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KYUNYŎ-JŎN:

THE LIFE, TIMES AND SONGS OF A TENTH CENTURY KOREAN MONK

CHŎNG HYŎNGNYŎN
Translated by ADRIAN BUZO AND TONY PRINCE

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Dedicated

with respect and deep affection

to the memory of

Professor A. R. Davis

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Adrian Buzo has lectured and published widely on Korean literature and society. He received his M.A. degree in Korean Language and Literature from Dankook University in 1981, and was appointed Lecturer in Korean Studies at what is now Swinburne University of Technology in 1989. He was appointed Executive Director of the newly established National Korean Studies Centre in November 1990. Mr Buzo is a member of the Australia-Korea Foundation Board, and in addition to authoring a number of Korean language textbooks, was editor of the Australian Government report *Korea to the Year 2000: Implications for Australia* (1992).

Tony Prince received his B.A. and Ph.D. in Chinese Studies at the University of Sydney. He subsequently spent four years in Taiwan, studying Chinese Buddhism and teaching at the College of Chinese Culture (now the Chinese Culture University) and the China Academy. After a further two years of study in Japan, he returned to Australia in 1977 to take up a lectureship at the University of Sydney, where he is currently Senior Lecturer in Chinese Studies. His main research interest is the Hua Yen School of Chinese Buddhism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* has long been regarded as one of the most significant documents of the Koryŏ Period (918-1392), but its proper translation requires expertise in a number of fields, including classical Chinese language and literature, Hua Yen Buddhism, Koryŏ history, and Old Korean language and literature. During a series of informal sessions at the University of Sydney during the early 1980s, Dr Prince and I became increasingly impressed with the fact that together we were fortunate enough to possess sufficient expertise in these fields for a long-overdue attempt to bring it before a wider audience. This translation is the result.

For my part, I would like to express particular thanks to Professor Nam P'ung-hyŏn of Dankook University, Seoul, who first guided me through the work and then later offered many helpful comments, and to others at Dankook who assisted in so many ways, especially University President Chang Ch'ung-sik.

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Finally, it remains for us to accept corporate responsibility for the final translation, opinions and interpretations contained herein. If pressed, responsibility may be attributed as follows: Dr Prince is primarily responsible in the Buddhist studies and Chinese literary domains, while the actual translation was a joint effort. I am primarily responsible in the domains of Korean history, language and literature. Praise, blame and correspondence should be directed accordingly.

Adrian Buzo

Sydney

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ABBREVIATIONS

BhCP *Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna*

CKC *Chosŏn kŭmsŏk ch'ongnam*

DN *Dīgha Nikāya* (Pali Text Society Edition)

GSR Pronunciation according to the *Grammata Serica Recensa*

GVS *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*

HKY *Han'guk kūmsŏk yumun*

HYS *Hua Yen Sūtra*

60HY Buddhabhadra's translation of the HYS in 60 fascicles

80HY Śikṣhānanda's translation of the HYS in 80 fascicles

40HY Prajña's translation of the GVS in 40 fascicles

KS *Koryŏ-sa*

KYJ *Kyunyŏ-jŏn*

SGSG *Samguk sagi*

SGYS *Samguk yusa*

SN *Saṁyutta Nikāya* (Pali Text Society edition)

ST Supplement to the Tripitaka

T *Taishō Daizōkyō*

TMS *Tongmunsŏn*

Note on the transcription of Sanskrit terms:

Where it seemed appropriate some words, such as "Mahayana" and "Nirvana", have been treated as English words, and diacritics have been omitted.

INTRODUCTION

The document generally known as the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn*, or A*ccount of the Life of Kyunyŏ*[1]was written during the winter of 1074-5 by a Koryŏ court official named Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng. It is a brief, episodic account of the life of the early Koryŏ monk Kyunyŏ (923-973), to whom Hyŏngnyŏn ascribes a key role in the propagation of Korean Hwaŏm (Hua Yen) Buddhism in Koryŏ, and as such it takes its place in the broad genre of Koryŏ Buddhist biographic/hagiographic works that have survived on contemporary inscriptions, in sections of longer works such as the *Samguk yusa* (mid-thirteenth century), and in whole works such as the *Haedong kosŭng-jŏn* (1215).

Kyunyŏ is the earliest Hwaŏm figure whose writings have largely been preserved. Unlike Wŏnhyo and Ŭisang, whose works have only survived in fragments, it is possible to gain a reasonably broad grasp of the range of Kyunyŏ's doctrinal concerns through his writings. The *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* therefore has particular significance, since it permits these writings to be set against a personal, social and historical background.

Kyunyŏ's biographer was a court official and a scholar, and thus his grasp of secular events was strong. However his prime purpose was not, of course, simply to relate such events. His aim was to give an account of the life of Kyunyŏ, in such a manner as to demonstrate the spiritual authority of the monk whom he claims as the most significant and influential Buddhist of the Hwaŏm school to have lived under the Koryŏ dynasty to date. The resulting hagiographic dimension not only provides a nonpareil picture of the norms and standards of the medieval Korean Buddhist organization, but also of the close nexus between state and religious affairs in early Koryŏ, a topic on which the secular histories are almost entirely silent.

Furthermore, this is a picture that emerges not only directly through the narrative of

Hyŏngnyŏn himself but also through the lengthy and eloquent essay written by Ch'oe Haenggwi, a contemporary of Kyunyŏ, which Hyŏngnyŏn has incorporated into his text, and in which Ch'oe, too, highly appraises the achievements of Kyunyŏ. Ch'oe Haenggwi's essay comprises one of two significant incorporations in Hyŏngnyŏn's work, the other being a cycle of eleven songs with accompanying preface, composed by Kyunyŏ himself. It is the presence of these songs, composed in the Korean language, and written in the Korean *hyangch'al* script that gives the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* immense significance as a source for early Korean language and literature studies, such that these aspects have exercised a near monopoly on attention paid to the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* since its rediscovery in the early 1920s. This significance arises not only because these songs represent eleven of a total corpus of only twenty-five short songs that have survived from pre-fourteenth century Korea, but also because the integrity of their text contrasts strongly with the many doubts that surround that of the texts of the other fourteen songs, all of which have been preserved in the *Samguk yusa.*

Moreover, Kyunyŏ's songs come with supporting Chinese texts to aid the deciphering of the *hyangch'al* script, for not only were the songs themselves based directly and closely on what was probably the most widely disseminated and popularly known Hua Yen text of this era, the *Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna* or *Commitment to Virtuous Practice,* but also the essential purpose of Ch'oe Haenggwi's essay in the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* is to provide renderings of Kyunyŏ's songs into the Chinese *shih* poetic form.

In his essay, Ch'oe Haenggwi praises Kyunyŏ highly as a composer of such secular songs on Buddhist themes. In so doing, he elaborates considerably on the literary tradition of which Kyunyŏ's songs were a part, and in addition to preserving the names of otherwise unknown leading practitioners of the Korean lyrical song form *ka* from preceding centuries, his text is also important as the source of a number of literary

allusions and descriptions that have helped to define with greater precision aspects of form and style in Silla and early Koryŏ songs. Futher, in more general terms, Ch'oe's work is important for the world-view it contains of a tenth-century Koryŏ man of letters writing about, and comparing his own country's literature with that of China, a country he was deeply familiar with,[2] several hundred years before the era when the predominance of Neo-Confucianism in Korea drastically altered the terms of such comparisons.

The *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* is also valuable for the light it sheds on aspects of contemporary Korean history. Hyŏngnyŏn was writing in a time when the Koryŏ court was absorbed in two especially significant affairs of state—the resumption of full relations with Sung China, and the completion of a century-long process of accumulating a definitively complete library of extant Buddhist writings. His indirect reflections of these two interrelated concerns are therefore a valuable addition to the otherwise sparse Korean sources for this period. Secondly, he is writing about the life of a monk intimately connected with affairs of state during the 950s, a decade of immense significance for the evolution of the Koryŏ state. This is likewise a period about which very little is known outside of the dynastic histories, and Hyŏngnyŏn's work is thus a valuable supplement.

While it is not really surprising that scholars in the modern era should have tended to approach the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* almost exclusively in terms of the light that the contributions of Kyunyŏ and Ch'oe Haenggwi can shed on early Korean language and literature, this has inevitably led to some significant methodological shortcomings. For example, more than fifty years were to pass from its rediscovery in 1921 until the first reasonably comprehensive treatment of Kyunyŏ's life and works began to appear, [3] and the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* has not yet been properly analysed as a document in its own right, despite the obvious importance a consideration of the whole might have for a

proper consideration of its parts. The motives of Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng, the circumstances in which he wrote his work, and the Buddhist aspects of the work thus remain subjects almost entirely untreated, or even uncommented upon.

In sum, a methodology analysing the nature of the document and the doctrine it expresses as the logical point of departure from which to approach the enormously valuable information it contains has been slow to emerge. This present work seeks to redress this by examining the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* as a document first, and then evaluating its literary works and references accordingly.

The Author of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn*

Little is known about the author of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn*. It is not even entirely clear whether his family name was Hyŏk or Hyŏngnyŏn, for both names appear to have been current, albeit highly uncommon, in eleventh-century Koryŏ,[4] and it is not possible to link him with any known clans or families by either name. The fact that he refers to himself as simply "Chŏng" at one point in the document suggests that his family name was in fact Hyŏngnyŏn, for the omission of the family name is a conventional form of literary reference elsewhere in the document, and hence if his family name were just Hyŏk, he would have referred to himself as "Yŏnjŏng".

Nothing at all is known about Hyŏngnyŏn beyond what might be gleaned from the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* itself, and from two brief notices in the *Koryŏ-sa*. In the first of these notices, it is recorded for the 11th month 1100 that "Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng went to Liao and presented (the Liao Court with) goods from Koryŏ." (KS 11.24B.3). Five years later, in November 1105, the *Koryŏ-sa* records Hyŏngnyŏn's appointment as Superintendent Examiner of the Scholars of the Chang-ak Pavilion (KS 12.17A.2). Since the Koryŏ-sa does not elaborate on this position, nor does it carry notices of any other incumbents to it, it is difficult to judge the significance of this appointment

beyond the fact that it must have been a position of some significance to warrant mention. Before conversion into a chapel in 1126 (KS 15.23B.6), the Chang-ak Pavilion is frequently mentioned in Hyŏngnyŏn's time as a location for official banquets, and it seems probable from the title of Hyŏngnyŏn's position that activities relating to the civil service examination were also carried on there, for which he may have been some type of chief adjudicator.

Taken together, these two references present Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng as a person of high official standing and of recognized scholarship. Little can be added to this from his hand in the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* some twenty-five years earlier, beyond that he was a layman, already the holder of a *chinsa* degree in 1075, and already able enough in letters to be the recipient of a commission from a monk of senior rank to write the biography of a person regarded in influential official quarters as the most significant Hwaŏm teacher yet produced by the dynasty.

The Work

In his foreword, Hyŏngnyŏn gives two reasons for undertaking to write an account of Kyunyŏ's life. He refers to some unspecified dissatisfaction, which he says he shares, with a recent work of a Palace Chronicler, Kang Yuhyŏn, on Kyunyŏ on the grounds that "it omitted many things", and implies that this led to his being approached by the Great Master Ch'ang'un to arrange an attested record of Kyunyŏ's life in biographic form. Since Kang's work is now lost, and since nothing else is known of Ch'ang'un, their respective attitudes to Kyunyŏ can only be guessed at.

The work that resulted consists of ten chapters, bracketed by a Foreword and an Afterword. It is twenty-eight pages long, each page containing eleven lines with a variable number of characters on each full line, usually twenty to twenty-three. The division into ten chapters was itself a stylistic device, invoking the special

significance that the number ten had for the Hua Yen school as a symbol of completeness, and Hyŏngnyŏn would certainly have been aware of the example of the ten-chapter biography of Fa-tsang by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (857-?),[5] to mention just one such work, in ordering his own work in this way.

The work opens with Hyŏngnyŏn's brief Foreword, in which he announces the significance of Kyunyŏ in a series of three parallel sentences which place him alongside Nāgārjuna (second century A.D.), who is credited by tradition as being the one who put the Hua Yen teachings into circulation, and Ŭisang (625-702), who was the First Patriarch of the Hwaŏm school. As for Kyunyŏ, it is claimed that it was due to him that Hwaŏm teachings first became widespread in Koryŏ. Hyŏngnyŏn then explains briefly how he came to write his work, and the Foreword concludes with a list of the ten chapter headings for the work.

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 are a mildly hagiographical account of Kyunyŏ's birth, early life and entry into temple life respectively. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with his early activities as a monk, and also provide an extensive listing of his discourses and formal writings. Chapter 6 relates four incidents by which he rose to prominence under King Kwangjong (949- 975), and Chapter 7 is almost wholly given over to the incorporation of Kyunyŏ's eleven-song cycle on the *Bhadracarīprcnidhāna,* along with a brief preface also composed by Kyunyŏ in the *p'ien-wen* style. A note in the text at the conclusion of the songs states that the songs were not included in Hyŏngnyŏn's original work.

Chapter 8 introduces the incorporation of Ch'oe Haenggwi's work, which consists of his eleven poetic renderings of Kyunyŏ's songs into Chinese, along with a lengthy and lyrical introductory essay in which he extols the virtues of Kyunyŏ and his songs. Although at times the poems follow Kyunyŏ's songs closely, points of divergence are such that they cannot properly be termed translations. They accord well with Ch'oe's

stated aim of making the content of Kyunyŏ's songs better known "to the east and to the west" (KYJ 10B.4).

In Chaper 9, Hyŏngnyŏn again gives emphasis to Kyunyŏ's spiritual authority with two anecdotes in which Kyunyŏ bests both political enemies and malevolent spirits. Chapter 10 briefly records Kyunyŏ's death and an attendant miraculous story. The chapter also has what seems to be an addendum covering miscellaneous aspects of Kyunyŏ's personal abilities and career as a monk. The work then concludes with a brief, eulogistic Afterword.

It is, of course, striking—and somewhat ironic—that someone, presumably Hyŏngnyŏn himself, omitted from the original text of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* the very feature that gives the work its chief claim to modern fame—Kyunyŏ's songs. At the same time, the note in Chapter 7 of the text referring to this omission indicates that the text of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* passed through a subsequent editing process, and this in turn leads us to a consideration of the modern textual traditions of the work.

In its time, the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* appears to have been highly appraised, for it was included in the *Tripitaka Koreana* (hereafter TK) as an appendix (K 1510b) to Kyunyŏ's *Sŏk hwaŏm-gyo pun'gi wŏnt'ong ch'o* (K 1510a), from where it emerged to gain the attention of modern scholars in the early 1920s.

There is no direct evidence as to when the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* text was in fact entered into the TK. The TK as a whole was carved between 1237 and 1251, and the colophons to the four Kyunyŏ works contained in. it (K 1507, K 1508, K 1509, and K 1510a) record that these works were carved in 1250-51.[6] It would therefore seem that this was a logical time for the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* to have been carved as well, and certainly the integrity of the text argues that it assumed its present form at an early stage of its life, for it is remarkably free of the textual ambiguities and corruptions that are associated with repeated manual copying. Thus a possible re-editing to include Kyunyŏ's songs

may have occurred at this point, but in any case, the insertion of the songs into the text must have occurred at an early date—and hence the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* must also have assumed its final form at an early date—since the *hyangch'al* system of transcription employed by Kyunyŏ began to die out as the Koryŏ period progressed, and appears to have been all but dead by the fourteenth century.[7] No point would thus have been served by their specific inclusion at a later time than this.[8]

The rediscovery of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* is, briefly, a tale of two texts. In 1921, a Japanese amateur scholar, Ariga Keitarō included a document titled *Wŏnt'ong yangjung taesa Kyunyŏ-jŏn* in his work on Korean village shrines titled *Shijū shichi shiin.* In this form, the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* came to the attention of the Japanese scholar Ogura Shimpei, who was chiefly interested in the eleven *hyangch'al* songs contained in the work. Ogura recorded that he asked Ariga about the origin of the text but was unable to obtain a clear answer. However, shortly afterwards he learnt that the original source of Ariga's text was the TK, and there he found the same work but under the title of *Taehwaŏm sujwa wŏnt'ong yangjung taesa Kyunyŏ-jŏn.* Comparison with Ariga's text then revealed the latter's text to be a somewhat corrupted copy of the TK text, and so Ogura used the TK version as the source for his landmark study on Old Korean songs *Kyōka oyobi ridoku no kenkyū.*[9]

Since then, the Ariga text has been progressively set aside in favour of the TK text, but since the Ariga text was the first to be published, and since it appeared in some widely circulated early editions of basic source materials for Korean history such as the 1928 Chŏson sahak-hoe edition of the *Samguk yusa,* the influence of this text has continued to be felt. This may well continue to be the case, because the late Yang Chudong used the Ariga text in his *Koga yŏn'gu* (1942), a work that continues to be the most widely-consulted source for interpretations of the songs, while in Western languages, Lee (1958-9) mirrors Yang's usage.

The residual influence of the Ariga text is discernible today in two basic points. These are the specific issue of whether the name of the author of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* is Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng (TK text) or Saryŏn Chŏng (Ariga text) and the more general issue of the reliability of the two texts. There is little to be gained by debating these points here beyond what has been said above, for it would essentially be an anachronistic debate traversing ground already well covered by Yang Chaeyŏn (1959). The TK text is clearly reliable and substantially free of corruptions, but the same may not be said of the Ariga text.[10] Even if one did not have the corroborating evidence of the *Koryŏ-sa* that a Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng was alive and active in court activities at the time the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* was written, one would in any case be obliged to accept the TK text as authoritative, and accept that the first character in his name is *Hyŏk* and not *Sa*.

But if little is known about Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng and, for that matter, the other people who influenced the content of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* either directly or indirectly, rather more can be said on the question of Hyŏngnyŏn's motives in writing the work. Although he does not state these beyond his brief reference to dissatisfaction in Hwaŏm circles with the previous work by Kang Yuhyŏn, a number of features in the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* indicate strongly that his commission was to write an account of Kyunyŏ's life with a non-Korean readership in mind—no doubt principally Sung but also Liao and Japanese. Reference has been made to such features in the footnotes to the translation, but the main points are drawn together here for the sake of clarity. They are:

a) The omission of Kyunyŏ's songs from Hyŏngnyŏn's original account.

As already indicated, a note in the text states that Kyunyŏ's songs were not included in the original account, and it would appear most likely that they were incorporated at the time when the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* was being prepared for entry into the TK. It would have made little sense for a Korean writing in the late eleventh century, when *hyangch'al* was still current, to deny them to Korean readers, but it would have made rather more

sense to simply give Kyunyŏ's *p'ien-wen* preface to them and omit the ensuing songs if the text were meant for a non-Korean readership for whom *hyangch'al* would have been incomprehensible. It would also follow that the motivation for reincorporating the songs arose when the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* was being prepared for entry into the TK as a supplement to Kyunyŏ's works in what was now essentially a domestic Korean context.

b) The inclusion of Ch'oe Haenggwi's work.

Ch'oe's work comprises almost one-third of the total length of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* and yet, its essential character as an explanation of his purpose in composing *shih* based on Kyunyŏ's songs is only marginally relevant to the life of Kyunyŏ. On the other hand, its poems and their *p'ien-wen* preface with its major theme of linguistic barriers to mutual communication between Korea and China would be very relevant to those seeking to better acquaint other people with the significance of Kyunyŏ within the Korean Hwaŏm tradition.

c) The nature of the notes inserted in the text.

There are a total of twelve notes inserted into the text of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn*, and reference has already been made to the note that refers to the omission of the songs from the original text. The remaining eleven notes are of a different nature in that they seek to explain points of language, script, or else further identify specific Korean references such as place names or official titles. Here it is apparent that, taken collectively, the notes are designed to explain matters that would be familiar to literate Koreans but possibly puzzling to non-Koreans. There is no way of knowing, of course, whether the eleven explanatory notes formed part of the original document or whether they were inserted at the same time as the songs—in which case they might just be explaining points that might have become obscure to Koreans in the interim—but since this interim probably only amounted to the one hundred and eighty years or so between

Hyŏngnyŏn's writing of the work and its entry into the TK, it is unlikely that so many points would have become obscure so quickly, and hence it is highly likely that the eleven notes, or most of them, were part of the original text.

In further support of this, one might compare the function of notes in the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* and the *Samguk yusa,* where notes in the text of the latter also seek to explain obscurities, especially etymological obscurities, but where they are not used to anything like the same extent as they are in the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn*. As a ready example of the treatment of the same word occurring in both texts, one may cite the native Korean aesthetic term *sa'noe* and note that in the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* it is accompanied by what is intended to be an etymological explanation, whereas in the *Samguk yusa* the term occurs several times in contexts that are far from explicit, but with no accompanying commentary or explanation.[11] Not to belabour the point too much, the notes in the text of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* seem far more exhaustive than in comparable texts, and hence the possibility is strong that they were designed for a non-Korean readership.

d) Hyŏngnyŏn's description of the 953 Later Chou embassy to Koryŏ as a Sung embassy.

This is, of course, a clear impossibility since the Sung dynasty was not founded until 960. The anachronism might have been due to pure carelessness, but this is doubtful as Hyŏngnyŏn's work gives every appearance of being careful and scholarly —as indeed one would expect from the known facts about his life that we considered above. Moreover, he gives a Later Chou reign-year date for the embassy's visit in the same phrase in which he calls it a Sung embassy, and so one must conclude that the appellation is a deliberate one. In considering why, one must consider the effect achieved—namely, the glossing over of the fact that Koryŏ had relations with various Five Dynasty states during the T'ang-Sung interregnum (907-960), and since such a display of tact could have served no conceivable purpose within his own country, such

a usage suggests that it was probably framed with the sensibilities of a Sung readership in mind.

e) Hyŏngnyŏn's use of the reign-years T'ien-yu 17, 20 and 23.

This point is best prefaced with a brief consideration of the significance for Korea of reign-year appellations during the Five Dynasty Period.

After Silla adopted the T'ang calendar during the reign of King Kyŏngdŏk (742-65), the dating of Korean writings was carried out in accordance with the prevailing Chinese reign-year. During periods when an undisputed dynasty held sway, this was a straight-forward practice, but in times of interregnum, or of wavering Korean allegiance, the method of dating used could assume a political significance. This state of affairs is especially relevant to the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* because Hyŏngnyŏn is for the most part writing about events that occurred during the Five Dynasties interregnum which, in Korean calendrical terms, lasted from the fall of T'ang in 907 (T'ien-yu 4) to the adoption of the Sung calendar in 963.

The two main sources for the calendrical policy of Silla and Koryŏ during the period 907 to 963 are contemporary inscriptions and the *Koryŏ-sa* (completed 1451). They differ from each other on quite a few dates, but it is to the contemporary inscriptions that one should refer to ascertain contemporary practice, whereas the *Koryŏ-sa* reflects a later, formal position, much altered by hindsight.

The evidence of the inscriptions is that Silla continued to use the T'ien-yu reign-years after the fall of T'ang, perhaps only as a device in the absence of any clear alternative. However, this practice began to cease with the establishment of the Later Liang dynasty in 915, and the general practice was to use the Liang calendar between about 915 and 925.[12] The *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* seems fairly clearly at odds with the style used on contemporary inscriptions, a situation that suggests that it is also employing politically-inspired hindsight, in this case to avoid drawing attention to the the fact that

the Later Liang calendar had ever been adopted. Thus, Hyŏngnyŏn persists with the anachronistic T'ien-yu 14 for 917, the year of Kyunyŏ's mother's conception dream, T'ien-yu 17 for 920, the year Kyunyŏ's sister was born, and T'ien-yu 20 for 923, the year Kyunyŏ himself was born. The use of these reign-years of course carries the political overtone of subsisting loyalty to a former vassal tie—in this case Silla-T'ang, an overtone very relevant for Koryŏ-Sung relations at the time Hyŏngnyŏn was writing.

f) Hyŏngnyŏn's use of the reign-period Sungnyŏk.

The reign-period given at the conclusion of Ch'oe Haenggwi's work is Sungnyŏk. The character for the precise year is almost entirely obliterated but the convention appears to be to accept it as the numeral eight, giving a date of 967. However, no other example of this reign-period—which literally means "[by the] Sung calendar"—exists in the extensive corpus of inscription material from this period, and there is no reason why the Chinese reign-period Ch'ien-te (963-68) should not have been employed if the date were really 967, for Koryŏ established formal relations with the new Sung dynasty in 963, and adopted its calendar.

The only logical explanation appears to be that Sungnyŏk was being used as a replacement for the indigenous reign-year Ch'unp'ung which was current between 960 and 963. Such a replacement would carry the meaning "so-and-so year by the Sung calendar" and provide for Hyŏngnyŏn a simple, if unavoidably clumsy, solution to the dilemma of how to avoid outright forgery of a date in Ch'oe's work while also avoiding the recalling of Koryŏ's use of the indigenous Ch'unp'ung reign-period. Again, the only sensibilities that this device could be intended to cater for would be those of a Sung readership.

g) Hyŏngnyŏn's comment that Kang Yuhyŏn's work on Kyunyŏ "omitted many things".

Hyŏngnyŏn states that he received his commission to write a new account of the life of Kyunyŏ because Hwaŏm believers were dissatisfied with a previous work of Kang Yuhyŏn which "omitted many things". However, this explanation becomes hard to accept at face value if one assumes that both Kang and Hyŏngnyŏn were writing the same kind of work, for Kang's work must have been impossibly brief if the spare, episodic *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* is to be taken as rectifying these omissions. Clearly, Hyŏngnyŏn's explanation for his commission only makes sense if one assumes that different material reflecting different priorities was to be incorporated. Since Kang's work is lost, a comparison of content is not possible. Hence it is difficult to take this point much further, other than to observe that a different sort of work to that of Kang Yuhyŏn's must have been commissioned, and that where Hyŏngnyŏn's work seems to differ from the generality of Silla/Koryŏ Buddhist hagio-biographies is in the incorporation of Ch'oe Haenggwi's work, and in the amount of space devoted to Kyunyŏ's writings—especially the provision of what appear to be exhaustive lists of Kyunyŏ's discourses, treatises and commentaries. Again, this suggests that the work was consciously directed towards making known the ambit of his Korean Buddhist writings.

Taken together, the above factors point strongly towards a desire on the part of Hyŏngnyŏn and his mentors to address a biography of Kyunyŏ to a non-Korean, primarily Sung readership. This motivation, moreover, should, not be viewed in isolation, for it was almost certainly directly linked to two important and interrelated Koryŏ preoccupations at this time—the compilation of a Koryŏ Tripitaka and the re-establishment of relations with Sung.

Like its predecessor state Silla, Koryŏ was essentially founded upon a devout Buddhist ethic, and hence the collection and preservation of Buddhist texts was regarded as an activity of the highest purpose. Such activities were naturally

influenced by similar activities in China, and it seems probable that the completion, under imperial auspices, of the first Chinese Tripitaka in 983 provided a strong motivation for Koryŏ to embark upon a similar project. Thus copies of the Chinese Tripitaka were transmitted to Koryŏ in 989 and 992 (KS 3.23A.9), and actual work began under the auspices of King Hyŏnjong in 1011.

It is not clear from the sources whether or not this work was actually completed during Hyŏnjong's reign (1010-31) but, in any event, Koryŏ interest in collecting and preserving Buddhist texts remained intense in the decades that followed, culminating in the completion of what is usually termed the first Korean Tripitaka in 1087 (KS 10.11A.3, KS 10.11B.7). In fact, Koryŏ went one step further than traditional compilation with the completion of a second vast work, the *Supplement to the Tripitaka* compiled by Ŭich'ŏn, and completed in 1090. The particular significance of Ŭich'ŏn's work for Hyŏngnyŏn was that it entailed an active campaign of seeking out treatises from foreign countries, with the final work comprising a total of 1,010 texts sought out from China, Liao, Japan and from within Koryŏ between the years 1073-90. [13] In other words, at the time that the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* was being written, the Koryŏ court was actively soliciting such material from abroad.

Moreover, the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* was written on the eve of the re-establishment of formal Koryŏ-Sung state relations after a hiatus of some decades. Koryŏ had initially broken its ties with Sung in 994 under Liao duress, although contact did not cease altogether until 1030. In the ensuing years, Koryŏ came to terms with its position under Liao, but when the initiative for a resumption of relations came from Sung, a concomitant decline in Liao's powers of interdiction and coercion, as well as the general desire to have greater access to the cultural fount of China were strong enough factors for Koryŏ to respond favourably to Sung's first unofficial envoy in 1069. Koryŏ embassies to Sung followed in 1071, 1074 and 1076 before a resumption of formal relations was

effected with an official Sung embassy to Koryŏ in 1078.[14]

Thus Hyŏngnyŏn was writing at the time of a pending re-establishment of formal ties with China, an event that was not only seen as desirable in itself, but also as a development that could assist the on-going process of collecting Buddhist (and other) texts. No doubt the emphasis on a shared Buddhist heritage would also have been seen as assisting the re-establishment of ties.

In fact, requests for texts from Sung were to become persistent to the point of causing annoyance in some Sung circles during the years that followed, [15] but they brought back to Korea another copy of the Sung Tripitaka in 1083, and in 1085 Ŭich' ŏn himself visited China and brought back a collection of about 3,000 commentaries and treatises.[16] In this light, it seems likely that the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn*, especially with its listing of Kyunyŏ's discourses and commentaries, was designed to acquaint Buddhists outside Koryŏ with the ambit of doctrinal concerns of a leading Koryŏ Hwaŏm figure who may already have had some reputation in China due to Ch'oe Haenggwi's work. Hyŏngnyŏn may well have drafted his work as a prelude to, or as an accompaniment to a request for manuscripts.

Finally on this point, it is worth noting indications that Hyŏngnyŏn's work, especially the claims made for Kyunyŏ's position in the Koryŏ Hwaŏm school reflected something more than private enthusiasm. The first of these indications is, of course, that Hyŏngnyŏn himself was a court official commissioned to write his work by a monk of obviously considerable standing. Furthermore, the commissioning of the work was accompanied by at least one other official act of veneration towards Kyunyŏ, namely, the conversion of his birthplace into a temple by the magistrate of Hwangju (KYJ 1B.9). One might also note the awarding of a sinecure position to a fifth generation descendant of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn in the ninth month 1074 (KS 9.12A.7) as an indication that the Koryŏ court had the veneration of another leading Hwaŏm figure

on its mind at the precise time that Hyŏngnyŏn was receiving his commission.

However, although the high opinion of Kyunyŏ expressed by Hyŏngnyŏn appears to have reflected Kyunyŏ's standing in official and religious circles, this state of affairs was not to last, and when Ŭich'ŏn, the outstanding Hwaŏm patron of his day, completed his Supplement some fifteen years later, Kyunyŏ, along with a number of commentators, was specifically excluded from the work.[17] Far too little is known about Koryŏ Buddhism in general, let alone the lines of division within the Hwaŏm school, to allow a detailed accounting for this action, but it at least calls for a closer examination of what is known about Kyunyŏ's career.

The Life of Kyunyŏ

The reference to the exclusion of Kyunyŏ in Ŭich'ŏn's work is, as far as can be ascertained, the only surviving reference to Kyunyŏ outside the material contained in the TK. Otherwise, Kyunyŏ is not mentioned in the *Koryŏ-sa* or in literary anthologies, nor have any inscriptions mentioning him been uncovered to date. In the TK, the colophons to his works relate the circumstances in which the commentaries were made, and apart from these spare references, the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* remains the only other source of information about Kyunyŏ's life.

Pyŏn Kyunyŏ was born in 923 into what Hyŏngnyŏn presents as a poor but devout household. Kim Tujin (1977a, p.71) has stated somewhat equivocally that the possibility of Kyunyŏ's family being of minor gentry status cannot be dismissed, based on the appearance of the family name Pyŏn among the clan names of Hwangju listed in the early Chosŏn gazetteer, the *Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* (1481), but apart from the problem of antedating this piece of evidence by some four hundred years and then relating it specifically to Kyunyŏ's line, other indications are that Kyunyŏ's origins were humble. For example, Hyŏngnyŏn makes no reference at all to Kyunyŏ's

ancestry, despite the fact that such references are near universal in such biographies. The implication seems to be that the family was simply not important enough for any record of their ancestry to have been preserved. Other indications of humble origins include the description of his father as "a man of high purpose but no renown", the fact that names given for his father and mother ("Illustrious Nature" and "Foretelling Destiny", respectively) seem too pat to be other than later concoctions, and the fact that Kyunyŏ is identified by only one name. "Kyunyŏ" reads well as a monastic name, suggesting that nothing at all was known about his family and origins apart from the family name Pyŏn.

In fact, Kyunyŏ's humble origins are highlighted in one of the anecdotes related by Hyŏngnyŏn, where King Kwangjong comments as follows after hearing of Kyunyŏ's small village origins: "His Highness remarked that although dragons and serpents were born from large marshes, this loyal subject had instead come from a village where there were less than ten houses" (KYJ 4B.8), where the "dragons and serpents" appear to represent the major landed families of the central Koryŏ region.[18]

If this was Kwangjong's perspective, then it seems that Kyunyŏ's other potential liabilities of extreme ugliness in appearance and early orphaning might also have received positive royal appraisal since they would have served to make Kyunyŏ strongly reliant upon royal favour and without powerful outside interests to serve. Kyunyŏ's ugliness is referred to on two occasions by Hyŏngnyŏn. He states that Kyunyŏ's parents originally abandoned him as a baby because of his looks (KYJ 1B.11) and later on he recounts an incident in which the Koryŏ court prevented a Chinese envoy from meeting him because "the Master's features were strange in appearance, and not such as to inspire reverence or faith in worldly people" (KYJ 13A.5).

Kyunyŏ's other major misfortune was that he was orphaned at an early age. This

might have been expected, given the reference to his mother being of advanced age when she bore him, though the reference to her being "at the age of sixty" is doubtless an exaggeration. Since his sister arrived only three years earlier, it is likely that his mother was at most not far beyond the normal range of child-bearing years. After their parents' death, it seems that Kyunyŏ and his sister were taken in by relatives or formally adopted, but in any case found a satisfactory home, to judge from the opening sentence of Chapter 3: "After the Master had been in the monastery for some time, he began to miss his parents, so he went home to visit them" (KYJ 2B.4)—the parents presumably being his adoptive parents.

As an orphan, Kyunyŏ might well have been destined to be sent to a temple at an early age, and so in 937/8 he entered Puhŭng Monastery, in company with an older cousin, and became an attendant to a monk by the name of Sikhyŏn. This was to prove to be a false start, however, and at some stage while he was still an acolyte, Kyunyŏ left Sikhyŏn and became a pupil of the monk Ŭisun of Yŏngt'ong Monastery. Since nothing is known of Ŭisun outside of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* it is difficult to assess the full significance of this move, other than that it placed Kyunyŏ in a powerful monastery under an eminent teacher who had connections with the royal consort Queen Taemŏk. Hyŏngnyŏn himself leaves no doubt as to his opinion of the move, presenting it as a decisive step for Kyunyŏ: "…from that day forth, the profound ocean of teachings was poured out to him, and the vast sky of truth was spread out before him" (KYJ 2B.2). This statement may of course be interpreted as referring in general terms to Kyunyŏ's progress, but one would also be justified in interpreting it in a far wider sense, namely, that Kyunyŏ now fell within the bounds of the Hwaŏm lineage that was regarded as being the most authoritative, both by King Kwangjong and later by Hyŏngnyŏn.

