

THE GYEONGHEO COLLECTION  
PROSE AND POETRY  
BY THE RESTORER OF KOREAN SEON  
*Gyeongheo-jip*

# The Gyeongheo Collection—Prose and Poetry by the Restorer of Korean Seon: *Gyeongheo-jip*

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

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Korean Buddhism Library  
Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism

THE GYEONGHEO COLLECTION  
PROSE AND POETRY  
BY THE RESTORER OF KOREAN SEON  
*Gyeongheo-jip*

by Gyeongheo  
Annotated Translation and Introduction by John Jorgensen

Series Editor  
Kim JongWook, *Dongguk University*



Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

## Foreword

Culture communicates. Culture flows smoothly just like the wind blows, clouds drift, and the birds fly in the air. So it did, even in the old times when lofty mountains and deep valleys interrupted the course of people's mutual exchanges. Culture flows in like a stranger, but as people share it, their individual gazes, touches, and breaths embody it with different appearances. Furthermore, it brings their gazes, touches, and breaths to their neighbors in a way that is meaningful to them. The culture exchanged is one and yet two; two and yet one.

Such is the case with Korean Buddhism. Buddhism, having originated in India, came to be one of the East Asian religions as Buddhist literature was translated into literary Chinese in China. Korea, a land neighboring China, acquired literary Chinese from the third to fifth centuries of the Common Era, which enriched its cultural vitality. Importing the translated Buddhist scriptures, Koreans established a Buddhist tradition themselves and expressed the essence of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism in their own way. Korea also played a dynamic role as a cultural messenger in transmitting Buddhism to Japan.

In this manner, Korean Buddhism was formed and continually evolved through lively exchange with Chinese Buddhism, and in the process developed the characteristic form of Korean Buddhism.

Buddhist culture flourished in the Unified Silla period (668–935) and this early Korean state established itself as a center of contemporary East Asian Buddhism. The Goryeo dynasty (918–1392) adopted Buddhism as the state religion and employed it as the state ideology. As a result, Korea currently has various forms of Buddhist cultural treasures, such as Bulguksa 佛國寺 Temple, the Dabotap

多寶塔 and Seokgatap 釋迦塔 Pagodas, Seokguram 石窟庵 Grotto, and exquisite statues of Buddhist figures seated in the pensive pose (半跏思惟像), as well as *Essentials of the Buddhas and Patriarchs Pointing Directly to the Essence of Mind* (*Buljo jikji simche yojeol* 佛祖直指心體要節) which is the earliest extant text printed by metal type, the *Goryeo Buddhist Canon in Eighty Thousand Woodblocks* (*Palman daejanggyeong* 八萬大藏經), and paintings of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara which are the acme of religious aesthetics.

In the Joseon dynasty, in which the Korean alphabet (Han'geul) was invented, a foremost state project was to translate the whole corpus of Buddhist scriptures into Han'geul. In the second half of the fifteenth century the Office for Sūtra Publication (Gan'gyeong dogam 刊經都監) was eventually established and published Buddhist canonical texts in the Korean language.

In 2010, the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism published the *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* in thirteen volumes, English translations of *Han'guk jeontong sasang chongseo*, for the purpose of introducing the excellence of Korean Buddhism to the world. This collection was compiled by carefully selecting representative works from the *Complete Works of Korean Buddhism* (*Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書) from the Unified Silla through Joseon periods. These include *Wonhyo*, *Chinul*, *Hyujeong*, *Hwaōm* (I, II), *Doctrinal Treatises*, *Gongan Collections* (I, II), *Seon Dialogues*, *Seon Poems*, *Korean Buddhist Culture*, *Exposition of the Sutra of Brahma's Net*, *Anthology of Stele Inscriptions of Eminent Korean Buddhist Monks*. Although the works in the collection are not enough to reveal the whole picture of Korean Buddhism, I hope that the collection helps people understand main features of premodern Korean Buddhism.

Now we have selected ten works of modern Korean Buddhism and translated them into English to introduce them to an international audience. During the early twentieth century, a turbulent era in East Asia, such Korean Buddhist monks and laymen as Gyeongheo 鏡虛 (1849–1912), Yongseong 龍城 (1864–1940), Seokjeon 石顛 (1870–1948), Manhae 正海 (Han Yongun, 1879–1944),

Choe Namseon 崔南善 (1890–1957), Yi Neunghwa 李能和 (1869–1943), Go Yuseop 高裕燮 (1905–1944), published many works in various fields. This period in East Asia witnessed the influx of Western civilization and the imperial expansion of Japan, which was then ahead in the modernization process, resulting in some countries becoming colonized by Japan. As Korean Buddhism endured along with Korean people and shined its capability at every crisis in history, it developed its own identity accepting the current of the modern times on the one hand and confronting external challenges on the other. The efforts made in the darkest times in Korean history to maintain the Korean tradition will be not only a precious asset of Korean Buddhism but also a significant record of East Asian Buddhist history.

For the current project of English translation focusing on modern Korean Buddhist works, we have selected ten documents that have significance in terms of the modernization process of Korean Buddhism as well as being representative works in their own right. These works include the writings of Buddhist lay thinkers as well as the discourse records or treatises of Buddhist monks, cover various subjects such as comparative religion, editorial writing, criticism on current affairs, literature, history, art, and so forth. A Korean proverb says that “even the easy pace of a cow finally makes a thousand miles” (*ubo cheolli* 牛步千里) or that “a journey of a thousand miles must begin with the first step.” Although it is impossible to express the rich and complicated features of Korean Buddhism through only these ten volumes, I hope that readers will regard the project as a second step taken by the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism toward the globalization of Korean Buddhism.

Most of the writings from the period covered by this series are written in literary Chinese, but some employ Korean vernacular endings along with literary Chinese, and some are written all in the Korean vernacular script. The importance of modern Korean Buddhism lies in the fact that Korean Buddhism was conducted through the Korean language. The full-fledged usage of Korean

language in Buddhist activities was the achievement of modern Korean Buddhism, and Korean culture was thereby enriched. However, it is not easy for non-Koreans to understand such works in their original form. Therefore, the translation of the works into English—the international language—is an unavoidable task in our cultural communications, just as medieval East Asians shared literary Chinese—the common literary language of the time—to communicate and understand each other.

I really appreciate the translators who have sympathized with the aspiration of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism and have completed their translations despite various difficulties. I also would like to express my sincere gratitude to all of the other contributors to each volume for their valuable comments, reviews, and corrections. Lastly, I would like to thank the members of the Editorial Board for spending time and effort at the initial stage of planning the project and selecting the works and to Dongguk University Press for their constant support in the publication of the series. My special thanks go to the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of the Republic of Korea for providing strong support to the Publication Committee of Modern Korean Buddhism.

With the Palms of My Hands Joined in Reverence

Haebong Jaseung 海峰 慈乘

The 34th President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism  
President, Publication Committee of Modern Korean Buddhism

## Editor's Preface

One thousand seven hundred years have passed since Buddhism, which originated in India, arrived on Korean Peninsula via China. The goal of Buddhism in ancient India was the attainment of enlightenment with respect to the dharma and the realization of Buddhahood, which was based on consistent religious practice in the repetitive cycle of birth and death. When Buddhism was transmitted to China, the goal of Indian Buddhism was accepted in a transformed form. For Chinese people, who also aspired to attain Buddhahood but, unlike Indians, were both temporally and geographically separated from the Buddha, the Buddhist doctrine that all living beings have innate Buddha-nature emerged as one of the most efficient ideas. It is in this context that in Chinese Buddhism “enlightenment” (覺) is mostly interpreted as “original enlightenment” (本覺); “Buddha” is often regarded as “Buddha-nature” (佛性); and the fundamental doctrine of dependent origination (緣起) is sometimes replaced by the “the (unconditioned) arising of the (original) nature” (性起). The unique transformation of Buddhism in China, which is oriented to the idea of original Buddha-nature, led to the emergence of distinctive Chinese Buddhist schools, such as the Tiantai and Huayan schools that focus on doctrines and the Chan and Pure Land schools that emphasize practices.

These Chinese schools, along with the foundational doctrine of original Buddha-nature, were accepted in Korea and Japan, neighboring countries that also used classical Chinese as their literary language. In the case of Korea, the way in which Buddhism was adopted has a distinctive feature, which is an ecumenical tendency to synthesize various teachings or harmonize contrasting doctrines of the schools as much as possible. We see this ecumenical

tendency of Korean Buddhism in several cases. For example, Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686), the pioneer of Buddhist scholasticism in Korean Buddhism, sought to harmonize various schools. Jinul 知訥 (1158–1210), the founder of Korean Seon school, also advocated the unity of Buddhist practice and doctrine (禪教一致). The attempt to unite Hwaeom and Seon teachings in Buddhist educational system during the Joseon period (1392–1910) is another example. If Chinese Buddhism is marked by its establishment of individual schools on the basis of the idea of original nature, Korean Buddhism may be characterized by its consistent attempts to synthesize the schools by embracing their doctrinal distinctions.

The decline of the Joseon dynasty and subsequent colonization by Japan, however, brought contemporary Buddhists a double task: they had to preserve the identity of Korean Buddhism on the one hand and accommodate traditional Buddhism to Western modernity on the other. Until the liberation day arrived, Korean Buddhists endured nationwide hardships together with all Korean people and also steadily carried out the challenging task by inheriting traditional Buddhist culture as well as transforming it into a modern form. In spite of such problems as incessant foreign incursions and disruptions at the end of Joseon period and an identity crisis in Korean Buddhism derived from the forced importation of Japanese Buddhism, prominent Buddhists of those days left remarkable writings. In this way, they contributed to the process of developing the received Korean Buddhist tradition and shaping the ground for modern Korean Buddhism after liberation.

In 2012, the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism published the English Edition of the *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* as a project promoting the globalization of Korean Buddhism with the support of Korean government. This is a collection of representative Buddhist works selected from the *Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書, a compilation of three hundred and twenty three Korean Buddhist writings from the Silla to Joseon periods. To succeed and further develop upon this project, we are translating and publishing

representative Buddhist writings by modern Korean intellectuals in English and introducing them abroad. The fruit of this initiative is the Translation-Publication Project with Representative Works of Modern Korean Buddhism, which the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism has been administering since 2013 with the support of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. The collection contains selected works of modern Buddhist literature written by eminent Buddhist monks and scholars, such as Gyeongheo 鏡虛 (1849–1912), Yongseong 龍城 (1864–1940), Seokjeon 石顛 (1870–1948), Manhae 訾海 (1879–1944).

The Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism established several organizations to facilitate the project: a publication committee chaired by Ven. Jaseung, a management group chaired by Ven. Jin-Gak, and an editorial board chaired by me, Prof. Kim JongWook. In particular, the editorial board, which was entrusted with the work of translation and publication, surveyed more than three hundred and twenty Korean Buddhist writings written between 1900 and 1945 and carefully selected significant works in several genres, compiling them in ten volumes. For instance, *The Gyeongheo Collection, Sun Over the Sea of Enlightenment*, and *An Anthology of East Asian Commentaries on the Nyāyapravēśa* belong to the genre of philosophy or intellectual thought; *Sheaves of Korean Buddhist History* to history; *A Study of Korean Pagoda* to art; *Harmonizing the Hundred Teachings* to comparative; *The Temple of Words: An Anthology of Modern Korean Buddhist Poetry* to literature; *Essential Compendium for Buddhists: A Modern Buddhist Liturgy* to rituals; *Tracts on the Modern Reformation of Korean Buddhism* and *A Collection of Modern Korean Buddhist Discourses* to social criticism. The broad range of materials selected from various genres is intended to exhibit a dynamic picture of modern Korean Buddhism in multiple aspects.

*The Gyeongheo Collection*, the collected dharma-talks and Seon poetry by Gyeongheo, the figure responsible for reviving modern Korean Seon Buddhism, is a significant text in that it shows us the mode of the transformation of Korean Buddhist thought during the interim period until modern times. Yongseong's *Sun Over the*

*Sea of Enlightenment*, one of the most representative works of this time, represents the author's earnest intent to reform and modernize Korean Buddhism. This work also elucidates essential points of Seon practice and Buddhist doctrine. Seokjeon's *An Anthology of East Asian Commentaries on the Nyāyapravesa*, a variorum text on Buddhist logic, is an important Buddhist philosophical text that shows the research level of modern Korean Buddhism in Buddhist logic. Gim Yeongsu's *Sheaves of Korean Buddhist History*, a Buddhist historiography, provides chronological accounts of Buddhist history since the first transmission of Buddhism during the Three Kingdoms period. The text also provides a systematic description of the history of Korean Buddhist orders and schools, including the "Five Doctrinal [schools] and Nine Mountains [traditions of Seon]" (Ogyo Gusan 五教九山) and the "Five Doctrinal [schools] and Two [Meditative] Traditions" (Ogyo Yangjong 五教兩宗). Go Yuseop's *A Study of Korean Pagoda*, which contains explanations of Korean stone pagodas from the perspective of their architectural style, is a monumental work in the field of Korean Buddhist art history because it not only established in scholarship the standard style of Korean Buddhist pagodas but also created the basic framework in the periodization and appreciation of Korean pagodas.

Yi Neunghwa's *Harmonizing the Hundred Teachings*, a work that compares Buddhism to other eleven religions, such as Confucianism, Taoism, Christianity, Islamism, Brahmanism, and so on, reveals the level of religious studies during the modern period in Korea. Choe Chwiheo and An Jinho's *Essential Compendium for Buddhists: A Modern Buddhist Liturgy*, the earliest modern text on Buddhist rituals, shows not only how Buddhist rituals changed during the modern times but also how Buddhism was popularized and modernized. *The Temple of Words: An Anthology of Modern Korean Buddhist Poetry*, a compilation of Buddhist verse written by modern Buddhist poets such as Han Yongun, Seo Jeongju, and Jo Jihun, demonstrates that the Buddhist spiritual world served as the foundation of poetic lyricism for the modern intellectuals. *Tracts on the Modern Reformation of*

*Korean Buddhism* is a collection of essays written by modern Buddhist reformers, such as Gwon Sangro, Han Yongun, Yi Yeongjae. These writings reflect these Buddhists' awareness of the contemporary need to respond the changing times with the appropriate transformation of Buddhism. These texts show us the social and historical situation that Korean Buddhism had to confront in modern times. *A Collection of Modern Korean Buddhist Discourses*, written by such modern Korean thinkers as Choe Namseon, Kang Yumun, Gwon Sangro, Gim Beomin, Gim Yeongsu, Gim Taeheup, and so forth, is a collection of editorials that discuss issues related to the Korean Buddhist tradition and its modernization. These writings may be said one of the most representative Buddhist works of the time because they contain discourses on immediate social and ideological problems of the day.

For each of the ten volumes, the Editorial Committee invited a specialist in each subject and entrusted them with the responsibility of the translation. Both domestic and foreign scholars participated in proofreading and reviewing the translation, by comparing the draft to the original and checking the appropriateness of English expressions. In this way, the Editorial Committee has done its best so that both accuracy in translation and the translators' intention are preserved. The translators of the volumes include David McCann, John Jorgensen, Tonino Puggioni, Seonjoon Young, Pori Park, Suh Junghyung, Kim Sung-uk, Lee Seunghye, Ham Hyoung Seok, and Dan B. Jung. Those who worked as the proofreaders and reviewers are Richard D. McBride II, Mark Nathan, Cho Eun-su, Yun Woncheol, Kim Yongtae, Kang Hosun, Lee Sumi, Koh Seung-hak, Kim Jongjin, Park Inn-Suk, Kim Sooyoun, Hyeon Seo Seunim. Kim Junghee, the coordinator of the current project, has been devoted to her role throughout the process of translation and reviewing. Yi Deokyeol carried out the editing work during the final process of publication. Shim Jongsub worked for binding and printing the volumes. Yoo Hanrim, head of the publication department, supervised the whole process of publication. The project was only possible with the enthusiastic effort and selfless dedication of all of

these people.

I cannot let this opportunity pass without saying about the consistent interest and support from Ven. Jaseung, president of the Jogye Order, and Ven. Hyeoneung, president of Education Bureau of the Jogye Order. Ven. Jaseung, as president of Publication Committee, superintended the entire project in a responsible way. Ven. Hyeoneung particularly spared no pains to offer his helpful advice from the beginning stages of planning through the final publication. I would like to express my gratitude for his insightful assistance and encouragement whenever we were in need. Ven. Jin-Gak, chair of Executive Committee, and Ven. Su-Kyoung, director of Research Institute of Buddhist Studies, served as consultants to facilitate the process of planning, editing, and publication. Lee Seog-sim of Department of General Affairs contributed to maintaining a cooperative relationship with the government during the planning and implementation phases of the project. Park Yong Gyu and Ko Sang-hyun, and Choi Ae-Ri as well, resolved administrative issues and problems in a timely manner.

Without the dedicated participation and concerted effort of all these people, this project would not have been completed successfully. At this moment, we cannot but contemplate the Buddhist truth of dependent origination that everything comes to arise through mutual relationships based on numerous conditions. Lastly, as chair of the Editorial Board, I sincerely hope that the publication of the *Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism* contributes to the rediscovery of the value of Korean Buddhist culture by informing the whole world of the fact that Korean Buddhism absorbed the impact of modernity in its own way and thereby preserved its traditional identity throughout one thousand and seven hundred years of history.

Kim JongWook

Professor, Department of Buddhist Studies, Dongguk University  
Series Editor & Chair of the Editorial Board,  
*Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism*

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## Acknowledgments

I wish to express my appreciation to the Committee of Translation and Publication of Representative Texts of Modern Korean Buddhism that is part of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism for entrusting me with the task of translating the works of Gyeongheo Seunim into English. My thanks go to the administrators, Park Hyeran, Kim Junghee, and others, who provided assistance in this process, sending essential materials that were unavailable in Australia. These materials were necessary for understanding the text and its provenance. I particularly wish to thank Professors Cho Eun-su and Kim Jongjin, and also Hyeon Seo Seunim and others, for their pertinent corrections of the translation, thereby saving me from some embarrassment, and for the provision of materials and general advice. This removed many errors from my draft translation. Professor Cho, with whom I have previously collaborated on a translation project, painstakingly read through the penultimate draft and made many suggestions for improvement, for which I am most grateful. I am also indebted to Professor Yi Sangha for allowing me to consult his draft Korean translation of the *Gyeongheo-jip* that enabled me to locate more allusions and decipher some problematic passages. Despite all such valuable assistance, there are doubtlessly errors still present, for which I alone am responsible.

## Conventions

HBJ: *Hanguk Bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書 (Complete Works of Korean Buddhism). 14 vols. Seoul: Dongguk Daehakgyo Chulpanbu, 1979 (–2004).

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

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

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

*Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism* series uses the standard Romanization systems for East Asian Languages for the transcription of them: 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 their nationality and the provenance of the text, but translators transcribe and translate them 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) and fascicle number, T[*aishō*] and *Taishō* serial number, *Taishō* volume number, page number, register (a, b, or c), and, if applicable, line number(s)—e.g., *Shoulengyan jing* (*Śūramgama-sūtra*) 2, T 945.19.110a1. In citations from the *Hanguk Bulgyo jeonseo*, the Romanized Korean 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*, HBJ 7.637a21–22.

As of the Romanization of Korean terms and names, this series has some exceptions for its application as far as the Revised Romanization system allows. Firstly, in case that persons' names mentioned in any parts of the book have their own English spellings, they are spelled as they are regardless of transcribing them under Revised Romanization System. Secondly, to avoid the phonetic confusions, hyphens and apostrophes are used in some cases: an apostrophe usually lies in between letters not to join and make a phoneme, but a hyphen does specifically in a person's name. Lastly, the given names of Kang, Noh, Shin and Yi are alternatively transcribed as such to avoid supposedly uncomfortable implications or phonetic confusions of their Romanized names.

The original texts used to get translated for this *Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism* series have minor misprints and typos in their early twentieth century printed copies. Most of the translators did researches and studies to correct and revise them in the course of translation, with the Editorial Board's support and consultation. Translators usually never missed noting significant changes in translation from the original texts, but might have left minor revisions and corrections without footnoting them.





THE GYEONGHEO COLLECTION



## Introduction

Gyeongheo Seunim<sup>1</sup> (1846–1912) was a Seon (Jpn. Zen) master who is known as the reviver of Seon meditation practice and as the progenitor of the modern Korean Jogye Buddhist Order. His students taught many of the elders and leaders of the post-Korean War Buddhist Order. An ultra-traditionalist, he advocated the practice of *ganhwa* 看話 Seon (see later for an explanation) following Chinese and Korean exemplars.<sup>2</sup> His renaissance of Seon practice was achieved through his teaching and the establishment of Buddhist mutual aid associations that encouraged practice of various aspects of Buddhism by monk and lay person alike. He trained some of the most prominent Seon masters of the next generation who guided the formation of what became the dominant forms of Seon practice and discourse from the teens of the last century to the present. Gyeongheo also attracted considerable numbers of lay practitioners and donors, thereby propagating Seon beyond the confines of remote monasteries in the countryside, although he personally disliked cities and stayed in rural areas. Gyeongheo also contributed to the repairs of monastery buildings and possibly to the publication of core Seon Buddhist texts.

Despite these various activities, Gyeongheo could be described as a Seon fundamentalist. The reason for all this practice was enlightenment or seeing one's Buddha-nature. In accord with the Seon tradition, Gyeongheo believed that all beings, no matter how benighted, could ultimately see their Buddha-nature and be enlightened. He maintained that the best way to achieve this was through the technique of *ganhwa* meditation, and that all practices that aimed at attaining merit, such as building monasteries or making donations and the like, were in the end useless. In this he

echoed the famous legendary example of Bodhidharma, the first Seon (Ch. Chan) patriarch of East Asia, who told the very enthusiastic Buddhist Emperor Wu of Liang there was no merit in constructing monasteries and stūpas, reading scriptures, and making donations.<sup>3</sup>

Gyeongheo's Seon fundamentalism was probably a reaction to the deplorable state of Korean Buddhism in his lifetime. Following centuries of the anti-Buddhist policies of the reigning Joseon court, Buddhism in Korea had reached rock bottom. It appears that the Seon lineage had all but ended, and that doctrine was only taught via lectures in rural monasteries. No monks were allowed into Seoul, the capital; monks and nuns were at the bottom of the social structure, treated like shamans, beggars, and itinerant entertainers; the impoverished monasteries were located in the mountains outside of towns; and Buddhist rituals were discouraged if not outlawed. Many monks and nuns were illiterate, and many violated the precepts, with numerous "monks" having "wives." Gyeongheo's response was to emphasize that enlightenment was the be-all and end-all of Buddhism and that the traditional ideals of Buddhism had to be maintained if Buddhism in Korea was to have a future.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, if this period was one of the "end of the dharma" (*malbeop* 末法),<sup>5</sup> as it appeared to be in nineteenth-century Korea, Gyeongheo thought that people had to practice to achieve the core *raison-d'être* of Buddhism, enlightenment. Therefore he advocated the abandonment of Doctrine (*Gyo* 教) and the pursuit of Seon,<sup>6</sup> but not the end of education, for education could bring students to realize the truth of Seon and hence to practice Seon.<sup>7</sup>

Seon Buddhists maintain that its lineage and thus its continued existence is guaranteed by a transmission from mind to mind, just as the light of a lamp is transferred from one lamp to another by contact of the flame of one lamp with the wick of another lamp. The recognition by one's teacher that the transmission had taken place was called a seal of permission or *imprimatur* (*inga* 印可). Yet Gyeongheo did not specify explicitly who he received the transmission from and whether or not he had the seal.<sup>8</sup> This may

have been because there was no qualifying teacher available, such being the state of Korean Buddhism at the time.

Gyeongheo's remaining works, gathered from scattered locations by his disciples, display a great span of ideas ranging from observance of the Buddhist precepts, the rules for Buddhist associations, and how to live as a monk, to instructions on meditation practice and the doctrinal foundations behind what many monks assumed were commonplace practices and truths. Moreover, he was generally a fine poet, both in Chinese and Korean. His poetry covers social occasions, the natural environment as an expression of Buddhist verities, advice to practitioners, and above all his experience of enlightenment.

Despite Gyeongheo's obvious contributions to Buddhism, he was a controversial figure, for late in life he disappeared from the monastic scene and went to teach basic literacy in several remote towns of the border districts in the far north of Korea. There, near the border with Manchuria, in an area where Buddhism had little presence, he taught local children, looking like a Confucian school teacher. Apparently he had abandoned the Buddhist monastic precepts, drinking alcohol, eating meat, and having sexual relations with women. Whether this was what he truly did, or was just an adopted persona, is unclear. Therefore interpretation of this period of Gyeongheo's career is divided, even among his disciples, as we shall see. Some take these deeds, occasionally described in his poems, as real and thus an abnegation of the Buddhist rules, especially those for a monk. Others interpret this lifestyle of his last years as the free and easy or liberated life of a bodhisattva adapting to his circumstances in order to teach Buddhism. In this sense, enlightenment trumped ethics, for after enlightenment even though one violates the precepts one will not create karma.<sup>9</sup>

There are two written accounts of Gyeongheo's career. One was by his student, Hanam, written in 1931, who adopted the ethical evaluation, and the other was by the famous author and monk, Han Yongun, composed in 1942, that adopted the rhetoric of enlightenment exceptionalism. These display a difference in attitude

towards Gyeongheo's deeds.

## Life

Gyeongheo 鏡虛 was born into a family of *yangban* (gentry) who were so reduced in circumstances that his father became ill and died out of anger at the injustice of having to pay crippling taxes that were extorted from the farmers in this period.<sup>10</sup> However, this story belongs in the category of oral tradition, and as many stories have circulated about Gyeongheo, caution is required. When a person, such as a Seon monk, becomes famous, and documentation is scarce, hagiographical stories grow, often very entertaining, as can be found in the account by Mu Seong.<sup>11</sup>

Gyeongheo was born as Song Donguk 宋東旭 in 1857 according to his pupil Bang Hanam 方漢岩 (1876–1951) writing in 1931.<sup>12</sup> According to Han Yongun 韓龍雲 (1879–1944), writing in 1942, Gyeongheo was born in 1849.<sup>13</sup> Both Hanam and Han Yongun may have derived their information from one of Gyeongheo's first disciples, Man'gong 萬空 (1871–1946).<sup>14</sup> This discrepancy over Gyeongheo's birth year may have been due to confusion between his year of birth and his year of tonsure at nine years of age (Korean count). According to Han Yongun Gyeongheo was a monk for fifty-six years and died aged sixty-four, while Hanam says he was fifty-six when he died and a monk for forty-eight years. However, in the "Account of Conduct of Seoryong Seunim" written by Gyeongheo in the last month of 1900 (in the lunar calendar) for Seoryong 瑞龍 (1816–1900), Gyeongheo says that he was "now at the age of fifty-five." This means he was born in 1846.<sup>15</sup>

In the period of the 1850s, Korea was suffering from political breakdown, with crippling taxes, bureaucratic corruption, and peasant uprisings.<sup>16</sup> Many *yangban* families of an elite lineage, like Gyeongheo's family, fell on hard times and became small or tenant farmers, the so-called *janban* (ruined *yangban*).<sup>17</sup> It appears that Gyeongheo's family were "ruined *yangban*" and so when Gyeongheo's father died his mother had to commit her two sons to the Buddhist

order and she herself went to live in a monastery because they had no other means of support. This was in 1854.<sup>18</sup> As a consequence, Gyeongheo became a monk in Cheonggyesa 清溪寺 Monastery just to the south of Seoul, where he was tonsured and put under the care of Master Gyeheo 桂虛.

However, Gyeongheo's duties as an attendant to his master meant he did not learn to read and write. It was only by chance when he was fourteen (1859) that a Confucian scholar came to stay for the summer in the monastery. This scholar began to teach the curious Gyeongheo the basics of literacy, meaning literary Chinese. Gyeongheo was evidently a quick study and the Confucian scholar ended up teaching Gyeongheo to read the general histories.<sup>19</sup> Much of this learning would have been rote memorization, after which he would be taught the meaning of the text. Thus he "read five or six pages per day." Not long after this, Master Gyeheo left the Buddhist order but recommended the teenage Gyeongheo to a lecturer on Buddhist doctrine, Manhwa 萬化, who taught at Donghaksa 東鶴寺 Monasteryon Gyeryongsan Mountain, a mountain near the modern town of Daejeon. Manhwa took Gyeongheo in and in only a few months "he had mastered the text" of the curriculum that Manhwa was lecturing on.

However, a typical teenager, Gyeongheo liked to sleep during the day, partly because wake-up time in monasteries was long before dawn. His teachers thought he was lazy and was suffering the frustration (Skt. *kleśa*) of lethargy or drowsiness (Skt. *kausidya*). A *kleśa* was a mental obstruction to spiritual progress, a frustration of attempts to reach enlightenment. Therefore the teachers increased the amount of text Gyeongheo had to master each day, but Gyeongheo did so easily and still continued to sleep during the day. The set text was a commentary on the *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 (Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment) by Zongmi 宗密 (780–841),<sup>20</sup> which was probably interpreted through the lens of Huayan (Kor. Hwaeom) doctrine. This text was also in the curriculum of the Jogye Buddhist tradition.<sup>21</sup>

By the time he was twenty-three (1868), only nine or ten years after he started to learn to read Chinese, Gyeongheo had shown

such insight and knowledge that he was requested to lecture at Donghaksa, which he did with great success. Gyeongheo had learnt the basic Confucian classics, as well as the Daoist “philosophical” texts, the *Zhuangzi* and the *Laozi*, which is evident in his writings. However, about ten years later (1879), Gyeongheo decided to visit his former master, Gyeheo.<sup>22</sup> On the way, near Cheonan 天安 in north-central Chungcheong-do,<sup>23</sup> Gyeongheo was caught in a violent storm and tried to shelter in some village houses, but he was chased away. Perplexed by this violation of the customary hospitality of rural Koreans, he was then told that the village was subject to a virulent plague, probably cholera that brought death almost immediately.<sup>24</sup> Shocked, he realized that he had been close to death and that therefore it was all the more urgent that he achieve enlightenment. In a classic Seon story of the superiority of Seon over doctrinal studies, he then and there vowed to abandon doctrinal scholarship and practice *gongan* 公案 Seon or more precisely *ganhwa* Seon. He had already been practicing *hwadu* 話頭 meditation, which is the core technique of *ganhwa* Seon.

The *hwadu* was the point of the story, the key word or phrase of the *gongan* (Jpn. *kōan*). The most famous *hwadu* was the *mu* 無 of Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778?–897). The *gongan* has Zhaozhou reply to a monk who asked, “Does a dog have a Buddha-nature?” to which Zhaozhou said “It does (*yu* [Ch. *you*]).” In response to another monk who asked the same question, Zhaozhou said “It does not (*mu* [Ch. *wu*]).” Here *mu* is not allowed to be interpreted as meaning “non-existence” or “it does not.” The meditator was supposed to focus on this *mu*, giving rise to intense doubt and aporia, living and breathing *mu*, creating an intense tension. Then a trigger, either provided by a teacher or an event, leads to the breaking of the tension and to enlightenment, a totally new detached outlook.<sup>25</sup>

Up till this time, Gyeongheo had always fallen into an intellectual understanding of the *hwadu*. Already of an ascetic bent, Gyeongheo returned to Donghaksa, dissolved the assembly for his lectures, and shut himself away in a concentrated effort to crack the *hwadu*, which

was, “Before the matter of the donkey has departed, the matter of the horse has arrived.” To give an intellectual interpretation, “the matter of the donkey and the matter of the horse” means something like “this and that” or “A and B,” and so the *hwadu* has the sense of “before one thing has been finished another thing demands your attention.” This has been interpreted to mean that the work of practicing Buddhism continues endlessly, or before you can speak in answer another question has arisen.<sup>26</sup>

Although Hanam’s “Account of Conduct of the Former Master, Gyeongheo Seuneum” (hereafter “Account of Conduct”) does not mention who set the *hwadu* for Gyeongheo to work on, it was said by Hanam that Gyeongheo claimed to be in a lineage from Yongam Hye’eon 龍巖慧彦 (1783–1841). But as Hye’eon died well before Gyeongheo was born, this was impossible. Therefore most observers have nominated Manhwa Boseon 萬化普善 as Gyeongheo’s teacher and claimed that Hanam had made an error.<sup>27</sup> Yet in the accounts Manhwa is depicted as a lecturer on doctrine and not as a Seon master. Perhaps Gyeongheo set his own *hwadu*.

After three months of seclusion and fighting against sleep, the *hwadu* became “uniform and unadulterated,” a description taken from the *Linji lu* 臨濟錄 (The Records of Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄, a founder of a “lineage” that stretched from Linji via Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 through to Bojo Jinul 普照知訥 [1158–1210] or Seosan Hyujeong 西山休靜 [1520–1604] and then onto Gyeongheo). It says, “Like the function of [Mazu] Daoyi, uniform and unadulterated.”<sup>28</sup> Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788) of course was an ancestor in Linji’s Seon lineage. In other words, all Gyeongheo experienced was the *hwadu*, and no other thoughts entered his head. It was in this state of intense aporia and tension that an unexpected intervention triggered the breakthrough that was Gyeongheo’s enlightenment. A teacher of a novice reported a dialogue he had with the novice’s father, a lay practitioner of Seon. The topic was monks being oxen, with the father saying, “If I am an ox then I would have no hole in my nose (or, have no nostrils).” Hearing this, Gyeongheo was suddenly enlightened on the fifteenth

of December, 1879.<sup>29</sup> Gyeongheo then went to the abbot's quarters, but he did not even get up when Manhwa (possibly he was the abbot), his senior and teacher, entered, on the excuse that "I have no concerns." Manhwa simply left in what was possibly a confirmation of Gyeongheo's enlightenment. Otherwise, Manhwa would have been expected to have upbraided Gyeongheo for his rudeness and violation of monastic etiquette. However, Manhwa may not have been his *hwadu* teacher, as suggested by Gyeongheo's "Song of Enlightenment to the Way."<sup>30</sup>

Han Yongun states that the words that triggered Gyeongheo's enlightenment were, "How can you be an ox and be without a nostril hole threaded through?" Slightly different in nuance to the words recorded by Hanam, this can be paraphrased as, "How can your mind not be controlled?" The ox was a favorite metaphor among Chan and Seon monks for the mind, with the ox-herd portrayed as the practitioner. In the *Ten Ox-herding Pictures* by Kuoan 廖庵 of the Northern Song dynasty and the harmonization poem made to accompany Kuoan's hymns composed by Yun'an 雲庵, there are references to the "nose-cord" or the "nose-rope" at stage four, "Getting the Ox." For stage five, "Herding the Ox," Kuoan wrote, "It does not exist due to the sense-realm [or cognitive object] and it is only born due to your own mind. The nose-rope is to be pulled firm, allowing for no hesitation."<sup>31</sup> This suggests that the "answer" to the *hwadu* about another matter arising before the previous matter was resolved was control over the mind, because the preceding part of the verse cited above from Kuoan states, "As soon as the previous thought has arisen, a later thought-moment follows. [But] because it is due to the awakening [of the ox], it becomes true. Because it resides in delusion, it will be false."<sup>32</sup>

Later in life Gyeongheo wrote two sets of "Hymn of Searching for the Ox." For stage four of the second set he wrote in part, "The nose-rope [of the ox] is really hard to submit to." Notably, Gyeongheo's "taboo name," Seongu 惺牛 means "aware/alert ox." Again, Bojo Jinul, of whose tradition Gyeongheo was an active

propagator, took the style of “Moguja,” 牧牛子 meaning the ox-herd. This demonstrates that the image of the ox was significant for Gyeongheo.

In the autumn of the following year, 1880 Gyeongheo went to stay in Cheonjangam 天藏庵 Hermitage in Hongju 洪州 because his elder brother, the Seon Master Taeheo 太虛, had their mother reside there. This was a period of confirmation or guarantee of his earlier enlightenment.<sup>33</sup> It was at this hermitage that Gyeongheo probably wrote his hymn and a song expressing his experience of enlightenment. The hymn says:

Unexpectedly hearing a person say I have no nose-hole (nostril),  
 I was suddenly aware that the universe is my home.  
 In the sixth month I descended the road from Yeonamsan,  
 A rustic with no concerns singing of great peace (a utopia).

The hymn refers to “having no nose hole/nostril” and to the fact that he was at Yeonamsan 燕岩山 Mountain, the mountain on which Cheonjangam was located. In Yi Sangha’s analysis, the rustic refers to a farmer who was singing an agricultural song about the paradise of an enlightened person who has no concerns.<sup>34</sup> The song also refers to his concern about receiving the transmission of the Seon mind-seal that confirmed one’s enlightenment. According to Hanam, the song beginning, “There is no body in any direction, / Who will transmit the robe and bowl [symbolic of acceptance into the Seon lineage of enlightenment]?” is a “deep exclamation that his deep source in his master and friend had already been eliminated [or had died] and that he lacked someone from whom to receive the seal of realization.” Perhaps the master and friend was Gyeheo. The last two lines of the song, which are a reversal of the order of the first two lines, suggest that Gyeongheo at that time had no candidates on whom to confer the mind-seal of enlightenment.<sup>35</sup>

Hanam further mentions Gyeongheo’s concern with the lineage transmission, where Gyeongheo is reported to have highlighted

cases in which the enlightenment of a monk took place remote from the “master.” For example, Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (d. ca. 850) was enlightened by hearing Baizhang’s 百丈 story of Mazu’s shout and Xinghua Cunjiang 興化存獎 (830–888) succeeded to Linji Yixuan (d. 866) after Linji’s death. Similarly, Gyeongheo cited the case of Jinmuk 震默 (1562–1633) who became an heir to Seosan Hyujeong after Hyujeong’s death. Such references indicate that Gyeongheo was likewise claiming an indirect or posthumous transmission from Yongam Hye’eon, who had died before Gyeongheo was born. Han Yongun’s “Brief Chronology” does not make this a problem, merely saying that “he personally received the dharma inheritance from Yongam Seunim,” presumably at Cheonjangam. Gyeongheo, like Jinul, whose enlightenment did not come directly from a master, apparently felt that he had been given the imprimatur to teach and confirm the enlightenment of his students due to a posthumous blessing. Yet he told his erstwhile followers to make Manhwa their master, “from whom I received the work [of the dharma].”

In the “Text of the Mutual Aid Society Formed to Jointly Practice Meditation and Insight [so that one will be] Jointly Reborn in the Tuṣita [Heaven] and Jointly Achieve Buddhahood” written in December 1899, Gyeongheo recalled the events of winter 1879 when he was struggling with his *hwadu*, but he also wrote of his lack of restraint in the grog shops when he suddenly forgot himself. He then said that warfare broke out, possibly in 1882, and that he subsequently passed twenty years during which time he did not think of going into seclusion. Certainly, Korea was further troubled in this two-decade period by foreign interventions, a military rebellion in 1882, then a coup-d'état in 1884, and finally the Donghak Rebellion of 1892 that devastated parts of Jeolla-do and Chungcheong-do, near where Gyeongheo was active.

During this twenty-year period Gyeongheo lived in Chungcheong-do, teaching and residing in a number of monasteries in the area of Hongju and Seosan in north-west Chungcheong-do. He probably stayed much of the time at Cheonjangam where he had a family

connection, a site he thought was scenically attractive with mountains on one side and the ocean on the other, a place rarely visited by outsiders (see “Letter to Layman Jaam”). Gyeongheo likely refined his Seon practice there following his sudden initial enlightenment. This was in accord with the guidelines of Zongmi and Bojo Jinul who advocated a gradual practice to refine and preserve or build on the sudden enlightenment to guarantee its permanence.

According to the records of other monks, Gyeongheo met his three main disciples in 1884. He met Man'gong (1871–1946) at Donghaksa and brought him to Cheonjangam as his student. Meanwhile, Suwol 水月 (1855–1928) was a student under Gyeongheo's brother in Cheonjangam. Gyeongheo began to teach Suwol there in 1884. Hyewol 慧月 (1861–1937) studied Jinul's *Susimgyeol* 修心訣 (Secrets on Cultivating the Mind) with Gyeongheo, and soon other students came to practice with Gyeongheo. However, these three were the students who were allegedly granted his seal of approval.<sup>36</sup>

From the evidence of Gyeongheo's writings, it is clear that he adopted the practices and their doctrinal support that derived from Zongmi, then passed via Dahui Zonggao (1069–1183), the founder of the *hwadu* practice, were elaborated on by Bojo Jinul in Korea and revived by Seosan Hyujeong.<sup>37</sup> The essence of this meditation practice was based on theories derived from the study of the Buddhist sūtras and treatises, especially the *Awakening of Faith* and Huayan theories, primarily those of Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (646–740) on faith and “unmovable wisdom” that enables enlightenment. Zongmi taught the need for gradual cultivation or refinement following initial enlightenment, using ideas from the *Awakening of Faith* to show that enlightenment is possible. Dahui Zonggao changed *gong'an* meditation from a tendency towards literary expression into a sharply focused attention on the *hwadu*, introducing the idea of doubt as a key element in producing the sudden breakthrough of enlightenment. This was introduced into Korea by Jinul based on his readings of the works of Dahui. Seon practice was revived by Hyujeong after a long period of decline and restrictions under the

Joseon state (founded 1392). Hyujeong and his pupils managed to give Seon a new respectability and life for some generations, but by Gyeongheo's time Seon was practiced by few people, and the doctrinal aspects of Buddhism had gained primacy. By the late Joseon period in which Gyeongheo lived most of his life, Buddhism was in an almost terminal state, without access to Seoul or the political elite, and monks were seen as akin to beggars and ranked in the lowest strata of society, many illiterate, and confined the monasteries in the mountains away from the towns. Gyeongheo worked hard to reverse these trends as the Joseon state weakened and was preyed upon by foreign powers.

By 1898, Gyeongheo's fame had spread across the country. Gyeongheo, who was then living in Buseoksa 浮石寺 Monastery on Dobisan Mountain, received an invitation from Beomeosa, a monastery in the mountains behind Busan. He went there accompanied by Man'gong and another student. They spent a retreat there, after which Man'gong left for Tongdosa 通度寺 Monastery, while Gyeongheo stayed on for the year and then went to Haeinsa 海印寺 Monastery in 1899.<sup>38</sup> When King Gojong 高宗 (r. 1864–1907) commanded that a building for the practice of meditation be built and sutras be printed from the famous Goryeo Tripitaka woodblocks held in Haeinsa, Gyeongheo was selected to be the chief Seon master in charge of these projects. Gyeongheo also instituted a society there to practice meditation and insight, and rebirth in the Tuṣita Heaven. This society was open to all people, regardless of status or gender, who made the vow to practice to attain these goals. This is one of the longest pieces of Gyeongheo's extant writings and was recorded in December 1899.

In 1900, Gyeongheo went traveling, meeting Hanam in Sudoam 修道庵 Hermitage of Cheongamsa 青岩寺 Monastery in Geumneung-gu, north of Haeinsa.<sup>39</sup> Gyeongheo assisted Hanam's enlightenment with a sentence from the *Diamond Sūtra*. Hanam then followed Gyeongheo until the latter left in 1904 to go north.<sup>40</sup> Gyeongheo stayed at Haeinsa for some of 1900, and also at Cheoneunsa 天隱寺

Monastery on Jirisan Mountain. Then they spent the winter at Hwaeomsa 華嚴寺 Monastery near Gurye.<sup>41</sup> Gyeongheo there wrote a piece for the monk Seunghwa 承華 called “The Dharma-Teaching on Tallying with the Pure Mind.” Gyeongheo went on a pilgrimage around southern Gyeongsang-do and Jeolla-do in 1900, passing through Songgwangsa 松廣寺 Monastery,<sup>42</sup> Yongmunsa 龍門寺 Monastery in Hwajeon,<sup>43</sup> and Taeansa 泰安寺 Monastery on Dongnisan Mountain, southern Jeolla-do.<sup>44</sup> He may also have passed through Sanggyeam 上溪庵 Hermitage in Geochang, southern Gyeongsang-do and Silsangsa 實相寺 Monastery in north Jeolla-do.<sup>45</sup> Hanam informs us that Gyeogheo also visited Tongdosa and Beomeosa, and that Gyeongheo “battled to establish meditation cloisters in all directions.” Thus this travel was not simply a pilgrimage or sight-seeing, but also a concerted effort to spread the practice of meditation. Gyeongheo did though have enough time to write poems about some of the places he visited.

By 1902, Gyeongheo was resident again in Beomeosa where he was active for several years. He was a witness in a ritual in a neighboring monastery, writing a number of dedications for the establishment of meditation groups.<sup>46</sup> It is widely held that Gyeongheo compiled the *Seonmun chwaryo* (Selected Essential Texts of the Seon School) that contains fifteen brief texts on the essentials of Seon ranging from texts attributed to the founder of Chan (Kor. Seon), Bodhidharma, to a work by Seosan Hyujeong.<sup>47</sup> If this attribution is correct, it is possible that this compilation was done at Beomeosa, for the *Seonmun chwaryo* was published at Beomeosa in 1909.<sup>48</sup> Yet this is highly doubtful for a number of reasons. Firstly, neither Hanam nor Han Yongun mentions this text in their accounts of Gyeongheo’s career, though Min Yeonggyu thinks that the *Jeongbeop anjang* 正法眼藏 (Eye Store [Essentials] of the Correct Dharma) for which Gyeongheo wrote a preface was compiled in 1903 at Beomeosa and was the original form of the *Seonmun chwaryo*.<sup>49</sup> Secondly, the first fascicle of the *Seonmun chwaryo* was published in 1907 in Unmunsa 雲門寺 Monastery in Cheongdo-gun, northern

Gyeongsang-do, and there is no record connecting Gyeongheo with this monastery.<sup>50</sup> Again, Gyeongheo had left the Buddhist world three years previously. Thirdly, all the texts of Chinese provenance were contained in the *Beophae bobeol* 法海寶筏 (Precious Raft of the Dharma Ocean) compiled by Layman Yu Un 劉雲 and printed at Gamnoam 甘露庵 Hermitage on Samgaksan, a mountain just outside of Seoul in 1893.<sup>51</sup> Yu Un is also known as having written a preface for the 1884 *Sulmong swae'eon* 述夢瑣言 (Petty Words Describing Dream) by Gim Daehyeon 金大鉉. Therefore, if the *Seonmun chwaryo* was compiled by Gyeongheo, he would have simply added the texts written by Korean monks, mostly by Jinul, which are found in the second fascicle, to the *Beophae bobeol*. And yet, Gyeongheo's name does not appear in the 1907 or 1909 print of the *Seonmun chwaryo*, despite a long list of the names of the donors who sponsored the publication being attached to the latter print. As all the texts in the second fascicle were written by Koreans, and stressed the importance of Seon practice over doctrinal study, the compiler was probably concerned to resurrect Seon practice as a means for creating a self-identity for Korean Buddhism as Japanese Buddhism was beginning to have an impact on Korea.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, Gyeongheo quotes from many of the texts in the *Seonmon chwaryo*, especially from Hongren's *Zuishangsheng lun* 最上乘論 (On the Supreme Vehicle), in his "How to be a Monk." This is quite unusual, for this text was very early and unrelated to *hwadu* meditation. However, the evidence remains circumstantial for Gyeongheo being the compiler.

Whatever the case, in autumn 1903, while traveling from Beomeosa to Haeinsa, Gyeongheo composed a verse that showed he was troubled by the fame he was attracting. He felt that this fame was unwarranted, and so he began to think of escaping into anonymity.

My knowledge is shallow, but my fame eminent; the world is  
dangerously confused.

I do not know where I can hide.

How can there be nowhere in the fishing villages and grog shops?

I only fear that by hiding my fame that my fame will be further renewed.

Before he departed on his journey north into seclusion, Gyeongheo said farewell to Man'gong at Cheonjangam in the second month of 1904 and he sanctioned his disciple Wolmyeon 月面 (Man'gong) with a gāthā of transmission of the dharma in the seventh month.<sup>53</sup> He gave Man'gong the following poem:

The clouded moon in the creeks and mountain is everywhere identical,  
 The Seon fellow of Susan has the style of a great house.  
 He attentively allocates the script-less seal,  
 With a single skilled plan within the living eye.<sup>54</sup>

Then, in the spring of 1904, Gyeongheo journeyed northwards, first to Odaesan 五臺山 Mountain in central Gangwon-do, where he stayed for three months to lecture on the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, then going through the scenic Geumgangsan Mountains that were home to a number of famous monasteries. From there he went further north to Seogwangsa 釋王寺 Monastery, associated with the founder of the Joseon dynasty, where he participated in a ritual and preached a sermon.<sup>55</sup>

After this, the Buddhist world did not know where Gyeongheo had gone. He had disguised himself as Confucian scholar, a school-teacher with long hair who lived like a lay person. Taking his mother's surname, he called himself Bak Nanju 朴蘭州 or Graduate Bak.<sup>56</sup> He taught in the village schools and made a number of good friends in the areas of Ganggye 江界, Gapsan 甲山, and Jangjin 長津, right up close to the border with Manchuria to the north, straddling the mountain wastelands of northern Pyeongan-do and Hamgyeong-do. These districts had very few Buddhist monasteries and much of the population was probably illiterate.

Among his friends was Gim Tak 金鐸, who met Gyeongheo

in Ganggye in 1905. Gim Tak, after 1919 became a delegate to the Korean government-in-exile, the Shanghai Provisional Government.<sup>57</sup> Another friend was a fellow teacher, Yi Yeoseong 李汝盛, with whom he exchanged poems. Also, he was friends with a poet, Son Seokbeom 孫錫範, and with an otherwise unidentified Yeoneun 蓮隱. Gyeongheo thus associated with the few intellectuals in the area. His life seems to have been happy, although there are traces of homesickness in several of his poems, such as “New Year’s Eve” and “New Year’s Day.” He clearly enjoyed teaching, writing poems, drinking and traveling the wild northern mountains, as seen in the poem, “Entering on the Gapsan Road and Passing Over Adeukpo Range and Meeting with a Defense Battalion of Infantry.”

Gyeongheo stayed in this region until his death in spring 1912. Hanam tells us that he died at a local school in Doha-dong in Gapsan, and was later cremated by Hyewol and Man'gong on the fourteenth of September 1914 on Nandeoksan 難德山 Mountain. While at the school Gyeongheo had complained of extreme tiredness, and at dawn the next day he wrote out his death gāthā (verse):

The mind-moon is round and alone,  
 Its light engulfing all images.  
 When the light [of the mind] and sense-realms [the images] are all  
 forgotten,  
 Again, what is this thing?

This last question is similar to that asked near the start of Hyujeong's *Seon'ga gwigam* 禪家龜鑑 (Mirror Reflective of the Seon School), “What is the one thing?” The answer is a circle diagram or ○.<sup>58</sup> The circle diagram is also used by Gyeongheo. Yet this was not an original verse; it is that of Panshan Baoji 盤山寶積 (d.u.), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi.<sup>59</sup>

Another account of Gyeongheo's death was provided by Gim Tak. He said that Gyeongheo was traveling from Ganggye on the road to Huchang-gun, across Nandeongyeong Pass, and that he died, probably of exhaustion, at Seongjang-dong 成章洞, approximately

two-hundred and ten *ris* from his residence in Ganggye.<sup>60</sup> News of Gyeongheo's death was eventually relayed to his disciples by Jeonsuwol Eumgwan 田水月音觀 (1855–1928), and Man'gong and Hyewol cremated his corpse on the twenty-fifth of the seventh month, 1913.<sup>61</sup>

### Evaluations of Gyeongheo

The last period of Gyeongheo's life was a subject of considerable controversy, even among his disciples. His life up until 1903/1904 was generally seen as exemplary, matching all the criteria for an eminent Seon master. However, Gyeongheo then deserted the Buddhist world and disappeared. It was only a decade after his disappearance that his chief disciples even knew what had happened. Suwol, one of his disciples, reported on Gyeongheo's death and his lifestyle in 1914. So two other disciples, Hyewol and Man'gong went to Gapsan to cremate their late master, who had probably been buried in the Confucian manner. While in the district, they collected some of his writings.

Despite the fact that Gyeongheo admitted to craving and anger, that it was "appropriate to be a drunken, crazy monk," Hanam states that Gyeongheo had been very ascetic, not even removing insects that bit him and produced sores on his body. Yet also Gyeongheo did not keep the rules of decorum. Hanam evaluates these two contrasting aspects of his behavior as "his tendency to transcendence," namely a transcendence of the duality of monk and layperson or of a sentient being and a buddha or the transcendence implicit in the state of enlightenment. As Gyeongheo wrote,

Alcohol may radiate light, and sex (women) likewise.  
 I have spent donkey's years with the frustrations of craving and anger.  
 I do not know the Buddha and sentient beings,  
 For my whole life it was appropriate to be a drunken, crazy monk.

This poem may be analyzed in contrasting ways. The first would relate his cravings and anger with his drinking of alcohol and chasing women, but since he did not recognize the differences between sentient beings with their frustrations and the Buddha, it was OK to be a drunken and crazy monk. The second thinks, partly on the basis that it is the buddhas or bodhisattvas that radiate light, that if one does not discriminate between abstinence and indulgence, between the sentient beings and buddha, it is permissible to drink and have sex, even though one is formally a monk, for whom such cravings and acts are forbidden. In this mental realm of detachment and non-duality, alcohol and sex may be also seen as expressions of buddhahood, as all beings or even the universe are in some sense already Buddha because all is empty.<sup>62</sup>

Hanam praised Gyeongheo as a “rare great man of the age.” Hanam also said that an enlightened master “must be able to jettison the dharma,” in other words, once the vows have been attained, and one has crossed the river of suffering to the other shore, one should abandon the raft of the dharma. However, Hanam also warned students not to imitate Gyeongheo’s later deeds, to rely on the dharma and not on the person, as advised by the ancient *Chang Ahan jing* 長阿含經 (Skt. *Dirghāgama-sūtra*, T 1.1.18a) and *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (*Treatise on Prajñāpāramitā*, T 1509.25.125a). Hanam cited sūtras and old Seon masters with the implication that despite Gyeongheo’s violations of the rules of monastic discipline and his apparent failure to resist the temptations of the flesh that he was in fact pure, that he was detached from these forms of contamination. This is a description of bodhisattvas who participate in worldly appetites in order to gain acceptance by beings in their environment and therefore the opportunities to convert those beings. Hanam was advising students to only follow Gyeongheo’s teachings, for the students did not have sufficient insight to understand his actions. Students thus need to be selective in this regard.

Hanam’s “Account of Conduct” and his compilation of Gyeongheo’s works were written on Odaesan, where Hanam stayed

from sometime after 1926 until his death, rarely ever leaving.<sup>63</sup> Hanam did this work on request from Man'gong, the senior disciple.<sup>64</sup> Hanam completed it in 1931, but it was never printed despite his plans to do so.

It appears, however, that Man'gong was later dissatisfied with this compilation, especially Hanam's "Account of Conduct." In 1935 Man'gong showed a compilation (Hanam's?) to Han Yongun, the monk Manhae, a famous poet, nationalist, and reformer. Manhae knew about Hanam's compilation, yet in 1942 he added to a slightly longer and re-organized compilation, but omitted Hanam's "Account of Conduct."

Explanations of Man'gong's actions vary. One story has it that when Man'gong read Hanam's "Account of Conduct" he grabbed it and threw it away in an expression indicating that it was inappropriate. It may be that there were some personal differences between Man'gong and Hanam in these years.<sup>65</sup> It has also been suggested that a poem titled "Given to Dharma-heir Man'gong" was altered by Hanam and embedded in a sermon, and that this also annoyed Man'gong.<sup>66</sup>

Part of this difference over the "Account of Conduct" may lie in the question of monastic celibacy. The Seon monks in particular, in a nationalistic reaction against Japanese colonialists and Buddhists, asserted celibacy as a distinctive feature of Korean Buddhist identity and the superiority of Korean Buddhism over the perceived corrupt laxity of Japanese Buddhists who permitted clerical marriage. By 1942, the Seonhagwon (Seon Study Cloister) was "the last stronghold of celibacy in Korean Buddhism."<sup>67</sup> Man'gong and Hanam were two of the most important members, but Hanam seems to have never attended. In any case, these disciples of Gyeongheo found the issue of Gyeongheo's lack of celibacy troubling.

Yet Han Yongun had been an advocate of allowing monks to marry as part of his modernization proposals. By 1942 Han Yongun had remarried. Man'gong probably encouraged Han Yongun to write a preface that rejected Hanam's distinction between Gyeongheo the

man and Gyeongheo's dharma or teaching.<sup>68</sup> This was in line with the ideal of non-duality, of no impediments between the worldly and holy aspects. Han Yongun's preface thus celebrates Gyeongheo the heavy drinker, the reviler of the buddhas, as being detached from the conventions of Buddhism; Gyeongheo the antinomian saint. "How can his actions and his mind be at odds? Ultimately they cannot." In other words, Gyeongheo was a Seon saint who transcended the worlds of desire and the world of discipline of the desires, who lived freely without restriction. Gregory Ewon concludes that Man'gong wanted the "publication of the *Kyōnghō jip* [Gyeongheo-jip] to serve as a symbol of a nationalist, Korean Buddhist consciousness," and so he chose Han Yongun, a nationalist who had called for an end to celibate monasticism to praise Gyeongheo.<sup>69</sup>

Hanam, a stickler for monastic discipline who rejected politics,<sup>70</sup> also admitted that "I only valued my former master but he did not fully disclose [Seon] for me." Hanam then, like Bojo Jinul, insisted on the need for monastic discipline and the observance of the precepts, for he felt that ordinary people would misunderstand Gyeongheo's actions and descend into antinomianism. "If you are not an eminent person, it will be hard for you to know the ambitions [i.e. the thoughts] of the eminent. If you are not fully enlightened, how could you not be bound by trifles." The differences between Man'gong/Han Yongun and Hanam then boil down to differences of perspective, between the transcendent and the practical.

In my view, by 1903 Gyeongheo realized that he could no longer adequately act like a bodhisattva when his fame demanded that he conduct rituals, refurbish monastic buildings, write numerous dedications, and possibly be an abbot. This would divert him from teaching and possibly the fame would tempt him into pride. He may have felt it was more appropriate to the bodhisattva vow that he educate children in a remote and impoverished part of Korea, far away from the demands of the Buddhist Order. Gyeongheo had already left a legacy in his capable disciples, who could continue to propagate his teachings while he taught illiterate children. This

may have been inspired by his own past as an illiterate laborer in his monastery and by his favorite master Gyeheo's example in leaving the monkhood.

