

Selected
Works of
Korean
Buddhism

Biographies of Eminent Monks of Korea

Works by
Gakhun
Beomhae Gagan
Geummyeong Bojeong

Annotated Translation
and Introduction by
Marek Zemanek



Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

**Biographies of
Eminent Monks
of Korea**

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

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Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

Foreword

Buddhism's impact on the spirit and culture of the Korean people has been deeply rooted. Its presence had significant effect from the very beginning of history on the Korean peninsula, through the Joseon period, a time of state suppression of Buddhism, and past the early stages of modernity up to the modern era.

On the occasion of publishing this new series, there is a sense of regret for not having introduced Buddhism widely to foreign countries due to the language barrier and the uniqueness of the Buddhist tradition and thought found only in Korean Buddhism that has accumulated in its long history. The Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism with the intention of sharing with the rest of the world the treasures of the Korean Buddhist culture, has published the *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* and the *Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism* series in thirteen and ten volumes respectively. We are now embarking on the translation project of the *Selected Works of Korean Buddhism* in ten volumes.

The representative texts of Korean Buddhism that are published for this project are the result of a careful selection of important Buddhist texts that extend historically from the Unified Silla all the way up to the early part of the modern era. It includes a wide range of texts including on the philosophy of Hwaeom, Seon (Zen), and on the Buddhist culture, and even on the lives of eminent monks and their thoughts, texts that can be considered to be representative of Korean Buddhism.

In particular, the *Ganpye Seokgyo so* 諫廢釋敎疏 (Memorial Remonstrating Against the Suppression of Buddhism) is a memorial of

8,150 characters in length submitted to the throne during the 500 years of the Joseon period when Buddhism was direly suppressed. It is included in the *Buddhist Apologetics in Early Modern Korea: Treaties and Memorials by Joseon Period Monks*, which is one of the first translations to be published in the current series. As an important piece of historical literature, it argues for a dialogue between Buddhism and Confucianism by emphasizing the role of each tradition like the two wings of a bird or the two wheels of a cart.

Another historically significant composition, the *Seonmun jeongno* 禪門正路 (The Orthodox Path of Seon) by Ven. Seongcheol, brings to light the importance of Korean Seon and has left an enduring legacy of early period of modern Korean Seon. The *Seonmun jeongno* is a controversial book which stimulated a discourse that was not previously seen in the history of East Asian Seon. Moreover, Koh Hyeonggon's writing, *Seon ui segye* (The Ontology of Seon), is a highly respected work which reveals the meaning of existence through a comparative analysis of Seon with Heidegger's thoughts, a prominent German philosopher of existentialism.

Other representative texts included in the current series are by authors who have emphasized cultural dialogue with prominent thought of the times. This is fitting for the modern era which can be recognized to be a heightened period of dialogue and communication. Even among traditions of great thought there is needed dialogue and exchange and discussions of co-existence, and through such dialogue, Buddhism will prove to be a system of thought that can lead humanity in the twenty-first century. By publishing ten volumes of representative texts of Korean Buddhism, and stimulating communication between the thought and culture of Korean Buddhism with the world, it will be an opportunity to write the many ideas and hopes into humanity's history of thought.

Lastly, I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the scholars who have participated in this translation project for their effort and for joining this meaningful project. I would like to also extend my deep gratitude to the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Korea

and its representatives who have given support to this project for the globalization of Korean Buddhism.

With the Palms of My Hands Joined in Reverence

Byeoksan Wonhaeng 碧山圓行

The 36th President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

President, Publication Committee of the *Selected Works of Korean Buddhism*

Editor's Preface

Buddhism which originated in India some 2,500 year ago and spread throughout East Asia has now become a global religion. Through the people of the Arian ancestry, Indian Buddhism came to be recorded in the ancient Indo-European language of Sanskrit and the Indo-Aryan language of Pali. Chinese Buddhism was then communicated through its long history using the ideograph sinoscript of the Han people. The differences of language and ethnic-culture led to diverse methods of practice of Indian and Chinese Buddhism. In Indian Buddhism, becoming a buddha was pursued by awakening to the Dharma through the repetition of practices in the cycle of samsara. The transcendent aims of Indian Buddhism were accepted by the Chinese after transformations that were fitting to their own ways. Different from the Indian method and despite the gap in time and space, the most effective means were to believe that everyone was born with the inherent nature that allowed, whoever it may be, to become a buddha. That is why, in Chinese Buddhism enlightenment was transformed from the aim of becoming a buddha to realizing the “nature of the Buddha,” of “inherently enlightened” human nature. After having gone through this transformation into this unique doctrine of original nature, there emerged two phenomena; in theory—Tientai and Huayan schools of thought—and in practice—Pure Land and Chan Buddhism.

Chinese Buddhism that became established into individual schools of thought based on this doctrine of original nature were accepted into Korea and Japan who shared the same culture that was based on the system of sinoscript. However, in Korea there developed a unique

pattern in the acceptance of Chinese Buddhism. It is characterized by the tendency towards synthesis by finding what commonly permeates, leading to a realization of harmony, for example, among the theories unique to the individual schools and its diverging claims. Though the establishment of the individual schools of thought based on the doctrine of original nature is the achievement of Chinese Buddhism, the attempt at creative synthesis through finding what commonly permeates has been consistent on the Korean peninsula, a uniqueness of Korean Buddhism.

It has been several years that the *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* (2012) was published by the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, which consists of representative Korean Buddhist literature selected from the *Complete Works of Korean Buddhism*, a compilation of 323 fascicles into a compositional archive that contains literature from the Silla all the way to the Joseon period. This was done as part of the effort to globalize Korean Buddhism with the generous support of the Korean government. With the intent to continue and to further develop this tradition, modern representative Buddhist compositions were selected, translated into English and published, again with generous government funding. It was with the aim of sharing with the world the intellectual legacy left behind by modern Korean Buddhism, which lead to the publication of the *Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism* in 2017.

However, these two series do not contain all of Korea's pre-modern and modern Buddhist literature and it was suggested that translations of additional representative Korean Buddhist classics among the traditional and modern Buddhist literature be introduced for the purpose of globalizing Korean Buddhism. That is why starting from 2018 the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism proceeded to publish English translations of selected Buddhist literature that can be considered to be the core of pre-modern and modern Korean Buddhism in a series titled "Project for the Translation of Representative Korean Buddhist Literature," once again with the generous support of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Korea.

For the operation of this project, the Jogye Order established the

Compilation Committee for the Translation of Representative Korean Buddhist Texts (President: Ven. Wonhaeng), a steering committee (President: Ven. Seobong), and an editorial committee (Director: Prof. Kim Jong-Wook). In particular, the editorial committee that is in charge of the management of translations and publishing operations, adopted the recommendations of over fifty experts of Korean Buddhism and selected five representative literature from the premodern era, including Silla to late Joseon, and five representative literature from the modern era—post-liberation from Japanese colonialism.

The first among the five compositions from the premodern era is titled *Questions and Answers on the Avatamsaka-sūtra: An Early Korean Hwaeom Text* which is a compilation of the lectures of Uisang recorded by his students. It is exemplary of the Korean Hwaeom studies that has had a long tradition and has had far-reaching influences on the formation of Kegon studies early in Japanese history. The second, *The Moon Reflected in a Thousand Rivers* by the Great King Sejong, the life story of the Buddha composed in poetic form, is the highlight of Buddhist literature that harmonized religious and literary forms. The third is titled *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Korea*, which is a collection of three separate texts, *Haedong goseung jeon* by Gakhun, *Dongsa yeoljeon* by Gagan, and the *Jogye goseung jeon*, by Bojeong. Through this English translation, the international audience can gain a firm understanding of the important monks who appear in the history of Korean Buddhism. The fourth text is titled *Seon Thought in Korean Buddhism*, which consists of *Seonmun bojang nok* and *Seonmun gangyo jip* by the monk Cheonchaek, where the first of the two is a compilation of extracted sayings of various Seon masters and the latter is a summary of core Seon teachings. *Seon Thought in Korean Buddhism* will provide to the readers a comprehensive summary of the essential teachings in Korean Seon tradition. The fifth translation is titled *Buddhist Apologetics in Early Modern Korea: Treaties and Memorials by Joseon Period Monks*, which is a translation of three Buddhist compositions, the *Hyeonjeong non* by Hamheo Gihwa, *Ganpye Seokgyo so* by Baekgok Cheoneung, and “Sang Han Neungju Pilsu jangseo” by Yeondam Yuil. These are

apologetic texts that have refuted Confucian charges against Buddhism and argued for the legitimacy of Buddhism. Through this literature we can gather the tension that existed between politics and religion during the Joseon period.

The first among the five modern Buddhist literature is Toeong Seongcheol's *The Orthodox Path of Seon* where he critiqued Jinul's soteriological system of sudden awakening—gradual practice, which is often referred to as an important characteristics of Korean Seon Buddhism. In its place, Seongcheol claimed a system of sudden awakening—sudden practice, and by doing so he was intent on establishing a uniquely Korean method of *ganhwa* Seon. The second is Beopjeong's the *Pure and Fragrant: The Prose Anthology of Korean Buddhist Master Beopjeong*, which consists of fifty compositions that he selected from among all his writings and published in a book form. This translation opens up the world of simple and pure philosophy of Beopjeong who is much loved by modern Koreans.

The third translation is Koh Ikjin's *Buddhist Thought of Korea*. This book is a masterpiece in the history of thought where the author adopted an independent approach to history and has brought to light Korean Buddhism from psychological historical perspective. The fourth translation is Koh Hyeonggon's *The Ontology of Seon*. Although this is a portion of his original voluminous *Seon ui segye* (The world of Seon), it is the more exemplary of his intellectual thought of Seon. In this composition, he compares the main passages from Yongjia Xuanjue's *Chanzong Yongjia ji* (Yongjia's Collected Works of the Chan Tradition) with the phenomenology of Husserl and existentialism of Heidegger and investigates the existentialism of Seon thought. The fifth text is Chin Hongsup's *Korean Buddhist Sculptures*. Here, he discusses the origins and forms of Buddhist statues, the tradition of Korean Buddhist statues and its stylistic transformations. With regard to studies of Korean Buddhist statues, the text *Korean Buddhist Sculptures* is one of the most informative and historically comprehensive.

Through these ten translations, it was the intent of the editorial committee that the various faces of Korean Buddhism, including

philosophy, literature, history, politics, and art, will be brought to light for the global audience.

In the work of translating these texts, world-renowned experts and specialists in the field of Korea Buddhism were invited, who were familiar with original sinoscript, and in doing so created a group of Korean and international scholars who combined their efforts in publishing the most authentic translations. Furthermore, based on the expertise of a team of translation editors, the translations were reviewed and the most precise expressions were ensured. In this way the editorial committee made sure that the translations most accurately reflected the deeper intentions of the original sinoscript compositions.

The highly esteemed translators include Richard D. McBride II, Thorsten Traulsen, Marek Zemanek, Henrik Sorensen, John Jorgensen, Sung-Eun Thomas Kim, Juhn Young Ahn, Matty Wegehaupt, Koh Seunghak, Kim Seong-Uk, and Ha Jungmin. The translation editors include Robert M. Gimello, Park Boram, Kim Kijong, Sem Vermeersch, Jin Y. Park, Yun Woncheol, Daniel Kane, Sumi Lee, Kim Jong-Wook, Rhi Juhyung, Kim Sunkyung. Furthermore, Kim Ryunseon was the administrative assistant who overlooked the entire process of translations and editing.

Yi Deokyeol worked tirelessly in copyediting the translated texts, and the entire publication was carried out by Bulkwang Media Co. It was due to the passionate efforts and contributions of these people that this project has come to fruition.

Above all, the endless initiatives and support from Ven. Wonhaeng, the president of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, the hosting organization of this project, and Ven. Jinwoo, the director of the Educational Bureau of the Jogye Order, cannot be forgotten. Ven. Wonhaeng, as the president of the Compilation Committee, has presided over the entirety of the project with much enthusiasm and interest. Ven. Jinwoo provided invaluable guidance and encouragement, especially from the planning stages of the project up to the final publishing stage. Moreover, the president of the steering committee, Ven. Seobong, and the director of the Research Institute of Buddhist

Studies, Ven. Bomun, both gave generous and helpful advice for the smooth completion of the project from planning, to operations, and to the final stages of publication. Furthermore, the promotional efforts of Ji Jeonghak, the deputy director of the Department of Education of the Jogye Order, have contributed tremendously to maintaining a relationship of cooperation with the government agency, and Ko Myoungsuk from the Educational Bureau has been most dependable for resolving difficult administrative issues when they arose.

This project would not have been possible without the participation and contributing efforts of these people. In this process, it reminds us once again of the Buddha's law of dependent arising where all things come to fruition depending on the harmonization of innumerable conditions. Lastly, as the director of the editorial committee, it is my sincere hope that through the publication of the current series, the 1,700 years of the Korean Buddhist tradition consisting of the multifaceted aspects of philosophy, history, literature, and art will be brought to light. And as a result, it is hoped that Korean Buddhist culture will be held up in esteem on the global stage and assist in furthering the transmission of the Dharma to every corner of the world.

Kim Jong-Wook
Professor, Department of Buddhist Studies, Dongguk University

Series Editor & Chair of the Editorial Board,

Selected Works of Korean Buddhism

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I am indebted to Mr. Daniel Kane for his fantastic work on proofreading and copyediting the translation. My thanks also to Ms. Jacqueline Faix for her insightful suggestions.

Marek Zemanek
Prague, December 2020

Conventions

H: *Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書 (Complete Works of Korean Buddhism). 14 vols. Dongguk daehakgyo *Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo* pyeonchan wiwonhoe, ed. Seoul: Dongguk University, 1979–. https://kabc.dongguk.edu/content/list?itemId=ABC_BJ.

K: *Tonghap daejanggyeong* 통합대장경 (Entire compendium of the Korean Tripitaka). 14 vols. Dongguk daehakgyo *Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo* pyeonchan wiwonhoe, ed. Seoul: Dongguk University, 1979–. https://kabc.dongguk.edu/content/list?itemId=ABC_IT.

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

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

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

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

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

Citations from the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* are listed as follows:

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

As of the Romanization of Korean terms and names, this series has some exceptions for its application as far as the Revised Romanization system allows. Firstly, in cases where the persons' names mentioned in any part of the book have their own English transcription, they are spelled as they are regardless of the Revised Romanization System. Secondly, to avoid phonetic confusions, hyphens and apostrophes are used in some cases: an apostrophe is usually placed in between letters not to join and make a phoneme, but a hyphen is specifically used in a person's name. Lastly, sir names, Kang, Noh, Shin and Yi are alternatively transcribed as such in order to avoid phonetic or symantical confusions.

The original texts used in the translations for this *Selected Works of Korea Buddhism* series may contain minor misprints and typos originating from their early twentieth century printed copies. The translators carried out corrections and revisions in the course of translation, with the editorial board's support and consultation. The translators usually noted significant changes in translation from the original texts, but might have left minor revisions and corrections without noting them.

Biographies of Eminent Monks of Korea

Translator's Introduction

The *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Korea* offers an English readership a threefold insight into the genre of Korean Buddhist hagiography. The book presents three major compilations of biographies of eminent monks of the Korean Buddhist tradition.

The first text included is the *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Haedong* (*Haedong goseung jeon* 海東高僧傳). This text was compiled in 1215 by royal order during the late Goryeo period by Gakhun 覺訓 (dates unknown) and contains narratives of important monks from the Three Kingdoms period.

The second part of this book comprises forty-eight accounts from the *Biographies of Eastern Masters* (*Dongsa yeoljeon* 東師列傳), a late Joseon-period text compiled by Beomhae Gagan 梵海覺岸 (1820–1896) in 1894. The *Biographies of Eastern Masters* covers the eras of Unified Silla, Goryeo, and Joseon.

The thirty narratives of the *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Jogye* (*Jogye goseung jeon* 曹溪高僧傳), authored by Geummyeong Bojeong 錦溟寶鼎 (1861–1930) in 1920, make up the third part of this book. In this last work, readers can acquaint themselves with the influential monks of the Jogye order who were associated primarily with Songgwangsa Monastery, including the famous Goryeo Seon monk Bojo Jinul 普照知訥 (1158–1210) and monks from the Buhyu 浮休 lineage of late Joseon Seon associated with Songgwangsa. The three texts are presented here in chronological order according to their date of composition.

Biographies of Eminent Monks of Haedong

The first text, the *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Haedong* (*Haedong goseung jeon* 海東高僧傳, HGJ) is the oldest extant Korean text of the monastic biography (*seungjeon* 僧傳) genre. It contains narratives of monks significant in the history of Buddhism in Goguryeo, Baekje, Silla, Unified Silla, and Goryeo. However, only the two-volume “Transmission” (*Yutong* 流通) section of the originally larger text is extant today. This extant portion has been included in this book in its entirety.

As the title of the section suggests, the narratives we have at hand thematize Buddhism’s introduction and spread among the Three Kingdoms. Hence, the biographies include foreign missionaries in Korea, the reception of the religion by the first Buddhist kings, travels by Korean monks to China or India to seek the dharma, and the first scholar-monks’ accomplishments.

Based on the Gakhun’s statement in his foreword that “844 years [have passed] since Sundo entered Goguryeo,” HGJ is believed to have been compiled in 1215. Unfortunately, only handwritten manuscript (*pilsabon*) copies of the first two volumes are available today. The book was lost for several centuries and was discovered only in the twentieth century. However, several texts have referred to it throughout history. *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事, the unique historiographical and ethnographical text authored by the Buddhist monk Iryeon in 1281, mentions HGJ several times. Iryeon refers to HGJ as *Seungjeon* 僧傳 (Biographies of Monks), *Haedong seungjeon* 海東僧傳 (Biographies of Monks of Haedong), or *Goseung jeon* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks). Also, *Records of Spiritual Efficacy of the Lotus Sutra* (*Beophwa yeonggeom jeon* 法華靈驗傳) by the late Goryeo figure Yowon 了圓, mentions the fifth volume of HGJ, which confirms that the text was known and read in late Goryeo and that it consisted of at least five volumes.

According to an introductory article by the historian Choe Namseon 崔南善 (1890–1957) published in the journal *Bulgyo* 佛教 in 1927 along with his critical edition of HGJ, the text was discovered

by the abbot of Haeinsa 海印寺 Monastery Yi Hoegwang 李晦光¹ in a monastery in the Seongju 星州 area, Gyeongsang-do province. Yi donated it to the Joseon gwangmunhoe 朝鮮光文會, an institute established by Choe Namseon and dedicated to the preservation and publication of classical Korean texts.

Although this newly discovered manuscript was later lost again, several hand-copied versions of the text had been made and are extant today. Among them, a copy obtained in 1914² at the Hannam seorim book shop in Seoul by Asami Rintarō 浅見倫太郎, and which is now held by the Asami Library at the University of California, Berkeley, is considered the earliest. It also includes corrections in red writing inserted by Asami in 1917 based on a comparison with another version owned by Watanabe Akira 渡邊彰.

HGJ was also published in the *Complete Works of Japanese Buddhism* (*Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書), included in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (T 2065.50.1015a–1023a) and partially introduced and quoted in such works as Yi Neunghwa's *History of Joseon Buddhism* (*Joseon Bulgyo tongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史) of 1918 (Jang 1991, 14–15; Kim 2020).

Other important copies are in the collections of the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies at Seoul National University, the Central Library of Korea University, and the National Library of Korea. Of these three copies, the Kyujanggak version is considered the oldest. HGJ is probably the best known of the three compilations presented in this book, thanks to the English translation by Peter Lee (Gakhun 1969).

Gakhun, the author of HGJ, was associated with Heungwangsa 興王寺 and Yeongtongsa 靈通寺 monasteries of the Hwaeom school, both located in Gaegyeong, today's Gaeseong, the capital of Goryeo dynasty. Yeongtongsa was a representative monastery of the Hwaeom school, where for instance, National Preceptor Daegak (大覺國師) Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101), a son of King Munjong of Goryeo, became a monk. Gakhun was appointed an abbot of the monastery around the year 1215. In the *Collected Works of Prime Minister Yi of the Eastern*

Country (*Dongguk Yi sangguk jip* 東國李相國集), the scholar and writer Yi Gyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241) mentions his name as Gagwol 覺月 rather than Gakhun.

As he was entrusted with the compilation of HGJ by royal order, Gakhun must not only have been an important monk of the Hwaeom school, but have possessed such scholarly abilities as would make him the appropriate choice for the task. The fact that he interacted with leading scholars and high-ranking officials of the time also supports this (Kim 2020, 3).

The genre of the text is self-evident in the title. It was the Liang era monk Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554) who compiled *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳), which included the biographies of monks from the Later Han through the Liang periods. This text is also called the *Liang Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Liang gaoseng zhuan*) to differentiate it from sequels written in the Tang and Song periods. The *Gaoseng zhuan* became a model for East Asian monastic biographies and hagiographies. Huijiao compiled his collection as a critical response to the earlier *Biographies of Famous Monks* (*Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳) by Baochang 寶唱. Gakhun used the analogical designation modified by the old geographical term for Korea, Haedong.

As only the section on the transmission and spreading of the dharma (流通) in two volumes, is available, we do not know what structure Gakhun chose for the rest of the compilation, how he titled the missing sections, or how much creativity he applied to his compilation. However, in the introduction, Gakhun writes that he did not include a section on translations of the scriptures (譯經), which comprised the first section of *Gaoseng zhuan*, but included the section on “transmission” instead.

In his work, Gakhun refers to many historical texts and reveals his sources to the reader. The primary Korean textual sources include the *National History* (*Guksa* 國史), a no-longer-extant history of Silla, Gim Daemun's 金大問 *Annals of the Hwarang* (*Hwarang segi* 花郎世記) from the eighth century (also no longer extant), and the eleventh-century collection of legends, *Tales of Wonder* (*Su'ijeon* 殊異傳). Gakhun also

quotes from stelae, such as those of Ado, Hwarang Nan, and Anham. As several of the Korean sources he used are not extant today, the HGJ offers not only an invaluable insight into the history of Three Kingdoms period Buddhism, but a brief insight into those sources as well.

Among Chinese sources, Gakhun refers to biographies of the *Supplement to the Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳), *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳), and the *Great Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks who Traveled to the West Seeking the Dharma* (*Da Tang Xiyu qiuifa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳).

Gakhun's motivation was to collect available sources and compile them to provide a comprehensive portrayal of the activities and accomplishments of famed monks. True to the tradition of East Asian historiography, Gakhun was a compilator or, as Peter Lee (Gakhun 1969, 5) puts it, a transmitter. He was faithful to the sources and did not employ an especially critical approach to them. He did not question the reliability nor did he cross-reference the content.

When discussing the characteristics of the HGJ, it is useful to compare it with the *Samguk yusa*. Both texts are authored by Buddhist monks and both deal with the early history of Buddhism in Korea. Also, both were influenced by the structure of the Chinese *Gaoseng zhuan*. The *Samguk yusa* is, relative to the HGJ, a more complex text both in its topics and literary form.

The first two volumes of the *Samguk yusa* include chronologically organized narratives of ancient Korean kings and kingdoms under the title of “Marvels” (Gii 紀異). From the third volume, the focus turns to Buddhism and its author Iryeon introduces the beginnings of Buddhism in the Three Kingdoms in the “Raising the Dharma” (Heungbeop 興法) section, followed by a section on important Buddhist “Structures and Images” (Tapsang 塔像), a section on the activities of eminent monks in “Expounding on the Meaning” (Uihae 義解), a section on the “Supernatural Spells” (Sinju 神呪), sections on “Sympathetic Resonance” (Gamtong 感通) and “Reclusion” (Pieun 邇隱), the latter a section on hermits and reclusive monks. The last

section, “Filial Piety and Virtue” (Hyoseon 孝善), is an assemblage of narratives on the subject of Buddhist and non-Buddhist ethics.

The structure and content of the *Samguk yusa* were certainly inspired by several sections of the *Gaoseng zhuan*, namely “Expounding on the Meaning” (Yijie 義解), “Wonders” (Shenyi 神異), and “Sympathetic Resonance” (Gantong 感通). Also, Gakhun and Iryeon each produced a section on the introduction of Buddhism.

The *Samguk yusa* and the HGJ complement each other on multiple levels. As the *Samguk yusa* is not primarily a biographical text, many monks are introduced rather through legends, anecdotes, and narratives of the supernatural. However, numerous chapters are biographies, namely those of the “Expounding on the Meaning” section, or have biographical features. Naturally, both collections overlap in terms of persons presented. Iryeon includes many narratives not included by Gakhun. Whereas we can only speculate whether Iryeon deliberately chose different stories to supplement the records of the HGJ, we do know that Iryeon discusses and corrects, in his interlinear notes, various sources, including the HGJ.

Although all the extant biographies of the HGJ comprise one section, the narratives differ. A typology of the narratives can be articulated, as Gakhun grouped similar stories according to how they contributed to the transmission and spreading of the religion.

But before introducing the biographies, he inserted an introduction where he framed the subsequent narratives in a Buddhist context. He begins with the concept of eternal and all-permeating Buddhadharma, the teaching of the Buddha. Then he turns to its emanation throughout history, starting with the Buddha’s birth then proceeding to his life, awakening, and teaching of his disciples. Gakhun structures the sequence of Buddha’s teaching using a *pan’gyo* (Ch. *panjiao*) 判教 taxonomy style, from the *Flower Ornament Sutra*, followed by Hinayana teachings and the perfection of wisdom, to the *Lotus Sutra* and *Nirvana Sutra*. His allegiance to the Hwaeom school is evident from several references made throughout the introduction.

Gakhun then continues with highlights from the further develop-

ment of Buddhism. He reminds the reader of the faith's intellectual tradition, mentioning such thinkers as Aśvaghoṣa, Dignāga, and Dharmapāla. He points out the turning points in the spread of the religion, such as the reign of King Aśoka and Buddhism's introduction to China. The last segment of the introduction summarizes the early history of Buddhism in Korea, namely Ichadon's 異次頓 martyrdom during the reign King Beopheung 法興 (r. 514–540) of Silla, and the role of monks who went to China to seek the dharma, such as Won'gwang 圓光 and Jajang 慈藏. He uses the metaphor of sea, streams, and waves that originated in China and gathered in Haedong. He praises the role of Buddhism in the institutions of Goryeo that were established by its founder, King Taejo 太祖 (Wang Geon 王建, r. 918–943).

At the end of his introduction, Gakhun again summarizes the timeline of Buddhism vis-à-vis secular history. He states that in the *eulhae* year of 1215, it had been 2,164 years since the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, 1,151 years since the teaching entered Han China, and 844 years since the beginning of Buddhism in Korea, when the missionary Sundo (Ch. Shundao 順道 arrived in Goguryeo from China. Gakhun emphasizes the role of the people in spreading the dharma, something that inspired the section's title.

The biographies of volume 1 contain narratives of monks related to the introduction and beginnings of Buddhism in the Korean kingdoms. Missionaries from China and regions of Central Asia or India are discussed, along with the Silla kings Beopheung and Jinheung 眞興, who became monks later in their lives. The monks treated in the first volume are Sundo, Uiyeon 義淵, Damsi (Ch. Tanshi) 曇始, Marananta 摩羅難陀 (Skt. Mālānanda), Ado 阿道, Heukhoja 黑胡子, Wonpyo (Ch. Yuanbiao) 元表, Hyeonchang 玄彰, Beopgong 法空, and Beobun 法雲.

Volume 2 comprises masters who left Korea to seek the dharma in China (from Gakdeok to Anham) or further in India (from Ariyabalma to Hyeontae). The names listed in the second volume are Gakdeok 覺德, Myeonggwan 明觀, Jimyeong 智明, Damyuk 曇育, Won'gwang 圓光, Wonan 圓安, Anham 安含, Damhwa 曇和, Anhong 安弘, Ariyabalma 阿離耶跋摩 (Skt. Āryavarman), Hyeeop 惠業, Hyeryun

惠輪, Hyeon'gak 玄恪, Hyeonjo 玄照, Hyeonyu 玄遊, Seungcheol (Ch. Sengzhe) 僧哲, Hyeontae 玄太, in addition to two unknown monks, three monks from the Western Regions, and two Chinese monks.

Biographies of Eastern Masters

The second text is *Biographies of Eastern Masters* (*Dongsa yeoljeon* 東師列傳, DYJ) authored in 1894 by Beomhae Gagan 梵海覺岸 (1820–1896), a monk associated with Daedunsa Monastery.

The compound term *yeoljeon* (Ch. *liezhuan*) 列傳, lit. arrayed biographies, usually translated simply as “biographies” or “memoirs,” is a Chinese historiographical term referencing non-imperial biographies and was first established by Sima Qian in his *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記) (Ssu-ma 2021, xv–xvii). The Buddhist biographies in all three compilations presented throughout this book are based on the *Gaoseng zhuan* genre. And analogically, the *Gaoseng zhuan* is an example of the *liezhuan* genre (Campany 1996, 25).

The term *dongsa* 東師 rendered here as eastern masters is a reference to the country of origin of the masters or worthy monks (*sa* 師) presented. Dongguk 東國, Eastern Country, is another historical exonym for Korea that Korean authors also accepted.

The *Biographies of Eastern Masters* contains 198 biographies of masters covering the entire history of Korean Buddhism, from the Three Kingdoms period all the way up to late Joseon at the end of the nineteenth century, the period contemporaneous to its author. The work includes the biographies of forty-eight selected representative masters from Silla, Goryeo, and Joseon.

The sources for the biographies of the DYJ include the masters’ biographies, so-called “records of conduct” (*haengjang* 行狀). A record of conduct is a text written by a deceased person’s close friends or disciples as a way of remembering the person’s deeds and achievements.

Such texts are then used as a source for historiographical writings, stelae, or biographies. Stelae, epigraphs, or collected writings were also essential sources. The author also consulted geographical sources, such as Yi Junghwan's 李重煥 (1690–1752) *Treatise on Choosing Settlements* (*Taengni ji* 指里志) and *Records of the Honam Region* (*Honam eupji* 湖南邑志), or *Records of Daedunsa Monastery* (*Daedunsa ji* 大菟寺志), along with other local monastic historical records (*saji* 寺志) (Beomhae Gagan 2015, 13–14).

Two manuscript copies of the DYJ are in the collections of the National Library of Korea and Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies at Seoul National University, while a mimeograph copy is at the Central Library of Dongguk University. The DYJ is included in the tenth volume of the *Complete Works of Korean Buddhism* (*Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo*) (Kim 2020, 4).

The DYJ's author, Beomhae Gagan, was born in Wando, Jeollanam-do province and became a monk at Daedunsa Monastery in 1833. He received full monastic precepts from Choui Uisun 草衣意恂 and took Houi Sio 緝衣始悟 for his master and became a disciple of the Pyeongyang faction (鞭羊派) of the Cheongheo lineage (淸虛系).

After becoming a monk, Beomhae Gagan devoted himself to the study of the doctrine. He spent twenty-two years teaching in the lecture halls of Daedunsa and other monasteries. His doctrinal focus was on the traditions of Hwaeom and Mahayana precepts. As Gagan himself states in his autobiographical preface to the DYJ (included in this book), he “expounded on the *Flower Ornament Sutra* for six years, and *Brahma's Net Sutra* (*Fanwang jing* 梵網經) for twelve years.”

Besides doctrine and biography, Gagan was interested in other aspects of Buddhist history. He traveled extensively throughout the country and made pilgrimages to sacred sites, monasteries, and otherwise historically significant locales. His preface contains a very dense travelogue wherein he lists all the places he visited. Again, it is an intriguing insight into the situation of pilgrimage and religious tourism in the late nineteenth century. Gagan died in 1896 at the age of 77, two years after completing the DYJ.

In addition to the DYJ, Gagan left behind extensive literary works collected in *Collected Poems of Seon Master Beomhae* (*Beomhae seonsa sijip* 梵海禪師詩集) and *Collected Writings of Seon Master Beomhae* (*Beomhae seonsa munjip* 梵海禪師文集), as well as over twenty other works. In his preface to the DYJ, Beomhae Gagan, expresses his motivation for creating the work.

After the Buddhadharma was first introduced to our Eastern Country (Dongguk) and flourished through Goguryeo, Baekje, Silla, Goryeo to our Joseon, during its prime, it also acquired the monk registration system, monastic examinations, and monastic officials.

When there is history, there is biography. Unfortunately, after many wars, all public historical records have been lost, so there is nothing much left to trust and study. There are inscriptions carved on stelae, but it is challenging to study them due to moss and erosion. The *Origins of the Buddhist Patriarchs of Haedong* (*Haedong Buljo wollyu* 海東佛祖源流) is available. However, it cannot be trusted as the recorded dharma names and pen names are based on false assumptions.

I, along with my disciples, in our spare time after debating the scriptures, collected the narratives of the monks of the Eastern Country and turned the stories of our predecessors into a collection of admonitions for our successors. I also keep a rough record of my dharma lineage and dharma faction.

In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Joseon, there was a trend of compiling sources on history and tradition to transmit to future generations. This also holds true for Buddhist circles. Writings on the “transmission of the lamp” (傳燈), i.e., the transmission of Buddhism, and especially its Seon traditions, and the compilation of historiographical texts flourished (Kim 2020, 4–5).

Among the products of this trend one may cite, The *Origins of the Buddhist Patriarchs of Western Regions, China and Korea* (*Seoyeok Junghwa Haedong Buljo wollyu* 西域中華海東佛祖源流) mentioned above, compiled by Saam Chaeyeong 獅巖采永 in 1764 and describing

the succession of Seon patriarchs beginning from India and proceeding on to China and Korea, or else *Brief Notes on Mountain History* (*Sansa yakcho* 山史略抄), a text explaining various Buddhist traditions in a historical context and published in 1863. Also, numerous monastic histories, such as *Records of Daedunsa Monastery* and *Records of Mandeoksa Monastery* (*Mandeoksa ji* 萬德寺志) were published in this period.

Moreover, the famous Confucian scholar Dasan 茶山 Jeong Yakyong 丁若鏞 (1762–1836) wrote his *Overview of Seon and Gyo in the Great East* (*Daedong Seon-Gyo go* 大東禪教考), in which he outlines the history of Buddhism from the Three Kingdoms period, to include the lives of eminent Korean monks. Also, the *Records of Monks and Nuns of the Eastern Country* (*Dongguk seungni-rok* 東國僧尼錄), by an unknown author (perhaps even from a Confucian background) in mid- or late Joseon, belongs to the *Goseung jeon* genre. It includes narratives of eminent monks from Silla, Goryeo, and the early and mid-Joseon periods, to include Heo'eung Bou 虛應普雨 (1515?–1565), Cheongheo Hyujeong 清虛休靜 (1520–1604), and Samyeong Yujeong 泗溟惟政 (1544–1610).

Volume 1 of the DYJ contains the biographies of twenty monks, starting with Ado 阿度, one of the first missionaries in Three Kingdoms period, and ending with Muhak Jacho 無學自超 (1327–1405), active at the end of Goryeo and beginning of Joseon. Volume 2 also contains biographies of twenty monks, beginning with Taego Bou of Goryeo and concluding with Cheongheo Hyujeong of the mid-Joseon period, introducing monks of the dharma tradition of Taego (太古法統) and the mainstream lineage of Cheongheo. Volume 3 consists of twenty-three biographies of patriarchs, eminent masters, and lecturers from the Buhyu lineage (浮休系) associated with the Daedunsa.

Volume 4 begins with the great scholar of Daedunsa, Yeondam Yuil 蓮潭有一, and introduces fifty-three narratives of lecturers and Seon masters up to the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century. Volume 5 consists of forty-eight lecturers and Seon masters of the nineteenth century. Volume 6 introduces thirty-four masters, mostly the author's

contemporaries, including the Yi Hoegwang mentioned above, who later, in 1908, founded the integrated Buddhist order, Wonjong 圓宗.

Even though the DYJ belongs to the biographies of eminent monks genre, the structure simply follows the chronological order of the monks' lives. Beomhae Gagan does not classify the narratives into further categories, as we saw above in the case of *Gaoseng zhuan* or *Samguk yusa*, or as we may assume to have been the case with the *Haedong goseung jeon*. Thirteen monks—from Ado to Dongjin—represent the Three Kingdoms period. Goguryeo and Baekje are not portrayed in favor of Silla monks, who are significantly more presented in the sources. Ten monks, from National Preceptor Daegak Uicheon to Wonjin 圓禱, represent Goryeo. Hamheo Gihwa 涵虛已和 (1376–1433) starts off the series of 176 masters of Joseon up to Yi Hoegwang.

Therefore, most of the texts cover monks who lived in late Joseon, that is, in the seventeenth century and later, with the largest proportion coming from the nineteenth century. A particular focus is given to masters related to the author through the dharma lineage, namely the Pyeongyang faction, and a large proportion of the monks included are associated with Daedunsa on Duryunsan Mountain, where the author dwelt. This may be due mainly to the bias of the available data and the importance of recognizing one's own lineage (Beomhae Gagan 2015, 12; Kim 2020, 5–6).

The structure and content of the biographies included in this book follow the composition of the original. The present volume includes forty-eight biographies from volumes 1 through 4 of the DYJ, but excludes volumes 5 and 6 entirely, which are overly biased toward the Pyeongyang faction and Daedunsa.

The sixteen monks in volume 1 include eleven masters of Unified Silla and five from Goryeo. The selection reflects the fact that Ado of the Three Kingdoms period is already in the HGJ. On the other hand, the biographies of eminent monks such as Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686) or Uisang 義湘 (625–702), who are not in the HGJ, are presented here.

What follows are the biographies of late Silla monks involved in the introduction and spreading of Seon teachings. The next part of

the volume is dedicated to the Goryeo Hwaeom monk and founder of Korean Cheontae (Ch. Tiantai) school, National Preceptor Daegak Uicheon, along with National Preceptor Jinjeong (眞靜國師) Cheon-chaek 天頤 and Buam Unmuk 浮庵雲默. The last two masters in the volume are Royal Preceptor Naong Hyegeun 懶翁惠勤 (1320–1376), a Seon monk of the Jogye tradition, and his disciple Muhak Jacho. Bojo Jinul and his disciple Jin'gak Hyesim 眞覺慧謙 (1178–1234) are included in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Jogye*.

Volume 2 introduces sixteen biographies from the late Goryeo to mid-Joseon periods. The first section of the volume comprises the dharma tradition (法統) of Taego 太古, established in the first half of the seventeenth century, starting with Taego Bou 太古普愚. Further, it includes Hwanam Honsu 幻庵混修, Gugok Gagun 龜谷覺雲, Byeokgye Jeongsim 碧溪正心, Byeoksong Jieom 碧松智嚴, and Buyong Yeonggwan 芙蓉靈觀, as well as a biography of the influential scholar-monk Hamheo Gihwa 涵虛己和. Then come the monks active mostly in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the period troubled with the Japanese invasions of Joseon. The monks included here are Cheongheo Hyujeong and his disciples Samyeong Yujeong, Pyeonyang Eon'gi 鞭羊彥機 (1581–1644), and Soyo Taeneung 逍遙太能 (1562–1649), along with their dharma-descendants.

Volume 3 presents eight eminent monks of the eighteenth century. The successor of the Soyo faction of the Cheongheo lineage, Hwaak Munsin 華岳文信 (1629–1707), and the heirs of the dharma tradition of the mainstream faction of Pyeonyang within the Cheongheo lineage, namely Seoram Chubung 雪巖秋鵬 (1651–1706), Hwanseong Jian 喚醒志安 (1664–1729), and Hoam Chejeong 虎巖體淨 (1687–1748), and famous lecturers of the time. Volume 4 includes eminent monks who lived in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the author's autobiographical preface.

Biographies of Eminent Monks of Jogye

The third section of this book comprises the *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Jogye* (*Jogye goseung jeon* 曹溪高僧傳, JGJ) authored by Geummyeong Bojeong 錦溟寶鼎 (1861–1930). The author was a monk associated with Songgwangsa Monastery in Suncheon, Jeollanam-do. He was a member of the dharma lineage of Buhyu, one of the two major Seon traditions of Joseon, the second being the Cheongheo lineage mentioned above.

Therefore, Bojeong merged the biographies of Songgwangsa's founder, Bojo Jinul 普照知訥 of late Goryeo, and patriarchs and masters of the Seon Cultivation Society (Suseonsa 修禪社), the community of practitioners established by Jinul, with biographies of late Joseon monks members of the Buhyu lineage. The text includes ninety-seven biographies. Thirty of them were selected for this anthology.

The term *jogye* in the title links the later Buhyu lineage with Jogyesan Mountain Songgwangsa's tradition started by Jinul. The title revives the name of the Jogye order of the late Goryeo and early Joseon (Kim 2020, 6–8).

The JGJ presents 388 names in total but includes ninety-seven biographies beginning with Bojo Jinul and ending with Yongeun Wanseop 龍隱完燮. The eminent monks from late Goryeo and early Joseon related to the Seon Cultivation Society and the successors of the dharma tradition of Taego are listed in the first section of the compilation. The primary focus is given to the Buhyu lineage, beginning with Buhyu Seonsu 浮休善修 (1543–1615) and his dharma heirs through the early twentieth century.

The author of the JGJ, Geummyeong Bojeong, was a monk associated with Songgwangsa and the Buhyu lineage. His family name was Gim, and he was born in the village of Unyong in Gokseong-gun, Jeollanam-do. At the age of fifteen, he became a monk under Geumnyeon Gyeongwon 金蓮敬圓 of Songgwangsa. Two years later, he received the full precepts from Gyeongpa 景坡. He traveled throughout the country, visiting great teachers, studying Buddhist doctrine as well

as Confucian and Daoist teachings. When he was thirty years old, he inherited the dharma from Geumnyeon Gyeongwon and began to teach. Besides Songgwangsa, he taught in other monasteries of the Buhyu lineage, including Hwaeomsa 華嚴寺 Monastery.

He was appointed abbot of Songgwangsa in 1898, at the age of thirty-eight. This was just after the proclamation of the Korean Empire. In 1899, Emperor Gojong issued an edict, ordering the *Tripitaka Koreana* to be printed from the wooden blocks in Haeinsa Monastery and the copies to be stored in the three jewel monasteries, i.e., Tongdosa 通度寺, Haeinsa, and Songgwangsa. Bojeong dispatched fifty monks from Songgwangsa and had the scriptures stored in the Sutra Hall (*Janggyeong jeon* 藏經殿) of Songgwangsa. The emperor, the imperial court, and government agencies directly supported and sponsored the dharma assemblies and rituals performed for the imperial family's prosperity.

In 1902, the Monastery Ordinance of the Great Han (Daehan sachallyeong 大韓寺刹令) was issued. Wonheungsa 元興寺 Monastery outside the Seoul gates was designated the main monastery (*daebeopsan* 大法山) and Main Administrative Office responsible for the control and administration of all monasteries in the country. Songgwangsa became one of the sixteen main provincial monasteries (中法山). At that time, Bojeong often traveled to Seoul on the official matters of Songgwangsa. Later, in 1902, he lectured at Wonheungsa during a Hwaeom dharma assembly celebrating the establishment of a Wondang 願堂 Shrine on the occasion of the forthcoming sixtieth birthday of Emperor Gojong. In 1903, Emperor Gojong sponsored the construction of the Seongsu jeon 聖壽殿 (today's Gwaneum jeon) Hall, a prayer shrine for the emperor's wellbeing, and had his tablet enshrined therein. On that occasion, Bojeong wrote, "A monk is also a subject. The mind focused on a ruler is originally the mind focused on the Buddha. Therefore, to be loyal to the ruler is to respect the Buddha."

In 1904, Bojeong left the abbot position. However, when righteous army (*uibyeong*) members hid in Jogyesan in 1908, the Japanese military set fires in order to subdue them. As a result, Bojoam 普照庵

Hermitage burned down, and Songgwangsa was in danger of destruction. Bojeong promised to protect the monastery even at the price of martyrdom. Bojeong accented altruism and justice (仁義) as well as solidarity (大同) and his writings of that time were concerned with the fate of the declining country in chaotic times (Kim 2020, 9).

In 1911, the newly established Japanese Governor-General of Korea issued its Monastery Ordinance (Sachallyeong 寺刹令) and implemented the thirty main mountain (*bonsan* 本山) system. Songgwangsa became one of the main monasteries. By this new system, the Japanese Governor-General had the right to appoint abbots and dispose of the monastery property, a significant violation of Korean Buddhism's autonomy.

Adjusting to the new times, a modern-type school was established at Songgwangsa. Bojeong taught literary Chinese and Buddhism there. In 1914, he founded a monastic academy (*gangwon* 講院) and lectured there. He suggested combining traditional teaching on meditation, doctrine, and remembrance of the Buddha (*yeombul* 念佛) with modern primary and secondary education. From 1915, Bojeong resided in various monasteries and devoted himself to writing.

In 1922, Bojeong returned to Songgwangsa. In 1923 a monastery-run academy, Songmyeong gyodang 松明校堂, was established in nearby Beolgyo. Bojeong launched the academy as a mission center and assented to the necessity of education of the public. In his final years, Bojeong dedicated himself to the teaching of his disciples. He died in the second month of 1930.

Although Bojeong inherited the dharma tradition of the Buhyu lineage, he participated in lectures of many renowned lecturers of Hwaeom. Therefore, on his stele is engraved the title of “leader of the Hwaeom school.”

Also, Bojeong studied under Beomhae Gagan, a member of the Pyeonyang faction of Cheongheo lineage. Gagan significantly influenced Bojeong. Bojeong praised Gagan as the teacher of the three teachings of meditation, doctrine, and remembrance of the Buddha, and as successor to the twelve eminent masters of Daedunsa. He

composed Gagan's record of conduct and compiled an epilogue to Gagan's collected poems.

JGJ is considered to be the last traditional, or pre-modern, reflection of Buddhist history. The only manuscript version of the JGJ is in the collection of Songgwangsa. It was included in volume 12 of the *Complete Works of Korean Buddhism*. The author's preface is dated the first month of 1920, but the last biography of Yongeun Wanseop contains an entry about him assuming a position at Songgwangsa in the first month of 1930. Hence, it can be assumed that the first version of the text was completed in 1920 but was continuously updated until the first month of 1930, just before the author's death.

In his preface, Bojeong briefly introduces the history of monastic biography and hagiography in China and Korea. He mentions Hujiao's *Liang Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Liang gaoseng zhuan*), Yijing's 義淨 *Great Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks who Traveled to the West Seeking the Dharma* (*Da Tang Xiyu quifa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳), and Daoxuan's *Supplement to the Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 繢高僧傳). Bojeong regrets that despite many grand masters of Korea, there was only Gakhun's HGJ available and accents Gagan's recent work, the DYJ, that thematizes the genre of transmitting the lamp within the Buddhist community. Bojeong put much effort into organizing Buddhist history, collecting classics and historical materials, and left behind several writings collected in the *Manuscript of Poems of Tea and Pines* (*Dasong sigo* 茶松詩稿) and *Drafted Texts of Tea and Pines* (*Dasong mun'go* 茶松文藁).³ Besides JGJ, his major works include another historiographical *Brief Records of Buddhist Genealogies* (*Seokbo yangnok* 釋譜畧錄), a catalogue of Buddhist and classic texts, *Complete Catalogue of Gathered Genealogies* (*Jeoyeok chongbo* 著譯叢譜), and *Record of Inquiries* (*Jirui-rok* 質疑錄), a dictionary of Buddhist terms or the *Selected Poetry of the Great East* (*Daedong yeongseon* 大東詠選), a collection of Seon poems.

Jogye in the title of the JGJ stands for Jogyesan, location of Songgwangsa. The Korean name is derived from a Chinese toponym, Caoxi (Kr. Jogye) 曹溪, in Guangdong where the sixth patriarch of

Chan (Kr. Seon), Huineng 慧能, lived.

The monks included in the JGJ are referred to as “eminent masters of Jogye” (*Jogye jongsa* 曹溪宗師). This is based on Bojeong’s understanding of the history of Goryeo and Joseon Buddhism. Bojeong portrays Jinul as the figure who unified the Nine Mountain Schools (*Gusan seonmun* 九山禪門) of Korean Buddhism, overcame the gap between the doctrinal (Gyo) and meditation (Seon) schools, and established the Jogye order by merging various branches and factions.

Bojeong’s work is undoubtedly shaped by the sources available to him. In the case of the monks whose records of conduct and stelae were available, he summarized and compiled the data in the form of proper biographies. However, for the remainder, he merely listed their names. Many of the monks included in the JGJ whose lives were contemporary with the work’s compilation wrote their own records and submitted them to Bojeong for inclusion.

Finally, Bojeong states that he composed the JGJ in return for the grace of Jinul, the founder of Jogye order. Bojeong expresses his intention to record the teachings and virtue of the patriarchs and eminent monks, so they would not disappear.

Bojeong played a crucial role in establishing the Buhyu faction’s legitimacy and promoting the ideological trends of the Jogye order and Bojo Jinul (Kim 2020, 11–12). When the book was compiled in 1930, the name of the Jogye order and Bojo Jinul as its founder received attention from academic and Buddhist circles. As a result, in 1941, the name Jogye order was chosen to represent Korean Buddhism. Also, the name of the largest Buddhist order in Korea is the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism (Daehan Bulgyo Jogye jong). The book has had a significant impact on interpretation of the Korean Buddhist tradition.

Biographies and tradition

As sociologist Joseph R. Gusfield (1967, 358) pointed out, “[t]radition is not something waiting out there, always over one's shoulder. It is rather plucked, created, and shaped to present needs and aspirations in a given historical situation.” In East Asian Buddhism, the genre of biographies has been a powerful means of articulating and creating traditions, schools, and lineages. Therefore did Beomhae Gagan, in the “Preface” to his work state, “[w]hen there is history, there is biography.”

Reading the three sets of biographies included here allows the reader to compare and contrast the respective authors' styles and approaches. All the texts draw from the genres of East Asian Buddhist hagiographies, namely those of *Biographies of Eminent monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan* [Kr. *Goseung jeon*] 高僧傳) and *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Chuandeng lu* [Kr. *Jeondeung nok*] 傳燈錄).

The three authors follow a similar structure and include common elements, such as information on names, family background, prenatal dreams, psychological features, leaving home and early studies, lists of teachers and disciples, later years, supernatural accounts, death, cremation, treatment of relics, and poetry and eulogy. Also, the three authors share a similar methodology of compiling the data of other biographies, historical texts, and stelae.

However, each of the authors combines these elements and their sources differently, having their specific vision, agenda, and preferences rooted in historical conditions. As discussed above, the two latter compilations each construct a lineage within a broader tradition.

The biographies are also pre-modern reflections of the identity of Korean Buddhism. All three authors deal with this question in their prefaces, and the titles of the former two texts reflect the national significance referring to Haedong and the East, respectively. Analogically, the present publication also incorporates into its title today's name for Korea, Han'guk.

The publication of *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Korea* as an authoritative anthology of Korean Buddhist biographies opens a new

chapter in the development of the genre of Buddhist hagiographies since it presents an assemblage of hagiographies of eminent monks considered representative from today's point of view.

The English translation with additional annotations of the three texts, was conducted from an annotated Korean manuscript, taking into account the Hanmun originals available at the Archives of Buddhist Culture (Bulgyo girok munhwa yusan akaibeu) provided by Dongguk University.

The chapter titles in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Haedong* are not found in the original text but were added in the translation to improve reader orientation. Also, the chapter titles in *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Jogye* originally included the name of the Jogye sect or school (Jogye jong 曹溪宗) of the monk, e.g., “Biography of National Preceptor Jin'gak Wonso of Jogye Sect” (Jogye jong Jin'gak Wonso guksa jeon 曹溪宗眞覺圓照國師傳), but these were omitted in the translation.

Notes

- 1 Some sources give Yi Hoegwang's dates as 1840–1911 (e.g., Jang 1991), whereas others state 1862–1933 (Kim 2020). He is introduced in the last entry of the *Biographies of Eastern Masters* (not included in this volume) as residing at Geonbongsa Monastery in Gangwon-do province in 1894 when he was 33. He is considered a pro-Japanese collaborator for his activities during the Japanese occupation of Korea. Yi was involved with pro-Japanese circles and supported structural and personal changes orchestrated by the Japanese administration within the Korean Buddhist community.
- 2 Jang (1991, 15) offers a detailed discussion on the topic.
- 3 The titles reflect Bojeong's pen name, Dasongja 茶松子—“Man of Tea and Pines.”

Biographies of Eminent Monks of Haedong

Haedong goseungjeon 海東高僧傳
by Gakhun 覺訓

Volume 1

Compiled, by royal order, by the official Gakhun 覺訓,¹ abbot of Yeongtongsa 靈通寺² Monastery³ at Ogwansan 五冠山 Mountain located in a northern part of Gaegyeong, and a senior scholar-monk of the purple robe.⁴

Transmission 1-1

The treatise (論)⁵ says that the nature of the Buddha's teaching is eternal in its nature and vast and deep in its vow of compassion; it permeates the three times of past, present, and future, and embraces the ten directions. It is like rain and dew nourishing all things to grow, and thunder and lightning to vibrate and sprout them. It reaches without going and is fast without haste. Its shape cannot be seen even with the five eyes⁶ and its form cannot be grasped even by surpassing the ability of language. Its substance is without going and coming; its function⁷ appears and disappears.

On the eighth day of the fourth month of the *gabin* year (1027 BCE), during the reign of King Zhao 昭 of Zhou dynasty, our Śākyamuni Tathagata descended, riding a sandalwood pavilion, from the Tuṣita Heaven⁸ into the womb of [his mother] Lady Māyā. He opened her right side and was born at [his father] King Śuddhodana's palace.⁹ That night, a five-colored light penetrated the Taiwei constellation (太微星) and illuminated the West. When King Zhao asked the astrologer Suyou 蘇由 about its meaning, the astrologer replied, "A

great saint was born in the West.” When asked if it would be beneficial or harmful, he replied, “Nothing will happen now. But in a thousand years, the teaching will reach this land.”

Bhagavan¹⁰ Śākyamuni dwelt initially in a palace and lived like a worldly person, but he departed from the palace on the eighth day of the fourth month of the *gapsin* year, the forty-second year of the King Zhao (997 BCE), when he turned thirty, and finally sat under a tree of awakening and achieved the Way. By turning the wheel of the dharma to benefit the people, it was like a unique *uḍumbara*¹¹ flower blooming. At first, he preached the teachings of the *Flower Ornament [Sutra]* (Kr. *Hwaeom gyeong* 華嚴經, Skt. *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*), followed by the teachings of the Lesser Vehicle (Hinayana), the *Perfection of Wisdom [of Madhyamaka]* (Kr. *Banya gyeong* 般若經, Skt. *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), the [Sutra] on Understanding Profound and Esoteric Doctrine (Kr. *Hae simmil gyeong* 解深密經, Skt. *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*) [of *Vijñaptimātra*], or the *Lotus [Sutra]* (Kr. *Beophwa gyeong* 法華經, Skt. *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*) and *Nirvana [Sutra]* (Kr. *Yeolban gyeong* 涅槃經, Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*) according to the conditions and abilities of his disciples. It was like a single wind gust causing movement through ten thousand openings making them sound simultaneously, or the moon reflecting itself in a thousand rivers. For forty-nine years, he taught and liberated sentient beings. This is what Confucius said in *Liezi*,¹² that “there is a sage in the West.” At that time, Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, and the Buddha’s disciple Mahāmaudgalyāyana¹³ left their footsteps in China in order to educate people.

At the age of seventy-nine, on the fifteenth day of the second month of the *imsin* year (949 BCE), during the reign of King Mu¹⁴ [of Zhou], the Buddha entered *parinirvāṇa* under two śāla trees, and for several days thereafter twelve white rainbows did not disappear. When the king asked, the astrologer Huduo 扈多 replied, “The great sage of the West has just entered nirvana.” At that time, disciple Ānanda¹⁵ and others gathered the words of the Buddha and wrote them down in detail on patta leaves, and created the three baskets of *sūtra*, *vinaya*, and *abhidharma*,¹⁶ and three teachings of *sīla*, *saṃādhi*, and *prajñā*¹⁷

that could be spread thereafter. However, the eternal teachings of the *Flower Ornament Sutra* were hidden in the palace of nagas (龍宮).¹⁸ Heterodox teachings flourished and spread like silkworms and different groups became noisy as frogs. Since then, Aśvaghoṣa¹⁹ was born into the world, [followed] by Dignāga²⁰ and Dharmapāla²¹ who harmoniously discarded the false teaching and expounded the correct dharma. The vast teachings of the Buddha were all in place in the West awaiting to be spread to the East in the future.

One hundred and sixteen years after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, King Aśoka²² of Eastern India collected the Buddha's relics and had ghost-soldiers erect 84,000 stupas in various places throughout the Jambudvīpa.²³ This was in the *jeongmi* year, the twenty-sixth year of the reign of King Jing of Zhou (494 BCE).²⁴ The stupas were erected during the Zhou dynasty. Reigns of twenty-two kings passed, and in the thirty-fourth year of Qin Shi Huang (213 BCE), [Qin Shi Huang] had books throughout the kingdom burned, and also the pagodas of King Aśoka disappeared. At that time, eighteen wise men, including sramana Lifang 利方, came to Xianyan 咸陽, the capital of Qin, with Buddhist scriptures and taught the people. But the Qin Shi Huang would not allow that and imprisoned them. A vajra-warrior²⁵ then appeared at night, broke into the prison and rescued them. The conditions and connections [for spreading of the dharma] were not yet ripe.

In the thirteenth year of the Yungping era (70 CE) of Later Han, [Kāśyapa] Mātaṅga and Dharmaratna²⁶ came to the Han court, the clouds of compassion covered nine provinces, and the rain of the dharma fell upon the earth. However, in a biography of Huo Gubing 霍去病 a general of Han said, "King Xiutu 休屠 got a golden man to worship Heaven." Hence it seems that the worship of statues arrived in the deserts [of Central Asia] first. In addition, it is said that the Buddhist scriptures and teachings were brought by Qin Jing 秦鏡 during the reign of Emperor Ai of the Han dynasty (r. 7–1 BCE) upon his return from Yuezhi.²⁷ This implies that Buddhism had already been practiced in the Han dynasty. Sixty-three years later (60 CE) Emperor Ming (r. 57–75) responded to the golden man (Buddha) and dreamt.

As for our Haedong (Korea), Sundo came to Pyeongyangseong Fortress in the year 372 of King Sosurim 小獸林 of Goguryeo 高句麗. Following him, Marananta 摩羅難陀 [arrived] from Jin 晉 of China to the country of Baekje 百濟 in 384 during the reign of King Chimnyu. Later, following the ascension of the twenty-third king of Silla, Beopheung 法興, in 514, Ado arrived on the eleventh day of the third month of the first year of the Datong 大通 era of Liang of China (527) and a layman Morye 毛禮 concealed him when he arrived to Ilseonhyeon 一善縣 (Seonsan-eup in today's Gyeongsangbuk-do). Then an envoy from Wu brought incense and Ado taught the people the incense-offering ceremonies. For this reason, he was invited to the royal palace, but the teachings had not yet been spread.

A close aide to the king, Yeomchok 獻髑 (Ichadon 異次頓), gave up his life to martyrdom and dispelled the suspicions of the nation's nobility. Ah! What would be if it were not for him? What teaching would I follow now? When people like Won'gwang and Jajang²⁸ went to the west and transmitted the dharma, the high and low believed in it, people both within and outside the court followed and practiced it, and as time went by, it eventually spread throughout Samhan 三韓 (Korea). Our revered King Taejo 太祖 (r. 918–943)²⁹ of Goryeo, Wang Geon was especially respectful of Buddhism and employed Buddhism greatly in all institutions when reforming the old and establishing the new. Later, the kings of later generations who inherited and protected the culture did not lose because they spread the Buddhadharma.

Uicheon 義天, National Preceptor Daegak (大覺國師),³⁰ the fourth-generation descendant of King Taejo, crossed the sea in the fourth month of the *eu*lchuk year (1085), the third year of King Seon[jong]'s reign. From Haedong he crossed the great sea to seek the Buddhadharma. He grasped the teachings of five schools as classified according to the Hwaeom school.³¹ [These were] the teachings of Hinayana, Mahayana's initial (始教) and final teaching (終教), sudden teaching (頓教), and perfect teaching (圓教), and returned to the proper teaching. Buddhism began during the Zhou dynasty and was divided into several streams during the Han dynasty and expanded

like a sea during the Wei and Jin dynasties (220–265). Also, Sui 隋 (589–618) and Tang 唐 (618–907) were overflowing, and waves rose in Song 宋 (960–1279) and gathered in Haedong. Altogether, 2,164 years have passed since the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* to the present year of *eulhae* (1215). It has been 1,151 years since [Buddhism] entered the Han dynasty 1,014 years after the Buddha's demise, and 844 years since Sundo entered Goguryeo. Also, the Way does not propagate itself but has people who spread it. Therefore, I wrote this section on "Transmission" (流通) to show it to our posterity. It turns out that all three "biographies of eminent monks" (*gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳) of the old Liang, Tang, and Song have a section on translators, but there were no translators in our country, so I did not include such a section.

**Sundo, Mangmyeong, Uiyeon, Damsi, Marananta,
Ado (Heukhoja, Wonpyo, Hyeonchang), Beopgong, Beobun**

Sundo 順道

We do not know who Seok³² Sundo (Ch. Shundao) was. He was highly virtuous and distinguished. He taught sentient beings with compassion and patience. He made a vow to spread the Buddha's teaching, traveled far and wide in China, moved his abode to meet opportunities, and was always tireless in spreading the dharma. During the sixth month of the summer in the *imsin* year (372), the second year of the seventeenth king of Goguryeo, Haemiryu 解味留 (or King Sosurim 小獸林), King Fu Jian 荷堅³³ of Qin sent an envoy and the monk Sundo with images of the Buddha and scriptures. Thereupon, the [Goguryeo] king and his retainers, overflowing with gratitude and joy, gathered and greeted them with proper etiquette before the city gate. The king dispatched an envoy with a tribute of local products to express his appreciation. Another source states that Sundo came from the Eastern Jin (東晉, 317–420) and spread the Buddha's teaching for the first time. As we cannot tell Qin from Jin, we do not know which [account] is correct and which wrong.

The master arrived in a foreign country, where he transmitted the lantern of compassion of the Western Regions and hung the sun of wisdom in the East. He demonstrated how cause and effect leads to misfortune or fortune. People gradually became familiar with his teaching as if they were touched by the fragrance of orchids and nourished by moisture. However, people back then were simple and unsophisticated, and he did not know how to educate them. Even though the master's knowledge was profound, and his understanding vast, he could not spread the teaching very far. It was more than two hundred years since Mātaṅga entered the Later Han.

There is a record in ancient texts [saying] that four years later, the divine monk Ado 阿道 came from Wei. The Seongmunsa 省門寺 Monastery was built, and Sundo was appointed an abbot there. The

records state that the name was Seongmun, but it is today's Heungguksa 興國寺 Monastery. The record was later wrongly copied and the monastery was [erroneously] called Chomun 肖門. Also, Ibullansa 伊佛蘭寺 Monastery was founded, and Ado was appointed an abbot there. Heungboksa 興福寺 Monaster mentioned in ancient texts is this monastery. This was the beginning of Buddhism in Haedong.

What a pity! This man's virtue should have been written on bamboo and silk, and his great achievement should have been widely announced. However, we cannot find such a text anywhere. Why is this so? It is necessary to await a wise man to keep the king's orders from being dishonored when sending envoys in the four directions of the world. How could he succeed in a foreign country in performing great things never done before, did he not have a great plan and supernatural spiritual powers? This alone shows that he was an extraordinary person, like Zhu Falan竺法蘭³⁴ or Kang Senghui 康僧會.³⁵

The eulogy says: When the old Samhan 三韓 had established themselves, founded the countries, and assumed the title of a king, there was no sign that the Buddha's fame would shine. Due to the compassionate response [of buddhas], the teaching has spread, and extraordinary men and men of virtue finally arrived and taught the people. *Yijing*, The *Book of Changes*, says: "When acted on, it penetrates forthwith to all phenomena and events under the sky."³⁶ This relates to Sundo. When I visited Heungguksa and Heungboksa monasteries for the first time, I felt I had to write a text reflecting this. The conditions had not been met by then, but now I have received the royal order. I begin the *Biographies of Eminent Monks [of Haedong]* with Sundo.

