

Interaction and Harmonization between Hwa-eom and Seon in Korea during the late Silla and Early Goryeo Period

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In Korea, Hwa-eom and Seon are closely related to each other. Interaction and subsequent harmonization between Hwa-eom and Seon started simultaneously with the introduction of Seon to the Late Unified Silla Kingdom. Without an understanding of Hwa-eom and Seon, the fundamental teachings of Korean Buddhism(Chogye Order) cannot be known. In this paper I will investigate the historical interaction between Seon and Hwa-eom during the late Silla and early Goryeo periods, when Gusan seonmun(Nine Mountains Seon Gate) was founded after the introduction of Josa seon to Korea. In particular I will consider the relationship between Gusan seonmun Founders and Hwa-eom, in light of the Seon of Do-eui(-821-) and Jiwon's Hwa-eom, as well as Muyeom(800-888)'s view of Seon and Gyo. I will also consider the rationale of Master Jingwi, written by the National Master Beomil(810~889) and that of Sunji(-858-874-), namely the 'Co-existence of Seon and Hwa-eom'.

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This paper was supported by BK21 in 2003.

International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture February 2004, Vol. 4, pp. 61~90.

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I . Introduction

In Korea, Hwa-eom and Seon are closely related to each other. From the time Buddhism was introduced to the Three Kingdoms of Korea, the sects of Samron in the Goguryeo period(?~668 C.E), Yulhak in the Baekje period(?~660 C.E) and Beopsang and Hwa-eom in the Silla period(?~668 C.E) were the main schools which developed and attracted followers. Hwa-eom in particular, bloomed and flourished in the Unified Silla period(668~935 C.E). In the late period of Unified Silla, Josa seon(Patriarch Seon) which denies Gyo(Theoretical Doctrine), was brought to the Unified Silla by the Chinese and became the most popular school at the time, resulting in the founding of the Korean Seon Gates. Interaction and harmonization between Hwa-eom and Seon followed the introduction of Seon to the late Unified Silla kingdom, which led to many Korean monks studying Hwa-eom with Korean Seon masters. They conveyed Seon and founded the Seon Gate's in Korea either before or after they went to Tang to learn Buddhism. Thus Hwa-eom and Seon were interconnected, exerting an influence on each other. Jinul's treatise, "Sudden Enlightenment and Gradual Development" was formed in the Goryeo era(918~1392 C.E.) and is referred to as Hwa-eom-seon. Hwa-eom was considered as the Seon style of the Joseon Dynasty(1392~1910 C.E). Seon, together with the Hwa-eom and Chanting, was inherited as the three-synthesis practice.

In order to understand Korean Buddhism, it is necessary to have a grasp of the interaction and harmonization between Hwa-eom and Seon. Hence I will investigate the interactive history between the two during the Late Silla period and the early Goryeo period when Gusan seonmun(Nine Mountains Seon Gate) was founded, following the introduction of Josa seon.

II . Hwa-eom and Sinhaeng's Seon before the founding of Gusan seonmun

The meeting of Hwa-eom and Seon in Korea was initiated by

Beopnang's student, Sinhaeng(704~779) who was generally known as the first Seon master of Silla. It was the time when the system of Hwa-eom was strongly built by Euisang(625~702), and then widely spread by Euisang's three thousand students.

Master Sinhaeng¹ as Kim Sanggeun's son became a Buddhist monk. When he was about thirty years old, he learned the Dharma from Master Beopnang at Mt. Hogeon, and, after Beopnang's death, he entered Tang to study Buddhism. The Dharma was transmitted to him there by Zhikong. Sinhaeng's inscription² which was written by Kim Heonjeong, describes his enlightened life as follows:

Sinhaeng carved a vast *Sūtra* within a speck of dust without breaking even a little, and enjoyed his life in ten billions of *Buddha* lands without playing even in a little space. He always swam in the essence of the deep sea of self-nature, and played within the world of Complete Emptiness.³

It further describes how Sinhaeng emptied the water of *Dhyāna* out of the *Dhyāna* River. After returning from Tang, he showed many ways as means and died at Namak, Dansoksa at the age of 76 years. We can see his relation with Hwa-eom as well as his aspect as a Seon Master. The world, described above is the same world as depicted in the the 'illustration of a vast *Sūtra* contained within a speck of dust'⁴ in the 'Chapter of Manifestation of Buddha' of *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, and is also referred to in Euisang's gatha in his Beopseongge, "even one speck of dust contains the world of all directions"⁵. This refers to the non-dual world of Seon and Hwa-eom. In this way, Seon was deeply related with Hwa-eom in Korean from the beginning.

Interaction and harmonization between Seon and Hwa-eom was

1 "Danseong Dansoksa Sinhaeng seonsa bi(丹城 斷俗寺神行禪師碑)", Joseon *Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總攬) 1, pp.113~116.

2 This inscription was made in the year 813(King Heondeok 5), the 34th year after Sinhaeng's death.

3 "Danseong Dansoksa Sinhaengseonsabi(丹城 斷俗寺神行禪師碑)", Joseon *Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總攬) 1, p.114.

4 *Mahāvaiṣṭya Buddha Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*(大方廣佛華嚴經 *Dafang guangfu huayenjing*, 80vol.) 51, T 10, pp.272c~273a.

5 Euisang, *Ilseung Beopgyedo*(一乘法界圖), HBJ 2, p.1a.

well established by the founders of Gusan seonmun, who learned the Seon from Tang and formed the Seon Gates, which were later succeeded by their students of these founders. Now I will investigate the relationship between the founders of Gusan seonmun and Hwa-eom.

III. The Relationship between Gusan seonmun Foundation and Hwa-eom

1. Gusan seonmun Founders and their Students

A. Do-eui and his students of Gajisan mun(Mt. Gaji Gate)

It was Do-eui(?~821)⁶ who first introduced the Southern Seon, or Josa seon which was different from the view of Sinhaeng's Seon in the Silla period. Do-eui was the founder of Gajisanmun, which was established by building Borimsa at Jangheung, Jeonnam, and his student, Chejing(804~880)⁷ raised Do-eui's Buddhist doctrine to prominence. After entering Tang to study Buddhism in 784, Do-eui studied Seon privately with Xitang Zhizang(735~814) under the auspices of the Mazu Daoyi School. He attained enlightenment and returned to Silla in 821(King Heondeok 13), but he recognized that it was difficult to spread Seon at that time so he transmitted his Seon to Yeomgeo⁸ and went to hide in the mountains. Yeomgeo stayed at Eokseongsa at Mt. Seorak, and taught his teacher's doctrine to his students, passing of the Soen teaching to Chejing. Do-eui's Seon was widely spread in Chejing's time. Chejing later transmitted his Seon to Hyeongmi(864~917),⁹

6 *Zutangji*(祖堂集) 17, "Xueyue Chentiansi Yuanjichanshi(雪嶽 陳田寺元寂禪師)", K 45, p.338bc ; "Jangheung Borimsa Bojoseonsa Changseongtapbi(長興 寶林寺普照禪師彰聖塔碑)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, p.60. ; "Dang Silla Bojoseonsa Tapbi(唐 新羅普照禪師塔碑)", *Haedong Geumseokwon*(海東金石苑) 1, p.95.