Kyunyŏ is portrayed as active in Hwaŏm circles from an early age, touring around

monasteries to rally support for what Hyŏngnyŏn calls "the Dharma lineage of the Northern Peak", the lineage to which he belonged, and opposing that of the Southern Peak,[19] but his actual rise to pre-eminence in the Koryŏ Buddhist hierarchy is described by Hyŏngnyŏn in four sequential anecdotes. In the first of these, Ŭisun removes an abscess from the vagina of Queen Taemŏk by incantation, becomes afflicted with it in her stead, and then is cured by Kyunyŏ's incantation (KYJ 4A.6). These events took place very shortly after King Kwangjong ascended the throne in 949, and the point of the story seems to be not only that Ŭisun was prominent enough to attend to the queen in this fashion, and hence bring Kyunyŏ into contact with the royal house, but that by this time Kyunyŏ already possessed the healing powers associated with an advanced stage of bodhisattvahood. By now, his command of these powers must have exceeded those of his eminent teacher since, unlike Ŭisun, he was able to avoid the affliction of the abscess himself.

Four years later, Kyunyŏ's powers came to the direct attention of King Kwangjong when, in Hyŏngnyon's second anecdote, he put an end to rain that was threatening the ceremony for the investiture of the king with titles from Later Chou. This feat gained for Kyunyŏ the title of Taedŏk, Great Worthy, and caused the king to endow ten of Kyunyŏ's relatives with land and slaves. Kyunyŏ was still only thirty years old at the time.

In 958, Kyunyŏ's standing was again recognized when he was chosen for the important task of lecturing on the Dharma in order to avert an unspecified calamity that had been omened when a thunderbolt struck the royal Puril Monastery. In this, Hyŏngnyŏn's third anecdote, Kyunyŏ is presented as asserting his authority over the Korean Hwaŏm school, successfully countering both doctrinal (KYJ 4B.10) and personal challenges (KYJ 5A.2). This is a theme given prominence elsewhere in the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn*, when Hyŏngnyŏn presents Kyunyŏ's teachings as the orthodoxy for the

formal examinations for entry into the clergy instituted by King Kwangjong (KYJ 3B.7-10).

Finally, Hyŏngnyŏn relates a short incident in which Kyunyŏ reveals special powers to the king, emitting "a brilliant light like an unfading rainbow" from his eyes, and causing a string of rosary beads to rise and circle around him on their own accord (KYJ 5A.8), with the result that King Kwangjong henceforth showed Kyunyŏ "unprecedented favour".

If there is an intentional progression in these four anecdotes, and as a simple principle of literary organization this must be counted as highly likely, then Hyŏngnyŏn is seeking to represent Kyunyŏ as progressing from: a) attaining the powers of an advanced bodhisattva and coming to the attention of the royal consort (in 949) to, b) serving the throne in a matter of high importance to the state (in 953) to, c) achieving recognition as a teacher in the same mould as Ŭisang, founder of the Korean Hwaŏm school, (in 958) to, d) full royal patronage.

This royal patronage was to manifest itself most conspicuously in 963 with the installation of Kyunyŏ as abbot of the new royal Kwibŏp Monastery, a position that Kyunyŏ held until his death ten years later. Hyŏngnyŏn has little to say about these ten years,[20] other than to relate an incident involving allegations by another monk from Kwibŏp Monastery named Chŏngsu that Kyunyŏ's "religious practice was being directed to disloyal ends" (KYJ 13A.7). These allegations almost caused Kyunyŏ to be put to death by King Kwangjong before a miraculous apparition again reaffirmed Kyunyŏ's saintliness (KYJ 13A.11). Hyŏngnyŏn's account of this incident is couched in highly symbolic language and it is difficult to understand his precise purpose in relating it, other than to present Kyunyŏ as overcoming yet another challenge to his spiritual authority. In the event, Kyunyŏ survived King Kwangjong's later years where many high officials, including Ch'oe Haenggwi, did not and was presumably still

abbot of Kwibŏp Monastery when he died in that place in 973.

Hyŏngnyŏn's account of the legacy of Kyunyŏ suggests that Kyunyŏ was highly esteemed in the century between his death and Hyŏngnyŏn's work. Kyunyŏ and his immediate disciples had a large following "so that nowadays they are like stalks of paddy or strands of hemp, and are to be found everywhere" (KYJ 14A.10), and Hyŏngnyŏn also mentions acts of homage paid by high state officials Kim Chŏngjun and Ko Chŏng during the eleventh century (KYJ 14B.2-3). Thereafter, however, Kyunyŏ's reputation undoubtedly suffered from his exclusion from Ŭich'ŏn's Supplement,[21] and the inclusion of four of his works in the TK does not seem to have countered a descent into doctrinal oblivion, from which he has begun to emerge since the mid-1970s.

Why Kyunyŏ should have suffered this fate must remain very much an open question. In doctrinal terms, he seems to have represented a strong revival, or reaffirmation, of the Hwaŏm school under royal patronage at a time when the influence of Sŏn Buddhism appears to have been quite strong, and so may have manifested too much Sŏn influence to find favour with Ŭich'ŏn, whose Supplement is often seen as characterized by a somewhat wary attitude to the Sŏn school.[22]

Both Hyŏngnyŏn and Ch'oe Haenggwi give a strong impression of prevailing crisis in the Hwaŏm school while Kyunyŏ was growing up. Chapter 4 of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* is almost wholly given over to this crisis and Kyunyŏ's efforts to resolve it: Hyŏngnyŏn states in his Afterword that "When the eyes of the world were growing dim, and the Wheel of Dharma had stopped in mid-turn, the Master proved able to rise up and assist in spreading the influence of the profound teachings [of the Hwaŏm school]", while Ch'oe states that Kyunyŏ "assumed his position as head of the Hwaŏm school, and the many teachings were traced back to their source" (KYJ 9B.3).

Even allowing for the partisanship on the part of both men, there seems little doubt

that the Hwaŏm school had lost a good deal of vitality since its heyday during the Silla dynasty. The decline of the temporal authority with which it enjoyed a close nexus, the rise of Sŏn and especially the hostility towards late Silla Buddhist practices manifested by the influential Sŏn monk Tosŏn (827-898) during the reign of Wang Kon (918-943), the absence of patriarchs or great teachers from Ŭisang onwards, and perhaps the presumed spillover effects of the wholesale suppression of Buddhism in China during the course of the ninth century are all influences that tend to corroborate the essence of the situation described by Hyŏngnyŏn and, to a lesser degree, by Ch'oe Haenggwi.

Indeed, there are ample signs that the strong patronage of Kwangjong for Kyunyŏ and the Hwaŏm school occurred against a background of strong royal interest in, and patronage of Sŏn,[23] and it was only natural, then, that Kyunyŏ should have reflected a good deal of Sŏn influence in his writings. In Koryŏ, however, this influence worked both ways, and if Kyunyŏ stood at the end of a tradition as the last-known of the great Korean Hwaŏm commentators, he also represented a tradition powerful enough to survive its decline as a distinct and influential school. Thus, although Sŏn Buddhism was ultimately to become the dominant school of Korean Buddhism, emerging in somewhat definitive form in the person and works of Chinul (1158- 1210), Chinul deliberately and explicitly incorporated a substantial portion of Hua Yen doctrine into his version of Sŏn. This Hua Yen influence, which in no small part may be traced back to Kyunyŏ, remains discernible in Korean Buddhism today, and in this respect, Kyunyŏ's legacy is a living one.

The Kyunyŏ-jŏn

Foreword

It was due to Nāgārjuna in the first place that the 100,000 *ślokas* of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* [24] flourished again in Sindhu [Note: India is also called "Sindhu"]; [25] it was due to Ŭisang[26] that they spread to the Eastern lands; [27] and it was due to the Venerable Master (Kyunyŏ) that they first became widespread under the (present) Illustrious Dynasty.[28]

Thus, the Academician [Note: T'ang title] of *icholch'an* rank (Ch'oe) Ch'iwŏn[29] of the Ch'ŏngha clan, wrote *The Life of Ŭisang*. However, there is no account yet of the life and deeds of the Venerable Master. Those practising the Ekayāna[30] thought this a pity and so did I. Recently, the Palace Chronicler Kang Yuhyŏn[31] made a compilation from existing records of the Master's life, but although the work was written with vigour and elegance, it omitted many things. Those practising the Ekayāna regretted this and so did I.

Then, in the first month of the summer of the tenth year of Hsien-yung[32] (1074 A.D.), the Great Master Ch'ang'un,[33] the commentator on the *Sūtra of the Divine Assembly*,[34] showed me a fascicle of an old manuscript containing an attested record (of the Venerable Master's life) and entrusted me with its arrangement (into an account of his life). I agreed to this, but worldly entanglements then distracted me, and I became unable to carry the task to completion. Time passed as I framed my ideas during the night and composed my sentences by lamplight. Autumn became winter, and I finally laid down my brush the following spring. I myself wrote this Foreword, which I, the *chinsa*[35] Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng herewith respectfully submit.

I have divided my account of the Venerable Master's life into ten sections:[36]

1) How His Auspicious Birth Accorded with Needs

2) How He Became a Monk and Sought Instruction

3) How His Sister Was Equally Gifted

4) How He Established the True Meaning of the Dharma and Clarified Its Principles

5) How He Interpreted Many Texts

6) How He Displayed Supernatural Powers and Performed Miracles

7) How His Songs Circulated and Enlightened the World

8) How His Translated Songs Revealed True Virtue

9) How He Responded to People's Needs and Subdued Demons

10) How He Made a Show of Being Subject to the Cycle of *Samsāia*

Chapter 1

How His Auspicious Birth Accorded with Needs[37]

The Venerable Master's family name was Pyŏn, and his personal name was Kyunyŏ. His father's name was Hwansŏng; he was a person of high purpose but no renown. His mother's name was Chŏnmyŏng.

On the night of the seventh day of the fourth month of the fourteenth year of T'ien-yu (917),[38] his mother dreamt that she saw a pair of yellow phoenixes descend from heaven and enter her bosom. In the twentieth year (of T'ien-yu; 923) she found herself pregnant at the age of sixty. After two hundred and ten days, on the eighth day of the eighth month, she gave birth to the Master. This was in her own home [Note: in the village of Tundaeyŏp] at the southern foot of Mount Hyŏng'ak in the northern part of Hwangju (County).[39] The (former) magistrate of Hwangju and (present) Omissioner Yi Chun[40] restored an old site there and renamed it Kyŏngch'ŏnji-sa.[41] This is the place.

At birth the Master's looks were incomparably ugly. His parents were unhappy at this and put him out into the street, whereupon two crows came, linked wings and covered him. Some passers-by observed this strange phenomenon, went to the house and told the parents all about it. Both father and mother were then filled with remorse, so they took him back in and raised him. But they kept him out of sight, placing him in a wicker basket and keeping him there. It was only after several months that they showed him to the villagers.

Even when still in the carrying-quilt, the Master excelled at reciting verses from the *Hua Yen Sūtra*[42]; nor did he ever forget anything his father taught him.

Chapter 2

How He Became a Monk and Sought Instruction

The Master was orphaned while still a child. At the age of fifteen, he went with his elder cousin, the monk Sŏn'gyun, to Puhŭng Monastery,[43] where they had an interview with the Venerable Sikhyŏn[44] and attached themselves to him as his attendants.

However, the capacity of the instructor was inferior to the ability of the pupil in this case, and although it was a matter of (the Master being) a mere basketful of earth (that was) refusing to yield to a lofty eminence, how could a single cup of water slake such a great thirst?

At that time, the capacity of Ŭisun of Yŏngt'ong Monastery[45] was like that of a great bell.[46] He treated his questioners with kindness, and so, from all quarters, those seeking instruction gathered around him like mist. [47] The Master had a similar desire for learning—he was as keen as a tiger that has scented its prey on the wind. And so every evening after dusk, he would wait until Sikhyŏn had retired for the night, and then slip away to Yŏngt'ong Monastery to seek instruction, only returning at daybreak to prepare the morning gruel and attend the service.

Sikhyŏn in fact knew what the Master wished to do, and since he could not stand in the way of what was meant to be, he at length gave his permission for (the Master) to go over to Ŭisun. The matter was concluded in accordance with the Master's wishes, and he duly went there. So, from that day forth, the profound ocean of teachings was poured out to him, and the vast sky of Truth was spread out before him. During this period he had little food, and on more than ten occasions he went without eating for seven days; but never did the thought of giving up or neglecting his studies occur to

him.

Chapter 3

How His Sister Was Equally Gifted

After the Master had been in the monastery for some time, he began to miss his parents, so he went home to visit them. While there, he matched wits with (his sister) Sumyŏng. Sumyŏng was the elder, having been born three years before the Master, in the seventeenth year of T'ien-yu (920). When she was born, her cries had a musical lilt to them, and she grew up to be exceptionally intelligent.

Once, a mendicant monk came to the house and read from the *Lotus Sūtra*. [48] When she heard it from the inner quarters, faith at once arose in her, so she prepared a seat for the monk and invited him to read it through to the end. The monk read the eight fascicles through, whereupon she asked him to lodge with them for the night and expound the Sūtra. She retained everything she heard during those two days, and when the monk was leaving, he said to her: "I am the Tripitaka Master Bodhiruci[49] and you are an incarnation of the bhiksu Meghaśrī."[50]

On the day that the Master came home on his visit, Sumyŏng asked him what he had been doing. The Master explained to her the teachings concerning Samantabhadra and Avalokiteśvara as spiritual guides,[51] as well as expounding the text of both the *Sūtra of the Divine Assembly*[52] and the *Sūtra of the Thousand-Armed Bodhisattva*. [53] He expounded all this orally, but she remembered every word. That night, the Master also chanted the *Summary of the Six Stages of the Hua Yen Sūtra*[54] and the *Five Hundred Questions and Answers*. [55] Sumyŏng, who was secretly listening, suddenly became enlightened. Five years later, when asked to write down the text through which she had become enlightened, (she did so) without omitting a single word or phrase.

Chapter 4

How He Established the True Meaning of the Dharma and Clarified Its Principles

The Master belonged to the Dharma Lineage of the Northern Peak.[56] Formerly, at the end of the Silla dynasty, there were two Hwaŏm leaders at Haein Monastery on Mount Kaya.[57] One was called Kwanhye, and he was under the patronage of Kyŏn Hwŏn, the rebel chief of Paekche; the other was called Hŭirang, and he was under the patronage of our great King Taejo.[58]

Both men had received the (same) faith, and had undertaken the (same) solemn vows, but since their aspirations had so diverged, how could their hearts be one? The conflict spread and involved their respective disciples, who became like fire and water. Moreover, it (led to disputes) with regard to the essential flavour of the Dharma, [59] so that one would claim that it was sour and the other that it was salty. This evil was hard to eradicate, and was already of long standing. Contemporaries referred to Kwanhye's teaching as that of the Southern Peak and to Hŭirang's as that of the Northern Peak.

The Master consistently deplored the emergence of the Southern and Northern schools with their incessant disputes. Accordingly, with a view to halting (these) manifold divergences and showing the way back to the traditional path,[60] he travelled around to the leading monasteries in company with the Venerable Inyu, [61] who was of the same mind. They employed all their eloquence in sounding the great drum and raising the great banner of the Dharma, and caused all the young novices to look up to and follow them.

A monk from those earlier times also copied down more than thirty of the Master's

discourses on Hwaŏm teachings, with the following titles:[62]

The Reason for the Essential Identity of the Three Teachings[63]

Emptiness and Existence[64]

Cessation and Non-Cessation[65]

The Provisional and the True Teaching[66]

On the Lotus World[67]

The Ocean of Scriptures[68]

Difficulties Elucidated

Praise and Blame[69]

Apprehending the Truth within Three Lifetimes[70]

Appointment to Office[71]

The Six Aspects[72]

Reality as Guide and Ground[73]

Eliminating Subtle Obstacles[74]

The Bodhisattva in the Tushita Heaven[75]

Five Ways to Buddhahood[76]

Buddhahood Through Understanding and Practice[77]

Distinguishing the One and the Three Vehicles[78]

Wandering Eye and Unstable Mind[79]

The Six Stages[80]

The Eight Assemblies[81]

The One Hundred and Six Cities[82]

Pure Lands[83]

The Bodhi-Tree

Absolute Origination[84]

The Five Karmic Consequences[85]

The Four Logical Possibilities[86]

Making Extensive Offerings[87]

Principal and Subordinate[88]

and so forth.

The Master believed that a great deal of confusion and disagreement had arisen on account of divergences from a common source. So, where writings were prolix, he pruned them, extracting the essentials; where ideas were abstruse, he examined them carefully, and made their meaning clearer. In every case, he quoted the Buddhist sūtras and the discourses of the bodhisattvas[89] as the basis of his editing; and thus a whole generation was able to drink its fill of the Holy Teaching.

Thus, when the State began recruitment examinations[90] at Wangnyun Monastery, the candidates who were successful in being selected to become monks (were the ones who) regarded our Master's path of truth as the right one, and the other (paths) as heterodox. And how, indeed, could anyone with a reputation for talent do other than follow this road?

The more eminent of these graduates became Royal Preceptors or State Preceptors, and the lesser ones attained the rank of Great Preceptor or Great Worthy, while countless others pursued their own individual careers.

Chapter 5

How He Interpreted Many Texts

Throughout his life, the Master considered it his duty to benefit people by spreading the Dharma. If a text by one of the expositors (of the Hua Yen tradition)[91] did not yield its full meaning readily, he would always write a point-by-point commentary on it. Thus there are the following:

Commentary on the Sou hsüan chi, in ten fascicles[92]

Commentary on the K'ung mu chang, in eight fascicles[93]

Commentary on the Fifty Important Questions and Answers Concerning Hua Yen, in four fascicles[94]

The T'an hsüan chi Explained, in twenty-eight fascicles[95]

The Chiao fen chi Explained, in seven fascicles[96]

Commentary on the Chih kuei chang, in two fascicles[97]

Commentary on the San pao chang, in two fascicles[98]

Commentary on the Dharmarealm Chart, in two fascicles[99]

Commentary on the Treatise on the Ten Phrases, in one fascicle[100]

Commentary on the Exegesis of the Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra, in one fascicle.[101]

All these were in circulation in his time.

Chapter 6

How He Displayed Supernatural Powers and Performed Miracles

On the last day of the fourth month of the second year of Ch'ien-yu (949) ,[102] Great King Taesŏng's queen Taemŏk[103] developed an abscess in her vagina. Unable to show it to a doctor, she summoned Ŭisun, the Master's teacher, and asked him to cure her by means of the healing power of the Dharma.

As Ŭisun had the power to take her sufferings on himself,[104] he restored the Queen to health, but in the process he became afflicted in her stead. For seven days this abscess made him dangerously ill, and he was unable to free himself of it. Thereupon the Master offered incense and chanted vows on his behalf, and the abscess removed to the western branch of a locust tree. The tree, which stood in a corner at the eastern end of the Master's quarters, withered as a result. Its stump was still there during the Ch'ing-ning period (1055-66).[105]

In the third year of Kuang-shun (953),[106] an embassy arrived from the Sung court[107] to grant titles to Great King Taesŏng, and so the king ordered each of his officials to see to his duty. Preparations went on for three months, but when the time for the investiture ceremony came, heavy rain set in and fell without ceasing. Ritual decreed that the ceremony be cancelled, but the Western[108] envoy said: "There must be holy men here in this Eastern country, why not get one to pray for fine weather? If the weather does clear up, I should take this as proof of the holy man's virtue."

When King Kwangjong[109] heard this, he sat despondently, unable to sleep. Then a voice from the sky called out: "Great King, do not be anxious or distressed, for tomorrow you will surely hear Sāgaradhvaja[110] preach the Dharma!" The king got up and went straight out into the courtyard, where he peered up into the drizzling sky,

but there was no trace (of the speaker).

The next morning, the king sought to find a holy and virtuous monk, in order to invite him to preach, but the talented and learned among the clergy all declined his invitation. The State Preceptors[111] then respectfully memorialized the Throne recommending the Master. The Master was still young at this time, but he acceded to the State's request. With calm and dignified steps[112] he ascended the lion-throne,[113] and once the sublime tones of his voice[114] began to resound, the thunder and lightning subsided, and in an instant the clouds rolled back, the wind grew still, the sky brightened and the sun came out.

Thereupon His Majesty did him great reverence and bowed nine times before him. When he asked the Master about his birthplace, the Master replied: "The village of Tundaeyŏp in the northern part of Hwangju is this bhiksu's humble birthplace." His Majesty remarked that although dragons and serpents were born from large marshes, [115] this loyal subject had instead come from a village where there were less than ten houses. The king subsequently bestowed the title of Great Worthy[116] on the Master, also including ten of his lay relatives in the royal bestowal, granting twenty-five *ch'ing*[117] of fields, with five enslaved prisoners of war as servants, to each of them. He also prevailed on them to move to the city of Hwangju.

In the fifth year of Hsien-te (958),[118] a thunderbolt struck inside the precincts of Puril Monastery.[119] To avert the omened calamity, recourse was duly had to the Great Dharma, and the Master was asked to lecture. Day and night for about twenty-one days,[120] he engaged in debate, maintaining an attitude of polite firmness.[121]

Present in the assembly was a Monastic Superintendent[122] named Ohyŏn, to whom the following thought occurred: "Although the lecturer is clever, still he was born after me; and although I am not talented myself, still, as his senior, should I not be accorded the courtesy of respectful language during the question sessions?" Thus he

became resentful and was about to spread slander (against Kyunyŏ) when a lay follower moved to forestall this, saying: "You should not be so jealous and malicious. The lecturer today is the seventh incarnation of your first patriarch Ŭisang. He has come again to the world simply in order to spread the Great (Hwaŏm) Teachings." When Ohyŏn heard this, he was astonished, and sent word to the Assembly, repenting and saying: "I acknowledge that I have done wrong."

Once the Master went to the palace chapel, and in the middle of the night, a brilliant light like an unfading rainbow streamed out from inside (the building). His Majesty saw this light and ordered his attendants to go and investigate. They went, and reported back, saying that it was light from the Master's eyes. His Majesty proceeded to where the Master was, and asked him what method of spiritual training he practised to obtain results such as this. The Master replied: "This monk's practice is nothing special." Thereupon a string of rosary beads on the low sūtra-table rose spontaneously into the air and circled the Master three times, before coming to rest once more.

After this, His Majesty respected the Master greatly, and showed him unprecedented favour.

Chapter 7

How His Songs Circulated and Enlightened the World

In secular studies,[123] the Master was especially competent in *sanoe,*[124] and he composed a song in eleven stanzas on the model of the Ten Sovereign Vows of Samantabhadra.[125] His preface to it reads as follows:

"*Sanoe* is a means of worldly amusement, while the Sovereign Vows are the very pivot of spiritual practice. Therefore, by means of it, one may cross the shallows to regain the depths, may follow the near-at-hand to reach the far-away.

For if one does not make use of secular ways, one cannot attract those of inferior capacity; and if one does not employ vernacular speech, one cannot reveal the path of the All-encompassing Cause.[126] Here, I rely on familiar things that people may easily understand in order to make known unfamiliar doctrines that are difficult to grasp.[127]

As for the phrasing of these eleven crude songs on the teachings of the Ten Great Vows, I am ashamed that they may prove taxing to the eyes of most people, but I hope that they will accord with the mind of the buddhas. Although meaning may have been lost and the wording be obscure, and although I may have failed to achieve harmony with the sublime thoughts of the saints and sages, I still transmit my writings and compose my verses with the intention of producing roots of goodness among the worldly.

I hope that those who recite them light-heartedly may lay the groundwork (for salvation) by (nonetheless) reciting the Vows. I hope that those who repeat them disparagingly will gain the benefit of having repeated (the actual) Vows.

Gentlemen of future generations may praise or excoriate the songs as they please: in

either case I am content."

1. Venerating the Buddhas

May this body which bows
Before the buddhas, whom I draw
With the mind as my brush[128]
Go forth and pervade the Dharmarealm,[129]
And so may the buddhas who fill the Dharmarealm
In which I meet them
In all the buddharealms[130] within every dustmote[131]
Be venerated throughout the Nine Periods of time.[132]
Ah, this I earnestly strive to achieve,
Untiring in deeds of body, speech and thought.

2. Praising the Tathāgatas[133]

May oceans of boundless eloquence
Pour forth today in a single instant[134]
From a myriad tongues that cry
"Hail to the Buddha!"[135]
And so I come before the buddhas
Whom I meet in every dustmote
And praise the boundless ocean of virtues
Of the Kings of Transcendent Freedom.
Ah, and yet they are still unable to fully tell
Of even the minutest part of his virtues.

3. Making Extensive Offerings

When I take up the fire tongs

And trim lamps before the Buddha,

The wick becomes a Mount Sumeru[136]

And its oil the vast surrounding ocean.[137]

My hands perform such deeds throughout the Dharmarealm,[138]

And with each hand, as a Dharma offering,[139]

I make offerings to each and every one of the buddhas

That fill the Dharmarealm.

Ah, though there are many offerings to the Dharma

This offering surpasses them all.

4. Confession of Karmic Obstacles

The evil I have created

By giving rise to erroneous beliefs[140]

And straying from the path to Bodhi[141]

Transcends the bounds of the Dharmarealm.

I accept responsibility for the three evil practices I have fallen into[142]

And undertake to be guided by the master of the pure precepts.[143]

I beg that my full and immediate confession

Be acknowledged this very day by the buddhas of the ten directions.[144]

Ah, may the force of my confession endure as long as this realm of

sentient beings endures,

And may I renounce conditioned things[145] for all time to come.

5. Rejoicing in the Merit of Others

When one examines the truth of Origination[146]

Whereby illusion and reality are one and the same,[147]

The Buddha is seen to pervade all beings,

So how can there be "others" who are other than myself?[148]

It is "I" who practise the Sudden Way of the sages,[149]

But if there be no "others" among those who attain (the Goal)

Should I not rejoice at the good deeds

Performed by any and every person?[150]

Ah, when I think and act like this,

How can an envious heart arise in me?

6. Requesting the Turning of the Wheel of the Dharma[151]

May I forthwith enter

The vast assembly of buddhas

Contained within the Dharmarealm

And beg for the rain of Dharma.[152]

May it soak the field of beings

Whose sprouts of virtue cannot grow

When they are sunk deep in the mud of ignorance

And scorched with the fever of the passions.[153]

Ah, the moon of Enlightenment that Bodhi has brought to the full[154]

And the shining fields of autumn grain!

7. Asking the Buddhas to Remain in the World

Although all buddhas

Are bound to exhaust the causes of their manifestation,[155]

I join my hands in supplication

And beg them to remain in the world.

We truly know them as our friends[156]

To whom we turn from dawn through morning to evening.

Knowing this, they will surely have compassion

For all those who have strayed from the Path.[157]

Ah, when we purify our hearts

Will we not see the Buddha's image there?[158]

8. Forever Following in the Buddha's Footsteps

I shall forthwith follow

The difficult and painful vows[159]

That the buddhas undertook to follow

In all past ages.

Though my body crumble and turn to dust,

And even when offering up my very life,

I will uphold these vows.

Indeed, have not all the buddhas done so?

Ah, the mind which has turned to the Path of the Buddhas

Will never be diverted to other paths.

9. Constantly According with Sentient Beings[160]

The Majestic Tree of Enlightenment[161]

Has the deluded as its roots.

Nourished by the water of Great Compassion,[162]

Indeed they will never wither away.

In every single thought unceasingly,

I shall revere as buddhas

The beings that teem throughout the Dharmarealm

And live and die as we all do.

Ah, when all beings are at peace

The buddhas too will rejoice.

10. Transferring All Merit[163]

I forthwith make over

All the merit I have accomplished

That all the deluded throngs

In the ocean of beings be enlightened.

It is the sun[164] which embodies the ocean of Buddhahood,[165]

That purifies evil deeds that have been repented of,

And makes as before the jewels

That adorn the Abode of Reality.[166]

Ah, the buddhas whom I revere

Are to be found in my own self and in others.

11. Making Inexhaustible Vows

Only when the realm of living beings is spent

Will the force of my vows be spent,

For the Enlightenment of beings

Is (coextensive with) the boundless ocean of (the bodhisattvas') vows.[167]

It is indeed the path of virtue

To set oneself on such a course,

For to practise the vows of Samantabhadra

Is to carry out the activities of Buddhahood.[168]

Ah, knowing the mind of Samantabhadra,

I shall cast aside all other activities.

The above songs spread among the populace and were often written up on people's walls [Note: In the (original) account, the songs were not included; they have been entered into this document, however].[169]

One [person named] Nap'il[170] of the rank Kŭpkan[171] [Note: a Silla Office] [172] of Sap'yŏng Prefecture[173] had been chronically ill for three years and was unable to find a cure. The Master went to see him and was moved to compassion by his suffering. He taught the official these songs of the Sovereign Vows and told him to recite them continuously. Then there came a day when a voice from the heavens called out to the man and said: "Since you have placed your trust in the songs of the Great Saint, your affliction will surely be cured." Thereupon the cure took effect immediately.

Chapter 8 How His Translated Songs Revealed True Virtue

There was a Hallim Academician[174] by the name of Ch'oe Haenggwi[175] from Ch'ŏngha, who was Assistant Adviser to the Inner Council in Charge of Decrees. He was a contemporary of the Master and had long admired him. When these songs were completed, (Ch'oe) translated them into Chinese verse. His preface reads as follows: [176]

"Stanzas and hymns praise the Buddha's merit and its fruits, and are recorded in the texts of the sūtras; songs and verses extol the conduct of the bodhisattvas and its causative power, and are collected in the treasury of the śāstras.[177] Thus, from the Eight Rivers of the West to the Three Mountains of the East,[178] enlightened gentlemen have often raised their voices to sing of the Sublime Principles, and great men of wisdom have frequently given clear utterance to the Spirit of Truth. In the land of Han there were Duke Fu, Master Chia and Teacher T'ang who began the tradition in the South;[179] and Hsien Shou, Ch'eng Kuan and Tsung Mi, who perfected the transmission in the North.[180] Again, there were those like Chiao Jan and Wu K'o, who vied in fashioning elegant phrases;[181] or like Ch'i Chi and Kuan Hsiu, who competed in giving shape to beautiful language.[182]

And in this benevolent land of ours, there have been the refined songs created by the skills of Masa, Munch'ŭk, and Ch'ewŏn;[183] and the sublime melodies created for later generations by Wŏnhyo, Pakpŏm, and Yŏngsang.[184] Then there are the jewelled rhymes that flowed from the wise tranquillity of Ch'ŏng'yu and Sillang; and the jade stanzas produced by the noble refinement of Sunŭi and Taegŏ.[185] Indeed, one after another they have all given pleasure with their clear stanzas like translucent clouds, and delighted the ear with their sublime tones like pure white snow.

However, *shih*-verses are composed in the Chinese language and are worked into

lines of five and seven syllables;[186] whereas (Korean) songs are written in our native tongue and are constructed in three or six phrases.[187] As for the way they sound, they are as remote from one another as Orion is from Lucifer,[188] and it is easy to tell the difference between them; but in their underlying principles, they are opposed like spear and shield, and so it is hard to say where the strong and weak points of each lie. Although each side has its boastful supporters, incisive phrases gain their own recognition, and both forms alike embody the Ocean of Truth. Each has its own place, so what is there that one could condemn or object to?

Men of talent and renown in our land know how to recite the anthologies of China, but none of the learned and worthy scholars of that country understand our songs. Furthermore, Chinese literature, though as elaborate as Indra's Net,[189] is easily studied in our land; while our writings are intricate like Sanskrit texts, and it is hard for anyone in that country to become familiar with them. Consequently, the pearls of Liang and Sung have often been carried east with the rivers' flow, but the brocades of Chinhan have rarely been transmitted to the west with the shifting stars.[190]

This present limitation to mutual communication is indeed cause for deep regret. For is it not true that the Illustrious Scholar of Lu[191] desired to live in this land, but was unable to reach the sea-turtle's head? And did not the Academician Sŏl enforce changes in the education system, with the only result being a rat's tail prolixity?[192]

I humbly submit that the name of our Venerable Master as a teacher ranks with that of Hsüan Wan, who accepted the Three Thousand Precepts;[193] and that his achievement as a preacher is second only to that of Varaprabha, who expounded the Sūtra for eighty kalpas.[194]

He assumed his position as head of the Hwaŏm school, and the many teachings were traced back to their source; he watered the roots of the Great Tree,[195] and all beings obtained the benefit thereof. He was like a great bell,[196] suspended from its

crossbeam and waiting to be struck, for he would respond to every question that was asked; he was as a precious mirror hung from its stand, for, oblivious of fatigue, he would shed light on all obscurities. Of those who professed to have set their hearts on learning, there were none who neglected to gaze upon his lustre.

The Master would encourage them to revere and trust the Buddha. He sought to make them wear the Sword of Wisdom,[197] to guard against the Māras of the North; [198] and to enable them to open the Abode of Love, by indicating their Good Friends in the South.[199] He used to say that the *Caryāpraṇidhāna* which makes up the final chapter of the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* was the mysterious gate by which one reached the sublime realm of the Eldest Son, and the pure path by which one arrived at the Fragrant City of the Pilgrim Youth.[200] So he summed up the teachings of the Master Commentator Ch'eng Kuan in a single scroll, making them widely known; and he kept to the texts of the Indian Practitioners throughout his life, reciting them daily.[201]

The *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* first came to China from the land of Oḍra where a saintly king had copied it by hand.[202] It later reached Sila[203] by way of T'o-gun, where it was written in blood by an exalted worthy.[204] As soon as its four-line stanzas entered the ear, evil roots were instantly destroyed;[205] and when the Ten Texts were again called to mind, Enlightenment was able to occur.[206] Such is the great efficacy of auspicious conditions; how ineffably profound are their blessings!

