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Heroes Brought Buddhism to the East of the Sea:
A Fully Annotated Translation of
The Preface of *Haedong Kosŭng Chŏn*

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Heroes Brought Buddhism to the East of the Sea:
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The Preface of *Haedong Kosŭng Chŏn*

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INTRODUCTION¹

Haedong Kosŭng Chŏn 海東高僧傳 (Biographies of eminent monks to the East of the Sea, Ch. *Haidong Gaoseng Zhuan*, hereafter *HKC*)² is an important work on the early transmission of Buddhism to the East of the Sea, namely the Korean Peninsula. With a large portion of the text not surviving, certain major figures we would expect to be covered are missing from the extant version: Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617–686), Ŭisang 義湘

¹ This project was initiated in a graduate seminar supervised by Prof. V. H. Mair at the University of Pennsylvania. In subsequent years, it has undergone significant development and revisions. The author particularly thanks professors Victor H. Mair and Robert H. Gimello for their constant support and encouragement, and he is indebted to several anonymous referees for many helpful suggestions.

² The Romanization of Chinese follows the *pinyin* system, with the few exceptions of established terms or pen names. For Korean, I follow the McCune–Reischauer system. For Sanskrit, I have consulted Ciyi 慈怡 et al. (eds.), *Foguang Dacidian* 佛光大辭典 (Taipei: Foguang Press 佛光出版社, 1988).

(625–702), and Chinul 知訥 (1158–1210).³ Ŭich’ŏn 義天 (1055–1101) is mentioned in the preface, but his biography is also absent. Nevertheless, *HKC* is still a valuable record, since it is the only extant work of its kind in the Hanmun (classical Chinese or literary Sino-Korean). The extant part is a collection of biographies of over twenty monks who contributed to bringing Buddhism to the Three Han States 三韓 (Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla). Prior to that, there had been three “Gaoseng Zhuan”s in Chinese: *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳 (T50N2059), *Xu Gaoseng Zhuan* 續高僧傳 (T50N2060), and *Song Gaoseng Zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (T50N2061), of the Liang, Tang, and Song dynasties respectively. In the same genre as the previous three, *HKC*, the “Gaoseng Zhuan” of a distinct geographical area provides rich material for the study of early Korean Buddhism and philosophy, and thus has its unique significance and is worth special attention.

Little is known about Kakhun 覺訓 (in Chinese Juexun), the author, except that he lived in the middle period of the Koryŏ (918–1392 CE) and was acquainted with such famous Koryŏ writers as Yi Il-lo 李仁老 (1150–1220), Yi Kyu-bo 李奎報 (1168–1241), and Ch’oe Cha 崔滋 (1188–1260). The text of *HKC*, lost for almost seven centuries, was rediscovered by Yi Hoe-gwang 李晦光 (1840–1911),⁴ abbot of Haein Monastery 海印. Immediately afterwards, the manuscript was reproduced and circulated by Kwangmunhoe 光文會. In 1918 Yi Nŭng-hwa 李能和 (1868–1945) provided a number of corrections in

³ See, for example, Peter H. Lee et al. (eds.), *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 1:138–191 and 408–422; W. T. de Bary and P. H. Lee (eds.), *Sources of Korean Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 1:78–93 and 228–231; and Pak Chong-hong, “Main Currents of Korean Thought,” in The Korean National Commission for UNESCO (ed.), *Main Currents of Korean Thought* (Seoul: Si-sa-yong-o-sa Publishers/Arch Cape: Pace International Research, 1983), 1–13.

⁴ As chairman of the Wanjŏng 圓宗 school (Korea’s Hwaŏm-jong 華嚴宗), Yi was a controversial figure in pre-modern Korean history for collaborating with the Japanese in a plan to absorb the Korean Buddhist order into Japan’s Sōtō Zen sect. See Mok Jeong-bae, “Buddhism in Modern Korea,” *Korea Journal* 33 (3) (1993): 23–49.

his *Chosŏn Pulgyo T'ongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史. Ch'oe Nam-sŏn 崔南善 (1890–1957) published his critical edition in *Pulgyo* 佛教, no. 37 (July 1927). The text in *Taishō* Edition Tripitaka (T50N2065) was based on this edition.⁵ Besides *HKC*, Kakhun was known to have written two other works: *Sŏnjong Yukcho Hyenŭng Taesa Chŏngsang Tongnae Yŏn'gi* 禪宗六祖慧能大師頂相東來緣起 (The story of the Sixth Patriarch's head being brought to the East), extant except for one chapter, and *Sa P'yŏng* 詩評 (Poetic criticism), extant.⁶

The preface of *HKC* not only is a miniature of the entire text, but also contains an account of how Buddhism was born in the world, was brought to China, and eventually came from China to Korea, "The East of the Sea." It begins with the birth of Buddha Śākyamuni, and ends with a summary of the accomplishments of the great monks who initially spread Buddhism into the Three Han States. There exists an earlier thoroughly annotated translation of this entire set of biographies by the renowned Korean specialist Peter H. Lee, published as a monograph by Harvard-Yenching Institute in 1969. Lee's translation basically belongs to the field of Korean studies, providing virtually no information from the Sinological side. Except for this work, *HKC* has very rarely been studied, and most of the related works are in Korean.

With the goal of situating Koryŏ Buddhism against its contemporary Northeast Asian background, and more specifically relating it to Song and Jin intellectual history, I am differently translating and annotating its preface.

For Sinologists, *HKC*, particularly its preface, is attractive in a number of ways. This biographical work was composed in 1215, the second year of Koryŏ's King Kojong

⁵ A detailed textual history of *HKC* was introduced in Peter H. Lee, *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 1–3. The lives of Yi Il-lo, Yi Kyu-bo, and Ch'oe Cha were all recorded in *Koryŏsa* 高麗史 (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1955), the official chronicle of the Koryŏ Dynasty composed by Chŏng Inji 鄭麟趾 in 1451.

⁶ Yi Chŏng 李政 (ed.), *Han'guk Pulgyo Inmyŏng Sajŏn* 韓國佛教人名辭典 (Seoul: Pulgyo Sidaesa 불교시대사, 1993), 13.

高宗 (r. 1214–1260), by imperial order. Meantime, “to the West of the Sea,” Song ruled in the south and Jurchen Jin in the north. The latter bordered Koryŏ, presenting a threat, while the former also had close political contact with Koryŏ, beginning at least a century earlier. Still farther to the north, the Mongol power was rising rapidly and even came close to attacking Koryŏ, although its major targets were still Jin, Xia, and Mongolia’s western neighbors. The year 1215 was also the twentieth year of the Song Emperor Ningzong’s 寧宗 reign (1195–1224), as well as the third year of the Jin Emperor Xuanzong’s 宣宗 reign (1213–1224). For the Jin, there were only eighteen years to go before it was finally conquered by the Mongol military. In fact, in 1214, just one year before the completion of *HKC*, Jin had to move its capital from Yanjing 燕京 to Bian 汴 after a catastrophic threat from the troops of Genghis Khan (about 1162–1227) in the previous year. After a short revival of Buddhism during the mid-Jin years, as evidenced by the then forty-year-old Caodong 曹洞 Chan master “Wansong 萬松” Xingxiu 行秀 (1166–1246), who spent most of his life in the Yanjing area, Buddhism in northern China was again suffering from the unstable political climate.⁷

⁷ The intellectual development of the Jin dynasty had been biased in favor of its own justification. Confucians under Jurchen rule were men of decent traditional Confucian virtues who strove in difficult circumstances to be both loyal and humane officials; see Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, “Confucian under the Chin and the Impact of Sung Confucian Tao-hsüeh,” in Tillman and West (eds.), *China and Jurchen Rule: Essays on Chin Intellectual and Cultural History* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), 71–114. Jin Taoism saw the emergence of popular new sects that continued from the Northern Song into Jin, most notably Tai’i 太一, Dadao 大道, and Quanzhen 全真. Buddhism was first introduced to the Jurchens from Koryŏ long before the founding of Jin. During the Liao period, the most popular schools of Buddhism in the north were Huayan, Tantric, Pure Land, and Disciplinary. Following the Jurchen conquest of the Khitan Liao and Northern Song, Chan began to gain greater influence. Just as Linji 臨濟 was the most popular Chan lineage under the Southern Song, Caodong enjoyed this status under the Jin. Yelu Chucai 耶律楚材 (1190–1243), who was once a Jin official, then a secretary of Chinggis Khan, as well as, later, chief of the Secretariat of Ögödei 窩闊臺 (Yuan Taizong 元太宗, r. 1229–1241), was also a lay

Despite the unsettled conditions on the mainland, "to the East of Sea," Korean Buddhism was still enjoying relatively peaceful prosperity and extensive development. The first Mongol attack against Koryŏ is known to have been in 1219, four years after the completion of *HKC*. It is certainly reasonable to assume that the menace of the newly emerging military power of the Mongols was felt by the Koryŏ court as well as by its intellectuals. Nonetheless, since the Jin armies were then engaged in a desperate defense against the Mongols, Koryŏ's status was less difficult than it had been during the peak of the Liao and Jin dynasties. Therefore, from the Korean point of view, the few decades during the mid- and late Jin periods, that is, around 1200, may be seen as a temporary period of freedom from threats of destruction from the west.⁸ In 1170, a military coup overturned Koryŏ's Ŭijong 毅宗 (r. 1147–1170) and started a military rule that lasted nearly one hundred years, bringing significant political and social changes to Koryŏ. Under Ch'oe Ch'ung-hŏn 崔忠獻 (1149–1219), who rose to power in 1196, and his successor, "there was a concerted effort to resolve the major social and political issues then confronting the Koryŏ society." The resurgence of Buddhism in this period is best evidenced by the flourishing of the Sŏn school and the teaching of Chinul. It is important to note that Buddhist scholars at that time did not neglect Confucianism but often studied

disciple of Xingxiu. See Yao Tao-chung, "Buddhism and Taoism under the Chin," in Tillman and West (eds.), *China under Jurchen Rule*, 145–180.

⁸ Gari Ledyard, "Yin and Yang in the China–Manchuria–Korea Triangle," in Morris Rossabi (ed.), *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 322–326. Cf. Yi Ki-baek 李基白, *A New History of Korea*, translated by Edward W. Wagner, with Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), 124–129.

it in conjunction with Buddhism.⁹ The year 1216 was about seventy-five years before An Hyang 安珦 (1243–1306) studied Neo-Confucianism in Yanjing.

From the viewpoint of Sinology, many of the legends cited by the preface played a considerable role in the conflicts between Taoism/Confucianism and Buddhism in China. As pointed out later in the notes, a large portion of this preface is very likely borrowed from Falin's 法琳 (572-640) *Poxie Lun* 破邪論 (T52N2109). Throughout almost all periods, in response to the cultural menace of Buddhism, indigenous Chinese elites, from Cui Hao 崔浩 and Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 to Li Deyu 李德裕, from Han Yu 韓愈 to Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 and Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, abominated this foreign religion and rose now and then to assault it. Thus, rising and falling along with the vicissitudes of its history, Buddhism was persecuted at certain times called "*fanan* 法難, disasters of the dharma." The most severe disasters are the so-called "san Wu yi Zong 三武一宗," which occurred in 446–452 (the reign of Emperor Great Wudi of Northern Wei 北魏太武帝), 573–578 (Emperor Wudi of Northern Zhou 北周武帝), 845–847 (reign of Emperor Wuzong of Tang 唐武宗), and 955–960 (Emperor Shizong of later Zhou 周世宗), respectively, as can be found in Zhipan's 志盤 *Fozu Tongji* 佛祖統紀.¹⁰ Especially during such moments, heroic defenders played a vital role in preventing Buddhism from being obliterated. These heroes are called "*hufa* 護法 defenders of the dharma." Falin, as a member of the clergy, was one such; Zhang Shangying (1043–1121, about a century before Kakhun), as a layman, was another *hufa*.¹¹ As may be imagined, the spread of

⁹ Lee et al. (eds.), *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, 329–339, 398–399, and 408–422. See also Robert E. Buswell, *Tracing Back the Radiance: Chinul's Korean Way of Zen* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), 1-232.