7 "Jangheung Borimsa Bojoseonsa Changseongtapbi(長興 寶林寺普照禪師彰聖塔碑)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.60~66. ; *Haedong Geumseokwon*(海東金石苑) 1, pp.95~105.

8 "Wonju Heungbeopsa Yeomgeohwasang Tapji(原州 興法寺廉居和尚塔誌)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.53~54

9 "Gangjin Muwisa Seongakdaesa Byeongwangyeongtapbi(康津 無爲寺先覺大師遍光靈塔碑)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.169~174

B. Hongcheok and his students of Silsangsan mun(Mt. Silsang Gate)

Hongcheok¹⁰ also inherited Xitang Zhizang's Seon and returned from Tang in 826, five years after Do-eui's death. He introduced the teaching at Silsangsa in Namwon, Jeonbuk, and founded the Silsangsanmun. His successor was his student Sucheol(817-893).¹¹

C. Hyecheol and his students of Dongrisan mun(Mt. Dongri Gate)

Hyecheol(791-861)¹² was also a successor to Xitang Zhizang's Seon. He returned to Silla in 839, and founded his Seon Gate in 847 at Daeansa(present Tae-ansa) at Mt. Dongri, in Gokseong, Jeonnam. His students, Doseon(827-898), Yeo, Gyeongbo(868-948),¹³ and Yunda¹⁴ etc, raised his Seon Gate to prominence.

D. Hyeonuk and his students of Bongnimsanmun (Mt. Bongnim Gate)

Hyeonuk(787-868)¹⁵ was already an adult when he entered the monkhood. He was ordained as a bhikku with full precepts in 808, at twenty-one years of age. He entered Tang to study Buddhism and received the Dharma from Zhangjing Huaihui(756-815) under Mazu Daoyi. He returned to Silla in 837 and stayed at Godalsa at Mt. Hyemok. One of Hyeonuk's students, Shimhui(854-923)¹⁶ built Bongnimsa at Mt. Bongnim, Changwon, Gyeongnam in 901, where he

10 "Mungyeong Bongamsa Jijeungdaesa Jeokjotapbi(閔慶 鳳巖寺智證大師寂照塔碑)", Joseon *Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, p.90. ; "Dang Silla Jijeungdaesa Tapmyeong(唐新羅智證大師塔銘)", *Haedong Geumseokwon*(海東金石苑), p.151.

11 "Mungyeong Bongamsa Jijeungdaesa Jeokjotapbi(閔慶 鳳巖寺智證大師寂照塔碑)", Joseon *Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, p.90.

12 "Muju Dongrisan Daeansa Jeokinseonsabi(武州 桐裏山大安寺寂忍禪師碑)", Joseon *Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.116-119. ; *Zutangji*(祖堂集) 17, "Dongguo Tongli Huoshang(東國桐裏和尚)", K 45, p.338c ; "Gokseonggun Jukgokmyeon Taeansa Hyeonpan(谷城郡竹谷面泰安寺懸板)", Joseon *Sachal Saryo*(朝鮮寺刹史料) 1, p.267.

13 "Gwangyang Oklyongsa Dongjindaesa Bountapbi(光陽 玉龍寺洞眞大師普雲塔碑)", Joseon *Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.189-194

14 "Gokseong Daeansa Gwangjadaesabi(谷城 大安寺廣慈大師碑)", Joseon *Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.174-181 ; Heo Heung-sik(許興植), *Hanguk Geumseok Jeonmun*(韓國金石全文) "the medieval times" 1, pp.351-357 ; "Dang Goryeo Daeansa Gwangjadaesabimyeong(唐 高麗大安寺廣慈大師碑銘)", *Haedong Geumseokwon*(海東金石苑) 1, pp.295-302

15 *Zutangji*(祖堂集) 17, "Dongguo Huimushan Huoshang(東國慧目山和尚)", K 45, pp.338c-339a ; *Zhuandenglu*(傳燈錄) 9, T 51, p.264a.

16 "Changwon Bongrimsa Jingyeongdaesa Bowolneunggongtapbi(昌原 鳳林寺眞鏡大師寶月凌空塔碑)", Joseon *Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.97-105.

raised his teacher's Seon to prominence. He also founded Bongnimsan mun which flourished under the guidance of his student, Chanyu¹⁷ and Hongjun,¹⁸

E. Doyun and his students of Sajasan mun(Mt. Saja Gate)

Doyun(800-868)¹⁹ entered the monkhood at the age 18 and learned Hwa-eom and Seon at Gwisinsa. In 825, he entered Tang to study Buddhism and received the Dharma from Nanquan Puyuan under the auspices of the Mazu Daoyi school. In 847 he returned home and spread the Dharma at Pung-ak. His epithet was Cheolgam and his pagoda title was Jingso. His student, Jinghyo Jeoljung(826-900)²⁰ founded the Sajasan mun at Heungnyeongsa at Mt. Saja and brought the Seon of his teacher to prominence.

F. Muyeom and his students of Seongjusan mun(Mt. Seongju Gate)

Muyeom(800-888) received the Dharma from Magu Baoche under the auspices of the Mazu Daoyi's school. In 845 he returned to Silla and, in 847 founded the Seongjusan mun at Seongjusa, Mt. Seongju, Boryeong, Chungnam.²¹ His epithet was Daenanghye and his pagoda title was Baegwolbogwang. About two thousands of his students, including Daetong(816-883),²² Simgwang, and Yeo-eom²³ were responsible for building up Seongjusan mun.

17 "Yeoju Godalsa Wonjongdaesa Hyejintapbi(驪州 高達寺元宗大師惠眞塔碑)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.207-215.

18 "Yeongpung Gyeongcheongseonwon Jajeokseonsa Neunguntapbi(榮豐 鏡清禪院慈寂禪師凌雲塔碑)", *Hanguk Geumseok Jeonmun*(韓國金石全文) "the medieval times" 1, pp.313-317. ; Hwang Su-yeong(黃壽永), *Hanguk Geumseok Yumun*(韓國金石遺文), p.98.

19 *Zutangji*(祖堂集) 17, "Shuangfeng Huoshang(雙峰和尚)", K 45, pp.342c~343a.

