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Buddhist Rituals of Death in Contemporary Korea

Buddhistické rituály smrti v současné Koreji

PhD Thesis

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I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own work and that I wrote it independently, using only duly listed and properly cited sources and references; and that it has not been submitted in connection with any other university course or in fulfilment of the requirements of the same degree or of any other.

Abstract

The aim of the dissertation is to present the complex system of Buddhist rituals of death. Being the first lengthy study on the topic written outside Korea, this work introduces these rituals in the context of the rich Korean religious scene and indicates its connection to other religious and philosophical ideas present in the Sinitic cultural area.

The dissertation is structured into five sections, each of which approaches the rituals from a different perspective. The "Introduction," presents the methodology, including the theoretical framework; textual research of ritual texts and fieldwork are the two key methodological approaches used to study the topic at hand.

Chapter 2, "The Ritual Constituents," is an attempt to define an apparatus for analysis of the rituals. The two-axis scheme is an attempt to provide a tool, which will help us grasp not only the relative "richness" of the ritual but also its variability.

Chapter 3, "The Structure and Typology of the Rituals," presents an overall analysis of the ritual process from the deathbed, to rebirth, and beyond. Its structure is based on contemporary rituals. I also use examples from Korean historical sources to demonstrate that certain types of rituals have been standard ritual activities throughout the history of Korean Buddhism.

Chapter 4, "The Key Sequences of *ch'ŏndo chae* Ceremonies," takes the reader deeper into the structure of the rituals and presents a translation of selected ritual texts with a twofold commentary—a commentary on doctrine and a commentary on performance. The former relates the meaning of the sections to Buddhist teachings, the latter draws from my field observations.

The "Conclusions," summarizes some of the findings and hypotheses based on previous chapters, i.e., the meaning and functioning of the rituals within the religious milieu of Korea; soteriological goals expressed through the rituals, the plausibility of the notion of *t'ong pulgyo*, or holistic Buddhism.

Keywords: Korean Buddhism, death, ritual, *musok, ch'ŏndo chae*

Abstrakt

Práce se zabývá problematikou rituálů smrti v korejském buddhismu, stále vlivné a živé náboženské tradici v Korejské republice. Na metodologické rovině spojuje analýzu rituálního textu s terénním výzkumem.

Předmluva a úvodní kapitola nastiňuje autorův zájem, vztah k tématu a základní cíle práce. Následně shrnuje teoretický rámec, zejm. teorie Hertze a van Gennepa, postup a problémy řešené při vytváření korpusu rituálních textů a popisuje kvalitativní výzkum mezi mnichy i laiky, jeho specifika a úskalí.

V úvodu druhé kapitoly autor poukazuje na modulární charakter rituálů a s ním spojenou problematiku komplexnosti a rozmanitosti rituálu a navrhuje schéma dvou os, kde horizontální osa představuje jednotlivé moduly, stavební bloky ceremonií, a vertikální osa vyjadřuje rozmanitost rituálních konstituentů. V druhé části kapitoly se zabývá dvěma klíčovými konstituenty, zemřelým a rituálními aktéry.

Třetí kapitola je stručným přehledem rituálního procesu od okamžiku smrti až po neohraničenou dobu po skončení čtyřiceti devítidenního období truchlení a zvýšené rituální aktivity. Současnou, konfucianismem a lidovým náboženstvím ovlivněnou praxi, porovnává s buddhistickými rituály v korejských dějinách, čímž ukazuje, že se v dnešním rituálu projevují určité ustálené buddhistické rituální vzorce či struktury promísené s tím, co lze nazvat korejským náboženským milieu.

Čtvrtá kapitola představuje komentovaný překlad rituálního textu ze sinokorejského originálu. Ten autor práce opatřuje komentáři, které se vztahují k významu jednotlivých ritů z pohledu buddhistické nauky, ale i z pohledu rituální praxe. Práce tak představuje tři významné rituální sekvence, které tvoří klíčovou část ceremonií vedení. Autor se konkrétně zabývá sekvencí, která přivádí zemřelého, božstva i aktéry do rituálního prostoru. Druhou sekvencí je invokace ducha a snaha napomoci mu v dosažení probuzení. Třetí sekvence je rituální očistou ducha.

V závěru se autor dotýká tří témat či otázek, které z práce vyplývají. Dochází k závěru, že buddhistické rituály fungují spíše ve sdíleném korejském kosmologickém rámci. Dále se věnuje vztahu dvou soteriologických cílů, nirváně a zrození v Čisté zemi, a tvrdí, že jsou oba v rituálu přítomné, ale že míra a účinnost těchto dvou cílů je jiná, než se obecně traduje. V závěru se dotýká konceptu „všezahrnujícího buddhismu“, zavedeného klišé korejské buddhologie, a ukazuje, jak jej lze v kontextu zkoumaného materiálu chápat.

Klíčová slova: korejský buddhismus, rituál, smrt, *musok*, *ch'ŏndo chae*

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Preface

Ten years ago, when I was studying in my second semester of a master's program in Buddhist studies at Dongguk University in Seoul, a nun, a classmate of mine, invited me to her temple to a "guiding ceremony." At the time, I was unfamiliar was the term, so she explained to me that they "will be invoking spirits and guiding them to a better rebirth." She added that it was a rare event, as it takes place less than once a year. I was curious to see this special ceremony, so I decided to take in this day-long event. Back then, I was immersed in the study of the Buddhist thought of the Hwaŏm (Ch. Huayan 華嚴) school and had developed a personal interest in *sŏn* (Ch. *chan* 禪) meditation. To me studying such a profound doctrine and devoting oneself to meditation were the core elements of Buddhist practice. But that was not just my personal feeling; it was a general trend in the department, which offered three programs: Buddhist doctrine, the history of Buddhism, and applied Buddhism. The latter was considered a major for practically oriented monks and nuns, whereas the other two were "proper" courses in Buddhist studies. Therefore, I had no particular interest in rituals; I was satisfied knowing that Korea has something I knew from the popular *Tibetan Book of the Dead* (Kolmaš 1998).

In the following years, I ended up spending a great amount of time at the Chijang chŏngsa Temple in Southern Ch'ungch'ŏng province. I was invited there by my classmate, who today serves as the local abbot. The temple belongs to the Pŏmnyun order of Korean Buddhism (*Taehan pulgyo pŏmnyun chong* 大韓佛教 法輪宗). Chijang is the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, an important figure in East Asian thanatology, and the temple proved to be a local center of mortuary matters. Before my experience here, the Buddhist temples I had visited seemed to emit a strong sense of segregation between the temple-related community and visitors. However, now I was accepted by the temple community, and as such I participated in many events. Being so close to the daily affairs of a temple, I was able to cast aside any romanticism I might have had, thus, overcoming a frequent threat while doing fieldwork in communities we might wish to imagine as "traditional." Moreover, I began to understand the importance of rituals for the laity. I realized that the Western imagination of Buddhism as a path to salvation through personal spiritual practice was completely flawed. I discovered that communal rituals and acts of devotion are at the center of lay practice and that rituals of death play a principal role.

1 Introduction

1.1 Objectives and Structure

The aim of this study is to present the complex system of Buddhist rituals of death. Being the first lengthy study on the topic written outside Korea, this work introduces these rituals in the context of the rich Korean religious scene and indicates its connection to other religious and philosophical ideas present in the Sinitic cultural area. Studying these rituals is also an excellent way to grasp Korean Buddhism and its traditions. From this treasury of various beliefs and doctrines that constitute Korean Buddhism, we can learn more about its pedigree.

The dissertation is structured into five sections, each of which approaches the rituals from a different perspective. In the first section, "Introduction," I present the methodology, including the theoretical framework; textual research of ritual texts and fieldwork are the two key methodological approaches I used to study the topic at hand. The objective of chapter 2, "The Ritual Constituents," is an attempt to define an apparatus for analysis of the rituals. I propose examining rituals along their vertical and horizontal axes, which allow us to see the fundamental relationships between the basic ritual modules and their contents. I use this idea to structure the chapter. Therefore, I discuss the main ritual constituents as the dead, the actors, and the text— the key elements of rituals' vertical axis. The second section of the chapter is dedicated to the horizontal structure of rituals and discusses the relationship between various ritual modules.

Chapter 3, "The Structure and Typology of the Rituals," presents an overall analysis of the ritual process from the deathbed, to rebirth, and beyond. Its structure is based on contemporary rituals. I also use examples from Korean historical sources to demonstrate that certain types of rituals have been standard ritual activities throughout the history of Korean Buddhism.

Chapter 4, "The Key Sequences of *Ch'ŏndo chae* Ceremonies," takes the reader deeper into the structure of the rituals and presents a translation of selected ritual texts with a twofold commentary—a commentary on doctrine and a commentary on performance. The former relates the meaning of the sections to Buddhist teachings, the latter draws from my field observations.

In the last section, "Conclusions," I summarize some of the findings and hypotheses based on previous chapters. First, I discuss the meaning and functioning of the rituals within the religious milieu of Korea. Then I consider the soteriological goals expressed through the

rituals, before reevaluating the plausibility of the notion of *t'ong pulgyo*, or holistic Buddhism. Finally, I focus on the significance of modularity for ritual variability and change, and in conclusion I suggest a few ideas for future research on this topic.

1.2 Methodology

The title of this dissertation is *Buddhist Rituals of Death in Contemporary Korea*. Before proceeding, I would like to clarify any possible ambiguities the title may imply. All my sources, both textual and anthropological, come from the Republic of Korea. Hence, when talking about Korea after the split of the peninsula at the end of the World War II, I use the term *Korea* to refer exclusively to the Republic of Korea.[1] My study is based on present-day religious practice, and therefore I approach the texts that shall be discussed throughout this work from the perspective I acquired conducting fieldwork in the Republic of Korea in recent years. When used to describe other cases and historical periods, *Korea* refers to the entire peninsula. I use the terms *Three Kingdoms period*, *Koryŏ*, and *Chosŏn* to specify certain historical periods.

The notion of death, dying, and rebirth is embedded in ritual practice in its entirety. The spirits of the dead are remembered and invoked in daily as well as monthly rituals, and their tablets are constantly present in the temple halls, where the clergy is asked to include them in their praying practice. Therefore, the notion of *rituals of death* focused on throughout this work refers to the ritual process that begins at the deathbed, includes funerary and mortuary rituals, helps the deceased to pass through the forty-nine-day period, and continues with memorial rituals performed occasionally on behalf of the deceased.

As we shall see, these rituals are tightly intertwined in the religious milieu of Korea. Therefore, I should clarify the preunderstanding of the "Buddhist nature" of the rituals I have studied. Identifying rituals, and especially particular rites, as Buddhist also causes methodological problems. Useful criteria for identifying a ritual as Buddhist as opposed to non-Buddhist lie in the nature of the officiants, the location, and the texts used. I do not propose a definition of Buddhist rituals as such, but instead present the aid I used to intuitively search for

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[1] My reasoning is not based on the assumption that the practice in the North is entirely disconnected. I have read outsider testimony from a Czech missionary who describes an apparent "guiding ceremony" for Kim Ilsŏng performed in a Buddhist temple in Pyŏngyang. I believe that the tradition surviving in the North in any form, even distorted, could shed much light on the pre-modern practice of the rituals. Hence the reason is simply the fact that due to the scarcity, or rather the unavailability, of sources I am not aware of the situation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

the objects of my study. Most of the rituals I document and discuss in this work are performed in Buddhist temples or by Buddhist clergy. I will, however, point out and discuss some special cases.

In my research, I attempt to connect a textual Buddhological approach with anthropological fieldwork. Fenn (2012, pts. 2161–2166) has summarized an important shift in the field of Buddhism studies over last decade or two:

> Buddhist studies, until recently, meant the study of texts. A Buddhologist studied languages, translated texts, and interpreted them from a historical, doctrinal, or literary perspective. It is only within the last 20 years or so that Buddhist studies has incorporated real people into the study of Buddhism. That is not to say that real Buddhists didn't receive any scholarly attention. They did – from scholars in other disciplines.

I underwent such a conversion myself as I realized the importance of parallel fieldwork and textual research. Fortunately, several inspiring studies were published shortly before or during my dissertation research; they will be discussed in the next section.

1.2.1 Theoretical Framework

Before discussing my research methods, I should mention the basic theoretical framework of the dissertation. My preliminary understanding of the rituals is based on theories found in some key anthropological works on the topic, especially those by Hertz (2004) and van Gennep (1960). I understand the rituals of death in Korean Buddhism as a rite of passage (Gennep 1960, 1–25, 146–65) or a cluster of such rites, as a basic threefold structure recurs in various parts of the ritual process. Buddhist cosmology is quite suggestive because the numerous stages of the transition from one life to another are described in emic terms, in one form or another, already in the Buddhist texts. The threefold structure of the rites of passage consists of separation, transition, and incorporation, which allow or support various changes in both individuals and groups involved. Hertz draws our attention to the three main foci of the rituals: the soul, the dead, and the living mourners. The closely related notion of liminality, which is present in each of these categories. Turner (1973, 1995) Huntington and Metcalf (1991) have further developed Hertz's analysis and expressed it in a triangular scheme (66) that not only includes the three main objects of the ritual but also expresses the relationships between each. In my work, I focus especially on the "soul side" of the tripartite structure represented by different notions of "spirits," as the core Buddhist rituals are spirit-oriented. Grimes's analysis

of different modes of ritual sensitivity (2010, 33–48) aids my understanding of ritual activity in the context of rituals of death. His concept of "liturgy" as a mode of ritual sensitivity different from ceremony, magic, or celebration is useful in evaluating the figures involved in various rituals and the performances one may encounter in Korea.

1.2.2 Textual Research

The first step in conducting textual research was acquiring textual material. However, it was already obvious to me at this stage that textual research would be inseparable from fieldwork. Based on the study of secondary sources, I located wonderful primary sources for the study of this topic, the *Han'guk pulgyo ŭirye charyo ch'ongsŏ* 韓國佛敎儀禮資料叢書, or *Collected Ritual Texts of Korean Buddhism I-IV* (Pak 1993), and the *Sŏngmun ŭibŏm* 釋門儀範 (SMUB), or *Rules for Buddhist Rituals* (An 1977, 1982).

The former is a four-volume collection containing all ritual manuals and collections of ritual texts that have been preserved in Korean temples from the Chosŏn period onward. Some of these texts are of Chinese origin, some were written or compiled in Korea, and the origin of some is unknown. As such, the volume is an ideal source for comparative studies on different ritual manuals, but it does not give us any idea about which texts are used in contemporary practice.

The *Sŏngmun ŭibŏm*, on the other hand, is crucial for contemporary rituals. This authoritative compilation of rituals texts was first published in 1935. Rather than being a proper ritual manual, it is a repository of ritual texts structured into sequences and modules (see below). Despite this fact, it does not say much about the actual order of the ritual modules, and thus, it cannot tell us which ritual sequences are used in today's practice and which are not. As a result, we do not know which texts to focus on. Nonetheless, popular booklets and blogs on rituals, monk and nun informants, and even academic texts all repeat that the structure or sequence (*chŏlch'cha* 節次, also procedure) of contemporary rituals is given in this text (Sim 2003; Ku 2009). When confronted with the performance of the rituals in the field, I realized that this text indeed is the main source, but that there are also other texts involved, that some passages have been omitted, and so forth. Thus, I learned that the *Sŏngmun ŭibŏm* only superficially indicates ritual structure and that there are other criteria and rules for how rituals are structured. The next step was therefore to acquire the texts as they are actually used in today's practice.

Over the past two decades, Korea has witnessed a new wave of ritual text publication. The central authorities of Buddhist orders publish ritual collections and manuals, which serve

as standards in the temple education system. Hence, a variety of primary sources that reflect the contemporary practice exist. Studying and comparing them was an important preliminary part of my research.

The *Pulgyo sangyong ŭirye chip* (abbreviated as PSURC), or *A Collection of Common Buddhist Rituals* (Taehan pulgyo chogyejong 2013, 2016), published by the Chogye order of Korean Buddhism, the largest order in Korea, is used as the standard text throughout this work. This collection includes different types of rituals grouped into the following categories: 1) temple rituals (daily rituals such as morning, noon, and evening worship; 2) rituals performed in front of various altars) and *chae* 齋 ceremonies, which will be discussed throughout this work; 3) life rituals, which include funerary rituals; and finally 4) miscellaneous rituals, such as a sermon ceremony or rituals connected with the life of the monastic community. The texts are presented in *hanmun* 漢文, that is, classical or literary Chinese, with interscribed Korean pronunciation in the Korean vernacular alphabet, *Han'gŭl*, and a Korean translation.

The other important sources I used are connected with the T'aego order of Korean Buddhism. This order is generally accepted as the heir of the ritual tradition. T'aego order monks and nuns are invited by other orders' temples to perform large ceremonies. The *Sangyong ŭisik chip* 常用儀式集 (abbreviated as SUSC), or *A Collection of Common Rituals,* (W. Ch'oe 2012) is a ritual manual published by Tongbang Buddhist University (Tongbang pulgyo taehak 東邦佛教大學), the order's educational institute. Both texts list the ritual sequences based on ritual type. Hence they feature an ideal structure of the rituals, at least of their textual part.

From the environment of the T'aego order comes an eight-volume series of ritual texts with annotations and commentaries, the *Pulgyo ŭisik kangnon* 佛敎儀式各論 (abbreviated as PUSK), or *A Comprehensive Study of Buddhist Rituals*. This collection is an important source as it presents annotated texts with Korean translations along with a commentary on the practice including ritual music (*pŏmp'ae* 梵唄) and dance (*chakpŏp* 作法). The commentary is a form of exegesis rather than an academic work. As such it is a useful source complementary to interviews conducted during fieldwork. It presents opinions that are authoritative, but not academic, as this collection is an important reference cherished and used by the ritual specialists I met.

After comparing various texts and creating my own digital corpus of primary sources, I immersed myself in translating. Translating these texts brings about specific problems. The texts, regardless of their type (invocation, educative verse, requesting prayer, verse of praise,

etc.), are written in a form of Chinese-style poetry (*hansi* 漢詩). Hence the lines or phrases are very dense utterances referring to the vast treasury of Buddhist sources. Hypotexts seem to have been selected without any limits on origin, type, or doctrine. Indian philosophical texts, early sutras, Mahayana sutras, Chinese apocrypha, *gongan* riddles of the Chinese Chan, and Korean texts are the most visible categories of writing reflected in the verses. The verses reference not only certain texts but also multiple doctrinal frameworks and concepts. Second- and third-order references pose another challenge; for instance, a text may refer to a certain narrative of Chinese Chan Master Zhaozhou, while the narrative itself is already a dense expression of a doctrinal stance.

I examined the ritual texts of the Chinese Buddhist canon using the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association's digital tools ("CBETA" 2017), which include the *Taishō Tripiṭaka* 大正新脩大藏經, the *Shinsan Zokuzōkyō* 卍新纂續藏經, the *Jiaxing Canon* 嘉興大藏經, and several other collections of Buddhist texts, to trace the sources of the texts I work with. I have also consulted the Han'guk pulgyo Chŏnso *Collection of Korean Buddhist Texts*. To introduce the context of these texts I have employed a system of footnotes and commentaries (see below, chapter 4).

1.2.3 The Fieldwork

Before starting this project, I had already gained experience conducting fieldwork in Korea. As part of a research team at the Department of Religious Studies of Seoul National University, I studied the "shamanist" *musok* environment of rural areas on the east coast. Field research on the rituals of death, however, brings about different practical and methodological issues.

I employed techniques ranging from mere observation to active participation. I began observing rituals during my stays at the Chijang chŏngsa Temple, which performs several rituals for the deceased a week, namely the "guiding ceremonies" with occasional enshrining of tablets and urns. I was also afforded the unique experience of playing the role of an actual mourner. When Václav Havel, the first post-communist president of Czechoslovakia, and later of the Czech Republic, died in 2011, the abbot of the Chijang chŏngsa Temple spontaneously decided to perform a forty-ninth-day ceremony. Despite this temple's relative distance from Seoul, a few members of the Czech community in Korea arrived, and we, as Czechs, became ritual patrons. A representative from the Czech embassy in Korea played the role of the main mourner, whereas I was designated the second mourner, that is, the equivalent of the deceased's

younger son.

I conducted most of my fieldwork between winter 2011 and my departure from Korea in summer 2012 and during three approximately two-month-long stays in the subsequent summers of 2013, 2014, and 2015. Based on a preliminary study of secondary and primary texts and observations at Chijang chŏngsa, I opted to conduct qualitative research among clergy and laity in the form of interviews and by participating in, observing, and recording the various rituals accessible to me.

The problems and obstacles I had to deal with were manifold. The first was to find suitable temples for carrying out fieldwork. Unlike many anthropologists who have published their research on Korea, I wanted to collect data from different sites in order to determine what characteristics are universal and which are particular to certain temples. Obviously, using my network of friends and acquaintances that I had built while studying at a Buddhist university was the most effective approach. Knowing the people in person helped on many levels. Above all, it was easier for them to talk to me openly and frankly. On the other hand, conducting research at large temples was hampered by formal negotiations, especially with the large Chogye order. My requests were processed by the temple hierarchy and even when I was allowed to do fieldwork there, interviews with nuns and monks remained on a formal and superficial level. I also realized that representatives of orders other than the Chogye were significantly more helpful and approving. I believe the position of the Chongye order in Korean society explains this discrepancy; it has been deemed "the representative" of Buddhism, a narrative supported by the state. Thus, other orders suffer from a feeling of being discriminated against. Hence the presence of a foreign researcher in their rituals seemed to be considered a factor increasing their prestige, as I overheard many monks communicating to patrons or visitors that "he is doing research here, on our practice."

Besides merely observing rituals, I also managed to do fieldwork involving interviews and recordings at the following temples: Pongwŏnsa Temple in Sŏul, the center of the T'aego order and a large ritual center, where one day I counted four simultaneous ceremonies being performed; Sŏnamsa Temple, located in Southern Chŏlla province, the head temple of the T'aego order; the small urban temple of Chasŏngsa in the metropolitan city of Kwangju; Kuinsa Temple, the largest in Korea, located in in Northern Ch'ungch'eong province, where I spent several days studying a large, four-day, ceremony; and Chijang chŏngsa Temple, which belongs to the relatively newly established Pŏmnyun order, an offspring of T'aego order, my main research site, where I acquired more than fifty percent of field data. I also followed a

local ritual specialist in the Honam region of southwest Korea, Wŏrho sŭnim[2] to several events where he was, with a team of ritual specialist, invited to perform various ceremonies. Despite, my efforts to cover various regions, most of my research took place in the west and southwest of Korea. The Yŏngnam region was, however, not totally omitted from my research. There I studied a large ceremony at the Ŏosa Temple of the Chogye order and spent several days interviewing Paeksŏng sŭnim, a local ritual specialist, who not only performs rituals, but also is a very active ritual bricoleur.

Doing a field study of death logically depends on someone actually dying. Death is, however, an event that is unplanned and utterly sad. Both characteristics significantly influence the practicalities of fieldwork. Simply put, during a two-month stay in Korea, it is not easy to encounter the death of somebody whose rituals would be performed in an "allied" temple, which would let me know, and whose family would approve of a researcher in their midst. This fact significantly shaped my fieldwork.

Therefore, I was unable to follow the whole ritual process from death to the forty-ninth day of a single person. As far as postmortem rites are concerned (see chapter 3 for the structure), I attended the shrouding rites and enshrining of several urns. I also attended the cremation ceremony of an important monk.

Hence my fieldwork mainly focused on extensive research of guiding ceremonies, *ch'ŏndo chae*, in various forms and on various occasions. I documented dozens of instances of *sasipku chae*, the forty-ninth day ceremonies, ranging from an intimate occasion performed by two nuns and one female patron to a ceremony celebrated by seven monks, two professional performers, and several participating laypeople and visitors, as well as approximately twenty instances of *ch'ŏndo chae* ceremonies performed ad hoc upon request from patrons or as organized group ceremonies. I planned my summer fieldwork "to coincide with the *Paekchung* 百中 or *Ullanbun chae* 盂蘭盆齋 on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month, when *chŏndo chae* ceremonies are also performed.

The interviews I conducted with various ritual participants differed according to type of participant. I prepared a bank of questions that focused on motivations, efficacy, and economical aspects. I posed special questions to the clergy, which focused on performance, learning the rituals, the importance of certain ritual elements over others, and the evaluation of other temple's performances and differences. Laypeople were asked about their religious

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[2] An honorific title for a monk or nun, abbreviated as SN.

affiliation, ability to comprehend the ritual, ritual life outside the ceremony attended, satisfaction with the ritual practice, and so forth. I have learned, as many anthropologists before me, that if the silence of an informant lasts more than two seconds then it was better for me to remain silent. When reviewing the first interviews, I realized how much my preunderstanding of the rituals distorts the interviews.

1.3 The State of Research

The aim of this section is to introduce the state of research on Korean rites of death. Thus, I shall introduce works, mostly monographs, that deal with this topic. I shall refrain from evaluating them, as I am not aware of an existing discourse that would require one to clarify one's position. Buddhist rituals of death have long been overlooked by the international scholarly community. However, in the past ten years several monographs and edited volumes on Buddhist rituals of death have been published worldwide; this trend is identical in Korean academia. Thus, in recent years several important studies on the topic have been produced.

1.3.1 Secondary Sources on Korean Ritual Practice

Several Korean scholars specialize in contemporary rituals. Ku Mirae, who is currently the greatest authority on Buddhist rituals, completed her PhD in ethnology at Andong University. In 2009 she published a lengthy monograph based on her dissertation titled *Hangugin ŭi chugŭm kwa sasipku chae* (Koreans' death and the forty-nine-day ceremony). Her research is based on extensive fieldwork conducted at different temples in Korea. The book is divided into five sections, each approaching the topic from a different angle. In the first chapter, she approaches the rituals from the perspective of the deceased and the bereaving family, as well as from the perspective of the temple, and enquires into the mutual relationship between the two. The second chapter is dedicated to the forty-ninth-day ritual as a ritual of passage. Here she applies van Gennep's theory and its various interpretations to the processes of the ritual as well as to the other rituals of death in Korean Buddhism. The next chapter is dedicated to an analysis of the different elements of the ritual, namely its visual, bodily, and audible aspects. She also discusses the meaning and function of the ritual as well as its changes. In the last chapter, she analyzes various views on the afterlife that are reflected in the ritual. Hence, she touches upon the mutual relationships between Buddhism, Confucianism, and the shamanist tradition of *musok*. The monograph includes a three-hundred-page appendix with detailed

transcriptions of the interviews.[3] She has written an award-winning academic book (Ku 2012) on daily Buddhist rites, which covers rituals from birth to ancestral rites.

Yi Sŏngun's works approach rituals from the perspective of Buddhist studies. Yi completed his PhD in Buddhist studies at Dongguk University. In his monograph *Han'guk pulgyo ŭirye ch'egye yŏn'gu* (A Study of Ritual Systems of Korean Buddhism) (Sŏngun Yi 2014) his primary concern is not rites of death; he analyzes various ritual manuals, both historical and contemporary, and analyzes various rites and their content and development. He offers a typology of the rites and explains the relationship between them. He also evaluates previous research on Buddhist rituals.[4]

An introductory monograph on one of the rituals I study, the *Yŏngsan chae*, has been published in Croatian (Zorić 2004) and introduces the ritual in the context of the history of Korean religions. Hogarth's (2002) study presents some information on the ritual sequences and attempts to shed light on the relationship between Buddhism and *musok* in Korea. The recent English-language monograph *Death, Mourning and the Afterlife in Korea* includes different views on this topic from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective. Contemporary Buddhist rituals are not covered, but there are chapters on the history of death and burial, which also involve Buddhism, on Buddhism and death in a historic novel, and on death in non-Buddhist contexts (Horlyck and Pettid 2014). Additionally, several authors in Korea and abroad have recently addressed the popularity of rituals in the Chosŏn era vis-à-vis the view of the Chosŏn as a period of oppression and decline of Buddhism (Ko 2010; S.-E. T. Kim 2014).

However, there are many related topics that are either interconnected with my research, and as such necessary to work with, or are a useful inspiration for the methodology, or are helpful comparison to the outputs of my own fieldwork. There is a strong tradition of anthropological study of Korean folk religion, which also had a strong influence on my dissertation, as it was necessary to consider the religious context (Kendall 1987, 1988, 2009; Bruno 2002; J. Kim 2008).

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[3] Several chapters of the book were published as separate papers in academic journals, which are more or less identically reproduced in the book, and therefore I do not list them here or in the bibliography. She also authored an introductory booklet on the same topic, apparently aimed at the general public.

[4] He published several articles on the topic of rituals and he is also a columnist of the Buddhist newspaper ("Pulgyo Sinmun" 2017)

1.3.2 Secondary Sources on Rituals Outside Korea

I am very much indebted to the innovative approaches applied in similar studies that have been conducted "in the neighborhood" of Korea. The edited volume *Death and The Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism* (Stone and Walter 2008) presents articles on this topic from various perspectives and periods in Japanese history. Stone's article on deathbed practices and Walter's article on the structure of ritual practice are helpful for understanding, on one hand, common Buddhist practices and, on the other, regional peculiarities. We learn here that Japan, despite its proximity to Korea and the influence it has had on Korea especially in the twentieth century, has left minimal traces in the structure of Korean rituals of death.

Langer's monograph and articles (2007, 2012, 2013) on rituals of death in Sri Lanka connect fieldwork with the study of textual sources and thus have helped me greatly. In the context of southern Buddhism, Gombrich's book (1991) on Sinhalese Buddhism is an informative study discussing the discrepancy between the texts and the practice we encounter in the field. The recently published monograph on Tibetan Buddhism by Gouin (2012) is a compilation that, based on first-hand accounts, maps the sequence of rituals of death in Tibet. For my work, this book was helpful in terms of correcting some ideas about the Tibetan notion of the intermediate state.

The edited volume *Buddhist Funeral Cultures of Southeast Asia and China* (Williams and Ladwig 2012) features several studies from different regions in southeast Asia, namely Sri Lanka, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and the southern areas of China. In the introduction the editors discuss questions involved in comparing different Buddhist cultural areas while applying theories introduced by Hertz and others. The book is a very good source for understanding how doctrine is related to practice and how, on the other hand, the indigenous religious substrate influences practice. Among other things, we learn that we cannot speak of a "Buddhist notion of death" or "Buddhist rituals of Death" without specifying a time and place. An earlier edited volume, *The Buddhist Dead* (Cuevas and Stone 2007), introduces article related less to the living practice, but the notions of the deathbed and the moment of death are discussed in multiple articles.

Studies on Chinese Buddhism and Chinese culture are also very important, particularly Teiser's two monographs (1988, 1994) dealing with the origin of the concept of the ten kings and the development of the notion of hells, the netherworld, and purgatory. *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* is the key source for understanding the origins of the summer festival known as *Paekchung*, which is one of the fixed dates for performing guiding ceremonies in Korea.

2 The Ritual Constituents

The aim of this chapter is to offer an overview and description of the elements that constitute rituals. Turner defines a ritual as "a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests" (1973, 1100). This chapter addresses the ritual activities themselves, the sequence they are performed in, and the people who perform them.

Naturally, such a list could hardly ever be considered complete. There are many reasons to support this claim. For example, one observer might consider some parts or aspects of a ritual important, whereas another might overlook them. Also, researchers' interests are reflected in their subjective focus on details, and therefore, a Buddhist studies scholar focuses on different aspects of rituals than a musicologist, linguist, or cultural anthropologist. My experience of being overwhelmed not only by the richness of the ritual elements, but by their variability as well, drove me to write this chapter. In it, I try to unravel rituals to reveal their core constituents.

2.1 The Axes

To grasp and organize the complexity of rituals, I propose thinking of them along two axes: a horizontal axis representing the structure of the words, phrases, rites, and ritual sequences used and their ordering and a vertical axis representing the relative richness and complexity of the ritual mise en scène.

2.1.1 The Horizontal Axis

2.1.1.1 Modularity and Modules

The two-axis scheme is an attempt to provide a tool that will help us grasp not only the relative "richness" of the ritual but also its variability. Simply put, this scheme can help address why, for instance, an identical ritual, such as the forty-ninth-day ceremony, is sometimes performed for one hour and sometimes over the course of several days. Ritual manuals, it seems, describe only a segment of the final mise en scène; often a large portion of the ritual activities are drawn from other sources.

These rituals can be divided into sequentially arranged sections and analyzed. Such division and analysis, however, can be performed in many different ways. Therefore, I describe

the sequential or horizontal structure of the rituals as a scheme of embedded modules.

Although this scheme can be applied to all the rituals mentioned in this work, I shall demonstrate it using guiding ceremonies as an example. I assume that the proposed structure will help not only understand the rituals but also clarify the terminology we use throughout this work.

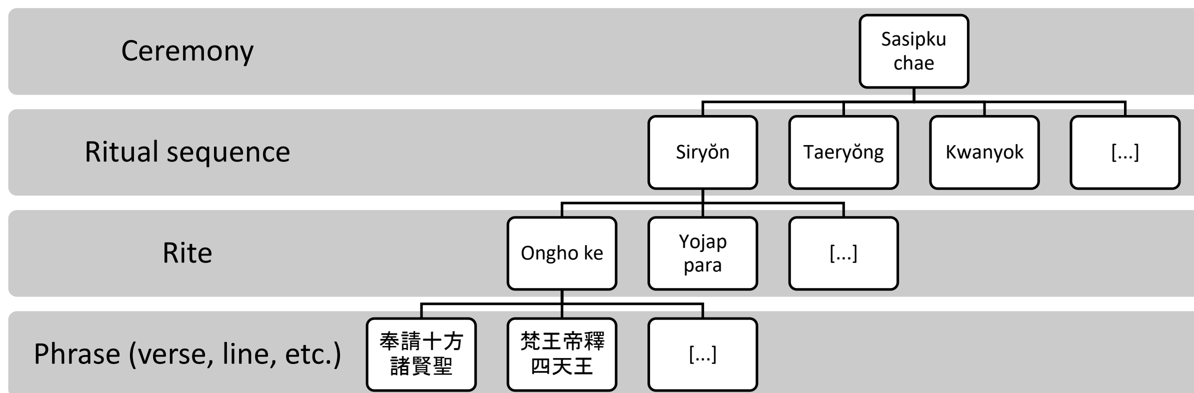

Fig. 1 Ritual modules

In the table above, the highest level represents the "ceremony," in this case the *sasipku chae*, the forty-ninth-day ceremony. Naturally, the ceremony itself can be part of a higher-order hierarchy, for example, part of a series of seven ceremonies performed on each of the seven days following a death. A ceremony consists of modules that I call "ritual sequences." It is this level that interests us most because most of the ritual variability we encounter happens on this level. The ritual sequences are made up of rites. There are several different kinds of rites. The *ongho ke* is an invocation formula chanted by the main officiant and the assembly of monks accompanied by musical instruments. The *yojap para* is a ritual cymbal dance. The content of these rites, however, is described using elements from the vertical axis. The next level of the modular hierarchy, the "phrase," lies outside the focus of our interest. It can be still projected into the structure, although on this level it will be matter for linguistics, musicologists, and the like to analyze. Hence in this study, the rite is the smallest ritual unit I work with.

When a ritual is to be performed, a ritual sequence must be decided upon. In some cases, it will be the monks who decide. Often, patrons will be involved as well because the number and type of ritual sequences directly influences the cost of the ritual. Naturally, tradition plays

an important role. Wŏrho SN (2015b) pointed out, that there are some rules to follow. Certain compulsory ritual sequences must be included for a ceremony to be a guiding ceremony. He pointed out, that the ceremony can be simplified on the level of rites, but not on the level of ritual sequences. *Taeryŏng* is, for instance, a compulsory element for *sasipku chae*. Chidam SN (2015) confirmed this statement. The different types of sasipku chae ceremony that will be briefly discussed in next chapter, are differentiated by the ritual sequences.

Besides economic aspects, tradition also plays a major role here—that is, the officiants will naturally perform the rituals how they learned them. In interviews I was provided with various rationales behind following tradition when it came to planning ritual sequences. For instance, Wŏrho SN pointed out that there are local differences between Sŏul and the southwest region of Korea:

> There is a difference between Honam [region] and Sŏul, in what we do regarding the p'albu sinjung [the protecting deities of eight groups]. […] We invite them first. Those who protect the ritual space. In Sŏul they do it later. Later. The sequence is different. We do it in this way here. But over there, they do taeryŏng and kwanyok5 first. They bring the yŏngga to the ritual space first and perform the ongho ke [protective verses] later. And they think their way is correct. But we here in Honam, we invoke the protective spirits. […] It's like when a president is coming. The security arrives first… […] And when we go to Kyŏngsang [province], that is really different. There, we sometimes do not get it at all and find it strange. What should come first comes later; what should come later comes first…We do not get it. (Wŏrho SN 2015b)

On the other hand, some temples or individuals experiment with new ritual sequences, which include activities such as writing letters to the deceased, showing pictures of the deceased and the family on a flat-screen television, meditating, or listening to the favorite songs of the deceased. Traditional dance and music performances are also typically inserted into the sequences of large communal ceremonies.

Virtually all ritual specialists agree that the rituals are changing. They agree in unison, that they adjust the rites for the patrons. Wŏrho SN when comparing now and then (*yennal hago chigŭm hago*), said that he sees a generational difference.

"The rules (pŏpsik, 法式) were most important then. […] If the elders from then see what we do

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now, they wo […] But now, if we do it according to the rules participants will be bored. We have to adjust it for the people so they can still participate. If once it was three hours; now it will be two or one and a half (Wŏrho SN 2015b)."

Also Kyŏngwŏn SN from Pŏngwŏnsa, talked about the accommodation of the ritual in terms of time: "These days, we have to do the rituals shorter and shorter. People do not have time, or do not want to spend time…nobody wants so sit all day at the ritual. It was a standard to have a morning and afternoon session. But now, we finish as soon as possible. The lifestyle has changed."

2.1.2 The Vertical axis

The vertical axis helps us to understand the content of the ritual module and their richness and complexity. Every moment of a ritual features countless elements including the texts, actors, the dead and their representations, deities, altars, music, dance, decorations, and son on involved. This hermeneutic aid may help us in the process of what Grimes (2010, 19–

29) calls “mapping the field of ritual.”[6] At each phase of a ritual, we can focus on what elements are or are not present and further inquire into their relationships. The important foci in the context of Korean Buddhist rituals of death include the following: enlisted spirits (type, number), deities, ritual space, altars, offerings and food, decorations, ritual utensils, music, and dance.

2.2 The Dead

2.2.1.1 The Spirit

Korea has a rich religious heritage, especially if we take into account its ethnic homogeneity and relatively small geographical area (Baker 2008, 1–18, 122–24, 2007). Additionally, the knowledge that Koreans are simultaneously adherents of Confucianism, Buddhism, and indigenous religious ideas, summarized by scholars as folk religion, does not come as a surprise; in East Asia, religious syncretism is more a rule than an exception. In India, at the time of the Buddha, his lay followers too listened to the teachings of neighboring traditions, while simultaneously following indigenous religious beliefs and practices. As Buddhism spread to China and Korea, so too did this pattern.

Homer Hulbert (1909, 403–4), an American missionary and one of the first Western scholars to devote himself to religions, anticipated the methodological difficulty caused by the multiple religious systems.

> In no department of Korean life is the antiquity of their civilization so clearly demonstrated as in the mosaic of religious beliefs that are held, not only by different individuals but by any single individual. We have no choice but to deal with these separately, but the reader must ever bear in mind that in every Korean mind there is a jumble of the whole; that there is no antagonism between the different cults, however they may logically refute each other, but that they have all been shaken down together through the centuries until they form a sort of religious composite, from which each man selects his favourite ingredients without ever ignoring the rest. Nor need any man hold exclusively to any one phase of this comprise religion. In one frame of mind he may lean toward the Buddhistic element and at another time he may revert to his ancestral fetichism.

[6] Grimes presents a detailed system of questions we should ask in relation to objects, participants, actions, etc. The utilization of the vertical axis can help us see the presence or absence of certain elements. I believe that this hermeneutical tool is especially helpful for studying the rites focused on in this dissertation.

> As a general thing, we may say that the all-round Korean will be a Confucianist when in society, a Buddhist when he philosophises and a spirit-worshipper when he is in trouble. Now, if you want to know what a man's religion is, you must watch him when he is in trouble. Then his genuine religion will come out, if he has any.

Hulbert witnessed Korea's religious scene of at a time of rapid transition, just after Korea opened itself to the world, at the end of the period which I, for the sake of simplicity, call throughout this dissertation the Chosŏn period, even though it covers the period of the Chosŏn Kingdom (*Chosŏn kuk* 朝鮮國, 1392–1897) and the Korean Empire (*Taehan cheguk* 大韓帝國, 1897–1910). Hulbert writes about traditional Korea before modernization and the influence of Protestant Christianity. In the quotation above, he describes a relationship that East Asian Buddhists call *mutual interpenetration*, where each phenomenon is in some way dependent upon every other phenomenon. As we shall see, Buddhist rituals cannot be understood without knowledge of the two neighboring traditions of Confucianism and folk religion with its shamanist tradition of *musok* 巫俗.

When discussing contemporary Buddhist rituals, we have to briefly look back to the Chosŏn, when Buddhism met its nemesis, Confucianism, or more precisely the demands of Neo-Confucian scholars. Confucianism and Buddhism were introduced to Korea as a part of broader package of Sinicized culture in the Three Kingdom period of Korean History. Confucianism played an important role in political life from its introduction in the Three Kingdoms period. Deuchler (1992, 103) states that during the reign of the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392) Confucianism and Buddhism had complementary functions: Buddhism responded to people' spiritual needs and Confucianism functioned as a basis for government.

This relationship was evident not only during the Koryŏ dynasty but also in the Three Kingdoms period. For instance, the rules of the newly established elite youth organization of Silla, *hwarang to* 花郎徒, created by the Buddhist Master Wŏngwang 圓光 (542–640), reflected more Confucian principles than Buddhist ones, even though this institution was closely linked to Buddhism because its members played an important ritual role in Maitreya worship.

Not even early Neo-Confucian Koryŏ scholars, such as Yi Che-hyŏn 李齊賢 (1287–1367) and Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–1396), saw Buddhism as a danger to the social order. The former even tried to find Confucian values in Buddhist concepts, whereas the latter criticized only economical aspects.

Open-mindedness towards Buddhism faded during the reign of King Kongmin of Koryŏ

(r. 1351–1379). Chŏng Mong-ju 鄭夢周 (1338–1392), a prominent scholar-official, who founded a lineage of reformers, including Kil Chae, Kim Suk-cha, Kim Chong-jik, and Kim Kwang, had the greatest effect on ritual practice in this period. Along with harshly critiquing Buddhism, he proposed laws that would counteract Buddhist ritual practice through the establishment of ancestral shrines. Despite these first attempts at introducing Confucian rituals into the private sphere, Chŏng Mong-ju probably could not have foreseen the changes society was about to undergo.

The dynastical transition to the Chosŏn was marked with a substantial change in the religious milieu. T'aejo, Yi Sŏnggye 太祖 李成桂 (r. 1392–1398), the founder of the new dynasty, chose Neo-Confucianism as the ideology of his kingdom. The new Confucian elite of the Chosŏn were trained in Confucian learning institutions in the last decades of the Koryŏ. In the newly introduced neo-Confucian texts they found a framework for society, one that would become the foundation of the new kingdom. For them the founding of the new dynasty meant the complete reconstruction of society based on Confucian principles. They saw the Koryŏ period as disorderly and blamed it on Buddhism.