There are men and women who, without reciting the Sovereign Vows, will come to hear of them through the work of poets, and so make vows themselves, forever establishing the Special Causes.[207] They will work for the deliverance of self and others, thus perfecting their merit, and ultimately achieving the Sublime Fruit! Accordingly, the eight or nine lines of Kyunyŏ's Preface (to the songs) in Chinese are wide-ranging in their significance and rich in their style; while his eleven songs in our language are clear in their expression and beautiful in their phrasing. They are called

sanoe and could put the songs of the Chen-kuan period (627-649) to shame; they are as refined as the best *fu* and may be compared with those of Hui-ming.[208]

However, whereas the Chinese will find it difficult to make out details if they look beyond the Preface, our own scholars can easily chant the songs when they hear them. Thus, each (country) enjoys only half the benefit, while neither gains the full merit.[209] Therefore, the songs are sung in truncated form in the lands between the Liao and P'ae rivers,[210] the words being altered as though the Dharma were being stinted; and they are seldom chanted in the territories of Wu and Ch'in, for they cannot be said to be written in the same language.[211] Furthermore, the Master's mind was at one with the realm of the buddhas, and although his aim was to lead ordinary folk near at hand through the shallows and into the depths, would he have wanted to hinder people who lived far away from abandoning the false and returning to the true?

In former times, a man surnamed Kim translated *Shattered Jewels and Intact Tiles,*[212] thus making its beauty known at the Celestial Court; and Master Ch'oe translated *Bright Moon and Clear Breezes,*[213] thereby wafting its fragrance to realms across the sea. If this should occur even in the case of worldly works, it should certainly happen also with those treating of Ultimate Truth.[214]

I had thought that my intentions would be cause for shame if compared with those of Ho Ch'ung, and my literary skill cause for embarrassment if placed beside that of Ling-yün.[215] For I had pondered deeply on the posthumous bequests of palace eunuchs, but had failed to emulate the practitioners of long ago; and I had reflected at length on the private legacies of Prime Ministers, but could only stand in envy of those whose cultivation had been outstanding.[216]

Then, the other day, I happened to run across a Buddhist friend, and so had the good fortune to peruse the profound words (of Kyunyŏ). Carried away by their sublime tones, I became completely absorbed in them; and feeling concerned that such lofty

sentiments should be dependent (on the Korean language only for their circulation), I have created two streams from this single source, for my poems and his songs express the same substance but in different words. I have translated each song in its proper sequence, inserting the translations between the originals so as to form a continuous text. It is my wish that the original songs with my translations may spread unhindered to the east and the west, reaching clergy and laity alike, so that those who have the karmic affinity may read or hear them continuously. May all reflect on them constantly, and so first gaze up at the elephant on which Samantabhadra rides;[217] may everyone chant them continuously, and so subsequently encounter the Dragonflower Tree beneath which Maitreya will sit.[218]

Let me now conclude this humble preface and forthwith cease my idle chatter. I hope that someone will be kind enough to transmute my iron into gold, and that by throwing brick I may attract jade in return.[219] Should my pedestrian verses come to the attention of a more knowledgeable person, I beg him to correct them for me.

This preface was respectfully written on the __day of the first month of the __ year according to the Sung calendar."[220]

1. Venerating the Buddhas

With the mind as my brush I paint the Kings of Emptiness,[221]

Bowing reverently before them throughout the ten directions.

Every single dustmote contains buddharealms

And in every single buddharealm there are manifold Halls of Honour[222]

Where I see and hear the Self-Enlightened,[223] whose many forms are far-reaching;[224]

May my veneration and praise of them last through endless kalpas.[225]

This veneration by body, speech and mind

I shall perform constantly, with unflagging zeal.

2. Praising the Tathāgata

Let all throughout the Dharmarealm, with wholehearted sincerity,

And with one voice, cry “Hail!” in praise of the Saintly Hero.[226]

May oceans of eloquence flow from my tongue

And fountains of speech well forth from my lips.

Although manifestions as numerous as grains of dust and sand extol the King of Enlightenment,

And the winds that blow through the worlds sing hymns to the Sovereign Healer, [227]

They can never finish telling of even the minutest part of his virtue:

Let my heart hold to this until space itself is exhausted.

3. Making Extensive Offerings

With the utmost sincerity I light lamps before the Buddha,

Praying that the censer’s fragrance pervade the Dharmarealm,

That the incense form clouds like the Sublime Peak,[228]

And that the oil be vast and limpid like the waters of the Great Ocean.[229]

May my heart always be ready to attract living beings,[230] and take their sufferings on myself.[231]

May my strength to practise the Dharma and benefit others steadily increase.

Compared with other offerings, this Dharma offering

Is unsurpassed in that it directly benefits innumerable beings.

4. Confession of Karmic Obstacles

Since the very first kalpas in a cycle without beginning.[232]

How onerous are my sins that have arisen from the Three Poisons.[233]

If these evil causes[234] could appear in perceptible form

The entire realm of space could not contain them.

When I ponder on these karmic obstacles I am filled with regret,

And with the utmost sincerity ask myself how I could be so indolent.

I now seek to confess and remove these obstacles, and uphold the pure precepts:

May I be like the green pine-tree and stand forever aloof from dust and stain.

5. Rejoicing in the Merit of Others

Saintly and worldly, true and false are not to be discriminated:

This is the all-equalizing, primordial, universal teaching.[235]

Apart from sentient beings there is no other "buddha";

How can there be talk of any who are "other" than myself?[236]

The manifold virtues accumulated by those with the Threefold knowledge,[237]

And the slight good[238] acquired by those in the Six Realms:

All this that others have created is as though I had created it myself;

It is all worthy of rejoicing, all worthy of reverence.

6. Requesting the Turning of the Wheel of the Dharma

Innumerable are the buddhas who have achieved Enlightenment:

I beg them all to hasten the causes of True Awakening.[239]

May the sweet nectar[240] rain down, quenching the fever of the passions,

And the pervasive fragrance of the Precepts[241] dispel the dust of evil deeds.

I will keep company with Good Friends[242] and reverence the Abode of Love;[243]

I will beseech the Great Teacher to turn the Wheel of the Dharma.

Once worlds like grains of sand have been soaked with the Jewelled Rain,

Where can the deluded still be found?

7. Asking the Buddhas to Remain in the World

Saints and sages as numerous as atoms

Who have completed your mission[244] in this transient life

And will now return to Quiescence, demonstrating Nirvāṇa:[245]

I beseech you to continue benefiting humans and devas[246] for innumerable kalpas.

The swelling host who would talk of Truth still deserve your affection;

The deluded crowd mired in worldly ways are truly to be pitied.

If they saw that your Lamp of Kindness was about to go out,[247]

How could they not beg you with all their hearts to linger?

8. Forever Following in the Buddha's Footsteps

One may find in this Saha-world[248] the effects

Of Vairocana's mind and his unremitting practice.[249]

He has used his skin for paper, his bones for brushes, and his blood for ink.

And has given away cities, palaces and parks.[250]

Beneath the Bodhi-tree he achieved the Three Qualities of Enlightenment,[251]

And in the midst of the assemblies he preached by means of a single sound.[252]

All these sublime causes I too shall emulate,

And free myself for ever from the depths of the River of Suffering.[253]

9. Constantly According with Sentient Beings

The King of Trees flourishes in the midst of the wilderness,[254]

Desiring the benefit of a thousand myriad kinds of living beings.
Its flowers and fruits are the bodies of saints and sages,
While its root and trunk consist of the minds of worldlings.
If soaked with waves of love, these sentient roots will be enriched,
Whereupon all will pursue the path to Enlightenment, their karma perfected.
May I always follow the Universal Teaching,[255] gladdening all classes of beings,
For I know that this will give great pleasure to the buddhas.

10. Transferring All Merit

All the merit I achieve from the beginning to the end
I make over wholly to all sentient beings,
That all those who long to find peace and leave the Sea of Suffering
May wipe out all their evil deeds and steer by the Wind of Truth.[256]
So may all emerge together from the realm of Defilement[257]
And each return individually to the Palace of Reality.[258]
May I hold most earnestly to this vow of transferral
Throughout all time to come.

11. Making Inexhaustible Vows

I shall maintain my vows while the universe of beings endures—
And how can my intention change, since the universe is inexhaustible?[259]
For the mind of the teacher must shake the dreams of deluded students,
And songs of the Dharma may represent the verses of the Sovereign Vows.
You should sing these songs, if you would do away with the Realm of Error;
And you must not flag, if you wish to return to the Source of Truth.
With single mind continue your efforts unceasingly,

Till you are fit to follow Samantabhadra and emulate his love.

When the above Chinese verse translations of the songs were finished, Chinese people vied in writing them out. A copy was conveyed to the Western Kingdom, [260] where princes and ministers at the Sung court who saw it said that the author of these *sanoe* songs was surely a buddha who had appeared in the world. Thereupon, they sent an envoy to pay their respects to the Master. Now, the Master's features were strange in appearance, and not such as to inspire reverence or faith in worldly people.[261] Thus, our ruler and his ministers, fearing that the Sung envoy would look down on him, refused to accede to the envoy's wishes and would not allow him to see (Kyunyŏ). When the envoy learnt of this, he disguised his clothing and went to the Dhāraṇī Hall [Note: this hall in Kwibŏp Monastery was where the Master usually stayed].[262] He sent his interpreter ahead to explain what he wanted, and to seek an interview. The Master had adjusted his robes[263] and was preparing to go and meet him, when he perceived[264] what was in the minds of our ruler and his ministers (concerning this matter) and abruptly withdrew. On hearing this, the visitor cried "O where, then, can one meet with a buddha?" and wept copiously.

Chapter 9

How He Responded to People's Needs and Subdued Demons

During the K'ai-pao period (968-975),[265] a monk from Kwibŏp Monastery named Chŏngsu went before a judge and laid a false accusation against the Master, saying that his religious practice was being directed to disloyal ends. The judge reported the matter to the throne, and when King Kwangjong heard of it, he was angry and quickly summoned the Master, intending to kill him when he came. But when the Master entered into the royal presence, he prostrated himself in an awe-stricken manner. When the king saw this, he believed the Master to be honest. He then countermanded his order, and had two doctors escort (the Master) out. Afterwards, he sent the Chief Counsellor Sŏl Kwang[266] to the monastery to reassure him.

That night, the king had a dream in which a spirit ten feet tall stood before him, dominating the inner apartments by its size. The spirit said: "By giving credence to flimsy accusations, Your Majesty has insulted a king of the Dharma.[267] Therefore, a great omen of ill fortune will occur." The king awoke, his whole body covered in sweat, and he summoned his attendants and told them of the dream.

The following day, the pine trees on the northern slopes of Mount Song'ak fell over in their thousands, though there was no wind about.[268] When the king was told about this strange phenomenon, he ordered that a divination be performed. The diviner said that this had happened because a king of the Dharma had been insulted. The king grew very apprehensive at this, and so he had an altar set up in the palace to avert calamity.[269] He also ordered the judge to have Chŏngsu beheaded in the market-place, and had the place where Chŏngsu lived turned back into a pond. [Chŏngsu's] lay elder brother had recklessly fabricated documents which had brought about his younger

brother's false accusations, and so he was put to death on the same day as Chŏngsu.

Again, the White Cloud Hall in Yŏngt'ong Monastery had gradually fallen into disrepair over many years, and the Master had it restored. But the god of the locality was offended by this and caused misfortunes to happen daily in retaliation. The Master therefore made up a song petitioning the god. The song was posted on the wall, and the spirit promptly ceased [its malevolent activity].

Chapter 10

How He Made a Show of Being Subject to the Cycle of Saṁsāra[270]

In the sixth year of K'ai-pao (973), the archivist at Kimhae[271] sent a report to the throne, saying that on a certain day and month of that year, a monk of strange appearance[272] wearing a coir-palm hat was seen going to the seashore. On being asked his name and his place of residence, he referred to himself as Vipaśyin[273] and said "Five hundred kalpas ago, I happened to pass through this land, and so formed a karmic link with it. Just recently, seeing that the Three (Kingdoms of) Han had become unified[274] but that the Buddhist teachings had not flourished, I came for a while to the foot of Mount Song'ak to spread the Dharma and the scriptures in accordance with my former vow.[275] Now I intend to go to Japan." And so saying, he vanished. The king marvelled at this (report), and ordered that the date be determined. It turned out to be the day on which the Master had conformed to the way of the world (and passed away).

This concludes the chapter on his apparent submission to the cycle of birth and death.

When the Master was still alive, he formed a strong bond with King Taesŏng.[276] The king made a vow to build a new monastery called Kwibŏp Monastery, at the foot of Mount Song'ak, and when the monastery was completed, he invited the Master to be its abbot.[277] The Master respectfully called for the burning of incense and the lighting of lamps, so giving guidance to the people and causing the Dharma to flourish.

Once, on the day before he was to deliver a sermon, the Master had the Great Worthy Chŏnŏp compose an Introduction[278] to a sūtra. This composition came to

more than ten pages, and Chŏnŏp stepped up and showed it to the Master just as the latter was about to leave for the lecture room. The Master offered incense and set off in procession. Then he glanced through the Introduction once, but when he proceeded to expound it, it was as though he had rehearsed it beforehand. Such were his intelligence and his powers of comprehension.

But alas, bodhisattvas appear because of karmic conditions, and when these conditions are exhausted, they die in this life to be reborn in the next: such is the nature of their work. At the__[279] hour of the seventeenth day of the sixth month of the sixth year of K'ai-pao (973), he passed away[280] at Kwibŏp Monastery and was buried on P'aldŏk Hill, which is a hundred paces or so to the south-east of the monastery. It is a fertile spot where Nature flourishes.

He reached the age of (51) years and had been a monk for __[281] years. Among his talented disciples[282] were Tamnim and Cho, both of whom were eminent members of the Sangha[283] in that generation, and reached the rank of chief monk. And there descended from them a truly great number of disciples, and disciples of these disciples, so that nowadays they are like stalks of paddy or strands of hemp, and are to be found everywhere, some wandering the countryside and others keeping to their home monasteries.

Some time afterwards, Kim Chŏngjun,[284] Prime Minister and Vice-President of the Chancery, saw a phoenix fly away, leaving its nest behind. This reminded him of the Master, and he went to pay his respects in the Master's quarters, which he subsequently had rebuilt and renamed Nectar Hall. It was for this reason that Ko Chŏng[285] Grand Secretary of the Imperial Chancery, wrote a commemorative account which said, in part:

Wisdom has withered and now roams through Heaven;

The Wheel (of the Dharma)[286] has been shattered and levelled with the dust.

Now Sudhana has departed, and the jewelled pavilions and gemstudded pillars are covered with weeds;[287]

Since Chih Tun left, the green hills and white clouds have changed colour with grief...[288]

and so on.

Afterword

Where a saint differs from other men is in his giving guidance to the deluded and instruction to the ignorant, and thereby conferring great benefits. Thus, when I examine our Master's conduct, I find it to be indeed the conduct of a saint! Has not Yang Hsiung[289] said: "It is only after climbing Mount T'ai that one realizes how the other mountains merely trail alongside it"? I have read dozens of stone inscriptions commemorating people of outstanding virtue in former ages, and have been moved to sigh over the swift passing of time. But it is only after learning what our Master's conduct was like that I realize how other memorial inscriptions merely "trail alongside" his.

Alas, the buddhas of the past have completed their teaching, and those who are to come have not yet appeared. When the eyes of the world were growing dim, and the Wheel of Dharma[290] had stopped in mid-turn, the Master proved able to rise up and assist in spreading the influence of the profound teachings.[291] His spiritual powers were auspiciously responsive to need,[292] and manifested themselves in accordance with conditions throughout numberless worlds.[293]

From the little that I have seen and heard I have sought to extract the essentials, though I have thereby preserved only one part in ten thousand. It is my hope that this essay will meet with some knowledgeable person who will be able to polish and improve it.

Written on the [294] day of the first month of the eleventh year of Hsien-yung (1075).

The Life of the All-Wise Kyunyŏ, Chief Monk and Abbot of the Great Hwaŏm Kwibŏp Monastery.

(This document contains) twenty-eight pages.

APPENDIX A : The Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna

The text known as the *Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna*, or "Commitment to Virtuous Practice" [295], became very popular in China, and subsequently throughout the Far East, after Prajña had attached it as a final chapter to his translation of the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* 華嚴經,[296] which was begun in 796 and completed in 798. It had, however, been circulating as an independent text for some time before this. Buddhabhadra, who was responsible for the first translation of the HYS (418-20), also translated the BhCP as a separate work in 420 under the title *Mañjuśrīpraṇidhāna Sūtra* 文殊師利發願經 (T 296), or "Sūtra on the Vows of Mañjuśrī". According to the sixth-century *Catalogue of the Tripiṭaka* 出三藏記 (T 2145), the BhCP was then popular "in foreign countries".[297] Similarly, a tantric text on the *Lotus Sūtra* translated by Amoghavajra (705-774) indicates that it was commonly recited as a normal part of devotional services,[298] just as the first seven vows are often recited in Tibetan Buddhist services even today.

The fact that Buddhabhadra's translation attributes the Vows to Mañjuśrī rather than to Samantabhadra is curious,[299] but these two bodhisattvas are closely connected in Hua Yen texts, where they represent, respectively, the innate wisdom which inspires practice and the actual commitment to, and undertaking of, the practice. Buddhabhadra's translation, which consists of the verses only, has five syllables (characters) to the line, and contains 44 stanzas, 14 fewer than the extant Sanskrit text.

Two translations of the BhCP from the first half of the T'ang period also occur among the texts found at Tunhuang. Apparently somewhat unpolished in style, they also lack the final two stanzas of the later T'ang translations.[300]

The next version (T 297) is by the great tantric teacher and translator Amoghavajra.

This was done in 754, from a text that Amoghavajra had brought from Ceylon himself.[301] Called specifically a *stotra,* or hymn of praise, it also consists of the verses only, but matches the present Sanskrit text closely. In addition to the 62 stanzas, in seven-syllable metre, corresponding to those of Prajña's translation, there are appended a further ten stanzas, in five-syllable lines and a mantra to be pronounced after each recitation of the verses.

The last and most popular translation differs from its predecessors by including a lengthy prose introduction, explaining the vows and practices and connecting the text with the narrative of the HYS, of which it now forms the final chapter. There is also a brief epilogue in prose. The 62 stanzas themselves have seven syllables to the line and are in close agreement with the Sanskrit text and with Amoghavajra's translation.

Having been incorporated by Prajña in the HYS,[302] and thereby acquiring extra prestige as a concluding "summary" of the entire sūtra, the BhCP began to circulate independently once more.[303] Today it is still commonly published as a separate work, often in a single volume with the commentary of Ch'eng Kuan (738-839),[304] and the subcommentary by Tsung Mi (780-841).[305] There exists also an essay by Ching Yüan (1011-1088) on "Cultivation and Realization According to the Vows and Practices of Samantabhadra".[306]

In addition to the Chinese translations and commentaries, there is also a Tibetan translation, together with six commentaries which are preserved in the Tanjur (bsTan'gyur). The latter are by Indian writers, supposedly including such illustrious figures as Nāgārjuna, Dignāga and Vasubandhu.[307] The Sanskrit text of the verses, in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, has also been preserved in Nepal.[308]

The prose and verse sections of Prajña's translation that are relevant to Kyunyŏ's songs are translated into English below. In order to facilitate comparison with the songs, they have been divided into sections headed by the song-titles in parentheses.

First the relevant prose passage is given, and then the corresponding verses.

I. VENERATING THE BUDDHAS

(a) The Bodhisattva Samantabhadra said to Sudhana: "Veneration of the buddhas means that, through the power of Samantabhadra's practices and vows, one has a mind of profound faith and understanding towards all the buddhas that are as numerous as atoms of the buddharealms that fill the whole of space and time throughout the Dharmarealm. Towards them all, as though they were present before one's eyes, one performs acts of veneration with purified body, speech and mind.

It means that in every place where a buddha is present, one manifests bodies as numerous as the atoms of an inconceivable number of buddharealms. This veneration is exhausted only when space itself is exhausted; but since space is inexhaustible, this veneration too can never be exhausted. In the same way, (one maintains the attitude that) one's veneration will be exhausted only when the world of living beings, or their passions, or their karma comes to an end; but since these things are inexhaustible, one's veneration too can never be exhausted.

And so one performs these deeds with body, speech and mind unflaggingly, continually, without ceasing even for a moment."

(b) With pure body, speech and mind
I offer all-pervasive worship
To all the lions of mankind[309]
Who abide in worlds throughout all space
And past, present, and future times
By the power of Samantabhadra's vows

And conduct, I appear before
All the tathāgatas: from each body
More bodies like world-atoms appear
To venerate as many buddhas.

II. PRAISING THE TATHĀGATAS

(a) "And then, son of good family (*kulapati*), this is what is meant by praising the tathāgatas: In every single atom of all the worlds in the ten directions and the three periods of time, as far as the realm of space extends throughout the Dharmarealm, there are as many buddhas as there are atoms in all the words, and every one of those buddhas is surrounded by an assembly of bodhisattvas as vast as the ocean. With the profoundest understanding you should be aware of them and see them present before you; and with tongues[310] whose subtle eloquence surpasses that of the goddess Sarasvatī you should produce, from each tongue, an inexhaustible ocean[311] of voices; and each of these voices will produce an ocean of all kinds of words, glorifying and praising the ocean of virtues of all the tathāgatas, and continuing to do so unceasingly throughout all future time, completely pervading the entire Dharmarealm. And proceeding in this way (you should think that) your praises will come to an end only when the realm of space, or of beings, or of the karma or the passions of beings, comes to an end; but since the realms of space and so on can never come to an end, these praises of yours will never be ended.

(And so one performs such) deeds with body, speech and mind unflaggingly, continually, without ceasing even for a moment."

(b) There are buddhas like atoms in every atom

Each in the midst of a bodhisattva-assembly,
And so with every atom throughout
The inexhaustible Dharmarealm.
With deep faith in the buddhas who fill all the worlds,
Before each one, with an ocean of voices,
I utter sublime, inexhaustible words,
Praising throughout all future kalpas
The buddhas' profound ocean of virtues.

III. MAKING EXTENSIVE OFFERINGS

(a) "And then, son of good family, this is what is meant by making extensive offerings. In all the atoms of all the worlds in the ten directions and the three periods of time, as far as the realm of space extends throughout the Dharmarealm, there are as many buddhas as there are atoms in all the worlds, and every one of those buddhas is surrounded by an assembly of all kinds of bodhisattvas as vast as the ocean. By the power of Samantabhadra's practices and vows, you should give rise to the profoundest faith and understanding, and be aware of them and see them present before you. And then you should make offering to them all with the finest offerings: that is to say, with clouds[312] of flowers, garlands, celestial parasols and canopies, celestial clothing, and all kinds of celestial fragrance—unguents, incense, powders and so on—each in quantities as large as Sumeru, king of mountains. And you should light all kinds of lamps—butter lamps, oil lamps, lamps of all fragrant oils—each one with a wick like Mount Sumeru and with oil like the waters of the great ocean (surrounding Mount Sumeru). You should constantly make offering with offerings such as these.

Son of good family, of all offerings the offering of Dharma is best: that is to say, the

offering of practising as one is taught, of benefiting beings, of gathering them in, of enduring suffering on their behalf, of diligently cultivating roots of goodness, of not abandoning the bodhisattva's task, and of not relinquishing the Aspiration to Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*).

Son of good family, the boundless merit of those former (material) offerings does not amount to a hundredth of the merit of the offering of Dharma even for a moment, nor to a thousandth of it, nor to one part in a *koṭi,*[313] a *nayuta,* a *kala,* an *upanishad* or any number that can be estimated by reckoning or counting or by analogy. Why? Because the Dharma is revered by all the tathāgatas; because buddhas are born as a result of practising the Dharma as they are taught. If bodhisattvas practise the offering of Dharma, they will achieve buddhahood through their offerings, [314] for to practise in this way is the true offering.

And (you should think that) your making of such extensive and excellent offerings will come to an end only when the realm of space, or of beings, or of karma or the passions of beings, comes to an end; but since the realm of space and so on can never come to an end, these offerings of yours, also, will never be ended.

(And so one performs such) deeds with body, speech and mind unflaggingly, continually without ceasing even for a moment."

(b) With excellent, wondrous garlands and flowers,
With music, unguents, parasols,
And all such excellent adornments
I make offering to the tathāgatas.
Excellent clothing and perfumes,
Fragrant powder, incense, lamps,
All in piles of wondrous height,

I offer to the tathāgatas.

With profound faith in all the buddhas,

Past, present, and future, and by the power

Of Samantabhadra's practice and vows,

I make offering to tathāgatas everywhere.

IV. CONFESSION OF KARMIC OBSTACLES

(a) "And then, son of good family, this is what is meant by the removal of karmic obstacles: The bodhisattva reflects (as follows): 'The evil deeds of body, speech and mind that I have committed out of greed, hatred and delusion throughout beginningless past kalpas are beyond counting, infinite. If these evil deeds had substance and form, the entire realm of space would not be able to contain them. But now, purifying all three types of deed,[315] and in the presence of all the buddhas and bodhisattvas of worlds numerous as atoms throughout the Dharmarealm, I make sincere confession and repentance, (vowing) never to create (such karma) again, and to abide eternally in all the merits of the pure precepts.

In this way, my confession will come to an end only when the realm of space, or of beings, of the karma or the passions of beings, comes to an end; but since the realm of space and so on can never come to an end, this confession and repentance of mine will never be ended.'

(And so one performs such) deeds with body, speech and mind unflaggingly, continually, without ceasing even for a moment."

(b) For all the evil karma I have created

Through beginningless greed, hatred and delusion

Sprung from my body, speech and mind

I now make full confession and repentance.

V. REJOICING IN THE MERIT OF OTHERS

(a) "And then, son of good family, this is what is meant by rejoicing in the merit of others:

All the buddhas, numerous as atoms, in all the buddharealms of the ten directions and the three periods of time that fill the realm of space throughout the Dharmarealm—all these tathāgatas, from their initial aspiration to Omniscience,[316] have diligently cultivated the accumulation of blessings,[317] unsparing even of their lives.[318] Through kalpas as numerous as atoms in an inexpressible, unutterable number of buddharealms, they have given up their head, their eyes, their hands and their feet in every one of these kalpas as many times as there are atoms in an inexpressible, unutterable number of buddharealms. In this way (they have cultivated) all the austere and ascetic practices, have fulfilled all the pāramitās, have entered on the realization of all the levels of bodhisattva-wisdom, and have accomplished the unsurpassed *bodhi* of the buddhas, leaving relics[319] for distribution after their *parinirvāṇa*.[320] You should rejoice at all such roots of goodness, and at all the merit, even down to a single atom's worth, of all the beings born in the four ways[321] in all the worlds of the six spheres of existence[322] throughout the ten directions. You should rejoice at all the merit of all the Hearkeners[323] and Pratyekabuddhas[324] both those who are still learners[325] and those who have completed their training,[326] throughout the ten directions and the three periods of time. And you should rejoice at the vast merit of all the bodhisattvas who cultivate numberless austere and ascetic practices in the quest for unsurpassed and perfect *bodhi*.

And in this way (you should think that) your rejoicing in the merit of others will come to an end only when the realms of space, or of beings, or of the karma or the passions of beings comes to an end.

(And so one performs such) deeds with body, speech, and mind unflaggingly, continually, without ceasing even for a moment."

(b) I rejoice at the merit
Of all beings of the ten directions,
Of those of the Two Vehicles
Whose training is or is not complete,
And of all the buddhas and bodhisattvas.

VI. REQUESTING THE TURNING OF THE WHEEL OF DHARMA

(a) "And then, son of good family, this is what is meant by requesting the turning of the Wheel of the Dharma:

In every single atom of all past, present and future buddharealms that occupy the ten directions and fill the realm of space throughout the Dharmarealm there are vast buddharealms as numerous as atoms of an inexpressible, unutterable number of buddharealms, each one surrounded by an assembly of bodhisattvas (as vast) as the ocean. Using all manner of skilful means, by deeds of body, speech, and mind, you should earnestly beseech and urge all those buddhas to turn the wheel of the sublime Dharma.

And in this way, (you should think that) your continual urging and requesting of all the buddhas to turn the wheel of the true Dharma will come to an end only when the realm of space, or of beings, or of the karma or the passions of beings, comes to an

end.

(And so one performs such) deeds with body, speech, and mind unflaggingly, continually, without ceasing even for a moment."

(b) Those lamps of the world in the ten directions
Who have just accomplished Buddhahood—
I now urge and beseech them all
To turn the unsurpassed Dharma-wheel.

VII. ASKING THE BUDDHAS TO REMAIN IN THE WORLD

(a) "And then, son of good family, this is what is meant by asking the buddhas to remain in the world:

Of all the buddhas, all the tathāgatas—numerous as the atoms of all the buddharealms of the ten directions and the three periods of time, that fill the realm of space throughout the Dharmarealm—who are about to manifest their Parinirvāṇa, and of all the Bodhisattvas,[327] Hearkeners, and Solitary Buddhas, both those who are still learners, and those who have completed their training, and so on down to[328] all the gurus[329]—of all these you should beg that they not enter Nirvāṇa[330] but continue to remain for as many kalpas as there are atoms in all the buddharealms, in order to benefit and gladden all beings.

And in this way, (you should think that) your begging (the buddhas to remain) will come to an end only when the realm of space, or of beings, or of the karma or the passions of beings, comes to an end.

(And so one performs such) deeds with body, speech and mind unflaggingly, continually, without ceasing for a moment."

(b) Of the buddhas who would manifest Nirvāṇa
I beg with the utmost sincerity
That they remain for long kalpas like world-atoms
In order to benefit and gladden all beings.

VIII. FOREVER FOLLOWING IN THE BUDDHAS' FOOTSTEPS

(a) "And then, son of good family, this is what is meant by forever following in the buddhas' footsteps:

You should be like the Vairocana Tathāgata of this Sahaworld,[331] who from the First Aspiration exerted himself, never backsliding, giving away his body and life an inexpressible, unutterable number of times. He has stripped off his skin for paper, split his bones to make pens and drawn his own blood for ink, in order to copy out a pile of sūtras as high as Mount Sumeru.[332] Because of his reverence for the Dharma he gave unstintingly of his life—so how much less did he cling to his royal throne, [333] to his towns, villages, palaces, gardens, or any such possessions! And he cultivated all kinds of other austere and ascetic practices, until his achievement of Perfect Enlightenment beneath the Bodhi-tree, where he displayed all kind of wondrous powers,[334] produced all kind of transformations,[335] and manifested all kinds of buddha-bodies, that appeared amidst all kinds of assemblies: now teaching assemblies[336] of great Bodhisattvas, now teaching assemblies of Hearkeners and Pratyekabuddhas, now teaching assemblies of Wheel-turning Kings[337] and lesser kings with their retinues, now teaching assemblies of kṣatriyas and brahmans,[338] or of elders and lay devotees; and so on down to assemblies of devas and nāgas,[339] of the deities of the Eight Divisions,[340] of all beings human and divine. He appears in

the midst of all such assemblies, (preaching) with a voice full and perfect[341] like mighty thunder, maturing beings in accordance with their likes and their inclinations and so on, until he shows that he is about to enter (Pari)nirvāṇa.

In all such things you should follow him. And just as with Lord Vairocana now, so in the same way you should continually follow (the example of) all the tathāgatas who are to be found in all the atoms of all the buddharealms of the ten directions and the three periods of time that fill the realm of space throughout the Dharmarealm.

And in this way (you should think that) even though the realm of space, or of living beings, or of the karma or the passions of living beings, should come to an end, your following the example (of the buddhas) will never come to an end.

(And so one performs such) deeds with body, speech and mind unflaggingly, continually, without ceasing even for a moment."

(b) I shall follow in the footsteps of all the tathāgatas,
Perfecting Samantabhadra's practices.
I make offerings to all the tathāgatas of the past,
To the buddhas of the ten directions now,
And to all future teachers of gods and men—[342]
To all whose will and delight are fulfilled.[343]
May I follow them all, past, present, and future,
And swiftly accomplish Buddhahood.

IX. CONSTANTLY COMPLYING WITH SENTIENT BEINGS

(a) "And then, son of good family, this is what is meant by constantly complying with sentient beings:

All the beings that there are in oceans of worlds throughout the ten directions, worlds that fill the realm of space throughout the Dharmarealm, all these beings with their various differences: that is to say, those born from eggs, from wombs, from moisture and by spontaneous generation; those that exist in dependence on earth, water, fire, or air; those that exist by depending on space, or on plants and trees; beings of all types, with all kinds of bodies, shapes, appearances and lifespans; beings of every species, with their different types of names and temperaments, their different types of knowledge and perspective, of desire and pleasure, of will and conduct; beings with all sorts of bearing and deportment, clothing, and food and drink; beings that live in all sorts of villages, settlements towns or palaces; and so on up to all the devas, nagas, deities of the Eight Divisions, beings human and divine; beings with no legs, with two legs, with four or with many legs; beings with form and without form, [344] with and without cognition,[345] and neither with nor without cognition[346]—with all these various kinds of being you should act in compliance, turning them (towards the Dharma),[347] serving them in all kinds of ways, making all kinds of offerings to them, and revering them as though they were your parents, or as though you were attending teachers or elders, and so on up to arhats, and so on up to tathāgatas; treating them all alike without making any distinctions, being a good physician to those who are experiencing illness and suffering, showing the right path to those who have gone astray, providing light for those lost in darkness, leading the poor to hidden treasures.

So the bodhisattva benefits all beings equally. Why? Because if bodhisattvas are able to comply with sentient beings, then they are complying with and making offerings to all the buddhas. If they revere and serve sentient beings, they are revering and serving the tathāgatas. If they make sentient beings happy, they are making all the tathāgatas happy. Why? Because all the buddhas, all the tathāgatas, regard a mind of

Great Compassion[348] as the essential basis (of practice); because they feel Great Compassion for beings; because the Bodhimind springs from Great Compassion; and because it is through the Bodhimind[349] that Perfect Enlightenment is accomplished.

Suppose that in the midst of a sandy wilderness there stands a great majestic tree: if its roots receive water, the branches, leaves, flowers, and fruit will all flourish. The majestic Bodhi Tree in the wilderness of Saṁsāra is just like this: all beings are its roots, and the buddhas and bodhisattvas are its flowers and fruit. If beings are nourished with the waters of Great Compassion, the flowering and fruiting of the wisdom of the buddhas and bodhisattvas will be accomplished. Why? Because if bodhisattvas benefit beings with the waters of Great Compassion, they will be able to accomplish Anuttarasaṁyaksambodhi.[350] Therefore Bodhi depends on sentient beings, for if there were no beings, it would be impossible to realize Unsurpassed Perfect Enlightenment.

Son of good family, you should understand the matter in this way, for if you develop a mind of Equality[351] towards beings, you will be able to accomplish the perfection of Great Compassion. And if, therefore, with a mind of Great Compassion, you comply with sentient beings, you will be able to perfect the making of offerings to the tathāgatas.

So the bodhisattva complies with sentient beings in this manner (thinking as follows:) 'The realm of space, or of beings, or of the karma or the passions of beings, may come to an end, but this compliance of mine will never end.'

(And so one performs such) deeds with body, speech and mind unflaggingly, continually, without ceasing for a moment."

(b) In all the worlds of the ten directions
Vast, pure and wondrously adorned,

Tathāgatas sit amid a host of beings

Beneath the majestic Bodhi Tree.

