Korea Journal, vol. 62, no. 2 (summer 2022): 31–62.
doi: 10.25024/kj.2022.62.2.31

The Establishment of Buddhist Cultivation Centers in Late Joseon Korea

Jong-su LEE

Abstract

Up to the early part of the Joseon period (1392–1910) lecture halls and meditation halls were maintained by the monasteries of the doctrinal and meditational schools, respectively. When the samgha became consolidated into the Seon (Zen) school in the late Joseon period (1600–1910), doctrinal learning was incorporated as part of the three gates of cultivation—meditation, doctrinal studies, and chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha—which maintained the importance of the three traditions. In the 18th century, Pure Land practices became popular so that assemblies for chanting the name of Amitābha were formed in many areas. This trend continued, and later in the 19th century, Buddha recitation halls became common at monasteries. It was not uncommon for monastics in late Joseon to study at a lecture hall after receiving their precepts and thereafter enter a meditation hall for Seon practices. In the late years of life, he or she would either spend time practicing chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha at a secluded temple or practice with laypersons. In this way, lecture halls and meditation halls coexisted, providing the backdrop for active debates on meditation and even the nature of the mind. Such context gave way to new developments in practice and thought in Korean Buddhism of the 19th century.

Keywords: lecture hall, meditation hall, Buddha recitation hall, three gates of cultivation, cultivational practices, devotional community compact

---

Jong-su LEE is an associate professor in the Department of History at Sunchon National University. E-mail: su5589@hanmail.net.

Introduction

Buddhism is a religion based on the notion that cravings and desires can be extinguished through rigorous spiritual practice. The ultimate aim is to attain enlightenment, which will cease the transmigration of the soul through the six destinies of reincarnation (*yukdo* 六道). In the East Asian Buddhist tradition, the renunciate leaves secular life, shaves his or her head, and enters a life of spiritual practice. When the regiment of practice is completed, he or she returns to the secular world to edify and help other sentient beings. While the monastics provide religious guidance, material needs are provided by the laity in return, with hopes of attaining merit to be born in a better world or to become a practitioner to eventually attain nirvana. In this way, the three elements—Buddhist teachings, practicing monastics, and the laypersons—are organically interrelated to make-up the Buddhist tradition in Korea.

It is fair to say that methods of spiritual cultivation in Korean Buddhism are diverse. Some monks enter a mountain alone to practice meditation while others turn to the streets seeking alms from laity as a form of spiritual practice. However, the majority of monks enter monasteries to live communally with other monks, and practice as part of a community of renunciates. In the late Joseon (1601–1910) meditational school (Seon 禪, Zen in Japanese, Chan in Chinese), sitting meditation was practiced as the main form of training while in the doctrinal (Gyo 敎) school, doctrinal studies and meditation were emphasized. In the Pure Land school (Jeongto 淨土), the main form of practice was chanting the name of Buddha Amitābha. Of course, the Seon school did not exclude other forms of practice in favor solely of sitting meditation. The regiment of practice also included doctrinal study and chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha. This pattern of concomitant practice of different forms was also the case in the doctrinal and the Pure Land schools. Nevertheless, depending on the individual school, methods of practice or the rituals performed followed its own tradition. We can, however, be assured that given the Buddha's fundamental teachings, there were shared commonalities, such as the core Buddhist doctrine of the four noble truths

or the aim of enlightenment.[1]

However, from the Silla to the early Joseon period (1392–1600), it is yet not clear what specific methods of practices were adopted by each school.[2] The training processes that were followed or the places where training and cultivation took place at monasteries of the various schools are unclear. However, a certain level of doctrinal knowledge and training would have been required from postulants when they first entered the monasteries of each school. Thereafter, the practitioners would have joined a communal practice in a place that can be referred to as a place for cultivation. In fact, we can assume that a place for practice would not have been different from a place for learning. The place where doctrinal instructions were given and the place for the actual practice of what was taught can be considered places for monastic training, or cultivation centers (*suhaengji* 修行地). In differentiating the two, doctrinal training and practice, doctrinal learning is one part of the process of monastic training and thus an integral aspect of the cultivation center.

The existence of Buddhist cultivational places within the precincts of monasteries were clearly discernable starting from the late Joseon period (1601–1910), and even before. As will be discussed, in the late Joseon period, the cultivation spaces or centers are identified as meditation halls, lecture halls, and Buddha recitation halls. Previous to the late Joseon period, researchers were able to verify meditation and lecture halls in the extant literature. However, no one has been able to clearly outline the method of management of the learning centers or the meditation centers from the early Joseon period and before, largely due to the lack of clear records (N. Yi 1918, 566–573; Y. Kim 1928, 2–3; Nam 1980, 37–83; J. Yi 1981, 61–76). It is only in the late Joseon that we have historical evidence from which, to some degree, curricular processes can be discerned and brought to light. Despite previous research, the full extent of how the cultivation centers operated

1. For more on the system of monastic practice during the Joseon period, see Yongtae Kim (2013, 295–300).
2. The dividing line between the early and late Joseon periods is generally considered the Imjin Wars (1592–1598). However, for convenience, I place the dividing year here at 1600.

remains unexplained. It is within this state of research that this paper will explore and examine the establishment of the cultivation centers in the late Joseon period and its historical significances for Korean Buddhism. Initially, I will briefly discuss the development of cultivation centers, from the Silla period to early Joseon.

Schools of Thought and Cultivation Centers from Silla to Early Joseon

With the transmission of Buddhism to the Korean peninsula from China, Buddhist texts, ritual icons, and images also arrived. We are aware that many monks traveled from the Korean peninsula to China to learn from the leading Chinese masters and then returned. Most likely in the Unified Silla period (668–935) there would have been a system of monastic training for monks that was adopted from China, and it follows that a communal training place would have been established. An example of the adoption of the Chinese monastic system can be gleaned from monks such as the famous Silla monk Uisang 義湘 (625–702), who traveled to China in the late 7th century and then returned to Silla to establish a flourishing Hwaeom 華嚴 (Huayan in Chinese) tradition (McBride 2012, 12–16). Such influences indicate the adoption of Chinese traditions of thought and practice, based on which, various traditions of thought and the monastic system were formed in the Silla kingdom.[3]

Although there are disagreements on the earliest date for the formation of the schools on the Korean Peninsula, there is some level of consensus that various schools were established by as early as the 8th century; the first identifiable schools being Hwaeom and Beopsang 法相 (Faxiang in Chinese) (K. Park 2017, 165–196). Moreover, starting from the 9th century, mountain Seon schools were formed by the Seon monks returning from China who

3. Another example is of Jajang 慈藏 (d. ca. 650), who is conventionally seen as having founded the Vinaya school in Silla. However, this is tenuous and McBride claims it lacks firm evidence. See McBride (2014).

had been trained by Chinese Chan masters. At this time the existence of esoteric and Pure Land Buddhism, in addition, can be conjectured to have been transmitted but their influence would not have been significant enough for a formation of a separate school.

The significance of the establishment of the schools is that various doctrinal systems based on separate teachings coexisted, and as a result there would have been separate systems of training. In addition, each school would have formed their own method of practice in accordance to their own adopted doctrine. Moreover, their training would have taken place at a designated place of cultivation. Such differences can be verified from specific foundational sutras of each school (*soui gyeongjeon* 所依經典), and based on these differences individual systems of cultivation would have formed along with an awareness of the distinct differences between the individual schools.

These ideas are supported by the extant records dated to the end of the Silla period, which indicate the popularity of certain thoughts unique to individual schools. Based on these records, the systems of teachings can be divided into the following: *Nirvana Sutra*, the Vinaya, the *Lotus Sutra*, Samron 三論 (Three Treaties, Madhyamaka in Sanskrit), *Huayan Sutra*, Pure Land, Abhidharma, Faxiang (Yogācārya in Sanskrit), Vajrayāna, and esoteric thought (S. Park 1990, 87–116).

