monks that the movement was the pro-government and the government-sponsored institutionalized movement.

Purification Buddhist Movement⁵ has two major missions. First, it was to recover the celibate monasticism and vegetarianism of traditional Korean Buddhism from the married monasticism and non-vegetarianism of Japanized Korean Buddhism. Ha Dongsan took the ideas from Mahāyāna Bodhisattva Precepts detailed in *Fanwang jing* (*Brahmā Net Sūtra*) and popularized the precepts among Korean Buddhists. Second, it was to revitalize the Seon / Chan Buddhist practice of traditional Korean Buddhism. Seon practitioners lost their temples for practicing Seon Buddhism because married abbots and higher order administrators controlled the order and its temples. Ha Dongsan guided Korean Buddhists in general and Korean Seon practitioners in particular to recover their tradition of Seon Buddhism and to take back the leadership of the order and its temples from married monks.

The movement intentionally ignored the positive aspects of and maximized the negative aspects of Japanese Buddhism's influences on Korean Buddhism in modern times from strong nationalist sentiments even though Japanese Buddhism in reality tremendously helped Korean Buddhists to modernize their Buddhism. For instance, Korean Buddhists studied modern and advanced

⁵ Chanju Mun, "Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954-62: The Recovery of Traditional Monasticism from Japanized Buddhism in South Korea," in *Hsi Lai Journal of Humanistic Buddhism* 8 (2007): 262-294.

Buddhist Studies in Japan and academically modernized Korean Buddhism. They also adopted Japanese Buddhism's parish system and managed all temples across the nation. Prior to the introduction of Japanese Buddhism to and the establishment of Japanese colonial government on the Korean Peninsula, because Korean Buddhism did not have its centralized order and its head office, it could not systematically and effectively control and manage all monks and its temples. Even though we cannot definitely ignore that Japanese colonial government used the parish system to effectively control and colonize Korean Buddhism and its temple under their rules, we also cannot negate that the parish system helped Korean Buddhists to effectively manage Korean Buddhism and its temples in the colonial and postcolonial periods.

Although Korean Buddhism was traditionally ecumenical between doctrinal Buddhism and Seon Buddhism, Seon Buddhism and Purification Buddhism, Seon practitioners who actively participated in the movement prioritized their Seon sectarianism in general and their Imje (Linji) Seon sectarianism in particular to other traditions. Because Imje Seon Buddhism advocates radical Seon soteriology of sudden enlightenment and sudden practice, it is categorized the radical subitist tradition. Even though Korean Buddhism is tremendously indebted to its ecumenical tradition from representative Korean Buddhist ecumenists such as Wonhyo (617-686),⁶ Daegak Uicheon (1055-1101),⁷ Bojo Jinul (1158-1210),⁸ Hamheo Gihwa (1376-1433),⁹ and Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604),¹⁰ and representative Chinese Buddhist ecumenists such as Qingliang Chengguan (738-839), Guifeng Zongmi (780-841), Yongming Yanshou (904-975), and Yunqi Zhuhong (1535-1615), modern Korean Buddhist monastics are institutionally and in their Dharma lineage subject to inherit their sectarian lineage of Imje Seon Buddhism established after Cheongheo Hyujeong by his disciples in the Joseon Dynasty.

Unlike the radical soteriology of Imje Seon sectarians, ecumenists have generally followed the moderate Seon soteriology of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation in the Sino-Korean Buddhist tradition. Because moderate soteriologists consider Buddha nature and enlightenment as being innate, they are basically subject to be subitists. However, because they do not extremize the innate and immanent aspect of enlightenment and Buddha nature, they should emphasize the importance of various practices for attaining enlightenment such as the preservation of precepts, the Bodhisattva deeds, the Seon practice, the Pure Land chanting, the doctrinal research, and the Tantric Buddhist spells. If we extremize the immanent aspect of enlightenment, we are naturally subject to negate the necessity of attaining enlightenment. Ha Dongsan inherited the moderate soteriology from preceding ecumenists such as Qingliang Chengguan,

⁶ I Jeong, ed., 208-210.