Other inspiration may have come from the Seon poets, unorthodox figures and laymen such as Hanshan 寒山 (literally, cold mountain) or Layman Pang (龐居士), as can be seen in Gyeongheo's holograph in which he copied out his favorite pieces.<sup>71</sup> This influence can also be seen in some of Gyeongheo's poems. His actions seem to be equivalent to the final stage, "Working on behalf [of others] among other species" in his "Hymn of Searching for the Ox," where Gyeongheo wrote,

The patriarchs and buddhas now are beyond the body (person),  
For long years they [as oxen] run to the marketplace.

This image is derived from Nanquan Puyuan's 南泉普願 (748–834) saying, "Go among a different species" or "become a water buffalo," meaning that to perfect the bodhisattva vow one needs to liberate all sentient beings.<sup>72</sup> Gyeongheo therefore needed to fit in with his surroundings as reflected in his poem, "Writing out My Thoughts":

The granny barmaid and old shopkeeper, I am in the same class,  
Hiding my ability, originally I loved to fit in.

Evidently Gyeongheo did fit in and so he taught people in the distant north in the guise of a Confucian schoolteacher, ending his life in the service of those less fortunate.

### The text

The text translated here is that compiled by Hanam, which is in Hanam's handwriting. It was written out in Hanam's residence in Sangwonsa 上院寺 Monastery on Odaesan. Although Hanam wished to have it printed, it seems he had no funds to do this. Even the paper it is written on is Japanese paper taken from an account ledger

book, not on traditional Korean paper. The copy was thought to have been destroyed during the Korean War, but it was later discovered in a second-hand book store and made public in 1982 and finally published in a reproduction in volume 11 of the *Hanguk Bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書 (Complete Texts of Korean Buddhism) in 1992.

This meant that the only version of the *Gyeongheo-jip* available up to 1992 was the 1943 Seonhagwon text with Han Yongun's preface and minus Hanam's "Account of Conduct." However, the 1943 version contains some more material, for as Han Yongun wrote, Man'gong had shown him a compilation in 1935, but there was some delay to publication because it was felt to be incomplete, with a belief that there were still more writings to be found in the north. In 1942 a number of people went to search the area thoroughly and these extra works were included in the new compilation, which was completed in 1942. Han Yongun tried to organize the texts in a chronological order, and when he could not, he placed them in the sequence of their discovery. However, it seems that these extra works contained a considerable number of poems and pieces that were not written by Gyeongheo. Even one or two of the poems in Hanam's text are arguably not by Gyeongheo.<sup>73</sup>

Hanam organized the compilation differently. Strangely, his compilation began with an "Account of Conduct" in lieu of an introduction, and although there is no systematic order, it is partially organized more by genre and theme, with Chinese text first and the Korean language material last. The Chinese material begins with the more doctrinal and Seon practice items near the start, then the dedications and incidental materials next, followed by the Chinese poetry. The 1943 version contains marginally more material, but one or two poems that are in Hanam's compilation do not appear in the 1943 version.<sup>74</sup>

In 1990, the monk Myeongjeong translated the Chinese of the 1943 version into modern Korean, but he naturally did not translate the Korean texts, despite the fact that they used older spelling and dialect forms. When Gyeongheo and Hanam were writing Korean

spelling was not fixed and Gyeongheo sometimes used dialect. The Korean text in the *Hanguk Bulgyo jeonseo* has also modified the spelling.

I have consulted Myeongjeong's translation and the *Hanguk Bulgyo jeonseo*, but have only diverged from Hanam's text where it is evidently in error. I saw a draft of Yi Sangha's translation, and Hyeonseo Seunim, Gim Jongin, Prof. Cho Eun-su and others, using it and their own readings pointed out many of my errors, some major, and their findings have been gratefully incorporated into my translation. However, I am responsible for any of the errors that remain.

## Notes

- 1 *Seunim* is a title of respect for a monk, here adopted instead of the Sino-Korean word *hwasang* (Skt. *upādhyāya*), a teacher. *Seu* is related to *seuseung*, a teacher or master, and *seung* or monk. *Nim*, a term of respect is related to pre-modern Korean *nimgeun* or king.
- 2 Sim Chae-yong, “Geundae Han’guk Bulgyo ui negaji baneung yuhyeong e daehayeo,” *Cheolhak sasang* 16 (June 2003), 104, 110.
- 3 Ibid., 110–111.
- 4 Ibid., 104–106.
- 5 This is a theory based on the idea that Buddhism deteriorated over time the further away one was from the lifetime of the Buddha.
- 6 The Joseon court reduced all of the Buddhist schools down to Seon and Gyo (Doctrine) in 1423 by court fiat. Although Seon had previously labeled most other forms of Buddhism with the term *gyo*, calling itself a special transmission from mind to mind that did not depend on written texts, this court imposed division made the rhetorical divide even greater.
- 7 Sim, 110–111.
- 8 Bak Jaehyeon, “Gyeongheo beommaek ui jeonseung e gwanhan seojihak jeok geomto,” *Bojo sasang* 37 (2012), 298.
- 9 Sim, “Geundae Han’guk Bulgyo,” 112.
- 10 Seongta, “Gyeongheo ui Seon sasang,” in *Sungsan Bak Giljin baksu hwagap ginyeom: Han’guk Bulgyo sasangsa* (Iri: Won’gwang daehakkyo chulpansa, 1975), 1105.
- 11 See for example Mu Seong Sunim, *Thousand Peaks: Korean Zen—Tradition and Teachers* (Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1987), 160–161.
- 12 For Hanam, see Chong Go (B.K. Zingmark), “A Study of the Letters of Korean Seon Master Hanam,” MA diss., Dongguk University, 2002; and Patrick R. Uhlmann, “Sōn Master Pang Hanam: A Preliminary Consideration of His Thought According to the Five Regulations for the Sangha,” in *Makers of Modern Korean Buddhism*, ed. Jin Y. Park (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010), 171–198.
- 13 For Han Yongun, see Gregory Nicholas Evon, “Literary Genre and Philosophical Discourse in the Buddhist Poetics of Han Yongun

(1879–1944),” PhD. diss., The Australian National University, 1999; and Pori Park, “A Korean Buddhist Response to Modernity: Manhae Han Yongun’s Doctrinal Reinterpretation of His Reformist Thought,” in Park, *Makers of Modern Korean Buddhism*, 41–59.

14 For Man’gong, see Mu Seong, “Sōn Master Man’gong: Cogitations of a Colonized Religion,” in Park, *Makers of Modern Korean Buddhism*, 157–170; and Mu Seong, *Thousand Peaks*, 168–176.

15 Min Yeonggyu, “Gyeongheodang ui bukguisa,” *Minjok gwa munhwa* 12 (2003), 10.

16 Peter H. Lee, ed., *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 295–296.

17 Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1984), 250.

18 Dates follow the chronology given in Min, “Gyeongheodang ui bukguisa,” 15–22.

19 Gyeongheo, *Gyeongheo-jip*, trans. Yi Sangha (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 2016), 6 specifies the *Cheonjamun* (Ch. *Qianziwen*) 天字文 [Thousand Character Classic], a schoolboy primer; the *Saryak* (Ch. *Shilüe*) 史略, a summary of the nineteen standard histories of China; and *Dongguk tonggam* 東國通鑑 [Complete Mirror of Korean History].

20 The sūtra is translated by A. Charles Muller, *The Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment: Korean Buddhism’s Guide to Meditation (with Commentary by the Sōn Monk Kihwa)* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 15–16 on Zongmi’s commentary.

21 For this curriculum, see Muller, *The Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*, 37. The curriculum also included the *Lenyen jing* (Kor. *Neungeom-gyeong*) 楞嚴經, *Diamond Sūtra* (Kor. *Geumgang-gyeong* 金剛經), and the *Awakening of Faith* (Kor. *Daeseung gisinnon* 大乘起信論).

22 Mu Seong, *Thousand Peaks*, 153–154 says Gyeheo was in Seoul, as does Henrik H. Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness: The Life and Times of the Sōn Master Kyōnghō Sōngu,” in Park, *Makers of Modern Korean Buddhism*, 132 and Seongta, “Gyeongheo ui Seon sasang,” 1106; yet as Jin Y. Park, “A Crazy Drunken Monk: Kyōnghō and Modern Buddhist Meditation Practice,” in *Religions of Korea in Practice*, ed. Robert E. Buswell Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 132 notes, monks were not allowed to enter Seoul until 1895, and Gyeongheo at one stage vowed he would never enter Seoul. Of course, Gyeheo was no longer a monk, and could live in Seoul but Gyeongheo was a monk.

23 Seongta, “Gyeongheo ui Seon sasang,” 1106.

24 Min, “Gyeongheodang ui bukguisa,” 10 notes that official daily records of the court administration state that there was a virulent epidemic in the Jeolla, Gyeongsang, and Gyeonggi *dos* during the sixth and seventh months of 1879. Gyeongheo would have had to pass through Gyeonggi-do to reach Seoul.

25 For an account of *ganhwa* Seon, see Robert E. Buswell, Jr., “The ‘Short-cut’ Approach of *K'an-hua* Meditation: The Evolution of a Practical Subitism in Chinese Ch'an Buddhism,” in *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, ed. Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987), 301–377, and John Jorgensen, *A Handbook of Korean Zen Practice: A Mirror on the Sōn School of Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 24–30.

26 Komazawa daigaku daijiten hensansho, comp. *Zengaku daijiten*, 1321d.

27 Seongta, “Gyeongheo ui Seon sasang,” 1108–1109.

28 Komazawa daigaku daijiten hensansho, comp. *Zengaku daijiten*, 518b.

29 Seongta, “Gyeongheo ui Seon sasang,” 1107 gives a slightly different story, and notes that the novice was later called Dongeun. Yi Sangha translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 6 gives the month as the eleventh in the lunar calendar.

30 Bak Jaehyeon, “Gyeongheo beommaek ui jeonseung,” 324.

31 See appendix in Gyeongheo Seongu Seonsa 鏡虛惺牛禪師, *Hyeonto Seonmun chwaryo* 懸吐禪門撮要 (Seoul: Boryeong'gak, 1982), 450–452. Note this text on the “Ox-herding Pictures” was not originally in the *Hyeonto Seonmun chwaryo* that was printed in 1909 in Beomeosa 梵魚寺 Monastery, without Gyeongheo’s name attached. For a reproduction of the 1909 print, see Yanagida Seizan, comp., *Kōraibon Zenmon satsuyo*, *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, *Hōshū betsugyōroku setsuyo* 高麗本禪門撮要, 禪源諸詮都序, 法集別行錄節要, *Zengaku sōsho* 2 (Kyoto: Chūbunshuppansha, 1974), 1–122. I will take up the issue of this text later.

32 Gyeongheo (attributed), *Seonmun chwaryo*, 452.

33 Most of the writers on Gyeongheo use the word *boim* 保任 for this period. See for example, Yi Sangha translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 6. *Boim* means the guarding or maintaining of the initial experience of enlightenment. This may be justified via Zongmi’s idea of a sudden initial enlightenment followed by gradual practice. See Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 196: “Gradual cultivation is thus the process by which one’s initial [sudden] insight is integrated into his personality.”

34 Yi Sangha translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 19.

35 Hanam placed this song, as distinct from the hymn, at the start of his

compilation of writings by Gyeongheo, immediately after his account of conduct of Gyeongheo, which suggests the song was thought important and related to lineage transmission. See Bak Jaehyeon, “Gyeongheo beommaek ui jeonseung,” 320. The character *jeon* 傳 “transmit” here is ambiguous; is it transmitted “from” or transmit “to.” It can mean to “give to” and to “continue.” See Bak, “Gyeongheo beommaek ui jeonseung,” 321, especially note 29. I think that for the first couplet it is related to there being nobody from whom he could receive the transmission, and the latter couplet there was nobody to whom he could transmit his dharma as symbolized by the robe and bowl.

36 Seongta, “Gyeongheo ui Seon sasang,” 1109. In Bak Jaehyeon’s analysis, these were not formal “verses of transmission of the dharma” that were testaments that these students were heirs to Gyeongheo. Bak, “Gyeongheo beommaek ui jeonseung,” 325 suggests that Gyeongheo had no special regard for giving items that symbolized the transmission and that he gave specimens of his calligraphy to his students as tokens of his affection and assurance just before he left to go north. He was satisfied then that he and his students had been enlightened and had no need for symbols.

37 There is considerable literature on these monks and their ideas. See Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*; Chinul (Jinul), *The Korean Approach to Zen: The Collected Works of Chinul*, trans. Robert E. Buswell Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1983) and *Chinul: Selected Works*, ed. and trans. Robert E. Buswell, Jr., *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*, vol. 2 (Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2012); Chae-yong Sim, “The Philosophical Foundation of Korean Zen Buddhism: The Integration of Sōn and Kyo,” PhD diss., University of Hawai‘i, 1979 (published in various places); John Jorgensen, *Hyujeong: Selected Works*, *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*, vol. 3 (Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2012) and *A Handbook of Korean Zen Practice: A Mirror on the Sōn School of Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2015).

38 Seongta, “Gyeongheo ui Seon sasang,” 1109–1110.

39 Min, “Gyeongheodang ui bukguisa,” 18, dates this to late 1898. The 1900 date is that given by Seongta.

40 Chong Go, “Hanam,” 24.

41 Seongta, “Gyeongheo ui Seon sasang,” 1110; “Preface to the Mutual Aid Association for the Buddhist [grain] Supplies of Cheoneunsa Monastery in Namwon” and “Regulations Defined for the Re-established Meditation Room of Sangwonam Hermitage of Hwaeomsa Monastery.”

42 “Account of Conduct of Chwieun Seunim.”

43 In the Namhae district, winter 1900, “Account of Conduct of Seoryong Seunim.”

44 “Record of the Donor List for the Monastery Bell . . .”

45 “A text Encouraging Good (donations) for the Reconstruction of Sanggyeam . . .”

46 “Record of the Establishment of the Meditation (Seon) Society of Gyemyeongam . . .,” “Record of the Building of the Hall of the Seven Stars of . . .,” “Record of the Foundation of Gyemyeongam . . .,” and “The Register of Excellence of the Meditation Society of Gyemyeongam . . .”

47 Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 144, 152–153 for a table of contents; Gyeongheo, *Seonmun chwaryo*, 1982.

48 Yanagida, *Kōraibon*, 122.

49 Min, “Gyeongheodang ui bukguisa,” 20.

50 Gim Jongin, “Jeontong ui jaejeongnip gwa gojeon: Han’guk Bulgyo ui jaejeongnip gwa *Seonmun chwaryo*,” *Jeongtobak yeon’gu* 13 (2009): 228.

51 Yanagida Seizan, “Zenseki kaidai,” in *Zenge goroku II*, Sekai koten bungaku zenshū, vol. 36B, ed. Nishitani Keiji and Yanagida Seizan (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1974), 451. The *Beophae beobeol* exists in a copy held in Seoul National University Library.

52 Gim Jongin, “Jeontong ui jaejeongnip gwa gojeon,” 226.

53 Seongta, “Gyeongheo ui Seon sasang,” 1112; Min, “Gyeongheodang ui bukguisa,” 20. Bak Jaehyeon, “Gyeongheo beommaek ui jeonseung,” 325 states that there is no evidence, at least in the written records that Gyeongheo went to visit Man’gong at this time. Note Bak’s denial that Gyeongheo wrote “gāthās of transmission of the dharma.”

54 Min, “Gyeongheodang ui bukguisa,” 20–21. Bak Jaehyeon, “Gyeongheo beommaek ui jeonseung,” 301–302 disputes this was a symbol of transmission because the poem is not among Man’gong’s writings but is found among Gyeongheo’s poems with the title, “[My pupil] Man’gong Asked. ‘After You Reverend Have Passed away, How Should I Guide Sentient Beings?’ So I Replied.” There are also problems with conflicting dates. The “Seon fellow of Susan” is Man’gong.

55 Min, “Gyeongheodang ui bukguisa,” 21.

56 Seongta, “Gyeongheo ui Seon sasang,” 1112–1113.

57 Ibid., 1113.

58 For the use of the circle diagram, see Jorgensen, *A Handbook*, 78.

59 Yi Sangha translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 15.

60 Seongta, “Gyeongheo ui Seon sasang,” 1113. 210 *ris* was a considerable distance, nearly a hundred miles by some calculations.

61 Min, “Gyeongheodang ui bukguisa,” 11–12.

62 The second interpretation is that of Yi Sangha translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 19–20.

63 Chong Go, “Hanam,” 30, 37–38.

64 However, as there are some poems in Hanam’s collection that are not in the 1943 compilation organized by Man’gong, it is possible that Hanam had been independently collecting works by Gyeongheo and not all the texts in Hanam’s compilation had been handed to Hanam by Man’gong. See Bak Jaehyeon, “Gyeongheo beommaek ui jeonseung,” 307–308.

65 Reported by Yun Changhwa, “Hanam Seonsa hoebyeon yukpil-bon *Gyeongheo-jip* haeje,” 6 note 1, in the copy of Hanam’s handwritten copy of *Gyeongheo-jip* published by Woljeongsa in 2009.

66 Bak Jaehyeon, “Gyeongheo beommaek ui jeonseung,” 308.

67 Evon, “Contestations,” 19.

68 Ibid., 25.

69 Ibid., 29.

70 Chong Go, “Hanam,” 16, 28.

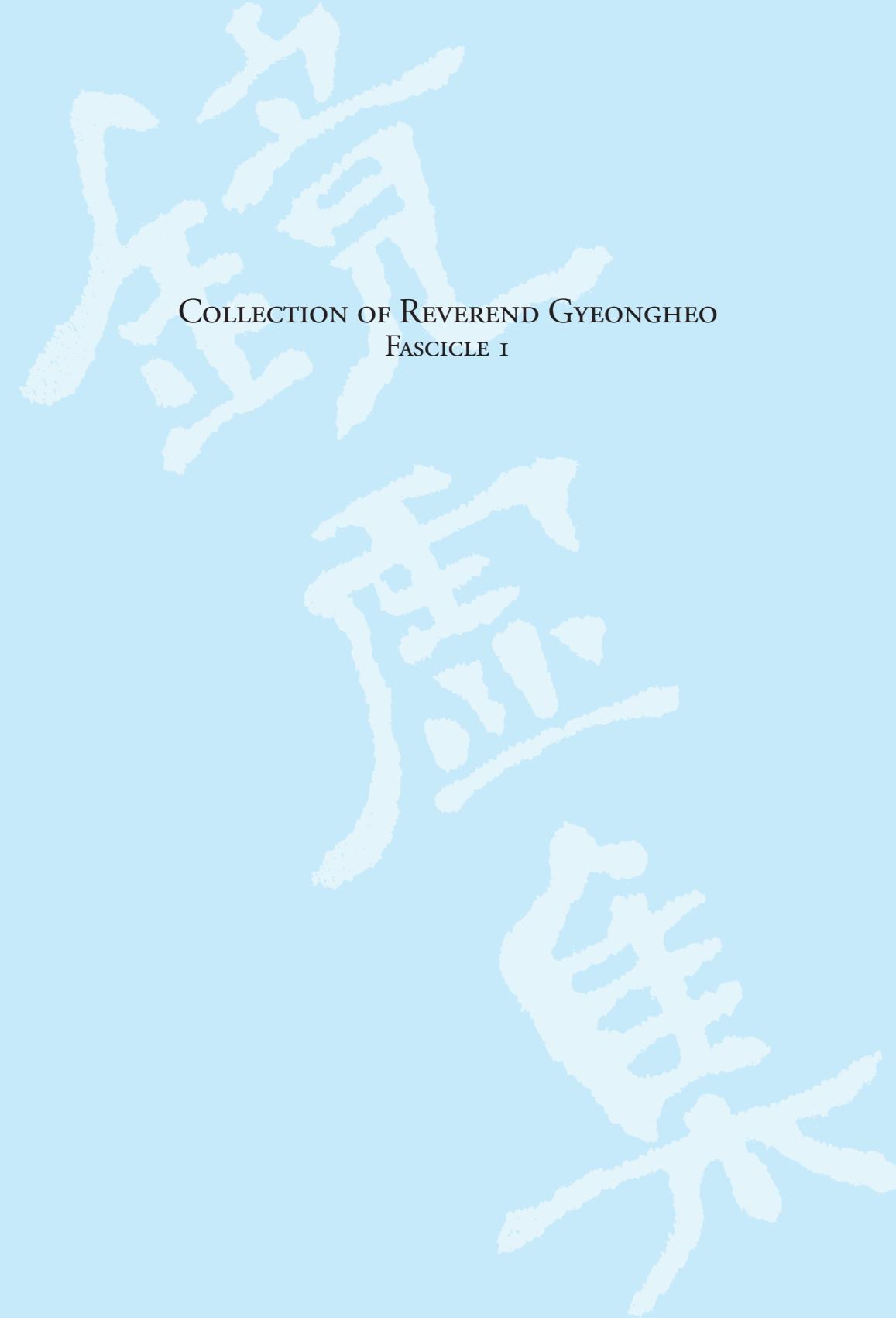
71 See Gyeongheo, *Gyeongheo-jip*, trans. Seok Myeongjeong (Gyeongsangnam-do: Geungnak Seonwon, 1991), 321–322, 326, 329, 331–332.

72 Min, “Gyeongheodang ui bukguisa,” 10, 12–14 makes this and “practice on the non-Path” of the *Vimalakirtinirdeśa-sūtra* a core theme of his interpretation of Gyeongheo’s actions.

73 Yi Sangha translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 23–27. This is a summary of Yi’s arguments as they appear in a longer article on the compilation and publication of Gyeongheo’s works: Yi Sangha, “*Gyeongheo-jip* pyeonchan, ganhaeng ui gyeongwi wa byeonmo yangsang,” *Dongyanghak* (Dan’guk daehakkyo) 50 (August 2011), 1–19.

74 Most of the above based on Yun’s description, “Hanam Seonsa hoebyeon yukpil-bon *Gyeongheo-jip* haeje,” 1–7.





COLLECTION OF REVEREND GYEONGHEO  
FASCICLE I



## Account of Conduct of the Former Master, Gyeongheo Seunim

written by Hanam

The *Diamond Sūtra* says, “If there is a sentient being who five hundred years in the future can hear this sūtra and whose mind is pristine, that being will give birth to the attribute of reality. You should know that this person will have perfected the rarest of merits.”<sup>1</sup> Reverend Dahui said, “If you do not make [a vow for enlightenment] while one is strong, how many people will get it? How did the Buddha-dharma [then] make it to the present day?”<sup>2</sup> Because those who have a courageous and fierce determination and penetrate through to the root-source of the dharma are not non-existent [even] in the end period of the dharma, the Buddha and patriarchs have handed down such words. Such words also exist because such persons rarely appear and the life of insight is hard to maintain. Who in this regard will possess a stout determination and will be thoroughly enlightened to their self-nature, perfect the very best of merit and broadly circulate the luminous meaning of great wisdom here five hundred years in the future? The person who has done so is our former master, Gyeongheo Seunim.

The *seunim*’s taboo name was Seongu 惺牛 (Aware Ox) and his first name was Donguk. Gyeongheo 鏡虛 was his style name. His lay surname was Song 宋. He was a native of Yeosan.<sup>3</sup> His father’s taboo name was Duok; his mother was of the Bak clan of Miryang.<sup>4</sup> He was born in Jadong-ri, Jeonju<sup>5</sup> in the *jeongsa* year, the eighth year of the reign of King Cheoljong, on the twenty-fourth day of the fourth month.<sup>6</sup> He did not cry for three days after he was born and when his body was washed was the first time he made baby noises.

Everyone said this was marvelous.

He lost his father prematurely and at the age of nine [*se*] he accompanied his mother to the capital. He joined Cheonggyesa Monastery in Gwangju,<sup>7</sup> where he was tonsured and received the precepts from Master Gyeheo. His elder brother was in Magoksa Monastery in Gongju.<sup>8</sup> They had been tonsured due to the fact that their mother had devoted herself to the three jewels [of Buddhism] and was sincere and diligent in calling on the name of the Buddha,<sup>9</sup> and so she relinquished her two sons to the monkhood.

Although he was still a child Gyeongheo's ambition was that of a mature man. Even though he encountered troubles and hardships, he was not troubled by feelings of dislike. He carried firewood and drew water to make food to offer to his master. Till he was fourteen he had no leisure to learn to write. At that time a Confucian [scholar] came to pass the summer retreat with [the monks]. As he was staying, he passed the time by inviting [Gyeongheo] to sit beside him, and he instructed Gyeongheo with the *Cheonjamun* 千字文.<sup>10</sup> Whatever he learnt [of it] he could read [aloud] all at once. [The Confucian] also taught him general histories and the like, reading five or six pages every day. [The Confucian] exclaimed, "This child has an extraordinary talent. He is what of old was said to be 'a stallion [that can gallop] a thousand leagues, one not met with by Baile, but will be tired out [pulling] a salt cart.'<sup>11</sup> In the future he is certain to go on to become a great vessel who will save everyone."

Before long, Master Gyeheo returned to lay status. Pitying the fact that [Gyeongheo's] talent and learning had yet to reach fruition, Gyeheo sent a letter of recommendation along with [Gyeongheo] to Manhwa Seunim of Donghaksa Monastery on Gyeryongsan Mountain.<sup>12</sup> At that time Manhwa Seunim was [famed as] a great lecturer. [Manhwa] saw that [Gyeongheo] was spirited and pre-eminent in demeanor and so he gladly took him in and guided him. In less than a few months, he had mastered the texts [of the curriculum] and debated the meanings of the doctrine.

His daily task was to look through a sūtra and its commentary

and then recite it, but he slept all day. Yet the next day when there was a discussion and question period, his interpretation of the meaning of the text was like he had split wood and held a candle to [the text].<sup>13</sup> The lecturer upbraided him for sleeping so much. Trying to test his abilities, [the lecturer] specially set him as a task [the interpretation] of from five or six and up to ten pages [a day] of the abstract of the commentary on the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*.<sup>14</sup> But [Gyeongheo] slept as before and he also recited the text as before. The assembly [of monks] all exclaimed that this was unprecedented.

Because of this, Gyeongheo's reputation for his talent rose and spread throughout the lecture halls of Gyeongsang-do and Jeolla-do. His learning advanced daily and his reputation was extended. [His learning] broadened to the Confucian texts and to the *Zhuangzi* and *Laozi*. He was versed in all of them. His innate talent was ample and broad, but externally he did not show the slightest pretence. In the height of summer when he read sūtras, the assembly all wore their robes and sat upright, overcome with perspiration, but he alone was ragged and had [some garments] off, as if he paid no attention to form and decorum. The lecturer Ilu<sup>15</sup> saw him and said to the monks, "He is truly a vessel of the Mahāyāna dharma. You will not be his equal."

When he was twenty-three years old, he began to lecture at Donghaksa due to the wishes of the assembly. His discussions of the doctrine rose and fell like crashing waves. Many students came from all over [to attend].

One day he thought of earlier times, of the meaning of Master Gyeheo's care and affection, and he wished to pay a visit to his residence. So he told the assembly that he was going on a trip. When he was on his way he unexpectedly met with violent wind and rain, and pacing along urgently he went under the eaves of a house, but he was chased away and not received. He shifted to another house and the same thing occurred. A score of houses in the neighborhood chased him away with the utmost of urgency, yelling loudly and upbraiding him, "Here, right now there is a virulent plague and the infected die immediately. Who are you to enter into this land of

death?" Unexpectedly hearing these words, he was horror-stricken and he was mentally confused, just like being at the great boundary [between birth and death].

At that very point, his life was [akin to] being in the intervals between breaths, and all the world was completely [like] the blue mountains beyond a dream.<sup>16</sup> So he thought to himself, "I would rather be an idiot in this life who is not bound and tethered by letters. I will seek out the Way of the patriarchs and transcend the three realms."<sup>17</sup> Having made this vow, he thought of the *gongan*<sup>18</sup> that he read daily, but with his habituation due to using doctrinal studies he always produced an intellectual understanding and so he lacked the endowment of investigation.<sup>19</sup> This is just as Chan Master Lingyun 瞞雲 indicated with the point of the story (*hwadu*), "Before the matter of the donkey has departed, the matter of the horse has arrived."<sup>20</sup> I am unable to understand this, and am just like smashing into silver-[frosted] mountains and iron cliffs. What principle am I looking at?"

After he had returned to his monastery he dissolved the assembly, saying, "You had best go in accordance with your circumstances. My determination is not here [in teaching this assembly]." He then shut his door, sat upright and concentrated his mind on investigation [of the *hwadu*]. When he felt like sleeping at night, he drew out an awl and pricked his thigh<sup>21</sup> or he rubbed a knife against his chin. He spent three months like this, the *hwadu* that he was looking at being uniform and unadulterated.

There was a novice monk who was a personal attendant with the lay surname of Yi. His father had sat in meditation (Seon 禪) for many years and had by himself had an enlightenment occasion. People all called him the retired scholar Yi. The novice's teacher went to [scholar Yi's] house and talked with the retired scholar. Then the retired scholar said, "To be a monk is in the end to become an ox." The teacher said, "If one is a monk and does not illuminate the mind-ground and just accepts the donations of the faithful one is certain to be [reborn as an] ox and so then repay the favor of the donations." The

retired scholar scolded him, “You are a so-called ordained monk and yet you answer like this! Isn’t that inappropriate?” The teacher said, “I do not know the tenets of Seon, so how could I answer correctly?” The retired scholar said, “Why not say, ‘If I am an ox then I would have no hole in my nose?’”<sup>22</sup> This teacher was silent and returned. He said to the novice, “Your father said the following and I had no idea of what he meant.” The novice said, “The reverend abbot (Gyeongheo)<sup>23</sup> conducts Seon (meditation) so strictly that he goes without sleep and forgets to eat. You should know this principle. I hope that you, master, will go and ask him.” This teacher went happily and having bowed [to Gyeongheo], sat and related the words of retired scholar Yi. When he came to “the ox is without a hole in its nose,” the *seunim* winked deliberately<sup>24</sup> and suddenly this brought forth the ancient Buddha and the information from before one was born, which suddenly appeared in front of him, and the great earth uniformly sunk, things and ego both were forgotten, and he directly arrived at the site of great rest and respite [nirvāṇa] of the ancients, and a hundred thousand dharma-gates (method of teaching) and their immeasurable marvelous meanings [were available to him]. At that very moment he made a breakthrough [and was enlightened]. The time was on the full moon (fifteenth day) of the eleventh month in the winter of the *gimyo* [year], the sixteenth year of the reign of King Gojong.<sup>25</sup>

There are no dharmas beyond the mind, so why were his eyes filled with [vision of] snow and moon [light], and why are there the lofty mountain peaks and flowing waters, and tall pines beneath the eternal night and the pure heavens? One should truly say that this principle is not your [sense] realm, but when you share the Way you will know this.

As a consequence, Gyeongheo retired into his room and did not mind people coming in and out. The lecturer Manhwa entered and saw him but still he remained lying down and did not get up. The lecturer said, “Why do you lie down for so long and not get up?” He replied, “A person with no concerns originally is like this.” The lecturer left without saying anything.

The next year, in the autumn of the *gyeongjin* [year, 1880], Gyeongheo came to stay in Cheonjangam Hermitage on Yeonamsan<sup>26</sup> Mountaion because his elder brother, Seon Master Taeheo had installed his mother there.

Gyeongheo had a hymn and a song that show his state of enlightenment and realization. Youthfully bright, [over] a steep cliff of eight thousand feet, he was generous and free, names and words both eliminated. He really did not yield to the patriarchal teachers of old in his house [teaching] style. His hymn is:

Unexpectedly hearing a person say I have no nose-hole (nostril),  
 I was suddenly aware that the universe is my home.  
 In the sixth month I descended the road from Yeonamsan,  
 A rustic with no concerns singing of great peace (a utopia).

His song has four lines:

There is no body in any direction.  
 Who will transmit the robe and bowl?  
 Who will transmit the robe and bowl,  
 There being no body in any direction?

These four lines have a cap (first line) at the start that concludes at the tail (last line). This is a deep exclamation that his deep source in his master and friend had already been eliminated and that he lacked someone from whom to receive the seal of realization.

He once instructed his assembly, saying:

The members of the patriarchal lineage school (Seon) transmit and confer the mind-dharma. It has an origin and it has a basis. It should not be mistaken and confused. In the past, Huangbo heard Baizhang raise [the topic of] Mazu's shout. He was enlightened to the Way and became Baizhang's heir.<sup>27</sup> Xinghua was enlightened under Dajue's blows of the staff to the news of Linji's "cop a blow of the staff,"

and yet he succeeded to Linji after Linji's death.<sup>28</sup> In our Eastern Country (Korea), Byeokgye went to China and obtained the dharma from Zongtong 總統. He returned and was a distant heir of Gugok.<sup>29</sup> Jinmuk, being a monk converted in response,<sup>30</sup> was an heir to the dharma of Seosan after the latter died.<sup>31</sup> These transmissions from master to disciple are so strictly confidential like this is because mind and mind seal [approve of] each other by a mind sealing the mind [of the other].

Alas! As time has passed the saint has become distant and his Way has already wasted away. Recently a genuine Seon monk has appeared. Because he shoots with a killing and vivifying arrow he became a saint and a half, and he secretly supported and brought that correct lineage forth like the darkness [being lit by] a lamp, the seemingly extinct being restored to life.

Although I am incomplete in the Way and have an unrestrained nature, I have my whole life till now aimed at and hoped for this one move of enlightening myself, and now I am old. From today, my students, you should take the dharma that I inherited from the Elder Yongam in order to set in order the source of the lineage of the Way and take lecturer Manhwa to be your master from whom I received the work [of the dharma].

If the bequeathed teaching that I honor is traced to the dharma source, then the *seunim* was an heir of Yongam Hye'eon and Hye'eon was an heir of Geumheo Beopcheom and Beopcheom was an heir of Yulbong Cheonggo. Cheonggo was an heir of Cheongbong Geoan, and Geoan was an heir of Hoam Chejeong. Cheongheo Hyujeong transmitted it to Pyeongyang, and Pyeongyang transmitted it to Pungdam, and Pungdam transmitted it to Woldam, and Woldam transmitted it to Hwanseong. The *seunim* was a twelfth generation descendant from Cheongheo [Seosan] and was in the seventh generation from Hwanseong.<sup>32</sup>

Gyeongheo lived in Hoseo (Chungcheong-do) for over twenty years; in Gaesim[sa Monastery] on Seosan, and Buseok[sa Monastery]

and Cheonjang[am Hermitage] in Hongju.<sup>33</sup> All of these were places for him to rest and refine the Way. In the autumn of the *gihae* [year, 1899], he shifted to Haeinsa Monastery on Gayasan Mountain in Yeongnam (Gyeongsang-do).<sup>34</sup> The time was the third year of the Gwangmu reign of King Gojong.<sup>35</sup> There was an imperial decree ordering the printing of the sūtras and the building of a Suseonsa 修禪社 there.<sup>36</sup> Those bent on learning and the assembly all pushed the *seunim* to be the leader of the lineage [at Haeinsa]. He rose to his seat and held forth, directly indicating the fundamental endowment using the method of bare-faced robbery,<sup>37</sup> wielding the mechanisms of killing and giving life. This can be called the diamond-jewel sword, the complete awe of the lion. The audience all lost their views and their opinions departed, and were untrammeled as if they had changed their bones and washed their innards.<sup>38</sup>

He instituted the [summer] retreat with a formal lecture, picking up his staff and striking with it once said, “The buddhas of the three ages and the generations of patriarchal teachers and the elder reverends who are good teachers of the world are all here.” He again drew a line towards himself [with his staff] and said, “The buddhas of the three ages and the good teachers of the world all follow coming [here].” He again drew a line away [from him with his staff] and said, “The buddhas of the three ages and the generations of patriarchal teachers and the elder reverends who are good teachers of the world follow this and depart. Great assembly, do you understand or not?” The assembly did not reply, so he threw down his staff and descended from the [lecturer’s] seat.

A monk asked, “Of old it was said, ‘All activities<sup>39</sup> proclaim the old path, do not fall into a passive stillness.’<sup>40</sup> What is the old path?”

Answer, “There are two old paths. One is a flat path, one is a steep path. What is the steep path? It is the many precipitous paths beneath Gayasan where carts and horses are occasionally allowed to come and go. What is the flat path? It is a vertical cliff eight thousand feet high where no-one comes, where there are only monkeys that come down the trees upside down.”

At the formal lecture dissolving the summer retreat, he raised Dongshan's instructions to the assembly that said, "At the start of autumn and the end of summer when brothers go east and west, you must head for ten thousand leagues to where there is not an inch of grass to grasp."<sup>41</sup> I do not agree. [I say] at the start of autumn and the end of summer when the brothers go east and west, there are weeds on the road and one should trample on each one. Are these the same as Dongshan's or are they different?" The assembly did not reply. After a pause he said, "Since you have no reply, I will reply myself." Then he descended from his seat and went back to the abbot's room. His direct and cutting instructions were all like this.

Tongdo[sa Monastery] on Yeongchuksan Mountain, Beomeo[sa Monastery] on Geumsan Mountain, and Hwaeom[sa Monastery] and Songgwang[sa Monastery] of Honam (Jeolla-do) were all places visited by the *seunim*.<sup>42</sup> Following this he battled to establish meditation cloisters in all directions. Resolute Seon monks were moved by the sight of him and they rose like clouds [around him]. When the time was opportune he bathed the Buddha [statues], the light opened up the eyes of people, and there had never been a [Buddhist] flourishing like this.

In the autumn of the *imin* [year, 1902], when the *seunim* was living in Geumgangam Hermitage of Beomeosa, there was an arhat [statue] at Mahasa Monastery to the east of the village.<sup>43</sup> They were conducting a Buddhist service of repainting [the statue].<sup>44</sup> They requested that the *seunim* act as a witness. He arrived at the entrance to the monastery at dusk. It was difficult for him to continue because the path was dark. The chief monk of the monastery was unexpectedly sitting asleep [and in a dream] a senior monk told him, "The *seunim* has come. Hurry out to welcome him!" The chief monk woke from his dream, grabbed a firebrand and went down to the entrance to the path. The *seunim* had indeed come. Then for the first time [the chief monk] knew that the arhat had appeared in the dream. He told the assembly who were all amazed. Previously, some [monks] had disparaged [Gyeongheo] and did not believe in him. Now they all

came and apologized to him.

In the autumn of the *gyemyo* [year, 1903], Gyeongheo was on the road from Beomeo[sa] to Haein[sa] when he composed aloud a short verse:

My knowledge is shallow, but my fame eminent; the world is  
dangerously confused.

I do not know where I can hide.

How can there be nowhere in the fishing villages and grog shops?

I only fear that by hiding my fame that my fame will be further  
renewed.

As poetry speaks of ambition,<sup>45</sup> we know that his ambition was to hide his light under a bushel. Only those who seek will not recognize this.

The next year, in the spring of the *gapjin* [year, 1904], he entered Odae[san Mountain] and travelled through the Geumgangsan Mountain.<sup>46</sup> He reached Seogwangsa Monastery in Anbyeon-gu,<sup>47</sup> just when they were having a Buddhist service of re-painting the [statues of] the five hundred arhats. Eminent monks from all over came for the dharma meeting and [Gyeongheo] participated along with them as witnesses. The *seunim* approached the altar and proclaimed in his distinctive rhetoric. The entire assembly put their hands together [in salutation], expressing their appreciation of how rare this [rhetoric is]. After the dedication of merit [from the deed of repainting to others], he hid his traces and it is not known where he went.

Ten years later a letter came from Suwol Seunim addressed to the Jeonghye Seon Cloister in Yesan-gun<sup>48</sup> [to the effect that] “the *seunim* had long hair and wore Confucian [scholar’s clothing] and was going back and forth in regions such as Gapsan and Ganggye.<sup>49</sup> Sometimes he instructed the ignorant in village schools and sometimes he drank alcohol in the market-town streets. He passed away in the spring of the *imja* [year, 1912], at a local school in Doha-dong that belonged to

the Ungi quarter (or cloister) on Gapsan.”

The two [dharma] masters Hyewol and Man’gong directly went to this location. His coffin was carried to Nandeoksan Mountain and he was cremated there.<sup>50</sup> They obtained the gāthā that he wrote when was about to die and then passed away. This occurred the year after the *seunim* passed away, namely on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the *gyechuk* [year].<sup>51</sup>

They heard from the elders of that district that “One day the *seunim* sat beneath a bamboo fence, looking at the school children hoeing weeds, when suddenly he lay down and did not get up. He said, ‘I am very tired.’ The assembly supported him into his room, but he did not eat and he did not speak. He did not even groan, and he stretched out his legs and lay down. In the early dawn of the next day he sat up, took up his brush and wrote out the gāthā:

The mind-moon is round and alone,  
 Its light engulfing all images.  
 When the light and sense-realms have both gone,  
 What then is this thing?<sup>52</sup>

At the end of [the gāthā] he made a circle symbol O. He then put down his brush, lay down on his right side and calmly passed away.<sup>53</sup> The time was the twenty-fifth day of the fourth month of the *imja* [year].<sup>54</sup> We prepared the rites and buried him on such-and-such a mountain.”

Alas! How sad! A great teacher has left the world, one who is really hard to meet even in ten thousand eons, and yet we, even though we were able to see him for only a brief time, were unable to long attend on and study with him. Even on the day of his decease, we were still unable to participate in and take care of this last matter. It is as with the monks of old, when they departed regrets were still present.

The *seunim* was born in a *jeongsa* [year, 1857] and died in an *imja* [year, 1912], was nine years old when he entered the [Buddhist] order,

died at the age of fifty-six, and was a monk for forty-eight years.

Four disciples received his dharma. [They were]: Chimun Hyeonju 枕雲玄住, who practiced the Way in Pyochungsa Monastery in Gyeongsang[-do].<sup>55</sup> He came to his end while preaching the dharma at Beomeosa Monastery, writing a *gāthā* as he did so. [Others were] Hyewol Hyemyeong 慧月慧明 and Man'gong Wolmyeon 滿空月面.<sup>56</sup> These two Seon elders had attended on the master from a young age and had deeply understood the *seunim*'s teaching. Each became the teacher of a region. They received those who came to them and they converted a great many. Although I am not clever, I also listened to his profound words. However, I only valued my former master but he did not fully disclose [Seon] for me. Therefore I do not dare be ungrateful for his favor of the dharma, and so I am the fourth [disciple].

An account of conduct records the facts and does not [record] baseless [rumor]. The *seunim*'s enlightenment to the Way and the history of his proselytizing is truly as written above. If we are to discuss his everyday appearance [we should say that] he was tall with an august bearing. His determination was effective and strong; his voice sounded like a booming bell. He possessed an unhindered eloquence and in opposition to the eight winds [of the emotions] he was immovable like a mountain. When he walked he walked, and when he stopped he stopped,<sup>57</sup> for he was not put off by people's misdirection.<sup>58</sup> He ate as he wished and was not restricted as to music and sex. He played freely [like a single man], which invited people to doubt and slander him. This was due to the fact that he had a broad and open mind, and had realized the gate of non-duality, being free and unrestrained, doing as he wished. Was he not just like Li Tongxuan and Zongdao?<sup>59</sup> Again, although he was not appreciated, he was disinterested and hid himself in lowly places, being retiring and humble, for was he not happy with his Way? If you are not an eminent person, it will be hard for you to know the ambitions of the eminent. If you are not fully enlightened, how could you not be bound by trifles? The *seunim* had a poem:

Alcohol may radiate light, and sex (women) likewise.  
 I have spent donkey's years with the frustrations of craving and anger.  
 I do not know the Buddha and sentient beings,  
 For my whole life it was appropriate to be a drunken, crazy monk.

These lines described his everyday activities during his lifetime.

However, when he was settled [in residence], he ate barely enough to support life, and he shut his door all day long, was silent, laconic, not liking to see people. When a person encouraged him to proselytize at a meeting in the capital, he said, "I have made a vow that I will not set foot on the ground of the capital." His surpassingly unyielding uprightness was like this.

When he was living at Cheonjangam, he had a ragged robe that he did not change no matter whether it was hot or cold. Gnats surrounded his body and there were lice all through his clothes. They would invade day and night and bite his skin. Ulcers [from these bites] festered, but he was quiescent and did not move, sitting like a mountain peak. One day a snake climbed up his body and coiled across his shoulders. The person [sitting] next to him warned him but he remained composed and unmindful of it. In a short while, the snake left of its own accord. Is this not to be accomplished, for who is like this?

Gyeongheo did nothing but sit for many years, but [that time] passed as if it was a *ksana* (moment). One morning he intoned a short verse:

Which is right, the world or green mountains [of the eremite]?  
 In the spring in the city, flowers bloom everywhere.  
 If a bystander asks about my, Seongu's concerns,  
 It is in the stone girl's voice, the song from beyond the kalpa.<sup>60</sup>

Then he broke his staff and threw it outside the gate [of the monastery], and he rapidly left the monastery in leaps and bounds. He proselytized wherever he went and shrugged off involvement and

being in a rut,<sup>61</sup> and he did not keep to the rules. Sometimes he idly played in the towns and markets, mixing with worldly types, and sometimes he lazed in pine gazebos, whistling and swaggering [with abandon] through the landscape.

His tendency for transcendence cannot be fathomed by [normal] people. At times, when he was giving instructions, he was very gentle, and he was extremely detailed in expounding the marvelous tenets of the inconceivable. One could say that at best he was thorough and at the worst he was thorough, he could not cut off [evil] by practice and yet he cut off [evil] by practice.<sup>62</sup> His composition and calligraphy surpassed that [of most] people. He was a truly rare great man of the age.

Ah! If all the people who become monks were like the *seunim* in boldly advancing in great strides, distinguishing clearly the great matter [of enlightenment] and continuing the transmission of lamplight to lamplight, then how could the magnificent teaching of the Nine Mountains<sup>63</sup> and the continued lineal succession of the sixteen [great masters] be only in the past? Not only did he magnificently teach and perpetuated the lineage, he also prevented all sentient beings from being forever cut off from their seeds of the light of fundamental wisdom in the midst of the realm of the five impurities.<sup>64</sup> How is this not his offerings to numberless realms<sup>65</sup> being called repaying the favor of the Buddha? Therefore I burn incense and deeply pray [for him].

However, later students should learn the *seunim*'s dharma teachings and should not learn from the *seunim*'s everyday activities [for] people believe [in him] and yet do not understand. Also, reliance on the dharma is reliance on his true, correct and marvelous dharma. Non-reliance on the person is to not rely on his [observance of the] vinaya and deportment or non[-observance of the] vinaya and deportment. Furthermore, reliance is to make him your master and to imitate him. Non-reliance is to not see his positives and negatives, his rights and wrongs. A person who learns the Way eventually must also be able to jettison the dharma, so how [can reliance] be on the

person's positives and negatives, his rights and wrongs?

Therefore the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* says:

Sentient beings of the last age who make up their mind to practice should seek out a person who has views that are all correct, whose mind does not dwell on characteristics. Even though he appears in the troubles of contaminants, his mind is always pristine. He shows that you have various faults and he praises your noble practices, preventing sentient beings from entering into the non[-observance] of vinaya and deportment. If you find such a person, that [discovery] will enable you to accomplish *anuttarasamyaksambodhi* (supreme correct enlightenment).<sup>66</sup>

This excellent teacher always shows his purity in the midst of the four awesome deportments,<sup>67</sup> and he even points out all kinds of errors and harms. Sentient beings will not have arrogance and pride with respect of this mind and will not give rise to evil thoughts. The *Diamond Sūtra* says:

If you see me through matter (Skt. *rūpa*) or seek me through the sound of my voice, that person is practicing a perverse Way and cannot see the Thus Come One.<sup>68</sup>

Again, National Teacher Bojo [Jinul] said:

Those who practice Seon at the initial stage must first plant the dharma of the correct cause that is faith. The five precepts and the ten good deeds, the four truths, the twelve-fold causation, and the six pāramitā et cetera, all these are not the correct cause. Believe that one's own mind is Buddha, and if one thought-moment is not produced, then the three *asaṅkhyeya* (incalculable) eons are empty. If you can come to such a faith, then that is the correct cause.<sup>69</sup>

If so then the dharmas such as the precepts, truths, causation,

and pāramitās are still not the correct cause, so how much less so the non[-observance] of the vinaya and deportments. Therefore only seek a person of correct views, decide and choose your own pristine eye (appreciation) of the Way. You cannot erroneously seek a perverse faith, for it is a great matter to be mistaken.

Again, a virtuoso of the past said, “Only value the eye (appreciation) that is correct; do not value everyday activities.”<sup>70</sup> He also said, “My dharma-gate does not discuss dhyāna and samādhi (meditation), liberation, keeping the commandments, and cultivating realization. It is only to understand the views of the Buddha.”<sup>71</sup> Is this not first opening up the correct eye [of appreciation] and later discussing everyday activities? Therefore I say that you should learn the *seunim*’s dharma teaching and that you should not learn from the *seunim*’s everyday activities. Here I am merely condemning people for not possessing the eye of the dharma that is selective,<sup>72</sup> and for first imitating his unbridled everyday activities. I also condemn those who are limited to grasping for the views of characteristics of the compounded<sup>73</sup> and are unable to completely discern the mind-source. If you possess the correct eye that is selective and completely discern the mind-source, then the everyday activities are naturally declared true and within the four awesome deportments you will always display a purity [of action], so how could you be deluded by external characteristics and give rise to views [such as] love and hate, the person and the ego?

In the winter of the *gyeongo* [year, 1930], my elder-brother [in the dharma], Master Man’gong, the abbot of the meditation cloister of Yujeomsa Monastery on Geumgangsan,<sup>74</sup> sent a letter to Odaesan enjoining me to write the late master’s account of conduct. Basically I was not trained in literary composition, but because it was the late master’s account of conduct I did not dare decline. I recorded the facts in order that they instruct later people. One [instruction] is to praise a truly excellent teacher appearing in this world of the last age of the dharma who had the merit that is difficult to conceive of in propagating the dharma. The other [instruction] is to warn against

our erroneous attachments and pursuit of the external and so passing our time in vain, for that is a fault that harms the Buddhist teaching. Furthermore, the poems and songs of the Seon master and a number of his prose texts are appended. The Seon monks who practiced together with him have copied out his record and have printed it so that it would be circulated in the world.<sup>75</sup>

The 2,958th year of the Buddhist era  
Fifteenth day of the third month of the *sinmi* [year, 1931]  
Respectfully written by his disciple Hanam Jungwon

## Song of Enlightenment to the Way

There is no body in any direction.  
Who will transmit the robe and bowl?  
Who will transmit the robe and bowl,  
There being no body in any direction?  
The spring mountain flowers smile at the singing birds,  
In the autumn night the moon is bright and the breeze cool.  
At exactly such a time,  
How often do I sing the tune of non-birth?  
That nobody knows the tune,  
Is it due to the times or due to fate?  
What then is it?  
The mountain hues are the eyes of Mañjuśrī,  
The sounds of water are the ears of Avalokiteśvara (Gwaneum).  
The lowing ox and neighing horse are Samantabhadra,  
Jang the third and Yi the fourth are the names of Vairocana.<sup>76</sup>  
The Seon and Doctrine preached by the Buddha and patriarchs,  
Why must they in particular produce discrimination?  
The stone man plays the flute,  
The wooden horse goes to sleep.  
Ordinary people do not recognize their own nature,  
Saying, “The holy realm is not my endowment.”<sup>77</sup>  
How sad, this person is the dregs of hell.<sup>78</sup>  
Remembering back to events of my past life,  
The four [forms of] birth and six distinctions are all dangerous  
paths,  
And in the long eons of rebirth I experienced pain and hardship.  
Now what are clear are the objects of sight before me,

They [rebirths] cause [other] people to be unable to bear them.  
 Fortunately I have the past causation to be [born] human,  
 And that I have stoutly become a monk and attained the Way.  
 Out of the four difficulties,<sup>79</sup> not one is lacking.

Now a person made a jest, “You are an ox without a nostril.”<sup>80</sup>  
 At these words

I was enlightened to my original mind.  
 The name also is empty and the characteristics are also empty,  
 Empty space being a calm place that is always a shining light.  
 From hearing this a thousand times, once I was enlightened,  
 The solitary radiance that was in front of my eyes is the land of  
 calm illumination.<sup>81</sup>

Behind the *uṣṇīṣa*<sup>82</sup> the corporeal mark is the *vajra* (diamond)  
 realm.

The four elements and the five *skandhas* (bodily constituents) are a  
 pristine body.

The country of ultimate bliss are [the hells of] caldrons of boiling  
 water together with freezing ice,

And the Lotus-Treasury Land [of the Buddha] are the [hells of] the  
 trees made of swords and mountains of blades.

The land of the dharma-nature is rotten soil and dung hills.

The great cosmos is ant holes, mosquitoes and butterflies.<sup>83</sup>

The three bodies (Skt. *trikāya*, bodies of Buddha) and the four  
 wisdoms<sup>84</sup>

Are empty space and the myriad images,

Whatever comes into sight is basically and naturally true.<sup>85</sup>

This is very wonderful!

The wind in the pines is cold

And on all sides are the green hills.

The autumn moon is bright,

A single sky like water.

The yellow flowers (chrysanthemum) and emerald green bamboo,

The oriole’s song and the swallow’s chatter,

Are constant great function,

Which appear everywhere.  
 Why must the Son of Heaven at the market gate take  
 The waves on the flat ground  
 [For] the jade seal of the ninth [highest] heaven that is true.  
 Amazed at the eyeball in the skull,  
 The limitless buddhas and patriarchs always appear before it;  
 The grass, trees, tiles, and stones are this.  
 The *Huayan* and *Lotus* [sūtras] are always preached by me,  
 Walking, standing, sitting, and reclining are this.  
 There is no Buddha and no sentient beings.<sup>86</sup>  
 These are my denials of erroneous words.  
 Changing of hell and making it into heaven,  
 Are all within my functions.  
 The hundred thousand dharma-gates (teachings) of limitless  
 meaning  
 Are just like waking from a dream or the opening of a lotus  
 flower.  
 Where can one see the two sides and the three time periods?  
 In all ten directions there is external great light.  
 Can one word cover it over?  
 I am the great dharma king  
 Who is entirely free in respect of the dharma.  
 How are there hindrances  
 In right and wrong, like and dislike?  
 The person without wisdom hearing these words  
 Regards me as creating empty language  
 And will not believe or follow me.  
 If there is a stranger with pierced ears,<sup>87</sup>  
 Who discerningly believes and has no doubt,  
 Then he will attain the state of perfecting his life on the basis of  
 his person.<sup>88</sup>  
 If these words are conveyed to a contaminated and worldly  
 person,  
 At once that person will lose his human body

And will not return [to human status] for ten thousand eons.<sup>89</sup>  
How much more so this floating life  
[Where] in the morning one cannot plan for the evening?  
The blind donkey trusts in walking on his hooves,  
Not knowing about dangers or safety.  
That being so and this being so,  
Why not come to me and learn about non-birth  
And become a great hero of humans and gods?  
This is why I thus work my mouth to enjoin [you to do this] two  
or three times.  
Having been a vagabond, I incline to sympathy for the stranger.  
Alas, this is finished!

Now who will transmit the robe and bowl?  
There is nobody in any direction.  
There is nobody in any direction,  
Who will transmit the robe and bowl?<sup>90</sup>

[The hymn says]:

Unexpectedly hearing a person saying I have no nostril,  
I suddenly awoke that the universe is my home.  
In the sixth month I descended the road from Yeonamsan,  
A rustic with no concerns singing of great peace.

## Letter to Layman Jaam

Cheonjangam is lovely. On one side there are mountains; on the other side the sea. However, even though it is like this, it is a place where not even those who take pleasure in scenery come, but even conversant people and perceptive gentlemen likewise have no involvement with it. It is not only that conversant people and perceptive gentlemen who have no involvement with it, the buddhas and patriarchs have even less [involvement].<sup>91</sup> How distressing! How distressing! How can I speak of this?

I have heard on enquiry that you are ill. This is a state in which a practitioner has surrendered to the army of the *māra* (demons of temptation) and is a state which alarms and awakens vigorous practice. It is an illusory realm in which there is sport and play. How can it worry or delight you? Rather, illness is produced from the mind. Is not the mind like a mirage?

When I am hungry I say I am hungry. If I am cold I say that I am cold. Beyond that I just sleep. Realizing that this marks a state [due to a] lack of practice, I fortunately had two or three Seon companions and together we sang mountain songs and rustic tunes. How fortunate was it that I could fully understand them.

Furthermore, I heard that you had the intention of visiting me. Why wait till next year? The winter season is cold and severe, and travel is difficult, so now, when fortunately the weather is bright and mild, will you not forget that this is an excellent opportunity?

## Dharma Talk<sup>92</sup>

In his lifetime the Buddha preached the store (Skt. *pitaka*) of doctrine. He used the five precepts and ten good deeds to have [people] born as humans or gods; he used the four truths dharma (teaching) of suffering, accumulation, extinguishing, and liberation to have them realize the fruit of the arhat. He used the dharma of the twelve-fold causation of ignorance and disposition et cetera to make them realize the fruit of the pratyeka buddha, and he used the dharma of the four extensive vows and the six pāramitās to have them practice the path of the bodhisattva. And yet there are bodhisattvas of the provisional [level of] teachings who practice the four extensive vows and the six pāramitās over *asaṅkhyeya* (incalculable) eons, and who in stages pass through the [levels of] the ten faiths, the ten grades (Skt. *bhūmi*), the ten practices, and the ten dedications of merit [to others], who still do not attain the marvelous Way. If he perceives the conditioned then his mind will produce [the idea that] rarely exists.<sup>93</sup> If he hears of that without characteristics he is vague and loses himself.<sup>94</sup>

Even if you find the mind of the Buddha's views and this is constant and uninterrupted, however, the roots of the frustrations and habituation are yet to be uprooted. When you rely on the Buddha's precepts and teachings, constantly suppress [erroneous thoughts]. It is for example like a skilful magician who uses the power of magic to keep away fierce beasts and poisonous snakes, making them unable to eject the poison or come to bite [people], and yet he cannot remove the poison that harms people. That is, he has yet to eliminate the roots of doubt about the Buddha-dharma. It is as if there is something blocking one's diaphragm. If at that time you can consult a true, excellent teacher and if you are enlightened to

the marvelous Way then you will directly climb to the grade of the tenth stage (Skt. *bhūmi*). Those who have yet to consult [a teacher] and are yet to be enlightened, in the end they will backslide and fall. National Teacher Bojo [Jinul] said, “Those who practice Seon at the initial stage must first plant the dharma of the correct cause that is faith. The five precepts and the ten good deeds, the four truths, the twelve-fold causation, and the six pāramitās et cetera, all these are not the correct cause that is faith [for] one’s own mind is Buddha, and if one thought-moment is not produced, then the three *asaṅkhyeya* (incalculable) eons are empty. If you can come to such a faith, then that is the correct cause.”<sup>95</sup>

The time when the saint (Buddha) descended is far off [in the past] and the fountain-source of the teacher-friend has already been cut off. All those who consult and cultivate practice are in general confused in their judgment of the provisional and incomplete theories,<sup>96</sup> and learn the precepts and good deeds, and they are still unable to advance to the dharma of the four truths and the twelve-fold causation et cetera. How much less so do they progress towards the correct cause? What is being incomplete? This means that you do not realize the Way fully and stop halfway. What is the provisional? This means it is like giving a hand to rescue a sister-in-law from drowning. This provisional and incomplete [teaching means] you are yet to always [understand at the level of] the real and perfect [teaching], and eventually you do not depend on a wise person to know [this]. Chan Master [Yan]shou said, “For those who seek the Great Way I preach the marvelous tenet of the one vehicle. For those who seek the lesser practices I preach the dharma of the provisional gate of the six practices and the six pāramitās and so on.”<sup>97</sup> Yet they will not escape the provisional. How much less so with the remaining precepts, good deeds, truths, and causation?

