

Selected
Works of
Korean
Buddhism

Buddhist Thought of Korea

by

Koh Ikjin

Introduction by

Nam Dongsin

Translation by

Koh Seunghak



Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

**Buddhist
Thought 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 Sangha 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* 諫廢釋教疏 (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—Tiantai 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 was accepted into Korea and Japan, which 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 Avataṃsaka-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 Sculpture*. 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 Sculpture* 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 Juhjung, 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 Jeon Indong, 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

Contents

Foreword	v
Editor's Preface	viii
Acknowledgments	xviii
Conventions	xix

Introduction	i
--------------------	---

Preface	27
---------------	----

1. An Interpretation of Korean Buddhism from the Perspective of History as the Mind's Manifestation	
A. An Operational Definition of the "Perspective of History as the Mind's Manifestation"	35
i. Functions of the Mind	35
ii. Meanings of History	47
iii. Historical Perspective	50
B. Korean Buddhism from the Perspective of History as the Mind's Manifestation	52
i. Periodization	52
ii. Nationwide Spread of Buddhism in Its Early Phase of Korean History	53

iii. Mahayana Scholasticism and Hwaeom Thought	56
iv. Transmission of Seon Buddhism in the Latter Period of the Silla	61
v. Succession of Silla Buddhism in the Early Goryeo Period	64
vi. Flourishing of Buddhist Scholasticism and Its Orientations ..	66
vii. Development of Religious Communities	70
viii. Introduction of Imje Seon in the Late Goryeo	76
ix. Abolishment and Restoration of Buddhism in the Early Joseon	82
x. Appearance of the Taego Lineage and Its Succession	86
C. Conclusions	90
Notes	92

2. Iryeon's Perception of History and the Dan'gun Myth: Focusing on the Compilation of the *Samguk yusa*

A. Historical Perception as Seen in the <i>Dongmyeong wang-pyeon</i> ..	103
B. Structure of the <i>Samguk yusa</i> and Its Aim of Compilation ..	110
C. Formation of the Dan'gun Myth and Iryeon's Attitude	127
D. Acceptance of the Rational Moralistic View of History	148
Notes	153

3. Origins and Development of Korean Buddhist Philosophy: Focusing on the View of Emptiness

A. The Concept of "Emptiness" as Seen in the <i>Perfection of Wisdom Sutras</i> of the Mahayana Tradition	161
i. Importance of "Emptiness"	161

ii.	Difficulties in Understanding the Concept of Emptiness	164
iii.	Systematic Understanding of Emptiness	169
B.	Seungnang's Madhyamaka View of Emptiness	171
i.	Origins of Korean Buddhist Philosophy	171
ii.	The Doctrine of the Two Truths as Teachings	173
iii.	The Doctrine of the Middle Way as a Substance	181
C.	Woncheuk's Yogācāra View of Emptiness	187
i.	Exaltation of the New Yogācāra	187
ii.	The Problem of the Ninth <i>Amala</i> Consciousness	190
iii.	On the Mark of Perfect Accomplishment	196
iv.	On the Threefold Naturelessness	202
v.	On the Transformation of the Basis	208
vi.	Harmonization of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra	213
D.	Wonhyo's Hwaecom View of Emptiness	219
i.	Buddhist Philosophy on Korean Soil	219
ii.	Critiques of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra	222
iii.	Wisdom in the <i>Awakening of Faith</i>	229
iv.	Aspects of Enlightenment and Non-Enlightenment	232
v.	Practice of the <i>vajrasamādhi</i>	242
vi.	The Realm of the Three Greatnesses and Universal Dharma	248
E.	Jinul's Seon View of Emptiness	257
i.	Development of the Religious Communities	257
ii.	Theories of Sudden Enlightenment Followed by Gradual Cultivation	265
iii.	Introduction of Hwaecom Thought	272
iv.	" <i>Mu</i> " and "What is this?"	281
F.	Conclusions	288
	Notes	291

4. Buddhist Ethics and Korean Society

A. Ethical Doctrines of Buddhism	317
i. Wholesome Karma and Unwholesome Karma	317
ii. Right Paths and Wrong Paths	330
iii. Mahayana Development of the Ethics of Giving and Precepts	332
iv. Ethics of the Ultimate Enlightenment	337
B. Buddhist Ethics Established in Korean Society	341
i. The Theory of Causality and Retribution	341
ii. The Idea of Giving	344
iii. The Concept of Requit of the Favor	346
iv. The Spirit of the Bodhisattva Precepts	351
C. Contemporary Significance of Buddhist Ethics	362
i. Ethical Ideas of the Modern World	362
ii. Freedom and Responsibility	364
iii. Democratic Idea of the Nation	367
D. Conclusions	371
Notes	378

Bibliography	388
Index	396
Contributors	433
The Committee Organization of the Publication Project of the <i>Selected Works of Korean Buddhism</i>	436
Selected Works of Korean Buddhism	440

Acknowledgments

First, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to Professor Kim Jong-Wook and the Editorial Board for inviting me to participate in this translation project. Without their recommendation and encouragement, I would have not dared to set about translating this brilliant scholarly achievement.

I am also grateful to the project manager Kim Ryunseon for her generous support and assistance, and to Prof. Sem Vermeersch and Prof. Lee Sumi for their meticulous proofreading of my earlier manuscript. A special thank should go to Prof. Nam Dongsin for his writing an insightful introduction to the original work. Finally, I am greatly indebted to Mr. Yi Deokyeol for his useful suggestions and correction of unnoticed errors.

I just hope that my translation will not undermine the profound insight of the original work that was written by my father. If this translation helps the scholars and students deepen and widen their understanding of Buddhist thought of Korea, it will be the greatest pleasure to me.

Koh Seunghak
Geumgang University

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* 大正新脩大藏經 (Taishō Edition of the Buddhist Canon). Edited by Takakasu Junjirō et al. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1935.
- X: *Manji shinsan Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 卍新纂大日本續藏經 (Revised reprint of the *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō*). Edited by Kawamura Kōshō 河村照孝, et al. 88 vols. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1975–1989.
- Ch.: Chinese, Jp.: Japanese, Kr.: Korean, Pā.: Pāli, 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 (if necessary), 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 *Han'guk 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.

Citations from the *Manji shinsan Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* are listed in the following manner: title (with Sanskrit title, if relevant, in parentheses), *Manji shinsan Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* sequential number (if necessary), volume number, page number, register (a, b), and, if applicable, line number(s)—e.g., *Fajiezong wuzu lueji*, X 1530.77.620a21.

Citations from traditional East Asian historical or literary works are listed in the following manner: title of the work and roll or chapter number: page, and, if applicable, register (a or b) and/or line number(s)—e.g., *Goryeosa* 102:28b8.

All Buddhist terminology that appears in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* I regard as English and leave unitalicized. This includes such technical terms as dhāraṇī, stūpa, prajñā, samādhi, and tathāgatagarbha, which are here provided without diacritical marks. For a convenient listing of a hundred such words, see Roger Jackson, “Terms of Sanskrit and Pali Origin Acceptable as English Words,” *Journal of the International Association of Asian Studies* 5 (1982): 141–142. In rendering Buddhist technical terms, where the Chinese is a translation, I translate; where it is a transcription, I transcribe. East Asian personal names appear with family names first.

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 between letters to separate phonemes. but a hyphen is specifically used in a person's name. Lastly, the surnames, Kang, Noh, Shin and Yi are alternatively transcribed as such in order to avoid phonetic or semantic confusion.

The original texts used in the translations for this *Selected Works of Korean 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 source texts, but might have left minor revisions and corrections without noting them.

Introduction

Nam Dongsin

1

The author of this book Koh Ikjin 高翊晉 (1934–1988), who had a self-styled penname Byeonggo 丙古, was born in 1934 in Gwangju of Jeollanam-do. He originally entered a medical school but had to quit the course because of unexpected illness. Having spent ten years combating with the disease in a hospital, he stayed in a mountain temple, recuperating himself and reading Buddhist scriptures there. He eventually began to study Buddhism quite late when he was already over thirty. He entered the Department of Buddhist Studies of Dongguk University in 1965 and finished the coursework for the MA and PhD degrees one by one. Thereafter, he worked as a research assistant and then a researcher at the Korea Buddhist Research Institute (Bulgyo munhwa yeon'guwon 佛教文化研究院) of Dongguk University and became a professor in the Department of Buddhist Studies in 1980. He not only devoted himself to research and education, but also had deep interest in excavating new materials of Buddhist texts. In this respect, his career as an editor-in-chief in the project of publishing the *Han'guk Bulgyo jeonso* 韓國佛教全書 (Complete Works of Korean Buddhism) is noteworthy. In 1988 he earned the PhD degree in his later life with a dissertation entitled “Han'guk godae Bulgyo sasangsa yeon'gu” 韓國古代佛教思想史研究 (A Study of the History of Ancient Korean Buddhist Thoughts). He then passed away in October 1988 because his disease became aggravated.

Since he devoted himself to the study of Buddhism, his main interest had lied in historical research of Buddhist thought. As he asserted “we cannot think of any philosophy that exists independently

of the times,” he recognized that thought or philosophy is a notion distinguished from pure religious ideas and regarded it as a system of concepts with which humans try to solve the urgent problems of the times at a fundamental level. In his early career when he specialized in Indian Buddhism, he focused on systematizing the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism through research into the original texts written in Sanskrit or Pāli. His research then came to fruition in the MA thesis entitled “Aham beopsang ui chegyesong yeon’gu” 阿含法相의 體系性研究 (A Study on the Doctrinal System of Four Chinese *Āgamas*). Since this MA thesis identified the starting point of Korean Buddhist studies as the *Āgamas*, it had a fresh impact on the academia. Besides, he continuously called on scholars in Buddhist studies to pay attention to the *Āgamas* by publishing a series of articles.

From the mid-1970s, however, his scholarly interest shifted from Indian Buddhism or Buddhist texts of the early period to Buddhist philosophy of Korea. This change was made in 1975 when he collected and cataloged materials for the *Han’guk Bulgyo chansul munheon chongnok* 韓國佛教撰述文獻總錄 (A Comprehensive Catalog of Korean Buddhist Writings) together with Prof Kim Youngtae 金煥泰. In this catalog published in 1976 by the Korea Buddhist Research Institute of Dongguk University, he made lists of the titles to be included in section 2 “Goryeo Period” and section 4 “Writings and Annotated Translations in Vernacular Korean (*jeongeum* 正音)” of the “Writings” division (撰述部); he also made lists for subsection 3 “Texts for Rituals” and subsection 4 “Transcriptions of Mantras” in section 3 “Other Miscellaneous Texts” of the “Materials” division (資料部). During the project period over one year, he came to know anew the importance of Buddhist texts written by the Koreans. Moreover, he realized how significant it was to explore new textual materials and study them. This engagement in the project led him to have a deep interest in the Buddhist texts composed in Korea and to publish a series of articles in which he introduced newly explored materials and made amendments to the misunderstandings of well-known texts.

This peculiar academic career of the author is well reflected in

his representative publications. Of these, the edited volumes include: *Hanyeok Bulgyo geunbon gyeongjeon* 漢譯佛教根本經典 (Fundamental Scriptures of Korean Buddhism) and *Han'geul Aham-gyeong* 한글阿含經 (Korean Translation of the *Āgamas*). His single-volume books, published when he was alive, include: *Han'guk Bulgyo chansul munheon chongnok* (co-authored, 1976), *Hyeondae Han'guk Bulgyo ui banghyang* 現代韓國佛教의方向 (Directions of Korean Buddhism in Modern Times) (Seoul: Gyeongseowon, 1984), *Han'guk ui Bulgyo sasang* 한국의 불교사상 (Buddhist Thought of Korea) (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1987), and *Han'guk chansul bulseo ui yeon'gu* 韓國撰述佛書의研究 (A Study of the Korean Buddhist Writings) (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1987). In the first-year anniversary of his demise the *Han'guk godae Bulgyo sasangsa* 韓國古代佛教思想史 (A History of Buddhist Thought in Ancient Korea) (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1989) was published by his students, based on his PhD dissertation. As for his articles, there are “*Gisinnon-so byeolgi reul tonghae bon Wonhyo ui jinsok wonyung muae gwan gwa geu seongnip iron*” 起信論疏別記를 통해 본 元曉의 眞俗圓融無礙觀과 그 成立理論 (Wonhyo's View of Unhindered Perfect Interfusion between the Ultimate Truth and the Conventional Truth and Its Foundational Theories: Seen from the *Commentary on the Awakening of Faith* and the *Separate Notes on the Awakening of Faith*) (1973), “*Wonmyo Guksa Yose ui Baengnyeon gyeolsa: sasangjeok teukjil eul jungsim euro*” 圓妙國師 了世의 白蓮結社: 思想的 特質을 中心으로 (White Lotus Society of National Master Wonmyo Yose: Focusing on Its Ideological Characteristics) (1983), “*Samguk yusa chansul go*” 三國遺事 撰述攷 (A Survey of the Compilation of the *Samguk yusa*) (1982) and many others.

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Han'guk ui Bulgyo sasang with the English title *Buddhist Thought of Korea*, of which content I introduce here is the first academic publication in the collection of Dongguk chongseo 東國叢書 (Dongguk

University Academic Series) and one of the author's four major publications in his later life. This is a small book with 304 pages in B5 size. Rather than a monograph, it is a compilation of four different articles presented before. The table of contents is as follows.

1. An Interpretation of Korean Buddhism from the Perspective of History as the Mind's Manifestation
2. Iryeon's Perception of History and the Dan'gun Myth
3. Origins and Development of Korean Buddhist Philosophy
4. Buddhist Ethics and Korean Society

Although the four articles are independent writings, the author put them together in a way that the reader can understand the most important aspects of Korean Buddhist thought: history, historical perspective, philosophy, and ethics. As he reveals in the preface, this book is a product of his contemplation on how "the purest and most precious nature" of the mind could be developed. He intended to explicate the result of this contemplation as easily as possible for the general intellectuals who are not specialists in Buddhist studies. In this respect, this book can be considered an introduction to Buddhist philosophy of Korea for the general reader. Now, we will look into the four chapters in a more detailed fashion one by one.

The first chapter entitled "An Interpretation of Korean Buddhism from the Perspective of History as the Mind's Manifestation" is a paper modified to a great extent from its original version entitled "*Sasangsa daegye jippil eul wihan seoseoljeok yeon'gu*" 思想史大系 執筆을 위한 序說의 研究 (A Prolegomena to the Writing of the *Great Compendium of the History of Thought*), presented at a seminar held in 1986 by Han'guk jeongsin munhwa yeon'guwon (present-day Han'gukhak jungang yeon'guwon [Academy of Korean Studies]) with the aim of initiating the project of writing the *Jeongsinsa daegye* 精神史大系 (Great Compendium of the History as the Mind's Manifestation). This chapter makes an operational definition of the term "perspective of history as the mind's manifestation" (*jeongsin sagwan* 精神史觀), and then tries to

reilluminate the 1,500 years of Korean Buddhism in an ambitious and yet introductory style.

In section A the author offers an operational definition of the “perspective of history as the mind’s manifestation” based on a dualistic view of soul and body, which puts more value to the mind or soul. First of all, he presents the mind’s five functions, which affects the formation of history, such as transcendence, combining nature, vitality, corruptibility, and regenerability; he then takes note of the concept “new brightness” (*saebak* 새밝 or *sinmyeong* 新明) as a unique spirit of Korea, which repetitively appeared in the mind’s process of regeneration. Although he thinks this “new brightness” regenerates itself in a process that goes from ancient shamanism to Buddhism to Confucianism and finally to modern philosophies such as democracy and communism, he leaves discursive proof of his thesis as a later project. Next, he examines the four meanings of the history, such as artificiality, contemporaneity, factuality, and critical attitude. In other words, his thesis can be understood as maintaining that whereas “mind” in the “perspective of history as the mind’s manifestation” creates history with the five functions of transcendence, combining nature, vitality, corruptibility, and regenerability, “history” illuminates a new direction of history with the four meanings of artificiality, contemporaneity, factuality, and critical attitude.

In section B he divides the history of Korean Buddhism into the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla periods, the Goryeo period, and the Joseon period. He then analyzes those periods from nine subsections (subsections ii to x). His description of the history can be summarized as follows. In subsection ii “Nationwide Spread of Buddhism in Its Early Phase of Korean History,” the introduction of Buddhism is interpreted as a phenomenon of the mind’s regeneration from the perspective of history as the mind’s manifestation. Here, the author presupposes the previous conceptual system of shamanism as a philosophical foundation of the aristocracy and also as a hindrance to development of the nation. He then considers that the rulers [of the Three Kingdoms] intended to strengthen the royal power and develop

the nation by replacing shamanism with Buddhism, which includes the doctrine of causality in good and bad fortunes, the doctrine of karma, the concept of the wheel-turning sage king, Maitreya cult, etc. In subsection iii “Mahayana Scholasticism and Hwaeom Thought,” he points out that Mahayana scholastic trends of the Three Kingdoms differed from each other in that while [the scholar-monks from] Goguryeo and Baekje were mainly concerned with Three Treatises studies (Madhyamaka), most of the Silla scholar-monks were involved in Yogācāra studies. He then emphasizes Hwaeom 華嚴 thought of Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686) and Uisang 義湘 (625–702) as a form of Mahayana scholasticism that overcame the opposition between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra as well as the discrimination between the mundane and the supramundane. Additionally, the author does not agree with the contemporary theory prevailing in the field of historical studies, which considered Hwaeom thought an ideology of the authoritarian royal power (as articulated in Lee Ki-baik’s 이기백, “Silla sidae ui Bulgyo wa gukga” 신라시대의 불교와 국가, *Yeoksa hakbo*, no. 111, 1986). In subsection iv entitled “Transmission of Seon Buddhism in the Latter Period of the Silla,” he maintains that Seon (Ch. Chan) 禪 thought of the Southern school of the sixth patriarch Huineng 慧能 (638–713) was accommodated mainly by the followers of the Hongzhou 洪州 school as early as the ninth century. He then thinks that this led to the formation of Nine Mountains Seon Gates in the early Goryeo period. Concerning the aggressive introduction of the Hongzhou school’s thought, he attributes it to the high affinity this school’s idea had with the Hwaeom school’s philosophy of nature origination (*seonggi* 性起) or to the fact that most of the Seon monks from Silla had an experience of studying Hwaeom. Since Seon drew on Hwaeom for its fundamental principle, however, it was not able to overthrow Hwaeom or Yogācāra thought completely and thus went hand in hand with the Gyo 教 (doctrinal) schools—which he identifies as one of the characteristics of Korean Buddhism. Here, he also criticizes the common view presented by historical studies, which located the social and economic foundations of the Seon monks in the

powerful families in localities, by referring to the instances in which they cooperated with the Silla royal house.

In subsection v entitled “Succession of Silla Buddhism in the Early Goryeo Period,” the author identifies the Seon monk Doseon’s 道詵 (827–898) theory of “building temples to assist the nation” (*bibo satap* 裨補寺塔) as the idea that exerted the greatest influence on Taejo 太祖 (r. 918–943), the founding ruler of the Goryeo dynasty. According to the author, however, Taejo tried to subsume the Seon and Gyo schools equally under the nation, which can be seen in his “Ten Injunctions” (Hunyo sipjo 訓要十條). His son Gwangjong 光宗 (r. 949–975) is said to have carried out bold political renovations and severe purges to eliminate the powerful families in localities and establish the centralized absolute royal power. The author states that Gwangjong paid attention to Cheontae 天台 studies and the Beoban (Ch. Fayan) 法眼 school to overcome the conflicts in the Seon circles, while he had Gyunyeo 均如 (923–973) integrate the Hwaeom school which was then divided into the Southern Mountain lineage and the Northern Mountain lineage. As a practitioner Gyunyeo is also said to have emphasized the Samantabhadra’s practice. In short, the author recognizes Buddhism in the early Goryeo as a successor of Silla Buddhism. In subsection vi entitled “Flourishing of Buddhist Scholasticism and Its Orientations,” the author takes note of the three invasions by the Khitan as the historical background against which scholasticism flourished in the mid-Goryeo period. That is, the royalty and the aristocracy promoted religious cults for protecting the nation and at the same time introduced the Song culture enthusiastically—which the author attributes to vitalization of scholasticism. This is not a repetition of scholasticism of the Silla period, however. In the case of Yogācāra studies, unlike the Silla during which Woncheuk’s 圓測 (613–696) lineage (or the Seomyeong 西明 school) was predominant, Goryeo saw the rapid turn to the Ci’en 慈恩 school which proclaimed itself as an orthodox successor to the Dharma-Characteristics school of China. In the case of Hwaeom studies, the author emphasizes that Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101) criticized Hwaeom

studies of Gyunyeo's lineage for its lack of balanced cultivation of doctrinal studies and meditative contemplation (*gyogwan gyeomsu* 教觀兼修) and actively introduced the Tiantai (Kr. Cheontae) school's calming and contemplation (*jigwan* 止觀, Skt. *samatha-vipaśyanā*) as an alternative. Furthermore, he pays attention to Yi Jahyeon 李資賢 (1061–1125), an exponent of Neungeom Seon 楞嚴禪 that integrates Seon and Gyo into one. In subsection vii entitled “Development of Religious Communities,” the author takes note of the movements led by religious communities as a newly emerging phenomenon in the late Goryeo period. He evaluates these movements as ideological movements that intended to keep the purity of Buddhism from the established Buddhist orders that were defiled by the collusion with the political power. According to him, the Water Spirit Society (水精結社) of the Ja'eun (Ch. Ci'en) school, the Samadhi and Prajna Society (定慧結社) of the Seon school, the White Lotus Society (白蓮結社) of the Cheontae school were representative. He also alludes to the reevaluation of Gyunyeo's writings which had been dismissed and the re-carving of the *daejanggyeong* 大藏經 as significant projects in this period. In subsection viii entitled “Introduction of Imje Seon in the Late Goryeo,” the author provides a general overview of the complicated [philosophical] trends in the late Goryeo period. In relation to the Seon school, he reveals a strong awareness of the times as can be seen in Iryeon's 一然 (1206–1289) *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) and Jinjeong Cheonchaek's 眞淨天頌 (b. 1206) *Seonmun bojang-nok* 禪門寶藏錄 (Records of Precious Storehouse of Seon). Here, he considers that whereas the military regime of the Choe 崔 family supported the Seon school, the royalty and aristocracy under the Yuan 元 rule backed the Gyo school. This circumstance, in which the Goryeo royalty were mainly inclined toward doctrinal studies of Buddhism rather than toward meditative practice, led to the prevalence of the religious cults that relied on the other power (*taryeok* 他力)—which in turn caused an incurable decline in the Buddhist spirit. Such figures as Taego Bou 太古普愚 (1301–1382), Naong Hyegeun 懶翁慧勤 (1320–1376), and Baegun Gyeonghan 白雲景閑 (1299–1374) thus

tried to reform this declined Buddhism by introducing the Linji (Kr. Imje 臨濟) school's philosophy in the late fourteenth century. As it did not offer a fundamental solution to the problem, however, the author judges that Buddhism in the end turned over its ideological hegemony to Neo-Confucianism that had its own complete philosophical system.

Regarding Buddhism of the Joseon period, the author confesses that he does not know how to analyze it from the perspective of history as the mind's manifestation since studies on the subject matter are not available enough. Yet, he presents his own view concerning two topics. In subsection ix entitled "Abolishment and Restoration of Buddhism in the Early Joseon," he divides the early Joseon period into three stages: the reigns of Taejo (r. 1392–1398), Taejong 太宗 (r. 1400–1418), and Sejong 世宗 (r. 1419–1450) in his early years; the reigns of Sejong in his later years and Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–1468); and the reigns of Seongjong 成宗 (r. 1469–1494) and Yeonsan'gun 燕山君 (r. 1494–1506). He then gives an overview of the process in which the court alternately adopted the policy of abolishing Buddhism and that of promoting the Buddha dharma, which is followed by the fixation of the latter policy and by the reduction of the influences of Buddhism to mountain monasteries. This overview is followed by the author's positive appraisal of the memorials and oppositions presented by the Buddhists against the anti-Buddhist policy adopted by the ruling class. He also thinks highly of a series of [pro-Buddhist] texts such as Hamheo Gihwa's 涵虛己和 (1376–1433) *Hyeonjong-non* 顯正論. Lastly, in subsection x entitled "Appearance of the Taego Lineage and Its Succession," the author takes note of the distinguished contribution to overcome the national crises of Japanese Invasion in the Imjin Year (壬辰倭亂) and the Manchu Invasion in the Byeongja Year (丙子胡亂), made by the monks from the broader Taego lineage who mobilized the monk soldiers. According to him, this contribution led to the replacement of the Naong lineage, which was dominant in the late Goryeo and early Joseon periods, and the predominance of the Taego lineage in the Buddhist order. Here, he persuasively states that since they were strongly aware of the necessity of protecting and transmitting the dharma lineage, facing the shrunk influences

of Buddhism within the mountain monasteries caused by the anti-Buddhist policy and the crisis in which the dharma lineage could be cut off, they proclaimed the doctrine of Taego lineage. Besides, he mentions that the Buddhist order returned the standard for transmitting the dharma lineage ultimately to Imje Seon, though it allowed the recitation of the Buddha's name and the study of Hwaeom thought. He also points out that this [integrated system of the Buddhist practice] led to the distinction between the monastics focusing on study (*ipan* 理判) and those focusing on temple affairs (*sapan* 事判) to exempt the practitioners, who would transmit the dharma lineage from administrative chores. He also points out that it determined the education system for the monks and nuns in which they first learn (1) the fourfold collections (*sajip* 四集), (2) the fourfold doctrines (*sagyo* 四教), and (3) the great doctrines (*daegyo* 大教; i.e., Huayan studies based on Chengguan's commentaries) in a monastic academy and then investigate the *Seonmun yeomson* 禪門拈頌 and the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 in a meditation hall. He, however, judges that since most of the writings by the monks were textbooks used in the monastic academy or collections of poetry despite this organized system of education, Buddhist thought in the late Joseon lacked a unique development.

His second writing in this book, chapter 2 entitled "Iryeon's Perception of History and the Dan'gun Myth: Focusing on the Compilation of the *Samguk yusa*," was originally presented at a collaborate research seminar, hosted by Han'guksa yeon'guhoe (Association for Korean Historical Studies) with the title "*Samguk yusa yeon'gusajeok geomto*" 三國遺事 研究史的 檢討, in which he focused on the problem of the *Samguk yusa*'s compilation. This paper was then published in volume 38 of *Han'guksa yeon'gu* 韓國史研究 in 1982 with the same title ("*Samguk yusa chansul go*" 三國遺事撰述攷). The same paper was later included the author's book *Han'guk Bulgyo bulseo ui yeon'gu* 한국불교불서의 연구 (A Study of Buddhist Texts in Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1987). As suggested by the chapter title, the author makes a focused analysis of the Dan'gun myth and tries to clarify Iryeon's historical awareness and intention of compiling the

Samguk yusa. According to him, Iryeon was well aware of the evident historical fact that the shamanistic concept of Haneul-im 하늘임 (heavenly lord) came to take on a Buddhist color with the introduction of Buddhism, and compiled a history of faiths and marvels of the entire Korean nation. In particular, he asserts, “[Iryeon’s] perception of history must have aimed at recovering the national identity of the Korean people, who were troubled by the rule of Yuan China, by relying on their ardent and pure religious faith in Buddhism.” This demonstrates that he was also not free from the atmosphere of the 1970s and 1980s that was overflowing with the nationalistic perception of history.

To be more elaborate, in section A the author deals with the historical perception as seen in the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* 東明王篇 (A History of King Dongmyeong), which he posits as an intermediate stage between the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (A History of the Three Kingdoms) and the *Samguk yusa*, in a detailed fashion. According to him, Yi Gyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241) understood the sacred religious concept of divine sanctity, which lied at the source of the marvelous history of King Dongmyeong 東明 (r. 37–19 BCE), not only as a simple religious concept but also as the source of spiritual power that creates the nation’s independent history. From this perspective, he is said to have analyzed the symbolic meanings of the myth of King Dongmyeong in a framework that posited a development from “ghostly illusions” (*gwiwhwan* 鬼幻) to “divine sanctity” (*sinseong* 神聖) to “marvelous traces” (*sinjeok* 神迹). The author then surmises that in Yi Gyubo’s opinion the creation of new history could not be made possible without a seemingly “non-rational but sacred religious dimension,” which goes further from the rationalist view of morality as in the *Samguk sagi* and that this is the reason for his writing of the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon*.

This analysis is followed by section B, in which the author examines the organization and intent of compilation of the *Samguk yusa* from multiple angles. He thinks that just as the organization of chapters and items in the *Samguk yusa* is based on the biographic-thematic format of the *Samguk sagi*, which includes “Annals,” “Chronicles,” and

“Miscellaneous Records,” the *Samguk yusa* has the chapters of “Royal Chronicles,” “Wonders,” and “Pagodas and Images.” According to him, what could be correlated with the *Samguk sagi*’s “Biographies” in the *Samguk yusa* was expanded in accordance with many *gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (biographies of eminent monks) volumes and the chapters were then rearranged in the present order. Moreover, since the *Samguk yusa* has a refined structure, the author highly evaluates it as a complete history text, not a simple “collection of anecdotes and hearsay” (*ilsa yumun* 軼[=逸]事遺聞). In terms of its content, he also maintains that the *Samguk yusa* tried to provide a systematic compilation of “the ancient history of the Korean people in terms of the mind’s manifestation” and precisely presented the evident historical fact that problems inherent in the traditional and shamanistic concept of divine sanctity, which Yi Gyubo took to be the spiritual dimension for independently creating the national history, were revealed. The author further says that this concept of divine sanctity was further given a new religious dimension with the introduction of Buddhism to the Three Kingdoms.

The author’s motive for writing section C is to show that Iryeon’s conscious effort at systematically presenting the sacred history of the Korean people as the mind’s manifestation can be clearly seen in the process in which the Dan’gun myth was formed and also in the perspective from which he viewed that process. Concerning the Dan’gun myth, there have been controversies on its authenticity since early on in the academia. The author settles the controversies by saying that the shamanistic myth handed down from the remote past in a tribal society of Old Joseon encountered the Goguryeo culture, was heavily influenced by the Jumong 朱蒙 tale, and eventually accommodated even the impact of Buddhism and Daoism, turning into the Dan’gun myth in which shamanism and Buddhism were syncretized. Yi Gyubo discovered, the author repeatedly states, in King Dongmyeong’s wondrous historical events a spiritual dimension for the independent creation of national history that would cope with the destruction of the previous order, thereby describing and praising the king’s feats. According to the author, Iryeon then inherited Yi Gyubo’s

historical awareness and tried to present the comprehensive history of wonders related to the Three Kingdoms. He thus identifies the Dan'gun myth as the source of the history of the Three Kingdoms as the mind's manifestation, and thinks highly of the *Samguk yusa* because this text put that myth in the first stage of the history of the Korean people.

Yet as can be seen from the author's statement in the postscript, he was "being pressed for time, the chapter was written hurriedly without making a detailed historical investigation." In this respect, this second article can be regarded as having a character of historical essay that does not have sufficient argumentation. To our regret, he passed away too early and for this reason this article came to remain an unfinished controversial work.

By contrast, his third article in chapter 3 entitled "Origins and Development of Korean Buddhist Philosophy: Focusing on the View of Emptiness" is his representative work that best demonstrates the author's critical mind, research competence, and academic achievements. It thus deserves to be called a classical accomplishment as it is still cited in today's academia. He wrote this article when he participated in a collaborate research entitled "Han'guk cheolhak ui wollyu wa jeon'gae" 韓國哲學의 原流와 展開 (Origins and Development of Korean Philosophy), in which he took charge of a section on Buddhist studies. This article was also included in volume 4 of the *Cheolhak sasang ui je munje* 哲學思想의 諸問題 (Problems of Philosophical Thought) published by Han'guk jeongsin munhwa yeon'guwon in 1986. He set up a goal of locating the originality of Korean Buddhist philosophy and selected Seungnang 僧朗 (fl. sixth century; Three Treatises), Woncheuk 圓測 (613–696; Yogācāra), Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686; Hwaeom), and Jinul 知訥 (1158–1210; Seon) as the thinkers who represent the history of Korean Buddhism. It is said that because the related texts were too vast and huge for the time given to the author, he focused on their views of emptiness. Of these four figures, we can find a [more detailed] scholarly examinations of the first three thinkers in his *Han'guk godae Bulgyo sasangsa*.

In section A the author reviews the concept of emptiness (*gong* 空,

Skt. *śūnyatā*) as seen in the Mahayana *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras* from multiple points of view. According to him, “emptiness” is a fundamental standpoint from which Mahayana Buddhism sees things, a central concept that reveals the real characteristic of all dharmas, and a spiritual foundation for moral behaviors. Nevertheless, the concept of emptiness in the Mahayana *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras* is “indeed difficult to see and difficult to know,” even if we try to explore it. Yet, he thinks that a systematic understanding of it is necessary to the extent that it is difficult to know. For a systematic understanding of this concept, he tries to trace the Korean Buddhist thinkers’ understanding of the three aspects of emptiness: (1) the thesis that every dharma is characterized by emptiness, (2) reasons for that thesis, and (3) the thesis that because of emptiness every dharma can be established.

Section B deals with the Madhyamaka view of emptiness presented by Seungnang, the first of the abovementioned thinkers. The author presupposes that although Seungnang was venerated as having laid a firm foundation for the philosophy of the Three Treatises school in Chinese Buddhism by reviving the old tradition of the Three Treatises studies, we are justified in regarding his thought as a source of Korean Buddhism because he not only came from Goguryeo but also the Three Treatises school was one of the main scholastic trends in Goguryeo and Baekje. As for Seungnang’s theories, he first takes note of the doctrine of the two truths as teachings (*yakgyo ije seol* 約教二諦說). This doctrine of the two truths as teachings is a theory that claims the two truths of the conventional truth (*sesok je* 世俗諦) and the ultimate truth (*jeil ui je* 第一義諦, *seungui je* 勝義諦, or *jinje* 真諦)—the Buddha’s ways of delivering his dharma—are nothing but his verbal teachings (*eon’gyo* 言教). Concerning the relation between the conventional truth (represented by the notion of existence) and the ultimate truth (represented by the notion of non-existence or emptiness), Seungnang asserted, “due to non-existence existence can be attained; due to existence non-existence can be attained,” as cited in Jizang’s 吉藏 (549–623) writings. The author evaluates this formulation as Seungnang’s major contribution to the development of the philosophy of emptiness

view in that it changed the philosophical current of the times, in which the doctrine of the two truths as principles (*yangni ije seol* 約理二諦說) was dominant. Another theory the author takes note of is a doctrine of the middle way as a substance (*jungdo wiche seol* 中道爲體說). This theory repudiates the view that sees the two truths as principles, and instead correlates them with the middle way. This is a Sinitic theory that cannot be seen in Indian Madhyamaka studies, and the author finds its origins in Seungnang.

This review of Seungnang who belonged to the tradition of Madhyamaka studies is followed by an examination of Woncheuk's Yogācāra view of emptiness in section C. The Silla monk Woncheuk entered Tang China in his early career and learned Yogācāra studies there, leaving writings totaling twenty titles in more than ninety fascicles. Of these, it is known that three titles in seventeen fascicles, namely the *Bulseol banya baramilda simgyeong-chan* 佛說般若波羅蜜多心經贊 (Praising Commentary on the *Heart Sutra*) in one fascicle, the *Inwang gyeong-so* 仁王經疏 (Commentary on the *Humane Kings Sutra*) in six fascicles, and the *Hae simmilgyeong-so* 解深密經疏 (Commentary on the *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning* [Skt. *Samdhanirmocana-sūtra*]) in ten fascicles survive. It is widely known that he enhanced Xuanzang's 玄奘 (602–664) new Yogācāra thought, and that his Ximing 西明 school and Ci'en Ji's 慈恩基 (632–682) Ci'en school were the two major [Yogācāra] schools. His scholarly tradition was then transmitted to Silla, becoming the mainstream of Yogācāra studies there. Concerning Yogācāra studies, which has been acknowledged as the most complicated and difficult to understand since early on, the author reveals a few significant points by analyzing the extant writings of Woncheuk. According to him, Woncheuk based himself on the new Yogācāra philosophy and thoroughly criticized the old Yogācāra's theory of nine consciousnesses that posits the ninth consciousness, which was presented by Paramārtha (Zhendi 真諦; arrived in Liang in 548) and his followers. Woncheuk is, by contrast, said to have considered the ninth *amala* consciousness just as a pure (i.e., untainted) aspect of the eighth consciousness.

According to the author, he also had a tendency to expand the scope of the mark of perfect accomplishment (*wonseong sil sang* 圓成實相, Skt. *pariniṣpanna-svabhāva*) and considered that in the threefold naturelessness, naturelessness of the mark (*sang museong* 相無性) and naturelessness of the ultimate meaning (*seungui museong* 勝義無性) are included in the concept of emptiness. Regarding the transformation of the basis (*jeonui* 轉依, Skt. *āśraya-prāvṛtti*), which is a result of cultivating the bodhisattva path, he is said to have faithfully accepted the new Yogācāra's position on this concept. In Woncheuk's philosophy, however, it is the harmonization of the Madhyamaka (represented by the aspect of emptiness) and the Yogācāra (represented by the aspect of existence) that the author pays his utmost attention to and attaches the greatest meaning to. When Woncheuk made a detailed introduction of the debates between Bhāviveka (or Bhāvaviveka [Ch. Qingbian 清辯], ca. 500–578) of the Madhyamaka and Dharmapāla (Hufa 護法, 530–561) of the Yogācāra, he evaluated both as accomplishing the Buddha's intent for the first time in the history of Chinese Buddhism. Such a recognition clearly differs from that of the Ci'en school, and the author adds that it was later accepted in the doctrinal classification schema of the five teachings presented by Fazang 法藏 (643–712) of the Chinese Huayan (Kr. Hwaeom) 華嚴 school.

Unlike Seungnang and Woncheuk, who spent most of their lives in China, Wonhyo was active only in Silla during his entire lifetime. In this respect, Buddhist philosophy of Korea in an authentic sense, the author proclaims, began with Wonhyo. Section D is a masterpiece that analyzes Wonhyo's view of emptiness in association with Hwaeom thought. The author thinks that his writings amount to eighty-seven titles in more than 180 fascicles, of which twenty-three titles in thirty-two fascicles and two fragments are extant. Although Wonhyo's ideas encompass many areas of Mahayana Buddhism such as Yogācāra, Madhyamaka, Hwaeom, monastic disciplines, and Pure Land, the author identifies their principle axis as tathagatagarbha thought appearing in the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論; hereafter referred to as *Awakening of Faith*). He sees

Wonhyo as a thinker who thrust himself into the philosophy of the *Awakening of Faith*. At the same time, he also diagnoses his view of this text as akin to Hwaeom thought.

According to the author, Wonhyo saw the ideological conflicts between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra, the two main philosophical traditions of Mahayana Buddhism, not only as arising from sectarian attachments, but also as involving theoretical problems. For him, these two philosophies have supramundane orientations only and have theoretical flaws of not being able to turn their direction to the world of sentient beings. Wonhyo thus paid attention to the *Awakening of Faith* attributed to Aśvaghōṣa as a treatise that could overcome the theoretical flaws of the two philosophies and conducted a pioneering research on the treatise for the first time in the history of Buddhism with the aim of solving these problems. In particular, he identified the *Awakening of Faith*'s structure of one mind and two gates as a reorganization of doctrinal systems of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra and tried to verify this identification. In relation to this, the *Awakening of Faith* refers to the two hindrances (i.e., the afflictive hindrance [*beonnoe ae* 煩惱礙] and intellectual hindrance [*jiae* 智礙]) but does not clarify what samadhi can sever them. Wonhyo thus locates this samadhi in the *vajrasamādhi* appearing in the *Sutra on the Adamantine Samadhi* (*Geumgang sammae-gyeong* 金剛三昧經). Besides overcoming the theoretical flaws of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra by relying on the *Awakening of Faith*, he is also said to have pursued the idea of “universal dharma” (*bobeop* 普法) that takes on the Hwaeom vision. As noted above, the author posits the ideological task for Wonhyo as accomplishing a harmonization of the Madhyamaka (representing the position of emptiness) and the Yogācāra (representing the position of existence) and sees Wonhyo as having successfully overcome the conflicts between the two philosophical positions by borrowing the *Awakening of Faith*'s system of one mind and two gates. He then understands Wonhyo as having provided a practical orientation to Buddhist philosophy with the *Sutra on the Adamantine Samadhi* and presented as the final goal of practice the idea of universal

dharma implied in the *Flower Garland Sutra*.

Of Korean Buddhist philosophies, the author directed all his efforts especially to the systematization of Wonhyo's thought. It is not the case, however, that the philosophical system of Wonhyo's thought as presented by him and its significance in the history of Buddhism as understood by him do not require further minor revisions. Although objections to his evaluation have been raised, yet at this point his understanding of Wonhyo's thought can be acknowledged as one of the most excellent scholarly achievements in modern academia of Buddhist studies.

In addition to Wonhyo, the author pays attention to Bojo 普照 Jinul as one of the two greatest thinkers in Korean Buddhism and tries to explicate his view of emptiness which has the character of Seon Buddhism in section E. First, he takes note of the fact that Jinul initiated a movement for the Samadhi and Prajna Society (Jeonghye gyeolsa 定慧結社) as he was aware of the conflicts between the Seon (meditational) and Gyo (doctrinal) schools and that he tried to solve them. Jinul opened three approaches—the approach of equal maintenance of samadhi and prajna (*jeonghye deungji mun* 定慧等持門; based on the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*), that of faith and understanding according to the perfect and sudden teaching (*wondon sinhae mun* 圓頓信解門; based on the *Xin huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論), and that of shortcut observing the *hwadu* 話頭 (*ganhwa gyeongjeol mun* 看話徑截門; based on Dahui Zonggao's 大慧宗杲 [1089–1163] *Recorded Sayings*)—to guide and instruct the people. The author thus says that these three approaches can be identified as the philosophical system of Bojo Seon 普照禪. Furthermore, he understands that another community called the White Lotus Society (Baengnyeon gyeolsa 白蓮結社) was also influenced by Jinul and that the sitting meditation by observing the *hwadu* (i.e., the shortcut approach) practiced in a meditation hall (*seonwon* 禪院) as well as the curriculum of the fourfold collections (*sajip* 四集) taught in a lecture hall (*gangwon* 講院) reflects this Bojo Seon. The author pays attention to the fact that Jinul actively accommodated some theories and practices, which had been considered collateral, for

the purpose of showing the characteristics of Jinul's thought. First of all, he alludes to the fact that Jinul saw a clear understanding through verbal teachings as a requirement for a Seon practitioner and observed the Heze 荷澤 school as the most advanced in terms of intellectual understanding. According to him, Jinul unstintedly praised Zongmi 宗密 (780–841) who explicated on the Heze school's doctrines, as he evaluated the school's theories as satisfying the two meanings of the dharma such as being immutable (*bulbyeon* 不變) and according with the condition (*suyeon* 隨緣) as well as the two meanings of the person such as sudden enlightenment (*dono* 頓悟) and gradual cultivation (*jeomsu* 漸修). The author then says that this evaluation of the Heze school led to Jinul's excerption of passages from Zongmi's *Faji biexing lu* 法集別行錄 (Dharma Collection and Special Practice Record) and addition of his own notes to them as well as his composition of the one-fascicle *Susim-gyeol* 修心訣 (Secret on Cultivating the Mind) in which theories of Zongmi's texts are put together. As is well known, the Seon school of Korean Buddhism originated in the Hongzhou 洪州 school of Southern Seon. But Jinul creatively adopted, the author emphasizes, philosophy of Zongmi who belonged to the collateral lineage for the purpose of redressing the problems of his times.

The author says that such creativity can also be found in Jinul's acceptance of Hwaeom thought. According to him, Jinul's approach of equal maintenance of samadhi and prajna is of a form that extracts needed elements from the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra and combines them into the system of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation (*dono jeomsu* 頓悟漸修). It is said that since the Heze school originally shared its fundamental principle with Huayan (Kr. Hwaeom), Jinul tried to accommodate Hwaeom scholasticism into his Seon system. Of diverse trends in Hwaeom scholasticism, he paid special attention to Li Tongxuan's 李通玄 (635–730) interpretation of the first stage of the ten faiths in which ordinary people initially arouse faith, as appearing in Li's forty-fascicle *Xin huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論 (A Commentary on the Newly Translated *Flower Garland Sutra*). The *Xin huayan jing lun* emphasizes having faith in the identity between

one's own mind with Immovable Wisdom Buddha (Budong ji Bul 不動智佛), which stands in a stark contrast with the Chinese Huayan patriarch Fazang's 法藏 understanding that the Buddha exists outside of one's mind. Li Tongxuan, who have been considered collateral in traditional Huayan studies, understood that sudden enlightenment, which reveals the fact that ignorance and discrimination in one's own mind are none other than the wisdom of universal illumination (*pu guangming zhi* [Kr. *bo gwangmyeong ji*] 普光明智), is not realization-enlightenment (*zhengwu* [Kr. *Jeungo*] 證悟) but understanding-enlightenment (*jiewu* [Kr. *haeo*] 解悟). Jinul identified, the author maintains, these Hwaecom ideas presented by Li Tongxuan with his theory of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation. According to the author, this identification led to the publication of the three-fascicle *Hwaecom-non jeoryo* 華嚴論節要 (An Essential Abridgement of the *Xin huayan jing lun*; published in 1207) and the writing of the *Wondon seongbul-lon* 圓頓成佛論 (Treatise on the Perfect and Sudden Attainment of Buddhahood; published in 1215).

Finally, Jinul is said to have read Dahui Zonggao's *Recorded Sayings* (*Yulu* 語錄) at Sangmujuam 上無住庵 Hermitage on Jirisan Mountain in 1198 and realized that only Seon investigation into the *hwadu* 話頭 (critical phrase) can eliminate the hindrance of understanding caused by Hwaecom scholasticism. Of many types of *hwadu*, it is said that he was particularly interested in the *hwadu* of “*mu*” 無 (“nothing” or “no”).

As summarized above, the author clearly presupposes that Mahayana Buddhism is basically predicated on the principle of universal emptiness. He then examines the philosophies of Seungnang, Woncheuk, Wonhyo, and Jinul, one by one, centering around their respective views of emptiness. According to him, although their philosophical systems differed from each other according to their times and sectarian affiliations, they always had something in common. They regarded, the author says, emptiness not simply as a negative concept, but as a notion implying that one can ultimately give rise to infinite human activities by eliminating discriminations and false attachments. This reflects his understanding of the history of Buddhism and his

optimistic view on Buddhism, according to which this religion is meaningful both in the present and in the future.

The author's final article in this book, entitled "Buddhist Ethics and Korean Society," was originally presented at the 1986 conference with the title "Hyeondae sahoe wa jeontong yulli" 現代社會와傳統倫理 (Contemporary Society and the Traditional Ethics), hosted by the Minjok munhwa yeon'guwon (Research Institute of Korean Studies) of Korea University to celebrate the university's eightieth anniversary. In this article he aims at making a succinct and yet systematic description of the overall Buddhist ethics that covers from early Buddhism to Mahayana Buddhism. He then explores which elements of Buddhist ethics have taken root in Korean society up to the present day and what meanings they have in contemporary society.

In section A he overviews problems in ethical doctrines of Buddhism by dividing them into three topics: (1) wholesome karmas and unwholesome karmas, (2) right paths and wrong paths, and (3) Mahayana development of the ethics of giving (Skt. *dāna*) and observing the precepts. Here, he understands that Buddhist ethics is presented in a multilayered doctrinal system that proceeds from the theory of ten deeds to that of the four noble truths, then to the theory of six perfections (Skt. *pāramitā*), and finally to that of the one Buddha vehicle. We can clearly see from this understanding his identification of Buddhism as "ethics of enlightenment." In section B he enumerates as what have settled down in Korean society these four aspects of Buddhist ethics: (1) the theory of causality and retribution, (2) the idea of giving, (3) the concept of requital of the favor, and (4) the spirit of the bodhisattva precepts. Here, he points out that while these aspects of Buddhist ethics have greatly contributed to the development of traditional ethical thought of Korea in terms of theory and practice, they have rather been refracted without preserving their original Buddhist spirit. For instance, the robust spirit of overcoming the present difficulties, inherent in the theory of karma that locates the fundamental power of creating history in a human will, has been refracted to a passive view of life. In the ethics of giving, the laity have lost their independent activeness. As for the

ethics of favor-requital, it should aim at a democratic relationship of mutual harmonization, not a feudal relation in which the lower are subordinated to the higher. In the case of observing the precepts, we should not go to the extremes of placing too much emphasis on their spirituality and of repudiating the very existence of the precepts on the basis of the Prajna philosophy of emptiness. Finally in section C, he presents as a goal of Buddhist ethics “constructing a Buddha land that is filled with sentient beings who are enjoying material affluence and yet pursuing enlightenment.” This is also the message the author wishes to deliver to the reader by publishing this book.

3

“I have an infinite gratitude to the causes and conditions that led me to be born on this soil and study Buddhism.”

“Korean Buddhism in the present day is drifting on the boundless expanse of water like a rudderless boat.”

As can be expected in the above confessions, the author Koh Ikjin tried to make the bodhisattva path he walked on as a living practitioner and the academic investigation he made into Korean Buddhist philosophy meet together during his entire lifetime. He made a wholehearted effort to solve all the problems he met in his life and scholarly activities, and explored the Buddhist texts, ranging from the *Āgamas* to the Mahayana scriptures, with an attitude of a truth-seeker. This book explicates the answers to the problems he found in his course of practice and research for the general reader.

By focusing on Buddhist thought of Korea and also by approaching it from a wider perspective of East Asian Buddhism, this book enables its readers to have a balanced and objective understanding of Korean Buddhist philosophy. In particular, the author writes the technical terms of Buddhism in literary Chinese together with their Sanskrit equivalents and defines them clearly, thereby delivering as faithfully

as possible the original meanings of Indian Buddhism before they underwent the Sinitic transformation.

The author has declared that philosophy has an inseparable relation with the times, and his thesis can also apply to himself and this book. Although he specialized in Buddhist philosophy, he was well aware of the importance of historical background to get a proper understanding of the situation of the Buddhist order or the trends in doctrinal studies. His acceptance of research trends and major accomplishments in studies of Korean history can be understood as an extension of this awareness. This approach has a strong point in that since it recognizes the changes in Buddhist philosophy against those in Korean society and thus provides Buddhist philosophy with a historical context. By correlating such changes in society or history with the changes in philosophy in a manner in which the latter may appear to be passive reflections of the former, however, his approach could be seen to have fallen into the trap of consequentialist or teleological interpretations.

The author can also be criticized as having a problem of observing history from the person-centered perspective or nationalistic viewpoint, one of the products of modernity. For instance, he includes the philosophies of Seungnang and Woncheuk, who were active in China, in the Korean Buddhist ideas in that they came from the Korean Peninsula and later exerted influences on Buddhist philosophy of Korea. Considering the fact that the eminent Chinese monks such as Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顛 (538–597), Xuanzang, the sixth patriarch Huineng, and Dahui Zonggao exerted much more influences on Korean Buddhism, however, his thesis seems less persuasive. Moreover, he interprets Yi Gyubo's selection of King Dongmyeong out of the founders of the Three Kingdoms as his deliberate consideration of how to create the national history independently at the time when the previous order was destroyed. But Yi Gyubo did say in his preface to King Dongmyeong's tale that he just came across the *Gu samguk sa* 舊三國史 (Old History of the Three Kingdoms) and found himself gradually interested in King Dongmyeong's tale. This shows that the author retrospectively applies the person-centered perspective or nationalism, which is a sort

of modern ideology, to the study of history of thought in the ancient period. Such an inclination of the author was also prevalent in the academia of the 1970s to the 1980s. Therefore, it can be said that all the scholars in Korean studies should overcome such a tendency.

This book is a masterpiece in which the author put together the scholarly achievements on Buddhist philosophy of Korea and elucidated them for the general reader. It has been more than thirty years since the book was published. Looking back from today's perspective on the system and content of Korean Buddhist philosophy as presented by him, it is not the case that the book does not need any corrections. There have also been raised some objections to the author's arguments. Looking at these criticisms from a different angle, however, they clearly show that the academic circles of Korean Buddhist studies have developed to such an extent for about thirty years. It goes without saying that this book *Buddhist Thought of Korea* laid a firm foundation for this development.

Buddhist Thought of Korea

Preface

The works composed by the ancient scholar-monks in Korea have always surprised me. Besides the erudition of their scholarly achievements and the wide range of their citations, the subject matters dealt with in their works are extremely subtle and difficult. Most of the works were either composed in preparation for their lectures at monasteries or compiled later based on those lectures. This fact never ceases to amaze me. It implies not only that the scholar-monks in ancient times were able to give such highly sophisticated lectures, but also that there existed so many disciples who were able to follow these lectures.

If anyone were to give such lectures to the general populace in the present day, how many would be willing to participate in them as an audience? Everyone is looking for an easy and simple form of Buddhism. The dharma talks delivered by today's masters are at most interesting accounts of the doctrine that are easy to understand. Given this situation, how could the purest and most precious nature be possibly cultivated through the religious sermons? Just as fertile farms and fields of old times are still covered by the weeds of wild nature, so our minds of the present day are covered by the weeds of comfort and negligence, being devastated more and more each passing day. How could we expect the days will come when we cultivate the fertile soil and sow the seeds, thereby getting the rich harvest from our efforts once again?

The four articles collected in this book are nothing when compared with the writings of the ancient scholar-monks. These articles are just my own study notes comparable to a child's play. Nevertheless, I was asked to submit them to the Dongguk Collection series, which aims at breaking down the narrow and restricted walls of scholarly disciplines for a wider audience. I am rather afraid of adding this book to the series, however.

In spite of my best efforts at writing them in an accessible manner for a lay audience, readers will probably still get the impression that these four articles are difficult to understand. Without the friendly encouragement from the head of the Dongguk Collection Editorial Committee, I would not have dared to participate in the publication project.

The first paper in this book, entitled “Han’guk Bulgyo ui jeongsinsajeok haeseok” 한국불교의 정신사적 해석 (An Interpretation of Korean Buddhism from the Perspective of History as the Mind’s Manifestation), was originally presented at a seminar entitled “*Sasangsa daegye jippil eul wihan seoseoljeok yeon’gu*” 思想史大系執筆을 위한序說的研究 (A Prolegomena to the Writing of the *Great Compendium of the History of Thought*), held at Han’guk jeongsin munhwa yeon’guwon (present-day Han’gukhak jungang yeon’guwon [Academy of Korean Studies]) with the aim of initiating the project of writing the *Jeongsinsa daegye* 정신사대계 (Great Compendium of the History as the Mind’s Manifestation) in 1986. All the scholars who were asked to make presentations at the seminar were initially flummoxed by the task of defining the concept “history as the mind’s manifestation.”

While it evidently seems to imply a concept opposed to the materialistic perspective of history, what does it mean concretely? I also spent considerable time searching for an answer to that question, looking for inspiration in works on philosophy of history, history of Japanese thought, history of German thought, and so on. But I found it difficult to get a clear concept of the term, and so decided to discard all the prejudices and began to think of the fundamental power that has moved history and the meaning of the history formed by such a power at a very commonsensical level. Based on the author’s thoughts on the subject matter, this paper first presents an operational definition of “perspective of history as the mind’s manifestation,”* and then re-illuminates the 1,500 years’ history of Korean Buddhism from that perspective. Therefore, the latter part of the original paper has the character of overall introduction to the history of Korean Buddhist thought. As I made considerable revisions to the original paper, the reader should be aware that the present paper is quite different from it.

The second paper, entitled “Iryeon ui yeoksa insik gwa Dan’gun sinhwa” 일연의 역사인식과 단국신화 (Iryeon’s Perception of History and the Dan’gun Myth) was originally presented at a collaborative research seminar on the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) sponsored by Han’guksa yeon’guhoe (Association for Korean Historical Studies). This paper, focused on the problem of the compilation process of the *Samguk yusa*, was then published in volume 38 of *Han’guksa yeon’gu* 韓國史研究 in 1982. Although many useful research papers on the *Samguk yusa* have been published, there remain some parts that evaded keen attention of scholars. Iryeon 一然 (1206–1289), the author of the book, takes the same position as Yi Gyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241), who authored the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* 東明王篇 (A History of King Dongmyeong), in that both identified the fundamental power that creates history with a mythical concept that is beyond human reasoning. Unlike Yi Gyubo, who restricted such perspective of history to the descriptions of the ancient concept of the shamanistic Haneul-im 하늘임 (heavenly lord) and the single ruler King Dongmyeong (r. 37–19 BCE), however, Iryeon recognized the evident historical fact that such a shamanistic concept of Haneul-im was transformed in a Buddhist fashion with the introduction of Buddhism. With such a historical perspective, Iryeon compiled the history of beliefs and miracle tales as experienced by the entire Korean people, including the Dan’gun 檀君 myth. His perception of history must have aimed at recovering the national identity of the Korean people, who were troubled by the rule of Yuan 元 China, by relying on their ardent

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- * The translator chooses to render the term *jeongsinsa* 精神史 as “history as the mind’s manifestation,” though this is not its literal translation. Alternative renderings such as “spiritual history” or “mental history” are not adopted because the former has strong connotations of Hegelian idealism or teleological historicism and the latter is usually identified as “a record of mental health.” The word “manifestation” is added to clarify the author’s perspective that the mind is considered to have manifested itself throughout history.

and pure religious faith in Buddhism. In this paper, I briefly reveal my own historical view of this period, thinking I can contribute to another Buddhist perspective of history in addition to the first paper.

The third paper, entitled “Han’guk Bulgyo cheolhak ui wollyu wa jeon’gae” 한국 불교철학의 원류와 전개 (Origins and Development of Korean Buddhist Philosophy), was presented in a section for Buddhist studies of another collaborative seminar entitled “Han’guk cheolhak ui wollyu wa jeon’gae” 한국철학의 원류와 전개 (Origins and Development of Korean Philosophy), and appeared in volume 4 of the *Cheolhak sasang ui je munje* 哲學思想의 諸問題 (Problems of Philosophical Thought), published by Han’guk jeongsin munhwa yeon’guwon in 1986. It seems that at the core of the historical phenomena of Korean Buddhism lie philosophical ideas. What are then the content and characteristics of Korean Buddhist philosophy? Diverse approaches to answer this question could be taken, but I chose to focus on the eminent Korean Buddhist monks who did not only study and introduce Chinese Buddhism but also showed their creativity, thereby revealing on which field their philosophical concerns were focused. Taking such an approach was, however, unexpectedly painstaking. I was able to select four eminent monks, namely Seungnang 僧朗 (fl. sixth century), Woncheuk 圓測 (613–696), Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686), and Jinul 知訥 (1158–1210) for the present research. As their scholarly fields cover the entire area of Buddhist studies, including the Three Treatises (Samnon [Ch. Sanlun] 三論), Yogācāra (Yusik [Ch. Weishi] 唯識), Hwaeom (Ch. Huayan) 華嚴, and Seon (Ch. Chan) 禪, however, I had to examine and study a huge array of texts. Although I spent more than a year conducting research on this subject matter and finally completed it, I feel many elements of my own research remain unsatisfactory. Still, I was fortunately enough able to confirm that the abovementioned scholar-monks were all concerned with the idea of emptiness (Skt. *śūnyatā*), the most essential concept of Mahayana Buddhism, and that they made their efforts to develop positive implications of the notion.

The last article, entitled “Bulgyo yulli wa Han’guk sahoe” 불교 윤리와 한국사회 (Buddhist Ethics and Korean Society), was presented

at a conference celebrating the eightieth anniversary of Korea University, which was hosted by the same university's Minjok munhwa yeon'guwon (Research Institute of Korean Studies). The paper was included in the proceedings, entitled *Hyeondae sahoe wa jeontong yulli* 현대사회와 전통윤리 (Contemporary Society and the Traditional Ethics) and published in 1986. While we have many books and articles on Buddhist ethics, these works are either concerned with descriptions of only one aspect of the Buddhist traditions, namely Mahayana or Hinayana, or just remain at the level of introductory summary of a certain scripture's ethical teaching. In other words, these works lack theoretical explications on why the ethical life is absolutely needed. The most salient feature of Buddhist ethics is that it finds criteria of good and bad in the will of human beings unlike the other religions that seek it in the will of Heaven. In this respect, I first present in this paper a systematic explication of Buddhist ethics in the periods ranging from the stage of early Buddhism to that of Mahayana Buddhism. I then examine which elements of Buddhist ethics took root and continued to exert influences in Korean society and what significance they have in contemporary society.

As can be seen from the above summary, none of the four articles in this book were originally meant to be submitted to professional scholarly journal. Therefore, if readers patiently read through them, I believe, they will be able to make sense of the content despite some difficulties. Moreover, it seems to me that the four papers, if put together, are sufficient to form the theme "Buddhist thought of Korea." For any thought is, it seems, composed of the four most important aspects of thought: history itself, a perspective of history, philosophy, and ethics; and this book consists of four articles that address each of these four aspects in turn. I hope readers will understand that the author accepted the suggestion to publish this book out of such consideration, even though my writings may have some flaws.

Finally, I would like to express a deep gratitude to the research institutes that allowed my participation in the presentations, the editorial board members of the Dongguk Collection series, including

Venerable Lee Jigwan, president of Dongguk University, and Dongguk University Press. I also would like to deliver my endless affection to all the karmic bonds that enable me to study Buddhism without any concern.

At the residence in Pil-dong, Namsan, Seoul, in August of 1987
With joined palms,
Koh Ikjin

1. An Interpretation of Korean Buddhism from the Perspective of History as the Mind's Manifestation

A An Operational Definition of the “Perspective of History as the Mind’s Manifestation”

i. Functions of the Mind

Any description of history without a historical perspective would be like a voyage on a rudderless boat. To interpret Korean Buddhism from the perspective of history as the mind’s manifestation, we need to establish a definition of the term. A definite agreement on that concept, however, has not been reached in academia. Therefore, I would like to present my own operational definition of the “perspective of history as the mind’s manifestation” before going into details of the given subject matter.

The phrase “perspective of history as the mind’s manifestation” is largely composed of three elements: “mind,” “history,” and “perspective.” Of these, “mind” seems to indicate the mental aspect that is opposed to the material aspect in its most simple and primary sense. It is not clear as to whether mind and body are identical or different, but dualistic views have been widely accepted. Of mind and body considered in this way, the former performs subjective and invisible functions such as feeling, thinking, and desiring; the latter is characterized as having a definite visible mass in a spatiotemporal sphere and being governed by the natural law of causality. In this respect, these two should be understood as having a completely disparate existence.

Whereas human beings are endowed with both aspects of mind and body, there exist other objects that are not. Insentient objects such as stones and water are regarded as lacking mental functions. But some objects such as numinous spirits are believed to be a purely mental existence, divorced from bodily constraints. Therefore, dualistic views that see mind and body as having a separate existential status are widely accepted. Of these two aspects of mind and body, the former has the

subjective controlling power. In this respect, we may be justified in identifying our mind, not our body, with the fundamental principle that has formed history. For although the concept “history” indicates the entirety of all human activities, its minimum constituents are individuals who have a mind and a body.

But in contemporary philosophies of mind, there exist some theories that support the supremacy of body over mind, denying the mind’s control over the body. We may find such theories in the extreme forms of materialism and epiphenomenalism.¹ If it is the case that matter or body controls mind, the perspective of history as the mind’s manifestation would be meaningless since it seeks to locate the fundamental principles that shape history in the activities of the human mind. But it is to be noted that even the extreme form of materialism or epiphenomenalism does not deny mental phenomena themselves. These theories just interpret mental phenomena, such as feeling, thinking, and intending, in terms of physical and chemical processes that occur in matter, and does not say that such mental phenomena do not exist at all. If so, it can be said that regardless of the differences in interpretations, all those philosophical traditions of East and West, in ancient and contemporary times, agree on the existence of mental phenomena.

Besides, what I intend to reveal in this chapter is not the validity of philosophical interpretations of the mind. I would just like to think of fundamental principles that have formed the humanities and culture of Korea, particularly in relation to Buddhism. The primary focus of concern will then be the consciousness of the political or religious leaders who played a dominant role in the formation of history and that of the general populace who followed them. In other words, the question would be how the relation between mind and body has been reflected in the consciousness of these people.

In this respect, we cannot deny the fact that the fundamental principles that have created history are indeed mental. For it has been universally accepted that human beings are composed of the two parts of mind and body and that the former has the subjective functions of feeling, thinking, and intending. I thus accept the content and validity

of the perspective of history as the mind's manifestation in this respect. Based on this presupposition, I will now examine how the mind has been functioning in the formation of history.

1) Transcendence

It is evident that the mind transcends the body. The very perception that a human being consists of mind and body itself indicates the mind's transcendence of the body. It goes without saying that Buddhism, which identifies the mind as the foundation of all things, has such understanding. Besides, pre-Buddhist shamanistic beliefs in ancient Korea also had a dualistic religious concept that separates mind from body.

Such transcendental nature of the mind means that the mind not only transcends the body but also itself. Human beings can illuminate their own mind and can even illuminate the fact that they are now illuminating their own mind. The theory of four aspects of mind (*sabun seol* 四分說), as presented in Yogācāra philosophy of Buddhism, well represents this aspect of the mind's transcendental nature. According to this theory, the perceiving subject is called "cognizing aspect" (*gyeonbun* 見分) and the perceived object is referred to as "cognized aspect" (*sangbun* 相分). Of the cognizing aspect, there exists another aspect called "self-aware aspect" (*jajeungbun* 自證分) that illuminates the "cognizing aspect" again. When the "self-aware aspect" can be illuminated again, it is then called "re-confirming self-aware aspect" (*jeungjajeungbun* 證自證分). In this manner, there could be another aspect of mind that illuminates "re-confirming self-aware aspect" and a further aspect that illuminates it again and again—the mind can self-transcend *ad infinitum*. Since such an evolution is an identical repetition following from the introduction of "re-confirming self-aware aspect," however, the Yogācāra school maintains that the four aspects from the "cognizing aspect" to the "re-confirming self-aware aspect" are sufficient to explain their theory of mind.²

This transcendence of the mind, which can free itself from the body and even from the mind itself, can be said to be of primary

importance in examining the mind as the principle that has formed history. For the creation of a new history involves a denial of previous political systems or economic structures, and ultimately of accepted philosophical ideologies and religious conceptions. Without the mind's self-transcendence, it would have been impossible for Korean history to change its ideological form from ancient shamanism to Buddhism, from Buddhism to Confucianism, from Confucianism to modern philosophies.

2) Combining Nature

Yet, the mind does not just remain in its transcending state. It can immediately combine with a new bodily form which is either visible or invisible.³ In the Dan'gun myth, Hwanin's 桓因 son Hwanung 桓雄 combines with the earthly daughter Ungnyeo 雄女; in the tale of King Dongmyeong 東明, Haemosu 解慕漱—vital energy (*gi* [Ch. *qi*] 氣) of the rooster or heavenly spirit of the sun—combines with the earthly maid Yuhwa 柳花 or the daughter of water spirit (*habaek* 河伯).⁴ Besides these, we can find the same motifs in the narratives of oviparous birth of King Seo Eon (Ch. Xu Yan) 徐偃 (d.u.) of the Seoi 徐夷 tribe,⁵ Bak Hyeokgeose 朴赫居世 of Silla, and Gim Suro 金首露 [of the state of Garak]. The structure of the narratives of oviparous birth are essentially identical with that of King Dongmyeong's conception from the rooster spirit. Here, Hwanung and the rooster spirit can be compared to the mind's transcendence; Ungnyeo and the earthly maid Yuhwa can be compared to the objects the mind combines with.

The objects the mind combines with are not restricted to material forms. Since the mind transcends even itself, the objects it combines with include ideas and ideologies as well. Combining with religious ideas, it becomes the religious mind; combining with national consciousness, it becomes the national mind; combining with China, it becomes the Chinese mind; combining with Korea, it becomes the Korean mind. Therefore, when we examine the mind as the principle that has formed history, we should consider this combining nature of mind to be the second important aspect, in addition to

its transcendence. Whereas the mind seeks a new direction through its nature of transcendence, it provides that direction with concrete historicity through its combining nature.

3) Vitality

Combination of mind and body gives rise to new life. When life is brought into the world, it soon initiates its activities. These activities can be divided into two aspects, namely the mental level and the material level. The totality of accomplishments borne from the former aspect can be called “spiritual culture”; the totality of accomplishments derived from the latter can be labelled “material civilization.”

At its material level, life focuses all its activities on the sustenance of its bodily form more than anything else. The body as a compound of material elements, such as the four great components (*sadae* 四大) of earth, water, fire, and wind (as in ancient philosophies) or the 104 elements (as in modern chemistry), is entirely subject to changes in its environment. Since the material elements are subjected to the natural law of causality, when their external condition changes, they will produce different results accordingly. But the vitality of mind would not accept such changes. When life comes into being due to the combination of mind and body, its combining nature implies that the mind has a strong attachment to its given form. Therefore, life’s vitality gives rise to a function that retains that form against external influences. The Buddhist theory of five aggregates (*on* [Ch. *yun*] 蘊, Skt. *skandha*; i.e., form, sensations, perceptions, formations, and consciousness) calls such inner activities of a sentient being “formations” (Skt. *saṃskāra*).

Such inner activities inevitably cause suffering (*go* [Ch. *ku*] 苦, Skt. *duḥkha*), because the mind tries to maintain its given form and those activities aroused by the mind would require great power to combine with material elements, which are subject to meeting and parting. The Sanskrit term *duḥkha*, corresponding to the word “suffering,” means “power-consuming.” Therefore, in Buddhism, which regards the five aggregates as the foundational constituents of sentient beings, the very existence of human beings is considered suffering. If the inner

activities are suffering, all the possible means to alleviate suffering should be sought out. Such an aspect of searching for available means is discernable in higher animals' development of firm bodily structures, which can endure external changes, as well as in their acquisition of active locomotive organs, which aggressively seek to respond to the external world and secure "comfortable" (Skt. *sukha*) conditions.

Activities aimed at the external world can be made more effectively when they are performed at a collective level rather than at an individual level—which accounts for the societal or congregate mode of living of sentient beings. Although human beings are no exception to this mode of living, their society shows an even higher form of development, one that can be hardly imagined in the other forms of living beings. Human society is concerned not only with the growth and control of its members; it also develops scientific technologies and actively conquers nature, thereby producing necessary conditions and materials at its will. This enables human beings to enjoy marvelous material benefits, and this is called material civilization.

But these vital activities at a material level cannot avoid their limitations. For materials necessary for their living do not exist infinitely, and even if humans produce those materials by developing nature, their abilities are also restricted. Besides, the insufficiency of necessary materials causes severe competitions among living beings, aggravating the situation. The finitude of the material world is directly related to that of sustaining life. Inner activities of living beings are themselves burdensome, and when they reach an extreme state in which they cannot bear the burdens resulting from changes of external conditions, their total body as well as their inner activities will be destroyed. And this is called "death." Whatever development material civilizations have made, the problem of limitedness of life itself will remain unsolved.

As seen above, the central concern of material civilization is "sustaining the material body," but the body is indeed impermanent. Spiritual culture then emerges for the purpose of overcoming the problems of material civilization. Any human society has had religions,

and science and arts have developed therein based on those religions. It can be thus said that religion is a foundation of spiritual culture, because the most primitive form of religion is thought to have originated in the simple concept of soul, which believes in the immortality of mind.

More specifically, human beings, faced with the limitations of their body, cannot help but look in the spiritual direction [by asking these questions]. When human beings die, is it an end once and for all? Or is it only the body that is destroyed, with the mind existing separated from the body? These questions demand humans to rethink an existence that is composed of mind and body, and they will see that the essence of life lies in the mind. When a person has just died, his or her body is not much different from its living state except for the fact that the consciousness left the body. If the essence of life lies in the mind, the mind should be considered to have a feature of vitality even after the destruction of the body. Humans who despair of the limitedness of their body will now discover this feature of eternal vitality in the mind and be relieved from their worries. Although there are many theories on the origins of religions, it seems that the most ancient origins are such animistic views of the soul.

The abovementioned views of the soul would seem too simplistic, but they are the foundation for forming the greater systems of concepts, which are called religions. When we trace them further and further back to ancient times, we will probably find humans were under absolute control of nature. They thus had no choice but to feel a sense of awe toward the controlling power of nature, and there came to be established a master-servant relationship between them. It would then be natural to consider nature's controlling power to be equipped with its own mind. For it would be impossible to think that a natural object, which is simply characterized by materiality, has such a subjective controlling power. Therefore, ancient societies universally featured multiple apotheosized natural gods: sun, moon, and stars in the heavenly realm; winds, clouds, thunders, and rains in the realm of the sky; mountains, seas, and wild beasts in the earthly realm.

But upon those multiple natural gods was projected a hierarchical

order resembling the governing structure of human society, and the single most predominant deity made its appearance. It is well known that prior to the introduction of Buddhism Haneul-im (Cheonje 天帝; lit. heavenly emperor), derived from the sun-god, occupied the position of such utmost predominant deity in the shamanistic society of Korea.⁶ Thereafter, the establishment of a conceptual system that tries to understand every phenomenon of the world in terms of the utmost predominant god would naturally emerge. The will of heaven thus becomes a criterion for judging the good and the bad as well as the right and the wrong; the lawful prohibitions that are to maintain social order come to be recognized as the sacred commandments that are imposed by heaven. At the same time, the disasters and fortunes of human society are to be considered the punishments and boons of heaven, which accounts for the performance of diverse religious rites for services to heaven, divinations, remedies, and incantations directed towards many spirits. Furthermore, there comes to appear a concept that when humans fall into extreme distress, heaven will send its savior son to save those people. Dan'gun Wanggeom 檀君王儉 who propagated the ideology of universal benefiting of the human world (*hongik in'gan* 弘益人間), the sacred king Dongmyeong who referred to himself as a son of the heavenly emperor (Cheonjeja 天帝子) or a son of the sun, Bak Hyeokgeose who proclaimed the ideal of governing the world with bright illumination (*gwangmyeong ise* 光明理世), and Gim Suro who tried to reform the country (*yusin gabang* 維新家邦) are all the "Messiahs" of the Dongi 東夷 tribe (viz. Koreans).

As seen above, human beings, turning their eyes to the spiritual realm due to their awareness of the limitedness of the material realm, developed magnificent systems of religious ideology. Here, it is noteworthy that these systems of religious ideology aim for not just personal peace of mind by realizing one's given heavenly mandate, but also extend even to the stage that shows "the holy spirits' social intervention" throughout human society. As the very existence of human beings is suffering, their vital activities in a materialistic direction would lead to the reckless pursuit of material pleasure,

causing uncontrollable confusion and sins. In this respect, it can be said that religion has a function of sublimating such vulgar vital activities toward the sacred realm, thereby placing the whole of society on solid foundations. It goes without saying that world religions newly established by pioneers, such as Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity, and Islam, not only seek personal salvation but also promote the ideology of such social engagement to a greater extent.

Therefore, spiritual culture and material civilization are locked into an inseparable relationship. It is because material civilization, which tends to fall into vulgar pleasures, can find a right path through spiritual culture, and spiritual culture, which is prone to following void concepts, can secure concreteness through a material civilization that has tangible content. When the two realms are thus balanced and harmonized, the vitality of the mind will create brilliant history, just as the saying “a sound mind in a sound body” implies.

4) **Corruptibility**

Yet, it is difficult to maintain for a long time such a balanced state of spiritual culture and material civilization. As human beings are structurally characterized by suffering, they ceaselessly seek material comfort. It is spiritual culture that puts sacred ethical restrictions on such instinctive pursuit of pleasure. Therefore, as soon as those restrictions of spiritual culture are lifted, humans will do everything to gain maximum pleasure without exerting their power. But “not exerting one’s efforts” is none other than social evil, because the basic of social ethics mandates that one do what is right (efforts) to receive one’s dues. Buddhism thus identifies the basic principle of social ethics as karmic causes followed by ripening effects (*eobin gwabo* 業因果報), and calls every action caused by the ignorance of causality an unwholesome karma (*ageop* 惡業). In this respect, Buddhism enumerates ten specific unwholesome karma: killing, stealing, licentiousness, lying, divisive speech, harsh speech, meaningless words, greed, anger, and delusion. When these evil deeds prevail in society, spiritual culture will shrink, a state which we should refer to as corruption of the mind.

The more rapidly material civilization develops, the greater the corruption of the mind will be. Spiritual culture originally came into being to overcome the “limitedness of matter” by resorting to one’s mind. Therefore, to the extent that such limitedness is overcome with the development of science, spiritual culture loses its own significance. At this point, spiritual culture should cope with this new situation. But if it fails, the matter will surpass the mind, resulting in the inversion of values. In such a situation debauchery and materialism will certainly prevail. We see such phenomena in Indian society of the fifth century BCE,⁷ which was rapidly transformed from agricultural economy to commercial economy, and in the twentieth century, which saw the rapid development of scientific civilization.

Corruption of the mind also occurs when spiritual culture forms a hard crust. Every era has its own ideology or *zeitgeist*; all the political, economic, and artistic activities evolve around that ideology. But when such an ideology is overly emphasized and adhered to by the populace, it functions as an obstacle that prevents further developments of politics, economy, and art; it can also be used to safeguard the rights and interests of some privileged class. For instance, the caste system of India and the bone-rank (*golpum* 骨品) system of Silla were originally introduced for the succession of the sacred bloodlines that created their new history. But these systems later became a mere formal tool to protect the social status of the brahmins and aristocrats of notable family backgrounds. The *seonbi* 선비 (virtuous scholar) spirit in the Joseon period also prevented the development of artisan culture and was merely used for maintaining *yangban* 兩班 (two classes of civil and military aristocrats) status. In this respect, corruption of the mind can be said to be caused by spiritual culture itself.

5) Regenerability

When the mind corrupts, society tends to tread the path of decline. For although material civilization appears to continue to prosper, frantic (or indiscriminate) desire for matter will cause wars that can destroy society itself; mere formalized ideology will also bring

about decline of matter and shortens vitality of life. How will the mind then react to such phenomena of the degenerate age? Will the mind just collapse and tread on the path of destruction? No! Against the deteriorative phenomena, some part of society will certainly be “aware” of the problem and operate its “reformative” will.

Such reformative will manifests itself in two directions. First, the mind will tackle the problem by boosting and developing the shrunken spiritual culture, which is exemplified in Korean history by the cultural projects conducted during the reign of Sejong 世宗 (r. 1418–1450). Secondly, the mind will produce a new ideological movement by reforming the formalized ideas, which is exemplified by the Samadhi and Prajna Society (Jeonghye gyeolsa 定慧結社) of Bojo Jinul 普照知訥 (1158–1210) and the White Lotus Society (Baengnyeong gyeolsa 白蓮結社) of Wonmyo Yose 圓妙了世 (1163–1245) in the late Goryeo period. These two figures were aware of the debauchery of the Buddhist order in their times, and led new ideological movements by making some corrections and supplementations to the traditional Seon and Cheontae (Ch. Tiantai) 天台 ideas respectively.

But how should the mind react when such partial reforms are not enough to solve the problems whose roots are so deeply and strongly entrenched? In such a case a radical reformation should be carried out. To put it more concretely, the political and economic institutions as well as the ideologies that governed society of that period should be replaced by completely different ones. The aspects of the mind that play a crucial role in carrying out such radical reforms are its “vitality” and “combining nature.” For in such a case the mind should deny the efficacy of the governing institutions and ideologies of the previous ages and introduce new ones. It goes without saying that the objects the mind combines with are ideologies that can overcome the problems it faces. Such ideologies can be either the ones developed within the current society or the ones introduced from outside. In Korean history as the mind’s manifestation, it can be said that shamanism corresponds to the former and that Buddhism, Confucianism, and modern ideologies in the later periods correspond to the latter.

When the mind manifests its transcendence and combining nature, a new life form emerges. This new life again brings about a new civilization, which we may call the “regenerability” of the mind. For it means that the corrupt or declining mind can be regenerated or revitalized again and again so that eternal historical changes may follow. This regenerability of the mind is different from the simplistic “circular view of history.”⁸ For we are focusing on the “qualitative changes” of history in which the form of regeneration is repeated but the content of the changes is always completely different from the previous ones.

It would be impossible to trace every aspect of history clearly, but it can be said that history showed developments and changes through its nature of regenerability once the mind enters the historical era. Therefore, the author would like to think that the principles that govern historical formation could be understood more clearly by analyzing the mind in terms of the aforementioned five functions of (1) transcendence, (2) combining nature, (3) vitality, (4) corruptibility, and (5) regenerability.

It can then be said that the “mind of Korea” is the mind which kept emerging in the process of its regeneration, and which every generation constantly tried to succeed. What is that mind exactly? The author would like to express it in terms of “new brightness” (*saebak* 새밝, *dongmyeong* 東明, *sinmyeong* 新明). Clarification of the author’s view needs a lengthy elaboration and argumentation, and so will be made in a paper that will be published later. But it should be noted that the Korean people are characterized by carrying out a great number of “regenerations” in the history as the mind’s manifestation: the mind has frequently been regenerated from the ancient shamanism to Buddhism, from Buddhism to Confucianism, again from Confucianism to modern ideologies (capitalism and communism). This phenomenon of frequent regenerations might be attributed to the cool environment and geographical insecurity, but it reveals that the Korean people were also spiritually keen on the “new” ideologies.

Besides, in the process of regenerations, the sacred concept which can be called “new brightness” is incessantly being succeeded.

Those who were born to the Donggi tribe of the Buyeo 扶餘 lineage (Northern Buyeo, Eastern Buyeo, Goguryeo 高句麗, Baekje 百濟) and created new history always proclaimed themselves as having the sacred spirit of “*dongmyeong*” (*saebak*).⁹ Bak Hyeokgeose who was born to the Donggi tribe in the period of the Three Hans (Samhan 三韓) also proclaimed *saro*'s 斯路 (*saero* 새로, meaning “new” or “east”) brightness (*gwangmyeong* 光明); the word “*suro*” 首露 appearing in the name “Gim Suro” of the Garak state is also interpreted as “new” (*saero*). As National Eminence (國尊) Bogak Iryeon 普覺一然 (1206–1289) testified in the *Samguk yusa*, this shamanistic concept of divine sanctity that regards Haneul-im (sun-god) as the supreme god turns into the Buddhist idea of Jeseokcheon 帝釋天 (Skt. Śakra Devānām Indra). And in the Dan'gun myth recorded at the beginning of the *Samguk yusa*, we find the concept of divine sanctity that syncretizes shamanism and Buddhism (*mubul seuphap* 巫佛習合).¹⁰ The establishment of the “Joseon” dynasty, though founded on a Confucian ideology, may also be regarded as a succession of the Old Joseon of Dan'gun.

ii. Meanings of History

It seems that “history,” a second important component of the term “perspective of history as the mind's manifestation,” does not need further elaboration since too many studies have been conducted on that concept. As the flow of this paper demands some comments on it, however, I will briefly summarize its meanings to the extent needed for this discussion.

1) Artificiality

The place where history is formed is our world, which is composed of two parts: human beings and natural environment. In such a world, human beings seek to secure comfortable material conditions by exploring nature and try to overcome material limitations by developing the spiritual world. Such goals are, however, not always achieved at their

will, and humans are trapped in a destiny in which they have no choice but to make ceaseless efforts. History is a “comprehensive” description of these human activities. Therefore, history can be said to be artificial in that it is created by humans; in other words, history does not belong to the realm of gods or natural laws.

Humans, the subjects who create history, are not singular but plural. Every person, as one of the plural agents in the creation of history, has a free will to select good or evil, right or wrong, and so on. It seems that humans would select good or right over evil or wrong with their rational judgement. In fact, however, they are subject to the influence of evil or wrong.¹¹ It is because humans, whose fundamental structure is suffering, pursue their physical comfort instinctively. Therefore, a phenomenon called history in which such individual activities are accumulated is extremely complicated, and its direction cannot be easily fathomed. In this respect, a one-sided affirmation that history is “a rational process”¹² of [Hegelian] Spirit or that it follows the direction “determined by divine providence”¹³ cannot be made. It would then be appropriate to think that history follows the direction of good or evil in accordance with human karma.¹⁴

2) Contemporaneity

Of the three periods of past, present, and future, history clearly belongs to the past. But a haphazard listing of unrelated human events that occurred in the past cannot be called history. A simple chronology that lists those events in accordance with the passage of time cannot be considered history, either. If so, what kind of account concerning the human past deserves to be called history? The general view of history is that it is not “a plain narrative” that “describes” “past events,” but a “significant” narrative that “explains” why those events must have occurred.¹⁵

For what reason, then, do humans find meaning in the past? While acting in the present, humans are eager to know what will happen in the future. But it is difficult to precisely anticipate future events. Every cause will produce its corresponding result, but this principle itself is

too abstract. And the concrete consequence of present actions is not known until the agent experiences them. Besides, historical phenomena are singular events, not repetitive like scientific phenomena. Therefore, humans cannot help but look back to the past for their present. For they can illuminate the present through concrete experiences of the past—which explains why we study history. If so, history can be said to be “contemporary history” or “contemporary philosophy” in that it has contemporary meanings.¹⁶

3) **Factuality**

If history is a reflection of the past for the sake of the present day, it should be based on precise facts.¹⁷ Otherwise it cannot provide useful information. In this respect, history is distinguished from propaganda, legends, historical novels, and so on. But there is nothing more difficult than revealing past facts. Different from the recent past, there remain only fragmentary records of the events that occurred in the remote past, and they can be problematic in terms of veracity. Historical research is thus painstaking. But we should not abandon such efforts altogether.

When individual facts are verified, a historian needs to reconstruct them into a causal relation. But this is not an easy task, either. The causes that partake in the historical phenomena in question are, unlike scientific causes, accumulations of the deeds of the involved persons who have free will to make a wide range of choices. These causes are also influenced by the overall situation of the society. Therefore, the results are also to be characterized as one-off events of extreme complexity. Nevertheless, the factuality of history demands the historian to reveal the “historical” causal relations.

4) **Critical Attitude**

Although the investigation of facts is a difficult and important task in historical research, it alone is not sufficient. Because those facts should have meanings in the present, the decisions made by the historical persons and the ways of their actions need to be critically evaluated. This is why the veritable records such as the *Samguk sagi*

三國史記 (A History of the Three Kingdoms) by Gim Busik 金富軾 (1075–1151) include historians' comments (*saron* 史論), which are given under the heading "My opinion is that . . ." (*nonwal* 論曰).

To level such criticisms at some historical events, historians should be aware of their own way of describing history. Such an awareness also demands them to clarify the facts from the past and put their workplace into the past. The historians should then state the way a historical person in question chose one out of many available options, and the motif that propelled such a decision. Only then is it possible to show to "contemporary" readers of history the results the historical person's behaviors brought about. It seems to me that the ultimate meaning of history lies in such a critical attitude. For the mission of history is to contribute to the creation of brilliant history by making critical use of our abundant experiences.

iii. Historical Perspective

So far, we have examined the two concepts of mind and history, and it can be said that the "perspective of history as the mind's manifestation" is an act of viewing "history," as defined above, from the perspective of the "mind," also as defined above. To put it more concretely, the mind creates history with its five functions of (1) transcendence, (2) combining nature, (3) vitality, (4) corruptibility, and (5) regenerability. History has four meanings, namely (1) artificiality, (2) contemporaneity, (3) factuality, and (4) critical attitude. In this case, the historical perspective in question refers to an act of illuminating the path of creating new history based on the abovementioned concepts.

"A history as the mind's manifestation" can be said to be a historical account that is based on such perspective and takes the "mind" to be the main theme. But the mind does not exist independently of but exists combined with visible or invisible bodily forms. Therefore, the content of history as the mind's manifestation should encompass all the fields of religion, philosophy, politics, economy, learning, arts,

and so on. Nevertheless, it should not be an unorganized collection of histories of unrelated fields. For an enumeration of simple historical facts that lack interrelations is not a history. All the fields of history should thus be unified in terms of the principles of the mind, and they need to be selected and organized so that those fields reveal that they are manifestations of the mind.

B

Korean Buddhism from the Perspective of History as the Mind's Manifestation

i. Periodization

Now, I would like to go over Korean Buddhism from the perspective of history as the mind's manifestation as defined above. At this point, I feel that we need to renew the periodization of Korean Buddhism. For the perspective of viewing history as the mind's manifestation considers conceptual forms to be more fundamental than politics and economy, and it should classify the periods in accordance with these conceptual forms. Then, Korean history can be divided into the four periods that are respectively dominated by (1) ancient shamanism, (2) Buddhism, (3) Confucianism, and (4) contemporary philosophies. The second of these periods, Buddhist thought, can be again subdivided in accordance with the changes of philosophical trends as follows.

Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla periods

- (1) Nationwide spread of Buddhism in its early phase
- (2) Mahayana scholasticism and Hwaeom thought
- (3) Transmission of Seon Buddhism in the latter period of the Silla

Goryeo period

- (4) Succession of Silla Buddhism in the early Goryeo
- (5) Flourishing of Buddhist scholasticism and its orientations
- (6) Development of religious communities
- (7) Introduction of Imje Seon in the late Goryeo

Joseon period

- (8) Abolishment and restoration of Buddhism in the early Joseon
- (9) Appearance of the Taego lineage and its succession

Now, based on the above periodization, I will extremely briefly describe my own view on how to interpret Korean Buddhism from the perspective of history as the mind's manifestation.

ii. Nationwide Spread of Buddhism in Its Early Phase of Korean History

The years of the official introductions of Buddhism into the Three Kingdoms are dated 372 (second year of King Sosurim 小獸林 [r. 371–384]) for Goguryeo, 384 (first year of King Chimnyu 枕流 [r. 384–385]) for Baekje, and 527 (fourteenth year of King Beopheung 法興 [r. 514–540]) for Silla. The introductions of Buddhism can be examined from diverse aspects, such as contemporary politics, diplomacy, cultural spread, and so on. But from the perspective of history as the mind's manifestation, it can be viewed as the regeneration of the mind in which its dominant conceptual form (ideology) shifted from traditional shamanism to Buddhism. Korean history indeed reveals many aspects that can justify such an interpretation.

As is well known, the initial founders of the ancient nations of tribal federations were known as “sacred kings of heavenly descendants” (*cheon'gang seongwang* 天降聖王), as they referred to themselves as the sons of Haneul-im (developed from the sun-god). Their family names were Hae 解 (meaning “the sun”) in the case of Goguryeo and Baekje,¹⁸ and Bak 朴 (meaning “brightness”) in the case of Silla. But when Buddhism was introduced into Korea, the royal family names of the Three Kingdoms were changed to Go (Goguryeo), Yeo 餘 (Baekje), and Gim (Silla) respectively.¹⁹ This indicates the emergence of collateral royal lines. When these collateral royal families seized power, what was the status of the original royal families like? It seems probable that they formed aristocratic power based on the authority of their sacred bloodlines and thus put severe restrictions on the power of the newly emerging royalty. In the meanwhile, Northeast Asia of that period was undergoing the fierce turmoil of wars of conquest and there was a need to strengthen royal power and increase national power. If so, the new

royal families of that period must have considered the conceptual form of shamanism, an ideological foundation of the previous aristocrats, to pose a serious ideological problem to them.²⁰

Then, what can be said of Buddhism? It has been proved from many historical materials that the central idea of Buddhism in the early stage of Korean history was concerned with causality of misfortunes and fortunes (*in'gwa hwabok* 因果禍福).²¹ Here, the reader needs to recall that the theory of karmic cause and ripening effect was a representative doctrine that strongly denied the Brahmanical system of the four castes. This can thus be a doctrine suitable for dismantling the aristocracy's ideological foundation of shamanism. For the Brahman's identification of their "sacred lineage" as "being born from Brahma's mouth" is in line with the previous royalty's identification with "the noble bone rank" of "the sacred kings of heavenly descendants." Besides, since the doctrine of karma puts heavy emphasis on rational thinking (i.e., the principle of causality [*in'gwa dori* 因果道理]) and intentional actions (i.e., karma) of human beings, it should be considered a beneficial ideology for the development of the state.

Taking the abovementioned two aspects into consideration, we can easily anticipate that the royal house of the time showed an extreme interest in Buddhism. In fact, we indeed see such an anticipation realized in history. As exemplified by the martyrdom of Ichadon 異次頓 (501–527), the official recognition of Buddhism by the Silla court occurred in the midst of sharp confrontations between the aristocrats' opposition to and the royalty's support of it. Therefore, the opening chapter of Korean Buddhism, namely its "introduction," can be interpreted as the phenomenon of "regenerability" of the mind from the perspective of history as the mind's manifestation. Of course, this point should be examined broadly through more detailed investigations.

At any rate, once Buddhism was officially recognized, it spread rapidly across the societies of the Three Kingdoms through the nationwide pro-Buddhist policies adopted mainly by the royalty. If the introduction of Buddhism was made for the abovementioned goals, it can be said that it was a necessary step. Furthermore, the fact that the

doctrine of the wheel-turning sage king (*jeollyun seongwang* 轉輪聖王, Skt. *cakravartin*) and the cult of Maitreya came to the fore can be understood in the same vein. The wheel-turning sage king, whose idea is based on the doctrine of karma, is a counterpart of the shamanistic “sacred kings of heavenly descendants”;²² Maitreya Bodhisattva, who resides now in the Tuṣita Heaven but will descend later to earth, is not only a spiritual source of the wheel-turning sage king, but also reminiscent of the faith in Haneul-im’s Second Advent.²³

This nationwide spread of Buddhism in its early phase also received ardent support from monks. From the records of the eminent monks, such as Hyeryang 惠亮 (fl. 551) and Bodeok 普德 (d.u.) of Goguryeo, Dochim 道琛 (d. 661) of Baekje, and Won’gwang 圓光 (542–640) and Jajang 慈藏 (590–658) of Silla, we can continuously discern their pure national consciousness. Furthermore, the monks of the Three Kingdoms also made extreme efforts and exerted their creativity to replace the shamanistic cults and rituals with Buddhist ones.²⁴ The previous object of faith Haneul-im was absorbed into the Buddhist Jeseokcheon (Skt. Śakra Devānām Indra), and the notion of sacred earth (*yeongji* 靈地) came to be replaced by the theory of lands that have a karmic connection with ancient buddhas (*buryeon gukto* 佛緣國土). In addition, the rites for heavenly deities were transformed into Buddhist rituals such as the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions (Palgwanhoe 八關會), the Assembly of One Hundred Seats of the Humane Kings (Inwang baekjwa 仁王百座), and the Lantern-Lighting Festivals (Yeondeunghoe 燃燈會); the act of traditional fortune-telling (*jeombok* 占卜) into that of Buddhist divination (*jeomchal* 占察); and rituals for curing illness and averting disaster (*chibyeyong yangjae* 治病禳災) into the mantra-reciting rituals of Esoteric Buddhism. It seems that Buddhism penetrated deeply into the people’s faith through its incorporation of shamanistic cults.

As seen above, it is revealed that Korean Buddhism in its early phase replaced the shamanistic ideology, which hindered the development of the state, thereby aiming at strengthening the royal power and developing the state. The nationwide promotion of Buddhism thus

achieved great accomplishments. After the introduction of Buddhism, royal authority and national power developed rapidly. For instance, in the history of Silla the so-called “period of establishing autocracy” ranges from the twenty-ninth ruler King Muyeol 武烈 (r. 654–661) to the thirty-sixth ruler King Hyeogong 惠恭 (r. 765–780), and the unification of the Three Kingdoms (681) corresponds to its early phase, spanning the reigns of King Muyeol and King Munmu 文武 (r. 661–680).

It goes without saying that the Buddhist theory of karma had a tremendous impact on the ideological as well as on the political situation. For the replacement of shamanistic cults with Buddhist ones must have made the notion of karma permeate deep into the society, thereby turning the “heaven-centered” shamanistic worldview into the “human-centered” worldview. I think that the Korean people now broke out of their old shamanistic delusion and realized that the power of creating history lay with the human beings themselves.

iii. Mahayana Scholasticism and Hwaeom Thought

The theory of karma, however, is only the most elementary teaching in the multilayered system of Buddhist doctrines. Over and above the theory of karma are presented many doctrines of Mahayana and Hinayana. Therefore, once Buddhism had taken firm root in Korea, intense interest in and arduous research into the abstruse Buddhist doctrines must have followed. This is precisely the reason for the arising of Mahayana scholasticism just after the introduction of Buddhism in the Three Kingdoms period. Because Mahayana scholasticism was promoted by scholar-monks who had studied in China, it must have been under the strong influence of Chinese scholastic trends of Mahayana Buddhism

In that period, China saw the emergence of many Mahayana and Hinayana schools, and the representative trends were the Three Treatises (Samnon [Ch. Sanlun] 三論) studies and Yogācāra studies. Of the Indian Mahayana philosophies, these two scholastic studies succeeded

the Prajñā-Madhyamaka thought of Nāgārjuna (ca. 150–250 CE) and the Yogācāra's Consciousness-only (Yusik [Ch. Weishi] 唯識) thought of Asaṅga (fl. fourth century) and Vasubandhu (fl. fourth to fifth century). Mahayana scholasticism of the Three Kingdoms period was also heavily influenced by Chinese scholastic studies. It seems that in Goguryeo and Baekje the Three Treatises studies was predominant, as its foundations were laid by the Goguryeo monk Seungnang 僧朗 (fl. during the reign of King Munja 文咨 [r. 491–519]) who had been active in Liang 梁 China (502–557),²⁵ while in Silla the Consciousness-only thought of the *Mahāyānasamgraha* (Ch. *She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論 [Compendium of the Mahayana]) and the Dharma-Characteristics school (Beopsang jong [Ch. Faxiang zong] 法相宗) was mainly studied.

Mahayana scholasticism is stunningly different from the Hinayana doctrine of karma in terms of philosophical depth. If the theory of karma points to the goal of receiving pleasant retributions such as [the status of] human beings and heavenly deities in the mundane realm of the cycle of birth and death (Skt. *saṃsāra*), the Prajna doctrines aim at reaching the ultimate other shore by denying and transcending the mundane realm. In other words, both Buddhism in its early phase, which centers around the ideas of the wheel-turning sage king and Maitreya, and the political ideology of the Three Kingdoms, which is founded upon this form of Buddhism, now fall into the vulgar type of Buddhism. In this respect, the emergence of Mahayana Buddhism opens an unprecedented dimension of liberation from the round of birth and death to the Korean religious world, but from the perspective of political ideology it posed new philosophical problems.

Moreover, although both Madhyamaka and Yogācāra belong to Mahayana Buddhism, their philosophical positions are different from each other. Whereas the former thoroughly negates the self-nature (*jaseong* 自性, Skt. *svabhāva*) of all things (*jebeop gaegong* 諸法皆空), the latter affirms the ultimate truth that is revealed through such negation (*wonseong sil seong* 圓成實性, Skt. *pariṇiṣpanna-svabhāva*). This is the so-called “opposition of Indian Mahayana philosophies between the thesis of emptiness and that of existence 1,000 years after the Buddha's

passing.”²⁶ It can be said that such schism and opposition in Mahayana philosophies posed more serious difficulties for the Three Kingdoms that introduced Buddhism for political purposes.

The two problems that arose with the emergence of Mahayana scholasticism, namely (1) the discrimination between the mundane (*segan* 世間) and the supramundane (*chul segan* 出世間), and (2) the opposition between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra, should be considered to be the philosophical problems that needed to be resolved more than anything else in this period. We see persistent efforts to harmonize the opposition between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra in the works of Woncheuk 圓測 (612–696), who promoted the new Yogācāra studies introduced by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664).²⁷ But he was not able to attain satisfactory results. It was the Silla monks Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686) and Uisang 義湘 (625–702) who made great accomplishments in overcoming the aforementioned two problems and promoting practice-based movements.

Wonhyo’s philosophy, in short, can be labelled a rediscovery of the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論; hereafter referred to as *Awakening of Faith*). Attributed to the Indian poet Śvagoṣa, the *Awakening of Faith* presupposes that although the Madhyamaka (the gate of true thusness) and the Yogācāra (the gate of arising and cessation) are opposed to each other, they are not different in that both are directed toward the human mind, which is expressed in the sentence “Relying upon the one mind (*ilsim* 一心), there are two gates (*imun* 二門).” The one mind composed of the two gates gives rise to the great essence (*che* 體), characteristics (*sang* 相), and functions (*yong* 用) through the interaction (i.e., destruction [*pa* 破] and establishment [*ip* 立]) of the two gates. The *Awakening of Faith* calls such religious state (in which the three great aspects are realized) the purposes (*ui* 義, Skt. *artha*) of Mahayana. Here, we see the simultaneous overcoming of the opposition between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra and the discrimination between the mundane and the supramundane. It was Wonhyo who made the first annotation on the *Awakening of Faith* from this perspective.²⁸

We can also see a similar view in the Huayan (Kr. Hwaecom) 華嚴 school of Chinese Buddhism. But the Huayan school further applies such a theory to the extensive *Flower Garland Sutra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經), thereby organizing a grandiose philosophical system. It was this Huayan thought that Uisang studied in China under the tutelage of Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668), the second patriarch of the Huayan school. After his study he introduced this strand of thought to Silla. Along with Wonhyo's active production of writings and Uisang's practice-oriented movement in the monasteries, Hwaecom thought rapidly spread; the Silla royalty also supported this philosophy to a great extent because it overcame the philosophical problems inherent in Mahayana scholasticism. Hwaecom thought thus ascended to the status that dominated scholastic studies of Silla during the period of unification.

In this respect, a view to the effect that “Hwaecom thought contributed usefully to the formation of centralized authoritarian rule by the absolute royal power during the mid-Silla period” has been proposed.²⁹ It might be thought that since the Silla royalty introduced Buddhism for their political purposes at the outset, Hwaecom also had such an aspect (i.e., politically attractive aspect). But it seems excessive to maintain that the Hwaecom worldview of “one is the many; the many are one” (*il jeuk ilche ilche jeuk il* 一即一切 一切即一) “requires a strong centralized authoritarian nation as its social foundation” or that it “was welcomed by the dominant aristocracy since it conformed to the centralized government system.”³⁰ For such statements give a strong impression that Hwaecom can grow only under a centralized authoritarian nation.

If this were the case, the Yogācāra's Consciousness-only thought predicated on the distinction of nature and characteristics (*seongsang gyeokbyeol* 性相隔別) should have lost its political support and been stagnated. But such was not the case; the Consciousness-only school still enjoyed the state protection and continued its development. Within the Silla territory, distinguished scholar-monks such as Hyeonil 玄一 (d.u.), Uijeok 義寂 (b. 681), Dullyun 遁倫 (d.u.), Gyeongheung 憬興 (d.u.), Dojeung 道證 (d.u.), and Daehyeon 大賢 (or Taehyeon

太賢, d.u.) appeared successively and actively composed many writings that covered diverse fields of thought such as tathagatagarbha (*yeorae jang* [Ch. *rulai zang*] 如來藏), Pure Land, monastic disciplines, Esoteric Buddhism, as well as Yogācāra. In other words, their scholarly activities overwhelmed those of the Hwaeom school.

In particular, those Yogācāra monks' writings on Esoteric Buddhism usually drew upon the scriptures* for national protection, such as the *Humane Kings Sutra* (*Renwang-jing* 仁王經), the *Golden Light Sutra* (*Jing guangming jing* 金光明經, Skt. *Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-sūtra*), the *Sutra on Kṣitigarbha's Ten Wheels* (*Dizang shilun jing* 地藏十輪經, Skt. *Daśacakra-kṣitigarbha-sūtra*), and the *Dhāraṇī of Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara* (*Shiyi mian Guanyin shenzhou jing* 十一面觀音神呪經, Skt. *Avalokiteśvara-ekadaśamukha-dhāraṇī*). This shows that those Yogācāra monks were successors of the nation-protecting ideology of Esoteric Buddhism in the early phase. From the doctrinal perspective, too, since the Yogācāra upheld Maitreya as the main object of veneration, it is possible to connect it to the Buddhist cults of the Silla royalty in the early phase that were centered around the wheel-turning sage king and Maitreya. The Yogācāra's continued development even after the emergence of Hwaeom thought might be attributed to such a situation.

If so, it should be said that the connection that putatively links the authoritarian regime of the mid-Silla period only with the Hwaeom school warrants reconsideration. Moreover, any attempt at taking a specific set of doctrines out of many aspects of Hwaeom and connecting them with a polity would commit the error of drawing too hasty conclusions. For an identical claim could be made as to the Yogācāra school. Therefore, rather than subscribing to such a view, it would be better to suggest that the new situation of the time, the emergence of Unified Silla, required a new religious ideology and that Hwaeom responded to such a contemporary demand by opening a new horizon. This seems to provide a better explanation of Silla society's extreme interest in Hwaeom. It is because Hwaeom philosophy clearly demonstrated the world order of perfect interfusion without any

obstruction (*yungtong muae* 融通無礙) in which all the conflicts and struggles were put to rest as the ultimate realm of Buddhism.

iv. Transmission of Seon Buddhism in the Latter Period of the Silla

In the latter period of the Silla dynasty (780–935), from the reign of the thirty-seventh ruler Queen Seondeok 宣德 (r. 780–785) to that of the fifty-sixth ruler King Gyeongsun 敬順 (r. 927–935), signs of the mind's corruption began to appear. While the central royalty saw the appearance of collateral Gim family branches and fierce conflicts over the throne, provincial areas witnessed rampant banditry and the strengthening of powerful families; this led to the disintegration of centralized polity. In the Buddhist circles, scholastic thinkers such as the Hwaeom scholar-monks were internally concerned with complicated but old-fashioned exegetical matters, and externally focused only on religious services for the dead. Such a situation eventually led to the establishment of the Later Three Kingdoms.

Seon (Ch. Chan) 禪 thought with its unprecedented style arrived in Korea in this latter period of the Silla dynasty. Although Beomnang 法朗 (who entered China during the reign of Queen Jindeok 眞德 [r. 647–654]) brought in the teachings of Daoxin 道信 (580–651), the fourth patriarch of the Chinese Chan tradition, the full-fledged introduction of Seon can be said to have occurred after the reign of the forty-first ruler King Heondeok 憲德 (r. 809–826). For during his reign Doui 道義 (d. 825) introduced the teachings of the Hongzhou 洪州 school that belonged to the Southern tradition of the sixth patriarch Caoxi Huineng 曹溪慧能 (633–713), which was followed by the influx of similar types of Seon thought from the same lineage and also by the establishment of the Nine Mountains Seon Gates (Gusan Seonmun 九山禪門) in the early period of the Goryeo dynasty.³¹

Besides the Hongzhou school, there were established in China many Chan schools including the Jingzhong 淨衆 school, the Niutou 牛頭 school, the Northern school (Beizong 北宗), and the Heze 荷擇

school. Given this diversity of schools, what explains the enthusiastic acceptance of the Hongzhou school? The foundational ideas of the Hongzhou school were most similar to the “nature-arising” (*seonggi* [Ch. *xingqi*] 性起) of the Huayan (Kr. Hwaeom) school amongst the various forms of Chinese Chan thought. At the same time, however, this school was opposed to the Huayan school in terms of the soteriological path of realizing nature-arising. Whereas Huayan presents complicated systems of doctrines, practices, and stages of attainments, the Hongzhou school does not offer such systems and only emphasizes having a sincere faith in the identity of one’s own mind with the Buddha and attaining sudden enlightenment to one’s original nature (Ch. *dunwu benxing* 頓悟本性).³² It then professes itself to be the supreme vehicle (Ch. *zuishang sheng* 最上乘) that represents such principles as “no dependence on the scriptural tradition” (Ch. *buli wenzi* 不立文字), “separate transmission outside of the teaching” (Ch. *jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳), “directly pointing to one’s mind” (Ch. *zhizhi renxin* 直指人心), and “seeing one’s own nature and accomplishing buddhahood” (Ch. *jianxing chengfo* 見性成佛).

Could the Silla monks’ embracing of this school be attributed to the abovementioned philosophical characteristics of the Hongzhou school? It seems that these ideas were indeed suitable for reaffirming the true meaning of Buddhism as they deny the pedantic and priestly professionalism of scholastic Buddhism of the time. This assumption is supported by the fact that although those Silla Seon monks had studied Hwaeom, they intensively emphasized Seon’s superiority to Hwaeom after their return from China.³³

Besides, those Seon monks were closely affiliated with powerful families in localities and established their mountain-based schools in remote places, which informs the views that “their social and economic foundations were powerful families in localities”³⁴ and that “Seon was an ideology that supported such power groups.”³⁵ Such one-sided generalizations are, however, problematic in that some Seon monks associated themselves with the central royal power and actively spread the Seon teachings among them. For instance, the forty-second ruler

King Heungdeok 興德 (r. 826–836) became a disciple of Hongcheok (founding patriarch of Silsangsa Temple) and was even recorded as his dharma successor in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Records of the Transmission of the Lamp Published in the Jingde Era).³⁶

The establishment of such collaborative relationship between the Seon monks and the royal power can be ascribed to the fact that the Gim royal family in the latter period of the Silla belonged to the collateral rather than direct line.³⁷ It might be said that if the traditional scholastic schools aligned themselves with the lineal Gim royal family in the mid-Silla period, then the collateral Gim royal family in the latter period favored the Seon school's denial of the authority entertained by the previous scholastic schools. Therefore, Seon spread rapidly throughout Silla society by combining with the powerful local families or with the collateral Gim royal family. Thus, from the view of history as the mind's manifestation, Seon must have been interpreted as a philosophical innovation. In other words, when the scholastic schools were corrupted by "pedantic and priestly" Buddhism during the mid-Silla period, efforts were made to renovate the current status of Silla Buddhism by importing the new Seon ideas.

However, Seon could not break down Hwaeom and Yogācāra completely because these doctrinal schools were still in vogue even after that time. Although Seon advocated "no dependence on the scriptural tradition" and "separate transmission outside of the teaching," it was not able to go beyond the philosophical limitations, as its basic principle depended on Hwaeom thought. The ordinary people were thus not able to depend solely on the extremely "abstract and realistic worldview" of Seon. Therefore, Korean Buddhism was henceforth characterized by the combination of contemplative exercises and doctrinal studies. In other words, while Seon and scholasticism appear to be mutually exclusive, they came to share the same underlying structure and basic principle like a magnet with two poles but only one body.³⁸

v. Succession of Silla Buddhism in the Early Goryeo Period

Taejo 太祖 Wang Geon 王建 (r. 918–943), who founded Goryeo by unifying the Later Three Kingdoms at the end of Silla (in his nineteenth year, 936), must have sought a new ideology that could reform both politics and religions in the process of founding a new dynasty. But there was no philosophical system to meet this need except for Buddhism. The best policy for him then must have been to adopt Buddhism and take necessary measures to settle the public sentiment.