We can gain further clues on popular doctrinal teachings and practices during the Unified Silla period based on the *Record of Travel to the Tang in Search of the Dharma* (*Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記)[4] by the Japanese Tendai 天台宗 monk Ennin 圓仁 (794–864 CE). We find passages in Ennin's travel records that describe "lectures on sutras" and "sutras recitations" that took place at the Fahua yuan 法華院 (Lotus Monastery) located in Chishan 赤山 (Red Mountain) on the Shandong Peninsula. Ennin recorded that in the winter, the *Lotus Sutra*, and in the summer the Sutra of Golden Light (*Suvarṇa-prabhāsôttama-sūtra*, *Jinguangming jing* 金光明經 in Chinese) was lectured on (Ennin 2001, 178–180). The winter and summer

4. This is a record of Ennin's journey to Tang China between the years 838 to 847. It provides valuable information on the state of Buddhism and the monastics of China and, in our case, of the Silla community who resided in China at the time.

seem to imply the traditional winter-summer monastic retreats[5] with the teachings on the respective sutras. Given this information, it seems reasonable that similar practices may have been replicated in the Silla monasteries. More specific information on the cultivational scheme can be discerned in the sections "Sutra Lectures" (講經) and "Sutra Recitation" (誦經) as follows:

> Sutra Lectures:
> In the *jin* time (辰時),[6] a bell is rung to notify of sutra lectures. People and the lecturer assemble at the hall (堂). As the lecturer ascends to the elevated seat, the people recite the name of the Buddha (稱佛). After the lecturer is seated and the people finish reciting the name of the Buddha, the monks in the lower seats chant a verse, "What is this sutra… [we] ask the Buddha to reveal its mysteries." When the lecturer reveals the name of the sutra, the director of duties comes [forward] and reads out the list of donors and the donations for the opening of this dharma assembly. When the recognition for the donation is finished an inquisitor asks a question. As the question is asked, the lecturer raises a horse hair whisk and listens to the questioner. When the question is finished [the lecturer] lowers the whisk and answers the question. The lecturer answers any on-going questions and when [all] disagreements are ended the lecture is concluded. (Ennin 2001, 209–215)
>
> Sutra Recitation:
> When the bell is rung and the people have chosen their seats, the monks in the lower seats stand and use a hammer and chant, "All will pay reverence, give praise, and always depend on the three jewels (the Buddha, Dharma, and samgha)." After a monk recites a sutra, the people recite together. After the recitation is finished, the leading master alone chants "[I] take refuge in the Buddha, I take refuge in the dharma, and I take

5. The winter retreat is generally known to run from the 15th day of the tenth month to the 15th day of the first month. The summer retreat runs from the 15th day of the fourth month to the 15th day of the seventh month.
6. This is referring to the early morning period, from seven to nine in the morning when the lecture takes place.

> refuge in the samgha." Thereafter, the leading monk leads the people in reciting the twelve names of the Buddha and bodhisattva and give praise. He then ends the [sutra] recitation. (Ennin 2001, 209–215)

According to the above, sutra lectures and sutra recitation took place separately, wherein the lectures were held in the morning and recitation was in the afternoon or evening. This is based on the fact that the bell to gather the people had to be rung again, indicating a separate event. Moreover, we can conjecture that the lectures and recitation took place in the lecture hall. This is based on the archeological evidence of a large hall at monasteries from the Three Kingdoms period in Korea. For instance, it was discovered on the grounds of the famous Silla period Hwangnyongsa monastery, evidence of a large hall located behind the "Golden Hall" (Geumdang 金堂), which is equivalent to the modern dharma hall for dharma services. Similar archeological evidence has also been found at the main Goguryeo and Baekje monasteries (Sung-woo Kim 1989, 155–167). It follows that together with the transmission of Buddhism, sutra lectures and sutra recitation formed the main practices of monastic training.

From the start of the Goryeo period (918–1392), organizational developments took place within the Buddhist community. It was a period in the history of Korean Buddhism when various schools of thought flourished. As early as Goryeo's fourth ruler, King Gwangjong 光宗 (925–975), monastic exams were instated, and successful candidates of these examinations were appointed as abbots of branch temples of the schools. The representative doctrinal schools consisted of Hwaeom, Beopsang, Jungdo 中道 (Madhyamaka), Yeolban jong 涅槃宗 (Nirvāṇa [-Sūtra]), Siheung jong 始興宗, Sinin jong 神印宗 (Divine Seal School),[7] and Domun jong 道門宗 (Gate of the Way School). The representative Seon schools included Jogye 曹溪, Cheontae, Namsan jong 南山宗 (Southern Mountain school), and Chongji jong 摠持宗. By the late Goryeo period, some of these schools declined while others flourished, resulting in eleven schools that can be verified. Although

7. Sinin jong is an early Buddhist school of the Silla period formed from the transmitted tenants of esoteric Buddhism.

there is very little information on the schools during that time, it is fortunate that there is a description of the schools in the *Taejong sillok*. It is described that by the late Goryeo period, the Nirvāṇa (Sūtra) school had declined and no longer existed, while the Cheontae school had become divided into the Cheontae soja school (Tiantai shuzi zong 天台疏字宗 in Chinese) and the Cheontae beopsang school (Tiantai faxiang zong 天台法相宗 in Chinese) (*Taejong sillok* 6/3/27).[8]

Monastic examinations were held in Gaegyeong, the capital city of Goryeo, based on select Buddhist scriptures of individual schools. Although, we cannot know the titles of the exact sutras used for testing in the monastic examinations for the Goryeo period, we do have more specific information for the Joseon period. This information can then be used to conjecture on the late Goryeo monastic examinations. Firstly, according to the *National Code* (*Gyeongguk daejeon* 經國大典), monastic examinations were divided for the two main branches: for the doctrinal schools, the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經 in Chinese, *Hwaeom gyeong* in Korean) and *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra* (*Sipji ron* 十地論 in Korean), and for the meditational schools, the *Transmission of the Lamp Records* (*Jeondeung nok* 傳燈錄 in Korean) and the *Compilation of Examinations of and Verses on Ancient Precedents* (*Seonmun yeomsong* 禪門拈頌 in Korean), were tested in separate exams. It would be safe to assume that such division and the separate sutras used for the examination would have been the same in the late Goryeo period. For instance, the *Compilation of Examinations of and Verses on Ancient Precedents* was compiled by the Goryeo monk Jingak Hyesim 眞覺慧心 (1178–1234), the disciple of the well-known systemiser of monastic practice, Jinul 知訥 (1158–1210). This compilation would have been included in the monastic examinations.

In this way, the schools were categorized as belong to either the doctrinal or the meditational tradition and based on this categorization the examination candidate would have been tested on the sutras either from the doctrinal or meditational category. In addition, the candidate would also be tested on specific sutras determined by the individual schools that the

8. For *Sillok* citations, the "year/month/day" format will be used.

candidate belonged to. On successful completion of the examination, the candidate would be awarded the qualifications to become an abbot for the temples of the specific school.

Previous to taking the examinations, the candidate, in order to prepare, would have been given an established set of teachings and training at a center designed for such purposes at the home monastery. However, there are no extant sources from which we can draw specific information on the nature of teachings and training. There are, however, Goryeo-period epigraphical records based on which we can draw some understanding on the prevailing lecture halls or meditation halls of the period. These are names of halls that refer to doctrinal halls (*gyowon* 敎院) recorded on steles dated to as early as 1025, ninety years after the founding of the Goryeo dynasty. Examples of these names include the following from the extant Goryeo-period steles, arranged chronologically.