The Buddha used the power of skillful means to preach the dharma of the mindfulness of the Buddha<sup>98</sup> to attract and lead sentient beings. This path is very marvelous and nobody understands it. Why is it that one uselessly uses the power of the mind [in

chanting] and yet this is still not effective? The *Amitabhā-sūtra* greatly preaches the ornamentation of the Pure Land and further preaches the dharma (method) of being reborn [in the Pure Land]: “If you are single-minded and are not confused for a day or two days, even seven days, that person will be reborn.”<sup>99</sup> The *Sūtra of the Sixteen Contemplations* has the dharma of contemplation of images for perfection, and if you tie your mind to one place and that contemplation is vivid for a long time and clear, then you will perfect samādhi.<sup>100</sup> The *Sūtra of Limitless Life* [has] three groups who will be reborn [into the Pure Land].<sup>101</sup> They all say that they initiate the bodhisattva mind. What is the bodhisattva?<sup>102</sup> It is the nature of numinous awareness in daily use by sentient beings. If one can develop the nature of numinous awareness or can perfect the samādhi of the contemplation of the image, or can perfect the one mind that is not disturbed, then what is not realized in respect of rebirth [in the Pure Land]?

Therefore Chan Master Guifeng said, “When it comes to being mindful of the Buddha in seeking to be reborn into the Pure Land, you still [need to] cultivate the sixteen contemplations [or visualizations] of dhyāna (concentration), the samādhi of being mindful of the Buddha, and the *pratyutpannasamādhi*.”<sup>103</sup> This is not the sole concentration on taking the unfocused mind and holding it firmly to the name [of the Buddha] so that then one can transcend birth in the Pure Land.

The new and old translations of the sūtras and śāstras all say that the bodhisattvas above the tenth stage discriminate and see the Pure Lands of the Recompense Buddha (Skt. Sambhogak). How then is the Pure Land of Amitabhā not the Pure Land of the Recompense Buddha? The bodhisattva of the tenth stage is still not permitted to see [the Pure Land], so how then can the tethered, ordinary person with his unfocused mind vainly call on the name of the name of the Buddha and then be able to transcend birth? If one is still able to transcend birth by calling on the name [of the Buddha] with a confused mind, what use is there in making the mind focused (one)

and not confused and the sixteen samādhis (contemplations) since [these practices] contradict the Buddha's words? How can they be successful?

Of old there were the words, "A metaphor for self power is planting trees to make a boat. A metaphor for other power is borrowing the boat to cross the sea. [There are] differences in the speed and ease of success."<sup>104</sup> This also is an expedient means of conversion. However, [these methods] do not prevent one being deceived by argumentation, which contradicts the Buddha's teaching and will greatly delude the people of the future. This cannot be left un-discriminated.

Originally there was a rootless tree, so how can you wait for the seeds? Originally there was a bottomless boat, so how can you wait for it to be made? Covering over all the great cosmos and universally rescuing humans and gods, its Way and its function are never deficient in the slightest, but one is simply confused and uncertain, just being deep in a dream and yet to wake. It is like the positive example (Skt. *sapakṣa*) and the negative example (Skt. *vipakṣa*) of the *Yinming lun* (Treatise on Logic).<sup>105</sup> The Buddha-nature is like empty space is the positive example, and it being like an army or a forest is the negative example, which is not the positive example. If one applies the positive example to one's own cash and wealth and uses it to save one from starvation and exhaustion, this is self power. [If] one casts one's eyes into the gates and walls of others in order to give to everyone then that is other power. When these examples are combined like this they do not contradict the principles of Buddhism. Therefore a sutra says, "If you do not recognize the bright pearl inside your clothes you will wander as a beggar,"<sup>106</sup> which is [about] this.

The ease and speed [of realization] does not depend on argumentation to be made evident. If one can be for one day single-minded and not confused, or for two days be single-minded and not confused, why wait for seven days? If a single contemplation is vivid and is clear for a long time, then the sixteen visualizations will also be vivid and clear for a long time, and so the initiation of the bodhi

(enlightened) mind will not be alien to this [rule]. If like this you use your entire effort and apply it to the patriarchal courtyard (Seon) gate (method) of investigation, who will not see their nature and become Buddha? According to the gate (method) of *ganhwa* (examination of the *hwadu*), it says that if you keep equally to alertness and calm, you are sure to be able to see the nature. According to the gate of mindfulness of the Buddha (*yeombul*), it says if you are single-minded and not confused, you will definitely be reborn [in the Pure Land]. How then is not being single-minded and not confused keeping equally to alertness and calm? If you regard being single-minded and not confused to be other power, how is keeping equally to alertness and calm not other power? If you regard keeping equally to alertness and calm to be self power, how is being single-minded and not confused not self power? If this is so then which of being single-minded and not confused, and keeping equally to alertness and calm, ultimately is slow and which is fast, which is hard and which is easy?<sup>107</sup>

Now the reason why the bodhisattva at the top of the stages still does not completely see [the Buddha-nature] is because he has the bonds of the ordinary person and yet he is able to transcend birth because the power of his effort is entirely devoted to being single-minded and not confused. If he is not single-minded and not confused, how can he all at once transcend [birth]? When the body is upright the shadow will be straight; when the sound is great the echo will be loud. [A person of] good mind will be born a human or a god, and [those] of a bad mind will go to hell, and [those] with a pristine, undisturbed mind will transcend [the world] and be born into the pure Buddha land. This is a necessary principle. If you think it is not so, how can you have a bent body but an upright shadow, a small sound and a great echo? If you do not plant and tend the roots and trunk, and yet hope that the branches and leaves will be thick and flourish, if you do not firmly build a base in the soil and hope for a mighty tree that does not lean, and if you are not stupid then you are deluded.

Cheongheo (Seosan) Seunim<sup>108</sup> also drew upon the theories of self power and other power to deeply encourage [people to aim for] rebirth [in the Pure Land], and yet he did not cite a text that said one could transcend and be born with an unfocused mind. A sūtra says, “The Buddha sees sentient beings drowning in a sea of suffering just as a kind mother sees her baby being tossed into water or fire.”<sup>109</sup> If so then how can you form a thesis that he will save those who call on his name and not save those who do not call on his name? How many lives of practitioners been misled by these few examples of planting trees and borrowing boats? How sad!

Recently I have seen practitioners who were not yet able to consult with their genuine teacher-friend or select the eye of the Way, who entirely rely on the theory of other power and solely chant and hold onto the name of the Buddha, hoping that the Buddha will receive and save them. If they reach a supreme effort they will all be taken by the *māra* (demon of temptation). I have also seen, heard and experienced that they are extremely numerous. Now if you wish to make up your mind to practice and yet are misled and fall [into the clasps of] the evil *māra*, that is so sad! A patriarchal teacher said, “To be mindful is to retain in the memory and not forget.”<sup>110</sup> One also said, “If you are not mindful in being mindful of the Buddha, then it is not genuine mindfulness.”<sup>111</sup> Another said, “If you reverse the illumination and are not obscured that is correct.”<sup>112</sup> Again one said, “If you keep the original, true mind, that is better than being mindful of the buddhas of all directions. If I deceive you I will fall into the eighteen hells. If you do not believe me, then you will be eaten by tigers and wolves for age after age.”<sup>113</sup> How can such words as these be lies?

When Great Master Bodhidharma entered China, he transmitted and spread the dharma of the highest vehicle. He did not discuss or read sūtras or be mindful of the Buddha, or chant dhāraṇī (incantations), or bow in worship. He did not discuss sitting for a long time and not reclining or having one meal [for the day] in the early morning. He did not discuss dhyāna (meditation) or liberation.

He did not discuss keeping the precepts or breaking the precepts, or monastic and lay, male or female, or seeing the nature and becoming Buddha. If you erroneously regard chanting sūtras and such other dharmas (methods) to be the Buddha-dharma, then having killed there would be no sin.

Again it was said, “Even if a *candāla*<sup>114</sup> sees the nature and becomes Buddha, it does not matter that he makes his living by killing. Even if he makes his living [by killing], this is not the same as another person whose work is constrained as being unable [to kill]. Even though a white-clad (lay person) sees the nature and becomes Buddha, it does not matter that he has lascivious desires. Even if he has remaining habituation, that still does not inhibit him.”

Hongzhou [Mazu] said, “Goodness also is the mind. One cannot take the mind to cultivate the mind. Evil is also the mind. One cannot take the mind to eliminate [this evil from] the mind.”<sup>115</sup> Chan master Niutou said, “The mind does not have a different mind [so] it does not eliminate craving and lascivious desire.”<sup>116</sup> Therefore the excellent teacher has eighty-one practices to herd the ox.<sup>117</sup> [These range from] the noble practices practiced by the Buddha through to the practices of killers,<sup>118</sup> debauchers, and alcohol drinkers and so on, and who yet have a clear and bright eye of the Way, there is still nothing that impedes them. Therefore Chan Master Guishan [Lingyou] said, “Only value the correct eye (appreciation), do not value the state of everyday activities.”<sup>119</sup> Therefore this dharma-gate (Buddhism) in the distant past gave rise to three vehicles, [something that] careless students really cannot conceive of.

In the past there were those who practiced the precepts and vinaya of the Lesser Vehicle and they all vilified meditation (Seon) practice,<sup>120</sup> just as a praying mantis tries to ward off the wheel [of an oncoming cart] or a salt-land quail laughs at a roc, something to be dismissed as not worth talking about. Furthermore, there are Lesser [Vehicle] and Greater [Vehicle] precepts, there is their theory and their practice,<sup>121</sup> and karmic and non-karmic [precepts].<sup>122</sup> So at first the initiation of the rounded (perfect) mind comes from listening to and

accepting the master's [teaching], which is called the karmic precepts. To receive the dharma and dwell in the thoughts of bringing to an end what [had been done] until then, and the future mind residing in the real characteristics, is called the non-karmic precepts. The ten grave *pārājika*<sup>123</sup> and the forty-eight light offenses are called the practical precepts,<sup>124</sup> which are [preached by] the *Fanwang jing*. Cravings and desires are the Great Way; anger and hate are likewise. Like this, of the three dharmas [teaching, practice, and realization], [the precepts] possess all of the Buddha-dharmas. Broadly speaking, in the dharma, keeping and violating the precepts are not two [different things]. That is called the precepts in theory, which is [preached in] the *Zhufa wuxing jing* 諸法無行經.<sup>125</sup> It is as the *Preface to the Bodhisattva Precepts* says, "Mahāyāna is concerned with rescuing beings and benefiting people. It is not the same as the Lesser Vehicle that is limited to grasping for the forms [of Buddhist] service. This is like Lady Mallikā<sup>126</sup> only taking the precept against alcohol and King Prasenajit only giving benefit by the action of compassion to benefit beings to be his precept. How can you forcibly divide up into spheres the realm of the dharma?"<sup>127</sup> Dharmakṣema's *Pusa jieben* says, "In brief there are two matters that violate the bodhisattva precepts. One is to abandon the bodhisattva vow; the second is to promote evil thoughts. Promoting evil thoughts is to erroneously preach that humans and dharmas are both empty, something that must not be said yet. Besides these two matters, if you abandon the body the precepts will ultimately not be violated."<sup>128</sup> Such are the Mahāyāna precepts.

This is like saying, "A bhikṣu (monk) is squashed under trees and stone. If he breaks the tree and excavates the earth,"<sup>129</sup> he would be like present day people who do not know anything of the provisions of the Lesser [Vehicle] precepts, let alone the anything of the permissions and prohibitions of the Greater [Vehicle] precepts." Even if you know of the karmic and practical precepts, but do not know of the non-karmic and theoretical precepts, then that is merely floating chaff. If you say that you keep the Buddha's precepts, just institute

them but do not talk about them. Great Master Bodhidharma said, “The contemplation of the single dharma that is the mind entirely incorporates the various practices.”<sup>130</sup> A virtuoso of the past said, “If the mind ground is empty and without any obstructing restrictions, that is donation. If the mind ground is pristine and without anything despicable, that [constitutes] observance of the precepts. If the mind ground is tranquil and without [ideas of] right and wrong, that is forbearance. If the principle of marvelous calm illuminates without interruption, that is vigorous practice. If [the mind] is equal and fair and without silence or noise, that is dhyāna. If the enlightenment is penetrating and there is no wisdom or stupidity, then that is insight.” Again, a person of the past said, “If to not settle on a single dharma is right and to not settle on a single dharma is wrong, then dismissing the erroneous<sup>131</sup> and planning for the true, rejecting this and adopting that, will all be the tethers of grasping that bind you.” If you are a person who is enlightened to the Great Way, you will not see a single dharma as being right, so how can there be a single dharma that is wrong? Great Master Bodhidharma said, “Humaneness, righteousness, decorum, wisdom, and faith are called the sphere of rules. The foundational ideas of the Greater and Lesser Vehicles are called the sphere of rules, and samsāra (birth and death) and nirvāṇa are called the sphere of rules. [When there is] non-making up of the mind [to be enlightened] by ordinary people, non-making up of the mind by śrāvakas, and non-making up of the mind by bodhisattvas, and even non-making up of the mind by the buddhas, only then is it called transcending the sphere of rules.” He also said, “If a person transgresses and sins, and falls into hell, and sees his own dharma king by himself, that is to obtain liberation.”<sup>132</sup> He also said, “All-at-once is in a moment, so why bother about being white-haired?”<sup>133</sup>

The Great Master Huineng said, “In a former thought-moment a deluded sentient being; in a later thought-moment enlightened and a Buddha.”<sup>134</sup> Again, a person of old said, “It is like a dragon replacing its bones; it does not change its scales, [so] an ordinary

person who reverses his mind to become Buddha does not alter his face.” Therefore the dharma-gate most respects and most values the hundred thousand samādhis and limitless marvelous meanings that are not separated from that person’s single thought-moment of mind and contaminants.<sup>135</sup> A person of old said, “If you hear this dharma of the one vehicle and do not believe it, you will be still bound to the cause that is the Buddha-seed, and if you study it and yet do not perfect it, you will still be at [the level of] the blessings of [being a] human or a god.”<sup>136</sup> So what [would be the case] if you heard it and believed it, studied it and perfected it? How can you have this ambition and yet be a practitioner who rejects this and seeks something else? If we are discussing the method of investigation and practice, [you should be] like the monk who asked Zhaozhou, “Does a dog have a Buddha-nature or not?” Zhaozhou said, “It does not.” [But] all squirming, moving, live beings have a Buddha-nature. Why did Zhaozhou say they do not? [Whether] wearing clothes, eating food, shitting and pissing, attending and receiving instruction, watching and reading, welcoming and saying farewell to [someone], right through to walking, standing, sitting, and reclining, at all times and places, turn back the light and reflect [on it, the *hwadu* of “does not”], raise it back and forth, doubt it back and forth, examine it and yet contemplate it again, polish it and again rub (investigate) it, take the thinking mind that is troubled by worldly contaminants and turn it back onto nothing but that character *mu* (it does not have). Such an application of effort over a long period of time will naturally [lead to] enlightenment. It is like relieving hunger with a spoon of food; one still cannot be sated all at once. The learning of writing cannot make one literate with one chapter or page. If your real mind of firm practice does not change from start to finish, then that Way is easily accomplished.

A person of old said, “It is like a cat catching a mouse, which means that the eye and the mind do not move. It is like a hen brooding on an egg, which means that the warmth continues.”<sup>137</sup> When you take up a *hwadu* it is like sailing against the wind, or it

is bland and tasteless, or like your head being stuffy.<sup>138</sup> Likewise, it is not a matter for someone else. Simply take and investigate the *hwadu* as [something] marvelous, and ultimately it will be the spirit of regular accumulation. Do not be rushed but do not be lazily gradual. Be alert and quiescent, close [to it] and continuous [in its practice]. Breathe as usual, with an even balance between hunger and satiety, and your eyes by themselves will love the spectacle.<sup>139</sup> Do not stop your back from being upright, and the span of a human lifetime will [speed by] like a thoroughbred horse [galloping] past a gap [in a wall]. It will be brief like dew on grass; perilous like lamplight in the wind;<sup>140</sup> all will use in full all the calculations that distress one till one's end in a heap of rotten bones.

Be mindful of this great matter of life and death that is impermanent and rapidly fleeting, [the matter] being as urgent as saving your own head when it is on fire. You do not know where life comes from and you do not know where you will depart for after death, and yet the karmic consciousness<sup>141</sup> is vast, with the devices [of instruction]<sup>142</sup> confused and numerous, the fires of the kindling flaring up and the four [types of birth] in the six destinations [of rebirth] being pregnant within your breast [mind]. How is this not something to be afraid of? If you have yet to truly consult and learn, how can you counter the karmic power of life and death? If you can clearly conceive of this your effort will not be wasted.

The above linked inducements are all the genuine and clear instructions of the Buddha and patriarchs. I do not dare use a single word or sentence to deceive you. I do not dare be ungrateful for the teachings from former days. Here these are my ideas, but I have been lazy in what I have sent and have only presented the meaning of what I [want to] say. I have not worked at polishing up my writing and nor have I finished what I would say, so it is brief, as above.

Elder Deungam, use this to dress up<sup>143</sup> your lectures and dharma talks.

## The Bellowing of the Mud Ox<sup>144</sup>

For those who practice Seon<sup>145</sup> the first thing to fear is the rapid onset of change<sup>146</sup> for the matter of birth-and-death (samsāra) is great. Therefore a person of the past said, “Although today you are present, of tomorrow there is no guarantee.”<sup>147</sup> Be unceasingly mindful [of this fact] and do not let it go in the least. The next [thing] is to cut off all the affairs of the world as if there is not the slightest thing on your mind, and be quiescent and without purposive action, and that will do. If so, the mind and sense-data (the environment) will eliminate each other, just as firewood and fire do when they interact.<sup>148</sup> Flying along in confusion the years and months pass. This is not specially an obstacle to your endowment<sup>149</sup> for taking up the *hwadu*<sup>150</sup> and yet black (evil) karma gradually increases [over time]. The most important thing is that you have no mind (thoughts about) in concerns and that you have no concerns in your mind. If so the mind will be wise and naturally<sup>151</sup> pure and radiant. All categories of beings will be created in accordance with their [state of] mind.<sup>152</sup> If you do good [deeds] you will be born in heaven; if you do evil you will appear in hell. The fiercely evil will become wolves;<sup>153</sup> the doltish will become worms; and the frivolous will become butterflies. Therefore a person of the past said, “The appearance of all kinds of bodies is simply due to a single thought being amiss.”<sup>154</sup> By emptying this mind<sup>155</sup> you will be alert and singularly focused, you will not be agitated or muddled, and you will be open and broad [minded]. Where else can you find birth and death? Where do you find bodhi (awareness)? Where do you find good and evil? Where do you find transgression? It is just this that is lively, and clearly penetrated from top to bottom.<sup>156</sup> It is not born following birth,<sup>157</sup> it does not cease following cessation. It does

not become Buddha, it does not become a patriarch. It is so big it embraces the cosmos; it is so small that it enters into a mote of dust. Also, it can be Buddha and can be [an ordinary] being. Moreover, it is not large or small, not square or round, and is not light or dark. It freely merges [things together].<sup>158</sup> Being thorough in this way, it is definitely not a forcibly-created principle in the least. Those who practice this profound method constantly devote themselves to reflecting back on and examining it by using the mind. They are alert and uninterrupted and examine it most urgently and arrive at the non-use of the mind (useless mind). They should examine [the mind's] ground. Unexpectedly the path of mind (mental activity) is suddenly cut off and you trample on your originally mandated status.<sup>159</sup> It is simply this that is the scenery of the original ground,<sup>160</sup> which is originally what you were supplied with in full. It is perfectly [furnished],<sup>161</sup> without lack and without excess. When you reach such a time, when you respond with your ears it will be like a hundred thousand suns and moons lighting up all directions, and when you respond with your eyes it will be like the salt of the ocean in the wind-blown waves, the sound shaking [Mount] Sumeru.<sup>162</sup> This is not forcibly done. This principle is simply very close, so therefore people cannot comprehend it by themselves. All those who seek to practice the profound and really understand<sup>163</sup> [should] reflect back on the dharma rules<sup>164</sup> and clearly distinguish their physical appearance and obtain a detailed inspection [of it]. If they are not careless and take care in the practice of it the effectiveness of their practice will mature and the principle of the attributes of reality will reveal itself [to them]. Taego Seunim said, "As soon as you fire the arrow it buries itself in the stone."<sup>165</sup> Cheongheo Seunim said, "It is like a mosquito on an iron ox where it cannot put down its sting, and yet its entire body penetrates through."<sup>166</sup> Those who take up the *hwadu* and participate in investigation [of it] should take these words as a guide. If we are talking about everyday actions, the bosom (intelligence) is to be empty, bright, without anything.<sup>167</sup> That the six sense faculties are vacant<sup>168</sup> [means] that it is just this that is expansive,<sup>169</sup> which is donation; it is

just this that is pristine, which is keeping the precepts; it is just this that is insubstantial and flexible, which is patience. It is just this that is originally bright and constantly present and is not obscured, which is vigorous practice (Skt. *virya*). It is just this that is bright, quiescent, and not confused, which is *samādhi* (meditative concentration). It is just this that is bright, quiescent and very clear, and selects dharmas and contemplates their emptiness,<sup>170</sup> and that originally was without stupidity, and that discriminates the attributes of dharmas and is unmoved by them, through to even being in accord with the worldly conditions and being unhindered and not obstructed,<sup>171</sup> which is wisdom. Therefore the great being (bodhisattva) Bodhidharma said, “The single method (dharma) of contemplating the mind includes all practices within it.”<sup>172</sup> Simply devote yourself to growing the root and trunk; do not worry about the twigs not flourishing. Just know that seeing the nature will make you Buddha; do not worry that the Buddha has no miraculous *samādhi*. Now people for the most part cannot engage in learning [*hwadu* practice].<sup>173</sup> Truly correct monks and genuine Seon monks are unclear about the principle of the dharma that is in the Buddha-dharma (Buddhist teaching), and their eye (appreciation) of the Way has not been fulfilled, and they are all lost sheep at the crossroads.<sup>174</sup> They pass their whole life as if drunk or in a dream. How sad! Reverend Dongshan’s saying, “To lose your human life while under a *kaṣaya* (monk’s robe) is suffering,”<sup>175</sup> is what I mean. If those who travel the Way are not correct with their first step, then for a thousand miles they are wasting their effort and energy. It is better not to take a step in order to go further. Therefore Chan Master Guifeng said, “If your decisive selection is clear and distinct, you will be enlightened to principle and should practice correspondingly.”<sup>176</sup> If you wish to erect a three-span thatched hut and you are not skilled with the plumb-line, at cutting and measuring, then you will not succeed. How much more so would be the case were you to try and make a great monastery of perfect awareness<sup>177</sup> if you do not depend on this principle? Would you succeed? If you wish to achieve a minor matter, then I fear that errors

[mean] you will not succeed. Those who think that this principle is not [the case], and their questions to people are not clear, will further ask different wise people about it, expecting that they will not be in error and that they will succeed, but wishing to attain to the profoundly marvelous Way it will all suddenly drift away, for they have yet to find their detailed and decisive selection to use in their efforts. If you are like this and you do not reverse your efforts you will be utterly defeated. How rare [it is to succeed]! Alas! Have you not been warned? If those who wished to be warned against transience (death) and who wish to be enlightened clearly to the great matter [of birth and death] do not urgently seek out a teacher, how will they get on to the correct path?

*Iljinhwā*  
**(Story of a Single Contaminant/Dust Mote)**

O. If you say this is right, you are placing a head on top of your head.<sup>178</sup> If you say this is not right, you are cutting off your head to see if you will live.<sup>179</sup> Reaching here, [the dilemma means] how then will you get it together?<sup>180</sup> A person of old said, “When you wish to trample down thinking and not thinking, [that is like] there being no clouds for ten thousand leagues and yet dew always appears.” This is useless verbiage.<sup>181</sup> He also said, “Even though there is a thousand-foot cold pine, yet there is not a long and drawn-out stalagmite.”<sup>182</sup> What would you do with a stalagmite? He also said, “Before the empty eon, a profligate life in a jar; on the other side of [the eon of] Awesome Sound, one’s eyes are filled with smoke and light.”<sup>183</sup> This also is trifling and superfluous.<sup>184</sup> Reverend Yangshan said, “If you are enlightened then it is not nothing, so how can it be secondary?”<sup>185</sup> He has spoken [only] half of it.<sup>186</sup> The abbot of Xiushan 修山<sup>187</sup> said, “Whether you have understood the most remarkable or not understood, I will allow you.”<sup>188</sup>

Chan Master Dahui said, “In a laneway of four or five hundred flowering willows (prostitutes) and two or three thousand musical establishments,”<sup>189</sup> who can stick their beak in (interrupt)? He has already stuck his beak in.<sup>190</sup> Let us see if there is somebody who can come forth and say where I have stuck my beak in. He will be blocking up his ears while stealing the bell,<sup>191</sup> and is hiding himself while showing his shadow.<sup>192</sup> This is to say, where did you get this information from? Now say, do you get the words such as those above? The present, “Green cliffs steep and precipitous, the pines and junipers are dense and emerald. The sounds and vapors of the water of the mountain torrents, the mists and clouds furl and unfurl; all

the birds sing in harmony, and the broad fields look to be unbroken. The great ocean's crashing waves, the scenery laid out in profusion; the four seasons change the outlook. Is there also Buddha-dharma in this or not?" A sūtra says, "The three realms are nothing but mind."<sup>193</sup> Also, a person of old said, "Branches in the wind and the moon over a sandbar openly reveal the true mind. The yellow flowers (chrysanthemums) and emerald bamboo clearly describe the marvelous dharma."<sup>194</sup> He also said, "Ever so clear the tips of the grasses; ever so clear is the intention of the patriarchal teacher."<sup>195</sup> Now say, which is the clearly revealed true mind and marvelous dharma, and which is the intention of the patriarchal teacher? If the Buddha-dharma does not exist, how is it that the Buddha and patriarchs [speak] erroneous words to deceive people? Since they do not deceive erroneously,<sup>196</sup> how then can you be at ease?<sup>197</sup> A person of old said, "If you start do not stop."<sup>198</sup> With one punch, punch down the Yellow Crane Pavilion; with one stamp, stamp down Parrot Islet.<sup>199</sup> When you have the disposition, add disposition, for where it is not stylish it is stylish."<sup>200</sup> This is also just like taking a sesame biscuit and crushing it for juice,<sup>201</sup> which is very laborious but with no result. A monk asked, "What is the meaning of not shifting?" A virtuoso of old replied, "The sun comes up in the east and goes down in the west."<sup>202</sup> Again a monk asked the same question of the virtuoso of old, who used his hands to make a simulation of flowing water. Both the monks were enlightened.<sup>203</sup> Now say, what were they enlightened to? It is also said that they did not eat the sweet peach and the persimmon, [but] climbed the mountain to pick the sour pear.<sup>204</sup> They exposed their faults not a little;<sup>205</sup> not a little messy.<sup>206</sup> If so then ultimately how can they get it? Now listen to the explanation of the following text. Sighing a single sigh, he said, "The patriarch is not completely satisfied, the misfortune reaches his descendants. Thirty years later do not be mistaken!" He raised his fist and shouted.

## Instructions to the Assembly

The investigation of Seon is not a special matter. It is only reflecting back on one's own self and spying out one's own master clearly, and to not be mixed up by external things, not to exchange life for death. It is to be isolated and alone, to be clear and bright, peaceful and secure, not bound and tethered, not to be liberated and not to be frustrated, and is not *nirvāna*. To the end of one's days you wear clothes but have never worn a thread of silk; to the end of one's days you eat food but have never chewed on a grain of rice. These are entirely within the bounds of misfortune and fortune or birth and death.<sup>207</sup> Likewise these are all like this, leaving things to the circumstances and being without concerns. This is a person who has realized matters,<sup>208</sup> who is above the status of a person who has realized matters,<sup>209</sup> who sometimes takes the Buddha and sentient beings, and the earth and firmament and great earth to make them function [as] a single dust mote [contaminant], and at times he allows them<sup>210</sup> to each occupy their own position, and at times he changes their positions and functions to attain total freedom. This is called the inconceivably great function and also called the freedom of liberation. This is the life and death to be liberated from; there is no *nirvāna* to be experienced. It is leaving things to circumstance and to be unbridled, conforming to conditions without hindrance. All is a truly real and clear original face<sup>211</sup> that is at ease,<sup>212</sup> a happy and bright marvel that is received for use.<sup>213</sup> Going and coming in life and death will be like a door opening and a person departing, just like the heavens and the Buddha lands where all is as one wishes and there are no more sufferings of the dream-illusion of body and mind that can restrain and bind you. This is an originally existing matter;

it is not forcibly created. Imitate this painting of a cat<sup>214</sup> and you will be able to trample across such a field. Ha! Ha!

## Replies [to questions]

Someone raised the [passage from] the *Chanyao*,<sup>215</sup> “What is the information about real investigation and real enlightenment?” “The southern mountains give rise to clouds [but] it rains on the northern mountains.”<sup>216</sup> Question, “What is the logic of this?” Answer, “It is just like the looper caterpillar that makes a loop to travel a foot.”

Question, “A person of old said, ‘How can one get to see the nature?’ ‘Go away and wait till empty space can speak.’<sup>217</sup> What is the logic of that?” Answer, “Are you catching my hardness of hearing? Do you understand?” He said, “I do not understand.” Answer, “Try again in a low sound.”<sup>218</sup> He again said he did not understand. [The master] ordered him, “From now on, everyday, in a place where there is no body, ask again in a loud voice, and ask in a low voice; stand still and listen to it and naturally there will be a place that will persuade<sup>219</sup> you.”

Question, “Is the place where you rest your body and set up your life<sup>220</sup> the same or different place as that where the Buddha and the patriarchs rest their bodies and set up their lives?” Answer, “Say it three times.” Having said it three times, he replied, “I have already answered it. Do you understand?” He said, “I do not understand.” Answer, “I have yet to ask this question. What was it before?” He again said, “I do not understand.” Answer, “After you have spoken three times, there is still not a single item. Before I asked, you fully possess the place to rest your body and set up your life. Even though it is like this you will have to wait until thirty years have passed.”

He raised an old [case], ““What is the realm of the Buddha?” He said, ‘The stars in empty space slept and swallowed up the sentient and the insentient till there was nothing to be eaten up. Hungry, he

ran in all directions.' What is the logic of this?" Answer, "Urgently chant the Demon Conquering mantra<sup>221</sup> once." He said, "If you have the slightest delay there will be misfortune."<sup>222</sup> He hesitated and [so the master] used the handle of cultivation<sup>223</sup> to strike him, saying, "What opinion have you given rise to?"

## Record of the Construction of the Suseonsa of Haeinsa on Gayasan in Hapcheon-gun

I am a person who loves travelling through the landscape. Having travelled all over I had yet to go to Haein[sa Monastery] on Gaya[san Mountain] of Hapcheon, [a place where] immortals had attained release from the corpse and a patriarchal teacher had founded a great *aranyaka* (monastery) and the kings of the invisible and visible [worlds] used the power of their great vows to assist in the completion of the woodblocks of the *tripṭaka* (Buddhist canon). This was an oversight on my part.

However, in the autumn of the *gihae* year [1899], I visited it to look at its sūtras [the *tripṭaka*] and I circumambulated its buildings. In Hongnyudong district I sought out the numinous traces of the immortals. I was unrestrained and so forgot my corporeal form.

One day a meditation monk said to me, “The current Son of Heaven, imbued with the utmost humaneness, has given endlessly to this Seon monastery, printing sūtras and repairing buildings. He also ordered the construction of the Suseonsa (Cultivation of Seon Society). Those bent on study imitated the former saints by assisting with blessings for the country and protection of the world. The abbot Beomun and the Seon monks (*unsu*) of the whole mountain willingly toiled diligently and forgot the controller of the body [the mind]. They started in the fifth month of this year and completed it in five months. The might and greatness of the profound achievement that [comes] from its erection is like this, and if you write fortunately recording this it will be forever handed down [to later generations].”

I said, “Do not think that this is the case.”

The meditation monk said, “In the past the Śākyya [Buddha] conferred the Eye Store of the Correct Dharma on Kāśyapa, who

transmitted it right through to Bodhidharma who brought it to China. It was further transmitted through to Shiwu<sup>224</sup> and our Korean Taego Bou<sup>225</sup> received the transmission from Shiwu. He further transmitted it through to Cheongheo.<sup>226</sup> Cheongheo was the sixty-third generation dharma descendant from the Śākyas. At that time there were no special Seon monks in the monasteries who saw their nature and acted as guiding masters. [Due to the teachings of Cheongheo] from the Son of Heaven above down to the kings, dukes and great men, and extending down to the wise and accomplished in the countryside, all fully realized non-birth [of thoughts] and died while standing or sitting. Therefore they consulted, investigated, decided<sup>227</sup> and chose [the excellent path]. They were like the hungry following after food or the thirsty heading towards drink. However, their strength was such that no one could stop them. By the present [people] came to look at the correct dharma as being like a clod of earth. Those who continue to uphold the life of insight are regarded as being like children at play; so bad is it that they look on them with jealous hatred, and so it came about that this [behavior] was everywhere. Alas! Even though later people wish to hear the preaching of the Eye Store of the Correct Dharma, who will be there be for them to follow [and so] hear it? It is at this time that they founded the Suseonsa, which really is a lotus blossom in the midst of fire. This is something that in particular needs to be recorded to be handed down forever?”

I said, “Do not think that this is the case.”

The meditation monk said, “The Eye Store of the Correct Dharma is the life of insight of the previous Buddha. The construction of the Suseonsa is an imperial mandate of the present Son of Heaven. If you do not fully obey [the mandate] from start to finish and ignore or dispense with it, or alter it, that will be condemned and you will be specially reprimanded and punished by the spirits of heaven and earth. Moreover, you will have committed a crime against the constant rules. Who dares not being warned and afraid and yet still regards this [action] to be correct and what should

be done? However, if you do not clearly explain it to later people, how will later people be able to know about the importance of this society, and that its existence was like this and that you have obeyed in full? This also [implies] that you [should] not dare not record this and hand this down forever. You will be unable to firmly stop [with this position] and you should devote yourself to [recording] this."

With a grave countenance I said, "This is the opinion of a rustic, for you [only] know that there is a record of it [just] to have a record, and do not know that it is better that there is no record of it to be a record. How then could you know that there is not a single person cultivating meditation (Seon) and yet all classes of sentient beings will have already seen the nature at one time without raising a single *gongan* (Jpn. *kōan*) case, and yet the mountains, rivers, and great earth, light and dark, matter and emptiness, right through to the linen thread and bamboo needles have already at one time emitted a great light? Again, how would you know that before the foundations have been started that the [Su]seonsa had already been completed at one time, and before the material of the hinges and the doors have been prepared, already at one time these events have been recorded in detail? Since it is like this, how could you use paper and ink [to record] it and uselessly beautify the [Su]seonsa that investigates the Eye Store of the Correct Dharma?"

The meditation monk timorously left his seat and said, "I have heard your words and I do not dare assert my own [position]. I have listened many times, but I dare to ask, 'What is the Eye Store of the Correct Dharma?'"

"It is only this!"

He again asked, "What is 'this'?"

I said, "The hues of Gayasan merge into the blue of the sky."

After a pause he said, "Right now, before you spoke, I understood, but [now] I could not avoid crazy views whichever path I take. Even if I fully comprehend a sentence, it is still an arrow that passed beyond India to the west."

"If it is so then it is placing a head on top of your head.<sup>228</sup> If it

is not so then you will cut off your head while seeking life.<sup>229</sup> Now say, when you reach this [stage], how will you investigate Seon? Ha! Today it is an idle talk. In a little while, after being harmed, forget the interests of the body."

The meditation teacher requested a text [describing events] in sequence, and so I made a chain of entangling words to be a record of Suseonsa to record this [exchange].

Recorded by the monk Gyeongheo who belongs to Hoseo (Chungcheong-do) at the end of the ninth month of the third year, *gihae* [1899], of the Gwangmu of the Daehan [Empire].

## Record of the Establishment of the Meditation (Seon) Society of Gyemyeongam of Beomeosa on Geumjeongsan in Dongnae-gun

The *Avatamsaka-sūtra* says, “The bodhisattva, the great being makes great compassion and great kindness, great bliss and great renunciation to be his residence,” and “even all dharmas are equivalent to his residence.”<sup>230</sup> Here is a residence. Chan master Xinwen [Tan]ben<sup>231</sup> said, “Reverend Guishan said, ‘By thinking of the marvel of no thought you return thought to the flaming numinosity of non-existence, you will exhaust thought entirely, and you will return to the source.’ What is this?”<sup>232</sup> Here, if you can cast this off, what cleanliness is that? Since you are already thoughtless, but also without [ideas of] purity, then you will not wear a single thread<sup>233</sup> and you will not see anything of your own basic reality. Enter into the din and dust [of the world] in this way, [whether or not you are] opposing or conforming to the teaching, who will be tainted by anger and bliss? Only after that discern [or remove (撤)] the two sides of light and dark.<sup>234</sup> Look to where it is not light and not dark for talk of a vegetarian feast in the Cloister of Great Compassion. Only then will you know about its origin and its target (completion).

And so with one eye,<sup>235</sup> you will shine through the mountains, rivers and great earth, like a long sword leaning on heaven.<sup>236</sup> Who will dare then and there look for it? Having such flesh and bones (relations), only then will you know the vitality introduced into the forest (monastery) of the ranks of saints and the beneficial dharma-gates (teachings) for both self and other. Only follow this single path for there is no other principle.<sup>237</sup> Here also is a residence.

The Elder Honhae requested Seon elder Seongwol become abbot of Gyemyeongam Hermitage and the entire monastery discussed this and agreed. They established a meditation society there. From each of the rooms and hermitages they gathered contributions of paddy

fields [with a yield] of thirty-eight bushels (pecks) which were given to the meditation society. Again, the senior gentlemen, Honhae, Seongwol, Damhae, and Hwawol, and a resident in this superior prefecture, Laywoman Yi Bohyeonhwah, and a resident of Choryang, Laywoman Gim Jimyeonghwah, collected contributions from the mountain fields (ordinary people of the district), obtaining over four thousand gold coins and they bought paddy fields yielding forty-two bushels, which they gave to the meditation society. Also, a resident in hermitage of this monastery, Laywoman Gim Gagsimhwah, donated paddy fields yielding two bushels to the meditation society. The above totaled eighty-two in rent income.<sup>238</sup> Certainly all of it was offered to the meditation assembly and it was not to be used for other purposes so that it would be complied with exactly forever.

The meritorious actions and faithful vows of all the members of the monastery and the lay donors present were inconceivable. Seon Elder Seongwol became abbot, leading and encouraging, his meritorious deeds [thereby] becoming even greater. Thereafter Seon monks from all directions entered this society and founded a monks hall around the hearth (圍爐). Here also is a residence. Is it the same as the aforementioned three kinds of residences or is it different? If you say it is different, what then was the same? If you say it is the same, how then was it different? An ox has horns but does not use them; a rabbit does not have horns and does not use them. So then say, “ultimately what is it?” A person of the past said, “When the eye (appreciation) of the Way is not bright, even a drop of water is difficult to consume.”<sup>239</sup> All those who participate in this society [and practice meditation] should be mindful that time passes rapidly and that the four favors are very weighty. Therefore one may take as guides (cases) the stabbing of his thigh by Ciming [Chu]yuan and the stretching out of his legs and crying in pain of Guizong Tanquan.<sup>240</sup>

Respectfully recorded by Gyeongheo Seongu of Geumgangam Hermitage appointed to this monastery; in the last ten days of the end of spring, in the *gyemyo* or seventh year of Gwangmu [1902].

## Record of the Building of the Hall of the Seven Stars of Geumgangam of Beomeosa

The hardest and firmest thing of the earth is a diamond (*geumgang*). The axis of the luminous bodies of the surrounding heavens is the northern *sin* (star). It is thought that the axis of the northern *sin* is a creation that increases the human lifespan and fortune. It is thought that the hardness and firmness of a diamond is a *samādhi* (meditative concentration) that pioneers a bridge to take you out of the world. So the hall for the northern *sin* of Geumgangam Hermitage can be thought of as being [inseparable from *samādhi*] like glue and varnish, as being like mountain tops and moss. You cannot have one without the other.

Furthermore, for a painted image it has [an image of] the Venerable Lone Saint who is a field of good fortune for humans and gods installed there.<sup>241</sup> Universal benefits for all categories of beings that will be obtained through its causation there will be as immeasurable as the sands of the Ganges.

The pure female believer, Laywoman Gim Manwonhwa of the town of Choryang built the Hall of the Seven Stars for the good fortune of her son, Bae Jeongheon. [She set up this image and made offerings to it. Do you know that this is appropriate?]<sup>242</sup> Her son's good fortune was fulfilled and all the donations of the donors helped complete this. Again, how could they not succeed in fulfilling this vow? How much more so would the merit of presenting the donated paddy fields and all the four things for the daily use of monks<sup>243</sup> be like an ocean. Likewise is the power of the dharma of the proselytizer Wolsong.

Twenty years ago when I was travelling through the monasteries of Sabulsan,<sup>244</sup> I heard that Geumjeongsan is an excellent district,<sup>245</sup>

and that Geumgangam is its essential marvel. I intended to travel there, but I mistook the road and did not get here. Now I am old I have seen its glory and decay and all my worries have gone cold. I carried my robe from Gayasan to visit and I met with the abbot, the Great Master Wolsong, after the construction had finished. The great master is constitutionally a Seon virtuoso who has transcended the dust [of worldly contamination], and he named his residence Nongna (Green Creeper). His idea was that the pine tree creepers denoted [a place of] secluded calm. Having met face to face, we had a meeting of minds and a mutual expectation, an interest that is beyond formalities.

These [buildings and the society] are efforts of the great master and the Buddhist services fulfilled by the donors. They all said, "You are a writer and we would be happy if you made a record of this." I said, "Yes." However, there is one thing that I was uneasy about in regard to this, [namely] that the northern *sin* is in the sky and the completed images and built hall and the installed images are here [on earth], but what in effect is its *vajra-samādhi* (diamond-like concentration) that gives it such a form? Alas! The departed saint (Buddha) is even further away and the people who have left home (monks) simply do not comprehend their own matter [of seeking enlightenment], our Buddha's adamantine correct *samādhi* is thereby cut off, and his life's work (teaching) is not transmitted. I have accordingly made a record of Geumgangam Hermitage and fully expressed our thanks [in it].

## Record of the Foundation of Gyemyeongam of Beomeosa

I respectfully note that the record of the history of this monastery says, “Know that at that time Gyemyeong was a five-span room located on the eastern ridge.” Furthermore, a worldly tradition says, “A rooster cried here and so you see there is a fossilized rooster and traces of rooster claw-prints on the peak to the east of the hermitage. The hermitage was titled Gyemyeong (Rooster Cry) to commemorate this.”

Then years ago, in the third month of the *gyesa* [year, 1893], the elder abbot Uhwa and his heir, the senior lecturer Gonhae,<sup>246</sup> together with the Elder Master Geumbong, made a great vow of power to raise a five-span *vihara* (monastery dwelling) on the old site of Gyemyeongam. It was completed in eight months. They painted it and installed donor paintings.

Four years later, in the *byeongsin* [year, 1896], they also erected a three-span Hall of the Seven Stars, together with a separate building of four spans. They painted pictures of the Seven Stars, the Lone Saint, and the mountain spirits, which they installed [in the hall]. However, because the duties of the hermitage were pressing, they have not had a text to record these events for eight years until now.

I travelled south and stayed at Geumgangam Hermitage and the abbot of that hermitage, the Seon Elder Seongwol<sup>247</sup> asked me [to write] this so that [the memory of this construction] will not perish. I said “Yes.”

Now our house style [of teaching] is to pick up a dried shit-scraper [made of a] split-off piece of wood, illuminating it with a live eye [of appreciation], wielding the divine sword. The ocean and lands of the ancient buddhas are vast, the jewel net [of Indra] on the cloud terrace

[reflects mutually] in repeated layers, so what is the use of the hard work of piling up the bricks and putting up the scaffolds, of sweating profusely in painting it crimson, of noisily chiming and drumming in order to do the work? Alas! The reason this stūpa and monastery [were built] was to secure [us] against petty squabbles,<sup>248</sup> which is the reason our Buddha converted [beings] via the correct dharma to bring [this petty squabbling] to an end.

Having written [the text] up to here, I sighed two or three times with feeling. Some on the sidelines said anxiously, “The shit-scraper is read [by you] as<sup>249</sup> the jewel net on the cloud terrace and the jeweled palace (monastery) and lotus rooms are ridiculed [by you] as securing against petty squabbling. Why talk of them so unreasonably?”

I said, “This is the vulgarity of your interpretation. Why use the likes and dislikes of Shegong [Ye Zigao of Chu]<sup>250</sup> and have the delight and hatred [of something like] a troop of monkeys? You only hate not having the divine sword and the live eye. The shit-scraper can also be the limitless ocean of dharma, so why construct a pure dharma building on the excellent site of the heavenly rooster, paint holy images, set up incense and lamps, sound chimes and drums, offer up the three jewels [of Buddhism] to good men and women, give offerings to the three jewels, and create the true conditions for leaving the world behind?

[The buildings were completed] properly [due to the] oceans of merit of the eminent gentlemen (the monks) and the good faculties of all the donors being immeasurable like the sands of the Ganges. And yet the person who managed it to completion from start to finish was senior lecturer Gonhae. He was not especially performing a limitless favor, but was fulfilling perfectly the intentions of his former teacher, which also needs to be respected.”

Some were happy and satisfied, thanking me by saying, “An excellent exposition.” Being unaware of the intense interest I put down my brush and brewed some tea. Then I also offered up a gāthā:

What should I pick up that is suitable to fill it with?

A dumpling soup appropriately fills an earthenware bowl.  
Boring into Rooster Cliff, I hide a smile,  
In other years on the horizon (in future) it will transform into the  
sound of thunder.

Respectfully recorded by Gyeonheo Seongu in the last ten days of the  
end of spring in the *gyemyo* or seventh year of Gwangmu of the Daehan  
[Empire].

## The Register of Excellence<sup>251</sup> of the Meditation Society of Gyemyeongam in Beomeosa, Written out along with the Pure Regulations [of the society]

The names of participants in this meditation society will be recorded in the book of meditation, with a paragraph on their causation (history, career). But this [record] is not to transmit their reputation for posterity. [Rather] it is to make them have something to ponder on, [such as] that person's level of capability. The Correct Dharma has degenerated, [so] it is to make the Eye Store of the Correct Dharma support, protect and circulate [the correct dharma] and to truly rely on brothers of power and capacity. Given that the matter of life and death is impermanent and fleeting, how can you follow along with [birth and death] and spend your lifetime in vain? If you can really participate and really be enlightened, you will be released from thoughts of craving, anger [and like] frustrations. This [truth] will be revealed in everything, in rush flowers and willow catkins. Both self and other will be benefited and rescued, so what will not be realized?

Now general participants in learning are not always vacant minded, and if they attain release from all ties of thought they will be untrammelled and be [in] pure emptiness, but they will not escape the spirit<sup>252</sup> and they will also gain a brilliant mental light and extensively achieve a numinous capacity, which is still only halfway there.<sup>253</sup> Of old it was said, "With a staff across his shoulders (going on pilgrimage) he does not look at people but enters into the innumerable peaks." If one understands [things] like this you will only know of going in this way and you will not understand coming in this way. Also of old it was said, "Take care, Sudhana! Where are you going? On a clear night the wind shakes the emerald bamboo."<sup>254</sup> Even though it is like this, where can that information come from?

Alas! The human body is difficult to obtain, and the correct

dharma even then is difficult to hear. The body participates in the meditation society and your name is recorded in the book of meditation, so should you not think deeply about that?

Senior monks, the pure rules that guide the assembly are something that cannot be lacking in the entrance via skillful means.<sup>255</sup> Therefore I will take up some topics in relation to this with the great assembly and consult with them about it, for this is a constant Dharma [rule] that is unchanging.

I hope that you will respect it completely and put it into practice, for is this not the circulation of the dharma conversion (teaching)?

Respectfully recorded by the Seon monk who belongs to Hoseo (Chungcheong-do), Gyeongheo Seongu on the first day of the winter retreat in the tenth month of the sixth year of the Gwangmu of the Daehan [Empire, 1902].

## The Pure Regulations

- Since this meditation room is a prayer hall for his royal highness [Prince] Yeongchin,<sup>256</sup> all those who reside here in this society should shake off the contaminating ties [of the world] and long grow the fetus of the Way; above repaying the grace of the dynasty and below saving all categories of sentient beings.
- The lineage master who preaches the dharma and the meditation monk who pleases the assembly<sup>257</sup> are not posts to be treated lightly. You should select eminent, knowledgeable and far-sighted persons to fulfill these roles.
- A meditation society is a place where Seon monks from all quarters can lodge and cultivate the Way. The head of the society must be selected, and when [the headship] is transferred from one [person] to another, [the person selected should be] fully examined, for one must not mistakenly employ the confused and mediocre. These confused and mediocre people also must not cravenly seek to blindly continue [in the posts].
- After the retreat has commenced one cannot be accepted onto the list [of participants],<sup>258</sup> and also once one has been entered onto the list one cannot withdraw mid-way through.
- Persons who are contrary and disorderly, or who are physically suffering from a severe illness cannot be accepted onto the list for fear that this will detract from the dharmic conversion and cause trouble for the assembly.
- For the conduct of the Way in a [teaching] monastery it is unavoidable that there be those who are to lead and manage affairs in accordance with the rules. Those who are appointed to these roles should be meditation monks who serve for those other

than themselves and should not fall into laziness in order that they provide tranquility for the assembly.

- A genuine participant in study has no divisions between activity and calm, and because he has no division between activity and calm he is ultimately not captivated by birth-and-death (*samsara*) and *nirvāṇa*. After having alighted from the meditation bench, he must not joke and laugh or quarrel noisily, for that removes the [meditative] investigations [into the *hwadu*].
- After your name is put onto the list, those who act contrary to and are not in harmony with the monastic assembly will be cautioned three times, and if they do not obey [subsequently], they will be drummed out and expelled.<sup>259</sup>
- When there is a universal call [to labor], you must not be absent, and also you must not be late, but always join in the effort and help.
- Drinking alcohol and being licentious: one is profoundly warned [against doing so] in front of [a statue of] the Buddha. If you break [these precepts] you will be expelled. Also, clothes must not be washed unless it is on the sixth day.
- [The offices are]: the Seon master,<sup>260</sup> the deacon, the Seon elder, the manager of the [Buddha] hall, the manager of guests, the chief gardener, the nurse, the cook, the cleaner [servant], the secretary, the tea-maker, the victualer, the wood supplier, the organizer of offerings, the deputy abbot, the head of the cloister, the head of instruction.

## Account of Conduct of Chwieun Seunim

It has been over twenty years since I deserted Hoseo (Chungcheong-do) in order to seek a cure for my indolence. I perceived the fragrance of his virtue born on the winds from afar, but because north and south are so far apart, I was unable to visit him in person and cleanse my mind of contaminants. The Seunim calmly passed away and so my disappointment was profound.

In the winter of the fourth year of Gwangmu (1900), I was determined to go on pilgrimage. Just as I was passing through Songgwangsa Monastery on Jogye[san Mountain], I was exhausted [by walking through] heavy snow and pushed by the sound of the wind. So I stayed for two nights in a meditation cloister. Three of my religious brothers, Jaeung, Geummyeong, and Jaseong were there. They said to me, "In the lifetime of our former master Chwieun Seunim, he went through the world doing the work of the Way of departing the world.<sup>261</sup> Although he was not the equal of the patriarchal teachers of old, yet in recent times it is rare to hear and see [a person of the *seunim's* caliber]. Because of the late master's eminent deeds, for [we] his disciples it would be appropriate for [someone] to write his account of conduct so that [his deeds] can be transmitted to posterity, but as yet this has not been done for there has been no opportunity to do this. Now your eminence is famed for your literary skills and plain writing. [Your] depths of Seon are also profound. You have just arrived here, so we would like to borrow your eminence's singular words to glorify our late master's deeds. If you do so then it will be not only the activities of our former master and their excellence that will not decay [be forgotten] but also it will not flatter his successors, and still be enough for us to have no regrets. We ask your eminence

to be unsparing [so that nothing important] is left out, if it is possible.” I declined two or three times, but their requests were even more earnest, so I respectfully noted what his successors had recorded.

The *seunim*’s taboo name was Minuk, his dharma name was Chwieun, and his lay surname was Choe. He was a descendant [of people from] Haeju. In the *eulhae* or twentieth year of Jiaqing [1815, his parents] first lodged in the Bonghwa district of Gyeongsang-do, and when he came to live under the eaves of the house [they had built] was in the ninth month of the following year. When he was young he was robust and silent<sup>262</sup> and he had the appearance of being experienced [or honest].

When he was fourteen *se* (years old), he unexpectedly wished to leave the contaminated [world].<sup>263</sup> He went north and joined Elder Jinju of Gakhwasa Monastery on Taebaeksan Mountain, was tonsured [there] and received the precepts [of a monk]. For some years he followed worldly conditions and still created illusions, so how could he have been enlightened to the dharma of the path of bodhi [enlightenment] or have been detached from the world?

When he reached the year of non-delusion,<sup>264</sup> he consulted the Senior Elder Cho’eon at Mireugam Hermitage on Taebaeksan. He adjusted his robe and mucked in,<sup>265</sup> decided and selected the correct eye [of appreciation], and the Way of the master and the disciple tallied. Chwieun attended on and served [Cho’eon] for ten autumns (years) and he was certain to have obtained the state of the profound depths [of understanding], and yet his intention was to hide his enlightenment, and so people could not know about this.

Later, when he was sixty-eight, in the *gyemi* [year, 1883], he stayed at Yeongsu’s Hyulwa [Hermitage?] beneath Banyabong Peak, where he sat [still like a clod, and all his concerns turned to cold ashes, when unexpectedly he [experienced] the state of sudden enlightenment. A person of old said, “It is like a person who drinks water; he knows himself whether it is cold or warm.”<sup>266</sup> This is what happened [with Chwieun]. Seon Master Cheongheo<sup>267</sup> said, “Would they rather be reborn in birth-and-death (samsara) for eternal eons<sup>268</sup> than desire the

release by the saints? These are the eyes of the Seon school [monks]. Not seeing the rights and wrongs of others,<sup>269</sup> these are the legs of the Seon monks.”<sup>270</sup> This was the *seunim*’s resolution. When the time came for sudden enlightenment he was enlightened to this. After he was enlightened his life was like a piece of stubborn stone,<sup>271</sup> and so he had the Seon eye [of appreciation] almost completely. And yet complex decorations of all colors and skills in wind and stringed [musical instruments] are of no use to the deaf and blind, but right and wrong are automatically cut off, which are the legs of Seon monks. One may regard this [enlightenment] as being complete and entire.

As he went north to [Myo]hyangsan and south to Duryusan (Jirisan), he spent half his life in pilgrimage, being like wild crane or passing clouds. Still he did not regard the untrammelled to be the mine (personal). And yet, being a person who elevated what was collected therein [i.e. the Buddha-nature], he gained it with an admirable earnestness, not depending on wisdom and then knowing [the Buddha-nature] afterwards.

In the spring of his seventy-ninth year, in the *gabo* [year, 1894], he wished to decide on the site where he would spend the rest of his life. He peacefully resided in Myeongjeoksa Monastery for three years, when on the seventh day of the start of the first month of the *gihae* [year, 16th February 1899] he contracted a slight illness, and he passed away on the fourteenth day in the ninth hour (3 to 5 pm).

Alas! When there are characteristics they must be emptied, which is an unavoidable state of the world. How could a monk overcome the changes? [People of the] mountains and the wilds all grieved very painfully.

How did he face his demise? His state of mind was at rest and he sat up straight as he did on normal days. At that time the head of the cloister, the senior monk Hye'un asked, “*Seunim*, now you are about to pass away and the four mountains<sup>272</sup> are closing in on you, is the single thought-moment of your *samādhi* (meditation) and *prajñā* (insight) solid and not suppressed?” The *seunim* merely held a cushion upright, and he suddenly passed away while sitting. The raising up

of a single finger by Reverend Zhuzhi<sup>273</sup> in the end is not reduced to being rough [behavior]. Whether all the sky is cold or hot, a baked brick when struck is frozen [is ignorant or in doubt], and will likewise run outside.<sup>274</sup> The *seunim*'s raising up of a cushion can kill and it can give life, having information that illuminates and functions. The head of the hermitage compared him to Zhaozhou<sup>275</sup> [but] it is not necessary to only be praised via [comparison with figures from] the past.

That night, at the third strike of the drum (midnight), a ray of auspicious light crossed the sky like a rainbow bridge lasting till after his cremation, and even after five days the light was even purer, the five colors scattering brilliantly. Moreover, fortunate clouds joined from all sides, weaving into a variegated circle (halo). Far and near, monks and lay people revered and longed for him with respect and lamentation. It was just like when monks of the past passed away.

