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# THE LIFE OF THE KOREAN POET-PRIEST KYUNYŎ

BY PETER H. LEE

SEOUL AND MUNICH

The life of the Great Priest Kyunyŏ\*<sup>a</sup> (917–73), author of eleven devotional poems in Old Korean, extends over the two dynasties, Silla<sup>b</sup>, an ancient Korean kingdom (57 B. C.–935 A. D.), and Koryŏ<sup>c</sup>, a medieval Korean kingdom (917–1392). Although the actual writing of his poems seems to have been during the reign of the fourth king of Koryŏ, Kwangjong<sup>d</sup> (950–75), literary historians generally consider him a typical representative of Silla, and his work a product of the glorious Silla culture. The principal reasons for this are that his poems are of the genre of the *Saenaennorae*<sup>e1</sup> and are written in *Idu*<sup>f</sup> letters. The fundamental difference between the two dynasties, Silla and Koryŏ, is that whereas the Silla culture was indigenous, the Koryŏ culture was an imitation of the powerful continental, i. e. Chinese, culture. The quality of the former was in the main vernacular while that of the latter was foreign. The crystallization of the indigenous Silla culture is the *Saenaennorae*, which is the polished form of native poetic genre in Silla and which is characterized by the use of *Idu* letters. Kyunyŏ wrote his devotional poems in this form, and his work is recorded in *Idu* letters, which were no longer in use in Koryŏ times. The quality of Buddhism is also different in the two dynasties: Silla Buddhism was marked by the

\* The romanization of Korean names follows the McCune-Reischauer system (Seoul, 1939).

1. *Saenaennorae* means Korean poetry in a broader sense but covers in particular the poems written from the beginning of the Silla dynasty to the 10th century. The Old Korean word, *saenae*, has three meanings: etymologically it means “Eastern river” or “Eastern land”; later it was used as a proper noun to designate specific localities and countries; finally used figuratively as a common or proper noun, it means “one’s native country” or “one’s native village.” Thus when historians talk of “saenae” songs, they mean songs of the East, namely Korea, their own native songs in contrast with foreign songs, Chinese poetry and music. For a detailed study on this subject, see C, H, O, and Y. – For the abbreviations cf. the list at the end of the article.

qualities of creativity and lucidity,<sup>2</sup> while the Buddhism of the subsequent dynasty found expression in imitation and in false magnificence. The author of these poems was thoroughly imbued with Silla culture and gave it its final expression through his work. His poems are the last examples of the *Saenaennorae*, the form of which gradually decayed in the Koryŏ dynasty.<sup>3</sup> It is for these philological and cultural reasons that historians group these poems, along with fourteen other poems written before 900, as Old Korean poetry.

The original texts of the eleven devotional poems are recorded in the seventh chapter of the *Kyunyŏ chŏng*,<sup>4</sup> a book of the life and achievements of the Great Priest, written by Saryŏn Chŏng<sup>h</sup>. The *Kyunyŏ chŏng* was first suffixed as an appendix to the *Sŏkhwaŏm kyobungi wŏnt'ongch'o*<sup>i</sup> (10 chs), which forms one of the fifteen items in the supplement to the Korean Tripitaka and was entered in the catalogue of the Tripitaka per-

2. In Silla times, many priests went abroad to study in China and in India and contributed largely to Buddhist thought throughout the world. We can name among many others Wŏnhyo (617-86), Ŭisang, Sinhaeng<sup>ei</sup> (c. 770), Toŭi<sup>ei</sup> (c. 820), Wŏnch'ŭk<sup>ek</sup>, Hyŏnt'ae<sup>el</sup>, and Hyech'o<sup>em</sup> (704-?). The Buddhist priests in Silla were also eminent poets of their day, and roughly two-thirds of Silla poetry (17 out of 25) were written by them. As a matter of fact, the compiler of the SGYS, which records the original texts of 14 Old Korean poems, was also a Buddhist priest. While the Koryŏ Buddhists meddled in politics and wrote in Chinese, the Silla priests were primarily interested in the preservation and cultivation of their indigenous culture, the vernacular poetry.

3. The aftermath of the *Saenaennorae* can be seen in one of the Koryŏ poems, *To ijang ka*<sup>en</sup> (1120), a royal poem of 8 lines written in *Idu* letters. This poem occupies a transitional period between Old Korean and Koryŏ poetry. Even in the *Chŏng Kwajŏng*<sup>eo</sup> (c. 1151-70) we see the aftermath of the *Saenaennorae* only with regard to the total number of lines which amounted to 10; we do not see here however a clear stanzaic division as we do in Silla poems. Furthermore, the inscription to the tower at Hyŏnhwa Temple in Kaesŏng, *Hyŏnhwasa pi'ŭmgi*<sup>ep</sup>, reports that in the year 1021, King Hyŏnjong<sup>eq</sup> (1010-31), the 8th king of the Koryŏ dynasty, visited the Temple and with his subjects composed 11 *Saenaennorae* and had them carved in the woodblock. Thus this form was still used in the beginning of the 11th century. See *Chosŏn kinseki sŏran* (comp. by Chŏsen sŏtokufu) 1 (Keijō = Seoul, 1915), 247-52, especially 251; *Oriens Extremus*, 3/1 (1956) 94-115.

4. See Ōya Tokujō, "Chosŏn Haeinsa keihan kō, tokuni Daizōkyō hohan narabini zōgai zappan no bukkyō bunkengakuteki kenkyū" (A Study in the Buddhist Scriptures at the Haein Temple in Korea, especially in the Supplement to the Tripitaka), *Tōyō gaku*<sup>hō</sup> 15/3 (June 1920), 285-392, especially 305-11.

haps in 1865. The book was, however, unknown until its wood block was discovered in the Haein<sup>j</sup> Temple on Mt. Kaya<sup>k</sup> in the twentieth century. Ariga Keitarō<sup>l</sup> published it as an appendix to the *Shijūshichi shiin zuki Wōnt'ong'yangjungdaesa Kyunyō den<sup>m</sup>* (38 pages) on December 18th, 1921, in Keijō (Seoul). The *Kyunyō chōn* occupies sheets 296–306 (sheets 19–28 of the tenth chapter) of the *Wōnt'ongch'o* which consists of 306 sheets altogether. Later the *Kyunyō chōn* was suffixed (1928 and 1932) as an appendix to the *Samguk yusa<sup>n</sup>* but without any historical or textual comments. The best edition of the book is undoubtedly that of the late Ch'oe Nam-sōn<sup>o</sup> (1886–1957), which was suffixed to his edition of the *Samguk yusa* published in 1954 in Seoul. Ch'oe gives the book a historical and literary introduction, which is concise but comprehensive. The importance of the discovery and publication of the *Kyunyō chōn* can hardly be overemphasized, as it was this book that facilitated the deciphering of the texts of Old Korean poems in the *Samguk yusa* and made possible a systematic study of the *Saenaennoraē*. Furthermore, the book lists a host of priest-writers who flourished in the period of Old Korean literature, and whose names appear nowhere else but in this book. The *Kyunyō chōn* is therefore one of the most important literary documents to the study of Korean literature in general and Old Korean poetry in particular; it also has a great significance in the study of the development of the Hua-yen School in Korea.

The *Kyunyō chōn* does not, however, provide us with the dates of the poems. Since the poems deal with the teachings of Buddhism, we may conjecture that they are written after *Kyunyō* had become a priest, but not immediately after he had entered the priesthood: they must have been produced when he had attained wisdom and virtue, and had won the public's confidence as an accomplished priest. Since it was in 953, the thirty-sixth year of his life, that he was ordained a priest, and since the poems were written after the pattern of *Bhadra-cari-praṇidhāna*,<sup>5</sup> it

5. See and compare: Watanabe Kaikioku (Kaikyoku), *Die Bhadracari, eine Probe buddhistisch-religiöser Lyrik*, untersucht und herausgegeben (Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung der



is probable that the poems were produced when the author had completed his studies and was able to elucidate Buddhism for the people. The eighth chapter of the book gives the translation of the eleven poems into Chinese by Ch'oe Haeng-gwi,<sup>P</sup> a contemporary of Kyunyŏ, in 967. Since the book also mentions that Chinese translations were made a few years after the original poems were written, we have good reasons to guess that the dates of the poems are between 963 and 967. Ch'oe Haeng-gwi, when he translated these poems into Chinese, used the form of seven-word verses, with an eight-line stanza, while Kyunyŏ wrote in the form of two stanzas of four-lines plus a stanza of two-lines.