Table 1. Doctrinal Halls from Extant Goryeo-Period Steles

Year	Doctrinal halls
1025	Jeongyowon 傳敎院[9]
1188	Honggyowon 洪敎院[10]
1111	Gwanggyowon 廣敎院[11]
1342	Gangwon 講院 (Lecture Hall), and Sunggyowon 崇敎院[12]

It should be mentioned that these great halls were not limited to doctrinal training, but were places where other forms of Buddhist practices such as meditation took place. Further to this, great monasteries belonging to certain schools of thought had places where various forms of Buddhist

9. Geodonsa Wongong guksa Seungmyo tapbi 居頓寺圓空國師勝妙塔碑 (1025), see GGM.
10. Yeongtongsa Juji Jeonggak seungtong Myojimyeong 靈通寺住持正覺僧統墓誌銘 (1188), see GGM.
11. Geumsansa Hyedeok wangsa Jineung tapbi 金山寺慧德王師眞應塔碑 (1111), see GGM.
12. Beopjusa Jajeong Gukjonbi 法住寺慈淨國尊碑 (1342), see GGM.

practices can be performed. For instance, all the great doctrinal monasteries had places where monks could both study scriptures and practice meditation or other cultivational practices. Moreover, while these names can be understood as halls for teaching, they were even places for the production of books. For instance, records indicate that Yogâcāra (consciousness-only) sutras were produced at Gwanggyowon hall at the Geumsansa 金山寺 temple, which belonged to the Beopsang school (J. Yi 1996, 49).

Similar examples of names of meditation halls exist from extant Goryeo-period epigraphical sources. These references to meditation halls are in most cases indicated as *seonwon* 禪院. The various names of these halls are as follows, also arranged chronologically.

Table 2. Meditation Halls from Extant Goryeo-Period Steles

Year	Meditation halls
924	Heungnyeong seonwon 興寧禪院 and Eungang seonwon 銀江禪院[13]
940	Jijang seonwon 地藏禪院[14]
941	Gyeongcheong seonwon 境清禪院, Heugam seonwon 黑巖禪院, and Gwisan seonwon 龜山禪院[15]
946	Sana seonwon 舍那禪院[16]
965	Sana seonwon 舍那禪院[17]
975	Godal seonwon 高達禪院 and Songgye seonwon 松溪禪院[18]
1025	Geumgwang seonwon 金光禪院[19]
1130	Baegam seonwon 白巖禪院[20]

13. Heungnyeongsa Jinghyo daesa tapbi 興寧寺澄曉大師塔碑 (924), see GGM.
14. Bohyeonsa Nangwon daesa Ojin tapbi 普賢寺朗圓大師悟眞塔碑 (940), see GGM.
15. Myeongbongsa Gyeongcheong seonwon Jajeok seonsa neungun tapbi 鳴鳳寺境清禪院慈寂禪師凌雲塔碑 (941), see GGM.
16. Muwisa Seongak daesa Pyeongwang tapbi 無爲寺先覺大師遍光塔碑 (946), see GGM.
17. Bongamsa Jeongjin daesa Wono tapbi 鳳巖寺靜眞大師圓悟塔碑 (965), see GGM.
18. Godalsa Wonjong daesa Hyejin tapbi 高達寺元宗大師慧眞塔碑 (975), see GGM.
19. Geodonsa Wongong guksa Seungmyo tapbi 居頓寺圓空國師勝妙塔碑 (1025), see GGM.
20. Jillakgong jungsu cheongpyeongsan munsuwon gi 眞樂公重修淸平山文殊院記 (1130), see GGM.

These halls were centers for spiritual training that were maintained by the meditational school monasteries. However, during the period when the state examinations were a central aspect of monastic life, these halls would have been for learning and practicing purposes, mostly in preparation for the monastic examinations rather than strictly for purely spiritual practices as with modern meditation halls.

During the Goryeo period, these halls would have also functioned as teaching centers for the study of examination materials, although they were called meditation halls. Most likely the monks would have studied the *Transmission of the Lamp Records* and the *Compilation of Examinations of and Verses on Ancient Precedents* that were included in the common examination for the meditational schools, together with the basic sutras for the individual meditational schools.

Other than these training and cultivation centers, many temples were places where devotional compacts were formed and its members met for communal devotional practices. In this sense, these temples were centers for devotional practices for the surrounding communities. Some of the representative devotional compacts include the Sujeong gyeolsa 水精結社, initiated in 1128 at Odaesa temple at Jirisan mountain, or the Jeonghye gyeolsa 定慧結社 (Samādhi and Prajñā Compact), which was started in 1188 at Geojosa temple by the famous monk Jinul. This same compact was continued at Songgwangsa monastery. Another example is the Baengnyeon gyeolsa 白蓮結社 (White Lotus Compact) that was started in 1216 at Mandeoksa temple by the monk Yose 了世 (1163–1245) (Choe 1987, 67–97; Jo 2018, 175–200; Kang 2019, 115–143).

At the start of the Joseon dynasty, during the reign of King Taejong (r. 1400–1418), the eleven Buddhist schools of the Goryeo period were reduced, in line with the new anti-Buddhist state policies of Joseon, to seven schools. During the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418–1450), these were then reduced further to two schools: Seon jong, or meditational school, and Gyo jong, or doctrinal school (*Sejong sillok* 6/4/5). Initially, this reduction of schools was mostly an administrative process that did not affect the overall operation of the samgha, but eventually the reductions led to decrease in the number of temples and monastics.

After the 15th century, when the samgha was divided into two main schools of meditational and doctrinal, the places of cultivation came to be more distinctly classified into meditation halls for the meditational schools and lecture halls for the doctrinal schools. Although the monastic examinations were briefly ceased during King Jungjong's reign (r. 1506–1544), they were revived during Myeongjong's rule (r. 1545–1567), to be eventually abolished once and for all in 1566. Therefore, it would be safe to say that up to the time of the full abolishment of the monastic examinations, monks were trained in preparation for the state examinations at the meditation halls and lecture halls.

Beyond 1566, both schools ceased to be recognized by the state and the distinguishing markers of the schools became less meaningful. In the 17th century, the meditational tradition flourished and gained dominance within the Buddhist community over the doctrinal. This, however, did not amount to the disappearance or the degeneration of doctrinal studies. Rather, there appeared a trend of including doctrinal studies into a combined system of meditational and doctrinal study referred to as *seongyo gyeomsu* 禪敎兼修 (also *seongyo ilchi* 禪敎一致) within the community of monks who began to identify themselves as meditational school. The formation of a single school will be explained further below.

The relation of doctrinal study to meditational practice was perceived as mutually necessary. This idea was accurately expressed by Bou 普雨 (1509–1565), who led the brief revival of Buddhism in the early 16th century.[21] Bou was responding to a critique of the combined format as follows: "Gyo is the gradual practice of Seon, and originally Seon is the realization of gradual practice [of doctrinal study]. They are perfectly the same."[22] This acceptance of both methods of practice, not as opposing or conflictive but as harmonious and mutually necessary, became prevalent and fully adopted into the late Joseon period, becoming a hallmark of late

21. Bou was commissioned by Queen Dowager Munjong (1501–1565), mother of King Myeongjong, to lead the revival of Buddhism under her support. Soon after her death, Bou was sent into exile where he was murdered.

22. 敎是全一禪之頓敎 禪是元頓敎之一禪 禪敎圓融 ('Gyojong pansarong myeongpyeon' 敎宗判事錄名篇, HBJ 7,550b02-b04).

Joseon Buddhism. This approach was accepted and further developed by the famous Joseon monk Hyujeong 休靜 (1520–1604) through his compositions, such as *Seongyo seok* 禪敎釋 and *Seongyo gyeol* 禪敎訣 and instructed his students on the fundamental notion of "Seon and Gyo are one."