20 "Yeongwol Heungnyeongsa Jinghyodawsa Bointapbi(寧越 興寧寺澄曉大師寶印塔碑)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.157~162

21 "Nampo Seongjusa Nanghyehwasang Baekwolbogwangtapbi(藍浦 聖住寺朗慧和尚白月葆光塔碑)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.72~83. ; "Dang Silla Nanghyehwasangtapbi(唐新羅朗慧和尚塔碑)", *Haedong Geumseokwon*(海東金石苑) 1, pp.123-150. ; *Zutangji*(祖堂集) 17, "Songyanshan Shengzhushi Guliangzhao Guosi(嵩巖山聖住寺故兩朝國師)", K 45, p.340ab.

22 "Chungju Wolgwangsa Wollangseonsa Daebosongwangtapbi(忠州 月光寺圓朗禪師大寶禪光塔碑)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.83-86.

23 "Jipyong Borisa Daegyongdaesa Hyeongitapbi(砥平 菩提寺大鏡大師玄機塔碑)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.130~134

G. Beomil and his students of Sagulsan mun(Mt. Sagul Gate)

Beomil(810-894)²⁴ received the Dharma from Yanguan Zhaian(?~842) under the auspices of the Mazu Daoyi School. He returned to Silla and founded Sagulsan mun at Gulsansa, Mt. Sagul in Myeongju. His epithet was Tonghyo and his pagoda title was Yeonhwi. There were many students including Gaecheong(854~930)²⁵ and Haengjeok(832~916),²⁶ who further developed Sagulsan mun.

H. I-eom and his students of Sumisan mun(Mt. Sumi Gate)

I-eom(870-935)²⁷ entered the monkhood under Deongnayang when he was 12 and received the full precepts in 886. In 896 he entered Tang to study Buddhism and received the 'Mind Seal' from Yunju Daoying, the student of Dongshan Liangjie. In 911 he returned to Silla and opened the Sumisanmun at Gwangjosa, Mt. Sumi in 932. His epithet was Jincheol and his pagoda title was Bowolseunggong,

I. Doheon and his students of Heuiyangsan mun, Mt. Heuiyang Gate)

At the age of 9, Doheon(824-882)²⁸ entered the monkhood under Beomche at Mt. Buseok. At the age of 17, he received the full precepts from Master Gyeongueui and learnt Seon from Huizhao who was a student of Mazu Daoyi. His epithet was Jijeung and his pagoda title was Jeokjo. Gyeongyang(876-956),²⁹ Doheon's student, rebuilt Bongamsa at Mt. Heuiyang and founded the Heuiyangsan mun.

24 *Zutangji*(祖堂集) 17, "Mingzhou Kushan Gutongxiao Dashi(冥州堀山故通曉大師)" ; *Samgukyusa* 3, "Naksan Idaedaeseong Gwaneum(洛山二大大聖觀音)"

25 "Gangneung Jjangseonwon Nangwondaesa Ojintapbi(江陵 地藏禪院朗圓大師悟眞塔碑)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.140~144.

26 "Bonghwa Taejasa Nanggongdaesa Baekwolseuntapbi(奉化 太子寺朗空大師白月栖雲塔碑)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.181~186. ; *Quantangwen*(全唐文) 1000.

27 "Haeju Gwangjosa Jincheoldaesa Bowolseunggongtapbi(海州 廣照寺眞澈大師寶月乘空塔碑)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.125~130.

28 "Mungyeong Bongamsa Jijeungdaesa Jeokjotapbi(聞慶 鳳巖寺智證大師寂照塔碑)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.88~97.

29 "Mungyeong Bongamsa Jeongjindaesa Wonotapbi(聞慶 鳳巖寺靜眞大師圓悟塔碑)", *Joseon Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.196~207.

2. Gusan seonmun Patriarchs' Meeting Hwa-eom

As seen above, Gusan seonmun was founded in the period between the late Silla and the early Goryeo, and most of the Patriarchs of the nine Mountain Schools, and their student, had some relationship to Hwa-eom. On the basis of the records such as the Seon masters' inscriptions, we can summarize as follows:

Gajisan mun

Do-eui : He received inspiration from Mañjuśrī at Mt. Odae,³⁰ and further was enlightened to the worlds of Dharmadhātu and Vairocana.³¹ His view of Seon and Gyo is evident in the dialogue between him and Abbot Jiwon.³²

Chejing : He received the complete precepts in 827 at Gayahyeop(Bowonsa), one of the ten Hwa-eom Mountains. He stayed at Gajisansa. He also was enlightened to the world of Vairocana.

Hyeongmi : He received the complete precepts at Hwa-eomsa in 882.

Dongrisan mun

Hyecheol : He attended lectures at Hwa-eom at Buseoksa (circa 800),

Yunda : He received full precepts at Bowonsa, and was enlightened to the Four Wisdoms and Ten Wisdoms of the Explanatory Ability.³³

Gyeongbo : He received the complete precepts at Hwa-eomsa in 886.

³⁰ According to *Samgukyusa*(三國遺事) 3, Jajang(慈藏) spread the Hwa-eom Mañjuśrī faith in Mt. Odae received the recitation of "All beings don't own the self-nature. Like this, when the self-nature of all beings are recognized, then, they can meet the Vairocana simultaneously,"(T 10, p.82a) after entering Tang and met the recarnation of Mañjuśrī there. In a view of point like this, it can be guessed that the Mañjuśrī met by Do-eui was the Mañjuśrī of Haeom.

³¹ "Muju Gajisan Bongrimsa Sibojoseonsa Yeongtapbimyeong(武州 迦智山鳳林寺謚普照禪師靈塔碑銘)", Joseon *Geumseok Chongram*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, p.61, p.64.

³² Cheonchaek(天頤), *Seonmun Bojangrok*(禪門寶藏錄) 2, HBJ 6, pp.478c~479a.

³³ It is also called 'the speaking skill or the wisdom without four kinds of obstacle', that is, the dharma, the meaning, the rhetoric, and the fluency. (*Mahāvaiṣṭya Buddha Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* [80vol.] 38, T 10, pp.202c~203c)

Sajasan mun

Doyun : He learned Hwa-eom and Seon at Gwisinsa after the year 816.

Jeoljung : He studied *Avatamsaka Sūtra* at Buseoksa and studied the Ten Profound Pratītya-samutpāda after the year 841.

Seongjusan mun

Muyeom : He studied Hwa-eom with Seokdeung at Buseoksa before the year 821, and he attended lectures on Hwa-eom at Zhixiangsi. His view of Seon and Gyo appears in the '*Museoltoron*'.