In the *Kyunyŏ chŏn* the texts of the poems were transcribed into Chinese in accordance with their phonetic and ideographic values. This system of transcription was called "Idu." Historical sources tell us that this system was standardized by a scholar, Sŏl Ch'ong<sup>q</sup>, around 692. We do not know the exact date of the importation of Chinese to Silla; but since the Chinese characters are ideographs, they can be borrowed for their ideographic value in their original sense. In Korea they were also used for their phonetic value to transliterate the Korean language. This was due to the absence of any other national system of writing in Korea until 1446 when Great King Sejong<sup>r</sup> (1419-50) decreed the adoption of the present system. The Korean alphabet is not evolved from the Chinese characters, as are Japanese phonograms; there are, however, affinities between the *Man'yō-gana*, which were used in transcribing the Japanese poems in the *Man'yōshū*, and the *Idu* of Korea. Sŏl Ch'ong was a good scholar and used this method of transcription primarily in deciphering the Chinese classics which were very difficult for beginners to read and interpret. What he did was to insert auxiliary words between the Chinese characters and to indicate how they should be read in the

Doktorwürde der philosophischen Fakultät der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität zu Straßburg), Leipzig, 1912, especially 41-50; Idumi (Izumi) Hokei, "The Hymns on the Life and Vows of Samantabhadra, With the Sanskrit Text, *Bhadracariprañidhāna*," *The Eastern Buddhist* V/2-3 (April 1930), 226-47, especially 234-41.

Korean reading; in short, he made, so to speak, an *explication de texte*. In the process of this explication, he systematized the Chinese characters thus used. It is, however, held among specialists today that this system was the product, not of an individual genius, but of many people who used the characters in the same way for different purposes. We can trace this easily in the texts of the poems themselves, where the method of transcription is not uniform but variant.

What, then, was the belief held by Kyunyō as regards the function of poetry? He thought that poetry was an essential instrument in the attainment of supreme enlightenment. To sing and to dedicate poems as a part of prayer had been one of the essential parts of Buddhistic ceremony. We see expressed in these poems the common belief of the time that compensation would naturally ensue if the Buddhistic teachings were rightly followed. The compensation is supernatural, and its ultimate end is the attainment of the Promised Land. It can be seen from the poems that earthly existence accompanied with sorrow and pain is meant to pave the way to deliverance, and that life's evanescence and frailty can only be interpreted in terms of dedication and self-annihilation. The *Kyunyō chōn* tells us that these poems were very popular among the people and that the texts were often found posted on the walls of houses. The poems were also chanted as incantations to cure diseases. To the people these poems were therefore both *dulce et utile*<sup>6</sup>; they were not only loved as poetry but were also used as prayers and as means of enlightenment.

The contents of the poems are as follows: 1) the worship and veneration of Buddha; 2) the praise of Tathāgata; 3) the search for and offerings to Buddha; 4) repentance of sins and retribution in this life for the sins of a previous existence; 5) rejoicing in the welfare of others and in the reward of virtue; 6) the entreaty for the turning of the wheel of Law; 7) the entreaty for the coming of Buddha among the living; 8) the constant following of the way of Buddha; 9) the constant harmony with

6. See Horace, *Ars Poetica*, lines 333-44.

the living; 10) dedication of one's merits for the salvation of all living beings; 11) conclusion.<sup>7</sup>

Here follows the first English translation of the *Kyunyŏ chŏn*, the sole record of the life and achievements of the Great Priest Kyunyŏ.

## TAEHWAŎM SUJWA

WŎNT'ONG'YANGJUNG TAESA KYUNYŎ CHŎN<sup>8</sup>*Preface*

Nāgārjuna (*fl. c. 200*; Lung shu<sup>t</sup>)<sup>1</sup> revived the 100,000 hymns (Gāthā)<sup>2</sup> by Ulūka<sup>3</sup> in Sindhu,<sup>4</sup> and Ūisang<sup>u5</sup> introduced Buddhism into Korea. It was, however, the Great Priest Kyunyŏ<sup>6</sup> who propagated this teaching throughout our benevolent kingdom. The former Academician of the Jui-shu Hall (Jui-shu-yüan hsüeh-shih<sup>v</sup>)<sup>7</sup> (note: a post in T'ang) and Ich'ölch'an<sup>w</sup> (note: a post in Silla)<sup>8</sup>, Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn<sup>x9</sup> from Ch'ŏngha<sup>y</sup>,

7. Cf. D. T. Suzuki's introduction of "The Ten Vows of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra," *Studies in the Lankavatara Sūtra* (London, 1930) 230-6.

1. One of the "four suns" and reputed founder of Mahāyāna, native of south India, the 14th patriarch; he is said to have cut off his head as an offering; MBD 5, 4995a-4997b; SH, 247a-b; M. Walleser translated his "Middle Way": *Die buddhistische Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2 (Heidelberg, 1911): "Die mittlere Lehre (Mādhayamika-Śāstra) des Nāgārjunga, nach der Tibetischen Version übertragen"; *Ibid*, 3 (Heidelberg, 1912): "Die mittlere Lehre des Nāgārjuna, nach der Chinesischen Version übertragen" (Chung Lun).

2. MBD 1, 434b; SH, 224b-225a.

3. Originator of the Vaiśeṣika; also called Kaṇabhuj or Kaṇāda; MBD 1, 245a-b; MBD 3, 2818b-2819c.

4. A name of the river; IKJ, 620a-b.

5. He studied the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* under the famous T'ang priest, Chih Yüan, for 10 years and upon returning to Silla in 670 transmitted a new sect of Buddhism; SGYS 5, 197-9.

6. Throughout the translation, he is referred to as the Great Priest Kyunyŏ, Great Priest, Master, Teacher, or simply the Priest.

7. Not found in TFA or in CSS.

8. Ich'ölch'an: the 2nd of the 17 official ranks in Silla; also called "ich'an<sup>ex</sup>" or "ich'ökch'an<sup>es</sup>." See Yi Pyŏng-do<sup>ex</sup>, *Kuksa taegwan<sup>eu</sup>* (Seoul, 1956) 104ff; SGSG 38, 1ff.

9. SGSG 46, 2-4; CJJ, 1391b-1392c; *Hsin T'ang shu* 60, 3773b (*Erh-shih-wu shih*, K'ai-ming edition). He is the only Korean writer to appear in the *I-wen chih* of the Chinese dynastic

once wrote a biography of famous ministers and priests; but believers in Buddhism regretted the fact that his book did not include the deeds of the Great Priest; I too regretted this. Recently Kang Yu-hyŏn<sup>z</sup>, Executive Assistant in the Department of Palace Services (Chŏnjung naegŭpsa<sup>aa</sup>), collected the records of the Priest from his birth to his death. His work was excellent but left out many items. Believers in Buddhism regretted this; I too regretted it. But in the fourth moon of the tenth year of Hsien-yung<sup>ab</sup> (1074), the Great Priest Ch'ang'un<sup>ac</sup>, who distinguished himself through his commentaries on *Shên-chung ching*<sup>ad</sup>,<sup>10</sup> showed me an old draft of the authentic accounts of the Priest and asked me to write a biography of Kyunyŏ. I accepted the offer but was distracted by many trivialities in life and was therefore unable to devote my entire time to the work. Nevertheless at times I used to conceive a plan under the moon or compose sentences by lamplight. Autumn and winter were thus spent. Only the next spring (1075) was the work completed. This story serves as preface. Saryŏn Chŏng,<sup>11</sup> the former Doctor of Literature (Chinsa<sup>ae</sup>), is the respectful writer of this Preface.