Moreover, with the abolishment of official recognition of the separate Seon and Gyo schools in 1566, shortly after the death of Queen Dowager Munjong in 1565, the integration of the two schools was accelerated. There were increasing cases of monks connecting the two methods of practice by first completing doctrinal studies at the lecture hall and afterwards continuing their cultivation with meditational practices at the meditation hall. It was during such developments in the notions of Buddhist cultivation that the Imjin Wars occurred. The events that followed led to further developments and eventually the establishment of an integrated scheme of cultivation of the two methods, the next topic of discussion. The modern method of cultivation in Korean Buddhism is essentially the continuation of such developments in late Joseon Buddhism.

Establishment of Centers for Meditation, Doctrinal Study, and Buddha Recitation in Late Joseon

The Historical Context

The Imjin Wars came to an end after seven years of societal turmoil and became a dividing line between early and late Joseon period. The resulting social changes were so drastic and widespread that any return to the society of the early period was impossible. The destruction of the wars afflicted those of the lower class much more than others. At the same time, the ruling yangban class moved to tighten its control on socio-political power. In order to display the superiority of the yangban class, elaborate records of family lineage were created. This led to the notion that such family lineage records were the essential accoutrements of yangban families. Within this development the genealogy of the yangban family patriarchs became an essential marker.

It was based on such notions of social legitimacy and the prevailing notion of "orthodox transmission of the Way" (*dotong* 道統) in the socio-political arena that the Neo-Confucian scholar-officials also recognized the Buddhist genealogy of patriarchs.[23] Within this socio-political context, the Buddhist community formed its own genealogy of orthodoxy by recognizing Taego's 太古 (1301–1382) lineage and the orthodoxy of the Linji school (Imje jong 臨濟宗) of the Chinese Chan tradition.[24]

At the beginning of the Joseon period, the genealogy emphasizing the royal preceptor Naong 懶翁 (1320–1376) was popularly recognized. However, after the Imjin Wars, Taego's lineage came to replace Naong's as the orthodox lineage (Park 2000, 51–74). The formation of a new genealogy occurred during the process of establishing the lineage of Hyujeong, who was highly regarded for his role in the war effort against Japan. This shifting from Naong to Taego's lineage was also an indication that up to that time establishing genealogy was not regarded as highly important.[25]

However, after Hyujeong passed away a need was felt for an identity of the Buddhist community as indicated from the actions of his disciples, who established Hyujeong's genealogy. It was ending of the wars in 1598 which provided a pivotal point for the Buddhist community to form a new Buddhist identity through the formation of an orthodox lineage centered mainly on Hyujeong and his disciples. The final orthodox lineage was formed through Taego using the fact that he traveled to China and received the transmission of the Linji line, and in doing so the mainstream Buddhist community identified itself as a continuation of the Linji school.

Despite the focus on the meditational school of Linji, internal monastic practices moved towards the integration of meditation, doctrinal study, and

23. Kim-Haboush (1999) explains that the notion of orthodox genealogy became an important identifier of orthodoxy. For an explanation of the notion of *dotong*, see Kim-Haboush (1999, 66–68).

24. See Sung-Eun Thomas Kim (2020, 216–218) on the adaption of the Confucian notion of *dotong* to the Buddhist situation.

25. This can also be noted from the incomplete lineage that Hyujeong himself draws. Hyujeong traces back only two generations to Yeonggwan 靈觀 (1485–1571) and his master, Jiyeom 智嚴 (1464–1534).

chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha practices. Opposition by the monks from the doctrinal school to the integration efforts of the three methods of practices was expressed but without much avail. The initial integrated method was meditation-center and it was from the point-of-view of meditation that doctrinal studies and chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha were adopted into the new system. However, eventually the three practices were accepted as equally important and known as the three gates of cultivation (*sammun* 三門) (Lee 2010, 60–200). No different from how it was described in the above, after the seventeenth century, the three gates consisted of 1) meditation or short-cut approach (*gyeongjeol-mun* 徑截門),[26] 2) doctrinal study or perfect and sudden approach (*wondon-mun* 圓頓門), and 3) chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha approach (*yeombul-mun* 念佛門), which correspond respectively to the main practice methods of the meditational, doctrinal and the Pure Land traditions.

For most monks the practices were done in the order of doctrinal study, meditational practice, and chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha. Initially there was no specially designated place for the Pure Land chanting and it was done as part of everyday practice. However, with the popularity of the devotional Pure Land compacts in the 18th century, Buddha recitation halls were built to provide a place where these compacts that consisted of monks, nuns, and laity could practice together.

As noted earlier, the format of the integrated training method consisted of performing doctrinal studies first. This was due to Hyujeong's systemization of the three gates, which is best illustrated by his widely accepted instruction, "leave doctrinal study and enter meditational practice," also known as *sagyo ipseon* 捨教入禪. While this notion has often been accepted as an indication of the secondary role of doctrinal study and the primacy of meditation, there is an alternative interpretation. The phrase *sagyo ipseon* also has the implication that one must complete doctrinal studies before one can commence meditational practice. This is to

26. The short-cut approach refers to a specific form of meditation—*ganhwa seon* (看話禪), otherwise known as "the Seon of observing the critical phrase" of a *gongan* or "the Seon of investigating the topic of inquiry." See Buswell (2013, 176–185).

emphasize the foundational role of doctrinal training such that without it, one may fall into the sickness of emptiness (*gongbyeong* 空病).[27]

This admonition is emphasized in Hyujeong's writings, *Seongyo seok* and *Seongyo gyeol*. The problem of practitioners not placing importance on foundational training before moving to other practices is also shared in the Confucian tradition; "Learning and not contemplating, leads to darkness. Only contemplating without learning is perilous."[28]

Cultivation Centers for the Three Gates of Cultivation in the Late Joseon Period

1) Lecture Halls

Lecture halls were established in the main monasteries, and in the case of large monasteries, there were two or three separate lecture halls in operation. For instance, at the Seonamsa temple of Mount Jogyesan, the northern and southern sub-temples each had a lecture hall. It is known that there was even a competitive relationship between the resident monks of the two lecture halls and even with lecture halls elsewhere such as at the famous Songgwangsa monastery. Some of the most famous and well-known lecture halls are located at Songgwangsa monastery, Daegheungsa monastery, Haeinsa monastery, Tongdosa monastery, Donghwasa monastery, and Boheonsa monastery. The size of these lecture halls varied such that the numbers of monks who attended the gatherings as these halls ranged from tens to hundreds of monks.

When a person entered the monastery, before being fully ordained, he or she went through the educational course for novices (*samigwa* 沙彌科). Upon completion of the novice course the postulant was eligible for ordination. He or she was then able to continue in the monastic curriculum (*iryeok gwajeong* 履歷課程), the remaining of which consisted of three more

27. This refers to the tendency of postulants to become overly attached to the emptiness of all things.

28. 學而不思則罔, 思而不學則殆 (CTP, s.v. *Analects*, "Wei Zheng," 15).

stages: the four-fold texts course (*sajipgwa* 四集科), four-fold teachings course (*sagyogwa* 四教科), and the final level of the great-teaching course (*daegyogwa* 大教科) (Nam 1980b, 11, 25–60).[29] The monks or nuns in training received teachings from the lecturer on the course texts in the morning, and in the afternoon, studied on their own.

The lecturer was also constantly learning as they transcribed from the personal notes of the previous lecturer and used that in his or her own instructions. At the time of retirement, the lecturer would also give his or her own personal notes to the next lecturer. In this way the commentaries on the course texts from previous generations were passed on to future generations (S. Yi 2017, 32–82). Such a tradition of passing on one's own personal notes continues to the present day. Many lecturers today are in fact in possession of the personal notes of their predecessors.

Although early forms of monastic curriculum most likely existed in the Goryeo period, it appears that a general monastic curriculum was systemized by the monastic community in the late Joseon period. One of the supporting evidences is the integrated nature of this established curriculum that is in accordance with the integration of meditation and doctrinal studies, which took place in the late Joseon period.