Mangmyeong 亡名

Seok Mangmyeong [forgotten name, stands for no-name (*mumyeong* 無名), i.e., unknown name] was a man of Goguryeo. He concentrated on attaining the Way and based his actions on benevolence. He cherished the truth and acted according to virtue. He was not angry even when people did not recognize him. He rang his inner bell [and spread the sound of] the excellent teaching. Everybody in the country knew about his fame. He was like a heavy rain pouring everywhere. Dharma Master Zhidun³⁷ of Jin sent a letter saying: “Elder Zhu Fashen of Zhongzhou (a place in Shanxi Province), was a disciple of the eminent Master Liu [Liu Yuanzhen 劉元眞]. He was excellent in appearance and character, gathered both clergy and laity. People followed vinaya, regardless of whether in the capital or the provinces. All, Buddhists or not, respected him, and he was the best in spreading the Way.” The eminent master Zhidun was a famous person in China. Since he sent him the letter, he must have been a person of great ability and knowledge. Moreover, as a foreigner, if he was not an outstanding person, how would he come to receive such a letter?

Also, as Buddhism came from [the Southern dynasties] Jin to Haedong, there must have been great personalities in Song and Qi as well. Sadly, we have no records about them. Zhu Lingqi 朱靈期 from Song (420–479) came to Goguryeo as an envoy, and on his return was shipwrecked and stranded on an island. There he received an alms bowl of Beidu.³⁸ Also, during the Qi dynasty (479–502), people in Goguryeo did not know about the Buddha’s presence in the world. Someone asked the eminent monk Fashang,³⁹ and he responded using the auspicious omens from the time of King Zhao of Zhou. There must have been quite a few people who came to know the gist of Buddhism by eagerly rushing to China in the west. It is lamentable that due to the lack of good historians their biographies were not recorded.

Uiyeon 義淵

Seok Uiyeon was from Goguryeo. Nothing about his family or relations is known. He shaved his head himself and dressed in a monk's robe, and diligently kept the rules of vinaya. He possessed profound wisdom and understanding, broad knowledge, and mastery of both Confucianism and Daoism. The clergy and laity of that time followed him. Although he liked to convey the dharma and meant to teach it, it was difficult to reveal the light even with the best jewel of the dharma. However, the reason is unknown.

Allegedly, the monk Fashang 法上 of Dingguo Monastery (定國寺) of the Qi 濟 dynasty (Northern Qi, 550–577) was firm like a mountain in keeping the vinaya, and his wisdom was vast as the sea. He was solemn towards sentient beings, set an example for the people, traveled around and set the world straight. He was the superintendent of the community for the entire region and took care of two million monks and nuns. He guided them for nearly forty years with the dharma and vinaya. During the reign of Emperor Wenxuan 文宣 (r. 550–559), he had the Buddhist scriptures widely distributed, and he expounded upon them thoroughly. All the laypeople and clergy believed and followed them. His great activities revealed themselves, and his reputation reached far.

At that time, Wang Godeok 王高德, the prime minister of Goguryeo, had profound and correct faith and revered Mahayana. He attempted to spread the teachings of Buddhism to this farthest corner of the seas. However, he did not know of the origins or history of Buddhism; neither did he know the era or king's reign when Buddhism passed from the West to the East. Therefore, he made a list of questions and sent Uiyeon to Ye 鄖 [the capital of Wei 魏], to find out what he did not know. Roughly, the content was the following: "How many years have passed since the Buddha Śākyamuni entered nirvana? How many

years passed before the teaching came from India to China, and during which emperor's reign it was? To which country did Buddhadharma come first, Qi or Chen, and how many years have passed and emperors have ruled since? Who wrote the treatises such as *Daśabhūmika-bhāṣya*,⁴⁰ *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*,⁴¹ *Bodhisattvabhūmi-sūtra*,⁴² and *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitōpadeśa*?⁴³ Were there any records of the authors' motivations or the origins of these auspicious omens? I have recorded these questions and ask you to dispel my doubts."

Fashang replied, "The Buddha was born in the *gabin* year,⁴⁴ the twenty-fourth year of King Zhao of Zhou (1027 BCE) and achieved the Buddhahood at the age of thirty. In the *gyemi* year,⁴⁵ the twenty-fourth year of King Mu (977 BC), the king heard that a saint had appeared in the West and that the person went directly to the west and never returned. Therefore, the Buddha dwelt in the world for forty-nine years after his awakening. One thousand four hundred sixty-five years passed from his *parinirvāṇa* to the present seventh year of the Wuping 武平 era of the Qi dynasty (576 CE). In the Yongping 永平 era (58–75 CE) of Emperor Ming of the Later Han, Buddhist scriptures and the Buddhadharma were first introduced [to China] and transmitted further during the Wei and Jin dynasties.

"However, it was Kang Senghui who broadly spread the teaching when he went to [the state of] Wu during the Chiwu era (238–250) of Sun Quan. Monk Asaṅga received the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* from Maitreya, and Dharmakṣema translated it in Guzang 姑藏 [today's Gansu Province] for Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜, king of Hexi 河西, in the Long'an era (397–401) of Emperor An of Jin. The *Treatise on Mahayana* (Skt. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, Ch. *Moheyān lun* 摩訶衍論) was written by Nāgārjuna (Ch. Longshu 龍樹) and translated by Kumārajīva (Ch. Jiumoshibo 鳩摩什波), after he arrived in Chang'an, for Yao Xing 姚興 of Later Qin in the Long'an era of Jin. The *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* and *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitōpadeśa* were both written by Asaṅga's brother Vasubandhu and translated for the first time by Bodhiruci during the reign of Emperor Xuanwu 宣武 (r. 499–515)." Fashang's answers were based on evidence and provided extensive reasoning. I

have only included the gist here.

Uiyeon led his disciples well, bearing [the answers] in mind, and was versed in the profound and mysterious principles. He was exceptionally eloquent and his logic was able to solve even a chain of rings linked together. So the old doubts melted like ice and now the wonderful doctrine shines like after fog has cleared. Obtaining the sun of wisdom in the West and pouring the spring of the dharma into the East, the teaching does not diminish, as if stitched with gold, and is eternal, as if threaded with various beads.

Do not the sayings “the ferry crossing the sea of suffering” and “the pillar supporting the gate of the dharma” relate to our master? When he returned to his homeland, he propagated great wisdom and guided the ignorant. His teaching transcended the past and present, his fame spread throughout the ten directions. How could such a great thing have been achieved if his qualities were not so outstanding and the rules of the world had not helped? There is no record of the end of his life, so I cannot write it here.

The eulogy says: The date of the Buddha’s birth is recorded differently in multiple biographies, and it is difficult to organize them and confirm the correct one. However, Uiyeon received the teaching directly from Fashang and returned [home]. His calculation corresponds to the *Treatise on Discerning the Correct* (*Bianzheng lun* 辨正論)⁴⁶ by Falin 法琳 of Tang. Therefore, we should take it as a standard. However, the Confucian scholar O Semun,⁴⁷ citing old documents, offered a different theory and initiated a dispute. Even though his hypothesis is detailed and his language colorful, it is not reliable.

Damsi 曇始

Master Damsi (Ch. Tanshi) was from Guanzhong 關中 (Chang'an). After becoming a monk, he performed many miraculous acts. His feet were whiter than his face. Even when wading through muddy water, they would not get wet. People would call him Master Baizu 白足 (White Foot).⁴⁸ In the last year of the Taiyuan era of Jin (396 CE), he took several tens of sutra and vinaya scriptures and went to the Liaodong Peninsula to teach the people. According to his spiritual abilities, he broadly educated the people in the teachings of the three vehicles⁴⁹ and let the people take the Buddhist precepts. In the *Liang Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Liang gaoseng zhuan* 梁高僧傳), this event is considered the beginning of Buddhism in Goguryeo. This was in the fifth year of Goguryeo's King Gwanggaeto (396 CE), forty-first year of Silla's King Naemul, fifth year of Baekje's King Asin, and twenty-five years after Fu Jian of the Chinese Qin dynasty sent the scriptures and images of the Buddha to Goguryeo. Four years later (400 CE), Faxian 法顯 reached India. Another two years after that, Kumārajīva came to China, and the Dharma Master Xuangao 玄高⁵⁰ was born.

At the beginning of the Yixi 義熙 era (405–418) of Jin, Master Damsi returned to Guanzhong and preached the dharma in the three metropolitan areas.⁵¹ An uncle of Wang Hu 王胡, a man from Chang'an, had been dead for several years. Suddenly, one day he appeared in [Wang Hu's] dream and brought him to hell, where he showed him various karmic retributions taking place there. When Wang Hu bid him farewell and was about to leave, the uncle said, "Now you have understood the law of karmic retribution, you must serve the white-footed master and perform only good deeds." Wang Hu bowed politely and awoke. He inquired of all the monks, and as soon as he found the one with feet whiter than his face, he immediately began to serve him.

At the end of the Jin dynasty, Helian Bobo 赫連勃勃⁵² of the Xiongnu 匈奴 attacked Guanzhong and killed countless numbers. The master was also assaulted, but when a sword could not harm him, all the monks were released and their lives spared. [The master] left Chang'an secretly for the mountains, where he cultivated ascetic practices.⁵³ Not long afterward, Tuoba Tao⁵⁴ captured Chang'an and swept through the Guan[zhong] and Luo[yang] areas. At that time, there was a Cui Hao 崔浩 of Chuanling 傳陵 who had learned something of Daoism and loathed Buddhism. When he rose to the position of prime minister and gained the firm trust of Tuoba Tao, he joined forces with a Daoist priest named Kou Qianzhi.⁵⁵ They advised Tuoba Tao to purge Buddhism, claiming Buddhism was fruitless for the world and injured the interests of the people. Deluded by their words, finally Tuoba Tao, in the seventh year of the Taiping era (446), in order to extinguish the Buddhadharma, dispatched soldiers to loot and burn down monasteries. Monks within his realm had to return to lay life. Those who attempted to escape and go into hiding were captured and killed. There were no sramanas in the entire country. Xuangao and others were also killed. The account of it is recorded in the *Liang Biographies of Eminent Monks*.

The master severed all ties and observed the world from a place of seclusion where the war could not reach him. At the end of the Taiping era (440–450), he realized in advance that Tuoba Tao's death had neared, and on the day of the celebration of the new year went straight to the palace gate holding an iron staff in his hand. A palace official reported to Tuoba Tao that a monk with white feet was standing at the palace gates and that his behavior and appearance were strange. Hearing this, Tuoba Tao ordered brave soldiers to behead him, but he was not even hurt. Tuoba Tao was furious and struck him with his sharp sword. However, other than a red mark at the spot the sword had hit him, his body was unharmed. At that time, they kept tigers in a den in the northern garden. Tuoba Tao ordered Damsi to be dragged there and fed to the tigers. But the tigers laid down silently and dared not approach him. Then Tuoba Tao, as a test, ordered Kou Qianzhi to go near the den. The ferocious tigers roared, trying to snatch and devour

him.

Tuoba Tao realized that the divine powers of Buddhism surpassed the Daoist Yellow Emperor (黃帝) and Laozi 老子. He immediately invited the master to the palace and bowing with his head to the master's feet he repented his evil doings. The master explained the persistence of karmic retribution. Then he opened his hand, and divine signs appeared. Tuoba Tao was ashamed of the past and wished to polish his future karma. However, the evil of his past had accumulated, and he became ill. Cui Hao and Kou Qianzhi too fell ill and soon reached the threshold of death. Tuoba Tao realized that everything happened because of the two and could not forgive them. He had their families eradicated and ordered the restoration of Buddhism. The sound of the monastery bells again resonated throughout the realm. Later, his grandson Tuoba Jun 拓跋濬 inherited the throne. As he was wary of the past and supported Buddhism, great institutions were successfully introduced. The master's further whereabouts are unknown.

The eulogy says: When a fire burns in the Mountain Kungang (崑岡山), the jade and stone burn together. When frost falls on the fields, mugwort and orchids wither together. The difficulties and hardships of the master were genuinely precarious. The hardships of cutting down the trees and removing their traces, this is of no comparison. Master's hiding and appearing as conditions required was like a white cloud that obscures and again reveals the blue mountain. When mistreated, he advanced and withdrew [from danger] like a bright moon in a pond. This is the way of the bodhisattva who protects the Buddhadharma. He sacrifices his body to protect the drowned and incites the Buddhahood. The master came to the eastern country just in time to open the eyes of the blind. If it is not a result of a vow made in a former life!

Marananta 摩羅難陀

Seok Marananta (Skt. Mālānanda) was a monk from India. It is impossible to assume the level of his miraculous powers and capability of sympathetic resonance. He did not remain in one place due to his intention to go everywhere. According to the old records, he originally came from India's Gandhāra region to China. He used his magical powers to spread the dharma and burned incense to gather companions. He traveled through dangerous places and had a difficult time, but despite his hardship, if there were appropriate karmic conditions, he followed them and went to even the farthest places. In the ninth month of the year of enthronement of the fourteenth king of Baekje, Chimnyu (384), the master arrived from [Eastern] Jin. The king went to the outskirts of the city to greet him. He brought him to the court and politely offered him food and listened to a sermon. With the court's support, the people below were also edified [in dharma] and with mutual support the Buddhist activities started to flourish. The speed of all this was like relaying the royal order by post horses. In the spring of the second year of King Chimnyu (385), a monastery was built in Hansan (the capital of Baekje) and ten monks were ordained. It was because the king admired the master. Like this, Baekje accepted Buddhism after Goguryeo. If we count back, it was 280 years after Mātaṅga arrived in the Later Han.

According to the *Girogi* 耆老記,⁵⁶ Jumong 朱蒙, the founder of Goguryeo, married a Goguryeo woman and had two sons, Piryu 邇流 and Eunjo 恩祖.⁵⁷ The two went south together and built their country in Hansan where Gwangju is today. Originally, Baekje 百濟 was named Baekje because a hundred families (*baekga* 百家) crossed the river (*je* 濟). Later, the city was relocated to Gongju and Buyeo counties. In the sea to the southeast of Samhan, there is the country of Wae (倭國) which is the country of Japan (日本國). Northeast of Wae, there is the country of

hairy people (毛人國). To the northeast of that country, lies the country of tattooed people (文身國). Two-thousand *ri* (about 800 km) distant to the east lies the country of the Great Han (大漢國), and another twenty thousand *ri* to the east of the latter is the country of Fusang (扶桑國). During the Song 宋 of the Southern dynasties, five Buddhist monks from India arrived here for the first time and spread the Buddhadharma. All these countries are in the sea, but only a Japanese monk sometimes occasionally crossed the sea over; there are no details known about the others.

The so-called Samhan (Three Han) refers to Mahan 馬韓, Byeonhan 卞韓, and Jinhan 秦韓. According to the *Ratnapitaka-sūtra* (*Baozang jing* 寶藏經), “There is the country of Jindan (震旦國) in the northeast, also called Jina (Ch. Zhina, i.e., China) 支那 or Dasayu (Ch. Duosiwei) 多思惟 because the people there think a lot. Hence it is the country of Great Tang (大唐國).” Samhan is on the northeastern edge of Jambudvīpa, but it is not an island in the sea. The Buddhadharma appeared more than six hundred years after the Buddha’s nirvana. In the center there is Seongjusan 聖住山 Mountain, which is called Sillimodalli 室梨母怛梨 (Skt. Śrīmudrā). (In Tang, the mountain is called Mountain Sanyin [三印山, Three-Seal Mountain]). The peak is high and steep, and there is the palace of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva at the summit. Hence it is the Worak 月岳 (Moon Peak). It would be difficult to write everything about the Seongjusan here. Baekje is another name for Mahan. The *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳) says that Marananta acquired an illusory samadhi,⁵⁸ he did not get wet in water, did not burn in fire, could turn gold into stone, and turn himself into limitless appearances. This is said to happen during the Jianzhong 建中 era (780–783). The dates do not match. These are probably not records of only one person.

The eulogy says: Some people of the world are so fierce and rough-tempered that they do not obey the king’s orders, and others do not obey the laws of the country. When they hear what they have never heard, and see what they have never seen, they immediately change their face, mend their behavior, polish their character, making it fit

for the time and the circumstances. The book⁵⁹ says, “If you say good words, even those who are a thousand *li* (400 km) away, respond to them.” Is this not the case? The means of seizing the opportunity is to take advantage of the time. The master’s effort was half of the old masters, but his merit was surely twice.

Ado 阿道 (Heukhoja 黑胡子, Wonpyo 元表, Hyeonchang 玄彰)

Seok Ado is said to have been from India, whereas some say he came from Wu 吳, and some claim that he went from Goguryeo to Wei 魏 and then into Silla, but it is impossible to tell which is correct. He was extraordinary in appearance and manners, and the miracles he performed were strange even more. It was his purpose to educate people. Every time he preached a beautiful rain of flowers fell from the sky. During the reign of King Nulji 訥祇 of Silla (r. 417–453), a man named Heukhoja came from Goguryeo to Ilseon-gun 一善郡 (now Seonsan-eup in Gyeongsangbuk-do) and taught those with proper karmic conditions. A local man Morye prepared an underground chamber (窟室)⁶⁰ at his house, where he accommodated [Heukhoja]. At that time, Liang dispatched an envoy with a gift of garments and incense. However, neither the king nor his officials understood the purpose of the incense and where to use it. The king sent a eunuch around the country with incense to find out its purpose. When Heukhoja saw it, he explained its name and how to use it, saying, “If you burn it, it fills the space with fragrant energy which can reach the sacred, should you put your heart into it. The so-called ‘sacred’ is nothing other than the three jewels, the first being the Buddha, the second being the dharma, and the third being the sangha. If you burn this incense and make a vow, you will surely receive a response.” When the king’s daughter (the princess) was in critical condition, the king summoned Heukhoja, who burned the incense, expressed a vow and [the princess] was cured shortly. The king was pleased and rewarded Heukhoja with a very generous gift. When Heukhoja returned and met with Morye, he gave him what he had received, repaid his kindness and said, “I have a place to return to,” and then he disappeared.

When King Bicheo 毘處 (r. 479–500) was on the throne, Master

Ado and three attendants stayed at the house of Morye. His appearance was like that of Heukhoja.⁶¹ He stayed for many years and died without any disease, but three of his attendants remained. They recited the scriptures of sutras and vinaya. Occasionally someone [visited them], received the teaching, and practiced it. However, according to the old records, on the eleventh day of the third month of the first year of the Datong era of Liang (527), Ado came to Ilseon-gun. Heaven and earth shook. The monk came to the house of layman Morye, reciting sutras, dressed in ragged clothes, holding a staff with golden rings in his left hand, and an alms bowl in his right. Morye came out of his house. When he saw the monk, he was stunned and said, “When Jeongbang 正方, the Buddhist monk from Goguryeo, entered our country, the officials (i.e., nobility) were suspicious, did not think it opportune, and in the end, they had him killed. Myeolguja 滅垢玼 came afterward, and they killed him just like those before him. What else did you come for? You have to hurry inside and keep out of sight of the neighbors.” Morye took him into the secret room and did not hesitate to offer him food. When the envoy of Wu offered five kinds of incense to King Beopheung 法興 (r. 514–540), the king did not know its use and asked all over the country. When the king’s messenger came to the master and asked him about it, the master replied, “Offer it to the Buddha using fire.” When he (Ado) came to the capital with the messenger, the king had the priest meet the [Wu] envoy. The envoy paid his respects and said, “Why did you come to this faraway land?” The king recognized that the Buddha as well as the master should be revered. He issued an edict permitting propagation of the teaching.

According to Go Deuksang’s 高得相 *Versed History* (*Sisa* 詩史), “Liang sent an envoy named Yuan Biao, who presented sandalwood (*chimdan* 沈檀) incense, scriptures, and images of the Buddha. They asked everywhere, in four directions, because nobody knew how to use them. Ado taught them how to use them just in time.” Go Deuksang’s notes says, “Ado was almost killed twice, but he did not die due to his supernatural powers and went into hiding in the house of Morye.” We do not know whether it was an envoy of Liang or an envoy of Wu. Also,

why are Ado's activities mostly similar to those of Heukhoja? Since the thirteenth year of the Yongping era of Later Han (70 CE) to the *jeongmi* year (527) of the Datong era about 410 years⁶² passed. Buddhism had been practiced for 150 years in Goguryeo, and 140 years in Baekje.

If we consult Bak Inryang's *Tales of Wonder* (*Su'ijeon* 殊異傳), it states:

The monk's father is Juemo (Kr. Gulma) 嶽摩, a man of Wei, and his mother is a woman of Goguryeo named Go Doryeong 高道寧. Juemo went to Goguryeo as an envoy and returned to Wei after having an affair with Go Doryeong. It resulted in her pregnancy and the birth of the master. By the age of five, he had an unusual appearance. The mother said, "As you are a child without a father, you should rather be a monk." He took refuge in Buddhism and shaved his head on that very day. At the age of sixteen, he went to visit his father, Juemo, and studied under Master Xuanzhang (Kr. Hyeyonchang) 玄彰.⁶³ He returned at the age of nineteen and paid a visit to his mother. She said to him, "In this country one cannot promote Buddhadharma because conditions and connections are not yet ripe. In Silla, although there is no teaching now, in the next thirty months, a bright king who will defend the Buddhadharma will appear. In the capital, there are seven places where the dharma will abide. The first is Cheon'gyeongnim 天鏡林 Forest by Geumgyo 金橋 (today's Heungnyunsa 興輪寺 Monastery), the second is Samcheon'gi 三川岐 (today's Yeongheungsa 永興寺 Monastery), the third is located south of the Dragon Palace (Yonggung 龍宮, today's Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 Monastery), the fourth is located north of the Dragon Palace (today's Bunhwangsa 芬皇寺 Monastery), the fifth is Sinyurim 神遊林 Forest (today's Cheonwangsa 天王寺 Monastery), the sixth is located downstream of Sacheon 沙川 (today's Yeongmyosa 靈妙寺 Monastery), the seventh is the Seocheong 婦請 field (today's Dameomsa 曇嚴寺 Monastery). These are places where monasteries were already in the previous kalpa.⁶⁴ There, the dharma will never vanish. Would it not be marvelous if you could go to that country and become the founder of the brilliant Buddhadharma?"

The master crossed the border to Silla, obeying his mother's orders and stayed in the village to the west of the royal palace, where the Eomjangsa 嚴莊寺 Monastery is now. It was the *gyemi* year, the second year of King Michu 味鄒 of Baekje (263). As the master asked for permission to teach the dharma, some found it strange, because by then it was an unknown practice. Some people intended to kill him. Therefore he had to hide in the house of Morok in Sokchon 繢村 in present Seonju 善州. After three years in which he was evading danger, Princess Seongguk 成國 became ill, and there was no cure. A messenger was sent everywhere to find someone who could treat her. The master heard the call and came to the palace, where he successfully treated the disease. When the king with great joy asked him what he wanted, he said, "If you build a monastery in Cheon'gyeongnim, my wish will be fulfilled." The king complied. Nevertheless, the time was crude, and the people were stubborn and could not be converted to Buddhism. It was not until seven years later that a man who wanted to become a monk came to see the master and received the dharma. Morok's younger sister, Sasi 吏侍, also took refuge [in the three jewels] and became a nun. She founded a monastery which she named Yeongheungsa 永興寺 in Samcheon'gi and lived there.

The king, who succeeded the throne after King Michu,⁶⁵ had no regard for Buddhism and wanted to obliterate it, so the master returned to the village and built a tomb for himself. He blocked the door and entered *parinirvāṇa*. This prevented Buddhism from being practiced in Silla. However, two hundred years later, King Beopheung finally initiated Buddhism as Go Doryeong had predicted. There were eleven kings from King Michu to King Beopheung.

The dates given for Ado's advent in all the old documents differ from each other. Hence I cannot arbitrarily choose the date. However, if there were already benefits of spreading Buddhism during the reign of King Michu, then this must have been contemporaneous with Sundo. Buddhism demised in-between and begun to flourish again in the Datong era of the Liang dynasty. Thus, I discussed Heukhoja and

Yuanbiao (Kr. Wonpyo) 元表 together here.

The eulogy says: Belief and slander have alternated since Buddhism was introduced to the East, but the beginning was bright, and each generation had its heroes. All the people, such as Ado and Heukhoja, hid and revealed the dharma-body without marks. One first, after the other later, looking the same, looking different; trying to outline their careers is like catching the wind or striking a shadow. However, they first tested whether it could be done. At first, they fled for fear of harm but in the end they succeeded. The *Book of Changes* says, “Waiting for the right time having the vessel hidden (to act only after waiting for the right time).” This can be properly applied to Ado.

Beopgong 法空

Seok Beopgong was Beopheung 法興, the twenty-third king of Silla. His secular name was Wonjong, he was the eldest son of King Jijeung 智證 (r. 500–514), and his mother was Lady Yeonje 延帝. He was seven *cheok*⁶⁶ tall, generous and gentle, and cared for the people. He was numinous and holy, so the people had confidence in him. In the third year of his reign (516), a dragon appeared from the Yangjeong (Willow Well). In the fourth year (517) he established the Office of Soldiers (Byeongbu 兵部). In the seventh year (520), he issued the legal code along with the system of red and purple attire for all officials.

Since his ascension to the throne, he always intended to spread the Buddhadharma. However, it was difficult for the king to do this because many of his officials opposed it. Remembering Ado's dearest wish, he called in his officials and said, "The sage ancestor Michu together with Ado tried to establish Buddhism, but he died without succeeding. It is saddening that the extraordinary teaching of the Buddha Śākyamuni has been prevented from spreading. I want to follow the forefather king's wish by building a large monastery and establishing Buddhism again. What do you think?" Minister Gongal 恭謁, and others said, "These days, people are not at peace because of poor harvests. The army of our neighbors has crossed the border, and the end of the war is far off. How can you force people to compulsory labor to build a useless house?" The king lamented the lack of faith around him and sighed, saying, "Lacking virtue I have ascended to the throne. The fortune of yin and yang is uneven, and the people are not at peace. Even you, the officials, disobey me and do not wish to follow. Who will lead the ignorant people to awakening by the skillful means of the marvelous dharma?" But nobody responded for a long time.

In the sixteenth year (529), Bak Yeomchok 朴厭觸 (or Ichadon 異次頓 or Geochadon 居次頓) a twenty-six-year-old, honest, and

deep-minded court draftsman (*naesa sain* 內史舍人)⁶⁷ summoned the courage. To assist the king's wishes, he secretly said, "If Your Majesty wants to initiate Buddhism, have me, a humble official, write a false royal decree saying, 'His Majesty, the king is about to initiate Buddhist activities,' and pass it to the officials. When they find out, many of them will undoubtedly remonstrate. At that time, Your Majesty will issue an edict saying, 'I have issued no such order. Who has dared to forge this?' They will surely demand an investigation and the punishment of this humble servant. If Your Majesty grants their request, they will obey."

The king said, "They are stubborn and arrogant; I fear they might not obey even if you are executed," Yeomchok replied, "The teaching of the great sage is venerated even by gods. If you kill your unworthy official for the cause, unusual things will happen in heaven and on earth. Who would dare to repudiate and despise [Buddhism] in light of such extraordinary events?" The king said, "My primary wish was to do good and remove evil, but now I shall have to injure a loyal subject. Is this not sad?" Yeomchok replied, "It is an official's duty to sacrifice his body to accomplish benevolence (*in* 仁). If the Buddhadharma will shine brightly, and the king's achievement will be everlasting, the day of my death will be the year of my birth." The king, deeply impressed, praised Yeomchok, saying, "You are wearing sackcloth, but your values are wrapped in silk." Thereupon the king and Yeomchok made a great vow.

Finally, [Yeomchok] conveyed a message saying, "As I am going to build a monastery in Cheon'gyeongnim, the officials in charge are to follow this edict and begin the construction." The court officials argued over the matter even though they were in the presence of the king. The king said, "I have never given such orders." Yeomchok shouted, "I did it! If we practice this Buddhadharma, the entire country will be peaceful and prosperous. As long as it is good for the government, what crime is there in forging a royal order?" Then the king gathered his officials and asked for their opinion. They all replied, "If you look at the monks with their baby heads and strange garments, arguing with strange sophistry, it surely is not normal teaching. We fear that we will later regret following

it carelessly. We, humble subjects, dare not obey Your Majesty's edict even if you threaten us with death." Yeomchok arose and said, "What you are saying now is not right. Usually, extraordinary things follow a person of extraordinary abilities. I hear that the teachings of Buddhism are very profound, and we cannot but practice them. How can swallows and sparrows understand the aspirations of wild geese and swans?" The king said, "I cannot discard the persistent opinion of the majority. You are the only one who has said something different. I cannot follow both opinions." Finally, he handed over Yeomchok's sentence to the official in charge of executions, and Yeomchok was beheaded.

Yeomchok swore to Heaven, "I am being punished for the sake of the Buddhadharma, but I hope that righteousness and the benefit [of the teaching] shall spread. If the Buddha is the sacred, a miracle will happen when I die." When they finally cut his throat, his head flew off and landed on the summit of Geumgangsan 金剛山 (Diamond Mountain).⁶⁸ From where his throat was cut, white milk shot upward dozens of miles high. The sun darkened, beautiful flowers rained from the sky, and the earth shook violently. The king, his officials, and the commoners, on the one hand, all wept fearing the destruction of the sky. On the other, they mourned the death of the draftsman, who valued the Buddhadharma and gave his life for it. Then, they buried his remains on Geumgangsan and held a memorial ceremony for him. Then the king and his officials swore an oath, saying, "Hereafter, we will worship the Buddha and revere the monks. If we break the oath, may the bright spirits strike us dead."

The king said, "The great man appears every 1,100 years. Benevolence and loyalty are born and grow from auspicious signs. [Yeomchok's behavior] was in harmony with heaven and earth. It reached even to the sun and moon and moved the ghosts. Is it necessary to tell the people? If one trusts the Buddha's teaching, heaven and earth have to respond too. However, an effort is valued for its success, activity for its effect. A high mountain becomes lighter than a goose feather if the vow is great. Excellent! His death has achieved it." The same year, [the king] issued an edict forbidding killing. This text is based on the

National History (*Guksa* 國史), and various ancient biographies.

In the twenty-first year of King Beopheung (534), when [people] were felling the trees of Cheon'gyeongnim and cleaning the site in order to build a monastery, they discovered foundation stones, a stone niche, and steps, proving it to be the former site of a Chojesa Monastery.⁶⁹ All the timber for the beams came from this forest. When the king received the report of the completion of the monastery, he abdicated the throne and became a monk, changing his name to Beopgong, and wore only the clothes and alms-bowl of a renunciant. His will and actions were high and far-reaching, and he was compassionate to all sentient beings. The monastery was named Daewang Heungnyunsa 大王興輪寺 because the great king (*daewang*) dwelt there. This was the beginning of monastery construction in Silla. The queen also served the Buddha, became a nun, and dwelt in the Yeongheungsa. Since the king initiated the great Buddhist cause, it was not vain praise to give him the posthumous epithet of Beopheung, Promoter of the Dharma. Since then, every morning of the anniversary of Yeomchok's death, an assembly was held at Heungnyunsa to honor him. In the reign of King Taejong (654–661), Prime Minister Gim Yangdo 金良圖, who believed in the rebirth in the Western Pure Land, made himself an offering of his two daughters, Hwabo 花寶 and Yeonbo 蓮寶, as slaves to the monastery. Also, the entire clan of Mocheok 毛尺, who had instigated a rebellion, were reduced in rank and made to serve the monastery. They serve the monastery to this day.

When I took a trip to Gyeongju, the eastern capital, I ascended Geumgangsan. I could not stop myself from feeling sad when I saw a lonely tomb and a tiny stele there. The monks were eating together on this day, and when asked, they told me it was the anniversary of Yeomcheok's death. The more time passes since his death, the dearer he is to us. According to the stele of Ado, King Beopheung's dharma name was Beobun 法雲, his courtesy name was Beopgong 法空. Now that I have studied the *National History* and the *Tales of Wonder* (*Su'jeon* 殊異傳), there are two narratives of his life. Those who like ancient matters should take a closer look.

The eulogy says: Usually, the rulers, while working with their subjects, can keep what they have achieved, but it is difficult to start anew. Also, success depends on the appropriateness and inappropriateness of the time, and trust and mistrust. Although King Beopheung (Wonjong) strived to establish Buddhadharma for the first time, but he could not achieve it in one day. However, thanks to the power of his original vow, his high position, and the loyal subject's advice, he was able to make the world beautiful and prosperous. He was indeed superior and rode side by side with Emperor Ming of Later Han. How can we compare him to the Emperor Wu of Liang? Emperor Wu served in the Datong Monastery (大同寺)⁷⁰ while still emperor and let imperial affairs fall to the ground. But Beopgong first vacated the throne and installed his successor, and only afterward became a monk. What can be better than this? We have learned in the narrative of Yeomchok, that the king and the monk had different bodies, but the heart was identical. It was only the power of Yeomchok's deed that carried the cluttered clouds away, shedding the light of the wisdom of the Buddha, whose nature is empty.

Beobun 法雲

Seok Beobun's secular name was Sammaekjong 侈麥宗, and his posthumous epithet Jinheung 貞興. He was the son of King Galmun 葛文, the younger brother of King Beopheung. His mother's family name was Gim. He ascended the throne at the age of seven. He was very generous and kind, courteous, and trustful in political affairs. He rejoiced when hearing of the good and strived to eliminate the evil.

In the seventh year of King Jinheung's reign (546), Heungnyunsa was completed, and commoners were granted permission to become monks and nuns. In the eighth year (547), he ordered the Daeachan 大阿彌⁷¹ Geochilbu 居柒夫 and others to gather and compile the *National History* (*Guksa* 國史). In the tenth year (549), Liang sent Gakdeok 覺德, a Buddhist monk who had studied [abroad in Liang] and two envoys along with the relics of the Buddha. The king ordered his officials to greet them in before Heungnyunsa. In the fourteenth year (553), he ordered government officials to build a new palace on the east side of Wolseong, Gyeongju. A yellow dragon (*hwangnyong* 黃龍) appeared on the land there. The king, inspired by the event, ordered a change of plans, had a monastery built there, and named it Hwangnyongsa. In the twenty-sixth year (565), Chen sent an envoy, Liu Si 劉思, and a Buddhist monk named Mingguan 明觀 with more than seven hundred volumes of sutra and vinaya scriptures. In the twenty-seventh year (566), two monasteries, Giwonsa 祇園寺 and Siljesa 實際寺, were completed, and the construction of Hwangnyongsa was also finished. In the tenth month of the thirty-third year (572), he held a Ceremony of Eight Prohibitions (八關齋會), on behalf of soldiers killed in battle, at Oesa 外寺 Monastery for seven days. In the thirty-fifth year (574), the sixteen-foot statue of the Buddha for Hwangnyongsa was cast. Another narrative says that a ship dispatched by King Aśoka arrived at Sapo carrying gold and the Buddha statue cast

from this. This narrative is found in the *Jajang jeon* 慈藏傳 (Biography of Jajang). In the thirty-sixth year (575), tears from the statue flowed down to the heels of the Buddha.

It was in the thirty-seventh year (576) that Wonhwa 原花 were chosen as Seollang 仙郎. The king and the officials were afraid that they were unable to recognize the talented. So they decided to bring people together in groups, observe how they behaved, and choose the [the talented] for certain positions. They selected two beautiful young women, Nammu 南無 and Junjeong 俊貞, and gathered a group of three hundred around them. The two women fought over each other's beauty. Junjeong tricked Nammu into drinking excessively and then threw her into a river and drowned her. The group then dispersed in disarray. Afterward, they selected handsome young men, dressed them up, made up their faces and decorated them, and turned them into the Flower Youth, the Hwarang 花郎. A group of people gathered like clouds around them. They instructed each other in the dharma and morality, entertained one another with songs and music, and enjoyed nature during their journeys. No place was too far for them. From all this, it was discerned whose character was good and whose bad. The worthy were selected and recommended to the court.

According to the *Hwarang segi* 花郎世記 (Annals of the Hwarang), of Gim Daemun 金大問, “the wise ministers and loyal subjects were fostered there; and good generals and valiant soldiers came from it.” In his preface to the “Nallang bi” 鬼郎碑, Stele for the Hwarang Nan, Choe Chiwon (b. 857) wrote, “There is mysterious teaching in the country, it is called *pungnyu* 風流 (wind current). It unifies the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism, embraces all sentient beings, and educates them. It is the doctrine of Confucius, the minister of crime of Lu, that one should be filial to one's parents and loyal to the ruler. It is the idea of Laozi, the archives keeper of Zhou, that one should dwell in ‘inaction’ and practice the wordless teaching. It is the teaching of Śākyamuni, the Indian prince, that one should avoid evil and do many good deeds.” Linghu Cheng 令狐澄 of Tang says in the *Xinloguo ji* 新羅國記 (Record of Silla)⁷² that “they chose handsome

sons of noble families. They made up their faces and adorned them, and called them Hwarang. All the people respected them.” These were the skillful means of the king to enlighten the people. According to the *Hwarang segi*, from the time when Wonhwa became Seollang to the end of Silla, there were more than two hundred Hwarang. Among them, the four sages (*saseon* 四仙)⁷³ were the most virtuous.

The king ascended the throne at a young age and worshiped the Buddha zealously. In his later years, he shaved his head and became a monk. He wore the monk’s robe and styled himself Beobun, Dharma Cloud. He kept the rules of vinaya, purified the three karmas⁷⁴ until his death. Upon his death, the people of Silla held a ceremony and buried him on a peak north of Aegongsa 哀公寺 Monastery. In that year, Dharma Master Anham 安含 came from Sui. This will be written in the biography of Anham.⁷⁵

The eulogy says: Custom has mighty power over people. Who can stop the king from changing the customs of his time? It is like water flowing forcefully downwards. At first, King Jinheung worshiped Buddhism and commenced the trips of the Hwarang. The people followed him joyfully as if running to a jewelry store or climbing to a pavilion on a spring day. He directed the people towards the good, towards justice, and gradually towards the Great Way. Emperor Ai of Han loved only female beauty. Therefore Ban Gu in the *History of Han* (*Hanshu* 漢書), said “The tenderness and beauty that make the human mind tilt belong not only to woman, but to man as well.” However, it cannot be mentioned in the same breath [with Hwarang].

End of Volume 1 of the *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Haedong*

Volume 2

Compiled, by a royal order, by the official Gakhun, abbot of Yeongtongsa Monastery at Ogwansan in a northern part of Gaegyeong and a senior scholar-monk of the purple robe.

Transmission 1–2

Gakdeok (Myeonggwan), Jimyeong (Damyuk),
Won'gwang (Wonan), Anham (Damhwa, Anhong),
Ariyabalma, Hyeeop, Hyeryun, Hyeon'gak (Hyeonjo, and
Two Others), Hyeonyu (Seungcheol), Hyeontae

Gakdeok 覺德 (Myeonggwan 明觀)

Seok Gakdeok was a man of Silla. He was intelligent and well-educated. It was impossible to differentiate whether he was an ordinary person or a saint. Silla had already embraced the presence of Buddhism, and people were eager to practice it. Knowing that he could civilize the world with his outstanding wisdom, the monk said, “A bird must come out of the valley to fly high, and you must work hard to find a teacher to learn the Way. He who stays at ease and is lazy is wasting the purpose and blessings of Buddha’s disciple.” Therefore he soon went to Liang by ship and became a vanguard in search of the dharma. We do not know in what year this was, but this was the beginning of Silla subjects traveling to study in China.

He served the greatest masters and received their teachings. It felt as if he had removed the curtain from his eyes and earwax from his ears. If there is a beginning, there must be an end. He studied without omission or laziness. His virtue and excellent reputation spread gradually. [He knew that] the seeking of the dharma was not only for himself alone, and that he must return to the homeland to save those in need.

In the tenth year of King Jinheung’s reign (549), he returned to Gyeongju with the Liang envoy, who brought the Buddha’s relics. The king ordered officials to greet them with courtesy on the road in front of Heungnyunsa. It was also the beginning of the tradition of relic worship in Silla.

In the past, [Kang] Senghui 康僧會 went to Wu, and after seven days of spreading the dharma, he received miraculous signs. At the time the master returned home with an important envoy from Liang, the [Silla] king had already gained faith in Buddhism. Therefore, he experienced no obstacles or complications.

The master sprinkled the dharma in Silla at the end of the sea. He

made lazy people embrace the desire to turn to Buddhism. How to describe the merit and benefit he achieved?

Later, in the twenty-sixth year of King Jinheung's reign (565), Chen sent an envoy, Liu Si 劉思, and a Buddhist monk, Myeonggwan, who had gone to study in China, with 2,700 volumes of Buddhist sutras and treatises. In the early days, before Buddhism fully spread in Silla, there was a lack of scriptures and images of the Buddha, but by this time, they were all in place. No details are known about the demise of either of these two monks.

Jimyeong 智明 (Damyuk 曇育)

Seok Jimyeong was a man of Silla. He was a man of divine wisdom and brilliant realization. He accumulated merit and adhered to the disciplines. He built up a thorough practice within, praised the virtues of others, reminded himself of his weaknesses, and gave others valuable things. There was something in him gentle, high-spirited, and active.

Buddhism did not flourish much after its introduction to Hae-dong. From time to time, great men came forth. Some attained awakening through their own abilities; some traveled far in search of the dharma. When the new physician is overshadowed by the old, then only are the right and wrong distinguished. When an old official teaches a new one, the master and disciple teach each other. Therefore, a series of people went to China in the west, achieved awakening, and returned.

The master was a man of outstanding talent who could rectify the situation at that time. In the seventh month of the seventh year of King Jinpyeong (585), he sought a fast way to go to Chen. He traveled by land and sea, like a cloud floating back and forth, toward the west and toward the east. He would visit and ask for guidance from anyone famous for their teaching or prominence. It was like cutting wood along the ink line or making a bowl of raw gold. Ten years passed since he left his home. His learning became solid, and he was eager to transmit the dharma-lineage.

In the ninth month of the twenty-fourth year of King Jinpyeong's reign (602), he came back home with a returning Silla envoy. The king honored the master's appearance and highly respected his adherence to monastic discipline. He rewarded him with the title of Daedeok 大德, the Most Virtuous, and invited him to the royal palace. The monk was as high as Mountain Song (嵩山) and Mountain Hua (華山).⁷⁶ His dharma-field was like a great sea. With the light of the wisdom moon and the breeze of the virtue wind, he was a norm and exemplar for both

clergy and laity. Later he was conferred the title of Daedaedeok 大大德, Great Most Virtuous. We do not know about his death.

Five years after the master [Jimyeong] entered Chen for the first time, Master Won'gwang 圓光 went to Chen as well. In the eighteenth year of King Jinpyeong (596),⁷⁷ Damyuk 曇育 entered Sui, and in the twenty-seventh year,⁷⁸ he came back with Hyemun 惠文, a Silla envoy to China. [Damyuk] was as virtuous as Jimyeong and made a name for himself in his day. There was no distinction in their greatness.

The eulogy says: Ji Zha⁷⁹ studied music in the royal palace of the Zhou and Confucius asked Lao Dan⁸⁰ about ritual propriety. They did not begin a new teaching but based their learning on an already existing source. Gakdeok and the others visited China, where they inquired about the Way. They might be different persons, but did they not return to the same place?

Won'gwang 圓光 (Wonan 圓安)

Seok Won'gwang's secular surname was Seol or Bak. He was from Gyeongju, the capital of Silla. He shaved his head at the age of thirteen. (The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 [Supplement to the Biographies of Eminent Monks] says he shaved his head at a monastery in Tang.) His talent was vast and wide, and his intelligence and wisdom were outstanding. He was versed in Daoism and Confucianism, enjoyed reading and writing, and hated living in chaotic and noisy places because of his lofty thoughts. At the age of thirty, he went into seclusion at Samgisan 三岐山 Mountain. Even his shadow never left the valley. One day a monk came and started to live nearby. He built himself a hermitage and practiced the teaching there.

One night, when the master sat chanting scriptures, a spirit said to him, "Well done. There are many renunciants, but none surpasses you. Now that monk over there, with a cunning heart, is practicing magic. He disturbs your pure thoughts and blocks my way. Every time I pass by him, I think badly of him. I beg you, get us rid of him. If you do not heed to me and he does not move, there shall be worries." The next morning, the master paid a visit to the monk, and said, "You had better move your abode and avoid disaster. Otherwise, there will be difficulties in the future." The other replied, "Why should I worry about what the evil spirit says. He is only a hindrance to my highest practice."

That night, the spirit came again and asked about the monk's answer. The master was afraid that the ghost would be angry, so he said, "I have not told him yet, but would he dare not to listen to you?" The spirit said, "I already know everything. Just wait and see." At night, there was a thunderous sound, and as it dawned, the master went out and saw that the mountain had collapsed and buried the hermitage. The spirit appeared and said, "I have lived for several thousands of years, and I have the majestic power of change. So this is nothing strange."

The spirit continued, “Now your practice benefits yourself, but not others. Why not go to China, obtain the dharma, and transmit it to future disciples?” The master replied, “Learning the dharma in China is what I certainly desire, but I cannot go on my own as the journey over land and sea is long and arduous.” In response, the spirit gave him detailed advice about going to the west (China) to study.

In spring, the third month of the eleventh year of King Jinpyeong (589), the master finally entered Chen and visited several monastic universities to write down even the smallest details. He received the *Satyasiddhi-sāstra*, *Nirvana Sutra*, and several scriptures of the tripitaka. He went to Huqiu 虎丘 in Wu and put his thoughts in the blue sky (i.e., put effort into spiritual practice). At the request of the believers, he lectured on the *Satyasiddhi-sāstra*. Soon the people who admired him and asked for [his teaching] were coming one after another like the fish scales.

When the army of Sui invaded the city of Yangdou,⁸¹ the chief general, observing things from a distance, saw a pagoda in flames. When he went closer to the rescue, there was no fire. He only found the master tied up in front of the pagoda. The general set him free as apparently innocent.

During the Kaihuang 開皇 era (581–600), the master was widely praised in Chang'an 長安, the capital of Sui, in recognition of his writings and sermons, especially on the *Compendium of the Great Vehicle* (Skt. *Mahāyānasamgraha*, Ch. *Shelun* 摄論).

As his achievements had already been refined, he knew he had to spread the Way to Haedong. His homeland (Silla) appealed to Sui, and an edict allowing him to return home was issued. In the *gyeongsin* year, the twenty-second year of King Jinpyeong’s reign (600), he was returning to Silla with his country’s envoys, the Naema 奈麻 Jebu 諸父, and Daesa 大舍 Hoengcheon 橫川. Suddenly, a strange looking person appeared from the sea, bowed, and said, “I want you to build a monastery for me, always expound the correct teaching for my sake, so your disciples will gain wonderful karmic rewards.” The monk nodded his approval. As the master returned after many years, both the old and

young rejoiced. The king also honored him with respect and worshiped him like a Buddha.

Finally, he reached the old residence at Samgisan. Around midnight, the spirit came and asked, "Now that you are back, what do you think?" "Thanks to your kindness and protection, everything has gone according to my wishes," he replied thankfully. The spirit said, "I stayed by your side, not leaving you for a single moment. You promised to build a monastery for the dragon from the sea. The dragon is here with us now." The master asked, "Which place would be suitable?" The spirit said, "Over there, at the Unmunsan Mountain, where magpies are pecking the ground. That is the place." The following morning, the master went there with the spirit and the dragon, and they found the spot. They dug there and unearthed a stone pagoda. [The master] immediately founded a monastery, named Unmun 雲門, Cloud Gate, and the master stayed there.

The spirit did not cease to secretly protect [the master]. One day, the spirit came and said, "My end is near. I wish to receive the bodhisattva precepts for the sake of my future life." The master bestowed the precepts on him, and they made a vow to help [each other's spiritual progress] throughout their future lives.

The master asked, "Can I see you?" "You may look to the east at dawn," replied the spirit. The master saw a big arm piercing through the clouds and reaching to heaven. The spirit said, "Did you see my arm? Even if I have the body of a spirit, I cannot escape impermanence. Please, come and bid farewell to me because I shall die on a certain day." When the time came, the monk went [to the place], there he saw a hairless black wildcat who gasped and died. It was the spirit.

The dragon princess of the West Sea always followed [the master] and listened to his sermons. At that time, there was a great drought. The master asked, "It would be a relief if you let the rain fall on our country." She replied: "Sangje, the Supreme Deity, will not allow it. If I cheat and make rain, I will sin against Heaven, and there will be no way to escape punishment." "My power can save you from it," replied the master. Suddenly, a morning rainbow appeared on Namsan

Mountain in Gyeongju, and it rained all morning. Then, the thunder broke the sky, ready to mete out the punishment. The dragon princess was in imminent danger. The master hid her under his lecture desk and continued lecturing scriptures.

The messenger of Heaven arrived and said, “I have come at the command of the Supreme Deity. You are harboring a fugitive who sinned, and I cannot carry out my orders. What shall I do?” Pointing to the pear tree in the garden, the monk said, “She has transformed herself into that tree. Strike it.” The messenger struck the tree with a bolt of lightning and left. Then the dragon princess came out, opened her hand, and expressing her gratitude that the tree had taken the punishment for her, she touched it and restored it to life.

In the thirtieth year of King Jinpyeong (608), the king was concerned about Goguryeo’s frequent violations of the border with Silla. He decided to invite troops of Sui to attack the enemy state (Goguryeo). He ordered Won’gwang to write an official letter. The master replied, “It is not the way of sramana to save his own life and destroy others. But since I, a humble monk, live in Your Majesty’s territory and waste Your Majesty’s food and clothes, how could I disobey?” Won’gwang complied, composed the letter, and relayed it [to Sui].

The master was moderate and quiet by nature. He was affectionate and caring. He always smiled when he spoke and never looked angry. When he wrote official documents such as memoranda, reports to the throne, or memorials, he did his utmost and, the whole country responded with all its heart. When asked for help, he set an example for future generations by teaching people according to the needs of the time.

In the thirty-fifth year (613) he held the Assembly of a Hundred High Seats (百高座會) at Hwangnyongsa and gathered high-ranking monks to lecture on scriptures. The master’s seat was the highest. He usually preached on true teachings while temporarily living in Gasilsa 加悉寺 Monastery.

Gwisan 貴山 and Chuhang 簣項 from Saryang-bu 沙梁部 came to him, and said with courtesy, “As secular scholars, we are foolish and know nothing. Please give us a lesson we may follow the remainder of

our lives." The master replied, "There are ten bodhisattva precepts. But because you are subjects [who are not ordained] and sons, you probably cannot practice them. However, these are five precepts for laypeople. The first is to serve the king with loyalty; the second is to serve parents with filial devotion; the third is to treat friends with sincerity; the fourth is not to retreat from battle; the fifth is to be discriminating in the taking of life. Perform them carefully."

Gwisan said, "We understand the other precepts, but we do not know what it means to be discriminating in the taking of life." The master replied, "Not to kill in spring and summer, and during the six fasting days (六齋日), so this concerns choosing the time. Not to kill cattle, horses, chickens, dogs, and the tiny creatures whose meat is less than a mouthful, so this concerns choosing creatures. Even if it might be useful, you should not kill often. These are good rules for secular life." Gwisan and the others adhered to the precepts without breaking them.

Later, when the king contracted a disease, he asked the master to preach the dharma because physicians could not cure it. In the palace, he stayed in comfort, lectured, and preached, and the king listened with all his heart. Early in the evening, the king saw a sun-like golden light shining from master's head and neck. The courtiers saw it too, and the king's disease was soon cured.

The master's dharma age⁸² was advanced, so he was going to the palace in a sedan chair. The king prepared all the clothing and medicinal materials for the exclusive use of the master. However, the only remaining items were the robe and the alms-bowl. He supported the monasteries with all the other offerings bestowed on him. In this way, he spread the correct dharma and led both clergy and laity.

When his end was near, the king personally attended him on his deathbed and consoled him. The king asked for the inheritance of the dharma for the sake of the people. The master also taught the king explanations of omens.

In the fifty-eighth year of the Geonbok 建福 era (641), seven days after his illness, he left a clear and earnest message, and at Hwangnyongsa, he sat upright and passed away. Music filled the air

to the northeast of the monastery, and an exotic fragrance filled the monastery. The entire nation was sad and vigilant. The ritual tools and funeral ceremonies were those of a royal funeral. He was ninety-nine years old. It was the fourth year of the Zhenguan era (630) of Tang.

Later, a baby died in the womb. Somebody secretly buried it next to the master's grave, because of a superstition claiming that if a dead fetus is buried next to a tomb of a virtuous man, the family line will not be interrupted. The same day, a bolt of lightning struck, and the baby corpse flew out of the grave. The master's stupa is on Samgisan.

Won'gwang's favorite disciple Wonan 圓安 was also a native of Silla. He was sharp-witted and talented. He liked to travel as well as to stay in quiet places where he practiced the Way. He went to Hwandoseong Fortress to the north and to Bullae 不耐 [Anbyeon in Pyeonganbuk-do] in the east. In China, he visited Western Yan and Northern Wei. Later he visited Chang'an, the capital of Tang, where he learned about the customs of that country and studied outlines as well as essences of scriptures and treatises to their subtlest details. In that, he walked in the footsteps of Won'gwang. Wonan was famous for his attainment of the Way, the Tejin 特進⁸³ Su Yu 肅瑀 had the Jinliang Monastery (津梁寺) built in Lantian 藍田, in the vicinity of Chang'an, and let Wonan reside there. Also, He provided him with the four necessities (四事).⁸⁴ We do not know about his demise.

The eulogy says: Once upon a time, when Yuan Gong⁸⁵ spoke without giving up the scriptures of the world, he quoted books such as the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* to make people realize and understand their extraordinary meaning. Also Dharma Master Won'gwang's teaching of the secular precepts was perhaps possible because he was learned in Buddhism as well as other teachings. So he could teach the dharma according to the conditions and abilities of the listeners.

In terms of killing, but being discriminate, how does [his teaching] differ from King Tang 荫 of Yin 殷 leaving one side of the net open, or Confucius not shooting a sleeping bird? Moving the gods and dismissing the Heavenly messengers, his spiritual powers must have been extraordinary.

Anham 安含 (Damhwa 曇和, Anhong 安弘)

The secular surname of Seok Anham was Gim. He was a grandson of the poet of the *ichan* rank. He knew the principles since birth, and his character was clear and humble. His will was firm and deep, and the depth of his goodwill could not be measured. He traveled all about the country, observing the customs, and widely enlightening the people. In the twenty-second year of King Jinpyeong's reign, he vowed to become a monk. With Master Hyesuk, they sailed towards Ipojin (Ch. Nipujin) 泥浦津, but when passing the island of Seopdo 渉島, a storm turned the boat around, and they returned to the coasts [of Haedong]. In the following year (601), a royal edict was issued, offering promising students the opportunity to study Buddhism in China. Eventually, the master was permitted to go. He crossed the sea with a Silla envoy who was going to pay tribute.

Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty received them and made him stay in Daxingsheng Monastery (大興聖寺). After a short period of ten months, he realized the deep meaning of the dharma. Who would listen for the evening drum if the journey of ten post stations from Mountain Hua (華山) to Xianzhang 仙掌 takes half a day? Who would await the sound of the dawn bell if the thousand *li* from Qinling 秦嶺 to the Imperial Palace takes overnight? In five years, the master learned the secrets of the ten vehicles of meditation and the true writings of the profound meaning. Later, in the twenty-seventh year of King Jinpyeong (605), he returned to Silla with the monk Pimozhendi (Kr. Bimajinje)毘摩真諦 from Khotan and Nongjiatuo (Kr. Nonggata) 農加陀. This was the first time monks of the Western Regions came to Gyerim (Silla).

According to biography of Uisang 義相 by Choe Chiwon 崔致遠, "Uisang was born in the forty-second year of the Geonbok era (625) of King Jinpyeong. In the same year, Dharma Master Anhong 安弘, a saint from the East, returned from Tang with three masters of the *tripitaka*

and two Chinese monks.” A footnote says, “The Buddhist monk Pimoluozhendi (Kr. Bimarajinje) 毘摩羅眞諦 from Udyāna (烏菴國) in northern India was forty-four years old. The age of Nongjiatuo was forty-six years, and the age of the Buddhist monk Buddhasaṃgha (Kr. Bultaseungga 佛陀僧伽) of Mathurā (摩豆羅國) was forty-six years. He reached Chinese soil passing through fifty-two countries, and finally came to the East to translate the *Mysterious Woman of Sandalwood Incense and Burning Star Lights Sutra* (*Zhantan xianghuo xingguang miaonu jing* 檀香火星光妙女經) at Hwangnyongsa. The sutra was recorded by the Silla monk Damhwa 曇和. Soon after, Chinese monks petitioned the king asking for permission to return to China. The king granted them their return.” The Anhong mentioned here must be the Dharma Master Anham.

According to the “Silla Annals” (Silla bon’gi 新羅本紀), Anhong entered Chen in the thirty-seventh year of King Jinheung (576) and sought the Buddhadharma, and returned with two other people, including a monk from the West, Pimoluo (Kr. Bimara) 毘摩羅. They brought the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* and *Śrīmālā-sūtra* and the Buddha’s relics with them.

The end of King Jinheung’s reign and the year of King Jinpyeong’s ascending to throne are separated by fifty years. How could it be like this that the three masters came here? Perhaps Anham and Anhong are actually two different persons. But since the three masters they came with, have the same names, I have combined their biographies into one. It is also unclear whether the three masters of the Western Regions departed or remained. We also know nothing about their demises.

After his return to Silla, the master wrote a book on prophecy. He wrote one volume, but the pages and drawings being scattered and gathered, it was difficult to know the author. The meaning is also obscure and difficult to understand. For instance, we read, “Let loose birds like the barn owl and night owl.” Or entries like, “the day when the first queen will be buried in Trāyastrīmśa (Kr. Doricheon 切利天) Heaven,”⁸⁶ “the day of completion of Sacheonwangsa Monastery,”⁸⁷ “the day of the loss of troops fighting a thousand *ri* away,” “the year when the prince returned to his homeland,” and “the year when the great

monarch appeared and made the country grand.” These are all events of a distant future, predicted with no deviation or omission, as if the author had seen them with his own eyes.

On the twenty-third day of the ninth month of the ninth year of Queen Seondeok’s reign, Anham entered *parinirvāṇa* when he was sixty-two years old at the Manseon doryang Monastery. In the same month, an envoy of Silla met the master on his way from China. Anham was sitting on the green waves, happily heading [toward the Pure Land in the West]. This is what is meant by, “Soaring in the sky like walking up the stairs, sitting on the water like walking on the ground.”

Seol, a scholar from Hallim, fulfilled a royal order and praised the master in a stele inscription. The inscription says, “The Queen was buried in Trāyastriṃśa Heaven and the Sacheonwangsa was built. A strange bird cried all night and the soldiers died in the morning. The prince went over the gates and came back at the age of thirty after five years of meeting the emperor in the Chinese court. Who can escape the wheel of reincarnation? He was sixty-two years of age when he entered *parinirvāṇa* at Manseon Doryang. When the envoy was returning by sea, he once again met the master, who was sitting neatly on the water and pointing west.” (The inscription was covered with moss and eroded, and the letters were shattered, leaving four or five characters in ten missing. Based on the visible parts, I have compiled an approximate text.) Even if we do not wait for the other letters to come out, it will be very similar to the traces he actually left.

The eulogy says: The master’s supernatural powers, liberation, and ability of going and coming freely are only a few features of a great bodhisattva. Who could describe what he did in writing or words? He was a saint who went to the Chinese court and, together with the three masters of the West, shared the source of truth. Blowing the horn of the dharma and causing the rain of the dharma, they spread the Buddhadharma as the river drenches the corners of the sea. When letters get copied three times, the character for a crow (*o* 鳥) becomes a horse (*ma* 馬). I suspect there was a mistake in one of the two characters, *ham* or *hong*.

Ariyab alma 阿離耶跋摩

Seok Ariyab alma (Skt. Āryavarman) was awakened alone through divine abilities and wisdom. He was different from others in appearance. When he first entered China from Silla and sought a good teacher, he would overcome any distance and go to any place. He looked down and rested in deep valleys and gazed at the sky. Not only did he desire to be an example to his own generation, but also to be a ferry for the future. He was eager to see the world, so he did not hesitate to travel to faraway places. He sought the dharma in Western India and climbed the distant Pamir. He visited remarkable scenic spots and visited the Buddha's vestiges. His long-cherished desire was fulfilled. Not long after, he ran out of money and food. He stayed at Nālandā monastery. Soon after, he entered *parinirvāṇa*.

At that time, the eminent monk Hyeeop stayed at the Bodhi monastery, and Hyeon'gak and Hyeonjo came to Mahābodhi monastery. All four of them went to India in the Zhenguan era (627–649). They all left their distant homeland and saw the sceneries of India in order to plant outstanding karmic ties and enrich the seeds of the Buddha. They gained a high reputation in the East and West and spread great and endless joy. How could they achieve this if there were not men of great heart and ability? According to the chronologies, they seem to have left for the West around the same time as Master of the Tripitaka Xuanzang 玄奘, but we do not know which year this was.

Hyeeop 惠業

Seok Hyeeop was talented, broad-minded and profound. His face and behavior were like a high rock. His appearance and physique were sharp and impressive. He left Silla, at the periphery, and went straight to China. He traveled to the West in the Zhenguan era (627–649). He crossed the vast desert of moving sand and climbed the high and rough peaks of the Himalayas. When the dazzling morning light shone at dawn, he went into the deep forest and hid there. When the bright moon rose in the sky, he set off on a long journey. He took his life lightly and followed the dharma and was eager to spread the dharma. Finally, he arrived at Bodhi monastery, found the traces of the Buddha and worshiped him. He stayed in Nālandā later. He studied the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* (*Jingming jing* 淨名經) and compared it with the Tang Chinese version of the scripture, so he could grasp its meaning. The record of the *Liang lun* 梁論⁸⁸ says, “Hyeeop, a monk from Silla, was copying texts under the tree of Buddha’s tooth.” In the *Great Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks who Traveled to the West Seeking the Dharma* (*Da Tang Xiyu quifa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳)⁸⁹ is a record saying that Hyeeop was about sixty years old when he entered nirvana [in Nālandā]. All of his Sanskrit manuscripts are still in that monastery.

Hyeryun 惠輪

Seok Hyeryun was a man of Silla. His Sanskrit dharma name was Prajñāvarman⁹⁰ (Ch. Borebamo [Kr. Banyabalma] 般若跋摩), in the language of Tang (i.e., in Chinese characters) meaning “shield of wisdom” (Ch. *huijia* 惠甲). From his ordination in his homeland (Silla), his heart set out for the holy place (India). The boat sailed to the area around Minyue 閩越 and he reached Chang'an on foot. He suffered from both cold and heat and had to overcome both difficulties and dangers. According to an imperial order, he accompanied the Dharma Master Hyeonjo to the West. They climbed the ladders and crossed the planks in rough places. When he went to the West, he worshiped pilgrimage sites and stayed at the Sinjasa (Ch. Xinzhesi) 信者寺 (Skt. Cincāvihāra) Monastery in the state of Āmrāvāti (奄摩羅波[跋/跋]). Ten years after their arrival he moved to Sandasa (Ch. Shanchasi 山茶寺) Monastery in the eastern country of Gandhāra (Ch. Qiantuoluo 犍陀羅). This place is rich in its estate and resources, and abundant with offerings and facilities. All the monks from the north of Central Asia stayed at that monastery, gathering like bees and clouds, each of them studying their particular doctrine. Hyeryun was well-versed in Sanskrit and studied the *Abhidharmakośa*.⁹¹ When Yijing⁹² arrived, he was still there and was nearly forty years old. His details are recorded in the *Great Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks who Traveled to the West Seeking the Dharma*.

Hyeon'gak 玄恪 (Hyeonjo 玄照, and Two Others)

Seok Hyeon'gak was a man of Silla. He was steadfast [in morality], and had great wisdom and insight. He liked to expound [the dharma] and taught the people according to their capacities. People called him a lotus in flames. He was always lamenting that he was born in a remote land and could not see central India and was pleased to hear about China. When he finally reached China by ship, he looked east and smiled west. He wanted to draw a picture in his heart. He resolved to find a teacher. [He traveled] day and night, like the moon, leaving it to chance. He traversed the sheer cliffs blocking the four directions, by roads high as clouds where only birds dwelt; or he crossed icefields stretching thousands of *ri*, walking with the wind and laying down in the clouds.