In my work I will describe ten great deeds of the Priest: I. how a miracle occurred before his birth; II. how he entered the priesthood and learned Buddhist teachings; III. how his sister was equally wise and good; IV. how he established the aims and chose a sect he would follow; V. how he commented on many Buddhist texts; VI. how Buddha was moved to respond and miraculous inspirations followed; VII. how his poems were spread and enlightened the people; VIII. how the translation of his eleven poems gave a sight of new virtues; IX. how devils were defeated through the force of his virtue; X. how a remarkable incident occurred before his death.

histories. The allusion here is perhaps to the *Fa-tsang Ho-shang chuan*<sup>ev</sup> of Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn, entered in the *Taishō Tripitaka* 2054, v. 50, 280-9.

10. Perhaps a mistake for *Shen-t'ung ching*<sup>ew</sup> or *Shen-t'ung yu-hsi ching*<sup>ex</sup> (Lalistavistara Sūtra)? Not found in BKD.

11. In the text his name appears as "Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng<sup>ey</sup>" which is certainly a misprint for "Saryŏn Chŏng," *hyŏk* and *sa* being easily confused.

## I

The family name of the Priest was Pyŏn<sup>af</sup>. His tabu-name was Kyunyŏ. His father's name was Hwansŏng<sup>ag</sup>; he was a man of high principles, but little known to the world. His mother's name was Chŏmmyŏng<sup>ah</sup>. On the night of the seventh day of the fourth moon of the fourteenth year of T'ien-yu (917)<sup>ai</sup>, she had a dream: a pair of phoenixes descended from heaven and entered into her bosom. Twenty years later, she conceived at the age of sixty. After 210 days had passed, on the eighth day of the eighth moon of the year<sup>12</sup> (917), she gave birth to a son in her private home (note: in the Village Sundaeyŏp<sup>aj</sup>) at the southern foot of Mount Hyŏng'ak<sup>ak</sup> situated in the northern part of Hwangju<sup>al</sup>. The present judge in Hwangju and former Office Reminder (Sibyu<sup>am</sup>),<sup>13</sup> Yi Chun<sup>an</sup>, restored his birthplace and named it Kyŏngch'ŏn Temple<sup>ao</sup>; this Temple is the birthplace of the Priest.

His face was ugly at his birth; no one could have been uglier. His parents did not rejoice at this and placed the newborn baby on the street. Two birds came, spread their wings,<sup>14</sup> and covered the baby. Passers-by saw this strange phenomenon, sought the house of the baby, and told

12. 917 is the 6th year of King Sindŏk<sup>az</sup> (912-7), 53rd king of Silla. First of all, the era T'ien-yu has only 4 years, 904-7, and T'ien-yu 14 is therefore historically impossible; had this era lasted 14 years, T'ien-yu 14 would have corresponded to the year 917. One explanation is that the author, out of loyalty to T'ang, continued to use the "nien-hao" of T'ien-yu despite the change of dynasty in China. Then occurs a strange passage, "after 20 years" which is problem. Then come the passages "after 210 days had passed" and "on the eighth day of the eighth moon of this year", "this" perhaps referring to the year of Kyunyŏ's birth, 917. These passages are obviously very corrupt, and any hint of a solution to this problem would be welcome. Like all cultural and religious heroes, Kyunyŏ was exceptional and extraordinary before and after his birth; we may recall the same stories told of Confucius or Lao-tzu or Śākyamuni or King Tongmyŏng<sup>fa</sup> (B. C. 37-19), etc.

13. Che-yi: fonctionnaire chargé de reprendre les oublis de l'Empereur; TFA 1, 151-2, 187.

14. Or birds that had only one wing each, and thus had to fly in pairs. This attempt to destroy him by exposure reminds us of the similar stories told of other culture heroes in other countries. See Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs* (London, 1954) 239-40; and cf. *Shih ching*, No. 245 (B. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, Göteborg, 1950, p. 200).



his parents the story. They felt remorse, brought him back, and reared him. But in order not to show his ugly face, they put him in a hamper and nursed him there. Only after several months, did they show him to the village people. From his infancy he loved to read the hymns of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, and never forgot anything his father told him.

## II

He lost his father in his childhood. At the age of fifteen, he followed his cousin, the Priest Sōn'gyun<sup>ap</sup>, to Puhŭng Temple<sup>aq</sup> and studied with the Priest Sikhōn<sup>ar</sup>. Sikhōn was learned but was not a good teacher. Although small grains of dust may eventually form a mountain, how could drops of water diminish the unquenchable thirst of Kyunyō? At that time, Priest Ūisun<sup>as</sup> was at Yōngt'ong Temple<sup>at</sup>. His magnanimity was great as a temple-bell, and he received well those who sought him. For this reason students came from everywhere and gathered together like a mist. While seeking disciples his mind was like that of a tiger following the wind. Every day after sunset, when Sikhōn of Puhŭng Temple had retired, Kyunyō used to go quietly to Yōngt'ong Temple and beg the master there to teach him. He would return at dawn and prepare rice-gruel for himself. Sensing the wish of Kyunyō and unable to discourage his desire for knowledge, Sikhōn allowed him to go and study with Ūisun. Kyunyō then left him and went to Ūisun. Since then he studied fully in the wide and deep sea of learning and demonstrated his abilities fully.

Sometimes he was without rice for seven days, and more than ten times he had nothing to eat. But weariness never came to his mind; he never neglected his studies in spite of his hardships.

## III

After he had spent a long time in monasteries, he was anxious to see his mother again. At last he returned home, saw his mother, and compared



his studies with those of his sister, Sumyŏng<sup>au</sup>, who was three years younger. It was said that when his sister was born, her cry was like a verse of poetry. When she had grown up, her wisdom was beyond compare. Once a priest came for alms and recited the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra*. When she heard him reciting it outside the house, suddenly belief was born in her. She prepared a meal, received the priest, and asked him to finish chanting the sūtra he was reciting. When the priest had finished reading eight chapters, she offered him lodging for the night. The priest explained the meaning of the sūtra at length; and she forgot nothing of what she heard. As he was leaving, he told her that he was a student of Hīnayāna, of the school of Bodhiruci,<sup>15</sup> and that she must be a reincarnation of Bhikṣu.<sup>16</sup> At that time Kyunyŏ visited his mother, and Sumyŏng inquired about his studies. He explained about Samantabhadra and Avalokiteśvara and chanted the *Shên-chung ching* and *Ch'ien-shou ching*<sup>av</sup>.<sup>17</sup> She remembered every word he said. And on his first night at home, Kyunyŏ chanted the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and over 500 catechisms of its secret principles. She listened to them carefully and was quick to comprehend them.

Five years later when they met again, he asked her to write down all that she had heard on that night. She recalled every sentence and every phrase without any point being in doubt.

#### IV

He was a follower of the Northern School (Pug'ak<sup>aw</sup>). Towards the end of the Silly dynasty, in the Haein Temple at Mt. Kaya, the Hua-yen School<sup>ax</sup> was divided into two branches under the leadership of two

15. A monk from northern India who arrived at Loyang in 508 and translated some 30 works; SH, 388b-389a.

16. A religious mendicant, an almsman, one who has left home, been fully ordained, and depends on alms for a living; here she was called "tŏg'un" (virtuous clouds) Bhikṣu; SH, 158b-159a.

17. BKD 6, 321c-322c.

priests, Kwanhye<sup>ay</sup> and Hūirang<sup>az</sup> (*fl.* 875–86). The first was the priest whom King Chinhwōn<sup>ba</sup> (892–935) of the later Paekche<sup>bb</sup> dynasty (892–936) favoured, and the second, the one whom King T'aejo<sup>bc</sup> (918–43) of the Koryō dynasty favoured. Kyunyō wished to receive teaching from both and to offer incense and paper money to Buddha together with them; but since their convictions were different, how could their minds be one? This division even reached down to their followers, and they destroyed each other as fire and water. Even in the essential principles of Buddhism, they started to distinguish salt and sour. It was difficult to remedy these evil practices; they were of long standing. Priests at that time called the branch of Kwanhye the Southern School (Nam'ak<sup>bd</sup>), and that of Hūirang the Northern School. The Great Priest deplored this schism, tried to repair it and unite the two ways of thought. For this purpose, Kyunyō, clad in a black cassock, together with the Head Priest Inyu<sup>be</sup>, made a tour of famous temples, beat the drum of the Law, raised the standard of Buddha-truth, and made all the young believers follow him.