When a relatively new Seon tradition called the Jodong (Ch. Caodong) 曹洞 school was introduced, Taejo met Seon monks of that lineage and asked for advice about the main points in ruling a nation. Of the five sub-schools (Ch. *wujia* 五家) of Southern Seon (Ch. Chan) that include Imje (Ch. Linji) 臨濟, Wiang (Ch. Guiyang) 滙仰, Jodong, Unmun (Ch. Yunmen) 雲門, and Beoban (Ch. Fayen) 法眼, it was the Jodong that regarded the balanced state of the partial (Ch. *bian* 偏; compared to “subjects”) and the right (Ch. *zheng* 正; compared to “king”) as the ultimate, thereby attracting the interest of the power group. However, what exerted the greatest influence on Taejo was the theory of “building temples to assist the nation” (*bibo satap* 裨補寺塔), proposed by National Master (國師) Doseon 道誥 (827–898). It was a rule to found a Buddhist monastery of scholastic schools in holy places (*yeongji* 靈地) for the purpose of making religious vows and training monastics. But Doseon subtly combined geomantic concepts of the dual cosmic forces (*eumyang* [Ch. *yinyang*] 陰陽) and five phases (*obaeng* [Ch. *wuxing*] 五行) with Seon, thereby ameliorating the topographical defects of the Korean Peninsula with new temples and pagodas and also enhancing the military and economic utility of those temples.³⁹

Although the first king of Goryeo was deeply affected by Seon, he was not solely in favor of this school. He gained assistance from the monk Huirang 希朗 (d.u.) of Haeinsa 海印寺 Temple, a center of the scholastic tradition, during the unification war of the Later Three Kingdoms. He built ten temples in the southern capital (i.e., Gaegyeong 開京) and a nine-story pagoda in the western capital to pray

to various deities and to the Buddha for good fortunes of the country. In this respect, it can be said that he embraced the religious power of traditional scholasticism. His “Ten Injunctions” (Hunyo sipjo 訓要十條) thus reflects his view that meditative practice and doctrinal studies should be treated equally.⁴⁰

Of these injunctions, Article One states that great works of a country shall be protected by buddhas. Article Two states that no temple can be built except in the places recommended as divine by National Master Doseon. Article Five calls for carrying out the Lantern-Lighting Festival (Yeondeunghoe 燃燈會) for buddhas and bodhisattvas and the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions (Palgwanhoe 八關會) for the spirits of great mountains, rivers, and dragons. Goryeo Buddhism evolved from these founding principles determined by its first king.

The fourth ruler Gwangjong 光宗 (r. 949–975) took the same approach. He first executed bold political renovations and severe purges. It is suggested that he tried to establish centralized absolute royal power by getting rid of powerful local families. This was inevitable because the Goryeo kingdom was composed of an alliance of powerful local families from its beginning.

During Gwangjong's rule, the study of Cheontae (Ch. Tiantai) 天台 thought and the introduction of the Beoban (Ch. Fayan) 法眼 school are especially noteworthy. In his eleventh year (960), Master Jegwan 諦觀 (d. 970) went to Wu-Yue 吳越 carrying the texts of the Cheontae school with him, and composed the *Cheontae sagyo ui* 天台四教儀 (Outline of the Cheontae Fourfold Teachings),⁴¹ which shows an elevated level of Goryeo's Cheontae studies during that period. Although the Beoban school belongs to the same Seon lineage as the Jodong school, it is characterized by the fusion of the Cheontae doctrine and Pure Land ideas. Gwangjong admired the eminent monk Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975) and sent thirty-six Goryeo monks to him to learn his Seon (Ch. Chan) style.⁴²

However, the most outstanding figure in the Buddhist order of that period was Gyunyeo 均如 (923–973) of the Hwaeom school, who resided in Gwibeopsa 歸法寺 Temple (founded in Gwangjong's

fourteenth year). At the end of the Silla period, a split occurred within the Hwaecom school between Gwanhye's 觀惠 (d.u.) Southern Mountain lineage (Namakpa 南岳派), who supported Gyeonhwon 甄萱 (867–936) of Later Baekje, and Huirang's Northern Mountain lineage (Bugakpa 北岳派), who backed the first Goryeo ruler Taejo. Gyunyeo from the Northern Mountain lineage unified the Hwaecom school by harmonizing differing views of the former on the basis of the latter.⁴³ With respect to Hwaecom soteriology, he especially emphasized Samantabhadra's practice (*Bohyeon haeng* [Ch. *Puxian xing*] 普賢行) and composed eleven poems of "Samantabhadra's Ten Vows for Rebirth" (*Bohyeon sipjong wonwang ga* 普賢十種願往歌) in *hyangga* 鄉歌 for the purpose of spreading the practice among the general populace. This can be seen as his effort to find a transcendent path as a counter to the hollow scholastic understanding and the divisions of the Buddhist order by way of the practice-oriented bodhisattva path.⁴⁴

As was noted above, Buddhism's role under the rule of Gwangjong was to counter and harmonize antagonism, regardless of whether it was in the Seon or Gyo 教 (doctrinal) schools. This philosophical characteristic corresponded to his political ideas, as he tried to establish centralized absolute royal power by getting rid of local powerful families. But it was not a wide divergence from the Silla Buddhist tradition, because the Jodong and Beoban schools were just extensions of the Nine Mountains Seon Gates, and Gyunyeo's Hwaecom studies followed the Silla Hwaecom. In this respect, early Goryeo Buddhism can be seen as a successor of Silla Buddhism.

vi. Flourishing of Buddhist Scholasticism and Its Orientations

Gwangjong's project of reinforcing centralized royal power was completed by the sixth ruler Seongjong 成宗 (r. 981–997). At that time, however, Goryeo was confronted with new historical challenges, to wit the first of three invasions by the Khitans: in the twelfth year (993) of Seongjong, and in the first (1010) and ninth (1017) years of Hyeonjong

顯宗 (r. 1009–1031). Because of these invasions by a foreign northern tribe, Goryeo could not maintain peace solely through political stability in the Korean Peninsula. Goryeo thus had no choice but to confront them directly.

In the meantime, a new Buddhist movement was developing; many doctrinal schools such as Yogācāra, Hwaeom, and Cheontae prospered with the support of royalty and hereditary aristocracy, and the content of their scholasticism differed from those in the previous period. More specifically, Goryeo's earlier identification as "a successor of Silla and Tang 唐 cultures" now turned into a new vision of the "establishment of Goryeo and Song 宋 culture."

Such a change can be seen in the Yogācāra studies (*Yuga eop* 瑜伽業) carried out at Hyeonhwasa 玄化寺 Temple which was built by royal decree from the ninth to twelfth year of Hyeonjong. Although I suggested that Yogācāra studies was a dominant Mahayana scholastic trend in the mid-Silla period, that tradition was not really active in the early Goryeo. However, during the reign of Hyeonjong, the status of the Yogācāra school was so elevated as to be associated with Hyeonhwasa, which was the center of all doctrinal schools in that period.⁴⁵

Moreover, Yogācāra studies based in Hyeonhwasa underwent significant changes as Royal Master (王師) Hyedeok Sohyeon 慧德詔顯 (1038–1096), who was Yi Jayeon's 李子淵 (1003–1061) fifth son and thus had a noble background, resided in that temple as the fifth abbot. At that time, the Chinese Dharma-Characteristics school (Faxiang zong 法相宗) was divided into the two lineages of Seomyeong Woncheuk 西明圓測 (613–696) and Ci'en Kuiji 慈恩窺基 (632–682), and Yogācāra studies in Silla was dominated by Seomyeong Woncheuk's lineage, as can be seen from the fact that Seungjang 勝莊 (d.u.), Hyegyeong 慧景 (d.u.), Dullyun 遁倫 (d.u.), Dojeung 道證 (d.u.), Daehyeon 大賢 (or Taehyeon 太賢, d.u.), and others all followed Woncheuk. But what can be said of Sohyeon? He collected and published Kuiji's commentaries and treatises such as the *Fahua xuanzan* 法華玄贊 (Exposition of the *Lotus Sutra*) and the *Weishi shuji* 唯識述記 (Commentary on the Vasubandhu's Twenty Verses), totaling thirty-two titles in 353 fascicles.

He also had the images of Buddhas, Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), and Kuiji along with those of the six Korean patriarchs enshrined in every temple.⁴⁶ It seems that Woncheuk was not included among these patriarchs,⁴⁷ and this suggests that Sohyeon and his followers discarded the Silla tradition of Consciousness-only studies and rapidly turned towards the Ci'en's (Kuiji) lineage that identified itself as the orthodox Dharma-Characteristics school of China. It might be said that Goryeo's Consciousness-only thought began to be fully assimilated into the Ci'en school from this time.

We see the same pattern in National Master Daegak Uicheon's 義天 (1055–1101) renovation of the Hwaeom school. As mentioned above, Hwaeom was restored by Gyunyeo during the reign of Gwangjong. Born as the fifth son of Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–1083), Uicheon left home and became a Buddhist monk. When Heungwangsa 興王寺 Temple was built in the twenty-first year of Munjong (1067), he reestablished the Hwaeom school there and severely criticized Hwaeom studies carried out by Gyunyeo and his disciples. According to him, “nothing can arouse more suspicion in future generations than Gyunyeo's mistaken writings.”⁴⁸ He attributed such suspicion to Gyunyeo's “failure to combine doctrinal studies and contemplative practice harmoniously,”⁴⁹ and in this respect his twenty-two-fascicle *Wonjong mullyu* 圓宗文類 (Collected Writings of the Perfect School) can be considered a new fundamental text for Hwaeom studies.⁵⁰ Whereas Gyunyeo was a successor of the Silla Hwaeom school, Uicheon's move in this direction was similar to Sohyeon's.

Uicheon also criticized the contemporary Seon 禪 that disregarded scriptural teachings (*gyeonggyo* 經教). He says, “the so-called transmission from mind to mind just applies to those of the highest faculty (*sangsang geun'gi* 上上根機); if an ineligible one claims that “the *tripitaka* and the twelve parts of the teaching (*samjang sibibun gyo* 三藏十二分教) are just druff, then how can we say that such a view is not wrong?”⁵¹ His establishment of the Cheontae school was for the purpose of overcoming these problems of Seon. When the construction of Gukcheongsa 國淸寺 Temple was completed, he announced

the beginning of the Haedong (viz. Korean) Cheontae school by lecturing on the Cheontae doctrines. According to him, Cheontae's "doctrinal classification of the five periods (*osi gyopan* 五時教判) is equivalent to Hwaeom's doctrinal classification of the five teachings (*ogyopan* 五教判),"⁵² and its calming and contemplation (*jigwan* 止觀, Skt. *śamatha-vipaśyanā*) is equivalent to the contemplation of Seon (*seon'gwan* 禪觀). Therefore, Cheontae's doctrinal studies and contemplative practice were presented as the best path to overcome the antagonism between the Seon (meditative) and Gyo 教 (doctrinal) schools and unify them into one. Uicheon's success was evident from the record that says, "Six or seven out of the ten monks at the monasteries converted to the Cheontae school when it was first established."⁵³

During the second invasion of the Khitans (1010, first year of Hyeonjong), Hyeonjong made a religious vow to carve out the *Goryeo daejanggyeong* 高麗大藏經 (Tripitaka Koreana); this project was carried out around Hyeonhwasa Temple and completed in the fourth year of Seonjong 宣宗 (r. 1084–1094). It goes without saying that this was helpful for the prosperity of scholasticism. Later, Uicheon established the Directorate for Tripitaka Publication (Gyojang dogam 教藏都監) in Heungwangsa Temple and supervised the engraving of 4,000 fascicles of scriptures. But this collection did not include Hwaeom writings from Gyunyeo's lineage or Seon-related writings.⁵⁴ The choice of material for inclusion certainly clarifies the direction taken by Uicheon's scholasticism.

It is evident that the enhanced status and reformation of scholasticism had a severe impact on the traditional Seon and Gyo schools. Perhaps the damage to Seon at this time was fatal. Yet, even at the time of crisis, many Seon masters, such as Hyejo 慧照 (d.u.), Hagil 學一 (1051–1144), and Tanyeon 坦然 (1070–1159), tried to keep the Seon tradition's transmission of light intact, while the layman Yi Jahyeon 李資賢 (1061–1125) offered a unique teaching of Neungeom Seon 楞嚴禪 at Munsuwon 文殊院 Cloister on Cheongpyeongsan Mountain.⁵⁵ Here, Neungeom Seon refers to the Seon teaching

based on the *Lengyan jing* 楞嚴經 (Sutra of Heroic March; Skt. **Śūraṅgama-sūtra*). Given the contemporary situation in which the “ignorant Seon” (*chi* Seon 癡禪) that disregarded doctrinal studies posed a problem, Neungeum Seon had a form that unified Seon and Gyo, and it could thus have been interpreted as a revitalization of the Seon tradition that confronted the crisis.

At any rate, the potency of Seon was greatly diminished. What then led the royalty and aristocracy to develop and reform the doctrinal schools rather than the meditative schools? At this point, it seems that we need to take the historical situation into consideration; it was just after Goryeo had been invaded three times by the Khitans. Such a situation of the times required Goryeo to internally encourage a strong patriotic faith; it also demanded the nation to externally reinforce spiritual ties with Song, as the latter also resisted the Khitans. Here, it is to be noted that Goryeo had no choice but to find patriotic Buddhist faith in Gyo rather than in Seon and that the flourishing of Gyo could be actualized by acceptance of new cultural influences from Song. The royalty and aristocracy’s effort to revitalize and reform Buddhist scholasticism could be ascribed to such a need of the times.⁵⁶ If the abovementioned presupposition can be admitted, it seems that the Goryeo Buddhist order in that period intended to clear out the “residue of Silla Buddhism” and establish “new Goryeo Buddhism” in a dignified way within the international society of those times.

vii. Development of Religious Communities

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Goryeo again experienced political turmoil. Externally, Song was defeated by the Jurchen Jin 金 in 1127 and was pushed back to southern China; meanwhile, Goryeo had to form a subservient relationship with Jin in the fourth year (1125) of Injong 仁宗 (r. 1122–1146). Furthermore, Goryeo was under the control of the Mongol Yuan 元 after it was invaded six times in the eighteenth, nineteenth, twenty-second, thirty-fourth, fortieth, and

forty-first years of Gojong 高宗 (r. 1213–1259). A series of internal disturbances caused by Yi Jagyeom 李資謙 (d. 1126) in the fifth [*sic*: should be “fourth”] year (1126) of Injong, Myocheong 妙淸 (d. 1135) in the thirteenth year (1135) of the same king, and Jeong Jungbu 鄭仲夫 (1106–1179) in the twenty-fourth year (1170) of Uijong 毅宗 (r. 1146–1170), were followed by a period of extended military rule by Choe Chungheon 崔忠獻 (1149–1219) and his successors from the twenty-sixth year (1196) of Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1170–1197) to the forty-fourth [*sic*: should be “forty-fifth”] year (1258) of Gojong. This military regime transferred the capital to Gwanhwado 江華島 Island (1232; ninth year of Gojong) and continued to resist the Mongolian invasions. In this situation of internal and external turbulences, how did Goryeo Buddhism find its way?

Most noticeable were the monks residing in large Buddhist monasteries, such as Gwibeopsa, Junggwangsa 重光寺, Buinsa 符印寺, Donghwasa 桐華寺, Buseoksa 浮石寺, Heungwangsa, and Hongwonsa 弘圓寺. These monks were so deeply involved in the military coup and the peasants' uprising that they had armed clashes with the military. Here, we see the religious institution's extreme collusion with the political power (i.e., civilian aristocracy). Buddhist services for driving out internal and external troubles, which involved praying to spirits and Buddhist deities, were also performed excessively throughout this period, so it was hard to enumerate all the cases of the Buddhist order's corruption. It is significant, however, that there arose a robust philosophical movement in certain schools at that time, which involved reflection on their own faults and the recovery of the monks' original attitude. Representative of this movement were the Crystal Society (Sujeong gyeolsa 水精結社 or 水晶結社) led by Jineok 津億 (d.u.) of the Ja'eun (Ch. Ci'en) 慈恩 school (i.e. Beopsang jong [Ch. Faxiang zong] 法相宗), the Samadhi and Prajna Society (Jeonghye gyeolsa 定慧結社) led by National Master Bojo Jinul 普照知訥 (1158–1210) of the Seon school, and the White Lotus Society (Baengnyeon gyeolsa 白蓮結社) led by Wonmyo Yose 圓妙了世 (1163–1245) of the Cheontae school.

Jineok became a Buddhist monk and received teachings from Royal

Master Hyedeok Sohyeon 慧德韶顯 (1038–1096) of Hyeonhwasa Temple. Although he passed the monastic examination for higher priests (*daeseon* 大選), he came to realize that “the vocation of a monk does not depend on fame and wealth.”⁵⁷ He then went on to restore Odaesa 五臺寺 Temple on Jirisan Mountain during the first through seventh years (1123–1129) of Injong, thereby establishing the Crystal Society (this religious community was officially recognized by Injong in his fifteenth year). The Crystal Society was organized as a religious community to recite the Buddha’s name for rebirth in the Western Pure Land, following the precedents of the Eastern Forest (Donglin 東林), namely Huiyuan’s 慧遠 (334–416) White Lotus Society (Bailianshe 白蓮社) and that of the West Lake (Xihu 西湖), namely Xingchang’s 省常 (959–1020) Pure Conduct Society (Jingxingshe 淨行社). However, Jineok’s community was characterized by its retention of traditional Yogācāra studies, which includes a ritual of divination and repentance (*jeomchal chamhoe beop* 占察懺悔法). From the description “more than 3,000 people joined this society,”⁵⁸ we can surmise its popularity.

In the case of Jinul, his *Jeonghye gyeolsa-mun* 定慧結社文 (Compact for the Samadhi and Prajna Society) contains severe criticisms of the monks who were addicted to fame and wealth under the cloak of Buddhism. He then exhorted them to “withdraw to the mountains and forests and make an effort to cultivate the meditative concentration (*jeong* 定, Skt. *samādhi*) and wisdom (*hye* 慧, Skt. *prajñā*).”⁵⁹ He also established Gilsangsa 吉祥寺 Temple (present-day Songgwangsa 松廣寺 Temple) on Songgwangsan Mountain (later renamed as Seon-Cultivating Society [Suseonsa 修禪社] on Jogyesan Mountain), located in the province of Jeollanam-do far away from the capital Gaegyeong, in the third year of Sinjong 神宗 (r. 1197–1204); such a location of the monastery can be interpreted as his attempt at maintaining “religious purity” and prevent contamination by political power.

Jinul’s Seon was quite unique in terms of its philosophical content. His notion of simultaneous cultivation of meditation and wisdom (*jeonghye ssangsu* 定慧雙修) is based on the theory of “sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation” (*dono jeomsu*

頓悟漸修). The realization that the original human nature, endowed with numinous awareness which is empty and tranquil (*gongjeok yeongji* 空寂靈知), is not different from that of the Buddha is called sudden enlightenment (*dono* 頓悟). Practitioners may thus be suddenly enlightened to their original nature, but their habit energy (*seupgi* 習氣, Skt. *vāsanā*) of karmic afflictions cannot be eliminated in a short time. For this reason, gradual practice (*jeomsu* 漸修) of simultaneous cultivation of meditation and wisdom should be followed.⁶⁰ This theory of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation was adopted from Heze Shenhui's 荷澤神會 (670–762) “Chan (Kr. Seon) of intellectual understanding” (Ch. *zhijie* Chan 知解禪), which had been regarded as heresy by the traditional Nine Mountains Seon Gates. Why did Jinul then boldly dare to resort to the Chan of intellectual understanding in complete disregard of the tradition? It is because he was very critical of the Seon of his time. As he laments, “Present-day practitioners throw away the writings and just doze off while relying on the so-called secret transmission of the teaching (*mirui sangjeon* 密意相傳).”⁶¹

Earlier, I mentioned that Uicheon established the Cheontae school to quell the dispute between the meditative tradition and the doctrinal tradition. Keenly aware of this problem, Jinul established “the approach of faith and understanding according to the perfect and sudden teaching [of the *Flower Garland Sutra*]” (*wondon sinhae mun* 圓頓信解門). As he states, “one should know that ignorance and discrimination (*mumyeong bunbyeol* 無明分別) of their own mind is identical with the wisdom of Buddha's universal illumination (*bogwang myeongji* 普光明智); one should rely on their own nature and cultivate meditation (*uiseong suseon* 依性修禪).”⁶² Jinul adopted this idea from Li Tongxuan's 李通玄 (635–730) Huayan (Kr. Hwaecom) thought, which was considered unorthodox by the mainstream Huayan school, but its theoretical structure was similar to that of the theory of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation. On this basis, it is revealed that Hwaecom and Seon are not different in their basic foundations.

But Jinul's Seon thought is not just exhausted by the two approaches: the approach of equal maintenance of alertness and calmness (*seongjeok deungji mun* 惺寂等持門; i.e., simultaneous cultivation of meditation and wisdom) and that of faith and understanding according to the perfect and sudden teaching. Because these two approaches do not yet go beyond the traces of intellectual understanding and verbalization (*eoro* 語路), in Jinul's view a practitioner must observe the Seon patriarch's living words (*hwalgu* 活句), such as "A dog has no buddha-nature" (狗子無佛性).⁶³ This is called the shortcut approach of observing the *hwadu* (Ch. *huatou*; a keyword or critical phrase for meditation) (*ganhwa gyeongjeol mun* 看話徑截門) or the approach of uniting with the Way without discriminating thoughts (*musim hapdo mun* 無心合道門), which is regarded as the highest stage in Jinul's Seon system. Basing himself on such a view, Hyesim 慧謹 (1178–1234), Jinul's second-generation disciple in the Seon-Cultivating Society, collected 1,125 "living words" and published the thirty-fascicle *Seonmun yeomsong* 禪門拈頌 (Collection of the Seon Verses of Critique) in the third year of Gojong.⁶⁴

Together with Wonhyo, Jinul can be considered one of the two greatest thinkers in Korean Buddhism. His movement of organizing a religious community protected the Buddhist order's purity against political contamination, and his Seon thought also reveals the true spirit of Seon practice by straightening out the ignorant Seon and by overcoming the opposition between the meditative tradition and the doctrinal tradition. From the statement in his biography that "monks and laymen gathered together like clouds, and hundreds of laymen with diverse backgrounds—royalty, aristocracy, gentry, and commoners—joined the community,"⁶⁵ we can see the extent of his influence in the Buddhist circle of his time.⁶⁶

Yose's White Lotus Society was influenced by Jinul's Samadhi and Prajna Society; identified as the Lotus Society (Beophwa gyeolsa 法華結社), it was the Cheontae school's response to Jinul's religious community. Its main center, called Bohyeon doryang 普賢道場 (lit. site for the Samantabhadra practice, founded in the nineteenth year of

Gojong), was located in Mandeoksa 萬德寺 Temple (constructed in the third year of Gojong) in Gangjin, Jeollanam-do, a place far removed from the centers of society. Philosophical motives of this community were, however, very different from Jinul's. Jinul's Seon theory presupposes that a human being is endowed with at least the faculty of intellectual understanding that comes close to a bodhisattva's capacity. But Yose was concerned with ordinary people of the time who had sinful obstructions that were deep and heavy (*joegang simbu* 罪障深厚).⁶⁷ Therefore, although Yose once followed Jinul's Seon practice (during the first through third years of Sinjong), he later parted company with Jinul and proceeded to organize his own White Lotus Society.

Earlier, I mentioned that Jinul established a threefold soteriology: the approach of equal maintenance of alertness and calmness, the approach of faith and understanding according to the perfect and sudden teaching, and the shortcut approach of observing the *hwadu*. Yose also introduced three approaches: the repentance of the Lotus samadhi (*Beophwa sammae cham* 法華三昧懺), the pursuit of rebirth in the Pure Land (*Jeongto gusaeng* 淨土求生), and the Cheontae-style *śamatha-vipaśyanā* (*Cheontae jigwan* 天台止觀).⁶⁸ These were thoroughly based on his perceptions of the worldly beings (*beombu* 凡夫); for him, sentient beings with sinful obstructions that are deep and heavy should first repent their sins, and then practice *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*, devoting themselves to the Pure Land approach which depends on the other power (*taryeok* 他力) of Amitābha Buddha. Yose's Cheontae philosophy is very unique in this regard. From the record that says, "Those who wrote their names and joined Yose's community numbered over 300,"⁶⁹ we can surmise that his White Lotus Society was no less popular than Jinul's Samadhi and Prajna Society. National Master Jinjeong Cheonchack 眞淨天頌 (b. 1206), leader of the fourth generation of the White Lotus Society, also established the eastern branch of the society (Dong baengnyeon gyeolsa 東白蓮結社) on Gongdeoksan Mountain in Sangju in the thirtieth year of Gojong and enlarged the scope of its influence.⁷⁰

However, during the period of military rule, the scope of Goryeo

Buddhism was not just limited to the three community movements mentioned above. There arose new self-awareness and movements in various schools of Seon and Gyo of different lineages, among which the movement of the Hwaecom school is noteworthy. Cheon'gi 天其 (Sujin 守眞 or Sugi 守其, d.u.) from the scholastic tradition of Haeinsa Temple, who was appointed as monk superintendent (*seung tong* 僧統), reevaluated Gyunyeo's Hwaecom philosophy which had earlier been dismissed by Uicheon. He translated Gyunyeo's writings, originally written in a local dialect (i.e., Silla language) into Chinese, and published them.⁷¹ Such a reappraisal of Silla Hwaecom thought offered a new awareness of the national tradition.

The project of re-carving the *Goryeo daejanggyeong* was also supervised by monks affiliated with the Hwaecom school. The *Goryeo daejanggyeong* and the *Sokjanggyeong* 續藏經 (Supplement to the Tripitaka Koreana), which had been completed during the reigns of Hyeonjong and Seonjong, went up in flames during the Mongolian invasion. The military government of the Choe family, which transferred the capital to Ganghwado Island to resist the Mongols, then vowed to reproduce those tripitakas which were deemed religious foundations for nation-protecting ideology.⁷² The current version of the tripitaka (*Palman daejanggyeong* 八萬大藏經), made up of 81,258 woodblocks, was then completed over sixteen years (twenty-third to thirty-eighth year of Gojong, 1236–1251). Here, it is to be noted that for the collation and revision of that version of tripitaka, a monk from the Hwaecom school named Sugi was appointed.

viii. Introduction of Imje Seon in the Late Goryeo

Although the Choe family's anti-Mogolian fight was indeed stubborn, the regime was not able to resist the Yuan dynasty that had constructed an international empire. In the eleventh year of Wonjong 元宗 (r. 1259–1274), the capital was returned to Gaegyeong and royal rule was restored. But under Yuan's rule Goryeo lost its independence. Even

after Yuan failed to defeat Japan, it maintained the Headquarters for the Eastward Expedition (Jeongdong Haengseong 征東行省), installed in the sixth year (1280) of King Chungnyeol 忠烈 (r. 1274–1308), and intervened in Goryeo's domestic administration. As we have seen, Korean Buddhism actively responded to the changes of time. In this transitional moment, then, how did the religion react to this new historical challenge?

First, we see that the Seon monks in this period had a strong awareness of the times. Bogak Iryeon 普覺一然 (1206–1289), who made a great contribution to the promotion of Seon Buddhism at Unmunsa 雲門寺 Temple in the first year [*sic*: should be “third year”] of King Chungnyeol (1277), withdrew to In'gaksa 麟角寺 Temple (1284) and convened a General Meeting of the Nine Seon Mountains (Gusan mundohoe 九山門都會) after he was appointed as national venerable (國尊) and given the epithet Chungjo 冲照 (1283). His legacy of prolific writings, which include the *Jungpyeon Jodong owi* 重編曹洞五位 (Revised Edition of the Five Positions of the Jodong School) in three fascicles and the *Jungpyeon yeomsong sawon* 重編拈頌事苑 (Revised Edition of the *Seonmun yeomsong*)* in thirty fascicles,⁷³ qualifies him as a leading Seon monk of the era. Particularly outstanding among his works are the five fascicles of the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), which he wrote in his last years.

At first sight, the *Samguk yusa* appears to be merely a miscellaneous collection of religious miracles characteristic of the combination of shamanism and Buddhism. The omission of this work from the list of Iryeon's writings by his inscription might be ascribed to this feature. But if the author is definitely identified as Iryeon who was venerated as National Venerable by the contemporaries, then we need to investigate the reason why he felt compelled to leave behind such a work. Here, we note that the *Samguk yusa* refers to the “idea of nonrational divine sanctity” as the fundamental principle (i.e., essence of mind) of creating history.

To relate the historical situation in more detail, prior to Iryeon, Gim Busik 金富軾 (1075–1151)—a Confucian leader active in Injong's

reign when Goryeo adopted pro-Song policies—wrote the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (A History of the Three Kingdoms; published in the twenty-third year of Injong, 1145) based on a rational moralist perspective of history. But what about the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon*, published later in the twenty-third year of Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1170–1197) by Yi Gyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241)? This work identifies the Donggi tribe's spiritual principle of creating history as the idea of nonrational divine sanctity. Descriptions of the *Samguk yusa* corroborate the historical fact that such shamanistic [i.e., nonrational] idea of divine sanctity was incorporated into the Buddhist faith in Jeseok 帝釋 (Hwanin 桓因, Skt. Śakra Devānām Indra). Furthermore, the *Samguk yusa* traces the spiritual origins of Korean people to the times of the legendary ruler Dan'gun.⁷⁴ We could interpret this passage as an effort of the Korean people who lost their independence under the Yuan rule and relied upon a strong religious power for the creation of new history.

The *Seonmun bojang-nok* 禪門寶藏錄 (Records of Precious Storehouse of Seon; published in the nineteenth year of King Chungnyeol, 1294) in three fascicles, written by Jinjeong Cheonchaek 眞靜天頊 (not to be confused with Jinjeong Cheonchaek 眞淨天頊, the fourth-generation leader of the White Lotus Society) also showed a strong awareness of the times, although its viewpoint was somewhat different. Whereas Jinul tried to resolve antagonism between the meditative and doctrinal traditions by absorbing Hwaeom into Seon, the *Seonmun bojang-nok* did not show such an attitude of reconciliation; rather, it insisted on the absoluteness of Seon. Moreover, this work strongly appealed to the contemporary statesmen for promoting the purity of Seon.⁷⁵ This attitude was similar to the strong awareness of the times shared by the monks who had introduced the Southern Chan (Kr. Seon) school (Nanzong Chan 南宗禪; Chan of Mazu's 馬祖 [709–788] lineage) and thoroughly denied the abstract scholasticism that prevailed during the latter period of the Silla. The verses composed by Won'gam Chungji 圓鑑冲止 (1226–1292), the fifth-generation leader of the Seon-Cultivating Society, vividly describe sufferings and hardship experienced by the people mobilized for Yuan's expedition to Japan.⁷⁶

However, Goryeo's royal power was deeply connected to Yuan's royal power and their main interest lay in scholastic ideas of the Cheontae and Ja'eun (Yogācāra) schools. Myoryeonsa 妙蓮寺 Temple (completed in the ninth to tenth year of King Chungnyeol, 1283–1284), constructed as votive temples for King Chungnyeol and Princess Jeguk Daejang 齊國大長, served to promote Cheontae thought from the beginning.⁷⁷ It was quite natural that National Preceptor (國統) Wonhye 圓慧 (d.u.) and Muoe 無畏 (a.k.a. Jeongo 丁午 [d.u.]) of the White Lotus Society joined this temple and attempted to expand the influences of the Cheontae school. When the temple was associated with the powerful family of Jo In-gyu 趙仁規 (1237–1308), however, it became a Buddhist center for the aristocracy who were subordinate to Yuan.⁷⁸ Uiseon 義璇 (fourth son of Jo In-gyu), who received the title of *samjang* 三藏 (meaning “master of three divisions [Skt. *trepitaka*] of Buddhist canon”) from Yuan around in 1322 (the ninth year of King Chungsusuk 忠肅 [r. 1313–1330, 1332–1339]), was the leading aristocratic monk in the Myoryeonsa Temple lineage of the Cheontae school.

Hyeyeong 惠永 (1228–1294), having visited Yuan with 100 scripture-transcribing monks in the sixteenth year of King Chungnyeol (1290), was appointed as national venerable and again as monk superintendent of the five doctrinal teachings (五教道僧統) in the eighteenth year of the same king (1292).⁷⁹ This means that the Ja'eun school also enjoyed the support of royal power. During King Chungsusuk's reign, Misu 彌授 (1240–1327) of the same school was appointed as monk superintendent of the two meditative schools (兩街道僧統) and entrusted with the establishment of the Office for Repentance (Chamhoebu 懺悔部), thereby rectifying monastic administration. Thereafter, he was appointed as national venerable (with the title of Muoe 無畏) in the eleventh reign year of King Chungsusuk.⁸⁰ It thus seems that the royalty and aristocracy under the rule of Yuan supported the Gyo school, although the military government of the Choe family upheld the Seon school.

This period is also marked by popularity of the faith which

depended upon the other power of Amitābha Buddha, often accompanied by the self-recognition of their age as that of the degenerate dharma (*malbeop* 末法). When the Cheontae school of the Myoryeonsa Temple lineage deteriorated into aristocratic Buddhism, Unmuk 雲默 (d.u.) tried to keep the original purity of the White Lotus Society, which was concerned with the faith of the commoners, and ardently praised the Amitābha faith.⁸¹ In the case of the Hwaom school, Chewon 體元 (d.u.) advocated the Avalokiteśvara (Gwaneum [Ch. Guanyin] 觀音) faith based on the *Flower Garland Sutra*.⁸² Woncham 元岳 (d.u.), whose affiliation is unclear, organized a unique esoteric society for the Pure Land practice (*jeongeop* 淨業) that encouraged a method of reciting a mantra (*jineon* 眞言) and divining one's rebirth in the Pure Land, instead of reciting the name of Amitābha Buddha.⁸³

In the period of King Gongmin 恭愍 (r. 1351–1374), Goryeo faced a new historical turning-point. The Yuan empire that had occupied the Asian continent for over a century suddenly collapsed, and Ming appeared as the new power. At this time, King Gongmin implemented a resolute policy of resisting Yuan and restoring Goryeo; he embarked on political reforms by hiring an obscure esoteric monk named Sin Don 辛旽 (d.1371) during his fourteenth through twentieth reign year (1365–1371). It seems, however, that during Yuan's century-old rule "spiritual corruption" of Goryeo Buddhism reached an incurable level. Concerning the Buddhist order of the period, which should have functioned as a spiritual foundation, the Neo-Confucian scholar Mogeun Yi Saek 牧隱李穡 (1328–1396) comments: "Since the middle ages when Buddhists flourished, the five Gyo schools and two Seon schools became the nests for fame and wealth, and all the places—whether it was besides the rivers, on the mountains, or inside the valleys—were filled with the Buddhist temples. Not only Buddhist monks became vulgar, but also most of the people lived without working. This is what learned men should lament."⁸⁴

During this time, Taego Bou 太古普愚 (1301–1382), Naong Hyegeun 懶翁慧勤 (1320–1376), and Baegun Gyeonghan 白雲景閑

(1299–1374) journeyed to Yuan and brought to Goryeo the teachings of Imje (Ch. Linji 臨濟 Seon (Ch. Chan). The Imje school is characterized by the most vital Seon spirit among “the five primary schools and seven derivative schools” (Ch. *wujia qizong* 五家七宗). With this new trend, they tried to eliminate the deterioration of Goryeo Buddhism. Taego, who was a successor to Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清珙 (1272–1352; eighteenth-generation dharma heir of Linji), petitioned King Gongmin to unify the Nine Mountains Seon Gates and also to impose strict disciplinary controls on the monks by adopting the “Pure Rules of Master Baizhang” (Baizhang qinggui 百丈清規). The Office for Harmonization (圓融府) was then installed in Gwangmyeongsa 廣明寺 Temple to try to meet these goals in the fifth reign year of the same king (1356). Moreover, Taego emphasized the necessity of transferring the capital to Hanyang in the same year and had the project initiated.⁸⁵

Gyeonghan, like Master Taego Bou, also succeeded Shiwu Qinggong, but his method was identified as that of no-thought Seon (*musim* Seon 無心禪).⁸⁶ His *Jikji simche jeoryo* 直指心體節要 (Essentials of Directly Pointing to the Nature of Mind) in two fascicles (published in the third reign year of King U 禎, 1377) offered a model for this type of Seon. By contrast, Hyegeun, who was a successor to both Zhikong 指空 (d. 1363; 108th-generation dharma heir of Xitian 西天 [i.e., Mahākāśyapa]) and Pingshan Chulin 平山處林 (eighteenth-generation dharma heir of Linji), focused on the Imje school’s traditional method of observing the *hwadu*. *Gongbu* Seon 功夫禪 (comprehensive Seon studies), which was carried out in Gwangmyeongsa Temple for monks from both the Gyo and Seon schools in the nineteenth reign year of the same king (1370),⁸⁷ may be considered an application of Seon’s method of observing the *hwadu* to a public test.

But Goryeo society of that time could not restore its vitality only with partial reformation. Taego’s project to transfer the capital to Hanyang was halted and King Gongmin was also murdered in his twenty-third reign year (1374) by aristocratic power. As the national power of Goryeo was completely under the sway of the aristocracy, it was time to get to the bottom of the problem. In other words, it

was necessary for the mind to aim at regenerating itself by effecting its transcendence and combining nature. In this respect, Neo-Confucianism, which had been introduced from the end of Goryeo, was entitled to serve as a new political “ideology” equipped with a complete philosophical system. In the face of this emerging philosophy, Buddhism, which had appealed to the minds of the Korean people for a thousand years from the Three Kingdoms period to the end of Goryeo, had no choice but to hand over its exalted status to Confucianism and retreat to the background of society.

ix. Abolishment and Restoration of Buddhism in the Early Joseon

As my research has not fully covered Buddhism of the Joseon period (1392–1910), I do not have confidence about how to analyze its history from the perspective of history as the mind’s manifestation. But I just would mention a few things in concluding this essay.

The emergence of the Joseon dynasty (ruled by twenty-seven kings for 519 years) was quite different from that of the Goryeo dynasty. Although Goryeo succeeded the trends of Silla Buddhism, Joseon rejected Goryeo Buddhism and adopted Neo-Confucianism as its socio-political ideology.

The reason for Joseon’s adoption of the pro-Confucian and anti-Buddhist policy was that the meritorious retainers who helped Yi Seonggye 李成桂 (1335–1408, r. 1392–1398) to found the dynasty, such as Jeong Dojeon 鄭道傳 (1342–1398), Jo Jun 趙浚 (d.u.), and Gwon Geun 權近 (1352–1409), were among the rising gentry and that all of them constantly referred to the harmful effects of Buddhism in their writings. Jeong Dojeon’s anti-Buddhist theory, as revealed in his *Sim gi ri-pyeon* 心氣理篇 (A Treatise on Mind, *gi*, and Principle) and *Bulssi japbyeon* 佛氏雜辨 (Wanton Words by the Buddha), reaches the highest level of systematization of the sort.

However, Taejo (i.e., Yi Seonggye) recognized that a sudden anti-Buddhist campaign would be disadvantageous to the founding of his

new state and appointed Muhak Jacho 無學自超 (1327–1405) as royal master (王師) and Jogu 祖丘 (d. 1395) from the Cheontae school as national master (國師). He also had them perform Buddhist services frequently. It was not until the time of the third ruler Taejong 太宗 (r. 1400–1418) that the effect of the policy to suppress Buddhism was really felt. Taejong resolutely set about to (1) rearrange the Buddhist schools, reducing them from twelve to seven,⁸⁸ (2) abolish the national master and royal master systems, and (3) reduce the number of temples as well as Buddhist monks and nuns. This policy continued to be effective into the reign of the next ruler Sejong 世宗 (r. 1419–1450),⁸⁹ so that all Buddhist sects were finally unified into two schools of meditation (Seon) and doctrinal study (Gyo) by the sixth year of Sejong.⁹⁰

Therefore, Korean Buddhism, which up to this point had been complacent thanks to the support of absolute political power, now faced severe hardship for the first time in its history. Unlike the previous problems—such as oppositions between the meditative and doctrinal schools, corruptions of the Buddhist order, and invading foreign enemies—now the very existence of the religion of Buddhism was at stake. How did the Korean Buddhist community then cope with this situation?

Firstly, we see some Buddhists vigorously presenting memorials and objections against the state policy of suppressing Buddhism and the Confucians' anti-Buddhist stance. In the sixth year of Taejong, Seongmin 省敏 (d.u.) from the Jogye Order appealed for a cessation of attacks on Buddhism;⁹¹ in the first and third years of Sejong, other monks submitted petitions to the Ming imperial throne.⁹² The anti-Buddhist theory of Confucians was refuted in elegant style and by use of consistent logic, both in the *Hyeonjeong-non* 顯正論 (Clarification of the Correct), written by Hamheo Gihwa 涵虛己和 (1376–1433) in one fascicle, and the *Yuseok jirui-ron* 儒釋質疑論 (Treatise on Questions Concerning Confucianism and Buddhism), written by an anonymous writer in two fascicles. Korean Buddhists continued to present pro-Buddhist appeals and dialogues between Confucianism and Buddhism

during the Joseon period. In this respect, it might be said that whereas Goryeo Buddhism's urgent task was to overcome antagonisms between meditative and doctrinal schools, Joseon Buddhism's challenge was to overcome antagonisms between Confucianism and Buddhism.

Gihwa, who succeeded both Naong, royal master of King Gongmin, and Muhak, royal master of Taejo, had the authority as an authentic dharma heir. Moreover, in addition to the abovementioned *Hyeonjeong-non*, he left many writings such as the *Geumgang-gyeong ogahae seorui* 金剛經五家解說誼 (Introductory Remarks to the Commentaries of the Five Primary Seon Masters on the *Diamond Sutra*) in two fascicles, the *Won'gakgyeong-so* 圓覺經疏 (A Commentary on the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* [*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經]) in three fascicles, and the *Yeongga-jip seorui* 永嘉集說誼 (A Commentary on the *Yongjia-ji* 永嘉集). He made consistent efforts in these writings to harmonize meditation and doctrine by presenting the doctrinal teachings from the perspective of meditative tradition. As this philosophical trend can also be discerned in Gim Siseup's 金時習 (1435–1493) writings, it may be identified as a characteristic of Buddhism in the early Joseon.

While Sejong had first commanded anti-Buddhist policies, after his consort Queen Soheon 昭憲 passed away (twenty-eighth reign year, 1446), he suddenly turned into a ruler whose aim was “protecting Buddhism.” He constructed a dharma hall (Naebuldang 內佛堂) in the rear of his main palace (Gyeongbokgung) and had his second son Suyang 首陽 write the *Seokbo sangjeol* 釋譜詳節 (Auspicious Details of the Buddha's Genealogy) in vernacular Korean script (*jeongeum* 正音) in his twenty-eighth reign year, which was distributed in his twenty-ninth reign year. He also had himself published the *Worin cheon'gang ji gok* 月印千江之曲 (Songs of the Moon's Imprint on a Thousand Rivers) in vernacular Korean script.⁹³ Although it is difficult to identify the philosophical motive that brought such changes in Sejong's attitude toward Buddhism, it seems that he had come across the Buddhist ideas of Gihwa,⁹⁴ so that he came to deeply recognize the religious limitations of Neo-Confucianism.

It was the seventh ruler Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–1468; Prince Suyang)

who succeeded Sejong and accomplished the great project of promoting Buddhism. It may be said that he felt compelled to usurp the throne for the purpose of getting rid of the strong opposition forces that suppressed Buddhism. Having ascended the throne, he supported various temples such as Won'gaksa 圓覺寺 (constructed between the tenth and thirteenth reign year, i.e., 1464 and 1467) and translated into vernacular Korean script almost all the Buddhist texts which were important at that time for meditation and doctrinal training, and had them published at the Directorate for Publishing Scriptures (Gan'gyeong Dogam 刊經都監; installed in his seventh reign year, 1461) with the help of Sinmi 信眉 (d.u.), Sumi 守眉 (d.u.), Hakjo 學祖 (d.u.), etc. The fact that those Korean translations made under Sejo's tutelage included many of Gihwa's writings attests to the wide influence of the monk at this time.

After Sejo's demise, however, Buddhism again faced severe persecution. The ninth ruler Seongjong 成宗 (r. 1469–1494) abolished the Directorate for Publishing Scriptures along with the license system of officially registered monks (*docheop je* 度牒制). The next ruler Yeonsan'gun 燕山君 (r. 1494–1506) also abolished several temples and used them as government offices (*gonghae* 公廨); those abolished temples include Heungcheonsa 興天寺 (center of the Seon school), Heungdeoksa 興德寺 (center of the Gyo school), and Daewon'gaksa 大圓覺寺. The eleventh ruler Jungjong 中宗 (r. 1506–1544) continued to persecute Buddhism and went as far as abolishing the state examination system for monks (*seunggwa* 僧科).⁹⁵ The persecution of Buddhism in the period from Seongjong to Jungjong (1469–1544) led to the restriction of Buddhist activities within a few large monasteries (*chongnim* 叢林) removed from the city. Yet, despite such severe persecutions, Korean Buddhists did not lose their enthusiasm for transmitting the teachings. We can see this persistent aspiration for promoting Buddhism in Jieun's 智崑 (d.u.) *Jeongmyeol sijung-non* 寂滅示衆論 (A Treatise Instructing People in a Samadhi of Tranquil Cessation; written at Sangwonam 上院庵 Hermitage on Chiaksan 稚岳山 Mountain and published in the twelfth reign year of Seongjong, 1481), and in Milgye Sungmuk's

密契崇默 (d.u.) *Jowon tongnok chwaryo* 祖源通錄撮要 (Excerpts from the *Zuyuan tonglu* 祖源通錄 [Comprehensive Records of the Origins of the Patriarchs]; written in Mansuam 萬壽庵 Hermitage on Baegunsan 白雲山 Mountain and published in the twelfth reign year of Jungjong, 1529).⁹⁶

With the thirteenth ruler Myeongjong's 明宗 (r. 1545–1567) ascension to the throne, however, the situation changed considerably. When the king's mother Queen Munjeong 文定 was a regent, her devout faith in Buddhism led her to entrust Heoeung Bou 虛應普雨 (1515–1565), who resided in Unaksan 雲岳山 Mountain, with the great task of promoting Buddhism. In the sixth reign year of Myeongjong, both the Seon school (at Bongeunsa 奉恩寺 Temple) and the Gyo school (at Bongseonsa 奉先寺 Temple) were reestablished and the monastic examination for both schools was performed in the following year. This promotion of Buddhism, of course, enabled the Buddhist order to produce the great monks such as Cheongheo Hyujeong 淸虛休靜 (1520–1604). But when the queen mother passed away in the twentieth reign year (1565) of Myeongjong, the promotion of Buddhism came to naught and did not find favor again in the Joseon period.

As was noted above, the early Joseon period was marked by repeated shifts between anti-Buddhist and pro-Buddhist policies, until finally settling into an anti-Buddhist stance. Although Neo-Confucianism was selected as a new political ideology in the early Joseon, it could not stand up against Buddhism because its social basis was not strong enough to fight the long tradition of Buddhism. Only after a considerable time, the radical Confucian scholars called *sarim* 士林 (Confucian gentry) with strong anti-Buddhist sentiment were able to seize power and effectuate the anti-Buddhist policy.

x. Appearance of the Taego Lineage and Its Succession

When Buddhism was banished to a few large monasteries in remote mountainous locations, the monks had no choice but to make efforts

in training and transmission of the dharma, while also being forced to seek ways to support themselves. Prospects were gloomy, however. After Queen Mother Munjeong died, anti-Buddhist policies became more and more severe. Buddhists thus had to face the possibility that the dharma lineage would be broken. It is therefore quite natural that they considered the protection and transmission of the dharma lineage to be their most urgent task. The most outstanding feature in the later Joseon period was the appearance and succession of the theory that authenticates the dharma lineage which originates with Master Taego. It can be said that this theory directly reflected the Seon monks' self-awareness of their identity.

This theory of dharma lineage purports that Cheongheo Hyujeong's dharma lineage originated from (1) Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清珙 → (2) Taego Bou 太古普愚 → (3) Hwanam Honsu 幻庵混修 (1320–1392) → (4) Gugok Gagun 龜谷覺雲 (d.u.) → (5) Byeokgye Jeongsim 碧溪正心 (d.u.) → (6) Byeoksong Jieom 碧松智嚴 (1464–1534) → (7) Buyong Yeonggwon 芙蓉靈觀 (1485–1571). From the standpoint of mainstream Buddhism in the early Joseon, it was difficult to accept this theory because the legitimate lineage was then identified as the so-called Naong's dharma lineage that originated from (1) Pingshan Chulin 平山處林 (1279–1361) → (2) Naong Hyegeun 懶翁慧勤 (1320–1376) → (3) Muhak Jacho 無學自超 (1327–1405) → (4) Hamheo Gihwa 涵虛己和 (1376–1433).⁹⁷

What then caused the theory of Master Taego's dharma lineage to be presented [as orthodox] in later times despite its problematic aspects? I would suggest that the most direct motive was the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592 (twenty-fifth year of Seonjo 宣祖 [r. 1567–1608]). When the Japanese invaders trampled the country, the great Buddhist monks, Cheongheo Hyujeong 清虛休靜 (1520–1604) and his disciples Sameong Yujeong 四溟惟政 (1544–1610), Yeonggyu 靈圭 (d.u.), Cheoyeong 處英 (d.u.) and Uieom 義嚴 (d.u.) rose in resistance and performed meritorious deeds of national defense, thereby enhancing the social recognition of Buddhist monks of the times. The first reference to the theory of Master Taego's dharma lineage appears

in the preface to the *Cheongheodang-jip* 清虛堂集 (Collection of Master Cheongheo's Writings), written by Yi Sik 李植 (1584–1647) in 1630 (eighth reign year of Injo 仁祖 [r. 1623–1649]). With their enhanced status, Cheongheo and Samyeong's lineage, I would suggest, came to have a political backing at least as strong as that of Muhak and Hamheo. The theory in question could be justified against this backdrop.⁹⁸

Joseon was later invaded by the Qing 清 in the fifth reign year (1627) of Injo and again in the fourteenth reign year of the same king (1636). When the Chinese invaded Korea in 1636, monk soldiers were actively involved in battle; in fact, Byeogam Gakseong 碧巖覺性 (1575–1660) and Heobaek Myeongjo 虛白明照 (1593–1661) commanded the soldiers. It is clear from this example that these monks also changed the social recognition of monks. However, Byeogam Gakseong was Buhyu Seonsu's 浮休善修 (1543–1615) disciple and cannot be identified as Seosan's (i.e., Cheongheo) lineage. Both Buhyu and Seosan, on the other hand, were Buyong Yeonggwon's disciples so that they can be considered to belong to the same dharma lineage of Master Taego. Thus, the theory of dharma lineage that originates with Master Taego could be made more secure now because it would include Buhyu's and Byeogam's branches.

The later Joseon period was different from the early Joseon in terms of philosophical orientation as well as the dharma lineage. As mentioned above, Hamheo, a representative thinker in the early Joseon, concentrated on interpreting Gyo (doctrinal teachings) from the standpoint of Seon (meditative practices). However, Buddhists in the later Joseon formulated a philosophical system that emphasized uninterrupted transmission of dharma lineage. This theory was heavily influenced by the thought of Byeoksong Jieom, who revived Bojo Jinul's Seon, and Cheongheo Hyujeong, who encouraged his disciples to discard Gyo and enter into Seon (*sagyo ipseon* 捨教入禪). Although Seon thought of the later Joseon also embraced other soteriological means such as reciting the Buddha's name (*yeombul* 念佛) and studying Hwaem (Ch. Huayan) thought (especially that of Chengguan 澄觀 [738–839]), it ultimately returned to the Seon of the Imje school as the

standard for transmitting the dharma lineage.

As for the education system for monks and nuns, their curriculum was also determined according to this standard. The monks and nuns were to carry out their learning at a monastic academy (*gangwon* 講院) in the order of (1) the fourfold collections (*sajip* 四集), (2) the fourfold doctrines (*sagyo* 四教), and (3) the great doctrines (*daegyo* 大教; i.e., Huayan studies based on Chengguan's commentaries).⁹⁹ They were then required to investigate the *Seonmun yeomsong* and the *Jingde chuandeng lu* in a meditation hall (*seonwon* 禪院). Furthermore, the monastics were divided into two groups of those focusing on study (*ipan* 理判) and those focusing on temple affairs (*sapan* 事判), thereby ensuring that the practitioners who were exempted from administrative chores would transmit the dharma lineage.

The above examination of Joseon Buddhism shows that it coped with the hardships of the times by fully exemplifying the traditional ideology of state-protecting Buddhism in a society characterized by entrenched anti-Buddhist sentiment. The Joseon Buddhists also preserved the succession of the dharma lineage by forming the unique *chongnim* 叢林 (mountain-based monastery) Buddhism. However, there is no unique philosophical development in this period, as their writings were limited to so-called personal notes (*sagi* 私記) to the textbooks used in the monastic academy, and collections of poetry. But such a limitation may be ascribed to the situation in which Joseon Buddhism found itself.

We need to pay attention to the fact that the Buddhism of the later Joseon period has re-emerged in contemporary Korean society, where we are experiencing tremendous change with the introduction of modern science and culture. But the whole issue of how to modernize Buddhism is so huge and so important that I will omit the details in this short essay.

C Conclusions

Now, we have briefly reviewed Korean Buddhism from the perspective of history as the mind's manifestation. Although Buddhism originated in India, was transmitted to China, and was finally introduced to Korea, it became a spirit of the Korean people and had tremendous impact on the development of Korean history. The early phase of Korean Buddhism, modeled on the thought of the wheel-turning sage king (*jeollyun seongwang* 轉輪聖王, Skt. *cakravartin*) and Maitreya and based on the theory of karma, provided the spiritual impetus for the national development of the Three Kingdoms and their unification. Woncheuk and Daehyeon's Yogācāra studies and Wonhyo and Uisang's Hwaeom philosophy were the philosophical basis for the royal power and culture in the Unified Silla period. When Seon was introduced at the end of Silla, it led to the founding of the Goryeo dynasty by rejecting the corrupt and degraded politics and religion. When the scholasticism of the Song period was introduced by Sohyeon and Uicheon, it served to eliminate the residues of Silla Buddhism, thereby establishing a new tradition of Goryeo Buddhism and securing the firm foundations of the dynasty. When Goryeo society became chaotic because of internal and external troubles, the Goryeo Buddhists responded to those crises by organizing the Crystal Society led by Jineok, the Samadhi and Prajna Society led by Jinul, and the White Lotus Society led by Yose, thereby attempting to purify the Buddhist order. Since a hundred years of corruption of the Goryeo dynasty under Yuan's rule could not be overcome without radical reformation, however, the dominant ideology of Buddhism that lasted for almost a thousand years was finally repudiated. Yet, under the severe constraints of Joseon's 500-year anti-Buddhist policy, Buddhism maintained its religious purity by continuing its practice in large mountain-based monasteries, by adopting the traditional ideology of state-protecting Buddhism, and

by engaging in comprehensive dialogues with Confucianism. It is to be noted that the spiritual capacity of Korean Buddhism has greatly contributed to the evolution of Korean history and will continue to contribute in a unique way to its future development.

Notes

- 1 Jerome A. Shaffer, *Philosophy of Mind*, Foundations of Philosophy Series (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 37.
- 2 The above explanation is based on Dharmapāla's (ca. mid-sixth century) Yogācāra theory. Sthiramati's (ca. seventh century) theory upholds that mind has only one aspect, and Nanda's (ca. sixth century) theory divides the mind into two aspects. Dignāga (ca. 480–540) has the theory of three aspects of mind.
- 3 The Buddhist term for "mind" is *citta* [in the Sanskrit language]. *Citta* is defined as having the nature that always combines with the wholesome and unwholesome realms (*Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 [corresponding to the *Samyuktāgama*], fasc. 16) or with the three poisons of greed, anger, and ignorance, thereby resulting in suffering. Hence, "when the mind is purified, the sentient beings are purified" (*Za ahan jing*, fasc. 10).
- 4 *San'guo zhi* 三國志, fasc. 30, *Weishu* 魏書, "A Record of Fuyu (Kr. Buyeo)" (夫餘傳) with reference to the *Weilue* 魏略, included in *Isibo sacho* 二十五史抄 (Seoul: Dan'guk daehakgyo dongyanghak yeon'guso, 1977), 1:194.
- 5 *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, fasc. 85, "Biographies of the Dongyi (Kr. Dongi) Tribe" (東夷列傳), included in the *Isibo sacho*, 1:107.
- 6 In the tale of King Dongmyeong, Jumong 朱蒙 (58–19 BCE) refers to himself as a son of the sun or a son of the heavenly emperor.
- 7 Ajita Keśakambala, one of the six heretic (i.e., non-Buddhist) teachers during the period, was a representative materialist, but other heretic teachers also based their ideas on the materialist thought.
- 8 Winston L. King compares the view of the world history of Christianity with that of Buddhism in *Buddhism and Christianity: Some Bridges of Understanding* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), 20. Here, he identifies the latter as a view that sees history as repetitive cycles of birth, abiding, change, and destruction. But such an interpretation is a hasty conclusion.
- 9 The case of King Dongmyeong is not restricted to the foundation myth of Goguryeo.
- 10 Koh Ikjin, "Samguk yusa chansul go" 三國遺事撰述攷, *Han'guksa yeon'gu*, no. 38 (1982): 51.
- 11 Buddhism regards human beings as willful agents who can select between good

- and evil, and between the right and the pervert. It also teaches that they are committing evil deeds rather than doing good deeds.
- 12 W. H. Walsh, *Philosophy of History: An Introduction* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), 148. * The translator made corrections to the page reference number of the source so that it corresponds to the available 1960 edition.
- 13 King, *Buddhism and Christianity*, 20.
- 14 This Buddhist view of history appears in the *Qishi yinben jing* 起世因本經 of the *Zhang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (Skt. *Madhyamāgama*).
- 15 Walsh, *Philosophy of History*, 31 and passim. * The page reference number differs from the original manuscript for the same reason as stated in the above note 12.
- 16 Ibid., 19, 32, 89, etc. * These page reference numbers, which are omitted in the original manuscript, are added for the reader's convenience by the translator.
- 17 Ibid., 103. * The page reference number differs from the original manuscript for the same reason as stated in the above note 12.
- 18 Jumong, the initial founder of Goguryeo, seems to have the original family name Hae, because the second through fifth kings were all surnamed Hae. From the sixth king Taejo onwards, the family name changed to Go 高, and it seems that the collateral royal descendants changed their family name of Jumong to Go in order to be recognized as authoritative successors of King Dongmyeong. See Kim Cheoljun 金哲峻, *Han'guk godae sahoe yeon'gu* 韓國古代社會研究 (Seoul: Jisik Saneopsa, 1975), 47.
- 19 It seems that collateral royal families emerged in the periods of Goguryeo's sixth ruler Taejo 太祖 (surnamed Go, r. 53–146), Baekje's fifth ruler King Chogo 肖古 (surnamed Ye, r. 166–214), and Silla's thirteenth ruler King Michu 味鄒 (surnamed Gim, r. 261–284).
- 20 Koh Ikjin, "Han'guk godae ui Bulgyo sasang" 韓國古代的佛教思想, in *Cheolhak sasang ui je munje* 哲學思想的諸問題, ed. Han'guk jeongsin munhwa yeon'guwon (Seongnam: Han'guk jeongsin munhwa yeon'guwon, 1984), 2:171–77.
- 21 Ibid., 182–85.
- 22 Ibid., 185–87.
- 23 As far as the historical materials are concerned, it is not clear whether such cults were prevalent.
- 24 Koh Ikjin, "Han'guk godae ui Bulgyo sasang," 204–28.
- 25 The Three Treatises studies of Seungnang will be dealt with in detail in chapter 3 of this book, entitled "Origins and Development of Korean Buddhist Philosophy."
- 26 *Bulseol banya baramilda simgyeong-chan* 佛說般若波羅蜜多心經贊 (by Woncheuk), H 1.3a.

- 27 Woncheuk's Yogācāra studies is dealt with in detail in chapter 3 of this book, entitled "Origins and Development of Korean Buddhist Philosophy."
- 28 Koh Ikjin, "Wonhyo ui Hwaecom sasang" 元曉의 華嚴思想, in *Han'guk Hwaecom sasang yeon'gu* 韓國華嚴思想研究, ed. Bulgyo munhwa yeon'guso (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1982), 55. This topic is dealt with in detail in chapter 3 of this book, entitled "Origins and Development of Korean Buddhist Philosophy."
- 29 Lee Ki-baik 李基白, "Silla sidae ui Bulgyo wa gukga" 新羅時代의 佛敎와 國家, *Yeoksa hakbo* 歷史學報, no. 111 (1986): 214.
- 30 Kim Mun'gyeong 金文經, "Uisik eul tonghan Bulgyo ui daejunghwa" 儀式을 통한 佛敎의 大衆化, *Sahakji* 史學志, no. 4 (1970): 102.
- * In rendering the title of a scripture (*sūtra*), the translator adopts its common English title, and adds its East Asian title and Sanskrit equivalent in parentheses, if available. In the case of a treatise (*śāstra*) composed by an Indian author, the translator indicates its Sanskrit title in the body text only when its Sanskrit original is available (e.g., *Mahāyānasamgraha*). If a treatise only has a reconstructed Sanskrit title (with an asterisk), as far as its Sanskrit original is not available, the title will be given in its East Asian transcription (e.g., *Cheng weishi lun*).
- 31 The Nine Mountains are as follows: (1) Borimsa 寶林寺 Temple on Gajisan 迦智山 Mountain (Zhizang 智藏 [735–814] → Doui 道義 [d. 825], Yeomgeo 廉居 [d. 844], Chejeung 體澄 [804–880]), (2) Silsangsa 實相寺 Temple on Silsangsang 實相山 Mountain (Zhizang → Hongcheok 洪陟 [fl. 830]), (3) Gulsansa 崛山寺 Temple on Sagulsan 閣崛山 Mountain (Qi'an 齊安 [750–842] → Beomil 梵日 [810–889]), (4) Taeansa 泰安寺 Temple on Dongnisan 桐裡山 Mountain (Zhizang → Hyecheol 惠哲 [785–861]), (5) Seongjusa 聖住寺 Temple on Seongjusan 聖住山 Mountain (Bocheol 寶徹 [d.u.] → Muyeom 無染 [801–888]), (6) Heungnyeongsa 興寧寺 Temple on Sajasan 師子山 Mountain (Puyuan 普願 [748–835] → Doyun 道允 [798–868]), (7) Bongamsa 鳳巖寺 Temple on Huiyangsan 曦陽山 Mountain (Sin'gam 神鑑 [d.u.] → Doheon 道憲 [d.u.], Geungyang 競讓 [878–956]), (8) Bongnimsa 鳳林寺 Temple on Bongnimsan 鳳林山 Mountain (Huaihui 懷暉 [754–815] → Hyeonuk 玄昱 [788–869], Simhui 審希 [854–923]), (9) Gwangjosa 廣照寺 Temple on Sumisan 須彌山 Mountain (Liangjie 良价 [807–869] → Ieom 利嚴 [870–936]). These names are listed according to the order in which respective monasteries were founded.
- 32 Koh Ikjin, "Silla hadae ui Seon jeollae" 新羅下代의 禪傳來, in *Han'guk Seon sasangsa yeon'gu* 韓國禪思想史研究, ed. Dongguk daehakgyo Bulgyo munhwa

- yeon'guwon (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1984), 57–62.
- 33 Representative examples are Doui's (founding patriarch of the Gajisan school) classification of Seon and Gyo schools (*Seon Gyo pansaek* 禪教判釋) and Muyeom's (founding patriarch of the Seongjusan school) theory of land with language and land without language (*yuseol museol* 有舌無舌).
- 34 Choi Byung-hun 崔柄憲, "Silla hadae Seonjong gusan pa ui seongnip" 新羅下代 禪宗九山派의 成立, *Han'guksa yeon'gu*, no. 7 (1972), 103–5.
- 35 Kim Dujin 金杜珍, "Nanghye wa geu ui Seon sasang" 朗慧와 그의 禪思想, *Yeoksa hakbo*, no. 57 (1972), 45–6.
- 36 *Jingde chuandeng lu*, fasc. 11, T 51.282a.
- 37 Koh Ikjin, "Silla hadae ui Seon jeollae," 81.
- 38 Ibid., 82–83.
- 39 Ibid., 68–71.
- 40 *Goryeosa*, fasc. 2, "Taejo 26."
- 41 *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記, fasc. 10, "Dharma Master Jegwan" (法師諦觀), T 49.206a–b.
- 42 *Jingde chuandeng lu*, fasc. 26, "Chan Master Zhijue Yanshou Who Resided in Yongming Temple on Mountain Hiri of Hangzhou" (杭州慧日永明寺智覺禪師延壽), T 51.421c.
- 43 *Gyunyeo jeon* 均如傳, section 4, "Establishing the Correct Meanings and Determining the Main Doctrines" (立義定宗分), H 4.512a.
- 44 Koh Ikjin, "Goryeo Bulgyo sasang ui hogukjeok jeon'gae 2" 高麗佛教思想의 護國的 展開 (II), *Bulgyo hakbo*, no. 14 (1977): 19–23. * The issue number of the journal in which this paper appeared is corrected from "17" to "14."
- 45 "Stele Inscription of Hyeonhwasa Temple that Belongs to the Great Ci'en Lineage" (大慈恩玄化寺碑銘), photographic reproduction (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1985).
- 46 "Stupa Inscription of Geumsansa Temple that Enshrines the Relics of Royal Master Hyedeok, with the Posthumous Epithet Jineung" (金山寺慧德王師眞應塔碑), *Joseon geumseok chongnam* 朝鮮金石總覽 (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1976), 1:299–300.
- 47 The inscription cited in the above note has a passage that says, "Dharma Master (Won-)hyo led (the monks) at the front and Daetong (Head of the Order) (Dae-)hyeon followed them at the back" (曉法師導之于前賢大統踵之於後), which seems to suggest that Wonhyo, rather than Woncheuk, was determined to be the first patriarch of Korean (Haedong 海東) Yogācāra studies.
- 48 *Daegak Guksa munjip* 大覺國師文集, fasc. 16, "Admonitions to the Novice Chisu" (示新參學徒繼秀), H 4.556b.

- 49 Ibid.
- 50 “A Preface to the Newly Compiled *Wonjong mullyu*” (新集圓宗文類序), H 4.528a.
- 51 *Daegak Guksa oejip* 大覺國師外集, fasc. 12, “Inscription of Yeongtongsa Temple” (靈通寺碑), H 4.593b.
- 52 *Daegak Guksa oejip*, fasc. 14, “A Prayer Written on the Occasion of Personal Visit to Tiantai’s Stupa in Great Song” (大宋天台塔下親參發願疏), H 4.522a.
- 53 “Inscription of National Master Woneung in Unmunsa Temple” (雲門寺圓應國師碑), *Joseon geumseok chongnam*, 1:349.
- 54 *Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄, H 4.679–97.
- 55 Gim Bucheol 金富輿, “Records of Munsuwon Cloister on Cheongpyeongsan Mountain” (清平山文殊院記), *Dongmun-seon* 東文選, fasc. 64.
- 56 Koh Ikjin, “Goryeo Bulgyo sasang ui hogukjeok jeon’gae 2,” 29–32.
- 57 Gwon Jeok 權適, “A Record of the Sujeongsa Society on Jirisan Mountain” (智異山水精社記), *Dongmun-seon*, fasc. 84.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 *Gwonsu Jeonghye gyeolsa-mun* 勸修定慧結社文, H 4.698a.
- 60 *Susim-gyeol* 修心訣, H 4.709c–10a.
- 61 *Beopjip byeolhangnok jeoryo byeong ip sagi* 法集別行錄節要并私記, H 4.741a.
- 62 *Wondon seongbul-lon* 圓頓成佛論, H 4.724a.
- 63 *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron* 看話決疑論, H 4.733a–b.
- 64 “A Preface to the *Seonmun yeomsong-jip*” (禪門拈頌集序), H 5.1a.
- 65 Gim Gunsu 金君綏, “Inscription of National Master Buri Bojo of the Seon-Cultivating Society on Jogyesan Mountain” (曹溪山修禪社佛日普照國師碑銘), *Dongmun-seon*, fasc. 117. * The original text has “Boso” 普炤 instead of “Bojo” to avoid the Ming emperor’s title.
- 66 Jinul’s Seon thought will be dealt with in greater detail in chapter 3 of this book, entitled “Origins and Development of Korean Buddhist Philosophy.”
- 67 Koh Ikjin, “Wonmyo Yose ui Baengnyeon gyeolsa wa geu sasangeok donggi” 圓妙了世의白蓮結社와그思想的動機, *Bulgy hakbo*, no. 15 (1978): 115.
- 68 Ibid., 119.
- 69 “Inscription of National Master Wonmyo (with Posthumous title) Jungjin of the White Lotus Society” (白蓮社圓妙國師中眞塔碑), *Joseon geumseok chongnam*, 1:570–91.
- 70 *Mandeoksan Baengnyeonsa je sadae Jinjeong Guksa Hosan-nok* 萬德山白蓮社第四代眞淨國師湖山錄, fasc. 2, “A Record of Trip to Sabulsan Mountain” (遊四佛山記), H 6.207b.
- 71 Refer to the list of Gyunyeyo’s writings and their colophons included in the

- supplementary edition of the *Goryeo daejanggyeong*.
- 72 *Dongguk Yi Sangguk-jip* 東國李相國集, fasc. 55, “A Prayer of the King and Subjects to the Carving of the Tripitaka Koreana” (大藏刻版君臣祈告文).
- * Although the *Yeomson sawon* 拈頌事苑 (abbreviation of *Seonmun yeomson sawon* 禪門拈頌事苑) was compiled by Iryeon as an exposition of Hyesim’s *Seonmun yeomson*, this thirty-fascicle work was again revised by Iryeon’s disciple Hon’gu 混丘 (1251–1322) and this version is entitled *Jungpyeon yeomson sawon*. Here, the *Seonmun yeomson sawon* and its revision (*jungpyeon*) are not clearly distinguished.
- 73 “Inscription of National Venerable Bogak in In’gaksa Temple of the Gajisan School” (麟角寺迦智山下普覺國尊碑), *Joseon geumseok chongnam*, 1:469–72.
- 74 For more detailed discussions, refer to chapter 2 of this book, entitled “Iryeon’s Perception of History and the Dan’gun Myth.”
- 75 Koh Ikjin, “Baengnyeonsa ui sasang jeontong gwa Cheonchaek ui jeosul munje” 白蓮社의 思想傳統과 天頂의 著述問題, *Bulgyo hakbo*, no. 16 (1979): 161–63.
- 76 *Haedong Jogye je yukse Won’gam Guksa gasong* 海東曹溪第六世圓鑑國師歌頌, “Rhymed Verses in Twenty-four Lines concerning the Sufferings of Yeongnam” (嶺南艱苦二十四韻), H 6.379a–b; “Worrying about the Agriculture, Composed on the Rainy First Day of the Fourth Month” (憫農黑羊四月旦日雨中作), H 6.380b, etc.
- 77 Yi Jehyeon, “Inscription of the Reestablishment of Myoryeonsa Temple” (妙蓮寺重興碑), *Dongmun-seon*, fasc. 118.
- 78 Koh Ikjin, “Baengnyeonsa ui sasang jeontong gwa Cheonchaek ui jeosul munje,” 146–49.
- 79 “Inscription of National Venerable Boja in Donghwa Temple” (桐華寺普慈國尊碑), *Joseon geumseok chongnam*, 1:596.
- 80 “Inscription of National Venerable Jajeong in Beopjusa Temple” (法住寺慈淨國尊碑), *Joseon geumseok chongnam*, 1:486.
- 81 Koh Ikjin, “Baengnyeonsa ui sasang jeontong gwa Cheonchaek ui jeosul munje,” 151–57.
- 82 This can be seen from Chewon’s works such as the *Baekhwa doryang barwon-mun yakhae* 白花道場發願文略解 [A Summary Exposition of the *Baekhwa doryang barwon-mun* (A Vow at the Enlightenment Site of the White Lotus Flower)] and the *Hwaem-gyeong Gwaneum jisik-pum* 華嚴經觀音知識品 [An Exposition of the Chapter on the Mentor Avalokiteśvara in the *Flower Garland Sutra*].
- 83 *Hyeonhaeng seobang-gyeong* 現行西方經 [Sutra of Immediate Presence in the Western Paradise], H 6.861a–64a.

- 84 *Goryeosa*, fasc. 115.
- 85 *Taego Hwasang eorok* 太古和尚語錄, fasc. 2, “Record of Taego” (太古行狀), H 6,698c–99c.
- 86 *Baegun Hwasang eorok* 白雲和尚語錄, fasc. 2, “Song of No-Thought” (無心歌), H 6,663a, etc.
- 87 *Naong Hwasang eorok* 懶翁和尚語錄, “Record of Master Naong” (懶翁行狀), H 6,707a.
- 88 This rearrangement is summarized in the following table.

Eleven schools in late Goryeo and early Joseon	Seventh reign year of Taejong	Sixth reign year of Sejong
Jogye 曹溪	————— Jogye	} Seon (18 temples)
Chongji 摠持	} Chongnam 摠南	
Namsan 南山	} Chontae	
Cheontae-soja 天台疏字	} Cheontae	
Cheontae-beopsa 天台法事		
Hwacom 華嚴	} Hwacom	} Gyo (18 temples)
Domun 道門	} Ja'eun	
Ja'eun 慈恩	} Jungsin 中神	
Jungdo 中道	} Jungsin 中神	
Sinin 神印		
Siheung 始興	————— Siheung	

- 89 Kim Yeongtae 金煥泰, *Han'guk Bulgyosa gaeseol* 韓國佛教史概說 (Seoul: Gyeongseowon, 1986), 172–75.
- 90 *Ibid.*, 176.
- 91 *Taejong sillok* 太宗實錄, fasc. 11, “Second Month of the Sixth Year” (六年二月條).
- 92 *Sejong sillok* 世宗實錄, fasc. 6, “Twelfth Month of the First Year” (元年十二月條); fasc. 12, “Fifth Month of the Third Year” (三年五月條).
- 93 Sejo, “A Preface to the *Worin seokbo*” (月印釋譜序), written in the seventh month of 1459 (third year of the Tianshun 天順 era).
- 94 Koh Ikjin, “Hamheo ui *Geumgang-gyeong ogahae seorui e daehae*” 涵虛의 金剛經 五家解說誼에 대해, *Bulgyo hakbo*, no. 11 (1974): 208.
- 95 Kim Yeongtae, *Han'guk Bulgyosa gaeseol*, 182.
- 96 Koh Ikjin, “*Jowon tongnok chwaryo ui chulhyeon gwa geu saryo gachi*,” 祖源通錄 撮要의 出現과 그 史料 가치, *Bulgyo hakbo*, no. 21 (1984).
- 97 Koh Ikjin, “*Byeoksong Jieom ui sin jaryo wa beoptong munje*” 碧松智嚴의 新資料와 法統問題, *Bulgyo hakbo*, no. 22 (1985): 211.
- 98 *Ibid.*

- 99 The fourfold collections are four introductory works of Seon Buddhism: Gaofeng Yuanmiao's 高峯原妙 (1238–1295) *Chanyao* 禪要 [Essentials of Chan], Dahui Zonggao's 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163) *Shuzhuang* 書狀 [Letters], Guifeng Zongmi's 圭峰宗密 (780–841) *Chanyuan zhu quanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 [A Preface to the Collection of Chan Sources; abbr. *Duxu*], Jinul's *Beopjip byeolhaeng-nok jeoryo byeong ip sagi* 法集別行錄節要并私記 [Excerpts from (Zongmi's) *Faji biexing lu* (Dharma Collection and Special Practice Record) with Personal Notes; abbr. *Beopjip jeoryo*]. The four teachings refer to the four scriptures or treatises: *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 [Perfect Enlightenment Sutra], *Diamond Sutra* (*Jin'gang jing* 金剛經), *Lengyan jing* 楞嚴經 [Sutra of Heroic March, Skt. **Śūraṅgama-sūtra*], and *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 [Awakening of Faith].

2. Iryeon's Perception of History and the Dan'gun Myth

Focusing on the
Compilation of the
Samguk yusa

A

Historical Perception as Seen in the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon*

The *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (A History of the Three Kingdoms), compiled by Gim Busik 金富軾 (1075–1151) in the twenty-third year (1145) of Goryeo's seventeenth ruler Injong 仁宗 (r. 1122–1146), does not include the Dan'gun myth. In fascicle 17 of the same work, however, we find the following description of the events that took place in the twenty-first year of King Dongcheon 東川 (r. 227–248) [of Goguryeo].

[King Dongcheon] built a walled city in Pyeongyang and moved there his people as well as the shrines. Pyeongyang was originally the home of the immortal Wanggeom. Some say that it was his capital city, called Wanggeom 王儉 (or Wangheom 王險). (築平壤城 移民及廟社 平壤者 本仙人王儉之宅也 或云王之都王儉.)

The above passage means that the king built the walled city (*seong* 城) in Pyeongyang and moved his people and shrines to the city and that Pyeongyang was originally a home of the immortal (*seonin* 仙人) Wanggeom. Here, the “immortal” can be understood as referring to Dan'gun Wanggeom. Then it can be said that Gim Busik certainly knew about the Dan'gun myth. Nevertheless, the *Samguk sagi* does not have any entry about this myth.

Gim Busik's critical attitude is also apparent when he deals with the marvelous birth tales of the founders of the Three Kingdoms. At the end of the “Annals” chapter (*Samguk sagi*, fasc. 28, “Annals of Baekje” [百濟本紀]) are his following comments (*nonwal* 論曰).

According to the *Silla gosa* 新羅古事 (Old Accounts of Silla), heaven sent down a golden casket. Therefore, they got the family name Gim [“gold”].

But such an account is weird and unbelievable. As I had to compile history and found that age-old record, however, I was unable to erase and omit those words. (新羅古事云 天降金櫃 故姓金氏 其言可怪 而不可信. 臣修史 以其傳之舊 不得刪落其辭.)

Here, Gim criticizes the birth narrative of Gim Alji 金闕智, the founding ancestor of the Gim royal family of Silla, as “weird and unbelievable” (可怪而不可信), and says that if the record had not been old, he would have omitted it. Such an attitude can also be seen in his treatment of the birth narrative of King Dongmyeong, the founding ancestor of Goguryeo. It is clear from Yi Gyubo’s 李奎報 (1168–1241) following passage from the preface to the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* 東明王篇 (A History of King Dongmyeong), where he affirms his view that Gim Busik included that narrative reluctantly since it was recorded a long time ago; moreover, he claims that Gim shortened the story to a great extent compared to the original account in the *Gu samguk sa* 舊三國史 (Old History of the Three Kingdoms; authorship unknown).

When Gim Busik recompiled the national history, he made not a few omissions of that account. What was his intention, then? Did he omit it because he regarded a national history as a book for correcting the world and so could not present such an extremely weird account to the later generations? (金公富軾 重撰國史 頗略其事 意者 公 以爲國史 矯世之書 不可以大異之事 爲示於後世 而略之耶.)

It is widely agreed in academia that Gim Busik left behind only a few traces of birth narratives of the founders of the Three Kingdoms, much of which were shortened, with the exception of the Dan’gun myth [which was not even referred to]. Such an attitude might be attributed to his historical perspective predicated on a rational moralist conception of Confucianism.

In “A Memorial Concerning the Compilation of the *Samguk sagi*” (進三國史表), he criticizes the *Old Record* (*Gogi* 古記; this seems to refer to the *Gu samguk sa*) as follows.

Again, the *Old Record* has coarse and clumsy wordings and lacks [references to] many historical sites. Therefore, it cannot disclose the good and evil of the rulers, the loyalty and disloyalty of the subjects, the safety and danger of the countries, and the orderliness and turmoil of the people, which can be used for admonitions [for future generations]. (又其古記文字蕪拙事迹闕亡是以君后之善惡臣子之忠邪邦業之安危人民之理亂皆不得發露以垂勸戒。)

Here, Gim says that the *Old Record* cannot be used for admonitions through its revelation of the moral behavior of the rulers, the loyalty and disloyalty of the subjects, the safety and danger of the countries, and the orderliness and turmoil of the people. Therefore, his recompilation of the history of the Three Kingdoms was conducted for the purpose of making up such defects. And it goes without saying that his view cited above was derived from the typical Confucian perspective of politics.

In relation to this, we find more than thirty cases in which the compiler of the *Samguk sagi* provides his historical views in the form of “I comment” (*nonwal* 論曰). But in all cases, he comments on Korean history with reference to Chinese Confucian ethics or precedents. For instance (*Samguk sagi*, fasc. 12, “Fifth Reign Year of King Gyeongmyeong 景明 [r. 917–924]”), he makes the following comment on the three nation-protecting treasures of Silla, namely the sixteen-foot Buddha image of Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 Temple, the nine-story pagoda of the same temple, and King Jinpyeong’s 眞平 (r. 579–632) jade belt bestowed by the heaven.

Moreover, these so-called three treasures of Silla are nothing but man-made luxuries. For the ruling of a country, why should they be necessary? Mencius says that the royal class has three jewels, i.e., land, people, and politics. The *Book of Chu* says that Chu has nothing that can be considered treasures except for goodness. (況此新羅所謂三寶亦出於人爲之侈而已。爲國家何須此耶。孟子曰諸侯之寶三土地人民政事，楚書曰楚國無以爲寶惟善以爲寶。)

Here, Gim asks: for controlling a country, of what use would be the Buddhist three treasures which are just artificial luxuries? He also points out that Mencius argued that only land, people, and politics are the king's three treasures and that Chu considers goodness to be the only treasure.

Gim Busik was active during the reign of Injong, and this period saw the continued existence of hereditary aristocracy. Although Goryeo suffered from invasions by Khitan, Jurchen-Jin, etc., it was able to maintain close diplomatic ties with Song, the authentic successor of the Chinese Han 漢 culture. Under such historical circumstances Gim Busik checked the power of Yi Jagyeom 李資謙 (d. 1126), Injong's maternal relative, and repressed Myocheong's 妙淸 rebellion (1136), thereby acting as a representative Confucian subject who protects royal power. Therefore, it is natural that his *Samguk sagi* (compiled in the twenty-third year of Injong, 1145) excluded the non-rational myths and wonders and adopted rationalist ethics and morals as criteria for viewing the history.

But the period from Uijong 毅宗 (r. 1146–1170) to Gojong 高宗 (r. 1213–1259) saw a complete destruction of the old regime and the emergence of new systems of control. In mainland China the Mongols rose to power and annihilated the Jurchen-Jin [which collapsed the Khitan-Liao], unifying the area north of the Yangze River. They then launched an expedition to conquer Goryeo in preparation of the subjugation of the Southern Song. As for the internal politics, Goryeo's political power moved from the hands of civil subjects to those of military subjects with Jeong Jungbu's 鄭仲夫 (1106–1179) rebellion, and the Choe family eventually seized power. In Buddhist circles, Seon movements such as Bojo Jinul's Samadhi and Prajna Society (Jeonghye gyeolsa 定慧結社) began to spread, replacing the aristocratic Buddhism of scholastic schools. Yi Gyubo was one of the representative civil subjects who served at the court with his literary talent, and his erudition covered Seon Buddhism, the [Daoist] thought of Laozi 老子 (ca. sixth century BCE) and Zhuangzi 莊子 (ca. third century BCE), as well as Confucian ideas.

But his *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* composed at the age of twenty-six (twenty-third year of Myeongjong 明宗 [r. 1170–1197]; 1193) is very peculiar when compared with Gim Busik's *Samguk sagi*. As mentioned above, Gim Busik goes as far as to omit many parts of the marvelous birth story of Goguryeo's founding ancestor Jumong 朱蒙 (58–19 BCE). But Yi includes all those parts in the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* on the basis of the *Gu samguk sa*. In this book is included the story of the heavenly son Haemosu 解慕漱 who descended to Northern Buyeo and had illicit intercourse with Yuha 柳花, the daughter of the river god, which exasperated her father but finally resulted in Haemosu's obtaining permission of marriage from the [river] god. This was made possible through his victory in the competition with this [river] god in which they transformed their bodies into those of animals. The book also includes Jumong's story of oviparous birth, his flight south, the establishment of a new kingdom, his defeat of Songyang 松讓, a king of the Biryu 沸流 state, by magic incantation,¹ Yuri's 類利/琉璃 succeeding him, and so on.

What was the reason for Yi Gyubo's interest in the marvels of King Dongmyeong, which is excluded from the *Samguk sagi*, and his sincere description of them? In the preface to the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon*, he states as follows:

I was not able to believe those stories at the beginning, regarding them as ghostly or illusionary. But when I reread the stories three times, I gradually penetrated their source and [realized] that they were not illusionary but sacred and that they were not ghostly but divine. (初不能信之意以爲鬼幻及三復耽味漸涉其源非幻也乃聖也非鬼也乃神也.)

Here, Yi says that he himself suspected that King Dongmyeong's marvelous birth story and nation-founding myth were ghostly or illusionary. He was, however, gradually approaching the sources of those stories in the course of appreciating their meanings, and realized that they were neither ghostly nor illusionary and that they were indeed "divine and sacred" (*sinseong* 神聖). When he summarizes these tales,

he uses a similar phrasing.² To him, those marvelous events of King Dongmyeong were not simple and interesting stories; he was aware that a holy concept of divine sanctity lies at the source of those events.

Besides, he understands the concept of “divine sanctity” not only as a religious concept, but also as a source of spiritual power to create the nation’s independent history. Therefore, according to him, King Dongmyeong’s marvelous transformations are “not deceiving the eyes of people” but are indeed “marvelous traces of establishing a new country.”

Even in the case of King Dongmyeong’s stories, these are not deceiving the eyes of people with marvelous transformations; they are rather marvelous traces of establishing a new country. (矧東明之事 非以變化神異 眩惑衆目 乃實創國之神迹.)

Here, it can be said that he analyzed the symbolic meanings of the myth of King Dongmyeong as a process from “ghostliness or illusion” to “divine sanctity” to “marvelous traces.”

His choice of King Dongmyeong among the founding patriarchs of the Three Kingdoms can also be understood in terms of his conception of history examined above. We see marvelous birth myths in the legends of Bak Hyeokgeose of Silla and Gim Suro of Garak, too. But we should refer to King Dongmyeong as a representative founder of the Korean nation. Given the contemporary view that Goryeo was a successor of Goguryeo, the other nations such as Silla, Baekje, and Garak were in complete oblivion. Moreover, although the Dan’gun myth is the most ancient narrative, its historicity is rather vague.

In view of the historical circumstances as sketched above, we can understand, at least to some degree, what Yi Gyubo had in mind when he took interest in the wonder of King Dongmyeong and tried to describe it admiringly (*seoyeong* 敍詠). As mentioned above, that period was characterized by the destruction of the old polity, which is exemplified by the occupation of central China by foreign “barbarian tribes” as a global phenomenon and the seizure of political power by

the military as a local phenomenon. Yi Gyubo must have considered how to create the national history independently in this situation, and he had no choice but to take interest in Goguryeo, which occupied the Liaodong area, and the marvelous traces of King Dongmyeong who founded that nation.

Gim Busik's rational moralist view of history sees the ruler's good and evil deeds and the subjects' loyalty and treachery as a historical principle that determines the security of the nation and control of the people. Such a view might be suitable for maintaining the extant order of the nation. In an account of Queen Jindeok's 眞德 (r. 647–654) fourth year (650) of the *Samguk sagi*, he gives the negative comment "King Beopheung's 法興 (r. 514–540) use of a self-styled year title is delusionary" but praises Queen Jindeok's adoption of the Chinese era name of Yonghui 永徽. It goes without saying that we cannot expect spiritual power for the autonomous creation of the nation in this sycophantic attitude. A clue for creating a new history should be sought in "a seemingly non-rational but sacred religious dimension," which lies deeper than the rational moralist view of history as seen in the *Samguk sagi*. Would it be too far-fetched for us to suppose that such historical view of Yi Gyubo led to his composition of the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon*?

If we read Yi Gyubo's *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* along this line of thought, we feel that the historical significance inherent in this small text is not trivial at all. In particular, its composition (1193) comes between that of the *Samguk sagi* (1145) and that of the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms; ca. 1270 [*sic*: should be "1280"]), and this seems to suggest that it had some influence on Iryeon's composition of the *Samguk yusa*. We will now examine whether there was in fact such an influence, and if there was, what kind of influence.

B

Structure of the *Samguk yusa* and Its Aim of Compilation

Composed of five fascicles, Iryeon's 一然 (1206–1289) *Samguk yusa* is a collection of marvelous accounts just like the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon*. At first reading, the book gives the impression that it is no more than a compilation of anecdotes and hearsay (*ilsa yumun* 軼事遺聞) based on the compiler's preference rather than a comprehensive description of facts in a systematic fashion.³ A close examination of the text, however, makes it apparent that there is an underlying intention for systemization. I would like to reveal that intention of the *Samguk yusa*. First, its table of contents is as follows.

Fascicle 1

- Chapter 1. "Royal Chronicles" (王曆)
(From "Bak Hyeokgeose of Silla" to "Later Baekje")
- Chapter 2. "Wonders" (紀異)
(From "Old Joseon" to "Jangchunnang," totaling 36 stories)

Fascicle 2

- Chapter 2. "Wonders" (continued)
(From "King Munho, Beommin" to "A Record of the Garak State," totaling 23 stories)

Fascicle 3

- Chapter 3. "The Rise of the Dharma" (興法)
(From "Sundo Brings [Buddhism] to Goguryeo" to "Ten Sages in the Golden Hall of Heungnyunsa Temple," totaling 7 stories)⁴
- Chapter 4. "Pagodas and Images" (塔像)
(From "Kaśyapa Buddha's Pedestal" to "Stone Pagoda at Munsusa Temple on Odaesan Mountain," totaling 29 stores)

Fascicle 4

- Chapter 5. "Exegetes" (義解)

(From “Won'gwang Studies in the West” to “Yogācāra Monk Daehyeon,” totaling 14 stories)

Fascicle 5

Chapter 6. “Divine Spells” (神呪)

(From “Milbon Exorcises the Evil” to “Myeongnang's Divine Seal,” totaling 3 stories)

Chapter 7. “Sympathetic Resonance” (感通)

(From “Holy Mother on Seondosan Mountain” to “Master Jeongsu Saves a Freezing Woman,” totaling 10 stories)

Chapter 8. “Seclusion” (避隱)

(From “Nangji Rides on Clouds” to “A Monk Calls the Buddha's Name,” totaling 10 stories)

Chapter 9. “Filial Piety and Buddhist Good” (孝善)

(From “Master Jinjeong's Excellence in Both Filial Piety and Buddhist Good” to “A Poor Woman Serves Her Mother,” totaling 5 stories)

Comparing the above contents with those of the *Samguk sagi*, it is evident that the two works have some correspondence in terms of their arrangement. The *Samguk sagi*, which is organized into four chapters of (1) “Annals” (*bon'gi* 本紀) of the Three Kingdoms, (2) “Chronicles” (*pyo* 表), (3) “Miscellaneous Records” (*japji* 雜誌), and (4) “Biographies” (*yeoljeon* 列傳), is modeled on the biographic-thematic format (*gijeon che* 紀傳體) derived from the *Shiji* 史記 (Historical Records) of Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–86 BCE), which consists of five chapters of (1) “Annals,” (2) “Chronicles,” (3) “Treatises” (Ch. *shi* 書), (4) “Genealogies” (Ch. *shijia* 世家), and (5) “Biographies.” A comparison of the *Samguk sagi* with the *Samguk yusa* then shows that the latter's chapter 1 “Royal Chronicles” and chapter 2 “Wonders” correspond to the former's chapter 2 “Chronicles” and chapter 1 “Annals” respectively (though the order of the two chapters is shifted). Furthermore, the *Samguk yusa*'s chapter 4 “Pagodas and Images” can be related to the *Samguk sagi*'s chapter 3 “Miscellaneous Records”; the *Samguk yusa*'s chapter 3 “The Rise of the Dharma” and its remaining parts, namely chapter 5 through chapter 9, can be related to the *Samguk sagi*'s chapter

4 “Biographies.”

Such a correspondence between the *Samguk yusa*'s chapter 3, etc. and the *Samguk sagi*'s chapter 4 notwithstanding, however, there also exist considerable discrepancies. We thus need to examine carefully what is reflected in such differences. In this respect, I think that Gakhun's 覺訓 (d.u.)⁵ *Haedong goseung-jeon* 海東高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Korean Monks) provides an excellent point of reference as this book was published about sixty years before the *Samguk yusa*. Yet, the extant version of the *Haedong goseung-jeon* has only the first two fascicles, and we have no way of knowing its exact number of fascicles and table of contents. But its preface has the following significant passage.

As for the Way, it is not expanded by itself; its expansion is caused by humans. Therefore, [this book] has a chapter entitled “Circulation” (流通) to show this to the later generations. Having examined three collections of biographies of eminent monks published in the Liang, Tang, and Song periods, [I found] they all have a chapter entitled “Translators.” But as our nation was not engaged with the translation project, [this book] does not have that chapter. (且道不自弘之由人故著流通篇以示于後。按古梁唐宋三高僧傳皆有譯經以我本朝無翻譯之事故不存此科也。)

According to the above passage, the Way is promoted and transmitted by humans and the reason for composing a chapter entitled “Circulation” is to show that fact to later generations. It goes on to say that three Chinese compilations of biographies of eminent monks, published in the Liang, Tang, and Song periods, all have a chapter for translators of scriptures. But this book lacks that chapter because a translation project has not been executed in the nation. In fact, the two fascicles of the extant version of the *Haedong goseung-jeon* are entitled “Circulation.” The above passage from the preface also allows us to guess at its overall arrangement, because the three Chinese *gaoseng zhuan* (biographies of eminent monks) volumes (i.e., *Liang gaoseng*

zhuan 梁高僧傳 by Huijiao 慧皎 [497–554], also called *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳; *Tang gaoseng zhuan* 唐高僧傳 by Daoxuan 道宣 [596–667], also called *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳; and *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 by Zanning 贊寧 [910–1001]) are available to us. The arrangements of the contents in these three *gaoseng zhuan* volumes are as follows.

<i>Liang gaoseng zhuan</i>	<i>Tang gaoseng zhuan</i>	<i>Song gaoseng zhuan</i>
1. Translators (譯經)	— 1. Translators (譯經)	— 1. Translators
* 2. Exegetes (義解)	— 2. Exegetes (義解)	— 2. Exegetes
* 3. Miracle Workers (神異)	3. Meditation Practitioners (習禪)	— 3. Meditation Practitioners
4. Meditation Practitioners (習禪)	4. Elucidators of Discipline (明律)	— 4. Elucidators of Discipline
5. Elucidators of Discipline (明律)	5. Dharma Protectors (護法)	5. Dharma — Protectors
* 6. Self-Immolators (亡身)	* 6. Sympathetic Resonance (感通)	— 6. Sympathetic Resonance
7. Chanters (誦經)	7. Self-Immolators (遺身)	— 7. Self-Immolators
* 8. Benefactors (興福)	8. Chanters (讀誦)	— 8. Chanters
9. Hymnists (經師)	9. Benefactors (興福)	— 9. Benefactors
10. Proselytizers (唱導)	10. Those with Excellent Voices, etc. (雜科聲德)	— 10. Those with Excellent Voices, etc.

(The chapters with an asterisk have corresponding chapters in the *Samguk yusa*.)

It seems that in the *Haedong goseung-jeon* a chapter entitled “Circulation” comes at its beginning and that its remaining chapters follow a similar order of the Chinese *gaoseng zhuan* volumes with some modifications.

Now, let us compare the arrangement of contents in the *Haedong goseung-jeon* and the Chinese *gaoseng zhuan* volumes with that in the *Samguk yusa*. Except for chapter 4 “Pagodas and Images,” we see that the *Samguk yusa*’s remaining chapters are quite similar to those of the other Buddhist hagiographies in terms of their titles and arrangement. “The Rise of the Dharma,” chapter 3 in the *Samguk yusa*, refers to the identical concept of “Circulation” in the *Haedong goseung-jeon*. The *Samguk yusa*’s chapter 6 “Divine Spells,” chapter 8 “Seclusion,” and chapter 9 “Filial Piety and Buddhist Good” correspond to the *Liang gaoseng zhuan*’s chapter 3 “Miracle Workers,” chapter 6 “Self-Immolators,” and chapter 8 “Benefactors” respectively. Its chapter 5 “Exegetes” and chapter 7 “Sympathetic Resonance” are identical with the *Liang gaoseng zhuan*’s chapter 2 and the *Tang gaoseng zhuan*’s chapter 6. Only chapter 4 “Pagodas and Images” has no equivalence in diverse collections of biographies of eminent monks, but as mentioned above, it corresponds to the *Samguk sagi*’s chapter 3 “Miscellaneous Records.” Then, it may be said that the arrangement of the chapters in the *Samguk yusa* is basically modeled on the biographic-thematic format of the *Samguk sagi* (chapter 1 “Annals,” chapter 2 “Chronicles,” chapter 3 “Miscellaneous Records”), from which the compiler organized the contents in the order of chapter 1 “Royal Chronicles,” chapter 2 “Wonders,” chapter 3 “Pagodas and Images.” The *Samguk yusa*’s stories of eminent Korean monks, which may be related to the *Samguk sagi*’s chapter 4 “Biographies,” were then added and expanded in accordance with the classification of many Chinese *gaoseng zhuan* volumes. And finally, the entire order of the chapters seems to have been adjusted to the current format (in which the order of the chapters entitled “Royal Chronicles” and “Pagodas and Images” was changed). The reason for placing the chapter entitled “Royal Chronicles” at the head of the work might be that since the chapter entitled “Wonders”

recorded miracle stories, a chapter that deals with chronicles of the kings as a basic content of general history should precede that chapter. The reason for placing the chapter entitled “Pagodas and Images” after the chapter entitled “The Rise of the Dharma” is that we must assume that the pagodas and images were built only after the introduction of Buddhism.

If the *Samguk yusa* arranges its contents in such an elaborate fashion, we should not consider it to be simply a “collection of anecdotes and hearsay.” Rather, it should be regarded as a perfect history book. We then need to ask again what kind of history the *Samguk yusa* aimed at describing. Now, we must take notice, above all, of the fact that most of the materials included in that history are concerned with Buddhism of the Three Kingdoms. Putting aside chapter 1 “Royal Chronicles” as it just contains chronicles, in chapter 2 “Wonders” we see that it frequently refers to Buddhist motives after the story of “Shooting Arrows at the Zither Case” (射琴匣) that occurred during the reign of the twenty-first ruler of Silla, King Bicheo 毗處 (r. 479–500). All the stories included in chapter 3 “The Rise of the Dharma” through chapter 9 “Filial Piety and Buddhist Good” are related directly or indirectly to Buddhism except for the two stories (“Mulgyeja” 勿稽子在 chapter 8 “Seclusion” and “Saji Hyangdeuk’s Offering Flesh of Thigh to His Parents” [向得舍知割股供親] in chapter 9).⁶ In particular, these stories are mainly concerned with Buddhism of Silla. Although chapter 3 “The Rise of the Dharma” has some stories on the introduction of Buddhism in the Three Kingdoms, stories on the flourishing of Silla Buddhism are dominant. In chapter 4 “Pagodas and Images,” too, all but three of the twenty-nine stories are related to Silla; in chapter 5 “Exegetes” through chapter 9 “Filial Piety and Buddhist Good” all the stories are concerned with the Silla people with the exception of one story on the Baekje people.⁷ In this respect, Prof. Kim Yeongtae maintains that although the *Samguk yusa* is truly a Buddhist history, it is still “an early history of Korean Buddhist culture that centers around the Silla period” in terms of its overall characteristics (because two non-Buddhist stories are included in chapter 3 “The Rise of the Dharma”

and thereafter).⁸

I have also greatly benefited from Prof. Kim's above analysis. But I would like to add one more aspect to take into consideration. Here, I suggest that we compare the *Samguk yusa's* descriptions with those of the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* by Yi Gyubo. We then see that the motivations of the two works are surprisingly similar. First, the preface to chapter 2 "Wonders" of the *Samguk yusa* begins with the following passage.

I would say in general, when ancient sages first established their country with [correct] rituals and set up their teachings with benevolence and righteousness, extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings were considered things should not be told. However, when an emperor was just about to rise to power, he received the heavenly mandate as well as secret images and books so that he was different from ordinary people. Only thereafter could he take avail of great changes, controlling [those of] great capacity, and accomplish great feats. (敘曰 大抵古之聖人 方其禮樂興邦 仁義設教 則怪力亂神 在所不語. 然而帝王之將興也 膺符命受圖籙 必有以異於人者 然後 能乘大變 握大器 成大業也.)

In other words, when ancient sages were to establish a new country with proper rituals, it was a rule to refrain from mentioning the extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings. But a new king's rise to power, the author states, was accompanied by the receiving of the heavenly mandate and secret images and books, which was followed by seizing the opportunity of great changes, marshalling those of great capacity, and the accomplishment of great feats. This is the same position as that of Yi Gyubo who says, in the preface to the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon*, "As our previous master Zhongni 仲尼 (i.e., Confucius [traditionally dated 551–479 BCE]) did not mention extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings," he also considered the wondrous feats of King Dongmyeong to be nonsensical. He, however, goes on to say that such wondrous feats were not "ghostly illusions" (*gwihwan* 鬼幻), and eventually affirms them as "divine traces

of establishing a nation.”

The above passage from the *Samguk yusa* is then followed by an enumeration of the Yellow River Chart (Ch. Hetu 河圖) and the Inscription of the River Luo (Ch. Luoshu 洛書), as well as marvelous birth tales of ancient Chinese emperors such as Fuxi 伏羲, Shennong 神農, Xiaohao 少昊, Xie 契 (founder of the Yin 殷 dynasty), Qi 弃 (founder of the Zhou 周 dynasty), Yao 堯,⁹ Pei 沛 (founder of the Han dynasty or Gaozu 高祖, Liu Bang 劉邦 [r. 202–195 BCE]), etc. This is also identical with the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon*'s allusion to the mystic genesis of ancient China, the auspicious signs as referred to in the birth tales of the Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors (Ch. Sanhuang wudi 三皇五帝) as well as Gaozu of the Han dynasty, Liu Bang or Duke Pei, which ends with a comment that “from the ancient times the appearance of great emperors are exuberantly accompanied by auspicious signs.” Therefore, it can be said that the *Samguk yusa* was written with the same motive as the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon*. But the *Samguk yusa* is distinguished from the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* in that the latter features only one person as its protagonist, the founder of Goguryeo, whereas the former deals with all founders of the Three Kingdoms. The following excerpt from the preface of the *Samguk yusa* demonstrates this.

Therefore, the founders of the Three Kingdoms all emerged from wonders. How could those stories be considered weird? The reason for recording these wonders at the beginning of all chapters is to reveal such an intent here. (然則 三國之始祖 皆發乎神異 何足怪哉. 此紀異之所以備諸篇也 意在斯焉.)

We see that the intent of the *Samguk yusa*'s preface, which does not restrict its scope only to one person, King Dongmyeong, but encompasses in its purview all founders of the Three Kingdoms, is more represented in chapter 2 “Wonders.” Here, not only the founders of the Three Kingdoms, but also all their rulers, as well as those starting with Old Joseon as the earliest and those of Later Baekje and Garak

as the latest, are mentioned. The next parts, chapter 3 “The Rise of the Dharma” through chapter 8 “Filial Piety and Buddhist Good” have a similar nature to “Miscellaneous Records” and “Biographies” in the *Samguk sagi* in that these chapters are subordinate to “Annals.” In other words, as mentioned above, these chapters are like sequels to chapter 2 “Wonders.” Then, we could be led to think that whereas the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* restricted its records of wonders only to the one person of King Dongmyeong, the *Samguk yusa* aimed at describing all the wonders of the Three Kingdoms completely in terms of history.

Here, I have no choice but to consider that things related to Buddhism occupy a great portion of the *Samguk yusa*. As described above, chapter 2 “Wonders” frequently refers to events with a Buddhist background after the story of “Shooting Arrows at the Zither Case.” Moreover, many chapters from “The Rise of the Dharma” to “Filial Piety and Buddhist Good” seem to intend to represent the process through which Buddhism was introduced in the Three Kingdoms (“The Rise of the Dharma”), how “Pagodas and Images” were made, how Buddhist doctrines were understood (“Exegetes”), how ancient shamanistic cults were subsumed under Buddhist faith (“Divine Spells,” “Sympathetic Resonance,” and “Seclusion”), and finally how Buddhism became established as social ethics (“Filial Piety and Buddhist Good”). Then, if the author’s aim was to describe the wonders of the Three Kingdoms completely, what is the reason for bringing into relief aspects of the introduction of Buddhism and its circulation in the Three Kingdoms?

In answering this question, we need to refer to the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* once again. The reason why Yi Gyubo admired the wonders of King Dongmyeong is, as mentioned before, that he was aware that it was not a nonsensical “ghostly illusion,” but fundamentally of “divine sanctity.” He realized that in a historical situation of his times a spiritual power that could create an independent history of the nation was to be found only in the dimension of “divine nature.” At this point, we must think about what “divine nature” concretely refers to. To reveal its identity, we cannot but examine what ancient shamanism, which

existed prior to the introduction of Buddhism, was like. For “divine nature” in the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* was established on such religious system of faith.

I once attempted to understand the Donggi 東夷 tribe's ancient religions systematically. The conclusion drawn from this study can be summarized in one sentence: their ancient religions were shamanistic cults (*mugyo* 巫教) that took the heavenly emperor (Cheonje 天帝) as the highest controlling deity.¹⁰ It seems that under such belief system, new leaders of the tribal federations claimed themselves to be sons of the heavenly emperor, who descended to earth by a heavenly mandate (*cheonmyeong* 天命), thereby aiming at establishing absolute authority. Or it may be reasonable to think that a council of the tribal federations chose those new leaders and that a shamanistic ritual then bestowed a heavenly mandate on them.

Whatever procedure was taken for the election of new leaders, the founding ancestors of the Three Kingdoms were those newly emerging leaders of states that were based on tribal federations. Then, it seems unavoidable that their birth should be associated with a sort of marvelous oviparous myth. If they are identified as sons of the heavenly deity who descended to earth with a heavenly mandate, their birth must be represented as a result of the earthly matrix's receiving the influence (*gam* 感) of the heaven's male spirit (*ungjeong* 雄精; i.e., *iljeong* 日精 [sun spirit]). In other words, the concept of “divine sanctity” as appearing in the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* can be said to be based on the shamanistic cults of the heavenly deity.

If we consider the “divine sanctity” of the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* in this line of thought, we realize that such a shamanistic concept of divine sanctity alone is not enough to describe the history. For with the introduction of Buddhism the traditional shamanistic concept of divine sanctity, which had been shared by the Three Kingdoms, must have undergone considerable transformation. To be more specific, one of the important causes that propelled the Three Kingdoms to accept Buddhism was the newly emerging collateral royalty's effort to dismantle the ideological foundation of the traditional aristocracy,

which had formed around the main royal lineage.¹¹ In this respect, it is noteworthy that Buddhism of the Three Kingdoms period, under the absolute royal support, made strenuous efforts to embrace the previous shamanistic cults within itself.¹² Therefore, in the mid-Goryeo period when the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* and the *Samguk yusa* were compiled, if we consider the Dongi tribe's ancient shamanism alone for historical purview, it must be seen as insufficient. For an [enormous] dimension of the sacred spirit must have been employed to create the national history of Korea independently at that time. We must thus examine a new concept of divine sanctity which was formed in the process in which shamanistic cults were assimilated into Buddhism.

In this respect, could Iryeon's systematic collection in the *Samguk yusa* of historical materials, which are concerned with the introduction and spread of Buddhism, not be attributed to his awareness of such limitations of the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon*? Here, we also need to note that whereas Yi Gyubo had an ideological background that put Confucianism and Buddhism on equal terms, Iryeon was one of the representative Buddhist monks of his times. Moreover, the *Samguk yusa* expressly demonstrates how the traditional concept of divine sanctity was transformed in a Buddhist fashion and how Iryeon approved such process. Now, we will examine this process in a more detailed manner.

As stated above, the concept of divine sanctity of the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* was based on the shamanistic cult of the heavenly emperor (Cheonje 天帝). But we see that this heavenly lord (Haneul-im) was accommodated as the Buddhist deity called Jeseokcheon 帝釋天 (Skt. Śakra Devānām Indra). The first occurrence of such cases can be seen in the following excerpt from the story entitled "Heaven Bestows a Jade Belt" (天賜玉帶), which appears in chapter 2 "Wonders" of the *Samguk yusa*, fascicle 1.

In the first reign year a messenger from heaven descended to the court and addressed the king, saying "The emperor in the upper realm ordered me to bestow this jade belt upon you." The king himself then knelt and received it. Thereafter, the messenger ascended to heaven and the king

always wore it at grand memorial services held in an outdoor shrine. (即位元年 有天使降於殿庭 謂王曰 上皇 命我傳賜玉帶 王 親奉跪受 然後其使上天 凡郊廟大祀 皆服之。)

According to this story, the twentieth-six ruler King Jinpyeong 眞平 (r. 579–632) received a jade belt given by the heavenly emperor in his first reign year and always wore it at grand memorial services in an outdoor shrine. Here, the “emperor in the upper realm” (*sanghwang* 上皇) refers to Jeseokcheon. As “Jeseok(-cheon)” is frequently rendered as “Cheonje” in Buddhist scriptures, it can be identified with “Cheonhwang” (heavenly emperor; both *je* 帝 and *hwang* 皇 refer to an emperor). Moreover, King Jinpyeong was named “Baekjeong” 白淨, a rendering of “Śuddhodana (Pā. Suddhodana)” which is the name of Śākyamuni’s father; a Buddhist temple built on his order was named “Nae Jeseokgung” 內帝釋宮 (a.k.a. Cheonjusa 天柱寺 Temple).¹³ These two facts suggest that he venerated Jeseokcheon as an object of his religious belief.

In “Queen Seondeok Knows Three Signs” (善德王知幾三事), a story that comes immediately after “Heaven Bestows a Jade Belt,” we see another Buddhist motif. Here, it is said that the twenty-seventh ruler Queen Seondeok 善德 (r. 632–647; personal name Deokman 德曼) predicted her day of death in her lifetime and requested that she be buried in the Trāyastrīṃśā (Dori cheon 仞利天). When asked where the Trāyastrīṃśā was located, she answered it was south of Nangsan 狼山 Mountain. Thereafter, on the predicted day she passed away and was buried in accordance with her will. The Trāyastrīṃśā (second heaven of the desire realm) is, it should be emphasized, none other than the residence of Jeseokcheon.