The integration of Seon and Gyo can be noted in the mixture of the texts that were included in the monastic curriculum, the four-fold texts course. The texts studied in this course included: 1) the *Preface to the Collection of Chan Sources* (*Chanyuan zhuquan ji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 in Chinese, *Seonweon jejeon jip doseo* in Korean) by Zongmi 宗密 (780–840), the fifth patriarch of the Chinese Huayan school; 2) *Excerpts from the Dharma Collection and Special Practice Record with Personal Notes* (*Beopjip byeolhaengnok jeoryo byeongip sagi* 法集別行錄節要幷入私記) by the Goryeo monk, Jinul; 3) *Letters of Dahui* (*Dahui shuzhuang* 大慧書狀 in Chinese, *Daehye seojang* in Korean) by the Chinese monk Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲

29. The earliest description of the monastic curriculum is by Yŏngwŏl Chŏnghak 詠月淸學 (1570–1654) in the mid-seventeenth century. See Yeongweol Cheonghak's "Sajipsagyo jeondeung yeomsong hwaeom" 四集四教傳燈拈頌華嚴 (HBJ 8, 234–235).

(1089–1163)[30]; and 4) *Essentials of Chan* (*Gaofeng chanyao* 高峯禪要 in Chinese, *Gobong seonyo* in Korean) by Gaofeng Yuanmiao 高峯原妙 (1238–1295).[31] We can verify that the texts included in this course had the purpose of integrating both doctrinal thought and meditational ideas, as explained by Hyujeong:

> When leading the first time learner, understanding based on knowledge that perceives things as they are is developed through the *Preface to the Collection of Chan Sources* and the *Excerpts from the Dharma Collection and Special Practice Record with Personal Notes*. Thereafter, through the *Essentials of Chan* and *Letters of Dahui*, the sickness of knowledge that distinguishes through conceptualizing knowledge is cured.[32]

Based on the fact that the four-fold texts course is the start of in-depth studies of the scriptures after being ordained indicates the significance of such texts. In addition to implying the notion of the oneness of meditational practice and doctrinal study, the order of the texts studied also indicates that doctrinal matters were taught before doctrines of the meditational school. This follows the need to eradicate mental afflictions that may be caused by attachment to conceptual knowledge, also expressed in the adage, one needs to leave *gyo* to enter *seon*.

It appears that by the 17th century the monastic curriculum from the course for neophytes up to the great-teaching course was set and widely practiced. The materials for the third stage of the curriculum, the four-fold teachings course, began with instructions on the *Diamond Sutra* (*Jingang jing* 金剛經), Śūraṅgama-sūtra (*Lengyan jing* 楞嚴經), *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經), and the *Lotus Sutra* (*Fahua jing* 法華經), all of them scriptures that revealed the true essence of the mind. These

30. This is a collection of letters of Dahui Zonggao, the Song-dynasty advocate of the Chan of investigating the topic of inquiry.
31. This text by the Yuan-period monk Gaofeng is on the Chan of investigating the topic of inquiry.
32. 若導初學則 先以禪源集別行錄 立如實知見 次以禪要語錄 掃除知解之病 (‘Byeoksongdang daesa haengjeok’ 碧松堂大師行蹟, HBJ 7, 753c16-c17).

sutras were also widely read by Confucian intellectuals. These texts provided the basic doctrinal guidelines for the unity of meditation and doctrinal study (Kimura 1992, 277–281).

From the early Joseon period, the *Lotus Sutra* was recited and was of the most published sutras. However, in later years a change in the use of the *Lotus Sutra* occurred when Baegam Seongchong 栢庵性聰 (1631–1700) popularized the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論), and this came to replace the *Lotus Sutra* in the four-fold teachings course in the 18th century (Yongtae Kim 2018, 160–167, Yeongsu Kim 1928, 2–3).

In the final great-teaching course, the main texts were the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp Published in the Jingde Era* (*Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 in Chinese, *Gyeongdeok jeondeung nok* in Korean, hereafter *Record of the Transmission*), and the *Compilation of Analyses and Verses [on Ancient Precedents] of the Seon School* (*Seonmun yeomsong jip* 禪門拈頌集, hereafter *Compilation of Analyses*). It is most likely that the *Lotus Sutra*, the *Daśabhūmi-vyākhyāna* (*Shidi jing lun* 十地經論 in Chinese, *Sipjigyeong non* in Korean) and the *Paragon of the Seon House* (*Seonga gwigam* 禪家龜鑑) that were part of the monastic curriculum in the late Joseon period were initially not part of the general scriptures studied in the fourth course and were added later with their greater popularity at a later time.[33]

Based on this monastic curriculum, if the four-fold texts course can be considered to have set the direction of the curriculum, then in the subsequent four-fold teachings course, representative scriptures of the doctrinal school were taught. In the final course, the great teaching course, the main scriptures of the doctrinal school—the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and the *Lotus Sutra*—and the main scriptures of the meditational school—*Record of the Transmission* and the *Compilation of Analyses*—were taught, through which the oneness of the two approaches could be experienced by the postulants. Such recognition of the oneness is also evident in the fact that in the late Joseon period some well-known meditation masters were also well-known lecturers.

33. Yongtae Kim (2013, 68–71) outlines the early format of the curriculum that was formed at the very least by the first half of the 17th century.

For a monk to complete the curriculum from the four-fold texts course to the great teaching course took about nine years, but the amount of time spent in the courses and the entire curriculum was not limited (N. Yi 1918, 989). Although there were some who did complete the entire curriculum, there would also have been many who did not.

Despite the domination of the meditational school in the late Joseon, the popularity of doctrinal study continued and even flourished. The study of Hwaeom thought in the great teaching course lectures became so popular that often times over a thousand people attended. For instance when the well-known late Joseon monk Jian 志安 (1664–1729) held a general assembly for the study of Hwaeom at Seumsansa temple in 1725, it was reported that about 1,400 people attended. In a continuation of this popularity, about 1,200 people attended a general assembly held by the monk Saebong 璽封 (1687–1767) in 1754 at Seonsamsa temple in the Suncheon region. In another case, 1,500 people attended a Hwaeom general assembly held by Hyeam 惠庵 (fl. 18th c.) in 1785 (Y. Kim 2010, 253–272).

2) Meditation Halls

After a monk has completed the courses at the lecture hall, he or she became an itinerant monk who wore a patch-robe and traveled widely to visit meditation halls managed by great Seon masters. In principle, to enter the meditation hall for practice, the postulant had to be twenty years or older, had to have completed at least the four-fold teachings course, and have accepted the monastic precepts (Nam 1980b, 11, 26). In the later Joseon period, the master from whom one received the dharma transmission, the dharma master (*beopsa* 法師), was considered more important than one's vocational master (*eunsa* 恩師). The vocational master is the original master, a senior monk, who was the formal sponsor of the postulant's (*haengja* 行者) candidacy for ordination.[34] On the other hand, the dharma master was the

34. A vocational master (or beneficent master), who was no-less than ten years senior, was assigned to the postulant. It was the *eunsa* who gave a dharma name to the postulant. See Buswell (1992, 82–83).

one who instructed a practitioner in his or her practice and verified the postulant's enlightened state. That is why the master at the meditation hall was an important figure to a practitioner. The itinerant monk would visit great masters in order to have dharma tests (*beopgeo yang* 法擧揚) with the master, otherwise referred to as Seon (Zen) encounter dialogues (*seonmundap* 禪問答). In such an encounter, the practicing monk would be challenged, and if successful, he or she would have their enlightened state verified by the master.

The meditation halls are well-known as places of summer and winter meditational retreats. In many cases the itinerant monk moved to a different meditational center after the completion of retreats to seek other masters. During the retreats, the itinerant monks had many chances to verify the progress in their practice. At these meditation halls, the practice of the short-cut approach (*ganhwa seon*) was common. The practitioner wrote the *hwadu* on the wall and sat facing it in meditation to focus their mind on the *hwadu*.