Yeo-eom : He learned Hwa-eom from Jujong at Muryangsusa and recited many gathas from *Avatamsaka Sūtra*.

Sagulsan mun

Beomil : His view of Seon appears in the rationale of the Master Jingwi'.

Gaecheong : He studied *Avataṣsaka Sūtra* at Hwa-eomsa before the year 859.

Haengjeok : He mastered the profound meaning of Hwa-eom at Haeinsa before the year 855. He received inspiration from Mañjuśrī at Huayansi, Mt. Wutai in Tang.

Sumisan mun

I-eom : He mastered *Sūtra*, *Vināya*, and *Śāstra* at Gayagapsa.

Heuiyangsan mun

Doheon : He entered the monkhood under Beomche at Buseoksa before the year 841, and he studied Hwa-eom. He received inspiration from Samantabhadra.

Gyeongyang : He met Mañjuśrī and received inspiration. He received 8 sets of *Euiheuibon Avataṣsaka Sūtra* from King Jeongjong,

In this way the Patriarchs and their students from seven of the mountains connected with Gusan seonmun, are deeply related with Hwa-eom. Seon Masters had received the complete precepts or studied the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* at Hwa-eom Ten Mountains³⁴ temples, including

34 Choe Chi-won(崔致遠), *Beopjang Hwasangjeon*(法藏和尚傳), *Gowunseonsaengmunjib*(孤雲先生文集)c, p.36.

Buseoksa, Bowonsa(Gayagapsa, Gayagapsinsu), Hwa-eomsa, Gwisinsa, Hae-insa, as well as studying at Hwa-eom-related temples in Tang. In addition, they received inspiration from Mañjuśrī, one of the two representative Bodhisattvas in *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, or attained the Ten Wisdoms or Four Wisdoms of the Explanatory Ability as preached in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, and witnessed the figures of Hwa-eom ascetics playing in the world of Vairocana in the Hwa-eom Dharmadhātu.

IV. Conflict and Harmonization between Gusan seonmun Seon and Hwa-eom Gyo

1. View of Do-eui's Seon and Jiwon's Hwa-eom

As seen above, most of the Seon masters were already very familiar with Hwa-eom at the time Seon was introduced to Korea from China during the late Silla and early Goryeo periods. They introduced Seon to Korea which, at various times, was both conflicting and harmonizing with Hwa-eom. Some notable examples of the interrelation between Seon and Hwa-eom(or Gyo) are as follows:

Do-eui provides us with one example of a conflict between the two traditions. It was he who initially brought the teaching of Sudden Seon to Silla from South China. It is said that although he taught the Seon, after returning to Silla from Tang(821) where he had inherited the 'Mind Seal(心印)' from Xitang Zhizang(735-814), no one accepted his teaching, so he quit and hid deep in the mountains.

It is a good example of how Gyo Masters refused the Patriarch Seon, or Josa seon, when it was initially introduced to Silla. In the inscription for Bojo Chejing, who was one of Do-eui's students, such a situation is well described as follows:

After Master Do-eui received the 'Mind Seal' from Xitang and returned to this land, he taught Seon. At this time People only knew the teachings of the Sūtras and practiced

the way of keeping one's mind peaceful through various methods of contemplation, and they regarded the teaching of the Unconditioned and Freewill as useless and wicked. The situation was similar to that of Bodhidharma when he was unable to meet Liang Wudi. So, too, Do-eui recognized it wasn't the right time to teach seon, so he decided to hide in the mountains and instead transmitted the Dharma to Yeomgeo.³⁵

A similar situation is mentioned in the inscription for Jijeung Doheon.³⁶ According to these inscriptions, we can distinguish Do-eui's Seon from teachings of the Gyo Masters at that time; that is, the teachings of the Sūtras and the way of keeping one's mind peaceful through methods of contemplation, and the teaching of the Unconditioned and Freewill. These inscriptions also show that the people who followed Gyo and who had deep faith in the teaching of the Sūtras, were inclined to censure Do-eui's Seon, regarding it as useless and wicked. These inscriptions make a comparison between Do-eui's hiding in the mountains as a result of not being able to spread his Seon, and Bodhidharma hiding in the Shaolinsi and practicing 'Wall-gazing' owing to Liang Wudi not recognizing Bodhidharma when they met with each other.

Alternatively, the *Seonmun bojangrok* (*Records of Precious Storehouse of the Seon Gate*) written by Cheonchaek (天頊) in Goryeo period, describes how Seon adherents disputed Gyo. Again, we will use Do-eui as an example. The book describes a dialogue between Do-eui and Jiwon, which can be found in the *Haedong childaerok* (*Records of Seven Patriarchs in Korea*).³⁷

This dialogue is important because it helps us to understand the difference of ideals between the early Patriarch Seon of Silla and the

35 "Jangheung Borimsa Bojoseonsa Yeongtapbi (長興 寶林寺普照禪師靈塔碑)", Joseon *Geumseok Chongnam* (朝鮮金石總覽) 1, p.62.

36 "Mungyeong Bongamsa Jijeungdaesa Jeokjotapbi (聞慶 鳳巖寺智證大師寂照塔碑)", Joseon *Geumseok Chongnam* (朝鮮金石總覽) 1, pp.89~90.

37 *Seonmun Bojangrok* (禪門寶藏錄) 2, HBJ 6, pp.478c~479a.

popular Hwa-eom. The Abbot Jiwon asserts the Dharmas of garlanding Buddhas, that is, four realms of reality(Dharmadhātu) of Hwa-eom, including the realm of unhindered mutual interpenetration of phenomena, and the gradual cultivation process based on Sudhana's entry into the realm of reality after his progressive approach to the 55 Kalyāṇa-mitra. Do-eui rejects Jiwon's assertion from the point of view of Patriarch Seon which asserts: no feature of any Dharmadhātu exists, and no figures of the Kalyāṇa-mitra can be seen, including the first-met Mañjuśrī up to Samantabhadra who was the last figure Sudhana met. Therefore all the teachings of the progressive practice of the 55 Kalyāṇa-mitra are valueless and illusory, like a bubble. Because the real aspect of the realm of reality is directly revealed in Patriarch Seon, there is neither effort to be made for enlightenment nor characteristics of wisdom to attain.

He further states that we cannot attain the four wisdoms and Bodhimind because they are mixed up with other teachings in Gyo just like gold is mixed with impurities in the gold-mine. So he gives an example of Master Guizong who was a disciple of Mazu Daoyi, which was the school of Master Xitang Zhizang who gave the 'Mind Seal' to Do-eui. Master Guizang raised his own fist when Liwanjuan asked him what was revealed in the entire collection of Buddhist texts.³⁸

Jiwon asks again: "Then in the Patriarch Seon, what is the teaching, the theory, the practice, and the reward? What are the grades of cultivation, faith, understanding, practice and realization? And what is the Buddha-phala acquired through them?"