¹⁰ T49N2035, chapter 42, pp. 392–393. In particular, the persecution during Tang Wuzong's reign is also called the Huichang Persecution 會昌法難. See note 21.

¹¹ Zhang Shangying, who should be considered basically a Confucian disciple; appearing to be a "protégé of Wang Anshi" is probably more exactly being a "many-faceted figure" like Su Shi.

Buddhism in Korea was also not without ripples. The preface of *HKC* describes a pious “low person” Yŏmchŏk 厭𪛗, who went a step further—voluntarily sacrificing his life in order to promote the Buddhist faith in Silla (see notes 62 and 63). Deep comparative inquiry in this direction would likely yield interesting conclusions.

As a matter of fact, many of the legends that *HKC* cited from Chinese primary sources are historical mistakes that need to be interpreted in light of the background of the interactions among Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. For instance, about half of the preface deals with the Buddha’s life. All Buddhist traditions hold that the Buddha’s lifespan was eighty years. There is wide disagreement, though, on his birth date. Modern Theravādin Buddhists insist that he was born in 623 or 624 BCE (the latter of these two being the preferred year). By contrast, until recently, most modern scholars in the West as well as in Asia take instead one of the years from 563 to 567 BCE as the year of the Buddha’s birth, thus calculating his dates as 567/563–487/483 BCE. Still, an increasing number of contemporary scholars, in Asia as well as in the West, have recently expressed preference for somewhat later dates. Generally speaking, the later dates (fifth to early fourth centuries BCE) are supported by Indian (as distinct from Sri Lankan) sources, that is, by works written chiefly in Sanskrit, some of which were translated into Chinese and/or Tibetan), whereas the earlier dates (sixth to early fifth centuries BCE) are

See note 27 of Robert M. Gimello, “Li “T’ung-Hsuan and the Practical Dimensions of Hua-yen,” in R. M. Gimello and P. N. Gregory (eds.), *Studies in Ch’an and Hua-yen* (Honolulu: The Kuroda Institute and the University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 321–387; and notes 16 and 20 of Robert M. Gimello, “Marga and Culture: Learning, Letters and Liberation in Northern Sung Ch’an,” in Robert E. Buswell and Robert M. Gimello (eds.), *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and Its Transformations in Buddhist Thought* (Honolulu: The Kuroda Institute and the University of Hawaii Press, 1992), 371–432. See also Huang Chi-chiang 黃啟江, “The Historical Significance of Chang Shang-ying’s Defense of Buddhism 張商英護法的歷史意義,” *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 中華佛學學報 9 (1996): 123–166.

supported chiefly by texts of Sri Lankan origin that were originally written in Pali and are held to be authoritative throughout the Theravādin world.¹²

On the other hand, within the Eastern Buddhist traditions in China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, the traditional date for the birth of the Buddha was 1029 BCE, with a variant giving 958 BCE; another date, of 766 BCE, was fairly common too.¹³ These much earlier dates were at least partially motivated by a desire to place the Buddha earlier in time than Laozi and Confucius, the founders of the other two primary East Asian schools of thought. Since Kakhun utilized Chinese materials, we may investigate his opinions about Confucian–Buddhist interactions in Korea in order to help interpret analogous occurrences in China. Why did he select these particular primary resources out of the vast Sinitic Buddhist literature? Did he realize that there were contradictions even among the sources he selected? Was his choice, in terms of both selection of subject matter and language embellishment, more or less influenced by the contemporary Jin or Song cultural ethos?

Although the *HKC* was completed before the rise and thriving of Neo-Confucianism in the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn period, *HKC* provides hints for how Korean Buddhist scholars would think and act when encountering major impacts from other philosophical thinking or from other religions, principally Confucianism. The conflicts between Confucians and Buddhists, both in China and in Korea, can be

¹² The most recent and exhaustive treatment of the question of the Buddha's dates—based on the whole range of traditional sources and taking into account relevant modern scholarship—is a three-volume collection of essays in English, German, and French edited by Heinz Bechert, entitled *The Dating of the Historical Buddha / Die Datierung des Historischen Buddha* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991-). Vol. I appeared in 1991, Vol. II in 1992; Vol. III is still forthcoming. I was introduced to this work by Prof. Robert M. Gimello.

¹³ One could investigate the time at which these dates first appeared in the Sinitic Buddhist literature by comparing and examining, say, *Shi Lao Zhi* 釋老志 (魏書 Wei Shu), *Lidai Sanbao Ji* 歷代三寶記 (T49N2034), *Xu Gaoseng Zhuan* (T50N2060), *Muzi Lihuo Lun* 牟子理惑論 and *Mingfo Lun* 明佛論 (both in *Hongming Ji* 弘明集 (T52N2102)), etc.

categorized into some on the social level and others on the intellectual level. Generally speaking, in China the conflict tends to be fierce, while in Korea it appears to be milder or perhaps dubious. For instance, if we investigate this question from the perspective of Confucian scholars, we note that Zhu Xi criticized Lu Xiangshan severely for integrating Chan into his thought (but Lu certainly would not have admitted this charge).¹⁴ In Korea, Yi Hwang 李滉 (T'oegye 退溪, 1501–1570) was amicable to the Buddhists and had many Buddhist monk friends;¹⁵ meanwhile, Yi I's 李珥 (Yulgok 栗谷, 1536–1584)

¹⁴ It is well known that there were many such occasions of Zhu Xi and Lu Xiangshan criticizing each other for understanding incorrectly or getting close to the essence of Chan thought. Even in the poem that Zhu wrote for Lu three years after the Goose Lake Temple Debate 鵝湖之會, which appears to be a compromise between these two finest Confucian scholars of perhaps all time, hints of Zhu's uneasiness concerning Lu's innovative philosophy of *xinxue* 心學 could be seen, “只愁說到無言處，不信人間有古今。” See *Xiangshan Quanjī* 象山全集 (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 1936) 36: 9. Notice that Zhu Xi himself was deep interested Buddhism in his youth as well (so was Xiangshan). See *Song Yuan Xue'an* 宋元學案 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 1986), 1543, “熹舊時亦要無所不學。禪、道。。。 ” See also Mou Tsung-san 牟宗三, “Zhu Zi Zhi Gong Qi Wei Chan 朱子之攻其為禪,” (From Lu Xiangshan to Liu Jishan) 從陸象山到劉戡山 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 2001), 132–150. See the next note for T'oegye's attitudes towards Zhu and Lu.

¹⁵ In fact, T'oegye's amicability toward Buddhist learning and monks is evidenced in his many poems. Here is one, found in Tosan Chŏnsŏ 陶山全書 (Kyŏnggi-do Sŏngnam-si: Han'guk Chŏngsin Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn 韓國精神文化研究院, 1980), 3: 406, which is dedicated to a monk—quite friendly as well as slightly sarcastic:

“禪峻上人將遊楓岳再贈一絕
飄然不繫野雲蹤
一錫將凌二萬峰
若得無多真法妙
不如歸坐舊山中。”

For more of such poems, see Lee Chang-u 李章佑 이장우, “T'oegye's Poems and the Monks 退溪詩와 僧侶,” *T'oegye Hakpo* 退溪學報 68 (1990): 119–135.

representative work *Sŏnghak Chibyo* 聖學輯要 seems to have revealed his disparagement of Buddhism.¹⁶

Providing an outline of the early transmission of Buddhism through China to Korea, *HKC* is also a good resource for the history of Sino-Korean political, cultural, and intellectual relations. About seventy years later, using *HKC* as a primary source, another Koryŏ monk, Iryŏn 一然 (1206–1289), wrote the monumental *Samguk Yusa* 三國遺事 Memorabilia of the Three Han States, which has become a basic text treating Korean history. In *Samguk Yusa*, the significance of some Korean monks in China is stressed (mentioned only briefly by *HKC*).¹⁷ In fact, this aspect should not be neglected. It is an acknowledged truth that the Korean contribution to Chinese Buddhism has not been sufficiently studied by scholars in Sinology. Amazingly, Korean influence on Chinese

Nevertheless, as a Confucian scholar, T'oegye still considered Buddhism heterodox. In his famous *Xinjing Houlun* 心經後論, we find his remarks comparing Zhu Xi and Lu Xiangshan, and blaming Lu for having been influenced by Chan thought, such as in *T'oegye Chip* 退溪集 (Seoul: Minjok Munhwa Ch'ujinhoe 民族文化促進會, 1968), 1: 632.

“朱陸二氏之不同。非故有意於不同也。此儒而彼禪。此正而彼邪。此公平而彼私狠。夫如是。安得而相同耶。” Cf. Wei-ming Tu, “Yi Hwang's Perception of the Mind 李退溪의 心性論,” *T'oegye Hakpo* 退溪學報 19 (1978): 467–455.

¹⁶ As a foremost Neo-Confucian, Yulgok may be considered to be the “Xiangshan in Korea.” Just like Zhu Xi, Yulgok studied Buddhism in his youth but later recanted. See Chien Mu 錢穆, “Zhuzi-xue Liuyan Hanguo Kao 朱子學流衍韓國考, Part II: Li Ligu Xueshu 李栗谷學述,” *T'oegye Hakpo* 退溪學報 (1975), 39–52.

For the rarely noticed example mentioned above, see Yi I, *Yulgok Chip* 栗谷集 (Seoul: Minjok Munhwa Ch'ujinhoe 民族文化促進會, 1968), 2: 717.

“(聖學輯要·七)中古以來。道術分裂。老莊楊墨申韓蘇張之說。禍亂斯民。降及漢唐。重之以竺學。天下貿貿莫適所從。豪傑之士。頗多沉溺。”

¹⁷ Although Iryŏn leveled criticism against *HKC* for haphazardly combining spurious legendary material with putatively more reliable biographical material (for instance, from Wŏn'gwang's biography).

Buddhism is too extensive to list in its entirety without a comprehensive thesis. As a preliminary introduction, I here just point out two facts. First, we recall the initial spread of the *Mahāyāna Śraddhotpāda Śāstra* 大乘起信論 (Treatise on the awakening of faith of the Greater Vehicle in China, as well as in East Asia).¹⁸ Studied and commented on repeatedly by a long list of East Asian scholars, including Wŏnhyo from Silla, and the Huayan patriarchs Fazang 法藏 (643–712) and Zongmi 宗密 (780–841), this text became one of the most influential in the development of the East Asian style of Buddhism. In particular, Korean contributions to the text not only made it unusually powerful in Korea, but also achieved popularity and influence in China. We need only think of the role that the following Korean texts played as early supports to this East Asian philosophical milestone: *Kisillon So* 起信論疏 (T44N1844), *Taesŭng Kisillon Pyŏlgi* 大乘起信論別記

¹⁸ The authenticity of the *Awakening of Faith* has been debated ever since its appearance in China in the sixth to seventh centuries CE. In the early twentieth century, the leading Buddhist researchers in China argued over this issue again with their “modern” or “near-modern” works of scholarship. Although no satisfying conclusion can be made due to the tremendous inconsistency among these scholars, it will do no harm to look once again at their theories, respectively: Ouyang Jingwu 歐陽竟無, “Weishi Jueze-tan 唯識抉擇談,” in Huang Xianian 黃夏年 (ed.), *Ouyang Jingwu Ji* 歐陽竟無集 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui-kexue Chunbanshe 中國社會科學出版社, 1995), 90–120; Liang Qichao 梁啟超, *Textual Investigation on Awakening of Faith* 大乘起信論考證 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan 臺灣商務印書館, 1968); Lu Cheng 呂澂, *Lu Cheng Fuxue Lunzhu Xuanji* 呂澂佛學論著選集 (Jinan: Qilu Shushe 齊魯書社, 1991), 303–369; for Taixu 太虛, refer to Yinshun 印順, *Fojiao zhi Qiyuan yu Kaizhan* 佛教之起源與開展 (Taipei: Zhengwen Chubanshe 正聞出版社, 1989), 4–6, as well as the more recent Yinshun, *Lectures on the Awakening of Faith* 大乘起信論講記 (Taizhong: Guangyi Yinshuju 廣宜印書局, 1972), 1–22, and Mou Tsung-san 牟宗三, *Foxing yu Boruo* 佛性與般若 (Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju 臺灣學生書局, 1997), 435–480.