Finally, he reached Mahābodhi monastery in India accompanied by Hyeonjo. They travelled along the burning desert roads and marveled that the sun had risen in the middle of the sky, making it truly a shadowless country. They piled up books and studied profoundly, like jade being polished into a bowl. After passing the age of forty years, he fell ill and died.

Hyeonjo was also a great monk of Silla. His career was consistent with the one of Hyeon'gak. We do not know where he died. There were also another two Silla monks whose names are unknown. They set out from Chang'an and reached the country of Śrīvijaya (Ch. Shilifoshi 室利佛逝)⁹³ aboard a ship, but both died from illness.

Hyeonyu 玄遊 (Seungcheol 僧哲)

Seok Hyeonyu was from Goguryeo. His personality was easy, harmonious, and his natural qualities were warm and gentle. He set his mind on self-benefiting (自利) [self-awakening] and benefiting of others (利他) [salvation of sentient beings] and resolved to seek answers. He would row a boat up streams and build houses in deep valleys. When he went to Tang, he studied under the Chan Master Seungcheol (Ch. Sengzhe). He served him with respect and raised the hem of his robe when asking for instructions.

Seungcheol followed the traces of the saints and sailed to the Western Regions. He cultivated [the Way] according to karmic circumstances, traveled extensively until he returned to eastern India. When traveling he always met eminent monks and stayed with them. From his early years, his torch of wisdom was bright and the branches of meditation thick. He investigated the dharma thoroughly and fulfilled its magnificence. He left emptyhanded and returned laden with fruit. He truly was a pillar of the Buddhist school and leader of the monastic community.

As the ship sinks and the valley changes, he grieved that the high hill turns into a deep valley. He felt pity for the limited time and futility of the human world. When the firewood runs out, how can the fire be reignited?

Master of the Tripitaka Yijing 義淨 praised Hyeonyu for his passion for the dharma and the strong will he displayed from childhood. Hyeonyu already displayed devotion in Eastern Xia (東夏)⁹⁴ and later went to India to seek out the dharma. He tried to return to the Holy Country (Shenzhou 神洲),⁹⁵ but was delayed due to his efforts on behalf of sentient beings. He practiced the ten practices of the dharma and expounded the dharma, so his reputation shall not be forgotten for a long time. Although he failed to return to his homeland, his achievements

and reputation were great and outstanding. His name must be recorded in books and revealed to posterity. Therefore, he is mentioned in Yijing's *Biographies of Eminent Monks who Traveled to the West Seeking the Dharma*. When I happened to read this section when studying the tripitaka, I admired him greatly. Therefore, I included him here.

Hyeontae 玄太

Seok Hyeontae was from Silla. His name in Sanskrit was Sarvajñadeva (Kr. Salbasinya jeba 薩婆愼若提婆), in the language of Tang (i.e., in Chinese characters) meaning “all-knowing god” (*yiqiezhi tian*, 一切智天). From his youth, he was pensive and had the marks of a great personality. He did not eat pungent vegetables and hated quarrels. He went to Tang by ship. His learning abilities were remarkable. He was able to penetrate profound teachings and comprehend the subtle. He finally went to central India during the Yonghui era (650–655) of Emperor Gaozong of Tang, where he paid respects to the Bodhi tree. He wandered around like a lion and did not seek companionship. He wielded a staff with five layers of gold and saw the staircase of three steps. He visited the places he longed to see, even if there were difficulties and dangers, but not all of them could be visited. Eventually, he went to Mahābodhi and stayed there to review the scriptures in detail and study local customs. Afterwards, he returned to China to spread and expound the dharma, revealing his hidden achievements and accomplishments.

The eulogy says: Some of these men went directly from the remote eastern frontiers (our country) to the Middle Kingdom (China) and followed the outstanding footsteps of Faxian⁹⁶ and Xuanzang.⁹⁷ They went back and forth to distant regions along the interrupted roads, regarding them as streets of their own villages. We can compare them to Zhang Qian⁹⁸ and Su Wu,⁹⁹ who traveled there as envoys.

End of Volume 2 of the *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Haedong*

Notes

- 1 Gakhun 覺訓 was an eminent monk of thirteenth-century Korea who associated with the Hwaeom monasteries Heungwangsa 輿王寺 and Yeongtongsa in Gaegyeong.
- 2 Yeongtongsa 靈通寺 is a monastery of the Hwaeom school (華嚴宗) located in Gaegyeong (today's Gaeseong), the capital of Goryeo. The monastery was founded in 1027 and was supported by the royal court. The monastery is famous as the place where Uicheon, a man of royal origin and later named the National Preceptor Daegak, became a monk.
- 3 The terms “temple” and “monastery” are used interchangeably in the English translations of the Korean and Chinese names of these religious structures. In this text, I prefer the term monastery.
- 4 *Saja samun* 賦紫沙門 (a monk bestowed with a purple robe) refers to a monk holding a rank in the monastic hierarchy who has contributed to Buddhist affairs at the national level or who was appointed as a superintendent of monks.
- 5 Throughout this text, the term *non* 論 carries two meanings. The general meaning is that of a treatise or commentary written by a Buddhist scholar. In a more specific sense, it is the Chinese rendering of *abhidharma*, the third section of the Buddhist canon.
- 6 The term *omok* 五目 (five eyes or five visions) refers to the physical eye (肉眼), heavenly eye (天眼), wisdom eye (慧眼), dharma eye (法眼), and Buddha eye (佛眼).
- 7 *Cheyong* 體用, a general East Asian concept expressing two complementary aspects of a phenomena, person, or situation, such as internal and external, fundamental and superficial, absolute and relative etc.
- 8 Dosolcheon 兜率天 (Skt. *Tuṣita*) is the fourth of the six deva or heavenly realms of the sphere of desire. It is the place where bodhisattvas, i.e., future buddhas, reside before their rebirth to the human world to become buddhas. The future buddha Maitreya resides there.
- 9 This account is based on *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, etc. Although the Buddha lived in India in the sixth to fifth centuries BCE, in China his birthdate was set to predate Laozi 老子, the founder of Daoism.
- 10 Bhagavan (Kr. Seokjon) was one of the epithets of the Buddha.

- 11 The legendary *uḍumbara* (*udamhwa* 優曇花) flower blossoms once every three thousand years when the wheel-turning sage king (Kr. *jeollyun seongwang* 轉輪聖王, Skt. *cakravartī-rāja*) appears in the world.
- 12 The *Liezi* 列子 is a Daoist text attributed to Lie Yukou, a ca. fifth-century BCE Hundred Schools of Thought philosopher, but Chinese and Western scholars believe it was compiled around the fourth century CE.
- 13 Maudgalyāyana (Kr. *Mokgeollyeon* 目犍連), also known as Mahāmaudgalyāyana, was one of the Buddha's closest disciples and known especially for his miraculous powers.
- 14 King Mu 穆 of Zhou was the fifth monarch of the Zhou dynasty of China. The dates attributed to his reign are 976–922 BCE or 956–918 BCE.
- 15 Ānanda (Kr. *Anan* 阿難) was the Buddha's closest disciple. He is said to have had a perfect memory and so was able to recall the Buddha's sermons and compiled sutras after the Buddha's death.
- 16 Together these constitute the *gyeongnyullon* 經律論, the three sections of the Buddhist canon (Skt. *tripiṭaka*), namely, the sermons attributed to the Buddha (Skt. *sūtra*), the rules of behavior of the Buddha's followers (Skt. *vinaya*), and the systematization and explanation of the doctrine (Skt. *abhidharma*).
- 17 These refer to the three complementary aspects of Buddhist practice (*sambhak* 三學), namely, morality (*sīla*), meditation (*saṃādhi*), and wisdom (*prajñā*) (*gye* 戒, *jeong* 定, and *hye* 慧, respectively).
- 18 In the context of Sinitic Buddhism, the aquatic deity-serpents called nagas are rendered as dragons (*yong* 龍), and analogically their abode as the dragon palace (*yonggung* 龍宮). Dragons, originally evil, are now viewed as protectors of the teaching and the community.
- 19 Aśvaghoṣa (Kr. *Mamyeong* 馬鳴) was a scholar monk born 600 years after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* in Magadha in central India. He is author of the *Acts of the Buddha* (Skt. *Buddhacarita*). The *Awakening of Mahayana Faith* (Skt. *Mahāyāna-śraddhōtpāda*, Ch. *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論) is also ascribed to him.
- 20 Dignāga or Diññāga (Kr. *Jinna* 陳那, ca. 480–540) established Buddhist logic and was a thinker of the Vijñaptimātra school and author of eight works, including *Nyāyamukha*.
- 21 Dharmapāla (Kr. *Hobeop* 護法, 530–561) is among ten prominent philosophers of Indian Vijñaptimātra thought. His *Discourse on the Theory of Consciousness-only* (Skt. *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*, Ch. *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論) was influential in China.
- 22 King Aśoka (Kr. *Ayuk wang* 阿育王, r. 268–232 BCE) of the Maurya dynasty unified the whole of India around the third century BCE. He followed Buddhism

and had stupas and stone stelae propagating Buddhism erected in various parts of India.

23 Jambudvīpa (Kr. Yeombuje 閻淨提), the Rose-apple Island or Continent, originally denoted India but later acquired the meaning of the entire human world.

24 This statement is incorrect as this era predates the actual reign of Aśoka (third century BCE).

25 Vajra-warrior (Kr. *geumgang yeoksa* 金剛力士, Skt. *vajrapāṇi-balī*) is a supernatural being who protects the dharma and carries a *vajra* mallet as a weapon.

26 Allegedly the first two Indian monks in China and known in Chinese as Jiashe Moteng 遣葉摩騰 and Zhu Falan竺法蘭. For the latter, various sources give different Sanskrit names, including Dharmaratna, Gobharana, and Dharmarakṣa.

27 The state of Yuezhi 月氏 comprised an ancient people living in the western part of the modern Chinese province of Gansu, during the first millennium BCE.

28 Won'gwang and Jajang of Silla both went to China to study and both contributed to establishing vinaya in Silla, Won'gwang by introducing the five precepts for laypeople (*sesok ogye* 世俗五戒) and Jajang by establishing the institute of great national supervisor (*daeguktong* 大國統).

29 King Taejo Wang Geon was the founder of the Goryeo dynasty, which ruled Korea from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries. King Taejo ruled from 918 to 943, achieving unification of the Later Three Kingdoms in 936.

30 National Preceptor Daegak Uicheon was the fourth son of King Munjong 文宗, the eleventh king of Goryeo. He became a monk in the Hwaeom school and went to Song China to study. When he returned, he founded the Cheontae (Ch. Tiantai) 天台 school in Goryeo. In the context of East Asian Buddhism, he made great achievements in the collection and distribution of Buddhist scriptures.

31 The Hwaeom (Ch. Huayan) 華嚴 school is one of the most influential schools of East Asian Buddhism. Based on the *Flower Ornament Sutra*, the school flourished in Sui and Tang. The teaching of the interconnectedness of phenomena described in the sutra became the foundation of the school's teachings, characterized by a philosophy of interpenetration.

32 Seok 釋 is an abbreviation of Seokga 釋迦 (Skt. Śākyā) the family name of the historical Buddha. It is an East Asian custom dating back to the Chinese monk Dao'an of Eastern Jin for monks and nuns to adopt this surname along with their dharma name in order to express their affiliation with the Buddhist community.

33 Fu Jian 芬堅 (r. 357–385) was the third king of the Chinese northern state Former Qin.

34 Zhu Falan 竺法蘭 was a monk from Yuezhi who together with Mātaṅga transmitted Buddhism to China in 67 CE during the reign of Emperor Ming of the Later Han. Translations of several texts, including the *Sutra in Forty-Two Sections* (*Sishierzhang jing* 四十二章經), are attributed to him.

35 Kang Senghui 康僧會 was a monk from Samarkand in Central Asia, who arrived in Wu China in 241 and translated the *Sutra on the Collection of the Six Perfections* (*Liuduji jing* 六度集經) and spread the teaching there.

36 Based on the translation of James Legge (2019, 370).

37 Zhidun 支遁 (314–366) was a scholar-monk from the Eastern Jin who was well versed in *prajñāpāramitās* and the Daoist thought of Laozi and Zhuangzi.

38 Beidu 杯渡 (lit. crossing over in a cup) was a monk living at the time of the Liu Song dynasty during the Southern and Northern dynasties period. His dharma name is unknown. He often crossed the waters in a wooden cup, hence his name.

39 Fashang 法上 (495–580) was a scholar monk, disciple of Huiguang 慧光 (468–537) of the Yogācāra-related Dilun 地論 school. Huiyuan 慧遠 (523–592), author of *Essay on the System of Mahayana* (*Dasheng yi zhang* 大乘義章), was Fashang's disciple.

40 The *Daśabhūmika-bhāṣya* (*Shidi jing lun* 十地經論) is Vasubandhu's commentary on of the “Ten Stages” chapter of the *Avatāmsaka-sūtra*. The text was translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci (菩提流支) in the sixth century.

41 The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra* (*Da zhidu lun* 大智度論), attributed to Nāgārjuna, is a commentary on the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*.

42 The *Bodhisattvabhūmi-sūtra* (*Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經) explains the practices of the Mahayana Bodhisattva.

43 The *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitōpadeśa* (*Jingang borelun* 金剛般若論) is the name for two commentaries on the *Diamond Sutra*, one by Vasubandhu and one by Asaṅga.

44 The *gabin* 甲寅 year was the twenty-sixth year of King Zhao of Zhou. The twenty-fourth year was the *imja* year.

45 The *gyemi* 癸未 year was the fourth year of King Mu (998 BCE).

46 Also known as the *Treatise on Discerning the Correct Principles* (*Bianzhengli lun* 辨正理論). This is a treatise that refutes the claims of Daoism and Confucianism and emphasizes the superiority of Buddhism.

47 O Semun 吳世文 was a twelfth-century Confucian scholar and bureaucrat of Goryeo. He is said to be the author the historical poem “*Yeokdaega*” 歷代歌.

48 Baizu (Kr. Baekjok) may also be understood as “barefooted.”

49 The three vehicles (Kr. *samseung* 三乘, Skt. *tri-yāna*), namely, the vehicle of *śrāvakas* (聲聞乘), *pratyekabuddhas* (緣覺乘), and *bodhisattvas* (菩薩乘, or *buddhas*

[佛乘]).

50 Xuangao 玄高 (402–444) taught meditative contemplation to Buddhabhadra.

51 The “three metropolitan areas” (Ch. *sanfu* 三輔) refers to the three Chang’an-based administrators and the areas under their jurisdiction, i.e. greater Chang’an and its environs.

52 The founder of Daxia, one of the Chinese Sixteen Kingdoms.

53 Ascetic practices (*duta haeng* 頭陀行) focused on eliminating afflictions and attachments.

54 Emperor Taiwu (r. 423–425), the third emperor of Northern Wei.

55 Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之, Daoist thinker, who played an important role in Emperor Taiwu’s anti-Buddhist measures and installing Daoism as a state religion.

56 Unknown.

57 In the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記, they are named Biryu 沸流 and Onjo 溫祚.

58 Illusory samadhi (*yeohwan sammae* 如幻三昧) or as-illusion samadhi (*yeohwan sammaji* 如幻三摩地) refers to a concentration wherein one contemplates all phenomena lacking inherent existence.

59 This refers to the “Xici zhuan” 繫辭傳 of the *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi* 周易).

60 Sometimes translated as “cavern.”

61 The *Samguk yusa* refers to Heukhoja as Mukhoja 墨胡子 (Black Barbarian or Black Foreigner), i.e., a person of dark complexion from the Western Regions.

62 The correct number here would be 450 years.

63 Unknown.

64 An eon, a world-period.

65 The successor of King Michu was the fourteenth ruler of Silla, Yurye 儒禮 Isageum 泥師今 (r. 284–298).

66 A *cheok* (Ch. *chi*) 尺 was an historical unit of length used throughout East Asia and is often translated as “foot.” Its value varied between 23.1 cm (9.1 in) in ancient times to 36 cm (14 in) in the nineteenth century.

67 *Naesa sain* or *naeseo sain* 內書舍人, was a position at the Silla court referring to an aide who served near the ruler.

68 A mountain located to the east of Gyeongju, the capital of Silla.

69 *Chojesa* 招提寺 is a general term for a monastery designated for traveling monks and nuns. There is a monastery of this name founded by Emperor Taiwu of Wei (r. 424–452). However, here it should be considered as one of the monasteries from the time of the previous Buddha.

70 This refers to the Tongtai Monaster (同太寺). The monastery founded in 521 by Emperor Wu of Liang.

71 An official title, the fifth of seven official levels in the Silla administrative system.

Only members of true-bone status could attain this position.

72 A travelogue of Silla by Gu Yin 顧愔 and no longer extant. The *Samguk sagi* and *Haedong goseungjeon* wrongly ascribe the authorship to Linghu Cheng.

73 Sullang 述郎, Namnang 南郎, Yeongnang 永郎, and Ansang 安詳 (or 安常).

74 The three karmas, or three activities (*sameop* 三業), refers to the three modes of activities of speech or mouth (*gueop* 口業), thought or mind (*ui'eop* 意業), and body or deed (*sineop* 身業).

75 Appearing in Volume 2 of *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Haedong*.

76 Two of the five sacred mountains of China.

77 Here the eighteenth year is based on the “Silla Annals” (*Silla bon'gi* 新羅本紀) section of the *Samguk sagi* (*gwon* 4). The *Haedong goseungjeon* states the eighth.

78 Here the twenty-seventh year is based on the “Silla Annals” section of the *Samguk sagi* (*gwon* 4). The *Haedong goseungjeon* states the seventh.

79 Ji Zha 季札 (fl. 6th century BCE), prince of Wu 吳, of the Spring and Autumn period (春秋時代). As the fourth son of King Shoumeng 壽夢, he was offered the throne twice but refused it. He strengthened the nation and interacted with wise men and politicians from various states.

80 Court astrologer Lao Dan 老聃 (fl. 4th century BCE), who lived during reign of Duke Xian of the Qin dynasty.

81 Today's Nanjing.

82 The number of years that have passed since a person was first ordained.

83 An official in charge of selecting and recommending talented persons.

84 The four necessities of a monk were: clothing (衣服), food (飲食), bedding (臥具), and medicine (or herbs) (湯藥).

85 Yuan Gong 遠公, or Lushan Huiyuan 嘬山慧遠 (344–416), was a Chinese Buddhist teacher who founded Donglin Monastery on Mount Lu in Jiangxi Province.

86 Trāyastriṃśa Heaven was the Heaven of Thirty-Three (Gods) and an important world in the Buddhist cosmology. Trāyastriṃśa is ruled by Śakra.

87 Sacheonwangsa 四天王寺, or Four Heavenly Kings Monastery. The four heavenly kings are guardian gods who dwell on the slopes of Mount Sumeru, the axis mundi of the Buddhist cosmos. By building the monastery below the tomb of Queen Seondeok, the Buddhist cosmology is recreated, as the four heavens of the kings are located below the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven.

88 Unknown.

89 As its title implies, the *Great Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks who Traveled to the West Seeking the Dharma* by Yijing 義淨 was a collection of biographies of Chinese and Korean monks who traveled to Central Asia and India in search of

the dharma.

90 The Sanskrit name is reconstructed based on the Chinese version of the name. I follow the widely accepted version used by Peter Lee (Gakhun 1969, 91) and Gim (2016).

91 The *Abhidharmaśā-bhāṣya* [Abhidharma Storehouse Treatise], by Vasubandhu (世親), was an encyclopedia of the Buddhist worldview.

92 Yijing 義淨 was a Tang-period monk originally from Shandong 山東. Inspired by the accomplishments of such monks as Xuanzang and Faxian, he traveled to India to study Buddhism, departing Tang in 671 and returning in 695.

93 An Indonesian Buddhist empire based on Sumatra. Some sources render the Chinese as Śribhuja or Śribuja (Lee 1969, 94).

94 An honorific term for China.

95 Shenzhou 神州 was another name for China.

96 Faxian 法顯 (d. 418–423) was a famous Buddhist pilgrim and translator. He departed Chang'an 長安 in 399 overland for India, motivated primarily by concern over the lack of proper vinaya (戒律) textual resources.

97 Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) was a famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India.

98 Zhang Qian 張騫 led his troops to the state of Great Yuezhi (Ch. Da Yuezhi 大月氏) of the West around 139 BCE, returning in 126 BCE.

99 Su Wu 蘇武 was dispatched to the Huns in 100 BCE under the order of Emperor Wu of Han.

Biographies of Eastern Masters

Dongsa yeoljeon 東師列傳
by Beomhae Gagan 梵海覺岸

Biographies of Eastern Masters
Volume 1

Biography of National Preceptor Wonhyo (元曉國師傳)

Wonhyo's family name was Seol 薛, and his name was Seodang 誓幢. He was born in Bulji-chon 佛地村 in Amnyang-gun of Silla (now Gyeongsan-gun). It is said that his mother dreamt of a falling star entering her bosom, and because of this, she became pregnant. When she was giving birth to him, a five-hued cloud covered the ground, and then she gave birth to the child. This was in the thirty-ninth year of King Jinpyeong of Silla (617).

When he grew up, he set off for Tang to seek the dharma. On the way, he laid down to sleep in a tomb. At night, he was very thirsty, and he guzzled some water. It was very sweet and refreshing. The next morning, he saw that the water was in a skull. Suddenly, he achieved great awakening, sighed, and said, "When the mind arises, all kinds of phenomena arise, and when the mind ceases, the water in the skull is no different from clean water. The Tathagata (如來), the great teacher, said, 'The three realms (三界)¹ are determined only by the mind.' How could he deceive us?"

Then, he did not search for a teacher but returned directly to his homeland (Silla) and composed a commentary to the *Flower Ornament Sutra* (Ch. *Huayan jing* 華嚴經, Skt. *Avatamsaka-sūtra*). One day, he began to act strangely, shouting in the street: "If someone gives me an ax without a handle, I will cut the pillar supporting the sky!" No one understood his meaning, but when King Taejong Muyeol heard this, he said, "It means he desires to find a noble wife with whom to have a precious child." At that time, there was a widowed princess in Yoseok gung 邑石宮 Palace. She led Wonhyo into the palace and had him sleep with her. As a result, she gave birth to Seol Chong 薛聰. From his birth, he was bright and thoughtful. He was versed in the classics and histories and became one of the ten worthies (*siphyeon* 十賢) of Silla. He created a dialect (i.e., *idu*)² for a thorough understanding of the names of

objects and annotated and commented on the Six Classics (六經).³ As an official, he attained the rank of *hallim*. King Hyeonjong of Goryeo granted him the [posthumous] title Marquis of Scholarly Magnificence (弘儒侯) and had him enshrined in the Confucian shrine, the Munmyo 文廟.

Wonhyo stayed at Bunhwangsa 芬皇寺 Monastery and composed the *Commentary on the Flower Ornament Sutra* (*Hwaeom gyeong so* 華嚴經疏). When he reached the fortieth chapter, “Transfer of Merit,” he laid down his brush. Also, when writing a commentary on the *Diamond Absorption Sutra* (Kr. *Geumgang sammae gyeong* 金剛三昧經, Skt. *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*), he earned the name, horn-rider, because he annotated the scripture while riding a bull with the scripture hanging from the bull’s horns. When he entered *parinirvāṇa*,⁴ Seol Chong enshrined his image in Bunhwangsa. When he (Seol Chong) was paying respects to him from the side, the image turned [toward him].

Two hermitage sites remain in the Sabulsan 四佛山 Mountain in Sangju 尙州, including Wonhyoam 元曉庵 and Uisangam 義湘庵. There is also the Cheokpandae 擲板臺 Terrace in the Myohyangsan 妙香山 Mountain in Yeongbyeon 寧邊 and Hwaeomdae 華嚴壘 Site at the Wonhyoam 元曉庵 in the Geumjeongsan 金井山 Mountain in Dongnae 東萊. In the Duryunsan 頭輪山 Mountain in Haenam 海南, there are also Wonhyodae 元曉臺 and Uisangdae 義湘臺 terraces. There is a Wonhyoam 元曉庵 in the Mudeungsan 無等山 Mountain in Gwangju 光州. There are also the Takseokcheon 卓錫泉, the Monks’ Fountain, Gwaneumsong 觀音松, the Avalokitēśvara Pine, and the ruins of Princess Hwajeong’s palace on Soyosan 逍遙山 Mountain in Yangju 楊州. King Sukjong of Goryeo bestowed upon him the posthumous title National Preceptor Hwajaeng 和諍 (Reconciling Disputes).⁵

Biography of Patriarch Uisang (義湘祖師傳)

The grand master's secular surname was Gim 金. His father was Hansin 韓信. At the age of twenty-nine, he shaved his head at the Hwangboksa 皇福寺 Monastery. Not long after, he decided to travel to China to study. Later, he and Wonhyo set out on the road and arrived at Liaodong, where they were seized and detained for dozens of days before being sent back.⁶

At the beginning of the Yonghui era (650–655), of Emperor Gaozong of Tang, he entered China on a Tang envoy's ship. At first, he stayed at the house of Liu Zhiren, general of Yangzhou, who begged him to lodge at the government office and treated him with all hospitality.

The master went to Zhixiang Monastery (至相寺) in the Mountains Zhongnan (終南山), where he met Zhiyan 智儼⁷ and received permission to become his disciple. They discussed the subtle meaning of the *Flower Ornament Sutra* (Ch. *Zahua jing* [Kr. *Japhwa-gyeong*] 雜華經).⁸ Uisang thoroughly analyzed even the most profound and delicate aspects [of the scripture]. It was like “the blue color [extracted] from the indigo plant being bluer than the color of the plant itself.”

In the tenth year of King Munmu of Silla (670), he returned to his homeland and, upon royal order, traveled to the Taebaeksan 太白山 Mountain in 676 to establish Buseoksa 浮石寺 Monastery. Xianshou 賢首, a disciple of Zhiyan of Mountains Zhongnan, sent him his *Commentary on the Search for the Profundities of the Flower Ornament Sutra* (*Huayan jing souxuan shu* 華嚴經搜玄疏) along with a letter saying, “Monk Fazang⁹ living in Chongfu Monastery (崇福寺) in the Xijing 西京 sends this letter to the Hwaeom Master of Silla in Haedong. Thirty years have passed since we parted, but how could the sincerity of hope leave my heart? It is sad that I shall not be able to see you again. The sunset clouds are of ten thousand layers, and the route over land

and sea is ten thousand *li*. How can I put in words the longing I have in my heart?"

Uisang spread the teaching in ten monasteries.¹⁰ He composed the *Chart of the Dharma-Realm of Hwaeom* (*Hwaeom beopgye do* 華嚴法界圖) and *Abbreviated Commentary on the Flower Ornament Sutra* (*Hwaeom yakso* 華嚴略疏). He entered *parinirvāṇa* in 668 (8th year of King Munmu of Silla).¹¹ King Sukjong of Goryeo bestowed upon him the posthumous title National Preceptor Won'gyo 圓教 (Perfect Teaching).

Biography of Dharma Master Jajang (慈藏法師傳)

The master's secular surname was Gim. He was a member of the true-bone (*jin'gol* 眞骨) class of Silla. He was a son of Murim, an official of the *sopan* rank. Being sonless, his father prayed to Avalokiteśvara (Kr. Gwanseum bosal) with a thousand hands and eyes saying, "If I am endowed with a child, I will make him abandon the world and become a monk to be a ferry and bridge in the sea of the dharma." His mother dreamt of a shooting star entering her bosom, became pregnant, and gave birth to a child on the same eighth day of the fourth month as Śākyamuni Buddha was born. His name was Seonjong 善宗, and he lost his parents early, donated the dry and paddy fields, built the Yeong-gwangsa 寧光寺 Monastery, and became a monk.

In the third year of Queen Seondeok of Silla (636), during the reign of Emperor Taizong of Tang, he went to the Tang and paid a visit to Meditation Master Yuanxiang 圓香 of Yunji Monastery (雲際寺) in the Mountains Zhongnan. Meditation Master Yuanxiang said, "I heard your country is always in a war so severe that the people fall into misery. Erect a pagoda and build a monastery to press down the mountain water, which runs upstream."

After he had thoroughly worshipped the statue of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva at Mountain Qingliang (清涼山), he encountered Mañjuśrī in a dream, and the bodhisattva gave him the following verses in Sanskrit:

If you realize all dharmas,
 They have no intrinsic nature,
 If you understand the nature of dharmas like this,
 You will at once see Rocana.¹²

Also, when giving him [Buddha's] monk's robe, one hundred

pieces of relics, a skull bone, a finger bone, a pearl, a jewel and scriptures written on *patt* leaves, Mañjuśrī said, “A poisonous dragon lives in a lake under Yeongchwiseosan 灵鹫栖山 Mountain in your country. Build a diamond altar there to appease the dragon. Then, the gods and dragons (天龍)¹³ will protect the Buddhadharma, so it might last long.”

When Jajang was sailing back to Silla on a ship, the Dragon King made obeisance to him and said, “The dragon who protects the dharma at Hwangnyongsa 黃龍寺¹⁴ Monastery in your homeland [Silla] is my son. Build a monastery and erect a pagoda among the rivers and mountains in the south of the country. The Dragon King of the East Sea and I shall come thrice daily to the monastery, circumambulate the pagoda, listen to the Buddhadharma, and protect the Buddha.”

When the master returned home, he was received in audience by the king where he informed him of past events. The king appointed him the *guktong* 國統, national supervisor of the sangha, and founded Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 to enshrine the Buddha. Then Woljeongsa 月精寺, Taehwasa 太和寺, and Daedunsa¹⁵ 大菴寺 monasteries were built.

The master went to the lake at the foot of the Chukseosan 鷲棲山 [Yeongchwiseosan], where the poisonous dragon lived, preached the dharma, and made the dragon submit to him. The lake was filled up, a platform-altar¹⁶ was erected, and the relics and robe were enshrined there. The monastery was named Tongdosa 通度寺. The master indeed was a principal master of the Buddhist school.

The “Stele of Tathagata’s Relics of the Yongyeonsa at Biseulsan” (毘瑟山龍淵寺如來舍利碑) by Yu hae 柳培, a *jipyeong* official of the Saheonbu,¹⁷ presents the following record:

When Silla monk Jajang returned from studying in the western country [China], he brought with him several relics of Buddha. Two chests, each containing two pieces, were kept in Tongdosa in Yangju. The Japanese invaders damaged the stupa and seized the relics during the chaos of the *imjin* year (1592). Grand Master Songun Yujeong 松雲惟政 (1544–1610)

sent a letter wherein he reminded the Japanese of the misfortune and fortune [such deeds can bring about]. They retreated in fear. Grand Master Songun took the chests and went to Geumgangsan, the Diamond Mountain, to see Grand Master Seosan (西山大師) Hyujeong (1520–1604) and asked him what to do. Eventually, he gave one chest to Seonhwa 禪和 and others to enshrine in Bohyeonsa 普賢寺 Monastery in the Taebaeksan 太白山. The other box was taken by Grand Master Songun back to Tongdosa, where they would restore the stupa and enshrine the relics, so the origins would not be forgotten. By then, the turmoil of war had once more broken out in Yeongnam,¹⁸ the people were scattered and hid like birds and rats, so there was no time to commence construction.

When Grand Master Songun was ordered to go to Japan, he worshipped [the relics he meant to enshrine in Tongdosa] as the manifestation of the Buddha of the vow (願佛). After some time, when he returned, he took the chest to Gangnimsa 覺林寺 Monastery in the Chiaksan 雉岳山 Mountain. His disciple Cheongjin 淸振 moved it to Yongyeonsa 龍淵寺 Monastery in the Biseulsan and enshrined it there. After that, the people built a pagoda to keep [the relics], then one portion of the relics was enshrined in Tongdosa, leaving one portion in Yongyeonsa, where they were enshrined in the northern corner.

It has been 940 years since [the relics] were first enshrined in Tongdosa and eighty years since the Japanese invaders removed and then returned them. They have been divided and enshrined in the old pagodas of Tongdosa and Yongyeonsa in the Biseulsan to this day.

This is the inscription:

The Biseulsan are dense,
The Nakdonggang river is overflowing,
The pagoda stands out starkly,
Holding the Buddha's relics.

The stele was erected in the fourth month of 1676 (2nd year of King Sukjong of Joseon).

Biography of National Preceptor Jin'gam (眞鑑國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Hyeo 慧昭; his secular family name was Choe 崔. He was born in the Geumma 金馬 district of Jeonju. His father's name was Changwon 昌元, and his mother's family name was Go 顧. His mother dreamt [she met] an Indian monk, who said to her, "I wish to become your¹⁹ son," gave her a beryl (琉璃)²⁰ bottle and departed. It was not long after that the master was conceived. The master did not cry when he was born. From his childhood until the time of his coming-of-age ceremony²¹ (15 years), he was extremely devoted to his parents. The family was so impoverished they had not a single *mal*²² of rice at home. They did not possess even a tiny piece of land. The master had a small business in the corner of the marketplace and thereby sustained his parents. When they passed away, he alone dug the ground and built the grave.

In 804 (5th year of King Aejang of Silla), he visited an envoy who was going to China with a tribute and volunteered to become a boatman. Considering the rough waves as flat land, he arrived in China. When he reached Cangzhou 滄州, he met Grand Master Shenjian 神鑑 and became his disciple. Shenjian was delighted and said, "It has been a while since we parted, and I am so happy to see you again," and immediately shaved his head and transmitted mudra to him.²³ The people said to each other, "We will see the saint from the East here again." Because National Preceptor Jin'gam was of a rather dark complexion, instead of his dharma name, the people called him Heitoutuo 黑頭陀, Black Dhūta.²⁴

In 810, he received the full precepts at the beryl altar of the Shaolin Monastery (少林寺) on Mountain Song (嵩山). His mother's dream was fulfilled utterly. He already mastered the vinaya, and so he went back to the vast world of learning. He had a talent for understanding ten [things] upon hearing only one. It was like the crimson color extracted from the

Rubia plant being redder than the *Rubia* plant itself, or the indigo color extracted from Indigo plant being bluer than the indigo plant itself.

After three years of diligently practicing the [meditative] methods of cessation and clear observation (止觀法) while subsisting on pine cones, and three years of extensive teaching while wearing straw sandals, he returned to his homeland in 830 and settled in the Jangbaeksa 長栢寺 Monastery in the Noaksan 露岳山 Mountain in Sangju 尙州. Like patients in front of a gate of a famous doctor's residence, people flocked [to him] like clouds from all different regions.

He went to Hwagae 花開 (Flower Opening) valley in the Jirisan Mountain, where he built a monastery at the site of the former monastery of Preceptor Sambeop 三法, magnificent like the conjured city (化城)²⁵ of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Fahua jing* 法華經). He stayed there for several years during which time his rows of disciples were dense like stalks of hemp or rice that even an awl could not penetrate.

While exploring remote areas, he found the brightly open place most suitable for living where he built a monastery with Okcheon (Jade Spring) written on the gate signboard. As a descendant of the lineage of Jogye (the Sixth Patriarch Huineng),²⁶ he also established a hall with the image of the Sixth Patriarch.

At dawn, on the ninth day of the first month of 850 (12th year of King Munseong of Silla), he said, "All dharmas are empty. I am going to leave soon. Do not erect a stupa with my relics in it nor record my acts in writing." Then he sat down and entered *parinirvāṇa*. He was seventy-seven years old, and his dharma age was forty-one.

The sound of the national preceptor's chants is elegant and splendid, like the sound of jade or gold. The house was full of those who came to learn it. He was never neglectful when teaching the people. The people in our country, who learn the subtle music of *eosan*²⁷ today, are all imitating the old echoes of Okcheonsa Monastery. Is this not called "guiding and teaching sentient beings through sound?" King Heon'gang granted him the posthumous title Jin'gam (True Mirror) and ordered the Daegongryeong 大空靈 (Great Spirit of Emptiness) stupa be built. The master's acts were engraved to honor him forever.

The king also provided the Ssanggyesa 雙溪寺 Monastery with an engraved tablet.²⁸ Choe Goun 崔孤雲 (Choe Chiwon 崔致遠) composed his epitaph.

Biography of National Preceptor Jijeung (智證國師傳)

The master's name was Doheon 道憲, his courtesy name (字) was Jiseon 智訖, and his secular family name was Gim 金. He was born in Gyeongju. His father's name was Chanhwan 賢環, and his mother's family name was Yi 伊. A giant appeared in his mother's dream, and said, "I am the Buddha of Insight. I became a monk in the time of the latter dharma,²⁹ but I fell into the dragon world because of anger. I was confined there for a long time and received the fruit of my past karma. The [negative] results are gone now. I desire to become a Buddha's dharma-descendant again. I would like to rely on good conditions. Therefore, I ask you for compassionate edification."

After this encounter, she became pregnant, and almost four hundred days later, the master was born on the day of the Buddha's bathing ceremony.³⁰ For many days after his birth, he refused to drink his mother's milk. When she tried to breastfeed him, he would cry until his voice grew hoarse. An ascetic passed by the family's door and said, "If you want to stop your child crying, do not eat the five pungent plants³¹ and food smelling of meat or blood." When the mother did as the ascetic said, the problems vanished.

When he was nine years old, he lost his father and asked his mother for permission to take refuge in Buddhism, but the mother refused him under the pretext that he was still too young. He went to Buseoksa 浮石寺 to study, and at the age of seventeen, received the full precepts there. Born in 824 (16th year of King Heondeok of Silla), he entered *parinirvāna* in 882 (8th year of King Heon'gang of Silla). He was fifty-nine years old, and his dharma age was forty-three.

His figure and shape were large and tall, and his speech magnificent and precise. So he really was the so-called "man who is dignified but not fierce." From the conception to nirvana (death), there were six strange acts and mysterious stories that made people prick up their ears, and

there were six that surprised the hearts of the people of the world.

He studied under monk Beomche 梵體 and received full precepts from Gyeongui 瓊儀, explored the profound principles of the scriptures with Hyeeun 惠隱 and passed the dharma to Yangbu 楊孚. When living in Bongamsa 鳳巖寺 Monastery on Huiyangsan 曜陽山 Mountain at the request of Simchung 沈忠, in winter, three days after the fifteenth day of the twelfth month, he passed away sitting in the lotus posture leaving words of instruction to his followers. The royal court bestowed upon him the posthumous title Jijeung 智證 and the stupa name Jeokjo 寂照. His acts were recorded on a stele. Choe Goun 崔孤雲 composed the text of the inscription.

Biography of National Preceptor Muyeom (無染國師傳)

The master's secular family name was Gim 金. His father was Beomcheong 範清, and his grandfather was Jucheon 周川. He was the eighth-generation descendant of King Muyeol 武烈 and the tenth-generation dharma-descendant of Patriarch Bodhidharma. His mother's family name was Hwa 華. She dreamt of an arm reaching from the sky, offering her a lotus flower. She became pregnant and gave birth to the national preceptor.

At the age of nine, he entered the path to Buddhahood and inquired about the *Flower Ornament Sutra* by Most Virtuous Seokjing 釋澄 of Buseoksan 浮石山. Then he went to Tang and came to the Foguang Monastery (佛光寺) and asked Ruman 如滿³² about the Way. Ruman replied, "I have met many people, but very few Sillans like you." When the master met Magu Baoche 麻谷寶徹, Baoche immediately bestowed an *in'ga* acknowledgment on him.

The master returned [home] in 845 (7th year of King Munseong of Silla) and lived in Seongjusa 聖住寺 Monastery in Ungcheon 熊川. He entered *parinirvāṇa* on the seventeenth day of the eleventh month of 888 (2nd year of Queen Jinseong of Silla), he was eighty-nine years old, and his dharma age was sixty-five years. His posthumous title was Daenanghye 大郎慧, and stupa name was Baegwol Bogwang 白月葆光. Upon royal order, the Gentleman of the Cinnamon Garden³³ and Censor Auxilliary (侍御史) Choe Chiwon 崔致遠 composed the stele inscription.

Biography of Grand Master Nanggong (郎空大師傳)

Nanggong's dharma name was Haengjeok 行寂, and his family name was Choe 崔, he was a native of Hanam 河南. His father was Paesang 佩常, his grandfather was Jeon 全, and his mother's family name was Seol 薛.

A monk appeared in his mother's dream and said, "Mother, I wish to become your son." After that, she became pregnant and gave birth to him on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month of 832 (7th year of King Heungdeok of Silla). His unusual physique was different from ordinary children. When studying books, he explored their gist thoroughly and when entrusted with work he so immersed himself that he forgot to eat. He had long believed in the teachings of Buddha and intended to abandon the secular world, and he finally spoke to his father, "My wish is to become a monk and practice the Way." The father loved his son and permitted him.

Nanggong shaved his head, put on the colored robe, and became a monk. Nanggong went to Bokcheonsa 福泉寺 Monastery in 855 (17th year of King Munseong of Silla) to receive the full precepts and to the Gulsan (Odaesan) Mountain to see Tonghyo 通曉,³⁴ where he ascended to the platform and became Tonghyo's disciple.

In 870 (10th year of King Gyeongmun of Silla), the master crossed the sea to China with Gim Ginyeong 金緊榮, an envoy who went to pay tribute. Upon arrival at the [Tang] capital, Emperor Yizong was delighted to invite him into the palace, and the Son of Heaven (i.e., Emperor Yizong) personally treated him generously and gave him presents. Then, the master went to Mountain Wutai, where he worshipped Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva. In 875, he went to Jingzhong Monastery (靜衆寺) in Chengdu where he paid homage to the image of Grand Master Musang 無相.³⁵ Grand Master Musang was a native of Silla.

When he returned home in 885 (11th year of King Heon'gang of Silla), he had an audience with Gullyeong 嶴嶺 (National Preceptor Beomil) at Odaesan, who was happy to see him again. When Grand Master of Gulsan 嶴山 (Beomil) was about to enter *parinirvāṇa* in the fourth month of 890 (4th year of Queen Jinseong of Silla), he transmitted the mind-seal (心印)³⁶ to Nanggong and entrusted him with teaching.

The master returned to the [Silla] capital in autumn, in the ninth month of 892. The king invited him to the royal palace and paid homage to him. In 915 (4th year of King Sindeok of Silla), during the Five Dynasties period in China, he was staying at Siljesa 實際寺 Monastery and in the following year solemnly entered *parinirvāṇa* on the twelfth day of the second month. His secular age was eighty-five, and his dharma age was sixty-one. King Sindeok 神德 sent envoys to pay their respects and hold a memorial service. The king also granted him the posthumous title, Grand Master Nanggong (朗空大師). His stupa name was Baegwol Seoun 白月栖雲. His disciples numbered more than five hundred, including Sinjong 信宗, Juhae 周解, and Bugan 符侶. The epitaph on his stele was composed by Choe Inyeon 崔仁澆 (868–944),³⁷ an official of the Hallim Academy. Monk Danmok 端目 collected Gim Saeng's 金生 [calligraphic] characters.³⁸

According to its inscription, the stele was located at an old monastery site in Bonghwa-gun 奉化郡. In 1509 (4th year of King Jungjong of Joseon), Yi Hwang, the governor of Yeongcheon-gun, had it moved to under the Jamillu 字民樓 Pavilion³⁹ in his county.

Many Chinese who came during the *imjin-jeongyu* period (1592–1597), made rubbings [of the stele]. Afterward, Xiong Hua 熊化, an envoy from the Ming, before crossing the Amnokgang (Yalu River) [back to China], sent a person to make a rubbing of the inscription, but this person did not know where the stele was located, so he again asked the Ming envoy. Later, a county governor buried the stele in the ground and built stables [above it]. It is truly a pity that it was buried in the ground, and we shall never touch it again.

Biography of National Preceptor Doseon (道訣國師傳)

Master's dharma name was Doseon, his courtesy name was Ongnyong 玉龍, his pen name Yeon'gi 烟起, and his family name was Choe 崔. He was born in the village of Gurim in Nangju (today's Yeongam in Jeollanam-do). His mother, of the Choe clan, became pregnant after eating cucumbers in a well in winter. As he was born without a father, he carried his mother's family name. As soon she gave birth to him, she abandoned him in a forest. Countless pigeons fed him milk and raised him. Since it was strange that he was rescued and saved like this, the forest was named Gurim 鳩林 (Pigeon Forest).

At the age of thirteen, he traveled to Tang aboard a Tang vessel. Chan Master Yixing 一行 of Tang had said earlier, "When the water in the valley runs upstream, a man who will transmit my Way will appear." One of his disciples remembered that speech. One day he ran to the master, saying, "The water in the valley is running upstream!" Yixing listened to him and solemnly walked out in front out the gate. Suddenly, Doseon appeared and paid his respects to him. Yixing said, "I have been waiting so long. Why are you so late?" And they greeted each other with great joy. [Yixing] welcomed him and invited him to stay. Doseon learned all of Yixing's teachings. When he was about to leave, Chan Master Yixing bid him farewell saying, "My Way is going eastward. Have a safe journey!" Giving him a tightly sealed writing in red ink, he said persuasively, "Do not rush to open it. I am entrusting you to the Wang family. Wait seven years and then open it."

When Doseon reached Songdo (Gaegyeong, the capital of Goryeo), he stayed at the house of Wang Yung 王隆.⁴⁰ He observed the conditions of Heaven and natural topography [of Earth] and said in admiration, "You will certainly have a precious son next year. The child will save the people, who are in pain." When Wang Yung heard this, he went out wearing his shoes backward and greeted him. In the following year,

Wang Geon 王建, who would become King Taejo 太祖 of Goryeo, was born. The record of the Eunsan Stele (隱山碑) states the following:

Yixing urged National Preceptor Doseon and said, “The Buddha is a great physician. Healing the body with the Buddha’s dharma will destroy all plagues and diseases, and treating the mind with the dharma will eliminate all kinds of anguish. Governing the mountain streams and lands with the dharma will turn ominous and harmful into auspicious and beneficial. The Buddha’s help and support are like mugwort. Mugwort is good medicine to cure diseases, but when a person who has no disease sees it, it is like dirty soil to him or her. So, no one collects it despite having it in one’s own yard. However, once sick, it is different. When the person meets a competent physician, who uses mugwort in the form of moxa, even a deep-rooted disease is cured completely, faster than an echo or a shadow. Even if there is a precious treasure of immense value, it cannot be compared to the value of mugwort because it is exceptionally effective.

“If you look at the topography of the Samhan (Korea), your country in the East, the numerous mountains are mostly rugged, and the rushing water also runs violently. It looks like a dragon in a fight, or a tiger in a fight, or like birds flying and wild beasts running. Or it looks like a siege from a distance, when, however, the point of attack cannot be reached. By analogy, [your country] is like a person with many diseases. Therefore, it sometimes splits into nine countries or into Samhan (Three Han), which invade and conquer each other, and the wars do not cease. Therefore, rogues swarm, and the climate is unbalanced, causing damage from monsoon rains and drought. Now, use the mugwort of the Buddha’s teaching to cure the disease of the mountains and streams. That will replenish what is lacking and restrain what is overflowing, and what is running up will be stopped, and what is turning away will be called back. It will also be able to defend [the country] from the bandits and prevent warfare. Good events shall be established, and auspicious things shall be spread far and wide.

“Analyze the painful and itchy conditions of the ill-natured topog-

raphy, build stupas with monks' relics, erect pagodas or establish monasteries, and if their number attains three thousand eight hundred, the illness of the mountains and streams in your country will disappear. It is because this help and support were created to cure such illness.

"Only if you do so shall the Samhan be united and become one nation, and the bandits will be transformed and become new members of the nation. Rainstorms will conform to the times, and the farming will be good. The people will become harmonious and pure in heart.

"However, future generations of kings and officials will not know the politics that makes the country well and peaceful and will disrupt the country by performing deeds that are not beneficial. Get rid of such behavior and observe the difference between auspicious and ominous. What difference would it make from an ill person who ignores the doctor, thinking, 'Rather than making my life debilitating by taking medicine that has no effect, I will send away the doctor and observe whether I should cure the illness or not.' What is the use of those who regret only after falling into jeopardy?"

Doseon returned to his homeland in 875 (1st year of King Heon'gang of Silla) and was forty-nine years old at that time. He founded about five hundred monasteries of the Seonjong 禪宗, the Seon school, following a royal order. On the tenth day of the third month of 898 (2nd year of King Hyogong of Silla), he entered *parinirvāṇa* when he was seventy-two years old. His epitaph on a stele of Dogapsa 道岬寺⁴¹ Monastery was composed by Yi Gyeongseok 李景奭.⁴² There are two stupas with relics at Yeon'goksa 燕谷寺 Monastery in Gurye 求禮, one of National Preceptor Doseon and the other of his mother.

The following is the epitaph from Ongnyongsa 玉龍寺 Monastery at Baekgyesan 白鶲山 Mountain in Gwangyang-gun 光陽郡, Jeollanam-do, composed by Choe Yucheong 崔惟清 of the Goryeo period:

The master's secular family name was Gim, and his mother's family name was Kang. In her dream, a person gave her a clear bead and told her to swallow it. She swallowed the bead and became pregnant. Therefore, his

parents were convinced that the child must be a vessel of the dharma, and from the very beginning, in their hearts, they allowed him to become a monk.

At the age of fifteen (842), he was intelligent and brilliant, and also mastered the magical arts (技藝). He went to Hwaeomsa 華嚴寺 Monastery in the Woryusan 月遊山 (Jirisan 智異山) where he had his head shaved and where he studied the scriptures. Less than a year later, he attained the great meaning. All his fellow students were amazed, admired him, and called his ghost-like wisdom. This happened when he was twenty years old in the eighth year of King Munseong of Silla (847).

At that time, Grand Master Hyecheol 慧哲 received the mind-seal (心印) from Xitang Zhizang 西堂智藏 and opened a dharma seat⁴³ in the Dongnisan 桐裏山 Mountain⁴⁴ and there taught the dharma. Many who wanted to gain eternal benefits visited him. Thus, the master (Doseon) turned to the meditative approach of Seon and asked to become his disciple. At the age of twenty-three (850), Doseon received the full precepts from Grand Master Hyecheol.

Great King Heon'gang honored the master's eminent virtue and sent a messenger to summon him. When they met, the king was delighted as if he was meeting an old friend. The master opened the king's heart with words of deep meaning and subtle principles. Soon, he asked to return to his original monastery. He called his disciples in and said, "I will leave soon. It is natural for a sage to come to this world according to causes and conditions (因緣) and leave it when the causes and conditions are exhausted. It is a natural principle; how could I remain in this world?" Then he suddenly entered *parinirvāṇa*. This was on the tenth day of the third month of 898, the second year of the reign of King Hyogong of Silla. He was seventy-two years old. The disciples followed the master's will by enshrining his relics in a stupa erected behind the monastery at the foot of the mountain in the north.

King Hyogong was saddened by the news of the master's passing, and specially granted him the posthumous title Seon Master (禪師) Yogong 了空 (Completed Emptiness) and the stupa name Jeungseong Hyedeung 証聖慧燈 (Lamp of Realized Noble Awareness). His disciple

Hongjeok 洪寂 and others were afraid that the deceased teacher's deeds would not be transmitted further. They asked for a piece of writing to be inscribed on a stele. The king ordered the calligrapher Bak Inbeom 朴仁範⁴⁵ to compose an epitaph. However, he failed to finalize it by having it carved in stone.

King Hyeonjong 顯宗 of Goryeo conferred the title of Grand Seon Master (大禪師), King Sukjong 肅宗 added the title of royal preceptor, and King Gonghyo granted him the title of National Preceptor Seon'gak 先覺.

Several texts regarding yin and yang, which were expounded by the National Preceptor, are still being transmitted in the world. All those involved with the principles of earth take these books as a standard. According to the inscription, omitted [*sic*].

In 1150, the fourth year of the reign of King Uijong of Goryeo, a stele was erected on the ninth day of the seventh month, critically stating, "The two epitaphs of Yi Gyeongseok and Choe Yucheong present different narratives. Hence it is difficult to choose the standard version. There is no record of the parents' family names or what he learned from Yixing."

Biography of National Preceptor Hyecheol (慧徹國師傳)

The master's name was Hyecheol [also written as 惠哲], his courtesy name was Cheongbo 清寶, and his secular family name was Bak 朴, and he was a native of Gyeongju. He went to Tang, where he inherited the dharma from Xitang Zhizang 西堂智藏. The epitaph on the Jeokjo stele [the epitaph of Grand Master Jijeung at Bongamsa Monastery in Mun'gyeong] includes the following record.

The monks who returned from China include the previously described Buksan⁴⁶ (i.e., monk Doui 道義.), Namak⁴⁷ (i.e., monk Hongcheok 洪陟). Descending down, there are National Preceptor Cheol 徹 of Taean 太安,⁴⁸ masters Yuk 育 of Hyemok 惠目,⁴⁹ Mun 聞 of Jiryeok 智力,⁵⁰ So 炽 of Ssanggye 雙溪,⁵¹ Eon 彥 of Sinheung 新興,⁵² Che 豐 of Yongam 湧岩,⁵³ Hyu 休 of Jin'gu 珍丘,⁵⁴ Un 雲 of Ssangbong 雙峯,⁵⁵ Il 日 of Gosan 孤山,⁵⁶ and Yeom 染 of Seongju 聖住,⁵⁷ who served as national preceptor of two countries, as well as Jong 宗 of Bori 菩提,⁵⁸ and others.

The “Epigraph of National Preceptor Seon'gak” states that Doseon became a disciple of Hyecheol, who returned from China in 847 and was preaching the dharma at Dongnisan 桐裏山 Mountain. The Great King Gyeongmun of Silla conferred upon him the posthumous title Jeogin 寂忍 (Quiet Patience).

The following is the story of Chukmaengchi 逐虻峙, which means “peak of a repelled horsefly.”

Taeansa 泰安寺 Monastery in the Dongnisan (also known as Bongdusan 鳳頭山) in Gokseong, Jeollanam-do, is a place of awakening⁵⁹ where the National Preceptor Hyecheol spread the teaching. By the time he founded the monastery, the people from the entire area were troubled by mosquitoes and horseflies. The national preceptor used his supernatural

powers and repelled them, so they flew away over the peak on the right side of the mountain range. Then he built the monastery, and as there was not a single mosquito or horsefly, the peak was named Chukmaengchi.

His stele and stupa are located inside the monastery and are thoroughly protected. Between 1854 and 1855, the monastery wall collapsed, nobody repaired it, and time passed. In summer of that year (1855), countless mosquitoes swarmed the valley in thousands of platoons and myriads of armies. The sound of the mosquitoes resembled thunder, and people had to protect their eyes and noses. As soon as the people joined forces to repair the premises around the stupa and offered prayers at the national preceptor's shrine, mosquitoes and horseflies disappeared. Both the monks and the villagers regained their tranquility. The wisdom and acts of the sage are indeed extraordinary and eternal.

The “Text of the Ridge Beam of the Main Hall of the Dharma Hall of Taeansa” (泰安寺法堂上梁文) reads,

There are many famous mountains in the south of the country, and Dongnisan is one of them. After Silla, many great monks appeared, but there was none like Hyecheol. As he was in accord with the secular world boundaries and founded the monastery, it is because of his birth into the world that Buddhist monasteries flourished. The great [impact of the] teaching is perhaps due to the profundity of his Way and his virtue.

Biography of Seon Master Bojo (普照禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Chejing 體澄, and his secular family name was Gim. He was born in Ungjin 熊津 (Gongju, Chungcheongnam-do).

The Seon master was born into a prominent family with a long history. From his birth, there were many strange anecdotes about him. Many episodes from his life are inscribed in detail on his epitaph. The narratives include his appearance resembling a towering mountain, his spirit resembling water running downhill, the way he left the secular world and became a monk, or the learning of the scriptures in search of his teacher. So I will not bother [the reader] with these. I shall simply offer a brief outline of his life.

The following content is included in *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Chuandeng lu* 傳燈錄).

Grand Master Doui of Gajisan Mountain received the mind-seal (心印) from Chan Master Xitang Zhizang 西堂智藏, returned [to Silla] and became the nation's first patriarch. He explicated the principles of Seon and revealed the mysterious dharma. He entrusted Seon Master Yeomgeo 廉居 with the dharma and lived in Eokseongsa 憶聖寺 Monastery on Seoraksan Mountain. He conveyed to his disciples the mind of the patriarchs and revealed the teachings of his master. It was the beginning of the teachings of Seon and correct awakening.

In 827 (2nd year of King Heungdeok of Silla), Grand Master Chejing received the full precepts at Bowonsa 普願寺 Monastery on Garyanghyeopsan 加良峽山 Mountain. Once he entered the place of awakening (i.e., the monastery), he cultivated the Way for seven days and nights. After a while, a strange pheasant suddenly flew in. "This is truly a sign of the king of the dharma," said the people.

The master left Bowonsa and went to the house of Master Yeomgeo. He entrusted himself to him and accepted him as a teacher. When he received the dharma from Yeomgeo, he explored the extraordinary traces of Seon 禪 and learned its essence. He was energetic like the bursting out of a dammed river, or like walking on a smooth road. So, he purified his mind and longed to escape the three realms for good.

In 837 (2nd year of King Huigang of Silla), he departed for [Tang] China in the west and crossed the rough waters of the blue sea with Jeongyuk 貞育, Cheohoe 處會, and others, to seek the dharma. While traveling all around China, they met numerous good friends,⁶⁰ preached the Buddhadharma, and compared their teachings. At the end of his tour of the entire country, he realized that there was no difference between essence and phenomena (性相無異), and said, “Why to come this far and undergo such hardships, if there is no better teaching than our patriarch’s?” Then, in the spring of 840, in the second month, he accompanied an envoy and returned to his homeland. By then, many patrons were attracted by the teachings of the Buddha. Their visits did not cease, and many novices, as well as fully ordained monks, followed the master’s style of Seon, they were arriving from all over the country like waves rushing one upon the other.

In 859, he finally settled at the monastery called Hwanghak 黃鶴 in Muju 武州 (Gwangju in Jeollanam-do). This was after Great King Heonan 憲安 (r. 857–860) of Silla ascended the throne. When King Heonan heard about the master, he supported his teaching and even dreamed about it. He wished for the Seon teaching to be spread and urged the master to come to the capital (Gyeongju). During summer, in the sixth month, Gim Eon-gyeong 金彥卿,⁶¹ a *busu* official of Jangsa-hyeon 長沙縣 (Mujang-hyeon) (Gochang, Jeollabuk-do) was asked to bring tea and medicine as a gift and accompany the master on his way. However, the Seon master firmly refused to travel to the capital. In the tenth month, during the winter of that year, the king sent the superintendent of monks (僧正)⁶² in Yeongam-gun 靈岩郡 and the official in charge of clergy and laity, Yeonhun 運訓, dharma masters Bongjin 奉震, Pungseon 馮瑄, and others with a royal order requesting

the master's relocation to Gajisansa 過智山寺 Monastery (predecessor of Borimsa 寶林寺 Monastery). The master reluctantly moved his residence and dwelled at that monastery. Gim Eon-gyeong became his disciple, so he could show him respect by serving him closely. He donated a part of his income and bought two thousand five hundred *geun*⁶³ of iron to cast a statue of Vairocana Buddha (盧舍那佛), and enshrined it in the monastery where the master lived.

King Heon'gang issued an edict ordering 160 *geun* of gold and 2,000 *gok*⁶⁴ of grain to be produced in every household in the south of Mangsu-ri 望水里 for the decoration of the monastery and assigned slaves to the monastery. I am omitting the contents of the royal edict here.

In 861 (1st year of King Gyeongmun of Silla), donations were collected from throughout the country, and the monastery was built wide and large. When construction was completed, and the master arrived to celebrate the completion ceremony, a bright rainbow penetrated the interior of the dharma hall, and its light split again, brightening the whole room, and even illuminating the faces of the people. In this way, the earth deity named Gyeonroe 堅牢 and the celestial fairy named Saga 婆伽 announced the auspicious event.

In the early summer of 880 (6th year of King Heon'gang of Silla), on the twenty-third day of the fourth month, between five in the afternoon and nine in the evening, thunder and bolts of lightning covered the entire mountain, at eleven o'clock at night on the twenty-third day, the ground shook greatly at the abbot's quarters, where the master resided. The next day, at dawn, the Seon master entered *parinirvāna* lying on his right side on the ground. More than eight hundred disciples mourned the passing of their teacher, holding the coffin and weeping. The sound of the wailing resonated throughout the valley. The cremation ceremony was held in the mountains, a stupa was erected, and his relics were enshrined there.

In the spring of 883 (9th year of King Heon'gang of Silla), his disciple Uigeo 義車 and others compiled the master's biography in order to honor him. They proceeded all the way to the royal palace and

pleaded for a stele to be erected and an epitaph to be engraved. The king admired the teaching of true emptiness. In order to praise the mind of the respected master, he issued a royal edict to the relevant government offices to confer the posthumous title Bojo 普照 (Universally Illuminating) and stupa name Changseong 彰聖 upon him and to name the monastery Borim 寶林.

Perhaps the name Borim was used because they inherited an ancient monastery tablet of the Most Virtuous Wonpyo (Ch. Yuanbiao) 元表 and wanted to maintain the original records at the time of the foundation. The conferment of the posthumous title, stupa name, and monastery name seem to be a courtesy to honor the Seon school with special favor.

Biography of Grand Master Dongjin (洞真大師傳)

The master's dharma name was Gyeongbo 慶甫, and his courtesy name was Gwangjong 光宗. His secular family name was Gim, and he was a native of Gurim 嬉林 in Yeongam. His father's name was Yangik 良益, and he was an official of the *alchan* 闕粲 rank. His mother's family name was Bak. On the night of the third day of the seventh month of 868 (8th year of King Gyeongmun of Silla), his mother dreamed of a white mouse that appeared with a blue glass bead in its mouth and spoke in a voice of a human being, "This is a mysterious treasure that is very rare in the world. It is the greatest treasure of the Buddha's teaching. The Buddha's mindful protection⁶⁵ will follow, and [your son] will shine brilliantly in the world."

Thus, the child was conceived. During the pregnancy, [the mother] devoutly followed the abstinential rules (齋戒). The Seon master was born on the twentieth day of the (fourth) month, [the month] when the Tathagata was born. The master always wanted to serve his parents, but in his mind, he promised to become a buddha. His parents, who knew this well, told him one day. "If a man really wishes to do something, even the Heaven complies." So, he finally allowed himself to become a monk. He went straight to Bu'insansa 夫仁山寺 Monastery, shaved his head, and dove into the forest of learning. However, he did not enjoy the mountain of Seon. The swift feet (迅足) were in the air, whereas the mind dwelled rather in the house (宅心).⁶⁶

One evening, he fell asleep, and in a dream, the Golden Sage (Buddha) touched his head, pulled his ears, and gave him a monk's robe. "Put on these clothes because you must protect your body and practice. Would it not be better to leave this place because it is unsuitable for one who cultivates his mind?" The monk woke up in surprise and thought, "Now is the right time to depart, I should not miss it." Then, he sat there waiting the dawn. Early in the morning, he

dressed for travel and went off like a migratory bird. He went directly to the Baekgyesan Mountain, where he paid a visit to Master Doseung (Doseon) and became his disciple.

Afterward, he practiced the way of bodhisattvas and entered the house of the tathagata. Therefore, he soon opened his eyes to the profound meaning, and awakened his mind to the understanding of signs. Moreover, he thought: “If you are not wise, you cannot abide by the correct teaching of the Buddha. If you do not follow vinaya, you cannot prevent wrong human behavior.” When he was eighteen years old, he received the full precepts at Hwaeomsa on Woryusan. Then he returned to Baekgyesan and bid farewell to Grand Master Doseung. The grand master said, “I can’t change your decision or alter the state of things. To you, I am just some Qiu⁶⁷ living east of the village, so there is nothing I can do about it.” The Seon master smiled and allowed him to leave. From that point, the monk traveled to various places to study. Without having a fixed teacher, he met with Seon Master Muyeom 無染 of Seongjusa 聖住寺⁶⁸ and later with Grand Master Beomil 梵日 of Gulsansa 崑山寺⁶⁹ in order to listen to their sermons.

As the mere subject of conversation reveals the subtle meaning, in the spring of 892 (6th year of Queen Jinseong of Silla), he left the mountains like a soaring bird and reached the coast like a brisk wind. His eagerness to study in China increased. He asked a traveler who roamed the seas, defying the waves, and was delighted to receive his permission to join him on his ship and travel together.