Since the *seunim* was born in the twenty-first year of Jiaqing, a *byeongja* [year, 1816] and passed away in the third year of Gwangmu of the Daehan [Empire], he was aged eighty-four. He became a monk at fourteen *se*, taking the precepts then, so his monastic age was seventy-one. The *seunim* was an heir of Choeun Euiyu 超隱義宥, and Choeun was an heir of Yeonwol Yijun 淵月以俊. Buhyu<sup>276</sup> transmitted [the dharma] to Byeogam,<sup>277</sup> and Byeogam transmitted it to Chwimi,<sup>278</sup> and Chwimi transmitted it to Muyong 無用; Muyong transmitted it to Yeonghae,<sup>279</sup> and Yeonghae transmitted it to Pungam;<sup>280</sup> Pungam transmitted it to Byeokdam,<sup>281</sup> and Byeokdam transmitted it to Yeongwol 詠月; and Yeongwol transmitted it to Nakpa.<sup>282</sup> [Thus] the *seunim* was a twelfth-generation descendant of Buhyu and was in the seventeenth generation from Taego.<sup>283</sup>

The Buddha's teachings have gradually been spoiled and the Eye Store of the Correct Dharma ends up being completely muddied. The reverend was solely devoted to *samādhi* and *prajñā*. Generally the rules are ruined in this world and he came to be called a lotus blossom midst the flames, so how can praises end [for him]?

I, being given to laziness am of no use to the world. But those who corrupt and damage the Buddhist teachings emerge all over and

morality cannot save them. How then can writings also save them? Because of this feeling of exasperation, I put aside writing for years. How much more so passing through all the heat and warm [seasons] has my writing [style] deteriorated because I had paid no attention to composition and such like. It is only because the *seunim*'s work of transcending the world was especially excellent, and because being like this, his three heirs and disciples, the brothers [in the dharma] Jaeung, Geummyeong, and Jaseong earnestly requested me [to write], that I could not strongly refuse. Thereupon it was a one in ten-thousand chance that I could describe [his career] in general as above, having regretted that I was unable to visit him personally.

Respectfully written with the burning of incense by the monk Gyeongheo Seongu of Hoseo at Chaandang Hall of Songgwangsa on Jogyesan on the last ten days of the last month of the *gyeongja* or fourth year of Gwangmu of the Daehan [Empire, 1900].

## Account of Conduct of Seoryong Seunim

A virtuoso of old said, “Do not fear that the Buddha-dharma is spoilt.”<sup>284</sup> I however fear [that it is] spoilt. However, those who do not fear [this] have a reason [for not fearing this] and those who fear it also have a reason. Even though there is a basis for the principle that it is not being spoiled, [that reason] does not lie in the habituation by and practice of the three studies of precepts, samādhi and prajñā. If so, what is said to be “not spoilt”? It is not necessarily that one expects that it will be protected so that [the Buddha-dharma] is not spoilt.

Now on the slopes of the blue mountains the snow geese and cranes that look at each other are all stūpas. The variegated silks [of the sky] above the bell tower are all portraits [of patriarchs]. In fact it is not necessarily the case that they are all for this [purpose of protecting the dharma], but they may be things for that [purpose]. However, that is not so with accounts of conduct. If [an account of conduct] cannot be a thing for that [purpose], it cannot be made to do that. If [the account of conduct] is [for] a person who has not cultivated the Way of the three studies he cannot be given an account of conduct.

My basic talent is to be careless and my nature is to be lazy and I have not engaged in literary composition for years. However, there have been not a few cases in which I was unable to avoid being dragged into composing texts. When it comes to accounts of conduct, I have never had a feeling that I [should] refrain from writing. People who leave home [to become monks] and who do not cultivate the three studies will not complete the work of the Way. If the work of the Way is not completed, there will be no account of conduct. What should not be considered regrettable is the lack of an account of conduct. What is to be considered regrettable is that

the work of the Way is not completed. If the work of the Way is not completed the life of the Buddha's insight cannot be obtained and conveyed [to others]. If the three studies are regarded as being the underlying principle then the Buddha-dharma will not be spoilt. It is assuredly like this. Current *śramaṇas* (monks) have not done so, which is regrettable.

I respectfully note that the record of his conduct [says] that the *seunim*'s lay surname was Gim and he was registered at Gwangsan.<sup>285</sup> His taboo name was Sangmin and Seoryong was his style. Lord Chuntaek was his great-grandfather.<sup>286</sup> He was an eighth-generation descendant of Mr. Sagye.<sup>287</sup> He was born inside the capital city (Seoul) in the *gapshil* or nineteenth year of the Jiaqing [reign era] of [Emperor] Renzong [of Qing, 1814].

When he was young he was pure and upright. When he was seventeen years old he was walking on Jongno<sup>288</sup> where he saw an official being physically punished and suddenly he was troubled by the feeling of a dislike of worldly fame and benefits. He thought [of the world as being] impermanent. He cast in his lot with the Elder Yeongwol 影月 of Cheongnyongsa Monastery in Anseong<sup>289</sup> where he was tonsured and received the full precepts [of a monk]. When he was nineteen he had an ambition to visit the famous mountain [monasteries of Korea]. When he reached Jirisan, the Elder Yongak 龍岳 greatly inaugurated a lecture [series] in An'guksa Monastery. The master arranged his robes and requested the benefit [of Yongak's teaching]. His studies gradually progressed. Next he consulted Yongam 龍巖 Seunim and his views were purified.<sup>290</sup>

When he was twenty-seven he entered the room (became a pupil) of Elder Seongjeon of Giyang 騎羊聖典, where the value of his Way was elevated to the highest level and he received [Seongjeon's] legacy (testament). He stayed as abbot of Byeoksongam Hermitage. The hermitage was in ruins. The reverend renovated it and made it large and glorious, and he protected and took care of the permanent property [of the hermitage], reviving the monastery.

Moreover, he was concerned that he himself was yet to be

enlightened and for several years he faced the wall (meditated) in Chilburam Hermitage.<sup>291</sup> Due to the *seunim*'s high level of knowledge he should have obtained the secrets of meditation (Seon), and yet if one is not identified with the Way one cannot know it.<sup>292</sup>

On the twenty-seventh day of the last month of the *gyeongin* or sixteenth year of the Guangxu [reign of the Qing dynasty, 1890], he had a slight illness. After nine days, when he was about to enter nirvāṇa (die), the assembly were concerned about the worship of the Buddha [ceremony]. The reverend said, “I have been a monk for sixty years and am now about to pass away. How can [my death] be an obstacle to the services (worship) of the three jewels [of Buddhism]? Do not worry. I will [postpone my death] until the second day of the first [month] of next year when I will again be prepared to enter nirvāṇa.” The assembly also worried about the offerings to the Seven Stars.<sup>293</sup> The *seunim* again spoke as before and extended [his life] to the *sa* hour [9 to 11 am] of the fourth day when he asked the assembly, “Surely there is no obstacle [for the assembly] if I depart today?” The assembly said, “Yes, [there is no obstacle].” Once he had finished handing over his testament he had the assembly of the time recite the sūtras and chant [the name of the] Buddha, and he passed away suddenly. A sūtra says, “Take the *pratimokṣa*<sup>294</sup> to be your teacher.”<sup>295</sup> It also says, “The buddhas of all directions all rely on the precepts, samādhi, and prajñā to enter nirvāṇa.”<sup>296</sup>

The *seunim* kept the precepts at all times diligently and cautiously, being strict and standing like jade (pure and upright). His scholarship was full and rich. His ability to postpone or accelerate his death was free (sovereign). This freedom, if not for the power of samādhi,<sup>297</sup> would definitely not be possible. Even though there were people in the past who thoroughly refined the three studies and perfected the work of the Way, still they could not surpass [the *seunim*].

If we trace back his dharma-lineage, Hoe'am<sup>298</sup> transmitted [the dharma] to Hanam 寒庵, Hanam transmitted it to Chupa,<sup>299</sup> Chupa transmitted it to Gyeongam 鏡巖, Gyeongam transmitted it to Jungam 中庵, and Jungam transmitted it to Giyang 騎羊. Also,

Hoe'am am was heir to Bogwang, Bogwang was heir to Moun 慕雲, Moun was heir to Byeogam,<sup>300</sup> Byeogam was heir to Buhyu,<sup>301</sup> and Buhyu was heir to Buyong.<sup>302</sup> [Thus] the *seunim* was a eleventh-generation descendant of Buyong.

[The *seunim*] was aged seventy-eight, having been a monk for sixty years. The beams of the dharma-gate (Buddhism) were thus broken,<sup>303</sup> and were not all [members of] the teaching monastery saddened by his passing? In the winter of the fourth year of the Gwangmu [1900], I was passing Yongmunsa Monastery in Hwajeon.<sup>304</sup> The Elder Hoe'un [there] frequently said that during his lifetime the *seunim*'s practice of the Way was outstanding. He requested me to write [the *seunim*'s] account of conduct [so that his memory] would survive. I declined on the grounds that I was not trained in literary composition. Several weeks later I passed Byeogsongam Hermitage where there were two eminent virtuosos, Yeongun and Dongun, both heirs of the reverend, who also asked me to write the account of conduct for their former master. Their request was even more earnest.

I remembered back to when I was very young, passing the cold period (winter) at Byeogsongam. At that time I saw the *seunim* whose feeling for the Way was pure and reverential, which he abundantly displayed outwardly. Because I was young and had little knowledge, I was unable to participate in listening to [his] insight into the dharma to cleanse my mind of contaminants. I was left with regret.

Now at the age of fifty-five my hair is grey, my face wrinkled, and I am not enlightened to anything of the Buddha-dharma, the two benefits [to self and other] both lacking. Alas! Can I describe the *seunim*'s virtues? [The reasons for writing this] is that there was great admiration for, delight in, and love for the *seunim*'s virtues, and there was the earnest request by the two eminent virtuosos, as well as the request by Elder Hoe'un. Thus I could not strongly decline. Regardless of my clumsy writing is clumsy I have [recorded his life] as above. Sometimes I stopped writing over two or three times because I was absorbed in memory of him.

## A Text Encouraging Good (donations) for the Reconstruction of Songgyeam<sup>305</sup> of Deogyusan after a Fire

In the first ten days of the second month of spring I wrote a preface for the post-fire reconstruction of Baekjangam Hermitage of Silsangsa Monastery<sup>306</sup> of Gyeongdeok. Now it has been a long time since I also came south to this Songgyeam Hermitage.

What has been written has been considerable. In literature you may encounter elation or disappointment, generosity or admiration; [it may] be subtly calm and purely profound, melancholic or greatly anxious. These things are definitely just in one or two [cases]. However, I have not yet encountered anything [in literature] so dispiriting as the [cases] of these two hermitages.

The Buddha said, “The fire of impermanence burns the whole world.”<sup>307</sup> He also said, “There is no security in the three realms just like a house on fire.”<sup>308</sup> Who can be warned and enlightened, distressed and grieved by this? A virtuoso of old said, “Because the mind has birth, abiding, change, and cessation, the body has birth, old age, illness, and death, and there is spring, summer, autumn, and winter, and formation, abiding, destruction, and emptiness, which also exist due to this.”<sup>309</sup> If you can have the mind abide in the real ground, then for you to wait for the scales of a snake or the wings of a cicada [to move means]<sup>310</sup> that [things] do not shift and change by themselves.

Emperor Wu of Han excavated Kunming Pond where they obtained the ashes of a [previous] eon,<sup>311</sup> so even heaven and earth cannot escape these fires. How can it be worth depending on [such fabulous building and fantastic animals as] jade palaces, jasper terraces, golden phoenixes and jade dragons? Can they be compared to oyster shells and ant hills, or rather the insignificance of mountain shrines

and villages? I deduce from this that gain and loss, rise and fall, cannot be of concern or be delighted in.

Although there are no traces of this hermitage to be investigated, local tradition has it that it was founded in the Silla period, so it is old. In the past there were senior abbots in Mun'gok 文谷 and Yeogam 櫟庵, who held the whisk and expounded on the sūtras there. Audiences filled their rooms. In recent times its fortune has been negative and the preservation of the remains was like a thread, and in the end it was burnt down.<sup>312</sup> How is possible for a measure of fortune to be truly like this?

When things reach an extreme there will be a reversal, and when there is an omen of great prosperity, preceding that is not its decay extreme like this? Heaven is lofty and no one can investigate it. The surplus of good fortune [from] good [deeds, means] that the donor will be reborn as a human or a god (deva). The principles of the Confucian and Buddhist texts clearly show this, there not being a hair's breadth between them.

The reason the monk in charge of teaching<sup>313</sup> burnt incense was to broadly announce [the project] to the households of great donors who were happy to do good and he bore the burden of the construction work. Who could say he could not do it?

Hidden away in the abbot's room he was having a relaxing daydream. The chief cause of this was that he had been knocking on doors. He yawned and stretched and so he slept. Happy that he was a butterfly,<sup>314</sup> he mysteriously entered into the sense-data (lit. dust) before him [in his dream]. [When he woke he was] solidly and unmistakably himself,<sup>315</sup> just like an illusory transformation.

The [blossoms of the] red apricot at the corner of the wall are blown down by the wind into the heart of the courtyard; the emerald-green grass is richened by the rain, so the time is exactly late spring. A single stick of incense wafting up has half-entered the soft arrowroot in a greenish hurricane.

Alas! There is gain and loss in the world, past and present rises and falls.

## Preface to the [mutual aid] Association for [a monk's] Funeral<sup>316</sup>

In the winter of a *gihae* [year, 1899], I stayed in the incense pavilion<sup>317</sup> where the sūtra piṭaka (collection) was stored beneath Haein[sa's] Meditation Society. I rubbed my knees and pressed up against the brazier. That one is old is verified by the rain and the clear skies; that one is ill is verified by the cold and warmth; and yet seventy percent [of life] is dead ashes,<sup>318</sup> and a hundred percent of it is as dead wood and that is all. Concerned about this, I was almost ungrateful for the opportunity to gather medicine in the famous mountains.

There was a śramaṇera (novice) called Dujeong who brought a text. He said to me, “We are setting up an association for a funeral for our teacher. We want you, Seunim to write a preface for it.” I appreciated his intent and said to him, “A person of old said, ‘In life we serve [teachers] with respect, in death we bury them with ritual.’ He also said, ‘Funerals are only for mourning.’”<sup>319</sup> Really, how [few] people are there who know the ritual propriety and who mourn [for the late person]? In the present day those who contemplate [mourning] via the teaching of emptiness and who are the heirs and associates [and who conduct funerals] for their teachers hastily and without due care are innumerable. At the extreme, some of them do so as if for people on the road. For years, every time I thought of such matters, I had invariably seen and heard of this with a sigh.

Even though it was your parents who gave birth to your body, if it was not for the model of your teacher and your adherence [to that model], how could you have become a [complete] person? Your master's merit is great! While he is living you [should] respect him and when he dies you [should] mourn him. You should do your utmost.

A person of old said, “The basis of ritual is respect and that is

all.<sup>320</sup> It is not the trivia (末) of jade and silk. They are of no use.”<sup>321</sup> Those who are establishing this association and together are making gifts for the funeral expenses are really as deep as those people of old in their restraint by treating the central Way as important.<sup>322</sup> Is that not admirable!

However, there is one thing that it incomplete in this regard, so that it is born and dies. What is it? What form and shape does it take so that it dies and departs? Also, what is it that it takes form and shape? Alas! Its last day is one of ritual mourning and yet it has yet to [experience] ritual mourning. On its last day it is born and dies and yet it has never given birth to or died in its original face. Who can spy out and obtain it in the midst of birth and death and ritual mourning, and yet not be mistakenly attached to one life?

Therefore a person of old said, “Death and life are likewise great.”<sup>323</sup> Alas! Is this not great? Dujeong joined his palms together in salutation and stood up, saying, “From today, if I can investigate this original face that [performs] ritual mourning and can be born and die, then how will there be a sighing that it is incomplete?” I said, “Should it be like this, the center and sides are both sweet, and events and principle lack regret. How is this not a complete good!” Thereupon I presented this preface.

Written in a playful samādhi by the ill monk Gyeongheo on the fifteenth day of the last month of the *gihae* or third year of Gwangmu of the Daehan [1899].

## Preface to the *Jeongbeop anjang*<sup>324</sup> (Eye Store of the Correct Dharma)

Master [Zongmi] Guifeng [780–841] said, “The Buddha’s sūtras are opened out and spread over the major cosmos [for] the eight types of sentient beings [who protect Buddhism, but] the Chan gāthās are a selection and summary, and are for the abilities of one category of beings here in this [world, i.e. humans].”<sup>325</sup> If [the sūtras] are spread out for beings they are so extensive that it is hard to rely on them. If the reference is to abilities (opportunities) then the directions are easy to use. Ease of use is something I longed for in common with my comrades and is something I shared with the fellow Seon practitioner Yeom 染. He [compiled] books and collections, and gathered ten texts of recorded sayings and the short-cut dharma-gate of the leading masters. These are the hymns and topics picked up for comment (*yeomsong*) put into one collection<sup>326</sup> of five volumes to be a correct eye [*jeongan*, appreciation] for entering into the Way, which is this book.

Even though it be but a single word or a few sayings, with nothing but pressing and diligent study it will evidently indicate the road to becoming Buddha. That is clear and without a hair’s breadth of doubt. If you study this book and test the flavor [of the words], and reflect back on the mind-source and do so with devoted effort, even though you have not looked through the piṭaka (doctrinal collection of canonical texts) teachings, the piṭaka teachings are present in this [book]. Moreover, it is not only present. In regards to the directions of the gates (methods) of practice it is really superior to [the sūtras] that are hard to rely on. Those who have the intention [to be enlightened to] the Way should take heed, think about, and examine [this book]. However, in their transmission and copying many errors and lacunae

have occurred, and there are also mistakes in their punctuation and [Korean] reading marks, so readers lose their original meanings. [If the readers] surmise and are not talented, they will judge that [the text] is definitive. Should you be a copyist be completely sure to be careful. After you have copied [the text] out, copy edit and correct it two or three times so that there are no errors and so that the result of providing it as a gift to the realm of sentient beings will be a seed of brilliance that does not lose the proper cause to become a Buddha. My deep hope lies in this.

## Record of the Donor List for the Monastery Bell of the Ten-Thousand Day Assembly of Taeansa on Dongnisan<sup>327</sup>

Whether it is a bell or a drum, a striking board (with a cloud decorative motif) or a “wooden fish” (drum in the shape of a fat fish), they all have a designation and they all have a function. These are four objects of a monastery. The bell is the most important of them. Usually formal sermons, universal requests [for labor], the burning of incense [in worship], vegetarian meals, and even other events cannot be performed without it. How much more so does it function as a respite from the suffering that is the cool [nirvāṇa] and the nature indicated by the *Lengyan jing*<sup>328</sup> so that it brings about an end to the sufferings of the innumerable sentient beings in hell? It really is inconceivable.

Living in this monastery was a Great Master Yeongwol 映月 whose work of practice was refined and whose scholarship was deep and broad. [As] the teaching via mindfulness (chanting) [of the name of] the Buddha (*yeombul*) was blocked off and it was difficult for sentient beings, he established a ten-thousand day chanting [of the name of] Buddha assembly in this hermitage for them.

However, in the past the hermitage had no bell, which seemed to be a deficiency. Because of this he was melancholy for years. There was a lay donor, Song Jusang, who lived in Wansan-bu Superior Prefecture.<sup>329</sup> He was steeped in [Yeongwol's] teaching and so came to have a pure faith. He took out over a thousand gold coins with which he bought a bell that he presented [to the hermitage], in the hope that [the merit from this act] would enable him to father a son.

In the disorderly mountains that are thickly treed the long nights are very heavy, and the sound [of the bell] tolls back and forth, producing a harmony that is pure and fluid. The primal chaos is at

once broken open and a material energy (*gi*) produces all classes of things.<sup>330</sup> Its influence and response cross paths so [Song] is sure to get his son!

I have briefly written these few words to encourage later [people] to transmit his reputation so that it will not come to an end.

Respectfully written in the first ten days of the last month of the *gyeongja* [year, 1900] by the monk Gyeongheo who belongs to Hoseo.

## Regulations Defined for the Re-Established Meditation Room of Sangwonam of Hwaeomsa<sup>331</sup>

The principle of Seon is direct and elevating for it transcends the three vehicles [of Buddhism]. Therefore in the study of Seon, if one is thoroughly enlightened to the scenery of the original ground<sup>332</sup> one will stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the buddhas of old. This is the essential marvel of the dharma. What can go beyond this? Therefore ever since the great being (bodhisattva) [Bodhi]dharma entered onto Chinese soil and [this method] came to our eastern land, there were innumerable people who attained this Way and by this short-cut rose to the level of a Buddha. [However], in recent times this Way has been abandoned and has not been passed on. This is because even if people commence the process, at the start they do not pay attention to the choice of a method of participation and investigation. Therefore in the end they are confused in the midst of [mental] depression and agitation [as a result of misguided meditation] and they will pass their whole lives without being able to glimpse even a small part of this principle. Therefore, if all other practitioners or external protectors do not choose between good or not [good methods], in general all of this will be sad and lamentable. Alas! They cannot be saved.

When this monastery was founded as Hwaeom[sa Monastery], there was already a meditation room here. This site is numinous and superior. Therefore those who attained the Way [here] were also many, and yet in the intervening period [the meditation room] was abandoned and this ended its operation. Not only did its fortune wax and wane, there was also nobody to take charge of teaching.

In the late spring of the fourth year of Gwangmu [1900], the Elder Cheongha<sup>333</sup> came to stay [as abbot]. He established a meditation assembly in this [hermitage]. With the senior abbot's

pristine mind of the Way and by the power of his vast vow, he decided in a deliberation together with all the members on the mountain<sup>334</sup> and so [the establishment of the meditation room] was accomplished.

However, [Cheongha] feared that later abbots of this hermitage would not be mindful of the gravity of the Buddha's teaching or of the original intention of the founders [of this hermitage] in the past, so the present senior abbot [Cheongha] diligently and earnestly re-established [this meditation room. He feared they] may follow their private desires or may for their own convenience abolish the meditation room. Those who do not accept and carry on with this meditation are people who have cut off the lineage [literally seed] of the Buddha and are people who slander *prajñā* (wisdom). Their causation is clear cut. Should they not be afraid!

A Confucian canon says, "You love the sheep, I love the ritual."<sup>335</sup> A sūtra says, "One thought-moment of a pure mind is superior to creating jeweled stūpas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges."<sup>336</sup> It also says, "Hearing the supreme vehicle [teaching], slandering it, and falling into the three evil paths are superior to worshipping Buddhas as many as the sands of the Ganges."<sup>337</sup> Furthermore, a person of old said, "If you hear but do not believe you will still form the cause that is the Buddha-seed (lineage). Even if you study but do not achieve [the result], yet you still will be covered by the blessing [of being born] a human or a god."<sup>338</sup> This is so because the power of *prajñā* is the most powerful of all the methods (dharmas) of the Way.

Looking at it in this way, even though a meditator is sunk in continued depression and agitation and is unable to obtain his aim, he is still superior to a person who studies the [Buddhism of] the three vehicles and who has achieved the work of the Way.

I hope that all the later abbots of this hermitage will go over this text three times and will continue to promote the Seon teaching. To be a son of the Buddha and yet not devote yourself to the practice of the Buddha's teaching, but act for one's own selfish benefit and abolish this superior assembly will naturally [invite] the unseen

execution and the evident punishments of the gods and spirits of heaven and earth. Should you not be afraid? If this is something to be thus feared, and yet you are not concerned to respect [this legacy], what then can I do about it?

Respectfully written in the first ten days of the last month of the *gyeongja* or fourth year of Gwangmu [1900] by the monk Gyeongheo who belongs to Hoseo.

## Dharma-Talk to Instruct Beopgyedang<sup>339</sup>

Reverend Dongshan's "Warning to Himself" [says],

Do not seek fame and profit, do not seek glory;  
 Just accord with conditions and pass through this life.  
 When the vitality of the three inches [of the tongue] is extinguished,  
 who is the master?  
 After a lifetime (a hundred years) reputation dissolves into nothing.  
 Where clothing is holed repair it repeatedly;  
 When there are no food supplies then you will manage forthwith.  
 How many days can the illusory body [live]?  
 If you waste time on this you will long remain ignorant.<sup>340</sup>

These few sentences are a daily wake-up call for monks, are principles to goad one at all times. You should read them thoroughly and partake of it [via practice], always keeping in mind that impermanence (death) is swift and that birth-and-death is a great matter. Whether your eyes are open, it is urgent, and whether your eyes are shut, it is so urgent. Even while walking, standing, sitting and lying down, in all times and in all places, it is so urgent. If it is like this, what time can there be for any number of idle thoughts to defile and confuse the mind? Therefore a virtuoso of old said, "If there is a single dharma that surpasses nirvāṇa, for me it will be like a dream illusion."<sup>341</sup> How much more so will a mundane and illusory unreal dharma have any connection with thoughts and feelings? The great being (bodhisattva) Shuanglin<sup>342</sup> said,

Every night I sleep embracing the Buddha,

Every morning we also rise together.  
 Rising and sitting always following each other,  
 In speaking and silence we share a residence,  
 There not being a hair's breadth between us,  
 Just like a body and its shadow.  
 If you want to know where the Buddha has gone,  
 It is just where the sound of speaking is.<sup>343</sup>

These few sentences are to be taken notice of by monks daily, are the face to be investigated at all times. You should think carefully on this and understand this.

You should be mindful that there is an unconscious, limitless treasure-store in my lump of red flesh (body) and that due to this one passes through eons and pointlessly experiences bitter suffering.

If in the present world you are in error, you will not know in which life you will again to get to see, hear, and verify [the truth] thoroughly. By initiating the mind of good fortune and courageous ambition, strive to practice the gate of the established teachings of the people of the past,<sup>344</sup> whether it is participation in meditation, or mindfulness (chanting) [the name of] the Buddha (*yeombul*), or chanting dharani, or even [practice] of the dharma-gates of the six pāramitas. You must not divide them [the practices] up into many kinds of principle. You should be devoted to turning the light back to reflect on and illuminate the mind-source. Purity is bodhi (enlightenment; insight), serenity is nirvāṇa. By doing so one can discern [the mind-source] fully. Furthermore, what has supported these two [words, “mind-source”] to name it nirvāṇa and to be the pivot for it?

Therefore it is said, “When illumination is completed and the body has nothing to depend on, the whole body will merge with the great Way.”<sup>345</sup> If so, even though the myriad practices are applied in daily use by the sons of the Buddha (monks), they must not illuminate and realize their own nature without wisdom and insight. This is what is meant by, “[Even though] the myriad practices

are completely cultivated, only take no thought-moments to be the core.”<sup>346</sup>

If in the practice of the first five pāramitas there is no power [derived from] wisdom, it will be for example like a person who has lost his eyes but walks on a steep road. How can they [the first five pāramitas] be like this, and their derivatives be like that? Furthermore, good and evil, bodhi and birth-and-death have never been two [things]. Past, future, and present have never been divided. All directions are in a hair-tip, have never been two [things]. However, in the same way dharmas have never been one [thing]. One and two; who can name them? Who ultimately names them?

The [person] rather is below in the Jungam Hermitage of Cheonbisan. [Original note in the Seonhagwon text: Jungam on Cheonbisan is on Myogaksan of Sannae-myeon in Daejeon-gun in Chungcheongnam-do.] The Buddha-dharma is not unusual. In reality it is not the giving rise to mind (thoughts) and use of power to practice and attain [enlightenment] like transporting heavy wood and stone. Study of the military and civil [examinations] also are not [like] this. In general [it is very much] a special function that alarms heaven and moves earth. It only illuminates false conceptions. At basis it has no nature; constitutionally it is clear and pure. It is ease and inaction; it has no weight (light and heavy), has no lack or surplus, has no coming and going, has no birth and death.

Since dharmas as they are are like this, it is not the case that the enlightened attain [it] like this, or that the deluded rather are not like this. You should in this way create such a guarantee.<sup>347</sup> However, how can it also be like this? Now how can you use effort (study) to take the many names and characteristics into your hands<sup>348</sup> after you have deployed them? It is only this. If you dare ask, “What is the meaning of ‘it is only this?’” the answer is, “The mountains, rivers, and great earth, light and dark, matter and emptiness.” “[Are not] these already name and characteristics?” The answer is, “What do you call name and characteristics?” Question, “At present thoughts arise and thoughts cease, so life and death continue. How can these

[thoughts] be removed?" Answer, "What do you call the rising and ceasing thoughts?" "If that is so then there is no departing." Answer, "Return to the point of my conversation. A person who leaves home [and becomes a monk] first corrects his eyes (appreciation). If you can correct them, who will dare to speak back and forth about whether it is the Buddha-dharma or worldly truth and make that the principle? However, this also is not so. [It is], 'The cliffs hang sheer; the emerald bamboos and yellow flowers, / The oriole songs and the swallows twitter [speak the Buddha-dharma].'"

You dare ask, "Where then is the Buddha-nature at present?" I (Seongu) laughed out loud and stood up.

[Hanam's note:] Although there are not many words in this text, it should not be read carelessly. It should be investigated carefully. Be sure to realize it clearly and distinctly. Since you have already placed trust in it, he could not remain silent. This [text] uses a number of words, but even though you write several tens of thousands of volumes, in reality the principle in them will not exceed [those] in this [text]. I hope you will not use these views of mine to blame me for publishing this superfluous [comment]. Therefore I have published it.

## Writing on the Eight-Fold Screen of Geumbongdang

All phenomena without exception are inside a dream. Suddenly wake up, pick up your staff, lift up your water bottle and bowl, and enter into a place deep within the clouds and forests. There the many birds will make sounds and the springs in the rocks tinkle like jade. The eight-thousand foot ancient pine is in hundreds of coils of wisteria and rattan vines. There build a thatched hut of several spans and share it with close friends, and at times sing of the amusements of fogs and mists; at times burn incense and sit serenely so that no more contaminating [dust] matters will encroach on you.

The one mind, empty and numinous, has all principle reflected and displayed [in it]. This then [will make you] the first-ranked person in the world. The mountain immortal in his cups is completely drunk<sup>349</sup> and the phenomenal array of heaven and earth are stamped with a single seal. Only after this with an ashen head and muddied face<sup>350</sup> he plays in the fragrant grass and on the shore with the single sound of a flute, la-la-li.

Written by the Seon monk Gyeongheo who belongs to Hoseo in the last ten days of the third month of the green dragon [i.e. the *gapjin* year, 1904].

## The Dharma-Teaching on Tallying with the Pure Mind<sup>351</sup>

Human life lasts for one generation and the robust physique does not remain. It is like a galloping horse, like dew on grass, like sunsets, meaning that impermanence (death) is rapid. It resembles a pile of shit, resembles a dream accumulation (body). It is like an enemy or like a poisonous snake, which means that illusion is not a good thing. Confucius said, “I wish to be speechless.”<sup>352</sup> He also said, “[The superior man] does not set his mind on anything or against anything.”<sup>353</sup> Zhuangzi said, “He had lost his dark pearl.... Shapeless found it.”<sup>354</sup> He also said, “Heaven and earth are a single finger [tip], the ten thousand things are one horse.”<sup>355</sup>

Rather, should I not as an ordained monk learning Buddhism investigate the original mind? If I refine it thoroughly [as] a bright marvel then a hundred thousand samādhis and unlimited marvelous meanings will be attained naturally without me seeking them, and so then how will the buddhas and patriarchs be people different [to me]? And yet we now are far from the time of the saint (Buddha) and monks do not know their own [house] style [of Buddhist teaching] and spend their entire lives carelessly and recklessly. The Eye Store of the Correct Dharma of our Buddha is [thus] buried and so is not evident. It is entirely taken to be a vain falsity and to be perverse and evil.<sup>356</sup> By [such] habituation [monks in-]form their own nature, and at worst they instead slander [Buddhism]. Alas! It is unspeakable. The Sixth Patriarch [Huineng] said, “If you are deluded by the previous thought-moment you are a sentient being. If you are enlightened by a later thought-moment you are Buddha.”<sup>357</sup> Chan Master Guishan said, “By thinking of the marvel of no-thought, to the contrary you will think of the endlessness of the numinous flame [of the

Buddha-nature]. When thought is ended it returns to its source and [yet] the nature and characteristics are always present, phenomena and principle are not two, [and so] this is the true Buddha that is suchness.”<sup>358</sup> If you obtain this light you will be equal to the buddhas in a morning; if you lose this light you will follow birth-and-death for ten thousand eons and be like a dragon changing its bones but not its scales.<sup>359</sup> The ordinary person turns around the mind to become Buddha but does not change his face. The real nature of ignorance is the Buddha-nature. The illusory and empty body is the Dharma-body. The principle is simply very close, so if you open your eyes you will perceive it. Where you close your eyes it will also show itself. “What is Buddha?” “You are.” Such clear directions [to it like this] cannot be troubling as they are all direct principles of the Way that lead to the change from an ordinary person into a saint. Such a repeated exhortation by the people of old paid attention with urgency like an old woman. If you learnt it by heart and then investigated, asked widely of those previously awakened in order to decide on and select [the method leading to enlightenment] clearly, and have in mind enlightenment to the principle and polish this [practice] in detail, this is the completion of the Way.

What person lacks the endowment [of the Buddha-nature]? The wise and foolish, aristocrat and menial, old and young, male and female, all have the endowment. Alas! What are you doing by shaving your head and [wearing] the black-dyed clothes [of a monk]? When your eyes are dragged around by matter (color, sex) you revert to being a starving ghost; when your ear follows after sounds you will enter Avīci (hell). If you are drowned in an addiction to sound and matter, the lust for alcohol drops one into extinction (cessation, drowning) and you will experience concepts of the pits [of hell]. You will be dimly unaware. [If] today you are like this tomorrow you will also be like this. Even by the thirtieth day of the last month<sup>360</sup> your headache will be splitting, your internal organs will be cuttingly painful, your hands and feet will pull you and drag you around, you will be embarrassed like a crab that has fallen into hot water, and

suffer pain hard to endure like a tortoise being skinned alive. Your consciousness will be dim and confused and you will be completely unaware of whether you are rising to the heavens or entering into hell. Alas! How sad!

Remember that when the wise men of the past were about to die they died sitting upright or standing as easily as people leaving by opening a door. Chan Master Jie<sup>361</sup> passed away while leaning on his staff; the Elder Foyin happily laughed and departed.<sup>362</sup> Some stopped [the heart] muscle<sup>363</sup> and so passed away or hung down their feet [from a chair] and died, or stood upside down and went into extinction, or walked several feet and died. All of these [involved] penetrating back to the self-nature, which is the result of totally leaving behind dhyāna (meditation) and insight (prajñā).

Alas! How were people of the past different from the people [of the present]? Reverend Dongshan said, “To lose the human body while under the *kāṣaya* (monastic robe) is suffering.”<sup>364</sup> This may be taken as warning together with the [sentences around] the above four [expressions] “Alas!” The feeling of resentment is like an ocean. Who knows this?

I wrote this to be presented to Eminence Seunghwa 承華.

Written by Gyeongheo

**Preface to the Mutual Aid Association for the Buddhist [grain]  
Supplies<sup>365</sup> of Cheoneunsa Monastery in Namwon<sup>366</sup>**

Buddha is awakening; who is able to awaken to his nature-ground,<sup>367</sup> and who refines and purifies the bright marvel, so that he reaches the [state of] divine transformation (the Buddha's teaching) that has no end and the virtuous functions that are as numerous as the sand of the Ganges?

If a person can pray with complete sincerity, his influence will be responded to just as the moon is reflected in water or a sound is transmitted (echoes) in a valley, and so [the Buddha] can universally save sentient beings and finally [that person] will reach the land of long life and the country of bliss.<sup>368</sup>

Up till now this monastery was a famous precinct and the numinous miracles of its Buddha statue and divine clay images are different to those of other monasteries. So its clouds of compassion and rain of insight will moisten [i.e. benefit beings] without end.

Members of the two [government] offices living in this town made a vow that each would offer an amount of money to set up an association to make offerings of Buddhist supplies, to which they would add incense for worship and monthly and daily pray to remove calamities and invite good fortune and so that their descendants would be numerous and that their wealth and honors would continue, which is a principle of the Way of influence and response. One must obtain the hidden protection in the midst of the darkness of ignorance and not wait for wisdom and only then know [about this protection] so that this land of long life and country of bliss will finally bring one to [the state of] no delusion.

When I was traveling south I passed this monastery and the Elder Chunmyeong asked me to write an introductory note [for the

association]. I admired him and so was happy to make this preface for him. Having done this I then stated its regulations in the following [text].

Respectfully written in the last ten days of the second month of winter in the fourth year of Gwangmu of the Daehan [1900] by the monk Gyeongheo who belongs to Hoseo.

**Mu'idang**

(presented to the nun of Bogwangam of Janggoksa)<sup>369</sup>

Whether differentiating deliberations have not ended or whether differentiating deliberations have already ended, it is not the case that these are non-dual (*mu'i*). Why?

A laneway of four or five hundred flowering willows (prostitutes),  
And two or three thousand song-and-dance halls.<sup>370</sup>

Now say, are these non-dual (*mu'i*), or are they dual (two things)? If you can understand, you are an idiot. If you do not understand then I will approve of you. Even if you reach such a state, you must still investigate [Seon] over three rebirths or sixty eons.<sup>371</sup>

Gyeongheo's rakish story<sup>372</sup>

## Text of the Mutual Aid Society Formed to Jointly Practice Meditation and Insight [so that one will be] Jointly Reborn in the Tuṣita [Heaven] and Jointly Achieve Buddhahood

The *Huayan jing* says, “You should contemplate the nature of the dharma-realm.”<sup>373</sup> The *Lotus Sūtra* says, “[The dharmas] are always characterized by calm cessation.”<sup>374</sup> Why aren’t the characteristics of calm cessation and the nature of the dharma-realm the nature-ground of the seeing, hearing, knowing and awareness of sentient beings? The *Diamond Sūtra* says, “All that which has characteristics is empty and false.”<sup>375</sup> The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* says, “All actions (Skt. *saṃskārā*, constitutive force) are impermanent, are the rising and ceasing dharmas.”<sup>376</sup> Why aren’t these [actions] those of the senses, body, and container realms of sentient beings and the karmic actions of good, evil, and neutral.<sup>377</sup> These sutra verses are in our school routinely seen and heard by three-foot [high] child trainees and meal-eating *śramaṇera* (novices), but even eminent virtuosos who have long intoned the sūtras, meditated, and been mindful [or chanted the name of the Buddha] are all unable to see into even a small part of them. What is the logic of passing [life] aimlessly and to never consider these [verses]? Rather these exist for you to illuminate and clarify, be enlightened to and cultivated.

Ah! This body is empty and insubstantial like a collection of bubbles. The robust physique does not remain, being like a galloping horse. It exists briefly, just like dew on grass, and it suddenly ceases like a lamplight blown out by wind. Bandaging hundreds of thousands of ulcers, leaking impurities from the nine orifices, it is repulsive and it is impermanent. Being like this it should be feared and detested. And yet being completely drunk due to the poisonous alcohol of ignorance, buffeted by the wind gusts of the consciousness of (cognitive) objects, one stealthily uses all kinds of thoughts (spirits

[精神]), forming long-standing eons of transgressions, and in the end one does not reflect on and examine this. This is pitiable.

Our Śākyamuni Buddha pitied and sympathized with people, and used the power of his divine wisdom and expedient means to proclaim the net of the three teachings that pull out the fish of humans and gods, and at the end [of his life] he entrusted the marvelous mind of nirvāṇa and the Eye Store of the Correct Dharma to the Venerable Kāśyapa, which was transmitted from one [patriarch] to the next till it reached Patriarchal Teacher Bodhidharma who came to Chinese soil, converted and nurtured sentient beings. The profound style [of Bodhidharma's teaching] was very influential. His words, "Do not depend on letters, directly point to the mind of people, see the nature and become Buddha"<sup>378</sup> indicate the essential principle of the Way. His words, "Externally stop [the influence of] the conditions (objects), internally [have] the mind be without panting, [and if] the mind is like a wall, then you can enter the Way"<sup>379</sup> is a direct indication of the Way. His words, "Contemplate the single dharma of the mind and totally control the actions (Skt. *samskārā*)"<sup>380</sup> indicate the basic essence of the Way. His words, "When it is liberal it permeates the dharma-realm, when narrow there is no room for even a needle,"<sup>381</sup> indicate the great function of the Way. His words, "Bow three times and maintain your position, [I] seal [Hui]ke who obtained the marrow [of the Way of Seon]"<sup>382</sup> indicate the source of the Way.

Besides these, the hundred thousand skilful means of the Buddhas and patriarchs are all repeated and kindly instructions for later generations and are the correct path of cultivation for sentient beings. Somebody said, "The Buddha raised a flower in his fingers at the assembly on Mount Grdhraukuta [Kor. Yeongsan], but the ten million [member] great assembly were at a loss and only the Venerable Kāśyapa understood and smiled subtly."<sup>383</sup> Yet the sentient beings of later generations are unable to calculate that their opportunities are few<sup>384</sup> and they all say "We are searching the courtyard of the patriarchs," but how do they have the principle of success? Such a perverse theory

should not be raised for this [theory] produced an eye (appreciation) without insight. Also, if you do not consult a clear-eyed lineage master you will become rash like this, which is insufficient to be wonderful. However, if you think like this and do not reflect on your faults then not only are you deluding yourself about the path forward but you have also blinded the eyes of others. Please question this.

Generally, when the Buddha transmits the dharma, the pupils respond to the teaching and come repeatedly, like Kāśyapa and Ānanda. Their numbers are incalculable. How then can you be without the opportunity to participate in this Way? Therefore the reason a person transmits to one person is because after the Buddha's decease, he raised one person to be the leader of the teaching for a generation, just as heaven lacks two suns or a country does not have two kings.<sup>385</sup> Therefore, all of them, from the patriarchal teachers of India to the west to the saints and wise men of China, were like this, such as the Venerable Upagupta [the fourth patriarch], who liberated so many people that their tallies filled a thirty-foot stone room (cave)<sup>386</sup> and Mazu who produced eighty-eight lineage masters,<sup>387</sup> and then after that [they produced] one thousand five hundred excellent teachers who sat simultaneously in the monastery [lit. site of the Way], and subsequently formed into five branches of the lineage. Those who perfected the Way beneath one of the excellent teachers were at most a thousand or a hundred and at the least were no fewer than ten in number. If you acknowledge that [the story of] the ten billion assembly being all at a loss and that only the Venerable Kāśyapa understood and smiled subtly is an erroneous view, then you will destroy the patriarchal courtyard for later generations of people to visit and will have gone too far (分外). Are the many people taught and converted by the aforementioned guiding teachers all mistaken in what they have received? Also, are all that has been transmitted fabricated, extravagant and baseless theories? Evidently these are all present in the records and they cannot be accused of being false. If that is not the case, many people of later generations have obtained release and yet the transmission on Mount Grdhrakuta was to only

one person, so how can the abilities of the people of later generations be superior to those of the assembly members of Mount Gr̥dhrakuta? This is absolutely illogical.

Why then was it that there was only a single transmission given to Venerable Kāśyapa? Is it your position that it must be only the Venerable Kāśyapa and nobody else who transmits it? If it is like this then that would be unfortunate. Even if this was not [due to] the one person, Venerable Kāśyapa, then would it not be the case that the Eye Store of the Correct Dharma<sup>388</sup> definitely could not be transmitted?

Moreover, if you think that the enlightenment of the later generations does not equal that given on Mount Gr̥dhrakuta you will destroy it. This is even more unacceptable. How could the world then have a heaven-born Maitreya and a natural Śākyamuni?

If you only hear the preaching of the guiding masters who teach people to clarify the mind and see the nature and do not see the prohibition on the people of the later generations practicing and leaving samādhi and prajñā, then you will forcibly interpret and analyze, none of which [activities] can form principle. Therefore [I] say, “Therefore the reason a person transmits to one person is that [the Buddha] had promoted one person to be the leader for a generation after the Buddha’s decease, just as heaven lacks two suns and a country does not have two kings. It does not mean that there is nobody else besides him who has attained the Way.” If you have this view then I ask you to change forthwith.

The World Honored One said, “Rely on the dharma, do not rely on the person. Rely on the revealed meaning; do not rely on the unrevealed meaning.”<sup>389</sup> Where in the Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Huayan*, the *Lotus*, the *Lengyan*, the *Yuanjue*, the *Vimalakīrti*, and the *Nirvāna*, or in the Mahāyāna sāstras (treatises) by Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu, or in the Seon school recorded sayings such as the *Chuandeng* [lu], *Zongjing* [lu], [Seonmun] *yeomsong* [jip]<sup>390</sup> do we read that it does not allow the sentient beings of later generations to consult the texts and sentences of the true and correct Way?<sup>391</sup> Not only do they not make this prohibited, these

in particular all are to inform them [or clearly encourage sentient beings] and to lead them. I have affection for and commiserate with them, only fearing they will not enter into this Way. This is what we constantly preach and listen to. How can a single word or a single letter cheat them?

Alas! The correct dharma is very slight but the perverse Way blazes and flourishes. There is the lament that one is bringing a glass of water to put out a chariot on fire. This was [made] already by the elder master Cheongheo<sup>392</sup> when he was teaching. Rather, is it not even more so today?

Good thoughts lead to [rebirth as] humans and gods; evil minds lead to [rebirth as] starving ghosts and in hell, but this dharma-method of the vivifying verse of the courtyard of the patriarchs enables you to see through to [the time] before the ancient Buddha was born and set up yourself and [stake your] life in the practice site (monastery) of the Great Calm Light.<sup>393</sup> [In this method] you pick up a vast array of things, all of which are Pure Buddha Lands, all of which are the ocean-seal samādhi.<sup>394</sup> Those of superior ability will enter at one leap and take control of the strategic points,<sup>395</sup> pacify the land and stabilize the country. How can it be any other [method] than this? However, in the case of those of lesser abilities, they will be unable to suddenly achieve [enlightenment]. Therefore a person of old said, “A bamboo shoot ultimately will become bamboo, and by now can it be made into a raft?”<sup>396</sup> So then those of lesser abilities can eventually enter [enlightenment] after long practice. Therefore Chan Master Dahui [Zonggao] said, “Over many days and extensive months, you will naturally stumble across it.”<sup>397</sup> Reverend Zhaozhou said, “If you truly investigate for thirty or twenty years, not leaving the teaching monastery, and you still do not understand this Way, then cut off my head.”<sup>398</sup> [Given that] the people of old instructed in this way, how can they be using empty and false words to entice and delude later beings? Generally, the confused do not discern this principle. If they see or hear the words of [members of] the patriarchal lineage they will confidently surmise [that there is] a saintly realm but simply

devote themselves to the phenomenal and compounded, sometimes chanting the sūtras or handling the rosary, or managing the monastic buildings, molding and painting Buddhist images, looking for merit and hoping for bodhi (enlightenment). Is this not a mistake? This is far from the Way. Therefore [when] Emperor Wu of Liang created Buddhist [images] and raised stūpas, established vegetarian rituals to ordain monks, and performed unlimited Buddhist services, the great being (bodhisattva) Bodhidharma said, “There is not the slightest merit [in this].”<sup>399</sup> Again, the great master, the sixth patriarch [Huineng] said, “Confused people cultivate blessings and do not cultivate the Way, only saying that the cultivation of blessings is the Way.”<sup>400</sup> The Reverend of Yongjia said, “To abide in characteristics and give donations [in order to obtain] the blessings of being born in the heavens is just like using an arrow to shoot empty space; when the force is exhausted the arrow will fall down. This is inviting your future life to go not as you wish.”<sup>401</sup> Again, Chan Master Guifeng said, “Being literate and reading the sūtras are basically not the realization of enlightenment. To be devoted to the text and interpret its meaning is to only burn with craving, anger, and perverse views.”<sup>402</sup> Also, Great Master Hongren said, “To keep your original true mind is better than being mindful of the buddhas of all directions.”<sup>403</sup> Such words all blame [people] for not discerning the basis of meditation and insight and for misusing the cultivation of practice.

The drowning of sentient beings in the three worlds is worse than a baby being placed in water and fire. The salvation of these [beings] by the great compassion of the buddhas is greater than the concern of a kind mother for her babe-in-arms. Therefore the World Honored One said, “Regard equally all sentient beings, as Rahula does.”<sup>404</sup> However, would it not be wrong for we who are as yet to transcend to regard the Buddha as being without compassion?

The Venerable Aniruddha<sup>405</sup> who was in the Buddha’s assembly was criticized by the Buddha for sleeping excessively, so for seven days he assiduously did not sleep. He gained heavenly (supernatural)

sight and yet he went blind. The Venerable Ānanda was criticized by the Venerable Kāśyapa for dwelling in [the city of] Vaiśali, so he vigorously practiced alone to the extent that his body and mind were extremely exhausted, after which he attained the result of being an arhat. If the Buddha's supernatural powers were able to coerce them to do this and to make sentient beings perfect the Way like forcing the mouth open and pouring in medicine to cure illness, how then can these [powers] be injurious [when] the two venerable monks like this zealously practiced until they were completely exhausted and assiduously practiced till they became blind and then afterwards obtained supernatural sight or perfected the outcome of sainthood?

So then how can it not be the case that there is value in availing yourself of their verbal teaching and so be able to enlighten yourself and cultivate yourself? Therefore if you want this self-enlightenment and self-cultivation you cannot but avail yourself of the verbal teaching, just as the growth of a seed depends on water and soil, and the jewel in a darkened room needs to avail itself of lamplight. In the sūtras and śāstras there are clear warnings and instructions handed down, and by consulting a teacher you will decide on and select the work of the Way. This is an urgent duty. It is for example like the same elephant standing beside a monastery or a butcher's shop; this is good or bad at different times. Although it is one person holding reeds or [toilet] paper, yet he stinks or is fragrant according to circumstances. Therefore a person of old said, "Respect the wise man as one loves [the opposite] sex."<sup>406</sup> A virtuoso of old said, "Serve good friends without sparing the ruler of your body (life)."<sup>407</sup> How can you regard [something as] important as that and yet treat it as lightly as this?

In the winter of the *gimyo* [year, 1879], I was investigating the vivifying verse of the patriarchal gate (Seon school) in the Hall of the Patriarchs of Donghaksa on Gyeryongsan, when suddenly I got an idea [about it]. I wanted to [work on it] together with my comrades, but at the time I had been ill and was yet to recover, so my ambition was still inadequate. Thus I strolled around and rested up,<sup>408</sup> being

unrestrained in the grog shops of fishing villages, resting in the dark mountain torrents and deep forests, [when] suddenly I forgot myself!

After this, warfare was joined<sup>409</sup> and the course of events was confused. I did not have the leisure to think of hiding myself. How could I extend this [thought] to others? I was not aware of the slow passage of time and the years piled up, twenty years in this [state]. From being mindful of the vastness of the Buddha's grace, I hoped to offer up one ten-thousandth of the numberless lands [in repayment]. I carried a Seon (chestnut wood) staff and I tried to visit Haein[sa] in Hapcheon. It was just at this time that they were newly roofing the meditation quarters. I spent the cold period with the Seon virtuosos doing box-wood Seon.<sup>410</sup> One day around the brazier the talk turned to the persons of old who formed the [meditation] society and their practice of the Way. So then these gentlemen suddenly remembered what they had forgotten, namely the power of their ambition, vow, and faith. [It was like] water pouring out of the mountains and they regretted the delay in their meeting together. Then they discussed a covenant to form the society and they pushed me to be the administrator of the covenant-oath. I then remembered my thoughts about the greatness of the Buddha's grace I had in past days, and not having regard for the mediocrity and meanness of the talent, not examining their nature and their Way yet to be fulfilled, I did not extend a single word and abruptly approved [of being the administrator of the oath]. The reason for this covenantal oath is to jointly cultivate meditation and insight, to be born together in the Tuṣita [Heaven], and to be companions in the Way together generation after generation and ultimately to jointly perfect correct awareness. If one achieves the power of the Way first, [that person will] vow to pull along those who are not up to standard so that [that person] will not violate the covenant.

If there are people who share views and share practices, no matter whether they are monastic or lay, male or female, young or old, wise or stupid, aristocrat or menial; and also no matter whether they are intimate or alienated, detached from or joined up with, distant

from or close to [the Way], previous [generation] or later [generation]; all are allowed to participate. The reason for this is that all people have a limitless treasure store and are [in this respect] no different to the Buddha. It is just that they have passed through eons without meeting a good friend [teacher] who will reveal [the treasure] to them. They crawl through the three realms and rapidly float through the four types of birth. Not only are they like Yajñadatta being confused about his head,<sup>411</sup> [but they are also like] the prodigal son who was separated from his home village.<sup>412</sup> They pass through rebirths, whirling in distress, fully experiencing much suffering, to the extent that there are ten thousand rebirths in a day and a night, and the pain of every thought-moment splits open their heart, and they are not [even] aware of their short sighs and long groans. How can one be in the category of tea and rice (meals) and yet you do not seek to get out of it?<sup>413</sup> Knowing in detail that the circumstances are like this, you will universally vow to together reach the region of long life, which is the country of bliss.

Also, a person of old said, “Even though our paths are different, we will meet face to face in Chu and Yue; if the Way tallies then the empyrean and earth are a shared place.”<sup>414</sup> Because it is a shared place, even though the myriad images are laid out, their empty nature will lack any deficiency. Although the watercourses together run into the sea, the volume of the sea is not increased. Hopefully this will spur the development of a courageous mind that will illuminate brightly the falsity and impermanence of karmic actions, and enlighten and cultivate the nature-ground of the quiescent dharma-realm, and [they will] forget what was known of these views and interpretations, and transcend and realize the marvelous mind of nirvāṇa and the Eye Store of the Correct Dharma. It being like this, who says it is impossible and that one [should not] hope for bliss?

The *Yinxing jing* says, “The Śākyā, the World Honored One, was in past ages the *r̄si* (immortal) Shanhui, who spread out his hair [on the road in front of] the Lamplight Buddha (Dīpaṃkara), who pleased, praised him, and the assembly of a million gods and humans because

of this planted conditions so that they joined together in an assembly on Mount Gr̥dhrakuta and perfected the Way.”<sup>415</sup> The *Qianfo yinyuan jing* (Sutra of the Causation of the Thousand Buddhas) says, “The thousand buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa (the present eon) were youths in the study hall that was midst the image of the Dharma of the Tathāgata, the King of the Flame of the Jeweled Lamp. When they heard the names of the three jewels [of Buddhism; Buddha, dharma, and sangha] they bowed to the Buddha’s image and made a vow to initiate *anuttara[samyaksam]bodhi* (supreme enlightenment) and then they together became a thousand buddhas.”<sup>416</sup> There are no sūtras that do not have other buddhas and bodhisattvas jointly making vows and perfecting the Way,

In the recent past there was Huiyuan’s society on Mount Lü,<sup>417</sup> Letian’s society on Mount Xiang,<sup>418</sup> and Moguja’s society on Gongsan Mountain,<sup>419</sup> all of which had this intention. Dharma Teacher Xuanzang said, “The people of the Western Regions all perform deeds to enable them to be born in the Tuṣita [Heaven], and generally they are together inside this realm of desire.”<sup>420</sup> Their voices are joined together. Because the practice [of chanting the name of the Buddha] is easily accomplished, the Greater and Lesser Vehicle teachers all allow this method. Because the Amitābha’s Pure Land is I fear as difficult to practice and achieve by ordinary and mean people who are polluted, the new and old translations of the sūtras and śāstras all say, “The bodhisattva above the tenth stage can see the Pure Land of the Reward Buddha according to their allotment,” so how would it be easy for ordinary people of lower grades to obtain a rebirth [in the Pure Land]? Therefore the Greater Vehicle allows it and the Lesser Vehicle does not allow it. Therefore the Dharma Teacher [Xuanzang] through his whole life always performed the work [to be reborn into] the Tuṣita [Heaven]. When he was about to die he vowed to be reborn there and see the Maitreya Buddha. He asked the great assembly to together speak the gāthā:

Hail to the Maitreya Tathāgata, worthy of offerings, of correct enlightenment,

We hope you will rapidly offer your kind visage to all sentience.  
 Hail to the Maitreya Tathāgata, who dwells among the assembly,  
 We hope having abandoned life we will surely be born in the midst [of  
 that assembly].<sup>421</sup>

So Dharma Teacher Xuanzang, an eminent scholar who knew the dharma, was definitely not a self-impeding cheat. How much more so those who are recorded past and present as being reborn in the Tuṣita [Heaven]? Why were they worth recording? And so those like the bodhisattvas Asaṅga and Vasubandhu likewise jointly vowed to be reborn in Tuṣita, and now we only<sup>422</sup> take the dharma from them. Even though it is like this, this Pure Land and the Tuṣita [Heaven] are different due to the [differences] in the brief periods of the vows of practitioners. How can it be that those reborn in the Tuṣita [Heaven] do not vow to personally see the Amitābha Tathāgata and those who are reborn into the Pure Land not wish to serve the Venerable Maitreya Buddha? They are for example like white jade or yellow gold, each of which are true treasures; [or like] the autumn orchid or autumn chrysanthemum they both convey a pure aroma. I hope you will not regard them to be superior or inferior, or difficult or easy [to practice], and will not argue over views of right or wrong, or person and ego.

Now those who first enter into the mutual aid association have enacted such a vow to be reborn [in the Pure Land] and those who follow later to participate in the society will likewise share their mental and oral [vows]. Should there be those who are as yet incomplete in the power of the Way, if they take advantage of the power of this vow, they will be reborn in the inner sanctum of the Tuṣita [Heaven] and will consult and hear the peerless profound voice of the Venerable Buddha Maitreya, rapidly realize the great awakening and return to liberate sentient beings. How is that not joyful and happy?

I hope that all those on the path will not regard the past as important and the present [new members?] as insignificant, and

that they will make a vow to participate together, profoundly form excellent connections, and that the daily miscellaneous activities will be fully recorded in the yellow volumes so that one can imitate them and make them your teacher. They do not need to be analyzed item by item.

A person of old said, “In fully cultivating the many practices only take no-thought to be the core.”<sup>423</sup> The essentials of practice are fixed in this. I hope that it does not come to the stage of failing by being biased or excessive.

Ah! Once one has lost the human body it is difficult to regain [even over] ten thousand eons. There were heroes from the past and now where are they? Therefore a virtuoso of the past wrote a hymn of self-admonition:

Do not seek fame and profit; so not seek glory.

Just accord with conditions and pass through this life.

When the vitality of the three inch (tongue) is extinguished, who is the master?

After a hundred years of life (post-death), reputation dissolves into nothing.