The father of Kyunyō left about thirty drafts of commentaries on the meanings of the dogma of the Hua-yen School. His writings treated the following topics: the oneness of the three teachings; unreal and real; end and non-end; temporal and real; the pure land of Vairocana<sup>18</sup>; impermanence; enlightenment and ignorance; sigh and non-sigh; the three incarnations taking the substance; transmission of responsibility; the six characteristics found in every thing; to follow and settle oneself in the real; the complete removal of Varaṇa; the Tuṣita Prince<sup>19</sup> becoming five kinds of Buddha; the interpretation and practice of Buddha's different characteristics; the observance and turning of the mind towards Mahāyāna; six Bodhisattva-stages<sup>20</sup>; the eight assemblies in which the *Hua-yen Sūtra* was delivered; the 106 castles; Sukhāvātī; the wisdom tree; the awakening from the primal nature; the five fruits<sup>21</sup>; the

18. SH, 388a. 19. SH, 343a.

20. SH, 136b. 21. SH, 120b–121a.

four terms; the wide cultivation of and the making of offerings of every form of nourishment; and finally on master and attendant.

The Great Priest noted that each of these disquisitions had a different source and history; but he still detected confusion in them. He therefore selected the essentials, revised the involved sentences, carefully studied and improved the ambiguous parts, cited the Buddhist texts for reference, and thus corrected all existing scripts. Thus he made clear the holy teaching.

Later the recruit examination<sup>22</sup> became operative even among the priests. Since his road of righteousness and learning was genuine and true, and since there was no other way than the examination for talented people to promote themselves, the Great Priest took the examination. The most successful would become either King's Priest or National Teacher; the less successful would become Great Priest or Great Master. Since in this manner one could make oneself known and leave one's mark, many succeeded in the examinations.

## v

During his life in this world, Kyunyŏ considered it his duty to broaden his learning and to benefit the people. If the writings of other masters were difficult to comprehend, he never failed to add commentaries and explanations. Among his books, which were widely known in his time, are: *Suhyŏn panggwe ki*<sup>bf</sup> (10 chs); *Kongmokchang ki*<sup>bg</sup> (8 chs); *Osip yomundap ki*<sup>bh</sup> (4chs); *T'amhyŏngi sŏk*<sup>bi</sup> (28 chs); *Kyobungi sŏk*<sup>bj</sup> (7 chs); *Chigwijang ki*<sup>bk</sup> (2 chs); *Sambojang ki*<sup>bl</sup> (2 chs); *Pŏpketo ki*<sup>bm</sup> (2 chs); *Sipkujang ki*<sup>bn</sup> (1 ch); *Ippŏpkep'um ch'ogi*<sup>bo</sup> (1 ch).<sup>23</sup>

22. Ko-chü: CSS, 58.

23. His works are commonly known under the title of *Wŏnt'onggi*<sup>fb</sup> or *Wŏnt'ongch'o*. See Ōya Tokujō's article mentioned above.

## VI

On the last day of the fourth moon of the second year of Kan-yu<sup>bp</sup> (949), Queen Taemok<sup>bq</sup> of King Kwangjong had a boil in her private parts. Since this could not be revealed to the doctor, Priest Ūisun, teacher of Kyunyō, was called to cure it through an infallible Buddhist remedy. Ūisun did penance on behalf of the Queen, and her disease was cured; but he himself got it instead, and it became dangerous and incurable after seven days. When Kyunyō burnt incense and chanted incantations, the boil moved to the western branch of a locust tree. The tree, which stood in the east corner from his room, withered. The dead branch could be seen until during the period of Ch'ing-ning<sup>br</sup> (1055-64).

In the third year of Kuang-shun<sup>bs</sup> (953), an envoy came from the Sung dynasty and was about to pay his respects to King Kwangjong. The King ordered all the government officials to prepare for this occasion. A reception ceremony was ready after three months of preparation, but was made impossible by the continuous rains.

The Chinese envoy said: "There must be a holy man in the Eastern Country (Korea). Why not let him pray for good weather? If the sky cleared up, I would take it to be the result of his prayers."

Upon hearing this challenge, the King was very much worried and could not sleep. At that time a voice in the sky spoke loudly: "Do not worry, King, tomorrow you will hear a holy priest raise the standard of Buddha-truth and preach."

When the King presently descended to the garden to gaze at the sky, there was no trace of the voice in the darkness. The following morning the King searched for the man among the priests far and wide in order to receive him in the Buddha's Hall of Exposition; but all the priests were evasive and declined. Then the National Priest Kyōmsin<sup>bt</sup> recommended the Great Priest Kyunyō to the throne.

Kyunyō was still young but acceded to the request of the King. He entered the stateroom with calm and solemn steps. He ascended to the

Lion Throne<sup>24</sup> and delivered a harmonious sermon. Suddenly the thunder and lightning disappeared in the twinkling of an eye, the clouds rolled away, the winds ceased, and a bright sun appeared. Then everyone wondered and rejoiced and paid great respect to Kyunyŏ.

Then the King asked Kyunyŏ about his birthplace; Kyunyŏ answered that it was the village of Sundaeyŏp, north of Hwangju. The King remarked that a dragon was not necessarily born in a large marsh and that a loyal subject may be born even in a small village. The King conferred upon Kyunyŏ the honorary title „Taedŏk” (Great Virtue) and, furthermore, ordered about ten men to look after him, and conferred upon him twenty-five *ch'ing*<sup>bu25</sup> of land. The King provided the Priest with a storehouse and five men to look after his affairs, and finally made him move within the walls of Hwangju and live there.

In the fifth year of Hsien-tê<sup>bv</sup> (958), the Puril Temple<sup>bw</sup> was struck by a thunderbolt. A Buddhist meeting took place to solve this strange phenomenon and pray for its removal, and the Priest was invited to speak on this occasion. The meeting lasted twenty-one days and nights. As his questions and answers showed, he never compromised on questions of Buddhist doctrines.

In the meeting a clever priest named Ch'ŏltal<sup>bx</sup> (note: his title is Sŏngt'ong<sup>by</sup>, Director of Monks) came forward and said: “Although you are intelligent, you are still younger than I. Although I am less talented than you are, I am still your senior. Why not show a modest attitude in our question-and-answer session?” This man envied Kyunyŏ's superior knowledge and wanted to do nothing but slander him. Thereupon a Buddhist devotee in the public stopped him with the words: “Be not jealous of him. The one who has preached today is the seventh reincarnation of your teacher, Ŭisang, and returned to us only to spread his teaching.” When he heard this, Ch'ŏltal was surprised, apologized before the public, and admitted his mistake.

24. *Simhāsana*; a lion throne, a Buddha throne, or a royal throne; SH, 324b.

25. A *ch'ing* is a 100 *mu*; about 15,12 acres.



When Kyunyō was in the Temple at night, a bright light, like the rainbow arched in the sky, shot out from his room. The King saw it and ordered his attendant to locate this light. When the attendant reported that it was the glitter of Kyunyō's eyes, the King went personally to him and asked him what austerities he had practised in order to be the object of this miracle. Kyunyō replied that his knowledge and training were no better than those of others. Suddenly a string of beads on the top of some Buddhist texts on the table flew up into the sky and encircled the seat of Kyunyō three times and finally returned to its original place. The King respected him the more for this, and the favour he showed towards him was beyond compare.

## VII

Besides being famous for his learning, Kyunyō was trained in the *Saenaennorae* and wrote eleven poems after the model of *Bhadra-cari-praṇidhāna*.<sup>26</sup> The Preface ran:

“While the *Saenaennorae* is the medium of popular entertainment, the vow for caryā (cultivation of oneself)<sup>27</sup> is essential in the attainment of enlightenment. One must proceed therefore from the easy to the profound, from the near to the far. If one does not proceed in accordance with the nature of things, one cannot lead men of inferior stock; and if one does not express oneself in common terms one cannot be understood by mankind. I begin therefore from the easily comprehensible thing in order to lead the people to the more difficult thoughts of Buddhism. I write eleven simple poems as a counsel to the people after the model of *Bhadra-cari-praṇidhāna*. The poems may appear disgraceful in the eyes of the people, but they may yet coincide with the wishes of many Buddhas. Although there may be incongruous ideas and equivocal

26. BKD 9, 223b–c, 226c–d.

27. Conduct; to observe and do; to cultivate oneself in right practices; be religious; SH, 321a, 445b.



words, and though they may not conform to the mysterious teachings of our saints, I wish to convey these teachings through literature, and in this way to sow the good seed among the living. Thus even those who memorize them laughingly may bear fruit from them, and those who meditate in part on them may be benefited from them. I beg to make it known that it is a matter of indifference to me whether posterity defames or praises my poems.”