The *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* (朝鮮王朝實錄), *Annals of the Chosŏn dynasty*, contains several examples of Confucian scholars criticizing ongoing Buddhist ritual practice. The reasons for the abolition of Buddhism are enumerated in a petition to King T'aejong from the eighth day of the tenth month of the *kyŏngsin* year (1412) . The petitioners from Saganwŏn office structured their argument into three sections. In the opening, they remind the king that despite the progress the dynasty had made, the "corrupted Buddhist practices" (*p'ye* 弊) had not been reformed. The subsequent section of the text reminds the ruler of the harmful influence Buddhism had on China, namely the shortening of ruling eras and the lifespans of the rulers, and the various disasters that struck after the rule of Emperor Ming of Han. According to tradition, it was during his reign (58–75) that Buddhism was introduced to China (Ch'en 1973), and therefore his reign is a synonym for the beginning of this religion in China.

In the next section they criticize social and economic aspects of monkhood and urge the king to forbid people from becoming monks and to eliminate monasteries (*sasa* 寺社). Finally, they explicitly attack the rites of death:

> [People] serve the Buddha. They have the bad habit of performing ceremonies. This was not yet reformed and so when somebody dies, people get together and perform the ceremony of forty-nine days (*ch'ilch'il chi chae* 七七之齋), organize Dharma assemblies (*pŏpsŏk* 法席) and hang a buddha in a morgue (*pinch'ŏ* 殯處), where they call a monk

> and create a so-called *toryang* 道場 , where they dwell all night long, men and women mixed in one place, wasting precious things created by heaven without hesitation. (TJGSL: 10.24.18A)

The text continues with several propositions against the general worldview behind the rituals, revealing the fundamental conflict between the two worldviews, Buddhist and Confucian. The Confucians doubt the possible influence of the Buddha worship on life and death since both life and death depend on the fate (*myŏng*) and misfortune and fortune (*hwabok* 禍福), which rely on the Heaven. Finally, they argue that there is no basis for current ritual practices in Buddhist texts and that they were later invented by monks to deceive people. Therefore, they urged the king to forbid Buddhist rites and install the *Mungong karye* 文公家禮 (*Zhu Xi's Family Rites*) as the only form of mortuary and funeral practice. The ritual practice is in subsequent arguments put into a broader context, again standard for the Confucian discourse, claiming that the current ritual practice towards different spirts of rivers and mountains is excessive. It is the wrong people who perform the rites and the wrong spirits that are worshipped. Additionally, they attack these rituals as wasteful, especially in terms of the amount of grain offering made. The king is therefore advised to forbid his subjects from performing licentious spirit sacrifice worship at mountains and rivers and to have them strictly regulated.

Thus, from the earliest days of the Chosŏn dynasty its kings were pressured to make changes in the socio-religious milieu and certain reluctance in putting these claims in action. In response to Confucian critique, King T'aejong reduced the number of Buddhist orders from the original eleven to seven.

The Confucian *Zhu Xi's Family Rituals* (*Chuja karye* 朱子家禮) became the paragon of rituals of passage for Chosŏn-period Koreans. This text with various commentaries gradually spread throughout all of Chosŏn society.

Scholars generally accept that the increasing popularity of Buddhist rituals of death in the Chosŏn period was mainly caused by of inability of Confucianism, which otherwise dominated the religious scene of Korea at both the state and private level, to answer people's needs related to afterlife (Baker 2014, 164; S.-E. T. Kim 2014, 193). This feature of the Confucian-Buddhist position on the religious market of East Asia, widespread likewise in Chinese Buddhism (Choo 2009, iii; Teiser 1994).

Even though funeral and memorial rites are included (Zhu 1999; Hsi 1991), it is

Buddhism and folk religion, with its *mudang*, or folk religion specialists,[7] were better able to address questions of the afterlife and spirits. *Mudang* often directly interact with the spirit by the means of trance and possession, and therefore they are referred to as shamans or shamanesses.

Thus, in Korea at least three distinct conceptions of death and the afterlife coexist. Despite each religion's distinct doctrines and beliefs, the concepts and practice of the three systems are merged. As a result, Western field researchers are faced with a puzzling situation: informants often believe in different concepts of the afterlife all at the same time. This problem is naturally not limited to just the concept of death. In rituals multiple cosmological systems coexist and overlap.

When I started my fieldwork, I was familiar with the ritual texts and could identify connections between rituals and the various Buddhist doctrines on which they are based and which they contain. Having been trained in a Buddhist academic environment, at first I approached these rituals strictly with a Buddhist viewpoint in mind. The ritual texts per se are almost perfectly self-explanatory within the tenets of Buddhist doctrine and can be studied in a non-practice context with a minimum of methodological problems.

Before discussing the concept of spirit encountered in Korean Buddhism, I feel the need to deal with the core Buddhist teaching of non-self (*anātman*). This absence of an inherent self or soul, the impermanence (*anitya*) of all phenomena, and suffering (*duḥkha*) as the basic characteristic of the human condition[8] are the basic postulates of Buddhist doctrine.[9]

Gombrich (1991) and Schopen (1997, 214–15) in their works on South Asian Buddhism express their amazement over the lack of internalization of this concept not only among laity, but even among monks. Gombrich, in his study on contemporary Sinhalese Buddhism in relation to the Pāli Canon remarks that

> the doctrine of *anatta* [*anātman*] can be salvaged … by the claim that the personality continuing through a series of births has as much reality as the personality

[7] There are various emic terms for this type of religious specialist, including *mansin, chŏmjaengi, paksu,* etc., each either a local variant or an expression with slight nuances in the content of their activity. Nevertheless, throughout this work, I use *mudang* as a general term to avoid using *shaman*, a word I find misleading in many respects.

[8] As beings in samsara can be born anywhere among the six spheres, talking about "the condition of sentient beings" would be more appropriate.

[9] For introductory texts on basic Buddhist doctrine, see the works of Ladner (1948, 137–65), Lamotte (1988, 23–52), Williams (2009), or Harvey (2012).

> within one life, *prārthanā* for happy rebirths and the transfer of merit to dead relatives show that the *anatta* doctrine has no more affective immediacy with regard to the next life than with regards to this, and the belief is a fundamental feature of Sinhalese Buddhism in practice. (284)

The situation in Korea is identical. Whereas suffering is perceived through one's experience, my informants barely addressed the teachings of impermanence and non-self in interviews. Thus, Koreans think and behave as if it is the conventional self that continues to live throughout the cycle of samsaric existence. There is indeed a large gap between the worldview of a Korean Buddhist and the Buddha.

Nevertheless, Buddhist thinkers have developed several theories on the process of reincarnation.[10] The basic framework of Korean rituals of death is to be found in precisely articulated form in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (*Kusaron* 倶舍論).[11] The rituals function in the basic Buddhist cosmological setting expressed in the concept beginningless and endless rebirth in the six destinies (*yukto* 六道), that is, in the hells, the sphere of ghosts, the sphere of animals, the sphere of human beings, the sphere of *asuras* and heavens, and the sphere of god. The basic purpose of the rituals is to avoid the lower spheres of existence and assure the best rebirth possible or, in the best possible case, to realize the "nature of things," that is to achieve the ultimate goal of Awakening (*pori* 菩提, Skt. *bodhi*) and be never born again. This goal is inherently present in rituals (especially in the numerous sermons for the deceased spirit). However, belief in Amitâbha and his paradise-like Pure Land Sukhāvatī (*kŭngnak* 極樂) overshadows the Awakening. Hence ritual participants expect three desired outcomes for the spirit: achieving Awakening and attaining nirvana; being reborn in the Pure Land; and being reborn in a pleasant sphere. In other words, the aim of the ritual is to help the dead to arrive to a better place.

When informants were asked what they hope for the deceased, they often replied "a

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[10] In this context, I cannot omit the teaching on *pudgala*, a person not identical and not different from the five aggregates constituting an individual, proposed by the Vātsīputrīya, which was very popular in India during the time of Xuanzang's visit. See the works of Priestly (1999) and bhikshu Thiện Châu (1999).

[11] Ch. *Jushe lun.* A short title of Chinese translations of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*. For an English version, see the English translation of de la Vallée-Poussin's rendering of the text (Vasubandhu 1988, II:383–404). For Chinese versions, see Paramârtha's translation, *Apidamo jushe shilun* 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論 (CBETA, T29, no. 1559, p. 184) and Xuanzang's translation, *Apidamo jushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論 (CBETA, T29, no. 1558., 40c – 45b).

birth in a better place" (*poda chohŭn kot*). Rebirth in the Pure Land was another frequent answer. I did not receive a single response about nirvana or Awakening, however.

Buddhism denies the existence of a permanent self that transmigrates from one body to another, and thus the question of the subject and process of reincarnation has to be answered. Vasubandhu, in his *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, summarizes the discussion on the concept of four states of one circle of life—the four modes of being—and articulates a doctrine that has become the standard view of East Asian Mahayana Buddhists. This doctrine proposes the notion of an "intermediate state" (*chungyu* 中有, or *chungŭm* 中陰, Skt. *antarābhava*), which takes place between the moment of death (*sayu* 死有) and the moment of birth or conception (*saengyu* 生有). That, which follows the moment of birth is life as we know it, (*ponyu* 本有). Death and birth are instants in time (*ch'alla* 刹那, the shortest unit of time), whereas life and the intermediate state possess duration.

Hence, for Korean Buddhists a period of time elapses between death and the moment of conception.[12] According to the *Abhidharmakośa*, when a person dies, he or she becomes an "intermediate being." The Korean language possesses several terms for referring to these beings such as *kŏndalbak* 健達縛, a transliteration of the Sanskrit *gandharva* (one who eats odors), *chungyu chi ryŏ* 中有之旅 (one traveling in the intermediate state), or *chungŭm sin* 中陰身 (a body of the intermediate state).[13] The being passes through the intermediate state for a certain period of up to forty-nine days until it is reborn. It is important to note that this being is not identical with the deceased[14]and is not his or her soul; it is an entity that comes into being when the five aggregates (*oon* 五蘊, Skt. *pañca-skandha*) dissolve at the moment of death.

The *Abhidharmakośa* provides a detailed description of the *gandharva*, the intermediary state being. The *gandharva* is searching for a suitable condition for rebirth. This is partially given by her karmic predispositions; there must be at the same time present a copulating couple and the *gandharva* for the new life to begin.[15] A *gandharva*'s time in the intermediary state is

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[12] This teaching is a common notion in Mahayana Buddhism. In the southern tradition of Theravada the moment of birth follows the moment of death. However, Langer (2007, 82–84) has demonstrated that the teaching of *antarābhava* is prevalent even in Sri Lankan practices.

[13] This rendering is to be found in the *Apitan piposha lun* 阿毘曇毘婆沙論 (CBETA, T28, no. 1546, p. 152, a10-15), Buddhavarma and Daotai's translation of the *Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra.*

[14] It is also a different concept than the *gandharva* from the category of heavenly beings and Dharma-protectors

[15] The *Abhidharmakośa* features an almost Freudian notion of attraction to the opposite sex, i.e., to his future mother or her future father, and hatred towards the same sex member of the copulating couple. By the attraction, the being is dragged to the spot of coitus and a new life begins.

limited to forty-nine days, and hence the notion of a forty-nine-day period after death during which rituals are performed developed. However, this forty-nine-day period is further divided into seven seven-day periods based again on an *abhidharmic* teaching which claims that if the being is not reincarnated within seven days, it dies and is reborn as a *gandharva* again. If a suitable condition is nowhere to be found by the forty-ninth day, it will be reborn in any form possible.

In the rituals this intermediate being is identified with or referred to as *yŏngga* 靈駕 (spirit). In communal rites the *yŏngga* is the main spirit or one of the main spirits. Each "spirit" bears the name of the deceased period, for example, Kim Chŏlsu *yŏngga*. However, any spirit that is invoked as the object of the ritual has the status of *yŏngga*. Later in this work, we shall examine types of rituals that are performed after the forty-nine-day period as memorial rituals. Even many years after death, if the spirit is summoned for the ritual, it will be referred to as *yŏngga*. The use of this term is limited to ritual contexts, and thus the informants and the ritual manuals and booklets never give this term for a spirit or for the deceased in non-ritual settings.

Ritual patrons refer to the dead by their family role. General designations for the deceased used by the informants and in the texts include "the late", *koin* 故人, or various terms for "the deceased, the dead", namely *mangja* 亡者, *mangin* 亡人, *saja* 死者, and *sain* 死人. Besides these Sino-Korean nouns, words derived from the verb *chukta*, "to die," such as *chukŭn cha* and *chukŭn i*, are used. Less direct expressions derived from the verb *kada*, "to go," are also frequent, especially in spoken form with the honorific particle *si.* Hence the deceased is *kasin pun, toragasin pun*, and so on. When speaking of a deceased soul, then it is referred to as *yŏnghon* 靈魂.

The concept of the intermediary period merged with the Chinese concept of the netherworld (*myŏngdo* 冥途 or *myŏngbu* 冥府),[16] which is described as the *locus* of post-mortem trials. The workings of karmic law are expressed here through the process of judgement by the ten kings.[17] Natural law does not drag the deceased through the intermediary state at random. Instead, the trial is a proper legal process, in which the deeds of the deceased are judged.

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[16] For the development of the concept of the netherworld in China, see two detailed studies by Stephen Teiser (1988; 1994).

[17] This concept is well articulated in Chinese apocrypha such as the *Fu shuo Dizang pusa faxin yinyuan shiwang jing* 佛說地藏菩薩發心因緣十王經 (CBETA, X01, no. 20, p. 404, a3 // Z 2B:23, p. 385, a1 // R150, p. 769, a1) or the *Fu shuo yuxiu shiwang shengqi jing* 佛說預修十王生七經 (CBETA, X01, no. 21, p. 408, a4-p. 410, b3 // Z 2B:23, p. 389, a1-p. 391, b8 // R150, p. 777, a1-p. 781, b8).

Here the dying and rebirth of the intermediate being is linked with the spirit being judged each week by one of the ten kings.

This concept of the netherworld may or may be not reflected in individual rituals. Some rituals include textual elements with related symbolism, such as pictures or altars, whereas some do not. However, this concept does contribute to molding ritual participants' mental frameworks. Therefore, when asked about the meaning of the rituals performed in the forty-nine-day period, some informants claimed that the ritual helps the deceased who is undergoing a trial.

Even though the *yŏngga* is the central spirit of the rituals, it is not the only type of spirit involved, as we can see from the following invocation that is repeated several times in the rituals:

> Oh, spirit of ○○○,
> Parents who passed away in the past,
> Masters of many lifetimes,
> Relatives of many generations,
> Younger and elder brothers, parental cousins,
> Elder sisters and younger brothers, nephews
> and nieces,
> Relatives close and distant,
> And wandering spirits inside and outside of
> this sacred space, up and down,
> Wandering spirits with a master or without,
> Lonely spirits,
> All sons of the Buddha,
> And all sorts of spirits.
> We request you to rely on the spiritual powers
> of the Buddha,
> And the helping power of the Dharma,
> Come to this fragrant altar and receive this
> offering of Dharma.

This invocation invites "wandering spirits" (*kohon* 孤魂),[18] also translated as lonely or

[18] Langer (2007, 17–18) discusses the concept of *preta* in Sinhalese Buddhism and early Buddhism. On the origins of the term she remarks that it is "the past participle from the root *pra*√*i*, *preta* (mfn.), which literally means 'gone away', came to mean 'departed, deceased, dead, a dead person'. In the course

orphan spirits. This term originated in China and was incorporated into both the Buddhist tradition, as a part of a broader package of Chinese religious ideas, and Korean folk religious beliefs. It designates those who have died prematurely or violently (a "bad death"). Such spirits are considered dangerous and are excluded from the family ancestral cult; they roam looking for food and shelter, which they lack, as they do not have a tablet and anybody to offer them food (Nadeau 2012, 129–31). The wandering spirits are dangerous and their situation needs to be solved.

Suryuk chae ceremonies, which became popular during the Chosŏn, were exactly the means how to deal with wandering spirits. According to the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, T'aejo for instance had *Suryuk chae* performed every spring and autumn in three temples for his predecessors, the royal Wang clan of Koryŏ (TJOSL: 2.7.5B). There are also records of these rituals being performed ad hoc for fallen soldiers by the order of the king (TJOSL: 1.90). Contemporary guiding ceremonies[19] also serve the same function.

During my fieldwork in the Honam region in summer 2015, I was invited to an outdoor ceremony named *Suryuk much'a Yongsan taejae*, a Great Equal Ceremony of Water and Land and the Vulture Peak, at Porimsa Temple in Changhŭng county. It was the second performance of this ceremony, which aspires to become an annual tradition. I was told that the reason this ceremony had been organized was that the region had experienced multiple disasters in the past that created many wandering spirits. It referred to the victims of the Korean War as this area suffered from atrocities, especially those committed by South Korean forces and police. The temple itself was burnt down as an alleged base of communist partisans (Zemánek 2015b, sec. 8.30).[20] However, despite the motives for organizing the ritual, the arrangement of the spirits in the ritual follows the pattern seen above in the invocation. The structure does not change: the

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of time the term acquired another, more specialized meaning, namely, 'the spirit of a dead person (esp. before obsequial rites are performed), a ghost, an evil being' and 'a newly dead' as opposed to 'ancestor' … *Preta* can be used generally to mean 'dead', or in a more technical sense, 'newly dead, ghost'." In general Buddhist cosmology, the sphere of the *pretas* is the second lowest or the worst, above the hells. The *pretas* (餓鬼) are often depicted or imagined as constantly hungry and thirsty beings. In this regard, they resemble *kohon*. Both categories represent ghosts as the counterparts of properly departed "ancestors." See also Holt (1981, 8–12), who describes the ambivalent concept of *preta.* Despite being a separate destiny of rebirth, it often appears in various narratives as returning back to this world, namely to its relatives.

[19] *Suryuk chae* ceremonies are currently, having been recently rediscovered by many temples in Korea.

[20] I believe that this attempt to create a tradition of annual ceremonies for the spirits is the community's way of dealing with wounds that were not healed by legal processes; the atrocities committed by South Korean forces against South Korean civilians are still a taboo topic and have been not punished nor widely rebuked.

central spirits of the ritual have names and patrons, whereas general wandering spirits are secondary.

Hence, we can see that it is possible to perform rituals for multiple spirits, as is the case in group and communal ceremonies in which more than one *yŏngga* is involved. Ritual texts and commentaries, as well as ordained informants, claim that anybody can benefit from the rituals on various levels. On one hand, the rituals communicate the Buddha's teaching, and therefore anyone who attends a ritual can hear the teaching. The ritual also activates the helping power of buddhas and bodhisattvas (*kaji* 加持), which I understand as a key element in the framework enabling ritual efficacy.

Thus, rituals feature primary and secondary spirits. Primary spirits are those, for which the ritual is performed. Patrons register these spirits and a tablet and other necessary ritual objects are created for them. Secondary spirits are all the spirits that are invited to the ritual. As we see in the quotation above, these spirits include not only the *kohon* but also the spirits of various relatives of the patrons.

Moreover, ritual texts divide wandering spirits into two groups. Wandering spirits without a master (*muju* 無主) are "proper" wandering ghosts, which have no one to take care of them. Therefore, the term *kohon* is often translated as "lonely spirit." Wandering spirits with a master (*yuju* 有主), on the other hand, do not have anybody to remember them and perform the ancestor rites for them.[21] I presume that this overlapping of categories within a single invocation is a sign of the syncretic or inclusive character of the rituals. When I compared ritual manuals, I discovered slightly different versions of this particular invocation with and without *yŏngga* at the beginning. Apparently, invoking *yŏngga* was added to an older text.

The lengthy coexistence of Buddhism and native Chinese notions enriched the Buddhist concept of the afterlife with the indigenous Chinese concept of *hun* (Kor. *hon* 魂) and *po* (Kor. *paek* 魄) souls.[22] The former is a mental or spiritual *yang* aspect of the soul, which leaves the body after death, whereas the latter is a corporeal *yin* soul. This dualistic scheme also connects *hun* with celestial and immortal *shen* (Kor. *sin*), or "gods," and *po* with *gui* (Kor. *kwi*, 鬼), or "ghosts that return to the earth and gradually fade away" (Harrell 1979, 521–25; Yü 1987, 384–

[21] As I was not able to find reliable sources on the differences between these two, I base this explanation only on the information acquired from monk informants.

[22] Note that both characters include the element of *gui* 鬼, which is also an individual character denoting the spirit of the dead or a ghost.

86). The spirits referred to in the notions of *kwi*, *kohon*, and *preta* (*agwi* 餓鬼) are all characterized by being lonely, hungry and miserable. Despite the different origins and doctrinal nuances, from the ritual point of view, they are treated equally. For instance, the *hŏnsik* 獻食, or "a food offering ritual," is performed at the end of guiding ceremonies. Different sources state different objects of this ritual, which cover all three categories; however, *pretas* are most frequent.

In a ritual sequence named *kwanŭm sisik* 觀音施食, or "bestowing the food of Avalokitêśvara," which is performed separately or as a part of larger ceremonies and consists of a food offering to the spirit or spirits, a rite praising the names of buddhas and offering food is embedded. In it, wandering spirits are envisioned as greedy, ugly, frustrated, and hungry or thirsty:

> Homage to Prabhūtaratna Tathāgata, may all wandering spirits destroy greed and avarice, and possess the riches of Dharma.
>
> Homage to Surūpakāya-tathāgata, may all wandering spirits lose their ugly shapes and be fully endowed with the primary and secondary marks of the Buddha.
>
> Homage to Vipulakāya-tathāgata, may all wandering spirits abandon ordinary bodies of six destinies and realize the body of space.
>
> Homage to Abhayaṃkara-tathāgata, may all wandering spirits be free from the terrors and achieve the bliss of nirvana.
>
> Homage to Āmṛta-rāja-tathāgata, may each and every spirit open their throats and taste nectar. [23]

The vernacular religious ideas of Korean folk religions mixed with further Chinese religious ideas also made important contributions to the concept of the afterlife. The *musok* concept of the afterlife is, unlike the Buddhist concept, linear. From the *musok* perspective, there is this world (*isŭng*) and the other world (*chŏsŭng*), where it is brought by *saja* 使者, or "messengers." However, the concept of spirits is in keeping with the general East Asian ancestor-ghost dichotomy.

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[23] 稱揚聖號/ 南無多寶如來/ 願諸孤魂/ 破除慳貪/ 法財具足/ 南無妙色身如來/ 願諸孤魂/ 離醜陋形/ 相好圓滿/ 南無廣博身如來/ 願諸孤魂/ 捨六凡身/ 悟虛空身/ 南無離怖畏如來/ 願諸孤魂/ 離諸怖畏/ 得涅槃樂/ 南無甘露王如來/ 願我各各/ 列名靈駕/ 咽喉開通/ 獲甘露味/ 願此加持食/ 普遍滿十方/ 食者除飢渴. (SMUB, ha 67).

Many scholars group notions of the deceased into two categories: benevolent ancestors and evils spirits or ghosts (Lee 1984). When people die, they can become either positive or negative spirits based on how they died and the existence or absence of offspring. Dying a "good death" and having male offspring is a condition for becoming an ancestor (*chosang* 祖上). Ancestors have male offspring who can perform the rites, so the spirit does not become a hungry ghost. However, even people who live a happy life, marry, and die a good death at an old age amongst their relatives acquire resentment (*han* 恨) during their life and in the process of dying. Resentment results from the frustration of failure in the previous life. Ancestors also have emotional attachments that draw them to the living. Therefore, they return to their descendants and cause them various hardships. Kendall (1987, 100) remarks that such "ancestors have no malevolent intent, their presence has negative consequences." Janelli and Janelli (1992, pts. 2457–2459) claim that "ancestors never kill a person outright, though they may send an illness that can result in death if not properly treated. … They may, however, kill an infant or a young child in order to vent a grievance against its parents…" Apparently, there is no scholarly consensus about the intents behind the unpleasant situations caused by ancestors.

Janelli and Janelli, who conducted their fieldwork on ancestor worship in a relatively small area and community, encountered various contradictory opinions on the whereabouts of a soul after death even within one family:

> [The informants] doubt that a person's soul is really taken away by the messengers. They claim that the soul remains in its mourning shrine … until the shrine is dismantled at the end of the mourning period, and then the soul goes to the grave of the deceased. Other Twisŏngdwi informants offered the explanation that each person has three souls, only one of which is taken to the otherworld. This belief was flatly denied by the ritual experts, however, and even those who offered it lacked both conviction and consensus about the location of each soul. … [one] mother said that perhaps one soul went to the grave, another received the ancestor rituals offered by descendants, and the third remained in the house… Her nephew, noted that some families opened the gates of their houses before performing an ancestor ritual. To him, this act implied that the soul in the grave came to the house to receive its ritual offerings. … Finally, Kwŏn Chŭng-sik's mother said that the soul in the house receives ancestor rituals, another stays at the grave, and the third is reincarnated, usually in the form of an animal, typically a bird. … These various opinions about the fate of the soul demonstrate the uncertainty and diversity of beliefs about the afterlife….Unlike the shaman in a neighboring village, who claims to have visited the otherworld, Twi-sŏngdwi informants do not provide vivid details or speak with confidence (Janelli and Janelli 1992, pts. 954–969)

This description of ancestor worship helpfully illustrates the situation in Korea. During my fieldwork, I began to realize that the "uncertainty" Janelli and Janelli talk about appears only when ritual participants have to answer questions from anthropologists. In my study, such uncertainty emerged when I asked informants about how they cope with the contradicting ideas of reincarnation and the returning of an ancestor's spirit. The answers the informants gave were as confusing to me as my questions were to them. To me, the discrepancy between the idea of reincarnation and the notion that a spirit can still be present in one form or another was a basic logical problem that needed an answer.

The answers I was provided with ranged from "I don't really know" to a sophisticated answer from an educated monk of the Ch'ŏnt'ae chong order. The latter introduced an extended concept of multiple spirits, similar to that presented by one of Janneli and Janelli's informants, only now in Buddhist guise. Hence, one part of the soul was to be reincarnated, whereas the other part become an ancestor or ghost. Such reasoning has been present in Chinese Buddhist thought since its introduction. The *Hongming ji*[24] and *Guang hongming ji*[25] collections record various debates between Buddhism and indigenous religious and philosophical systems, which make up the cornerstone of syncretic attempts at aligning the Buddhist cosmology and soteriology with the cosmological notions of China. The general strategy of these attempts is to assign reincarnation to one of multiple souls. Especially noteworthy are the ideas of Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠 (334–416),[26] who explains how retribution and reincarnation work and proposes that the *shen* 神 spirit is the subject of reincarnation that eventually attains nirvana (CBETA, T52, no. 2102, p. 33, b9-p. 34, c25).

However, I have come to understand that most often ritual patrons do not think of the rituals in terms of reincarnation, but in terms of sending the deceased to a better place, wherever it may be. From the perspective of ritual patrons, the deceased may be the newly dead or already an ancestor. Therefore, patrons may have the rituals performed to help the deceased properly depart and become an ancestor, to assure ancestors' well-being, or to appease a perturbed ancestor.

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[24] See *Hongming ji* 弘明集 (CBETA, T52, no. 2102, p. 1-9), also listed as K1080, *kwŏn* 33, in *Tripitaka Koreana*.

[25] See *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (CBETA, T52, no. 2102, p. 1-9).

[26] A study with translated excerpts from the debate on the nature of the soul are found in Liebenthal (1952). For an introduction to the debate, see Ch'en (1973, 103–12).

When I started to realize that many of the sources informing the notion of spirits come from outside the Buddhist milieu, I visited several *mudangs* dwelling in numerous *kuttangs* ~堂,[27] that is, shamanist dwellings and shrines, located in the foothills of the Kyeryongsan Mountains. When I asked a *mudang* apprentice about his notions of the soul and reincarnation, he was hesitant to speculate and talked from a very empirical point of view: "We do see and interact with the spirits. That's sometimes even more than one can cope with. So, we really don't feel the need to think about rebirth and other destinies and worlds. We have no way of knowing that. We have what we have and that is enough" (Zemánek 2014a, sec. 8.11). In the *musok* tradition, spirits are either present or always accessible, at least theoretically, through the means of trance or worship.

Ch'ŏndo chae 薦度齋 ceremonies, or guiding ceremonies, are often performed when one believes an ancestor is unwell or a deceased relative or spouse has not departed to the other world. Besides feeling that one or one's family has been stricken by bad luck, seeing a relative repeatedly in a dream is a common motivation for ordering this ritual.

During an annual communal ceremony at a small urban temple I interviewed one woman in her fifties (homemaker, resident of Kwangju), who declared that she was participating in the rites especially because of her mother-in-law and had had a personal guiding ceremony performed on her behalf because she often saw her mother-in-law in dreams. After the ritual had been performed, the mother-in-law appeared again, but "satisfied and in clean clothes (Zemánek 2015b, sec. 8.2).

Several informants declared that they had a difficult time deciding between performing a Buddhist guiding ceremony or a *kut*. In one case, the father of an informant (a man in his fifties, taxi driver, a citizen of Sŏul) had dreams of his deceased wife, the mother of the informant. She appeared repeatedly, so the family met and they decided to find a *mudang* and ask for advice. They did so and were told to perform a guiding ceremony. Instead of having it performed by the *mudang*, they decided to do it properly (*chedae ro*) and have it performed in a Buddhist temple. After doing so, the dreams stopped (Zemánek 2015b, sec. 7.23).

I encountered a similar story at the Chijang chŏngsa Temple. I asked Pŏpwŏn SN about it and the forthcoming guiding ceremony, to which he amusedly replied: "That is funny! They are not our believers (*sindo*). They went to see some *mudang* asking what to do. And they were told to have a guiding ceremony performed, meaning to do it there. Instead, they agreed to do

[27] Literally, a place or shrine of *kut*, the ritual that often includes possession by a spirit.

it properly. So here they are." The patrons later confirmed this statement (Zemánek 2015b, sec. 8.9).

It was clear to these patrons that the ritual efficacy of Buddhist specialists was greater than that of *musok* specialists. We should also note that in this case the usage of Buddhist terminology by the representatives of a *mudang* "backfired" on them in a way. The patrons were told to perform a guiding ceremony (*ch'ŏndo chae*, or possibly *ch'ŏndo che*), and thus, they had the choice between a Buddhist or *musok* ritual. It is also common to have both Buddhist and *musok* ceremonies performed.[28] Besides preferences based on personal beliefs or family tradition, local variation exists as well.[29] Some regions tend towards Buddhist rites, whereas lean towards *musok* rituals.

On what I consider to be a special occasion, I witnessed the performance of a proper Buddhist forty-nine-day guiding ceremony in a *kuttang*. Besides the monk officiants who performed the ritual, a monkish-looking man with a shaved head dressed in gray clothes, but not a monk's attire, played the important role of organizer. He identified himself as the owner (*chuin*) of the premises. He was titled *pŏpsa* 法師, which is a term of Buddhist origin having many meanings ranging from "well-educated monk" to "lay teacher." It is also a title used by men associated with the *musok* tradition or any ambiguous religious tradition. When I spoke to him about the proper Buddhist ritual performed in a *musok* context that I had observed, he responded by telling me that he also performs guiding ceremonies. He elaborated, "But in a different way. I do them in a personalized way. I invite the spirit, find out where the problem is and solve it." He accented that Buddhist ceremonies are generic rituals, whereas his approach is targeted on a given spirit, and therefore he is sure the ritual will bring success.

I also recorded an inverse case in a field interview held with a nun of the Chogye chong order in her late thirties, who was also the abbess of a small urban temple and a specialist in praying practice (*kido* 祈禱). She claimed that she had been seeing spirits since approximately

[28] See also the appendix to Ku's monograph (2009), which contains transcripts of interviews with her informants.

[29] As my research was conducted in settings of bereavement, personal loss, and sadness, intrusion into people's intimate lives was unavoidable in my fieldwork. Therefore, the most convenient and successful way to find informants was to ask my friends and acquaintances. In 2014 I met a man I knew from my fieldwork on *musok* rituals in a rural area on the east coast, in Samchŏk, Kangwŏndo province, his birthplace. At that time, he was a doctoral candidate at the Department of Anthropology of Seoul National University and a very enthusiastic and open-minded fieldworker. I learned that he had experienced a loss in his family and that he was heading home for rituals. I asked whether they were going to perform Buddhist rituals. He explained that in that area, due to the strong tradition of *musok*, they do not usually perform Buddhist rites. (Zemánek 2014a)

three years before the interview was conducted in summer 2013. She provided me with detailed information on how the spirits behave at the altars and how they look. She also claimed to have incorporated this information into her sermons (Zemánek 2013a, sec. 8.23, 2015b, sec. 8.2).

Obviously, the objectives of ritual practice in both Korean religious traditions are identical, but it is the means and the frameworks that differ. *Mudangs* claim their ritual efficacy is derived from their expertise and ability to communicate and deal with the spirits. Buddhist rituals on the other hand are rooted in a belief in compassionate assistance from all Buddhist sages and deities, who descend to the ritual space to assist. This key difference generally explains why people decide to employ a *mudang* or Buddhist clergy to perform the rituals for their deceased relatives or ancestors.

2.2.1.2 The Corpse

The corpse raises another set of questions to deal with. Less has to be done to describe this object, as it is present at the ritual. However, proper methods for preparing the body and subsequently disposing of it are required as death brings about problems of impurity that need to be solved. Another question that arises with the existence of the corpse is that of the relationship of the body and soul and how to separate the two.

The spirit-body duality is crucial for the structure of the rituals of death. As we shall see in the following chapters, there is a clear distinction between the rituals aimed at the corpse and those focused on the spirit. As Hertz (2004, 29) points out, "the ideas and practices occasioned by death can be classified under three headings, according to whether they concern the body of the deceased, his soul, or the survivors." Keeping the survivors aside for the next section, I shall discuss the meaning of the body within the rituals.

Compared to the spirit, the body poses significantly less interpretational problems. Nonetheless, Buddhist texts approach the body from several different angles, and thus we should clarify the relationships between different Buddhist notions or statements regarding the body, as they influence, among other things, the content of the ritual texts.

One such notion of the body is embedded in the doctrine of *anātman,* which deals with the pre-Buddhist idea of the eternal self, the *ātman*. This doctrine views an individual as a psychophysical complex, in which physical processes depend on the mental and mental processes on the physical. Hence there is no soul that would be inhabiting the body, but the perceived self consists of mental aspects as much as physical.

Another analysis breaks the body into four elements: earth, water, fire, and air.[30] However, rather than actually being substances themselves, these elements represent the qualities of physical substances. Earth is the quality of hardness or solidness, water of fluidity, fire of heat, and air of movement. This doctrine serves a foundation for of meditation, prescribed in the *Satipaṭṭhāna sutta*.

> 12. Again, bhikkhus, a bhikkhu reviews this same body, however it is placed, however disposed, by way of elements thus: "In this body there are the earth element, the water element, the fire element, and the air element." … Just as though a skilled butcher or his apprentice had killed a cow and was seated at the crossroads with it cut up into pieces; so too, a bhikkhu reviews this same body…by way of elements thus: "In this body there are the earth element, the water element, the fire element, and the air element."
>
> 13. In this way he abides contemplating the body as a body internally, externally, and both internally and externally… And he abides independent, not clinging to anything in the world. That too is how a bhikkhu abides contemplating the body as a body. (Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi 2009, 148)

In a similar way, the Precepts *of Impermanence*, a popular text chanted during mortuary rituals in vicinity of a body, connects the four elements with body parts as a component of the teaching for the spirit:

> Now, Oh, spirit…!
> [Your] hair, nails and teeth
> Skin, flesh, muscles, bones,
> Marrow, brains and [bodily] filth,
> All return to earth.
>
> Saliva, tears, pus, blood,
> Body fluids, phlegm, vitality, urine and feces,
> All return to water.

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[30] This notion is found in numerous Buddhist texts. For instance, see the Chinese version of the *Dharmapada* (Pa. *Dhammapada*) *Faju jing* 法句經 (CBETA, T04, no. 210, p. 574, a15-16), which states that the physical aspect is created by the four elements whereas the mental aspect consists of the four remaining *skandhas* or aggregates. This text also includes chapters that are not present in the Pāli. The text also elaborates on the concept of death vis-à-vis the notions of spirits, claiming that despite the death of the body, the spirit *shen* does not die.

Warm energy returns to fire,
Motion returns to wind,
The four elements are separated.
Where is [your] body which died today?

The above verses, besides verifying the consistency of the basic doctrinal stance on the body, reveal the concept of spirit. The spirit is here the listener of verses and the observer of the body. Analyzing one's experience is originally prescribed to the meditator, the practitioner on the Buddhist path, as a contemplative and reflexive examination of oneself as a psychophysical complex. Here, the body is external to the spirit.

In the methods for treating corpses found in Korean rites,[31] there are traces of the practices prescribed in the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta*, which relays the last days of the Buddha, his death, and mortuary and funerary practices concerning his body. The Buddha states that the body of a *tathāgata* should be treated like the body of a king. Holts remarks that

> Buddhist interpretations of death did not originate in an historical or cultural vacuum. Conceptions of the after-life, and the prescribed behavior relating to the dead, were modified adaptations of prevailing Brāhmanical patterns of belief. This is especially apparent when we examine the beliefs and practices of the early Buddhist laity. (Holt 1981, 1)

Apparently, that there was no attempt at establishing a new funeral practice. For a buddha, who is often likened to a *cakravartin*, an ideal king, a corresponding funeral ritual is selected out of the spectrum of contemporary rituals. For other members of the community, it was analogical. It is not surprising that in the nirvana-oriented discourse of the Buddha, who was not especially partial to rituals, no particular layout for mortuary practices is present. In this context, Langer (2007, 74) asks whether we can talk about Buddhist funerals at all. Her informants, like mine, responded positively to such questions. My informants were affirmative about the Buddhist nature of their rituals, yet when asked about some details of the practice,

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[31] I believe that an inquiry into the relationships and mutual influences between Buddhist and non-Buddhist Chinese rituals is a great task for academia. There surely are striking resemblances between the pre-Buddhist Vedic funerals in India (Holt 1981) and the rituals performed in Korea, based on the Confucian manuals. I leave these issues for another occasion and most probably for another researcher to solve the puzzle of the relationship between these two; whether it a product of identical patterns of the human nature.

remarks such as “oh, that is a Confucian influence” or “that comes from *musok*” were quite common.

The sources on early funeral practice tend to be more descriptive than prescriptive. Nevertheless, as we learn from Schopen’s study (1997) of the *vinaya* texts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, cremation was the preferred method of disposal. If no wood was available, throwing the body into a river was prescribed. If no river was nearby, then inhumation was an option. If digging was not possible, then laying the corpse on the ground and covering it with wood and grass was possible. These texts codified the four forms of disposal, which became the standard in Buddhist funeral practice.[32]

The *vinaya* texts also prescribe certain purification rites, as contact with a corpse is polluting. Again, this practice seems to be derived from pre-Buddhist beliefs. In the section of *vinaya* quoted by Schopen (218), the rules are loosened; only the monks who have touched a corpse must bath and wash their robes, whereas the rest only have to wash their hands and feet.

The second, and more important, source of the hybrid Buddho-Confucian ritual practice is the Confucian text on rituals of passage, *Zhu Xi’s Family Rituals*. We do not know how the interaction between these two traditions—the Buddhist and Confucian—started and evolved at the earlier stage, nor do we know how they merged into the form we find in the Chosŏn texts. Already in seventeenth-century texts, namely the *Sŏngmun karye ch’o* 釋門家禮抄, or *A Commentary to Buddhist Family Rituals*, and the *Sŏngmun sangŭi ch’o* 釋門喪儀抄), or *A Commentary to Buddhist Funerary Rituals.* Both texts attempted to reconcile Buddhist funeral practice with the ritual practice that was enforced throughout society. As we shall see in the following chapter, Buddhist elements were then embedded into Confucian mortuary and funerary practices.

With the knowledge on the attitude of early Buddhism, we can reevaluate our preunderstanding and expectations vis-à-vis contemporary rites. In the light of weakly prescribed funerary practices and minimalistic requirements, the openness towards indigenous funeral practices and the ability to incorporate them into the Buddhist ritual system seems as a logical consequence.

[32] For instance, Daoxuan’s abhidarmic text, influential in East Asia, *Sifen lu shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔. (CBETA, T40, no. 1804, p. 145, b20-29), discusses and prescribes these four types.

2.3 The Actors

The objective of this section is to briefly introduce the types and roles of ritual actors. The fieldwork revealed a rich spectrum of ritual participants, who are not only involved in performance of the rituals but who are also involved in the processes of ritual change, criticism and bricolage.

2.3.1 Officiants and Patrons

The basic division of the ritual actors follows the traditional view of the community of the followers of the Buddha, the Sangha, which consists of four groups: monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen. The roles played in rituals are split between the clergy, who perform the rituals as officiants, and patrons, laypeople who order rituals. Most of the rituals described in this work require involvement of both ritual specialists and the relatives of the deceased.

Interaction between clergy and laypeople begins with a patron contacting a temple or a monk or nun with a request for a ritual performance, which is processed by the temple office (*chongmu so* 宗務所). At smaller temples, the patrons contact monks or nuns directly. The request for a ritual is generally triggered by an event in the life of the patron—either the death of a relative or when the person experiences the presence of a troubled ancestor, as discussed in the previous chapter. The latter experience usually leads to the conviction that it is necessary to perform a ceremony. Patrons negotiate with temple representatives about the type, dates, locations, and especially the size of the ceremony to be performed. To use the terminology I have introduced in this dissertation, they come to an agreement on the items found along the ritual's horizontal and vertical axes.

The price of the ceremony is directly proportional to its size. For instance, the price of a forty-ninth-day ceremony usually ranges from one to five million wŏn. Larger ceremonies include, besides the main officiant and an assistant officiant, several ritual specialists, such as specialists in chanting and hand gestures (*mudrā*), ritual dancers, singers, and musicians. The price includes the food offering, paper banners and flags, and so forth. A mid-size ceremony that costs around two and a half million won includes a main officiant main, an assistant officiant, a ritual dancer, and a food offering. A small ceremony with a price around one million wŏn is performed by a single monk.

> In Korea not only cultural phenomena and monuments can acquire the status of a "national treasure". When a certain cultural phenomenon is set as a national treasure, it is from Korean law that also the person or a group of people representing this tradition (the holder/possessor) must be defined. It therefore happens that this individual is thus endowed with a special authority which enables him to actively shape the tradition in a more effective way than other religious representatives. […] Among such examples are Ven. Kuhae, who represents the tradition of *Yŏngsan chae* (National Treasure No. 50). In a similar manner, Ven. Paeksŏng positions himself as the heir to the crane-dance tradition which he inherited from previous three generations in his family. To be more specific, the crane-dance in itself is not an invention of his, however the idea to re-contextualise this and incorporate it into the death-ritual is (Pehal and Zemánek 2016).

In rituals performed upon the death of a member of the monastic community, the community, naturally, plays both roles of officiant and patron. It completes the idea that through ordination (*chulga* 出家, literally, "to leave home") one leaves one's old family and becomes a member of the monastic order. An ordinand receives a new name and two teachers who are responsible for his or her spiritual and economic situation. And thus, during the final rituals, it is the disciples and representatives of the order who play the role of family representatives. In my research I documented the cremation of an important monk and the forty-ninth-day ceremony of an important nun. The notion of relative "importance" here plays a significant role, as "importance" is determined either by the position of the person within the hierarchy of the Buddhist order or by his or her popularity among both clergy and laity. These two categories are often interconnected. Based on interviews conducted not only on these two occasions, but also on other discussions with ordained informants, I assume a relationship between the notion of "importance" and the actual mise-en-scène of the rituals. Ceremonies for such important figures tend to be large and pompous, with the "fullest" version of the ritual being performed. On the other hand, many participants considered these two cases to be "different," as both the monk and the nun left behind directions on how their rituals should be performed. Informants accented the simplification they requested; for instance, the monk forbade the use of cut flowers on his altar.