(T44N1845), *Kŭmgang Sammae-gyŏng* 金剛三昧經 (T09N0273), and *Sŏk mahayŏn-non* 釋摩訶衍論 (T32N1668).¹⁹

Second, we can look at how Koryŏ Buddhism assisted the renaissance of the Chinese Tiantai tradition. After “Jingxi” Zhanran 荊溪湛然 (711–782), because of lack of capable successors, Tiantai waned with the rising of Huayan and Chan. It was not until the Five Dynasties that Tiantai was able to revitalize.²⁰ When King Zhongyi 忠懿王 of

¹⁹ The author of the first two texts was Wŏnhyo. Some scholars hold that the third was composed by Wŏnhyo and Tae-an 大安, while its origin in Silla is at least widely believed. See Du Jiwen 杜繼文, *Zhongguo Chanzong Tongshi* 中国禪宗通史 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe 江蘇古籍出版社, 1993), 47, or the preface that Du Jiwen wrote for He Jingsong 何勁松, *Hanguo Fojiao Shi* 韓國佛教史 (Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua Chubanshe 宗教文化出版社, 1997), 2–3. The last was attributed to Nāgārjuna 龍, but is considered to be of early eighth-century East Asian provenance, most probably written by the Silla monk Wŏlch’ung 月忠. See *Foguang Dacidian*, 6837. The four texts mentioned above all provided positive support for the authenticity of *Awakening of Faith* and thereby promoted its popularity in both China and Korea.

In addition to these, there is another Silla-related apocryphal text, *Chomch’al Kyong* 占察善惡業報經 (i.e. 漸剎經, T17N839), whose authentic author is suspected to be somehow related to Wŏn’gwang 圓光. For this, see Whalen Lai, “The Chan-ch’a ching: Religion and Magic in Medieval China,” in R.E. Buswell, Jr. (eds.), *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 175–206. A later Silla monk, Chinsung 珍嵩, pointed out that *Awakening of Faith* was forged, based on that text. Cf. Liang Qichao, *Textual Investigation*, 51–53 and 86–98, and Charles Wei-hsun Fu 傅偉勳, “A Creative-Hermeneutic Inquiry into the Multidimensional Complexity and Deep Structure of the *Awakening of Faith* 大乘起信論義理新探,” *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 中華佛學學報 (1990), 118–147.

²⁰ The crisis of Tiantai was in large part caused by the Huichang Persecution. See the next note. In my opinion, the competition from the Huayan and Chan 禪 was another important reason. Six generations after Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), Jingxi Zhanran 荊溪湛然 (711–782) was very active. But there was a lack of outstanding successors following Zhanran, and before long the Huichang

the kingdom of Wuyue 吳越 could not understand certain phrases in *Yongjia Ji* 永嘉集, he was referred to "Luoxi" Yiji 螺溪義寂 in Guoqing Monastery 國清寺, and Yiji answered him,

This is from (the *abhidharma*) *Miaoxuan* by Tiantai's Master Zhizhe. Thereupon An-Shi's military rebellion ruined the book; and what is more, the more recent Huichang (Persecution) burned it to ashes. As a result, the Tripitaka texts in China became fragmentary and were mostly lost. Now only Koryŏ to the east of the sea is prosperously propagating Buddhism, where the complete collection exists.²¹

Persecution was to occur. By contrast, after Fazang 法藏 (i.e., Xianshou 賢首, 643–712), Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839), and Zongmi 宗密 (780–841) further developed the doctrines of Huayan. Huineng's (638–713) many excellent disciples, especially Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (668–760), Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓, and Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思, and their successors, including Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788), Guishan Lingyou 潯山靈祐 (771–853), Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (?–867), Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (840–901), Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864–949), and Fayuan Wenyi 法眼文益 (885–958), Chan reached its greatest significance during the late Tang dynasty. In Korea, before Ŭich'ŏn's efforts to fuse the practice of all schools into the Ch'ŏnt'aek learning in the late eleventh century, Kyo (Doctrinal) and Sŏn dominated Buddhist thought. In particular, there evolved a great number of Sŏn traditions, the most important nine of which were the so-called Kusan Sŏnmun 九山禪門 Nine Mountain Sŏn Sects.

Refer to Daoyuan 道原, *Jingde Chuandenglu* 景德傳燈錄 (T51N2076); Lao Siguang 勞思光, *Zhongguo Zhixue Shi* 中國哲學史 (Hong Kong: Xianggang Zhongwen Daxue Chongji Xueyuan 香港中文大學崇基學院, 1968), 308–358; and He Jingsong, *Hanguo Fojiao Shi*, 276–327.

²¹ King Zhongyi: Qian Chu 錢俶 (r. 948–978), the last ruler of Wuyue. *Xin Wudai Shi*, 67: Wuyue Shijia Diqi 吳越世家第七.

According to Chegwan's *Tiantai Sijiao Yi* (T46N1931), 774:

Thus King Zhongyi sent an envoy to Koryŏ to ask for a copy, and the King of Koryŏ responded by letting Chegwan 諦觀 bring back a complete set of the Tiantai classics to China. This was around 960–962, about the time of the founding of Song. Tiantai could hardly have revived without this fortuity! Then Chegwan himself studied with Yiji, and did not return to Koryŏ, but passed away in China. He wrote a famous

“(四教儀緣起)唐末吳越錢忠懿王治國之暇究心內典因閱永嘉集有同除四住此處為齊若伏無明三藏則劣之句不曉問于雪居韶國師乃云天台國清寺有寂法師善弘教法必解此語王召法師至詰焉法師曰：

‘此天台智者大師妙玄中文時遭安史兵殘近則會昌焚毀中國教藏殘闕殆盡今惟海東高麗闡教方盛全書在彼’

王聞之慨然即為遣國書贊弊使高麗求取一家章疏高麗國君乃敕僧曰諦觀者報聘以天台教部還歸于我觀既至就稟學寂公于螺溪終焉大教至是重昌矣。”

Similar material can be found in Chapter 10 of Zhipan, *Fozu Tongji*, p. 206:

“法師諦觀。高麗國人。初吳越王因覽永嘉集同除四住之語以問韶國師。韶曰。此是教義。可問天台曦寂。即召問之。對曰。此智者妙玄位妙中文。唐末教籍流散海外。進不復存。於是吳越王遷使致書。以五十種寶往高麗求之。其國令諦觀來奉校乘。”

(In the same text, *Fozu Tongji*, 291, there is a different account, namely claiming that the Tiantai classics were recovered from Japan instead of from Koryŏ,

“師曰。此出智者妙玄。自唐末喪亂教籍散盡。故此諸文多在海外。於是吳越王遷使十人往日本國求取教典。.”

This account is supported by Shen Hai-bo 沈海波, “The Tiantai Classics Return Home: A Historical Event Taking Place in the Early Years of the Northern Song Dynasty 北宋初年天台教籍重歸中土的史實,” *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal 中華佛學學報* (2000), 187–205. I strongly suspect that this contradiction was due to geographical confusion between Korea and Japan during the production of *Fozu Tongji*.)

The Huichang Persecution, 會昌法難 or 會昌毀佛, was one of the most severe suppressions of Buddhism in Chinese history. Refer to Denis Twitchett (ed.), "Sui and T'ang China, 589–906, Part I," *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 666–669, and Lao Siguan, *Zhongguo Zhaxue Shi*, 312–315.

abhidharma, *Tiantai Sijiaoyi* 天台四教儀 (T46N1931), which provides good instruction in understanding the tradition's doctrinal theory as well as practice, and which has become a basic Tiantai text.²² Yet another excellent disciple of Yiji was "Baoyun" Ŭit'ong 寶雲義通 (927–988), who also came from Koryŏ and stayed in China for about half a century until his death. Ŭit'ong was remembered largely for his influential teaching. He was later considered the sixteenth Tiantai patriarch, and he had two very famous students who finally revitalized their tradition: "Siming" Zhili 四明知禮 (960–1028) and "Ciyun" Zunshi 慈雲遵式 (964–1032), especially Zhili, who was the main figure of the Shanjia 山家 school and became the seventeenth patriarch of Tiantai.²³

From what we have seen above, situating *HKC* at the intersection of the following fields of academic inquiry would be an interesting endeavor: Buddhist studies, Confucian/Buddhist interactions, and Sino/Korean relations. It is consequently necessary to study this preface along with the remaining parts of *HKC* from historical, philosophical, and cultural perspectives. Hopefully, parallel study of Korean intellectual history will shed some light on its Chinese counterpart, although tremendous efforts are certainly needed. Nonetheless, it is not easy for Sinologists to grasp the whole picture, since it would require fair knowledge not only of Buddhism and Chinese, but also of Korean history. For these considerations, I aim here to add sufficiently thorough annotation to indicate the resources, identify Kakhun's borrowings from *Poxie Lun*, etc., point out factual mistakes, and provide historical background. By providing this

²² For the significance of *Tiantai Sijiaoyi*, see Taixu, "Tiantai Sijiaoyi yu Zhongguo Foxue 天台四教儀與中國佛學," in Huang Xianian (ed.), *Taixu Ji* 太虛集 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui-kexue Chunbanshe 中國社會科學出版社, 1995), 168–172.

²³ Ŭit'ong 義通 was recorded as having come to China during the Tianfu 天福 years (936–944 CE) of Shi Jin 石晉 of the Five Dynasties. See Zhipan, *Fozu Tongji*, Chapter 8, pp. 190–194; Jue'an 覺岸, *Shishi Jigulue* 釋氏稽古略, Chapter 4 (T49N2037), pp. 859–902; and Zhili, *Siming Zunzhe Jiaoxinglu* 四明尊者教行錄 (T46N1937), 856–934. For an excellent discussion of the Ŭit'ong, Zhili, and Shanjia-Shanwai debate, see Mou Tsungsan, "Tiantai-zong zhi Shuowei yu Zhongxing 天台宗之衰微與中興," *Foxing yu Boruo*, 1097–1119.

annotated translation, I hope to bring the perspective of ongoing exchanges between mainland and peninsular Buddhism (and other schools of thought) to the attention of readers, especially those who are interested in intercultural studies of middle-period Northeast Asian states.

Like Professor Lee, I use the text of *HKC* from the *Taishō Tripitaka*, partly because of its convenient availability in major Western libraries.

TRANSLATION

Biographies of Eminent Monks to the East of the Sea,²⁴ Chapter 1

I, subject Kakhun, being abbot and instructor of the Yŏngt’ong-sa Temple on Five Crown Mountain to the north of the Capital,²⁵ a śramaṇa granted purple robe,²⁶ composed this work by imperial command.

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The Comment says: the way that the Buddha practiced preaching was as the following. The Buddha’s nature and manifestation were eternal; the Buddha’s sympathy and vow were vast and deep. He exhausted the three limits, spread throughout the ten

²⁴ *Haedong* (Ch. *Haidong*) is a term employed (at the latest) from the early Tang period in both historiographical and Buddhist literature to denote the domain “to the east of the sea.” To Koreanists, and in classical Korean literature, *Haedong*, along with *Tongguk* (東國) and *Haedong Samguk* (海東三國), are all commonly used epithets meaning “Korea.”