(1)<sup>28</sup>

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 corners, 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.

(2)<sup>29</sup>

“I devote myself entire to Buddha.”  
So speaks the tongue today eloquently.  
Gush from the innermost of a spring,  
O sea of inexhaustible voices and words.

We hail you, Saints,  
We praise you, Teachers,  
Of the Western sea, virtuous kings,  
Who exist even in dust and sand.

28. SGYS, Appendix, 60; cf. GS, 844b-c; C, 30-1; H, 321-30; O, 35-56; Y, 673-701.

29. SGYS, Appendix, 60; cf. GS, 844c; C, 32-3; H, 331-42; O, 56-64; Y, 702-20. The first stanza of this poem is ambiguous, and I am not confident whether I have understood it correctly.

Would that my tongue could praise  
An infinitesimal part of your virtue.

(3)<sup>30</sup>

Stirring the ashes, lighting the lamp,  
Which burns at the altar, I pray:  
That the wick reach Indra's heavens,  
And the oil fill the sea.

This hand will strive for bodhi,  
This hand will offer hands,  
This hand will dedicate hands –  
He who is here, He who is there.

They say offerings are many: but  
What is equal to one's true self?

(4)<sup>31</sup>

I have lived in fancy and vanity –  
My self strayed from the shores of light,  
And the sins I have sinned,  
They overflow, alas, the realm of All.

Good deed, thought, and word,  
They banish the screen of evil.  
Tell all the Buddhas, Confessor,  
That today I ardently repent.

When I enter Your kingdom, my penance  
Ends: so all the evils.

30. SGYS, Appendix, 60; cf. GS, 844c–845a; C, 33–4; H, 343–51; O, 65–78; Y, 721–37.

31. SGYS, Appendix, 60; cf. GS, 845a; C, 36–7; H, 352–63; O, 78–94; Y, 738–62. The 5th and 6th lines are ambiguous.

(5)<sup>32</sup>

As water and ice are of the same stuff,  
 Illusion and enlightenment are one.  
 Our Master defies both You and Me,  
 He and we the living are one.

Were we able to study His merits,  
 Were we able to master His ways,  
 Then would we obliterate self and other-self,  
 Then rejoice in the bliss of others.

Were we to follow in His footsteps,  
 How could the jealous mind be aroused?

(6)<sup>33</sup>

To the boundless throne of Buddha  
 In the realm of dharma,  
 I fervently pray  
 For the sweet rain of truth.

Disperse the fever of affliction  
 Rooted deep in the ignorant soil,  
 And wet the mind's field,  
 Where good grasses scarcely grew.

The mind is a moonlit autumn field,  
 With the ripe gold fruit of knowledge.

(7)<sup>34</sup>

Although Buddhas who preside over the world,  
 Have fulfilled the cause of their coming,  
 They will remain with us, the living,  
 Only when we rub and dedicate hands.

32. SGYS, Appendix, 61; cf. GS, 845a-b; C, 38-9; H, 364-72; O, 95-109; Y, 763-80.

33. SGYS, Appendix, 61; cf. GS, 845b; C, 40-1; H, 373-81; O, 109-16; Y, 781-99.

34. SGYS, Appendix, 61; cf. GS, 845b-c; C, 42-3; H, 382-93; O, 116-23; Y, 800-15.

I have found the true Friend,  
 Whom I would follow night and day,  
 Have pity on those, Master, who  
 Wander about the shores of illusion,  
 Were our mind pure and clean,  
 His image would reflect in us and shine.

(8)<sup>35</sup>

I would fervently follow the vow,  
 Which He initiated, established,  
 Attained through awful work,  
 With tough progress, vigour.

Were this body to dissolve, dust and mire,  
 Even at the hour of my death,  
 I would joyfull follow the vow,  
 Unrolled through time by teachers.

O mind that cultivates the way of Buddha,  
 Could it stray to the stained way?

(9)<sup>36</sup>

Śākyamuni treats the deluded as roots.  
 With His vow of great mercy,  
 He moistens the field of mind,  
 That the good in us be not withered.

I, who am one of the living,  
 Soon to be in the realm of dharma,  
 Would live and die with Him unshaken,  
 Praise Him as our masters have praised.

35. SGYS, Appendix, 61; cf. GS, 845c; C, 44-5; H, 394-403; O, 123-30; Y, 816-31.

36. SGYS, Appendix, 62; cf. GS, 845c-846a; C, 46-7; H, 404-10; O, 131-35; Y, 832-42.

The day we attain His wisdom,  
He rejoices in our pure progress.

(10)<sup>37</sup>

Would that my works of supererogation  
Be turned to other's salvation,  
Waking the deluded to the truth,  
To the attainment of supreme Light.

When we realize the One and the Many,  
Removed sins are jewels in His land;  
Bodhisattvas too devoted their merits to others,  
Fulfilled the pitying vow of great mercy.

He, whom I worship, and I are one;  
That is, we are of the same body and mind.

(11)<sup>38</sup>

When this world of the living runs out,  
My vows too will have been acted out.  
His pitying vow of awesome Light –  
O the boundless sea of His truth.

Since we strive thus, thus do we work,  
Each way we tread is a good way –  
These are the Vows of Samantabhadra,  
That our masters promised, fulfilled.

Let us then abandon this world and all,  
To comprehend the Way that is His.

These poems were not only loved by the people, but were also found posted on the walls. (Note: an old draft of the life of Kyunyŏ did not include the texts of the poems; I have therefore added them here.)

37. SGYS, Appendix, 62; cf. GS, 846a-b; C, 48-9; H, 411-7; O, 136-43; Y, 843-54.

38. SGYS, Appendix, 62; cf. GS, 848a; C, 50-1; H, 418-28; O, 143-9; Y, 855-66.

A certain man in Sap'yōng<sup>bz</sup> district, who held the post of Nap'ilgūpkan<sup>ca</sup><sup>39</sup> (note: a post in Silla), was ill for three years, and no medicine could cure him. Once the Priest went to him; he had pity on his agony, taught him his poems orally, and urged him to read them always. One day a voice in the sky spoke to the patient and told him that, since he had received the effect of these poems, his illness was sure to be cured. Certainly it did him good; he was cured.

## VIII

The Hallim Academician for the Transmission of Directives and Drafting Official (Hallim haksa naeūisūngji<sup>cb</sup>), a certain Ch'oe from Ch'ōn-gha, named Haeng-gwi,<sup>40</sup> was a contemporary of Kyunyō and had admired the Priest for a long time. The poems completed, Ch'oe translated them into Chinese. His Preface read as follows:

To praise the meritorious works of Buddha by hymns is exemplified in the sūtras and to exalt the cause of His works is illustrated in the Thesaurus of disquisitions on the sūtras. Hence, from the eight waters (of India) to the three mountains, scholars often appeared and sang of mysterious doctrines; and often philosophers distinguished themselves and wrote genuine poetry. In the Han dynasty, Fu Kung-chiang<sup>cc</sup><sup>41</sup> and Ku-shih t'ang-shih<sup>cd</sup><sup>42</sup> rose in the south of the Yangtze; and priests like Hsien-shou<sup>ce</sup> (643-712)<sup>43</sup> and Ch'eng-kuan<sup>cf</sup> (738?-839?)<sup>44</sup> established a seminar in the palace for the Buddhist priesthood. Once a luminous figure like Wu-k'o<sup>cg</sup><sup>45</sup> wrote beautiful sentences; and Ch'i-chi<sup>ch</sup><sup>46</sup> and

39. Nap'ilgūpkan: the 1st of the 17 official ranks in Silla; See Yi Pyōng-do, loc. cit., 104ff. Also called "kakkan<sup>fc</sup>," "sōburhan<sup>fd</sup>," and "ibōlch'an<sup>fe</sup>."