Such descriptions of Jeseokcheon as seen in chapter “Wonders” of the *Samguk yusa* continue to appear regularly in the following stories. “King Jindeok” (眞德王) features Gim Yusin 金庾信 (595–673) and this entry is followed by the story of “Gim Yusin.” Here, he is depicted as a descendant of Chunam 楸南, a famous shaman of Goguryeo. But the next story of “Taejong, the Lord Chunchu” (太宗春秋公) is concluded

with the statement that “one from the Heaven of the Thirty-Three (Samsipsam cheon 三十三天) came down to Silla and became the man Gim Yusin.” It goes without saying that the “Heaven of the Thirty-Three” is a translation of the Sanskrit word “Trāyastriṃśa,” Indra’s (Jeseok) residence.

Chapter 2 “Wonders” of the *Samguk yusa*, fascicle 1, ends with a short introduction of a *hwarang* (lit. “flowering youth”) in “Jangchun, the Hwarang” (長春郎). Next, at the beginning of fascicle 2 comes “King Munho, Beommin” (文虎王法敏) and we find two references to Jeseokcheon here. The first concerns Dharma Master Myeongnang’s 明朗 (d.u.) establishment of Sacheonwangsa 四天王寺 Temple in Sinyurim 神遊林 Forest south of Nangsan Mountain (the same temple was re-established in the nineteenth reign year [679] of King Munmu 文武 [r. 661–680]) and Myeongnang’s expulsion of the Tang soldiers. Here, “Sacheonwang” 四天王, namely “Four Heavenly Kings” indicates the heavenly kings who guard and serve Jeseokcheon, and their residence, the Heaven of the Four Heavenly Kings (Skt. Cātur-mahārāja-kāyika), is located on the mountainside just below of the top of Mountain Sumeru. At this point, we need to ask why Sacheonwangsa Temple was established in Sinyurim Forest south of Nangsan Mountain, which is just below the tomb of Queen Seondeok. Iryeon is extolling the fact that the temple’s establishment wonderfully tallies with the queen’s prophesy,¹⁴ for above the Heaven of the Four Heavenly Kings is located the Heaven of the Thirty-Three in the Buddhist cosmology.

The second reference to Jeseokcheon in “King Munho, Beommin” is associated with King Munmu, who used to tell Dharma Master Jiui 智義 (d.u.) about his vow “to become a great guardian dragon (*yongwang* 龍王) after his death for the purpose of venerating the Buddha dharma and protecting the state” and was buried in water on a big boulder called Daewangam 大王巖 Rock in East Sea. Combined with the dragon king’s status as one of the retinue of the Four Heavenly Kings¹⁵ and Queen Seondeok’s “burial in heaven,” King Munmu’s burial in water can be considered to have aimed at a perfect embodiment of the Jeseokcheon system.

Next comes the story of “A Flute for Pacifying the Waves” (萬波息笛). Here, it is also mentioned that on his enthronement the thirty-first ruler King Sinmun 神文 (r. 681–692) established Gameunsa 感恩寺 Temple for his predecessor King Munmu and that in Gameunsa he received a jade belt and the Flute for Pacifying the Waves (Manpa sikjeok 萬波息笛) from the two sages of King Munmu (now in the guise of a dragon king that protects East Sea) and Gim Yusin (now residing in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three). Considering that Silla came into a new epoch of unification of the Three Kingdoms during the reign of King Sinmun, the jade belt seems to symbolize the unified kingdoms¹⁶ and the Flute for Pacifying the Waves can be regarded as indicating the auspicious sign that the new epoch should be ruled in the voice [of a sage king].¹⁷

In this manner, a series of stories from “Heaven Bestows a Jade Belt” of King Jinpyeong to “A Flute for Pacifying the Waves” of King Sinmun demonstrate how the traditional and shamanistic notion of heavenly deity was incorporated into the concept of Jeseokcheon and how the Jeseokcheon system was perfectly established in which the Four Heavenly Kings and dragons are included. It may be said that assimilation of the shamanistic Haneul-im into Jeseokcheon was made possible due to Jeseokcheon's being closest to the traditional Haneul-im among many Buddhist heavenly deities, including Brahma (Beom 梵). Even in the Vedic literature, Indra (i.e., Jeseokcheon) appears as the lord (Skt. *indra*) of the heavenly deities (Skt. *devānām*) and as the god of justice and victory who rules over the world, just as Haneul-im (i.e., Cheonje) of the Dongi tribe occupies such position.

Even though Haneul-im was thus incorporated into Jeseokcheon, however, the traditional ideology of divine sanctity was not entirely sacrificed. The notion that King Jinpyeong received a jade belt from the heavenly emperor is not a purely Buddhist one; it should be seen as continuing the shamanistic thought of heavenly mandate. In the case of King Seo Eon who got a vermilion bow and a vermilion arrow from heaven¹⁸ and Dan'gun who also received three seals that tallied with a heavenly mandate (*cheonbu in* 天符印), Iryeon comments, “When a

king is just about to rise to power, he receives the heavenly mandate and secret images and books” in his preface to chapter 2 “Wonders.” From such examples where the traditional notion of Haneul-im was replaced with that of Jeseokcheon while the concept of divine sanctity was still maintained, we discern peculiar modes in which Silla introduced Buddhism. In examining how the notion of divine sanctity changed in the Three Kingdoms period, we must pay attention to this point in particular.

In this respect, it is necessary to reappraise the story of King Jinpyeong entitled “Heaven Bestows a Jade Belt.” From the perspective of history, this story seems to be imbued with as much significance as the oviparous birth tales of Jumong and Bak Hyeokgeose. The fact that Iryeon’s only eulogy is attached to this story seems to justify this reappraisal. As mentioned above, the *Samguk sagi* includes the author’s comments in the form of “*nonwal*” which demonstrate the author’s historical viewpoint. In an entry entitled “Fifth Reign Year of King Gyeongmyeong” of the “Annals of Silla” chapter included in the *Samguk sagi*, fascicle 12, we find the author’s harsh criticism of King Jinpyeong’s receiving from heaven of the jade belt and the three jewels for protecting the state. In the *Haedong goseung-jeon* similar remarks to those critical comments of “*nonwal*” appear in the form of “*chanwal*” 贊曰, meaning “I praise . . .” In the *Samguk yusa*, too, we find many occurrences of “*chanwal*.” But in its “Wonders” chapter we can find only one case in which the author uses the expression “*chanwal*,” which is followed by these verses.

Outside of the clouds heaven bestowed a jade belt,
Which fitted well with the king’s royal robe.
From this time, the body of our lord will become heavier.
In accordance with this standard, he will make stone steps in iron.
(雲外天頒玉帶圍 辟雍龍袞雅相宜。
吾君自其身彌重 淮擬明朝鐵作墀。)

What is the reason for the praise of Iryeon who must have been keenly

aware of the *Samguk sagi's* criticisms on the jade belt story? I think that the above passage well suggests Iryeon's evaluation of the story and his intention of compiling the *Samguk yusa*.

Besides, I can guess at the reason why the story of King Beopheung is included in chapter 3 "The Rise of the Dharma." For the concept of Haneul-im to be accepted into the Jeseokcheon system, diverse efforts for promoting Buddhism must have been worked out in advance. Such foundational efforts, however, cannot be included in chapter 2 "Wonders," for this chapter begins with miraculous events, such as the receiving of a heavenly mandate by Dan'gun or the founding ancestors of the Three Kingdoms, and mainly contains such stories. When it comes to the compilation of the *Samguk yusa*, Iryeon did not place a story of King Beopheung in the "Wonders" chapter, but set up a separate chapter entitled "The Rise of the Dharma" which corresponds to "Biographies" (in Sima Qian's *Shiji*), thereby alluding to the king in an entry entitled "Wonjong's Promotion of Dharma" (原宗興法) in that chapter. Could Iryeon's arrangement of the story not be ascribed to such consideration [into the logical sequence of historical events related to the introduction of Buddhism]?

Taking this one step further, it seems that we can trace the historical background against which the concept of heavenly mandate, now with a Buddhist tinge, was associated with King Jinpyeong. Since the twenty-fifth ruler King Jinji 眞智 (r. 576–579; named Saryun 舍輪 [meaning "iron wheel" and identical with "*cheollyun*" 鐵輪]) succeeded King Beopheung (r. 514–540) and King Jinheung 眞興 (r. 540–576), the concept of heavenly mandate that had been incorporated into a Buddhist framework could have been linked with him. His behavior was, however, unbecoming to his name Saryun which meant "iron wheel." As stated in the *Samguk yusa*, "he ruled the country in a disordered manner and led a life of debauchery" (*jeongnan hwangeum* 政亂荒淫), which led to his dethronement by the people only four years after his ascended to the throne.¹⁹ Here, we need to pay attention to the fact that King Jinji was associated with the tale of "Lady Peach Blossom (Dohwa) and Her Son Bihyeong" that features a shamanistic

motif of conjuring ghosts. For him, such an association is to be seen as appropriate. But how about King Jinpyeong (named Baekjeong)? During his fifty-four-year reign (579–632), he protected the Buddha dharma from external attacks and increased national power. Besides, all of his successors—Queen Seondeok, Queen Jindeok 眞德 (r. 647–654), King Muyeol 武烈 (i.e., Taejong 太宗 [r. 654–661]), King Munmu, and King Sinmun—continued to accomplish the sacred mission of dharma protection and eventually contributed to unifying the Three Kingdoms. If we consider this Buddhist version of heavenly mandate, how could it possibly be associated with a ruler other than King Jinpyeong?

Only when we take the abovementioned historical factors into consideration can we guess at Iryeon's motive of compiling the *Samguk yusa*. It seems certain that he found problematic the traditional shamanistic concept of divine sanctity Yi Gyubo had endorsed for independent creation of national history. Then, is it not possible to say that he tried to present in a historical context as faithfully as possible the fact that the shamanistic concept came to take a new religious dimension with the introduction of Buddhism? In other words, we can say that Iryeon's compilation of the *Samguk yusa* was an effort to make a systematic presentation of the ancient history of the Korean people in terms of the mind's manifestation.

C

Formation of the Dan'gun Myth and Iryeon's Attitude

Iryeon's conscious effort at systematically presenting the sacred history of the Korean people as the mind's manifestation can be clearly seen in the process in which the Dan'gun myth was formed and in the perspective from which he viewed that process. The Dan'gun myth has been investigated from many different angles, and so many interpretations have accumulated over time that a mere introduction to them would constitute a book-length work. In general, they can be mainly classified into two types. The first one is to acknowledge the historicity of the Dan'gun myth as far as this is possible; the second one is to regard it as one of the nation-building myths that were formed in later periods.²⁰ In my humble view, these two aspects are relevant for the present form of the Dan'gun myth. Now, I will present my own view briefly.

First, I would like to consider many aspects that support the thesis that the Dan'gun myth was formed in later periods. Although an entry entitled "Old Joseon" (古朝鮮) in the *Samguk yusa*, fascicle 1, has a statement saying, "According to the *Weishu* 魏書 (History of the Wei), two thousand years ago there existed Dan'gun Wanggeom" (魏書云하되 乃往二千載에 有壇君王儉이라), the present version of the *Weishu* does not have such a statement and other Chinese histories never include an entry related to Dan'gun. Therefore, we may say at this point that the Dan'gun myth was established in later periods. But this cannot be an absolute reason for that thesis, as other birth myths of such persons as Bak Hyeokgeose and Gim Suro also do not appear in the Chinese sources. Regarding this issue, I would like to provide the following interpretation: as Silla and Garak were situated in the southern extreme of the Korean Peninsula, these nations had relatively small chances to be known in China. But it still implies that the Dan'gun myth

[whose provenance (i.e., Pyeongyang) is by contrast presumed to be geographically close to China] was formed so late that it was not known to the compilers of such history texts as the *Shiji*, the *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han), and the *San'guo zhi* 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms).

The nation-building myths of the Dongi tribe that appeared in the earliest Chinese historical sources are the birth myth of Seo Eon (Ch. Xu Yan) 徐偃 (d.u.) of the Seoi 徐夷 tribe and that of the founder (i.e., King Dongmyeong) of Northern Buyeo. King Seo Eon was referred to two times in the *Shiji*²¹ and was also given a detailed introduction in the “Separate Legends of the Dongi” (東夷別傳) section of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han), fascicle 2. According to these sources, King Seo Eon is a historical person who commanded the nine Yi 夷 tribes and fought against Zhou 周 during the reign of King Mu 穆 (r. 976–922 BCE). King Mu is said to have “feared Seo Eon’s fierce expansion and thus meted out part of his land, originally entrusted to the feudal lords in the east, to Seo Eon so that the latter presided over that land.” Seo Eon is then said to have “occupied the eastern part of Huangchi 潢池, which extended to 500 *li* 里, and ruled it with benevolence and righteousness (Ch. *renyi* 仁義), causing thirty-six countries to come to his court.” It thus seems that his rule exerted an enormous influence. The *Shiji* and the *Hou Hanshu*, however, describe King Seo Eon as being defeated by King Mu with the assistance of Zaofu 造父 (ca. 950 BCE; founding ancestor of the Zhao 趙 family). But we cannot acknowledge it as a historical fact, for the *Hou Hanshu*’s above description of Seo Eon’s rule is immediately followed by this passage:

He (i.e., King Mu) then ordered Zaofu to notify Chu so that it could attack [Seo Eon]. When [the latter] arrived in Chu in a day, King Wen 文 (r. 689–675 BCE) of Chu then mustered a great army and defeated him. (乃使造父 御以告楚令伐 一日而至 於是 楚文王 大舉兵而滅之.)

Here, King Mu is said to have ordered Zaofu to inform King Wen of

Chu that Seo Eon would arrive, thereby bringing about the latter's defeat. But King Wen of Chu was a person who was active almost 300 years after King Mu of Zhou.* Then, it should be reasonable to think that the Seo tribe's country ruled by King Seo Eon lasted about 300 years after its establishment and that it perished during the time of King Wen of Chu.²² Yet, we find King Seo Eon to be associated with the following birth tale.

The *Bowu zhi* 博物志 (Records of Diverse Matters) says, "When a court lady in Lord Seo's (Ch. Xu) palace conceived and gave birth to an egg, they took it to be inauspicious, abandoning it on the waterside. A lonely maid had a dog named Gokchang (Ch. Hucang), which obtained the abandoned egg and brought it in its mouth back to the maid. The maid then covered and warmed it until it eventually became a little boy. As he lay [on his back] when he was born, he was so named. The court lady heard it and documented that [event]. When he grew up, he succeeded the kingship and became a lord of the Seo [tribe]." (博物志曰 徐君宮人 娠而生卵 以爲不祥 棄於水濱. 孤獨母 有犬名鵠倉 持[sic: should be "得"]所棄卵 銜以歸母 母覆煖之 遂成小兒. 生而偃故 以爲名 宮人聞之 乃更錄取 長襲爲徐君.)²³

That is, a court lady of Lord Seo is said to have laid an egg. As a kid hatched out from the egg [and lay on his back], he was named Eon 偃 (meaning "leaning" or "lying") of the Seo [tribe]. It is also said that he opened a waterway (通溝) between Chen 陳 and Cai 蔡* and that he obtained a vermilion bow and a vermilion arrow which were to be considered heavenly auspices.²⁴

Now, we will proceed from the tale of King Seo Eon to that of King Dongmyeong of the ancient kingdom of Northern Buyeo. This tale is relatively well known to us, and we find the following narrative from "A Record of Fuyu (Kr. Buyeo)" (夫餘傳), included in the *San'guo zhi* 三國志, fascicle 30, entitled *Weishu* 魏書 (History of the Wei), which again refers to the *Weilüe* 魏略 (A Brief History of the Wei).

The *Weilüe* says, “According to old records, again, in ancient times there existed a country called Haoli in the north. When a court lady was pregnant, the king wanted to kill the baby. The lady said that a force of a rooster came down to her and that made her pregnant. When she gave birth to a baby later, the king then abandoned the baby in a filthy place. But the pigs warmed the baby with their noses. When he was moved to a stable, the horses also saved him by blowing their breath on him. The king suspected that the baby was a son of heaven and then ordered his mother to raise him. The baby was named Dongmyeong...” (魏略曰 舊志又言 昔北方 有高豪離之國者 其王者侍婢有身 王欲殺之. 其婢云 有氣如鷄子來下 我故 有身. 後生子 王捐之於溷中 豬以喙噓之 徙至馬閑 馬以氣噓之 不死. 王疑以為天子也 乃令其母收畜之 名曰東明...) ²⁵

This tale also came to be included in the “Country of Fuyu (Kr. Buyeo)” (夫餘國) chapter of the *Hou Hanshu*, fascicle 85, with minor modifications of some characters. Here, the narrative in both sources can be summarized as follows: in ancient times there existed a country called Haoli 豪離 (or Suoli 索離) in the north. When the king’s court lady received the force of a heavenly rooster (Ch. *jīqì* 鷄氣) and gave birth to a son, he was named Dongmyeong. Being afraid of Dongmyeong’s ability in rearing horses and shooting arrows, the king tried to get rid of him. Dongmyeong then fled to the south, crossing the water of Shiyan 施掩 (or Yanbiao 掩澆), reaching Fuyu (Kr. Buyeo) and becoming a king there. In the *Record of Zhulin* (i.e., Daoshi’s 道世 [d. 683] *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林) quoted in the “Goguryeo” entry of the *Samguk yusa*, fascicle 1, the king of the Haoli tribe’s country is identified as Ningbingli (Kr. Yeongpumni) 寧稟離. ²⁶

When we compare the above two versions of the tale, however, we find an unusual relationship between them. King Seo Eon and King Dongmyeong are both born of a court lady; the latter’s “impregnation by the force of a rooster (*gyegi* 鷄氣)” is linked to the former’s “oviparous birth”; the former’s “vermillion bow and vermillion arrow is associated with the latter’s ability in shooting arrows.” ²⁷ Therefore, it can be said that there exist critical associations between them. How can we then

explain such associations? In the same paragraph where the above citation from the *Hou Hanshu* appears, it is said that when Wuyi 武乙 (twenty-eighth ruler of the Shang 商 or Yin 殷; ca. twelfth century BCE) declined, the Dongyi (Kr. Donggi) invaded [China] fiercely and moved to an area of the Huai 淮 and Dai 岱 regions, gradually occupying the middle land. It is certain that the Seoi tribe belonged to a branch of the Dongi tribe. It seems then that these two tribes (Seoi and Dongi) were not so different in their origins and religious foundations. This would also explain their common features, as seen in the birth tales of the two kings.

We have stated that the Seoi tribe perished during the reign of King Wen of Chu. Thereafter, during the reign of King Haeburu 解夫婁 (r. ?–60 BCE) the country of Buyeo moved to “Gaseop won 迦葉原 (Kaśyapa’s plain), located on the shore of East Sea (東海濱), which had fertile soil and was suitable for farming the five grains,”²⁸ and was renamed Eastern Buyeo (Dong Buyeo 東扶餘). Prince Geumwa 金蛙 then succeeded the throne after Buru’s 夫婁 (i.e., Haeburu) demise. But Jumong 朱蒙 (r. 58–19 BCE), born of Haeburu and Yuhwa 柳花,²⁹ was aware that his life was being threatened and fled to the south. When he reached Jolbon 卒本 Buyeo (Jolbon River or the city of Seunggol 升骨), he married with a daughter of the king of that region³⁰ and established Goguryeo. Here, Jumong gave birth to two sons named Biryu 沸流 and Onjo 溫祚. When another son of his, Yuri 琉璃 (Yuryu 儒留 or Yuri 類利 [r. 19 BCE–18 CE]; born of a lady with the family name Ye 禮), whom he had left behind in Eastern Buyeo, succeeded the throne, however, these two sons fled to the south and reached Hansan 漢山, where they established Baekje. In this way, Northern Buyeo branched out into the three countries of Eastern Buyeo, Goguryeo, and Baekje.

What is interesting about this is that as the three countries derived from Northern Buyeo, the abovementioned tale of King Dongmyeong of Northern Buyeo developed and came to be linked to the founding ancestors of the three countries. We can see the first phase of such development of the King Dongmyeong tale in the “Gaojuli (Kr. Goguryeo)” (高句麗) chapter of the *Liangshu* 梁書 (History of the Liang),

fascicle 54. Here, the tale of King Dongmyeong, included in the *San'guo zhi*'s citation from the *Weilue* and the *Hou Hanshu*'s "Country of Fuyu" chapter, appears in an entry on Goguryeo with the concluding remark that says, "Their descendants separately became the Goguryeo race" (其後支別爲句麗種也). Then, to what extent has the same narrative changed in the "Gaojuli" entry included in the *Weishu*, fascicle 100? Here, Jumong's mother is identified as a daughter of Habaek 河伯 (water spirit) and is said to have been confined in a room by the order of Buyeo's ruler (in the *Samguk sagi* he is identified as Geumwa). She is then said to have received the sun's illumination and laid an egg as big as five *sheng* (Kr. *seung*) 升. Even though the king was uneasy about that egg and discarded it, such animals as dogs, hogs, cows, horses, and even birds protected it. When the egg was returned to its mother, it is said, a baby boy broke the shell and came out of it. The boy was named Jumong (meaning "ability in archery" [善射]) as he was good at shooting an arrow when he grew up. Moreover, he also demonstrated his ability in rearing horses. As this aroused suspicion in the mind of the king and the Buyeo people (identified as Geumwa's sons in the *Samguk sagi*), they intended to kill him and so he fled to the south together with two persons called Oin 烏引 and Owi 烏違 (identified as three persons, i.e., Oi 烏伊, Mari 摩離, and Hyeopbo 陝父 in the *Samguk sagi*). When they were blocked by the water of the Da (Kr. Dae) 大 (referred to as "Water of Eompyo 掩滂" or "Water of Gaesa 蓋斯" in the *Samguk sagi*), Jumong shouted, "I am a son of the sun (a son of the heavenly emperor [天帝子] in the *Samguk sagi*) and Habaek's grandchild," and fish and turtles rose to the river surface to make a bridge for them to cross the water to the other shore. It is further said that when they arrived at the water of Bosul 普述 (Modun 毛屯 valley in the *Samguk sagi*), they met three persons named Jaeun 再恩, Mugol 武骨, and Sugeo 獸居 and then reached Heulseunggol 訖升骨 (referred to as Jolbon River in the *Samguk sagi*), finally establishing Goguryeo there. The same narrative with some omissions goes on to appear in the "Gaojuli" section of the *Zhoushu* 周書 (History of the Zhou, fasc. 49), the *Beishu* 北書 (History of the Northern Dynasties, fasc. 94), and the *Suishu* 隋書 (History

of the Sui, fasc. 81), as well as in the King Gwanggaeto 廣開土 Stele. Compared with the tales of King Seo Eon and King Dongmyeong, the narrative of Jumong can be seen as a significant development accomplished on the basis of these two tales.

In the process of such development, a profound reflection of religious faith in the sun god is noteworthy. It has been suggested that the “oviparous birth” of King Seo Eon and the “impregnation by the force of a rooster (*gyegi* 鷄氣)” of the court lady of the Haoli country are identical in their narrative texture. In the tale of Jumong, however, they are transformed into a motif that “Habaek’s daughter receives the illumination of the sun.” As a rooster is an animal that announces the ascent of the sun with his crowing, it has a close relation with the sun. When a religious cult for the sun god prevails, then a rooster will be considered a spiritual being residing in the realm of empty space (*gonggye* 空界). Therefore, it can be said that the force of a rooster is the sun spirit (*iljeong* 日精) or the sun’s illumination. Of course, the sun god can be further developed into the idea of heavenly lord (Haneul-im) or heavenly emperor (Cheonje 天帝). It is because the sun has a status comparable to the king in the heavenly body. From this perspective, Jumong can be regarded as “a son of the sun” or “a son of the heavenly emperor.” In this respect, it is noteworthy that he referred to himself as “a son of the sun,” “a son of the heavenly emperor” when he arrived in the Water of Eompyo.

The designation of Jumong’s mother as “Habaek’s daughter” (河伯女) also seems to have reflected the concept of the god at that time. It can be said that key industries in ancient society were agriculture and stock raising. But what had an absolute impact on agriculture and stock raising was rain and wind; [it was believed that] a dragon had control of rain and wind. Therefore, a dragon universally appeared in ancient religions. But what can be said of the cold regions of the north such as the Haoli country and Northern Buyeo? In such a region, agriculture would have been almost impossible, and the main industry seems to have been fishing. Therefore, it is possible that the river god was venerated as an object of belief in such a region; if religious beliefs called

for the selection of totems, then fish and turtle would be the obvious choice. A daughter of the water spirit (Habaek) thus came to be seen as a daughter of the river god, and from Jumong's birth tale was formed a sacred religious concept of the sun spirit's influence upon the female water god.*

The development of King Dongmyeong's tale does not stop at this point. What constitutes the core of the idea of god in the tale of Jumong is "the sun's illumination" (*sojo* 所照) or "solar shade" (*iryong* 日影). It seems that this concept was personified and gave rise to the divine entity called "Haemosu" 解慕漱. The annals of King Dongmyeong, included in the *Samguk sagi*, fascicle 13, and the "Goguryeo" entry, included in the *Samguk yusa*, fascicle 1, have the following record of Haemosu.

In the old capital city was a person whose origin was not known. But he referred to himself as a son of the heavenly emperor Haemosu and came to the city. . . . He seduced me (Yuhwa, Habaek's daughter) in a house at the shore of Amnokgang River under Ungsim-san Mountain. Having had a private relationship with me, he went and did not return. (其舊都 有人不知所從來 自稱天帝子解慕漱 來都焉. . . 誘我[河伯女柳花] 於熊心山下 鴨綠邊室中 私之 即往不返.)

That is, after Haeburu moved the capital to a different city in the east, a person who referred to himself as "a son of the heavenly emperor Haemosu" came to the old capital city and established his own. It goes on to say that he had illicit intercourse with Yuhwa, daughter of Habaek (water spirit), in a room at the shore of Amnokgang 鴨綠江 River under Ungsim-san 熊心山 Mountain³¹ and disappeared without leaving behind any clue about his whereabouts. Thereafter, Habaek's daughter is said to have been confined in a room by King Geumwa of Eastern Buyeo. She is, however, said to have received the sun's illumination and given birth to Jumong in an egg. If we take *hae* in the word Haemosu to be an equivalent of the Donggi word meaning "sun" and *mosu* in the same word to mean "illumine" (*jo* 照) or "male" (*ung* 雄) in the Donggi language, Haemosu will be understood as a personification of

“sun spirit” (*iljeong* 日精). Yi Gyubo's *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* and a citation from the *Gu Samguk sa* show a more developed form of the narrative according to which Haemosu, the son of heaven, rode on a vehicle pulled by five dragons (*oryonggeo* 五龍車) and descended to earth together with about a hundred attendants. He is then said to have stayed in the human world in the morning and resided in the heavenly palace in the evening. It is further said that because of his relationship with Yuhwa, Habaek's daughter, he participated in a competition of magical transformation (*sinbyeon* 神變) with Habaek, eventually defeating the latter.

The tale of Buyeo's ruler Dongmyeong came to be associated with Goguryeo's ruler Jumong in this way. In what manner, then, was it associated again with Haeburu of Eastern Buyeo and the establishment of Baekje? The “Northern Buyeo” entry included in the *Samguk yusa*, fascicle 1, quotes [another] *Old Record* as follows. “On the eighth day of the fourth month in the third (*renxu* 壬戌) year (58 BCE) of the Shenjue 神爵 era, ruled by the Former Han (前漢) emperor Xuandi 宣帝 (r. 74–49 BCE), the heavenly emperor rode on a vehicle pulled by five dragons and descended to earth, thereby establishing a capital city and styling himself an emperor. The country was named Northern Buyeo and he was referred to as Haemosu. Haemosu then gave birth to a son and named him Buru with the family name ‘Hae.’” Haemosu thus came to be associated with Haeburu. The association of Dongmyeong's tale with the establishment of Baekje can be seen in the “Baekje” entry included in the *Beishu*, fascicle 94, which contains a verbatim record of King Dongmyeong's tale and adds “Dongmyeong's successor Choutai (Kr. Gudae) 仇台 was respected for his benevolence and faithfulness and initially established a new country in an old land of Daifang (Kr. Daebang) 帶方.” The first example of the Dongmyeong tale's association with the establishment of Goguryeo, as seen in the “Gaojuli” entry included in the *Liangshu*, fascicle 55, is here applied to the case [of Baekje's establishment], too.

From the above examination, we learn the important fact that the tale of King Dongmyeong underwent continuous development and

was associated with countries of the Buyeo lineage one after another. Now, let us compare the subject theme of this chapter, namely the Dan'gun myth of Old Joseon, with the Dongmyeong tale. [By making that comparison,] we find that there existed a very close homogeneity between them. First, the Jumong tale appearing in such sources as the *Gu Samguk sa* and the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* has a threefold structure of “heavenly emperor → Haemosu, the son of heavenly emperor → King Dongmyeong, or Jumong”; the Dan'gun myth also has the same threefold structure of “Hwanin 桓因 (Skt. Śakra Devānām Indra) → Hwanin's son Hwanung 桓雄 → Dan'gun Wanggeom.” Just as Haemosu descended on a vehicle pulled by five dragons together with about a hundred attendants, so Hwanung received three seals that tally with the heaven (*cheonbu in* 天符印) and descended together with 3,000 people.

Besides, when we compare the two words *Haemosu* and *Hwanung*, we again find a homogeneity in meanings. *Hae* 解 in *Haemosu* seems to be a transcription of *hae* 해 in the Dongi [i.e., Korean] language, meaning sun. Therefore, we need to take *mosu* 慕漱 to be also an instance of transcribing a Dongi word. But which word in the source language does *mosu* transcribe? We have surmised that *Haemosu* appearing in the Jumong tale could imply “the sun's illumination,” namely a personification of “sun spirit” or “a male force of heaven.” Even in the modern Korean language, the word *su* 수 appearing in *sukae* 수캐, *sukeot* 수컷, and *sunnom* 수놈 means “male.” If we admit that *Haemosu* can be identified as a transcription of a word meaning “sun spirit” or “a male force of the heaven,” we can now proceed to compare *Haemosu* with *Hwanung* in the Dan'gun myth. We will probably notice a great homogeneity between them [again], for *Hwanung* is interpreted as a male force of Hwanin [for *ung* 雄 in *Hwanung* has the meaning of “male”].

The statement that Jumong established a capital city in Heulseunggol³² and established Goguryeo is linked to the fact that Dan'gun established a capital city in Pyeongyang and called the nation Joseon and that he thereafter moved the capital city to Asadal 阿斯達 (Gungholsan 弓忽山 or Guwolsan 九月山)³³ on Baegaksan 白岳山

Mountain. The capital city's name in the Jumong tale, Heulseunggol or Heuldugol 紇斗骨, is similar in pronunciation to that in the Dan'gun tale, *gunghol* 弓忽 or *guwol* 九月. Here, I sense that of the two city names, *guwol* is equivalent to *ahopdal* 아홉달 in the Donggi language of the present day and that a transcription of an ancient form of *ahopdal* is *asadal*.³⁴

That Hwanung is taken to be an "illegitimate son" (*seoja* 庶子) of Hwanin can be seen as an influence of some versions of King Dongmyeong tale. For King Seo Eon was born of the court lady of Lord Seo; Dongmyeong was also born of the court lady of the Haoli country. Even in the case of Jumong, he was an illegitimate son born of Buru and Yuhwa, for a legitimate successor (*jeoksa* 嫡嗣) of Buru can be regarded as Geumwa.³⁵

The Jumong tale and the Dan'gun myth thus have much in common. How should we then interpret these [common] features? It would be more appropriate to see them as mutual influence caused by the diffusion of culture rather than as a mere coincidence. If that is the case, in my opinion, the direction of influence was probably from the Jumong tale to the Dan'gun myth. First of all, in terms of its contents the Dan'gun myth has a much more developed ideology of Haneul-im than the Jumong tale. Hwanung's receiving of the heavenly mandate is represented by the three seals that tally with heaven; he then took care of agriculture (*gok* 穀), lifespan (*myeong* 命), diseases (*byeong* 病), punishment (*hyeong* 刑), good and evil (*seonak* 善惡), etc. together with a wind god (*pungbaek* 風伯), a rain master (*usa* 雨師), and a cloud master (*unsa* 雲師). These two aspects [as seen in the Dan'gun myth] completely systematized the ancient view of the heavenly lord or god (*cheonsin gwan* 天神觀).

Moreover, the Dan'gun myth also shows that it was deeply influenced by Buddhism as well as Daoism.³⁶ As discussed in detail in section B of this chapter, following the introduction of Buddhism to the Three Kingdoms, traditional shamanism was subsumed under Buddhism, and in that process the heavenly emperor (Cheonje 天帝) of shamanism was accepted as a Buddhist deity called Seokje Hwanin

釋提桓因 (Skt. Śakra Devānām Indra). It is evident that the title “Hwanin” corresponding to the heavenly emperor in the Dan’gun myth was adopted from the Buddhist notion of Seokje Hwanin, which was already noted by Iryeon in his interlinear note [in the *Samguk yusa*].³⁷ The introduction of Buddhism to Goguryeo is dated to the second reign year (372) of the seventeenth ruler King Sosurim. Thereafter in the fifteenth reign year (427) of the twentieth ruler King Jangsu 長壽 (r. 413–491), Goguryeo moved its capital city to Pyeongyang. Therefore, it is quite possible that the Dan’gun myth in the Joseon area [centering around Pyeongyang] was influenced by the culture of Goguryeo.

The Jumong tale’s influence and its strong Buddhist overtones as reflected in the Dan’gun myth might be considered important aspects that support the thesis that this myth was established in later periods. But we should not draw the hasty conclusion that the entire Dan’gun myth was accomplished later only based on those aspects. For they are only part of the Dan’gun myth, and we can find other elements that show an indigenous local tradition completely different from [that behind] the Jumong tale. First of all, let us examine the title “Dan’gun.” While the Dan’gun myth was deeply influenced by the Jumong tale, the name “Dan’gun Wanggeom” itself is quite different from the name “Dongmyeong seongwang” 東明聖王 [meaning “Sage King Dongmyeong,” posthumous title for Jumong]. Such a difference seems to indicate that the Dan’gun myth had an indigenous local tradition of the Joseon region [i.e., Korean Peninsula] which was distinguished from [the cultural background of] the Jumong tale. At the same time, we can have a clearer understanding of the geographical peculiarities by considering the characteristics of the name “Dan’gun.”

Although the Donggi tribe had spread into many regions from ancient times, they seem to have been identical in that all, [though living in their respective regions,] upheld a shamanistic belief in which the heavenly emperor (Haneul-im), developed from the sun god, was regarded as a supreme deity. As stated above, it seems that when a new country of tribal federations was to be formed in such a religious tradition, the first leader of that country either styled himself

as a receiver of the heavenly mandate or was given a sacred mission in a shamanistic ritual that was performed to select him as a leader. It is thought that from this idea of heavenly mandate wondrous birth tales originated.

As for the manner or name of the shamanistic ritual performed for Haneul-im, each of the tribal federations differed in accordance with the region they belonged to. It is well known that such a ritual was called Yeonggo 迎鼓 (carried out in the first lunar month in the Yin 殷 calendar or the twelfth lunar month) in Buyeo, Dongmaeng 東盟 (carried out in the tenth lunar month) in Goguryeo, and Mucheon 舞天 (carried out also in the tenth lunar month) in Ye 濊. In the case of Mahan 馬韓, the name of the religious ritual for heavenly deities (*jecheon* 祭天) was not handed down. We just have a record that says, “Tens of people stand up together and dance in accordance with sounds of a wooden clacker (*duowu* [Kr. *tangmu*] 鐸舞)” (in the fifth and tenth lunar months).³⁸ The manner in which they danced seems to have been very peculiar. What was then the name of the ritual performed for the heavenly deity in the Joseon area, and how was it carried out? Certainly, we have no record of these aspects now. But it can be surmised that the ritual had a close relation with a birch tree from the statement in the Dan'gun myth that Hwanung descended from the divine birch tree (*sindansu* 神檀樹) on Taebaeksan 太白山 Mountain. Just as the Donggi tribe's excellency in archery (*gung* 弓) represented their characteristics (by way of the Chinese letter *yi* 夷), this [association with archery] appears to have also applied to religious ideas. [For instance,] King Seo Eon acquired a vermilion bow and a vermilion arrow; the name Jumong meant “good at archery”; a region called Sosumaek 小水貊 is known to have produced Maek's bows (Maekgung 貊弓);³⁹ and in the Ye region were produced the birch bows of Nangnang (Nangnang dan'gung 樂浪檀弓).⁴⁰ Of these, that the birch bows of Nangnang were produced in a region close to the Joseon area seems to suggest that the religious rituals in Joseon had a deep association with the birch trees. Here, it is presumed that their ritual gatherings performed for heavenly deities were led by a religious officiant. We have a record of Mahan

that says, “Each of the many states had a person officiate a service to heavenly deities and this person was called a heavenly lord (*tianjun* [Kr. *cheon’gun*] 天君).”⁴¹ Since a society consisting of tribal federations was ruled by theocracy, a political leader in that society must have held a concurrent post of chief priest. If so, would not the ruler’s name “Dongmyeong” in Northern Buyeo refer to the name of such chief priest? It is because Dongmaeng, a ritual performed for heavenly deities in Goguryeo, and the king’s name Dongmyeong correspond perfectly with each other in both sound and meaning. Then, can we not regard “*Dan’gun*” in the Dan’gun myth also as a *gun* 君 (lord) for carrying out a ritual for a birch tree (*dan* 檀)? That a chief priest was called *cheon’gun* in Mahan enhances the probability that Dan’gun in Old Joseon can also be considered as such.

That the Dan’gun myth has its own tradition different from that of the Jumong tale can also be seen from its concept of earth (or *eum* [Ch. *yin*] 陰 force) as contrasted with that of heaven (or *yang* 陽 force). If the birth tales originated from the idea of heavenly mandate, a place in which the male spirit (*ungjeong* 雄精 or *yang*) of the heaven (i.e., sun) influenced the matrix of earth (i.e., *eum*) or where a wondrous egg was laid can be seen as a sacred site (*seongso* 聖所) for receiving the heavenly mandate. The abovementioned rituals for heavenly deities could have been held at these places. In the Jumong tale, the place in question is the shore of Amnokgang River where Haemosu had illicit intercourse with Yuhwa (the water spirit’s daughter); in the Hyeokgeose tale it is identified as Najeong 蘿井 [meaning “creeper well”] on Yangsan 楊山 [meaning “willow mountain”]; and in King Suro’s tale it is Gujibong 龜旨峰 Peak. In the Geumwa tale it is Gonyeon 鯤淵 Lake; in the [Seok 昔] Talhae 脫解 (r. 57–80 BCE) tale it is Ajinpo 阿珍浦 Port, in the [Gim 金] Alji 闕智 (b. 65 CE) tale it is Sirim 始林 (or Gurim 鳩林) Forest in Wolseong-ri 月城里. In the case of the Dan’gun myth, it is under the birch tree on the peak of Taebaeksan Mountain where Hwanung descended. Those sacred sites, where they received a heavenly mandate, thus differ from each other. In some cases, it was on the shore of a river; in other cases, it was in a forest or on a mountain peak. The reason for

the difference seems to have some relation with the kind of the earthly matrix a chief tribe in those countries determined as their supreme deity or totem that would receive the male force of heaven (i.e., heavenly mandate). Since in Goguryeo fish and turtles played the role of a totem serving the river god, they had no choice but to select a sacred site on the shore of a river. In the case of the tribe with the family name Bak in Silla, that role was entrusted to a well god (*jeongsin* 井神); in the case of the tribe belonging to the Seok 昔 family, it was entrusted to a sea-dragon god; in the case of the tribe belonging to the Gim family, it was entrusted to the tree god (*susin* 樹神); the Garak country venerated a turtle of the sea god as their totem. It can be surmised that for this reason, their [four] sacred sites were respectively identified as the vicinity of a well, a seashore, a forest, and Gujibong Peak [here “Guji” seems to refer to a turtle]. In the Dan'gun myth, a bear of a mountain god appears as a totem,⁴² for it is said that the bear kept a taboo imposed on it for three weeks and turned into a female human body, thereby marrying Hwanung and giving birth to Dan'gun. Therefore, the sacred site in this case was designated as a mountain (i.e., the peak of Taebaeksan Mountain), and the production of the tale of Dan'gun's entering Asadal and becoming a mountain god after his demise could be attributed to the same reason.

I think that particular divine sanctity given to the site where a ritual for heavenly deities was performed also testifies to the fact that the Dan'gun myth had a specific line of transmission distinct from the Jumong tale. Each state of Mahan is said to “have installed a specific district (*bieyi* [Kr. *byeoreup*] 別邑) called *sutu* (Kr. *sodo*) 蘇塗 [meaning “extended pole” (*sotdae* 춧대)], where a big tree was planted and a bell and a drum was hung on it for the veneration of ghosts and souls. If anyone fled to it, no one was able to return him or her to the original place.”⁴³ We cannot say that such an idea of *sodo* never existed in the other countries such as Goguryeo, Buyeo, Silla, and Garak. For the sacred site for performing a ritual for heavenly deities and receiving the heavenly mandate must have been regarded as an object of taboo. There is, however, no other record similar to the one for Mahan, where

a specific district was set aside specifically for this purpose in its entirety and even a fugitive was prohibited from being dragged out of it. But in the Dan'gun myth too we find a concept similar to *sodo*, for it is said "As Hwanung descended to the peak of Taebaeksan Mountain, it is called a divine city (*sinsi* 神市)." Is *sinsi* not a translation of the ancient Dongi word such as *sodo* (*sutteo* 솣티) [meaning "lofty and clean site"] into Chinese?

As noted above, the Dan'gun myth was heavily influenced by the Jumong tale, and yet at the same time kept an indigenous tradition considerably different from the latter. The origins of that narrative tradition should be found in the so-called tradition of "Old Joseon." The origins of Old Joseon could be dated back to the times of the Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors (Ch. Sanhuang wudi 三皇五帝) as the *Weishu* cited in the Dan'gun myth claims that it was "contemporary with Emperor Yao 堯." If [we accept the Chinese record] "Jizi (Kr. Gija) 箕子 (d.u.) was conferred with a lordship for Zhaoxian (Kr. Joseon) 朝鮮 by King Wu 武 of Zhou 周,"⁴⁴ it follows that a tribal society named Joseon existed before that event. But it is not possible to think that the Dan'gun myth has kept its original form since then. It is plausible to assume that a primitive and simple form of shamanistic myth was just transmitted to the tribal society of Joseon at that time. If we draw on this assumption, it becomes self-evident that we should not regard the present form of the Dan'gun myth as the product of later times. But we cannot say that it was already completed in the Old Joseon period, either. Rather, we should see it as "a shamanistic myth" that was handed down from the remote past in a tribal society of Joseon, encountered Goguryeo culture, and was heavily influenced by the Jumong tale. [We should further assume that] it eventually accommodated even the impact of Buddhism and Daoism and turned into the Dan'gun myth in which shamanism and Buddhism were syncretized (*mubul seuphap* 巫佛習合).

Up to this point, we have briefly gone over the process in which the Dan'gun myth was formed. Here, I am strongly inclined to take note of the fact that this Dan'gun myth proceeded in a direction in

which it incorporated the tale of King Dongmyeong. The Dan'gun myth in the *Samguk yusa* is a reproduction of the *Old Record* (*Gogi* 古記). Although it is not certain what this *Old Record* was like, it seems to have included a record that says, “The heavenly emperor Haemosu descended to the walled city of Holseunggol on a vehicle pulled by five dragons and gave birth to a son, later called Haeburu.”⁴⁵ This record is quite different from the statement appearing in the “Annals of Goryeo” (高麗本紀; quoted in the *Samguk yusa*) of the *Samguk sagi*, fascicle 13, according to which “Haemosu had an illicit intercourse with the water spirit’s daughter Yuhwa and gave birth to Jumong.” Regarding this discrepancy, I already noted that what the *Old Record* says implies the process in which the tale of King Dongmyeong was associated not only with Goguryeo but also with Eastern Buyeo.

In relation to this, we see that a certain text called *Dan'gun bon'gi* 檀君本紀 (The Annals of Dan'gun) is quoted in an interlinear note of the “Dan'gun” chapter included in Yi Seunghyu's 李承休 (1224–1300) *Jewang un'gi* 帝王韻紀 (A History of the Emperors), fascicle 2. It thus shows that there is another transmission of the Dan'gun myth separate from the *Old Record* cited in the *Samguk yusa*. That is, whereas the *Old Record* describes Ungnyeo's 熊女 (lit. “bear woman”) observance of the taboo for three weeks, attainment of a female human body, marriage with Hwanung, and delivery of Dan'gun, the *Dan'gun bon'gi* says “He who descended to the divine birch tree on the peak of Taebaeksan Mountain is the heavenly lord Danung 檀雄 (not Hwanung). He had his granddaughter (not a bear) take a medicine and turned her into a human body. She then married the god of the birch tree and gave birth to a boy, and he is Dan'gun.” Therefore, it is evident that the *Dan'gun bon'gi* is a different literature from the *Old Record*. Furthermore, the *Dan'gun-gi* 檀君記 (A Record of Dan'gun), another text with a name similar to the *Dan'gun bon'gi*, appears in an interlinear note of the “Goguryeo” entry of the *Samguk yusa*, fascicle 1, which has the following passage.

The *Dan'gun-gi* says, “The lord, together with Yochin, a daughter of the

water spirit of Western River, gave birth to a son, whose name is Buru.” (檀君記云 君與西河河伯之女要親 有產子 名曰夫婁.)

That is, Buru was born of Dan’gun and Yochin, the water spirit.

This passage that relates Dan’gun’s marriage with Yochin⁴⁶ and the resultant birth of Buru is indeed an exceptional declaration. The passage from the *Old Record* that Haemosu gave birth to Haeburu is understandable considering the fact that both Goguryeo and Eastern Buyeo were composed of the tribes belonging to the same racial lineage. But the Joseon tribe and the Buyeo tribe were entirely different from each other, although both were included in the same Donggi tribe on a broader scale. In other words, the former took a bear of the mountain god as their totem; the latter took fish and turtles of the river god as their totem. Then how is it possible to say that Dan’gun married the water spirit’s daughter Yochin and gave birth to Buru? If it does not make sense, are we entitled to discard it as a mistake?

I think we should not make such a careless mistake. Rather, we should take note of the fact that a new awareness was germinating in the mind of the person who recorded the Dan’gun myth at this point. We can never know whether the *Dan’gun bon’gi* (cited in the *Jewang un’gi*) and the *Dan’gun-gi* (cited in the *Samguk yusa*) are identical texts or not. We have no clue as to the authorship of the two texts, either. But it is evident that the person who recorded the myth made a conscious effort to incorporate the Jumong tale into the Dan’gun myth. As long as the Dan’gun myth of the *Old Record* takes the bear of a mountain god as a totem, he cannot combine with the totem of a river god that belongs to the Buyeo lineage. But what do we see in the *Dan’gun bon’gi* cited in Yi Seunghyu’s *Jewang un’gi*? The tale of “Ungnyeo” appearing in the *Old Record* is completely omitted and the story of “[Dan’gun’s] having a granddaughter take a medicine to turn her body into a human one” is added. This may be considered to be the removal of an obstructive element, characterized by a totemic belief, from the Dan’gun myth of the *Old Record*, for the purpose of assimilating the Jumong tale. The *Dan’gun-gi* cited in the *Samguk yusa* then says, “Dan’gun had intercourse with the water spirit’s daughter Yochin and gave birth to

Buru.” Here, the selection of Buru, not Jumong, could be interpreted [as a deliberate consideration] to subsume [the important leaders such as] Jumong, Geumwa, and Onjo altogether as Dan'gun's descendants.

As seen above, the Dan'gun myth developed under the heavy influence of the Jumong tale and finally was subsuming the latter itself. What then is the ideological background against which such a conscious effort was made? In my opinion, through Goguryeo's transfer of the capital city to Pyeongyang the Buyeo culture was fused with the Joseon culture; through Silla's unification of the Three Kingdoms the Dongi tribe united into one. But [each country in the north of the Korean Peninsula] met with misfortune: the loss of an old and large territory, and a shrinking into its southern part. Moreover, the political inertia and confusion in the latter period of the Silla aroused an interest in a project of creating a new history of the nation. At this point, it is a matter of course that they first should seek where to locate the spiritual foundation of the entire nation. Could we not view the development of the Dan'gun myth as a gradual movement that reflected such needs of the times? For Joseon had the longest history in many tribal societies of the Dongi tribe and occupied the center between the north and the south in terms of geographical position.

Once we understand the Dan'gun myth in this way, it is not difficult to guess how Iryeon reacted to this myth. As mentioned above, Yi Gyubo discovered in King Dongmyeong's wondrous historical events a spiritual dimension for the independent creation of national history that would cope with the destruction of the previous order, which led him to describe and praise them. Iryeon also inherited Yi Gyubo's historical awareness and tried to present the history of wonders related to the whole of the Three Kingdoms, thereby overcoming [Yi Gyubo's] limitation to the person of King Dongmyeong alone. If we look at the Dan'gun myth from this perspective, we cannot help feeling pleased that it is what makes the historical source of the Three Kingdoms as the mind's manifestation. Can Iryeon's record of the Dan'gun myth in the very first place of the *Samguk yusa's* “Wonders” chapter not be seen as suggesting that he also had such a perspective?

Iryeon's compilation of the *Samguk yusa* should not be seen simply as an effort to overcome the shortcoming that [the previous history] was limited to one person of King Dongmyeong. Another more important objective of his compilation was to overcome the problem that the ideology of "divine sanctity" as shown in the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* was limited to the ideology of "Haneul-im" of ancient shamanism of the Donggi tribe. If with the introduction of Buddhism, the traditional idea of Haneul-im was assumed under the notion of Seokje Hwanin, then he should not have overlooked this fact [in the compilation of the *Samguk yusa*]. Then what does the Dan'gun myth look like? As noted above, it accepts the Buddhist influence and refers to the heavenly emperor as Hwanin. Then, what was Iryeon's attitude toward it? He not only provided an interlinear note that identifies "Hwanin" as "Jeseok" (謂帝釋也), but considered "Asadal" to be "Muyeopsan 無葉山 Mountain."

We have already noted that the *Dan'gun bon'gi*, cited in Yi Seunghyu's *Jewang un'gi*, fascicle 2, introduces a more developed narrative (i.e., removal of descriptions of a totemic belief) than the Dan'gun myth of the *Old Record* version cited in the *Samguk yusa*. And [we have also seen that] another book with a similar title, the *Dan'gun-gi* cited in the *Samguk yusa* (fasc. 1, "Goguryeo," interlinear note), has an exceptional passage that says, "Dan'gun and Yochin, a daughter of Western River's water spirit, gave birth to Buru." This passage contradicts the passage from the "Annals of Goguryeo" of the *Samguk sagi*, fascicle 13, that says, "Haemosu married the water spirit's daughter and gave birth to Jumong." Nevertheless, Iryeon solves the contradiction by saying, "Therefore, Buru and Jumong are maternal cross cousins each other." He thus definitely proclaims that "Jumong is Dan'gun's son" in the "Royal Chronicles" chapter of the *Samguk yusa*.⁴⁷ Although Iryeon's interpretation could have been based on a record that says, "Haemosu descended to the walled city of Holseunggol and gave birth to Buru" (*Samguk yusa*, fasc. 1, "Northern Buyeo," with a reference to the *Old Record*), yet Jumong was in fact "an illegitimate son of Buru" and so there existed a huge problem. Iryeon nevertheless

adopted such an interpretation, and we should ask why. For him, it was quite natural to put the Dan'gun myth at the beginning of the "Wonders" chapter and this [understanding of Buru's parentship] also shows how he was viewing the Dan'gun myth.

At this point, we do not have any information as to whether the *Gu Samguk sa*, which was compiled prior to the *Samguk sagi*, includes the Dan'gun myth or not.⁴⁸ We cannot know whether texts such as the *Dan'gun gogi* 檀君古記 (i.e., *Old Record*) or the *Dan'gun-gi* dealt with the entire history of the Three Kingdoms, either. But we can say it was the *Samguk yusa* that for the first time put the Dan'gun myth at the very beginning of the national history of the Korean people. When the wondrous tales, transmitted among those tribes belonging to the Korean people, of how they established their own ancient countries were pieced together [into a single narrative], it accepted influences of Daoism and Buddhism and became the Dan'gun myth. Finally, it came to be appreciated fully by Iryeon. His high appraisal of the Dan'gun myth was followed by Yi Seunghyu who compiled the *Jewang un'gi* (1237) and by the founding of a country called [by the same ancient name of] "Joseon." If we observe this process, we should say that the Dan'gun myth has an immense historical significance.

D

Acceptance of the Rational Moralist View of History

As has been pointed out many times above, both Yi Gyubo and Iryeon probably anticipated that a spiritual dimension for independently creating the national history was to be found in concepts that contained non-rational but divine elements. The problem is whether we should consider only such a non-rational concept of divine sanctity to be meaningful and deny a rationalist view of history, as can be seen in Gim Busik's *Samguk sagi*, altogether. If we look back on the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* and the *Samguk yusa*, focusing on this problem, however, we will see that this attitude is not correct.

In the *Dongyeong wang-pyeon*, Yi Gyubo implies his point of view when he writes, "Our previous master Zhongni (i.e., Confucius) did not mention extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings" and concludes the work by saying in his postscript, "Now, I understand! In the case of a lord who is concerned with protecting and bringing to perfection a country (*suseong gun* 守成君), if he does his utmost to not transgress in even trivial matters (集蓼戒小愆), keeps the status with generous benevolence (*gwanin* 寬仁), edifies the people with propriety and righteousness (*yewi* 禮義), then [the kingship] will be maintained permanently up to the time of his descendants in the far future and the country will prosper for long years." (乃知守成君集蓼戒小愆 守位以寬仁 化民由禮義 永永傳子孫 御國多年紀.) That is, a lord who receives a divine mandate from heaven and founds a new country (*changeop* 創業) should work diligently; however, a lord who needs to complete the mission of establishing the country should adopt a rationalist view of morality stipulated in [Confucian] virtues such as "generous benevolence" and "propriety and righteousness."

Iryeon's *Samguk yusa* also suggests an identical viewpoint. In the "Wonders" chapter in fascicle 1, we see the following passage.

. . . in general, when ancient sages first established their country with [correct] rituals and set up their teachings with benevolence and righteousness, extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings were considered things that should not be told. (大抵古之聖人方其禮樂興邦仁義設教則怪力亂神在所不語.)

That is, when ancient sages established a nation with rituals and handed down their teachings with benevolence and righteousness, they did not mention extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings. The above passage presents the same position with the *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon* by saying that for a country to prosper by succeeding that divine project of establishing a new country, proper rituals as well as benevolence and righteousness were necessary.

Besides, the *Samguk yusa* cites from Gim Busik's *Samguk sagi* so frequently that we cannot enumerate the quotations one by one. Moreover, it even faithfully includes the *Samguk sagi*'s historical viewpoint which is based on the Confucian moralist perspective of history, as can be seen from the "Great King Gim Bu 金傅" (fifty-sixth ruler King Gyeongsun 敬順 [r. 927–935]) entry included in fascicle 2. This entry can be summarized as follows: "In the initial stage of the Silla dynasty its kings were frugal as well as generous and benevolent. They thus simplified the administrative system and procedures and venerated China earnestly, becoming a country of propriety. And they conquered Goguryeo and Baekje with the assistance of the previous kings and masters whose spirit was well appeased. Therefore, Silla was able to be a prospering country.

But it venerated the Buddha dharma without knowing its negative effects such that pagodas and shrines formed a continuous line in villages and streets and the people fled from [the misdemeanor of] those wearing black hemp clothes (*chigal* 緇褐), [namely Buddhist monks,] thereby reducing the manpower necessary for the military [campaign] and agricultural [production] and making the country decline day by day. Furthermore, King Gyeongae 景哀 (r. 924–927) indulged in extreme debauchery because of his coarse nature. How

could Silla not have collapsed?” That is, even though those who received the divine heavenly mandate, like [Silla’s] founding ancestors from the three tribes with the surnames Bak 朴, Seok 昔, and Gim 金, created a new history and the Buddha dharma [they adopted] enlightened the people’s ignorance, yet if the descendants fell into blind faith and became morally degenerate, the history will be cut off.

As pointed out in section A of this chapter, the *Samguk yusa*’s many chapters, which correspond to the *Samguk sagi*’s “Biographies” chapter, such as chapter 3 “The Rise of the Dharma,” chapter 5 “Exegetes,” chapter 6 “Divine Spells,” chapter 8 “Seclusion,” and chapter 9 “Filial Piety and Buddhist Good,” followed the classification schema (*gwa* 科) as presented in the *Haedong goseung-jeon* or the three Chinese *gaoseng zhuan* compilations. But as for the *Samguk yusa*’s chapter 9 “Filial Piety and Buddhist Good,” we cannot find a corresponding part in the classification schema of the previous biographies of eminent monks.

If we pursue a forced correspondence between them, the “Benefactors” (興福) chapter [in the *gaoseng zhuan* volumes] may seem to be related to [the *Samguk yusa*’s] final chapter. But if we examine the content [of the “Benefactors” chapter] carefully, we find that it concerns those who performed benefiting activities and does not fit the *Samguk yusa*’s chapter in question. In this respect, it should be asked why the *Samguk yusa* has the “Filial Piety and Buddhist Good” chapter. Yet, I would like to see this chapter also as demonstrating the fact that to succeed and develop the divine project of establishing a new country, it was necessary to adopt a social ethic that is based on rational thinking. Filial piety indeed constitutes a core of Confucian ideas of ethics. That this chapter is placed at the end of the book also seems to indicate the fact that the divine project of establishing a new country [exemplified] in the *Samguk yusa*’s “The Rise of the Dharma” (興法) chapter should come into fruition through [such concrete examples as shown in] the “Filial Piety and Buddhist Good” chapter. If we thus acknowledge the necessity of rational moralist view of history, then we should also accept the necessity of the history books such as Gim Busik’s *Samguk sagi*.

Yet, we must say that Gim Busik's exclusion of the divine dimension of the mind (or spirit) for the creation of new history, which resulted from his excessive attachment to the rational moralist view of history, is problematic. Such a shortcoming of the *Samguk sagi* should be overcome and supplemented if we are to correctly establish a national history. In the case of Iryeon's *Samguk yusa*, it is a collection of anecdotes and hearsay (*ilsa yumun* 軼事遺聞) in a kind of biographic-thematic format (*gijeon che* 紀傳體). Therefore, it is now possible to see the *Samguk yusa* not as a total negation of Gim Busik's *Samguk sagi* but as a supplementation of its shortcomings which intended to be a true history of the Three Kingdoms. As the title [*yusa*] in the *Samguk yusa* has a meaning of "appendix" (*boyu* 補遺) to the *Samguk sagi*, such a [positive] impression appears more tenable.

Now, I would like to finish my humble overview of Iryeon's compilation of the *Samguk yusa*. To sum up, Iryeon's *Samguk yusa* can be said above all to have succeeded Yi Gyubo's *Dongmyeong wang-pyeon*.

However, whereas Yi Gyubo admiringly described the spiritual dimension for independently creating the national history by focusing only on the person of King Dongmyeong, Iryeon widened [the scope of description] to the entirety of the Three Kingdoms. Moreover, he tried to lead his reader to realize the evident historical fact that the introduction of Buddhism transformed the ideology of divine sanctity, which had been rooted in the shamanistic faith in Haneul-im, into a Buddhist idea. His historical awareness of this sort made him embrace King Dongmyeong's tales, which centered around the tradition of Old Joseon, as well as the religious concepts of Daoism and Buddhism. It also made him think highly of the Dan'gun myth that contributed to the development of the founding myths of the entire nation. Since he considered Dan'gun to be a [common] originator of the Three Kingdoms, the Dan'gun myth came to be established as a historical origin of the Korean people. For the succession and development of the sacred mission of establishing a new country, however, he also recognized the importance of rationalist ethics of Confucianism. From

this perspective, it seems that Iryeon's *Samguk yusa* ultimately took a position as an appendix to Gim Busik's *Samguk sagi*.

Postscript (in the original manuscript): Being pressed for time, I wrote the chapter hurriedly and was not able to make a detailed historical investigation. I would like to express my deep apologies here at the end of this chapter.

Notes

- 1 “When Dongmyeong went hunting to the west, he incidentally caught a snow-white deer. He then hung it upside down above the Haewon plain and dared to curse saying, ‘If heaven does not rain on Biryu, floating and sinking the capital and its neighboring areas, I will definitely not release you!’” (東明西狩時 偶獲雪色麋 倒懸蟹原上 敢自呪而謂 天不雨沸流 漂沒其都鄙 我固不汝放.) The sorcery or magic spell appearing in the above story of King Dongmyeong is not mentioned in other literatures such as the *Samguk yusa*.
- 2 “My nature is originally plain like a tree, and it does not take delight in the extraordinary or weird. When I first saw the events of King Dongmyeong, I suspected that they were illusionary or ghostly. As I penetrated their meanings slowly and gradually, however, [I came to believe in] the transformation which was difficult to dispute.” (我性本質木 性不喜奇詭 初看東明事 疑幻又疑鬼 徐徐漸相涉 變化難擬議.)
- 3 Choe Namseon 崔南善, *Samguk yusa haeje* 三國遺事解題 (1927), 7–9.
- 4 In some woodblock versions such as those printed in the *imsin* 壬申 year (1512) during the Zhengde 正德 era, this story of “Ten Sages in the Golden Hall” appears at the end of the chapter 3 “The Rise of the Dharma.” But the table of contents included in Choe Namseon’s expanded version puts this story at the head of chapter 4 “Pagodas and Images.”
- 5 It seems that the attribution of the *Haedong goseung-jeon* to Gakhun is due to the confusion of its compiler with Gakhun who composed the *Seonjong yukjo Hyeneung Daesa jeongsang dongnae yeon’gi* 禪宗六祖慧能大師頂相東來緣起 [A Record of Eastward Transmission of the Head of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng of the Meditation School]. Therefore, the authorship needs to be reexamined.
- 6 Kim Yeongtae, *Samguk yusa sojeon ui Silla Bulgyo sasang yeon’gu* 三國遺事 所傳의 新羅佛教 思想 研究 (Seoul: Sinheung chulpansa, 1979), 20.
- 7 Ibid, 22.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 The reason why Yao is placed here is that he represents the quality of fire (in terms of the five phases [*wuxing* 五行]) just like the Han Gaozu. See Mishina Shōei 三品彰英, *Sangoku iji kōshō* 三國遺事考証 (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1979), 1:298.

- 10 Koh Ikjin, “Han’guk godae Bulgyo sasang ui teukseong” 韓國古代佛教思想의 特性, ch. 2 “Bulgyo jeollae ijeon ui Han’guk godae jonggyo” 佛教傳來以前의 韓國古代宗教, in *Cheolhak sasang ui je munje 2* 哲學思想의 諸問題 (II) (Seongnam: Han’guk jeongsin munhwa yeon’guwon, 1984).
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid, ch. 4 on the modes of incorporating the shamanistic cults.
- 13 *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 1, “Heaven Bestows a Jade Belt,” interlinear notes.
- 14 *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 1, “Queen Seondeok Knows Three Signs” (善德王知幾三事).
- 15 *Dahui jing* 大會經 (Skt. *Mahāsāmāyā-sūttanta*), *Zhang ahan jing*, fasc. 1, T 1.79c.
- 16 Koh Ikjin, “Han’guk godae Bulgyo sasang ui teukseong.”
- 17 Kim Sanghyeon 金相鉉, “Manpa sikjeok seolhwa ui hyeongseong gwa uiui” 萬波息笛說話의 形成과 意義, *Han’guksa yeon’gu*, no. 34 (1981): 34 [*sic*: should be “24”].
- 18 *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, fasc. 85, “Biographies of the Dongyi (Kr. Dongi) Tribe,” interlinear note quoted from the *Bowu zhi* 博物志 [Records of Diverse Matters].
- 19 *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 1, “Lady Peach Blossom (Dohwa) and Her Son Bihyeong” (桃花女鼻荊郎). But a biography section for King Jinji in the *Samguk sagi*, fasc. 4 does not give such an account.
- 20 Those who maintain the thesis that the Dan’gun myth was formed in later periods are in many cases Japanese scholars. A representative scholar in this group is Imanishi Ryū 今西龍 (1875–1932) who tended to see the Dan’gun myth as emerging after the mid-Goryeo period.
- 21 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, fasc. 5, “Annals of the Qin 秦”; fasc. 40, “Biographies of the Chu 楚.”
- * The translator follows dates of these ancient rulers in Chinese history as they are retrieved from the Chinese Text Project database (<https://ctext.org/data/wiki.pl?if=en>). Some dates in the original manuscript (1001–947 BCE for King Mu of Zhou; 689–680 BCE for King Wen of Chu) are accordingly corrected.
- 22 We find a remark in the *Shiji* that King Seo Eon’s defeat by King Wen of Chu cannot be accepted as a historical fact, based on the time gap of 318 (or 312?) years between the first reign year of King Mu of Zhou and that of King Wen of Chu [if we accept a theory that King Mu ascended the throne in 1007 or 1001 BCE]. See *Shiji*, fasc. 5, “Annal of the Qin,” interlinear note, “古史考云 徐偃王與楚文王同時 去周穆王遠矣 . . . 此事非實”; included in *Isibo sachō* 二十五史抄 (Seoul: Dan’guk daehakgyo Dongyanghak yeon’guso, 1977), 1:6. Although this statement may be meant to completely deny the existence of King Seo Eon, yet the time gap between King Mu of Zhou and King Wen of Chu can be seen as a period in which the Seo tribe’s country lasted.

- 23 *Hou Hanshu*, fasc. 85, “Biographies of the Dongyi Tribe,” interlinear note. A complete text from the the *Bowu zhi* 博物志 [Records of Diverse Matters] is included in Kim Sanggi 金庠基, “Dongi wa Hoei Seoyung e daehayeo” 東夷와 淮夷 西戎에 對하여, in *Dongbangsa nonchong* 東方史論叢 (Seoul: Seoul daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1974), 400.
- * Here, the author quotes a passage from the *Bowu zhi*, “乃通溝陳蔡之間 得朱弓矢 以已得天瑞,” and translates it as “between Tonggou 通溝 and Chencai 陳蔡 he obtained . . .” But “通溝” is not a proper name for a locality and “陳蔡” should be understood as indicating two different places. So the translator makes a partial revision to the original text.
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 *Isibo sacho*, 1:194.
- 26 Although the interlinear note in the *Samguk yusa* demonstrates the compiler’s view by saying, “Yeongpumni is another name for King Buru” (寧稟離乃夫婁王之異稱也), it would be better to consider Yeongpumni to refer to a king of the Haoli tribe’s country in the north prior to the establishment of the country of Eastern Buyeo.
- 27 Kim Sanggi, “Dongi wa Hoei Seoyung e daehayeo,” 410.
- 28 *Samguk sagi*, fasc. 13, “King Dongmyeong”; *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 1, “Eastern Buyeo.”
- 29 According to an entry for King Dongmyeong’s fourteenth reign year included in the *Samguk sagi*, fasc. 13, “in the eighth month of the fall (of the king’s fourteenth reign year, 14 BCE), the king’s mother Yuhwa passed away in Eastern Buyeo. The king named Geumwa held a funeral rite for the Queen Mother and established a shrine. In the tenth month of the winter, he sent an envoy to Buyeo and offered local products, thereby making good on his indebtedness.” (秋八月 王母柳花 薨於東扶餘 其王金蛙 以太后禮葬之 遂立神廟 冬十月 遣使扶餘饋方物 以報其德。) From this passage, it is regarded as a historical fact that Jumong was born of Haeburu and Yuhwa.
- 30 An entry on King Onjo, included in the “Annals of Baekje” chapter of *Samguk sagi*, fasc. 23, says, “The king of Buyeo had no son and only had three daughters. When he saw Jumong, he recognized the latter’s extraordinariness, marrying his second daughter to him.” (扶餘王無子 只有三女子 見朱蒙 知非常人 以第二女妻之。) The interlinear note of that passage, however, offers a different interpretation, according to which “It is also said that when Jumong arrived in Jolbon, he married with a lady from the Wol province and gave birth to two sons” (或云 朱蒙到卒本 娶越郡女 生二子). According to another interlinear note that gives still different information of Jumong’s marriage, “It is also said

that . . . the king's mother is So Seono who is a daughter of Yeontabal from Jolbon.” (一云 . . . 母召西奴 卒本人延陔勃之女.)

- * The original text has “물의 여신” with Chinese characters “女身” in parentheses. But “女身” seems to be a misprint of “女神.” The translator thus renders the phrase in question as “female water god.”
- 31 In the “Goguryeo” entry in the *Samguk yusa*, fascicle 1, the mountain is called Ungsinsan 熊神山.
- 32 *Weishu*, fasc. 100, “Gaojuli (Kr. Goguryeo)” (高句麗). In the “Gaoli (Kr. Goryeo)” (高麗) entry included in the *Zhoushu*, fascicle 49, the city is identified as Western Walled City of Holbon 忽本. It is also identified as Jolbon 卒本 River (*cheon* 川) and Jolbon Province (*ju* 州) respectively in the *Samguk sagi*, fascicle 13 and in the *Samguk yusa*, fascicle 1.
- 33 In the interlinear note of the *Jewang un'gi* 帝王韻紀 [A History of the Emperors], fascicle 2, Asadal is identified as the Guwolsan Mountain at that time.
- 34 Yi Byeongdo 李丙燾 takes *asa* in *Asadal* to mean “morning, morning light, morning sunshine, or Joseon,” namely “아침” in Korean. For him, *dal* in the same word originally meant “mountains” but it also seems to have been used to mean “valley” or “earth” (“따” in ancient Korean). See Yi Byeongdo, *Han'guk godaesa jeon'gu* 韓國古代史研究 (Seoul: Bagyeongsa, 1976), 41.
- 35 Kim Jeonghak 金廷鶴 raises the following question: the title *Cheonje son* 天帝孫 (descendent of the heavenly emperor) [given to Hwanung in the Dan'gun myth] must have been used to deify and mystify the founding ancestor Wanggeom. But why had he been treated as an illegitimate son? His own answer to this question is: those in the later generations whose society was male-centered did not understand the female-centered system of throne succession in ancient society, and that is why [Hwanung] was regarded as an illegitimate son. See Kim Jeonghak, “Dan'gun sinhwa wa tootemijeum” 단군신화와 토오테미즘, *Yeoksa hakbo*, no. 7 (1954), 286.
- 36 According to Kim Jeonghak, it is undeniable that the Dan'gun myth shows influences of Buddhism and Daoism. See Kim Jeonghak, “Dan'gun sinhwa wa tootemijeum,” 280.
- 37 Yi Seunghyu's 李承休 (1224–1300) *Jewang un'gi* clarifies Dan'gun as the grandson of Seokje, thereby showing that [the association of the myth with Buddhism] was more firmly established [at his times].
- 38 *San'guo zhi*, fasc. 30, *Weishu*, “A Record of the Han (Korean) People” (韓傳), “They always plant the seeds in the fifth month and make offerings to ghosts. They gathered together and sing and dance day in day out without taking a rest.

Tens of people stand up together following each other. They tread on earth and raise and lower their head, [tapping] with their hands and feet accordingly. Their melodies and movements were similar to the [Chinese style of] dancing to a wooden clacker. When they finish their agriculture in the tenth month, they do the same thing.” (常以五月下種訖 祭鬼神 羣聚歌舞飲酒晝夜無休 其舞數十人俱起相隨 踏地低昂手足相應 節奏有似鐸舞 十月農功畢 亦復如之.)

- 39 *Hou Hanshu*, fasc. 85, “Gaojuli (Kr. Goguryeo)” (句麗); *San’guo zhi*, fasc. 30, *Weishu*, “A Record of Gaojuli” (高句麗傳).
- 40 *Hou Hanshu*, fasc. 85, “Wei (Kr. Ye)” (濊); *San’guo zhi*, fasc. 30, *Weishu*, “A Record of the Wei (Kr. Ye) People” (濊傳).
- 41 *San’guo zhi*, fasc. 30, *Weishu*, “A Record of the Han (Korean) People”; *Hou Hanshu*, fasc. 85, “Biographies of the Dongyi (Kr. Dongi)” (東夷列傳).
- 42 Kim Jeonghak, “Dan’gun sinhwa wa tootemijeum,” 282.
- 43 *San’guo zhi*, fasc. 30, *Weishu*, “A Record of the Han (Korean) People.”
- 44 *Shiji*, fasc. 38, “Genealogies of Weizi of Song” (宋微子世家), “King Wu then conferred Jizi with a lordship for Zhaoxian (Kr. Joseon) and did not treat him as his subject.” (於是武王 乃封箕子於朝鮮 而不臣也.)
- 45 *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 1, “Northern Buyeo” (北扶餘).
- 46 Mishina translates the passage in question as “Dan’gun, together with the water spirit’s daughter Yochin, gave birth to Buru.” See Mishina Shōei, *Sangoku iji kōshō*, 1:382.
- 47 The *Dan’gun bon’gi* cited in Yi Seunghyu’s *Jewang un’gi* says, “Therefore, [the tribes of] Sira (Silla), Gorye (Goguryeo), Northern and Southern Okjeo, Eastern and Northern Buyeo, Ye, and Maek are all offspring of Dan’gun.” (故尸羅 古禮 南北沃沮 東北扶餘 穢與貊 皆檀君之壽也.) The *Dan’gun bon’gi* thus intends to represent Dan’gun as the founding ancestor of the entire Korean people.
- 48 It has been suggested that the *Dan’gun bon’gi* cited in the interlinear note of the *Jewang un’gi* might indicate a chapter title of the *Gu Samguk sa* where the Dan’gun myth is included. See Kim Jeonghak, “Dan’gun sinhwa wa tootemijeum,” 273.

3. Origins and Development of Korean Buddhist Philosophy

Focusing on the
View of Emptiness

A

The Concept of “Emptiness” as Seen in the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras* of the Mahayana Tradition

i. Importance of “Emptiness”

Buddhism understands a human as a suffering being who transmigrates in the realm of birth and death. Suffering of birth and death is neither a punishment by the god nor a predetermined fate. It arises conditionally (*yeon’gi* [Ch. *yuanyqi*] 緣起) from the ignorance of true self. Therefore, a discovery of true self and elimination of ignorance based on that discovery can liberate a human from the suffering of birth and death. Such a state is none other than nirvana; realization of nirvana is the goal of practice. In what manner then did Mahayana Buddhism develop this basic position of Buddhism (as was originally presented in the *Āgamas*)?

The *Diamond Sutra* (*Jin’gang* [bore boluomi] jing 金剛[般若波羅蜜]經, Skt. *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), which appeared in the early stage of Mahayana Buddhism, has the following statement: “A bodhisattva leads all sentient beings to nirvana, but there is no sentient being who attains nirvana. It is because if a bodhisattva has such things as a mark of self (*asang* [Ch. *woxiang*] 我相, Skt. *ātma-saṃjñā* or *ātma-lakṣaṇa*), he is not a bodhisattva.”¹ Here, we see an infinite practice of no self (*mua* [Ch. *wuwo*] 無我, Skt. *nairātmya*) in which discrimination of, and false attachment to samsara (i.e., birth and death) and nirvana are completely discarded. Such a way of practice of no-self is called “perfection of wisdom” (*banya baramilda* [Ch. bore boluomiduo] 般若波羅蜜多, *ji dopian* [Ch. *zhi dao bi’an*] 智到彼岸 [lit. “crossing over to the other shore by wisdom”], Skt. *prajñāpāramitā*). But we should not be attached even to perfection of wisdom itself. The *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 8,000 Lines* (*Xiaopin bore* [boluomi] jing 小品般若[波羅蜜]經 [A Shorter Version of the Perfection of Wisdom

Sutra], Skt. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*) emphasizes that [doctrine by saying,] “A bodhisattva should accomplish perfection of wisdom, but he can attain neither bodhisattvahood nor perfection of wisdom.”² Furthermore, it says, “Even a buddha neither attains the utmost, right, and perfect enlightenment (*anyokdara/anudara sammyak sambori* [Ch. *anouduoluo sanmiao sanputi*] 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提, Skt. *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*) nor preaches a dharma.”³

If there is nothing obtainable, everything is nothing but a false or provisional designation (*gamyong* [Ch. *jiaming*] 假名, Skt. *prajñapti*). “Even if it is called a bodhisattva, yet bodhisattvahood cannot be obtained at any place and at any time; even the expression ‘unobtainable’ cannot be obtained. Therefore, there only exists a designation.”⁴ This also applies to a sentient being (*jungsaeng* [Ch. *zhongsheng*] 衆生, Skt. *sattva*). “A sentient being neither means a dharma nor a non-dharma. It is just a provisional designation.”⁵ As everything is false (*heomang* [Ch. *xuwang*] 虛妄), “it is like a dream, an illusion, and a shade.”⁶

Such a doctrine that everything is unobtainable and only a false designation came to be subsumed under the concept of “empty” (*gong* [Ch. *kong*] 空, Skt. *sūnya*). The *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 8,000 Lines* repeatedly presents expressions such as “A bodhisattva abides in the Mahayana by the dharma of emptiness,”⁷ “Every dharma is empty,”⁸ “They proceed toward emptiness,”⁹ and “Those are the marks of emptiness.”¹⁰ The *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 25,000 Lines* (*Dapin bore* [Ch. *boluomi*] 經 大品般若[波羅蜜]經 [A Larger Version of the Perfection of Wisdom Sutra], Skt. *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*) uses the word “emptiness” more frequently and enumerates the eighteen types of emptiness.¹¹ It is of course not the case that the concept of emptiness is used only in the Mahayana scriptures. Even in the *Āgamas* it occasionally occurs as a synonym for “no self.”¹² By the time when the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras* of the Mahayana tradition were transmitted, however, this concept came to be immensely favored.

Therefore, the concept of emptiness stands for the basic viewpoint of how to see things in Mahayana Buddhism; it is a core concept that

reveals the real characteristic (*silsang* [Ch. *shixiang*] 實相) of every dharma (*jebeop* [Ch. *zhufa*] 諸法). “What is the true characteristic of every dharma? Every dharma is immaculate (*mugu* [Ch. *wugou*] 無垢, Skt. *vimala*); everything is empty of nature and there is neither self nor a sentient being. It is like an illusion or a dream.”¹³ Here, the expression “real characteristic of every dharma” is used as a synonym for “emptiness.” *Banya* (Ch. *bore*) 般若 (Skt. *prajñā*), the goal of a bodhisattva’s practice of *banya baramilda* (Ch. *bore boluomiduo*, Skt. *prajñāpāramitā*), is the wisdom that sees through this real characteristic.

A sentient being’s transmigration along the cycle of birth and death is due to the ignorance of this real characteristic of every dharma, which is emptiness. “Every dharma is different from what ordinary people are attached to. It exists as if it does not exist. Because it does not exist, it [i.e., ordinary people’s attachment to it as existence] is called ignorance (*mumyeong* [Ch. *wuming*] 無明, Skt. *avidyā*) or non-existence (*bisiljae* [Ch. *fei shizai*] 非實在). Ordinary people discriminate [things by] ignorance and are greedily attached to [things discriminated by] ignorance, thereby falling into the two extremes [of existence and non-existence] . . . They thus have neither knowledge nor insight (i.e., enlightenment) and . . . fall into such a state of ordinary people due to their greed and attachment.”¹⁴ “The real characteristic of every dharma has neither coming nor going. If anyone falsely imagines that the Buddha has either coming or going, you should know that he or she is an ordinary person who receives [the suffering of] birth and death and [is destined to] come and go along the six destinies (*yukdo* [Ch. *liudao*] 六道).”¹⁵

Besides, emptiness also functions as a foundation for ethical behavior in Mahayana Buddhism. In addition to the perfection of wisdom (Skt. *prajñāpāramitā*), a bodhisattva should cultivate five other perfections (Skt. *pāramitā*) in such [virtues] as giving (*boſi* [Ch. *bushi*] 布施, Skt. *dāna*), morality (*jigye* [Ch. *chijie*] 持戒, Skt. *śīla*), forbearance (*inyok* [Ch. *renru*] 忍辱, Skt. *kṣānti*), effort (*jeongjin* [Ch. *jingjin*] 精進, Skt. *vīrya*), and meditation (*seonjeong* [Ch. *chanding*] 禪定, Skt. *dhyāna*). Here, “the latter five perfections should be controlled by the

former.”¹⁶ For giving, morality, and others, separate from wisdom, are “like an unguided blind man and cannot lead [a practitioner] to omniscience (*ilcheji* [Ch. *yiqie zhi*] 一切智, Skt. *sarvajñāna*).”¹⁷ “When the three things of a giver, a gift, and a receiver are not obtainable, true perfection of giving is accomplished.”¹⁸ [Therefore it is said that] only through such giving that does not abide in any mark (*mu jusang bosi* [Ch. *wu zhuxiang bushi*] 無住相布施) can one produce infinite merits.¹⁹

As seen above, emptiness is a representative concept that expresses a basic position of Mahayana Buddhism. The real characteristic of every dharma and a fundamental mindset of ethical practice acquire an integrated expression in this concept. Ordinary people’s transmigration along the path of birth and death can also be attributed to their ignorance of emptiness. Therefore, it can be said that a precise understanding of emptiness is a key to understanding Mahayana Buddhism.

ii. Difficulties in Understanding the Concept of Emptiness

It is not an easy task to have a precise understanding of emptiness, however. First, in the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras* of the Mahayana, reasons for everything being empty are not clarified. [It is said that] a bodhisattva tries to lead all sentient beings to nirvana but that there is no sentient being who attains nirvana. Why is it so? The *Diamond Sutra* says, “It is because a bodhisattva should not have such things as the mark of self.”²⁰ But this cannot be considered to provide a reason; it is just an addition of a new doctrine. The same theme can be found in the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 8,000 Lines*, where the following simile is presented. “All marks of dharmas are like that; it is just like a magician’s transformative manifestation of some objects into person-like shapes on a crossroad and his beheading of them—there is no one who is killed in this case.”²¹ Here, the scripture just drives [its reader] to accept the doctrine as an evident fact (*jebeop sangi* [Ch. *zhufa xianger*] 諸法相爾; lit. “the characteristics of every dharma are just so”). Although the

Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 25,000 Lines enumerates the eighteenfold emptiness, the same applies here. Every statement of the eighteenfold emptiness ends with a brief comment that says, “Its nature is itself so” (*seong jai* [Ch. *xing zi'er*] 性自爾).²²

We may locate more detailed reasons for things being empty in the following statements: “When a collection of conditions (*jungyeon* [Ch. *zhongyuan*] 衆緣) are combined, a thing arises; when a collection of conditions are gone, a thing disappears. It is just like a sound of a stringed instrument like a Chinese harp (*gonghu* [Ch. *konghou*] 箏篎), which arises and disappears without there being any place where it comes from or goes to.”²³ “Since every dharma comes into being due to the combination [of other dharmas or conditions], there cannot be its self-nature (*jaseong* [Ch. *zixing*] 自性, Skt. *svabhāva*).”²⁴ “The name of every dharma also exists due to the combination [of other dharmas or conditions]. Therefore, that name neither arises nor disappears.”²⁵ Since such theories of combination of causes and conditions (*inyeon hwahap* [Ch. *yinyuan hehe*] 因緣和合) were already presented in the *Āgamas* as reasons for the no-self thesis,²⁶ it seems that Mahayana Buddhism succeeded these precedents.

In the *Āgamas*, the ultimate meaning (*jeil ui* [Ch. *diyī yī*] 第一義, Skt. *paramārtha*) of emptiness is explicated in terms of the twelvefold conditioned arising (*sibi yeon'gi* [Ch. *shi'er yuanqi*] 十二緣起). That is, what arises conditionally from ignorance is empty and a provisional designation (*gaho* [Ch. *jiahao*] 假號).²⁷ This theory of twelvefold conditioned arising can also be found in Mahayana teachings. [For instance,] “A bodhisattva contemplates on the twelvefold conditioned arising in inexhaustible dharmas, which is called a bodhisattva’s unshared (*bulgong* [Ch. *bugong*] 不共) dharma. . . . You will then see that every dharma arises due to causes and conditions and therefore lacks [its marks of] substance (i.e., permanence [*sang* (Ch. *chang*] 常), doer [*jakja* (Ch. *zuozhe*] 作者), and receiver [*suja* (Ch. *shouzhe*] 受者).”²⁸ That is, the peculiarities of the Mahayana can be found where the emptiness view (*gongguan* [Ch. *kongguan*] 空觀) of twelvefold conditioned arising is inexhaustibly applied.

The reasons for emptiness enumerated above alone, however, cannot be seen as having sufficient logical coherence. To establish a judgement that a dharma arising due to the combination of causes and conditions is empty (Skt. *śūnya*) in terms of its self-nature (Skt. *svabhāva*), we need many stages of argumentation prior to that judgement. Whereas the *Āgamas* provide certain stages of that argumentation, the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras* do not. Therefore, we should say that the reasons presented in the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras* are not sufficient and that at the same time, it is difficult to get a precise understanding of emptiness from them. For a precise understanding should be supported by clear reasons.²⁹

Yet, difficulties in understanding the concept of emptiness are not solely attributed to these unclear reasons. We can find many other elements in the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras*. At a commonsensical level, if ordinary people transmigrate in the cycle of birth and death owing to their ignorance of the real characteristic of every dharma, we should then say that there is a difference between sentient beings on the one hand and buddhas and bodhisattvas on the other hand for this very reason. That is, we should think that whereas sentient beings have discriminations and false attachments (*bunbyeol mangjip* [Ch. *fenbie wangzhi*] 分別妄執), bodhisattvas cultivate the perfection of wisdom that eliminates discriminations and false attachments and buddhas attain the utmost, right, and perfect enlightenment (Skt. *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*). But what do the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras* say about such distinction? They just say, “Sentient beings are originally pure.”³⁰

As for buddhas and bodhisattvas, too, such a discriminative idea is thoroughly negated. “When a bodhisattva is about to practice perfection of wisdom, he should contemplate on emptiness but should not realize it.”³¹ “Even though he practices the path of emptiness (*gong* [Ch. *kong*] 空), no marks (*musang* [Ch. *wuxiang*] 無相), and no doing (*mujak* [Ch. *wuzuo*] 無作), if he realizes the bounds of being (*silje* [Ch. *shiji*] 實際, Skt. *bhūtakoti*), he becomes [an adherent of] the Hinayana.”³²

Then, what does the practice of perfection of wisdom refer to? “There being no practice is called the practice of perfection of wisdom.”³³ “Even the Buddha has no attainment, which is called the utmost, right, and perfect enlightenment.”³⁴ That is to say, “From the perspective of conventional truth (*seje* [Ch. *shidi*] 世諦, Skt. *saṃvṛti-satya*), it is said that there is an attainment; from the perspective of ultimate truth (*jinje* [Ch. *zhendi*] 眞諦, Skt. *paramārtha-satya*), it is said to be not so.”³⁵

If so, should we think that [at a level of] ultimate or true meaning there is neither practice (*haeng* [Ch. *xing*] 行) nor realization (*jeung* [Ch. *zheng*] 證)? When we read the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras*, however, we see that the scriptures do not have such a meaning and so cannot but be perplexed. “If every dharma is characterized by the mark of emptiness, a sentient being cannot be said to be impure or pure; . . . the utmost, right, and perfect enlightenment is not to be attained. But it is still said that separate from the dharma with the mark of emptiness, the utmost, right, and perfect enlightenment cannot be attained. How should we understand this meaning?”³⁶ To this query, the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 8,000 Lines* gives an answer and it can be summerzied as follows: sentient beings come and go along the path of birth and death due to their attachment to self (*ajip* [Ch. *wozhi*] 我執) in the long, long night. But attachment to self is originally empty. Nevertheless, although it could be said that sentient beings are impure in that they have attachment to self, in fact that impurity does not exist. Separate from every dharma, there is no attachment, and this is called purity. But there is nothing pure in it. If bodhisattvas practice in this way, it is called the practice of perfection of wisdom.³⁷ Here, we see that the passages cited above are still based on the notion of emptiness, but clearly bring a bodhisattva practice (*bosal haeng* [Ch. *pusa xing*] 菩薩行) to the fore.

Besides, we see a positive statement that such a thorough practice of emptiness view will eventually lead [a practitioner] to the realization of true thussness (*yeo* [Ch. *ru*] 如, Skt. *tathātā*) in a place that has a different dimension, such as the further shore (*pian* [Ch. *bi'an*] 彼岸, Skt. *pāra*). [The *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 8,000 Lines* says that]

the Tathagata (Thus-Come One; Yeorae [Ch. Rulai] 如來) knows all the phenomenal things, [such as the five aggregates (*oon* [Ch. *wuyun*] 五蘊, Skt. *pañcaskandha*; i.e., all dharmas)] just as they are (*yeoyeo* [Ch. *ruru*] 如如, Skt. *yathābhūtam*), and attains such thusness as it is. That is why he is called Tathagata. [The scripture goes on to say that] such a mark of thusness can be believed only by a bodhisattva in the stage of non-retrogression (*bultoejeon* [Ch. *bu tuizhuan*] 不退轉, Skt. *avinivartanīya*).³⁸ What does “thusness” (or true thusness) mean here? “What is neither arising nor perishing, neither coming nor going, neither increasing nor decreasing, neither impure nor pure—accords with truth and is devoid of falsity. This is called thusness.”³⁹ If the concept of “emptiness” has negative connotations, this notion of “thusness” has positive implications. “Thusness” can be said to indicate something like “a real being” or “bounds of being” (*silje* [Ch. *shiji*] 實際, Skt. *bhūtakoti*).

Therefore, [the scriptures also have the following passages.] “Every dharma is [non-existent] just like an empty sky; [you receive the suffering in vain; even if you say you attain] the utmost, right, and perfect enlightenment, [it is Māra’s-deed, not the Buddha’s word.]”—[In other words, that enlightenment] cannot be attained.⁴⁰ “Just contemplate on emptiness, impermanence, and desirelessness (*mujak* [Ch. *wuzuo*] 無作 or *muwon* [Ch. *wuyuan*] 無願), etc. [You should know] that such a person [bodhisattva] cannot be called a bodhisattva of non-retrogression.”⁴¹

The concept of thusness is thus clearly differentiated from that of emptiness. Yet, the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras* do not definitely distinguish thusness from emptiness. [For instance,] “How should we characterize this enormously profound (*simsim* [Ch. *shenshen*] 甚深) dharma (i.e., thusness)? Take those expressions such as emptiness, impermanence, and desirelessness for representing it.”⁴² “The reality is devoid of coming and going; it is identical with the Tathagata. Emptiness is devoid of coming and going; it is identical with the Tathagata. Thusness of every dharma and thusness of the Tathagata are just identical as one single thusness [without any duality or

difference].”⁴³ Here, we see that “thusness” and “emptiness” are interchangeable. What is the reason for this identity? [The scripture says,] “Since the wisdom of every buddha is unobstructed, it can manifest thusness of perfection of wisdom and its operation (*haengsang* [Ch. *xingxiang*] 行相, Skt. *ākāra*) as well.”⁴⁴ Therefore, “Perfection of wisdom reveals the empty nature of the mundane realm as well as [the reality of] the world of buddhas (i.e., omniscience).”⁴⁵ We thus see that emptiness implies these two meanings [i.e., unreality of the mundane realm and reality of the world of the Buddha].

As seen above, emptiness is a single coherent concept that penetrates the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras*. The scriptures, however, do not clarify why everything is empty; they at the same time use meanings [of many doctrines] such as conventional truth (*seje* [Ch. *shidi*] 世諦) and ultimate truth (*jinje* [Ch. *zhendi*] 真諦), expedient means (*bangpyeon* [Ch. *fangbian*] 方便, Skt. *upāya*) and ultimate meaning (*sirui* [Ch. *shiyi*] 實義, Skt. *paramārtha*), etc., freely without any obstruction. In this respect, we have difficulties in how to interpret those words. We cannot choose but to say that emptiness is a concept “indeed difficult to see and difficult to know” (*nan'gyeon nanji* [Ch. *nanjian nanzhi*] 難見難知).

iii. Systematic Understanding of Emptiness

Since the doctrine of emptiness is difficult to understand, it is quite natural that there arose efforts to understand it systematically. In Indian Mahayana Buddhism, the Madhyamaka [meaning “Middle Way school” (Junggwan hakpa 中觀學派)], originating from Nāgārjuna (ca. 150–250), and the Yogācāra [meaning “Yoga Practitioners” or “Consciousness-only school” (Yusik hakpa 唯識學派, Skt. Vijñaptivādin)], originating from Maitreya (ca. 270–350 CE), represented the philosophies that tried to demonstrate the true meaning of emptiness from its negative aspects and from its positive aspects respectively. Thereafter, tathagatagarbha (*yeorae jang* [Ch. *rulai zang*]

如來藏; lit. “womb of the Tathagata” [a potential to become a buddha]) or “buddha-nature” (*bulseong* [Ch. *foxing*] 佛性) thought and esoteric philosophy arose (in the eighth century), thereby trying to overcome the previous two schools’ oppositions concerning the theses of existence (*yu* [Ch. *you*] 有) and non-existence (*mu* [Ch. *wu*] 無).

These two Indian Mahayana philosophies were transmitted to China and succeeded by the Three Treatises school (Ch. Sanlun zong [Kr. Samnon jong] 三論宗; Madhyamaka tradition) and the Dharma Characteristics school (Ch. Faxiang zong [Kr. Beopsang jong] 法相宗; Yogācāra tradition). They developed again into the Tiantai (Kr. Cheontae) 天台 school and the Huayan (Kr. Hwaem) 華嚴 school. The Meditation school (Ch. Chanzong [Kr. Seonjong, Jp. Zenshū] 禪宗) can be understood as a development of the abovementioned scholastic (*gyohak* [Ch. *jiaoxue*] 教學) traditions in a practical direction. Korean Buddhism then accommodated such trends of Chinese Buddhist thought. Therefore, in this respect, Korean Buddhism might be said to be an extension of Chinese Buddhism. But the former did not simply accept the latter, but exerted a considerable influence on the latter by presenting its own interpretations. We need to bring to light the unique philosophical positions of Korean Buddhism at this point.

This chapter intends to trace these Korean Buddhist philosophies to their sources and examine how those sources were developed later. Due to the limitation of the space assigned to me, however, I cannot conduct a thoroughgoing research into the topic here. Therefore, I will restrict the scope of research to the core concept of emptiness. As stated by Nāgārjuna, emptiness has three aspects: (1) the thesis that every dharma is characterized by emptiness (Skt. *sūnyatā*), (2) reasons (*inyeon* [Ch. *yinyuan*] 因緣) for that thesis (Skt. *sūnyatā-prajojana*), and (3) the thesis that because of emptiness every dharma can be established, which is the [ultimate] meaning or goal of emptiness (*gongui* [Ch. *kongyi*] 空義, Skt. *sūnyatārtha*)⁴⁶ I will now briefly go over how Korean Buddhist thinkers understood the Mahayana concept of emptiness in terms of these three aspects.

B

Seungnang's Madhyamaka View of Emptiness

i. Origins of Korean Buddhist Philosophy

We have no choice but to begin our overview of Korea Buddhist philosophies with the Goguryeo scholar-monk Seungnang 僧朗 (ca. 500 CE). For although the official introduction of Buddhism in Goguryeo predates his activities by a hundred years or so, we do not have any materials that give us information of Buddhist studies carried out in Goguryeo [before Seungnang's time]. There are no direct source materials from which we can get a glimpse of Seungnang's thought, either.

But his thought was passed on to Jizang 吉藏 (549–623), who founded the Three Treatises school during the Sui 隋 dynasty (581–619) and passed down Seungnang's philosophical positions by referring to them in his writings, albeit in a fragmented form.

We have noted difficulties in understanding the concept of emptiness preached in Mahayana scriptures such as the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras*. The first Indian thinker who tried to understand emptiness systematically was Nāgārjuna (ca. 150–250 CE). He [is known to have] composed a commentary on the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 25,000 Lines* (in the 100-fascicle *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 [Skt. **Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra*]) and explicated the middle way of eight negations (*palbul jungdo* [Ch. *babu zhongdao*] 八不中道) (in his *Zhonglun* 中論, fascicle 4), thus concentrating his thought on systematic understanding of emptiness. The school that succeeded Nāgārjuna's thought is called Mādhyamika [lit. “followers of the middle way,” distinguished from “Madhyamaka” as a philosophical position], and it was Kumārajīva (344–413) who brought this philosophy of the middle way into China in its full-fledged form. He arrived in Chang'an 長安 (present day Xi'an 西安, Shaanxi 陝西 Province) in the third reign year

(401) of the Hongshi 弘始 era (399–416) of the Former Qin (Qianqin 前秦, 351–395) and translated the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra in 25,000 Lines* and treatises related to Madhayamaka thought.

The Madhyamaka thought (i.e., philosophy of the middle way) that Kumārajīva brought [to China] seems to have been studied under his tutelage with a focus on the three treatises: the *Zhonglun* 中論 (Treatise of the Middle Way; Skt. *Madhyamakaśāstra*) by Nāgārjuna, the *Bailun* 百論 (Treatise in a Hundred Verses; Skt. **Śatasāstra*) by Āryadeva (ca. 170–270), and the *Shi'er men lun* 十二門論 (Treatise of the Twelve Gates; Skt. **Dvādaśa-mukhaśāstra*) attributed to Nāgārjuna. [It is said, however, that] since the *Chengshi lun* 成實論 (Treatise That Accomplish Reality; Skt. **Tattvasiddhiśāstra* by Harivarman [250–350]) was studied along with these three texts, the *Chengshi lun's* Hinayana teaching was confused with the ideas of emptiness, and “subtle principles (Ch. *xuangang* 玄綱) had almost been cut off since the Qi 齊 dynasty (479–502).”⁴⁷ Such a trend was more dominant in southern China, and it was Seungnang who differentiated the three [Madhayamaka] treatises from the *Chengshi lun*, thereby reaffirming the true meanings of the former.

To elaborate this point, Seungnang entered China during the reign of Goguryeo's twentieth ruler King Jangsu 長壽 (r. 413–491) and penetrated Kumārajīva's intent. He then went to the south of Yangzi (Yangtze) River in the late period of the Liu Song 劉宋 (420–479) dynasty.⁴⁸ Thereafter, he promoted the Three Treatises studies centering around Qixia Temple (棲霞寺, where he was appointed as an abbot in 500) on the She Mountains (Sheling 攝嶺). His study of the Three Treatises was then passed on to Sengquan 僧詮 (d.u.) of Zhiguan Temple (止觀寺), Falang 法朗 (507–581) of Xinghuang Temple (興皇寺), and Jizang of Jiexiang Temple (嘉祥寺), which led to the establishment of the Three Treatises school (Ch. Sanlun zong).

Therefore, Seungnang was held in high esteem as a preeminent thinker, with the title “Great Master Lang (Nang) of Goryeo” (Goryeo Nang Daesa [Ch. Gaoli Lang Dashi] 高麗朗大師), who revived the old tradition of the Three Treatises studies that had prevailed in Chang'an and provided a firm foundation for [the later development of] the

Three Treatises school. This means that unparalleled research of the Mahayana notion of emptiness was conducted by him. Besides, the Three Treatises school later became a mainstream in the Buddhist circles of Goguryeo and Baekje.⁴⁹ Most of the monks from the two countries who transmitted Buddhism to Japan were affiliated with the Three Treatises school. Therefore, although Seungnang was active in China and did not return to Korea, we can say that he was in a position that formed the main source of Korean Buddhist thought. Then, what was Seungnang's view on emptiness like?

ii. The Doctrine of the Two Truths as Teachings

Seungnang belongs to the philosophical tradition that began with Nāgārjuna and was linked to Kumārajīva [and his successors]. Therefore, his views on emptiness should be examined within the context of this lineage. Nāgārjuna opens the *Madhyamakāśāstra* with a verse of veneration (*gwimyeong ge* [Ch. *guiming jie*] 歸命偈) that says, “I take refuge in the Buddha who preaches the causal conditions that are [characterized by the eight negations (*palbul* [Ch. *babu*] 八不)] of neither arising nor perishing (*bulsaeng bulmyeol* [Ch. *busheng bumie*] 不生不滅), neither being identical nor different (*buril buri* [Ch. *buyi buyi*] 不一不異), neither being eternal nor transient (*bulsang budan* [Ch. *buchang buduan*] 不常不斷), and neither coming nor departing (*bullae bulchul* [Ch. *bulai buchul*] 不來不出).”⁵⁰ He then refutes false attachments to arising and perishing, coming and going, the six sense faculties (*yukgeun* [Ch. *liugen*] 六根), the five aggregates, etc. one by one. By refuting a false attachment to existence (*yu* [Ch. *you*] 有), he tries to establish its antithesis of emptiness (this method is called *prasaṅga*, or *reductio ad absurdum*). He then says, “Since there is nothing that does not arise from causal conditions, there is no dharma that is not empty.”⁵¹ Here, “arising from causal conditions” (*jong inyeon saeng* [Ch. *cong yinyuan sheng*] 從因緣生) is presented as a reason for dharmas being empty.

However, every occurrence of the technical term “arising from causal conditions” corresponds to *pratīyasamutpāda* in the Sanskrit originals. Therefore, rather than “arising from causal conditions,” it would be better to translate it as “conditioned arising” (*yeon’gi* [Ch. *yuanyqi*] 緣起, Skt. *pratīyasamutpāda*) or “arising from a collection of conditions” (*jungyeon hwahap i saeng* [Ch. *zhongyuan hehe er sheng*] 衆緣和合而生). Both “causal conditions” or “causes and conditions” (*inyeon* [Ch. *yinyuan*] 因緣, Skt. *hetupratyaya*) and “conditioned arising” are technical terms to denote the principle of a thing’s origination, but they are distinguished in meanings. Whereas the former indicates the principle linked to an ontological theory of real characteristic (*silsangnon* [Ch. *shixiang lun*] 實相論), the latter means an epistemological principle that the arising of suffering of birth and death is due to the ignorance of such real characteristic. To elaborate, that two dharmas “*A*” and “*B*” stand in a mutual relation of causal condition means that “*A*” conditions the arising of “*B*” or that “*B*” conditions the arising of “*A*.” In this case, we cannot say that either “*A*” or “*B*” has independent nature (i.e., self-nature [*jaseong* (Ch. *zixing*) 自性, Skt. *svabhāva*]) of existence; since “*A*” is “*A*” of “*B*” and “*B*” is “*B*” of “*A*,” “*A*” and “*B*” are identical with each other (*sangjeuk* [Ch. *xiangji*] 相卽) in that “*A*” is itself not (*bi* [Ch. *fei*] 非) “*A*” and “*B*” is itself not “*B*.” But its own individual characteristic of “*A*” and “*B*” is not completely negated. Therefore, a substance is established in that they are mutually identical; two functions [as “*A*” and “*B*”] are revealed in that they are not negated (*bulgoe* [Ch. *buhuai*] 不壞). That is, the logic of causation leads to reveal this ontological real characteristic. If we go further, we can arrive at a judgement that the two (*i* [Ch. *er*] 二) functions are nothing but a single (*il* [Ch. *yi*] 一) mark of a substance. In this cases, it is more common to use terms such as “nature” (*seong* [Ch. *xing*] 性) and “characteristic” (*sang* [Ch. *xiang*] 相) rather than “substance” (*che* [Ch. *ti*] 體) and “function” (*yong* [Ch. *yong*] 用). We can see this trend in the Consciousness-only school’s theories.

Sentient beings, however, are ignorant of “the real characteristic of being” (i.e., its substance and functions, or its nature and

characteristics). They thus discriminate the self-natures of the two dharmas “A” and “B,” and firmly adhere to them. This is called ignorance (*mumyeong* [Ch. *wuming*] 無明, Skt. *avidyā*); if there is such ignorance, relying on or conditioned by it there arise formations (*haeng* [Ch. *xing*] 行, Skt. *saṃskāra*). These formations are the processes intending to actualize the dharmas (“A” or “B”) they discriminate and adhere to. Conditioned by the formations there arises the suffering of birth and death (i.e., conditioned phenomena [*yuwi beop* (Ch. *youwei fa*) 有爲法, Skt. *saṃskṛta*]). Therefore, “causal conditions” and “conditioned arising” should be distinguished in a strict sense. For the latter is established on the basis of the former.

If so, we should think that a judgement of a dharma’s being empty is based on the latter out of the two principles [of causal conditions and conditioned arising]. For only what arises conditioned by ignorance can be seen as being devoid or empty of substance (i.e., self). Therefore, the *Āgamas* and the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras* as well as Nāgārjuna’s Madhyamaka philosophy always explicate the ultimate meaning (*jeil ui* [Ch. *di’er yi*] 第一義, Skt. *paramārtha*) of emptiness in terms of conditioned arising.⁵² But we should not have a simplistic understanding of conditioned arising only from the aspect of emptiness. For while ignorance is a false attachment to an unreal being, the existence of that illusive thought itself should be acknowledged. Therefore, what arises conditionally should be seen as being both empty and provisionally existent (*gayu* [Ch. *jiayou*] 假有, Skt. *prajñaptisat*). The meaning of the middle way that is neither existent (*biyu* [Ch. *feiyou*] 非有, *silgong* [Ch. *shikong*] 實空 [truly empty]) nor non-existent (*bimu* [Ch. *feiwu*] 非無, *gayu* [Ch. *jiayou*] [provisionally existent]) is also established on this meaning.

Kumārajīva, however, translated most of the occurrences of the term “conditioned arising” (Skt. *pratīyasamutpāda*) as “causal conditions” (Skt. *hetupratyaya*) or “a collection of conditions” (Ch. *zhongyuan* 衆緣), thereby causing serious confusions about the two concepts [of *pratīyasamutpāda* and *hetupratyaya*]. What then led the great translator Kumārajīva to equate these most important two

concepts of Buddhist philosophy? It goes without saying that it could be attributed to his Buddhist philosophy. The fundamental reason (or a primary condition [*jeil yeon* (Ch. *diyī yuan*) 第一緣]) for conditioned arising is ignorance, which is identical with an attachment caused by discrimination of the two dharmas that are in a relation of causal condition. If so, a thesis that what conditionally arises is empty is essentially identical to another thesis that we should not be attached to the two dharmas which are in a relation of causal condition. And both theses will function as a path to the real characteristic of every dharma, or true reality. Moreover, the theory of causal condition is much more straightforward than that of conditioned arising. For the theory of conditioned arising is mediated by the theory of causal condition and thus characterized by indirectness. Kumārajīva's frequent use of the concept "causal condition" seems to be attributed to such ideas of his.

It is certain that Madhyamaka studies in China was heavily influenced by Kumārajīva's philosophical orientation as noted above. In the writings of his disciples such as Sengzhao 僧肇 (384–414), Tanying 曇影 (fl. fourth century), and Jizang 吉藏 in later times, we can also find "the logic of causal condition" to be repeatedly applied.

Concerning any possible problems that arise from this theory of causal condition, first of all, questions concerning the two truths (*ije* [Ch. *erdi*] 二諦) could pose a problem. For the two truths of ultimate truth (i.e., emptiness) and conventional truth (i.e., existence) are now closely associated with the theory of causal condition (or conditioned arising).

The two truths are two kinds of expedient means "all the buddhas rely on when they preach a teaching to sentient beings, and they consist of the conventional truth (*sesok je* 世俗諦) and the ultimate truth (*jeil ui je* [Ch. *diyī yī dī*] 第一義諦, *jinje* [Ch. *zhendi*] 真諦, *seungui je* [Ch. *shengyi di*] 勝義諦)."⁵³ Concerning the two truths, Piṅgala's (or Nilanetra [Ch. Qingmu 青目], fl. fourth century) commentary on the *Madhyamakāśāstra* says, "Although every dharma is empty, worldlings have distorted views and give rise to false dharmas. Because these views are true in the mundane realm, they are called conventional truths.

Because sages and saints know that nature of those distorted thoughts is empty, they see every dharma as empty. For them, their views are true and thus are called ultimate truths.”⁵⁴ We can find an identical explanation in Jizang’s writing, too.⁵⁵ Therefore, such an explanation seems to have been accepted as an authentic theory in the academia at that time.

As for these two truths of the conventional and the ultimate, a theory to the effect that the two truths indicate different objects of knowledge (*igyong* [Ch. *yijing*] 異境) seems to have been prevailing earlier on. Such a view had been dominant in southern China since the Liu Song dynasty, and it is thought to have been heavily influenced by the *Chengshi lun*’s Hinayana teaching, as this text was studied along with the Three Treatises. Although Harivarman’s *Chengshi lun* was translated by Kumārajīva, it is a treatise of Hinayana scholasticism that purports to elucidate the real meaning of the three baskets or divisions (Skt. *tripiṭaka*) of scriptures, disciplines, and treatises. The theory of two truths of this sort is called the doctrine of the two truths as principles (*yangni ije seol* [Ch. *yueli erdi shuo*] 約理二諦說). It means that this theory adheres to [the distinction of] existence of the conventional truth and non-existence or emptiness of the ultimate truth as two different objects of knowledge, which are attainable (*yu sodeuk* [Ch. *you suode*] 有所得). Does such a theory indeed accord with the Mahayana’s purport?

It was Seungnang who rectified this philosophical problem that originated in southern China during the Northern and Southern dynasties (Nanbei chao 南北朝, 386–589). How did he solve that problem, then? First of all, he began his argumentation by highlighting the doctrine of the two truths as teachings (*yakgyo ije seol* [Ch. *yuejiao erdi shuo*] 約教二諦說). The doctrine of the two truths as teachings sees the two truths as verbal teachings (*eon’gyo* [Ch. *yanjiao*] 言教 or *ga* [Ch. *jia*] 假; i.e., provisional instruments) adopted by the Buddha. Specifically, it is said, “Without relying on the conventional truth it is impossible to attain the ultimate truth; without attaining the ultimate truth, it is impossible to attain nirvana.”⁵⁶ But this nirvana “cannot be

said to be either existent or non-existent.”⁵⁷ Therefore, we cannot but regard existence of the conventional truth and non-existence of the ultimate truth as standing in a mutual relation of causal condition.

Such a thesis of existence and non-existence in terms of causal condition (*inyeon yumu* [Ch. *yinyuan youwu*] 因緣有無) is summarized in Jizang’s writing as follows.