Do-eui answers: "The natural truth of no thinking and no characteristics of practice is just the faith, understanding, practice and enlightenment. In the teaching of Patriarch Seon there are no Buddhas nor any sentient beings, and only one's True Nature is clearly revealed: The reason that all the Sūtras try to explain Buddha through the use of language is due to compassion for the poor who cannot understand the Patriarch Seon." And he concludes that one cannot attain the 'Mind Seal' beyond the five teachings by studying Sūtras.

38 *Zutangji*(祖堂集) 17, "Guizong Huoshangzhang(歸宗和尚章)"

Through the dialogue between Do-eui and Jiwon We can see that Jiwon had never heard about the 'Buddha's Mind Seal' of which Do-eui and which he had received from Xitang Zhizang along with Hongcheok.³⁹ And we can know that Jiwon usually practiced contemplation of the four realms of reality(Dharmadhātu) of Hwa-eom and gradual cultivation which he had faith in, understood, practiced and realized. At last, Jiwon submitted himself to The Superiority of Do-eui's views. The first view relating to practice is that there is only direct pointing to the true nature of one's mind and that there is no thinking and no characteristics of practice. The other is that of Do-eui's view of Buddha-kāya, that there are no Buddhas nor any sentient beings, and that all the Buddha's images presented to us are just the body of skillful means(Upāya).

It must be recognised that this difference of ideals is not due to a difference between Patriarch Seon and Hwa-eom as is usually accepted,⁴⁰ but is in fact due to the difference between the Patriarch Seon of Do-eui or Hongcheok, and the Hwa-eom of Jiwon. Speaking broadly, it is the difference between the Seon that was introduced by Seon masters, including Do-eui, and the Hwa-eom which promoted gradual cultivation through contemplation on the four realms of reality, by Hwa-eom masters during the late Silla and the early Goryeo periods. Of Nine Mountains, eight founders of the gates can be traced to the

39 "Mungyeong Bong-amsa Jijeungdaesa Jeokjotapbi(聞慶 鳳巖寺智證大師寂照塔碑)", Joseon *Geumseok Chongnam*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, p.90.

Hongcheok(洪陟), one two greatest Seon masters, so called 'Do-eui in the North mountain and Hongcheok in the South', also taught the Seon after realizing his own mind under Xitang Zhizang and returning from Tang. Choe Chi-won(崔致遠) estimated his Seon style as follows: "It makes an ordinary people in the morning become a Saint in the evening, and such a sudden and immediate change doesn't need any progressive process. One who wants to practice the Seon must practice nothing to practice, one who realize must realize nothing to realize. When it comes to calmness, it is just like a mountain standing; when moving, it is like an echo over the valley. The Seon is benefit without the Conditioned and is win without any fight."

40 Go Ik-jin(高翊晉), 1984, "Silla Hadae-eui Seon Jeollae"(新羅 下代の 禪 傳來)", *Hanguk Seon Sasang Yeongu*(韓國禪思想研究), Institute of Buddhist Culture in Dongguk University ; Choe Byeong-heon(崔柄憲), 1986, "Silla Hadae Seonjong Gusanpa-eui Seongnip(新羅 下代 禪宗九山派의 成立)", *Hangukbulgyo Seonmun-eui Hyeongseongsa-jeok Yeongu*(韓國佛教 禪門의 形成史의 研究), Minjoksa Press ; Jeong Seong-bon(鄭性本), 1995, *Silla Seonjong-eui Yeongu*(新羅 禪宗의 研究), Minjoksa Press.

Hongzhou School of Mazu Daoyi, and the Seon of Hongzhou was concerned with a principle of Hwa-eom theory of 'Nature Arising(Xingqi)' which maintains that all sentient beings are Buddhas.⁴¹

Therefore, it is natural that the early Seon in Silla came into conflict with Hwa-eom thought, because at that time there existed two different streams of thoughts in Hwa-eom; that of Interdependent Arising of Dharma-dhātu, and that of Nature-Arising. Jiwon's methods of practices of Hwa-eom continued up until the Goryeo era, and the complete of thought between Hwa-eom and Seon continued even during Jinul's time.

In particular, the theory of 'Nature Arising' is at the center of Hwa-eom thought, as taught by Euisang,⁴² the first master of the Korean Hwa-eom school, as well by his successors. The practice method taught by Euisang was based on the idea of 'Nature Arising', which was accepted by Jinul's concept of Seon. Jinul's concept is based on a synthesis of the Hwa-eom and Seon doctrines, and is the full and perfect expression of practice, such as renouncing desires, but without actually renouncing, and cultivating the mind without actually cultivating. However, the *Hwa-eom ronjeolyoseo*(*Preface for the Essentials of Treatise on Hwa-eom*) tells us that Hwa-eom masters practiced contemplation on the realm of unhindered mutual interpenetration of phenomena, were confronted with Seon masters who contemplated their own mind even in Jinul's time.⁴³

2. Muyeom's view of Seon and Hwa-eom

Aspects of Seon and Hwa-eom can be examined through Muyeom's(800-888) views, as well as Do-eui's, at the time that Gusan seon mun was established. Muyeom was the founder of Seongjusan mun which was the most flourishing among the nine Gates. The *Seonmun*

41 Zongmi(宗密), *Chanyuan Zhuquanji Douxu*(禪源諸詮集都序), T 48, pp.402b~405c. ; Go Ik-jin(高翊晉), op. cit., pp.57~62.

42 Jeon Hae-ju(全海住), 1993, *Euisang Hwa-eom Sasangsa Yeongu*(義湘華嚴思想史研究), Minjoksa Press.

43 Jinul(知訥), *Hwa-eomron Jeolyoseo*(華嚴論節要序), HBJ 4, p.767c.

bojangrok contains 'the Museol toron'(Debate on the Land of No Language) by the National Master Muyeom of Silla(from over the Eastern sea of China) in the 'Seon-gyo daebyeon mun(Chapter for Distinguishing between Seon and Gyo)'⁴⁴. In this debate Muyeom explains the difference between the Land of Language and the Land of No Language, that is, the difference between Gyo and Seon. He does this by quoting Yangshan and Zhangjing, and particularly distinguishes the difference between Seon and Hwa-eom by considering five questions and answers and comparing the differences as follows:

Land of Language -- Buddha Land -- Prosperity by Capability
Gate -- Languages = Gyo(Hwa-eom) -- Tathāgata's Enlightened
Mind(Ocean-seal Samādhi) -- Triple World -- Pure and Impure
Gate

Land of No Language -- Masters Land -- Right Transmission
Gate -- No Languages = Seon -- Masters' Complete Mind Free
-- No Traces -- Neither Pure nor Impure Gate

As shown above, in addition to the four kinds of Interdependent Arising of Dharma-dhātu and the concept of gradual cultivation, another Hwa-eom idea was represented in that dialogue between Jiwon and Do-eui. Muyeom's Hwa-eom world here referred to the triple world as it appeared in the Ocean-seal Samādhi of the Tathāgata's enlightened mind, in other words, the enlightened world, the sentient beings world and the vessel world. Here we find traces of dualities of pure and impure, exit and entrance; but there are no traces in the Dharma of Patriarch Seon.