⁷ Ibid, 230-231.

⁸ Ibid, 278-279.

⁹ Ibid, 42.

¹⁰ Ibid, 366-367.

Guifeng Zongmi, Yongming Yanshou, Bojo Jinul, Cheongheo Hyujeong, and Yunqi Zhuhong and vehemently criticized the radical soteriology of Linji Chan sectarianism.

Generally speaking, Korean Buddhists are philosophically accustomed to accept ecumenism and also practically to exercise various traditions such as Seon Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism, the doctrinal research, and Pure Land Buddhism, based on their capacities and interests. For example, when they have funeral and memorial services, they adopt Pure Land Buddhism and preside over them. When they study Buddhism, they rely on doctrinal traditions and Buddhist scriptures. If needed, they used to recite (a) Buddhist spell(s) and/or the title(s) of (a) deities such as Amitāyus Buddha, Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, Kṛitigarbha Bodhisattva, and other deities. They also practice Seon Buddhism and cultivate their minds. They practice various traditions without hierarchically evaluating them. They did not prioritize a tradition over other traditions but optionally chose any or all of them based on their necessity and interests.

Because Korean Buddhism is very ecumenical, Korean Buddhists used to practice any kind of doctrinal and practical traditions based on their interests and capacities. They ecumenically practice Seon Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism, synthesize Seon Buddhism with doctrinal Hwaeom / Huayan Buddhism, and furthermore syncretize Buddhism and other religious traditions such as Confucianism and Daoism. They are also accustomed to chant Tantric Buddhist mantra(s), recite the title(s) of (a) Buddhist deities, study Buddhist doctrines, practice Seon Buddhism, and/or preserve precepts. Major Korean Buddhist monasteries are institutionally supposed to have four centers, (1) a doctrinal center, (2) a Seon center, (3) a vinaya center, and (4) a Pure Land center. Each monk can select and practice (a) practice(s) at any center and all of them in the same monastery. Even though modern Korean monks are institutionally and in the Dharma lineage affiliated to the Imje Seon lineage, they are not necessary to follow the Imje Seon sectarianism. So, modern Korean Buddhist masters are simultaneously able to have and accept the seemingly contradictory two different traditions, Imje Seon sectarianism and ecumenism, in themselves.

Two representative lay Buddhist scholars, I Bulhwa (d.u.), also known as I Jaeyeol, and I Jongik (1912-1991),¹¹ also known as I Beobun, and one representative monastic Buddhist I Cheongdam, three theorists of Purification Buddhist Movement in total, changed the order's founder from Imje Seon sectarian Taego Bou (1301-1382)¹² to ecumenist Bojo Jinul. It ignited the controversies in modern Korean Buddhism. The movement was theoretically contradictory between its Imje Seon sectarianism and the change of the order's founder. They politically and ideologically changed the founder from Taego

¹¹ Ibid, 242.

¹² Ibid, 113.

Bou to Bojo Jinul and the title of the head temple from Taego-sa Temple to Jogye-sa Temple because the established married monks preoccupied Taego-sa Temple, present Jogye-sa Temple and then head temple of Korean Buddhism, and considered Taego Bou as their order's founding patriarch.

However, because participants to the Purification Buddhist Movement were affiliated to the Center for Seon Studies (Seonhak-won) founded by Seon Buddhist leaders in downtown Seoul in 1920 and other Seon centers across the nation, they were trained in Seon Buddhism in general and in Imje Seon Buddhism in particular. So, even though Korean Buddhism was heavily influenced from and generally formed under Sino-Korean Buddhism's ecumenical tradition, they officially inherited the sectarian Dharma lineage of Sino-Korean Imje Seon Buddhism. Because they politically and ideologically changed the founder of Korean Buddhism, the change of the founder should be theoretically and in the Dharma lineage reconsidered.