The popularity that influences the "importance" of a clergy member can also be gained through proficiency in ritual matters. Even though in theory every monk or nun should able to perform the rituals, patrons are careful to choose from the possibilities offered to them on the "ritual market." In the previous section, I discussed a natural ritual competitor, the *mudang*. Just as patrons must decide between Buddhist temples and *mudang*s, they must also choose

which temple to choose to have their rituals performed properly. My informants based their choices on two main criteria: familiarity and proficiency. Thus, they select a place they know well, such as the temple they attend regularly or one their family has a relationship with, or they chose a place that is well-known. Proficiency in ritual matters is not perceived directly. Some informants, for instance, chose large and established temples because they naturally expect to find proficiency there. As I did my fieldwork mostly in temples known for rituals, my informants often stated that they chose a particular temple due to its ritual expertise. On the other hand, when I asked a former classmate and presently a PhD candidate if I could do my fieldwork in his temple, I was told that they hardly ever perform rituals: "The believers know we are studying monks; they don't trust us with rituals."

When talking with Pŏpwŏn SN, one of my main informants, about the rather high turnover of monks and nuns staying at the temple, we discussed a monk who had studied at the temple, spent his preparatory period there, and eventually became a monk as Pŏpwŏn SN's disciple. He shared his opinion about the status monks can reach through having ritual expertise: "Once they learn to perform the rituals a bit, they feel like they are complete monks and start their own temple and collect believers."

2.3.2 Other Laypeople

Besides patrons, my research uncovered a spectrum of ritual actors of non-clerical status. A very vivid category is the affiliates of the monastery. There is a category of temple related women, who are sometimes employees but more often they are volunteers. They are referred to as *posallim*, which is an honorific term for a bodhisattva; it is a general term for women when they are in a monastery. These ladies are often affiliated with the temple for a long time. Most temples have a system of associations of temple-related laity which consists most often of women whose children are already grown. These associations have a core consisting of the most active ladies who assist the temple up to several days a week. These women are always present in the temple, taking care of matters that the monks do not, from cooking and cleaning to office work. It is often impossible to differentiate regular employees from such volunteers.

These ladies are often present at the rituals performed in the temple, assisting with the preparations, especially those of offerings. They often help patrons with the ritual actions by telling them what to do.

Professional musicians and dancers make up another category of laypeople. Although monks perform certain parts of the ritual music, for large ceremonies traditional musicians from outside are invited. Large ceremonies often also include professional dancers, who fill in with

traditional Korean-style dances, such as the *salp'uri*, or the spirit bowl dance. These performances are usually somehow death or spirit related.

"Actors" make up the last type of laypeople. They do not directly participate in the ritual because they are not patrons, that is, the ritual is not being performed for their relatives' spirits. They include a wide range of people, such as believers who participate in the rite by bowing, tourists, and anthropologists. Other professionals, namely morticians, undertakers, and general employees of hospitals and funeral homes, are important during ritual performances of post-mortem and mortuary rites.

3 The Structure and Typology of the Rituals[33]

3.1 Overview

Buddhist rituals[34] of death have developed into today's complex system covering the period from the time before actual death until the forty-ninth day after death when the spirit of the deceased is supposed be reborn in its new destination. However, as discussed above, the spirit never leaves and is present in one form or another and hence the ritual practice never ceases; or eventually ceases after several generations. Rituals include not only funeral and mortuary practices but also preparation for death, complex ceremonies guiding the spirit to a better place, and memorial services. The broad category of rituals of death can be further divided into subcategories based on their content, meaning, ritual activity, and temporal and spatial position. Based on these criteria and the emic concept of the ritual stages, I have proposed a typology of rituals and structured this chapter accordingly.

Buddhist ritual practice is grafted on to traditional Korean mortuary and funerary practices (*sangjerye* 喪祭禮). For the sake of convenience, we can call the latter "Confucian," even though such practice is not purely Confucian because it includes general Sinitic as well as Korean elements. In any case, the rituals are based on *Zhu Xi's Family Rituals* (*Chuja karye* 朱子家禮), a ritual manual propagated by the Neo-Confucian establishment of the Chosŏn.

Hence, Buddhist ritual practice does not substantially differ from Confucian practice. Essentially two types of relationships between these practices exist. Either Buddhist rites are embedded in Confucian practice or Confucian rites are modified to include Buddhist components. We can call the former an "alternating model" and the latter a "simultaneous model." In this chapter, I shall follow the Buddhist line of the rituals.[35] Where suitable, I will show examples from history to illustrate that some notions or practices can be viewed as continuous streams in practice despite the changing religious and ritual milieu.

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[33] Some contents of this chapter have been earlier published earlier as a conference paper (Zemánek 2013b) and an article (Zemánek 2016, 2013b).

[34] I use the term *ritual* for ritual practices in general and reserve the term *rite* for a particular more or less fixed set of ritual practices. The term *ceremony* denotes complex sets of rites.

[35] For Confucian rituals, see following studies (Lee 1984; Janelli and Janelli 1992; Deuchler 1992, 2015).

3.2 Deathbed Rituals

The moment of death is important in both the Buddhist and Confucian tradition. Traditionally, the family met at the deathbed to be present at the moment of death. For Buddhists, however, rituals begin earlier, as it is advised to perform some rituals even before the actual death.

Buddhism stresses the importance of the state of consciousness at the moment of death (Kor. *myŏngjong si* 命終時) because the last state of consciousness immediately before death determines the state of consciousness right after it. The understanding of the moment of death as an opportune point in time for achieving a better rebirth has shaped deathbed rituals. These practices are generally supposed to help the dying achieve a calm state of mind and proper focus, namely on Buddhist values, before departing. If possible, a monk is summoned to the deathbed to perform the rites. The initial rites usually contain taking refuge in the Three Jewels and chanting the *Heart Sutra*.

3.2.1 Ordination

An important deathbed practice is ordination. The rite is referred to as either *bestowing precepts* (*sugye* 授戒) or *receiving precepts* (*sugye* 受戒), terms which reflect the active role of a celebrant or the passive role of the ordinand, respectively. These two terms are used almost synonymously. Hence the Korean *sugye* is today a general term that can be rendered as *precept rite*. Ordination has become a stable element in the rituals of death in East Asia and may be present in different stages of a given ritual process, depending on the tradition. For example, it may also take place during mortuary practices.

Since the time of the Buddha, ordination has been the most important rite of passage in the Sangha*,* the Buddhist community. This act marks one's departure from the secular world as well as one's acceptance into the community of monks and nuns. Tonsure and the precept rite are key elements of the ordination ritual sequence. Hence these two acts became symbols of a twofold ordination rite. In the first ceremony, the ordinand renounces the world by changing clothes and shaving the head. Also, the ordinand receives ten basic precepts, that is, to abstain from (a) killing, (b) stealing, (c) improper sexual behavior, (d) false speech, (e) consuming alcohol, (f) eating after midday, (g) dancing, singing, and watching shows, (h) adoring with garlands, perfumes, and ointments, (i) using a high bed, and (j) receiving gold and silver. These precepts are the basic moral prescriptions of a Buddhist monk and are meant to support one's spiritual practice. During the second ceremony, which may, and often does, take place after a

certain period of time, an ordinand receives the full precepts (*kujok kye* 具足戒), which consist of up to several hundred rules depending on the tradition, and becomes a fully ordained monk or nun.

The Buddhist Sangha does not only consist of ordained members; alongside monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen complete the community. Hence the term *precept rite*, in addition to referring to the monastic precepts, is used for a Buddhist layperson receiving the five basic precepts, which are identical to the first five precepts of the ordained, except for the third one, which, for the ordained members of the community, calls for complete sexual abstinence. The five precepts are usually accepted along with the Three Refuges—that is, the Buddha as the founder of the religion; the Dharma, his teaching; and the Sangha, the community of his followers—in the form of a ritual. In the first part of the precept rite the Three Refuge precepts (*su sam kwiŭi kye* 授三歸依戒) are bestowed in a verbal expression of the genuineness of one's mind being set towards the Three Jewels. Then the five precepts are accepted (Taehan pulgyo chogyejong 2013, 404–6). It should be noted here that the person accepts the lay precepts and does not become a monk or nun before death.

In contemporary Korean deathbed practices, the precept rite plays the central role and the act of accepting the rules takes the form of a pledge (*sŏyak*) to follow the Buddha's teachings (Taehan pulgyo chogyejong 2011, 34). This twofold precept-bestowal rite is performed even on people who have received the lay precepts during their lifetime. The precept rite usually follows the "taking Three Refuges" formula, the standard opening formula of Buddhist rituals. As Harvey (2012, 244–45) notes, "The 'refuges' remind the Buddhist of calm, wise, spiritual people and states of mind, and so help engender these states. The value […] is denoted by the fact that they are also known as the *Tiratana* [*sambo* 三寶, Skt. *triratna*] or 'three jewels': spiritual treasures of supreme worth."

After the lay ordination is completed, it is followed by reciting the name of the Amitābha Buddha, a prayer for rebirth in the Western Paradise of Sukhāvatī, and reciting the four great vows, the first and the last of which play the role of opening and closing formulae in most Buddhist rites. During the rite, a five-colored cord is bound to an index finger of the dying person and the opposite end is connected to a hand of Amitâbha, whose likeness is carved in a

Fig. 2 A mobile Amitâbha altar

small altar. This symbolizes the compassionate divine helping power (*kap*'*i* 加被) of Amitābha descending on the dying person. Bestowing the precepts is supposed to direct the mind towards the Three Jewels. When the person dies, the body is supposed to be left undisturbed for one or two hours so the spirit can leave the body.

The Koryŏ sources on the earliest history of Buddhism in Korea, the *Samguk yusa* and *Samguk sagi* chronicles, generally state that rulers, their spouses, and relatives were ordained in the latter days of their lives. Besides this form of lay devotion, which is expressed by being ordained past one's productive age, in the *Samguk yusa* there is evidence of ordination as a deathbed practice. In an introductory section of the chapter on King Chinhŭng (r. 534–576), who was a great supporter of Buddhism, one reads that the king at the time of death shaved his head and dressed in a "sacerdotal robe" (Kor. *pŏb'ŭi* 法衣) (CBETA, T49, no. 2039, p. 967, c29).

Volume five of the *Samguk yusa* describes a corresponding practice in the slightly obscure story of Sabok, a venerated Buddhist master of Silla, who buries his mother with the help of his friend Wŏnhyo (617–686):

> One day his [Sabok's] mother died. At that time Wonhyo was abbot of Goseonsa. When Wonhyo saw the boy [Sabok] he greeted him with decorum, but the boy did not reciprocate his greeting. He just asked "You and I once loaded scriptures onto a cow, but now it has died. How about holding the burial together?" Wonhyo said "Agreed" and accompanied him to his house. He let Wonhyo hold an upoṣadha and bestow the precepts, and before the corpse he intoned:
>
> "Do not get born – for death is painful; Do not die – for birth is painful"
>
> The boy said, "Your words are cumbersome." Outdoing him, he said, "Both death and life are painful, Alas." The two gentlemen rode back to the eastern foot of Hwallisan. Wonhyo said: "Burying the tiger of wisdom in the forest of wisdom – isn't that appropriate?" (Whitfield, 2012, pp. 543–544)

Here one encounters the precept-bestowal[36] ceremony as a part of the ritual. Then a very brief sermon for the spirit is uttered. This narrative relays a most dense expression of Buddhist teaching. There is a general tendency in ritual texts for sermons to consist of the very core teachings of Buddhism—or in other words, there is a tendency to summarize the gist of the Buddha's teaching through the use of keywords that refer to broader concepts. Here, the utterance stresses pain, or suffering, (*ko* 苦, Skt. *duḥkha*), which, along with impermanence and a lack of inherent identity, is one of the three marks of existence. Suffering is the starting point of Buddhist teaching; it is expressed in the first Noble Truth expounded in the *Sutra of the Turning of the Wheel of the Dharma* and as such it is the basic premise for Buddhist practice. Death and rebirth are synonyms for the endless circle of rebirth. The Sanskrit term *saṃsāra* is rendered into the Chinese as birth and death (*saengsa* 生死). Understanding this basic condition of human existence then allows one to set out on the Buddhist path towards liberation.

The text continues in a rather symbolic way. The two carry the body to a forest for burial. Sabok composes a poem important for understanding the symbolism of funeral practices:

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[36] The wording of the original text is quite ambiguous. It is unclear whether the bestowing of precepts is related to Wŏnhyo and his preparation for the funeral rite, Sabok, or the deceased mother. Upoṣadha, which is mentioned in the same sentence, is a meeting that takes place on the new and full moon, or on the four other days of the month when the monastic rules are recited and monks confess their sins. Alternatively, this term may, in the context of the chapter, simply refer to purification. I believe that the use of the character for bestowing precepts (Kor. su 授) implies that Wŏnhyo is bestowing the precepts on the deceased mother.

In days of yore the Buddha Śakyamuni [sic]
Entered nirvāṇa between the śāla trees
Today we also have someone like that
Who wishes to enter the vast world of the lotus flower store.

Having spoken, he pulled out a reed stalk. Beneath it there was a world-sphere, a bright and clear void. With its seven-jeweled balustrades and lavishly decorated buildings, it hardly resembled the human world. The boy carried the corpse on his back and together they entered [this world]. The earth then suddenly closed [over them]. Wonhyo returned. (Whitfield, 2012, pp. 544–545)

The first two lines point to the death of the Buddha, who passed away between two *śāla* trees. Buddha himself was cremated, and this story, instead of featuring cremation, features the śāla tree, a reference to Buddha's death and his final entrance into the *parinirvāṇa*. Instead of depicting an actual funeral, the story continues with a mysterious opening of the ground, into which Sabok descends, carrying his mother's corpse on his back. He enters another world, apparently the "lotus flower store" (*yŏnhwa chang kye* 蓮華藏界), which may stand for the paradise of either the Buddha Vairocana or Amitâbha. Again, there is a connection with Pure Land beliefs.

3.2.2 The Precepts of Impermanence

Usually, the early stages treat the corpse and the spirit simultaneously because a strong connection between the two is still perceived, as is a sense of their identity. Once the corpse has been prepared for the funeral, spirit-oriented rites tend to take place separately. Upon examining the textual or verbal aspects of these rites, among supplications and the reading of sutras (such as the *Amitâbha Sūtra*, or the *Diamond Sutra*), mantras, and *dhāraṇīs*, one finds texts of various lengths that serve as sermons for the spirit. These texts educate the spirit about basic Buddhist teachings. A popular text in today's practice, *The Precepts of Impermanence* (*Musang kye* 無常戒), addresses the spirit and expounds basic teachings such as karmic law, suffering, impermanence, rebirth in Amitâbha's paradise, the "twelve links of dependent arising" (*sibi inyŏn* 十二因緣, Skt. *dvādaśa-astanga pratītyasamutpāda*), and so on. These practices are based on the rationale that the intermediate state, which begins with the moment of death, is a period very suitable for achieving Awakening. Hearing the basic Buddhist teachings may thus awaken the spirit and help to achieve nirvana and never be born again:

The Precepts of Impermanence,

Are the gate[37] leading to nirvana

It is a ship of compassion, which crosses the sea of suffering.

Therefore

All buddhas,

By the means of the precepts,

Achieved nirvana.

All sentient beings

By the means of the precepts,

Cross the sea of suffering.[38]

Now, Oh, spirit of ○○○!

[You will] surpass your faculties and their objects

And the consciousness will clearly appear.

[You are] receiving Buddha's highest pure precepts,

Is it not fortunate?[39]

Now, Oh, spirit of ○○○!

With the conflagration at the end of the age,[40]

The trichiliocosm will collapse entirely.[41]

Mount Meru and the great sea

Will be obliterated completely.

How could this body,

Birth, aging, sickness, death,

[And] miserable suffering,

Differ?[42]

Now, Oh, spirit of ○○○!

[Your] hair, nails and teeth

---

[37] *yomun* 要門, a gate in the sense of a method leading to a spiritual goal.

[38] 夫無常戒者 入涅槃之要門 越苦海之慈航 是故. 一切諸佛 因此戒故 而入涅槃. 一切衆生 因此戒故 而度苦海.

[39] 某靈 汝今日逈脫根塵 靈識獨露 受佛無上淨戒何幸如也.

[40] *kŏphwa* 劫火; The conflagration in the *kalpa* of destruction that consumes the physical universe.

[41] 某靈 劫火洞然 大千俱壞

[42] 須彌巨海/ 磨滅無餘/ 何況此身/生老病死/ 憂悲苦惱/ 能與遠違

Skin, flesh, muscles, bones,
Marrow, brains, and [bodily] filth,
All return to earth.

Saliva, tears, pus, blood,
Body fluids, phlegm, vitality, urine and feces,
All return to water.

Warm energy returns to fire,
Motion returns to wind,
The four elements are separated.
Where is [your] body which died today?

Oh, spirit of OOO!
The [body consisting of] four elements is mere designation,[43]
There is no reason for the sorrow of parting.[44]

[In] you, from beginningless time
Until today,
Ignorance [i] is the condition for the [ii] fabrications,
Fabrications are the condition for [iii] consciousness,
Consciousness is the condition for [iv] name-and-form,
Name-and-form is the condition for [v] sixfold sense bases,
The sixfold sense bases are the condition for [vi] contact,
Contact is the condition for [vii] feeling,
Feeling is the condition for [viii] craving,
Craving is the condition for [ix] clinging,
Clinging is the condition for [x] becoming,
Becoming is the condition for [xi] birth,
Birth is the condition for [xii] aging-and-death and the miserable suffering.[45]

When[46] ignorance is extinguished, then fabrications are extinguished,

---

[43] hŏga 虛假; existing in name only.

[44] 某靈/ 四大虛假/非可愛惜.

[45]汝從無始已來/ 至于今日/ 無名緣行/ 行緣識/ 識緣名色/ 名色緣六入/ 六入緣觸/ 觸緣受/ 受緣愛/ 愛緣取/ 取緣有/ 有緣生/ 生緣老死/ 憂悲苦惱.

[46] 逆觀, the reverse order of apprehending the twelve limbs.

When fabrications are extinguished, then consciousness is extinguished,
When consciousness is extinguished, then name-and-form is extinguished,
When name-and-form is extinguished, then sixfold sense bases are extinguished,
When the sixfold sense bases are extinguished, then contact is extinguished,
When contact is extinguished, then feeling is extinguished,
When feeling is extinguished, then craving is extinguished,
When craving is extinguished, then clinging is extinguished,
When clinging is extinguished, then becoming is extinguished,
When becoming is extinguished, then birth is extinguished,
When birth is extinguished, then aging-and-death and the miserable suffering are extinguished.[47]

All phenomena are from the beginning
Always having the characteristics of extinction.
If a Buddhist follows the path,
Becomes a buddha in the next life.

All phenomena are impermanent,
This is the law of arising and ceasing,
When arising and passing are extinguished,
Extinction is pleasant.

I take refuge in the precepts of the Buddha
I take refuge in the precepts of the Dharma
I take refuge in the precepts of the Saṃgha[48]

Namu Ratnaketu Tathāgata of the past,
Worthy of Respect,
Correctly Enlightened,
Perfected in Wisdom and Action, Well-Gone,
Knower of the Secular World,
Unsurpassed, Tamer, Teacher of Gods and Men, World-Honored One[49]

---

[47] 無明滅則行滅/ 行滅則識滅/ 識滅則名色滅/ 名色滅則六入滅/ 六入滅則觸滅 觸滅則受滅/ 受滅則愛滅/ 愛滅則取滅/ 取滅則有滅/ 有滅則生滅 /生滅則老死憂悲苦惱滅.

[48] 諸法從本來/ 常自寂滅相/ 佛子行道已. 來世得作佛/ 諸行無常/ 是生滅法/ 生滅滅已. 寂滅爲樂 / 歸依佛陀戒/ 歸依達磨戒/ 歸依僧伽戒.

[49] 南無過去/ 寶勝如來/ 應供 正 知 明行足 善逝 世間解. 無上士 調御丈夫 天人師 佛 世尊.

Oh, spirit!
Now you will take off
The leaking husk [of your body consisting of] the five aggregates,
The consciousness will clearly appear,
[You are] receiving Buddha’s highest pure precepts,
How could it not be pleasant?

You are going to be reborn according to your wish
In a celestial palace or a buddha’s land.
It is joyful, it is joyful!

Like Bodhidharma, who came from the west, whose mind was the most splendid
Purify your mind, which is the original home,
The marvelous essence, extremely quiet, has no basis.
The truth is manifested in mountains, rivers, and the whole earth.[50]

3.3 Post-Mortem Rituals

The moment of death is the beginning of a series of rites that correspond to the separation stage of the passage. The separation takes place at several levels: body-spirit, living-dead, family member-the deceased, family-mourners. The death of a person marks the beginning of a forty-nine-day mourning period. The day of the death is counted as day one. Because the *yŏngga* has departed the body, there is a set of rituals concerning the *yŏngga* and a set of rituals dealing with the corpse. The separation of the body and the spirit is expressed also by the creation of a tablet, which will be representing the deceased for remaining rituals in the sequence. The rituals of this ritual sequence are proper “mortuary rituals,” and today they are performed in a mortuary (*pinso* 殯所). Traditionally, these rituals were performed at home and *pinso* refers to the place where the corpse lay with an altar established in front of it. Today, hospitals and funeral homes have special rooms prepared for this practice.

[50] 某靈/ 脫却/ 五陰殼漏子/ 靈識獨露/ 受佛無上淨戒/ 豈不快哉. 天堂佛刹 隨念往生 快活快活. 西來祖意最當當/ 自淨其心性本鄉/ 妙體湛然無處所. 山河大地現眞光.

3.3.1 *Sidarim*: A Sermon for the Spirit

Yŏngga-focused rituals begin with setting up an altar for the *sidarim* 尸陀林 rite. The term *sidarim* is a transliteration of the Sanskrit *śītavana*, "a place for exposing corpses," that is, a cemetery. However, in Korean Buddhism this term refers to a "last sermon" for the deceased. For this rite, an altar with banners, a tablet, a photograph of the deceased, and offerings is set up. Unlike in Confucianism, Buddhist tablets representing the deceased can be made without relationship to placing the corpse into a coffin. This rite is understood not only as a sending-off of the *yŏngga* but also as a means for transforming the emotions of the mourners. Buddhists should keep quiet during the rituals, for loud crying and weeping may distract the *yŏngga*, cause attachment in her, and thus cause rebirth in bad conditions. This Buddhist belief goes against the Confucian tradition of loud weeping. As I have directly observed and the informants told me, traditional weeping wins over the Buddhist suggestion to be quiet. The informants were mostly not aware of the Buddhist view.

When the altar is set up, buddhas and bodhisattvas are worshipped first. Then *Musang kye* is chanted delivered to the *yŏngga*. The newly entered intermediate state is a period very suitable for achieving Awakening, and thus hearing the basic Buddhist teaching may awaken the *yŏngga*, so she or he would be never reborn again. Then the *Amitâbha Sutra* or the *Diamond Sutra* is chanted.

Fig. 3 Monks during the *sidarim* ritual sequence

3.3.2 *Yŏmsŭp*: Shrouding

Beside *yŏngga*-oriented rites, there is a set of rituals concerning the corpse: cleaning the body and face, shaving, and dressing. This procedure practically follows the traditional form of the *Chuja Karye*, although, a Buddhist dimension has been added to it. Each stage of rites concerning the body is accompanied with a short sermon in the form of chanting of verses containing the Buddha's teaching. However, these sermons are aimed at the *yŏngga*, not at the body.

Before the funeral a series of rites related to the corpse is performed. These rituals follow the standard Confucian sequence. First, the Amitâbha Buddha, Bodhisattvas Avalokitêśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, and Bodhisattva Illowang are called upon. Then the spirit is invoked, followed by a short teaching concerning Amitâbha and a prayer for rebirth in Amitâbha's paradise. Then, the *Musang kye* is performed. Next, each step in preparing the corpse—cutting the hair, washing the body, washing the hands, washing the feet, dressing (underwear, outer clothes), binding the body, and inserting the body into the coffin—is accompanied by a teaching for the spirit. Each step is somehow semantically related to the performed activity. For example, the sections concerned with "washing" are about afflictions, *klesas*, and so forth.

3.3.2.1 Haircutting

> Oh, spirit…!
> [When we are] born, where do we come from? [When we] die, where do we go?
> Birth is like a floating cloud that appears [in the sky],
> Death is like a floating cloud that disappears.
> A floating cloud has no substance.
> Death and birth, coming and going are the same,
> Only one thing[51] is always manifested,
> Perfectly quiet and does not follow birth and death.
>
> Oh, spirit…!
> Again, do you realize what is this one perfectly quiet thing?

---

[51] *Ilmul* 一物, a reference to the original mind or thusness.

Fig. 4 The mourners observing the rites of shrouding sequence

Wiped out by fire, shaken by wind, when the heaven and earth are destroyed,[It] alone remains in the white cloud.

And now, with shaving [your] head, you ended ignorance.
How could the ten afflictions appear again?
The white floating cloud is blocking the entrance into a valley.
How many birds lost the way back to their nests?[52]

3.3.2.2 Bathing

And now, oh, spirit…!
If people want to know a buddha-sphere
They have to purify their mind as an empty space,
Distance themselves from delusive conceptualization and biases,
Direct their mind towards the unobstructed [state].[53]

[52]生從何處來/ 死向何處去/ 生也一片浮雲起/ 死也一片浮雲滅/ 浮雲自體本無實/ 生死去來亦如然/ 獨有一物常獨露/ 湛然不隨於生死/ 還會得湛然這/ 一物麽/ 火蕩風搖天地壞/ 寥寥長在白雲間.

[53] 沐浴/ 今此/ 新圓寂/ 靈駕/ 當淨其意如虛空/ 遠離妄想及諸趣/ 令心所向皆無碍.

Oh, spirit…!

Have you purified your mind

As an empty space?

If not yet,

Now listen![54]

The nature of correct awakening

Is present in everyone, from the buddhas

To the ordinary beings of six destinies.

It is present in every atom

And manifested in all things.

It does not wait for practice and perfection,

And is perfectly clear and enormously bright.[55]

Shaking the bell.

Have you seen it? Have you heard it?

If you have clearly seen it and distinctly heard it,

What is it then?

Buddha's face is as clear as the full moon,

Or the beams of a thousand suns.

Now, the black dirt of deception and delusion is washed away,

And you have obtained the indestructible diamond body.

Pure Dharma body does not have inside and outside,

[Despite] going and coming, life and death; *thusness* is eternal.[56]

3.3.2.3 Handwashing

Oh, spirit…!

---

[54] 靈駕/ 還當淨其意/ 如虛空麽/ 其或未然/ 更聽註脚.

[55] 此正覺之性/ 上至諸佛下至六凡/ 一一當當/ 一一具足/ 塵塵上通/ 物物上現/不待修成/ 了了明明.

[56]還見麽還聞麽/ 旣了了見旣歷歷聞/ 畢竟是箇甚麽/ 佛面猶如淨滿月/ 亦如千日放光明/ 今玆沐浴幻妄塵垢/ 獲得金剛不壞之身/ 淸淨法身無內外/ 去來生死一眞常.

Oh, spirit…!
[Despite] coming, there is nothing that comes.
Like a moon reflected in a thousand rivers.
[Despite] going, there is nothing that goes.
As a clear space and forms of all worlds.

Oh, spirit!
The four elements are disintegrating like in a dream
The six data-fields, mind, and consciousness are fundamentally empty.
If you want to know the place where the light of the buddhas and patriarchs is reflected,
The sun is setting on the west mountain; the moon is rising in the east.
Now, your hands are washed,
If you grasp the principle clearly,
The teaching of the buddhas of the ten directions will be in your hand, clear as a day.
If you carefully look at the blue mountain, there is not a tiny tree,
There is a great man[57] hanging on a cliff losing his grip.[58]

3.3.2.4 Feet-washing

Oh, spirit…!
At the time of birth, it does not follow birth,
Being magnificent, at the time of death, it does not follow death.
Birth and death, going and coming do not interfere.
The essence is magnificent and is in front of the eyes.
Now, your feet are washed, all practices[59] are completed,
Raise and step on the Dharma cloud,[60]

---

[57] 大丈夫, a sage, a bodhisattva, i.e., a follower of Mahayana.

58 洗手/ 新圓寂/ 靈駕/來無所來/ 如朗月之影現千江/ 去無所去/ 似澄空而形分諸刹/ 靈駕/ 四大各離如夢中/ 六塵心識本來空/ 欲識佛祖回光處/ 日落西山月出東/ 今玆洗手取理分明/ 十方佛法皎然掌內/ 滿目靑山無寸樹/ 懸崖撒手丈夫兒.

[59] 萬行, all disciplines or modes of salvation

[60] 法雲, Buddhism as a fertilizing cloud

If you, with single pointed mind, return to the [state] without false thoughts,[61]
[You can make] the great step, pass [the world of] Vairocana towards the highest [nirvana].[62]

3.3.2.5 Dressing the Undergarment

Oh, spirit…!
When the four elements form [the body],
The spiritual luminosity does not form accordingly,
When the four elements dissolve, the spiritual luminosity.
Birth and death, forming and dissolving are like illusory flowers,
Where are enmity, friendship, and the past karma now?
Even if searched for, they are nowhere to be found.
Calm and without obstacles, like an empty space.

Oh, spirit…!
In all worlds all things have mysterious essence,
Every single thing is the head of the household.
Now, your undergarment is dressed,
Clean and protecting the gates of the faculties[63]
[With the] adornments of shame[64]
[You will] achieve Awakening.
If you, through language, realize the origin,
Then the spirit of the original self will shine through the six data-fields.[65]

---

[61] 無念, literally, no-thought, absence of false thoughts based on false discrimination.

[62]洗足/ 新圓寂/靈駕/ 生時的的不隨生/ 死去當當不隨死/ 生死去來無干涉/ 正體當當在目前/ 今兹洗足萬行圓成/ 一擧一步超登法雲/ 但能一念歸無念/ 高步毗盧頂上行.

[63] The openings of the six faculties to the senses, through which desire enters.

[64] 慚愧, shame for one’s faults.

[65] 着裙/新圓寂/ 靈駕/ 四大成時/ 這一點靈明不隨成/ 四大壞時/ 這一點靈明不隨壞/ 生死成壞等空花/ 寃親宿業今何在/ 今旣不在覓無蹤/ 坦然無碍若虛空/ 靈駕/ 靈駕/ 刹刹塵塵皆妙體/ 頭頭物物摠家翁/ 今玆着裙/ 淨護根門/ 慚愧莊嚴/ 超證菩提/ 若得因言達根本/ 六塵元我一靈光.

Fig. 5 The morticians with the eldest son perform shrouding, while the monks chant the texts.

3.3.2.6 *Dressing the Clothes*

Oh, newly deceased spirit…!

At the time of coming, what is that which is coming?

At the time of going, what is that which is going?

At the time of coming, and at the time of going there originally is no thing.

If you want to know where the bright thusness is,

[You have to] pass through ten thousand miles of the blue sky with white clouds.

And now, you are dressed with clothes,

Protecting [you] from the taint of the phenomena.

Like Tathāgata practiced patience,

I will always do the same.

When our master met Dīpaṃkara Buddha,

He became Kṣāntivādin ṛṣi[66] for many eons.[67]

3.3.2.7 *Capping*

Oh, newly deceased spirit…!
Seeing and hearing are like an illusion,
The three worlds are like an illusory flower.
[When] the pollution is completely extinguished and complete purity realized,
Purity is extremely luminous and permeating
Silently and luminously filling the empty space.
[If you] look at the eons of [the existence of the] world
It is like a thing [seen] in a dream.
Now, your cap is put on
The top of your head.
Samādhi of the Heroic March
Was achieved by thousands of saints,
If you do not regress in Dharma practices of the causal stage,
In the end, you will achieve the perfect and subtle Awakening without any doubt.[68]

3.3.2.8 *Proper Seating*

Oh, newly deceased spirit…!
The brightness of the spirit shines solitarily,
[You have] surpassed the faculties and their objects

The completely manifested essence is eternal
Indifferent to letters
The true nature [of the mind] is unpolluted,
Perfect as it is.
Once distanced from false objects
It is the *dharmakāya*.

After that the dressed body is put in a coffin, while the name of Amitâbha is chanted.

---

[66] A reference to the Buddha's former rebirths.

[67] 着衣/ 新圓寂/ 靈駕/ 來時是何物/ 去時是何物/ 來時去時本無一物/ 欲識明明眞住處/ 青天白雲萬里通/ 今玆着衣/ 掩庇形穢/ 如來柔忍/ 是我元常/ 我師得見燃燈佛/ 多劫曾爲忍辱仙.

[68] 着冠/ 新圓寂/ 靈駕/ 見聞如幻翳/ 三界若空華/ 塵消覺圓淨/ 淨極光通達/ 寂照含虛空/ 劫來觀世間/ 唯如夢中事/ 今玆着冠/ 最上頂門/ 首楞嚴三昧/ 千聖共由/ 因地法行心不退/ 終登等妙也無疑.

Hence we can see that the separation of body and spirit, as manifested in the rites, is not particularly clear and that there is still a link between the corpse and the spirit. The moment of death is the beginning of a series of rites that correspond to the separation stage of the passage.

Fig. 6 The final stage of shrouding. The paper strips allegedly symbolize lotus.

3.4 Funerary Rituals

3.4.1 Funeral

The funeral itself is preceded by transferring the body from the house, mortuary, or funeral home to the place of the funeral or cremation. Each step, or more precisely every transition (leaving the building, loading, unloading, etc.), is marked by a short rite as well.

Based on accounts of the Buddha's funeral, which became a model for Buddhist funerals, Buddhists traditionally favor cremation (Kor. *tabi* 茶毘, Skt. *dhyāpita*; or Kor. *hwajang* 火葬). The term *tabi* is used more for the cremation of monks, while *hwajang* is generally reserved for laity, which is in contemporary practice derived from *tabi*. The manuals for Buddhist rituals compiled during the Chosŏn era, as well as those from the early twentieth century, contain detailed descriptions of these rites; *tabi* is an important topic in them. In ancient India there were already four ways to dispose of a dead body that were also later incorporated into Buddhist funeral practices: (a) cremation, (b) throwing a corpse into water, (c) burial, and (d) a forest funeral. In contemporary practice, burial and cremation are the most common; modern manuals include texts for both types of rituals. The ashes of cremated laypeople are usually enshrined in stupa-like tombs or columbaries associated with temples.

This opens the question of the secondary funeral discussed by Hertz and others. Both

Fig. 7 A cremation of an important monk

tabi and *hwajang* have a twofold structure of cremation followed by the further disposal of the remains. In the case of ordinary people, the ashes are collected and placed in an urn. In the case of important monks, a distinction is made between the ashes and relics (*sari* 舍利). The latter are allegedly miraculous stones resembling precious stones, pearls, or small stones. These relics are enshrined in stūpas, whereas the ashes are buried. We can therefore find both graves and stūpas of famous monks. Ordinary people's urns are enshrined either in columbaria or in outdoor urn graves. The symbolism of such graves is often taken from the stupas. Both urn graves and columbaria are often part of a temple.

Let us again return to some historical examples. The *Samguk yusa* mentions the funeral methods of kings and queens, the majority of which were buried in tombs (*myo* 墓, or *nŭng* 陵). Some rulers, namely King Hyosŏng, Queen Chinsŏng, King Hyogong, and King Kyŏngmyŏng, were cremated (*hwajang*). Cremation proper— that is, *tabi*—is mentioned only once, in the case of the famous monk Chajang (590–658), who introduced *vinaya*, monastic discipline, to Korea. After cremation, his bones were buried in a cavern.

The *Samguk yusa* pays special attention to unusual forms of burial. Especially noteworthy is the cosmological and soteriological meaning of the placement of Queen Sŏndŏk's tomb. The queen ordered to be buried in one of the Buddhist heavens, the Heaven of Thirty-Three Gods (Kor. *Torich'on* 忉利天) located on the top of Mount Meru, the axis mundi of the Buddhist cosmos, where, among others, the god Indra resides. King Munmu (626–681) later ordered a temple dedicated to a lower heaven be built below the queen's tomb. In doing so he was recreating a part of the Buddhist cosmos in Korea, a frequent practice in Silla (R. D. McBride 2008; Zemánek 2014b). In the following text, the royalty links the symbolism of the queen's grave with rebirth in a heaven other than a Pure Land:

> The queen was still in good health and confided to her courtiers, saying "As I will die on such and such day of such and such month in such and such year, please bury me on Torich'on. […] The courtiers, not knowing the location of such a place, asked where it was. The queen replied, "It is south of Wolf Mountain." When the date came, the queen, as she had predicted, died, and the courtiers buried her south of Wolf Mountain. More than ten years later King Munmu (661–681) constructed Four Deva Kings Monastery below the queen's tomb. According to Buddhist scriptures, above the heaven of the four heavenly guardians are the heavens of the Thirty-three Devas. (Lee & De Bary, 1997, p. 62)

Fig. 8 Relics of a monk

King Munmu's funeral was also remarkable, for he, after cremation, was buried on a rock in the East Sea, where he would be reborn as a dragon to protect the country. The only account analogical to the category of forest funeral can be found at the end of the cycle describing the practices of divining one's karmic standing, which were established in Silla by monk Chinp'yo in the mid-eighth century. The *Samguk yusa* cites Chinp'yo's biography copied from a late-twelfth-century stele that includes a description of the end of his life. He passed away on a rock and his corpse was left there by his disciples, who only performed offering rites (Kor. *kongyang* 供養). Later his bones were collected and enshrined in an urn.

3.4.2 Enshrining of the Tablet

The tablet with the name of the deceased represents the *yŏngga* and is present during all rituals. After the funeral, but on the same day, the tablet along with a picture of the deceased is moved to the main hall of the temple where the guiding rites are performed for forty-nine days. The ritual has two parts: worship of the "upper altar" (*sangdang* 上檀), that is, the altar area enshrining the Buddha, accompanied by prayers requesting rebirth in the Pure Land; and a ceremony focused on the "lower altar," the altar of the *yŏngga*. This part consists of the *sisik* 施食, or "bestowing food," a ritual sequence during which the spirit is invoked and explained the teachings by the monks, while the patrons feed it.

The separation period ends with either the funeral or the removal of the tablet to the temple. The mourners are certainly in a state of mourning, and even the *yŏngga* has departed from the body and is wandering throughout the intermediate state. Hence, I suggest, that the separation stage if the threefold structure has ended. From now, the spirit, in the intermediate state will be the object of the rituals.

3.5 Transition Rituals and Memorial Rituals

Transition rituals may resemble mortuary rituals as they share common features. Yet, there are significant differences in their temporal and spatial aspects, and the emic terminology tends to differ. In other words, both transitional and mortuary rituals address the spirit, but whereas mortuary rituals are performed in the relative proximity of the body, transitional rituals are performed separately. The term associated with these rites is *chae* 齋 (sometimes written as 齊).

Chae has a complex meaning within the context of Buddhist rituals. It denotes different kinds of practices performed on different occasions. It can mean *upoṣadha*, a sort of purification ritual, especially one of fasting. On the other hand, it is also used for the ritualized noontime meal of the laity as well as for a ritual feast. It is also a general term for complex religious ceremonies.

In contemporary Korea, transitional rites fall under the category of guiding ceremonies (Kor. *chŏndo chae* 遷度齋), which are also performed on special dates and holidays, as well as ad hoc for a practically unlimited number of people. They also share many common features with the *chae* ceremonies that are a part of the standard series of the rites of death for one person.

The series of seven transitional rites begins on the seventh day after death, and the rites are repeated seven times every seventh day to cover the forty-nine-day period. This series is known as the *Sasipku chae* 四十九齋 (the forty-nine-day ceremony) or *Ch'ilch'il chae* 七七齋 (the seven-seven ceremony). In contemporary Korea, the form and size of the ceremony may differ significantly and range from a rather small indoor ceremony performed by two monks (or even one) to a vast outdoor ceremony with ritual music, dance, and rich and colorful ritual proprieties, with dozens of monks performing the ceremony.

The notion of guiding ceremonies is connected with the concept of a transition ritual. Guiding ceremonies can be understood as "universal tools of salvation"; they are believed to be capable of resolving almost any spirit-related issue. Hence, if a person dies and the spirit is in

the intermediate state, then it can be summoned to the ritual which should help the spirit reach a better destination. If there is a spirit of a person who died a long time ago, and the ritual patron is convinced (as described above) that the ritual should be performed in order to ease the spirit's situation, then the same ritual will be performed. It is during this type of ritual, a guiding ceremony, that most of the ritual elements discussed above occur. The size of the ritual may vary from a small individual ceremony to a large communal ceremony. Therefore, I find it useful to use the individual-communal dichotomy, where the former is a ritual performed for one spirit and the latter for a group of spirits. The size of the ceremony is a very vague notion. However, in the previous chapter I discussed the price of ceremonies. Thus, we have a general idea about possible ceremony sizes. The smallest version I observed consisted of one patron and one monk, whereas the largest ceremony included two thousand people and about fifty monks and nuns involved.

Before discussing the ceremonies further, let us again return to the historical sources to see the meanings these rituals had in Korean history. In the *Samguk yusa* the term *chae* refers to large religious ceremonies and festivals, as well as to ceremonies for the deceased. The most informative chapter is that on Master Wŏlmyŏng (?−?), who lived during the reign of King Kyŏngdŏk of Silla (r. 742−765). The chapter consists of several stories from Wŏlmyŏng's life. It is well-known among those who work with *hyannga*, poetry composed in the Korean language and written down in the *hyangchal* vernacular writing system, because it contains two *hyangga*. Despite its brevity, this chapter introduces several issues that are present in contemporary practice as well. For the present topic, the narrative of Wŏlmyŏng's performance of a ritual for his deceased sister, upon the occasion of which he composes a poem, is the most significant. The following quote begins with a brief description of a *chae* ceremony, including the use of paper money. The wind blowing towards the west is a reference to Amitâbha's Pure Land.

> Earlier, Wŏlmyŏng had had an abstinence ceremony [齊] performed in memory of his sister. When a sudden gust of wind blew the paper money away to the [west],[69] he composed a song:
>
> On the hard road of life and death

[69] In the otherwise beautiful translation of this chapter, *west* in the original is mistranslated as *south*.

That is near our land,
You went, afraid,
Without words.

We know not where we go,
Leaves blown, scattered,
Though fallen from the same tree,
By the first winds of autumn.

Abide, Sister, perfect your ways,
Until we meet in the Pure Land. (Lee & De Bary, 1997, pp. 112–113)

The story provides information on the ritual practice at that time. Paper money was used for the rite, and the content of the poem again relays information about belief in Amitābha. When the text is viewed in the context of the first poem, the issue of ritual language is touched upon. The chapter on Wŏlmyŏng begins with a nearing calamity when two suns appear in the sky and a skilled monk is needed to ritually drive this phenomenon away. Wŏlmyŏng appears and expresses his will to perform a ritual; he informs the king that he is not versed in Sanskrit but that he can compose a song in the vernacular. The king agrees and Wŏlmyŏng composes the poem. The same situation reoccurs with the song for his deceased sister. The fact that he uses *hyangga* instead of a Chinese or Sanskrit formula shows a tendency prevalent in the rites: there are codified texts written and performed in classical Chinese with mantras in Sanskrit, but there is a strong tendency to substitute them with Korean translations.

On a structural level, there is another intriguing similarity between ancient and modern practices. In the *hyangga* Wŏlmyŏng talks to his sister and bids her farewell. In today's ritual the moment when the deceased is actually sent away has become quite flexible and is open to change and reinterpretation. There is a certain element of bricolage to it. In this part of the ritual, temples try to be innovative and include new elements or elements from different contexts, such as dances or writing letters to the deceased. Identically, Wŏlmyŏng breaches codified ritual form and uses his own invention for the sake of direct communication with the deceased. Korean rituals of death appear to have a similar level of openness towards change and invention in both ancient times and today.