Existence cannot be existence, and non-existence cannot be non-existence. Due to non-existence existence can be attained; due to existence non-existence can be attained. Therefore, existence cannot be existence by itself; non-existence cannot be non-existence by itself. Such existence is existence of non-existence; such non-existence is non-existence of existence. Existence of non-existence cannot be existence; non-existence of existence cannot be non-existence. Such existence and non-existence thus represent non-existence and non-nonexistence respectively.⁵⁸

This is referred to as “the first passage of the Three Treatises” (*Sanlun chuzhang* 三論初章), which means “the passage that is to be learned more than anything else by a student who learns the Three Treatises.”⁵⁹

If the two truths of existence and non-existence thus stand in a mutual relation of causal condition, they cannot be regarded as objects to be known. For both are denied their self-nature. Therefore, they should be considered the two gates of teaching (*gyomun* [Ch. *jiaomen*] 教門) the Buddha relies on for the purpose of preaching to sentient beings. “They are thus comprehensive explanations through verbal teachings (*eon’gyo ji tongjeon* [Ch. *yanjiao zhi tongquan*] 言教之通詮) and provisional designations of mutual dependence (*sangdae ji gaching* [Ch. *xiangdai zhi jiacheng*] 相待之假稱).”⁶⁰ Just recall Nāgārjuna’s own statement that says, “The great sage’s preaching of the dharma of emptiness is for the purpose of separating from views. If anyone has a view that sees existence of emptiness, such a person cannot be liberated even by the Buddha.”⁶¹

Therefore, the doctrine of the two truths as teachings should be

seen as an excellent theory that can reveal the true meanings of the Mahayana by repudiating the doctrine of the two truths as principles, as the latter clings to the two truths as objects to be known. Are we not justified in thinking Seungnang's going to southern China and promoting the doctrine of the two truths as teachings can be attributed to such [critical attitude]? In relation to this, Jizang says, "Both the She Mountains (i.e., Seungnang and Sengquan) and the Xinghuang Temple (i.e., Falang) took verbal teachings to be the truths. Why? There is a deep meaning. Since the [knowable and obtainable] principles have been [wrongly] taken as the truths, they provisionally established that doctrine."⁶²

Here, we find the reason for Seungnang's proclamation of the two truths as teachings to be clearly presented. But it does not mean that it was Seungnang who first presented the doctrine of the two truths as teachings. Prior to him, it is said, "Daliang 大亮 (d.u.) of Guangzhou 廣州 interpreted the two truths as gates of teaching."⁶³ Since Daliang is considered to indicate Daoliang 道亮 who was active between the Yuanjia 元嘉 era (424–453) and the Daming 大明 era (457–465) of the Liu Song,⁶⁴ he slightly predates Seungnang in terms of chronology. But should we attribute the first formulation of the doctrine to him? No. For in such [earlier] works as Tanying's "Preface to the *Madhyamakāsāstra*" or Sengzhao's "Treatise of Emptiness of the Unreal" (不真空論), we also find discussions of causal relationship of the two truths.⁶⁵ It would thus be better to take the doctrine of the two truths as teachings to be a peculiar theory that was formed between the time of Kumārajīva and his disciples and that of Jizang.

In that process [of doctrinal formulation], Seungnang's role and influence, we should say, was indeed enormous. Although Daliang also seems to have presented the doctrine of the two truths as teachings, we cannot see any philosophical transmission after his activities. In the case of Seungnang, however, we see further developments of that doctrine in the ideas of his successors such as Sengquan, Falang, and Jizang. It is well known that the establishment of the Three Treatises school was also due to their efforts.

What is especially worthy of note in the development of the doctrine of the two truths as teachings is the three-level (*samjung* [Ch. *sanchong*] 三重) or four-level (*sajung* [Ch. *sichong*] 四重) doctrine of the two truths. For instance, (1) if anyone is attached to a dualistic view that sees phenomena (*sa* [Ch. *shi*] 事) as the conventional truth and principle (noumena; *i* [Ch. *li*] 理) as the ultimate truth like the Abhidharma masters, he or she will be told that a theory that identifies the principle of phenomena (*sari* [Ch. *shili*] 事理) as existence (*yu* [Ch. *you*] 有) is the conventional truth and the negation of that theory (i.e., non-existence; *gong* [Ch. *kong*] 空) is the ultimate teaching (first level). (2) If anyone is again attached to a dualistic view that sees existence as the conventional truth and non-existence as the ultimate truth like the *Chengshi lun* masters, he or she will be told that a theory that acknowledges both non-existence and existence (*gongyu* [Ch. *kongyou*] 空有) is the conventional truth and the negation of that theory (neither existence nor non-existence [*biyu bimu* (Ch. *feiyou feiwu*) 非有非無]) is the ultimate truth (second level). (3) If anyone is again attached to a view that sees duality (pervasive discrimination [*bunbyeol* (Ch. *fenbie*) 分別, Skt. *parikalpa*] and other-dependence [*uita* (Ch. *yita*) 依他, Skt. *paratantra*]) as the conventional truth and non-duality (perfect accomplishment or true reality [*jinsil* (Ch. *zhenshi*) 真實, Skt. *pariniṣpanna*]) as the ultimate truth like the Yogācāra masters, he or she will be told that the teaching of both duality and non-duality (*i buri* [Ch. *er bu'er*] 二不二) is the conventional truth and the negation of that teaching (neither duality nor non-duality [*bii bi buri* (Ch. *fei'er febu'er*) 非二非不二]) is the ultimate truth (third level). (4) If anyone is still attached to the view that sees the three natures (pervasive discrimination, other-dependence, and perfect accomplishment) as the conventional truth and non-existence of the three natures as the ultimate truth like the *Shelun* (*She dasheng lun lun* 攝大乘論 [Compendium of the Mahayana]; Skt. *Mahāyānasamgraha*) masters, he or she will be told that the teaching of both the three natures and non-existence of the three natures (*samseong sam museong* [Ch. *sansxing san wuxing*] 三性三無性) is the conventional truth and the negation of that teaching (forgetting of words and cutting

off of thoughts [*eonmang yeojeol* [Ch. *yanwang lijue* 言忘慮絕]) is the ultimate teaching (fourth level).⁶⁶ By applying the two truths at three or four levels, the doctrine of the two truths as teachings can extinguish diverse wrong attachments thoroughly.

Therefore, although the doctrine of the two truths as teachings was not first presented by Seungnang, its important historical significance in the development of Chinese philosophy of emptiness should be emphasized. For it provided the philosophical current of the times, in which the doctrine of the two truths as principles was dominant, with an important occasion for great changes.

iii. The Doctrine of the Middle Way as a Substance

If we take the two truths to be verbal teachings or provisional instruments, what should we think of the principles defined as knowable objects (*igyeong* [Ch. *lijing*] 理境)? Although the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras* say that everything is unobtainable and empty, it does not mean that there is no truth at all. The doctrine of the two truths as principles considered the truths to be identical with emptiness of the ultimate truth. But Seungnang judged that in such a view remains an attachment to the two truths. In what fashion, then, did Seungnang express his own view of the truths? Here, we have no choice but to investigate this issue through Jizang's writings.

First, if the two truths are verbal teachings which adopt linguistic expressions as expedient means, they cannot be referred to as either existence or non-existence. They go beyond the realm of existence and non-existence. What is separate from the two extremes of existence and non-existence is expressed as the middle way in the *Āgamas*. [For instance,] "Since we see the arising of the mundane world as it is, we cannot call it non-existence; since we see its extinction as it is, we cannot call it existence. Therefore, we speak of the middle way that is separate from the two extremes of existence and non-existence. The conditioned arising is itself the middle way."⁶⁷ Nāgārjuna also follows

this doctrine of the middle way and says, “What arises from a collection of causal conditions (*jung inyeon saeng beop* [Ch. *zhong yinyuan sheng fa*] 衆因緣生法) or what conditionally arises (*yeon’gi* [Ch. *yuanyi*] 緣起)—I call it emptiness. It is also a provisional designation and has the meaning of the middle way.”⁶⁸ If that is the case, the truths may be expressed as the middle way. Of course, this presupposes the thesis that the two truths are teachings. In this respect, we often find the following statement in Jizang’s writings. “Duality (*i* [Ch. *er*] 二) of existence and non-existence is a teaching; non-duality (*buri* [Ch. *bu’er*] 不二; viz. the middle way), which is neither existence nor non-existence, is the [utmost] principle (*i* [Ch. *li*] 理).”⁶⁹

Again, from the perspective of the theory of causal condition, the two truths stand in a relation of mutual causation. We need to recall that this [mutuality] is the most significant characteristic of the doctrine of the two truths as teachings. Statements such as “The two truths are verbal teachings; they are provisional and nominal designations of mutual dependence” are all based on the theory of causal condition. If the two truths stand in a mutual relation of causal condition and their self-nature is empty, then what can be said of the [utmost] principle [that is to be known]? It goes without saying that the “principle” in question here can be considered a “substance” constructed by the mutual identity (*sangjeuk* [Ch. *xiangji*] 相卽) of these two truths. At the same time, the two “truths” can be seen as “functions” of that substance. For any two dharmas in a relation of causal condition are identical with each other and form a substance; [at the same time,] their [respective self-identity] is not destroyed (*bulgoe* [Ch. *buhuai*] 不壞) and constitute [their own] functions.

Now, if we combine the two points [of the utmost principle] examined above into one, we will see that the triad of truth, middle way, and substance refers to an exactly identical concept. Therefore, in Jizang’s writings we frequently find the following statements. “Duality of existence and non-existence is a teaching; non-duality of neither existence nor non-nonexistence is the [utmost] principle.” “The two truths of the ultimate and the conventional [as functions] take their

substance to be the middle way of non-duality (*buri jungdo* [Ch. *bu'er zhongdao*] 不二中道).⁷⁰ Here, the relationship of the two truths and the middle way corresponds to that of provisional and middle (*ga-jung* [Ch. *jia-zhong*] 假-中), teaching and principle (*gyo-ri* [Ch. *jiao-li*] 教-理), function and substance (*yong-che* [Ch. *yong-ti*] 用-體), expedient and real (*gwon-sil* [Ch. *quan-shi*] 權-實), expedient means and true characteristic (*bangpyeon-silsang* [Ch. *fangbian shixiang*] 方便-實相), etc.⁷¹

Such a theory that regards the middle way as a principle or substance of the two truths is called the doctrine of the middle way as a substance (*jungdo wiche seol* [Ch. *zhongdao weiti shuo*] 中道爲體說). It can be said that this theory is a peculiar Chinese doctrine not to be found in Indian Madhayamaka studies.

Then, who did proclaim that doctrine first? That doctrine seems to have originated also from Seungnang. It is said, “The great master of the She Mountains (Sheshan 攝山; i.e., Seungnang) referred to what is neither existent nor non-existent as the middle way; he referred to what is either existent or non-existent as a provisional designation. Not being separate from the substance is called ‘middle’; being a function is called ‘provisional.’”⁷² It is also said, “Both [the masters of] the She Mountains (Sheling 攝嶺; i.e., Seungnang and Sengquan) and [those of] the Xinghuang Temple (i.e., Falang) took the middle way as a substance of the two truths.”⁷³ It goes without saying that there did exist someone else who also proclaimed a similar doctrine, for it is said that there were fourteen masters [with a similar view].⁷⁴ But Seungnang seems to have first clarified that principle from the perspective of the two truths as teachings.⁷⁵ For the Three Treatises school always traced the origin of that doctrine to the She Mountains.

As observed above, Seungnang denied the view that sees the two truths as principles, and instead correlated them with the middle way. But are we justified in understanding the truths in this way? The truth in the Mahayana goes beyond all the linguistic expressions and intellectual reasoning. If words such as “existence” and “non-existence” cannot be accepted, the word “middle way” cannot be accepted, either. Although we must be clearly aware of the existence of

truths, those truths should not become objects adhered to. Therefore, it is necessary to introduce another theory that breaks down the very discriminations of or attachments to the middle (*jung* [Ch. *zhong*] 中: aspect of substance [*che* (Ch. *ti*) 體]) and the provisional (*ga* 假: aspect of functions [*yong* (Ch. *yong*) 用]). Then, how did Seungnang tackle this problem?

If we adopt the doctrine of the two truths as principles, it will pose a big difficulty. Since the two truths definitely refer to existence and non-existence, “existence remains as existence and thus cannot represent what is not existent; non-existence remains as non-existence and thus cannot represent what is not non-existent.”⁷⁶ In this case, the two truths cannot be identical with each other. For [if each of the two truths refers to an object that has its determined characteristic,] “when existence approaches (*jeuk* [Ch. *ji*] 即) emptiness, existence will break down; when emptiness approaches existence, emptiness will break down.”⁷⁷ Since the two truths cannot be identical with each other, the two truths and the middle way cannot be identical with each other, either.

What can be said of the doctrine of the two truths as teachings, then? Theoretically, it can be said that such an obstacle is already removed in this doctrine. As the two truths stand in a relation of mutual causation, existence and non-existence represent what is not existent and what is not non-existent respectively (see “the first passage of the Three Treatises”). Therefore, the mutual identity is obtained in this doctrine. This mutual identity between each of the two truths then allows for the mutual identity between the two truths and the middle way. For when the mutual identity of the two truths establishes a substance (i.e., middle way) and this substance in turn establishes functions (i.e., two truths), the substance and functions stand in a causal relation in which they cannot be separated from each other, thereby opening a path of mutual identity at both sides [of substance and functions]. In this respect, it can be said, “Without destroying the provisional designations, the real characteristic of every dharma is preached; without moving from the equal enlightenment (*deunggak* [Ch. *dengjue*] 等覺), all dharmas are established.”⁷⁸

This viewpoint from which one sees the mutual identity of the two truths horizontally and sees the mutual identity of the middle and the provisional vertically is called “the combined contemplation of both horizontal and vertical aspects” (*hoengsu byeongwan* [Ch. *hengshu bingguan*] 橫豎竝觀).⁷⁹ From this viewpoint we must discard attachments to existence and non-existence, as well as discriminations of the middle and the provisional. [It is thus said,] “Far separated from the two extremes (*ibyeon* [Ch. *erbian*] 二邊), one is not attached even to the middle way.”⁸⁰ This leads to the state in which there is nothing attainable at all (*ilche mu sodeuk* [Ch. *yiqie wu suode*] 一切無所得). Therefore, the Three Treatises school “takes the correct contemplation of no attainment (*mudeuk jeonggan* [Ch. *wude zhengguan*] 無得正觀) to be its central tenet.”⁸¹ Seungnang’s doctrine of the two truths as teachings thus naturally leads to the conclusion of no attainment. From the above observation, we can understand that when he said that the middle way is the principle, it was nothing but a tentative statement brought out by his view that sees “the two truths as teachings.”

But we should not regard the thesis that “there is nothing attainable at all” as having a simplistic conceptual meaning. For the mutual identity of two dharmas is always sublated to a substance. “No attainment,” in this respect, means “a substance of no attainment.” We should know that such a substance, which can be expressed as the middle way, “brings about an unobstructed function by which every dharma becomes the [meaning of] mundane or conventional [activities] (*sok* [Ch. *su*] 俗).”⁸² For any substance is necessarily accompanied by functions. Therefore, in terms of the middle way Jizang made distinctions between (1) the middle as contrasted to the partial (*daepyeon jung* [Ch. *duipian zhong*] 對偏中), (2) the middle as exhaustion of the partial (*jinpyeon jung* [Ch. *jinpian zhong*] 盡偏中), (3) the middle as the absolute (*jeoldae jung* [Ch. *juedui zhong*] 絕對中), and (4) the middle that accomplishes the provisional (*seongga jung* [Ch. *chengjia zhong*] 成假中).⁸³ He further distinguishes between (1) explications in accordance with the names (*sumyeong seok* [Ch. *shiming shi*] 隨名釋), (2) explications in accordance with causes and conditions

(*inyeon seok* [Ch. *yinyuan shi*] 因緣釋), (3) explications by revealing the path (*hyeondo seok* [Ch. *xiandao shi*] 顯道釋), and (4) explications not restricted to any specific places (*mubang seok* [Ch. *wufang shi*] 無方釋) when he explicates the meanings [of the innumerable (*muryang* [Ch. *wuliang*] 無量)] (*seogui* [Ch. *shiyi*] 釋義).⁸⁴ He then correlates the fourth category of the middle with the fourth category of the explications. Furthermore, he even states that the correct dharma of the middle way that has nothing attainable is itself buddha-nature,⁸⁵ and that the one vehicle (*ilseung* [Ch. *yisheng*] 一乘) or nirvana takes the middle way to be its substance.⁸⁶ These should be considered natural logical conclusions.

Now, we have briefly examined Seungnang's emptiness view through Jizang's writings. He thoroughly refuted the mistaken attachments (*sajip* [Ch. *xiezhi*] 邪執) of the earlier theories that intended to see the two truths of the conventional and the ultimate as true principles by pointing out that these two truths preached by every buddha are verbal teachings or provisional instruments (from the perspective of the two truths as teachings). But he did not lean to the negative aspect of emptiness (viz. thorough reputation of false attachments) only; he also positively presented the relation between the substance (as the middle way) and its functions (as the two truths) by showing that the two truths of existence and non-existence take the middle way as a substance (from the perspective of the middle way as a substance). Furthermore, he suggested that the middle way and the two truths are identical with each other and that they form a substance, which does not allow for any attainment, and bring about unobstructed functions in the mundane or conventional realm. He thus revealed that the ultimate object of the Mahayana lies [in such a substance and functions]. Therefore, it can be said that his view of emptiness has a subtle structure in which refutation of the false (*pasa* [Ch. *poxie*] 破邪) and the disclosure of the correct (*hyeonjeong* [Ch. *xianzheng*] 顯正) become one.

C

Woncheuk's Yogācāra View of Emptiness

i. Exaltation of the New Yogācāra

As prominent scholar-monks who were active after Seungnang's time, we may take Hyeja 慧慈 (d. 623: Three Treatises), Hyegwan 慧灌 (d.u.: Three Treatises), Bodeok 普德 (d.u.: Nirvana), etc. from Goguryeo; and Gyeomik 謙益 (d.u.: Vinaya), Hyeon'gwang 玄光 (d.u.: Beophwa 法華 [Lotus]), Hyechong 惠聰 (d.u.: Three Treatises), Gwalleuk 觀勒 (d.u.: Three Treatises), Dojang 道藏 (d.u.: Chengshi 成實), Uiyeong 義榮 (d.u.: Yogācāra), etc. from Baekje. And as eminent monks from Silla, we may take Jimyeong 智明 (d.u.: Vinaya), Won'gwang 圓光 (555–638: Vinaya and Tathagatagarbha), Wonseung 圓勝 (d.u.: Vinaya), Jajang 慈藏 (590–658: Vinaya, Shelun [Mahāyānasamgraha], Hwaeom 華嚴 [Flower Garland], and Pure Land), Hyegong 惠空 (d.u.: Three Treatises), Nangji 朗智 (d.u.: Three Treatises and Hwaeom), Anham 安含 (578–640: Cheontae and Esoteric Buddhism), etc. But since all of their writings are lost, we cannot elucidate their philosophies. In this respect, our available source materials for these thinkers are less favorable than those for Seungnang.

But what about Woncheuk 圓測 (613–696) of Silla? Modern bibliographical research has shown that his writings total twenty titles in more than ninety fascicles.⁸⁷ Of these, three titles in seventeen fascicles, such as (1) *Bulseol banya baramilda simgyeong-chan* 佛說般若波羅蜜多心經贊 (Praising Commentary on the *Heart Sutra*) in one fascicle, (2) *Inwanggyeong-so* 仁王經疏 (Commentary on the *Humane Kings Sutra*) in six fascicles, and (3) *Hae simmilgyeong-so* 解深密經疏 (Commentary on the *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning* [Skt. *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*]) in ten fascicles are handed down to the present. He is the first Korean scholar-monk whose writings are passed down. Therefore, in terms of source materials he must be considered to

be of a status that warrants our investigation, the importance of which is second to Seungnang.

Besides, in contrast to Seungnang's Three Treatises studies, he devoted himself to Yogācāra studies and made great scholarly contributions to its development. Yogācāra studies was introduced to China when Paramārtha (Zhendi 真諦; arrived in Liang in 548) translated into Chinese [seminal] Yogācāra texts including Asaṅga's (fl. fourth century) *Mahāyānasamgraha* (*She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論 [Compendium of the Mahayana], abbreviated as *Shelun*) in 563. Based on the *Mahāyānasamgraha*, Shelun studies arose and the introduction of Yogācāra studies was accelerated. It seems that the Silla monks Won'gwang and Jajang were also acquainted with Shelun studies. In the case of Woncheuk, he entered Tang China (ca. 627) and attended the lectures on the *Mahāyānasamgraha* made by the two great masters, Fachang 法常 (567–645) and Sengbian 僧辯 (568–642). He then abided in Yuanfa Temple (元法寺) and widened the scope of his scholarship which covered treatises and commentaries of old and contemporary times as well as the Sanskrit language.⁸⁸

It seems, however, that he found Paramārtha's Yogācāra studies unsatisfactory. When Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) finished his search for truth in India and brought in the new Yogācāra philosophy belonging to Dharmapāla's (Hufa 護法, 530–561) lineage [into China], Woncheuk also devoted himself to its study. He thus abided in Ximing Temple (西明寺) and "helped Xuanzang so that the Buddha dharma might flow to the east and inexhaustible scholastic studies might develop vigorously there."⁸⁹ Therefore, it can be said that just as Seungnang was a pioneer of the new Three Treatises studies in China, so Woncheuk played a leading role in pioneering new Yogācāra studies in China. For it was Woncheuk who, before anyone else, composed commentaries on the scriptures and treatises translated by Xuanzang and also pointed out errors of "old" Yogācāra studies.

Nevertheless, Woncheuk was considered heterodox by the Dharma Characteristics school (Faxiang zong 法相宗), which was opened by Xuanzang's disciple Kuiji 窺基 (632–682) who resided in Ci'en

Temple (慈恩寺). The *Cheng weishi lun liaoyi deng* 成唯識論了義燈 (Light of Revealing the Meaning of the *Cheng weishi lun* [Discourse on the Consciousness-only]) composed by Huizhao 慧沼 (648–714), the school's second patriarch, cited Woncheuk's views in more than 200 places and repudiated them.⁹⁰ In the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song Biographies of Eminent Monks), fascicle 4, we see a record that identifies Woncheuk as an eavesdropper of [Xuanzang's lectures on] the *Cheng weishi lun* and the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* (*Yuqie shi di lun* 瑜伽師地論 [Treatise on the Stages of Yoga Practitioners]). This means that Woncheuk's Yogācāra thought had some heterogeneous elements different from theirs. What were those elements, then? As will be discussed later, it seems that there existed a big difference between them concerning how to understand the philosophical oppositions between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra. If this is the case, such a difference should be considered a point worthy of much attention.

Besides, Woncheuk's Yogācāra thought was not cut off even by the exclusive attitude of Kuiji and his followers. It was transmitted without any loss to the later generations and formed mainstream Yogācāra studies in Silla. Woncheuk had a disciple named Seungjang 勝莊 (d.u.) who studied in Tang China. Woncheuk's thought was transmitted by Dojeung 道證 (d.u.) who returned from China in the first reign year (692) of King Hyoso 孝昭 (r. 692–702), and also by Taehyeon 太賢 (or Daehyeon 大賢 [d.u.]), who was active during the reign of King Gyeongdeok 景德 (r. 742–765).⁹¹ This lineage is called the Ximing branch in academia, but Woncheuk's influence seems to have gone beyond China and reached the Western Regions (i.e., Central Asia), as can be seen from the circulation of the Tibetan translation of the *Hae simmilgyeong-so*.⁹² Therefore, we should say that Woncheuk occupied an important status next to Seungnang that deserves close examination. In what fashion, then, did the emptiness view develop in Woncheuk's Yogācāra thought?

ii. The Problem of the Ninth *Amala* Consciousness

The *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras* preach that everything is unattainable and therefore empty; Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka school and its [East Asian] successor, the Three Treatises school of Seungnang, also take the emptiness view as their fundamental position. In this emptiness view, however, [soteriological issues such as] the distinction between a sentient being and the Buddha, the necessity for cultivation, etc., could be obscured. For the discriminative self-nature is always negated in any two dharmas which are in a causal relation. Even though such self-nature is negated, however, sentient beings do discriminate those two dharmas and adhere to them; and conditioned by such ignorance, their suffering of birth and death originates. How could we disregard these discriminations and attachments of sentient beings? If universal emptiness is a perspective of bodhisattvas, universal existence (i.e., discriminations and attachments) is a perspective of sentient beings. We must not confuse the former with the latter. Philosophies of perfection of wisdom (Skt. *prajñāpāramitā*) and the middle way (Skt. *madhyamaka*) are in danger of leading to such confusion. Therefore, it is difficult to see them as perfect theoretical systems.

Yogācāra thought, which was further developed by Maitreya-nātha (Ch. Mile [Kr. Mireuk] 彌勒, 270–350), Asaṅga (Ch. Wuzhuo [Kr. Muchak] 無着, ca. 310–390), Vasubandhu (Ch. Shi-qin [Kr. Sechin] 世親, ca. 320–400), etc., arose after the appearance of Prajñā-Madhyamaka thought. It then tried to overcome the problems in the previous tradition. The theory of three dharma wheels (*beomnyun* [Ch. *fa-lin*] 法輪) stated in the *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning* (*Jie shenmi jing* 解深密經, Skt. *Samdhanirmocana-sūtra*), a fundamental scripture of Yogācāra studies, represents a motivation for the arising [of this new philosophy]. [According to that theory of three dharma wheels,] the doctrine of the four noble truths (*saje* [Ch. *sidi*] 四諦), or the first dharma wheel, which preaches the existence of birth and death as well as nirvana, is not endowed with a fully revealed meaning (*youi* [Ch. *liaoyi*] 了義, Skt. *nītārtha*); the doctrine of the *Perfection of Wisdom*

Sutras, or the second dharma wheel, in which emptiness of both [birth and death on the one hand and nirvana on the other hand] is preached, is not purely endowed with a fully revealed meaning, either. Only the doctrine of the *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning* or the third dharma wheel, which preaches both existence and emptiness without omitting one of them, is endowed with the utmost, fully revealed meaning.

Therefore, Yogācāra philosophy first deals with sentient beings' discriminations and attachments. Of these [what constitutes] the most fundamental basis [of those defilements] is called the *ālaya* (meaning "storehouse") consciousness (Skt. *ālayavijñāna*); its transformation in the first stage (*jeil neungbyeon* [Ch. *diyī nengbian*] 第一能變), it is said, brings about a body with senses (*yugeun sin* [Ch. *yougen shen*] 有根身, Skt. *sendriya-kāya*), or sentient beings' existential foundation, and the receptacle world (*gi segan* [Ch. *qī shijian*] 器世間, Skt. *bhājana-loka*).

When the *ālaya* consciousness gives rise to its own essence with the power of causes and conditions, its inner transformation turns it into seeds (*jongja* [Ch. *zhongzi*] 種子, Skt. *bija*) and a body with senses; its outer transformation turns it into the receptacle world. Appropriating what is transformed, the aspect of operation (*haengsang* [Ch. *xingxiang*] 行相, Skt. *ākāra*) or functioning (i.e., perception [*yobyel* (Ch. *liaobie*] 了別, Skt. *vijñapti*)) can arise relying on that (i.e., what is transformed).⁹³

When there arises the *ālaya* consciousness, there could arise thoughts ("this is me") and attachments ("this is mine") by taking that consciousness as their object. Such secondary thoughts and discriminations (*saryang bunbyeol* [Ch. *siliang fenbie*] 思量分別) are called [functions of] the *manas* (meaning "thought": *malla* [Ch. *mona*] 末那) consciousness [or defiled mental consciousness] (Skt. *kliṣṭamanas*), and this is the second transformation (*jei neungbyeon* [Ch. *di'er nengbian*] 第二能變).

Manas comes forth by the transformation of that (*ālaya*) and appropriates

that as its perceptual object. It takes thoughts (Skt. *mananā*) as its nature and characteristics, and always goes together with the four afflictions (Skt. *kleśa*) of self-delusion (*achi* [Ch. *wochi*] 我癡, Skt. *ātmamoha*), self-view (*agyeon* [Ch. *wojian*] 我見, Skt. *ātma-dṛṣṭi*), self-conceit (*aman* [Ch. *woman*] 我慢, Skt. *ātma-māna*), and self-love (*aae* [Ch. *woai*] 我愛, Skt. *ātma-sneha*).⁹⁴

When there arises the *manas* consciousness, it is said, “There arise six consciousnesses, which recognize the six sense fields (Skt. *viśaya*), from the fundamental consciousness (i.e., *ālaya* or *ādāna* consciousness).”⁹⁵

In this process of transformation of the subjective mind-consciousness, it is the *ālaya* consciousness that plays the fundamental role. Therefore, it is called the fundamental consciousness (*geunbon sik* [Ch. *genben shi*] 根本識, Skt. *mūlavijñāna*); the remaining consciousnesses (i.e., the seventh *manas* consciousness and the preceding six consciousnesses) are called the forthcoming or evolving consciousness (*jeonsik* [Ch. *zhuanshi*] 轉識, Skt. *pravṛttivijñāna*). Also, it is the *ālaya* consciousness that stores the seeds sown (i.e., permeated [*hunseup* (Ch. *xunxi*) 熏習, Skt. *vāsanā*]) by wholesome or unwholesome karmas (i.e., [present manifestations of] the forthcoming consciousness) while transmigrating along the path of birth and death and then causes [the agent] to receive the retribution.⁹⁶ In this respect, it is also called the storehouse consciousness (*jangsik* [Ch. *zanshi*] 藏識) or the ripening consciousness (*isuk sik* [Ch. *yishou shi*] 異熟識, Skt. *vipākāvijñāna*). But if so, it would mean that the seeds arise only by permeation, and it would be difficult to explain the existence of primordial karmas. Therefore, it is inevitable to acknowledge that the seeds are of two kinds: the seeds arising from the permeation of the forthcoming consciousness (*seup soseong jong* [Ch. *xi suo cheng zhong*] 習所成種) and the seeds inherently existing from the primordial times (*bonseong ju jong* [Ch. *benxing zhu zhong*] 本性住種).⁹⁷ In this manner the theory of eight consciousnesses in Yogācāra philosophy comes to have inextricable complexities as one theory gives rise to another one successively. We do not have room for detailed examination of all those

theories, but this is indeed a newly developed phase which is not seen in Nāgārjuna's philosophy.

Woncheuk accepted this new Yogācāra theory of eight consciousnesses just as it is. His most systematic explication of the theory of eight consciousnesses can be found in the *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fascicle 3, which elucidates the scriptural passages from chapter 3 entitled "Characteristics of the Mind, Thought, and Consciousness" (心意識相品). Here, he aptly discusses diverse problems of mind and consciousness such as: (1) their kinds and number (種數多少), (2) their names (名字), (3) their essence and nature (體性), (4) sense organs they rely on (所依根), (5) objects appropriated by them (所緣境), and (6) association with mental functions (心所相應).⁹⁸ These discussions are not so much different from those appearing in the *Cheng weishi lun*.

On the theory of nine consciousnesses proclaimed by Tripiṭaka Master Paramārtha, a representative translator belonging to the "old" Yogācāra tradition, however, Woncheuk levels severe criticisms. It seems that Paramārtha established the following theory of nine consciousnesses based on the *Jueding zang lun* 決定藏論 ("Viniścaya" [Dispute-Settling] Section of the *Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra*), which he had translated.

1. Six consciousnesses including the eye consciousness, etc.: almost same as in the *Cheng weishi lun*.
2. Seventh *ādāna* (appropriating) consciousness (*jipji sik* [Ch. *zhichi shi*] 執持識): takes the eighth consciousness as "me" and "mine"; is just an afflictive obstruction (*beonnoe jang* [Ch. *fannaο zhang*] 煩惱障, Skt. *kleśāvaraṇa*) but does not have an attachment to dharmas (*beopjip* [Ch. *fazhi*] 法執, Skt. *dharmagrāha*); cannot attain buddhahood.
3. Eighth *ālaya* consciousness.
 - a. *Ālaya* as the nature of liberation (*haeseong riya* [Ch. *jiexing liye*] 解性梨耶): has the meaning of attaining buddhahood.
 - b. *Ālaya* as retributions (*gwabo riya* [Ch. *guobao liye*] 果報梨耶): appropriates the eighteen realms (Skt. *dhātu*).

- c. *Ālaya* as defilements (*oyeom riya* [Ch. *wuran liye*] 污染梨耶): appropriates the realm of true thusness and gives rise to four kinds of slander; has an attachment to dharmas, but does not have an attachment to self (*ajip* [Ch. *wozhi*] 我執, Skt. *ātmagrāha*).
4. Ninth *amala* consciousness: takes true thusness as its essence. True thusness has two meanings: its appropriated aspect is called true thusness, bounds of reality, etc., and its appropriating aspect is called immaculate consciousness (*mugu sik* [Ch. *wugou shi*] 無垢識), original enlightenment (*bon'gak* [Ch. *benjue*] 本覺), etc.⁹⁹

Woncheuk then says the above explanations of the three consciousnesses of the seventh, eighth, and ninth are full of errors. First, it is an error to call the seventh consciousness *ādāna* (*atana* [Ch. *atouna*] 阿陀那). *Ādāna* is just an alternative name for the eighth consciousness. It is also an error to refer to it only as an afflictive obstruction. Does the *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning* not say that those in the stages of the eighth *bhūmi* (lit. “earth” or “ground”; *ji* [Ch. *di*] 地) and above have the defiled *manas*? If *manas* were just an afflictive obstruction, the scripture would not say that those in the stages above the eighth *bhūmi* do have such defiled *manas*. It is said [in the scripture] that the stages above the eighth *bhūmi* are where one’s afflictive obstruction is severed [but the other obstruction remains]. Further, it is an error to say that with the seventh consciousness one cannot attain buddhahood. Do such texts as the *Mahayanasutrālamkāra* (*Daseng zhuangyan jing lun* 大乘莊嚴經論 [Ornament of the Mahayana Sutras]), etc. not say that one can turn the eight consciousnesses (including the seventh consciousness) into the four wisdoms (great perfect mirror wisdom [*daewon gyeongji* (Ch. *dayuan jingzhi*) 大圓鏡智, Skt. *ādarśa-jñāna*], equality wisdom [*pyeongdeung seongji* (Ch. *pingdeng xingzhi*) 平等性智, Skt. *samatā-jñāna*], wondrous observing wisdom [*myo gwanchal ji* (Ch. *miao guan cha zhi*) 妙觀察智, Skt. *pratyavekṣa-jñāna*], and all-accomplishing wisdom [*seong sojak ji* (Ch. *cheng suo zuo*

zhi) 成所作智, Skt. *kr̥tya-anusthāna-jñāna*)?¹⁰⁰

Secondly, it is not reasonable to say that the eighth *ālaya* consciousness gives rise to an attachment to dharmas and appropriates (i.e., cognizes) the eighteen realms (i.e., six sense faculties, six sense objects, and six consciousnesses). How could one say that ignorance or what belongs to the sorts of ignorance (*mumyeong su* [Ch. *wuming shu*] 無明數), included in the category of mental functions (*simsobeop* [Ch. *xinsuo fa*] 心所法, Skt. *caitta*), arises together with an attachment to dharmas? Since such texts as the *Madhyāntavibhāga* (*Bian zhongbian lun* 辨中邊論 or *Zhongbian fenbie lun* 中邊分別論 [Distinguishing the Middle from Extremes]) and the *Cheng weishi lun* say that the eighth consciousness transforms itself into something that appears to be (*byeonsa* [Ch. *biansi*] 變似) five sense objects, five sense faculties, the *manas* consciousness, six consciousnesses, etc., it is evident that it [i.e., the eighth *ālaya* consciousness] does not appropriate (i.e., cognizes) the mind, etc.¹⁰¹

Thirdly, although Paramārtha says that the ninth *amala* consciousness is an illumination (*banjo* [Ch. *fanzhao*] 反照) itself, we cannot find any source that justifies such a theory. [By contrast,] the *Sutra on the Adornment of the Tathagata's Virtues* (*Rulai gongde zhuangyan jing* 如來功德莊嚴經) says, “The Tathagata’s immaculate consciousness is the pure untainted realm (*murugye* [Ch. *wulou jie*] 無漏界, Skt. *anāsravadhātu*). It is free from all obstructions and corresponds to great perfect mirror wisdom.” If so, this “immaculate consciousness” should be understood as a pure aspect (*cheongjeong bun* [Ch. *qingjing fen*] 清淨分) of the eighth consciousness. Besides, the *Jueding zang lun* is a different translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra* and the latter does not have a chapter entitled “Ninth Consciousness” or “Nine Consciousnesses” (九識品).¹⁰² In this manner [of basing himself on diverse Yogācāra texts], Woncheuk thoroughly criticizes Paramārtha’s theory of the nine consciousnesses. His abrupt turn from the “old” Yogācāra to Xuanzang’s “new” Yogācāra could be attributed to his awareness of the problems inherent in the former philosophy.

Of Woncheuk’s criticisms [on the “old” Yogācāra], his negative

appraisal of the ninth *amala* consciousness is particularly noteworthy. If the *ālaya* consciousness is a fundamental and defiled consciousness (*yeomo sik* [Ch. *ranwu shi*] 染污識) (characterized by ignorance) that causes sentient beings' world of conditioned phenomena (Skt. *saṃskṛta*) where they undergo sufferings, to unfold, then we may posit a realm of no defilements, or absolute and unconditioned (*muwi* [Ch. *wuwei*] 無爲, Skt. *asaṃskṛta*) true thusness, as an appropriated object (*soyeon gyeong* [Ch. *suoyuan jing*] 所緣境); we can also postulate the ninth immaculate consciousness (or illumination itself) as an appropriating subject (*neungyeon* [Ch. *nengyuan*] 能緣). Why then did Woncheuk deny the existence of that [i.e., ninth consciousness] and regard the *amala* consciousness as a pure aspect of the eighth consciousness (included in the category of conditioned dharmas)? We need to keep this critical point in mind and examine Woncheuk's views in more detail.

iii. On the Mark of Perfect Accomplishment

In relation to Woncheuk' view of the ninth consciousness, we need to take note of his understanding of the mark of perfect accomplishment (*wonseong sil sang* [Ch. *yuancheng shixiang*] 圓成實相, Skt. *pariniṣpanna-svabhāva*). The *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning* says that every dharma has the following three self-natures (*jaseong* [Ch. *zixing*] 自性, Skt. *svabhāva*).

1. Mark of pervasive discrimination [of what one is attached to] (*byeon'gye sojip sang* [Ch. *bianji souzhi xiang*] 遍計所執相, Skt. *parikalpa-svabhāva*): establishes provisional designations (*gamyong allip* [Ch. *jiaming anli*] 假名安立) of every dharma. It discriminates between the self-natures and brings about verbal expressions.

2. Mark of other-dependence (*uita gi sang* [Ch. *yita qi xiang*] 依他起相, Skt. *paratantra-svabhāva*): indicates every dharma's self-nature as what conditionally arises (*yeonsaeng jaseong* [Ch. *yuansheng*]

zisheng] 緣生自性). That is, conditioned by ignorance formations arise . . . , all the great aggregates of suffering arise.

3. Mark of perfect accomplishment: indicates true thusness equal (*pyeongdeung jinyeo* [Ch. *pingdeng zhenru*] 平等真如) in every dharma. Owing to this true thusness bodhisattvas vigorously practice (in their stage of accumulation [*jaryang wi* (Ch. *ziliang wei*) 資糧位]), think properly (in their stage of applied practices [*gahaeng wi* (Ch. *jiaxing wei*) 加行位]), penetrates into the principle (in their stage of insight [*gyeondo wi* (Ch. *jiandao wei*) 見道位, Skt. *darśanamārga*]), gradually cultivate (in their stage of cultivation [*sudo wi* (Ch. *xiudao wei*) 修道位, Skt. *bhāvanāmārga*]), and finally attain correct enlightenment and perfectly accomplish their goal (in their stage of final state [*gugyeong wi* (Ch. *jiujing wei*) 究竟位]).¹⁰³

To put it figuratively, when a pure *sphaṭika* (i.e., crystal; *pajiga* [Ch. *pozhihia*] 頗胝迦) meets a blue-colored object, it appears like a *maṇi* pearl; when it meets a yellow-colored object, it appears like a golden image. Here, the *maṇi* pearl or the golden image corresponds to the mark of “pervasive discrimination”; the *sphaṭika* itself corresponds to the mark of “other-dependence”; and the real nature of the *sphaṭika*, which is devoid of any mark such as the *maṇi* pearl and the golden image, corresponds to the mark of “perfect accomplishment.”¹⁰⁴

Now, we will consider these three natures in relation to the eight consciousnesses examined above. To which of the eight consciousnesses does the mark of pervasive discrimination correspond? The most fundamental [basis] of sentient beings’ discriminations and attachments is the eighth *ālaya* consciousness, of which transformations are the other seven consciousnesses. Therefore, all the eight consciousnesses can be said to have at least some function of discrimination (Skt. *vikalpa*). Of these, however, it is the seventh *manas* consciousness and the sixth mental consciousness [Skt. *manovijñāna*] that have a strong quality of thoughts (*saryang* [Ch. *siliang*] 思量). The *Mahāyānasamgraha* thus attributes the discriminations, which bring about the pervasive discrimination, to the “mental consciousness”;¹⁰⁵ the *Cheng weishi*

lun then elaborates on this identification by saying, “Only the sixth and seventh levels of mind have a subjective aspect of discriminating pervasively (*neung byeon’gye* [Ch. *neng bianji*] 能遍計).”¹⁰⁶

But the pervasive discrimination cannot be accomplished only with its subjective aspect of discriminating pervasively. The object of being discriminated, or “an objective aspect of being pervasively discriminated” (*so byeon’gye* [Ch. *suo bianji*] 所遍計) should accompany it. With which [of the three marks] should we correlate this [objective realm]? It goes without saying that we should consider it to be the mark of other-dependence.¹⁰⁷ For discriminations and false attachments originally appropriate as their objects dharmas that conditionally arise. From the perspective of the theory of eight consciousnesses, what corresponds to the mark of other-dependence is the eight consciousnesses that conditionally arise. Therefore, the *Mahāyānasamgraha* explicates as follows. “What is the [mark of] other-dependence? It encompasses all the consciousnesses that take the *ālaya* consciousness as their seeds and are subsumed under the category of false discriminations.”¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the *Cheng weishi lun* says, “The essence of the mind and its functions that arise from a collection of conditions, [the mind’s] cognized aspect (*sangbun* [Ch. *xiangfen*] 相分) and cognizing aspect (*gyeonbun* [Ch. *jianfen*] 見分), tainted (*yuru* [Ch. *youlou*] 有漏, Skt. *āsrava*) dharmas, untainted (*muru* [Ch. *wulou*] 無漏, Skt. *anāsrava*) dharmas, etc.—all of them are the other-dependence.”¹⁰⁹

If we accept the above argument, we should think that all the discriminations (Skt. *vikalpa*) are transformations of the *ālaya* consciousness and that everything “is discriminated” by this discriminating [subjective consciousness]. Sentient beings are further attached to what is discriminated as real things (the mark of pervasive discrimination). Therefore, these [seemingly real but in fact unreal] things cannot have self-natures. In other words, they belong to the things that are “consciousness [or perception] only” (Skt. *vijñaptimātraka*).¹¹⁰ The mark of perfect accomplishment can be considered what is left by taking the mark of pervasive discrimination away from the mark of other-dependence. Therefore,

the *Mahāyānasamgraha* says, “[The nature of perfect accomplishment] is the nature of other-dependence from which the mark of pervasive discrimination (*sauī sang* [Ch. *siyi xiang*] 似義相; “what appears like the referent”) is permanently removed.”¹¹¹

But what can be said of the mark of other-dependence itself? Should we abandon it in the end? Since the *ālaya* consciousness is a defiled consciousness, other-dependence should be seen as the mark of defilement. Therefore, to “accomplish the true nature of every dharma perfectly” that mark should be extinguished, too. The *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning* explains the mark of perfect accomplishment from this point of view. Here, the mark of perfect accomplishment is said to be “true thusness equal in every dharma”;¹¹² it is also said, “If one can sever the dharma that has the mark of mixed defilement (*jabyeom sang beop* [Ch. *zaran xiang fa*] 雜染相法; viz., other-dependence), one can attain the dharma that has the mark of purity (*cheongjeong sang beop* [Ch. *qingjing xiang fa*] 清淨相法; viz., perfect accomplishment)”¹¹³ or “One can sever the mark of other-dependence through the three wisdoms (*samji* [Ch. *sanzhi*] 三智).”¹¹⁴

But the new Yogācāra philosophy of Dharmapāla’s lineage does not simply restrict the mark of perfect accomplishment only to the category of unconditioned dharma of true thusness. The *Cheng weishi lun* explains the mark of perfect accomplishment as “the true nature of every dharma (*jebeop silseong* [Ch. *zhufa shixang*] 諸法實性) that is revealed by the twofold emptiness (*igong* [Ch. *erkong*] 二空) of self and dharma and perfectly accomplished [by insight and cultivation].”¹¹⁵ Besides, it also says, “Even the untainted but conditioned dharma (*muruyuwi* [Ch. *wulou wuwei*] 無漏有爲), if it is separate from the inversion and universally pervaded by excellent functions (*seungyong jubyeon* [Ch. *shengyong zhoubian*] 勝用周遍), can be called the mark of perfect accomplishment.”¹¹⁶ Here, “untainted” means “without concomitant increase (*sujeung* [Ch. *suizeng*] 隨增) of afflictions,” and “conditioned” indicates what takes on “the mark of other-dependence.” Therefore, this explanation implies that even the conditioned dharma, if it is untainted, can be included in what is marked by perfect accomplishment. That is,

the scope of the mark of perfect accomplishment is greatly expanded.

It is this fresh interpretation of the mark of perfect accomplishment that drew Woncheuk's intense interest. Having stated that the scope (*gwanhyeop* [Ch. *kuanxia*] 寬狹) by which the essential nature of the three natures [i.e., marks] is defined differs according to theories involved,¹¹⁷ Woncheuk introduces Paramārtha's theory of three self-natures and presents sharp criticisms on it. (These criticisms are omitted here, since they already appeared in another paper of mine.)¹¹⁸ He then introduces his own view, according to which theories of three marks appearing in many scriptures and treatises are classified into the following two gates.

1. Gate of what is attached to, mixed defilements, and no inversion (*sojip jabyeom budo mun* 所執雜染不倒門): Although there is neither true self nor true dharma in what is falsely attached to, it is provisionally established in accordance with false thoughts (*mangjeong* 妄情) and is thus called as "existence." Anything of this kind is referred to as "pervasive discrimination." All the conditioned dharmas which are tainted by mixed defilements are called "other-dependence," as they arise relying on causal conditions. The truth of the path (*doje* 道諦) of every conditioned but untainted dharma as well as all the unconditioned dharmas is called "perfect accomplishment," as neither is inverted.

2. Gate of what is attached to, conditioned arising, and no change (*sojip yeonsaeng bulbyeon mun* 所執緣生不變門): Since what is falsely attached to has both true self and true dharma in accordance with false thoughts, it is called "the nature of what is attached to." All the conditioned dharmas, whether they are tainted or untainted, are "other-dependence." True thusness equal in every dharma is called "perfect accomplishment," as it does not change.¹¹⁹

The first gate classifies untainted conditioned dharmas as the mark of perfect accomplishment, but the second gate classifies them as the mark of other-dependence. In this respect, it can be said that the former

has a wider scope for the mark of perfect accomplishment than the latter.

Of these two gates, as the *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning* identifies only “true thusness” as the mark of perfect accomplishment, it may be said that the scripture is concerned only with the second gate. As the scripture also refers only to “defiled dharmas” as conditioned arising, however, it can also be said that the scripture is concerned only with the first gate. Therefore, it can be said that the scripture is concerned with both gates.¹²⁰ So Woncheuk comments on the sentence from the *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning*, “The mark of perfect accomplishment is true thusness equal in every dharma,” (corresponding to the above second gate) as follows.

According to the *Madhyāntavibhāga*, the mark of perfect accomplishment has itself two kinds because the unconditioned is distinguished from the conditioned. Since the unconditioned encompasses both true thusness and nirvana, and does not undergo changes, it is called perfect accomplishment. Since the conditioned embraces all the noble paths and is not inverted toward the appropriated objects, it is called perfect accomplishment.¹²¹

In this manner, he expresses a deep interest in expanding the scope of the mark of perfect accomplishment.

How should we interpret such an attitude of Woncheuk’s? We have seen that he refuted Paramārtha’s theory of a ninth *amala* consciousness (i.e., the unconditioned; true thusness) and regarded it [i.e., the ninth immaculate consciousness] as a pure (i.e., untainted) aspect of the eighth *ālaya* consciousness (i.e., the conditioned; other-dependence). By comparing such criticisms with his view of the mark of perfect accomplishment introduced here, we may feel that the former has something in common with the latter. For he consistently denies a view that sees the ultimate realm of Buddhism as what is subsumed into the true thusness (i.e., the unconditioned) which is coagulated and without any activities (*eungyeon bujak* [Ch. *ningran buzuo*] 凝然不作).¹²² We will

now proceed further to examine Woncheuk's thought.

iv. On the Threefold Naturelessness

As seen above, the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras* say, "Every dharma is devoid of self-nature (*jaseong* [Ch. *zixing*] 自性, Skt. *svabhāva*) (i.e., empty), is without arising and perishing, is originally quiescent, and is nirvana by nature (*jaseong* [Ch. *zixing*] 自性, Skt. *prakṛti*)." Both Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka philosophy and Seungnang's Three Treatises studies intended to understand this theory of emptiness systematically. They thus took the correct contemplation of no attainment as their foundation. What stance did the Yogācāra take on this notion of emptiness (i.e., no self-nature)? The doctrine of threefold naturelessness (*mu jaseong seong* [Ch. *wu zixing xing*] 無自性性) presented in the *Sutra on Explication of Profound Meaning* is a representative theory of Yogācāra view of emptiness. Based on the three self-natures (Skt. *svabhāva*) or marks (*sang* [Ch. *xiang*] 相, Skt. *lakṣaṇa*), this theory explicates the threefold naturelessness (Skt. *niḥsvabhāvata*) as follows.

1. As for the mark of pervasive discrimination, [every dharma] takes the arrangement (*allip* [Ch. *anli*] 安立, Skt. *pratiṣṭhāpana*) of provisional designations as its mark, but does not take the arrangement of its intrinsic mark (*jasang* [Ch. *zixiang*] 自相) as its mark. Therefore, its mark is devoid of self-nature (i.e., natureless) (*sang mu jaseong seong* [Ch. *xiang wu zixing xing*] 相無自性性).

2. As for the mark of other-dependence, (a) [every dharma] exists due to the power of other conditions (*tayeon* [Ch. *tayuan*] 他緣), but does not exist by itself (*jayeon yu* [Ch. *ziran you*] 自然有, Skt. *svayambhāva*). Therefore, its arising is natureless (*saeng mu jaseong seong* [Ch. *sheng wu zixing xing*] 生無自性性). (b) Because it is what conditionally arises (*yeonsaeng beop* [Ch. *yuansheng fa*] 緣生法) but is not the object which is appropriated by the pure dharma (*cheongjeong soyeon* [Ch. *qingjing suoyuan*] 清淨所緣), the ultimate meaning is

natureless (*seungui mu jaseong seong* [Ch. *shengyi wu zixing xing*] 勝義無自性性)—namely, this mark is not or does not have the ultimate meaning.

3. As for the mark of perfect accomplishment, since it denotes the ultimate truth of every dharma and is revealed by naturelessness (i.e., emptiness), the ultimate meaning is natureless—namely, this mark is the ultimate meaning and the principle revealed by naturelessness.¹²³

To put it figuratively, the naturelessness of the mark [i.e., that the mark is natureless] is like a flower in an empty sky (*gonghwa* [Ch. *konghua*] 空華); the naturelessness of the arising [i.e., that the arising is natureless] is like an illusionary image (*hwansang* [Ch. *huanxiang*] 幻像); and the naturelessness of the ultimate meaning [i.e., that the ultimate meaning is natureless] is like an empty sky.¹²⁴

It appears that a one-to-one correspondence can be obtained between the three self-natures and the threefold naturelessness. But the problem is that the naturelessness of the ultimate meaning covers both the mark of other-dependence and the mark of perfect accomplishment. It may appear that negative aspects of the mark of other-dependence can be sufficiently linked to the naturelessness of the arising. Then, why does the scripture further associate this mark with the naturelessness of the ultimate meaning? As noted above when we examined Seungnang's Three Treatise studies, we need to recall that any dharmas in a relation of causal condition are all denied [their inherent nature or ontological independency] regardless of whether they refer to the conventional truths (i.e., existence) or to the ultimate truths (i.e., emptiness). From this point of view, we can say that while the concept "naturelessness of the arising" covers the aspect that those dharmas are in a relation of causal condition, it does not cover another aspect that even the ultimate truths do not exist. Therefore, it will be necessary to add another concept, namely "the naturelessness of the ultimate meaning." Then, can we say that the *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning* explains the mark of other-dependence in terms of the twofold naturelessness of the arising and the ultimate meaning for this

very reason? Woncheuk clearly comments on the passage in question as follows. “Since the other-dependence has no perfect accomplishment, it is said that for a dharma that conditionally arises, its arising is not only natureless but the ultimate meaning is also natureless.”¹²⁵

Moreover, the expression “naturelessness of the ultimate meaning” is also used as a technical term for what is appropriated by the pure dharma in the *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning*. What is appropriated by the pure dharma is both an object and a goal of the practice of calming and contemplation (*jigwan* 止觀, Skt. *śamatha-vipaśyanā*). Therefore, this could be related to the mark of perfect accomplishment (i.e., a dharma’s nature of no-self [*beop mua* (Ch. *fa wuwo*) 法無我, Skt. *dharma-nairātmya*]). And as Woncheuk’s analysis puts it, the mark of perfect accomplishment has two meanings. “First, it is the ultimate truth of every dharma. Second, it means the true principle (i.e., real nature) revealed by the naturelessness.”¹²⁶ Therefore, it can be given the expression “naturelessness of the ultimate meaning” in that it is both the ultimate meaning and what is revealed by naturelessness. But the naturelessness of the ultimate meaning (as what is revealed by the pure dharma) has a considerably different connotation from one aspect of the mark of other-dependence when the latter is also called “naturelessness of the ultimate meaning.” For whereas the former’s “naturelessness of the ultimate meaning” implies its being both “the ultimate meaning and the true principle revealed by the naturelessness,” the latter’s same expression means that it [i.e., the mark of other-dependence] “does not have, or is not, the ultimate meaning.” If this is so, then the expression “naturelessness of the ultimate meaning” is likely to cause confusion. For this reason, the new Yogācāra philosophy does not discuss this thesis. [The *Cheng weishi lun* therefore says,] “Although the [mark of] other-dependence is not the ultimate meaning and can thus be called ‘naturelessness of the ultimate meaning,’ yet this meaning is confused with its second meaning and so it is not adopted here.”¹²⁷

If we do not concern ourselves with the aspect of naturelessness of the ultimate meaning in the mark of other-dependence, we can

coherently correlate the three marks with the threefold naturelessness. If the three marks demonstrate the positive aspect of existence (*yu* [Ch. *you*] 有), the threefold naturelessness shows the negative aspect of non-existence (*mu* [Ch. *wu*] 無). But even if the latter is a negative concept, it does not deny the meanings of conditioned arising depending upon others (*uita yeonsaeng* [Ch. *yita yuansheng*] 依他緣生)—the mark of other-dependence—and the ultimate truth—the mark of perfect accomplishment. And this is much different from the Nāgārjunian philosophy of emptiness view. Here, Woncheuk makes the following point: “Bhāviveka (or Bhāvaviveka [Ch. Qingbian 清辯], ca. 500–578) establishes the notion of emptiness by discarding all of the three natures [i.e., marks]. Dharmapāla discards only the [mark of] pervasive discrimination and takes it as [the thesis of] no mark.”¹²⁸ If so, only the mark of pervasive discrimination should be considered emptiness. But why do they [i.e., the Yogācāra] need to negate all of the three marks and establish the [doctrine of] threefold naturelessness? Regarding this query, Woncheuk answers as follows: “Since sentient beings do not know the marks of other-dependence and perfect accomplishment, they increase their attachments on the two natures [i.e., marks]. For this reason, the threefold naturelessness is established.”¹²⁹

Then, since the teaching that “every dharma is devoid of self-nature (i.e., empty)” is based on the threefold naturelessness, we should not say that this is [a doctrine of] the Buddha’s authentic intent (*youi seol* [Ch. *liaoyi shuo*] 了義說 [i.e., fully revealed doctrine]). We should say that this is a doctrine of secret intent (*mirui seol* [Ch. *miyi shuo*] 密意說), which hides the true intent and secretly preaches it.¹³⁰ “For it is referred to as ‘natureless’ regardless of existence (as in the marks of other-dependence and perfect accomplishment) and non-existence (as in what is attached [i.e., the mark of pervasive discrimination]).”¹³¹ Furthermore, the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras*’ teaching that says, “Every dharma is devoid of self-nature, is without arising and perishing, is originally quiescent, and is nirvana by nature” should be seen as a doctrine of secret intent that relies on the two [concepts] of naturelessness of the mark and naturelessness of the ultimate meaning.¹³² Therefore, the

Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning explains as follows: as for the former [i.e., naturelessness of the mark], because “the essence and characteristics [of a dharma] do not exist at all,” there is nothing that arises or perishes. As for the latter [i.e., naturelessness of the ultimate meaning], because “[the selflessness of a dharma] always abides in the nature of dharmas (*beopseong* [Ch. *faxing*] 法性, Skt. *dharmatā*; the unconditioned),” it is neither arising nor perishing. That is, [that passage from the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras*] is so preached out of the hidden intent.¹³³

If this is the case, [it is evident that] the [Yogācāra’s] notion of no self-nature [or naturelessness] (i.e., emptiness) is considerably different from that of the Prajñā-Madhyamaka and Seungnam’s Three Treatises studies. That is, the overall doctrines of the Prajñā-Madhyamaka fall into the status of the doctrines of secret intent. The *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning*’s positioning of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras* as the second secret dharma wheel (*eunmil ryun* [Ch. *yinmi lin*] 隱密輪) and of itself as the third revealed dharma wheel (*hyeolloyo ryun* [Ch. *xianliao lin*] 顯了輪) lies in this [difference]. As a fundamental position changes, all the doctrines (including the one vehicle, buddha-nature, buddha bodies, etc.) change accordingly. For instance, when it comes to the issue of wrong attachment to emptiness (*akchwi gong* [Ch. *equ kong*] 惡取空, Skt. *durgr̥hītā śūnyatā*), the Madhayamaka says, “According to the conventional truth, there exist both emptiness and non-emptiness; according to the ultimate truth, there is nothing that is not emptiness. But if you are attached to emptiness (this is represented by the doctrine of the two truths as principles), it is called wrong attachment to emptiness.”¹³⁴ But Yogācāra philosophy says, “Where the nature of attachment (*sojip seong* [Ch. *suozhi xing*] 所執性) does not exist in the other dependence, there exists the nature of selflessness (*mua seong* [Ch. *wuwo xing*] 無我性). These existence and non-existence are together called emptiness. If anyone were to negate the [two] marks of other-dependence and perfect accomplishment and adhere to the view that there is no dharma at all, it is called the wrong attachment to emptiness.”¹³⁵

From this point of view, we cannot but criticize Paramārtha's theory of threefold naturelessness, according to which all of the three aspects are one principle about the same naturelessness. According to Paramārtha's version of the *Treatise on the Threefold Naturelessness* (*San wuxing lun* 三無性論, Skt. **Tryasvabhāva-prakarana*), "Since discrimination (i.e., the mark of pervasive discrimination) has no mark, it is said to be natureless; since other-dependence has no arising, it is said to be natureless; since the true nature (i.e., the mark of perfect accomplishment) has no truth (the ultimate meaning), it is said to be natureless. Therefore, these are one principle of naturelessness."¹³⁶ Woncheuk comments on this passage by saying, "Paramārtha establishes the threefold naturelessness by removing all of the three natures from one true thusness. But this theory is different from Xuanzang's; rather it is similar to Bhāviveka's (i.e., *Madhyamaka*)."¹³⁷ Besides, he asserts on the text in question that "either the translator might have made mistakes or its original might have been a different one."¹³⁸

As seen above, the emptiness view of Yogācāra philosophy is very different from that of Nāgārjunian *Madhyamaka* or the Three Treatises philosophies. The former explicitly analyzes the problem of emptiness and existence by clarifying the subjective [mechanism of] false discriminations (in the eight consciousnesses) and removing the previous obscurities about the concept of emptiness. [According to them,] only what is discriminated and falsely attached to (i.e., the mark of pervasive discrimination) is empty (i.e., naturelessness of the mark), and the conditioned arising (i.e., the mark of other-dependence) or true thusness (i.e., the mark of perfect accomplishment) is not negated. A theory that says these two are empty is no more than a theory of secret intent that is used to prevent attachments. Therefore, the concept of emptiness turns into two kinds: a negative one that concerns the "non-existence of self-nature" (i.e., naturelessness of the mark) and a positive one that concerns "the principle revealed by the negation (nullification) of self-nature" (i.e., naturelessness of the ultimate meaning). In this respect, Woncheuk says, "In the Sanskrit language, the concept *gong*

(Ch. *kong*) 空 has two meanings: *sunya* 舜若 (Skt. *śūnya*, Kr. *gong* 空; empty) and *sunyada* 舜若多 (Skt. *śūnyatā*, Kr. *gongseong* 空性; emptiness). The former means non-existence, and the latter indicates the true nature (i.e., principle) revealed by what is empty.”¹³⁹ Such a dualistic interpretation of emptiness, however, includes a concept (similar to the doctrine of the two truths as principles), which appears to admit the real existence (*siryu* 實有), never to be acknowledged by the Madhyamaka.

v. On the Transformation of the Basis

In the *Triṃśikāvijñaptikārika* (*Weishi sanshi song* 唯識三十頌 [Thirty Verses on Consciousness-only]), the abovementioned naturelessness of the ultimate meaning, which is based on the mark of perfect accomplishment, is said to be “the ultimate truth of every dharma, true thusness, and the real nature of the consciousness-only” (verse 25).¹⁴⁰ What then does the expression “the real nature of the consciousness-only” refer to? We have seen that every discrimination (Skt. *vikalpa*) is a transformation (Skt. *parināma*) of the eight consciousnesses and that since what is discriminated (Skt. *yad vikalpyate*; i.e., cognized aspect [*sangbun* 相分]) by that discrimination (i.e., cognizing aspect [*gyeonbun* 見分]) does not exist, the consciousness-only doctrine is established (verse 17). The naturelessness of the ultimate meaning indicates the true principle revealed by emptiness, which is again manifested through the abandonment of discriminations and false attachments. In this respect, it (i.e., the mark of perfect accomplishment) can be called “the real nature of the consciousness-only.” The Sanskrit original clarifies this meaning by referring to the former [i.e., consciousness-only as the subjective discrimination] as “*vijñaptimātraka*” (that which belongs to the category of what is perceived only) and to the latter [i.e., consciousness-only as the objective real nature] as “*vijñaptimātratā*” (the principle that everything is just what is perceived). It can be said that the goal of Yogācāra thought lies in realizing this real nature of the

consciousness-only.

But if the naturelessness of the ultimate meaning is the ultimate truth of every dharma and true thusness, what becomes of a practitioner when he or she practices the emptiness view and realizes it? Will he or she just abide in true thusness and forget the Buddha's mission of purifying the world and benefiting the sentient beings? We cannot but see bodhisattvas' practice and buddhas' activities as functions of the conditioned, not to mention sentient beings' karma. Of course, it is not the case that there is no qualitative difference between them: whereas the former are based on wisdom and compassion (i.e., untainted), the latter are [troubled by] the leakage of afflictions (i.e., tainted). True thusness as an unconditioned dharma that is far separate from the functions of conditioned dharmas, by contrast, has been interpreted as what is coagulated without any changes in Yogācāra philosophy. In this respect, it is distinguished from the position as articulated in the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論) that has a theory of true thusness as having a nature of according with conditions (*suyeon* [Ch. *suiyuan*] 隨緣).¹⁴¹ Therefore, the question of what will happen when someone realizes (*oip* [Ch. *wuru*] 悟入) true thusness of that sort will surely come to the surface.

What is the answer of the new Yogācāra philosophy to this question, then? We have seen that it acknowledges two aspects of the mark of perfect accomplishment: (1) the real nature of every dharma (*jebeop silseong* [Ch. *zhufa shixing*] 諸法實性) (i.e., untainted and unconditioned dharma [*murū muwi* (Ch. *wulou wuwei*) 無漏無爲]), revealed by the twofold emptiness [emptiness of persons (*in* [Ch. *ren*] 人) and emptiness of dharmas (*beop* [Ch. *fa*] 法), and (2) the untainted but conditioned dharma (*murū yuwi* [Ch. *wulou youwei*] 無漏有爲), universally pervaded by excellent functions (*seungyong jubyeon* [Ch. *shengyong zhoubian*] 勝用周遍). We have also seen that Woncheuk was deeply interested in this theory.¹⁴² It goes without saying that this mark of perfect accomplishment is identical with the naturelessness of the ultimate meaning and the real nature of the consciousness-only. The association of the mark of perfect accomplishment with the above two

aspects can be understood as an effort to solve the problem that may arise when a practitioner realizes that mark. For if the mark of perfect accomplishment were restricted to the former aspect only, it will be difficult for the Buddha's activities in the conditioned realm to arise. His Yogācāra position that acknowledges these two aspects of the mark of perfect accomplishment is seen more prominently in his theory of transformation of the basis (*jeonui* [Ch. *zhuanyī*] 轉依).

“Transformation of the basis” (Skt. *āśraya-prāvṛtti*) concerns the ultimate fruit a bodhisattva acquires at the final moment of his or her ten-*bhūmi* path of cultivation in which the adamant absorption (*geumgang yujeong* [Ch. *jin'gang yuding*] 金剛喻定, Skt. *vajropama-samādhi*) is present in the mind and the two obstructions (afflictive [*beonnoe jang* (Ch. *fannaο zhang*) 煩惱障, Skt. *kleśāvaraṇa*] and intellectual [*soji jang* (Ch. *suozhi zhang*) 所知障, Skt. *jñeyāvaraṇa*]) are severed. The *Cheng weishi lun*'s explanation of it is as follows.

“Basis” means what is relied on (*soui* [Ch. *suoyi*] 所依) and indicates the other-dependence. For it is relied upon by the pure and impure dharmas. The impure refers to the false pervasive discrimination, and the pure refers to the true perfect accomplishment. “Transformation” means transformative abandonment and attainment (*jeonsa jeondeuk* [Ch. *zhuanshe zhuande*] 轉捨轉得) of the two parts (i.e., the defiled and the pure). As one cultivates the non-discriminating wisdom (*mu bunbyeol ji* [Ch. *wu fenbie zhi*] 無分別智, Skt. *nirvikalpa-jñāna*) and thus severs both coarse and subtle elements of the two obstructions in the fundamental (i.e., *ālaya*) consciousness, one can gradually abandon the pervasive discrimination placed on the other-dependence and also can gradually attain the perfect accomplishment placed on the other-dependence. One thus turns the afflictive obstruction into great nirvana and turn the intellectual obstruction into utmost enlightenment (*musang gak* [Ch. *wuxiang jue*] 無上覺), thereby accomplishing the consciousness-only.¹⁴³

That is, what sentient beings rely on is the other-dependence which is based on the *ālaya* consciousness. Concerning this [mark of]

other-dependence, the text defines the pervasive discrimination as its impure aspect and the perfect accomplishment as its pure aspect, thereby negating only the pervasive discrimination. “Two obstructions” indicates the afflictive obstruction and intellectual obstruction. The former is “an obstruction that hinders nirvana” by [causing one to] “adhere to the [image of] real self pervasively discriminated”; the latter is “ignorance that hinders bodhi [i.e., enlightenment]” by [causing one to] “adhere to the [image of] real dharma pervasively discriminated.”¹⁴⁴ From this passage it is evident that the two obstructions are no more than the pervasive discrimination’s functions. Then, what is the reason for negating only the pervasive discrimination out of the three natures? Is it not possible to take this theory to mean that the goal of the Mahayana is not to be exhausted in [the attainment of] the unconditioned true thusness but to turn it into the Buddha’s activities (i.e., the conditioned [but untainted] dharma)?

It is said [in the *Cheng weishi lun*] that by severing the afflictive obstruction one attains nirvana. This nirvana is of four kinds: (1) nirvana which is originally pure by nature (*bolae jaseong cheongjeong* [Ch. *benlai zixing qingjing*] 本來自性清淨), (2) nirvana with remainder (*yu yeoui* [Ch. *you yuyi*] 有餘依), (3) nirvana without remainder (*mu yeoui* [Ch. *wu yuyi*] 無餘依), and (4) nirvana of no abiding (*muju* [Ch. *wuzhu*] 無住). Of these, nirvana originally pure by nature indicates the unconditioned true thusness (i.e., principle of true thusness of every dharma and its characteristics). Nirvana with remainder is a designation for [the perfected state] in which true thusness is separate from the afflictive obstruction but suffering of birth and death remains. In nirvana without remainder that suffering does not remain. Finally, nirvana of no abiding refers to true thusness escaping from the intellectual obstruction and yet incessantly benefiting sentient beings without abiding in either birth and death (Skt. *samsāra*) or nirvana.¹⁴⁵ Here, it is noteworthy that not nirvana originally pure by nature, but nirvana of no abiding is given an explanation.

Furthermore, it is said that one can attain *bodhi* by severing the intellectual obstruction and that *bodhi* consists of four wisdoms: (1)

great perfect mirror wisdom (*daewon gyeongji* [Ch. *dayuan jingzhi*] 大圓鏡智, Skt. *ādarśa-jñāna*), (2) equality wisdom (*pyeongdeung seongji* [Ch. *pingdeng xingzhi*] 平等性智, Skt. *samatā-jñāna*), (3) wondrous observing wisdom (*myo gwanchal ji* [Ch. *miao guan cha zhi*] 妙觀察智, Skt. *pratyavekṣa-jñāna*), and (4) all-accomplishing wisdom (*seong sojak ji* [Ch. *cheng suozuo zhi*] 成所作智, Skt. *kr̥tya-anuṣṭhāna-jñāna*). These four wisdoms are the wisdoms (*ji* [Ch. *zhi*] 智, Skt. *jñāna*), which are attained by transforming the eighth *ālaya* consciousness, the seventh *manas* consciousness, the sixth mental consciousness, and the preceding five consciousnesses one by one. The great perfect mirror wisdom (transformed from the eighth consciousness) manifests all the colors and shapes like a great perfect mirror; the equality wisdom (transformed from the seventh consciousness) equalizes self and others; the wondrous observing wisdom (transformed from the sixth consciousness) observes every dharma precisely; and the all-accomplishing wisdom (transformed from the preceding five consciousnesses) accomplishes what should be done (i.e., the original vow [*bonwon* (Ch. *benyuan*) 本願]).¹⁴⁶ Therefore, the four wisdoms that are attained by turning the eight consciousnesses can be said to be the untainted but conditioned dharmas.¹⁴⁷ In this way, the text does not restrict the scope, into which the basis is transformed, to the unconditioned true thusness but expands it to a dimension, from which the conditioned four wisdoms (*yuwi saji* [Ch. *youwi sizhi*] 有爲四智) arise.

The Buddha's dharma-body (*beopsin* [Ch. *fashen*] 法身) is said to include the accomplishments of these two types of transformation of the basis. Therefore, the dharma-body is of three kinds: (1) self-nature body (*jaseong sin* [Ch. *zixing shen*] 自性身), (2) enjoyment (or reward)-body (*suyong sin* [Ch. *shouyong shen*] 受用身)—further divided into the enjoyment-body for self and the enjoyment-body for others, (3) transformation-body (*byeonhwa sin* [Ch. *bianhua shen*] 變化身). The self-nature body (representing true thusness and great mirror wisdom) is itself the true and pure dharma realm (*jinjeong beopgye* [Ch. *zhenjing fajie*] 眞淨法界) and also the basis of the enjoyment-body and the transformation-body. The enjoyment-body (representing equality

wisdom and wondrous observing wisdom) causes oneself and others (i.e., bodhisattvas in the ten *bhūmis*) to receive enjoyment in the merits accumulated through cultivation for a long time. The transformation-body (representing all-accomplishing wisdom) indicates what manifests diverse bodies and thereby liberates sentient beings.¹⁴⁸ [The *Cheng weishi lun* emphasizes,] “It is not that only the true and pure dharma realm is identified as the dharma-body, but that the two fruits of transformation are included in the dharma-body.”¹⁴⁹ It further says that if only the afflictive obstruction is severed, it is called the liberation-body, not the dharma-body.¹⁵⁰

Woncheuk accepts this new Yogācāra theory of transformation of the basis without any modifications. Of the available source materials, Woncheuk’s position is most systematically presented in the [*Bulseol*] *banya* [*baramilda*] *simgyeong-chan*, which cites the four types of nirvana directly from the *Cheng weishi lun*.¹⁵¹ Concerning the term *bodhi*, he also gives a detailed introduction, the explanatory style of which is quite similar to the *Cheng weishi lun* in that they are divided into three gates of (1) explication of the terms (釋名), (2) presenting the essence (出體), and (3) analysis in terms of consciousnesses (識門分別: four wisdoms and three [dharma-]bodies).¹⁵² It should be said that this position of his is consistent with his conceptions of the ninth consciousness, the mark of perfect accomplishment, and threefold naturelessness examined above.

vi. Harmonization of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra

The Yogācāra view of emptiness is not compatible with the Madhyamaka view of emptiness. For whereas in the former only the pervasive discrimination is to be abandoned but not the other-dependence and the perfect accomplishment, in the latter all these three marks are to be abandoned. As seen above, the *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning* asserts that the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras* (i.e., the second dharma wheel of no marks [*musang beomnyun* 無相法輪]) teach us a doctrine which is not fully revealed (*miryo ui* 未了義) and that the

latter's teaching of every dharma being devoid of self-nature (i.e., empty) is no more than a doctrine of secret intent (*mirui seol* 密意說) based on the threefold naturelessness (*sam museong* 三無性). Such a position of the Yogācāra can be seen as a challenge to the emptiness view of the Prajñā-Madhyamaka school. The Madhyamaka school of the middle period, formed in the fifth century, had no reason to disregard such a challenge. Bhāviveka (or Bhāvaviveka [Ch. Qingbian 清辯], ca. 500–578) of the Madhyamaka was a representative scholar-monk, well known for his debates with the Yogācāra monks of Dharmapāla's lineage.¹⁵³

Woncheuk's writings include a detailed introduction to those debates between Bhāviveka's followers and Dharmapāla's followers (the details are omitted here).¹⁵⁴ Regarding the unavoidable conflicts between these two schools, Woncheuk comments as follows: "A thousand years ago, the Buddha dharma was of one taste. A thousand years after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, there arose two bodhisattvas named Bhāviveka and Dharmapāla in the country of Geonji 健至 [Kāñcīpura?] of southern India at the same time. And there arose oppositions and disputes regarding emptiness and existence."¹⁵⁵ Such a conflict also arose in China. As noted above, the third and fourth levels in the doctrine of the two truths, presented by the Three Treatises school, are refutations of the old Yogācāra doctrines of the three marks and the threefold naturelessness respectively.¹⁵⁶

More than anyone else, Woncheuk was deeply aware of such oppositions between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra schools, for we can find references to them almost everywhere in his writings. Of these two schools, he was affiliated with the Yogācāra. Therefore, it is expected that he would emphasize that the Yogācāra reveals the ultimate meaning. But he did not do so; he evaluated the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra as equal in that both accomplish the Buddha's intent. Let us read Woncheuk's following remark.

Bhāviveka took hold of emptiness and repudiated existence, thereby removing the attachment to existence (*yujip* 有執). Dharmapāla

established existence and repudiated emptiness, thereby removing the attachment to emptiness (*gongjip* 空執). Therefore, [the former's thesis of] emptiness does not go against the principle that existence is itself emptiness, and [the latter's thesis of] non-nonexistence does not go against the doctrine that emptiness is itself material form (*saek* [Ch. *se*] 色, Skt. *rūpa*). What is both empty and existent naturally accomplishes the two truths; what is neither empty nor existent accords with the middle way. How would this not be the great intent (*daejong* 大宗) of the Buddha dharma?¹⁵⁷

From this perspective, he evenhandedly introduced Bhāviveka's gate of contemplating emptiness through examining dharmas and abandoning their marks (*yeokbeop gyeonsang gwan'gong mun* 歷法遣相觀空門) and Dharmapāla's contemplative gate of discerning emptiness through preserving consciousness and cutting off objects (*jaesik chagyeong byeon'gong gwanmun* 在識遮境辨空觀門).¹⁵⁸ He enumerated these two gates of contemplating emptiness also in his annotations on the main text of the *Heart Sutra* (*Mohe bore boluomiduo xin jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜多心經, Skt. *Prajñāparamitāhṛdaya-sūtra*).¹⁵⁹

We must say that Woncheuk's attitude is unprecedented for a Yogācāra scholar-monk. At the same time, this prompts us to ask why he took such a position. In the passage cited above, he takes the doctrines of the two truths and the middle way to be criteria for evaluating the two philosophies as accomplishing the same intent of the Buddha. But is there no problem with his approach? Even if these doctrines of the two truths and the middle way are referred to, their content varies according to the schools. While the *Āgamas* explicate the middle way from the perspective of extinction (*hwanmyeol* 還滅) or non-existence (*biyu* 非有) and transmigration (*yujeon* 流傳) or non-nonexistence (*bimu* 非無) of what conditionally arises, Nāgārjuna explains the principles of the empty, the provisional and the middle on the basis of conditioned arising itself. As seen above, the Three Treatises studies of Chinese Buddhism teaches the middle way as a substance by showing that the two truths are in a [mutual] relation of causal condition. What can be

said of the Yogācāra philosophy, then? The *Cheng weishi lun* says, “The self and dharmas (i.e., pervasive discrimination) are not existence; emptiness (i.e., perfect accomplishment) and consciousness (i.e., other-dependence) are not non-existence. Since they are all separate from existence and non-existence, they accord with the middle way.”¹⁶⁰ Such a Yogācāra doctrine of the middle way sees the marks of other-dependence and perfect accomplishment as existence, and so differs from the Madhyamaka doctrine of the middle way to a great extent. Therefore, we cannot assert the identity of the two philosophies simply from the surface resemblance in expressions.

Nevertheless, Woncheuk made such a statement [that identifies the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra as accomplishing the same intent of the Buddha]. Why did he say so? Here, we should think about the reason from a deeper perspective. The expression “accomplishing the same intent of the Buddha” means that they ultimately lead to the same purpose. Then, we need to compare the two philosophies in terms of their ultimate meaning [i.e., intent]. When asked if the thesis of universal emptiness might not lead to disregard for causation in the world [i.e., ordinary, mundane experience] or the three treasures [i.e., religious, supramundane practice], Nāgārjuna answered by saying, “Such afflictions arise because of ignorance as to emptiness itself, its causal condition, and its meaning” and “Everything is established because of the meaning of emptiness.”¹⁶¹ The Chinese Three Treatises studies advanced this way of thinking further and reached a conclusion to the effect that when one takes the middle way of no attainment as a substance, then unobstructed functions arise by which everything turns into the conventional.¹⁶² The Yogācāra doctrine of transforming the basis also says, “When the two (i.e., afflictive and intellectual) obstructions are cut off (at the moment of one’s entering the diamond-like samadhi), one can attain nirvana and bodhi (i.e., four wisdoms of the conditioned). Bodhi consists of the four wisdoms of the conditioned which is untainted (i.e., pure aspect of the other-dependence).” The arising of these four wisdoms is not different from the arising of the conventional function (*sogyong* 俗用) of all things,

which is preached in the Three Treatises school.

From the above examination, we can say that although the two philosophies appear opposed to each other in many aspects, yet they aim at an identical intent. While emptiness of the Madhyamaka (i.e., correct contemplation of no attainment) does not adhere to emptiness itself in the end and gives rise to the unobstructed conventional functions, existence of the Yogācāra (i.e., other-dependence and perfect accomplishment) also does not adhere even to existence (i.e., true thusness of the unconditioned) in the end and gives rise to the activities of edifying sentient beings. Therefore, such emptiness corresponds to [the principle that] “existence is itself emptiness” [空不違有即空之理] and such existence corresponds to [the doctrine that] “emptiness is itself material form” [非無不違空即色之說]. Moreover, the two philosophies are based on the principle of conditioned arising (i.e., other-dependence), on which the relation of mutual identity between existence and non-existence (*yumu sangjeuk* 有無相即) logically depends. In this respect, how could we not say, “[In the two philosophies] the two truths and the middle way are naturally established [respectively from the perspective of both being existent and non-existent and from the perspective of being neither existent nor non-existent respectively (亦空亦有 順成二諦 非空非有 契會中道)], and the Buddha’s intent is established by [the joining of] the two [philosophies of non-existence and existence (立空有宗 共成佛意)]?”

Is this not the reason for Woncheuk’s evaluation of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra as equal? If this is the case, we should say that the problem lay in a sectarian mindset of being attached to either emptiness or existence. Here, Woncheuk comments as follows: “Do you mean that the conflicts between the thesis of existence and that of non-existence accord with the Buddha’s intent? One’s attachment to one’s own view (*non* 論) as being superior to others’ views indeed goes against the sacred teaching [of the Buddha].”¹⁶³ After all, we should say that Woncheuk was the first [Buddhist] philosopher who was keenly aware of the conflicts between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra in Chinese Buddhism and evaluated them as equal. For it is difficult to find such a

theory before his times. Fazang 法藏 (643–712) of the Huayan school presented the doctrinal classification schema of the five teachings (Ch. *wu jiaopan* 五教判: Hinayana, elementary teaching of the Mahayana, advanced teaching of the Mahayana, sudden teaching, and perfect teaching), according to which the Madhyamaka and the *Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning* as well as the Yogācāra are all evaluated as the elementary teaching of the Mahayana. Such a judgement that equates the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra might be traced back to Woncheuk.

Woncheuk's position, as examined above, was not acceptable to the lineage originating from Kuiji of Ci'en Temple who established the Dharma Characteristics school (Ch. Faxiang zong 法相宗). For they adhered to Dharmapāla's Yogācāra theory as an absolutely correct one. Here lies the most fundamental reason for their refutation of Woncheuk's position as heresy. In Daehyeon's *Seong yusing-non hakgi* 成唯識論學記 (Study Notes on the *Cheng weishi lun*) we frequently find the interpretations of Woncheuk and Kuiji listed together, but the annotations of the two exegetes do not reveal any serious oppositions. Then, we can say that the most salient feature of Woncheuk's emptiness view that is based on the Yogācāra philosophy is the [comprehensiveness] in presenting his position. That is to say, while he inclined toward the new Yogācāra philosophy which clarifies the meaning of emptiness, he did not see it as fundamentally opposed to the Prajñā-Madhyamaka view.

D

Wonhyo's Hwaecom View of Emptiness

i. Buddhist Philosophy on Korean Soil

Unlike Seungnang and Woncheuk who were active in China and died there, Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686) was an eminent monk who learned Buddhism and transmitted its teachings only in Korea (i.e., Silla). It was not that he never intended to study abroad in China, though. In fact, he did try to enter China together with Uisang 義湘 (625–702) two times. In the fourth reign year (first year of the Yonghui 永徽 era, 650) of King Jindeok 眞德 (r. 647–654) he took a land route across the Liaodong 了東 region but in vain; later in the first reign year (first year of the Longshuo 龍朔 era, 661) of King Munmu 文武 (r. 661–681) he used a sea route.¹⁶⁴ On his way to China, however, he attained enlightenment in an ancient tomb and turned back to Silla, never attempting again to go to China seeking for dharma. He then devoted himself to writings and transmission of the teachings only in Korea and entered into *parinirvāṇa* at the age of seventy.¹⁶⁵ Therefore, it may be said that Buddhist philosophy of Korea in an authentic sense began with Wonhyo.

“Uisang’s Biography,” included in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song Biographies of Eminent Monks), fascicle 4, describes the insight that Wonhyo was enlightened to as follows. “As the mind arises, many dharmas arise. As the mind perishes, the earthen cave and the ancient tomb are non-dual. The three realms (*samgye* [Ch. *sanjie*] 三界) are mind only; myriad dharmas are consciousness only.”¹⁶⁶ He was enlightened to the principle of mind-only (or consciousness-only). Therefore, we may say that Wonhyo was a Yogācāra thinker just like Woncheuk. The “Biography of Wonhyo,” included in the same text, states that he wanted to enter Tang China because he “yearned to be a disciple of Tripiṭaka Master Xuanzang,”¹⁶⁷ which lends strength to such

a judgement.

But is that judgement tenable? If it is the case, why did he turn back to Silla? Bibliographical research has shown that Wonhyo's writings amount to an astonishing eighty-seven titles in more than 180 fascicles¹⁶⁸ and that the topics dealt with there are not restricted to the Yogācāra. Such diverse topics as Madhyamaka, Huayan (Kr. Hwaeom), monastic discipline, and Pure Land are all covered in his writings. Besides, the extant writings (twenty-three titles in thirty-two fascicles and two fragments)¹⁶⁹ show that tathagatagarbha thought of the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論; hereafter referred to as *Awakening of Faith*), rather than Yogācāra philosophy, plays a pivotal role in his thought. If we enumerate his writings concerned only with the *Awakening of Faith*, they amount to three titles in five fascicles: the *Commentary* in two fascicles, the *Separate Note* in two fascicles, and the *Treatise on the Two Obstructions* (*Ijang-ui* 二障義) in one fascicle. It is this philosophy of the *Awakening of Faith* that pervades his other writings as well.

In relation to the aforementioned *Song gaoseng zhuan* passage on what is known as Wonhyo's awakening to the mind-only doctrine (*yusim seol* 唯心說), we can find a similar passage also from the *Awakening of Faith*: "Every dharma is mind only and so empty and untrue. As the mind arises, all sorts of dharmas arise; as the mind perishes, all sorts of dharmas perish."¹⁷⁰ Therefore, what he was awakened to should be regarded as the *Awakening of Faith's* doctrine of conditioned arising of the mind-only (i.e., tathagatagarbha) (*yusim yeon'gi seol* 唯心緣起說) rather than the Yogācāra's doctrine of conditioned arising of the *ālaya* consciousness (*aroeya yeon'gi seol* 阿賴耶緣起說). Among Wonhyo's writings, the *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non* 金剛三昧經論 (A Commentary on the *Geumgang sammae-gyeong* [Sutra on the Adamantine Samadhi; Skt. **Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*]) was a work that earned him international renown to the extent that translation masters in China venerated it as a treatise (*non* [Ch. *lun*] 論), [not just as a commentary (*so* [Ch. *shu*] 疏)].¹⁷¹ And this work also explicates tathagatagarbha thought just like the *Awakening of Faith*. Therefore,

Wonhyo can be regarded as a thinker who devoted himself to the new Buddhist philosophy of the *Awakening of Faith*, unlike Seungnang and Woncheuk [who were concerned with the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra respectively].

Besides, he annotated the *Awakening of Faith* from a very unique angle. As stated above, the oppositions between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra concerning the nature of the ultimate truth (or the perfect accomplishment) were unavoidable—they had to determine whether that [ultimate] truth is existent or non-existent. Regarding this issue, Woncheuk harmonized their opposing views from a perspective that sees both existence and non-existence, presented in the two philosophies, as constituting the middle way, and also as ultimately accomplishing the Buddha's intent when they are combined. Is such a harmonization thoroughgoing from the theoretical viewpoint, then? Here, Wonhyo took it to be problematic. He thus discovered in the *Awakening of Faith* systematic theories that could overcome such problems and made annotations on the text with a view to achieving that purpose.¹⁷² His *Daeseung gisinnon-so* 大乘起信論疏 (A Commentary on the *Awakening of Faith*) was so extremely influential both domestically and internationally that the *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記 (Notes on the Meaning of the *Awakening of Faith*) by the Huayan school's third patriarch Fazang, a staunch promoter of Huayan philosophy, is known to have been deeply influenced by this Korean commentary (*Haedong so* 海東疏; i.e., Wonhyo's commentary).

Wonhyo's philosophy of the *Awakening of Faith* should not be seen simply as a harmonization of disputes (*hwajaeng* 和諍) between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra. Nor should it be seen as tathagatagarbha thought (or the advanced teaching of the Mahayana in the doctrinal classification schema of the five teachings), though it is commonly evaluated as such. For Wonhyo's thought proceeded further and paid attention to establishing a theory that could explicate how the Buddha's activities (i.e., the conditioned [but untainted]) arise from the original source of the one mind. Therefore, Wonhyo's view of the *Awakening of Faith* is rather close to Hwaeom (Ch. Huayan)

thought. For Hwaeom thought, which was developed by Dushun 杜順 (557–640), Zhiyan 至儼 (602–668), Uisang 義湘 (625–702), Fazang, etc., aimed at proclaiming the doctrine of conditioned arising of the dharma realm (*beopgye yeon'gi* [Ch. *fajie yuanqi*] 法界緣起), which is characterized by repetitive containment of the whole in the parts *ad infinitum* (*jungjung mujin* [Ch. *chongchong wujin*] 重重無盡), on the basis of the dharma realm of the one mind (*ilsim beopgye* [Ch. *yixin fajie*] 一心法界; i.e., tathagatagarbha).

From this perspective, we can say that in so far that Woncheuk's earlier effort at harmonizing the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra left some theoretical problems unresolved, Wonhyo discovered in the *Awakening of Faith* systematic theories that could solve them. The breadth and uniqueness of Wonhyo's scholarship was such that there was no one who could catch up with him after his times, not to mention during his times. Although there were excellent scholastic thinkers in the Unified Silla such as Uisang, Gyeongheung 憬興 (fl. during the reign of King Sinmun 神文 [r. 681–692]), Uijeok 義寂 (fl. during the reign of King Sinmun), Daehyeon 大賢 (or Taehyeon 太賢, fl. during the reign of King Gyeongdeok 景德 [r. 742–765]), etc. and there were also eminent figures such as Gyunyeo 均如 (923–973), Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101), etc., in the Goryeo, they did not deviate much from the general pattern of succeeding the China-originated schools such as Hwaeom (Ch. Huayan), Yogācāra [i.e., Dharma Characteristics], Cheontae (Ch. Tiantai), etc. Therefore, it can be said that Wonhyo is the greatest Buddhist thinker on Korean soil. What can be said in more detail of his Buddhist thought, then? I will elucidate this query by revealing its core elements centering around the emptiness view.

ii. Critiques of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra

Woncheuk evaluated the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra as equal and pointed out that a sectarian mindset caused problems. Wonhyo also had the same view. Wonhyo's critical attitude toward his times is

most clearly shown in the *Bosal gyebon jibeom yogi* 菩薩戒本持犯要記 (Essentials of Observances and Transgressions of the *Bodhisattva Precepts*). In this work are presented a pair of grave transgressions that belong to the category of praising oneself and disparaging others (*jachan hweta* [Ch. *zizan huita*] 自讚毀他, Skt. *ātmoṭkarṣa-parapaṃsaka*):

First, because of [the view of] increase (*jeungik* 增益; i.e., attachment to existence [*yujip* 有執]) one adheres to existence, discriminates between self-natures of things, and boasts of one's attainment of the Buddha's intent. Secondly, because of [the view of] decrease (*son'gam* 損減; i.e., attachment to non-existence [*mujip* 無執]) one denies the principle of other-dependence without knowing the secret intent of scriptures and treatises, thereby loudly saying that the doctrines of the three natures (i.e., three self-natures [of pervasive discrimination, other-dependence, and perfect accomplishment]) and the three truths (*samje* 三諦; i.e., the empty [*gong* 空], the provisional [*ga* 假], and the middle [*jung* 中]) are just gates of teaching (*gyomun* 教門; i.e., provisional designations [*gamyeong* 假名]).¹⁷³

We can easily see the first grave transgression introduced above is what the Yogācāra tend to commit. Here, “attainment of the Buddha's intent” can be identified as the “fully revealed meaning” (*youi* 了義; i.e., clearly revealed dharma wheel [*hyeolloy beomnyun* 顯了法輪]), which the Yogācāra attribute to themselves. We need to recall that the identification of the three natures and the three truths as gates of teaching is none other than the Three Treatises school's doctrine of the two truths as teachings (*yakgyo ije seol* 約教二諦說).

Oppositions between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra originally arose from the [different] interpretations of emptiness. Wonhyo's *Daehye dogyeong jongyo* 大慧度經宗要 (Doctrinal Essentials of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*), in which the fundamental intent of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 25,000 Lines* is explicated, has the following passage:

The real characteristic of every dharma (*jebeop silsang* 諸法實相) is differently presented in accordance with the masters. (1) Someone says that true thusness, which is revealed by permanently eliminating the pervasive discrimination from the other-dependence, is the real characteristic (in the *Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra*). (2) Someone says that both the mark of other-dependence and true thusness are empty and that this [emptiness] is the real characteristic (in the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras*). (3) Someone says that since the other-dependence is both existent and empty, it is existent from the perspective of the conventional truth and it is empty from the perspective of the ultimate truth. [In this view] emptiness is itself true thusness, but [at the same time] true thusness is non-empty—this is the real characteristic. (4) Someone says that the dharma gate of the two truths is just a provisional theory and not a real characteristic. What is neither [ultimately] true nor conventionally [true] and is neither existent nor empty is called the real characteristic.¹⁷⁴

The above quotation comprehensively presents the views of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra concerning the real characteristic of every dharma. It concludes as follows:

Of the above theories, which is real (*sil* 實)? All are real because they do not contradict the sacred canon. In what is preached from the state which is separate from attachments there is nothing that is not correct.¹⁷⁵

Concerning the *Sūtra on the Explication of Profound Meaning* where the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras* are treated as the second dharma wheel of no marks (*musang beomnyun* 無相法輪) that belongs to the [teaching] with meanings not fully revealed, Wonhyo says, “In some respect, such an aspect is acknowledged but it is not necessarily so. This scripture (*Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra in 25,000 Lines*) is also the third, clearly revealed dharma wheel (*byeollyo beomnyun* 顯了法輪).”¹⁷⁶

Therefore, we can say that Wonhyo also evaluated the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra as equal and considered the sectarian mindset, which adhered to the thought that they themselves are superior to others, to

be problematic. When we examine his writings more closely, however, we see that he was not simply criticizing the sectarian attachments alone. He thought that at a deeper level both the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra had theoretical problems that should be solved. In the beginning of his *Daeseung gisin-non byeolgi* 大乘起信論別記 (Separate Notes on the *Awakening of Faith*), he formulates this as follows:

Such texts as the *Madhyamakāśāstra* and the *Shi'er men lun* 十二門論 destroy all the attachments without remnants and destroy even such destruction itself. As they allow for neither the destroyer nor the destroyed, those treatises present a theory that goes [in one direction] but does not encompass [other aspects]. Such texts as the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* and the *Mahāyānasamgraha* [on the other hand] establish and classify deep and shallow dharma gates but do not thoroughly abandon their own teachings. Those treatises thus present a theory that gives [i.e., establishes something] but does not get rid of it.¹⁷⁷

Just a single look at the above quotation will clarify that he was not just criticizing sectarian attachments.

What did he mean by the expression “a theory that goes but does not encompass” (往而不徧論) when he evaluated the Madhyamaka? As stated above, Nāgārjuna has said, “Because of the meaning of emptiness is established every dharma” and the Three Treatises school has also taught that when we take the principle of no attainment to be a substance, this gives rise to unobstructed functions that turn everything into the conventional.¹⁷⁸ But Wonhyo’s comment introduced above is opposed to this. The expression “goes but does not encompass” means that [he considered] the purported attainment of all conventional dharmas or the arising of functions to be impossible. That is, although the Madhyamaka claims that emptiness ultimately gives rise to existence, Wonhyo thinks it is theoretically implausible.

What is the reason for such judgement of his? The meaning of emptiness as preached by the Prajñā-Madhyamaka is a thorough “destruction” (pa 破), and it does not allow for the establishment of true

thusness. How can we say then that such emptiness has the ability to give rise to the conventional function of every dharma at a certain stage? [As far as emptiness is concerned,] only destruction will be carried out incessantly. Therefore, Wonhyo says:

The expression “emptiness is also empty” (*gonggong* 空空) also has two meanings: first, the nature of a dharma (*beopseong* 法性, Skt. *dharmatā*) is empty and such emptiness is also empty—so neither existence nor emptiness is obtainable. This emptiness of emptiness lies in the gate of true thusness (*jinyeo mun* 眞如門). Secondly, since existence has no nature of existence (*yuseong* 有性), it is empty; since that emptiness has no nature of emptiness (*gongseong* 空性), it produces existence—this is [also] called emptiness of emptiness. This emptiness of emptiness lies in the gate of arising and cessation (*saengmyeol mun* 生滅門).¹⁷⁹

The gate of true thusness and the gate of arising and cessation correspond to the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra respectively. Whereas the emptiness in the gate of arising and cessation can produce existence, that in the gate of true thusness cannot. In this respect, Wonhyo further says, “The gate of arising and cessation has the meaning of producing (*neungsaeng* 能生), but the gate of true thusness does not have such a meaning.”¹⁸⁰ Then, we cannot but regard the Madhyamaka as a theory that “goes but does not encompass” since it just destroys all attachments.

Next, in relation to the Yogācāra, what does the expression “a theory that gives but does not get rid of it” mean? Yogācāra thought is a philosophy that aims at gaining a systematic understanding of emptiness by focusing on the discriminations and false attachments (*bunbyeol mangjip* [Ch. *fenbie wangzhi*] 分別妄執) that cause sentient beings to transmigrate in the cycle of birth and death. Therefore, it negates the nature of pervasive discrimination of what is attached to; it allows the existence of the other-dependence (i.e., eight consciousnesses) and the perfect accomplishment (i.e., true thusness). According to this system of thought, the ultimate aim is to be

enlightened to the mark of perfect accomplishment (i.e., real nature of consciousness-only [*yusik silseong* (Ch. *weishi shixing*) 唯識實性]) by practicing the Yogācāra contemplation of emptiness (*gongguan* [Ch. *kongguan*] 空觀). Such an ultimate realm is true thusness of the unconditioned (*muwi jinyeon* [Ch. *wuwei zhenru*] 無爲眞如) in which even the other-dependence disappears, and true thusness has no other way to be endowed with the nature of being coagulated and without any activities (*eungyeon bujak* [Ch. *ningran buzuo*] 凝然不作).

What does Yogācāra philosophy then say about the mark of perfect accomplishment even though it [theoretically] has the problem [of not allowing any conventional activities]? It says that the mark of perfect accomplishment has two meanings: (1) true thusness of the unconditioned and (2) bodhi of the conditioned (*yuwi bori* [Ch. *youwei puti*] 有爲菩提). It further says that the obstructions are of two kinds: afflictive obstruction (*beonnoe jang* [Ch. *fannaο zhang*] 煩惱障, Skt. *klesāvāraṇa*) and intellectual obstruction (*soji jang* [Ch. *suozhi zhang*] 所知障, Skt. *jñeyāvāraṇa*). [According to this theory,] one can attain nirvana by eliminating the former; one can attain bodhi (i.e., four wisdoms) by eliminating the latter. This philosophy puts the other-dependence at the center and then correlates its tainted part with the pervasive discrimination and its purified part with the perfect accomplishment. In this way, it takes the attainment of wisdom by transforming the consciousness (*jeonsik deukji* [Ch. *zhuanshi dezhi*] 轉識得智) to be its goal of cultivation.¹⁸¹

Are these doctrines of the Yogācāra indeed theoretically justified, then? Unlike the Madhyamaka, the Yogācāra makes a strict distinction between the conditioned (i.e., pervasive discrimination and other-dependence) and the unconditioned (i.e., perfect accomplishment). How could this philosophy allow for the arising of the ultimate function of the conditioned (i.e., other-dependence) as far as it is established on this distinction? For the function of the conditioned to arise, the discrimination of values attached to truth (i.e., the unconditioned) and falsity (i.e., the conditioned) should be eliminated. To say that the former [i.e., function of the conditioned] arises while

the latter [i.e., value discrimination] remains would amount to a self-contradiction. Although it is said that the afflictive obstruction blocks nirvana and the intellectual obstruction blocks bodhi, this doctrine is also hard to understand. If the intellectual obstruction refers to the value-discriminating attachment to true thusness, it may be intelligible. For the elimination of that attachment might give rise to the function of the conditioned (i.e., bodhi). But we cannot find an example of such a [clear] explanation.

Therefore, it is difficult to consider [the Yogācāra's] introduction of the two meanings of perfect accomplishment or the two obstructions (afflictive and intellectual) to be theoretically valid. These theories give us the impression that [the Yogācāra] distorted their own theories for the purpose of generating the function of the conditioned (i.e., four wisdoms of bodhi) that saves sentient beings at [a bodhisattva's] ultimate stage. In other words, it seems to be a response to the religious call, rather than a natural, logical consequence. Does Wonhyo's evaluation of the Yogācāra as "a theory that gives but does not get rid of it" not point to this theoretical problem? His evaluation [of the Yogācāra treatises] as [the texts that] "establish and classify deep and shallow dharma gates but do not thoroughly abandon their own teachings" allows us to be certain of this assumption.

According to Wonhyo's view examined above, the problems with the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra do not stem only from sectarian attachments, but also from theoretical flaws at a deeper level. In the case of the Madhyamaka, it can destroy all discriminations but does not have the ability to produce [salvific activities]; in the case of the Yogācāra, it can produce all dharmas but does not have the ability to eliminate them. Therefore, we cannot but say that both are theoretically flawed in that they just have a supramundane (*chul segan* [Ch. *chushijian*] 出世間) direction that [leads a practitioner to] go beyond the present world of human beings and do not have an ultimate [direction that leads the practitioner] to return to the world of sentient beings.

iii. Wisdom in the *Awakening of Faith*

If the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra have the theoretical shortcomings of not being able to transform [the supramundane essence into the mundane functions] in the end, these problems should be overcome. For these can be considered a matter of life and death in Mahayana philosophy. But is there any solution to them? The theoretical shortcomings of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra manifest themselves in opposed modes. Whereas the former can destroy [attachments] but lacks the power to produce [salvific activities], the latter is able to produce [dharmas] but lacks the power to destroy them. What will then come about if we combine the two philosophies so as to supplement their respective theoretical shortcomings? That is, let us suppose that the Yogācāra borrows the ability to destroy something from the Madhyamaka and that the Madhyamaka borrows the ability to produce something from the Yogācāra. If this is made possible, then the problems are likely to be solved without any difficulties.

But the problem is that we are not sure whether they can be so combined. The two philosophical systems are diametrically opposed to each other. Yet, even though they are mutually oppositive, what they appropriate as their objects (*beop* [Ch. *fa*] 法, Skt. *dharma*) must be the mind of sentient beings and what they all aim at must be the goal (*ui* [Ch. *yi*] 義, Skt. *artha*) of the Mahayana presented by the Buddha. Concerning these matters, their ideas cannot differ. If so, why not attempt to harmonize the two philosophies based on this very fact?

It is this very fact that the *Awakening of Faith*, attributed to Aśvaghōṣa (Maming 馬鳴), pays attention to. It says, “Generally speaking, the Mahayana has two elements: its object and its meaning or goal.”¹⁸² It then identifies the former with a sentient being’s mind. It is this mind that both the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra rely on. Therefore, we cannot but say that the two philosophical systems are established on the basis of the one mind (*ilsim* [Ch. *yixin*] 一心). The *Awakening of Faith* explicates this thesis as follows.

Relying on the dharma of the one mind, there are two gates: the gate of true thusness of the mind (*sim jinyeo mun* [Ch. *xin zhenru men*] 心眞如門) and the gate of arising and cessation of the mind (*sim saengmyeol mun* [Ch. *xin shengmie men*] 心生滅門). These two gates encompass all dharmas respectively, because they are not separate from each other.¹⁸³

It goes without saying that the gate of true thusness of the mind denotes the Madhyamaka and the gate of arising and cessation of the mind denotes the Yogācāra. Taking note of this idea of the *Awakening of Faith*, Wonhyo describes the one mind as follows.

What is the one mind? No dharmas, whether impure or pure, can have a dual nature. The two gates of truth and falsity (*jinmang* 眞妄) cannot differ from each other, and so [the foundation of the two gates] is referred to as “one.” Where duality cannot obtain, it is real in all dharmas. Since it has “wondrous understanding” as its nature unlike the empty sky, it is called “mind.” But since the duality does not exist [from the beginning], how can we obtain [even] the oneness? Since the one does not exist, what can be named “mind”? As this principle is beyond the limits of words and thoughts, there is no way to name it. If we are forced to give it a name, however, we call it “the one mind.”¹⁸⁴

That is, the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra are themselves the one mind and the one mind is itself the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra. Centering around this one mind, the two philosophical systems that have been opposed for so long can be harmonized.

If the two philosophies are harmoniously combined, their theoretical problems can be solved without difficulties. For the opposing modes of the two philosophies would turn into cooperative modes and give rise to complementary functions in the one mind. To elaborate this point, when the Yogācāra fails to produce functions of the conditioned (*yuwi jagyong* 有爲作用; i.e., four wisdoms of bodhi), a thoroughgoing equality of the Madhyamaka that destroys all discriminations will act upon it and eliminate that problem. At the

same time, the Madhyamaka will ride on the generative functions of the Yogācāra and be able to accomplish the goal of the Mahayana.

In this respect, we should say that the idea of the one mind and the two gates is indeed wondrous. Wonhyo speaks highly of this idea as follows.

Now, this *Awakening of Faith* is wise, benevolent, mysterious, and vast. Although there is nothing that is not established by it, it abandons that by itself. Although there is nothing that is not destroyed by it, it nevertheless allows that. “It nevertheless allows that” means that it causes that one which has gone [to one direction of negation] to reach the extreme and comprehensively establish [other dharmas]. “It abandons that by itself” means that it causes this one which has given [i.e., has established something] to give something to others but in the end takes it away again. This is the utmost principle of all theories and the judge of all disputes.¹⁸⁵

Here, the expression “that one which has gone” and “this one which has given” could be associated with the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra respectively. In the *Awakening of Faith*, however, the former “comprehensively establishes” and the latter “takes away what it has given” when they reach the ultimate state. At this point, we need to compare these [theoretical implications] with the theoretical shortcomings of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra, which have been pointed out earlier by Wonhyo. For those problems are clearly solved now.

Wonhyo is the first commentator who explicated the *Awakening of Faith* from this perspective. Although prior to Wonhyo’s commentaries we have such treatises as the *Yixin ermen dayi* 一心二門大意 (General Intent of the One Mind and the Two Gates) by Zhikai 智愷 (Huikai 慧愷, 518–568), the [*Dasheng*] *qixin lun [yi]shu* [大乘]起信論[義]疏 (A Commentary on the *Awakening of Faith*; fascicle 1 remaining) by Tanyan 曇延 (516–588), and the [*Dasheng*] *qixin lun yishu* [大乘]起信論義疏 (An Exposition of the *Awakening of Faith*; in one fascicle) by Huiyuan 慧遠 (523–592), we cannot find such a reading

in them. While we cannot know for sure that the *Awakening of Faith* was [purportedly] composed by Āśvaghōṣa for the purpose of revealing such a meaning, yet we must acknowledge that Wonhyo's extraction of a new meaning from the *Awakening of Faith* has an important significance in the history of thought. He also admits that his views were unprecedented in the following passage: "The intent and direction of this treatise is so profound that previous commentators were not able to reveal the fundamental meanings fully. They were just keeping what they originally practiced and led by the letters, thereby failing to discover that intent with an open mind. Therefore, they could not go near to the intent that the composer of the treatise had."¹⁸⁶

iv. Aspects of Enlightenment and Non-Enlightenment

Based on the principle of "the one mind and the two gates" examined above, the *Awakening of Faith* reorganizes the doctrinal systems of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra. Those [re-organized doctrinal systems] are the one mind's gate of true thusness and the one mind's gate of arising and cessation. As for the gate of true thusness, the treatise defines "true thusness" as "the substance of the dharma gate on the great universal mark in the one dharma realm" which is separate from all verbal expressions (*ieon jinyeo* [Ch. *liyan zhenru*] 離言真如; lit. "true thusness separate from language").¹⁸⁷ But if it is differentiated relying on verbal expressions (*uieon jinyeo* [Ch. *yiyan zhenru*] 依言真如), there are two meanings: (1) real emptiness (*yeosil gong* [Ch. *rushi kong*] 如實空) and (2) real non-emptiness (*yeosil bulgong* [Ch. *rushi bukong*] 如實不空). The former is so called because it "manifests the true substance in the end"; the latter is so called because it is "endowed within itself with the quality of nature which is untainted."¹⁸⁸ It can be said that "real emptiness" corresponds to the emptiness view of the Madhyamaka and that "real non-emptiness" corresponds to the meaning or goal of emptiness (*gongui* [Ch. *kongyi*] 空義) in Nāgārjuna's philosophy or the middle way of true dharma (*jeongbeop jungdo* [Ch. *zhengfa zhongdao*]

正法中道) as a substance (*che* [Ch. *ti*] 體) in the doctrines of the Three Treatises school.

Next, as for the gate of arising and cessation, “arising and cessation” is explained as follows.

Relying on tathagatagarbha, the mind that arises and ceases comes to be. That is, what neither arises nor ceases combines with what arises and ceases, becoming what is neither identical nor different—this is called the *ālaya* (*aryeoya* [Ch. *aliye*] 阿黎耶) consciousness. This consciousness has two meanings and thus can embrace all dharmas and give rise to all dharmas. What are the two? (1) the meaning of enlightenment (*gak* [Ch. *jue*] 覺) and (2) the meaning of non-enlightenment (*bulgak* [Ch. *bujue*] 不覺).¹⁸⁹

This is followed by an explanation of the modes of dharmas’ arising caused by enlightenment and non-enlightenment. Although we do not have room for a detailed introduction to these modes, we can present a summary of the structure of enlightenment in diagram 1 on page 234.

What is especially noteworthy about this structure of enlightenment is the final enlightenment (*gugyeong gak* [Ch. *jiujing jue*] 究竟覺) included in the actualized enlightenment (*sigak* [Ch. *shijue*] 始覺). The *Awakening of Faith* explains it by saying, “Since one is enlightened to the fundamental source of the mind at this stage, it is called ‘the final enlightenment.’ . . . In this stage a bodhisattva exhausts all his or her practices [of ten grounds (*ji* [Ch. *di*] 地, Skt. *bhūmi*)] and sees the nature of the mind [which is now seen as permanently abiding].”¹⁹⁰ Wonhyo further identifies this stage as buddhahood (*bulji* [Ch. *fodi*] 佛地), the immaculate ground (*mugu ji* [Ch. *wugou di*] 無垢地), or the ground of equal enlightenment (*deunggak ji* [Ch. *dengjue di*] 等覺地).¹⁹¹ From this explanation, we can assume that this final enlightenment corresponds to the ultimate state stipulated in the *Madhyamaka* or the *Yogācāra*.