40. *Koryō sa*<sup>ff</sup> (Kokusho kankōkai-edition, Tōkyō, 1908-9) 92, 57a; CJJ, 1363c.

41. Unknown.

42. Unknown.

43. Title of the founder of the Hua-yen School; SH, 272b.

44. A famous monk and author, a follower of Hsien-shou and supporter of the Hua-yen School; SH, 439a (died 806); MBD (737[8]-838[9]).

45. A priest in T'ang; CJT, 1174a.

46. A poet towards the end of T'ang; TRD 3, 323 c.



Kuan-hsiu<sup>ci47</sup> strove to write an elegant style. In our country also, Maga<sup>ci</sup>, Munch'ük<sup>ck</sup>, and Ch'ewön<sup>cl</sup> (*fl.* 698)<sup>48</sup> excelled in verse and prose; Wönhyo<sup>cm</sup> (617-86),<sup>49</sup> Puböm<sup>cm</sup>, and Yöngsang<sup>co</sup><sup>50</sup> first set an example for refined songs and produced subtle and mysterious sounds. The gem-like rhythms by the wise Chöng'yu<sup>cp</sup> and Sillyang<sup>cq</sup><sup>51</sup> are airy and graceful; and the excellent cantos by Sunüi<sup>cr</sup> and Taegö<sup>cs</sup><sup>52</sup> are elegant and beautiful. Their clear and beautiful poems were bright as azure clouds, and equally enjoyable. Their purity white as snow has been handed down to us, and their mysterious echoes are worthy of our attention.

But their poems were often composed in Chinese style and were elaborated in a stanza of five or seven words to a line. The Korean poems were, on the other hand, arranged in our language and were constructed in a verse of three stanzas, each line consisting generally of six syllables.<sup>53</sup> There was therefore a gulf between the phonetic structure (stratum) of Chinese and Korean verse which might appear irreconcilable. The difference between the theories of two poetries, also, would seem to be opposed like spear and shield. Such a superficial difference may seem to result in clash and confusion; but in the end they will return to the same righteous ocean, and each will find its proper place. Where, then, is the difficulty?

But what is regrettable is that while our talented people can appreciate Chinese poetry, scholars and sages in China cannot understand our native poetry. This is because while Chinese characters are spread out like the Chinese political network and are easy to read in Korea, the Korean way of transcription, the *Idu*, is joined together like the Sanskrit book and is therefore difficult for the Chinese people to decipher.

47. A priest in the former Shu; TRD 2, 55b.

48. Nothing is known of Maga or Munch'ük; on Ch'ewön, see CJJ, 1884c.

49. SGYS 4, 194-7; SH, 130b; CJJ, 1891c-1892c.

50. Their names appear nowhere else; nothing is known about them.

51. Nothing is known about them. 52. Nothing is known about them.

53. This is an ambiguous passage, and it is not very clear to which form of verse this statement refers; but Hong Ki-mun has some shrewd conjecture to make about this matter; see H, 15-7; also see Cho Yun-je<sup>fg</sup>, *Chosön siga sagang*<sup>fh</sup> (Seoul, 1937), 62.

While Chinese writing, fine as jade and pearl, was frequently carried by streams to the east, our poetry, beautiful as embroidered brocade, is seldom transmitted to the west (China). Thus there is an obstacle to mutual cultural exchange; it is regrettable indeed. Once Confucius wished to live in our land but found it difficult to ride on a huge sea-turtle<sup>54</sup>; and Söl Ch'ong<sup>55</sup> used the Chinese characters in order to transcribe the Korean language which sometimes appeared meaningless and prolix.

I think most humbly that the name of our Great Priest equals that of Hsüan Yüan<sup>ct.56</sup> Kyunyö wrote 3000 commandments, and his influence is second only to Varaprabha (Wonderful Light).<sup>57</sup> Being the master of eighty chapters of the *Hua-yen Sūtra*,<sup>58</sup> he assumed the seat of Head of the Hua-yen School and was the source of all knowledge. His great tree and fundamental root were moistened by the grace of Bodhisattva, and all living were benefited. The Priest was like a large bell in its frame, waiting to be struck; he gave teaching to all who came to him with questions. He was in fact like a treasure mirror in its frame, forgetful of his self; he shed light on every mystery. Can anyone who sets his heart on learning neglect to see this light? The Teacher exhorted the living to conversion, to commend themselves to Buddha. He wore a brilliant sword to punish the devils in the north; he had the abode of compassion<sup>59</sup> opened to the brethren in the south. He said that the *Chên-yüan pieh-pen*<sup>cu60</sup> and the conclusion of the Ten Vows of Samantabhadra are the mysterious gate through which elder sons may enter into the wonderful world of dharma; they are also the pure road whereby young

54. A huge sea-turtle, said to support the earth; allusion unclear.

55. He is referred to in the text as Söl han-rim<sup>fi</sup>. I follow the suggestion of Mr. Yang Chu-dong in his letter to me (no date) that the author certainly refers to Söl Ch'ong, the pioneer of *Idu*.

56. In the text Hsüan Wan<sup>fi</sup>; can it be a mistake for Hsüan Yüan? MBD 1, 926c-927a; SH, 194b.

57. An ancient incarnation of Mañjuśrī; SH, 234b.

58. Translation made by Śikṣānanda in the T'ang dynasty. 59. The dwelling of Buddha.

60. It means the *Pieh-lu* of the *Chên-yüan hsin-ting shih-chiao mu-lu*; BKD 6, 48c-49d.

boys lead themselves to the castle of incense and the lotus throne.<sup>61</sup> For this reason if one meets a pure and clear commentator, the observance of a chapter would even be sufficient to enhance the essentials of the truth, and when a devotee obtains it he will have a lesson which he will remember for a 100 years. This teaching reached Korea through the writing of *Upādhyāya*<sup>62</sup> and reached Silla through the martyrdom of Yi Ch'a-don (528).<sup>63</sup> When a four-verse hymn passes through the ear, all the roots of sins are extinguished; when the Ten Vows of Samantabhadra are retained in one's mind, one can attain bodhi. Since the good karma-relation (*pratyaya*) is so profound, no happiness is deeper than this. Those who did not read the songs of *Praṇidhāna* will be acquainted with their precepts through the works of the poets. The reciting of the poems by the poet will cause men and women to listen and resolve to vow, to form different *hetu* (primary cause),<sup>64</sup> to save themselves and others and to perfect themselves, and finally to bring about the mysterious fruit. If this happens, a few lines of this Preface in Chinese will have meaning and become rich in content; and the eleven poems will have clarity in language and beauty in expression.

The poems of Kyunyŏ are called the *Saenaennorae*, and they equal the *Tz'u<sup>cv</sup>* and the fine and delicate *Fu<sup>cw</sup>*. But the Chinese will find them difficult to understand except for his Preface. In our country, on the other hand, they will be easy to intone as songs. That is, the Chinese will have only half the benefit from the poems instead of their entire merit. For this reason, if the poems are read between the P'ae<sup>cy</sup><sup>65</sup> and Lieh<sup>cz</sup><sup>66</sup> Rivers, they might seem slow to impart the teaching. When read in the

61. For images of Buddha and Bodhisattva; SH, 443a.

62. Originally a subsidiary teacher of the Vedāṅgas; later through central Asia, it became a term for a teacher of Buddhism; also meant masters of Buddhism. SH, 330a.

63. This is again a very ambiguous passage, the text is surely corrupt. Perhaps it alludes, as Mr. Yang suggests in his letter to me, to the martyrdom of Yi Ch'a-don (SGSG 4, 3-4; SGYS 3, 125 ff) in Silla, which marked the rise of Buddhism in that kingdom.