May I free all beings of the ten directions

From grief, giving them happiness and peace;

May they enjoy the profound blessings of the True Dharma

And extinguish their passions without remainder.

X. TRANSFERRING ALL MERIT

(a) "And then, son of good family, this is what is meant by transferring all merit:

All the merit you have acquired, from the first act of Veneration[352] down to the Compliance[353] —all this you should transfer to all beings that fill the realm of space throughout the Dharmarealm, vowing that you will always give beings peace and happiness, free them from all illness and suffering, prevent them from accomplishing all the evil they would do, and help them to speedily accomplish all the good that they are cultivating; vowing to close the doors to all the evil states of existence,[354] and to open the right path that leads to (rebirth in the spheres of) human beings and gods or to Nirvāṇa.

All the extremely severe suffering that beings experience as a result of having accumulated much evil karma—all this suffering you should (be willing to) accept in their place,[355] so that beings may achieve Deliverance[356] and ultimately realize Unsurpassed Buddhahood.

So the bodhisattva cultivates the transferral of merit in this manner (thinking as follows): 'The realm of space, or of sentient beings, or of the karma or the passions of sentient beings, may come to an end, but this Transferral of mine will never come to an end.'

(And so one performs such) deeds with body, speech and mind unflaggingly, continually, without ceasing even for a moment."

(b) All the merit from Praise and Veneration,
From Offering, from Asking the Buddhas to Remain
And Turn the Wheel, from Rejoicing and Confession:
I transfer all these roots of goodness
To sentient beings and Buddhahood.[357]

APPENDIX B : The Early Korean Writing System and the Interpretation of Kyunyŏ's Songs

Serious efforts by modern scholars to interpret texts written prior to the fifteenth century in the Korean language using Chinese characters really begin with the work of Ogura (1929), and it is still true to say that they owe their chief debt to the work of Yang Chudong (1942). Although in many cases Yang's interpretations were quite speculative, later scholars have rarely managed to improve substantially upon his work. Essentially, this is because the texts themselves are few in number, and they span just over a full millennium in time, from the earliest surviving evidence of native Korean literacy, the Kwanggaet'o Stele (A.D. 414), to the promulgation of the *Hunmin chŏngŭm* in 1446.

At current levels of knowledge, attempts to draw a linguistic map of the Korean peninsula for any period during this millennium would be a highly speculative enterprise, and so it is not surprising to find little consensus forthcoming on even quite basic theories. One of the few well-established hypotheses is, of course, that one cannot speak meaningfully of an entity called "the Korean language" during the Three Kingdoms Period (1st century B.C.-A.D. 668) and the Unified Silla Period (668-935). Yi Kimun (1972) is probably the most influential proponent of this view when he suggests that it was chiefly due to the centralizing tendencies of the Koryŏ dynasty with its heartland in the central part of the peninsula that people who spoke the separate but relatively similar languages of Paekche, Silla and Koguryŏ came to speak a common language.[358]

Thus, not only does the paucity of material make the exercise of cross-checking a rare luxury, but it is well-nigh impossible for modern scholars to make due allowance

for the many and varied linguistic changes that took place during this period. In the area of linguistics, it is only by means of reconstruction from the more plentiful resources of Late Middle Korean (especially fifteenth-century Korean) that some very general idea of the phonetic reality of the forms transcribed by the Chinese characters can be gained, while in the area of orthography, it has only been in comparatively recent times that scholars have been able to view the evolution of pre-fifteenth-century writing systematically.

The decade of the 1970s was a particularly significant one for orthographical studies. A good deal of new research was stimulated by the rediscovery of several important new texts, and a new generation of scholars began to critically examine, rather than simply accept, the work of pioneers in the field. Not only has light been shed on specific problems of interpretation, but also it has been possible to advance reasonably comprehensive conceptual frameworks into which to place and view the heterogeneous texts. It has become clear that the writing system used in pre-fifteenth-century Korea (hereafter abbreviated to EKWS: the Early Korean Writing System) is indeed a "system", in that while practices were not invented or given any definitive form at any one place or time, it is possible to discern the workings of a coherent tradition. This tradition appears to devolve primarily from the work of the Silla scholar Sŏl Ch'ong 薛聰 (active late seventh to early eighth century), who is believed to be the first to establish reasonably consistent principles in order to guard against the possibility of confusion in applying Korean readings to Chinese characters.[359]

At the same time, of course, the constant evolution of Korean culture over the immense span of time involved, and the variety of stimuli that caused people to have recourse to Korean-language writing ensures that this system, though reasonably consistent in its basic principles, has many facets. At the current level of knowledge it is in terms of basic, underlying principles rather than in terms of specific, definitive

prescriptions enabling the interpretation of individual texts that EKWS is best approached.[360]

Nam (1981) has discerned four different ways in which Chinese characters were used in order to transcribe fully the Korean language in EKWS.[361] These are:

1) *ŭmdok* 音讀 : the sound and the meaning of the Chinese character are adopted directly into the Korean language transcription. The best example of this is the large number of Sino-Korean items in the Korean lexis. In Kyunyŏ's songs, most of the Buddhist terminology, for example, is rendered via *ŭmdok* readings. As might be presumed from this example, the scope for using this mode was considerable in *idu* texts but limited in *hyangch'al* texts since both sound and meaning were bound to the Chinese language.

2) *hundok* 訓讀 : only the meaning of the Chinese character is adopted, with the phonetic value being assigned from the Korean equivalent. In the songs this is usually indicated by transcribing the final phoneme of the Korean word separately. Here the limitation was the requirement of clear lexical correspondences between the Chinese and Korean languages.

3) *ŭmga* 音假 : only the sound of the Chinese character is adopted, the meaning is ignored. This is straightforward transcription, such as is used for the Sanskrit namo 南無 ("Hail!") in song and poem No. 2. The scope for using phonetic transcription characters in this way was clearly considerable, but the syllabic expression of the Korean sound system would have required many hundreds of them. Thus they were unable to provide a foundation for EKWS by themselves. Particular features of the *ŭmga* mode include the basic principle of one character-one syllable, though their vowels could be ignored to render final consonants.

4) *hun'ga* 訓假 : the meaning of the Chinese character is initially adopted in order to obtain the phonetic value of the Korean lexical equivalent, which is then used

phonetically, not semantically.[362]

Although it was thus possible for one Chinese character to be used in up to four different ways, and thus in theory possess up to four different phonetic values, Nam finds that in practice this did not occur, and that a constant value seems to have been ascribed to each character prior to its actual usage.[363] Strong circumstantial evidence suggests that this came about initially as a result of the activities of Sŏl Ch'ong and that the systematic development of the *hyangch'al* script dates from this time. About one hundred years after Sŏl's time, the *Samdaemok* 三代目, the only known major collection of Silla songs, or *hyangga,* was compiled under royal auspices (A.D. 888),[364] and approximately seventy years later, Kyunyŏ composed his songs.

Apart from the conferring of a consistent value on each character, consistent principles were employed in actual usage as well. In *hyangch'al* the most important of these principles established a basic, though not uniform, pattern of *-dok* readings (whether *ŭmdok or hundok*) being followed by *-ga* readings (whether *ŭmga* or *hun'ga*) or, in other words, semantic readings being followed by one or more phonetic readings.[365] Again, this pattern emerges as quite standardized in the years following the generation of Sŏl Ch'ong, and contrasts with the less ordered patterns of combination visible in texts before Sŏl's time.

When the combined resources of EKWS methodology, Ch'oe Haenggwi's poems and the original HYS passages on the BhCP are utilized, it becomes possible to interpret Kyunyŏ's songs with a fair degree of clarity. Oddly, in the sixty-seven years since the rediscovery of the Kyunyŏ-jŏn, this approach has not yet been attempted. Although Yang (1942) gave literal Late Middle Korean interpretations for all twenty-five surviving hyangga, and very literal translations into Modern Korean of the fourteen SGYS *hyangga,* he did not attempt translations of Kyunyŏ's songs into

Modern Korean; Kim Chigyŏn (1977) arranged the Kyunyŏ, Yang, Ch'oe and HYS texts sequentially for each song, but again did not translate them into Modern Korean. And although Lee (1957-8) did, in fact, offer modern renderings of the songs in English, he did not translate the poems in the course of his translation of the Kyunyŏ-jŏn, and gives no sign of having consulted the HYS corresponding texts.[366]

This state of affairs in turn seems to reflect the modern fate of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn* as a document often plundered for its linguistic treasures but practically ignored for its historical and literary content, despite the perils that such an approach entails. It also serves to underline the fact that any serious attempt to redress this imbalance of attention, and to evaluate the literary aspects of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn,* needs to begin with a consideration of what can be gleaned about Kyunyŏ's purpose in composing the songs, and then proceed to a consideration of the actual content of the songs in the light of that purpose.

At several places in the text of the *Kyunyŏ-jŏn,* Kyunyŏ's songs are identified as *ga* 歌, and in one instance as hyangga 鄕歌 (KYJ 10A.5). The term *sanoe* 詞腦 is also attached to them (KYJ 10A.5), thus raising another basic issue of terminology, but also more importantly in the case of the latter term, defining Kyunyŏ's purpose.

Hyangga

In both its etymology and in the contexts in which it is used in ancient sources, *hyangga* is a general term for songs composed in the Korean language. "Hyang" itself is a term of broad meaning "the country, locality, neighborhood" and occurs frequently in Silla and Koryŏ texts with the meaning of the Korean state itself. Thus *hyangga* may be translated as "the songs of our country", and used to distinguish such songs from Chinese language songs and poems.[367]

Sanoe-ga

For early modern scholars, the view of Ogura (1929) and Yang Chudong (1942) that the terms *hyangga* and *sanoe-ga* (*hina uta* for Ogura, *saenaennorae* for Yang) [368] were synonymous held sway, and even when later scholars such as Cho Yunjae (1963) and Chŏng Pyŏng'uk (1952, 1972) began to distinguish between the two terms, they still tacitly accepted their fundamental similarity.[369] With the work of Hwang (1978), it became possible to view *sanoe-ga* as a distinct term, denoting a special form of *hyangga*.

In essence, Hwang defined the *sanoe-ga* not in terms of its formal structure but in terms of the actual use to which it was put. He sees the etymology of the term very much as it is in fact described in the text of the Kyunyŏ-jŏn, namely, that it is a "Koreanized" Chinese compound meaning literally "verse-brain" or "verse-thoughts" but with a meaning more akin to "versifying (spiritual) thoughts". In examining the contexts in which the term *sanoe* appears in the *Samguk yusa,* he sees *sanoe-ga* as essentially a light-hearted, secular song form with accompanying music and dance, but possessing a flexible aesthetic range, depending upon the aim of the composer. Thus it could be used for the expression of sublime or profound sentiments, including spiritual thoughts, but it was nevertheless a secular and not a religious song form, and although the two extant *sanoe-ga* in the SGYS, *Anmin-ga* 安民歌 and *Kip'arang-ga* 耆婆郎歌, are refined compositions with serious subject matter, they are not as overtly spiritual or didactic as Kyunyŏ's songs.[370]

In fact, what is known of *sanoe* from the *Samguk yusa* tends to support a fairly literal interpretation of Kyunyŏ's own description of his purpose in composing the songs. This is stated in the Preface to the songs as follows:

Sanoe is a means of worldly amusement, while the Sovereign Vows are the very pivot of spiritual practice. Therefore, by means of it, one may cross the shallows to

regain the depths; may follow the near-at-hand to reach the far-away.

For if one does not make use of secular ways, one cannot attract those of inferior capacity; and if one does not employ vernacular speech, one cannot reveal the path of the All-Encompassing Cause. Here, I rely on familiar things that people may easily understand in order to make known unfamiliar doctrines that are difficult to grasp.

Thus Kyunyŏ had no very high opinion of the intrinsic merits of *sanoe,* viewing it simply as a means to a rather didactic end. This attitude should, of course, be set against Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng's claim that "the Master was especially competent in *sanoe*" (KYJ 5B.1-2), a statement that seems to imply that Kyunyŏ composed such songs on a regular basis. However, not only does Kyunyŏ's own statement of intent contradict this notion, and not only is there otherwise no hint of secular song composing by Kyunyŏ, but also a careful reading of Ch'oe Haenggwi's Preface reveals no hint of Kyunyŏ enjoying a general literary reputation. Ch'oe's praise is directed specifically at the songs and not geherally at Kyunyŏ as a composer of such songs.[371]

External evidence that points to Kyunyŏ as being much more concerned with couching specific material—the Sovereign Vows—in *sanoe-ga* form for didactic purposes, rather than exercising his talent as an accomplished composer, garners some support from the evidence of the songs themselves. In the exegesis that follows, it will be seen fairly clearly that while the first three songs bear all the signs of having been carefully constructed and well-executed, they rather ironically provide a standard by which to measure the ensuing eight songs. Despite the inherent limitations that attend any attempt to judge Kyunyŏ's merits as a composer from a perspective so far removed in time and place, it seems fair to say that from almost any standpoint that one cares to adopt—use of imagery, formal elements of construction, development of theme, interaction of these three, etc.— none of these eight can be said to measure up

to the first three. The impression that remains is of a composer unable to sustain inspiration; whether due to lack of talent, intent, or pressures of time, or all three, one cannot say.

Exegesis

The following exegesis employs the numbering system of Yang (1942) for ease of reference to what is still the standard work in the field. Yang treats the fourteen SGYS *hyangga* first, and the eleven Kyunyŏ songs are thus Nos. 15 to 25 (inclusive). Thus "15.1.1" refers to the first character in the first line of the first song. It should also be pointed out that so comprehensive was Yang that for the most part, subsequent scholars have been obliged to follow his readings. This is the case here unless otherwise indicated.

Each character is interpreted in terms of Nam's four categories listed above, using the following abbreviations: *hundok* reading = HD, *ŭmdok* reading = UD, *ŭmga* reading = UG, and *hun'ga* reading = HG. Other abbreviations used are: topic particle = TP, subject particle = SP, object particle = OP, instrumental particle = IP, locative particle = LP, possessive particle = PP, verb stem = VS, verb ending = VE, final consonant = FC, final syllable = FS, final vowel = FV.

[The text of Kyunyŏ's songs reprinted below has essentially followed the version in Yang (1942) which has standardized most variant forms of the Chinese characters—Editors.]

1. Venerating the Buddhas

禮敬諸佛歌

Line 1 心未筆留
2 慕呂白乎隱佛體前衣
3 拜內乎隱身萬隱
4 法界毛叱所只至去良

5 塵塵馬洛佛體叱刹亦
6 刹刹每如邀里白乎隱
7 法界滿賜隱佛體
8 九世盡良禮為白齊

9 歎曰 身語意業无疲厭
10 此良夫作沙毛叱等耶

15.1.1: HD; “heart”.
15.1.2: UG; serves two functions simultaneously, FC for 15.1.1 plus PP.
15.1.3: HD; “brush”.
15.1.4: UG; IP.

Line 1: “With (the) mind as (my) brush..."

15.2.1-2: HG + UG; VS “draw”. An HD reading would give an attributive “beloved”, but the corresponding poem is unambiguous at this point, and “beloved” does not seem to fit the solemn, reverent tone of the song.

15.2.3-5: HG + UG + UG; VE “whom (I draw)”.

15.2.6; UD; “Buddha”.

15.2.7: UG; FS for “Buddha”.

15.2.8: HD; “front”.

15.2.9: UG; LP “in, at, be(fore)”.

Line 2: “... before the buddhas whom (I) draw,”

15.3.1: HD; “bow”.

15.3.2-4: HG + UG + UG; VE “which (bows)”.

15.3.5: HD; “body”.

15.3.6-7: UG + UG; FC + TP.

Line 3: “(my) body which bows...”

15.4.1-2: UD; “the Dharmarealm”.

15.4.3-4: UG + UG; VS “exhaust, pervade”.

15.4.5-6: HG + UG; “until”. However, note Nam’s examples of 所 used only as a UG in EKWS (1981, pp. 143, 146, etc.).

15.4.7: HD; “reach”.

15.4.8-9: UG + UG; VE imperative mood.

Line 4: “may (it = my body) reach (out) and pervade the Dharmarealm.”

15.5.1-2: UD + UD; “dustmote”.

15.5.3-4: UG + UG; “every”.

15.5.5-6: UD + UG; “the Buddha” (cf. 15.2.6-7).

15.5.7: UG; PP. (See Nam, 1981, p. 28).

15.5.8: UD; “shrine”, by extension “buddharealm”.

15.5.9: UG; SP.

Line 5: "The buddharealms (which are in) every dustmote..."

15.6.1-2: UD + UD; "buddharealm".

15.6.3-4: UG + HG; "every".

15.6.5: HD; "meet".

15.6.6-9: UG + HG + UG + UG; VE "where (I meet)"

Line 6: "... where I meet (them) in every buddharealm..."

15.7.1-2: UD + UD; "Dharmarealm".

15.7.3: HD; VS "fill".

15.7.4: UG; honorific VS infix.

15.7.5: UG; VE "who".

15.7.6: UD + UG; "the buddhas".

Line 7: "... the buddhas who fill the Dharmarealm..."

15.8.1-2: UD + UD; "the Nine Periods of time".

15.8.3-4: HD + UG; "completely", hence "throughout".

15.8.5: HD; "veneration".

15.8.6; HD; VS "perform".

15.8.7-8: HG + UG; "May I/ Let me (venerate)".

Line 8: "Let me venerate (them) throughout the nine periods of time..."

15.9.1-2: HD; "sighingly (we) say", hence an onomatopoeia "Ah...".

15.9.3-5: UD; "body, speech and thought".

15.9.6: UD; "(in) deeds (of)"

15.9.7: UD; “without”.

15.9.8-9: UD; “weariness, satiation”.

Line 9: “Ah, in deeds of body, speech and mind without flagging...”

15.10.1: HD; “this”.

15.10.2: HG; LP - “in” (this). See Nam (1981, p. 44).

15.10.3-4: UG + HG; adverb “earnestly”. The clear violation of the -dok + -ga sequence and the lack of a clear cross reference makes Yang’s reading particularly speculative here. He obviously leans rather heavily on the poem and HYS texts, both of which give “constantly 常” for this context.

15.10.5-7: UG + UG + UG; VS “consider, have regard for”.

15.10.8-9: UG + UG; exclamatory VE.

Line 10: “I shall constantly seek this.”

Apart from the last line, which remains difficult to interpret, the meaning of the song is relatively clear. As a matter of course, the theme of the meditation practice of visualization is drawn directly from the HYS, along with almost the entire body of imagery. However, Kyunyŏ’s opening metaphor “With the mind as my brush...” is not directly stated in the HYS text, and thus must be counted as striking and fresh, imparting a concrete dimension to a highly abstract practice. The two four-line stanzas that comprise the body of the song are tightly composed and strongly parallel in construction, each consisting of two series of attributives leading to a topic at the end of lines 3 and 6 respectively, thence to an exclamatory verb: “May my body... go forth throughout the Dharmarealm [and] may the buddhas... be venerated throughout the Nine Periods!” The final exclamatory phrase is didactic and echoes the HYS text refrain. The subsequent songs depart from the refrain in wording, thus avoiding a

monotony that might have compromised Kyunyŏ's secular song form. The overall effect achieved by the song is formality in construction, with the dynamism of lines 1-4 leading to the more restrained, conventional lines 5-8, just as the gesture of visualization itself leads to the solemn veneration of the buddhas.[372]

May this body which bows
Before the buddhas, whom I draw
With the mind as my brush
Go forth and pervade the Dharmarealm.

And so may the buddhas who fill the Dharmarealm
In which I meet them
In all the buddharealms within every dustmote
Be venerated throughout the Nine Periods of time

Ah, this I earnestly strive to achieve,
Untiring in deeds of body, speech and thought.

2. Prasing the Tathāgatas

稱讚如來歌

Line 1 今日部伊冬衣

2 南无 佛也白孫舌良衣

3 無尽辯才叱海等

4 一念惡中湧出去良

5 塵塵虛物叱邀呂白乎隱

6 切(功)德叱身乙對為白惡只

7 際于萬隱德海盼

8 間王冬留讚伊白制

9 隔句 必只一毛叱德置

10 毛等尽良白乎隱乃兮

16.1.1-2: UD + UD; “today”.

16.1.3: HD; “throngs, groups”.

16.1.4: UG; FS for 16.1.3.

16.1.5: HD; pluralizing particle for 16.1.3-4.

16.1.6: UG; PP.

Line 1: “Today (the tongues) of the throngs”

16.2.1-3: UG + UG + UG; transcription of Sanskrit namo Bu(ddhāya)—“Hail to the Buddha!”

16.2.4: UG; final, exclamatory particle.

16.2.5: HD; “speak, say, cry”.

16.2.6: UG; VE for 16.2.5 “which (cry)”.

16.2.7: HD; “tongues”.

16.2.8-9: UG; LP “on”.

Line 2: “... on tongues which cry “Hail to the Buddha!”

16.3.1-2: UD; “inexhaustible, boundless”.

16.3.3-4: UD; “eloquence”.

16.3.5: UG; PP “of”.

16.3.6: HD; “sea”.

16.3.7: HG; FS for 16.3.6.

Line 3: “... a sea of inexhaustible eloquence...”

16.4.1-2: UD; “(an) instant”.

16.4.3-4: UG + HG; LP “within”.

16.4.5-6: HD + HD; “gush/pour out”.

16.4.7-8: UG + UG; VE imperative mood.

Line 4: “May (they) pour forth in a single instant.”

16.5.1-2: UD + UD; “dustmotes”.

16.5.3-4: UD + UD; “empty things”, hence “illusory beings”. As Yang notes, the term sounds a little “unpolished” as Chinese, and so may have been coined within Korea. Its precise meaning is certainly unclear.

16.5.5: UG; though usually a PP, the context clearly designates it as an SP here.

16.5.6: HD; “meet, come into the presence of”.

16.5.7-10: UG + HG + UG + UG; VE to 16.5.6 “...who (meet)”.

Line 5: "... (the Form produced by merit) into whose presence the illusory beings have come."

16.6.1-2: UD + UD; "merit".

16.6.3: UG; PP.

16.6.4: HD; "body".

16.6.5: UG; OP.

16.6.6-7: UD + HD; "face, turn towards".

16.6.8-10: HG + UG + UG; VE, gerund "(face)-ing"

Line 6: "... facing the Form produced by merit..."

16.7.1: HD; "boundary".

16.7.2-4: UG + UG + UG; probably a negative attributive. Both Yang and Kim Wanjin (1979b) extract this from the UG sequence but in both cases they are conjecturing. It is primarily from context that the meaning "(bound)less" is derived.

16.7.5: UD; "virtues".

16.7.6: HD; "sea, ocean".

16.7.7: UG; FS for 16.7.6. Although Yang seems to favour OP over FS, the context favours FS.

Line 7: "... boundless ocean of virtues..."

16.8.1-2: UD; "King of Transcendent Freedom".

16.8.3: HD; pluralizing particle.

16.8.4: UG; LP "to".

16.8.5: HD; "praise".

16.8.6-8: UG + HG + UG; VE “May I/let me (praise)...”

Line 8: “May I give praise to the Kings of Transcendent Freedom”

16.9.1-2: HD + HD; “Ah…”.

16.9.3-4: UG + UG; “even, only, just”.

16.9.5: UD + UD; “a tiny portion (of)”, lit. “one hair (of)”.

16.9.6: UG; PP.

16.9.7: UD; “virtues”.

16.9.8: HG; “also”.

Line 9: “Ah, even so, even the virtues of a single hair (of his)...”

16.10.1-2: UG + HG; adverb “unavailingly”.

16.10.3: HD; “entirely”.

16.10.4: UG; VE for 16.10.3.

16.10.5: HD; “say, tell”.

16.10.6-9: UG + UG + UG + UG; VE. Yang describes it as “a form used in the final refrain of songs.” (p. 719), defending this view with a number of examples from LMK texts. It is therefore presumably a declamatory form.

Line 10: “... unavailingly can we (attempt to) fully tell!”

Although some grammatical particles are either not present or else ambiguous, again the meaning is reasonably clear. The song continues the theme of veneration through visualization, passing from the expression of purpose in song 1 (“May the buddhas be venerated”) to the giving of voice to this purpose. Again, it follows closely the content and imagery of the HYS original, adopting the key images “ocean of voices” and “ocean of virtues”. However, Kyunyŏ alters the sequence of the hymn

in order to be able to balance the two stanzas of his song better, and employs a dynamic verb "pour forth, gush out" that is not in the original.

In structure too, song 2 follows song 1 closely, with two tightly composed, parallel four-line stanzas each culminating in an exclamatory verb. The first stanza is expressed in simpler, more concrete language, and the second stanza more overtly didactic. The progression is again from deed to consequence: "May oceans of eloquence pour forth (and so) may the buddhas be praised."

Pour forth today in a single instant
From a myriad tongues that cry
"Hail to the Buddha!"

And so I come before the buddhas
Whom I meet in every dustmote,
And praise the boundless ocean of virtues
Of the Kings of Transcendent Freedom.

Ah, and yet they are still unable to fully tell
Of even the minutest part of his virtues

3. Making Extensive Offerings

廣修供養歌

Line 1 火條執音馬

2 佛前灯乙直體良焉多衣

3 灯灶隱須彌也

4 灯油隱大海逸留去耶

5 手焉法界毛叱色(巴)只為旀

6 手良每如法叱供乙留

7 法界滿賜仁佛體

8 佛佛周物叱供為白制

9 阿耶 法供沙叱多奈

10 伊於衣波最勝供也

17.1.1: HD; “fire”.

17.1.2: HD; “sticks, tongs”.

17.1.3: HD; “take, seize”.

17.1.4-5: UG + UG; VE connective form.

Line 1: “(When) I take up the fire tongs and...”

17.2.1: UD; “the Buddha”.

17.2.2: UD; “before, in front of”.

17.2:3: UD; “lamp, lantern”.

17.2.4: UG; OP.

17.2.5: HD; “correct”, thus “trim”.

17.2.6: UG; FS for 17.2.6.

17.2.7-10: UG; VE “when I (trim)”.

Line 2: “... when I trim the lamp before the buddha...”

17.3.1-2: UD; “wick”.

17.3.3: UG; TP.

17.3.4-5: UD; “Mount Sumeru”.

17.3.6: UG; final, exclamatory particle.

Line 3: “... the wick is Mount Sumeru [and]...”

17.4.1-2; UD; “lamp oil”.

17.4.3: UG; TP.

17.4.4-5: UD; “great ocean”.

17.4.6: HD; “exceed”, thus “become”.

17.4.7-9: UG + HD + UG; exclamatory VE.

Line 4: “... the lamp oil becomes a great sea!”

17.5.1: HD; “hand”.

17.5.2; UG; TP.

17.5.3-4: UD + UD; “the Dharmarealm”.

17.5.5-8: UG + UG + HG + UG; “throughout” (cf. 15.4.3-6).

17.5.9: HD; “perform, act”.

17.5.10: UG; VE connective form.

Line 5: "My hands act throughout the Dharmarealm and..."

17.6.1: HD; "hand".

17.6.2: UG; LP - "in".

17.6.3-4: HD +HG; "each, every".

17.6.5: UD; "Dharma".

17.6.6: UG; PP.

17.6.7: UD; "offering".

17.6.8-9: UG; IP "as".

Line 6: "... in each hand, as an offering of the Dharma..."

17.7.1-2: UD; "the Dharmarealm".

17.7.3: HD; "fill".

17.7.4-5: UG + UG; VE honorific and attributive.

17.7.6-7: UD + UG; "the Buddha" (cf. 15.2.6-7).

Line 7: "... the buddhas who fill the Dharmarealm."

17.8.1-2: UD + UD; "each buddha".

17.8.3-5: HD + HD + UG; "together".

17.8.6: UD; "offering".

17.8.7: HD; "perform, act".

17.8.8-9: HG + UG; VE exclamatory (cf. 16.8.8).

Line 8: "... offer to each and every buddha...".

17.9.1-2: UG + UG; exclamation "Ah,...".

17.9.3-4: UD + UD; "offering of the Dharma."

17.9.5-6: UG + UG; emphatic TP.

17.9.7: HD; “many”.

17.9.8: UG; VE “many but...”

Line 9: “Ah, offerings of the Dharma indeed are many, but”

17.10.1: UG; “this”.

17.10.2-4: UG + UG + UG; an exclamatory phrase “truly, really, indeed”.

17.10.5-8: UD; “the most worthy offering”.

17.10.9: UG; final, exclamatory particle.

Line 10: “... this is truly the most worthy offering!”

Song 3 progresses from songs 1 and 2 as thought (song 1) leads to speech (song 2) and now to action. Again, the imagery is drawn entirely from the HYS original, but from the multitude of offerings listed in the HYS passage, Kyunyŏ has chosen the simple, concrete one of lighting lamps. In structure, there are again two four-line stanzas culminating in exclamatory verbs, and again the song moves from a physical action to its religious significance, but the two stanzas lack the close parallelism evident in songs 1 and 2. The first stanza contains four short independent clauses: a) When I fake the tongs and b) trim the lamp before the Buddha, c) the wick becomes Mount Sumeru and d) the lamp-oil the vast ocean, and no attributives, whereas the second stanza contains only two, with the long clause in lines 6, 7 and 8 breaking the tension created by the previous short ones.

When I take up the fire tongs
And trim lamps before the Buddha,
The wick becomes a Mount Sumeru
And its oil the vast surrounding sea.

My hands perform such deeds throughout the Dharmarealm,
And with each hand as a Dharma offering,
I make offerings to each and every one of the buddhas That fill the Dharmarealm.

Ah, though there are many offerings to the Dharma,
This offering surpasses them all.

4. Confession of Karmic Obstacles

懺悔業障歌

Line 1 顛倒逸耶

2 菩提向焉道乙迷波

3 造將來臥乎陰惡寸隱

4 法界餘音玉只出隱伊音叱如支

5 惡寸習落臥乎隱三業

6 淨戒叱主留卜以支乃遺只

7 今日部頓部叱懺悔

8 十方叱佛體闕遺只賜立

9 落句 眾生界盡我懺盡

10 來際永良造物捨齊

18.1.1-2: UD; “erroneous belief” (Sanskrit viparyāsa).

18.1.3: UG; “exceed, become” (cf. 17.4.6).

18.1.4: UG; VE.

Line 1: “... giving rise to erroneous belief.”

18.2.1-2; UD + UD; “bodhi”.

18.2.3: HD; “face towards”.

18.2.4: UG; VE attributive, “(the path) which faces”.

18.2.5: HD; “path”.

18.2.6: UG; OP.

18.2.7: HD; “deceive”.

18.2.8: UG; VE for 18.2.7.

Line 2: “... deceived of the path towards bodhi...”

18.3.1: HD; “created, made”.

18.3.2-6: HG + HG + HD + UG + UG; VE future attributive, “(the evil) that I will create”.

18.3.7: HD; “harshness, extremity”, thus “evil”.

18.3.8: UG; FS for 18.3.7.

18.3.9: UG; TP.

Line 3: “The evil that I shall have created...”

18.4.1-2: UD + UD; “Dharmarealm”.

18.4.3: HD; “exceed”.

18.4.4: UG; FC for 18.4.3.

18.4.5-6: UG + UG; VE “until (it exceeds)”.

18.4.7: HD; “appears, comes out”.

18.4.8-13: UG + UG + UG + UG + HG + UG; VE for 18.4.7.

Line 4: “appears until it exceeds the (bounds of the) Dharmarealm.”

18.5.1-2: HD + UG; “harsh, extreme” (cf. 18.3.7-8).

18.5.3: HD; “habits, ways”.

18.5.4: HD; “fall”.

18.5.5-7: HG + UG + UG; attributive VE for 18.5.4 “that (I have fallen into)”.

18.5.8-9: UD + UD; “the three practices”.

Line 5: "the three evil practices that I have fallen into.

18.6.1-2: UD + UD; "the pure precepts".

18.6.3: UG; PP "of (the pure precepts)".

18.6.4: UD; "master, lord".

18.6.5: UG; IP "by".

18.6.6: HD; "bear, carry" hence "uphold". Yang quotes a number of LMK examples for 卜 as a simplified character for 負, to which he then gives an HG reading in combination with 18.6.7 "support, maintain". It must be said that this interpretation is not particularly persuasive, because in the other context for 卜, 22.7.6, he is forced to adopt a UG reading, reading the verb as "study", thus going against the essential principle of "one character one value" in EKWS. The actual semantic distinction between the HG and HD readings is, in fact, a minor one, but it is at least possible to read the HD one consistently in both contexts, and so that is the one favoured here. The HYS context is "abide (eternally in the merits of the pure precepts)".

18.6.7-11: UG + UG + UG + UG + UG; VE for 18.6.6 emphatic form.

Line 6: "I shall indeed abide by the (teachings of) the master of the pure precepts..."

18.7.1-2: HD + HD; "today".

18.7.3: HD; "many, multitudinous", thus "full".

18.7.4-5: UD or HD; "sudden, immediate". [373]

18.7.6: UG; PP.

18.7.7-8: UD; "confession".

Line 7: "... now immediate and full confession..."

18.8.1-2 : UD + UD; "ten directions".

18.8.3: UG; PP.

18.8.4-5: UD + UG; "the Buddha".

18.8.6: UG; "know", hence "acknowledge, know of".

18.8.7-10: UG + UG + UG + HD; VE for 18.8.6. Honorific request form.

Line 8: "I ask that the buddhas of the ten directions acknowledge (my confession)."

18.9.1-2: HD; "Ah,...".

18.9.3-5: UD; "the realm of sentient beings".

18.9.6: UD; "exhaust".

18.9.7-8: UD; "my confession".

18.9.9: UD; "exhaust".

Line 9: "Ah, (when) the realm of sentient beings is exhausted, so too will my confession be exhausted".

18.10.1-2: UD; "future regions", thus "time to come".

18.10.3: HD; "long".

18.10.4: UG; adverbial FS for 18.10.3 "long", presumably to intensify the meaning of 18.10.1-2.

18.10.5-6: UD; "conditioned things".

18.10.7: HD; "renounce".

18.10.8: UG; VE.

Line 10: "... and may I renounce conditioned things for all time to come."

The corresponding HYS text is short, and Kyunyŏ seems to have chosen to simply reflect its contents. The two main four-line stanzas revert towards the close parallelism of songs 1 and 2, with the topic of the first one, "evil", placed at the end of line 3 following a string of attributives and linked to a dynamic verb "transcend", while the topic of the second stanza, "confession", is in a corresponding place at the end of line 7. It is linked not to an exclamatory verb but to an honorific request form: "I ask that (my confession) be acknowledged". It could perhaps be said that the introduction of poetics into the act of confession would be unnecessary and intrusive, and thus that the foreswearing of exclamatory verb forms is in accordance both with the HYS original and with the solemnity of the act evoked by the song. It is also noticeable, however, that from this point onwards, Kyunyŏ's songs become more overtly doctrinal in content and less poetic in structure.