3.5.1 *Sasipku chae* and Guiding Ceremonies

On the seventh day after death, the first of the seven guiding rituals begin. This series is known as *sasipku chae* (the forty-nine-ninth ceremony 四十九齋) and sometimes *ch'ilch'il jae* 七七齋. The terminology can be confusing because sometimes the terms refer to the final ceremony on the last day or to the whole series of seven rituals. There are three basic forms of the ceremony: the *sangju kwŏngong chae* 常住勸供齋 (Ritual of [the buddhas and bodhisattvas] who are always present), *yŏngsan chae* 靈山齋 (Ritual of the Vulture Peak), and *siwang kakpae chae* 十王 各拜齋 (Ritual of worship of the ten Kings). In contemporary Korea, *sasipku chae* is used as an equivalent for *Sangju kwongong chae*. In other words, the ritual performed as a "guiding ceremony" for the *yŏngga* of a lay Buddhist is *Sangju kwŏngong chae.* A *yŏngsan chae* is a large open-air ceremony with music and dances that seeks to enact the scene of the Buddha's sermon at Vulture Peak, where the Buddha preached the *Lotus Sutra*. The *siwang kakpae chae* follows the structure of the former but includes elements related to belief in the ten kings and the trial. Beside the upper and lower altar there is an altar of the ten kings and corresponding sutras, i.e. sutras related to the ten kings and Kṣitigarbha are employed.

A standard, or rather ideal, guiding ceremony has the following structure:[70]

1) *Siryŏn* 侍輦 (attending to a palanquin)[71] is performed at the gate of the temple; the main propriety here is a palanquin (*kama*). The palanquin contains Illowang posal 引路王菩薩 (the Bodhisattva Guiding King), a psychopomp, a Charon-like figure, who helps the *yŏngga* to cross to the Pure Land. The goal of the next part, 2) the *taeryŏng* 對靈 (meeting the spirit), is to invite and greet the *yŏngga*. The focus of this part of the ceremony is the lower altar. The spirit is greeted, invoked, and made a simple food offering; then the spirit is comforted by a sermon where the spirit is informed about the basic teaching. Then a symbolic bath, 3) the *kwanyok* 灌浴, takes place. For this rite a special "bathing altar" (*kwanyok tang*) in the form of a folding screen is established. Inside are items such as paper clothes (to be burned later), fragrant water in a basin, soap, a toothbrush, toothpaste, a set of clothes, and so forth. Various *dhāraṇīs*, mantras, and *mudrā* are performed during the ritual bathing. Many informants considered these three ritual sequences to be the most important parts of the ritual. Hence, I shall introduce them in detail in the following chapter.

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[70] However, as discussed in the previous chapter, there is usually more or less modules than in this example.

[71] For the first three ritual sequences, see the next chapter.

Then follows the 4) *sangdan kwŏngong* 上檀勸供, that is, offerings to the buddhas and bodhisattvas, and the 5) *chungdan kwŏngong* 中檀勸供, that is, offerings to the deities. Special offerings are made to Amitâbha and Kṣitigarbha. Then the *yŏngga* becomes the main object, when the 6) *kwanŭm sisik* 觀音施食 is performed. The mourners offer food, while the monks explain the teachings to the *yŏngga*. If we briefly summarize the symbolical level of this ritual, we see that virtually all the important deities in Buddhism and especially those related to death are summoned to help the *yŏngga.* When the *kwanŭm sisik* is over, the *yŏngga* is sent off during the 7) *pongsong* 奉送 (sending off) rite. Then, the mourners bow to the tablet and photograph and take them out from the hall. Also, some of the offerings are collected. The 8) s*odae ŭisik* 燒臺儀式 (burning ceremony) is the final stage, when all participants move to a furnace that is located somewhere in the temple compound. There, the tablet, picture, and other items, such as the clothes of the deceased and some clothes of the participants, are burned.

4 The Key Sequences of *Ch'ŏndo Chae* Ceremonies: An Annotated Translation

4.1 *Siryŏn*: Attending to a Palanquin

Ritual manuals list this ritual as a standard, initial part of guiding ceremonies. Recent manuals such as PSURC (294–299), PSURCn (297–301), TCRUB (695–716), and SGUB (261–264), list *siryŏn* (侍輦), or attending to a palanquin, as the initial part of the ceremony. It is a standard and commonly performed section of the large-scale ceremonies, but it is rarely encountered as a part of *sasipku chae*. Ku (2009, 468–822) lists twelve instances of the *sasipku chae*, but only two of them include *siryŏn*. A similar ratio was confirmed by Pŏpwŏn SN from the *Chijang chŏngsa* temple, who estimates that siryŏn are performed in about ten percent of *sasipku chae*, mentioning that those are rather larger scale ceremonies (Pŏpwŏn SN 2016). I have personally observed this rite at only one of the dozens of *sasipku chae* I have attended. When a nun was, on my behalf, negotiating the possibility for me to attend a *sasipku chae* ceremony officiated by a monk, a recognized ritual specialist, the monk suggested, encouragingly so, a visit on a certain date when the ceremony was to include *siryŏn* (Zemánek 2015b, sec. 15.8.2.). Hence, *siryŏn* is perceived as something unusual and the sign of a larger performance. SGUB (261) states that "*siryŏn* has been long performed with *pŏmp'ae*; therefore, those, who did not learn *pŏmp'ae*, cannot perform the ritual. Usually, in small ceremonies, the *siryŏn* is omitted." *Siryŏn* therefore appears to be understood as an integral part of guiding ceremonies, yet one that is often left out. The presence or omission of *siryŏn* is determined by the scale of a ceremony, not by its type.

4.1.1 *Siryŏn* and Ritual Space

A meaningful case for the study of the ceremonies, is the instance of a sasipku chae performed in Yŏngsin tang, a kuttang in Sanch'ŏng-gun (Zemánek 2015a, sec. 2015.8). The ceremony was taken out of the natural context of a Buddhist temple and transplanted into the musok environment. A place for performing siryŏn was established at the entrance of the kuttang, marked by a rock and the end of a paved road leading to the kuttang precincts. It illustrates the

intuitive ability of ritual actors to define the boundaries of ritual space.

The concept of ritual space in *siryŏn* does not differ from the general Buddhist notion. *Siryŏn* operates within the concept of *toryang* (道場), the Buddhist notion of sacred space, which is used both in the annotations of ritual manuals and in spoken explanations and commentaries to the ritual, where the ritual space is referred to as *toryang.* The Sino-Korean term can be rendered as a "place" (*ryang* 場) of "teaching" (*to* 道), a quite general concept referring to a space where the Dharma is practiced. The Sanskrit translation of *toryang* (Ch. *daochang*) is *bodhimaṇḍa*, the place where the Buddha attained enlightenment. As Buddhist monasteries, temples, shrines, and altars are considered to be spaces where awakening is achieved, the concept came to include different places of Buddhist practice (Stevenson 2007, 363–64) and its semantic content transformed into a more general notion, both spatially and temporally. Gildow (2010) points out that in contemporary China the term *daochang* is also used for unofficial places of Buddhist practices in contrast to registered shrines and monasteries (*simiao* 寺廟 or *siyuan* 寺院).

Throughout Korean history, the term *toryang* has been used not only in a spatial sense, but it has also designated specific religious practices. Chronicles from all historic periods include records of *toryangs* being organized for various reasons and goals; the texts state general titles such as "praying for rain" (*kiu toryang* 祈雨道場), "dispersing calamities" (*sojae toryang* 消灾道場), "prayers for deceased royals" (*hwisin toryang* 諱辰道場), "wishing long life to the king on his birthday" (*ch'uksu toryang* 祝壽道場), but they also mention more specific *toryangs* dedicated to particular sutras, such as the *Diamond sutra*, *Flower Ornament Sutra*, or *prajñāpāramitā* sutras performed to invoke rain. Here the idea of *toryang* represents both a certain ritual performed in a designated sacred space and the space itself. The Confucian critique of Buddhist ritual practice of the ceremonies of death mentioned above[72] uses this term in a sense consistent with the discourse present in historical sources, in which *toryang* means "set-up," "organized," or "established" (*sŏl* 設).

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[72] See above, page 9 and below.

In today's practice this term is generally used to impart spatial and static meanings. For instance, when speaking of the practice of pilgrimage to the fifty-three Buddhist temples of Korea, a Buddhist monk, Hyeja SN, says that, "in the entire country, there is not a single temple that would not be a sacred ground [*sŏngji*(聖地)], that would not be a prayer *toryang*" (Pak, Sanghyŏn 2016). Here, he follows the prevalent discourse that links the general concept of sacred space to that of *toryang*.

Today, Korean Buddhist temples often use a self-designated *toryang* phrase, or a subtitle, alongside the official name of the temple to express its specific orientation. Such phrases may, for example, refer to the deity emphasized at that temple because of the deity's special relation to that space, perhaps one acquired through a mythical narrative. For example, the famous pilgrimage site of Naksansa situated on the east coast in Kangwŏndo is referred to as *Kwanŭm toryang,* that is, the *toryang* of Bodhisattva Avalokitêśvara. A legend recorded in the *Samguk Yusa* places a living emanation of Avalokitêśvara into a cavern below the temple site, making the temple a place where the bodhisattva resides. Likewise, Simwŏnsa in Ch'orwŏn is titled *Chijang kido toryang*, a name referring to the belief that Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha lives there (Tohu [SN] 2003). The term *kido*, or praying, refers to the activity performed in this *toryang*. The temple of Chijang chŏngsa features two subtitles: *kido suhaeng toryang* and *napkol pong'an toryang* (JIJANGJUNGSA 2008). The former title, meaning a "*toryang* of praying practice," points once again to the importance of prayer performed in the temple, whereas the latter, meaning a "*toryang* of urn enshrinement," accents the temple's expertise in housing urns and in performing death-related rituals in general.

Due to the lengthy coexistence of Buddhism and indigenous religious traditions, the latter, namely the shamanist tradition of Korean *musok*, absorbed Buddhist vocabulary. *Toryang* is therefore often chosen as a name for places of shamanist practice that extend beyond the Buddhist context. Thus, *toryang* has become an umbrella term for a place of religious practice across the common religious landscape of Korea.

In the contemporary Buddhist discourse, *toryang* is a properly consecrated and ritually maintained space, usually of a permanent nature. The first ritual of the day in Buddhist temples is *toryang sŏk* (道場釋)*,* performed at three o'clock in the

morning, during which monks walk inside the temple, circle the temple boundaries, and purify the precincts by chanting texts accompanied by the sound of a wooden temple block, *mokt'ak*. At first *mokt'ak* is played quietly, but then its volume gradually increases; this aural dynamic is supposed to wake up sentient beings. The special texts for this ritual are chanted along with standard texts such as the *Heart Sutra*, *Sinmyo janggu tae tarani*, and *Popsŏng kye*, or utterances of the names of Amitâbha Buddha or Bodhisattva Avalokitêśvara. These texts are of special interest for us because they seem to be standard texts reached for when a ritual purification of space or motion such as walk or procession are performed.

Performing *toryang sŏk* results in several practical outcomes. One of them is the repeated verification of *toryang* boundaries. The architecture of Buddhist temples, as idealized notions of sacred space, reflects the structure of the Buddhist cosmos and the religion's soteriological ideas. The path leading from the exterior of the temple to its center symbolizes the path from samsara, the reality of afflictions (*pŏnnoe* 煩惱, Skt. *kleśa*), to the realm of Buddha (*pult'o*, 佛土, Skt. *buddhakṣetra*). Temples are usually structured vertically, reflecting the natural mountainous landscape of Korea. A pilgrim or a temple visitor ascends towards the main temple court, located in front of the main Buddha hall dedicated to Śākyamuni Buddha. The other halls and shrines that surround it are arranged in keeping with Buddhist cosmological patterns. On the way up, visitors must pass through multiple gates and bridges symbolizing different paths towards awakening or different aspects of the teaching conveyed by the metaphor of passing or crossing. Even though ideally these gates and bridges should separate the sacred grounds of the temple from the mundane world, locating the actual boundaries is more an act of supposition than perception, as the liminal area between the temple and the surrounding landscape or urban environment is vaguely defined. These gates are not always built into walls or other visible barriers that clearly separate the space of the mundane from the sacred. Therefore, the daily performance of the *toryang sŏk* recreates the boundaries of the temple as a *toryang*.

Siryŏn, and *ch'ondo chae* ceremonies performed in a temple in general, connect the two semantical aspects of *toryang*, that is, the permanent and the established. The rite is brought into the temple-*toryang* and performed there. Hence the ritual uses an already existing permanent *toryang* (the temple) and

simultaneously establishes a *toryang* as a part of the rite and as the rite itself.

However, on some occasions this ritual is performed at a place other than a temple, and in such cases these ceremonies lose their natural connection with the already existing permanent sacred space. In the past two decades the *Yŏngsan chae* (靈山齋)ceremony has been designated as a part of Korea's intangible cultural heritage at the local, national, and global levels, and thus, it is often performed for reasons other than its primarily intended goal, this is, spirit guiding. It is often performed theatrically, as a show and a display of its aesthetic and cultural values. Thus, *toryang* is then created in theaters, stadiums, on festival stages, and so forth.

Although such mass performances of this ceremony are a relatively new occurrence, they do share some similarities with historically documented *chae* ceremonies performed as rites of death outdoors away from the temples. For example, *ch'ondo chae* ceremonies have often been performed at the sites of a tragedy. Today such rites are for instance performed at Korean War battlegrounds, massacres sites from the Cheju Uprising and the Kwangju Uprising, or at the site of a more recent tragedy—on the shores of Chindo Island for the victims of the Sewŏl Ferry sinking.

In my field research I asked ritual specialists[73] about the demands placed on space, sacred space in particular, during rituals (Chidam SN 2015; Wŏrho SN 2015a). In most cases, rituals are connected to temples and performed within them. However, when I asked whether ritual space was treated differently, when performed away from temples, both respondents pointed out that besides the actual preparations of ritual utensils, it is actually *siryŏn* which consecrates the ritual space and therefore no additional rites are necessary for the space. From this explanation we can conclude that reciting the first verses of *siryŏn* (*ongho ke*, *hŏnjwa chinŏn*, etc.) sufficiently establishes the ritual space.

Before *siryŏn* begins, a special "place for *siryŏn*" (*siryŏn t'ŏ*) is prepared along with the altars used during the rite. The *siryŏn t'o* delineates the boundaries of the ritual and designates its starting point. It is established at a relative distance from the place where the actual ritual will take place. Some ritual manuals include

[73] Chidam SN is a lecturer at the Okchon pŏmŭm tähak, a teaching institution (lit. college) affiliated with the Pongwonsa temple. Worho SN is a broadly recognized ritual specialist in the Honam region.

annotations elucidating ritual performance and give brief instructions regarding locations. SGUB (261) places *siryŏn t'ŏ* outside the one-pillar gate (*ilju mun* 一柱門), that is, the first gate of the temple; PUSK II (33) puts it outside the gate of liberation (*haet'al mun*), the most inner temple gate; and SPUB (291) simply states the location as "outside the temple entrance."

Put more generally, the actual location of s*iryŏn t'ŏ* may vary, but it is always established outside the primary ritual space, and thus a clear juxtaposition of the ritual space's center and periphery emerges. Larger, or ritually active temples have designated spaces for *siryŏn*. The construction of ritual space can be observed at Pongwŏnsa Temple, the main temple of the T'aego order and probably the most active ritual center in Korea. Ceremonies of all possible types and sizes are performed at the temple with a particular emphasis on *Yŏngsan chae.* On busy days, up to four *ch'eondo chae* ceremonies are performed simultaneously in the various halls of the temple complex. The character of each ceremony and the location of its central ritual space influences the location of the s*iryŏn t'ŏ*. When a large-scale outdoor ceremony is performed, *siryŏn* is performed at the virtual boundary of the temple, as Pongwŏnsa does not have physical gates. When a large-scale indoor ceremony, such as an ad hoc group guiding ceremony, *Haptong ch'ŏndo chae*, is performed in the Hall of Three Thousand Buddhas, the *siryŏn t'ŏ* is placed in front of the hall at an arbitrary location on either the left or right side of the staircase (Zemánek 2015b, sec. 15.9.6, 15.8.23). Ku (2009, 219–20) suggests that the shrinking of the ritual space for the sake of convenience indicates simplification of

the ritual. When the *Yŏngsan tae chae* was performed in the Porimsa Temple in Southern Chŏlla province in summer 2015, *siryŏn t'ŏ* was created in front of the outer gate (Zemánek 2015b, sec. 15.8.30).

When the ritual actors establish a *siryŏn t'ŏ*, their notion of preexisting sacred space merges with their natural ability to create a *toryang* ad hoc. A monk or another experienced ritual specialist must always supervise the creation of *siryŏn t'ŏ*. Therefore, establishing a *siryŏn t'ŏ* always requires a creative work with preexisting space.

The central object of this ritual is a palanquin (*yŏn* 輦), which is also referred to using the general term *kama*. A *yŏn* is a wooden object resembling the

palanquin used for transporting nobility, namely the royals of the Chosŏn period, yet of a smaller size. The central part of the palanquin has a square- or rectangle-shaped base. It is approximately as tall as it is wide and deep (roughly 40–60 cm), and thus resembles a hexahedron. A bowed roof is attached to its top, often with a canopy flowing down from both sides. This central part is fit to a bottom frame with a set of handles in both front and back so that it can be carried by two people.

This "Buddhist" palanquin is not the only type that can be found in the realm of Korean religion as different sorts of palanquins are used in rites of death. The *sangyŏ* (喪輿), a large palanquin, traditionally transported a corpse from a house to a grave, the *yoyŏ* (腰輿), a small, cube-shaped palanquin, is used to transport

wooden tablets (*sinju* 神主) and silk tablets (*honbaek* 魂魄), and so forth. The *yoyŏ* is therefore a vehicle for transporting the spirit. However, the *yŏn* is different from the *yoyŏ* in both shape and usage. Whereas the *yoyŏ* usually has a door, the *yŏn* features an open design. And, unlike the *yoyŏ*, the *yŏn* does not house tablets. Another attribute that can be found in ritual manuals (e.g., SGUB, 261) is its adornment with "seven kinds of precious materials" (*ch'ilbo* 七寶). This description, however, is only symbolic, as in reality carvings, pa intings in red and blue (*tanch'ong* 丹靑), and by colorful ribbons adorn the *yŏn*.

Various commentaries (e.g., SPUSH, 216; PUSKII, 33) on *siryŏn* emphasize that it is not the spirit which is carried in the *yŏn* to a ritual space, but the buddhas and bodhisattvas, namely Bodhisattva Illowang. I believe that this "incorrect" assumption is caused by the natural conclusion that if somebody, or something, is being brought to a spirit-guiding ceremony then it must be the spirit of the deceased. People may also be conflating the employment of the *yoyŏ* palanquin for the transportation of the spirit. Interestingly enough, however, this assumption still prevails, not only among ritual clients and ordinary believers, but also among some of "informed laymen," namely the ritual travel agency employers, who explain the meaning of the rites to clients. I have recorded two cases where a male lay guide described the context of the rites in a lengthy monologue (of approximately ten minutes) in which he explained the meaning of *siryŏn* as "bringing or escorting" (*mosida*) one's "ancestors" (*chosang*) to the temple hall, describing the *yŏn* as a means of transport for the spirit, *yŏngga* (2015b, sec. 15.8.23, 2015d).

Hence we arrive at the second character contained in the rite's title, *si* 侍, rendered into Korean as the honorific verb *mosida*, "to attend on," "to accompany someone," or "to worship." Having all these semantic contents, this verb is very productive in religious and, in particular, ritual practices. In *siryŏn*, the object of *mosida* is the *yŏn* itself as well as the deities carried and worshiped within it.

A simple pattern is introduced in the commentaries in SPUSH (216), SGUB (263), and PUSKII (35–34). The first part of the rite is limited to the area of the *siryŏn t'o*. The *yŏn* is placed in the front of the ritual space or in its center. Banners play an important role. The texts explicitly states that the Illowang posal banner is

to be used here.

Motion is the important activity of this rite. Simply put, the ritual actors move between the main ritual space and the periphery. Based on my field work, I have identified here basic patterns of motion and *siryŏn t'ŏ* arrangement.

In the first pattern I recorded (Zemánek 2015f), a *siryŏn t'o* is prepared in front of and inside of the temple gate. The *yŏn* is used as a central piece of a provisional altar and paper tablets are placed in front of it on a small table. Two members of the temple parish association (*sindo hoe*) each hold a banner fixed to a bamboo stick. They stand behind the *yŏn*; a red banner paying homage to "Amitâbha, the Lord of Sukhāvatī" is on the right side (seen from outside the temple) and a blue banner paying homage to "Illowang posal, the Great Sage." The gender of the banner holders corresponds to the *ŭmyang* (Ch. *yinyang* 陰陽) symbolic system, that is, the red banner of the male Amitâbha is hold by a man, while a woman holds the blue banner of Illowang posal, with, in iconography, less expressed gender or even with female features. A place for ritual dance is arranged by laying several sheets of aluminum foil mattresses connected together by duct tape in front of the altar as the dances are performed without shoes. The monks and musicians form a row along the right edge of the dance floor while the rest of the participants stand in a larger semicircle facing the scene, i.e. altar, dancing floor and the temple gate.

I also observed a simplified version of this rite (Zemánek 2015c) performed without the *yŏn* or banners, but only with the tablets, at the Yŏngsin tang; the *siryŏn t'o* consisted of mattresses only. As this occasion was a *sasipku chae*, there was only one tablet. The active lay participants consisted of the family only. A few ladies currently staying at the premises passively participated in the ceremony, only bowing occasionally. No altar was established. The tablet of the deceased was held by a grandson and the rest of the family formed a procession behind him, facing the inside of the precincts and the mattresses for the dance.

I observed the second type of pattern on several occasions at the Pongwŏnsa Temple during *Haptong ch'ŏndo chae* in 2014 and 2015. As mentioned above, the *siryŏn t'ŏ* is established at either side of the stairs leading to the hall, where most of the ritual takes place. The *siryŏn* altar is positioned approximately fifteen meters from the centerline of the staircase and is almost aligned with the end of the temple hall. Wooden frames hold the banners and flags used during the rite. A table covered with a white cloth is placed between the two frames and a *yŏn* is placed behind the table. An incense burner, an offering bowl, and white candles in stands are then put on the table to complete the altar setting.

The third type of pattern was observed at a large-scale *Yŏngsan chae* ceremony that is performed annually in Pongwŏnsa Temple. This ceremony draws its format from the PUMSC, which includes a detailed diagram of the altar and the procession. Instead of a twofold outside-inside scheme of motion, this ceremony features a more sophisticated threefold scheme. Its mise en scène is based on a more formalized and structured form of *siryŏn*, which is prescribed in the PUMSC, a manual for the *Suryuk chae* ceremony, and draws from the traditions of the temple and the T'aego order. The PUMSC presents a detailed ideal layout of ritual participants during the procession and ritual, where every type of ritual actor and object (monks and nuns, the dancers in various groups, laymen, laywomen, banners, flags, the palanquin, etc.) have their place. This scheme is said to be followed in *Yŏngsan chae* (Sim 2003). Yet, during my fieldwork in June 2011, this format was not strictly followed and the people in the procession, beside the structured core of monks and nuns around the palanquin, were grouped randomly.

During the *Yŏngsan chae*, the ritual does not begin with *siryŏn* outside the temple, but at the center. The procession begins once preparatory actions are reported as finished to the main officiant. Accompanied by the sound of ritual

instruments, the procession moves to the *siryŏn t'ŏ*, where it continues with the rites which are first for the aforementioned ritual instances. In other words, the arrival of the ritual actors is in this case ritualized.

In all of the instances I documented, despite obvious differences in size and complexity, the *siryŏn* altar always featured a two-tiered structure. One tier, related to the buddhas and bodhisattvas, is formed by the *yŏn*, which is placed in a position higher than the other, lower tier, which is associated with the spirit or spirits and its central object are the tablets. Usually placed on a table or a stand, the tablets are positioned so that they face the audience. There was no uniformity in which direction the altar was facing.

Offerings in the form of a pair of candles, tea or water, and incense may be made at the altar. I observed the performance of rites both with and without these offerings. When the rite is performed as a communal event, a paper or wooden collection box may be present for money offerings.

Wooden money boxes are commonly found in temple halls in front of the altars. People insert banknotes into them before, during, or after their religious practice in the temple hall. During rituals, people offer money at given times or ad hoc during the ceremony, usually as a part of their personal participation.

The donation boxes are not just simple receptacles for money; they are associated with the notion of "merit making," and thus they are adorned with engraved or hand-written titles such as "merit-field box" (*pokchŏn ham* 福田函) or "Buddha-hall box" (*puljŏn ham* 佛殿函) Merit (Skt. *puṇya*) is the good reward that results from practicing the Dharma. Financially supporting the Sangha is the best type of meritorious act[74] and has the best karmic results for the donor. This term is rendered into Chinese using the character for happiness, blessings, or good fortune (*pok* 福, Ch. fu).

The Pongwŏnsa Temple has a permanent place for *siryŏn t'ŏ*, with a rectangular marble stone used for the altar. A folding screen embellished with the text of a sutra stands behind the altar. Two palanquins, flags and banners, and stands

[74] Lamotte (1988, 72) gives a list of meritorious material deeds: "1. giving land to the congregation, 2. building a monastery on it, 3. furnishing it, 4. allocating revenue to it, 5. assisting strangers and travellers, 6. tending the sick, 7. in cold weather or at times of famine, giving the congregation food and sweetmeats."

with tablets are set together around the polished marble stone to create the altar. Colorful banners invoking and praising Amitâbha hang from trees and thus mark the boundaries of the ritual space.

When the setting is prepared, the ritual actors take their positions. If necessary, a monk, monks, or a designated layperson can advise the participants where to stand and what to do. Ritual patrons may be requested to form a line, step before the altar, offer incense and money, and bow in front of the altar. I observed this phenomenon when the rite was performed as a group *ch'ŏndo chae*.

The following verses (ke 偈, Skt. *gātha* opens the rite:

4.1.2 *Ongho ke*: Verses of Protection

> [We] invoke[75] the sages of the ten directions
> Brahmā, Śakra, and the four heavenly kings,
> eight kinds [of spiritual beings and gods] of heaven and earth [protecting] the temple,
> [you, of] not rejecting compassion, please, descend![76]

4.1.2.1 Commentary

The *gātha* addresses the buddhas, bodhisattvas, and deities and asks them to descend to the ritual space to protect it.

The *ongho ke*, like most of the verses in the *chŏndo chae* sequence, take the form of the seven-syllable quatrain (*ch'irŏn chŏlgu* 七言絕句) of Chinese-style poetry (*hansi*). However, as we have seen above in the case of mortuary rites, the content structure of these verses differs significantly from the prescriptions of classical poetry. Yet, it is interesting to follow how authors structured their verses so that they resembled classical ones. The opening phrase features an invocation, which is followed and extended in the second line. The third line reveals the role of

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[75] Pongch'ŏng 奉請; An invocation formula, a standard element in Buddhist rituals.

[76] "擁護偈/ 奉請十方諸賢聖/ 梵王帝釋四天王/ 伽藍八部神祇衆/ 不捨慈悲願降臨."

the deities and links them with the temple. The last line is a unifying synthesis.

The first line invokes the sages (*hyŏnsŏng* 賢聖), employing a general term equivalent to the Sanskrit *ārya* (noble) and refers specifically to the enlightened sages, the noble ones, that is, buddhas and bodhisattvas, as opposed to ordinary, ignorant worldlings (*pŏmbu* 凡夫). The second and third lines invoke two categories of deities. The former specifically identifies the gods, while the latter addresses the general category of eight kinds of spiritual beings and the gods of heaven and earth. The second line features wording not unknown to the Buddhist sutras and treatises, which mention these gods in various contexts. They appear among the audience of Buddha's sermon, are presented as expounders of the Dharma,[77] or are named at the beginning of enumeration of sentient beings.[78] Nonetheless, the exact phrasing we see here is not encountered often in Buddhist texts. The wording of the third verse seems to be unique to this particular ritual text.

However, the content of this *gātha* does not differ from that of similar invocations of protecting deities in Mahayana sutras. Comparable phrases invoking by name Brahma, Śakra, and the four heavenly gods along with the eight kinds of beings are present in the *Ritual Commentary to the Ceremony for Awakened and Ordinary Beings of Water and Earth*,[79] a Song dynasty scripture, a ritual text for a Chinese version of the *Suryuk* ritual.

Since its beginnings Buddhism has incorporated a broad range of deities (Kinnard 2004a). These deities (*ch'ŏn* 天, Skt. *deva*) play the role of protectors of the Dharma and often act as important characters or as interlocutors of sutras. In this rite, Brahma and Śakra, the two main tutelary gods of Buddhism, are

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[77] E.g., *Great Vehicle Sutra of Contemplation of the Mind Ground in the Buddha's Life* (Ch. *Dasheng bensheng xindi guan jing*, 大乘本生心地觀經), "一切諸天梵王、帝釋、四大天王、訶利底母五百眷屬、僻羅跋多大鬼神王、龍神八部一切聽法，諸鬼神等晝夜不離，常當擁護如是佛子，增長念慧與無礙辯，教化眾生令種佛因。" (CBETA, T03, no. 159, p. 331, b11-15).

[78] E.g. the Śikṣānanda's translation of the Flower Ornament Sutra (華嚴, skt. Avataṃsaka-sūtra) (CBETA, T10, no. 279, p. 297, a12-13),

[79] 恭白十方三寶眾/ 明王穢迹眾威神/ 梵王帝釋四天王/ 八部天龍咸護念/ 此日將修平等供/ 要令此地異常居/ 須憑神力為加持/ 清淨光明同佛剎《法界聖凡水陸勝會修齋儀軌》卷 1：「(CBETA, X74, no. 1497, p. 785, c20-23 // Z 2B:2, p. 265, c2-5 // R129, p. 530, a2-5)

summoned first. Brahmā, or the King of the Brahma Heaven (*pŏmwang* 梵王, lit. "the Brahmā king"), has been adopted by Buddhism from the Brahmanic substrate, yet placed in an inferior position to the buddhas, bodhisattvas, and arhats.

The early sutras as well as Abhidharmic literature present an account[80] in which Brahma is the first being born into the newly created universe and, as such, mistakes himself to be its creator. The beings born after him support his fallacy because they assume that he truly is the creator. By accepting pre-Buddhist notions, such Buddhist narratives reorganize the cosmos by altering the relations among these notions and their structure. Gods are thus mighty and long-lived beings, yet mortal and unenlightened.

In Buddhist cosmology, Mahābrahmā is the ruler over the heavens of form. As Buddha's teaching links cosmology with soteriology, the heavens over which he rules belong to the "four meditation heavens" (*sa sŏnch'ŏn* 四禪天; Skt. *catur-dhyāna-bhūmi*), into which sentient beings are born based on their meditation skills. Those of lower level are born into the Heaven of Brahma Followers (Pŏmjung ch'ŏn 梵衆天; Skt. Brahma-pāriṣadya); the Heaven of Brahma's Ministers (Pŏmbo ch'ŏn 梵輔天; Skt. Brahma-purohita) is the destiny of those with mid-level skills; and superior meditators are born into the Great Brahma Heaven (Taebŏm ch'on 大梵天; Skt. Mahābrahma).

The second invoked tutelary god, Śakra (Chesŏk 帝釋, also Skt. Indra), is the chief god in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three Gods (Tori ch'ŏn 忉利天; Skt. trāyas-triṃśa), which he rules from his abode at the center of the plateau on the summit of Mount Sumeru (de La Vallée Poussin 1988b, 463–65). He is the god of the sky who fights demons with *vajra.* He converted to Buddhism and realized the stage of stream-enterer (*yeryu* 預流; Skt. *srota-āpanna*). He is a guardian of the Dharma. Śakra also plays an important part in the biography of Siddhartha Gautama. This deity, along with Brahma, receives the newly born bodhisattva prince and accompanies him to the Heaven of Thirty-Three Gods to preach to his mother. In

[80] The ….sutra of the nikayas and agamas features this narrative, Vasubandhu's ADK (de La Vallée Poussin 1988b, 374). Even the mahāyāna Lotus sutra calls him a father of all sentient beings. (CBETA, T09, no. 262, p. 54, b2). However, his role in various Buddhist texts differs. For detailed research on different roles of Brahma in Buddhism see (Gombrich 2012). Brahma and Śakra top the list of twenty protecting deities.

iconography he is, along with Brahma, depicted as worshipping the Buddha, holding a parasol for him, and so forth (Kinnard 2004b). According to reports from the four heavenly kings, he inquiries into the moral state of the mundane world (C. A. Muller 2015). Korean mythology links Śakra with the indigenous gods. Hwanin 桓因 (i.e., Indra in Sanskrit) is the name of the ruling god and a father of Hwanŭng 桓雄, a demiurge and cultural hero, who descended to ancient Korea to educate the people and eventually become a father of the first ruler of the Old Chosŏn.[81]

Then, the four generals, the four heavenly kings are invoked. Despite the textual tradition, which sees Brahma and Śakra as the two main protecting gods, the most familiar Dharma-protectors are, to the Korean Buddhists, the four heavenly kings (*sa ch'ŏnwang* 四天王; Skt. *catur-mahā-rājakāyikāḥ*). Their popularity is entrenched in the structure of the Buddhist temples. The most visually noticeable among temple gates is the gate of four heavenly kings (*sa ch'onwang mun*), where these gods are enshrined. Religious temple visitors and pilgrims bow to each of them on their ascent towards the temple compound.

The *Abhidharmakośa* describes how the four kings live with their attendants at the fourth terrace extending from Mount Meru. Each of the kings is associated with a direction; hence they protect the entire world[82] from malicious spirits. Each king rules over a continent located in their direction as well as over a group or groups of beings invoked in the end of the verse.

The "eight kinds of deities" is a rather vague term[83] that is often repeated in the convocations of Mahayana sutras. However, the exact list of being referred to differs from sutra to sutra. The most well-known list begins with "gods" (*ch'ŏn* 天; Skt. *deva*). Unlike the gods in the previous verse, who are specifically designated, this verse names the entire broad category of *deva* beings. *Deva* is a general term

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[81] The cosmological significance… temples, vyzkum v Silla, pekce (clanek) atd

[82] Hence they are also called Four world-protecting heavenly kings (護世四天王). in the east Dhṛtarāṣṭra 持國天; Deva who keeps (his) kingdom; color white; in the south, Virūḍhaka 增長天; Deva of increase and growth, color blue; in the west 廣目天 Virūpākṣa—the broad-eyed (also ugly-eyed) deva (perhaps a form of Śiva); red; in the north Vaiśravaṇa 多聞天, the deva who hears much and is well-versed; yellow; name Vaiśravaṇa, or Dhanada; he is a form of Kuvera, the god of wealth.

[83] 《仁王經疏》卷 1〈序品 1〉：「世有八部眾。一剎利眾。二婆羅門眾。三居士眾。四沙門眾。五四天王眾。六忉利天眾。七魔眾。八梵眾。」(CBETA, T33, no. 1708, p. 375, b15-17)

for many classes of beings living in the numerous heavens of the Buddhist cosmos. The second category of invoked beings are the snake kings (*yong* 龍; Skt. *nāga*). In East Asia *nāgas* were associated with indigenous concepts of dragons, aquatic spirits, and underwater deities. In Korea, they are popular at temples located near the sea. The rest are the spirits of the dead who fly about in the night (*yach'a* 夜叉; Skt.. *yakṣa*), half-ghost music masters (*kŏndalp'a* 乾闥婆; Skt. *gandharva*), demigods of evil disposition (*asura* 阿修; Skt. *asura*), golden-winged birds (*karura* 迦樓羅; Skt. *garuḍa*), chimera-like heavenly music masters (*kinnara* 緊那羅; Skt. *kiṃnara*), and snake spirits (*mahuraga* 摩睺羅; Skt. *mahoraga*). The Buddha's influence and teachings transformed these beings' originally evil disposition and they became protectors of the Dharma.

The subsequent phrase "the gods of heaven and earth" can be understood in two ways, inclusively and exclusively. Thus, these gods could be interpreted as being included among the previously mentioned eight categories of beings—that is, spirits and gods of the eight groups dwelling in heaven and earth. However, these gods may also be viewed as being separate from the eight beings—that is, eight kinds of beings exist, in addition to the spirits and gods of heaven and earth.[84]

Nevertheless, the phrase invokes all protecting deities or spirits, also known as *sinjung* 神衆. Their role in the ritual is not central, yet an altar is dedicated to them, and one ritual sequence, known as *sinjung chakpŏp* (神衆作法), may be included. The position of *sinjung* in the ritual is analogical to their position in other aspects of Korean Buddhism. The altar dedicated to them (*sinjung tan* 神衆壇) is a common feature of main temple halls, where it is located on either side of the central altar dedicated to the Buddha and bodhisattvas. An altar dedicated to deceased spirits usually sits on the other side of the main altar. Whereas both statues and pictures adorn the main altar, the *sinjung* are represented by a picture[85] only. The structure of altars and the relationship between the objects on the them is identical

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[84] Korean manuals (PSURCn ,297;) tend, in their translations, to follow the former.

[85] *Sinjung to*, pictures (murals or hanging, occasionally carved) of assemblies of anthropomorphic deities, had been gaining popularity from the 18th until 20th century. Their iconography is a very developed structure that we see in the verses here as the iconography draws on different Mahayana texts.

to the structure expressed in the verses. Thus, altar architecture and iconography resonate with the ritual's structure.

The spectrum of the sages and deities begins with the Buddha or buddhas and bodhisattvas on a main altar and continue by the different layers of deities depicted on a *sinjung* picture. The verses hence not only invoke all deities but are a statement verifying the relations and stratification among different spiritual beings.

Once the deities are enumerated, the final line requests the descent and presence of all the invoked deities. They are "reminded of" compassion (*chabi* 慈悲; Skt. *karuna*), the key Mahayana virtue. Once again, this phrase allows for multiple interpretations as to whether it is urging the deities not to discard compassion (PSURCn 297) or whether it is speaking of "compassion without rejection" (PUSKII 36–37). Although I favor the former reading, I attempt to reflect both possible meanings in my translation.

4.1.2.2 Performance

The verses are chanted individually, phrase by phrase. Each comprises an invocation formula. Hence reverence towards the deities mentioned in each line is expressed through a standing bow accompanied by the sound of musical instruments. In the rituals I observed, at least a wooden temple block, *mokt'ak,* a gong, and a *täp'yŏngso* sounds when people bow.

4.1.3 *Yojap para*: Circumambulating Dance

4.1.3.1 Commentary

Yojap is a technical Buddhist term for "ritual circumambulation." It is a common ritual activity in different cultures, periods, and regions. In the Indian context it is a key ritual activity that predates Buddhism and has remained an important practice outside of Buddhist schools.

In Buddhism, circumambulation and prostrations are the two most usual bodily ritual acts. Harvey states that in Buddhism clockwise circumambulation around symbols such as the bodhi tree or stupas was "an act which signified that what was walked around symbolized something ideally at the centre of a person's

life" (Harvey 2012, 103). It is a form of walking, one of four bodily activities, according to Buddhist classification (Asanga 2016, n. 581). Expectedly, circumambulation is an important ritual act in Buddhist rites of death. Both Langer (2007, 75–79, 95–98) and Gouin (2012) confirm its importance in the context of Sri Lankan and Tibetan Buddhist rituals.

The *yojap para* is a type of cymbal ritual dance. *Para* is one of the Korean words for the cymbals used during various Buddhist rituals, which are also known as *yobal* 鐃鈸, *palja* 鈸子, or *tongbal* 銅拔. Using of cymbals PUSK II (38) allude to *Pure Rules of Baizhang*[86], which mentions the usage of cymbals s on different ritual occasions such as offerings, expounding of Dharma, cremation, inauguration of a new abbot, and so forth (CBETA, T48, no. 2025, p. 1115- c2-p. 1123, c4).[87] In today's Korea the use of cymbals is limited to these *chae* ceremonies.

In Korean Buddhist ritual practice, the cymbal dance (*para ch'um*) is one

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[86] Rules formulated by Baizhang Huaihai (720–814), who compiled a set of guidelines to frame the daily activities and rules for Chan monks at a time when the Chan order in China lacked its own *vinaya* rules, and relied mostly on Indian Vinaya in Four Parts (四分律). These rules were later reworked and edited several times and would become very influential not only in the East Asian Chan tradition, but also in the ethos of Confucian academies (*sŏwŏn* 書院; Ch. *shuyuan*).

[87] The original version of the rules is not extant. PUSK most likely refers to the influential *Revision of Baizhang's Pure Rules* (*Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* 敕修百丈清規).

The text is an important source for the study of Buddhist ritual as the content addresses rituals for different events and occasions. It is divided into nine sections: 1) Rituals for blessing an emperor on his birthday (祝釐), Rituals for blessing of the longevity of emperor on four auspicious days and after meals every day, Praise for Kṣitigarbha on the new moon and full moon, Ritual for the blessing of the prince, Ritual for the blessing of the country every day in January, May, and September; 2) Returning favors (報恩): An offering for the Buddha's blessings in return for governmental favors, Rituals on the country's mourning days, Rituals to pray for a fine day, rain, snow, or to send away locusts, the solar and lunar eclipses, Expression of the appreciation of the three major events in the life of the Buddha (報本): his birth (誕生), his enlightenment (成道), and his nirvāṇa;; 4) Venerating the patriarchs (尊祖), Commemoration of the lives of Bodhidharma, Baizhang, and others who have founded temples and transmitted the Dharma; 5) Maintenance (住持): Seventeen items on entering and leaving the order, death, and the maintenance of ongoing practice; 6) The two rows (兩序), the formal seating arrangements for the various officers of the monastery, the procedures for their promotion and retirement, rituals for making and serving tea, etc.; 7) The Saṃgha (大衆), Rules and procedures for entry into the monastic life, receiving ordination, calling on other monasteries, taking meals, and so forth; 8) Special training (節臘), Procedures for the meditation retreat, length of ordainment, chanting and so forth; 9) Ritual implements (法器), The use and maintenance of bells, clappers, drums, wooden fish, and other ritual instruments. (C. A. Muller 2016)

type of dance that exists among others, such as the butterfly dance (*nabi ch'um*) and the Dharma drum dance. The name of this particular rite should be understood to mean "circumambulating cymbals" rather than "circumambulation dance with cymbals." PUSKII (38) explains that the purpose of the rite is to welcome the sages who have descended by the means of the *ongho ke*. It is an expression of gratitude through dance.

4.1.3.2 Performance

Once the *ongho ke* has been chanted, monk and nun dancers perform a circumambulating cymbal dance in the center. According to PUK II (p. 39), the *yojap para* 繞匝~, literally the "turning" or "encircling cymbals," follows the verses of protection. In SPUC (p. 231), however, it is performed later after tea offering ceremony.

The laity's involvement differed slightly from case to case. The typology of lay ritual actors outlined above[88] plays an important role here. The scope and intensity of lay activity differs based on the type of ritual and type of ritual actor. Ritual patrons actively participate by making offerings, while spectators and visitors are mere bystanders who observe the dancing. The clergy, on the other hand, demonstrates a quite unified ritual pattern in all studied cases.

When the ritual was performed for the deceased woman in the *kuttang*, relatives stood single file facing the dancers. The other few laypeople present watched the scene from inside the grounds. For rituals utilizing a *yŏn* and an altar, the actors performed their actions facing the altar, and thus, the participants headed towards the *kuttang* compound.