64. Conviction; a co-operating cause; SH, 440b.

65. An old name for the Taedong<sup>fk</sup> or Ch'ŏngch'ŏn<sup>fl</sup> River near P'yŏng'yang in Korea.

66. A river which flows into the Gulf of Chihli.

territories of Wu<sup>da</sup> and Ch'in<sup>db</sup> (China), they will not seem the same as in Korea. The reason is that Kyunyō's mind was like the realm of Buddha, he had to promise what was near to us simply to lead us from the shallow to the deep. Although his poems may not be accessible to other people, they were written primarily to prevent heterodox ways of life among the people in Korea and to lead them to the orthodox way. Once a certain Kim translated the *Swoeju chōnwa*<sup>dc67</sup> and his fame spread through China; Ch'oe Ch'i-wōn translated the *Nangwōl ch'ōngp'ung*<sup>dd68</sup> and established his name in Korea. If ordinary people can thus become famous, how much more readily will Kyunyō become famous for his poems?

I most humbly think that my aspiration is unworthy of Ho Ch'ung<sup>de69</sup> and my pen unworthy of Hsieh Ling-yün<sup>df</sup> (385-433).<sup>70</sup> I often think of the bliss in the next world for eunuchs, and feel that their formal deeds do not have too much effect. I often ponder on the private lives of the ministers and exalt their meritorious deeds.<sup>71</sup> Yesterday I met a devotee and was fortunate enough to see the mysterious words of the poems. I looked through the mysterious songs at random but feared the noble emotion underlying them escaped me. In response to the request of two groups of the faithful, I translated the poems into Chinese and subjoined the translations to the originals. I hope that the poems will in this way spread freely in the east and west. I wrote them in regular and grass style in order that both the common people and the priests may have a common link between them. Please read and listen without fail, and meditate on them; first look up to the elephant chariot of Samantabhadra.<sup>72</sup>

67. This may refer to Kim Tae-mun<sup>fm</sup> (SGSG 46, 6; CJJ, 850b-c) or Kim In-mun<sup>fn</sup> (SGSG 44, 3-5).

68. Obscure references difficult to locate.

69. A scholar, writer, and champion of Buddhism in the Tsin dynasty; CJT, 286c.

70. A poet towards the beginning of the 5th century. "His work is too unconventional" says Giles in his *Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1898), 293.

71. This passage is again very obscure as to what the author is trying to say.

72. "He rides on a white elephant, is the patron of the lotus sūtra, and its devotees, and has a close connection with the Hua-yen sūtra." SH, 374a.

Please intone them without interruption; and be worthy of the bodhi-tree of Maitreya. The reason for adding this vulgar preface to beautiful poems is the hope that the reader will change iron into gold and will cast a brick to get a gem. If this work falls into the hands of a man of extensive knowledge, please let him put it in order. I, Ch'oe Haeng-gwi, respectfully write this Preface on the □ day of the first lunar month of the eighth year according to the Sung calendar (967).

(Here come the Chinese translations.)

After the completion of the translations, the Chinese people exerted themselves to copy them and transmitted them to the west. The sovereign and subject in the Sung dynasty read them and commented that the author of these *Saenaennorae* was a living Buddha and sent an envoy to pay homage to the poet. As the face of the Priest was strange, our lord and vassal feared that the Sung envoy might despise it. And since we feared that his face might fall short of the expectations of the envoy, an interview was not allowed. The Chinese divined the plan in advance, changed his dress, and went to Ch'ongjiwŏn<sup>dg</sup> (note: where the Priest stayed; it is in Kwibŏp Temple). He first sent an interpreter and revealed his desire to meet Kyunyŏ. The Priest first put his garment in order and was about to welcome the envoy; but Kyunyŏ disappeared suddenly in order to ascertain the wishes of our government. The guest heard this, and asked where else would he see a Buddha and shed tears.

## IX

During the period of K'ai-pao<sup>dh</sup> (968-75), a priest named Chŏngsu<sup>di</sup> went to a judge and slandered the Priest, saying that the Priest seemed to have strange affairs and, therefore, practised austerities in order to redeem his sins. Officials reported this story to the throne; King Kwangjong was angry and summoned the Priest intending to kill him when he came. The Priest went into the royal palace, was afraid and prostrated himself before the King. When the King saw this, he per-



ceived his innocence, and ordered two doctors to guard him and to accompany him home. Afterwards the King had Officer Sōlwang<sup>dj</sup> sent to the Temple to appease him.

On the night the King dreamt of a tall god-like man whose presence dominated the bedroom. The visitor said that since the King had believed a slander and shamed a Buddha, an unlucky event was sure to occur. The King awakened and his entire body sweated profusely. He called his attendant and told him his dream. The following day, the old pines in the northern part of Mt. Song'ak<sup>dk</sup> fell in thousands without any wind. Upon hearing of this event, the King thought it strange and sought a divination. The diviner said that it was because the Buddha had been shamed.

The King regretted his wrong-doing, had a hall for expelling calamities established, and a Buddhist meeting assembled. He further ordered Chōngsu to be beheaded in the market-place and a lake to be dug where his room had been, and he had his brother executed for forging evidence and for his part in the false accusation.

Since the White Cloud Room (Paeg'un pang<sup>dl</sup>) at the Yōngt'ong Temple was old and ruined, the Priest had it repaired. And since earthgods created disturbances and calamities arose every day, the Priest composed a song and purchased release from them. When he pasted the song on the wall, monsters were immediately destroyed.

x

In the sixth year of K'ai-pao (973), the Mayor of Kimhae<sup>dm</sup> reported the following to the throne. This year at a certain day in a certain month, a strange priest with a coir-palm hat came to the seashore. When asked his name and his home, he said his name was Vipasyin.<sup>73</sup> He proceeded to say that once, 500 kalpa ago,<sup>74</sup> he passed by this country and was

73. SH, 305b.

74. A period of time beyond calculation in Buddhism; a small kalpa is represented as 16,800,000 years; a kalpa as 336,000,000 years; a mahākalpa as 1,334,000,000 years; SH, 232b.



bound by a karma-relation. He saw then the unification of the Three Han<sup>dn75</sup>; but, since Buddhism did not yet flourish, he stayed for a while below Mt. Song'ak in order to fulfil the causation from previous existence. Now that the teaching was widespread, he was on the way to Japan. Having uttered these words, he disappeared. The King thought it strange and had this date calculated. It was the day the Priest parted from this world. The change between his life and death was thus divided.

During his life-time, the Priest had a deep karma-relation with King Kwangjong. The King, in order to start out for bodhi, had Kwibŏp Temple built below Mt. Song'ak. When the construction was finished, the King invited Kyunyŏ to be its Chief Priest. The Priest respected the King's order, burnt incense, guided the people, and spread Buddhism.

Once, before his discourse on Buddhism, he had Priest Chŏnŏp<sup>do</sup> write an introduction to a sūtra; he wrote about ten pages. On the balcony, before going to the meeting, Chŏnŏp gave the Priest his composition. Censer in hand and moving slowly forward with dignity, he glanced at it. His lecture was as fluent as if he had practised it before. Such were his perspicacity and intellectual power.

Ah, when a karma-relation is fulfilled, one dies here and is reborn in the other world. The Priest died at Kwibŏp Temple at □ hour, on the seventeenth day of the sixth moon of the sixth year of K'ai-pao (973). He is buried at Mt. P'altŏk<sup>dp</sup>, about 100 steps southeast of Kwibŏp Temple. He was what we call a superior man, one full of grace and virtue. His age was □; the number of years he was in priesthood was □.

Tamnim<sup>dq</sup> and Cho<sup>dr</sup> were his excellent disciples; both were great saints and reached the post of Great Priest. They then had, and have to this day, many disciples. Since their number gradually increased, some went abroad while some remained in the Temple.

When Kim Chŏng-jun<sup>ds</sup>,<sup>76</sup> First Privy Councillor in the Chancery

75. Refers to the unification of the three kingdoms by Silla in 676.

76. *Koryŏ sa* 7, 100a; *Koryŏ sa* 8, 115b; CJJ, 923b.

and Secretariat (Munhasarang p'yŏngjangsa<sup>dt</sup>)<sup>77</sup>, saw a hole without a phoenix (the Temple without Kyunyŏ), he thought of the Priest and even went to his room to pay respect to him. He had the Temple repaired and named it Sweet Dew Hall (Kamno wŏn<sup>du</sup>).

Ko Chŏng<sup>dv</sup>, Former Reviewing Policy Advisor (Kŭpsajung<sup>dw</sup>),<sup>78</sup> wrote the following record. A great man faded and went to the Promised Land, and his once beautiful house is empty. When a fortune is dispersed, a treasure pavilion and jade pillar will turn to a jungle of weeds: and when blue mountains crumble and white clouds withdraw, the scene, alas, will be sorrowful.