The evil I have created
By giving rise to erroneous beliefs
And straying from the path to Bodhi Transcends the bounds of the Dharmarealm.

I accept responsibility for the three evil practices I have fallen into,
And undertake to be guided by the master of the pure precepts.
I beg that my full and immediate confession
Be acknowledged this very day by the buddhas of the ten directions.

Ah, may the force of my confession endure as long as this realm of sentient beings endures,
And may I renounce conditioned things for all time to come.

5. Rejoicing in the Merit of Others

隨喜功德歌

Line 1 迷悟同體叱

2 緣起叱理良尋只見根

3 佛伊眾生毛叱所只

4 吾衣身不喻仁人音有叱不呂

5 修叱賜乙隱頓部叱吾衣修叱孫丁

6 得賜伊馬落人米無叱昆

7 於內人衣善陵等沙

8 不冬喜好尸置乎理叱過

9 後句 伊羅擬可行等

10 嫉妬叱心音至刀來去

19.1.1-2: UD; “illusion and reality.

19.1.3-4: UD; “same body”.

19.1.5: UD; PP.

Line 1: “... (Origination) whereby illusion and reality are one...”

19.2.1-2: UD; “Origination”.

19.2.3: UG; PP “of (Origination)”.

19.2.4: UD; “principle”.

19.2.5: UG; OP.

19.2.6: HD; “investigate, seek”.

19.2.7: UG; FC for 19.2.6.

19.2.8: HD; “look”.

19.2.9: UG; conditional mode VE for 19.2.6-8 “if (one seeks)...”

Line 2: “If one examines the principle of Origination...”

19.3.1: UD; “the Buddha”.

19.3.2: UG; FV for 19.3.1.

19.3.3-4: UD; “sentient beings”.

19.3.5-8: UG + UG + HG + UG; “until it pervades”, hence “throughout” (cf. 15.4.3-6).

Line 3: “… the Buddha pervades all sentient beings...”

19.4.1: HD; “I”.

19.4.2: UG; PP, thus “my”.

19.4.3: HD; “body”.

19.4.4-5: HD + HG; VS “is not”.

19.4.6: UG; attributive VE “(others) who (are not me)”.

19.4.7: HD; “people” hence “others”.

19.4.8: UG; FC for 19.4.7.

19.4.9: HD; VS “exist, have”.

19.4.10-12: UG + UG + UG; exclamatory/rhetorical VE. Yang has it as an interrogative form, but the case of Chŏng (1972, p. 93) for the exclamatory form, made in the light of Yang’s arguments, is more persuasive.

Line 4: "... how indeed do 'others' exist who are not 'me'?"

19.5.1: HD; "practise, cultivate".

19.5.2: UG; FC for 19.5.1.

19.5.3-5: UG + UG + UG; past tense, attributive, honorific VE "(the Sudden Way) that (the sages) have cultivated".

19.5.6-7: HD + HD; "the Sudden Way".

19.5.8: PP. Yang proposes OP, and while he provides examples of the use of 叱 as an OP, it seems to be needlessly confusing for Kyunyŏ to have used the same character for two different functions within three lines of each other in the same song, unless the two were very alike in function. The presumed meaning of what is a somewhat enigmatic line is not greatly altered whichever function is assumed.

19.5.9: HD; "I".

19.5.10: UG; PP. Again, Yang proposes SP and again, the same arguments as for 19.5.6 apply.

19.5.11-12: HD + UG; "practise, cultivate".

19.5.13-14: UG + UG; VE "(I) practise but...", hence "although (I) practise..."

Line 5: "although I practise the Sudden Way practised by the sages..."

19.6.1: HD; "attain".

19.6.2: UG; honorific VE.

19.6.3: UG; "ones, people", in this case meaning the sages.

19.6.4-5: UG + UG; "every" (cf. 15.5.3-4).

19.6.6: HD; "others".

19.6.7: UG; combined function of FC for 19.6.6 and TP.

19.6.8: HD; "not exist".

19.6.9-10: UG + UG; conditional VE “if there be no (others)”.

Line 6: “if there be no ‘others’ (amongst) all who have attained (Enlightenment)”

19.7.1-2: UG + UG; “any”.

19.7.3: HD; “human”. The lack of an FC leads Yang to propose a UD reading.

19.7.4: UG; PP.

19.7.5: UD; “virtue”.

19.7.6: UG; FC for 19.7.5.

19.7.7: HD; pluralizing particle.

19.7.8: UG; emphatic particle.

Line 7: “indeed, the good of others”

19.8.1-2: HD + UG; negative form for 19.8.3.

19.8.3: HD; “be happy” thus “rejoice”.

19.8.4-5: VE; gerund.

19.8.6: HD; “place”.

19.8.7-10: UG + UG + UG + UG; VE “should I not (rejoice)?”

Line 8: “should I not rejoice?

19.9.1-2: HD + HD; “Ah...”

19.9.3-4: UG + UG; “this”.

19.9.5: HD; “adjudge”.

19.9.6: UG; VE for 19.9.5.

19.9.7: HD; “act”.

19.9.8: UG; conditional VE for 19.9.7.

Line 9: "Ah, if I adjudge and act thus"

19.10.1-2: UD + UD; "jealousy, envy".

19.10.3: UG; PP.

19.10.4: HD; "heart".

19.10.5: UG; FC for 19.10.4.

19.10.6: HG; "arise".

19.10.7-9: UG + HD + HG; VE for 19.10.6

This song is one of the more enigmatic ones in the cycle, and since it departs so far from the text (though not from the meaning) of the HYS original, it is naturally a fertile field for speculation, for without a parallel HYS text, it is impossible to deduce things from context. The reason for this departure seems to be the nature of the HYS text, which consists of little more than lists of types of goodness to be rejoiced at. Rather than simply follow this list, Kyunyŏ has opted instead for explaining the doctrine of Origination that lies behind this vow. The result is an austere song, declamatory in form and almost totally devoid of poetic imagery.

Again, the two stanzas are strongly parallel in form, though in a different fashion to the preceding songs. Here, both stanzas present a proposition and answer it rhetorically "If this be so, then how...?".

When one examines the truth of Origination
Whereby illusion and reality are one and the same,
The Buddha is seen to pervade all beings,
So how can there be "others" who are other than myself?
It is "I" who practise the Sudden Way of the sages

But if there be no “others” among those who attain (the Goal),

Should I not rejoice at the good deeds

Performed by any and every person?

Ah, when I think and act like this,

How can an envious heart arise in me?

6. Requesting the Turning of the Wheel of the Dharma

請轉法輪歌

Line 1 彼仍反隱

2 法界惡之叱佛會阿希

3 吾焉頓叱進良只

4 法雨乙乞白乎叱等耶

5 無明土深以埋多

6 煩惱熱留煎將來出米

7 善芽毛冬長乙隱

8 眾生叱田乙潤只沙音也

9 後言 菩提叱果音烏乙反隱

10 覺月明斤秋察羅波處也

20.1.1: HD; “that”.

20.1.2-4: UG + UG + UG; “broad, wide”.

Line 1: “... that broad (assembly)...”

20.2.1-2: UD + UD; “Dharmarealm”.

20.2.3-4: UG; “in”.

20.2.5: UG; PP.

20.2.6-7: UD + UD; “assembly of buddhas”.

20.2.8: UG + UG; LP.

Line 2: "... into the assemblies of buddhas within the Dharmarealm..."

20.3.1: HD; "I".

20.3.2: UG; TP.

20.3.3-4: HD+UG; "again".

20.3.5: HD; "enter".

20.3.6-7: UG + UG; emphatic VE for 20.3.5.

Line 3: "I shall again enter and..."

20.4.1-2: UD + UD; "the rain of the Dharma".

20.4.3: UG; OP.

20.4.4: HD; "beg".

20.4.5-9: HG + UG + UG + HG + UG; exclamatory VE for 20.4.4.

Line 4: "beg for the rain of Dharma."

20.5.1-3: UD + UD + UD; "soil of ignorance".

20.5.4: HD; "deep".

20.5.5: UG; adverbial ending "(deeply)".

20.5.6: HD; "stain".

20.5.7: UG; VE for 20.5.6.

Line 5: "deeply stained with the mud of ignorance"

20.6.1-3: UD + UD + UD; "fever of the passions".

20.6.4: UG; IP "by".

20.6.5: HD; "set alight", hence "scorched".

20.6.6-9: HD; future VE for 20.6.5.

20.6.10: HD; auxiliary verb “come out”.

20.6.11: UG; gerundive VE for 20.6.10.

Line 6: “scorched with the fever of the passions”

20.7.1-2: UD + UD; “sprouts of virtue”.

20.7.3-4: UG + UG; “unable”.

20.7.5: HD; “grow up”.

20.7.6-7: UG + UG; attributive VE for 20.7.5.

Line 7 “(the beings) who are unable to grow sprouts of virtue”

20.8.1-2: UD + UD; “sentient beings”.

20.8.3: UG; PP.

20.8.4: HD; “field”.

20.8.5: UG; OP.

20.8.6: HD; “soak”.

20.8.7-10: UG + UG + UG + UG; exhortatory, honorific VE for 20.8.6.

Line 8: “May (you, rain of Dharma) soak the fields of the beings (who...)”

20.9.1-2: HD; “Ah...”

20.9.3-4: UD + UD; “bodhi”.

20.9.5: UG; PP.

20.9.6: HD; “fruit”.

20.9.7: UG; FC for 20.9.6.

20.9.8-10: UG + UG + UG; “fill, complete”.

20.9.11: UG; attributive VE for 20.9.8-10.

Line 9: "(which) the fruit of Bodhi has brought to completion"

20.10.1-2: UD + UD; "moon of Enlightenment".

20.10.3: HD; "bright".

20.10.4: UG; FC for 20.10.3 + Attributive VE.

20.10.5: HD; "autumn".

20.10.6-7: UG + UG; FSs for 20.10.5.

20.10.8-9: UG + UG; "field".

20.10.10: UG; exclamatory final particle.

Line 10: "the moon of Enlightenment [and] bright autumn fields!"

Again, the HYS text gives little scope for song composition, and again Kyunyŏ departs from it, although unlike the previous song, the departure results in what is probably the most lyrical of the songs. In fact, Kyunyŏ exhausts the possibilities of the HYS original in lines 1- 4 and then proceeds to extend and illustrate the point by means of striking imagery. The imagery of lines 5-8 of the song is, of course, strongly agricultural, though nonetheless thoroughly Buddhist, and is drawn together into a unified metaphor for spiritual growth. As indicated in the Translation (n. 129), this imagery is not original, but is drawn substantially from the Lotus Sūtra.

The two main stanzas return to the pattern of songs 1-3, with an action in lines 1-4 having its full religious significance manifested in lines 5-8. In structure, however, the two stanzas are not especially parallel, with lines 1-4 lacking the long and lyrical attributives of lines 5-8. It is also noteworthy that lines 9-10 are not simply liturgical phrases commenting upon lines 1-8 as is usually the case, but that with their evocation of bodhi, they complete the song's metaphor.

May I forthwith enter

The vast assembly of buddhas

Contained within the Dharmarealm

And beg for the rain of Dharma.

May it soak the field of beings

Whose sprouts of virtue cannot grow

When they are sunk deep in the mud of ignorance

And scorched with the fever of the passions.

Ah, the moon of Enlightenment that Bodhi has brought to the full

And the shining fields of autumn grain!

7. Asking the Buddhas to Remain in the World

請佛住世歌

Line 1 皆佛體

2 必于化緣盡動賜隱乃

3 毛乙賓非嗚良尓

4 世呂中止以友白乎等耶

5 曉留朝于萬夜未

6 向屋賜尸朋知良闥尸也

7 伊知皆矣為米

8 道尸迷反群良哀呂舌

9 落句 吾里心音水凊等

10 佛影不冬應為賜下呂

21.1.1: HD; “all”.

21.1.2-3: UD + UG; “the buddhas”.

Line 1: “... all the buddhas...”

21.2.1-2: UG + UG; “although”.

21.2.3-4: UD + UD; “the causes of their manifestation”.

21.2.5-6: HG + UG; “exhaust”.

21.2.7-9: UG + UG + UG; honorific VE for 21.2.5-6.

Line 2: "... although (they) will exhaust the causes of their manifestation..."

21.3.1: HD; "hands".

21.3.2: UG; OP.

21.3.3-4: UG + UG; "rub, knead".

21.3.5-7: UG + UG + UG; VE for 21.3.3-4.

Line 3: "I join my hands..."

21.4.1: HD; "world".

21.4.2: UG; FS for 21.4.1.

21.4.3: UG; LP.

21.4.4: HD; "stop".

21.4.5-10: HG + UG + HG + UG + HG + UG; exclamatory VE for 21.4.4.

Line 4: "... may they remain in the world."

21.5.1: HD; "dawn".

21.5.2: UG; "from".

21.5.3: HD; "morning".

21.5.4-5: UG + UG; FS for 21.5.3.

21.5.6: HD; "night".

21.5.7: UG; FS for 21.5.6 + "at".

Line 5: "From dawn to morning, to night,..."

21.6.1: HD; "face".

21.6.2-4: UG + HG + UG; attributive VE for 21.6.1 "(the friend) who faces (us)".

21.6.5: HD; "friend".

21.6.6: HD; "know".

21.6.7-10: UG + UG + UG + UG; exclamatory VE for 21.6.6.

Line 6: "... indeed we know the friend who is before us!"

21.7.1: UG; "this".

21.7.2: HD; "know".

21.7.3-4: UG + UG; VE for 21.7.2.

21.7.5: HD; "practise, do". Yang reads "become".

21.7.6: UG; gerundive VE for 21.7.6.

Line 7: "... and when they become aware of this..."

21.8.1: HD; "path".

21.8.2: UG; FC for 21.8.1.

21.8.3: HD; "go astray".

21.8.4: UG; FS + attributive VE for 21.8.3.

21.8.5: HD; "throngs, multitudes".

21.8.6: UG; FS for 21.8.5.

21.8.7: HD; "pity, have compassion for".

21.8.8-9: UG + HG; exclamatory VE for 21.8.7.

Line 8: "... they shall have pity for the multitudes who have gone astray"

21.9.1-2: HD + HD; "Ah,...".

21.9.3: HD; "our".

21.9.4: UG; FS for 21.9.3.

21.9.5: HD; "heart".

21.9.6: UG; FS for 21.9.5.

21.9.7: HG; FS for 21.9.5 + OP.

21.9.8: HD; “purify, cleanse”.

21.9.9: UG; conditional VE for 21.9.8.

Line 9: “Ah, if we cleanse our hearts...”

21.10.1-2: UD + UD; “image of the Buddha”.

21.10.3-4: HD + UG; negative prefix for 21.10.5.

21.10.5-6: HD; “suitable, proper”.

21.10.7-9: HD + UG + UG; exclamatory VE for 21.10.5-6.

Line 10: “... will we not see the Buddha’s image there!”

Again, the HYS text is short and taxonomical, and so offers little help for the structuring of a song. Kyunyŏ’s response is again to present a gesture of worship and then expound on its religious significance. This he does so with virtually no recourse to poetic devices. The two main stanzas are divided into two independent clauses, and hence do not permit the build-up of attributives, there are no real parallelisms, and there is no lyricism to speak of.

Although all buddhas
Are bound to exhaust the causes of their manifestation,
I join my hands in supplication
And beg them to remain in the world.
We truly know them as our friends
To whom we turn from dawn through morning to evening.
Knowing this, they will surely have compassion
For all those who have strayed from the path.
Ah, when we purify our hearts,

Will we not see the Buddha's image there?

8. Forever Following in the Buddha's Footsteps

常隨佛學歌

Line 1 我佛體

2 皆往焉世呂修將來賜留隱

3 難行苦行叱願乙

4 吾焉頓部叱逐好友伊音叱多

5 身靡只碎良只塵伊去米

6 命乙施好尸歲史中置

7 然叱皆尸卜下里

8 皆佛體置然叱為賜隱伊留兮

9 城上人 佛道向隱心下

10 他道不冬斜良只行齊

22.1.1: HD; "our".

22.1.2-3: UD + UG; "the Buddha".

Line 1: "... (I shall follow the vows of) Buddha..."

22.2.1: HD; "all".

22.2.2: HD; "past".

22.2.3: UG; attributive VE for 22.2.2.

22.2.4: HD; "period(s) of time".

22.2.5: UG; FS for 22.2.4.

22.2.6: HD; “practise”.

22.2.7-11: HD + HD + HD + UG + UG; attributive, honorific VE for 22.2.6.

Line 2: "... (the vows) of the buddhas in all past period(s) of time that I will practise...”

22.3.1-4: UD + UD + UD + UD; “difficult and painful to practise”

22.3.5: UG; PP.

22.3.6: UD; “vows”.

22.3.7: UG; OP.

Line 3: “... the difficult and painful to practise vows...”

22.4.1: HD; “I”.

22.4.2: UG; TP.

22.4.3-4: UD + UD; “forthwith”.

22.4.5: UG; If 之叱 had ever had a consistent grammatical function in hyangch’al, this function had lost its consistency by the fifteenth century. Here the context indicates an adverbial function, but see n. 9.

22.4.6-8: HD + HG + UG; “follow”.

22.4.9-12: UG + UG + UG + UG; VE for 22.4.6-8.

Line 4: “I shall forthwith follow...”

22.5.1: HD; “body”.

22.5.2: UG; FS for 22.5.1.

22.5.3: UG; emphatic particle.

22.5.4: HD; “crumble”.

22.5.5-6: UG + UG; VE for 22.5.4.

22.5.7: HD; “dust”.

22.5.8: UG; SP.

22.5.9: HD; “go” hence “turn to”.

22.5.10: UG; gerundive VE for 22.5.9 + LP, “when”.

Line 5: “... when my body crumble and turn to dust...”

22.6.1: UD; “life”.

22.6.2: UG; OP.

22.6.3: HD; “give, bestow”, hence “offer up”.

22.6.4-5: UG + UG; VE for 22.6.3.

22.6.6: UG + UG; “time”.

22.6.7: HD; LP “at”.

22.6.8: UG; emphatic particle “even”.

Line 6: “... even when offering up (one’s) life...”

22.7.1: HD; “(do) thus”.

22.7.2-5: UG + UG + UG + UG; VE for 22.7.1.

22.7.6: HD; “shoulder, bear” hence “undertake” (cf. 18.6.6).

22.7.7-8: UG + UG; emphatic form VE for 22.7.6.

Line 7: “I undertake to do thus.”

22.8.1: HD; “all”.

22.8.2-3: UD + UG; “the buddhas”.

22.8.4: UG; inclusive particle “also”.

22.8.5-7: HD; “do thus”.

22.8.8-12: HD + UG + UG + UG + UG; emphatic, honorific VE for 22.8.5-7.

Line 8: "[Did not] all the buddhas do thus?"

22.9.1-3: HG; "Ah..."

22.9.4-5: UD + UD; "the Buddhist Path".

22.9.6: HD; "face, turn towards".

22.9.7: UG; attributive VE for 22.9.6.

22.9.8: HD; "heart".

22.9.9: UG; emphatic particle.

Line 9: "Indeed, the mind that has turned towards the path of the Buddha..."

22.10.1-2: HD + HD; "other paths". Yang acknowledges the possibility of UD readings, but finds such readings "awkward" (p. 827).

22.10.3-4: HD + UG; negative verbal prefix.

22.10.5: HD; "lean, lie aslant".

22.10.6-7: UG + UG; VE for 22.10.5.

22.10.8: HD; "go".

22.10.9: UG;VE for 22.10.9.

Line 10: "... will not lean towards other paths."

The HYS text describes the progress of the Buddha from self-denial to Enlightenment to the threshold of Parinirvāṇa and exhorts emulation. The first stanza of Kyunyŏ's song closely follows the first lines of the relevant HYS hymn, while the second stanza simply echoes the pledge of the first stanza in stronger language. Like the preceding song, this song is almost completely devoid of poetic devices.

1 shall forthwith follow

The difficult and painful vows

That the buddhas undertook to follow

In all past ages.

Though my body crumble and turn to dust And even when offering up my very life,

I will uphold these vows.

Indeed, have not all the buddhas done so?

Ah, the mind which has turned to the Path of the Buddhas

Will never be diverted to other paths.

9. Constantly According with Sentient Beings

恆順眾生歌

Line 1 覺樹王焉

2 迷火隱乙根中沙音賜焉逸良

3 大悲叱水留潤良只

4 不冬萎玉內平留叱等耶

5 法界居得丘物叱丘物叱

6 為乙吾置同生同死

7 念念相續无間斷

8 佛體為尸如敬叱好叱等耶

9 打心 眾生安為飛等

10 佛體頓叱喜賜以留也

23.1.1-3: UD + UD + UD; “Enlightenment-tree-sovereign”. The reference is to the Bodhi-tree as a symbol for Bodhi (Enlightenment) itself.

23.1.4: UG; TP.

Line 1: “The Majestic Tree of Enlightenment...”

23.2.1: HD; “deceive, delude”.

23.2.2: HG; FS for 23.2.1.

23.2.3: UG; attributive VE for 23.2.1-2 [+“ones”].

23.2.4: HD; “roots”.

23.2.5: HD; LP “at”.

23.2.6-7: UG + UG; “regard”.

23.2.8-11; HD + UG + UG + UG; honorific, exclamatory VE for 23.2.6-7.

Line 2: “... regards the deluded ones at its roots.”

23.3.1-2: UD + UD; “Great Compassion”.

23.3.3: UG; PP.

23.3.4: HD; “water”.

23.3.5: UG; FC for 23.3.4 + IP “as”.

23.3.6: HD; “soak”.

23.3.7-8: UG + UG; VE for 23.3.6.

Line 3: “Soaked by the waters of Great Compassion...”

23.4.1-2: HD + UG; negative verbal prefix.

23.4.3: HD; “wither”.

23.4.4: UG; FV for 23.4.3.

23.4.5-10: UG + UG + UG + UG + UG + UG; exclamatory VE for 23.4.3-4.

Line 4: “... they will never wither.”

23.5.1-2: UD + UD; “the Dharmarealm”.

23.5.3-4: UG + UG; preposition “throughout”.

23.5.5-10: UG + UG + UG + UG + UG + UG; “squirm, wriggle, teem”.

Line 5: “... (those that) teem throughout the Dharmarealm.”

23.6.1: HD; “do, act”, verbalizes 23.5.5-10.

23.6.2: UG; attributive VE; “the ones (which)...”.

23.6.3: HD; “I, we”.

23.6.4: HG; adverb “also”.

23.6.5-8: UD + UD + UD + UD; “same-live-same-die”.

Line 6: “... (they) live and die (with) me…”

23.7.1-2: UD + UD; “instant”.

23.7.3-7: UD + UD + UD + UD + UD; “continually without interruption”.

Line 7: “Without ceasing even for an instant...”

23.8.1: UD + UG; “buddhas”.

23.8.3: HD; “do, practise”.

23.8.4-5: UG + HD; VE for 23.8.3, “as (I) do”.

23.8.6: HD; “respect/revere”.

23.8.7-11: UG + UG + UG + UG + UG; exclamatory VE for 23.8.6.

Line 8: "... I revere them just as I do the buddhas.”

23.9.1-2: HD; “Ah...”.

23.9.3-4: UD + UD; “sentient beings”.

23.9.5: HD; “peaceful”.

23.9.6: HD; “do, practise”, verbalizer for 23.9.5.

23.9.7-8: HG + UG; VE for 23.9.6, “when/if...”.

Line 9: “Ah, when beings are at peace...”

23.10.1-2: UD + UG; “the buddhas”.

23.10.3-4: HG + UG; “also”.

23.10.5: HD; “rejoice, be happy”.

23.10.6-9: HD + UG + UG + UG; exclamatory VE for 23.10.5.

Line 10: "... the buddhas will also rejoice"

Here Kyunyŏ practically reverses the order of a relatively lengthy HYS text, beginning with the metaphor of the Bodhi Tree, and then returning to the point of the metaphor. Again, the tone is expository, the main stanzas are loosely parallel, and lyricism is absent; in fact, there are twelve consecutive UD readings between the middle of line 6 and the beginning of line 8.

The Majestic Tree of Enlightenment
Has the deluded as its roots.
Nourished by the water of Great Compassion,
Indeed, they will never wither away.
In every single thought unceasingly
I shall revere as buddhas
The beings that teem throughout the Dharmarealm
And live and die as we all do.
Ah, when all beings are at peace
Then the buddhas too will rejoice.

10. Transferring All Merit

普皆廻向歌

Line 1 皆吾衣修孫

2 一切善陵頓部叱廻良只

3 眾生叱海惡中

4 迷反群无史悟內去齊

5 佛體叱海等成留焉日尸恨

6 懺為如乎仁惡寸業置

7 法性叱宅阿叱寶良

8 舊留然叱為事置耶

9 病吟 禮為白孫佛體刀

10 吾衣身伊波人有叱下呂

24.1.1: HD; adverb “completely”.

24.1.2-3: HD + UG; “my”.

24.1.4: HD; “practise, cultivate”.

24.1.5: UG; attributive VE for 24.1.4.

Line 1: “... completely, (the merit) I have cultivated...”

24.2.1-3: UD + UD + UD; “all merit”.

24.2.4: UG; FC for 24.2.3.

24.2.5-6: UD + UD; “instantly, forthwith”.

24.2.7: HD; “turn”.

24.2.8-9: UG + UG; exclamatory VE for 24.2.7.

Line 2: “(I shall) forthwith turn over all the merit...”

24.3.1-2: UD + UD; “sentient beings”.

24.3.3: UG; PP.

24.3.4: HD; “sea, ocean”.

24.3.5-6: UG + HD; preposition “in, within”.

Line 3: “... in the ocean of beings...”

24.4.1-2: HD; “gone astray” (cf. 21.8.3-4).

24.4.3: HD; “throngs”

24.4.4-5: HD + UG; adverbial phrase “so that there be no...”.

24.4.6: HD; “awake”.

24.4.7-9: UG + HD + UG; VE for 24.4.6.

Line 4: “... (and) awaken (them) so that there be no deluded throngs.”

24.5.1-2: UD + UG; “the buddhas”.

24.5.3: UG; PP.

24.5.4: HD; “ocean, sea”.

24.5.5: UG; FC for 24.5.4 + OP.

24.5.6: HD; “forms, becomes” hence “embodies”.

24.5.7-8: UG + UG; attributive VE for 24.5.6.

24.5.9: HD; “sun”.

24.5.10: UG; FC for 24.5.9.

24.5.11: UG; TP.

Line 5: "The sun which embodies the ocean of Buddhahood..."

24.6.1: UD; "remorse".

24.6.2: HD; "do, practise", verbalizer for 24.6.1.

24.6.3-5: HG + UG + UG; attributive VE for 24.6.1-2.

24.6.6-7: HD + UG; "evil".

24.6.8: UD; "deeds".

24.6.9: HG; "also".

Line 6: "... also the evil deeds that have been repented of..."

24.7.1-4: UD + UD + UG + HD; "the Abode of Reality".

24.7.5-6: UG + UG; preposition "in" + PP.

24.7.7: HD; "jewel".

24.7.8: UG; emphatic particle.

Line 7: "... indeed the jewels of the Abode of Reality."

24.8.1: HD; "the past".

24.8.2: UG; preposition "as".

24.8.3-4: HD + UG; "(do) thus".

24.8.5: HD; "do, practise" hence "act (thus)".

24.8.6-8: UG + HG + UG; exclamatory VE for 24.8.3-5.

Line 8: "... makes (it) as it was before..."

24.9.1-2: HD + HD; "Ah...".

24.9.3-4: UD + HD; "venerate".

24.9.5-6: HG + UG; attributive VE for 24.9.3-4, "whom (I) revere".

24.9.7-8: UD + UG; “the buddhas”.

24.9.9: HG; “also”.

Line 9: “Ah, also the buddhas whom I revere...”

24.10.1-2: UD + UG; “my”.

24.10.3: HD; “body”.

24.10.4-5: UG + UG; exclamatory particle.

24.10.6: HD; “others”.

24.10.7: HD; “exists” thus “is to be found”.

24.10.8-10: UG + UG + UG; exclamatory VE for 24.10.7.

Line 10: “exist (in) my body and others.”

The first stanza of the song echoes the HYS text, the second does not relate directly to transferring merit but rather to confession and its consequence, while the final exclamatory stanza relates to Origination. Again, the progression of the song is from a gesture (making over merit) to its spiritual significance, though in this case the connection could not be said to be very direct in doctrinal terms, nor is it reinforced by any particular exercise of poetics, such as structural parallelism, for example.

I forthwith make over
All the merit I have accomplished
That all the deluded throngs
In the ocean of beings be enlightened.
It is the sun which embodies the ocean of Buddhahood
That purifies evil deeds that have been repented of,
And makes as before the jewels

That adorn the Abode of Reality.

Ah, the buddhas whom I revere

Are to be found in my own self and in others.

11. Making Inexhaustible Vows

總結无盡歌

Line 1 生界盡尸等隱

2 吾衣願盡尸日置仁伊而也

3 眾生叱邊衣于音毛

4 際毛冬留願海伊過

5 此如趣可伊羅行根

6 向乎仁所留善陵道也

7 伊波普賢行願

8 又都佛體叱事伊羅耶

9 阿耶 普賢叱心音阿于波

10 伊留叱餘音良他事捨齊

25.1.1-2: UD + UD; “realm of sentient beings”.

25.1.3: HD; “exhaust, spend”.

25.1.4-6; UG + UG + UG; VE for 25.1.3, “when...”.

Line 1: “When the realm of living beings is spent...”

25.2.1-2: HD + UG; “my”.

25.2.3: UD; “vows”.

25.2.4: HD; “exhaust, spend”.

25.2.5: UG; attributive VE for 25.2.4.

25.2.6: HD; “day”.

25.2.7: HG; “also”.

25.2.8: UG; “be”.

25.2.9-11: UG + UG + UG; VE for 25.2.8.

Line 2: “... it is the day, too, when my vow is exhausted.”

25.3.1-2: UD + UD; “sentient beings”.

25.3.3: UG; PP.

25.3.4-8: HG + UG + UG + UG + UG; gerundive form of the verb “awake”, thus “Enlightenment”. Yang’s reasoning here is very tentative.

Line 3: “The Enlightenment of beings...”

25.4.1: HD; “edge, boundary”.

25.4.2-3: UG + UG; negative verbal prefix. In this case the verb is understood, thus “without”.

25.4.4: UG; attributive VE for the understood verb in 25.4.2-3.

25.4.5-6: UD + UD; “ocean of vows”.

25.4.7: UG; “be”.

25.4.8: UG; VE for 25.4.7.

Line 4: "... is the boundless ocean of vows.”

25.5.1-2: HD + HD; “this type of (end)”.

25.5.3-4: HD + UG; “end, border”.

25.5.5-6: UG + UG; adverb “thus”.

25.5.7: HD; “carry out”.

25.5.8 UG; conditional VE “if”.

Line 5: "... if one practices (vows) to this type of end..."

25.6.1: HD; "face towards".

25.6.2-3: UG + UG; attributive VE for 25.6.1.

25.6.4: HD; "place", meaning Enlightenment.

25.6.5: UG; preposition "to".

25.6.6-7: UD + UG; "virtue".

25.6.8: HD; "path".

25.6.9: UG; exclamatory verb form.

Line 6: "It is indeed the path of virtue that leads towards this place..."

25.7.1: UG; "this".

25.7.2: UG; exclamatory particle.

25.7.3-6: UD + UD + UD + UD; "the Vows of Samantabhadra".

Line 7: "… these indeed (are) the Vows of Samantabhadra...".

25.8.1: HD + UG; "also" + FS.

25.8.3-4: UD + UG; "the buddhas".

25.8.5: UG; PP.

25.8.6: HD; "work, activities".

25.8.7: HG; verb "to be", thus "is".

25.8.8-9: HG + UG; exclamatory VE.

Line 8: "… (and) is also the work of the buddhas."

25.9.1-2: UG + UG; "Ah,...".

25.9.3-4: UD + UD; "Samantabhadra".

25.9.5: UG; PP.

25.9.6-7: HD + UG; “mind, heart” + FC.

25.9.8: UG; “know”.

25.9.9-10: UG + UG; VE for 25.9.8, “knowing...”.

Line 9: “Ah, knowing the mind of Samantabhadra...”

25.10.1: UG; “this”.

25.10.2-3: UG + UG; IP “with”.

25.10.4-5: HD + UG; “remain” + FC.

25.10.6: UG; VE for 25.10.4-5, “remaining...”

25.10.7: UD + UD; “other matters”.

25.10.8: HD; “part with, renounce”.

25.10.9: UG; VE for 25.10.8, “may I (renounce)”.

Line 10: “... may I remain with it, and renounce other things.”

This song represents Kyunyŏ’s own summation of the purpose of the Vows, and is didactic in both tone and content. A close parallelism between stanzas 1 and 2 is employed: “when A occurs, then B will be so, because of C”.

Only when the realm of living beings is spent
Will the force of my vows be spent.
For the Enlightenment of beings
Is (coextensive with) the boundless ocean of (the bodhisattvas’) vows.
It is indeed the path of virtue
To set oneself on such a course,
For to practise the vows of Samantabhadra

Is to carry out the activities of Buddhahood.

Ah, knowing the mind of Samantabhadra,

I shall cast aside all other activities.