Progression in the stages of practice was spurred by the Seon (Zen) encounter dialogues with one's master. At times the master might test the practitioner to gauge their progression. At other times, the practitioner might visit the master seeking a Seon (Zen) encounter dialogue to test the level of his or her own practice. When the spiritual development was verified by the master, the disciple practitioner received the transmission of the master's robe and alms bowl as a sign and seal of the dharma transmission. The disciple could then take a position as head of the meditation hall and take on the role of instructing practitioners.

In this way, scriptures specific to the individual schools, such as *Records of Chan Dialogues* (*Chanyulu* 禪語錄 in Chinese, *Seoneorok* in Korean) for the meditational school, were studied at the lecture halls and the notions of separate schools slowly disappeared.

The daily schedule at the meditation halls was simple and regular; the waking hour was three in the morning and bed time was nine in the evening. Other than meal times and short free times, the rest of the day was spent in sitting meditation. One hour was spent in meditation and about five minutes spent walking, and this was repeated throughout the day. In times of practice, silence was observed as a basic rule. The length of time in the life

of a monk that was spent in meditational practice was not set or limited. After spending several years as an itinerant monk some monks sought a secluded hermitage and continued their meditational practice. Monks practicing meditation have been recorded in the travelogues of some Confucian scholars.

In Sin Myeonggu's 申命耉 (1666–1742) travel diary, *Yuduryu songnok* 遊頭流續錄 (1720), there is a record of two meditational monks in practice as follows:

> [The monk] was wearing a robe and seated in lotus posture. Even though guests arrived they did not bother standing and when asked a question they did not answer. According to all the other monks, "They were practicing silence. Even if the government inspector were to come they would remain in that position." There was a large jar of pine leaf gruel at the back of the room. It is said they ate one bowl only at noon.[35]

Different from lecture halls, the meditation halls only needed space for practicing sitting meditation and therefore the monasteries and hermitages merely put up a hanging sign board and designated the buildings as meditation halls. However, among the many meditation halls during the late Joseon period, there were a few famous halls: Chilbul meditation hall at Mount Jirisan, Songgwang meditation hall at Mount Jogyesan, Daeseung meditation hall of Mount Sabulsan, and several halls of monasteries in the Geumgangsan Mountains.

3) Buddha Recitation Halls

Although chanting was a practice commonly done by monks from the early days of Buddhism on the Korean Peninsula, the establishment of Buddha recitation halls was a phenomenon that occurred late in the Joseon period. As discussed above, the establishment of lecture and meditation halls was based on evidences of practices of the doctrinal and meditational schools. In

35. 有入定禪二人 着袈裟 向壁趺坐 見客不起 問之不應 僧等皆曰 此乃無言工夫也 雖巡相來臨亦然矣 松葉粥 一小甕 置房後 日中飮一器云 (Choe, et al. 2008, 350).

comparison, the tradition of chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha has been passed down simply as an everyday practice performed by the postulant. Originally, chanting was merely practiced and perceived as supplementary to meditational practice and doctrinal study. It was not until the 18th century that chanting became a form of practice equal in importance to meditation and doctrinal study. Such a changed perception of chanting in the late 18th century can be discerned in the monk Kwaeseon's 快善 (1693–1764) *Recommendation on Right Discernment and Repaying Indebtedness* (*Cheong taekbeop boeun mun* 請擇法報恩文, 1767).

> While the gates of Seon depart from words and doctrinal study depends on words, because sentient beings' spiritual abilities are different, gates [of practice] must also be different. However, those of both Seon and Gyo schools, the ordinary people and the sages, the benevolent and the evil, can together enter the one gate of reciting the name of the Buddha [Amitābha].[36]

Based on the above, it is evident that Kwaeseon considered chanting practices superior to meditation and doctrinal study. However, Kwaeseon was not intent on rejecting the gates of Seon or Gyo, but rather to integrate other methods into the gate of chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha (Lee 2008b, 143–176). In this way Jinheo's 振虛 (d. 1782) compilation, *Pointing Directly at the Three Gates* (*Sammun jikji* 三門直指, 1769) was published at a time when chanting methods were developing and flourishing. The following are the initial words in this compilation, explaining the method of chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha.

> It is asked: "Is it because chanting practice is popular that it comes first among the three gates [of practices]?" I answer: "It is said in *Commentary on the "Vairocana" Chapter*, the samādhi of reciting the name of the Buddha is the father of bodhisattvas. It is at first emphasizing the importance [of this practice]. Also, in "The Ten Stages" chapter, it is

36. 禪敎二門 離言依言得入行相 由其機別 門亦迥異 然念佛一門 則禪敎兩宗 及凡聖善惡通入之門也 (*Cheong taekbeop boeun mun* 請擇法報恩文, HBJ 9, 646c05).

> explained that [practitioners] 'do not leave chanting practices.' If this is so, then the three gates [of practice] can go forwards or backwards. One should not speak of grading them as superior or inferior."[37]

This is a claim that there is no gradation between the gates of chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha, meditational practices, and doctrinal studies. That such an assertion could be made indicates that there was great societal acceptance of chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha. It is also likely there were those who considered chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha as superior. This is likely the reason Jinheo responded to the question of chanting practices coming "first among the three gates [of practice]."

Starting from the 18th century, assemblies for chanting the name of Amitābha (*yeombulhoe* 念佛會, or *yeombulgye* 念佛契) spread throughout the peninsula. An example of its popularity can be illustrated with a ten-thousand-day assembly for chanting the name of Amitābha (*manil yeombul hoe* 萬日念佛會), which was convened in 1801 at Geonbongsa temple in the Geumgangsan Mountains. In such assemblies, reciting the name of the Buddha takes place every day for 10,000 days. This assembly occurred two more times, in 1851 and 1881. Considering that 10,000 days is equivalent to 27 years and 145 days, three such assemblies conducted consecutively totals 82 years and 70 days. In other words, the name of the Buddha Amitābha was recited at Geonbongsa temple for almost the entire 19th century.

Geonbongsa temple was where the Silla monk Baljing (d.u.), during King Gyeongdoek's 景德王 (r. 742–765) rule, formed a ten-thousand-day assembly for chanting the name of Amitābha with thirty-one other monks and 1,800 lay persons. The aforementioned assembly formed in 1801 originated from the belief that the monk Baljing and the members of the assembly ascended to the Pure Land while reciting the name of the Buddha. This assembly was once again convened in the early 20th century (in 1908), continuing the tradition of the recitation assembly that went back almost a

37. 問念佛劣故 三門中在初耶 答毘盧品疏云 念佛三昧者 菩薩之父 故首明之 乃至十地 不離念佛 然則 三門 互爲先後 不可以言勝劣爲次 (*Sammun jikji* 三門直指, HBJ 10, 139b22-b25).

1500 years and making Geonbongsa temple a sacred site (Lee 2010, 169–174). Such an assembly was not limited to Geongongsa but spread throughout the country, resulting in the rise of Buddha recitation halls in the later Joseon period.[38]

At the larger monasteries, separate Buddha recitation halls comparable to meditation halls and lecture halls were built. Such monasteries and even hermitages where assemblies for chanting the name of Amitābha were formed acted as centers for recitation practices. The actual number of assemblies for chanting the name of Amitābha would have been much greater than what can be verified in extant records—three during the 18th century and nineteen during the 19th century. The buildings built in the 19th century in the Gyeonggi region and called *daebang* were used for the purposes of Buddha recitation (Seongdo Kim 2007).