²⁵ Capital 京 in this case refers to Songgyŏng 松京, which used to be called Song’ak 松嶽 (the hometown of Wang Kŏn, see note 71), and which later became Kaegyŏng 開京 (see Appendices 1 and 2) and the modern Kaesŏng City 開城 개성. Five Crown Mountain 五冠山 and Yŏngt’ong-sa Temple 靈通寺 are both mentioned in *Koryŏsa*:

“(地理一)文宗十六年來屬。恭讓王元年置靈通寺。山水之勝為松京第一。。。後置監務為五冠山。”

²⁶ Śramaṇa, Sanskrit term for *shamen* 沙門: a Buddhist monk or nun. According to *Koryŏsa*, 2: 565:

“(與服志)毅宗朝詳定。文官四品以上。服紫紅。革呈佩金魚帶。常參。六品以上服緋紅。革呈配銀魚。官未至而特賜者不拘此例。九品以上服綠。閣門班武臣皆紫而不佩金。”

Zi Shamen 紫沙門, or Purple Śramaṇa, refers to a monk robed in purple. Judging by the paragraph cited above, dressing in purple was ordinarily a symbol of high rank or must be authorized by a special grant from the king. As a monk and abbot, Kakhun was probably not a truly an official, so his being dressed in purple might have been authorized as a special honor.

directions. He used rain and dew to nourish it [the people and the world]; thunder and lightning to incite it [the people and the world]. He did not travel but arrived; did not rush but was fast.²⁷ The five sense organs of human beings could not see the Buddha’s appearance; four arguments could not describe the Buddha’s shape. The Buddha’s substance did not have to go or come; the Buddha’s function might appear and might disappear.

Thus our Śākyamuni Tathāgata, from the Abode of Tuṣita,²⁸ went by the sandalwood tower pavilion to enter Queen Māyā’s²⁹ womb. On the eighth of the fourth month in the year of *jia-yin* during the time of King Zhao in the Zhou Dynasty,³⁰ Buddha

²⁷ “不行而至。不疾而速。” was cited from the fundamental Chinese intellectual work *Zhou Yi* except that the original order was reversed:

“(周易·系辭上傳)夫易。聖人之所以極深而研幾也。唯深也。故能通天下之志。唯幾也。故能成天下之務。唯神也。故不疾而速。不行而至。”

This is also pointed out in Lee, *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks*, 19.

²⁸ Tuṣita, the Sanskrit term for *doushuai-tian* 兜率天: the fourth of the six *kāmadhātu* (欲界, realm of desire) heavens, from which buddhas-to-be descend to the human realm to accomplish their buddhahood. See Akira Sadakata, *Buddhist Cosmology: Philosophy and Origins*, translated by Gaynor Sekimori (Tokyo: Kōsei Publishing Co., 1997), 55–63.

²⁹ King Śuddhodana 淨飯王: Buddha Śākyamuni’s father, who ruled over the land of the Śākyas at Kapilavastu, close to the Nepalese frontier. Queen Māyā 摩耶夫人: Buddha’s mother and Śuddhodana’s wife in legend (but academically nobody was sure when or even if Queen Māyā actually lived). “Śākyamuni” literally means sage of the Śākya clan. Buddha Śākyamuni was named Siddhārtha after his birth (in Pali Siddhattha), meaning roughly one to achieve all the luck, truth, and fortune. *Foguang Dacidian*, 4708 and 6073.

³⁰ King Zhao 周昭王 succeeded to the throne in 981 BCE, according to *Zhushu Jinian* 竹書記年. See Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), 453. However, Queen Māyā lived around the sixth century BCE.

Śākyamuni was born in the royal palace of Śuddhodana out of Māyā's right armpit. That night a five-colored aura penetrated into heaven³¹ and passed through in the west. King Zhao asked the court historian Su You what was happening. Su You said: "There is a great sage just born in the West." King Zhao then asked whether that was good or bad. Su You answered: "Nothing special now. One thousand years later, his fame and teaching will spread to this land."³²

³¹ *dawei* 大微 is a variant of *taiwei* 太微, one of the *san-yuan* 三垣 three wall-surrounded regions in heaven: *taiwei-yuan* 太微垣, *ziwei-yuan* 紫微垣 and *tianshi-yuan* 天市垣. Here *dawei* could be understood as a primary section of heaven.

³² The paragraph above was essentially identical to a paragraph in the famous *Poxie Lun*, a text from about six hundred years earlier. That paragraph claims to be citing *Zhoushu Yiji* 周書異記. I provide the original texts of *Poxie Lun* and *HKC* here for the purpose of comparison.

Poxie Lun, T52N2109, 478b:

“周書異記云。周昭王即位二十四年甲寅歲四月八日。江河泉池忽然泛漲。井水並皆溢出。宮殿入舍山川大地咸悉震動。其夜五色光氣入貫太微。遍于西方盡作青紅色。周昭王問太史蘇由曰。是何祥也。蘇由對曰。有大聖人生在西方。故現此瑞。昭王曰。于天下何如。蘇由曰。即時無他。一千年外聲教被及此土。昭王即遣人鐫石記之。埋在南郊天祠前。當此之時。佛初生王宮也。”

HKC:

“故我釋迦如來。從兜率天。乘梅檀樓閣。入摩耶胎。以周昭王甲寅四月初八日。遂開右脅。生於淨飯王宮。其夜五色光氣入貫太微。通於西方。昭王問太史蘇由。曰。有大聖人。生於西方。問利害。曰。此時無他。一千年後。聲教被此土焉。”

Apparently here *HKC* borrowed *Poxie Lun*. Is it because Kakhun figured out the twenty-fourth year (Chinese underlined) of King Zhao was not *jia-yin* 甲寅, that he only mentioned the sexagenarian year *jia-yin*, but skipped the year during King Zhao's reign?

Furthermore, it is interesting to note another comment in *Poxie Lun* itself that does not agree with the paragraph cited above (T52N2109, 484):

At first Buddha Śākyamuni lived in the Palace just like ordinary mundane people. On the eighth of the fourth month in the year of *jia-shen*, which was the forty-second year of King Zhao's reign,³³ the Buddha was thirty years old. He left the Palace through the city wall and became a monk. Thus the Buddha achieved enlightenment while sitting

“佛是周時第十五主莊王他九年癸巳之歲四月八日。乘梅檀樓閣現白象形。從兜率下降中天竺國迦毗羅城刹利。王種淨飯大王第一夫人摩耶之胎。至十年甲午歲四月八日夜鬼宿合時。于嵐毗園波羅樹下。從摩耶夫人右脅而生。放大光明照三千世界。”

Was it King Zhao 昭王 or King Zhuang 庄王 on earth? King Zhuang lived almost three hundred years after King Zhao. See Shi Xiangzai 史襄哉, *Jiyuan Tongpu* 紀元通譜 (Taipei: Huazheng Shuju 華正書局, 1974), 134–164. Furthermore, the twenty-fourth year of King Zhao was *gui-hai* 癸亥 (*Zhushu Jinian*, 43), not *jia-yin* 甲寅; while the ninth year of King Zhuang was indeed *gui-si* 癸巳 (*Zhushu Jinian*, 61).

Poxin Lun, as influential as it was, was composed in order to defend Buddhism against the furious attacks from Taoists and Confucians. Without this essay, Buddhism might not have survived through the Tang. The earlier the Buddha was, the more superior Buddhism would appear to be. Hence, the problematic record from *Zhoushu Yiji* sounded more appealing than the King Zhuang's version, which spoke of a period about three centuries later. Just as happened in the case of the conflicts between Confucians and Taoists, supporters of Buddhism intended to make Śākyamuni live on earth before Confucius and Laozi. Falin himself, for instance, argued that Laozi and Confucius were both disciples of Śākyamuni. In fact, *Zhoushu Yiji* has been considered a book forged by later people. See Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, *Han Wei Liangjin Nanbeichao Fojiao Shi* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 (Beijing: Peking University Press 北京大學出版社, 1997), 4–5.

³³ “**粵**四十二年甲申”: this confusing phrase is quite intriguing and informative. Because here the Buddha was just thirty years old, **粵**四十二年 could mean neither “forty-two years passed” nor “forty-second year (of a later king).” So, **粵** should be an initial phrase with no real meaning and 四十二年 must talk of the forty-second year of the same king (King Zhao). Furthermore, the gap between *jia-shen* and *jia-yin* in the sexagenarian cycles is exactly thirty years. I don't know the original source of the “forty-second year,” but could this obscurity, omitting “King Zhao,” result from Kakhun's realization of the anachronism?

under the [Bodhi] tree and delivered Dharma to benefit people, just like the *Ficus carica* Flower that appeared once in a while. He first taught Avatamsaka sūtras,³⁴ second taught Hīnayāna sūtras;³⁵ sometimes Prajñā [pāramitā] or Samdhinirmocana, sometimes Saddharmapūṇḍarīka or Parinirvāna.³⁶ He followed circumstances and spread Dharma widely; let people’s capability decide the way they learn. It was like one wind that blows and makes ten thousands of holes howl together;³⁷ one moon that illuminates and makes thousands of rivers visible.³⁸ For forty-nine years the Buddha rescued people of many

³⁴ *Buddhāvataṃsake Mahā-vaipulya-sūtra* (*Avatamsaka-sūtra* for short), in Chinese *Dafangguang Fo Huayan Jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (*Huayan Jing* 華嚴經 for short), is one of the most influential texts in East Asian Buddhism, based on which Huayan schools were established in China, Korea, and Japan. Here we translate 華嚴 as “sūtras related to Huayan” instead of *Huayan Jing* alone to correspond to the next parallel clause, which clearly meant “Hīnayāna sūtras.”

³⁵ Hīnayāna, directly translated as Small Vehicle from 小乘, referred to the Buddhist practices mainly represented by the Theravādin and Sarvāstivādin traditions. It is a term used by the Mahāyāna 大乘 (Great Vehicle) tradition. Hīnayāna is also known as a Southern Buddhist school because of its popularity in Śrī Lankā, Myanma, and Thailand, as opposed to Māhayāna, which is prevalent in China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Mongolia, and Tibet.

³⁶ Four other important categories of sūtras are mentioned here: Prajñā 般若 (*Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* 般若心經), Samdhinirmocana 深密 (*Samdhinirmocana-sūtra* 解深密經), Saddharmapūṇḍarīka 法華 (*Saddharmapūṇḍarīka-sūtra* 妙法蓮華經) and Parinirvāna 涅槃 (*Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra* 大涅槃經). Each of them may mean either a single sūtra, or the collection of sūtras in that particular category.

³⁷ The original source is in *Zhuangzi*, “Qiwu Lun 齊物論”:

“是唯無作。作則萬竅齊號。”

³⁸ A good explanation is available at Lee, *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks*, 22, note 27.

different classes. This was why *Liezi*³⁹ said that there was a sage in the West. At that time Mañjuśrī⁴⁰ and Maudgalyāyana⁴¹ also appeared in China in order to awaken people.

³⁹ We cite *Liezi* for reference.