Original enlightenment in its pure nature

Different stages of actualized enlightenment



Diagram 1. Actualized enlightenment and original enlightenment

In other words, when the practice of emptiness view ultimately reaches the real characteristic of true thusness or the real nature of consciousness-only (i.e., perfect accomplishment), it is expressed as “the final enlightenment” in the *Awakening of Faith*. This is more clearly discernable where the final enlightenment is identified as “real non-emptiness” and the stages prior to it are referred to as “real emptiness.” Here, we need to recall the thesis of the gate of true thusness [of the treatise], which also says that if true thusness is differentiated by verbal expressions it has the two meanings of real emptiness and real non-emptiness.

But why does the *Awakening of Faith* attribute this final enlightenment to the category of actualized enlightenment? Why does it further establish the mark of pure wisdom (*jiyeong sang* [Ch. *zhijing xiang*] 智淨相) and the mark of inconceivable activities (*busawi eop sang* [Ch. *busiye xiang*] 不思議業相) at a deeper level of original enlightenment (*bon'gak* [Ch. *benjue*] 本覺)? To solve these problems, we need to reflect on the theoretical problems left unresolved by the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra even in their ultimate state, and the *Awakening of Faith's* principle of the one mind and the two gates, presented as a solution to those problems. To generate the four wisdoms of the conditioned (i.e., bodhi) from the ultimate true thusness of the unconditioned (i.e., nirvana), which the Yogācāra contemplation of emptiness reaches in the end, the practitioner should abandon even the value discrimination of (or attachment to) true thusness.

Does the mark of pure wisdom in the original enlightenment not mean the abandonment of this attachment to true thusness? If so, the mark of inconceivable activities can be seen as the arising of inconceivable salvific activities for sentient beings from the purified wisdom (*sunjeong ji* [Ch. *chunjing zhi*] 純淨智). The *Awakening of Faith* explains this by saying, “As for the mark of pure wisdom, when . . . [a practitioner] destroys the mark [of arising] in the combined consciousness (i.e., *ālaya* consciousness), . . . the dharma-body manifests itself and the wisdom is purified. . . . As for the mark of inconceivable activities, [that dharma-body] relies on the wisdom and

can give rise to all exalted and wondrous realms [for sentient beings].”¹⁹² The *Awakening of Faith*’s explanation here is in accordance with the nature of the *ālaya* consciousness in this treatise, which is characterized by combined nature. Therefore, if we examine how this treatise presents the structure of non-enlightenment and what implications this structure has, we will be able to understand this meaning more clearly.

First, let us take a look at how dharmas arise due to non-enlightenment. Although this process is extremely complicated, its brief outline can be illustrated in diagram 2 on page 237.

What is especially noteworthy about this structure of non-enlightenment is that the *ālaya* consciousness of the *Awakening of Faith* is considerably different from that of the Yogācāra. As stated above, the Yogācāra calls the most fundamental of sentient beings’ discriminating minds (i.e., consciousnesses) the *ālaya* consciousness, and also refers to it as the ripening consciousness (*isuk sik* [Ch. *yishou shi*] 異熟識) since it becomes the foundation for their transmigration along the path of birth and death (Skt. *saṃsāra*). But what role does it play in the *Awakening of Faith*? The treatise says, “What neither arises nor ceases (i.e., tathagatagarbha or true thusness) combines with what arises and ceases, becoming what is neither identical nor different—this is called the *ālaya* consciousness.”¹⁹³ According to Wonhyo, “the former [i.e., the *ālaya* consciousness in the Yogācāra] is the ripening consciousness and uniformly (*ilhyang* [Ch. *yixiang*] 一向) subject to arising and cessation, but the latter [i.e., the *ālaya* consciousness in the *Awakening of Faith*] embraces the two meanings (i.e., both what arises and ceases [*saengmyeol* (Ch. *shengmie*) 生滅] and what neither arises nor ceases [*bulsaeng bulmyeol* (Ch. *busheng bumie*) 不生不滅].”¹⁹⁴ In other words, the *ālaya* consciousness of the *Awakening of Faith* covers the entire realm ranging from arising and cessation to true thusness.

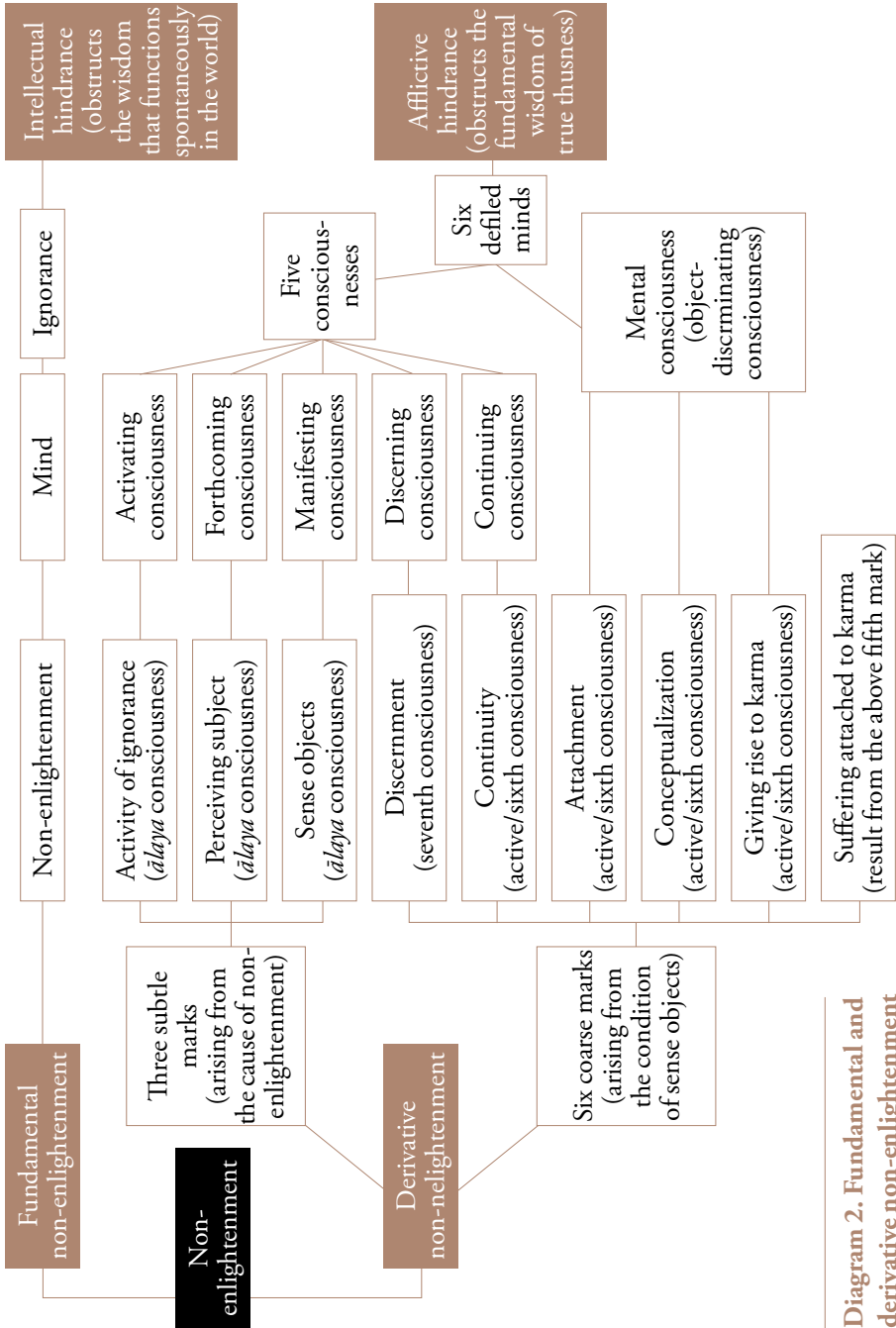


Diagram 2. Fundamental and derivative non-enlightenment

Therefore, if we compare the two types of *ālaya* consciousness from the perspective of three subtle and six coarse (*samse yukchu* [Ch. *sanxi liucu*] 三細六麤) marks that arise from non-enlightenment, we can see that the *ālaya* consciousness of the *Awakening of Faith* corresponds to the fundamental non-enlightenment (*geunbon bulgak* [Ch. *genben bujue*] 根本不覺) in a narrow scope and that it can also cover the three subtle marks [of the derivative non-enlightenment (*jimal bulgak* [Ch. *zhimo bujue*] 枝末不覺)] in a wider scope. The *ālaya* consciousness of the Yogācāra, by contrast, cannot go beyond the boundary of the three subtle marks. Based on this insight, Wonhyo judged the final enlightenment in the actualized enlightenment as occurring at the level of the *ālaya* consciousness and considered the three subtle marks to arise also from the *ālaya* consciousness.¹⁹⁵ Although he made such judgement for the purpose of clarifying the scope of the *ālaya* consciousness, he also made a comparison of this consciousness with its Yogācāra counterpart. He then declared that “the three subtle marks are all subsumed under the ripening consciousness.”¹⁹⁶ The Silla monk Gyeondeung 見登 (d.u.), a faithful follower of Wonhyo’s theories, further narrowed down the scope of the *ālaya* consciousness [in the Yogācāra] by saying, “The Yogācāra school takes the third manifesting consciousness (*hyeonsik* [Ch. *xianshi*] 現識) [of the three subtle marks] as the *ālaya* consciousness” in his *Daeseung gisin-non dongi yakjip* 大乘起信論同異略集 (Brief Comparisons of the *Awakening of Faith* Commentaries).¹⁹⁷

The *ālaya* consciousness of the *Awakening of Faith* is a concept derived from the Yogācāra theories. Although it has two Chinese transcriptions such as *aliye* (Kr. *aryeoya*) 阿黎耶 or *aliye* (Kr. *ariya*) 阿梨耶 and *alaiye* (Kr. *aroeya*) 阿賴耶 and some scholars use them to distinguish between the two concepts [or more precisely, the two contexts of the *Awakening of Faith* and the Yogācāra texts], this difference just reflects how to transcribe the term and there is no difference in their original form *ālaya*. Nevertheless, the *Awakening of Faith* expands the scope of the *ālaya* consciousness, which is [originally] “uniformly subject to arising and cessation,” and makes it

encompass the realm of true thusness. What is the reason for this, then? Wonhyo also finds this to be problematic and asks, “How come this consciousness in the *Awakening of Faith* has these two meanings?”¹⁹⁸

This problem is also in line with the reason for establishing the mark of pure wisdom. Therefore, we could understand [and answer] the above question easily if we consider it in relation to that mark. As stated above, even if one attains the final enlightenment (i.e., real non-emptiness) by cultivating the contemplation of emptiness (i.e., real emptiness), as far as one is under the influence of value-discriminating attachment to true thusness, it is theoretically impossible for one to give rise to the four wisdoms of the conditioned. As mentioned above, the notion of pure wisdom is put forth to eliminate this theoretical shortcoming. Now, if the marks of non-enlightenment are presented from this perspective, what will they look like? It would be desirable for the *ālaya* consciousness to subsume under its coverage the value-discriminating attachment remaining in the final enlightenment. For only when it is so presented could the destruction of the *ālaya* consciousness naturally lead to [the manifestation of] the mark of pure wisdom. Is the *Awakening of Faith*'s definition of the *ālaya* consciousness as a combination of what neither arises nor ceases with what arises and ceases not attributable to this consideration? Here, we need to recall that the *Awakening of Faith* explains the mark of pure wisdom by saying, “When . . . [a practitioner] destroys the mark of combined consciousness (i.e., *ālaya* consciousness), . . . the dharmabody manifests itself and the wisdom is purified.”¹⁹⁹

It is the theory of ignorance (*mumyeong* [Ch. *wuming*] 無明) or intellectual hindrance (*jiae* [Ch. *zhiai*] 智礙) that strengthens such an impression of ours [about the scope of the *ālaya* consciousness]. The *Awakening of Faith* refers to the fundamental non-enlightenment occurring at the level of the *ālaya* consciousness as “ignorance” and also calls it “intellectual hindrance.” Therefore, it is said, “Because one does not know the oneness of the dharmas of true thusness as it is, . . . one comes to have thoughts (*yeom* [Ch. *nian*] 念).”²⁰⁰ Regarding this ignorance, the treatise also says, “Because one does not penetrate the

one dharma realm, . . . a thought arises all of a sudden.”²⁰¹ Here, what does “oneness of the dharmas of true thusness” or “one dharma realm” mean? Could we not consider it to denote the essence or substance (*che* [Ch. *ti*] 體) of the dharma realm of true thusness? If this is the case, we may regard “a thought arising all of a sudden due to the ignorance of it” as an attachment to the mark of true thusness.

Of course, we cannot determine the authenticity of such a view with certainty merely on the basis of on some passages from the *Awakening of Faith*. But we can infer the implication of such a view from its explanation of the intellectual hindrance. The *Awakening of Faith* identifies the six defiled minds (*yuk yeomsim* [Ch. *liu ranxin*] 六染心) with the afflictive hindrance (*beonnoe ae* [Ch. *fannaο ai*] 煩惱礙) and the ignorance with the intellectual hindrance. It then explains them as follows. “The afflictive hindrance obstructs the fundamental wisdom of true thusness (*jinyeo geun’bon ji* [Ch. *zhenru genben zhi*] 眞如根本智)—equality (*pyeongdeung seong* [Ch. *pingdeng xing*] 平等性)—and the intellectual hindrance obstructs the wisdom that functions spontaneously in the world (*segan jayeon eopji* [Ch. *shijian ziran yezhi*] 世間自然業智)—diverse worldly knowledges (*segan jongjong ji* [Ch. *shijian zhongzhong zhi*] 世間種種智).”²⁰² It is clearly suggested that whereas the afflictive hindrance obstructs the equality of true thusness, the intellectual hindrance is an attachment to it [i.e., true thusness]. In this respect, Wonhyo explicates the passage in question by saying, “(As for the former,) it goes against the nature of serene illumination of the knowledge of true principle (*yeori ji* [Ch. *ruli zhi*] 如理智, Skt. *yathāvadbhāvīkajñāna*). . . . (As for the latter,) it goes against the function of observation of the knowledge of [phenomenal] varieties (*yeoryang ji* [Ch. *ruliang zhi*] 如量智, Skt. *yāvadbhāvīkajñāna*).”²⁰³

This theory of two hindrances of the *Awakening of Faith* clearly removes the ambiguity in the Yogācāra theory of two obstructions (*ijang* [Ch. *erzhang*] 二障). The Yogācāra texts say that the afflictive obstruction blocks the nirvana of true thusness and that the intellectual obstruction blocks the four wisdoms of bodhi. But as far

as they [discriminatively] posit true thusness as the ultimate essence of dharmas, regardless of the explanations given by them the two obstructions should be seen as obstacles that block it [i.e., equality of true thusness]. If so, they all fall into the category of afflictive hindrance of the *Awakening of Faith*. Therefore, Wonhyo asserts that “the two obstructions as taught in the gate of clear revelation (*byeolloyo mun* 顯了門; i.e., Yogācāra) are subsumed under the category of afflictive hindrance as taught in the gate of secret intent (*eunmil mun* 隱密門; i.e., *Awakening of Faith*).”²⁰⁴

In the *Awakening of Faith*, the concept of intellectual hindrance perfectly accomplishes the [original] intent for which the [Yogācāra] concept of intellectual obstruction is put forth; at the same time, it perfectly solves the problems of that concept. For the treatise identifies the object the intellectual hindrance obstructs (i.e., value-discriminating attachment to true thusness)—clearly distinguished from that of the afflictive hindrance—and allows the inconceivable activities to arise spontaneously by eliminating that hindrance. Therefore, we can say that both the intellectual hindrance and the mark of pure wisdom of original enlightenment are unique concepts presented in the *Awakening of Faith*. Here, the afflictive hindrance is associated with the final enlightenment; and the intellectual hindrance is associated with the mark of pure wisdom. Therefore, regarding the mirror free from [defiled] objects (*beop chulli gyeong* [Ch. *fa chuli jing*] 法出離鏡), which corresponds to the mark of pure wisdom, the *Awakening of Faith* thus says, “The mirror free from [defiled] objects is so called because it is separate from the two (afflictive and intellectual) hindrances and also from the mark of combination (i.e., *ālaya* consciousness), thereby becoming extremely pure and clear.”²⁰⁵

As seen above, it can be said that the concept of ignorance in the *Awakening of Faith* is much different from the same concept presented in the other theories of conditioned arising. The *Āgama* theory of twelve-fold conditioned arising or the Yogācāra theory of conditioned arising from the *ālaya* consciousness identifies ignorance as lack of understanding of the penetrating vision (*myeong* [Ch. *ming*] 明, Skt.

vidyā) or of true thusness (i.e., principle). The *Awakening of Faith*, however, says in the opposite way, “Ignorance obstructs the knowledge of [phenomenal] varieties based on discrimination (*yangji* [Ch. *liangzhi*] 量智) and the defiled mind obstructs the knowledge of true principle (*iji* [Ch. *lizhi*] 理智) or true thusness.”²⁰⁶ What is the reason for these opposing definitions of ignorance? Wonhyo just answers, “It is just as the treatise itself says.”²⁰⁷ Since ignorance in the *Awakening of Faith* has such a nature, [it is said] “as soon as ignorance is exhausted all at once, the inconceivable activities spontaneously arise and benefit innumerable sentient beings in the ten directions.”²⁰⁸

v. Practice of the *vajrasamādhi*

It has been said that Wonhyo’s three-fascicle commentary (*so* [Ch. *shu*] 疏) on the *Sutra on the Adamantine Samadhi* (*Geumgang sammaegyeong*) was so venerated that it was referred to as a treatise (*non* [Ch. *lun*] 論) by the translation masters in China. Wonhyo declared the theme of the scripture as “a practice of contemplation into the one taste” (*ilmi gwanhaeng* 一味觀行).²⁰⁹ This practice of contemplation into the one taste refers to a practice that takes “the essence or substance of tathagatagarbha of the one mind” as its object.²¹⁰ Therefore, it can be said that whereas the *Daeseung gisinnon-so* (A Commentary on the *Awakening of Faith*) is a work on theories, the *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non* 金剛三昧經論 (A Treatise on the *Sutra on the Adamantine Samadhi*) is a work on practices. It can also be said that these two writings are the two major pillars that comprise Wonhyo’s philosophy. Then, in what manner does the *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non* elaborate on his philosophy of the *Awakening of Faith*?

In the Yogācāra philosophy the samadhi that severs the two (afflictive and intellectual) obstructions all at once and leads the practitioner into the ground of the Tathagata is called the *vajropamāsamādhi* (lit. “diamond-like samadhi”; *geumgang yu jeong* [Ch. *jin’gang yu ding*] 金剛喻定). Of course, this samadhi (concentration

[*jeong* (Ch. *ding* 定)] will occur at the final state of mind in the stage of ten grounds.²¹¹ If so, what samadhi can sever all at once the two (afflictive and intellectual) hindrances, which are introduced in the *Awakening of Faith*? The *Awakening of Faith*, however, does not give a clear answer to this question. It is the *Sutra on the Adamantine Samadhi* that answers this question.

The *Sutra on the Adamantine Samadhi* is mainly concerned with the doctrines preached by the Buddha after he emerges from the *vajrasamādhi* (adamantine or diamond samadhi), and so it can be considered a scripture that aims at explicating this *vajrasamādhi*. Wonhyo compares it with the Yogācāra's *vajropamāsamādhi* and points out the following five differences between the two:

First, the similes (Skt. *upamā*) are different. The [samadhi] which is diamond-like (*yeo geumgang* [Ch. *ru jin'gang*] 如金剛) or likened to a diamond (*geumgang yu* [Ch. *jin'gang yu*] 金剛喻, Skt. *vajropamā*) destroys an army; the diamond (*geumgang* [Ch. *jin'gang*] 金剛, Skt. *vajra*) itself destroys a mountain. Secondly, the dharmas [i.e., objects of the samadhi] are different. The former destroys afflictions; the latter destroys every dharma. Thirdly, the stages are different. The former is [practiced] in the stage of learning; the latter is in the stage of no learning. Fourthly, the names are different. The former is called “diamond-like” or “likened to a diamond”; the latter is directly called “diamond (adamantine) samadhi.” Fifthly, the teachings are different. There is a difference in what is taught in the *Sutra of neither Increase nor Decrease* (*Foshuo buzeng bujian jing* 佛說不增不減經) and what is taught in this scripture.²¹²

Of the five differences the second is important: the *vajropamāsamādhi* can sever afflictions only and cannot destroy the other dharmas. It is only the *vajrasamādhi* that can destroy all dharmas.

Therefore, we can say that it is the *vajrasamādhi* that can sever the two hindrances of afflictions and intellect in the *Awakening of Faith* all at once. For the *vajropamāsamādhi*, though it can sever the afflictive obstruction and the intellectual obstruction in the Yogācāra system

of cultivation or the afflictive hindrance in the *Awakening of Faith*, cannot sever the subtler, intellectual hindrance. Now, we may surmise the reason why Wonhyo, who read the *Awakening of Faith* from a new perspective, paid attention to the *Sutra on the Adamantine Samadhi*. Then, in which stage of the bodhisattva practice does the *vajrasamādhi* occur.

The *Flower Garland Sutra* (*Dafang guangfo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經) is a representative scripture that explicates the bodhisattva path. In this scripture is presented the forty-one stages of (1) ten abidings (*sipju* [Ch. *shizhu*] 十住), (2) ten practices (*siphaeng* [Ch. *shixing*] 十行), (3) ten transferences (*sip hoehyang* [Ch. *shi huixiang*] 十廻向), (4) ten grounds (*sipji* [Ch. *shidi*] 十地), and (5) buddhahood (*bulgwa* [Ch. *foguo*] 佛果). As is well known, the Yogācāra discerns the five stages of (1) preparation (*jaryang* [Ch. *ziliang*] 資糧: ten abidings, ten practices, ten transferences), (2) application (*gahaeng* [Ch. *jiaxing*] 加行: final state of mind in the tenth transference), (3) penetration (*tongdal* [Ch. *tongda*] 通達: initial state of mind in the first ground), (4) cultivation (*suseup* [Ch. *xiuxi*] 修習: ten grounds), and (5) completion (*gugyeong* [Ch. *jiujing*] 究竟: buddhahood), based on these stages of bodhisattva practice. The *vajropamāsamādhi* is here said to occur at the final state of mind in the stage of cultivation (ten grounds), and the problem is to identify the stage where the *vajrasamādhi* occurs.

Unfortunately, in the above schema of bodhisattva practice we cannot pinpoint the stage in which the *vajrasamādhi* occurs. Although in terms of the obstructions to be severed it should occur at a deeper level than the *vajropamāsamādhi*, yet it cannot be related to the stage of buddhahood. In relation to this issue, the *Sutra of the Original Acts That Adorn the Bodhisattvas* (*Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經; hereafter referred to as *Sutra of the Original Acts*) is noteworthy. Curiously enough, this scripture adds the stage of ten faiths prior to the first stage of ten abidings, and divides the fifth stage of buddhadhood into the two stages of equal enlightenment (*deunggak* [Ch. *dengjue*] 等覺) and marvelous enlightenment (*myogak* [Ch. *miaojue*] 妙覺), thereby presenting a theory of fifty-two stages.

Moreover, concerning the stage of equal enlightenment it says, “[A practitioner] lives a hundred eon’s (Skt. *kalpa*) life owing to the power of his or her great vow. Having cultivated a thousand samadhis, he or she enters the *vajrasamādhi*.”²¹³ If the *vajropamāsamādhi* occurs at the final state of mind in the stage of ten grounds, theoretically speaking, the *vajrasamādhi* should occur at a deeper level. The theory presented in the *Sutra of the Original Acts* accords well with this assumption.

The *Sutra on the Adamantine Samadhi* also adopts the theory of fifty-two stages presented in the *Sutra of the Original Acts*. In its chapter 5 “Accessing the Edge of Reality” (入實際品), the scripture says, “The dharma of true thusness (i.e., bounds of being or an apex of reality [*silje* [Ch. *shiji*] 實際, Skt. *bhūtakoti*]) can be known only by a bodhisattva of the six practices.” Here, “a bodhisattva of the six practices” refers to a bodhisattva who carries out his cultivation in the stages of (1) ten faiths, (2) ten abidings, (3) ten practices, (4) ten transferences, (5) ten grounds, and (6) equal enlightenment.²¹⁴ Next, in chapter 6 “Emptiness of True Nature” (眞性空品) is presented a theory of five stages that consist of (1) stage of faiths (*sinwi* [Ch. *xinwei*] 信位: ten faiths), (2) stage of consideration (*sawi* [Ch. *siwei*] 思位: ten abidings, ten practices, ten transferences), (3) stage of cultivation (*suwi* [Ch. *xiuwei*] 修位: ten grounds), (4) stage of practice (*haengwi* [Ch. *xingwei*] 行位: equal enlightenment), and (5) stage of relinquishment (*sawi* [Ch. *shewei*] 捨位: marvelous enlightenment). Here, Wonhyo’s explication of these stages are indicated in parentheses.²¹⁵ He then provides the following annotations on the fourth stage of practice.

“Extremely pure penetrative power (*geunni* [Ch. *genli*] 根利, Skt. *tikṣṇa-indriya*)” in the scripture refers to the mind of original enlightenment. “Immovability is the thusness of mind; determinacy is the real nature” means that [a practitioner] enters the *vajrasamādhi* at this stage. “This is the great *parinirvāṇa*; its very nature is empty and vast” means that the unconditioned of calm extinction has a mark of marklessness.²¹⁶

That is, [a practitioner] enters the *vajrasamādhi* at the stage of equal enlightenment.

From the above examination, we now know that the *vajrasamādhi* (occurring at the stage of equal enlightenment) is presented in contradistinction to the *vajropamāsamādhi* (occurring at the final state of mind in the stage ten grounds). The way the *Sutra on the Adamantine Samadhi's* chapters are organized is also noteworthy in this respect. The main part of the scripture consists of six chapters: (1) “Signless Dharmas” (無相法品), (2) “Practices of Non-arising” (無生行品), (3) “Benefits of Original Enlightenment” (本覺利品), (4) “Accessing the Edge of Reality” (入實際品), (5) “Emptiness of True Nature” (眞性空品), and (6) “Tathagatagarbha” (如來藏品). Of these, it is clear at first glance that the first two chapters are concerned with the contemplation of emptiness. The next two chapters refer to the realm of real non-emptiness that manifests itself through the practice of contemplation of emptiness (i.e., real emptiness). Wonhyo correlates chapter 4 (i.e., third chapter in the main part) “Benefits of Original Enlightenment” and chapter 5 (i.e., fourth chapter in the main part) “Accessing the Edge of Reality” respectively with the gate of arising and cessation and the gate of true thusness in the *Awakening of Faith*.²¹⁷ Then, what can be said of the next two chapters? Now, the title of chapter 6 (i.e., fifth chapter in the main part), “Emptiness of True Nature,” has rich implications. Wonhyo grasps at this point as follows:

The dharma of true thusness is endowed with all qualities. Because it becomes the fundamental nature of myriad practices and virtues, it is called “true nature.” Because this true nature (i.e., true thusness) is cut off from designations and marks, the chapter is entitled “emptiness of true nature.” Again, true nature is separate not only from delusions but also from the true nature itself. Therefore, [(true) nature is also empty and] the chapter is entitled “emptiness of true nature.”²¹⁸

Does the expression “True nature is also empty” not mean that the value-discriminating attachment to true thusness (i.e., non-existence

or intellectual hindrance) is eliminated [in this stage]? It is the *varjasamādhi* in the stage of practice (i.e., stage of equal enlightenment) that destroys this subtle obstruction. It is therefore not a coincidence that this reference [to the *varjasamādhi*] is made in this chapter.

When ignorance (i.e., intellectual hindrance) is eliminated through the *vajrasamādhi*, a practitioner enters the stage of relinquishment (i.e., stage of marvelous enlightenment). This stage is described as a state in which the mark of arising and cessation is eliminated from the *ālaya* consciousness in which what neither arises nor ceases is combined with what arises and ceases in a way that the two are neither identical nor different. That is to say, the practitioner now enters tathagatagarbha of the original enlightenment of the one mind. Is the title of chapter 6 “Tathagatagarbha” not attributable to this meaning? This stage is also where the inconceivable activities occur from the purified wisdom [as presented in the *Awakening of Faith*]. Therefore, the “Tathagatagarbha” chapter has a similar theory to that of the Yogācāra’s four wisdoms (Skt. *bodhi*). [The scripture says,] “When one accesses [the realm of] tathagatagarbha, one attains the four wisdoms of (1) determined wisdom (*jeongji* [Ch. *dingzhi*] 定智: equality wisdom [*pyeongdeung seongji* (Ch. *pingdeng xingzhi*) 平等性智]), (2) undetermined wisdom (*bujeongji* [Ch. *budingzhi*] 不定智: wondrous observing wisdom [*myo gwanchalji* (Ch. *miao guan cha zhi*) 妙觀察智]), (3) nirvana wisdom (*yeolbanji* [Ch. *niepanzhi*] 涅槃智: all-accomplishing wisdom [*seong sojakji* (Ch. *cheng suozuo zhi*) 成所作智]), and (4) ultimate wisdom (*gugyeongji* [Ch. *jiujingzhi*] 究竟智: great perfect mirror wisdom [*daewon gyeongji* (Ch. *dayuan jingzhi*) 大圓鏡智]). One thus uses them as a great function for the salvation of sentient beings.”²¹⁹

In this manner, chapter 5 “Emptiness of True Nature” and chapter 6 “Tathagatagarbha” are perfectly correlated with the mark of pure wisdom and the mark of inconceivable activities of the *Awakening of Faith*. Since the state of wondrous enlightenment that manifests through the *vajrasamādhi* is free from the arising and cessation of the eight consciousnesses, it can be said to indicate the state of the ninth *amala* (immaculate) consciousness. Therefore, the *Sutra on*

the Adamantine Samadhi says, “[Only] the three grounds of equal enlightenment and the three bodies of wondrous enlightenment will manifest brightly and clearly in the ninth consciousness.”²²⁰ In his annotation to this sentence Wonhyo explains “the stage of equal enlightenment still has arising and cessation, and so one does not reach thoroughly the origins of the mind in this stage. For this reason, one still abides in the eight consciousnesses. But when one reaches the stage of marvelous enlightenment, one is permanently separate from the arising and cessation. It can thus be said that one abides in the ninth consciousness.”²²¹ We have noted that Woncheuk negated the theory of the ninth consciousness postulated by the Tripiṭaka Master Paramārtha.²²² It is indeed intriguing to find that this ninth immaculate consciousness is now reevaluated.

vi. The Realm of the Three Greatnesses and Universal Dharma

When one eliminates the mind of arising and cessation (i.e., ignorance or intellectual hindrance) in the *ālaya* consciousness through the *vajrasamādhi*, one’s pure tathagatagarbha (i.e., true thusness) will manifest and the Buddha’s inconceivable activities will arise due to a myriad of qualities originally inherent in tathagatagarbha—this is truly what Mahayana Buddhism intends to accomplish. Therefore, the *Awakening of Faith* in its first part “Outlines” declares that the Mahayana has three meanings (i.e., goals): the greatness of essence (*chedae* [Ch. *tida*] 體大; equal nature of true thusness), the greatness of characteristic (*sangdae* [Ch. *xiangda*] 相大; inherent quality of tathagatagarbha), and the greatness of function (*yongdae* [Ch. *yongda*] 用大; wholesome causes and effects in the mundane and supramundane realms).²²³ The division entitled “Gate of the Meanings” (義章門) of the treatise then explicates them as follows.

1. “Its own essence and characteristics (*jache sang* [Ch. *ziti xiang*] 自體相) of true thusness” refers to the fact that all beings, ranging from

ordinary people to the Buddha, are free from increase and decrease, permanently abiding, and originally endowed with all the qualities in their own nature. Therefore, this mark is called tathagatagarbha or the dharma-body (*beopsin* [Ch. *fashen*] 法身, Skt. *dharmakāya*) of the Tathagata.

2. “The functions of true thusness” refers to the fact that the elimination of ignorance spontaneously gives rise to a diverse function of inconceivable activities. That is, this function equally pervades everywhere together with true thusness.
3. These functions are of two kinds. The first one is manifested in the response body (*eungsin* [Ch. *yingshen*] 應身, Skt. *nirmāṇakāya*) that can be observed by the object-discriminating consciousness (*bunbyeol sasik* [Ch. *fenbie shi shi*] 分別事識; i.e., mental consciousness) of ordinary people and the practitioners of the two vehicles. The other is manifested in the reward body (*bosin* [Ch. *baoshen*] 報身, Skt. *sambhogakāya*) that is observed by the activating consciousness (*eopsik* [Ch. *yeshi*] 業識; i.e., karmic consciousness caused by ignorance) of bodhisattvas (in the stages of the initial inspiration to the ultimate ground).²²⁴

Here, the three greatneses of essence, characteristics, and functions are introduced again and are correlated with the three bodies, i.e. the dharma-body (associated with the essence and characteristic), the reward body (associated with the function), and the response body (also associated with the function), which are similar to the Yogācāra’s three bodies (self-nature body [*jaseong sin* (Ch. *zixing shen*) 自性身], enjoyment body [*suyong sin* (Ch. *shouyong shen*) 受用身], response-transformation body [*eunghwa sin* (Ch. *yinghua shen*) 應化身]).

Concerning the question of how to assign these three greatneses to the gate of true thusness and the gate of arising and cessation, Wonhyo and Fazang differ in their opinions. Fazang declares all the three greatneses to belong to the gate of arising and cessation by saying, “Whereas the gate of true thusness reveals the real essence of the Mahayana, the gate of arising and cessation demonstrates the three

greatnesses completely.”²²⁵ From this perspective, his comment on the passage cited above is that this passage is an explication of the three greatnesses introduced in the gate of arising and cessation.²²⁶ Within the context of the *Awakening of Faith*, Fazang’s view seems to be plausible. For the “Outlines” part of the *Awakening of Faith* says, “The mark of true thusness of this mind (i.e., the mind of a sentient being)—which becomes the gate of true thusness—is the essence of the Mahayana; the mark of causes and conditions for the arising and cessation of this mind—which becomes the gate of arising and cessation—is made into the Mahayana’s own essence, characteristics and functions.”²²⁷ The expressions (1) “its own essence and characteristic of true thusness” and (2) “the function of true thusness” in the passage cited above correspond to the gate of arising and cessation (i.e., Yogācāra).

But is such a hasty conclusion acceptable? Whereas the Yogācāra has the power to produce something but lacks the ability to eliminate it, the Madhyamaka has the power to eliminate something but lacks the ability to produce it. In this respect, both philosophies have a problem of not being able to give rise to the ultimate function. The theory of the one mind and the two gates in the *Awakening of Faith* is introduced to overcome such a problem. From this point of view, we should attribute the greatness of essence to the gate of true thusness. For it is only the intensive power to eliminate the characteristics or marks (i.e., true thusness separate from language) that can break down the value-discriminating attachment to true thusness (i.e., ignorance or intellectual hindrance). The clear statement in the “Outline” part of the *Awakening of Faith*, “The mark of true thusness of this mind (which becomes the gate of true thusness) is the essence of the Mahayana,”²²⁸ reflects this idea. Besides, the treatise’s gate of true thusness also defines “true thusness” as “the substance of the dharma gate on the great universal mark in the one dharma realm” (一法界大總相法門體).²²⁹ Here, “great universal mark” seems to mean the universal mark that reveals a harmonious combination of the two gates of true thusness and of arising and cessation. Regarding this expression, Wonhyo’s annotation is that “it refers to the universal mark of the one dharma

realm that comprehensively subsumes the two gates.”²³⁰

Therefore, Wonhyo says, “The greatness of essence exists in the gate of true thusness; the two greatnesses of characteristic and function exist in the gate of arising and cessation.”²³¹ Regarding part (1) of the passage cited above, too, he interprets its reference to “its own essence and characteristic of true thusness” as an [overall] explanation of the meanings of the greatness of essence and the greatness of characteristic introduced earlier.²³² That is, whereas in the gate of true thusness the term “dharma gate on the universal mark” (*chongsang beommun* [Ch. *zongxiang famen*] 總相法門) encompasses the true thusness in the gate of arising and cessation, here in this gate of arising and cessation the term “its own essence, characteristics, and functions” (*jache sangyong* [Ch. *ziti xiangyong*] 自體相用) embraces the true thusness in the gate of true thusness. Therefore, we should think that the greatness of essence and the two greatnesses of characteristic and function lie in the gate of true thusness and the gate of arising and cessation respectively. In this respect, we may say that Wonhyo’s doctrinal insight is superior to Fazang’s.

Since the three greatnesses of essence, characteristics, and functions comprise the meaning of the Mahayana in the *Awakening of Faith*, if they all belong to the gate of arising and cessation, then this gate comes to occupy a greater weight. Fazang thus focuses on the gate of arising and cessation and his doctrinal classification schema of the five teachings determines the *Awakening of Faith* as the advanced teaching of the Mahayana (or the doctrine of conditioned arising from the tathagatagarbha [*yeoraejang yeon’gi jong* (Ch. *rulai zang yuanqi zong*) 如來藏緣起宗]).²³³ If we attribute the greatness of essence to the gate of true thusness and the two greatnesses of characteristic and function to the gate of arising and cessation, however, the focus in the *Awakening of Faith* will be placed on the three greatnesses rather than on the two gates, and especially the greatness of essence will be emphasized. From this point of view, Wonhyo identifies the doctrinal essence (*jongche* [Ch. *zongti*] 宗體) as “the substance of the Mahayana,” and describes it as follows:

What becomes the substance of the Mahayana is serene and empty. It is also clear and calm. Since it is extremely mysterious, how could it manifest on the surface of myriad shapes? Although it is extremely serene, it still lies in the words of a hundred masters. Since it does not manifest on the surface, the five eyes cannot see its body. Although it lies in the words, the four kinds of eloquence cannot tell its shape. Even if one wishes to describe it as being large, it completely enters what is devoid of its inner space without remainder; even if one wishes to describe it as being minute, it completely embraces what has no external limits and still has some remainder. Even if one draws it to existence, one thusness uses it and it thus becomes empty; even if one grasps at it in non-existence, myriad things arise riding on it. I do not know how to name it. It is ineluctably given the title “Mahayana” (lit. “great vehicle”).²³⁴

I always quote this paragraph of “Doctrinal Essence” (宗體文) whenever I write about Wonhyo. And I think that the core of Wonhyo’s philosophy is inscribed in this excellent passage.

As seen above, the world where the three greatnesses manifest is the realm the Mahayana reaches in the end. But it is still seen from the perspective that centers around the bodies of the Buddha. For it is said that the two greatnesses of essence and characteristics are identified as the dharma-body and the greatness of function is regarded as the reward body and the response body. The existence of sentient beings requires their world, and the existence of the buddhas also requires their abode. Whether one is a sentient being or a buddha, one cannot escape from one’s identity as a being in that world. Then, what structure would be taken by the universal dharma, which is seen from the specific worldview?

We do not have enough materials to examine Wonhyo’s view regarding this question, for most of his writings on Hwaeom philosophy are lost.²³⁵ We only have the Silla monk Pyowon’s 表員 (d.u.) *Hwaeom-gyeong munui yogyol mundap* 華嚴經文義要決問答 (Questions and Answers for Determining the Meanings of the Sentences of *Flower Garland Sutra*), in which the “Meanings of the Universal Dharma”

(普法義) chapter, included in fascicle 2, seems to refer to such a dharma as “the universal dharma” (*bobeop* 普法). In this work is introduced the following view of Wonhyo.

“The universal dharma” means . . . the interpenetration (*sangip* [Ch. *xiangru*] 相入) and mutual identity (*sangsi* [Ch. *xiangshi*] 相是) of all dharmas. . . . All worlds enter a dust particle, and a dust particle enters all worlds. All eons (Skt. *kalpa*) in the three time periods enter a moment (Skt. *kṣāṇa*), and a moment enters all eons. (This applies to every dharma and is not just restricted to a dust particle and a moment.) Just as in the case of the large and the small, the urgent and the leisurely, motion and stillness, and the one and the many, the interpenetration in all categories is established. The mutual identity in all categories is also established in the same manner. In any dharmas and any categories, one is all and all is one. What is wide and large in this fashion is called the universal dharma.²³⁶

That is, all the dharmas enter each other and are identical with each other in terms of the four categories²³⁷ of the large and the small (in space), the urgent and the leisurely (in time), motion and stillness (in movement), and the one and the many (in number).

Wonhyo sees the *Flower Garland Sutra* as a representative scripture that explicates this universal dharma. He classifies entire scriptures into [scriptures demonstrating] (1) the distinct teaching of the three vehicles (*samseung byeolgyo* 三乘別教: *Āgamas*), (2) the shared teaching of the three vehicles (*samseung tonggyo* 三乘通教: *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Samdhinirmocana*), (3) the partial teaching of the one vehicle (*ilseung bun'gyo* 一乘分教: *Sutra of the Original Acts*, *Brahma's Net Sutra* [*Fanwang jing* 梵網經]), and (4) the complete teaching of the one vehicle (*ilseung man'gyo* 一乘滿教: *Flower Garland Sutra*). According to him, the criterion for distinguishing between the partial and complete teachings is whether the teaching in question has the universal dharma or not.²³⁸ Then, on what theoretical foundation are the theses of universal dharma established? First, Wonhyo says that the thesis of “interpenetration” is

established because “the extremely large and the extremely small are identical in terms of amount” (至大至小同一量)—this is the sixth of the ten reasons.²³⁹ Concerning the thesis of “mutual identity,” he says that it is due to “the inseparability of the mark of identity and the mark of difference.”²⁴⁰ This explanation seems to be quite plausible. But the problem is: by what reason are these reasons for interpenetration and mutual identity established again? In other words, if the extremely large and the extremely small are identical in terms of amount, it would be possible to say, “All worlds enter a dust particle, and a dust particle enters all worlds.” But how could the extremely large and the extremely small be identical in terms of amount?

I think that the further reason for “the reason for the thesis of interpenetration” presupposes the theory of three greatneses presented in the *Awakening of Faith*. The *Awakening of Faith* explains the greatness of function in this way. “When ignorance is exhausted all at once, . . . a myriad of functions of inconceivable activities (i.e., greatness of function) arise. . . . These functions equally pervade (*deungbyeon* [Ch. *dengbian*] 等遍) everywhere together with true thusness (i.e., greatness of essence and greatness of characteristics).”²⁴¹ The function of inconceivable activities indicates an aspect of difference, and the equal pervasion (*deungbyeon*) of true thusness denotes an aspect of equality. Only when these two aspects are harmonized in a dharma, such a dharma could provide a possibility for interpenetration and mutual identity.

While the worlds of these three greatneses are here presented in the dharma-body, the reward body, and the response body in terms of bodies of the Buddha, they can be also presented in the world of universal dharma from the perspective of worlds. In the Yogācāra philosophy, one is said to attain the great perfect mirror wisdom by transforming one’s eighth consciousness. It is so called because if one sees the world with such wisdom, “. . . [that wisdom manifests] all images in the realm of perception . . . which are separate from miscellaneous defilements and endowed with purified and perfect qualities . . . [and it manifests] bodies and lands . . . just as a great

perfect mirror manifests all colors and images.”²⁴² The *Awakening of Faith* also likens the original enlightenment in its pure nature (*seongjeong bon'gak* [Ch. *xingjing benjue*] 性淨本覺) to four kinds of pure mirror, but Hwaeom philosophy takes the ocean-seal samadhi (*haein sammae* [Ch. *haiyin sanmei*] 海印三昧, Skt. *sāgaramudrāsamādhi*) as the samadhi that manifests such worlds.²⁴³ The passage of “Doctrinal Essence” in Wonhyo’s *Daeseung gisinnon-so* demonstrates that the three greatneses theoretically support the theses of interpenetration and mutual identity, as can be seen from the following sentence appearing in that passage clarifying the essence of the Mahayana (i.e., greatness of essence). “Even if one wishes to describe it as being large, it completely enters what is devoid of its inner space without remainder; even if one wishes to describe it as being minute, it completely embraces what has no external limits and still has some remainder.” This sentence is precisely the same one that Pyowon cites in his *Hwaeom-gyeong munui yogyeol mundap* when he explains Wonhyo’s thesis of identity of the large and the small in terms of amount.²⁴⁴

If the *Awakening of Faith*’s three greatneses are the reasons for the theses of interpenetration and mutual identity and support the establishment of the universal dharma, we can identify Wonhyo’s philosophy of *Awakening of Faith* as Hwaeom thought. Fazang, who completed the theories of the Huayan (Kr. Hwaeom) school, presented ten reasons for the establishment of the universal dharma, of which the first is that “the large and the small do not have a determined mark (*dingxiang* [Kr. *jeongsang*] 定相).”²⁴⁵ This remark is not so much different from Wonhyo’s statement on the identity of the large and the small in terms of amount. The Huayan theory of conditioned arising of the ten profundities (*shixuan yuanqi* [Kr. *siphyeon yeon’gi*] 十玄緣起) or the theory of conditioned arising of the dharma realm (*fajie yuanqi* [Kr. *beopgye yeon’gi*] 法界緣起),²⁴⁶ which expresses all dharmas in ten gates, is not essentially different from Wonhyo’s four gates of the universal dharma (such as the large and the small, the leisurely, etc.), though their mode of presenting the theses may differ.²⁴⁷ Therefore, we can say that Wonhyo’s philosophy of the *Awakening of Faith* leads to Hwaeom

thought.

Now, I will complete the examination of Wonhyo's emptiness view. To sum up, he regarded emptiness as infinite negations of discriminations and false attachments and tried to clarify that such negations are transformed into a world of enlightenment in the end just like Seungnang and Woncheuk. He was, however, aware that the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra have theoretical shortcomings in terms of their ultimate transformation and found in the *Awakening of Faith* a systematic theory that can overcome those shortcomings, thereby focusing on the enhancement of the status of this philosophy. We should not regard Wonhyo's philosophy of the *Awakening of Faith* simply as a harmonization of disputes (*hwajaeng* 和諍) or tathagatagarbha thought. For this philosophy evolved into the Hwaeom idea of universal dharma. Therefore, it can be said that Wonhyo's emptiness view is a philosophy that cannot but reveal from such emptiness the Hwaeom world of the universal dharma in which [all dharmas] enter each other and are identical with each other repetitively *ad infinitum* (*jungjung mujin* [Ch. *chongchong wujin*] 重重無盡).

E

Jinul's Seon View of Emptiness

i. Development of the Religious Communities

The middle period of the Silla dynasty (from the twenty-ninth ruler King Muyeol 武烈 [r. 654–661] to the thirty-sixth ruler King Hyegong 惠恭 [r. 765–780]) is a period that saw the flourishing of Mahayana scholasticism such as Yogācāra, Pure Land, Vinaya, and Esoteric Buddhism with Hwaeom thought as its axis. This scholasticism, however, turned into too complicated exegetics in the latter period (from the thirty-seventh ruler Queen Seondeok 宣德 [r. 780–785] to the fifty-seventh ruler King Gyeongsun 敬順 [r. 927–935]), and the function of monasteries was leaning toward ritualism that focused on venerating the deceased royalty or soliciting good fortune.²⁴⁸ It is during this period that new Buddhist thought called Seon (Ch. Chan) 禪 was transmitted to Korea.

Seon is a transcription of the Sanskrit word *dhyāna* (meditative absorption [*jeongnyeo* (Ch. *jinglü*) 靜慮]) and so cannot be an expression of thought by itself. It is no more than one of the many ways of practice that have been taught in Buddhism. As this way of practice was being highly stressed and the *dhyāna*'s content was briefly being presented, however, Seon was transmitted from master to disciple and came to form its own philosophy. Therefore, Seon in its initial phase did not have complicated doctrinal systems as seen in scholasticism. Although Bodhidharma (ca. fifth century), the first Seon patriarch who came over to China around the sixth century, brought the *Lañkāvatara-sūtra* (*Lengqie jing* 楞伽經), his theory of two entrances and four practices (*iip sahaeng* [Ch. *erru sixing*] 二入四行) was presented in an extremely succinct form as follows:

Although there are many paths to access the Dao (Way), they cannot

go beyond the two entrances: entrance through principle (*iip* [Ch. *liru*] 理入) and entrance through practice (*baengip* [Ch. *xingru*] 行入). “Entrance through principle” refers to sentient beings’ unity with the truth (*i* [Ch. *li*] 理) by having a deep faith in their equality with the true nature and by making a firm and solid observation to escape from the inadvertent defilements (*gaekjin* [Ch. *kechen*] 客塵: falsity) that obstruct [the true nature]. “Entrance through practice” refers to their carrying out the four practices of (1) accepting the retribution of enmity (*bowon* [Ch. *baoyuan*] 報怨), (2) accepting their being influenced by the conditions (*suyeon* [Ch. *suiyuan*] 隨緣), (3) nullifying their craving (*mu sogu* [Ch. *wu suoqiu*] 無所求), and (4) according with the dharma (*chingbeop* [Ch. *chenfa*] 稱法), on the basis of it [i.e., entrance through principle].²⁴⁹

Here, only the object to be contemplated on and the direct ways of practice, based on that object, are presented. Besides these, other religious rituals that seek blessings from the Buddha are not mentioned.

Such a characteristic of Seon thought then inclined toward sudden enlightenment (*dono* [Ch. *dunwu*] 頓悟) over time, and new branches emerged [from the previous singular lineage]. When the eighth and ninth generations passed after Bodhidharma arrived in China around the sixth century, there appeared many ramifications as can be seen in diagram 3 on page 259.

What is noteworthy in these ramifications is the opposition between the Northern and Southern schools in the sixth generation. The sixth patriarch Huineng 慧能 (638–713) tended toward the prajna (perfection of wisdom) philosophy of the *Diamond Sutra* (*Jin’gang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, Skt. *Vajracchedika-prajñāparamitā-sūtra*). His disciple Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (670–762) succeeded him and established the Southern school (Ch. Nanzong 南宗) in opposition to the lineage of Shenxiu 神秀 (606–706) of the north. This means that Seon’s inclination toward sudden enlightenment was accelerated. For this reason, it is called “the split between the sudden of the south and the gradual of the north (*namdon bukjeom* [Ch. *nandun beijie*] 南頓北漸).”²⁵⁰ This direction to sudden enlightenment was further

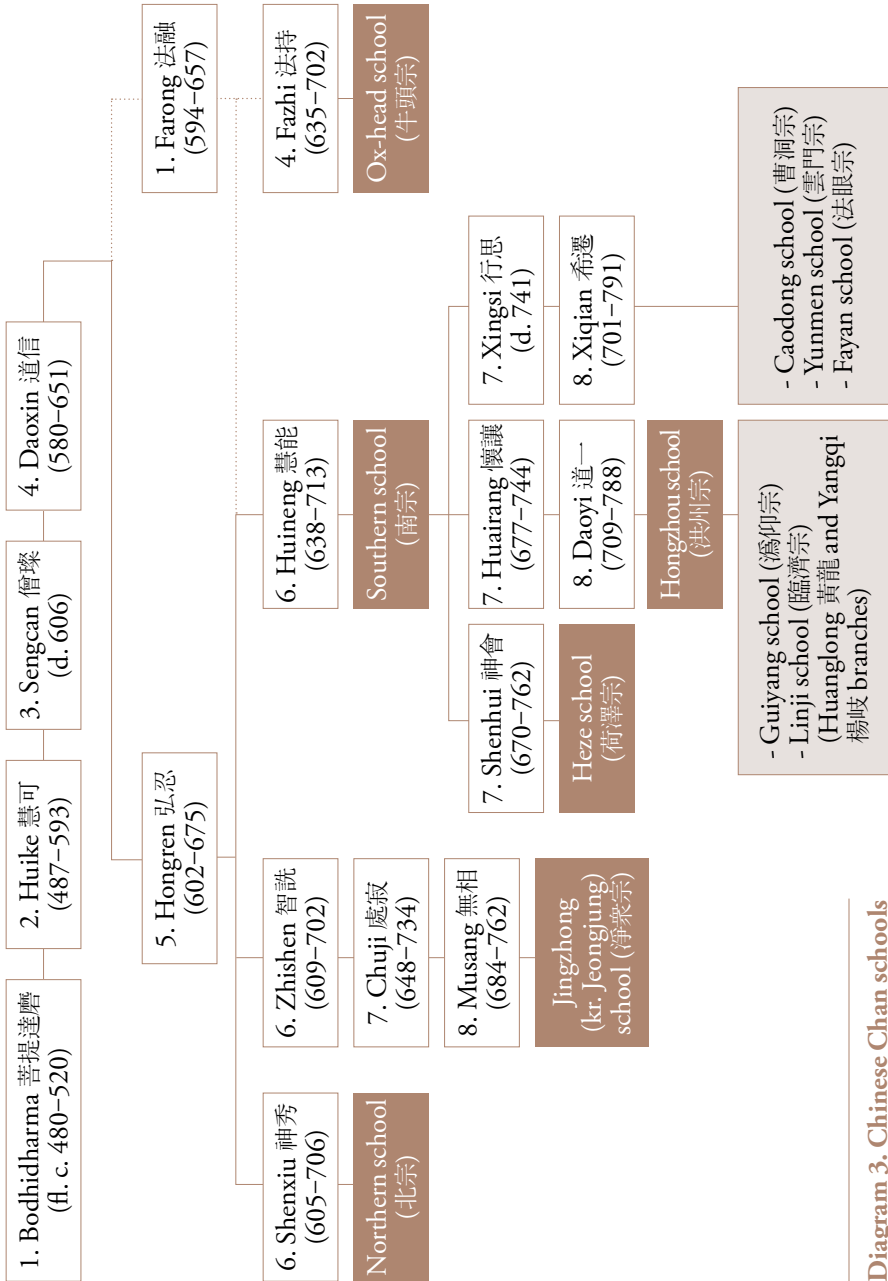


Diagram 3. Chinese Chan schools

advanced by Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788). He resorted to the theory of the one mind as shown in the *Lañkāvatara-sūtra* and the *Awakening of Faith*, thereby declaring that “all bodily postures such as walking, abiding, sitting, and lying are themselves the Buddha dharma that is directly revealed by the one mind (*ilsim jikhyeon* [Ch. *yixin zhixian*] 一心直顯).”²⁵¹ (This is referred to as the doctrine that directly reveals the mind-nature [*jikhyeon simseong jong* (Ch. *zhixian xinxing zong*) 直顯心性宗]). Moreover, he developed a peculiar series of encounter dialogues (*giyeon mundap* [Ch. *jiyuan wenda*] 機緣問答), which awaken a person just with a single word. His Chan (Kr. Seon) was so influential that one scholar estimates that “it is indeed Mazu who made a radical change to its style in ancient times.”²⁵² It is also around his time (ninth century) that such Chan slogans as “not establishing words” (*bullip munja* [Ch. *buli wenzì*] 不立文字), “special transmission outside the scriptures” (*gyooe byeoljeon* [Ch. *jiaowai biechuan*] 教外別傳), “directly pointing to one’s mind” (*jikji insim* [Ch. *zhizhi renxin*] 直指人心), and “seeing the nature and attaining buddhahood” (*gyeonseong seongbul* [Ch. *jianxing chengfo*] 見性成佛) began to appear in literature.²⁵³

The Seon that began to be introduced into Korea in the latter period of the Silla was also that of this Hongzhou 洪州 school [which succeeded Mazu’s thought].²⁵⁴ It was Doui’s 道義 (d. 825) return from China around the thirteenth reign year (821) of the forty-first ruler King Heondeok 憲德 (r. 809–826) that signaled the unceasing introduction of Seon in the latter period of the Silla and led to the establishment of the Nine Mountains Seon Gates (Gusan Seonmun 九山禪門) by the early Goryeo period. Eight of these nine Seon schools were founded by the Seon masters who transmitted the Hongzhou school’s Chan (Kr. Seon) thought. The introduction of this Mazu-style Chan should have run against scholasticism at that time, which concerned “scholarly and ritualistic interest.” For the former’s [i.e., Mazu or Hongzhou Chan] doctrine that directly reveals the mind-nature shared its fundamental principle with the latter’s [i.e., scholasticism] philosophy of nature-arising (*seonggi* [Ch. *xingqi*] 性起),

but it thoroughly negated all the conceptual formalities and vanity. It is for this reason that the acceptance of Seon in the latter period of the Silla draws attention from the political perspective.²⁵⁵

The Hongzhou school of Chinese Chan thereafter divided into the Linji 臨濟 school and the Guiyang 潯仰 school; the former again bifurcated into the two branches of Huanglong 黃龍 (Huinan 慧南 [1002–1069]) and Yangqi 楊岐 (Fanghui 方會 [992–1049]). Also the lineage of the seventh patriarch Xingsi 行思 (d. 741) and the eighth patriarch Xiqian 希遷 (701–791), who were successors of the sixth patriarch Huineng, branched out into such schools as Caodong 曹洞, Yunmen 雲門, and Fayan 法眼. These are called the five schools and seven branches (*oga chiljong* [Ch. *wujia qizong*] 五家七宗), and such [subitist] trend of the Southern school also continued to be introduced into Korea during the period from the late Silla to the mid-Goryeo.

We, however, should not think that scholasticism completely disappeared owing to the introduction of Seon. Although scholasticism was dealt a big blow by Seon, the Goryeo monks affiliated with the doctrinal schools (Gyojong 教宗) such as Gyunyeo 均如 (923–973), Sohyeon 韶顯 (1038–1096), and Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101), led a movement for its revitalization. This caused the new problem of the opposition between the Seon (meditative) and Gyo (doctrinal) schools in the Goryeo period. Then, how were they able to overcome this problem?

It seems that National Master (國師) Daegak 大覺 Uicheon was keenly aware of the opposition more than anyone else. He pointed out the problem of his times by saying, “The Seon masters did not borrow a fish trap and a snare (*jeonje* 箭蹄; i.e., scholasticism or doctrinal studies) and aim at accomplishing the mind-to-mind transmission of the dharma. But this only applies to those with the utmost faculty (*sangsang geun’gi* 上上根機). If the practitioners of the other type are content with a piece of truth they happened to hear from someone, and disdain the three baskets and the twelvefold teachings, how could this not be a fault?”²⁵⁶ In this respect, his establishment of the Cheontae 天台 school in the second reign year (1097) of Sukjong

肅宗 (r. 1096–1105) could be interpreted as an effort to accomplish unification of the two schools of Seon and Gyo. For the Cheontae school's philosophy of nature-entailment (*seonggu* [Ch. *xingju*] 性具), which is referred to as “a thought in a moment being endowed with all the dharmas in the trichiliocosm (*samcheon jebeop* [Ch. *sanqian zhufa*] 三千諸法),” is consistent with both the Hwaem and Seon philosophies and can become a principle that subsumes these two.

National Master Bojo Jinu 普照知訥 (1158–1210) also emphasized that Seon of his times had such problems as follows.

When I observed those who cultivate their mind these days, I found that they do not rely on words and letters [of scriptures] as a guidance. They immediately took what someone secretly transmitted as the Way, thereby spending hours vainly sitting and dozing in their clouded mind or being agitated and confused about the contemplative practice.²⁵⁷

Here, he points to the Seon practitioners' fault of rushing into the patriarch's encounter dialogues from the very beginning. Besides, according to him, “Even when they observe their own daily behaviors, [it is revealed that] they resort to the Buddha dharma just for obtaining benefits and are only consuming food and clothing.”²⁵⁸ Those who were affiliated with the doctrinal schools, by contrast, evaluated Seon just as the fourth category of sudden teaching in the doctrinal classification schema of the five teachings.²⁵⁹ The Seon practitioners themselves also had a wrong view that their obligations would be all over with their attainment of enlightenment.²⁶⁰

What could be a fundamental solution to these problems, then? There could be no other way but for the practitioners themselves to “abandon fame and interest and hide in a forest to devote themselves to the cultivation of meditation and wisdom.”²⁶¹ Having made such a judgement on the current situation, Jinul proceeded to initiate a movement for the Samadhi and Prajna Society (Jeonghye gyeolsa 定慧結社). Having declared to organize the society together with a dozen of his colleagues at a dharma assembly held in Bojesa 普濟寺

Temple in the twelfth reign year (1182) of Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1171–1197),²⁶² he distributed the compact for this society (*Jeonghye gyeolsa-mun* 定慧結社文) at Geojosa 居祖寺 Temple on Gongsan Mountain [present-day Palgongsan 八公山 Mountain] in the twentieth reign year (1190) of the same king which marked the full-fledged beginning of the movement.²⁶³ Thereafter, he moved the headquarters of the Samadhi and Prajna Society to Gilsangsa 吉祥寺 Temple on Songgwangsan 松廣山 Mountain (later renamed Suseonsa 修禪社 [Seon-Cultivating Society] on Jogyesan 曹溪山 Mountain) and continue to lead the movement.²⁶⁴

Here, we may ask on which philosophical principle Jinul's Samadhi and Prajna Society was founded to overcome the problem of the opposition between the Seon and Gyo schools. In relation to this, his inscription (Bojo bi 普照碑; included in *Dongmun-seon*, fasc. 117) gives us the following information:

When the society encouraged people to read and commit to memory a scripture, it was always the *Diamond Sutra*. When it established a teaching and elaborated on its meaning, the intent of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (*Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經) was adopted. Li Tongxuan's 李通玄 (635–730) *Huayan lun* 華嚴論 (i.e., *Xin huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論 [A Commentary on the Newly Translated *Flower Garland Sutra*]) and Dahui's 大慧 [宗杲 Zonggao (1089–1163)] *Recorded Sayings* (*Yulu* 語錄) were considered its two wings. The society had the following three gates: (1) the approach of equal maintenance of alertness and calmness (*seongjeok deungji mun* 惺寂等持門), (2) the approach of faith and understanding according to the perfect and sudden teaching (*wondon sinhae mun* 圓頓信解門), and (3) the shortcut approach [of observing the *hwadu* (Ch. *huatou*) 話頭] (*[ganhwa] gyeongjeol mun* [看話]徑截門). There were many people who trusted and resorted to the society; there was nothing comparable to this society in regard to the thriving of Seon practice.²⁶⁵

That is, the society taught the people with the three gates of (1) the

approach of equal maintenance of alertness and calmness (based on the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*), (2) the approach of faith and understanding according to the perfect and sudden teaching (based on the *Huayan lun*), and (3) the shortcut approach (based on Dahui's *Recorded Sayings*). It can thus be said that these three gates themselves comprise the philosophical system of Jinul's Seon thought.

Jinul's Samadhi and Prajna Society was originally a movement that was initiated by the self-awareness of some people in the Seon schools. But its internal and external influences were indeed enormous. The organization of the White Lotus Society (Baengnyeong gyeolsa 白蓮結社) by Yose 了世 (1163–1245) of the Cheontae school (i.e., the establishment of the Samantabhadra Site [Bohyeon doryang 普賢道場] in 1232 at Mandeoksa 萬德寺 Temple) was also influenced by Jinul, and Buddhism in the late Goryeo was led by these two societies.²⁶⁶ Moreover, Jinul's Seon thought has been passed on continuously and exerted its influence through the five-hundred-year history of the Joseon dynasty and even to the present day. The first three books in the monastic curriculum of the fourfold collections (*sajip* 四集) taught in a lecture hall (*gangwon* 講院)—Zongmi's 宗密 (780–841) [*Chanyuan zhu quanji*] *touxu* [禪源諸詮集] 都序 (A Preface to the Collection of Chan Sources), Gaofeng's 高峯 (1238–1295) *Chanyao* 禪要 (Essentials of Chan), Dahui's *Shuzhang* 書狀 (Letters), Jinul's [*Beopjip byeolhaeng-nok*] *jeoryo* [*byeong ip sagi*] [法集別行錄] 節要 [并入私記] (Excerpts from the *Faji biexing lu* with Personal Notes)—reflect the influences of Bojo (i.e., Jinul) Seon, not to mention the sitting meditation and the *hwadu* observation (i.e., the shortcut approach) practiced in a meditation hall (*seonwon* 禪院).

Therefore, we can say that Bojo and Wonhyo are the two great thinkers of the Korean Buddhist tradition. Jinul's Seon system is almost equal to Wonhyo's philosophy in its creativity to the extent that we cannot find a similar precedent even in Chinese [Chan thought]. Then, in what manner is his Seon system organized? We will examine it with a focus on the abovementioned three gates. It goes without saying that this overview is also centered on the emptiness view.

ii. Theories of Sudden Enlightenment Followed by Gradual Cultivation

If the Seon practitioners tended to rush immediately into the patriarch's encounter dialogues and thus "spend hours vainly sitting and dozing in their clouded mind" (*myeonghaeng doro jwasu* 冥淨徒勞坐睡), the first solution to this problem should be to lead them to have a clear understanding [of the Buddhist doctrines] through verbal teachings. It would be desirable that they are then taught to contemplate on the patriarch's living phrases (*hwalgu* [Ch. *huoju*] 活句) of great faculty and great function (*daegi daeyong* [Ch. *daji dayong*] 大機大用) with the Seon [practice] of not establishing words and letters and seeing the nature and attaining buddhahood. It was this very point that Jinul paid attention to. Then, in what manner should the clear intellectual understanding (*jihae* [Ch. *zhijie*] 知解) be presented to them?

It has been pointed out above that the Seon introduced in the late Silla was that of the Hongzhou school. There existed, however, many other Seon (Ch. Chan) schools in China such as the Heze school (荷澤宗; Southern school), the Northern school, the Ox-head school (牛頭宗), and the Jingzhong school (淨衆宗). Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841), who had a clear understanding of [the tenets of] both meditative and doctrinal schools, summarized their philosophical characteristics in the following table.²⁶⁷

He then discussed the depth and shallowness as well as the strong and weak points of each school, evaluating the Heze school as the most advanced in terms of intellectual understanding (*jihae* [Ch. *zhijie*] 知解). According to him, the dharma has the two meanings of being immutable (*bulbyeon* [Ch. *bubian*] 不變) and according with the condition (*suyeon* [Ch. *suiyuan*] 隨緣); the person also has the two meanings of sudden enlightenment (*dono* [Ch. *dunwu*] 頓悟) and gradual cultivation (*jeomsu* [Ch. *jianxiu*] 漸修).²⁶⁸ He then regarded the Heze school as satisfying these twofold criteria. Concretely, the overall theses of the Heze school can be presented as follows.

1. The false thoughts are originally tranquil; the defiled objects of

Understanding-enlightenment	Cultivation	Simile of the <i>mani</i>	Sudden or gradual
Northern school (Jingzhong school included)	Suppresses the mind and extinguishes the false. (伏心滅妄)	Escape from the dark and seek for the pearl (Skt. <i>mani</i>). (離黑覓珠)	Only concerns gradual cultivation; sudden enlightenment is never acknowledged. (但是漸修, 全無頓悟)
Hongzhou school	Trusts one's nature of sentience. (信任情性)	The dark is itself the pearl. (黑是珠)	Approaches sudden enlightenment; completely runs counter to gradual cultivation. (於頓悟門雖近, 而未的於漸修門, 有誤而全乖)
Ox-head school	Everything is non-existent. (一切皆無)	Both the dark and the bright are not existent. (明黑都無)	Realizes sudden enlightenment by halves; does not do harm to gradual cultivation. (於頓悟門而半了, ... 漸修門而無虧)
Heze school	Empty, tranquil, and numinous awareness. (空寂靈知)	The bright pearl is the essence that manifests [objects]. (明珠是能現之體)	Sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation. (先頓悟後漸修)

perception are originally empty. The empty and tranquil mind has numinous awareness that is never dark, and this empty and tranquil mind is the pure mind Bodhidharma transmitted to us. . . . Therefore, the one word “awareness” (*zhi* [Kr. *ji*] 知) is a source of myriad marvels. . . .

2. Suppose that one is suddenly enlightened to the empty and tranquil awareness and cultivates oneself. If one takes the state of no thought (*wunian* [Kr. *munyeom*] 無念) as the utmost and . . . one’s defilements (i.e., arising and cessation) are exhausted, then tranquil illumination manifests and its function of according [with the condition] evolves infinitely—this is called the Buddha.²⁶⁹

Figuratively speaking, a *maṇi* (*mani* [Ch. *moni*] 摩尼) pearl is extremely pure and bright and does not have any color (i.e., it is empty). When it meets an external object, it can manifest the object’s color (i.e., according with the condition) and yet the bright pearl itself does not change (i.e., it is immutable). If so, we should not refer to it as a dark pearl—an ordinary person, however, takes such a view; we should not say that eliminating the dark color will manifest the bright pearl—the Northern school, however, takes such a view; we should not identify the dark color itself with the bright pearl—the Hongzhou school, however, takes such a view; and we should not say that both the dark color and the bright pearl are empty—the Ox-head school, however, takes such a view. We should say that what is pure and bright is the bright pearl and that the dark color is false and delusive—this is the Heze school’s view. When we see the dark color just as it is, it will be revealed that the dark color is not originally a dark color but the bright pearl. We will then enjoy unimpeded sovereignty with regard to existence (i.e., the bright pearl) and non-existence (i.e., the dark color).²⁷⁰

The notion “empty, tranquil, and numinous awareness” (*gongjeok yeongji* [Ch. *kongji lingzhi*] 空寂靈知) of the Heze school encompasses the abovementioned two meanings of the dharma: being immutable (i.e., bright pearl) and according with the condition (i.e., its manifesting the color).²⁷¹ Here, “empty” refers to its nullification of every mark of

differentiation and means its blocking and expulsion (*chagyeon* [Ch. *zheqian*] 遮遣) or negation; “tranquil” means that the true nature is not subject to change (i.e., immutable) and in this respect it differs from complete nothingness (*gongmu* [Ch. *kongwu*] 空無); “awareness” means that the substance has an ability to represent (*dangche pyohyeon* [Ch. *dangti biaoqian*] 當體表現) or “according with the condition” and in this respect it differs from discrimination (*bunbyeol* [Ch. *benbie*] 分別).²⁷² In other words, “empty and tranquil awareness” embraces both the negating aspect (repudiating doctrine [*gyeon'gyo* (Ch. *qianjiao*) 遣教]), represented by “emptiness,” and the affirming aspect (revealing doctrine [*hyeon'gyo* (Ch. *xianjiao*) 顯教]) of the Mahayana. The affirming aspect further represents the two aspects of substance (characterized by “tranquility”) and function (characterized by “awareness”). In this respect, the Heze school is much different from the Ox-head school and the Hongzhou school in that the latter [two schools] incline toward one of the two aspects.

As mentioned above, “the person has the two meanings of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation” and the Heze school does not have any shortcomings in this respect, either. According to Jinul, sudden enlightenment means that upon hearing the abovementioned meanings of being immutable (i.e., nature or substance) and according with the condition (i.e., characteristic or function), one is suddenly awakened to the fact that numinous awareness is itself one’s true mind (i.e., dharma-body or true self). Since this true mind does not differ in the slightest from the Buddha’s, it is called sudden enlightenment.²⁷³ As for gradual cultivation, he interprets that even if one is suddenly enlightened to the complete identity of one’s true mind with the Buddha’s mind, one’s habit-energy accumulated over many eons cannot be suddenly uprooted and so one [has to] repeatedly [and gradually] reduce it through sudden enlightenment until one reaches the realm of the unconditioned.²⁷⁴ It is just like water, which meets a wind and turns into waves or meets cold and turns into ice. [Such changes notwithstanding,] its wet nature does not change. Sudden enlightenment is like knowing this immutable nature of wetness;

gradual cultivation is like the waves that stop their movements slowly even if the wind suddenly stops blowing.²⁷⁵

Examining the overall theses of the Heze school cited above, we may interpret its notion of sudden enlightenment as indicating sudden enlightenment to the empty, tranquil, and numinous awareness. We may further correlate its notion of gradual cultivation with the thesis that one should cultivate oneself while taking the state of no thought as the utmost. This is the gist of Jinul's annotations to this passage.²⁷⁶ Zongmi referred to this cultivation of no thought (*munyeom su* [Ch. *wunian xiu*] 無念修) following sudden enlightenment as "sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation" (*dono jeomsu* [Ch. *dunwu jianxiu*] 頓悟漸修). We should therefore say that although Qingliang Chengguan 清涼澄觀 (738–839) of the Huayan school explicated the thesis of "sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation" in his *Zhenyuan xinyi Huayan jing shu* 貞元新譯華嚴經疏 (A Commentary on the *Flower Garland Sutra* Newly Translated during the Zhenyuan Era), "its name is identical but its meanings are completely different [from the thesis of the Heze school]."²⁷⁷ Because Chengguan makes a distinction between what leads one to attain enlightenment (*neungo* [Ch. *nengwu*] 能悟; can be subsumed under samadhi and prajna) and what one is enlightened to (*soo* [Ch. *suowu*] 所悟; can be correlated with sudden and gradual), his thesis belongs to the gradual approach [from the perspective of the Heze school and Jinul].²⁷⁸ But the Heze school's "cultivation of no thought following enlightenment" (*ohu munyeom su* [Ch. *wuhou wunian xiu*] 悟後無念修) has no distinctions such as "before and after (*seonhu* [Ch. *xianhou*] 先後), movement and stillness (*dongjeong* [Ch. *dongjing*] 動靜), dharma and self (*beoba* [Ch. *fawo*] 法我), etc."²⁷⁹ Therefore, it can be said that this school's thesis satisfies the two aspects of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation.

From the above examination, we cannot but say that the Heze school's [soteriological] theory is the most excellent in terms of intellectual understanding. For it does satisfy the two meanings of being immutable and according with the condition and the two

gates of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation. Zongmi thus expounded on the Heze school with reverence. Jinul also gave unstinted praise to it by saying, “Heze Shenhui is a master of intellectual understanding. Although he did not become Caoqi’s 曹溪 (Huineng) legitimate son, his understanding of enlightenment (*ohae* [Ch. *wujie*] 悟解) is indeed perspicacious and his elucidations and clearing of doubts are obvious and clear.”²⁸⁰ It seems that this intellectual understanding of the Heze school could awaken those Seon practitioners who would rush immediately into the patriarch’s encounter dialogues in their clouded mind, or those who do not know the necessity for cultivation after sudden enlightenment (i.e., ox-taming practice [*mogu haeng* (Ch. *muniu xing*) 牧牛行]) [to their errors].

Therefore, [it is no wonder that] Jinul exerted all his energy to promote the spirit of this type of Seon. He thus excerpted passages from Zongmi’s *Faji biexing lu* 法集別行錄 (Dharma Collection and Special Practice Record) and added his own notes in the *Beopjip byeolhaeng-nok jeoryo byeongip sagi* 法集別行錄節要并私記 (Excerpts from the *Faji biexing lu* with Personal Notes; abbreviated as *Beopjip jeoryo*), in which complicated theories of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation are explained in comparison with Hwaeom philosophy. In the one-fascicle *Susim-gyeol* 修心訣 (Secret on Cultivating the Mind) he put together the theories [examined in the *Beopjip jeoryo*] and presented them as an essential key to cultivating the mind. In this work, again, he further elaborated on how to carry out gradual cultivation after sudden enlightenment.

Although there are a myriad approaches to the principle, there is nothing that is not subsumed under samadhi (meditative absorption, concentration) and prajna (transcendental wisdom). The essence of these approaches is the substance and function of a practitioner’s own nature, and it is no other than the empty, tranquil, and numinous awareness. Samadhi is the substance and prajna is its function. Since the substance is itself its function, prajna is not separate from samadhi; since the function is itself its substance, samadhi is not separate from prajna. Since samadhi

is itself prajna, the former is calm but always knows; since prajna is itself samadhi, the former knows but is always tranquil. . . . When one is awakened to this, in all situations one will be naturally calm and aware. When negation and illumination are non-dual, it is called simultaneous cultivation of samadhi and prajna of the sudden approach.²⁸¹

Here, Jinul correlates the substance and function of the empty, tranquil, and numinous awareness respectively with samadhi and prajna. He then identifies the gradual cultivation following sudden enlightenment as the simultaneous cultivation of samadhi and prajna. This theory is a fresh development that cannot be found in Zongmi's *Faji biexing lu*.²⁸² It goes without saying that this simultaneous cultivation of samadhi and prajna in the sudden approach differs from the [apparently] same way of cultivation presented by Chengguan, which belongs to the gradual approach.²⁸³ It is also different from the equal maintenance of alertness and calmness for those of inferior faculty in the gradual approach (*jeommun yeolgi* 漸門劣機), as the latter says, "Having subjugated one's appropriating thoughts first with calmness, one controls one's confused abiding later with alertness" (先以寂寂 治於緣慮 後以惺惺 治於昏住).²⁸⁴ Yet, Jinul concludes the discussion by saying that even the samadhi and prajna in the approach that accords with the phenomenal marks (*susang mun* 隨相門; i.e., the gradual approach) may be allowed as an expedient means for counteracting [defilements] once one is suddenly awakened [to one's own nature].²⁸⁵

As its name indicates, Jinul's Samadhi and Prajna Society aimed at the abovementioned simultaneous cultivation of samadhi and prajna. In this respect, it can be said that he was not just satisfied with writing treatises but passionately realized this [ideal soteriology] into a strong movement for practice. This enables us to get a sense of how enthusiastically he tried to enhance Heze Shenhui's theory of empty, tranquil, and numinous awareness and Zongmi's theory of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation. Moreover, considering the tradition of Korean Seon that was initiated with the introduction

of the Hongzhou Chan (Kr. Seon), the Heze school can be considered to belong to the collateral lineage. Nevertheless, Jinul boldly accepted this school's ideas. This implies that he had resolute boldness, but it also means that he was free from any restriction in exerting his creativity for remedying the negative effect of his times.

iii. Introduction of Hwaeom Thought

Jinul's approach of equal maintenance of samadhi and prajna (*jeonghye deungji mun* 定慧等持門) aimed at remedying the fault of Seon practitioners, who would rush into the patriarch's living phrases [in their immature stage of practice] and spend hours in vain sitting and dozing, through the clear intellectual understanding of the Heze school. Once this approach of equal maintenance of samadhi and prajna has been presented, one may thrust oneself into the patriarch's living phrases (i.e., the shortcut approach). But the doctrinal schools evaluated Seon as corresponding to the fourth category of sudden teaching in the doctrinal classification schema of the five teachings. [According to Jinul, the monks from the Gyo schools criticized Seon by saying,] "What the Seon practitioners say is no more than the meanings of according with the defiled (*suyeom* [Ch. *suiran*] 隨染) and purity of the nature (*seongjeong* [Ch. *xingjing*] 性淨) or the mark of separation from language and characteristics (*ieon jeolsang* [Ch. *liyan jiexiang*] 離言絕相) [discernible] in some nature of principle (*ilbun riseong* [Ch. *yiben lixing*] 一分理性) introduced in the *Awakening of Faith*."²⁸⁶ The Seon doctrine that identifies the mind with the Buddha (*jeuksim jeukbul* 即心即佛) is also criticized as "just contemplating on one's mind without contemplating on the non-hindrances between phenomenal objects (*sasa muae* [Ch. *shishi wuai*] 事事無礙), which will lead one to lose the perfect quality of buddhahood."²⁸⁷

Although it seems objective to judge the approach of equal maintenance of samadhi and prajna as having a tendency for the sudden approach, yet it is difficult to regard it as far exceeding the level

of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra. For instance, in the notion of the empty, tranquil, and numinous awareness of the Heze school, “empty” is not so much different from the Madhyamaka’s negation of discriminations and false thoughts or the Yogācā’s negation of pervasive discrimination of what the mind is attached to. In the case of “tranquil” (i.e., substance) and “awareness” (i.e., function) in that notion, they correspond to Seungnang’s doctrine of the middle way as the substance, which states, “The middle way is the substance; the two truths of the ultimate and the conventional are its functions.” In the Yogācāra’s doctrine of three marks and threefold naturelessness, “tranquil” and “awareness” can be correlated respectively with the nature (*seong* [Ch. *xing*] 性) of perfect accomplishment (or the aspect of principle [*i* (Ch. *li*) 理]) and the mark (*sang* [Ch. *xiang*] 相) of other-dependence (or the aspect of function [*yong* (Ch. *yong*) 用]). Moreover, Zongmi’s simile of a *maṇi* pearl, used to account for the dharma’s two aspects of being immutable (i.e., being the substance) and according with the conditions (i.e., being the function), resembles the simile of a *sphaṭika* (*pajiga* [Ch. *pozhiija*] 頗胝迦; i.e., crystal) appearing in the *Sutra on the Explication of the Profound Meaning*.²⁸⁸ His emphasis on gradual cultivation followed by sudden enlightenment is also not so much different from the practice of emptiness view of the Consciousness-only school, or the practice of meditation (*yuga haeng* [Ch. *yuqie xing*] 瑜伽行, Skt. *yogācāra*), for both have theories on the elimination of the habit-energy (*seupgi* [Ch. *xiqi*] 習氣, Skt. *vāsanā*).²⁸⁹ Therefore, Jinul’s approach of equal maintenance of samadhi and prajna could be considered an excerpt from the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra, reorganized into the system of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation.

If Seon was evaluated [by the Gyo monks] as the sudden teaching in the Hwaeom [doctrinal classification] and the newly introduced approach of equal maintenance of samadhi and prajna was thought of as still remaining at the level of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra, then [Seon monks such as Jinul] would not leave such a situation as it is. Then, how should it be overcome? They could have shown that Seon has a realm that is no less supreme than Hwaeom. The

Hongzhou school originally shared fundamental principles with Huayan (Kr. Hwaeom) philosophy.²⁹⁰ In the traditional framework of the three profundities (*samhyeon* [Ch. *sanxuan*] 三玄) [presented by the Hongzhou school's successor, the Linji school], which consist of (1) profundity in essence (*chejunghyeon* [Ch. *tizhongxuan*] 體中玄) [as expressed in extensive language] such as the doctrine of non-hindrance between phenomenal objects, (2) profundity in language (*gujunghyeon* [Ch. *juzhongxuan*] 句中玄) [as expressed in *hwadu*-style language], and (3) profundity in profundity (*hyeonjunghyeon* [Ch. *xuanzhongxuan*] 玄中玄) [as expressed in non-verbal or non-conceptual means], the first profundity in essence is exactly equivalent to Hwaeom philosophy.²⁹¹ Therefore, they could have brought this theory of three profundities to the fore. But even if they had referred to it, the Hwaeom school would not have accepted their claim [to the equal status with Hwaeom]. For the Hwaeom masters evaluated Seon, its theory of three profundities included, just as the sudden teaching (that identifies one's pure nature with the Buddha [*seongjeong bul* (Ch. *xingjing fo*) 性淨佛]). In this respect, the Seon school had to seek a different solution.

Is it not possible to attribute Jinul's introduction of Hwaeom thought [in his soteriological system] to his awareness of this problem? By introducing [rather than discarding] Hwaeom scholasticism in the system of Seon, shortcomings in the first approach of equal maintenance of samadhi and prajna could be supplemented. The adoption of Hwaeom would also help to overcome the Hwaeom monks' disparagement of Seon and reveal the meaning of investigation into the critical phrase (*hwadu* [Ch. *huatou*] 話頭) more clearly. In this respect, we should say that he came up with "a good idea." Now, he came to adopt this alternative philosophy, namely Hwaeom, but also had to face the new problem of how to put that idea into practice. Jinul seems to have wrestled with this problem for a long period of time. It is recorded that "he had searched through the Buddhist canon for three cycles of cold and hot seasons since he secluded himself in Bomunsa 普門寺 Temple on Hagasan 下柯山 Mountain in the fifteenth reign year (1185) of Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1170–1193)."²⁹²

It was in the elder (*jangja* [Ch. *zhangzhe*] 長者) Li Tongxuan's forty-fascicle *Xin huayan jing lun* that Jinul discovered the reward for his efforts. What drew Jinul's attention in particular in this book is Li's exposition on the first stage of the ten faiths. The following is cited from its abridged essentials (*Hwaecomnon jeoryo* 華嚴論節要) by Jinul.

“Mind of faith” in this scripture (*Flower Garland Sutra*) should mean this. One just needs to believe that the nature of discrimination in one's mind is [identical to] Fundamental Immovable Wisdom Buddha (Geunbon budong ji bul [Ch. Genben budong zhi fo] 根本不動智佛) in the nature of the dharma realm. The Golden World (Geumsaek segye [Ch. Jinse shijie] 金色世界) is the undefiled true principle in one's mind. Mañjuśrī is the marvelous wisdom of one's mind that discerns well. The bodhisattvas named Chief of Enlightenment (Gaksu [Ch. Jueshou] 覺首), Chief in Vision (Moksu [Ch. Mushou] 目首), etc., are the manifestations of the knowledge of true principle ([*yeo*]ri ji [Ch. (*ru*)li zhi] [如]理智, Skt. *yathāvadbhāvīkajñāna*) in the course of one's following the mind of faith. It is only when one accords with the effect of all buddhas in the causal stage of faith without any error that one accomplishes the mind of faith.²⁹³

The second assembly of the *Flower Garland Sutra* named “Assembly at the Palace of Universal Illumination” (普光明殿會) (fascicles twelve to fifteen) is where the stage of ten faiths is explicated. Here, Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva is said to have come from the Golden World where Immovable Wisdom Buddha resides and bodhisattvas such as Chief of Enlightenment and Chief in Vision are said to have come from the other worlds.²⁹⁴ With regard to this [scene of the scripture], Li Tongxuan gives his annotation [as summarized] in the above passage. That is, in the bodhisattva path that proceeds from the stage of ten faiths, passes through the stages of ten abidings, ten practices, ten transferences, and ten grounds, and concludes with the stage of buddhahood, the initial stage of ten faiths is where an ordinary person arouses faith for the first time. The above passage states that [this ordinary person] in this stage

believes that the nature (or seeds) of ignorance and discrimination in one's mind is no other than the immovable wisdom (*budong ji* [Ch. *budong zhi*] 不動智) or the wisdom of universal illumination (*bo gwangmyeong ji* [Ch. *pu guangming zhi*] 普光明智) of all buddhas.

This understanding of the ten faiths is considerably different from that of traditional Huayan scholasticism. According to Fazang, "In the stage of ten faiths, one reverently believes that the Tathagata's ocean-like lands (Skt. *kṣetra*) are extremely subtle and inconceivable. But this person does not know that the quality of effect, which is the fundamental wisdom, in one's own mind is utterly profound and inconceivable."²⁹⁵ That is to say, [in Fazang's interpretation] the Buddha exists outside one's mind [in the stage of ten faiths].²⁹⁶ But the *Xin huayan jing lun* puts emphasis on believing that one's own mind is itself Immovable Wisdom Buddha and is also the marvelous wisdom of Mañjuśrī. It thus says, "It is difficult for ordinary people to enter the stage of ten faiths because they think of themselves as ordinary people and would not acknowledge that their mind is itself Immovable Wisdom Buddha."²⁹⁷

For this reason, [the *Xin huayan jing lun*'s] explication on the process of proceeding from the ten faiths to the ten abidings differs [from the traditional exegeses]. According to the traditional scholastic exegesis, "Because one in the stage of ten faiths has either progress or retrogression, it takes as early as one or two eons (for those of sharp faculty) to enter the stage of ten abidings or it takes as late as ten thousand eons (for those of dull faculty)."²⁹⁸ But the *Xin huayan jing lun* says, "Since one who arouses faith takes the fundamental ignorance in one's own mind as the immovable wisdom of all buddhas, the amount of eons [one has to pass] is not mentioned and it is clarified this person is not retrogressed even in the stage of ten faiths [in the *Flower Garland Sutra*]."²⁹⁹ That is, if one has entered the initial stage of ten abidings, "the abiding of aspiration" (*balsim ju* [Ch. *faxin zhu*] 發心住), one has already reached the stage of entry into realization (*jeungip* [Ch. *zhengru*] 證入) or the stage of realization-enlightenment (*jeungo* [Ch. *zhengwu*] 證悟)³⁰⁰ and immediately proceeds to the stages of ten

practices, ten transferences, ten grounds, and the eleventh ground (i.e., buddhahood). Jinul thus comments on the related passage by saying, “When I examine what this *Xin huayan jing lun* clarifies, [it is revealed that] whereas the buddhahood of the three vehicles lies in the stage after the ten grounds, the buddhahood of the one vehicle lies in the initial state of mind in the stage of ten faiths. As for the stage of entry [into realizing buddhahood], it lies in the initial state of mind in the stage of ten abidings (the abiding of aspiration). Therefore, once one has entered the initial state of mind in the stage of ten faiths, one spontaneously reaches the initial state of mind in the stage of ten abidings; once one

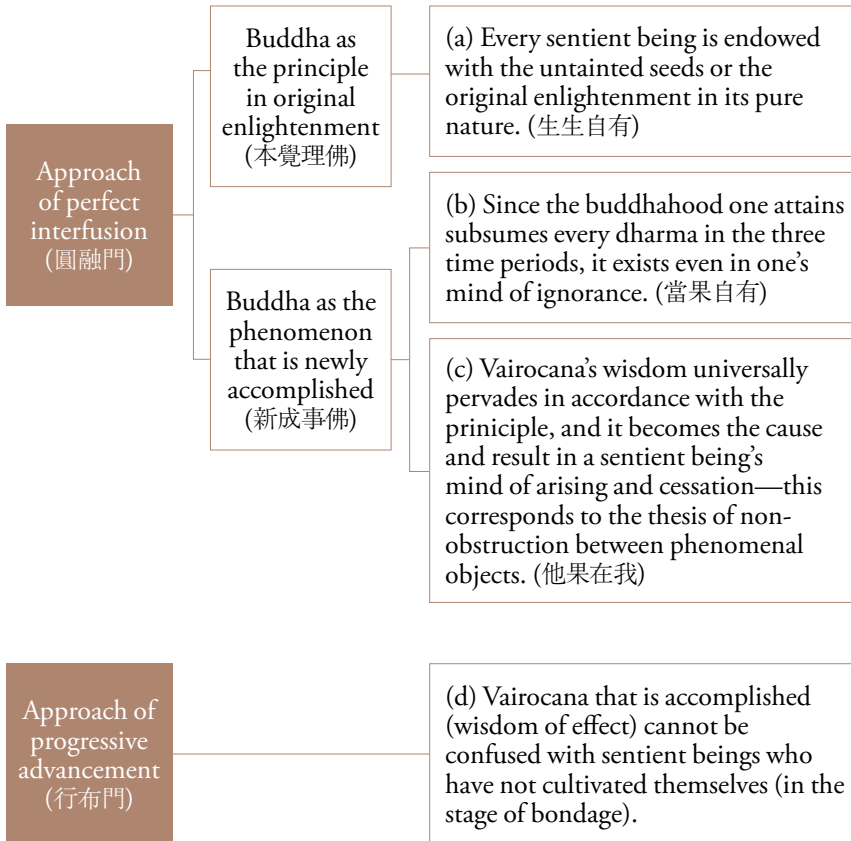


Diagram 4. The Buddha's wisdom inherent in a sentient being's mind

has entered the initial state of mind in the stage of ten abidings, one spontaneously reaches the ultimate stage (buddhahood).”³⁰¹

From this perspective, the very first stage, or the initial state of mind in the stage of faiths is considered the most important. One needs to arouse correct faith in this stage. “Correct faith” here means a conviction that ignorance and discrimination in one’s mind are none other than the fundamental wisdom or the wisdom of universal illumination.³⁰² The problem is, however, whether one can have such a conviction easily. One needs to have a thorough understanding, for such a doctrine is not an object of blind faith. The traditional Hwaeom scholasticism explains the thesis that “the Buddha’s wisdom exists in a sentient being’s mind” in many ways as shown in diagram 4 on page 277.³⁰³ Here, [Hwaeom scholasticism] asserts that we can say the Buddha’s wisdom exists in a sentient being’s mind only when the thesis in question can be understood in the three meanings (a) through (c) of the approach of perfect interfusion (*wonyung mun* [Ch. *yuanrong men*] 圓融門) in diagram 4.

Does “correct faith” aroused in the initial state of mind in the stage of ten faiths, discussed in Li Tongxuan’s *Xin huayan jing lun*, have the same content [with the abovementioned Hwaeom doctrine]? In the *Wondon seongbul-lon* 圓頓成佛論 (Treatise on the Perfect and Sudden Attainment of Buddhahood), Jinul gives a detailed explanation on why [Li’s concept of correct faith] is not identical [to the traditional notion]. We do not have room for introducing his argument here, but its main thesis is that “the immovable wisdom is also called the fundamental wisdom of universal illumination (*geunbon bo gwangmyeong ji* 根本普光明智) or the wisdom of effect of all buddhas (*jebul gwaji* 諸佛果智) and that it is the essential nature of principle and phenomena, nature and marks, sentient beings and the Buddha, self and others, the defiled and the pure, and cause and effect.”³⁰⁴ Therefore, he presents his conclusive remark as follows.

Since the substance of the fundamental wisdom is originally endowed with the three greatneses (essence, characteristic, and function), [the

Buddha's wisdom in a sentient being's mind] is not restricted to the Buddha as the principle in pure nature (*seongjeong ibul* 性淨理佛), corresponding to (a) ["All sentient beings themselves have the Buddha" (*saengsaeng jayu* 生生自有)]. Since the substance of the fundamental wisdom originally lacks such distinctions as the ten time periods, far and near, slow and fast, etc., it is not the case that the Buddha's wisdom is subsumed under the result in the future time (*danggwa seopjae* 當果攝在 or *dangwa jayu* 當果自有), corresponding to (b). Since the fundamental wisdom is the Buddha in one's own mind, it is not the case that the other's effect (buddhahood) exists in the self (*tagwa jaea* 他果在我), corresponding to (c). Therefore, the statement that "the Buddha's wisdom exists in a sentient being's mind" made by Xianshou 賢首 Fazang and Qingliang Chengguan has a slightly different meaning from what Li Tongxuan said. But from the perspective of penetration and subsumption of the approach of conditioned arising, all the three meanings of (a) through (c) can be allowed for.³⁰⁵

From the above passage, we can get a glimpse at what the *Xin huayan jing lun* means by "the immovable wisdom." According to Wonhyo's philosophy of the *Awakening of Faith*, the fundamental source of the one mind gives rise to the three greatnesses and the universal dharma. The immovable wisdom is identical with this one mind. Jinul therefore says, "Since the buddhahood of this fundamental wisdom of universal illumination is the substance of sentient beings and the Buddha, the categories such as principle and phenomena, nature and marks, good and evil, the defiled and the pure, etc. are simultaneously perfected and simultaneously extinguished. It is thus like the Buddha of one great dharma-body established by Wonhyo."³⁰⁶

Hwaeom thought, which was examined above in light of Li Tongxuan's philosophy, has something in common with Zongmi's theory of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation in terms of doctrinal structure. Sudden enlightenment, which indicates an awakening to the fact that discriminations and ignorance in one's mind are themselves the fundamental wisdom of universal illumination,

“is not enlightenment that comes after cultivation. It is therefore understanding-enlightenment (*haeo* [Ch. *jiewu*] 解悟).”³⁰⁷ It is just like sudden enlightenment to the empty and tranquil awareness, which is not realization-enlightenment (*jeungo* [Ch. *zhengwu*] 證悟) but understanding-enlightenment.³⁰⁸ The statement that “once one has accomplished faith, one proceeds with samadhi and prajna from the stage of ten faiths, passes through the stages of ten practices, ten transferences, and ten grounds, and reaches the eleventh ground”³⁰⁹ also indicates the simultaneous cultivation of samadhi and prajna that also comes after sudden enlightenment. Therefore, we cannot but say that Li Tongxuan’s Huayan (Kr. Hwaeom) thought corresponds to the theory of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation and that it is a type of Hwaeom philosophy that lends itself to accommodating Jinul’s Seon thought.

Jinul is said to have been overjoyed at discovering such philosophy after his three-year efforts.³¹⁰ At that time, he seems to have been confident that he could overcome the conflicts between the Seon and Gyo schools. He thus said, “What the World-Honored One spoke with his mouth is Gyo; what he transmitted with his mind is Seon. The mouth and mind of the Buddhas never go against those of the patriarchs. Why do you not delve into the origins, while being just satisfied with what we have learned and spending hours disputing with others?”³¹¹ He thus made an abridgement of the forty-fascicle *Xin huayan jing lun* into three fascicles and committed it to print (in the third reign year [1207] of Huijong 熙宗 [r. 1204–1211]), and also composed the *Wondon seongbul-lon* 圓頓成佛論 (Treatise on the Perfect and Sudden Attainment of Buddhahood; printed in the second reign year [1215] of Gojong 高宗 [r. 1213–1259]). In this manner, he always rendered his thought available to his fellow practitioners even during his short spare times between the meditation sessions.³¹² He thus said, “Practitioners who cultivate the mind should first take the seeds of ignorance and discriminations in their mind as the immovable wisdom of universal illumination of all buddhas. If they practice Seon relying on their own nature only after that [awakening to their inherent

wisdom], they will experience something marvelous.”³¹³ The fact that Jinul’s Seon system has the approach of faith and understanding according to the perfect and sudden teaching could be attributed to this process [of soteriological development]. If so, this also enables us to get a glimpse of how thoroughgoing his was in constructing his theories and how bold he was in putting them into practice. For the approach of faith and understanding according to the perfect followed by sudden teaching shared the framework of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation with the approach of equal maintenance of alertness and calmness, and Li Tongxuan was also a scholar who was considered collateral in the traditional Huayan school.

iv. “Mu” and “What is this?”

Even though one reaches the final enlightenment through the practice of emptiness view, if one has attachment to emptiness, one cannot give rise to the inconceivable [salvific] activities. It has been stated that the *Awakening of Faith* refers to such obstruction as the intellectual hindrance (or fundamental ignorance) and that the *vajrasamādhi* is a *samādhi* which destroys that hindrance.³¹⁴ The *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經) also touches upon the ultimate hindrance as a grave problem and Jinul introduces the issue in question by saying, “Even though one attains the purity of the dharma realm, if this pure understanding obstructs [a practitioner’s salvific activities], one cannot attain sovereignty with regard to perfect enlightenment.”³¹⁵ In this respect, the approach of faith and understanding according to the perfect and sudden teaching (that teaches the unobstructed conditioned arising of the dharma realm) is the unexcelled supreme dharma gate. But the traces of logical reasoning (paths of words and meanings [*eollo uiro* 言路義路]) and thinking (listening, understanding, intending, and imagining [*munhae sasang* 聞解思想]) still remain [not removed].³¹⁶ Here, the mind seeking realization-enlightenment is operating.³¹⁷ Therefore, we should say that this mind of intellectual understanding

could finally become an obstruction.³¹⁸

The Seon investigation into the *hwadu* (shortcut approach of observing the *hwadu*) has an astonishingly strong point in eliminating the scholastic intellectual understanding. For instance, the *hwadu* of “*mu* (Ch. *wu*) 無” [meaning “nothing” or “no”] is like a fire ball and has no place where intellectual understanding can be attached to.³¹⁹ In due course the Seon monk Jinul thus turned his eye from the approach of faith and understanding to the shortcut approach of observing the *hwadu* (or the approach of uniting with the Way without discriminating thoughts [*musim hapdo mun* 無心合道門]).³²⁰ It seems that the contemporary Seon masters were practicing the investigation into the *hwadu* centering around the doctrine of three phrases and three profundities (*samgu samhyeon* [Ch. *sanju sanxuan*] 三句三玄) of Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 867).³²¹ Linji was a heir to the dharma lineage starting from the eighth patriarch Mazu Daoyi (of the Hongzhou school) and passing via the ninth Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814) and the tenth Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (d. 850) to him; he was thus later considered the first patriarch of the Linji school.

His theory of three profundities consists of (1) profundity in essence, (2) profundity in language, and (3) profundity in profundity. The following explanation is then given of them. (1) Profundity in essence is what awakens the novice practitioner by quoting such phrases as “Between the objects in the boundless world and between self and others, there is not the slightest space” (無邊刹境 自他不隔於毫端) or “The ancient and the recent of the ten time periods are not separate from the current thought-moment” (十世古今 始終不離於當念).³²² We may associate this approach with the Hwaem dharma gate of non-hindrane between phenomenal objects (approach of faith and understanding according to the perfect and sudden teaching). But it still does not escape the obstruction of intellectual understanding (or the dead phrases [*sagu* (Ch. *siju*) 死句]). Therefore, another profundity is presented as (2) profundity in language, which aims at making [the practitioner] forget the intellectual understanding of the Buddhist teaching with the fresh and pure words and phrases (i.e., critical

phrase [*hwadu* (Ch. *huatou*) 話頭] such as “A cypress tree in the front garden” (*jeong jeon baeksu ja* [Ch. *ting qian boshu zi*] 庭前柏樹子) or “Three pounds of hemp” (*ma samgeun* [Ch. *ma sanijn*] 麻三斤).³²³ It goes without saying that the shortcut approach of observing the *hwadu* belongs to this category. But it still retains the trace of “fresh and pure words and phrases” and so one cannot attain sovereignty from birth and death. For this reason, these fresh and pure words and phrases are to be destroyed by silence or the use of a wooden stick (*bang* [Ch. *bang*] 棒) or shouting (*hal* [Ch. *he*] 喝) and this method is referred to as (3) profundity in profundity.³²⁴

From the above overview, it can be said that the three profundities in their entirety aim at destroying the disease (*gyeonbyeong* 遺病) of intellectual understanding. It is thus said, “They are not the original intent of Linji.”³²⁵ Therefore, the Chan master Pu’an Dao 普眼道 (d.u.) put forth another phrase outside the three phrases and revealed an affirmative meaning (comprehensive expression [*jeonje* 全提]).³²⁶ Then, “the same *hwadu* becomes a word of remedying the disease (*pabyeong* 破病) inside the three phrases, while it becomes a word of comprehensive expression outside the three phrases.”³²⁷ It thus seems that the scholars (*hageoja* 學語者) in the Seon school at that time deeply inquired into this problem [of inconsistency].³²⁸

It is only Seon’s investigation into the living phrases that could eliminate the hindrance of understanding of Hwaem scholasticism. But could the shortcut approach of observing the *hwadu* as described above accomplish that goal? Moreover, Jinul’s approach of faith and understanding according to the perfect and sudden teaching became empowered with the elements of sudden enlightenment so that the traditional Hwaem philosophy was not comparable to it. It is quite natural that Jinul was doubtful and critical of the contemporary Seon. According to him, “Those who only draw (*jesa* 提擲) and study the known subtlety (*jimi* 知微) of the *hwadu* should not retain even an understanding of a comprehensive expression. Therefore, how could they have a thought of remedying the disease and conceal its secret intent (*milji* 密旨)? Even the slightest thought of understanding [a

comprehensive expression and remedying the disease] would let them fall into the malady of guessing and speculation (*boktak* 卜度) [at the level of the faculty of thought (*uigeun* [Ch. *yigen*] 意根, Skt. *manas*)].”³²⁹

This means that Jinul faced another new problem at the moment when he tried to remedy the negative effect of his times with regard to the Seon and Gyo schools. What shed a bright light on Jinul at that time was Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163). The Chan master Dahui is the seventeenth- [*sic*: should be “sixteenth-”] generation dharma descendent from the sixth patriarch Huineng and belongs to the Yangqi branch of the Linji school. [According to Jinul,] “The phrases of the shortcut approach and the way to make a detailed investigation into the *huatou* (Kr. *hwadu*) and attain [its realization] presented by Dahui were quite different from the contemporary Chan style. In what aspects? Although he presented such *huatou* as ‘A cypress tree in the front garden,’ ‘Three pounds of hemp,’ and ‘A dog does not have buddha-nature,’ he never showed any clue. He just gave a *huatou* that had no taste and did not allow of one’s investigation and asked [his disciples] to observe it.”³³⁰ Now, let us take a look at a more detailed context.

A monk asked Zhaozhou [Congshen 趙州從諗 (778–897)], “Does a dog have buddha-nature?” Zhaozhou answered, “No (Ch. *wu* 無!)” You should draw only this word and keep your attention on it [i.e., the word “no”]. It is not right to do it from the left or from the right. (1) You should not try to understand it in terms of existence [or “yes”] and non-existence [or “no”]. (2) You should not presume it to be the “nothingness” in true nothingness. (3) You should not try to understand it based on the [doctrinal] principle. (4) You should not guess its meaning with discriminations of the faculty of thought. (5) You should not grope its root where [your master] raises his eyebrows or blinks his eyes. (6) You should not devise a way out [of the predicament] from the path of language. (7) You should not be [intentionally] drawn into a shell of no activities. (8) You should not accept [the *hwadu* as presented to you] at the place where you raise it to your attention. (9) You should not prove

[your understanding of the *hwadu*] in the words. (10) You should not wait for your enlightenment with your delusion. [You just do not need to use your mind. When you reach a state in which you do not use the mind, never be afraid of falling into emptiness, for this is surely a good place. As soon as a rat enters an oxhorn, views and inversions are severed.] . . . You just draw out [the *hwadu*] and raise it to your attention. . . . If you just have one thought, your intellectual understanding of the Buddha dharma will obstruct [your progress] by trapping you in the ten maladies of intellectual understanding. Therefore, you should lay them down, one by one. But you should not have [any thought of] laying down or not laying down. . . . With regard to the tasteless and elusive *hwadu*, if you vehemently activate one instant of realization, then the dharma realm of the one mind will manifest clearly.³³¹

Here, Jinul emphasizes that practitioners should [shake off the defilements from their thought] by remedying the ten maladies and by observing the *hwadu* and asking, “What truth does this express?”³³²

Jinul expressed his satisfaction with Dahui’s *hwadu*-observing Seon (*ganhwa* Seon [Ch. *kanhua* Chan] 看話禪) as examined above. Although we cannot be certain that he first came across Dahui’s *Recorded Sayings* (*Yulu* 語錄) in the first reign year (1198) of Sinjong 神宗 (r. 1197–1204), from his stone inscription we read his own recollection. “Although ten years passed since I resided in Bomunsa Temple (where Jinul studied Li Tongxuan’s Hwaeom), I was not able to discard the discriminative views (*jeonggyeon* 情見). But when I came across Dahui’s *Recorded Sayings*, I suddenly came to wake up.”³³³ [According to Jinul,] the contemporary Seon practitioners were drawn by the three phrases and three profundities (*samgu sosa* 三句所使), but “Dahui was able to make them aptly draw the three phrases” (*neungsa deuk samgu* 能使得三句). It is needless to reiterate that Jinul’s shortcut approach of observing the *hwadu* takes Dahui’s Chan as its content. He then gives the following instruction. “First, you should discern the true and the false in your mind with the truthful intellectual understanding. . . . Then make a detailed observation of the secret

ground (*milmilji* 密密地) with a peg-splitting and iron-breaking word (*chamjeong jeolcheol* 斬釘截鐵).”³³⁴ His disciple Jin’gak Hyesim 眞覺慧謹 (1178–1234) also enthusiastically enhanced the status of *hwadu*-observing Seon and collected the 1,125 cases of ancient *hwadu* episodes, compiling the thirty-fascicle *Seonmun yeomsonng* 禪門拈頌 (Collection of the Seon Verses of Critique) in the thirteenth reign year (1226) of Gojong and also composing his own work, *Guja mu bulseong hwa ganbyeong-non* 狗子無佛性話揀病論 (Treatise on Discerning the Maladies concerning the *hwadu* “A Dog Does Not Have Buddha-Nature”).³³⁵

What is the reason for Jinul’s intense interest in Dahui’s Seon teaching, the character “*mu*” in the *hwadu* “A dog does not have buddha-nature” in particular? In my opinion, it seems that he had no other choice but to adopt that teaching to keep a balance with his approach of equal maintenance of samadhi and prajna and the approach of faith and understanding according to the perfect and sudden teaching. His three approaches intended respectively (1) to counteract the ignorant Seon (*chi* Seon 癡禪) with the clear intellectual understanding, (2) to eliminate ignorance and enable the conditioned arising of the dharma realm to be revealed, and (3) to discern and destroy the [remaining] intellectual understanding through the patriarch’s living phrases. In such a system, (1) the approach of equal maintenance of samadhi and prajna presupposes the mutual identity between one’s own mind (empty and tranquil awareness) and the Buddha’s, and (2) the approach of faith and understanding according to the perfect and sudden teaching presupposes the mutual identity between the fundamental ignorance and the immovable wisdom (or the wisdom of universal illumination). Furthermore, (3) the shortcut approach of observing the *hwadu* also presupposes the mutual identity between the [existence of] buddha-nature in a dog and its non-existence. In other words, an identical structure of the sudden enlightenment coherently penetrates the three approaches. Seen from this construction scheme of the three approaches, it should be said that Dahui Seon’s *hwadu* of “*mu*” has an appropriate consistency [within the

system].

On the basis of the above examination, we should say that Jinul's three approaches are theoretically consistent from beginning to end. In the course of putting his theories into practice, he dared to eliminate the obstructions of outmoded tradition boldly. He adopted the philosophies of the thinkers in the collateral lineage such as Shenhui and Li Tongxuan, and ventured to accept Dahui's Seon. In this way, he created a unique Seon system unprecedented in history. His emptiness view cannot be examined separate from this system of Seon thought. If this is the case, we can say that his emptiness view not only aimed at simple negations but intended to tackle the hindrance, which covers a human being's pure and unadulterated original mind, and eliminate it thoroughly, thereby producing the mind's infinite, original function (or merit [*gongdeok* 功德]). Therefore, he says, "If you vehemently activate one instant of realization by discerning the ten maladies one by one, then the dharma realm of the one mind will manifest clearly."

F

Conclusions

Seungnang (around 500 CE) from Goguryeo founded the new Three Treatises school in China, and Woncheuk (613–696) from Silla also promoted the new Yogācāra (introduced by Xuanzang) in China. In the Korean Peninsula, Wonhyo (617–686) rediscovered the real value of the *Awakening of Faith* and Jinul (1158–1210) presented a new system of Seon soteriology. In this way these figures have exerted enormous influence domestically and internationally. Therefore, we can say that they are representative Korean Buddhist thinkers who presented creative philosophies in Korean Buddhism.

The most fundamental viewpoint of Mahayana Buddhism is that every dharma is empty. Having examined the abovementioned four monks centering around this emptiness view, we see that although their conceptual systems differed in accordance with their affiliations, they always had something in common. It was their intention to regard emptiness not simply as a negative concept, but as a notion that the elimination of discriminations and false attachments leads to the arising of infinite human activities.

Seungnang's doctrine of the two truths as teachings aims at overcoming the doctrine of [regarding] the two truths as principles, which dominated the academia at that time and implied the discrimination between the two truths of the ultimate (emptiness) and the conventional (existence). In this respect, his doctrine made the negative aspect of emptiness advance further and further (by eliminating the perverse [*pasa* 破邪]). But he did not stop there and proceeded to present the theory of the middle way as the substance and clarified that both the substance (middle way) and the functions (two truths) can be established owing to this negative aspect (thus revealing the correct [*hyeonjeong* 顯正]).