Soon after, he crossed the bridge from the land of Qin 秦 and reached the land of Han 漢. With a mind like a cloud, the master was visiting spiritually advanced individuals in search of his teacher, leaving traces of his travels behind him. When he finally arrived at Mountain Shu (疎山) in Fuzhou 撫州,⁷⁰ he visited Master Kuangren 匡仁, who said, “Come near. Are you an offspring of the dragon of the East Sea?” Grand Master Dongjin spoke profound truths and asked for the secret teaching, grand master (Kuangren) allowed him to ascend into the hall, which prompted [Dongjin] to become his disciple. As there is the Way in the glance of an eye (目擊道存),⁷¹ he received the transmission from

mind to mind,⁷² and Kuangren said with great joy, “As for the people from the East, you are the only one with whom I can discuss the Way with the eyes.” Then he took his hand, and handed down the dharma lamp and transmitted the dharma seal by his heart.⁷³

From that time, Grand Master Dongjin visited every true person and every place with excellent scenery. He went to Jiangxi Province to see Master Laoshan 老善. To listen to Dongjin’s words and to observe his behavior, Laoshan said, “A white cloud became a padlock and obstructed the traveler’s path.” The Grand Master Dongjin replied, “How can a white cloud hold onto a blue mountain path on its own?” When the master (Laoshan) saw how promptly Master Dongjin answered, without hesitation or faltering, he transmitted [the dharma] saying, “Wherever you go, your presence will be beneficial. When the time is right, return home.”

Just in time, he was able to find a ship that was returning to his homeland and brought him back home to the East (Silla). In the summer of 921 (5th year of King Gyeongmyeong of Silla, fourth year of King Taejo of Goryeo) he came to Impi-gun 臨陂郡 in Jeonju 全州. It was in the early days when the Buddha’s teachings were not correctly distributed, and the situation, in general, had begun to worsen. At that time, the highest rank in the district [Wansan] was held by the campaign commander (都統), Grand Tutor(太傅)⁷⁴ Gyeon Hwon 甄萱,⁷⁵ who had stationed his army in Manmuneon 萬民堰. Grand Tutor Gyeon [Hwon] was originally a person who planted wholesome roots⁷⁶ and was born into a general’s family. He was trying his best to achieve his grand plan by employing a military strategy of capture and release.

When he saw the compassion of Grand Master Dongjin, his admiration and reliance doubled. He praised the master saying, “Although it may seem too late to find a teacher, how can I hesitate becoming your disciple?” After he had so spoken, he paid respects to the master with all his heart and held fast to his teachings. When he asked the master to stay at Nambok Seonwon 南福禪院 Monastery south of Jeonju, the Grand Master said. “How can I be bound to one place like a gourd if even birds choose a tree to perch upon?”

Then he went to Ongnyongsa 玉龍寺 Monastery on Baekgyesan 白鷄山 Mountain. It was a pure abode where old teachers enjoyed the Way. It was a place with marvelous scenery where the people could quickly enter meditative concentration. The valley, covered in clouds with a brook hanging in the air, where one could lie down on a stone pillow and brush one's teeth in the flowing water, was an ideal place to live. When Master Dongjin told Gyeon Hwon that he wished to move to Ongnyongsa, he gave him permission to relocate and live there.

The Great King Uigong (the second king of Goryeo, Hyejong 惠宗) honored the tradition of his predecessors and maintained their ideals. Therefore, he made efforts to support the master with all his heart, then he suddenly abandoned the human body and returned to the heavenly realms. The Great King Munmyeong (the third king of Goryeo, Jeongjong 定宗) had already achieved splendor before he ascended the throne and shone ever brighter after that. Interweaving lotuses to spread the traditions of India and holding a mirror to reflect the customs of his country, he accomplished many great achievements. The king also wielded a brush to compose a signboard for the monastery where the master was residing.

On the twentieth day of the fourth month of 947 (2nd year of King Jeongjong of Goryeo), the grand master entered *parinirvāṇa*. When he was about to enter nirvana, he finished his bath, gathered the public in the yard in front of his residence, and left words of admonition. “I am about to depart. Stay well!” After finishing his speech, he went into his room, leaned back on his seat, assumed the lotus position, and entered *parinirvāṇa* in the upper hall of Ongnyongsa. The body he received from his parents was eighty years old, and sixty-two years had passed since he took the bodhisattva precepts.

The next day, the monk's spirit altar was moved to a tabernacle on Baegyeksan, and a stone gate was temporarily set up to block it. When King Munmyeong heard the news of the master's death, he was deeply saddened and regretted that Heaven did not spare him. He dispatched an envoy with a condolence letter, which the king composed himself with the following content: “Oh, deceased Seon master of Ongnyongsa,

the crescent moon is hanging in the sky, and a lonely cloud appears above the mountain ridge. Only you could cross to the west on a raft and bring the pearl to the east, so the breeze of compassion blows to the outskirts ten thousand *ri* distant and lets the moonlight of Seon shine outside the nine heavenly realms. Therefore, I hereby bestow the posthumous title of Grand Master Dongjin (洞眞大師) and the stupa name of Boun 寶雲.”

He (King Munmyeong) then ordered the most skilled stonemason in the country to trim stones and build a layered stone tomb to enshrine the remains. Two years later, the disciples opened the stone chamber and saw the master’s face that appeared alive. They all wailed as they enshrined the master’s physical remains in a stupa they had built on Unam 雲巖 ridge on the east side of Baekgyesan. It was in accordance with the grand master’s will. His great disciple, Seon Master Cheonjun 泉遵 (or Cheontong 泉通), who inherited his dharma, and others, petitioned the king to compose an epitaph, which would in beautifully styled text commemorate the master’s deeds. The king sent the reply, “It is the proper thing to do,” and immediately approved. Who would have thought the stele would be engraved so quickly after the petition?

In 958 (9th year of King Gwangjong of Goryeo), Gim Jeongeon⁷⁷ composed the inscription.

Biography of National Preceptor Daegak (大覺國師傳)

The master's name was Hu 翰 and his courtesy name was Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101). Since the posthumous name (諱) of Emperor Zhezong of Song was Xu (Kr. Hu) 翰, he used the courtesy name Uicheon as his dharma name. His secular family name was Wang 王, and he was the fourth son of King Munjong 文宗 Inhyo 仁孝 of Goryeo. He declined the glory of a being prince, became a monk, and was appointed the *use seungtong* 佑世僧統.⁷⁸ In the early days of the Yuanyou era (1086–1094) of Emperor Zhezong of Song, he traveled to China to seek the dharma. He submitted a letter to the Song emperor and pleaded with him for the transmission of Xianshou's [Fazang] teachings to Goryeo.

Emperor Zhezong issued an imperial decree to the officials in charge of monastic affairs to recommend a person who could teach the dharma to Uicheon. At that time, the monks recommended Chan Master Youcheng 有誠 from the Jiaoyan Monastery (覺嚴寺) in the Eastern Capital (Luoyang). Master Youcheng recommended Jingyuan 淨源⁷⁹ from Huiyin Cloister (惠因院) in Qiantang 錢唐 (Hangzhou) instead of himself. Emperor Zhezong issued an imperial decree to Vice Director of the Bureau of Receptions Yang Jie 楊傑. He ordered him to accompany Uicheon to Huiyin Cloister to receive the dharma. On the way, several Buddhist monasteries welcomed Uicheon with the same courtesy as a foreign envoy would receive.

Earlier, as Uicheon had arrived at Song's capital after the morning assembly, Emperor Zhezong issued an imperial decree and ordered Shu Shi 蘇軾⁸⁰ from the Ministry of Rites to escort Uicheon to meet Chan Master Yuanzhao Zongben 圓照宗本.⁸¹ Chan Master Zongben taught Uicheon the cardinal teachings (宗旨).⁸²

When the master visited Chan Master Foyin Liaoyuan 佛印了元 on Jin Mountain (金山) and paid him respects, the Chan master sat down and accepted the respects. Yang Jie was surprised and asked the Chan

Master Foyin about the reason. Foyin replied, “Uicheon is a Buddhist monk from a foreign country. If I behaved like I lost an eye, twisted the Way, and acted according to the secular etiquette, what would I be showing him in terms of the good practices of China?” When this was heard at the court, they thought of him as “the monk who understands etiquette.”

When they reached Huiyin Cloister, the master discussed the teachings of Huayan with Jingyuan [so extensively], that the year had changed before they were finally finished. He met Grand Master Cibian 慈辨 [Congjian 從諫] of Tianzhu Monastery (天竺寺) and inquired about the teachings of the doctrinal study and meditation (教觀) of Tiantai 天台.⁸³ He also met with Daizhi 大智 of Lingzhi Monastery (靈芝寺) to listen to explanations regarding vinaya teachings. He returned home with a book [by Daizhi].

The master sent three [Chinese] translations of the *Flower Ornament Sutra* [60 volumes, 80 volumes, and 40 volumes] he had copied to Jingyuan of Huiyin Cloister. Jingyuan had a library building constructed to store these, and the monastery renamed Gaolisi 高麗寺, the Monastery of Goryeo. Uicheon asked Jinshui Jingyuan 晉水淨源 about the Way and showed him the respect of a disciple. The master’s posthumous title was Daegak 大覺 (Great Awakening). Eighteen volumes of his collected writings have been handed down. His disciple Hyegwan 慧觀 was an abbot of the Beopseongsa 法性寺 Monastery. The portrait of Uicheon was enshrined in Seonamsa 仙岩寺 Monastery.

Biography of National Preceptor Jinjeong (眞靜國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Cheonchaek 天頤, and his courtesy name was Cheonin 天因, his pen name was Naewondang 內願堂, and his secular family name was Shin 申. As a descendant of a family that produced many prime ministers who contributed significantly to the country, he passed the *gwageo* state examination at the age of twenty. He was famous far and wide for his beautiful and superb writing, but one morning, he suddenly shaved his head and became a monk under Master Yeollyul 蓮律 at Baengnyeonsa 白蓮社⁸⁴ on Mandeoksan 萬德山 Mountain in Geumneung 金陵, and inherited the dharma lineage from Master Wonmyo 圓妙. In his latter days, he became the national preceptor and moved to Yonghyeoram 龍穴庵 (Dragon Cave Hermitage) of Baengnyeonsa and lived there. This is why people called him the Great Honored Elder of the Dragon Cave.

In the eleventh month of 1293 (19th year of King Chungnyeol of Goryeo), he composed *Record of Precious Storehouse of Seon* (*Seonmun bojang nok* 禪門寶藏錄) in three volumes. Also, *Collection of the Essentials of Seon* (*Seonmun gangyo jip* 禪門綱要集) in one volume and *Record of Transmission [of the Lotus Sutra]* (*Jeonhong nok* 傳弘錄) in four volumes are [still in] circulation among the people. The royal court of Goryeo conferred upon him the posthumous title National Preceptor Jinjeong. The master was the fourth generation in the lineage of eight national preceptors of Baengnyeonsa. Burin 佛印, National Preceptor Jeongjo 靜照,⁸⁵ who served as monk superintendent (都僧統), was his disciple. Grand Seon Master Buam Mugi 浮庵無寄 was his second-generation disciple. He lived in Yeon'goksa Monastery in Gurye 求禮 and Bugam 北庵 Hermitage on Duryunsan 頭輪山 Mountain in Haenam 海南.

Jeong Yakyong 丁若鏞⁸⁶ of Joseon wrote a preface (序文) and a eulogy (贊). [The master's] stupa name was Goam 崇庵. His collected works have been handed down in two volumes and four sections (篇).

Biography of Grand Master Buam (浮庵大師傳)

The master's dharma name was Unmuk 雲默, his courtesy name Mugi, and pen name Buam 浮庵. He became a monk at Baengnyeonsa 白蓮社 on Mandeoksan and shaved his head under National Preceptor Burin Jeongjo 佛印靜照. After learning the teachings and texts of the Way, he passed the national [monastic] examination. Although he gained the abbot position at the Guram 窟庵 Hermitage, he soon abandoned it and traveled around Geumgangsan and Odaesan mountains before reaching Siheungsan 始興山 Mountain, where he built himself a hermitage. There, he spent twenty years reciting the *Lotus Sutra*, practicing the recollection of Amitâbha Buddha, creating Buddhist paintings, and copying scriptures.

He gathered the Buddhist scriptures and writings of the past, identified and gathered important matters from them and composed *Praise of the Acts of the Tathagata Śâkyamuni* (*Seokga Yeorae haengjeok song* 釋迦如來行蹟頌) in 776 verses. Each line of the main text is annotated, and the entire book comprises two volumes. It has been in circulation to this day.

It was published on the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of 1328 (15th year of King Chungsuk of Goryeo), and has been in circulation to this day.

Biography of Royal Preceptor Naong (懶翁王師傳)

The master's dharma name was Hyegeun 慧勤 (惠勤), and his original dharma name was Wonhye 元慧. His pen name was Naong 懶翁, and the name of his monastic residence was Gangwolheon 江月軒. His family name was A 牙, and he was born in Yeonghae 寧海 (Yeongdeok-gun in Gyeongsangbuk-do). His father, A Seogu 牙瑞具, served as a government official of the *yeong* 令 rank at the Office of Royal Rituals and Court Banquets (饍官署). His mother's family name was Jeong 鄭.

In his mother's dream, a golden bird landed on her head, and while pecking it, dropped an egg that entered her bosom. She became pregnant and gave birth to Naong on the fifteenth day of the first month of 1320 (7th year of King Chungsuk of Goryeo). The child had a different physique than ordinary people, and when he grew up, his spirit and abilities were brilliant and outstanding. When he encountered death for the first time at the age of twenty when a neighborhood friend died, he asked the elders, "When a person dies, where does he or she go?" Everyone answered that they did not know.

The monk was sad and grieving in his heart. Therefore he went to Seon Master Yoyeon 了然 of Myojeogam 妙寂庵 Hermitage on the Gongdeoksan 功德山 Mountain, shaved his head, and became a monk. Yoyeon asked, "Why did you shave your head?" "It is to escape from the three realms and to benefit sentient beings. Please, expound the dharma to me," said Naong. Seon Master Yoyeon said, "You've come here now; what is this thing?"

Naong answered, "This thing which can speak and listen has come like this. The essence cannot be seen even if one tries to see it; no substance can be found even if one tries to find it. I do not know how to practice or how to endeavor." "I'm like you. I don't know it either. Go and find a better teacher than I and practice diligently," answered Seon Master Yoyeon. Naong bid him farewell and left.

In 1344 (5th year of King Chunghye of Goryeo), he arrived at Hoeamsa 會巖寺 Monastery.⁸⁷ He was provided with a small quiet room where he stayed day and night. He never lay down, and while sitting, he devoted all effort to spiritual practice. Around this time, a Japanese master Sekiō 石翁 was staying at the monastery. One day the master (Sekiō) descended from the dharma hall, hit a desk, and asked, “Did the assembly hear this?” No one answered. Only Seon Master Naong recited these verses.

Sitting at the site of the Buddha’s awakening, I noticed with a clear mind,
That the subject of seeing and listening is not another object. It is the old
master!

After four years of intensive practice, Naong wanted to cross over to China. In the eleventh month of 1347 (3rd year of King Chungmok of Goryeo), he set foot on the road and headed north. On the thirteenth day of the third month of 1348, he arrived at Fayuan Monastery (法源寺) in Yanjing 燕京,⁸⁸ the capital of Yuan 元, and paid respects to Indian monk Dhyānabhadra,⁸⁹ who was staying in the monastery.

Grand Master Dhyānabhadra asked, “Where did you come from?”
“I am from Goryeo,” answered Naong.

Dhyānabhadra asked again, “Did you come by ship? Did you come by land?”

Naong replied, “I have come by spiritual powers.”

“Then show some spiritual powers here,” said Dhyānabhadra.

Naong stepped forward and stood still with his fingers laced.

Then Dhyānabhadra said, “You came along the East Sea (東海). Have you seen all outskirts of the East Sea?”

Naong answered, “Had I not seen them, how could I come here?”

Dhyānabhadra said, “Have you brought twelve places of abode (房子)⁹⁰ with you?”

Naong answered, “Yes, I brought them.”

Dhyānabhadra asked, “Who made you come here?”

Naong answered, “I came here of my own accord.”

Dhyānabhadra asked, “What do you intend to do?”

“I came here for the sake of future generations,” answered Naong.

Dhyānabhadra accepted him eagerly and let him practice with the assembly. One day, Naong composed the following verses:

Mountains, rivers, and land are all flowers before one's eyes.

All interconnected phenomena are also like that.

I realized that the intrinsic nature is originally pure,

And countless worlds are the body of the King of the Dharma.

Dhyānabhadra, who had received the verses, said. “There were more than twenty patriarchs in India, seventy-two personalities in the Eastern Land (China) and one of them, I, Dhyānabhadra, am not among them at all. I was not there in the past and will not be there in the future. I am the King of the Dharma who appeared in the world, so where will I be again?”

Then Naong replied,

Oh, Body of the King of the Dharma! Oh, Body of the King of the Dharma!

Become the master of three heavens and benefit sentient beings,

Draw out a thousand swords and behead the Buddha and the patriarchs,

One hundred suns will shine all over the sky.

Now that I have come to realize the state of affairs,

It is as if I am teasing the spirit (精魂) of my house.

It is strange, it is strange,

In the eastern country where the sun rises, the sun and the moon shine in the western sky.

Dhyānabhadra said, “Your father is a dog, and your mother is a dog, so you are also a dog.”

Then Naong bowed to him and stepped away. When later that month he saw an apricot blooming, Dhyānabhadra recited following verses.

A green tree with a blooming flower,
 There is nothing like that on all sides of the ten directions.
 Not asked about the past, it speaks of the future,
 Wherever its fragrance reaches, our king will be joyful.

Master Naong replied.

Every year the tree blooms in the snow,
 But busy bees and butterflies do not know that it bloomed again,
 The one flower of today's morning filled the whole branch,
 The spring permeates all heaven and earth.

While visiting various places in Yanjing, Naong's virtues reached the ears of the emperor. Thus, he stayed at Guangjichan Monastery (廣濟禪寺) in Yanjing, according to the wishes of the emperor of Yuan. On the fifteenth day of the tenth month of 1356 (24th year of Emperor Shun of Yuan),⁹¹ the opening ceremony⁹² was held there. The emperor sent a messenger with a brocade robe and a gift of silk, while the crown prince also sent a brocade robe and a fly whisk made of ivory. Naong put on the brocade robe he received, offered incense, and prayed on behalf of the ruler. Then he picked up another incense saying, "With this piece of incense,⁹³ I am ascending the dharma seat. I will preach the dharma widely to repay the generosity of Dhyānabhadra, the one hundred and eighth Indian patriarch, and Master Pingshan 平山 [Chulin 處林], who provided me with dharma milk (法乳)."⁹⁴

In 1357, Naong returned to Fayuan Monastery and asked Dhyānabhadra. "Where should I go now?" "You should return to your country. If you find yourself a place to live between three mountains and two rivers, the Buddhadharma will flourish on its own," replied Dhyānabhadra. On the twenty-third day of the third month of 1358, he bid farewell to Seon Master Dhyānabhadra and returned to his home country. On the way back, he visited the Liaoyang 遼陽, Pyeongyang 平壤, and East Sea areas and taught the people there according to their abilities.

In the autumn of 1360 (9th year of King Gongmin of Goryeo), he went to Sangduam 象頭庵 Hermitage on Odaesan 五臺山 Mountain. The following year, the king ordered eunuch Bang Jeol to visit Naong and ride him back to the capital on a royal horse. When Naong entered the Naesamjeon 內三殿 Hall on the fifteenth day of the tenth month, the king paid him respects and exhorted him to expound essential aspects of the Buddhadharma.

After hearing Naong's sermon, the king said, "Being told about someone's fame surely is not like experiencing it face-to-face." After speaking thus, he gave Naong an impressively golden embroidered robe and fly whisk made of crystal. Also, the princess and queen [Noguk],⁹⁵ donated to Naong an agate fly whisk and told him to return to the monastery (Sin'gwangsa 神光寺). In the eleventh month, the Red Turban rebels⁹⁶ stormed Gaegyeong (the Goryeo capital), and the king abandoned the city and fled. One day, the Red Turbans swarmed into the monastery. Naong greeted them with calmness, and the warriors even offered incense, worshipped [the Buddha], and withdrew from the monastery.

In the seventh month of 1363, when Naong went to at Geumgangam 金剛庵 Hermitage on Guwolsan 九月山 Mountain the king sent a eunuch, Gim Jungson 金仲孫, to offer him special incense used only at the royal court. The king also sent commander (*jihwisa* 指揮使) Bak Hui 朴曦, and local governor (*allyeomsa* 按廉使) Yi Boman 李寶萬 of Seohae-do⁹⁷ and the governor (*moksa* 牧使) of Haeju 海州 Gim Gyesaeng 金繼生, to entreat Naong to stay in that monastery. In the third month of 1366, the master relocated to Jeongyangam 正陽庵 Hermitage in the Geumgangsan. In the fall of the following year, the king ordered Jeong Yangsaeng 鄭良生, governor of Gyoju-do (Gangwon-do), to ask Naong to stay at Cheongpyeongsa 清平寺 Monastery.

In the third month of 1370 (19th year of King Gongmin of Goryeo), Darui 達睿, a minister of Yuan, came to Hoeamsa with the relics (Skt. *śarīra*) of Dhyānabhadra. In the third month, Naong, in order to make obeisance to the relics, left the premises of the monastery. The

king sent his close aide Gim Wonbu 金元富 to welcome the master. After worshiping Dhyānabhadra's relics, Naong went to the city [of Gaegyeong] and spent the summer retreat at Gwangmyeongsa 廣明寺 Monastery.

On the third day of the eighth month of that year, Naong entered the palace to perform a memorial ceremony. The king ordered his close aide, An Iksang 安益祥 to guide the master on his way and asked the master to reside at Hoeamsa. In the ninth month, the five schools and the five orders⁹⁸ gathered to take the monastic examination. Naong was invited to be appointed as the principal examiner. On the sixteenth day [of the month], the day of the examination, the king personally came to the examination site with several princes and officials of both civil and military branches and observed various virtuous monks lecturing on Seon. Several well-known virtuous Seon masters and Sutra Masters gathered there. National Preceptor Seolsan 雪山 (Cheonhui 千熙) was also present among them, so Naong was able to meet him, the *gukjon* 國尊.⁹⁹

On the twenty-sixth day of the eighth month of 1371, the king sent the secretary Jang Jaon from the Ministry of Works with a letter and a seal, as well as with donation of a golden embroidered robe, inner and outer garments, and alms bowl, to Naong. Also, Naong was granted the title, Royal Preceptor, Eminent Master of the Jogye Order, Chief Superintendent of Seon and Gyo, Fervent Cultivator of Original Wisdom, Great Revitalizer of the Tradition of the Ancestral Teachers, Blessing of the State and Helper of the World, Venerable Savior.¹⁰⁰ The queen dowager also donated a golden embroidered robe saying, "Songgwangsa is the greatest monastery in the East," and ordered Naong to reside there. She sent eunuch Yi Sawi 李士渭 to accompany him. They departed on the twenty-eighth day from Hoeamsa and reached Songgwangsa on the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month.

In the autumn of 1372 (21st year of King Gongmin of Goryeo), Naong pleaded to return to Hoeamsa because he realized that Songgwangsa was not the place where the three mountains gathered, and the two rivers flowed, as Dhyānabhadra had mentioned. The king

again sent eunuch Yi Sawi, who accompanied Naong to Hoeamsa. On the twenty-sixth day of the ninth month, Naong took Dhyānabhadra's relics and built a stupa on the northern peak above the monastery and enshrined them. When King Gongmin passed away on the twenty-third day of the ninth month of 1374, Naong went to the royal funeral hall (殯殿) to pay his respects. He wrote a letter to the royal court, where he resigned from the position of royal preceptor. When King U ascended the throne, he sent Ju Eonbang 周彥邦 with a gift of incense used only in the royal palace along with a decree reappointing Naong the royal preceptor.

Between 7 and 9 in the morning on the fifteenth day of the fifth month of 1376 (2nd year of King U of Goryeo), Naong entered *parinirvāṇa* at Silleuksa 神勒寺 Monastery. His secular age was fifty-seven years, and his dharma age was thirty-seven years. His relics were enshrined in Silleuksa and Hoeamsa, respectively. His posthumous title was Seon'gak 禪覺.

The inscription on the stupa was composed upon royal order by Hansan'gun 韓山君 Yi Saek 李檉¹⁰¹ and written by the distinguished retainer (功臣) Gwon Junghwa 權仲和 in the seal script (篆字). [Naong's] *Recorded Sayings* (*Eorok* 語錄) in two volumes were distributed among the people. He had about forty-eight disciples who inherited his dharma.

Biography of Royal Preceptor Muhak (無學王師傅)

The master's dhama name was Jacho 自超, his pen name was Muhak, and his secular family name was Bak 朴. He was born in Samgi-gun 三岐郡 (today's Samga) (Haman-gun in Gyeongsangnam-do). He was born on the twentieth day of the ninth month of 1327 (14th year of King Chungsuk of Goryeo). The name of the hall (堂號)¹⁰² he lived in was Gyewolheon 溪月軒.

In the *Records of the Seogwangsa Monastery* (*Seogwangsa gi* 釋王寺記) is the following, “Our Great King Taejo 太祖 moved from Geumma 金馬 in Jeolla-do to Hakseong 鶴城 in Hamgyeong-do in 1384 (10th year of King U of Goryeo). He dreamt one day that the roosters of ten thousand houses crowed at once. The sounds of *dadeumi* ironing¹⁰³ echoed in unison from a thousand houses. He entered a shabby house and came out with three rafters, flowers were falling, and a mirror fell to the ground and broke.”

The dream was so strange that he visited an old woman living in the neighborhood, told her about his dream, and asked her to interpret it. She said, “How would a woman know that? About forty *ri* from here, there is a small cave at Seolbongsan 雪峰山 Mountain, where a strange monk lives. The monk eats pine needles and wears clothes made of hemp. His face is dark, so the worldly people call him black ascetic.¹⁰⁴ The monk has been sitting in the cave without the slightest movement for nine years now. Go there and ask him.”

King Taejo put on hemp garments, grabbed a walking stick, and went to the cave as the old woman had told him. He paid his respects [to the monk], stepped closer, and asked. “This humble, ordinary man living in a small, thatched house has come to solve a mystery. Please show mercy and answer him.”

“What is it?” asked the grand master.

King Taejo retold the dream and inquired about the meaning of

the signs.

The grand master answered, “All the signs show that this dream is about you becoming king. The crow of ten thousand roosters was in honor of the high and precious place. The simultaneous sound of ironing from a thousand houses was a sign indicating the people who will worship the king are nearby. When a flower falls, it bears fruit. When a mirror falls, it makes a sound. If a man carries three rafters, it is because he will become a king.”

After saying this, the grand master continued. “Be careful not to speak a word about what I told you today. It would be good to build a monastery here and call it Seogwangsa 釋王寺.¹⁰⁵ Do not try to build it in haste. If, for only three years, you enshrine the five hundred arhats here and worship them, it will certainly help you achieve kingship. I repeat, be careful.”

King Taejo stepped away, bowed, and said, “Thank you for the lesson. Please, assist me in the great task.”

“I shall,” answered the grand master. [King Taejo] Yi Seonggye built a monastery and worshipped them for three years, but no one knew why he was doing so.

In 1388, the twenty-first year of [Emperor] Hongwu 洪武 of Ming 明 (14th year of King U of Goryeo), Taejo was appointed the military commander-in-chief (*dotongsa* 都統使), and was ordered to attack Liaodong (Kr. Yodong). At the beginning of the fourth month, King Taejo led his army from Uiju 義州, crossed the Amnokgang River (Yalu River) in the middle of the fifth month and reached the Wihwado 威化島 island¹⁰⁶ [However,] King Taejo turned the army around for a great cause.

On the sixteenth day of the seventh month of 1392 (4th year of King Gongyang of Goryeo), [King Taejo Yi Seonggye] ascended to the throne at Suchanggung 壽昌宮 Palace in Gaegyeong. Immediately afterward, he had the monk who lived in the cave on Seolbongsan found and appointed a royal preceptor. This monk was none other than Muhak. Muhak came out of the cave and, for King Taejo’s sake, proposed moving the ancestral tombs and founding a new capital.

Cheongya's Casual Collection (*Cheongya manjip* 青野漫集)¹⁰⁷ contains the following record:

King Taejo regarded the Grand Master Muhak as his teacher and asked him about the proper place to establish the capital. Grand Master Muhak indicated Hanyang (today's Seoul) saying, "Consider the Inwangsan Mountain as the guardian mountain, the Baegak and Namsan mountains as the azure dragon on the left and the white tiger on the right." Then Jeong Dojeon 鄭道傳¹⁰⁸ said with a sneer, "Since ancient times, the emperors and kings ruled the countries while sitting facing south. I have never heard of a king sitting facing east and ruling a country." Grand Master Muhak replied, "If you do heed me, you shall certainly think of my advice in two hundred years."

In *Sansugi* 山水記, ascribed to Grand Master Uisang of the Silla period, appears the following record:

If a man who wants to set up a capital in Hanyang follows the words of a Buddhist monk, there will be some hope for preserving the country for a long time. But if a man with the family name of Jeong steps forward and disputes, in less than five generations, there will be a tragedy when the king loses his throne, which shall be usurped. After only about two hundred years, the country will face chaos and difficulties.

The "Buddhist monk" here refers to Grand Master Muhak, the "man with the family name of Jeong" is Jeong Dojeon. Uisang knew what would happen eight hundred years later, [exactly] like "fitting the two halves of a tally." Was he not a holy monk?

In the *Records of Eight Provinces* (*Paryeokji* 八域志)¹⁰⁹ appears the following record:

King Taejo had the Grand Master Muhak decide the location for the new capital. Muhak followed the mountain range spreading from Baegundae 白雲臺 on Bukhansan Mountain. When he reached Man'gyeong 萬景,

he went southwest and arrived at Bibong 碑峰. There he saw a large stone with six large [Chinese] characters carved into it, saying, “Muhak will find [the mountain range] wrong and arrive here.” These six letters had been written by National Preceptor Doseon 道訣¹¹⁰ of the late Silla period. Thus, Muhak went another way. From Man’gyeong, he headed directly southward and arrived exactly under Baegaksan Mountain. When he saw three mountain ranges forming a single plane, he finally decided on the palace site. It was the place where they planted plum trees (李)¹¹¹ in the Goryeo period to suppress the king’s energy. When building the outer fortress walls, they were unable to determine the size of the surrounded area. One night, heavy snow fell to the earth, piling up on the outside and delineating the inside into the shape of a fortress. King Taejo gave orders to build the fortifications along that snowy barrier. That is where today’s Hanyang city walls are.

Muhak’s secular age was seventy-nine years when he entered *parinirvāṇa* on the eleventh day of the ninth month of 1405 (5th year of King Taejong of Joseon). In 1407, his spirit-bone relics¹¹² were enshrined in Hoeamsa 檜岩寺. In 1410, a stele inscription was added to the stupa. A shrine was built for the three masters, Dhyānabhadrā, Naong, and Muhak, at Seogwangsa, and an engraved tablet was donated to the monastery naming it “Seogwangsa.”

Here in Seogwangsa remain writings of [kings] Taejo, Sukjong 肅宗, and Yeongjo 英祖, as well as recorded texts composed by Sukjong, Yeongjo, and Jeongjo 正祖. Muhak was granted the posthumous title Venerable Myo’eom (妙嚴尊者). King Jeongjo composed his epitaph.

Biographies of Eastern Masters
Volume 2

Biography of Royal Preceptor Taego (太古王師傅)

The master's dharma name was Bou 普愚, his original dharma name was Boheo 普虛, and his pen name was Taego. His secular family name was Hong 洪. He was born in Hongju 洪州 (Hongseong in Chungcheongnam-do). His father was the chancellor Yeon 延, and his mother was from the Jeong 鄭 clan, and posthumously granted the title of Grand Princess of the Samhan (三韓國大夫夫人). One day, his mother dreamt of a round moon entering her bosom and became pregnant. She gave birth to Bou on the twenty-first day of the ninth month of 1301 (27th year of King Chungnyeol of Goryeo).

At the age of thirteen, he visited Seon Master Gwangji 廣智 of Hoeamsa and became a monk. At the age of thirty-seven, he achieved the great awakening and at the age of forty-six, he went to China. He passed through Yanjing and visited Chan Master Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清珙¹¹³ on Mountain Xiawu (霞霧山) in Huzhou 湖州. Chan Master Qinggong realized that Bou was indeed a large vessel and gave him a monk's robe, and expressing his faith, said, "Finally, today this old monk can stretch his legs and sleep."

Bou returned to Yanjing, and when the Yuan emperor heard the rumors, he invited him to preach at Yongning Monastery (永寧寺). The emperor bestowed a golden embroidered robe, agarwood incense, and a fly whisk upon him.

In the spring of 1348 (4th year of King Chungmok of Goryeo), he returned home and went to Soseolsan 小雪山 Mountain in Miwon-hyeon 迷源縣 (a district in today's Yangpyeong-gun). In 1352, King Gongmin sent a messenger to request the master accept him as a disciple. In 1356, King Gongmin personally went to the monastery and appointed the grand master as royal preceptor.

In the summer of 1382 (8th year of King U of Goryeo), he returned to Soseolsan. On the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month,

he composed a poem and entered *parinirvāṇa*. The king was deeply saddened and conferred the posthumous title of Wonjeung 圓證 upon him, had a stupa built on the eastern peak of Jungheungsa 重興寺 Monastery [on Bukhansan in today's Seoul]. The stupa name was Bowolseunggong 寶月昇空 (Jeweled Moon Rising in the Sky). His relics were enshrined in a stone bell in three places, Ga'eun [Bongamsa 鳳巖寺 Monastery on Huiyangsan 曜陽山 Mountain], Yangsan [Sanasa 舍那寺 Monastery on Mijisan 彌智山 Mountain in Yangpyeong-gun 楊平郡], and Yanggeun [Soseoram 小雪庵 Hermitage on Mijisan in Yangpyeong-gun].

Master's secular age was eighty-two, and his dharma age was sixty-nine. The court posthumously granted him the title, National Preceptor of Both Courts of the Samhan, Revered Beneficial Hero.¹¹⁴ Bou was the fifty-seventh patriarch in the lineage from the Buddha Sakyamuni.

Yi Saek composed a stele inscription following a royal edict, and Gwon Ju wrote the characters of the epitaph.

Biography of National Preceptor Hwanam (幻庵國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Honsu 混修, his courtesy name was Mujak 無作, his pen name was Hwanam 幻庵, and his secular family name was Jo 趟. He was born in 1320 (7th year of King Chungsuk of Goryeo).

King Gongmin of Goryeo invited Naong to be the principal examiner at the monastic examination taking place at Hoeamsa. The king personally paid a visit to the examination site with several courtiers and civil and military officials to observe the examination. All the monks of the region, including Seon masters and sutra lecturers, gathered in a hurry inside the Golden Buddha Hall.

Then, the dharma seat was opened, the Grand Master Naong took a stick of incense, and when he completed the ritual, he ascended to his seat and posed a question. All the monks who gathered at the examination site approached him one by one and answered. However, all of them said they did not know. Some presented sound theories but failed in the practical aspect, and some were so detached from the ordinary, that they could not keep their words coherent.

The Grand Master Naong would ask only one phrase and let them step away at once. The king, who was watching the scene, appeared unhappy. However, then Master Hwanam Honsu, who was standing at the end [of the row], had his turn. Master Naong asked about all three phrases and three barriers one by one,¹¹⁵ and the Seon master (Hwanam) responded in detail.

The master entered *parinirvāna* on the eighteenth day of the ninth month of 1392 (1st year of King Taejo of Joseon). The Joseon royal court gave him the posthumous title of Bogak 普覺. King Gongmin beseeched him to stay, but bid him farewell and went back. King Gongmin granted him the title National Preceptor, Omniscient, Revered Knowledgeable Hero.¹¹⁶

Of the thirty-three disciples of Mujak, twenty-five were monks. The eight laymen were Great Lord of Chirwon (Chirwon buwon'gun 柴原府院君) Yun Hwan 尹桓, Chief Director of the State Finance Commission (*yeong samsa sa* 領三司事) Yi Inim 李仁任,¹¹⁷ Chief Grand Councilor of the Chancellery (*pan munha[bu sa]* 判門下) Choe Yeong 崔瑩,¹¹⁸ Chancellor (*munha sijung* 門下侍中) Im Gyeonmi 林堅昧, and Vice Chancellor (*su munha sijung* 守門下侍中) Yi Seongrim 李成林, King Taejo [Yi Seonggye] of Joseon, Great Lord of Cheolseong (Cheolseong buwon'gun 鐵城府院君) Yi Im, and Left Director of State Finance Commission (*samsa jwa sa* 三司左使) Yeom Heungbang 廉興邦.

Biography of Seon Master Hamheo (涵虛禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was originally Su'i 守伊, and his pen name was Mujun 無準. One night, he was sleeping in Yeonggamam 靈感庵 Hermitage in the Odaesan. A supernatural monk appeared in his dream and said, "Your dharma name is Gihwa 己和, and your pen name is Deuktong 得通." He changed his dharma name and pen name accordingly. His hall name (堂號) was Hamheo, and he was a native of Chungju.

Before this, he composed the *Commentary on the Diamond Sutra* (*Geumgang gyeong seorui* 金剛經說誼)¹¹⁹ in two volumes, when he was dwelling on Sabulsan 四佛山 Mountain in Sangju 尙州. On his deathbed, he ordered his disciple Hongye 洪預 and others to burn one volume and bury the other. Not long after that, Hongye reported to the court of King Sejo that auspicious energy had suddenly burst forth the site where the book had been buried.

Therefore, the book was sent to Ming for reference. This happened in the Jingtai era (1450–1456) of Ming Emperor Daizong. The king ordered Grand Chancellor Gim Suon 金守溫¹²⁰ and others to properly annotate the text. In the summer of 1415 (15th year of King Taejong of Joseon), [Hamheo] wrote the "Introduction to *Commentary on the Diamond Sutra*" (*Geumgang gyeong seorui seo* 金剛經說誼序), which became widely circulated. The master had more than ten disciples, including Hongye. The master was a disciple of Master Muhak and composed his biography.

Biography of Royal Preceptor Gugok (龜谷王師傅)

The master's dharma name was Gagun 覺雲, and his pen name was Gugok. He was also called So'eun 小隱. Yun Sojong 尹紹宗 had advised the king to expel monk Chanyeong 粱英, so he withdrew from the [secular] world, lived in seclusion, and never appeared again. Chanyeong was a dharma disciple of Taego 太古 [Bou 普愚] and student of Hwanam 幻庵 [Honsu 混修]. His pen name was Woneung 圓應, and his epithet (別號) was Royal Preceptor Gojeo 古樞.

King Gongmin of Goryeo bestowed on him a picture, “Bodhi-dharma Crossing the Yangzi River on a Reed,” and a picture, “Samantabhadra Boddhisattva on a White Elephant with Six Tusks.” The king had painted the pictures himself. He (King Gongmin) also wrote the four letters Gugok Gagun 龜谷覺雲 by his own hand and granted Gugok a title of twenty-four characters.¹²¹ The master wrote *Stories of the Compilation of Examinations of and Verses on Ancient Precedents* (*Seonmun yeomsong jip seolhwa* 禪門拈頌集說話)¹²² in ten volumes and disseminated it among the people. The master was born in Yongseong 龍城 (today's Namwon) in Honam. He inherited the dharma of Hwanam Honsu. Yi Saek composed a hymn, which is as detailed as a biography.

Biography of Grand Master Byeokgye (碧溪大師傳)

The master's dharma name was Jeongsim 正心, and his pen name was Byeokgye. He was born in Geumsan (Geumneung-gun in Gyeongsangbuk-do). During the reign of King Taejong of the Joseon dynasty (r. 1400–1418), when Buddhism faced harsh oppression, he lived in hiding in Mulhal-ri, growing out his hair, and raising children with his wife. Later, he transmitted the dharma of Seon of Byeoksong Jieom 碧松智嚴 and the doctrine (Gyo) to Jeongnyeon Beopjun 淨蓮法俊. Therefore, the two dharma lineages of Seon and Gyo could flourish during the Joseon period. How impermanent this is! The fate of the times!

Jeong Yakyong said, “Since I came down from the mountains, for the sake of Grand Master Byeokgye, I have not written ‘Letter of the Northern Mountain.’¹²³ Rather, I have remembered the phoenix flying to the southern sea.”

Among his disciples were Byeoksong Jieom, Myogak Sumi 妙覺守眉, and Jeongnyeon Beopjun, whose lives are recorded in his biography.

Biography of Seon Master Byeoksong (碧松禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Jieom 智嚴, his pen name was Yaro 垩老, and the hall name was Byeoksong. His secular family name was Song 宋, and his father's name was Boksaeng 福生. He was a native of Buan 扶安. His mother was of the Wang 王 clan. In a dream, she saw an Indian monk who paid her respects, slept for the night, and left. That is how she conceived the child. She gave birth on the fifteenth day of the third month of 1464 (10th year of King Sejo of Joseon).

His physique was unusual and he was charming. He also surpassed others in the martial arts due to his courageous personality. From the time he was young he loved studying the classics and swordplay, and he was exceptionally proficient in military texts.

In the fourth month of 1491 (22nd year of King Seongjong of Joseon), when the Jurchen savages invaded the north and killed the garrison commander, who was in charge of the defense of that area, King Seongjong ordered Heo Jong 許琮 to lead an army of twenty thousand to subjugate the barbarians. The master also drew his sword and followed Heo Jong into battle. He raised his whip, swung it once, and achieved great merit. After his return from the war, he sighed, "I was born as a great man, yet I have not been able to keep the mind-ground (心地).¹²⁴ Why should I be dragged outside and torture my body?"

Then, he went to Sangchoam 上草庵 Hermitage on Gyeryongsan 鷄龍山 Mountain, paid his respects to Grand Master Jojing 祖澄, shaved his head, and became a monk. He was twenty-eight years old at that time. Since then, he demonstrated strong will and discipline. He enjoyed the practice of Seon meditation. In that, he resembled Zhiyan 智嚴¹²⁵ the military official of Sui. The master first visited Sutra Master Yeonhui 衍熙 to learn the perfect and sudden teaching (圓頓教).¹²⁶ Then he visited Seon Master Jeongsim, learned about the secret meaning of

the Grand Master Bodhidharma's coming from the West (西來密旨) and attained all the subtle teachings.

In the autumn of 1508 (3rd year of King Jungjong of Joseon), he went to Myogilsangam Hermitage in the Geumgangsan and studied the *Dahui yulu* 大慧語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Dahui).¹²⁷ When he read the *hwadu*,¹²⁸ “Does a dog have Buddha Nature?” he harbored his doubt and single-mindedly focused his spirit. Soon after, he broke through the dark bottomless ignorance.

While reading the *Gaofeng yulu* 高峰語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Gaofeng)¹²⁹ he reached the phrase “throwing away to other regions” (颺在他方)¹³⁰ and at once shook off his [distorted] views. For this reason, the Seon Master Byeoksong for his entire life spread the traditions of Chan Master Gaofeng and Chan Master Dahui.

Master Dahui 大慧 was the seventeenth-generation disciple of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng 慧能, whereas Master Gaofeng 高峰 was the eighteenth-generation disciple of Chan Master Linji 臨濟. Ah! The master, a person from the country beyond the sea [Joseon], a secret heir to the five-hundred-year-old lineage of descent (嫡統).¹³¹ It is like the Confucian Cheng brothers¹³² and Master Zhu,¹³³ who inherited the lineage of Confucius and Mencius though they were born a thousand years later. The transmission of the Way in Confucianism and Buddhism is identical.

In the spring of 1511, he went to Yongmunsan 龍門山 Mountain and completed two summer retreats. In the spring of 1513, he went to Odaesan and completed another summer retreat there. Then he went to Baegunsan 白雲山 and Neunggasan 楞伽山 mountains, where he lived in nature without an abode and wandering freely (逍遙)¹³⁴ as an unfettered sage. In the third month of 1520, he came to Jirisan and stayed in a small hermitage. From that time, he did not have more than two sets of clothes to wear, and ate no more than two meals a day. Many criticized him for being arrogant because he did not mingle with people. When Zhuangzi said, “How can you know the [happiness of] fish when you're not a fish?”¹³⁵ it must have reflected a situation just like this.

One day, the master called in an attendant to make him tea. When he finished the tea, he closed the door, sat down straight, and remained silent for a long time. When the disciples opened the window, the monk had already entered *parinirvāṇa*. It was between seven and nine o'clock in the morning on the first day of the eleventh month. Even after he entered *parinirvāṇa*, his skin tone did not change at all, and his arms and legs were soft and could bend like those of the living.

On the night of the cremation ceremony, an auspicious light lit up the sky, and at dawn on the day of the memorial ceremony, auspicious clouds filled the sky. His relics (Skt. *śarīra*) were bright like pearls and gradually attached to a fragment of his skull.

A group of his disciples, Sungin 崇仁, Seoreun 雪峯, Wono 圓悟, and Iljin 一眞, collected the *śarīra*, made a stone bell, engraved an epitaph and enshrined it in Uisin 義神 village at the southern foot of Jirisan. Some of his poems were published and spread among the people.

The master's secular age was seventy-one, and his dharma age was forty-four. His eulogy by Hyujeong says:

Skin of *Cīna* (震旦),¹³⁶ bones of India (天竺),
The moon of China and wind of Joseon,
The dynamic that makes the hair move,
The candle illuminating the dark street,
The lonely boat in the sea of the dharma,
Ah! Do not perish!
May you live a thousand years!

In the summer of 1560 (15th year of King Myeongjong of Joseon), Hyujeong 休靜, the dharma descendant of Duryusan (Jirisan) composed the master's biography.

Biography of Patriarch Buyong (芙蓉祖師傳)

The Seon master was born in Samcheonpo in Jinju in the Yeongnam area. The master's dharma name was Yeonggwan 靈觀, and his pen name was Eunam Seonja 隱庵禪子. He was also called Yeonseon Doin 蓮船道人. Although his body resided in this world, his thoughts were always in the Western Realm [of the Amitâbha's Pure Land]. Therefore his residence was called Buyongdang 芙蓉堂 [Lotus Hall].

The master's family had been poor for generations. His economic situation was tolerable, but he was not well mannered. He was born on the seventh day of the seventh month of 1485 (16th year of King Seongjong of Joseon). At only eight years of age, his father took him fishing. They cast fishnets in the water and walked around, but the master released all the living fish he found stuck in the net. When the father yelled at him and beat him severely, the master bowed and cried, "Both people and fish are given lives, and it is the same when experiencing pain. I throw myself down and beg your forgiveness." When the father heard his words, his anger went away.

There was a cave near his house where a mysterious dragon lived. The cave was filled with a steam-like substance up to its mouth, and music poured forth from within. The village elders said, "It is the music played by the dragon who lives in the cave." But when Master Yeonggwan hit a table with his staff, the music stopped. At some point, the dragon rose to the surface of the water and the scales flashed brightly in the sun, but no one dared approach it. But when the monk raised his head and loudly scolded the dragon, it suddenly vanished. Therefore, the villagers called him a mysterious child. One day a strange monk appeared and said, "This child is a jewel of the supramundane. He is not a profane person. Please, let him become a monk." A moment later, the monk was gone.

From an early age, the master used to erect stones and call them the

Buddha. He would present sand [to the stones] and call it an offering. Or he would bend a pine tree, saying it was a hermitage and sit there in a lotus position with his eyes closed, not even noticing that the sun was setting. He hated the confinement of the secular world, and the longing for the teaching of emptiness (i.e., Buddhism) deepened with every day.

In 1497 (3rd year of King Yeonsan'gun of Joseon), when the master was thirteen years old, on a dark autumn night when the people were calm, something dragged the master out of his house. He stepped in front of the gate; it was like following someone's lead. Before he knew it, he had walked ten *ri*, and when crossing the Sacheon 沙川 river, he realized that his dog was running after him. He turned to the dog and said persuasively, "Go back, protect mother well, and follow me no more. I'll become a monk of clouds and waters (雲水人),¹³⁷ and I swear I will never return. Go back quickly and take care!"

When the dog heard the monk's words, lowered his head, showed sadness, whined several times, and ran home. The master stood there alone, gazed at his hometown across the river, and spotted the moon climbing over the mountain ridge in the west. At dawn, he arrived directly at Deogisan 德異山 (Deogyusan) Mountain, where he found an ascetic Seon practitioner and received his teachings. Three years later, he shaved his head and became a monk.

In 1501, when he was seventeen years old, he first paid respects to Dharma Master Sinchong 信總 and studied the theoretical aspects of the doctrine (Gyo 敎) with him. Then he paid homage to the Grand Master Wibong and immersed himself in Seon meditation.

Later, he went to Gucheondong valley, built himself a hut where he spent nine years diligently cultivating the Way. Never laying down to sleep (長坐不臥),¹³⁸ how could he rest properly? He walked with his bamboo stick, never leaving the mountains, avoiding the taverns. When he preached the teachings, it was like ten thousand waves of the vast and broad sea beating the shore. When he expounded the meaning of Seon, it was high and lofty like a cliff of a thousand fathoms.

In 1509 (4th year of King Jungjong of Joseon), he went to Yongmunsan 龍門山 Mountain, visited Grand Master Jou 祖愚,

discussed the Seon teaching thoroughly, and in his spare time he studied *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* extensively. In 1514, he went to Cheongpyeongsan 清平山 Mountain to visit Master Hangmae 學梅, a Seon practitioner, to debate questions concerning the subtle aspects of Seon. They did not have a different view of the dharma. In 1519, he came to Daejonam Hermitage in the Geumgangsan and composed a poem in *lüshi* form, picked up a brush, and wrote it in large characters on the hermitage gate:

It is a mere waste of time to think about Shaolin,
 When following the old habits, sideburns turn almost white,
 The old Vaiśāli¹³⁹ has no noise or smell,
 Yesteryear's sound of Magadha¹⁴⁰ has been cut off,
 Sitting like a stake stops the discursive thought,
 When behaving like a fool, the discriminating mind does not rise,
 Therefore, send the useless thoughts away,
 All day long, abandon discriminations and face only the blue mountains.

Then he burned his brush and inkstone, closed his mouth, and sat silently for nine years immersed in intensive cultivation [of the Way]. If a traveler reached the gate, the master would only point to the verses.

In the autumn of 1519, he suddenly reflected on his past actions and realized that he should repay his parents' kindness. He soon departed in the southern direction and headed toward his hometown. At sunset, he approached the mountain where his family's house was situated. He stopped by the river and was nostalgically gazing at the village. Suddenly, he noticed an old man herding a cow. The master bowed and asked, "Is this Jinju 晉州?"

"Why do you ask that?" replied the old man, thinking it strange.

"Jinju is where I was born. I am asking because I do not know whether my parents are still alive," said the master.

"What is your father's name, and also what is your childhood name?" asked the old man.

"My father's name is Wonyeon 袁演, and my childhood name was

Gueon 九彦,” replied the master.

The old man suddenly let go of the rein, grabbed the master’s hand, and said,

“The father and the son have met today! Your name is my son’s name, and my name is obviously your father’s name. It has been over thirty years since you left me and ran away. No matter how hard I tried, I could not find you. I have spent my years in worry and anxiety. But since you suddenly came by yourself today, my wish has been fulfilled.”

After confirming that they were father and son, they could not withstand the sadness and joy of the moment, and they wept. After crying for a while, the father said, wiping away his tears, “Your mother passed away ten years ago, and it has been seven years since the lord lost his wife. Now there is only the house and fields left.”

“Where is Miss Won?” asked the master.

“On the evening you left home, your little sister shut the door tightly and lay down, and our dog sat there, only staring at the sun. On the seventh day, both your sister and the dog died. We buried her on the western slope of Deoksan Mountain.”

When the master heard this, he felt painfully empty and shed more tears. When the day turned dark, he came to his old house and found that all the girls and boys who played with him in the old days had become grandfathers and grandmothers. He sat around with them on a broad wooden bench, and they talked all night long without even noticing the roosters announcing the dawn.

The next morning, the father grabbed the master’s hand, and they visited the old lord. The lord said in astonishment. “Are you saying that this is really Gueon?” He could not help himself and shed tears. After a while, the lord offered the master a pillow and told him to sit down.

“No, I should not,” hesitated the master and stepped away. “I have betrayed you and my parents. Not even Heaven can forgive such a sin. Now I will give my house and my land to redeem myself for leaving the family and becoming a monk. I will cultivate the Way and return the favor.”

“How can you repay the favor if you left the family and became a

monk?” said the lord.

The master replied with an old saying, “Those who leave a family to become monks live in seclusion and seek the meaning, they change their secular appearance and strive to attain the Way. When they change their secular appearance and become monks, they do not follow the ways and manners of secular people. As they live in seclusion, they naturally leave the footprints of venerable persons. They attain the teachings of the three vehicles¹⁴¹ and expound them to the people and the gods. Then they can save the five clans (五族) and six blood relations (六親)¹⁴² as easily as if they were flipping their hands. Therefore, even if they break the precious family laws, they will not violate filial piety, nor will they lose the dutiful respect toward their lord even though they are deficient in expressing it on the outside.”

The lord admired the teachings of Confucianism. He listened to the master’s words carefully and considered them laudable. He stood up and holding his hand said, “The monks are indeed people who have transcended the secular world. Therefore, they must dispense with the manners of the world.”

Then he arranged the pillows side by side and proposed to the master that he sleep there overnight and stay there for good. However, the master did not follow his lord’s earnest proposal. The next day, he presented the lord with the land documents offering him both the fields and the house, bowed twice, and left. Then he bid farewell to his father and headed for Duryusan 頭流山. There he knocked on the door of Grand Master Jieom Byeoksong 智嚴碧松.

“I, Yeonggwan 靈觀 (Spirit Perception), have come from afar in admiration of your tradition of the dharma. Please, accept me as your disciple.”

“The Spirit (靈) wouldn’t dare to come, but where does the Perception (觀) come from?” replied Grand Master Jieom.

The master (Yeonggwan) came closer, put his hands together, and said, “I humbly ask you, that you examine it.”

Grand Master Jieom smiled and said, “You’re worth a try. I will cultivate you.”¹⁴³

Then, the next day, the Grand Master Jieom removed the fog from Yeonggwan's mind and washed away the boiling sea of his desire. His doubt that built up over the past twenty years melted away like layers of ice piled up in a large valley. Master Yeonggwan prostrated himself before Jieom and praised him, saying, "You truly are my teacher."

Three years after Yeonggwan began attending to Jieom the grand master passed away. Alas! How sad. The disciple inherited the teacher's rules and conduct. How could there have been ridgepoles and beams without such a cornerstone?

The master's character was gentle and elegant throughout his entire life, his mind was loving, and he severed all hatred. Therefore, his thoughts lacked discrimination. Whenever he saw a hungry person, he would share even the last spoonful of his rice. He had indeed planted the seed of compassion in his previous life. Furthermore, his writings were always true and correct, and his argumentation was clear and precise.

When someone came to study under him, he taught them diligently, doing his best and never growing tired. In terms of astrology, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, there was nothing he did not know. He would not leave any question unanswered, even of those who carried the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸) on their chest or *Zhuangzi* 莊子 in their arms. Therefore, the great Confucian scholars who came to his door every day regretted all the things they would be unable to learn during their lifespans. His yard was always overflowing with clergy and laity, who could not decide whether to leave or stay longer.

Therefore, all scholars without official post from the Honam 湖南 and Yeongnam 嶺南 regions, who had mastered the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism, inherited the master's dharma tradition. It is like the saying, "After transplanting the sandalwood, other trees are as fragrant."

After stepping through the gate of Byeoksong, the master lived in the Hwangnyongsan 黃龍山 Mountain, and in the Palgongsan 八公山 Mountain, and in Daeseungdong 大乘洞 Valley, and in Uisindong

義神洞 Valley, and in Yeon'gokdong 燕谷洞 Valley, and forty-one years passed like a dream, and on the fourteenth day of the fourth month he entered *parinirvāṇa*. His secular age was eighty-seven, and his dharma age was seventy-two.

A group of acolytes, including Beobyeung 法融, Yeongeung 靈應, monk designates¹⁴⁴ Jeongwon 淨源 and Sinong 信翁, and Virtuous Seon Masters¹⁴⁵ Jin'gi 眞機 and Doui 道義, and others, collected the master's spirit-bone relics and set up a stupa at the foot of the mountain in the west of Yeon'gokdong. The eulogy admiring the master says:

Standing on the ground of awakening,
First, you led the three carts,
You cast your net into eight seas,
And caught plenty of fish,
With a golden hammer,
You smashed the tiger's den and Māra's palace,
When a person dies, the world is in despair,
When the moon goes down, heaven is empty.

In the autumn of 1577 (10th year of King Seonjo of Joseon), Hyujeong 休靜 of Pungaksan 楓嶽山 Mountain composed the master's biography. The master had twelve disciples.

Biography of the Most Virtuous Gyeongseong (敬聖大德傳)

The master's dharma name was Ilseon 一禪, and his pen name was Gyeongseong. He was also called Hyuong 休翁 and Seonhwaja 禪和子. His secular family name was Jang 張, and he was born in Ulsan. His father was Yunhan 雲韓, and his mother was of the Bak 朴 clan. One day, she napped and dreamt about swallowing a bright bead. She became pregnant and gave birth to the master on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month of 1488 (19th year of Seongjong of Joseon). The child's skin was clean and fragrant even when unbathed.

At only seven or eight years of age, he disliked pungent vegetables and the smell of meat or fish. Whenever he saw meat boiling or fish roasting in the kitchen, he was horrified and saddened. There was an orchard on the southern side of his house. The children from the neighborhood fought to pick its fruit, but the master always gave his share to other children and returned home empty-handed. Sometimes he built a sand stupa or a stone seat. Many children respected him as the Buddha. It was not only because of the charming nature he was endowed with but also because of the perfuming¹⁴⁶ from his previous lives.

He lost both parents when still a child. During his three years of mourning, he realized the impermanence of the world. Also, he longed for the brightness and purity of the mind. When he was thirteen years old, he went to Danseoksan 斷石山 Mountain and devoted himself to Dharma Master Haesan 海山 and served him for three years before he shaved his head and became a monk at the age of sixteen. When he was twenty-four, he went west to Myohyangsan 妙香山 Mountain, where he sat in Munsuam 文殊庵 Hermitage. He promised himself that until his death he would indulge in ascetic practices, own only one alms bowl and one set of rugged clothes, and cultivate his mind through the

teaching of the Buddha.

After some time, he suddenly decided to visit several provinces and went to Duryusan 頭流山 (Jirisan) in the south to pay his respects to Grand Master Jieom 智嚴. When Grand Master Jieom saw him, he immediately realized that he was a great vessel and presented him with the following verses.

The wind is blowing gently, and the moon is bright,
The clouds cover the sky, and the water is still.
If you want to grasp this matter,
You must follow the teaching of the patriarchs.

The master focused on the living phrase,¹⁴⁷ enjoyed it, and lost all anxieties. Then he came to Siwangdong 十王洞 Valley in the Geumgangsan, where he studied, but there was no progress whatsoever. One day, he was hitting the meditation platform with a bamboo clapper saying, “Now the blade of the old Master Zhaozhou¹⁴⁸ has been revealed, and he is expounding a dream within a dream. There are more than just a few mistakes.”¹⁴⁹

Following that event, whenever he said something, it was a sentence of the shortcut approach (徑截門).¹⁵⁰ Also, when he focused on penetration [of a *hwadu*] in his mind, it was always about a sentence of the shortcut approach. After some time, he joined the sangha hall (僧堂) at Pyohunsa 表訓寺 Monastery. He spent the summer retreat there and moved to Sangwonam Hermitage, where he partook in meditation retreats for another two years.

In 1536 (31st year of King Jungjong of Joseon), the Great King Jungjong was defending Sincheon 新川 with the help of a monk army. Traveling to the Neunggasan 楞伽山 Mountain, the master came upon the battlefield and stayed there on his own without any impediment. A high-ranking official of the provincial government found it extraordinary and called in the master. The master’s appearance was unusual. The official urged him to stay there for half a month.

When the aristocrats and ordinary people of Gyeongseong 京城

heard about the highly virtuous master, they competed with each other, and the number of donors increased daily, and rumors spread wildly. It became an excuse for the *daegan*¹⁵¹ officials to arrest him and have him detained in the Uigeumbu 義禁府 (State Tribunal), on the charge of deceiving the people. The master was interrogated according to the law, but he remained composed and calm. Through sincere speech and profound knowledge, he expressed his powerful reasoning. He was interrogated at the Uigeumbu, according to the law. They listened to his logical explanations, [for which they] admired him, informed the king, and released him. The monk traveled straightaway to distant Seosan (Western Mountain, i.e., Myohyangsan), and disappeared for nine years.

In the spring of 1544, he was in the Gwaneumjeon 觀音殿¹⁵² Hall of Bohyeonsa 普賢寺 Monastery in Myohyangsan. Just as a gimlet in a pocket reveals itself, or a fruit that ripens produces its aromatic smell, his studies reached their peak. Excellent and virtuous people gathered from all directions of the country like clouds. It was indeed a “collapsed platform assembly of Haedong.”¹⁵³ He ordered a group of disciples led by Uiung 義雄, to build a house. He named it Gyeongseongdang 敬聖堂. The quality of the railing and windows was outstanding. The jade and gold dazzled the eyes. Every day, the master burned incense in the burner and prayed for the longevity of the king. Such was the master’s wisdom, so hard to obtain, and he never fell into the trap of disloyalty. It is the wisdom and virtue¹⁵⁴ of the sangha.

On the thirteenth day of the second month of 1568 (1st year of King Seonjo of Joseon), Master Gyeongseong told his disciples, “The world is formed, exists, decays, and disappears.¹⁵⁵ A thought arises, abides, changes, and ceases.¹⁵⁶ The body is born, ages, gets sick, and dies.¹⁵⁷ If there is a beginning, there must be an end. It is the essence of impermanence. An old monk wishes to demonstrate the impermanence today. My dear students, do not miss me or mourn me; and always keep the mindfulness. Do not become attached to the unbeneficial things of the world. I will perform the final act of Buddha-work (佛事)¹⁵⁸ at the ridge of Busaui. Do not organize a formal funeral but leave my body as

it is for the wild animals and birds to feast upon.” Then he picked up a brush and composed the following poem.

Being over eighty is like the flower in the sky,¹⁵⁹
 Past events are like the flower in the eye,
 I have not crossed the threshold, yet I am going back home,
 The plum tree in the old garden is in full bloom.

The master then laid down his brush, sat down straight, and calmly entered *parinirvāṇa*. At that moment, auspicious clouds rushed in from all sides, and the sun was saddened. On the seventh day after his *parinirvāṇa*, the disciples, in accordance with their teacher’s will, placed his body on a bier and carried it to Busaui ridge. Both laypeople and clergy were stood in the thousands along the path. They offered tea and the sad sound of their weeping filled the valley.

On the night of the cremation a mysterious light illuminated the sky. Even hundreds of *ri* away, people saw the light and prostrated themselves before it. This was at 10 o’clock at night on the eighteenth day of the fourth month. When a group of his disciples, including Uibyeon 義卞, Seondeung 禪燈, Iljeong 一精, and Seongjun 性峻, collected five pieces of *sarīra*, erected a stone bell reliquary and enshrined them in it. His secular age was eighty-one, and his dharma age was sixty-five.

The master was not interested in writing, painting, or calligraphy. However, when he was composing his deathbed verses, he dipped his brush in ink and wrote as freely as walking on grass, and the language of it was joyful. Here we can see the wisdom of the master who went into hiding. Alas! How sad! There never was so much dirt in the sea of the Buddha as today, but if it were not for the nets of the master’s compassion, who would save the fish of men and gods and deliver them up to the hill off nirvana? In these last days of the dharma, he was the proper person to become the ridgepole and beams of [the house] of the Buddha. His dharma was like the horn of the *girin*.¹⁶⁰

In the winter of 1568 (1st year of King Seonjo of Joseon), at Myo-

hyangsan, Hyujeong wrote the master's biography and eulogy. The eulogy says:

When the master came in the beginning, there was a bright bead,
When the master leaves now, there are five mysterious beads.
It does not change when it goes into the fire; it does not get wet when it
goes into the water,
It is always quiet, always shining, a kalpa becomes an instant.