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ENDNOTE

[1] The full title of the work is the Taehwaŏm sujwa wŏnt'ong yangjung taesa Kyunyŏ-jŏn, or "The Life of the All-Wise, Very Great, Hwaŏm Master, the Venerable Abbot Kyunyŏ" (K 1510b). ◀◀

[2] For Ch'oe's connections with Chinese states, see Part 2, n. 152. ◀◀

[3] The work of Kim Tujin (1977a, 1977b, 1983) and Kim Chigyŏn (1977) may be fairly regarded as the first comprehensive works on Kyunyŏ. With the exception of Yang Chaeyŏn (1959), prior treatments of the Kyunyŏ-jŏn are of very uneven quality. Both Yang (pp. 81-2) and Kim Chigyŏn (pp. 23-4) allude to and provide telling examples of a seeming lack of elementary familiarity with the text on the part of early scholars, including such leading figures as Ogura Shimpei (1929) and Yang Chudong (1942). In Kim's leading example, all early scholars without exception had misread (or non-read?) a fact as basic and as clearly presented as Kyunyŏ's birth date. ◀◀

[4] The Koryŏ-sa (hereafter KS) has only one passing reference to any person called Hyŏk, a military commander called Hyŏk Yon (KS 4.3A.7) and Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng himself is the sole Hyŏngnyŏn referred to. The phonetic similarity between Hyŏk's full name and Hyŏngnyŏn's family name is noticeable, but as it stands it could be taken both ways. Either it supports reading Hyŏngnyŏn's family name as "Hyŏk", or else only Hyŏk's family name had survived by the time the KS was compiled, and "Hyŏk Yŏn" is, in fact, only his family name. The fact that, by origin, the name Hyŏngnyŏn (Chinese Ho-lien) can be traced back at least to Ho-lien Po-po 赫連勃勃 (381-425), the founder of the fifth-century Hsiungnu state of Ta-hsia, further supports the case for "Hyŏngnyŏn" over "Hyŏk". ◀◀

[5] The T'ang Ta-chien-fu-ssu ku-ssu-chu fan-ching ta-te Fa-tsang ho-shang chuan. The organization of the Kyunyŏ-jŏn is very similar to this work, not just in the number of chapters but in the organization of the individual chapters. Hyŏngnyŏn was, of course, very aware of the work of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn and specifically mentions the latter's (now lost) Ŭisang-jŏn in his Foreword. ◀◀

[6] Lancaster (1979), pp. 477-8. ◀◀

[7] The last known reference to hyangga occurs in an inscription dated 1022 (CKC 251.5), where they are referred to as hyangp'ung chega 鄕風制歌. The colophon to the second fascicle of K1507 (1250) states, inter alia, "However, [Kyunyŏ's] writings were all written down afterwards from the vernacular song-script [used in] the old teachings. Song-script texts have not been handed down and the Great Root of the Seven Knowings has been lost from the texts." (See Yang, 1959, for text). Here "song-script" is clearly synonymous with hyangch'al. ◀◀

[8] Lee (1957-8, pp. 43-4) states that K 1510a "was entered in the catalogue of the Tripitaka perhaps in 1865", but quotes no sources for this. ◀◀

[9] Ogura (1929), p. 4, as quoted by Yang (1959). ◀◀

[10] It is also unfortunate that Lee (1957-8), who has made the only translation of the Kyunyŏ-jŏn into a Western language that we are aware of prior to this one, seems to have used the Ariga text and hence promoted its norms. One is obliged to say "seems to" because neither in Lee (1958-9) nor in Lee (1961) does he state which text he used. One can only assume from his use of "Saryŏn Chŏng" and his frequent references to corruptions in the text that he used one of the various reprints of the Ariga text. One might add that in general, Lee's translation of the text is frequently inaccurate in itself, and that his references are sometimes suspect. In the matter of the translation of Kyunyŏ's songs, Lee departs so far from the originals that he has fashioned what are tantamount to original poems, on which, see below, Appendix 2. He gives no sign of having consulted the HYS original of the Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna, nor does he even translate Ch'oe Haenggwi's poems, an indication that he regards them as mere translations, when even a cursory examination would have revealed that they were creative works in their own right. ◀◀

The purpose in making these comments is not to gratuitously criticize a pioneering effort, but rather to explain why such little reference has been made to Lee in this work: the scale of error and misapprehension that originally ensued from a failure to consider even the textual traditions of the Kyunyŏ-jŏn is such that it is not possible to debate point by point the differences between Lee's and this present translation.

[11] For a full listing and analysis of the contexts of sa'noe in the SGYS see Hwang (1978). ◀◀

[12] Inscriptions yield a total of ten dates between 915 and 925, seven with Liang reign-years (CKC 184.14, written in 953; CKC 97.2, 925; CKC 162.11, 944; CKC 199.5, 965; CKC 165.14, 945; CKC 209.14, 974; CKC 225.11, 977) and only one with a T'ang reign-year (CKC 191.11, 958). The remaining two are Later T'ang reign-years which began to be used, initially with some measure of interchangeability with Liang, in 924. The Samguk yusa also uses Liang reign-years for the three dates it refers to within this period. One must at the same time acknowledge that for one of these, the year 915, Iryŏn comments "Older books call it T'ien-yu 12, but now it is written Chen-ming 1" (SGYS 144.3), a comment that seems to reflect a degree of equivocation. It all depends on what constitute "older books", for the inscriptions use Liang reign-years until the late 10th century and there is no evidence for the practice between that time and Hyŏngnyŏn's time. It could well be that the term "older books" is strictly relative and refers to the calendrical practices around Hyŏngnyŏn's time, or approximately 150 years earlier than Iryŏn's time. ◀◀

[13] See Rhi (1978-9) for a description of the Supplement. ◀◀

[14] On the process of Sung-Koryŏ rapprochement, see Rogers (1958), especially pp. 194-6. ◀◀

[15] Ibid., p. 197. ◀◀

[16] Ibid., p. 197, Rhi (1978-9), p. 8. ◀◀

[17] See Kim Chigyŏn (1977), p. 21. Kim quotes the following passage written by Ŭich'ŏn about a number of monks, including Kyunyŏ, who were excluded from the Supplement:

"(Their) erroneous books and words are imperfect, the meaning of their writings cannot be elucidated, they have deserted the way of their patriarch, deluded their followers, and there can be no worse things than these." ◀◀

[18] The wider context in which the rise of Kyunyŏ took place was the concerted drive by Kwangjong to consolidate

royal power. As the first such consolidator in the Koryŏ dynasty, Kwangjong has attracted considerable attention from Korean historians, but a relating of their debates and conclusions is largely beyond the scope of this work. The conventional view is that Kwangjong's reign (949-975) may be divided into three periods, those of laying foundations for the process of consolidation (949- 956), implementing key reform measures (956-959), and purging the powerful landed families whose prerogatives he was curtailing (959-975). Kyunyŏ essentially benefited from the second phase, in which the Hwaŏm school with its traditionally close royal associations was patronized at the expense of the Sŏn school, whose connections were more with the landed families. For further details, the reader is referred to the works of Kim Tujin, especially (1983). ◀◀

[19] The terms Northern Peak (Pugak) and Southern Peak (Namak) occur sporadically on contemporary Korean inscriptions but it is not possible to define them as Korean Buddhist schools either on the basis of these references, or on the basis of the reference to the dispute between them mentioned by Hyŏngnyŏn. In Chinese Buddhism the two terms referred to the Northern and Southern schools of the Ch'an (Korean Sŏn) school and certainly wherever either term appears in a clear context on Korean inscriptions (e.g. CKC 158.11, dated 943 and CKC 197.7-8, dated 965), there is a clear Sŏn context. This argues for regarding the two Korean schools as Sŏn schools and in turn suggests that Chinese Ch'an school divisions were characteristic of Koryŏ Buddhism at this time. If this is so, then the essential role of Kyunyŏ was that of a syncretizer of Sŏn from the standpoint of the Hwaŏm school. Confusing the issue, however, is the description of the monks whose teachings were referred to by Kyunyŏ's contemporaries as Northern Peak and Southern Peak as "Hwaŏm leaders" (KYJ 3A.4). Perhaps this is a formal description of their school affiliation, within which they deviated in accordance with the original tenets of the "gradualist" Ch'an Northern School and the "suddenist" Southern School (Chan, 1963, pp. 425-30).
The co-equal status of the Sŏn and Kyo (or Doctrine) schools (Hwaŏm being pre-eminent in the latter) at this time is reflected in the examination system for the Buddhist clergy instituted by King Kwangjong perhaps some time not long after 958, and alluded to by Hyŏngnyŏn (KYJ 3B.7-10). The two schools had separate examinations and separate hierarchies. ◀◀

[20] This very fact has the effect of concentrating the period of Kyunyŏ's most noteworthy activities into a short period between about 957 and 963, when, incidentally, he seems to have written almost all his commentaries (Kim Tujin, 1983, p. 17). Since this was also the period when Kwangjong's reform campaign was at its height, a connection between the two seems fairly probable. The fact that Hyŏngnyŏn has so little to say about Kyunyŏ's later years, and the fact that Kyunyŏ did have trouble with Kwangjong over the Chŏngsu allegations also confirm that during the last ten years of his life, he did not have much to do with affairs of state. ◀◀

[21] See above, n. 17. ◀◀

[22] See, for example, Lancaster (1979), p. xvi. ◀◀

[23] Kim Tujin (1983), p. 11, cites a number of examples of Kwangjong's patronage of the Sŏn school. ◀◀

[24] The "100,000 ślokas of the Gaṇḍavyūha" here refers to the entire Hua Yen Sūtra (hereafter HYS). A śloka is a Sanskrit verse of 32 syllables, and is also used as a module to measure the length of works in prose, or in mixed verse and prose.
"Gaṇḍavyūha" is a term of uncertain meaning, possibly indicating a series of displays or manifestations: see Gómez

(1967), pp. lxi-lxvi. As a title, it may refer to the entire HYS (which is also known as the Avataṁsaka Sūtra), as in the present case, or to the lengthy last chapter of the work only, which is still extant in Sanskrit as an independent text under the title Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra (see Liu, 1979, pp. 34-6).
According to Hua Yen tradition, the HYS was taught by the Buddha in the second week of his Enlightenment and recorded by the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. It was then laid aside until Nāgārjuna (2nd century A.D.) visited the palace of the nāgas (dragon- or serpent-deities) and brought back a version in 100,000 ślokas which was to form the basis of the Hua Yen school of Chinese Buddhism. The extant Chinese versions of the Sūtra are actually 36,000-40,000 ślokas in length. The transcription 嚩拏儞賀 for "Gaṇḍavyūha" contrasts with the more usual Chinese transcription 健拏驃賀 as recorded, for example, by Fa Tsang in his commentary on the HYS, the Investigation of Profundities 探玄記, T 1773.121A.10. In fact, there is a note inserted into the text after the character 儞, which reads 名庚切, thus advising that the character in question is to be pronounced by combining the initial //mi̯-// (from 名, GSR mi̯ăng) with the final //-ăng// (from 庚 GSR kăng), giving a composite //mi̯ăng//. Apart from establishing this "spelling" as indigenous, the note is another indication that the Kyunyŏ-jŏn was composed with a non-Korean readership in mind (see Introduction above), since Koreans themselves would hardly require such a note to remind them of what was a common Silla/Koryŏ transcription practice. On this practice of coining composite characters, see Sasse (1980). ◀◀

[25] The Notes in square brackets in this translation are interpolations in the original document. ◀◀

[26] The First Patriarch of the Hwaŏm, or Korean Hua Yen school, Ŭisang (625-702) was also a leading figure in Chinese Hua Yen circles during his twenty-year period of residence in China. He studied under the Second (Chinese) Patriarch, Chih Yen 智儼 (602-668) and was a friend and colleague of his fellow-disciple, the Third (Chinese) Patriarch Fa Tsang 法藏 (643-712). The way in which Ŭisang's name is written here (義湘) differs slightly from the more usual form (義湘) employed, for example, in the SGYS. For a discussion of his teachings, see Chang Wŏn'gyu (1974), pp. 16-31, and Odin (1982), pp. 189-213. ◀◀

[27] In Chinese writings, the fu-sang is in the first place a mythical tree, located in the east where the sun rises. As such it is mentioned in the Ch'u tz'u and the Huai-nan Tzu, among other works. Later, it came to be used for an actual tree, namely, the red hibiscus. And finally, it became the name of a country where many fu-sang trees were said to grow, situated somewhere to the east of China, later commonly identified with Japan.
In extant Koryŏ writings, the term carries either the general meaning of "east" as a direction, or else indicates the lands to the east of China and thus, implicitly, the Korean peninsula. Examples of this usage include SGYS 143.3, CKC 192.4 (written in 956), CKC 208.1 (974), CKC 213.13 (974) and CKC 228.1 (977). ◀◀

[28] I.e. the Kyunyŏ dynasty (918-1388). ◀◀

[29] A pre-eminent Silla scholar and literatus with close Hwaŏm affiliations, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (859-?) went to China at the age of twelve, passed the T'ang civil service examination and served the T'ang court before returning to Silla at the age of twenty-eight. The rank icholch'an (GSR i-tiät-ts'ân) is otherwise unknown, and while this recalls the Silla rank ich'an (GSR i-ts'ân), the second-highest of the seventeen Silla official ranks, it is doubtful that Ch'oe possessed such an exalted status. It is thus more likely that it is cognate with ilkilch'an 一吉餐 (GSR iet-kiet-ts'ân), the seventh-highest. Ch'oe had neither a lengthy nor very successful official career in Silla, and is known to have held the rank of ach'an (GSR a-ts'ân), the sixth-highest rank, shortly before his retirement from official life. See Kim T'aejin (1976), p. 5.

The clan seat Ch'ŏngha is also otherwise unknown. Ch'oe's biography in the SGSG records his place of origin as Sayang-bu near the Silla capital, and also states that records of his family lineage were subsequently lost. No other reference can be found for his Life of Ŭisang, which must also be presumed lost. ◀◀

[30] Literally, "the one vehicle", i.e. the Supreme Vehicle by means of which one may arrive at Buddhahood. The term is applied by the T'ien T'ai (Ch'ŏnt'ae) and Hua Yen schools to their own teachings, which are held to either transcend (as "the Unique Vehicle") or include (as "the Unifying Vehicle") the other forms of Buddhism. The term occurs in the Lotus Sūtra, where it is illustrated by the famous parable of the Burning House and the Oxcarts, and in the Śrīmālādevī Sūtra, as well as throughout Hua Yen literature. ◀◀

[31] Otherwise unknown. ◀◀

[32] According to the Liao calendar. The Hsien-yung reign-period lasted from early 1065 till the end of 1074. The "first month of the summer of the tenth year of Hsien-yung" thus falls in early 1074, the first month of summer being the fourth month of the year, according to traditional Chinese reckoning. ◀◀

[33] Otherwise unknown. ◀◀

[34] Unidentified. ◀◀

[35] Chinese chin-shih, meaning "presented (to the emperor) scholar", the highest degree under the T'ang examination system. The text here reads 前進士, which suggests "former chinsa" but since in the ordinary course of things one cannot cease to have attained an academic status, the 前 must mean something like "(who is) now", or "(at) present". ◀◀

[36] In the HYS and in the Hua Yen school generally, the number ten symbolizes perfection or infinity. See Prince (1983-4), pp. 142-3 and n.32. ◀◀

[37] Lit. "the spiritual efficacy of his descent (into the womb) and birth", implying that Kyunyŏ was a bodhisattva who took birth at this time and place in response to the needs of the Korean people and Korean Buddhism. See chapters 4 and 10 below. ◀◀

[38] T'ang calendar. See Introduction for the significance of Hyŏngnyŏn's use of T'ang reign-years for this period. ◀◀

[39] In Hwanghae Province. ◀◀

[40] Yi Chun entered the civil service in 1058 (KS 8.5B.6) and was appointed Omissioner on the Left in 1075 (KS 9.14B.3), at which time he would have left Hwangju and returned to the capital. The term "Omissioner" was coined by Arthur Waley to describe the function of Chancery officials responsible for correcting errors and omissions in official documents and, more generally, suggesting ways in which government policies could be improved. See Waley (1951), pp. 41-2.
Given the characteristic short-term nature of magisterial appointments in Korea, it seems likely that the restoration

work was ordered and carried out not very long before his departure, and thus at about the same time that Hyŏngnyŏn received his commission to write Kyunyŏ's biography. ◀◀

[41] Not to be confused with the Kyŏngch'ŏn Monastery in Kaep'ung County near the capital. Yang (1959, p. 87) reports that a Kyŏngch'ŏn relay station, located in Hwangju magistracy, is referred to in the Sejong sillok chiriji (15th century). This appears to be the entire extent to which one can trace Kyunyŏ's place of origin. ◀◀

[42] 圓滿偈. The 圓滿 here presumably stands for 圓滿修多羅, another name for the HYS. ◀◀

[43] Located just north of the capital, in present-day Yŏngbuk Township (HS, Vol. 17, p. 86). ◀◀

[44] Otherwise unknown. ◀◀

[45] Ŭisun is otherwise unknown, although the references to him in the Kyunyŏ-jŏn seem to suggest that he was an eminent figure. Yŏngt'ong Monastery was located near the capital, on O'gwan-san, in Imgang Prefecture. It was also known as Mahagap Monastery (KS 56.7B.3), lit. "the monastery on Maha Peak", in accordance with a general practice, observable in contemporary inscriptions, of referring to a monastery not by its name but by its location (see CKC 126.4, and CKC 180.1 for references to Haein Monastery as Kayagap Monastery). That Mahagap and Yŏngt'ong Monasteries were one and the same is established by a KS reference to a Maha Peak being in the vicinity of Yŏngt'ong Monastery (KS 121.13A.9), and by the colophon to K 1510, where Kyunyŏ's title in the year 960 is referred to as "the śramaṇa Kyunyŏ of Mahagap Monastery, O'gwan-san". ◀◀

[46] This is presumably an allusion to the "Inscription for Dhuta Monastery" by Wang Chien-ch'i (d.505/6) in the Wen-hsüan:
"The secluded valley is impartial, echoing with every arrival; the great bell is empty and receptive, responding to all who come." (Wen-hsüan, Vol. 4, fascicle 59, 2B.3-4) ◀◀

[47] A common metaphor. See Pao P'u Tzu, (Inner Chapters), 20/1B. 13-2A. 1: "Those who like that sort of thing all flock to join their schools, like rising smoke or gathering mist." ◀◀

[48] The Lotus Sŭtra, Sanskrit title Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sŭtra, is important in the Hua Yen tradition for its parable of the Three Vehicles and the One Vehicle (See n. 7 above), which is discussed at length by Fa Tsang in his Treatise on the Five Teachings (T 1866.477Aff.). The reference to eight fascicles here suggests that the monk read from the Kumārajīva translation (K 116), which exists in both seven-and eight-fascicle versions. ◀◀

[49] 菩提留支, more usually written 菩提流支. Bodhiruci (?-527) was a native of north India. After his arrival in Loyang in 508, he translated many important works into Chinese, including the Diamond Sŭtra, the Laṅhkāvatāra Sūtra, and the Sandhinirmocana Sūtra. Himself a Yogācārin, he came to be an important figure in the Hua Yen lineage through his joint translation with Ratnamati of Vasubandhu's Treatise on the Sūtra of the Ten Stages, for the school founded on this text, the Ti Lun school, was one of the precursors of the Hua Yen school. (The Sūtra of the Ten Stages forms a chapter of the HYS and still exists in Sanskrit as an independent work, the Daśabhūmika Sūtra.)
There is also another Bodhiruci (572?-727), usually written 菩提流志, who arrived in China from southern India in 683 and collaborated with Śikṣānanda on the translation of the 80-fascicle HYS. Here either Bodhiruci might be

meant; the "spelling" (i.e. the characters used) would seem to favour the first, but the more direct connection with the HYS suggests the latter. ◀◀

[50] Meghaśrī is the monk who is Sudhana's first human guru (after the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī) in his quest for Enlightenment as related in the GVS. ◀◀

[51] 知識, equivalent to 善知識 the Chinese translation of kalyāṇamitra, a "good friend", or spiritual guide. Avalokiteśvara is associated with the Lotus Sūtra and with the Pure Land school, as well as with many texts such as the ones mentioned in n. 30. Samantabhadra personifies the aspirations and practices of the bodhisattva, and as such features prominently throughout the HYS. ◀◀

[52] Unidentified. See n. 11. ◀◀

[53] The abbreviated title for four texts of a tantric nature (Taishō Nos 1057, 1058, 1060, and 1064) concerned with the cult of the Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara (Sahasrabhujāryāvalokiteśvara). ◀◀

[54] Unidentified. The Six Stages are presumably the Six Stations, six sections into which the Forty-two Stations of the Bodhisattva Path are divided by commentators on the 60HYS. The six are: Ten Types of Faith, Ten Abidings, Ten Transferrals (of Merit), Ten Stages, Perfect Enlightenment and Sublime Enlightenment (or Buddhahood). The 80HYS is supposed to have Fifty-two Stations, divided into seven sections, with the Ten Practices being added as the third section. ◀◀

[55] Unidentified. The title is reminiscent of Chih Yen's Fifty Important Questions and Answers Concerning Hua Yen (T 1869). See n. 71 below. ◀◀

[56] See Introduction, n. 19. ◀◀

[57] Founded in 802, Haein Monastery possessed strong Hwaŏm affiliations, beginning with its name, which literally means "Ocean Seal" (Sāgaramudrā in Sanskrit). The idea behind this term is that the ocean (here symbolizing the mind), when completely calm, becomes a mirror reflecting all the phenomena of the universe. The word "seal", then, refers to the "impression" of these images on the ocean. The "Ocean Seal Samādhi" and the "Hua Yen Samādhi, indicating the enlightened mind's innate awareness and functional qualities respectively, are frequently mentioned in Hua Yen literature.
Haein Monastery is cited in the SGYS as one of the Ten Cardinal Hwaŏm Monasteries designated by Ŭisang (SGYS 353.4), though this designation might have been made by his Dharma lineage, since the monastery was not founded until one hundred years after his death (HS Vol. 7, p. 23). It was also Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's place of residence after his retreat from public life. This passage of the Kyunyŏ-jŏn confirms that Haein Monastery was a main seat of Buddhist learning in the mid-l0th century, with its disputes capable of becoming characteristic of contemporary Hwaŏm Buddhism as a whole. ◀◀

[58] The state referred to here as Paekche is more usually called Later Paekche to distinguish it from the original kingdom of Paekche (ca. 4th century to 663), in whose former territory Kyŏn Hwŏn (dates unknown) established himself, proclaiming his kingdom in 892 and basing his legitimacy on a claim of succession to the former kingdom. He

and Wang Kŏn (877-943), the founder of the Koryŏ dynasty, contended with each other for military control of the region south of the Sŏbaek Range, most strenuously between 927 and 935, after which Wang emerged as the decisive victor (SGSG, Chapter 50).
Since Haein Monastery was situated in the general area of these military operations and since the SGSG's account gives the general impression that the rivalry was not an especially ferocious one, it does not seem unusual to find the monastery receiving patronage from both sides. Indeed, one could argue that this evidence in the Kyunyŏ-jŏn of co-existence, albeit hostile, at Haein Monastery is itself evidence of a lack of ferocity in the struggle between Wang and Kyŏn Hwŏn. For general accounts of this rivalry see Hurst (1981) and Gardiner (1987).
The two Hwaŏm leaders referred to—Kwanhye and Hŭirang—are almost completely unknown. On the former, see Kim Tujin (1977a), p. 110-11. King Taejo was, of course, Wang Kŏn. ◀◀

[59] Skt. dharmarasa(āhāra). The term occurs in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra and elsewhere, and is commonly used to indicate the essence of the Dharma, or its distinctive quality. The Dharma is supposed to have a single flavour (ekarasa), which is that of Deliverance (vimukti), and is traditionally compared to the uniformly salty taste of the ocean (see the Pali Udana, PTS edition, p. 56). "The sour and the salty" is a phrase often used in Chinese to indicate different types of flavour. ◀◀

[60] Lit. "in order to block the numerous byways and point out (the way of) returning to the single rut." ◀◀

[61] Otherwise unknown. ◀◀

[62] In the absence of a context, or any further information about the contents of the discourses, many of these titles are difficult to interpret. Translations given in such cases are only tentative. ◀◀

[63] The "Three Teachings" are presumably Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, as in Kūkai's The Purport of the Three Teachings (Sangō Shiki), though the term could also indicate some threefold division of Buddhist schools or teachings. ◀◀

[64] The opposition of emptiness (śūnyatā) to existence (bhava) is characteristically Chinese and had become established by the time the Hua Yen tradition took shape, so that Fa Tsang, for example, then has to introduce the term "true emptiness" to indicate their ultimate nonduality. ◀◀

[65]Or perhaps "The Exhaustible and the Inexhaustible". ◀◀

[66] That is, teaching which expresses the ultimate truth, and teachings which are not in themselves ultimately true, but which are taught as an adaptation (upāya) to the capacities of the audience, intended to lead people gradually to an understanding of the higher truth. The concept is prominent in the Lotus Sūtra and was popularized by the T'ien T'ai and the Hua Yen schools. ◀◀

[67] The Lotus Store World, or Lotus Treasury World. This is the cosmos (of which our own world is a relatively insignificant part) presided over by the Buddha Vairocana. It is described in Chapter 5 of the 80-fascicle HYS. ◀◀

[68] Meaning uncertain; 戍土 is presumably a transliteration (GSR siuett'uo), perhaps representing "sūtra". ◀◀

[69] Or perhaps “The Praiseworthy and the Blameworthy”. ◀◀

[70] Meaning or derivation uncertain. Lit. “(within) three lifetimes, gathering the Essential”. ◀◀

[71] OOr “Conferring Rank”. Perhaps equivalent to (vyākaraṇa[deśanā]), the prediction of somebody’s eventual Enlightenment (i.e, attainment of the rank of Buddhahood). ◀◀

[72] These are the whole, the part, identity, differentiation, integration, and disintegration. They are mentioned in passing in the HYS (T 279.181C.25), were analysed by Chih Yen (in an essay “On the Six Aspects”, no longer extant), and are discussed in detail by Fa Tsang (T 1866.507C.3-509A.3). For a translation of Fa Tsang’s explanation, see Cook (1977), pp. 76-89. ◀◀

[73] Lit. “proceeding to the Real and making it the basis”, perhaps referring to the Hua Yen concept of Enlightenment (personified by Vairocana) as being both the goal of spiritual endeavour and also its basis and starting point. ◀◀

[74] Translation uncertain. The literal meaning appears to be “cutting off the subtle (effects) of obstacles”. ◀◀

[75] The Tushita Heaven is the fourth heaven above our world according to traditional Buddhist cosmology. The bodhisattva (lit. “godling” devaputra) in this case represents a previous life of the Buddha Vairocana/Śākyamuni and the reference is to a story told in Chapter 35 of the 80-fascicle HYS (T 279.255c), where the Bodhisattva radiates light that penetrates even into the hells, gladdening the hearts of the beings there and enabling them to be reborn in the Tushita Heaven. ◀◀

[76] Lit. “five kinds of accomplishment-of-buddhahood, or becoming-a-buddha”. There is a traditional list of Four Ways to Buddhahood, consisting of faith, understanding, practice and realization. ◀◀

[77] Or perhaps “Buddhahood as Awareness and Activity”. ◀◀

[78] Taking 分相 as equivalent to 分相門, which indicates discriminating between the Vehicles according to their characteristics, as Fa Tsang does at considerable length in his Treatise on the Five Teachings (= T 1866). ◀◀

[79] The phrase translated “unstable mind” could also mean “repentance” or “turning the mind (to spiritual goals)”. ◀◀

[80] Or “The Six Stations”. See n. 31 above. ◀◀

[81] Presumably the Eight Assemblies of the 60-fascicle HYS. ◀◀

[82] Unidentified. ◀◀

[83] The “pure realms”, presided over by such buddhas as Vairocana, Amita, Bhaiṣajyaguru, Akshobhya, etc. Or the reference may be to the most popular of these, Sukhāvatī, the realm of Amita (Amitābha, Amitāyus). ◀◀

[84] 性起, i.e., the arising or appearance of phenomena as a manifestation of ultimate reality, 性 here meaning "the (true) nature (of things)". Both terms are of fundamental importance to Hua Yen Buddhism, but Fa Tsang placed more emphasis on the latter, while Li T'ung-hsüan, in conscious opposition, emphasized the former. Li's interpretation proved very congenial to the Ch'an school, and later, through Chi'nul, came to exert a strong influence on the Sŏn school in Korea. See Buswell (1983), pp. 52-5, 232-3. ◀◀

[85] This would usually refer to five ways of looking at the consequences of previous deeds: as differing according to the nature of the deeds which produced them, as being in accordance with the nature of previous causes, as being the result of those causes, as the result of a predominant cause, and (in the case of Nirvāṇa) as a result which transcends the causal nexus altogether. ◀◀

[86] The four possible assertions that one may make about existing things: that they are, are not, both are and are not, and neither are nor are not. ◀◀

[87] The third of the Ten Vows of Samantabhadra. See the third of the Korean and Chinese poems below. ◀◀

[88] Or "Host and Guest", or "Chief and Companion". This refers to the idea that anything may be of central or peripheral importance depending on one's point of view. So Fa Tsang, in his Treatise on the Five Teachings, defines "the inexhaustible Buddhadharma" itself as "the teaching of the One Vehicle concerning the perfect completeness of Principal and Subordinate" (T 1866.478B.12-13). ◀◀

[89] Lit. "the sūtras of the buddha(s) and the śāstras of the bodhisattvas". A sūtra is supposed to be the record of a buddha's actual words, while the "bodhisattvas" referred to here are the famous Indian authors of commentarial works—men like Nāgārjuna, Asanga, and so on. ◀◀

[90] Formal examinations for the clergy were instituted during the reign of King Kwangjong (949-975), but the precise date is unrecorded. The examinations were on the model of the civil service examination instituted in 958, and it is generally supposed that they were implemented not long after this date. Candidates were divided on the basis of their affiliation with either the Sŏn or Doctrine schools, with the former being examined at Kwangmyŏng Monastery and the latter at Wangnyun. All successful candidates of the Doctrine school, in which Hwaŏm was pre-eminent, were awarded the title of Great Selectee 大選, which constituted the lowest of seven grades. The titles of the ensuing grades were as follows: Great Worthy, Great Preceptor, Greater Preceptor, Thrice-Great Preceptor, Abbot (or Sŏn Preceptor, in the case of Sŏn).
From the ranks of the Monastic Superintendents and Great Sŏn Preceptors, appointments could be made to the positions of Royal Preceptor, where the incumbent ministered personally to the king, and State Preceptor, where the incumbent would attend to state ceremonies. Again, the final sentence of this chapter seems to be for the benefit of foreign readers since it seeks to explain matters that would be common knowledge within Koryŏ. ◀◀

[91] Lit. "texts of the various schools/expositors", but the context, and especially the ensuing list, seem to indicate that the reference is specifically to expositors of Hua Yen texts. ◀◀

[92] Sou hsüan chi (Commentary which searches out profundities) is the usual abbreviated title of Chih Yen's

commentary on the HYS: T 1732. The KYJ text actually reads Sou hsüan fang-kui chi. ◀◀

[93] K'ung mu chang (Treatise on major topics) is the usual abbreviated title of Chih Yen's longest (four fascicles) independent work, dealing with various aspects of Hua Yen doctrine under separate headings: T 1870. ◀◀

[94] The Fifty Important Questions and Answers concerning Hua Yen is a work in two fascicles by Chih Yen, answering 53 questions concerning Hua Yen teachings: T 1869. ◀◀

[95] T'an hsüan chi (Commentary which investigates profundities) is the usual abbreviated title of Fa Tsang's commentary on the HYS: T 1733. ◀◀

[96] Chiao fen chi (Commentary on the divisions of the profundities) is a shortened form of the title of Fa Tsang's masterly and comprehensive survey of Hua Yen doctrine, more usually known as Wu chiao chang (Treatise on the five doctrines): T 1866. Kyunyŏ's commentary on this work is still extant as K 1510a in 10 fascicles. See Kim Tujin (1977b), pp. 80-3 for a summary of its contents. ◀◀

[97] Chih kuei chang (Treatise on the purport [of the HYS]) is the abbreviated title of a work by Fa Tsang elucidating various aspects of the HYS and its teachings: T 1871. Kyunyŏ's commentary is still extant: K 1508. See Kim Tujin (1977b), pp. 83-5. ◀◀

[98] The San pao chang (Treatise on the Triple Gem) is an essay by Fa Tsang dealing with the Triple Gem or Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha): T 1874. Kyunyŏ's commentary is still extant: K 1509. See Kim (1977b), pp. 85-6. ◀◀

[99] The Dharmarealm Chart is a set of verses expounding Hua Yen ideas, composed by Ŭisang and arranged in the form of a mandala-like diagram (T 1887A). For a translation of the verses and Ŭisang's explanation, see Odin (1982), pp. 189-213. See also Kim Tujin (1977a), p. 85-6. ◀◀

[100] These "ten phrases", summing up various points of Hua Yen doctrine are supposed to have been discussed in a lost work by Chih Yen. The Treatise on the Ten Phrases (Sipkujang) was composed by Pŏbyung, a monk in the lineage descending from Ŭisun. Kyunyŏ's commentary on it is still extant (K 1507). See Kim (1977a), pp. 86-7, 95-7 and Kimura (1977), pp. 399- 400. ◀◀

[101] The Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra referred to here is the last chapter of the complete HYS (i.e. the so-called "Entry into the Dharmarealm"). Kim (1977a, p.79) seems to feel that Kyunyŏ's commentary relates to the relevant part of Ch'eng Kuan's massive combined commentary and subcommentary on the HYS (T 1736), but its position in the list here suggests that it is rather a commentary on some Korean exegesis of the Sūtra. ◀◀

[102] Later Han calendar. The Koryŏ-sa states that this calendar was in use from 948 to 951 (KS 86.5A), although the existence of an inscription with the indigenous reign-year Kwang-dŏk for 951 (CKC 181.4.1-2, written in 951) suggests that a period of vacillation preceded its formal abandonment. ◀◀

[103] Taesŏng was the posthumous title of King Kwangjong (949-76). Queen Taemŏk, his consort, was the daughter

of Wang Kŏn and the mother of King Kyŏngjong (975-81) (KS 88.1.9A.4). ◀◀

[104] The bodhisattva is supposed to be willing and, at an advanced level, able to take on the burden of other beings' bad karma, undergoing the resultant sufferings on their behalf (代眾生苦: T 293.845A.6). In this way even the pains of hell may be willingly endured (代受地獄之苦: T 299.894B.5-6). ◀◀

[105] Liao calendar. ◀◀

[106] Later Chou calendar. The Koryŏ-sa states that the Later Chou calendar was in use from 951 to 963, but in practice it seems to have been discontinued around 958. See n. 95 below. ◀◀

[107] In fact, it was a Later Chou embassy (KS 2.27A.5-7). ◀◀

[108] I.e., Chinese. ◀◀

[109] I.e., King Taesŏng: see n. 80 above. ◀◀

[110] The sixth of the fifty-two (or seventh of the fifty-three, if Mañjuśrī is counted as the first) gurus encountered by Sudhana in the course of his pilgrimage. The Sanskrit text of the Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra gives the name as "Sāradhvaja" (Vaidya, 1960, pp. 68-78). ◀◀

[111] See n. 67 above. ◀◀

[112] Lit. "with an elephant's tread (he) calmly...." The gait of the Buddha is traditionally compared to the dignified tread of the elephant. The word translated "calmly" here suggests calm and unimpeded motion, as at the beginning of the chapter on "Skilful Means" 方便品 in the Lotus Sūtra, where it says, "At that time the Lord arose serenely from his meditation." (T 262.5B.25). ◀◀

[113] I.e., the preacher's seat. The preaching of the Buddha is traditionally likened to the roar of the lion, which signals the lion's sovereignty (i.e. the superiority of the Buddha) over all other animals (beings); it is also an expression of fearlessness (the Buddha having no sense of self and hence nothing to fear), and causes all other animals (non-Buddhist teachers) to fall silent. The Buddha is therefore often depicted as seated on a throne supported by lions and the term "lion-throne" may be used to indicate any seat from which Buddhist teaching is expounded, or which is occupied by an enlightened being. ◀◀