So, when Purification Buddhist Movement was completed, even supreme patriarch I Seongcheol (1912-1993)¹³ of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, also spiritual leader of Haein-sa Temple, one of the most representative Seon masters in modern Korean Buddhism, vehemently criticized the change of its founder from Taego Bou to Bojo Jinul. He strongly asserted that the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism should transmit the Linji Chan lineage from Taego Bou and officially re-change the order's founder from Bojo Jinul to Taego Bou. He was a strong Chan sectarian unlike the ecumenist scholar / practitioner Bojo Jinul. The argument by I Seongcheol caused political and theoretical tension between the monastic group of his resident Haein-sa Temple and the group of the Songwang-sa Temple at which Bojo Jinul resided.

Even though Ha Dongsan was not a radical Imje Seon sectarian but a moderate ecumenist, his disciple I Seongcheol was an extreme Imje Seon sectarian. Although Ha Dongsan transmitted the sectarian Dharma lineage of Sino-Korean Imje Seon Buddhism from his master Baek Yongseong, he was not an Imje Seon sectarian but actually an ecumenist. Although Baek Yongseong was an Imje Seon sectarian, because he did not exclude other Seon lineages and other Buddhist traditions such as vinaya, Pure Land Buddhism, doctrinal Buddhism, and Tantric Buddhism, he was a moderate Seon sectarian. Also, although he prioritized the Imje Seon lineage to other Seon lineages, because he did not exclude other Seon lineages, he should be classified a moderate Imje Seon sectarian.

Even though the abovementioned three Seon masters, Baek Yongseong, Ha Dongsan, and I Seongcheol officially and nominally transmitted the sectarian lineage of Sino-Korean Imje Seon Buddhism, they had different thoughts. The thought of an individual Seon practitioner is not completely applicable and is not necessary to absolutely correspond to his sectarian Dharma lineage. We can

¹³ See Hanguk bulgyo chongnam pyeonjip wiwon-hoe, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo chongnam* (The Comprehensive Collection of Source Materials of Contemporary Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Daehan bulgyo jinheung-won, 1993), 576.

easily find out many masters in Sino-Korean Buddhism that their Dharma lineages and their real thoughts are completely different. Even though a Seon master inherited the sectarian Dharma lineage of Sino-Korean Imje Seon Buddhism, we should not expect and conclude that he took the sectarian thoughts.

For example, Baek Yongseong was a moderate Imje Seon sectarian. Of his two disciples Ha Dongsan and Yun Goam (1899-1988)¹⁴ who served as the order's highest patriarchs, even though Ha Dongsan was more ecumenical than his master Baek Yongseong, he officially declared that he inherited the sectarian lineage of Sino-Korean Imje Seon Buddhism.¹⁵ Even though Yun Goam inherited the Dharma lineage of Sino-Korean Imje Seon Buddhism, I could not find his sectarian thoughts but easily his ecumenical thoughts in his works.¹⁶ Yun Goam was more ecumenical than his elder Dharma brother Ha Dongsan. I Seongcheol, an extreme sectarian of Sino-Korean Imje Seon Buddhism, was very much different from moderate ecumenism of his master Ha Dongsan, ecumenism of his Dharma uncle Yun Goam, and moderate Imje Seon sectarianism of his grand master Baek Yongseong.

Baek Yongseong put a stress on the observance of precepts, the practice of Seon Buddhism, the research of doctrinal Buddhism, the translation of Chinese Buddhist texts into vernacular Korean language, the adoption of Christian missionary methods such as the composing of Buddhist songs in the Western music styles and the use of the songs, the propagation of Buddhism among the masses, and the active participation in the independence movement of his nation Korea from Japanese occupation. Even though he began his monastic career from a Seon practitioner who emphasized individual spirituality, he engaged himself and his Buddhism in social issues unlike his disciple Ha Dongsan who was not interested in social issues such as democracy, anti-imperialism, reunification, labor rights, human rights, environmentalism, justice, peace, and other ones.