In *Haptong ch'ŏndo chae* ceremonies, the ritual patrons formed a line and walked around the dancing monks towards the altar in clockwise direction. In front of the altar, they offered money and incense sticks, and then returned to their original position between the lower end of the dance floor and the monks who were standing behind it, chanting.

Ritual activity at the *siryŏn t'ŏ* during the *Yŏngsan chae* ceremony was

[88] See p. 30 and further.

analogous. However, here, spectators and visitors outnumbered the ritual patrons, that is, the laypeople who were performing ritual activities and whose deceased relatives were listed among the spirit tablets. The *siryŏn t'ŏ* was overcrowded with visitors and photographers in particular, who struggled for the best view of the dancing monks. More people were watching the monk's performance than the minority of mostly elderly women who were making offerings at the altar (Zemánek 2011a).

The cymbals used for this dance have varied in size and shape over time; they also indicate regional variation. In today's Korea, crash cymbals are 50–60 cm in diameter, are made of copper or brass, and in the center have an aperture with a white piece of cloth usually attached to it. This cloth works as a handle.

An even number of dancers performs *Yojap para* dance. First, they take their shoes off and step onto the dance floor made of mattresses or carpets. They then hit the cymbals three times in front of their bodies, before turning counter clockwise and striking the cymbals above their heads once in each of the four directions. After that, they turn in a counter-clockwise direction, lifting the cymbals above their heads and lowering them to chest height while rotating them around the palms.

4.1.4 *Hŏnjwa chin'ŏn*: A Seat-Offering Mantra

Now we have prepared a precious and magnificent seat,
and are offering[89] it to all sages.
[Please,] extinguish defilements[90] and deluded mind
[so it will be possible to] quickly achieve the fruit of liberation and awakening.

om kamara sŭngha sabaha[91]

[89] *Ponghŏn* 奉獻, an equivalent of Skt. *pūjā*: to make offerings.

[90] *Chillo* 塵勞, a synonym of *pŏnnö* 煩惱: afflictions causing transmigration.

[91] 獻座眞言/ 我今敬設寶嚴座 / 奉獻一切聖賢前/ 願滅塵勞妄想心/ 速圓解脫菩提果 / 唵迦摩羅僧賀娑婆.

4.1.4.1 Commentary

The process of inviting the sages continues with these lines. Unlike the rest of the verses in the s*iryŏn* sequence, which are referred to as *verses*, here we encounter the term *mantra.* According to PUSK II (41), the terms *hŏnjwa ke* and *hŏnjwa chin'ŏn* can be used interchangeably. *Hŏnjwa chin'ŏn* is a ritual element found in various rites,[92] namely those invoking or inviting nature, such as the *chijang chŏng*, *kwanŭm chŏng*, or *siwang chŏng*. The content reflects the nature of the deities and hence there are several different texts known as *hŏnjwa chin'ŏn* in which both the verses and the mantra are different from this text.

Thus, in this ritual sequence the mantra addresses all previously invoked sages in the first line and offers an adorned throne to them, before requesting their help in achieving nirvana. The verses are hence nirvana-oriented. As we have seen throughout this work, rites tend to focus on a partial spiritual goal. Here, this idea is expressed through a plea for extinguishing deluded thought and afflictions or defilements (Skt. *kleśa*). Afflictions are the views, words, actions, and emotions that arise based on ignorance and craving. They keep sentient beings trapped in the cycle of samsara. The second factor is deluded conceptualization or discriminating mind (Skt. *vikalpa*), a mental action of partial and limiting rationality. It is in opposition to the originally awakened mind and is responsible for the incapability of sentient beings to recognize the nature of *thusness*. If a person gets rid of these *kleśa* and *vikalpa*, she proceeds towards nirvana.

Here it is worth noting that the sages are asked to assist with the spiritual progress of the subject of the verses. Put in the context and structure of the ritual, the subject is implied to be a spirit or spirits. However, the subject of the verses is not specified and hence the beneficiary of divine help is not limited to a spirit or spirits; anyone who participates in the rite will receive its merit. The text as well as the rite are reflexive and transitive. The chant therefore asks for the awakening of both the spirit and the assembly.

The verses are sealed by the mantra. This particular mantra is specific to the

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[92] The *Hŏnjwa ke* which is a part of the *Sangdan chŏng* (上壇請), invocation of the upper altar, links the seat with the seat on which Buddha achieved awakening by saying that, all buddhas achieved awakening at this seat.

hŏnjwa of this ritual sequence and is known as the "seat-offering mantra of all sages."

4.1.4.2 Performance

Once the dancers finish[93] the *para* dance, they leave the dance floor and join the rest of the monks for the chanting, or they remain in place, change their attire, and prepare for the following butterfly dance. The verses are chanted line by line with a bow at the end of each. Each bow is accompanied by the sounds of the *mokt'ak*, gong, and *t'aep'yŏngso*. PUSKII (40) suggests that the main officiant (*pŏpchu* 法主) chant the odd lines while the assembly reply with the even lines. The assisting officiant (*paraji*) should hit the gong before the end of the line to give the sign to the assembly (*taejung* 大衆). However, the assembly referred to here is more an assembly of monks and nuns than a general assembly of all ceremony participants as most laypeople do not know the verses. In large ceremonies, such as the *Yŏngsan chae* and *Haptong ch'ŏndo chae*, this sort of "call and response" is employed, while on lesser occasions such as standard *sasipku chae* ceremonies, all members of the clergy chant all lines.

4.1.5 *Tage*: Verses of tea

Now, [this] nectar tea[94]
we are offering to sages.[95]
Judge our earnest minds.
Accept it with sympathy,
accept it with sympathy,
accept it with sympathy and compassion.[96]

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[93] In the ritual instance recorded in the *kuttang*, the ritual continued directly with *Haengbo ke* (see p. 70).

[94] 甘露茶, kamno ta; lit. nectar tea. See the Commentary to this section.

[95] Some texts, such as SMUB 682, read *pŏpsa* (法師), i.e. masters.

[96] 茶偈/ 今將甘露茶/ 奉獻聖賢前/ 鑑察虔懇心/ 願垂哀納受/ 垂哀納受/ 願垂慈悲

4.1.5.1 Commentary

The ritual process continues with a tea offering rite.[97] Like the *hŏnjwa*, *tage* is a rite that is performed in a ritual sequence on different occasions. It usually follows an invocation of a deity or a range of deities including buddhas as well as different kinds of spirits. Im (2010, 28–37) lists twelve ritual types where a *tage* is performed as a part of a ritual sequence, including worship ceremonies, that is, morning evening service (*yebul* 禮佛) in the main hall including offerings at the altars, precept bestowing ceremonies, in which monks or laypeople are ordained, consecrating rites for newly installed images, offering rites, sermon rites, guiding ceremonies, and so forth.

The general structure of the *tage* is similar to the *hŏnjwa*, that is, an offering followed by a request. The content of *tage* differs from rite to rite, yet structurally they all follow similar patterns. The first line always states that the ritual subject or subjects offer tea, water, or *amṛta*. The actual offering is not necessarily tea, but more often water. Ritual commentaries, such as PUSK, do not read the character 茶 as *ch'a*[98] but as "*ta*" (including the quotation marks) instead. Therefore, I assume that the *ta* in the text and among users refers to something other than simple *tea*. PUSK and the interviewees agreed that both tea and pure water can be used as *ta.* Both carry a positive value. While tea is understood as a precious substance suitable for honoring a guest, clean water has the quality of pureness and therefore is not only appropriate for an offering but also implies the purity of one's mind mentioned in the third line.[99]

The ritual transforms the offered water or tea into *kamno* 甘露 (lit. "sweet dew"; Skt. *soma* or *amṛta*, or nectar, a term etymologically related to the Greek *ambrosia*), that is in the Indian context drunk by Vedic gods and wards off old age

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哀納受

[97] Tea offering (*hŏnda*, 獻茶) is an integral part of Buddhist worship in the East Asia. The sources for Koguryŏ and Paekche are limited, yet we do have accounts of tea offering practice from Silla kingdom to Chosŏn.

[98] The character for *tea* (茶) has two readings in Korean. When used as an independent word for tea, it is read as *ch'a*, whereas *ta* is used in compounds only.

[99] Water has many connotations and meanings in Buddhism. Along with light, incense, and food it is a standard offering placed on altars. It is an important ritual substance used on different occasions, such as consecration, the celebration of the Buddha's birth, etc., for purifying both statues and participants.

and death. In the Buddhist context *kamno* is occasionally linked with Amitâbha, who is referred to as *kamno wang*, the king of immortality, as *kamno* is also a rendering of *amṛta*, in the sense of "immortality."

The text of this rite directly links tea and *kamno* by calling it *kamno ta* in the first line. While this text simply uses this compound word, some of the other forms of *tage* are more illustrative about the relationship between *ta, kamno*, and the actually offered substance. When offering tea to the Three Jewels is performed as part of a morning worship ceremony, the following *tage* is chanted:

> Now, this pure water,
> We are transforming into nectar tea,
> And offering it in front of the Three Jewels.
> Accept it with sympathy.[100]

Here, the verses not only equate tea with *kamno*, but through this rite and utterance of these lines, an offered substance is transformed into *kamno.* This *tage* is hence not a mere formula of offering; it transforms mundane tea or water into a perfected divine substance. I suggest that, even though the *tage* of this *chae* ritual sequence does not explicitly express the transformation, it is an inherit nature of *tage* to transform the offered substance to *kamno*. Hence it is sufficient for the text to simply state the offering of *kamno ta*. In other words, the utterance, as an illocutionary act, not only offers tea but also symbolically transforms water into *kamno*.[101] It is through *tage* that the relationship of the three relatively unrelated[102] substances—water, tea, and *kamno*—is established.

The second line addressing the sages links these verses with the former two

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[100] 我今淸淨水/ 變爲甘露茶/ 奉獻三寶前/ 願垂哀納受. (SMUB 203)

[101] Thus, the question of two-layered efficacy arises. Making an offering is clearly an illocutionary act. Transformation, on the other hand, is a more complex issue. Sørensen (2006) addresses this problem in his chapter on ritual efficacy. He points out that a certain consensus is needed for an illocutionary act to work and that some types of acts are more demanding in order to be accepted. He concludes that "[w]hat constitutes ritual is a distinct dramatic rhetoric that constructs itself as an illocutionary act. Some rituals obviously are illocutionary acts, a few straightforwardly pretend to be, and the vast majority employs a rich religious symbolism so as to establish themselves as such" (531).

[102] Obviously, there is the first-order relationship between water and tea, as the former is a component of the latter. Yet, as we see from ritual practice, the religious and ritual significance of all three is different than their physical relationship.

modules. However, the inconsistency in terms signifying the sages (*sŏnghyŏn*, *hyŏnsŏng*, *pŏpsa*) suggests that each of these texts is of different origin, that is, they were not originally composed together.

The third line, like the *hŏnjwa,* expresses a request. Compared to the *hŏnjwa*, it is more explicit about the reflexive orientation. The mind that is to be judged is the mind of the participants. The last line, which is repeated three times and slightly extended on the third repetition, centers around the virtue of compassion, and thus, in the same way as the *ongho ke*, this rite appeals to compassion as a key motivation of the sages.

Even though Korean ritual life is not as preoccupied with purity as Japanese ritual life, the purity of water used in the rite is an important issue. In China and Japan, there is a habit of ritually purifying oneself before entering the halls of a Buddhist temple. In China, large, cauldron-shaped incense stick burners are located in temple yards, where people not only burn incense as an offering, but also purify themselves in the resulting smoke. A similar practice is prevalent in Japan, where temple visitors purify themselves with water from fountains located at temple entrances. In Korea, springs or fountains are located within the temple compound and provide natural drinking water that is used for several purposes, from offering to washing. Water from these springs is referred to as "nectar water" (*kamno su* 甘露水). The size and shape of the fountains range from simple stone basins to two- or threefold cascades. In the latter case, water from the top basin, which is usually covered, is reserved for offerings, and the middle and lower layers are designated for drinking and washing, respectively. Water for the rites is taken from the fountain and carefully transferred to the place of use.

4.1.5.2 Performance

The dancers change their attire and return to the center of the *siryŏn t'ŏ* and perform a butterfly dance. The rest of the monks and patrons form a line and circumambulate the dance floor, bowing when passing in front of the altar. The dancers continue even after the chant is over with the *sabang yosin* 四方搖身 (lit. "shaking body in four directions") dance followed by the *yojap para.*

The spectrum of Buddhist rites also contains a type of rite for transferring (*iun* 移運) different objects. PUSKII (43) states that this rite can be inserted for

transferring the offering or the tea can be simply prepared in advance and simply brought in, in a not ritualized way.

4.1.6 *Haengbo ke*: Verses of Walk

> Wandering through a thousand miles of empty space,
> Returning to the Way and losing defiled thoughts[103] lead to the Pure Land,[104]
> Worshiping the Three Jewels earnestly with threefold action,[105]
> Sages and ordinary beings meet together in the palace of Dharma.[106]

4.1.6.1 Commentary

Compared to the previous verses, the *haengbo ke* is less explicit in its relation to the ritual sequence. The previous rites are either invocations or directly linked to the more or less simultaneously ongoing performance. The *haengbo ke*, however, announces the forthcoming shift in the ritual, when the participants and the main utensils move from the *siryŏn t'o* to the main scene of the ritual, either a temple hall or an outdoor ritual area. Being less bound by the ritual performance,[107] the verses can comply with the rules of four-line poetry. These lines thus address the concept of *walking* (*haengbo* 行步, lit. "taking steps or proceeding"), or more generally of motion and following a path, on several symbolical levels.

The key bodily activity in the *haengbo ke* rite is walking; its verses link physical locomotion with progress along a spiritual path. The opening line talks about wandering or walking (*haeng* 行) through an endless space, an activity that implies a search for a spiritual practice that is found in the Way—that is, Buddhist teaching—as articulated in the second line. The Way (*to* 道; Ch. *dao*) is the only is

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[103] 情, *chŏng*; feeling, emotion, a term with multiple connotations throughout Buddhist texts. This term is usually used in a negative way denoting mind deluded by emotions and thus discriminating. (A. C. Muller 2015)

[104] 淨邦, *chŏngbang*; another term for Pure Land (*chŏng t'o*, 淨土)

[105] 三業, *samŏp*; the three modes of activity (i.e. *karma*) of word, thought, and body.

[106] 行步偈/ 移行千里滿虛空/ 歸道情忘到淨邦/ 三業投誠三寶禮/ 聖凡同會法王宮.

[107] As we do not know about the origins of the particular verses, we cannot suppose that they were composed as ritual texts. Some were apparently written as non-ritual poetry and later compiled into current ritual sequences.

the only that leads to a pure land, or rather the Pure Land of Amitâbha, and thus one ought to take refuge in it. Losing one's deluded discursive thinking is a condition of success. This is the first textual mention of a pure land in this ritual sequence.

The third line adds an appeal to worship the Three Jewels. Whereas the second line is concerned with one's personal spiritual development, the third line accents reliance on the Three Jewels. SPUSH (221) adds that the meaning of the first and second lines should be understood not only in terms of the dynamic aspect of going from samsara to the Pure Land, but also to mean that by losing deluded thinking samsara becomes the Pure Land. The synthesis of the fourth line echoes the practice-result structure of the second.

A devoted worship is rewarded by a meeting of the awakened sages (*sŏnghyŏn*) and the not awakened (*pŏmbu*) in a Dharma king's palace. *Dharma king* is a general term for the Buddha or a buddha. In different Buddhist texts his *palace* refers to various localities. Here it is an alternative expression for the Pure Land.[108]

4.1.6.2 Performance

The *haengbo ke* is chanted directly after the previous rite. When the dancers finish their dance sequence, the rest of the participants have already returned to their original position and stand, facing the altar, with their palms joined together. The verses of the *haengbo* are the chanted in response to the sound of a bell and gong struck by the officiants. A half-bow follows each line.

4.1.7 *Sanhwa rak*: Falling Flowers

> Scattered flowers are falling down.[109]

4.1.7.1 Commentary

Mahayana sutras, especially the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Flower Ornament Sutra*

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[108] The nineteenth-century Chinese monk Gaokun (古崑, ?–1882) in the first volume of his *Learning about Pure Land* (*Jingtu suixue* 淨土隨學) uses this very term in a similar context. He enlists the benefits of *nianfo* practice, one of which leads to vision of Dharma king's palace (CBETA, X62, no. 1187, p. 432, a20–21 // Z 2:14, p. 475, c5–6 // R109, p. 950, a5–6)

[109] 散花落.

portray magnificent scenes upon the appearance of a buddha. In them, multitudes of bodhisattvas, gods, spiritual beings, monks, and lay followers welcome buddhas in magnificent environments. In such scenes nature responds to the presence of a buddha in many ways, most often by producing an earthquake. A buddha is welcomed with a shower of scattered flowers that spontaneously fall from the sky or are thrown by some of the beings. The prologue to the *Lotus Sutra* presents the following scene:

> [A]fter expounding the Dharmaparyâya called "the Great Exposition," a text of great development, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper to all Buddhas, sat cross-legged on the seat of the law and entered upon the meditation termed "the station of the exposition of Infinity;" his body was motionless and his mind had reached perfect tranquillity. And as soon as the Lord had entered upon his meditation, there fell a great rain of divine flowers, Mandâravasâ and great Mandâravas, Mañgûshakas and great Mañgûshakas, covering the Lord and the four classes of hearers, while the whole Buddha field shook in six ways: it moved, removed, trembled, trembled from one end to the other, tossed, tossed along.
>
> Then did those who were assembled and sitting together in that congregation, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, as well as governors of a region, rulers of armies and rulers of four continents, all of them with their followers, gaze on the Lord in astonishment, in amazement, in ecstasy. (Kern 1909, 6–7)

Based on such narratives, the custom of making offerings to a buddha by throwing flowers developed. When flowers are employed ritually, their fragrance is implied to drive away evil spirits and purify the temple or meditation area. The ritual system of Korean Buddhism contains an *offering scattered flowers* (*sanhwa kongyang* 散華供養) rite, used to purify the *toryang*, during which petals are scattered throughout the temple. In *chae* ceremonies, though, the practice of physically scattering flowers is not prevalent. Instead, altars are adorned with paper or live flowers.

The structure of the *siryŏn* resembles narratives such as the one contained in the Lotus Sutra. The first sequence of rites gradually constructs a magnificent scene of arrival; the seat offering and tea offering demonstrate the presence of the

precious guests. It is the falling flowers that comes between these rites in the texts that announce the presence of a buddha or bodhisattva. Thus, the preceding rites focus on preparation and invitation, whereas this rite confirms presence.

4.1.7.2 Performance

Directly after the previous section, the three characters are chanted three times following the main officiant's gong signal.

4.1.8 [*Kwiŭi illo*]: Homage to the Bodhisattva Guiding King

Homage to the bodhisattva [mahāsattva] [110] Guiding King![111]

4.1.8.1 Commentary

With this text, the bodhisattva mahāsattva Guiding King is introduced into the ritual. When asked about *siryŏn*, monks tend to accent this bodhisattva's role in the ritual. The various ritual commentaries also emphasize his position, and ritual travel agency guides in particular focus on him in their presentations to their customers. The Guiding King is the only explicitly named bodhisattva in the sequence. The other rites in the sequence speak only of "sages," and the commentaries otherwise refer to "buddhas and bodhisattvas" (*pul posal* 佛菩薩).

The meaning of the *siryŏn* tends to be expressed as "to invite buddhas and bodhisattvas headed by the bodhisattva mahāsattva Guiding King."[112] Illowang has a prominent position in the rites of death due to his unique position as guiding king, which also happens to be the only characteristic he possesses. I suggest that the usage of his name here supports the guiding aspect of the rite. His name is chanted just before a static section performed at the *siryŏn t'ŏ* turns into a dynamic procession.

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[110] For instance, both versions of PSURC and PUSKII leave out *mahasal*, which is present in SMUB and some derived manuals such as SPUSH.

[111] 南無大聖引路王菩薩摩訶薩.

[112] Illowang posal ŭl pirothan pul posal.

4.1.8.2 Performance

Together the *haengbo ke*, *sanhwa rak*, and *kwiŭi illo* comprise one joint block. At the end of the *sanhwa rak,* the main officiant hits the gong three times and the entire assembly chants "*namu taesŏng Illowang posal* [*mahasal*]," a formula invoking the bodhisattva Guiding King, three times. Thereafter, all participants bow once and approach the altar, where a person in charge, either a monk or a layperson, organizes a disassembly of the altar and distributes its components to the participants, who then form a procession; thus, the altar is transformed as its components now make up the central pieces of the procession. The paraphernalia that is handed out to patrons depends on the original configuration of the altar, but generally includes banners and flags, the palanquin, which is carried by two or four men, tablets, and a picture of the deceased.

4.1.8.2.1 The Procession

The participants form a procession at the outer boundary of the *siryŏn t'ŏ*, with ritual actors forming groups based on their role. In the studied cases, however, the actual order of the ritual actors differed. In one case, where the ritual officiants were specialists from a different temple, and even from a different order, who had been invited to perform the ceremony, a group of senior monks from the temple where the ritual took place formed a double-file line and headed the procession. In the case of Pongwŏnsa *Haptong ch'ŏndo chae*, a monk with a *mokt'ak* led the procession followed by the musicians. Then, came people holding banners followed by flag-bearers. On occasions featuring both an Amitâbha banner and an Illowang banner, the Illowang banner came first, followed first by two or for men carrying a *yŏn* and then by tablet carriers. In large-scale ceremonies multiple palanquins can be used, and ritual parasols and fans may be carried alongside of them.

It is impossible to formulate a general rule to distinguish which paraphernalia was carried by monks and which by laity. In the observed ceremonies members of both groups carried banners and *yŏn*. Additionally, both monks and professional lay musicians played some musical instruments (e.g., *t'aep'yŏngso*). Patrons, however, always carried the tablets.

The course of the procession is determined by the geographical relationship between the *siryŏn t'ŏ* and the main ritual area—the former is the starting point and the latter is the goal. The main ritual area can be both indoors, in a main temple hall,

or outdoors, in the temple yard.

Therefore, the procession always heads towards the center of the temple, generally in a straightforward manner, following the usual ascent to the temple. The procession starts outside the temple, passes through the temple gates, and continues towards the main temple hall, where it stops. The procession may also involve a clockwise circumambulation of the temple yard; in this case, the procession, in circling, passes in front of the hall, before returning to its starting point. Ideally, this movement should be performed in both indoor and outdoor ceremonies.

The temple yard is located in front of the main temple hall, and thus the rites in question are performed here before assembly members either enter the ceremonial hall or assume their positions at the prepared ritual space in the yard. The palanquins are placed in front of the central door and the banners and other paraphernalia are arranged around them.

In the case of *Haptong ch'ŏndo chae*, where the *siryŏn t'ŏ* is established in front of the hall where the ritual is to take place, the procession circumambulates the temple yard, eventually returning to its original position, while a temple assistant completely dissembles the *siryŏn t'o* and prepares the space in front of the hall. Once the assembly enters the temple, the participants are briefly told what to do; then everybody faces the buddha statue in the main hall and two rites described below are performed.

4.1.9 *Yŏngch'uk ke*: Verses of the Vulture Peak

On Vulture Peak, he held up a flower and showed [it to his disciples],
[It is] like a blind turtle meeting a piece of wood.
If Kāśyapa[113] had not smiled,
to whom would the endlessly fresh wind go?[114]

[113] 飮光, lit. "drinker of light," a translation of the name of Kāśyapa.
[114] 靈鷲偈/ 靈鷲拈華示上機/ 肯同浮木接盲龜 / 飮光不是微微笑/ 無限淸風付與誰.

4.1.9.1 Commentary

This text demonstrates the condensed intertextuality of the ritual verses. The first and third line feature the famous narrative about the beginning of *sŏn* 禪 (Ch. *chan*), the meditative form of Buddhism, with an embedded simile about a blind turtle. Both references are repeated and reproduced in various contexts.

The locus classicus[115] of the former is the sixth case of *Wumen guan*, or *The Gateless Barrier*, a collection *gongan*s with commentary compiled by Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (1183–1260). The narrative describes how Buddha transmitted his teachings beyond the realm of words, mind to mind, to one of his finest disciples, Kāśyapa. The first part of the narrative describes how this transmission came about, whereas the second part describes what has been transmitted, namely the teaching of nirvana:

> When the World-Honored One was at the assembly on Vulture Peak,
> He held a flower and showed it to the assembly.
> At that time, everyone was silent.
> Only Kāśyapa broke into a subtle smile.
> The World-Honored One said,
> I possess the treasury of the true eye of the Dharma,
> The marvelous mind of nirvana,
> The true marks that are no marks,
> The extremely subtle Dharma-gate,
> Independent of words and letters,
> Transmitted outside the teaching.
> I am entrusting Mahākāśyapa with it.[116]

[115] The earliest version of this narrative is to be found in an apocryphon Sutra of the Great King of the Brahman-heaven Inquiring of the Buddha and Resolving His Doubts (大梵天王問佛決疑經, ch. Da fantianwang wenfo jueyi jing). The text is incomplete. However, the text clearly states that the Buddha held up a flower and Kāśyapa understood the meaning of his act. (Cf. CBETA, X01, no. 26, p. 420, b14–15 // Z 1:87, p. 305, a12–13 // R87, p. 609, a12–13).

[116] 世尊昔在靈山會上。拈花示眾。是時眾皆默然。惟迦葉尊者破顔微笑。世尊云。吾有正法眼藏涅槃妙心實相無相微妙法門。不立文字教外別傳。付囑摩訶迦葉。(CBETA, T48, no. 2005, p. 293, c13-16)

The second line of the *yŏngch'uk ke* is an illustrious narrative about the precious rebirth as a human in time when Buddha's teaching is present in the world. The simile likens sentient beings' dwelling in samsara to a blind turtle. The chance of meeting the Dharma in a human body, proper to achieve nirvana, is the same as the chance of the blind turtle sticking her head through a wooden ring floating on the surface of the ocean.

Koryŏ-period thinker and reformer Chinul (智訥, 1158–1210) outlines the basic *sŏn* practice in his *Secrets on Cultivating the Mind* (*Susim kyŏl*, 修心訣)[117], in which he expounds the meaning of the turtle simile in a traditional manner:

> If we consider our actions in our past wanderings in *saṃsāra*, we have no way of knowing for how many thousands of kalpas we have fallen into the darkness or entered the Interminable Hell and endured all kinds of suffering. Nor can we know how many times we have aspired to the path to Buddhahood but, because we did not meet with wise advisors, remained submerged in the sea of birth and death for long kalpas, dark and unenlightened, performing all sorts of evil actions. Though we may reflect on this once in a while, we cannot imagine the duration of our misery. How can we relax and suffer again the same calamities as before? Furthermore, what allowed us to be born this time as human beings-the guiding spirits of all the ten thousand things-who are clear about the right road of cultivation? Truly, a human birth is as difficult to ensure as "a blind turtle putting its head through a hole in a piece of wood floating on the ocean" or "a mustard seed falling onto the point of a needle." How can we possibly express how fortunate we are? (Buswell 1983, 150)

The verses hence connect the concepts of unique birth with the Buddha's teachings. The last line of the verse rephrases a part of Wumen's commentary on the original *gongan*: "If Kāśyapa had not smiled, how could have [the Buddha] transmitted the treasury of the true eye of the Dharma."[118] Here, instead of the "treasury of the true eye of the Dharma" (*Chŏngbŏb'an chang* 正法眼藏), that is,

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[117]*Koryŏguk Pojo sŏnsa Susimgyŏ* 高麗國普照禪師修心訣（Secrets on Cultivating the Mind by Sŏn Master Pojo of Koryŏ）(CBETA, T48, no. 2020, pp. 1005–1009)

[118] 設使迦葉不笑。正法眼藏又作麼生傳。(CBETA, T48, no. 2005, p. 293, c19–20)

the teaching that lies beyond the realm of words and letters, we encounter the term "fresh breeze," a metaphor for the Dharma. The text accents the teacher-disciple relationship in the setting of the assembly.

The rite reenacts the assembly where the Buddha meets the disciples and teaches. This setting is established not only the nature of the ritual text, but also by the usage of the term *chung* 衆 or *taejung* 大衆 ("assembly"), which are used both for the ritual participants and for the audience of Buddha's sermons in the sutras.

4.1.9.2 Performance

In the sequence of the ritual, these verses are performed when the participants meet the Buddha[119] in the main hall or at the outdoor altar. At this point, the procession has arrived in the main hall and the *yŏn* has been placed in front of the main door. The people are now facing the the Buddha statue inside the hall. The *pŏpju* rings the bell three times and the *paraji* responds with the gong. The monks chant the verses and the assembly bows at the end of each line.

4.1.10 *Porye sambo*: Paying Respect to the Three Jewels[120]

[We] worship Buddha[s] always dwelling in the ten directions.
[We] worship Dharma always dwelling in the ten directions.
[We] worship Saṃgha always dwelling in the ten directions.[121]

4.1.10.1 Commentary

The last rite of the sequence is a form of a Three Refuge formula. This basic expression of one's relationship to the Buddha, his teaching of the Dharma, and the monastic community, the Sangha, is a customary part of virtually all Buddhist

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[119] Technically "a buddha," as the ritual can be performed at halls where different buddhas are enshrined. In the cases I studied, it was Vairocana.

[120] 《僧家禮儀文》卷 1：「普禮十方常住佛　普禮十方常住法　普禮十方常住僧」(CBETA, D64, no. 9031, p. 6, a7–8)

[121] 普禮十方常住佛/ 普禮十方常住法/ 普禮十方常住僧.

rituals (Sŏng'un Yi 2011, 94). Despite the common core, various versions of this formula, which differ in wording, are found throughout Korean rites. The commonly used versions tend to be richer than the original from the *agamas* of the early Buddhist canon, where the wording is as simple as:

> I take refuge in the Buddha.
> I take refuge in the Dharma.
> I take refuge in the Saṃgha.[122]

The structure is identical, yet the exact wording of each line is different. This discrepancy was caused, to certain, by the original having been translated various times into Chinese, but more importantly, the more elaborate versions we encounter today tend to be more respectful to the Jewels by adding extra honorific lexica. The first line of the standard version in vernacular Korean reads "*kŏrukhan puch'ŏnim kke kŭiŭi hamnida*," which translates as "I take refuge in the sacred Buddha." A version performed during the morning service reads "with sincere mind, I take refuge in the Śākyamuni Buddha, my original teacher, loving father of four kinds of beings, teacher of three words."[123] The basic structure is also often extended to include further figures, such as bodhisattvas and other deities, in a reflection of the Mahayana character of Korean Buddhism.

The version presented here accents the worshipping aspect of the rite. Instead of "taking refuge" (*ŭi* 依, lit. to depend, rely on, comply with, etc.), we read of "worshipping" (*porye* 普禮, lit. universally or broadly worship). Instead of inner acceptance of the Three Jewels, these verses indicate, for instance, that during the morning and evening ceremony the participants practice a type of outward worship. The content of the verses is completed by a complementary bodily action.

4.1.10.2 Performance

The performance of the rite is a seamless continuation of *yŏngch'uk ke.* The *pŏpju* rings the bell at the end of each line and the assembly bows. After the last bow, the assembly moves to the place of the following ritual sequence, *taeryŏng*.

[122] 我今歸依佛！歸依法！歸依僧！*Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (CBETA, T01, no. 1, p. 19, b20). This is an equivalent of the Sanskrit "*Buddhaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi. Dharmaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi. Saṃghaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi.*"

[123] 至心歸命禮/ 三界導師/ 四生慈父/ 兜率來儀相/ 是我本師/ 釋迦牟尼佛. (SMUG 42)

The palanquin and banners are left standing in front of the main hall for the rest of the ritual. In case of *Hapt'ong chŏndo chae*, however, they were placed in the hall where the ritual took place, opposite the spirit altar.

4.1.11 With or Without the *Siryŏn*

In most of the *chae* ceremony instances I attended, the ceremony begun immediately with the *taeryŏng*. For the *siryŏn* to be performed, *chakpŏp* and *pŏmp'ae* are required. Hence, the *siryŏn* is performed only during the most complex versions of *chae* rituals. Moreover, some of the studied instances did not include the *siryŏn* despite presence of both ritual music and dance.

Regardless of whether the *siryŏn* was performed or not, in several cases I observed a symbolic expression of granting the spirit or spirits access to the ritual space, where the next ritual sequence, *taeryŏng*, would take place. The simplest way was to open the hall door at the beginning of the ritual. At the beginning of the rite a monk came and opened the door and left it opened. The door was eventually closed later during the rite. An identical gesture was made later during the sending-off, or *pongsong,* part of the ceremony, when the spirit is said to leave.

I observed more elaborate versions of this symbolic act in more complex ceremonies, namely the final *chŏndo chae* ceremony of the *Paekchung* series at Chasŏngsa Temple in Kwangju and at Oŏsa Temple near Pohang in the Northern Kyŏngsang province, two geographically distant regions. A long white strip of cloth was attached to the spirit altar (*yŏngdan*) inside the temple hall, which was stretched out, passed through the door, and attached to an elevated spot on a neighboring structure. Again, a complementary rite using a white cloth was later performed during the *pongsong* rite. A white piece of cloth is a shared symbol used throughout Korean religions. *Mudangs* use it in rites of death. In addition, dances that have been incorporated into the *chae* ritual sequence, such as the *salp'uri* or *nŏkch'um*, feature a piece of cloth as an important piece of equipment. Therefore, for ceremony participants the white cloth is a comprehensible symbol that communicates that a

spirit is leaving this world.[124]

4.2 *Taeryŏng*: Meeting the Spirit

Compared to the fairly dynamic *siryŏn*, the contemporary version of the *taeryŏng* is a rather static series of rites performed at one ritual space. The degree of performative elaboration differs depending on the complexity of ritual elements on the vertical axis. For instance, a small ceremony may appear to be two separate, yet simultaneous, rituals performed by two participant groups with minimum interaction. Monks and nuns on one side of the ritual space chant a sequence of ritual texts, while the patrons bow and make tea offering towards the spirit altar.

4.2.1 *Taeryŏng* and Ritual Space

In contemporary *ch'ŏndo chae* ceremonies, the ritual takes place in two basic locations. The most common location is the temple hall. Of the dozens cases I observed, only a three took part in the temple yard. Outdoor rituals are rather special events used in the most elaborate form of the rites, usually[125] in communal type rituals.

An outdoor performance indicates a special and rare occasion. A mixture of religious and practical motives influences the indoor-outdoor choice. An outdoor ceremony is always a more extraordinary affair than an indoor one. Whereas indoor ceremonies are performed more or less in the given setting of the temple hall, for outdoor ceremonies, the entire ritual space has to be established in the temple yard. Thus preparing an outdoor ceremony requires days of arrangements and the involvement of the broader community, including both laypeople and the ordained.

To organize such an event, religious specialists must supervise the general layout of the ritual area or contribute to planning with their expertise, for instance,

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[124] In an illustrative article on the usage of white cotton cloth, Kim (2008) introduces the use of this symbol in various contexts, from traditional usage in kut to contemporary art and political context.

[125] One monk interviewee mentioned an extraordinary outdoor example of Yŏngsan when a large-scale ceremony was ordered on behalf of the deceased owner of a large business conglomerate.

in making paper decorations. Moreover, the temple will outsource contractors to do tasks including setting up sound systems and building stages. It will also broadly advertise the planned ceremony. Outdoor ceremonies are a highlight a temple's ritual activities and are often performed annually or at greater intervals lasting more than one year.

Above all, the creation of an outdoor ritual space requires setting up altars. A hanging painting (*kwaebul to* 掛佛圖, or *kwaebul t'aeng* 掛佛幀) is erected as the central object of the main altar. These paintings are not only very large, often more than six meters high and more than four meters wide, but they also need to be ritually consecrated. Thus, the ritual sequence therefore may be expanded to include consecration modules before either the *siryŏn* or the *taeryŏng.* In most of the studied cases, the *taeryŏng* was performed in the temple hall as the first element of the ritual sequence.

The central altar during this ritual sequence is the spirit altar (*yŏng tan* 靈壇). A permanent altar for deceased spirits is located on either side of the main temple hall, or it may be found in other temple halls, namely the hall of the netherworld (*myŏngbu chŏn*) or the hall of Sukhāvatī (*kŭngnak chŏn*), opposite the altar of protecting spirits and deities (*sinjung tan*). This altar enshrines small tablets of the deceased, who the temple ritually takes care of in the given period of time or in the ritual period. These spirits are the relatives of temple patrons or members of local parish.

The summer *Paekchung* festival is preceded by a forty-nine-day period during which a ceremony is repeated on every seventh day with the final ceremony occurring on the last day. Before, but also during, this whole period people will come to the temple office to enlist their deceased relatives and pay the ritual fees. Temple clerks subsequently create a prayer card (*ch'ukwŏn mun* 祝願文 or *ch'ukwŏn k'adŭ* 祝願 card), which contains information on both the deceased and the patrons, namely their names and addresses. The text of the card is then chanted in front of the main altar during the daily rituals and the *Paekchung* ritual series. An identical system is followed for the entire variety of communal ceremonies. These cards are either typed on a computer and then printed or written by hand on preprinted cards.

Along with the cards, the temple office will prepare ritual tablets (*wip'ae*

位牌).[126] Again, they can be either printed or handwritten. Then they are glued on large sheets of paper and hung on the permanent *yŏng tan* and around it. When a communal ceremony takes place in a large or popular temple, several thousand tablets may be involved. They may then spread beyond the *yŏng tan* and cover the walls of the temple hall. These tablets contain the relationship of the deceased to the patron, and the family name, place of origin (*pon* 本), and given name of the deceased. If the person received lay precepts along with a Dharma name (*pŏmmyŏng* 法名), it may be stated before the given name. Moreover, these tablets usually contain several relatives of one patron. Usually, but not always, tablets include information on the patron, whereas some only contain data about the deceased. Basic family titles are summarized in the table below.

亡父/亡嚴父	亡母/亡慈母	亡祖父/母	亡曾祖父/母	亡高祖父/母
Mang pu/mang ŏmbu	Mang mo/mang chamo	Mang chobu/mo	Mang sŭngjobu/mo	Mang kojobu/mo
Father/strict father	Mother/loving mother	Grandfather/grandmother	Great-grandfather/mother	Great-great-grandfather/mother
亡伯父/母	亡叔父/母	水子靈/落胎兒/胎兒靈		
Mang paekpu/mo	Mang sukpu/mo	Sujaryŏng/Nakt'ae a/T'aearyŏng		
Elder parental uncle/aunt	Younger parental uncle/aunt	Aborted fetus		

Table 1. Family relationship titles of the deceased. The titles indicate the relationship of the

[126] These tablets are similar to the ancestral tablets used in the context of Confucian ritual practice and in the general religious practice of Korea. Tablets are used not only to represent a deceased person, but throughout Korean religion, e.g., at altars devoted to spirits and deities.

spirit to the ritual patron.

The family relationship titles include the characters *mang* 亡 (the late or deceased) or *sŏn* 先 (the former). Chinese characters are used interchangeably with Han'gŭl. Some temples prefer pure Korean script, whereas others mix scripts to various degrees. Chinese characters tend to be used for fixed sections that are identical to all tablets, whereas Han'gŭl is used for the variables, for example, names and addresses.[127] Besides the rather honorific Sino-Korean titles mentioned above, indigenous Korean vocabulary for family relationships are used as well.

The tablets are identical in language and structure to those used in the context of Confucian rituals of death; the only difference is that they feature specific Buddhist vocabulary. The tablets used in Confucian family rites are called *sinwi* 神位, a term that is written at the bottom part of the tablet and which literally mean "the place of spirit." Preceding text servers to modify this term. In place of *sinwi*, Korean Buddhist *wip'ae*, use the term *yŏngga*, which means "the spirit of the person written above."

The tablets also reflect the gender of the spirits: man are referred to as *huin* 后人（lit. posterity), whereas the a honorific title *yuin* 孺人 is reserved for women. The latter term denotes the wife of a man without an official position. [128] Confucian tablets for men without an official rank use the term *haksaeng* 學生[129] instead of *huin*. In some cases the honorific *kong* 公 is added to a man's family name and *ssi* 氏 to a woman's. It should be noted here that the titles used today for everyone are

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[127] Using Korean alphabet is significantly easier compared to Chinese characters. It is faster to type and write and easier to work with.

[128] The "Summary of the Rules of Propriety, Part 2, (Qu Li II, 曲禮, 109)" from the *Book of Rites* (禮記) lists this title among the epithets of wife: "The partner of the son of Heaven is called "the queen;" of a feudal prince, "the helpmate;" of a Great officer, "the attendant;" of an (inferior) officer,

"the serving woman;" and of a common man, "the mate" (天子之妃曰后，諸侯曰夫人，大夫曰孺人，士曰婦人，庶人曰妻。) (Legge 2017, l. 109). In the Chosŏn, the meaning changed slightly from the original (1396) meaning of a wife of an official of the seventh level or lower, to wives of seventh- to ninth-level officials (in time of King Sejong), to the general title of a wife of a *yangban* without an official position. Later, the term was extended to include wives of plebeian birth.

[129] A term coined during the Chosŏn period. Yi Nŭnghwa, in his *Study on Women Customs* published in 1927, defines this term as the title of a *yangban* whose father is dead and who does not have an official position (N. Yi 1992; Han'gukhak chungang yon'guwŏn 2016).

derived from the higher *yangban* class of Chosŏn society.

When multiple people are mentioned on one tablet, men come first—that is, they are listed on the right. The two randomly selected examples below show two possible patterns we can observe on a tablet:

a. 亡 高祖父 김해 后人 (無常) 김철수 靈駕
b. 先慈母南陽孺人洪氏美淑靈駕

In example a.) the deceased was the great-great-grandfather of the ritual patron. His name was Kim Ch'ŏlsu and he received the Dharma name of Musang. His family origin is Kimhae. From example b.) we learn that the deceased is the mother of the ritual patron. Her name is Misuk of the Lee family with origins in Namyang.

The patron is marked by the compound *pokwi* 伏爲, which informs the reader of patron's family name and given name, and by a family role title (see Table 2), from the perspective of the deceased. The latter is preceded by the character *haeng* 行, which denotes the person who performs or conducts the rites. The table below features examples of the most common titles. Direct lineage titles include the character for filial piety (hyo, 孝), a key value shared throughout East Asia.

行孝子	行孝女	行孝孫	行同生	行兄	行壻郎
Haeng hyoja	Haeng hyonyŏ	Haeng hyoson	Haeng tongsaeng	Haeng hyŏng	Haeng sŏrang
Filial son	Filial daughter	Filial grandchild	Younger sibling	Older brother	Son-in-law

Table 2. Family relationship titles of the patrons. The titles indicate the relationship of the patron to the deceased.

For individual or family rituals, a larger single tablet is made. The size of the tablet is roughly 25 cm in height and 6 cm in width. The tablet is printed or written on white paper, which is then folded and slid onto on a wooden stand and used throughout the ceremony. If the *siryŏn* is performed, the tablet will be used there as well. Otherwise, the tablet is prepared on the *yŏng tan* and eventually moved to the other ritual spaces during the ceremony.

The arrangement of information on the tablet is identical to the one described above. For single-spirit rituals, the tablet contains information about one spirit. If the rituals are performed for multiple spirits, one table will contain more than one name. The ritual patrons are mentioned only on the *ch'ukwŏn mun*.

In communal ceremonies, individual spirits are represented by the small tablets glued to large paper sheets. One or several large collective tablets are created to represent all spirits. Typically, one tablet is made for male spirits and one for female spirits. Additionally, depending on the context of the ritual, extra tablets, such as a tablet of lonely spirits (*yuju muju kohon* 有主無主孤魂), a tablet of aborted children, or a tablet representing another specific group of the deceased, may be present.