Biography of Venerable Cheongheo (清虛尊者傳)

Our teacher's dharma name was Hyujeong 休靜, his pen name was Cheongheo, and he was also called Seosan 西山. His courtesy name was Hyeoneung 玄應. The first ancestor of his father's family was Choe 崔 of Wansan 完山, the first ancestor of his mother's family was a Gim 金 of Hannam 漢南. However, at the time of the reign of King Taejong of Joseon, ancestors of both paternal and maternal lineage passed the civil or military examinations and moved to Changhwa 昌化.¹⁶¹ Therefore, both his parents considered Changhwa their hometown.

Later, when his maternal grandfather Gim U 金禹, a district governor, committed an offense during the reign of King Yeonsan'gun 燕山君 and was exiled to Alleung 安陵 (Anju in Pyeongan-do). The master's parents were forced to move there with all the family members. Eight years later, the sins of the grandfather were reconsidered, and he received a special pardon, which allowed him to return to his original official post. After all, was it not destiny to live as a commoner of the Gwanseo 關西 region?

His father's name was Sechang 世昌. At the age of thirty, owing to someone's recommendation, he received a low-ranking official position of *chambong*, serving as a steward of Gijajeon 箕子殿, a shrine dedicated to Gija 箕子.¹⁶² When a government official arrived, announced to him the date of his new appointment and urged him to leave, the master's father declined, and said with a laugh, "Isn't the joy of living with a loving wife and children, and enjoying a bottle of *makgeolli* under a misty moon enough?" Then he loosened his belt, laid down gazing south, and whistled several times. The official soon left.

Whenever anybody in the village had a question and asked him for assistance, he would solve it. Whenever a legal dispute was about to occur, he would prevent it in advance. He served as a village official for thirteen years. The villagers called Sechang a virtuous old man.

In the summer of 1519 (14th year of King Jungjong of Joseon), the master's mother Gim felt weak. One day she fell asleep for a while by a small window. An old woman passed by, bowed, and said with respect, "Do not be anxious, do not worry about anything. This old lady came to congratulate you because you will carry a man of excellent abilities." Then she made obeisance again and left. When the master's mother woke up in surprise, she realized it had been a dream. She muttered to herself, "How strange. My husband and I are both born in the *gabo* year and are almost fifty years old. Why would I have such a dream?" Lady Gim was curious but embarrassed and worried at the same time.

In the third month of the following year, 1520, Lady Gim really gave birth to a baby. The master's parents teased each other, saying, "Like the old clam that produces pearls, this is also the will of Heaven."

On the eighth day of the fourth month of 1522, when the child was three years old, his father got drunk and fell asleep in a pavilion. He had a dream that an old man came to him and said, "I have come to see the baby monk." Then he held the baby in his hands and uttered several spells, which sounded like Sanskrit, so he could not understand their meaning. As the old man recited the spell, he put the baby down and said, stroking his forehead, "Please name this child Unhak 雲鶴 (Cloud Crane) and take care of him well." Then the father asked about the meaning of Unhak. The old man replied, "The conduct of this child for his entire life will be like that of a cloud or a crane." After so speaking, he disappeared, and no one knew where he went. Hence, from that time the parents called their child a "little monk" or "Unhak."

From childhood, the child played house with other children. [However,] he would collect sand to build stupas or bring tiles and build a monastery.

When he was nine years old, his mother suddenly passed away, and in the following year, his father passed away too. Suddenly, a hundred years of livelihood collapsed overnight. When Yi Sajeung 李思曾, who was the head of the town at that time, heard the news, he called him in. This was in the winter, in the eleventh month. Pointing to a snow-covered pine, he said, "I am going to give you a rhyme, and you will

compose a poem, okay? Yi Sajeung gave him a rhyme with the character *sa* 斜 (to slant). The boy answered straight away. “Over a pavilion absorbed in fragrance, the sun begins to slant.” Then he gave him another rhyme with the character *hwa* 花 (flower). “The snow covering thousands of *ri* of rivers and mountains is like a flower,” replied the boy at once.

Yi Sajeung took the boy’s hand, stroked his back, and said, “You are my son.” The boy was ten years old by then. When he was twelve years old, Yi Sajeung arranged for him to go up to the capital and enter the academy [Seonggyun’gwan], to have his name recorded along with the names of Confucian scholars.

One day, an old scholar saw the young Hyujeong and asked, “Do you recognize me? Your hometown is not far from here. Your late father was on close terms with me. So, I cannot keep you away.” Then he brought him outside the Heunginmun 興仁門 (Dongdaemun 東大門) Gate, and pointing at the banks of Sacheon 沙川 stream, where an old willow stood, and said, “That is the site of the old house where your father used to live.”

The old scholar established a *seodang* (a private school), gathered five or six children, and taught them all. He instructed them, “Promise you will treat each other as brothers when you study here and not behave selfishly.” He invited the master to study there for three years. Young Unhak was fifteen years old when he took the *gwageo* examination but failed to pass. It strengthened his resolve.

At that time, the teacher under whom he studied, went down to the Honam region with several students who were studying under him. Only a few months after traveling to Honam, there was an unexpected death in the teacher’s family, and he had to return to the capital. The boys were frustrated, put their heads together, and one of them said, “I’ve come a thousand *ri* to find a teacher, and although things went wrong, we are in a region with marvelous scenery. I’d rather see the mountains and rivers of the south than come back empty-handed.”

Therefore, the boys spent half a year visiting the small and large Buddhist monasteries of Duryusan 頭流山, Hwaeomdong 華嚴洞

Valley, Yeon'gokdong 燕谷洞 Valley, Chilburam 七佛庵 Hermitage, Uisindong 義神洞 Valley, and Cheonghakdong 青鶴洞 Valley. Then one day, a virtuous old monk (Grand Master Sungin 崇仁) saw [the master] and said, "Looking upon you, I see your spirit is bright and excellent. Obviously, you are no average person. By emptying the mind, you will cut off worldly fame and wealth. The profit of the scholars is a mere hollow reputation, no matter how hard they work, even if they study every day all day long for a hundred years. What a pity!"

When asked, "What do you mean by emptying one's mind?" old Master Sungin blinked his eyes and asked in return, "Do you understand?"

"I do not," answered Unhak.

"It's difficult to explain in words," said the old master.

The old master showed him several scriptures, including *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Chuandeng lu* 傳燈錄), [*Compilation of Examinations of and Verses on Ancient Precedents* (*Seonmun yeomsong* 禪門拈頌), *Flower Ornament Sutra*, *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經), *Śūraṅgama-sūtra* (*Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經), *Lotus Sutra* (*Fahua jing* 法華經), *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* (*Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經), and *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Bore jing* 般若經), and said, "If you read these books diligently and think deeply, you will be able to enter the path gradually."

It motivated Unhak to ask Grand Master Yeonggwan to teach him. When Grand Master Yeonggwan saw Unhak, he considered him an extraordinary person. He taught him for three years, and Unhak never failed in his diligence. In debates about the profound teachings, listening to his answers was as satisfying as scratching an itch.

At that time, the other fellow students who traveled together returned to the capital. Unhak stayed alone in the meditation hall (禪房) and studied various scriptures. The more he read and explored the scriptures, the more he was restrained in meditation, and could not penetrate the sphere of liberation. As the days went by, his mind became tenser and tenser. Then one night, suddenly, he transcended the text and found out that there was a subtle truth. Then he composed and

recited a poem.

Suddenly I heard a cuckoo cry outside the window,
The spring mountains before my eyes are my home.

On another day, he composed and recited the following poem.

I drew water and, on the way back, I suddenly turned my head,
There were green mountains amid the white clouds.

The next morning, he took a silver knife, cut his own hair, and said. “I would rather live my whole life as an ignorant fool, but I swear I will not be a man who recites letters.”

Then, he took Grand Master Ilseon 一禪 as his preceptor (授戒師), Dharma Master Seokhui 釋熙, Elder Yukgong 六空, and Senior Gagwon 覺圓 as witnesses, Grand Master Yeonggwan 靈觀 as the dharma-transmitting master (傳法師), and Elder Sungin as the patron (養育師) and underwent the ordination ceremony.

Hyujeong, now a Buddhist monk, went to Dosolsan Mountain and visited Grand Master Hangmuk 學默. Hangmuk patted him and bestowed an *in'ga* acknowledgment on him. Then, he spent three summers in Samcheolgul 三鐵窟 Cave on Duryusan, and two summers in Daeseungam 大乘庵 Hermitage, and spent three autumns at various hermitages, including Uisinam 義神庵, Wontongam 圓通庵, Wonjeogam 圓寂庵, and Eunsinam 隱神庵.

One day he composed and recited two poems after he heard a rooster cry during the day when passing through Yeokseongchon 歷星村 (Byeowwon) of Yongseong 龍城 (today's Namwon).

(The third patriarch Śāṇakavāsa¹⁶³ asked his fourth patriarch Upagupta,¹⁶⁴ “How old are you?” “I am seventeen,” answered Upagupta. The teacher asked again, “Is your body seventeen years old? Or is your essence [性] seventeen years old?” The disciple replied, “Is your hair white? Or is your mind white?” “Only my hair is white, my mind is not,” said Śāṇakavāsa, and Upagupta replied, “Likewise, my body is

seventeen, my mind is not.” Śāṇakavāsa realized that he was a vessel of the dharma.)

My hair is white, but my mind is not white,
Revealed the old man [Śāṇakavāsa] already.
Now I hear the rooster’s crow,
The great man’s work is done.

And then he recited,

Suddenly I received what is mine,
Everything was like that,
Myriads of gold pieces in a treasury,
Are all empty pieces of paper.

Then he went straight back to the mountains. In the autumn of 1553 (8th year of King Myeongjong of Joseon), he suddenly desired to travel all around the country, and with a single gourd [bowl] and one robe went to Odaesan, where he spent half a year. Then he entered the Pungaksan 楓嶽山 (Geumgangsan), went to Mireukbong 彌勒峰 Peak, and spent a summer [retreat] in Guyeondong 九淵洞 Valley, another summer on Hyangnobong 香爐峰 Peak, and one summer at several hermitages, including Seongburam 成佛庵, Yeongeunam 靈隱庵, and Yeongdaeam 靈臺庵. Then he spent one autumn at Hamilgak 含日閣 Pavilion. At that time, he was thirty-three years old.

At that time, King Seongjo 聖朝 (Myeongjong 明宗) restored the two orders [of Seon and Gyo], which had been abolished during the reign of King Yeonsan’gun. The master reluctantly took the monastic examination at the request of others and passed it. He held the positions of an abbot for three years, followed by the position dharma preacher for three months, supervisor of the doctrine for three months, and supervisor of Seon for three years. By then he was thirty-seven years old.

Then suddenly he returned to his initial determination to seek awakening. He resigned from his post, went to the Geumgangsan

carrying only his green pigweed staff. He stayed there for half a year and came to Naeunjeogam 內隱寂庵 Hermitage on Duryusan, where he lived for three years. Then he wandered through various hermitages, including Hwangnyeongam 黃嶺庵, Neunginam 能仁庵, and Chilburam 七佛庵, for another three years. Then he went back to the Taebaeksan 太白山, Odaesan 五臺山, and Pungaksan 楓嶽山. He thoroughly trekked the three mountains [ranges], and then went to Myohyangsan, where he visited the Gwaneumjeon Hall of Bohyeonsa, and Naewonam, Yeongunam, Baegunam, Simgyeongam, Geumseonam, and Beobwangam hermitages. He lived like wind and clouds, like goose feathers flying in the air. In the “Phrases on Three Dreams” (Sammongsa 三夢詞), he wrote:

The host told the guest a dream,
 The guest also told the host a dream.
 Now both who are telling the dream,
 Are also in a dream.

He composed this poem on Hyangnobong.

All the cities in all the countries are like anthills,
 The thousands of household members are like mayflies.
 I rest my head on an empty space in a bright moonlight by the window,
 The endless rhymes of the wind in the pines are uneven.

From then on, he did not come out from the monastery, concealing his virtues and talents from others, but more and more people came to visit him to inquire about the Way. In 1589,¹⁶⁵ he was arrested and taken to the Uigeumbu as a result of false accusations, as the treacherous monk Mu'eop 無業, had quoted a poem written by grand master (Hyujeong) on Hyangnobong. Hyujeong's answers before the Uigeumbu were clear and reasonable. King Seonjo 宣祖 knew that Hyujeong had been falsely accused and immediately had him released. When the king read his poems, he admired the beauty of the verses

and presented Hyujeong with an ink bamboo painting he had painted himself, along with a poem of his own composition. The poem read as follows.

The bamboo leaves came from the tip of the brush,
The roots did not come from the ground.
Even when the moon comes up, the shadows cannot be seen,
Even when the wind blows, the sound cannot be heard.

Hyujeong wrote the following poem in return, in gratitude for the king's grace.

A bamboo tree from Xiaoxiang River,
Came from the tip of Your Majesty's brush,
At the place where a mountain monk burns incense,
All leaves shake in the autumnal sough.

King Seonjo again personally composed a poem and bestowed it on Hyujeong. The poem reads as follows.

There are Geumgangsan by the East Sea,
How many great sages were born there?
The reputation as high as Mount Tai and the Big Dipper,
A tathagata of our age!

Hyujeong wrote a poem in reply to the one which the king composed.

The illumination of nirvana does not interfere with the chilicosm,
How would an empty soul enter a womb?
The stones under the Geumgangsan,
Big or small, all are tathagata.

King Seonjo sent a generous reward and offering to console Hyujeong on his way back to the mountains.

In the *imjin* year of 1592 (25th year of King Seonjo of Joseon), when the king's carriage was heading to Yongman (Uiju), at the northwestern tip of the Korean peninsula, the grand master drew his sword, rose up in indignation, had an audience with King Seonjo, and told him. "The world is in turmoil. How can we save the people?"

The grand master bowed in tears and sent the following order to all monasteries throughout the country, "Monks of the whole country, those who are old and ill and unable to go to war, should burn incense and pray in their respective monasteries for the support of the buddhas and bodhisattvas. The rest of the monks will be under my direct command. Prepare for war, and act as loyal subjects."

King Seonjo considered it righteous and appointed him the chief superintendent of the eight provinces and sixteen orders (八道十六宗都摠攝). The grand master ordered his disciples to assemble the righteous monk army. Yujeong then deployed his troops in the Gwandong region. Cheoyeong deployed the troops in Honam and joined forces with Gwon Yul's¹⁶⁶ army and defeated the enemy at the Haengjusanseong Fortress. Grand Master Hyujeong led an army of one thousand and five hundred, and together with Ming reinforcements, recaptured Pyeongyang.

Song Yingchang 宋應昌, the administrative official of Ming, General Li Rusong 李如松, and other Ming commanders sent their congratulatory letters, saying, "The loyalty when fighting the enemy for the sake of the country has pierced the sun and our respect cannot be surpassed." They also composed poems and sent them to the grand master. One poem said,

Without concern for fame and fortune,
He devoted himself to study the Way of the sages,
When he learned the country was in peril,
He left the mountains and became a commander.

When the enemy retreated, the grand master sent a letter to the king, saying, "I am eighty years old and have exhausted my strength.

I wish to entrust my disciples Yujeong and Cheoyeong with military affairs, and I would like to return the seal of the chief superintendent and return to my old abode in the Myohyangsan.” King Seonjo praised his intention and regretted his old age. He granted him the title Grand Seon Master of the Entire Country, Chief Superintendent of Seon and Gyo, the Supporter of the Order and the Establisher of the Doctrine, Venerable Savior of the Supreme Rank.¹⁶⁷ The grand master soon returned to the Myohyangsan and became a carefree saint again.

On the twenty-third day of the first month of 1604 (37th year of King Seonjo of Joseon), he was quietly preparing for nirvana at Wonjeogam. One day, Hyujeong headed into the snowy mountains in a small sedan chair carried by two people. He visited several hermitages, paid his respects to the Buddha, delivered a sermon, and returned to the abbot’s quarters. Then, after performing the bathing ritual, appropriately dressed, burned incense before the Buddha, had a brush brought to him, and composed a poem and wrote it on his portrait.

This is me eighty years ago,
This is me eighty years later.

Then he wrote a letter to his two disciples, Yujeong and Cheoyeong, and sitting in the lotus position entered *parinirvāṇa*. His secular age was eighty-five, and his Seon age was sixty-seven. The room was filled with an unusual fragrance and lasted for twenty-one days.

After the cremation ceremony, his disciples Wonjun 圓俊 and Inyeong 印英 collected his spirit-bone relics and *śarīra*, and enshrined them in two places, Bohyeonsa and Ansimsa 安心寺 monasteries, where they erected stupas. The disciples Yujeong and Jahyu 自休 took another portion of the relics to Bongnaesan mountain, where the mysterious *śarīra* were divided, and they enshrined them at the hill north of Yujeomsa 榆峴寺 Monastery.

Hyujeong had more than one thousand disciples. There were at least four or five excellent teachers in the region who further taught the novices, which is wonderful.

His writings include *A Mirror of Seon* (*Seon'ga gwigam* 禪家龜鑑), *Exegesis of Seon and Gyo* (*Seon-Gyo seok* 禪教釋), *Poems of the Cloud and Water Altar* (*Unsudan gasa* 雲水壇歌辭), *Three Families One Finger* (*Samga ilji* 三家一指) of one volume each, and *Collected Works of Cheongheodang* (*Cheongheodang jip* 清虛堂集) in eight volumes (A three-volume version was published at Myohyangsan, a two-volume version was published at Dongnisan Mountain, a seven-volume version was published at Yongboksa Monastery in Sangnyeong in the first month of 1630.) Also, his “Song of Dedicated Mind” (*Hoesimgok* 回心曲) is in circulation among the people.

Hyujeong's disciples Eon'gi 彦機, Uigyeong 儀罔, Ssangheul 雙屹 and others received an epitaph from the minister (*sangguk* 相國) Wolsa 月沙 Yi Jeonggwui 李廷龜¹⁶⁸ and erected at Baekhwaam Hermitage in the Geumgangsan. In the spring of 1631 (9th year of King Injo of Joseon), his disciples Taeneung, Woncheol, and Haean asked minister Gyegok 谷谷 Jang Yu 張維¹⁶⁹ to compose an epitaph and had the stele erected at Daedunsa 大菟寺 Monastery on Duryunsan 頭輪山. In the autumn of 1632, the one-volume *Record of the Golden Letter Treasury* (*Geumja bojang rok* 金字寶藏錄) was deposited in Daedunsa on Duryunsan in Haenam 海南. It was the master's deathbed wish.

The following items that belonged to Hyujeong are stored in Daedunsa on Duryunsan in Haenam: a golden robe of the great general of the righteous monks, a red brocade robe, a silver gown, three emerald alms bowls, two pairs of shoes, black *geomun'go*, three strings of prayer beads, a jade lion-shaped ink vessel, a red tag certificate of passing the monastic examination at the *jungdeok daeseon* 中德大禪 level, a calligraphic letter of appointment as abbot of Naksansa 洛山寺 Monastery, an abbot appointment letter of Yujeomsa.

These objects were collected and stored by his disciple Yeongjam 靈岑 after three years of mourning the master's death. In 1788 (12th year of King Jeongjo of Joseon), 185 years after the grand master's death, Gyehong 戒洪 and Cheonmuk 天默, two monks of Daedunsa, petitioned the king. The king, in response, ordered the construction of a shrine at Daedunsa, and bestowed an engraved tablet with the

words “*pyochung*” 表忠 (manifesting loyalty). Also, he had two shrines, Samyeongdang 四溟堂 and Noemukdang 雷默堂, built on the left and right [of the shrine]. In the fourth month of 1789, the royal court ordered Jeong Gihwan 鄭基煥, a section chief (*jeongnang* 正郎) from the Ministry of Rites, to perform a memorial ritual there. The memorial address said:

Long ago in the *imjin* year,
When the Japanese pirates invaded,
The righteous among the Buddhists,
Was only Hyujeong.
Despite shaved head and the monk's robe,
He did not forget the laws of humanity.
With a sword of wisdom, he raced to the west,
Righteous monks followed like a shadow.
With the help of imperial soldiers,
They ended the insanity.
When he escorted the royal carriage back to the capital,
His merit was even more remarkable.
The holy court honored the excellence,
The king's writing shines brightly.
Why in Pyochungsa
Was Yujeong first?
A new shrine in his old monastery has been built.
For his dharma and his merit,
Many people pleaded,
And the virtuous king,
Bestowed the tablet and offerings,
Showing his special care,
The people of the south were scared,
Despite being a monk, he was worthy of respect.
(The memorial address was composed by Song Ikhyo 宋翼孝, a senior compiler [修撰] of the Seonggyun'gwan 成均館.)

This is the regularly used memorial address:

He attained both meditation and wisdom,
 He showed the greatest loyalty.
 Under the orders of the virtuous master,
 The two disciples inherited his teaching.
 For capturing so many enemies,
 The king recorded the merit.
 With engraved pots and vessels,
 Ceremonies are abundant.

As things sprout in the spring,
 The mind is melancholic.
 Soaked with the abundant harvest,
 With the king's grace, we are making offerings.

Universal Savior Venerable Seon Master Samyeongdang and the World Savior Venerable Seon Master Noemukdang on the left and right, we are humbly offering food and honor you.

(Composed by royal secretary [*seungji* 承旨] Jeong Yakyong 丁若鏞)

Seo Yurin, the *jehak* scholar of the Office of Special Advisors (Hongmun'gwan 弘文館), composed the “Stele Inscription Honoring Manifesting Loyality” (Pyochung gijeok bimyeong 表忠紀蹟碑銘).

In 1794 (18th year of King Jeongjo of Joseon), the king sent two versions of “Seosan daesa hwasang dangmyeong” 西山大師畫像堂銘, inscriptions he had composed himself, one to Pyochungsa on Duryunsan and the other to Suchungsa Shrine on Myohyangsan. This was because the monks of Myohyangsan at that time learned the news of Daedunsa and requested the same. Daedunsa possesses the *Lotus Sutra* transcribed by the Grand Prince Anpyeong, handed down from generation to generation, and a golden folding screen, a gift from the Japanese chief councilor (關白).¹⁷⁰

Biography of Venerable Samyeong (泗溟尊者傳)

The venerable master's dharma name was Yujeong 惟政, and his pen name was Samyeong. He was also called Songun 松雲. His family name was Im 任 of Pungcheon 豊川. His father was Suseong 守城. He was a great-grandson of Hyogon, who served as a third-rank official in the Jangagwon 掌樂院 (Bureau of Music). The master was born in Samgangdong 三綱洞¹⁷¹ in Miryang 密陽. He lost his mother at fifteen and father at sixteen. After that, entered the mountains [became a monk], cultivated the Way, and lived in Woljeongsa 月精寺 Monastery in Odaesan.

In 1592 (25th year of King Seonjo of Joseon), he was staying at Yujeomsa in the Geumgangsan and joined the righteous monk army. When he arrived at Jaeyaksa 載藥寺 Monastery on Yeongchwisan 靈鷲山 Mountain, he raised a righteous army together with Minister (*panseo* 判書) Son 孫 [In-gap 仁甲], Royal Secretary (*seungji* 承旨) Noh 盧 [Gaebang 蓋邦], and filial son (*hyoja* 孝子) Bak 朴 of Samgangdong. In the wake of the Imjin Wars, righteous army generals such as Jo Heon 趙憲, Go Gyeongmyeong 高敬命, Gwak Jae-u 郭再祐, and Gim Deokryeong 金德齡, as well as righteous monk army commanders such as Uieom 義嚴, Cheoyeong 處英, Yeonggyu 靈圭, Haean 海眼, and others, raised righteous armies throughout the country.

In the fourth month of 1594, he entered the camp of Katō Kiyomasa 加藤清正, the Japanese commander. Groups of Japanese pirates were lined up for several *ri*, and their spears and swords were touching each other. Nevertheless, Songun spoke quietly with Kiyomasa, showing no sign of fear.

Kiyomasa asked, "Is there a treasure in your country?"

Songun answered, "There is no treasure in our country. Only the general's head can be considered a treasure."

"What do you mean?" asked Kiyomasa again.

“In our country, there is a bounty on your head worth a thousand *geun* of gold and taxation of ten thousand households. Is your head not a treasure?”

Kiyomasa laughed loudly.

In the seventh month of that year, Songun entered Kiyomasa’s camp once more. When he entered the camp again in the twelfth month, he spied on the negotiations of five peace treaties [discussed between Ming and Japan] and observed the situation of the enemy. [The treaties] included unfavorable conditions for Joseon, such as annexing the southern part of Joseon to Japan and sending a prince and high-ranking officials to Japan as hostages. In 1595, he filed a petition, dissolved the righteous monk army, and went to Haeinsa 海印寺 Monastery in the Gayasan 伽倻山 Mountains.

The war ended in 1598 with the retreat of the Japanese army, and in 1604 (37th year of King Seonjo of Joseon), the chief councilor Tokugawa Ieyasu 德川家康 asked Joseon to send an envoy. The king issued a letter to Yujeong, saying, “Cross the sea to Japan, look into the situation, and return.” He departed on the fourth day of the third month, and entered the capital of Japan (Kyōto), where he secured peace and returned [to Joseon] in the fourth month of the following year. When he arrived at the capital on the thirteenth day of the seventh month, the king granted him a large reward and increased his official rank. Yujeong returned to Gayasan in the autumn of 1607. On his way to the Chiaksan Mountain in 1608 (41st year of King Seonjo of Joseon), he heard that King Seonjo had died. He rushed to the capital to bow and wail. He fell ill and returned to Gayasan.

Yujeong was born in 1544 (39th year of King Jungjong of Joseon) and died in 1610 (2nd year of King Gwanghaegun of Joseon). His secular age was sixty-seven, and his dharma age was fifty-one.

His posthumous title was Jongbong 鍾峰 and he was granted the title of Universal Savior Venerable Master (弘濟尊者). His biography is included in the stele inscription of the Pyochungsa Shrine in Yeongnam. In 1618, eight years after Yujeong’s *parinirvāṇa*, upon an appeal from his disciples, the king had a shrine set up in Jaeyaksa Monastery in

Miryang, the master's hometown. The king granted the shrine a tablet with the word “*pyochung*” 表忠. His teacher, Grand Master Seosan, is also enshrined there.

One hundred thirty-seven years later, Nambung 南鵬, his fifth-generation dharma heir, was embarrassed by the collapse of the Pyochungsa Shrine. He gathered his possessions and had it rebuilt. Also, he pleaded with various noblemen [scholars] (君子) to compile the single-volume *Collected Poems and Writings* (*Simun jip* 詩文集) and the single-volume *Record of Overcoming of Difficulties with Fierce Loyalty* (*Bunchung seonallok* 奮忠紓難錄). The book was compiled by Shin Yuhan 申維翰, and was published in two volumes and is circulated among the people.

The portraits of the three masters Jigong, Naong, and Muhak were enshrined in the Suchunggak Pavilion at the Baekhwaam 白華庵 Hermitage in the Geumgangsan. The portrait of Grand Master Seosan [Hyujeong] was enshrined on their left and a portrait of Grand Master Samyeong [Yujeong] on the right. Also, in Suchungsa in the Myohyangsan, Yujeong is enshrined alongside Hyujeong. The master was granted the posthumous title of Jongbongdang 鐘峰堂. Grand Master Yeondam composed the following eulogy.

[He] shaved his hair to escape the dust of the mundane,
Ten years in a cloudy forest,
Vowed to make friends with monkeys and cranes,
A long beard represents a great man,
In a one-day conversation,
[He] solved the calamity of the *imjin* year
With the eloquence of Zigong,
With traces of Liu Bingzhong,¹⁷²
He defeated the barbarians,
And made them obey,
The war ceased two centuries ago,
The country is at peace,
Oh! How beautiful!
Whose strength is this?

As a matter of course, the royal court had the shrine built and rituals
performed,
With offerings and sacrifices in spring and autumn.

Biography of Eminent Master Pyeonyang (鞭羊宗師傳)

The master's name was Eon'gi 彦機, and his pen name was Pyeonyang. His secular family name was Jang 張, and he was a native of Jukju 竹州 (Anseong-gun in Gyeonggi-do). He was born in the seventh month of 1581 (14th year of King Seonjo of Joseon). As a child, he received the full precepts from Hyeonbin Inyeong 玄賓印英, the disciple of Grand Master Seosan. Then he studied under Grand Master Seosan whose teachings he received. He traveled to various regions in the south to pay respects to the many elders of the Seon tradition and to satisfy himself with their teachings. He stayed in the Pungaksan (Geumgangsan) and Myohyangsan. He lectured on the dharma and achieved the awakening experience of the Seon tradition. He entered *parinirvāṇa* on the tenth day of the fifth month of 1654 (5th year of King Hyojong of Joseon).¹⁷³ His secular age was seventy-four; his dharma age was fifty-three.

Among Pyeonyang's disciples, the lineage of Pungdam 楓潭 flourished the most. More than thirty disciples inherited his dharma. There is a stele in Baekhwaam hermitage composed by Baekju 白洲 Yi Myeonghan 李明漢.¹⁷⁴

Biography of Eminent Master Soyo (逍遙宗師傳)

The master's dharma name was Taenung 太能, and his pen name was Soyo. His secular family name was O 吳, and he was a native of Damyang. He was born in the ninth month of 1562 (17th year of King Myeongjong of Joseon). Relying on the teachings of Master Jin 眞, he had his head shaved at the Baegyangsa Monastery and learned the mysterious meaning of the dharma of Master Huangbo 黃檗, and so he became famous among many.

After traveling all over the southern part of the country, he learned the tripitaka from Buhyu Seonsu 浮休善修. Then he visited Grand Master Seosan, from whom he learned that the original source [of human existence] (本源) was pure (清淨). He entered *parinirvāṇa* on the twenty-first day of the tenth month of 1649 (27th year of King Injo of Joseon). His secular age was eighty-eight, and his Seon age was seventy-three.

Among his disciples, it was Chimgoeng Hyeonbyeon 枕肱懸辯 who inherited his Seon teaching, and Hae'un Gyeongyeol 海運敬悅 who inherited his Gyo [doctrinal] teachings. There were at least thirty disciples who burned the incense and inherited his dharma. His stele is at Yeondae 蓮臺 (Gimje in Jeollanam-do). His epitaph was composed by Baekheon 白軒 Yi Gyeongseok 李景奭.¹⁷⁵ His stupas are at Sinwonsa 淵源寺 Monastery on Bogaesan 寶蓋山 Mountain, Yeon'goksa 燕谷寺 Monastery on Jirisan 智異山, and also at Daedunsa on Duryunsan.

Biography of Eminent Master Pungdam (楓潭宗師傳)

The master's dharma name was Uisim 義謙, and his pen name was Pungdam, his secular family name was Yu 柳. He was born in Tongjin 通津, and his mother's family name was Jeong 鄭. His mother, Jeong, had a dream in which she swallowed a bead. She became pregnant, and gave birth to a child in 1592 (25th year of King Seonjo of Joseon).

The master became a monk at sixteen and shaved his head under Grand Master Seongsun. He visited Master Woncheol, from whom he received the precepts. Then he met Master Pyeongyang and inherited his dharma. Grand Master Pyeongyang inherited the dharma from Grand Master Cheongheo. He initiated a great dharma assembly at Daedunsa. There were more than two hundred and fifty people who took part in the assembly. In 1665 (6th year of King Hyeonjong of Joseon), when he was about to die at Jeongyangsa 正陽寺 Monastery in the Geumgangsan, he composed this poem.

What a wonder that this spirit,
Is even more fresh on the deathbed.
As there is no change between death and life,
The moon is shining brightly in the autumn sky.

Then he comfortably passed away. After he died, his face still appeared alive. His secular age was seventy-five, and his dharma age was fifty-eight. His disciples received their master's spirit-bone relics and five silver *sarira*. They had a stupa and stele erected. He had about forty-seven disciples.

Jeonggwanjae 靜觀齋 Yi Dansang 李端相¹⁷⁶ composed the epitaph of Pungdam, which was erected at Baekhwaam in the Geumgangsan. Baekju 白洲 Yi Myeonghan 李明漢 composed the inscription for Pyeongyang, which was erected at Baekhwaam. Wolsa 月沙 Yi Jeonggw

李廷龜 composed the epitaph for Cheongheo, which was erected in Baekhwaam. Since Seosan, three generations of the Yi family have composed three epitaphs. The importance of karmic affinity is worth considering.

Jun'gi 俊機 and Doan 道安, the disciples of Pyeonyang, also traveled through the southern part of the country, discovering the country's hidden glare. In order to keep the life and achievements of the master from being forgotten, the stele and the stupa were erected at Daedunsa. The epitaph of the Daedunsa stele was composed by Gim Uhyeong 金宇亨, a *jikjehak* official of the Yemun'gwan.¹⁷⁷

Biography of Seon Master Hae'un (海運禪師傳)

The old Dasan 茶山 (Jeong Yakyong) said:

It has been 169 years since the Seon Master Hae'un passed away. Nothing is known about his secular family name or hometown. However, Yeonpa Hyejang 蓮坡惠藏 (1772–1811) said that he had earlier seen an old record in the master's school, and this is the story.

“When Seon Master Cheongnyeon Woncheol 青蓮圓徹 held a large dharma assembly at Daedunsa, Soyo Taeneung 逍遙太能 also came to Daedunsa. In that year Hae'un Gyeongyeol 海運敬悅, received the robe and alms bowl from Taeneung. By then, he was twenty-eight years old and entered *parinirvāṇa* when he was sixty-eight years old.”

When we analyze the information now, the year Grand Master Cheongnyeon held the assembly was winter of 1607 (40th year of King Seonjo of Joseon). If this is so, Gyeongyeol was born in 1580 (13th year of King Seonjo of Joseon) and entered *parinirvāṇa* in 1646. Grand Master Soyo was forty-six years old when he received the robe and alms bowl from him. When Gyeongyeol entered *parinirvāṇa*, Grand Master Soyo was eighty-five years old. If Grand Master Soyo passed away at the age of eighty-eight, Gyeongyeol must have passed away first. I think that the relationship between the two, teacher and disciple, was as the saying “when good men are seen, one wishes to be like them.”¹⁷⁸

Grand Master Soyo 逍遙 (Wandering Freely) had several hundreds of disciples, but only Gyeongyeol inherited his tradition. Therefore his pen name was Hae'un 海運 (Ocean Transmission). *Hae'un* means that a phoenix flies to the southern sea. Is not a phoenix flying to the south a symbol of wandering freely (*soyo* 逍遙)? Hence, “Hae'un” stands for the transmission of Soyo's dharma. That is why people say Master Soyo transmitted his mind to Master Hae'un.

The disciple who inherited the dharma of Hae'un was Chwiyeo Samu 醉如三愚, Samu's dharma was inherited by Hwaak Munsin 華岳文信. Munsin's dharma was inherited by Seolbong Hoejeong 雪峰懷淨, Hoejeong's dharma was inherited by Songpa Gakhwon 松坡覺曇, Gakhwon's dharma was inherited by Jeongam Jeugwon 晶巖即圓, Jeugwon's dharma was inherited by Yeonpa Hyejang 蓮坡惠藏. Ah! This is the dharma lineage.

This is the inscription:

When the large wings of a phoenix fly to the south,
The waves sound throughout the three thousand *ri*.
If it is not Hae'un, who is roaming there?
His dharma has been transmitted even after that,
A shooting star exploded like a firecracker,
The bright light shone in the vast sky,
The lamp of the truth was lit six times,
Finally, it reached Jeongam and Yeonpa.
If you truly want to find the truth,
Look at the inscription on the stele.

There were about seventeen disciples. Among them, Chwiyeo 醉如 was the best.

Biography of Eminent Master Chwiyeo (醉如宗師傳)

The master's dharma name was Samu 三愚, his pen name was Chwiyeo, and his secular family name was Jeong 鄭. He was a native of Boambang 寶岩坊 in Gangjin-gun 康津郡, Jeollanam-do. He became a monk at an early age and had his head shaved at Baengnyeonsa Monastery in the Mandeoksan 萬德山 Mountain. He visited many Seon masters and thoroughly studied numerous scriptures. He burned the incense in the room (i.e., became a disciple) of the Patriarch Hae'un Gyeongyeol. Gyeongyeol was a disciple of Soyo Taeneung. Chwiyeo's face was red and glossy, Hae'un jokingly nicknamed him Chwiyeoja 醉如子, Drunk-like Boy. He was also said to enchant [*simchui* 心醉, lit. mind-intoxicate] the listener in debates.

There is also a record that when he was teaching the principal doctrines of Hwaeom at Sangwollu 上院樓 Pavilion of Daedunsa, several hundred people were listening to the lecture. A certain monk had put down his farming tools and was resting under that pavilion. When he overheard one or two verses, he achieved awakening at once. He threw away the farming tools, mounted the pavilion, and cried, shedding tears. He confessed all his wrongdoings, repented them, and asked the master to teach him the subtle truths of the Buddhadharma. The master patted him, taught him, and eventually passed the robe and the alms bowl (i.e., the dharma lineage) to him. The monk was Hwaak Munsin.

A long time ago, when Lu Xiangshan 陸象山¹⁷⁹ was teaching in the lecture hall of Ehu 鵝湖 the two concepts “justice” (義) and “benefit” (利), people sitting all around shed tears. Also, the Sixth Patriarch Huineng 慧能 first pounded the rice, but in the end, received the robe and the alms bowl from the fifth patriarch. Therefore, these [former] events are enough to be compared to those wonderful [latter] events. The Grand Master Chwiyeo was born in 1622 (14th year of King

Gwanghaegun of Joseon), and entered *parinirvāṇa* on the fifth day of the sixth month of 1684 (10th year of King Sukjong of Joseon). His eulogy says:

Everyone in the world is drunk, and so seems the master,
Seemingly drunk, he is not drunk; seemingly ignorant, he is not ignorant,
In the dragon's cave, there still is room for fresh air,
The crying dharma assembly is like the one of Ehu,
The one who pounded rice and received the alms bowl was the apprentice
Lu 盧,¹⁸⁰
Waking up from hangover, the cloud-carts are so distant,
The jade stone tortoise-shaped pedestal is shining,
This eulogy was composed by the dharma heir Gieo 旗魚.

The inscription on the master's stupa was composed by the Chief Royal Secretary (都承旨) Han Chieung 韓致應.¹⁸¹ There were about ten disciples, including Hwaak 華岳.

Biography of Eminent Master Woljeo (月渚宗師傳)

The master's dharma name was Doan 道安, and his pen name was Woljeo. His secular family name was Yu 劉, and he was born in Pyeongyang 平壤. His father was Boin 輔仁, and his mother was of the Gim clan. The master was born in 1638 (16th year of King Injo of Joseon) and died in 1715 (41st year of King Sukjong of Joseon). His secular age was seventy-eight years, and his dharma age was sixty-nine years.

Woljeo first received the precepts from Elder Cheonsin 天信, then he visited Grand Master Pungdam 楓潭, and mastered all the secrets of Seosan's dharma lineage. In 1664 (5th year of King Hyeonjong of Joseon), he entered the Myohyangsan and pursued the great meaning of the *Flower Ornament Sutra*. Therefore, the people called him Hwaeom jongju 華嚴宗主, the leader of the Hwaeom school. Whenever he was teaching, no less than several hundred gathered around in audience. Such greatness in a dharma-seat has never been present in recent years. He published various Mahayana scriptures and had them distributed in the monastic community as well as among the laypeople.

In 1697 (23rd year of King Sukjong of Joseon), he was imprisoned after being falsely accused by the people. However, the king had heard of the grand master's fame, and so issued a special order to release him. After that, the master tried to go into hiding, but his fame became more widely known and shook the whole country. Crowds of people headed to Master Woljeo's doorstep as a thirsty person runs to a river. There was none who would return without extinguishing their thirst.

On the day of his death, an auspicious light illuminated the sky. Even hundreds of *ri* away, there was no one who could not see it. After his cremation, three sets of *sarira* were acquired. One was enshrined in a pagoda at the foot of the mountain west of the Bohyeonsa 普賢寺 Monastery, and the two other sets were enshrined at Pyeongyang and Haenam 海南.

Chubung 秋鵬, the disciple who inherited Woljeo's dharma, said of his teacher: "When the teacher expounded the sutras, he did not adhere to details, but made sure we understood the gist. He grasped the teachings of all other schools of thought, great or small, without missing anything." That is how the Grand Master Woljeo truly acted as a grand master.

The epitaph of the grand master was composed by Yi Deoksu 李德壽¹⁸² a *daejehak* official of Hongmun'gwan 弘文館 (Office of Special Advisors). There are thirty-nine disciples recorded in the "Ganghoe-rok" 講會錄, a record of the large assembly which had taken place at Daedunsa. The stele of the grand master is in Daedunsa.

Biographies of Eastern Masters
Volume 3

Biography of Patriarch Hwaak (華岳祖師傳)

The patriarch's dharma name was Munsin 文信, his pen name was Hwaak, his secular family name was Gim 金, and he was born in Hwasan 華山 in Haenam 海南.

He became a monk and had his head shaved at Daedunsa. Looking back, he was from a simple background and was illiterate. He managed to earn his living by selling farming tools. One day he was so tired that he arrived under Sangwollu 上院樓 Pavilion, put down his farming tools, and was taking a rest. At that moment, the Seon Master Chwiyeo Samu had gathered an assembly and was expounding on the *Hwaeom gyeong*, the *Flower Ornament Sutra*. When he overheard a passage or two from the pavilion, he immediately attained sudden awakening (頓悟). He handed the farming tools over to his friend and went up to the pavilion. Kneeling in tears, he begged the master to teach him the truths of the Buddhadharma. Grand Master Samu considered it wondrous and granted him the wish. The people, who on that day had gathered from all over and listened to the lecture, were amazed.

For three years, every night Master Hwaak lit a fire with pinecones he had gathered and read until five o'clock in the morning. All the fellow practitioners who were studying together fell behind. The master left Daedunsa and traveled around the country like a cloud, visiting various famous monasteries, paying respects to great teachers, and gaining *in'ga* certification from them.

When he completed his studies, he inherited the dharma from Master Chwiyeo 醉如 during an incense-burning ceremony in Chwiyeo's quarters. Then, crowds of people came to his doorstep, wishing to study under him. Hundreds of people gathered on the days when he was lecturing at Daedunsa. Seon Master Woljeo 月渚 (1638–1715), who was famous in the north at that time, came to Daedunsa in the south. After Hwaak discussed the gist of Seon with him, he considered

him worthy of becoming a “leader of the school.” Then he conceded the assembly of his followers to Grand Master Woljeo and withdrew. The assembly was astonished and shocked. However, the master turned to the assembly, saying, “You cannot understand it.”

Then he retreated to a small room, locked the door, and was cultivating the Way while facing the wall (面壁)¹⁸³ (i.e. meditating) until the Hwaeom assembly of Woljeo was over. When the Grand Master Woljeo finished the meeting, he returned to the Myohyangsan and said to the people, “I went to the south and met the living bodhisattva there.”

Master Hwaak was born in 1629 (7th year of King Injo of Joseon) and passed away on the twenty-sixth day of the sixth month of 1707 (39th year of King Sukjong of Joseon). His secular age was seventy-nine. It is said that when he was about to enter *parinirvāṇa*, thunder was heard on Duryunsan. After his cremation, two pieces of *śarīra* were collected. The master’s epitaph reads:

The weeping of a farming-tool vendor,
Echoes in the forest,
Cicadas are chirping,
Shed their skin and sing.
The dharma of [Hongren of] Mountain Huangmei
Went to the rice pounder [Huineng].
Facing the wall in the forest,
Took over the lecturing hall,
Good that he received it,
Who, if not him?
He could not surpass him,
Called him the living Buddha.
Seolbong Hoejeong 雪峰懷淨, Songpa Gakhwon 松坡覺喧,
Jeongam Jeugwon 晶巖即圓, Yeonpa Hyejang 蓮坡惠藏
Transmitted the lamp of the dharma,
Flourishing for five generations,
A hundred years passed,

By this inscription,
Following this gatha,
May the future generations be guided.

Han Chieung 韓致應 composed the inscription. He had twenty-one disciples, including Seolbong 雪峰 and Byeokha 碧霞. The master's portrait is enshrined in the portrait shrine of the upper monastery of Daeheungsa (originally Daedunsa).

Biography of Eminent Master Seoram (雪巖宗師傳)

The patriarch's dharma name was Chubung 秋鵬, his pen name was Seoram, and his secular family name was Gim 金. He was born in Gangdong 江東 [Pyeongannam-do]. The master was slim. His slender figure showed no sign of excellence, but his two bright eyes pierced through anyone. His ascetic practice was admirable. He treated all people equally, regardless of their status.

In debates, he was sharp and passionate as a spark or an endless spring of water. Initially, he had his head shaved under Elder Jongan 宗眼. When he became a monk, he visited Seon Master Byeokgye Gu'i 碧溪九二, made obeisance and studied the scriptures while drawing water and pounding grain.

Then Seoram visited Grand Master Woljeo Doan 月渚道安, and made obeisance. Even though it was difficult for them to meet, there was absolutely no disagreement between the two. When Daoan realized that Seoram had excellent abilities, and was worthy of inheriting the dharma, he accepted him as a disciple and passed on the robe and alms bowl to him. Seoram soon traveled to the southern part of the country, and when all the monks in the south heard about his reputation, they became deeply absorbed in his teachings.

The master entered *parinirvāṇa* on the fifth day of the eighth month of 1706 (32nd year of King Sukjong of Joseon). He was born on the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month of 1651 (2nd year of King Hyojong of Joseon), so his secular age was fifty-six. Five pieces of *sarīra* were collected after the cremation. They were enshrined in stupas erected in Jinggwangsa 澄光寺 Monastery in Nagan 樂安 and Daedunsa in Haenam. His writings include *gwamun* 科文 and *sagi* 私記 commentaries to *Preface to the Collection of Chan Sources (Chanyuan zhuquan ji duxu 禪源諸詮集都序)* and *Excerpts from the Dharma Collection and Special Practice (Beopjip byeolhaengnok jeoryeo 法集私記)*.

別行錄節要), which are circulating among the people. The record about the large assembly held in Baekseoldang of Daedunsa is contained in the “Records of the Lecture Assembly” (Ganghoe-rok 講會錄). The epitaph of the grand master was composed by Yi Deoksu 李德壽 a *daejejak* official of the Hongmun'gwan. The master had thirty-four disciples.

Biography of Eminent Master Hwanseong (喚醒宗師傳)

The Seon master's dharma name was Jian 志安. The following story happened when the master was at Cheongpyeongsa 清平寺 Monastery in Chuncheon 春川. There was a pond called Yeongji 影池 (Reflecting Pond) under the pavilion within the monastery precinct. Mud had long since filled it. While restoring the pond, a small stele was discovered. The inscription read *yuchung gwanbu cheolli nae* 儒衷冠婦千里來. This is how the writing is interpreted: The “scholar’s heart” (儒衷) means “*ji*” 志 (will), “a wife wearing a hat” (冠婦) means “*an*” 安 (peace), “a thousand *rr*” (千里) means “*jung*” 重 (again). Altogether this means, “A person named Jian returns here.” This is why Hwanseong’s dharma name is Jian.

Hwanseong was staying at Daedunsa in Haenam. One day he was arranging the offerings before the Buddha. A strange voice called to him thrice and Hwanseong also answered thrice. Therefore his pen name became Hwanseong (lit. to rise with a call) and his courtesy name (字) was Samnak 三諾, meaning that he answered three times.

The master’s secular family name was Jeong 鄭, and he was born in Chuncheon in 1664 (5th year of King Hyeonjong of Joseon). At the age of fifteen, he had his head shaved at Yongmunsa 龍門寺 Monastery on Mijisan 彌智山 Mountain and received the full precepts from Sangbong Jeongwon 霜峰淨源. When he was seventeen years old, he sought dharma by Master Woldam, who immediately realized that [Hwanseong] would be a great vessel. Therefore, he passed on the robe and the alms bowl to him. The master’s physique was strong and solemn, and his voice numinous and bright. His speech was concise, and his face always mild. He was always so absorbed in studying the scriptures that he forgot to eat and sleep.

At the age of twenty-seven, he heard that Grand Master Moun Jineon 慕雲震言 (1622–1703) held a dharma assembly at Jikjisa 直指寺

Monastery at Geumsan 金山 (today's Gimcheon). Moun was greatly moved by Hwanseong's learning ability and virtue. He spoke to his hundreds of disciples, saying, "I have abandoned the lion's seat and am leaving. You will accept this monk as your teacher now." Then he yielded the seat to Hwanseong and secretly left for another mountain.

At last, Hwanseong went before the assembly and preached the dharma without restrictions, like the freely running river. The assembly listened to his sermons and were awakened by them. Because of that, monks from all over gathered like clouds.

This happened one day when he was staying at Jirisan. A sage appeared before him and said, "Master, leave this place as soon as possible," and then suddenly disappeared. A few days later the place was destroyed by fire.

This happened when he was staying at Jeongyangsa 正陽寺 Monastery on Geumgangsan. One day there was heavy rain, and the grand master left the place in traveling attire. A wealthy family living under the mountains invited him to their home, but instead of going there, the monk went into a small house nearby and stayed there. That night, the house of the wealthy family was entirely washed away by the waters.

In 1725, a large dharma assembly was held at Geumsansa Monastery. As many as 1,500 people gathered. In 1729 (5th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), (when the master was sixty-six years old), a person who was jealous of him because of the assembly had him arrested at Jirisan and confined to a prison in Honam. Soon after, he was released, but a senior provincial official strongly opposed the release, and the master was exiled to Jejudo island.

On the seventh day of the seventh month, only seven days after his arrival on Jejudo, he suddenly entered *parinirvāṇa*. For three days and three nights, the mountains and streams shed tears, and the seawater was boiling. People there said there was a prophecy that three saints would come to Tamna (Jeju), and Hwanseong was one of them. The text about the three sages was inscribed on the back of a stone Buddha atop Hallasan Mountain.

The three sages will enter nirvana here. One of them will be Zhengfa Bodhisattva (正法菩薩, True Dharma Bodhisattva) of China, who will arrive here, live here, and enter *parinirvāṇa*. The other one will be Venerable Heo'eung 虞應 [Bou 普雨] from the Eastern Country (Dongguk), who will arrive here and enter *parinirvāṇa*. The third one will be Venerable Hwanseong, who will be exiled here and enter *parinirvāṇa*.

The master's writings include *Essentials of the Five Seon Schools* (*Seonmun ojong gangyo* 禪門五宗綱要) published in one volume and *Collected Works* (*Munjip* 文集, i.e., *Hwanseong sijip* 喚醒詩集 [Collected Poems of Hwanseong]) in three volumes. He had thirty-three disciples. His secular age was sixty-six years; his dharma age was fifty-one.

The epitaph was composed by the Minister (*panseo* 判書) of the Ministry of Personnel (吏曹) Hong Gye-hui 洪啓禧.¹⁸⁴ The stele and stupa are at Daedunsa on Duryunsan.

Biography of Eminent Master Byeokha (碧霞宗師傳)

The master's dharma name was Dae'u 大愚, and his pen name was Byeokha. His secular family name was Bak 朴. He was a native of Yeongam 靈岩 (Jeollanam-do). His mother was of the Yi 李 clan. One day, the master's mother dreamed of blue-colored birds gathering over her shoulders, and a blue sun setting into her bosom. She became pregnant and gave birth to the master. Later, the master heard birds cry and decided to become a monk. Therefore his pen name was Byeokha (Blue Sunset).

The monk shaved his head under the Elder Joyeon 照淵, learned the scriptures under Grand Master Hwaak 華岳, received the dharma of Seon from Grand Master Hwanseong 嘵醒, and received the transmission of vinaya from the Seon Master Goap 孤鴨. These five masters were all fifth-generation dharma heirs of Seosan.

It is said that the master's physique was too tall and stern to be easily approached by people and that he did not lose his fortitude and was confident no matter what difficulties he faced. Had a ferocious tiger appeared before him, his heart would not have shaken in the slightest. He studied the teaching of the scriptures and used his spare time to learn about the teachings of other schools of thought and to read history books. In his later years, he would always have a book in his hands because he enjoyed Seon poetry. He said that there were occasional mistakes in the Gugok's Stories [of the Compilation of] Examinations of and Verses on Ancient Precedents (*Seonmun yeomsong seolhwa* 禪門拈頌說話), and corrected it with his brush and words right away, never resting until his old age.

Master Hwanseong composed the following poem.

The Grand Master of the East,
Is the Elder Byeokha.

All the water in the rivers ten thousand *ri* to the West,
He swallowed at once.

The master had white hair between the eyebrows, which was strange to everyone who saw it. The appearance of the master's face made those looking straight at him tremble. Those who revered him and asked for his teaching lost their useless thoughts and without even knowing it.

At the time of his death, he raised his brush to compose a poem.

Life is about being stuck far from home,
Death is about going back,
For white clouds which come and go,
It is the usual thing.

He finished the poem, put down the brush, sat quietly and passed away. The master was born in 1676 (2nd year of King Sukjong of Joseon) and died in the sixth month of 1763 (39th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon). His secular age was eighty-eight. After his cremation, one piece of relic was collected. Yi Uigyeong of Seja igwisa¹⁸⁵ composed the master's epitaph. He had four or five disciples, including Hyeonam 玄岩 and Chaemi 采微.

Biography of Eminent Master Sangwol (霜月宗師傳)

The master's dharma name was Saebong 豊封, his pen name was Sangwol, and his secular family name was Son 孫. He was born in 1687 (13th year of King Sukjong of Joseon) in Suncheon, Jeollanam-do. At the age of eleven, he became a monk under Elder Geukjun 極俊 at Seonamsa 仙巖寺 Monastery on Jogyesan Mountain. At the age of sixteen, he received the full precepts from Grand Master Munsin, and at the age of eighteen, he visited Master Seoram to study under him. He attained the Way, and received the robe and the alms bowl from him. Then he met several masters, including Byeokheo 碧虛, Namak 南岳, Hwanseong 喚醒, and Yeonhwa 蓮花, and received the mind-seal (心印) from all of them. At the age of twenty-seven, he returned home to Jogyesan, and monks flocked from all directions to meet him. When teaching, the grand master was always clear and articulate, his exegesis was never superfluous, and he always put awakened wisdom into practice.

The master did not neglect the path of awakening of novices; neither did he neglect the recklessness in terms of the vinaya of the advanced and talented. Furthermore, he was worried about being restrained by the annotations and explanations of the ancient scholars. Therefore, he instructed students not to be bound by texts, but rather to search for meaning and look for the source (本源). In the spring of 1734 (10th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), he lived at Seonamsa and held a lecture assembly on the *Flower Ornament Sutra*.

In the “Record of the Lecture Assembly on the *Flower Ornament Sutra*” (Dachoe-rok 大會錄) is the following record:

This is the record of the participants who gathered at the great assembly at Sangwoldang, Seonamsa on the sixteenth day of the third month of the nineteenth year of Qianlong of Qing (1754, 30th year of King Yeongjo of

Joseon).

Upper Room (上室): eminent masters (宗師) 19, student monks (學人) 56, ritual singers (魚山)¹⁸⁶ 3, neophytes (小童) 16

Jijang Hall (地藏殿): eminent masters 24, student monks 56, ritual singers 2, neophytes (童子) 9

Seon Shrine (禪堂): eminent masters 24, student monks 93, ritual singers 1, neophytes 7

Sangha Shrine (僧堂): eminent masters 16, student monks 60, ritual singers 1, neophytes 15

Eastern Upper Room (東上室): eminent masters 12, student monks 49, ritual singers 1, neophytes 2

Clear Mirror Shrine (明鏡堂): eminent masters 33, student monks 78, ritual singers 7, neophytes 18

Gwaneum Hall (觀音殿): eminent masters 23, student monks 180, ritual singers 2, neophytes 5

Seven Hall (七殿): eminent masters 7, chief monks (首座) 217

Thousand Buddha Hall (千佛殿) · **Aśoka Shrine** (無憂堂): ritual singers 50

Self-Enjoyment Shrine (獨樂堂): laywomen (優婆夷) 150

Back Shrine (背面堂): nuns (比丘尼) 44

The total number of participants gathered was 1,287, including 158 eminent monks, 519 student monks, 69 ritual singers, and 74 neophytes.

There were five lecture subjects. The first was “The Chapter on The Wonderful Adornments of the Leaders of the Worlds” (世主妙嚴品) of the *Flower Ornament Sutra* presented by Hwail Hyeon’gan 華日玄侃. The second was “The Chapter on the Ten Stages” (十地品) presented by Yeondam YUIL 蓮潭有一. The third was *Compilation of Examinations of and Verses on Ancient Precedents* (禪門拈頌) presented by Yongdam Jogwan 龍潭慥冠. The fourth was the *Lotus Sutra* presented by Yongam Jeungsuk 龍岩增肅. The fifth was the *Diamond Sutra*, presented by Duwol Cheongan 斗月晴岸.

The assembly began on the sixteenth day of the third month and

ended on the third day of the fourth month. He also held a large assembly in Cheongpungnyo 清風寮 Hall of Daedunsa.

In the tenth month of 1767 (43rd year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), Sangwol composed a poem when he had mild symptoms of illness.

The water flows back to the original sea,
The moon never leaves the sky.

Then he contentedly followed the natural course of things (順世) (i.e., died). His secular age was eighty-one years. He was cremated, but nothing (i.e., no *śarīra*) was found. However, when monk Takjun 卓濬 received his remains and carried them to the Myohyangsan in the Gwanseo region intending to perform the first memorial rite, he discovered three round *śarīra* with holes. A stupa was erected in the Odosan 悟道山 Mountain, and one of the *śarīra* was enshrined there. The other two were enshrined in Seonamsa and Daedunsa.

A stele was erected in Duryunsan. Beonam 樊巖 Chae Jegong 蔡濟恭,¹⁸⁷ a *jehak* scholar of the Gyujanggak 奎章閣, composed the epitaph. He had thirty-two disciples, and among them Yongdam 龍潭, Haewol 海月, and Hwawol 華月 gained fame.

Biography of Eminent Master Hoam (虎巖宗師傳)

The master's dharma name was Chejeong 體淨, his pen name was Hoam, and his family name was Gim 金. He was a native of Heungyang (Gochang-gun in Jeollabuk-do). He was born in 1687 (13th year of King Sukjong of Joseon) and entered *parinirvāṇa* in 1748 (24th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon). His secular age was sixty-two, his dharma age was forty-seven.

He inherited the dharma lineage of Hwanseong, and dwelled mainly at Haeinsa Monastery in Hapcheon and Tongdosa Monastery in Yangsan. There were always hundreds of monks who followed him to study by him. As he grew older, he used to avoid the public, sit down in peace, and practice analytical meditation (觀).

In the third month of 1748, he was asked to take part in the consecration ceremony for fifty-three Buddha statues on Janggusan Mountain in Gangwon-do. The master agreed. When he was about to depart, he called in Yeondam Yuil 蓮潭有一, and said, "See to it that you carry on my work well and preserve my dharma. Study diligently and carefully practice the teaching, so our dharma lineage will not be interrupted. I am leaving, hoping that we will meet again, so I am giving you a token of wisdom."

Then he went to the Naewontongam 內圓通庵 Hermitage at Pyohunsa 表訓寺 Monastery and there composed a poem.

In lectures on dharma, many mistakes were made.
 Pointing to the west, saying it is east.
 This morning, I could not stop laughing,
 I am leaving for the City of Fragrances.¹⁸⁸

Then he laid down the brush and passed away.

When the master was barely old enough to walk, a fire broke out

in his house, burning it down completely. He escaped from the house without anyone helping him. When he grew older, he fell into the water while crossing a large river, and he rose above the surface and survived once again. Later, he encountered a tiger on the way to the mountains and survived by hiding in a cave. It seems he was able to escape these three dangers because he surely was a remarkable person who had inherited the robe and alms bowl of Hwanseong Jian and preserved the dharma of Cheongheo Hyujeong. He held a large lecture assembly on the *Flower Ornament Sutra* at Jeongjindang 精進堂 Shrine in the Duryunsan. His stupa and a stele are there. The minister (*panseo* 判書) of the Ministry of Personnel (吏曹), Hong Gyehui, composed his epitaph. A portrait of the master is still there. The master's disciple Yuil composed the eulogy.

His body is a pennant of the bright light,
And his mind is a storehouse of spiritual powers,
The eyes are clear like a great ocean,
And the eyebrow is long three thousand *jang*.
Spreading a net in the sky,
Catching millions of dragons and elephants (i.e., Grand Masters),
One morning, he left for Geumgangsan,
The twelve thousand peaks are the true body of the Buddha.

He had thirty-one disciples. Ten of them shook the mountains and rivers.

Biography of Eminent Master Hamwol (涵月宗師傳)

The master's dharma name was Haewon 海源, and his courtesy name was Cheon'gyeong 天鏡, the pen name was Hamwol. His secular family name was Yi 李, and the family place of origin was Wansan 完山. He was a native of Hamheung 咸興. His mother was from the Jo 趙 clan. She dreamt about a large fish, became pregnant, and gave birth to a child more than ten months later.

At the age of fourteen, he shaved his head and became a monk at the Dochangsa 道昌寺 Monastery. Afterward, he searched for virtuous teachers with high reputations and studied under them. After some time, he became a disciple of Hwanseong and learned all the subtle teachings of his tradition. He cultivated the Way night and day, strictly followed the vinaya and awoke before the rooster crowed.

Every year, he would go south and spread his teaching, like wild geese announce a new season. That was the master's faith. When he saw that people were hungry and cold, he shared his clothes and food. That was the master's compassion. When the master became ill, he gathered the disciples, composed a poem, and gave it to them. Then he chanted the name of the buddhas, and peacefully passed away. That was the master's realization.

The master was born in 1691 (17th year of King Sukjong of Joseon) and died in 1770 (46th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon). His secular age was eighty years. The master was the successor of Hwanseong Jian, from whom he received the robe and alms bowl. For the more than forty years after becoming the disciple of Master Hwanseong, he never neglected the intensive practice and was exceptionally diligent in lecturing on the doctrine. When, during his life, he lost a molar, *sarira* came out.

After his cremation, the disciples collected the *sarira*, erected a stupa at Seogwangsa, and enshrined them there. The master's stele was

erected at Daedunsa, where the large Hwaeom assembly was held. The epitaph was composed by *yeonguijeong*, the chief state councilor, Gim Sangbok 金相福.¹⁸⁹

He had twenty-four disciples. Among them, the scent of Masters Wanwol 玩月 and Yeongpa 影波 filled the mountains in all directions. The master's portrait is enshrined in two places, in the Seolbongsan and Duryunsan. Every year on the anniversary of his death a ceremony is performed there.

Biography of Lecturer Naam (懶庵講師傳)

The master's dharma name was Seungje 勝濟, his pen name was Naam. He was born in a village near Ssangbongsa 雙峯寺 Monastery in Neungju 綾州 (Hwasun-gun, Neungju-myeon). Since he inherited the dharma tradition of Seoldam Jau 雪潭自優, he was a second-generation successor of Mo'eun Jihun 暮隱智薰, third-generation successor of Hwawol Hyeonok 華月玄玉, fourth-generation successor of Jewol Su'il 霽月守一, and a descendant of Soyo Taeneung 逍遙太能.

One day, there was a large lecture assembly on the *Flower Ornament Sutra* held at Jeongjindang 精進堂 Shrine in the Duryunsan 頭輪山. A large crowd of several hundreds of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen gathered. Jahong 慈弘 said, “Seon Master Naam learned the four teachings (*Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*, *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, *Awakening of Faith*, *Sūraṅgama-sūtra*) from Seoldam (dharma name Jau) and the *Flower Ornament Sutra* from Seolpa (dharma name Sangeon 常彦). Seon Master Naam received an *in'ga* acknowledgment from Master Seolpa. The harmony between the master and the disciple was as fortunate as a mustard seed falling from the sky hitting the point of a needle.”

The master went accidentally to the main monastery (Daedunsa) and entered the chamber (i.e., became an advanced disciple) of Seoldam and inherited his dharma tradition. Because of such connection, when a lecture assembly was held at Daedunsa, many of those, who wanted to study, gathered. Also, the so-called Three Dam (三潭), Chundam Mongin 春潭夢忍, Hwadam Yeonggyu 花潭永圭, and Undam Daeil 雲潭大日, studied under him.

In his later days, Naam went back to Jirisan because he could not forget Master Seolpa. As the master left suddenly, the Three Dam became advanced disciples of Seoldam. Soon after, Naam became ill, returned to the west, and calmly entered *parinirvāṇa* at the monastery.