In summary, after the Imjin Wars the function of the meditational and lecture halls came to be distinguished. In the lecture halls the neophytes were trained in the curriculum through which the thought underlying the combined system of meditation and doctrinal study referred to as *seongyo gyeomsu* was taught. In the meditation halls, those who completed the courses of the lecture halls came to practice *ganhwa seon*, wherein the practitioners focused mostly on the Seon of observing the critical phrase. When the practitioner found it difficult to continue practicing meditation after many years of intense cultivation, he or she transitioned to the practice of chanting the name of Buddha Amitābha at a quiet place or with the laypeople at a Buddha recitation hall. In other words, by and large during the 17th and into the 18th centuries, monks practiced at lecture halls then at meditation halls. Then, after the 18th century, the monks normally came to practice at lecture halls, followed by practice at meditation halls, before finally engaging in chanting at Buddha recitation halls. In modern times, this progressional system of practice became a conceptual structure of practice. In actual practice, those halls served as places of an independent scheme of practice rather than as places of a progressional pattern of practice

38. For more on the popularization of the Pure Land recitation assembly in the late Joseon period, see Yongtae Kim (2015) and McBride (2020, 112).

leading from one to the other.

Conclusion

Of the three centers of Buddhist practice, meditation halls and lecture halls were established from the time of the Goryeo dynasty by the monasteries of the Seon and Gyo schools, respectively. Because they were located at the monasteries of the individual schools, there were no exchanges between these cultivation centers. However, with the consolidation of the various schools into a single school, Seon, in the late Joseon, meditational and lecture halls were formed, especially at large monasteries. Following the order of practice affirmed by Hyujeong's notions of "leave doctrinal study and enter meditational practices," it was accepted that practicing monks first completed the curriculum at a lecture hall and then entered a meditation hall. This reflected the situation of the domination of the meditational school in the Buddhist community at the time. This is also because the disciples, and Hyujeong himself, accepted that the perfect and sudden approach (doctrinal study) was the preceding step in preparation for the approach of direct cutting (meditation).

However, starting from the late 17th century there was a sudden growth in popularity of Hwaeom studies, which heightened the position and importance of doctrinal study. By the late 18th century, the three paths of meditation, doctrinal study, and chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha were seen to be equally important. Lecture hall practices were no-longer considered to be a preparatory stage for the final stage of meditation, but the main center of foundational learning. With the recognition of the importance of doctrinal studies this spurred active discourse between the proponents of meditational thought and the proponents of doctrinal thought. This led to much discussion, furthering harmonization between what was previously disjunctured.

On top of these developments up to the late 18th century, from the start of the 19th century, assemblies for reciting the Buddha's name or the ten-thousand-day assembly for chanting the name of Amitābha gained

widespread popularity. As a result, Buddha recitation halls were formed throughout the peninsula. In comparison to lecture halls or meditation halls, Buddha recitation halls were attended by both monastics and lay persons. In this way, the recitation halls functioned to loosen the societal structures and the distinctions made between monastics and laity. This added to transformations in the monasteries in the 19th century when increased participation of the laity in the monastic events and its daily functions occurred.

Such structures as cultivation centers continued into the 20th century. Takahashi Tōru, a pioneering Japanese scholar of Korean Buddhism, described how the major monasteries of Korean Buddhism of the early 20th century all had separate facilities for meditation, doctrinal study, and chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha. He further notes that at each hall, there were monks who were responsible for its operation and practices.[39]

Though the three methods of practice are separate practices, all are for the postulants to perform for the rest of their lives. These separated cultivation centers are distinct features of Korean Buddhism that have been passed down from the Goryeo, through Joseon, to the modern period. They have served as the foundation for the cultivational practices that have assisted Korean monks in their pursuit of release from craving and desire.

39. "是頃ニ至リテ僧侶修行ノ禪·念佛·教ノ三門ハ益 明瞭ニ區分セラレ, 相當ノ大寺刹ニハ何レモ坐禪堂タル禪房, 念佛堂タル萬日會堂, 教堂タル講堂ノ設備アリテ其々監院ノ任僧之ヲ司宰ス" (Takahashi 1929, 904).

REFERENCES

Abbreviations

CTP = Chinese Text Project, edited by Donald Sturgeon. Durham, 2006–2020. https://ctext.org.

GGM = Goryeo sidae geumseongmun munjajaryo database (Goryeo Period Epigraphical-text Material Database). http://db.history.go.kr/KOREA.

HBJ = Hanguk bulgyo jeonnseo pyeonchan wiwonhoe 韓國佛教全書編纂委員會. 1979–[2000]. *Hanguk bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書 (Complete Works of Korean Buddhism). Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu. http://ebti.dongguk.ac.kr/ebti/keyword/index_keyword.asp.

Primary Sources

"Byeoksongdang daesa haengjeok" 碧松堂大師行蹟, *Samno haengjok* 三老行蹟 (Biography of Samno). In HBJ 145, vol. 7, 753c16-c17.

Cheong taekbeop boeun mun 請擇法報恩文 (Recommendation on Right Discernment and Repaying Indebtedness). In HBJ 203, vol. 9, 646c05.

"Gyojong pansarong myeongpyeon" 教宗判事錄名篇, *Heoheungdang jip* 虛應堂集 (Collected Works of Heoheungdang). In HBJ 132, vol. 7, 550b02-b04.

"Sajipsagyo jeondeung yeomsong hwaeom" 四集四教傳燈拈頌華嚴, Yeongwoldang daesa munjip 詠月堂大師文集 (Collected Works of the Great Master Yeongwol). In HBJ 159, vol. 8, 234–235.

Sammun jikji 三門直指 (Pointing Directly at the Three Gates). In HBJ 220, vol. 10, 139b22-b25.

Sejong sillok 世宗實錄 (Veritable Records of King Sejong). http://sillok.history.go.kr/inspection/inspection.jsp?mTree=0&id=kma_12107014_001.

Seonmun sugyeong 禪文手鏡 (Hand-Mirror of Seon Literature). In HBJ 236, vol. 10, 519b03-b04.

"Simseong nonseo" 心性論序, *Yeondam daesa imharok* 蓮潭大師林下錄 (Compilation of the Great Master Yeondam). In HBJ 224, vol. 10, 262c22-c23.

Taejong sillok 太宗實錄 (Veritable Records of King Taejong). http://sillok.history.go.kr/inspection/inspection.jsp?mTree=0&id=kma_12107014_001.

Secondary Sources

Bak, Haedang. 2000. "Jogyejong-ui beoptongseol-e daehan bipanjeok geomto" (Critical Review of the Genealogical Discourse of the Jogye School). *Cheolhak sasang* (Journal of Philosophical Ideas) 11: 51–74.

Buswell, Robert E., Jr. 1992. *The Zen Monastic Experience: Buddhist Practice in Contemporary Korea*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

_____. 2013. "Pojo Chinul 普照知訥 and the Sudden-Gradual Issue: Kanhwa Sŏn and Korean Buddhist Soteriology." *Bulgyo hakbo* (Journal of the Korean Buddhist Research Institute) 66: 167–189.

Choe, Seokgi, et al. 2008. *Jirisan yuramnok: Yong-i meori-reul sugin deut kkori-reul chikyeodeun deut* (Travelogue of Jirisan Mountain: A Dragon with Its Head Down and Its Tail Raised). Seoul: Bogosa.

Choe, Seong Yeol. 1987. "Goryeo junggi sujeong gyeolsa (水精結社)-wa yugajong (瑜伽宗)" (The Sujeong Movement of the Yoga Sect in the Mid-Goryeo Period). *Hanguk bulgyohak* (Journal of the Korean Association for Buddhist Studies) 12: 67–97.

Ennin 圓仁. 2001. *Ennin-ui ipdang gubeop sullye haengbeop* (Record of Ennin's Travel to Tang in Search of the Dharma). Translated by Mungyeong Kim. Seoul: Jungsim.

Im, Seokjin. 1965. *Songgwangsaji* 松廣寺誌 (Songgwangsa Temple Records). Suncheon: Songgwangsa.