Before the ritual, temple employees or volunteers will enlarge and decorate the permanent altar with banners, flowers, and paper decorations, or they will create a separate altar.

For individual ceremonies, that is, for ceremonies ordered by an individual or family for their deceased relative or relatives, a separate *yŏng tan* is always established, usually in the vicinity of the permanent altar. For communal rites, the permanent altar may be used as is, or embellished and enlarged, or a separate altar may be established, depending on the space available and the customs of the given temple. In any case the structure of both types of altars is identical. They are vertically structured, with the tablet and picture of the deceased located on the highest level. Fresh, plastic, or paper flowers, most often white in color, usually surround the picture. In communal ceremonies, no picture is present, but instead two types of tablets are used; the small personalized tablets hanging in the back and large tablets that represent all spirits in the ritual. Food offerings are placed on the lower levels. The permanent *yŏng tan* is used for communal ceremonies.

In addition to the tablet and the pictures, the spirit is also customarily white paper figurines (*chŏn* 錢) of 40–50 cm in height and 15 cm in width, which usually hang from a wooden stand (*chŏn tae* 錢臺) placed at the *yŏng tan*. The origin of this practice is unknown. The name of the figurine is especially confusing because *chŏn* refers to coin money. According to PUSKII (209), *chŏn* is a not a symbol or representation of the deceased, but a place for the spirit to rest during the ritual. More than one *chŏn* is used. The minimum number I have come across at an

individual ceremony was three. Six, seven, or nine figures were used in larger ceremonies. These figures are static objects and play no particular role during the rites. They are more decorations, like paper banners, along with which they are burned at the end of the ritual series.

Kŭmŭn chŏn 金銀錢, gold and silver coins made of paper, hang above the altar, decorating it; they too are burned afterward. They consist of two clusters of long paper strips that are cut into the shape of a string of traditional East Asian coins (i.e., *chŏn*) with a square hole in the center. One of the clusters is mostly white with a yellow top section, whereas the other features an inverse design—mostly yellow with a white top. Its height is about 180 cm and its width around 30 cm. The meaning of the coins is connected with the idea of netherworld currency. The range of utensils sold by Buddhist supply shop in the *chŏndo chae* category include paper money based on current Korean currency. However, during my fieldwork I did not observe this money being used during *ch'ŏndo chae* ceremonies.[130]

In the chapter on the "Correct Meaning of *Taeryŏng*" (*Taeryŏng chŏngŭi* 大靈正義) of the influential late Chosŏn[131] text, *Chakpŏp kwigam* (Paekp'a Kŭngsŏn 2010, 55–67), the author prescribes a setting different from the one we are familiar with today. He structures the ritual sequence into three phases. The structure resembles that of the *siryŏn* and *taeryŏng* in contemporary practice. The first phase takes place outside the outer temple gate (*haet'al mun*), where a single spirit altar (*kohon tan* 孤魂壇) is to be established. The ritual begins with the ringing of bells in all temple halls followed by the ringing of a large temple bell. Then a series of rites is performed in front of the gate followed by a procession and a series of rites in the main hall. The *Chakpŏp kwigam* does not talk of the *siryŏn* at all. Instead, the spirit is not only welcomed in *taeryŏng*, but also ritually escorted to the temple hall.

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130 Paper money was used during a large ceremony in the Kuinsa Temple, which was not a pure *Yŏngsan chae* ceremony, as *saengjeon yesu chae* modules were interwoven into it.

131 Published in 1826.

4.2.2 *Kŏbul*: Incantation of Buddhas

Homage to Amitâbha, the guide[132] of Sukhāvatī.

Homage to Avalokitêśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, two great bodhisattvas.

Homage to Bodhisattva Illowang, the great sage.

4.2.2.1 Commentary

The *Taeryŏng* begins with the *kŏbul* 擧佛, the invocation of buddhas, namely of the Amitâbha Buddha, Bodhisattvas Avalokitêśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, and Bodhisattva *Illowang*. The title is an abbreviation of the "invocation of the names of buddhas and bodhisattvas" (*kŏ myŏng pul posal* 擧名佛菩薩) or the "invocation of buddhas and bodhisattvas' names" (*kŏ pul posal myŏng* 擧佛菩薩名) (Sim 2003, 152). The incantation here has a threefold structure, wherein the Amitâbha triad is accompanied by Illowang, the Bodhisattva Guiding King.

The formula implies the framework of the rite. Although it follows the standard threefold form, four names mentioned. The first three are the Amitâbha triad, which indicate the goal of the rite, that is, rebirth in the Sukhāvatī paradise. The following quotation from the *Contemplation Sutra* (*Kwan muryangsu kyŏng* 觀無量壽, lit. Sutra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life) describes one of the possible rebirths in the paradise:

> When an aspirant is about to be born in that land through dedicated and undaunted practices, the Tathāgata Amitāyus arrives together with Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, innumerable Transformed Buddhas, a great assembly of a hundred thousand monks and śrāvakas, and innumerable devas in seven-jeweled palaces. Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta, approaches the aspirant. Amitāyus [i.e., Amitābha] releases a great flood of light that illuminates the aspirant's body and, along with the bodhisattvas, extends his hands in welcome. Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, together

[132] 導師 *tosa*. The term is not specifically Pure Land oriented. *Tosa* is the title of buddhas and bodhisattvas who lead sentient beings on the path towards awakening.

innumerable bodhisattvas, praise and encourage the aspirant. Seeing this, the aspirant rejoices so greatly as to dance. Then he sees himself sitting on the Vajra seat, and, following the Buddha, is born into that land in the time it takes to snap one's fingers. (Inagaki and Stewart 2003, 92)

The three not only rule paradise; these narratives also articulate their role as guides. In the opening formula of rite, the three main Pure Land protagonists are accompanied by the Bodhisattva Guiding King, whose role of psychopomp is accented during the entire ritual process. The structure of the formula is also noteworthy, as two bodhisattvas are mentioned in one sentence, so the verse can contain all four figures. Some variants of this rite (e.g. PUSKII 80) only invoke Illowang posal.

Korean interpretations (e.g., PSURC 301, SPUSH 226) explain the purpose of the *kŏbul* as a way how to receive *kap'i*, the helping power of the invoked buddha and bodhisattvas. Hence, it is not a mere invitation of the deities or an act of worship, but a means of obtaining divine response and assistance.

The function of the rite is similar to the rites of taking refuge; it opens the ritual sequence and communicates the focus of the rite. The *kŏbul* is a rite found at the beginning of most ritual sequences. The buddhas and bodhisattvas mentioned correspond to the deities that are the object of a given ceremony. For instance, an invocation ritual (*ch'ŏng* 請) is a standard sequence of rites for summoning a certain deity. It is performed in a temple hall dedicated to that deity or in the main hall. The *kŏbul* is usually the initial rite, as it is in the *chae* ritual sequence.

The structure of the *kŏbul* is typically threefold. It may invoke three deities (e.g., Amitâbha, Avalokitêśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta), or more generally three groups or classes of objects of veneration or abstract concepts (e.g., buddhas, Dharma, and Sangha) or three aspects of a single deity (e.g., Maitreya, currently dwelling in Tuṣita Heaven; Maitreya, the future teacher; Maitreya, the master of three assemblies).

Side by side with Amitâbha, Avalokitêśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, and Kṣitigarbha appears Illowang posal (引路王菩薩), the Bodhisattva Guiding King, known in Chinese as *Yinluwang pusa*. There is no Sanskrit equivalent of his name nor is there a direct equivalent in the Buddhist pantheon outside the East Asian region. The term *yinlu* (引路) literally means *to guide on the road*. This bodhisattva

is a figure closely linked to the concepts of death and rebirth that have developed in China.

Despite his popularity in Tang China and the importance he has had in ritual practices in both China and Korea, he is a deity of obscure origin that appears only in apocryphal and non-canonical sources. His name is not found in sutras and or in non-canonical sources that contain myths or other narratives. We can only speculate about his origins based on iconographic sources[133] and, to some extent, ritual texts as well. The earliest sources we have available are images from ninth- and tenth-century Tang China discovered in the Dunhuang Caves. Several paintings depict *Yinluwang pusa*, often in relation to Kṣitigarbha In one picture (MG 17662) he stands at the bottom part with Kṣitigarbha in the center surrounded by the Ten Kings, the six destinies of rebirth, Master Daoming, and other figures. Several illustations (e.g., MG 17657, EO 1133, Ch.lvii.002[134]) depict him as actively guiding the deceased. His attribute is a long staff with a banner, a stable feature that can be seen in both old Chinese sources as well as in contemporary pictures.

Korean sources tend to relate the origins of this bodhisattva to the influences of Chinese folk beliefs (*min'gan sinang*). Zhiru offers a hypothesis of the origin of this bodhisattva vis-à-vis the development of Kṣitigarbha:

> With the subsequent introduction of Buddhist ideas and practices, especially the Pure Land concept of welcoming the deceased, the stage was set for the birth of a Buddhist deity who specialized in directing the dead on their sojourn.
>
> The term *yinlu* was probably first coined to describe a generic function performed by bodhisattvas. […] The task of guiding souls was eventually assumed by a new deity in the Chinese Buddhist pantheon; this change was one of several that occurred in the rapidly expanding conceptions of the afterlife in late medieval China. Dizang's connection with death and the afterlife developed over this period as did the purgatorial

[133] For Yinlu iconography of Dunhuang sources from the Pelliot and Stein collections, see the times Catalogue of the International Dunhuang Project (Whitfield 2016).

[134] Part of Stein collection, The British Museum. Described as "Hanging scroll of a bodhisattva (Avalokiteśvara or Kṣitigarbha) leading an elegant lady supported on clouds to the Pure Land, indicated by the Chinese buildings at the top left. He holds a golden censer in his right hand, a white banner in his left. Inscription in cartouche. Ink and colours on silk."

> concept of the Ten Kings. It is thus not surprising that a Buddhist psycho pomp like Yinlu Bodhisattva should surface during the ninth and the tenth centuries. The thought of appearing before the courts of the Ten Kings struck fear in the hearts of sinners, whose guilt seemed all the more fixed when faced with the dreadful prospect of inescapable judgment; procuring help in the afterlife became a matter of urgency. Dizang answered the need for a savior who would temper justice with mercy, while Yinlu offered benevolent guidance through the dark courts of the Ten Kings. (Zhiru 2007, 159–60)

Zhiru does not deny the influence of folk religion on the development of the bodhisattva and sees Chinese shamanistic traces in the idea of a *psychopomp*, but she explains the appearance of a distinct bodhisattva responsible for guiding the deceased as a response to development of Buddhist notions of post-mortem trial and Pure Land notions of welcoming the recently deceased into the Sukhāvatī. She draws our attention to the development of Yinlu as a part of the process of delineating the roles and meanings of bodhisattvas. Yinlu thus received his name from his main activity, that is, guiding the deceased through the trials of the netherworld to their new destination.

We should not overlook the iconographic resemblance between Yinlu and Avalokitêśvara already in the Dunhuang images. As Zwalf (1985, 316) points out, it is also plausible that this bodhisattva did not develop as a deity responsible for guidance, but that the Dunhuang pictures actually depict Kṣitigarbha or Avalokitêśvara, and due to the written ascriptions having a general meaning of "a guiding bodhisattva," images of a guiding figure were later interpreted to represent an individual deity. In this case the title of *yinlu*, which is now used as a proper name, would have served to caption the picture and not name the figure depicted therein.

Zhiru (160), quoting Chinese scholars, explains that the complete name of Yinlu was used in relation to Kṣitigarbha. She mentions an iconographic use, where Kṣitigarbha, standing next to a figure named Bodhisattva King Yinlu, was titled Bodhisattva King Kṣitigarbha (*Dizang wang pusa* 地藏王菩薩). This evidence would suggest that *Yinluwang pusa*'s name is not a proper name.

Unlike in classical iconography where these two bodhisattvas are depicted together, in the contemporary Korean ritual context Illowang's relationship to the

Pure Land triad is accented over his relationship to Kṣitigarbha. His role in Korean rituals may retrospectively reveal his Pure Land nature. Due to an apparent lack of sources, however, it is impossible to trace how the original Chinese notions of Yinlu developed into the today's form of the Korean Illowang posal.

Amitâbha (Amitâyus), Avalokitêśvara, and Mahāsthāmaprāpta not only preside and preach in the Sukhāvatī, but they also welcome the beings that are to be reborn there. Hence, similarly to Yinlu, they all serve as psychopomps.

> When an aspirant is about to be born in that land through dedicated and undaunted practices, Tathāgata Amitāyus arrives together with Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, innumerable transformed buddhas, a great assembly of a hundred thousand monks and *śrāvaka*s, and innumerable *deva*s in seven-jeweled palaces. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, carrying a *vajra* seat, together with Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta, approaches the aspirant. Amitāyus releases a great flood of light that illuminates the aspirant's body and, along with the bodhisattvas, extends his hands in welcome. (Inagaki and Stewart 2003, 80)

This quotation from *The Contemplation Sutra*, as well as other Pure Land texts, describes the different welcomes that aspirants headed to the Sukhāvatī receive from the Pure Land triad and the various minor beings based on the spiritual development of the aspirant.

The Pure Land triad, like Illowang posal, are depicted as guides to the Sukhāvatī in both Chosŏn period and contemporary iconography and rituals. Korean iconography features scenes in which individuals or groups of people are crossing waters on dragon ships following Illowang, sometimes accompanied by Kṣitigarbha and the Pure Land triad, or traveling on a cloud following Illowang.

A significant difference between Yinlu, as described by Zhiru, and Illowang in Korean rites is the goal of this figure's guidance. Whereas in the Chinese context a guide was needed to lead the deceased through the dark areas of the netherworld, in Korean rites his role is to lead the deceased to Sukhāvatī. Thus, Illowang saves not only the recently deceased, but he also helps beings reborn in unpleasant situations to reach the Land of Bliss. Such scenes are represented in the nectar painting (*kamno do* 甘露道) genre.

I would like to avoid making any conclusions about whether the connection

to the Pure Land sages was inherent in the figure of the Bodhisattva Yinluwang from the beginning and were stressed only later or whether this relationship was added later due to certain doctrinal or functional affinities with the Pure Land deities. It is possible that the originally inherent concept of welcoming or guiding beings to Sukhāvatī that influenced the origin of the bodhisattva would enable him to complement the saints of Sukhāvatī. Such is the situation in Korean rituals of death, where Illowang posal often appears in close connection to the Amitâbha triad, hence constituting a quadriad, such as in the following invocation formula.

4.2.2.2 Performance

The SPUSH (226) prescribes the main officiant and assistant bow towards the spirit altar, *yŏng tan*, followed by full prostrations of the patrons. However, in many cases I observed the *kobŭl* was performed directed towards the main altar. During the rite, the assistant officiant instructs the mourners to bow towards the altar. The monks chant the text and bow after each line, while the patrons perform full prostrations.

4.3 *Taeryŏng so*: A Letter to the Spirit

After the initial incantation, a sermon for the spirit is performed. This section is titled *taeryŏng so*, or a "letter" or "petition" (*so* 疏) "to the spirit" (*taeryŏng* 對靈). The term *so* has several meanings in the Buddhist context. Most frequently, it serves as a commentary to a text composed in the East Asia and differentiates these texts from Indian commentaries. However, here it is meant as a letter or memorandum to the emperor. SSKCUB (10) features a secondary title of this rite—"a letter to the lonely spirits," which probably reflects the oft-repeated statement that the ceremony is not only for the spirits that are named or enlisted, but that all wandering spirits benefit from it.

As the idea of a letter is reflected in the rite, the letter consists of an envelope and the letter itself. In more performative instances, an actual letter written on a large sheet of paper is prepared and read. Before reading the letter, the main officiant chants the inscription on the envelope. In less performative cases, both

texts are chanted in the same fashion as the other texts.

4.3.1 *P'ibongsik*: The Envelope Rite

There are two forms of the text of this rite. The following version is found in the PSURC.

> A text [is going to be] offered
> To the fathers of the three times
> By the officiant *śramaṇa* ○○, a disciple who received the teaching of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni and sincerely practices [it] for [divine] assistance.[135]

The second line of the original version in SMUBs (ha, 57) differs slightly. PUSK II (87) elaborates that the SMUB version in is incorrect for use in *chae* ceremonies and that the second line should be corrected to read "letter to fathers" (*kach'in so* 家親), which is listed in the CPKG. Contemporary manuals prescribe the following version:

> A text [is going to be] offered
> To the Three Jewels in the ten directions and the compassionate sage[136]
> By the officiant *śramaṇa* [name], a disciple who received the teaching of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni and sincerely practices [it] for [divine] assistance.

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[135] *Kaji* 加持; Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*; blessings, grace, empowerment. A key term, used especially in esoteric Buddhism, referring to the active compassion of buddhas and bodhisattvas. It often implies their response to prayer or ritual. It also has the meaning of aid and support.

[136] *Chajon* 慈尊, lit. compassionate sage. In this context, we should read it as two separate characters referring to the Buddha. However, it should be noted that this term is also a rendering of Maitreya into Chinese. Maitreya is a future buddha, the bodhisattvea who will appear in this world to establish Buddha-Dharma anew. Now, he is believed to reside in the Tuṣita Heaven. He is the protector of the sangha, who helps its expanse. Due to his character as a future buddha, he is seen as a future savior. Maitreya- related devotion, in a chiliastic fashion, has developed into a wide range of Buddhist cultural and sectarian traditions. Although the Maitreya cult had been very important in Korean history, namely in the Three Kingdom period, he does not have any particular function in the *chae* rituals.

4.3.1.1 Commentary

The text of both the *kŏbul* and the *taeryŏng so* reveal some mechanisms that, from a doctrinal perspective, allow for the efficacy of the rites. Buddhas and bodhisattvas respond to offerings and invocations by bestowing the compassionate powers of *kap'i* or *kaji*.

4.3.1.2 Performance

In the small ceremonies I observed the main officiant chanted the text; in larger ceremonies with more ritual specialists, different individuals chanted the texts. I also only recorded the use of the sheet of paper in large ceremonies.

The main officiant hits the gong three times and two assistants rise and approach the main officiant's table, from which they grab and unfold the letter, a large sheet (the approximate equivalent of A1 paper) of folded thin white paper with calligraphic writing on it. An envelope with the above ritual text written on it is lying on the table. The two assistants hold the letter in front of the main officiant, who chants its content.

In the rituals performed in Pongwŏnsa Temple, particularly famous and well-known ritual specialists perform certain acts as soloists. The large ceremonies may, in the eyes of a Western visitor, resemble an opera with both chanting and dancing performed by choirs or groups and soloists. Thus, in the YSC ceremony I observed, a famous nun chanted the text.

4.3.2 *Susŏl taehoe so*: A Letter to the Great Assembly of Cultivation[137]

Let us listen!

Dark are the paths of samsara,
When [one] relies on Buddha's lamp, they can be illuminated.
Deep are the waves of the sea of suffering,
When [one] holds onto the ship of Dharma, they can be crossed

[137] 修設大會疏. The paragraph spacing in this translation are of my creation. The original SMUB version is written in columns.

over.[138]

> Through four births and six destinies[139]
> Running here and there like an ant,
> Is the one, who is deluded.[140]
>
> In eight hardships[141] and three unfortunate roads.
> Bonded like a silkworm in a cocoon
> Is the one who does not control his mind.[142]
>
> How sorrowful is samsara,
> Repeating from past to this moment.
> Without realizing the source of mind,[143]
> How could one avoid it?
> Without relying on the power of a buddha,
> One cannot escape [its] hardships.[144]

4.3.2.1 Commentary

The entire text consists of three sections. The first section (above), is a sermon for the assembly and contains a general teaching of suffering put in a Mahāyānic framework. It can be further divided into four sections, each having an identical structure of cause and countermeasures, which declare the unsatisfactory characteristics of existence and offer a teaching as an antidote. The structure bears a resemblance to the core teaching of the Four Noble Truths—suffering, its cause,

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[138] 盖聞. 生死路暗/ 憑佛燭而可明/ 苦海波深/ 仗法船而可渡.

[139] *Sasaeng yukto* 四生六道; The “four births” denotes the four ways sentient beings are born into the world: though oviparous birth, such as that of birds, reptiles, insects, fish, etc.; viviparous birth, such as that of mammals; birth from moisture; and metamorphic birth. The six destinies are hell, the hungry ghost, animal, *asura*, human, and god.

[140] 四生六道/ 迷眞則/ 似蟻巡環.

[141] Eight circumstances in which it is difficult to see the Buddha or hear his teaching: rebirth in the form of a hell-being, a hungry ghost, or an animal; rebirth in the long-life heavens, where life is long and easy, or in Uttarakuru, the northern continent, where all is pleasant; rebirth as a deaf, blind, or dumb person; rebirth as a worldly philosopher; rebirth in the intermediate time between the life of a Buddha and his successor, and thus not being able to encounter proper Dharma.

[142] 八難三途/ 恣情則/ 如蠶處繭.

[143] *Simwŏn* 心源,. The fountain of the mind, the thought-welling fountain, the mind as the source of all phenomena.

[144] 傷嗟生死/ 從古至今/ 未悟心源/ 那能免矣/ 非憑佛力/ 難可超昇.

its cessation, and the way towards cessation.

Suffering is expressed through the concepts of samsara, suffering itself, four births, six destinies, eight hardships, and three unfortunate roads. Its causes are stated either directly— as ignorance or delusion—or through metaphors—a silkworm stuck in its own afflictions or an ant running here and there. The cessation of suffering is expressed through the usual metaphors of the other shore and a way out of darkness. The way to cessation is expressed by reliance on the Dharma.

The last section, however, goes further in Mahāyānic style by stating two approaches to extricating oneself from samsara. The first resonates with the Yogâcāric teaching of the *vijñapti-mātra*, especially with the teaching articulated in *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*, which equals source of mind with the ultimate, the source of all phenomena and *thusness*. (CBETA, T32, no. 1666, p. 576, b16–18). The second approach is reliance on the power of a buddha. Thus, the text unites the practice of self-power and other-power, in which one practices on the spiritual path but simultaneously relies on the helping power of a buddha.

The text continues with a series of data about the *toryang* where the rite is performed, the deceased, and the patrons.

In the *sahā* world,
Jambudvīpa
Korea[145]
Republic of Korea
〇〇 mountain, 〇〇 temple
At the pure and clean site of awakening[146]
Now
With perfectly sincere mind[147]
Before the altar with arranged incense

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[145] All the manuals I work with read *haedong* 海東, an old title of Korea, literally meaning “east from the sea.” However, in the newly published PSURCn *haedong* has been substituted with *tongyang* 東洋, Far East.

[146] I.e., the *toryang.*

[147] *Chisong sim* 至誠心. One of three states of mind taught in the *Contemplation Sutra*. In the Pure Land context, the term refers to a sincere mind in regard to the wish to attain rebirth in the Pure Land.

The patron[148] ○○○ of the *taeryŏng* of this ○○○○ ceremony[149]
Who practices filial piety
Living at ○○○○
Invokes the spirit of ○○○[150]
Because of this karma and merit
To be reborn in the Buddha-land.[151]

Now,
The wind is calm and day is bright (night is deep and calm),
W have diligently arranged fragrant flowers
And we are inviting by invoking,
Homage to the bodhisattva mahāsattva Illowang, who we are single-mindedly invoking.[152]

4.3.2.2 Commentary

In the SMUB the second section is recorded simply as "*saba segye un'un* 娑婆世界 云云," that is, "in the *sahā* world, etc." This section is the first explicit invocation of the spirit during the ritual sequence. A precise set of data are presented, including the location of the temple, the name and address of the main patron, and the name of the deceased. This information is similar to that written on the ritual tablet. The freedom given by the *unun* (etc.) phrase led to various versions of the text, where, for example, one or two details are added to the location of the temple. However, the structure presented here is identical in all the cases I have studied.

The text begins with an identification of the *toryang.* The location of the temple follows Buddhist cosmology. The *sahā* world is the universe we live in, divided into three spheres and six destinies. Jambudvīpa is the continent south Mount Sumeru, the axis mundi of the cosmos, where the known world is located.

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[148] Here the term *chaeja* 齋者 is used.
[149] The type of ritual is specified here, e.g., *sasipku chae*, *chŏndo chae*, etc.
[150] Here a Dharma name, if available, precedes a secular name.
[151] 娑婆世界/ 南贍部洲/ 海東 / 大韓民國/ 某山 / 某寺/ 淸淨水月道場. 今此/ 至意誠心/ 第當/ 某齋/ 設香壇前/ 奉請齋者/ 居住/ 行孝子/ 某伏爲/ 所薦亡/ 靈駕.
[152] 今卽/ 天風肅靜/ 白日明明/ 夜漏沈沈/ 專列香花/ 以伸迎請/ 南無一心奉請/ 大聖引路王菩薩摩訶薩.

The old name of Korea and the official name "Republic of Korea" (*taehan min'guk*) follow. Korean temples are identified not only by their name, but also by the mountain where they are located; hence the next line. After the temple, the text continues by identifying the patron, including a home address, and the spirit. In communal rites, a phrase including all deceased relatives and ancestors is chanted instead of this personalized phrase.

The last two lines of the text confirm the efficacy of the rite. It is through the karma and merit created by this ritual that the spirit can reach the Pure Land. Then the text continues with an invocation of the spirit and Illowang posal.

> Oh, spirit, mentioned above!
> The single spirit[153] is unobscured,
> Eight consciousnesses are clear.[154]
> Come to this site of awakening,
> Receive merit.
> The accumulated hatred and long-standing debts,
> You should forget in an instant!
> [Then] you shall directly achieve perfect awakening
> According to your wish.

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[153] *Illyŏng* 一靈. The concept of a spirit is a prevalent term in East Asian Buddhism. The texts collected in the *Hongming ji*, which illustrate the early debates between Buddhist and non-Buddhist thinkers in China, introduce the concept of the spirit in order to explain reincarnation and karmic cause and effect to the mostly Confucian milieu. See the *Treatise on the Imperishability of the Soul* (神不滅論) (CBETA, T52, no. 2102, pp. 27–29) and the *Treatise On the Extinction of the Soul* (神滅論) (CBETA, T52, no. 2102, p. 56]). Under the influence of the East Asian Buddhist concept of mind, the meaning of this the term later developed to denote the original nature of one mind (*ilsim* 一心).

[154] *P'al sik* 八識. The eight consciousnesses. The teaching of the eight consciousnesses is a distinctive feature of Yogâcāra thought. According to this doctrine, the minds of sentient beings are comprised of eight distinguishable consciousnesses. The first five consciousnesses are those of the senses. The sixth, *mano-vijñāna*, is responsible for thinking, including making judgments, calculations, emotions, and intentions. The seventh, *manas*, is regarded as the "defiled mental consciousness" (*kliṣṭa-mano-vijñāna*). It is the origin of the misleading sense of self, based on the incorrect perception of the eighth "storage consciousness," the *ālaya-vijñāna*, the most basic of consciousnesses, the repository of all impressions accumulated here since beginningless time. As such, it is a locus of accumulating karmic seeds, which ripen here and are the basis of *saṃsāric* existence. Awakening is expressed through the rhetoric of purification of the consciousnesses.

Year ○○○○, Month ○○, Day ○○, officiant ○○ invoking.[155]

4.3.2.3 Commentary

In the last section, the verses return to the teaching style of the first section. These two sections are based on the identical doctrinal foundations we see in the *Awakening of Faith*. The concept of a "single spirit" (*illyŏng* 一靈) is associated with the teaching of the eight consciousnesses. The former is a synonym of the true nature of the mind, that is, innate enlightenment. As the *single spirit*, it is essential characteristics of the mind. This fact, however, has to be discovered through spiritual practice. The approach towards awakening is understood as a process of purification of the stream of consciousness. As I have mentioned, the *Yogâcāra* developed the teaching of the eight consciousnesses, or of the eight aspects of the consciousness, yet this notion is older and has long been a key notion in Buddhist philosophy:

> Cleansing the vijñāna-stream (saṅtāna) of its karmic "defilements" (i.e., habitual determinants, predispositions) has always been at the core of Buddhist praxis. Following the stream metaphor, the consciousness stream flows torrentially, driven by karmic motive forces (kleśas, the āvaraṇas, etc.). The flow continues unabated until nonbeneficial karma […] is transmuted into beneficial […] thereby filtering, purifying the stream's water. (Lusthaus 2002, 265)

Then, a request to come to the *toryang* and receive the merit of the ritual practice is embedded. The next verse continues in the teaching by urging the spirit to get rid of negative afflictions that may bind it. As the result, she may achieve awakening. The chanting is completed with the date in the Buddhist era and the name of the officiant.

[155] 右伏以/ 一靈不昧/ 八識分明/ 歸屆道場/ 領霑功德/ 陳寃宿債/ 應念頓消/ 正覺菩提/ 隨心便證/ 謹疏/ 佛紀年月日/ 秉法沙門.

4.3.2.4 Practice

I have encountered both versions of this rite performed at both main altar and the spirit altar, as in the case of the *kŏbul*. The text is chanted only by one monk or nun, whether from an actual letter or not. The patrons stand still with their hands in the *hapchang* gesture.

4.3.3 *Chiok ke*: Verses of Hell

> Within the Cakravāla Mountains,[156] at the Pātāla rock[157]
> Gates of the eighty-four thousand hells of
> Boiling water, coal, and fire and piercing knives
> Will be now opened by the power of the staff and secret incantation.[158][159]

4.3.3.1 Commentary

Taeryŏng so has a spirit of the deceased enlisted for the ritual as its object by their relatives. The two following sections invite two further categories of the deceased. The symbolism of these verses is based on Kṣitigarbha mythology. He, with the staff and magical utterance, along with a jewel, opens the gates of the hells and leads the hell-beings to better places. The verses are quite straightforward in the content they communicate. Hence, the ceremony does not only help the main spirit or spirits of the ceremony, but also the hell-beings.

4.3.3.2 Performance

The *chiok ke* marks a seam in the performance. The monks chant the text

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[156] *Chŏrwisan* 鐵圍山, Skt. *Cakravāla*; the iron mountains enclosing the world, forming its periphery. There are seven metal-mountains and the eight seas between the center, Mount Meru, and the peripheral mountains (see the *Lotus Sutra*, CBETA, T09, no. 262, p. 33, a20–b2).

[157] *Ŏkch'o sŏk* 沃焦石; the rock, or mountain, Pātāla, on the bottom of the ocean, just above the hot hells, which absorbs the water and thus keeps the sea from increasing and overflowing (see, e.g., *Cibei daochang chanfa* 慈悲道場懺法 [Confessions of compassionate ritual space]) (CBETA, T45, no. 1909, p. 958, a15–b23).

[158] *Chu* 呪, charm, spell; Skt. *dhāraṇī*; a key element of esoteric texts and rituals.

[159] 鐵圍山間沃焦山/ 湯爐炭劍樹刀/ 八萬四千地獄門/ 仗秘呪力今日開.

towards the main altar. Meanwhile, the ritual patrons offer tea[160] at the spirit altar. Patrons, one by one or in pairs, rise from their cushions and slowly walk towards the altar. In large communal rituals, such as *Paekchung* ceremonies, that may be attended by hundreds of people, they form a line and wait their turn. The order in which they approach the altar differs depending on the type of ritual. For individual and family rituals, the order is based on the relationship to the deceased, following the Confucian hierarchy. If present, the eldest son will be the first to make an offering, followed by other sons, male relatives, and finally female relatives. In large ceremonies, there is no given order, although each participant's relationship to the temple seems to play certain a certain role. In the cases I observed people with a closer relationship to the temple performed first. For instance, ladies from temple societies (*pan* 班) made their offerings before other participants. At Chasŏngsa Temple in Kwangju, where I studied the *Paekchung* ceremonies in 2013 and 2015, the significance of familial relationships came into play. This temple is associated with the Chogye order, but nonetheless it is a private temple run by a mother and daughter, who are nuns. These days, the daughter is an abbot and the mother is styled *k'ŭn sŭnim* (great nun). During the ritual, the other daughters performed the offering rite first.

The person making the offering approaches the altar and kneels on a cushion in front of a small wooden table located in front of it. There are two lit candles and an incense burner between the candles. During this rite, patrons are provided an assistant, usually a layperson from the temple, or less frequently, this role is played by one of the patrons. While kneeling, the patron receives a small empty tea cup on a stand. The assistant pours "tea" into the cup, which the offering patron holds with her right hand while holding the stand with her left hand. Then, the patron moves the cup in clockwise circular motion above the burner three times, and then with the help of the assistant, places the cup on the altar. After that, the patron rises and performs three full prostrations towards the altar. Meanwhile, the monks perform the rest of the rites of the *taeryŏng* sequence. Thus, two ritual actions are performed in parallel.

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[160] The notion of 'tea' offered here is identical with 'ta' discussed above (see p. 80) Hence, the actual substance offered is most typically water.

Occasionally, the monks advise patrons what to do or correct their actions. Another form of interaction between the two groups, the officiants and the patrons, was performed in one of the *sasipku chae* ceremony I witnessed, when the patrons bowed towards the monks. This practice is standard for the *sisik*. I believe that the patrons confused the *taeryŏng* and *sisik* practices, although the monks did not correct them.

4.3.4 *Ch'ang hon*: Invocation of Spirits

In the *sahā* world,
Jambudvīpa
Korea
Republic of Korea
○○ mountain, ○○ temple
At the pure and clean site of awakening
Now
With perfectly sincere mind
Before the altar with arranged incense
The patron[161] ○○○ of the *taeryŏng*
Who practices filial piety
Living at ○○○○
Prostrates [and]
Invokes the spirit of ○○○

[And along with the central] spirit [of the ritual]
[We invoke] all kind of spirits,
Parents who passed away in the past,
Relatives close and distant,
Masters of many lifetimes.
Spirits inside and outside of this site of awakening, up and down,
Lonely spirits with a master or without,
And sons of the Buddha,

[161] Here the term *chaeja* 齋者 is used.

All sorts of spirits.[162]

4.3.4.1 Commentary

The respondents, as well as textual sources, emphasize that *chae* ceremonies are not only for the spirits enlisted. Whereas the Verses of Hell include the hell-beings among the invited, this text lists various other spirits. The content of the text seems to be motivated by a need to include all known types of spirit. The list is therefore not systematic, but includes different categories of spirits in each verse.

The first section of the text is identical to the invocation of the *taeryŏng*. The second section begins with spirits grouped according to their relationship with the patron. Such spirits include ancestors, deceased relatives, and teachers. The second group consists of spirits not necessarily related to the patron. Then the text covers literally all spirits present at, and in the vicinity of, the *toryang.* Two kinds of lonely spirits are mentions: lonely spirits with a master (有主) are those who have their relatives to perform ancestral rites for them, whereas those without a master (無主) do not.

4.3.4.2 Performance

The actual sequence of the rites differs in practice and in the textual sources. The structure presented here follows the PSURC and the practice observed in most of temples. The PUSKII does not include this section in the sequence.

The patrons continue with tea offerings. Once they have made their offering, they return to their cushions, where they remain, observing the altar, waiting for further instructions from the monks or temple staff.

4.3.5 *Ch'agŏ*: Explanation[163]

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[162] 靈駕爲主/ 上世先亡/ 師尊父母/ 多生師長/ 累代宗親/ 弟兄叔伯/ 姉妹姪孫/ 遠近親戚/ 等/ 各列位靈駕/ 此道場/內外/ 洞上洞下/ 有主無主/ 一切哀孤魂/ 諸佛子等/ 各列位靈駕.

[163] *Ch'agŏ* 著語; in Buddhist texts, *ch'agŏ* is one's secondary commentary, annotation, or critique embedded in Buddhist commentaries, *gongan* teachings, ancient teachings, etc.,

Now, oh spirit,

[Despite] birth there originally is no birth,

[Despite] ceasing, there originally is no ceasing

Birth and ceasing are originally empty,

Only the true nature[164] eternally exists.[165]

And now, oh spirit! Have you understood this verse of no arising or ceasing?[166]

Silence[167]

If you search around you will find the hidden meaning,

If look and listen to the clear [truth],

You will immediately achieve[168] Dharma body

And extinguish the thirst[169] for ever.

If not so,

Accept buddha's spiritual powers,

And rely on buddha's divine assistance,[170]

Descend on this fragrant altar,

Accept our offering

And achieve the great unborn Awakening.[171]

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namely in the Chan tradition.

[164] *Silsang* 實相; true, original nature. It is a synonym for the notions related to the absolute aspects, such as thusness (眞如), reality (實性), dharmakāya (法身), nirvana (涅槃), etc. In Kumārajīva's translation of the Madhyamaka texts it is a translation of the Sanskrit *tattvasya-lakṣaṇam* and *dharmatā*. This term is also used in his translation of the *Lotus Sutra*, where it is a rendering of *dharma-svabhāva*.

[165] 着語/ 今日/ 靈駕/ 生本無生/ 滅本無滅/ 生滅本虛/ 實相常住.

[166] 靈駕/ 還會得/ 無生滅底/ 一句麼.

[167] *Yanggu* 良久; lit. a while, to be silent for a while.

[168] *Tonjŭng* 頓證; immediate awakening without passing through various stages. Here, it refers to the immediate achieving of the *dharmakāya*, one of the three bodies of Buddha. *Dharma-body* (*pŏpsin* 法身) is a Mahāyāna term with various nuances in meaning, including absolute existence or manifestation of all existence; it is also equal to emptiness and as such it possesses no marks of distinction. In East Asian thought, influenced by the *Awakening of Faith*, it is an equivalent of *tathāgatagarbha* and one mind.

[169] *Kihŏ* 飢虛; to thirst for.

[170] See footnote 135.

[171] (良久)/ 俯仰隱玄玄/ 視聽明歷歷/ 若也會得/ 頓證法身/ 永滅飢虛/ 其或未然/ 承佛神力/ 仗法加持/ 赴此香壇/ 受我妙供/ 證悟無生.

4.3.5.1 Commentary

The first section seems to be an excerpt from the core argument of the "Instruction on Welcoming and Offering Seat to Souls" (*Yŏng hon hŏnjwa haŏ* 迎魂獻座下語), which, among other commentaries on various aspect of the Teaching, are collected in *The Record of the Teachings of Master Hamhŏ Tŭkt'ong* (*Hamhŏ Tang Tŭkt'ong Hwasang Ŏrok* 涵虛堂得通和尙語錄).[172] Hamhŏ Tŭkt'ong, posthumously known as Kihwa, was an important Buddhist thinker of the early Chosŏn, a great scholar, and an defender of Buddhism against Confucianism.

The verses utilize the polysemous feature of the characters *saeng* 生 and *myŏl* 滅—two basic concepts used and developed throughout the history of Buddhist thought. All phenomena have a beginning and an end, creation and annihilation, birth and death. Here, in the context of death rites, beside the natural characteristics of impermanence of all phenomena, the meaning of actual death and birth is even more pressing.

However, the verses present a paradox: although birth exists, there is no birth. The same idea applies to cessation. This teaching is prevalent in all schools of East Asian Buddhism. It was articulated already by the Indian Madhyamaka school, which utilized the teaching of two truths, the relative and the absolute. From the relative perspective, that is, from the perspective of the world we perceive and the perspective of language, there is indeed birth and cessation, yet from the absolute perspective the existence of both are denied. The third and fourth lines possess this absolute aspect, in which both birth and cessation are empty. The fourth line concludes the section with a statement regarding the true nature of phenomena. The verses and Kihwa's hypotext use the language and argumentation of Madhyamaka. Kihwa concludes that the nature of emptiness is unborn.[173]

[172] 生本無生 以何生生 滅本無滅 以何 滅滅 生滅元虛 實相常住. (HBJ 7.230)
[173] 空性本無生. (ibid.)

Kumārajīva's Chinese version of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* reads:

> When the mental functioning and language is cut off,
> The true nature of phenomena,
> [Is] unborn and also unceasing
> And tranquil like nirvana.[174]

The structure of the second section of the *ch'agŏ* follows that of some of the previous sections. We have seen above that the spirit is advised to rely on both its practice and on the help of the buddhas and bodhisattvas. Here, the relationship of the two is stated more clearly. After the first section the spirit is asked whether it has understood the previous verses. Then further instructions are given on how to realize the truth, and if the spirit successfully follows them, it achieves immediate awakening. Awakening is articulated through the attainment of Dharma body and the extinguishing of thirst. If the spirit fails to awake itself, then it should rely on the helping power of a buddha and his compassionate response to the ritual activity. The last line of the text echoes the first section by stating that awakening is unborn.

4.3.5.2 Performance

The text is typically performed by a single person, the main officiant. Before the "silence" break in the text, the officiant rings the bell loudly and stops chanting for a few seconds. PUSKII explains that the bell is used to attract the attention of the spirits (96–97). The patrons then continue the tea offering.

4.3.6 *Chillyŏng ke*: Verses of Bell-Ringing

> I am ringing this bell in order to invite,
> [You] spirit[s], to listen and understand.
> Rely on the power and divine assistance of the Three Jewels,
> And join the assembly today (tonight) in this very hour.[175]

---

[174] 寂滅如涅槃. (中論. 卷 3. 觀法品 18. CBETA, T30, no. 1564, p. 24, a4)

[175] 振鈴偈/ 以此振鈴伸召請/ 今日靈駕普聞知/ 願承三寶力加持/ 今日 (夜)/ 今時來赴會.

4.3.6.1 *Commentary*

As we have seen above, some mantras have explanatory or otherwise related verses that should be chanted before they are performed. The first line of this rite explains the purpose of the bell-ringing. Again, the spirits are asked to rely on *kaji*, divine assistance.

4.3.6.2 *Performance*

The main officiant and assistant officiant take turns in singing the lines. The main officiant, who is constantly ringing a handbell, chants the odd lines and the assistant officiant with the rest of assembly answers with the even lines. The main officiant then rises and chants the following mantra three times while constantly ringing the bell. The text offers two variants to be used depending on time of day.

4.3.7 *Posochŏng chinŏn:* Mantra of broad inviting

Namu pobojeri karidari tat'a adaya.[176]

4.3.8 *Kohon ch'ŏng*: Invocation of the Wandering Spirit

[i] [We are] single-mindedly invoking!

Meeting and parting according to cause and conditions;
Is the same today as a long time ago.
Fully empty and broad numinous penetration of the spirit,
[Is] coming and leaving without obstacles.[177]

Now,
The patron ○○○ of the guiding ceremony prostrates [and]
Sincerely invokes [you].
Oh, spirit of ○○○, now we request you to rely on
The spiritual powers of a buddha,

---

[176] 南謨 步步諦哩 迦哩多哩 多陀 阿多野.

[177] 孤魂請/ 一心奉請/ 因緣聚散/ 今古如然/ 虛徹廣大靈通/ 往來自在無碍.

And the divine assistance of the Dharma,

Come to this fragrant altar and receive this offering of the Dharma.

[ii] [We are] single-mindedly invoking!

If people want to know a buddha-sphere

They have to purify their minds[178] as an empty space,

Distance themselves from delusive conceptualization [179] and biases.[180]

Direct their mind[181] towards the unobstructed[182] [state].

Now, the patron ○○○ of the guiding ceremony prostrates [and] sincerely invokes [you].

Oh, spirit of ○○○, now we request you to rely on the spiritual powers of a buddha,

And the helping power of the Dharma,

Come to this fragrant altar and receive this offering of the Dharma.[183]

[iii] [We are] single-mindedly invoking!

The true nature does not have a name

The Dharma body does not make traces,

Like a picture in a mirror,

[Things] appear and disappear according to conditions.[184][185]

---

[178] 意 this term may differ in the context of different Buddhist teachings. Usually it denotes thought and intellect, but thought is seen as deluded as it is based on a false worldview.