“(列子仲尼第四)孔子動容有間。曰。西方之人。有聖者焉。不治而不亂。不言而自信。不化而自行。蕩蕩乎民無能名焉。丘疑其為聖。弗知真為聖歟。真不聖歟。商太宰嘿然心計曰。孔丘欺我哉。”

Whereas the beginning paragraph of *HKC* says:

“論曰夫佛陀之為教也。性相常住。悲願洪深。窮三際。遍十方。雨露以潤之。雷霆以鼓之。不行而至。不疾而速。五目不能睹其容。四辯莫能談其狀。其體也無去無來。其用也有生有滅。”

Hints of borrowing may be found here. In fact, many scholars believe that the “western sage” here indeed referred to Laozi instead of Śākyamuni, although there has been no consensus. Secondly, Lie Yukou 列御寇 was most likely only a legendary figure, and the authenticity of *Liezi* has been debated for more than one thousand years, because of its sensitivity concerning the standings of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. It is in general believed that *Liezi* was a relatively late forgery. For more, see Ma Xulun 馬敘倫, “*Liezi Weishu Kao* 列子偽書考,” in Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 and Luo Genze 羅根澤 (eds.), *Gushi Bian* 古史辨 (Hong Kong: Taiping Shuju 太平書局, 1962–1963), 4: 520–529; Ji Xianlin 季羨林, “*Liezi yu fodian*: A conjecture on the finishing time and the author of *Liezi* 列子與佛典: 對於列子成書年代和著者的一個推測,” in Ji Xianlin (ed.), *Bijiao Wenxue yu Minjian Wenxue* 比較文學與民間文學 (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe 北京大學出版社, 1991), 78–90; or Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 274–276.

⁴⁰ Mañjuśrī 文殊, probably the most popular bodhisattva in early and medieval Chinese Buddhism, was renowned for his understanding 解, insight 智, faithful 信 mind, and the subject of realization 證, as contrasted with Samantabhadra 普賢 who represented practice 行, principle 理, the object of faith, and the object of realization. These two bodhisattvas, together with the Buddha Vairocana 毘盧遮那佛, are the so-called three-chief-protagonists 三聖 esteemed by the Chinese Huayan tradition. See Robert M. Gimello, “Ch’eng-kuan on the Hua-yen Trinity 澄觀的華嚴三聖觀,” *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 中華佛學學報 9 (1996): 341–411.

When the Buddha was seventy-nine years old, on February fifteenth in the year of *ren-shen* during the reign of King Mu [of the Zhou Dynasty], he passed away [into nirvāna] in the grove of Sala trees. Twelve streaks of white rainbows remained visible that whole night. King Mu asked the court historian Hu Duo [the reason]. Hu Duo said: “The western sage had just passed into nirvāna.”⁴²

Thereupon Ananda⁴³ and others collected Buddha’s precious words and saved them on *pattra* [palm leaves]. Sūtra-pitaka Vinaya-pitaka [discipline] and Abhidharma-pitaka [argument];⁴⁴ Śīla [precepts], Samādhi [concentration] and Prajñā [wisdom].⁴⁵

⁴¹ Maudgalyāyana 目連, as one of the ten principal disciples of Śākyamuni, was renowned for his occult powers. He is best known in folk East Asian Buddhism because of *Dizang Pusa Benyuan Jing* 地藏菩薩本願經 (Ksitigarbha Pranidhāna Sūtra) and *Yulanpen Jing* 盂蘭盆經 (Ullambana Sūtra), both of which describe Maudgalyāyana’s filial deeds in saving his mother and which were considered “Buddhist filial sūtras” 佛門孝經.

⁴² This part is close to certain phrases in *Poxie Lun*, 163:

“穆王五十二年壬申歲二月十五日平旦。暴風忽起發損人舍傷折樹木。山川大地皆悉震動。午後天陰雲黑。西方有白虹十二道。南北通過連夜不滅。穆王問太史扈多曰。是何徵也。扈多對曰。西方有聖人滅度。衰相現耳。穆王大悅曰。朕常懼于彼。今將滅度。朕何憂也。當此之時。佛入涅槃。”

According to *Zhushu Jinian*, the fifty-second year of King Mu should be *geng-xu* 庚戌, instead of *ren-shen* 壬申. There was no mention in *HKC* of the fifty-second year. Kakhun was very clever in that he did not include any such “avoidable” contradictions in his work. Cf. notes 26 and 28.

⁴³ Ānanda 阿難: Buddha’s attendant and one of Buddha’s principal disciples. It was said that almost all the sūtras were recorded from his excellent memory, i.e., the “I” in “Thus Have I heard 如是我聞” in all the sūtras were referring to Ānanda.

⁴⁴ The union of the three (1. sūtrantra-pitaka 經藏—discourses attributed to the Buddha; 2. vinaya-pitaka 律藏—the disciplines; 3. abhidharma-pitaka 論藏—arguments or treatises) is called *pitaka-traya* 三藏, which means “three-stores” or “three-scriptures.”

Only then did Buddha’s teachings start being circulated. However, the mixed vulgar ordinary idea sneaked into the Dragon Palace secretly; evil clans acted defiantly like a group of wild silkworms; pagan doctrines were croaking like frogs. Thence Aśvaghōsa⁴⁶ stood up rock-firm like a tower. When Dignāga⁴⁷ protected the Dharma, he sang and responded to Aśvaghōsa. They overthrew the evil and revealed the truth, narrated the disciplines and promoted the fundamentals. The Dharma expanded vastly and completely all over the western region. It was waiting for the opportunity to travel to the east.

One hundred and sixteen years after Buddha Śākyamuni passed into nirvāṇa, King Asóka of East India collected Buddha’s relics. He commanded the ghost soldiers to establish eighty-four thousand Buddhist pagoda towers so that they spread all over Jambudvīpa.⁴⁸ That was the year of *dīng-wei*, the twenty-sixth year of King Jing in the Zhou Dynasty [494 BCE].

⁴⁵ This union (1. *śīla* 戒, i.e., precepts; 2. *samādhi* 定, i.e., concentration and meditation; 3. *prajñā* 慧, i.e., wisdom) is the so-called *trīṇī śikṣāṇi* 三學 “three disciplines.”

⁴⁶ Aśvaghōsa 馬鳴: famous Indian scholar-monk living around the second century CE. When *Awakening of Faith* first appeared in East Asian Buddhism, it was attributed to Aśvaghōsa—a claim no longer accepted.

⁴⁷ Dignāga 陳那: living at the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries, a Buddhist logician who reformed the basis of Buddhist logic in a profound way. Among his seminal works is *Nyāyadvaratāka Sastra* 因明正理門論 (Treatise on entering the True Principle of Causal Logic), which established the new school of Hetu-vidyā 因明.

⁴⁸ See Yinshun, *Fojiao zhi Qiyuan yu Kaizhan*, “佛陀遺體遺物遺跡之崇敬,” 43–108.

舍利: relics of the Buddha, in Sanskrit śarīra. 塔: abbreviation of 塔婆, from Sanskrit stūpa, roughly translated as “to tower where the remains were deposited.” Jambudvīpa 閼浮提: being the world in which human beings live, the landmass south of Mount Sumeru. Sadakata, *Buddhist Cosmology*, 26. Asóka 阿育王 (299–237 BCE): the most powerful supporter of Buddhism in ancient India. The name of Asóka was known in China quite early, but the story of Asóka’s building pagoda towers in China was no more than a legend. In fact, although it was said that

Lokakṣema 支識 translated sūtras about Asóka during the Later Han period, the earliest record of this story was probably in Zongbing's 宗炳 (375–443 CE) *Mingfo Lun*, in Sengyou 僧祐 (ed.), *Hongming Ji* (T52N2102), 12c:

“(佛圖澄)謂虎曰。臨淄城中有古阿育王寺處。猶有形像承露盤。在深林巨樹之下。入地二十丈。虎使者依圖陷求皆如言得。近姚略叔父為晉王。於河東蒲阪古老所謂阿育王寺處。見有光明。鑿求得佛遺骨。”

If we assume that the Buddha was as fat as a sumo wrestler and weighed three hundred pounds, thus is forty-eight hundred ounces, divided by eighty-four thousand pagodas would leave only 0.00571428 of an ounce for each pagoda, assuming that all three hundred pounds remained intact for over a century. I suspect that modern scientific equipment could chop a body into such small pieces, but that the ancients could not do so, and probably could not see such small pieces anyway. Professor Jim McDonough pointed out that what interests him about this legend is how parallel it is to the belief of medieval Christians that their individual church had a relic of the True Cross of Jesus: “All the supposed relics added together weighed much more than a human being could carry. The Romans certainly did not give Jesus a cross beyond the ability of human beings to carry, because the Romans certainly did not consider that Jesus was divine. If they believed that, they would not have executed him. The desire of the Christians to have a relic of Jesus was so strong that they disregarded common sense. I find this exactly parallel to Buddhists wanting a relic of the Buddha. Some Christians took a more rational view and declared that anything which touched a relic of Jesus or of a saint was a relic just by having touched a relic.”

Tang Yongtong, *Han Wei*, 7, claims it is even unnecessary to argue over this legend as it was obviously ridiculous; it is ridiculous concerning the corpse of the Buddha, but powerfully meaningful about the spiritual thirst and longing of Buddhists. Ideally, Christian knights should have realized that it was far more important to obey the teachings of Jesus than to find the cup or chalice or grail from which he drank at the Last Supper, or to find his robe, or a piece of his cross, or any other physical object. This is also true of Buddhists wanting a piece of the Buddha's body or his giant tooth.

“而佛陀造像在育王時，印度尚無其事。則指為古寺，必出于教徒迷信，其失實自不必多辯也。”

Pagoda towers emerged in the Zhou Dynasty. Twenty-two kings followed, until the thirty-fourth year of Emperor Qin Shihuang [213 BCE], when all the classics were burned, and Asoka's pagodas disappeared [too]. At that time, Buddhist monk Lifang, together with others, in total eighteen, wise sages bearing Buddhist sūtras, came to Xianyang to enlighten people. Emperor Qin Shihuang did not want that and imprisoned them. At night, a gigantic Vajra-guardian broke into the prison and got them out.⁴⁹ This occurred only because time and chance had not yet become mature.

During the twelfth year⁵⁰ of *yongping* in the Later Han Dynasty, [Indian monks] Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaratna⁵¹ came to the Han Court to pay their respects. Merciful clouds thus spread above the nine states; Dharma rain splashed over the four seas. However, according to "Huo Qubing's Biography," he obtained King Xiutu's golden statues that were offered as sacrifices to the god; so it would seem that the Dharma of images had pierced into the desert earlier.⁵² In addition, at the time of

⁴⁹ The twenty-sixth year of King Jing of Zhou was 494 BCE. The thirty-fourth year of Emperor Qin Shihuang was 213 BCE, some 281 years later.

Also in *Poxie Lun*, 484c:

“東天竺國有阿育王。收佛舍利。役使鬼兵散起八萬四千寶塔。遍閭浮提。我此漢地九州之內。並有寶塔。建塔之時。當此周敬王二十六年丁未歲也。塔興周世。經十二王。至秦始皇三十四年。焚燒典籍。育王諸塔由此隱亡。佛家經傳靡知所在。如釋道安朱士行等經錄目云。始皇之時。有外國沙門釋利房等一十八賢者。齎持佛經來化始皇。始皇弗從。遂囚禁房等。夜有金剛丈六人。來破獄出之。”

Tang Yongtong points out that the earliest record about this was in Fei Zhangfang's 費長房 *Lidai Sanbao Ji* (597 CE).

⁵⁰ The twelfth year of *yongping* 永平 in the Later Han is 69 CE. Shi Xiangzai, *Jiyuan Tongpu*, 224.

⁵¹ Believed to be the oldest Buddhist monastery in China, Whitehorse Temple 白馬寺 was built in the *yongping* years for Kasyapa Matanga 摩騰 and Dharmaratna 竺法蘭.

⁵² King Xiutu, or King Kara-nor, 休屠王 (?–119 BCE)

Emperor Ai in the Early Han Dynasty, Qin Jing was sent to Yuezhi as an envoy. Buddha's sūtras and teachings thus came to spread. So we know that it [Buddhism in China] started as early as before the Han Dynasty. It was not until sixty-three years later that Emperor Ming had a dream about a golden man.⁵³

Huo Qubing 霍去病 (140–117 BCE)

The earliest sources of "King Xiutu's golden statues" were in the authoritative chronicles *Shiji* and *Hanshu*. However, the golden statues were offered as a sacrifice to Xiongnu's "Master of Heaven 天主," and thus they should not represent the Buddha.