The Three Dam were very saddened by this.

Later generations should know that Naam's teaching skills were vastly superior to those of any other monk. The one-volume *Collected Works of Seoldam* (*Seoldam jip* 雪潭集), also known as *Records of Dream Travels* (*Mongyu-rok* 夢遊錄), is in circulation among the monastic community.¹⁹⁰ All Three Dam became great teachers and the people of those days used to say, "All disciples from the three southern provinces (Chungcheong-do, Honam or Jeolla-do, and Yeongnam or Gyeongsang-do) take refuge in the Three Dam." The master had five disciples, out of which Chun'gye Jeogam was from Duryunsan.

Biographies of Eastern Masters
Volume 4

Biography of Eminent Master Yeondam (蓮潭宗師傳)

The master's dharma name was Yul 有一, his courtesy name was Mu'i 無二, and his pen name was Yeondam. His secular family name was Cheon 千. He was born in Hwasun 和順. He lost his father early and relied on the mother.

At the age of eighteen, he became a monk under Master Seong-cheol 性哲 and received the full precepts from Master Anbin 安賓. After that, he visited Master Hoam of Haeinsa, served him for several years, and received his secret doctrine.

Yeondam visited the ten greatest dharma masters, Yeongheo 靈虛, Byeokha 碧霞, Yongam 龍岩, Yeonggok 靈谷, Hoam 虎岩, Seolpa 雪坡, Pungam 楓岩, Sangwol 霜月, Yongdam 龍潭, and Yeonghae 影海, and studied under them and realized their teachings. Moreover, he shared the teachings and practiced together with his fellow student Seolpa Sangeon 雪坡常彦. For more than thirty years, he held about fifteen lectures in the lecture hall of the *Flower Ornament Sutra*, and the number of his disciples reached almost a hundred.

The master was born on the thirtieth day of the fourth month of 1720 (46th year of King Sukjong of Joseon) and entered *parinirvāṇa* at around two o'clock in the afternoon of the third day of the second month of 1799 (23rd year of King Jeongjo of Joseon) at the Samseongam 三聖庵 Hermitage of Borimsa 寶林寺 Monastery in Jangheung 長興. His secular age was eighty years, and his sangha age was sixty-two.

For future scholars, he annotated each volume of the fourfold collection (*sajip* 四集) [of the monastic curriculum]. He wrote the single-volume commentary, *Snake's Legs of the Awakening of Faith* (*Gisin sajok* 起信蛇足), the single-volume *Annotated Commentary on the Diamond Sutra* (*Geumgang hamok* 金剛鰯目), the two-volume *Commentary on the Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Won'gak sagi*

圓覺私記), the two-volume *Commentary on the Profound Theories* (*Hyeondam sagi* 玄談私記) and the five-volume *Forgotten [Passages] of the Flower Ornament Sutra* (*Hwaeom yumang gi* 華嚴遺忘記)—both commentaries on the *Flower Ornament Sutra*—as well as the single-volume *Compendium of Sutras* (*Jegyeong hoeyo* 諸經會要), two-volume *Handbook to Examinations of and Verses on Ancient Precedents* (*Yeomsong chakbyeong* 扈頑着柄), and a four-volume collection of texts titled *Records from Under the Grove* (*Imha-rok* 林下錄). All the books were published and are circulated among the people.

The stupas of Grand Master Yeondam are at Daedunsa, Mihwangsa 美黃寺, and Beopcheonsa 法泉寺 monasteries. This is so because there was a large dharma assembly held at Daedunsa in 1760 (36th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), and another large dharma assembly was held at Mihwangsa in 1768.

The master was simple-hearted, honest, and open. Even though he was revered as one of the greatest patriarchs of his generation, he was never arrogant toward others, nor was he boastful. From an early age, he was intelligent and brilliant. He read a wide range of books and was able to memorize their content at a glance.

He perfectly grasped the doctrine, so he was always able to interpret aspects that were difficult to understand due to their subtle meanings and to explain the nuances that the students questioned and found challenging. Whenever he lifted a brush, poems came out naturally, beautiful just by his natural talent, without any need to intentionally correct or amend them. When teaching the students, he delivered sermons according to their abilities, so that everyone could grasp the teaching. It can be inferred that these were the words of a virtuous man.

I, (Yi Chungik 李忠翊),¹⁹¹ have never seen the face of the master. However, I have heard much about the master from his disciples and followers whom I often meet. Recently, I obtained the collection of his works. When I read his writings, it seems to me that I can see his innermost thoughts in detail because not only does he highlight his good side, but he also reveals his weaknesses. His virtue was even greater than

his abilities. His excellent character never harmed the Way. He revered the saints of Confucianism, the Duke of Zhou, and Kongzi (Confucius). He widely spread the teachings on ethics and loyalty, not restraining himself to any particular teaching.

The stele of the grand master was erected on Duryunsan, and the inscription was composed by layman (*geosa* 居士) Sugwan 水觀 Yi Chungik. Forty-two disciples inherited the dharma of Seon, and thirty-three disciples inherited the dharma of Gyo. The master's portraits are enshrined on Duryunsan and at Baegyangsa Monastery. Chancellor (*jeongseung* 政丞) Beonam 樊巖 Chae Jegong 蔡濟恭 and Principle Drafter (*gyori* 校理) Yi Damwon 李聃園 composed eulogies to the master's portraits.

Biography of Lecturer Wanho (玩虎講師傳)

The master's dharma name was Yunu 倫佑, his courtesy name was Samyeo 三如, and his pen name was Wanho. His father's name was Sitaek 時澤, and his secular family name was Gim 金. The master was born in Byeoljin 別津 in Haenam-gun 海南郡. At the age of thirteen, he shaved his head and became a monk on Duryunsan under Elder Seoil 瑞日, whom he took as a teacher. At the age of seventeen, after he received the full precepts, he studied the scriptures under Dharma Master Baengnyeon 白蓮. He visited Patriarch Yeondam 蓮潭, from whom he learned the practices of Seon meditation and repentance. He inherited the robe and bowl of Dharma Master Baengnyeon.

He stayed at Ilbongam 日封庵 Hermitage of Bulhosa 佛護寺 Monastery in 1795 (19th year of King Jeongjo of Joseon) and at Bohyeonam 普賢庵 and Seounam 瑞雲庵 hermitages of Ssanggyesa 雙溪寺 Monastery in Naju in 1796. In the summer of 1797, he moved to the Hadongam 下東庵 Hermitage of Dogapsa 道甲寺 Monastery. He was invited to take charge of the lecture assembly, so he returned to his home monastery in 1798. During the winter, he taught and guided the practice of more than a hundred scholars who gathered in Cheongpungnyo 清風寮. In the first month of 1799, he moved to Sangwonam 上院庵 Hermitage and lived there. Around this time, Grand Master Eunam became his advanced student, and the master yielded the lecture site to him. In the ninth month of that year, Wanho accepted an invitation from Mihwangsa 美黃寺 Monastery and moved to Jungam 中庵 Hermitage to live there. In 1800, the home monastery invited him back to Namam 南庵 Hermitage to repair the interior painting¹⁹² of the Daebojeon 大寶殿, the Hall of the Great Jewel.

In the third month of 1802 (2nd year of King Sunjo of Joseon), he went to Yongcheonsa 龍泉寺 Monastery in Hampyeong and stayed at the Yongmunam 龍門庵 Hermitage. In the twelfth month, he moved

to the Gwaneumjeon 觀音殿 Hall of Unheungsa 雲興寺 Monastery in Nampyeong 南平. In the spring of 1803, he went to the capital together with monk Hwanbong 煥峯 and monk Yeocheok 如惆 from Mihwangsa, purchased a stone, and erected a stele of Grand Master Yeondam. In 1804, he moved to Eunseonam 隱仙庵 Hermitage of Ssanggyesa in Naju, where he spent the summer at Munsuam 文殊庵 Hermitage. In the winter of 1805, he stayed in Dongam 東菴 Hermitage of Borimsa. In the spring of 1807, he performed a robe donation ceremony at the Cheongundang Shrine. As Master Baengnyeon entered *parinirvāṇa* on the third day of the fourth month, he attended the funeral service and wailed. In the winter of 1808, he was invited by Master Nangam 朗岩 of Daedunsa to take part in a sutra lecture assembly, went there, and returned to Ilbongam in the first month of 1809.

In 1810, he stayed at Bohyeonam 普賢庵 Hermitage of Yongheungsa 龍興寺 Monastery, located in Changpyeong. In the second month of 1811, a commander of Garipo arrived at the monastery at night. Three of his aides entered the warehouse with torches. They unintentionally dropped an ember and caused a fire. The fire broke out in the Gaheoru 駕虛樓 Pavilion. After the pavilion, the flames consumed Cheonbuljeon Hall, Daejangjeon Hall, Yonghwadang Hall, Palhaedang Shrine, Jeokjodang Shrine, Jijangjeon Hall, Yaksajeon Hall, and Hyangnojeon Hall and nine residential and facility buildings overnight. The master carried around a fundraising note¹⁹³ he wrote himself and restored the buildings one by one.

In the spring of 1812, he performed a ritual during which monk Houi entered his chamber (i.e., became his advanced disciple). In 1817, he went up to the capital to find a painter. Then he went down to Girimsa 祇林寺 Monastery in Gyeongju to carry out extensive construction activities. By then, three lights and three discharges of auspicious energy were seen in the course of three months. In the ninth month of that year, one thousand buddha statues were created, and the eye-dotting consecration ceremony was performed. Then, on the sixteenth day of the eleventh month, they loaded seven hundred statues on a large ship. Dharma Master Inbong and the painter, Grand

Master Punggye, embarked on the ship. Three hundred statues were loaded on a small ship upon which Master Houi embarked. When they reached Oryukdo Island in Dongnae, they were caught in a typhoon, and the small ship returned to the coast, but the big ship drifted and, after eleven days, landed at Chikuzen 筑前 near Nagasaki in Japan. The following year, he left Japan by ship on the seventeenth day of the sixth month of 1818, and after eleven days at sea, reached Busanjin. On the fourteenth day of the seventh month, the ship finally reached Daejingang 大津江 River in Wondong 院洞 on Wando 莊島 Island. On the fifteenth day, he continued up to the monastery. On the fifteenth day of the eighth month, he enshrined a thousand buddhas in a newly built dharma hall. The buddha statues, which were adrift after being hit by a typhoon and came back through Japan, were marked with the character *il* 日 (sun, Japan) on their shoulders.

Master Wanho retired and stayed at the Hansanjeon 寒山殿 Hermitage.¹⁹⁴ In the autumn of 1826, he dreamt of a group of sixteen monks who came by, and said, “We heard that you were going somewhere, so we came to bid you farewell.” When the master woke up, he said, “Seeing the arhats who came to say goodbye means the end of my life is near.” He entered *parinirvāṇa* on the twenty-third day of the eighth month at Hansanjeon. His secular age was sixty-nine, and his sangha age was fifty-three.

When he was staying in Yeongwonsa Monastery, he heard these words in his dream: “The past, as it was, is suchness. The present, as it is, is suchness. The future, as it will be, will be suchness.” As he heard these words, his courtesy name became Samyeo 三如 (Threefold Suchness). There is no doubt that due to the wholesome roots (善根) of the master, he acquired the seal of true suchness of all buddhas for the sake of the future sentient beings.

The monk never purchased land in his life and was never fastidious about food until the day he died. There were about twenty disciples to whom he transmitted the teaching of Seon, about ten disciples to whom he transmitted the doctrinal teaching, and as many as eighty disciples to whom he taught the vinaya.

The state posthumously bestowed on the master the title, Leading Lecturer of Hwaeom and the Two Schools of Seon and Gyo. He was an outstanding lecturer who certainly deserved such a title. First, a stupa was built on the left side of Duryunsan, after some time, a stele was erected on the right side of the stupa. The epitaph was composed by Minister (*sangguk* 相國) Gwon Donin 權敦仁.¹⁹⁵ A *yeonggak* (portrait pavilion) was built in the valley east of Daedunsa, and the master's portrait was enshrined there.

Biography of Lecturer Yeonpa (蓮坡講師傳)

The master's dharma name was Hyejang 惠藏, and his pen name was Yeonpa. He was also called Aam 兒庵. Master Yeonpa was a descendant in the lineage from Seolbong 雪峰, the primary disciple of Master Songpa 松坡 and the dharma successor of Jeongam 晶岩. When he held the great Hwaeom assembly at Cheongpungnyo 清風寮 on Duryunsan, he was only thirty years old.

The epitaph written by Dasan includes the following record.

Aam's original pen name was Yeonpa. Among the twelve eminent masters (宗師) of Daedunsa, Yeondam was the twelfth, and the last. Also, among the twelve lecturers, Yeonpa was the twelfth, and the last. However, being last does not mean he would be falling behind. It means that the flower had bloomed. Elder Yeondam is the Great Lotus. Eminent monk Yeonpa is the Lesser Lotus.

The stupa inscription states the following:

Aam was from the Gim 金 family, and Hyejang was his dharma name. His courtesy name was Mujin 無盡, and his original pen name was Yeonpa. He was a native of Hwasanbang 華山坊 in Saegeum-hyeon 塞榮縣. At an early age, he shaved his head and became a monk in Daedunsa. He received the full precepts from Wolsong Jaegwan 月松再觀, and received advanced training from Chun'gye Cheonmuk 春溪天默. Master Cheonmuk was also versed in non-Buddhist texts. Aam was a man of refined wisdom. Only a few years after commencing his studies, he was already well known among the monks. He widely studied the Buddhist scriptures, serving Yeondam YUIL 蓮潭有一 and later Undam Jeongil 雲潭鼎勗. At the age of twenty-seven, under Master Jeongam Jeugwon 晶巖即圓, Master Aam burned incense and succeeded him as the head of

the Buddhist sect. Master Jeongam was a successor of Master Soyo 逍遙, and as such, he was the heir of Hwaak Munsin 華岳文信.

Master Aam learned the scriptures from various teachers. Although he used to listen to the lectures with his head down, he would say “wrong” (*bi* 呸) when he left the door. *Bi* is a mocking (晒) word. However, he did not criticize only the writings or teachings of Master Yeondam. At only thirty years of age, he officiated at the large dharma assembly on Duryunsan, where more than one hundred monks gathered.

Among the non-Buddhist texts, Aam cherished the *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi* 周易) and *Analects of Confucius* (*Lunyu* 論語). He paid attention to the hidden meanings when searching for the gist. He also learned the principles of various books on calendar astrology or musical harmony, as well as those of Neo-Confucianism. Therefore, none of the worldly Confucians went after him. The master did not like to compose poems, so he wrote very few. When given a rhyme, he could not compose a poem on the spot. However, whenever someone composed a poem for him, he would always write a poem in reply, which surprised people. He was exceptionally talented in the parallel style (駢儷) and rhyming (律格).

Among the Buddhist scriptures, the master was very fond of the *Sūraṅgama-sūtra* (*Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經) and *Awakening of Faith* (*Qixin lun* 起信論). On the other hand, texts such as the *Sutra of the Stove King* (*Jowang gyeong* 竈王經) or “Mantra of the Privy” (*Cheukju* 廁呪), he would never even mention. This would sometimes draw the criticism of other monks. He had three famous disciples, Suryong Saekseong 袖龍頤性, Cheolgyeong Eungeon 犀鯨應彥, and Chimgyo Beophun 枕蛟法訓, who received the master’s robe and alms bowl. Master Aam too, eventually grew old, and fell ill in the autumn of 1811 (11th year of King Sunjo of Joseon). He entered *parinirvāṇa* at Bugam Hermitage on the sixteenth day of the ninth month. His secular age was forty years.

A stele was erected on Duryunsan, and the inscription was composed by Yeolsu 涉水 Jeong Yakyong. The collected works of the master in one volume has been in circulation among the people. The master’s portrait is enshrined in the *yeonggak* (portrait pavilion) of Sangwonam.

Biography of Lecturer Baekpa (白坡講師傳)

The master's dharma name was Geungseon 直璇, his pen name was Baekpa, and the name of the hall (堂號), where he lived was Gusan 龜山. He was a native of Mujang 茂長 in Jeollabuk-do.

After becoming a monk at Seonunsa 禪雲寺 Monastery, he traveled all over the country, visiting mountain monasteries and studying the scriptures. When he was staying at Guamsa 龜巖寺 Monastery, he kept his door wide open and taught the monk apprentices for thirty years. Then he retired to a subsidiary monastery, where he spent most of his time amending texts which were difficult to understand. For instance, [Uijeom's] *Commentary on the Awakening of Faith* (*Gisillon sagi* 起信論私記) was written in characters so small that it was challenging to study it. Therefore, he rewrote it in larger characters and had it published. Also, he had collected ritual texts that had been circulating separately, compiled them, and had them published as a two-volume work, *A Paragon for Buddhist Rituals* (*Jakbeop gwigam* 作法龜鑑). Also, he annotated and edited difficult parts of [Hyesim's] *Essentials of Seon* (*Seonmun gangyo* 禪門綱要). He wrote *Hand-Mirror of Seon Literature* (*Seonmun sugyeong* 禪文手鏡), a commentary on Buddhist, as well as non-Buddhist, sources made comprehensible for learners.

When Master Baekpa realized that his *parinirvāṇa* was near, his disciples compiled his biography and handed it over to Chusa 秋史 Gim Jeonghui 金正喜, ¹⁹⁶ who wrote the preface.

This is the content of Chusa's preface.

In recent years in our Dongguk (Eastern Country, i.e., Korea), there has been no patriarch who was a true *yulsa* (vinaya master), save for Master Baekpa. Therefore, I call Master Baekpa *yulsa*. Great faculties and great functioning (大機大用)¹⁹⁷ is the highlight of Master Baekpa's eighty-year life. Some people look at the methods of “faculties and functions” and

“killing and giving life,”¹⁹⁸ and consider his teaching too deep or difficult to understand, but this is not true. If one can teach an average person according to his or her abilities, there is nothing that would not be “killing and giving life” and “faculties and functions.” It is like the Buddhist canon, which consists of eighty thousand [carved blocks], where there is no teaching beyond “killing and giving life” and “faculties and functions.” However, people are not aware of this and erroneously think that Master Baekpa was obsessed with “faculties and functions” and “killing and giving life.” They are like a mayfly trying to shake a tree. Who can say that these people know Master Baekpa?

In the past, I was arguing with Master Baekpa by means of exchanging letters. But what we discussed was far different from what would we discuss with worldly people. Only I and Master Baekpa know the difference. People will not be able to understand no matter how hard we might try.

If only we could bring Master Baekpa back to life, so that we might sit face to face and laugh loudly together for the last time. Now that Master Baekpa’s stele is being erected, it would not be a stele of Baekpa if the words “great faculties and great functioning” were not engraved on the front side. Therefore, I am writing this text on behalf of Baegam 白岩 and Seoldu 雪竇, and the other disciples.

Chusa wrote in large letters, “Stele of Master of Hwaeom, Great Vinaya Master Baekpa, Great Faculties and Great Functioning.”

The master’s own eulogy says:

Ruffled hair and bulging eyes,
That is the true face of this old man.
To hold out the sky above, to hold out the ground below,
Neither the Buddha nor the patriarchs achieved that.
Hahaha! What is this supposed to mean?
In the north, west, east, and south, I am the only one.

The disciples erected a stele at the Seonunsa, and the inscription

was composed by [Chusa] Gim Jeonghui, who served as second minister (參判).

Master Baekpa inherited the dharma from Seolbong, was a second-generation successor of Toe'am 退庵, a third-generation successor of Seolpa Sangeon, and a fourth-generation successor of Hoam Chejeong 虎岩體淨. His disciples include Gubong 龜峰, Dobong 道峰, Jeonggwan 定觀, Baegam 白岩, Yeongsan 影山, and Hyeam 惠庵. His collected works circulate among the people in four volumes.

Biography of Great Scholar Houi (縞衣大士傳)

The great scholar's (大士) dharma name was Sio 始悟, the pen name was Houi, and his family name was Jeong 丁. He was a native of Jeokbyeok in Dongbok (Hwasun in Jeolla-do). His father was Samdal 三達, and his mother was from the Jeong 鄭 clan. It is said that the great scholar's father dreamed of horses eating the leaves of a laurel tree, and then the child was born. The great scholar was born on the sixteenth day of the seventh month of 1778 (2nd year of King Jeongjo of Joseon). He lost his father when he was fifteen years old, and as his mother passed away when he was sixteen, he entered the Manyeonsa 萬淵寺 Monastery in Hwasun 和順. The great scholar did not avoid or dislike the monks of Manyeonsa. On the contrary, he was amiable and on good terms with them. This was because he had an eye for texts. In the ninth month, a fire broke out at the monastery. The following spring, carpenters from all over the country gathered to repair it. Master Gyeonggwan assumed the position of chief artisan and led the work. The boy followed Master Gyeonggwan, who left the monastery when the construction was completed. In 1796 (20th year of King Jeongjo of Joseon), he shaved his head and became a monk with Master Gyeonggwan as his original teacher.

He received the full precepts from Seon Master Baengnyeon 白蓮, and at the age of twenty (1797). Then he visited Master Yeondam YUIL at Myeongjeokam 明寂庵 Hermitage at Daedunsa to study the fourfold collection (*sajip* 四集). In the eighth month, he went to Yeongchimdae 靈沈臺 at Mihwangsa. At the age of twenty one, he met Master Baengnyeon at the Sangwonam of Daedunsa. In the third month, he paid visit to Patriarch Yeondam at the Budoam Hermitage, west of Borimsa in Jangheung 長興. In the sixth month, he moved to Songdae 松臺, where he lived before moving to Samseongam 三聖庵 Hermitage in autumn of that year. In the tenth month, Dharma Master Wanho 玩虎

held a lecture assembly at Daedunsa, where he participated and studied the *Śūraṅgama-sūtra*. In the spring of 1799, he went to Sangwonam, where Dharma Master Wanho was residing. In the ninth month, he followed [Wanho] to Jungam 中庵 Hermitage of Mihwangsa to study the *Awakening of Faith*. In 1800, he followed Wanho to Namam of Daedunsa, and in the twelfth month, he went to Ilbongam.

In the spring of 1802 (2nd year of King Sunjo of Joseon), he went to Yongmunam Hermitage of Yongheungsa Monastery in Hampyeong to study the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. In the twelfth month, he went to Gwaneumjeon Hall in Unheungsa 雲興寺 Monastery in Nampyeong to study the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經). In 1804, he stayed at Eunseonam Hermitage of Ssanggyesa in Naju, and moved to Munsuam Hermitage in the summer to study the *Profound Theories of the Flower Ornament Sutra* (*Huayan xuantan* 華嚴玄談). In the winter of 1805, he went to Baengnyeonam, a mountain hermitage of Gaecheonsa 開天寺 Monastery in Neungju, the residence of Master Nangam 朗岩, to study the *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑), *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記), and *True Treasures of Ancient Writing* (*Guwen zhenbao* 古文眞寶). In the autumn of 1806, he lived in Yaksajeon 藥師殿 Hall and there served as a clerical officer (書記). In the fourth month of 1807, Preceptor Baengnyeon died, so he took part in the cremation ceremony. In the fourth month of 1808, he stayed at Seoam 西庵 Hermitage. In the winter, he attended a large lecture assembly held by Master Nangam in Yaksajeon, and with Saekseong 署性 and others studied the first section of the *Flower Ornament Sutra*. In 1809, he went to Ilbongam to study the second section of the *Flower Ornament Sutra*.

In the autumn of that year, he made a pilgrimage to Gucheondong 九千洞 in Muju, Bonggoksa 鳳谷寺 Monastery in Jirye, Jikjisa 直指寺 Monastery in Geumsan, and Namjangsa 南長寺 Monastery in Sangju. In 1810, he visited Dharma Master Ilji 一指 in Huibangsa 喜方寺 Monastery in Punggi. Then he traveled to various monasteries, including Buseoksa 浮石寺, Gallaesa 葛來寺, Gakhwasa 覺華寺, and Woljeongsa 月精寺. After visiting nine boroughs in Yeongdong region, he went

to the Geumgangsan, where he visited all monasteries, and reached Jeongyangsa 正陽寺 Monastery.

On the fifth day of the fifth month (of 1810), at noon, he took rowanberries, soaked them in ice-melt water, and made ointment. In the seventh month, he came to Jejudo with this ointment and went to Moseulpo 摩瑟浦 in Daejeong-hyeon 大靜縣 looking for his first teacher (Gyeonggwan). [Meanwhile, also] on that fifth day of the fifth month [when Houi was gathering rowanberries], at noon, his first teacher (Gyeonggwan) fell from a tree and barely survived. And as he could not shave his head, he looked even more in disarray. He was swollen, and his back was crooked. The master gave him the ointment, and after three months of regular use, the teacher recovered from his injuries. Regarding the fact that the time when Gyeonggwan fell from the tree and the time when Houi made the ointment coincidentally matched, people said that the filial piety was so sincere that it was a response through feelings.¹⁹⁹

In the spring of 1811, he served as a clerical officer again, and in the spring of 1812, he burned incense in the room of Master Wanho and inherited his dharma. At that time, Dasan Jeong Yakyong lived in Gangjin and had a close relationship with local monks. He also composed a poem about [the master's] pen name.

In 1817, master [Houi] followed Master Wanho to Girimsa Monastery in Gyeongju, had a thousand buddha statues made, loaded them on a ship, drifted and arrived in Chikuzen, Nagasaki, in Japan, and returned to his home monastery on the fifteenth day of the seventh month of 1818.

On the first day of the tenth month of 1821, his first teacher Gyeonggwan entered *parinirvāṇa*, and the master mourned. He stayed at Dojangsa Monastery in 1822 and joined a meditation hall in 1830, and in 1840 (6th year of King Hyeonjong of Joseon) he stayed at Bugam Hermitage. He stayed in Illohyangsil 一爐香室 in 1843, in Maniram 挽日庵 in 1848, and in 1851 (2nd year of King Cheoljong of Joseon) he stayed at the Simnyuk nahanjeon (Hall of the Sixteen Arhats), then he moved to Namam in 1853, lived in Jinburam in 1854, and together

with Seon Master Choui erected a stele to Wanho in 1858. He entered *parinirvāṇa* quietly at two o'clock at night of the fifteenth day of the ninth month, 1868 (5th year of King Gojong of Joseon). His secular age was ninety-one, and his dharma age was seventy-two.

The master was a descendant of a scholar-official family. After he entered a mountain monastery, he did not look back at the Confucian texts and phrases of official examination. He channeled his utmost filial piety to his master, and many people emulated his flawless etiquette. The saying “For such filial piety, without ceasing, there will ever be conferred blessing on you,”²⁰⁰ was precisely the case of Master Houi. All the people were afraid of the master because he never forgave improper [behavior]. Also, he was often ridiculed by the people who saw him take the lead in hard labor or inferior work.

Although in terms of handwriting, he was no master calligrapher, everyone learned his easy characters. In terms of composition, he was no writer, but everyone was striving to learn his truthful writing. He was never lacking in terms of clothes and food. He had many followers, mostly between the ages of eighty and a hundred. He participated in the assembly for elders above sixty years and transmitted filial piety to succeeding generations.

Jeong Yakyong wrote a poem on Master Houi’s pen name. Hong Hyeonju 洪顯周²⁰¹ praised him, and Shin Heonyeong 申獻永 wrote a tribute to the master’s portrait, as well as his stupa epitaph. The master’s writings include his single-volume autobiography and of the single-volume *Gyeonmun-nok* 見聞錄. Compared to others, he had no reason to feel ashamed of the dharma successors, disciples, and ordained monks.

Biography of Seon Senior Choui (草衣禪伯傳)

The master's dharma name was Uisun 意恂, his courtesy name was Jungbu 中孚, and his pen name was Choui or Iljiam 一枝庵. His secular family name was Jang 張. He was a native of Samhyang 三鄉 in Naju. His mother dreamed about a large star entering her bosom, became pregnant, and gave birth to a child. He was born on the fifth day of the fourth month of 1786 (10th year of King Jeongjo of Joseon) and entered *parinirvāṇa* on the second day of the seventh month of 1865 (2nd year of King Gojong of Joseon) in Kwaenyeon'gak 快年閣 Pavilion. His secular age was eighty years, and his dharma age was sixty-five.

When he was five years old, he was swept away by the rapids and almost died. However, a righteous man saved his life. At the age of fifteen, he decided to become a monk, entered Unheungsa 雲興寺 in Nampyeong, where he shaved his hair under Master Byeokbong Minseong 碧峰敏性 and became a monk. At the age of nineteen, he went up Wolchulsan 月出山 Mountain just as the sun went down and the moon rose. At night, he sat looking at the moon and felt his mind was opening.

From this time forward, the monk visited various teachers and was well versed in the scriptures. After he burned incense in the room of Master Wanho to become his advanced student, and received the dharma of Seon from Patriarch Geumdam 金潭. He then visited the mountains of Geumgangsan, Jirisan, and Hallasan. He interacted with the greatest scholars of the time, including Jeong Yakyong, Shin Wi 申緯,²⁰² and Gim Jeonghui 金正喜.

Master Choui's reputation became widely known among the people, so it was difficult to hide [from people]. And as he became even more famous, he set up a place to live in seclusion, and this was Iljiam 一枝庵 Hermitage. Later, he set up another small cave-hermitage, and

this was Yongmaam 龍馬庵. He then built himself a hut wherein to live until the end of his life, and this is the Kwaenyeon'gak.

About forty disciples received the *sami* (novice) precepts (沙彌戒) from Master Choui, and seventy disciples received the bodhisattva precepts. Hundreds of students received the various teachings of Seon and Gyo.

His stupa was built at the foot of a mountain south of Daedunsa. Yi Huipung 李喜豐 composed the stupa's inscription. The inscription on the stele erected to the right of the stupa was composed by Shin Gwanho 申觀浩.²⁰³ His collected writings in four volumes and single-volume *Criticism and Idle Talk on the Four Differences in the Seon School* (*Seonmun sabyeon maneo* 禪門四辨漫語) are circulated among the people.

Biography of Seon Senior Dae'eun (大隱禪伯傳)

The master's dharma name was Nango 郎旿, his pen name was Dae'eun, and his secular family name was Bae 裴. He was a native of Nangju (Yeongam 靈岩 in Jeollanam-do). He was born in 1780 (4th year of King Jeongjo of Joseon), and became a monk on Wolchulsan 月出山 in Yeongam, as he shaved his head under Seon Master Geumdam 金潭. Seon Master Geumdam was a disciple of Yeondam. Master Dae'eun visited many virtuous monks, including Yeondam, Baengnyeon 白蓮, Uiam 義庵, Nangam 朗岩, Wanho 玩虎, and Yeonpa 蓮坡 and learned from them.

When he accomplished the Way, he burned incense and began to expound the dharma. As he preached the dharma, meeting the apprentices and teaching them, the audiences were so numerous, that the lecture halls were cramped.

His spirit was as bright as the sun and moon. His integrity was as straight as the pine. He copied the scriptures with his own hand and made the people around him comfortable. Three times a day, he worshipped the Buddha and made offerings of incense, tea, and various objects, which he prepared with utmost devotion.

Seated or lying, it was so hard for anyone to match his endeavor. When he abandoned the doctrinal teachings of Gyo and turned to the cultivation of the teachings of Seon, people from various provinces rushed to him like ants and followed the rule of sleeping once a day and eating only one meal a day. Whenever he was invited to a famous monastery but had to refuse, he felt sorry. Some people volunteered to carry him on their backs to their monasteries. Some said that he was the Chinese master Daoxuan 道宣 of the Nanshan school reincarnated in our country as a great teacher. On the twenty-fifth day of the third month of 1841 (7th year of King Heonjong of Joseon), he was staying at Maniram Hermitage on Duryunsan. He finished a sermon, and

quietly entered *parinirvāṇa*. His secular age was sixty-two years, and his dharma age forty-seven. The assembly of the “Seon forest” who had lost their lord choked with sobbing. The disciple who inherited the Seon master’s dharma was Hyehong 慧洪. After Hyehong, there was Yujin 有眞. None of the disciples who studied either Seon or Gyo under other masters was so great in any aspect.

The master’s polite customs and grand rules are still visible at Sanggyeonam 上見庵 Hermitage on Wolchulsan, Maniram 挽日庵 on Duryunsan, Jijangam 地藏庵 Hermitage on Dalmasan 達摩山 Mountain, Cheonchugam 天竺庵 Hermitage on Yongdeoksan 龍德山 Mountain, Muryangsa 無量寺 Monastery on Banyasan 般若山 Mountain, Naewonam 內院庵 Hermitage on Gajisan 迦智山 Mountain, Chiljeon 七殿 Hall at Samiram 三日庵 Hermitage on Jogyesan 曹溪山, Mitaam 彌陀庵 Hermitage on Dongnisan 桐裏山, Buriram 佛日庵 and Chilburam 七佛庵 hermitages of Ssanggyesa.

Autobiographical Preface [of Beomhae Gagan] (自序傳)

After the Buddhadharma was first introduced to our Eastern Country (Dongguk) and flourished through Goguryeo, Baekje, Silla, Goryeo to our Joseon, during its prime, it also acquired the monk registration system, monastic examinations, and monastic officials.

When there is history, there is biography. Unfortunately, after many wars, all public historical records have been lost, so there is nothing much left to trust and study. There are inscriptions carved on stelae, but it is challenging to study them due to moss and erosion. The *Origins of the Buddhist Patriarchs of Haedong* (*Haedong Buljowollyu* 海東佛祖源流) is available. However, it cannot be trusted as the recorded dharma names and pen names are based on false assumptions.

I, along with my disciples, in our spare time after debating the scriptures, collected the narratives of the monks of the Eastern Country and turned the stories of our predecessors into a collection of admonitions for our successors. I also keep a rough record of my dharma lineage and dharma faction. I am a descendant of Goun 孤雲 Choe Chiwon 崔致遠, a scholar of Silla, and a sixth-generation descendant of Grand Master of High Prosperity (*sungnok daebu* 崇祿大夫) Choe Sugang 崔壽岡, a hermit scholar (隱士) of Joseon. My father's name was Cheol 徹, and my mother was from the Seongsan 星山 Bae 裴 clan. It is said that my mother dreamt of spotting a white fish while repairing a weir. She became pregnant and gave birth to me. There were long white lines on my thighs [in the shape of the scales]. Therefore, I was called Eo'eun 魚堰 (Fish Weir) or Cho'eun 超堰 (Leaping over a Weir). It has been in my nature not to eat fish. I was born in Gugye 九階 in Beomjin 梵津 of Cheonghae 清海 in Jeolla-do.

At the age of fourteen, I left my home to become a monk at the Hansanjeon Hall of Daedunsa on Duryunsan in Haenam. At the age of sixteen, I had my head shaved. I donned the monastic robe and

became a monk under Seon Master Houi Sio 紹衣始悟. Master Houi is the eighth-generation descendant of Jeong Amsu, a *jinsa* scholar of the Seonggyun'gwan, who raised a righteous army and secured military provisions during the Imjin Wars. I chose Seon Master Hau Jeongji 荷衣正持 as the precept expounder (說戒師), Seon Master Mukhwa Junhwon 默和俊暉 as the preceptor (授戒師), Hwadam Yeongwon 華潭永源 as the precept witnessing master (證戒師), and Choui Uisun 草衣意恂 as the master of *bigu* (fully ordained monk) and bodhisattva precepts, and the Seon Master Houi Sio as the dharma-transmitting master.

After that, I studied with the six dharma masters, Houi, Hau, Choui, Munam 聞庵, Un'geo 雲居, and Eunghwa 應化. I learned Confucian classics from Yoong 廣翁 Yi Byeongwon 李炳元 and Buddhist ceremonies and rituals from Seon Masters Taeho Seonggwan 太湖性寬 and Jahaeng Chaekhwal 慈行策活. I expounded on the *Flower Ornament Sutra* for six years, and *Brahma's Net Sutra* (*Fanwang jing* 梵網經) for twelve years. Including these, I spent twenty-two years in a lecture hall, and the time just flew by.

The *Biographies of Eastern Masters* (*Dongsa yeoljeon*), which I compiled, introduces the deeds of 198 people. I keep it by my side and consider them to be my teachers in a book, or I distribute it among the students who follow me and remind them of the “village gates and lanes” and “blue clouds” mentioned by Sima Qian in the “Biography of Boyi and Shuqi” (伯夷傳) of his *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記).²⁰⁴

Chanmin 賛敏 said, “Since you have already compiled the biographies for the apprentices, please also compile a chronology.” I answered, “It has been 4,219 years from Dan'gun of Gojoseon to the current year of 1894, and more than 500 years has passed since 1392 when King Taejo of Joseon founded the current Joseon. The Buddha entered *parinirvāna* in the *imsin* year, the fifty-second year of King Mu of Zhou, which is 2,846 years ago. Buddhism was introduced to China in the East during the reign of Emperor Ming of Han, in the year 68.”

Chanmin said, “Why do you not record your travels all over the

country?"

I answered,

In 1844 (10th year of King Heonjong of Joseon], I entered Bangjangsan 方丈山 [Jirisan] from the east and saw the traces of the legend about the seven princes of Silla's King Sinmun who altogether cultivated the Way and became buddhas. I also saw the inscription of the Seon master composed by Goun Choe Chiwon of Silla, as well as the stupa of the Sixth Patriarch [Huineng]. Then, I descended through the Hwagaedong Valley following the stream of the Seomjingang River, passed Hayang (Hadong), and arriving in Jinyang (Jinju). I mounted Chokseongnu 爳石樓 Pavilion and paid my respects to the spirit of General Gim Cheonil 金千溢, the leader of righteous armies during the Imjin Wars, Governor (*moksa* 牧使) Hwang Jin 黃進, Commander (*byeongsa* 兵使) Choe Gyeonghoe 崔慶會, and loyal *gisaeng* 妓生 Nongae 論介. I could not overcome my emotion when I recited the first verse of the poem: "After one drink, with a smile, pointing to the long river."²⁰⁵ Then I arrived in the former territory of the ancient country of Garakguk 駕洛國. There I visited the royal tomb of King Suro, made obeisance, and composed a poem. Then I crossed the Nakdonggang River, passed Geumjeong sanseong 金井山城 Fortress, and came to the Beomeosa Monastery, made obeisance before the portrait of Master Geumpa Imchu 金波任秋, and passed a night in the room of Hoesan Bohye 晦山普惠.

Then I took a bath in the healing springs (藥泉) of Dongnae, passed through Dongnae and Busan to Waegwan. However, I had to return to Busanjin garrison because the commander of the gate guards (*sumunjang* 守門將) forbade me to pass. I saw the stele of Associate Commander Jeong Bal, and the shrine of the Lord of Blazing Loyalty (忠烈公) Song Sanghyeon 宋象賢, who sacrificed their lives during the Imjin Wars. After visiting Yangsan-eup 梁山邑, I went to Tongdosa, visited the *śarīra* stupa, made obeisance at the ordination platform, walked up to Jajang's cavern, saw a pair of golden frogs trough the hall in a rock, tasted the sweet-dew water,²⁰⁶ and copied the *Records of*

Geumwa (*Geumwa-gi* 金蛙記). This was on the fifteenth day of the sixth month, my birthday.

After passing Hwangsang Station, I reached Hwanseonjeong Pavilion, and continued through Samilpo 三日浦, Heungguksa 興國寺 Monastery, Okhwa Station, and Geumtap Pagoda in Goheung, and arrived at Songgwangsa 松廣寺 Monastery. There I saw the Neunggyeonnansa 能見難思 (large bronze bowls). Then I visited the Thousand Buddhas and Thousand Stupas (千佛千塔) in Neungju (Hwasun), Yaksasa 藥師寺 Monastery in Unjudong, as well as the Wonjin Pagoda in Ilbongam 日封庵 Hermitage and Bulhoeasa 佛會寺 Monastery in Nampyeong, as well as the bamboo trees of Borimsa Monastery, left by National Preceptor Bojo (普照國師).²⁰⁷ Then I bowed before the King Aśoka stupa in Bangwanggye 放光界 of Cheon'gwansa 天冠寺 Monastery on Jijesan 支提山 Mountain in Jangheung. Then I went up to Yonggeomsan Mountain on the Gogeumdo Island, where I came to Okcheonsa and paid respects to Emperor Xie Tian (協天大帝) (Guan Yu 關羽), and saw the god-made statue of Avalokitēvara and Sukseongbong Peak.

In 1873 (10th year of King Gojong of Joseon), I embarked on a ship at Jocheonjin 朝天鎮, and as we reached the sea off the coast of Sowando Island, we arrived at Jocheon 朝天 on Jejudo Island. After meeting with Yi Bokhui 李勗羲, the governor of Jeju, we went up to Mangwol-lu 望月樓 Pavilion and drank tea together. After stopping by the Samseonghyeol 三姓穴 (Three Clan Holes), we passed by Aewol 涯月 and decided to stay at the home of the Local Chief (戶長) Yi Myeongbaek 李明伯 in Daejeong 大靜. The room where Chusa Gim Jeonghui, who served as second minister (參判), Master Choui Uisun, Manhyu Jaheun, and Yeongho Yulhan stayed was now turned into a library. I also visited the barracks in Moseulpo, where Master Jo'eun used to reside.

I took a boat to Gapado 加波島 Island, just 30 *ri* south, and spent three nights there, then I returned to Daejeong, went up to the old site of Sanbanggulsa Monastery, and recited a poem there. Then I went to *seocheong* 書廳 office in Gamsan 柑山 and then went through Seogujin 西丘鎮 to see Jeongbang pokpo Waterfall. After meeting Yi Byeonghan,

the district prefect of Jeongui 旌義, I continued via Ilchulbong peak of Hyeongsan and headed back to land.

In 1875, I became a fellow-traveler²⁰⁸ of masters Woryeo Beomin and Geumseong Boheon. Together we traversed the Noryeong Pass of Jangseong 長城 and continued through the Charyeong 車嶺 Pass of Gongju 公州. We crossed the Hangang 漢江 River at Dongjak 銅雀. The following day, after we climbed Namsan Mountain and gazed at Jangan 長安 (Seoul), we went to Deoksa 德寺 Monastery on Suraksan 水落山 Mountain and stayed at the mountain room of Master Yongam 廉庵.

Later, we passed through the Jikdong Valley in Uijeongbu, continued through Gungyeseong Fortress in Cheorwon, and the passes of Bunsuryeong 分水嶺, and Chugaryeong 秋柯嶺 and arrived at Yongjiwon 龍池院 in Anbyeon in Hamgyeong-do. We rested our walking sticks at the abode of Seon Master Yeongheo Seonyeong 映虛善影 in Naewonam 內院庵 Hermitage of Seogwangsa 釋王寺 Monastery in Seolbongsan, where we stayed for four nights. Together with Cheolgye Cheonwol 鐵溪川月, we visited the Injiryo, and the five hundred arhat statues and Gaebokdang 改服堂 Shrine of Seogwangsa and bowed to the two pine trees that King Taejo planted.

Later, we went to Jangansa 長安寺 Monastery in the Geumgangsan, where we met Master Hanyang Deoksong 漢陽德松 of Baegyangsan Mountain and spent the day and night composing poems. At the entrance to Yeongwon, we saw a site where Prince Maui 麻衣, the son of King Gyeongsun 敬順, the last king of Silla, had built a stone fortress to escape the Goryeo army. Inside the fortress, there was the Eopgyeondae 業鏡臺 Terrace and Hwangcheon'gang River. Also, there is a cavern where two snakes, blue and yellow, allegedly lived. According to the legend, “A long time ago, a Buddhist monk named Geumhwa 錦和 died and became a snake, but when his disciple, Patriarch Yeongwon, was expounding the dharma and performing a ritual for the deceased, he turned into a dragon and flew away.” There was Yeongwonam Hermitage, which is said to be the place where the Patriarch Yeongwon learned the Way. There were also peaks such as Jijangbong 地藏峰, Siwangbong 十王峰, Pan'gwanbong 判官峰, Sajabong 使者峰, and Joe-

inbong 罪人峰. To the north, are Baektapdong 百塔洞 Valley, Jeongyangsa 正陽寺 Monastery, and Pyohunsa 表訓寺 Monastery.

Moreover, there was the Baekhwagam 白華庵 Hermitage, and the Samburam Cliff and Suchungyeonggak 酬忠影閣 Pavilion in front of the hermitage. Behind the hermitage, there were four stelae erected in memory of Seosan [Hyujeong], Pyeonyang [Eon'gi], Pungdam [Uisim], Heobaek [Myeongjo], as well as a statue of Dharmôdgata Bodhisattva. Then we passed the Geumgangmun (Diamond Gate) and entered the Mampokdong Valley. There is the Bodeokgul 普德窟 (Master Bodeok's Cavern) with nineteen stories of copper and stone pillars. Mahayeon 摩訶衍 Hermitage is the place where Master Nakpa 洛坡 lived, Nae-wontong 內圓通 is the place where Toe'eun Yeongam 退隱靈岩 stayed, Manhoeam 萬灰庵 Hermitage is the place where Master Iryeo 一如 self-immolated his body as an offering. Below the Buljiam 佛地庵 Hermitage, there were the Myogilsangam Rock and Baegundae 白雲臺 Terrace. In the Taesangdong Valley of Birobong 畏盧峰 Peak, there was the Sumitap 須彌塔 Pagoda, Sumiam 須彌庵 Hermitage, Gaseopgul 伽葉窟 Cavern, Dondoam 頓道庵 Hermitage, Danballyeong 斷髮嶺 Pass, and too many other famous places to describe.

A thousand Amitâbha Buddha statues of the same name were enshrined in the large dharma hall of Simwonsa 深源寺 Monastery on Bogaesan Mountain. The statue of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva enshrined in Seokdaeam Hermitage had two traces of bullets in its shoulders. At Daejaam 大慈庵 Hermitage on Soyosan Mountain, there was the spring that had come out when the National Preceptor Wonhyo 元曉 inserted his staff in the ground. At Yongjusa 龍珠寺 Monastery, there were the three versions of the *Sutra on Deep Indebtedness to One's Father and Mother* (*Fiumu enzhong jing* 父母恩重經) in iron, stone, and wooden blocks.

In Jiksan, the old sites of Bongseonsa Monastery and Honggyeongsa Monastery remain. To the east of Pyeongtaek-eup, there is Manghansa 望漢寺 Monastery, which was allegedly built by a Chinese general.

At Onyang 溫陽 in Chungcheong-do, there were hot springs, and a *śarīra* stupa is enshrined in Magoksa Monastery. There is the stone statue

of Avalokitêśvara in Gwanchoksa Monastery on Banyasan Mountain in Eunjin. In Jeonju, Jeolla-do, there are two pavilions, Jo-gyeongjeon 肇慶殿 and Gyeonggijeon 慶基殿, with enshrined images (畫像). In Geumsansa 金山寺 Monastery there is the sixteen-foot statue of buddha [Maitreya], Hwaju nahan 化主羅漢 (Arhat, the Master of Transformation) enshrined in the dharma hall, and the Buddha's stupa. I read the book of secrets of Seon Master Geomtan 黑炭 at Dosoram 兜率庵 Hermitage of Seonunsa 禪雲寺 Monastery. Also, the iron Buddha in front of Eunjeoksa 隱跡寺 Monastery in Haenam was sweating.

In 1880, I entered the Ssanggyesa 雙溪寺 Monastery on Jindo Island and reconstructed the great dharma hall (大法堂), Siwangjeon 十王殿 Hall, and Cheomseonggak 瞻星閣 Pavilion. The work was supervised by Master Dongsan 東山 and supported by Master Jisun 知淳. Previously, the County Governor Gim had torn down the large pavilion of Ssanggyesa, and built the Yangseojae 兩書齋 Library, and organized a regional writing contest. The theme was “Dismantling Ssanggyesa and building Yangseojae.” However, when the Provincial Governor Yi Gyuwon 李奎遠 proceeded to his new post in 1879, he had the Yangseojae demolished and returned [the property] to the monastery, and then helped with the reconstruction. Such meritorious virtues!

Those are the records of my past.

Chanmin asked, “Why do you not discuss the disciple to whom you transmitted the dharma?”

I answered, “I have had two close disciples, twenty-three disciples who received the *sami* precepts, three disciples who received the dharma of Gyo, and eighty-one disciples who received the teaching of Seon.”

I was born on the fifteenth day of the sixth month of 1820 (20th year of King Sunjo of Joseon), and I am now seventy-five years old in 1894 (21st year of King Gojong of Joseon), and I have lived permanently at Illohyangsil on Duryunsan. I have a gentle character and composed demeanor. I am neither slack nor impetuous. My heart does not go against Heaven, I have nothing to be ashamed of. By diligently learning and searching extensively for teachers, my

knowledge has expanded, and my sentences are straightforward. People understand, even if they do not see, but only listen. Friends come to me unexpectedly on their own and without an appointment.

The ancients used to say, “Poetry is the flower of emotion, and writing is the joint of the mind.” However, sometimes recited poems are full of vulgarity, and written texts sometimes include vulgar expressions.

Nevertheless, I have recorded such writings for Masters Naun 羅云 and Chanmin 贊敏. The term “students who follow me,” I used earlier, refers to Woneung Gyejeong 圓應戒定, Chwiun Hye'o 翠雲慧悟, Geummyeong Uijun 錦溟儀準, Chanui 贊儀, Yuram 栗庵, Myo'eon 妙彦 and others.

If there is a useless story, a missing part, or an incorrect section, it is fine to correct it. I want to keep the book close to me and during my daily life consider it as “former teachers in a book.”

My dharma name is Gagan 覺岸, my courtesy name is Hwanyeo 幻如, and my hall name (堂號) is Beomhae 梵海.

Notes

- 1 The three realms (*samgye* 三界) refers to the three realms of samsara comprising the universe in the Buddhist view, i.e., the realm of desire, realm of form, and realm without form.
- 2 *Idu* 李讀 (lit. official's reading) was in general terms a writing system using Chinese characters for writing the native Korean language.
- 3 The *Book of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經), *Book of History* (*Shujing* 書經), *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經 or *Zhouyi* 周易), *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記), *Book of Music* (*Yueji* 樂記), *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋).
- 4 The “Stele of Master Seodang” (誓幢 和尙碑) records that he passed away on the thirtieth day of the third month of 686 at Hyeolsa 穴寺 Monastery at the age of seventy.
- 5 Reconciling disputes was a typical feature of Wonhyo's thought.
- 6 Passing through Goguryeo territory, the pair was mistaken for spies by Goguryeo soldiers. However, they were released after a several weeks and returned home.
- 7 Zhiyan 智儼 (600–668), second patriarch of the Chinese Huayan (Kr. Hwaeom) school and disciple of the school's founder Dushun 杜順. Zhiyan realized the distinct teaching of the one vehicle (別教一乘). He was a teacher of Uisang and Fazang.
- 8 The *Japhwagyeong* 雜華經 is another name for the *Flower Ornament Sutra*.
- 9 Fazang 法藏 (643–712) was third patriarch of the Chinese Huayan school, who developed that school's theoretical system. In 699, he lectured on the new, eighty-volume translation of the *Flower Ornament Sutra*. He received his pen name Xianshou from Empress Wu Zetian. He wrote *Tanxuan ji* 探玄記 [Record of the Search for the Profundities (of the *Flower Ornament Sutra*)] and *Huayan wujiao zhang* 華嚴五教章 [Essay on the Five Teachings of Huayan].
- 10 Uisang's ten Hwaeom monasteries are Mirisa 美理寺 at Gongsan 公山 Mountain, Hwaeomsa 華嚴寺 at Jirisan 智異山 Mountain, Buseoksa 浮石寺 at Bugaksan 北岳山 Mountain, Haeinsa 海印寺 at Gayasan 伽倻山 Mountain, Bowonsa 普願寺 at Ungju 熊州, Gapsa 岬寺 at Gyeryongsan 鷄龍山 Mountain, Hwasansa 華山寺 at Sakju 朔州, Beomeosa 梵魚寺 at Geumjeongsan 金井山 Mountain, Okcheonsa 玉泉寺 at Biseulsan 琵瑟山 Mountain, and Guksinsa 國神寺 at Mosan 母山 Mountain.

11 This record is incorrect. Uisang died in 702.

12 Rocana (Kr. Nosana): an abbreviation of Vairocana, or Mahāvairocana Buddha.

13 Devas, including Brahma, Indra, together with the nagas, i.e., dragons in East Asian Buddhist context. This term also denotes all protectors of dharma.

14 Hwangnyongsa 黃龍寺 (Yellow Dragon Monastery), also known as Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 (Illustrious Dragon Monastery), was the largest monastery in Silla and was located in the capital of Gyeongju.

15 This is the only record of Jajang founding Daedunsa. The monastery was the primary monastery of Beomhae Gagan, the editor of this text, *Biographies of Eastern Masters*, who probably added this foundation history in order to increase its prestige.

16 This narrative describes the creation of the Geumgang gyedan (Diamond Ordination Platform) of Tongdosa Monastery in today's Gyeongsangnam-do. Hence, the altar described here is a rectangular platform placed outdoors.

17 The Saheonbu 司憲府 was an administrative organ in charge of inspections during the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties. The organ had several responsibilities, including licensing officials, legal inquiries, and even critiquing the king. *Jipyeong* was the fifth of the six ranks of the organ's officials.

18 The area of the Gyeongsangbuk-do and Gyeongsangnam-do; Busan, Daegu, and Ulsan are in today's Republic of Korea.

19 According to Kim Dujae's footnote in Beomhae Gagan (2015, 59), *aminyeo* 阿彌女 is the equivalent of *seonyeoin* 善女人. In Mahayana scriptures, this term denotes the women in the audience for the Buddha's sermons. Their presence in the audience is a result of previous good deeds. In this text, the meaning is similar. Jin'gam's mother possessed the proper conditions.

20 In modern Korean, this term (Kr. *yuri*) denotes glass. However, in the Buddhist context it refers to beryl or lapis lazuli, one of the seven precious materials.

21 *Gwallye* 冠禮.

22 A unit of measurement for volume, corresponding to approximately 18 liters or 4.8 gallons.

23 These are hand gestures (*in'gye* 印契) representing certain aspect of Buddhist teaching. Especially in the esoteric traditions of Mahayana, mudras are an important part of ritual practice.

24 *Dhūta* (Ch. *toutuo*, [Kr. *duta*] 頭陀) is a Sanskrit term for austerities practiced to eliminate one's attachment. One practices restraint concerning food, clothing, and shelter.

25 A metaphor from the *Lotus Sutra*. When it was difficult and exhausting to find a jewel (awakening), people took rest with joy when they were told about, and

magically shown, the city where the jewel was located.

26 Jogye (Ch. Caoxi) 曹溪 was a stream in southern China where Huineng, the sixth patriarch of Chan (Kr. Seon) 禪 school lived.

27 *Eosan* 魚山 (lit. fish mountain) was a term denoting ritual music and dance.

28 A *pyeonaek* 扁額 is a wooden tablet with the name of a monastery, hall, or shrine. Throughout this text, several kings grant such tablets to monasteries.

29 The period of the latter dharma (*malbeop* 末法) derives from the notion of gradual degeneration of the dharma based on such texts as the *Lotus Sutra* and was systematized in East Asia into three periods (*samsi* 三時) of true, semblance and latter dharma, also rendered as final. In this final period, the Buddha's teaching does exist, but it is so distorted that virtually no one achieves awakening.

30 The biography of the Buddha features a scene where gods bathe the newborn Buddha-to-be, Siddhārtha Gautama. This is probably a reflection of an Indian custom of the investiture of a king. Pouring water on the crown of the baby Buddha's head is an integral part of Buddha's birthday celebrations.

31 The list of these five pungent plants varies, but it usually includes onions, leeks, chives, garlic, ginger, asafoetida etc. These are said to have aphrodisiac effects or cause bad breath that drives away good spirits.

32 Ruman 如滿 was a disciple of Mazu Daoyi and a friend of Bai Letian. He allegedly said, "If China's Chan declines one day, they will have to ask the Dongyi (Silla) people."

33 Gentleman of the Cinnamon Garden (桂苑行人); the Cinnamon Garden is a metonym for the assembly of scholars and literates, namely the Hallim Academy.

34 National Preceptor Beomil.

35 An aristocrat from Silla who went to Tang and was active in Sichuan. He was a member of the Baotang school of Chan.

36 A Seon (Ch. Chan) 禪 term expressing direct transmission independent from language.

37 Choe Inyeon 崔仁澆 (868–944), a scholar and calligrapher of the late Silla and early Goryeo period. He changed his name to Choe Eonwi 崔彦撝 after the fall of Silla.

38 Gim Saeng (b. 711) was one of the renowned calligraphers of Silla. Nanggong's disciple Danmok collected letters in *haeseo* and *haengseo* style from his works for the inscription on this stele.

39 In today's Hyucheon-dong, Yeongju-si, Republic of Korea.

40 Wang Yung 王隆 was the father of King Taejo of Goryeo, Wang Geon, whose original name was Wang Yonggeon.

41 Dogapsa 道岬寺 is a monastery on Wolchulsan, Yeongam, Jeollanam-do.

42 Yi Gyeongseok 李景奭 (1595–1671) was a government official during the Joseon dynasty and renowned for his writing and calligraphy.

43 In Seon terminology, dharma seat (*beopseok* 法席) refers to a place where monks gather for practice.

44 Dongnisan 桐裏山 is a mountain range spanning from Gokseong to Suncheon in Jeollanam-do. Taeansa Monastery is located there.

45 Bak Inbeom 朴仁範, ten of whose poems are included in the *Dongmunseon* 東文選 [Anthology of Korean Literature], was a scholar from the end of the Unified Silla period. He composed the epitaph of Doseon in 898.

46 Seoraksan Mountain.

47 Jirisan Mountain.

48 National Preceptor Hyecheol 慧徹 of Taeansa 太安寺 Monastery.

49 Seon Master Hyeonuk 玄昱 of Hyemoksan 惠目山 Mountain.

50 Seon Master 空 mun 聞 of Jireuksa 智勒寺 Monastery. The rest of the name is unknown.

51 National Preceptor Hyeso 慧炤 of Ssanggyesa 雙磯寺 Monastery.

52 Seon Master Chungeon 忠彦 of Sinheungsa 神興寺 Monastery.

53 Seon Master Gakche 覺體 of Yongamsa 涌岩寺 Monastery.

54 Seon Master Gakhya 覺休 of Jin'gusa 珍丘寺 Monastery.

55 Seon Master Suryun 遂允 of Ssangbongsa 雙峰寺 Monastery.

56 National Preceptor Beomil 梵日 of Gosansa 孤山寺 Monastery.

57 National Preceptor Muyeom 無染 of Seongjusa 聖住寺 Monastery.

58 Seon Master Gwangjong 廣宗 of Borisa 菩提寺 Monastery.

59 Here “place of awakening” (Kr. *doryang* 道場, Skt. *bodhi-māṇḍa*) refers to a place where awakening is achieved, a place of teaching a practice of Buddhism. The term therefore stands for a sacred space in the Buddhist context, often associated with the precincts of a monastery.

60 A good and virtuous friend (Kr. *seonjisik* 善知識, Skt. *kalyāṇa-mitra*) refers to a master advanced in the teaching, who assists another on her or his spiritual way, i.e., a good teacher.

61 Gim Eon-gyeong, a disciple of Bojo Chejing, a famed master calligrapher of the time.

62 Superintendent of monks (*seungjeong* 僧正) is a position in charge of monastic rules, the vinaya.

63 The *geun* 斤 is a unit of weight corresponding to approximately 600 grams or 1.323 pounds.

64 The *gok* 韵 is a unit of volume equalling ten *mal*.

65 Here, the Buddha's mindful protection (*honyeom* 護念) denotes protection by the

mindfulness of a buddha.

66 The former is a metaphor for the meditative approach of Seon 禪 and the latter a metaphor for the doctrinal approach of Gyo 教.

67 Qiu from east of the village (東家丘) is a reference to an ancient proverb. Kong Qiu 孔丘 (Confucius), lived in an eastern township and people called him Kong Qiu from the house east of the village.

68 Seongjusa is a monastery in Boryeong in Chungcheongnam-do.

69 Gulsansa is a monastery in Gangneung in Gangwon-do founded by Beomil, the patriarch of Gulsan Mountain, i.e., the Gulsan school of Korean Seon.

70 Linchuan 臨川 county is in central Jiangxi Province.

71 A reference to *Zhuangzi* 莊子, where one glance is mentioned in the context of a meeting between Confucius and Wenbo Xuezi. Here Confucius says nothing, despite his long desire to meet Wenbo. When asked the reason, Confucius replied, that with that kind of man, one glace reveals he embodies the Way, and that there is no possibility of verbal communication." See Chuang (1968, 223).

72 A reference to the transmission of the dharma within the Seon school from mind/heart to mind/heart (*isim jeonsim* 以心傳心) without reliance upon words.

73 Both dharma lamp and dharma seal are metaphors for the transmission of the teaching from master to disciple down through the lineage of patriarchs.

74 Grand tutor (*taebu* 太傅) is an honorary title given to a high official.

75 Gyeon Hwon 甄萱 (r. 900–935) was the founder and ruler of Later Baekje (900–936). He eventually surrendered to Wang Geon, King Taejo of Goryeo.

76 Here "wholesome roots" (*seongeun* 善根) denotes morally positive habits that result in positive retribution.

77 Gim Jeongeon 金廷彥 was a scholar and official of the early Goryeo period. He composed the stele inscriptions of Grand Master Dongjin, Grand Master Wonjong, and National Preceptor Beobin.

78 Here *use* means one who helps the world through wisdom and truth, while *seungtong* was the highest position in doctrinal orders, such as in the Hwaeom school of Goryeo.

79 Jingyuan 淨源 (1011–1088) was a Song period Huayan monk and a reviver of the tradition.

80 Shu Shi 蘇軾 was a scholar, writer, and poet of the Northern Song dynasty.

81 Zongben (1020–1099) was a Chan monk of the Song dynasty, he founded the Huilin Cloister (慧林院) at Xiangguo Monastery (相國寺). The honorific title "Chan Master Yuanzhao" was bestowed on him by Emperor Zhezong.

82 The basic meaning of a text or the doctrine of a school. In the Chan 禪 context, the source of dharma or original idea.

83 Two basic approaches to the practice of Tiantai (Kr. Cheontae), one of the schools that originated in China and spread throughout East Asia. The school was founded by Zhiyi 智顥 of Mountain Tiantai (天台山), hence the name of the school.

84 Baengnyeonsa, the White Lotus Society, was located in Gangjin, Jeollanam-do and Baeongyeonsa 白蓮寺 Monastery was its center.

85 The fifth patriarch of Baengnyeonsa, Jeonghye Wonjo 靜慧圓照.

86 Jeong Yakyong 丁若鏞 (1762–1836) was a renowned scholar of the late Joseon period and author of many works, including *Admonitions for Governing the People* (*Mongmin simseo* 牧民心書) and *Proposals for Good Government* (*Gyeongse yupyo* 經世遺表).

87 Hoeamsa is a Monastery located on Cheonbosan mountain in Hoeam-ri, Hoecheon-myeon, Yangju-gun, Gyeonggi-do. It was founded by Jigong in 1328 (15th year of King Chungsuk of Goryeo) and rebuilt in 1376 (2nd year of King U of Goryeo) by Naong. To the north of the monastery are Jigong's and Naong's stupas and a stele by Yi Saek as well Muhak's stupa and a stele by Byeon Gyeryang 卞季良.

88 Present-day Beijing.

89 Dhyānabhadra (Ch. Shikong [Kr. Jigong] 指空) was an Indian monk who strongly influenced Korean Seon Buddhism.

90 The term *bangja* 房子 denotes a room or a small building, another meaning is “servant.” Hence the passage can be translated as, “Have you brought twelve servants with you?”

91 Toghon Temür (r. 1333–1368), also known by the name Huizong 惠宗.

92 The opening ceremony (*gaedang beophoe* 開堂法會) was a dharma assembly held on the occasion of various events, including the opening of a lecture hall for expounding the dharma, the ordination of a new abbot, or a celebration for the completion of a new building.

93 A *panhyang* 羯香 is a piece or bundle of incense used by Seon masters when praying on someone's behalf.

94 A metaphor for the teaching of the dharma, which nourishes the disciple's spiritual growth as milk nourishes an infant.

95 Daejang Gongju Noguk 魯國 (d. 1365), also known as Queen Indeok, was a Mongol princess and queen of Goryeo by marriage to King Gongmin. She was from the Borjigin clan.