The Yogācāra's theories of three marks and three selflessnesses make

the two meanings (existence and non-existence) of emptiness more evident. Therefore, this can be considered a sort of advancement in the history of philosophy. Of the three marks Woncheuk was deeply interested in the mark of perfect accomplishment (or the selflessness of the ultimate meaning), to which the New Yogācāra gives an expanded interpretation by seeing it as encompassing the untainted but conditioned dharmas (i.e., bodhi) without restricting it to the realm of true thusness of the unconditioned (i.e., nirvana). Such an expansion could be attributed to the implication of the Yogācāra's practice of emptiness view, which would lead to the altruistic activities or function in the realm of the conditioned dharmas.

The Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra, however, have theoretical shortcomings with regard to the issue of how to ultimately transform sentient beings' basis (*jeonui* 轉依). In the Madhyamaka its nature of thoroughgoing negation cannot establish the ultimate realm (of the absolute truth), and in the Yogācāra its nature of thorough discrimination makes the negation of the ultimate value (of true thusness) difficult to expect. The *Awakening of Faith*, however, overcomes this problem superbly. For this treatise shows that the two opposing philosophical systems are harmoniously combined through the medium of the one mind (sentient beings' mind), thereby opening a path of mutual complementation. Wonhyo developed the inconceivable activities (or the greatness of function), arising from this mutually complementing function in the one mind that has two gates, to the universal dharma (characterized by mutual entry and mutual identity) of Hwaeom thought.

Jinul's Seon system aimed at rectifying the unwholesome trend of the opposition between the Seon and Gyo schools. But he was no different from the above thinkers in that they were all concerned with clarifying the two meanings of emptiness. Jinul's approach of equal maintenance of samadhi and prajna intends to cause practitioners to attain sudden enlightenment to the substance and function of their inherent empty and tranquil awareness and also to let them cultivate it gradually. In this respect, this approach does not deviate

much from the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra. His approach of faith and understanding according to the perfect and sudden teaching corresponds to Hwaeom thought. The last shortcut approach of observing the *hwadu* represents the characteristic of Seon Buddhism, as it intends to eliminate the intellectual understanding of scholasticism and thus reveal the dharma realm of the one mind thoroughly and clearly.

The philosophies of the abovementioned four people demonstrate the common features in their structure. At the same time, they are characterized by an intention to overcome the problems of the preceding philosophies. Therefore, it can be said that Korean Buddhist philosophy has developed along with such an intention and within such historical context.

My only regret is that I did not present an exhaustive logical investigation into the reasons for a thing's being empty. But I think such a limitation of this chapter is also due to the character of Buddhist philosophy, which cannot go beyond the overall religious philosophy that is defined as a systematic understanding of the sacred canon.

Notes

- 1 *Jin'gang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 (translated by Kumārajīva; hereafter referred to as *Jin'gang jing*), T 8.749a9–11, “如是減度無量無數無邊眾生, 實無眾生得減度者. 何以故? 須菩提! 若菩薩有我相人相眾生相壽者相, 即非菩薩.”
- 2 *Xiaopin bore boluomi jing* 小品般若波羅蜜經 (translated by Kumārajīva; hereafter referred to as *Xiaopin bore jing*), fasc. 1, T 8.537b6–10, “佛使我為諸菩薩說所應成就般若波羅蜜. . . 我不見菩薩不得菩薩, 亦不見不得般若波羅蜜.”
- 3 *Jin'gang jing*, T 8.749b12–15, “如來得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提耶? 如來有所說法耶? . . . 無有定法名阿耨多羅三藐三菩提, 亦無有定法如來可說.”
- 4 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 1, T 8.539b8–15, “一切處一切時一切種菩薩不可得. . . 所言菩薩菩薩者, 但有名字. . . 不可得亦不可得.”
- 5 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 1, T 8.541b14–15, “眾生非法義, 亦非非法義, 但有假名.”
- 6 *Jin'gang jing*, T 8.752b58–29, “一切有為法, 如夢幻泡影, 如露亦如電, 應作如是觀.”
- 7 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 1, T 8.540a29–b1, “菩薩發大莊嚴, 乘於大乘, 以空法住般若波羅蜜.”
- 8 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 4, T 8.552c10–11, “菩薩亦如是行般若波羅蜜, 知一切法空如響.”
- 9 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 6, T 8.561c12, “為眾生說色趣空, 說受想行識趣空.”
- 10 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 7, T 8.566c25, “一切法空相, 不可得說.”
- 11 *Mobe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (translated by Kumārajīva; hereafter referred to as *Dapin bore jing* 大品般若經), fasc. 1, T 8.219c8–12, “菩薩摩訶薩欲住內空·外空·內外空·空空·大空·第一義空·有為空·無為空·畢竟空·無始空·散空·性空·自相空·諸法空·不可得空·無法空·有法空·無法有法空, 當學般若波羅蜜”; fasc. 5, T 8.250b4–7 and *passim*.
- 12 *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經, fasc. 8, *sutta* 188, T 2.49b16, “如無常, 如是苦·空·非我, 亦如是說.”
- 13 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 10, T 8.580b29–c2, “何等是諸法實相? 佛說一切法無垢. 何以故? 一切法性空, 一切法無我, 無眾生, 一切法如幻如夢如響如影如炎.”
- 14 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 1, T 8.538b14–20, “是諸法不爾, 如凡夫所著. . . 今云何有? . . . 如無所有, 如是有. 如是諸法無所有, 故名無明. 凡夫分別無明, 貪著

- 無明，墮於二邊，不知不見... 因貪著故，... 是故墮在凡夫貪著數中”；Also see *Dapin bore jing*, fasc. 3, T 8,238c19–239a7.
- 15 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 10, T 8,584b11–24, “諸法實相，無來無去... 若人於佛分別來去，當知是人，凡夫無智，數受生死，往來六道。”
- 16 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 2, T 8,544a28–29, “佛告阿難，般若波羅蜜導五波羅蜜。”
- 17 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 2, T 8,550a20–21, “五波羅蜜離般若波羅蜜，亦如盲人無導 不能修道至薩婆若。”
- 18 *Dapin bore jing*, fasc. 1, T 8,218c21–24, “菩薩摩訶薩，以不住法住般若波羅蜜中，以無所捨法應具足檀那(=布施)波羅蜜，施者受者及財物不可得故。”
- 19 *Jin’gang jing*, fasc. 1, T 8,749a14–16, “菩薩應如是布施，不住於相，何以故?... 其福德不可思量。”
- 20 See note 1 of this chapter.
- 21 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 1, T 8,539a2–4, “何以故? 諸法相爾。譬如工幻師，於四衢道，化作大眾，悉斷化人頭... 寧有傷有死者不?... 不也...”
- 22 *Dapin bore jing*, fasc. 5, T 8,250b3–c27.
- 23 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 10, T 8,584c7–9, “眾緣合則有，眾緣滅則無... 譬如篋篋音聲，無所從來，去無所至。”
- 24 *Dapin bore jing*, fasc. 7, T 8,269b16–17, “諸法和合生，無自性。”
- 25 *Dapin bore jing*, fasc. 2, T 8,230c8–14, “是名字... 和合法故有。是諸名不生不滅。”
- 26 *Za ahan jing*, fasc. 1, *sutta* 11, T 2,2a23–28, “無常因無常緣所生諸色，云何有常? 如是受想行識... 無常者則是苦，苦者則非我。”
- 27 *Za ahan jing*, fasc. 12, *sutta* 293, T 2,83c1–21; fasc. 13, *sutta* 335, T 2,92c12–15; *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經, fasc. 30, *sutta* 7, T 2,713c12–714b11, etc.
- 28 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 9, T 8,578c24–579a5, “菩薩坐道場時，如是觀十二因緣，離於二邊，是為菩薩不共之法... 以如是無盡法，觀十二因緣。若菩薩如是觀時，不見諸法，無因緣生，亦不見諸法常，不見諸法作者受者。”
- 29 From this perspective, we need to begin our study with the *Āgamas* for the correct understanding of Mahayana Buddhism.
- 30 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 1, T 8,541b21, “何以故? 眾生從本已來，常清淨故。”
- 31 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 7, T 8,568c19–20, “但觀空，而不證空”；fasc. 7, T 8,569a17–20, “菩薩行般若波羅蜜，方便所護故，不證第一實際... 乃證第一實際。”
- 32 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 6, T 8,563a4–6, “菩薩雖行空無相無作道，不為般若波羅蜜方便所護故，證於實際，作聲聞乘。”
- 33 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 1, T 8,538a25–27, “不念行般若波羅蜜，不念不行，不念行不行，亦不念非行非不行，是名行般若波羅蜜。”
- 34 *Jin’gang jing*, T 8,751c22–23, “我於阿耨多羅三藐三菩提，乃至無有少法可得，

- 是名阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。”
- 35 *Dapin bore jing*, fasc. 27, T 8.397b16–18, “世諦故, 分別說有果報, 非第一義。第一義中不可說因緣果報。”
- 36 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 8, T 8.571c18–23, “若一切法離相空相, 云何眾生, 有垢有淨? ... 不能得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。離相空相, 更無有法能得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提... 我今云何當知是義?”
- 37 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 8, T 8.571c24–572a4, “眾生長夜著我我所不? 如是如是... 我我所空不? ... 我我所空... 眾生以我我所往來生死不? 如是如是... 如是眾生名為有垢, 隨眾生所受所著故。是中實無有垢, 亦無受垢者... 若不受一切法, 則無我無我所, 是名為淨。是中實無有淨, 亦無有受淨者。菩薩如是行, 名為行般若波羅蜜。”
- 38 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 5, T 8.558b18–24, “諸佛知世間如, 如實得是如故, 名為如來... 如是如相... 唯有阿毘跋致菩薩, 及具足正見者, 滿願阿羅漢, 乃能信之。”
- 39 *Dapin bore jing*, fasc. 24, T 8.399b5–8, “云何知色如? 是色如, 不生不滅, 不來不去, 不增不減, 不垢不淨... 如名如實不虛。”
- 40 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 6, T 8.565a4–6, “無所有皆同虛空, 汝唐受苦惱。若言得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提, 即是魔事, 非佛所說。”
- 41 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 6, T 8.569c6–9, “但應念空, 念無相無作無起無生無所有... 當知是菩薩... 未住阿毘跋致地。”
- 42 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 5, T 8.558b28–c1, “是法甚深, 於此法中云何作相? ... 諸法以空為相, 以無相無作無起無生無滅無依為相。”
- 43 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 10, T 8.584a24–29, “實際無來無去, 實際即是如來。空無來無去, 空即是如... 是諸法如, 諸如來如, 皆是一如, 無二無別。”
- 44 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 5, T 8.558c11–12, “諸佛智慧無礙故, 能示是如, 亦能說般若波羅蜜行相。”
- 45 *Xiaopin bore jing*, fasc. 5, T 8.559a9–13, “般若波羅蜜如實示世間空... 亦如是示諸佛世間。”
- 46 *Zhonglun* 中論, fasc. 4, T 30.32c11–12, “汝今實不能知空空因緣及知於空義是故自生惱”(“Four Noble Truths,” Verse 7); fasc. 4, T 30.33a22–23, “以有空義故一切法得成若無空義者一切則不成”(“Four Noble Truths,” Verse 14).
- 47 *Fabua xuanyi shiqian* 法華玄義釋籤, fasc. 19, T 33.951a18–20, “自宋朝已來三論相承, 其師非一並稟羅什, 但年代淹久文疏零落, 至齊朝已來玄綱殆絕。”
- 48 Koh Ikjin, “Samguk sidae Daeseung gyohak e daehan yeon’gu” 三國時代大乘教學에 대한 연구, in *Cheolhak sasang ui je munje*, ed. Han’guk jeongsin munhwa yeon’guwon (Seongnam: Han’guk jeongsin munhwa yeon’guwon, 1985), 3:79.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 97.
- 50 *Zhonglun*, fasc. 1, T 30.1b14–17.

- 51 *Zhonglun*, fasc. 4, T 30.33b13–14, “未曾有一法 不從因緣生 是故一切法 無不是空者。”
- 52 We have seen above how the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras* and the *Madhyamakāśāstra* explicate [the relation of emptiness and conditioned arising]. For the case of the *Āgamas*, see *Za aban jing*, fasc. 13, *sūtra* 335, “Ultimate Meaning of Emptiness” (第一義空經), T 2.92c12–26; *Zengyi aban jing*, fasc. 30, *sūtra* 7, “Dharma of Ultimate Emptiness” (第一最空法), T 713c12–714b12.
- 53 *Dapin bore jing*, fasc. 25, T 8.405a15–16, “菩薩摩訶薩住二諦中, 為眾生說法, 世諦第一義諦”; *Zhonglun*, fasc. 4, T 30.32c16–17, “諸佛依二諦 為眾生說法 一以世俗諦 二第一義諦。”
- 54 See a commentary on the *Zhonglun* passage in note 53.
- 55 *Erdi yi* 二諦義 (by Jizang), fasc. 1, T 45.78b18–20, “世俗諦者, 一切諸法性空, 而世間顛倒謂有. 於世間是實, 名為世諦. 諸賢聖真知顛倒性空, 於聖人是實, 名第一義諦.”
- 56 *Zhonglun*, fasc. 4, T 30.33a2–3, “若不依俗諦 不得第一義 不得第一義 則不得涅槃.”
- 57 *Zhonglun*, fasc. 4, T 30.34c26–27, “無得亦無至 不斷亦不常 不生亦不滅 是說名涅槃.”
- 58 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 1, T 45.89b19–23, “無有可有, 無無可無. 無有可有, 由無故有. 無無可無, 由有故無. 由無故有, 有不自有. 由有故無, 無不自無. 不自有有, 是無有. 不自無無, 是有無. 無有不有, 有無不無. 此有無表不有無.”
- 59 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 1, T 45.89b25–29, “學三論者, 必須前得此語. 何意名初章? 初章者, 學者章門之初故云初章. 此語出十地經第一卷, 明一切文字皆初章所攝. 今亦爾, 初章通一切法. 何者? 有無作既然, 一切法亦例此作. 故知初章通一切法也.”
- 60 *Dasheng xuanlun* 大乘玄論 (by Jizang), fasc. 1, T 45.15a14, “二諦者, 蓋是言教之通詮, 相待之假稱.”
- 61 *Zhonglun*, fasc. 4, T 30.18c16–17, “大聖說空法 為離諸見故 若復見有空 諸佛所不化.”
- 62 *Dasheng xuanlun*, fasc. 1, T 45.15a25–27, “問, 攝嶺興皇, 何以言教為諦耶? 答, 其有深意, 為對由來以理為諦故, 對緣假說.”
- 63 *Dasheng xuanlun*, fasc. 1, T 45.15a24–25, “若依廣州大亮法師, 定以言教為諦”; *Erdi yi*, fasc. 1, T 45.90a24–25, “廣洲大高釋二諦義, 亦辨二諦是教門也.”
- 64 *Liang gaoseng zhuan* 梁高僧傳, fasc. 7, T 50.372b8–27.
- 65 Hirai Shun'ei 平井俊榮, *Chūgoku Hannyā shisōshi kenkyū* 中国般若思想史研究 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1976), 463–65.
- 66 The three-level doctrine of the two truths [(1) through (3)] can be found in the *Erdi yi*, fasc. 1 (T 45.90c2–9), and the four-level doctrine of the two truths [(1)

- through (4)] can be seen in the *Dasheng xuanyi*, fasc. 1 (T 45.15c5–10).
- 67 *Za ahan jing*, fasc. 13, *sutta* 301, T 2.85c17–86a3, etc.
- 68 *Zhonglun*, fasc. 4, T 30.33b11–12, “眾因緣生法 我說即是無 亦為是假名 亦是中道義。”
- 69 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 1, T 45.86b3–4, “道非有無, 寄有無以顯道。理非一二, 因一二以明理”; fasc. 1, T 45.87c3–4, “二諦是教, 不二是理,” etc.
- 70 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 2, T 45.108b16–28, “今明即以非真非俗為二諦體, 真俗為用。亦名理教, 亦名中假... 不二為體, 二為用, ... 故以中道不二為體也。”
- 71 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 2, T 45.108b.
- 72 *Zhongguan lun shu* 中觀論疏 (by Jizang), fasc. 2a, T 42.22c27–23a1, “問, 若爾攝山大師云何非有非無名為中道, 而有而無稱為假名? 即體稱為中, 用即是假, 云何無別? 答, 此是一往開於體用, 故體稱為中, 用名為假。”
- 73 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 3, T 45.108a9, “攝嶺興皇, 皆以中道為二諦體。”
- 74 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 3, T 45.107c12–13.
- 75 Koh Ikjin, “Samguk sidae Daeseung gyohak e daehan yeon’gu,” 91.
- 76 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 1, T 45.89b8–9, “理外二諦, 即聞有住有不表不有, 聞無住無不表不無。”
- 77 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 3, T 45.110b28–c2, “他義有礙, 有即空即失有, 空即有即失空。故不得並。今只有即是空, 空即是有。有即空, 空不壞有。空即有, 有不動空。故得並也。”
- 78 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 3, T 45.110c4–5, “無二異不二, 無不二異二。故不壞假名, 說諸法實相, 不動等覺, 建立諸法。”
- 79 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 3, T 45.110b23–c3, “一者即橫論二諦教並, ... 二者二不二橫豎並。”
- 80 *Sanlun xuanyi*, fasc. 1, T 45.14c2, “遠離二邊不著中道。”
- 81 *Sanlun xuanyi*, fasc. 1, T 45.10c14–15, “通論大小乘經, 同明一道。故以無得正觀為宗。”
- 82 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 2a, T 45.95c, “俗不俗義, 真不真義, 真俗悟不真俗, 此則悟無礙道。既悟無礙道故, 有無礙用。以得無礙用故, 所以一切法為俗義也。”
- 83 *Sanlun xuanyi*, fasc. 1, T 45.14b21–c12.
- 84 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 2a, T 45.95a2–c7.
- 85 *Dasheng xuanlun*, fasc. 3, T 45.37a9–10, “故云非真非俗中道為正因佛性也。”
- 86 *Dasheng xuanlun*, fasc. 3, T 45.42b24, “一乘體者, 正法中道為體”; fasc. 3, T 45.46b19–20, “今以中道正法為涅槃體。”
- 87 Koh Ikjin, “Samguk sidae Daeseung gyohak e daehan yeon’gu,” 114, n. 252.
- 88 As for biographies of Woncheuk, we have (1) *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, fasc. 4, “Yuan’ce’s (Kr. Woncheuk) Biography” (圓測傳), T 50.727b; (2) *Song gaoseng zhuan*, fasc. 4, “Ci’en’s Biography” (慈恩傳), T 50.725c; (3) “Stupa

Inscription of the Late Great Master Yuance (Kr. Woncheuk) of Ximing Temple during the Dazhou Era” (大周西明寺故大德圓測法師佛舍利塔銘), X 88.384b (R 150.181b); and (4) Choe Chiwon’s “In Commemoration of Venerable Woncheuk” (圓測和尚諱日文). Of these, the third and fourth source are the most reliable.

- 89 “Stupa Inscription of the Late Great Master Woncheuk of Ximing Temple during the Dazhou Era.”
- 90 Hwang Seonggi 黃晟起, “Woncheuk ui Yusik hakgwan e gwanhan yeon’gu” 圓測의 唯識學觀에 관한 研究, *Bulgyo hakbo*, no. 9 (1972): 19.
- 91 See the Japanese monk Shōen’s 照遠 (d.u.) *Bonmōkyō koshakuki jussbakushō* 梵網經古迹記述迹抄, fasc. 1a.
- 92 Of the ten fascicles of Woncheuk’s *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, part of fascicle 8 and entirety of fascicle 10 were lost. The present edition is a reconstruction by Inaba Shōju’s 稻葉正就 back-translation from Tibetan to classical Chinese. See Inaba Shōju, *Enjiki Ge jin mikkyō shō sanitsu bubun no kenkyū Kanbun yaku hen* 圓測·解深密經疏散逸部分の研究·漢文訳篇, *Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan kenkyū nenpō* 鈴木学術財団研究年報 9 (1972).
- 93 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 3, H 1.224b, “又成唯識第二卷 (T 31.10a) 云 賴耶所緣 有其三種。一器世間二有漏種 三有根身。阿賴耶識因緣力故 自體生時 內變為種 及有根身外變為器。即以所變為自所緣 行相杖之而得起故。”
- 94 *Weishi sanshi lun song* 唯識三十論頌 (by Vasubandhu), T 31.60b10–13, “次第二能變 是識名末那 依彼轉緣彼 思量為性相。四煩惱常俱 謂我癡我見 并我慢我愛 及餘觸等俱” (verses 5–6).
- 95 *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (by Dharmapāla, et al.), fasc. 7, T 31.37a13–18, “依止根本識 五識隨緣現 或俱或不俱 如濤波依水 (verse 15) ... 意識常現起 ... (verse 16) 論曰, 根本識者, 阿陀那識, 染淨諸識生根本故。依止者, 謂前六轉識。”
- 96 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 2, T 31.7c–8c.
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 3, H 1.217b–222b.
- 99 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 3, H 1.217c.
- 100 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 3, H 1.218a.
- 101 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 3, H 1.218a.
- 102 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 3, H 1.218a.
- 103 *Jie shenmi jing* 解深密經, fasc. 2, T 16.693a15–b1.
- 104 *Jie shenmi jing*, fasc. 2, T 16.693b10–20.
- 105 *She dasheng lun ben* 攝大乘論本 (composed by Asaṅga and translated by Xuanzang), fasc. 2, T 31.139b10–16.
- 106 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 8, T 31.46a3–10.

- 107 *She dasheng lun ben*, fasc. 2, T 31.139b16, “又依他起自性, 名所遍計。”
- 108 *She dasheng lun ben*, fasc. 2, T 31.137c29–138a1, “此中何者依他起相? 謂阿賴耶識為種子, 虛妄分別所攝諸識。”
- 109 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 8, T 31.46b5–6, “眾緣所生心心所體及相見分有漏無漏皆依他起。”
- 110 *Weishi sanshi lun song*, T 31.61a2–3, “是諸識轉變 分別所分別 由此彼皆無 故一切唯識 (Skt. *sarvam vijñaptimātrakam*)” (verse 17).
- 111 *She dasheng lun ben*, fasc. 2, T 31.138a12–15.
- 112 *Jie shenmi jing*, fasc. 2, T 16.693a21–22, “云何諸法圓成實相? 謂一切法平等真如。”
- 113 *Jie shenmi jing*, fasc. 2, T 16.693c2–3, “若能斷滅雜染相法, 即能證得清淨相法。”
- 114 *Jie shenmi jing*, fasc. 2, T 16.695a7–10, “於依他起自性中, 能不執著遍計所執自性相。由言說不熏習智故, 由言說不隨覺智故, 由言說離隨眠智故, 能滅依他起相。” Here, the three wisdoms are defined as follows: (1) wisdom that is not permeated by verbal expressions, (2) perceptive wisdom that is not led verbal expressions, and (3) wisdom that is free from latent afflictions of verbal expressions.
- 115 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 8, T 31.46b10, “二空所顯圓滿成就諸法實性名圓成實。”
- 116 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 8, T 31.46b12, “無漏有為離倒究竟勝用周遍亦得此名。”
- 117 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 4, H 1.236c–37a.
- 118 Koh Ikjin, “Samguk sidae Daeseung gyohak e daehan yeon'gu,” 120.
- 119 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 4, H 1.237a.
- 120 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 4, H 1.237b.
- 121 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 4, H 1.236a, “若中邊 圓成實性 自有二種 故第二云 此圓成實 總有二種 無為有為有差別故 無為總攝真如涅槃 無變異故 名圓成實 有為總攝一切聖道 於境無倒故 亦名圓成實。”
- 122 *Jie shenmi jing*, fasc. 1, T 16.692a17–20, “是勝義諦 . . . 唯有常常時恒恒時, 如來出世若不出世, 諸法法性安立, 法界安住. . . 是遍一切一味相。” True thusness as explicated in the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana* has a characteristic of “according with the conditions and engaging in activities” (隨緣有作), but the Yogācāra notion of true emptiness is characterized by “being coagulated and without activities.”
- 123 *Jie shenmi jing*, fasc. 2, T 16.694a13–b1.
- 124 *Jie shenmi jing*, fasc. 2, T 16.694b1–6.
- 125 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 4, H 1.247a, “依他起上 無圓成實 故緣生法 非但說名生無自性性 亦名勝義無自性性。”
- 126 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 4, H 1.247b, “(sutra text) 一切諸法法無我性 名為勝義 . . . (commentary) . . . 謂法無我性 有其二義 一名勝義 二名無自性性是諸

- 法中勝義諦故諸法無性所顯理故。”
- 127 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 9, T 31.48a16–17, “雖依他起非勝義故亦得說為勝義無性。而濫第二故此不說。”
- 128 *Bulseol banya baramilda simgyeong-chan* 佛說般若波羅蜜多心經贊 (by Woncheuk; hereafter referred to as *Banya simgyeong-chan*), H 1.3c, “言皆空者顯所證理即前二空。依此諸空分成兩釋。依清辨宗自有二解。一曰三中遣前二性非圓成實。故中論曰因緣所生法是即說為空。一曰三性五蘊皆空。故掌珍曰無為無有實不起似空華。... 依護法宗三種蘊中但遣所執”; The *Inwanggyeong-so* also has the same theory. See *Inwanggyeong-so* 仁王經疏, fasc. 1a, H 1.17a.
- 129 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 4, H 1.251b.
- 130 *Jie shenmi jing*, fasc. 2, T 16.694a–b.
- 131 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 4, H 1.248a.
- 132 *Jie shenmi jing*, fasc. 2, T 16.694b7–24.
- 133 *Jie shenmi jing*, fasc. 2, T 16.694b9–13, “若法自相都無所有, 則無有生。若無有生, 則無有滅。若無生無滅, 則本來寂靜。若本來寂靜, 則自性涅槃。於中都無少分所有更可令其般涅槃故”; fasc. 2, T 16.694b17–22, “法無我性所顯勝義無自性性, 於常常時, 於恒恒時, 諸法法性, 安住無為。一切雜染不相應故, 於常常時, 於恒恒時, 諸法法性安住故無為, 由無為故無生無滅。一切雜染不相應故, 本來寂靜, 自性涅槃。”
- 134 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 5, H 1.270a, “若清辨等依龍猛宗說空有者依世俗諦有空不空依勝義無法不空若執著空名惡取空。”
- 135 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 5, H 1.270c, “若護法等依彌勒宗說空有者, 善取空者謂於依他所執性無即於此無我性有。如有無總說為空。惡取空者於依他上所執性無及於依他圓成性有俱不信受而作此執一切諸法都無所有是惡取空。”
- 136 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 4, H 1.248a.
- 137 *Inwanggyeong-so*, fasc. 1a, H 1.17a–b.
- 138 *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 4, H 1.248a.
- 139 *Inwanggyeong-so*, fasc. 1b, H 1.47b.
- 140 *Weishi sanshi lun song*, T 31.61a26–27, “此諸法勝義亦即是真如常如其性故即唯識實性 (*saiva vijñaptimātratā*).”
- 141 *Daeseung gisin-non dongi yakjip* 大乘起信論同異略集 (by Gyeondeungji 見登之), fasc. 1a, H 3.691b–c, “唯識論中... 唯明不變真如未說隨緣真如... 起信論中... 心真如門一味通體名不變真如... 心生滅門自體本覺是名隨緣真如。”
- 142 See chapter 3, section C of this book.
- 143 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 9, T 31.51a2–8, “此能捨彼二龜重(煩惱所知二障)故,

便能證得廣大轉依。依謂所依即依他起與染淨法為所依故。染謂虛妄遍計所執。淨謂真實圓成實性。轉謂二分轉捨轉得。由數修習無分別智，斷本識中二障麤重故，能轉捨依他起上遍計所執及能轉得依他起中圓成實性。由轉煩惱得大涅槃，轉所知障證無上覺。”

- 144 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 9, T 31.48c6–11, “煩惱障者，謂執遍計所執實我...能障涅槃名煩惱障。所知障者，謂執遍計所執實法...覆所知境無顛倒性，能障菩提名所知障。”
- 145 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 10, T 31.55b7–19.
- 146 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 10, T 31.56a.
- 147 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 10, T 31.56b2–4, “故此四品(四智相應心品)總攝佛地，一切有為功德皆盡。此轉有漏八七六五識相應品，如次而得...又有漏位智劣識強。無漏位中智強識劣。”
- 148 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 10, T 31.57c.
- 149 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 10, T 31.57c19–21, “此法身五法為性，非淨法界獨名法身，二轉依果皆此攝故。如是法身有三相別(自性身，受用身，變化身)。”
- 150 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 10, T 31.57c14–15, “二乘所得二轉依果，唯永遠離煩惱障縛。無殊勝法故。但名解脫身。”
- 151 *Banya simgyeong-chan*, H 1.11a–b.
- 152 *Banya simgyeong-chan*, H 1.12a–14b.
- 153 *Banya simgyeong-chan*, H 1.3a, “佛滅沒已一千年後 南印度界健至國中有二菩薩一時出世。一者清辨 二者護法... 立空有宗。” In Woncheuk’s writings, Bhāviveka’s *Dasheng zhangzhen lun* 大乘掌珍論 [Mahayana Jewel in the Palm Treatise] (Skt. **Mahāyānatālaratnāśāstra*) and *Prajñāpradīpāmūlamadhyamaka-vṛtti* [Lamp of Perfection of Wisdom and the Commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*] (*Bore deng Genben zhonglun song shi* 般若燈根本中論頌釋; abbr. *Bore deng lun*) are frequently cited. In particular, Bhāviveka’s *Madhyamakabrdayakārikā* [Verses on the Heart of the Middle Way] (*Zhongguan xin lun song* 中觀心論頌)—only its Tibetan version seems to have survived—is known as having a separate part (chapter 5) for criticizing the Yogācāra philosophy. See Yamaguchi Susumu 山口益, *Bukkyō ni okeru mu to u to no tairon* 仏教における無と有との對論 (Tokyo: Sankibō, 1964), 49.
- 154 See *Inwang gyeong-so*, fasc. 1a (上本), H 1.17a; *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 5, H 1.270a–273a (regarding the wrong attachment to emptiness [*akchwi gong* 惡取空]); fasc. 7, H 1.350c–352a (regarding the complete emptiness [*chong gongseong* 總空性]).
- 155 See above note 153 of this chapter.
- 156 See chapter 3, section B, subsection ii of this book.
- 157 *Banya simgyeong-chan*, H 1.3a, “清辨菩薩 執空撥有 令除有執。護法菩薩 立

- 有撥空 令除空執。然則空不違有即空之理 非無不違空即色之說自成。亦空亦有 順成二諦。非空非有 契會中道。佛法大宗 豈不斯矣。” A similar passage appears in *Hae simmilgyeong-so*, fasc. 1, H 1.123b.
- 158 *Banya simgyeong-chan*, H 1.3a–b.
- 159 Koh Ikjin, “Samguk sidae Daeseung gyohak e daehan yeon’gu,” 127–30; Koh Ikjin, “Seomyeong Yusik ui gibbon ipjang” 西明唯識의 基本立場, *Dongguk sasang* 東國思想 vols. 10–11 (1978).
- 160 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 7, T 31.39b1–2, “我法非有空識非無, 離有離無故契中道。”
- 161 *Zhonglun*, fasc. 4, “Four Noble Truths” chapter (四諦品), T 30.32c11–12, “汝今實不能 知空空因緣 及知於空義 是故自生惱” (verse 7); T 30.33a22–23, “以有空義故 一切法得成 若無空義者 一切則不成” (verse 14).
- 162 *Erdi yi*, fasc. 2, T 45.95c11, “以得無礙用故, 所以一切法為俗義也。”
- 163 *Banya simgyeong-chan*, H 1.3a, “問, 有無乖諍, 寧順佛意? 答, 執我勝論, 甚違聖教。”
- 164 *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 3, “Transmission of Śarīras” (前後所將舍利), T 49.993b26–29; H 6.327b.
- 165 “Inscription of Preceptor (Skt. *upādhyāya*) Seodang” (誓幢和尚碑), *Joseon geumseok chongnam* 朝鮮金石總覽 (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1976), 1:42.
- 166 *Song gaoseng zhuan*, fasc. 4, “Uisang’s Biography” (義湘傳), T 50.729a3–c3.
- 167 *Song gaoseng zhuan*, fasc. 4, “Wonhyo’s Biography” (唐新羅國黃龍寺元曉傳), T 50.730a11–12.
- 168 Dongguk daehakgyo Bulgyo munhwa yeon’guso, ed., *Han’guk Bulgyo chansul munheon chongnok* 韓國佛教撰述文獻總錄 (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1976), 16–37. Although this catalogue lists eighty-six works attributed to Wonhyo, Gyunyeo’s [*Seok Hwaem*] *gyobun-gi Wontong-cho* [釋華嚴] 教分記圓通抄 [Wontong’s (i.e., Gyunyeo) Explication of the *Huayan jiaofen qi* (*Huayan wujiao zhang*)], fascicle 8 (H 4.448c) quotes a passage from the *Bobeop-gi* 普法記 [Record of the Universal Dharmas] and so we need to add this one more work [to the list of Wonhyo’s writings].
- 169 The extant writings of Wonhyo are all included in the *Han’guk Bulgyo jeonseo*, volume 1.
- 170 *Daeseung gisin-non sogi hoebon* 大乘起信論疏記會本 (hereafter referred to as *Hoebon*), fasc. 1, H 1.759c (*Lun*, T 32.577b21–23), “是故一切法 . . . 唯心虛妄以心生則種種法生 心滅則種種法滅故。”
- * In the notes of the original manuscript, the *Dasheng qixin lun* text and Wonhyo’s annotations are indicated with the page reference numbers appearing in the *Han’guk Bulgyo jeonseo* edition of the *Daeseung gisin-non sogi hoebon* [Combined

- Edition of the *Awakening of Faith* (論) with Wonhyo's *Commentary* (疏) and *Separate Notes* (別記)]. When the text in the notes is a quotation from the *Awakening of Faith*, which is embedded in this *Daeseung gisin-non sogi hoebon*, the translator indicates it as “*Lun*” and provides its corresponding page reference number appearing in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 edition. When the text in the notes refers either to Wonhyo's *Daeseung gisinnon-so* or to his *Daeseung gisin-non byeolgi*, the translator indicates it as “*So*” and “*Byeolgi*” respectively and also provides its *Taishō* page reference number in parentheses.
- 171 *Song gaoseng zhuan*, fasc. 4, “Wonhyo's Biography,” T 50.730b22–23.
- 172 Koh Ikjin, “Wonhyo ui Hwaecom sasang” 元曉의 華嚴思想, in *Han'guk Hwaecom sasang yeon'gu* 韓國華嚴思想研究, ed. Bulgyo Munhwa Yeon'guwon (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1982), 62.
- 173 *Bosal gyebon jibeom yogi* 菩薩戒本持犯要記, H 1.582b–c. The above translation is a summarized one that explicates Wonhyo's intent.
- 174 *Daehye dogyeong jongyo* 大慧道經宗要, H 1.480c–481a.
- 175 *Daehye dogyeong jongyo*, H 1.481a.
- 176 *Daehye dogyeong jongyo*, H 1.486c–87a.
- 177 *Hoebon*, fasc. 1, H 1.733b (*Byeolgi*, T 44.226b5–9), “如中觀論十二門論等 徧破諸執 亦破於破 而不還許能破所破 是謂往而不徧論也 其瑜伽論攝大乘等 通立深淺判於法門 而不融遺自所立法 是謂與而不奪論也。”
- 178 See chapter 3, section B, subsection iii of this book.
- 179 *Hoebon*, fasc. 1, H 1.742b (*Byeolgi*, T 44.228a15–20), “然此空空亦有二義. 一者 有法性空 是空亦空. 有之與空 皆不可得. 如是空空 有真如門. . . 二者 猶如有無有性 故得爲空 是名曰空. 如是空無空性 故得作有 是名空空. 如是空空 在生滅門.”
- 180 *Hoebon*, fasc. 1, H 1.747b (*So*, T 44.229c4–5), “以真如門無能生義故 今於此識 亦說生義 生滅門中有能生義故.”
- 181 See chapter 3, section C, subsections iii, iv, v of this book.
- 182 *Hoebon*, fasc. 1, H 1.739c (*Lun*, “Outlines” [立義分], T 32.575c20–21), “摩訶衍者 總說有二種. 云何爲二? 一者法 二者義. 所言法者 謂衆生心.”
- 183 *Hoebon*, fasc. 1, H 1.740c–41a (*Lun*, “Interpretations” [解釋分], T 32.576a5–7), “依一心法有二種門. 云何爲二? 一者心真如門 二者心生滅門. 是二種門皆各總攝一切法. 此義云何? 以是二門不相離故.”
- 184 *Hoebon*, fasc. 1, H 1.741a–b (*Byeolgi*, T 44.227b8–13), “所言一心者 染淨諸法 其性無二 真妄二門 不得有異 故名爲一. 此無二處 諸法中實 體異虛空 性自神解 故名爲心. 然既無其二 何得有一? 一無所有 將誰曰心? 如是道理 離言絕慮 不知何以自云(should read as 目之)強(+號)爲一心也.”
- 185 *Hoebon*, fasc. 1, H 733b (*Byeolgi*, T 44.226b9–12), “今此論者 既智既仁 亦玄亦

- 博.無不立而自遣 無不破而還許.而還許者 顯彼往者往極而徧立.而自遣者 明此與者窮與而奪.是謂諸論之祖宗 羣諍之評主也.”
- 186 *Hoebon*, fasc. 1, H 1.733c (*So*, T 44.202b23–25), “然以論意趣深邃 從來釋者 尠具其宗.良由各守所習而牽文 不能虛懷而尋旨 所以不近論主之意.”
- 187 *Hoebon*, fasc. 2, H 1.743b (*Lun*, T 32.576a8–16), “心眞如者 卽是一法界大總 相法門體...唯是一心 故名眞如.”
- 188 *Hoebon*, fasc. 2, H 1.744b (*Lun*, T 32.576a24–26), “復次此眞如者 依言說分別 有二種義.云何爲二? 一者如實空 以能究竟顯實故. 二者如實不空 以有自體 具足無漏性功德故.”
- 189 *Hoebon*, fasc. 2, H 1.745c–748b (*Lun*, T 32.576b7–11), “心生滅者 依如來藏故 有生滅心 所謂不生不滅與生滅和合 非一非異, 名為阿梨耶識. 此識有二種 義 能攝一切法 生一切法. 云何爲二? 一者覺義 二者不覺義.”
- 190 *Hoebon*, fasc. 2, H 1.749c (*Lun*, T 32.576b16–26), “又以覺心源故 名究竟覺. 不覺心源故 非究竟覺... 如凡夫人... 雖復名覺 卽是不覺故. 如二乘觀智 初發意菩薩等 覺於念異 念無異相... 名相似覺. 如法身菩薩等 覺於念住 念無住相... 名隨分覺. 如菩薩地盡 滿足方便 一念相應覺心初起 心無初相 以遠離微細念故 得見心性 心卽常住 名究竟覺.”
- 191 *Hoebon*, fasc. 1, H 1.749c (*So*, T 44.209a20–21), “總標中言覺心源故名究竟覺者, 在於佛地. 不覺心源故非究竟覺者, 金剛已還也.”
- 192 *Hoebon*, fasc. 2, H 1.753b (*Lun*, T 32.575c7–17), “智淨相者 謂依法力熏習 如實修行 滿足方便故 破和合識相 滅相續心相 顯現法身 智淳淨故... 不思議業相者 以依智淨 能作一切勝妙境界.”
- 193 See above note 189.
- 194 *Hoebon*, fasc. 2, H 1.746b–c (*Byeolgi*, T 44.229a12–14), “如瑜伽論等 說阿梨耶識. 是異熟識一向生滅... 此識具含二義.”
- 195 *Hoebon*, fasc. 2, H 1.750b (*So*, T 44.209b19–20), “此三(生相)皆是阿梨耶識位 所有差別.”
- 196 *Hoebon*, fasc. 3, H 1.756b (*Byeolgi*, T 44.234a13), “此三皆是異熟識攝.”
- 197 *Daeseung gisin-non dongi yakjip* 大乘起信論同異略集, fasc. 1, H 3.699a, “其唯識宗 能依生滅心中 取第三現識 以爲阿賴耶 智相識等爲七轉識 未顯不生滅心.”
- 198 *Hoebon*, fasc. 2, H 1.746c (*Byeolgi*, T 44.229a13–14).
- 199 *Hoebon*, fasc. 2, H 1.753b (*Lun*, T 32.576c8–9).
- 200 *Hoebon*, fasc. 2, H 1.755b (*Lun*, T 32.576c29–577a2), “所言不覺義者 謂不如實知眞如法一故 不覺心起而有其念.”
- 201 *Hoebon*, fasc. 3, H 1.763a (*Lun*, T 32.577c5–7), “以不達一法界故 心不相應 忽然念起 名為無明.”
- 202 *Hoebon*, fasc. 3, H 1.764c (*Lun*, T 32.577c20–22), “又染心義者 名為煩惱礙 能

- 障真如根本智故。無明義者名為智礙。能障世間自然業智故。”
- 203 *Hoebon*, fasc. 4, H 1.765a (*Byeolgi*, T 44.237c22–24), “一切動念取相等心。違如理智寂靜之性。名煩惱礙。根本無明昏迷不覺。違如量智覺察之用。名為智礙。”
- 204 *Ijang ui* 二障義, H 1.795a, “此煩惱碍。六染之中。已攝前門二障(煩惱,所知二障)皆盡。”
- 205 *Hoebon*, fasc. 2, H 1.754c (*Lun*, T 32.576c26–28).
- 206 *Hoebon*, fasc. 4, H 1.765a (*Byeolgi*, T 32.237c26–27), “然以相當。無明應障理智染心障於量智。”
- 207 *Hoebon*, fasc. 4, H 1.765a (*Byeolgi*, T 32.237c27–28), “何不爾者。未必爾故。未必之意。如論自說。”
- 208 *Hoebon*, fasc. 5, H 1.778a (*Lun*, T 32.581b14–16), “無明頓盡。名一切種智。自然而有不思議業。能現十方利益眾。”
- 209 *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non* 金剛三昧經論, fasc. 1, H 1.604c, “此經宗要。有開有合。合而言之。一味觀行為要。開而說之。十重法門為宗。”
- 210 Koh Ikjin, “Wonhyo sasang ui silcheon wollli” 元曉思想의 實踐原理, in *Han'guk Bulgyo sasangsa* 韓國佛教思想史, ed. Sungsang Bak Giljin Baksa hwagap ginyeom sa'eophoe (Iri: Won Bulgyo sasang yeon'guwon, 1975), 232.
- 211 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 9, T 31.53c18–21, “此地(十地)於法。雖得自在。而有餘障。未名最極。謂有俱生微所知障。及有任運煩惱障種。金剛喻定現在前時。彼皆頓斷。入如來地。由斯佛地說斷二愚及彼龜重。”
- 212 *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non*, fasc. 1, H 1.606a.
- 213 *Pusa yinghuo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經, fasc. 1, T 24.1012c28–29.
- 214 *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non*, fasc. 2, H 1.644c.
- 215 *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non*, fasc. 3, H 1.654c–55a.
- 216 *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non*, fasc. 3, H 1.655b, “次明行中。言不動心如決定實性者。此位得入金剛三昧故。大般涅槃唯性空大者。寂滅無為一相無相故。如本業經言。入金剛三昧。一相無相寂滅無為。名無垢地故。”
- 217 *Geumgang sammae gyeong-non*, fasc. 1, H 1.609a.
- 218 *Geumgang sammae gyeong-non*, fasc. 3, H 1.650b, “真如之法。具諸功德。與諸行德。而作本性。故言真性。如是真性。絕諸名相。以之故言真性空也。又此真性。離相離性。離相者。離妄相。離性者。離真性。離妄相故。妄相空也。離真性故。真性亦空。以之故言真性空也。”
- 219 *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non*, fasc. 3, H 1.661a–b. The terms that come after the colon in the above parenthetical explanations are those given by Wonhyo.
- 220 *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non*, fasc. 3, H 1.656c, “真如空性。性空智火。燒滅諸結。平等平等。等覺三地。妙覺三身。於九識中。皎然明淨。無有諸影。”
- 221 *Geumgang sammaegyeong-non*, fasc. 3, H 1.657a; fasc. 1, H 1.604c.
- 222 See chapter 3, section C, subsection ii of this book.

- 223 *Hoebon*, fasc. 1, H 1.739c (*Lun*, T 32.575c25–28).
- 224 *Hoebon*, fasc. 4, H 1.771b–c (*Lun*, T 32.579a12–c3).
- 225 *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記 (by Fazang), fasc. 1, T 44.250c8–11; fasc. 2, T 44.251c24–52a1, etc.
- 226 *Dasheng qixin lun yiji*, fasc. 4, T 44.273b7–8.
- 227 *Hoebon*, fasc. 1, H 1.739c (*Lun*, T 32.575c23–25).
- 228 *Ibid.*
- 229 *Hoebon*, fasc. 2, H 1.743b (*Lun*, T 32.576a8).
- 230 *Hoebon*, fasc. 2, H 1.743b–c (*So*, T 44.207a23–26).
- 231 *Hoebon*, fasc. 1, H 1.740b (*So*, T 44.206b25–27), “大義中 體大者在真如門, 相用二大在生滅門. 生滅門內亦有自體. 但以體從相. 故不別說也.”
- 232 *Hoebon*, fasc. 5, H 1.771c (*So*, T 44.218b12–13), “初中言自體相者 總牒體大相大之義也.”
- 233 Koh Ikjin, “Wonhyo ui Hwaeom sasang,” 51.
- 234 *Hoebon*, fasc. 1, H 1.733a (*So*, T 44.202a26–b4), “然夫大乘之爲體也 蕭焉空寂 湛爾沖玄. 玄之又玄之 豈出萬像之表. 寂之又寂之 猶在百家之談. 非像表也 五眼不能見其軀. 在言裏也 四辯不能談其狀. 欲言大矣 入無內而莫遺. 欲言微矣 苞無外而有餘. 引之於有 一如用之而空. 獲之於無 萬物乘之而生. 不知何以言之 強號之謂大乘.”
- 235 As Wonhyo’s writings on Hwaeom, the one-fascicle *Hwaeom gangmok* 華嚴綱目 [Key Points of the *Flower Garland Sutra*] (missing), the ten- or eight-fascicle *Hwaeomgyeong-so* 華嚴經疏 [Commentary on the *Flower Garland Sutra*] (fascicle 3 remaining), the *Hwaeom jongyo* 華嚴宗要 [Doctrinal Essentials of *Flower Garland Sutra*] (missing), the two-fascicle *Hwaeom ip beopgyepum-cho* 華嚴入法界品抄 [Abridged Commentary on the “Entry into the Dharma Realm” Chapter of *Flower Garland Sutra*] (missing), the one-fascicle *Ildo-jang* 一道章 [Treatise on the One Way] are known. Of the *Hwaeomgyeong-so* only its “Preface” and fascicle 3 (the “Awakening by Light” chapter [光明覺品]) remain.
- 236 *Hwaeom-gyeong munui yogyeol mundap* 華嚴經文義要決問答 (by Pyowon), fasc. 2, “Meanings of the Universal Dharma” (普法義), H 2.366a, “普者溥也 謂遍義是普也. 法自體義 軌則義 (如常說也) 謂一切法相入相是. 言相入者 曉云 謂一切世界入一微塵 一微塵入一切世界 (如一微塵 一切亦爾). 三世諸劫入一刹那 一刹那入三世謂 (諸) 劫 (如一刹那 一切亦爾). 如諸大少促 (奢動靜一多) 相入 餘一切門相入亦爾. 如說相是亦爾 謂一切法及一切門 一是一切 (一切) 是一. 如是廣蕩 名爲普法.”
- 237 From the “Preface” of Wonhyo’s *Hwaeomgyeong-so* (*Jinyeok Hwaeomgyeong-so* 晉譯華嚴經疏序) included in the *Dongmun-seon*, fascicle 83 (H 1.495a), we can confirm that the universal dharma consists of the four categories of (1) large

and small, (2) urgent and leisurely (or fast and slow), (3) motion and stillness, and (4) one and many.

- 238 Wonhyo's doctrinal classification schema of the four teachings can be found in the following literature: (1) Pyowon's *Hwaeom-gyeong munui yogyeol mundap* (H 2.385b), (2) Fazang's *Huayan jing tanxuan jii* 華嚴經探玄記, fasc. 1 (T 35.111a), (3) Huiyan's 慧苑 (b. 673) *Xu huayan lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴略疏刊定記 (X 3.578b [Z 1–5.9c, R 5.18a]), and (4) Chengguan's 澄觀 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 (T 35.510a).
- 239 Wonhyo enumerates the ten reasons for establishing the universal dharma, as follows. (1) The one and the all become a mirror and an image of each other just as in Indra's net (一與一切 互爲鏡影 如帝網故). (2) The one and the all conditionally arise from each other just like [counting] the number of coins (一與一切 更互緣集 如錢數故). (3) They are consciousness only like objects in dream (皆唯是識 如夢境故). (4) Like illusory phenomena, all of them are not real beings (皆非實有 如幻事故). (5) The characteristics of identity and difference penetrate all things (同相異[相]通一切故). (6) The extremely large and the extremely small are identical in terms of amount (至大至少 齊一量故). (7) The conditioned arising of the dharma-nature is separate from the very nature (法性緣起 離性故). (8) The substance of the dharma of one mind is neither identical nor different (一心法體 非一異故). (9) The dharma realm of non-obstruction has neither middle nor extremes (無礙法界 無邊無中故). (10) The dharma realm is just as it is and is without any obstructions (法界法爾 無障無礙故). It seems that the first five reasons can be found in the teachings of the three vehicles and that the next five reasons are peculiar to the one vehicle. In this respect, the sixth reason draws our attention and Pyowon's discussion of Wonhyo's doctrine of the universal dharma centers around this passage. See *Hwaeom-gyeong munui yogyeol mundap*, fasc. 2, "Investigation into the Meanings of Profundities" (探玄義), H 2.366b–67b.
- 240 *Hwaeom-gyeong munui yogyeol mundap*, fasc. 2, "Investigation into the Meanings of Profundities," H 2.367b, "相是之緣 亦出一種 所謂同相異相不相離故. . . 如同異不相捨離 以異不離同故 一切是一也. 同不離異故 一是一切也."
- 241 *Hoebon*, fasc. 5, H 1.722a (*Lun*, T 32.579b15–17), "除滅無明 見本法身 自然而有不思議業種種之用 即與真如等遍一切處 又亦無有用相可得."
- 242 *Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 10, T 31.56a12–16, "一大圓鏡智相應心品, 謂此心品離諸分別, 所緣行相微細難知, 不忘不愚一切境相, 性相清淨離諸雜染, 純淨圓德現種依持, 能現能生身土智影, 無間無斷窮未來際, 如大圓鏡現眾色像."
- 243 *Hwaeom ilseung beopgye-do* 華嚴一乘法界圖 (by Uisang), H 2.1b, "三種世間從海印三昧槃出現顯故. 所謂三種世間 一器世間 二衆生世間 三智正覺世間"

智正覺者佛菩薩也。”

- 244 See above note 239 of this chapter.
- 245 *Hwaeom-gyeong munui yogyeol mundap*, fasc. 2, “Meanings of the Universal Dharma” (普法義), H 2.366b introduces the following ten reasons. (1) Because the large and the small do not have a determined mark (大少無定故). (2) Because each of them are just manifestation of the mind (各唯心現故). (3) Because they are not real just like illusions (如幻不實故). (4) Because they arise from infinite causes (無限因生故). (5) Because they have an excellent supernatural power freely available (勝通自在故). (6) Because of the great function of the samadhi (三昧大用故). (7) Because of the inconceivable liberation (難思解脫故). (8) Because of the ultimate perfection of the qualities of the fruit (果德圓極故). (9) Because their conditioned arising is mutually dependent (緣起相由故). (10) Because of the perfect interfusion of the dharma-nature (法性融通故).
- 246 The Huayan theory of conditioned arising of the ten profundities refers to: (1) simultaneous endowment and mutual correspondence (同時具足相應門), (2) realm of Indra’s net (因陀羅網法界門), (3) coexistence of explicitness and implicitness (隱密顯了俱成門), (4) mutual accommodation and firm establishment of minute things (微細相容安立門), (5) different formations of the ten distinct time periods (十世隔法異成門), (6) endowment of pure and miscellaneous qualities of the treasures (諸藏純雜具德門), (7) mutual accommodation of the one and the many without becoming identical (一多相容不同門), (8) mutual identity and free operation of all things (諸法相即自在門), (9) excellent establishment by the operation of mind only (唯心回轉善成門), (10) arousing of understanding by relying on phenomena and revealing the truth (託事顯法生解門). See *Hwaeom ilseung beopgye-do*, H 2.8a.
- 247 Koh Ikjin, “Wonhyo ui Hwaeom sasang,” 75.
- 248 Koh Ikjin, “Silla hadae ui Seon jeollae” 新羅下代の禪傳來, in *Han’guk Seon sasang yeon’gu* 韓國禪思想研究, ed. Dongguk daehakgyo Bulgyo munhwa yeon’guwon (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1984), 23.
- 249 *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, fasc. 16, “Bodhidharma” (菩提達磨), T 50.551b27–c26. The same passage appears also in the *Lengqie shi ziji* 楞伽師資記, the *Xiaoshi liumen* 小室六門, etc.
- 250 *Song gaoseng zhuan*, fasc. 8, “Shenhui’s Biography” (神會傳), T 50.756c22–24, “從見會明心六祖之風 蕩其漸修之道矣. 南北二宗時始判焉.”
- 251 *Mazu Daoyi Chanshi guanglu* 馬祖道一禪師廣錄, fasc. 1, X 69.3a18–b6 (Z 2:24.406c12–d6, R 119.812a12–b6), “一切法 皆是心法. 一切名 皆是心名. 萬法皆從心生 心為萬法之根本. . . . 若立理 一切法盡是理. 若立事 一切法盡是事. 舉一千從 理事無別 盡是妙用 更無別理 皆由心之迴轉. . . . 一切法皆是佛

- 法 諸法即是解脫. 解脫者即是真如. 諸法不出於真如 行住坐臥 悉是不思議 用 不待時節.”
- 252 Sekiguchi Shindai 関口真大, *Zenshū shisōshi* 禪宗思想史 (Tokyo: Sankibō, 1966), 152.
- 253 *Ibid.*, 211–17.
- 254 Koh Ikjin, “Silla Hadae ui Seon jeollae,” 31.
- 255 *Ibid.*, 62, 81, etc.
- 256 Gim Busik, “Inscription of National Master Daegak” (大覺國師碑).
- 257 *Beopjip byeolhaeng-nok jeoryo byeong ip sagi* 法集別行錄節要并入私記 (by Jinul) (hereafter referred to as “Beopjip jeoryo”), H 4.741c (“Sagi”).
- 258 *Gwonsu Jeonghye gyeolsa-mun* 勸修定慧結社文 (by Jinul), H 4.698a.
- 259 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.746b (“Sagi”), “予見教學者 滯於權教所說 眞妄別執. . . 纔聞禪者 見性成佛 以謂不出頓教離言之理 不知此中 圓悟本心.”
- 260 *Moguja susim-gyeol* 牧牛子修心訣 (by Jinul), H 4.709c, “今時迷癡輩 妄謂一念悟時 卽隨現無量妙用神通變化.”
- 261 *Gwonsu Jeonghye gyeolsa-mun*, H 4.698b.
- 262 *Ibid.*, H 4.698a–b.
- 263 *Ibid.*, H 4.707c.
- 264 *Ibid.*
- 265 *Dongmun-seon*, fasc. 117, “Inscription of National Master Buri Bojo in Suseonsa on Jogyesan” (曹溪山修禪社佛日普照國師碑銘) (by Gim Gunsu 金君綏), “然其勸人誦持 常以金剛經. 立法演義 則意必六祖壇經. 申以華嚴李論 大慧語錄相羽翼. 開門有三種 曰惺寂等持門 曰圓頓信解門 曰徑截門. 依而修行 信入者多焉. 禪學之盛 近古莫比.” The first of the three gates would have been better named the approach of equal maintenance of samadhi and prajna (定慧等持門) rather than the approach of equal maintenance of alertness and calmness (惺寂等持門). For Jinul’s *Susim-gyeol* acknowledges the equal maintenance of alertness and calmness as “indispensable in the gate of counteracting [defilements]” (對治門中 不可無也) (H 4.712b), but also judges it as a practice for the lower faculty following the gradual approach (samadhi and prajna in the gate that accords with the phenomenal marks [隨相門定慧]) (*ibid.*).
- 266 Koh Ikjin, “Wonmyo Yose ui Baengnyeong gyeolsa wa geu sasangjeok donggi” 圓妙了世의 白蓮結社와 그 思想的 動機, *Bulgyo hakbo*, no. 15 (1978); Koh Ikjin, “Baengnyeonsa ui sasang jeontong gwa Cheonchaek ui jeosul munje” 白蓮社의 思想傳統과 天頂의 著述問題, *Bulgyo hakbo*, no. 16 (1979).
- 267 *Zhonghua chuan xindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 (hereafter referred to as *Shizi chengxi tu*) (by Zongmi), X 63.33a13–c11 (Z 2:15.435c13–436b5, R 110.870a13–871b5); X 63.35c1–15 (Z 2:15.438a13–

- b9, R 110.875a13–b9). See a similar passages in *Beopjip jeoryo* (by Jinul), H 4.741b–747a (“Byeolhaeng-nok”).
- 268 Ibid.
- 269 *Shizi chengxi tu*, X 63.33c20–34a9 (Z 2:15.436b14–c9, R 110.871b14–872a9), “妄念本寂 塵境本空. 空寂之心 靈知不昧. 即此空寂寂知(=之心) 是前達磨所傳空寂心也. 任迷任悟 心本自知. 不藉緣生 不因境起 迷時煩惱 [亦+]知非煩惱 悟時神變 [亦知+]知非神變. 然知之一字 眾妙之源. . . 若得善友開示 頓悟空寂之知 (寂+)知且無念無形. 誰為我相人相. 覺諸相空 真心(=心自)無念. 念起即覺 覺之即無. 修行妙門 唯在此也. 故雖備修萬行 唯以無念為宗. . . 煩惱盡時 生死即絕. 生滅滅已 寂照現前 應用無窮 名之為佛”; *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.741b–c (“Byeolhaeng-nok”). * The Chinese characters in parentheses indicate additions or changes made in the *Beopjip Jeoryo* text; the square brackets indicate that some characters originally appearing in the *Shizi chengxi tu* are missing in the *Beopjip jeoryo* text.
- 270 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.745a (“Byeolhaeng-nok”), “但於珠不惑 則黑則無黑 黑即是珠. 諸色皆爾 即是有無自在.”
- 271 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.745b (“Byeolhaeng-nok”), “但云空寂知 一切攝盡.”
- 272 Ibid., “空者空却諸相 猶是遮遣之言. 寂是實性不變動義 不同空無也. 知是當體表現義 不同分別也.”
- 273 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.746a (“Byeolhaeng-nok”), “頓悟者 . . . 若遇善友 為說如上 不變隨緣性相體用之義 忽悟靈明知見 是自真心 心本恒寂 無邊無相 即是法身 身心不二 是為真我 即與諸佛 分毫不殊 故云頓也.”
- 274 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.746c (“Byeolhaeng-nok”), “次明漸修者 雖頓悟法身真心 全同諸佛 而多劫妄執 四大為我 習與成性 卒難頓除 故須依悟漸修 損之又損 乃至無損(為) 即名成佛 非此心外 有佛可成也.”
- 275 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.746c–47a (“Byeolhaeng-nok”), “如水被風激 成多波浪 便有漂溺之殃 惑陰寒之氣 結成冰凌 即阻漑滌之用. 然水之濕性 雖動靜凝流 而未嘗變易. . . 今頓悟本心 常知 如識不變之濕性. 心既無迷 即非無明. 如風頓止 悟後自然攀緣漸息 如波浪漸停.”
- 276 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.750a (“Sagi”), “如荷澤宗云 若遇善友開示 頓悟空寂之知 知且無念無形 誰為我相人相 覺諸相空 心自無念 念起即覺 覺之即無 修行妙門 唯在此也(但體達之無 非斷滅之無) 此正是悟後無念修也 又云雖備修萬行 唯以無念為宗 但得無念 則愛惡自然淡薄 悲智自然增明 乃至應用無窮 名之為佛.”
- 277 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.749b (“Sagi”), “但其中(清涼所明)頓悟漸修 與此錄中所立 名目全同 而義勢全別.”
- 278 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.747b–c (“Sagi”), “然其所悟 或言心體離念 本性清淨 不生不滅 多約漸也. 或云無住空寂 真知絕相 或即心即佛 非心非佛 多屬頓門. . .

- . 若明能悟 入法千門 不離定慧故. . . 無定無慧 是狂是愚. 偏修一門 是漸是近. 若並運雙寂 方為正門 成兩足尊 非此不可. 若言不起 心為修道 定為門也. 若云看心觀心 求心融心 慧為門也. 若云無念無修 拂迹顯理 定為門也. . . 若云寂照 此通二義. 一令知其觸目為道 即慧門也. 二令心無所當 則定門也. 餘可類知不出定慧.”* The original manuscript adds parenthetical explanations to the two phrases “what leads one to attain enlightenment” and “what one is enlightened to.” Their positions should be switched, however. The translator thus makes corrections to the manuscript.
- 279 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.748b (“Sagi”), “頓宗所修定慧 即自性中二義 無能所觀. 但自悟修行故 無先後. 無先後故 無動靜. 無動靜故 無法我. 無法我故 可謂稱真之行矣. 如是修行 方為正門 成兩足尊. 非認名執相之流 所見所行也.”
- 280 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.741a (“Sagi”), “荷澤神會 是知解宗師. 雖未為曹溪嫡子 然悟解高明 決擇了然.”
- 281 *Moguja susim-gyeol* 牧牛子修心訣, H 4.711c, “入理千門 莫非定慧. 取其綱要 則自性上體用二義 前所謂 空寂靈知是也. 定是體 慧是用也. 即體之用故 慧不離定. 即用之體故 定不離慧. 定則慧故 寂而常知. 慧則定故 知而常寂. . . 若悟如是 任運寂知 遮照無二 則是為頓門箇者 雙修定慧也.”
- 282 Although the *Beopjip jeoryo* (H 4.748c) has a corresponding passage, this is not included in the main text but in the “Private Notes” (“Sagi” 私記) part.
- 283 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.747c–48c (“Sagi”).
- 284 *Moguja susim-gyeol*, H 4.712a, “若言先以寂寂 治於緣慮 後以惺惺 治於昏住 先後對治 均調昏亂 以入於靜者 是為漸門劣機所行也”; *Beopjip jeoryo* H 4.748a–b (Sagi), “學道之人 作意 莫言先定發慧. 先慧發定 作此見者 法有二相. 又云自悟修行 不在於靜. 若靜先後 即是迷人 不斷勝負 却生法我. 不離四相 故知漸宗. 雖云惺寂等持 以二義屬 功行門故 有先後漸次. 亦是取靜為行 故不離法愛人我之相.”
- 285 *Moguja susim-gyeol*, H 4.712b–3b; *Gwonsu Jeonghye gyeolsa-mun* 勸修定慧結社文, H 4.701b–c, etc.
- 286 *Wondon seongbul-lon* 圓頓成佛論, H 4.728a–b, “故纔聞禪者 說即心即佛 以謂不過性淨佛也. . . 是以禪門 只貴破執現宗 不貴繁辭義理施設故. 所有破執 言句 近於一分理性 離言絕慮之義. 味者不知其義 每將相似語例 便謂同於頓教”; H 4.729b, “味者徒標圓教無障礙法界曰 禪者所論不過起信中 隨染性淨之義 亦不過一分理性 離言絕相之義.”
- 287 *Hwaeom-non jeoryo* 華嚴論節要 (by Jinul), “Preface” (序), H 4.767c, “遂往問講者 對曰 當觀事事無碍 隨而誡之曰 汝若但觀自心 不觀事事無碍 即失佛果圓德.”
- 288 See chapter 3, section B, subsection iii; section C, subsections iii, iv of this book.
- 289 As for the “habit–energy,” the *Cheng weishi lun* gives the following explanation.

- Cheng weishi lun*, fasc. 8, T 31.43a14–16, “此(業)雖纔起無間即滅 無義能招當異熟果 而熏本識起自功能 即此功能說為習氣 是業氣分熏習所成 簡曾現業故名習氣。” (Even though this [action] just occurs and immediately perishes and there is no object that can bring about the ripening fruits in the future, yet it permeates the fundamental consciousness (Skt. *ālayavijñāna*) and generates its own powers, and these powers are called “habit-energy” because they are accomplished by the permeation of the powers of that action. It is called the habit-energy because it is to be distinguished from the past and present karmas.) Both Zongmi and Jinul emphasized that one should attain sudden enlightenment and gradually cultivate oneself in order to eliminate these habit-energies. See *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.746c; *Moguja susim-gyeol*, H 4.709c–710a, etc.
- 290 Koh Ikjin, “Silla hadae ui Seon jeollae,” 57–59.
- 291 *Wondon seongbul-lon*, H 4.728b–c; *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron* 看話決疑論, H 4.734b.
- 292 *Hwaeom-non jeoryo*, “Preface,” H 4.767c.
- 293 *Hwaeom-non jeoryo*, fasc. 2, H 4.825b–c, “此經信心 應當如是 直信自心分別之性 是法界性中根本不動智佛 金色世界 是自心無染之理 文殊師利 是自心善簡擇妙慧 覺首目首等菩薩 是隨信心中 理智現前 以信因中 契諸佛果法 分毫不謬 方成信心。” A passage with the same meaning is also found in “Preface” (H 4.767c–68a).
- 294 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (trans. Sikṣānanda), fasc. 12, “Names of the Buddhas” chapter (如來名號品), T 10.58a–c.
- 295 *Hwaeom-non jeoryo*, fasc. 2, “Jinul’s Remark” (放牛子曰), H 4.823a.
- 296 *Ibid.*
- 297 *Hwaeom-non jeoryo*, “Preface,” H 4.768a, “又云從凡入十信難者 摠自認是凡夫 不肯認自心是不動之佛故。”
- 298 *Hwaeom-non jeoryo*, fasc. 2, “Jinul’s Remark,” H 4.823b, “又三乘中 說十信位 內 有進有退. 於中若有利根懃精進者 經一二劫 得入住位. 如本業經說 若其鈍根懃精進者 滿十千劫 方入住位. 如仁王經說 極速不減一劫 極遲不過萬劫 於中隨根 增減可知.”
- 299 *Hwaeom-non jeoryo*, fasc. 2, “Jinul’s Remark,” H 4.823c, “此實教中 發信心者 以自心根本無明分別之種 便為諸佛不動智故. 但以才堪見實 即得不論劫量故. 此教信位 明其佛退. 如此論下文所明.”
- 300 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.752a (“Sagi”), “又依華嚴論所說 信初明三覺義 是解悟 住初入位 明證悟.”
- 301 *Hwaeom-non jeoryo*, fasc. 3, “Jinul’s Remark,” H 4.868a, “審此論所明 三乘佛果 在十地之後 一乘佛果 在十信初心. 若約入住位言之 在初發心住. 若入十信初心 任運至十住初心. 若入住初 任運至究竟位.”
- 302 *Wondon seongbul-lon*, H 4.724c, “所言不動智 亦是根本普光明智 當此根本智

名之爲諸佛果智也。”

- 303 *Wondon seongbul-lon*, H 4.724a, “此中不動智佛果 是本覺理佛耶? 是新成事佛耶? 清涼祖師 依性起品 佛智在衆生心之義 立三. 復次 一 生生自有(取始教中 四智菩提種子 起信中 隨染性淨之義 據義高判也) 二 當果自有(衆生當來 所得佛果 三世融攝故 在無明心中) 三 他果在我(衆生本覺 與佛本覺一體故 盧舍那佛智 隨理普遍 在不修衆生 生滅八識之心 作因作果 是謂事事無碍也). 如是三義中 當於何義耶?”; H 4.724c, “問今言修心人 返照不動智佛 是本覺理佛耶? 是已成果智佛耶? 若約果智論 則雖他果自果有殊 須以圓融門隨理普遍之義論之 亦以三世融攝之義論之. 若約行布門則已成果智 盧舍那佛 與縛地位中 不修衆生 云何混濫耶?” etc.
- 304 *Wondon seongbul-lon*, H 4.724c, “此根本智 是理事性相生佛 自他染淨因果之體性故 非單取隨染流轉中 不失性淨之理也.”
- 305 *Wondon seongbul-lon*, H 4.731c, “以智體本具三大故 非但性淨本覺理佛也. 以智體本無十世遠近延促故 非當果攝在也. 以根本智 是自心之佛故 非他果在我也. 故知賢首清涼所辨性起品中 佛智在衆生心之義 與長者論之旨稍異也. 然若約緣起門中融攝之義論 則以衆生今日悟解普光明智中 生佛圓融故 謂他果在我亦得. 十世圓融故 謂當果自有亦得. 以有隨染性淨故 謂生生自有亦得.”
- 306 *Wondon seongbul-lon*, H 4.731c, “此根本普光明智佛果 是生佛之體故 理事性相善惡染淨 俱圓俱泯. 如曉公所立一大法身佛也.”
- 307 *Wondon seongbul-lon*, H 4.731c, “然今日頓悟普光明智佛 非約圓融行布緣起門之所論. 以法界證處 果豈預談? 此中所論悟者 非先修而後悟故 是解悟也”; *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.752a (“Sagi”), “此門有二意 若因悟而修 即是解悟. 若因修而悟 即是證悟.”
- 308 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.757a (“Sagi”), “今之所明空寂靈知 雖非分別之識 亦非證悟之智 然亦能生識之與智 或凡或聖 造善造惡 順違之用 勢變萬端.”
- 309 *Hwaeom-non jeoryo*, fasc. 2, H 4.825c, “從此信已 以定慧進修經歷十住十行十廻向十地十一地.”
- 310 *Hwaeom-non jeoryo*, “Preface,” H 4.767c.
- 311 *Hwaeom-non jeoryo*, “Preface,” H 4.768a, “於是置卷長歎曰 世尊說之於口 即爲教. 祖師傳之於心 卽爲禪. 佛祖心口 必不相違. 豈可不窮根源 而各安所習 妄興諍論 虛喪天日耶?”
- 312 *Ibid.*
- 313 *Wondon seongbul-lon*, H 4.724a, “今時修心人 先以自心日用無明分別之種 便爲諸佛不動智然後 依性修禪 方爲妙爾.”
- 314 See chapter 3, section D, subsections iv, v, vi of this book.
- 315 *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.733b, “汝豈不見? 圓覺經云 若復有人 勞慮永斷 得法界淨. 卽被淨解 爲自障礙. 故於圓覺 而不自在. 得法界淨者 亦爲解碍. 況今

學者將情識卜度緣起無碍。豈爲解脫知見耶？”

- 316 *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.732c–33a, “然此義理 雖最圓妙 摠是識情聞解”; H 4.733a, “然以有語路義路聞解思想故。”
- 317 *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.732c, “所言十種病(華嚴法界緣起)以求證悟之心爲本。”
- 318 *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.732c, “故徑山大慧禪師亦云 平昔知見多 以求證悟之心 在前作障故 自己正知見 不能現前。”
- 319 *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.733a, “然話頭無字 如一團火 近之則燎却面門故 無佛法知解措着之處 所以云 此無字 破惡知惡解底器仗也。”
- 320 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.748b–c (“Sagi”), “禪門又有修定慧外 無心合道門 略錄于此 令學教者 知格外一門。”
- 321 Linji’s three phrases are: (1) “The seal of the three essentials being lifted, the vermilion impression is sharp. With no room for speculation, host and guest are clear and distinct” (三要印開朱點[窄]側 未容擬議主賓分); (2) “How could Mañjuśrī permit Wuzhuo’s questioning? How could the *upāya* go against the activity that cuts through the stream?” (妙解豈容無著問 漚和爭負截流機); (3) “Look at the wooden puppets performing on the stage! Their jumps and jerks all depend upon the person behind” (看取棚頭弄傀儡 抽牽都來裏有人). See *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* 鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄, fasc. 1 (T 47.497a15–19). In this recorded saying of Linji, he continues to say, “Each phrase must comprise the gates of the three profundities, and the gate of each profundity must comprise the three essentials. There are expedients and there is functioning” (一句語須具三玄門 一玄門須具三要 有權有用) (T 47.497a19–20). The *Seonmun gangyo-jip* 禪門綱要集 [A Collection of the Essentials of the Seon School] of unknown authorship provides a detailed scrutinization of Linji’s three phrases, three profundities, and three essentials. *The above English translation of the passage cited is based on Ruth Fuller Sasaki, trans., *The record of Linji*, ed. Thomas Yuhu Kirchner (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 144–48.
- 322 *Wondon seongbul-lon*, H 4.728b; *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.733a.
- 323 *Wondon seongbul-lon*, H 4.728b; *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.734b.
- 324 *Wondon seongbul-lon*, H 4.728b–c; *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.734b–c.
- 325 *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.734c, “所以云三玄施設 本由遺病。若望上祖初宗 卽未可”; *Wondon seongbul-lun*, H 4.728c (interlinear note), “此中三玄 雖非臨際本意 且順古師之意 明之。”
- 326 *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.734c.
- 327 *Ibid.*
- 328 *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.734b–c.

- 329 *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.733b, “話頭知微 但提撕做工夫者 都無全提之解. 況有破病之念 埋沒密旨耶? 纔擬一念 全提破病之解 便落意根下卜度之病. 豈爲叅詳活句者耶?”
- 330 *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.734c–35a, “然今所宗徑山大慧和尚 . . . 所立徑截門 語句 叅詳得入 迥異於此. 何者? 宗師所示 庭前栢樹子 麻三斤 狗子無佛性等 話頭 都無端的所示之法. 但給沒滋味無摸底話頭然後 隨而誡之曰. . . 但只以所疑底話頭提撕.”
- 331 *Ganhwa gyeorui-ron*, H 4.735a, “如僧問趙州 狗子還有佛性也無. 州云無. 只管提撕舉覺. 左來也不是 右來也不是. 不得作有無會. 不得作真無之無卜度. 不得作道理會. 不得向意根下思量卜度. 不得向揚眉瞬目處捺根. 不得向語路上作計. 不得颺在無事甲裏. 不得向舉起處承當. 不得文字中引證. 不得將迷待悟. 直須無所用心. 心無所之時 莫怕落空. 這裏却是好處. 驀然老鼠入牛角. 便見倒斷也. . . 但提撕舉覺而已. . . 才有一念 佛法知解 便滯在十種知解之病故. 一一放下 亦無放下不放下. . . 忽然於沒滋味無摸底話頭上 噴地一發 則一心法界 洞然明白.”
- 332 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.765c, “但舉話頭時 略抖擻精神 看是箇甚麼道理.”
- 333 *Dongmun-seon* 東文選, fasc. 117, “Inscription of Bojo” (普照碑).
- 334 *Beopjip jeoryo*, H 4.766a.
- 335 *Seonmun yeomsong-jip* 禪門拈頌集, “Preface” (序), H 5.1a; *Guja mu bulseong hwa ganbyeong-non* 狗子無佛性話揀病論, H 6.69b–70c.

4. Buddhist Ethics and Korean Society

A

Ethical Doctrines of Buddhism

i. Wholesome Karma and Unwholesome Karma

This chapter aims at presenting a succinct but systematic description of the overall doctrines of Buddhist ethics. It will then examine the ethical elements which came to be rooted in Korean society to the present-day and their significance in the present era.

Human beings have been surrounded and influenced by the natural environment. Ancient people were much more heavily influenced by nature, and a religious version of the master-slave relationship between man and nature came to be established. This led to the deification of nature's strong control and the appearance of many nature deities. Of those nature deities, the supreme status was occupied by the heavenly lord called "Haneul-im" 하늘임 in Korean. The concept of Haneul-im came to be further developed into a monotheist notion that presupposes a being who creates and controls the world. If this notion is further advanced, a pantheist notion appears in which the god is identified as the essence of the cosmos. When Buddhism arose (sixth century BCE), Brahmanism—the orthodox religion in India—was developing its theological systems that featured at least the abovementioned notions of deities.¹ It was also preaching religious rituals and ethics for practice to the people based on the abovementioned fundamental principle.

Gotama Buddha (sixth to fifth century BCE), however, would not accept those traditional religious ideas as they were. If an absolute deity called Brahman (Beom [Ch. Fan] 梵) created and controls the cosmos, we should then consider a human deed, whether it is good or bad, to be caused by the god's will. But for what reason would the god put responsibility of the deed on humans and praise or punish them? And if the cosmos were so created, humans would not wish to live well or need to make efforts. Yet, it is evident that we have a desire to live well

and strenuously try to achieve that goal. How should we interpret this undeniable historical fact?²

Therefore, we need to think about this problem more cautiously. We should not follow the traditional doctrines without asking questions. To make a more deliberate judgement, we have no choice but to return to our original abode, or the real world. We are thus led to think about the problem right from the beginning. Then, what we cannot overlook in the real world is the fact (*je* [Ch. *dī*] 諦, Skt. *satya*) that we humans have a free will but nature does not. Things such as mountains, rivers, grass, trees, wind, clouds, thunder, rain, the sun, the moon, stars, and constellations are just natural objects that do not have a will, though they are exerting great influence on humans. It was an error from the beginning to apotheosize them by giving them spiritual attributes such as will.

From this critical viewpoint, the Buddha declared that “all things are subsumed under the twelve categories of six faculties (*yukgeun* [Ch. *liugen*]; 六根, Skt. *ṣaḍindriya*) and six spheres [or sense-objects] (*yukgyeong* [Ch. *liujing*] 六境, Skt. *ṣaḍ viśayā*).”³ This theory is called the doctrine of twelve bases (*sibi cheo* [Ch. *shi'er chu*] 十二處, Skt. *dvādaśāyatana*), and it represents the most basic worldview. Of the twelve, the first six are the organs for perception and the next six are the objects of perception. In this respect, it is evident that they refer to the human-centered real world as it is perceived by humans. Here, it is noteworthy that this worldview identifies the human sovereignty as the sixth faculty, mind or will (*ui* [Ch. *yi*] 意, Skt. *manas*) and its object as “dharma” (*beop* [Ch. *fa*] 法). The word “dharma” denotes an unintentional natural object or a law with regularity.⁴ If this is the case, it can be said that this view overturns the traditional worldview of Brahmanism at its foundational level. For Brahmanism is based on the view that humans are controlled by nature (which later developed into the pantheist god Brahma).

Furthermore, the Buddha points out that there is nothing permanent in those twelve bases.⁵ For all things, humans included, are in the fleeting process of arising, abiding, changing, and perishing

(*saengju imyeol* [Ch. *shengzhu yimie*] 生住異滅). What is fleetingly changing or impermanent is suffering. And what is suffering cannot be regarded as a “real self” (Skt. *ātman*). For the concept “self” refers to an unchanging subject (characterized by permanence, uniqueness, and control). These three attributes that characterizes everything are called the three dharma seals (*sam beobin* [Ch. *san fayin*] 三法印, Skt. *tridṛṣṭinimittamudrā*) in Buddhism. The following passage appears innumerable times in the *Āgamas*: “Everything is impermanent. What is impermanent (*musang* [Ch. *wuchang*] 無常, Skt. *anitya*) is suffering (*go* [Ch. *ku*] 苦, Skt. *duḥkha*). What is suffering is not self (*bia* [Ch. *feiwo*] 非我, Skt. *anatman*).”⁶ Besides the doctrine of twelve bases, this doctrine of three dharma seals is an element that constitutes the most fundamental worldview of Buddhism.

1) Principles in the Doctrine of Karma

Based on this worldview, ethical doctrines of Buddhism are presented. Although everything is impermanent and characterized by suffering, and cannot be considered the self, humans would not acknowledge this evident fact. They would adamantly see everything as permanent, pleasant, and the self. This is, however, an inverted thought (*jeondo mangsang* [Ch. *zhuandao wangxiang*] 轉倒妄想) diametrically opposed to the reality. It is for this reason that Buddhism emphasizes anew the doctrine of three dharma seals. In that inverted thought, however, humans are continuously making activities to maintain the individual self. The Buddhist term “karma” refers precisely to these willful activities of human beings.

What kind of results would these willful human activities bring about? We can say that the primary objects (as six spheres) the subject of a human (with six faculties) faces are nature (as a dharma). Since this nature is devoid of will, if it receives the willful activities (as a cause [*in* (Ch. *yin*) 因, Skt. *hetu*]) [from the human agent], it will necessarily show a natural response (as an effect [*gwa* (Ch. *guo*) 果, Skt. *phala*]) that corresponds to that cause. Here, we need to recall that the doctrine of twelve bases defines the sixth sphere as dharma (i.e., an unwilful object).

Therefore, in this case (that discusses the relation between humans and nature) we can say that human activity (karma as a cause) is necessarily followed by its corresponding effect. Such a necessary effect is called retribution or consequence (*bo* [Ch. *bao*] 報, Skt. *vipāka*).

But the objects a human deals with include not only natural things but also other humans. What can be said of the relation between human beings? Can we still say that every karmic cause is followed by a necessary consequence (*gwabo* [Ch. *guobao*] 果報)? We may not be able to make a uniform conclusion here. For since the two agents involved have their own will, even if one receives any influences from the other, we cannot guarantee that the former will make an action that necessarily corresponds to the latter's [willful action]. However, even in this relation between humans we can find that a sort of regularity obtains, though it is not a law of causality that can be compared to the natural law.

Now, let us make a more concrete observation. All humans have a free will, but the directions and goals of their deeds cannot differ. For all humans are the same in that they try to maintain their individual self with what is impermanent, suffering, and cannot be considered self (as preached by the doctrine of three dharma seals). Therefore, if a person acts only for his or her benefit, the others will certainly go against this person; if this person acts for the benefit of all the people, they will be sure to comply with this person. In this respect, it can be said that a deed made only for the agent is "unwholesome" (*ak* [Ch. *e*] 惡, Skt. *akuśala*) and that a deed made both for the agent and others is "wholesome" (*seon* [Ch. *shan*] 善, Skt. *kuśala*). If so, we can say that an unwholesome deed is followed by an unpleasant consequence and that a wholesome deed is followed by a pleasant consequence. For an unwholesome deed is rejected by others and it is thus difficult to accomplish its original intention, thereby bringing about suffering; a wholesome deed, by contrast, results in others complying with the agent and is thus easy to accomplish its original intention, thereby bringing about pleasure.

Therefore, we can say that a sort of regularity is also established

between human beings. Of course, this regularity has a different characteristic from the law of causality that applies to the relation between a human and nature and resembles the natural law. The “dharma,” defined as an object of human [perception] by the doctrine of twelve bases, encompasses that which the natural law applies to as well as that which has this ethical nature.

If the relation between a deed (karma) and its consequence has a regularity, we may be able to give a coherent explanation to all the phenomena we meet in the world. But this is not the case. Most phenomena could be explained by this law, but a certain phenomenon, the origin of which we cannot be sure, still appears. For instance, however hard we may think about the appearance and perishing of the cosmos, it is difficult to attribute it to the power of human deeds. It would be plausible to think that after the arising of the cosmos living beings appeared and evolved in it. In human society, too, we see that a good person does not necessarily live a pleasant life and that an evil person does not necessarily live a hard life. How should we interpret these mysterious phenomena?

Do we have to attribute such phenomena to a god’s will as in Brahmanism? Or should we attribute it to the fate or coincidence just like the six heretics?⁷ To be honest, in explaining such marvelous phenomena, their theories are more appealing than the Buddhist doctrine of karma. But if we adopt their doctrines, the phenomena of universal karmic causes and retributions, which we have examined above, will pose a new problem to us. For the doctrines that attribute everything to a god’s intention, one’s destined fate, or a mere coincidence are not compatible with the doctrine of karma. Even if they are compatible with it, the latter cannot be the ultimate truth.

How can we solve this dilemma? When the two positions cannot coexist, we have then no other way but to discern the two and choose one of them. Then, it should be the doctrine of karma that we cannot relinquish. We clearly recognize that we, as human beings, have a will and that there exists a causal relation between our deed and its consequence. But other purported causes such as the god, fate and

coincidence just remain simple guess work, and their authenticity is beyond the reach of human capabilities. Besides, it is without doubt that the natural objects do not have a will.

If we adopt the doctrine of karma, how should we think about those mysterious phenomena that posed a problem to us in the foregoing discussion? For the moment, we have no choice but to consider them to be phenomena that exemplify the relation of karma and its consequence. If we regard them as phenomena of karmic cause and retribution, then they can be analyzed into the following two cases. The first is the case in which the consequence is now recognized but the karmic cause is not yet discovered. The second is the case in which the karmic cause is now recognized but its consequence is not yet discovered. Since we have not discovered this karmic cause or its consequence, we have found such a case marvelous and just attributed it to the god's will, fate, or coincidence.

The problem would be solved easily, then. In the first of the two cases presented above, we cannot but consider the karmic cause to exist temporally prior to the present time. In the second case, we cannot but think that the karmic consequence exists temporally posterior to the present time. A period prior to the present time can be called previous lifetime (*sukse* [Ch. *sushi*] 宿世, Skt. *pūrvajanman*); a period posterior to the present time can be called next life (*naese* [Ch. *laishi*] 來世, Skt. *agāgatādhvan*). Then, we can now see that the causal relation between karma and its consequence is operating through the three time periods of past, present, and future. This doctrine of cause and effect in the three time periods (*samse in'gwa* [Ch. *sanshi yin'guo*] 三世因果) must be a sort of hypothesis like a Brahmanist theory or the six heretics' doctrines. But this doctrine is much more reasonable than the doctrine of the god's will, fatalism, accidentalism, etc. Moreover, its validity is founded on the evident facts and phenomena in the real world. Therefore, we can acknowledge its veracity. The Buddha thus awakens us by saying, "If someone produces karma intentionally, he or she will necessarily receive its retribution—in the present time or in the next lifetime."⁸

2) The Doctrine of Ten Deeds

If causality of karma and its retribution is operating through the three time periods, we can thereby give a coherent explanation of all phenomena in the world. Any being with a will, not restricted to humans, is called a living or sentient being (*jungsaeng* [Ch. *zhongsheng*] 衆生, Skt. *sattva*). These living beings give rise to karma and receive its retribution, transmigrating in the realm of birth and death (*yunhoe* [Ch. *linhui*] 輪廻 or *yujeon* [Ch. *liuzhuan*] 流轉, Skt. *saṃsāra*) in accordance with either good or bad karmic deeds. The cosmos is also repeating the process of forming, existing, decaying, and disappearing (*seongju goegong* [Ch. *chengzhu huaikong*] 成住壞空) by the power of the collective karma (*gongyeop* [Ch. *gongye*] 共業, Skt. *sādhāraṇakarman*) of all sentient beings. We do not need to have the god or fate intervene in that process. In this view, one's good and bad fortune as well as weal and woe are only the consequence of one's deeds. Therefore, we should say that enlightenment to the cause and result in the three time periods is the most trustworthy way of human behavior that could overcome the trouble and bring about happiness.

Sentient beings who do not have such an awakening, however, are covered by darkness and continuously wander about. We can call such delusion darkness of mind (*chiam* [Ch. *chi'an*] 癡暗, Skt. *moha*). Because of this darkness sentient beings arouse vain desire (*yoktam* [Ch. *yutan*] 欲貪, Skt. *rāga*) and hatred (*jine* [Ch. *chenhui*] 瞋恚, Skt. *dveṣa*). Since the three elements of darkness, desire, and hatred (or anger) are the inner behaviors in one's intention that lead to the external behaviors, they can be called intentional deeds (*uieop* [Ch. *yiye*] 意業, Skt. *manaskarman*). External behaviors that are based on these intentional deeds are broadly divided into bodily actions (*sineop* [Ch. *shenye*] 身業, Skt. *kāyakarman*) and speech actions (*gueop* [Ch. *kouye*] 口業, Skt. *vākkarman*). Among the former, the three behaviors of killing (殺生), stealing (偷盜), and sexual debauchery (邪淫) are prominent; among the latter, the four behaviors of lying (妄語), divisive speech (兩舌), ill words (惡口), and meaningless chatter (綺語) are prominent.⁹ These ten deeds are called the ten unwholesome deeds (*sip ageop* [Ch.

shi eye] 十惡業). Wholesome deeds are no more than negations of these ten unwholesome deeds (*sip seoneop* [Ch. *shi shanye*] 十善業). Therefore, each of the ten wholesome deeds is represented by adding to each of the unwholesome deeds a negative prefix *bul* (Ch. *bu*) 不, meaning “Do not.”¹⁰

An unwholesome deed is followed by an unpleasant retribution; a wholesome deed is followed by a pleasant reward. If such a consequence is not given in the present lifetime, it will necessarily be given in next lifetime. Buddhism further represents the retributions of the next lifetime as the five paths (*odo* [Ch. *wudao*] 五道, Skt. *gatipañcaka*): (1) heavenly deity (*cheonsin* [Ch. *tianshen*] 天神, Skt. *deva*), (2) human being (*in'gan* [Ch. *renjian*] 人間, Skt. *manuṣya*), (3) hungry ghost (*agwi* [Ch. *egui*] 餓鬼, Skt. *preta*), (4) animal (*chuksaeng* [Ch. *chusheng*] 畜生), and (5) hell denizen (*jiok* [Ch. *diyu*] 地獄) (or as the six paths [*yukdo* [Ch. *liudao*] 六道] by adding *asura* [Ch. *xiuluo*] 修羅).¹¹ Here, the existence of the heavenly deity, whose status has been ambiguous so far, is now identified as a [celestial] body one receives as a reward of one's wholesome deeds. If this is the case, there is nothing that has a greater value of life than the wholesome deeds one does spontaneously. This is what the Buddhist doctrine of karma intends to demonstrate. It can be said that this position, which grounds the judgement and practice of good and evil on human autonomy, differ considerably from the ethical philosophy of the other religions, which finds the origin of good in the heaven.

3) Four Immeasurable Minds

Now, seen from the above perspective, we should have a renewed perception of the existence of “others.” Others are not my opponents in the competition for survival but my companions, absolutely necessary for my comfort. Therefore, if I love myself, I must give others more love than I give to myself. Buddhism refers to this love as “loving kindness” (*ja* [Ch. *ji*] 慈, Skt. *maitrī*) and its original Sanskrit word means “friendship.” For this love makes one accept others as one's true friends. Such love will be accompanied by the compassion (*bi* [Ch. *fēi*] 悲, Skt.

karuṇā) that feels sad for others' suffering just as for my own suffering, the joy (*hui* [Ch. *xi*] 喜, Skt. *muditā*) that takes my own pleasure in other's pleasure, and the impartiality (*sa* [Ch. *she*] 捨, Skt. *upekṣa*) that does not lose my composure even if others do not acknowledge my intent.

These four minds of friendship (loving kindness), compassion, joy, and impartiality should spread to all sentient beings without being restricted to a few people. For once the doctrine of transmigration along the six paths has been presented, all sentient beings come to be [understood as] ethically interrelated. Therefore, these four minds are called "four immeasurable minds" (*sa muryang sim* [Ch. *si wuliang xin*] 四無量心, Skt. *catvāryapramāṇāni*) and are frequently mentioned together with the doctrine of karma.¹² It goes without saying that of the four minds the fundamental friendship, or love has been especially highlighted. This infinite love for others is worthy of comparison with the Confucian notion of benevolence (*in* [Ch. *ren*] 仁) and the Christian concept of love (agape).

4) Observing the Precepts and Giving

As stated above, the negations of the ten unwholesome deeds are themselves the ten wholesome deeds. Of the ten unwholesome deeds, what is especially problematic in society is the three unwholesome deeds of the body (killing, stealing, and sexual debauchery). For these are the external behaviors that could do direct harm to others. The four behaviors that are verbally unwholesome (lying, divisive speech, ill words, and meaningless chatter) may be seen as harmful in the second place, but they can also be represented by one item of lying. For a divisive speech, ill words, and meaningless chatter are also a sort of ludicrous remarks (*mangeon* [Ch. *wangyan*] 妄言). Besides, although it is not included in the list of unwholesome deeds, the consumption of alcohol (*eumju* [Ch. *yinjju*] 飲酒) is also a socially problematic dietary habit. Therefore, Buddhism establishes the five basic precepts (*ogye* [Ch. *wujie*] 五戒) by adding to the abovementioned four precepts another precept prohibiting this behavior ("Do not drink alcohol").¹³ "Precept"

(Skt. *śīla*) thus means the norms any member of society should learn and keep. In addition [to this set of five precepts], the Buddhist system of precepts has the eight purifying precepts (*pal jaegye* [Ch. *ba zhaijie*] 八齋戒), the ten precepts (*sipgye* [Ch. *shijie*] 十戒), etc. For the *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs* who renounce household life are arranged [monastic codes such as] the 250 precepts (applicable to *bhikṣus*), the 348 precepts (applicable to *bhikṣuṇīs*), etc. These rules are composed of the more coercive four grave precepts (*sa junggye* [Ch. *si zhongjie*] 四重戒)—prohibiting sexual debauchery, stealing, killing, and lying—and other minor precepts (*gyeonggye* [Ch. *qingjie*] 輕戒).¹⁴ But they are all based on the abovementioned five precepts.

Yet, a simple negation of an unwholesome deed, even if it is intensified in the form of monastic code, cannot avoid passiveness. A truly good deed should proceed further and take on active positiveness. In what fashion do the early scriptures describe such positive good deeds? Here, we cannot but pay attention to the *dāna* (*bosi* [Ch. *pushi*] 布施) which is incessantly emphasized together with the receiving and observing (*suji* [Ch. *shouzhi*] 受持) of the precepts in the *Āgamas*. *Dāna* is a behavior that gives something to others unsparingly. Therefore, we may say that its spiritual foundation is the four immeasurable minds. Loving kindness, the fundamental element of the four immeasurable minds, is that which gives affection to others more than to oneself. For this reason, such a mind will take on the outer form of *dāna* or unsparing giving.

Since *dāna* is a deed of giving, it involves the three components of receiver (*suja* [Ch. *shouzhe*] 受者), gift (*simul* [Ch. *shiwu*] 施物), and giver (*sija* [Ch. *shizhe*] 施者). Of these, a gift can be represented as a material wealth—when this is given, it is called giving of wealth (*jaesi* [Ch. *caishi*] 財施).¹⁵ But we can say that giving an ignorant person a correct dharma is also important *dāna*—this is called giving of dharma (*beopsi* [Ch. *fashi*] 法施).¹⁶ A “receiver” who receives this gift usually refers to the samgha (*seungga* [Ch. *sengjia*] 僧伽) that is composed of those devoted to practice; since it produces infinite merits (*bok* [Ch. *fu*] 福), it is also called the field of merit (*bokjeon* [Ch. *futian*] 福田, Skt.

punyaḥśetra). From the fundamental perspective of *dāna*, however, the scope of receivers cannot be restricted to the samgha.¹⁷ The object of giving or the receivers should be expanded to all sentient beings. Therefore, the concept of the field of merit expands from the three jewels (*sambo* [Ch. *sanbao*] 三寶, Skt. *triratna*) to the poor and the ill, and later even to the animals.¹⁸

As examined above, [practitioners of] *dāna* regard all sentient beings as their true friends and this deed naturally comes from their heartfelt friendship (or loving kindness). Therefore, it is a due order that this friendship is accompanied by behaviors such as giving kind words (*aeo* [Ch. *aiyu*] 愛語, Skt. *priyavacana*), making beneficial conduct (*ibaeng* [Ch. *lixing*] 利行, Skt. *arthakṛtya*), and working together (*dongsa* [Ch. *tongshi*] 同事, Skt. *samānārthata*). This will then lead to our being bound by a close friendship and conducting wholesome deeds together. These four deeds of giving, kind words, beneficial conduct, and working together are called the four means of conversion (*sa seopbeop* [Ch. *si shefa*] 四攝法, Skt. **catuḥsaṃgrahavastu*), and presented also as important ethical virtues.¹⁹

As seen above, *dāna* (giving) and *śīla* (precepts) are taught as the most active wholesome deeds in the Buddhist doctrine of karma. These two are the karmic causes for being born as a heavenly god after one's death. Such deities as the heavenly lord (Haneul-im, Skt. *devānām indra*) or Brahma, an object of religious faith in Brahmanism, are also said to have practiced *dāna*²⁰ and cultivated the four immeasurable minds respectively when they were human beings, thereby receiving such [pleasurable] karmic consequence.²¹ Moreover, it is said that all the buddhas in the three times preach the teachings in the order of (1) *dāna*, (2) observance of precepts, and (3) heavenly deities.²² It is also said that sons of the Buddha should first bear in their mind the six objects of (1) Buddha, (2) teachings, (3) samgha, (4) observance of precepts, (5) *dāna*, and (6) heavenly deities.²³

5) Benefactors and Ethics for Special Relations

The above doctrine that teaches one should be enlightened to the

principle of cause and effect in the three time periods, practice the ten wholesome deeds on the basis of this enlightenment, and conduct *dāna* and *śīla* with the four immeasurable minds can be considered a universal ethics that sees all sentient beings as being equal. Then, does Buddhism only teach this universal ethics without presenting any specific social ethics like the Confucian virtues for the five cardinal human relations (*oryun* [Ch. *wulun*] 五倫: parents and offspring, ruler and subjects, husband and wife, elder and younger siblings, and between friends)? No! Humans cannot receive life without their parents and cannot live separately from society. Therefore, they cannot but form special relations with their affiliated groups and fight for these groups and against the foreign enemies, thus committing killing. How could we disregard these specific social aspects?

As is well known, the *sutta* entitled “Advice to Sigālaka” (*Shanshengjing* 善生經, Pā. *Siṅgālovāda-suttanta*) is a representative scripture that teaches specific social ethics in the *Āgamas*.²⁴ In this scripture are enumerated the six relations of (1) parents and offspring, (2) teacher and disciple, (3) wife and husband, (4) siblings and oneself, (5) slave and master, and (6) *śramaṇa* (mendicant) and [lay] believer. Each of these six relations are correlated with a set of five obligations and those involved are given a detailed teaching that they should venerate and love each other.²⁵ Compared with the five cardinal relations of Confucianism, these six relations [of Buddhism] seem to lack the ethics for those in the relation of ruler and subjects and among friends. But the *Āgamas* highlight an ideal ruler called the wheel-turning sage king (*jeollyun seongwang* [Ch. *zhuanlun shengwang*] 轉輪聖王, Skt. *cakravartin*), who rules his country with the correct dharma (i.e., ten wholesome paths) and realizes the world peace.²⁶ These scriptures also repeatedly recommend to keep company with a good friend who is trustworthy.²⁷

Therefore, we can say that Buddhism is also deeply interested in specific social ethics. Then, on what ground is it possible that such discriminative human relations can be associated with the universal ethics of Buddhism? Examining the Buddhist doctrines with this

issue in mind, we must take note of the notion of “favor-requital” (*eun* [Ch. *en*] 恩, *bo'eun* [Ch. *bao'en*] 報恩; Skt. *kṛtaveditā*, *kṛtajñatā*; lit. “knowledge of the favor”). Of the six types of human relations presented in the “Advice to Sigālaka” *sutta*, the most basic one is that of parents and offspring. In the five cardinal relations of Confucianism, the relation of parents and offspring is considered to be the foundation, and the remaining relations are listed in the order of ruler and subjects, husband and wife, elder and younger siblings, and friends. Buddhism, however, does not regard the offspring’s obligation to their parents, or filial piety (*hyo* [Ch. *xiao*] 孝) as a nature-given principle (heavenly will). Having enumerated the father’s benevolent favor (*ja'eun* [Ch. *ji'en*] 慈恩) and the mother’s compassionate favor (*bieun* [Ch. *fei'en*] 悲恩)—these are called the favor-bestowal (*sieun* [Ch. *shi'en*] 施恩)—it says, how could you not acknowledge (*jieun* [Ch. *zhi'en*] 知恩) and requite these enormous benefactions (*bo'eun* [Ch. *bao'en*] 報恩)?²⁸ Therefore, filial piety in Buddhism can be identified as favor-requital.²⁹ Based on this notion of parental favor (*bumo eun* [Ch. *fumu en*] 父母恩), the notion of favor or benefaction came to be expanded into the favor from masters and elders (*sajang eun* [Ch. *shizhang en*] 師長恩) or the favor from the three jewels (*sambo eun* [Ch. *sanbao en*] 三寶恩), the favor from rulers (*gugwang eun* [Ch. *guowang en*] 國王恩), the favor from sentient beings (*jungsaeng eun* [Ch. *zhongsheng en*] 衆生恩), etc.³⁰

We can therefore say that the specific human ties in Buddhism are formed by the favor. And this concept does not contradict its universal ethical theory. For the Buddhist perspective that sees both favor-bestowal and favor-requital as our legitimate duty corresponds to the spirit of the doctrine of karma. This idea of finding a breakthrough in the doctrine of karma with the notion of favor or benefaction is indeed amazing. Since the social ethics of Buddhism is thus based on the notion of favor, it does not imply the absolute and subordinate relationship between the higher and the lower; it should be seen as being based on the equal and harmonious relationship between the members of society.³¹ In the “Advice to Sigālaka” *sutta*, too, parents, masters and elders, *śramaṇas*, as well as wives and husbands, slaves, and

siblings are all listed as the objects of veneration in the six directions (*yukbang yebae* [Ch. *liufang libai*] 六方禮拜). Also, the *Āgamas* are mainly concerned with the good rule of kings rather than loyalty of the subjects. These characteristics [of equality and reciprocity] can also be considered uniqueness of Buddhist ethics as contrasted with the social ethics of the other religions.

ii. Right Paths and Wrong Paths

Wholesome deeds bring about pleasant consequences in human society, but these consequences do not have absoluteness. For the human judgement of good and evil is relative and the human efforts (i.e., karma) have limitations in the vast cosmos. Therefore, however diligently humans perform wholesome deeds, they cannot escape from the impermanence (i.e., birth and death). Is there any way to overcome this limitedness of the doctrine of karma? Buddhism delves one step further into this problem, and presents the doctrines of the four noble truths (*saje* [Ch. *sidi*] 四諦) and the noble eightfold path (*pal jeongdo* [Ch. *ba zheng-dao*] 八正道).

Everything is impermanent; what is impermanent is suffering; what is suffering cannot be considered to be the self. Nevertheless, humans have attachment to such things, regarding them as the self (*ajip* [Ch. *wozhi*] 我執) and make karma. Therefore, it is undeniable that the existence of human beings is itself suffering. When we cannot bear the suffering anymore, we will be destroyed in the end—we are thus impermanent. It is for this reason that we cannot escape from impermanence regardless of whatever wholesome deeds we do. Then, we can say that the most fundamental cause of the problem does not exist externally but lies in our mind as an attachment to self. With the elimination of attachment to self, we may be able to solve the problem at the fundamental level.

Negation of the false self presupposes recognition of the true self. But what “is” this true self? We do not know what it is, and that is

why we are attached to what is not the self, thinking it to be the self. Therefore, Buddhism presents multi-layered dharma gates to awaken us to the true self. We do not have space to introduce all of them, but it is self-evident that the true self is arrived at by the negation of the false self. The fundamental solution of suffering can be made possible only through the elimination of attachment to self, or the clear discernment of what is correct and what is false.

The Buddha thus declares, “You should know about the four noble things (realities or truths). The existence of a human being (i.e., five aggregates of clinging [*o chwion* (Ch. *wu quwun*) 五取蘊, Skt. *pañcopādānaskandha*]) is suffering—this refers to the truth of suffering (*go seongje* [Ch. *ku shengdi*] 苦聖諦). This suffering comes from attachment to self—this refers to the truth of arising (*jip seongje* [Ch. *zhi shengdi*] 集聖諦). This [cause of suffering] must be extinguished—this refers to the truth of cessation (*myeol seongje* [Ch. *mie shengdi*] 滅聖諦). In order to attain this cessation, we must cultivate the path—this refers to the truth of path to the cessation of suffering (*do seongje* [Ch. *dao shengdi*] 道聖諦). This path consists of the eight components of right view (*jeonggyeon* [Ch. *zhengjian*] 正見), right intention (*jeong sayu* [Ch. *zheng siwei*] 正思惟), right speech (*jeongeol* [Ch. *zhengyu*] 正語), right behavior (occupation) (*jeongeop* [Ch. *zhengye*] 正業), right livelihood (*jeongmyeong* [Ch. *zhengming*] 正命), right efforts (*jeongjongjin* [Ch. *zhengjingjin*] 正精進), right memory (*jeongnyeom* [Ch. *zhengnian*] 正念), and right concentration (*jeongjeong* [Ch. *zhengding*] 正定).³²

Unlike the doctrine of karma that intends to solve the problem in the social relations of human beings, the doctrines of the four noble truths and the noble eightfold path are founded on the position that all the problems are to be solved in a person’s inner mind. If this is the case, we might be free from the external influences and indifferent to social ethics. But if we look into the noble eightfold path, we cannot but take note of its intense social ethical character. We may point out that the noble eightfold path is a path for the thorough practice of no self. Conflicts and disputes in human society arise from attachment to

self. The elimination of this attachment to self cannot be brought about unless we adopt an ethics that discerns the true and the false well, just like the noble eightfold path.

Moreover, in the doctrine of karma the judgement of good and evil is entrusted to the individual's mind or will. But what brings suffering in the end is considered evil; what brings pleasure is regarded as good. In this respect, the noble eightfold path can be identified as the true good. For it is a path that leads to the fundamental extinction of suffering. Besides, the noble eightfold path is constructed in a manner that flows from the doctrine of ten (wholesome) deeds. For right view and right intention correspond to the intentional deeds, the right speech to verbal deeds and right behavior and right livelihood to the bodily deeds. This shows that the noble eightfold path is constructed on the basis of the threefold (bodily, linguistic, and intentional) karma presented in the doctrine of ten deeds. Ethical doctrines of Buddhism thus develop from the ethics of good and evil to the ethics of right and false.

iii. Mahayana Development of the Ethics of Giving and Precepts

When one extinguishes attachment to self through the noble eightfold path, it is called nirvana. But if one does stay in nirvana, can we call it a true cessation of attachment to self? Probably no. For there still remains some sort of attachment. Buddhism of the "Great Vehicle" (Skt. Mahāyāna) can be understood as a form of Buddhism that arose from the awareness of that problem. The *Diamond Sutra* (*Jin'gang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, Skt. *Vajracchedika-prajñāparamitā-sūtra*), which appeared in the earliest period of the Mahayana (first century BCE), says, "Even though a bodhisattva leads all sentient beings to nirvana, there is no one who enters nirvana. Why is it so? For if a bodhisattva has the mark of self, person, sentient being, or life (kinds of attachment to the self), he is not a bodhisattva."³³

From this position, Mahayana Buddhism presents a radical way

of practicing the emptiness (or no self) view that will eliminate all discriminations and false attachments, which are directed toward the binaries such as good and evil, right and false, attainment and no attainment, etc. This practice of emptiness view will go beyond this shore (*chaan* [Ch. *ci'an*] 此岸) or the conventional realm in the end. That is why it is called the perfection of, or crossing over with, wisdom (Skt. *prajñāparamitā*), which means the wisdom (*jihye* [Ch. *zhihui*] 智慧, Skt. *prajñā*) that goes beyond all discriminations and reaches the other shore (*pian* [Ch. *bi'an*] 彼岸). One who practices this path is the Mahayana bodhisattva.

But a bodhisattva does not cultivate the perfection of wisdom only. Based on the perfection of wisdom, a bodhisattva should cultivate the other five perfections of giving (*boṣi* [Ch. *pushi*] 布施, Skt. *dāna*), precepts (*jigyē* [Ch. *chijie*] 持戒, Skt. *śīla*), perseverance (*inyok* [Ch. *renru*] 忍辱, Skt. *kṣānti*), effort (*jeongjin* [Ch. *jingjin*] 精進, Skt. *vīrya*), and meditation (*seonjeong* [Ch. *chanding*] 禪定, Skt. *dhyāna*).³⁴ These are called the six perfections. Once again, we find a strong social ethics in these six perfections. What is the origin of the first two perfections of giving (Skt. *dāna*) and precepts (Skt. *śīla*)? We have noted that the doctrine of karma sees giving and precepts as having the most active positiveness in one's wholesome deeds. Is it not the case that [the Mahayana] inherited the perfections of giving and precepts, dealt with in this context, from that doctrine [of karma]? Since these are based on the perfection of wisdom, however, they come to have immeasurable ethical profundity.

1) Non-Abiding Giving

In the doctrine of karma, “giving” refers to the arousal of loving kindness based on the four immeasurable minds (loving kindness, compassion, joy, and impartiality). But in this case of giving, the giver has a certain expectation from the receiver of the gift (i.e., field of merit). [The doctrine's definition of giving as] a karmic cause for birth in heaven itself suggests this meaning. Does the giving in the six perfections (Skt. *pāramitā*) also have such a meaning? Since it is based

on the thoroughgoing emptiness view, we cannot find any trace of such a meaning. [The *Diamond Sutra* says,] “A bodhisattva should practice giving without abiding in any dharma.”³⁵ [According to the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 25,000 Lines*,] this act of giving should be a pure one in which “the three elements of giver, gift, and receiver are empty and tranquil” [i.e., unattainable].³⁶ Only when these requirements are met, such giving [called non-abiding giving (*mu jusang bosī* [Ch. *wu zhuxiang pushi*] 無住相布施, Skt. **apraṭiṣṭhito dāna*)] can give rise to immeasurable merits.³⁷

Besides, here more emphasis is put on the giving of dharma—a Mahayana ideal—rather than that of wealth as an important deed [for merit-accumulation]. [The *Diamond Sutra* says,] “Even if one should fill the trichiliocosm with the seven types of jewels and donate them, its merits are less than the merits accumulated by one’s keeping the Mahayana scriptures and teaching them to others.”³⁸ It goes without saying that giving of fearlessness (*mu’oe si* [Ch. *wuwei shi*] 無畏施, Skt. *abhayaḍāna*), meaning “helping those in fear and assuring them of relief,” is also emphasized³⁹ and that the four means of conversion, in which giving is accompanied by kind words, beneficial conduct, and working together, are also promoted as positive altruistic acts of a Mahayana bodhisattva.⁴⁰

2) Ten Wholesome Precepts

Next, the perfection of precepts (Skt. *śīlapāramitā*) is concerned with the ten wholesome deeds (*sip seoneop* [Ch. *shi shanye*] 十善業). The *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 8,000 Lines* says, “A bodhisattva in the stage of non-retrogression himself performs the ten wholesome deeds and causes others to perform the ten wholesome deeds, too.”⁴¹ The *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* (*Shidi jing* 十地經 or *Shizhu jing* 十住經) also defines the second ground of freedom from defilement (*igu ji* [Ch. *ligou di*] 離垢地, Skt. *vimalābhūmi*) as the stage for the ten wholesome paths.⁴² Then, what is the reason for the Mahayana scriptures such as the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras* putting such emphasis on the ten wholesome deeds which concern social ethics, while seeking the true

principle [that seems to go beyond this shore and exist] in the other shore through the thoroughgoing emptiness view? We may answer this question by saying that it is for the same reason that the four noble truths and the noble eightfold paths also take on a strong ethical nature while seeking nirvana, which goes beyond society.