Ha Dongsan loyally followed his master Baek Yongseong's spiritual path and practiced the preservation of precepts, the research of doctrinal Buddhism, and the practice of Seon Buddhism. Both of them made efforts to popularize precepts and Seon Buddhism among Korean Buddhists. Even so, Ha Dongsan was more conservative than his master Baek Yongseong in social application of Buddhism. For example, first, even though he very sincerely dedicated himself

¹⁴ I Jeong, ed., 129. See also Chanju Mun, "Preface: Yun Goam (1899-1988), the First Spiritual Leader of Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple: A Biography of His Peacemaking Activities," in Chanju Mun and Ronald S. Green, eds., *Buddhist Roles in Peacemaking: How Buddhism Can Contribute to Sustainable Peace* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2009), v-lvii.

¹⁵ Dongsan mundo-hoe, ed., 415-422.

¹⁶ Yun Seonhyo, ed., *Goam daejongsa beobeo-jip: Jabi bosal ui gil* (Great Master Goam's Analects: The Ways of a Compassionate Bodhisattva) (Seoul: Bulgyo yeongsang hoebo-sa, 1990).

to practice Seon Buddhism, he was not much seriously concerned in social activities and issues like his master. Second, when he propagated Buddhism, he used just traditional methods unlike his master without adopting modernized Christian mission ones. Third, even though he actively participated in de-Japanizing Korea, he limited his leading roles in the narrower religious realm, not in the broader social realm, unlike his master.

Ha Dongsan faithfully modeled after the Chan / Pure Land ecumenism of Yongming Yanshou (904-975), Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604), and Yunqi Zhuhong (1535-1615) of Sino-Korean Buddhism and ecumenized Seon Buddhism with Pure Land Buddhism. As the preceding ecumenists laid a stress on the preservation of vinaya, Ha Dongsan also emphasized the strict observation of vinaya. As a vinaya preceptor, he ordained so many novice monks based on Yunqi Zhuhong's *Shami luyi yaolue* (Essential Rules and Ceremonies for Novice Buddhist Monks) and provided Bodhisattva precepts to so many lay Buddhists and monks based on Yongming Yanshou's *Shou pusa jiefu* (A Manual for Receiving Bodhisattva Precepts).

He interpreted the vinaya from the standpoints of mind ground, mind-only and non-duality and considered the precepts as being innate, not extrinsic in all beings. If we extremely emphasize the innate aspect of precepts, we do not need to receive and preserve them. If so, we are easily supposed to become antinomians and reject precepts. Even though he was a subitist, because he still emphasized the reception and preservation of precepts and the practice of altruistic Bodhisattva deeds, he should be defined as a moderate subitist preceptor. So, he was aware of the ethical problems of extreme subitist interpretation of precepts.

He strongly suggested Korean Buddhists to observe the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva precepts that theoretically back up vegetarianism and celibate monasticism and are clearly articulated in *Fanwang jing*. He, furthermore, encouraged them to remove in Korean Buddhism non-vegetarianism and married monasticism seriously Japanized during Japanese occupation period, 1910 – 1945 and recover vegetarianism and celibate monasticism of traditional Korean Buddhism based on the precepts. He relied on the *Fanwang jing* and Bodhisattva precepts and theorized the Purification Buddhist Movement.

By sincerely inheriting previous ecumenical views available in the Sino-Korean Buddhist tradition prior to him, Ha Dongsan incorporated ecumenism and moderate Seon subitism, interpreted Mahāyāna Bodhisattva precepts and applied the interpretation to the Purification Buddhist Movement that aimed at recovering the celibate monasticism and vegetarianism of traditional Korean Buddhism. So, even though the change of the order's founder from ecumenist Bojo Jinul to Imje Seon sectarian Taego Bou seems to be contradictory to Ha Dongsan and the majority of his colleagues of the Purification Buddhist Movement, who officially transmitted the Dharma lineage of Imje Seon sectarianism but sincerely exercised the ecumenical tradition without excluding other Buddhist traditions from the standpoint of the Imje Seon sectarianism, they

just nominally and officially inherited the sectarian lineage but faithfully and actually followed the ecumenical lineage of Sino-Korean Buddhism.

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