[114] Yüan yin lit. "complete or perfect sound", alluding to the voice or speech of the Buddha. It also suggests Hua Yen doctrine, which is known as the complete or perfect teaching. See HYS:
"The sublime voice (yüan yin) of the buddhas is the same throughout the worlds,
But is understood differently by each being according to its kind." (T 279/7B/27). ◀◀

[115] This is reference to a passage in the Tso chuan (Hsiang 21): "Dragons and serpents are indeed born from great marshes." The dragons in question are, however, dangerous, for the passage continues: "She is beautiful, and I fear that she will give birth to a dragon or serpent that will bring disaster on you." It is therefore appropriate that the

“loyal” Kyunyŏ should not have come from such a “marsh”. ◀◀

[116] See n. 67. Before the formalization of clergy ranks, direct royal appointments were an age-old practice. See, for example, SGYS 136.9-10. ◀◀

[117] Roughly equivalent to 38 acres or 94 hectares. ◀◀

[118] Despite the evidence of a 958 inscription bearing the Later Chou reign-year Hsien-te 顯德 (CKC 194.10.1-2), the use of the character 現 for 顯 here appears to be quite deliberate, with the aim of distancing Koryŏ from Later Chou, for it also appears in the colophon of K 1510a. Despite the statement in the Koryŏ-sa that Later Chou reign-years were followed until 963, Koryŏ abandoned Later Chou and used an indigenous calendar from about 960 through to 963. See also Rogers (1983), p. 169. ◀◀

[119] This monastery was established by Kwangjong in accordance with a vow on his accession (KS 2.27A.2), such vows being a common practice by Silla and Koryŏ monarchs. The “omened calamity” therefore pointed directly at the throne. ◀◀

[120] The period of twenty-one days may have special significance here, as being the length of the Hua Yen Period, the first of the Five Periods of the Buddha’s teaching according to the T’ien T’ai school, in which the Buddha is supposed to have taught most of the Hua Yen Sūtra. The Hua Yen school itself, however, claims that the Buddha taught the Sūtra in the second week after his Enlightenment. ◀◀

[121] I.e., in defending his own interpretation of Buddhist teachings. ◀◀

[122] There is a note inserted in the text to the effect that a chŏldal “is now called a Monastic Superintendent” (for which see n. 67 above). The rank chŏldal does not appear in the KS, SGSG or SGYS. Its meaning could well derive directly from its Chinese meaning, “penetrating, discerning”. ◀◀

[123] Lit. “external studies”, i.e., studies concerning matters or teachings “outside” the Dharma, in contrast to the common expression “internal studies”, referring to the study of Buddhist doctrine. ◀◀

[124] For discussion of sanoe, see Appendix B. ◀◀

[125] For the Sovereign Vows, see Appendix A. ◀◀

[126] The precise significance of this term is uncertain. It may refer to the vows and practices of Samantabhadra which the HYS represents as being the universal cause of final Enlightenment, the latter being the corresponding result. Alternatively, it could indicate Fundamental Enlightenment as personified by Vairocana, which, according to the teachings of the Hua Yen school, is itself the universal ground from which the practices leading to Inceptive Enlightenment spring. ◀◀

[127] Lit. “difficult to think/conceive of”. It is a Buddhist truism that the Teachings are ultimately “inconceivable” (acintya) or “ungraspable” (anupalambha). ◀◀

[128] A poetic description of the process of visualization, which plays an important part in some forms of Buddhist meditation. The Hua Yen meditator, following the example of many descriptive passages in the HYS, visualizes an infinite number of buddhas throughout the universe, and sees his/her own figure similarly multiplied and bowing in worship before each of the buddhas. ◀◀

[129] The original meaning of this term was "the element (dhātu) of Truth (Dharma)" i.e. the ultimate reality of things, according to Buddhist doctrine. Later, especially in China, it also came to take on the meaning of "the realm (dhātu) of phenomena (dharmāḥ)". This latter meaning is the more common one in Hua Yen literature, and might be translated roughly as "the universe" or "the cosmos". ◀◀

[130] A "buddharealm" is the world, or set of worlds, over which a particular buddha's spiritual authority extends. According to Hua Yen ideas, for example, our world is the realm of the Buddha Śākyamuni, but this in turn is only a tiny part of the much vaster realm of Vairocana, of whom Śākyamuni is merely one among countless manifestations. ◀◀

[131] Lit. "dustmote", but may also be used loosely for "atom" (Sanskrit paramāṇu). In English too, the word "atom" may also be used in the sense of dustmote. ◀◀

[132] From the point of view of the past and future, these times are also "present" times, each with its own relative past and future. Thus there are three sets of three periods of time, giving a total of nine periods, standing for the concept of time in general. In Hua Yen writings, the essential unity of all nine periods is sometimes added as an extra "time", to make up the number ten, the standard Hua Yen symbol of infinity. ◀◀

[133] A word of uncertain origin and meaning, originally used by the historical Buddha to refer to himself. In Chinese it is interpreted as "thus (tathā) come (āgata)". In the verses in the HYS corresponding to this song (see Appendix A) a plurality of buddhas is indicated, but here Kyunyŏ seems to be thinking primarily of Vairocana (who is, however, the ultimate source of all the buddhas that appear in our universe: see n. 107 above). ◀◀

[134] A thought-moment or kshaṇa is the shortest unit of time, according to Buddhist analysis. Some traditional sources define it as a "billionth part of the time occupied by a flash of lightning." (See Nyanatiloka, 1972, p. 41: cittakkhaṇa.) ◀◀

[135] Korean namubul, Sanskrit namo Buddhāya. ◀◀

[136] The cosmic mountain at the centre of our world-system. Kyunyŏ's lamp becomes an offering of the entire universe, in keeping with the Hua Yen principle that every part fully embodies the whole. ◀◀

[137] According to traditional cosmology, Mount Sumeru is surrounded by a vast ocean, and our world, Jambudvīpa, is supposed to be a continent in this ocean, situated to the south of Mount Sumeru. ◀◀

[138] Kyunyŏ's hands, offering the lamp, may themselves embody the universe (see n. 113 above); or, alternatively, they may be visualized as multiplied to infinity, making offerings to the buddhas throughout the universe (see n. 105

above). ◀◀

[139] Offerings in accordance with the Dharma, or dedicated to it. These offerings may then be regarded as an expression of, and so an offering of, the Dharma itself, and it is in this sense that Kyunyŏ's last line speaks of their surpassing all other offerings. See the well-known line from the Pali Dhammapada, verse 354: "The gift of the Dharma surpasses all other gifts (sabbadānaṁ dhammadānaṁ jināti). " ◀◀

[140] Sanskrit viparyāsa. These are said to be four: belief in the reality of permanence, pleasure, purity and self. ◀◀

[141] I.e., Buddhahood, Enlightenment. ◀◀

[142] I.e., evil practices of body, speech and mind. ◀◀

[143] Sanskrit śīla(viśuddhi): the principles of ethical conduct established by the Buddha. ◀◀

[144] I.e., everywhere. The ten directions are the four cardinal and four intermediate compass points, together with the zenith and nadir. ◀◀

[145] Lit. "created or constructed things", presumably equivalent to the Sanskrit saṁskṛta-dharmāḥ. ◀◀

[146] Lit. "conditioned origination". This refers to the fundamental Buddhist doctrine of pratītya-samutpāda or "interdependent origination", usually expressed in terms of a causal cycle of twelve factors. The Hua Yen school is often described as the school which teaches "the interdependent origination of the Dharmarealm". ◀◀

[147] Lit. "of the same substance". It is a Mahayana commonplace that Ignorance and Enlightement (saṁsāra and nirvāṇa) are ultimately identical in being equally "empty" (śūnya) of "individual Being" (svabhāva)—as the teaching of Interdependent Origination (see n. 123 above) is believed above all to demonstrate. ◀◀

[148] I.e., all beings are ultimately manifestations of Enlightenment as symbolized by the Buddha Vairocana, at which level there is no longer any "I" that can be distinguished from "others". The same point is often supported by less metaphysical arguments, as in the first gāthā of Śāntideva's Compendium of Training (Śikṣā-samuccaya):
Since for myself and others equally
Pain and fear are disagreeable,
What is so special about my "self"
That I protect it and not another? ◀◀

[149] Insofar as it teaches that all beings are already enlightened, the Hua Yen is technically classed as a sudden rather than a gradual teaching, although by the Hua Yen itself the epithet "sudden" is also commonly applied to other schools such as Ch'an (Korean Sŏn). ◀◀

[150] I.e., if I cease to distinguish between myself and others, I will rejoice at the achievements of others as much as though they were my own. ◀◀

[151] “Turning the Wheel of the Dharma” is a metaphor indicating the teaching of Buddhist doctrine (the Dharma) by a buddha. ◀◀

[152] This is another metaphor for the Buddha’s preaching: as the monsoon rains break the drought and cause the plants to grow, so the teaching activities of the Buddha break the drought of Ignorance, causing the seeds of Enlightenment to germinate and produce good deeds. There is a well-known elaboration of this metaphor in Chapter 5 of the Lotus Sūtra. See the following verses:
By releasing an abundant mass of water, the same everywhere,
Which flows forth from its every part, it refreshes this earth.
And whatever on this earth the vegetation may be
That cloud gives life anew to all those grasses, shrubs and thickets,
Refreshes the thirsty earth, and waters its vegetation....
And so it is that, honoured by the world, the Seer, so great, announces:
The Tathāgata I am...
Arisen in the world just like a rain-cloud.
I shall refresh all living beings,
Whose bodies wither away, who cling to the triple world,
Who wither away in pain—at ease I will place them,
Both pleasures I will give them and the final Rest. (Conze, pp. 109-10) ◀◀

[153] Sanskrit kleśāḥ: the various desires and aversions that afflict the unenlightened. They are often likened to a sick person’s fever. ◀◀

[154] Lit. “the autumn fields brightened by the moon of Enlightenment made full by the Bodhi-fruit.”, i.e. by Bodhi, which is the ultimate result, or fruit, of Buddhist spiritual practices. ◀◀

[155] Lit. “transformation”. Buddhas, like everything else, appear in the world because of specific karmic conditions, such as their past vows and practices, although according to Mahayana teachings, they do so by apparitional transformation. When these conditions are exhausted or fulfilled, the buddha’s manifestation will also cease. ◀◀

[156] A spiritual guide or teacher is called in Sanskrit a “good friend” (kalyāṇa-mitra), and Kyunyŏ presumably has this expression in mind here. ◀◀

[157] I.e., they will surely remain in the world out of compassion, even though the “causes of their manifestation” may be exhausted. The idea that a buddha can prolong his life for this reason, if asked to do so, is found already in the Mahaparinibbāṇa-sutta of the Pali Canon. ◀◀

[158] The term “the Buddha’s image” here alludes both to the idea that a “buddha” is ultimately also just another “empty” concept (e.g., “The Buddha is like empty space and without determinate nature:/ He manifests in the world in order to benefit sentient beings”, HYS, T 279/10b/24); and also to the idea that we are the Buddha, and so if we “purify our hearts” we will see Vairocana there, like a reflection in a mirror. ◀◀

[159] In Mahayana Buddhism, the bodhisattva is supposed to make special vows which then become the foundation

of his or her career, guiding and sustaining that career until it is fulfilled in Buddhahood. In the HYS the power of such vows is strongly emphasized throughout, and is personified in the figure of Samantabhadra himself. ◀◀

[160] It is taught that buddhas and bodhisattvas continually adapt their teachings to the infinitely varied needs and capacities of all sentient beings. ◀◀

[161] This refers to a well-known passage in Vow IX of the BhCP itself (T 293.846A.15-20). See Appendix A. ◀◀

[162] See footnote to relevant passage in Vow IX, Appendix A. ◀◀

[163] The "transfer of merit" (pariṇāmana) is an important doctrine in Mahayana Buddhism, and is the subject of one of the longest chapters in the HYS (Chapter 25 in the 80-fascicle version, Chapter 21 in the 60-fascicle version). The bodhisattva is supposed to give up any personal merit accruing from good deeds by renouncing it and dedicating it to the attainment of Enlightenment and to the welfare of all other beings. ◀◀

[164] The "sun" here may stand for Vairocana. "Vairocana" is a Sanskrit epithet of the sun, and Vairocana is also called the "Great Sun" Buddha in Chinese. ◀◀

[165] Lit. "the sun which the buddha-ocean has become". The term "buddha- ocean" could also indicate the vast number of buddhas existing throughout the universe. ◀◀

[166] Lit. "the abode of Dharmatā (i.e., of the true nature of things, the way things really are)". The idea is that all phenomena, even "evil deeds", are intrinsically pure ("jewels") when seen as they really are, in their essential nature ("the Abode of Reality"), and that the "sun" of Enlightenment makes this apparent. ◀◀

[167] I.e., the range of the bodhisattva's vows encompasses the salvation of all beings without exception. ◀◀

[168] Lit: "buddha-deeds": i.e., the work of the buddhas in enlightening all beings. ◀◀

[169] "This document" presumably refers to a subsequent re-editing of Hyŏngnyŏn's work, most likely at the time of the entry of the Kyunyŏ-jŏn into the TK. See Introduction. ◀◀

[170] This is probably a personal name with the family name omitted, a practice evident elsewhere in the document. Cf. Ch'iwŏn for Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (KYJ 1A.5) and Chŏng for Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng (KYJ 14B.6). ◀◀

[171] 及干 (GSR g'iap-kân), which also appears on at least two 9th century Silla inscriptions (HKY 288.6.6-7, HKY 154.11.4-5), is readily identifiable as the Silla rank kŭpkan (GSR kiap-kân—SGYS 116.4, SGSG Chapter 38). ◀◀

[172] Silla titles evidently continued to be used in provincial administration for some time after the final fall of Silla in 933. Kang (1974) quotes Takeda (1966) as establishing that the use of Chinese-derived titles for civil officials first occurs in 958 with the inception of the Chinese civil examination system. The use of a Silla title in this case could be taken to imply that the incident took place, and hence that Kyunyŏ composed his songs, before 958, an implication that is not contradicted by any of the other known facts of Kyunyŏ's career. Indeed, unless Nap'il were an official

retired before 958 and continuing to enjoy his rank after 958, a state of affairs for which there is no hint in the text, Kyunyŏ's songs must be dated to some time in the 950s, not long before 958. ◀◀

[173] Presumably the pre-8th century, Paekche-derived name for the Koryŏ Sinp'yŏng County (KS 56.31A.6). But if that is so, the purpose of reviving an archaic name here is not clear. ◀◀

[174] The fourth rank within the State Academy established by Wang Kŏn (KS 76.24A.7-24B.1). Or this may be a Chinese title (see following footnote). ◀◀

[175] Like Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, Ch'oe Haenggwi belonged to the Ch'ŏngha Ch'oe clan, and the two clansmen shared two other qualities that were typical of the Silla gentry—strong ties with China and deep Hwaŏm attachments. The few facts that are known about Ch'oe Haenggwi are contained in the Koryŏ-sa biography of his father, Ch'oe Ŏn'wi, who also had a distinguished official career (KS 92.9.8.-10B.8). In the context of Ch'oe Haenggwi's contribution to the Kyunyŏ-jŏn, the most significant fact that emerges about his career from this source is the degree of contact the family had with neighbouring states. Ch'oe's father passed the T'ang chin-shih examination, his brother Ch'oe Kwangyun spent time in Chin, one of the Five Dynasties in north China, and he himself served at the court of the king of Wu-yüeh, a state with which Koryŏ maintained close relations during the Five Dynasties Period (on which see Worthy, 1983, pp. 34-5). Ch'oe was executed on the order of King Kwangjong for unknown reasons some time after 967.
In his career, Ch'oe had ample opportunity to reflect upon the non-transmissibility of writings in the Korean language to any points westward of the peninsula, and certainly a desire to counteract this in the case of Kyunyŏ's songs appears to be his primary motive in rendering them into Chinese. It was, in turn, the same motive that led Hyŏngnyŏn to include Ch'oe's work in the Kyunyŏ-jŏn. In this light, Kang's description of Ch'oe's work—"In it he champions the cause of the native literary tradition" (Kang, 1974, p.120)—does not do justice to Ch'oe's cosmopolitan perspective. A misconception of Ch'oe's motives thus lies at the heart of Kang's speculation concerning a link between this purported attitude and Ch'oe's execution, as well as his postulation of a serious conflict at this time between Chinese and indigenous traditions of learning, in support of which he adduces Ch'oe's execution but offers no other firm evidence. ◀◀

[176] This preface is written in parallel prose (p'ien-wen) throughout. ◀◀

[177] For sūtras and śāstras, see n. 66 above. ◀◀

[178] The Eight Rivers could be the eight rivers in the Kuan-chung region in western China. On the other hand, in a Buddhist text, they could indicate eight rivers in India. The Three Mountains would normally be the three mythical islands (P'eng-lai, Fang-chang and Ying-chou) off the east coast of China, and so, in a Chinese text, could be a poetic reference to Japan or Korea or both. In any case, the general meaning of the whole phrase is simply "from the western extremity to the eastern extremity (of the Buddhist world)". ◀◀

[179] "Duke Fu" is presumably Fu Liang (374-426), who was a well-known political and literary figure, and also a Buddhist. He is mentioned as a poet in the Shih p'in (see Ch'en Yen-chieh, 1973, p. 35), and was the author of a work in one fascicle concerning the cult of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, entitled Kuang-shih-yin ying-yen chi. It has not been possible to identify "Master Chia". "Teacher T'ang" is the fifth-century monk-poet Hui Hsiu, whose lay

surname was T'ang. The "tradition" began by these men was that of expressing Buddhist teachings in poetic form (raising "voices to sing of the Sublime Principles"). ◀◀

[180] "Perfected the lineage": the meaning of this phrase is not clear, but the three figures mentioned gave final form to the Hua Yen school and its teachings, and so were perfect examples for Ch'oe of those who had given "clear utterance to the Spirit of Truth."
Hsien Shou was the name bestowed on Fa Tsang (643-712) by the Empress Wu, after the bodhisattva of the same name in the HYS (Chapter 8 of the 60HYS = Chapter 12 of the 80HYS). Fa Tsang is traditionally regarded as the Third Patriarch of the Hua Yen school, Ch'eng Kuan (738-839) as the Fourth, and Tsung Mi (780-841) as the Fifth. With Tsung Mi the line of patriarchs is considered to have come to an end. Although only Fa Tsang was actually born in north China, all three men were mainly active there. ◀◀

[181] Chiao Jan (730-799) and Wu K'o (9th century) were Buddhist monks and also well-known poets. ◀◀

[182] Ch'i Chi (late 9th century) and Kuan Hsiu (831-912) were also prominent monk-poets; Kuan Hsiu was famous as a painter and calligrapher as well. ◀◀

[183] Masa and Munch'ŭk are otherwise unknown; Ch'ewŏn is recorded in the Samguk sagi (Chapter 8) as having been appointed General Controller of Udu-ju in 698, but nothing is known of his literary activities. ◀◀

[184] The association of Wŏnhyo, perhaps the most eminent of the great monks of the Greater Silla Period (668-918), with religious music is also known from the following passage in his biography in the Samguk yusa:
"He happened to meet an actor who was dancing and jesting with a large gourd (mask). It was of very strange appearance, and so Wŏnhyo used this shape to make a mask representing the 'unfettered man' of the Hua Yen Sūtra, who has suddenly transcended Saṁsāra. Accordingly, Wŏnhyo called his mask 'the Unfettered Man'. He also composed a song about it, and this became widely known. With the mask, he used to travel around to many villages, dancing and singing, so that the poor and depraved all came to know the name of the Buddha...." (SGYS 348.8-349.3)
Pakpŏm and Yŏngsang are otherwise unknown, but their names appear to be monastic names. This seems to contrast with Masa and Munch'ŭk, both of which are secular names, and with Ch'ewŏn, who obviously led a secular life. The parallelism with the preceding section on Chinese Buddhist poets would also point to the first trio being composers of secular songs and the second trio being composers of religious songs. ◀◀

[185] Monastic names, all four otherwise unknown. ◀◀

[186] Apart from the early Book of Songs, traditional Chinese shih-poetry is for the most part written in lines of five or seven syllables, all lines of a given poem generally being of the same length. Ch'oe's Chinese renderings of Kyunyŏ's songs are in standard seven-syllable regulated verse, rhyming aabacada, with grammatical and semantic parallelism observed in the two middle couplets. These formal requirements necessarily produce a very free translation which is more in the nature of a paraphrase. ◀◀

[187] This phrase constitutes the only information that has survived about the internal structure of Silla-Koryŏ songs. However, although "three or six phrases" 三句六名 appears to be relatively straight-forward, it is a formula that has

proved especially difficult to identify in Kyunyŏ's songs. The "three" part is straight-forward enough, clearly corresponding to lines 1-4, lines 5-8 and lines 9-10 respectively, but the "six" is not. Considerable and inconclusive literature exists on this topic, where one usually finds the formula taken as indicating three phrases, each composed of six characters.

However, this interpretation does not take into account the fact that the formula is not a considered statement of technique, but rather a phrase that occurs in the course of a p'ien-wen composition, and may well have been simply coined to go in parallel with the formula "five and seven syllables" for Chinese shih. Not only is this a circumstance that argues against treating the formula with much precision, but it also suggests that, in accordance with this parallelism, Ch'oe Haenggwi is thinking of 句 and 名 as more or less synonymous, just as 言 and 字 are. Hence the translation above as "three or six phrases". Among many works on this topic, see Sŏng (1978), who has a useful summary of existing theories, and Kŭm (1982), who reaches a similar conclusion on 句 equalling 名 even without the benefit of considering the p'ien-wen aspect. ◀◀

[188] Shen and Shang (also called ch'en) are actually two of the twenty-eight constellations in Chinese astronomy, the former made up of three stars in Orion, and the latter of three stars in Scorpio. Since when one is rising the other is always setting, the two can never "meet", and so are used as a traditional symbol of estrangement. ◀◀

[189] Indra's Net is frequently mentioned in the HYS and is explained in detail by Fa Tsang (e.g., T 1877.647A.17-24) and others. The net is said to hang over the palace of the god Indra. It is a network of jewels, the nature of which is such that each jewel reflects all the rest. This is used as a metaphor to illustrate the central Hua Yen doctrine of the interpenetration (lit. "nonobstruction") of phenomenon and phenomenon. ◀◀

[190] Liang (502-557) and Sung (420-479) are two southern dynasties of the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (420-489) in China, a time when Buddhism was taking root and literary culture was highly developed. Here they stand for southern Chinese culture, specifically poetry, during this period and it is, of course, possible that in harking back some 600 years with this phrase, Ch'oe had it in mind that the norms of Liang and Sung were a specific influence at what was then a formative stage of Buddhist culture in Korea.

The Samguk yusa states that "Chinhan" 秦韓 is another "spelling" for 辰韓 (SGYS 50.2), a term which can be taken to refer either to one of the three ancient confederacies in the southern part of the Korean peninsula prior to the 4th century or to the southern part of the peninsula in general, though the latter would be a rather archaic usage. (See Yi Pyŏngdo, 1959, p. 264.) Either way, Ch'oe is clearly referring to Silla and its literature, the state of Silla being held by traditional Korean historiography to have developed out of the Chinhan and neighboring Pyonhan confederacies.

The use of the character 秦 (GSR dz'iĕn) instead of 辰 (GSR zien) is unusual enough to warrant comment. In the Samguk yusa, for example, 秦韓 occurs just once, whereas 辰韓 occurs on thirteen occasions. (Neither occurs at all in the Koryŏ-sa.) The Samguk yusa explains 秦 by referring to the legend that the Chinhan confederacy was first established by refugees from the Chinese Ch'in 秦 Empire (255-206 B.C.; SGYS 50.3), and the San kuo chih quotes a similar tradition (SKCh 30.852.11-14). It is therefore possible that the use of the character 秦 is a poetic way of recalling an ancient peninsular tie with China. ◀◀

[191] I.e., Confucius, who lived in the state of Lu. The "sea-turtle's head" is of course intended to parallel the "rat's tail" in the following sentence, but there seems to be no story that would connect Confucius with Korea or with sea-turtles. It is possible that the phrase "to reach the sea-turtle's head" here may simply mean "to achieve his aim"; cf. the similar phrase, "to ascend the sea turtle's head", meaning to succeed in entering the Hanlin Academy. The notion

that Confucius intended to go to Korea may be based on the following well-known passage in the Analects (IX.13): "The Master wanted to take up residence among the nine barbarian tribes of the east. When someone said; 'What of their lack of refinement?' He replied: 'If a gentleman were to live amongst them, how could lack of refinement be a problem?'" ◀◀

[192] Sŏl Ch'ong's dates are unknown. He was the son of Wŏnhyo (617-686) and was pre-eminent in literary activities in the late 7th and early 8th centuries, being especially famous for systematizing the methods by which the native Silla language was transcribed into Chinese characters. He is the earliest of the Sixteen Worthies recognized by Korean Confucianist tradition. His biography is given in the Samguk sagi, Chapter 46; for a general account of his life in English, see Jones (1900); on his literary activities see Buzo (1980), pp. 42-3, and especially Hwang (1979), pp.35- 43.
Ch'oe Haenggwi's parallel prose can lend itself to ellipsis, and so one should note that the reference to "rat's tail prolixity" occurs in the context of his giving examples of hindrances to mutual communication between the Korean peninsula and China. It therefore should be taken as referring to disorder afflicting the Korean Confucian tradition subsequent to Sŏl's time, rather than to disorder afflicting the methods of transcribing the Silla language for which he is chiefly known. ◀◀

[193] Hsüan Wan (562-636; the character 玩 GSR nguân, here seems to be a mistake for 琬, GSR iwŏn or uân) was a famous and learned monk of the Northern Chou, Sui and T'ang dynasties. His special area of study was the Vinaya, the rules of Buddhist monastic discipline. ◀◀

[194] Varaprabha is a bodhisattva who appears in the first chapter of the Lotus Sūtra, where he is said to have preached the Sūtra for "a full eighty minor kalpas" (T 262.4B.6-7). ◀◀

[195] The term "Great Tree" may be used as a metaphor for advanced bodhisattvas, but here presumably refers to the "Bodhi-tree in the wilderness of Saṁsāra" mentioned in the BhCP. See n. 138 above. ◀◀

[196] For the "great bell", see n. 23 above. ◀◀

[197] Wisdom is often likened to a sword which cuts through the entanglements of passion and delusion. The bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who personifies wisdom, is commonly depicted in painting and sculpture as wielding such a sword. ◀◀

[198] Māra personifies death (the name is cognate with the Latin mors, "death") and, by extension, all those factors which obstruct Enlightenment and perpetuate the cycle of birth and death. Buddhist tradition distinguishes four kinds of "Māra": death itself, the passions (kleśa), the aggregates (skandha) which comprise a living being, and the god (devaputra) who appears in early Buddhist texts as the adversary and tempter of the Buddha, as of all others bent on achieving enlightenment. The association of "the Māras" (or perhaps just "Māra") with the north is obscure. It may be purely a matter of prosodic balance with the south in the following phrase, simply symbolizing the forces of ignorance by contrast with the south as the direction of Enlightenment. In China and elsewhere, the south is also traditionally the auspicious direction, being associated with light and summer (expressions of the power of yang), so the north could be regarded as having the contrary associations. ◀◀

[199] The “Abode of Love” is the tower of the bodhisattva Maitreya, whose name derives from maitrī, meaning “love, friendship, kindness”. This tower is the scene of Sudhana’s culminating vision in the GVS. The “Good Friends” (kalyāṇa-mitrāṇi) are the gurus or spiritual guides that Sudhana encounters in the course of his journey, which is constantly to the south until he meets his 30th or 31st guru Mahādeva, who directs him back to Magadha in the north. ◀◀

[200] “Eldest Son”. Reference uncertain. In some versions of the Prajñāpāramita Sūtra, the “Fragrant City” (Sanskrit Gandhavatī) is the place the bodhisattva Sadāprarudita travels to in order to find his teacher. The “Pilgrim Youth” must therefore be Sadāprarudita, not Sudhana. ◀◀

[201] This presumably refers to some condensation by Kyunyŏ of Ch’eng Kuan’s separate commentary on the 40HYS, i.e., the GVS (ST A.7.5). See n. 78 above. ◀◀

[202] A Sanskrit text of the GVS, translated into Chinese as the 40HYS, arrived at the Chinese capital in 795. It had been sent as a gift from the king of Oḍra (=modern Orissa) in eastern India, and had been copied out in the king’s own hand, for he described himself as “believing deeply in the excellent Dharma of the Sugata” (i.e., the Buddha), and as a “practitioner of the excellent practices of the Mahayana”. (His letter is preserved as an appendix to the translation of the 40HYS: T 293.848B-C.) The word 震旦 was a standard traditional Korean term for China. See Yi Pyŏngdo (1934) on its origin and meaning. ◀◀

[203] I.e., Silla. In an 898 inscription, the Silla Kaya-san Haein-sa Kyŏgyejang-gi, Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn explains this “spelling” as denoting “(a place) where the Dharma flourishes”. (From Sanskrit śīla, meaning “moral discipline.”; TMS 64.) ◀◀

[204] There are three passing references to T’o-gun on contemporary inscriptions (CKC 145.7, CKC 163.8, CKC 182.2). Taken together, they seem to refer to a place of some significance, but T’o-gun is otherwise unknown, there being no mention of it in the SGYS, SGSG, KS or TMS. It seems likely that T’o-gun is in fact T’osan-gun in Hwanghae Province (KS 58.6A.3), the three characters being reduced to two. T’osan was the site of a number of monasteries (listed in HS, Vol. 17, p. 116) and was close to a number of important Koryŏ centres of Buddhist learning such as Yŏngt’ong Monastery, while a reference in an inscription to a monk going to O’gwan-san, the mountain where Yŏngt’ong Monastery was located, to study in 833 (CKC 158.2) suggests that T’osan-gun/T’o-gun may also have been significant enough in Silla times to have played a key role in transmitting this key HYS text to Silla in the early 9th century. The identity of the “exalted worthy” is, of course, unknown, but in this connection it is worth noting that one of the inscription references is to a monk belonging to “the T’og’un line of the Kyerim royal house” (CKC 145.7), Kyerim being another name for Silla. Thus Ch’oe may be referring to an act of piety on the part of a royal clansman that was well-known in Hwaŏm tradition at the time.
To write out sūtras in one’s own blood, commonly by pricking one’s tongue, was and still is considered to be an especially meritorious practice in Chinese and Chinese-influenced Buddhism. ◀◀

[205] This refers to a passage in Fa Tsang’s Transmission of the Hua Yen Sūtra, Fascicle 4 (T 51.167A), which tells how a man called Wang, who had observed no ethical precepts and practised no meditation, died and was dragged off by “two men” towards the gates of hell. Beside the gate, however, there stood the bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha in the guise of a monk. The bodhisattva then taught Wang the following four-line stanza and urged him to recite it:

If it is knowledge that you seek
Of all the buddhas of all times,
You should contemplate like this:
Tathāgatas are made by mind. (T 279.102A.29-B.1)
Merely by reciting this as he was carried off to judgement, Wang earned such merit that King Yama, the Judge of Hell, dismissed him and had him restored to life. ◀◀

[206] Allusion unidentified. ◀◀

[207] The "Special Causes" are those leading to the "Sublime Fruit" of Buddhahood ("Sublime Enlightenment" is the last of the fifty-two stages of the Bodhisattva Path supposed to be treated in the HYS.) In his Treatise on the Five Teachings, Fa Tsang says
"The teaching of the One Vehicle... may be divided into two aspects: the special teaching and the common teaching. The first of these also has two aspects: (a) the result, which is the Ocean of Reality, whose true significance cannot be put into words... and (b) the cause, which is Interdependent Origination, i.e. the realm of Samantabhadra." (T 1866.477A.10-15) ◀◀

[208] Unidentified. Hui-ming appears to be a monastic name, and there is a monk by this name who is said to have been "skilled in poetry", but he lived during the Sung dynasty, and so would be too late for the present text. It is possible that 惠 may be a variant for 慧 but the most famous monk with the name 慧明 is also called Hsüan Lang (673-754), and although his dates might make him a possible candidate, there is no evidence that he was famous as a poet. ◀◀

[209] I.e., the Chinese benefit only from reading the preface, which is in Chinese, but cannot read the Korean songs, while the Koreans can recite the songs but are unable to appreciate the preface. ◀◀

[210] The area referred to lies between the modern-day Liao River in Liaoning Province, China, and the Taedong River (also known as the P'ae) in northern Korea. It represents territory entirely beyond the northern border of Silla, and mostly beyond that of Koryŏ. Its Korean associations begin with the Koguryŏ kingdom (1st century B.C.-668) in which it mostly lay; thereafter it came under the control of T'ang China to the west and of Parhae to the east. At the time Ch'oe was writing, the area was mostly in Jürched territory.
Ch'oe's reference to the persistence of Korean culture in this area, as instanced by the transmission of Kyunyŏ's songs to it (albeit in attenuated form), is most probably accurate. Koryŏ evinced a strong sense of cultural affinity with the territories to its north, and the essentially Korean identity of the population in the Liaotung area persisted for many centuries after it left direct Korean political control. For evidence of this, see, for example, Meskill (1965), p. 145, where the Chosŏn official Ch'oe Pu (1454-1504), travelling in Liaotung, noted evidence of subsisting Korean tradition. ◀◀

[211] "Wu" and "Ch'in" here are general terms to indicate south and north China respectively. Both were feudal states in Chou times. ◀◀

[212] Untraceable. ◀◀

[213] Also untraceable. ◀◀

[214] The epithets "worldly" and "true" in the text are an allusion to the doctrine of the "Two Truths": conventional truth (saṁvṛti-satya) and ultimate truth (paramārtha-satya). ◀◀

[215] Ho Ch'ung (292-346) was a prominent official known for his devotion to Buddhism and for the generosity of his contributions to temple-building. Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433) was a great poet noted for his landscape poetry. He was also a devout Buddhist, and participated in the translation of texts from Sanskrit into Chinese. ◀◀

[216] Ch'oe's meaning is presumably that he had sought, to some extent, to imitate those who had made impressive donations to Buddhism in the past, but was still troubled by the thought that those who merely donated were ultimately less important than the genuine practitioners of Buddhism (such as Kyunyŏ). "Cultivation" implies the practice of meditation and other spiritual disciplines. ◀◀

[217] In Buddhist art, Samantabhadra is commonly depicted as seated on an elephant. In the context of the GVS, Samantabhadra symbolizes commitment to practice, and so represents the "cause" of Enlightenment (see n. 154 above). Maitreya, on the other hand, as the revealer of Sudhana's final vision (see n. 176 above), stands for the "result", which is Enlightenment itself. ◀◀

[218] According to Buddhist tradition, Maitreya, who is at present a bodhisattva, will be the next buddha to appear in this world. Just as Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, attained Enlightenment while seated under a fig tree, so Maitreya will attain his Enlightenment beneath a "dragonflower" (Sanskrit puṁnāga) tree. ◀◀