3) Bodhisattva Precepts

The ideas of observing the precepts, examined above, gave birth to the bodhisattva precepts (*bosal gye* [Ch. *pusa jie*] 菩薩戒) which consists of prohibitions against the four grave offenses (*sa jungjoe* [Ch. *si zhongzui*] 四重罪) and the forty-three minor offenses (*sasipsam gyeongjoe* [Ch. *sishisan jingzui*] 四十三輕罪) appearing in the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* (*Yuqie shi di lun* 瑜伽師地論 [Treatise on the Stages of Yoga Practitioners]), composed in the middle period of the Mahayana (fourth through seventh century CE). As for the four grave offenses, they are prohibitions against (1) praising oneself and disparaging others for one's own benefit (*jachan hweta* [Ch. *zican huita*] 自讚毀他), (2) not performing the giving of wealth and giving of dharma because of one's stinginess and grudge (*ganseok jaebeop* [Ch. *qianxi caifa*] 慳惜財法), (3) causing others harm because of one's malice and not accepting their repentance (*jin bulsu hoe* [Ch. *chen bushou hui*] 瞋不受悔), and (4) disparaging the storehouse for bodhisattvas (Mahayana doctrines) and establishing semblant teachings (*bangnan jeongbeop* [Ch. *bangluan zhengfa*] 謗亂正法).⁴³

What is noteworthy about this set of Mahayana precepts, called the *Yogācāra vinaya* (*Yuga gye* [Ch. *Yuqie jie*] 瑜伽戒), is that the four grave offenses correspond to the so-called intentional deeds (*uieop* [Ch. *yiye*] 意業: desire, hatred, and delusion). This stands in stark contrast with the five precepts for the laity (*jaega ogye* [Ch. *zaijia wujie*] 在家五戒: prohibiting killing, stealing, sexual debauchery, lying, liquor-drinking) and the four grave precepts (prohibiting sexual debauchery, stealing, killing, and lying) for the *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs*, which focus on the bodily deeds (*sineop* [Ch. *shenye*] 身業). It means that the bodhisattva precepts of the Mahayana attach more importance to the mental motive

than to the external behaviors and that the ethical philosophy became more profound.

Furthermore, Mahayana Buddhism in the middle period put together all the ethical doctrines presented so far and organized them into the three sets of pure precepts (*samchwi jeonggye* [Ch. *sanju jingjie*] 三聚淨戒, Skt. *trividhāni śīlāni*), composed of (1) precepts for restraint (*seop yurui gye* [Ch. *she lüyi jie*] 攝律儀戒, Skt. *saṃvaraśīla*), (2) precepts for accumulating goodness (*seop seonbeop gye* [Ch. *she shanfa jie*] 攝善法戒, Skt. *kuśaladharmasaṃgrāhakaśīla*), (3) precepts for benefiting sentient beings (*seop jungsaeng gye* [Ch. *she zhongsheng jie*] 攝衆生戒 or *yoik yujeong gye* [Ch. *raoyi youqing jie*] 饒益有情戒, Skt. *sattvārthakriyāśīla*).⁴⁴ The precepts for restraint encompass all the precepts ranging from the five precepts to the Yogācāra vinaya (these comprehensive precepts are also known as the precepts for the seven groups of disciples [*chiljung gye* (Ch. *qizhong jie*] 七衆戒)). The precepts for accumulating goodness embrace all the wholesome deeds such as the ten wholesome deeds. The precepts for benefiting sentient beings subsume all the activities (e.g., giving of wealth, giving of dharma, etc.) that actively benefit sentient beings. Therefore, these three sets of pure precepts can be seen as an infinite expansion of the concept of precept to the extent that it can include all the wholesome deeds and impose on bodhisattvas the duty to put them into practice.

This notion of bodhisattva precepts came to be organized into a more systematic form in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* (*Fanwang jing* 梵網經). It has been strongly suggested that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* is an apocryphal scripture composed in China. In this scripture are presented the bodhisattva precepts composed of the ten grave precepts (*sip junggye* [Ch. *shi zhongjie*] 十重戒) and the forty-eight minor precepts (*sasippal gyeonggye* [Ch. *sishiba jingjie*] 四十八輕戒). The ten grave precepts are [prohibitions against] (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) sexual debauchery (these three concern bodily deeds), (4) lying, (5) selling of alcohol (*goju* [Ch. *guju*] 酤酒), (6) slandering the four groups of disciples (*seol sajung gwa* [Ch. *shuo sizhong guo*] 說四衆過), (7) praising oneself and disparaging others (these four concern verbal deeds), (8) disparaging

others from stinginess and grudge (*ganseok gahwe* [Ch. *qianxi jiahui*] 慳惜加毀), (9) causing others harm because of one's malice and not accepting their repentance, and (10) slandering the three jewels [i.e., Buddha, dharma, and samgha] (*bibang sambo* [Ch. *feibang sanbao*] 誹謗三寶) (these three concern intentional deeds).⁴⁵ From this list it can be easily shown that the first five precepts correspond to the five precepts introduced in the doctrine of karma and that to these five are added the sixth precept of slandering the four groups of disciples⁴⁶ as well as the four Mahayana precepts of the Yogācāra school. Therefore, although there appear some variations, on the whole this set of precepts demonstrates perfect comprehensiveness as it covers every aspect of the three kinds (bodily, linguistic, and intentional) of wholesome deeds or the ten wholesome deeds.

Furthermore, the scripture locates the fundamental source of the ten grave precepts in the buddha-nature of human beings.⁴⁷ As stated above, whereas the other religions identify the source of good in the heaven, the Buddhist doctrine of karma finds it rooted in the human autonomy or sovereignty (will). Such an ethical view of Buddhism now finds a Mahayana expression of buddha-nature in the *Brahmā's Net Sutra*. The scripture goes one step further and states that the arousing of the mind of compassion (*jabi sim* [Ch. *cifei xin*] 慈悲心) and the mind of filial piety and obedience (*hyosun sim* [Ch. *xiaoshun xin*] 孝順心) is itself the precept.⁴⁸ This can be evaluated as an embracement of the Chinese ethical philosophy, which places filial piety on the foundation of humanity, and also as the utmost demonstration of the Mahayana ethics.

iv. Ethics of the Ultimate Enlightenment

The doctrine of the four noble truths and the Mahayana doctrine of *prajñāpāramitā* (perfection of wisdom) aim at providing a fundamental solution to suffering in the inner mind of human beings. In this respect, it may appear that these doctrines do not need to take interest

in the external social ethics. Nevertheless, as stated above, they take on a character of intense social ethics. In particular, social ethics is predominant in Mahayana Buddhism as every Mahayana bodhisattva is required to make a vow to save sentient beings. The theory of a bodhisattva's ten grounds (appearing in the *Flower Garland Sutra*) enumerates the ten great wishes of a bodhisattva in the first ground of joy (*hwanhui ji* [Ch. *huanxi di*] 歡喜地, Skt. *pramuditā bhūmi*),⁴⁹ and the *Sutra of the Immeasurable Life* (i.e., Amitāyus or Amitābha Buddha) (*Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經) preaches on the forty-eight vows of Dharmakara (Fazang 法藏) Bodhisattva.⁵⁰ In this way, [a practitioner] should seek enlightenment above and save sentient beings below (*sanggu bori hahwa jungsaeng* [Ch. *xiangqui puti xiahua zhongsheng*] 上求菩提下化衆生). Then, why does Mahayana Buddhism have such an intense concern for society, while having prajna thought [of emptiness] as its foundation? Does that concern reflect religious demand? Or is there any other inevitable reason?

The *Lotus Sutra* (*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, Skt. *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*), which is said to have preached the original goal of the Buddha's appearance in the world, presents the following, rather shocking theory. It declares that the teachings of the four noble truths and the six perfections are not the ultimate truth and that they are just temporary means and processes that cause [practitioners] to reach it. [The scripture tells that] the ultimate goal of Buddhism lies in [causing sentient beings] to attain the same enlightenment (i.e., awareness and insight [*jigyeon* (Ch. *zhijian*) 知見]) as that of the Buddha.⁵¹ Therefore, there exists only one vehicle (i.e., the Buddha vehicle) and such things as the two vehicles (Hinayana or lesser vehicle) or the three vehicles (auditor [*seongmun* (Ch. *shengwen*) 聲聞, Skt. *śrāvaka*], solitary realizer [*yeon'gak* (Ch. *yuanjue*) 緣覺, Skt. *pratyekabuddha*] and bodhisattva [*bosal* (Ch. *pusa*) 菩薩]) cannot exist.⁵²

According to the *Lotus Sutra's* doctrine of the one Buddha vehicle (*il bulseung* [Ch. *yi fosheng*] 一佛乘), the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutras'* truth of "the other shore" that transcends human relations is still insufficient. Then, does the real characteristic (*silsang* [Ch. *shixiang*] 實相),⁵³

which is reflected in the unexcelled, correct, and equal enlightenment (*musang jeongdeung gak* [Ch. *wushang zhengdeng jue*] 無上正等覺, Skt. *auttarasamyaksambodhi*) attained by the Buddha (i.e., Tathāgata), have some difference [from the truth revealed by *prajñāpāramitā*]? In other words, is it the case that there exists an interrelation by which a thing structurally contains the others in itself repetitively *ad infinitum* (*jungjung mujin* [Ch. *chongchong wujin*] 重重無盡)? As is well known, Chinese Huayan thought is a representative philosophy that presented a similar view. Of course, the *Lotus Sutra* does not express such a view directly. It just says that the real characteristic can be fully known only between buddhas.

From the following passages of the *Lotus Sutra*, however, we can get many hints for the above questions. The scripture then emphasizes that every person should pursue the same enlightenment as the Buddha's and asserts that if a Buddhist does not arouse such a vast wish, it is the most serious arrogance.⁵⁴ Thus, aspirant bodhisattvas are given the mission that they should transfer their merits to the realm of sentient beings from "the other shore" and thus establish the Buddha land on this world, thereby teaching the Buddha-dharma to other sentient beings.⁵⁵ From this theme, which is repeatedly taught, we feel that anyone who becomes a buddha has an intense solidarity with other sentient beings and thus cannot but enlighten them. Such an awareness of sentient beings is itself a great compassion.

From this overview, we can say that in the final analysis Buddhism is instructing us in the ethics of enlightenment. A complete solution to suffering lies in being enlightened to the real characteristic of all beings more than anything else. But as long as everything is interrelated in a manner of repetitive containment *ad infinitum*, we need to enlighten others, too. For this enlightenment can bring about infinite merits to each other just like the wholesome deeds, as encouraged by the doctrine of karma. Therefore, I and the others must accomplish buddhahood simultaneously (*jata ilsı seong buldo* [Ch. *zita yishi cheng fodao*] 自他一時成佛道). This means that Buddhism seeks an ethical value of this type in the end.

As noted above, Buddhist ethics is presented in a multilayered doctrinal system that proceeds from the doctrine of ten deeds to that of the four noble truths, then to that of six perfections, and finally to that of the one Buddha vehicle. Therefore, descriptions of the ethics cannot but be presented in an extremely diverse fashion. But they have always been based on a position that negates the evil (the perverse, the worldly, or delusion) and affirms the good (the right, the true, or enlightenment).^{*} And ethical judgements in Buddhism always relies on a pure human mind (or will). Therefore, we can summarize our investigation into Buddhist ethics in “A Verse of Universal Precepts Given by the Seven Buddhas” (七佛通戒偈).

Never make any evil.
 Make efforts to do only good.
 Purify your mind (Skt. *citta*) by yourself.
 This is the teaching of all Buddhas.

諸惡莫作
 衆善奉行
 自淨其意
 是諸佛教⁵⁶

B

Buddhist Ethics Established in Korean Society

i. The Theory of Causality and Retribution

We have briefly examined Buddhist ethics by focusing on its overall characteristics. But we cannot say that every aspect of this Buddhist ethics was accepted in Korean society. For foreign religions can be accepted differently depending on the region. Therefore, we need to go over which aspects of Buddhist ethics have taken root in Korean society and have been succeeded to the present day since the introduction of Buddhism in the Three Kingdoms period. In relation to this, the theory of causality and retribution is the first to draw our attention.

The doctrine of karma is not only the most elementary teaching; it is also the central philosophy in the early phase of Buddhism of the Three Kingdoms.⁵⁷ Sundo 順道 (d.u.) who arrived in Goguryeo in the second reign year (372) of King Sosurim 小獸林 (r. 371–384) is said to have “taught the people the doctrine of causality and persuaded them of it by showing good and bad fortune because they were simple-minded.”⁵⁸ The edict proclaimed in the eighth reign year (391) of King Gogugyang 故國壤 (r. 384–391) reads, “Have faith in the Buddha dharma with reverence and seek blessings.”⁵⁹ The same message can be seen in the edict proclaimed in the first reign year (392) of King Asin 阿莘 (r. 392–405), the seventeenth ruler of Baekje.⁶⁰ In Silla, too, the seventeenth ruler King Beopheung 法興 (514–540) said, “I want to arrange a site for cultivating merit and extinguishing the sins for my people” sometime before Heungnyunsa 興輪寺 Temple was established (its construction began in 527 and it was completed in 544).⁶¹ The idea of the wheel-turning sage king, the Maitreya cult, and the establishment of the *hwarang* 花郎 (lit. “flowering youth”) system during the reign of the next ruler King Jinheung 眞興 (r. 540–575) were all related to the doctrine of karma.⁶²

Therefore, it may be said that the central idea of Buddhism of the Three Kingdoms in its early period was the doctrine of karma. Then, why did this doctrine draw the attention of the royalty and why was it promoted nationwide? Since I have already discussed this matter in detail,⁶³ I will not repeat it here. But the point is that their interest lay in politics rather than in ethics. It can be said that the ancient religion of Korea was shamanism (or sacrificial religion for heaven [*jecheon'gyo* 祭天教]) that took Haneul-im, which developed from the sun god, a sort of nature deity, as the supreme divinity. The leaders of the tribal confederations, established on this religious idea, then evolved into an aristocracy that managed to hold on to the religious authority. They were thus restricting the royalty to a great degree even when new branches of the royal family seized power in the Three Kingdoms period. Eventually, the Buddhist doctrine of karma, which denied the authority of heaven, was employed to dissolve the philosophical foundation of these aristocrats, and hence to strengthen the power of the kings and who could then develop the country.

Even though the doctrine of karma initially had such a political character, in due course it came to exert a great influence on the aspects of ethics as it rapidly took root in the society of the Three Kingdoms through the state policy of promoting Buddhism. I would like to point out that the method of divination (*jeomchal* [Ch. *zhancha*] 占察) played a great role in expanding the influence of Buddhism. Shamanism considers one's good and bad fortune as well as weal and woe to be brought about by the divine soul. It thus practices divination for that matter. We have seen that the Buddhist doctrine of karma attributes such a human condition to the karmic retribution in the three time periods. On the basis of the *Zhancha shan'e yebao jing* 占察善惡業報經 (*Sutra on the Divination of the Effect of Good and Evil Actions*),⁶⁴ the method of divination asks one to cast three sets of wooden wheels or dice (*mongnyun* 木輪; ten wheels in the first set, three in the second, and six in the third). [By rolling the wheels and reading the letters or numbers inscribed on the upper side of each wheel] one can see (1) one's good and bad deeds in the previous life (from the inscriptions of

the first set of the wheels), (2) the intensity of those deeds (from the inscriptions of the second set), and (3) the karmic retribution in the three time periods (from the inscriptions of the third set).

This method of divination was in vogue at that time. Won'gwang 圓光 (555–638), who lived during the reign of King Jinpyeong 眞平 (r. 579–632), established a fund for constantly holding the divination society (*jeomchal hoe* 占察會) in Gaseogap[sa] 嘉栖岬[寺] Temple. This divination society was also organized as a permanent institution in temples such as Anheungsa 安興寺, Doryangsa 道場寺 on Geumgangsan 金剛山 Mountain, Jijangbang 地藏房 (Geumgangsna 金剛社) on Odaesan 五臺山 Mountain, etc.⁶⁵ Jeomgae 漸開 (d.u.), who resided in Heungnyunsa Temple, established a divination society called the Six Wheels Society (Yungnyunhoe 六輪會),⁶⁶ and Jinpyo 眞表 (d.u.) who was active during the reign of King Gyeongdeok 景德 (r. 742–765) developed the method of divination into a unique ordination ritual that used 189 wooden sticks (*ganja* [Ch. *jianzi*] 簡子), of which the eighth and ninth are considered significant.⁶⁷ [The adoption of] this divination method is understood as a project of subsuming the shamanistic act of augury under Buddhism in the process of its domestication, but it cannot be denied that it functioned as an important occasion for making the Buddhist ethical view take root in society. For this [Buddhist] divination concerned the doctrine of karmic retribution in the three time periods.

Besides, we can find many examples that show the penetration of the Buddhist theories, such as the view of transmigration (Skt. *samsāra*) in accordance with one's deeds, into the society of the time. For instance, the thirtieth ruler of Silla, King Munmu 文武 (r. 661–681), made a vow that “he would become the great guardian dragon to venerate the Buddha dharma and protect the country”⁶⁸ and was buried under the Daewangam 大王岩 Rock near the shore of East Sea. The stories of Gim Yusin 金庾信 (595–673), the female slave Ungmyeon 郁面, Gim Daeseong 金大城 (700–774), Seonyul 善律 (d.u.; a monk of Mangdeoksa 望德寺 Temple), etc., are all associated with the narratives of receiving life according to their karmic retributions.⁶⁹

In the case of novels in the Joseon period (especially after the Imjin War [1592–1598]), all of them include the idea of causality and karmic retribution. Therefore, it has been stated, “What features most frequently in the old [Korean] novels is the theory of causality and karmic retribution.”⁷⁰ These old novels, however, were not intended as Buddhist literature, for [the writers] had no reason to do so in the Confucian society [of Joseon]. Yet, the fact that the theory of causality and karmic retribution so frequently features there means that it became entrenched and broadly popular in the society. Even today the term *inyeon* 因緣 (cause and condition) is being used as an everyday word, and “be reborn as a human being” (*indo hwansaeng* 人道還生) is accepted without any reserve.

In this respect, we can say that the theory of causality and retribution is one of the ethical theories of Buddhism that took deep roots in Korean society. But we also see some aspects where it became different from its original intent. The karmic theory of causation in the three time periods has often been recognized as a kind of “desperate” fatalism; the concept of rebirth has also been used as a literary trope expressing the sentiment of *han* 恨 (*ressentiment* or frustration), in which one can dissolve the *han* that is not exhausted in this lifetime when one is born again as a human being. This can be regarded as a kind of refraction of the robust philosophy, which [originally] aimed at overcoming the present difficulties, inherent in the doctrine of karma, to a passive view of life.

ii. The Idea of Giving

Alms giving (Skt. *dāna*) is an act recommended not only in the doctrine of karma but also in Mahayana Buddhism as a positive, wholesome deed. We can say that its idea also became deeply settled down in Korean society. It goes without saying that since the introduction of Buddhism to the Three Kingdoms was mainly done by the royalty, the formation of early Buddhist orders was made possible by the

active donation of wealth on the part of the country. The magnificent monasteries such as Heungnyunsa and Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 were constructed following the lead of the state, and Buddhist gatherings or events were largely commissioned by the royalty and aristocracy. This trend of donating wealth [to the Buddhist orders] seems to have deeply permeated into the general populace. In Gim Daeseong's story, for example, his mother and he offered their entire fortune unsparingly to the Six Wheels Society of Heungnyunsa.⁷¹

In the Goryeo period, too, Buddhism was fully protected by the country. Therefore, wealth was probably donated ardently by the entire population, ranging from the royalty to the commoners. This tradition of donating wealth seems to have been followed by the commoners even under the Joseon's policy of suppressing Buddhism. The frequency of printing the Buddhist scriptures and records of sayings was much higher than that of printing Confucian texts, and even a single edition of the *Lotus Sutra* is recorded to have been printed 106 times.⁷²

It can be said that the 1,500-year history of Korean Buddhist orders was founded on this donation of wealth. But can we say that it is simply a history of the donation of wealth? Did the members of the samgha spend hours cultivating themselves in an idle life? No. We see that many thinkers such as Wonhyo, Uisang, Daegak Uicheon, Bojo Jinul, and Cheongheo Hyujeong, appeared one after another and presented a new spiritual vision to lead the country and people. That is, donations of dharma have been continuously practiced as much as the donations of wealth. Therefore, we can say that it is the two elements of donation of wealth and donation of dharma that have sustained Korean Buddhism. When these two were balanced (e.g., in the middle period of the Silla and the early period of the Goryeo), Korean Buddhism prospered together with the country and the people; when the two lost the balance (e.g., in the latter period of the Silla and the latter period of the Goryeo), Buddhism stumbled down a path of decline.

But donation of wealth cannot be directed only toward the samgha. For the act of giving is an ethical practice that is aroused from the infinite mind of compassion toward every sentient being (i.e.,

four immeasurable minds). This fundamental spirit of alms giving and its vast practice, however, do not seem to be highlighted enough in the Korean Buddhist tradition. Although it is not the case that we never find the [records of] relief facilities such as Dongseo Daebiwon 東西大悲院 (East and West Infirmaries of Great Compassion) and Jewibo 濟危寶 (Foundation for Emergency Relief) (established in the twenty-second reign year [1168] of Uijong 毅宗 [r. 1146–1170]) in the Goryeo period,⁷³ the laity were just satisfied with their donation of wealth to the samgha and all their activities of giving were entrusted to the samgha. Even the activities that intended to offer food equally to all sentient beings and release captured animals were all carried out in rituals such as Suryuk muchahoe 水陸無遮會 (Unobstructed Ritual for Water and Land Beings) or Bangsaeng jae 放生齋 (Purifying Ritual for Releasing Lives) hosted by the temples.

Therefore, although giving is a Buddhist ethical value deeply entrenched in Korean society, it resulted in depriving the laity of independent activeness. In other words, it degenerated into an excessively samgha-centered theory of merits and the religious cult for venerating [the samgha] as the field of merit or seeking blessings from it. In terms of social welfare projects, I feel the fact that Buddhism falls much behind Christianity today may have been caused by the loss of the original spirit of alms giving.

iii. The Concept of Requit of the Favor

Buddhism puts more value on the supramundane (*chul segan* [Ch. *chu shijian*] 出世間) than on the mundane, and the samgha thus takes the *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs* who leave home as its central axis. This supramundane orientation of Buddhism, however, is difficult to accord with the political goals of the mundane country. It could even be in danger of leading to a shallow view that distances Buddhism from households and country. In due course Buddhism, which was originally introduced and promoted for the purpose of developing the

country, took note of and put much emphasis on the concept of favor-requital. For this concept of favor-requital was a channel that enabled the universal view of Buddhist ethics, which sees every sentient being as equal, to generate ethical principles applicable to specific human relations such as filial piety.

Since the basis of human relations is that of parents and offspring, the Buddhist notion of favor-requital takes the favor from the parents as the most fundamental one. Beginning with this, many kinds of favor are presented. The [*Mahayana*] *Sutra of Contemplation on the [Original] Mind Ground* ([*Dasheng bensheng*] *xindi guanjing* [大乘本生]心地觀經), a scripture of the middle period of the Mahayana tradition, teaches the four favors: favors from (1) parents, (2) sentient beings, (3) rulers, and (4) the three jewels.⁷⁴ In the *Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽 (Essential Manual for the Buddhists) written by Daocheng 道誠 (d.u.), a Chinese monk, are also enumerated the four favors: favors from (1) parents, (2) masters and elders, (3) rulers, and (4) alms givers.⁷⁵ From these lists, we can assume that diverse types of four favors were presented in China at that time. Of these, it would be needless to say that what is considered to have a nationwide significance is the favor from the rulers.

When the Silla monk Won'gwang was asked by King Jinpyeong to write a letter to solicit troops (*geolsa-pyo* 乞師表) to Sui 隋 for the purpose of mounting a military campaign against Goguryeo in the same ruler's thirtieth reign year (608), he answered as follows: "It is not becoming to a *śramaṇa* to destroy others for his own survival. But this humble monk (referring to Won'gwang himself) lives in the king's land and relies on the water and grass of the king for his living. How could I not follow your order?"⁷⁶ Here, he makes it clear that even a monk who left home should not forget the favor from rulers. There are even cases in which monks took part in military campaigns as soldiers, as exemplified by Dook 道玉 (Chwido 驛徒 [d.u.])⁷⁷ in the Silla and Cheongheo Hyujeong in the Joseon.

Many Buddhist temples established during the period from the unification of the Three Kingdoms by Silla to the Joseon dynasty include words such as "Bongeun" 奉恩 (meaning "revering the favor"),

“Bongdeok” 奉德 (meaning “revering the virtue”), etc. in their names, indicating their purpose of revering the favor and virtue of the previous rulers. The writings composed by the monks always made references to the favor they received from the country, and the colophons of those writings always included blessings for the long life of the king. We cannot enumerate such instances concerning the favor from the rulers one by one.

However, it is not always the case that only the favor from rulers was singled out among the four favors. Daehyeon 大賢 (d.u.) or Taehyeon 太賢 of the Silla (fl. during the reign of King Gyeongdeok [r. 742–765]) only referred to two favors: the favor from parents and the favor from masters and elders.⁷⁸ We see [such a discrepancy also] from the internal dispute between the two eminent monks from the White Lotus Society of the Cheontae order, organized in the latter period of the Goryeo: Uiseon 義旋 (d.u.) (who had a pro-government attitude) and Unmuk 雲默 (d.u.) (whose aim was to keep religious purity). Whereas the former prioritized the favor from rulers out of the four favors from rulers, masters and elders, parents, and alms givers, the latter considered the favor from alms givers the gravest.⁷⁹ But in the *Cheong taekbeop bo'eun-mun* 請擇法報恩文 (A Request for Requiring the Favor with Select Dharmas) composed by Kwaeseon 快善 (1693–1764) in the mid-Joseon period, the importance of the favor from the Buddha (*bureun* 佛恩) and the favor from the emperor (*hwangeun* 皇恩) are strongly re-asserted together with the mission of propagating the Buddha dharma.⁸⁰ Here, we see that the focus of emphasis among the four favors varies according to the times.

Buddhist ethics of favor, as examined above, presupposes a [human] relation which overcomes the feudal subordination of the lower by the higher and aims at democratic mutual harmonization. In other words, [according to this ethics,] since a ruler should be a father of the country who governs it with proper laws and gives every sentient being comfort, [his subjects] should recompense him for the compassionate favor. Therefore, the scriptures in the early phase feature the wheel-turning sage king, who governs the country with proper laws, as an ideal image

of the ruler.⁸¹ In Mahayana Buddhism this ideal was further developed, and it is stressed that only those who practice the bodhisattva path (of the ten grounds) are the real sage kings.⁸²

For this reason, according to the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, even though he is a ruler of the country, "if he transgresses any of the ten grave precepts, he will lose his status."⁸³ Here, the ruler's benevolent ruling (*seonjeong* 善政, *sieun* 施恩) is presented as a prerequisite for the subjects' absolute royalty to him. The Goguryeo monk Bodeok's 普德 (d.u.) exile to Godaesan 孤大山 Mountain in Wansan 莞山 of Baekje exemplifies such an ethical mind.⁸⁴ At that time, [the Goguryeo ruler] King Bojang 寶藏 (r. 642–668) did not accept Bodeok's sincere remonstrance and introduced Daoism, which resulted in the fall of the country. Therefore, the [concept of] favor from rulers could function as an ethical [instrument] for checking not only the subject's loyalty but also the ruler's own tyranny.

Next, let us look at the favor from parents. From the perspective of Confucianism, which considers filial piety as the foundation of ethics, the fact that monks leave home and take the tonsure was judged as a grave transgression of filial piety. For Buddhism to be accepted in Chinese society, the Buddhists had no choice but to bring their recognition of the favor from parents to the fore and to emphasize that true filial piety lies not in the simple act of serving one's elders but in leading them to take refuge in the proper teachings (represented by the three jewels), thereby letting them abide in a safe and comfort place, permanently separated from the suffering of birth and death.⁸⁵ It was for this reason that the scriptures concerning the favor from parents began to be translated. But it further developed into the composition of new scriptures that stressed the significance [of filial piety] even more.

The *Sutra on [the Great Requital for] the Deep Favor of the Parents* ([*Da bao*] *fumu en zhong jing* [大報] 父母恩重經), which is considered to have been composed in China, enumerates the profound tenfold favor one receives from one's mother, such as her pregnancy and rearing of the child, and explains how one commits filial impiety by betraying such favor and how one requites the favor.⁸⁶ In the *Ullambana Sutra*

(*Yulan pen jing* 盂蘭盆經), too, it is said that if one offers to the monks of the ten directions (*sibang seung* 十方僧) a bowl (*bun* [Ch. *pen*] 盆) that is filled with a hundred favored pure dishes (*baengmi jeongchan* [Ch. *baiwei jingzhuan*] 百味淨饌) on the fifteenth day of the seventh month [in the lunar calendar], on which a period for ritual purification (*jae* [Ch. *zhai*] 齋) is completed, one's parents in this lifetime as well as the ancestors of seven generations will escape from suffering and attain bliss.⁸⁷ This [offering for ancestors] can thus be understood as a development of the Buddhist practice of filial piety into a form of ritual.

Such an emphasis on the favor from parents is also well attested to in Korean Buddhism. The narrative of “Pious Girl Jieun” (孝女知恩) in the *Samguk sagi* and the stories collected in the “Filial Piety and Buddhist Good” (孝善) chapter of the *Samguk yusa* are also concerned with the favor from parents.⁸⁸ And this suggests that the ethics of requiting the favor from parents was being established at that time. The *ullambana* (presumed to mean “hanging upside down”) ritual has also been frequently held since its first official implementation in the first reign year (1106) of the Goryeo ruler Yejong 睿宗 (r. 1105–1122),⁸⁹ and it has now come to take root as a folk tradition. The Baekjung 百中 [or Baekjong 百種] ritual, widely practiced among the ordinary people on the day of full moon in the seventh month, is none other than this *ullambana* ritual.

During the Joseon period, of which the dominant ideology was Confucianism, a much higher emphasis was placed on the favor from parents. The *Bulssi japbyeon* 佛氏雜辯 (Wanton Words by the Buddha) by Jeong Dojeon 鄭道傳 (1342–1398) denounces the abandonment of human relations committed by the Buddhists. To this criticism, Hamheo Gihwa 涵虛己和 (1376–1433) gives the following counter argument in the *Hyeonjeong-non* 顯正論 (Clarification of the Correct). “Having left home and attained enlightenment, Śākyamuni preached the dharma to his parents so that they permanently escaped from suffering. He thereby enhanced the family's fame all across the country. How could this not be the true, great filial piety?” We can find

statements to the same effect in many of his other writings. Besides, the *Sutra on the Deep Favor of the Parents* has been incessantly translated into vernacular Korean and printed on wooden blocks.⁹⁰ This can be understood as an action that tried to cope with the Confucian criticisms on Buddhism, but it must have contributed to establishing the notion of the favor from parents deeply among the general populace.

Therefore, the concept of acknowledging the favor (*ji'eun* [Ch. *zhi'en*] 知恩) or requiting the favor (*bo'eun* [Ch. *bao'en*] 報恩), now universally accepted by the people, can also be said to be an ethical value that took root deeply in Korean society through Buddhism. For it is difficult to find in Confucianism an instance that stresses the favor so much as Buddhism does.

iv. The Spirit of the Bodhisattva Precepts

It seems that the [Buddhist] precepts have also exerted a considerable influence on the ethical philosophy of Korean thought. Since the precepts establish a disciplinary standard for the life of the samgha, many [scholar-monks] of the Three Kingdoms carried out studies on the precepts from the early period. Although we do not have material available on the study of precepts in Goguryeo, we have a record stating that the Baekje monk Gyeomik 謙益 (d.u.) brought the five-division vinaya (*obu yul* [Ch. *wubu lü*] 五部律), written in Sanskrit, from Sanggana daeyulsa 常伽那大律寺 Temple in India via sea route in the fourth reign year (526) of King Seong 聖 (r. 523–554).⁹¹ Since the five-part vinaya⁹² indicates the vinaya *piṭaka* of the five Indian schools, this introduction of the entire set of monastic disciplinary codes was unprecedented even in China.⁹³ Moreover, from the record that he translated the seventy-two fascicles of vinaya texts together with twenty-eight eminent monks and that Damuk 曇旭 (d.u.) and Hyein 惠仁 (d.u.) composed commentaries on these texts,⁹⁴ we may estimate the level the Baekje monks' study of monastic discipline reached at that time. This is also shown by the fact that three Japanese nuns, Zenshin 善信 (d.u.),

Zenzō 善藏 (d.u.), and Ezen 惠善 (d.u.), who had been ordained by the Goguryeo monk Hyepyeon 惠便 (d.u.), crossed over to Baekje to study the vinaya in the thirty-fifth reign year (588) of King Wideok 威德 (r. 554–598), and returned to Japan after their three-year study.⁹⁵

In the case of Silla, of which comparatively more materials are available, we see that the Hinayana vinaya *piṭaka* as well as Mahayana precepts were promoted. In the twenty-second reign year (600) of the twenty-sixth ruler King Jinpyeong, Won'gwang returned from Sui after studying there and gave the following five precepts to the two youths named Gwisan 貴山 (d.u.) and Chuhang 籌項 (d.u.) when he was asked to give them a teaching that could be taken as a lifetime precepts.

- (1) Serve your ruler with loyalty (*sagun ichung* 事君以忠); (2) Respect your parents with filial piety (*sachin ihyo* 事親以孝); (3) Make friends with trust (*bungu yusin* 朋友有信); (4) Do not retreat in battle (*imjeon mutoe* 臨戰無退); (5) Do not take life indiscriminately (*salsaeng yutaek* 殺生有擇).⁹⁶

Won'gwang's five precepts given above are a modification of the *Brahma's Net Sutra's* ten grave precepts for a bodhisattva so that “one who happens to be a subject of others may keep”⁹⁷ the precepts. In the twenty-fourth reign year (602) of the same ruler, Jimyeong 智明 (d.u.) [also] returned [from Sui] to Silla and was entitled “great virtue” (*daedeok* 大德)—later he was given another title, “greatest virtue” (*daedaedeok* 大大德).⁹⁸ He composed the *Sabun yul galma-gi* 四分律羯磨記 (Notes on the Procedure for the Ordination According to the *Four-Part Vinaya*) in one fascicle (now lost),⁹⁹ and this book is his notes on the ordination procedure (*galma* [Ch. *jiemo*] 羯磨, Skt. *karman*) for the monks based on the *Four-Part Vinaya*.

Later on, Jajang 慈藏 (590–658) who returned from his study in Tang in the twelfth reign year (643) of Queen Seondeok 宣德 (r. 780–785) lectured on the bodhisattva precepts in Hwangnyongsa Temple for seven days and seven nights. When he rose to the status of chief national superintendent (*daeguktong* 大國統), he ordered the monks in

the provinces to preach the precepts every fortnight.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, when he established Tongdosa 通度寺 Temple, he arranged an ordination platform (*gyedan* 戒壇) for holding a professional ritual for giving precepts and composed the *Sipsong yul mokcha-gi* 十誦律木叉記 (Notes on the *Prātimokṣa* [list of rules] of the *Ten Recitations Vinaya* [Skt. *Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya*]) in one fascicle and the *Sabun yul galma sagi* 四分律羯磨私記 (Personal Notes on the Procedure for the Ordination According to the *Four-Part Vinaya*) in one fascicle.¹⁰¹ Wonseung 圓勝 (d.u.),¹⁰² who returned from China in the same year, also composed the *Beomanggyeong-gi* 梵網經記 (Notes on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*) in one fascicle (now lost), the *Sabul yul mokcha-gi* 四分律木叉記 (Notes on the *Prātimokṣa* of the *Four-Part Vinaya*) in one fascicle (now lost), and the *Sabul yul galma-gi* 四分律羯磨記 in two fascicles (now lost).¹⁰³

As examined above, the monks of Silla actively promoted the Hinayana vinaya such as the *Ten Recitations Vinaya* and the *Four-Part Vinaya* as well as the Mahayana bodhisattva precepts as prescribed in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. We also find that they continued to study these two kinds of vinaya. For in the lists of writings by such monks as Wonhyo, Gyeongheung, Jiin 智仁 (d.u.), Seungjang 勝莊 (d.u.), Hyeonil 玄一 (d.u.), Uijeok 義寂 (d.u.), Doryun 道倫 (or Dullyun 遁倫 [d.u.]), Daehyeon, and Danmok 端目 (d.u.) are included the works on the vinaya and precepts of the Mahayana and Hinayana.¹⁰⁴ It thus seems that in the late Silla through early Goryeo period Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–667) Vinaya school, which subsumed the Mahayana precepts (as presented in the *Yogācāra* treatises and the *Brahma's Net Sutra*) on the basis of the *Four-Part Vinaya* and aimed at perfect interfusion of the three disciplines (precepts [戒], samadhi [定], and wisdom [慧]), was transmitted to Silla and that an independent Vinaya school was also established there. Taejo 太祖 (r. 918–943) of Goryeo founded Gaeguksa 開國寺 Temple and ordered the monks specialized in vinaya studies to reside there (second year [932] of the Qingtai 清泰 era). We also see a record that when the temple burned down, a certain monk named Mokheon Gugong 木軒丘公 of the Namsan 南山 school reconstructed it.¹⁰⁵ This Namsan Vinaya school (Yuljong 律宗) seems to have

continued to exist through the Goryeo period, as we see the temple's name when the Buddhist schools (eleven schools at that time) were reduced in the eleventh reign year (1411) of Taejong 太宗 (r. 1400–1418) of the Joseon dynasty.¹⁰⁶ Even today the monastics who leave home are given the disciplinary codes of the *Four-Part Vinaya* and the bodhisattva precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, and the laity are given the five precepts and the same bodhisattva precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.

Yet, these precepts were originally derived from the theory of ten wholesome deeds based on the doctrine of karma, and they have something in common with the Confucian virtues of the five cardinal human relations. A comparison of Won'gwang's mundane five precepts (*sesok ogye* 世俗五戒) with the five cardinal human relations of Confucianism would yield the following correlations.

**Won'gwang's
five precepts**

**Five cardinal human relations of
Confucianism**

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) Serve your ruler with loyalty. | X | There must be affection between parents and children (父子有親). |
| (2) Respect your parents with filial piety. | | There must be righteousness between the ruler and the subject (君臣有義). |
| (3) Make friends with trust. | \ | There must be discriminations between husband and wife (夫婦有別). |
| (4) Do not retreat in battle. | | There must be order between the elder and the younger (長幼有序). |
| (5) Do not take life indiscriminately. | | There must be trust between friends (朋友有信). |
-

Here, we see that three of Won'gwang's five precepts are respectively correlated with [three of] the five cardinal human relations. The [other two human relations, namely] "There must be discriminations between husband and wife" and "There must be order between the elder and the younger" are replaced by the two injunctions "Do not retreat in battle" and "Do not take life indiscriminately." We can understand this change when we consider the fact that the two youths Gwisan and Chuhang were flowering youth (*hwarang* 花郎). Silla, which was conducting a war for unification, intended to train and foster human resources through the flower boy system.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, the spirit of "Do not retreat in battle" needs to be emphasized [on the one hand]. As wars necessarily involve killing, the precept of not killing, which occupied the top status in the Buddhist precepts, was in need of being alleviated. On the other hand, the ethical requirement of Confucianism such as "There must be discriminations between husband and wife" was unnecessary to an unmarried youth. Replacing this with the obligation "Do not retreat in battle," the latter will be naturally followed by the obligation "Do not take life indiscriminately"—which then completes the form of Won'gwang's five precepts. Therefore, Won'gwang's five precepts can be said to be a modification of the Mahayana bodhisattva precepts into a form similar to the five cardinal human relations of Confucianism in accordance with young men of Silla.

The complicated systems of both Mahayana and Hinayana precepts are based on the five precepts of [abstinence from] (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) sexual debauchery, (4) lying, and (5) alcohol. A theory that these five precepts correspond to the five constances (*osang* [Ch. *uchang*] 五常) of Confucianism was prevalent at that time. Since Tanjing 曇靖 (fl. fifth century) of the Northern Wei dynasty upheld the theory of identity of the five precepts with the five constances for the first time,¹⁰⁸ the correlations have had the following form with some minor differences according to the theorists.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| (1) Abstinence from killing | ————— | Benevolence (仁) |
| (2) Abstinence from stealing | ————— | Righteousness (義) |
| (3) Abstinence from sexual debauchery | ————— | Propriety (禮) |
| (4) Abstinence from lying | ✕ | Wisdom (智) |
| (5) Abstinence from alcohol | ✕ | Trustworthiness (信) |

This theory of identity of the five precepts with the five constances was also prevalent early on in Korea. For instance, the Seon master Muyeom 無染 (800–888), who resided on Seongjusan 聖住山 Mountain in the late Silla period, said to the forty-ninth ruler King Heon'gang 憲康 (r. 875–886), “The three formidable things of Confucianism (*samoe* [Ch. *sanwei*] 三畏: heavenly mandate [天命], great man [大人], sage [聖人]) are comparable to the three refuges of Buddhism (Buddha, dharma, and samgha); the five constances are completely equal to the five precepts.”¹⁰⁹ In the *Hyeonjeong-non* Hamheo Gihwa says, “While Confucianism takes the five constances as the pivot of the Way, these five constances are the so-called five precepts of Buddhism.”¹¹⁰

In this respect, it can be said that Buddhist precepts have the same character as the five cardinal human relations or the five constances of Confucianism and that they influenced the traditional ethical philosophy of Korea. We need to recall the *Brahma's Net Sutra's* statement that “the filial piety with which one piously obeys one's parents, masters and elders, and the three jewels as well as the dharma that leads to the Way is called the precept [of controlling one's behavior].”¹¹¹ In other words, while the Confucian ethics takes benevolence or filial piety as its fundamental spirit, the bodhisattva precepts also take filial piety as their fundamental mindset.

Taking this one step further, the Buddhist thinkers of the Silla emphasized that the real intent of the Mahayana bodhisattva precepts

lies in exercising the extremely pure ethical mind that is not obstructed even by the disciplinary provisions. Wonhyo's *Bosal gyebon jibeom yogi* in one fascicle (extant) begins with the following preface.

The bodhisattva precepts are a great ferry on which one returns the current to the original source and an essential gate through which one escapes from the perverse and proceeds toward the right. But the perverse and the right tend to be obfuscated, and the nature of sin and bliss is hard to discern. Why is it so? For the inner mind resembles the right one, though it is in fact perverse; the external behavior appears defiled, though the inner mind is pure; the deed accords with a minor bliss, though it brings about a major disaster; the mind goes to the remote and deep, so it can conflict with the close. Therefore, a practitioner who is one with the defilement and a *śramaṇa* who overcomes his self could fall into an apparent trace (*sajeok* 似迹) and lose their true correctness, thereby always overlooking profound precepts and seeking a shallow practice. Now, by discarding the shallow, I will complete the profound; by eliminating the apparent trace, I will make [the practice] true and real.¹¹²

He then discusses the bodhisattva's observance of precepts and transgressions thereof in terms of the three gates of (1) gravity, (2) depth, and (3) ultimacy. We do not have room to introduce the details here, but the following quotation is particularly noteworthy. For instance, the Yogācāra precept of [abstinence from] praising oneself and disparaging others is the first of the four grave precepts, but we cannot accept it literally. For we can discern four possibilities.

1. When that behavior was made to arouse others' faith: the breaking [of the precept] is a blessing, not a transgression.
2. When one's deed arose out of negligence or the undetermined mind: although the breaking is a transgression, it is not itself a defilement.
3. When one's deed arose out of desire and hatred: although the breaking is a defilement, it is not grave.
4. When one's deed arose to gain benefits or respect: the breaking is

grave, not light.¹¹³

In other words, only the fourth case corresponds to the grave transgression.

Even in this case, however, “the characteristic of the transgression is also difficult to discern because it is too complicated.”¹¹⁴ But since Buddhism is about cultivating oneself relying on the three disciplines (*sambak* [Ch. *sanxue*] 三學, Skt. *śikṣātraya*) of precepts, samadhi, and wisdom, Wonhyo maintains that we can classify diverse people roughly into three types of binaries according to the category [of three disciplines]. Of the three types, he gives the following comment in terms of precepts. “The second binary concerns two worms that eat away the Buddha dharma relying on the precepts: one who sits on the perverse precepts and the other who sits on the correct precepts. The former neither wears the hemp-made clothes nor eats five kinds of grains, thereby suppressing one who lacks miraculous feats. The latter keeps his body upright and perfects his decorum when others are relaxing themselves, thereby disparaging those others.”¹¹⁵ In other words, although one subscribes to the correct precepts, not just to the perverse precepts, “if the deed is made for the purpose of gaining benefits or respect, there is no sin that is more severe than this.”¹¹⁶

Wonhyo’s philosophy of precepts, which attaches more importance to the inner mindset of observing the precepts than to the outer form, is consistently presented in the *Beommang-gyeong bosal gyebon sagi* 梵網經菩薩戒本私記 (Personal Notes on the Bodhisattva Precepts of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*) in two fascicles (extant). The ten grave precepts of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* put the precept of not killing in the foremost position. [In this book] Wonhyo provides detailed explications of the observance and transgression of this precept and then distinguishes the following four cases.

1. When a bodhisattva with utmost penetration into the transmigration and capacities of sentient beings (*dallyun’gi* [Ch. *dahunji*] 達輪機) kills a sentient being who cannot be liberated at all: it is a blessing, not a

transgression.

2. When one kills a sentient being by mistake or in delusion: it is neither a transgression nor a bliss.
3. When one kills a sentient being of the lower grade: it is a light, not grave, transgression.
4. When one transgresses a grave precept that is established in this world: it is a grave, not light, transgression (it is a transgression, not a blessing).¹¹⁷

Wonhyo then concludes his discussion by applying the same fourfold analysis to the remaining nine grave precepts one by one.

In the extant writings of Uijeok, Daehyeon, and others, we see that such a view, which stresses the spiritual aspect of observing the precepts, was constantly succeeded and developed. In particular, Daehyeon's *Bosal gyebon jongyo* 菩薩戒本宗要 (Doctrinal Essentials of the *Bodhisattva Precepts*) in one fascicle (extant) includes systematic descriptions of his philosophy of bodhisattva precepts. In this book he examines the observance and transgression of the precepts in terms of the three gates of (1) mark of universality, (2) mark of particularity, and (3) ultimacy, which resembles those of Wonhyo. He then applies the fourfold category to the distinctions of bliss and transgression, grave and light, defiled and pure, etc.¹¹⁸

The *Jin'gang jing wujia jie* 金剛經五家解 (Expositions of the *Diamond Sutra* by the Five Masters), which caught the attention of Hamheo Gihwa in the early Joseon, has an interesting interpretation in its "Exposition by the Sixth Patriarch" (六祖解義). According to the *Diamond Sutra*, a bodhisattva should not have the notion of self (*asang* [Ch. *woxiang*] 我相, Skt. *ātma-saṃjñā*), the notion of person (*insang* [Ch. *renxiang*] 人相, Skt. *pudgala-saṃjñā*), the notion of sentient being (*jungsaeng sang* [Ch. *zhongsheng xiang*] 衆生相, Skt. *sattva-saṃjñā*), or the notion of soul (*suja sang* [Ch. *shouzhe xiang*] 壽者相, Skt. *jīva-saṃjñā*). Concerning these four notions, the sixth patriarch Huineng 慧能 (638–713) provides his explanation by distinguishing the cases of an ordinary person and a practitioner. With regard to the

notion of person among the four notions, he says, “Even though one were to practice benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness, if one is arrogant and takes pride in oneself and cannot venerate all [sentient beings], this is notion of person in the case of an ordinary person. If one intends to observe the precepts but disparages those who transgress them, this is the notion of person in the case of a practitioner.”¹¹⁹ Here the spiritual aspect of observing the precepts is emphasized. It is well known that the *Geumgang-gyeong yukjo hae* 金剛經六祖解 (Exposition of the *Diamond Sutra* by the Sixth Patriarch) was translated into vernacular Korean and printed in the tenth reign year (1464) of Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–1468) and widely circulated.¹²⁰

As seen above, the Buddhist view of precepts emphasizes an active practice of the extremely pure spirit of ethics (i.e., loving kindness and compassion), which is not obstructed even by the letter of the disciplinary provisions. We might say that it is this spirit of precepts that enabled the unification war of Silla. The activities of “righteous monks” (*wiseung* 義僧) in the Joseon period can be understood within the same context.

This view of bodhisattva precepts, however, is in danger of leading one in the wrong direction. An extreme emphasis on the spiritual aspect could lead to disregard for the standard of external behavior; if the Prajna philosophy of emptiness of Mahayana Buddhism is added to it, it could easily negate the existence of precepts. The Buddhist thinkers of Silla were very much concerned about this possibility. Wonhyo thus clarifies the observance and transgression of bodhisattva precepts in the ultimate dimension as follows.

The precepts do not arise by themselves; they exist relying on many conditions. Therefore, the precepts lack self-nature and thus cannot be identified as existence; since they exist relying on many conditions, they cannot be identified as non-existence. Besides the precepts, this principle applies equally to the transgression and the person. For this reason, if one says that there is nothing because he inclines toward non-existence, he does not commit a transgression but loses the precepts forever. If

one inclines toward existence, his observance of precepts is itself the transgression. A bodhisattva's observance of precepts is not like this and thus forgets the three wheels (precepts, transgression, and person) forever and does not fall into the two extremes (existence and non-existence), thereby perfectly accomplishing the perfection of precepts.¹²¹

Here, it is clarified that the spiritual aspect of observing the precepts (i.e., non-existence [or emptiness]) as well as its external aspect (i.e., existence) should not be neglected.

At this point of our investigation, we must say that the Buddhist precepts have made a great contribution to the traditional ethical philosophy of Korea in terms of both practice and theory. In particular, the philosophy of the Mahayana bodhisattva precepts should be evaluated as having pioneered the ethical view of the middle way that is not obstructed by either existence or non-existence. But we cannot but consider that this subtlety of observing the precepts involves the problem of falling into the one-sided emphasis on either existence or non-existence, as can be seen in several instances in the history of Korean Buddhism.

C

Contemporary Significance of Buddhist Ethics

So far, we have made an overall review of (1) how Buddhist ethics is organized systematically and (2) which aspects of this ethical system took root in Korean society. Now, we need to consider the meaning of Buddhist ethics in the present day. Since I am totally unfamiliar with modern ethical theories, however, this project is indeed difficult for me to conduct. Therefore, I would like to conclude this chapter by providing my humble opinions even at the risk of being too commonsensical.

i. Ethical Ideas of the Modern World

Ethics is an academic field that elucidates the values [determining] how human beings should live their lives. It thus needs to take up the issue of how to formulate the criteria of judging good and evil more than anything else. In this respect, as a matter of course classical ethics located those criteria in a metaphysical worldview or a universal law and tried to recognize them by rational human reason. For the ultimate value of life requires an elucidation of the fundamental sources of human existence and the criteria of judgement should take on objective universality.

But does such absolute universality of morality exist in reality? Of course, modern philosophy of science, which would not accept as certain what is not directly perceived or ascertained in logically positive terms, cannot accommodate such moral principles of classical ethics. What can be perceived or proved belongs to the realm of actual experience. Therefore, scientific observation of humans cannot but come down to the corporeal realm of experience.

Modern behavioral psychology has tried to define what has been

understood under the rubric of “mental phenomena” in terms of the language of matter. Psychoanalysis has found that what controls the human mind is not a principle of rationality but a blind impulse. Moreover, sociology has argued that ethics was derived from the general way of life in a society, or custom.¹²²

It is natural that ethical skepticism came to the fore in this ideological trend. Ethics, which has sought for ethical absoluteness, must question its own *raison d'être* before it can deal with the problem of norms. [Some scholars thus ask,] “Can ethics indeed be established as an academic field of study?”¹²³ Those who take a negative position regarding this question in the so-called metaethics, which asks about this possibility, analyze our everyday language and go so far as to say that “ethical judgements are nothing more than meaningless utterances that express emotions”—which represents the position of emotivism.¹²⁴

Buddhist ethics has something in common with this basic position of modern ethics which thinks highly of facts of reality and logical proof. For Buddhism cast doubt on the fact that the so-called ultimate truth was claimed differently by many religions in [ancient] India and put the utmost importance on the actual world human beings can recognize. Here, we need to reflect on the doctrine of twelve bases, which takes the first place in the system of Buddhist doctrines. When the doctrine says, “All things are subsumed under the six faculties and the six spheres,”¹²⁵ “six faculties” indicate sensory organs and “six spheres” refer to sense objects. Here, the doctrine concerns the actual world perceivable [by humans]. And what modern ethics has ascertained in the corporeal world of experience are only physical movements and emotional instincts. Buddhism also found [in this world] vicious living beings controlled by desire, hatred, and delusion. In this respect, this aspect can also be said to accord with modern ethics.

However, where modern ethics got bogged down, Buddhist ethics persevered. In a fashion similar to the so-called naturalistic ethics, which “deduces the universal law of behaviors only based on the facts that one can experience,”¹²⁶ it discovered the law of karmic retribution of wholesome and unwholesome deeds. Going one step

further, it revealed that this ethics of good and evil is not an absolute one but a “relative” one and proceeded to the ethics of right (*jeong* [Ch. *zheng*] 正) and perverse (*sa* [Ch. *xie*] 邪), then exploring the ultimate real characteristic of being.¹²⁷ But even in this case it did not rely on metaphysical speculations but gradually ripened intellectual capacities of human beings, thereby leading them to perceive [the real characteristic] by themselves through the experience of enlightenment.

Therefore, Buddhist ethics attained what modern ethical philosophies would have ultimately reached if pushed to their full consequence. For it does not abandon the position of perceiving and proving from beginning to end, whether it concerns the actual world or the ultimate truth. When it comes to establishing the modern ethical view, [researchers] would do well to pay great attention to these characteristics of Buddhist ethics.

ii. Freedom and Responsibility

It goes without saying that freedom and responsibility are the basic concepts of democratic civic ethics. Concerning the concept of “freedom,” however, many religions and thinkers have differing opinions. The Buddha classified the worldviews of Indian religions at that time into (1) a theory that attributes all the causes to the supreme deity’s transformative creation (*jonu hwajak* [Ch. *zunyou huazuo*] 尊祐化作, Pā. *issara-nimmāna*), (2) a theory that attributes all the causes to the previous deeds (*sukjak* [Ch. *suozuo*] 宿作, Pā. *pubbekata*), and (3) a theory that there is neither cause nor condition (*muin muyeon* [Ch. *wuyin wuyuan*] 無因無緣, Pā. *ahetuappaccayā*).¹²⁸ The first one is Brahmanism, which maintains that everything is created and controlled by the supreme deity. The second one is Jainism, which says that everything is caused by the previous deeds. The third one is the philosophy of *śramaṇas* (lit. “those who exert themselves,” indicating homeless practitioners), who denied [the existence of] the first cause.¹²⁹

These three philosophies on the fundamental causes that control

the world have difficulties in explaining the sins committed by human beings. For these theories imply that in the final analysis the sins also arose from those causes. It goes without saying that these theories deny the existence of human free will. But how could such theories be accepted? It is an extremely self-evident fact, which is directly perceived, that human beings have a free will. How could we deny this fact? Therefore, the above three theories cannot but acknowledge it. The *Upaniṣad* philosophy of Brahmanism says that the spiritual self (Skt. *jīva-ātman*) of a human is derived from *brahman* (self-existent impersonal spirit, being itself [Skt. *sat*]),¹³⁰ and the Jain theory of five substances (Skt. *dravya*)—*jīva* (soul), *pudgala* (matter), *dharmā* (medium of movement), *adharma* (medium of rest), and *ākāśa* (space)—also says that the soul has a will. If it is admitted, this will of course lead to a self-contradiction.

Because of the abovementioned problems, the Buddha took a position that these three religious philosophies cannot be considered an ultimate truth. He intended to establish the existence of free will by boldly clearing away the traditional religious ideas that do not accord with this undeniable fact. We thus need to recall that the doctrine of twelve bases defines the subject of a human being, or the sixth faculty, as the will [Skt. *manas*]. Therefore, we can say that Buddhism is a philosophy that emphasizes the freedom of will more than any other religions.

The problems of free will seem to have been controversial in modern ethics. Those who assert that the will is freely [exercised] give two reasons for their argument: (1) the fact that the will is directly perceived and (2) an assumption that if every behavior were necessarily caused, the existence of ethical phenomena would be unreasonable.¹³¹ These points can be seen as being in line with Buddhism. Opposing this theory, those scholars who subscribe to the determinist theory of will appeal to the fact that if we apply the universal law of causality (or necessity) of natural science to the mental phenomena, the freedom of will in the traditional meaning should be denied.¹³² In this fashion there has been an opposition between the theory of free will and the

determinist theory of will, and eclectic theories that attempt to solve this opposition have been proposed.¹³³

Concerning these complicated theories of will in modern ethics, I am not qualified to give a comment. But what draws my attention in the determinist theory of will is its analysis of decision-making or determination, according to which “if one had made up one’s mind not to do it at that time, one could have been in the state of not doing it.”¹³⁴ “One’s ability to make up one’s mind” implies the [existence] of free will. Here it is supposed, however, that at that time the person in question just did intend to do it, not being able to do [otherwise]. This means that the will is also restricted by the law of causality.¹³⁵ In other words, the operation of will was inevitable and its occurrence was a necessary result. Eclectic views go further from here and argue that “freedom and necessity (or determinism) are not contradictory but compatible¹³⁶ and that by seeing the will as being restricted by the law of causality, the meaning of reward and punishment is rather presented more clearly.”¹³⁷

From the Buddhist perspective, the theory introduced above may appear to seek a precise concept but in fact causes more confusion to our problem. Buddhism does not stop at pointing out that human will is directly perceived. It emphasizes that further aspects of reality, which are impermanence, suffering, and selflessness, are perceived with regard to all beings besides [the existence of free will]—this is the doctrine of three dharma seals (*sam beobin* [Ch. *san fayin*] 三法印, Skt. *tridṛṣṭinamittamudrā*).¹³⁸ Therefore, it is not the case that human behaviors (karma) are not determined simply by the will alone. In other words, they are determined by the two axes: the X-axis of freedom of will and the Y-axis of pursuit of comfort. It seems to me that the determinist theory of will does not distinguish these two axes and confuses the influence of the Y-axis with the universal law of causality.

Furthermore, the Buddhist doctrine of karma awakens humans to the law that selfish deeds (unwholesome karma) bring about results of suffering and altruistic deeds (wholesome karma) bring about pleasant results—the law of causality in the three time periods—and thus leads

them to make up their mind to spontaneously stop the evil and proceed toward the good (*jiak cheonseon* [Ch. *zhi'e qianshan*] 止惡遷善). This determination was made possible only because they have freedom in operating their will. How can we expect this free will to be found in natural objects such as inorganic substances? Natural objects just show an identical response (as a result) to an identical stimulus (as a cause) at all times (i.e., necessarily). Therefore, we should be aware that the determinist view of will reduces a human being only to a material existence (or a natural object).

As seen above, it is evident that the Buddhist doctrine of karma emphasizes human free will more than any other religious ideas. This doctrine did revitalize the freedom of human will from the many ideological bondages of the ancient Indian religions, but at the same time it is also expected to carry out that mission in the challenges from modern philosophies. Moreover, since the doctrine of karma says that all the karmic causes are necessarily followed by corresponding retributions, it accords well with the concepts of freedom and responsibility of democratic ideas. It thus leads people to make up their mind to make wholesome deeds by themselves from this position. I therefore think that this aspect [of the doctrine of karma] also could make a great contribution to establishing the spirit of democratic civic autonomy.

iii. Democratic Idea of the Nation

Commodities are essential for sustaining our lives. In modern democratic society, industries produce and provide such commodities for our daily life, but this project is mainly entrusted to enterprises. For it is enterprises that develop new products with enthusiasm and creativity. In this respect, fostering enterprises is absolutely needed to construct an abundant society.

To foster enterprises, their freedom of economic activity and private ownership of wealth should be guaranteed. For without the

private ownership of profit a will to investment cannot be aroused and without the freedom of activities a creative project cannot be carried out. In today's socialist countries, where freedom of economic activities and private ownership of wealth are not guaranteed, we cannot see the prosperity of enterprises but just witness their low level of living.

The freedom of economic activity and private ownership, however, is in danger of causing enterprises to risk seeking unjust profits. Since humans have free will, they can make wholesome deeds or unwholesome deeds. Enterprises, too, have the possibility [to go in either direction]. They could monopolize the market with their enormous economic power and sell low quality products at a high price. Or they could indulge themselves in speculation rather than exerting themselves to produce [quality goods], thereby fomenting uncontrollable social evil.

Therefore, although the protecting and fostering of enterprises is important, the monitoring and controlling of them is also needed. We do need another power that can restrain the high-handedness of big businesses that have enormous economic power. We cannot but rely on political power for this. Since political power is also entrusted to human beings, however, it is not free from abuse and tyranny. If such things occur, we may replace that power with a different one by reflecting the intention of the whole people. Development of the democratic parliamentary system could be attributed to the consideration of this possibility.

Democracy has the shortcoming that it is difficult [for any single party] to have a strong political power. Since its basic feature is to revere the people's intent, however, if we make clear "the cause and effect of the economic activities" from this perspective [of democracy], the enterprises will carry out their activities brilliantly. To be more specific, politics should not suppress the freedom of economic activities or infringe upon the private wealth. It should not bestow preferential treatment or magnanimity upon specific enterprises, either. When the economic policy is clearly established in this manner, then enterprises cannot but pursue a desirable direction of production by producing

quality products in large quantities and selling them at a low price for their own sustenance.

In the sixth century BCE India was shifting from an agricultural economy to a commercial economy and many city states were established. The Buddha, who was active in this period, seems to have been well aware of the interaction between politics and economy described above. For instance, we can find the following statement in a *sutta* entitled “The Minor Conditions” (小緣經), included in the *Dirghāgama* (*Zhang ahan jing* 長阿含經, Pā. *Dīghanikāya*), fascicle 6. “When society fell into extreme evil due to the desire for wealth and theft, they elected a king and had him govern them.”¹³⁹ Here, the Buddha regards the royal power as coming from a democratic contract and the king’s first duty as offering a solution to economic problems. The wheel-turning sage king, who frequently appears in the *Āgamas*, represents this ideal kingship, and it is said that since he governs the country with the correct dharma, namely the ten wholesome deeds (*sip seoneop* [Ch. *shi shanye*] 十善業), the whole country will be unified and an abundant society will be constructed.¹⁴⁰ Since [the doctrine of] ten wholesome deeds clarifies the cause and effect and encourages one to make wholesome deeds, it can apply to business ethics just as it is.

Nevertheless, we cannot say that even if we attain material abundance through wholesome politics and enterprises, these alone will solve all the problems. For human capabilities and materials not only have limitations, but also everything has the attribute of impermanence. In Buddhist terms, all things are subject to the process of arising, abiding, changing, and perishing. As far as material beings have such limitations, even though they are abundant, they will become worthless in the end.

Therefore, welfare society in the true sense of the term should be accompanied by material prosperity and the development of spiritual culture. For it is the spiritual dimension that can overcome the limitations of matter and grant a new value to it. Buddhist ethics in the final analysis presents a national ideology of this dimension. All Buddhists are assigned a mission to “construct a Buddha land and

edify sentient beings”—implied in a prophecy about their attainment of buddhahood (*sugi* [Ch. *shouji*] 授記, Skt. *vyākaraṇa*).¹⁴¹ Here, we find that this Buddha land is beautifully described in terms of its material abundance and that it is filled with sentient beings who seek enlightenment (i.e., bodhisattvas). I assume that ethics should pursue such an [ideal] value for national ideology in the end.

D Conclusions

Buddhist ethics is preached in a multi-layered doctrinal system in which the doctrine of ten wholesome deeds is developed into the doctrine of the four noble truths, then into the doctrine of six perfections, and finally into the doctrine of the one Buddha vehicle. Therefore, it has a complicated content and structure, but such a way of organization is adopted not for making the followers believe and accept the absoluteness of morals but for causing them to discover the ethical value themselves and proceed toward the independent practice of morality.

Indian society in the sixth century BCE was facing severe ideological confusion. For a newly emerging group of *śramaṇas* was challenging the traditional religion of Brahmanism to philosophical supremacy. The Buddha classified the philosophical ideas of his times largely into three types. The first one is the theory of Brahmanism that attributes all the causes to a supreme deity's transformative creation. The second one is the Jain theory that attributes all the causes to the previous deeds. The third one is the theory presented by some *śramaṇas* who denied [the existence of] the first cause, or the theory that there is neither cause nor condition. The Buddha then pointed out that whatever theory falls into one of the three types would face difficulties in giving a reasonable explanation to the phenomena of the existence of human sins and of free will.

When a metaphysical truth does not correspond to the actual reality in this way, Buddhism does not take a position that intends to base itself on the former and offer a forced explanation of the latter. It rather encourages its followers to discard the former and take the latter instead. The doctrine of twelve bases, according to which "all things are subsumed under the twelve categories of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind (six inner faculties) as well as color (material form),

sound, odor, taste, tactile, and dharma (six outer fields),” gives an excellent presentation of this fundamental position of Buddhism. In this theory, the sovereign agent of a human [deed] (the sixth faculty) in the real world perceived by the human is identified as free will (mind). Moreover, it is an evident reality that each of these twelve bases is constantly changing and thus impermanent and that it is thus suffering and cannot be identified as self—this is the doctrine of three dharma seals.

The Buddhist doctrine of ten wholesome deeds is an ethical theory based on this actual reality (including the doctrine of twelve bases and that of three dharma seals). Human beings are attached to what cannot be considered their selves and see them as their selves; they constantly seek pleasure and comfort for the sustenance of those “selves.” These willful activities are called “karma.” When a natural object receives the karmic action, it will produce a necessary response (or retribution) to that action. But when the object in question is another person, we cannot give the same answer uniformly, for that person can activate his or her own will. However, humans do not differ in their intention in that all work for the sustenance of their individual selves. Therefore, a karmic action made for the harmonious co-existence of the self and others (i.e., a wholesome deed) will necessarily elicit cooperation from others (or pleasure); a karmic action made only for the self (i.e., an unwholesome deed) will face difficulties in the accomplishment of its original intention (or suffering). In other words, the karmic causes of good and evil are always followed by the corresponding retributions of pleasure and suffering. Rather, this regularity is established because both the agent of a deed in question and the others have a will unlike the law of causality that applies to the natural phenomena [that do not have a will]. It thus comes to have an ethical character.

If anyone recognizes this regularity in the actual world, he or she will spontaneously repudiate the ten unwholesome deeds (killing, stealing, sexual debauchery, lying, divisive speech, meaningless chatter, ill words, desire, hatred, and delusion) and proceed toward the ten wholesome deeds. Such a person will exert oneself to the donation

(of wealth and dharma) and the observance of precepts (such as five precepts and the eight purifying precepts) with the four immeasurable minds (of loving kindness, compassion, joy, and impartiality). Furthermore, such a person cannot but make a specific deed of acknowledging the favor and requiting it for important benefactors (such as parents, masters and elders, rulers, household wives, relatives, friends, and servants). Here, we can locate a theoretical ground for which the specific social ethics such as the Confucian five cardinal human relations can partake of the universal ethics of Buddhism.

Outer human behaviors, however, have limitations and thus cannot escape from impermanence, however strenuous one is at making wholesome deeds. The doctrine of the four noble truths (of suffering, arising, cessation, and path) is presented to overcome these limitations of the doctrine of ten wholesome deeds and pursue the absolute value. The suffering of human existence arises from a perverse view which adheres to what is not the self and sees it as the self—these are the truths of suffering and of its arising. This doctrine then extinguishes this attachment—this corresponds to the truth of cessation; and it demonstrates the path to the ultimate solution of suffering—this corresponds to the truth of path. It is the Mahayana doctrine of six perfections (giving, precepts, perseverance, efforts, meditation, and wisdom) that further advanced the ethics of the correct and perverse more thoroughly. Here, the practice of the thoroughgoing emptiness view, which destroys all the discriminations and false attachments, is now going beyond the dimension of language and thought (and thereby reaches the other or perfected shore).

This pursuit of supramundane values could lead one to disregard social ethics because it does not seek an external solution but tries to solve the problem inside the human mind at a fundamental level. But this is not the case. The noble eightfold path presented in the doctrine of the four noble truths includes social ethics such as right intention, right speech, right behavior, and right livelihood; of the six perfections, the first two, namely giving (Skt. *dāna*) and precepts (Skt. *śīla*), are the wholesome deeds that have the most active character in the doctrine

of ten deeds. Besides, these ethical activities come to have an infinitely deepening ethical spirit through the Mahayana emptiness view. In the case of giving, it comes to be expanded to the notion of non-abiding giving in which the three wheels of giver, receiver, and gift are all empty and tranquil; in the case of precepts, these are expanded to encompass all the wholesome deeds (as exemplified by the ten wholesome precepts and the three sets of pure precepts). This concept of precepts then leads to the establishment of the Mahayana bodhisattva precepts (as presented in the Yogācāra treatises and the *Brahma's Net Sutra*) that are more concerned with the mental motive than with the external behavior.

For what reason are the Mahayana bodhisattvas required to carry out the activities of such strong social ethics? We cannot find a clear theoretical ground for this requirement in the Prajna[-Madhyamaka notion of] wisdom of emptiness view (*gongguan ji* [Ch. *kongguan zhi*] 空觀智). The ultimate real characteristic of all beings can be revealed only through the unexcelled, correct, and equal enlightenment attained by the Buddha. Therefore, Buddhism charges all the Buddhists with the mission that they should attain that unexcelled enlightenment, thereby purifying their society and edifying sentient beings (as emphasized by the doctrine of the one Buddha vehicle). In short, in the end Buddhism pursues this ethics of enlightenment.

In the doctrinal system of Buddhist ethics as noted above, more than anything else its four elements of (1) theory of karmic retribution, (2) philosophy of giving, (3) concept of favor-requital, and (4) spirit of bodhisattva precepts are thought to have taken root deeply in Korean society.

The theory of karma was not only the most elementary doctrine in Buddhism, but also occupied a central position in the Buddhist philosophy of the early period that was introduced to the Three Kingdoms. This theory had a political character in that it tried to break down the aristocracy's ideological foundation of shamanism, which was a factor that stood in the way of the development of the country. As Buddhism was promoted, however, the theory of karma gradually

became incorporated as social ethics and the divination society is thought to have made a significant contribution to its acceptance. This theory was then so popularized that it frequently became a motive of the old novels, but it lost its original spirit of overcoming the current situation and turned into a literary mode expressing the sentiment of *han* 恨.

Just as the introduction and promotion of Buddhism served the development of the country, so [the Buddhist act of] “giving” was carried out nationwide from the beginning. Even under the anti-Buddhist policies of the Joseon period, the theory of the merits of giving was spreading deeply among the populace. It is regrettable, however, that this theory of giving inclined toward a theory of merits and was not able to lead to active projects of social welfare of the laity.

The pursuit of supramundane values by the samgha was bound to come into conflict with the mundane political goal of the country. In this situation it was a matter of course that the concept of “favor” which establishes specific social ethics of Buddhism drew attention. Of the four favors from (1) parents, (2) masters and elders, (3) rulers, and (4) alms givers, it was the favor from rulers that has traditionally been considered significant. This is because Buddhism received an enormous protection from the country. In the Joseon period the interaction between Buddhism and Confucianism led to an emphasis on the favor from parents.

The Buddhist precepts have also exerted considerable influence on the ethical philosophy of Korea. The Baekje monk Gyeomik’s introduction of the five-part vinaya and translations of related texts were internationally noteworthy, and the Silla monk Won’gwang’s adoption of the five mundane precepts was a creative application of the ten grave precepts of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*, peculiar to Silla. In particular, research into the Mahayana bodhisattva precepts conducted by the scholar-monks in the period of Silla’s unification of the Three Kingdoms, including Wonhyo, delved into the inner spirit of ethics rather than its external forms. At the same time, however, this research also revealed that the ultimate state of observance of precepts lies in the

middle way that is not inclined toward either inside or outside.

Finally, we have examined what significance Buddhist ethics, as sketched above, has in contemporary Korean society by focusing on the three issues of (1) modern ethical philosophies, (2) freedom and responsibility, and (3) democratic ideology of the nation.

Classical ethics is based on the presupposition that ethical absoluteness or universality exists, and tries to reveal it through the rational reason of human beings. But modern scientific thinking would not accept as truth what is not [experientially] perceived or [logically] proved. Therefore, a scientific study of human beings cannot but seek a lesser realm of experience. It seems, however, that what modern ethical theories derived from this is nothing but [an analysis of] instinctive behavior or everyday language.

Buddhism has something in common with modern ethics in that it attaches importance to the actual facts and recognition (as exemplified in the doctrine of twelve bases) more than anything else. But Buddhism did not remain there, seeking the regularities of karmic retribution of good and evil deeds in a fashion similar to a naturalist theory of ethics and finally being awakened to the real characteristic of beings. Therefore, Buddhist ethics can be said to be a modern ethical philosophy that pushes the scientific method to its limits.

Freedom and responsibility are a basic spirit for the civil ethics of democratic society. Yet concerning the concept of freedom, determinists claim that while a human will appear to have freedom, its actual operation is restricted by the causality of natural law and thus cannot escape from the necessity [of nature]. This theory, however, adds more confusion to the problem. According to Buddhism, a coordinate of human behaviors (karma) is determined by both the X-axis of free will (as can be seen from the doctrine of twelve bases) and the Y-axis of pursuit of comfort (as can be seen from the doctrine of three dharma seals). The determinist theory of free will does not separate the two axes from each other and confuses the influence of the Y-axis with the causality of natural law. In this respect, Buddhism is expected to accomplish its mission of overcoming the challenge of modern

philosophies just as it liberated the human will from the ideological bondage of ancient Indian religions.

In modern society enterprises create wealth. To foster enterprises, freedom of economic activity and private ownership should be guaranteed. At the same time, however, the pursuit of undue interests must be blocked. In order to accomplish this goal, we need to form a democratic political power that can cope with the economic power, and this political power should focus on clarifying the “cause and effect” of the economic activities. Only then would enterprises produce quality goods. The Buddhist idea of the wheel-turning sage king represents this political ideology clearly. This wheel-turning sage king is said to govern the country with the correct dharma (as presented in the doctrine of karma) and realize the unified world of affluence. Material affluence alone does not construct an ideal society, however. It should also be accompanied by the advancement of spiritual culture. For it is the spiritual dimension that overcomes the limitations of matter and gives a new value to it. Ultimately, the Buddhist doctrine of the one Buddha vehicle pursues such a value for the benefit of state ideology.

Notes

- 1 In the *R̥g-Veda*'s polytheistic religion of nature deities, the most sublime status was bestowed on the god Indra (corresponding to Haneul-im). The pantheistic notion of the god Brahman (Beom [Ch. Fan] 梵) appearing in the *Brāhmana* (*Beomseo* [Ch. *Fanshu*] 梵書) was developed into the transformation theory of *sat* (existence) as was presented in the *Upaniṣad*.
- 2 *Zhong aban jing* 中阿含經, fasc. 3, "Sectarian Tenets" (度經), T 1.435b19–24, "若如是者 諸賢等皆是殺生. 所以者何? 以其一切皆因尊祐造故. . . 若一切皆因尊祐造 見如真者. 於內因內 作以不作 都無欲無方便." Here, "zunyou" 尊祐 (Kr. *jonu*, Skt. *īśvara*) refers to a god of sovereignty or lord; "fangbian" 方便 (Kr. *bangpyeon*, Skt. *upāya*) refers to perseverance or effort. These terms are used in the *Zhong aban jing*.
- 3 *Za aban jing* 雜阿含經, fasc. 13, *sutta* 319, T 2.91a27–29, "佛告婆羅門 一切者謂十二入處 眼色耳聲鼻香舌味身觸意法 是名一切."
- 4 According to Buddhaghosa (Ch. Jueyin 覺音, ca. fifth century), the Pāli word *dhamma* has four meanings: (1) virtue or quality (*guṇa*), (2) teaching (*desanā*), (3) sacred canon (*pariyatti*), and (4) insentience (*nissatta-nijjivatā*). See Thomas William Rhys Davids and William Stede, eds., *Pali-English Dictionary* (Chipstead: Pali Text Society, 1921–1925), 335.
- 5 *Za aban jing*, fasc. 8, *sutta* 188, T 2.49 b8–11, "爾時世尊告諸比丘 當正觀察眼無常. . . 如是耳鼻舌身意." *Sutta* 208 then says, "Just as the four *suttas* relating to the inner bases, so the external bases [has the same attributes]" (如內入處四經如是外入處. . .) (T2.52c15).
- 6 *Za aban jing*, fasc. 11, *sutta* 274, T 2.73a12–16, "云何比丘? 眼是常耶? 為非常耶? 答言無常. 世尊復問若無常者 是苦耶? 答言是苦. 世尊復問 若無常苦者是變易法. 多聞聖弟子寧於中見我異我相在不? 答言 不也世尊. 耳鼻舌身意亦復如是."
- 7 Buddhism calls a few prominent *śramaṇas*, who challenged Brahmanism, the six heretics. Of these Nigaṇtha Nātaputta who founded Jainism is known to have upheld the doctrine that attributes everything to the previous deeds; Makkhali Gosāla and others are known to have maintained the doctrine that denies causes and conditions. See Kumoi Shōzen 雲井昭善, *Bukkyō kōki jidai no shisō kenkyū* 仏教興起時代の思想研究 (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1973), 289.

- 8 *Zhong aban jing*, fasc. 3, “Intention” (思經), T 1.437b26–28, “若有故作業 我說彼必受其報 或現世受 或後世受. 若不故作業 我說此不必受報.”
- 9 *Zhong aban jing*, fasc. 3, “Intention,” T 1.437b28–c1, “於中身故作三業 不善與苦果受於苦報. 口有四業 意有三業 不善與苦果 受於苦報.”
- 10 *Za aban jing*, fasc. 28, *sutta* 791, etc.
- 11 *Za aban jing*, fasc. 28, *sutta* 790, etc.
- 12 *Zhong aban jing*, fasc. 3, “Intention,” T 1.438a8–24, “彼心與慈俱 遍滿一方成就遊 如是二三四方四維上下 普周一切 心與慈俱 無結無怨無恚無諍 極廣甚大 無量善修 遍滿一切世間成就遊. . . 如是悲喜心與捨俱.”
- 13 *Za aban jing*, fasc. 16, *sutta* 450, T 2.115c; fasc. 31, *sutta* 874, T 2.220c; *Zhengyi aban jing* 增壹阿含經, fasc. 7, “Five Precepts” (五戒品), T 2.576a–77a, etc.
- 14 This is based on the *Four-Part Vinaya* (*Sifen lü* 四分律).
- 15 *Zhong aban jing*, fasc. 47, “Gotami” (瞿曇彌經), T 1.721c–23a, etc.
- 16 *Za aban jing*, fasc. 26, *sutta* 668, T 2.185a4, “若最勝施者 謂法施”; *Zhengyi aban jing*, fasc. 7, “Existence and Non-Existence” (有無品), *sutta* 3, T 2.577b16, “所謂法施財施.”
- 17 *Za aban jing*, fasc. 7, *sutta* 93, T 2.24c–25a. In this scripture, one’s parents, wife and children, ancestors, retainues, servants, employees, *śramaṇas*, brahmins, etc. are counted as the objects of *dāna*.
- 18 *Fanwang jing* 梵網經, fasc. 2, T 24.1005c8–9, “見一切疾病人 常應供養如佛無異. 八福田中 看病福田第一福田.” In the *Sutra on the Fields of Merit Preached by the Buddha* (*Foshuo zhude futian jing* 佛說諸德福田經, T 16.777a) is introduced the samgha as the field of merit (*seung bokjeon* [Ch. *seng futian*] 僧福田), which is endowed with the five pure qualities (*o jeongdeok* [Ch. *wu jingde*] 五淨德), as well as the seven fields of merit.
- 19 *Za aban jing*, fasc. 26, *sutta* 668, 669, T 2.185a, etc.
- 20 *Za aban jing*, fasc. 40, *sutta* 1106, T 2.290c23–26, “釋提桓因本為人時 行於頓施 沙門婆羅門 貧窮困苦 求生行路乞 施以飲食錢財穀帛 華香嚴具床臥燈明 以堪能故名釋提桓因.”
- 21 *Zhang aban jing*, fasc. 15, “Kūṭadanta” (究羅檀頭經), T 1.100b10–11, “出家為道 修四無量心 身壞命終 生梵天上”; *Zhang aban jing*, fasc. 14, “Brahma’s Trembling” (梵動經, Pā. *Brahmajāla*), T 1.90b22–27, “從光音天命終 生空梵天中. . . 復有餘眾生 命行福盡 於光音天 命終來生空梵天中. 其先生眾生 便作是念. 我於此處是梵大梵.” The four immeasurable minds are sometimes called the path of Brahma (*Beomcheon do* [Ch. *Fantian dao*] 梵天道), “dwelling of pure behavior” (*beomsil* [Ch. *fanshi*] 梵室), etc. See *Zhang aban jing*, fasc. 16, “Three Knowledges” (三明經, Pā. *Tevijja*), T 1.104c–107a; *Zhong aban jing*, fasc. 2, “Seven Suns” (七日經, Pā. *Suriya*), T 1.428c–429c.

- 22 *Za aban jing*, fasc. 4, *sutta* 92, T 2.24a, etc.
- 23 *Za aban jing*, fasc. 33, *sutta* 931, T 2.237c, etc.
- 24 *Zhong aban jing*, fasc. 33, “Advice to Sigāla” (善生經); *Zhang aban jing*, fasc. 12, “Advice to Sigāla”; *Sutra on Śrīgāla’s Reverence to the Six Directions Preached by the Buddha* (*Foshuo Shijialuoye liufangli jing* 佛說尸迦羅越六方禮經); *Sutra on Siṅgāla Preached by the Buddha* (*Foshuo Shanshengzi jing* 佛說善生子經). All these scriptures are included in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, volume 1. The Pāli scriptures such as the *Siṅgālovāda-suttanta*, included in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, volume 23 (*sic*: should be “31”), is also equivalent to these scriptures. It is thought that the *Sutra on Upāsaka Precepts* (*Youposai jie jing* 優婆塞戒經) was derived from these earlier scriptures.
- 25 For instance, the *Madhyamāgama* stipulates that offspring should fulfill the five obligations of (1) increasing the parents’ wealth, (2) perfectly taking care of daily affairs, (3) respecting the parents’ wishes, (4) not going against the parents’ habitual behaviors, and (5) bestowing private belongings on the parents. The parents should take good care of their offspring with the five deeds of (1) loving them, (2) offering what they need without any deficiency, (3) not letting them fall into debts, (4) marrying them to their congenial spouse, and (5) willingly bequeathing the entire wealth to them. See *Zhong aban jing*, fasc. 33, “Advice to Sigāla,” T 1.641a1–8, “子當以五事 奉敬供養父母。云何為五。一者增益財物。二者備辦眾事。三者所欲則奉。四者自恣不違。五者所有私物盡以奉上。... 父母亦以五事 善念其子。云何為五。一者愛念兒子。二者供給無乏。三者令子不負債。四者婚娶稱可。五者父母可意所有財物盡以付子。”
- 26 *Zhang aban jing*, fasc. 7, “Wheel-Turning Sage King’s Practice” (轉輪聖王修行經); *Zhong aban jing*, fasc. 15, “Wheel-Turning King” (轉輪王經), etc.
- 27 *Faju jing* 法句經, fasc. 1, T 4.559c4–7, “學無朋類 不得善友 寧獨守善 不與愚偕。樂戒學行 奚用伴為 獨善無憂 如空野象。” etc.
- 28 *Foshuo fumu en nanbao jing* 佛說父母恩難報經, T 16.778c29–79a4, “父母於子 有大增益 乳哺長養... 右肩負父 左肩負母 經歷千年... 此子猶不足報父母恩。若父母無信教令信 獲安隱處...”; *Foshuo xiaozi jing* 佛說孝子經, T 16.780b6–c11, “親之生子 懷之十月... 親恩若此 何以報之?... 子之養親 甘露百味以恣其口... 未為孝矣... 若不能以三尊之至化其親者 雖為孝養 猶為不孝。”
- 29 Michihata Ryōshū 道端良秀, *Bukkyō to Jukyō rinri* 仏教と儒教倫理 (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1970), 87.
- 30 See chapter 4, section B, subsection iii of this book.
- 31 Michihata, *Bukkyō to Jukyō rinri*, 88–89.

- 32 *Zhengyi ahan jing*, fasc. 17, “Four Truths” (四諦品), *sutta* 1, T 2.631a; *Zhong ahan jing*, fasc. 7, “*Sutta* of Discerning the Four Noble Truths” (分別四諦經), T 1.467a–469c, etc.
- 33 *Jin’gang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅密經 (trans. Kumārajīva), T 8.749a9–11, “如是滅度無量無數無邊眾生 實無眾生得滅度者. 何以故? 須菩提! 若菩薩有我相人相眾生相壽者相 即非菩薩.”
- 34 The term “six perfections” occurs in *Xiaopin bore boluomi jing* 小品般若波羅密經, fascicle 3, the “Transferences” chapter (迴向品) (T 8.547c), and the six perfections in their complete form [of transcription] occur in fascicle 7, the “Profound Merits” chapter (深功德品) (T 8.566c). In the case of the *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅密經, the six perfections in their complete form [of transcription] appear from the first chapter of “Preface” (序品) (T 8.218c).
- 35 *Jin’gang bore boluomi jing*, T 8.749a12–13, “菩薩於法 應無所住 行於布施.”
- 36 *Mohe bore boluomi jing*, fasc. 1, “Preface,” T 8.218c21–24, “菩薩摩訶薩 以不住法住般若波羅密中 以無所捨法應具足檀那波羅密 施者受者及財物不可得故.”
- 37 See above note 35 of this chapter.
- 38 *Jin’gang bore boluomi jing*, T 8.749b18–23, “若人滿三千大千世界 七寶以用布施 是人所得福德 寧為多不?... 甚多.... 若復有人 於此經中受持 乃至四句偈等 為他人說 其福勝彼.”
- 39 *Jie shenmi jing* 解深密經, fasc. 4, “*Bhūmipāramitā*” (地波羅蜜多品), T 16.705c14–15, “施三種者 一者法施 二者財施 三者無畏施.”
- 40 *Mohe bore boluomi jing*, fasc. 24, “Four Means of Conversion” (四攝品), T 8.394a–398a; *Yuqie shi di lun* 瑜伽師地論, fasc. 40, “*Bodhisattva-bhūmi*” division (菩薩地), “Means of Conversion” (攝事品, Skt. *Samgrahavastu-pāṭala*), T 30.529c–533a, etc.
- 41 *Xiaopin bore boluomi jing*, fasc. 6, “*Avaiartika*” (阿惟越致相品), T 8.564a; fasc. 5, “Queries on the Vehicles” (問乘品), T 8.250a13–15, “云何名尸羅波羅蜜? 須菩提! 菩薩摩訶薩以應薩婆若心 自行十善道 亦教他行十善道.”
- 42 *Shizhu jing* 十住經, fasc. 1, T 10.504b–c.
- 43 *Yuqie shi di lun*, fasc. 40, “*Bodhisattva-bhūmi*” division, “Precepts” (戒品), T 30.515b. This chapter came to be circulated in a separate text entitled *Pusa jieben* 菩薩戒本 [Precepts for Bodhisattvas], T 34.1110b ff.
- 44 *Yuqie shi di lun*, fasc. 40, T 30.511c–514b.
- 45 *Fanwang jing* 梵網經, fasc. 2, T 24.1004b–10a.
- 46 The “Receiving the Precepts” chapter (受戒品) in the *Youposai jie jing*, fascicle 3 (T 42.1049a–b) lists six grave dharmas that consist of not killing, not stealing, not speaking falsity (不虛說), not falling into sexual debauchery, not slandering the

- four groups of disciples, and not selling alcohol.
- 47 *Fanwang jing*, fasc. 2, T 24.1003c22–24, “金剛寶戒是一切佛本源 一切菩薩本源 佛性種子. 一切眾生皆有佛性 一切意識色心是情是心 皆入佛性戒中.”
- 48 *Fanwang jing*, fasc. 2, T 24.1004a24–25, “孝順父母師僧三寶 孝順至道之法 孝名為戒 亦名制止.”
- 49 *Shizhu jing*, fasc. 1, T 10.501a–b.
- 50 *Foshuo Wuliangshou jing* 佛說無量壽經, fasc. 1, T 12.267c–69b.
- 51 *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, fasc. 1, “Expedient Means” (方便品), T 9.7a23–25, “諸佛世尊 欲令眾生開佛知見 使得清淨故 出現於世...”
- 52 *Miaofa lianhua jing*, fasc. 1, “Expedient Means,” T 9.7b2–3, “如來但以一佛乘故 為眾生說法 無有餘乘 若二若三.”
- 53 *Miaofa lianhua jing*, fasc. 1, “Expedient Means,” T 9.5c10–11, “佛所成就 第一希有難解之法 唯佛與佛 乃能究盡諸法實相.” The text is followed by verses, in which the following (T 9.6a16–17) is noteworthy. “The number of the bodhisattvas in the non-retrogressing stage is as many as the sands in the Ganges River. Even though they contemplate on and seek the real characteristic, they cannot know it” (不退諸菩薩 其數如恒沙 一心共思求 亦復不能知).
- 54 *Miaofa lianhua jing*, fasc. 1, “Expedient Means,” T 9.7c1–3, “自謂已得阿羅漢 是最後身究竟涅槃 便不復志求阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 當知此輩皆是增上慢人.”
- 55 *Miaofa lianhua jing*, fasc. 2, “Parables” (譬喻品), T 9.11b–c, etc.
- * The four pairs in these two sets of terms, such as the evil and the good, refer to binaries as posited in the order of the four doctrines of ten deeds, the four noble truths, six perfections, the one Buddha vehicle.
- 56 *Faju jing*, fasc. 2, T 4.567b1–2; *Zhengyi ahan jing*, fasc. 1, “Preface” (序品), T 2.551a13–14, etc.
- 57 Koh Ikjin, “Han’guk godae ui Bulgyo sasang” 韓國古代의 佛教思想, in *Cheolhak sasang ui je munje* 哲學思想의 諸問題, ed. Han’guk jeongsin munhwa yeon’guwon (Seongnam: Han’guk jeongsin munhwa yeon’guwon, 1984), 2:182.
- 58 *Haedong goseung-jeon* 海東高僧傳, fasc. 1, “The Monk Sundo” (釋順道), T 50.1016a12.
- 59 *Samguk sagi* 三國史記, fasc. 18, “King Gugugyang, Year 8” (故國壤王 八年).
- 60 *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事, fasc. 3, “Nanta Opens Baekje” (難陀闢濟).
- 61 *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 3, “Wonjong Promotes the Dharma” (原宗興法), T 49.987b ff.
- 62 Koh Ikjin, “Han’guk godae ui Bulgyo sasang,” 186 (concerning the wheel-turning sage king, Maitreya, etc.), 192 (concerning *hwarang*).
- 63 *Ibid.*, 185–97.

- 64 *Zhancha shan'e yebao jing* 占察善惡業報經 (trans. Putideng 菩提燈 [*Bodhidipa?]), T 17.901c ff. This scripture is considered an apocryphal text composed in China.
- 65 *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 4, “Won'gwang Studies in the West” (圓光西學), T 49.1003a14–15; Koh Ikjin, “Han'guk godae ui Bulgyo sasang,” 219.
- 66 *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 5, “Daeseong's Filial Piety for the Parents of Two Generations” (大城孝二世父母), T 49.1018a6–9.
- 67 *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 4, “Jinpyo Transmits the Divination Sticks” (真表傳簡), T 49.1007b ff; “Stone Inscription of Baryeonsa Temple on Pungaksan (Geumgangsán) Mountain in the Gwandong Region” (關東楓岳鉢淵藪石記), T 49.1008a ff.
- 68 *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 2, “King Munho, Beommin” (文虎王法敏), T 49.972a ff.
- 69 *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 1, “Gim Yusin” (金庾信; he is said to be a reincarnation of the Goguryeo diviner Chunam 楸南), “Taejong, the Lord Chunchu” (太宗春秋公; he is said to be a reincarnation of one of the deities in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three Gods [Skt. Trāyastriṃśā]); fasc. 5, “The Female Servant Ungmyeon's Recollection of the Buddha and Ascent to the West” (郁面婢念佛西昇; she is said to be a reincarnation of an ox in Buseoksa Temple), “Daeseong's Filial Piety for the Parents of Two Generations” (Gim [i.e., Daeseong] is said to be a reincarnation of the poor lady Gyeongjo's 慶祖 son), “Seonnyul's Reincarnation” (善律還生; he is said to be reborn in the Yama Heaven).
- 70 Kim Gidong 金起東, *Gungmunhak sang ui Bulgyo sasang* 國文學上の佛教思想 (Seoul: Jinmyeong Munhwasa, 1973), 43.
- 71 *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 5, “Daeseong's Filial Piety for the Parents of Two Generations,” T 49.1018a ff. (H 6.367c ff).
- 72 Koh Ikjin, “*Beophwa-gyeong Gyehwan-hae ui seonghaeng naeryeok go*” 法華經戒環解の盛行來歴考, *Bulgyo hakbo*, no. 12 (1975): 189. Even since the compilation of the catalog [for the Jiehuan 戒環 (fl. 1120s) edition], new versions of the *Lotus Sutra* have been continuously discovered.
- 73 Yi Neunghwa 李能和, *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史 (Keijō [Seoul]: Sinmun'gwan, 1918), 2:380.
- 74 *Dasheng bensheng xindi guanjing* 大乘本生心地觀經, fasc. 2, “Favor-Requtal” (報恩品), T 3.159a12–13, “世出世恩 有其四種 一父母恩 二眾生恩 三國王恩 四三寶恩.”
- 75 *Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽 (by Daocheng), fasc. 2, “Favors and Filial Piety” (恩孝), T 53.289c1.
- 76 *Samguk sagi*, fasc. 4, “King Jinpyeong, Year 30” (眞平王三十年).
- 77 *Samguk sagi*, fasc. 47, “Chwido” 驟徒, “太宗大王時 百濟來伐助川城 大王興師出戰未決 於是道玉語 . . . 我形似桑門而已 無一善可取 不如從軍殺身以報

國。”

- 78 *Beomman-gyeong gojeok-gi* 梵網經古迹記 (by Daehyeon), fasc. 3, H 3.447b, “孝謂養育 順即恭敬. 知恩報恩 即是孝道. 恩有二種. 一滋長生身恩 謂即父母. 二長養法身恩 即師僧等. 以財法二 如應敬養.”
- 79 Koh Ikjin, “Baengnyeonsa ui sasang jeontong gwa Cheonchaek ui jeosul munje” 白蓮社의 思想傳統과 天頌의 著述問題, *Bulgyo hakbo*, no. 16 (1979): 156.
- 80 Koh Ikjin, “*Cheong taekbeop bo'eun-mun* ui jeoja wa geu sasang” 請擇法報恩文의 著者と 그 思想, *Bulgyo hakbo*, no. 17 (1980): 298–99.
- 81 *Zhang ahan jing*, fasc. 7, “Wheel-Turning Sage King’s Practice,” (轉輪聖王修行經), T 1.39a21–42b19; *Zhong ahan jing*, fasc. 15, “Wheel-Turning King” (轉輪王經), T 1.520b16–25a3, etc.
- 82 The *Shizhu jing* (corresponding to the “Ten Grounds” chapter [十地品] of the *Flower Garland Sutra*), the *Humane Kings’ Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (*Renwang bore boluomi jing* 仁王般若波羅蜜經), etc. associate each bodhisattva in the stage of ten grounds with a corresponding heavenly king in the desire realm (Skt. *kāmadhātu*) and the form realm (Skt. *rūpadhātu*). The *Sutra of the Original Acts* develops this further and organizes the system of kingship of jewel wheel diadem (Ch. *yingluo baolin wang* 瓔珞寶輪王). This is an expression of the philosophy according to which a true politician (or king) should be a one who practices the bodhisattva path.
- 83 *Fanwang jing*, fasc. 2, T 24.1005a18–19, “若有犯者 不得現身發菩提心 亦失國王位轉輪王位 亦失丘比丘尼位...”
- 84 *Samguk sagi*, fasc. 22, “King Bojang, Year 9” (寶藏王九年); *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 3, “King Bojang Venerates Laozi and Bodeok Moves His Temple” (寶藏奉老 普德移庵), T 49.988b ff.
- 85 See above note 28, where passages from the *Foshuo fumu en nanbao jing* and the *Foshuo xiaozhi jing* are introduced.
- 86 “The profound tenfold favor” is: (1) conceiving and protecting [the child] (懷耽守護恩), (2) receiving the pain in the delivery [of the child] (臨產受苦恩), (3) forgetting the worry at the birth [of the child] (生子忘憂恩), (4) swallowing the bitter and spitting out the sweet [for the child] (嚙咽苦吐甘恩), (5) moving [the children] to the dry place and lying in the wet instead (回乾就濕恩), (6) nursing and rearing [the children] (乳哺養育恩), (7) washing dirty clothes [of the child] (洗濯不淨恩), (8) intentionally doing evil [for the child] (為造惡業恩), (9) worrying [about the child] over a long trip (遠行憶念恩), and (10) worrying [about the child] to the end (究竟憐憫恩).
- 87 *Foshuo yulan pen jing* 佛說盂蘭盆經, T 16.779c.
- 88 Although all the five stories about Jinjeong 眞定, Gim Daeseong, Hyangdeok

- 向德 (or Hyangdeuk 向得) with the post of *saji* 舍知, Son Sun 孫順, an unnamed poor lady (貧女) included in the *Samguk yusa*, fascicle 5, are related to Buddhism, the pious girl Jieun's story in the *Samguk sagi* does not have any reference to Buddhism. However, the content of this story is similar to that of the unnamed "poor lady" appearing in the *Samguk yusa* and the name Jieun 知恩, also has some association with Buddhism.
- 89 *Goryeosa* 高麗史, fasc. 12, "Yejong, Year 1."
- 90 If we just count the titles listed in the Dongguk daehakgyo Bulgyo munhwa yeon'guso, ed., *Han'guk Bulgyo chansul munheon chongnok* 韓國佛教撰述文獻總錄 (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1976), 256–57, the *eonhaebon* 諺解本 texts (translations into vernacular Korean) of the *Sutra on the Deep Favor of the Parents* number fifteen, including the Hwaeomsa Temple version printed in the second year (1553) of the Jiajing 嘉靖 era, the Namgosa Temple version printed in the fifty-ninth year (1794) of the Qianlong 乾隆 era, etc.
- 91 Yi Neunghwa, *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*, "Gyeomik Brings the Sanskrit Texts of Vinaya" (謙益齋梵本之律文), 2:103.
- 92 The five-division vinaya indicates the vinaya *piṭaka* of the five schools that consist of (1) Sarvāstivāda (設一切有部; 61-fascicle *Ten Recitations Vinaya* [十誦律]), (2) Dharmaguptaka (法藏部; 60-fascicle *Four-Part Vinaya* [四分律]), (3) Mahasamghika (大衆部; 40-fascicle *Mahasamghika Vinaya* [摩訶僧祇律]), (4) Mahīśāsaka (化地部; 30-fascicle *Five-Part Vinaya* [彌沙塞部和醯五分律]), and (5) Kāśyapīya (飲光部; not transmitted to China).
- 93 Koh Ikjin, "Samguk sidae Daeseung gyohak e daehan yeon'gu" 三國時代大乘教學에 대한 研究, in *Cheolhak sasang ui je munje*, ed. Han'guk jeongsin munhwa yeon'guwon (Seongnam: Han'guk jeongsin munhwa yeon'guwon, 1985).
- 94 Yi Neunghwa, *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*, 2:103.
- 95 *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, fasc. 21, "Emperor Sushun, Years 1, 3" (崇峻天皇一年, 三年); *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釋書, fasc. 18, "Sushun" (崇峻).
- 96 *Samguk sagi*, fasc. 45, "Gwisan" (貴山); *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 4, "Won'gwang Studies in the West," T 49.1002c22–1003a10.
- 97 *Ibid.*
- 98 *Samguk sagi*, fasc. 4, "King Jinpyeong, Year 7" (眞平王七年); *Haedong goseung-jeon*, fasc. 2, "Jimyeong" (智明), T 50.1020b19–23.
- 99 *Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 (by Uicheon), fasc. 2, H 4.690c.
- 100 *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, fasc. 24, "Jajang" 慈藏, T 50.639c10–20; *Samguk yusa*, fasc. 4, "Jajang Determines the Vinaya" (慈藏定律), T 49.1005b16–c1.