Jo, Myungje. 2018. "Goryeo hugi suseonsa-ui gyeolsa undong-gwa sasang jeok wising-e daehan jaegeomto" (Re-examination of the Devotional Compacts [信仰結社] of Suseonsa Temple and Thought Development in the Late Goryeo Period). *Bulgyohak yeongu* (Korea Journal of Buddhist Studies) 56: 175–200.

Jung, Byeongsam. 2017. "Baekpa-wa Choui-ui seon nonjaeng" (Seon Theory of Baekpa and Choeui, and Their Argument on Seon). *Hanguk sasang-gwa munhwa* (Korean Thought and Culture) 86: 191–218.

Kang, Ho-sun. 2019. "Goryeohugi baengnyeon gyeolsa-e daehan jaegeomto" (A Review of White Lotus Community [白蓮結社] in the Late Goryeo Period). *Bulgyohak yeongu* (Korea Journal of Buddhist Studies) 58: 115–143.

Kim, Seongdo. 2007. *Sachal daebang geonchuk* 寺刹大房建築 (The Architecture of Temple *Daebang*). Seoul: Goryeo.

Kim, Sung-Eun Thomas. 2020. "Re-purposing the Portrayal of Eminent Monks in Memorial Steles: Strategies of Identity Legitimation in 17th Century Korean Buddhism." *International Journal of Buddhist Thought and Culture* 30.1: 205–232.

Kim, Sung-woo. 1989. "Iltap ilgeumdang hyeongsik-ui baljeon" (The Development of the Pattern of Single Pagoda-Image Hall). *Daehan geonchuk hakoe nonmunjip* (Journal of the Architectural Institute of Korea) 5.6: 155–167.

Kim, Yeongsu. 1928. "Joseon bulgyo 朝鮮佛教-wa soui gyeongjeon 所依經典" (Joseon Buddhism and Foundational Sūtras). *Ilgwang* 1: 3–11.

Kim, Yongtae. 2010. *Joseon hugi bulgyosa yeongu: Imjebeoptong-gwa gyohak jeontong* (History of the Late Joseon Period: Dharma Lineage of Linji and Doctrinal Training Tradition). Seoul: Singu munhwasa.

_____. 2013. "Changes in Seventeenth-Century Korean Buddhism and the Establishment of the Buddhist Tradition in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty." *Acta Koreana* 16.2: 538–563.

_____. 2015. "The Establishment of the Approach of Chanting Amitabha's Name and the Proliferation of Pure Land Buddhism in Late Choson." *Journal of Korean Religions* 6.1: 131–157.

_____. 2018. "Joseon hugi bulgyo munheon-ui gachi-wa seon-gwa gyo-ui ijungju: *Seongagwigam*-gwa *Gisillonso pilsakki hoepyeon*-eul jungsim-euro" (The Importance of Late Joseon Buddhist Materials in the Topography of the Intellectual History of Korea: Focusing on the *Seonga gwigam* and *Gisillonso pilsakki hoepyeon*). *Hanguk sasang sahak* (Study of Korean History of Thoughts) 58: 141–175.

Kim-Haboush, JaHyun. 1999 "Constructing the Center: The Ritual Controversy and the Search for a New Identity in Seventheenth-Century Korea." *In Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, edited by JaHyun Kim-Haboush and Martina Deuchler, 46–90. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.

Kimura, Kiyotaka. 1992. *Chūkoku kegon shisōshi* 中国華厳思想史 (History of Chinese Huayan Thought). Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten.

Lee, Jong-su 李鍾壽. 2008a. "Joseon hugi bulgyogye-ui simseong nonjaeng: Unbong-ui *Simseongnon*-eul jungsim-euro" (An Argument Concerning the Nature of the Mind within the Buddhist Community in the Late Joseon Dynasty: Focused on Woonbong's 'simseongnon' [心性論]). *Bojo sasang* (Jinul Thought) 29: 261–294.

_____. 2008b. "18-segi giseongkwaeseon-ui yeombulmun yeongu: Yeombulmun-ui seongyo kkyeoangi" (A Study on Chanting Buddhism of Kiseong Kueseon : Comprehension of Zen Buddhism and Non-Zen Buddhism in Chanting Buddhism). *Bojo sasang* (Jinul Thought) 30: 141–175.

_____. 2010. "Joseon hugi Bulgyo-ui suhaeng chegye yeongu: Sammun suhak-eul jungsim-euro" (Buddhist Practice in the Late Joseon Dynasty: The Three Gates Discipline). PhD diss., Dongguk University.

_____. 2012. "Monastic Education and Educational Ideology in the Late Chosŏn." *Journal of Korean Religions* 3.1: 65–84.

_____. 2015. "Joseon hugi hwaeomhak-ui yuhaeng-gwa geu baegyeong" (The Historical Surroundings of the Reawakened Tradition of Huayan Study in the Late Joseon Period). *Bulgyohak yeongu* (Korea Journal of Buddhist Studies) 42: 59–82.

McBride, Richard D., II, ed. 2012. *Hwaŏm I: The Mainstream Tradition*. Translated by Richard D. McBride II and Sem Vermeersch. Collected Works of Korean Buddhism 4. Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. http://international.ucla.edu/media/files/04_Hwaeom_I_web-re-sld.pdf.

_____. 2014. "The Complex Origins of the Vinaya in Korean Buddhism." *Eastern Buddhist* 45.1–2: 151–178.

_____. 2020. *Aspiring to Enlightenment: Pure Land Buddhism in Silla Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Nam, Do-Young. 1980a. "Hanguk sawon gyoyuk jedo (I)" 韓國寺院教育制度(上) (Educational System of Buddhist Temples in Korea I). *Yeoksa gyoyuk* (Korean History Education Review) 27: 37–83.

_____. 1980b. "Hanguk sawon gyoyuk jedo (II)" 韓國寺院教育制度(中) (Educational System of Buddhist Temples in Korea II). *Yeoksa gyoyuk* (Korean History Education Review) 28: 25–66.

Park, Kwangyeon. 2017. "Silla-ui bulgyo gyodan-gwa 'jongpa': Silla jungdae jongpa seongnipseol-e daehan gochal" (The Religious Order and 'Sects' of Silla Buddhism: A Study on the Establishment Theory of Sects in the Mid-Silla Period). *Sahak yeongu* (Review of Korean History) 125: 165–196.

Park, Seonyeong. 1990. "Hanguk godae-ui bulgyo-wa gyoyuk" (Ancient Korean Buddhism and Education). *Hanguk sasang sahak* (Study of Korean History of Thoughts) 3: 87–116.

Takahashi, Tōru 高橋亨. 1929. *Richō Bukkyō* 李朝佛教 (Buddhism of the Joseon Dynasty). Tokyo: Hōbunkan 寶文館.

Yi, Jigwan. 1981. "Hanguk bulgyo seungga gyoyuk-ui sajeok gochal" (A Historical Survey of Korean Buddhist Samgha Education). *Bulgyo hakbo* (Journal of the Korean Buddhist Research Institute) 18: 61–76.

_____, ed. 1996. *Gyogam yeokju yeokdae goseung bimun*: Goryeo pyeon 3 校勘譯註 歷代 高僧碑文 (高麗篇 3) (Critical and Annotated Edition of Eminent Monk Stele Texts [Goryeo period 3]). Seoul: Gasan bulgyo munhwa yeonguwon.

Yi, Neunghwa. 李能和. 1918. *Joseon bulgyo tongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史 (History of Joseon Buddhism). 3 vols. Seoul: Sinmungwan.

Yi, Seonhwa. 2017. "Joseon hugi hwaeom sagi-ui yeongu-wa 'wangbokseo' hoepyeon

yeokju" (A Study on the Personal Commentaries on the Avatamska Sutra and the Annotated Translation of *Wangbokseo* [往復序]). PhD diss., Dongguk University.

Received: 2022.01.21. Revised: 2022.03.15. Accepted: 2022.03.23.