### *Postscript*

The saint differs from the common people in that he dispels delusion, enlightens our ignorance, and thus provides us with great compensation. When I humbly examine the deeds of the Priest, I see that he is certainly a saint.

Yang Hsiung<sup>dx</sup> (53 B. C.—18 A. D.)<sup>79</sup> once said that only when one had climbed up the T'ai Mountain<sup>dy</sup>,<sup>80</sup> would one see the many smaller mountains beneath it. I have seen many eulogistic inscriptions on stone tablets and wondered briefly at them more than ten times. Only now having examined the deeds of the Priest do I know how many stone tablets are beneath his.

Ah, the former Buddha had already spoken, and the coming Buddha has not yet appeared. At a time when the eye of wisdom had become blind and the wheel of Law had stopped half-way, the Priest distinguished himself; he helped to make the profound and mysterious widely known, and, fulfilling the causation from previous existence, revealed the supernatural response of Buddha even in the dust and sand.

77. Vice-président du département de la chancellerie impériale; TFA 2, 978.

78. Cf. TFA 1, 147-9; TFA 2, 948.

79. CJT, 1277b.

80. In the west of Shantung; see *Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta-tz'u-tien*, 717a-b.

I, who have seen little and heard little, have tried to select the important points in Kyunyŏ's life; but they amount only to an infinitesimal part of his deeds. May this book meet with a man of wide knowledge and so be enriched. I write this postscript on the □ day of the first moon of the eleventh year of Hsien-yung (1075).

*Taehwaŏm Kwibŏpsaju Wŏnt'ongsujwa Kyunyŏ chŏn*<sup>dz</sup>

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- BKD Ono Gemmyō, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* (Encyclopaedia of Buddhist Books), Tōkyō, 1933-6.
- C Chi Hŏn-yŏng<sup>ea</sup>, *Hyang'ga yŏyo sinsŏk*<sup>eb</sup> (New Translations of the *Saenaennorae* and *Koryŏ Poems*), Seoul, 1947.
- CJJ Chōsen sŏtokufu, *Chosŏn jimmei jisho* (Korean Biographical Dictionary), Kei jŏ (Seoul), 1937.
- CJT *Chung-kuo jen-ming ta-tz'u-tien*, Shanghai, 1925.
- CSS E. A. Kracke, Jr., *Civil Service in Early Sung China, 960-1067*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1953.
- GS *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (*Taishō Tripitaka* 293, V. 10/3).
- H Hong Ki-mun<sup>ec</sup>, *Hyang'ga haesŏk*<sup>ed</sup> (Studies of *Hyang'ga*), P'yŏng'yang, 1956.
- IKJ Akanuma Chijen, *Indo bukkyō koyūmeishi jiten* (Dictionary of Proper Names in Indian Buddhism), Nagoya, 1931.
- MBD Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō daijiten* (Encyclopaedia of Buddhism), Tōkyō, 1932-7.
- O Ogura Shimpei, *Hyang'ga oyobi Idu no kenkyū* (Study of *Hyang'ga* and *Idu*), Keijō (Seoul), 1929.
- SGSG Kim Pu-sik<sup>ee</sup>, *Samguk sagi*<sup>ef</sup> (Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms - Chosŏn shigakkai-edition), Keijō (Seoul), 1928.
- SGYS Illyŏn, *Samguk yusa* (Relics of the Three Kingdoms - Ch'oe Nam-sŏn edition), Seoul, 1954.
- SH W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, London, 1937.
- TFA Robert des Rotours, *Traité des Fonctionnaires et Traité de l'Armée, Traduits de la Nouvelle Histoire des T'ang, Chs. 46-50*, Leiden, 1948.
- TRD *Tōyō rekishi daijiten* (Encyclopaedia of Far Eastern History), Tōkyō, 1937-40.
- Y Yang Chu-dong<sup>eg</sup>, *Koga yŏn'gu*<sup>eh</sup> (Studies in Old Korean Poetry), Seoul, 1954.

## TEXT

a. 均如大師 b. 新羅 c. 高麗 d. 光宗 e. 詞腦歌 f. 吏讀 g. 均如傳  
 h. 赦連挺 i. 釋華嚴教分記圓通抄 j. 海印寺 k. 伽倻山 l. 有賀啓太  
 郎 m. 四十七詞院附圓通兩重大師均如傳 n. 三國遺事 o. 崔南善 p.  
 崔行歸 q. 薛聰 r. 世宗大王 s. 大華嚴首座圓通兩重大師均如傳 t.  
 龍樹 u. 義相(湘) v. 瑞書院學士 w. 夷詰滄 x. 崔致遠 y. 清河 z.  
 康惟顯 aa. 殿中內給事 ab. 咸雍 ac. 昶雲大師 ad. 神衆經 ae. 進士 af.  
 邊 ag. 煥性 ah. 占命 ai. 天佑 aj. 遁臺葉村 ak. 荆岳 al. 黃州 am. 拾遺  
 an. 李峻 ao. 敬天寺 ap. 善均 aq. 復興寺 ar. 識賢 as. 義順 at. 靈通寺  
 au. 秀明 av. 千手經 aw. 北岳 ax. 華嚴宗 ay. 觀惠 az. 希朗 ba. 甄董王  
 bb. 後百濟 bc. 太祖 bd. 南岳 be. 仁裕 bf. 搜玄方軌記 bg. 孔目章記 bh.  
 五十要問答記 bi. 探玄記釋 bj. 教分記釋 bk. 旨歸章記 bl. 三寶章記  
 bm. 法界圖記 bn. 十句章記 bo. 入法界品抄記 bp. 乾祐 bq. 大穆皇后 br.  
 清寧 bs. 廣順 bt. 謙信國師 bu. 頊 bv. 顯德 bw. 佛日寺 bx. 徹達 by. 僧  
 統 bz. 沙平郡 ca. 那必及干 cb. 翰林學士內議承旨 cc. 傅公將 cd. 賈氏  
 湯師 ce. 賢首 cf. 澄觀 cg. 無可 ch. 森己 ci. 貫休 cj. 摩訶 ck. 文則  
 cl. 體元 cm. 元曉 cn. 薄凡 co. 靈爽 cp. 定猷 cq. 神亮 cr. 純義 cs. 大居  
 ct. 玄琬 cu. 貞元別本 cv. 異次頓 cw. 詞 cx. 賦 cy. 湏水 cz. 遼 da. 吳  
 db. 秦 dc. 碎珠全瓦 dd. 朗月清風 de. 何克 df. 謝靈運 dg. 總持院 dh. 開  
 寶 di. 正秀 dj. 薛光 dk. 松岳 dl. 白雲房 dm. 金海 dn. 三韓 do. 全業  
 dp. 八德山 dq. 晏琳 dr. 肇 ds. 金延俊 dt. 門下侍郎平章事 du. 甘露院  
 dv. 高挺 dw. 給事中 dx. 楊雄 dy. 奉山 dz. 大華嚴歸法寺主圓通首座均如  
 傳

## ABBREVIATIONS

ea. 池憲永 eb. 鄉歌麗謠新釋 ec. 洪起文 ed. 鄉歌解釋 ee. 金富軾 ef. 三  
 國史記 eg. 梁柱東 eh. 古歌研究

## NOTES

ei. 神行 ej. 道義 ek. 圓測 el. 玄太 em. 慧超 en. 悼 = 將歌 eo. 鄭瓜亭  
 ep. 玄化寺碑陰記 eq. 顯宗 er. 伊食 es. 伊尺食 et. 李丙燾 eu. 國史大觀  
 ev. 法藏和尚傳 ew. 神通經 ex. 神通遊戲經 ey. 赫連挺 ez. 神德王 fa. 東  
 明王 fb. 圓通記 fc. 角干 fd. 舒弗那 fe. 伊伐滄 ff. 高麗史 fg. 趙潤濟  
 fh. 朝鮮詩歌史綱 fi. 薛翰林 fj. 玄玩 fk. 大同江 fl. 清川江 fm. 金大問  
 fn. 金仁問