Where clothing is holed, repair it repeatedly.

When there are no food supplies, go round and round [begging].

How many days can the illusory body [last]?

If you waste time on this you will long be ignorant.<sup>424</sup>

Again, a virtuoso of old had a poem lamenting [the state of] the world that said:

Carefully investigate past and present, events are mournful.

Aristocrat and menial together return to one old tumulus [tomb].

The jade palace of [Emperor] Wen of Han is already drowned in dust.

From the Golden Valley [Garden] of Shicheng [of the Jin dynasty] the water flows aimlessly.

In the light and shade (passage of time) it suddenly dawns and as usual

returns to the evening.

For vegetation, as soon as it is spring then autumn arrives.  
 If there is not an iota of the not good in the world,  
 What then following death will you use in reply to the lord of the  
 underworld?<sup>425</sup>

Again, a text to encourage cultivation by a virtuoso of old says:

As soon as a breath does not return that is the future birth. Even if your wife and children love you, there is no plan to detain you. Even if blood relatives are all present [before you], who [of them] will replace you [in death]? They hurry to commit to a lump of wild fire [to the funerary pyre] and send off [the ashes] to be buried in the distant and barren wild mountains. Among the wild grasses and the indistinct paths a stone stele [for the tomb] remains and in the space between the green poplars there are hung paper coins [to be burnt at the funeral]. When the rain of tears sprinkles on it, it is quiescent and calm. Where the wind of compassion moves, it soughs with a chill. At the end point it is difficult to escape like this. Arriving here [at the point of death], do you not comprehend? If you do not believe the Buddha's words, what words can you believe? If you do not cultivate practice while on the human path [of rebirth] it will be difficult to practice [Buddhism] while on another path [of rebirth].<sup>426</sup>

That would be lamentable and pitiable. Be sure to thoroughly read the text of this society for mutual aid two or three times and engrave this warning in your heart and be zealous [in practice] as if saving your own head [when it is] on fire. Do not allow this to produce a life spent in vain.

When it comes to needing such knowledge,<sup>427</sup> these are earnest rules and precepts. If you look upon them as a commonplace, that will be like scratching an itch through a boot or Yue looking at the leanness of Qin.<sup>428</sup> One who at least has no consideration or influence from them, when he thinks, he will be like an ill person

who does not seek medicine or a starving person not taking food. I really can do nothing about such people at all. If you genuinely wish to practice this principle and the deeply-sourced Way, and make up your mind to be born in the inner sanctum of the Tuṣita [Heaven], you must diligently consult a teacher.

My prose has shortcomings and the paper has run out<sup>429</sup> so I cannot fully express the words and aims [of the society]. Respect this and rely on this [text]. I offer up prayers for the superior conditions. May his majesty the emperor live a long life. Next I hope for good harvests and that the times will be peaceful and that the smoke and dust [of warfare] are eliminated forever. Next [I hope] that the correct dharma will circulate endlessly and that the sentient beings of the dharma-realm will together realize the marvelous awareness.

The founder of the society, the bhikṣu (monk) Seongu and others are devoted to the teaching master of the age, the Śākyamuni Buddha; are devoted to the teaching master of the future, the Venerable Buddha Maitreya; are devoted to the Buddha, dharma, and samgha, which are eternal and omnipresent in all directions in the three periods [of past, present, and future]. [We] rely [on them] to take pity and bestow their power to make us achieve what we have vowed [to do] without being wasteful, and that we rapidly perfect [the Way]. We humbly pray.

The administrator of the covenant for the formation of the society, the bhikṣu Seongu, burns incense and again bows, respectfully writing this on the first day<sup>430</sup> of the eleventh month of the third year of the Gwangmu of the Daehan [December 3, 1899].

## Regulations of the Mutual Aid Society for Meditation and Insight

- You should be mindful that impermanence (death) is rapid and that the matter of birth-and-death is great. Diligently cultivate meditation and insight. If you do not cultivate meditation and insight and yet seek for the result of buddhahood, this is like walking backwards while seeking what is in front of you, [like] going to Yue [in the south] while your carriage heads north. [Therefore] do not grasp for and be attached to the compounded illusory dharmas, for they are things that will delude you for your entire life.<sup>431</sup>
- If you diligently cultivate meditation and insight you will be able to decide on and select the [proper] work of practice, and after that you will not waste your efforts. [Therefore] you should consult an [excellent] teacher.
- From of old one must have fully practiced the work [of Buddhism] to become a buddha or bodhisattva. Only after that do you gain discernment. For this reason practice meditation and insight, vow to be reborn in the inner sanctum of the Tuṣita [Heaven], and together you will achieve the result of buddhahood.
- Once you have joined the mutual aid society meditation and insight will be your urgent duty. You cannot only vow to be reborn in the Tuṣita [Heaven]. If you make the vow without practicing then that vow becomes pointless.
- It is also permitted that those who can truly cultivate meditation and insight but who do not vow to be born in the Tuṣita [Heaven] can participate in the society. It is also permitted that those who can truly cultivate meditation and insight but do not vow to be reborn in the paradise [of the Pure Land] can participate in the society.<sup>432</sup>
- The intent of the formation of the society essentially lies in refining [your practice] together [with other members] of the society. If there are no problems, you must therefore gather together in one place and study together.

- There is also no obstacle to those who decide upon and select [proper practice] distinctly and are able to generally cultivate the practice of meditation and insight not gathering in one place.
- Without regard to their level of maturity in the Way, those who find it impossible due to circumstances need not come to the meeting.
- Those who come later to join the society should clearly record their residence, names, and vows in the register of the mutual aid [society].
- [When] this mutual aid association was initially founded it was yet to spread to other places. Now that the society is definitely formed in the place of the meditation society of Haein[sa], the matters of their residence and names et cetera [should] at your convenience be recorded at the place where the society was formed and be circulated among the members of the mutual aid association. It is not necessary to devote yourself to these matters whether coming or going so that this becomes troublesome.
- Participants in this association should each develop a courageous mind and ambition, and having previously formed a power in the Way [should] liberate those people who have yet to reach [this stage]. You should not solely depend on other people and so be let loose [or given license, be lazy]. If you are like this it is best not to enter the society. Should you enter [the society] with a deceitful mind, how can a person with deceitful thoughts manage the Way? Thus it would be best that you not enter the society.
- Those of evil thoughts and actions, who have committed grave transgressions, who have serious illnesses and serious sores, are definitely not allowed to join the society. [This is because] these [conditions] lessen and destroy the moral influence and are obstacles to the practice of the Way.
- If you do not share the views or the practices [of the society] you are not allowed to participate in the society.
- The making of the vow for the covenant is not a minor matter. If the people in the association fall into the three [lower paths of

hell, animals, starving ghosts] or are banished to [the realms of] the *māra* (tempting demons) and non-[Buddhists], those people who have previously achieved the power of the Way and who are fixed on rescuing [people], and who do not contradict the [ideals of the] covenant; and speaking by extension, the favor [they extend] is greater than that [extended by] parents, and the friendship [they extend] surpasses that of brothers, for how can parents and brothers save you after death; those people who are of the same mind and who maintain harmony [should] save those [sunk into the three lower paths et cetera] from their faults, and assist the poor and not ignore them like bystanders.

- [If] once you have made the vow to be born into the Tuṣita [Heaven] and to personally see the Maitreya Tathāgata, and you have a mind like a person of the world who is most filial, but unexpectedly due to your service to the king you differ with your parents and you drift into other districts and then you think of returning to visit [your parents] but your mind's eye is clouded over and you cannot forget yourself, then being like this do not count your rosary beads while reciting [the name of the Buddha]. If these recitations (*yeom*) are always earnest and are not only always earnest but you also naturally remember [the Buddha] and do not forget him, this is genuine mindfulness (recitation) [of the name of] the Buddha (*yeombul*). Definitely do not hold onto counting the rosary and being confused in thought (*yeom*) [even though] you chant [the name] thousands [of times]. You should, based on this analogy, likewise, in the rules about the other [forms of] worship (bowing) and offering, from setting out a single burning of incense or an [offering of] tea, even [the offering] of a single bowl of rice or making a single vow, [realize] that these [practices] lie essentially in having a sincere mind. [This is because] there cannot be the proliferation of much confusion.
- As a consequence of members of the association each living in various locations, whether they are many or few [in those places], because they [have to] live and work in accordance with

that place, they will need to devote themselves to joining the meetings and should not live alone in the mountains and forests. If there are those who are painfully ill or who have died but have yet to achieve power in the Way and lack the guidance to the later [posthumous] paths and have no companions in the Way, be concerned that they will lose the merits of their previous efforts and will delude themselves about the great matter [of enlightenment]. Also, you must aid and abet [those] from the association. I fear that [monks] with one robe drifting about north and south as they wish, [who will become] sick and die likewise will be not a few. If you do not reject giving assistance to each of them then there will not be a month that is without [those] who have crossed over the long rivers and climbed the serried peaks on distressing paths arriving with insufficient strength or coming with obstacles to them working on the [set] practices. Or [when] a person comes from a Seon monastery (林下), what money and resources will there be [left] to help those people who are from far away, or who are ill and dying? If you do not aid [them], that is a violation of the covenant, and thus you will be criticized by the assembly. In accordance with your numbers, and in accordance with your location, work together. Examine this item carefully, for it has major implications, so it must be respected and kept. If you have a mind to be alone, you cannot join the society.

- Although the great limitation<sup>433</sup> is difficult to avoid, those who become ill and are about to die should be cared for by close companions in the association, [and those companions should] preach the dharma of impermanence, the principles of meditation and insight, and the vow to be reborn in the Tuṣita [Heaven] for them, so that those who [are about to] pass away are not oppressed in spirit, are not ignorant of the power of the Way, and are not ignorant of the vow to be born in the Tuṣita [Heaven].
- When there are those who have passed away, those who were close companions in the association [should] manage by offering up prayers to the Maitreya Tathāgata and to the omnipresent

three jewels, just doing so with the utmost sincerity. We hope that you will not toil too greatly in arranging [this matter].

- The event of the death and the date should be clearly written out in a letter and then sent to the society headquarters, and from there circulated to the members of the association who were companions. Furthermore, there is no need to solely undertake this matter by coming and going over long distances. If there are people who hear this news in a meeting of the association, even though they are over a thousand *ris* (approx. 300 miles) away, then in a meeting of two or three people, or a meeting of four, five or six, or in a meeting of ten or twenty, or in a meeting of over a hundred people, naturally in that meeting they should be mindful of the oath of the covenant and make sincere thoughts for the deceased, and in accordance with their wealth or thrift they are to set up a certain number of implements of worship and attentively make offerings to the Maitreya Tathāgata and to the omnipresent three jewels. Even though it be a meeting of over a thousand people, write down a list of each person's name. Moreover, each person is to jointly participate by kneeling in obeisance and praying so that the deceased person will be reborn in the palace of the inner sanctum of the Tuṣita [Heaven]. Next they are to make offerings to the late spirit and on the annual and biannual [anniversary] mourning service they are also to honor [that spirit].
- Question: “Why do you now form a society for meditation and insight while also [aiming for] rebirth in the Tuṣita [Heaven]?”

Answer: “It (rebirth) is established for those who have yet to gain strength from meditation and insight. Those who are able to gain that strength are free to do as they like. What need would they have of the strength of the vow to be later reborn there? However, bodhisattvas of great strength also make vows. What obstacle could there be to those who have obtained strength making vows? For this reason [the society members] vow to be reborn in the inner sanctum of the Tuṣita [Heaven].”

Question: “Since rebirth in the Tuṣita [Heaven] is a shared [aim of] the society, why does it also allow participants to enter and be reborn in the Pure Land?”<sup>434</sup>

Answer: “The formation of the society is [based on] meditation and insight, [but] due to their cultivation of meditation and insight, members who still vow [to be reborn in] paradise (the Pure Land) can also participate in the society. Therefore they are allowed to participate and join. If they are able to truly cultivate meditation and insight, how could it be that the Tuṣita [Heaven] and the Pure Land do not indicate the same thing and form different views?”

Question: “If so then in the text of the association [there is] only the vow to be born in the Tuṣita [Heaven]. It does not mention rebirth in the Pure Land. Why is this?”

Answer: “It is difficult to be born in the Pure Land and yet the work [of being born in] the Tuṣita [Heaven] is easy. Since both of them are inside the realm of desire their aims coincide.”<sup>435</sup>

Question: “Other texts encouraging practice have the words ‘Birth in the Tuṣita [Heaven] is difficult, the work [of being born] in the Pure Land is easy.’<sup>436</sup> Now how can you say the contrary? [Why] is it like this?”

Answer: “This has a deep meaning. If you examine all the sūtras and śāstras and the recorded sayings of the people of the past, it is not only the ease or difficulty [of rebirth] in the Pure Land and the Tuṣita [Heaven that they mention], but they also one-sidedly praise or say that there is nothing better than chanting dhāraṇī (incantations) for achieving the Way, or say there is nothing better than intoning the sūtras for studying Buddhism, or say there is great merit in creating [Buddhist] images and building stūpas, donating and making offerings, and even [practicing] the myriad practices that are miscellaneous raised. They one-sidedly praise their dharma. This does not mean that their dharma (method) is suitable and that the other methods are unsuitable. They are only good expedients to be used by the

master in teaching people and to create benefits for sentient beings. Therefore a sutra says, ‘That which has no set dharma (method) is called the *anuttarasamyaksambodhi* (peerless correct wisdom).’<sup>437</sup> It also says, ‘The Buddha does not speak falsehoods, but in order to benefit sentient beings, there are times when he uses falsehoods.’<sup>438</sup>”

Question: “If that is so, should you then vow to be reborn in the Pure Land, or should you vow to be born in the Tuṣita [Heaven]?”

Answer: “You should vow to be born into the Tuṣita [Heaven].”

Question: “[If so then] is [the rebirth into] the Pure Land that are in the regulations about permission to join the society erroneous?”

Answer: “For those who have vowed to be reborn in the Pure Land and who have firmly held to this without budging over many years, they are consequently permitted to do so. Why wouldn’t those presently born into the Tuṣita [Heaven], after having formed the strength in the Way, be allowed to be reborn in the Pure Land and to personally see the Maitreya Tathāgata? If not, what fault would there be? We only fear that those who vow [to be reborn into] the Pure Land will not obtain the short-cut rebirth. It is rare to be directly reborn. But since it exists, why isn’t it proper? I also will be reborn following in your footsteps [in this case]. Please be fully attentive when at the very last moment as the light of your eyes falls to the ground [as you die] and do not have any regrets.”

- If you have done even a small amount of good deeds in the world, transfer the merit of them to fellow participants in the association [so that] you and they will jointly achieve the result of buddhahood.
- Question: “If you only vow that members of the association will become Buddha, how do you not transgress the great vow to transfer merit to [all] sentient beings?”

Answer: “The reason the members of the association vow

to jointly attain the Buddha-result is that they really desire to liberate all sentient beings. Therefore a person of old said, ‘There is no such thing as a person who has yet to untie his bonds being able to untie the bonds of others.’<sup>439</sup> If you are alienated from this dharma (method), there will be no other matter of transferring merit to sentient beings.”

- The text of the formation of the society has it that those who have the strength to be able to encourage and teach others should each take a copy [of the text] in order to broadly convert [people] to participate in the society. When they copy this text they should be completely careful to not omit copying a character or to invert sentences, making the words lose their meaning or eliminate its thread [of argument]. It must not also be an obstacle to the encouragement to practice by reading it [with errors in it].
- A person’s life is impermanent. Even though you are now present, it is difficult to preserve [your life] even till tomorrow. How then can the propriety of establishing this association remain for a long time in this world? We respectfully hope that later wise people will fortunately focus on transmitting it and not abandon the benefits [coming from] the formation of this association for meditation and insight. [We hope] that it will be transmitted into the distant future and extensively liberate those lost in delusion.
- If you wish to join this society you should carefully read these regulations and the text of the association. Those who have previously joined the society should pay careful attention to teaching and enlightening these [new members, so that] they make up their mind for the true and correct faith and discern the work of the correct Way. Definitely do not follow the fashions, illusory changes that are not fixed.
- This list of regulations and the text of the association should also be attentively preached to the assembly of beings by those who are versed in its wording and who know its themes during the joint exercises of the summer and winter retreats or during the performance of exercises while meeting together during normal

times, in order to initiate and guide the beginners who have made up their minds [to practice] and those members of the association who are illiterate so that they do not forget or misunderstand [the regulations].

- Should there be things in these regulations and in the text of the association that do not agree with other practices, as this is only [meant] to regulate the participants in the association, these are things that people outside the association will overlook, so we hope that you will not oppose them and give rise to [arguments over the regulations being] right or wrong.
- These regulations are only to regulate those associated with the society. The other miscellaneous practices that are contained in the yellow books should not be quoted prolifically so that they become troublesome.
- Besides these regulations, there are also detailed and set items, but because they were not convenient for the association when it was properly first established, they were not recorded or indicated for the time being, being left to wait for later days when [the society] prospered and when they would be determined. However, you are not to presume that you can decide on them by yourself. You must deliberate on them carefully together with the administrator of the covenant and the knowledgeable members of the assembly. Only after that is [the new regulation] to be written into the books of the association and distributed to be implemented.
- The above regulations should each be respected and observed. Do not allow them to be loosened or lost for the sake of yourself or others.

Text Offered up for the Portrait of Daegak Deunggye  
Geumbongdang<sup>440</sup>  
(In the portrait hall of Beomeosa)

The Elder Geumbong  
His vow was profound.  
To support and protect the Buddhist monastery  
He offered the Buddha his mind.  
Very few are the models of purity.  
His spirit is transmitted [to me] in this [portrait].  
Life and death are not two things,  
They are one revolution through the clear emptiness.  
Suddenly one awakens that this is it.  
Everything at every point,  
The blue mountains in the evening sun,  
A long islet in the emerald sea.

An insignificant member of the school, Gyeongheo Seongu, burnt incense  
and respectfully attached [this text to the portrait].<sup>441</sup>

## Portrait of the Great Seon Master Donggokdang

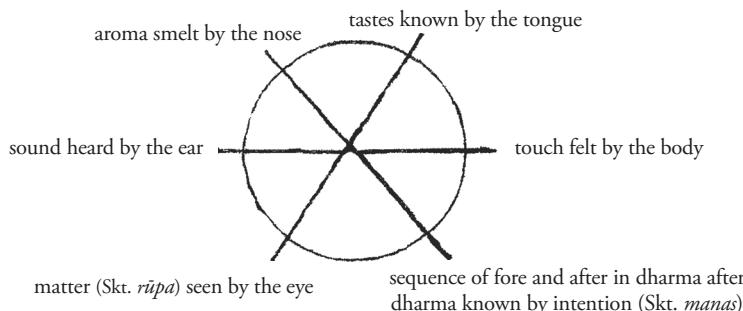
(as above)

To obtain his ideas, he idly talked in the streets. He always turned [the wheel] of the correct dharma, being lost to words. The precious descriptions in the dragon's palace<sup>442</sup> are at once words within a dream. Even though it is like this, although the embroidered clothing is glorious, they are not valued by monks. If so then how can one permit the instructions be looked at? The male and female ducks are produced in the embroidery, so do not take a golden needle and give it to people. Alas! Elder Donggok! And yet it does not prevent one pressing down the high clouds to create the worldly truth.<sup>443</sup> The gāthā says:

Offerings to the Buddha and protection of the dharma  
Greatly elevated his virtue.  
The nature and the characteristics are eternal and enduring.  
A very ancient divine light  
The white moon, sealed (reflected in) the river.  
Flowers bloom in the spring breeze.  
A single portrait,  
Hanging high in the lofty hall,  
Only establishing his Way,  
[That will last as long as] the mountains high and the waters long.<sup>444</sup>

Respectfully sung with the burning of incense by the Seon monk  
Gyeongheo Seongu who belongs to Hoseo.

## Instructions for Gyeongseok, a ThirteenYear Old [novice] Youth



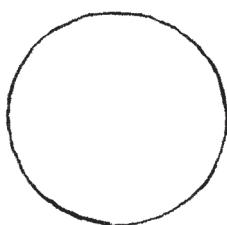
This circle image is the one body (essence) of the saint and the ordinary person without any difference [between them], and yet it (that body) gallops along confused by the six sites [of perception, Skt. *āyatana*]. Those who confuse and obscure its clear light and rounded (perfect) principle are ordinary beings. Those who are able to collect the spirit and are only versed in its singularity and who do not confuse it are the saints. This perfect principle is the mechanism<sup>445</sup> of the myriad transformations [of all creation]. If you reflect back, illuminating it through ultimate effort, then the saints and wise people will push open the innermost doors and enter. If you purify this mind and calm this mind, then that is the primary marvelous method. Investigate it at all times and places, and if you can be consistent (the same from beginning to end) then naturally you will achieve a result.

For participating in meditation (*chamseon*) you must penetrate through the barriers of the patriarchal teachers; for marvelous enlightenment you need to exhaustively cut off the path of

mentation. Intelligence cannot compete with the power of karma; how can dry insight<sup>446</sup> release you from birth-and-death? Therefore if you wish to escape rebirth, solely practice the power of meditation. Usually people are pulled around after wealth and sex, all because they cannot attain the power of meditation and at the end of their lives they are confused in their mind-nature completely due to this.

The mind-moon is round and alone,  
Its light engulfing all images [of phenomena].  
When the light and sense-realms are all forgotten,  
Again, what is this thing?<sup>447</sup>

[Below is the circle image]



## Introduction to the Register of Excellence of the Society for the Cultivation of Meditation [at Haeinsa]

The reason I have written this register of excellence is to instruct later people. What does it mean to instruct later people? The body is akin to bubbles, so life is endangered like a lamplight in the wind. Who is it that knows the goad to diligence? The nature of dharmas are basically empty, the sun of insight is long bright. Again, who is it that is able to be enlightened and enter [nirvāṇa]? Looking from the future to the present is just like the present looking at the past. The later looking at the later [people] is also just like the later [people] looking at those of the present, being clear about what they are pointing at. Alas! Can those who reside in this society use [this as] a mirror to discipline [themselves]?

Respectfully written by the ill and shaven [monk] who belongs to Hoseo, Gyeongheo Seongu, on the first day of the retreat in the tenth month of the *gihae* [year, 1899].

## Hymn of Searching for the Ox<sup>448</sup>

### 1. Searching for the ox

From the beginning it was not lost. What's the use of further searching for it? It is this very searching that is the teacher of Vairocana.<sup>449</sup> The mountains are blue and the waters are green, the songs of the oriole and the chatter of the swallows at every point divulge [the location of the ox]. Ha!

### 2. Seeing the tracks

The marvel of the glorious light [of spring] does not reside in the full bloom of all the flowers. At most it is the yellow of the orange tree and the green of the tangerine. Just right! Ah hah!<sup>450</sup> Where there are tracks there is also an ox. If there is no mind it is easy to be familiar with the Way. Just right! Ah hah!. The incense burner inside the old shrine, the clear autumn and wilderness waters. Just right! Ah hah!

### 3. Seeing the ox

Shouting, “There seems to be a numinous light that shines alone over heaven and earth.” This [light] is the method used by an [ignorant] subordinate<sup>451</sup> who manipulates his mental powers.<sup>452</sup> Its best not to be a goblin or a demon. Now say, what do you see? He shouted once.

#### 4. Getting the ox

Having seen it, it is not non-existent, so how can it fall into being a secondary truth?<sup>453</sup> Those who have not seen it are made to see it. Those who have already seen it are again made deluded and have lost it. Furthermore, those who are enlightened to it are forever enlightened to it. Those who are deluded and have lost it are forever deluded and lost. Have they got it properly or not? He picked up his staff and threw it down once and said,

Once one has grasped for the willow branch he cannot get it,  
The harmonious breeze touches on the jade balustrade.

#### 5. Herding the ox

Good and evil are both the mind. That they cannot be eliminated by cultivating is this [herding that is] like crossing through a village of virulent poison, where even water must not be allowed to moisten one, not even a drop, which is this [herding]. The mind does not have another mind, not eliminating craving and licentiousness is this [herding]. And right through to the present time, being like the eye (appreciation) of a dead person is this. All of this is a perilous path that cannot be traveled (practiced). Now say, what then is nine times nine equals eighty-one? Yet another dimwit.<sup>454</sup> For forty years Yongquan was still rushing around uselessly.<sup>455</sup> For forty years, Xianglin<sup>456</sup> forged together [all discriminated things] into one lump.<sup>457</sup> Ha! It is easy to attain and difficult to maintain. Also you must not accept a little as sufficient.<sup>458</sup> You must consult a teacher for the bellows to forge many directions (methods).<sup>459</sup>

## 6. Riding the ox back home

[Over] six paths [of different kinds of rebirths] and four [types of] birth, passing through eons of disappointment, have you ever taken a single step towards your home town? Ha! Ha! The sound of the flute checks the clouds.<sup>460</sup> The name of the tune was Lake Dongting.<sup>461</sup> The heart of the lake is the foot of the blue mountains. Even though it is like this, he dares to guarantee the senior, but still do you know that he has not yet returned? This is what Guichen spoke of.<sup>462</sup>

## 7. Forgetting the ox and keeping the person

Just sleep.<sup>463</sup> Why are you so messed up? I sit alone without any concern. Spring comes and the grass is green naturally. This is just like applying moxa onto carbuncles. Haven't you heard it said, "When there are sure to be blue skies one is also sure to be beaten."<sup>464</sup> Why is it like this? When it should rain it does not rain. When clear skies are needed there are no clear skies. Even though it is like this, what is the mental practice? Dear me! For many a year not having gone outdoors, what sense-realm is it? Do not shit here. What sense-realm is it? The floating life and boring through [to enlightenment] are unrelated. What sense-realm is it? Not begrudging both eyebrows<sup>465</sup> it is presented for you. Lowering your head and raising your face, there is nowhere to hide. The clouds are in the blue skies and water is in the bottle.

## 8. Person and ox are both non-existent

Siri soro motdaya jidaya sabaha.<sup>466</sup> Grab the willow catkins, grab the willow catkins.<sup>467</sup> After practicing for many years and arriving at this [state], you are still deluded and misunderstand. It is not worth even a farthing.<sup>468</sup> Do you understand? [This is] the order of the general

beyond the border post and the imperial edict inside the borders.<sup>469</sup>  
He shouted once.

## 9. Returning to the origin and going back to the source

Although are cranes legs are long, if you cut them short it will grieve.  
Although a duck's legs are short, if you stretch them it will be sad.  
The bowl (Skt. *pattrā*) must not be given a handle.<sup>470</sup> A skimmer  
(sieve) also should have leakage. Mianzhou's aconite (wolf's-bane) and  
Bingzhou's iron; all things have a place of origin.<sup>471</sup> Good rice and  
cheap firewood is aplenty, sufficient for the neighborhood on all  
sides. This is [someone] beneath the walls of Henan blowing on a fire  
with pursed lips,<sup>472</sup> his tongue flapping as he reads a book. This is the  
house-style of Dayu 大愚.<sup>473</sup> There is another sentence; give it to me  
tomorrow.

## 10. Lowering his hand [in obeisance] and entering the marketplace<sup>474</sup>

The dream of the wooden girl and the song of the stone man are  
likewise dust (contaminants) in front of you and are shadowy matters,  
[but] the formless Buddha is difficult to accept. How can the *uṣṇīśā*  
(peak of the cranium) of Vairocana be valued?<sup>475</sup> He travels on the  
banks of fragrant grasses and he stops at the shoreline of flowering  
reeds. He carries his pouch while traveling in the markets, shaking  
his bell as he enters the hamlet. This really is the sense-realm of an  
enlightened fellow. Is he different from or the same as the time when  
he was poking through the grass searching for the ox? If you are [a  
person] who has blood beneath his skin,<sup>476</sup> you must fix your eyes [on  
him].

## Hymn of Searching for the Ox

### 1. Searching for the ox

Laughable is the person who searches for the ox,  
Riding the ox he still looks further for the ox.  
The setting sun on the path through fragrant grass,  
That matter is really far away.

### 2. Seeing the tracks

Monkeys and birds are addicted to the thought of spring (sex).  
Sad, he has yet to ascend the old path.  
There is information in this place,  
The tracks heading for the clouded gloom of the marsh.

### 3. Appearance of the entire body [of the ox]

Over vast eons one approaches the land (stage),<sup>477</sup>  
When suddenly one breaks through to one district.  
I have heard that in the Snowy Mountains (Himalayas),  
[The fragrance of] frankincense (Skt. *kunduruka*) remains for ten  
thousand years.

4. Subduing [the ox] and keeping it<sup>478</sup>

How many times have you fallen into the grass?<sup>479</sup>  
 The nose rope [of the ox] is really hard to submit to.  
 Fortunately there are the matters of today,<sup>480</sup>  
 I took up all the rivers and mountains [completely].

5. Let loose to return home<sup>481</sup>

East and west, nor inside nor outside,  
 Let loose to head for the home site.  
 A single flute without holes.  
 Every sound [makes it] hard to be free.

## 6. Forgetting the ox and keeping the person

The lamplight in the wind and the frothy bubbles ended,  
 What method allows further searching?  
 Sending word on the road to the capital (Chang'an),  
 Before speech, you cannot rest.

## 7. Person and ox both forgotten

I not yet arrived at the land of calm light,<sup>482</sup>  
 A single hair-ball<sup>483</sup> may be added.  
 This Way has no implications,<sup>484</sup>  
 The mountains are high and waters flow by themselves.

8. Working on behalf [of others] among other species<sup>485</sup>

Covered with hair and also bearing horns,  
The lamplit bed, the words of sobbing and wailing.  
The patriarchs and buddhas now are beyond the body (person),  
For long years they [as oxen] run to the marketplace.

## Notes

- 1 This is a quote made up of several phrases taken from the *Jingang bore bolomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 translated by Kumārajīva, T 235.8.750b1–2 and 750b5–6.
- 2 Dahui is Zonggao 宗杲 (1089–1163) and the quote is from *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu* 大慧普覺禪師語錄 T 1998.47.938a4–5.
- 3 Yeosan is in the east of modern Iksan-si, Jeollabuk-do. See *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽 (hereafter YS), a famous gazetteer of Korea, YS, 594. The Yeosan Song were an eminent clan, and a clan genealogy of 1633 is still extant.
- 4 Miryang is in south-central Gyeongsangnam-do. YS, 444.
- 5 North-central Jeolla-do, YS, 576.
- 6 This is according to the lunar calendar, and is May 17, 1857. Another source gives the date as 1849. See Gyeongheo, *Gyeongheo-jip*, trans. Seok Myeonjeong (Gyeongsangnam-do: Geungnak seonwon, 1991), 369 note 3.
- 7 Gwangju is not far south of Seoul and the monastery was on Cheonggyesan Mountain west of the district seat. YS, 115. In modern Euiwang-si. For details of history, see Gwon Sangro, *Han'guk sachal jeonseo*, 2 vols. (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1979), 2:1094b–1096a.
- 8 Gongju is in central Chungcheong-do, and Magoksa Monastery is nearby, see YS, 287a and Gwon, *Han'guk sachal jeonseo*, 1:339c.
- 9 Kor. *yeombul*, to recite or keep in mind the name of a buddha, usually Amitābha.
- 10 This is the primer used to teach Chinese characters, the *Qianziwen* or “Thousand Characters Text.”
- 11 Baile is Sun Yang, a man of the Spring and Autumn period in China who was famed for judging and training excellent horses. Pulling a salt cart is a metaphor for a talented person who is over-burdened with menial tasks.
- 12 A famous mountain in south-central Chungcheong-do, YS, 303b; for monastery, see Gwon, *Han'guk sachal jeonseo*, 1:332b. Note it was affiliated with Magoksa in Japanese colonial times.
- 13 This is a metaphor for shedding light on something.
- 14 *Won'gak gyeong* (Ch. *Yuanjue jing*) 圓覺經. From the description this

commentary was either the *Yuanjue jing lueshu zhi chao* or the *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao*, both by Zongmi (780–841), who was specially venerated in Korean Seon due to the influence of Bojo Jinul. Jinul saw that Zongmi had provided a theoretical basis for Seon practice.

- 15 This could also be read “a stupid lecturer.” However, this reading is less likely given the perspicacious remark he made.
- 16 Blue mountains often indicate a place of refuge and beyond a dream could mean something like inconceivable.
- 17 The three realms of desire, matter, and the immaterial.
- 18 A *gongan* is literally a “public case,” a puzzling sentence or brief conversation meant to lead to the halt of usual thinking and a breakthrough to enlightenment. Japanese *kōan*.
- 19 This means he had not consulted a Seon teacher to realize the Way.
- 20 Lingyun Zhiqin 灵雲志勤, a monk of the Five Dynasties who studied under Guishan Lingyou, was famous for being enlightened at the sight of peach blossoms. The exchange quoted is from the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 11, T 2076.51.285b12–13. It reads, “What is the great significance of the Buddha-dharma?” and Lingyun gave the above answer, which according to *Zengo jiten* by Iriya Yoshitaka and Koga Hidehiko ([Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1991], 486b), implies “enough already” or “at last.”
- 21 This is an old motif, appearing in the children’s primer, the *Sanzi jing* (Kor. *Samja-gyeong*) 三字經.
- 22 It is uncertain as to whether he means the nose has no nostrils, or that there is no hole in the septum for a ring and lead that was commonly put on oxen used as beasts of burden in Korea. The ox in Seon is also a symbol of the unenlightened mind.
- 23 Literally *jusil* 簪室. This is from the story of the fourth Indian patriarch of Seon, Upagupta, who had so many students that he when he counted them with tally sticks (*ju*), these sticks filled up his cave or room (*sil*). Story in *Jingde chuandeng lu* 1. Therefore it came to mean the abbot’s room and by extension the abbot. Komazawa Daigaku daijiten hensansho, comp., *Zengaku daijiten*. 3 vols. (Tokyo: Daishūkan Shoten, 1977), 854b. In Korea often called the patriarch’s room or *josil* 祖室, and so may mean Gyeongheo’s own room.
- 24 Iriya Yoshitaka and Koga Hidehiko, *Zengo jiten* (hereafter *Zengo*), 317a; Yuan Bin and Kang Jian, eds., *Chanzong dacidian* (Wuhan: Chongwen shuzhu, 2010), 105a.
- 25 December 15, 1879. The enlightenment here appears to be that of Gyeongheo, and not the teacher, for the emphasis on the date and the

description of the circumstances suggests this was not Gyeongheo bringing a student to enlightenment.

26 Han Yongun says that this was in Hongju, north-western Chungcheong-do. It is near Sudeoksa 修德寺 Monastery on Seosan Mountain.

27 Baizhang Huaihai (720–814) was enlightened by the shout of Mazu Daoyi (trad. 709–788, 706/7–786), and Huangbo Xiyun (d. ca. 850). For these masters, see in order, Thomas Yūhō Kirchner, trans., *Entangling Vines: Zen Koans of the Shūmon Kattōshū* (Kyoto: Tenryūji Institute for Philosophy and Religion, 2004), 150–151 and case on 99; 183–184; and 171 and case on 99. Recent discoveries have led to a revision to the dates of Mazu as 706/7–786.

28 Xinghua (830–888) studied under Linji Yixuan (d. 866) but was enlightened by another disciple of Linji, Dajue (d.u.) to the meaning of Linji being beaten by Huangbo. See Kirchner, *Entangling Vines*, 205.

29 Byeokgye Jeongsim 碧溪正/淨心, who grew his hair long like a lay person when the Saṅgha was reduced by King Taejong, taught Byeoksong Jieom 碧松智嚴 (1464–1534) in 1491. It is doubtful Jeongsim went to China because it was illegal on pain of death for Koreans to go to China except as licensed traders and Zongtong is unknown. Gugok Gagun 龜谷覺雲 (d.u.) of the late Goryeo was supposedly a second generation heir of Taego Bou 太古普愚. For problems over these lineage claims, see Choi Byung-hun, “Joseon sidae Bulgyo beoptongseol ui munje,” *Han'guk saron* 19 (1988): 281–293.

30 Normally *eunghwa* 應化 means *nirmāṇa*, an appearance made to save beings. Jinmuk 震默 (1562–1633) was a monk named Irok.

31 Seosan Hyujeong 西山休靜 (1520–1604), also known as Cheongheo, was the chief reviver of Seon in mid-Joseon. The point is that a transmission could occur without the heir meeting the master in person; it could occur via intermediaries who conveyed the master's words or actions.

32 The lineage then is Seosan Hyujeong→Pyeonyang Eon'gi 鞭羊彥機 (1581–1644)→Pungdam Uisim 楓潭義謙 (1592–1665)→Woldam 月潭 (1632–1704)→Hwanseong Jian 煥惺志安 (1664–1729)→Hoam Chejeong 虎岩體淨 (1687–1748)→Cheongbong Geoan 青峰巨岸→Yulbong Cheonggo 栗峰青果 (1738–1823)→Geumheo Beopcheom 錦虛法沾→Yongam Hye'eon 龍巖慧彦 (b. 1783)→Gyeongheo.

33 Seosan is a commandery on a peninsula in Chungcheong-do, see YS, 316b for Seosan and 318a for Gaesimsa Monastery and Buseoksa Monastery. See also Gwon, *Han'guk sachal jeonseo*, 1:43a and 1:554a. For Hongju in south-central Chungcheong-do, YS, 312. However, Gwon does not list a

Cheonjangam in Hongju, but in Seosan, 2:1079c.

34 This is the famous monastery south of Daegu where the Korean Tripitaka woodblocks are stored.

35 King Gojong proclaimed himself emperor of the Daehan Empire with the reign name of Gwangmu in the eighth month of 1897.

36 The name Suseonsa or Seon Cultivation Community (or society) was given this name on the orders of King Huijong (r. 1204–1211) to the community Bojo Jinul had created in Gilsangsa Monastery. See Robert E. Buswell Jr., *The Collected Works of Chinul* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1983), 29 and description 88 note 166. See later in the translation for the record Gyeongheo made of the establishment of the Suseonsa in Haeinsa.

37 Komazawa daigaku daijiten hensansho, comp. *Zengaku daijiten* (hereafter ZGDJ), 1052a; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 86: “daylight robbery.”

38 I.e., they were completely changed, having lost all their biases and preconceptions.

39 This often means to change one’s countenance, and to become angry.

40 *Zengo*, 346b: “My body and mind roused, I make widely known the old principle, not settling into a still and quiet state.” See biography of Xiangyan Zhixian 香嚴智閑 (d. 898) in *Jingde chuandeng lu* 11 and *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu* 3. This comes from a hymn written when Xiangyan was enlightened when a bit of tile struck a bamboo. Kirchner, *Entangling Vines*, 17 translates: “Daily activities proclaim the Ancient Way; No more falling into passive stillness.” “Passive stillness” is glossed as “stagnant quietism.”

41 *Dongshan Wuben chanshi yulu* 洞山悟本禪師語錄, T 1986.47.510a24–25.

42 These are all famous monasteries. Tongdosa is in Yangsan-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do, see Gwon, *Han'guk sachal jeonseo*, 2:1114–1119. Beomeosa is on a mountain behind Busan, see Gwon, *Han'guk sachal jeonse*, 1:448b–c. Although there are many monasteries with this name, here Hwaeomsa is in the foothills of Jirisan Mountain in Jeollanam-do, see Gwon, *Han'guk sachal jeonse*, 2:1177a–1178b. Songgwangsa is a large monastery on Jogyesan Mountain where the first Suseonsa was established. In Jeollanam-do. See Gwon, *Han'guk sachal jeonse*, 2:686b–713d.

43 Mahasa is in the same district as Beomeosa, see *ibid.*, 1:340a, and was a branch monastery of Beomeosa.

44 Literally to re-plaster the statue. I can find no reference to this service in dictionaries.

45 This is a reference to the “Great Preface” to the *Shijing* or *Book of Poetry*, which says, “Poetry is the product of ambition.” See James Legge, “Prolegomena,” in

*The Chinese Classics*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, Taipei reprint 1972), 4:35. The above poem has been translated in Roderick Whitfield and Young-Eui Park, *Seon Poems: Selected Works*, Collected Works of Korean Buddhism, vol. 9 (Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2012), 549 and by Jin Y. Park, “A Crazy Drunken Monk: Kyōnghō and Modern Buddhist Meditation Practice,” in *Religions of Korea in Practice*, ed. Robert E. Buswell Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 139.

46 Odaesan is a large mountain in the eastern hinterland of Gangwon-do, and the Geumgangsan Mountain are famous scenic mountain in northern Gangwon-do, now in North Korea.

47 In Hamgyeongnam-do, YS, 872, for the monastery, 875a. See also Gwon, *Han'guk sachal jeonseo*, 2:646a–847c. It was rebuilt when the founder of the Joseon dynasty, Yi Seonggye was hiding in the area of Hamgyeongnam-do.

48 Yesan was a prefecture in central Chungcheong-do, YS, 341. Probably Jeonghyesa Monastery in Yesan, a branch monastery of Magoksa. Gwon, *Han'guk sachal jeonseo*, 2:1009c. Suwol is Eumgwan (1855–1928), a well-known monk who practiced alongside Hanam for a period.

49 Gapsan is a prefecture in northern Hamgyeong-do, see YS, 888, and Ganggye is in north-east Pyeongan-do, YS, 1001. This was a remote border territory with many defense installations. Buddhism was very underdeveloped in the area, with only one Buddhist monastery listed in YS. The people seem to have been of part Jurched descent, and practiced an unofficial form of Buddhism where the “monks” had long hair and married. See Imanishi Ryū, *Kōrai oyobi Richōshi kenkyū*, ed. Imanishi Shunju (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1974), 240–256, based on a survey he did in 1914. This may explain Gyeongheo’s attire and his desire to educate the people, including the *jaegaseung* (lay monks) who were mostly illiterate.

50 This place not identified.

51 September 14, 1914.

52 Translated in Park, “A Crazy Drunken Monk,” 139–140; Henrik H. Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness: The Life and Times of the Sōn Master Kyōnghō Sōngu,” in *Makers of Modern Korean Buddhism*, ed. Jin Y. Park (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010), 149.

53 It was traditional in East Asia for monks to lie on their right side when dying.

54 June 10, 1912.

55 This monastery in Miryang-gun, see Gwon, *Han'guk sachal jeonseo*, 2:1122c–1125a.

56 Hyewol (1861–1937), Man'gong (1872–1946), both famous monks.

57 He was not hesitant.

58 Here *tajiwon* 打之遠, possibly an error for *tajijo* 打之遼.

59 Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (646–740) was a layman who interpreted the *Huayan jing* (Kor. *Hwaeom-gyeong*) in an intuitive fashion. His ideas were used by Bojo Jinul as a philosophical foundation for Seon practice. Zongdao 宗道 was a Song dynasty monk (d.u.) whose love of alcohol is described in the *Linjian lu* 林間錄 of 1107.

60 A kalpa is an eon. This is like saying a song came from before the big bang.

61 To be enlightened, to escape being bound by rules and habits. See *Zengo*, 297a, 50a; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 418a. Park, “A Crazy Drunken Monk,” 141 translates the sentence as, “he delivered sentient beings without resorting to habitual methods or to formalities.”

62 Cutting off evil via practice has the nuance that he had become good by vigorous practice, see Nakamura Hajime, ed., *Bukkyō daijiten*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1976), 626d; ZGDJ, 438a.

63 Korean Seon, named after the mountain headquarters of various lineages.

64 This refers to the kalpa of decay, views, frustrations, sentient beings, and life span. These are the four impurities and marks of decay.

65 *Gunakṣetra*, here it probably refers to this world.

66 Summary of T 842.17.920b9–13. See also translation by A. Charles Muller, *The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment: Korean Buddhism's Guide to Meditation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 220.

67 These are proper demeanor in walking, standing, sitting, and reclining.

68 T 235.8.752a17–18, in translation by Kumārajīva.

69 This appears to be a paraphrase, probably from the *Jinsim jikseol* 真心直說 [Straight Talk on the True Mind], for which see Chinul, *The Korean Approach to Zen: The Collected Works of Chinul*, trans. Robert E. Buswell Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), 162.

70 These are the words of Guishan Lingyou 滬山靈祐 in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.265b1–2: “I only value that your appreciation is correct; I am not speaking of your everyday activities.”

71 I have not located the source. The first phrase of the second quote is the same as a line in the Zongbao version of the *Platform Sūtra*, T 2008.48.349c18.

72 That is, lacking a judgment that discriminates and selects the proper practice.

73 These are birth, persisting, change, and extinction that occur in things that are compounded, that is made up of impermanent and ever-changing

constituents.

74 Gwon, *Hanguk sachal jeonseo*, 2:934c–945a.

75 This account of conduct is also translated by Park, “A Crazy Drunken Monk,” 133–143.

76 Jang the third and Yi the fourth are common people. Here the idea is that everyday things and ordinary people are buddhas and bodhisattvas or aspects of them.

77 The HBJ text has *bun* 分, here *hye* 分. From “The mountain hues” to here is translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 135.

78 “There is a type of vagabond elder who fires off letters and communications begging to be made abbot of this cloister and that cloister, and as soon as he has obtained an abbacy, selects an auspicious day to enter the cloister (and be installed as abbot). He also says, ‘I am an elder,’ and inside the abbot’s quarters he freely accepts a cheerful life. These types are called dregs of hell.” *Zimen jingxun*, “Informal Sermon of Chan Master Huanglong Sixin,” T 2023.48.1071b6–9.

79 The four difficulties in hearing the correct dharma: meeting the Buddha; with the preaching (because one has yet to develop the capabilities); in listening to the dharma preached by the Buddha; and in believing the dharma. From the *Lotus Sūtra*, chapter on skilful means.

80 See note 22.

81 A Pure Land where the Dharmakāya resides.

82 A fleshy lump on the crown of the head of a buddha, sometimes invisible.

83 Here *jeop* 跡, HBJ has *cheop* 睞, the eyelashes of mosquitoes.

84 The wisdom of a Buddha; the great perfect mirror wisdom; the universal or equal wisdom; the wisdom of marvelous examination; and, the wisdom of accomplished action.

85 Originally true, without any human input. Translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 135–136, from “Now a person made jest” to here. He has taken this to be verse, unlike Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 297. If it is verse, it is irregular.

86 The text from “the grass” to here can be punctuated differently, to read, “The grass . . . stones are this. The *Huayan* . . . reclining are it.”

87 Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 59b, originally indicating a monk from the Western Regions, it became a metaphor for an enlightened person of first-rate ability. Here it may indicate Bodhidharma.

88 See *Zengo*, 6b.

89 The HBJ has *nanbong* 難逢 instead of *bulbok* 不復.

90 This song is translated freely in Mu Seong Sunim, *Thousand Peaks: Korean*

*Zen—Tradition and Teachers* (Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1987), 156–158.

91 Or, “they have only a little [involvement].”

92 In HBJ this is called “For Reverend Deungam.”

93 The extraordinary, as in “the mind that thinks something is extraordinary” (令生希有心).

94 I.e., he loses focus.

95 See above at note 66. This quote translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 137.

96 For “judgment” see Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 524b and ZGDJ, 1218d. “Incomplete” is literally “half.”

97 Shou is probably Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975), a member of the Fayan lineage of Chan. The quote appears to not be exact.

98 *Yeombul*, also means to chant the name of the Buddha.

99 Summary of T 366.12.347b11–14.

100 This sūtra is the *Guan wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經, T 365.12. Here I have followed the HBJ punctuation. The Hanam text ends the sentence at “samādhi of limitless life.” The *Wuliangshou jing* is T 360.12.

101 T 366.12.272b16ff.

102 The HBJ text has bodhi instead of bodhisattva here and in the preceding sentence.

103 Guifeng is Zongmi. See *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序, T 2015.48.399b10–11 or Zongmi’s entry in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.306a29–b2. The *pratyutpannasamādhi*, a contemplation in which the buddhas of all directions are clearly seen before one’s eyes.

104 This is probably a paraphrase.

105 This is the *Yinming zhenglimen lun* 因明正理門論 (Skt. *Nyāyamukha*), a text on Buddhist logic by Dignāga. The following is Gyeongheo’s use of this theory.

106 This is a paraphrase of the *Lotus Sūtra*, not an exact quote.

107 This passage is comparing the practice of *ganhwae* Seon and mindfulness/chanting of (the name) of Buddha (*yeombul* 念佛).

108 This refers to Seosan Hyujeong, the founder of the lineage claimed by Gyeongheo.

109 This is not a quote, though these images appear in various sūtras, but not in close proximity.

110 This is similar to the text in the *Poxiang lun* 破相論 [On Refuting Characteristics], T 2009.48.369a19–20: “To be mindful is to remember, meaning to remember the practice of the precepts and not forget vigorous practice.”

111 Not located.

112 Not located. “Reversing illumination” is a key term in the *Linji lu* 臨濟錄.

113 This is a quote made up of phrases and sentences from Hongren's *Zuishangsheng lun* 最上乘論, T 2011.48.377a23, 379b8–9.

114 An evil person, an outcaste who makes a living from death.

115 This may be from the *Mazu yulu*, but an almost identical passage is used to characterize the Hongzhou school in Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu*, T 2015.48.402c23–24.

116 This is a quote of Niutou Farong 牛頭法融 (594–657) from *Jingde chuangdeng lu*, T 2076.51.457c12–13.

117 This means to control the mind.

118 The HBJ text adds “thieves.”

119 See note 70, but there is an error in this quote. This and the above quotes seem to be a justification for Gyeongheo's everyday activities.

120 The HBJ text has “Seon masters.”

121 To uphold the precepts in principle and maintaining the precepts in deeds.

122 See Nakamura, *Bukkyō daijiten*, 1324b, a non-karmic precept is one that continues to operate habitually on the body but does not appear in the practitioner's language and actions.

123 Transgressions that merit expulsion from the Buddhist order.

124 Nakamura, *Bukkyō daijiten*, 521d; these come from the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經.

125 Skt. *Sarvadharma-pravṛttinirdeśa*.

126 The wife of King Prasenajit.

127 Not located. It is possible this is meant to be the preface to the *Fanwang jing* found at T 1484.24.1003a15–b3, but the content is not the same.

128 This is not from Dharmakṣema's *Pusa jieben* 菩薩戒本 but from Gunavarman's translation, the *Youposai wujie weiyi jing* 優婆塞五戒威儀經, T 1503.24.1117a16–17.

129 The HBJ text adds “to escape,” to avoid death.

130 *Poxiang lun*, T 2833.85.366c20.

131 Has *mang* 忘 here, but *mang* 妄 more likely.

132 *Anxin famen* 安心法門 [Dharma-gateway of Calming the Mind], T 2009.48.370b7–8, same minus “falls into hell.”

133 *Poxiang lun*, T 2009.48.369c11.

134 Zongbao version of the *Platform Sūtra*, T 2008.48.350b28–29.

135 Or “mind and its sense-objects.” From “The Great Master Huineng” to here is translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 137.

136 Yongming Yanshou, *Weixin jue* 唯心訣 [Secrets of Nothing-but Mind], T 2018.48.996c21–22; quoted by Jinul, *Susimgyeol*, T 2020.48.1009a10–12.

137 It is unclear where quote ends and Gyeongheo's comment begins. The two metaphors are found in many Chan and Seon texts, such as Zhuhong's *Changuan cejin* 禪關策進 [Goad to Advance Through the Chan Barrier], T 2024.48.1099b3–4. The closest passage is in Seosan Hyujeong's *Seon'ga gwigam*, commentary on section 13. Hyujeong, *Hyujeong: Selected Works*, ed. and trans. John Jorgensen, Collected Works of Korean Buddhism, vol. 3 (Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2012), 74–75.

138 HBJ has “mind” in addition to “head.”

139 Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 217a, brilliance, spirit.

140 From “When you take up a *hwadu*” to here is translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 138–139.

141 This is a term from the *Dasheng qixin lun* [The Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith], referring to the power of ignorance.

142 *Zengo*, 78b, 471b.

143 *Doho* 塗糊 “to dress up,” or “to amend a text,” see *Zengo*, 332a: “to camouflage,” but Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 417a, “to erase” or “to do, to trouble, to suffer.” *Shoroku zokugokai*, no. 321, “to dirty” (as on paper) or “to smear.” The HBJ text has, “To Elder Deungam, a dharma-talk lecture is written here.” Yi Sangha cites a passage from the *Dahui shu* (also in *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.938a9–12) in answer to a Teacher Yang (楊教授) about the request (*cheongong* 謂) for a dharma name, and so changes this to “Deungam requested a dharma talk and I presented (literally to smear) him with this.” Thus *gang* 講 is seen as an error for *cheongong* 謂.

144 In ancient times, an ox was made of mud before the work of plowing commenced at the start of spring. It was beaten and prayers were said for a good season. The image was used by Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (840–901) in a verse, “The mud ox bellows at the water’s surface, the wooden horse neighs pursuing the wind.” *Caoshan Yuanzheng chanshi yulu* 曹山元證禪師語錄, T 1987.47.527a26. The mud ox is usually used as a metaphor for frustration or troubles, and here the bellowing implies the transcendence of those frustrations. Here Gyeongheo may be playing on his dharma name of Seongu or “Alert Ox.”

145 Here Gyeongheo uses the characters that are the same as the Japanese *sanzen*, which is to consult a Seon master and practice *gongan* (Jpn. *kōan*); literally consulting (on) Seon/meditation.

146 Literally “transience,” (Skt. *anitya*) one of the fundamental characteristics of things according to Buddhism, which maintains nothing is permanent and all is subject to change. Here it seems to mean death (see next note).

147 This is a quote from Bojo Jinul (1158–1210), *Susimgyeol*, T 2020.48.1009a24–25. For the context, see Jinul (Chinul), *Chinul: Selected Works*, ed. and trans. Robert E. Buswell, Jr., *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*, vol. 2 (Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2012), 242: “Death [lit. “impermanence”] is swiftly closing in. The body is like the morning dew. Life is like the twilight in the west. Although we are alive today, there is no assurance about tomorrow. You must bear this in mind.” The sentence selected by both Jinul and Gyeongheo can be found in the *Daban niepan jing* (Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*) translated by Dharmarakṣa at T12.498c26 and in the *Fanwang jing* at T 1484.24.1003a27–28.

148 Even though there are texts closer to the wording Gyeongheo used, the best explanation is in Sthiramati’s *Dasheng zhongguan shilun* 大乘中觀釋論, T 1567.30.155b10–12: “Verse. ‘It is like fire exists dependent on firewood, and likewise firewood exists dependent on fire.’ Explanation: ‘Neither that which burns nor that which is burned is possible. Therefore the following verse says, Which dharma is the first of these two? Firewood and fire are dependent on each other for existence.’” This is akin to the chicken and egg argument.

149 *Bunsang* 分上 is often glossed as *bonbun* 本分. See *Zengo*, 41.

150 *Hwadu* or “point of a story” is a topic for *gongan* practice such as the *wu* 無 of Zhaozhou’s “Does a dog have a Buddha-nature.”

151 This phrase up to here is found in Jinul’s *Jinsim jikseol*, T 2019.48.1001a16. This is a quote up to “concerns in the mind” of Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑 (780–865) in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.317c11. See Buswell Jr., *The Collected Works of Chinul*, 169. The word *sa* 事 here is probably more than concerns, for Linji said that even seeking to become buddha is the creation of karma, and that “the buddhas and patriarchal teachers are people of no concerns.” *Linji lu*, T 1985.47.499b11–12. It is a description of non-attachment. See Huangbo’s definition in his *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 [Dharma Essentials of the Transmission of the Mind], which says then “thoughts (情) have no dependence and grasping, that is a person of no concerns.” T 2012.48.382c26–27.

152 This sentence comes from Chenguan’s *Dafangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T 1736.36.323b14: “The three classes (*skandha*, *ayatana* and *dhatus*) and myriad categories are all created by the mind.”

153 *Lengyan jing baojing shu* 樑嚴經寶鏡疏, X 316.16.579b: “The appearance of a wolf is a fiercely evil thing.” See also “Reverend Baozhi’s Hymns in Fourteen Classifications” in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.451a20–22:

“Looking at the external and regarding it as good, inside the mind you are still like a wolf. The stupid fear this as hell, the wise do not wonder at heaven.”

154 This saying appears in *Jingang jing zhu* 金剛經註 [Interlineal Commentary on the *Diamond Sūtra*], X 454.24.539a18 and *Banruo xinjing zhujie* 般若心經注解 [Explanatory Notes on the *Heart Sūtra*], X 536.26.982a20–21.

155 Sengzhao, *Zhaolun* 肇論, T 1858.45.153a29: “The saint empties his mind.”

156 The words “penetrated from top to bottom” means something like “thoroughly.” It occurs frequently in *Yuanwu foguo chanshi yulu* 圓悟佛果禪師語錄.

157 Similar expression in *Jiatai pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈錄, X 1599.79.440b15.

158 See *Yuanwu foguo chanshi yulu*, T 1997.47.775c21–22: “Therefore the blows of Deshan and the shouts of Linji all thoroughly realize non-birth, penetrating from top to bottom, and are freely merged.”

159 This term is widely used by Dahui Zonggao. For example, *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.879a6–7: “Ultimately you do not know where your originally mandated status falls (dies).” Originally this is derived from star names used to tell the fortune of a person.

160 This means your original mind-nature. For similar use, see *Yuanwu foguo chanshi yulu*, T 1997.47.761c29–762a1: “Trampling on the scenery of the original ground, you will clearly see your original face.”

161 These words, “perfectly furnished,” are used by Dahui in *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.924b17: “Perfectly furnished, without the slightest difference from Śakyamuni or Bodhidharma,” and Jinul, *Jinsim jikseol*, T 2019.48.1001c12–14: “It will just make a great gate of liberation. It is perfectly furnished, substance and function not separated.” For the latter, see Buswell, *The Collected Works of Chinul*, 173: “a great gate to liberation. Clearly, then, essence and function are not divided.” I have followed the gloss on its use by Yuanwu that appears in Yoshizawa Katsuhiro, *Shōroku zokugo kai* (Kyoto: Zenbunka kenkyūsho, 1999), 89.

162 The underlying idea may have been taken from two sources. The first, the *Jinling Qingliangyuan Wenyi chanshi yulu* 金陵清涼院文益禪師語錄 T 1991.47.593c25–26: “When the eyes respond the entire body is the ears, when the ears respond the entire body is the eyes.” The second is *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.939b10–12: “Therefore a virtuoso of old realized and understood the Way. When he responded with the eyes it was like a thousand suns, no images could escape its reflection. When he responded with his ears it was like a deep valley . . .” Mount Sumeru is a colossal mountain in the centre of the universe in Buddhist cosmology.