96 The Red Turban rebellions were uprisings against the Yuan dynasty between 1351 and 1368. The name “Red Turbans” has its origin in their tradition of using red banners and wearing red turbans to distinguish themselves. After gaining control

of the Liaodong Peninsula, the Red Turbans invaded Goryeo in 1359 and 1360.

97 Seohae-do 西海道 is today's Hwanghae-do, North Korea.

98 The “five schools and two orders” (*ogyo yangjong* 五教兩宗) refers to the taxonomy of Korean Buddhism in the Goryeo and early Joseon periods. The two orders stand for the meditative Seon branch and the doctrinal Gyo branch. The term five schools denotes the five doctrinal schools (as opposed to Nine Mountains of Seon), namely the Nirvana school, the Vinaya or Southern Mountain school, the Wonyung or Hwaeom school, the Dharma Characteristic school, and the Dharma Nature school. .

99 The *gukjon* 國尊 was a title used in Goryeo during the period of Mongol rule and equivalent to the *guksa*, national preceptor.

100 王師 大曹溪宗師 禪教都摠攝 勤修本智 重興祖風 福國祐世 普濟尊者.

101 Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–1396) was a civil official and a great scholar of the late Goryeo who passed the *gwago* examinations of Goryeo and Yuan and served as a government official in Yuan. He raised many disciples and contributed to deepening the understanding of Neo-Confucianism.

102 Hall name (*dangho* 堂號), a title given based on the name of the monk's place of residence.

103 The traditional Korean way of ironing, where the cloth is softened and pressed by a method of beating it with wooden bats against a smoothing stone.

104 Black ascetic (*beuk duta* 黑頭陀). *Duta* is a transcription of Sanskrit term *dhūta* meaning austerities. It is a situation similar to Master Jin'gam in China mentioned earlier in this book.

105 Seogwangsa 釋王寺 is a monastery in Anbyeon, Hamgyeongnam-do. *Seogwang* means interpreting a dream about becoming a king.

106 An island in the Amnokgang and famous for this historical episode. It was at Wihwado that Yi Seonggye decided to turn his army back south and started a series of revolts that led to the fall of Goryeo and the founding of Joseon.

107 *Cheongya manjip* 青野漫集 is an unofficial history composed in 1739 covering the period from the end of Goryeo to King Sukjong (r. 1674–1720) of Joseon. The book was written for the purpose of education and covers important historical events.

108 Jeong Dojeon 鄭道傳 (1342–1398) was a Confucian scholar who assisted Yi Seonggye in establishing Joseon and played a major role in strengthening the institutions and foundations of the emerging dynasty. However, he was later killed by Yi Bangwon (later King Taejong). Jeong wrote a book titled *Bulssi japbyeon* 佛氏雜辨, which is a harsh critique of Buddhism.

109 *Paryeokji* 八域志 is regional geography of the eight provinces of Joseon, written in

1714 and introducing famous and important figures.

110 Doseon 道詵 (827–898).

111 There was a prophecy circulated in prophetic books during the late Goryeo period saying that “the son of a tree” shall be given the country. The characters for “son of a tree” (木子) together form the character 李, meaning plum tree, which is the family name (Yi) of the ruling dynasty of Joseon.

112 *Śarira* (lit. body relics) refer to the remains of a buddha, eminent monk, or advanced practitioner following cremation. The two, often interchangeable, Korean terms *sari* 舍利 (a transcription of the Sanskrit term) and *yeonggol* 靈骨 (lit. spirit-bone) are used throughout this text. The former is generally used for the bead-like objects of various colors found in the ashes after cremation, while the latter is used in a more general sense, or to refer to bone remains. Also, a more neutral term *yugol* 遺骨 is used, which I render as “remains.”

113 Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清珙 (1272–1352), a Chan monk of the Linji school (臨濟宗) of Chinese Chan. He inherited the dharma of Jiyan Zongxin 及庵宗信.

114 三韓兩朝國師 利雄尊者

115 The three phrases (*samgu* 三句) and three barriers (*samgwan* 三關).

116 國師 正徧智 智雄尊者

117 Yi Inim 李仁任 was a leading politician during the reign of King U of Goryeo, adopting pro-Yuan policies and expelling the pro-Ming faction.

118 Choe Yeong 崔瑩, a famous general of late Goryeo, defeated the Red Turban invaders and Japanese pirates. He planned the attack on Liaodong in 1388 but was frustrated by Yi Seonggye’s coup.

119 *Geumgang banya baramil gyeong og a hae seorui* 金剛般若波羅密經五家解說註 [Commentaries of Five Masters on the *Diamond Sutra*].

120 Gim Suon 金守溫 was an early Joseon scholar, who as a member of the Directorate for Sutra Publication (Gan’gyeong dogam 刊經都監) took part in the publication and editing of Buddhist texts. He was a younger brother of the eminent monk Sinmi 信眉 (1403–1480).

121 Eminent Master of the Jogye Order, Chief Superintendent of the Seon Order, True Vehicle of Reverence and Faith, Vigorous Practitioner of the Ultimate Truth, Grand Seon Master (大曹溪宗師 禪教都摠攝 崇信真乘 勤修至道 都大禪師).

122 A commentary on the text written by the Goryeo Seon Master Hyesim 慧謙 (1178–1234), a student of Jinul 知訥 (1158–1210).

123 “Letter of the Northern Mountain” (Beishan yiwen 北山移文). When Zhou Yong 周顥, who had lived in seclusion at Mountain Bei (Northern Mountain) tried to return from Haiyan County after finishing his term as a county magistrate, Kong Zhikui 孔稚圭 composed a critical note on behalf of the mountain spirit. The text

is a critique of fake hermit scholars.

124 The mind-ground (*simji* 心地) is a metaphor for a true mind.

125 Zhiyan 智嚴 (602–668) was a Chinese Huayan scholar-monk, a disciple of Dushun 杜順, and considered second patriarch of the Huayan school. He wrote such Huayan commentaries as *Souxuan ji* 搜玄記 and *Kongmu zhang* 孔目章.

126 Perfect and sudden teaching (Kr. *wondon gyo* [Ch. *yuandun jiao*] 圓頓教) are the two highest teachings of the five-class taxonomy of the Tiantai school.

127 Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163) was a predecessor of the Song dynasty Linji school. He was a disciple of Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 and advocate of *kanhua* Chan (Kr. *ganhwa* Seon) 看話禪, a phrase-observing meditation.

128 *Hwadu* 話頭, rendered as the “keyword” or “critical phrase” of the *gongan* riddles and the central focus of *ganhwa* Seon practice.

129 Gaofeng Yuanmiao 高峰原妙 (1238–1295) was a Chan monk of the Yuan dynasty. His *Essence of Chan of Master Gaofeng* (*Gaofeng chanyao* 高峯禪要) was a textbook of the Joseon monastic curriculum.

130 The phrase means throwing one’s place to another world.

131 The original context of this term (*jeoktong* 嫡統) is the main line of descent of a family, i.e., the lineage of the sons of main wives, hence rightful heirs.

132 Literally, Master Cheng (程子), which may refer to Cheng Yi or Cheng Hao or both, the two preeminent scholars of Song Neo-Confucianism.

133 Zhuzi 朱子, or Master Zhu, the famous Song dynasty Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi 朱熹.

134 Wandering about freely (*soyo* 遊遙). The expression is often used in Seon texts as an image of an enlightened master, who lives freely.

135 A phrase from the famous dialogue between Zhuangzi and Huzi about the happiness of fish and the possibility of “knowing” it. The abridged quotation here misses the words “happiness of” (之樂). Hence, it can be translated as how can you know/understand “the fish,” “things fish,” or “matters of fish.” The line of the dialogue actually belongs to Huzi.

136 An ancient Indian name for China transcribed into Chinese. In this poem it is also interpreted as Joseon.

137 Monk of clouds and waters, that is, a Seon monk who moves freely like clouds and water.

138 One of the ascetic practices recommended by the Buddha.

139 Vaiśālī is a city on the Ganges River that the Buddha often visited and where he preached. It was also the site of the Second Buddhist Council.

140 Magadha was an ancient Indian kingdom in central India. After the Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa* the First Buddhist Council was held in Magadha’s capital, Rājagrha.

141 Three vehicles of *śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha*, and *bodhisattva*.

142 There are several definitions of “six blood relations.” It either describes six generations in one familial bloodline, or one’s immediate relations—father and mother, wife and child, elder and younger siblings.

143 Cultivate (彌琢), lit. to carve and polish, to train one’s character.

144 The title “monk designate” (*daeseon* 大選) was given to a monk who had passed the monastic examination.

145 Virtuous Seon Masters (*seondeok* 禪德), a title bestowed on Seon monks with long experience of meditation.

146 Here perfuming (Kr. *hunseup* 熏習 or *seup* 熏, Skt. *vāsanā*) was a metaphor for the continuation of karma, and especially of habituation. Just as clothes that are exposed to certain smells or scents retain traces of that scent, human actions leave their impression in the mind.

147 A living phrase (*hwalgu* 活句) is a phrase that cannot be understood through language.

148 Zhaozhou 趙州 (778–897) was a Tang period Chan master and disciple of Nanquan Puyan 南泉普願 who lived to the age of 120. Zhaozhou was a famous protagonist of the *hwadu*, in which he answered *mu* 無 (without, none, not, nonexistent etc.) to the question regarding the Buddha-nature of a dog.

149 To expound a dream within a dream (夢中說夢) refers to phenomena lacking their substance.

150 The so-called “shortcut approach” (*gyeongjeol mun* 徑截門) was the approach of Seon practice wherein the student is pointed directly to the truth by means of *gongan*/*hwadu* practice.

151 Officials of the three offices (*samsa* 三司), namely, the Office of the Inspector-General (Saheonbu 司憲府), Office of the Censor-General (Saganwon 司諫院), and Office of Special Advisors (Hongmun'gwan 弘文館).

152 Gwaneumjeon, a monastery hall or shrine dedicated to Avalokiteśvara.

153 The collapsed platform assembly (Ch. *zhechuang hui* [Kr. *jeolsang boe*] 折床會) is a reference to an anecdote about masters Mazu and Ruhui, in which so many people who came to study under them that the meditation platform in the assembly hall collapsed.

154 Wisdom and virtue (Ch. *jiqi* 穖契) is a reference to a narrative from ancient China about Hou Ji 后稷 and Qi 契, two loyal officials under Yao and Shun. The former represents wisdom and the latter virtue.

155 The four eons (Skt. *kalpa*) of a world’s existence: formation, existence, decay, and disappearance.

156 The four marks or phases in the existence of phenomena: arising, abiding,

changing, and ceasing (*saeng ju i myeol* 生住異滅).

157 The four basic forms of suffering as well as the four characteristics of one's life: birth, aging, sickness, and death (*saeng no byeong sa* 生老病死)

158 Buddha-work (*bulsa*) denotes a wide scale of activities of Buddhist activities including rituals, worship or praying and also activities supporting the religions such as building monasteries and supporting the monastic community.

159 Sky-flower (*gonghwā* 空花 or 空華), is a metaphor used in many scriptures and treatises, as well as poetry, to point out flaws in the human cognitive process. The sky-flowers are the spots we sometimes see when looking into the sky, a visual illusion.

160 The *girin* (Ch. *qilin*) is a mythical horned animal. The *girin* horn is a metaphor for a very rare occasion.

161 Changhwa, the former name of Yangju-gun in Gyeonggi-do.

162 Gija 箕子, a wise man of late Yin dynasty who is honored as the founder of Gija Joseon. He is said to be the author of “Great Plan with Nine Divisions” (*Hongfan jiuchou* 洪範九疇).

163 Śāṇakavāsa (Kr. Sangnahwasu 商那和修) was a disciple of Ānanda. In the Seon tradition, he is listed as the third patriarch.

164 Upagupta (Kr. Ubagukda 憂婆國多) was the fourth patriarch of Indian Seon and a teacher of King Aśoka.

165 The year of the Jeong Yeorip 鄭汝立 incident, which originated with accusations against Jeong Yeorip of plotting a revolt. The incident ended up costing the lives of many politicians between the years 1589 and 1591. Monk Mu'eop, one of monks close to Jeong, under torture falsely accused Hyujeong and Yujeong to be involved in the treason. For this reason, both were arrested and investigated, but King Seonjo had them released.

166 Gwon Yul 權慄 was a Joseon general and commander-in-chief of Joseon forces during the Imjin Wars against the Japanese. He is best known for his actions at the Battle of Haengju, where he defeated an attacking force of about 30,000 Japanese with only 2,800 troops.

167 國一都大禪師 禪敎都摠攝 扶宗樹敎 普濟登階尊者

168 Yi Jeonggwi 李廷龜 (1564–1635) was a Joseon scholar and politician who reached the position of *jwaiujeong* (second state councillor) and one of the four great literates of Classical Chinese.

169 Jang Yu 張維 (1587–1638) was a Joseon military official, one of the four great literates of Classical Chinese.

170 The Japanese office of chief councilor (Jp. *kampaku*) served as primary councilor or regent to an adult emperor. The post existed from the Heian period until the

end of the Tokugawa.

171 Samgangdong 三綱洞, probably Gora-ri in Muan-myeon, Miryang-gun.

172 Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 was a monk of the Yuan period.

173 Another record states 1644 (22nd year of King Injo of Joseon).

174 Yi Myeonghan 李明漢 (1595–1646) was a Joseon literatus and official, the son of Yi Jeonggwi 李廷龜.

175 Yi Gyeongseok 李景奭 distinguished himself during the Manchu invasions of Korea. However, he ultimately played a bad role, for he was entrusted the task of composing the inscription for a monument celebrating the Manchu (Qing) victory, the Samjeondo Stele (三田渡碑).

176 Yi Dansang 李端相 (1628–1669) was a scholar and official, the son of Yi Myeonghan.

177 The Yemun'gwan 藝文館 (Office of Royal Decrees) was an administrative office and research institution affiliated with the Ministry of Rites. The *jikjaehak* was a third-rank official.

178 The phrase, “When good men are seen one wishes to be like them” (見賢思齊), comes from the *Analects of Confucius*.

179 Lu Xiangshan 陸象山, or Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–1192), was a famous Neo-Confucian scholar of the Southern Song (南宋).

180 Lu 盧 was Huineng's family name.

181 Han Chieung 韓致應 (1760–1824) was a civil official of the late Joseon period.

182 Yi Deoksu 李德壽 (1673–1744), for his writing style, was trusted by King Yeongjo and participated in the revision of the *Manual for the Five Categories of State Rites* (*Gukjo orye'ui* 國朝五禮儀).

183 “Facing the wall” (面壁) is a form of meditation associated with Bodhidharma, the founder of Chan/Seon.

184 Hong Gyehui 洪啓禧 (1703–1771) was a civil official of the late Joseon period, serving in several state ministries (Personnel, Rites, and War).

185 The Seja igwisa 世子翊衛司 (Crown Prince Guards) was an office in charge of protecting and educating the crown prince.

186 Monks in charge of ritual procedures.

187 Chae Jegong 蔡濟恭 (1720–1799) was a scholar, writer, and politician of Joseon. He held high government positions up to chief state councilor (*yeonguijeong* 領議政). He inherited the teachings of Toegye Yi Hwang and was the leader of the Southerners (Namin 南人) and demonstrated an inclusive attitude toward Buddhism.

188 The “City of Fragrances” (Skt. *Gandhvati*, Kr. *Junghyangseong* 衆香城) was a city mentioned in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and where Dharmôdgata Bodhisattva

lived and preached.

189 Gim Sangbok 金相福 (1714–1782) was a civil official of the late Joseon dynasty who served as a state councilor during King Yeongjo's reign.

190 This sentence concerns Naam's teacher, Seoldam.

191 Yi Chungik 李忠翊 (1744–1816) was a late Joseon follower of Wang Yangming's philosophy. He was also well versed in Buddhism and Daoism.

192 Painting (*dancheong* 丹青), lit. red and blue, the colorful painting of the interior of Korean Buddhist structures.

193 A fundraising note (*gwonseonmun* 勸善文; lit. goodness-encouraging text), was a text exhorting people to sponsor construction activities at a Buddhist monastery.

194 A hermitage that was located on Dosolsan Mountain in Gochang-gun, Jeollabuk-do.

195 Gwon Donin 權敦仁 (1783–1859) was a high-ranking Joseon civil official of the nineteenth century. He served in the positions of third state councilor (*uuijeong*), second state councilor (*jwauijeong*), and chief state councilor (*yeonguijeong*).

196 Gim Jeonghui 金正喜 (1786–1856), pen name Chusa 秋史, was a renowned scholar, writer, and calligrapher, widely known for his “Chusa style.” He closely interacted with Buddhist monks, including Chouï Uisun.

197 “Great faculties and great functioning” refers to the methods a Seon master uses to guide practitioners.

198 “Faculties and functions” (機用), or “profound functions,” is a term denoting the methods which transcend language (e.g., gesturing and shouting) used by Seon masters. The concept of “killing and giving life” again describes positive and negative techniques a Seon master uses when instructing a disciple.

199 A “response through feelings” (*gameung* 感應) means literally to feel and then respond, or what might be termed sympathetic resonance. Various schools of East Asia have interpreted this term in different ways, ranging from Daoist notions of resonance among interrelated things, between Heaven and the people in Confucianism, or the buddhas/bodhisattvas and the people in Buddhism etc.

200 A passage from the “Greater Odes of the Kingdom” (大雅) section of the *Book of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經), adapted from Legge (1871, 477).

201 Hong Hyeonju 洪顯周 was a son-in-law of King Jeongjo and an esteemed writer.

202 Shin Wi 申緯 (1769–1847) was a poet, calligrapher, and painter as well as a noted scholar.

203 Shin Gwanho 申觀浩 (1810–1888) was a Joseon scholar and diplomat. In 1876, he signed the Ganghwado Treaty with Japan.

204 “When men from village gates and lanes wish to polish their actions and establish their names, unless they attach themselves to a man of the highest rank [a man of

the blue clouds (青雲之士)], how can these [actions and names] reach later ages?” (Sima, 1996, 6).

205 The first verse of a poem is a reflection on the famous narrative of *gisaeung* Nongae who entertained victorious Japanese generals after their successful siege of Suyeongseong Fortress in today’s Jinju during the Imjin Wars. After serving them alcohol, she embraced one of the generals and cast herself along with him from a cliff into the waters of Namgang River.

206 Sweet-dew water (*gamnosu* 甘露水) refers to the spring water in buddhist monasteries. Sweet-dew (*gamno* 甘露, Skt. *soma* or *amṛta*, a term etymologically related to the Greek ambrosia), is in the Indian context drunk by Vedic gods and wards off old age and death. In the Buddhist context *gamno* is occasionally linked with Buddha Amitābha, who is referred to as *gamno wang*, the king of immortality.

207 Bojo Chejing 普照體澄 (804–880), the third patriarch of the Gajisan school of the Nine Mountain Schools of Seon.

208 “Fellow traveler” (*doban* 道伴) in the Buddhist context referred to a fellow practitioner, i.e., a companion on the way to awakening. In this case, the term can be understood in both its literal and figurative senses.

Biographies of Eminent Monks of Jogye

Jogye goseungjeon 曹溪高僧傳
by Geummyeong Bojeong 錦溟寶鼎

Biography of National Preceptor Buril Bojo (佛日普照國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Jinul 知訥, and his pen name was Moguja 牧牛子. His secular family name was Jeong 鄭, and he was a native of Dongju 洞州, west of Gaegyeong. His father was Gwangu 光遇, and his mother was from the Jo 趙 clan. He was born in 1158 (12th year of King Uijong of Goryeo). At the age of eight, he had his head shaved and became a monk under Seon Master Jonghwi 宗暉, the eighth-generation successor of the dharma transmission of Jogye. However, he did not have a designated master. In 1182 (12th year of King Myeongjong of Goryeo) at the age of twenty-five, he came to Bojesa monastery in Gaegyeong to take the monastic examination, which he passed.

Then he traveled to the Cheongwonsa Monastery in Changpyeong-hyeon, where he studied the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (*Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經), which he apprehended all by himself. In 1185, he went to the Bomunsa Monastery on Hagasan Mountain where he studied the Buddhist canon and received Li Tongxuan's *Treatise on the Flower Ornament Sutra* (*Huayan jing lun* 華嚴論).¹ His previous understanding became deepened, and he mastered perfect and sudden contemplation (圓頓觀). When Elder Deukjae 得才 invited him to serve as abbot of Geojosa 居祖寺 Monastery on Palgongsan 八公山 Mountain, he welcomed a wide range of outstanding people. They equally practiced meditative concentration (*jeong* 定, Skt. *samādhi*) and wisdom (*hye* 慧, Skt. *prajñā*), and this was called the Samadhi and Prajna Society (Jeonghye gyeolsa 定慧結社).²

In 1198 (1st year of King Sinjong of Goryeo), he arrived at Muju-am 無住庵 Hermitage on Jirisan. Several auspicious signs confirming his awakening appeared. He received the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* (*Dahui yulu* 大慧語錄), and suddenly, his eyes opened, and wisdom deepened.

By 1200 he moved to Gilsangsa 吉祥寺 Monastery on Songgwangsan 松廣山 in Buyu-hyeon 富有縣. It had been eleven years since he led the followers here and initiated the assembly. On the first day of the tenth month of 1205, he held a celebratory service upon the king's order.

He always encouraged people to carry and recite the *Diamond Sutra* and expounded its meaning to them. He always referred to the *Treatise on the Flower Ornament Sutra* and the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* and practice according to the three gates.³ The king ordered the name [Jeonghyesa] be changed to Suseonsa 修禪社 (Seon Cultivation Society)⁴ of Jogyesan 曹溪山 Mountain. Thus, the name of Songgwangsan was changed to Jogyesan, and Jeonghyesa 定慧社 was renamed Suseonsa. Also, the later change of the name to Daeseung Seonjong 大乘禪宗 (Mahayana Seon School) Jogyesan Songgwangsa was by royal order.

In the second month of the year 1210, he organized a guiding ceremony for his deceased mother. On the twentieth day of the third month of the same year, he became slightly ill. After eight days, he took a bath, changed clothes, took his walking staff, ascended the hall [to expound the doctrine], lit the incense, and preached the following verses:

This eye, nose, mouth, and tongue,
Are not the eye, nose, mouth, and tongue of a patriarch,
Yet thousands and myriads [of things]
Are all herein. Bah!⁵

He passed away quietly on the dharma seat. After the cremation ceremony, thirty large and a countless number of smaller *sarira* appeared, and a stupa was built at the northern peak. When the king heard the news, he was shocked and saddened. The master's posthumous title was Buril Bojo, and his stupa name was Gamno 甘露 (Sweet Dew). His secular age was fifty-three years, and his dharma age was thirty-six.

Biography of National Preceptor Jin'gak Wonso (眞覺圓炤國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Hyesim 慧謙, and his pen name was Muuija 無衣子. His secular family name was Choe 崔, and he was a native of Hwasun. His father was Wan 瓣, and his mother's family name was Bae 裴. He was born in 1178 (8th year of King Myeongjong of Goryeo). In the year 1201 (4th year of King Sinjong of Goryeo), he passed the *samasi* exam.⁶ The following year, when his mother passed away, the National Preceptor Bojo of Jogye initiated the society and taught people extensively. Hyesim immediately joined the society. He asked for a guiding ceremony on behalf of his deceased mother, and for permission to become a monk. Both requests were granted. He was then twenty-five years old.

The grand master dwelled in Osan 鱾山. When he recited the verses, people ten miles away could hear him. When National Preceptor Bojo stayed in Eokbosan Mountain, the grand master visited him. A thousand paces from the hermitage, he heard the national preceptor calling his attendant. Hereupon he wrote these verses.

Before entering the path under Baegunsan,
The old master at the hermitage already paid his respects,
The sound of him calling the child resonates through the lichen fog,
The scent of the brewed tea is carried with the wind.

Once they paid each other the respects, the national preceptor gave him a handmade fan, and the grand master offered him verses.

Before it was in the hand of the master,
Now it came into the hand of the disciple,
When the heat of the world chases crazily,

It will be fine once it creates a cool breeze.

In 1208, he was chosen to inherit the dharma seat, but he refused and retired to Jirisan. In 1210 (6th year of King Huijong of Goryeo), the national preceptor entered *parinirvāṇa*. He could not but obey the king's order, so he entered [Suseonsa]. As King Gangjong sent an envoy to seek the dharma, the grand master wrote the *Mind Essentials* (*Simyo* 心要) and offered him the text. In 1219 (6th year of King Gojong of Goryeo), he was appointed to Dansoksa 斷俗寺 Monastery by royal decree. In the eleventh month of 1233, he returned to the [Seon Cultivation] Society and fell ill. Choe U, Duke of Jinyang,⁷ reported this to the king, who sent a court physician to examine him. The master moved to Woldeungsa 月燈寺 Monastery the following spring. In the sixth month, he called in Magok and other disciples and recited verses, saying, “The old man is in much pain today.”

Where all the suffering does not reach,
There is another world,
If you ask where it is,
It is the gate of immensely calm nirvana.

He assumed the lotus position and entered into nirvana. After the cremation ceremony, the spirit-bone relics were collected and taken to his original monastery. A stupa was built to the north of the monastery. When the king heard the news, he granted him the posthumous name Jin'gak 眞覺 and his stupa name Wonso 圓炤. His secular age was fifty-seven, and his dharma age was thirty-two.

Biography of National Preceptor Jinmyeong Bogwang (眞明普光國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Honwon 混元, and his posthumous title was Chunggyeong 沖鏡. His [secular] family name was Yi 李. His father was Sadeok 師德, and his mother's family name was Gim 金. He was born in 1191 (21st year of King Myeongjong of Goryeo). In 1203, when he was thirteen years old, he had his head shaved, became a monk, and received the full monastic precepts under Jongheon 宗軒, a distant descendant of Pumil 品日.⁸

He passed the Seon monastic examination and met Hongbyeon 洪辯 of Ssangbongsan 雙峯山 Mountain and Muuija 無衣子 Jin'gak 眞覺 [Hyesim 慧謙] of Jogye 曹溪. Then he served Cheongjin 淸眞 [Mongyeo 夢如] and followed him wherever he went, obtaining "all the marrow" (骨髓)⁹ and the skills of preaching the dharma. Choe U 崔瑀, Duke of Jinyang (晋陽公), petitioned the king requesting the promotion of master's monastic rank to that of *samjung daesa* 三重大師 (triple grand master), and appointed the master to Jeonghyesa 定慧寺 (i.e., Suseonsa 修禪社).

In 1245 (32nd year of King Gojong of Goryeo), the grand master was invited to preside over a construction completion ceremony at Seonwonsa 禪源寺 Monastery. Therefore, in the following year, he went to Seonwonsa in Ganghwa, the temporary capital city. King Go[jong] (高王) promoted him to grand Seon master (大禪師). According to Choe U's note, he led the celebration of the completion, ascended to the dharma throne, and succeeded Cheongjin. [Also], the king visited him, asked for the teaching of the dharma, and was exceptionally pleased. In the eighth month of 1252, when [National Preceptor] Cheongjin became ill, the king ordered the grand master to reside at Jogye[san], making him the fourth head of the society (社主). The king ordered a palace official to accompany the master on his way to Jogye.

In the twelfth month, the grand master entered the monastery and encouraged a new wave of Mogu (Bojo Jinul)'s tradition. In 1258, the king paid respects to him, treated him as his teacher, and appointed him to the Dansoksa 斷俗寺. Also, when the master visited Jaunsa 慈雲寺 Monastery, it rained heavily that evening after a long drought.

On the eleventh day of the fifth month of 1259 (46th year of King Gojong of Goryeo), the master was appointed as royal preceptor and regarded as a teacher by King Gojong, who passed away soon thereafter.¹⁰ Then, King Wonjong 元宗 ascended the throne. He showed even more courtesy toward the master and made Waryongsa 臥龍寺 Monastery the seat¹¹ of the national preceptor. [The king] greeted [the master] in the royal palace, paid him respects, treated him as his teacher, and offered him a gift he had made himself. In the tenth month of 1260 (1st year of King Wonjong of Goryeo), he entered the monastery, ascended to the hall, and expounded the doctrine for twelve years for the sake of sentient beings. The king's maternal uncle, Grand Master Gyeongji 鏡智,¹² was ordered by the royal court to move to Sagulsan 閣嶧山 Mountain, where he became a descendant of Pumil and dwelled in Dansoksa.

On the the seventeenth day of the twelfth month of 1271 (12th year of King Wonjong of Goryeo), the master fell ill and entered *parinirvāṇa* ten days later at four o'clock in the afternoon. When the king heard the news, he was shocked and saddened. The master's posthumous title was National Preceptor Jinmyeong Chunggyeong 眞明冲鏡 and his stupa name was Bogwang 普光. His secular age was eighty-one years, and his dharma age was sixty-eight.

Biography of National Preceptor Jajin Wono (慈眞圓悟國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Cheonyeong 天英, and his family name was Yang 梁. His father was Taekchun 宅椿, and his mother's family name was Gim. He was born on the thirteenth day of the sixth month of 1215 (2nd year of King Gojong of Goryeo). At the age of fifteen, he became a monk as a disciple of National Preceptor Jin'gak 眞覺 Hyesim 慧謙 of Jogye.

At the age of twenty, he joined a Seon meditation assembly¹³ and became the assembly's head. At the age of twenty-two, he passed the Seon monastic examination, took his walking staff, and left for the south. There he met National Preceptor Cheongjin 清眞 Mongyeo 夢如 and National Preceptor Jinmyeong 眞明 Honwon 混元, and his wisdom deepened.

At the age of thirty-two, Choe U, Duke of Jinyang, founded Seonwonsa, invited National Preceptor Jinmyeong Honwon, and made him the chief monk (法主).¹⁴ As the master (Cheonyeong) joined the dharma assembly, the Duke of Jinyang showed tremendous respect to him. He petitioned the king to promote the master to the rank of *samjung daesa*. When he was thirty-four years old, the king answered a request and promoted him to the rank of *seonsa* 禪師 (Seon master) and appointed him to the Dansoksa 斷俗寺.

At the age of thirty-five, the Duke of Jinyang founded the Changboksa 昌福寺 Monastery. When he held the construction completion ceremony, he invited the master to preside over the assembly. At the age of thirty-six, he was appointed abbot of Seonwonsa.

At the age of thirty-seven, Choe Hang 崔沆¹⁵ established Bojewon 普濟院, invited Seon monks from the Nine Mountain (Gajisan 迦智山, Sagulsan 閻崛山, Sajasan 師子山, Seongjusan 聖住山, Bongnimsan 鳳林山, Huiyangsan 曜陽山, Dongnisan 桐裡山, Sumisan 須彌山, and

Silsangsan 實相山) Schools of Seon (九山禪門) and asked the master to preside over the assembly.

At the age of thirty-eight, when National Preceptor Cheongjin passed away, National Preceptor Jinmyeong was ordered to reside at Jogye, and master (Cheonyeong) was appointed as chief monk of Seonwonsa. When National Preceptor Jinmyeong asked for his retirement, the master (Cheonyeong) was forty-two years old. He was ordered to succeed the Jogye (i.e., the position of head of the Seon Cultivation Society), as well promoted to *daeseonsa* (grand Seon master) and invited to the royal palace, where the king honored him with an offering. On the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month, he went down to the south by boat, entered Jogye, and spread the “light of the Buddha” once more. On the twelfth day of the second month of 1286 (12th year of King Chungnyeol of Goryeo), he was invited by Buldaesa 佛臺寺 Monastery. He called in the elders and said, “This old man is about to die. Be well! Now that the time is near, I don’t have much to say. To be born is to put on a lower garment, and to die is to take off the underwear. So who is this person who puts on and takes off clothes like this?” He passed away peacefully on the twenty-ninth day. The cremation ceremony took place on the eastern peak. The remains were collected and brought back to Jogye on the sixth day of the third month. When the king heard the news, he bestowed the posthumous title of Jajin Wono 慈眞圓悟 and the stupa name Jeongjo 靜照. When [the remains] were enshrined on the hill in the west, a pair of auspicious rainbows emerged. One appeared above the southern peak of Jogye[san], and the other occurred right across the ridge in front of the stupa. His secular age was seventy-two, and his dharma age was fifty-seven.

Biography of National Preceptor Won'gam Bomyeong (圓鑑寶明國師傳)

The master's name was Beophwan 法桓 or Chungji 沖止, and his self-given name (自號) was Bogam 宵庵. His family name was Wi 魏, and he was a native of Jeongan 定安. His father was So 紹, a *wonoerang* 員外郎 (undersecretary) official of the Census Bureau (戶部). His mother's family name was Song. Born on the seventeenth day of the eleventh month of 1226 (13th year of King Gojong of Goryeo), he began his studies at the age of nine. When he studied scriptures, philosophical, and historical works, he knew them by heart after reading them only once. He was also good at composing texts. At the age of nineteen, he passed the *gwageo* state examination as a *jangwon* 牡元, the first-ranked scholar, and was dispatched to Japan as an envoy.

In an attempt to escape the secular world, he visited National Preceptor Wono [Cheonyeong] of Seonwonsa, had his head shaved, and received the full precepts. He took his walking staff and traveled throughout the south, visiting various lecture halls. At the age of forty-one, he was staying at the Gamnosa 甘露社 (Sweet Dew Society) in Gimhae-hyeon. As one virtuous Seon master requested a poem from him, he recited:

On a spring day, flowers bloom in a laurel tree garden,
A delicate fragrance is floating in the wind of a small forest.
This morning, the fruit was ripe and soaked with sweet dew.
Countless men and gods are of one flavor.¹⁶

When National Preceptor Wono passed away in the second month of 1286 (12th year of King Chungnyeol of Goryeo), the master was appointed the head of the Suseonsa. On the sixteenth day of the fourth month, he became the successor of National Preceptor Wono, assumed

his position at the monastery, and began to preach the dharma. He became the sixth head [of the Suseonsa] and carried on the light of the dharma lit by National Preceptor Bojo [Jinul].

In response to a memorial¹⁷ to Emperor Shizu 世祖 of Yuan, the land of the society was restored to its original condition. When the Yuan court learned about the virtues and reputation of the master, a court official was dispatched to accompany the master to China. When he arrived in China on a horse, the emperor personally welcomed him and treated him with the respect of a disciple toward his master, and revered him as a teacher. The emperor gave him a gold embroidered *kāṣāya* robe, blue embroidered inner robe, white fly whisk, and other utensils of a monk (道具).

On the seventh day of the fourth month of 1292, he fell critically ill, and at dawn of the tenth day, he shaved his hair, donned clean clothes, and said to the disciples, “To be born and to die is the law of the human condition. I am leaving. Be well!” Then he recited the deathbed verses:

Looking back, it has been sixty-seven years,
And by today's morning, all things are completed,
Therefore, the way back home is calm and even,
The road is clean. I cannot get lost.
I have a mere bamboo staff in my hand,
I am glad I will not stumble on my way.

When he finished the poem, he passed away quietly. The cremation ceremony took place on the twentieth day of the month. Auspicious energy spread over the sky and did not disappear for months. When the king heard this, he granted him the posthumous title Won'gam 圓鑑 and the stupa name Bomyeong 寶明. A stupa was built in the northern valley of Jogye. The stele was erected on the southern foot of the mountain under the Gamnoam Hermitage. His secular age was sixty-seven years, and his dharma age was thirty-nine.

Biography of National Preceptor Hyegam Gwangjo (慧鑑廣照國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Manhang 萬恒, and his secular family name was Bak 朴. His father, Gyeongseung 京升, was a *jinsa* 進士 scholar. He was a native of Ungjin 熊津. After an awakening experience as a child, he joined the Nine Mountain [Schools of Seon] and passed the monastic examination with the highest results. He went to the Geumgangsan, spent a summer [retreat] there, and moved to Jirisan. Even when hungry, he did not consider eating important. He did not wear leather clothes, even when cold. He did not lie down for years. King Chungnyeol appointed him to the Samjangsa 三藏社 (Tripitaka Society). Also, the National Preceptor Wono [Cheonyeong] of Jogye advised him to stay there. It was impossible to count the number of scholar-officials (士大夫) who joined the Samjangsa and became monks.

When the Chinese master Mengshan 蒙山¹⁸ from Wuzhong (today's Jiangsu Province) heard about the texts and poems of the national preceptor, his praises did not cease. In 1313, King Taewi (太尉王),¹⁹ had a carriage prepared, and formally and humbly invited the master to the [Yuan] capital. There he summoned the distinguished monks of the Seon school. When the master arrived, “sticks and shouts”²⁰ were like a fresh wind, and debates were like river torrents. The king was pleased and personally served the food. He bestowed the title, Byeoljeonjongju jungsokjodeung myoyongjonja 別傳宗主 重續祖燈 妙用尊者²¹ and 50 *il*²² of monastic utensils. The master returned to the mountains.

In the seventh month of 1319 (6th year of King Chungsuk of Goryeo), the master fell ill and was planning to move to another place. However, the day before, a large tree on the southern peak had spontaneously collapsed. On the eighteenth day of the eighth month, he shaved his hair, changed his clothes, and polished the deathbed note. Then he indicated the place for his grave. By beating a drum, he

summoned the assembly of monks, leaned against the chief monk's chair,²³ and recited the verses of farewell:

Purifying the five aggregates,²⁴
Dying and being born, appearing, and disappearing,
Will we not meet somewhere?
There is no use for the raft once you cross the river.

Then he put his knees together, joined his palms, smiled, and passed away. The stupa was built on the ridge northeast of the monastery. When the king heard the news, he granted him the posthumous title Hyegam 慧鑑 and stupa name Gwangjo 廣照. His secular age was seventy-one years, and his dharma age was fifty-eight.

Initially, his mother, from the Jeong family, dreamed of an emerald-green curtain descending from the sky and a jade child who entered her bosom. The master was born on the sixth day of the eighth month of 1259 (46th year of King Gojong of Goryeo) and was named Maga 幕兒 (Curtain Child). When the master was about to enter *parinirvāṇa*, people called him Baektae 白太 (White), because they thought it was strange when they saw in their dreams that the monk ascended to heaven in a jade-colored curtain. The next day, they hurried to the monastery and saw that the monk had already passed away.

Biography of National Preceptor Gageom Gakjin (覺儼覺真國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Bokgu 復丘, and his courtesy name was Mueon 無言. He was a native of Goseong 固城 and was a son of the commissioner of the Security Council (*panmiljik* 判密直), right royal attendant (*useungsi* 右承侍) literary scholar (*munhan haksa* 文翰學士), royal secretary (*seungji* 承旨) Yi Jonbi 李尊庇. His mother always read the Mahayana scriptures. One day, she dreamt of a man dressed in official attire who appeared before her and said, "I will be there soon."

He was born on the fifteenth day of the ninth month of 1270 (11th year of King Wonjong of Goryeo). At the age of only ten, he went to National Preceptor Wono Cheonyeong 圓悟天英²⁵ of Jogye, had his head shaved, and received the full precepts. Soon, as National Preceptor Wono was dying, he entrusted Grand Seon Master Doyeong 道英 with master [Bokgu's education], and the master studied with him for ten years. In the autumn of 1290 (16th year of King Chungnyeol of Goryeo), he passed the Seon monastic examination at the age of twenty-one. He already detached himself from erroneous views and devoted himself to the Way.

As the master's second teacher, National Preceptor Jagak (慈覺國師),²⁶ sought to entrust him with apprentices, the master said, "I have to achieve my realization first, then I can transmit it to others. I dare not do it." Eventually, he went to Baegamsa 白嵒寺 Monastery and practiced day and night thoroughly with some ten companions. After more than a decade, he moved to such large monasteries as Wolnamsa 月南寺²⁷ or Songgwangsa 松廣寺. For more than forty years, one after another, he brought blessing to the nation and benefit to sentient beings. The rewards, honor, as well as grace [of the ruler], were nothing but empty shells to him. When he was appointed to Bulgapsa 佛岬寺 Monastery²⁸ by royal order, he said to his disciples, "I stayed on that

mountain before. One day someone bowed down and said, ‘Master, you will stay here.’ And now it has been proven.” Then he recited a poem:

Your Majesty granted me the Bulgapsan Mountain in Oseong,
Some say they already knew the lazy bird was coming back.
May you enjoy a life filled with respect and earnestness.
May the foundation of the country rest in peace from now on.

In 1355, he was staying at Baegamsa and became slightly ill in the sixth month. When he had recovered slightly on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month, he shaved his head, took a bath, and dressed up. Sitting on the chief monk’s chair, he was hitting a drum. Then he recited the following poem:

This mind is the Buddha, an old man from Gangseo,
There is no Buddha apart from the mind, an old man beyond
phenomena.
Midst the sound of squirrels and mice, I am sitting alone.
Nirvana and samsara are originally empty.

Then he passed away in a dignified manner. The cremation ceremony took place on the following day on the western peak, and the chest with *śarīra* was enshrined in Bulgapsa. When the king received the report, he bestowed the posthumous title Gakjin 覺眞 and stupa name Jaun 慈雲 on him. His secular age was eighty-six, and his dharma age was seventy-six.

Biography of Preceptor Gobong (高峯和尚傳)

The master's dharma name was Beopjang 法藏, and his secular family name was Gim 金. He was a native of Sincheon 慎川. His mother's family name was Im 林. She gave birth [to the master] in 1351 (3rd year of King Chungjeong of Goryeo). When he was young, he left his home, cultivated the Way, and accepted Naong Hyegeun 懶翁惠勤²⁹ as his teacher. His dharma name was Jisung 志崇, and his ordination name was Gobong 高峯. His hair was several inches long, he lived a modest and simple life, and he played the flute so well that people did not know he was also a wise and virtuous man. He built Cheongnyangam 清涼庵 Hermitage in the Andong-bu 安東府 with his own hands. Living for more than thirty years between the secular world and the green rivers and blue mountains of nature, he cultivated the character of a saint. In 1395 (4th year of King Taejo of Joseon), at the age of forty-five, he moved to Geumhwasan 金華山 Mountain in Nagan 樂安 in the south. After seeing a monastery in his dream, he went to the Songgwangsa in Jogyesan. He roamed and looked about, and it perfectly matched his dream from the previous night. He lamented and said to his disciples, "The entrance and the yard must be rebuilt."

In 1399 (1st year of King Jeongjong of Joseon), the master went to the royal palace and requested the reconstruction of the site of awakening (i.e., the monastery), where the teaching of Bojo (Jinul) and Boje (Naong Hyegeun) is cultivated. The king agreed and issued an edict, and in the seventh month of 1400, about thirty monks and laypeople, including Sangje 尚濟, were by royal order appointed to oversee the reconstruction. It was just like the old days. As the three or four halls for the Buddha, dharma, and sangha were almost built, the master stepped down because of the old age.

In 1404, the master was living in Gagam 覺庵 Hermitage on the Sineosan 神魚山 Mountain in Gimhae. In a dream, he met Boje, who

cut with the *daeryunmuldo*³⁰ knife, drank, allotted a half to the master, and said, “Everything is empty. Everything is empty.”

On the eighth day of the fourth month of 1414, when he returned to Songgwangsa, he met a venerable monk in a dream. The master listened quietly as the monk was preaching the dharma. It is hard to comprehend such an auspicious dream.

In 1420, when Jungin 中印 of the Jogye order (曹溪宗) was dwelling at the monastery, his students, including Sanghye, altogether with [Gobong’s] students, including Sangje, reconstructed and expanded the halls and shrines. The construction was completed in 1428. The construction completion ceremony was held along with a ceremony praying for the king in the winter of 1430. The master fell ill on the eleventh day of the seventh month of 1428 (10th year of King Sejong of Joseon), and on the twenty-first day, he asked Dharma Master Godang 古堂 to write down two verses.

The original state of purity is extremely bright,
 Great rivers and great lands break through the sky to make dots,
 From where did the single body of Vairocana arise?
 The ocean-seal (海印) and Śākyamuni (能仁) are unified in samadhi.
 After seventy-eight years, I am returning home,
 The mountain and rivers of the great lands fill up the ten directions,
 Each instant and each grain of dust were created by me,
 Every single thing is my true home.

He finished the verses and passed away in a dignified manner. A group of his disciples held the cremation ceremony, collected his remains and enshrined them in the sleeping quarters. On the twenty-eighth day of the third month of 1429, Sinjun 信俊 and other disciples smelled an unusual scent, opened the box, and discovered two *sarīra*. On the twenty-fourth day of the third month of 1430, another twelve *sarīra* appeared, and on the last day of the month, fifteen pieces of *sarīra* were discovered. On the Day of the Buddha’s Awakening, the monks were practicing intensively, and another eight pieces of *sarīra* appeared,

making a total of thirty-seven. Thirty-three were dedicated to the place where the master lived. The four largest pieces were enshrined in a stupa built on the peak north of Songgwangsa. The master was seventy-eight years old, and his dharma age was sixty-eight.

Biography of National Preceptor Jeonggak (靜覺國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Jigyeom 志謙 or Jeongin 定仁. He was a native of Yeonggwang 靈光, and his secular family name was Jeon 田. His father was Gok 穀, and his mother's family name was Namgung 南宮. She dreamed of an Indian monk who requested overnight lodging. Then she became pregnant. The master [as a child] always seemed to be immersed in thought. A mysterious monk appeared and said, "This child has nothing to cling to in the secular world." At the age of nine, he was eager to become a monk. At the age of eleven, he went to master Sachung 翱忠 and had his head shaved. The following year, he received the full precepts at the ordination platform of the Geumsansa 金山寺 Monastery. The highest officials adored and respected the master's reputation.

In 1170 (1st year of King Myeongjong of Goryeo), he first took the Seon monastic examination. The examination was administered by the eunuch (內侍) Jeong Jungho 鄭仲壺. A sage appeared in his dream and said, "Tomorrow will bring the royal teacher." On that day, the master successfully passed the Seon examination. When the master lived in Dobongsan 道峰山 Mountain, a god appeared in a dream and said, "Your name is Jigyeom." The master changed his dharma name accordingly.

In 1189, he lived in Deunggosa 登高寺 Monastery, and in 1193, he was promoted to the monastic rank of *samjung daesa*, and in 1196 to *seonsa* (Seon master). In 1204 (7th year of King Sinjong of Goryeo), he became *daeseonsa* (grand Seon master) and became widely known in all directions. Whenever a Seon assembly was held, the master was called to preside.

In 1208 (4th year of King Huijong of Goryeo), there was severe drought and the master was ordered to the royal palace to preach the dharma, yet the rains still did not come after five days. When the monk

angrily said, “The Buddhadharma relies on the king. But if it does not rain now, where is the spiritual efficacy?” As soon as spoke thus, the welcome rain poured out, and people called it the “master’s rain.”

The master was very filial. When he learned that his mother had passed away, he immediately prayed to Lord Śakra (帝釋天), “If my mother’s life span has been exhausted, I beg you, let me give my life for hers.” Soon after, a servant from his family house came running and reported, “Our lady has returned to life.” This was due to the utmost filial piety.

In 1211, he moved to Gukcheongsa 國清寺 Monastery, and in 1213, when King Gangjong 康宗 wanted to appoint a national preceptor, Choe Chungheon 崔忠獻, Duke of Jin’gang (晋康公), recommended the master. The king sent an envoy with the request, but the master refused adamantly. Hence the king sent the commander in chief (上將軍) to Bojesa Monastery to honor the master and bring him to the royal palace, where the king personally paid respects of a disciple to him. By royal order, the master was appointed to Gwangmyeongsa 廣明寺³¹ and Geodonsa 居頓寺³² monasteries. When King Gangjong died, the current King Gojong 高宗 honored and respected the master even more. Choe Chungheon, Duke of Jin’gang, also had his son shave his head and become a disciple. Other high officials did the same. Such prosperities of the monastic community have not been the same in recent years.

In 1217 (4th year of King Gojong of Goryeo), the master said to a disciple, “I have raised a humble family. But since I became the teacher of the king, I am living beyond my means.” Then he asked for permission to step down, which the king reluctantly granted. Hwajangsa 華藏寺 Monastery is a place with beautiful scenery. Hence, he requested to go there and live in peace. Choe Chungheon bowed to him, and when he was bidding him farewell, he gave him his arm. Also, he gave him a good horse as a present. Although the master was a thousand miles away, the king’s longing for him did not go away.

On the fifteenth day of the sixth month of 1229, thunder and lightning struck suddenly, and the master fell slightly ill. On the second

day of the seventh month, he called in a disciple and asked him to write three letters. To the lord and Sangguk Choe U, Duke of Jinyang, “An eminent monk and the head of the Songgwangsa society (松廣社主) hereby reports his eternal departure.” As he finished dictating, he said, “It’s not easy to depart now,” and immediately fell asleep. On the eighth day of the seventh month, he said to the assembly:

The light of meditative concentration is serene,
The sun of wisdom is tremendously bright.
The dharma-realm and the defiled realm
Suddenly appear at the navel *cakra*.

Then he joined palms at his chest, sat quietly, and passed away. When the king heard the news, he was shocked and saddened, and he sent an envoy to take care of the funeral. The cremation ceremony took place on the southern peak. The remains were collected and enshrined in a tomb. The posthumous title written on the stupa was Jeonggak 靜覺. The master’s secular age was eighty-five, and his dharma age was seventy-five.

Biography of National Preceptor Wonjin (圓真國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Seunghyeong 承迥, and his secular family name was Shin 申. He was a native of Sanyang in Sangnak. His father was Tonghan 通漢, and his mother's family name was Im 任. However, both his parents died early. He was orphaned at the age of three and raised by his uncle, Gwanghan 光漢. As a child, he never played or joked around. At the age of seven, he was entrusted to Seon Master Yeonsil 演實 of the Unmunsa Monastery. At the age of thirteen, he went to Master Dongsun 洞純, a monk of Bongamsa 鳳嵒寺 Monastery on Huiyangsan Mountain, and had his head shaved. The next year, he went to the ordination platform of Geumsansa, where he received the full precepts.

In the spring of 1197, when he was taking part in the Seon [debate] assembly ([談]禪[法]會) at the Bojesa 普濟寺, he received an obituary informing him that eminent Master [Dong]sun had passed away. He took his staff and hurried to the funeral.

In the autumn of that year, the virtuous elders from his school recommended him to take the monastic examination at Gwangmyeongsa. King Myeongjong had heard about the master's conduct and discipline and ordered the official in charge to include the master in the list of examinees. All the virtuous monks at the examination site descended from their seats and stood with their palms joined when he passed the exam with the "best of the best" grade (上上品). However, the master had no interest in "fame and profit"; he only wished to wander among the famous mountain monasteries. He went to National Preceptor Bojo [Jinul] of Songgwangsa in Jogyesan, inquired about the gist of the dharma, and when he solved it, he arrived at the Odaesan. There he worshipped the statue of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva and gained a profound response (sympathetic resonance).³³

He also went to Cheongpyeongsan 清平山 Mountain. There he

explored the traces of Yi Jahyeon 李賚玄, Duke of Jillak (眞樂公),³⁴ read the *Sūraṅgama-sūtra*, and realized that all phenomena are apparitional. In 1208 (4th year of King Huijong of Goryeo), he was appointed to Yujeomsa Monastery by royal order. In 1210, *sangguk* Duke Cheongha (清河公) welcomed the master to Gwakjusa 郭住寺 Monastery in the capital city, honored him, and expressed the respect of a disciple toward a teacher. From that moment on, Duke Cheongha placed more emphasis on the Seon lineage and strove to spread the “dharma milk” of Jogye throughout the country.

Three years after King Gangjong ascended the throne, he promoted the master to the rank of *samjung daesa* 三重大師, and the master reluctantly accepted his duties. In the winter of that year, the king summoned him to the palace to verify and finalize recorded sayings of Seon masters. The master also had a strange dream while staying at the cave hermitage of Bodeokgul 普德窟 in the Geumgangsan.

King Gojong ascended the throne in 1213, and in 1214 he held the construction completion ceremony at Gwakjusa, where he promoted the master to *seonsa* 禪師 (Seon master). In the spring of that year, the king summoned him to the inner palace and asked him to ordain a son of Seochi, the superintendent in the Royal Clothing Office (*sangui jikjang* 尚衣直長) *dongjeong* 同正 official. The following spring, the master was promoted to *daeseonsa* 大禪師 (grand Seon master), and appointed to Bogeongsa 寶鏡寺 Monastery in Cheongha 清河. At that time, bandits had gathered in that area and caused trouble. When the master expounded on the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, the bandits were deeply moved and had an awakening experience. They also shed tears and were converted.

In the spring of 1220, abdicated king Gangjong personally entrusted his fourth son to the master, who shaved his head. He became Seon Master Gyeongji 鏡智, the abbot of Jin'gusa 珍丘寺 Monastery.

The well in Chiryeopsa 七葉寺 Monastery dried up, and the monks were worried because it had not rained for a long time. The master purified his mind and expounded the teachings of Chan Master Cijue 慈覺.³⁵ Using the metaphor of the Dragon King Sāgara not leaving

the dragon palace in the middle of the ocean, and with compassionate devotion, he delivered a series of speeches asking for the cloud of compassion to drop sweet dew. One night, a heavy rain came.

Also, a great drought came when he was staying at Yeomburam 念佛庵 Hermitage on Palgongsan. The master placed a cup of tea on a rock and prayed to the arhats using the *Repentance Scripture of Master Chanyue* (*Chanyue heshang chanwen* 禪月和尚懺文). He chanted invocations in Sanskrit, and even before he had finished, it suddenly began to rain so much that the farmers reported it was sufficient. These were a few of the instances wherein the master's virtues caused *gameung*, the response through feelings (sympathetic resonance).

In 1221, he expounded the *Śūraṅgama-sūtra*, and one day, he suddenly looked back at people and said, "It is difficult to meet the correct dharma. I will not be around for long. You, grand masters, do not waste your time." By the sixth month of that year, he had mild symptoms of an illness, but did not quit teaching, and moved to Yeomburam on Palgongsan in the seventh month. On the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month, he shaved his head and took a bath. On the second day of the ninth month, he called in the attendant, changed his clothes, sat on the meditation seat, and chanted Sanskrit invocations. When the attendant asked for verses, the master stared at him for a long time and said, "You fool! I never wrote a poem before, so what do you want from me now?" Then he hit the seat three times and passed away.

On the tenth day of the tenth month, the disciples held the cremation ceremony at the southern foot of Palgongsan, collected the spirit-bone relics, and erected a stupa. When the king heard the news, he was shocked and saddened, and bestowed the posthumous title Wonjin 圓眞 and the stupa name Hyegong 慧空 on him. The master's secular age was fifty-one, and his dharma age was twenty-four.

Biography of National Preceptor Bogak Jeongjo (普覺靜照國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Gyeonmyeong 見明, and his courtesy name was Hoeyeon 晦然 or Iryeon 一然. His family name was Gim, and he was a native of Jangsan 章山 in Gyeongju 慶州. His father was Eonpil 彥弼. His mother was from the Yi 李 family. She dreamt of the sun entering her room, and its rays shining on her belly for three nights. Then she became pregnant. Born in the sixth month of 1206 (2nd year of King Huijong of Goryeo), his physique was large and strong. His mouth was symmetrical, and when he walked, he seemed to take short steps. His eyes were sharp like the eyes of a tiger. At the age of nine, he went to Muryangsa 無量寺 Monastery in Haeyang 海陽 and began his studies there. In 1219, he had his head shaved and received the full precepts under an elder from Jinjeonsa 陳田寺 Monastery. He visited various Seon halls and, under the guidance of many [great teachers], became one of the best among the followers of the Nine Mountain [Schools of Seon]. He passed the monastic examination in 1227 with the “best of the best” rank. In the autumn of 1236, when the turmoil of war began,³⁶ the master tried to avoid it and recited the five-syllable mantra of Mañjuśrī and received the response through feelings. Mañjuśrī suddenly revealed himself and said, “Stay in Muju 無住 (Nonabiding).”

The following year, the master was living at Myomunam 妙門庵 Hermitage on Posan 包山 Mountain. He discovered there was a structure named Mujuśil 無住室 (Room of Nonabiding), and he remembered the previous event [when he had met Mañjuśrī in the previous year]. He focused on the penetration (參究)³⁷ of the phrase “The realm of sentient beings does not decrease; the realm of the Buddha does not increase.”³⁸ One day, he understood it clearly and attained awakening.

In that year, he was promoted to the monastic ranking of *samjung*

daesa (triple grand master) by a royal edict, to *seonsa* (Seon master) in 1246, and became *daeseonsa* (grand Seon master) in 1259. In 1261, the king ordered him to Ganghwa, the capital, to reside and teach at Seonwolsa 禪月社 Monastery. Hence, he spread the teaching of Moguja (Jinul). In the autumn of 1264, he was repeatedly asked to return to the south, and he moved to O'eosa 吾魚寺 Monastery. Soon after that, Manhoe 萬恢, the head of the Inhongsa 仁弘社 society, yielded his position to him.

In the summer of 1268, the master was appointed by royal order to preside and preach at the completion ceremony of the Tripitaka Koreana at Unhaesa 雲海寺 Monastery. He read the scriptures during the day and lectured at night. The Inhongsa was newly rebuilt and given the name Inheung[sa] 仁興[社]. Also, Yongcheonsa 涌泉寺 Monastery was reconstructed and was renamed to Burilsa 佛日社. This was all by royal order. In 1277, he was appointed to Unmunsa by royal order, and the king sent him a poem.

When transmitting the jewel, why to change the master?
 It is also strange that iron and earth meet and intertwine,
 I have been longing to invite the grand master to the royal palace,
 How can the master miss the branches in white clouds?

In the summer of 1281, when the king went to the east, his carriage headed to Gyeongju 慶州, the eastern capital. The master went to the king's temporary quarters, where the king had him ascend to the dharma seat and receive the "Text of the Buril Cultivation Society" (Buril gyeolsa mun 佛日結社文). The following autumn, the king issued a royal order and appointed him to Gwangmyeongsa. On the night of the day when he assumed his position, someone uttered, "Welcome!" The master looked [outside] three times but saw no one.

In the spring of the following year, the king said to several officials, "The teaching and virtue of Preceptor Unmun (雲門和尚) are extraordinary. Therefore, people of the entire country revere him." Then he sent his respects to the master and granted him the title of *gukjon*

國尊 (national preceptor). The master submitted a note to the king and refused adamantly, but the king ordered him again and installed him as Won'gyeong chungjo gukjon 圓經沖照國尊.

In the fourth month, the master was greeted in the royal palace, where the king himself honored him as his teacher. The master asked for permission to return to the mountains because of the old age of his mother. She died at the age of ninety-six in the following year.

He ordered his attendants to repair In'gaksa Monastery, which was intended as the master's seat (下山地). [For this purpose], more than a hundred *gyeong*³⁹ of land was purchased. When the master held the Assembly of Nine Mountains (九山會), it certainly was different from before.

The master became ill in the next year of 1289. In the 7th month, he himself wrote a note to inform the king about his departure. On that night, a big star fell behind his room. On the next day, he took a bath, sat down, and let the drum beat. Then he went to the Seonbeopdang 善法堂 (Shrine of Good Dharma). There he sat down on the meditation seat and struck three times with his staff. He preached on "patience based on awareness of non-arising," smiling, and speaking calmly. He passed away quietly, with his hands in the gesture of the diamond seal (金剛印). The cremation ceremony was performed. The collected spirit-bone relics were enshrined in a stupa at the foot of a mountain in the east. When the king heard the news, he granted him the posthumous title Bogak 普覺 and stupa name Jeongjo 靜照. His secular age was eighty-four, and his dharma age was seventy-one.

Biography of National Preceptor Bogam Myo'eung (寶鑑妙應國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Hon'gu 混丘, his childhood name was Cheongbun 清玢, and his pen name was Mugeuk 無極. His secular family name was Gim. His father was the Assistant Grand Councilor of the Chancellery (*cheomui pyeongni* 爰議平理) Hongbu, a native of Cheongpung-gun. His mother's family name was Min. The master was born on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month of 1239 (26th year of King Gojong of Goryeo) after his mother prayed to the statue of Avalokitēśvara at Bongnyeongsa 福靈寺 Monastery.

In childhood, when he played, he would be at building stupas, or he would sit and face a wall. As his thinking was right and mind strict, the relatives called him Little Amitābha Buddha. At the age of ten, he was entrusted to Master Cheon'gyeong 天鏡 of Muwisa 無爲寺 Monastery. He had his head shaved and passed the Seon monastic examination of Gusan (Nine Mountains). He studied under Bogak Iryeon and said that he would not quit before he realized the deep meaning. Earlier, a monk appeared in Iryeon's dream and called himself Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演.⁴⁰ When the master arrived the next morning, Iryeon was happy.

King Chungnyeol several times bestowed monk's robes and promoted him to *daeseonsa*. When King Chungseon ascended the throne, he granted him the special position of *yangga doseungtong* 兩街都僧統 (monk superintendent of both offices) and the title of Dae sajawang beopbo janghae gugil 大獅子王法寶藏海國一 (Great Lion King, Store Ocean of the Dharma Jewel, the First of the Nation). In 1313 (5th year of King Chungseon of Goryeo), when King Chungseon abdicated the throne and lived in Yeongangung 永安宮 Palace, he sent a palace messenger with a carriage to invite the master to the palace, where they discussed the dharma quietly. The master was appointed royal preceptor, Obulsimjong haehaeng wonman gamji wangsa 悟佛心宗解行

圓滿鑑智王師. Never before had two kings shared the same master as their teacher (i.e., royal preceptor).

The master asked for permission to resign and stayed at Yeongwonsa Monastery. In winter, in the tenth month, he moved to Songnimsa, where he wrote a letter and sealed it. On the thirtieth day, he took a bath and recited farewell verses.

I set foot in the forest of thistles and thorns,
And hid myself in piles of spears and shields.
Where the white clouds end, there is the blue mountain,
The one who leaves dwells outside the blue mountain again.

Then he returned to Yeongwonsa in Jirisan and passed away on his meditation seat. The cremation ceremony was performed on the west side of the monastery, the spirit-bone relics were recovered and enshrined in a stupa erected on the east side. When the king heard the news, he mourned and cherished the memory of the master. He granted him the posthumous title Bogam 寶鑑 and stupa name Myo'eung 妙應. The master's secular age was seventy-three, and his dharma age was sixty-three.

Biography of National Preceptor Daegam (大鑑國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Tanyeon 坦然, and his secular family name was Son 孫. His father was Suk 肅 and his mother was from the An 安 clan. He was a native of Sanyang-hyeon 山陽縣. At the age of eight or nine, he learned to understand and compose literature. At the age of thirteen, he mastered the Six Classics (六經),⁴¹ and at the age of fifteen, he became *myeonggyeongsaeng* 明經生⁴². He wished to escape the secular world, so he went straight to Anjeoksa Monastery on Buksan Mountain in the capital city and had his head shaved under the abbot. At the age of nineteen, he went to Gwangmyeongsa and visited National Preceptor Hyeso.⁴³ However, he could not travel far due to his mother's old age. In 1104, ten years after King Sukjong's succession to the throne, the master passed the *daeseon* examination and was appointed to Uirimsa 義林寺 Monastery in Jungwon 中原.

In 1108, in the fourth year of his reign, King Yejong, who respected the master, named him *daesa* (grand master), and in 1114, the tenth year of his reign, he specially promoted him to *samjung daesa* and bestowed a monk's robe upon him. Three years later, he lived in Seonamsa Monastery and was promoted to *seonsa* (Seon master) in 1120.

In 1122 (1st year of King Injong of Goryeo), he was awarded a silk-embroidered robe. In the fifth year [of King Injong], he was appointed to Cheonhwasa 天和寺 Monastery, and in the sixth year, he moved to Borisa 菩提寺 Monastery. In the seventh year, he held a dharma assembly, and all the snakes that were usually abundant, disappeared. Local people talked about the event, remarking it was strange.

In the tenth year of King Injong, 1131, the master was promoted to *daeseonsa* (grand Seon master). In the fourteenth year, he was appointed to Bomunsa 普門寺 Monastery, and in the sixteenth year, he returned to the capital by royal order. In the eighteenth year, he moved

to Gwangmyeongsa and wrote “Sawi uisong” 四威儀頌 and “Sangdang eogu” 上堂語句. In 1145, the king expressed his intention to select him as the royal preceptor and appointed him on the sixth day of the fifth month. There was a long drought, but heavy rain poured suddenly from the sky.