Meanwhile, the 'Museoltoron' mentioned above has some differences from the one in the 'Chapter on Muyeom' in the *Zutangji*(*Anthology of the patriarchal Hall*).⁴⁵ Yangshan refers to quotations in the *Zutangji* which are different from the ones introduced in the *Seonmun bojangrok*, but are not different from the ones in the

44 Cheonchaek(天頤), *Seonmun Bojangrok*(禪門寶藏錄) 1, HBJ 6, pp.473b~474a.

45 *Zutangji*(祖堂集) 17, "Songyanshan Shengzhusi Guliangzhao Guosi(嵩巖山聖住寺故兩朝國師)", K 45, p.340ab.

Yangshanlu(*Records of Yangshan*). There is a different interpretation in the *Seonmun bojangrok* that Language is the Gyo and No Language is Seon. But the *Zutangji* states that both the land of Language and of No Language belong to the Seon Masters. Thus, we are compelled to review Muyeom's debate on the Land of Language and of No Language. In general, it is interpreted to mean that Seon is superior to Gyo in the view of the Seon masters.

I cannot quench my own thirst with the water that others have drunk, and I cannot relieve my hunger with the food that others have eaten. Why shouldn't you make efforts to drink and eat yourself? Although someone says the Seon is different from the Gyo, I didn't find it so, as yet.

Because words are complicated and troublesome, I don't care about them. But it is neither right to say that Seon is almost the same as Gyo, nor it is wrong to say that it is different. Seating peacefully and relaxing your own mind would be the only true and fastest way to attain Sainthood!⁴⁶

Thus, although there were many assertions that Seon was different from Gyo, Muyeom neither agreed nor disagreed with such opinions when he accepted and taught his disciplines. He first studied Hwa-eom at Buseoksa in Silla and later at Zhixiangsi in Tang. He attained enlightenment after encountering the phrase "if you make efforts to meet the Buddha indirectly through material things, how can you realize the Buddha?" Then he gave up studying Hwa-eom and was certificated in his enlightenment by Magu Baoche. It is the same case with Do-eui and Bojo who endeavored to discover the core of one's mind, because they could no longer be satisfied with contemplation on the realm of unhindered mutual interpenetration of phenomena.

3. Beomil's Rationale on the Superiority of Seon to Hwa-eom

While conflict existed between Seon and Gyo after Seon was

⁴⁶ "Nampo Seongjusa Nanghye hwasang Baekwol bo-gwangtapbi(藍浦 聖住寺朗慧和尚白月葆光塔碑)", Joseon *Geumseok Chongnam*(朝鮮金石總覽) 1, p.80.

introduced to Korea, a rationale gradually appeared pointing to the superiority of Seon to Gyo. An extreme example of this is 'the rationale of Master Jingwi' by the National Master Beomil(810~889),

When National Master Beomil, from Gulsan, Myeongju, was asked about the meaning of Seon and Gyo, he said, "Our supreme teacher, Śākyamuni Buddha, walked seven steps in each of the four directions when He was born, declaring that He was the only noble one in the world. After His renunciation, He attained enlightenment when He saw the morning star in the Snow Mountain. But He felt that His enlightenment was not perfect and so He wandered around for a long time. Finally He met Master Jingwi and only then inherited the essence of the Seon Buddhism from the Master. This is considered as the 'special transmission beyond the Sūtras.'"⁴⁷

Continuously Beomil takes examples of Muyeom and Doyun. First Muyeom, from Mt. Seongju, usually studied the *Līṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, but he realized that it was not the Seon masters' teachings and so gave it away. Second, Doyun was exploring the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, but he realized that the concept of the Perfect and Immediate in the Sūtra, didn't correspond to the dharma of Mind-seal and so went to receive the Patriarch's mind in Tang. So he concluded that Seon was a special transmission beyond the Sūtras which any one without sufficient capability cannot believe and accept.

Aside from the origin of Master Jingwi's⁴⁸ rationale, we can see from this kind of situation that the argument between Seon and Gyo had reached a climax. Thus, Beomil asserted that even Śākyamuni Buddha, after His enlightenment, could inherit the essence of Seon Buddhism when he met a master. So, although this theory argued it was a special transmission beyond the Sūtras, still, it couldn't help losing its persuasive power.

⁴⁷ *Seonmun bojangrok*(禪門寶藏錄) 1, HBJ 6, p.474a.

⁴⁸ In the *Seonmunbojangrok*(禪門寶藏錄), the rationale of Master Jingwi of the similar content is introduced also at the "*Dalmamillok*(達磨密錄, HBJ 6, p.470b)" and "*Wimyeongje Somunjegyeonpyeon*(魏明帝所問諸經篇, HBJ 6, p.479bc)" as well as Beomil's rationale.

V. Master Sunji's rationale for the Coexistence of Seon and Hwa-eom

During the late Silla and early Goryeo, a new Seon, quite different from the early Seon, was imported and spread by Master Sunji.⁴⁹ Master Sunji entered the monkhood at the age of twenty and died at sixty-five. His epithet was Yo-o and his pagoda title was Jinwon. He went to Tang in 858 and learned the Dharma by way of the Circle Figure, under Yangshan Huiji(807~883) who was a student of Mazu Daoyi. After returning from Tang(874), he taught and spread his view of Seon and Gyo at Seounsa, Mt. Ogwan, his view being the 'Way of Revealing Characteristics with Circles', 'the Three-Wholes Becoming Buddha', and 'the Three-Wholes'. So his teaching was considered to be the treasure moon shining on the lamp of mercy and lighting up to whole world. But his understanding was not considered sufficient to be established as one with Gusan seonmun.

According to *Zutangji*⁵⁰ Sunji's teaching was quite different from the prevailing tendency of Seon at that time. It would also be fair to say that he viewed Hwa-eom practice to be much the same as Seon. And this is the reason we presume that his school was prevented from being established as a Seon Gate.