163 *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.927c16–17: “Most gentlemen who study the Way do not really understand.”

164 *Beopsik* 法式, this can mean dharma rituals, but it also means the dharma rules, even habits.

165 Taego Bou (1301–1382), in his *Chamseon myeong* 參禪銘 [Verse on Consulting Seon], HBJ 6.685a15. Falin, *Bianzheng lun* 辨正論 [Discussions of the Correct], T 2110.52.537b22: “Li Guang focused his mind on the feather of the arrow burying itself into the stone.” Li Guang 李廣 (d. 125 BCE) was a famous general who fought the Xiongnu, *Shiji* 109. Translation tentative. The *seok* 石 here may refer to a measure of the strength of a bow.

166 Cheongheo is Seosan Hyujeong (1520–1604), the quote from his *Seon'ga gwigam*, HBJ 7.637a21–22, translated in John Jorgensen, *Hyujeong*, 81.

167 *Yuanwu foguo chanshi yulu*, T 1997.47.784c2: “Make empty the bosom . . . one's own thought does not reveal a single thing.”

168 Yanshou, *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 [Records of the Lineage Mirror], T 2016.48.898c28: “The six sense faculties are empty and still.”

169 *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.890a10–11: “You should cleanse the mind and faculties, and the pollution of the frustrations of adventitious contaminants from time without beginning they will be like the expanse of space.”

170 The selection or choosing of dharmas is *dharmavicaya*. This is referred to in Jinul's *Susimgyeol*, T 2020.48.1008b4, see Buswell 2012, 233: “next use the approach of *prajñā* to investigate dharmas critically and contemplate their voidness; for when the mirror of the mind shines...”

171 *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.901c2–3: “in accord with worldly conditions without obstructions, *nirvāṇa* and *samsāra* are flowers in the sky (unreal).”

172 *Poxiang lun*, T 2833.85.366c20.

173 See *Nanquan Puyuan yulu* 南泉普願語錄 in *Guzunsu yulu*, X 1315.68.72b23: “Present-day students for the most part leave home (become monks), and are not permitted to enter homes.”

174 This image originally comes from *Liezi* 列子. See *Linquan laoren pingchang Danxia Chun chanshi songgu Xutang ji* 林泉老人評唱丹霞淳禪師頌古虛堂集, X 1304.67.339a18–20, which refers to *Liezi*.

175 See Hyujeong's *Seon'ga gwigam*, translated in Jorgensen, *Hyujeong*, 143; HBJ 7.642b11–12. *Zimen jingxun* 緇門警訓 [Cautionary Instructions for the Monkhood], T 2023.48.1050a22 is probably the original source.

176 Guifeng is Zongmi. The quote is probably from his *Yuanjue jing*

*dashu*, X 243.9.325c and a similar passage, *Yuanjue jing lüeshu zhu*, T 1795.39.524c24.

177 See *Aiyuan Puzhuang chanshi yulu* 呆菴普莊禪師語錄, X 1418.71.493a23: “All words are entirely a great monastery of perfect awareness, so where then can mountains, rivers and the great world come from?”

178 Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 415a; *Zengo*, 344a. To be verbose or to be superfluous, redundant.

179 Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 112a: “to be stupid,” citing *Jingde chuandeng lu* 22.

180 Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 65b: “come to be enlightened,” citing *Yuanmiao yulu* 原妙語錄 on Gaofeng. Note the Hanam text punctuation here is incorrect.

181 Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 444a, citing *Dahui zongmen wuku* 大慧宗門武庫 [Arsenal of Dahui’s School].

182 Mujaku, *Kattōgosen* 葛藤語箋, 304b–305b cites sources that mention a pair of stalagmites just outside the west gate of Yizhou, modern Chengdu, one up to eleven foot high. They seem to be petrified objects. See also Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次, *Dai Kan Wa jiten* 大漢和辭典, 13 vols (Tokyo: Daishukan shoten, 1966 reprint), 24024.411–412, also a type of stone that is long slabs and when stood up look like bamboo; also a tombstone. This is from a dialogue in *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu* 汾陽無德禪師語錄, T 1992.47.612b12–13.

183 A very similar line is found in *Rentian yanmu* 人天眼目 [The Eyes of Humans and Gods], T 2006.48.320c27–28. The Buddha of Awesome Sound was the very first buddha of the time of the empty eon, see *Lotus Sūtra* 6, and John Jorgensen, ed. and trans., *Gongan Collections II*, Collected Works of Korean Buddhism, vol. 7–2 (Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2012), 110. This situation is emblematic of no-mind, see *Zengo*, 437a.

184 The HBJ has different characters.

185 Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (814–890), cited in *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.939b26–27. Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 101a, quotes from the *Zutang ji* (Kor. *Jodangjip*) 祖堂集 10: “beyond the marvelous meaning of Chan.” *Zengo*, 294a: “to be defensive.”

186 ZGDJ, 48c1, from *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄 [Blue Cliff Record] case 76.

187 ZGDJ, 553a, a monk of late Tang to early Five Dynasties period, a disciple of Luohan Guichen 羅漢桂琛 (867–928), see *Jingde chuandeng lu* 24.

188 The sentence appears in *Hongzhi chanshi guanglu* 宏智禪師廣錄, T 2001.48.28c28, but not given as words of Xiushan. The topic was *Tathāgata*

Chan and Patriarchal Teacher Chan.

189 See *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.854a14–15, the lines reversed. In the order as above, *Rujing heshang yulu* 如淨和尚語錄, T 2002.48.123c25–26, as a reply by Zhaozhou.

190 Note difference in punctuation with HBJ text.

191 A story from the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 [Spring and Autumn Annals of Mr. Lu] about peasants who wanted to steal a bell, but as it was too large to carry they decided to break it up with hammers. Fearing that would be noisy and give them away, they stuffed up their ears so they could not hear. In other words this metaphor indicates would be deceivers who deceive themselves.

192 *Zengo*, 272b, to not say something one wishes to say, but to give a hint of that something. In comment on case 28 of the *Biyan lu*.

193 This first appears in Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, T 670.16.489c2; then in Śikṣānanda's translation of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, T 279.10.288c5.

194 *Seon'ga gwigam*, on the Fayan house style, see Hyujeong, *Hyujeong*, translated by Jorgensen, 173, and more details in John Jorgensen, trans., *A Handbook of Korean Zen Practice: A Mirror on the Sōn School of Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 151 and note 584 for more details.

195 This is a quote from Layman Pang (d. 808), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi. Quoted by Jin'gak Hyesim 眞覺慧謙 (1178–1234), the chief disciple of Bojo Jinul, see John Jorgensen, ed. and trans., *Seon Dialogues*, Collected Works of Korean Buddhism, vol. 8 (Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2012), 105 for more details.

196 The HBJ text has, “do not deceive people.”

197 ZGDJ, 1324d: “to discuss and decide,” quoting *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪院清規 [Pure Regulations for Chan Cloisters], so “how will you make your decision?”

198 *Zengo*, 20b; ZGDJ, 28a: “If you are going to rebel, do it” or “If you are going to take poison, eat the saucer as well.” Once you start, go the whole hog.

199 These places are near Wuchang, south-west of Hanyang in Chaina. The island (Yingwu Island) is in the Yangzi River, and pavilion is on Mount Huanghe. These words are part of a poem by Naong Hyegun 懶翁惠勤 (1320–1376), see Jorgensen, *Seon Dialogues*, 480.

200 ZGDJ, 1060b.

201 Or a “sesame pancake,” a reply used by Yunmen, *Yunmen Kuangzhen*

*chanshi guanglu* 雲門匪眞禪師廣錄, T 1988.47.548b5ff. It is a baked, dry biscuit, sometimes said to have come from Central Asia. To squeeze it is an unprofitable act, see *Zengo*, 118a; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 171a; ZGDJ, 357b–c. This image comes from *Guishan Lingyou chanshi yulu* 沙山靈祐禪師語錄, T 1989.47.579a9.

202 A version of Yunmen’s “The sun arises in the east and at night sets in the west,” *Yunmen Kuangzhen chanshi guanglu*, T 1988.47.563a29–b1, or Guizong, who used the same line, see *Rentian yanmu*, T 2006.48.312b2.

203 This is a rearrangement of the replies to the question about not moving or shifting in *Xu chuandeng lu* 繢傳燈錄, T 2077.51.636b3–6. The use of the hands is by Zhaozhou; the line on the sun is said by Fayan. The order of responses is reversed here.

204 From *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.850a10–11.

205 *Zengo*, 492b; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 275a.

206 *Zengo*, 491b; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 247–248.

207 This passage to here translated by Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 137–139, who indicates that it is almost entirely a quote from Yunmen’s biography in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.356c.

208 *Zengo*, 475a, referring to Layman Pang. Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 263b, an enlightened person who has completed training. Dahui used this as a description of Buddha.

209 *Zengo*, 419b, “the fundamental endowment,” so “in his endowment as a person who has realized matters.”

210 The HBJ text has *ta* 他 or “them” instead to “earth” here. I follow HBJ here.

211 *Zengo*, 431: “the original self.”

212 The Hanam text has missing characters, possibly three, as HBJ adds *kwaehwalmyeong* 快活明.

213 HBJ text differs.

214 *Zengo*, 9; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 481, from *Fayin chanshi yulu* 法演禪師語錄, T 1995.47.651a19. To imitate a model without any intention of creating or effort.

215 This is from the *Gaofeng heshang Chanyao* 高峰和尚禪要 by Gaofeng Yuanmiao 高峰原妙 (1238–1295) that was popular in Korea as a guide to Seon practice.

216 This reply comes from *Yunmen Kuangzhen chanshi guanglu*, T 1988.47.561c20. The question and the reply is from the “evening consultation” passage 10 of the *Gaofeng heshang Chanyao*.

217 Cf. ZGDJ, 794a: “As soon as empty space falls to earth.” Up to here

translated by Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 140.

218 Or “Try to lower your voice.”

219 That is, will disclose the truth to you.

220 *Zengo*, 6b, to set up oneself and perfect it; ZGDJ, 15a–b, to put one’s entire effort into practice. This has its origin in Confucian texts.

221 This may refer to the mantra spoken by the Buddha when he was under the bodhi tree to overcome the demon of temptation.

222 The HBJ text punctuates differently, but I have followed Hanam.

223 Either indicates the staff or the mace used when preaching, written with the partial homophone *yanghwaja* 瘡和子.

224 Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清珙 (1272–1352).

225 Taego Bou (1301–1382) went to China and studied under Shiwu.

226 Cheongheodang Hyujeong, also known as Seosan.

227 Eliminated doubt.

228 To do something useless, superfluous.

229 *Zengo*, 166b, based on *Congrong lu* 從容錄, case 41.

230 Summary of a passage concerning “ten residences” from the Śikṣānanda translation, the *Dafangguangfo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T 279.10. 303c18–27.

231 Xinwen Tanben 心聞彙實 (d.u.), Song dynasty monk of the Huanglong branch of the Linji lineage. See *Jiatai Pudeng lu* 17 and *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 18 and so on.

232 The quote from Guishan Lingyou (771–853) comes from the *Jingde chuangdeng lu* in answer to the question, “What is the residence of the true Buddha?” T 2076.51.282b6–7. I have not found any example of this being quoted by Xinwen and do not know where his words end.

233 Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 477b, a metaphor for completely eliminating erroneous thought.

234 A possible reference to the words of Puhua 普化 in the *Linji lu*: “When a point of light comes, hit the point of light; when a dark point comes hit the dark point.”

235 Either “one-eyed” and thus biased or a “third eye,” one of wisdom. Probably the latter.

236 This originally meant the long sword used by Song Ye of the Warring States period in China. In Chan this was used as a metaphor for great power. It is found in the *Biyan lu* and elsewhere to mean “cut off everything.”

237 Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 118, thinks the quote of Xinwen ends here.

238 Seok Myeongjeong gives what I have translated as “bushel” as a *durak*,

which is a measure of land needed to plant one *mal*, 4.765 US gallons, an 18 liter measure, especially of paddy fields.

239 *Zengo*, 322a–b, to not learn the slightest thing.

240 Ciming Chuyuan 慈明楚圓 (986–1040) was a member of the Linji lineage, an heir of Fenyang Shanzhao. Guizong Tanquan 歸宗澹權 was a late Tang to Five Dynasties monk, see *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.255c24ff. Both seemed to have induced pain so that they could continue meditating and not fall asleep.

241 The “Lone Saint” is a white-haired old man with long eyebrows who is thought to be an arhat, usually Piñdola. Others say he was a pratyeka Buddha who practiced the Way alone on Mountain Tiantai in China. He is a distinctive figure of Korean Buddhism and has Daoistic elements.

242 This is added in the HBJ version.

243 Clothing, food, bedding, and medicine, or dwelling, clothing, food, and medicine.

244 Sabulsan is mentioned in a story dated 587 in the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 [Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms]; also called Yeokdeoksan, to the east of Jungnyeong Range.

245 YS, 387b, says Geumjeongsan Mountain is just twenty *ris* north of Dongnae-gun, i.e. Busan. This then is the site of Beomeosa Monastery, and Gyemyeongsan Mountain is its northernmost peak.

246 May also be read Honhae. Honhae Chanyun 混海讚允.

247 Seongwol Iljeon 惺月一全 (1866–1943) established a number of Seon cloisters; was abbot of Beomeosa three times.

248 The term here is the name of two kingdoms, one each on the “horns” of a snail who are forever at war. See “Zeyang” chapter of *Zhuangzi*, translated by Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968), 284.

249 Another version has “praise” (讚) instead of “read” or “explained” (讀) here.

250 Shegong loved to draw dragons. A heavenly dragon heard of this and hid in a hall. When Shegong saw the dragon he fled and lost consciousness. This means to superficially love something but to in fact really dislike it.

251 The register of excellence is a register of the names, ages, positions, places of registration, and home monasteries of the participants in a meditation retreat.

252 Or “divine mind.”

253 *Zengo*, 385a, contrasted to completion.

254 *Byeongnang'gan* 碧琅玕. Cf. the use of *Cheongnang'gan* 青琅玕 in a poem by Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770). Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 60

translates it as green balustrade. Sudhana was a youth who visits a series of 53 teachers in search of enlightenment in the *Gāndavyūha-sūtra*, later incorporated into the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.

255 *Zengo*, 146b; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 202a, means used for those who are unable to be suddenly enlightened. See the quote there from the *Chuanxin fayao*.

256 Yeongchin 英親 (1897–1970) was the last heir-apparent of the Daehan Empire.

257 The *karmadāna*, a manager or deacon.

258 This is like a notice-board, or tags hung up near the entrance to show who is present.

259 Literally, the wooden-fish (drum) will be struck and they will be expelled.

260 Literally the patriarchal room, from one who enters a room, that is, a disciple.

261 That is, the Way of liberation.

262 *Muk* 默 rather than *hil* 黙.

263 That is, to become a monk.

264 From the *Lunyu* [Analects], II.iv; James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:146: “At forty I had no doubts.” That is, Chwieun was forty.

265 *Jiyeom* 指染 term from the fourth year of Duke Xuan in the *Zuozhuan*.

266 This is a common saying in Chan and Seon. It is frequently found in the works of Dahui Zonggao, but dates back to early Chan texts such as the *Xuemo lun* 血脈論 [On the Arteries of Chan], T 2009.48.375a15–16 and is later found in the works of Zongmi, such as the *Chanyuan zhuquan jidu xu* (T 2015.48.404b24).

267 This the hall name of Seosan Hyujeong.

268 Here *yunhoe* 輪迴 rather than Seosan’s *chimnyun* 沈淪.

269 The original *Seon’gyo seok* has “always looking at the faults of others.”

270 From *Seon’gyo seok* 禪敎釋 [Explanation of Seon and Doctrine], translated in John Jorgensen, *Hyujeong*, 284.

271 This may refer to the legend of Daosheng 道生 (ca. 360–434), whose enlightenment was acknowledged even by the stubborn stones who bowed their “heads.”

272 The four elements of earth, water, fire, and wind, or old age, illness, death, and impermanence.

273 Zhuzhi 俱胝 was a Tang dynasty monk who imitated his master Tianlong who always raised a finger as instruction because Zhuzhi was enlightened by that. This became a famous *gong’an* (Jn. *kōan*); the story first appears in *Zutang ji* 19.

274 This comes from a comment on Zhuzhi's actions by Xuansha 玄沙, with the sense of removing doubt at a single word or action (ZGDJ, 564c), to be brutally frank and freeze another out (*Zengo*, 218b). The source for Gyeongheo was probably the *Biyan lu*, case 19, T 2003.48.159a17–24: “If its cold all of the sky and all of the sky is cold . . .” In this case, the story is told of Zhuzhi's servant boy who imitated Zhuzhi by raising a finger when questioned. When Zhuzhi learnt of this he cut off the boy's finger and the boy ran outside screaming. Just at that moment Zhuzhi called out to him and when he looked back Zhuzhi raised his finger, at which point he boy was enlightened.

275 Zhaozhou Congshen (trad. 778–897), famous for his skill in teaching.

276 Buhyu 浮休 (1543–1615).

277 Byeogam 碧庵 (1575–1660).

278 Sucho Chwimi 守初翠微 (1590–1668).

279 Yaktan Yeonghae 若坦影海 (1668–1754).

280 Sechal Pungam 世察楓巖 (1688–1767).

281 Haengin Byeokdam 幸仁碧潭 (fl. 1764).

282 Nakpa Inseong 洛波(or 樂坡)印性 (1794–1877).

283 Taego Bou.

284 Spoken by a Chan Master Zhi 芝 to Xuefeng Wenyue 雪峰文悅, in *Xutang heshang lu* 虛堂和尚錄, T 2000.47.1044a6, the collected works of Xutang Zhiyu 虛堂智愚 (1185–1269).

285 South-central Jeolla-do.

286 Gim Chuntaek 金春澤 (1670–1717), civil minister of government.

287 Gim Jangsaeng 金長生 (1548–1631), scholar in the Confucian school of Song Ikpil and Yi I; a specialist on ritual and an official.

288 A main street in Seoul.

289 Southernmost Gyeonggi-do.

290 Hyeeon Yongam 慧彦龍巖 (1783–1841), famed for his lectures, from who the master claimed a posthumous transmission.

291 In the Hadong region of southern Korea, above Ssanggyesa Monastery on the southern slopes of Jirisan Mountain.

292 That is he was not enlightened.

293 The Northern Dipper, sometimes equated with seven buddhas. See study by Henrik H. Sørensen, “The Worship of the Great Dipper in Korean Buddhism,” in *Religions in Traditional Korea*, ed. Henrik H. Sørensen (Copenhagen: Seminar for Buddhist Studies), 75–105. Offerings made on the seventh day of the first month.

294 The commandments or precepts for the members of the Saṅgha.

295 The exact quote is from Fazang's *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 [Record of a Search of the Profundity of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], T 1733.35.125c15–16, so the reference is probably to the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.

296 No exact match can be found; probably a rewording.

297 Other version has *prajñā* or insight instead of “power.”

298 Hoe'am Jeonghye 嗨庵定慧 (1685–1741), a scholarly monk.

299 Chupa Hongyu 秋波泓宥 (1718–1774).

300 Byeogam (1575–1660).

301 Buhyu (1543–1615).

302 Buyong Yeonggwan 芙蓉靈觀 (1485–1571).

303 This reflects the words of Confucius when he was about to die, “The strong beam must break.”

304 In the Namhae district of southern Gyeongsang-do.

305 Near Geochang, Gyeongsangnam-do, Gwon, *Hanguk sachal jeonseo*, 2: 686a.

306 Near Namwon in Jeollabuk-do, ibid., 2: 768. For Baekjangam Hermitage, ibid., 1: 445c.

307 *Fo chui banniepan lueshuo jiaojie jing* 佛垂般涅槃略說教諴經 [Sūtra Preached by the Buddha at his Nirvāṇa Briefly Preaching Admonitions], T 389.12.1111a29–b1. This line is quoted in various other texts.

308 *Miaofa lianhua jing* (*Lotus Sūtra*), Kumārajīva translation, T 262.9.14c22.

309 Not identified.

310 *Zhuangzi*, “Discussion of Making All Things Equal” chapter, see Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 49, who notes this is in a discussion of causal relations.

311 This is a story found in the Biography of Zhu Falan竺法蘭 in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, which says Zhu Falan arrived in Luoyang in 67. When Emperor Wu (r. 25–57) had this pond dug, they found ashes at the deepest level. The emperor asked Dongfang Shuo about this but he did not know. Later, in the reign of Emperor Ming (r. 57–75), Zhu Falan came from India to China. When Falan was asked about this ash he said, “A sūtra says, ‘When a great eon of heaven and earth comes to an end there is a conflagration, and this [ash] are the remains of that conflagration.’”

312 入八人天運之準量; Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 100 translates, “subject to disasters and the heavenly fortune turned.” Yi Sangha takes *parin* 八人 to be character puzzle for *hwa* 火 or fire.

313 The abbot or teacher who travels to people's homes.

314 Story in *Zhuangzi*, Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 49: “a butterfly flitting and fluttering around, happy with himself.” Was it Zhuangzi dreaming he

was a butterfly or a butterfly dreaming he was Zhuangzi?

315 *Zhuangzi*, Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 49: “Suddenly he woke up and there he was, solid and unmistakable Chuang Chou (Zhuang Zhou).”

316 The character *seol* 穢 “purification ritual” is probably equal to 契, a *gye*, a type of mutual aid association, often formed to finance projects of the members that had become common in Joseon Korea. Here, to literally finance the cost of the shroud (and other expenses). Monks in particular had eliminated connections with the laity and the customs of burial and the Confucian officials banned or restricted cremation, so it was sometimes difficult to fund the funeral for a monk. Here it seems Gyeongheo was asked to write a preface to a text of regulations for an association formed to fund the funeral for a monk.

317 Monastic residence.

318 *Zhuangzi*, the mind not thinking.

319 These are the words of Confucius, *Lunyu*, II.v.3 (Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:147) for the first quote; the second is a paraphrase of III.26 (Legge, 1:165). The first is also quoted in the Buddhist polemic, the *Zheyi lun* 折疑論 [On Removing Doubts], T 2118.52.803b4.

320 This seems to be a gloss on the *Xiao jing* 孝經 [Classic of Filial Piety], see *Shisan jing zhushu*, 2556c. “Ritual is reverence and that is all.” The interlinear commentary says, “Reverence is the basis of ritual.”

321 This seems to be a gloss on *Lunyu*, XVII.xxi (Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:324): “Are jade and silk what is meant by ritual?” Jade and silk were objects used in some rituals. Who said these exact words is unclear, but it is clearly a Confucian.

322 *Daejung* 大中. From a passage in the *Yijing* 易經 [Classic of Changes], “Dayou” hexagram entry, interpreted by Wang Bi (226–249) as “to reside in the center and treat it as important.”

323 Quote from *Zhuangzi*, “The Sign of Virtue Complete” chapter, attributed to Confucius. See Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 68: “Life and death are great affairs, yet they are no change to him.” Often quoted, as for example in *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.897c24.

324 *Jeongbeop anjang* (Ch. *Zhengfa yanzang*) 正法眼藏. Dahui wrote a book with the same title (*Zhengfa yanzang*), but as it was a collection six hundred and sixty-one *gong'an* with comments, they are not the same, as Gyeongheo says the text he wrote a preface for was a collection of ten texts.

325 Zongmi, *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu*, T 2015.48.399c20–21.

326 Read *jil* 秩 as *jil* 帜.

327 In Gokseong-gun, Jeollanam-do. Gwon, *Han'guk sachal jeonseo*, 2:1113a.

328 This refers to a dialogue between Buddha and Ānanda at the end of chapter four of this Chinese apocryphon. This dialogue concerns the sound of a bell and the nature of hearing. It states that the fundamental nature is permanent.

329 This is Jeonju in northern Jeolla-do; Dongnisan Mountain is near the south coast of Jeolla-do.

330 This is a reflection of Neo-Confucian theory of cosmology and the origin of all things.

331 Hwaeomsa Monastery is in south Jeolla-do near the town of Gurye.

332 The view of the original mind-nature, the revelation of the primal and uncontaminated mind that sees the world as it is, undistorted by concepts and desires.

333 Cheongha 清霞 (1841–1912) was a native of Gurye from a poor family. He studied Seon and Hwaeom Buddhism.

334 That is, all the monks in the monastery.

335 *Lunyu*, III.xvii.2, see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:161.

336 This is actually a quote from Bojo Jinul's *Susimgyeol* [Secrets on Cultivating the Mind], T 2020.48.1009b4–5; Buswell translation, *The Korean Approach to Zen*, 134 says it is actually a gāthā by Wuzhu 無住 (737–767) as found in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T 2061.50.837a17–19.

337 A similar text, the *Shanzhu tianzi jing* 善住天子經, is cited by the Tiantai scholar Zhanran 漢然 (711–782) in his *Zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue* 止觀輔行傳弘決 [Secrets of the Propagation of Assistance in the Practice of *Samatha* and *Vipasyana*], T 1912.46.174c27–29: “Hearing the Dharma and producing slander and falling into hell is superior to making offerings to Buddhas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges.” I have not located that sūtra.

338 Yongming Yanshou (904–975), *Weixin jue* 唯心訣 [Secrets of Nothing-but Mind], T 2018.48.996c21–22, quoted by Jinul, *Susimgyeol*, T 2020.48.1009a10–11.

339 This is probably a monk's name, a “hall name” like that for Hyujeong, which was Cheongheodang. Thus it is not “instructions at Beopgye Hall.”

340 This is one of a series of short quotes or poems that appealed to Gyeongheo and were written out by him in 1899; see holograph in Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 335–348 and transcribed with translation, 319–334, for this quote 320, and *Dongshan Wuben chanshi yulu*, T 1986.47.516a23–26 for original. Dongshan is Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良介 (807–869).

341 Quote from Dahui Zonggao's *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.821a14,

which seems to be quoting Baoliang 寶亮 et al., *Daban niepan jing jijie* 大般涅槃經集解, a collections of interpretations of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, T 1763.37.460b11.

342 Also known as Fu Dashi 傅大師 (497–569); Shuanglin 雙林 was the name of his monastery.

343 This is found in Gyeongheo's collection of favorite quotes, Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 319, where the verse is called "Hymn of bodhisattva Maitreya." Quoted from a stūpa inscription for Mingjue by Lu Xiaqing, appendix to *Mingjue Chanshi yulu* 明覺禪師語錄, T 1995.47.671b25–26, quoting Fu Dashi. Found in a number of other collections, such as a preface to the *Xinwang ming* 心王銘 [Inscription on the Mind King] attributed to Fu Dashi in much later times.

344 These are the methods of expedient means, see *Zengo*, 364a; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 202a.

345 Words of Tiandong 天童 quoted in *Dongshan Wuben chanshi yulu*, T 1986.47.524b28–29.

346 Words of Zongmi, *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu*, T 2015.48.403a6, quoted by Jinul, *Susimyeol*, T 2020.48.1007c12.

347 A full responsibility, post-enlightenment preservation.

348 To be enlightened, *Zengo*, 359b.

349 Indicates Di Yi 狄夷 who by legend lived on Zhongshan and made a thousand-day wine. A certain Liu Xuanshi 劉玄石 drank this wine at a grog shop on the mountain. His relatives believed Liu dead and had a funeral for him, but listening to the words of the tavern keeper, opened the coffin and found he had woken from his drunken stupor.

350 To be polluted, *Zengo*, 53b.

351 Another title is "Given to Eminence Seunghwa" as mentioned in the conclusion to this text.

352 *Lunyu*, XVII.xix, see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:326: "I would prefer not speaking."

353 *Lunyu*, IV.x, see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:168.

354 *Zhuangzi*, "Heaven and Earth" chapter, Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 129.

355 *Zhuangzi*, "On Making All Things Equal" chapter, Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 40: "To use an attribute to show that attributes are not attributes . . . one horse." Here Watson has translated *zhi* 指 or "finger" as "attribute."

356 This probably refers to the anti-Buddhist attitudes of Confucians.

357 Zongbao version of the *Platform Sūtra*, T 2008.48.350b28–29, which has

“ordinary person” instead of “sentient being.”

358 These words of Guishan Lingyou enlightened his disciple Yangshan Huiji (807–883) according to *Yuanzhou Yangshan Huiji chanshi yulu* 袁州仰山慧寂禪師語錄, T 1990.47.582b9–11 and *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.282b6–8.

359 A dragon changing its bones meant to became immortal like the Daoist immortals, but it is the scales that were believed to enable it to move.

360 Possibly a metaphor for the end of life.

361 Possibly Wuzu Shijie 五祖師戒 of the Northern Song dynasty (tenth century) who was popularly thought to have later been incarnated as Su Shi 蘇軾 (Su Dongpo).

362 Foyin Liaoyuan 佛印了元 (1032–1089), a friend of Su Shi.

363 Or stopped the blood flow.

364 Dongshan Liangjie, quoted in *Jingde chuandeng lu* 15 (T 2076.51.323a20–21): “To not be enlightened to the greatest matter while under the *kāṣaya* is called the greatest suffering.” A closer text is found in *Chanlin baoxun* 禪林寶訓 1 [Precious Instructions of the Chan Monasteries], T 2022.48.1021b24–25 and in Hyujeong’s *Seon’ga gwigam*, HBJ 7.642b11–12.

365 This refers to donated fields to provide food for the monastery.

366 The monastery is not identified, although it may have been the monastery of the same name in nearby Gurye-gun, Jeollanam-do.

367 Technically the second of the ten stages of the bodhisattva career; something attained by practice.

368 This is the Pure Land of Amitāyus.

369 The monastery is in Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do, YS, 328b.

370 Found in *Rujing heshang yulu*, T 2002.48.123c5. Rujing was famed as the teacher of the Japanese Sōtō Zen founder Dogen. Flowering willows indicated an entertainment district, but as “the flowering willow disease” meant a sexual disease “flowering willows” also referred to prostitutes.

371 A śrāvaka takes three lifetimes to become an arhat, but at the slowest it takes sixty eons, that is, is endless. See *Zengo*, 161a.

372 This sentence only appears in the Hanam manuscript.

373 *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, Śikṣānanda translation, *Dafangguangfo huayan jing*, T 279.10.102b1.

374 *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, T 262.9.8b25.

375 *Jingang bore bolomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, Kumārajīva translation, T 235.8.749a24.

376 *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, Faxian translation, *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經, T 7.1.204c23. This is a verse found in many texts as early as the *Zhong Ahan jing* 中阿含經 (Skt. *Madhyamāgama*).

377 “Neutral,” literally “immovable.” A form of karmic neutrality, neither creating good fortune nor misfortune.

378 Found in many sources and attributed to Bodhidharma; for example, *Linji lu*, T 1985.47.495b1; Zongbao version of the *Platform Sūtra*, T 2008.48.346c18–19; *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.880b15–16.

379 *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.219c28; *Erzhongru* 二種入 in *Shōshitsu rokumon* 少室六門, T 2009.48.370a25–26.

380 *Poxiang lun* in *Shōshitsu rokumon*, T 2009.48.366c20.

381 *Anxin famen* in *Shōshitsu rokumon*, T 2009.48.370c5.

382 These are not exact quotes of Bodhidharma but come from the story in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* biography of Bodhidharma of how Huike obtained the mind-seal. “Lastly Huike bowed and then stood relying on his position. The master said, ‘You have obtained my marrow.’” T 2076.51.219c4–5.

383 This is part of the Chan legend of the initial transmission; no exact source found, but similar text is found in *Xu chuandeng lu*, T 2077.51.645b17–18.

384 Or, “their abilities are minor.”

385 This sentence on the two suns and so on was attributed to Confucius in the *Liji* 禮記 and *Mencius*, and was used by Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (684–758) in his propaganda for the Southern Lineage. See John Jorgensen, “The ‘Imperial’ Lineage of Ch’an Buddhism,” *Papers on Far Eastern History* 35 (March 1987), 104.

386 Story in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.207b27–28, although the wording is not exactly the same.

387 Mazu Daoyi. Number mentioned in Huangbo biography, *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.266c3; also 335b3–4.

388 The Eye Store of the Correct Dharma in the context of transmission is the enlightened mind that is transmitted from the mind of one patriarch to another, and is often interpreted as the mind that appreciates all the merits stored in the correct dharma.

389 Although similar sentences can be found in a variety of sūtras, the closest wording is in Bodhiruci’s translation, the *Dabaoji jing* 大寶積經, T 310.11.478a11–12, which adds the word “sūtra” after the word “meaning.”

390 The *Seonmun yeomsong-jip* 禪門拈頌集 is a huge collection of comments and glosses on *gongan* by Jin’gak Hyesim.

391 From “If you have this view” in the last line of the last paragraph to here is translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 142.

392 Seosan Hyujeong.

393 The name of a hall for the Buddha Vairocana; a main hall in Haeinsa.

394 A samādhi mentioned in the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, the *sāgaramudrāsamādhi*, T

279.10.73c. In Korean this is *haein* 海印, so this is also a play on the name of the famous monastery, Haein-sa.

395 Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 7a, to cut off discrimination and protect the endowment (the potential for buddhahood); see *Biyan lu* case 27, evaluation.

396 Words of Longji Shaoxiu 龍濟紹修 (heir of Lohan Guichen, 867–928), found in *Chanzong songgu lianzhu ji* 禪宗頌古聯珠集 [Collection of Linked Pearls of Hymns on Ancient Cases of the Chan Lineage].

397 *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.917c9–10. Explanations of “stumble across” or “fumble about,” see *Zengo*, 304b–305a, and Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 529a, “to be suddenly enlightened to Chan,” or *Shoroku zokugokai*, 39, “to come up against.”

398 *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.446b22–23, with slight differences; Zhaozhou Congshen.

399 A legend found in many Chan texts, see almost identical words in *ibid.*, T 2076.51.219a23–24.

400 Zongbaos vesion of the *Platform Sūtra*, T 2008.48.354c26, part of a verse.

401 *Yongjia Zhengdao ge* 永嘉證道歌, T 2014.48.396a16–18; *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.460b22–24. Yongjia Xuanjue 永嘉玄覺 (665–713), allegedly a pupil of Huineng, was attributed with the authorship of this text in the ninth or tenth century.

402 *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu*, T 2015.48.400a14–15; Guifeng is Zongmi (780–840).

403 *Zuishangsheng lun*, T 2011.48.377b20; here has added “of all directions.” Hongren 弘忍 (601–674) is called the fifth patriarch.

404 Found in a number of sūtras, probably from the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* in Dharmakṣema translation, *Daban niepan jing*, T 374.12.365c11–12.

405 An uncle of the Buddha who was one of Buddha’s ten disciples.

406 Confucius, *Lunyu*, I.vii, Morohashi, *Dai Kan Wa jiten*, 36822.31 gives various interpretations. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1: 140: “If a man withdraws his mind from the love of beauty, and applies it as sincerely to the love of the virtuous.” R. H. Mathews, *Mathews’ Chinese-English Dictionary*, revised American edition (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1942), 2671.22: “to love the virtuous and turn the heart from lust.”

407 I have found no exact quote, but the first half is found in Xuanzang’s translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, the *Da bore boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經, T 220.7.345a16–17: “Serve good friends and do not give rise to weariness of doing so.”

408 Or “read deeply.”

409 I am unsure what this refers to, but it may refer to the 1882 Imo Military Mutiny that sparked the intervention by Chinese and Japanese troops.

410 ZGDJ, 327a. The box-wood only grows an inch per year, but is said to also shrink an inch in intercalary (month) years, so it means to stagnate in (the progress towards) enlightenment. Derogatory. Used in *Dahui pushuo*.

411 This is a story from the apocryphal *Lengyan jing* about Yajñadatta who saw his eyes in a mirror and did not see them in his own head and thought he was bedevilled.

412 A story from the *Lotus Sūtra*.

413 The paragraph to here is translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 142–143.

414 From *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.929c20.

415 This is a paraphrase of Guṇabhadra’s translation, the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* 過去現在因果經 [Sūtra of Causes and Results Past and Present], T 189.3.653b12–23.

416 This is a summary paraphrase of Kumārajīva’s translation, the *Foshuo qianfo yinyuan jing* 佛說千佛因緣經 [Sūtra on the Causation of the Thousand Buddhas Preached by the Buddha], T 426.14.66c14–67a1.

417 Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–417) formed a White Lotus Society dedicated to a vow to Amitābha. The members were monk and lay. It was formed ca. 402, “a solemn covenant concluded between the participants to help each other to reach Sukhāvatī,” Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 219–220.

418 Bai Letian 白樂天, a.k.a. Bai Juyi (772–841), a famous poet who built a retreat on Mount Xiang where together with eight companions he studied Buddhism sometime after 820.

419 Moguja is the style of Jinul (1158–1210), who formed the Suseon Society (The Samādhi and Prajñā Society), which was shifted to Gongsan Mountain in 1188. Gongsan is Palgongsan Mountain in Yeongcheon-gun, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

420 The quote from the famous translator and pilgrim to India, Xuanzang 玄奘 (600–664), is found in Daoshi’s *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 [Jewelled Forest of the Garden of the Dharma], T 2122.53.406a3–4, but with some differences, such as “perform the deeds of Maitreya.”

421 Found in several sources, such as *Da Tang gu sanzang Xuanzang fashi xingzhuang* 大唐故三藏玄奘法師行狀 [Account of Conduct of the Late Trepitaka Xuanzang], T 2052.50.219c8–9, and *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T 2060.50.458a26–28.

422 *Dan* 但 rather than *dan* 斷.

423 Zongmi, *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu*, T 2015.48.403a6; quoted by Jinul, *Susimgyeol*, T 2020.48.1007c12.

424 By Dongshan Liangjie, in *Dongshan Wuben chanshi yulu*, T 1986.47.516a23–26. This is one of Gyeongheo's favorite pieces, see Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 320, and appears at the start of “Dharma Talk to Instruct Beopgyedang.”

425 Poem called “Mourning the Past” (悼古) by Xue Feng 薛峰, a poet who lived in the 850s in Tang China. This copy has some variant characters. The garden of Shicheng was north-west of Luoyang, and the lord of the underworld is Yama, the judge of the dead.

426 Though arranged in a different order, most of these sentences can be found in the *Longshu zengguang Jingtu wen* 龍舒增廣淨土文 [Expanded Texts on the Pure Land by Layman Longshu] by Wang Rixiu 王日休 (d. 1173), T 1970.47.286c24–287a13.

427 *Jigu* 至扣, see Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 241b, to question or need. “Knowledge” here is seeing and hearing.

428 This seems to be derived from a text by Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) on warring ministers, “Like the people of Yue looking at the rich soil (fleshiness) of the people of Qin.” Later this was a metaphor there being no pain or itch related to oneself.

429 Hanam has “wisdom” but following Yi Sangha another text has “paper.”

430 Other texts have eleventh day.

431 Also translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 143.

432 Also translated in *ibid*.

433 “The great limitation” means the time of death.

434 The question is about comparing the effectiveness of being reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven versus being reborn in the Pure Land.

435 聲氣相合. This is probably derived from the *Yijing* sentence 易。乾。同聲相應、同氣相求, which is about the shared interests and loves among friends.

436 This reflects sentences in Wonhyo's *Yusim allakdo* 遊心安樂道 [Path of Ease for the Wandering Mind], T 1965.47.118b13–14: “It is easy to be reborn in the Western Region; it is difficult to be born in the Tuṣita [Heaven]. Some say it is easy to be born in the Tuṣita [Heaven] and hard to be born in paradise.”

437 Kumārajīva's translation of the *Jingang bore bolomi jing*, T 235.8.749b14–15.

438 This is not found in the *Jingang bore bolomi jing* and is either a paraphrase or something that was said by somebody.

439 Closest text is in the *Mohe senggi lü* 摩訶僧祇律 (Skt. *Mahāsamghikavivaya*),

T 1425.22.457c6–7, but it only uses “release” and not “bonds.” Zongmi is reported to have said something similar as recorded in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.306b24, but minus “there is no such thing as.”

440 In the Seonhagwon text in HBJ, the title is “Praises for the Portrait of Reverend Geumbong.”

441 The sentence appears only in Hanam’s manuscript.

442 The sūtras kept in the ocean *nāga*’s (dragon) palace according to Mahāyāna tradition.

443 See 按下雲頭, to transcend the contaminated world. ZGDJ, 75a–b.

444 The last line is identical with that of a poem written by Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052), “Record of a Memorial Hall for Mr. Yan,” which says, “His style/influence, [Will last as long as] the mountins high and the waters long.”

445 *Gigwan* 機闊, a method or opportune device, see ZGDJ, 194c.

446 Insight or wisdom not watered by meditation.

447 This the same as the reported death gāthā of Gyeongheo in the “Account of Conduct” by Hanam, at note 50, with the exception of the word “forgotten” (*mang* 忘) being “gone” (*mang* 亡). As Gyeongheo, *Gyeongheo-jip*, trans. Yi Sangha (Seoul: Dongguk Daehakgyo chulpanbu, 2016), 15, points out, this is identical with the first part of a well-known verse by Panshan Baoji 盤山寶積 (d.u.), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi. This verse reads, “The mind-moon is round and alone, / Its light engulfing all images. / The light is not an illumination of the sense-realms, / And the sense-realms likewise are not existents. / When the light and sense-realms are both eliminated, / What then is this thing?” Found in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.253b15–17 and several other locations, in the *Biyan lu*, T 2003.48.215a14–16, the *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T 1998.47.813c14–15, and many other texts. Gyeongheo has simply omitted the middle two lines.

448 In Chan and Seon Buddhism the ox was a symbol for the human mind. In the Song dynasty a series of verses were created that symbolized the stages of a student’s search for their mind. The most popular were called the “Ten Ox-herding Pictures,” although was also a “Six Ox-herding Pictures.” See more discussion of the symbolism of the ox for Gyeongheo in the introduction.

449 ZGDJ, 1055d: “the most venerated person.”

450 Cf. *Hodaega* 好大哥, used to call out to the assembled monks.

451 Literally “a fellow beneath the steps” or “a subject of his majesty.”

452 *Zengo*, 490b, 84b; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 314a, “to use unreal techniques or methods,” an unstable or unreal method, term found

in *Yuanzhou Yangshan Huiji chanshi yulu*. Servants possessed by spirits. ZGDJ, 136b, a person who does not understand Buddhism, is confused by the conventional level of truth. This verse is possibly inspired by a verse in the *Zhaozhou yulu* 趙州語錄, “The bright moon shines over the firmament and earth / I call knowing in terms of those sentences / The manipulation of mental powers.” Akizuki Ryōmin, *Joshu goroku: Zen no goroku*, vol. 11 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1972), 414, translates this as “The bright moon shines on heaven and earth. His is called the knowledge of words. This is to be played with by sprites.”

453 *Zengo*, 295a; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 101a, a secondary principle or truth, literally a “second head.”

454 *Wandalgu* 梓達邱. *Zengo*, 497c, slang for a puppet, a blockhead; but ZGDJ, 1328b, a bottomless bowl, something useless; Lei Hanqing, *Chanji fangsuci yanjiu* (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2010), 106–107, 539, a knock-off, bowl produced from a mold, that is, very many, i.e. “in the same mold.”

455 *Jujak* 走作. *Zengo*, 266a; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 541b, unstable in practice. Yongquan 溢泉 (d.u.) was a disciple of Shishuang Qingzhu 石霜慶諸 (807–888). He was famed for riding an ox. See *Jingde chuandeng lu* 16; ZGDJ, 1244b.

456 Chengyuan 澄遠 (908–987), a student of Yunmen Wenyan, stayed for forty years at Xianglin Cloister (香林院) on Mount Qingcheng in Yizhou, Chengdu, where he taught. See *Jingde chuandeng lu* 23 et cetera.

457 *Zengo*, 283a; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 70b; Lei Hanqing, *Chanji fangsuci yanjiu*, 297–298 quotes from the entry on Xianglin Chengyuan in *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 15: “The master said to the assembly, ‘After forty years I have formed a single lump.’” Lei’s gloss is that this means to take non-identical parts and merge them into one thing, to not discriminate.

458 *Zengo*, 352a: “to be satisfied with a stingy result.”

459 *Dabang* 多方, see *Zengo*, 483a; Lei Hanqing, *Chanji fangsuci yanjiu*, 272, or to “refine via many methods.” Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 275b–276a: “to produce many students.”

460 A song so sad it stops the clouds in their tracks.

461 These terms are related to Song to Yuan period popular songs. Eyun 過雲 was the name of a singing troupe in Hangzhou during the Southern Song. Translation uncertain. Alternative translation, “The flute sounded the song called ‘Check the Clouds.’ The heart of Lake Dongting is . . .” Yi Sangha cites the poem “Spring Longing” by the late Tang poet Luo Yin 羅隱: “Warmth returns to the state of Shu, the waves rise in the gorges and

creeks / The maiden of Wei purely sings the Song of the Checked Clouds.”

462 Lohan Guichen (867–928), a disciple of Xuansha Shibei 玄沙師備.

463 Here *dang* 撞 is replaced with a similar character that has the mouth radical. See *Zengo*, 342a, to fall asleep.

464 Sentence used by Yuanwu in *Yuanwu foguo chanshi yulu*, T 1997.47.720b16 and 745a9. It may refer to the ox being used for ploughing on fine days.

465 *Zengo*, 399a, Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 30b–31a, be prepared to teach verbally.

466 This is a dhāraṇī beginning with the salutation or honorific *śrī* and ending with *svāhā*. Professor Cho Eun-su has indicated it is from the *Cheonsugeong* 千手經, a sūtra on the thousand-hand and thousand-eye Gwaneum (Ch. Guanyin) that is popular in Korea. I have not identified which of a number of texts found in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* this corresponds to.

467 *Zengo*, 32a, to chase after and grab willow catkins, the refrain of a child’s game.

468 See *Zengo*, 154b, a single coin, a tenth of a cash.

469 *Zengo*, 71a, the absolute power or order; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 178b, where the student has realized his own mind is Buddha.

470 Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 25a; ZGDJ, 1025c, to add something useless, the negative consequences of trying to alter the state of things.

471 Yi Sangha says this related to a hymn by Zhu’an Shigui 竹庵士珪 (1083–1145), a member of the Linji lineage who came from Chengdu, Sichuan, in which both Mianzhou and Hanzhou are located. The hymn reads in part, “When it is cold it is cold, when it is hot it is hot; It is naturally different from places that have no cold or warmth. The aconite of Mianzhou and the ginger of Hanzhou; when making a sword it is certain to be the iron of Hanzhou.” The third line is quoted under the name of Fenyang in *Rentian yanmu*, T 2006.48.305a25.

472 Similar to the words of Jingcen 景岑 of Changsha, Henan, “Beneath the walls of Henan are well provided-for people. Rice is cheap and firewood plentiful, sufficient for the neighborhood on all sides.” *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T 2076.51.275c10.

473 A late Tang monk, disciple of Guizong Zhichang 歸宗智常, known to have taught Linji Yixuan. Lived in Gao’an, Jiangxi.

474 *Zengo*, 360a, enter the market to teach, 237a, lowering the salute of the hands held together at the breast; abandoning such formality and descending to a lower stage to assist people. Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 61b.

475 The peak of the cranium of a buddha was a fleshy lump on the top of the

head, the most deserving item of respect. It could emit a bright light and could not be seen because no one can look down on a buddha. Vairocana is often seen as the supreme or universal buddha.

476 *Zengo*, 389a, is alive.

477 This may be an allusion to the stages of the bodhisattva's career or to the mind-ground.

478 *Zengo*, 420a; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 14a: "to guarantee." *Boim*, the follow up after initial enlightenment.

479 *Zengo*, 468a; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 280a, to fall into confusion or into verbiage and views.

480 *Zengo*, 467a, for the word "fortunately."

481 This verse out of order in the manuscript, so I have corrected the order.

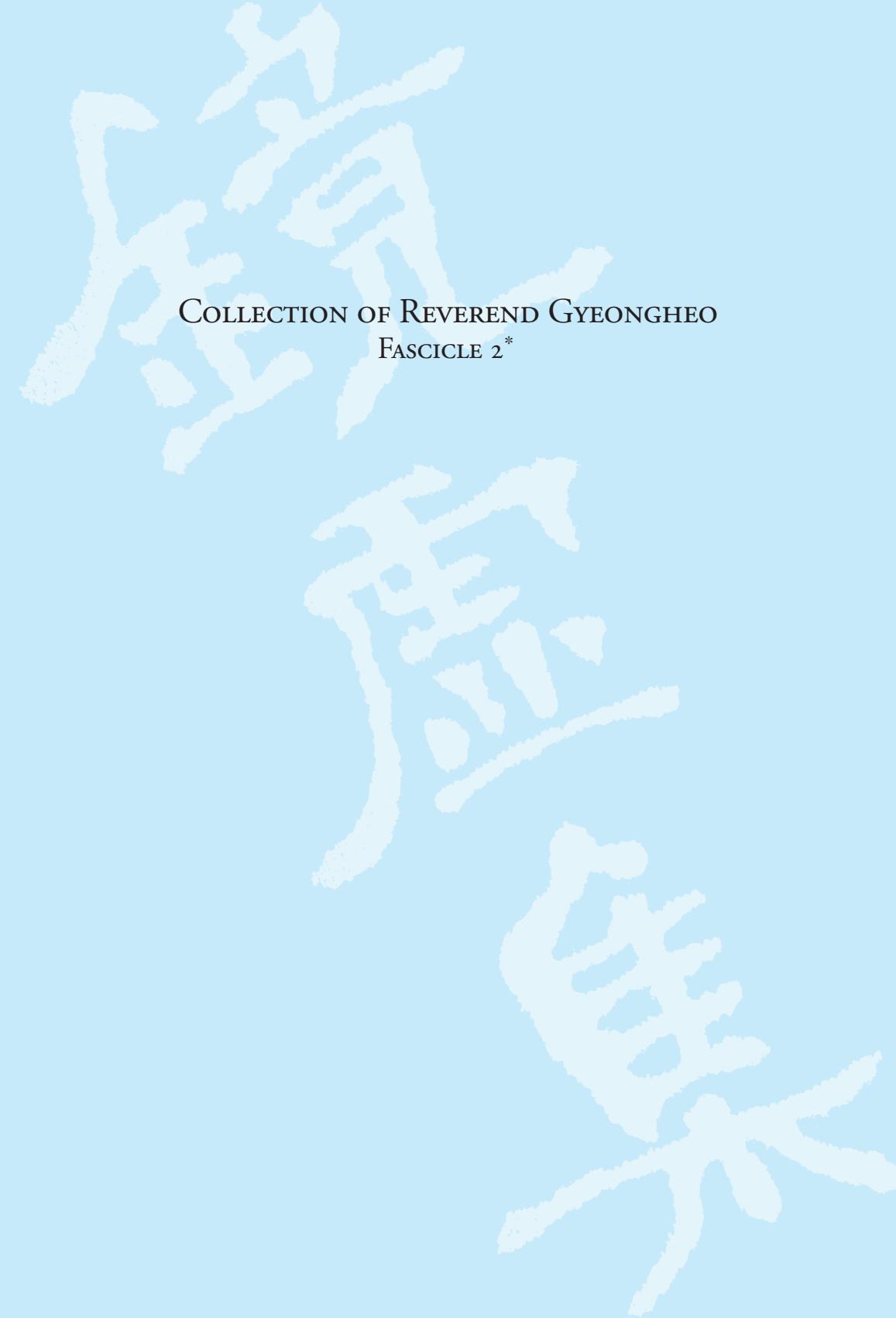
482 One of four pure lands. This the land where the Dharma-body or Vairocana Buddha resides; the world or realm of ultimate enlightenment.

483 Lei Hanqing, *Chanji fangsuci yanjiu*, 413, a football; but it could mean a piece of fluff.

484 *Mudajae* 無多在. Cf. *mudaja* 無多子, *Zengo*, 440b.

485 To serve among other species is reminiscent of stories about Nanquan Puyuan and others becoming oxen to help liberate animals, see Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyō daijiten*, 38c.





COLLECTION OF REVEREND GYEONGHEO  
FASCICLE 2\*



## Miscellaneous Chants on Transcendence<sup>1</sup>

Today is clear and bright,  
There is no obstacle to go out and play.  
Where to go out and play?  
Midst the pines, forests and mounds.  
What scene to contemplate?  
[Where] the rain clears the clouds go away.  
The endless vista,  
Fills the eye with purity and mystery.  
Suddenly there is this longing,  
[For something] that is further and further away.  
The three worlds continuous,  
Where is the exit point?  
The blue mountains at dusk,  
The emerald sea and long islet.

[Jeonghyesa Monastery]<sup>2</sup>

On top of Deoksungsan Mountain,<sup>3</sup> Jeonghye is mysterious.  
The *saha* [world] and time, [extend] over ten thousand autumns.  
The Seon forest (monastery)'s emotional habits arrive from a  
former incarnation.

The cypress tree is empty at heart, the vast eons distant.  
In front of the gate of respect and wealth, the water flows away.  
Over the capital of emperors and kings, white clouds float  
[impermanently].  
You sirs, [like] Zhuangzi's butterfly are a matter of true suchness.  
I also from now on will drag my tail in play.<sup>4</sup>

Who is right, who is wrong?  
[These] are matters within a dream.  
Beneath [the cemetery of] Mountain Beimang,<sup>5</sup>  
Who are you and who am I?

Jang the third and Yi the fourth<sup>6</sup> have passed away.  
I also will experience this matter.  
The wind stops, the fire goes out, [even] in a dream.  
[Likewise] your whole life of craving, anger, person and ego.

In front of the [medicine] caldron, the nine-notched herb<sup>7</sup>  
Is something needed by the ill.  
The unknowing children,  
All want to find it, even though they are not ill.  
Calmly I think of it again.  
Who is there who is not ill?  
Pitiful the matter of a lifetime,  
You and I share the one burial mound.

The door of the great donor is open; there is no obstacle.  
Having picked up firewood and vegetables, sleeping after eating  
food.

Beneath Simgeom Hall<sup>8</sup> he faithfully walked and stood,  
And ordered the texts in excellent rice script<sup>9</sup> sent to the capital.

Again,  
The title “Buddha” and the title “patriarch” are already deceptive words.  
When the divination methods are yet to [predict] omens, the demon is still asleep.  
The pines and clouds imbued with calm, the moon midst creepers returns.<sup>10</sup>  
Beneath Taehwasan Mountain<sup>11</sup> it has been transmitted past and present.

Again,  
The caterpillars and centipedes in a fire do not question.  
Autumn on the river, the mist is clean, the seagulls<sup>12</sup> and egrets sleep.  
This kind of unfolding salvation is understood by nobody.  
The vista of the Locust Tree is transmitted in a dream.<sup>13</sup>

When fire and kindling interact it is hard to put out.  
The smell of the hawk<sup>14</sup> in the shirt<sup>15</sup> intensifies as the years pass.  
A handsome beard,<sup>16</sup> leaves, and stems resemble a sky-supporting pillar.  
Mountain spirits and tree sprites realize/show the Buddha-mind.  
The hidden truth<sup>17</sup> in all directions of space is unfolded by clouds.  
A single shell [of the body] can endure submergence in heavy rain.  
If the subtlest of dusts<sup>18</sup> are not destroyed, the sūtras will yet to be revealed.  
The extent equal to the cosmos<sup>19</sup> is really hard to find.

Pitiable, the immortal of Hyangsan Mountain<sup>20</sup>  
Resenting he had yet to hear the lion’s roar [of the Buddha].

As he was simply able to realize a single thing,  
Why bother discussing before and after Buddha?

In the mountains I met a woodcutter,  
Our brief words were still causation.<sup>21</sup>  
Recently I rested in a district of lay Buddhists.  
Descending, the evening sun in the sky,  
The soul of the willow<sup>22</sup> has almost flown away.  
The butterfly dream [of Zhuangzi] is vague and hard to wake to.  
Turning my head I did not see anybody,  
Far on the edge of the village a cow caws.

For my whole life there was no firm compulsion,<sup>23</sup>  
All events being attributed to causation.  
At Yeonamsan Mountain I stayed as a scholar of the Way.  
At Buseok[sa Monastery]<sup>24</sup> I passed hot summer days.  
The songs of the fisherman, where are they late?  
The mountain moon appears to people as round.  
Coming to sit in the high tower,  
Fruit flies<sup>25</sup> disturb one side.

Raising one and getting two,  
In general there is no clue.  
Overturning conventions,  
Entrapping the usual.<sup>26</sup>  
In the dust midst the wind,  
It is changed into the divine cinnabar [of immortality].  
Fortunately<sup>27</sup> it is like this,  
He establishes his life and self.  
How can he be without a scarf  
To ward off the cold of the sky?  
If you walk on frost it becomes ice,  
If there are harmonious feelings there will be generosity.  
Why sprinkle bad water?

It is hard to moisten the sky.  
 Use these two categories  
 Of flowing waters and blue hills.  
 Exactly these words  
 Are the calls of dead roosters.<sup>28</sup>  
 An old oak is rent,<sup>29</sup>  
 From the start it was not trimmed.  
 Scraping away the ear, the chicks look,  
 The duck thinks it is a divine phoenix.  
 Everybody takes up the topic [of the *gongan*],  
 A complete eye<sup>30</sup> is difficult to blind.

Bellows in every way create refinement,  
 ○ ○ ○ ○ how can it be beyond?<sup>31</sup>  
 Stood upside down looking at the mountains, the seal is not  
 understood.  
 Following the flow of the water, fully accustomed to it,  
 Although not sitting [on the throne], who can claim he lacks  
 authority?<sup>32</sup>  
 Although he has lost his body, has not yet cut himself off from  
 human residences.  
 Letting go,<sup>33</sup> he only return only with this.  
 I dare assure<sup>34</sup> practitioners, please do not hesitate.

A bird flies off in the empty sky,  
 Even though you gaze at it, there is no end.  
 If you wish to take on a thing with characteristics,  
 It will be difficult get to [nirvāṇa] without residue.  
 Halfway along the path, the trees and forests end.  
 Being tired, yet there is nowhere to rest.  
 Not recognizing the errors of operation,  
 Disappointed, still you hesitate.

An ill person, I ask you,

Why is your disease not cured?  
At Mountain Fangjang there is a divine medicine,<sup>35</sup>  
Taking it you will have more than longevity.  
Human life [is as evanescent] as dew on grass,  
But also it does not gain [you] a peaceful existence.  
The ill person spoke with a sigh and a sob,  
Because it is hard to get he hesitates.

Heaven and earth like this are vast,  
Is not life laughable [in comparison]?  
Half my life has already passed,  
How many years do I have left?  
Worry and sadness long encroaches and confuses,  
When will I have a calm existence?  
It is like being drunk and unaware,  
Emptily one will hesitate.