Shiji, 衛將軍驃騎列傳第五十一:

“冠軍侯去病既侯三歲。元狩二年春。以冠軍侯去病為驃騎將軍執渾邪王子及相國。都尉。首虜八千余級。收休屠祭天金人。。。 ”

Hanshu, 衛青霍去病傳第二十五:

“去病侯三歲。元狩二年春為驃騎將軍。將萬騎出隴西。有功。。。執渾邪王子及相國。都尉。捷首虜八千九百六十級。收休屠祭天金人。師率減什七。益封去病二千二百戶。 ”

So the golden statues were sacrificed for heaven. This assertion will be more evident if we look at the biography of Jin Ridi 金日磾, who was the son of King Kara-and who played an important role during the period of Emperor Wudi's 武帝 senility.

Hanshu, "Huo Guang Jin Ridi Zhuan 霍光金日磾傳第三十八":

“(金日磾)本以休屠作金人為祭天主。故因賜姓金氏云。 ”

⁵³ Here are the original sentences of *HKC*:

“又前漢哀帝時。秦景使月氏國。來傳浮屠經教。乃知前漢已行。六十三年而後明帝方感金人夢耳。 ”

I found these in Yancong's 彥棕 (648–688 CE, a disciple of Xuanzang 玄奘) *Ji Shamen Buying Baisudeng Shi* 集沙門不應拜俗等事, T52N2108, 470, which claims to have cited Yu Huan's 魚豢 *Wei Lue* 魏略:

“魏略西域傳云。。。前漢哀帝元狩中秦景使月氏。國王令太子口授於景。所以浮圖經教前漢早行。後六十三年明帝方感瑞夢也。 ”

Besides, in *Bianzheng Lun* 辯正論, another important work of Falin (T52N2110, 522):

“魏略西域傳云。。。前漢哀帝時秦景至月氏國。其王令太子授浮屠經。 ”

As for our East of the Sea, at the time of King Haemiryu-wang⁵⁴ of Koguryŏ,⁵⁵ Sundo⁵⁶ arrived in P'yŏngyang city. Then there was Maranant'a (Mālānanda),⁵⁷ who came to the kingdom of Paekche⁵⁸ from the Eastern Jin, when it was the time of King

So we can see that, according to the legend, Qin Jing went to the Yuezhi Kingdom as an envoy, Qin Jing learned Buddhism from the mouth of their crown prince, and thence Buddhist sūtras came to China.

There were no previous records about this story in official documents such as *Hanshu* and *Houhan Shu*. *Wei Lue* is now extant. Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372–451 CE) cited *Wei Lue* in his *Sanghuo Zhi Zhu* 三國志注. In Pei's citation, Qin Jing was called Jing Lu 景廬, and this latter name was more accepted. For more, see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 24–26.

⁵⁴ Haemiryu-wang: 解味留王 (r. 371–384 CE). He was the seventeenth king of Koguryŏ in Korea's early three-state period. Also called Sosurim-wang 小獸林王, he adopted Buddhism as well as established a National Confucian Academy (太學) in 372.

⁵⁵ Koguryŏ 高句麗 (37 BCE–668 CE), one of the early Three Han States 三韓, the one that successfully defeated Sui's 隋 invasions but was finally conquered by the allies of Tang and Silla.

⁵⁶ Sundo 順道: the first monk ever recorded as coming to the Korean Peninsula. His biography comes right after the preface in *HKC*, which says that it was not known where he was from and that he arrived in Koguryŏ in the second year of Haemiryu-wang, i.e., 372 CE. According to *Samguk Yusa*, Sundo was from Former Qin 前秦 (351–394 CE, founded by Fu Jian 苻堅).

⁵⁷ Maranant'a 摩羅難陀 (Sans. *Mālānanda*): the first monk ever recorded as coming to Paekche. From the descriptions in *Samguk Yusa*, *Samguk Sagi* 三國史記, and his biography in the latter part of *HKC*, he arrived in Paekche in the first year of Ch'imnyu-wang 枕流王 (the fifteenth king of Paekche, r. 384–385 CE). *Samguk Sagi* was the official chronicle of the (early and later) Three Han States, finished in 1146 during Koryŏ Dynasty by Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075–1151).

⁵⁸ Paekche 百濟 (18 BCE–660 CE), one of the early Three Han States, the one occupying the southwest Korean Peninsula, also perished from the attacks of Tang and Silla allies.

Ch'imnyu-wang. Later, when the twenty-third king of Silla,⁵⁹ King Pŏphŭng-wang,⁶⁰ had mounted the throne, on the eleventh of the third month in the year of *ding-wei*,⁶¹ that is, the first year of Datong in the Liang Dynasty, Ado⁶² came and arrived at Ilsŏn county.⁶³

⁵⁹ Silla 新羅 (57 BCE–935 CE) was originally one of the early Three Han States. Employing effective strategy, Silla made use of Tang to help defeat and conquer Koguryŏ and Paekche, and thus unify the early Three Han States. Soon after that, Silla expelled Tang's army. The period between 668 (or 676) and 892 CE is called United Silla 統一新羅. United Silla did not have control over the whole Korean Peninsula, because the north was then occupied by Bohai 渤海 (Parhae in Korean, 668–926), a state founded primarily by Mohe 靺鞨 people (Malgai in Korean, ethnically related to the Jurchens). After 892 CE, Silla collapsed into the rule of local powers again, and Korea entered the late Three Han States: late Koryŏ 後高麗, late Paekche 後百濟, and Silla. In 935 CE, the last Silla king surrendered to Koryŏ. See Carter J. Eckert, et al. (eds.), *Korea, Old and New: A History* (Seoul: Ilchokak, 1990), 60–64.

⁶⁰ Pŏphŭng-wang 法興王 (r. 514–540 CE), twenty-third king of Silla, had the secular name Kim Wŏnjong 金原宗. His biography is available in the existing first chapter of *HKC*. Kim Wŏnjong became a monk with the Buddhist name Sok Pŏpkong 釋法空. Largely because of his missionary activities, Silla soon caught up and surpassed the other two states in Buddhist practice during the sixth century.

⁶¹ Pŏphŭng-wang mounted the throne in 514, which was the year of *jia-wu* 甲午; the first year of Datong 大通 in the Liang Dynasty was 527, which was indeed *ding-wei* 丁未. They were not the same year.

⁶² We are not certain about the date Ado 阿道 came to Silla because of contradictions between different sources. *Samguk Sagi* dated Ado over half a century earlier, to the time of Nulchi-wang 訥祗王 (r. 417–458 CE, the nineteenth king of Silla):

“(新國本紀)初訥祗王時。沙門黑胡子自高句麗至一善郡。郡人毛禮于家中作室安置。于時。梁遣使賜衣着香物。群臣不知其香名與其使用。遣人賚香遍問。黑胡子見之。稱其名目曰。。。”

Because of the believer Morye,⁶⁴ he hid [in Morye's home]. Just then an ambassador from the kingdom of Wu⁶⁵ was present [burning incense for King Pŏphŭng-wang], and Ado directed them in the ritual of burning incense as a ceremony. Because of this, he was invited to the Palace. However, his Buddhist teaching did not spread widely. A lowly person,⁶⁶ Yŏmchŏk,⁶⁷ wholeheartedly talked to the King and bravely stopped the

He Jingsong argued that this Hŭkhoja 黑胡子 was Ado in *HKC*. *Samguk Yusa* cited this part of Ato. It is not clear whether Ado was originally from Koguryŏ, India, or somewhere else, because arriving from Koguryŏ was not sufficient to imply that he was a Koguryŏ person. If 胡子 meant beard, Ato's distinguishing appearance probably indicated he was from the west; another interpretation of 胡子 was simply "westerner." See He Jingsong, *Hanguo Fojiao Shi*, 16–18.

⁶³ Yil San prefecture 一善縣 was a variant of 一善郡, as in *Samguk Sagi* and *Samguk Yusa*.

⁶⁴ Morye 毛禮.

⁶⁵ None of the Wu 吳 dynasties in China would fit here. It is probably a the miswriting of Liang 梁 (502–557 CE), as is clear from Ado's biography in *HKC*. If we accept the timeline of *Samguk Sagi*, Wu would be Song 宋 (420–479 CE).

⁶⁶ There is a bibliography of Yŏmch'ok 厭髑 in *Samguk Yusa* where his status is indicated as,
“(原宗興法·厭髑減身)舍人, 羅爵有大舍小舍等。蓋下士之秩。”

Also in the later part of *HKC*,

“(King Pŏphŭng said to Yŏmch'ok)王大加嗟賞曰: 汝是布衣, 意懷錦繡。”

So Yŏmch'ok, a person who sacrificed his own life to convince people of the truth of the dharma, was in fact a “low person.”

⁶⁷ Yŏmch'ok may also be written as Ich'adon 異次頓 due to different Korean accents. We cite a more detailed description from *Samguk Yusa* for reference:

“(原宗興法·厭髑減身)粵有內養者。姓朴字厭髑(或作異次。或云伊處。方音之別也。譯云厭也。髑、頓、道、睹、獨等皆隨書者之便。乃助辭也。今譯上不譯下。故云厭髑。又厭睹等也)。其父未詳。。。舍人曰。一切難捨。不過身命。然小臣夕死。大教朝行。佛日

citizens' doubts [about Buddhism]. Ah! Without that person, what belief could we have followed!

After that, people like Wŏn'gwang⁶⁸ and Chajang⁶⁹ went to the west [China] and passed on Buddhist teaching when they returned. High and low, all believed in and respected it; inside and outside, all accepted and practiced. Some called out first and others responded later; the belief grew every day and every month. Thus it resulted that

再中。聖主長安。。。敕令斬之。有司縛到衙下。舍人作誓。獄吏斬之。白乳湧出一丈(鄉傳云。舍人誓曰。大聖法王。欲興佛教。不顧身命。多劫結緣。天垂瑞祥。遍示人庶。於是其頭飛出。落於金剛山頂云云)。。。 ”

⁶⁸ Wŏn'gwang's 圓光 (?–640 CE) biography existed not only in *HKC* and *Samguk Yusa*, but also in Daoxuan's *Xu Gaoseng Zhuan*. He was born in an elite family of Silla. Quite learned, but feeling inferior to China's best, he went to Jinling 金陵 to learn the most advanced Buddhist knowledge at the age of twenty-five. He succeeded in profound achievement, especially in the study of Nirvāna, Satyasiddhi 成實, Maha-prajnaparamit, Samparigraha-sastra 攝論, and Vinaya 戒律, and he was respected even in China's capital. See He Jingsong, *Hanguo Fojiao Shi*, 55–74.

⁶⁹ Because a large part of *HKC* is now lost, Chajang's 慈藏 biography is also absent; whereas both *Samguk Yusa* and *Xu Gaoseng Zhuan* contain deeds of Chajang. Like Wŏn'gwang, Chajang was from a very noble family of Silla, and went to China to pursue the best knowledge. *Samguk Yusa* said he lamented living in a remote region and wished for the best enlightenment, “藏自嘆邊生。西希大化。” He returned to Silla in 643 and founded the Kyeyul 戒律 (Doctrinal) school in Korea. Chajang had considerable scholarship in the areas of Kyeyul 戒律 and Wonyung 圓融 (a Korean lineage of Huayan). He also promoted building numerous temples and pagoda towers in Korea, which helped to initiate the role of Buddhism as a national religion. See He Jingsong, *Hanguo Fojiao Shi*, 75–93. Moreover, according to Dao Shi's 道施 *Fa Yuan Zhu Lin* 法苑珠林 (T53N2122), Chajang died during Tang's Yonghui 永徽 years (650–55).

the Three Han States⁷⁰ as well as our Holy King⁷¹ discarded the old, initiated the new,⁷² and revered Buddhism especially. All the regulations followed Buddhism for the most part. The kings, who conserved culture and inherited rituals, passed Buddhism on and kept it from being lost. Our National Teacher Taegak Kuksa,⁷³ who was King Taejo's⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Three Han 三韓, originally referred to the three ancient tribes on the Korean Peninsula: Mahan 馬韓, Pyonhan 弁韓 and Chinhan 辰韓. But it has also been used to mean the three more established states, the so-called Three Kingdoms 三國: Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla. Less commonly, we could also use Three Han to mean the later Three Han States, Koryŏ (before it unified the other two in 936 CE), late Paekche and Silla (after 892 CE). Because of the context here, the last interpretation should be applied, i.e., the later Three States.