In 1147 (1st year of King Uijong of Goryeo), the master asked for permission to return to Dansoksa due to his old age. [The king] sent a high-ranking eunuch to attend to him, and they reached the monastery on the third day of the ninth month. In 1154, the master showed symptoms of illness and composed the following poem.

The wide and spacious world of the ten directions,
Is identical with the gate of liberation.
I will stop the different views,
And sit like a soul in a dream.

On the fifteenth day of the sixth month of 1158, he finished another poem and passed away with his palms joined. On the fifteenth day of the seventh month, the king heard the news and ordered the funeral preparations and granted him [the posthumous title] Daegam 大鑑. The cremation ceremony took place on the sixteenth day on a hill north of Sonamyeok 小男驛 station in Jinju. The spirit-bone relics were enshrined on the twenty-eighth at the foot of the mountain, north of Dansoksa. The master’s secular age was ninety years; his dharma age was seventy-five.

Biography of National Preceptor Daeji Hyewol (大智慧月國師傳)

The master's dharma name was Chanyeong 繫英, and his ordination name was Mogam 木菴. His secular family name was Han 韓, and his father was a native of Yangju. His mother's family name was Gwak 郭, and she was a native of Cheongju. The master was born on the eighth day of the first month of 1328 (15th year of King Chungsuk of Goryeo). In 1341, when he was fourteen years old, he was playing and swimming in the Hansu 漢水 River and saw three peaks rising, that is when he decided to become a monk. He had his head shaved under National Preceptor Wonjeung 圓證 (Taego Bou) of Jungheungsa 重興寺 Monastery. Five years later, he received the dharma, met National Preceptor Jeonghye in 1346, and he also came for the teaching to Preceptor Jaun 慈雲 of Yujeomsa 榆帖寺. In 1350 (2nd year of King Chungjeong of Goryeo), he passed the Seon monastic examination of Gusan (Nine Mountains) with the *sanggwa* 上科 grade. In 1353 (2nd year of King Gongmin of Goryeo), he passed the examination again with excellent results.

When the Venerable Gugil Jieom saw the Seon master [Chanyeong]'s physiognomy, he said, "This person will become the king's teacher." Then the Seon master tidied up his robe and left (拂衣)⁴⁴ for So-seolsan 小雪山 Mountain. Then he went to Samgaksan 三角山 Mountain, where he spent three years.

In 1359 (8th year of King Gongmin of Goryeo), King Gongmin invited the Seon master [to the royal palace]. When the king looked at the Seon master, he praised him as the "blue-eyed Bodhidharma."⁴⁵ Moreover, he appointed him *yangga doseungtong* 兩街都僧統 (monk superintendent of both offices), and the master held the position for several years before he quit. Then he was by royal edicts appointed to several monasteries, including Seongnamsa 石南寺, Wolnamsa 月南寺,

Sin'gwangsa 神光寺, and Unmunsa 雲門寺.

In the spring of 1372, the master was summoned by an edict to the royal court, where he was granted the title of Jeongji wonmyeong muae gugil seonsa 淨智圓明無碍國一禪師 and given a robe, alms bowl, and statue of Avalokitêvara. In the spring of 1374, when King Gongmin passed away, King U issued an edict appointing the master to Gajisa Monastery and specially bestowed upon him the title of Seon-Gyo dochongseop jeongji wonmyeong gugildo daeseonsa 禪教都摠攝淨智圓明國一都大禪師.

In 1377 (3rd year of King U of Goryeo), the master declined the request to become national preceptor, and using illness as an excuse, went to Bogaesan 寶蓋山 Mountain. In the following year, he was appointed to Gajisan Mountain by royal order, and in 1382 he lived in the abbot's quarters in the Cheongnyangsa Monastery. In the third month of 1383 (9th year of King U of Goryeo), the master was proclaimed royal preceptor, granted the title Dae jogyejong buril myeongbyeon daeji use isaeng boje muae dodaeseonsa myobyeonji woneung jonja 大曹溪宗佛日明辨大智祐世利生普濟無碍都大禪師妙辯智圓應尊者, and appointed to Eokjeongsa 憶政寺 Monastery. In 1384, he built a stele for his teacher, National Preceptor Wonjeung, at Jungheungsa Monastery.

In 1385, King U invited him to Gwangmyeongsa, and in 1388, he moved to Heungseongsa Monastery and lived there. In the second month of 1389 (1st year of King Gongyang of Goryeo), he was appointed to Eokjeongsa by royal order. On the twenty-eighth day of the sixth month of that year, the master summoned the assembly of the monastery and said, "I will remove the shell." Then he recited old verses and quietly passed away. The remains were collected after the cremation ceremony and enshrined in a stupa to the north, at the foot of a mountain. When King Gongyang heard the news, he granted him the posthumous title of Jigam Daeji 智鑑大智 and the stupa name Hyewol Wonmyeong 慧月圓明. His secular age was sixty-three, and his dharma age was forty-nine.

Biography of Royal Preceptor Myogak Sumi (妙覺守眉王師傅)

The master's dharma name was Sumi 守眉, and he was a native of Nangju. His secular family name was Choe. His mother dreamed about a strange person who gave her a bead, and she became pregnant. As she gave birth to the child, a mysterious fragrance filled the room.

At the age of thirteen, he went to Dogapsa 道岬寺 Monastery on Wolchulsan 月出山, shaved his head, and became a monk. After receiving the full precepts, he studied at several sutra schools. Then he met Sinmi 信眉, who was still a novice, at Beopjusa Monastery on Songnisan Mountain. As both their age and [the character *mi* 眉 of] their names were identical, they pursued studies together. They read the canon and mastered the vinaya. Soon, they showed their outstanding talents, so the fellow students pointed at the two calling them “two gates of sweet dew.”⁴⁶ But not long after, he told his fellow students, “I have been neglecting the primary task [of a Seon monk, i.e., meditation]. No matter how good the portrait, it is not a living person after all.” Then he abandoned the doctrinal studies of Gyo, began to “visit the Seon cave” (禪窟),⁴⁷ and became an advanced disciple of Deunggye 登階 Byeokgye Jeongsim 碧溪正心.

When Seon Master Sumi was appointed the *pan Seonjong sa* 判禪宗事 (head of the Seon school), he strived hard to “avert the waves of anti-Buddhist measures” and to restore “the already collapsed banks of the Buddhadharma,” becoming the hope for the order. When he returned to his home monastery Dogapsa, and saw the National Preceptor Doseon's site of awakening in ruins, he said to the assembly, “How can we just sit back, watch and not recover it from the destruction?”

Hereupon the king ordered his servant Hongwol 洪月 to oversee the reconstruction of the monastery, and had it newly reconstructed.

Moreover, Great Prince Yeongeung⁴⁸ became the chief donor and sponsored the making of the Yaksayeorae 藥師如來 (Medicine Buddha) triad, and personally enshrined it in the monastery. This was in 1457 (3rd year of King Sejo of Joseon). The donations were abundant, the greatest monks gathered, and the [Seon] order flourished.

Later, King Sejo appointed Sumi as royal preceptor, granted him the title of Dae Jogye jongsa myogak jonja 大曹溪宗師妙覺尊者 and bestowed the dharma robe and a fly whisk upon him. People, including high-ranking officials, who queried the Seon master regarding the dharma and paid respects to him were so many that they could not be recorded.

One day, he called in the disciples, exhorted them to perform the great task on behalf of the order, and quietly passed away. They performed the cremation ceremony at the foot of a mountain east of Dogapsa. The spirit-bone relics which they collected were enshrined in a stupa. A mystical light shone so bright as to make even the sun jealous, and a five-hued cloud hung in the sky for several days. People stood in awe when they beheld it. The master's secular age was sixty-three and his dharma age was fifty-one.

Biography of Venerable Buhyu Deunggye (浮休登階尊者傳)

The master's dharma name was Seonsu 善修, and his secular family name was Gim 金. He was a native of Osu 烩樹 in Namwon in Jeolla-do. His father's name was Jeoksan 積山. His mother, from the Yi 李 clan, was sonless so she prayed to an old rock by the roadside. One evening, a divine monk appeared in her dream and gave her a round bead, which she swallowed. She became pregnant and gave birth to the master in the second month of 1543 (38th year of King Jungjong of Joseon). He did not eat meat since he was young, and around the age of eight or nine, he said to his parents, "I would rather escape the mundane world in the future than live a vain transient life."

He bid farewell to his parents, and went to Duryusan 頭流山, had his head shaved under Elder Sinmyeong 信明, and learned about the Buddhadharma from Master Buyong Yeonggwan 芙蓉靈觀, whom he served. He was taller and more majestic than other men. However, his left hand was impaired. There was no book he did not read. He also mastered calligraphy. One day, someone passed by the capital with a few pieces of calligraphy written by the Seon master (Buhyu Deunggye). That person met a Chinese who knew the art of handwriting very well. He examined the works for a long time and said, "This is not easy to write. No doubt, it was written by a religious practitioner with an incapacitated hand."

In the *imjin* year of 1592 (25th year of King Seonjo of Joseon), when the barbarians from the island country (Japan) invaded our land, the Seon master avoided the war and went to live on Deogyusan Mountain. About ten robbers appeared once, and the master faced them with his palms joined. The robbers wielded their swords and pretended to attack. Nevertheless, the master remained calm. The bandits found this praiseworthy. They lined up, paid him respects, and

scattered.

The Seon master then went to Gayasan. When the Ming general Li Zongcheng 李宗城 entered Haeinsa 海印寺 Monastery, where he met the Seon master, it was not easy for him to leave. At the farewell, the master composed a poem to honor the general who went on a campaign to a country a thousand miles off.

The master moved to Gucheondong Valley in Muju, and was reading the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經), when a large snake suddenly appeared on the stairs. The Seon master approached the snake and stepped on its tail. The snake bowed and left. An old man appeared in the Seon master's dream, thanked him, and said, "I heard your sermon and was freed from suffering." Such were the mysterious doings of the Seon master.

This happened during the King Gwanghaegun's era,⁴⁹ when the Seon master resided on Duryusan. He was imprisoned because of a false accusation by a crazy monk. However, King Gwanghaegun knew that the Seon master was innocent and invited him to the palace the next day. He then asked about the essentials of the Buddha's teaching and was joyful. He gave the Seon master a robe, prayer beads, and other generous gifts. In addition, he sponsored a ritual assembly at Bonginsa 奉印寺 Monastery, and the Seon master was put in charge.

In 1614 (6th year of King Gwanghaegun of Joseon), when the master was seventy-two years old, he went from Jogyesan to Chilbulsan to encourage his disciples. When he became ill in the seventh month of the following year, he called in his superior disciple Byeogam Gakseong 碧巖覺性 (1575–1660), gave him the "treasury of the true eye of the dharma,"⁵⁰ and said, "Now, my teaching is with you. Take care of it." On the first day of the eleventh month, the master finished his bath, called his attendant, took a paper and a brush, and composed the following verses of nirvana.

After floating in an illusory sea for some seventy years,
This morning, I throw away my body and go back to the source.
Vast and empty, everything is originally nonexistent,

So how can there be awakening and the roots of samsara?

He finished the verses and quietly passed away. His secular age was seventy-three, and his dharma age was fifty-seven. The spirit-bone relics were collected after the cremation ceremony and enshrined in stupas erected at four places—Songgwangsa, Haeinsa, Chilbulsa, and Baekjangsa. King Gwanghaegun granted him the posthumous title of Honggak Deunggye 弘覺登階.

Biography of Seon Master Byeogam Gakseong (碧巖覺性禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Gakseong, and he was a native of Boeun 報恩 in Chungcheong-do. His secular family name was Gim 金. His mother was from the Jo 曺 clan. She did not have a son, so she prayed to [the constellation of] the Northern Dipper. She became pregnant after she looked into a mirror in her dream. She gave birth in the twelfth month of 1575 (8th year of King Seonjo of Joseon).

The Seon master was devoted to his parents and did not even like to play. When he lost his father at the age of nine, he met a monk who suddenly passed through after the funeral. The master did his utmost to learn the sitting meditation, *jwaseon* 坐禪. When his aunt passed away, he turned his attention to the path of awakening and went to Hwasan 華山 Mountain to pay his respects to Master Seolmuk 雪默. The master had his hair shaved at the age of fourteen, and received the full precepts from master Bojeong 寶晶. The Seon master followed Buhyu Seonsu 浮休善修 to Songnisan. After that, he traveled through Deogyusan, Gayasan, and the Geumgangsan. In the meantime, he studied the canon every day. Since then, he always followed the teachings of the scriptures, and never, not even for a moment, let go of the sutras.

In the *imjin* year of 1592, the Grand Master Songun 松雲 Samyeong Yujeong 泗溟惟政 raised a righteous army in the Gwandong region (Gangwon-do) and asked Buhyu for consultation. Even though Seon Master Buhyu evaded the Japanese pirates and went into the mountains, he always made sure to convey the news and ask whether there were any difficulties.

In 1593, Seon Master Songun 松雲 recommended Buhyu to the court. So, he joined the war, grabbed his weapon, and along with the Ming army, defeated the Japanese pirates at sea. The Ming commander Li Zongcheng 李宗城 praised him.

In 1600 (33rd year of King Seonjo of Joseon), he spent the summer retreat in the Seon monastery Chilbul Seonwon 七佛禪院. When Buhyu Seonsu became ill, he entrusted the Seon master with lecturing on scriptures. He could not refuse, ascended the dharma seat, and expounded on the sutras. He spread the deep and subtle meanings of the Buddhadharma.

When his mother died in 1606, he stepped down and performed the memorial ceremony for her postmortem merit at Gaseopgul 遺葉窟 Cave in Songnisan 俗離山. The Seon master spent more than twenty years under Buhyu's guidance and inherited the "treasury of the true eye of the dharma." Thereupon he composed three admonitions: "I shall not forget kindness. I shall not commit shameful deeds. I shall not bend my back." The large monasteries, which the Seon master repaired and rebuilt, include Hwaeomsa, Songgwangsa, and Ssanggyesa. I am omitting the rest.

During the reign of King Gwanghaegun, Seon Master Buhyu was falsely accused by a wicked monk. The master accompanied him (Buhuy) to the capital. As King Gwanghaegun saw the two monks, he considered them honorable and granted them a pardon. He appointed the master to Bongeunsa 奉恩寺 Monastery. In 1624, he granted him the title *pan Seon-Gyo dochongseop* 判禪敎都摠攝 (superintendent of Seon and Gyo monks).

During the reign of King Injo, the Seon master summoned monks and directed the construction of the mountain fortress Namhan sanseong 南漢山城. When construction was complete after three years, he was granted the title of *Bo'eun cheon'gyo wonjo gugildo daeseonsa* 報恩闡敎圓照國一都大禪師.

In 1636 (14th year of King Injo of Joseon), the master was staying at Jirisan, when he heard the news that the king had fled to Namhan sanseong. He beat the drum, persuaded people with tears, donned a military uniform, and circulated a letter summoning people. Thousands gathered in response. He led them to the north but returned down to the south in a wail when he heard that they had already been defeated by the enemy (the Qing army). ⁵¹ Later, when he was appointed envoy

to Japan, he was unable to decline, but on his way, he became seriously ill and asked for permission to return to the mountains.

When King Hyojong 孝宗 ascended the throne in the eighth month of 1649, the master was appointed as a monk army commander (*chongseop* 摄攝), protected the archives (史閣) at the mountain fortress Jeoksang sanseong 赤裳山城, and stimulated the Buddhist monastic community. In the winter of the same year, he moved to Songgwangsa, but soon after, he returned to Hwaeomsa.

When King Hyojong passed away ten years after his ascension to the throne in the ninth month of 1659, the master mourned the king's death. The following year, on the twelfth day of the first month of 1660 (1st year of King Hyeonjong of Joseon), he told his disciples, "I am going now. Do not set up a stele." For the disciples who requested a poem, he wrote the following verses on the spot.

There are eighty thousand poems in the *Tripitaka*,
And three thousand in the *Collection of Verses*,⁵²
Enough for the two kinds of benefit.⁵³
What need is there for another poem?

Then he quietly passed away. When the cremation ceremony was performed, large crowds came from monasteries in the three southern provinces (Gyeongsang-do, Jeolla-do, Chungcheong-do) and filled the valley. Three pieces of *sarira* and one piece of spirit-bone relic were recovered but suddenly soared into the air. They were later enshrined in four stone stupa. The contents of various texts he wrote were not complicated. His secular age was eighty-six, and his dharma age was seventy-two.

Biography of Seon Master Chimgoeng (枕肱禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Hyeonbyeon 縢辯, and his secular family name was Yun 尹. His ancestors were a noble family in Xihua 西華 [in Henan Province of China] who came to the east, but were not able to return. His father's name was Heung 興, and his mother's family name was Choe. He was born in 1616 (8th year of King Gwanghaegun of Joseon). Initially, he was called Chongmin 聰敏 (Wise), because he was able to recite with his mouth what he saw with his eyes, and everyone called him a prodigy. When his father died at an early age, he lived with his mother. One day, a certain fortune-teller told him, "Why do you stay in the mundane world for so long? In the future, you will establish a great Buddhist lineage." The mother cried over the prophecy but finally allowed him to leave and became a monk.

Therefore, he fled the mundane world to Gwansan Mountain in Gwangju and escaped from secular life. When he was thirteen years old, he visited Soyo Taeneung 遙遙太能 (1562–1649) in Bangjangsan 方丈山 Mountain in Gochang and served him by his side. He studied the scriptures, but in some aspects, he was better than his teachers. His reputation spread far and wide, and clergy and laity alike wished to meet him at least once.

When he was nineteen years old, he traveled to Bok-hyeon 福縣 along with Songgye Wonhwi 松溪圓輝.⁵⁴ The magistrate of Bok-hyeon asked Songgye Wonhwi to compose a text for the main rafter of the guest house. Wonhwi declined and yielded the honor to the Seon master (Chimgoeng), who right away composed the text, and the locals were amazed.

Later, Yun Seondo 尹善道⁵⁵ from Baengnyeondong in Haenam, Jeolla-do, lost his son and wished to adopt the Seon master for the sake of the family lineage. For many days, he clung to the Seon master, stopping him from leaving. Finally, the master pulled out a knife that

he had been secretly carrying and said. “Your excellency, you cannot force me to return to the lay life. Cut my throat instead!” Yun Seondo asked, “Where was your secular family when you were a child?” “To a monk, the teacher and disciples correspond to father and sons of the secular family. The suffering of returning to the Yellow Springs (黃泉) [of the underworld] and the suffering of returning to the secular world are the same,” answered the Seon master. Then [Yun Seondo] finally listened to the Seon master, who was about to return to the mountain. Such was the knowledge and insight of the Seon master.

After a stay in Bangjangsan, he went to Seonamsa 仙巖寺 via Songgwangsa 松廣寺, and again to Obongsan 五峯山 Mountain through Yeon’goksa 燕谷寺 Monastery. There was no one among his past students who would be thoughtless or not listen to his instructions. In his later years, he lived on Geumhwasan 金華山 Mountain. On the twelfth day of the fourth month of 1684 (10th year of King Sukjong of Joseon), he passed away in the lotus position facing west. It was like a fire when the firewood has been all consumed. By then, there was no wind and no waves. The Seon master’s secular age was sixty-nine, and his dharma age was fifty-seven.

Biography of Seon Master Chwimi (翠微禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Sucho 守初, and his pen name was Chwimi. His secular family name was Seong 成, and he was a descendant of Seong Sammun 成三問, a renowned scholar of Joseon. He was born in Seoul⁵⁶ on the third day of the sixth month of 1590 (23rd year of King Seonjo of Joseon). When he played as a child, he always mimicked Buddhist matters. He would sit like a monk in Seon meditation. He lost his parents at a young age and relied on his brother and sister-in-law. At the age of fifteen, he dreamed about an Indian monk who came to him and shouted, "Why are you so late?" He told his brother about the dream and asked for permission to leave and become a monk, but the brother covered his mouth with his hand and said, "Don't say that." Ten days later, he left the walls of the capital and fled to Seoraksan Mountain, where he accepted Gyeongheon 敬軒 as his master and had his head shaved.

In 1606 (39th year of King Seonjo of Joseon), at the age of seventeen, he went to Duryusan in the south, paid respects to master Buhyu Seonsu 浮休善修, and received the full precepts. At that time, Byeogam Gakseong 碧巖覺性, who held the position of a lesser elder, became his first teacher. One day, Buhyu said to Byeogam, "If someone attains great awakening in the future, it will be this novice. This old man is urging you, guide him well, and protect him." When he was twenty years old or so, he, with four or five fellow students, was composing verses using the character *o* 烏 (crow, also an exclamatory particle). The Seon master recited a poem, and in the last phrase, he said:

All my life I have never had luxury goods,
I have only a bamboo staff!

One day, when Byeogam ascended the dharma seat, the Seon

master circumambulated him three times, made obeisance, and said, “I want to put [it] down, but I do not have an attachment.” Thereupon Byeogam revealed what he received from Seon Master Buhyu, and said, “You indeed are the standard of the [Seon] school.” Then he gave him the certification, *in'ga*. In 1629 (7th year of King Injo of Joseon), he accepted the request of people, went out into the secular world and began to teach at Yeongchwisa Monastery in Okcheon. Minister (*sangguk* 相國) Jang Yu sent him a package of glass beads. In 1632, he was invited to Gwanbuk 關北 (Hamgyeong-do) to preach the dharma, and he awakened to the Way on Seolbongsan 雪峯山 Mountain. He intended to travel to China by boat and study there, but he could not achieve his goal.

He went to the Taebaeksan 太白山 Mountains in 1637, but returned to the south the following year and served Byeogam, but Seon Master Byeogam soon returned to Bangjongsan (Jirisan). In 1643, he was invited to Chilburam, and there were more than 300 people gathered there. He returned to Jirisan in 1652 and lived there. Then he went to Bannyongsan Mountain in 1656.

In the winter of 1659, old master Byeogam fell ill and entered *parinirvāṇa* in the first month of the following year. Therefore, the Seon master moved to Songgwangsa, the great monastery of the Jogye order, and stayed there for twelve years. There were four large halls (Hwaeomjeon, Palsangjeon, Yaksajeon, and Gwaneumjeon) in the monastery. The Seon master ordered statues for the halls from an outstanding craftsman. He had six statues cast and enshrined along with several thousands of hanging paintings.

In 1667, he stayed at Simwonsa 深源寺 Monastery in Hwanggang 黃崗, and moved to Myohyangsan in the seventh month. There, he recited a poem from the *Compilation of Examinations of and Verses on Ancient Precedents* (*Seonmun yeomsong jip* 禪門拈頌集), and said with a sigh, “All letters are like rice wine lees, how could the taste differ?” Then he assumed the sitting meditation posture and preached the dharma, and the style of the school became stricter.

In the first month of 1668, he announced he would return to

Gwanbuk 關北, and in the second month, he went to Samjangsa 三藏寺 Monastery in Obong 五峯. He became ill in the fourth month, and when the official Hong Gong brought him medicine, the Seon master refused, saying, “Life and death are governed by a principle.⁵⁷ How can I take medicine?” In the sixth month, he took a bath, changed his clothes, hit the temple block, and bid farewell to the assembly, saying, “I have lived seventy-nine years, and sixty-five years as a Buddhist monk. Why should I have any regrets? Do not erect a stupa; do not engrave an epitaph.” When someone asked for a poem, he uttered, “Do not disturb the mind of meditative concentration.”

Three days later, after finishing the purification ritual, he chanted the name of the Buddha of Limitless Life (Amitâbha) ten times, sat in the lotus posture, and with his palms joined, passed away. Seven days later, people from six townships and villages gathered at the place of the cremation ceremony. When the frontal bone of his skull unexpectedly appeared [from the ashes], Gakheul 覺屹 and others enshrined it on the Byeoksongdae Terrace of Seolbong. Two pieces of *śarīra* appeared over a period of twenty-one days. On the seventh day of the third month of 1669, three stupas were erected and the *śarīra* enshrined in them at Obongsan, Seolbongsan, and Jogyesan. Seongchong 性聰 was among his primary disciples. The master’s age was seventy-nine years, and his dharma age was sixty-five.

Biography of Seon Master Baegam Seongchong (柏庵性聰禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Seongchong 性聰, and his secular family name was Yi 李. His father's name was Gang 桢. He was a native of Namwon. His mother's family name was Ha 河. He was born on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of 1631 (9th year of King Injo of Joseon). He became a monk at the age of thirteen, received the full precepts at the age of sixteen, and went to Bangjansan at the age of eighteen. He visited Chwimi Sucho and studied under him for nine years and inherited his dharma. He delivered a lecture for the first time when he was thirty years old and visited all the famous mountain monasteries. He made it his duty to promote Seon and Gyo widely while residing at Jogyesa, Jinggwangsa, and Ssanggyesa. He annotated the three volumes of *Instructions for Monks* (*Zimen jingxun* 緇門警訓), and also mastered the non-Buddhist texts, and was particularly good at poetic metrics. All the distinguished scholars of the time, including the high-ranking officials Gim Suhang 金壽恒⁵⁸ and Jeong Dugyeong 鄭斗卿,⁵⁹ gladly became friends of the Seon master (Seongchong), who was a renunciant monk.

In 1681 (7th year of King Sukjong of Joseon), a large ship anchored at Imjado 莢子島 Island in Jeolla-do.⁶⁰ The boat carried the *Commentaries and Notes on the Flower Ornament Sutra* (*Huayan jing shuchao* 華嚴經疏鈔), *Great Ming Compilation of the Tripitaka* (*Da Ming fashu* 大明法數), *Compilation of Profound Records* (*Huixuanji* 會玄記), *Records of Copyediting of the Diamond Sutra* (*Jingang jing kanding ji* 金剛經刊定記), *Records of Editing of the Commentary on the Awakening of Faith in Mahayana* (*Dasheng qixin shou bi xueji* 大乘起信疏筆削記), *Treasured Book on the Pure Land* (*Jingtu baoshu* 淨土寶書), and *Records of Four Monastic Heads* (*Sidashi suolu* 四大師所錄).

The Seon master was greatly surprised, published the texts, and

spread them among the people. Since then, all those who studied Buddhism were interested in these books, for which he was revered as a grand master.

In 1678 (4th year of King Sukjong of Joseon), he ordered Elder Seolmyeong 雪明 to erect a stele to National Preceptor Bojo 普照 at Museoldang 無舌堂 Shrine, which is the site of today's Seolbeopjeon 說法殿 Hall.⁶¹ On the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of 1700 (26th year of King Sukjong of Joseon), he entered *parinirvāṇa* at Sinheungam 新興庵 Hermitage of Ssanggyesa. Two pieces of skull *śarira* relics (頂骨舍利) were collected after the cremation ceremony and enshrined in stupa built at Songgwangsa and Chilbulsa monasteries. Later, the fifth-generation dharma heirs Choenul, Nangyun, and others erected the stele and engraved his deeds. His secular age was seventy, and his dharma age was fifty-seven.

Biography of Seon Master Muyong Suyeon (無用秀演禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Suyeon 秀演, and his family name was O 吳. He was a native of Yongan 龍安 in Jeolla-do. He was a descendant O Yeonchong 吳延寵, Duke of Munyang (文襄公), who lived during the Goryeo period. In his father's dream, a big yellow ratsnake wriggled up into the sky, lingered there for a while, then descended to the ground and circled the house several times. The master was born on the thirteenth day of the third month of 1651 (2nd year of King Hyojong of Joseon). At the age of thirteen, he suddenly lost his parents. He went to Jogyesan, studied under Elder Hyegwan 惠寬, had his head shaved, and received the full precepts.

When he was twenty years old, he visited Master Chimgoeng Hyeonbyeon 枕肱懸辯 who said, "All the teachings of perfect and sudden awakening are with you." When he was twenty-six years old, he went to Jogyesan to visit Baegam Seongchong 栢庵性聰. Seongchong immediately realized that the master (Suyeon) would became a great figure and allowed him to stay there. He was never wrong, even when asked about difficult aspects of the scriptures. He was distinguished and knowledgeable. Even the [Confucian] scholar-officials respected and admired him.

A pavilion was built in the southeastern part of the monastery. He named it Suseokjeong 水石亭 (Pavilion of Water and Rocks) and composed the following poem.

At the pavilion above the water and rocks,
I am lying high like an immortal.
The sun over the ridge shines on the eaves.
The brook sends the refreshing breeze through the railing.

The jumping fish follow their instincts,
The birds in the sky are free.
Watching nature, watching myself,
I am like this, and so is nature.

The poems are collected in the posthumous collection of the Seon master's works that is distributed among the people. His verses are highly valued by poets and calligraphers. He passed away sitting in the lotus posture on the third day of the tenth month of 1719 (45th year of King Sukjong of Joseon). The cremation ceremony was performed, and the collected spirit-bone relics were enshrined in a stupa erected at the northern peak. His secular age was sixty-nine, and his dharma age was fifty-one.

Biography of Seon Master Yeonghae Yaktan (影海若坦禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Yaktan, his pen name was Yeonghae, and his secular family name was Gim of Gwangsan 光山. His father's name was Jungsaeng 中生. His mother, from the Seo 徐 clan, had seen an Indian monk in her dream, became pregnant and gave birth in 1668 (9th year of King Hyeonjong of Joseon). Since he was young, he was vigorous and valiant and not bound by anything. He entered school at the age of eight and remembered everything he learned.

When he was ten years old, he became a monk under Elder Deugu 得牛 in Neunggasa 楞伽寺 Monastery in Goheung. He lost his father when he was sixteen, and his mother died when he was eighteen. At the age of seventeen, he met Preceptor Muyongdang 無用堂 at Songgwangsa in Jogyesan and shed tears without even realizing it. He received the full precepts at the age of eighteen. Nobody could match his knowledge of the scriptures already at the age of twenty-two. When he was twenty-eight years old, he realized the meaning of "all phenomena are nothing but mind" (萬法唯心) and was truly honored by the disciples.

His reputation became widespread since he moved to Jasuam 慈受庵 Hermitage in 1694 when he was thirty-seven years old. There were more than a hundred people who came on their own. This was the result of the Seon master's attainments. At the age of fifty-two, more than a thousand people gathered from all sides when he held a large Hwaeom assembly on behalf of the old master Muyongdang.

Master Muyongdang entered *parinirvāṇa* in the summer of 1719. The Seon master performed the cremation ceremony and enshrined the *śarīra* in the cemetery. The Seon master fulfilled his duty to his teacher like that. At the age of fifty-five, he asked a painter to paint fifty-three buddhas.

In the summer of 1722 (2nd year of King Gyeongjong of Joseon),

he had a stupa for the national preceptor built. In the following year, he published the *Collected Works of Muyongdang* (*Muyongdang munjip* 無用堂文集). In 1728 (4th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), when he was sixty-one years old, several hundreds of people moved to Byeoksong on Bangjangsan (Jirisan) to reside there. When the revolt [of *musin* year] erupted,⁶² people of the region grew anxious. The Seon master told them, “We live on the land of our ruler. How can we, at the time of turbulence, only consider measures [and do nothing]?” He immediately dismissed the assembly, hurried [toward the rebellion], and returned after witnessing a victory. Such was the Seon master’s patriotic devotion.

In 1748 (24th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), a stele with a record of activities [of the master] was erected at Neunggasa on Paryeongsan Mountain. The master had dozens of disciples, and among them, Pungam Sechal 楊巖世察 received the master’s robe and alms bowls. In 1749 (25th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), when he was eighty-two years old, he accepted the request of Pungam and others and held the great assembly of the *Flower Ornament Sutra*, which was attended by more than a thousand participants. Such was the Seon master’s efforts for liberation of sentient beings.

On the second day of the first month of 1754, when he turned eighty-seven, he had symptoms of a mild illness. The next day, he finished his bath, changed the clothes, and recited the following farewell verses to the assembly.

Ah, who will inherit the perfect circle?⁶³
 Striding naked through the universe,
 Going back home where the indestructible jewel is.
 I alone am the honored one.⁶⁴
 Hahaha! What is this supposed to mean?
 It is clean, it is pure, it is unable to be grasped.

Then he sat down neatly and entered *parinirvāṇa*. On the night following the cremation ceremony, ten rays of light shone over the

place, and more than two pieces of *sarīra* were collected and enshrined in stupa built at Songgwangsa and Neunggasa. His secular age was eighty-seven, and his dharma age was seventy-seven.

Biography of Seon Master Pungam Sechal (楓巖世察禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Sechal, his pen name is was Pungam. His secular family name was Gim 金, and he was a native of Songgwang-myeon 松光面. His mother from the Bak 朴 family dreamt of the moon entering her bosom. She became pregnant and gave birth to the master on the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of 1688 (14th year of King Sukjong of Joseon). He had a sharp nose and fierce eyes and was handsome and bold. When he was young, he had his head shaved and became a monk under Elder Cheorung 哲雄 of Donghwasa 桐華寺 Monastery. He learned the scriptures from the two eminent masters, Muyong Suyeon 無用秀演 and Yeonghae Yaktan 影海若坦 of Jogyesan. When Master Muyong entered *parinirvāṇa*, the master (Sechal) decided to keep the three-year mourning period. Seon Master Yeonghae encouraged him to proceed with it.

The Seon master (Sechal) studied under Seon Master Yeonghae and eventually received the transmission and became the disciple who received the robe and the alms bowl. From this point on, the virtue of the Seon master soared high and far, even without wings, crowds of both clergy and laypeople gathered without being summoned. The dharma water soaked everything all way down to the edge of the sea. By means of lecturing on the scriptures and spreading the sutras, he cultivated talented persons. There were more than fifty who transformed themselves without uttering a word.

In the spring of 1759 (35th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), when he was seventy-two years old, he accepted requests from Choenul 窪訥 and Nangyun 朗允 and lectured at the great assembly of the *Flower Ornament Sutra* at Songgwangsa on Jogyesan. The great Way (i.e., teaching) of the Seon master was thus transmitted to the two superior disciples, Mugam Choenul 默庵窪訥 (1717–1790) and Eungam

Nangyun 應庵朗允 (1718–1794).

On the eighth day of the seventh month of 1767 (43rd year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), when he turned eighty, he passed away without any particular illness at Bojoam 普照庵 Hermitage. During the cremation ceremony, there was something in the fire that did not burn even in the blazing flames. People called it “the white jade bead.” Its color was like the Buddha’s eyebrows, and its appearance was like the glow in his eyes. The Seon master would always be immersed in the Cundī samadhi (準提三昧),⁶⁵ and therefore was protected from disasters in his abbot’s quarters. It is said that [in the samadhi] one can achieve great luminosity (大明效) in the midst of unconditioned phenomena (無爲法) under the light devoid of marks (無相光). His stupa was erected at the foot of a mountain to the north. His secular age was eighty years, and his dharma age was seventy.

Biography of Seon Master Mugam (默庵禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Choenul 獻訥, his pen name was Mugam, and his family name was Bak 朴. He was born on the eighteenth day of the fourth month of 1717 (43rd year of King Sukjong of Joseon) in Goheung 高興 in Jeolla-do. When he was six years old, he came across a piece of writing on the ground, picked it up, hung it on a wall, and said, "I will study in the future. Was this not a spiritual seed planted for my sake a long time ago?" In 1730 (6th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), he became a monk under Donjeong 頓淨 of Jinggwangsa 澄光寺 Monastery and then received the full precepts from Grand Master Malli 萬里 at the age of eighteen. At the age of nineteen, he began his study of the scriptures under Pungam Sechal 楓嵒世察 of Jogyesan. In four or five years, he completed all the teachings he could receive from Master Pungam. In order to listen to more dharma talks, he visited and consulted the grand masters of the school, such as Hoam 虎嵒, Hoeam 晦庵, Yongdam 龍潭, and Sangwol 霜月. He realized the principles of Seon studying under the guidance of Myeongjin 明眞 and cultivated it further under the tutelage of Yeonghae Yaktan 影海若坦.

In the spring of 1743 (19th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), when he was twenty-seven years old, he returned to the residence of Preceptor Pungam and, altogether with his fellow practitioner Eungam Nangyun, he received Pungam's dharma seal at Yeongcheonam Hermitage. Over the next seven or eight years, he visited five or six masters and read all the texts of Seon and Gyo, as well as non-Buddhist texts, and understood the aspects he was not able to grasp before. Then he began to lecture and write, published works such as *Subjects of the Flower Ornament Sutra* (*Hwaeom gwamok* 華嚴科目) or *Compendium of Various Scriptures* (*Jegyeong hoeyo* 諸經會要), and had them distributed among the people. Also, he authored about ten other books on Buddhist and non-Buddhist topics. Unfortunately, these were neither published nor

distributed.

When he was thirty-three years old, he went to the Geumgangsan with the fellow practitioner Nangyun. In the spring of 1750, he held a large-scale ritual assembly for the Patriarch Yeonghae Yaktan at Songgwangsa. In autumn of 1759, he organized another ritual assembly on behalf of his teacher Pungam Sechal at Songgwangsa. After some time, in the summer of 1765 (41st year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), he had a stele remembering Patriarch Baegam Seongchong erected at Jinggwangsa first, and in the next year, he had another one set up in Songgwangsa. Such were the Seon master's efforts to remember the elders of the school. He always found a kindred spirit in Nangyun. At the age of fifty-four, in the spring of 1770 (46th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), he assumed a post at Pyochungsa 表忠祠 Shrine. On the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month of 1790 (14th year of King Jeongjo of Joseon), he entered *parinirvāṇa* at Bojoam 普照庵 Hermitage on Jogyesan. The remains collected after the cremation ceremony were enshrined in a stupa. The master's secular age was seventy-four, and his dharma age was fifty-four.

Biography of Seon Master Eungam (應庵禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Nangyun 朗允, and his pen name was Eungam. He was a native of Gokseong in Jeolla-do. His family name was Choe 崔. His father was Bongui 凰儀, and his mother's family name was Yi 李. He was born on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of 1718 (44th year of King Sukjong of Joseon).

He was educated by his father from a young age, but he lost both his parents at the age of thirteen. When he was fifteen years old, he visited Cheonghakdong 青鶴洞 Valley of Samsinsan 三神山 (Jirisan) and climbed to the Chilburam 七佛庵 Hermitage. When he gazed at the scenery, he realized it was a good place to stay. He had his head shaved under Elder Deokgyun 德均, and received the full precepts from Grand Master Yongdam 龍潭 at the age of seventeen.

In 1735 (11th year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), when he was eighteen years old, he went to Pungam Sechal, the head lecturer of Jogyesan, and stayed with him as his disciple for four or five years. Together with his elder dharma brother, Mugam Choenul 默庵最訥, they visited various famous places and the five grand masters.

In 1743, he returned to Yeongcheonam Hermitage, where Pungam served as the head teacher, and together with dharma brother Choenul, they began to teach there. It was like the saying about no other animal lives in the lion's cave. As two lion cubs were newly born into the dharma family, old master Pungam said with joy, "I do not worry [about the dharma] anymore, as there are those of the 'bright eyes' on all sides." This was based on the experience of the wisdom and understanding of the two Am (兩庵) (i.e., Mugam and Eungam).

However, the Seon master suddenly quit teaching and devoted himself to *jwaseon* (sitting meditation). He participated in seven summer retreats, and his insight became widely known. He strictly guided the practice at the four great hermitages of Bangjansan, as well

as the Jeongsuam 淨水庵 Hermitage of Yeongchwisan, Budojeon 浮屠殿 Hall of Ssangbongsan, and Eunjeogam 隱寂庵 Hermitage of Jogyesan.

At the age of thirty-two, he went to Geumgangsan with Choenul and they returned together to Jogyesan in 1750 to hold a ritual assembly for Yeonghae Yaktan. In 1759, they held a ritual assembly for their teacher Pungam Sechal. He had a stele for Patriarch Baegam Seongchong erected in 1765, and together with Mugam, they set up the stele of Pungam.

One day, he summoned the disciples and said, “Impermanence is swift, life ends suddenly. You must be diligent in your practice, and must not be bound or bothered by the ties of the world.” At the end of his speech, he entered the soundless samadhi (無聲三昧). It was four o’clock in the afternoon on the seventeenth day of the third month of 1794 (18th year of King Jeongjo of Joseon). For seven days, the disciples mourned, prepared the body, and chanted the sutras. Then they performed the cremation ceremony, collected *sarīra*, enshrined them in a stupa, and honored the master’s dying instructions. The master’s portrait was hung in Chilburam of Jogye. The master’s secular age was seventy-eight, and his dharma age was sixty-two.

Biography of Seon Master Byeokdam (碧潭禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Haengin 幸仁, and his pen name was Byeokdam. His secular surname was Jang 張. His father was Bongsu, and his mother was from the Bak family. He was born on the sixteenth day of the second month of 1721 (1st year of King Gyeongjong of Joseon). In 1734, when he was fourteen years old, he went to Songgwangsa, became a monk, and received the full precepts from Pungam Sechal 楓嵒世察. In the following year, he began to study the scriptures, especially the *Flower Ornament Sutra*, and finished his studies in six years. In 1749, he became a close disciple of Daegwang 大光, and in the following year, ascended the lecture seat of Bojoam Hermitage. When he was teaching, both clergy and laity gathered.

In 1755 (31st year of King Yeongjo of Joseon), Saam Chaeyeong 獅嵒采永 published the *Origins of the Buddhist Patriarchs of Haedong* (*Haedong Buljo wollyu* 海東佛祖源流). There were biased and flawed parts [of the *Origins of the Buddhist Patriarchs of Haedong*] regarding the lineages of the transmission of the lamp. Therefore, he went to Chaeyeong, questioned him, threw the wooden blocks into a fire pit, and burned them. People said that the tradition of the old patriarch lives on.

In 1759, he held a ritual assembly on behalf of Grand Master Daegwang. In 1775, he presided over the great assembly at Daedunsa Monastery. He entered *parinirvāṇa* on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month of 1798 (22nd year of King Jeongjo of Joseon). After the cremation ceremony, the master's portrait was enshrined, and a stupa erected. In addition, a hundred years later, a monument was erected in Songgwangsa by Bonguk 琮旭 and others. The master's secular age was seventy-eight and his dharma age was sixty-five.

Biography of Seon Master Chimmyeong (枕溟禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Hanseong 翰惺, and his pen name was Chimmyeong. The place of origin of his family was Gyeongju, and the family name was Gim. However, the family lived for generations in Goheung, Jeolla-do. His father's name was Ihyeok 以赫 and his mother's family name was Maeng 孟. The master was born in 1801 (1st year of King Sunjo of Joseon). From an early age, he was intelligent and wise and with an appearance that showed he would leave the mundane world. In 1815, when fifteen years old, he left home, studied under Dae'un 大雲,⁶⁶ and mastered Baekpa Geungseon's dharma of Seon. He inherited the dharma at Yeongbongdang on Paryeongsan and begun to lecture on the dharma at Bojoam in Jogyesan. Then he spent retreats in Samiram 三日庵, and Chilburwon 七佛院. He traveled among the four mountains and learned from many great teachers.

In the spring of 1838 (4th year of King Heonjong of Joseon), he moved from the Bongseoam 凤瑞庵 Hermitage of Taeansa Monastery to Eunjeogam on Jogyesan, where he had two attendants, Seono 善旼 and Jihyo 至孝. Later, when he moved his residence to Daeseungam Hermitage of Seonamsa, the monks poured in like the light at sunset, and the lay believers gathered like clouds to listen to his sermons. For the next thirty years, there was not a single day when the lecture seat would remain empty. All the great people of that generation belonged to Chimmyeong's dharma family, and all the eminent monks were his disciples. After he finally passed on the dharma to Seoljeo 雪渚, he focused on the cultivation of Bodhidharma's teaching. As he was getting older, he strived even more. Twenty-three years passed like this. He entered *parinirvāṇa* on the thirtieth day of the ninth month of 1876. He was seventy-six years old, and his dharma age was sixty-two. After the cremation ceremony, his portraits were hung in Bojoam and Daedunsa. His second-generation disciple Unak 雲岳 erected his stele.

Biography of Seon Master Yongun (龍雲禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Cheoik 處益, and his pen name was Yongun. His family name was Yi 李, his father's name was Chunpil 春弼, and his mother's family name was Bak. He was born on the seventh day of the tenth month of 1813 (13th year of King Sunjo of Joseon). It is said that his mother became pregnant after dreaming of an Indian monk who had put on his monk's robe and bowed to her.

When he was about five or six years old, he memorized everything he learned. When he was fifteen years old, he went to Jogyesan, where he became a monk under Namil 南日 and received the precepts from Gibong 奇峯. He learned the Seon teachings from Jebong 霽峰, consulted Chimmyeong 枕溟 and others, and achieved awakening.

In 1839 (5th year of King Heonjong of Joseon), at the age of twenty-seven, he became an advanced student of Bobong 寶峯. In the same year, he was appointed to the Pyochungsa Shrine in Haenam and set off on his journey. Along the way, hearing of his teacher's illness, he hurriedly returned and cured his illness using blood from a finger.

One night in the third month of 1842 (8th year of King Heonjong of Joseon), 2,152 *kan*⁶⁷ of the monastery buildings were suddenly covered with smoke and entirely destroyed by fire. Both the people and Heaven mourned when they learned the sad news. At that time, he was thirty years old. Determined to restore the monastery, he went to the capital with Gibong of Sugyesa. They paid a visit to Gwon Donin 權敦仁, who was prime minister at that time, and provided him with detailed information. After that, the number of people who crossed the mountains and rivers to participate in the restoration was countless. He collected seven hundred royal orders and sent them to the Ministry of Rites.

When Preceptor Master Gibong retired due to old age, the Seon master used the power of the dharma to mobilize the sponsors.

Therefore, during the three years since the summer of the year of the fire, the jewel palace (寶宮) and dharma canopy (法宇) (i.e., the monastery) were gradually decorated with grandeur and beauty, and the distorted appearance was restored to its original shape. In 1847 (13th year of King Heonjong of Joseon), all construction activities were completed. Also, the ordination platform of Tongdosa, Janggyeonggak (i.e., the Tripitaka Koreana Repository) of Haeinsa, Bongeunsa, and other monasteries were reconstructed according to karmic conditions.

The master went back to Pyochungsa to assume the duties of *chongseop* 摄攝 (monk army commander). In 1866 (3rd year of King Gojong of Joseon), during the *Byeongin yangyo* (Western disturbance of the *byeongin* year), he ordered the monk-generals to observe the enemy's movements and force the mobilized ships to retreat.

When a monk prayed for seven days at the Nahanjeon (Hall of Arahats) on behalf of the Seon master, a little boy in blue clothes came to him in a dream and said, "Seon Master Yongun is the spirit of the Sobaeksan Mountain who for the third time descended here in the form of a monk." In the summer of 1879 (16th year of King Gojong of Joseon), during the *saengjeon yesu siwang saengchil jae* 生前豫修十王生七齋 ritual, a mysterious omen appeared.

The Seon master made an outstanding contribution to the teaching and passed away quietly on the fifth day of the fifth month of 1888 (25th year of King Gojong of Joseon). His secular age was seventy-six years, and his dharma age was sixty-one years. The cremation ceremony was performed on the eastern side of Bukbong (Northern Peak). Nine years later, in 1896, his disciples erected a stele.

Biography of Seon Master Heoju (虛舟禪師傳)

The master's dharma name was Deokjin 德眞, his pen name was Heoju, and his family name was Gim. His father died before he was born. His mother's family name was Bak. He was born on the thirteenth day of the third month of 1815 (15th year of King Sunjo of Joseon) and entered *parinirvāṇa* on the twelfth day of the tenth month (or the seventeenth day of the eleventh month) of 1888 (25th year of King Gojong of Joseon). His secular age was seventy-four, and his dharma age was sixty-three. As a child, he lost both his parents and had no close relatives. He tried to survive by begging and moving from place to place. He went to Ja'eungbang 慈應房 at Jogyesan and lived on the meals provided by the Seon hall, where the monks cultivated the sitting meditation.

At the age of eleven, a head monk dressed in ragged clothes looked at him and said with joy, "Why did you come so late? Why don't you become my disciple and a member of the monastic community?" The Seon master replied, "I will do so." The head monk said, "I don't even have a small piece of land to stick an awl in (無立錐之地).⁶⁸ But you don't even have an awl. So how do you mean to live?" The Seon master said, "There are many villages. Why would I not have food to eat? There are many markets. Why would I not have clothes to wear? All I want is to be guided with the great teaching."

Then he cut his hair before the Buddha hall and became a monk. It was like a lotus flower blooming from the mud or a loach becoming a dragon. As they walked from village to village with alms bowls on their shoulders and a staff in their hands, people happily donated offerings to them. So, the teacher and disciple had enough to eat and wear.

From that time, he visited several places every season, practiced in Seon halls, and then went to a sutra school. He visited Chimmyeong 枕溟 and studied the scriptures under him, and then he met Inpa 印波

from whom he learned Seon. He was only looking for the definitive meaning (了義), but others could not understand his intentions.

When the teacher was in the middle of a retreat, a thief stole the food and money. When the Seon master saw that the teacher was embittered, he said, “The one who took the money must have been in urgent need. So why do you worry? It is not hard to collect.” Then he left, walked in the snow, slept in the frost, begged, and in less than ten days, he brought back the food necessary for the three-month retreat. Such was the Seon master’s ability to bear the unbearable.

When he was thirty years old, he inherited the dharma at Eunjeogam Hermitage. After learning the dharma of Jeongdamdang, he resided at Eunjeogam, and myriads of people gathered. When he prayed to Jijang, Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva, for seven days, he received a bowl of rice cakes in a dream. From this point on, his entire body was filled with the virtue of compassion, and his bright wisdom was superior to that of others. He achieved the ability to remember everything he heard.

His Seon tradition spread far and wide, and there was no place in the East that was not interested in his teaching. Although he did not have a definite place of stay, he spent many summer retreats in various Seon monasteries. To the constant stream of women, he preached with the bright wisdom of universal illumination, which was admired by everyone.

In the autumn of 1888 (25th year of King Gojong of Joseon), he was invited to Hanyang (Seoul), held the dharma assembly of universal illumination at the Dongbyeolgung 東別宮 Palace and prayed and invoked blessings for seven days. The noblewomen and high-ranking officials burned incense, took care of the Seon master, and paid respects to him. When the dharma assembly ended, the Seon master said, “The dharma body lives even in the cumbersome streets of the mundane world. As the man dressed in rags cannot stay long among the green jade stairs and red palaces, the bird wishes to return to the mountains and the dragon to the water.” Then he left for Daewonsa Monastery outside the Dongdaemun Gate. Then, people from the palace arrived with a carriage and took the master all the way to Heungguksa 興國寺

Monastery. Then, the officials and the courtiers followed the master further.

On the tenth day of the tenth month of that year, he fell slightly ill. When the court lady Cheon 千, who was attending on him, called for a physician to give him medicine, the Seon master stopped her, saying, “If you are born, you will die. If you die, you will be born again. It is moving away and moving back, like the seafoam that rises and withdraws. It is like the clouds over the mountain ridge that gather and scatter. The path to nirvana is now under my feet. What good is medicine?”

Two days later, at dawn, the Seon master finished his bath, changed clothes, recited a poem, and quietly passed away. When the noblewomen and officials heard the news, they mourned and said, “The steering oar has been broken, who will bring us to the other shore?”

The offerings of incense, lanterns, paper, candles, hemp cloth, and silk were piled up like in a marketplace. Many people gathered, and the ladies of the palace, who could not attend, burned incense together to purify themselves.

King Gojong thought the situation was strange, and when inquired about it, he was told that a monk named Heoju had entered *parinirvāṇa*. The king said, “It seems that the mountains are shaking because of the monk’s funeral.” During the cremation ceremony, the fire rose and lit up the sky, and a bright ray of light stretched out into the air to the extent that Hanyangseong Fortress was so visible that people had great faith. His disciples, Toe’un 退雲 and others, collected the spirit-bone relics and built a stupa on Jogyesan.

Biography of Seon Master Udam (優曇禪師傳)

The master was a native of Andong 安東 in Gyeongsang-do, his father was Gwon Jungguk 權重國, and his mother's family name was Jo 趙. His dharma name was Honggi 洪基, and his pen name was Udam. He was born on the third day of the third month of 1822 (22nd year of King Sunjo of Joseon). He wanted to become a monk when he was fifteen, but his parents refused to allow it. Thinking about the fact that the Buddha left the palace over the wall, he left secretly for Huibangsa Monastery on Sobaeksan Mountain and had his head shaved under Elder Jasin 自信. Then he went to Palgongsan with fellow practitioners and studied many scriptures under the Grand Master Honheo 渾虛. However, he desired to learn more, so he went to the old Gilsangsa 吉祥社 (Songgwangsa) of Jogyesan. There he learned from Elder Jibong and visited Inpa 仁坡 and Chimmyeong 枕溟, the masters of Seon and Gyo.

In 1848 (14th year of King Heonjong of Joseon), when he was twenty-seven years old, he received the dharma seal from Yeonwol 蓮月, and burned the incense and began to teach at Gwangwonam 廣原庵 Hermitage. Moreover, he learned composition and deepened his knowledge of the Doctrine under Seorin 雪仁 and Yeonmuk 蓮默. He received training from Jin'gu 眞龜 and Baekcho 白草 and vigorously practiced Seon. He mastered textual organization and commenting, and was skilled at debate and discussion. He wrote *Seonmun jeungjeong-rok* 禪門證正錄 and other miscellaneous texts and collected works that are distributed among the people.

If we look at the lineage, he was the eleventh-generation successor of Buhyu Seonsu 浮休善修. On the eighth day of the ninth month of 1881 (18th year of King Gojong of Joseon), after suffering from a mild illness, he called in his disciple Gwanhun 寬訓 and others, and said, "I am about to depart now. Be well." Then he quietly passed away. His secular age was sixty, and his dharma age was forty-five.

Notes

- 1 This refers to the Tang dynasty scholar Li Tongxuan's 李通玄 *Treatise on the New Translation of the Flower Ornament Sutra* (*Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論).
- 2 Also translated as the Samadhi and Prajna Community, or Concentration and Wisdom Community, etc. Meditation and wisdom or insight (altogether with morality) are the three pillars of Buddhist practice. Throughout this work, I follow the terminology coined in Gim (2016).
- 3 Three gates refers to the three approaches to cultivation, the gate of equal maintenance of quiescence and alertness (惺寂等持門), gate of confidence in the perfect and sudden (圓頓信解門), and gate of direct cutting through the observation of *hwadu* (看話徑截門).
- 4 Also translated as Meditation Cultivation Community.
- 5 Bah! (*dol* or *to* 咄), along with *hal* (or *gal* 喝), is an exclamatory shout used in Seon dialogues to awaken or scold the student.
- 6 The *gwageo* exam allowing one to enter the Seonggyun'gwan academy.
- 7 Choe U 崔瑀 (d. 1249) was a Goryeo military official, son of Choe Chungheon. He seized control of Goryeo, transferred the capital to Ganghwado Island, fought the Mongol invaders, and organized the publication of the Tripitaka Koreana.
- 8 Pumil 品日 (810–889) was a Seon monk of late Silla and founder of the Sagulsan school, one of the Nine Mountain Schools of Seon.
- 9 Marrow (骨髓) here is a metaphor for essence.
- 10 King Gojong 高宗 of Goryeo was born on the eighteenth day of the first lunar month (February 2) of 1192 and died on the thirtieth day of the sixth lunar month (July 21) of 1259.
- 11 Here “seat” (*hasanso* 下山所) refers to the monastery where the national or royal preceptor resided during the Goryeo period.
- 12 Gyeongji 鏡智, National Preceptor Wonjeong, was the fourth son of King Huijong of Goryeo.
- 13 Probably a dharma assembly for debating Seon (談禪法會), which were organized throughout Goryeo.
- 14 Chief monk (*beobju* 法主, lit. dharma-lord), a polysemantic term denoting the Buddha, head monk of a certain region, or a monk presiding over a ceremony or an assembly.

15 Choe Hang 崔沆 (1209–1257), the son of Choe U, inherited his father’s power, and was posthumously granted the title of Duke of Jinpyeong (晋平公).

16 The phrase ‘wind of a small forest’ may also symbolize the tradition of the Shaolin Monastery in China, i.e., the Seon tradition. Also “one flavor” (*ilmi* 一味) denotes being one, being of one character.

17 This was the *cheongjeonpyo* 請田表 (lit., land-requesting memorial), memorial to Shizu of Yuan requesting the return of the land of the Suseonsa.

18 Mengshan Deyi 蒙山德異 was a Yuan monk of the Linji school (臨濟宗) who had a great influence on Buddhism in the late Goryeo-early Joseon period.

19 King Taewi (Ch. Taiwei) was the name of Goryeo’s King Chungseon after he abdicated and went to reside in Yuan China.

20 “Sticks and shouts” (*bonghal* 棒喝) refers to the use of sticks and shouting by teachers in the Imje (Ch. Linji) school (臨濟宗) of Seon Buddhism as a skillful means of helping the practitioner’s awakening.

21 Master of the School of Separate Transmission, Transmitter of the Patriarchal Lamp, Venerable Master of Marvelous Function.

22 The *il* (Ch. *yi*) 鑑 is an ancient unit of weight, equal to 912 grams or 2 pounds.

23 The *seonsang* 禪床, referring to a meditation platform, meditation seat, or the elevated seat of the head monk.

24 The five aggregates (kr. *oon* 五蘊, Skt. *pañca-skandha*) refers to the five components of our existence: form, feeling, perception, impulses, and consciousness.

25 Wono Cheonyeong 圓悟天英 (1215–1286) was the fifth head of the Suseonsa.

26 National Preceptor Jagak (慈覺國師) Doyeong 道英, the eighth head of the Suseonsa.

27 Wolnamsa 月南寺, a monaster that used to be located in Gangjin, south of Wolchulsan. A three-storied stupa and the stele of National Preceptor Jin’gak remain there.

28 Bulgapsa 佛岬寺 is a monastery located in Yeonggwang in Jeolla-do.

29 Naong Hyegeun 懶翁惠勤 (1320–1376) was royal preceptor under King Gongmin of Goryeo. His disciple, Muhak Jacho 無學自超, was the first and the final national preceptor under King Taejo of Joseon.

30 The *daeryunmuldo* 大倫物刀 (lit. material knife of the ethical principles).

31 Gwangmyeongsa, a monastery of the Seon school in Gaegyeong, is where the Seon monastic examinations were held.

32 Geodonsa is a monastery located in Wonju, Gangwon-do.

33 Here “response” (*gameung* 感應, lit. to feel and to respond) refers to the interaction between the minds of the Buddhists and the buddhas and bodhisattvas; the response of the buddhas and bodhisattvas to religious practice,

sometimes rendered as “mercy.”

34 Yi Jahyeon 李資玄 (1061–1125) was a well-known scholar and nobleman, as well as a lay Buddhist. He renamed Bohyeonwon 普賢院 on Cheongpyeongsan to Munsuwon 文殊院 and cultivated Seon there.

35 Chan Master Cijue 慈覺, was a Song dynasty monk and author of *Zuochanyi* 坐禪儀 [Instructions on Sitting Meditation].

36 This is a reference to the Mongolian invasion of Korea that influenced Iryeon’s life and work.

37 Focusing on penetration (*changu* 參究) of a *gongan/hwadu* as a part of Seon practice.

38 A reference to the *Sutra of Neither Increase nor Decrease* (*Buzeng bujian jing* 不增不減經), a short tathagatagarbha text.

39 A *gyeong* 頃 refers to a unit of area approx. 66.7 square meters, or 16 acres.

40 Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 (d. 1104), a Song dynasty Chinese monk of the Linji school of Chan.

41 The Six Classics, namely, the *Book of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經), *Book of History* (*Shujing* 書經), *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記), *Book of Music* (*Yueji* 樂記), and *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋).

42 *Myeonggyeongsaeng* 明經生 was a type of *guayu* 科儒, Confucian scholars taking the high-level official examination. *Myeonggyeongsaeng* specialized in the reading and chanting of the texts.

43 National Preceptor Hyeso 慧炤, the national preceptor under kings Sukjong and Yejong of Goryeo. He studied in Song China and transmitted the *Baizhang’s Pure Rules* (*Baizhang qinggu* 百丈清規).

44 To “tidy up one’s clothes upon leaving” (*burui* 拂衣), besides the literal meaning, is an idiomatic expression meaning to resign and retire.

45 Blue-eyed barbarian is a reference to Bodhidharma, the founder of Chan, who came from India to China.

46 The “two gates of sweet dew” (二甘露門) was an appellation for the famous Chinese monks Yingan Tanhua 應庵曇華 and Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲.

47 A Seon cave (*seon’gul* 禪窟) is a cave for meditation, or more metaphorically, a retreat from the world or a Seon monastery.

48 Yeongeung Daegun 永膺大君 (1434–1467) was the eighth son of King Sejong and Queen Soheon.

49 King Gwanghaegun 光海君 was the second son of King Seonjo.

50 Here the “treasury of the true eye of the dharma” (*jeongbeoban jang* 正法眼藏) refers to the teaching of Seon that lies outside words.

51 The Jurchens who founded the Later Jin later changed the state’s name to the

Qing. They expanded into an empire and eventually invaded Joseon. Master Byeogam Gakseong was in Hwaeomsa Monastery by then and he led three thousand monk-soldiers and called the force the Hangmagun 降魔軍, the Daemon-destroying Army.

52 Here *Collection of Verses* is a reference to Hyesim's *Compilation of Examinations of and Verses on Ancient Precedents* (*Seonmun yeomsong jip* 禪門拈頌集).

53 The “two kinds of benefit” (*iri* 二利), namely, benefit to one's spiritual progress and benefit to the spiritual progress of others.

54 Songgye Wonhwi 松溪圓輝 studied under Pungdam Uisim 楓潭義謙, the second-generation disciple of Cheongheo Hyujeong, and inherited his dharma. He excelled in scripture study and was especially active at Myohyangsan.

55 Yun Seondo 尹善道 (1587–1671) was Joseon-era a civil official and poet.

56 The original text uses Gyeongseong 京城 (Jp. Keijō), a name for Seoul used occasionally during the Joseon period and during the Japanese colonial period.

57 To be “governed by a principle” (*yusu* 有數) means be predestined or determined; in the Buddhist context, the karmic law.

58 Gim Suhang 金壽恒 (1629–1689) was a high-ranking official and scholar.

59 Jeong Dugyeong 鄭斗卿, a writer and poet, he was awarded a tiger skin by King Hyojong of Joseon for composing twenty satirical poems.

60 The ship carried the *Jiaxing Canon* (嘉興大藏經). Baegam extensively printed and published 190 volumes of various texts, including the *Huayan jing shuchao*.

61 It is the Stele Recording the Deeds of Heirs of Songgwangsa (*Songgwangsa sawon sajeok bi* 松廣寺嗣院事蹟碑), which was erected in order to emphasize the historical tradition of Songgwangsa and proclaim the lineage of Bojo Jinul 普照知訥.

62 The revolt of the *musin* year (1728) was a revolt against King Yeongjo initiated by the Soron and Namin factions.

63 Here “circle” (*irwonsang* 一圓相) is an image used in Seon art and representing the original awakening of sentient beings.

64 A reference to the statement of the newborn Siddhārtha Gautama, the Buddha-to-be, who directly after his birth announced, “In the heavens above and earth below, I alone am the honored one.” The statement is associated with all buddhas.

65 Cundi samadhi, a meditative state named after Cundi Bodhisattva, one of the forms of Avalokiteśvara. It is based on the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (*Dasheng zhuangyan baowang jing* 大乘莊嚴寶王經), known under the English title *The Basket's Display*, which introduces the well-known mantra *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* of Avalokiteśvara and on the *Cundi Dhāraṇī Sūtra of Seven Koṭis of Buddha-Mothers* (*Qi juzhi fomu suoshuo Zhunti tuoluonijing* 七俱胝佛母所說准提陀羅尼經). The

mantra leads to the attainment of this Cundi samadhi, in which one encounters innumerable perfectly awakened buddhas and bodhisattvas.

66 Dae'un 大雲, pen name Hanmyeong 漢明 or Seoru 雪藕, was a disciple of Hoeseong 會成 of Dogapsa 道甲寺. The fifth-generation successor of Yeondam Yuil 蓮潭有一, he was associated with Borimsa 寶林寺 and Su'insa 修仁寺.

67 *Kan* or *gan* 間, is a traditional measurement used to describe the size of a building. A *kan* is a distance between two support beams, approximately two meters or seven feet, or an area enclosed by four beams.

68 This is an idiomatic expression meaning “to be extremely poor.”

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