Human life is not worth trusting to.  
Have not Zhang and Zhao (ordinary people) passed away?  
I can count on my fingers those I know,  
How many people are there who have survived?  
Without regard to young and old,  
Their destinations are the Yellow Springs (Hades).  
This body grants early awareness and enlightenment,  
Being very urgent, do not hesitate.

Adding incense and changing water [in the bowl] for the [illustration]  
of statues [on the Buddha's birthday<sup>36</sup>], hoping for a field of  
blessings,  
But spending donkey's years in the caverns of the demons of  
temptation,  
You lose your home. For how many years are [you like] a bubble  
in water?  
Suddenly aware that in this body there is a lotus midst the

conflagration.

Driving an ox, who recognizes the saint of Odaesan Mountain,<sup>37</sup>  
 Striking the drum, it is hard to meet the immortal Lü Yan,<sup>38</sup>  
 Forgetting concerns for a moment he is still stuck in his [corporeal]  
 shell.<sup>39</sup>

The spring birds cry aloud disturbing the stranger's sleep.

For my whole life my resolution was to delight in the mountain  
 mysteries,

I visited this hermitage and passed an autumn there.

[After a] long day I appreciate the homecoming birds in the  
 evening,

All the dust [contaminants] dreamlike, a wisp of cloud in the  
 gloom.

Over Hwaam[san Mountain]<sup>40</sup> the northern sky is far away.

In front of Hongyang<sup>41</sup> the sea floats to the west.

As before the vista again comes to me.

Clearly intoning several verses, I talk of past travels.

I hid myself to avoid the rain in the gloom of a clump of rocks,  
 A soughing cold air, the summer is like autumn.

A rustic elder pities the monk who is completely shrunken.

The schoolboys laugh at me, for I am lazy and slow.

The hues of Gayasan<sup>42</sup> were glistening in the clouds,

The sounds of the Nabakcheon rivers<sup>43</sup> floated above the roads,

On this walk I am already late, my clothes and scarf soiled.

I return to lodge in the Seon cloister; tomorrow I will travel.

The stone man takes advantage of the excitement and plays for  
 the three months of spring.

Look afresh at the incomplete tiger painting.

The forests and ravines are under the stars and moon in heaven,

The dead rooster caught a mouse and sacrifices it to the dead

man.

Past glory and decay are equally bitter.  
On Gayasan I search for the mysterious truth.  
The bird songs and flower smiles are the mind unlimited,  
The white of the moon and the cool of the wind, the Way is not  
impoverished.  
How much more so is there a fortified wall hiding a precious  
realm?<sup>44</sup>  
I'll take the imperial rules (the Way) to liberate beings from being  
sunk in delusion.  
Henceforth I will repeatedly repair the single patch robe,  
And I will age in this body and not come down from the clouded  
peaks.

Ten years in the gate of emptiness [i.e. the Buddhist order],  
Naturally I forgot the worldly conditions,  
[But] I love the flowers in full bloom on the earth.  
The bright moon rises in the dark heaven.  
All flows return to the ocean's unity.  
Myriad images (phenomena) reach the sky's circumference.<sup>45</sup>  
It was so pleased, so today I came here,  
The mind-mirror illuminates the far border.<sup>46</sup>

How many times do the insects speak and birds sing?  
Pitiable, time passes like the receding waves.  
Knowing my useless art [of catching dragons]<sup>47</sup> and that is all,  
I ask you, why also [would you] paint a cat?  
Empty space already perished, the dusts (sense-data) are tranquil,  
Looking again at the landscape, the buddhas are legion.  
Fortunately I met a good friend, [from whom] I diligently begged  
instruction,  
Please, don't let one thought fall [among] the evil demons [of  
temptation].

The sounds of insects come, chirp, chirp.  
 Pillowed on the bed, the moon bright in the fall.  
 Leaves fall in the deep cloister,  
 The breeze blows on the old stream.  
 Having a longing I vainly feel for myself,  
 Dejected I further add to my grief.  
 Looking round at this mayfly[-brief] sojourn,  
 Likewise corresponds to a single breath intake.

Strange indeed! What place is this?  
 I came to sit, again a hot sky.  
 My bed is illumined by the moon in the clear sky.  
 My feelings are refreshed by a breeze from the great ocean.  
 [The monastery] was founded at the hands of the former Buddha.<sup>48</sup>  
 The rebuilding was the achievement of the later master.<sup>49</sup>  
 The bearing of the burden [is due to] the strength of the wise  
 man,  
 Here they reside together with you.

The wind blows leaves on the courtyard path,  
 Rustling and jiggling, it looks a little like a mouse.  
 The foolish cat unable to discern [what it is]  
 Goes to get it, wanting to swallow and chew it.  
 Today he uses his mind in vain,  
 Next morning it will be the same.  
 Future generations are like the cat,  
 They will uselessly hesitate.

There is a single pure realm worth living in,  
 Even before the end of an eon it has become a wasteland.  
 The minds of the stone man and wood woman are basically real,  
 The lights of stars and lamps are flickering, these matters are not  
 in vain.<sup>50</sup>  
 Crying and coming with spring light to beyond the dust and

sand [sufferings of this world],  
 Laughing I enter the blue sky that is beyond time.  
 Saints and ordinary people are one but still they are discriminated,  
 Seeking a companion to stay with, I am elated but not careless.<sup>51</sup>

The schoolboy came to inform me,  
 Today he wished to climb the mountain,  
 [For] medicinal plants were ready to be picked  
 And one may climb up to the magpie's nest.  
 The pine tree-lute, the wind in it soughing,  
 The forests speak, the wind in it clamoring.  
 The scenery is true like this,  
 Strange indeed, with full appreciation we return.

The cicada in the wind-blown dust, even though formed by  
 losing its shell,  
 The divine oyster [pearl] in this, who is there to raise it up?<sup>52</sup>  
 This floating life is like a dream, if the dusty conditions (sense  
 objects) end,  
 The patriarchs and buddhas, mountains and rivers are disclosed  
 with a thread of [en]light[enment].

A thousand peaks and one watercourse, between them the  
 landform is split,  
 Below a secluded immortal's cavern, again cloudy at sunset.  
 If we divide mists and cloud into halves [between us],  
 Henceforth we will no longer hear information about each  
 other.<sup>53</sup>

Above the Yongjeonggang River<sup>54</sup> the rustic elder goes,  
 Turning my head I breathlessly ask about the fork in the road.  
 The rustic elder did not speak; in the mountains and also late,  
 Somewhere the rhyme of Canglang remains for a while?<sup>55</sup>

Delightful is the spring of great peace,  
 Look and observe the freshness of grasses.  
 The rain on top of Gyeryongsan,<sup>56</sup>  
 Last night moistened down the fine dust.<sup>57</sup>  
 Where in the blue mountains is best?  
 Taking my bamboo staff and sweat towel,  
 For ten years I forgot the world  
 And today I visit the immortal lord.

On Yeon[am] Range<sup>58</sup> beneath a covering of snow,  
 White flowers (edelweiss or snowflakes), the sun already set.  
 The schoolboy comes to tell me,  
 “The dinner drum has already been struck.”

Desolate this single [meditation] bench, but full with mountain  
 autumn,  
 The light of *mahāparinirvāna* flows endlessly.  
 Fortunately there is a teacher of the nature (Buddha), but in the  
 end we do not meet,  
 Ungjin was originally no different from Gongju.<sup>59</sup>

The mountain itself is blue, the water itself green,  
 The clean breeze wipes away the white clouds.  
 To the end of the day I played on top of a great rock,  
 I have abandoned the world, for what more could I hope?

Because I know that birth-and-death is crucial,  
 In a single puff of wind all events fly away.  
 Today I sit following the clouds,  
 The cranes on the four peaks dance back home.<sup>60</sup>

Calculating the events of previous years,  
 The transience [of life] flys by like wavering heat.<sup>61</sup>  
 Not apart from the wavering heat that flies by,

From beyond the horizon a roc returns.

What is the reason that the white clouds  
Daily fly towards the mountains?  
It seems they dislike the evils of the dusty world,  
And they accompany me as we return there.

Which one is not the non-dual dharma?  
On an autumn day the geese fly south.  
That is the real state of things.  
When spring returns they head back north.<sup>62</sup>

On the path of right and wrong, fame and fortune,  
The mind and consciousness fly after them in confusion.  
Those titled great heroes  
Wandered and were not certain to return.

The human mind is like a fierce tiger,  
Its poisonous evil flies through to the sky.  
The accompanying cranes follow beyond the clouds,  
Who returns with this body?

The wind gusts and frosted leaves fall,  
From where they have fallen they again whirl up.  
Because [like this] the mind is hard to settle,  
The traveler does not return for a long time.

When the flowers of the iron tree bloom once,  
The roots and trunk are nowhere to be found.  
In the thatched hall deep in spring slumber,  
All the birds waste their clear voices.

Immediately empty space is destroyed,  
The flowers in space<sup>63</sup> then form buds.

Knowing this is also the spring light,  
Their thick fragrance blows into my room.

The setting sun on the empty monastery,  
Clasping my knees, I take a restful sleep.  
The soughing [breeze] startled me awake.  
The frosted leaves pile up before the steps.

The autumn wind is cold and even colder,  
Deep at night I am unable to sleep.  
How can the sad sounds of insects  
Make me cry before my pillow?<sup>64</sup>

How does hubbub resemble silence?  
Confusion is not as good as sleep.  
In the long night, the moon over the empty mountain,  
The bright light is before my pillow.

Having no things to do, still there are things to be done.  
Shutting the gate, I slept during the day.  
The birds in the mountains knew I was alone,  
Their shadows passing in front of the window.

On which mountain is there a deep, calm place  
Where I can rely on and sleep on a pillow of clouds?  
If you can get my mind (what I want to say),  
You will feely play in front of the cross-roads.

There are matters hard to fathom mentally.  
If tired by concerns, then sleep.  
This sentence has been transmitted past and present,  
It only lies in front of this gate.

Neither of them rest, whether the Buddha or Temptation Demon.

When numinous abilities<sup>65</sup> are managed fully, there is a hook in  
your hands.<sup>66</sup>

Trampling the red, dried up bones, smiling deep in the spring,  
The white-haired baby [lives] longer than the stone-rubbing  
eon.<sup>67</sup>

Last night's dream was already empty, so tonight's [dream] will be  
the same.

This mind yet to be realized, why seek beyond it?  
What is lamentable is that all events ultimately are hard to  
fathom,  
When you are about to depart uneasily, it again draws one into  
melancholy.

The sighing water and its sound come to an end.  
The soaring mountain and its shadow are not there (visible).  
[But if] the shadow and sound are entirely active in the body,  
The golden crow (the sun) will fly at midnight.<sup>68</sup>

In the eye the sounds of the river are urgent,  
At the ear lobes the lightning flashes.  
Limitless events past and present,  
The stone man mentally nods by himself.<sup>69</sup>

In the mountain light or the water's hue,  
Face and eyes by themselves are true.  
If you wish to know the meaning of this,  
Eight ounces are half a catty.<sup>70</sup>

## | Seven-word line regulated verse |

On Buseoksa<sup>71</sup>

Shouting out the song of non-arising [of thought, i.e. nirvāṇa],  
A major cosmos of worlds, an onslaught of golden waves.  
Although it is said that the great Way is not far from people,  
What can be done if this floating life is like a dream?  
In front of the pavilion of rest and recuperation the dark blue  
ocean is vast.  
Islands fly up to the mountain top, the approaching clouds  
numerous.<sup>72</sup>  
Picking up and bringing everything, all are the true face,  
Why must whiteout be used to distinguish the Buddha and the  
Temptation Demon?<sup>73</sup>

## With Feeling

Scratching my head in perplexity, I think of you departing.  
I cannot detain you, my thoughts melancholic.  
Putting up with the hardship of vegetarian provisions<sup>74</sup> for the  
trip in the deep snow,  
Out of pity you bring alcohol across the frozen ice.  
In this matter what is best is to seem not to understand.  
What is most marvelous in the Way, how can it be found?  
The worldly paths of heat and cold have been passed over,  
The mountain itself a green expanse, the waters themselves flow.

## Stopping at Hwailpo Bay in Okcheon<sup>75</sup>

How many times have I passed through grog shops and how  
many book stores?

Sitting and resting on the flat lawn, I take a rest freely.

Mountains need high rising rocks, standing steadfast,

Waters contain many fish, flowing broad and deep.

Dark smoke is confusedly made in the river-village evening.

A cool breeze<sup>76</sup> comes and blows; the wild trees in the fall.

Shadows fall on the forests and springs, the moon over Songnisan  
Mountain,<sup>77</sup>

Responding with a sigh, this monk travels in his declining years.

## Sung on the Road to Hwaeom[sa] while Traveling with the Senior Lecturer Wolhwa of Songgwangsa<sup>78</sup>

Gazing and listening in passing, the scenes are renewed.  
The anticipated clear inspiration, why dislike the dust?  
Rocks increase the vapors and mists, diffusing a strange light.  
A village hidden in the heart of the forest that describes a true  
realm.

A field dog stops and starts, following the vegetable [picking] girl.  
Torrent pigeons at times speak, accompanying the ploughman.  
A woodcutter's song, a single tune, beyond the setting sun.  
Cultivated and refined the mountain cluster, lightly enter the  
cloud.

Again,  
How many times have I passed over steep ranges and deep rivers?  
With my slow walks over long distances I am ashamed I could  
not have gone ahead.

Stately trees and cold mist, a scene of a spring morning.  
Then clouds over an old island, the evening sun on the horizon.  
Wandering without a reason, this body has long been old,  
Forgoing drunkenness, what prevents sleeping beyond the world?  
My cup of alcohol is also unfinished, and that of the eminent  
scholar (you) likewise.

A merry life is only possible when things are it left up to Heaven  
[to decide].

Again,  
Whether it is your feet or hat strings [that you wash] depends on  
[the water being] muddy or clear,<sup>79</sup>

How much more so [is this the case] in a spring dream, in this  
floating life?

The lively water of the mountain creeks, how many scenes are  
there?

The idle clouds in the declining light, feelings of past and present.  
The wilderness mists dispelled by clear skies, a lone bird is whiter,  
The spring bamboo surrounded by forest, the many houses  
greener.

Intoning my thoughts endlessly, again I get drunk,  
Where is there a gap in the forest with the flag of the grog shop  
seen?

## Responding to Geummyeongdang of Songgwangsa

Having faced you, in the end I am ashamed that I am late to  
encounter your wisdom.<sup>80</sup>

When the moon over Jogyesan Mountain<sup>81</sup> comes to the window,  
The pearl found by Shapeless<sup>82</sup> originally was not real,  
Entering a dream, student Chen, ultimately who is he?<sup>83</sup>  
I came to visit this famous site in the mists and clouds,  
I looked at the pines and cedars, their branches in the cold of the  
year.

The clustered forest (teaching monastery) had people of old here,  
Whose exalted teaching of the profound vehicle definitely is to  
be expected [here].<sup>84</sup>

## Climbing to Sudoam Hermitage [of Cheongamsa Monastery]

Walking on even [ground] is already hard, climbing up the slowest.  
I fear that my robust health will not last long.  
Leaving behind the art of pearl-finding in the sea of the immortals,  
Ungrateful for the promise of picking medicinal [plants] on the  
famous mountain.  
In the deep valleys the snow swirls up, the cloud wrapping around  
the crags,  
The wind roars in the old wisteria, the moon lighting up the  
branches.  
The Brahma (Buddhist) Hall like a painting, this monk is speechless,  
In the sound of the chimes the coiled incense moves.

## Memories of Sudoam<sup>85</sup> and Presenting [this poem] to Master Su'ik of Gwaneumsa Monastery at Okgwa<sup>86</sup>

The intention of the stranger (me) on the horizon is merely tragic,  
The eminent gentleman (you) sought me out in this lecture hall.  
Although there is no gap between us, the mind is like the moon,  
How [long] have we been parted, out temple-hair increasingly  
frosted.

Relying on his eyes the object of the Peng was ten thousand  
leagues away,<sup>87</sup>

Turning his head in the ant dream,<sup>88</sup> all the countries busy.

The old catalpa lute cuts off one's soul mate,<sup>89</sup>

At the breaking of the willow (parting) not a sound is interrupted.

## Visting Muheulsu Monastery<sup>90</sup>

Flies spring out at me and the hot weather irritates me,  
I think of the ten thousand league shoreline of the dark blue sea  
far away?  
From the locust and willow trees at Jangpyeong Village<sup>91</sup> I view  
the wilds,  
The smoke and mists of Muheul climb up round the pavilion.  
As grasses cover the empty window it is hard to judge whether it  
is daytime,  
Since a spider sealed the old stūpa [with its web], how many  
autumns have gone?  
Much engulfed in the morass of human affairs,  
As soon as the circumstances are understood, the tears will stream  
down.

## Ascending Gujungsan with Friends<sup>92</sup>

Among the pines a single [meditation] bench, a superior Seon  
barrier,  
What is stopping me from buying alcohol by going to the far-off  
village?  
The shadows of the rocks in the empty mountains are the same as  
in the deep past,  
The sound of the water today in yet another twilight.  
The myriad waves erode an islet but still the bones (rocks) of it  
remain,  
Hundreds of demons possess people, but ultimately the people  
have souls.  
Humming my thoughts endlessly, rather it is an elegant verse,  
The intoxicating (red) maple [leaves] and pretty chrysanthemums  
can be discussed here.

## Responding to Yeonghodang

All events unhurriedly flow in this [lifetime] of a hundred years,  
It is also like an inn [where one] stays temporarily.<sup>93</sup>  
Deep within the coiled incense [smoke] you are made to forget  
the world,  
The dark bird flies on, suddenly we see the immortal.<sup>94</sup>  
The intoxicating chrysanthemum and mature maples, autumn  
hues in evening,  
The floating clouds and flowing waters, an evening sun on the  
horizon,  
Past conditions have already come to a head and now we part  
again,  
White-headed [old men] in the layered peaks, we commiserate  
with each other.

## **Talking on Farewell at Night with Manudang in the Patriarch's Room of Cheongam[sa]**

Crickets chirp in the night rain on the emerald mountain tower,  
Secretly I longed for my home village, [I feel] my head is getting  
heavy.

All events are cloud-like, what is real?

A lifetime is water-like, this floating life.

A perfect unity<sup>95</sup> is hard to force, today [again] delayed.

Long parted without cause, how many autumns have passed?

Already saddened by white hair, we wander apart again,

How can I bear you leaving and I am left behind again?

## Visiting Sudoam

Climbing and climbing even further, I visited the courtyard of  
the immortal,

In the calm the true man (immortal) is enlightened to the spirit of  
the Way.

[Through] the half-opened door the mountains and rivers divide  
the ears and eyes,

On the empty balustrade the Milky Way above [spread out like] a  
clothes-screen.

Enshrined among the pines for an eon the dragon is aging,

The misty rocks touches the sky, the demon is blue.

Lamenting in the extreme for the deceased monk, I still stand for  
a long time,

The racing clouds and the birds passed, the forest over there is  
getting dark.

## On the Road to Jangjin<sup>96</sup>

Out of the ten encounters with people's houses, nine of them are  
vacant,  
In the jumbled ranges the cries of birds, fish in the old mountain  
torrent.  
His dusty bamboo hat is like a saucer, walking barefoot,  
His rope-[tied] robe is like a net, carrying a long hoe.  
Led to the stove the man feeds oxen, firewood and dung are  
there,  
He weaves wood slats to form a wall, a palisade that forms his  
hut.  
A poverty-stricken livelihood, difficult to describe,  
How can a jade candlestick illuminate this dwelling?

## Passing the Jangjingang

(wanting to see triplets)

The sound of the wind in the sixth month unusually moves metal,<sup>97</sup>  
On the Jangjingang River freezing in a single robe.  
Triplets are truly rarely seen,  
A single staff (a lone person) is not stopped from seeking in far lands.  
Grass fills the plains, but is all of a yellow hue.  
All day long there was no body I can heard the voice of virtue from.  
On all sides chanting in a low voice, then I found the verse,  
Who can know the inside of my mind?

## Offered to the Judge<sup>98</sup> of Ganggye-gun,<sup>99</sup> Gim Uijung<sup>100</sup>

On the first of the fourth month at Isan<sup>101</sup> the autumn again calls,  
Unregistered children [in the school], my sideburns whitened.  
An old friend's letter of enquiry is worth a thousand in gold,  
On the border passes my luggage is as light as a hair.  
The bright moon bores through the forest, coming to the stranger's bench,  
The white clouds and the waters shine on the calligraphed screen.  
The red maple leaves shake and drop, the yellow chrysanthemums old,  
How many times do I gaze at Gangju (Ganggye) remembering the feelings of old.

## Writing out My Thoughts

[Wearing] a robe and gown, it is laughable that I have gained the name “[Confucian] scholar.”

The new district schoolhouse, the year is again ending.

The water of the Nak[su River] and the dark clouds in a thousand-league dream,

The yellow flowers of Isan are sung of for half a year.

The waves of the flood waters erode the stone, but still the marrow remains,

When the great furnace smelts the gold, how does it harm the essence?

Worldly affairs are miserable and the my sideburns and hair turned white,

I cannot stop emptying my glass, feeling [like this] my whole life.<sup>102</sup>

Again,

Stagnating at the border fortress was a mistake that I made,

Longing for home a thousand times, how can I name them all?

Even though ill and weak it is hard to cut off the relationship with mountain life,

Who seeks the art of literacy while being ignored like grass and straw?<sup>103</sup>

Half the sky is cleared of clouds, the hues of the layered peaks,

The deep gorges produce winds and the sound of falling trees.

And so not [intending to] return, I can then return,

Loving to look at the pines and chrysanthemums filling their garden with purity.<sup>104</sup>

Again,

A rotten tree and cold ashes, a house on the chasm edge is in place.

A comparison for it is an abandoned monastery, its Buddha without spirit.

Illness is like weeds, remove them and they return again,

Melancholy is like fine dust, wipe it away and it remains again.

As the breeze died away, suddenly leaves fall from the blue sky,

When the valley fully clears, there is a white moon and stars.

A beloved friend is far away, money for alcohol lacking,

How can I buy grog to soothe my declining years?

Again,

The granny barmaid and old shopkeeper, I am in the same class,  
Hiding my ability, originally I loved to fit in.

Before evening the fire is lit, a mountain leopard descends,

In deep autumn the wind takes hold, the border swan returns.

I do not crave gold and jade, the jewels of human beings,

I also forgot smoke and mists, resting beyond [the desire for] things.

Transcending and escaping, without doubt, the mind attained by itself,

It is only due to my past days that I can observe the profound barrier [of Seon].<sup>105</sup>

## Because Headmaster Gim Yunjong, Whose Pen Name Is Yeoneun, Sent Me a Poem on the Winter Solstice, I Responded

On the winter solstice I was deep in thought of a distant place,  
An old friend's excellent poem is clearly chanted.  
Right and wrong definitely eliminated, my actions are planned,  
Due to a promise what I again seek are your profound thoughts.  
Reading the *Classic of Changes* in front of a window, there are  
plums and chrysanthemums,  
Simmering cinnabar beside the stove, the crane and *luan*  
(immortal's) lute.  
Meanwhile in the vastnesses, the solitary and separated stranger,  
Spending all the money in my purse to pour out an alcoholic  
brew.<sup>106</sup>

**Because Yang, a Comb Seller Living in Changpyeong<sup>107</sup> Stopped by at  
My Place and Requested a Poem, I Wrote Clumsily**

A single green lantern, you are together with me,  
Pitying the mulberry sea,<sup>108</sup> past conditions are empty.  
Floating clouds beyond the ranges, there comes a traveling  
stranger,  
In the sounds of falling trees, I am accompanied by a student  
boy.  
The mountains cold, freezing the snow, white to waist height,  
As the world is confused, the rank dust of barbarians fills the eyes  
with red.  
The travel of a thousand leagues, please go carefully,  
Ashamed that I am on the blocked frontier, an old man yet to  
return.

## Responding to Gim Uijung of Ganggye Who Is Leaving

An oriole shifts to a stately tree, swallows shift to the eaves,  
The December snow after all yields totally to the heat.  
With seven sons to succeed you, the family reputation great,  
For a thousand leagues in your cart, position and fame enhanced.  
The verses are like flowers blooming in a row on a spring  
mountain,  
My innermost feelings are as refined as the full moon full in the  
autumn sky.  
Ah, I am isolated by the mountains, wearied by following the  
tracks,  
Where shall I roam to go and hide myself?

## Responding to Son Seokbeom Who Was Living in Jeongpyeong<sup>109</sup> When I Was Left behind in Ganggye

The verse master of Gangseo<sup>110</sup> is now here again,  
His pearl and jade-like phrases, sung while beating time.  
Roaming through the windy and dusty [world],<sup>111</sup> distant from  
my home town,  
The years and months have knocked me about, an old illness a  
constant presence.  
My hope is like Li Bai, to know Jing[zhou],<sup>112</sup>  
My admiration is akin to that of Changqing who kept Lin  
[Xiangru] in mind.<sup>113</sup>  
“On a snowy night I will visit you by boat,” you said.<sup>114</sup>  
In preparation I took up the burnt-tail lute, and waited for my  
soul mate.<sup>115</sup>

## Together with Yeoneun Composing a Poem on a Clear Night

On a good night all around, the inspiration not slight,  
Mountains on all sides like a painting in a mirror surrounded.  
Just hearing the disturbed trees and the sound of falling leaves,  
I have yet to see the slightest cloud dragging its shadow away.  
The fragrance of the red cassia wafts from Lingyun Monastery,<sup>116</sup>  
In the cold the refreshed immortal arrives in [mist-]clothed  
Chicheng.<sup>117</sup>  
I will not farewell you, speaking with you through to dawn,  
Only fearing that the light of daybreak will quickly brighten.<sup>118</sup>

## Sung Together with Yeoneun

Yeoneun's nature is endowed with positive energy,  
Though the five oceans are agitated, his one mind is firm.  
Each time he carried the shoes of Mr. Xie for traveling in the  
mountains,<sup>119</sup>  
At times he wore the garments immortal Su wore when he  
farewelled his guests.<sup>120</sup>  
Deep in the marshes, the smoke and mist, farming at the valley  
mouth,  
On a bank the seagulls and egrets wash in the cold waves.<sup>121</sup>  
Facing your elevated characteristics, your thoughts clarify my  
[mind],  
Approaching old age incoherently, suddenly it is forgotten.

## Responding to Teacher Yi Yeoseong in Jongnam-myeon in Ganggye

Fortunately I gained this body in [the world] of wind and dust,  
Neglectfully wandering free and easy, but now a time of old age.  
Over thousands of villages the sun is warm and swallows fly in  
disorder,  
The mountains of high antiquity are cold, the oriole song  
delayed.  
The river grass comes of itself in the stranger's dream,  
How about meeting an old friend to drink the village brew?  
How much splendor and decay, to it now I am first aware,  
In a deep place of white clouds I go to visit you.

## Together with Teacher Yi [Yeoseong] I Sing of Light Rain

Steamed up a charcoal-white, the leaks from heaven,  
Very fine and wispy, ten thousand streaks long.  
Sinking and overflowing into hollows and springs, flow the  
green-eyes (bubbles),<sup>122</sup>  
The *myeonman* (bird) in the high willow has its yellow garment  
moistened.  
On a clear day, a light mist is carried, sharing features,  
Suddenly the thick fog makes it [like] my hometown.  
At present the paths of the world are mostly overshadowed and  
covered,  
When can [I encounter] as day as bright as the sun?

## At Night Singing with Teacher Yi

Worldly affairs are agitated, really difficult to withstand,  
At once drunk, next awake, each applicable to one time.  
A sand bank in a spring dream, I thought of you for a long while,  
At a studies bench in Jongnam-[myeon],<sup>123</sup> this meeting delayed.  
The jumbled mountains are quiet and calm, the green lantern  
(candle) alight,  
The departing waters distant, and white hair expected.  
How can I push open the door of the palace  
And [write] a “Rhapsody on Hedong” for the ruler and say it  
once?<sup>124</sup>

## At the Sinheung Market<sup>125</sup> I Have the Schoolboy Sing of the Butterfly, and I Rhymed with It

I love your fluttering about towards the small hermitage,  
But I am also familiar with the Varnish Garden's dream transformation.<sup>126</sup>  
The old cavern's rare flowers, redder than brocade,  
Floating in the fragrant grass on the cliffs, green like indigo.<sup>127</sup>  
Their form and shape are natural, forming an excellent beauty,  
Throughout our lifetime we seek sweet honey wherever we are..  
It is for example like a made-up beauty among beautiful women,  
Recklessly a male child dances intoxicated.

## Writing out My Thoughts

[I'm like] a seagull that roosts on shifting duckweed without a permanent place to rest,

Where can I speak of my mind in detail?

Although I have lost my horse, how do you know that this is not fortunate?<sup>128</sup>

The crane returns, so why not study the immortal's poem?<sup>129</sup>

The mountain air is iron cold, wind fills the gullies,

Snowflakes silky white, the moon [shines] through thousands of branches.

[Like] Lu [Zhong]lian leaping into the sea,<sup>130</sup> not difficult to do,

Leaving the village of my parents, I drag my feet slowly.<sup>131</sup>

## New Year's Eve

How can I speak of the many threads in my secret thoughts?  
Deep in the mountains and snow cold, there is a lone study.  
Last year at the Cheongmyeong [Festival]<sup>132</sup> I was in Ganggye  
Town,  
This year on New Year's Eve I am in Gapsan Village.<sup>133</sup>  
All of a sudden my hometown first enters my dreams,  
Not expecting a traveler's anxieties I temporarily forgot my  
[mental] scars.  
The lamp in the window brightening, the hubbub ends,  
I stood and listened to the neighbor's rooster, how long did I lean  
on the gate?

## New Year's Day

Heaven works soundlessly, dare I voice my complaints?<sup>134</sup>  
Where are the five-[colored] clouds where I can bow to the dragon  
(royal) carriage?<sup>135</sup>  
Self-pitying on this first day, a stranger in a strange land,  
Still fortunate that Isan is a courteous village.  
At the start of the year the sunbeams spread, good for recuperation,  
To cure smallpox I drink up all the mulled alcohol<sup>136</sup> leaving not  
a trace.  
The herd-boy does not know of remorse for one's country,  
The bamboo flutes and drums beat out songs that echo through  
the hamlet.

**[Poem] Written at the Gugwangru of Haeinsa**

Indistinctly the sūtra tower [repository] faces the Peak of the Immortals,  
All past events without exception are inside a dream.  
Just then a stranger spoke hesitatingly of heaven and earth,<sup>137</sup>  
Who on Gugwangru Tower weighs up the thousands of mountains?

**[Poem] Written at Yeongwonsa Monastery on Jirisan<sup>138</sup>**

Although not a thing, it already has webbed toes,<sup>139</sup>  
What use then are the many names and characteristics?  
Used to looking at the serried ranges through the mist and vines,  
Numberless monkeys hang upside down on the upper branches.<sup>140</sup>

There was an eminent pupil, Nampa, who besides me smiled saying,  
“Master, even if you talk in this way you will not escape trying to  
be clever and failing.” I slapped my knees with a great guffaw and  
ordered my attendant to hang up this poem [on the wall].

[Poem] Written at Cheonjangam in Hongju<sup>141</sup>

Which of the world and the blue mountains is correct?  
In the spring light there is nowhere the flowers do not bloom.  
If bystanders ask about the matter of Seongu,  
In the mind of the stone girl there is a song from beyond the eon.

[Poem] Written at Magoksa Monastery<sup>142</sup>

Having dumbfounded your ears and deafened my mouth,  
A single sentence universally responds to the great many  
opportunities.  
Do not say it is a diamond and the staff will not be raised up [to  
strike you],  
For when the worms sing of rain they go down into the clear  
pond.

**Together with Yeongmyeongdang on the Road to Bullyeong[sa  
Monastery] Carefully Elucidating “True” (*jin*) with Which He  
Rhymed<sup>143</sup>**

What do you pick to be false and what to be true?  
True and false from their start are entirely untrue.  
Fog flies up beneath the leaves, autumn appearances clean,  
The unchanging blue mountains that I face are true.  
(Note: The first and second sentences may be read interchangeably.)

Again,  
Whether you allow it is false or allow it is true,  
Jang is completely drunk and hits old man Yi’s portrait.<sup>144</sup>  
Hanging up lamb but selling dog,<sup>145</sup> events of recent years,  
If you can know distinctly you can recognize the true.

Again,  
The meanings of the eminent gentleman (you) and literary friends  
are also true,  
To be without entanglements in the midst of dust is the most  
naturally true.  
You must see beyond the eon of Awesome Voice,<sup>146</sup>  
And not grasp the indistinct<sup>147</sup> and recognize it is true.

## An Incidental Poem on Passing Yunpilam Hermitage on Bulmyeongsan Mountain<sup>148</sup>

Alcohol may radiate and sex likewise,  
I spent donkey's years craving and hating frustrations.  
Staff and sandals without reason become a lion,  
Nonchalantly giving a kick, who can precede me?

## An Incidental Poem After the End of the Summer Retreat at Yunpilam

I do not investigate the mystery<sup>149</sup> nor do I play,  
On Bulmyeongsan it is also a clean autumn.  
Not knowing the bright moon,<sup>150</sup> with a bamboo staff,  
Departing for Yeongnam,<sup>151</sup> how many pavilions are there [that I  
can visit]?

## Passing Boseoksa on Geumsan<sup>152</sup>

Bleak and desolate a single stele beside the monastery gate,  
In the shadows of the blue mountains, how many mornings and  
evenings [have passed]?  
Nobody asks of Master [Yeong]gyu's past traces (deeds),  
The oxen and sheep in the setting sun descend to the distant  
village.

## Traveling to Hongnyudong on Gayasan<sup>153</sup>

Who says it is water, who says it is a peak?  
The peak enters the clouds, between water and stone.  
The body of great light is beyond the boundless,<sup>154</sup>  
Revealing my feelings I made an inspection; it is water and  
mountain.

## The [dharma] Name “Myogwang” Presented to the Youth Bak Yeonghun<sup>155</sup>

Vast, filling the earth, all of sentience,  
Deluding themselves about their own numinous light, they rush  
after external sense-data (dust).  
So great! At an early age you found this,<sup>156</sup>  
Therefore I have written a name to bind you to causation anew.<sup>157</sup>

## This Immediate Matter

In the sweet-toothed [words] and timely actions, a [poisonous]  
scorpion hides in the depths,  
Ant armies and fly battalions are all hard to prevent.  
These four [types of] things invade and I was busy wiping them  
away,  
[For a while] I forgot the enduring mind of the cypress in the  
courtyard.<sup>158</sup>

For [venerable] Eungheodang<sup>159</sup>

Sitting silently in meditation beside the window, already late in  
the year,  
Entirely forgetting the cause of my emaciation, I loosened the  
edges of my cap.<sup>160</sup>  
Even though it is entirely forgotten, I am not without experience,  
Old, having experienced rainy and clear weather, I feel ill in the  
cold.

Again,  
Silently sitting in meditation beside the window, it is already late  
in the year,  
How have I forgotten thoughts of home any the less?  
Suddenly I remember an old friend whose voice and letters have  
been cut off,  
So I wrote a gāthā to convey my best wishes.

**[Poem] Written at Yukgamjeong Pavilion of Songgwangsa**

Numinous realms aplenty, pure inspiration familiar,  
Neglectfully I have played, spending year after year.  
Shouting out is a rabbit's horn,<sup>161</sup> as the wind and thunder peal,  
Numberless fish and dragons ascend to the blue skies.<sup>162</sup>

## Singing of Baegunam Hermitage<sup>163</sup>

White clouds are present in White Cloud Hermitage (Baegunam),  
Half is overhanging rock, half overhanging sky.  
In the many trees, mist and creepers, it brings on many rhymes,  
Shaking slightly in the breeze in the white clouds.

## Ascending to Wonhyoam Hermitage on the Day of the End of the Summer Retreat<sup>164</sup>

The patriarchal teacher (Wonhyo) has entered cessation (died), all  
the legends false,  
Today it is clear [he is] sitting on this terrace.  
There is an eye on the top of the staff,<sup>165</sup> as bright as lacquer,  
Coming to illuminate thoroughly the mountains, rivers, and  
great earth.

## Singing of the Cuckoos at Jeonghyesa Monastery<sup>166</sup>

Originally great peace, the naturally true Buddha,<sup>167</sup>  
In the bright moonlight [the cuckoo] sings on the tree top.  
In the empty mountain deep at night people are quiet,  
And there is only your voice east and west.

### Passing Isudong in Gapsan

Before Isudong a river flows rapidly.  
So dark and intensely black, heedless of the [water's] roar.  
Goun had a verse on Gaya,<sup>168</sup>  
That eternally eliminated right and wrong, sounds that come to  
my ears.

## Singing of Yeoneun Planting Trees and Flowers<sup>169</sup>

Flowers fill the fence, leaves fill the branches,  
Do not allow the thorn bushes into them fall.  
Yeoneun at the time plays by meeting his elderly neighbor (me),  
The cry of the wandering oriole is by the breeze well blown.

Again,  
Nourish the numinous roots<sup>170</sup> right up to the branches,  
[So that] strong winds and violent rain will not make them fall.  
In later years they will be so high as to brush the dark clouds,  
If there is a flute of an immortal, more than this will it be blown.

Again,  
Planting in the pure current gate [of the monastery] the emerald  
mountain's branches,  
Their green shadow and red aroma will every evening fall.  
I know that you are not plastering the walled compound,  
[But] you [Yeonun] fear that a spot of rank dust into it will be  
blown.

## Following the Rhyme of the Herb Collector Merchant Mr. Jo

You do not look for merit and fame, I only desire the mountain.  
How many years have you collected herbs in the mountains?  
So deep the sound of the winds in the pines, in the mist and fog,  
One tune singing of the [holy] fungus,<sup>171</sup> all scenes are those of  
rest.

**[My pupil] Man'gong Asked. “After You Reverend Have  
Passed away, How Should I Guide Sentient Beings?” So I Replied**

The clouded moon in the creeks and mountain is everywhere  
identical,  
The Seon fellow of Susan has the style of a great house.  
He attentively allocates the script-less seal,  
With a single skilled plan within the living eye.<sup>172</sup>

[Poem] Written at Gongnimsa Monastery  
(a branch monastery of [Beopjusa Monastery] on Songnisan)<sup>173</sup>

I traveled to Gongnim[sa] over many mountain ridges,  
Here the monastery is really a different human world.  
The jade-like peaks rise in layers beneath the blue atmosphere,  
A deep aroma in the old hall, at ease in the bright sunlight.  
A short bamboo staff hung high, I am getting old,  
Though the great matter [of enlightenment] has been done, who  
will return (die) with me?  
Lamentably the gorge flows, flowing beyond the border [of the  
monastery],  
Sadly I came to sit on a moss-covered stone.

## Sent to Elder Heoju<sup>174</sup>

When my pen came to this my thoughts were confused,  
Who shares this cognitive realm with me?  
The snow-goose is white, the crow black, [this is] beyond thought  
and speech,  
There are no sentient beings or buddhas,<sup>175</sup> but there are mountains  
and waters.

## Orally Composed on the Road from Beomeosa to Haeinsa

My knowledge is shallow, but my fame eminent; the world is  
dangerously confused.

I do not know where I can hide.

How can there be nowhere in the fishing villages and grog shops?

I only fear that by hiding my fame that my fame will be further  
renewed.<sup>176</sup>

Respectfully Following the Rhyme of the Poem that the Late  
Senior Master Hwanseong [wrote] on Passing Baengnyeonam  
Hermitage of Tongdosa<sup>177</sup>

[Like] tossed away gold, [Hwanseong's] bequeathed item (a couplet)  
is hung up on the pillar in the air,  
The value of his Way [lasts] over a thousand years, [whereas the  
value of] the sea and marchmount is slight.  
His feelings [expressed in the poem] have flowed on for a long time,  
nobody knowing them,  
Only the cold chime of the bell and leaves a sound from beyond  
the eon.

**In the First Ten Days of the Eleventh [month] of the *Sinbae* [year, 1911] at the Primary School of Doha-ri, Sent to Ganggye<sup>178</sup>**

With no mind and no concerns, next to the school balcony,  
Half a lifetime of glory and decay, I embrace a mirror to look.  
In the third month before the flowers bloom, the spring is still  
early,

Thousands of cliffs covered with snow, the summer is still cold.  
I do not dislike this deep mountain scene [but] I know I am old,  
Why have your letters stopped? [But] I think of how you are.  
You yourself love being unbridled,  
Riding on inspiration I seek you out, which is not hard.

Again,  
Thinking of the distant and looking for the upper balustrade of  
Ke Pavilion,<sup>179</sup>  
The vista beside the balustrade is better than before.  
The roses rained upon, their crimson petals moistened,  
The breeze rise in the poplars and willows, their green waists  
cold.<sup>180</sup>

After getting drunk I have a poem, and I also chanted a song,  
Being at ease with no concerns yet I am still not at peace.  
In the letter sent do not speak of the fun you are having in  
Gang[gye] town,  
The thoughts of the vagrant make it hard to stay in this [village  
in] a gorge.

## Observing Fishing

Why not stay in a hundred-foot deep abyss?  
Pointlessly in the clear shallows you followed the mossy pebbles.  
The sandpipers timely spy on the old man fishing,  
Pitifully [the fish] are killed, they take their chance.

## Entering on the Gapsan Road and Passing Over Adeukpo<sup>181</sup> Range and Meeting with a Defense Battalion of Infantry

Why does the world value the accumulation of southern gold?<sup>182</sup>  
Better is the pure leisure of the gown of [those] transcending  
things.<sup>183</sup>

Carefully look at the pines and cypresses deep in the many  
valleys,

Gradually climbing through fog and mist, wending through  
stupendous heights.

Strange flowers that are unchanging, in green and spring colors,  
Strange birds trail after you with primeval calls.

White [hair] hanging, I have long been a dust-bowl (world-worn)  
traveler,

How could I lodge here purifying my body and mind?

[Poem] Written at Yeongwollu Tower of Seogwangsa  
Monastery<sup>184</sup>

In the monastery on a spring day the flowers [fall] like sleet,<sup>185</sup>  
With the sounds of strange birds the day-dream is sweet.  
Mandeok [Hall] and Tonggwang [Pavilion] are places without  
realization,<sup>186</sup>  
Sticking into the sky the dawn pinnacles bluer than indigo.<sup>187</sup>

■ Five-word line regulated verse ■

**Orally Composed on the Road to Undalsan Mountain<sup>188</sup>**

Carrying a bamboo staff across my shoulders,  
Striding broadly though Yeongho.<sup>189</sup>  
In front of me flies a bright moon,  
The wind long rolls up my sleeves.  
The days warm, for a thousand sacrifices and harvests,  
The frosts encroach on all the trees [turning] red.  
Though the lion king (Buddha) has obscured his traces,  
How can he be the same as the flocks of beasts?

## Presented on Parting

For you, presented on your long journey,<sup>190</sup>  
It makes my tears flow first.  
A lifetime is like staying in an inn,  
Where finally will you be entombed?<sup>191</sup>  
A wisp of cloud rises in the distant mountain caves,  
A long sandbar beneath the setting sun.  
Counting on one's fingers human affairs,  
Anxious, for all of them are sad.

## I Made the Schoolboy Write a Poem on “Water” and I also Composed [on the topic]

Turn it around and it becomes one and six,<sup>192</sup>  
It is what is delighted in<sup>193</sup> [and makes] wisdom even deeper.  
Each shadow is submerged in the image of the sky [in the water],  
Each sound penetrates the oceanic mind.  
Marketplace and court suddenly change places,  
The years and months insidiously encroach.  
Creating a cavern of the fish and dragons,  
The wind and thunder [is on the rise] from past to present.

## Traveling to Eunseondong<sup>194</sup>

The mountains and humans are speechless,  
Clouds following birds fly together.  
Where the waters flow and flowers bloom,  
Full and quiet I wish to return.

## Mountain Life, Twelve [poems]

Lowering my head I will always sleep,  
Beyond sleep there is nothing else.  
Beyond sleep there is nothing else,  
Lowering my head I will always sleep.<sup>195</sup>

In green pines on top of white rock,  
What else [is of concern], alone deep in thought.<sup>196</sup>  
To the place I return with one staff.  
The flying birds are also mindless.

Sleeping, having gruel and rice,  
Besides this I chant of dream illusions.  
The mountain hermitage, how lone and calm,  
The frosted leaves fill the heart of the courtyard.

### [Poem Written at Magoksa Monastery]<sup>197</sup>

Having blocked my eyes it has blocked my ears,  
The great cosmos does not leak inside.  
Do not say that the person in the secret room has no sight,<sup>198</sup>  
Where the wind does not get through is the cross-road.

The ancient road is not all activities,<sup>199</sup>  
Being quietly passive, your action has already transgressed [this].  
The matters of the Shaolin school,<sup>200</sup>  
I do not think they produced right and wrong.

A single sentence without precedent,

How ultimate is its origin?  
 The blind person laughs by himself,  
 Wishing to hear it but cannot.

In Cheonjangam  
 What thing is it not?  
 Not being estranged and different,  
 It covers heaven and covers the earth.

The four saints and six ordinary sentient beings<sup>201</sup>  
 Are only the wisdom of bright light.  
 The principle [of which] is not a separate entity,  
 [Being] mountains, rivers, and the great earth.

Having wisdom without using it;  
 What use is that wisdom?  
 The mountain is a mountain and water is water,  
 There is nowhere to dispute this.

[At] the staff blow and the shout<sup>202</sup>  
 Resentment penetrates through to heaven.  
 Today at Numinous Mountain<sup>203</sup>  
 There is a saint and a wise man.

The letter arrived but the page was blank,  
 Yet in the end I got a thread of communication.  
 But that thread also did not end,  
 The red sun to the east of the window of meditation.

If, novice Gi you see this hymn,<sup>204</sup>  
 I pointed out the jasper mountain layers.  
 Truthful belief is to be without doubt,  
 Where is this not the world of Dīpamkara [Lamplight Buddha]?

## Formal Sermon

He picked up his staff and put it down once, saying, “There is only the sound of these words.<sup>205</sup> Now say, what is the principle of it?” Again he stood his staff up once and said, “I do not know where the one smile [of Mahākāśyapa] has gone to! Anmyeon[do]’s spring waters are bluer than indigo.”<sup>206</sup>

I do not recognize the Buddha and sentient beings,  
 From this year it is best to be a drunken and crazy monk.  
 At times I have no concerns, leisurely looking off into the distance,  
 The far mountains beyond the clouds are green range after range.

In all the dharmas of the world, which is powerful and which is weak,  
 At times they are round, at times they are square.  
 All over the heavens and all round the earth, all types of sentient being,  
 Each is numinously empty, be careful not to comprehend them.

Mountains are indistinct, waters flow on and on,  
 Flowers are gorgeous, birds twitter,  
 A monk’s livelihood is just like this.  
 What use is there in discriminating and following the mores of the world?

This verse is in the *Cheongheo-jip*.<sup>207</sup>

## Miscellaneous verse

Where the waves are long the white birds scatter,  
When the fog stops, the blue mountains, in order, return [to  
sight].

In the distant outskirts a rain-burst, the fish leap onto land,  
In the ruined town, ghosts flee to the city-fort.  
The emerald sea makes a noise after the dragon has departed,  
The blue mountains have no master before the cranes come there.  
Playfully grasping heaven and earth, he dallies with the sun and  
moon,  
Alive he captures dragons and tigers, rousing the wind and  
clouds.

**[Poem] Written at Bojeru Pavilion of Beomeosa**

The stranger with an expansive divine light,  
On Geumjeong[san] plays purely.  
A worn-out sleeve hides the heavenly heights,  
A short bamboo staff splits open the earth.  
A lone cloud gives birth to distant peaks,  
And white birds descend onto the long sandbar.  
The great clod,<sup>208</sup> who of it is not dreaming?  
I lean on the balcony and lazily let myself be.

**[Poem] Written at Baengnyeonam of Tongdosa**

[I cannot] manage my wayward mind,  
A long sleeve brushes the many peaks.  
Deep in the cloister I hear the cry of cranes,  
The mind of antiquity; rivers and mountains.

## To Be Sung, to Be Intoned<sup>209</sup>

Gyeongheodang (I), with nothing to do,  
Wrote a song.  
People of the world, try to listen to it,  
Try to listen to it, listen carefully.  
The people of all generations of humanity,  
Receive good and evil, cause and effect,  
Just as shadows follow them unerringly.  
People who were evil in previous lives  
Will now be reborn as oxen, horses, insects, and snakes.  
The denizens of hell and starving ghosts are pitiful.  
People who were good in previous lives  
[Are now] kings, ministers, rich, and glorified,  
As is clear before your eyes.  
In this life if you tote up good and evil  
You will know the matters of the next life.  
Should you live an entire hundred years of human life,  
That is thirty-six thousand days.  
But should one live all of those days,  
From of old it is rare for a human [to reach] seventy,  
And seventy years old is also but one time.  
Should one even live till fifty or sixty,  
Twenty or thirty is what it is for most [people].  
Looking forward to ten [more] or fifty [more] years,  
That also is a brief time as in a dream,  
[In which] your parents and siblings are all present,  
And seemingly your wife, children and retinue of three generations.  
And your writings and talents fill the world,

And your awesome reputation and appearance is majestic.  
It seems gold, silver, jade, and brocade are like a mound-hill,  
And one becomes emperor and a cakravartin king.<sup>210</sup>  
Even though you receive limitless pleasure,  
The life of a human is impermanent.  
In the morning you have a sound body;  
In the evening you are in Hades.  
Today it is like this,  
Tomorrow and the day after, how will it be?  
The ox going to the butcher's shop  
Is gloomy, it's his place of death.  
Regretfully and sadly,  
The life of a human is like a mayfly.  
How many days will it be preserved?  
It is [but the duration of] a lightning strike, a flint spark, in a dream.  
If a breath does not return, it's the next life;  
Could you also know anything of the future life?  
Even if you live for a set life-span,  
[There are] days of sleep and days of illness,  
[There is] grief, sickness, worry and anxiety.  
If you leave out all of these,  
How many days of life will there be?  
How many days of ease will there be  
[When you] vainly crave, are angry, and so on?  
The mind of pride, envy, and desire,  
Being accustomed to this for the sake of "mine,"  
You fall into the three evil paths [of rebirth],<sup>211</sup>  
And suffer for millions of eons of rebirth.  
Knowing this, isn't it cruel?  
Even though you love the good mind,  
And there is pleasure in the heavens and among humanity,  
There is pollution, causation, and impermanence,<sup>212</sup>  
And you cannot escape rebirth in the six paths.<sup>213</sup>  
For such a reason the patriarchal teachers spoke [as follows]:

“We have traveled in the hall of the Heavenly Emperor,<sup>214</sup>  
 And also boiled in the caldron of Judge Yama.”<sup>215</sup>  
 Since they clearly say this,  
 Should we not believe this?  
 For this reason, the three realms are in a dream,  
 And all that exists and has characteristics is false.  
 The pristine light [of] Suchness and the Buddha-nature  
 Is not born nor does it die.  
 They unconditioned true delight is permanent,<sup>216</sup>  
 As they are vast, unimpeded, and free [to function].  
 There are lands of calm light; good countries  
 Where there are white clouds and flowing water everywhere.  
 If you become a Buddha once,  
 What worries will there be?  
 Seeing, hearing, sitting, and reclining,  
 Eating food and wearing clothes,  
 And also speaking and sleeping,  
 As they are; are constant, marvelous function, and controlled.  
 [They are] clear and distinct in front of you,  
 And behind your forehead it is divine.  
 There are many paths to be found.  
 Speaking very superficially,  
 The study of reverse illumination is the most marvelous.<sup>217</sup>  
 Clearing away the good mind, evil mind, and limitless mind,  
 And [the elements] earth, water, fire, and wind,  
 If you try to find them, they are formless.  
 Even though what is sought is formless,  
 As the numinous knowing is clear and not obscured,  
 Is that not laughable?  
 The stone man blows the flute and the wooden horse plays the  
     strings,<sup>218</sup>  
 Dear me, this is funny.  
 The worldly affairs in an empty and false dream  
 Are totally forgotten.

White clouds, blue mountains, strange cliffs, and flowing waters;  
 Autumn moon, spring flowers, all in an unbounded scene.  
 The scene, even in general, is extraordinary;  
 The roots of vegetables and fruits of the trees fill the stomach,  
 With one strip of a robe [over my shoulder] the cold wakes me.<sup>219</sup>  
 The sound of water flowing over a great rock,  
 There is a naturally occurring pine pavillion.  
 Soughing, even the sound of the lute,  
 The cool breeze under the bright moon harmonizes with [the  
 water].

In the single cry of a bird in the Dharma country,  
 All day “no mind,” to the end of the night “no mind.”  
 Having become a no-minded stranger,  
 The bright moon has no mind,  
 It shines on me and [lets me know] no mind,  
 The cool breeze has no mind,  
 It blows on me and [lets me know] no mind.  
 Mindless I travel in this way,  
 Is this not the uncompounded truth?<sup>220</sup>  
 Is this not a hero who has left the world?  
 Do you separately seek the buddhas and patriarchs [beyond  
 oneself]?  
 Who is it who will know of rise and fall, prosperity and decline?  
 And who will know promotion [in the bureaucracy] and  
 punishment?  
 Suchness and nirvāṇa are last night’s dream,  
 [Such] bubbles and lamps in the wind are laughable.  
 Such pleasure is an impermanent joy,  
 Sadly for people in the world,  
 Why is it not done?  
 And in the alcohol and sex [that bring] premature death,  
 Without [regard to] noble and base these are all enjoyed.  
 The dharma-gate (Buddhist teaching) of becoming Buddha who  
 receives true bliss,

Is avoided by all monks and laity, men and women,  
And so in this way will it not become an end age,  
And will it not be without a good mind?  
And there being no wise or intelligent people,  
Quickly and rapidly, urgently realize!  
Impermanent, the passage of time, and empty things,  
Personally see an excellent teacher,  
And rapidly seek your own Buddha  
And save the sentient beings from the six paths [of rebirth].  
After being like me, inactive,<sup>221</sup>  
On the shore of an elevated spring, with peaches, plums and  
fragrant grass,  
One manages the white ox on bare ground.<sup>222</sup>  
Hold aslant the flute without holes,  
“La la, li li, la la li.”  
Try to play the song of great peace,  
Hail to the Śākyamuni Buddha.

## How to Be a Monk<sup>223</sup>

Generally is doing the job of a monk a trivial matter? You do not become a monk to eat well and be well clothed. Since you become Buddha to try and escape birth and death, if you wish to be a Buddha, you must try to find your mind that is in your body. If you wish to find your mind, know that the body frame is the store and know that worldly matters, whether good or not, are all dream; know that the death of the person means that you can be present in the morning but may die in the evening. You should think that if you do so [die], you may also go to hell, become an animal, or become a ghost, and experience limitless suffering. Forget all matters of the world and always thoroughly investigate your mind.<sup>224</sup> Fellows who think of all things that we see and hear [should] doubt and thoroughly investigate how these appearances have arisen, and whether it is something with an appearance, or is it something without an appearance, is it large or is it small, is it yellow, is it green, is it bright or is it gloomy. [This investigation] is like a cat catching mice or a hen incubating an egg, or an old mouse pursued into a chest where it had been living.<sup>225</sup> You must always investigate thoroughly with the mind focused on a single place. You must not forget and must doubt it. Even though you do this, do not neglect doubt. Even when you are doing this unceasingly, you must doubt, and if you proceed with sincerity ultimately there will be a time when you realize (are enlightened) to your mind, so be certain to exert body and mind in study.<sup>226</sup>

Generally it is hard to become a human, and even though you have become a human, it is hard to become a male, and even though you have become a male, it is hard to do the work of a monk, and

even though you do the work of a monk, it is hard to encounter the Buddha's correct dharma, so think deeply about such matters. The Buddha said that those who become human are like the dirt on your fingernails, and those who lose the human body and become animals are like the dirt of the whole world. He also said that if you lose the human body once, it is difficult to restore [that body] even after billions of years. He said that if you are always in hell that it is like playing in the garden,<sup>227</sup> and becoming a demon, ghost or beast is like being in your own house. As he also said, if you become Buddha once, you will not die or be born again, and you will not suffer again. Listen to and think about such words carefully.

Also, the Chan Master Quan<sup>228</sup> studied from the morning, but when the sun set he stretched out his legs and cried out saying, "Today also I have spent in vain, and have not been able to be enlightened to the mind." Everyday there are people like this, saying that they will study and that they have fully made up their mind [to be enlightened]. They cannot be few in number. So they all forget living and dying, forget to eat and wear [clothes], and also forget to sleep, and have studied. We must also do so and aim to study. Think carefully about this.

Previously the monk Dongshan wrote, "Do not seek a glorious name, so not seek wealth, do not seek luxury. They spend a lifetime in this way and that, following causes and conditions. When your clothes come apart, they are to be patched up repeatedly and worn; when there is no food you should sometimes look for it and eat. If the three types of energy under one's nose<sup>229</sup> are exhausted, suddenly you are a corpse. After death you are only an empty name. A person of old said, 'How many days would a mere illusory body live and why would you spend time to do useless things and make your mind dark and forget to practice?'"<sup>230</sup>

If after your mind is enlightened, you always preserve that mind, keep it clean, keep it calm, and do not let it be contaminated by the world, and you cultivate it; you will do so many things of unlimited good, you will certainly believe deeply, and even though you die

there will also be no pain and you will not suffer and you will go as you wish to the world of ultimate bliss,<sup>231</sup> and you will go as you wish to go.

The Buddha said, “No matter whether male or female, old or young, if you believe in this dharma-gate (teaching) and study, you will all become Buddha.” How is this deceiving people? The fifth patriarch, Great Master Hongren said, “If you investigate your mind thoroughly, that is enlightenment.” As he vowed, “If you do not take my words to be truthful, then for generation after generation or life after life you will be killed by tigers and if I deceive you I will fall into hell in the next life.”<sup>232</sup> How, on hearing such words, can you not believe?

The minds of people who study do not move, [their mind being] just like a mountain. They will use their minds generously, just like empty space. They will think of the Buddha-dharma with wisdom, [their minds being] like the sun and moon. Do not control the mind in which others [say] “I am correct” or “I am wrong.” Do not discriminate and interfere with your mind [to say] other people are correct or are mistaken. Put at ease the mind that takes something as good or as not good. Having no mind, if you have an appearance like a fool, or like a cripple, like a deaf-mute or like a blind person or a deaf person, or like a baby, the mind by itself will be without false ideas.