It is in the Sambyeon seongbullon(Theory of Three-Wholes Becoming Buddha): Jeungni seongbul(Becoming Buddha by Enlightenment), Haengman seongbul(Becoming Buddha by Showing Innumerable Virtuous Deeds), and Sihyeon seongbul(Manifesting Buddha), that he identified Hwa-eom with Seon, in his view of Seon.

First, Jeungni seongbul, he said, is not attaining through the gradual cultivation, but rather, by withdrawing and reflecting on one's original nature in which there is nothing in one's mind. It is the same

49 "Gaepung Seounsa Yo-ohwasang Jinwontapbi(開豐 瑞雲寺了悟和尚眞原塔碑)", *Hanguk Geunseok Jeonmun*(韓國金石全文) "the medieval times" 1, pp.286~290. ; *Zutangji*(祖堂集) 20, Wuguanshan Ruiyushi Huoshang(五冠山瑞雲寺和尚), K 45, pp.356a~361a. ; "Jodangjip Sojae Sunjihwasangseol(祖堂集所載順之和尚說)", HBJ 3, pp.762c~768b. This inscription was made in the year 937(King Taejo 20),

50 *Zutangji*(祖堂集) 20, K 45, pp.356a~357c.

principle as with the phrase "the instant that you first set your mind on Enlightenment, you have already attained the *Mahāvaiṣṭya Buddha Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*. If we consider the essential nature in view of Jeungniseongbul, there is nothing in the mind; yet if we consider it in view of three Bodies of Buddha altogether, we cannot say that it is not one Buddha and two Bodhisattvas, i.e. Vairocana Buddha, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. This way is explained as Mañjuśrī's world, i.e. the Wisdom of Reality, for one can become a Buddha through realizing one's own nature here and now.

Second, Haengman seongbul, which refers to Samantabhadra's world, tells us about getting sufficient merit to become a Buddha by showing innumerable virtuous deeds. Yet, when Samantabhadra becomes a chief, Mañjuśrī is an attendant, and vice versa, and so with Vairocana. As a result, Vairocana becomes the chief in respect of essential nature, without any other superior; Mañjuśrī is recognized in respect of the Wisdom's merit of realizing one's nature; and Samantabhadra, in respect of the merit attained by showing virtuous deeds.

Finally, Sihyeon seongbul, he explains, means that after one becomes a Buddha by realizing the truth and by showing virtuous deeds, as explained above, Buddha manifests the process to become a Buddha in order to enlighten sentient beings, which is by way of eight aspects of his life beginning with descending from the Tuṣita Heaven up to entering Nirvāṇa. After explaining the Sambyeon seongbul, Sunji asks us to make efforts to become Buddhas by way of Buddha's teaching in the following Sūtra excerpt:

If you read Buddhist scripts, take a good look at the traces of past Saints and examine their process to become Buddha, then you will realize the principle of three-time becoming Buddha. May you practitioners who want to practice the path to Buddha, watch out for the nooses or traps of language and realize that past and future Buddha take the same path, just like the one path that people walked in the past and people walk in the present.⁵¹

We can assume that the Seon masters in Sunji's time could hardly admitted his practice method to be one with Seon practice because his rationale was fully based on the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*.

The Sambyeon explains the Sambyeon seongbul in a different way. The first of them, 'Sudden Enlightenment of the Truth of Reality' means that one is enlightened to the basis of True Nature, suddenly, when one hears the teaching of truth delivered by someone with the wisdom of Buddhism, without relying on gradual practice. Sunji asks how the foolish can become wise and how one can tell cleverness from dullness without learning the true teaching. A sentient being with cleverness and wisdom can be enlightened to the basis of True Nature perfectly and suddenly, even through hearing the true teaching for a moment. This is said to be Mañjuśrī's sphere of illuminating True Nature with Mañjuśrī's wisdom.

All deeds performed after awakening to one's own nature through the above cultivation, or all deeds of 'perfecting oneself and perfecting others', are Samantabhadra's sphere. There are three kinds of Samantabhadra spheres which are classified with corresponding status to the total stages of Hwa-eom: the first is the sphere of being free from the delusive world which corresponds with the stages from the Ten Abidings to the Ten Bhūmis; the second sphere is Samantabhadra entering the delusive world, and this corresponds to the stages of absolute universal enlightenment and wonderful enlightenment; and the third sphere is after attaining reward and this corresponds to the stage of practicing all kinds of Samādhi. Within all this, Samantabhadra's deeds co-exist as cultivation of them one-by-one and also by cultivating them in connection with each other. Sunji asserts that these rationales are based on Hwa-eom.

They are also the teachings of the Great Hwa-eom. Among the words of the Hwa-eom Sūtra's title, Mahāvaiṣṭya Buddha Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra, Mahāvaiṣṭya is the Dharma delivered by Buddha, i.e. Vairocana; Buddha is the people enlightening the Dharma, i.e. Mañjuśrī; and Gaṇḍavyūha is the practice

according to cause and occasion, i.e. Samantabhadra.⁵²

Sunji harmonizes this 'Sudden Enlightenment of the Truth of Reality' with the two practices of 'Returning the Gradual Enlightenment to Sudden Enlightenment of the Truth of Reality', 'the Gradual Enlightenment of the Truth of Reality', saying that these three are neither the same nor are they different, because the three vehicles return to one supreme vehicle and the gradual is the sudden.

Yet we know as historical fact that Sunji's concept of Seon couldn't flourish, so we can surmise that his idea of discriminating between Seon and Gyo, but simultaneously asserting that Hwa-eom is non-dual with the Seon, was hardly understood and accepted in his time.

VI. Conclusion

As seen above, despite Master Jingwi's extreme theory of 'special transmission beyond the Sūtras', Seon and traditional Gyo, Hwa-eom, were standing together, although Seon surpassed Gyo during the late Silla and early Goryeo. Meanwhile, the Korean Hwa-eom school, which had been divided into two different sects by two Hae-insa Masters, i.e. the North Mountain sect by Huirang and the South Mountain sect of Gwanhye, was unified by Gyunyeo of the North Mountain sect. This unification enabled the Hwa-eom system of Euisang's lineage to flourish again. Hwa-eom master Tanmun also tried to synthesize Seon and Hwa-eom. But the real, true harmonization of Seon and Hwa-eom(Gyo) had to wait for Bojo Jinul and his Hwa-eom seon. Furthermore, in Joseon, the synthetic practice which approved three different methods, that is, Seon, Hwa-eom(Gyo) and Chanting, appeared and became popular.

⁵² *Zutangji*(祖堂集) 20, K 45, p.359b.