- 101 *Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok*, fasc. 2, H 4.690c, 691a.
- 102 See above note 100 of this chapter.
- 103 See above note 99 of this chapter.
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- 105 Yi Jehyeon 李齊賢, “Record of the Reconstruction of Gaeguksa Temple” (開國寺重修記), included in Chōsen sōtokufu Naimubu chihōkyoku 朝鮮總督府內務部地方局, ed., *Chōsen jisatsu shiryō* 朝鮮寺刹史料 (Seoul: Han'guk Munhwa Gaebalsa, 1972), reprint, 1:15–16.
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- 108 Michihata, *Bukkyō to Jukyō rinri*, 135–36.
- 109 Choe Chiwon, “Inscription of Preceptor Nanghye of Seongjusa” (聖住寺朗慧和尚碑), in *Choe Munchanghu jeonjip* 崔文昌候全集, ed. Sungkyunkwan daehakgyo Daedong munhwa yeon'guwon (Seoul: Sungkyunkwan daehakgyo Daedong munhwa yeon'guwon, 1972), 107; *Joseon geumseok chongnam* 朝鮮金石總覽 (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1976), 1:77.
- 110 *Hyeonjeong-non* 顯正論 (by Gihwa), H 7.217b–c, “儒以五常而爲道樞 佛之所謂正(五)戒 即儒之所謂五常也. 不殺仁也 不盜義也 不姪禮也 不飲酒智也 不妄語信也.”
- 111 *Fanwang jing*, fasc. 2, T 42.1004a24–25, “孝順父母師僧三寶 孝順至道之法 孝名為戒 亦名制止.”
- 112 *Bosal gyeon jibeom yogi*, H 1.581a.
- 113 *Bosal gyeon jibeom yogi*, H 1.581b.
- 114 *Bosal gyeon jibeom yogi*, H 1.581b–c, “第四之中 有其三品 . . . 上品之內 罪非一端 隨其難別 略示三雙 佛法內人 多依三學 起似佛道之魔事故.”
- 115 *Bosal gyeon jibeom yogi*, H 1.582a.
- 116 *Ibid.*, “傷亂之罪 莫是爲先也.”
- 117 *Beomrang-gyeong bosal gyeon sagi* 梵網經菩薩戒本私記 (by Wonhyo), fasc. 1, H 1.596c, “此戒中作四句 略簡持犯. 一者有殺人而一向福非罪 謂達輪機菩薩故 能規機不戒者 不可度之機故殺者 一向福非罪. . . 二者或有殺人而非罪非福 謂悞及迷殺等 唯有業道故. 無犯戒罪故. 三者有唯輕非重 謂此戒中兼立殺下品衆生等. 四者唯重非輕 謂此戒正所立重戒. 四句中上句唯福非罪 次句非罪非福 後二句唯罪非福.”
- 118 *Bosal gyeon jongyo* 菩薩戒本宗要 (by Dachyeon), H 3.482a–b.
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- 120 *Han'guk Bulgyo chansul munbeon chongnok*, 245,
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- 122 Kim Taegil 金泰吉, *Yullihak* 倫理學 (Seoul: Bagyeongssa, 1983), 157–60.
- 123 *Ibid.*, 163–65.
- 124 *Ibid.*, 221.
- 125 *Za aban jing*, fasc. 13, *sutta* 319, T 2.91a27–29; see chapter 4, section A of this book.
- 126 Kim Taegil, *Yullihak*, 32.
- 127 See chapter 4, section A, subsections i through iv of this book.
- 128 *Zhong aban jing*, fasc. 3, “Sectarian Tenets” (度經).
- 129 Kumoi Shōzen, *Bukkyō kōki jidai no shisō kenkyū*, 289.
- 130 *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*, chapter 4, section 2.
- 131 Kim Taegil, “Uiji ui jayu wa chaegim ui yumu” 意志의 自由와 責任의 有無, *Yullihak* (Seoul: Bagyeongssa, 1976), 378.
- 132 *Ibid.*, 377.
- 133 *Ibid.*, 375, 377.
- 134 *Ibid.*, 379–82.
- 135 *Ibid.*, 385.
- 136 *Ibid.*, 387.
- 137 *Ibid.*, 383.
- 138 See chapter 4, section A of this book.
- 139 *Zhang aban jing*, fasc. 6, “The Minor Conditions” (小緣經), T 1.38b18–c1, “眾生轉惡 世間乃有此不善. . . 時彼眾中自選一人 形體長大 顏貌端正 有威德者 而語之言 汝今為我等作平等主. . . 於是世間便有王名.”
- 140 *Zhong aban jing*, fasc. 15, “Wheel-Turning King” (轉輪王經); *Zhang aban jing*, fasc. 7, “Wheel-Turning Sage King’s Practice” (轉輪聖王修行經), etc.
- 141 Refer the *Lotus Sutra*’s doctrine of giving a prophecy of attainment of buddhahood.
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Index

A

- “A Verse of Universal Precepts Given by the Seven Buddhas” (七佛通戒偈) 340
- “A cypress tree in the front garden” (*jeong jeon baeksu ja* [Ch. *ting qian boshu zi*] 庭前柏樹子) 283
- “A dog has no buddha-nature” (狗子無佛性) 74
- Abhidharma 180
- abiding of aspiration (*balsim ju* [Ch. *faxin zhu*] 發心住) 276
- arising, abiding, changing, and perishing (*saengju imyeol* [Ch. *shengzhu yimie*] 生住異滅) 318-319
- accepting one’s being influenced by the conditions (*suyeon* [Ch. *suiyuan*] 隨緣) 258
- accepting the retribution of enmity (*bowon* [Ch. *baoyuan*] 報怨) 258
- according with the condition (*suyeon* [Ch. *suiyuan*] 隨緣) 209, 265, 269, 273
- according with the defiled (*suyeom* [Ch. *suiran*] 隨染) 272
- according with the dharma (*chingbeop* [Ch. *chenfa*] 稱法) 258
- activating consciousness (*eopsik* [Ch. *yeshi*] 業識) 249
- actualized enlightenment (*sigak* [Ch. *shijue*] 始覺) 233, 234, 235
- adamantine absorption (*geumgang yujeong* [Ch. *jin’gang yuding*] 金剛喻定) → *vajropamasamādhi ādāna* (appropriating) consciousness (*jipji sik* [Ch. *zhichi shi*] 執持識) 193
- advanced teaching of the Mahayana 221, 251
- “Advice to Sigālaka” (*Shansheng jing* 善生經, Pā. *Singālovāda-suttanta*) 328
- affirmative meaning (comprehensive expression [*jeonje* 全提]) 283
- afflictions (Skt. *klesā*) 192
- afflictive obstruction (*beonnoe jang* [Ch. *fannao zhang*] 煩惱障, Skt. *klesāvaraṇa*) 193, 210, 211, 227, 240, 241, 243-244
- Āgama 165, 181
- aggregate (*on* [Ch. *yun*] 蘊, Skt. *skandha*) 39
- ahopdal* 아홉달 137
- Ajita Keśakambala 92
- ālaya* (*aryeoya* [Ch. *aliye*] 阿黎耶 Skt. *ālayavijñāna*) consciousness 191, 233, 236, 239, 247
- ālaya* as defilements (*oyeom riya* [Ch. *wuran liye*] 污染梨耶) 194
- ālaya* as retributions (*gwabo riya* [Ch. *guobao liye*] 果報梨耶) 193
- ālaya* as the nature of liberation (*haeseong riya* [Ch. *jiexing liye*] 解性梨耶) 193
- ālaya* consciousness 192
- all-accomplishing wisdom (*seong sojak ji* [Ch. *cheng suozuozhi*] 成所作智, Skt. *kṛtya-anusthāna-jñāna*) 194,

- 212
- alms giving (Skt. *dāna*) 344
- amala* (immaculate) consciousness
194, 195, 247
- Amitābha 75, 80
- anecdotes and hearsay (*ilsa yumun* 軼
[=逸]事遺聞) 110, 151
- Anham 安含 (578–640) 187
- animal (*chuksaeng* [Ch. *chusheng*] 畜生)
324
- animism 41
- apex of reality → bounds of being
- application (*gabaeng* [Ch. *jiaxing*]
加行) 244
- approach of equal maintenance of
alertness and calmness (*seongjeok
deungji mun* 惺寂等持門) 74, 263,
271, 281
- approach of equal maintenance of
samadhi and prajna (*jeonghye deungji
mun* 定慧等持門) 272, 273, 274,
286, 289
- approach of faith and understanding
according to the perfect and
sudden teaching [of the Flower
Garland Sutra] (*wondon sinhae mun*
圓頓信解門) 73, 74, 263, 281, 283,
286, 289
- approach of perfect interfusion
(*wonyung mun* [Ch. *yuanrong men*]
圓融門) 277, 278
- approach of progressive advancement
(行布門) 277
- approach of uniting with the Way
without discriminating thoughts
(*musim hapdo mun* 無心合道門) 74,
282
- approach that accords with the
phenomenal marks (*susang mun*
隨相門) 271
- appropriated object (*soyeon gyeong* [Ch.
suoyuan jing] 所緣境) 196
- appropriating subject (*neungyeon* [Ch.
nengyuan] 能緣) 196
- archery (*gung* 弓) 139
- arising from causal conditions (*jong
inyeon saeng* [Ch. *cong yinyuan sheng*]
從因緣生) 173
- arrangement (*allip* [Ch. *anli*] 安立, Skt.
pratiṣṭhāpana) 202
- artificiality 47–48
- Āryadeva (ca. 170–270) 172
- Asadal 阿斯達 136, 137, 156
- Asaṅga (ca. 310–390; Ch. Wuzhuo [Kr.
Muchak] 無着) 57, 188, 190
- asura (Ch. *xiuluo* 修羅) 324
- Aśvaghōṣa (Maming 馬鳴) 229
- attachment to dharmas (*beopjip* [Ch.
fazhi] 法執, Skt. *dharmagrāha*) 193
- attachment to emptiness (*gongjip* 空執)
215
- attachment to existence (*yujip* 有執)
214, 223
- attachment to non-existence (*mujiip*
無執) 223
- attachment to self (*ajip* [Ch. *wozhi*]
我執, Skt. *ātmagrāha*) 167, 194, 330,
331, 332
- attainable (*yu sodeuk* [Ch. *you suode*]
有所得) 177
- attaining sudden enlightenment to
one's original nature (Ch. *dunwu
benxing* 頓悟本性) 62
- attainment of wisdom by transforming
the consciousness (*jeonsik deukji* [Ch.
zhuanzhi dezhi] 轉識得智) 227
- Avalokiteśvara (Gwaneum [Ch.
Guanyin] 觀音) 80
- Awakening of Faith* → *Awakening of
Faith in the Mahayana*

Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana
(*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論) 58,
99, 209, 220, 221, 222, 229, 231,
232, 235, 236, 238, 246, 247, 248,
250, 251, 254, 255, 260, 272, 279,
281, 288, 289
awareness (*zhi* [Kr. *ji*] 知) 267

B

- Baegun Gyeonghan 白雲景閑 (1299–
1374) 80-81
Baekje 135
Baekjeong 白淨 121, 126
Baekjung 百中 (Baekjong 百種) 350
Bailun 百論 (Treatise in a Hundred
Verses; Skt. **Śatasāstra*) 172
Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814)
282
Bak Hyeokgeose 朴赫居世 38, 42, 47,
108, 124
Bak 朴 (meaning “brightness”) 53
Bangsaeng jae 放生齋 (Purifying Ritual
for Releasing Lives) 346
banya (Ch. *bore*) 般若 (Skt. *prajñā*) 163
being immutable (*bulbyeon* [Ch.
bubian] 不變) 265, 269, 273
Beishu 北書 (History of the Northern
Dynasties) 132, 135
Beoban (Ch. Fayan) 法眼 school 64, 65
Beomanggyeong-gi 梵網經記 (Notes on
the *Brahma's Net Sutra*) 353
Beommang-gyeong bosal gyebon sagi
梵網經菩薩戒本私記 (Personal Notes
on the Bodhisattva Precepts of the
Brahma's Net Sutra) 358
Beomnang 法朗 61
Beopjip byeollaengnok jeoryo byeong
ip sagi 法集別行錄節要并私記
(Excerpts from the *Faji biexing lu*
with Personal Notes) 99, 264, 270
Beopsang jong [Ch. Faxiang zong]
法相宗 → Dharma-Characteristics
school
Bhāviveka (Bhāvaviveka [ca. 500–578];
Qingbian 清辯) 205, 207, 214
bibo satap 禪補寺塔 (building temples
to assist the nation) 64
biographic-thematic format (*gijeon che*
紀傳體) 111, 151
birch bows of Nangnang (Nangnang
dan'gung 樂浪檀弓) 139
birch tree (*dan* 檀) 140
blocking and expulsion (*chagyeon* [Ch.
zheqian] 遮遣) 268
Bodeok 普德 (d.u.) 55, 187, 349
bodhi of the conditioned (*yuwi bori*
[Ch. *youwei puti*] 有為菩提) 227
Bodhidharma (ca. fifth century) 257
bodhisattva practice (*bosal haeng* [Ch.
pusa xing] 菩薩行) 167
bodhisattva precepts (*bosal gye* [Ch.
pusa jie] 菩薩戒) 335, 336, 353, 357,
374
bodhisattva's ten grounds 338
bodily actions (*sineop* [Ch. *shenye*]
身業, Skt. *kāyakarman*) 323
body with senses (*yugeun sin* [Ch.
yougen shen] 有根身, Skt. *sendriya-*
kāya) 191
Bogak Iryeon 普覺一然 (1206–1289)
47, 77, 109, 110, 120, 126, 145
Bojo Jinul 普照知訥 (1158–1210) 45,
71, 88, 99, 288, 262
Bomunsa 普門寺 274, 285
bone-rank (*golpum* 骨品) system 44
Bongdeok 奉德 (meaning “revering the
virtue”) 348
Bonggeun 奉恩 (meaning “revering the

favor") 347
 Bongeunsa 奉恩寺 86
 Bongseonsa 奉先寺 86
Bosal gyebeon jibeom yogi
 菩薩戒本持犯要記 (Essentials of
 Observances and Transgressions of
 the *Bodhisattva Precepts*) 223, 357
Bosal gyebeon jongyo 菩薩戒本宗要
 (Doctrinal Essentials of the
Bodhisattva Precepts) 359
bosi [Ch. *bushi*] 布施 (giving, Skt.
dāna) 163
 bounds of being (*silje* [Ch. *shiji*] 實際,
 Skt. *bhūtakoti*) 166, 245
Bowu zhi 博物志 (Records of Diverse
 Matters) 129
 Brahma (Beom [Ch. Fan] 梵) 123,
 317, 327
Brahma's Net Sutra (Fanwang jing
 梵網經) 336, 337, 349, 352, 353,
 354, 356, 358
brahman (self-existent impersonal
 spirit, being itself [Skt. *sat*]) 365
Brāhmana (Beomseo [Ch. Fanshu] 梵書)
 378
 Brahmanism 317, 318, 364, 365
 Buddha as the phenomenon that is
 newly accomplished (新成事佛) 277
 Buddha as the principle in original
 enlightenment (本覺理佛) 277
 Buddha as the principle in pure nature
 (*seongjeong ibul* 性淨理佛) 279
 Buddha land 369
 buddhahood (*bulgwa* [Ch. *foguo*] 佛果)
 244
 buddha-nature (*bulseong* [Ch. *foxing*]
 佛性) 170, 186, 337
 Buhyu Seonsu 浮休善修 (1543–1615)
 88
Bulseol banya baramilda simgyeong-chan

佛說般若波羅蜜多心經贊 (Praising
 Commentary on the *Heart Sutra*)
 187, 213
Bulssi japbyeon 佛氏雜辯 (Wanton
 Words by the Buddha) 82, 350
 Buru → King Haeburu 解夫妻 (r. ?–80
 BCE)
buryeon gukto 佛緣國土 (karmic
 connection with ancient buddhas)
 55
 Buyong Yeonggwon 芙蓉靈觀 (1485–
 1571) 87, 88
 Byeogam Gakseong 碧巖覺性 (1575–
 1660) 88
 Byeoksong Jieom 碧松智嚴 (1464–
 1534) 87, 88

C

calming and contemplation (*jigwan*
 止觀, Skt. *śamathavipaśyanā*) 69, 204
 Caodong 曹洞 school → Jodong 曹洞
 school
 causal conditions or causes and
 conditions (*inyeon* [Ch. *yinyuan*]
 因緣, Skt. *hetupratyaya*) 174, 175
 causality and retribution 341
 cause (*in* [Ch. *yin*] 因, Skt. *hetu*) 319
 cause and effect in the three time
 periods (*samse in'gwa* [Ch. *sanshi*
yin'guo] 三世因果) 322
 causing others harm because of one's
 malice and not accepting their
 repentance (*jin bulsu hoe* [Ch. *chen*
bushou hui] 瞋不受悔) 335
 Chan (Kr. Seon) of intellectual
 understanding (Ch. *zhijie* Chan
 知解禪) 73
Chanyao 禪要 (Essentials of Chan) 99,

- 264
Chanyuan zhu quanji duxu
 禪源諸詮集都序 (A Preface to the
 Collection of Chan Sources) 99, 264
 characteristic (*sang* [Ch. *xiang*] 相) 174
Cheng weishi lun 成唯識論 (Discourse
 on the Consciousness-only) 189,
 193, 195, 197-199, 204, 211, 213,
 215, 296
Cheng weishi lun liaoyi deng
 成唯識論了義燈 (Light of Revealing
 the Meaning of the *Cheng weishi lun*)
 189
 Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839) 88, 271
Chengshi lun 成實論 (Treatise
 That Accomplish Reality; Skt.
Tattvasiddhiśāstra) 172, 177, 180
cheon'gang seongwang 天降聖王 53
 Cheon'gi 天其 (Sujin 守眞 or Sugi 守其,
 d.u.) 76
Cheong taekbeop bo'eun-mun
 請擇法報恩文 (A Request for
 Requiring the Favor with Select
 Dharmas) 348
 Cheongheo Hyujeong 清虛休靜
 (1520-1604) 86, 87, 88
Cheongheodang-jip 清虛堂集
 (Collection of Master Cheongheo's
 Writings) 88
 Cheonhwang (heavenly emperor) 121
 Cheonje 天帝 → heavenly emperor
 Cheontae (Ch. Tiantai) 天台 65, 69,
 79, 261, 348
Cheontae sagyo ui 天台四教儀 (Outline
 of the Cheontae Fourfold Teachings)
 65
 Cheontae-style *śamatha-vipaśyanā*
 (*Cheontae jigwan* 天台止觀) 75
 Cheoyeong 處英 (d.u.) 87
 Chewon 體元 (d.u.) 80
 chief priest 140
 Chinese Chan schools 259
 Choe Chungheon 崔忠獻 (1149-
 1219) 71
 Choe family 106
chongnim 叢林 (mountain-based
 monastery) 89
 Chuhang 帚項 (d.u.) 352, 355
 Chungji → Won'gam Chungji
 圓鑑冲止 (1226-1292)
 Ci'en Kuiji 慈恩窺基 (632-682) 67,
 188, 218
 Ci'en Temple (慈恩寺) 188-189, 218
 circular view of history 46
citta 92
 classical ethics 362
 clearly revealed dharma wheel (*hyeolloyo*
beomnyun 顯了法輪) 223, 224
 coagulated and without any activities
 (*eungyeon bujak* [Ch. *ningran buzuo*]
 凝然不作) 201, 227
 cognized aspect (*sangbun* [Ch.
xiangfen] 相分) 37, 198, 208
 cognizing aspect (*gyeonbun* [Ch.
jianfen] 見分) 198, 208
 collateral Gim 金 royal family 63
 collection of causal conditions (*jung*
inyeon saeng beop [Ch. *zhong yinyuan*
shengfa] 衆因緣生法) 182
 collection of conditions (Ch.
zhongyuan 衆緣) 175
 collective karma (*gongjeop* [Ch. *gongye*]
 共業, Skt. *sādhāraṇakarma*) 323
 combination of causes and conditions
 (*inyeon hwahap* [Ch. *yinyuan hehe*]
 因緣和合) 165
 combined consciousness 239
 combined contemplation of both
 horizontal and vertical aspects
 (*hoengsu byeonggwon* [Ch. *hengshu*

- bingguan*] 橫豎竝觀) 185
- combining nature 38, 45, 82
- commercial economy 369
- compassion (*bi* [Ch. *fei*] 悲, Skt. *karuṇā*) 324, 325
- complete teaching of the one vehicle (*ilseung man'gyo* 一乘滿教) 253
- completion (*gugyeong* [Ch. *jiujing*] 究竟) 244
- comprehensive explanations through verbal teachings (*eon'gyo ji tongjeon* [Ch. *yanjiao zhi tongquan*] 言教之通詮) 178
- conditioned (Skt. *samskṛta*) → conditioned phenomena
- conditioned arising (*yeon'gi* [Ch. *yuangqi*] 緣起, Skt. *pratītyasamutpāda*) 161, 174, 175, 181
- conditioned arising of the dharma realm (*beopgye yeon'gi* [Ch. *fajie yuangqi*] 法界緣起) 222, 255
- conditioned arising of the ten profundities (*shixuan yuangqi* [Kr. *siphyeon yeon'gi*] 十玄緣起) 255
- conditioned four wisdoms (*yuwi saji* [Ch. *youwi sizhi*] 有爲四智) 212
- conditioned phenomena (*yuwi beop* [Ch. *youwei fa*] 有爲法, Skt. *samskṛta*) 175, 196
- conflicts between the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra 217
- Confucius (ca. 551-479 BCE) 116, 148
- Consciousness-only (Yusik [Ch. Weishi] 唯識, Skt. *vijñaptimātraka*) 57, 198
- consequence (*gwabo* [Ch. *guobao*] 果報) 320
- contemplative gate of discerning emptiness through preserving consciousness and cutting off objects (*jaesik chagyeong byeon'gong gwannmun* 在識遮境辨空觀門) 215
- contemporaneity 48-49
- conventional function (*sogyong* 俗用) 216, 217
- conventional truth (*seje* [Ch. *shidi*] 世諦, Skt. *saṃvṛtisyā*) 167, 169
- conventional truth (sesok je 世俗諦) 176, 224
- correct contemplation of no attainment (*mudeuk jeonggwon* [Ch. *wude zhengguan*] 無得正觀) 185, 217
- correct faith 278
- corruptibility 43-44
- critical attitude 49-50
- critical phrase (*hwadu* [Ch. *huatou*] 話頭) 282
- Crystal Society (Sujeong gyeolsa 水精結社 or 水晶結社) 71
- cultivation (*suseup* [Ch. *xiuxi*] 修習) 244
- cultivation of no thought (*munyeom su* [Ch. *wunian xiu*] 無念修) 269
- cultivation of no thought following enlightenment (*ohu munyeom su* [Ch. *wuhou wunian xiu*] 悟後無念修) 269
- cycle of birth and death (Skt. *samsāra*) 57

D

- Daehye dogyeong jongyo* 大慧度經宗要 (Doctrinal Essentials of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*) 223
- Daehyeon 大賢 (Taehyeon 太賢, d.u.) 59, 67, 189, 218, 222, 348, 353,

- 359
- Daeseung gisin-non byeolgi*
大乘起信論別記 (Separate Notes on the Awakening of Faith) 225
- Daeseung gisin-non dongi yakjip*
大乘起信論同異略集 (Brief Comparisons of the Awakening of Faith Commentaries) 238
- Daeseung gisinnon-so* 大乘起信論疏 (A Commentary on the Awakening of Faith) 221, 242, 255
- Daewangam 大王巖 122, 343
- Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163) 99, 263, 284
- Dahui's *Recorded Sayings* 285
- Daliang 大亮 (d.u.) 179
- Damuk 曇旭 (d.u.) 351
- Dan'gun 123, 125, 138, 140, 147
- Dan'gun bon'gi* 檀君本紀 (The Annals of Dan'gun) 143
- Dan'gun myth 38, 103, 104, 136
- Dan'gun Wanggeom 檀君王儉 42, 127, 136
- Dan'gun-gi* 檀君記 (A Record of Dan'gun) 143
- dāna (bosi* [Ch. *pushi*] 布施) 326, 327
- Danmok 端目 (d.u.) 353
- Daocheng 道誠 (d.u.) 347
- Daoliang 道亮 (d.u.) 179
- Daoshi's 道世 (d. 683) 130
- Daoxin 道信 (580–651) 61
- Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) 113, 353
- darkness of mind (*chiam* [Ch. *chi'an*] 癡暗, Skt. *moha*) 323
- Daśabhūmika-sūtra* (*Shidi jing* 十地經 or *Shizhu jing* 十住經) 334
- Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記 (Notes on the Meaning of the Awakening of Faith) 221
- Dasheng qixin lun yishu* 大乘起信論義疏 (A Commentary on the Awakening of Faith) 231
- Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (*Awakening of Faith*) → *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana*
- Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (Skt. **Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra*) 171
- dead phrases (*sagu* [Ch. *siju*] 死句) 282
- defiled consciousness (*yeomo sik* [Ch. *ranwu shi*] 染污識) 196
- defiled mental consciousness (Skt. *kliṣṭamanas*) 191
- degenerate dharma (malbeop 末法) 80
- deification 317
- democracy 368
- Deongman 德曼 121
- derivative non-enlightenment (*jimal bulgak* [Ch. *zhimo bujue*] 枝末不覺) 238
- desire (*yoktam* [Ch. *yutan*] 欲貪, Skt. *nāga*) 323
- desirelessness (*mujak* [Ch. *wuzuo*] 無作 or *muwon* [Ch. *wuyuan*] 無願) 168
- destroying the disease (*gyeonbyeong* 遣病) 283
- determined wisdom (*jeongji* [Ch. *dingzhi*] 定智) 247
- determinist theory of will 365
- dhamma* (with four meanings) 378
- Dhāraṇī of Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara* (*Shiyi mian Guanyin shenzhou jing* 十一面觀音神呪經, Skt. *Avalokiteśvara-ekadaśamukha-dhāraṇī*) 60
- dharma (as an unintentional natural object) 318
- Dharma Characteristics school 57, 71, 170, 188, 218
- dharma lineage 87
- dharma realm of the one mind (*ilsim*

- beopgye* [Ch. *yixin fajie*] 一心法界 222
- dharma wheel of no marks (*musang beomnyun* 無相法輪) 213, 224
- dharma, defined as an object of human perception 321
- dharma-body (*beopsin* [Ch. *fashen*] 法身, Skt. *dharmakāya*) 212, 249, 252
- Dharmaguptaka (法藏部) 385
- Dharmakara (Fazang 法藏) 338
- Dharmapāla (Hufa 護法, 530–561) 92, 188, 199, 205, 214, 218
- dhyāna* 257
- Diamond Sutra* (*Jin'gang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, Skt. *Vajracchedika-prajñāparamitā-sūtra*) 99, 161, 164, 258, 263, 332, 334, 359
- diamond-like (*yeo geumgang* [Ch. *ru jin'gang*] 如金剛) 243
- diamond-like samadhi → *vajropamāsamādhi*
- Dignāga (ca. 480–540) 92
- directly pointing to one's mind (*jikji insim* [Ch. *zhizhi renxin*] 直指人心) 62, 260
- directly revealed by the one mind (*ilsim jikhyeon* [Ch. *yixin zhixian*] 一心直顯) 260
- Directorate for Publishing Scriptures (Gan'gyeong Dogam 刊經都監) 85
- Directorate for Tripitaka Publication (Gyojang dogam 教藏都監) 69
- discard Gyo and enter into Seon (*sagyo ipseon* 捨教入禪) 88
- disclosure of the correct (*hyeonjeong* [Ch. *xianzheng*] 顯正) 186
- discrimination (Skt. *vikalpa*) 197, 208
- discriminations and false attachments (*bunbyeol mangjip* [Ch. *fenbie wangzhi*] 分別妄執) 166
- disparaging others from stinginess and grudge (*ganseok gahwe* [Ch. *qianxi jiahui*] 慳惜加毀) 336–337
- disparaging the storehouse for bodhisattvas (Mahayana doctrines) and establishing semblant teachings (*bangnan jeongbeop* [Ch. *bangluan zhengfa*] 謗亂正法) 335
- distinct teaching of the three vehicles (*samseung byeolgyo* 三乘別教) 253
- diverse worldly knowledges (*segan jongjong ji* [Ch. *shijian zhongzhong zhi*] 世間種種智) 240
- divination (*jeomchal* [Ch. *zhancha*] 占察) 55, 342
- divine and sacred (*sinseong* 神聖) → divine sanctity 107
- divine birch tree (*sindansu* 神檀樹) 139
- divine city (*sinsi* 神市) 142
- divine sanctity 47, 77, 78, 107, 108, 118, 120, 123, 124, 126, 141, 146, 148, 151
- divisive speech (兩舌) 323
- Do not retreat in battle (*imjeon mutoe* 臨戰無退) 352
- Do not take life indiscriminately (*salsaeng yutaek* 殺生有擇) 352
- docheop je* 度牒制 (license system of officially registered monks) 85
- Dochim 道琛 (d. 661) 55
- doctrinal classification of the five periods (*osi gyopan* 五時教判) 69
- doctrinal classification schema of the five teachings (Ch. *wu jiaopan* 五教判) 218, 251, 262, 272
- doctrinal classification schema of the five teachings 221
- doctrinal essence (*jongche* [Ch. *zongti*])

宗體) 251
 “Doctrinal Essence” (宗體文) 252
 doctrine of conditioned arising from the tathagatagarbha (*yeonaejang yeon’gi jong* [Ch. *rulai zang yuanqi zong*] 如來藏緣起宗) 251
 doctrine of conditioned arising of the *ālaya* consciousness (*aroeya yeon’gi seol* 阿賴耶緣起說) 220
 doctrine of conditioned arising of the mind-only (*yusim yeon’gi seol* 唯心緣起說) 220
 doctrine of secret intent (*mirui seol* [Ch. *miyi shuo*] 密意說) 205, 214
 doctrine of the middle way as a substance (*jungdo wiche seol* [Ch. *zhongdao weiti shuo*] 中道爲體說) 183
 doctrine of the two truths as principles (*yangni ije seol* [Ch. *yueli erdi shuo*] 約理二諦說) 177, 179
 doctrine of the two truths as teachings (*yakgyo ije seol* [Ch. *yuejiao erdi shuo*] 約教二諦說) 177, 179, 182, 184, 185, 223, 288
 doctrine of twelve bases 371
 doctrine that directly reveals the mind-nature (*jikhyeon simseong jong* [Ch. *zhixian xinxing zong*] 直顯心性宗) 260
 Dojang 道藏 (d.u.) 187
 Dojeung 道證 (d.u.) 59, 67, 189
 Dongi 東夷 tribe 42, 47, 119, 128, 131
 Dongmaeng 東盟 139, 140
 Dongmyeong seongwang 東明聖王 138
Dongmyeong wang-pyeon 東明王篇 (A History of King Dongmyeong) 78, 104, 107, 109, 117-120, 135, 148

dongmyeong 東明 46, 140
 Dongseo Daebiwon 東西大悲院 (East and West Infirmaries of Great Compassion) 346
 Dook 道玉 (Chwido 驟徒 [d.u.]) 347
 Doryun 道倫 (Dullyun 遁倫 [d.u.]) 353
 Doseon 道詵 (827–898) 64
 Doui 道義 (d. 825) 61, 260
 dualistic views 35
 Dullyun 遁倫 (d.u.) 59, 67
 Dushun 杜順 (557–640) 222

E

education system for the monks and nuns 10
 effect (*gwa* [Ch. *guo*] 果, Skt. *phala*) 319
 effort (*jeongjin* [Ch. *jingjin*] 精進, Skt. *virya*) 333
 eight consciousnesses 192
 eighteen types of emptiness 162
 eight negations (*palbul* [Ch. *babu*] 八不) 173
 eight purifying precepts (*pal jaegyae* [Ch. *ba zhaijie*] 八齋戒) 326
 elementary teaching of the Mahayana 218
 emotivism 363
 emptiness (Skt. *śūnyatā*) 162, 170, 182, 218
 emptiness is also empty (*gonggong* 空空) 226
 emptiness of dharmas 209
 emptiness view (*gongguan* [Ch. *kongguan*] 空觀) 165, 167, 190, 205, 207, 209, 214, 222, 232, 235, 236, 273, 281, 287, 288, 333, 334, 373

- empty (*gong* [Ch. *kong*] 空, Skt. *sūnya*) 162
- empty, tranquil, and numinous awareness (*gongjeok yeongji* [Ch. *kongji lingzhi*] 空寂靈知) 267, 269, 270, 271, 273
- encounter dialogues (*giyeon mundap* [Ch. *jiyuan wenda*] 機緣問答) 260, 265
- enjoyment (reward)-body (*suyong sin* [Ch. *shouyong shen*] 受用身) 212, 249
- enlightenment (*gak* [Ch. *jue*] 覺) 233
- entrance through practice (*haengip* [Ch. *xingru*] 行入) 258
- entrance through principle (*iip* [Ch. *liru*] 理入) 258
- entry into realization (*jeungip* [Ch. *zhengru*] 證入) 276
- eobin gwabo* 業因果報 (karmic causes followed by ripening effects) 43
- epiphenomenalism 36
- equal enlightenment (*deunggak* [Ch. *dengjue*] 等覺) 184, 244, 245, 246, 248
- equality (*pyeongdeung seong* [Ch. *pingdeng xing*] 平等性) 240
- equality wisdom (*pyeongdeung seongji* [Ch. *pingdeng xingzhi*] 平等性智, Skt. *samatā-jñāna*) 194, 212
- equal true thusness equal (*pyeongdeung jinyeo* [Ch. *pingdeng zhenru*] 平等真如) 197
- Esoteric Buddhism 60
- establishing provisional designations (*gamyeong allip* [Ch. *jiaming anli*] 假名安立) 196
- ethics of enlightenment 374
- ethics of the correct (*jeong* [Ch. *zheng*] 正) and perverse (*sa* [Ch. *xie*] 邪) 364, 373
- exist by itself (*jayeon yu* [Ch. *ziran you*] 自然有, Skt. *svayambhāva*) 202
- existence (*yu* [Ch. *you*] 有) 170
- expedient and real (*gwon-sil* [Ch. *quan-shi*] 權-實) 183
- expedient means (*bangpyeon* [Ch. *fangbian*] 方便, Skt. *upāya*) 169
- expedient means and real characteristic (*bangpyeon-silsang* [Ch. *fangbian shixiang*] 方便-實相) 183
- explications by revealing the path (*hyeondo seok* [Ch. *xiandao shi*] 顯道釋) 186
- explications in accordance with causes and conditions (*inyeon seok* [Ch. *yinyuan shi*] 因緣釋) 185
- explications in accordance with the names (*sumyeong seok* [Ch. *shiming shi*] 隨名釋) 185
- explications not restricted to any specific places (*mubang seok* [Ch. *wufang shi*] 無方釋) 186
- extinction (*hwanmyeol* 還滅) 215
- extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings 116
- Ezen 惠善 (d.u.) 352

F

- Fachang 法常 (567–645) 188
- factuality 49
- Fahua xuanzan* 法華玄贊 (Exposition of the *Lotus Sutra*) 67
- Faji biexing lu* 法集別行錄 (Dharma Collection and Special Practice Record) 270
- Falang 179
- false discriminations 207

- fatalism 344
- favor from masters and elders (*sajang eun* [Ch. *shizhang en*] 師長恩) 329
- favor from rulers (*gugwang eun* [Ch. *guowang en*] 國王恩) 329
- favor from sentient beings (*jungsaeng eun* [Ch. *zhongsheng en*] 衆生恩) 329
- favor from the Buddha (*bureun* 佛恩) 348
- favor from the emperor (*hwangeun* 皇恩) 348
- favor from the three jewels (*sambo eun* [Ch. *sanbao en*] 三寶恩) 329
- favor-requital (*eun* [Ch. *en*] 恩, *bo'eun* [Ch. *bao'en*] 報恩; Skt. *kṛtaveditā*, *kṛtaj ṅatā*; lit. “knowledge of the favor”) 329, 347
- Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 130
- Fazang 法藏 (643–712) 218, 221, 222, 249, 251, 255, 276, 279
- field of merit (*bokjeon* [Ch. *futian*] 福田, Skt. *puṇyakṣetra*) 326–327
- filial piety (*hyo* [Ch. *xiao*] 孝) 150, 329, 337, 349, 356
- “Filial Piety and Buddhist Good” (孝善) 350
- final enlightenment (*gugyeong gak* [Ch. *jiujing jue*] 究竟覺) 233, 235, 241
- first cause 364
- first passage of the Three Treatises (Sanlun *chuzhang* 三論初章) 178
- five aggregates (*oon* [Ch. *wuyun*] 五蘊, Skt. *pañcaskandha*) 168
- five aggregates of clinging [*o chwion*] [Ch. *wu quwun*] 五取蘊, Skt. *pañcopādānaskandha*] 331
- five basic precepts (*ogye* [Ch. *wujie*] 五戒) 325
- five cardinal human relations (*oryun* [Ch. *wulun*] 五倫) 328, 354, 356
- five paths (*odo* [Ch. *wudao*] 五道, Skt. *gatipañcaka*) 324
- five precepts for the laity (*jaega ogye* [Ch. *zaijia wujie*] 在家五戒) 335
- five primary schools and seven derivative schools (Ch. *wujia qizong* 五家七宗) 81
- five schools and seven branches (*oga chiljong* [Ch. *wujia qizong*] 五家七宗) 71, 261
- five-division vinaya (*obu yul* [Ch. *wubu lü*] 五部律) 351, 385
- Five-Part Vinaya* (彌沙塞部和醯五分律) 385
- Flower Garland Sutra* (*Dafang guangfo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經) 244, 253, 275, 276, 338
- flowering youth (*hwarang* 花郎) 355
- Flute for Pacifying the Waves (Manpa sikjeok 萬波息笛) 123
- force of a heavenly rooster (Ch. *jiqi* 鷄氣) 130
- forgetting of words and cutting off of thoughts (*eonmang yeojeol* [Ch. *yanwang lüjue*] 言忘慮絕) 180
- formations (*haeng* [Ch. *xing*] 行, Skt. *saṃskāra*) 39, 175
- forming, existing, decaying, and disappearing (*seongju goegong* [Ch. *chengzhu huaikong*] 成住壞空) 323
- forthcoming or evolving consciousness (*jeonsik* [Ch. *zhuanshi*] 轉識, Skt. *pravṛttivijñāna*) 192
- forty-eight minor precepts (*sasippal gyeonggye* [Ch. *sishiba jingjie*] 四十八輕戒) 336
- forty-three minor offenses (*sasipsam gyeongjoe* [Ch. *sishisan jingzui*] 四十三輕罪) 335
- four gates of the universal dharma 255

- four grave offenses (*sa jungjoe* [Ch. *si zhongzui*] 四重罪) 335
- four grave precepts (*sa junggye* [Ch. *si zhongjie*] 四重戒) 326, 357
- four great components (*sadae* 四大) 39
- four immeasurable minds (*sa muryang sim* [Ch. *si wuliang xin*] 四無量心, Skt. *catvāryapramāṇāni*) 325, 327, 373
- four means of conversion (*sa seopbeop* [Ch. *si shefa*] 四攝法, Skt. *catuṣsaṃgrahavastu*) 327
- four noble truths (*saje* [Ch. *sidi*] 四諦) 330, 373
- four teachings 99
- four wisdoms 194, 247
- four wisdoms of the conditioned 216, 239
- fourfold collections (*sajip* 四集) 89, 264
- fourfold doctrines (*sagyō* 四教) 89
- Four-Part Vinaya* (四分律) 385, 352, 353, 354
- free will 48, 49, 318, 320, 365
- freedom 364
- fully revealed doctrine (*youi seol* [Ch. *liaoyi shuo*] 了義說) 205
- fully revealed meaning (*youi* [Ch. *liaoyi*] 了義, Skt. *nitārtha*) 190, 223
- function (*yong* [Ch. *yong*] 用) 174
- function and substance (*yong-che* [Ch. *yong-ti*] 用-體) 183
- functions of the conditioned (*yuwi jagyong* 有爲作用) 230
- fundamental consciousness (*geunbon sik* [Ch. *genben shi*] 根本識, Skt. *mūlavijñāna*) 192
- fundamental ignorance 276, 281
- Fundamental Immovable Wisdom Buddha (Geunbon budong ji bul [Ch. Genben budong zhi fo] 根本不動智佛) 275
- fundamental non-enlightenment (*geunbon bulgak* [Ch. *genben bujue*] 根本不覺) 238
- fundamental wisdom of true thusness (*jinyeo geun'bon ji* [Ch. *zhenru genben zhi*] 眞如根本智) 240
- fundamental wisdom of universal illumination (*geunbon bogwangmyeong ji* 根本普光明智) 278, 279
- further shore (*pian* [Ch. *bi'an*] 彼岸, Skt. *pāra*) 167

G

- Gaeguksa 開國寺 353
- Gakhun 覺訓 (d.u.) 112, 153
- Gameunsa 感恩寺 123
- ganhwa gyeongjeol mun* 看話徑截門 74
- Gaofeng Yuanmiao 高峯原妙 (1238–1295) 99, 264
- gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 112, 113
- Gaseop won 迦葉原 (Kaśyapa's plain) 131
- gate of arising and cessation (*saengmyeol mun* 生滅門) 226, 232, 246, 249, 250, 251
- gate of arising and cessation of the mind (*sim saengmyeol mun* [Ch. *xin shengmie men*] 心生滅門) 230
- gate of clear revelation (*byeollyo mun* 顯了門) 241
- gate of contemplating emptiness through examining dharmas and abandoning their marks (*yeokbeop gyeonsang gwan'gong mun* 歷法遣相觀空門) 215

- gate of secret intent (*eunmil mun*
隱密門) 241
- gate of true thusness (*jinyeo mun*
眞如門) 226, 232, 246, 249, 250
- gate of true thusness of the mind (*sim*
jinyeo mun [Ch. *xin zhenru men*]
心眞如門) 230
- Geojosa 居祖寺 263
- Geumgang sammaegyeong-non*
金剛三昧經論 (A Commentary on
the *Geumgang sammae-gyeong* [Sutra
on the Adamantine Samadhi; Skt.
**Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*]) 220, 242
- Geumgang-gyeong ogahae seorui*
金剛經五家解說誼 (Introductory
Remarks to the Commentaries of the
Five Primary Seon Masters on the
Diamond Sutra) 84
- Geumgang-gyeong yukjo hae*
金剛經六祖解 (Exposition of
the *Diamond Sutra* by the Sixth
Patriarch) 360
- Geumwa → Prince Geumwa 金蛙
- ghostly illusions (*gwiwhan* 鬼幻) 107,
108, 116, 118
- ghostly or illusionary → ghostly
illusions
- gift (*simul* [Ch. *shiwu*] 施物) 326
- Gihwa → Hamheo Gihwa 涵虛己和
- Gilsangsa 吉祥寺 72, 263
- Gim Alji 金闕智 (b. 65 CE) 104, 140
- Gim Busik 金富軾 (1075–1151) 50,
77, 103–109, 148
- Gim Daeseong 金大城 (770–774) 343,
345
- Gim Siseup 金時習 (1435–1493) 84
- Gim Suro 金首露 38, 108
- Gim Yusin 金庚信 (595–673) 121,
123, 343
- giver (*sija* [Ch. *shizhe*] 施者) 326
- giving of dharma (*beopsi* [Ch. *fashi*]
法施) 326
- giving of fearlessness (*mu'oe si* [Ch.
wuwei shi] 無畏施, Skt. *abhaya-dāna*)
334
- giving of wealth (*jaesi* [Ch. *caishi*] 財施)
326
- giving that does not abide in any mark
(*mu jusang bosi* [Ch. *wu zhuxiang*
bushi] 無住相布施) 164
- goal (*ui* [Ch. *yi*] 義, Skt. *artha*) 229
- Goguryeo 135
- Gojong 高宗 (r. 1213–1259) 71, 106,
280
- Golden Light Sutra* (*Jing guangming*
jing 金光明經, Skt. *Suvarṇa-*
prabhāsottama-sūtra) 60
- gongbu* Seon 功夫禪 (comprehensive
Seon studies) 81
- Goryeo daejanggyeong* 高麗大藏經
(Tripitaka Koreana) 69, 76
- Goryeo as a successor of Goguryeo
108
- Gotama Buddha (sixth to fifth century
BCE) 317
- gradual approach 271
- gradual cultivation (*jeomsu* [Ch.
jianxiu] 漸修) 73, 265, 268, 269
- great doctrines (*daegyo* 大教) 89
- great faculty and great function (*daegi*
daeyong [Ch. *daji dayong*] 大機大用)
265
- Great Master Lang (Nang) of Goryeo
(Goryeo Nang Daesa [Ch. Gaoli
Lang Dashi] 高麗朗大師) 172
- great perfect mirror wisdom (*daewon*
gyeongji [Ch. *dayuan jingzhi*]
大圓鏡智, Skt. *ādarsā-jñāna*) 194,
195, 212, 254
- greatness of characteristic (*sangdae* [Ch.

xiangda] 相大) 248
 greatness of essence (*chedae* [Ch. *tida*] 體大) 248, 250, 251
 greatness of function (*yongdae* [Ch. *yongda*] 用大) 248, 254
 ground of freedom from defilement (*igu ji* [Ch. *ligou di*] 離垢地, Skt. *vimalābhūmi*) 334
 ground of joy (*hwanhui ji* [Ch. *huanxi di*] 歡喜地, Skt. *pramuditā bhūmi*) 338
Gu samguk sa 舊三國史 (Old History of the Three Kingdoms) 104, 107, 135
 guardian dragon (*yongwang* 龍王) 122
 Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841) 99, 265
Guja mu bulseong hwa ganbyeong-non 狗子無佛性話揀病論 (Treatise on Discerning the Maladies concerning the *hwadu* “A Dog Does Not Have Buddha-Nature”) 286
 Gujibong 龜旨峰 140
 Gukcheongsa 國淸寺 68
gunghol 弓忽 137
 Gungholsan 弓忽山 136
guwol 九月 137
 Guwolsan 九月山 136
 Gwalleuk 觀勒 (d.u.) 187
 Gwangjong 光宗 (r. 949–975) 65
gwangmyeong ise 光明理世 (governing the world with bright illumination) 42
 Gwangmyeongsa 廣明寺 81
 Gwanhye 觀惠 (d.u.) 66
 Gwisan 貴山 (d.u.) 352, 355
 Gwon Geun 權近 (1352–1409) 82
 Gyeomik 謙益 (d.u.) 187, 351
gyeonbun 見分 (cognizing aspect) 37
 Gyeondeung 見登 (d.u.) 238
 Gyeongheung 憬興 (d.u.) 59, 222, 353

Gyo 教 (doctrinal) 66, 59, 70
 Gyunyeo 均如 (923–973) 65, 68, 222, 261

H

Habaek 河伯 (water spirit) 132, 133, 134, 135
 habit-energy (*seupgi* [Ch. *xiqi*] 習氣, Skt. *vāsanā*) 73, 268, 273
Hae simmilgyeong-so 解深密經疏 (Commentary on the Sutra on the *Explication of Profound Meaning* [Skt. *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*]) 187, 193
 Hae 解 (meaning “the sun”) 53, 134, 136
 Haeburu → King Haeburu
Haedong goseung-jeon 海東高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Korean Monks) 112, 114, 153
Haedong so 海東疏 221
 Haemosu 解慕漱 38, 107, 134–136
haengsang (Ch. *xingxiang*) 行相, Skt. *ākāra*) → operation
 Hagil 學一 (1051–1144) 69
 Hakjo 學祖 (d.u.) 85
 Hamheo Gihwa 涵虛己和 (1376–1433) 83, 84, 87, 88, 350, 356
han 恨 (*resentiment* or frustration) 344
Han'guk Bulgyo chansul munbeon chongnok 韓國佛教撰述文獻總錄 (A Comprehensive Catalog of Korean Buddhist Writings) 2
Han'guk Bulgyo jeonso 韓國佛教全書 (Complete Works of Korean Buddhism) 1
 Haneul-im 하늘임 (heavenly lord) 29, 42, 53, 55, 120, 123–125, 133, 137–

139, 146, 151, 317, 327, 378
Hanshu 漢書 (History of the Han) 128
 Harivarman (ca. 250-35) 172, 177
 harmonization of disputes (*hwajaeng*
 和諍) 221, 256
 hatred (*jine* [Ch. *chenhui*] 曠恚, Skt.
dveṣā) 323
 “Heaven Bestows a Jade Belt”
 (天賜玉帶) 120, 124
 Heaven of the Thirty-Three
 (Samsipsam cheon 三十三天) →
 Trayastrimsa
 heaven’s male spirit (*ungjeong* 雄精)
 119
 heavenly deity (*cheonsin* [Ch. *tianshen*]
 天神, Skt. *deva*) 324
 heavenly emperor (Cheonje 天帝) 42,
 119, 120, 121, 133, 136, 137
 heavenly lord → Haneul-im
 heavenly mandate (*cheonmyeong* 天命)
 42, 116, 119, 123, 125, 126, 137,
 141
 hell denizen (*jiok* [Ch. *diyu*] 地獄) 324
 Heobaek Myeongjo 盧白明照 (1593–
 1661) 88
 Heoung Bou 虛應普雨 (1515–1565)
 86
 Heuldugol 紇斗骨 137
 Heulseunggol 訖升骨 132, 136, 137
 Heungcheonsa 興天寺 85
 Heungdeoksa 興德寺 85, 341, 345
 Heungwangsa 興王寺 68-69, 119
 Heze 荷擇 school 61-62, 265, 267,
 271, 272, 273
 Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (670–762) 73,
 258, 270, 271
 history as the mind’s manifestation 28,
 35, 50, 127
hongik in’gan 弘益人間 (universal
 benefiting of the human world) 42

Hongzhou 洪州 school 61, 260, 267,
 274, 282
Hou Hanshu 後漢書 (History of the
 Later Han) 128
 Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (d. 850) 282
 Huanglong 黃龍 (Huinan 慧南 [1002–
 1069]) 261
 Huayan → Hwaeom 華嚴
 Huayan (Kr. Hwaeom 華嚴) school
 170
 Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554) 113
 Huijong 熙宗 (r. 1204–1211) 280
 Huineng 慧能 (633-713) 61, 258, 359
 Huirang 希朗 (d.u.) 64, 66
 Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) 72
 Huiyuan 慧遠 (523–592) 231
 Huizhao 慧沼 (648–714) 189
 human being (*in’gan* [Ch. *renjian*]
 人間, Skt. *manuṣya*) 324
Humane Kings Sutra (*Renwang-jing*
 仁王經) 60
 hungry ghost (*agwi* [Ch. *egui*] 餓鬼,
 Skt. *preta*) 324
hwadu [Ch. *huatou*] 話頭 (critical
 phrase) 74, 274, 282
hwadu-observing Seon (*ganhwa* Seon
 [Ch. *kanhua* Chan] 看話禪) 285
 Hwaeom (Ch. Huayan) 華嚴 6, 59, 60,
 68, 73, 80, 221, 251, 252, 255, 256,
 274, 289
Hwaeom-gyeong munui yogyeol mundap
 華嚴經文義要決問答 (Questions
 and Answers for Determining the
 Meanings of the Sentences of *Flower*
Garland Sutra) 252, 255
 Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 105, 345, 352
 Hwanin 桓因 → Jeseokcheon 帝釋天
 (Skt. Śakra Devānām Indra; Hwanin
 桓因)
 Hwanung 桓雄 38, 136

hwarang 花郎 (lit. “flowering youth”) 122, 341

hye 慧 (Skt. *prajñā*) 72

Hyechong 惠聰 (d.u.) 187

Hyeideok Sohyeon 慧德韶顯 (1038–1096) 67

Hyegong 惠空 (d.u.) 187

Hyegwan 慧灌 (d.u.) 187

Hyegeyong 慧景 (d.u.) 67

Hyein 惠仁 (d.u.) 351

Hyeja 慧慈 (d. 623) 187

Hyejo 慧照 (d.u.) 69

Hyeokgeose → Bak Hyeokgose 140

Hyeon'gwang 玄光 (d.u.) 187

Hyeonhaeng seobang-gyeong 現行西方經 (Sutra of Immediate Presence in the Western Paradise) 97

Hyeonhwasa 玄化寺 67

Hyeonil 玄一 (d.u.) 59, 353

Hyeonjeong-non 顯正論 (Clarification of the Correct) 83, 350, 356

Hyeonjong 顯宗 (r. 1009–1031) 66–67

Hyepyeon 惠便 (d.u.) 352

Hyeryang 惠亮 (fl. 551) 55

Hyesim 慧諶 (1178–1234) → Jin'gak
Hyesom 慧諶 (1178–1234)

Hyeyeong 惠永 (1228–1294) 79

I

Ichadon 異次頓 (501–527) 54

identical with each other (*sangjeuk* [Ch. *xiangji*] 相卽) 174

ignorance (*mumyeong* [Ch. *wuming*] 無明, Skt. *avidyā*) 163, 175, 239

ignorant Seon (*chi* Seon 癡禪) 70, 286

ill words (惡口) 323

illegitimate son (*seoja* 庶子) 137

Imje (Ch. Linji) 臨濟 school 64

Imje (Ch. Linji) 臨濟 Seon → Linji
Chan (Kor. Imje Seon) 臨濟禪

immaculate (*mugu* [Ch. *wugou*] 無垢, Skt. *vimala*) 163

immaculate consciousness (*mugu sik* [Ch. *wugou shi*] 無垢識) 194, 195

immortal (*seonin* 仙人) 103

immovable wisdom (*budong ji* [Ch. *budong zhi*] 不動智) 276, 278, 279

Immovable Wisdom Buddha 276

impartiality (*sa* [Ch. *she*] 捨, Skt. *upekṣā*) 325

impermanent (*musang* [Ch. *wuchang*] 無常, Skt. *anitya*) 319

impregnation by the force of a rooster 130, 133

Indra (i.e., Jeseokcheon) 123, 378

Injo 仁祖 [r. 1623–1649] 88

Injong 仁宗 (r. 1122–1146) 70, 103

Inscription of the River Luo (Ch. Luoshu 洛書) 117

intellectual (*soji jang* [Ch. *suozhi zhang*] 所知障, Skt. *jñeyāvaraṇa*) 210

intellectual hindrance (*jiae* [Ch. *zhiai*] 智礙) 239, 240, 241, 244, 281

intellectual obstruction (*soji jang* [Ch. *suozhi zhang*] 所知障, Skt. *jñeyāvaraṇa*) 211, 227, 243

intellectual understanding (*jihae* [Ch. *zhijie*] 知解) 265, 269, 270, 272, 281, 286

intentional deeds (*uieop* [Ch. *yiye*] 意業, Skt. *manaskarman*) 323, 335

interpenetration (*sangip* [Ch. *xiangru*] 相入) 253, 254, 255

intrinsic mark (*jasang* [Ch. *zixiang*] 自相) 202

inverted thought (*jeondo mangsang* [Ch. *zhuandao wangxiang*] 轉倒妄想) 319

Inwang baekjwa 仁王百座 (Assembly of One Hundred Seats of the Humane Kings) 55

Inwanggyeong-so 仁王經疏
(Commentary on the *Humane Kings Sutra*) 187

inyok [Ch. *renru*] 忍辱 (forbearance, Skt. *kṣānti*) 163

Iryeon → Bogak Iryeon 普覺一然 (1206–1289)

J

Ja'eun 慈恩 (Yogācāra) 79

Ja'eun (Ch. Ci'en) 慈恩 school 71

Jain theory of five substances (Skt. *dravya*) 365

Jainism 364

Jajang 慈藏 (590–658) 55, 187, 188, 352

jajeungbun 自證分 (self-aware aspect) 37

Japanese invasion of Korea 87

jebeop sangi [Ch. *zhufa xianger*]
諸法相爾; lit "the characteristics of every dharma are just so") 164

Jegwan 諦觀 (d. 970) 65

jeomchal 占察 → divination

Jeomgae 漸開 (d.u.) 343

Jeong Dojeon 鄭道傳 (1342–1398) 82, 350

Jeong Jungbu 鄭仲夫 (1106–1179) 71, 106

jeong 定 (Skt. *samādhi*) 72

Jeonghye gyeolsa-mun 定慧結社文
(Compact for the Samadhi and Prajna Society) 72, 263

jeongjin (Ch. *jingjin*) 精進 (effort, Skt. *vīrya*) 163, 263

Jeongmyeol sijung-non 寂滅示衆論
(A Treatise Instructing People in a Samadhi of Tranquil Cessation) 85

jeongsinsa 精神史 29

Jeseok 帝釋 → Jeseokcheon 帝釋天
(Skt. Śakra Devānām Indra; Hwanin 桓因)

Jeseokcheon 帝釋天 (Skt. Śakra Devānām Indra; Hwanin 桓因) 38, 47, 55, 78, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 136

jeungjajeungbun 證自證分 (re-confirming self-aware aspect) 37

Jewang un'gi 帝王韻紀 (A History of the Emperors) 143

Jieun 智崑 (d.u.) 85

jigyē (Ch. *chijie*) 持戒 (morality, Skt. *śīla*) 148, 163

Jiin 智仁 (d.u.) 353

Jikji simche jeoryo 直指心體節要
(Essentials of Directly Pointing to the Nature of Mind) 81

Jimyeong 智明 (d.u.) 187, 352

Jin'gak Hyesim 眞覺慧謚 (1178–1234) 74, 286

Jin'gang jing wujia jie 金剛經五家解
(Expositions of the *Diamond Sutra* by the Five Masters) 359

Jineok 津億 (d.u.) 71

Jingde chuangdeng lu 景德傳燈錄
(Records of the Transmission of the Lamp Published in the Jingde Era) 63, 89

Jingzhong 淨衆 school 61, 265

Jinjeong Cheonchaek 眞淨天頌 (b. 1206) 75, 78

Jinpyo 眞表 (d.u.) 343

Jinul → Bojo Jinul 普照知訥 (1158–1210)

Jizang 吉藏 (549–623) 171, 176, 182

- Jo Jun 趙浚 (d.u.) 82
- Jodong (Ch. Caodong) 曹洞 school 64, 261
- Jogu 祖丘 (d. 1395) 83
- Jowon tongnok chwaryo* 祖源通錄撮要 (Excerpts from the *Zuyuan tonglu* 祖源通錄 [Comprehensive Records of the Origins of the Patriarchs]) 86
- joy (*hui* [Ch. *xi*] 喜, Skt. *muditā*) 325
- Jueding zang lun* 決定藏論 (“Viniścaya” [Dispute-Settling] Section of the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*) 193, 195
- Jumong 朱蒙 (r. 58–19 BCE) 107, 124, 131, 139
- Jungjong 中宗 (r. 1506–1544) 85
- Jungpyeon Jodong owi* 重編曹洞五位 (Revised Edition of the Five Positions of the Jodong School) 77
- Jungpyeon yeomsong sawon* 重編拈頌事苑 (Revised Edition of the *Seonmun yeomsong*) 77
- Jurchen Jin 金 70
- K**
- karma 54, 319, 321, 341
- karmic retribution in the three time periods 342, 343
- Kāśyapiya (飲光部) 385
- Khitans 66, 70
- killing (殺生) 323
- kind words (*aeo* [Ch. *aiyu*] 愛語, Skt. *priyavacana*) 327
- King Asin 阿莘 (r. 392–405) 341
- King Beopheung 法興 (r. 514–540) 53, 109, 125, 341
- King Bojang 寶藏 (r. 642–668) 349
- King Chimnyu 枕流 (r. 384–385) 53
- King Chungnyeol 忠烈 (r. 1274–1308) 77
- King Dongmyeong 東明 38, 104, 107, 117, 130, 131, 136
- King Gogugyang 故國壤 (r. 384–391) 341
- King Gongmin 恭愍 (r. 1351–1374) 80
- King Gwanggaeto 廣開土 Stele 133
- King Gyeongae 景哀 (r. 924–927) 149
- King Gyeongdeok 景德 (r. 742–765) 189, 343, 348
- King Gyeongmyeong 景明 (r. 917–924) 105
- King Gyeongsun 敬順 (r. 927–935) 61, 149, 257
- King Haeburu 解夫婁 (r. ?–60 BCE) 131, 135, 144
- King Heon'gang 憲康 (r. 875–886) 356
- King Heondeok 憲德 (r. 809–826) 61, 260
- King Heungdeok 興德 (r. 826–836) 63
- King Hyegong 惠恭 (r. 765–780) 56, 257
- King Hyoso 孝昭 (r. 692–702) 189
- King Jangsu 長壽 (r. 413–491) 138, 172
- King Jinheung 眞興 (r. 540–576) 125, 341
- King Jinji 眞智 (r. 576–579) 125
- King Jinpyeong 眞平 (r. 579–632) 105, 121, 124, 126, 343, 352
- King Mu 穆 (r. 976–922 BCE) 128
- King Munmu 文武 (r. 661–680) 56, 122, 123, 126, 343
- King Muyeol 武烈 (r. 654–661) 56, 126, 257
- King Seo Eon (Ch. Xu Yan) 徐偃 (d.u.) 123, 128, 130, 133, 137, 139
- King Seong 聖 (r. 523–554) 351
- King Sinmun 神文 (r. 681–692) 123,

126
 King Sosurim 小獸林 (r. 371–384) 53, 341
 King Suro → Gim Suro 140
 King Wen 文 (r. 689–675) 128
 King Wideok 威德 (r. 554–598) 352
 knowledge of [phenomenal] varieties
 (*yeoryang ji* [Ch. *ruliang zhi*] 如量智,
 Skt. *yāvadbhāvīkaj nāna*) 240, 242
yangji [Ch. *liangzhi*] 量智) →
 knowledge of [phenomenal] varieties
 (*yeoryang ji* [Ch. *ruliang zhi*] 如量智,
 Skt. *yāvadbhāvīkaj nāna*)
ji (Ch. *lizhi*) 理智 242
 knowledge of true principle (*yeori*
ji [Ch. *ruli zhi*] 如理智, Skt.
yathāvadbhāvīkaj nāna) 240, 242,
 275
 Kuiji → Ci'en Kuji 慈恩窺基 (632–682)
 Kumārajīva (344–413) 171, 173, 175
 Kwaeseon 快善 (1693–1764) 348

L

Laṅkāvatara-sūtra (*Lengqie jing* 楞伽經)
 257, 260
Lengyan jing 楞嚴經 (Sutra of Heroic
 March, Skt. **Śūraṅgamasūtra*) 99
 letter to solicit troops (*geolsa-pyo*
 乞師表) 347
 Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635–730) 73,
 263, 275, 278, 279
Liangshu 梁書 (History of the Liang)
 131, 135
 likened to a diamond (*geumgang*
yu [Ch. *jin'gang yu*] 金剛喻, Skt.
vajropamā) 243
 lineal Gim royal family 63
 Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 867) 282

Linji 臨濟 school 261, 274, 284
 listening, understanding, intending,
 and imagining (*munbae sasang*
 聞解思想) 281
 living or sentient being (*jungsaeng* [Ch.
zhongsheng] 衆生, Skt. *sattva*) 323
 living phrases (*hwalgu* [Ch. *huoju*]
 活句) 265, 272
 living words (*hwalgu* 活句) 74
Lotus Sutra (*Miaofa lianhua*
jing 妙法蓮華經, Skt.
Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra) 338
 loving kindness (*ja* [Ch. *ji*] 慈, Skt.
maitrī) 324
 lying (妄語) 323

M

Madhyamaka (philosophy of the
 middle way) 58, 169, 172, 175, 207,
 214, 225, 226, 230, 231, 232, 273
 Mādhyamika (lit. “followers of the
 middle way”) 171
Madhyāntavibhāga (Distinguishing
 the Middle from Extremes;
Bian zhongbian lun 辨中邊論 or
Zhongbian fenbie lun 中邊分別論)
 195
 Maek's bows (Maekgung 貊弓) 139
 magical transformation (*sinbyeon* 神變)
 135
 Mahasaṃghika (大衆部) 385
Mahasaṃghika Vinaya (摩訶僧祇律)
 385
 Mahayana 161
 Mahayana bodhisattva 334, 338
Mahayana Sutra of Contemplation
on the Original Mind Ground
 (*Dasheng bensheng xindi guanjing*)

- 大乘本生心地觀經) 347
Mahāyānasamgraha (Compendium of the Mahayana; Ch. *She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論) 57, 188, 198
Mahayanasutrālamkara (Ornament of the Mahayana Sutras; *Daseng zhuangyan jing lun* 大乘莊嚴經論) 194
 Mahīśāsaka (化地部) 385
 Maitreya (as a Buddhist thinker) 169, 190
 Maitreya 55, 60
 Maitreyanātha (270–350; Ch. Mile [Kr. Mireuk] 彌勒) → Maitreya (as a Buddhist thinker)
 Make friends with trust (*bungu yusin* 朋友有信) 352
 making beneficial conduct (*ibaeng* [Ch. *lixing*] 利行, Skt. *arthakṛtya*) 327
manas (meaning “thought:” *malla* [Ch. *mona*] 末那) consciousness 191
 Mandeoksa 萬德寺 75, 264
mañi (*mani* [Ch. *moni*] 摩尼) 197, 267, 273
 manifesting consciousness (*byeonsik* [Ch. *xianshi*] 現識) 238
 Mañjuśrī 275, 276
 mark of inconceivable activities (*busai eop sang* [Ch. *busiye ye xiang*] 不思議業相) 235, 247
 mark of other-dependence (*uita gi sang* [Ch. *yita qi xiang*] 依他起相, Skt. *paratantra-svabhāva*) 196, 207
 mark of perfect accomplishment (*wonseong sil sang* [Ch. *yuancheng shixiang*] 圓成實相, Skt. *pariṇiṣpannasvabhāva*) 180, 196–197, 201, 207, 215
 mark of pervasive discrimination [of what one is attached to] (*byeon'gye sojip sang* [Ch. *bianji souzhi xiang*] 遍計所執相, Skt. *parikalpasvabhāva*) 196, 207
 mark of pure wisdom (*jijeong sang* [Ch. *zhijing xiang*] 智淨相) 235, 239, 241, 247
 mark of separation from language and characteristics (*ieon jeolsang* [Ch. *liyan jiexiang*] 離言絕相) 272
 mark (*sang* [Ch. *xiang*] 相, Skt. *lakṣaṇa*) 202
 marvelous enlightenment (*myogak* [Ch. *miaojue*] 妙覺) 244, 247, 248
 materialism 36
 Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788) 78, 260, 282
 Mazu → Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788)
 meaning or goal of emptiness (*gongui* [Ch. *kongyi*] 空義, Skt. *śūnyatārtha*) 170, 232
 meaningless chatter (綺語) 323
 meanings of history 47–50
 meditation (*seonjeong* [Ch. *chanding*] 禪定, Skt. *dhyāna*) 333
 meditation hall (*seonwon* 禪院) 89
 mental consciousness (Skt. *manovijñāna*) 197
 mental functions (*simsobeop* [Ch. *xinsuo fa*] 心所法, Skt. *caitta*) 195
 merits (*bok* [Ch. *fu*] 福) 326
 metaethics 363
 middle as contrasted to the partial (*daepyeon jung* [Ch. *duipian zhong*] 對偏中) 185
 middle as exhaustion of the partial (*jinyeong jung* [Ch. *jinbian zhong*] 盡偏中) 185
 middle as the absolute (*jeoldae jung* [Ch. *juedui zhong*] 絕對中) 185

- middle that accomplishes the provisional (*seongga jung* [Ch. *chengjia zhong*] 成假中) 185
- middle way (that is separate from the two extremes of existence and non-existence as in the *Āgamas*) 181-182, 361
- middle way as a substance 183, 186, 215
- middle way as the substance 288
- middle way of eight negations (*palbul jungdo* [Ch. *babu zhongdao*] 八不中道) 171
- middle way of non-duality (*buri jungdo* [Ch. *bu'er zhongdao*] 不二中道) 183
- Milgye Sungmuk 密契崇默 (d.u.) 85-86
- mind as a mental aspect 35
- mind of compassion (*jabi sim* [Ch. *cifei xin*] 慈悲心) 337
- mind of faith 275
- mind of filial piety and obedience (*hyosun sim* [Ch. *xiaoshun xin*] 孝順心) 337
- mind or will (*ui* [Ch. *yi*] 意, Skt. *manas*) 318
- mind to aim at regenerating itself → regenerability 82
- minor precepts (*gyeonggye* [Ch. *qingjie*] 輕戒) 326
- mirror free from [defiled] objects (*beop chulli gyeong* [Ch. *fa chuli jing*] 法出離鏡) 241
- mistaken attachments (*sajip* [Ch. *xiezhi*] 邪執) 186
- modern ethics 363
- Mogeun Yi Saek 牧隱李穡 (1328–1396) 80
- Mokheon Gugong 木軒丘公 (d.u.) 353
- monastic academy (*gangwon* 講院) 89
- monastic examination → state examination system for monks
- monastic focusing on study (*ipan* 理判) 89
- monastic focusing on temple affairs (*sapan* 事判) 89
- Mongol Yuan 元 70
- monotheism 317
- morality → *jigyae* (Ch. *chijie*) 持戒 148
- mosu* (meaning "illumine" [照] or "male" [雄]) 134, 136
- mu* (Ch. *wu*) 無 282, 286
- mubul seuphap* 巫佛習合 → syncretism of shamanism and Buddhism
- Mucheon 舞天 139
- Muhak Jacho 無學自超 (1327–1405) 83, 87
- mundane (*segan* 世間) 58
- mundane five precepts (*sesok ogye* 世俗五戒) 354
- Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–1083) 68
- Muoe 無畏 (d.u.) 79
- mutual identity (*sangjeuk* [Ch. *xiangji*] 相卽) 182, 184
- mutual identity (*sangsi* [Ch. *xiangshi*] 相是) 253, 254, 255
- mutual identity between existence and non-existence (*yumu sangjeuk* 有無相卽) 217
- Muyeom 無染 (801–888) 94,, 95, 356
- Muyeopsan 無葉山 146
- Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1170–1197) 71, 78, 263, 274
- Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1545-1567; Joseon period) 86
- Myocheong 妙清 (d. 1135) 71
- Myocheong 妙清 rebellion (1135-1136) 106
- Myoryeonsa 妙蓮寺 79

N

- Nāgārjuna (ca. 150–250 CE) 57, 169, 170, 171, 173, 181
- Najeong 蘿井 (meaning “creeper wall”) 140
- Namsan 南山 Vinaya school (Yuljong 律宗) 353
- Nanda (ca. sixth century) 92
- Nangji 朗智 (d.u.) 187
- Naong Hyegeun 懶翁慧勤 (1320–1376) 80–81, 87
- nation-protecting ideology → state-protecting Buddhism
- naturalistic ethics 363
- nature (*seong* [Ch. *xing*] 性) 174
- naturelessness (*mu jaseong seong* [Ch. *wu zixing xing*] 無自性性) 202
- nature of dharmas (*beopseong* [Ch. *faxing*] 法性, Skt. *dharmatā*) 206
- nature-arising (*seonggi* [Ch. *xingqi*] 性起) 62, 260
- nature-entailment (*seonggu* [Ch. *xingju*] 性具) 262
- naturelessness of the arising → The arising is natureless
- naturelessness of the mark 207
- naturelessness of the ultimate meaning → Ultimate meaning is natureless
- neither arising nor perishing (*bulsaeng bulmyeol* [Ch. *busheng bumie*] 不生不滅) 173
- neither being eternal nor transient (*bulsang budan* [Ch. *buchang buduan*] 不常不斷) 173
- neither being identical nor different (*buril buri* [Ch. *buyi buyi*] 不一不異) 173
- neither cause nor condition (*muin muyeon* [Ch. *wuyin wuyuan*] 無因無緣, Pā. *ahetuappaccayā*) 364
- neither coming nor departing (*bullae bulchul* [Ch. *bulai buchul*] 不來不出) 173
- neither duality nor non-duality [*bii bi buri* (Ch. *fei'er febu'er*) 非二非不二] 180
- neither existent (*biyu* [Ch. *feiyou*] 非有) 175
- neither existent nor non-existent (*biyu bimu* [Ch. *feiyou feiwu*] 非有非無) 175
- Neo-Confucianism 82
- Neungeom Seon 楞嚴禪 69–70
- new Yogācāra 188, 193, 195, 199, 204, 209, 213, 218, 288
- next life (*naese* [Ch. *laishi*] 來世, Skt. *agāgatādhvan*) 322
- nine consciousnesses 195
- Nine Mountains → Nine Mountains Seon Gates
- Nine Mountains Seon Gates (Gusan Seonmun 九山禪門) 61, 81, 94, 260
- ninth consciousness 248
- nirvana 161, 332
- nirvana of no abiding (*muju* [Ch. *wuzhu*] 無住) 211
- nirvana which is originally pure by nature (*bollae jaseong cheongjeong* [Ch. *benlai zixing qingjing*] 本來自性清淨) 211
- nirvana wisdom (*yeolban ji* [Ch. *niepan zhi*] 涅槃智) 247
- nirvana with remainder (*yu yeoui* [Ch. *you yuyi*] 有餘依) 211
- nirvana without remainder (*mu yeoui* [Ch. *wu yuyi*] 無餘依) 211
- Niutou 牛頭 school 61
- no dependence on the scriptural tradition (Ch. *buli wenzi* 不立文字) 62

- no doing (*mujak* [Ch. *wuzuo*] 無作) 166
- no marks (*musang* [Ch. *wuxiang*] 無相) 166
- no self (*mua* [Ch. *wuwo*] 無我, Skt. *nairātmya*) 161
- no thought (*wunian* [Kr. *munyeom*] 無念) 267
- noble eightfold path (*pal jeongdo* [Ch. *ba zheng-dao*] 八正道) 330, 332
- non-abiding giving (*mu jusang bosil* [Ch. *wu zhuxiang pushi*] 無住相布施, Skt. *apratishthito dāna*) 334, 374
- non-discriminating wisdom (*mu bunbyeol ji* [Ch. *wu fenbie zhi*] 無分別智, Skt. *nirvikalpa-jñāna*) 210
- non-enlightenment (*bulgak* [Ch. *bujue*] 不覺) 233, 236, 237, 238
- non-existence (*bisiljae* [Ch. *fei shizai*] 非實在) 163
- non-existence (*mu* [Ch. *wu*] 無) 170
- non-hindrance between phenomenal objects (*sasa muae* [Ch. *shishi wuai*] 事事無礙) 272, 274, 282
- non-retrogression (*bultoejeon* [Ch. *bu tuizhuan*] 不退轉, Skt. *avinivartaniya*) 168
- nonwal 論曰 50, 103, 105, 124
- Northern Buyeo 131, 135
- Northern Mountain lineage (Bugakpa 北岳派) 66
- Northern school (Ch. Beizong 北宗) 61, 258, 267
- not establishing words (*bullip munja* [Ch. *buli wenzil*] 不立文字) 260
- not performing the giving of wealth and giving of dharma because of one's stinginess and grudge (*ganseok jaebeop* [Ch. *qianxi caifa*] 慳惜財法) 335
- not self (*bia* [Ch. *feiwo*] 非我, Skt. *anatman*) 319
- nothing attainable 186
- nothing attainable at all (*ilche mu sodeuk* [Ch. *yiqie wu suode*] 一切無所得) 185
- no-thought Seon (*musim* Seon 無心禪) 81
- notion of person (*insang* [Ch. *renxiang*] 人相, Skt. *pudgala-saṃjñā*) 359
- notion of self (*asang* [Ch. *woxiang*] 我相, Skt. *ātma-saṃjñā*) 359
- notion of sentient being (*jungsaeng sang* [Ch. *zhongsheng xiang*] 衆生相, Skt. *sattva-saṃjñā*) 359
- notion of soul (*suja sang* [Ch. *shouzhe xiang*] 壽者相, Skt. *jīva-saṃjñā*) 359
- nullifying one's craving (*mu sogu* [Ch. *wu suoqiu*] 無所求) 258
- numinous awareness which is empty and tranquil (*gongjeok yeongji* 空寂靈知) 73

0

- object of knowledge (*gyeong* [Ch. *jing*] 境) 177
- object-discriminating consciousness (*bunbyeol sasik* [Ch. *fenbie shi shi*] 分別事識) 249
- objective aspect of being pervasively discriminated (*so byeon'gye* [Ch. *suo bianji*] 所遍計) 198
- object of appropriation (*beop* [Ch. *fa*] 法, Skt. *dharma*) 229
- ocean-seal samadhi (*haein sammae* [Ch. *haiyin sanmei*] 海印三昧, Skt. *sāgarāmudrāsamādhi*) 255
- Old Joseon 142
- Old Record (*Gogi* 古記) 143

old Yogācāra 195, 214
 omniscience (*ilcheji* [Ch. *yiqie zhi*]
 一切智, Skt. *sarvajñāna*) 164
 one Buddha vehicle (*il bulseung* [Ch. *yi
 fosheng*] 一佛乘) 338, 374
 one dharma realm 240
 one is the many; the many are one⁹
 (*il jeuk ilche ilche jeuk il* 一即一切
 一切即一) 59
 one mind (*ilsim* [Ch. *yixin*] 一心) 58,
 221, 229, 230, 260, 279, 289
 one mind and the two gates 232, 235,
 250
 one thusness 252
 one vehicle (*ilseung* [Ch. *yisheng*] 一乘)
 186, 277
 oneness of the dharmas of true thusness
 240
 operation (*haengsang* [Ch. *xingxiang*]
 行相, Skt. *ākāra*) 169, 191
 ordination procedure (*galma* [Ch.
jiemo] 羯磨, Skt. *karman*) 352
 ordination ritual 343
 original enlightenment (*bon'gak* [Ch.
benjue] 本覺) 194, 234, 235, 241,
 247
 original enlightenment in its pure
 nature (*seongjeong bon'gak* [Ch.
xingjing benjue] 性淨本覺) 255
 original vow (*bonwon* [Ch. *benyuan*]
 本願) 212
 other power (*taryeok* 他力) 75, 80
 other shore (*pian* [Ch. *bi'an*] 彼岸) 333
 other-dependence [*uita* (Ch. *yita*) 依他,
 Skt. *paratantra*] 180, 211, 216, 224
 oviparous birth 38, 107, 124, 130, 133
 oviparous myth 119
 Ox-head school (牛頭宗) 265, 267
 ox-taming practice (*mogu haeng* [Ch.
muniu xing] 牧牛行) 270

P

Palgwanhoe 八關會 (Assembly of the
 Eight Prohibitions) 55, 65
 pantheism 317
 Paramārtha (Zhendi 真諦, 499-569)
 188, 193, 207, 248
 parental favor (*bumo eun* [Ch. *fumu en*]
 父母恩) 329
 partial teaching of the one vehicle
 (*ilseung bun'gyo* 一乘分教) 253
 path of Brahma (*Beomcheon do* [Ch.
Fantian dao] 梵天道) 379
 paths of words and meanings (*eollo uiro*
 言路義路) 281
 patriotic Buddhist faith 70
 penetration (*tongdal* [Ch. *tongda*] 通達)
 244
 penetration into the transmigration
 and capacities of sentient beings
 (*dallyun'gi* [Ch. *dalunji*] 達輪機) 358
 perfect accomplishment → mark of
 perfect accomplishment
Perfect Enlightenment Sutra (*Yuanjue
 jing* 圓覺經) 99, 281
 perfection of precepts (Skt.
śīlapāramitā) 334
 perfection of wisdom (*banya baramilda*
 [Ch. *bore boluomiduo*] 般若波羅蜜多,
 Skt. *prajñāpāramitā*) 161, 190, 333
Perfection of Wisdom Sutra 205, 334
*Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 25,000
 Lines* (*Dapin bore [boluomi] jing*
 大品般若[波羅蜜]經 [A Larger
 Version of the *Perfection of Wisdom
 Sutra*], Skt. *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-
 prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*) 162, 165
*Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 8,000
 Lines* (*Xiaopin bore [boluomi] jing*
 小品般若[波羅蜜]經 [A Shorter

- Version of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*, Skt. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* 161-162, 164
 perfection (Skt. *pāramitā*) 163
 permeation (*hunseup* [Ch. *xunxi*] 熏習, Skt. *vāsānā*) 192
 perseverance (*inyok* [Ch. *renru*] 忍辱, Skt. *kṣānti*) 333
 personal notes (*sagi* 私記) 89
 pervasive discrimination [*bunbyeol* (Ch. *fenbie*) 分別, Skt. *parikalpa*] 180, 211, 216, 224
 Piṅgala (or Nilanetra [Ch. Qingmu 青目, fl. fourth century]) 176
 Pingshan Chulin 平山處林 (1279–1361) 87
 “Pious Girl Jieun” (孝女知恩) 350
Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch (*Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經) 263
 practice (*haeng* [Ch. *xing*] 行) 167
 practice of contemplation into the one taste” (*ilmi gwanhaeng* 一味觀行) 242
 practice of meditation (*yuga haeng* [Ch. *yuqie xing*] 瑜伽行, Skt. *yogācāra*) 273
 praising oneself and disparaging others (*jachan hweta* [Ch. *zizan huita*] 自讚毀他, Skt. *ātmotkarṣa-parapaṃsaka*) 223, 335, 357
 prajna → wisdom
 Prajñā-Madhyamaka 57
prasaṅga 173
 precept (*jigyē* [Ch. *chijie*] 持戒, Skt. *śīla*) 325-326, 333
 precepts for accumulating goodness (*seop seonbeop gye* [Ch. *she shanfa jie*] 攝善法戒, Skt. *kuśaladharmasamgrāhakaśīla*) 336
 precepts for benefiting sentient beings (*seop jungsaeng gye* [Ch. *she zhongsheng jie*] 攝衆生戒 or *yoik yujeong gye* [Ch. *raoyi youqing jie*] 饒益有情戒, Skt. *sattvārthakriyāśīla*) 336
 precepts for restraint (*seop yurui gye* [Ch. *she lüyi jie*] 攝律儀戒, Skt. *saṃvaraśīla*) 336
 precepts for the seven groups of disciples (*chiljung gye* [Ch. *qizhong jie*] 七衆戒) 336
 preparation (*jaryang* [Ch. *ziliang*] 資糧) 244
 previous lifetime (*sukse* [Ch. *sushi*] 宿世, Skt. *pūrvajanman*) 322
 Prince Geumwa 金蛙 131, 137
 principles defined as knowable objects (*igyeong* [Ch. *lijing*] 理境) 181
 pro-Confucian and anti-Buddhist policy 82
 profundity in essence (*chejunghyeon* [Ch. *tizhongxuan*] 體中玄) 274, 282
 profundity in language (*gujunghyeon* [Ch. *juzhongxuan*] 句中玄) 274, 282
 profundity in profundity (*hyeonjunghyeon* [Ch. *xuanzhongxuan*] 玄中玄) 274, 282
 prophecy about ones’ attainment of buddhahood (*sugi* [Ch. *shouji*] 授記, Skt. *vyākaraṇa*) 370
 provisional and middle (*ga-jung* [Ch. *jia-zhong*] 假-中) 183
 provisional designation (*gamyēong* [Ch. *jiaming*] 假名 or *gabo* [Ch. *jiahao*] 假號, Skt. *prajñapti*) 162, 165, 182
 provisional designations of mutual dependence (*sangdae ji gaching* [Ch. *xiangdai zhi jiacheng*] 相待之假稱) 178
 provisionally existent (*gayu* [Ch. *jiayou*])

假有, Skt. *prajñaptisat*) 175
 Pu'an Dao 普眼道 (d.u.) 283
 pure aspect (*cheongjeong bun* [Ch. *qingjing fen*] 清淨分) 195
 Pure Conduct Society (Jingxingshe 淨行社) 72
 Pure Land 60, 65, 72, 75
 Pure Land practice (*jeongeop* 淨業) 80
 Pure Rules of Master Baizhang (Baizhang qinggui 百丈清規) 81
 pure untainted realm (*murugye* [Ch. *wulou jie*] 無漏界, Skt. *anāsravadhātu*) 195
 purified wisdom (*sunjeong ji* [Ch. *chunjing zhi*] 純淨智) 235
 purity of the nature (*seongjeong* [Ch. *xingjing*] 性淨) 272
 pursuit of rebirth in the Pure Land (*jeongto gusaeng* 淨土求生) 75
 Pyeongyang 平壤 103, 128, 136, 138, 145
 Pyowon 表員 (d.u.) 252, 255

Q

Qingliang Chengguan 清涼澄觀 (738–839) 269, 279
 Queen Jindeok 眞德 (r. 647–654) 61, 109, 126
 Queen Munjeong 文定 (1501–1565) 86
 Queen Seondeok 善德 (r. 632–647) 121, 126
 Queen Seondeok 宣德 (r. 780–785) 61, 257, 352

R

rational moralist conception → rational moralist view of history
 rational moralist view of history 104, 109, 150, 151
 real characteristic (*silsang* [Ch. *shixiang*] 實相) 338
 real characteristic of every dharma (*jebeop silsang* 諸法實相) 163, 184, 224
 real emptiness (*yeosil gong* [Ch. *rushi kong*] 如實空) 232, 235, 239
 real nature of consciousness-only (*yusik silseong* [Ch. *weishi shixing*] 唯識實性) 208, 227
 real nature of every dharma (*jebeop silseong* [Ch. *zhufa shixing*] 諸法實性) 199, 209
 real non-emptiness (*yeosil bulgong* [Ch. *rushi bukong*] 如實不空) 232, 235, 239
 realization (*jeung* [Ch. *zheng*] 證) 167
 realization-enlightenment (*jeungo* [Ch. *zhengwu*] 證悟) 276, 280, 281
 realm of empty space (*gonggye* 空界) 133
 receiver (*suja* [Ch. *shouzhe*] 受者) 326
 receiving and observing (*suji* [Ch. *shouzhi*] 受持) of the precepts 326
 receptacle world (*gi segan* [Ch. *qi shijian*] 器世間, Skt. *bhājana-loka*) 191
 reciting the Buddha's name (*yeombul* 念佛) 88
 refutation of the false (*pasa* [Ch. *poxie*] 破邪) 186
 regenerability 44–47, 82
 relying on verbal expressions (*uieon* [Ch. *yiyen*] 依言) 232

repentance of the lotus samadhi
(*beophwa sammae cham* 法華三昧懺)
75

repetitive manifestation (or
containment) of the whole in the
parts ad infinitum (*jungjung mujin*
[Ch. *chongchong wujin*] 重重無盡)
222, 256, 339

repudiating doctrine (*gyeon'gyo* [Ch.
qianjiao] 遣教) 268

Respect your parents with filial piety
(*sachin ihyo* 事親以孝) 352

response body (*eungsin* [Ch. *yingshen*]
應身, Skt. *nirmāṇakāya*) 249, 252

response-transformation body
[*eunghwa sin* (Ch. *yinghua shen*)
應化身] 249

responsibility 367

retribution or consequence (*bo* [Ch.
bao] 報, Skt. *vipāka*) 320

revealed dharma wheel (*hyeollyo ryun*
[Ch. *xianliao lin*] 顯了輪) 206

revealing doctrine (*hyeon'gyo* [Ch.
xianjiao] 顯教) 268

reward body (*bosin* [Ch. *baoshen*] 報身,
Skt. *saṃbhogakāya*) 249, 252

right behavior (occupation) (*jeongeop*
[Ch. *zhengye*] 正業) 331

right concentration (*jeongjeong* [Ch.
zhengding] 正定) 331

right efforts (*jeongjeongjin* [Ch. *zheng
jingjin*] 正精進) 331

right intention (*jeongsayu* [Ch. *zheng
siwei*] 正思惟) 331

right livelihood (*jeongmyeong* [Ch.
zhengming] 正命) 331

right memory (*jeongnyeom* [Ch.
zhengnian] 正念) 331

right speech (*jeongeog* [Ch. *zhengyu*]
正語) 331

right view (*jeonggyeon* [Ch. *zhengjian*]
正見) 331

righteous monk (*uiseung* 義僧) 360

ripening consciousness (*isuk sik*
[Ch. *yishou shi*] 異熟識, Skt.
vipākāvijñāna) 192, 236

ritual of divination and repentance
(*jeomchal chamhoe beop* 占察懺悔法)
72

ritual purification (*jae* [Ch. *zhai*] 齋)
350

S

Sabul yul mokcha-gi 四分律木叉記
(Notes on the *Prātimokṣa* of the
Four-Part Vinaya) 353

sabun seol 四分說 (theory of four
aspects of mind) 37

Sabun yul galma sagi 四分律羯磨私記
(Personal Notes on the Procedure
for the Ordination According to the
Four-Part Vinaya) 353

Sabun yul galma-gi 四分律羯磨記
(Notes on the Procedure for the
Ordination According to the *Four-
Part Vinaya*) 352, 353

Sacheonwang 四天王 (Four Heavenly
Kings, Skt. *Cātur-mahārāja-kāyika*)
122

sacred kings of heavenly descendants
53, 55

sacred site (*seongso* 聖所) 140

sacrificial religion for heaven
(*jecheon'gyo* 祭天教) 342

saebak 새삼 5, 46

samadhi 270

Samadhi and Prajna Society (Jeonghye
gyeolsa 定慧結社) 45, 71, 74, 106,

- 262, 263, 264, 271
- “Samantabhadra’s Ten Vows for Rebirth” (Bohyeon sipjong wonwang ga 普賢十種願往歌) 66
- samgha (*seungga* [Ch. *sengjia*] 僧伽) 326
- Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (A History of the Three Kingdoms) 49-50, 78, 103, 107, 124, 143, 148, 148, 350
- Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) 47, 77, 78, 109, 110, 106, 120, 126, 147, 350
- Samyeong Yujeong 四溟惟政 (1544–1610) 87
- San’guo zhi* 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms) 128
- sarim* 士林 (Confucian gentry) 86
- saro* 斯路 (*saero* 새로) 47
- Sarvāstivāda (設一切有部) 385
- Saryun 舍輪 125
- scholasticism 56, 70
- scriptures for national protection 60
- secret dharma wheel (*eunmil ryun* [Ch. *jinmi lin*] 隱密輪) 206
- secret transmission of the teaching (*mirui sangjeon* 密意相傳) 73
- seed (*jongja* [Ch. *zhongzi*] 種子, Skt. *bija*) 191
- seed arising from the permeation of the forthcoming consciousness (*seup soseong jong* [Ch. *xi suocheng zhong*] 習所成種) 192
- seed inherently existing from the primordial times (*bonseong ju jong* [Ch. *benxing zhu zhong*] 本性住種) 192
- seeing one’s own nature and accomplishing buddhahood (Ch. *jianxing chengfo* 見性成佛) 62, 260
- seek enlightenment above and save sentient beings below (*sanggu bori habwa jungsaeng* [Ch. *xiangqui puti xiahua zhongsheng*] 上求菩提下化衆生) 338
- Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–1468, Prince Suyang) 84, 360
- Sejong 世宗 (r. 1419–1450) 83
- self (Skt. *ātman*) 319
- self-conceit (*aman* [Ch. *woman*] 我慢, Skt. *ātmanāna*) 192
- self-delusion (*achi* [Ch. *wochi*] 我癡, Skt. *ātmamoha*) 192
- self-love (*aae* [Ch. *woai*] 我愛, Skt. *ātma-sneha*) 192
- self-nature (*jaseong* [Ch. *zixing*] 自性, Skt. *svabhāva*) 57, 165, 174, 202
- self-nature body (*jaseong sin* [Ch. *zixing shen*] 自性身) 212, 249
- self-view (*agyeon* [Ch. *wojian*] 我見, Skt. *ātmadr̥ṣṭi*) 192
- selling of alcohol (*goju* [Ch. *gujiu*] 酤酒) 336
- Sengbian 僧辯 (568–642) 188
- Sengquan 僧詮 (d.u.) 172, 179
- Sengzhao 僧肇 (384–414) 176, 179
- sense field (Skt. *viśaya*) 192
- sentient being (*jungsaeng* [Ch. *zhongsheng*] 衆生, Skt. *sattva*) 162
- sentient being’s mind 229
- Seo Eon (Ch. Xu Yan) 徐偃 38
- Seoi 徐夷 128, 131
- Seok Talhae 昔脫解 (r. 57–80 BCE) 140
- Seokbo sangjeol* 釋譜詳節 (Auspicious Details of the Buddha’s Genealogy) 84
- Seokje Hwanin 釋提桓因 (Skt. Śakra Devānām Indra) 137, 146
- Seomyeong Woncheuk 西明圓測 (613–696) 67, 187, 193, 214, 218,

- 248, 288
- Seon (Ch. Chan) 禪 (meditation) 61, 69, 70, 257, 288
- seonbi* 선비 (virtuous scholar) spirit 44
- Seong yusing-non hakgi* 成唯識論學記 (Study Notes on the *Cheng weishi lun*) 218
- Seongjong 成宗 (r. 1469–1494; Joseon period) 85
- Seongjong 成宗 (r. 981–997) 66
- Seongjusan 聖住山 356
- Seongmin 省敏 (d.u.) 83
- seonjeong* [Ch. *chanding*] 禪定 (meditation, Skt. *dhyāna*) 163
- Seonjo 宣祖 (r. 1567–1608) 87
- Seonjong yukjo Hyeneung Daesa jeongsang dongnae yeon'gi* 禪宗六祖慧能大師頂相東來緣起 [A Record of Eastward Transmission of the Head of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng of the Meditation School] 153
- Seonmun bojang-nok* 禪門寶藏錄 (Records of Precious Storehouse of Seon) 78
- Seonmun yeomsong* 禪門拈頌 (Collection of the Seon Verses of Critique) 74, 86, 286
- Seonyul 善律 (d.u.) 343
- separate from all verbal expressions (*ieon* [Ch. *liyan*] 離言) 232
- separate transmission outside of the teaching (Ch. *jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳) 62
- Serve your ruler with loyalty (*sagun ichung* 事君以忠) 352
- Seungjang 勝莊 (d.u.) 67, 189, 353
- Seungnang 僧朗 (ca. 500 CE) 57, 171, 173, 177, 183, 273, 288
- sexual debauchery (邪淫) 323
- shamanism 42, 54, 118, 123, 125, 126, 137, 138, 142, 146, 342
- shamanistic → shamanism
- shamanistic cults (*mugyo* 巫教) 119
- shared teaching of the three vehicles (*samseung tonggyo* 三乘通教) 253
- She Mountains (Sheling 攝嶺 or Sheshan 攝山) 172, 179, 183
- Shenhui → Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (670–762)
- Shenxiu 神秀 (606–706) 258
- Shi'er men lun* 十二門論 (Treatise of the Twelve Gates; Skt. **Dvādaśa-mukhaśāstra*) 172
- Shiji* 史記 (Historical Records) 111, 128
- Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽 (Essential Manual for the Buddhists) 347
- Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清拱 (1272–1352) 81, 87
- shortcut approach of observing the *hwadu* 74, 263, 282, 283, 286, 289
- shouting (*hal* [Ch. *he*] 喝) 283
- Shuzhang* 書狀 (Letters) 99, 264
- Sim gi ri-pyeon* 心氣理篇 (A Treatise on Mind, Gi, and Principle) 82
- Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–86 BCE) 111
- simultaneous cultivation of samadhi (meditation) and prajana (wisdom) (*jeonghye ssangsu* 定慧雙修) 72–74, 271
- Sin Don 辛旽 (d.1371) 80
- Sinjong 神宗 (r. 1197–1204) 285
- Sinmi 信眉 (d.u.) 85
- sinmyeong* 新明 5, 46
- Sipsong yul mokcha-gi* 十誦律木叉記 (Notes on the *Prātimokṣa* [list of rules] of the *Ten Recitations Vinaya* [Skt. *Daśabhāṇavāra-vinaya*]) 353
- six defiled minds (*yuk yeomsim* [Ch. *liu*

- ranxin*] 六染心) 240
- six faculties (*yukgeun* [Ch. *liugen*]; 六根, Skt. *ṣaḍindriya*) 318, 363
- six heretics 321, 322
- six paths [*yukdo* [Ch. *liudao*] 六道] 324, 325
- six perfections 333, 373
- six spheres (or sense-objects) (*yukgyeong* [Ch. *liujing*] 六境, Skt. *ṣaḍ viśaya*) 318, 363
- Six Wheels Society (Yungnyunhoe 六輪會) 343, 345
- slandering the four groups of disciples (*seol sajung gwa* [Ch. *shuo sizhong guo*] 說四衆過) 336
- slandering the three jewels [i.e., Buddha, dharma, and samgha] (*bibang sambo* [Ch. *feibang sanbao*] 誹謗三寶) 337
- sodo* (*sutteo* sutte, meaning “lofty and clean site”) 142
- sodo* 蘇塗 (meaning “extended pole” [*sotdae* 突대]) 141
- Sohyeon 韶顯 (1038–1096) 72, 261
- Sokjanggyeong* 續藏經 (Supplement to the Tripitaka Koreana) 76
- solar shade (*iryong* 日影) 134
- son of the heavenly emperor (天帝子) 132
- Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song Biographies of Eminent Monks) 113, 189, 219
- Southern Chan (Kr. Seon) school 南宗禪 78
- Southern Mountain lineage (Namakpa 南岳派) 66
- Southern school (Ch. Nanzong 南宗) 258
- special transmission outside the scriptures (*gyooe byeoljeon* [Ch. *jiowwai biechuan*] 教外別傳) 260
- speech actions (*gueop* [Ch. *kouye*] 口業, Skt. *vākḥarman*) 323
- sphaṭika* (i.e., crystal; *pajiga* [Ch. *pozhihia*] 頗胝迦) 197, 273
- spiritual self (Skt. *jīva-ātman*) 365
- śramaṇa* (mendicant) 328, 364, 378
- stage of accumulation (*jaryang wi* [Ch. *ziliang wei*] 資糧位) 197
- stage of applied practices (*gabaeng wi* [Ch. *jiaxing wei*] 加行位) 197
- stage of consideration (*sawi* [Ch. *siwei*] 思位) 245
- stage of cultivation (*suwi* [Ch. *xiuwei*] 修位 or *sudo wi* [Ch. *xiudao wei*] 修道位, Skt. *bhāvanāmārga*) 197, 245
- stage of equal enlightenment 247
- stage of faiths (*sinwi* [Ch. *xinwei*] 信位) 245
- stage of final state (*gugyeong wi* [Ch. *jiujing wei*] 究竟位) 197
- stage of insight (*gyeondo wi* [Ch. *jiandao wei*] 見道位, Skt. *darśanamārga*) 197
- stage of practice (*haengwi* [Ch. *xingwei*] 行位) 245, 247
- stage of relinquishment (*sawi* [Ch. *shewei*] 捨位) 245, 247
- state examination system for monks (*seunggwa* 僧科) 85-86
- state-protecting Buddhism 60, 89
- stealing (偷盜) 323
- Sthiramati (ca. seventh century) 76, 92
- storehouse consciousness (*jangsik* [Ch. *zanshi*] 藏識) 192
- su* 𠂇 (meaning “male”) 136
- subjective aspect of discriminating pervasively (*neung byeongye* [Ch. *neng bianji*] 能遍計) 197-198

- substance (*che* [Ch. *ti*] 體) 174
- substance of the dharma gate on the great universal mark in the one dharma realm (一法界大總相法門體) 232, 250
- substance of the Mahayana 252
- sudden approach 271
- sudden enlightenment (*dono* [Ch. *dunwu*] 頓悟) 73, 258, 265, 268, 269, 279, 280, 289
- sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation (*dono jeomsu* [Ch. *dunwu jianxiu*] 頓悟漸修) 72-73, 269, 279, 280, 281
- sudden teaching 262, 272, 274
- Śuddhodana (Pā. Suddhodana) 121
- suffering (*go* [Ch. *ku*] 苦, Skt. *duḥkha*) 39, 48, 319
- Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui) 132-133
- Sumi 守眉 (d.u.) 85
- sun spirit (*iljeong* 日精) 133
- Sundo 順道 (d.u.) 341
- sun's illumination (*sojo* 所照) 134
- sunya* 舜若 (Skt. *sūnya*, Kr. *gong* 空 [empty]) 208
- sunyada* 舜若多 (Skt. *sūnyatā*, Kr. *gongseong* 空性 [emptiness]) 208
- supramundane (*chul segan* [Ch. *chu shijian*] 出世間) 58, 228, 346
- supreme deity's transformative creation (*jonu hwajak* [Ch. *zunyou huazuo*] 尊祐化作, Pā. *issara-nimmāna*) 364
- Suryuk muchahoe 水陸無遮會 (Unobstructed Ritual for Water and Land Beings) 346
- Suseonsa 修禪社 (Seon-Cultivating Society) 263
- Susim-gyeol* 修心訣 (Secret on Cultivating the Mind) 270
- Sutra of neither Increase nor Decrease* (*Foshuo buzeng bujian jing* 佛說不增不減經) 243
- Sutra of the Immeasurable Life* (*Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經) 338
- Sutra of the Original Acts That Adorn the Bodhisattvas* (*Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經; abbr. *Sutra of the Original Acts*) 244
- Sutra on Kṣitigarbha's Ten Wheels* (*Dizang shilun jing* 地藏十輪經, Skt. *Daśacakra-kṣitigarbha-sūtra*) 60
- Sutra on Śiṅgāla Preached by the Buddha* (*Foshuo Shanshengzi jing* 佛說善生子經) 380
- Sutra on Śṛgāla's Reverence to the Six Directions Preached by the Buddha* (*Foshuo Shijialuoye liufangli jing* 佛說尸迦羅越六方禮經) 380
- Sutra on the Adamantine Samadhi* (*Geumgang sammae-gyeong* 金剛三昧經) 242, 243, 245, 246, 247
- Sutra on the Adornment of the Tathagata's Virtues* (*Rulai gongde zhuangyan jing* 如來功德莊嚴經) 195
- Sutra on the Great Requit for the Deep Favor of the Parents* (*Da bao fumu en zhong jing* 大報父母恩重經) 349, 351
- Sutra on the Explication of Profound Meaning* (*Jie shenmi jing* 解深密經, Skt. *Samdhanirmocana-sūtra*) 190, 202, 206, 273
- Sutra on Upāsaka Precepts* (*Youposai jie jing* 優婆塞戒經) 380
- syncretism of shamanism and Buddhism (*mubul seuphap* 巫佛習合) 47, 142

T

- Taego Bou 太古普愚 (1301–1382) 80–81, 87
- Taehyeon 太賢 → Daehyeon 大賢 (d.u.)
- Taejo 太祖 Wang Geon 王建 (r. 918–943) 64, 353
- Taejong 太宗 (r. 1400–1418) 83, 354
- tainted (*yuru* [Ch. *youlou*] 有漏, Skt. *āsrava*) dharma 198
- Tanjing 曇靖 (fl. fifth century) 355
- Tanyan 曇延 (516–588) 231
- Tanyeon 坦然 (1070–1159) 69
- Tanying 曇影 (fl. fourth century) 176, 179
- Tathagata (Thus-Come One; Yeorae [Ch. Rulai] 如來) 168
- tathagatagarbha (*yeorae jang* [Ch. *rulai zang*] 如來藏; lit. “womb of the Tathagata” 169–170) 60, 220, 221, 233, 236, 247, 249, 256
- teaching and principle (*gyo-ri* [Ch. *jiao-li*] 教-理) 183
- ten abidings (*sipju* [Ch. *shizhu*] 十住) 244
- ten faiths 275, 276, 277
- ten grave precepts (*sip junggye* [Ch. *shi zhongjie*] 十重戒) 336, 358
- ten grounds (*sipji* [Ch. *shidi*] 十地) 244
- “Ten Injunctions” (Hunyo sipjo 訓要十條) 7, 65
- ten maladies 285
- ten practices (*siphaeng* [Ch. *shixing*] 十行) 244
- ten precepts (*sipgye* [Ch. *shijie*] 十戒) 326
- Ten Recitations Vinaya* (十誦律) 353, 385
- ten transferences (*sip hoehyang* [Ch. *shi huixiang*] 十廻向) 244
- ten unwholesome deeds (*sip ageop* [Ch. *shi eye*] 十惡業) 323–324, 372
- ten wholesome deeds (*sip seoneop* [Ch. *shi shanye*] 十善業) 43, 324, 334, 369, 372
- the arising is natureless (*saeng mu jaseong seong* [Ch. *sheng wu zixing xing*] 生無自性性) 202, 203
- the mark is natureless (*sang mu jaseong seong* [Ch. *xiang wu zixing xing*] 相無自性性) 202
- “The Rise of the Dharma” (興法) 110, 125
- theocracy 140
- theory of fifty-two stages 244, 245
- theory of identity of the five precepts with the five constances 355
- theory of land with language and land without language (*yuseol museol* 有舌無舌) 95
- theory of Master Taego’s dharma lineage 87
- theory that gives but does not get rid of it (與而不奪論) 226
- theory that goes but does not encompass (往而不徧論) 225
- this shore (*chaan* [Ch. *ci’an*] 此岸) 333
- thoughts and discriminations (*saryang bunbyeol* [Ch. *siliang fenbie*] 思量分別) 191
- three dharma seals (*sam beobin* [Ch. *san fayin*] 三法印, Skt. *tridṛṣṭīnamittamudrā*) 319, 320, 366, 372
- three dharma wheels (*sam beomnyun* [Ch. *san falin*] 三法輪) 190
- three disciplines (*sambak* [Ch. *sanxue*] 三學, Skt. *śikṣātraya*) 358
- three greatnesses 251, 254, 278, 279
- three meanings (i.e., goals) of the

- Mahayana 248, 251
- three phrases and three profundities (*samgu sambyeon* [Ch. *sanju sanxuan*] 三句三玄) 282
- “Three pounds of hemp” (*ma samgeun* [Ch. *ma sanijn*] 麻三斤) 283
- three profundities (*sambyeon* [Ch. *sanxuan*] 三玄) 274
- three seals that tally with the heaven (*cheonbu in* 天符印) 123, 136, 137
- three sets of pure precepts (*samchwi jeonggye* [Ch. *sanju jingjie*] 三聚淨戒, Skt. *trividhāni śīlāni*) 336
- three subtle and six coarse (*samse yukchu* [Ch. *sanxi liucu*] 三細六麤) marks 238
- Three Treatises (Samnon [Ch. Sanlun] 三論) 56, 207, 216, 223, 288
- Three Treatises school (Ch. Sanlun zong [Kr. Samnon jong] 三論宗) 170, 172, 173, 183, 214
- three vehicles (auditor [*seongmun* (Ch. *shengwen*) 聲聞, Skt. *śrāvaka*], solitary realizer [*yeon'gak* (Ch. *yuanjue*) 緣覺, Skt. *pratyekabuddha*] and bodhisattva [*bosal* (Ch. *pusa*) 菩薩]) 277, 338
- threefold *naturelessness* (Skt. *niḥsvabhāvatā*) (*sam museong* 三無性) 202, 214
- three-level (*samjung* [Ch. *sanchong*] 三重) or four-level (*sajung* [Ch. *sichong*] 四重) doctrine of the two truths 180
- thusness (*yeo* [Ch. *ru*] 如, Skt. *tathātā*) 167
- Tiantai (Kr. Cheontae) 天台 school 170
- Tongdosa 通度寺 353
- totem 134, 141, 144
- transcendence 37-38, 82
- transformation (Skt. *parināma*) 208
- transformation of the basis (*jeonui* [Ch. *zhuanyu*] 轉依, Skt. *āśraya-prāvṛtti*) 210
- transformation-body (*byeonhwa sin* [Ch. *bianhua shen*] 變化身) 212
- transmigration (*yunhoe* [Ch. *linhui*] 輪迴 or *yujeon* [Ch. *liuzhuan*] 流轉, Skt. *saṃsāra*) 215, 323, 325, 343
- Trāyastriṃśa (Dori cheon 忉利天) 121, 122
- “Treatise of Emptiness of the Unreal” (不真空論) 179
- Treatise on the Threefold Naturelessness* (*San wuxing lun* 三無性論, Skt. **Tryasvabhāva-prakaraṇa*) 207
- Treatise on the Two Obstructions* (*Ijang-ui* 二障義) 220
- tribal federations 138, 139
- Triṃśikāvijñaptikārika* (Thirty Verses on Consciousness-only; *Weishi sanshi song* 唯識三十頌) 208
- true and pure dharma realm (*jinjeong beopgye* [Ch. *zhenjing fajie*] 眞淨法界) 212
- true reality [*jinsil* (Ch. *zhenshi*) 眞實] → mark of perfect accomplishment
- true thusness 236, 250
- true thusness of the unconditioned (*muwi jinyeon* [Ch. *wuwei zhenru*] 無爲眞如) 217, 227, 289
- truly empty (*silgong* [Ch. *shikong*] 實空) 175
- truth of arising (*jip seongje* [Ch. *zhi shengdi*] 集聖諦) 331
- truth of cessation (*myeol seongje* [Ch. *mie shengdi*] 滅聖諦) 331
- truth of path to the cessation of suffering (*do seongje* [Ch. *dao*

- shengdi*] 道聖諦) 331
 truth of suffering (*go seongje* [Ch. *ku shengdi*] 苦聖諦) 331
 twelve bases (*sibi cheo* [Ch. *shi'er chu*] 十二處, Skt. *dvādaśāyatana*) 318, 321
 twelvefold conditioned arising (*sibi yeon'gi* [Ch. *shi'er yuanqi*] 十二緣起) 165
 two entrances and four practices (*iip sabaeng* [Ch. *erru sixing*] 二入四行) 257
 two extremes (*ibyeon* [Ch. *erbian*] 二邊) 185
 two obstructions (*ijang* [Ch. *erzhang*] 二障) 210, 240
 two truths (*ije* [Ch. *erdi*] 二諦) 176
 twofold emptiness (*igong* [Ch. *erkong*] 二空) 199, 209
- U**
- Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101) 68, 222, 261
 Uicom 義巖 (d.u.) 87
 Uijeok 義寂 (b. 681) 59, 222, 353, 359
 Uijong 毅宗 (r. 1146–1170) 71, 106, 346
 Uisang 義湘 (625–702) 58, 219, 222
 Uiseon 義旋 (d.u.) 79, 348
 Uiyeong 義榮 (d.u.) 187
ullambana (presumed to mean “hanging upside down”) ritual 350
Ullambana Sutra (*Yulan pen jing* 盂蘭盆經) 349
 ultimate meaning (*jeil ui* [Ch. *diyī yī*] 第一義, *sirui* [Ch. *shiyi*] 實義, Skt. *paramārtha*) 165, 169, 175
 ultimate meaning is natureless (*seungui mu jaseong seong* [Ch. *shengyi wu zixing xing*] 勝義無自性性) 202–204, 208
 ultimate truth (*jeil ui je* [Ch. *diyī yī di*] 第一義諦, *jinje* [Ch. *zhendi*] 真諦, *seungui je* [Ch. *shengyi di*] 勝義諦) 176
 ultimate truth (*jinje* [Ch. *zhendi*] 真諦, Skt. *paramārtha-satya*) 167, 169, 224
 ultimate wisdom (*gugyeongji* [Ch. *jujing zhi*] 究竟智) 247
 unconditioned (*muwi* [Ch. *wuwei*] 無爲, Skt. *asaṃskṛta*) 196
 understanding of enlightenment (*ohae* [Ch. *wujie*] 悟解) 270
 understanding-enlightenment (*haeo* [Ch. *jiewu*] 解悟) 280
 undetermined wisdom (*bujeongji* [Ch. *buding zhi*] 不定智) 247
 unexcelled, correct, and equal enlightenment (*musang jeongdeung gak* [Ch. *wushang zhengdeng jue*] 無上正等覺, Skt. *auttarasamyaksambodhi*) 339
 Ungmyeon 郁面 343
 Ungnyeo 熊女 (lit. “bear woman”) 38, 143
 universal dharma (*bobeop* 普法) 253–55, 256, 279
 universally pervaded by excellent functions (*seungyong jubyeon* [Ch. *shengyong zhoubian*] 勝用周遍) 199
 Unmuk 雲默 (d.u.) 80, 348
 Unmun (Ch. Yunmen) 雲門 school 64
 untainted (*murū* [Ch. *wulou*] 無漏, Skt. *anāsrava*) dharmas 198
 untainted and unconditioned dharma (*murū muwi* [Ch. *wulou wuwei*] 無漏無爲) 209

untainted but conditioned dharma
 (*murū yuwi* [Ch. *wulou youwei*
 無漏有爲]) 199, 209, 212, 289
 unwholesome (*ak* [Ch. *e*] 惡, Skt.
akuśala) 320
Upaṇiṣad 365, 378
 utmost enlightenment (*musang gak*
 [Ch. *wuxiang jue*] 無上覺) 210
 utmost, right, and perfect
 enlightenment (Skt.
anuttarasamyaksambodhi) 166, 167

V

vajrasamādhi (diamond samadhi [or
 absorption]) 243, 245, 246, 281
vajropamāsamādhi (lit. “diamond-like
 samadhi [or absorption]”; *geumgang*
yu jeong [Ch. *jin’gang yu ding*]
 金剛喻定) 216, 242, 244
 Vasubandhu (ca. 320–400; Ch. Shiqin
 [Kr. Sechin] 世親) 57, 190
 veneration in the six directions
 (*yukbang yebae* [Ch. *liufang libai*]
 六方禮拜) 330
 verbal teachings (*eon’gyo* [Ch. *yanjiao*]
 言教) 177, 181, 182
 vermilion bow and vermilion arrow
 129, 130, 139
 vernacular Korean script (*jeongeum*
 正音) 84-85
vijñaptimātraka (that which belongs
 to the category of what is perceived
 only) 208
vijñaptimātratā (the principle that
 everything is just what is perceived)
 208
 vitality 39-43, 45

W

Wanggeom → Dan’gun Wanggeom
 檀君王儉
 water spirit (Habaek) 38, 134
 Water Spirit Society (水精結社) 8
Weishi shuji 唯識述記 (Commentary
 on the Vasubandhu’s Twenty Verses)
 67
Weishu 魏書 (History of the Wei) 127
 wheel-turning sage king (*jeollyun*
seongwang [Ch. *zhuanlun*
shengwang] 轉輪聖王, Skt.
cakravartin) 55, 328, 348, 369, 377
 White Lotus Society (Baengnyeong
 gyeolsa 白蓮結社 or Bailianshe
 白蓮社) 45, 71-72, 74, 80, 264
 wholesome (*seon* [Ch. *shan*] 善, Skt.
kuśala) 320
 Wiang (Ch. Guiyang) 滄仰 school 64,
 261
 will [Skt. *manas*] 318, 365
 wisdom (*jihye* [Ch. *zhibui*] 智慧, Skt.
prajñā) 270, 333
 wisdom of effect of all buddhas (*jebul*
gwaji 諸佛果智) 278
 wisdom of universal illumination (*bo*
gwangmyeong ji [Ch. *pu guangming*
zhi] 普光明智) 73, 276
 wisdom that functions spontaneously
 in the world (*segan jayeon eopji* [Ch.
shijian ziran yezhi] 世間自然業智)
 240
 without concomitant increase (*sujeung*
 [Ch. *suizeng*] 隨增) 199
Won’gakgyeong-so 圓覺經疏 (A
 Commentary on the *Perfect*
Enlightenment Sutra) 84
 Won’gaksa 圓覺寺 85
 Won’gam Chungji 圓鑑冲止 (1226–

1292) 78
 Won'gwang 圓光 (555–638) 55, 187, 188, 343, 347, 352
 Woncham 元岳 (d.u.) 80
 Woncheuk → Seomyeong Woncheuk
 西明圓測 (613–696)
 “Wonders” (紀異) 110, 114, 116, 117
 Wondon seongbul-lon 圓頓成佛論
 (Treatise on the Perfect and Sudden
 Attainment of Buddhahood) 278, 280
 wondrous observing wisdom (*myo gwanchal ji* [Ch. *miao guan cha zhi*] 妙觀察智, Skt. *pratyavekṣajñāna*) 194, 212
 Wonhye 圓慧 (d.u.) 79
 Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686) 58, 219, 288, 249, 255, 353
 Wonjong mullyu 圓宗文類 (Collected Writings of the Perfect School) 68
 Wonjong 元宗 (r. 1259–1274) 76
 Wonmyo Yose 圓妙了世 (1163–1245) 45, 71, 264
 wonseong sil seong 圓成實性, Skt. *pariṇiṣpanna-svabhāva*) 57
 Wonseung 圓勝 (d.u.) 353
 wooden stick (*bang* [Ch. *bang*] 棒) 283
 Worin cheon'gang ji gok 月印千江之曲
 (Songs of the Moon's Imprint on a
 Thousand Rivers) 84
 working together (*dongsa* [Ch. *tongshi*] 同事, Skt. *samānārthatā*) 327
 wrong attachment to emptiness
 (*akchwi gong* [Ch. *equ kong*] 惡取空, Skt. *durgrhītā śūnyatā*) 206

X

Ximing Temple (西明寺) 188

Xin huayan jing lun 新華嚴經論
 (A Commentary on the Newly
 Translated *Flower Garland Sutra*)
 263, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280
 Xingchang 省常 (959–1020) 72
 Xinghuang Temple (興皇寺) 172, 179, 183
 Xingsi 行思 (d. 741) 261
 Xiqian 希遷 (701–791) 261
 Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳 113
 Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) 58, 68, 188, 207, 219

Y

Yangqi 楊岐 (Fanghui 方會 [992–1049]) 261
 Yejong 睿宗 (r. 1105–1122) 350
 Yellow River Chart (Ch. Hetu 河圖) 117
 Yeondeunghoe 燃燈會 (Lantern-Lighting Festival) 55, 65
 Yeongga-jip seorui 永嘉集說論 (A Commentary on the *Yongjia ji* 永嘉集) 84
 Yeonggo 迎鼓 139
 Yeonggyu 靈圭 (d.u.) 87
 Yeonsan'gun 燕山君 (r. 1494–1506) 85
 yeoyeo [Ch. *ruru*] 如如, Skt. *yathābhūtam*) 168
 Yi Gyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241) 78, 104, 106, 109, 120, 126, 145, 148
 Yi Jagyeom 李資謙 (d. 1126) 71, 106
 Yi Jahyeon 李資賢 (1061–1125) 69
 Yi Seonggye 李成桂 (1335–1408, r. 1392–1398) 82
 Yi Seunghyu 李承休 (1224–1300) 143
 Yi Sik 李植 (1584–1647) 88
Yixin ermen dayi 一心二門大意

- (General Intent of the One Mind and the Two Gates) 231
- Yochin 要親 143-144
- Yogācāra [meaning “Yoga Practitioners” or “Consciousness-only school” (Yusik hakpa 唯識學派, Skt. Vijñaptivādin)] 56, 58, 59, 67169, 180, 188, 190, 214, 219, 226, 230, 231, 236, 238, 273
- Yogācāra vinaya (*Yuga gye* [Ch. *Yuqie jie*] 瑜伽戒) 335
- Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra* (*Yuqie shi di lun* 瑜伽師地論 [Treatise on the Stages of Yoga Practitioners]) 189, 335
- Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975) 65
- Yose → Wonmyo Yose 圓妙了世 (1163–1245)
- Yuanfa Temple (元法寺) 188
- Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 → *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra*
- Yuhwa 柳花 131, 134
- Yunmen 雲門 school 261
- Yuseok jirui-ron* 儒釋質疑論 (Treatise on Questions Concerning Confucianism and Buddhism) 83
- yusin gabang* 維新家邦 (reform the country) 42
- 897) 284
- Zhenyuan xinyi Huayan jing shu* 貞元新譯華嚴經疏 (A Commentary on the *Flower Garland Sutra* Newly Translated during the Zhenyuan Era) 269
- Zhikai 智愷 (Huikai 慧愷, 518–568) 231
- Zhikong 指空 (d.1363) 81
- Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668) 59
- Zhonglun* 中論 (Treatise of the Middle Way; Skt. *Madhyamakāśāstra*) 172
- Zhoushu* 周書 (History of the Zhou) 132
- Zongmi 宗密 (780–841) 264, 271, 273, 279

Z

- Zanning 贊寧 (910–1001) 113
- Zenshin 善信 (d.u.) 351
- Zenzō 善藏 (d.u.) 352
- Zhancha shan'e yebao jing* 占察善惡業報經 (Sutra on the Divination of the Effect of Good and Evil Actions) 342
- Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778–

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