[219] A variation on the traditional phrase "to throw brick in order to attract jade", meaning to provoke someone else into improving on one's own inadequate efforts. ◀◀

[220] The day and year have been almost entirely obliterated in the original. See Introduction for general discussion of the significance of the reign-years used in the Kyunyŏ-jŏn. ◀◀

[221] I.e., the buddhas, who alone fully understand the meaning of "emptiness" (śūnyatā), although the word could also be understood as singular, referring specifically to Vairocana: see n. 204 below and n. 110 above. Buddhas and bodhisattvas are often depicted as kings and princes of the Dharma or the spiritual realm: see "King of Enlightenment" (poem 2, 1.5) and "Kings of Transcendent Freedom" (song 2, 1.7) etc. See HYS (T 279.16A.24-5): "The Sages appear in every world,/ Seated in all their palace halls,/ Everywhere raining the great and boundless Dharma." ◀◀

[222] The meaning of "Halls of Honour" is not clear. It may refer to the halls in which the buddhas preach, like the palaces in which much of the preaching of the HYS takes place. ◀◀

[223] The buddhas who have become awakened or enlightened through their own efforts. Here the reference may be to Vairocana as the ultimate source of all the buddhas who appear in this universe, according to the buddhology of the HYS. ◀◀

[224] Lit. “(whose) many births are far-reaching”, presumably referring to the buddhas, who are manifestations of Vairocana and appear everywhere throughout the “ten directions” of space, just as their veneration will continue throughout endless time, see the next line of the poem. ◀◀

[225] A “kalpa” is an aeon. Buddhist scholastic literature distinguishes various types and lengths of kalpas, but a well-known ancient simile (SN XV.3.13.5) defines it poetically as longer than the time it would take to wear away a solid rock measuring a mile in every direction by rubbing it once every hundred years with a silken cloth. See Nyanatiloka (1972), p. 76, “Kappa”. ◀◀

[226] This could be understood as “the Hero from India”, since 梵 (梵 = Sanskrit brahma) can suggest either “Indian” (as in 梵文, “Sanskrit”) or “pure, holy” (as in 梵行, the “pure conduct” of monastic or ascetic discipline). ◀◀

[227] Lit. “Physician King”. The conception of the Buddha as a spiritual healer finds expression in the cult of such figures as the bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyarājā (“Medicine King”) and the buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru (“Medicine Teacher”). For a study of this topic, see Bimbaum (1979). ◀◀

[228] The “Sublime Peak” is Mount Sumeru (See nn. 113-4 above), which is sometimes called “Sublime and Splendid Mountain” 妙顯山 and “Sublime and Lofty Mountain” 妙高山. ◀◀

[229] See n. 114 above. ◀◀

[230] I.e., by means of the bodhisattva’s four “attractive qualities” (saṁgraha-vastūni): giving, speaking kindly, helping others and cooperating with others. ◀◀

[231] See n. 81. ◀◀

[232] The cycle of birth and death is said in Buddhism to be beginningless (anādika). ◀◀

[233] The three fundamental passions of greed or attachment (lobha), hatred or aversion (dveṣa), and delusion or ignorance (moha). ◀◀

[234] I.e., the evil deeds (“sins”) prompted by the “three poisons”, which then become the cause of future suffering. ◀◀

[235] The Hua Yen teaching, understood as that of the “interdependent origination of the Dharmarealm”, which explains how the “saintly and worldly, true and false (or, in the songs, “illusion and reality”), are ultimately equal or “one and the same” in their essential nature. See nn. 123-4 above. ◀◀

[236] See n. 127 above. ◀◀

[237] I.e., the buddhas. The “Threefold Knowledge” consists of knowledge of one’s previous lives, direct vision of the death and rebirth of beings in accordance with their karma, and awareness that one has completely eliminated the

"leakages" (āsravāh), the fundamental attachments and delusions that fuel the process of birth and death. The historical Buddha is said to have achieved this Threefold Knowledge at the moment of his Enlightenment. ◀◀

[238] Lit. "the few roots of goodness achieved through spiritual practices in the six realms". The six realms are the six possible states in which one may be reborn: as a god (deva), as an asura (opponents of the gods, similar to the titans of Greek mythology), as an animal, as a human being, as a "hungry ghost" (preta), or as a denizen of hell. The beings of these realms are limited by the prevailing mode of consciousness, and so the amount of good they can accumulate (considered as the "root", or cause, of future well-being and eventual Enlightenment) is slight compared with that of the buddhas, who have transcended the limitations of these six states. ◀◀

[239] By their teaching, the buddhas may speed up the progress of other beings towards "True Awakening" (sambodhi: perfect Enlightenment). This process is here understood as the creation of potent causes for the achievement of such Awakening. ◀◀

[240] Amṛta, cognate with the Greek ambrosia, was in India the equivalent of "nectar", the drink which conferred immortality on the gods, hence the Chinese translation as "sweet dew". In Buddhism amṛta was treated as a symbol of the Dharma, for by practising according to the Buddha's teaching one may overcome death (a-mṛta = im-mortal). ◀◀

[241] Śīla: see n. 120 above. ◀◀

[242] See n. 133 above. ◀◀

[243] A reference to the tower of the bodhisattva Maitreya. See n. 176 above. ◀◀

[244] Lit. "who have completed the causes of your transforming (activity)", i.e., the causes or conditions by virtue of which you appeared in the world to transform evil or ignorant beings into virtuous or enlightened ones through your teaching. When such prior conditions are exhausted, i.e. when they have produced all the corresponding results, the life span of the "saints and sages" will normally come to an end. ◀◀

[245] The implication is that the passing away of the buddhas, like their initial manifestations in the world, is only an apparent rather than an ultimately real event, and is intended as a demonstration of the truth of impermanence. ◀◀

[246] Devas are the gods who inhabit the heavens of traditional Buddhist cosmology (see n. 215 above). An ancient formula describes the Buddha as the "teacher of gods and humans" (śāstā devamanuṣyāṇām). ◀◀

[247] The "lamp" is the light of the buddhas' wisdom, and the "kindness" is their condescension in appearing in this world of suffering to teach the path to Nirvāṇa. ◀◀

[248] The name of this world, generally interpreted as meaning "the world where there is much to endure", deriving sahā- from the root sah, "endure, suffer, put up with". ◀◀

[249] According to the HYS, Vairocana achieved enlightenment and became the presiding buddha of the cosmos as a

result of incalculable aeons of practising the Dharma. In the Sūtra, all the other buddhas who appear in this universe are regarded as manifestations of Vairocana. Thus, in this Sahaworld, for example, he has recently appeared as Śākyamuni. ◀◀

[250] The paper, brushes and ink are for copying out the sūtras. Giving or generosity (dāna) is the first of the six pāramitās which epitomize the bodhisattva-path. In the HYS there are many examples of bodhisattvas (including Vairocana) being born as kings who then give away such possessions as "cities, palaces and parks". ◀◀

[251] Perhaps the Threefold Knowledge mentioned in poem 5 (n. 214 above). ◀◀

[252] The idea that the Buddha can teach everything by a single word or sound which is variously understood by those who hear it is found frequently in the HYS (T 279: 7B/25, 8A/4, 8B/9, 12A/22 etc.), where it expresses the Hua Yen belief that each part contains the whole and that "within a single teaching there are innumerable others" (T 279/10A/20). But the same doctrine is also found in other Mahayana sūtras, and even in pre-Mahayana works, see Lamotte (1962), pp. 109-111. ◀◀

[253] Derived from the Buddha's parable of the river whose two banks symbolize the realm of suffering (Saṁsāra) and the realm of Enlightenment (Nirvāṇa) respectively. The Dharma is then the raft by which one may cross from one shore to the other. ◀◀

[254] As related in the BhCP: see n. 138 above. ◀◀

[255] "The all-pervasive teaching", i.e. that of the HYS and the Hua Yen school. ◀◀

[256] Lit. "look up to" or "rely on" the "True Wind" or "Wind of the Truth", i.e. the Dharma. ◀◀

[257] Lit. "the region of the dust of the passions", dust being a traditional symbol for emotions and attachments that obscure awareness. ◀◀

[258] Lit. "Palace of Dharmatā": see n. 143 above. ◀◀

[259] I.e., since the "universe of beings" will never come to an end, Saṁsāra being in principle endless as well as beginningless (see n. 209 above), my vows similarly represent an aspiration or intention which will endure forever. ◀◀

[260] The term 西國 does not appear in the KS, SGSG or SGYS. Elsewhere in the Kyunyŏ-jŏn, reference is made to a "Western envoy" 西使 (KYJ 4B.1), a term that enabled Hyŏngnyŏn to avoid directly stating that the envoy was a Later Chou envoy. If the use of 西國 represents a similar type of avoidance, then this is consistent with the ambiguous date attached to Ch'oe Haenggwi's poems (n. 241) in suggesting a date of composition for them between 960 and 963. This case is not necessarily weakened by the specific mention of the Sung court in the following phrase because, as has already been pointed out, Hyŏngnyŏn was prepared to designate the 953 Later Chou embassy as a Sung embassy (KYJ 4A.10), demonstrating that he did not necessarily have the post-960 dynasty specifically in mind in using the term. ◀◀

[261] This refers to a certain expectation that spiritual "beauty" should be reflected in physical appearance as well, in accordance with the karmic law of affinity between cause and effect. ◀◀

[262] Kwibŏp Monastery was founded in 963 (KS 2.29A.5), and hence this incident took place some time after this date. ◀◀

[263] Lit. his "threefold robes", referring to the three garments the monastic rules permit a Buddhist monk to wear: an inner garment, an upper garment, and an outer robe. ◀◀

[264] Lit. "beheld", presumably implying extra-sensory perception. ◀◀

[265] Sung calendar. ◀◀

[266] Otherwise unknown. ◀◀

[267] (Sanskrit Dharmarājā). This may mean either a king who rules in accordance with the Dharma, or one who is, as it were, a king of the Dharma, i.e., a buddha. Here of course the latter applies, and the implication is thus that Kyunyŏ is a buddha. ◀◀

[268] A portent that directly threatened the dynasty. Song'ak (Pine Peak) was the main mountain of the Koryŏ capital Songdo (Pine Capital), and a dense cover of pine trees was held to be essential for the well-being of the dynasty. This was explicit in the foundation legends of Koryŏ, as in the following story from the Koryŏ-sa:
"At that time there was a Silla official by the name of Parwŏn who excelled at geomancy. He came to Pusŏ County, which was located to the north of Pusŏ Mountain. He judged the shape of the mountain to be excellent, and his servant told Kang Chung 'If you move the county (settlement) to the south of this mountain and plant pine trees so that there are no exposed rocks on the mountain, then one who will unify the Three Han will arise.' Thereupon Kang Chung and the county dwellers went and lived south of the mountain, and planted pines over the entire peak. For this reason, the name (of the county) was changed to Song'ak County." (KS Koryŏ Segye 2A.5ff.)
There is ample evidence in the Koryŏ-sa to attest to the store set by the dynasty on maintaining this cover of pine trees, such as the recording of a mere landslide on Song'ak in 1012 (KS 14B.9). See Yoon (1976) pp. 119-126. No extraordinary happenings on Song'ak are recorded during the K'ai-pao period (though the Koryŏ-sa is a very attenuated document throughout this period), except earthquakes in 971 and 972 (KS 2.30A.8.9). These might have produced something of the effect described. The specification of the northern slopes as the place where the denudation occurred might also have been taken personally by Kwangjong, as this was the site of his royal tomb-to-be (KS 2.31A.6), but this might have been a later embellishment to the anecdote. ◀◀

[269] Lit. a "calamity-dispelling Dharma-place". (In a Buddhist text, the term Tao may be used as equivalent to "Dharma" or to "Enlightenment".) In general, such a place is one where offerings are made or where Buddhism is studied or practised, as for example a monastery or meditation hall. Here it would refer to an altar or shrine where monks would perform ceremonies and make offerings in an attempt to avert the calamity threatening the State. ◀◀

[270] Lit. "Transformation Birth and Death". This may have several meanings, such as the "birth" and "death" that

may be said to take place at every instant in a constantly changing universe. Here the implication is that Kyunyŏ had attained true Enlightenment and so in principle had transcended the cycle of birth and death (saṁsāra). His death, therefore, was a voluntary transformation undertaken for instructive purposes, teaching the lesson of impermanence by appearing to conform to the samsaric cycle. ◀◀

[271] Located on the far south-east coast of the peninsula, at one of the points closest to the Japanese islands. ◀◀

[272] The epithet 異, meaning "strange, unusual", here implies the possession of some extraordinary wisdom or magical powers. The second patriarch of the Hua Yen school, Chih Yen, was instructed by just such a monk, who afterwards vanished mysteriously: see T 2073.163C.14-16. ◀◀

[273] According to early Buddhist tradition, Vipaśyin was the name of the first of the six buddhas who had preceded Śākyamuni. The name also occurs in the HYS, again as the name of a buddha. ◀◀

[274] In 668. ◀◀

[275] Lit. "to repay a former cause". In other words, the above-mentioned "karmic link" was the cause of which his teaching Buddhism in Korea was the eventual result or fulfilment. ◀◀

[276] I.e., King Kwangjong. ◀◀

[277] In 963. See n. 239 above. ◀◀

[278] Sanskrit nidāna. This is an explanation of the circumstances which led to a sūtra being preached. ◀◀

[279] Illegible. ◀◀

[280] Lit. "demonstrated extinction," presumably equivalent to "demonstrated quiescence", "quiescent extinction" being a translation of "Nirvāṇa". It is used to refer to the death of advanced bodhisattvas, buddhas and eminent monks and nuns, implying that such death is merely an instructive appearance. See n. 247 above. ◀◀

[281] The original text gives a blank space for his age. The number inserted in the translation is, of course, a simple calculation forward from his known birthdate, 923. The text also gives a blank space for the number of years he was a monk. Since he was fifteen when he entered Puhŭng Monastery, his ordination probably occurred not too long after this time. ◀◀

[282] Lit. "a sufficiency of divine (powers)" (= Sanskrit ṛddhipada). From meaning such special powers as telepathy and levitation, the term covers, by extension, those who have acquired such powers through their skill in meditation, and so finally comes to refer also simply to a disciple of outstanding merit or ability. The two disciples mentioned here are otherwise unknown, apart from a reference in a colophon to K 1507, where Tamnim is mentioned in passing as having written down many of Kyunyŏ's lectures. ◀◀

[283] Lit. "dragons and elephants". "Dragon" (Sanskrit nāga—which may also mean "elephant") and "elephant"

(Sanskrit hastin) are traditional epithets for enlightened beings in Buddhist sūtras. Here, then, the implication is that these two disciples were enlightened, and therefore "eminent members of the Sangha" or monastic community. ◀◀

[284] Kim Chŏngjun enjoyed a long official career between his first recorded appointment in 1035 (KS 6.2A.7) and his appointment as Prime Minister (1057) and Vice President of the Chancery (1059), the latter being his last recorded public office (KS 8.7A.6, KS 8.12A.9). ◀◀

[285] Unidentified. Of the two Ko Chŏngs mentioned in the Koryŏ-sa, one is a Khitan ambassador who visited the capital in 1027 (KS 5.9A.9), while the other was an associate of the 13th century official O Cham (KS 125.19A.2). The former is at least chronologically feasible, while his title appears to be a Chinese and not a Korean one. ◀◀

[286] The "wheel" here is presumably the Wheel of the Dharma (Dharmacakra), a standard symbol for the Buddhist teaching. See song and poem 6. ◀◀

[287] In the course of his pilgrimage, as chronicled in the GVS, Sudhana encounters many jewelled pavilions and palaces. ◀◀

[288] Chih Tun, also known as Chih Tao-lin (314-366), was a prominent monk of the Eastern Chin dynasty (317-420). Like many of the aristocratic and cultured clergy of his day, he participated in gatherings for Pure Conversation, and wrote essays on Buddhism that were heavily influenced by Neo-Taoist philosophy. Here, of course, he is simply meant to represent the ideal cultured and enlightened monk, such as Kyunyŏ himself was. Green (or blue) mountains and white clouds are common symbols of the life of the recluse, hermit or monk detached from the world. ◀◀

[289] Quotation untraced. Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.-A.D. 18) was a Han dynasty philosopher and poet, author of the Model Sayings (based on the Lun yü), the Book of the Great Mystery (based on the Book of Changes), and of many fu. ◀◀

[290] See n. 263 above. ◀◀

[291] Lit. "assist in spreading the mysterious transformations", referring to the transforming influence of Buddhist teachings. ◀◀

[292] The term "spiritual powers" (Skt. abhijñā) implies psychic and magical abilities. (See n. 259.) "Auspiciously responsive" refers to the doctrine of "awareness and response", whereby the buddhas and bodhisattvas are held to become aware of the needs of sentient beings and respond accordingly. ◀◀

[293] Lit. "in (worlds like) dust-motes and sand-grains". See poems 2 and 6. ◀◀

[294] Blank in text. ◀◀

[295] Other Sanskrit versions of the title occur. Śāntideva, for example, in his Śikṣāsamuccaya, refers to the work simply as the Bhadracaryāgāthā or "Songs of Virtuous Conduct". (See Bendall and Rouse, 1971, p. 269.) Longer and more elaborate forms of the title are also found.

Praṇidhāna 願, in a Buddhist context, usually means "vow, commitment, wish, desire". Carī 行 (alternative forms are cari and cāri) is the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit equivalent of caryā, meaning "practice" or "conduct". Bhadra literally means "good, virtuous, auspicious" but here it is usually taken to refer to the bodhisattva Samantabhadra ("Universally Good", "Wholly Virtuous"). ◀◀

[296] This is the so-called 40-fascicle version of the HYS. In fact, it is a translation of the final section of the complete work, "Entry into the Dharmarealm", 入法界品, which survives in Sanskrit as an independent work with the title Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra. ◀◀

[297] T 2145.67c.7-8: "In foreign countries, the fourfold assembly (of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen) usually recite this sūtra when worshiping the Buddha, so as to arouse the aspiration to seek the Path to Enlightenment." ◀◀

[298] T 1000.59b. 10-12: "After paying reverence, you should kneel with your right knee on the ground, press your palms together, compose your thoughts; and then recite the whole text of The Conduct and Vows of Samantabhadra once, putting complete and wholehearted trust in the buddhas and bodhisattvas. You should still your mind and consider the meaning of every single phrase in the text." ◀◀

[299] The same confusion of the two bodhisattvas occurs in Amoghavajra's biography, where the BhCP is referred to as "The Practices and Vows of Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra". See Chou (1945), pp. 286-7 and n. 11. ◀◀

[300] Lung-lien (1968), p. 633. ◀◀

[301] Idem. ◀◀

[302] This was not an unnatural step, since the HYS itself began as a group of independent but related texts which were later edited into a coherent whole. Moreover, the "vows" and "practices" of Samantabhadra are constantly mentioned in the HYS, and form a kind of leit-motif running throughout the entire work. The growing importance of the cult of this bodhisattva in Hua Yen circles is also well illustrated by the chapter on the "Ten Samādhis" found in the 80HYS but not in the earlier 60HYS, in which he is lauded as supreme over all the other bodhisattvas in the assembly, so far surpassing their accomplishments as to be invisible to them until they prostrate themselves in adoration of him and vow to emulate him. ◀◀

[303] Another reason for its popularity in China was the inclusion of six verses anticipating rebirth in Sukhāvatī, the Pure Land of Amitābha. These verses, which are lacking in Buddhabhadra's translation, and in any case seem quite inconcongruous in such a context, have presumably been added to the text at some stage by devotees of Amitābha. They do, however, occur in the Sanskrit version, as well as in Amoghavajra's and Prajña's translations. ◀◀

[304] 華嚴經行願品 ST 1.7.3-4 ◀◀

[305] 行願品疏鈔 ST 1.7.5 ◀◀

[306] 華嚴普賢行修證儀ST 1.95.5 ◀◀

[307] See Lung-lien (1968), p. 634. ◀◀

[308] See Idumi (1930), pp. 226-7, 232-47. ◀◀

[309] Narasiṁhāḥ, a traditional epithet of the buddhas: see Kyunyŏ-jŏn Translation, n. 90. ◀◀

[310] It is understood, as in the previous passage, that the devotee will visualize his or her own person multiplied to infinity and appearing before each of the buddhas. ◀◀

[311] In the HYS, "ocean" is often used to indicate an indefinitely large number or quantity. ◀◀

[312] The word "clouds" is often used to indicate an indefinitely large number, especially of offerings. Cf. previous note. ◀◀

[313] Koṭi commonly means ten million, but the HYS freely uses this and other such words without concern for specific numerical content. An entire chapter (No. 30 in the 80HYS) is devoted to such "incalculable" (asaṁkhyeya) numbers, most of which seem to be quite fanciful and have presumably been coined by the HYS itself. ◀◀

[314] Lit. "then they will manage to accomplish offering-tathāgatahood". ◀◀

[315] Of body, speech and mind. ◀◀

[316] I.e., from the awakening of the bodhicitta, which is the unshakeable determination to achieve Omniscience or Buddhahood, for the sake of all beings. On the question of the Buddha's omniscience, see P.S. Jaini (1974) ◀◀

[317] I.e., the good deeds that create merit (puṇya) and in time produce material and spiritual benefits. ◀◀

[318] Many of the best-known jātaka stories depict the Bodhisattva as sacrificing his life for the sake of others. ◀◀

[319] Sarīrāṇi: these are small glassy or pearl-like objects often found among the ashes after the cremation of the bodies of buddhas and other saintly individuals. ◀◀

[320] Usually interpreted as "complete" or "perfect" (pari-) Nirvāṇa, this refers to the final passing away of a buddha, more technically known as "Nirvāṇa without remaining substratum" (anupādhiśeṣa nirvāṇa). ◀◀

[321] From a womb, from an egg, from moisture, or by spontaneous generation. ◀◀

[322] The heavens, the hells and the worlds of asuras, human beings, animals and hungry ghosts (pretas). ◀◀

[323] Śrāvakas, lit. "voice-hearers": those who follow the Lesser Vehicle and eventually become arhats as a result of listening to the buddhas and following their teachings. ◀◀

[324] Also called Solitary Buddhas (pratyeka- = singly, alone). These buddhas become fully enlightened (unlike the

arhats—see previous note—whose enlightenment is regarded in the Mahayana as incomplete) by meditating on the principle of causality (pratītyasamutpāda). Unlike the Perfect Buddhas (saṁyaksambuddhāh), however, they do not exert themselves to teach others. ◀◀

[325] Those who are śaikṣa, requiring further spiritual training. ◀◀

[326] Those who are aśaikṣa, or requiring no further training, i.e., those who have already achieved enlightenment in their respective "vehicle" of spiritual discipline. ◀◀

[327] Here the bodhisattvas represent the Mahayana or Bodhisattvayāna, as distict from the vehicles of the Hearkeners and Solitary Buddhas. ◀◀

[328] 乃至 is a common expression indicating that the intermediate items of a list have been omitted for the sake of brevity. ◀◀

[329] See the Translation, n. 133. ◀◀

[330] 涅槃 transliterates "Nirvāṇa", but this is commonly used in Chinese texts as equivalent to "Parinirvāṇa" (see n. 26 above). Either meaning could apply here. ◀◀

[331] See Translation, n. 225. ◀◀

[332] The copying of sūtras for dissemination is considered very meritorious, particularly in the Mahayana, where the sūtras themselves frequently urge this practice. For the practice of copying sūtras in one's own blood, see Translation, n. 181. ◀◀

[333] As a result of accumulated merit, the bodhisattva may often be reborn as a king or other ruler, according to the HYS and to much other Buddhist literature. Such a position of wealth and power also provides an excellent opportunity for demonstrating the virtue of generosity (dāna), the first of the Six Pāramitās that a bodhisattva must cultivate. ◀◀

[334] abhijñāḥ (abhijñā): Lists of such powers, which include telepathy, levitation, remembrance of past lives etc., are associated with proficiency in meditation and are found in Buddhist texts from the earliest period. See Translation, nn. 259, 269. ◀◀

[335] I.e., the display of wonder-working powers, especially the ability to manifest oneself in various forms, with the intention of edifying beings and turning their minds towards the Dharma. Such displays occur frequently in Mahayana sūtras, including the HYS. For a discussion of the subject in relation to the teachings of the GVS, see Gómez (1967) pp. 1xxvi-vii, 48-53 and Gómez (1977) passim. ◀◀

[336] Lit. "dwelling in the Enlightenment Place of assemblies of..." ◀◀

[337] Skt. cakravartin. The wheel here symbolizes universal sovereignty, not the Dharma. Such kings are, however,

often described in Buddhist texts as wise and benevolent monarchs under whose reign the Dharma flourishes. An early Buddhist version of the cakravartin myth may be found in the "Cakkavatti-sīhanāda Sutta" of the Pali Canon (DN no. 26). ◀◀

[338] The warrior/administrative and priestly classes respectively. Non-brahmanical ascetics (śramaṇas) and religious teachers like the Buddha generally came from the kṣatriya class, so Buddhist texts, unlike Hindu ones, inevitably put this class first, before the brahmans. ◀◀

[339] Nāgas are "dragon" or serpent deities, traditionally regarded as custodians of Mahayana texts and teachings. ◀◀

[340] Eight types of deity regarded as protectors of the Dharma and mentioned in the HYS, the Lotus Sūtra and many other works. The eight are devas, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas, kinnaras and mahoragas. ◀◀

[341] See Translation, n. 91. ◀◀

[342] See Translation, n. 223. ◀◀

[343] By the attainment of Enlightenment. ◀◀

[344] Beings of pure mind without physical form are said to exist in the four worlds of the Formless Realm (arūpyadhātu). These correspond to the last four of the eight Levels of Absorption (dhyāna). ◀◀

[345] Those "without cognition" are the inhabitants of one of the worlds of the Realm of Pure Form (rūpadhātu). Beings born here have mastered the Fourth Absorption and have transcended the need for discursive thought. ◀◀

[346] This is explained as a reference to the Akanishṭha Heaven, a term usually applied to the highest of the four worlds of the Realm of Pure Form. It can, however, also be applied to the highest of the four worlds of the Formless Realm, a dimension corresponding to the Eighth Absorption, which is described as a state of "neither perception nor non-perception". Clearly it is the latter world which is indicated here. ◀◀

[347] Taking 轉 as a transitive verb meaning "cause to change (direction, hence mode of life or conduct, etc.), convert". It might also be interpreted as "revolve (in the cycle of birth and death)", in which case the translation would be "you should remain in the cycle of birth and death in order to comply with (the needs of) all these various kinds of being". ◀◀

[348] "Great Compassion" (mahākaruṇā) is so called because it is an expression of Transcendent Wisdom (prajñāpāramitā), which sees that the "beings" who are the object of compassion have no ultimate reality. Only such compassion can be truly universal and unbiased. ◀◀

[349] That awakening the Bodhimind (bodhicitta, the Aspiration to Enlightenment) leads directly to full Enlightenment is a constant theme throughout the HYS. The virtues of arousing this Aspiration are extolled at length in the 17th chapter of the 80HY, and again by Maitreya in a protracted torrent of similes near the end of the GVS. ◀◀

[350] Lit. “Unsurpassed Perfect True Enlightenment”, but the expression is often transliterated into Chinese, as it is here. ◀◀

[351] Samatā. This refers to the idea that there is ultimately no difference at all between oneself and others (or between any one phenomenon and another), for all are equally empty (śūnya). See n. 54 above. ◀◀

[352] Referring to the First Vow. ◀◀

[353] Referring to the Ninth Vow. ◀◀

[354] I.e., rebirth as an animal, as a hungry ghost (preta), or in hell. ◀◀

[355] See Translation, n. 81. ◀◀

[356] (Vi)mukti, (vi)mokṣa: liberation from suffering and the cycle of birth and death. ◀◀

[357] This is the twofold dedication of merit: simultaneously “upwards” towards one’s own attainment of Enlightenment and “downwards” towards suffering sentient beings, in accordance with the nonduality of wisdom and compassion. Only the first seven of the Vows are mentioned here, no doubt because this was the original number, the other three being added later to make up the symbolic ten favoured by Hua Yen numerology. ◀◀

[358] E.g., Yi Kimun (1972), p. 40-1. ◀◀

[359] For an examination of what is known of Sŏl’s literary activities, see Hwang (1979), especially pp. 35-43. See Translation, n. 169. ◀◀

[360] As is usual when rapid developments overtake a field of research, terminology can become somewhat confused and overlapping. Although this Appendix is only concerned with the EKWS as it relates to the Kyunyŏ-jŏn, and although matters of EKWS terminology have been covered in other works (Nam, 1977b, 1981; Buzo, 1980), it is worthwhile recalling some terms briefly here.
Idu: For many years, this term was taken as a generic term for the entire EKWS, but a later, more careful consideration of early references has demonstrated with some clarity that as a broad, generic term, idu is inaccurate, and that these references are consistently to a comparatively primitive, Sino-Korean hybrid form of written language, wherein an essentially Chinese text was embellished by the addition of other characters representing Korean grammatical particles in order to clarify further the Chinese syntax. See Hwang, op.cit., pp. 43-66.
Hyangch’al: A far more comprehensive form, used for song transcription, and hence requiring a full and accurate rendering of the Korean language original.
Kugyŏl: A form used to annotate Buddhist sūtra texts, transforming the Chinese original into Korean grammatical order by means of simplified Chinese characters written in the margins. In the degree of comprehensiveness and accuracy sought, surviving texts suggest that the distinction between kugyŏl and hyangch’al was slight, and largely functional. ◀◀

[361] This is by no means the only classification system put forward in the years since Yang Chudong's work first appeared—see, for example, that of Chŏng (1972)—but especially in its recognition of the interrelationship between the various modes it represents an advance over previous classifications, hence its use here. ◀◀

[362] Nam finds evidence that these four categories were not entirely discrete, and that some irregular or idiosyncratic readings that assumed the characteristics of more than one mode emerged in the course of their application over a long span of time. Again, it is beyond the scope of this present work to enlarge upon this aspect of EKWS. The reader is referred to Nam (1981), especially pp. 255-6. ◀◀

[363] Nam, op.cit., pp. 256-7. ◀◀

[364] SGSG Ch. 41. The work is, of course, now lost. See Yang (1942), p. 50, and Hwang (1979), especially the latter, for discussion. ◀◀

[365] The large-scale use of the dok + ka combination is a consistent characteristic of hyangch'al texts, and seems to be absent from texts written before Sŏl's time. In such texts, and in later transcriptions of single words, one finds other types of combination: ka + ka, ŭmdok + ŭmdok and hundok + hundok. See Nam (1981), p. 273. ◀◀

[366] Of course, this should not be taken to imply any special criticism of Yang or Kim Chigyŏn. Yang was concerned with language, not literature, and Kim Chigyŏn was concerned with compilation, not analysis, since he was writing an introduction to the first collected works of Kyunyŏ.
The case of Lee is somewhat different in that not only did he present "translations" of the songs, but in Lee (1960), p. 411, he also proceeded to offer some literary criticism based on what might best be described as his embellished renderings. As is so sadly the case with Lee's translation of the actual text of the Kyunyŏ-jŏn, it would be tiresome and repetitive to refute aspects of his renderings of the songs point by point. In the exegesis of the songs in this appendix, therefore, reference to Lee is confined to a comparison of translations of the first song simply to illustrate the scale of the problem his work poses. Interested readers are referred to Lee (1958-9) for further comparisons ◀◀

[367] See Hwang (1979), especially pp. 12-26, where he examines in detail the contexts in which the term "hyangga" is used in the Kyunyŏ-jŏn, SGSG and SGYS. ◀◀

[368] It is somewhat beyond the scope of this appendix to discuss the different etymologies proposed by Ogura and Yang. For a full treatment of this topic, especially focussing on their shortcomings as generic terms for Silla and Koryŏ songs, see Hwang (1978), pp. 66-73. ◀◀

[369] In Western literature, Lee (1958-9, 1960) used the term "saenaennorae" as a generic term for Silla and Koryŏ songs, echoing Yang's interpretation. Summaries of the work of Cho and Chŏng may be found in Hwang (1978), p. 74ff. For a detailed discussion of the etymologies arrived at by Ogura and Yang (and others) for sanoe, see Hwang (1978), pp. 65-74. ◀◀

[370] In summarizing Hwang's chief arguments in this fashion, it is not possible to do complete justice to his very full treatment of all aspects of sanoe and sanoe-ga. For further details, then, the reader is referred to the original. ◀◀

[371] One reason for raising the matter of Kyunyŏ's literary status is to offer a corrective to the image of Kyunyŏ as an accomplished poet that has been suggested by Lee, whose introduction to, and translation of, the Kyunyŏ-jŏn is titled "Life of the Korean Poet-Priest Kyunyŏ" (1957-8)—a rather unfortunate reversal of what must have been Kyunyŏ's own occupational priorities. One can only speculate on the influence of this tendency to magnify Kyunyŏ's poetic accomplishments, but the status of Lee's work as the only substantial treatment of the Kyunyŏ-jŏn in a Western language to date suggests that it may well have been considerable. At the very least, the statement by Ivan Morris (1964) that "The tenth century produced Korea's finest religious poet, the great Master Kyunyŏ, whose biography contains some of the most beautiful verses that faith in the buddha has ever inspired" (1979 Penguin edition, p. 305), suggests that Lee's views may have percolated down to the level of general literature, and hence that Kyunyŏ's reputation is in need of re-examination.

Doubts about Kyunyŏ's actual stature as a composer of songs also raise the somewhat tangential question of Ch'oe's precise motivation in composing his preface and poems. It is entirely possible that he was, as he himself puts it, "carried away by their sublime tones", but if Kyunyŏ was not, as seems probable, a composer of standing, then it is unlikely that a man of such evident sophistication as Ch'oe would react so strongly to what is as much a didactic exercise as a work of poetic accomplishment. The source of Ch'oe's inspiration may thus have been official, rather than personal. ◀◀

[372] Compare with Lee:

I bow today before the Buddha,
Whom I draw with the mind's brush.
O this body and mind of mine,
Strive to reach the end of ends.
He who is in every atom, He
Who presides over the four comers, He
Who overwhelms the world like the sea—
Would that I could always serve Him.
Idle body, mouth, mind,
Approach Him, be with him, unimpeded.

The Buddhist tone, substance and terminology of the song have been almost completely excised, the syntax and parallel structure have been ignored, and a number of images not in the original have been inserted: "the four corners", "the sea", "idle (body etc.)", "unimpeded". ◀◀

[373] The meaning of the couplet 頓部 is far from clear. Here it is simply translated as "immediate", and although this is its substantial meaning, the fact that the term itself appears to be a coined one, the doctrinal significance of Suddenism, and the elements of ambiguity that surround the four contexts in which it occurs in the songs leave room for doubt that the significance of the term can be fully, or even substantially, understood on the basis of current knowledge. ◀◀

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Written by Chŏng Hyŏngnyŏn
Translated by Adrian Buzo and Tony Prince

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