⁷¹ This Holy King 聖祖 was Wang Kŏn 王建 (877–943 CE), founder of Wang's Koryŏ dynasty. He unified the Korean Peninsula in 936 CE and had the posthumous title T'aejo Sinsong Taewang 太祖神聖大王.

⁷² As for "discarded the old, initiated the new," the original phrase as in *Taishō* is 革舊鼎, which would not make sense. Both Yi Nŭng-hwa's and Ch'oe Nam-sŏn's scripts show it as 革舊鼎新, and the solution naturally follows. See Chang Hwi-ok 章輝玉, *Haedong Kosŭngjŏn Yŏn'gu* 海東高僧傳研究 (Seoul: Minjoksa 民族社, 1991), 223.

⁷³ State Preceptor Taegak Kuksa 大覺國師 (1055–1101) was the posthumous title of Ŭich'ŏn 義天. The secular name of Ŭich'ŏn was Wang Hu 王煦. Because 煦 was also the first name of Emperor Zhezong 哲宗 of the Song court, Ŭich'ŏn was used to avoid that taboo. *Koryŏsa*, 43, "(列傳·宗室一)文宗十三子。仁睿太後李氏生順宗、宣宗、肅宗、大覺國師煦。。。字義天。避宋哲宗諱以字行。"

Ŭich'ŏn's biography was probably neglected by *HKC* instead of being missing, because he was too recent at the time of writing. However, his influence in Korea's intellectual development, especially in Buddhist philosophy, was invaluable. As the favored fourth son of Munjong 文宗 (r. 1047–1083 CE), Ŭich'ŏn became a monk in Yŏngt'ong-sa Temple 靈通寺 upon his own request at the age of eleven. He started learning Hwaŏm 華嚴 in Koryŏ, and went to Song to further his education. In China Huayan had declined since the Huichang Persecution in late Tang period, and

offspring of the fourth generation, sailed to seek for Dharma in the fourth month of the year of *yi-chou*, that is, the third year of King Sŏn-wang.⁷⁵ Arriving at the east of the sea

it was Ŭich'ŏn who brought from Koryŏ about three hundred precious volumes of Huayan classics that undoubtedly helped revive the Chinese Huayan tradition. By studying with leading Chinese Buddhist scholars of different lineages, he achieved a good knowledge of every major tradition in the end: Huayan, Chan, Tiantai, Doctrinal, and Pure Land. In Korea, Hwaŏm (Huayan), Kyo (Doctrinal), and Sŏn (Chan) were most prevalent during the early period of the Koryŏ Dynasty, while the conflicts between different traditions were increasingly heated. As a respected master in Hwaŏm and Ch'ŏnt'ae (Tiantai), and erudite in other teachings as well, Ŭich'ŏn reformed the Koryŏ Buddhist world by propagating Ch'ŏnt'ae teaching through an ecumenical approach in order to unify different schools, and thus he resolved most debates. See Yi Ki-baek, *A New History of Korea*, 130–132, and Lee et al. (eds.), *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, 384–385.

⁷⁴ Taejo 太祖, variant of T'aejo 太祖, referred to Wang Kŏn.

⁷⁵ Sŏn-wang 宣王, actually the Sŏn-jong 宣宗, reigned 1084–1094 CE. The third year of Sŏn-jong was 1086, the year of *bing-yin* 丙寅 instead of *yi-chou* 乙丑. On the other hand, 1085 was indeed the year of *yi-chou*. Furthermore, according to *Songshi*, Ŭich'ŏn visited the Song court in the eighth year of Yuanfeng 元豐, Emperor Shenzong 神宗, which was in 1085:

“(宋史·高麗列傳)(元豐)八年。(Sŏn-wang)遣其弟僧統來朝。求問佛法並獻經像。”

“Sŭngt'ong 僧統” mentioned above was an honorary title/position of Ŭich'ŏn. In Koryŏ, Sŭngt'ong was the sixth and highest rank in the monastic hierarchy of the Buddhist church (sŭngjik 僧職). See Hŏ Hŭngsik 許興植, *Kŏryo Pulgyosa yŏn'gu* 高麗佛教史研究 (Seoul: Ilchogak 一潮閣, 1986), 356-390.

It seems as though the authors of this part of *Songshi* were not aware that Sŭngt'ong and Ŭich'ŏn referred to the same person, although it was the fact and was evident from *Songshi* itself: “(宋史·高麗列傳)元祐四年。其王子義天使僧壽介至杭州祭亡僧。言國母使持二金塔為兩宮壽。”

It becomes clear if we compare it to related sentences in Su Shi's biography:

[he came back]. Taegak Kuksa guided the hundred lineages of the five classifications of Hīnayāna, Shi, Zhong, Dun, and Yuan⁷⁶ to take each its appropriate position, and Buddhism thus again returned to the right direction.

Nevertheless, Buddhism originated in the Zhou Dynasty; it was divided into schools in the Han Dynasty; it expanded to be as vast as the ocean in the Jin and Wei Dynasties; overflowed in the Sui and Tang Dynasties; spread in the Song Dynasty, and [lastly] broadened and deepened in [our] East of the Sea. Everything taken into account, it has been 2164 years until now, the year of *yihai*, since the Buddha went into nirvāna. And 1014 years after the Buddha went into nirvāna, Buddhism entered the Later Han Dynasty, and today it has been 1051 years. It has been 844 years since Sundo entered

“(宋史·蘇軾列傳)元豐末。其王子義天來朝。因往拜焉。至是。淨源死。其徒竊持其像。附舶往告。義天亦使其徒來祭。因持其國母二金塔。云祝兩宮壽。”

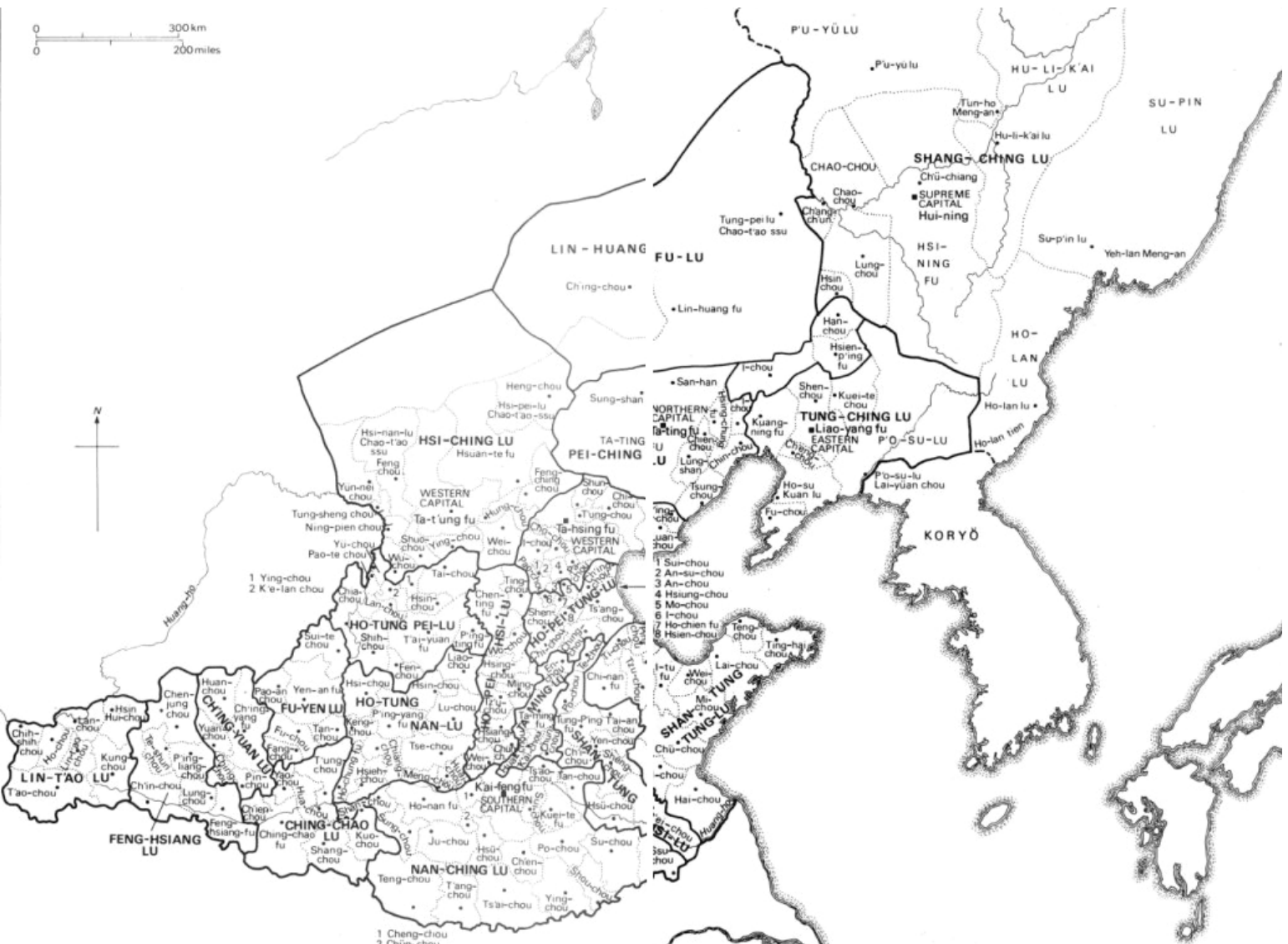
So according to *Song Shi*, the year Ŭich’ŏn came to Song ought to be “the second year of Sŏn-wang,” instead of the third.

⁷⁶ *Panjiao* 判教 here refers to the five-fold doctrinal classification system employed by Fazang, Chinese Huayan’s third patriarch. *Xiaosheng Jiao* 小乘教 Hīnayāna Teaching (Śrāvaka 愚法聲聞教); *Dasheng Shijiao* 大乘始教 Māhā Purva or Elementary Māhāyāna (Quanjiao 權教, Pure Land sūtras, etc.); *Dasheng Zhongjiao* 大乘終教 Māhā Carama or Final Teaching (Shijiao 實教, Lotus and Nirvāna sutras); *Dasheng Dunjiao* 大乘頓教 Māhā Sakrt-katha or Sudden Teaching; and *Dasheng Yuanjiao* 大乘圓教 Māhā Parimandala-katha or Round/Complete/Perfect Teaching (Huayan’s Avatamsaka sūtra). Here the character 小 should functionally represent “small,” following the character “大”; however it also vaguely conveys the meaning “Hīna.” Hence, the imperfect expression “大小始終頓圓之五教” refers to all the different large and small schools in Koryŏ. In fact, Koryŏ Buddhism itself was divided into five major schools 五教: Kyeyul-jong 戒律宗, Yŏlban-jong 涅槃宗, Pŏpsŏng-jong 法性宗, Hwaŏm-jong 華嚴宗 (sometimes also called Wŏnyung-jong 圓融宗), and Pŏpsang-jong 法相宗. Cf. Fazang, *Huayan Yisheng Jiaoyi Fenqizhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 (T45N1866) and Lao Siguang, *Zhongguo Zhixue Shi*, 331–335, “華嚴宗之判教理論.” Hŏ Hŭngsik discussed all the extant Koryŏ schools in his Kŏryo Pulgyosa yŏn’gu.