[179] 妄想; conceptualization, or discrimination, esp. of that which is not real.

[180] 六趣; can also mean bias or tendencies.

[181] *Simso* 心所; factors that are related to the mind, mental activities.

[182] 無碍, also *muae* 無礙 ; unhindered, without obstacle, without resistance, permeating everywhere.

[183] 一心奉請/ 若人欲識佛境界/ 當淨其意如虛空/ 遠離妄想及諸趣/ 令心所向皆無碍/ 今日至誠/ 薦魂齋者/ 伏爲/ 靈駕/ 唯願/ 承佛神力/ 仗法加持/ 來詣香壇/ 受霑法供.

[184] *Yŏn* 緣, Skt. *pratyaya*; indirect cause or causal condition in which the effect of a primary cause (*in* 因, Skt. *hetu*) is produced. As a two-character compound, *inyŏn* has the meaning of one's destiny in popular language.

[185] 一心奉請/ 實相離名/ 法身無跡/ 從緣隱現/ 若鏡像之有無/ 隨業昇沈/ 如井輪之高下/ 妙變莫測/ 幻來何難.

Now, the patron ○○○ of the guiding ceremony prostrates [and]
sincerely invokes [you].

Oh, spirit of ○○○,
Parents who passed away in the past,
Masters of many lifetimes
Relatives of many generations,
Younger and elder brothers, parental cousins,
Elder sisters and younger brothers, nephews and nieces,
Relatives close and distant,
And spirits inside and outside of this sacred space, up and down,
Spirits with a master or without,
Lonely spirits
All sons of the Buddha,
And all sorts of spirits.
We request you to rely on the spiritual powers of the Buddha,
And the helping power of the Dharma,
Come to this fragrant altar and receive this offering of Dharma.[186]

4.3.8.1 Commentary

The *kohon ch'ŏng* in another form of an inviting invocation in this ritual sequence. The structure consists of the invocation of a spirit followed by short teachings. It is the most variable rite in the sequence in terms of content. The version presented here is the most elaborate one I encountered during my fieldwork. The PSURC features only from section iii) onward, whereas the otherwise extensive PUSKII includes only section i).

The SGUB (276–277) on the other hand includes all three sections and continues with another lengthy text after the enumeration of spirits. It adds further categories of spirits, including all spirits connected to the temple since the time of its construction, namely those of donors; the spirits of soldiers who sacrificed their

[186] 今日/ 至誠/ 薦魂齋者/ 伏爲/ 靈駕/ 靈駕爲主/ 伏爲記付/ 上世先亡/ 師尊父母/ 多生師長/ 累代宗親/ 弟兄叔伯/ 姉妹姪孫/ 遠近親戚/ 各列位靈駕/ 乃至/ 此道場內外/ 洞上洞下/ 有主/無主/ 一切哀孤魂/ 諸佛子/ 等/ 各列位靈駕/ 唯願/ 承佛神力/ 仗法加持/ 來詣香壇/ 受霑法供.

lives for the Republic of Korea; spirits suffering in the hells; spirits lost in the mountains, seas, meadows, and forests; and the spirits of people who have died "bad deaths," such as in traffic accidents, sunken ships, by falling into waterfalls, by wild animals, or by miscarriage or abortion. Also, whereas the version presented above offers the Dharma to the spirit, the SGUB version offers the Dharma only to the main spirit of the ritual, whereas the other spirits are invited to receive incense, light, tea, and rice.

The basic structure of the *kohon ch'ŏng* consists of an invocation of the spirit followed by a short teaching. Here, the teachings are related to the process of repetitive rebirth vis-à-vis the freedom of an awakened spirit (i), rebirth in a buddha's land as the result of spiritual practice (ii), and again the constant true nature and the Dharma body phenomena on one hand and appearing and disappearing phenomena on the other (iii). All three themes were already present in the *ch'ago* above.

4.3.8.2 Performance

PUSKII (103) states that the previous sections were for calling and inviting the spirit or spirits and that now the offering will take place. However, as we have seen above, the actual offering is performed throughout the entire *taeryŏng.* We should not overlook the content of the offering lines. The text, in keeping with the general Buddhist framework of giving (Skt., *dāna*) reads "the Dharma," and thus it is not tea or anything else that is offered, but a teaching. [187] SGUB makes a noteworthy division following the dichotomy between the gift of teaching and a material gift. The SGUB reserves the gift of the Dharma for the *yŏngga* only, and all the other types of spirits, namely wandering ghosts, are presented with material offerings. The text implies that while the *yŏngga* is encouraged and advised to attain awakening, the other spirits are merely fed and appeased by gifts of food, tea, incense, and so forth.

When incense sticks are offered, all the monks sing a three-character chant

[187] The twofold concept of giving, material things on one hand and the gift of teaching on the other, have been one of the key notions of the religion. (See Lamotte 1988, 66, 79–84)

three times in unison. Despite the purpose of this chant, no corresponding activity (i.e., burning of incense sticks) is performed at this point.

4.3.9 *Hyangyŏn ch'ŏng*: Calling of Burning Incense

> [We are] burning the incense and calling [upon you]![188]

4.3.10 *Kayŏng*: Singing a Hymn[189]

> Oh, spirits!
> Your [life span] is exhausted and your body is dying,
> The life, like a light of a sparkle, is just a dream,
> To where do the three obscure *hon* souls return?
> The six vast *paek* souls went to a distant home.[190]

4.3.10.1 Commentary

The ritual sequences we have seen so far have featured different notions of an individual, the person, the mind etc. The *kayŏng*, however, brings the indigenous Chinese concept of *hun* (Kor. *hon*, 魂) and *po* (Kor. *paek* 魄) souls into the discourse. Buddhist thinkers in china accepted a provisional dualist concept of soul. Traditionally, the former is a mental *yang* aspect of the soul, which leaves the body after death, whereas the latter is a corporeal *yin* soul. The above-mentioned early-Chosŏn thinker, Kihwa, wrote in one polemic against Confucians, who criticized the Buddhist concept of the individual and mind:

> There is no doubt that humans depend upon the forces of *yin* and *yang* for their coming-into-existence. It is through the meeting of *yin* and *yang* that we receive life. It is because of their parting that we arrive to our death. If humans possess an intrinsic intelligence, then it neither arises nor disappears dependent on form. Though it passes through myriad transformations it remains still, and independent.
>
> There are two kinds of mind, known as the "intrinsically real mind"

---

[188] 香煙請.

[189] 歌詠, *kayŏng;* to sing a song, especially in praise of the Buddha.

[190] 歌詠/ 諸靈限盡致身亡/ 石火光陰夢一場/ 三魂杳杳歸何處/ 七魄茫茫去遠鄉.

> and the "corporeal mind." The corporeal mind is the essence of the *hun* and *po* souls. The intrinsically real mind refers to the real intelligence. The mind under discussion here is the intrinsically real mind and not the corporeal mind.
>
> Mind is the master of the body, and the body is the servant of the mind. The various activities of good and evil quality are ordered by the mind-lord and carried out by the form-minister. When it comes to the point of receiving the karmic reward for this actions, if one is alive, then the lord and minister both receive them. If one is dead, then the form-minister has already passed away, and the mind-lord receives them alone. (Kihwa 2005)[191]

There had been a debate in Chinese context about the number of the spirits (Harrell 1979). The number ten featured here is one of the classical paradigms popular with Daoist thinkers[192] and adopted in Buddhist treatises. However, as Kihwa's argument demonstrates, for Buddhists this theory is as plausible as any other provisional theory and therefore it is valid at the level of relative truth only.

The content of the *kayŏng* is written from the relative perspective as well, and therefore the spirit is reminded of the emptiness and impermanence of the ten souls. The style of these verses is more poetic and less direct than other texts in this sequence. It is also the only rite to mention corporeal dying.

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[191] 陰陽、固人之所賴以生者也。陰陽合而受生。陰陽散而就死。若固有之眞明、則不隨形生、不隨形謝。雖千變萬化而湛然獨存 也。夫心有二。曰堅實心、曰肉團心。肉團心者、魂魄之精也。 堅實心者、眞明之謂也。今所謂心者、眞明也、非肉團也。夫心者、身之主也。形者、心之使 也。善惡等事、心君命之、形臣作之。至於報應、生則君臣等受。死則形臣已謝、 而心君獨受。詩云、文王陟降 在帝左右。陟降之者 豈非在天之靈乎. [HBJ 7.221b14] (Kihwa 2005)

[192] Ge Hong in his Baopuzi, in which the souls are discussed in many practical regards, is a typical proponent of this concept. 抱朴子曰：「師言欲長生，當勤服大藥，欲得通神，當金水分形。形分則自見其身中之三魂七魄，而天靈地祇，皆可接見，山川之神，皆可使役也。」(CTEXT 抱朴子, 內篇, 地真 4)

4.3.11 *Kaji kwŏnban*: Food Offering of Divine Compassion

Oh, spirit of ○○○!
Now, upon receiving our pious invitation,
You have descended to the fragrant altar,
Abandon all conditions,
And accept this offering.

Oh, spirit of ○○○!
This one stick of clear incense
Is exactly the spirit's
True nature.[193]
Numerous bright lamps,
[This] is exactly the time
For the spirit to see the original shape.
At first, we are offering the tea of Master Zhaozhou[194]
Then the feast from the land of fragrances.
So do you get the meaning
Of these things?

Silence

Looking up and down, [it is] nowhere to be found,
Yet, a cloud is in the blue sky and water in a jar.[195]

4.3.11.1 Commentary

The series is concluded with a final offering of incense, light, tea, and food. Once again, each gift is linked with an aspect of the Teaching: incense is likened to the oneness or singularity of the true nature, the lights of candles symbolize the

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[193] *Pollae myŏnmok* 本來面目, a metaphor for the original clarity of the mind and innate buddha-nature.

[194] Choju 趙州, a Tang-period Chan master, the main character in many *gongans* and Chan sayings.

[195] 靈駕/ 旣受虔請/ 已降香壇/ 放捨諸緣/ 俯欽斯尊/ 靈駕/ 一炷淸香/ 正是/ 靈駕/ 本來面目/ 數點明燈/ 正是/ 靈駕/ 着眼時節/ 先獻趙州茶/ 後進香積饌/ 於此物物/ 還着眼/ (良久)/ 低頭仰面無藏處/ 雲在靑天水在甁.

ability of the spirit to spot the original nature, and the tea is a reference to a Chan narrative featuring the famous Master Zhaozhou Congshen. The moral of the story again points to non-duality.

> Zhaozhou asked a newly arrived monastic, "Have you been here before?"
>
> The monastic said, "Yes, I have been here."
>
> Zhaozhou said, "Have a cup of tea."
>
> Later he asked another monastic, "Have you been here before?"
>
> The monastic said, "No, I haven't been here."
>
> Zhaozhou said, "Have a cup of tea."
>
> The monastery director then asked Zhaozhou, "Aside from the one who has been here, why did you say 'Have a cup of tea' to the one who had not been here?"
>
> Zhaozhou said, "Director."
>
> The director responded, "Yes?"
>
> Zhaozhou said, "Have a cup of tea."[196][197]

The reference to the land reminds us of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, a key Mahāyāna sutra (Watson 1999). In chapter 10 the layman Vimalakīrti conjures a bodhisattva, who he sends to a world called Fragrance Land,[198] where the beings live on scents. The bodhisattva returns to the *sahā* world with leftovers of the meal eaten by the buddha and disciples of that land:

> The bodhisattva then presented the bowl filled with fragrant rice to Vimalakirti. The fragrance of the rice perfumed the entire city of Vaishali and the whole thousand-millionfold world. The Brahmans, lay believers, and others of Vaishali, smelling this fragrant aroma, were delighted in body and mind, sighing with admiration at something they had never known before. … The rice in the bowl was then used to feed to satisfaction all the members of the assembly, yet it remained as it was, without any sign of depletion. The

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[196] 趙州問新到。曾到此間麽。曰曾到。師曰。喫茶去。又問僧。僧曰。不曾到。師曰。喫茶去。後院主問曰。為甚麽。曾到也云喫茶去。不曾到也云喫茶去。師召院主。主應喏。師曰。喫茶去。(*Chanzong songgu lianzhu tongji* 禪宗頌古聯珠通集. 卷 20. CBETA, X65, no. 1295, p. 594, b6–9 // Z 2:20, p. 120, c6–9 // R115, p. 240, a6–9)

[197] The narrative is quoted in several texts. It is also a part of Dōgen's collection of 300 *kōans* from which I have borrowed this translation (Loori 2009).

[198] 維摩詰所說經. 卷 3. 香積佛品 10. (CBETA, T14, no. 475, p. 552, a5-p. 553, b10)

bodhisattvas, voice-hearers, and heavenly and human beings who ate the rice had a sense of bodily ease and delight of mind, like the bodhisattvas in the Country of All Delights and Adornments. (Watson 1999, 115)

In this setting, we read a discourse on different levels of teaching, namely Hinayana being deficient in comparison to Mahayana. The symbolism of this story is employed in food-related context,[199] in which the food of this land is considered perfect. The perfection is not a matter of mundane taste, but it is in mutual relationship with the practice. Here a digestion metaphor expresses progress along the spiritual path:

> If those who have not yet set their minds on attaining the Great Vehicle eat this rice, they will have to set their minds on that before they can digest it. If those who have already set their minds on doing so eat this rice, they will have to accept the truth of birthlessness before they can digest it. If those who have already accepted the truth of birthlessness eat this rice, they will have to advance to the place where Buddhahood is assured them in their next birth before they can digest it. It is like the medicine called Superior Flavor that remains undigested until all the poisons in the body of the person who takes it have been eliminated. This rice is the same—only after all the poisons of earthly desires have been wiped out will it be digested. (Watson 1999, 122–23)

What is intriguing about these two lines is the inconsistency of the symbolic structures behind these two references. Both feature well-known narratives with connotations important for the practice. However, the story of Zhazhou's tea is a *gongan*-style narrative and its significance is to be individually grasped and realized. The meaning of the food of the Fragrant Land, on the other hand, is explained quite straightforwardly in the sutra.

The spirit is asked whether it understands the meaning of the teaching. No advice is given here to rely on the compassionate powers. Instead, in conclusion another reference is made, one that again points to a Chan-rhetoric narrative:

> Li Ao, the governor of Lan-Chou, aspired to Yao-shan's mystical teaching. He invited Yao-shan to his house many times, but Yao-shan

[199] Kitchens in Buddhist temples are often named "Fragrance Land."

refused to see him. So Li Ao went to the Mountain to visit Yao-shan. At that time Yao-shan was reading a Sutra and paid no attention to him. The attendant said, "The magistrate is here." Li Ao became very impatient and forthrightly said, "It is better to hear his name than to meet him." Yao-shan called-out the name of the magistrate. Li Ao answered, "Yes." Yao-shan said, "Why do you value your ears and neglect your eyes?" Li Ao closed his palms to show respect to Yao-shan and asked, "What is the Way?" Yao-shan pointed up and down with his finger and asked, "Do you understand?" Li Ao answered, "I do not know." Yao-shan said, "The cloud is in the sky, and the water is in the bottle." Li Ao was very happy and bowed to Yao-shan. Then he wrote a poem. (Wu 1989, 86)

4.3.11.2 Performance

The final text of the sequence is related to the ritual practice performed by the patrons throughout the whole *taeryŏng*. All the offerings named in this section are present at the altar. Some of them, namely the dishes, were placed there before the rite started or at its beginning. In the different *taeryŏng* performances I observed, the offering started at different stages of the ritual. In some cases, the patrons began to take their turns at the spirit altar almost simultaneously with the beginning of the sequence; in other cases they waited seated until later parts of the sequence.

4.4 *Kwanyok*: Ablution

In general, the *kwanyok* ritual is understood as a part of the *siryŏn-taeryŏng-kwanyok* sequence in *chae* ceremonies during which spirits are purified (Taehan pulgyo chogyejong 2011, 83; PUSKII 121; CPKG 220; SUGB 280-285). *Kwanyok* features a series of purification rites that clean away "sinful" or "evil karma" (罪業).[200]

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[200] The use of Christian terms is a lingering danger in the Buddhist studies discourse. Buddhist scholars are on constant alert against misinterpretation and reading Christian theological concepts or general Western concepts into Buddhist texts. Here, however, I am only reversing the *interpretatio Christiana* of the Buddhist term; *choe* 罪 is the standard

Determining the extent to which a rite is "esoteric" can be a difficult task. However, if we consider the usage of mantras, *mudras*, *dhāraṇīs*, and mandalas to be an indicator of a Buddhist esoteric ritual (Orzech and Sorensen 2011, 76–80), then *kwanyok* can be considered the most esoteric ritual sequence within the spectrum of Korean Buddhist rituals of death.

Kwanyok is one of the key ritual sequences in *chae* ceremonies. It is usually performed as part of the concluding ceremonies of the forty-nine-day period of transitional rituals, such as in *sasipku chae*, as well as during annual rituals, namely *Paekchung*. This rite is an essential building block of mid-sized and large ad-hoc guiding ceremonies. Worho SN mentioned it as a key constituent of a *sasipku chae*: "If there is no *taeryŏng* and *kwanyok* then I would not call it *sasipku chae* at all (Wŏrho SN 2015b)." However, some manuals, including PSURC (314) and SGUB (286), anticipate a situation where the *kwanyok* is performed without a preceding *taeryŏng*. Thus, they prescribe a procedure for cases when *taeryŏng* is not performed. For that eventuality, a *kŏbul* and *ch'ang hŏn* are included before the *inye hyang'yok*.

4.4.1 *Kwanyok* and ritual space

A special altar must be built for *kwanyok*—a *kwanyok tan* 灌浴壇, *kwanyok so* 灌浴所, literally, "place of *kwanyok*," or a *kwanyok sil* 灌浴室, literally, "bathroom." Ritual manuals prescribe different sizes and shapes, and the structure and materials prescribed and actually used may differ. Regardless of such variation, the altar serves an explicitly defined purpose: it is a temporary bathing booth for the spirit separated from the surrounding space. Thus, it shares the same function as normal bathrooms, that is, to create a private space for bathing.

The idea and placement of the *kwanyok tan* is significant for understanding the slightly different concepts of purity (*pujŏng* 淸淨) of the ritual space, and its symbolism, in the CPKG, a product of the late Chosŏn, and in today's practice. As I have explained above in the section on *siryŏn*, a temple compound as a *toryang*

term for *sin* in the Christian context today. Its general meaning in the pre-Christian, non-Buddhist context is "crime" or "guilt." In the Buddhist context, it refers to unwholesome activity that leads to unpleasant retribution.

represents the sphere of buddha and awakening. The CPKG (220) situates both the *taeryŏng* and *kwanyok* outside the temple gates, close to the spirit altar. In this version of the rite, spirits are not allowed or able to pass through the gate of liberation (*haetal mun* 解脫門) before going through the purification process.

Both CPKG and SKUB (sang, 269–270) describe the precise layout of the *kwanyok so*. The design presented in CPKG seems to be meant for a large ceremony. The altar is divided into three separate sections based on social status, with each of them containing two altars, one for each sex, with a tablet, candle, and bathing utensils on them. Hence six areas (*ku* 區) are created for the spirits of ordinary men, ordinary women, queens and consorts, emperors and kings, generals and ministers, and heavenly beings. The SMUB prescribes a simpler version with only two sections—one for female spirits and one for male spirits. Both manuals emphasize in particular that these sections must be clearly labelled for the spirits to recognize their respective bathing spaces. The entire structure is marked as *kwanyok sil* 灌浴室 (literally, room of ablution).

Some temples have permanent buildings once used kwanyok rites. For instance, in the Songgwangsa Temple in Sunch'ŏn, Southern Chŏlla province, one of the most important monasteries in the country, two buildings, the *Ch'ŏkchu tang* 滌珠堂 (Hall of a Cleansing Pearl) and the *Sewŏl kak* 洗月閣 (Pavilion of Purifying Moon), are found at the periphery of the temple complex.[201] Both are one *k'an* in size, permanent structures, built at a right angle to each other in a space surrounded by a small wall, creating a separate ritual space. The former is a *kwanyok so* designated for male spirits, whereas the latter is for female spirits.

During all the *chae* rituals I attended, the *kwanyok* was performed within the temple compounds. In the case of Pongwŏnsa *Yŏngsan chae*, most of the ceremony is performed at an altar in front of a large hanging picture in the temple yard.

[201] The two structures are located across a brook which separates the temple grounds from the outer world. The process of ascend from the mundane world to the Buddha-Land here is accented by crossing of the Bridge of Three Purities (*Samch'ŏng kyo*, 三淸橋) in order to enter the temple *toryang*. The buildings are located few meters from the bridge which has both practical and symbolic functions (Hanguk k'ont'ench'ŭ chinhŭngwŏn 2002).

Kwanyok is performed in the *Manwŏl chŏn* 滿月殿 (Hall of the Full Moon)[202] located in the relative vicinity of the main ritual area (Zemánek 2011a; Sim 2003, 169). Ku (2009, 219) reports a similar pattern, that is, a *kwanyok tan* in a separate building in three temples out of twelve.[203] She quotes her informants' rationale behind the practice, that it is unthinkable to wash in front of the Buddha.[204] This approach is confirmed by statements in ritual manuals (e.g., SGUB 280), which prescribe the *kwanyok* altar to be built outside a Dharma hall (*pŏp tang* 法堂), for instance, in a pavilion, a dormitory, or in a meeting or dining room, that is, places that are not shrines. Hence, at Pŏngwŏnsa we encounter a different situation because there the ritual is performed in the temple hall, in front of a buddha.

In one instance, when a Yŏngsan chae was performed as a large outdoor

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[202] The hall is dedicated to the Medicine Tathāgata (Yaksa Yŏrae, 藥師如來).

[203] However, Pŏngwŏnsa is not among them. There, a separate building is used only during the outdoor ceremony. During both my and her fieldwork, *kwanyok* was performed in the same hall, next to the spirit altar.

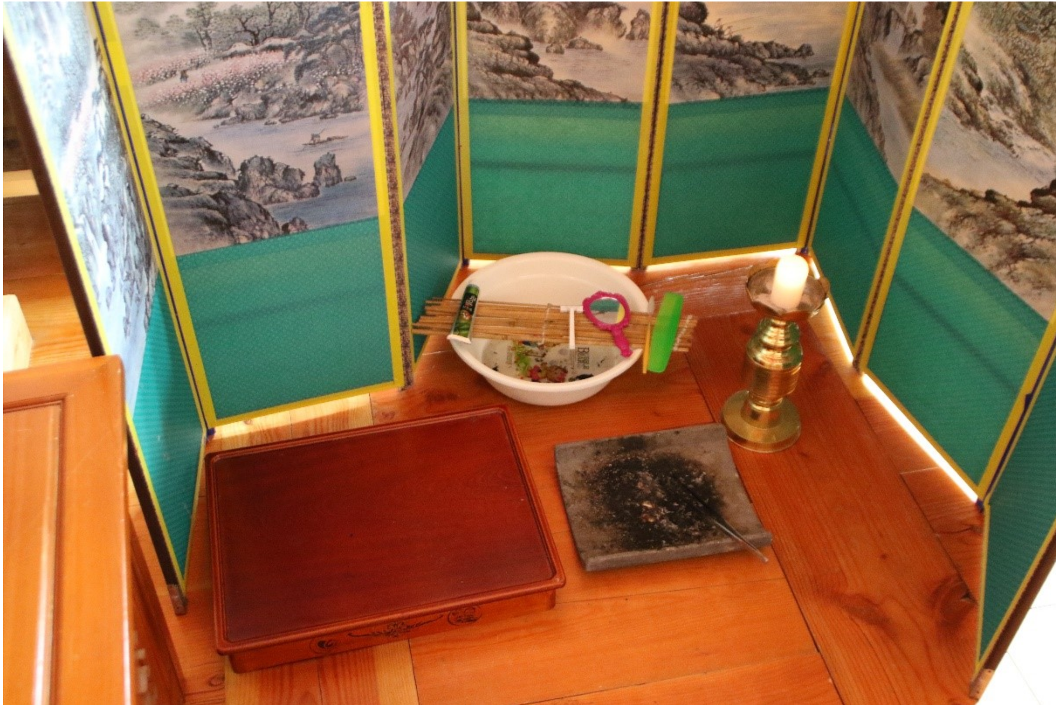
[204] I had a somewhat similar experience when the new Hall of the Great Hero, the main temple hall, was constructed at Chijang chŏngsa Temple. A brand new wooden structure was built on a one-story concrete platform containing several rooms, where the temple office moved. A kitchen fitted with a cold room where the food offerings are prepared is located behind the temple office. One day, I asked about the presence of a toilet. A monk responded with a raised eyebrow, and I was informed that it would be improper to have a toilet in a building where the Buddha is worshipped (Zemánek 2011b). I encountered this combination of etiquette and purity towards images of the Buddha several times.

communal ceremony, the kwanyok section was performed on a stage, without a kwanyok tan (Zemánek 2015e). The informant monk, Wŏrho SN, explained this practice in terms of simplifying the ritual. However, it is important to note that they omitted the rites that could not be performed, because of the absence of an altar. (Wŏrho SN 2015a). This information implies that for ritual specialists the meaning of rituals elements is connected to the performative side of the ritual. For example, they could have only chanted the ritual text, but in the eyes of the informant this option was out of the question without the proper ritual accoutrements.

The most usual form of *kwanyok tan* I encountered was one built within ten meters of the *yong tan*, a phenomenon observed at Chijang chŏngsa, Chasŏngsa, and indoor ceremonies at Pongwŏnsa and an outdoor performance in Yongsin tang. Each of these ceremonies featured a *kwanyok tan* created using a folding screen a few steps from the spirit altar. I did encounter the six-area model of the *kwanyok sil*. However, for a large four-day long ceremony at Kuinsa Temple a bathing altar was constructed following the layout described in the SMUB, that is, it had two separate spaces—one for male spirts, one for female (Zemánek 2014c).

The *kwanyok tan* (or *kwanyok so*, *kwanyok sil*) is prepared along with the other altars for the ceremony. A folding screen is used to create a nearly fully closed-off space open only to the side facing away from the participants. Hence it usually faces the boundary of the given ritual space. Temples prepare sets of utensils used during the ritual. Again both the CPKG and SMUB prescribe the bathing utensils, which today are substituted with contemporary utensils; for example, a toothbrush is used instead of a frayed twig.

In larger temples the temple office takes care of the administrative work associated with this ritual. Its employees prepare tablets and prayer cards, along with a plastic washbasin traditionally wrapped in a piece of cloth, which contains a set of items used during the *kwanyok* and the furnace rite at the end of the ceremony. For the *kwanyok* there are socks, a towel, toothpaste, a toothbrush, soap, and so forth, but the most important items consist of tiny paper clothes (*chiŭi* 紙衣), which are burnt during the *kwanyok.* This set also usually contains larger paper clothes and shoes as well, in addition to clothes made of cloth. These items of clothing are burnt at the end of the ceremony in the temple furnace. These sets come in male and female versions, which contain different types of clothes; male sets also often include shaving kits. The set describe above is used in individual ceremonies, but



for communal ceremonies a symbolic set is placed next to the bathing area. We can encounter the *kwanyok* rite performed outside the temple compound, within the temple compound, and inside the temple hall.

The text of the rite is structured into sections, each leading the spirit through the purification process.

4.4.2 Impurity and Purification

The idea of cleansing and the rhetoric of purification imply some form of impurity. What though is the exact nature of this impurity that is taken away through this ritual sequence? Acts of purification can be understood on several different levels, which are not only present in the ritual, but the ritual merges them, making them accessible for all.

As expressed on the textual level, purification is easily accessible. The Buddhist path towards Awakening has often been described using metaphors of purification. As we shall see below, the text of this rite presents doctrinal propositions that are expressed in such a manner. The content and style of this ritual text, which talks to the spirit, does not stray from the general Buddhist discourse. Already in the *Dhammapada*,[205] a collection of short sayings, the chapter on

[205] Rendered into Chinese as *Faju jing* 法句經(*Pŏpku kyŏng*).

impurity is written in a setting of dying:

> 235 Thou art now like a sear leaf, the messengers of death (Yama) have come near to thee; thou standest at the door of thy departure, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.
>
> 236 Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt enter into the heavenly world of the elect (Ariya).
>
> 237 Thy life has come to an end, thou art come near to death (Yama), there is no resting-place for thee on the road, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.
>
> 238 Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt not enter again into birth and decay.
>
> 239 Let a wise man blow off the impurities of his self, as a smith blows off the impurities of silver one by one, little by little, and from time to time.
>
> 238 Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt not enter again into birth and decay.
>
> 239 Let a wise man blow off the impurities of his self, as a smith blows off the impurities of silver one by one, little by little, and from time to time.
>
> 240 As the impurity which springs from the iron, when it springs from it, destroys it; thus do a transgressor's own works lead him to the evil path.
> (Müller 1881)[206]

When we look closer at the texts of the ritual sequence, we see that it presents two doctrinal notions of pollution and purification, which are naturally interconnected not only through metaphor, but also through their mutual relationship in Buddhist teaching and practice.

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[206] 生無善行/ 死墮惡道/ 住疾無間/ 到無資用. 當求智慧/ 以然意定/ 去垢勿污/ 可離苦形。慧人以漸/ 安徐稍進/ 洗除心垢/ 如工鍊金. 惡生於心/ 還自壞形/ 如鐵生垢/ 反食其身. 法句經, 卷 2, 垢品 26. (CBETA, T04, no. 210, p. 568, b17–22)

The first is the concept of a pure mind that is defiled (*ku* 垢, Skt. *mala*) by afflictions (*pŏnnoe* 煩惱, Skt. *kleśa*). These afflictions can be understood as the secondary[207] cause of rebirth and the transmigration throughout samsara. They are the thoughts, words, actions, and emotions that arise and cease based on ignorance and desire.[208] Therefore, the Buddha taught the way towards Awakening and nirvana as a process of eliminating afflictions.

The second notion is pollution on the level of individual karmic burden (*ŏpchang* 業障, literally, karmic hindrance), an idea also expressed as "sins" (*choe* 罪). These concepts can be defined as the results of evil karma[209]. Whereas afflictions are descriptions of the distorted interpretation of experience, sins and karmic burden are the result of such actions. Therefore, it is necessary to eradicate both. Whereas the latter are the cause of unpleasant conditions, the former is the cause of the sentient being's condition.

The difference between these two notions is also well seen in the practice one does in one's life. Although most practice is aimed at eliminating affliction, certain types of practice such as repentance (*ch'amhoe* 懺悔) or the *Saengjŏn yesu chae* ceremonies, are performed in order to eliminate the unwholesome karmic burden.

	Object	Purification process of (eradication object)	Result
i	afflictions		liberation = nirvana
ii	sin, karmic hindrance (as a result of evil karma)		avoidance of (immediate) suffering within samsara

[207] By secondary here, I mean that they are derived from the primary causes of suffering, namely ignorance and thirst. However, ignorance and thirst, along with hatred, tend to be seen as basic root afflictions and, as such, the source of all evil (*Apidamo jiyimen zulun* 阿毘達磨集異門足論 [Collection of Different Aspects of the Abhidharma Path Treatise]. CBETA, T26, no. 1536, p. 376, c19).

[208] Defining and systematizing the teaching on *kleśas* has always been an important topic in Buddhist thought, especially in Indian Buddhism. See *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (de La Vallée Poussin 1988a, 193). For secondary sources on theories of affliction, see (Miyazaki 2010; Balslev 1991; Dessein 2008, 2009; Anandamaitreya 1976).

[209] The evil conduct that through the law of karmic retribution is rewarded

Table 3. Two doctrinal concepts of pollution.

The ritual can be understood in the broader context of the general Korean religious Weltanschauung. In the Korean shamanist tradition of *musok*, the purification ritual is one of the key rituals performed in mortuary practice. Although the content, order, meaning, performance, and names of rites differ regionally, they all share a similar general structure of inviting, purifying, and sending off the spirit. These rituals are known by such names as *ssitkim kut* (cleansing *kut*, derived from the verb *ssitta*, to wash, cleanse), *ogu kut*, *ogwi kut*, and *chinogwi kut*. The act of cleansing (*ssitki*) is central to these rites. The spirit (represented by a tablet and a figurine) is washed, usually with different kinds of water (pure, fragrant, wormwood, etc.). The *mudang* then uses a brush or pine branches to sprinkle water on tablet and figurine. The other ritual activity consists of dancing and singing shaman songs (*muga* 巫歌) (M. Yi 2007; Yun 2014). The goal of the ritual is stated to be similar to that of *chae* rites, that is, to send the deceased to a better place, preferably to Sukhāvatī, or at least to assure a peaceful departure to the netherworld (*chŏsŭng*) (Y. Yi 2007; H. Kim 1995, 34).

Purification is explained as the elimination of the impurity (*pujŏng* 不淨) acquired in death (K. Ch'oe 1987, 140, 144–45; H. Kim 1995, 34–36). The newly deceased soul (*chugŭn yŏnghon* ~靈魂, saryŏng 死靈) has to be transformed into an ancestor. Ch'oe adds that "ghosts …, the untransformed souls, are caught in a state of perpetual pollution; polluted and polluting, they are a constant danger to the living" (145). The resentment (*wŏnmang* 怨望; *wŏnhan* 怨恨; *han* 恨) that accumulates during one's life is another "substance" that needs to be cleansed.

We see that *kwanyok* has its counterpart in the ritual practice of *musok*. My informants did not express their understanding of *kwanyok* through the concept of impurity. However, they did speak of both the resentment acquired during one's lifetime and the cleansing of karmic burden.

The third notion of purification I have encountered can be summarized as "washing before an important event or authority," a form of etiquette vis-à-vis the deities or an expression of a transformation into a new life. In sermons and interviews, both monks and temple-related laypeople spoke of the necessity of washing and changing a spirit's clothes before entering the netherworld, entering

the Pure Land, meeting the Buddha, or meeting Yama and the Ten Kings.

From a participant's point of view, *kwanyok* is one of the more demonstrative ritual sequences. As it involves the performance of a ritual bath complete with bathing accessories, the meaning and stages of this process are easily communicated to the patrons. The titles of each textual element, namely the mantras and verses, are chanted. Therefore, it is theoretically possible to follow the progress of the sequence.

However, as the text is in classical Chinese and the chanting makes it even less comprehensible, participant-informants stated that they only got the general idea of what was going on. Their understanding is based more on verbal explanation they received before the ritual and the activities of the ritual assistant. However, the ritual activity of the assistant, who burns the clothes and throws away the water, helps to grasp and internalize the ongoing purification process. We have seen above that explicit, visual purification is a common feature in the spirit-related rituals of the Korean religious milieu.

We should note that the *kwanyok* shares common features with the ritual sequence of *yŏmsŭp* described above. The spirit is purified in a process similar to the one the corpse undergoes. It should be recalled that from the perspective of Buddhist doctrine a spirit is not the soul of a deceased person, but it is a being in the intermediate state. When the *kwanyok* takes place, the being is about to cease its existence as a *yŏngga* and begin another existence. Hence, it is purified in the same way as the corpse.

The ritual text consists of seven sections that share a basic structure in common. Each section begins with an invocation, addresses the primary and secondary objects of the rite, and also defines the content of the rite in the context of Buddhist doctrine. Then while the main officiant chants a mantra or mantras, another monk or nun, if available, performs the *mudras*.[210] Another set of verses is chanted, which, through the symbolism of the respective cleansing activity, expounds the doctrine.

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[210] The officiants are very flexible. I documented several occasions where some ritual sequences were performed by one person. Worho SN and Pŏpwŏn SN confirmed this observation in our talks (Zemánek 2015b, 2014a). The two nuns of Chasŏngsa performed their rituals in a two-officiant setting (Zemánek 2015b, 2013a).

4.4.3 [*Inye hyang'yok p'yon*: A Chapter on Guidance to the Fragrant Bath]

Today
Oh, spirit of ○○○ who we are guiding today, [211]
Sons of the Buddha!
All humans,
Lonely wandering spirits
And sentient beings,
Of the human relations,[212]
You have been summoned
At this site of awakening.
Depending on
The power of the Buddha and the power of the Dharma,
[And] powers of the Three Jewels,
[You have practiced] until now.
The gathering is invoking you,
With the sound of a bell[213]
To enter the fragrant bath.[214]

4.4.3.1 Sinmyo changgu tae tarani: The Great Mysterious Paragraph Dhāraṇī [215]

namo radana tarayaya, namak aryabarogidesaebaraya modi sadabaya

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[211] Not present in the SMUB.

[212] *Illyun* 人倫, human relations; in a non-Buddhist context this concept denotes ethical relationships between people. However, in *The Compilation of Translated Buddhist Terms* (Ch. *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集), an extensive twelfth-century work on Buddhist technical terminology, the term denotes the sphere of human beings (Skt. *manuṣya*, transliterated into Chinese as 摩㝹舍喃) (CBETA, T54, no. 2131, p. 1081, a24–p. 1083, b7).

[213] *Pal* 鈸, also cymbals.

[214] 引詣香浴篇/ 諸佛子/ 上來已憑/ 佛力法力/ 三寶威神之力/ 召請人道/ 一切人倫/ 及無主孤魂/ 有情等衆/ 已屆道場/ 大衆聲/ 請迎赴浴.

[215] 神妙長句大陀羅尼

mahasadabaya mahagaronigaya, om salba payesu tarana karaya tasamyŏng namak, kkaridaba imam aryabarogidesaebara taba niragant'a namak, harinaya mabaldaisyami salbalt'a sadanam suban ayeyŏm salba podanam paba mara misudagam, tanyat'a, om arogye arogamadi rogadigarande hye hye harye, mahamodisadaba samara samara harinaya, kuro kuro kalma sadaya sadaya, toro toro miyŏnde mahamiyŏnde, tara tara tarinnaryesaebara, chara chara mara mimaraamara molde, yehye hye rogyesaebara raa misa minasaya nabesamisa minasaya moha chara misam minasaya, horohoro marahoro hare panamanaba, sarasara sirisiri soro soro mottya mottya modaya modaya, maedariya niragant'a kamasa nalssanam paraharanaya manak sabaha, sittaya sabaha mahasittaya sabaha sittayuyesaebaraya sabaha, niragant'aya sabaha, parahamokk'a siamokk'aya sabaha, panama hattaya sabaha, chagarayoktaya sabaha, sangk'a sŏmna nemodanaya sabaha, maharagut'adaraya sabaha, pama sagant'a nisya sich'eda karinnainaya sabaha, myagara chalma nibasanaya sabaha, namo radana tarayaya, namak aryabarogidesaebaraya sabaha[216]

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[216]南無喝囉怛那哆囉夜㖿(一)　南無阿唎㖿(二)　婆盧羯帝爍鉢囉㖿(三)　菩提薩跢婆㖿(四)　摩訶薩跢婆㖿(五)　摩訶迦盧尼迦㖿(六)　唵(上聲)(七)　薩皤囉罰曳(八)　數怛那怛寫(九)　南無悉吉利埵伊蒙阿唎㖿(十)　婆盧吉帝室佛囉㘄馱婆(十一)　南無那囉謹墀(十二)　醯唎摩訶皤哆沙咩(羊鳴音)(十三)　薩婆阿他豆輸朋(十四)　阿逝孕(十五)　薩婆薩哆那摩婆伽(十六)　摩罰特豆(十七)　怛姪他(十八)　唵阿婆盧醯(十九)　盧迦帝(二十)　迦羅帝(二十一)　夷醯唎(二十二)　摩訶菩提薩埵(二十三)　薩婆薩婆(二十四)　摩羅摩羅(二十五)　摩醯摩醯唎馱孕(二十六)　俱盧俱盧羯懞(二十七)　度盧度盧罰闍耶帝(二十八)　摩訶罰闍耶帝(二十九)　陀羅陀羅(三十)　地利尼(三十一)　室佛囉耶(三十二)　遮羅遮羅(三十三)　摩摩罰摩囉(三十四)　穆帝隸(三十五)　伊醯移醯(三十六)　室那室那(三十七)　阿囉嘇佛囉舍利(三十八)　罰沙罰嘇(三十九)　佛羅舍耶(四十)　呼嚧呼嚧摩囉(四十一)　呼嚧呼嚧醯利(四十二)　娑囉娑囉(四十三)　悉利悉利(四十四)　蘇嚧蘇嚧(四十五)　菩提夜菩提夜(四十六)　菩馱夜菩馱夜(四十七)　彌帝利夜(四十八)　那囉謹墀(四十九)　地唎瑟尼那(五十)　波夜摩那(五十一)　娑婆訶(五十二)　悉陀夜(五十三)　娑婆訶(五十四)　摩訶悉陀夜(五十五)　娑婆訶(五十六)　悉陀喻藝(五十七)　室皤囉耶(五十八)　娑婆訶(五十九)　那囉謹墀(六十)　娑婆訶(六十一)　摩囉那囉(六十二)　娑婆訶(六十三)　悉囉僧阿穆佉耶(六十四)　娑婆訶(六十五)　娑婆摩訶阿悉陀夜(六十六)　娑婆訶(六十七)　者吉囉阿悉陀夜(六十八)　娑婆訶(六十九)　波陀摩羯悉哆夜(七十)　娑婆訶(七十一)　那囉謹墀皤伽囉㖿(七十二)　娑婆訶(七十三)　摩婆利勝羯囉夜(七十四)　娑婆訶(七十五)　南無喝囉怛那哆囉夜耶(七十六)　南無阿唎㖿(七十七)　婆嚧吉帝(七十八)　爍皤囉夜(七十九)　娑婆訶(八十)　唵悉殿都曼哆囉鉢馱耶(八十一)　娑婆訶(八十二)」千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經. 卷 1. (CBETA, T20, no. 1060, p. 107, b25-c25)

4.4.3.2 Chŏngno chinŏn: A Path Purifying Mantra

om sositchi najaridara najaridara moradaye charajara mandamanda hanahana hum pat'ak

4.4.3.3 Ipsil ke: Verses of Entering the [Bath]room

How many times has the king of the original mind,
Entered the three evil destinies and passed [through] the four kinds of birth?
Today, the pollution of afflictions is washed away,
According to the conditions, you return home.

4.4.3.4 Commentary[217]

This chapter opens a series of rites leading the deceased through the process of ablution. First, the spirit is invoked along with other spirits. The *Inye hyang'yok* is the initial invocation formula of the rite, which invites the main spirit and the secondary spirits of the ritual. Its structure differs slightly from the invocations in the two previous sections. The version in the SMUB (s, ha, 56) does not feature the initial invocations. Hence it addresses lonely spirits only, mentioned below. It may imply that this particular text was taken out of a rite performed primarily for wandering spirits. The CPKG (220–221) adds the exclamatory phrase "sons of the Buddha," that is, "all Buddhists" before the main text. Finally, the PSURC contains a preceding invocation of a *yŏngga*. In doing so, the text acquires a structure we know from previous ritual sequences, that is, it addresses the main spirit of the ritual first. The last two lines of the text invite the spirit to the *kwanyok tan.*

Then the SMUB suggests the chanting of the *Dhāraṇī of Great Compassion* (Skt. *Nīlakaṇṭha Dhāraṇī* or *Mahākaruṇā Dhāraṇī*) and the *Heart Sutra*. These texts are not listed among the ritual texts in the SMUB, which only notes that these

[217] In this ritual sequence, the rites are grouped into larger sections, translated here as "chapters" (篇). Therefore, my commentaries on the text and practice follow the chapter, unlike in the previous sections on *siryŏn* and *taeryŏng*.

two texts may be chanted[218] is at the end of the section. The PSURC includes a Han'gŭl version of the *dhāraṇī* only. Both texts are frequently found throughout ritual sequences in contemporary rites. They are part of daily rituals in the main hall, for instance. The *dhāraṇī* is a text taken from the *Thousand Hands Sutra* (*Chŏnsu kyŏng* 千手經), which in the contemporary Korean context[219] refers to the *Dhāraṇī Sutra of the Bodhisattva with a Thousand Hands and Eyes Who Regards the World's Sounds and Feels Vast, Complete, Unimpeded Great Compassion*.[220] This sutra describes the great helping power of Avalokitêśvara, who teaches the *dhāraṇī* to an assembly. Reciting the *dhāraṇī* brings many benefits, including progress on the spiritual path based on the type of practitioner and stage of attainment; on the worldly plane, it helps cure diseases and wards off evil ghosts and spirits. The sutra also prescribes practicing the text, such by as chanting and writing it, following certain rules including the five basic moral precepts (Skt. *pañca-śīla*), maintaining a vegetarian diet, and so on. Also various forms of ritual practice from protecting a space, healing, summoning and commanding ghosts using this text is suggested here. One of the results of *dhāraṇī*-related practice resonates with the symbolism of the rite. It is a method for extirpating sins: "call my name with the sincere mind, also concentrate single-mindedly on our original master Amitâbha Tathāgata. Then recite this *dhāraṇī* five times a day, to extinguish, from the body, the heavy sins [重罪] accumulated during a thousand million *eons* of births and deaths."[221]The second recommended text is the *Heart Sutra*, one of the shortest and densest of *Prajñāpāramitā* sutras. Besides being a summary of the early Mahayana teaching on emptiness, it also includes a mantra. As Lopez (1996) has systematically illustrated, this sutra is a very productive text used in various contexts, especially within esoteric practices; he discusses its role as a *tantra* and *sādhana*. Both

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[218] 次誦大悲呪 及心經亦得 (SMUBs ha, 58).