Glossary of Chinese Terms

* Notes : S=Sanskrit C=Chinese K=Korean

Sanskrit

Avataṃsaka Sūtra(S) 華嚴經

Bodhi(S) 菩提

Bodhidharma(S) 菩提達磨

Buddha-kāya(S) 佛身

Dharmadhātu(S) 法界

Dhyāna(S) 禪

Gatha(S) 偈

Kalyāṇa-mitra(S) 善知識

Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra(S) 楞伽經

Mahāvaiṣṭvya Buddha Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra(S) 大方廣佛華嚴經

Mañjuśrī(S) 文殊菩薩

Pratītya-samutpāda(S) 緣起

Samantabhadra(S) 普賢

Samādhi(S) 三昧

Sudhana(S) 善財童子

Sūtra(S) 經

Tathāgata(S) 如來

Upāya(S) 方便

Vairocana(S) 毗盧遮那

Vināya(S) 律

Śāstra(S) 論

Śākyamuni Buddha(S) 釋迦牟尼佛

Chinese

Dongshan Liangjie(C) 洞山良介

Guizong (C) 歸宗

Huayansi(C) 花嚴寺

Huizhao(C) 慧昭

Jinghyo Jeoljung(C) 澄曉折中

Liang Wudi(C) 梁武帝

Magu Baoche(C) 麻谷寶徹
Mazu Daoyi(C) 馬祖道一
Nanquan Puyuan(C) 南泉普願
Shaolinsi(C) 少林寺
Tang(C) 唐
Wutai(C) 五臺
Xitang Zhizang(C) 西堂智藏
Yangshan Huiji(C) 仰山慧寂
Yangshanlu(C) 仰山錄
Yanguan Zhaian(C) 鹽官齊安
Yunju Daoying(C) 雲居道膺
Zhangjing Huaihui(C) 章敬懷暉
Zhikong(C) 志空
Zhixiangsi(C) 至相寺
Zutangji(C) 祖堂集

Korean

Jiwon(K) 智遠
Baegwolbogwang(K) 白月葆光
Baekje(K) 百濟
Beomche(K) 梵體
Beomil(K) 梵日
Beopnang(K) 法郎
Beopsang(K) 法相
Beopseongge(K) 法性偈
Bojo Chejing(K) 普照體澄
Bongnimsanmun(K) 鳳林山門
Borimsa(K) 寶林寺
Boryeong(K) 保寧
Bowolseunggong(K) 寶月乘空
Bowonsa(K) 普願寺
Buseoksa(K) 浮石寺
Changwon(K) 昌原
Chanyu(K) 璨幽

Chejing(K) 體澄
Cheolgam(K) 澈鑑
Chungnam(K) 忠南
Daeansa(K) 大安寺
Daenanghye(K) 大郎慧
Daetong(K) 大通
Dansoksa(K) 斷俗寺
Deoknyang(K) 德良
Do-eui(K) 道義
Doheon(K) 道憲
Dongrisanmun(K) 桐裏山門
Doseon(K) 道誦
Doyun(K) 道允
Eokseongsa(K) 億聖寺
Euisang(K) 義湘
Gaecheong(K) 開清
Gajisanmun(K) 迦智山門
Gayagapsa(K) 伽倻甲寺
Gayahyeop(K) 伽倻峽
Goguryeo(K) 高句麗
Gokseong(K) 谷城
Goryeo(K) 高麗
Gulsan(K) 嶺山
Gusan seonmun(K) 九山禪門
Gwanhye(K) 觀惠
Gwisinsa(K) 歸信寺
Gyeongbo(K) 慶甫
Gyeonggeui(K) 瓊儀
Gyeongnam(K) 慶南
Gyeongyang(K) 競讓
Gyo(K) 教
Gyunyeo(K) 均如
Haedongchildaerok(K) 海東七代錄
Haeinsa(K) 海印寺

Haengjeok(K) 行寂
Haengmanseongbul(K) 行滿成佛
Heuirang(K) 希朗
Heuiyangsanmun(K) 曦陽山門
Hogeo(K) 虎踞
Hongcheok(K) 洪陟
Hongjun(K) 洪俊
Hongzhou School(K) 洪州宗
Hwa-eom(K) 華嚴
Hwa-eom Sipsan(K) 華嚴十山
Hwa-eomronjeolyoseo(K) 華嚴論節要序
Hwa-eomsa(K) 華嚴寺
Hwa-eomseon(K) 華嚴禪
Hyecheol(K) 惠哲
Hyeongmi(K) 迥微
Hyeonuk(K) 玄昱
I-eom(K) 利嚴
Ilseung Beopgyedo(K) 一乘法界圖
Jeokjo(K) 寂照
Jeonbuk(K) 全北
Jeongjong(K) 定宗
Jeonnam(K) 全南
Jeungni seongbul(K) 證理成佛
Jijeung oheon(K) 智證道憲
Jijeung(K) 智證
Jincheol(K) 眞澈
Jingso(K) 澄昭
Jinul(K) 智訥
Jinwon(K) 眞原
Josa seon(K) 祖師禪
Joseon(K) 朝鮮
Jujong(K) 住宗
Kim Heonjeong(K) 金獻貞
Muryangsusa(K) 無量壽寺

Museoltoron(K) 無舌土論
Muyeom(K) 無染
Myeongju(K) 溟州
Namak(K) 南岳
Namwon(K) 南原
Odae(K) 五臺
Queen Jinseong(K) 眞聖大王
Sagulsanmun(K) 闍堀山門
Sajasanmun(K) 獅子山門
Sambyeonseongbullon(K) 三遍成佛論
Samron(K) 三論
Seokdeung(K) 釋登
Seon(K) 禪
Seon-gyodaebyeonmun(K) 禪教對辨門
Seongjusanmun(K) 聖住山門
Seonmunbojangrok(K) 禪門寶藏錄
Seorak(K) 雪嶽
Seounsa(K) 瑞雲寺
Sihyeonseongbul(K) 示顯成佛
Silla(K) 新羅
Silsangsa(K) 實相寺
Silsangsanmun(K) 實相山門
Simgwang(K) 深光
Shimhui(K) 審希
Sinhaeng(K) 信行
Sucheol(K) 秀澈
Sumisanmun(K) 須彌山門
Sunji(K) 順之
Taeansa(K) 泰安寺
Tanmun(K) 坦文
Tonghyo(K) 通曉
Yangshan(K) 仰山
Yeo(K) 如
Yeo-eom(K) 麗嚴

Yeomgeo(K) 廉居
 Yeonhwi(K) 延徽
 Yo-o(K) 了悟
 Yulhak(K) 律學
 Yunda(K) 允多

Abbreviation

HBJ Han-guk Bulgyo Jeonseo 韓國佛教全書
 K. Great Koryo Scriptures 高麗大藏經
 T. Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo 大正新修大藏經

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