Kogury.⁷⁷ Moreover, the way [of truth] cannot expand by itself, and it has to be propagated by people. So I write this chapter to circulate to the people who will come later. By the way, the ancient Eminent Monks’ Biographies of the Liang, Tang, and Song dynasties⁷⁸ each contains a section of *sūtra* translators. Because there has been no *sūtra* translation in our country, such content does not exist here.

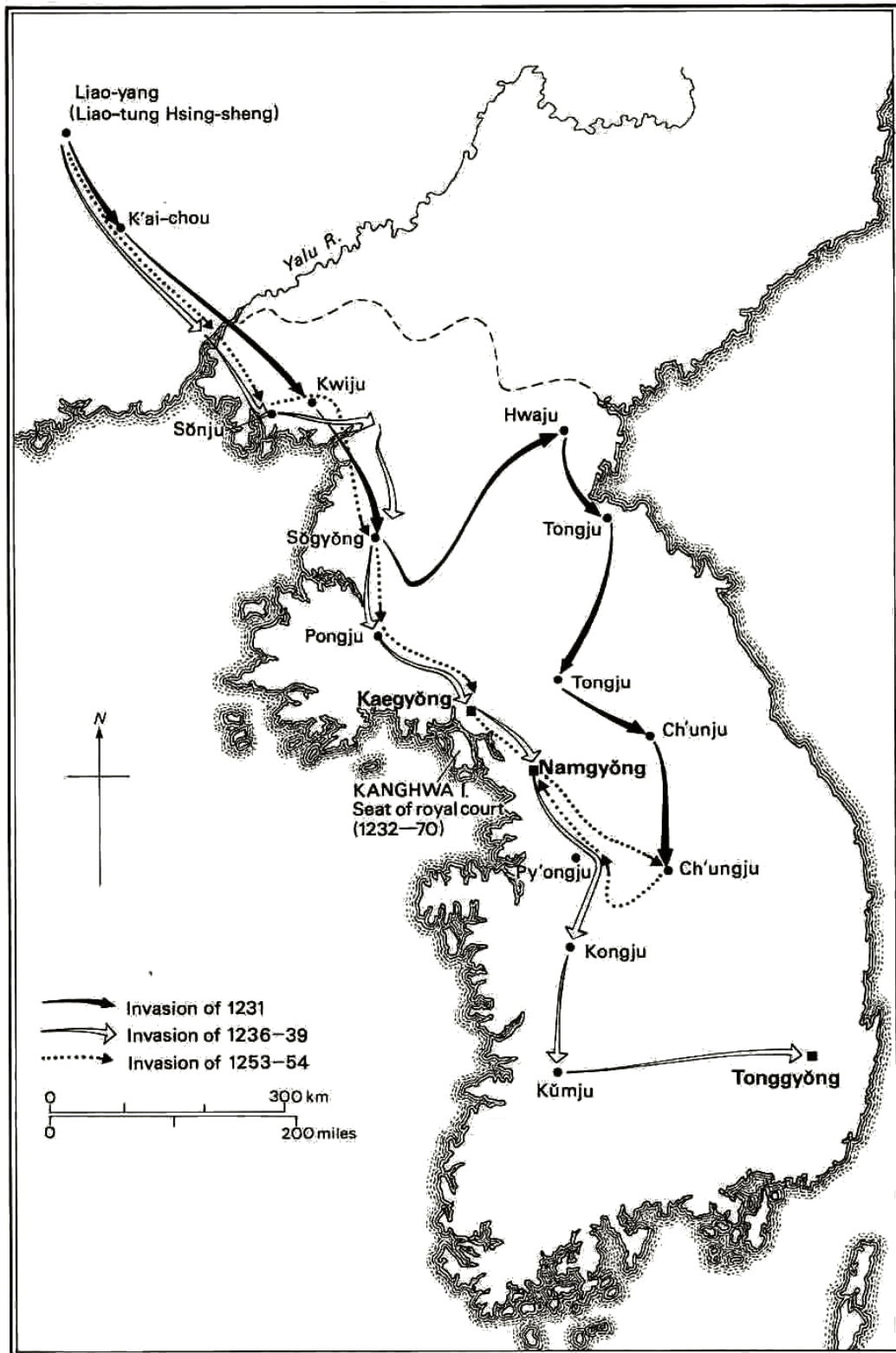
⁷⁷ From this we know *HKC* was composed in 1215 CE (844 years after 372).

⁷⁸ Eminent Monks’ Biographies of the Liang, Tang, and Song, respectively: *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳 by Huijiao 慧皎, *Xu Gaoseng Zhuan* 續高僧傳 by Daoxuan 道宣, and *Song Gaoseng Zhuan* 宋高僧傳 by Zanning 贊寧.



Map 1. The Chin Empire (in its late period, i.e., since 1142).¹

¹ Photocopied from Denis C. Twitchett and Herbert Franke (eds.), *Allen Regimes and Border States*, 907–1368, *The Cambridge History of China: Vol. 6*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 236–237.



Map 2. The Mongolian invasions of Koryŏ.²

² The same as above: Twitchett and Franke (eds.), *Alien Regimes*, 371.

Appendix 1. The Preface of *HKC* 海東高僧傳¹

<p>論曰夫佛陀之爲教也性相常住悲願洪深</p>	<p>流通一之一</p> <p>京北五冠山靈通寺住持教學 賜紫沙門以覺訓奉 宣預</p>	<p>No. 2065</p> <p>海東高僧傳卷第一</p> <p>郡人作佛事者亡幸其來以爲冥驗得助紹 興末年卒肉身久而不壞</p> <p>國師膽巴者一名功高葛刺思西番突甘斯 且麻人幼從西天竺古達麻失利傳習梵祕 得其法要世祖中統間帝師八思巴薦之時 懷孟大旱世祖命禱之立雨又嘗呪食投龍 漱頃之奇花異果湧出波面取以上進世祖 大悅樞密副使月的迷失鎮潮而妻得奇疾 膽巴以所持數珠加其身即愈又嘗爲月的 迷失言異夢及已還朝期後皆驗元貞間海 都犯西番界成宗命禱于摩訶刺神已而 捷音果至又爲成宗禱疾遺愈賜予甚厚且 詔分御前校尉十人爲之導從成宗北巡命 膽巴以象輿前導過雲川語諸弟子曰此地 有靈怪恐驚輿與當密持神呪以厭之未幾 風雨大至衆咸驚懼輿輟殿無虞復賜碧銅 杯一大德七年夏卒皇慶間追號大覺普慈 廣照無上膽巴帝師</p> <p>神僧傳卷第九</p>
<p>三際通十方雨霖以潤之雷霆以鼓之不 行而至不疾而速五日不能觀其容四辯莫 能談其狀其體也無去無來其用也有生有 滅故我釋迦如來從兜率天乘白寶輪閣入 摩耶胎以周昭王甲寅四月初八日遂開右 脇生於淨飯王宮其夜五色光氣入貫大微 通於西方昭王問太史蒙由曰有大聖人生 於西方問利害曰此時無他一千年後聲 教被此土焉始處宮中亦同世俗夢四十二 年甲申四月八日佛年三十離城出家遂坐 樹成道轉法利生如優曇花時一現耳初說 華嚴大說小乘或般若深密或法華涅槃 隨機普被任器方圓其猶一風而萬竅齊號 孤月而千江皆現四十九年度脫群品列子 所謂西方有聖人者是也時文殊與目連 爲化人亦遇子震旦佛年七十九以移王王 申二月十五日入滅於娑林白虹十二道連 夜不絕王問太史愚多曰西方大聖人方滅 度耳於是阿難等結集金言具載具詳經律 論戒定慧愛方啓行然雜華恒常之說隱入 于真宮邪宗駭肆異部蛙鳴既而馬鳴乾起 挺生及陳那護法唱之和之推邪現正演義 中宗廣大悉備乎西域將有特而東驅矣自 佛滅一百十六年東天竺國阿育王收佛舍 利役使鬼兵散起八萬四千寶塔遍閼浮提 時當周敬王二十六年丁未也塔興周世經 二十二王至秦始皇三十四年焚燒典籍育 王寶塔由是隱亡當是時沙門利方十八賢 者共持佛經來化咸陽秦始皇不從而囚之</p>	<p>夜有金剛丈人破獄出之而去蓋機緣未熟 故也及後漢永平十二年摩騰竺法蘭來儀 漢庭慈雲布於九州法雨灑於四海然按靈 去病傳云得休屠王祭天金人則像設似先 入於沙漠矣又前漢哀帝時秦景使月氏國 來傳浮屠經教乃知前漢已行六十三年前 後明帝方感金人夢耳若我海東則高句麗 解味留王時順道至平壤城繼有摩羅難陀 從晉來千百濟國則枕流王代也後於新羅 第二十三法興王踐祚梁大通元年丁未三 月十一日阿道來止一善縣因信士毛禮暨 焉屬有吳使者香道指其焚點之儀由是延 致王宮然其教未闢舍人厭觸赤心而內 勇決國人之疑噫微夫子吾當從何教也自 爾圓光慈嚴之徒西入傳法上下信敬內外 奉行先呼而後應日盛而月增遂使於三韓 及我聖祖聖宗舊鼎尤尊佛教凡制度多用佛 教守文繼證之君傳而不失惟太祖四代孫 大覺國師於宣王三年乙丑四月航海求法 東至于洋尋其百派大小始終頓圓之五教 各得其所復歸于正然源乎周漢乎漢汪洋 於晉魏汗漫於隋唐波之於宋而瀾法於海 東也都算佛入滅至今乙亥二千一百六十 四年滅後第一千一百四十四年入後漢至今 一千一百五十四年自順道入句高麗至今八 百四十四年矣且道不自弘弘之由人故 著流通篇以示于後按古梁唐宋三高僧傳 皆有譯經以我本朝無翻譯之事故不在此 科也</p>	<p>將三際通十方雨霖以潤之雷霆以鼓之不 行而至不疾而速五日不能觀其容四辯莫 能談其狀其體也無去無來其用也有生有 滅故我釋迦如來從兜率天乘白寶輪閣入 摩耶胎以周昭王甲寅四月初八日遂開右 脇生於淨飯王宮其夜五色光氣入貫大微 通於西方昭王問太史蒙由曰有大聖人生 於西方問利害曰此時無他一千年後聲 教被此土焉始處宮中亦同世俗夢四十二 年甲申四月八日佛年三十離城出家遂坐 樹成道轉法利生如優曇花時一現耳初說 華嚴大說小乘或般若深密或法華涅槃 隨機普被任器方圓其猶一風而萬竅齊號 孤月而千江皆現四十九年度脫群品列子 所謂西方有聖人者是也時文殊與目連 爲化人亦遇子震旦佛年七十九以移王王 申二月十五日入滅於娑林白虹十二道連 夜不絕王問太史愚多曰西方大聖人方滅 度耳於是阿難等結集金言具載具詳經律 論戒定慧愛方啓行然雜華恒常之說隱入 于真宮邪宗駭肆異部蛙鳴既而馬鳴乾起 挺生及陳那護法唱之和之推邪現正演義 中宗廣大悉備乎西域將有特而東驅矣自 佛滅一百十六年東天竺國阿育王收佛舍 利役使鬼兵散起八萬四千寶塔遍閼浮提 時當周敬王二十六年丁未也塔興周世經 二十二王至秦始皇三十四年焚燒典籍育 王寶塔由是隱亡當是時沙門利方十八賢 者共持佛經來化咸陽秦始皇不從而囚之</p>

①述于二述于？ ②一于？ ③姓什下見 ④家當高麗高宗二年支那南宋寧宗嘉定八年此傳之著述年比年

¹ HKC, T50N2065, 2015.

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