[219] There is a large number of texts abbreviated as such, mostly different translation of the text, which are included in the Esoteric (密教) section of the *Taishō Tripiṭaka* under numbers 1058 to 1064. See also Lévi (1912).

[220] 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經. (CBETA, T20, no. 1060, p. 106, a4-5)

[221][…]至心稱念，我之名字，亦應專念，我本師阿彌陀如來，然後即當誦此陀羅尼神呪。一宿誦滿五遍，除滅身中，百千萬億劫生死重罪。」千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經，卷 1. (CBETA, T20, no. 1060, p. 107, a4-7). For an English translation with commentary, see Hsüan Hua (1976)

suggested texts are related to Avalokitêśvara, which could be one of the reasons they are incorporated into the ritual sequence. The mantra follows the *dhāraṇī* or the *Heart Sutra* mantra. Hence, a cluster of mantras is created. It is through the mantra that the proposed content of the rite is realized. The *ipsil ke* takes the form of a seven-character quatrain. The first and second line point to the subject of reincarnation. Here it is expressed through the overall cognitive function of the consciousness (心王), which is repetitively born into various destinies and forms. The second two lines address the efficacy of the rite, that is, of washing away affliction. As a result, one returns to the original clarity of mind, the innate Buddha-nature.

4.4.3.5 Performance

In all the cases I observed, performance of the *kwanyok* was interlinked with the *taeryŏng*. In the indoor ceremony, the patrons were informed to turn their cushions to face the *kwanyok tan.* They rose and turned their rectangular cushions several degrees in the direction of the altar. They made three full prostrations towards the *kwanyok tan* and sat down facing the altar. In another instance, when only three patrons were present, they remained seated facing the *yong tan* and one by one went to prostrate in front of the altar. As the *kwanyok tan* is typically placed beside the *yong tan* or very close to it, the monks did not have to change their position. Then the *Sinmyo changgu tae tarani* is chanted based on the SMUB's prescription that "then the *Dhāraṇī of Great Compassion* and the Heart Sutra are to be chanted" (SMUBs ha 58). The PSURC refers to it directly as "the *dhāraṇī*." In the ritual sequence of the *kwanyok*, the role of both these texts is rather supplementary. The *Heart Sutra* was included in very few *chae* ceremonies. Both the *dhāraṇī* and the *Heart Sutra* play another significant role vis-à-vis the patrons. As I have observed, and as some of the informants confirmed, it is not easy for patrons to relate to the ritual performance. Besides moments when they are requested to participate in the rite by bowing, making an offering, and so forth, they are separated from ritual activity and become mere spectators. However, even for middling Buddhists both texts are very familiar ritual elements that they can chant along with the monks or at the very least that serve as signposts they can use to orient themselves in the chain of rites.

The mantra is chanted directly after the *dhāraṇī* and the *Heart Sutra*, if performed. No *mudra* are associated with the mantra. Usually before the mantra is chanted, the assistant officiant or a monk or nun from the assembly rises and moves the tablet or tablets from the spirit altar into the *kwanyok tan*. I observed slight differences in the timing of this act. Sometimes the tablet had already been moved before the *kwanyok* started. In any case, after the mantra, the main officiant rises and chants the *ipsil ke* verses.

4.4.4 *Kaji choyok p'yŏn:* A Chapter on Cleansing [Caused] by [the Means of] Compassion

Oh, spirit of ○○○ who we are guiding today and
Sons of the Buddha!
When we look carefully,
For purifying the three modes of activity,
Nothing surpasses peaceful mind.
For cleaning ten thousand things,
Nothing is better than pure water.
Therefore,
We have carefully decorated a bathroom,
And especially prepared fragrant water,
Hoping for you
To wash away the defilements
And obtain purity of ten thousand eons.
Below are the verses of bathing.
Assembly, follow the words!

4.4.4.1 Verses of Purification

And now, we are, with this fragrant water,

Washing lonely spirits and the sentient beings,Cleanse and purify your body and mind,And enter the truly empty home of eternal bliss.[222]Mantra of Bathing"Om padamo sanisa amokka" is chanted three times.Mantra of Teeth-Brushing"Om

[222] *Sangnak hyang* 常樂鄕, i.e., nirvana.

paraha sabaha" is chanted three times.Mantra of Mouth-Rinsing"Om todori kuroguro sabaha" is chanted three times.Mantra of Face-Washing"Om sammanda pari sutche" is chanted three times.CommentaryThe second chapter commences the sequence of cleansing after the spirited had been invited and lead to the bath. The doctrine expressed through the introductory section is based on the concept of the three modes of the activities of word, thought, and body. To purify oneself of karmic burden, one has to calm and purify the mind. The verses of purification that follow the invocation state that the spirit is being washed today and advise the spirit to purify its body and mind and enter nirvana. Then a set of four mantras follow. Not only oral tradition, but the SMUB and some contemporary manuals, prescribe hand gestures, *mudrā* (*suin* 手印, literally, hand seals), to accompany the mantras. Based on the structure of the rites, I am convinced that the substantiation of the efficacy of the *kwanyok* lies in the concept of *kaji*, a term that is included in the title of each section. *Kaji*, the divine helping power of the buddhas and bodhisattvas, makes the framework in which the ritual is possible.

PerformanceAfter chanting the initial invocation, the main officiant rises and continues chanting the verses while hitting the gong. Then he chants the mantras. The assembly bows at the end of each mantra. For this ritual sequence, the performance of the *mudrā* is crucial. If more monks are present, one or more monks from the assembly perform them. They may sit on a special place in front of the *kwanyok tan* or can remain in their original positions. I have noticed that, whenever possible, an elderly, distinguished monk performs this task. For instance, during *sasipku chae* ceremonies at Chijang chŏngsa Temple, the senior *kŭn sunim*, or "great monk," sometimes comes only for the *kwanyok*, or for the *taeryŏng* and *kwanyok*, performs both mantras and *mudrā* and then departs after this ritual sequence, leaving the younger monks and nuns to finish the ceremony. As the informants confirmed, the *siryŏn-kwanyok-taeryŏng* sequence is viewed as demanding greater proficiency than the *sisik*, for instance.

Each mantra is performed three times. The title of the mantra is sung once at the beginning. The officiant, who performs the *mudrā*, raises his hands, making the hand gesture appropriate to the mantra performed and holding it until the mantra is repeated tree repetitions of the mantra.

If the ritual dance, *chakpŏp*, is performed, a *cymbal dance* comes after the

Mantra of Bathing. The rite is called *kwanyok soe* (or *kwanyok kŭm* 灌浴金), in an apparent reference to the gong that is struck before and after the cymbal dance.

4.4.5 *Kaji hwaŭi p'yŏn*: A Chapter on the Creation of Clothes [Caused] by [the Means of] Compassion

Oh, spirit of ○○○ who we are guiding today and
Sons of the Buddha!
The bathing is completely over,
The body and mind are purified,
Now, by the means of the supreme secret words
of the Tathāgatha
Postmortem clothes of compassion [are created].
May these clothes
Become numerous clothes
And [may] the numerous clothes
Become limitless clothes
Fitting to the shape of [your] body
Not long, not short,
Not narrow, not wide,
Better than any clothes worn before,
Becoming clothes of liberation.
Therefore, our Buddha Tathāgata
Has the clothes creating dhāraṇī,
[So, let us] sincerely pronounce and recollect it.

4.4.5.1 The Clothes-Creating Dhāraṇī

"Namu samanda mottanam om pajana pirogije sabaha" is chanted three times.

4.4.5.2 Commentary

The invocation describes the creation of the clothes. Again, it can help our understanding of the rationale of the relationship between the mantra and *mudrā* and the effect. The mantra is the means here, and *kaji* is the framework. As discussed above, here is a situation where East Asian Buddhism does not

differentiate between mantra and *dhāraṇī*. These ideas are connected through the concept of true word, *chinŏn*. By this rite, the paper clothes are transformed into clothes of liberation (*haet'al pok* 解脱服).

4.4.5.3 Performance

After the invocation, the assistant, who has been standing prepared next to the *kwanyok tan,* enters the space, kneels, and burns the tiny paper clothes, holding them with chopsticks, preferably made of willow, over a plain roof tile (*amgiwa*). The ashes are then dropped into the basin with the fragrant water and directly thrown away, outside the temple hall.

Meanwhile, the main officiant chants the mantra three times. The mantra does not have a prescribed *mudrā*, yet the SMUB states that it should be "supported" by use of a *vajra* (*kŭmgang chŏ* 金剛杵), or putting the palms together in a lotus position. If *chakpŏp* is performed, then dancers raise and perform a cymbal dance to the rhythm of the mantra accompanied by the gong and other instruments.

I consider *kwanyok* to be the most mystical and solemn ritual sequence of *chae* ceremonies. The use of *mudrās* and the ritual activity behind the screen creates the impression that a spirit is present. This impression was intensified when I was filming the ritual activity around the *kwanyok so* during an outdoor ceremony. Because the view is normally blocked by a temple wall, I had a unique opportunity to see the activity in the *kwanyok so*. Therefore, I moved to a spot where I could see, standing among watching patrons. To my surprise, I was strongly reproached, asked not to film, and told to step aside. Such a sudden breach of piety and restraint in the otherwise filming-friendly environment of a large ceremony was a rather surprising experience. (Zemánek 2014a, sec. 8.12)

4.4.6 *Su ŭibok p'yŏn*: Chapter on Bestowing Clothes

4.4.6.1 Su ŭibok sik: Bestowing Clothes

> Oh, spirit of ○○○ who we are guiding today and
> Sons of the Buddha!
> The *dhāraṇī* has been sufficiently pronounced,
> And the postmortem clothes are created.

Those without clothes,
Cover your body with the clothes presented.
Those with clothes,
Undress the old [clothes] and put on the new [clothes].
You are about to attend the pure altar,
[so] at first dress neatly.

4.4.6.2 Mantra of Bestowing Clothes

"Om barimaraba baarini hum" is chanted three times.

4.4.6.3 Mantra of Dressing

"Om baara basase sabaha" is chanted three times.

4.4.6.4 Mantra of Adjusting Clothes

"Om sammanda padarana padame hum pak" is chanted three times.

4.4.6.5 Commentary

The clothes transformed in the previous section are here bestowed upon the spirit. The meaning of the text is less symbolic; it points to the following section, when the spirits will be brought to the main altar. Thus, they are supposed to change clothes, to be ready to meet the Buddha. The mantras and *mudrās* guide the spirits through the process of dressing and adjusting the clothes.

4.4.6.6 Performance

Performance is identical with the previous section. The main officiant chants the invocation followed by the mantras.

4.4.7 *Ch'uryok ch'amsŏng p'yon*: Chapter on Leaving the Bath and Paying Respect [to the Three Jewels][223]

[223] An annotation in PUSKII: 160 explains the title as "Leaving the Bath for Paying Respect to the Three Jewels after Finishing the Bath"; the PSURC interprets the title as "Leaving the Bath and Recollecting One's Mind before Paying Respect (*ch'amrye* 參禮) to the Buddha."

Oh, spirit of ○○○who we are guiding today and

Sons of the Buddha!

Since you are dressed and [your clothes] adjusted,

You may [approach] the altar,

[And] pay respect to the

Compassionate saint of the Three Jewels[224]

And listen to the wonderful law of one vehicle.[225]

Leave the fragrant bath,

And go to the pure altar,

Bring your palms together, concentrate your mind,

And walk slowly forward.

4.4.7.1 Mantra Designating the Altar

"Om yeihye pirojanaya sabaha" is chanted three times.

4.4.7.2 [Pŏpsin kesong: Verses Praising the Dharma-Body][226]

The *dharmakāya* Buddha pervades ten billion worlds.

The golden light shines throughout the [destinies] of men and gods.

Adapting [to the capacities of sentient] beings and appearing like a moon reflected in a pond.

The perfect body is perfectly sitting straight on a lotus pedestal.

4.4.7.3 Sanhwa rak: Strewed Flowers are Falling Down

Strewed flowers are falling down.

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224 慈尊, a "compassionate saint," is a rendering of Maitreya. However, according to the commentary in PUSKII, in this text it designates the Buddha whereas the PSURC translates this line as "compassionate Three Jewels."

225 The doctrinal position expounded in the *Flower Ornament Sutra* (*Hwaŏm kyŏng* 華嚴經), the *Śrīmālā-sūtra* (*Sŭngman kyŏng* 勝鬘經), and above all in the *Lotus Sutra* (*Pŏphwa kyŏng* 法華經). The gist of the doctrine is that there are not the three vehicles of disciples, solitary buddhas, and bodhisattvas, i.e. different teachings of Hinayana and Mahayana, but only one teaching. The seemingly disparate teachings are merely a skillful means to attract people to the "one vehicle" (Skt. *ekayāna*). The *Lotus Sutra* presents a classical simile of a father who coaxes his sons out of a burning house by showing them the toys they wanted. Once they are out, he gives them toys beyond comparison with those he showed them at first. The seemingly different teachings point to the one great teaching.

226 The title is missing in the SMUB. The PSURC states *song* whereas the PUSKII states *ke*; both of these synonymous terms are derived from transliterating Skt. *gāthā*.

4.4.7.4 Namu taesŏng Illowang posal

4.4.7.5 Chŏngjung ke: Verses of the Center of the Hall

Without making a step,
Appearing from between the heavy clouds,
You have arrived at this *araṇya*[227]
So go inside and pay respect to the golden renunciant.

4.4.7.6 Kaemun ke: Verses of Gate Opening

When the blind is rolled up, you will meet Maitreya,
When the door is opened, you will see Śākya,
Three times pay the threefold respect to the unsurpassed,
To enjoy the house of the Dharma king.

4.4.7.7 Commentary

The invocation continues the series of rites from the previous sections. The properly dressed spirit is ready to meet the Buddha and is thus asked to leave the bathing area and continue to the main altar. The quite instructive verses on how the spirit should approach the main altar mention the single vehicle, a popular Mahayana doctrine, and thus somewhat foreshadow the content of the *pŏpsin kesong*, which comes after the mantra. The mantra designates the altar. The *mudrā* prescribed here is a pointing finger or a *vajra.* According to PUSKII 165, it points to the gate of a hall or to the altar. The *pŏpsin kesong* describes the Buddha in his *dharmakāya* (*pŏpsin* 法身) aspect, as the eternal principle. Here, for the first time in the ceremony, the concept of the Dharma-body is clearly expressed, as the all-pervading, omnipresent, yet constantly teaching. The verses can be also understood as referring to all three bodies: the Dharma-body is mentioned explicitly, whereas the manifested body (*hwasin* 化身, Skt. *nirmāṇakāya*) is the one that appears and the world, teaches and lead the beings to nirvana and the reward body (*posin* 報身, Skt. *saṃbhoga-kāya*) is the one seated on a lotus in a buddha's land. Then two rites

[227] *Aranya* 阿蘭若, a transliteration of a Sanskrit term for forest, meaning a secluded place for practice, i.e., a term for a Buddhist temple, a rather rare term in the Korean context.

already seen in the *siryŏn*, *sanhwa rak*, and invocation of Illowang posal take place. In other words, through the verses in this section, the presence of the Buddha and Illowang posal is established, allowing the spirit to enter.

The *chŏngjung ke* verses describe the supernatural appearance of the spirit in the midst of the ritual space. At first, it appears in the temple and then continues into the hall or outdoor ritual space, where it meets the future buddha and the present buddha. Then the spirit is told to pay three times the threefold respect to the unsurpassed, to the Three Jewels.

4.4.7.8 Performance

The performance of this section depends on the location of the *kwanyok so* in relationship to the main ritual area, that is, the area where the main altar and spirit altar are located. The assistant brings the tablet out of the *kwanyok so* and hands it to the main patron (or patrons in communal rites.) If the *kwanyok s*o is located elsewhere, a procession carries the tablets to the mail hall. Otherwise the main patron or patrons rise, receive the tablet, and stand before the main altar. The monks perform the invocation and mantra, then raise and perform the *pŏpsin kesong*, *sanhwa rak, and namu Illowang posal.*

4.4.8 *Kaji yesŏng p'yŏn*: Chapter on Paying Respect to the Sacred by [the Means of] Compassion

Oh, spirit of ○○○ who we are guiding today and
Sons of the Buddha!
Until now,
We have guided
The sentient beings of the shadowy words
to the pure altar.
Now, you should pay respect to the Three Jewels.
That, what is called the Three Jewels,
Is the three-bodied Buddha,
The divine texts of the five teachings,
The sages of three stages of worthies, and ten stages,
And the assembly of four realizations and two vehicles.

You all,
Have come to this assembly
And have reached this savory banquet.
Consider the difficulty of meeting the Three Jewels,
And wholeheartedly and with trust pay respect [to them.]
Below are the universal verses.
[Let] the assembly repeat [them after me].[228]

4.4.8.1 Porye sambo: Paying Respect to the Three Jewels[229]

I pay respect to the *dharma-kāya*, *saṃbhoga-kāya*, and *nirmāṇakāya*, to all the buddhas that are eternally abiding in the ten directions.

I pay respect to the *sūtra-piṭaka*, *vinaya-piṭaka, abhidharma-piṭaka*, to the entire *Dharma*, that is eternally abiding in the ten directions.

I pay respect to the *bodhisattvas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, and *śrāvakas*, to the entire *Saṃgha*, that is eternally abiding in the ten directions.

4.4.8.2 Ŭisang chosa Pŏpsŏng ke: The Verses of Dharma Nature by Patriarch Ŭisang[230]

The dharma nature is perfectly interfused, not possessing the characteristic of duality;
All dharmas are unmoving; they are originally quiescent.
They have no names and characteristics; all distinctions are severed.
It is known through the wisdom of realization and not by any other means.
True nature is very deep and supremely fine and profound.
It is not attached to self-nature and is achieved in accordance with conditions.

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[228] *suŏn* 隨言, literally, "follow the words," implying that the assembly should follow the utterances of the main officiant.
[229] PUSKII lists another verses, *Porye ke*: Verses of the Jewels before this text.
[230] PUSKII before PPK lists a Chapter on transfer of merit by [the means of] compassion

Within one, there is all, and within many, there is one.
The one is precisely all, and the many are precisely the one.
A minute particle of dust contains the ten directions;
All particles of dust are also like this.
The immeasurably distant kalpa is precisely a single thought-moment,
A single thought-moment is precisely an immeasurably distant kalpa.
The nine time periods and the ten time periods are mutually identical;
They are not in confusion, but have been formed separately.
When one initially arouses the aspiration to enlightenment is
precisely complete enlightenment.
Samsara and nirvana are always in harmony.
Principle and phenomena are obscure and undifferentiable
And are the sphere of the great people of the ten buddhas and
Samantabhadra, able to enter into the ocean seal samādhi,
[The Buddha's] multitudinous production of wish fulfillment is
inconceivable.
A rain of jewels that benefits living beings fills all space,
Living beings benefit according to their capacity to comprehend.
Therefore, the practitioner must return to the original source;
He cannot obtain it without ceasing from deluded thoughts.
By means of unconditioned wholesome skills, he apprehends wish
fulfillment,
Returns home, and obtains wealth according to his capacity.
With an inexhaustible treasure of dhāraṇī.
He adorns the dharma realm—a palace of real jewels.
Finally, seated on the throne of the Middle Way of Ultimate Reality,
From times long past he has not moved—hence his name is
Buddha.

4.4.8.3 Kwaejŏn ke: Verses of Placing the [Spirit] Symbols

The great perfect mirror cognition of the buddhas,
Has absolutely no inside and outside.[231]
Today, you are meeting the father and mother,
Your smile is without end.

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[231] Subjective and objective; mind and body

4.4.8.4 Commentary

The sequence continues with the *porye sambo*, a version different than the one that concludes the *siryŏn*. The text follows the standard formula of finding refuge in the Three Jewels. However, each member in the formula is worshiped in its three aspects. The Buddha is revered in the three aspects of the threefold body, *trikāya*. The Dharma is defined, above all, as the three baskets of the *Tripitaka*. Finally, the concept of the single vehicle, accented throughout the text, echoes particularly strongly in the line about the Sangha.

The *Pŏpsŏng ke* rite follows. The *Pŏpsŏng ke* is an individual text, ascribed to Three Kingdom–period Master Ŭisang, founder of the Hwaŏm 華嚴 (Ch. *Huayan*) sect and thought in Korea. This text is considered a masterpiece of contemporary Buddhist thought. It compresses the vast teaching of the *Flower Garland Sutra* into thirty seven-character phrases that describe reality as it is seen from the perspective of a buddha immersed in the ocean seal *samādhi*, which, like an ocean, reflects all things. Each phrase contains a key concept of the teaching and can be further expounded. Therefore, there is a large body of commentary literature on the *Pŏpsŏng ke* up to today.[232]

The verses comprise the textual part of the *Chart of the Dharma-World of the One Vehicle of the Huayan* (*Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkye to* 華嚴一乘法界圖), which is the *Pŏpsong ke* depicted in the form of a seal. Rewrite as "The seal is shaped like a swastika, that is, it takes the form oof *man* 卍 , which means "all things." As such it works as a meditative or contemplative tool, where the meditator follows the chart, a labyrinth, character by character, expanding their meaning by focusing on the meaning of each and the relationships between them.

Besides being a key, let us say, philosophical or doctrinal text, the *Pŏsŏng ke* has become a frequently used ritual text as well. No ritual directly uses its verses as a main text, as I have mentioned above in the case of the *Heart Sutra*. However,

[232] For the original texts see. Some of the commentary literature was translated into English (R. D. I. McBride 2012). Both in Korean and abroad, this text is very well researched among the academia (Ishii 2007; C. Yi 1994)

the text is used in a series of sutras and other doctrinal texts, usually after the invocating part of the morning and evening rituals. It also works as “ritual filler”; it can be chanted used when the prescribed texts are finished, but the ritual is still in progress.[233] Besides that, it is one of the key texts that involve motion. For instance, the morning ritual, *toryang sŏk*, when the temple is being purified and woken up, is performed by participants[234] who form a line and circumambulate the temple area (SMUB 21). The *Pŏpsŏng ke* is among the texts chanted. The same holds true for the *kwanyok* sequence as well: this text is chanted while circumambulating the ritual space.

Even though the *kwanyok* rites possess some esoteric elements and rather richly employ mantras, *dhāraṇīs*, and *mudrās*, the ritual sequence does not contain mandalas. The *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, however, exhibits features of a mandala, of a map to be followed during practice. In some modern-day temples the *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkye to* seal is built into the design of the temple ground. Its countors may be defined by ropes on the ground or by a labyrinth of colorful flags. At any rate, when communal *chae* rituals are performed, instead of performing a “plain” circumambulation, the participants leave the main hall and pass through this labyrinth in the temple yard while chanting the text.

The title of the last text, *kwaejŏn ke*, is related to the paper figurines representing deceased spirits, or as some commentaries (PUSK) claims, they are placed for the spirits to rest in. It implies, that the figurines are not considered to be representations of the spirit. The rite is performed to ritually enshrine *chŏn* figurines on the spirit altar.

4.4.8.5 Performance

The first part of the ceremony is performed standing, facing the main altar.

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[233] During my fieldwork, I have accompanied an informant nun and we went to a distant temple to see a monk and talk about rituals with him and to receive some ritual texts. The nun asked him about some details of the post-mortem rites. “Well, of course you finish much earlier than the morticians, so just insert *namu amit'abul* chant, *Pŏpsŏng ke*, and so on.” (Zemánek 2015b, sec. 9.14)

[234] The number may differ, also not only monks perform the rite. It is one of the task of the candidates for novitiate (*haengja*, 行者). The temple visitors are often encouraged or made to participate.

Each line of the *porye sambo* is followed by a bow. Then, the participants form a line headed by the officiants. The main patron holds the tablet. They circumambulate the ritual space counterclockwise and perform the *Pŏpsŏng ke* (Wŏrho SN 2015a). Once the participants finish the chant and stop their circumambulation, they return back to the spirit altar, where the tablet is returned, and the rest of the *kwanyok* is performed facing the spirit altar.

4.4.9 *Suuianjwa p'yŏn:* Chapter on Enthroning[235]

Oh, spirit of ○○○ who we are guiding today and
Sons of the Buddha!
Until now,
You have received the teaching of the Buddha,
relied on the compassion of the Dharma,
And without coercion came to this place.
So please freely take a seat.
Below are the verses of seating.
[Let] the assembly repeat [them after me].

4.4.9.1 Anjwa chinŏn [ke]: Mantra [Verses] of Seating

We, relying on the teaching, have prepared the seat[s],
Arranged different kinds of precious dishes in front [of the seat].
Sit according to the size,
Concentrate and listen carefully the following words.

Om mani kundani humhum sabaha

4.4.9.2 Tage: Verses of Tea

In the forest of one hundred plants one taste is fresh,
Zhaozhou always taught people.
[We have] boiled water from the depth of a river in a stone vessel,

[235] *Suui* 受, to be anointed, enthroned, placed in an official position; also, in esoteric context, the protocol of consecration.

Deceased spirit, rest from the suffering of reincarnation!
Spirits, rest from the suffering of reincarnation!
Wandering spirits, rest from the suffering of reincarnation!

4.4.9.3 Commentary

The final part of the ritual sequence returns the spirit to the spirit altar for the rest of the ceremony. The initial section of this chapter invites the spirit to the altar. In doing so it follows the last rite of the previous chapter. There is a mantra for this action, which is preceded by explanatory verses. The last rite is a tea offering. It is another form of *tage*. The symbolism of these verses is based on the ritual action, that is, tasting tea, boiling tea, and so forth. Here the concept of one teaching is expressed through the metaphor of one taste. As water nourishes all plants in the forest, the Buddha's teaching has one quality that is present everywhere and identical for everyone. Again, Master Zhaozhou and his "go drink tea" is referred to here. The pure water from the depth of a river and tea made in a stone vessel are conditions for the best tea, which is offered here. The last three lines call different kinds of spirits. The final line of this section differs from manual to manual as well as in the cases I studied in the field. The PUSKII version contains "the deceased spirit" only as a general term, whereas the SPURC (331) and SMUB (303) versions include the terms on "all spirits" and "wandering spirits."

4.4.9.4 Performance

The rites are performed standing, facing the spirit altar, as a continuation of the previous section. The mantra is chanted three times, without an accompanying *mudrā*. During or afterward, the *tage* is chanted. The patrons approach the spirit altar and the main patron offers tea.

Here the ritual manuals end the *kwanyok* section of. In the field, however, the *toksong* 讀誦 (literally, reading and chanting), or the oral reading of the scriptures, often takes place. When performed, the practice was quite uniform. The patrons were given the temple text collections and told which page to turn to. The texts most often read were *The Thousand Hand Sutra* (*Chŏnsu kyŏng* 千手經) and the *Heart Sutra*.

5 Conclusions

The objective of this dissertation was to present an introductory work on the topic of Korean Buddhist rituals based on primary research. Using a methodology that connects study of ritual texts with anthropological methods, I have introduced rituals from three different perspectives. In the introduction I define the object of the study and methodological approaches. Subsequently, I attempt to show the ritual constituents that can be studied and discuss the core ones, especially the dead and the actors involved in rituals. Following this chapter, I present an introduction to how the rituals are structured and interlinked. The largest portion of the dissertation is dedicated to an annotated translation of three important ritual sequences. The running commentaries on practice and doctrine discuss various ritual constituents and the doctrine expressed.

We have seen how Buddhist rituals are intertwined in the general Korean religious milieu. We have learned that it is possible to look at two or several intertwined stems separately or together and that it is possible to study Buddhist rituals separately or in relation to other strands in the religious scene of Korea. In the following paragraphs, I shall discuss a few more findings and implications of my research.

5.1 One Aim: A Better Place

From the data collected in the field, namely through interviews and the study of the mise en scène of various ritual instances, we have learnt that the Buddhist rituals of death in Korea function in the broader context of what we can perhaps call a "syncretic religious environment." Nearly two millennia of coexistence have created a universal cosmological "metaframework" in which traditional Korean religious systems function.

Buddhism was introduced to China at the beginning of the common era, whereas its beginnings in Korea date to the second half of the fourth century (Lancaster and Yu 1989). Hence for centuries in both regions the religion developed simultaneously, and to a great extent synchronously as well. We can observe a very vivid intellectual exchange between Korea and China at least until Chinese Buddhism lost its momentum after reaching its peak during the Tang dynasty.

Korean Buddhism was constantly influenced by the input of new Sinicized ideas and practices, and to some extent, a reverse transfer occurred as well (Buswell 2005). Therefore, throughout this dissertation we have encounters various ideas and rituals texts of Chinese origin. While Buddhism was constantly influencing the indigenous religious scene of Korea, and vice versa, Chinese ideas from other sources, namely Confucian and Daoist ritual practices and texts, were concurrently influencing the Korean religious milieu.

The resulting metaframework appears to combine a shared structure[236] and shared symbolic codes. The existence of the former substitutes for the differences in the latter. The basic underlying structure is the duality of *this world* and the *other world*. Moreover, the categories of this world, *isŭng,* and other world, *chŏsŭng*, are indigenous not only as cosmological categories, but also on the level of language.

Ritual patrons therefore do not think in the framework of Buddhist cosmology, but in the metaframework of Korean religious milieu. Thus, the goal of the ritual is not to send the deceased to a Pure Land or nirvana, but to send them to a "better place" (*poda chohŭn kot*), as informants often stated. A better rebirth means, after all, being in a better place. However, as I have stated in multiple places, the spirit is still able to return.[237]

The dead, as the central object of the ritual, is referred to by many names. If the deceased is the object of a ritual, the term *yŏngga*, or "spirit," is used. When the monk delivers his sermon and explains how the spirit passes through the intermediate state, he uses this term. However, whenever I, breaching the ritual space, asked why the family came to the ceremony, they referred to the deceased as *chosang*, or "ancestor." Informants also claimed it was "our tradition" and obligation to perform a ritual for deceased parents. It is *ŏmŏni*, or mother, when the informant answers who are their relatives they have the ritual performed for. It is still *ŏmŏni* when she appears in the patrons' dreams. It can be *chosang malmyŏng*, "restless ancestor," when diagnosed by a *mudang.* Despite the different names with

[236] I shall resist and not speculate whether this structure is identical with the structures that Hertz, van Gennep, Turner, and others talk about, or whether it is to be understood on a different level.

[237] I do not want to overgeneralize and I cannot rule out the option that for some Buddhists the deceased person reincarnates and does not come back, and the meaning of the rites is, for instance, seen as helping the deceased in their current rebirths.

different doctrines behind them it is simply an *ŏmŏni* for the informant, and she wants to assure her well-being in the other world.

There is a whole spectrum of methods for securing such well-being. We have seen that even within the Buddhist context there are multiple methods, different rituals, and various ways of performance. The spectrum does not simply end at a Buddhist temple's gates or where there is no Buddhist monk to perform rights. It continues via liminal ritual professionals to the sphere of *musok.*

5.2 Two Directions and Two Powers

When I asked informants what "better place" means to them, I often got an instant answer: "rebirth in Sukhāvatī" (*kŭngnak wangsaeng* 極樂往生). Belief in Amitâbha has a central position among the various Buddhist teachings in Korea. The practice of remembrance and the recitation of the name of Amitâbha Buddha (*yŏmbul* 念佛) had become so popular among the people that modernist Buddhist monk, reformer, and intellectual Han Yongun, in his *Chosŏn pulgyo yusinnon* (On Reforms of Korean Buddhism), written a century ago, strongly proposed the elimination of Amitâbha prayer halls (*yŏmbul tang* 念佛堂) as places where useless practices are cultivated (Han 2006). Rebirth in Sukhāvatī and chanting of the name of Amitâbha became an integral part of *musok* religious endeavors.

Despite the fact that the ultimate goal of Buddhism is still nirvana and all Buddhist practice is aimed at this goal and the Buddhist doctrine sees Sukhāvatī as a temporary stop on the way and a shortcut towards the final goal, in lived East Asian Buddhism the significance of rebirth is changed. For many Buddhists, Sukhāvatī is not a lesser or secondary goal, but the final goal. It is the better place they want to arrive in after death. Therefore, we can conclude that Korean rituals of death feature two distinct soteriological goals. I think that there is more to discuss and I would like to return to the configuration of these beliefs in the ritual.

The sutras of the Amitâbha corpus, that is, the so-called large and small Sukhāvatī sutras and the *Contemplation Sutra* are also prescriptive in terms of practice. Remembrance of the Buddha's name (*yŏmbul* 念佛) or visualization, supported by ethical conduct and creation of merit, are the practices leading to Sukhāvatī. Throughout this study, we have learned of another practice, which is allegedly the proper way to Sukhāvatī. In the ceremonies we have studied,

Sukhāvatī can be reached by means of the ritual.

One more aspect of the discourse surrounding the Pure Land beliefs that should be clarified. The efficacy of the Amitâbha cult has been interpreted through the concept of reliance on the "other power" (他力), a concept developed by Tanluan 曇鸞 (476–542) in the *Wangshenglun zhu* 往生論註.[238] Therefore, we have to be careful how, and based on what evidence, we interpret the rituals as Amitâbhic. Ritual texts employ the concept of *kaji*, the compassionate helping power of the Buddha. However, it is not the Amitâbhic "other power" that helps achieve nirvana through rebirth in Sukhāvatī; instead nirvana can be achieved here and now through self-cultivation or the helping power of the buddhas.

Despite the indisputable importance of Amitâbha in the ritual texts, the stress is put on the direct achievement of nirvana not on rebirth in Sukhāvatī. The spirit is taught and encouraged, even washed, with the aim of helping it reach nirvana. The Amitâbha sutras are very illustrative in their descriptions of both Sukhāvatī and the transfer to it, as are the commentaries on the practice from the Chinese tradition.

The weak presence of Amitâbha in the ritual texts is surely not caused by reluctance to vividly describe Sukhāvatī. For instance, an eighteen-century Korean text, the *Yŏmbul pogwŏn mun* 念佛普勸文 (Exhortation to universally practice the invocation of the [Amitâbha] Buddha) (Myŏngyŏn 2012),[239] includes verses in *hansi* form that we have seen in the rituals above. Many of the verses feature either scenes from the Pure Land, rebirth there, or meeting with the Amitâbha triad. The ritual texts I have studied, on the other hand, do not describe or praise the Pure Land, but constantly encourage the spirit to realize true nature, emptiness, and so on. Unlike in the text, Amitâbha is vividly present in the ritual setting. The banners used during rituals are those of Amitâbha, Amitâbha chanting is performed in many places during the ritual, and an Amitâbha statue is used during the deathbed rite. Hence we see an effort to incorporate Amitâbha into the ritual practice by all

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[238] Commentary on the Treatise on the Pure Land, full title Wuliangshoujing youpotishe yuanshengjie zhu 無量壽經優婆提舍願生偈註 (CBETA, T40, no. 1819).

[239] For an English article discussing the text in relation to the Confucian environment, see Walraven (2015).

possible means and to accent the Pure Land nature. I assume that we can consider it a form of ritual bricolage.

5.3 Many Ways: *T'ong pulgyo* Reconsidered

One of the clichés in Korean Buddhist studies is the concept of *t'ong pulgyo* 通佛教, literally "interpenetrated Buddhism" or "holistic Buddhism." It is a term used within Korean academia as well as among the general public to describe one aspect of Korean Buddhism. The origin of the term lies in the works of Silla master Wŏnhyo (617–686), who attempted to expound Buddhist teachings as being fundamentally in accord with each other, despite apparent contradictions. Wŏnhyo used the term *hwajaeng* 和諍, or "harmonizing disputes." Unlike the Chinese systems of hierarchizing contradicting teachings (*jiaoxiang panshi* 教相判釋), which thus accent differences, Wŏnhyo's approach stresses the harmony of the teachings.

Due to different influences, both internal and external, a tendency towards inclusivity has long been a feature of Korean Buddhism. Thinkers like Wŏnhyo, who took such a stance as their doctrinal position, as well as the measures against Buddhism from the state in Chosŏn or controlling policies that both forced the Buddhist community to centralize and unify, were another contribution to this process.

T'ong pulgyo has been used to describe the situation in Korea, where one may enter any temple and anything one encounters there in terms of belief or practice will not differ from any other temple. The question is now, what is the role of Buddhist rituals in establishing and upholding such conditions? Rappaport, when the discussing meaningfulness of ritual representations, remarks:

> Some liturgies make no reference to existing social arrangements or, if they do, they may at the same time signify entities transcending the existing social order and values from which the social order has, in fact, fallen away, as well as processes internal to individuals. [...] Liturgical orders bind together disparate entities, processes, and phenomenal domains, and it is this bringing together, rather than what is bound together, that is peculiar to them. They are metaorders, or orders of orders. If we were to characterize in a phrase their relationship to whatever lies outside of them, we might say that they mend ever again worlds forever breaking apart under

> the blows of daily usage and the slashing distinctions of language. (Rappaport 1999, 262–63)

The performance of rituals allows for different doctrinal, or canonical, stances to exist side by side. As ritual plays an important role in establishing conventions, it helps keep the different doctrinal stances bound together. This does not by itself explain why the case of Korea is different from, for instance, the case of Japan, which there are great differences in both doctrine and ritual practice between various orders and sects. But it helps us to understand how rituals connect different codes, or to use Rappaport's terminology, "liturgical orders."

Rituals have the ability to communicate universal orders that are interwoven with self-referential orders. Rappaport states that the "canonical stream is carried by the invariant aspects or components of these orders, self-referential information is conveyed by whatever variation the liturgical order allows or demands [in italics in the original]" (Rappaport 1999, 53–54). Rituals convey the various doctrinal messages as the "canonical stream." The last note to add is that we have seen that the rituals go beyond *t'ong pulgyo* because they unify notions from the environment surrounding Buddhism. The term has been used proudly as an expression of the true Mahayanic character of Korean Buddhism. Seen through the perspective of the ritual, it is not possible to cherry-pick only the intellectual or doctrinal strata of Korean Buddhism, but it is necessary to admit that in addition to Buddhist elements, non-Buddhist elements too comprise the "harmonious whole."

5.4 Future Prospects

I have tried to demonstrate, using selected material, that the Buddhist ritual scene of Korea is an important and living tradition, and that the significance of this study reaches far beyond the mere romanticism of a Westerner seeking out Asian traditionalism. Ritual tradition responds to current trends though various means of adaptation, and rituals remain an important practice for fifteen percent of the population, and thirty-five percent of the population with religious affiliation, of South Korea, who declare themselves to be Buddhists (KOSIS 2017). The rituals are undergoing rapid change in terms of simplification, substitution of *hanmun* parts with sections in modern Korean, the application of new technologies, and so forth. Mapping and interpreting these changes in the context of other religious traditions

in Korea, including Christian ones, seems to be a promising focus of future research.

I was unable to discuss issues of ritual change and bricolage, which are very intriguing topics. Also, the problem of constructed tradition still needs to be addressed. I believe that my concept of ritual modularity can contribute to understanding the mechanisms of how ritual sequences are put together. However, the material presented throughout this work and acquired during my fieldwork certainly needs further interpretation. Each chapter of this dissertation is an invitation to a more detailed study of the topic at hand.

Abbreviations and symbols

Kor. Korean

Ch. Chinese

Skt. Sanskrit

Pa. Pali

○ a symbol used in the ritual text to mark a space to fill a name or other variable data

~ a symbol used in brackets in case of combination of Korean and Sino-Korean vocabulary to indicate the native Korean part

MG a part of a categorization code o Musée Guimet

lit. literally

Sec. section

SN Sŭnim, a title of Buddhist monk or nun

CPKG Chakpŏp kwigam (Paekp'a Kŭngsŏn 2010)

PSURC Pulgyo sangyong ŭirye chip

PSURCn Pulgyo sangyong ŭirye chip, (new) (Taehan pulgyo chogyejong 2016)

PUSK Pulgyo ŭisik kangnon + serial number (Sim 2002a, 2001a, 2001b, 2002b, 2002c)

PUSMC Ch'onji myŏnyang suryuk chaeŭi pŏmŭm sanbo chip (Chihwan 2012)

SGUB Sŭngga ŭibŏm (Wŏnmyŏng 2009)

SMUBs Sŏngmun ŭibŏm so (An 1977)

SMUBt Sŏngmun ŭibŏm tae (An 1982)

SPUB Sangyong pulgyo ŭibŏm

SPURC Sangyong pulgyo ŭirye chip

SPUSC Sangyong pulgyo ŭisik chip

SPUSH Sangyong pulgyo ŭisik haesŏl

SUSC Sangyong ŭisik chip (W. Ch'oe 2012)

SSKCUB Sasipku chae ŭibŏm

TCRUB T'ongyong chaerye ŭibŏm

TPYC T'ongil pŏbyo chip

HPC	Hanguk pulgyo ch'ŏngso
SGYS	Samguk Yusa
PSCP	Pulssi Chapp'yŏn
TJGSL	T'aejong sillok
TJOSL	T'aejo sillok

Transcription and style

I use McCune-Reische-Resichauer for transcription of Korean, Pinyin for Chinese, and revised Hepburn Romanization for Japanese. Sanskrit terms are used according to the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism.

I use the full names of temples, orders, mountains including the components *sa*, *chong*, *san* actually meaning *temple, order, mountain, etc.*, while still using the English terms, in spite of the redundancy such as Pongwŏnsa temple, chogye chong order etc. I prefer this solution in sake of consistency with Korean sources and clarity as for instance Chijang chŏngsa could be misunderstood for Chijang sa etc.

I use three systems of referencing to sources throughout the work. Buddhist texts collected in the Taisho Tripitaka and other collections electronically published by the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association are cited using the style of the Association. The texts are identified by transcription of the title in Chinese or Korean, according to the language of the author and title in Chinese characters followed by the position of the text in the CBETA Reader software. Korean ritual manuals are referred to by an abbreviation defined at the beginning of the work and in the attached list. References to the other sources follow the Chicago Manual of Style 16th edition (author-date). For Kindle versions of books, I use "parts" abbreviated as "pts." For references to my field notes I use "section" abbreviated as "sec." referring to a month and day of the record.

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Fu shuo yuxiu shiwang shengqi jing 佛說預修十王生七經. CBETA, X01, no. 21 // Z 2B:23 // R150

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