Even if you discriminate worldly matters clearly, it is for example like making a meal out of a turd or making white jade out of a clod of earth. For cultivating the mind to become Buddha they are totally useless things; be sure not to try to do well in worldly matters.

Think of your own body like the killing of another person; do not believe that your body is sturdy; occasionally wake up and do not neglect the seeking of the mind. Doubt how this mind arises and doubt it again; think earnestly about this like a starving person thinks of food, and do not forget to do so.

The Buddha said, “All the matters of the world are false,” “All things done by sentient beings are dharmas that are born and die,”

and “Only your mind must be enlightened is the true dharma (teaching).”

If you drink alcohol your consciousness will be muddled, so do not drink. Lewd conduct splits your consciousness and you will be attached so do not have sexual relations. Taking life mentally inflames anger, so do not do it. If you eat meat your consciousness will be dulled, so do not eat it. Lying breeds evil in your mind so do not do it. Stealing increases greed in your mind, so do not do it. Spring onion and garlic inflame licentiousness and anger in the mind, so do not eat them. All the other things [prohibited] are harmful so do not meddle with them.

The monk Moguja<sup>233</sup> said, “Property and sex become calamities that are worse than poisonous snakes, so look at the body and know it in this way, always distancing yourself from it.”<sup>234</sup> Such deep words must be imitated and practiced, and if so study will be smooth.

As the Buddha said, “If you are angry once, millions of transgressions will occur.” The first [thing to do is to] repress the angry mind. Previously a monk said that by being angry in mind you will become a dangerous thing such as a tiger, a snake, or a wasp; and that by being superficial in mind you will become a butterfly or a bird; and that by being petty-minded you will become like an ant or a mosquito; and that having a covetous mind you will become a hungry and crying ghost. If the covetous and angry mind [occurs] often and is great, you will go to hell. All minds (thoughts) will become various things, and if all these various minds are non-existent, you will become Buddha.

Even though you love the virtuous mind and have gone to heaven, as you will again fall into hell or become an animal, that virtuous mind is useless. If all the mind (thought) is removed and there is nowhere else to go, and the mind is clean, and if you are not lethargic, and you do not go into a state of ignorance, as the calm and clear mind is the road to becoming Buddha, if you always doubt your mind and investigate it thoroughly, it will naturally be calm and clean. If it is ultimately calm and clean, the mind will spontaneously

be enlightened and you will become Buddha, and you will not return. As this is the direct path you should proceed by doing so,

If you occasionally look at the dharma-gate, read it, and inform others about it, it is as if you have the merit of having looked at the eighty-thousand [block] tripiṭaka (Buddhist canon) and if you study in this way can become Buddha in a lifetime. Do not know [the teaching] through [such] deceptive words; [rather] you should proceed by believing with the true mind.

The mountains are deep and the water flows, the various kinds of grasses and trees are bent, and the cries of strange birds sound on all sides. It is lovely, there being no worldly people going there. Sit calmly and investigate your mind thoroughly. The mind that you have, if it is not Buddha, what then is it? Since you have the good Dharma that is hard to get to hear, use the mind of faith. If you use the mind with excessive impatience a mental illness will occur, and headaches also will arise. Soothe the mind and put it at ease. Be careful. Do not try to compel thought, but do give rise to doubt.

## Tune of the Dharma-Gate<sup>235</sup>

Alas! People of the world, listen to my song.  
 Do not know in vain, think carefully.  
 From of old to the present is boundless, heaven and earth in all  
     directions vast.  
 What people do, alas, is ridiculous.  
 False is this body. Its heat is the fire energy,<sup>236</sup>  
 Its movement the wind energy; tears, snot, blood, and piss,  
 Moistness is the water energy; fingernails and toenails, hair and  
     teeth,  
 Flesh and bones, the set of teeth, that which is solid, is the earth  
     energy.  
 The five organs and six viscera upon examination at every twist  
     and turn are shit and piss;  
 Worms and tapeworms, also insects, are innumerable.  
 Examining the outside, mosquitoes and fleas, lice and bedbugs,  
 Many annoying things invade day and night.  
 Even if you live a hundred years, and a hundred years is thirty-six  
     thousand days,  
 If you examine this, it is for a moment; human life [of] seventy  
     [years] is rare.<sup>237</sup>  
 To live for seventy years is uncommon. A medium life-span is  
     forty or fifty.  
 A short life-span is twenty or thirty. A human life [may be] for  
     three or four [years] then it dies.  
 Think carefully, it is lamentable, this body.  
 Even sprouts and buds do not come out of it. If a human life is  
     killed once,

It becomes a guest of Hades (dead). Even if you live to seventy,  
There are days of sleep and days of illness, of worry and anxiety,  
in all forms.

How many days of ease are there? In the morning hours the  
constitutionally sound body,

In the evening hours becomes ill, appearing to moan with pain.  
You call the doctor and use medicine, and those at the bedside  
cry woe.

A female shaman is brought in and a *gut* (ritual) is performed, [but]  
the dancing [of the shaman] is useless.

The fortune-teller casts your fortune; even the respite period is  
useless.

Like a mountain, gold and silver treasures, three generations of  
wife, children and dependents,

Bastard children and friends frequently [come], but they cannot  
help a dying person.

The five organs and six viscera give up, the four limbs and all the  
joints are cut down.

Taking a rest for one breath; crying, there are tears.

Parents and siblings, and close relatives, who will there be to  
plough instead [of you]?

Even valuables such as gold, silver, jade, and silk cannot rescue  
you.

Generations of kings and queens, heroes of all ages, wealth, rank,  
and glory are useless.

Literature of all the ages, the disasters of the world, come to  
nothing when you die.

Boys and girls, five hundred in all, after one effort, there is no  
news,

Even the elixir of immortality comes to nothing.<sup>238</sup> Brutal is  
human life,

Who is there that does not die? In the depths of the cemetery  
mountain,<sup>239</sup>

The moonlight is dim, [the sound of] the wind in the pines is

dismal,  
 And the visitors of condolence are crows. A single human life is  
     but a spring dream;  
 Who is it that wakes from the dream? Pathetic and deplorable,  
 The enlightened gentleman of the three realms, the Buddha,  
     deeply knows the principle,  
 Of not dying and not being born, instructs in the Way, careful  
     are his previous and latter words,  
 Obvious like the sun and moon. The famous wise men and  
     perspicacious scholars of all antiquity,  
 People who have seen the nature and obtained the Way, are as  
     numerous as the sands of the Ganges.  
 If you come to see the nature and obtain the Way, you will escape  
     life and death,  
 And there will not be the slightest doubt about the words  
     reported in the thousands of sūtras and many śāstras.  
 I also as a youth entered the mountain (monastery), and up till  
     now I have investigated thoroughly.  
 Deeply, deeply study; I eternally cut off [doubt] again.  
 It is like encountering light on a gloomy path, or a hungry person  
     coming across food,  
 Or a thirsty person coming across water, or a very ill or sick  
     person,  
 Meeting a famous doctor; it will be refreshing and will be  
     beneficial.  
 Distribute this dharma-gate and each person will become  
     Buddha.  
 The escape from the round of birth and death is to grieve for  
     what gives grief to others and take pleasure in what gives  
     pleasure to others.<sup>240</sup>  
 Listen carefully to these words of mine. What people are,  
 The body is a corpse, a preposterous empty shell.  
 In it there is nothing but Buddha, who is clearly present.  
 Seeing, hearing, sitting, standing, or eating and shitting,

Talking sometimes; joy, anger, sorrow, pleasures are explicit.  
 If you come to know that mind, then and there Buddha is that.  
 Try to tell [others] of the dharma found. Whether reclining,  
     standing, or eating,  
 Sleeping or waking up, or moving, shitting or pissing,  
 Laughing and being angry; everywhere and at all times,  
 Always deeply doubt and investigate thoroughly. What  
 Is this? What is its appearance? Is it large or small?  
 Is it long or is it short? Is it bright or is it dark? Is it yellow,  
 Or is it blue? Is it existent or is it non-existent? All in all, how  
 Has it arisen? At all times you must doubt. Doubt,  
 Do not neglect it. If thought-moment by thought-moment you  
     do not forget, the mind  
 Is gradually cleansed, the doubt gradually deepens, continuous  
     and uninterrupted.  
 In that situation you will suddenly be enlightened. The natural  
     and true face,  
 Is the excellent Buddha, who obviously appears. Not living or  
     dying  
 Things, obviously are this thing. Giving gold,  
 Should you exchange it; giving silver, should you exchange it?  
     Wealth, rank, and fame also  
 Are not to be envied. Heaven and earth are in the palm of your  
     hand.  
 Thousands and tens of thousands of years are an instant. The  
     many supernatural, marvelous functions,  
 [Mean that when you] enter into fire you are not burnt; enter into  
     water but are not soaked.  
 If it is to be broad it will be limitless; if it is to be small, it will be  
     like a molecule.  
 It will also not be old, it will not die; in the world of heaven and  
     earth, envy.  
 Again, what will it be? Eating wild greens and drinking water,  
 Whoever is hungry will have no worries about that.

Wearing worn-out clothes, even if it is cold, what else is there to  
be worried about?

Even though it is praised like the stars, there will be nothing  
more to like.

Even though it is reviled as vile, not even a hair's-breadth of  
worry exists at all.

Indifferent to heaven and earth, indifferent to birth and death,  
Indifferent to poverty and wealth, indifferent to right and wrong,  
In an instant you become a person of no concerns, so this  
Is Buddha. Even though this body comes to be abandoned,  
You will come and go freely. Dying and living will be as you  
wish,

And at your discretion. Unlike a dead person, you are of no mind  
and no concerns,

And are commonplace, so if worldly people think, they will  
groan with pain,

And are miserable. To be a monk, the body,

Even though it dies, it is not born and does not cease; the mind  
in heaven or the human world,

Is freely reborn, wandering in delight, boundlessly.

Would such words of the buddhas and patriarchal teachers have  
the slightest deceit? Light and shade (the passage of time)

Is [like] a flow. As the day of death is in a moment, diligently

Study and try to escape the great matter of birth and death. This  
song,

I am unable to complete fully. A lantern flickering, the sound of  
a bell at dawn

Is distracting. Whatever time of night it is, there is nobody who  
asks.<sup>241</sup> Sit silently,

And try to fathom it. "Writings are not true words, and words  
are not true meaning." Laying down my pen and closing the  
text,

Whether it is enough; who knows whether it is enough? Alas!

Carefully, carefully, try to listen to this song. The Buddha

Spoke to his parents filially, and to monks  
 Respectfully, and to the great assembly harmoniously. He regards  
 begging  
 People with pity. “Even giving little by little  
 To the Buddha, serve him with utmost sincerity. Impoverished  
 People can break off and give even a single flower and bow,  
 Or give a single penny and make a bow  
 Or [give] a single bowl of rice. Even though you serve [him], the  
 blessings are  
 Received limitlessly.” If the above five kinds [of offering]  
 Are made with utmost sincerity, the blessings are said to be  
 limitless.  
 Do not kill sentient beings, even the like of ants and lice.  
 Do not revile or speak ill of others.  
 Do not steal even as much as the hair of the head from another.  
 Do not get angry even to the slightest extent, and always be good  
 at heart.  
 Be gentle. If my mind and  
 Body are humbled, it is said that will be a blessing,  
 So you should honestly listen to the Buddha’s words.

The accumulation of merit by Cundī,  
 With a calm mind always sings,  
 “All of the great hardships,  
 Are unable to encroach on this person,  
 And in heaven and among humans,  
 Receives blessings equal to the Buddha.  
 If you encounter this wish-fulfilling gem,  
 Definitely take it without hesitation.”<sup>242</sup>

Hail to the seven *koti* of Buddha-mothers, the great Cundī  
 bodhisattva:

The mantra of the pure dharma realm: *Om ram.*<sup>243</sup>

The mantra of the protection of the body: *Om chi rim*.<sup>244</sup>

The six letter mantra of the king of great light, the bodhisattva

Avalokiteśvara: *Om maṇi padme hum*.<sup>245</sup>

The mantra of Cundī: *Namo sadanam samyaksam-*<sup>246</sup> *motaguchi namdanyataomjwarye Cundī svāha burim*.

By the this chanting of the mantra its virtue,

You will eliminate alll the calamities.

You must also obtain the excellent cleansings,

And you will rapidly accomplish correct awareness (enlightenment)

and cross over the wheel of delusion (*samsāra*).<sup>247</sup>

End of fascicle two of the *Gyeongheo Hwasang jip*

## Notes

- \* Although Hanam has not added “fascicle one” at the start of his manuscript, he has added “fascicle two” here and at the end of the manuscript.
- 1 The Seonhagwon text is titled “Jeonghyesa.”
- 2 Title from other collection, see Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 200.
- 3 Mountain in Deoksan-myeon, Yesan-gun, Chungcheongnam-do.
- 4 The last two references are to *Zhuangzi*, the first to Zhuangzi dreaming of a butterfly and not knowing whether he was Zhuangzi dreaming of a butterfly or a butterfly dreaming of Zhuangzi (see Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 149) and the next on the topic of the dead, sacred tortoise of the state of Chu, about which Zhuangzi asked, “would it rather be alive and dragging its tail in the mud!” (Watson translation, 188; i.e. not to be involved in worldly affairs.) This poem is translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 147–148.
- 5 This was a mountain to the north of Luoyang, the site of a cemetery for the city.
- 6 Joe Blow, ordinary people.
- 7 Yi Sangha cites the chapter on “Medicines of the Immortals” of the *Baopu zi* 抱朴子 [The Master Who Embraces Simplicity], “The sweetflag (iris) is certain to grow among rocks. Each stem has nine notches (nodes).”
- 8 There is a name for a meditation hall, taken from the idea of “searching for the sword” (*sigeom*) that slays ignorance. Reference from Professor Cho Eun-su.
- 9 According to Yi Sangha, this was a style of calligraphy. A legend says that Emperor Yan (Shennong) found a rice plant with eight buds on Mountain Yangtou and that he used it as a model for calligraphy. This script may have been engraved on rock in front of the hall. Morohashi, 25298.8
- 10 The other version has “late” instead of “return.”
- 11 This is the name of the mountain in Gongju where Magoksa Monastery is located.
- 12 Here the text has a word for “owl,” but I have changed it to “seagull” in accordance with the Seonhagwon version.

13 The Locust Tree refers to a dreamt country; from a Tang dynasty story of a drunken person dreaming beneath a locust tree of being invited to marry the king's daughter and made a district governor, living like this for thirty years. When he woke he found himself next to an ant nest. The life as a dream, a symbol of impermanence.

14 "Hawk" here is probably short for Uighur, i.e. the smell of a barbarian.

15 ZGDJ, 353a, a slightly soiled smelly hemp clothing; a metaphor for grasping onto the dharma.

16 The pistils and stamens of a flower.

17 *Myeongje* 冥諦, in technical literature this means *prakrti*, fundamental matter.

18 Again *mijin* 微塵 is a technical term, *aṇu*, a "molecule."

19 Literally the trichiliocosm, Sanskrit *trisāhasramahasāhasra*, the entire universe. This implies that the body of the Thus Come One is of the same extent as the universe.

20 An immortal of Mount Xiang (Kor. Hyangsan). Yi Sangha says Mount Xiang is another name for the Kunlun Mountains in Central Asia where immortals were said to live.

21 Or a "connection."

22 See Lei Hanqing, *Chanji fangsuci yanjiu*, 203, where "willow" can mean a hearse.

23 *Lunyu*, IX.4: "The Master was entirely free from four things. He had no intentions, no compulsions, no obstinacy, and no egoism." See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:217.

24 See note 33 of the fascicle 1. There is also a monastery of this name founded by Uisang 義湘, by tradition in 676, near Yeongju-si, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

25 See *Liezi*, "The fruit fly is born of alcohol." See also the "Tianzi fang" chapter of *Zhuangzi*: "As far as the Way is concerned, I [Confucius] was a mere gnat in the vinegar jar! If the Master [Laozi] hadn't taken off the lid for me, I would never have understood the Great Integrity of Heaven and earth." Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 226–227.

26 *Zengo*, 99a, to implicate an innocent person.

27 Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 246b.

28 That is, these words are ineffectual, lead to no result.

29 Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 291, describes this as "awakening from dullness."

30 ZGDJ, 244c, to have an eye of appreciation, to be knowledgeable.

31 The four circles appear to indicate lacunae. The bellows refining may be related to the introduction to case 39 of the *Biyan lu*: "If you want to

forge totally refined gold, you should hand down the bellows of a lineage master.”

32 “Authority” is literally the sun, the “heat position,” also meaning the south. It could mean “degree of heat.” Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 216: “Who says one cannot sit in fire?” Here I follow Yi Sangha.

33 Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 360a, often indicates a thorough removal of contaminants and worldly ideas.

34 *Zengo*, 68a, guaranteed, assured; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 143b, definite.

35 Fangjang is one of three mountains that had trees with fruit giving immortality to those who ate of them. From the Liezi entry in the *Shiji* 史記 [Records of the Historian].

36 Statues of buddha were washed with water on the eighth day of the fourth month, the Buddha’s birthday. The water in the bowls would be changed at that time.

37 Or Mountain Wutai in China. These mountains were believed to be a residence of Mañjuśrī. Here the allusion is to Chan Master Wuzhu who travelled to Mountain Wutai in the hope of seeing the manifestation of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī there. On his way he encountered an old man driving an ox. The old man was an incarnation of the bodhisattva.

38 This is Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, born ca. 750, a Daoist immortal, often called Patriarch Lü. He was popular in Korean Daoism. He appears in the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 [Unified Annals of the Buddhas and Patriarchs], T 2035.49.393b5–12, 460a2–5; also reported to have practiced Chan, *Hufa lun* 護法論 [On the Protection of the Dharma], T 2114.52.645a3–4.

39 The shell of the body. From the story of Zigong’s encounter with an old farmer in the “Heaven and Earth” chapter of *Zhuangzi*, see Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 134–135. Literally to forget a machine. The shell of the body was abandoned when immortals rose to Heaven.

40 The other version has Hwaak, a mountain in Miryang, Gyeongsangnam-do.

41 Equals Hongseong, or Hongju, on west coast of Chungcheongnam-do.

42 Not the famous mountain to the south of Daegu, but Gayasan Mountain near Seosan-si in Chungcheong-do. Not far to the north of Hongju in Deoksan-gun. YS, 327b. This is where Sudeoksa Monastery is located.

43 Probably Nabakso-myeon in Hongju or thereabouts.

44 *Jangsilgye* 莊室界. The text seems to be in error, I have followed the Seonhagwon’s *Jangbogye* 藏寶界. The precious realm is that of the Buddha. The fortified wall may indicate the royal relations. See a poem in the Daya

section of the *Shijing*, Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 4:503.

45 The sky is said to be circular (circumference), the earth square.

46 Also translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 146–147.

47 In *Zhuangzi*, “Lie Yukou” chapter, a man studied the art of butchering dragons at great cost but no one used his services, see Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 355.

48 Yi Sangha says the former Buddha is Uisang (625–702) of Silla who established Buseoksa on Dobisan Mountain.

49 The later master is Muhak 無學 (1327–1405) who rebuilt Buseoksa.

50 Alternative translation, “Spots on the eyes and lamplight illusions, these matters are unreal.”

51 Or “I am not far off.”

52 This may refer to stories of a giant luminous pearl that came out of an oyster that appear in the *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 [Brush Tales from Dream Brook] of Shen Kua 沈括 (1030–1093). It was found near Yangzhou and could supposedly fly from lake to lake. Another story recorded by Fan Zhiming of the Northern Song in his *Yueyang fengtu ji* [Records of the Topography of Yueyang] was of a giant pearl from an oyster in Lake Dongting.

53 Yi Sangha says this is an allusion to the story of Zhang Yong 張詠 of the Song dynasty. When out of office, he retired to live on Mountain Hua, where he met Chen Duan 陳端. Zhang said, “I wish to divide Mountain Hua between us. How about it?” Chen said, “Can one divide up the sky?”

54 Identified by Prof. Cho Eun-su from a painting titled “Reflections on Yongjeong” (龍汀返照) by Gyeomjae Jeong Seon 謙齋鄭敎 (1676–1759), which was in the area of Ilsan-dong, Goyang-si, in Gyeonggi-do.

55 The rhyme of Canglang refers to a song sung by a child about a river in *Mencius*, see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 2:299. It implies one is responsible for one’s own fate. Canglang also has overtones of being a vagabond. The translation could also be that the “rhyme is heard sadly.”

56 Famous mountain south of Gongju in southern Chungcheong-do.

57 Also translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 148.

58 Yeonamsan Mountain in Seosan, Chungcheong-do, located 1.6 kms from Sudeoksa Monastery.

59 That is, same place, different name.

60 Also translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 146.

61 Following Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 29, literally “wild horses.” Meaning, shimmering heat waves. The roc is giant bird called the Peng.

62 Also translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 146.

63 Illusory spots before the eyes.

64 Also translated by Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 148.

65 ZGDJ, 1302b, marvelous functions.

66 See ZGDJ, 315d, to operate freely.

67 An eon that lasts long than the time it takes to rub away a forty-league square stone when brushed once every century.

68 This seems to be a metaphor for meditation. The first two lines suggest that sensations are no longer attached to or are cut off; the last two lines suggest that when sensations are properly comprehended by the person that they will transcend conventional understanding, the “active” or “alive” suggesting the active *hwadu* of *ganhwa* meditation.

69 In Seon the stone man is a metaphor for being mindless. Compare this to the story of Daosheng, whose prescience in Buddhist matters was acknowledged by “the stubborn stones that nodded their heads.” See footnote 4, Nianchang 念常, *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 [General Account of the Buddhas and Patriarchs Through the Ages], T 2036.49.533c7.

70 A catty was sixteen ounces.

71 The Seonhagwon version is titled, “Sitting in Ducheomsa Monastery, Heuicheon,” see Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeonggeo-jip*, 233. Also translated in Whitfield and Park, *Seon Poems*, 551, but the Chinese text differs in the fifth and sixth lines.

72 The Seonhagwon version lacks the above two lines, and instead has, “Over long days in the mountain light, a pure person sits [or a purity reaches my seat] / The distant villages and forest shadows confusedly link up the slopes.”

73 “Whiteout” is literally “yellow ochre,” used to correct text.

74 The Hanam manuscript has 甘苦齋糧, “Sweet and sour, the provisions,” but the Seonhagwon text has 堪苦齋糧, which makes more sense.

75 Okcheon is in south central Chungcheong-do; possibly a bend on a river.

76 Or sharp pipes (flutes).

77 Songnisan is a mountain over the river from Okcheon. The line could also mean “the moon apart from the vulgar world.”

78 Hwaeomsa Monastery is near Gurye in southern Jeolla-do; Songgwangsa Monastery is in central Jeollabuk-do.

79 Reference to the Canglang song in *Mencius*, IV.1.8.2, “When the water of the Canglang is clear, / It does to wash the strings of my cap; / When the water of the Canglang is muddy, / It does to wash my feet.” Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 2:299.

80 *Eori* 御李, literally “driving Li.” From the story of Li Ying 李膺 (d. 169) in

the *Han shu* 漢書 [History of the Han Dynasty]. Li Ying had a reputation for being wise and many gentlemen flocked to him. A certain Xu Shuang went to pay his respects and came to drive the carriage horses for Li Ying. When he returned home he said, “Today I got to drive Lord Li.” Later this was used as an allusion to approaching a wise man.

81 Songgwangsa is located on Jogyesan Mountain. “Jogye” came from Caoxi where Huineng, the sixth patriarch of Chan lived.

82 Shapeless finding the pearl is a story from *Zhuangzi*, “Heaven and Earth” chapter, Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 129.

83 Yi Sangha notes that this refers to the story of Chen Jiqing 陳季卿, a native of Jiangnan who went to Chang'an and did not return for ten years. One day in Qinglong Monastery in Chang'an he looked at a Huanying tu (a map/painting of the world) and remarked, “Having got this I want to go back.” An old man beside him smiled and said, “What is hard about that?” Then the old man broke off a twig of bamboo and placed it on the picture of the Wei River in the map and said to Chen, “If you pay attention to this you will achieve what you want.” As soon as Chen looked at it he found himself on a boat arriving at his family home and meeting his family, after which he suddenly found himself again in Qinglong Monastery next to the old man who was sitting as before. From *Yiwen shilu* 異聞實錄 [Real Records of Anomalous Stories].

84 Hanam’s text has *go* 古, but other texts have *go* 高, which means the line could read, “There was an eminent person there / [Who will] expound on the profound vehicle definitely, I expect.”

85 The preceding words are missing in the Seonhagwon text.

86 Gwaneumsa Monastery was located on Seongdeoksan in Okgwa in central Jeolla-do, Ys, 694b.

87 From *Zhuangzi*, “Free and Easy Wandering” chapter, Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 31, the Peng, a massive bird, “turns his eyes south and prepares to journey,” a metaphor for powerful ambition.

88 The Nanke dream, see above at note 13.

89 Literally “one who knows the sound/voice.”

90 Place not identified, possibly on Gayasan, as there is a song cycle, “Muheul gugok” about the area.

91 This follows Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 191, but I have not identified the site.

92 Or with “Juik.” Place not identified.

93 An inn is a metaphor for a brief life.

94 Yi Sangha says this is an allusion to the idea that the dark bird was a

messenger of the immortal Queen Mother of the West. In the *Han Wu gushi* 漢武古事 [Story of Emperor Wu of Han], it is said that a dark bird suddenly appeared from the west and came down in front of the palace on the seventh day of the seventh month. The emperor asked Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 (b. 160 BCE) for an explanation. Dongfang said, “It is because the Queen Mother of the West is about to come.” This happened soon after. Here it is a metaphor for finding Yeonghodang.

95 A family gathering.

96 In north-west Hamgyeongnam-do.

97 Or shifts to the west, the direction of metal.

98 *Jusa*, a post established in the Daehan Empire (*Hanmal*).

99 In northern Pyeongan-do, bordering the Amnokgang River (Yalu River).

100 The other version is titled “Sent to Gim Sujang.”

101 There is an Isan-gun in Gapsan-dohobu, Hamgyeong-do. YS, 889a. Gyeongheo went to Gapsan while he was in the north.

102 Here *eup* 恹 “anxious” is probably *eup* 挲, “to pour out.”

103 “Grass and straw,” something trifling.

104 Also translated in Whitfield and Park, *Seon Poems*, 550. This last line according to Yi Sangha comes from the “Verse on Coming Home,” by Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427) that says, “The three paths have been overgrown / The pine and chrysanthemum still survive.”

105 Translated in Whitfield and Park, *Seon Poems*, 550.

106 The purse is literally “the earth-spider’s sack,” a money pocket used by merchants in a market. The alcoholic brew is for “yeast grain [spring],” the name of an alcohol mentioned by Du Fu in a poem.

107 In central Jeolla-do. YS 687b, a county.

108 Massive change, when a mulberry field becomes part of the ocean.

109 In central Hamgyeong-do, near Hamheung.

110 A place in southern Pyeongan-do.

111 These four characters appear in a poem by Du Fu, “Staying at the Superior Prefecture.” The line can also be read as “Wind and dust over the course of time . . .”

112 Li Bai 李白 (701–762), one of China’s greatest poets. Li Bai wanted to know Han Chaozong who was the prefect of Jingzhou, so he sent a letter saying, “I only want to know (meet) Han of Jingzhou once.” Meaning to want to get to know someone.

113 This is the personal name of Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (d. 117 BCE), a famous poet who so admired Lin Xiangru, a man famed for protecting the legendary jade stone of Mr. He during the Warring States period, that he

adopted his personal name.

114 Wang Ziyou 王子猷 thought of visiting Dai Andao 戴安道 (Kui, d. 395) one snowy night. He took a boat, but when he got to Dai's door he turned around and went home. Asked the reason for this he said that originally he was excited but when he arrived the excitement was gone and so he left. From *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 [New Account of Tales of the World]. To seek out a friend.

115 From the story of Cai Yong 蔡邕 (132–192) who went to the state of Wu where he saw someone burning paulownia wood. Hearing the sound of it burning he thought it would be good material for making a lute, so he obtained this piece of wood and made a lute with it, the burn marks still leaving traces on its end (tail). Only a person who recognizes the sound of it is wonderful can be a soul-mate.

116 Yi Sangha says that Song Zhiwen 宋之間 (d. 710) wrote a poem about Lingyun Monastery which was next to Xihu (West Lake) in Hangzhou. He wrote, “The seeds of the cassia fell from the moon / The fragrance of the heavens blows down from beyond the clouds.”

117 Chicheng is a mountain in Tiantai county held by Daoists to have a cinnabar cavern, one of thirty-six cavern heavens, beneath it. Sun Chuo 孫綽 (fourth century) wrote a “Rhapsody on Roaming on Mountain Tiantai,” that said, “The crimson clouds over Chicheng lifted, and set up a signpost [to the monastery].” In Daoism, Chicheng also means the mind.

118 In the text the penultimate character seems to be missing, possibly it was a sign of repetition that was dropped.

119 Xie Lingyun 謝靈雲 (385–433), a distinguished poet, was fond of climbing mountains and so is said to have invented climbing shoes.

120 The immortal Su is Su Shi (a.k.a. Su Dongpo, 1036–1101), a famous poet. He wore clothes of dark crane down. In his “Later Rhapsody on Red Cliff” he wrote of a lone crane clothed in dark feathers.

121 Literally “washing in the Canglang,” see notes 55 and 79.

122 The green-eyed usually refers to foreigners, as the green-eyed reverend was Bodhidharma, first patriarch of Chan in China, but here it refers to bubbles formed when raindrops fall into a stream.

123 This was in Ganggye and was the district where Gyeongheo Seunim's friend Gim Tak lived.

124 The “Rhapsody on Hedong” was written by Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE). This comes from the story of Emperor Cheng of the Han dynasty who climbed the Western Marchmount and looked in all directions. This reminded him of the utopian reigns of mythical emperors Yao and Shun

of high antiquity. Following a remark by the emperor, Yang wrote the rhapsody and presented it to the emperor to encourage him to govern as a sagely ruler.

125 Two places used this name for their periodic markets, that in Sinheung-gu in northern Hamgyeongnam-do, and near Gangye.

126 The Varnish Garden was where Zhuangzi worked, and the butterfly dream one of the most famous themes in Chinese literature taken from the *Zhuangzi*.

127 Green color comes from blue, but it is better than blue. Used for a student being better than his teacher.

128 Yi Sangha relates this to a story in the *Huainan zi* 淮南子 of an old man of a border area whose horse fled into barbarian country. When everyone consoled him, he said with composure, “How do you know that this will not turn out to be a blessing instead?” Several days later his horse returned leading a number of fine barbarian horses.

129 Immortals often rode cranes into the sky. Yi Sangha cites a story from Tao Yuanming’s *Soushen houji* 搜神後記 [Sequel to the Search for the Supernatural] about Ding Lingwei 丁令威, a person of Liaodong who studied the Way and became an immortal. Later he became a crane and landed on an ornamental pillar (for a grave) in front of city gates. A youth was about to shoot it with a bow when it flew into the sky and said, “A bird! A bird! I am Ding Lingwei. It has been a thousand year since I left home but now I return . . .”

130 Lu Zhonglian 魯仲連, a native of Qi, was a wandering philosopher and peace-maker active 258 BCE, when Qin forces surrounded Handan and demanded its ruler pay homage to the Qin ruler as emperor. Lu said he would leap into the Eastern Sea and drown rather than acknowledge the Qin ruler as emperor. Biography in *Shiji*.

131 Allusion to *Mencius*, V.2.iv: “[Confucius] left Lu, saying ‘I will set out by-and-by.’ This the Way of leaving the country of one’s parents.” See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 2: 371.

132 That is, the festival of Cheongmyeong (Ch. Qingming) when graves are cleaned and offerings made to the dead.

133 Gapsan-dohobu in Hamgyeongnam-do, also contains Isan.

134 Yi Sangha thinks this is a poem about the king’s flight from the capital, the speaker lamenting he could not bow to the king because he did not know where the king was. He suggests that this was when the king fled into Hamgyeong-do during the Japanese invasion of Korea instigated by Hideyoshi in 1592. This is partly suggested by this first line that contains

an allusion to the poem “King Wen” in the Daya section of the *Shijing*: “The mandate (throne) is not easy [to keep]. . . Display and make bright your righteousness and name . . . The doings of Heaven on high, Have neither sound nor smell.” Adapted from Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 4:431.

135 The five-colored clouds are a sign of the king’s fortune. From a story about Emperor Gaozu of the Han.

136 *Doso*, a spiced alcohol drunk on New Year’s day. Either, no trace of alcohol left, or the alcohol leaves no traces, unlike moxibustion and other treatments.

137 Literally “to swallow and spit out heaven and earth.”

138 Yeongwonsa is in Hamyang-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do. See Gwon, *Han’guk sachal jeonseo*, 2:832a.

139 Name of chapter eight of *Zhuangzi*, meaning to be uselss. See Watson translation, *Chuang Tzu*, 98.

140 Translated in Whitfield and Park, *Seon Poems*, 549, who note that a gibbon climbing tail uppermost is a definition of Seon in the *Da Ming Gaoseng zhuan*, T 2062.50.930a13–14. Note here *su* 数 instead of *su* 首.

141 Hongju is near the coast in Chungcheongnam-do. Cheonjangam is in Seosan. See YS, 312a and Gwon, *Han’guk sachal jeonseo*, 2:1079b. Gyeongheo’s home monastery.

142 In Gongju-gun, Chungcheongnam-do on Taehwasan, see *ibid.*, 1:339b. This seems to be about the meditaion practice of *hwadu*, the sentence the *hwadu* topic and the forbidden answer “Diamond.”

143 Bullyeongsa is in Cheongdo-gun, Gyeongsangbuk-do, allegedly founded by Wonhyo 元曉 and rebuilt in 1912.

144 Portrait, in the sense of likeness, is written *jin* (true). This line seems to be an adaptation of the aphorism, “Mr. Jang drinks alcohol and Mr. Yi gets drunk.”

145 Taken from the Chan expression, “Hanging up sheep’s head but selling dog meat,” *Zengo*, 110b; early false advertising.

146 The Buddha, king of Awesome Voice, appeared in the eon before the present one in the inconceivably distant past, so this means the ultimate origin, “your face before you were born.”

147 *Zengo*, 493b.

148 In Wanju-gun, Jeollabuk-do, Gwon, *Han’guk sachal jeonseo*, 2:945c.

149 To practice *hwadu* meditation.

150 The other version has “bright sun” or “tomorrow,” Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 175.

151 Gyeongsang-do.

152 In Geumsan-gun, north-east Jeollabuk-do, site of a stele for a famous monk-general Giheo Yeonggyu 騷虛靈圭 (d. 1592) who fought against the Japanese invasion of 1592; YS, 591b; Gwon, *Han'guk sachal jeonseo*, 1:502a. This is the stele referred to in the poem.

153 Hongnyudong is also the name of a valley-creek that passes close to Haeinsa Monastery.

154 The King of the Great Light was a previous incarnation of the Śākyamuni Buddha.

155 This poem plays in the name Myogwang, Marvelous Light.

156 Punning on the other meaning, “a youth” or *myonyeon*.

157 To bind to the causation of Buddhism, to link one to Buddhism.

158 This refers to a *gongan* attributed to Zhaozhou; the cypress in a courtyard refers to death. In ancient times, when a person died, the mourners erected a cypress tree or plank in the courtyard into which the spirit of the dead entered. It was called “the gate of misfortune.” The image of enduring or patient pines and cypresses, a symbol of preserving one’s integrity in adverse circumstances, comes from the “Zihan” chapter of the *Lunyu*, IX.27: “When the year becomes cold, then we know how the pine and the cypress are the last to lose their leaves.” Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:225.

159 The title in the Seonhagwon text has the title, “Given to Namjeondang Han’gyu,” see Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 172. Yi Sangha says Eungheodang is Han’gyu who rebuilt Wontongam Hermitage on Dobongsan Mountain in 1887.

160 Translation uncertain; it appears he was wearing a warm cap that could be pulled down over his ears and that he loosened it to let in the cold.

161 Pointless, as they are unreal, a fantasy.

162 Fish are ordinary people, dragons excellent people.

163 According to the other text, this was at Tongdosa Monastery in Yangsan-gun in Gyeongsangnam-do.

164 Seok Myeongjeong, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 174 says that this is in Beomeosa near Busan.

165 This seems to indicate a post-enlightenment state, as is suggested by the *Xiaoyin Daxin chanshi yulu* 笑隱大訢禪師語錄 X 1367.69.

166 A number of monasteries by this name exist; one near Gyeongju, another near Daegu, and another in Suncheon in southern Jeolla-do, but here it is probably that in Yesan-gun in Chungcheongnam-do or that on Gapsan in Cheongyang-gun as is suggested by the following poem.

167 The “naturally true Buddha” is mentioned in Seosan Hyujeong’s *Seon’ga gwigam*, the poems of Hanshan, and in the *Yongjia Zhengdao ge*, which

writes, “The original source of the self-nature [is] the naturally true Buddha.” T 2014.48.395c10–11.

168 Goun is the late Silla poet Choe Chiwon 崔致遠 (b. 857), who spent his last years on Gayasan in Haeinsa. Yi Sangha identifies the verse as “[Poem] Written at the Reading Hall of Gayasan,” which reads in part, “[Among] the crazily piled up rocks, [the streams] roar in the layers of peaks / Human words are hard to discern even when close. / Rather I fear that [words of] right and wrong will come to my ears / So therefore I allow the flow of water to entirely encircle the mountain.”

169 The following set of poems use the same end rhymes.

170 Metaphor for the six sense-faculties.

171 Yi Sangha says that this comes from a poem written by four people, beginning with Dong Yuangong 東園公, who, at the end of the Qin dynasty avoided the tyrannical rule by fleeing onto Mountain Shang. The poem was titled “Song of the Purple Fungus.”

172 A “skilled plan” appears in the *Linji lu* (*Zengo*, 196b), and the living or vivifying eye/appreciation is a powerful eyesight than sees the principle behind things (ZGDJ, 163a).

173 This monastery is on Songnisan, Cheongju-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do, see Gwon, *Han'guk sachal jeonseo*, 1:88c.

174 This is said to be a poem sent while Gyeongheo Seunim was at Cheonjangam to Heoju, who was known as a Seon teacher, testing him to see whether he was worthy of receiving the imprimatur or seal of approval from Gyeongheo. He seems to have failed the test, so Gyeongheo wrote in his “Song of Enlightenment to the Way” that he had no one to transmit his bowl and robe (symbols of becoming a successor) to.

175 Or “there are sentient beings and buddhas.”

176 Seen in Hanam’s “Account of Conduct” of Gyeongheo, in poem just before note 45.

177 Gyeongheo claimed to be a distant dharma heir of Hwanseong Jian (1644–1729).

178 Ganggye was where Gyeongheo’s friend Gim Tak lived. Yi Sangha says this poem was sent to Gim Tak.

179 A place in Kuaiji, on the opposite of the bay from Hangzhou, near Shaoxing, famed for bamboo and flutes. It is referred to in Tao Yuanming’s “Verse on Coming Back [Home].”

180 Poplars and willows are often metaphors for prostitutes.

181 This was an area close to the border with China, hence the reference to the infantry. Adeukpo is a place on the Ganggye side of the border with

Jangjin-gun, which is in Hamgyeongnam-do. Currently there is a train station on this line that runs from Ganggye to Jangjin. This poem is also translated in Whitfield and Park, *Seon Poems*, 549–550.

182 Southern gold can also mean brass or human talent. In the *Shijing*, Odes of Lu, “Panshui” [Semi-circular Water], the last line says “And great contributions of southern metals.” Commentaries say these were the metals of Jingzhou and Yangzhou, gold, silver, and copper. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 4:620.

183 The gown probably indicates a scholar, probably a Buddhist monk.

184 This monastery is near Anbyeon, Hamgyeongnam-do, famed for being where Muhak interpreted a dream of Yi Seonggye that Yi would become the ruler of Korea. The tower was one of four in the monastery, see Gwon, *Hanguk sachal jeonseo*, 2:646a–647c.

185 “Flowers [fall] like sleet” comes from a poem by Wang Wei 王維 (701–761), “Sending off Cui Jiudi to South Mountain,” which says, “There are cassia flowers in the mountain / Do not wait till the flowers fall like sleet.”

186 Yi Sangha indicates that these were probably buildings in Seogwangsa.

187 See note 127, “Green comes from indigo and yet is better than indigo.”

188 There are several mountains with this name; one in Baecheon-gun, Hwanghaenam-do, the other near Mun’gyeong-si, Gyeongsangbuk-do. Probably the latter.

189 This is Yeongnam and Honam, that is, modern Gyeongsang-do and Jeolla-do.

190 This first line is an allusion to the “Distant Wanderings” poem of the *Chuci* 楚辭 [Songs of Chu] in which the author roams with immortals.

191 *Sugu* (Ch. *shouqiu*) 首邱, from the *Liji*, “Tan’gong” A, to be buried in one’s hometown; also means hometown.

192 A play on the shape of the character for water (水); turned on its side it becomes one (一) and six (六). Yi Sangha refers to the original material energy (Ch. *qi*) of the universe operates through five phases (elements), here “one and six” indicates water. In the *Hetu* [River Diagram], heaven, from which water falls is one, and earth, onto which water falls, is six.

193 From *Lunyu*, VI.21: “The wise/knowledgeable find pleasure in water, the benevolent take delight in mountains.” See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:192.

194 On or near Jangseong in central west Jeolla-do. A famous valley.

195 This and the next poem also translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 149 and 145–146.

196 Or “chanting quietly.”

197 This title only found in other version compiled by Han Yongun, see Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 179.

198 Cf. ZGDJ, 1184b, “a realm where Chan does not operate” or “there is no difference between disciple and master.”

199 Also translated in Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 145. This, and the following line, is an allusion to the “Song of Enlightenment” of Xiangyan Zhixian (d. 898), for which see note 40. *Jingde chuandeng lu*, 11.

200 This is the Chan school, after Shaolin Monastery.

201 The four are *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, *bodhisattvas*, and *buddhas*; the six are the six states of rebirth for ordinary people, hell, starving ghosts, animals, asuras, humans, and gods.

202 Techniques of Seon teaching, summed up as the shout of Linji and the blows of Deshan.

203 Yeongsan, this is Mount Gr̥dhrakūṭa or Numinous Vulture Peak where the Buddha, the saint, conferred the seal of the Way on Mahākāśyapa, the wise man.

204 Yi Sangha thinks all of this twelve poems were written at Cheongjangam and were addressed to this novice Gi.

205 Fu Dashi (497–569) has a hymn in which he writes, “If you want to know where the Buddha has gone, it is only the sound of these words.”

206 Anmyeondo runs to the south of Taean-gun in Chungcheongnam-do.

207 This is the Collection of Seosan Hyujeong, also known as Cheongheodang. It is not in the *Cheongheo jip*, but Yi Sangha has found it in the works of Gihwa 己和 (1376–1433), the *Hamheodang Deuktong hwasang eorok* 涵虛堂得通和尚語錄, HBJ 7.246a.

208 Nature, the world, a term from *Zhuangzi*.

209 The following poem is in a mixture of Korean Hangeul text and Chinese characters.

210 A Buddhist ruler and protector, one who turns the wheel of Buddhist teaching.

211 Those of hell, starving ghosts, and animals.

212 Defiled causes invite defiled results, which is the operation of karma.

213 Those of hell, starving ghosts, animals, humans, asuras, and gods.

214 The supreme god, Śākra Indra.

215 The judge of the dead in the underworld.

216 The unconditioned is *nirvāṇa*, which is described as true, delight, and permanent of in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.

217 To shine light back on its source; to illuminate the Buddha-nature. A feature of the Chan of Linji Yixuan, described in the *Linji lu*, T

1985.47.479c19, 502a12.

218 This symbolizes the marvellous function of no-thought, of the state of liberation. See ZGDJ, 1226b–c.

219 In strict practice, a monk only wore one robe.

220 Or “the principle of being inactive.”

221 There are different versions of this line. Another version can be translated, “After realizing that you and I are not different.”

222 The white ox in the *Lotus Sūtra* (T 262.9.12c13) is a metaphor for the marvelous dharma of the one vehicle, and the bare ground symbolizes a stage where there are no hindrances. Found in the *Linji lu*, T 1985.47.504a3. The pure mind-ox is revealed.

223 The profession of being a monk. From here on in the text is all in hangeul, the Korean native script.

224 This passage to here also translated by Mu Seong, *Thousand Peaks*, 160.

225 The first two metaphors are used for the study of *gongan* in the *Seon'ga gwigam* 13, and were derived from the *Mengshan heshang yulu* 蒙山和尚語錄. However, the last metaphor is only found in the *Changuan cejin* 禪關策進: “One must be alert like a cat catching mice, like a hen brooding on an egg, not permitting any interruptions. When you do not have a thorough penetration of it, be like a mouse gnawing on coffin wood and do not shift from that.” T 2024.48.1099b3–5. The texts vary here concerning the verb, here *jopdeut* 跳逗, Seok Myeongjeong translation, *Gyeongheo-jip*, 53, *jjotdeut* 窮逗, and HBJ 11.597b3, *jotdeut* 剽逗. The first seems to be “narrow,” the second “to pursue,” the third “to peck at.” Possibly *ssal* 稗 (rice) here could be read *sal* 살 (flesh, to live) and possibly a chest into which flesh is placed, that is, a coffin, but that is speculation. Another reading is “a sack of rice.”

226 Also translated up to here by Sørensen, “Mirror of Emptiness,” 139–140.

227 Or “copper mountain” or “eastern mountains.” This seems to be a paragraph from Hongren's *Zuishangsheng lun*, T 2011.48.378a26.

228 This is Guizong Danquan, a pupil of Yunju Daoying 雲居道膺 (d. 902) of the Caodong lineage. See *Jingde chuandeng lu* 20 and notes 202, 240.

229 Literally “under the chin,” (*teogeori* 턱어리), see back formation like *dongeori* 동어리. In the Chinese from which this has been translated it is *sancunqi* 三寸氣, the “energy of the tongue.”

230 This is a paraphrase and rearrangement of the words of Dongshan Liangjie that Gyeongheo quoted above at note 328, from a poem at *Dongshan Wuben chanshi yulu*, T 1986.47.516a23–26.

231 A Pure Land.

232 This is a paraphrase of *Zuishangsheng lun*, T 2011.48.379b8–9.

233 This a style of Bojo Jinul (1158–1210), meaning “Ox-herder.”

234 From Jinul’s *Gye chosim hagin mun* 誠初心學人文 [Admonitions to Beginning Students], T 2019.48.1004b12–13.

235 Here I have followed the line breaks made by Seok Myeongjeong. The whole poem is in hangeul, and has some punctuation marks in the Hanam manuscript, but not as many as given by Seok Myeongjeong.

236 *Giun* 기운, here talking of the “elements” in Buddhism that are said to constitute the body.

237 From a common saying, “Man seldom lives to be seventy years old.”

238 This seems to refer to the efforts of the first emperor of the Qin dynasty to obtain immortality.

239 Mountain Beimang, see note 5.

240 *U'in jiu nagin jirak* 우인지우 낙인지락? Professor Cho Eun-su suggests *U'in jiu nagin jirak* 憂人之憂樂人之樂. This looks like a reference the *Zimen jingxun*, T 2023.48.1078b3–4, that quotes “Stone engraving on a wall of the testament of Xuedu Mingjue,” which says, “Take pleasure in the pleasures of others as if it is your own pleasure; grieve for the grief of others as if it is one’s own grief.”

241 *Yai hasio* 아이하시오. Meaning unclear, following Yi Sangha, who has *yai hasi o muin mun* 夜而何時오無人問이라.

242 This is a verse attributed to the bodhisattva Nagārjuna in *Xianmi yuantong chengfo xinyao ji* 顯密圓通成佛心要集 T 1955.46.995a25–28; translation of last line uncertain. Cundi is another name for Avalokiteśvara or Guanyin (Kor. Gwaneum). Yi Sangha has given the characters. This and following are from the *Cheonsu-gyeong* popular in Korea.

243 Skt. *Sapta koti Buddha-matr Mahācundi bodhisattva*. The mantra is given in *ibid.*, T 1955.46.995a21–22.

244 *Ibid.*, T 1955.46.994b6.

245 *Ibid.*, T 1955.46.994b15–16

246 *Xianmi yuantong chengfo xinyao ji*, T 1955.46.995c12. Here this is all in a transcription of Sanskrit. Where I have recognized Sanskrit words I have entered them, but otherwise this follows the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese transcription.

247 This line is a transcription of Chinese, and is not a Korean translation.



## APPENDICES\*



## 1. Preface to the Gyeongheo Collection

Seven years ago at the Buddhist Society my esteemed friend Man'gong showed me a draft manuscript, saying, "These are works left by my master, Gyeongheo Seunim. I want to have them printed, but this manuscript has been collected from where [these writings] were scattered in various places and so unavoidably it contains errors of mistaken [characters] and omissions. Please edit it and write a preface for it." I did not dare refuse and read it two or three times. What he had written was not only skilled in verse and prose, but also generally [contains] Seon texts, dharma talks, profound conversations and marvelous sentences. Some were often sung in the grog shops and meat markets, and yet they did not partake of the worldly; or some were the unleashing of his pen among the empty mountains, the rain and snow, and yet they did not transcend the world. [The text] is forceful and excellent, and was free in being fresh and civilized.<sup>1</sup> There is no text that is not Seon, what sentence [in it] is not the dharma? Regardless of whether it is the right rule to write sentences or not, his are really singularly rare essays and poems. Therefore those of his students wish to make him known to the public with an aim that truly does not reside in transmitting his writings but lies rather in transmitting his dharma talks.

I also earnestly hoped that this book would be rapidly circulated among the public. Afterwards his followers and those who have ambition thought that what Gyeongheo wrote was not limited to just this, and that there were still not a few materials left by him in places where he was in seclusion in his late years. They looked forward to it being brought to completion. Therefore this deliberation over having [this book] printed was stopped for a time.

From the spring of this year, my juniors Gim Yeongun, Yun Deungam, and others devoted their efforts to energetically striving to go to the districts of Gapsan, Ganggye, and Manchuria and so on, to investigate exhaustively and search thoroughly. Almost nothing escaped them. I further made revisions, but because there is material that could not be investigated as to its place in the chronological order, I simply compiled them following the [order] of their discovery.

I definitely realize that the Seunim was originally not a professional author, and so his poetry and prose in respect of the rules of composition and refined techniques at times lapse into excess, but they are insufficient to be regarded as a blemish on the city wall (in perfection). They are but a wisp of cloud in a clear sky.

However, his Seon teachings are marvelous and his rhymes were striking and he had reputation among the usual writers. Furthermore, how can it be doubted they will have great merit for his later students. When Gyeongheo Seunim was in the world I always wanted to meet him once and drink alcohol together<sup>2</sup> and discuss denouncing the buddhas of the three ages. However, I couldn't do it as I wanted. It was impossible to make it come true. So then several decades after the Seunim's decease, when I received his written legacy, the laments of the floating world are like this.<sup>3</sup>

Written by Han Yongun,<sup>4</sup> on the second day of the ninth month of the *imo* [year], the 2,969th year since the World Honored One [the Buddha]'s birth [1942].

## 2. Brief Chronology [of the life of Gyeongheo written by Han Yongun]

The master's surname was Song, his dharma name Seongu. His first name [as a layperson] was Donguk and his style was Gyeongheo. He was a native of Yeosan.<sup>5</sup> This was ninety-four years ago. He was born on the twenty-fourth day of the eighth month of the *giyu* [year, 1849] in Jadong-ri, Jeonju.<sup>6</sup> His father was [named] Duok, and his mother was of the Miryang Pak clan. He did not cry for three days after his birth. People said this was strange. He lost his father at an early age.

At the age of nine [*se*] he went with his mother to the capital (Seoul) and he joined Cheonggyesa Monastery in Gwangju-gun.<sup>7</sup> He was tonsured and received the precepts from Great Master Gyeheo. As a Seon monk he had nothing, a robe and an empty bowl. He carried firewood and drew water, worshipped the Buddha and served his master as his duties, and he had no leisure to read books.

When he was fourteen it happened that a scholar was staying at the monastery for a summer, and whenever [Gyeongheo] had spare time he would study with him. Whatever passed his eyes he came to memorize, and whatever he heard he could understand the meaning of, and so he rapidly advanced in literacy. Before long Master Gyeheo returned to the laity. Lamenting that he was unable to bring Gyeongheo to the great perfection [of enlightenment, Gyeheo] wrote a letter recommending him to the senior lecturer Manhwa of Donghaksa Monastery on Gyeryongsan. At senior lecturer Manhwa's place the master [Gyeongheo] cultivated the singular great timely teaching<sup>8</sup> and he was neither leisurely nor busy in his study. If a person did one thing he did ten, if a person did ten he did a hundred. He extensively perused the Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts. There was nothing he did not comprehend thoroughly. His

fame spread all through Korea.

When he was twenty-three, due to the expectations of the assembly he began to lecture at Donghaksa and students from all directions came east like water.<sup>9</sup> When he was thirty-one, in summer he suddenly remembered his master Gyeheo of former days and their affectionate relationship. He wanted to go and visit him. He told the assembly he was going on a journey. On the road he unexpectedly encountered a wild storm and driving rain, so he hurried to enter a village house, wanting to escape the wind and rain, but the resident chased him away and did not allow him to enter. In the neighborhood there were ten households, and at each house the response was the same. When he asked the reason the reply was, "Just now an epidemic is blazing greatly, and as soon as one catches the illness the person will die. How can we accept guests?" Hearing this, his mind was moved with fright, just like being on a steep cliff of life and death. He immediately woke to the fact that text was unable to save him from birth and death. He directly made up his mind for bodhi (enlightenment). After he returned to the mountain [Gyeryongsan], he dispersed the students, shut his door and sat up straight. He investigated the story<sup>10</sup> of Chan Master Lingyun,<sup>11</sup> "While the matter of the donkey has not been done, the matter of the horse arrives."<sup>12</sup> He pricked his thigh and hit his head in order to ward off the demon of sleep, and one thought-moment was ten thousand years, there being silver-clad mountains and iron cliffs.<sup>13</sup> He was like this for three months when all his abilities (opportunities) had matured. One day a monk asked, "How can you be an ox and be without a nostril hole threaded through?"<sup>14</sup> At these words for the master the great earth fell away,<sup>15</sup> things and self were both forgotten, and a ten thousand dharma-gates (teachings) and limitless marvelous meanings at that moment melted away. The time was on the full moon<sup>16</sup> of the eleventh month of the winter of the *gimyo* [year, 1879]. From this time on he transcended the physical body and was not bound by trivial matters, going with the flow with abandon, at ease with himself.

At the age of thirty two he lived in Cheonjangam in Hongju. One day, after having preached the dharma to the assembly, he specially displayed the source of the transmission of the lamplight, and then he personally received the dharma inheritance from Yongam Seunim. The master was in the eleventh generation of descendants from Cheongheo,<sup>17</sup> and in the seventh generation from Hwanseong.<sup>18</sup> For the next twenty years plus, he went to and from Cheonjang[am] in Hongju, Gaesim[sa] in Seosan,<sup>19</sup> and Buseoksa. At the time he realized his mind and silenced his thoughts, at times he taught Buddhism to people, and he greatly spread the Seon style (practice).

When he was fifty-one he shifted his residence to Haeinsa in Hapcheon. At that time there was a royal decree directing the Buddhist service of printing the sūtras and the work of newly renovating the Suseonsa.<sup>20</sup> The assembly selected the master to be the monk in charge of the dharma work.

When he was fifty-four, when Geumgangam of Beomeosa in Dongnae and Mahasa were repainting their arhat [statues], the master was a witness. When he was fifty-six, he passed through [Odaesan] and the Geumgang[san], reaching Seogwangsa in Anbyeon where he participated in witnessing the repainting of the five hundred arhat [statues there].

Thereafter he cut off his desires and shunned the world, avoided fame and hid his traces in the regions of Gapsan and Ganggye, calling himself Nanju. He let his hair grow long and wore a Confucian cap, appearing like a brahmana (a lay person), practicing all of the austerities, entering mud and entering water,<sup>21</sup> teaching in accordance with the circumstances.

At the age of sixty-four, on the twenty-fifth day of the fourth month of the *imja* [year, 1912], he passed away without any illness in Doha-dong, Ungi-bang (quarter) in Gapsan, with an age as a monk of fifty-six.

The above brief chronology could not be passed on in detail. I only relied on the scattered fragments of what later people (his

students) have recorded and lone bits of everyday conversations I have heard. There are probably omissions. Therefore I have called it a brief chronology. I hope that readers will shine a light on it.

Compiled by Yongun

## Notes

\* The following are found only in the Seonhagwon text.

1 Literally “raw and cooked.”

2 一大白 = 大酒盃.

3 The above two paragraphs are translated in Gregory Nicholas Evon, “Contestations over Korean Buddhist Identities: The ‘Introduction’ to the *Kyōnghō-jip*,” *The Review of Korean Studies*, vol. 4 no. 1 (June 2001): 27–28.

4 Han Yongun (1879–1944), the monk Manhae, was famous as a poet and for his controversial views on reforming Korean Buddhism.

5 Northern Jeollabuk-do, see YS, 594. This means the place of his family registration.

6 In Chungcheong-do.

7 Just south of Seoul.

8 *Ildae sigyo* 一代時教, probably an error for *ildae sigyo* 一代時教, the teaching of the Buddha from his enlightenment until his passing.

9 This comes from the idea that all the main rivers of China flow east.

10 The *hwadu*, the point of the story.

11 Monk of the Five Dynasties’ period, named Zhiqian, who lived on Mountain Lingyun in Fuzhou.

12 See *Zengo*, 486b, from *Jingde chuandeng lu* 11, “Biography of Lingyun,” glossed as “enough already.”

13 Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 414a, a *hwadu* difficult to penetrate, see also *Zengo*, 95b.

14 See *Zengo*, 257a, to be under control; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 59b.

15 *Zengo*, 412b; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 320a; the great earth has sunk, been eliminated.

16 Or the fifteenth day.

17 Seosan Hyujeong (1520–1604).

18 Jian (1664–1724).

19 In south-west Chungcheongnam-do.

20 Society for the Cultivation of Meditation; here the buildings dedicated to this practice.

21 See *Zengo*, 495b, to help people by adopting all sorts of expedient means,

and 360b, to be covered in mud; Yuan and Kang, *Chanzong dacidian*, 358a, to teach others.

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